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**A rightwing plot to shape Europe's future**



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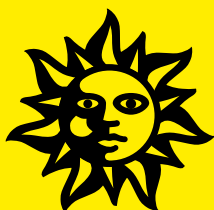


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# Breitbart: A rightwing plot to shape Britain's future

By Nick Lowles

WHEN FORMER UKIP leader Nigel Farage was snapped having dinner with President Trump and his family by a fellow diner in late February, it caused a flurry of interest from the British media. What was not reported, but of far more significance, was the meeting Farage had earlier that afternoon.

Farage gatecrashed dinner with Donald Trump because he was in the area. In fact, he had just spent three hours at the White House with the President's chief strategist, Steve Bannon.

The pair had a lot to catch up on. They had a lot to discuss and plan.

As this report shows, Bannon and Farage have got to know each other well over the last few years.

UKIP had been identified by Bannon's Breitbart operation several years ago. Bannon launched Breitbart London to help UKIP ahead of the 2015 General Election. Breitbart's key funder Robert Mercer supplied Farage's anti-EU campaign, Leave.EU, with the data tools that helped secure the Brexit vote and the UK's departure from the European Union.

In turn, Farage's Brexit success provided Bannon, and his political master Donald Trump, with the inspirational story of the underdog defying the political establishment.

This report shows that Breitbart is not a news website or a media outlet in any ordinary sense and its staff are not mainstream journalists. Breitbart is a political project, with a specific political agenda, staffed by willing propagandists.

It distorts and fabricates news to deliberately incite anger in its supporters and fear in others. It pollutes the political space and demonises and vilifies its opponents.

Breitbart is just one part – albeit a vital part – of a wider political project that set Britain on a path to leave the European Union and got Donald Trump elected to the most powerful job in the world.

## Unfinished business

But even with Trump in the White House the project is not yet complete. Steve Bannon and Robert Mercer have far bigger plans which they will seek to execute over the next few years. Bannon will use his clearly strong influence over the President to carry out his aggressive nationalism and strong anti-Muslim views at home and abroad. Mercer will use his financial muscle and data analytics to sway elections and shift opinion.

Breitbart intends to expand its operations into more countries in the hope of assisting more far right leaders gain power and laying the ground for what they consider is an inevitable conflict with Islam.

And in Britain, this operation will be at the heart of a new political venture, likely to be launched in a matter of months, to create a new far right party and run by multi-millionaire Arron Banks and Nigel Farage.

Based on the social movement model of Italy's Five Star Movement but with the nationalist and populist politics of Trump, this new party will sweep aside UKIP and hope to capitalise on the uncertainty and compromise that will undoubtedly accompany Brexit.

While Banks and Farage will lead this new party, it will be Breitbart that provides the engine power.

It was this that Farage was discussing with Bannon at the White House.

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# A short history of Breitbart

**2005**

Andrew Breitbart launched Breitbart to become “the Huffington Post of the right”.

**2011**

Breitbart released explicit text messages the New York congressman and rising Democrat star Anthony D. Weiner had sent to women online forcing him to resign.

**2014**

Bannon recruits an additional 12 staff and opens offices in Texas and London. Raheem Kassam and James Delingpole appointed to run London operation.

**2016**

Southern Poverty Law Centre report that Breitbart has “undergone a noticeable shift toward embracing ideas on the extremist fringe of the conservative right” and was using “racist,” “anti-Muslim” and “anti-immigrant ideas.”

**2016**

Breitbart London plays a highly supportive role in the campaign to take the UK out of the European Union.

**2016**

Bannon describes Breitbart as the “platform of the alt-right”.

**2016**

Bannon becomes Trump’s Chief Strategist.

**2009**

An undercover investigation into ACORN led to the community empowerment organisation closing down.

**2012**

Andrew Breitbart dies. Steve Bannon becomes executive chair.

**2014**

Raheem Kassam steps down as editor of London Breitbart to become Nigel Farage’s chief advisor and is credited with taking UKIP to the right. Kassam returns to Breitbart after Farage fails to get elected as an MP.

**2016**

Breitbart becomes a cheerleader for Donald Trump’s Presidential bid, often attacking other right wing news outlets who are more sympathetic to Ted Cruz.

**2016**

Bannon steps down as CEO in August to head Trump’s Presidential bid.

**2016**

After Trump’s election, Breitbart announced intention to set up German and French operations.

**2017**

Breitbart played a prominent role in the highly influential Conservative Political Action Committee (CPAC) conference, cementing its position in the US Conservative mainstream.



Photos (top to bottom) Andrew Breitbart, Steve Bannon, Raheem Kassam, Donald Trump (photos: Gage Skidmore) and Nigel Farage (photo: Jennifer Jane Mills)





# Breitbart: Fake News and Far Right Politics



Steve Bannon speaking at the 2017 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in National Harbor, Maryland. Photo: Gage Skidmore

## Breitbart is not a news website. Nor is it a media outlet, and its staff are not ordinary journalists. Breitbart is a political project, with a specific political agenda, staffed by willing propagandists.

Ten years ago, Andrew Breitbart turned to his friend Larry Solov and asked for his help in creating a new media company that would ‘change the world’. It must have sounded like cocktail-fuelled hubris yet just a decade later, with former Breitbart executive chair Steve Bannon now assistant to the President and White House chief strategist with a place on the National Security Council, what seemed like a fantasy has become a dangerous reality.

While ostensibly a right-wing news outlet like any other, Breitbart is in reality part of a transatlantic political movement with a common world view and coordinated objectives. It doesn’t report on events: it seeks to make them and (mis)shape them.

Indeed, Breitbart manufactures falsehoods and peddles half-truths. Its unsubstantiated conclusions are drawn from its existing prejudices and published to advance its agenda; Breitbart is a click-hate echo chamber.

### Breitbart’s Mission

Andrew Breitbart’s vision, even when it was just the two of us working out of a basement, was for Breitbart News to offer a voice to freedom-loving people everywhere and to tailor their news experience both locally and globally.

This is Breitbart’s mission as described by co-owner Larry Solov for the announcement of the launch of Breitbart London. As a mission statement it is indeed a laudable one. Yet in reality its supposedly lofty ideals have sat in stark contrast to its often racist, xenophobic, sexist, transphobic and homophobic content.

Breitbart targets those people and communities disenfranchised by globalisation and often ignored by the political mainstream. It makes political and economic profit from ramping up fear and mistrust and increasing societal division via its often wildly exaggerated, hyperbolic, inaccurate, prejudiced or even manufactured content.

Broadly speaking its political aims are to undermine and destroy the liberal democratic progressive consensus – understood as left-wing cultural hegemony – and the societal norms which are derived from it. Key here is a rejection of multiculturalism, manifest as opposition to immigration and liberal refugee

policies. More generally its content stands in opposition to supposedly left-wing concepts such as feminism, LGBT+ rights and minority rights more generally.

When it comes to Breitbart’s ‘reporting’ related to Islam and Muslims it is utterly indistinguishable from the anti-Muslim ‘counter-jihad’ movement’s rhetoric or even that of the extreme far right. Take for example the article headlined ‘Political Correctness Protects Muslim Rape Culture’ which, based on the unsubstantiated claim that there is indeed an ‘epidemic’, then goes on to make clear that ‘the epidemic is a by-product of the influx into Europe of a million, mostly Muslim, migrants’ arguing that ‘It’s just not politically correct to talk openly about Islam’s rape culture’ and that ‘like honor killings, with massive Muslim immigration on the horizon, it could be coming to a town near you all too soon’.

In stark contrast to the website’s regular downplaying of ‘the radical feminist “rape culture” panic’ – despite research suggesting that 23% of female undergraduate students in the USA have reported experiencing sexual assault since enrolling in college – the portrayal of Muslims as not just culturally different but also a physical and sexual threat (a traditional tactic of the anti-immigrant far right) is commonplace on Breitbart and is explored in greater depth later in this report.

It is important to note that Breitbart’s borderline obsession with Islam and Muslims is not mere prejudice and racism, though it is that, but actually the result of a specific worldview. To understand Breitbart’s political project, it is necessary to explore the striking parallels between Steve Bannon’s world view and Samuel Huntington’s ‘clash of civilisations’ theory, as it is from this that Bannon, and by extension Breitbart, has identified its friends and enemies abroad and its opposition to Muslim immigration and multiculturalism domestically.

Speaking at a 2014 conference hosted by the Human Dignity Institute in the Vatican, Bannon outlined his now much commented upon worldview and his understanding of the Breitbart mission. He explained that Breitbart was expanding ‘to let people understand the depths of this crisis, and it is a crisis both of capitalism but really of the underpinnings of the Judeo-Christian West in our beliefs.’ He talked of a ‘crisis both of our church, a crisis of our faith, a crisis of the West, a crisis of capitalism.’

## Breitbart: Fake News and Far Right Politics (continued)

However, in addition to believing the West is in crisis he also, like his allies in the anti-Muslim ‘counter-jihad’ movement and many of the populist and far-right parties of Europe, believes we are in the grip of a civilisational conflict between the West and the Muslim world. As he has put it, the West is ‘in the very beginning stages of a very brutal and bloody conflict’ with Islamic fascism.

For Bannon, this civilisational war is a winner-take-all struggle tinged with more than a hint of apocalyptic analysis. This is best seen in the opening passage from a film script he wrote in 2007 titled ‘Destroying the Great Satan: The Rise of Islamic Facism [sic] in America’:

FADE IN:

The iconic image of the US Capitol on a pristine spring day ... The dome glistening under an azure sky and brilliant sun ... As the camera pulls in, we notice something strange, something not right ... Old Glory fluttering from its flagpole on the capitol’s portico looks different, but we can’t put our finger on it ... As we pull in we see why ... Instead of the stars and stripes – the crescent and the star!!!... Simultaneously with this focus we hear in a high pitched chant “Allah Akhbar” – the Muslim call to prayer emanating from the capital itself. On the screen in bold letters:

### The Islamic States of America

According to documents acquired by *The Washington Post* the unmade documentary film was to warn about the threat of Islam and its ‘enablers among us’, including institutions such as the media and the Jewish community and government agencies which allegedly appeased Islamism.

It is Bannon’s belief in a clash between the West and Islam and the idea of a Muslim invasion via immigration, aided by liberal left wing elites, that explains much of Breitbart’s coverage of Muslims as well as some of Trump’s policy decisions.

### ‘Politics is War’

Key to winning this external war, in Bannon’s eyes, is to change the nature of the West. This requires shifting western societies away from liberal multiculturalism.

As Bannon sees it, ‘politics is war’ and to win one has to ‘weaponise’ the narrative you want to advance. To do so the media landscape has to be remade in one’s own political image. While Breitbart is key here, it is actually just part of a wider international offensive against liberal democracy.

A recent article in *The Observer* newspaper explained how Breitbart was merely ‘the star’ at the centre of a right-wing ‘media galaxy’ run by the ultra-conservative hedge fund billionaire Robert Mercer. Mercer, who was Donald Trump’s largest donor (\$13.5m), has been central to the rise of Breitbart, donating \$10m to Bannon’s media project.

Fascinatingly, *The Observer* article revealed how Mercer also has a stake in Cambridge Analytica (CA), a small data analytics company that specialises in mass propaganda designed to act on people’s emotions, so-called ‘psyops’ (psychological operations).

It uses big data and machine learning algorithms to identify patterns and predict behaviour, using the content that people see to understand their psychological profile and utilising that information to target them with whatever content it chooses.

Speaking to *The Observer*, Andy Wigmore, the communications director of the Arron Banks-backed Leave.EU campaign, which also had ties with Cambridge Analytica, explained how data used in this manner:

... tells you all sorts of things about that individual and how to convince them with what sort of advert. And you knew there would also be other people in their network who liked what they liked, so you could spread. And then you follow them. The computer never stops learning and it never stops monitoring.

Aleksandr Kogan from the Cambridge University’s Psychometric Centre, said:

It’s no exaggeration to say that minds can be changed. Behaviour can be predicted and controlled. I find it incredibly scary. I really do. Because nobody has really followed through on the possible consequences of all this. People don’t know it’s happening to them. Their attitudes are being changed behind their backs.

What is clear is that Breitbart, while important, is just one of countless right-wing platforms seeking to shift the societal consensus towards its worldview, using complex tools to manipulate behaviour.

On both sides of the Atlantic there are people, movements, parties

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Robert Mercer. Donald Trump’s largest donor (\$13.5m). Photo: Andrew Toth/ Getty Images





and philosophical currents – some collaborating, some not – that have a commonality of analysis, working tirelessly to knock down the pillars of the liberal progressive consensus.

Many commentators have already drawn parallels between Trump's election, Brexit and the rise of populist radical-right parties in Europe such as the Front National in France and Geert Wilders PVV in The Netherlands. While this is true, it makes up just one part of the phenomenon, the others being the organised anti-Muslim movement, the so-called 'Alt-Right', the European New (Real) Right (including Identitarian Movements) and of course the traditional far right.

Together these groups, often using cutting-edge manipulative technology, pose a fundamental threat to the liberal progressive consensus and have the ability to halt, and possibly even reverse, the advancement towards more open, tolerant and equal societies, undermine social cohesion and threaten the safety and security of all ethnic minority communities, especially Muslims.

## Expansion into Europe

While it is a digital platform, it would be wrong to see Breitbart's threat as merely online: its work has significant offline repercussions. Breitbart doesn't merely quench the thirst of online warriors by providing prejudiced confirmation bias, it actually consciously operates as a slick propaganda machine for specific politicians and parties of a populist-/radical-/far-right persuasion.

In February 2014 Breitbart opened its first international section with the launch of Breitbart London, headed by executive editor James Delingpole and managing editor Raheem Kassam. At the time of its launch, along with a new branch in Texas, Stephen Bannon made clear the motivation for their expansion across the Atlantic:

'We look at London and Texas as two fronts in our current cultural and political war' and that, 'There is a growing global anti-establishment revolt against the permanent political class at home, and the global elites that influence them, which impacts everyone from Lubbock to London.' Breitbart News editor-in-chief Alex Marlow added that London 'is a window into and cautionary tale about the possible future of America as we trend toward a secular social-Democratic society.'

The offline soldiers in Bannon's 'political war' here in the in the UK have been UKIP, which have benefitted from fawning coverage and constant support. Even Gawain Towler, the party's head of press, has admitted to *Buzzfeed* that:

'Breitbart has, from conception, been broadly supportive of UKIP' and that 'it's always very much been a friendly online news provider.' However, the relationship has been multifaceted. As well as supporting UKIP Breitbart London has also been an influence on the party's shift further to the right in recent years, a phenomenon explored in detail later in this report.

Breitbart London also offered its support to the far-right, anti-Muslim street movement Pegida UK, led by former English Defence League founder Stephen Lennon ('Tommy Robinson'). Breitbart London editor Raheem Kassam even addressed one of Pegida UK's demonstrations in Birmingham alongside the German Pegida founder Lutz Bachmann (who has been convicted of 'inciting racial hatred').

Plans have also been announced to expand onto the Continent, with editions planned in France and Germany, with a view to bolstering the fortunes of the far-right leader Le Pen in France's presidential election in April and to attack German Chancellor Angela Merkel's progressive refugee policy and support the efforts of the anti-Muslim Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) party in the German federal elections in September. This was no secret with Breitbart editor-in-chief Alex Marlow confirming these countries had been picked due to the upcoming elections.

The announcement of this enlargement makes it clear that Breitbart's modus operandi is to expand into countries where it sees an opportunity of advancing its political project by exploiting anger and anti-immigrant sentiment, while seeking to bolster existing far-right opposition parties.

However, despite it being announced that the new platforms would be launched by January 2017 nothing has yet materialised. This means the chance of any French Breitbart opening in time for the election is very slim. This has not stopped the existing platforms pumping out reams of pro-Front National stories. In the last year alone Breitbart has published over 200 articles with Le Pen in the title and many more where she and her party are mentioned. Similar exposure has been given to Geert Wilders – who is also a Breitbart columnist – and the AfD in Germany, while strong support was offered to Norbert Hofer, the far-right Freedom Party candidate, during his failed bid to become Austrian president last year.

It has also emerged that there are plans to launch in Italy, too, with the country facing growing economic issues and the increased likelihood of elections this year. With one full-time journalist in Rome already it is said to be planning to add more, though it seems there are no plans to launch an Italian language site.

Whether Breitbart actually manages to launch European platforms is still unclear, but it's clear that Breitbart's leadership is more than willing to use its existing English language outlets to advance the fortunes of Europe's far right, populist, anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant political parties.

# Breitbart London: Not News, Not Innocent

## Breitbart London, a subsidiary of the Breitbart News Network, is not a traditional news outlet.

Nor did it ever intend to be. Breitbart's founder, the prominent rightwing journalist Andrew Breitbart, told former Breitbart editor-in-chief (and now Trump right-hand man) Steve Bannon that they had "to take back the culture".

Breitbart London has made repeated journalistic and editorial errors and its inadequacies seem part of a deliberate strategy to communicate a political worldview under the guise of reporting on the day's events. This strategy includes the use of misleading and false headlines to advance unsupported claims that attract readers by confirming their beliefs, and a stifling editorial policy that reports on a select few topics from a narrow range of "alt-right" perspectives.

Quite ironically, Breitbart London and its parent organisation are well-known for two criticisms of mainstream news outlets: that they manufacture 'fake news' and that they do so for the purpose of promoting particular political worldviews. In practice, Breitbart London is frequently guilty of these very acts, despite their repeated denials.

Given this, it seems likely that Breitbart London is a test export of the parent organisation's strategic misreporting tactics, and a promotion of its mass-market political tools.

It is crucial, therefore, to understand the tactics that Breitbart employs, and how they work.

### Breitbart London's Writers: How They Create Fake News

A central tactic of Breitbart London's writers is to create headlines that de-contextualise information and quotations to present false, misleading or inflated claims.

For example, the article *'Delingpole: The Archbishop of Canterbury thinks we're all Fascists, Cheers'*, contains no quote from the Archbishop. Instead, it links to another Breitbart London article that conflates his passing reference to one possible explanation of recent electoral activity – the influence of fascist leaders on voters – with the claim that this is what he judges to be the explanation. Similarly misleading is *'Soros-Backed Group Urges EU to Use 'Nuclear Option' on 'Populist' Poland'*. The 'nuclear option' referred to is a nickname for an EU legal mechanism that prevents certain voting rights, as opposed to the implied military assault.

This is a typical tactic of fake news outlets the world over.

Headlines draw in readers by confirming their beliefs (or prejudices) in advance. Posing as news providers, these fake news media outlets use such content as clickbait: extraordinary claims are more likely to encourage click-throughs and social media sharing, which in turn generates more advertising revenue.

Breitbart London's writers are no doubt aware that there is often insufficient (or no) evidence to support their headlines' claims, or that the available evidence supports a weaker claim. Therefore, they often de-escalate from the stronger claim in the headline to a weaker one in the body of the actual piece. Such de-escalation leads to the bizarre, openly self-contradictory nature of many Breitbart London articles. *'Seven Found Guilty of Robbing German Churches to Finance Jihad'*, for example, later back-pedals when it admits that: "Judges said it was unclear whether the funds they generated were actually used to support armed jihad and if so, to what extent."

Failing de-escalation, Breitbart London writers will instead attempt to rely on putative evidence that doesn't actually support their claims either. In *'Europe's Rape Epidemic: Western Women Will Be Sacrificed At The Altar Of Mass Migration'*, Breitbart London writer Anne Marie-Waters (of Sharia Watch) cites a Norwegian (specifically Oslo) rape statistic through a Christian Broadcasting Network article, which neither provides a link to cited police reports and only a link to an unavailable Youtube clip when referring to the "rape epidemic". She also references a Danish government statistic from 2010 (thus allowing for no comparison with the present); an uncited statistic about rape in England; and a 2015 Gatestone Institute report: *'Germany: Migrant Rape Epidemic'* that claims "the increase in sex crimes in Germany is being fueled by the preponderance of Muslim males among the mix of refugees/migrants entering the country". However, a more recent study by Davis and Vidler (2016) argues that, "while a relationship between increased rape or assault rates and the number of migrants entering Germany cannot be disproven, it also cannot be confidently supported".

Clearly aware that her 'evidence' does not support the claim that there is a rape epidemic in Europe resulting from mass migration, Marie-Waters, like all of Breitbart London's writers, relies heavily on confirming her readers' prior beliefs through mere speculation and rhetoric. One line in Marie-Waters' article states: "The West is being disarmed – to demolish our cultures, our leaders are persuading us that there is nothing within them that is worthy of defence". Combining an emotive belief widely perpetuated by Breitbart with an expression of respect for, and simultaneous dismissal of, the need to cite evidence, her support for this 'Western disarmament' claim is simply: "Examples of attacks on European or Western identity are too numerous to mention."



Breitbart London writer, Virginia Hale (pictured), falsely reported in January of this year that Muslim men had attacked a church, police and citizens in Dortmund on New Year's Eve as part of a thousand-strong mob chanting 'Allahu Akhbar'.



## Breitbart London: Not News, Not Innocent (continued)

Aside from de-escalation and attempting to make up for evidence with rhetoric, another tactic employed by Breitbart London's writers is to frequently cite other, often also unsupported, Breitbart articles as evidence for claims. For example, Breitbart London's recent deluge of 61 articles published within the last month on supposed crises resulting from Sweden's migration policy, frequently link to one another [see HOPE not hate's debunking sidebar on page 28 explaining why many of these claims about Sweden are also unsupported].

Given Breitbart's "alt-right" perspective, this results in an echo chamber, reinforced by Breitbart's constant reminder to its readers that mainstream media cannot be trusted. This would also explain the site's high turnover of content covering the same events (its 10 staff produce on average three pieces each a day), with the resulting glut of op-ed speculation readily available to draw upon as 'evidence'. Moreover, the few external news sources Breitbart London's writers do rely on are usually the same, primarily right-leaning European papers, which add little variety to the editorial mix.

### Breitbart London's Editorial Policy: How it Suffocates Scrutiny

The strategic inaccuracy of Breitbart London's reporting is clearly the result of a deliberate editorial policy. The outlet exclusively hires writers with "alt-right" political leanings. A future injection of new perspectives into Breitbart London also seems unlikely, given that Breitbart News Networks' *The Conversation* blog – ostensibly aimed at encouraging debate – has lain dormant since July 2016.

Then there is the selective focus on certain topics. Within the last year the site has published over 303 stories on 'Muslims or Islam' and 592 stories on 'immigrants or migrants'. None would deny that Islam and migration have been high-profile topics in mainstream media, but it is the relentless focus that highlights a deliberate attempt to *keep* the topics in readers' minds. The scant number of reports on divergent topics (and lack of dedicated columnists for these) only serves to put its obsessive coverage of migrants and Islam into sharper relief. Furthermore, other common terms used in Breitbart London headlines within the last year reflect a clear editorial line on how to describe the current political climate, with 116 stories on 'rape or rapists', 54 stories on 'invading, invasion or invaders', and 79 stories discussing a 'threat' or that which is 'threatening'.

### The Best Explanation: Neither News nor Innocent

If Breitbart London is a news outlet, why would its editor allow such basic and frequent mistakes from its writers? And why would its writers not wish to write on more varied topics?

The obvious explanation is that Breitbart London is not a news outlet, since its output is often false or inflates the truth. Its inaccuracies are not innocent errors, but rather the result of deliberate, repeated employment of strategies by a media outlet to promote a particular, politically-rigid interpretation of current events under the guise of being a news outlet. Given that Steve Bannon has talked about how you can "weaponise" the narrative you want, perhaps that is unsurprising.

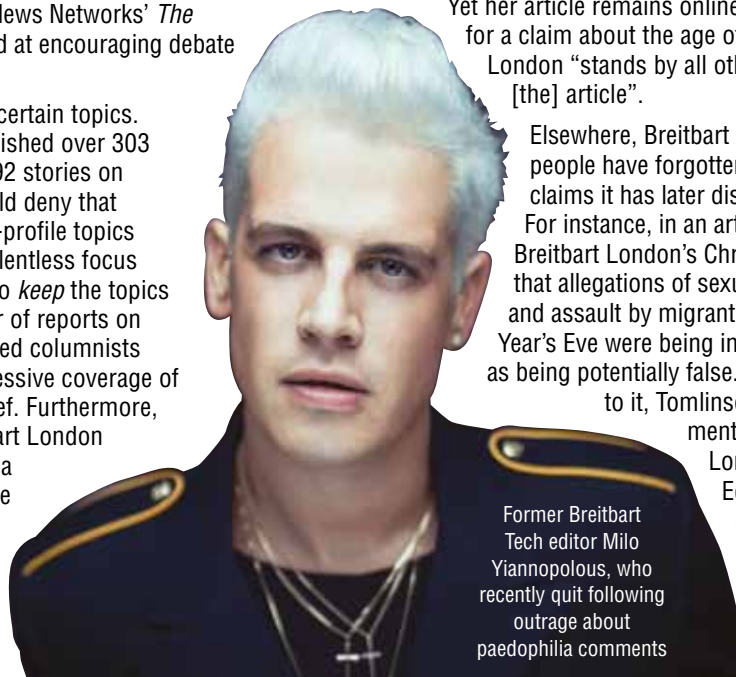
It also explains why Breitbart rarely publishes corrections; something that fits with the organisation's attitude towards humility. Former Breitbart Tech editor Milo Yiannopolous, who recently quit following outrage about paedophilia comments, boasted: "I haven't ever apologised before, and I don't anticipate ever doing it again".

Breitbart London writer, Virginia Hale, falsely reported in January of this year that Muslim men had attacked a church, police and citizens in Dortmund on New Year's Eve as part of a thousand-strong mob chanting 'Allahu Akhbar'. She was later corrected by the same source she drew on, local paper *Ruhr Nachrichten*, which stated that she had not only distorted its report, but had done so "for fake news, hate and propaganda".

Yet her article remains online and, though correcting for a claim about the age of the church, Breitbart London "stands by all other substantive facts in [the] article".

Elsewhere, Breitbart London has also hoped people have forgotten that it supported claims it has later discredited as fake news. For instance, in an article from this year Breitbart London's Chris Tomlinson reported that allegations of sexual harassment, theft, and assault by migrants in Frankfurt on New Year's Eve were being investigated by the police as being potentially false. However, though linking to it, Tomlinson did not explicitly

mention that fellow Breitbart London writer Donna Rachel Edmunds had reported on the allegations in an earlier article. Instead, Tomlinson discussed how "this is not the first time German media have been



Former Breitbart Tech editor Milo Yiannopolous, who recently quit following outrage about paedophilia comments



fooled by the so-called “fake news” phenomena”, before detailing two reports that, though indeed falsified, conveniently focused on claims made by two individuals from two groups Breitbart elsewhere negatively targets: migrants and Muslim women.

Breitbart London’s writers evidently prioritise maintaining their beliefs over changing their minds when in pursuit of the truth. However, this should come as no surprise. As HOPE not hate detailed recently when examining how Breitbart’s connections to the “alt-right” have guided the reporting of Hale: “Selective and fake news is targeted to appeal to the biases of [Breitbart’s] audience, and “alt-right” racists are a section of the Breitbart readership that appear well-known to Hale”.

Nor should it be a surprise that Breitbart London does not, despite the pretence, function as a news outlet. Just as the network’s founder, Andrew Breitbart, himself failed to realise (despite all of his putative new media genius), new platforms do not necessarily escape the flaws of the platforms they criticise. Least of all, do they escape the flaws they do little to avoid, or as is now more evidently accurate to say of Breitbart London, the flaws they do much to embrace.

**FEMINISTS NEED TO KNOW  
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**EUROPE’S RAPE EPIDEMIC:  
WESTERN WOMEN WILL BE  
SACRIFICED AT THE ALTER  
OF MASS MIGRATION**

**DELINGPOLE: THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
THINKS WE’RE ALL FASCISTS. CHEERS!**

**ISLAM ACADEMIC: MIGRANTS WANT EURABIA,  
GLOBALISTS USING MIGRANTS TO DESTROY THE WEST**

**DATA: YOUNG MUSLIMS IN THE WEST ARE A TICKING TIME  
BOMB, INCREASINGLY SYMPATHISING WITH RADICALS, TERROR**

# UKIP – Breitbart’s UK mission

Since its inception in February 2014, the Breitbart London project has been intimately tied to the UK Independence Party (UKIP).

Steve Bannon, now the intellectual centre of the Trump administration, has spoken of UKIP as a constituent part of a “global tea party”, an amalgamation of populist right-wing movements geared towards overturning established political powers such as the European Union (EU), as well as protecting “Judeo-Christian” values against radical Islam.

Bannon made clear in a *New York Times* interview that the establishment of Breitbart London was accelerated in order to support a “nascent European Tea Party” before the May 2015 elections. The outlet has wielded a tangible influence over the British Eurosceptic party since then.

While UKIP has proved highly successful in terms of undermining the EU, it is an imperfect vessel for Bannon’s vision of an anti-establishment, anti-Islam party. Until recently UKIP had no core ideology other than Euroscepticism, and has attracted both illiberal, anti-immigration populists and libertarian/free-market former Tories uninterested in being part of what Bannon has described as a “front” in “our current cultural and political war”.

In order to realise this vision, under Bannon’s willing apprentice Raheem Kassam, Breitbart London has engaged in a tireless crusade not only to promote the party, but to shift it into ever-more punitive and xenophobic territory. Breitbart London has made significant progress in this mission, but in doing so has greatly exacerbated existing rifts, with UKIP currently teetering on the edge of splits and (potentially) oblivion.

## Breitbart London

According to *The Spectator*, Steve Bannon first gained a toehold in UKIP via its General Secretary, Matthew Richardson, who had spent two years developing contacts for UKIP in Washington. The former executive director of the Young Britons’ Foundation (YBF), a controversial Tory youth group with strong links to American neoconservative movements, Richardson also introduced the one-time YBF member Raheem Kassam to UKIP figurehead Nigel Farage. Farage and Kassam quickly became friends.

Bannon hired Kassam to head Breitbart’s London office

alongside the rightwing polemicist James Delingpole, after sharing a panel with Kassam at the 2013 YBF Conference. From the outset Breitbart London was unwaveringly pro-UKIP, the early staff roster including Kassam, the would-be UKIP MEP candidate Delingpole, the former UKIP councillor Donna Rachel Edmunds and a future member of UKIP’s Brussels press team, Mary Ellen Synon. Breitbart London’s output was pro-Farage to the extent that it began to alarm other staff.

“We effectively became the UKIP comms office,” one employee told *The Spectator*. “Any criticism of the sainted Farage was completely banned,” said another.

Alongside being pro-Farage, the message was also obsessively anti-Islam and anti-immigration. And while Breitbart London’s readership is small compared to its American parent, its constant pro-UKIP content and frequent contributions from party officials ensures that it is read by a significant portion of younger party activists, effectively creating a bubble within which its unrelenting headline message can take root. It is notable that of the multitude of former and current UKIP officials to have written for Breitbart London – including three leaders, nine MEPs, multiple spokespeople and leadership candidates, press officers, youth leaders and financial donors – the majority come from a pro-Farage, anti-immigration stance.

Such obsequious coverage clearly helped curry favour with Farage, who in late 2014 hired Kassam. In September Kassam organised a trip with party secretary Matthew Richardson to the USA, including events hosted by Breitbart. Farage had been close friends with Robert Mercer, the reclusive hedge-fund billionaire who heavily funded the creation of the Breitbart News Network, and Kassam’s trip helped Farage establish his own ties with Bannon.

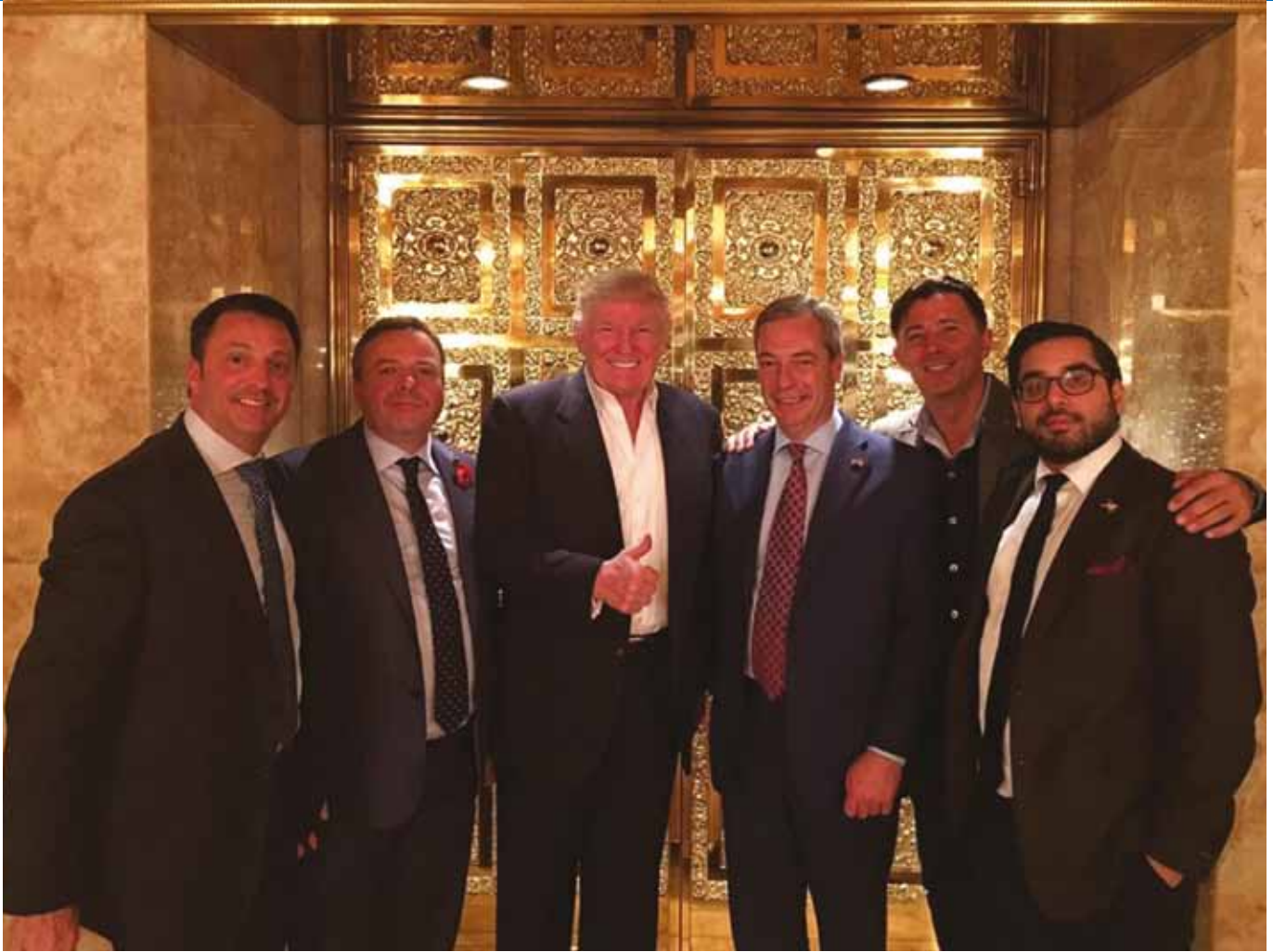
Farage was clearly awed by his experience in the States, writing in his book *Purple Revolution* that it convinced both himself and Kassam of “the extraordinary power of online media and how it had made me and UKIP a massive, albeit surprising, brand in the US”.

Just a month later Farage hired Kassam as his “senior advisor”, enabling the latter to directly import Breitbart’s toxic campaigning style into UKIP’s 2015 General Election push.

## General Election 2015

A student of aggressive Tea Party-style campaigning, Kassam quickly began to steer Farage’s campaign into ever-more hostile, anti-Islam and anti-immigrant territory.

Kassam has been widely held responsible for the implementation of the “shock and awful” TV debate strategy, whereby Farage would make inflammatory, xenophobic comments – such as deploying statistics about foreigners with HIV and referring to



Nigel Farage with President Elect Donald Trump, Arron Banks (second left) and Raheem Kassam (right). Photo: Twitter/Leave EU

a “fifth column” of Muslims in the UK – in order to provoke political commentators and outrage UKIP’s core vote. While such tactics were largely condemned by the mainstream press, Breitbart London provided constant positive coverage.

Under Kassam’s tutelage, Farage also became ever more combative during the campaign, openly scorning a “left wing” BBC studio audience while discussing immigration in a live debate.

In March 2015 Farage travelled to the USA to speak at CPAC, the largest annual gathering of American conservative activists, hosted by the American Conservative Union (ACU). His speech was preceded by a laudatory introduction from Breitbart’s US editor-in-chief Alexander Marlow, who stated: “Breitbart London is here to track a revolt, and its against the political establishment, and the global elites. And that revolt is being led by a party called UKIP and a man you’ll soon meet named Nigel Farage”.

The fact that Farage missed UKIP’s Spring conference to speak at CPAC provoked the anger of many within his party.

Farage’s inner circle shrunk ever smaller during the campaign, giving Kassam key decision-making power with little consultation. This aroused the ire of his colleagues, as did his seemingly uncontrollable urge to engage in petty squabbles. He took part in public spats with celebrities via Farage’s Twitter account and lodged a police complaint when, on a comedy quiz show, journalist Camilla Long suggested that Farage had barely visited South Thanet.

Gawain Towler, UKIP’s press officer and a Farage loyalist, told author and academic Matthew Goodwin:

‘I would not say Nigel changed, as there was nothing that he did that was not always there. It is not accurate to say that he was reinvented by Raheem. But we saw more of a side of Nigel that had not been given the same amount of licence in the past. He used to be aloof from the toxicity, floating above the bad side of Ukip... But what happened in this campaign, suddenly Nigel became as toxic as the party and that was a big change.’

## Civil war

After UKIP won just a single seat in the 2015 election, tensions exploded between Farage’s circle and those angry at the increasingly hostile anti-immigration policy and messaging employed by the leader. UKIP’s now-sole MP, Douglas Carswell, labelled Farage’s tactics “mean-spirited” and “wrong”. Farage embarked on an unsuccessful campaign to get him sacked.

Both Kassam and Richardson were dropped from UKIP after MEP Patrick O’Flynn accused them of having turned Farage into a “snarling, thin-skinned, aggressive” man. Chair Suzanne Evans was sacked after using the word “divisive” about Farage, and later branded Kassam “an utter disaster” using “pure divide and rule politics”.

Kassam blamed the tensions on jealousy. “Egos got in the way at every point”, he told *The Guardian*. “Who do you think Nigel would call? It was always me. They absolutely hated that.”

Kassam returned to Breitbart London, warning that he would “be scrutinising quite heavily what the Red UKIP team are trying

## An Unholy Union: Breitbart London & UKIP (continued)

to do to my organisation". The political blog Guido Fawkes reported that it may have been Kassam's return that drove executive editor Delingpole, who was allegedly unhappy with the hectoring, anti-Islam stance output, from a position of influence at Breitbart London. Shortly after, Bannon granted Kassam full editorial control. The outlet began routinely publishing articles heavily critical of the "red UKIP team". A 2016 petition – linked to Kassam – protested "insidious political correctness" in UKIP after Suzanne Evans pressured the party to suspend a candidate who advocated "gay cure" therapy.

"Raheem has been quite clever in the way that he's used Breitbart and its readership to push stories to further his own political agenda, as far as he wants UKIP to develop a move to be trenchantly right-wing," O'Flynn told BuzzFeed News. "There's an ongoing close relationship between the two of them, and it covers a lot of UKIP issues from a particular standpoint, of US-style attack dog politics".

While failing to help UKIP to electoral victory in 2015, Kassam had succeeded in pushing to the fore a block that shared Breitbart London's far-right vision for the party.

### The Brexit campaign

Tensions within UKIP temporarily eased during a period of relative focus ahead of the June 2016 EU Referendum. Farage was the figurehead of the unofficial Leave.EU campaign run by UKIP's largest financial donor, Arron Banks. Unabashedly influenced by Donald Trump's aggressive, emotional campaigning and disdain for facts, Leave.EU mercilessly exploited fears around immigration, leading to condemnation from many quarters of the mainstream press for toxifying the debate.

*The Observer* newspaper reported that during this time Leave.EU acquired the services of Cambridge Analytica (CA), a data analytics firm used by the Trump campaign. According to Leave.EU's communications director Andy Wigmore, Farage's friendship with Breitbart co-owner Robert Mercer – a CA board member – led to Mercer directing CA to help the Leave.EU campaign free of charge.

CA is an offshoot of British company SCL Group, with 25 years experience in military "population messaging" campaigns and "election management". CA provided Banks' divisive campaign with sophisticated advice on how to target swing voters via Facebook. Banks recently bragged about CA's role in influencing the Brexit campaign, writing that it brought "unprecedented levels of engagement".

As Breitbart's American parent became the unofficial mouthpiece of the Trump campaign, Breitbart London tirelessly flew the flag for Leave.EU ahead of the official Vote Leave campaign. Shortly after the UK voted to leave the EU, Steve Bannon congratulated Nigel Farage, UKIP and the Leave coalition via Breitbart News

Daily, calling it a "David versus Goliath" victory. Farage, in turn, thanked Bannon for his support.

"Can I just say a massive thanks to Breitbart, on both sides of the pond?" he said. "Because you guys have been fair with me, and given me a chance to make my arguments. I thank you guys very much indeed for that".

Bannon later told *The Huffington Post*: "We were the first guys in back of UKIP," and hinted that the office had been opened in the UK because "we knew the Brexit thing was going to be big one day".

### The UKIP leadership campaign

Having achieved its sole founding purpose (i.e. for Britain to leave the European Union), UKIP has entered a period of profound existential crisis from which it has yet to fully emerge.

The prospect of defining what the party now actually stands for has forced confrontation between its ideological blocs. Farage's abdication has reignited vicious infighting between the Faragists and Douglas Carswell's associates. Breitbart London has renewed its savage attacks on the party moderates.

Raheem Kassam further upped tensions by launching his own divisive UKIP leadership campaign, backed by Arron Banks, under the slogan "Make UKIP Great Again". His hardline platform included a referendum on banning the niqab (near-full face veil), allowing ex-BNP members and the English Defence League to join UKIP on a case-by-case basis, halving the budget of the BBC, and forcing Douglas Carswell to issue a humiliating apology for his disagreements with Farage or face being booted out of the party.

Using Breitbart London as a mouthpiece, Kassam was able to mobilise UKIP's troublesome Young Independence (YI) youth movement, described as the "BNP-lite" by UKIP insiders. Under the encouragement of YI leader (and Breitbart London author) Jamie Ross McKenzie, the YI used social media to post incessant abuse against Carswell and his supporters.

Deep anxieties remain among the UKIP leadership about the influence of Breitbart and "alt-right" racism within the youth movement.

### New opportunities

As the infighting reached fever-pitch, Bannon's August 2016 appointment as the Trump campaign's chief executive – which according to *The Observer* newspaper was made on the advice of Robert Mercer – opened up opportunities for Farage and Kassam.

Farage soon found himself onstage with the next President of the United States at a rally in Mississippi, delivering a speech which drew parallels between the Brexit and Trump campaigns, with Kassam waiting in the wings. Bannon would later defend his





decision to host Farage, calling him “kind of a cult hero in this global populist movement”.

Kassam abruptly abandoned his leadership campaign in late October 2016, initially citing intrusion from journalists but later stating on Breitbart News Network that he found the opportunities arising from Trump’s possible election more palatable than the prospect of leading UKIP.

Kassam was present in November 2016 when Farage became the first foreign politician to meet president-elect Trump, and claims to have been the link, through Trump’s newly-appointed Senior Counsellor Steve Bannon, between the two. Also in attendance was Arron Banks, another hard-line Farage loyalist. Paul Nuttall MEP, the soon-to-be UKIP leader, was a notable absence.

Farage has continued his love affair with Trump’s resurgent American right. Immediately after the meeting with the President-elect, Farage wrote a Breitbart London column, “I Am Prepared To Help Britain Work With President Trump”. An unseemly campaign to manoeuvre his way into an ambassadorial role has ensued. Farage also slighted his former party, saying he was relieved to no longer be UKIP leader because it had meant “having to deal with low-grade people every day”.

During his speech at the February 2017 CPAC – which was introduced by Kassam – Farage spoke of “a global political revolution” that would “roll out across the rest of the free world” against “the globalists and those who wish to destroy everything we’ve ever been”. He went on to praise Bannon and Kellyanne Conway (one of Trump’s senior advisors and his former campaign manager) as the “good people” behind Trump; Conway has attracted controversy for using the phrase “alternative facts” and referring to an alleged “Bowling Green massacre” (which never actually happened). Farage is now singing from an identical hymn sheet to Bannon, but clearly has ambitions that lie beyond his party.

## Where now?

Paul Nuttall, who is also a Breitbart London columnist, won the November 2016 UKIP leadership election on two primary promises: uniting the party’s warring factions and reinventing post-Brexit UKIP as the party of the “patriotic working class”.

Politically an authoritarian and nativist, Nuttall delivered his first promise by subsuming many of his more divisive policies. However he has proved unable to deliver the second, failing to win the Stoke by-election in February 2017.

This defeat has brought the struggle over UKIP’s soul to a crisis point and, more importantly, given Nigel Farage and Arron Banks the chance to undermine the party and its leadership.

It has been clear for some time that Banks and his communications chief Andy Wigmore had lost faith in UKIP but had difficulty in persuading Farage to make the break too.

The former UKIP leader seemed genuinely tired of party politics and hoped for a life outside it and even a potential media career in the US. He also still held an affinity to the party he had represented for so long.

However, the excitement of Trump’s victory and an increasingly turbulent political landscape in the UK has clearly drawn him back in.

The trio have decided on a new party but for that to happen they have to clear UKIP out of the way first. Farage’s speech at the recent UKIP conference, where he said that defeat in Stoke would be a major setback, was the opening salvo.

Banks then piled in with an open letter demanding that he become chairman and be allowed to sack several leading UKIP officials. He was quickly followed by Farage, who called for the party’s only MP Douglas Carswell to be expelled and dismissed Nuttall as a weak leader.

Farage has also doubled down on a far-right platform, stating that the party must be “radical” and own “the question of immigration”.

All this is a calculated plan to undermine UKIP to the point it splits, its membership hemorrhages or becomes politically irrelevant. Any of these outcomes will give the justification for Banks and Farage to launch their new party.

And it will be a party very much to the liking of Bannon, Mercer and the Breitbart operation.

Raheem Kassam, playing his role dutifully, has joined the fray signalling that he, and by extension Breitbart London, may finally be moving on from UKIP, tweeting: “I’m not sure UKIP is fit for purpose anymore.”

Breitbart’s relationship with UKIP appears to be coming to an end but a more worrying partnership is about to emerge. With a promise to “own” the issue of immigration and denouncing other political leaders for betraying the Brexit vote, this new party – with Breitbart’s active support – is likely to pose a more serious threat than UKIP ever was.

And in this, Nigel Farage and Arron Banks will continue to be willing participants in Bannon’s cultural and political war.

# Breitbart London staff – Raheem Kassam

**E**ditor Raheem Kassam is the primary organising force at Breitbart London and responsible for much of its excoriating anti-Islam, pro-UKIP output.

Described by *The Spectator* as “a wildly self-important figure” and “a professional windup merchant”, Kassam has bulldozed through a multitude of right-wing think tanks, similarly-minded campaigning organisations and blogs, leaving a trail of failed enterprises and scorched relationships in his wake.

## Background

As a young Conservative Kassam joined the now-defunct Young Britons’ Foundation (YBF), a controversial youth group described as a “Conservative madrasa” by founder Donal Blaney, with strong links to American neoconservative movements.

Kassam then served on the council of the conservative Bow Group think tank and had a brief stint at the Taxpayer’s Alliance, which was reportedly brought to an end after a dispute with chief executive Matthew Elliott. Kassam was also one of the organisers of the short-lived British Tea Party, set up by the anti-union libertarian think tank the Freedom Association to “counter what we believe is a Left-wing bias in our culture”.

In 2010 Kassam became Marketing Director for the Henry Jackson Society (HJS), a neoconservative think tank described by founding HJS member and former director Dr Marko Attila Hoare as having “become an abrasively right-wing forum with an anti-Muslim tinge”. Kassam has since become an Associate Fellow at HJS.

He became Director of the Henry Jackson Society-linked Student Rights in 2009, an anti-extremism “campus monitoring group” which, the Huffington Post reports, appears to have no student members or links to student unions. In 2013 Student Rights was condemned by multiple student unions at London universities for “disproportionately and unfairly targeting Muslim students, contributing to their marginalisation and ostracisation, damaging campus cohesion and feeding into a growing trend of Islamophobic discourse in wider society”. The Institute of Race Relations noted that Student Rights’ work has “been used by far-right groups to target a Muslim-student event”. A Student Rights report co-authored by Kassam was labelled “dishonest pseudo-science in support of a toxic narrative” in the Huffington Post.

From January 2011 Kassam worked as Executive Editor of neoconservative news website The Commentator, attracting controversy for writing an article in support of racial profiling. He was slammed by his future colleagues on the neoconservative right, such as Aymenn J Al-Tamimi of the Middle East Forum, for the extremity of The Commentator’s anti-Islam output. Kassam eventually made an acrimonious exit in 2013 after an explosive falling out with founding editor Robin Sheppard, among accusations of theft, blackmail, extortion and multiple accounts of fraud.

In 2012 Kassam headed-up the “Green Centre for Economic Analysis and Sustainable Environment” (GreenCEASE), a quickly-abandoned project consisting of a website and Twitter account dedicated to reposting dubious climate sceptic material. In July 2013 he launched a now-dormant blog, Trending Central, describing itself as “pro-free markets, pro-democracy, pro-Western and pro-Israel in its outlook”.

## Breitbart London

After meeting Steve Bannon at the YBF Conference in 2013, Kassam was hired (alongside right-wing polemicist James Delingpole) to head Breitbart’s London office. According to political blog Guido Fawkes, Kassam soon alienated Delingpole, who had allegedly attempted to move the outlet away from its hectoring anti-immigration, anti-Islam stance during Kassam’s nine-month jaunt as assistant to Nigel Farage, and had even considered quitting Breitbart to “avoid ever having to be in the same room as Kassam” again. Delingpole continues to write regularly for Breitbart London but appears to have ceded any editorial influence to Kassam.

Kassam has led Breitbart London in an increasingly incendiary, anti-Islam arc, for example interviewing various leaders of the international “counter-jihad” scene after taking over from Bannon as host of Breitbart News Daily on SiriusXM radio. This is unsurprising, given Kassam’s extensive links to “counter jihad” and anti-Muslim hate movements.

Kassam is a Shillman/Ginsburg Writing Fellow at Daniel Pipes’ Middle East Forum, and a Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Gatestone Institute. He has described himself as “mates” with former English Defence League (EDL) and Pegida UK leader Stephen Lennon (aka Tommy Robinson) and described Anne Marie Waters of Sharia Watch UK as “a good personal friend of mine, I absolutely love her”. Kassam addressed a demonstration of the anti-Islam street movement Pegida UK in April 2016, going on to promote Pegida UK on “counter-jihadist” Ezra Levant’s show on the far-right outlet Rebel Media. America’s largest anti-Muslim organisation ACT! For America has shared Kassam’s articles.

## UK Independence Party

In October 2014 Kassam was hired as “senior advisor” to then-UKIP leader Nigel Farage in the run up to the 2015 General Election. Kassam is widely credited for implementing the “shock and awful” TV debate strategy where Farage would make inflammatory, xenophobic comments – such as deploying statistics about foreigners allegedly with HIV – carefully planned to provoke the political class and fire up UKIP’s core vote.

Yet again Kassam’s behaviour quickly alienated his colleagues. UKIP MEP Patrick O’Flynn described him as “a very combative

personality, he wanted self-glorification, name-checks for himself... He had an appalling relationship with the press office”.

“My problem is not that I start fights because, generally, I don’t,” Kassam told author and academic Matthew Goodwin. “My flaw is that when I am in a fight I don’t know when to stop”.

After UKIP won just a single seat at the 2015 election, Kassam was dropped. This was widely reported to have been due to his central role in the bitter factional squabbles between the Farageists and the party moderates, although Kassam has claimed he chose to leave at the end of his contract in order to “bulletproof Nigel” from criticism. Kassam has continued to pursue what he has described as the “red UKIP team” through abusive outpourings on social media, and Breitbart London routinely publishes articles heavily critical of figures within UKIP opposing his far-right vision for the party.

Following Nigel Farage’s abdication in 2016, Kassam ran a divisive campaign for the UKIP leadership, using Breitbart London as his mouthpiece for a hardline platform which included a referendum on banning the niqab, providing Anne-Marie Waters a “senior policy position” and allowing ex-BNP members and the English Defence League to join UKIP on a case-by-case basis. With such policies Kassam was able to mobilise much of UKIP’s troublesome Young Independence (YI) youth movement, described as the “BNP-lite” by former UKIP insiders.

## New Opportunities

Kassam abruptly abandoned his leadership campaign, initially citing intrusion from journalists but later stating on Breitbart radio that he found the opportunities arising from the possible election of Donald Trump to be much more palatable than the prospect of leading UKIP. Minutes later he embarked on a lengthy and sycophantic outpouring about Bannon on-air. Kassam was present in November 2016 when Farage became the first foreign politician to meet president-elect Trump, and claims to have been the link, via Trump’s newly-appointed Senior Counsellor Bannon, between the two.

Toadying up to Bannon has provided enormous opportunities to a political chancer who, a handful of years before, was caught attempting to create his own Wikipedia page. While his caustic brand of anti-Muslim bigotry now has a bigger platform than ever before, Kassam’s inability to control his abusive outbursts or maintain working relationships means it is uncertain how long he can continue in Bannon’s slipstream before stepping on the wrong toes.



Raheem Kassam at the 2017 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in National Harbor, Maryland. Photo: Gage Skidmore



# Other Breitbart London staff

## James Delingpole

James Delingpole is a right-wing polemicist and climate change sceptic best known for his columns in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Spectator*, and for authoring books such as *How to be right: The essential guide to making lefty liberals history* and *Watermelons: How Environmentalists are Killing the Planet, Destroying the Economy and Stealing your Children's Future*.

Delingpole was the most established name bought in by Steve Bannon during the formation of Breitbart London, initially hired to co-run the site with Raheem Kassam. Shortly after joining Breitbart London Delingpole described himself as fighting “the culture wars, the wars against cultural Marxism.

According to the political blog Guido Fawkes, the relationship between Kassam and Delingpole has deteriorated over Kassam’s trenchant anti-Islam stance, with Delingpole allegedly even considering quitting Breitbart to ‘avoid ever having to be in the same room as Kassam’ again. Delingpole continues to write regularly for Breitbart London but appears to have ceded any editorial influence to Kassam.

Delingpole attributes his hiring by Bannon partly to their similar stances on ‘the great climate-change con’ and he dominates Breitbart’s climate change coverage. Delingpole wrote in his 2012 polemic *Watermelons* that this ‘con’ has in part been engineered by the environmental think tank Club of Rome in order to form a “New World Order”, described as ‘an eco-fascist tyranny so powerful and all-encompassing it makes Nazi Germany look like Mary Poppins’ nursery’.

Delingpole has appeared several times on Alex Jones’ InfoWars, most recently in December 2015, during which they discussed a supposed environmentalist-led drive towards “one world government”. Jones has been described by the Southern Poverty Law Centre as ‘the most prolific conspiracy theorist in contemporary America’ and InfoWars is widely considered a fake news website, popular in so-called “alt-right” circles.

Delingpole stated in a 2011 BBC Horizon programme “Science Under Attack” that he does not read peer-reviewed papers as he ‘doesn’t have the time or the scientific expertise’, instead considering himself an ‘interpreter of interpretations’. He also condemned scientific consensus on global warming as ‘unscientific’. He has since dismissed peer-review papers altogether.

In 2010 Delingpole was awarded the 2010 Bastiat Prize for online journalism by the now defunct free-market campaigning group



**Post:**  
**Executive Editor,**  
**2014 – present**  
**Number of articles:**  
**over 840**

International Policy Network (IPN). IPN was funded in part by oil giant ExxonMobil.

Delingpole sees himself as a classical libertarian and has described himself as ‘a member of probably the most discriminated-against subsection in the whole of British society – the white, middle-aged, public-school-and-Oxbridge educated middle-class male’.

Having cultivated a reactionary, contrarian persona, Delingpole has framed the BBC’s political correctness as part of a cultural Marxist ‘grand plan to destroy Western civilisation from within’. Delingpole was forced to apologise to fellow journalist Suzanne Moore in 2013 after making a sexist comment in support of his friend Toby Young which alluded to her being raped. Delingpole’s apology was rejected by Moore.

A UKIP sympathiser, Delingpole put his name forward to stand as a candidate at the European elections in 2014 but was rejected at the interview stage. He also stood as an independent candidate in the Corby by-election in 2012 on the single issue subject of wind farming, despite the fact that the town had no wind farms. Delingpole quit the race in time to recoup his £500 deposit.

## Simon Kent

Australian writer Simon Kent has operated in the international media for three decades. Kent worked as commissioning editor for the UK’s *Telegraph Sunday Magazine* in 1984 before reporting for the Australian paper *The Sydney Morning Herald* and tabloid *The Sun-Herald* in the 1990s. Kent then became the editor of the London bureau of *Fairfax* newspapers, while contributing to *The Daily Telegraph* and military and corporate magazine *Jane’s Defence Weekly*. From 2011 Kent worked as online editor and columnist for the *Toronto Sun*, a tabloid modelled on the British *Sun* newspaper and known for its populist conservative stance.

In 2014 he became a political contributor and relief host at *Sun News Network*, a Canadian TV channel known for its caustic, provocative right-wing output. The channel was frequently inundated with complaints – a notable example being when pundit Ezra Levant issued an appalling tirade against Roma people – and *Sun News Network* was pulled off the air early 2015 due to poor ratings.

Kent, described by former colleague Levant as ‘my friend’, has appeared several times on Levant’s “counter-jihad” outlet Rebel



**Post:**  
**Managing Editor,**  
**February 2015 – present**  
**Number of articles:**  
**over 450**



Media. Other guests on Rebel Media include Paul Weston of the far right Liberty GB, described by the website as ‘one of the great voices of freedom and classical values in the UK’.

## Donna Rachel Edmunds

Donna Edmunds has a colourful background in right-wing politics, working as an assistant to then-Conservative MEP Roger Helmer in Brussels before her election as a Conservative to Lewes District Council. Edmunds was forced to stand down as Lead Councillor for Communications in 2011, after calling a constituent a ‘village idiot’ and to ‘pay your taxes to die of cancer if that’s what you want’ during an online row about the NHS.

She defected to UKIP in 2013 and became MEP candidate for the South East. In 2014 Edmunds was slammed by her own party and forced to apologise after claiming that business owners should be able to refuse services to women and gay people. She later left the party, claiming that Farage was planning to oust her as an MEP candidate to make way for the party’s current Deputy Chair Suzanne Evans.

A prolific writer, Edmunds founded the blog UKIPDaily.com with the aim of giving ‘a platform to all views within UKIP’, and has written for Kassam’s controversial former site The Commentator. She has also written for The Freedom Association (TFA), a Tory and UKIP-linked libertarian pressure group that gained prominence through its vigorous anti-trade union campaigns and opposition to sporting sanctions imposed on apartheid-era South Africa in the 1980s.

Edmunds sees herself as a ‘Hayekan crusader’ who ‘often spends long hours attempting to reconcile Randian Objectivism with the Bible’. At Breitbart London Edmunds has provided sympathetic coverage to a number of far-right figures and parties including former EDL and Pegida UK leader Stephen Lennon, Dutch “counter-jihad” figurehead Geert Wilders, and far-right nationalist party the Sweden Democrats.

On social media Edmunds has frequently made Twitter contact with YouTube vlogger and “alt-right” affiliate Paul Joseph Watson, editor-at-large of the notorious conspiracy site InfoWars (at one point writing “I love this guy”). Edmunds has even contacted Watson to request statistics to use in her articles. Watson, who believes that the US government was highly involved in 9/11, has made a career of turning fringe conspiracies into mainstream ideas and was responsible for popularising the “Is Hillary dying” hoax.



**Post:**  
Staff writer,  
May 2014 – present  
**Number of articles:**  
over 2000

## Oliver JJ Lane

Oliver Lane is a former researcher for the military think tank, the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the longstanding Eurosceptic group Get Britain Out. He was also briefly employed as an analyst for security firm Onsign Intelligence Ltd.

Lane ran as Conservative Party candidate for Nuneaton and Bedworth county council in 2013, gaining 12.45% of the vote, and spent nine months as chairman of the British Monarchist League.

Primarily reporting for Breitbart London on military matters and Islam, he describes his work on the far-right outlet Rebel Media as: ‘Half of my job everyday is scanning all of the European local newspapers, the small places that other media groups wouldn’t necessarily look to think [sic], local blogs, local interest, and that means we can get those sorts of stories days before the national news media’. Using this tactic Lane broke the 2016 New Year’s Eve Cologne assault scandal in the English language, which remains Breitbart London’s highest profile story so far.

On social media Lane has “liked” multiple racist pages, including the premier “alt-right”/new right publisher Arktos, the openly pro-fascist page “Rational Ethno-Nationalism” and the Nazi blood-and-soil page “Artaman: Hyperborean Garden”. Lane has also “liked” a page titled “European Traditional Family” which posts Nazi propaganda of Aryan families, and the “strictly non muslim” group “The Beauty of European Girls and Women”, dedicated to white women of “pure european descent”.

Lane also appears to be an associate of Gregory Lauder-Frost of the Traditional Britain Group (TBG), who frequently leaves friendly comments on Lane’s Facebook account. Lauder-Frost is a former Tory-fringe leader and former BNP member with apparent Nazi-sympathies. The TBG hosts annual far right gatherings addressed by prominent racist personnel, such as former BNP organiser and British “alt-right” figure Matt Tait. These gatherings have been attended by some of the UK’s most prominent fascists, including the leadership of the extreme-right London Forum.

Lane has also “liked” the official TBG Facebook page, which has reposted several of his articles. Other users leaving comments on Lane’s Facebook page include Jack Buckby of Liberty GB, once a rising star in the BNP and tipped to become the next Nick Griffin.



**Post:**  
Staff writer,  
August 2014 – present  
**Number of articles:**  
over 1500

## Other Breitbart London staff (continued)

### Chris Tomlinson

UK-born Canadian Chris Tomlinson is a former technician for a Canadian mobile phone repair company, with a background in marketing for insurance firms. Since May 2015 Tomlinson has worked in journalism and campaigned for the Conservative Party of Canada. His reporting for Breitbart London primarily covers right-wing European politics and Islam.

Describing himself as a “traditionalist”, Tomlinson has penned several positive Breitbart London articles about the European Identitarian Movement (which he calls the “hipster right”). The Identitarian Movement derives from the French New Right, and pushes for ethnic homogeneity within borders and an end to multiculturalism. “Alt-right” figurehead Richard Spencer of the white nationalist National Policy Institute has defined himself as an Identitarian.

Tomlinson is also a member of the “Archeo-Futurism” Facebook group, an “alt-right” online hub dedicated to the radical creed of New Right white supremacist Guillaume Faye. In addition, he is a member of the crude Austrian nativist facebook group “NPÖ - National Partei Österreich”.



**Post: Staff writer,  
January 2016  
– present**

**Number of articles:  
over 700**

### Virginia Hale

An East Asian Studies graduate from Liverpool, Virginia Hale appears to have had little writing experience prior to Breitbart London outside of her primary blog, “Chronicleing Ever More Intolerant Society”. She also had two other blogs, “Women Gamers Against SJWs” [SJW = “Social Justice Warriors”] and “Get Feminists Out of Gaming” dedicated to the Gamergate controversy, the 2014 online movement led by Breitbart writer Milo Yiannopolous which brutally harassed women in videogame journalism.

On 3 January 2017 Hale penned a deliberately misleading false report for Breitbart London about a “1,000-man mob” setting fire to a German church. Hale’s claims were quickly dispelled by the German media and police and the article ensured



**Post: Staff writer,  
December 2014  
– present**

**Number of articles:  
over 450**

Breitbart London’s round condemnation in the international press, with one German newspaper claiming that she had used exaggerations and factual errors to create ‘an image of chaotic civil war conditions in Germany, caused by Islamist aggressors’. Hale has stated that her work at Breitbart London ‘involves me going through Euro papers every day – I see the ruin brought to continent by invaders’.

Hale defines herself as a paleoconservative, a traditionalist ideological foundation of the “alt-right”. However her social media feeds reveals her to be a white nationalist with an obsessive preoccupation with race, frequently posting about ‘white genocide’, a term long used in racist circles to refer to a deliberate campaign of mass immigration, integration and miscegenation conducted by sinister (and often Jewish) elites. Hale has also alleged that black people are more prone to violence because of their IQs, and blamed an alleged drop in European IQ levels on immigration.

Hale has used social media to engage in active dialogue with “alt-right” leaders such as Richard Spencer of the National Policy Institute, Kevin MacDonald of the Occidental Observer, racist Scottish vlogger Colin Robertson (aka Millennial Woes), Mike Peinovich (aka Mike Enoch) of The Daily Shoah podcast and TheRightStuff.biz, and Matthew Heimbach, considered by many to be the face of a new generation of American neo-Nazis.

Much of Hale’s Breitbart London output fits neatly into white nationalist narratives, with article titles including: “*Whites Need Not Apply: BBC Advertises ‘Black, Asian Or Minority-Only Positions’*”, “*Islamic Academic: Migrants Want Eurabia, Globalists Using Migrants to Destroy The West*” and “*African Migrants Riot Against ‘Racist’ Italians: ‘Allah Will Guide Us in Revenge’*”.

### Nick Hallett

Nick Hallett is one of the original Breitbart London writers, reporting primarily on UK politics. After completing a Combined Arts Degree at Durham University, he worked for several years as a research fellow at the Young Britons’ Foundation (YBF), a controversial Conservative-affiliate think tank with strong links to American neoconservative movements. Dubbed the “Conservative madrasa” by its founder Donal Blaney, former Prime Minister David Cameron attempted to distance himself from YBF due to its radical views and influence on young party activists.



**Post: Staff writer,  
February 2014  
– present**

**Number of articles:  
over 2000**

**Exclusive: Government Will Not Request Prison Sentence for 'Child Migrant' Who Raped 5 Year-Old Boy**

The Attorney-General's Office (AGO) will not request a prison sentence for a "child migrant" who raped a 5 year-old boy, who told the boy he

by JACK MONTGOMERY | 8 J

**Top School Scraps Uniforms Because Of ONE 'Transgender' Student**

A leading independent school has announced it will scrap its traditional, 170-year-old

**Make Mosques Look More British to Help Muslims Integrate, Says Government Report**

New mosques should be built in a more traditionally British style to help Muslims integrate with wider society, a government report released

**Islam Academic: Migrants Want Eurabia, Globalists Using Migrants to Destroy The West**

A highly reg migration at detailed ho divided soc

by VIRGINIA

**Migrants Admit 'Boredom', 'Racism' of Locals Drives them to Arson, Burning Cars**

Speaking out in a frank interview with a local Swedish newspaper, a young migrant has explained how boredom and racism has driven him and his friends to violently vandalising property for amusement.

by OLIVER JJ LANE | 3 Nov 2016, 11:58 AM PST

**Police Officer: Almost All Serious Crime Committed By Migrants**

Migrants are to blame force to become over Facebook the officer,

by DONNA RACHEL E



Hallett then spent a year as Head of Research at the Thatcherite campaigning group the Conservative Way Forward (CWF). The leadership of CWF, including Blaney, was implicated in an alleged bullying scandal after a young CWF and YBF activist committed suicide in 2015. Hallett has also assisted with running the Margaret Thatcher Centre, a museum dedicated to the former UK Prime Minister, and stood for the Conservatives in the 2008 Durham County Council elections, garnering 4.5% of the votes.

Hallett's stories have been picked up by a number of dubious outlets, including conspiracy sites InfoWars and CulturalMarxism.net, alongside American Renaissance, considered to be one of the most important organisations in the world of "academic racism" by the Southern Poverty Law Centre.

**Liam Deacon**

Philosophy graduate Liam Deacon has written for a wide variety of publications, including The Huffington Post, VICE, The Guardian, Left Foot Forward, Conservative Woman, Freethought Blogs, SpikedOnline and Street Carnage.

The baby-faced Deacon appears to have undergone a transformation at Kassam's Breitbart. Previously describing himself as a believer in 'progressive free thought, secularism, equality and social mobility', he even once wrote positively in a Sheffield student paper about Ed Miliband's 'moderate socialism', claiming that 'it's certainly evident there is a deep-seated and irrational fear of the left fostered by so much of the UK press'. Much of Deacon's pre-Breitbart activity revolved around drug policy reform, founding the Sheffield chapter of Students for a Sensible Drug Policy UK and writing for Release's TalkingDrugs website.

At Breitbart London Deacon has abandoned the considered tone of his articles and strayed to reactionary, nativist territory, producing headlines such as "100 UK-Bound Migrants Brawl in France" and "UK Muslim Rape Gang Charged With Trafficking White Girls". Alongside several pro-UKIP articles Deacon has written sympathetically of Dutch "counter-jihad" politician Geert Wilders, former EDL and Pegida UK leader Stephen Lennon, and Marine Le Pen's Front National. Deacon also appears to have reined in his stance on drug policy in line with the website's generally more punitive outlook in this area.



**Post: Staff writer, June 2015 – present**  
**Number of articles: over 1200**

**Jack Montgomery**

Breitbart London's newest staff addition, Jack Montgomery is the former Scottish spokesman for Leave.EU, the unofficial Brexit campaign led by former UKIP donor and Westminster blog owner Arron Banks.

Montgomery is described by Banks in his book *Bad Boys of Brexit* as a 'Scottish waiter plucked from obscurity to serve as lead writer, content adviser and sometime spokesman for Leave.EU. Spent the early days of the campaign sending furtive emails from the cutlery-polishing section of his restaurant to Banks, who decided he had an eye for a story and brought him in.'

Leave.EU openly mimicked the Trump Presidential campaign's disdain for facts and was criticised for its crude and often xenophobic output. Banks' book reveals Montgomery to have had an active hand in producing some of Leave.EU's provocative social media posts.

Montgomery has also blogged for Global Britain, a Eurosceptic organisation run by Leave.EU co-chairman Richard Tice, and City AM, a business-focused London newspaper.



**Post: Staff writer, January 2017 – present**  
**Number of articles: over 100**



# A platform for extremists

Breitbart London has given a platform for some of the world's most prominent anti-Muslim activists. Among them are:

## Geert Wilders

Geert Wilders is the most successful “counter-jihadist” politician in the world. Since 2004 Wilders has been the founder and leader of the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV), the third largest party in the Netherlands. His prominence in Dutch politics has secured his position as the main standard-bearer across Europe of the “counter-jihad” networks and he is feted by aligned campaigning organisations in North America.

Wilders has called Islam the “ideology of a retarded culture” and compared the Koran to Mein Kampf. He has also called for the Qu’ran to be banned, and demanded the rewriting of the Dutch constitution to halt all immigration from Muslim countries.

In addition, he’s demanded the paid repatriation of Muslim immigrants; for all Muslim ‘criminals’ to be stripped of Dutch citizenship and deported ‘back where they came from’. Wilders was barred from entering the UK in 2009, after the Home Office labelled him an “undesirable person”.

Of the 12 articles Wilders has written for Breitbart London since January 2016, titles have included “EXCLUSIVE – Geert Wilders: Stopping Islamic Immigration Is a Matter of Survival”, “Geert Wilders: Muslims, Leave Islam, Opt for Freedom!” and “Geert Wilders For Breitbart: Let’s Lock The Door To Islam”.



Number of articles: 12

## Anne Marie Waters

Ex-Labour Party member Anne Marie Waters, is former spokesperson and co-director for the One Law for All campaign, and was a council member of the National Secular Society. In 2013 she shifted dramatically to the right, writing regular blogs for the International Free Press Society’s Dispatch International on subjects such as sharia law, immigration and ‘Muslim crime’.

In May 2014, Waters joined UKIP. One month earlier she launched Sharia Watch UK in the House of Lords. Waters was central to plans to host a Muhammad Cartoons competition in London in September 2015, which was later cancelled.

Raheem Kassam has described Waters as “a good personal friend”. Waters writes exclusively on Islam for Breitbart, including pieces such as “Feminists Need To Know – Islam Kills Women” and “Dear So-Called Feminists – Your Open Borders Bullsh\*t Will Ensure Thousands Of More Rapes And Sexual Assaults”.



Number of articles: 11

## Katie Hopkins

Hopkins is an English television personality and newspaper columnist. While she has been promoted by the British tabloid newspaper *The Sun* (for whom she writes a column) as “Britain’s most controversial columnist”, she has been described in several other outlets as a “professional troll”.

Among her many controversies was an April 2015 column for *The Sun*, “Rescue boats? I’d use gunships to stop migrants”. Throughout the article she labelled migrants as “cockroaches” and “a plague of feral humans”, saying they were “spreading like the norovirus”. The article began: “No, I don’t care. Show me pictures of coffins, show me bodies floating in water, play violins and show me skinny people looking sad. I still don’t care”.

These comments, published just hours before hundreds of migrants were killed after their boat capsized near Libyan waters, were condemned by the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights and many others, referred to as “hate speech” in the press. One week later, Breitbart London gave her a platform to publish her first article.



Number of articles: 2

## Robert Spencer

American blogger and author Robert Spencer is a principal leader of the international “counter-jihad” movement and a close associate of Pamela Geller. Spencer has published 10 books and has led seminars on Islam and jihad for the US Army Command and General Staff College, the FBI and the US intelligence community, among others.

Spencer is the founder of Jihad Watch, a programme of the David Horowitz Freedom Centre (DHFC), which was cited 162 times by Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik in the manifesto he used to justify his killings of 77 people in 2011. With Geller, Spencer co-founded the America Freedom Defense Initiative (AFDI) and shares the Executive Director role of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA). They share a common conspiratorial belief in a ‘stealth jihad’ (holy war) being waged against the United States, with the aim of subjecting America to Islamic law.

Spencer was banned from entering the UK in 2013 (alongside Geller) for inciting anti-Muslim hatred. By publishing his articles Breitbart London has ensured his voice is heard in the UK.



Number of articles: 7



## Stephen Lennon, aka Tommy Robinson

Stephen Lennon co-founded and led the violent anti-Muslim movement, the English Defence League (EDL), from 2009 until 2013. He remains the single most important “counter-jihadist” in the UK and is viewed as an inspirational figure to both the militant and the political wings of the movement.

Lennon left the EDL in October 2013, claiming to be tired of fighting off nazis infiltrating the group. However, he has lost none of his anti-Muslim views and founded the British branch of the German anti-Islam Pegida street movement in 2015. Among the speakers at the April 2016 Pegida rally was none other than Breitbart London editor Raheem Kassam.

Lennon served 12 months in jail for actual bodily harm, having assaulted an off-duty police officer during a domestic incident in 2004. More recently, he was imprisoned for 18 months for his role in a £180,000 mortgage fraud.

Kassam has described himself as “mates” with Lennon and provided him with a sympathetic extended interview on Breitbart London’s YouTube channel. Kassam also interviewed Lennon in August 2016 on Breitbart News Daily.

## Pamela Geller

American blogger, author and political activist, Pamela Geller is a principal leader of the international anti-Muslim “counter-jihad” movement. She co-founded the American Freedom Defence Initiative (AFDI) and Stop Islamization of Nations (SION) and is Executive Director of Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) with Robert Spencer. She published *Stop the Islamization of America* in 2011, which she has described as a “practical primer for patriots”.

Geller’s conspiratorial anti-Muslim agenda emphasises the existence of a concerted Islamic conspiracy to destroy American values.

Raheem Kassam interviewed Geller on Breitbart News Daily in December 2016. Geller is also a regular columnist in the US edition of Breitbart, having written over 290 articles for the site.

## Ingrid Carlqvist

Anti-Muslim extremist Ingrid Carlqvist is a leading actor in the European “counter-jihad” movement and founder of the Swedish Free Press Society. She is also the editor-in-chief of the online newspaper *Dispatch International*, the paper of the International Free Press Society, co-run with Lars Hedegaard.

Carlqvist is a writer for the notorious *Gates of Vienna* (GoV) blog, which acts as the central forum of the “counter-jihad” movement. Anders Breivik was a regular reader of *Gates of Vienna*.

Raheem Kassam interviewed Carlqvist for Breitbart News on



(left to right) Stephen Lennon, Pamela Geller and Frank Gaffney

20 August 2016, to talk about “the migrant crisis in Europe and the lessons that can be learned by Americans before the crisis reaches our shores”. Carlqvist has previously enjoyed positive coverage in Breitbart, which has referred to her as a “Swedish immigration critic”.

## Frank Gaffney

Frank J. Gaffney, founder of the Center for Security Policy (CSP), is a well-connected and influential figure in conservative American circles. During the 1970s Gaffney worked as an aide to Richard Perle in the office of Senator Henry M. Jackson. In the 1980s, he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear Forces and Arms in the Reagan Administration.

Gaffney alleged a Muslim Brotherhood conspiracy in the Obama administration. Today, he has a significant influence over Trump and many of his close advisors.

Gaffney hosts a daily radio programme, *Secure Freedom Radio*, where he interviews prominent anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant, and far-right figures (including the infamous white nationalist Jared Taylor of *American Renaissance*).

Gaffney has been interviewed by Raheem Kassam multiple times on Breitbart News Daily. Gaffney has also written 26 articles for Breitbart’s US site.

## Daniel Pipes

Daniel Pipes is the founder and President of the Middle East Forum (MEF) and an influential “counter-jihad” leader. He was the first to conceive and popularise the idea of the Muslim “no-go” zones.

The MEF established a legal defence fund for Geert Wilders in 2009. It publishes the *Middle East Quarterly* (MEQ) (2004-) journal.

Raheem Kassam, who is a Shillman/Ginsburg Writing Fellow at Pipes’ Middle East Forum, interviewed Pipes on Breitbart News Daily in August 2016. Pipes has also written four articles for the outlet’s American wing.

# Below the Line: The Comment Section

Breitbart News Network has a dual function: as a far right “news” outlet and also as a popular online discussion board for those from the far- and extreme right.

While Breitbart London has a much smaller reach than its American parent (Comscore listing under 700,000 unique monthly users in November 2016), it has been effective in creating a bubble for the European right, and Breitbart London articles frequently draw thousands of comments, many from dedicated users.

Its hysterical, relentless association of Islam and immigration with social degradation ensures that the comment section (which is inadequately moderated) becomes a toxic sewer of race-baiting, Islamophobia, nativism, antisemitic conspiracy, and even – on occasion – calls to violence.

## “Alt-Right” Feedback Loop

Leading American “alt-right” figure Richard Spencer told The Daily Beast in 2016 that Breitbart had “elective affinities with the alt-right and the alt-right has clearly influenced Breitbart... In this way, Breitbart has acted as a “gateway” to alt-right ideas and writers”.

That Spencer – a man who believes that forcibly sterilising minorities is a viable route to a white ethnostate – could make such claims about a popular “conservative news” source is deeply troubling, but confirmed by the prevalence of alt-right figures in its comment sections.

When they are not commenting on white nationalist sites such as Radix and Morgoth’s Review, popular “alt-right” figures including Colin Robertson (aka Millennial Woes), Julius Ebola and Adam TC Wallace can be found promulgating their chauvinist ideologies on Breitbart London. Robertson can even be seen attempting to recruit other Breitbart London commenters for his racist videos.

## From UKIP to Jobbik

Breitbart London routinely publishes articles sympathetic to the European populist right, including UKIP, the Front National, in France, Geert Wilders’ PVV in The Netherlands, and Alternative for Germany in Germany (AfD).

However the support of a vocal section of Breitbart’s readership lies in the very worst that European politics has to offer: the self-professed neo-Nazis of Golden Dawn in Greece, the fascist Jobbik in Hungary and the extreme-right (and now largely irrelevant) British National Party in the UK. The failure of Breitbart News Network to adequately condemn or moderate the cancerous ideologies thriving in its comment section allows them to spread and gain legitimacy.

## Alt Right Millennial Woes: Breitbart comments

 Millennial Woes → rationality · 9 months ago  
I run a Youtube channel about this sort of thing. Would you like to do a Google Hangout about what people can do? If so, please email me at MillennialWoes at gmail dot com. Thanks.  
2 ↑ ↓ View in discussion

 Millennial Woes → Lex · 7 months ago  
Because the colour of someone's skin "matters".  
2 ↑ ↓ View in discussion

 Millennial Woes → Marplot · 4 months ago  
Yes, everything is fine with the blacks here in Britain. Keep telling yourself that.  
1 ↖ ↗ · Reply · Share

Colin Robertson  
(aka Millennial  
Woes).



## Support for Extreme Right Parties

### Golden Dawn – Neo-Nazi Party in Greece

 **grumpy\_old\_patriot** → Rob · a year ago  
 "...and eventual wiping out of their race..."  
 Something that most people refuse to see. This is about genocide  
 26 ▲ | ▼ · Share

 **Adolph** → grumpy\_old\_patriot · a year ago  
 Makes a pretty good case for the Golden Dawn... What a bunch of hypocrites in France... they jailed Jean Marie Le Pen for warning them about Islam, and now they complain? Le Pen's daughter, Marine Le Pen actually faced criminal prosecution for criticizing Islam in context with existing French laws and was excluded in this glorified victim protest (Charlie Fágbo) of "French unity," La liberté d'expression en France? Taureaumerdel Qui vous a dit cela?  
 And what about Burma? Monk Wirathu of the 969 movement has been labeled as the Buddhist bin Laden by the filthy lying Jewish owned media because he and Buddhists in Burma want the Islamic scums out of their country, they have actually done something besides snivel... they burned down mosques and kicked the Muslims out of their communities in defiance of their government!  
 9 ▲ | ▼ · Share

### Jobbik – Neo-Nazi party in Hungary

 **troutwd** → TheLastPlainsman · 3 years ago  
 Please Vote Le Pen... for France... Hollande is a E.U. N.W.O. piece of crap... Tea Party... for U.S.A... UKIP... for Britain... Jobbik for Hungary... Golden Dawn... for Greece... Wilders... for Netherlands... Npd for Germany...  
 3 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **TheLastPlainsman** → troutwd · 3 years ago  
 The real world in revolt. They left us no other option  
 1 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **dixi3150** → rastech · 4 months ago  
 I agree with Jobbik... once you start letting the "nich" in, it becomes a prelude to letting every Tom Dick and Harry in... ESPECIALLY THE MUSLIMS!! They have hundreds of extended family and breed like rabbits with 2,3,4 wives. No, although I would love living in Hungary not being able to buy... must just find apndndanother way 🤔🤔🤔  
 4 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

### David Duke – former KKK Imperial Wizard

 **blight14** → donna590 · 3 years ago  
 Name one thing that Duke says thats incorrect.....just one tiny thing.....good luck.....you'll need it.....  
 1 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **donna590** → blight14 · 3 years ago  
 This former KKK Grand Dragon hates blacks, too, you know.  
 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **Guest** → donna590 · 3 years ago  
 I'm aware of that, I've had lunch with him.....and?  
 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

### BNP – British Far-Right Party

 **Hybird** → kennedyj · 18 days ago  
 I have problems with Nick Griffin but BNP policies are actually common sense policies.  
 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **Dave\_Bould** · 18 days ago  
 "This approach taken towards a racist, ethno-centric party like the BNP could be legitimised."  
 Why should violent opposition to an 'Ethno-centric' party be 'legitimised'? Just what the hell is so bad about the English, and I mean the real white English, not what the establishment like to describe as the 'new English', campaigning to protect their culture and homeland?  
 3 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

## Islamophobia

 **Rifleman1853** → P. Dent · 3 days ago  
 ALL Moslems are mentally retarded - as well as physically degenerate. Since they've been marrying their own first cousins for the last 1200 years, they could hardly be anything else, could they? According to NHS statistics for NW England, Moslems account for 3% of live births - yet Moslems live births account for 30% of all physical and mental birth defects.  
 4 ▲ | ▼ · View in discussion

 **Luke101** · 3 months ago  
 They should be shooting them, and driving them away from their borders. 75 years ago that very thing was happening.  
 2 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **Happy Native Viking Cowboy** · 3 months ago  
 Yes, Hungary BAN THEM, SAVE YOURSELVES! every country that has opened their doors to muzzrat filth have been paid back in rapes, rioting, murders and carnage. See the pattern  
 3 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **jimnym59755** → 1776 · 4 days ago  
 It will never happen. They are being imported into the West to destroy it. Do not have any doubts. This is a violent invasion, meant to topple and end Western civilization.  
 26 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **Slayer9275** · 4 months ago  
 We need a virus that makes these people sterile.  
 5 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **MidwestNorsk** · 21 hours ago  
 Vermin just doing what vermin do.  
 1 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **FeelinGreat** · 2 hours ago  
 How about banning ALL mosques and razing them to the ground? Expel the horde. Secure the future.  
 21 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **comradeclaus** → Chris McMoraw · 4 days ago  
 We still have our guns and time to use them, but this is the last generation that has time to fight, we cannot, must not force this task upon our next generation, we must also storm Europe once more, to slay the invaders & their 5th column aiders  
 7 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

## Anti-Semitism

 **Jack Savage** · 3 years ago  
 Aaargh. Come back Adolf...we need some coherent policies.  
 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **James Adams** → Boudica · 6 months ago  
 You mean Bolshevik Jewish takeover of a Christian country The National Socialists never betrayed their own with mass immigration.  
 22 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share

 **gadzoo bika** → Sean Miller · a day ago  
 well its a fact, the jews r incompatible with any white society, and thats why they r not part of any nation where they live. they r behind the gobalism because they want destroy the nations. they was the jacobins at french revolution, they was the communist and now ther r the liberals, because they r always undenumber the host nation, thats why always open to minorities like gays, poods, immigrants, drug addicts, colored minoritoes to build political power, and they always do this. adn attack the host nation, like calling withed redneck, white guilts and other bullshit. just check the weimar repulic from ~1920 u can see all method what they use... and i really recommend u check noel ignatiev...  
 ▲ | ▼ · Reply · Share



# Unpacking Sweden

## How Breitbart has spun Sweden

In mid-February, US President Donald Trump sparked an international outrage over comments about the threat of Islamist extremism in Sweden. He initially claimed that there had been a terrorist attack but when that proved false his aides pointed to immigrant violence and no-go areas.

Right wing outlets like Breitbart jumped to his defence, highlighting a litany of rapes, riots and no-go areas.

So the story goes, the once-idyllic Scandinavian utopia has been “brought to its knees” by an influx of illiterate criminal sexual predators from the Middle East. The truth is that since the arrival of large numbers of refugees there has been a wave of violence and terrorist attacks across Sweden: however, you won't have read about them in Breitbart. Since 2015 there have been a number of attacks on refugee centres, housing and migrants themselves. In January 2017 three suspected neo-Nazis were arrested following a homemade bomb attack on a Gothenburg Asylum Centre.

While ignoring the attacks on migrants, Breitbart London has claimed Sweden's immigration policies have led the country into a crisis, with one recent survey article (of their own stories) detailing ‘Ten Reasons Sweden's ‘Multicultural Utopia’ is Massively Failing’. It is difficult to assess every such claim: in the last year alone Breitbart London has published 210 articles on Sweden or the Swedish. However, as most of the ‘reasons’ offered in the survey address ongoing claims, HOPE not hate has used these as a starting point to set the facts straight about the country.

Breitbart London has also provided little coverage of crimes against migrants committed by Swedish *nationals*, such as housing centre arsons detailed by Sweden's National Police Operations Department to *SVT Nyheter*, and anti-migrant street violence, as detailed by *Aftonbladet*.

The article “Ten Reasons Sweden's ‘Multicultural Utopia’ is Massively Failing” has been shared on social media over 15,100 times and been commented on over 1500 times.



Refugees from Syria arrive at Stockholm Central Station by train through Denmark and Malmö in September 2015. Photo: Frankie Fouganthin





## TEN REASONS SWEDEN'S 'MULTICULTURAL UTOPIA' IS MASSIVELY FAILING

Let's deal with various claims made in Breitbart London's 'Ten Reasons Sweden's 'Multicultural Utopia' is Massively Failing'.

### 1. "There are at least 55 real no-go zones"

Breitbart has tried to perpetuate the idea that there are areas in Sweden where police have little control due to migrant and Muslim crime.

However:

- Socioeconomic vulnerability, not one's national origin, was shown to be a greater predictor of criminal activity by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention in 2005
- A 2015 Swedish police report stated that there were only 15 areas that were particularly vulnerable to serious crime and socioeconomic problems
- The police do not lack control in *policing* these areas, but rather in solving socioeconomic issues themselves. As the 2015 report states: "Many of the risk factors are beyond the control of the police, such as the state of the welfare system, unemployment, ethnic segregation, stigmatization or crowded housing".

### 2. "Multiple hand grenade attacks in Swedish no-go zones"

According to Swedish police, the number of grenade attacks in Sweden in the past three years are as follows: 2014 (8), 2015 (48), 2016 (52).

However, Breitbart London:

- Frequently conflates wider violent crime with grenade attacks, and given that what is recorded as a shooting in Sweden is broad, this means other crime statistics can be misattributed to 'grenade attacks'
- Grenade attacks by migrants within high migrant-populated areas have predominantly been carried out by organised gangs whose members emigrated to Sweden *prior* to the recent migration crisis. As Emil Karlsson, for *Debunking Denialism*, has argued, it is mistaken therefore to imply recent migrants have brought, en masse, lawlessness to areas.

### 3. "Police are quitting their jobs in huge numbers"

The article states "an estimated 80% of police are considering another career because of the violence and the government not letting them properly do their jobs due to political correctness".

## Unpacking Sweden (continued)

The figure, from an uncited 2015 Swedish Police Union members poll, states “eight out of ten police officers [said] that they [had] considered resigning”.

However:

- The poll stated the reasons were as follows: 61% wages; 41% restructuring; 24% bad opportunities for career advancement; 8% due to hate and violence; 27% Other reasons; 17% No.
- It is unclear how representative these figures are of Sweden’s police at present and across the country.

### 4. “Most serious crime is committed by migrants”

The Swedish government no longer collects data on criminals’ national origins, therefore making such a claim unprovable.

■ Due to the lack of specific statistics it is worth looking at Europe more generally on this issue. According to Luca Nunziata, an economist from the University of Padua, during the 2000s in Europe “an increase in immigration did not affect crime [...], but it is associated with an increase in the fear of crime, the latter being consistently and positively correlated with the natives’ unfavourable attitude toward immigrants”

■ A 2017 government report on crime in Sweden between 2005-2015 has shown that almost all crime has decreased or is unchanging

■ The evidence Breitbart relies upon in its survey article is a generalisation made by one officer in the city of Orebro, extrapolated out to make it seem like fact and based across the entire nation.

### 5. “Migrants raping underage migrants in asylum homes”

There have been cases of migrants raping underage migrants in Swedish asylum homes, though this would not warrant the absolute claim about the risks migrants inherently pose to all other migrants (which Breitbart London appears to imply).

### 6. “Migrants raping Swedes”

Breitbart London has perpetuated the idea that many recent migrants to Sweden have been raping Swedish citizens.

However:

- A 2017 Swedish government report has shown “sex crimes (including rape) [are] either decreasing or roughly constant as measured by crime victim surveys”
- A 2017 government statement pointed out that Sweden’s legal definition of rape has broadened over time. Relatedly, the precision in how incidents of rape are recorded makes comparisons to other states’ figures misleading. Furthermore, Sweden has made a conscious effort to encourage the reporting

of offences. Given how recent these changes are, any recent fluctuation despite long-term decline or constancy will definitely reflect these factors

■ An article in the *British Journal of Criminology* published in 2013 showed that, across 63,000 Swedish residents, 75% of the (in this case slightly higher – though note again the possibility for fluctuation from year-to-year) difference in foreign-born crime is accounted for by economic conditions.

### 7. “Swedish authorities and media covering up statistics”

Breitbart often relies on sparse, insufficient ‘evidence’ to make general claims. In this case, it relies on:

■ A claim about a censored ‘migrant riot’ in Sweden, but its source, a local paper called *Barometern*, does not state that it was caused by migrants

■ A claim that academics have been obscuring statistics on migrant crime and preventing access to their sources, though they rely on one academic source in the Norwegian tabloid newspaper *Dagbladet* to support this claim

■ A claim that the most recent government statistics which detailed national origin are from 2001. This is false, it is 2005. No further national origin data has been collected by Sweden because, as noted above, socioeconomic factors have been shown to be a better underlying explanation of the causes of crime than national origin

■ A claim that explanations by the police for rises in migrant crime which relate to cultural differences of migrants are ‘bizarre’. The influence of socioeconomic factors is more crucial to explanations for migrant crimes, though this doesn’t support Breitbart’s suspicions since, again, levels of migrant crime are not clear-cut in the first place.

### 8. “Swedish school scores are suffering because of migrants”

■ A 2015 OECD report showed that recent immigration had only had a limited impact on Swedish school scores. However, it is true that the *gap* between immigrants and native-born students is a challenge.

### 9. “The majority of Sweden’s unemployed are foreigners”

This claim is undermined by a number of factors which can be surmised from the very source of Breitbart London’s claims:

■ An unspecified definition of unemployment (which can also include or not include underemployment, for example) in a cited Bloomberg chart

■ Bloomberg’s own admission that there are barriers to employment for migrants, which questions whether the fault lies with migrants actions or actions of the Swedish government.

# Meeting the Breitbart threat

**H**OPE not hate is meeting the threat from Breitbart London head on. We have just launched a new investigative unit to challenge the lies, ideas and narrative of the growing threat posed by Breitbart and from a burgeoning array of radical- and populist-right parties and social media outlets.

We will investigate those who pollute communities, poison the airwaves and choke social media with their rhetoric. We have to drag out those lies into full view and, by doing so, show them for the falsehoods they are.

## The issue

Now, more than ever, it is imperative to forensically analyse the so-called populist- and radical-right and their modus operandi.

Across Europe and the USA, highly divisive political movements and leaders have arisen on a wave of populist discontent.

Many of these movements and their supporting structures are rebranding old hatreds and conspiracies under new flags of convenience: the so-called “Alt-Right”, for example, a turgid mix of younger white nationalists, supremacists and antisemites proficient with digital media.

But more importantly, these right-wing forces threaten the very pillars of our liberal democracy in Europe – equality, tolerance, human rights, humanitarianism and collectivism.

## ‘Fake News’

A key element of many of these radical- and populist-right movements is the promotion of ‘fake news’, partially or wholly made up stories which bypass mainstream media and Breitbart have become masters in this.

But as this report highlights, these falsehoods and exaggerations are being made quite consciously for political purposes.

Unfortunately, a lack of background knowledge and facts is allowing these right-wing commentators to go increasingly unchallenged in the mainstream media.

But all this is about to change.

## Our response

HOPE not hate is taking on the Breitbart operation. We will no longer allow its lies to go unchallenged. We will monitor and expose the wider political agenda of those behind Breitbart and we will counter the new political

party that is about to be launched by Arron Banks and Nigel Farage on the airwaves and in local communities all over the country.

Our interdisciplinary team will be made up of seasoned journalists, researchers, digital specialists and political campaigners. We will be able to respond in real time to fake news and distortions. We will correct the errors, source the facts and provide copy for people to use.

Like those behind and affiliated to Breitbart, we will use the most modern political targeting tools to deliver our messages into homes around Britain.

Our unit will use the very latest in data-capture software to monitor right-wing websites and social media accounts. We will research the claims made and provide sourced rebuttals if required. With an in-house digital team, we will rapidly provide shareable social media memes and videos.

Quite simply, this unit will be the most sophisticated and tech-savvy rebuttal unit in the UK today.

But our work will not stop there. We will also build on our long experience of community and political campaigning to challenge the politics of hate in our communities. This will include utilising social media in a more sophisticated and targeted way than we have done before.

We will also seek to work with others in order to maximise our respective strengths.

## ‘Global threat’

Breitbart is part of a wider right-wing political project and we can be sure that both the website and the other tools at the disposal of billionaire backer Robert Mercer and Steve Bannon will be heavily involved in promoting and supporting Nigel Farage’s new political adventure.

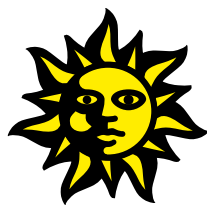
With the stakes so high, it is imperative we increase our capacity to expose and challenge the narrative of this new threat and like our opponents we also need to organise internationally.

Please support our efforts.



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