







WARNING:

THE CONTENT OF THIS INVESTIGATION INCLUDES REMARKS LIFTED DIRECTLY FROM WHITE SUPREMACIST WEBSITES WHICH ARE ABUSIVE AND MAY CAUSE SERIOUS OFFENCE.





FALSE NEWSPAPER STORIES ARE BEING SHARED AS PROPAGANDA BY NEO-NAZIS AND WHITE SUPREMACISTS

Specialist online forums and message-boards are fertile breeding grounds for extremists, where hateful content is shared and reinforced without challenge. Material posted in these forums originates from a variety of sources: conspiracists, fanatical websites, and others whose theories and beliefs are so far removed from reality or decency that they have no place in mainstream discourse.

BUT THIS INVESTIGATION HAS IDENTIFIED ANOTHER SOURCE: THE PAGES OF NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS.

Terrorists have been known to have been active on internet forums before committing attacks. Often, they are glorified on the same websites afterwards.

This investigation examined the way five major news stories dated from 2017 to 2020 which were published in national newspapers, including one recent story relating to the Covid-19 pandemic, were shared by and credited as evidence for the worldviews of racists, white supremacists and neo-Nazis online. These included both tabloid and broadsheet titles. Each story was seriously inaccurate and had the effect of demonising Muslims or immigrants.



The logo for "Stormfront": one of the online forums where white supremacists were found sharing false newspaper stories



This investigation reveals:

- White supremacists and neo-Nazis shared and exchanged these stories long before the press-controlled complaintshandler "IPSO" lifted a finger;
- 2. In sharing the stories, **racist and hateful comments** were often added;
- 3. In one example, an **explicit call to violence** was included;
- 4. The stories were typically used by racists to illustrate the "rightfulness" of their racist worldviews;
- In one further case, cited in this report's annex, a specific phrase used in one article was found to have been widely-used on a white supremacist forum previously.

The logo for Gab: a social network popular with extremists.

No newspaper can prevent a person with extreme views from reading it or republishing its content.

BUT THESE STORIES WERE FALSE. AND NOT ONLY FALSE, BUT CLEARLY AND DEMONSTRABLY SO.



One of many articles which, packed with errors, was found circulating on extremist forums.

Publication of such stories - obviously untrue and demonising of minority groups - happens because newspapers are not regulated.

Instead of regulation, most major news publishers are members of a newspaper association and complaintshandler called IPSO. Instead of being run independently, IPSO is controlled by the newspapers it claims to "regulate".

On the rare occasions that IPSO takes action against the newspapers which control it, the only sanction it can award is to require the publication of an adjudication or correction – long after the event and with far less prominence than the original offending article.



In the case of each of the stories in this report, complaints about the stories were either rejected by IPSO or the sanction applied was woefully inadequate.

independent press standards organisation

No evidence was found of people circulating any adjudication or correction of any of the articles.

IPSO calls itself a regulator but has no proactive regulatory powers.

It is a servant of the newspaper industry.

Does effective press regulation mean state censorship? No. It would simply mean that the press would be accountable to a genuinely independent body (independent both of the press and of government) when they breach their code of conduct. IPSO is not independent, which is why it turns a blind eye to press abuses.

THE ABSENCE OF REGULATION FOR NEWSPAPERS IN THE UK IS A BOON FOR WHITE SUPREMACIST AND NEONAZI COMMUNITIES.

THESE COMMUNITIES ARE SHARING FALSE OR ABUSIVE NEWSPAPER STORIES AS PROPAGANDA, WHILE IPSO FAILS TO HOLD THOSE BEHIND THE STORIES TO ACCOUNT.





HALF OF UK'S IMPORTED COVID-19

INFECTIONS ARE FROM PAKISTAN

Published as recently as June 2020, this Telegraph story's headline alleged that Pakistani migrants were responsible for half of the UK's total imported COVID-19 infections.

The Sun and the MailOnline also published the story.

It was, however, almost entirely false.

Not only have people coming from Pakistan accounted for a relatively insignificant number of UK Covid-19 cases, but the



headline was eventually amended to make clear that the data only related to three weeks in June.

And that was not all. The story's key claim - that imported infections from Pakistan accounted for "half" of all imported infections - was totally unevidenced.

Strip this back to the elements for which there is actual evidence, and there was simply no story. So why did the Telegraph decide to publish, given that the story falsely and sensationally portrayed Pakistan as a major source of COVID-19 infections in the UK?



FUEL FOR NEO-NAZI EXTREMISTS

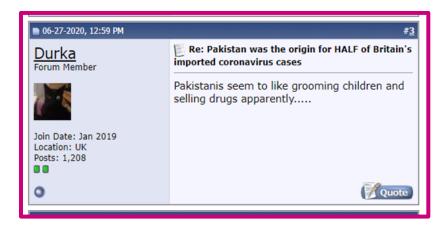
The day the story was published, it was almost immediately shared on white supremacist internet forum "Stormfront", where it was quickly the source of discussion.

Stormfront user "White Ginger Pride", whose location is described as "Occupied Britain" and whose signature includes the phrase "We must secure the existence of our race and a future for white children.", complained that pubs had been shut and asked "How much does that [...] dump of a country impact on our lives I wonder?".

An editing log suggests that the comment was amended to remove profanity.

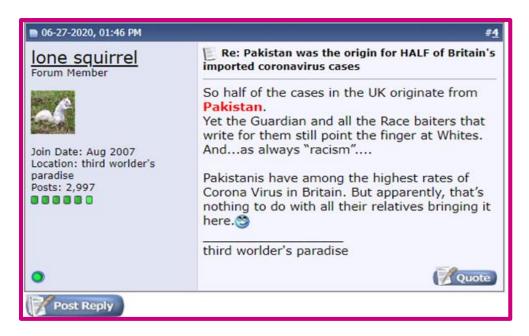


Another user responds by smearing Pakistanis as pedophiles and drug dealers:





This is met with another comment which, accepting the article's claims as factual, criticises "Race baiters" for blaming "Whites" for the spread of Coronavirus:



This story was obviously and fundamentally flawed. But these extremists read, believed, and took it in as evidence for their vile worldviews.

IPSO has still not acted against the Telegraph over this article, despite receiving multiple complaints. Even if they do act, the maximum sanction they are likely to award is an adjudication buried deep in the newspaper and the website.

The damage has already been done.

IN THE ABSENCE OF ACCOUNTABILITY, NEWSPAPERS
HAVE NO INCENTIVE TO MAINTAIN STANDARDS—
HOWEVER DAMAGING THE CONSEQUENCES MAY BE.





CHRISTIAN CHILD FORCED INTO MUSLIM FOSTER CARE



This story ran in The Times for a week, in August 2017. It told a tale which amounted to indoctrination, and possible neglect of a child by a Muslim foster couple. It alleged that this girl was plucked from a Christian background and placed into an alien culture, in which her possessions were taken, favourite foods were denied, and where she was taught suspicion of and hatred towards Western culture.

The story was later <u>totally discredited</u> and found to contain multiple factual inaccuracies. Every element of the neglect or abuse was found to be false. The main source for the story was revealed to be a serial liar.



Though this story stayed on the front page for a week, IPSO only ever upheld one complaint on a relatively minor point. The adjudication The Times had to publish was far smaller and less prominent than the story, and it came eight months after the event.

Significantly, the errors in the story ought to have been known by the journalist at the time of publication. They would have been obvious to anyone who did proper research on the circumstances. But with no prospect of meaningful regulation from IPSO there was no incentive to get the story right. The Times knew that given the absence of regulation, a false story which would cause alarm among the public and was likely to inspire people on the extreme far-right, would be publishable with minimal damage to its reputation (and possibly an increase in its circulation).



PUBLICISED WITH OUTRAGE AND DISGUST

After the story was published it was widely shared by white supremacists on the social network "gab".

Not every "gab" user is a racist, but many of those sharing this story were.

One user shared the story with the hashtags "Muslim-supremacy" and "child-abuse" as she shared the link:



Another user, "Nicholas", also publicised the story:



Nicholas reveals himself to be a racist and an anti-Semite in multiple other posts and re-posts:







AN EXPLICIT CALL TO ANTI-MUSLIM VIOLENCE

Most concerningly, one user shared the story with an explicit call for violence – urging "British men" to "start picking up some weapons to defend... their children":



THIS STORY PUBLISHED BY THE TIMES WAS PACKED WITH ERRORS, WHICH REQUIRED LITTLE RESEARCH TO UNDERMINE.

THE STORY SHOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN PRINTED. YET UNDER IPSO, WHERE THE SANCTIONS ARE SO WEAK, THERE IS NO MEANINGFUL INCENTIVE FOR EDITORS TO CARRY OUT EVEN BASIC TESTS FOR FACTUAL ACCURACY.





1 IN 5 MUSLIMS HAVE SYMPATHY FOR JIHADIS





This story was based on a poll, which The Sun claimed showed that 1 in 5 British Muslims had sympathies with those fighting for Isis in Syria.

But neither the questions asked nor the nature of the sample justified the story. <u>It was false</u>. The story was disowned by the polling company immediately after publication.

EVEN IPSO FOUND THE STORY TO BE INACCURATE.

Yet, despite being a frontpage splash, the correction was published months later inside the newspaper.

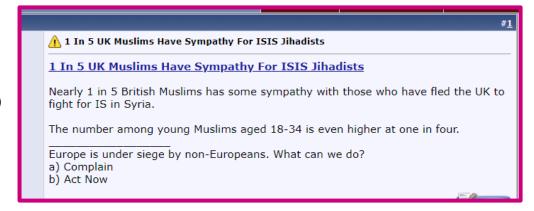
Long before the record was corrected, the story was being widely circulated and engaged with on the white supremacist

website "Stormfront".

As the screenshots below show, racists did not just share the story and pick up on the headline. They refer to false conclusions drawn by The Sun within the piece itself - which shows a significant level of engagement with the story.

FUELING AND REINFORCING WHITE SUPREMACIST NARRATIVES

User "whiterat" circulated the story initially, and included two (false) conclusions drawn from the story:



Several other users went on to joke about the story or criticise the fact it was subject to complaints:

One out of five **Muslims** Brits have **sympathy** for ISIS **jihadis**. The other four out of five want to be them.

This user signs off with a phrase which translates as "I fight for my people; I fight for love!":

I'm not a fan of The Sun, but they're bang on the money in regards to **Muslims**. It just shows you how thick the **British** have become when they kick up a stink over a truthful headline (which is rare for The Sun), while **Muslims** are gang raping our children.

14/88

Jeg kjemper for folket mitt; Jeg kjemper for kjærligheten!







POWDER KEG PARIS





This story was published as a double-page spread in the Daily Mail and was presented as an on-the-ground report of life in a Paris suburb "overrun" with illegal migrants.

The story, however, was packed with errors. The number of specific inaccuracies ran into double figures. For example, the number of illegal migrants mentioned, at 300,000, was greater than the entire population of the suburb.

Eventually, many months later, IPSO ordered the paper to publish a tiny adjudication on the double-page spread story – hardly a punishment, still less a deterrent. The Mail's false story, meanwhile, was shared multiple times on the social media platform "qab".

FALSE STORY SPREADS LIKE WILDFIRE AMONG RACISTS, HOMOPHOBES AND ANTI-SEMITES

Although "gab" is not exclusively used by extremists, it is popular with them.

Here is one user who shared the story:

Powder Keg Paris: As a devastating report reveals 300,000 illegal migrants are living in one French suburb... ANDREW MALONE explores the tensions in a community at odds with mainstream society. Andrew Malone ventured into the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis for a weekThe neighbourhood is home to as many as 300,000 illegal immigrantsMany rely on crime or the 'black economy' to get by and live in pover...

Read more >

The same user reveals himself to hold extreme and hateful views in this other post, in which he incites hatred and violence against LGBT people:





One user who engaged with the story; circulated it and referred to immigrants as a "swarm":



The same user's other posts include a succession of Islamophobic comments:





IPSO WAS SLOW AND FEEBLE IN RESPONDING TO A MAIL SPREAD THAT WAS PACKED WITH FALSEHOODS. ITS IMPOTENCE ALLOWED DISINFORMATION TO GAIN CREDENCE AMONG RACISTS AND OTHER EXTREMISTS, WHO THEN AMPLIFIED THE STORY. AND BECAUSE IPSO IS SO WEAK THERE IS NOTHING TO DISCOURAGE THE MAIL FROM DOING THE SAME AGAIN.

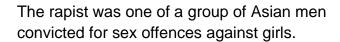






JAILED RAPIST GIVEN CHANCE TO SEE HIS VICTIM'S CHILD

This story was published in The Times on November 27th, 2018. It alleged that Rotherham Council had "invited a jailed sex offender to play a part in the future of the child of a woman he raped". The article went on to allege that the rapist was "being encouraged to stake a claim" in the child's future.





As such, the story was bound to attract interest from far-right individuals and communities. If the thrust of the story had been true, then it would have been an important piece of journalism.

Other newspapers quickly picked up on the story, with the Express' headline stating: "Fury of Rotherham grooming victim as rapist gets parental access to her child".

SUBSTANTIALLY FALSE

This was substantially false. The child's mother had sought support from social services which required a hearing in court. Legally-binding regulations required the council to inform the rapist as the child's biological father. This was done by serving him a standard notice in prison stating that he did not have a right to attend the hearing, though if he wished to do so he could apply to the judge.

He did not do so, and given his record, it was highly likely any application would have been rejected.



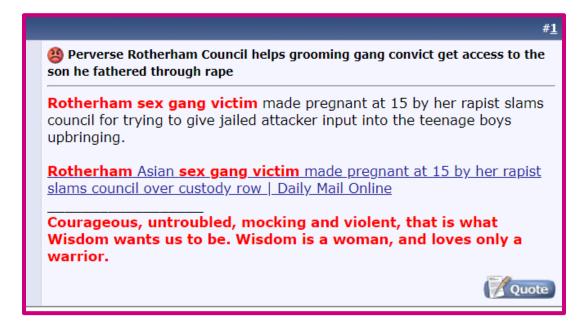
Thus, in reality – and this was confirmed by the Justice Ministry and the council – the rapist had not been "invited" or "encouraged" to be involved in the life of the child. He was not "given a chance" to see his victim's child and he did not come anywhere near "getting parental access".

IPSO'S INACTION GIVES NEWSPAPERS A FREE PASS

Though the holes in the story should have been obvious, the Times published it anyway. The newspaper knew it had nothing to lose because any IPSO sanction, if there was one, would be pitifully inadequate and wouldn't come for months.

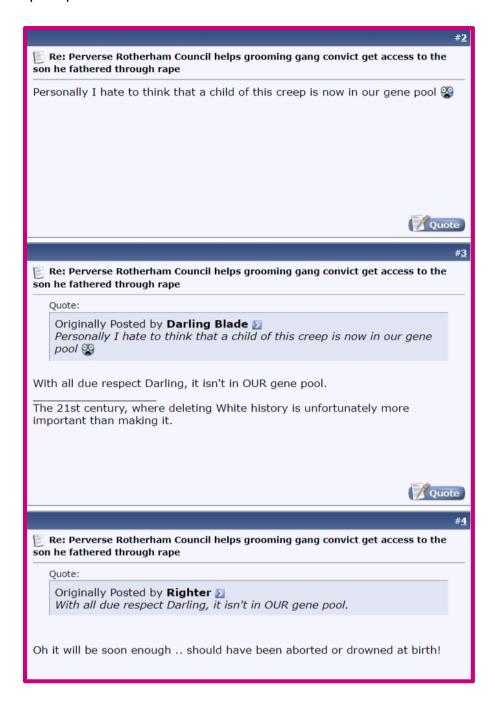
Sure enough, IPSO did nothing about the story despite its well-documented shortcomings.

Meanwhile the story was republished by the Daily Mail and Stormfront user "Darling Blade" shared it on the white supremacist forum:





This user's post prompted a torrent of abuse and race-hate from other users:





The conversation develops into discussion around the mother's decision to give birth to the child, before returning to racist abuse:

How about the kid she spawned though? It's already a teenager and probably bears her name - how long before it impregnates some unsuspecting English girl?



If The Times had been subject to effective regulation this reinforcement of vile attitudes might well not have happened. Reporters and editors, fearing meaningful sanction, might have ensured proper checks were done and the story would never have been published in the form it took.

IT IS NO SURPRISE THE STORY WAS USED FOR PROPAGANDA ON THE PUBLICLY-ACCESSIBLE NEO-NAZI WEBSITE "STORMFRONT", GIVEN THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE RAPIST - WHICH WAS HIGHLIGHTED IN PRESS REPORTS.





NEWSPAPERS MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE

IPSO shelters newspapers from accountability by creating the perception of independent regulation. The reality is that IPSO lacks both the power and the inclination to uphold standards in the press. It is routine for newspapers to breach its code without consequence.

This means that they are able to promote racial hatred, intrude on people's lives or abuse them in other ways. It means the public is often misled, and inaccuracies go uncorrected.

But this report shows how the absence of effective press regulation is harming society in other ways, which are potentially even more dangerous.

The terrorist responsible for the attack in Christchurch New Zealand had engaged with and made posts in online white supremacist groups. The terrorist responsible for the attack which slaughtered dozens of young people in Norway in 2011 had frequently posted on an openly Islamophobic internet forum.

The terrorist who murdered nine African Americans in Charleston, South Carolina, said he turned towards violence after discovering a white supremacist website.

Before the attack the Charleston killer wrote this:

"WE HAVE NO SKINHEADS, NO REAL KKK, NO ONE DOING ANYTHING BUT TALKING ON THE INTERNET. WELL SOMEONE HAS TO HAVE THE BRAVERY TO TAKE IT TO THE REAL WORLD, AND I GUESS THAT HAS TO BE ME."

We need journalism that not afraid to tell us uncomfortable truths about our world. What we do not need is journalism that tells us untruths, whether it is done through laziness or malice. In Britain we have national newspapers that enjoy a huge online reach yet are completely unaccountable when they get things wrong.

It must be a matter of concern that anti-Semites, Islamophobes and white supremacists, operating on sites that can be breeding grounds for terrorists, are circulating recklessly false national newspaper stories as propaganda. Those newspaper stories are not inevitable: they are the direct consequence of the lack of accountability of the press.



APPENDIX:

HOW NEO-NAZIS PRAISED SUN COLUMNIST TREVOR KAVANAGH AS HE ADOPTED THE LANGUAGE OF THE FAR RIGHT



In August 2017, Trevor Kavanagh used his column in The Sun to ask "what will we do about The Muslim Problem then?":

The problem began with Tony Blair opening the doors to mass immigration and silencing critics by branding them "racist".

It was turbocharged when German Chancellor Angela Merkel indiscriminately waved in a million more so-called refugees from Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

One day soon, if Philip Hammond and Liam Fox are right, we will be back in charge of immigration.

What will we do about The Muslim Problem then?





Trevor Kavanagh's reference to "The Muslim Problem", complete with capitals, was a perfect match for the phrase that led the way to the holocaust: "The Jewish Problem". This was always likely to be used as a call to violence against Muslim people.

No complaints to IPSO were accepted, because the standards code written by newspaper editors prevents complaints being brought where a group of people are targeted in this way.

A DOG-WHISTLE FOR RACISTS AND ISLAMOPHOBES

Possibly because of its Nazi connotations, the phrase "The Muslim Problem", with or without the capitals, is not widely used in mainstream journalism even by commentators known for hostility towards Muslims.

But it is a phrase which crops up repeatedly on the "Stormfront" website: an openly white supremacist online forum.

For example, here it is referred to in the defence of an MEP:

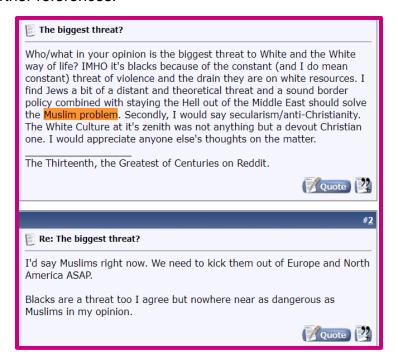
the interests of White people.

She is a WHITE person advocating for WHITE interests. She doesn't have to be a White Nationalist for us to benefit from her efforts.

Criticizing the EU and Soros is in the interests of White people.

Showing concern for Tommy (Stephen), a WHITE CHRISTIAN who speaks out against the sexual abuse of children and the Muslim problem, is in

Here are several further references:





And again, here within a deeply anti-Semitic and Islamophobic posting:

Now in 2017, every White Nationalist page is screaming MUSLIMS ARE MAIN PROBLEM, WE HATE SANDN***ERS, and MUSLIMS ARE HERE TO CONQUER US! MEDIA portrays same narrative. No White Nationalist is actually addressing the main problem, the problem which created the Muslim problem. THE ZOG PROBLEM.

Some even upset at good old Dr. Duke for being "Muslim sympathist" and "sandni**er lover". Duke is great man, he is the only one who recognizes true problem, not the fake Muslim problem created by ZOG so more Middle Eastern countries be invaded and more Middle Easterners die and get upset. Duke go to Iran, Syria, but also love Europeans very much, that's why he says that Muslims are not enemy but true enemy is ZOGs and ISRAEL. Also, ZOG uses opportunity to fund men like Tommy Robinson and others to support Israel and strengthen Western support for HOME OF ZOG MEN!

Fast forward 2020, White Nationalists now call for invading more Muslim countries to stop a problem which ZOGs created and no one else. White Nationalists constantly screech about the Muslim invasion of the West, blame poor Syrian refugees who ZOG dislocated, let in, and who were obviously hostile to Europeans because of the crazy ZOG WARS in their homelands!

Please understand the truth my brothers! Muslims are a problem in our modern political discourse, but only because ZOG made it a problem. Remember, millions of Muslims even fought for the Third Reich. Obviously not relevant to modern politics and demographics but understand that this is more than a Muslim problem!

Thank you, peace brothers!

The Sun's decision to republish this phrase - an abusive and threatening phrase which had previously been widely used in the white supremacist community - was always going to be a dog-whistle to these groups.

SHARED APPROVINGLY TO REINFORCE AND PROPAGANDIZE FOR WHITE SUPREMACY

Sure enough, when The Sun did publish Kavanagh's column it was approvingly shared in the community (with a re-use of the phrase "Muslim problem" in the subject line):





The poster adds (as in the screenshot above):

"LETS EXAMINE WHO IS IT EXACTLY IT IS THAT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR 9/11, 7/11, PARIS, BRUSSELS, NICE, MANCHESTER, LONDON BRIDGE, WESTMINSTER BRIDGE ETC. ETC.

AND WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ROCHDALE, ROTHERHAM, HALIFAX, TELFORD, NEWCASTLE, ETC..

IT'S ONE IDEOLOGY. AND IF YOU TAKE A GOOD LOOK AT WHAT IT REPRESENTS -- THAT IS VIOLENCE AND HATRED AND BIGOTRY (ALONG WITH MISOGYNY, HOMOPHOBIA, ANTI-DEMOCRACY).

IT IS ALSO DETERMINED TO DRAG US ALL BACK TO THE 7TH CENTURY WITH ITS BARBARIC OPPRESSION AND REPRESSION. SO DON'T TRY AND DISTRACT US WITH TALK OF 'NAZIS'; IT IS NOT 'WHITE SUPREMACISTS' WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY OF THE ABOVE. IT IS FOLLOWERS OF ISLAM -- I.E. MUSLIMS."

The phrase from the column, "The Muslim Problem", is also specifically quoted by the poster as he shares the article.

THE SUN PUBLISHED A RACIALLY ABUSIVE PHRASE USED BY WHITE SUPREMACISTS - WHO THEN APPROVINGLY CIRCULATED THE PUBLISHED ARTICLE AS IF IT WAS A PIECE OF PROPAGANDA.

IPSO DID NOTHING.