The Web of Hate

Extremists Exploit the Internet

A Publication of the Anti-Defamation League
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- **The World Wide Web**, a relatively new Internet technology, is attracting a rapidly growing **audience**. The global nature of the Internet permits the Web to reach a worldwide audience. Web publishing is fairly inexpensive and simple. Its broad reach, low costs and relatively easy-to-master technology have made the World Wide Web an ideal propaganda vehicle for hate and extremist groups.

- **“Traditional” hate groups** have established propaganda sites on the World Wide Web. Among these are: The Ku Klux Klan; W.A.R. — Tom Metzger’s anti-Semitic, racist organization; the neo-Nazi, revolutionary National Alliance, and the anti-Semitic “Identity” Christian preaching of “Pastor” Pete Peters and his Scriptures for America organization.

- **Holocaust deniers** are also using the Web. The Institute for Historical Review, the center of Holocaust-denial activity in the United States, has a site using its associate editor Greg Raven as a proxy. Bradley Smith, who is leading the charge to get a debate about the authenticity of the Holocaust going on college campuses, and Ernst Zündel, a Canadian-German Holocaust-denying showman and admirer of Hitler, also have Web sites.

- **A new type of hater, young and computer literate, has become prominent on the Web**. The ease of access creates opportunities for young, previously unknown haters and hate groups, to promote themselves and become active anti-Semitic and racist propagandists. These individuals and groups have, from time to time, used the facilities of both public and private universities.

- **Regulation of the Web poses major constitutional and technical problems**. The legal questions involving freedom of speech and press as well as the responsibility of Internet providers for what passes through their computers are currently unresolved. But all decent Americans seeking to oppose haters and extremists must be vigilant. The Web can, and should, be monitored and messages of hate exposed and countered.
INTRODUCTION:
Technology Perverted — The Internet as Hate Tool

Few Americans would willingly welcome hate groups such as neo-Nazis or the Ku Klux Klan into their homes to spread their pernicious message of hate. Yet, as a result of the fast spreading technology of the Internet and the World Wide Web, many people have, through inadvertence or curiosity, encountered hate-filled messages and images on the screens of their home computers. This material outrages some and disgusts others, while it profoundly frightens and disturbs many.

As computers become less expensive, simpler to use and consequently more common in American homes, as the barriers to disseminating information through computers fall, bigots of all kinds are rushing to use the power of modern technology to spread their propaganda.

The Internet, a world-wide computer network, is revolutionizing communications. It links all parts of the globe and makes information universally available and accessible to all. The prospect is at once amazing and exhilarating. Yet, at the same time, unfortunately, people with access to the Internet — and their numbers are increasing rapidly — find there are many different types of hate on the relatively new Internet technology known as the World Wide Web. Well-known bigots and hate groups are on the Web. Other groups, among them the Holocaust deniers, their language less overtly hateful than the “traditional groups,” use the Web to present pseudoscholarly arguments to buttress their bigotry and further their barely hidden neo-Nazi agenda. Then there are the newcomers to the propagation of prejudice and hatred, initially independent of any organization, who take to the Web to spread their messages of hate. A few of the last group are college students who have unlimited access to the Internet through school facilities established to encourage the exchange of knowledge. These groups and individuals on the Web are promoting their poisonous theories and some implicitly, others explicitly, suggesting that violence should be used to achieve their purposes.

This report exposes the hatred flowing across the Information Superhighway. It seeks to hold up to public scrutiny those who are turning a remarkable tool, the product of the best human traits, into a vehicle for dividing people and exploiting humanity’s worst instincts.
UNDERSTANDING THE INTERNET

The Internet, a worldwide collection of computers linked by high-speed phone lines, has made easy access to information, once the privilege of the largest firms, government and universities, possible for almost everyone with a computer, phone and modem.* In seconds, a person can send information to, or get information from, computers in any part of the world. Time and distance virtually disappear. Equally important, the Internet acts as a kind of universal translator so that the various types of computers and computer languages can all exchange information.

Computer hardware and software products often do not “talk,” (i.e., communicate in the same way) to each other. Before the development of the Internet, an IBM computer could not easily exchange data with a DEC; PCs could not easily “talk” to mainframes; machines using the UNIX operating system could not understand MS-DOS. It was a computer Tower of Babel. One major goal of the developers of the Internet was to make it easier for computers to share information. They succeeded admirably. If the software on each computer on the Internet follows the rules or “protocols,” users can easily communicate with each other, no matter the programming language or operating system. Information now can be anywhere, distributed on computers in different parts of the world. If two computers are on the Internet, they can share data, programs, graphics, indeed anything that can be stored in a computer. Users do not have go to the data repository. It comes to them for the asking, and they can get more access to information than ever before.

While this was an important advance, the Net was not, until recently, an easy place for the average individual. Computers were scarce and expensive, computer-mediated communication was in its infancy and the user interface of most Internet tools was daunting. It all seemed so forbidding. In the popular mind, computers and the Internet were the province of scientists, academics and that vaguely threatening, vaguely comical creature, “the nerd,” who spoke “computerese,” a language only dimly related to human tongues.

But times have changed. Today, computers, many times more powerful than those imagined by original designers of the Internet, are in many homes and most offices. The nerd has been replaced by the “whiz kid,” wowing relatives and friends. Inexpensive high-speed telecommunications devices are available and even faster ones are going into production. Most important, the Internet’s difficult, confusing, unfriendly interface is gone. Users now have the World Wide Web.

*Technical computer-related terms appearing in boldface are defined in Appendix C.
THE WORLD WIDE WEB

The development of the World Wide Web is probably the single factor that has made most people aware of the Internet. The Web is a compound of several major technologies: the Internet, multimedia, and hypertext. Together, these technologies make the Internet much more interesting and accessible for most people.

The Web uses the Internet; Web "sites" are found on computers at many different locations. Each site has an identifying address or URL (Uniform Resource Locator) which is known to the computers on the Internet. Typing in a URL, with its slashes and strange abbreviations, is the hardest part of using the Web. Each address takes the user to a homepage. The entire range of multimedia — bold graphics, vivid colors, interesting typography, animation, video and sound — is built into the Web. The pages at a particular Web site all may be stored on one computer or can be distributed among any number of computers throughout the world.

The user navigates around the Web using a computer technology called hypertext. Hypertext is a way of linking two pieces of information and allowing the user to move easily from one to the other. By embedding special codes or hyperlinks behind a word, phrase or image, programmers can direct users to information in different parts of that computer or different computers anywhere in the world. The user simply positions the pointing device or cursor on the hotspot (typically highlighted or displayed in a different color), presses a key or clicks the mouse and moves to a new site without having to know anything about the mechanics of the Internet. In the language of programmers, the entire transaction is transparent. Hyperlinks make the Web interactive. Users choose the route from the list of possibilities; follow a link, proceed sequentially, go back or even start over and do something else.

Ease of access by both providers and users is what gives the Web its power. Aware of this, some software developers rushed to build products called browsers that can interpret the language of the Web to display text, graphics and sound and simplify navigation. Others developed tools to make it easy to create Web pages and hyperlinks.
II: HATERS AND EXTREMIST GROUPS ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

The story of hate on the World Wide Web began in May 1995 when Don Black established his Stormfront site. Since then, the number of racist and extremist groups setting up shop on the Web has gradually increased; during 1995, some of the more established hate groups have gradually made their way onto the Web. In addition to the well-known groups and individuals, the ease of publishing on the Web has made it possible for a number of new — and younger — haters to enter the scene. The quality of these Web pages varies: Some are actively maintained, the content refreshed and up-to-date; others are just sitting there unattended, the material growing stale.

What follows is a selective survey of extremist material on the World Wide Web. These sites all share one common characteristic — they spread the seeds and cultivate the bitter fruits of anti-Semitism, bigotry, hatred and intolerance.

THE "HATE ESTABLISHMENT" ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan: Repackaged Hate

Though fragmented by internal power struggles and under legal attack from its opponents, the Ku Klux Klan remains the racist organization with the broadest public recognition. The Klan's appearance on the World Wide Web, therefore, indicates that old-line haters recognize the potential of the Internet. They are trying to tap the power of modern communications to revive their fortunes.

Currently, only the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have a web site. Led by Thom Robb of Harrison, Arkansas, the Knights are the largest Klan group operating today. The Knights' Web page is "sponsored" by the "Realm of Ohio," headquartered in Galloway, Ohio, and not run from the national headquarters in Arkansas. Nonetheless, the page clearly expresses the views of the Knights and their leader Robb who, in the tradition of David Duke, is seeking to make the KKK appear respectable — a kinder, gentler Klan, neither anti-black nor anti-Catholic, simply teaching white racial pride. As the literature published at the site explains it: "White people have a right to be proud of their race. . ." The popular image of the Klan as racist, it argues, is just a lie deliberately spread by the liberal
media. To assist in this renovation, the page designers have even banished the ritual cross-burning. (It does appear on a “linked” page, but the link doesn’t indicate the content of the picture.)

While the Knights of the KKK claim to be no longer anti-black or violent, they nonetheless work traditional Klan themes: whites are victims of intolerance, facing racial extinction from a horde of blacks and foreigners eager to intermarry and destroy American culture and religion; America should belong to Americans, not Asians, Arabs or Jews. Given such a program, it would not be surprising for a casual observer to doubt that the Knights have truly embraced tolerance. And keeping with Thom Robb’s position as a “pastor” in the so-called “Christian Identity” movement, the page has links to a number of “Identity” Web sites which are all filled with unremitting anti-Semitism. The “Identity” movement teaches that Aryans, white northern Europeans, are the true descendants of the biblical Israelites while Jews are the descendents of Satan and blacks are subhuman. Indeed, the most overt expressions of hatred on the page are anti-Semitic, such as this recycling of a fraudulent “Franklin Prophecy,” a speech that Benjamin Franklin supposedly gave at the Constitutional Convention:

In whatever country Jews have settled in any great number, they have lowered its moral tone; depreciated its commercial integrity; . . . have sneered at and tried to undermine the Christian religion upon which that nation is founded, . . . [and] when opposed have tried to strangle that country to death financially, as in the case of Spain and Portugal. . . [t]hey are vampires, and vampires do not live on vampires. They cannot live only among themselves. They must subsist on Christians and other people not of their race.

Even superficial browsing reveals that in their defense of “Americanism,” the Knights of the KKK have not really mothballed their sheets. They have, instead, resorted to the oldest advertising trick in the book: repackaging. Redo the container, label it new and improved and hope that no one notices that it really is the same old stuff.

**Don Black: Racist as Computer Consultant**

Don Black reflects another repackaging job. While serving three years in Federal prison in the early 1980s for conspiring with a group of fellow white supremacists to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island of Dominica, Black learned to use computers. He now earns his living as a computer consultant and uses his skills to spread on-line hate. *Stormfront*, the name of Black’s computerized hate service, has several features: a site on the World Wide Web, an Internet E-mail list for subscribers and a dial-in bulletin board system.

Today, Don Black does not want to be viewed as a hatemonger. “Hate,” he told *The Palm Beach Herald*, “is
one of those pejorative words, like racism, . . . meant to stifle argument, not encourage debate." Hater and racist are, indeed, terrible words — Black prefers the more benign description of "White Nationalist" — but his history and the content of his Web site and mail list show that they accurately describe Don Black.

Since 1970, when he joined the National Socialist Youth Movement, Don Black has been actively involved in anti-Semitic, racist and anti-immigrant activities. An associate of David Duke, Black rose to become leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, run for U.S. Senator from Alabama with the support of the anti-Semitic Willis Carto and Carto’s Liberty Lobby, the most important anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the United States, and to establish close ties with the number of racist, neo-Nazi organizations, among them the Idaho-based Aryan Nations. Leaders such as Duke and Black have vainly tried to burnish the reputation of the Klan; to replace the stereotyped image of “ignorant yokels in sheets” with one of scrubbed, educated, articulate, earnest young white men.

Black says that he is no longer an active member of any particular group but wants to remain active in support of the “white nationalist” cause. He may intend to serve as a kind of computer consultant to the haters. His goal is clearly expressed in the Stormfront logo: White Pride World Wide. Unfortunately, Black’s idea of “White Pride” involves demeaning, demonizing and
menacing Jews and nonwhites and the creation of ethnically "pure" political enclaves.

The Stormfront Web site is eclectic. Unlike many sites operated by organizations with a particular point of view, Black has examples of many styles of anti-Semitic, racist hate posted on his homepage and in his copious archives. On Stormfront, the user can find the writings of William Pierce of the neo-Nazi National Alliance, David Duke, representatives of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review and assorted other extremists.

Black sees Stormfront as a "White Nationalist Resource Page," a resource for those courageous men and women fighting to preserve their white Western culture, ideals and freedom of speech and association — a forum for planning strategies and forming political and social groups to ensure victory.

The destruction of the Branch Davidian complex in Waco, Texas, the shootout at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, between the FBI and white-separatist Randy Weaver and the bombing of the Murrah Federal Office Building in Oklahoma City, which all figure prominently in far-right conspiracy propaganda, appear on the homepage. Kirk Lyons, defender and self-proclaimed sympathizer of right-wing extremists, likens the events at the Branch Davidian compound to the Nazi destruction of the town of Lidice in then Czechoslovakia. In another article, Eustace Mullins, a hoary anti-Semite, suggests the likely party responsible for the bombing in Oklahoma City is the Anti-Defamation League:

For the past fifty years, I have repeatedly warned conservative groups throughout this nation that when any person comes into your meetings, demands that you take more stringent action against the enemies of America, and urges you to bomb a building or to assassinate an official, that person has revealed himself as an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or of its parent group, the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’Rith[sic].

. . . or does it make more sense to draw a direct line from the massacre of the Weaver family at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, to the Waco Church Holocaust in Texas, to the New York Trade Center building which was bombed in New York City, to the federal office building in Oklahoma City, a line beginning with the Anti-Defamation League of B’Nai B’Rith [sic], leading directly to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and its many agents and informants throughout these United States?

In addition to the Stormfront text archives, there is also a library of white power, neo-Nazi graphics available for downloading. There are also lists of phone numbers for racist computer bulletin boards which are not on the Internet, including the neo-Nazi Thule Net in Germany. Black also has lots of "hot links" to other racist sites such as the homepages of The Aryan Crusader's Library and the National Alliance. Also included in the list are The Watchman, the publication of the Pennsylvania Christian Posse Comitatus, edited by Aryan Nations minister Mark Thomas, and the official homepage of the Aryan Nations itself.
Perhaps Don Black has, for now, given up active membership in racist organizations but he has not given up on racism. In fact, he has become a trailblazer of the movement to use the Internet to spread the racist line. His site has defined the genre and he has many young imitators.

**Tom Metzger: WAR Is Hell**

While Don Black has tried to make hate appear reasonable, Tom Metzger has taken a cruder tack. His homepage proclaims in bold type: “THIS IS A WHITE RACIST WEB PAGE” and invites you to enter the “Hate Room.” This assaultive, confrontational, “in-your-face,” style is pure Tom Metzger. He sees himself at war. He is W.A.R., the White Aryan Resistance.

Advocacy of violence is an essential component of his view. Metzger has written that

The term, “extremism,” as promoted by the cult of oneness, implies that extremism implies violence. Yes, the world is full of violence. It always has been and always will be.

Violence is not only necessary, but desirable in the evolution of man.

Metzger himself is no stranger to race-based violence. In 1990, in a civil suit brought by ADL and the Southern Poverty Law Center, an Oregon jury found Metzger and his son John responsible for inciting a gang of neo-Nazi skinheads to attack three Ethiopian immigrants, one of whom died as a result of the vicious beating. The Metzgers were ordered to pay the family of the murder victim $12.5 million. Metzger is, nonetheless, unchastened. An old photo reproduced on one version of the homepage shows Tom Metzger and his then very young son John standing together, the father cradling a rifle.

Metzger is new to the Web. Until late 1995, his Internet activity was restricted to E-mail, some of which Metzger posted on Black’s mailing list. There, belligerent as usual, he got into frequent “flame wars” (Internet slang for name-calling bouts) with other posters, all of whom were self-proclaimed white supremacists. More recently, however, Metzger established an FTP site which contains the text of recent WAR newsletters. In November 1995 he opened his Web site. As of the end of December 1995, Metzger’s site was still “under construction.”

The site has a collection of grotesque, offensive cartoons, and assorted writings from WAR. At present, the site does not link to other locations. There are few concessions to ease of use and the site is reminiscent of the pregraphic Internet. Most of the articles stored there are from Metzger’s newsletter.

Metzger doesn’t hesitate to use the most demeaning racial epithets in his writings. This is seen in a piece titled “My Favorite Jew, Jig and Pig,” published in a WAR newsletter archived on Metzger’s Web site:
I think the major problem, which White Americans face in living up to their racist heritage, is their optimism. They think that horror happening 99% of the time doesn’t mean it will happen the next time. Even if most of our 180 million White Americans believes the majority of Jews, Spades, Latrinin [sic], Woggies and Gooks are swinish threats to American traditions; virtually all have their favorite Jew, Jig, Pig, etc.

Make me puke! Will we ever be able to get over this weakness for individuals? In 1943, Heinrich Himmler said almost exactly the same thing about each of 80 million Germans having their own favorite pet Jew worthy of preservation. He said only those seeing the swine at their worst, as a prison guard would see them, could be immunized from trying to distinguish the faces of different rats.

On his Web site Metzger portrays Jews as vermin, to be eradicated.

The National Alliance: The “Premier” Racialists

The neo-Nazi National Alliance is led by a man who fantasizes that racially motivated serial murder is just, whose writings eagerly embrace brutal, unrelenting apocalyptic race war in which chemical, biological and nuclear weapons are launched at “Jewish New York City,” Toronto, Israel and China, in which all Jews and nonwhites are exterminated and only a remnant of the white population remains. His work reveals Dr. William Pierce to be a man so driven by hate that he can justify as expedient the deaths of billions of those he claims to want to protect, who would poison the earth to purify it. Pierce and his organization are using the Web to spread the propaganda needed to justify this perverse racist Armageddon.

The most striking thing about the National Alliance’s homepage is the logo. Floating against a sky of brilliant blue filled with puffy white clouds is a “Y” shaped cross surrounded by a laurel wreath with the words “National Alliance” in gold. The “Y” associates the Alliance with the Nordic mythology so common in racist circles. It stands for “Yggdrasil,” the giant ash tree of Norse myth which holds the universe together. Unfortunately the universe of William Pierce is held together by paranoid hate, not nature.

The National Alliance actively recruits using traditional methods. It publishes books, magazines and newsletters, advertises on billboards and broadcasts its message via AM, FM and short-wave, so its entry onto the Web as part of this propaganda drive is not surprising. The organi-
zation is clearly aware of the power of the Internet. Before starting its Web site, the Alliance maintained an FTP site. When it started using the Web, its July 1995 Bulletin urged "the Alliance's seasoned cybernauts" to "spread our new [Web] site address around as widely as possible. . . . Imaginative and energetic members should be able to think of many novel ways to provoke other Internet users to go to our site and examine our materials."26

But the National Alliance had already attained some notoriety on the Internet. In October 1994, thousands of people in four states received a mass E-mailing of a National Alliance propaganda piece. This type of mass mailing, known as "spamming" in Internet slang, is considered a serious breech of "netiquette" (responsible Internet use.) The Alliance disavowed the act but noted:

It is easy to understand the temptation to do this [i.e., fraudulently use an account to send free E-mail]. . . . [H]aving the right person's password can open up all sorts of possibilities for large-volume transmissions.

It is important for the Alliance to continue to exploit the Information Superhighway fully. Persons accessible through various computer networks are usually professionals . . . and it is useful for us to saturate them with our message, whether they like it or not.27

A similar "spamming" of another National Alliance propaganda piece occurred late in 1995; the organization once more disclaimed knowledge and disowned the act. Internet users were, however, dubious. Perhaps they remembered the event of the previous year and/or knew the Alliance position, published on its Web pages, that "it is our inescapable responsibility to do whatever is necessary to break [the Jewish] control [of the mass media]. We must shrink from nothing in combating this evil power. . . ."28 So many angry Internet users sent E-mail to the Alliance's Internet provider, Netgate Communications, that the company's servers could hardly keep up with the load. In self-defense, Netgate suspended the National Alliance Web account for several weeks. But the furor abated and the Alliance is now back on the Web at Netgate and other addresses.

The National Alliance site is self-contained and self-referential. It has no links to other sites. It stands alone trying to create the image, as one of its supporters said on the USENET, of being the "premier racial organization" in the United States.
What is on the Web pages of the National Alliance? There is a series of policy statements explaining the ideology of the National Alliance, an ideology which mirrors that of Nazi Germany. Biological determinism, hierarchical organization, an emphasis on will and sacrifice all echo Hitler. There are other familiar themes. America is in decline, its vital essence polluted by non-Aryans: blacks, Latinos, Asians and Jews. America must become an Aryan state purged of all non-Aryan influence. Only the revolutionary program of the National Alliance can save America!

The Web site also has a membership application that can be printed out and mailed, transcripts from its shortwave program, “American Dissident Voices,” reprints of articles from Free Speech, the organization newsletter, and National Vanguard, its magazine, and, given a special place, the infamous essay, “Who Rules America?” Hate of nonwhites runs through all these pieces, but an extra dose of venom is reserved for the Jews — who are cast as the source of all evil, driven by biological necessity to destroy Aryan society. Even when an article blames America’s presumed decline on the influx of non-Europeans, Jews are portrayed as the force responsible for condoning this by spreading that most noxious of all ideas, “equality.”

Pierce believes that Jews are parasites, outsiders who must weaken, exploit and destroy non-Jews. In an article, “The Essence of Judaism,” which is cited in a posting on the Web site, he uses the Bible to illustrate his view of Jews as culture-destroying:

[In Egypt] the former slave Joseph had parlayed his talents for necromancy and grain-speculation into a virtual dictatorship at the side of the Pharaoh. [The Jewish Torah tells us in Genesis] “As for the people, he reduced them to serfdom from one end of the land to the other.” Then Joseph threw open Egypt to his Jewish brethren [saying] “You shall feed on the fat of the land” and “the best that the land of Egypt offers is yours.”

When a more national-minded Pharaoh turned the tables on the Jews they were forced to flee, but not before relieving the Egyptians of their gold and silver. And so the pattern of Jewish history was set: from outcasts to fellow-citizens, trusted advisers, and finally, ruthless masters. Then follow the persecutions, pogroms, and expulsions which have won for the Jews such undeserved sympathy.

Another article published on the Alliance Web site claims that Jewish marriage customs have selectively “bred” these destructive traits into Jews. Because of biological predisposition and cultural reinforcement of such behavior, this predictable pattern can only be prevented by removing Jews from society. By way of example, Pierce explains, in yet another article on the Web site, how what he terms “the decline of American universities” could have been stopped in the 1960s and '70s:

It would have been necessary to defy the government as well as the Jews and the trendies. Eventually it would have been necessary to weed out the Jews and
reestablish the bans on hiring Jewish faculty members which our universities used to have in order to protect themselves from subversion. This would have entailed a real fight, a major disruption at every university. . . .

“Pastor” Pete Peters: Hate for Heaven’s Sake

The National Alliance justifies its hate with appeals to specious biology; Pastor Peter Peters appeals to theology. Peters, who operates the LaPorte (Colorado) Church of Christ, relies upon specious history to justify a tortured reading of Scriptures to support his bigotry. Through his organization, “Scriptures For America,” Peters teaches “Identity” doctrine and reviles mainstream American Christianity “as Judeo-Christianity (note: the italics are Peters’s). . . an effeminate religion. . . [with] phoney churches and preachers.” This “distorted” Christianity is, Peters insists, a Jewish conspiracy. For proof he turns to the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, a document described by Peters as “a blueprint for one world government”; in reality, of course, it is a classic in paranoid, racist literature and the most notorious political forgery of modern times. In Peters’s world view, Jews are the spawn of Satan, all non-Caucasians inferior to whites, and “Intolerance of, Discrimination Against and the Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible!”

Peters sees his task as spreading the message of a warrior-like Aryan religion. He longs to return to “true” Christianity which is “strong, logical, masculine” and “Bible-based” and reject “effeminate” mainstream “non-biblical Judeo-Christianity.” He feels the need for new Gideons, Jaels and Samsons, “superior warrior-type heroes” and the “blood and guts stories of such Bible heroes” to resist what Peters believes is the creeping enslavement of America. Along with many other right-wing extremists, Peters sees a vaguely defined and threatening “New World Order,” sponsored by Jews, where “they [i.e., the government] have all the guns and you have none,” destroying a virile, warrior-like America. He knows the source of this threat:

. . . Jewish controlled Hollywood has removed Godly heroes from the people and replaced them with ungodly ones. . . . Today the heroes that the film industry produce range from immoral wise guys, who are partially crooked themselves, to some Jewish queer looking sissy like Pee Wee Herman. . . . Not only will you not hear modern Judeo-Christian ministers preach in favor of the Bible warriors, but you’ll not hear them preach against Judaism and its rotten Talmudic filth. . . .”

It is small wonder that the Scriptures for America emblem is a map of the United States with Bible and broadsword superimposed. This would also explain his connections to much of the extremist right including members of the murderous right wing gang, “The Order,” and today’s flourishing militia movement. Indeed, Peters seems to be a real mover among the “Identity” influenced militia groups.
Scriptures for America has an active outreach, spreading “Identity” teachings through assorted publications, shortwave radio broadcasts and the Internet. For some time, the group has maintained an FTP site but in October 1995, it opened its World Wide Web site. The Web site is “under construction” but it does offer a selection of tracts, newsletters, and book reviews, all with the same sort of anti-Semitic theme. In addition, it links directly to the Scriptures For America FTP site (making it easier to download the material stored there), a number of other “Identity” pages, the seemingly omnipresent Stormfront, a number of pages devoted to Nordic and Celtic culture as well as a page devoted to home schooling. The Scriptures for America site is actively maintained and new material is slowly being added. Given Pete Peters’s proselytizing zeal and his use of technology to communicate his vision, the site will probably continue to grow.

USA Watch: Medieval Anti-Semitism

It purports to be an “Online News Network” and it does publish some legitimate news stories, but layered among them is a strain of anti-Semitism, so deep and so primitive that it harks back to the rank pages of Julius Streicher’s Nazi hate-sheet, Der Stürmer, and beyond that back to the themes of the Inquisition and the persecutions of the Middle Ages. The anti-Semitism of USA Watch is the anti-Semitism of blood libel, ritual murder of Christians as part of Jewish ritual practice, and undying Jewish hatred of Christianity and Christians.

USA Watch is yet another repackaging job in search of superficial respectability and wider audience. The name is changed but it is the direct descendent of Jew Watch, a viciously anti-Semitic publication that can only charitably be described as a “rag.” Filled with malicious, outlandish fictions, it has intermittently spewed its hate from Waco, and later, Victoria, Texas. Published by Die Freikorpsmann Presse and edited by “Bill Smith,” Jew Watch, the publication, with the masthead slogan, “News about jews [sic] that’s always fit to print!,” shares the same post office box in Victoria with USA Watch, the World Wide Web “news” service. They also share the same bigotry.

USA Watch involves a considerable effort on the part of its publishers. It is updated daily although stories frequently stay active for several days. A typical example of the USA Watch approach is seen in the Tuesday, December 5, 1995, “edition.” There are stories headlined,
The anti-Semitism of USA Watch is the anti-Semitism of blood libel, ritual murder of Christians as part of Jewish ritual practice, and undying Jewish hatred of Christianity and Christians.

The anti-Semitism of USA Watch is the anti-Semitism of blood libel, ritual murder of Christians as part of Jewish ritual practice, and undying Jewish hatred of Christianity and Christians.

Like Shoah Business: Holohoax Museum Receives Commemorative Stamp Act." While Jews are the target of choice for USA Watch, the headlines are frequently filled with adjectives describing ethnic background or sexual orientation regardless of the relevance to the story. Villains are "Jewish," "Jewess," "Negro," "Mexican," "Lesbian," and the like.

Yet blatant as these headlines are, it is in the Der Stürmer section of the homepage, the USA Watch "homage" to the Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher, that no-holds-barred blood libel anti-Semitism is unleashed. Anti-Semitic quotations are an integral parts of the section as are slogans such as "No Country Can Have Jews and Freedom Too" or "Jews Are Blood Suckers." The "stories" have headlines such as "Can Jewish Ritual Murder Happen Now?" or "Will Your Christian Little Girl Be Their Next Whore?" or "Celebrate Christmas And To Hell With Jew Hanukkah," or, in German, "Satanistische Kol Nidre" (Satanic Kol Nidre). Occasionally, as a divertissement, an anti-Semitic "editorial cartoon" is also published.

Sometimes the "editors" manage to work charges of ritual murder into the "news stories." A story about a series of murders and mutilations of young women in the suburbs of New York City in 1995 for which the police had no solid clues was given the "unique" USA Watch "treatment." Headlined, "Police Looking For Link In Jewish-Type Ritual Murders Of Tattooed, Mutilated Goyim Women," it read (in part):

MELVILLE, N.Y. (ONN) - The grisly scene was repeated three times in 3 years: A dark-haired, tattooed woman who died of a blow to the head, dumped outdoors with limbs cut off her nude body. . . . [P]olice still have no evidence linking the three deaths to one killer.

One mutilated body was found in Westchester County and two in Suffolk County. The latest victim was discovered Monday in a Melville dumpster by a construction worker looking for a lost lottery ticket, police said.

"Based on the similarities in each of the cases, the possibility exists that they were done by the same negro [sic] or Jew or negroes [sic] or Jews. . . . Most negroes [sic] carry knives and it is likely if it wasn't a Jew cult-type ritual murder, then it had to be a negro [sic] or negroes," [sic] said one policeman who asked for anonymity.
THE HOLOCAUST DENIERS: THE BIG LIE REVISITED

Historian Deborah Lipstadt rightly calls Holocaust denial an “assault on truth and memory.” It is also an assault on the dead, killing them yet again by denying their very suffering and death. Those peddling this propaganda pretend that they are objective, dispassionate seekers of truth. In reality they are what ADL called them in 1993 — Hitler’s Apologists.40

At the core of the movement are those who share Willis Carto’s view that “Hitler’s defeat was the defeat of Europe . . . and must be laid at the door of the international Jews.” Carto, the driving force behind the major anti-Semitic propaganda group in the United States, the Liberty Lobby, was also the prime mover in the creation of the fountainhead of Holocaust denial, The Institute for Historical Review (IHR), an organization preoccupied with the theme of Nazis as undeserving victims and Jews as malicious plotters and liars.

There are three major Holocaust-denial pages on the World Wide Web. Two are operated by people closely connected to the IHR, Greg Raven and Bradley Smith. Raven reprints a great deal of the output of the “Institute” and Smith gives the material a different spin in order to reach young people. The third denier is Ernst Zündel,41 a German-born Canadian hatemonger, who uses many of the latest World Wide Web technology to spread his message.

The denier strategy is simple and familiar. They know that big lies, especially well-funded ones, lies repeated frequently and loudly, have remarkable staying power.

Ernst Zündel: Hate Knows No Borders

Ernst Zündel could be called the P.T. Barnum of anti-Semitic propaganda: he is a real huckster. This inveterate showman-promoter runs a multimedia mini-empire, Samisdat publishing, from what he calls Zündel-Haus, his home and office in Toronto. His homepage is the Zündelsite. Its major graphic, a photo, shows reporters, photographers, TV cameras and microphones huddling around a middle-aged man in a baseball cap. The center of attention is, of course, Ernst Zündel. When he posts messages on Don Black’s Stormfront E-mail list, they are Zündelsite-Grams. He promises to send contributors a daily E-mail “Zündel-Greeting [with which] to start the day.” Zündel portrays himself a crusader for free speech, for the cause of an abused, misunderstood Nazi Germany and has cast himself as a heroic warrior “against the lie of the century,” the Holocaust.

Zündel publishes on the Web in English, French and German with the promise of Russian, Italian, and even Hebrew soon to come. His radio programs, in both English and German, are now available on his site, any time of day or night, anywhere in the world, if a person has the right computer equipment. On these programs, he becomes simply “Another Voice of Freedom,” his tone humble, self-effacing and earnest. Sometime in 1996, he hopes to make his satel-
Zündel's logo.

lite TV program available via the Web. As his press release notes, “[t]he computer, in effect, becoming the TV set, will thus replace the expensive and cumbersome satellite dish.”

Zündel claims a global audience and is particularly pleased that he may be reaching an audience of college students. Holocaust-denier Zündel estimates, though without any statistically reliable evidence, that about 60 college students visit his site each day. “[Q]uite a few . . . (apparently law-and-media students) [sic] from university programs everywhere contact [me] for information on ‘free speech’ and other matters, usually prefacing their requests with ‘. . . knowing that we cannot get your viewpoints from traditional sources . . . .’” These young people, Zündel says, are “our future leadership . . . [who] will discuss with fellow students or professors what they read.”

The Zündelsite itself is not the typical extremist Web site. No impressive images — rather it assaults the visitor with attention-catching phrases blinking on and off, urging the reader to click here to read in English, or German, or French, or click here to get the newest update about Zündel’s latest run-in with the Canadian courts or click here to listen to Ernst Zündel Live!! (actually it is a recording, but it is his voice).

It is filled, of course, with Zündel’s writing but there are also other articles from assorted Holocaust deniers and anti-Semites. On the English pages, there are reprints of articles from The Journal of Historical Review, Liberty Bell, a publication from the West Virginia-based propaganda machine of neo-Nazi George Dietz, and from The Barnes Review, Willis Carto’s latest exercise in historical “revisionism.” In the German sections, there are reports about the activities of the Nazi right including one about the 1995 memorial march in honor of that “martyr to Germany and the peoples of Europe,” Rudolf Hess. In the French pages, he has articles by the French Holocaust deniers Robert Faurisson and Henri Rocques. One article by Monher Sfar, described as a professor of Arab-Muslim studies, repeats the by-now familiar denier claim that the gas chambers were not for killing humans but really fumigation chambers for purposes of hygiene. Sfar also argues that there is no distinction between German and Jewish ideas of race-based nationality, that Nazism and Zionism identical.

Zündel is on a campaign to vindicate Hitler and the Nazis. He knows it is a tough sell, so he must appear reasonable. Indeed, at the bottom of almost every Web page he writes. “We do not recruit, we convince. Truth has no need of coercion.” As if to prove his point, he has only one link to another Web site, Nizkor — an on-line archive devoted to documenting the Holocaust, a site which Zündel describes as devoted to “repetitive Holocaust promotion.”

As part of his attack, Zündel must reconstruct Hitler’s image and malign the Jews. Years ago, hoping to further his goal, he wrote a tract called The Hitler We Loved, and Why, using the name Christof Frederich. Zündel has a long history of anti-Semitic writing. In the mid- and late 1970s, still using the Frederich pseudonym, he was on the editorial staff of White Power Report and wrote articles for Liberty Bell, both produced by George Dietz’s Liberty Bell Publications. Today,
Zündel’s Web site reprints an article from the August 1978 issue of *Liberty Bell* titled, *Could Hitler Have Avoided Confrontation with Jews?*, which makes a mind-numbing comparison between Christ and Hitler, suggesting that both were on similar redemptive missions and neither could reconcile with the Jews and remain true to their calling.

I questioned if Christ could have remained the Messiah, could have continued to be “... the truth, the way, and the life,” which was his mission, had he appeased the Scribes and Pharisees! Was not his mission irreconcilable with the Talmudism of the latter?

And what about Hitler? Could he have had a cozy relationship with the Jews, and yet be true to his mission: self-determination for the German people, rejection of the yoke of international bankers, squash pornography, prostitution, infuse Christian culture into the arts and theater?

The article then goes on to restate the old anti-Semitic line, now disowned by all major Christian groups, that the Jews killed Jesus and that Jews are associated with the anti-Christ and then conlates these claims with the equally familiar and discredited charge that all Jews are supporters of Communism.

[There is] a parallel to hatred of the Scribes and Pharisees against Jesus of Nazareth. When the latter in a kangaroo court found no cause against him, until He said he was the Son of God ... the Chief Priest tore his garments and cried: “Blasphemy! What further need we urge to get him crucified! He is anti-Jehovah!”

Just so now ... the descendants of the Scribes and Pharisees denounce Hitler, the anti-Communist, the anti-pornographer, the “anti-Christ.”

As the truth begins hesitantly to pierce the fog of war atrocity propaganda, it becomes increasingly evident that if Hitler had really been anti-Christ — if he had, in fact, been against Christianity and Christian culture, if specifically he had really hated the Catholic Church — he would, we can be absolutely certain, have been exalted like Stalin as a crusading hero, and the swindlers, the pornographers, Jews and atheists, would openly have supported him, as they supported Stalin, the bloodiest anti-Christ monster of all time!"5

Zündel specializes in the outrageous. On his site he publishes a series of anonymous articles, written, “In the spirit of ‘Publius’” — the pseudonym James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay used when writing that landmark of American political theory, *The Federalist*. Many of these “Publius” articles are critical of German attempts to punish neo-Nazi propagandists and they complain that the current German government is just like the Nazis in its desire to restrict freedom of expression. One article, defending the rights of neo-Nazis to speak and write, even goes so far as to invoke the memory of Pastor Martin Niemöller, who died resisting the Nazis.
Greg Raven: The Voice of the Institute for Historical Review

Below the impressive logo on his homepage, Greg Raven posts this notice:

This collection of interesting files is provided for the enjoyment and edification of all by Greg Raven. . . . This Web site is my personal “spare time” project, and is not supported, sponsored, or financed by the Institute for Historical Review or any other group or individual.47

What Raven does not tell the visitor is that he is intimately connected with the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), that he is the associate editor of its house organ, The Journal of Historical Review, and that his entire site is devoted to the Institute’s line of Holocaust denial. On-line racists know this; the “Aryan Crusader’s”48 link to Raven’s page is to “The unofficial Institute for Historical Review.” Although Raven does not ignore the Institute, he never acknowledges his connection.

The visitor who browses and reads through the almost 90 articles republished on Raven’s site finds titles such as Auschwitz myths and facts, The ‘Jewish Soap’ myth, The Holocaust and the myth of the past as history, (reprinted twice), ‘No Gas Chambers’ Says Influential Japanese Magazine. Every article either denies or diminishes the Holocaust, condemns the war against Hitler or vilifies Jews.

The Holocaust as Jewish plot is the idée fixe of IHR and Raven’s material. The only links are to other Holocaust-denial Web sites. Even those articles not directly concerned with the Holocaust eventually point back to it. The article on “Japanese camps in California” [during World War II] by Marc Weber49, the IHR Director and editor of The Journal of Historical Review, is published to show that what the Nazis did to the Jews was not unprecedented and that the Nazis “had far greater cause to intern the Jews of Europe than the Americans did to incarcerate the West Coast Japanese.”50

Another Weber article, this one about the Boer War, uses the terms Jew and Jewish, often modifying words such as “speculator,” “gold-bugs,” “cosmopolitan” and “landlords” almost as much as it uses the terms Boer or Boers.51 And, of course, the British threw Boer women and children into concentration camps. The unstated — and tendentious — question is: Where was [is] the outrage as innocent people of Germanic heritage were persecuted in a “Jew-imperialist, Jewish-capitalist . . . war?” Remarkably, however, the misery of these incarcerated people is not compared to that of the inmates of Auschwitz or Buchenwald but to the “losers of the Second World War, . . . [who] had no International Military Tribunal which they could use to punish the victors for war crimes and crimes against humanity.” It is not difficult to recognize that this article really is not about the Boer War.

Stalin and Communism are also occasional subjects of “Review.” Here, too, the goal is to reduce the enormity of Hitler’s evil by suggesting that Stalin’s well-documented atrocities somehow minimize those of the Nazis.
To head off the charges that he and his associates are peddling historical distortions and anti-Semitism, Raven’s homepage carries this disclaimer:

If you find material on this Web site that is untrue, please tell me and I will change it. If you find material on this Web site that is racist or hateful, please tell me and I will remove it.

**Bradley Smith: The College Try**

For Holocaust deniers, colleges and universities are ideal locations to push their pseudoacademic wares. They are institutions devoted to vigorous debate and inquiry. College students are young, often without a strongly formed sense of history, idealistic, predisposed toward the underdog, often willing to challenge received wisdom and struggling to cope with many new, disorienting ideas. Bradley Smith, director of the so-called “Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust,” (CODOH), the point man in the deniers’ college outreach program, tries to exploit this by placing, or trying to place, advertisements in college newspapers. Now, he is using the Web as an extension of his “Campus Project” strategy.

The ads deny the reality of the Holocaust, question the motives of those who criticize him and demand — in the name of academic freedom and intellectual honesty — that the deniers’ claims be debated on their terms. On the Web, as on the campus, Bradley Smith tries to present himself as an intellectual gadfly challenging establishment dogma. An example of his approach is seen in his first widely printed ad, which Smith republishes on the Web:

Revisionists . . . maintain that the figure of 6 million Jewish deaths is an irresponsible exaggeration, and that no execution gas chambers existed in any camp in Europe which was under German control. Fumigation gas chambers did exist to delouse clothing and equipment to prevent disease at the camps. It is very likely that it was from this life-saving procedure that the myth of extermination gas chambers emerged.

. . . During the war, and in the post-war era as well, Zionist organizations joined with the Allied Governments and became deeply involved in creating and promulgating anti-German hate propaganda. There is little doubt that their purpose was to drum up world sympathy and political and financial support for Jewish causes, especially for the formation of the State of Israel. Today, . . . the story still plays an important role in the ambitions of Zionists and other organizations in the Jewish community. . . .

Those who would claim that these interpretations are anti-Jewish are reading into them something which simply is not there. . . .

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*Bradley Smith uses the Web as an extension of his “Campus Project” strategy.*
The ad then reviews the assertions of several stalwarts of the pseudoacademic Institute for Historical Review while ignoring the compelling evidence of their lack of credibility. After making these claims, the ads go on to say that only fear and political correctness prevent an open debate, begging the question of whether there is anything to debate. Unwillingness to engage in a “serious” examination of “revisionist” claims is *prima facie* evidence of bad faith.

The Holocausters [sic] accuse Revisionists of being hate-filled people who are promoting a doctrine of hatred. But Revisionism is a scholarly process, not a doctrine or an ideology. If the Holocaust promoters really want to expose hatred, they should take a second look at their own doctrines, and a long look at themselves in a mirror.

Smith’s goal is simple. He wants to legitimate Holocaust denial as part of Holocaust study. To do this he must seize the discussion, to create a debate where there is none. Yet he is frequently frustrated. Reputable scholars will neither debate nor give credence to the tainted “research” produced by the Institute for Historical Review.

Win or lose, Smith cynically sees advantage in this effort. If the student newspaper publishes the ad, it inevitably generates outrage, pain and publicity. If the paper refuses the ad, Smith plays the victim, wrapping himself in the First Amendment and loudly bewailing the death of the university with its ideals of open inquiry and academic freedom. Holocaust denial thus gets extensive coverage on the campus, in the local and, occasionally, national media and Smith assumes the guise of the “champion” of intellectual integrity.

If he has a hard time getting his material published on campuses, Smith now tries to bring the students to the materials. Recently, he attempted to place small ads in classified sections of college papers. The ads read:

![Image of ad: 46 Unanswered Questions About the Nazi Gas Chambers FREE On the World Wide Web]

and then gives Smith’s online address.\(^3\)

To buttress his positions about the Holocaust, Smith has filled his Web site with some standard denial writings from the “regulars” at the IHR. The Web site also contains a list of the schools where he published the ads, Smith’s descriptions of the reaction generated by some of his ads and some other works by Smith.

The site contains an extensive list of “hotlinks” to many other Web sites. There are also links to Greg Raven and Ernst Zündel and a site called the “Dark Web Pages of Zionism.” In addition, the site has many links to Web pages concerned with free speech. Holocaust deniers frequent-
ly cast themselves as defenders of the First Amendment. In deference to the claim that he favors “open” debate, Smith provides some links to sites, such as Nizkor, which challenge the claims of Holocaust deniers.

Smith also uses his Web pages to deny something else. He insists that, though he questions the reality of the Holocaust, he is not an anti-Semite. In one article on the Web, he explains that he is deeply indebted to Jews who defended him when he was arrested, years ago, for selling Henry Miller’s Tropic of Cancer. He claims to respect Jews but is astonished to see them abandoning their traditional commitment to intellectual freedom. Smith also tries to set himself apart from the Holocaust deniers who seek to defend the Nazi regime. It is true, he says, that “the Hitlerian regime was antisemitic [sic] and persecuted Jews.”54 This concession is apparently meant to show that it is intellectual honesty, not anti-Semitic animus, that leads him to deny that “the German state pursued a plan to kill all Jews or used homicidal ‘gassing chambers’ for mass murder.” Yet, over and over, he raises the question, What do Jews have to fear in honest debate about the gas chambers? On his site he writes:

Finally, there are those who protest that an authentic open debate on the Holocaust controversy might prove to be bad for Jews. For my part, I can not imagine a shallower or more bigoted assumption. Free inquiry and open debate will be good for Jews — for exactly the reasons they are good for the rest of us. In any event, why should they not be?55

Disclaimers of anti-Semitism notwithstanding, Smith uses his Web site to portray his Holocaust-denial efforts in terms of intellectually open and honest deniers versus Jews, fearful of losing something. He also drags out the tired charge that Jews and Communists share common, or at least complementary, purposes. His Web site has a section titled “The Tangled Web: Zionism, Stalinism and the Holocaust Story,” which strongly suggests that the Holocaust is a fiction created to promote Stalinist and Zionist goals.

Bradley Smith works hard to present himself as an “honest” man who simply wants to encourage reasonable debate among reasonable people. Those who refuse to debate, who say that the Holocaust is a fact not subject to debate about its authenticity, are, by implication, dishonest and unreasonable. Indeed, he describes his critics as little more than rigid, threatened hysterics who:

fantasize armies of nazis [sic] marching toward them from distant horizons, singing songs of conquest, whips in hand, about to leap through the ADL office window to lash the hapless drudges inside and mistreat them sexually.56
NEW ON THE WEB: SELF-MADE CYBERHATERS

The Web sites described thus far all are operated by individuals and groups with long, sordid histories of anti-Semitic and racist activity. Yet, along with the likes of Don Black, William Pierce and Pete Peters, a group of new bigots with names previously unknown to observers of the hate movement has become prominent on the Web. Indeed, a site operated by one of these newcomers, The Aryan Crusader’s Library, has been described as the “hub of the white nationalist network” on the Web. But who is the Internet presence that uses the name “Aryan Crusader?”

The Aryan Crusader: A Library of Hate

The answer is unclear. The Internet is a dissembler’s paradise, a place where it is easy to invent a persona — to be whatever you want to be. All a reader has to go by are the arcane abbreviations that make up an Internet address and even these might be a deception.\(^58\)

The Aryan Crusader is probably someone named Reuben Logsdon. He may be, or perhaps was, a physics student at the University of Texas at Austin or he may be a food service worker in a University of Texas cafeteria. Then again, he may currently be working in Croatia. He may still be operating the Aryan Crusader’s Library site or he may not.\(^59\) He has or has had a number of E-mail addresses, some of which are real and some, he admits, are fake.

It seems that Logsdon did found the site called Cyberhate using the computers of the University of Texas at Austin as a base. After some problems with the University — Logsdon denies that the move was motivated by pressure on or from the the University; he just wanted to “spare the .utexas [sic] admin[istrator]s some headaches.”\(^60\) — he moved the site to a private Internet Service Provider in Austin, Texas and began using a less confrontational name: The Aryan Crusader’s Library.

Yet, whoever the “real” Reuben Logsdon may be, his “net persona” — The Aryan Crusader — is an example of how the ease of setting up shop on the World Wide Web allows any individual to become an “unofficial” propagandist of the hate establishment and promote the agenda of the extremist right.\(^61\) The Crusader and others like him are a new type of hater — the bigot who, thanks to easy access to college computer facilities or low-cost private providers, actively promotes anti-Semitic, racist and extremist causes. Some, through their own efforts of self-promotion, have even become significant players in the hate literature distribution network.

The Aryan Crusader site is clearly inspired by Don Black. It greets the visitor with a map of the United States emblazoned with the slogan “Keeping America White” and a vicious anti-Semitic epigraph attributed to Gordon Kahl, a murderous, anti-Semitic racist who died, a fugitive, in a 1983 shootout with law enforcement officers.\(^62\)
They have two objectives in their goal of ruling the world. Destroy Christianity and the white race. Neither can be accomplished by itself. They stand and fall together.

Logsdon, who described himself to The Washington Post as a “skinhead,” seems to have a high regard for violent “martyrs” to the extremist cause. In a map found on the site designed to locate and link to other racist Web sites he clearly identifies Whidbey Island in Puget Sound. It was on Whidbey that Robert Matthews, the fugitive leader of the violent, criminal neo-Nazi organization, The Order, died in a fiery shootout with law enforcement agents in 1984.

With Kahl and Matthews as “heroes,” it is easy to predict the content of The Aryan Crusader’s Library. It is filled with the extremists’ reference works: William Pierce; the violence-prone, anti-Semitic Louis Beam, a prolific white-supremacist writer (or group of writers) using the pseudonym of Yggdrasil. Some of the articles are by college-age haters such as the ubiquitous, neo-Nazi Milton John Kleim, would-be theorist of extremist revolution and ardent admirer of William Pierce. There are also links to the racist Canadian Heritage Front, information about the National Alliance and the Ku Klux Klan as well as groups of other racists. When the National Alliance temporarily lost its site, it used Logsdon’s address as a “mirror.”

The Aryan Crusader’s Library also has links to several other organizations apparently run by other college students. One, a group called CNG, which claims the Internet is its “battleground,” posts its material at The Aryan Crusader’s Library but its E-mail address is at the University of Western Ontario in Canada. At this point, it has not been determined if CNG is a real organization or the paper project of some racist college student or students who have easy access to the Net through their school computers.

CLOC, “The Carolinian Lords of the Caucuses,” is another group sharing the Crusader server. The CLOC homepage features a big, dramatic picture of a Klan cross burning. The founder of CLOC allegedly is one Axl Clocstein, director of “the chemicals weapons department” of the “White Nationalist Laboratories,” who “founded CLOC as a tax shelter. . .” while working at the laboratory. Among the contributors to the site are “Colonel Marcus W. Marlow” and “Lord R.C. Richards, Racial Theorist,” who write articles that see overpopulation in Africa which results in some Malthusian disaster or the legalization of crack as “solutions” to race problems. Racist CLOC manifestoes were frequently posted to the USENET and CLOC ideas became active discussion topics. CLOC writings are primarily anti-black but anti-Semitism is also present:
and congratulations to oj [Simpson] and to his Jewish lawyers, who with the support of some dumbass nigras, made a mockery out of the justice system.

It won’t be long before the nigras see what a fiasco this whole thing has been and they’ll turn on the Jewry and blame the Jewry. But it’ll just be one more case of the nigras doing what they do best: blame somebody else for their condition.

Anyway, this has all been good for the wp [white power] movement because everybody is pissed and the nigras, once again, have wound up looking like idjits.69

CLOC’s racist and juvenile antics have caught the attention of the mainstream media. The “organization” was prominently featured in a recent issue of Time magazine.70 The “Racial Theorist,” sidestepping the racist content of CLOC materials, told Time, “What this thing is about is having fun. And shock value.” Reasonable people would dispute the characterization of CLOC’s bigotry as “fun” but CLOC is proof that anyone can get to the Web and, with the right type of promotion, get attention.

Joe Bunkley: Hate Is Not Pretty

Joe Bunkley operates two Web sites using the facilities of Georgia State University.71 The 1st WWW BANNED MEDIA PAGE went on line in the middle of 1995. The following fall he opened another, THE COMING FALL OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.72 While most Web sites try to put a pretty face on the materials, Bunkley’s does not. He is so busy publishing that he ignores anything beyond rudimentary formatting. His Web pages are just text. But a glance at the table of contents indicates that he is not an amateur when it comes to cataloging on-line hate material. The staples of anti-Semitism and racism are all present, arranged under headings such as Jew World Order (where you can read a version of The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion), The Holocaust Never Happened, National Socialism, Aryan Pre-Christian Religion. There is also an appeal to “Join the Militia; Prevent Tyranny.” In addition, there are lists of “essential” racist books, broadcast schedules for racist radio, TV, cable and satellite programs, phone and fax hot-lines for racist and militia groups and much more. It is little wonder that Bunkley’s site has become an essential link for many of the other Web racists.

The second site, subtitled, “Collapse of the Western Era and The Jew World Order,” looks a bit less messy; its content is even uglier. It opens with the appeal “WHITE WOMAN! WHITE MAN! FOR THE FIRST TIME . . . KNOW YOUR TRUE IDENTITY!” The reader can browse through “White Flame,” Bunkley’s attempt at an “e-zine,” a magazine published on line only, which is really a collection of a few long pieces published elsewhere on line. In his voluminous reference list, Bunkley even links to the manifesto of the infamous and mysterious “Unabomber.”

Bunkley is an eager newcomer rapidly learning his materials. But he is also an example of a college-age hater using a University’s computer center as an operations base. In Bunkley’s case, he is also operating on the facilities of a publicly financed institution.
The presence of such material on a computer system operated with taxpayer funds has created controversy. The computer ethics policy adopted by Georgia State University in March 1995 affirms that “Freedom of expression is a constitutional right afforded to all members of the community and existing University policies apply equally to computerized expression.” But after complaints from ADL and others, it did require that all personal Web sites carry a disclaimer stating, “This is not an official Georgia State University homepage!” and a link to the official school computer-use policy. This action enraged Bunkley. He effectively buried the required disclaimer by posting a petulant “disclaimer to the disclaimer” ahead of it. In his “disclaimer,” Bunkley blasts “would-be censors” as “cowards” and “intellectually dead” who have a “hatred for the White Race and the advances Aryan Folk have brought to humanity as a whole.”

“Reverend” Ron Schoedel: Wholly Hate

Ron Schoedel, a young man born in 1976, has recently moved to Alaska where he says he is the station manager of a country music radio station in Sitka. As have Bunkley and Logsdon, “Rev.” Ron, as he frequently calls himself, has become a presence in the community of haters working the USENET and World Wide Web.

A self-styled “Identity” Christian minister and “chaplain” to the racist news groups, Schoedel is an active contributor to the news groups’ discussions. Frequently “flaming” his “enemies” — Jews, African-Americans, “nominal” (i.e., not “Identity”) Christians and people who are critical of his overt bigotry — the “Reverend” posts messages which are often vituperative and studded with obscenities. Here is one of his more printable comments about Jews.

You jews [sic] are pretty cunning and weird sometimes! Like we’d want YOUR identity!? HA! DOUBLE HA! HA HA HA HA! . . . Sure, like we want to steal your identity. On the other hand, I [sic] can see how you God-damned jews [sic] would try to steal the identity of the God-blessed Chosen White race....

And here he characterizes African-Americans:

But then again, why should I expect you folks to know anything of Amerikkkan [sic] History, when you’ve been busy gaining biblical knowledge of beast races from that veritable cultural cesspool of Afrika [sic].

These sentiments might seem at variance with Schoedel’s claim, that “[i]t is not the intention of Christian Identity Online to promote hatred or supremacy of any kind. Being pro-White does not inherently make us anti-anybody.” But another article on the site explains that it is permissible to hate evil and those who promote it and Schoedel defines all who do not accept the
“Identity” view of religion as supporters of evil. And in Ron Schoedel’s canon, the greatest source of evil is the Jews.

This hatred is not readily apparent when the visitor first reaches his home page, *Christian Identity Online*, which he describes as “A Public Service of Rev. Ronald C. Schoedel III.” He even warns away those who might be offended by “religious and nationalist materials,” but the warning does not indicate what this spot on the Internet is about. Those who continue will find the next page with its large black and white logo much less tranquil. From this page, one can read on-line versions of *The Truth*, his online newsletter which has the goal of “Equipping today’s Christian Soldier with the Sword of the Spirit.”

In *The Truth*, Schoedel and an associate engage in elaborate Biblical exegesis and demonstrate, for example, that modern government is the anti-Christ, that God instituted racial segregation, that Martin Luther King Jr. was a “sex-crazed degenerate pervert” and that the “Whore of Babylon” in the Book of Revelations is really modern Judaism. And despite *The Truth’s* avowed purpose, a Bible-quoting “Rev.” Ron, voicing the “Identity” line that Jews are descendants of ungodly forces, implies strongly that, when dealing with Jews, something more than a spiritual sword is needed:

> Most Christians believe their enemy is some supernatural force called satan, [sic] who they must wage war against spiritually. They are concentrating their efforts all in the wrong place. . . . God’s Word identifies the adversarial force . . . as the religion we know as Talmudic Judaism. [Schoedel’s term for modern Judaism]. Christian brethren, take up the sword of the spirit — God’s Truth — and join us in waging war against those who are working hard towards our demise and toward the destruction of our . . . [Aryan] Culture and People. We shall be victorious, . . . When this task is completed, “ . . . they [In Schoedel’s view: “Identity” Christians] shall burn among them, and devour them; and there shall not be any remaining to the House of Esau [in Schoedel’s view: the ancestors of modern Judaism]; for Yahweh has spoken it,” (Obadiah 18).

On other pages of the site there are commentaries about important social issues with an emphasis on encouraging young Aryans to develop a sense of “racial pride.” In one, the prolific Milton Kleim suggests that an unconscious desire for racial self-annihilation is the answer to the question, “Why is it that beautiful Aryan females, for example, Christy Brinkley, Laura Dern and Claudia Schiffer” marry Jewish men? Interracial marriage and young whites who emulate aspects of African-American culture are also the objects of examination and condemnation. There are also reprints of National Alliance propaganda as well as the writing of others active in the “Identity” movement including the Aryan Nations’ Louis Beam.

Ron Schoedel is an energetic, vituperative zealot, a bigot who knows and understands computers and is willing to make the effort to advertise. He, like the “Aryan Crusader,” Joe Bunkley and USENET propagandist Milton Kleim, is an example of a self-made cyberhater. For the
moment, we cannot determine the importance of this phenomenon. Only time will tell if these young haters will continue to be present on the Internet, become active in some hate group, found their own or simply fade from public view.

THE SKINHEADS: BIGOTRY'S SHOCK TROOPS

ADL has described neo-Nazi Skinheads as "bigotry's shock troops." On the Internet they are well represented in the alt.skinheads newsgroup, but very few have made it onto the Web. One who has, an obscenity-typing presence on the newsgroup, calls himself "Bootboy." His page, Skinheads, USA, is mainly a collection of links to the familiar racist sites: The National Alliance, Joe Bunkley, The Aryan Crusader and the like. Other than the "tattoo" of the month, there is very little original on the page, its thin content reflecting the general anti-intellectual bias of most skinheads. Yet there is one skinhead site of interest.

Resistance Records: George Hawthorne's Hate "Music"

George Eric Hawthorne, a.k.a. George Burdi, a.k.a. "Reverend" Eric Hawthorne, is a Canadian skinhead entrepreneur. Lead vocalist of a "White Power" skinhead rock band called RAHOWA (Racial Holy War), Hawthorne/Burdi is president of Resistance Records, a company that distributes the records of RAHOWA and several other skinhead groups, operates resistlist, an E-mail list, and edits the music "skinzine," Resistance, that promotes the bands on his label and runs the Resistance Records World Wide Web site. Hawthorne, whom the Toronto Sun described as "a top honcho in the racist Church of the Creator"— an organization characterized by ADL as "a package of racist, anti-Jewish and anti-Christian hatred in religious garb," has a long documented history of violent behavior. He is currently awaiting trial in Canada for assault with intent to commit bodily harm.

Publicly, Resistance Records downplays overt racism, portraying itself as struggling for the integrity and survival of the "white race."

[W]e define ourselves as White Separatists, which expresses [our] desire for the establishment of a White Homeland in the United States. As far-fetched as this notion may seem to the uninitiated, we believe that it is a sound political solution to the Racial tensions in the U.S., and the only recourse available to us if our Race is to survive and prosper beyond the next century. We seek to form alliances with members of any race that support Racial Separatism.

However, white survival also means something more for Hawthorne and Resistance Records.
As Mark Wilson, the General Manager of Resistance Records, wrote in a letter to Resistance magazine subscribers explaining the goals of the company, “We are in business to put the Jews out of business.”

Hawthorne’s Web site is different from all the other racist sites on the Web. It marks the confluence of hate and commerce. There are no theoretical papers exposing Jewish control of this, or the non-Aryan threat to that. Hawthorne simply sells disks and tapes by the groups recording on his label. The homepage, topped by a grinning death’s head, has the cover pictures of each of the Resistance Records recording groups and prominently displayed Visa and MasterCard symbols — links to the order form.

Resistance features the music of Hawthorne’s RAHOWA and other groups such as Aryan, Berserkr [sic], Nordic Thunder and No Remorse. Each album cover is a link to a brief description of the content, a chance to download samples and a complete song or two from the album and, of course, the order form. This distribution of sample recording cuts over the Web is an interesting marketing idea, but its effectiveness is limited. Users must download the songs before listening and that might take 20-30 minutes for a three- or four-minute song. If, and when, Resistance adopts some method of real-time downloading, this might become a more effective marketing device — assuming the would-be customers are interested in albums such as one by a group called Centurion that Resistance promotes with this blurb:

Centurion: “Fourteen Words” — The Fourteen Words are: “We must secure the existence of our race and a future for White children.” This album, Centurion’s first, is a dynamic collection of scorching hard metal songs . . . with brutal lyrics and an uncompromising message.
III: CONCLUSION

WHAT THE WEB HAS TO OFFER

A recent study by Nielsen Media Research suggests that about 24 million adults in the U.S. and Canada use the Internet. Some statisticians have recently challenged these figures, but even the critics of the study agree that Internet usage is growing rapidly and will continue to grow. That is what makes the Internet appealing to so many, including haters. An ex-member of the United States of America Nationalist Party, who quit the party because it was attracting “misfits and drags,” believes that “the Internet will bring many of our more educated people together in order to form strong leadership alliances.”

Ron Schoedel, the 19-year-old who runs the virulently racist, anti-Semitic “Christian Identity Online” Web site, sees the Internet revolutionizing communications. “When Gutenberg invented movable type . . . who would have guessed . . . [how it would] shape and mold our world. The Net has equal potential . . .”

The combination of relatively low cost and a growing audience makes the Web enticing to millions of users. But another feature appeals to the purveyors of hate: They have control of their message. To get beyond the limits of the narrow circulation of their traditional media, they have previously resorted to TV talk shows that often deteriorate into shouting, and sometimes even gladiatorial, contests with their opponents. There is no haven from opponents on the traditional USENET and IRC hangouts either. White Power advocates constantly complain about “Jews” who will not let them alone, questioning their motives, critiquing their manifestos about how minorities and Jews are running the United States into the ground or ridiculing their reveries about the wonders of the Nazi past. They long for a place where they can be untroubled by critics.

The Web is such a place. Web sites are electronic “magazines” published by the site owner. It is impossible for someone surfing the Web to know if any particular organization, other than one with a national reputation, is credible; both the reputable and the disreputable are on the Web. The typical “Web surfer” does not have the experience or knowledge to distinguish among them. This is another aspect of the “democracy” of the Web. In the “virtual world [of the Web] these movements can . . . gain the advantage of being a ‘sole’ voice of authority, thus strengthening the credibility of their work.”

Fictitious history, spurious sociology and tortured “logic” can seem more credible when presented without opposition. The Holocaust deniers, for example, crave legitimacy; they intensely want Holocaust denial to be accepted as historical “revisionism” and not neo-Nazi fiction and so they give their arguments a quasi-scholarly gloss to make them seem seductively plausible. In the controlled environment of Web sites, people cannot expose the tendentious claims of the deniers, cannot expose the well-documented anti-Semitism and neo-Nazi sympathies of the leaders of the movement or their reliance on the tainted testimony of biased “experts.”

The Web can also be used to extend the reach of traditional ways of contacting believers. The National Alliance, inspired by William Pierce’s violent, paranoid visions, looks to the Web...
and alternative media as a way to counter traditional “Jewish-controlled” mass media and as an indispensable link in its revolutionary plan:

    Even our mass media do not attempt to compete with those of the enemy by winning larger audiences. Ours merely aim at reaching the entire White population with our message and making it continually accessible to those who are responsive. . . . Our mass media, however, eventually will provide the indispensable tool for communicating with all the elements of the White population during a critical transitional period between the collapse of one way of life and the establishment of another. A successful attainment of governmental power will not be possible without this tool.98

    This is the hope of the haters: use the media to create an alternative channel to spread the word, to reach the impressionable, reinforce the beliefs of the converted, and create a community of the like-minded. On the Web, they preach on an easy-to-use, powerful and far-reaching platform that confers superficial legitimacy and filters out opponents.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

    Political debate in America may sometimes veer into the tasteless and vulgar. Yet what about material that goes beyond bad taste, that is aimed at inciting hatred toward specific groups and is so laced with the language of extermination and lynching that it generates real fear? What can be done about the articles that describe Hitler, Himmler and the S.S. as solicitous of Jews; the grotesque caricature of an African-American on Tom Metzger's homepage, or the USA Watch's fantastic charges of Jewish ritual murder? Should these be on the Internet and on the World Wide Web?

    Many people have expressed dismay at the content the Internet brings into their homes. There is a movement to protect children from “indecent” materials and language found on the Internet. Some proponents of these limits want to make the Internet providers responsible for the content of material transmitted by their subscribers.99

    While “cyberporn” evokes outrage and controversy, such concern rarely extends to expressions of bigotry and hatred aimed at specific groups. Some states have, nonetheless, acted. Connecticut has created criminal liability for sending an on-line message “with intent to harass, annoy or alarm another person,” while Georgia has prohibited on-line transmission of “fighting words.”100

    These attempts to control on-line expression are controversial among traditional defenders of unfettered free speech and the community of Internet users and providers. They believe that these restrictions are unwarranted and unconstitutional and will hinder the growth of the Internet. The courts will likely be the ultimate arbiter in this battle.

    Can the Internet service providers set standards of acceptability for material transmitted from
their servers? Prodigy, a large on-line computer service, which has tried, was sued for libel because it attempted to monitor the content of material posted on its system. In the first judgment of its kind, a New York State Supreme Court judge ruled, in a $200 million suit, that Prodigy was a publisher, responsible for content posted by members because it screened submissions to keep subscribers from posting “objectionable” material on its system. The judge rejected Prodigy's contention that it did not “publish” but was a merely a carrier.91 In a similar case, The Church of Scientology is suing Netcom On-Line Communications for “contributory [copyright] infringement” because a Netcom subscriber posted copyrighted materials without the permission of the Church. In this case, the judge has indicated that Netcom will not be liable if it can prove its “lack of knowledge [of any infringement] . . . .”92 Proving this will, of course, involve Netcom in protracted, costly litigation.

Both cases suggest that the best defense for providers may be to never look at the content posted by subscribers to their system. Examining content for acceptability may open them to liability for actions of their users. A Web user, surfing from provider homepage to provider homepage, sees the same disclaimer: the provider is not responsible for the content posted by system users. They insist they are only concerned with monitoring compliance with agreed-upon terms-of-service. Whether this position will protect providers from legal action remains to be seen, but it does reflect their unwillingness to enter the content regulation minefield.

What can and must be done is clear. People of goodwill must continuously monitor the Internet, especially the World Wide Web, to counter messages of hate with information that challenges bigotry, exposes the bigots, and promotes tolerance, decency and truth.
APPENDIX A: EXAMPLES OF HATE MATERIALS DISPLAYED ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

A1: The Anti-Semitic Creed of the Aryan Nations

(Edited excerpt - downloaded 12/29/95)

WE BELIEVE in the preservation of our Race, individually and collectively, as a people as demanded and directed by Yahweh. We believe our Racial Nation has a right and is under obligation to preserve itself and its members.

WE BELIEVE that the Cananite Jew is the natural enemy of our Aryan (White) Race. This is attested by scripture and all secular history. The Jew is like a destroying virus that attacks our racial body to destroy our Aryan culture and the purity of our Race.

WE BELIEVE that there is a battle being fought this day between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light (Yahweh, The Everliving God), the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible. Revelations 12:10-11
A2: A Homepage Links to Violent Haters

(Edited excerpts - downloaded 2/7/96)

Independent White Racialists

The concept of Leaderless Resistance

This page is evidence that concerned White people don't have to be members of an organization to fight for our freedoms and for White survival!

Some of you may already be aware that there exists an all-out war on our People, our culture, our heritage, and our very existence.

The most important thing that you can do to ensure our survival is to educate yourself! All three major tv news stations, ABC, NBC, and CBS are owned and controlled by jews. Documenting the jewish influence on our media, banking, law, and economic institutions would fill thousands of Web pages!
Once you have gained the necessary knowledge essential to our survival, motivate yourself and get active! Lead by example, and take it upon yourself to do whatever you feel comfortable doing, as long as you are doing something for your race!

We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children
A3: W.A.R. - Tom Metzger's Home Page

(edited excerpts - download 12/28/95)

You've Reached White Aryan Resistance

THIS IS A WHITE RACIST WEB PAGE!

You are about to enter the White Aryan Resistance...HATE ROOM

(This Site is Under Construction)
A4: USA WATCH Reports the "News"
(edited excerpts – downloaded 1/31/96)

USA Watch News

- Jew Media Monopoly May Have to Cough Up Billions for New TV Frequencies
- Jew Money Buys Jew Oregon Senate Mail Fraud Race
- Jew Detergent Company's Olestra Must Have Warning Label

Photo News & Commentary

- Jewess Degraders of of Govim Women
- Big Jew Book Chains

World News

- Jew-Communism Alive: Lithuanian Priest Found Strangled

Der Stürmer (The Stormer)

Dedicated to the memory of Julius Streicher

- DRESDEN 1945: The Real Holocaust!
- Eight Jew Perverters and Degraders of White Christian Culture
- International Jew Globalism Draining Unions

USAWATCH is dedicated to returning Liberty to the land by helping the American people liberate themselves from the elites who have manipulated and plundered the People and the Constitution in order to attain power for themselves.
A5: "Rev" Ron Reprints National Alliance Propaganda

(From "Rev" Ron Schoedel's Christian Identity Online Web Site)

(edited excerpts - downloaded 1/9/96)
**A6: Resistance Records: The Music of Hate**

(*edited excerpts - downloaded 1/17/95*)

_BLOOD ALONE MOVES THE WHEELS OF HISTORY_  
Available through this special World-Wide Web offer for $17.95 U.S. for compact disc, and $9.95 U.S. for chrome cassette.
A7: Skinheads Salute the SS

-The page says "Sieg Heil" when it appears (sound card needed)-
(edited excerpt -- downloaded 2/8/95)
APPENDIX B: THE INTERNET AS A HATE TOOL

COMPUTERIZED NETWORKS OF HATE REVISITED

This use of computers to spread hate is not a new phenomenon. In a 1985 fact-finding report, *Computerized Networks of Hate*, the Anti-Defamation League warned that the computer-based telecommunications revolution had some unintended, and disturbing, consequences. “Right-wing extremists,” it said, “have moved into the era of high technology through two computerized networks that link like-minded activists from all over the country.” The authors noted that extremists realized that computers are powerful tools for spreading propaganda among the young, encouraging hatred against “enemies,” legally getting forbidden information into Canada and other countries with strong “hate-crime laws,” and, most ominously, spreading the word about meetings and plans among those with “proper” clearance. The local computer connections seemed to be the ideal place for extremist conspiracy to flourish.

*Computerized Networks of Hate* was disturbingly prescient. Its authors understood the potential of computer-based communication. Yet, this early effort to “computerize” hate floundered. There were many reasons: high equipment costs, primitive software, complex maintenance, high-level technical skills needed to keep such operations working, the cost of long-distance phone calls, all made it difficult for hate groups to exploit the possibilities of computer technology in the early days of computer communications.

What ADL warned of in 1985, however — hate groups using computers to extend their reach — is now far more feasible. The improvements in technology that have made the Internet so easily available are now transforming what was merely possible a decade ago into today’s reality.

HATERS ON THE INTERNET BEFORE THE WEB

Even before the Web, haters were using other Internet tools. They still do. They store their writings in FTP (File Transfer Protocol) sites so a user can copy the file(s) to the local hard drive of his or her computer and then read the document in a word processor. Lively real-time conversations take place on the Internet Relay Chat (IRC) facility where those who enter the #Nazi channel fight about extremist and racist ideas. The USENET, a collection of thousands of public discussion groups (news groups) on which people write, read and respond to messages, attracts hundreds of thousands of participants a day, both active (those who write) and passive (those who simply read or “lurk”). Haters of all sorts and their opponents debate, rant and insult (the computer term is “flame”) on news groups with titles such as *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.revisionism*. Electronic mailing lists also flourish. Such lists are a more private type of bulletin board, available only to subscribers. While some lists keep the subscription information confidential, most are easy to subscribe to. Postings to some of these are moderated (i.e., moni-
stored by the list operator who applies certain standards of acceptability), but other lists are unmoderated. Extremist and racist groups maintain some of these lists to create a kind of “electronic community” of like-minded people.

And there is E-mail. Electronic mail allows direct, person-to-person communication hidden from public view. Actually, the Internet is not really that private. People with the desire and the skill can intercept and read computerized messages. Some users, nervous about eavesdroppers or simply jealous of their right to privacy, use cryptographic programs such as “Pretty Good Privacy” (PGP) to guarantee the privacy of their correspondence. Encrypted E-mail gives extremists a very secure forum in which to exchange ideas and plans.

WORLD-WIDE REACH: HATE INTERNATIONAL

The World Wide Web is well named. As part of the Internet, it does have a world-wide reach. Propagandists such as Black and Zündel see this as the major attraction of the Web. Part of Black’s site is in Spanish and another part is in German. Zündel publishes in English, French and German. He reports that 82 percent of the people who visit the Zündelsite are from the United States, 5 percent from Canada, 3 percent Germany and 10 percent, “other countries,” from Argentina to Zaire. He concludes that this means “THERE IS A WORLD-WIDE INTEREST NOT ONLY IN THE HOLOCAUST, BUT WHAT’S BEHIND THE HOLOCAUST. (His emphasis.) Add to that the likelihood that only those in power or with money in the poorer countries can afford the Internet and you have food for thought.”

Zündel himself is an example of the international reach of the Internet. He lives and works in Toronto but his web site is in Santa Cruz, California, and his E-mail address is in San Diego. He apparently dials into the Santa Cruz site and uses the Internet FTP facility to transfer data from a distant location, presumably Toronto. Zündel’s manner of operation clearly shows that the Internet obliterates national borders and restrictions.

LOW-RENT HATE

Users can purchase Internet services cheaply. In many parts of the United States, a person with a computer and a modem can have access to all the Internet services, including the World Wide Web, for less than a dollar a day. College students and those who have access to “freenet” providers do not have to pay anything to get to the Net. There is no need to set up a private bulletin board with all the costs and effort involved when the Net provides such a simple alternative. Besides, the Net provides a potential audience of millions while a local bulletin board will generally attract a handful of calls each day. In terms of security, a private bulletin board whose number is closely held may have advantages. For most people, even extremists, the Net is all that they need.
Operating a very elaborate Web site can be costly, but that is the realm of the commercial enterprise. For most users, a Web page is a low-cost operation. Indeed, some providers will even give away “personal” Web pages free! Most haters are content with these basic designs, but those who want something more sophisticated do not need very deep pockets.

Don Black pays his World Wide Web provider about $200 a month to run his Web site. Ernst Zündel’s provider has a basic fee of $29.95 per month for the commercial account operated by Zündel’s Samisdat Publishers Inc. This is not the only cost; there are ancillary fees associated with usage and storage. Zündel could, however, cover his costs by selling only a few of the books and tapes he advertises on his page.

A SIMPLE STARTUP

Web pages with links, pictures, and fancy fonts seem complicated. Indeed, the most sophisticated ones are, but the run-of-the-Web page is easy to create. In contrast to most computer languages, the basic language for formatting most Web pages, HTML, (Hypertext Markup Language) is very simple. In a few days, anyone so disposed can become a reasonably competent Web publisher. Very little technical skill is needed. Yet, if even this is too intimidating, some providers, including the major on-line services, have simple tools, the computer equivalent of paint-by-numbers, that help users design their own “personal” Web page.

This ease of design, coupled with low costs, has made the Web particularly attractive. Anyone can publish on the Web. This is precisely what theoreticians mean when they write about the “democratic” and “empowering” nature of the Internet and the World Wide Web. For many people, this is simply their chance to achieve the promised fifteen minutes of fame. For haters, frequently strapped for cash and desperate to find followers, the Web is the perfect tool. It is cheap, it is comparatively simple to use and, above else, it reaches an enormous audience.
APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY

browser
A type of computer software which is used to display the materials on the World Wide Web. It is capable of understanding HTML (see below) and the Web data transmission protocols (see below).

DEC (Digital Equipment Corporation)
A major producer of minicomputers. Smaller and less expensive than mainframes (see below), these computers were, and still are, common in many businesses and universities. These computers had their own proprietary operating system called VMS but could also run the Unix operating system (see below). As a result, these computers were commonly used as the servers on the Internet.

downloading
The transfer of computer information from a remote (host or server) computer to the user’s (client or local) computer. The reverse procedure is called uploading.

E-mail
Direct written communication between two people on the computer. It is the computer version of a letter. The same letter can be sent to multiple recipients.

FTP (File Transfer Protocol)
File Transfer Protocol (FTP) is a method of transferring computerized information (files) which can contain data, computer programs, music or images. It is one of the older Internet technologies. Files can also be transferred using Web browsers.

hard drive
A mass storage device that is permanently installed within a computer. A hard drive can store thousands of pages of information. Some companies call it a fixed disk. The term hard drive comes from the fact that the platter of magnetic material which is used to store the data is inflexible compared to the very flexible magnetic-coated material of removable floppy disks. This inflexibility also enables the platter to rotate at a speed in excess of ten times that of a floppy disk. This increases the rate at which data can be transferred from the storage unit (the disk) to the computer.

hardware
The physical components which make up the computer.
**homepage**

The point of entry into a World Wide Web site. A Web site may have many pages but it only has one homepage. Usually a homepage has links to other Web pages.

**hotspot**

A special location on the computer screen where a computer user can “click” with the pointing device or press the enter key and then move or link (see hyperlink) different locations on the Web. That location may be on the same computer or on a different one or distributed among a number of different computers. Usually a hotspot appears underlined, in italics or in a different color.

**HTML**

HyperText Markup Language is a standard way of coding the information which makes up the Web pages so they can be understood by browsers. HTML has a small set of instructions and is fairly easy to learn. Most Web pages are written in HTML.

**hyperlink**

This is the method by which hypertext documents are connected. Usually, the link is identified by the hotspot. (See above).

**hypertext**

The method of connecting computer-based documents so that the user does not have to proceed sequentially. If this report were in hypertext, the user could possibly jump from a description of site to the actual site or a representation of the site. Hypertext permits the user to make certain decisions about the structure of the information. This ability of the user to choose whatever path he or she wishes makes the World Wide Web interactive (see below). The user is not in complete control as the jumps between ideas, documents, etc., are actually controlled by the designer of the Web site.

**interactive/interactivity**

A computer program that permits user choice is said to be interactive.

**interface**

The way in which the user interacts with the computer. The interface describes the way the user enters information into and retrieves information from the computer. Interfaces are usually, but not necessarily, text or graphical. A text-based interface usually requires that the user type in commands. Graphical interfaces usually allow the user to select commands interactively by using a pointing device. The computers on Star Trek have a voice-activated interface.
**Internet Relay Chat (IRC)**

An Internet technology which is similar to CB radio. The users interact in “real time.” What they type is displayed, almost instantly, to all the users on that particular channel. Most Internet communication between individuals (E-mail, USENET newsgroups) is not “real time.”

**mainframe**

The very large computers, most commonly associated with IBM, which initially dominated computer operations. In a mainframe environment, all computing functions except input and display are performed by the central computer. To make sure that transactions were secure, these computers were not as easily networked as the DEC minicomputers running the UNIX (see below) operating system.

**modem**

A MOdulator-DEModulator. A device which allows a computer to communicate with another over phone lines. Both sending and receiving computers must have modems.

**mouse**

The most common type of pointing device used on computers. A user moves the mouse on his/her desk and a pointer moves across the computer screen. There are several other types of point devices such as the trackball or touchpad but all are similar in concept if not in design.

**MS-DOS**

Microsoft Disk Operating System (see operating system). The operating system used on most IBM-compatible personal computers.

**multimedia**

The range of audiovisual materials types which can be utilized in computing. This includes sound, music, drawings, photographs and video. The World Wide Web has multimedia capability.

**navigate**

The act of moving about the World Wide Web. Web navigation is usually interactive and involves click-on hotspots on a Web page and thereby connecting to another computer location.

**operating system**

The operating system is the instructions by which a particular computer operates. It coordinates the activities of the computer including input — receiving information from an external source, output — the mode of presentation of the result of the operation of the
computer, the way the computer communicates with other machines and storage of computer data. There are many different types of operating systems. IBM-compatibles use MS-DOS, Macintoshes by Apple use another. The most common operating system used by the computers of the Internet is UNIX.

PC

Personal Computer. The small desktop computer with which most people are familiar. It was designed originally to be a machine for one person to use and was significantly less powerful than the mini- and mainframe computers. Over the years, personal computers have become significantly more powerful and are increasingly networked or connected to other computers so they may share information and items such as printers.

protocol

A protocol is a rule or set of rules which determine how a particular action must take place. When the protocol is observed, the various types of computers on the Internet can communicate. Examples of such protocols are http, ftp, and the basic protocols which allow the Internet to operate, TCP/IP.

real-time downloading

The output of the file is displayed or heard as the file is downloaded instead of waiting for the entire file to be downloaded and then passed through viewing or play-back software.

server

A computer which performs certain functions for a user’s computer. On the World Wide Web, remote servers hold documents which are downloaded to the user’s client computer which then processes the information and displays it. In a client-server environment, computing functions are divided between the two machines. In a mainframe environment, all computing functions other than display and input take place on the remote computer.

software

The programs which run on the computers. They are “soft” because they are not part of the machine. Programs are added to or removed from computer memory as needed.

transparent

A transparent action is one which happens without the user being aware that it is taking place. For example, when a user “clicks” the mouse on a hotspot which says “GET INFO,” commands are then sent out to locate and retrieve that information wherever it is on the Internet. Since the user does not know about the hidden actions, they are described as transparent.
Unix

An operating system developed initially at Bell Laboratories. It ran on minicomputers and had excellent support for networking — linking computers over phone lines. This made a system such as the Internet possible.

uploading

The transfer of computer information from the user’s (client or local) computer to the remote (host or server) computer. The reverse procedure is called downloading.

URL (Uniform or Universal Resource Locator)

This is the address that a user enters into the computer to instruct it where to find the desired information. It is the Internet equivalent of a phone number. URLs used to find sites on the World Wide Web begin with the letters http. These stand for Hypertext Transport Protocol and indicate that the Web understands hypertext.
ENDNOTES

1 A Web page is a document which is displayed on the screen as a complete entity. A page may be larger than the window provided by the computer screen and so it can be necessary to scroll down the page. Each page is independent of, but related to, all the other pages at the site. A Web site is similar to an appointment book — it consists of a group of pages. In a well organized appointment book each page is self-contained having information for that date only. A Web page is similarly self-contained. The computer user can scan the page, move back and forth in sequence or skip around as needed. The first page displayed at a Web site is the “home” page.

2 This navigation method can pose problems. A user can follow a trail of links so far that the original starting place is lost and the user is lost in “cyberspace.” To try to prevent this, Web browsers often maintain a historical record of where the user has been.

3 Black, a former associate of David Duke and an ex-member of the KKK, is an active on-line supporter of neo-Nazi, White Nationalist causes. See ADL Handbook, Extremism on the Right (1988). For more about Black’s current operation, see the section “Don Black: Klansman as Computer Consultant,” in this report.

4 The order in which the groups in this section are listed is based upon a combination of factors: the length of time they have been active and their prominence. In addition, some of the groups and individuals have a historical connection and so they are grouped together.

5 For more about the Knights and the internecine struggles among the Klan factions, see The Klan Splits: A Radical Breakaway, ADL Fact Finding Report (1994). As this report was completed another faction of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan established its own Web site.

6 From the Klan FAQ. FAQ is an acronym for Frequently Asked Questions, a common type of computer document designed to answer questions about a specific subject. The FAQ is published on the Knight’s Web pages.

7 See the Religion as Bigotry: The Identity Church Movement. ADL Special Edition, (October 1991). Also see the sections below which discuss “Pastor” Pete Peters and “Reverend” Ron Schoedel.

8 The “speech” is a well-documented hoax. It was forged in the mid-1930s. See ADL Facts (April-May 1954).

9 From the Ohio Kleagle #1. (As published on the Knight’s Web Site.)

10 Palm Beach Herald, March 18, 1995.


13 For more about Pierce and the National Alliance see the section The National Alliance: The Premier Racialists following in this report. Also see the ADL Research Report William L. Pierce: Novelist of Hate. (1995).


15 From the Stormfront homepage.

16 For more on Lyons see the ADL Special Edition: Hate and the Law, Kirk Lyons, Esq. (June 1991).

17 In 1942, in retaliation for the assassination of SS General Reinhard Heydrich, the “Deputy Protector of Moravia and Bohemia,” by two Czech patriots who had parachuted into Czechoslovakia, the Nazis destroyed the town of Lidice. They executed 199 Czech men and boys, deported the women and girls and burned the village to the ground.

18 Eustace Mullin, J’Accuse. (As published on the Stormfront Web Site). The title is an attempt to exploit the phrase used by Emile Zola in 1898 in his criticism of the actions of the French government the Dreyfus Affair.

19 This page makes very little use of Web publishing techniques but it does summarize the virulently anti-Semitic teachings of the Aryan Nations. What makes this site interesting is that it is physically located on Black’s server. The site URL is a subdirectory of the main Stormfront directory. This is as if Black were renting a room in his house to the Aryan Nations. The connection between Black and Aryan Nations is ambiguous, but its fervent white supremacist, anti-Semitic message would appeal to him.


22 Metzger originally maintained his site on the server of Beverly Hills Internet, a provider of free Web pages. So did several hate groups, including the two factions of the Knights of the KKK. In late January 1996, BHI removed Metzger’s site as well as several other racist and anti-Semitic sites. However, other similar sites, including the two KKK pages, continued to operate. Within a week Metzger had set up shop on the server of CTS Network Services, the company that provides his FTP facilities. CTS apparently provides free pages to its subscribers.

23 These cartoons are meant to inflame passions. In the December, 1995 WAR editorial posted on the Web, Metzger wrote: “It is your Editor’s belief that the most brutally frank mediums are political cartooning, jokes and comedy. . . Our opposition never fails to scream and squeal at his cartoons. Nothing that WAR prints inflames our critics like these cartoons. Yes, they are simplistic and radical.”
My Favorite Jew, Jig and Pig by the WAR Staff (As published on the WAR web site).


National Alliance Newsletter, (July 1995).

National Alliance Newsletter, (October 1994).

From the National Alliance article Who Rules America? (Published on the National Alliance Web site.).

In his 1978 novel, The Turner Diaries, Pierce refers to Hitler as "The Great One."

This is the point of an article, The Long March by Ian McKinney, which is reprinted in the "American Dissident Voices" section of the National Alliance Web site.

Kevin Alfred Strom, An Old, Old Story, (From the National Vanguard Section of the National Alliance Web site.)

William Pierce, Brainwashing in America, Free Speech, Vol. 1, No. 4. (As published on the National Alliance Web site.)

See the ADL Special Edition "Theologian" of Hate: "Pastor" Pete Peters. (February 1994).

From Peters’s tract Strength of a Hero. (As published on the Scriptures for America Web site.)


From Peters’s tract Strength of a Hero. (As published on the Scriptures for America Web site.)

For more about The Order see The Murder of Alan Berg, ADL Special Edition (June 1988).


USA Watch, December 14, 1995 (Downloaded from the USA Watch Web site). The attribution of the ritual murder statements to police officers is rumored to have resulted in an investigation by law enforcement authorities. Perhaps this explains why, in early February 1996, USA Watch suddenly purged all the anti-Semitic material on its site. The Der Stürmer section, which had recently been upgraded to allow downloading of speeches by well-known racists and neo-Nazis such as the late George Lincoln Rockwell, was eliminated. USA Watch does continue to sell books and videotapes by anti-Semites. It would not be surprising for the anti-Semitic material to eventually reappear.


For more about Zundel, see Hitler’s Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust Revisionism, ADL, (1993).
From Zundel’s Press Release posted on Don Black’s Stormfront-L mail list on January 5, 1996.


The Nizkor (“remember”) Project, is devoted to countering the claims of Holocaust deniers and neo-Nazis. Operated by Ken McVay of Vancouver, Canada, Nizkor has the largest archive of Holocaust related material on the Internet. Wide Web address for Nizkor is http://www.almanac.bc.ca/

Austin App, “Could Hitler Have Avoided Confrontation With the Jews?,” Liberty Bell, August, 1978. (As published on Zundel’s Web site.)


All references to Raven’s homepage and the content of his Web site are based upon its content and structure during the first week of January 1996.

For more about “The Aryan Crusader” see Part Three: New Kids on the Web: Self-Made Cyberhaters.


Mark Weber, The Japanese Camps in California (As published on Greg Raven’s Web Site.)

Mark Weber, The Boer War Remembered. (As posted on Greg Raven’s Web site.)

From Smith’s first widely published advertisement, The Holocaust Controversy: The Case for Open Debate. (As published on Bradley Smith’s Web site.)

Bradley Smith, Internet Journal, November 1995. (As published on Bradley Smith’s Web site.) Smith says he tried to run the ad at the University of Illinois, Chicago, and the University of Chicago. Those school papers turned it down. The paper at the University of Maryland ran the ad twice in October 1995, then changed its policy and stopped running it.


Bradley Smith, What Smith Is Doing and Why? (As posted on the Bradley Smith’s Web site.)

Bradley Smith, The Anti-Defamation League of the B’nai B’rith: Trapped in Nazi Fantasyland (As posted on Bradley Smith’s Web site.)


Some software packages allow a person to invent a name and address; the Internet slang is “spoofing.” The traditional mail (what Interneters call “snail mail”) equivalent is a false return address. In addition some providers don’t keep users from attaching fictitious name (or “handle”) to real address. In this case, you can get return mail and still remain anonymous.
A *Washington Post* article of August 24, 1995 describes Logsdon as a senior studying physics. A check of the University of Texas on-line director on January 8, 1996, indicates that the only Reuben Logsdon listed is Reuben B. Logsdon (user id.: rlogsdson) and he is not a student but works for the Division of Housing and Food Services of the University as a food preparation/service worker. In a statement on the Web site itself he says that he has accepted a job in Croatia and will be going there in December, 1995. Several months ago, the location on the provider's computer did change from -rlogsdson to -wlp. The new site account is owned by the National Alliance whose leader is, of course, William L. Pierce.

From a posting on several USENET newsgroups, October 7, 1995.

For a discussion of the issues involved in gaining access to the Web, see Appendix C.


See *Louis Beam: Dedicated to Hate*. ADL Special Edition: (February 1990).


A mirror site is an exact copy of a site running at a different location. The Crusader mirror for the National Alliance is still operating. When the mirror was established at this site, the National Alliance page is linked to the Aryan Crusader page and vice versa. The link on the National Alliance page says that *The Aryan Crusader's Library* is not National Alliance material. This link is not found on the original National Alliance site.

The directory on which this material is stored is a subdirectory of the main Crusader's library.

Axl was one of Logsdon's E-mail user IDs on the University of Texas computer system.

As published on the CLOC Web site on the Aryan Crusader's Library Server.

"Home Pages for Hate," *Time*, January 22, 1996.

Bunkley started both sites when he was a student a GSU. The University on-line phone book has two listings for Joe Bunkley. Joseph Windham Bunkley left GSU in 12/95 and his current curriculum is described as "post-baccalaureate." His user id is the one listed on both Web sites. The other Joseph W. Bunkley is a clerk. The two Bunkleys may be different people or they may be the same person. On February 9, 1996, Georgia State canceled Bunkley's two accounts. In a posting on Don Black's Stormfront-L mail list, Bunkley wrote that the school told him that since he was no longer registered, he was not entitled to the accounts. Bunkley's posting also included the promise that he would do what he needed to maintain a presence on the Web.
The capital letters in the titles are Bunkley's. He is fond of using them. Recently Bunkley announced he would fold this 1st Banned Media page into his Coming Decline site.

Section 3.0, of the Ethics Policy titled "Authorized Use" reads: Authorized use is predicated on access by an authorized user. Authorized use is that which is consistent with the academic, research and service goals of this institution and falls within the guidelines of this policy and the policy of the Board of Regents which states that property owned by the institution shall be used only for institutional purposes.

This and more personal information, including a picture of smiling Ron Schoedel, is posted on his own "personal" homepage. It can be reached from his main site.

To see examples of "Rev." Ron's USENET "style" see the archives at Nizkor: http://www.almanac.bc.ca/cgi-bin/ftp.pl?pub/people/s/schoedel.ronald/

The Skinhead International: A worldwide survey of neo-Nazi Skinheads, ADL (1995). The report points out that not all Skinheads are bigots.

For more about Hawthorne/Burdi see The Skinhead International, p. 21-22. Although The Skinheads International and the Canadian Police refer to him by his real name, George Burdi, this report uses George Hawthorne, the name which he uses professionally and on the Internet.

Toronto Sun, June 19, 1993.

See ADL Special Edition, Pulpit of Bigotry: Ben Klassen and His Anti-Semitic "Church" (June 1990).

The Skinheads International, p. 21.

From the Resistance Records mission statement. (As published on its Web site.)

This doesn't mean that the hate message isn't there. Songs such as "Third Reich" and "Man of Time" about the leader of The Order, Robert Matthews, certainly push the message of hatred and violence. Except for limited audio samples Hawthorne does not reproduce the lyrics on this Web site, he is simply merchandising the CDs and Cassettes.

From the Web page describing the album Fourteen Words. (As published on the Resistance Records Web site.)

The executive summary of the Nielsen study is on the World Wide Web at: http://www.commerce.net/information/surveys/exec_sum.html

Lisa Schmeiser, "Computer Mediated Communication as the Cult of Tradition." CMC Magazine, December 1, 1995, p. 12. This is an on-line magazine. Its home page address is http://www.rpi.edu/~decemj/cmc/mag/index.html. The issue can be found by following the appropriate links.

Ibid.
87 Ibid.

88 From *The Program of The National Alliance* as it appeared on the National Alliance Web Site on December 22, 1995.

The Address for this article is [http://gnn.com/wr/nov22/news/exon.html/](http://gnn.com/wr/nov22/news/exon.html/)


91 The suit was settled when Prodigy apologized. Subsequent attempts to have this precedent vacated have, thus far, not succeeded. *The New York Times*, December 15, 1995.


94 Pretty Good Privacy and PGP are both trademarks of Phil's Pretty Good Software. This program is distributed as “freeware” (without charge) to anyone who cares to use it. The encryption issue is extremely contentious. The U.S. government regards it as a national security issue. The compiled (computer ready) PGP program cannot be exported but, oddly, the printed version may.

95 Zündel, “Power Letter — November 1995” (As published on his World Wide Web site.)

96 The Internet “Finger” utility which can identify the person using a particular account. The account “fingered” on December 19, 1995 was ezundel@webcom.com. Finger returned the following:

    [webcom.com]
    Login name: ezundel                     In real life: Samisdat PublishersBldg: Inc.
    Last login Tue Dec 19 08:47 on ftp3790

FINAL NOTE

This report represents a snapshot of hate materials on the World Wide Web as this report goes to press. The Web is a rapidly evolving environment and it is important to understand that the particulars of any one site can, and often do, change — sometimes overnight. Some sites, in order to keep visitors coming back, are constantly refreshing content. New sites are created and others are abandoned. The changes should not obscure the fact that haters of all sorts have moved their propaganda and recruitment efforts onto the Internet in general and the World Wide Web in particular. This volatility also emphasizes the ease of entry into the Web environment and makes constant monitoring of the Web even more crucial.