

HATE CRIME ON THE INTERNET

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

RAMIFICATIONS OF INTERNET TECHNOLOGY ON TODAY'S CHILDREN,
FOCUSING ON THE PREVALENCE OF INTERNET HATE, AND REC-
COMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO SHIELD CHILDREN FROM THE NEGA-
TIVE IMPACT OF VIOLENT MEDIA

SEPTEMBER 14, 1999

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HATE CRIME ON THE INTERNET

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1999

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:18 a.m., in room SD-226, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Orrin G. Hatch (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Also present: Senators Grassley, and Leahy.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ORRIN G. HATCH, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry I am a little bit late. We will start this hearing. Good morning. We are happy to welcome all of you to today's hearing on Hate Crime on the Internet. We are pleased to have today five impressive witnesses, whom I shall introduce in short order.

The Internet is a technology that heralds a breadth of understanding and education never before imagined. It holds a promise for disseminating knowledge and breaking down barriers to learning and understanding that is unrivaled, and I have accordingly been a staunch advocate and proponent of efforts to keep the Internet unregulated and competitive.

However, today's hearing will focus on ramifications of Internet technology that can only be described as troubling. Unfortunately, for many parents, one of the timeless truths of good parenting, to teach children not to speak with strangers, has passed from the realm of the possible into a relic of a bygone day.

We live in a time, according to a recent poll, when a full 60 percent of parents disagree with the proposition that the Internet is a safe place for kids. And no wonder. In a technology seldom understood as well by parents as by their children, the universal information-sharing neighborhood established by the Internet has come to shelter a league of misfits intent on marketing their brand of hate to America's future.

The knowledge of our children's lives, without which we cannot hope to fulfill our responsibilities as parents, seems increasingly out of our grasp, and the imagination and introspection that are so essential to a child's development are threatened by a technology where the power for advancement of knowledge exists alongside the possibility of contamination through hate.

The strangers we warned our children not to speak to are, I fear, the very ones using the anonymity promised in cyberspace to prowl

for children, to whom they could never hope to endear themselves on a street corner. This a serious situation indeed.

The facts set out in newspaper accounts and reports by interested parties are simply staggering. One of our witnesses today hails from an organization, the Southern Poverty Law Center, which individually tracked sites for 254 hate groups in January of this year, up 50 percent from one year ago. Another group represented here, the Anti-Defamation League, estimated the presence of some 500 to 600 hate groups on the Web as of this June.

But numbers hardly tell the story; the Web sites themselves do. They are not simply crude Web sites with blatantly racist or anti-Semitic messages. These groups are involved in a concerted effort to recruit college-bound middle- and upper middle-class kids, kids who are educated, energetic and articulate; in other words, precisely the type of kid you would not expect to see marching in a neo-Nazi parade.

And those wolves come in sheep's clothing. To fulfill their recruitment objectives, these hate groups can be remarkably sophisticated, carefully avoiding obvious and explicit appeals to racism and anti-Semitism. These sites, of course, are matters of great concern to me. To the extent that these groups claim to disavow violence, the facts speak for themselves.

The World Church of the Creator appears to have played a pivotal role in the life of Benjamin Nathaniel Smith, the 21-year-old whose cowardly evil we recall from his July 4 shooting of African Americans, Jewish people, and Asians. In addition, literature from this group was found near synagogues burned this June in Sacramento, CA.

We must be vigilant and prompt in our efforts to begin eliminating hate on the Internet, but we must also do so with exactitude. From this complicated maze of issues, there is simply no simple answer, and with the First Amendment as our country's first premise, we know that any solutions that we endorse must recognize that the surest way to defeat the message of hate is to hold it under the harsh light of public scrutiny.

Throughout the course of this hearing and afterwards, I will be interested to hear from the witnesses their view of the adequacy of the current state of the law, and I will ask the witnesses whether more might be done by Congress, consistent with the First Amendment, to better enable the elimination of certain types of hate on the Internet, such as non-protected speech that clearly advocates an imminent act of violence.

But I have some preliminary thoughts on other efforts that Congress might explore and I will be eager for the witnesses' views on these other efforts. I have already sought to exercise leadership in this area in various ways, through the introduction of legislation that aims to make filtering technology more readily accessible and that aims to criminalize the use of the Internet to teach bomb-making. Such a proposal would include provisions to help Internet service providers identify those sites that illegally incite violence through hate speech.

Now, it is my hope that ISP's, Internet service providers, will then put some procedures in place and take down a site so designated. To encourage the ISP's in implementing such a procedure,

we might grant them certain immunities from any liabilities that they might otherwise face.

I am also contemplating a measure to make it a crime to knowingly or intentionally advocate on the Internet the commission of a crime of physical violence against a person or the property of any individual or group or class of individuals. Maybe with this legislation, we will be able to deter heinous incitements to violence not yet committed on the Internet.

Now, I look forward to hearing from each of our witnesses here today and receiving your thoughts on some of these proposals.

Finally, prior to closing, I would like to announce that today I am reissuing an updated timely and valuable report prepared by the majority staff of the Committee on the Judiciary. The updated report includes information about the prevalence of Internet hate, as well as recommendations about shielding children from the negative impact of violent media.

I hope that this report, entitled "Children, Violence, and the Media—A Report for Parents and Policy Makers," will further the discussion about the flood of media violence in this country, including on the Internet, and what can be done about it. After all, the problem of youth violence is a complex problem which demands a comprehensive solution, one which deals with the need to empower parents to make sure our schools are safer, and to improve enforcement, deterrence and prevention.

I am very pleased to welcome all of you here today. I would like to turn to our Democrat leader on the committee, Senator Leahy, at this time.

**STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK J. LEAHY, A U.S. SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT**

Senator LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and as a long-time member of this committee I will be anxious to read the report that you and the committee staff have put together. Should you want any advice or help from this side, feel free to ask.

Today's hearing is a very important one and focuses on the serious problem of hate crimes, and on the growth of the use of the Internet to promote the agenda of hate. These are issues that concern every one of us.

I think of the incidents of recent violent crimes that are motivated by hate and bigotry and how they have seared the conscience of this country. Last month, a gunman burst into a Jewish community center in Los Angeles and sprayed the building with 70 bullets. I think what strikes me as a parent and a grandparent so much is the view that we all saw, actually worldwide saw, with police officers leading the little children hand by hand, leading them to safety.

Every one of us who have had children in school at that age or on a playground know how children are going to cross the street. All the children hold hands, and it is usually a couple of adults, teachers, doing it. Here, it is police officers in flack jackets, carrying automatic weapons, probably thinking of children of their own, leading these children to safety. It is a searing, terrible, terrible sight to see in our country. When the man surrendered who had

done the shooting, he said his rampage had been motivated by his hatred of Jews.

We can replicate this with all the other hate crimes based on religion or color of one's skin or ethnic background. A murderous string of drive-by shootings in Illinois and Indiana a month before left two people dead and nine wounded—again, racial and religious hatred. These are sensational crimes, the ones that focus public attention. But there is also a toll we are paying each year in other hate crimes that find less notoriety, but with no less suffering for the victims and their families.

I think it is clear that we as a Nation still have serious work to do in protecting all Americans from these crimes and in ensuring equal rights for all our citizens. The answer to hate and bigotry has to ultimately be found in increased respect and tolerance for all our citizens, but strengthening our Federal hate crimes legislation is a step in the right direction.

I commend Senator Kennedy for his leadership in this effort. I am proud to have been an original cosponsor of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. This legislation amends the Federal hate crimes statute to make it easier for Federal law enforcement officials to investigate and prosecute cases of racial and religious violence. It focuses the attention and resources of the Federal Government on the problem of hate crimes committed against people because of their sexual preference or their gender or their disability.

We passed the Hate Crimes Prevention Act in the Senate this year as part of the Commerce–Justice–State appropriations bill. I know Chairman Hatch has some concerns with the scope of the legislation. I also know the chairman is one who is totally opposed to bigotry, and I would hope that he and I and Senator Kennedy and others can work together to address the concerns that he has.

I believe the bill in its current form would operate as intended. It would strengthen Federal jurisdiction over hate crimes as a backup, but not a substitute, for State and local law enforcement. The bill has received strong bipartisan support from State and local law enforcement organizations across the country, and we should pass this powerful law enforcement aid.

The Hate Crimes Prevention Act is a tool for combatting acts of violence and threats of violence motivated by hatred and bigotry. It does not target pure speech, however offensive or disagreeable. The Constitution does not allow that. As Justice Holmes wrote, the Constitution protects not just freedom for the thought and expression we agree with, but freedom for the thought we deplore.

There is another concrete action we could take in the Senate right now to help in the fight against hate crimes. We should face up to our responsibility to vote on the nomination of Bill Lann Lee to head the Civil Rights Division. Along with the Deputy Attorney General, Bill Lann Lee has been at the forefront of Federal efforts against hate crimes. He has done an outstanding job in this regard, but the Senate has refused to vote on his confirmation for 2 years.

I think it is past time for this committee to do the right thing, the honorable thing, and report this qualified nominee to the Senate and let the Senate vote up or down on him. If Senators want to vote against him, fine. But any Senator who looks objectively at his record, I believe, Republican or Democrat, would vote for him.

Then the Senate could fulfill its constitutional duty under the Advice and Consent Clause, because his is a critical position in the fight against hate crimes. If we want to oppose hate crimes, we ought to confirm Bill Lann Lee so he could have the full authority of a confirmed Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, rather than continue to treat him as if he were a second-class citizen and as if the efforts he is leading against hate crimes were unimportant. They are important.

We ought to vote on this good man. We need his problem-solving abilities in these difficult times. He is spearheading Federal efforts against hate crimes, against modern slavery and for equal justice for all Americans. If confirmed, he would be the first Asian Pacific American to be appointed to head the Civil Rights Division in its storied history, and the highest-ranking Federal executive officer of Asian Pacific American heritage in our 200-year history. I think it would be a very important step that we could take in our efforts against hate crimes.

In closing, let me say that it has been said that the content of the Internet is as diverse as human thought. I am a strong supporter of the Internet and have been since its inception. Its diversity is its greatest strength, but it comes at a cost. We will hear testimony today about how the Internet has been poisoned by extremists and bigots who use it to spread hate propaganda and reinforce each other's hateful convictions, almost as a net to pull in some of this Nation's losers who can validate themselves only by hating others.

But we will also hear about how the Internet has been used to track down hate groups, and software that helps parents shield their children from this venom. As we take stock of the poison that is making its way to this new medium, we must not mistake the Internet itself with the actual source of the hateful content of these Web pages. When it comes to hate on the Internet, the problem is the message, not the medium. We have to examine what can be done about hate on the Internet within the constraints imposed by the First Amendment.

So, Mr. Chairman, I think you have a very important hearing and I am delighted to join with you in this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you very much, Senator Leahy, for your good remarks.

I am very pleased to welcome the five members of our panel. First, we will hear from Mr. Michael Gennaco, who is an Assistant U.S. Attorney for the Central District of California, and who coordinates that office's hate crimes investigation and prosecution.

We are very proud of you, Mr. Gennaco. You have been responsible for securing the first conviction ever against a hate crime assailant for acts taken on the Internet. I believe you may have two of those to your credit, and I think it is time that that happened.

Second will be Rabbi Abraham Cooper, somebody I greatly admire, who is the Associate Dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. He has been a longtime activist for Jewish and human rights causes on five continents. And with his efforts, the Center has produced a CD-ROM interactive report that illuminates the extent of hate on the Internet. So we are very grateful to have you here, sir.

Third, we will hear from a friend of mine, Wade Henderson, who is the Executive Director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The Leadership Conference is the Nation's oldest and largest coalition of organizations committed to civil rights work and has over 180 component organizations.

Did I get that right, Wade?

Mr. HENDERSON. You did indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Fourth will be Howard Berkowitz, who is the National Chair of the Anti-Defamation League, a man I greatly respect. Mr. Berkowitz has been a central figure in advancing the League's efforts to fight anti-Semitism, racism and prejudice. And his organization is credited with being the first non-profit group to develop a hate crime filter for Internet users. So we are very anxious to hear your testimony as well.

Last but not least, we will hear from Joseph Roy, who is the Director of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Intelligence Project. In that capacity, Mr. Roy gathers intelligence on extremist activities nationwide, assists law enforcement, and helps educate community groups on the threat of domestic terrorism. I have tremendous respect for you and your organization.

We have, I think, in this panel as good a panel to discuss these issues as I have ever seen. Now, we are expecting a vote any minute, but I think we will begin anyway. And if we do have to interrupt, I hope you will understand it is just the nature of this beast called the U.S. Senate.

So we will start with you, Mr. Gennaco, first and we will go right across the table.

PANEL CONSISTING OF MICHAEL J. GENNACO, ASSISTANT U.S. ATTORNEY, AND CHIEF, CIVIL RIGHTS SECTION, CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, CA; ABRAHAM COOPER, ASSOCIATE DEAN, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER, LOS ANGELES, CA; WADE HENDERSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, WASHINGTON, DC; HOWARD BERKOWITZ, NATIONAL CHAIR, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, DC; AND JOSEPH T. ROY, SR., DIRECTOR, INTELLIGENCE PROJECT, SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, MONTGOMERY, AL

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. GENNACO

Mr. GENNACO. Thank you. In September 1996, 62 Asian American students at the University of California at Irvine began preparing for another academic year. Almost 3 years ago to the day, this occurred. It was orientation week, a time of renewal, a return to campus, a welcoming for both new and returning students. But the unfortunate greeting that 62 Asian American students received arrived over the Internet to their e-mail accounts from a person who called himself "Asian Hater."

"Asian Hater" e-mailed all 62 students, stating that he hated Asians, that he blamed them for all of the ills on campus, and for keeping the reputation of UC-Irvine down. In the e-mail, "Asian Hater" demeaned and derogated Asian Americans, and told each of the victims that if they did not leave campus that he would make it his personal career to hunt down and kill each of them.

After the students received the electronic message, a cloud of terror hung over the UCI campus for weeks. Some of the victims left school for home. Others considered transferring to other schools. Others changed their academic schedules so that they would not be on campus alone at night. Still others started carrying mace and changed their commuting habits.

Victims talked about how the threat sent a chill up their spines, how it caused them to feel unsafe on campus and how they were constantly looking over their shoulder. They wondered who "Asian Hater" was and whether he would actually come after them. Fear was cast over the campus by that singular threat of hate, not only for the 62 students who were the direct recipients of the threat, but also for the entire Asian community on campus and the campus as a whole.

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I am Michael Gennaco, a Federal prosecutor for the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Central District of California. It was my privilege to represent the United States in the prosecution against "Asian Hater," the first prosecution ever under the Federal hate crimes statute involving threats transmitted over the Internet.

Through that experience, I learned how the Internet can be used efficiently and effectively to spread racially motivated terror to scores of unsuspecting individuals. I soon learned that the UC-Irvine hate crime was only a precursor of other Internet hate crimes. For example, on the morning of March 5, 1998, 42 Latino faculty members turned on their computers at Cal State-Los Angeles to read their e-mails. They read a mean-spirited, derogatory threat against Latinos.

Using the most demeaning racial slurs, the sender told the faculty members that he hated their race, that he wanted them to die, that the only reason that the professors were hired was because of affirmative action, that their race was stupid, greedy and ugly, and that the sender was going to personally come down and kill each of them. As with the UC-Irvine case, many of the Latino faculty members were terrified by the message of hate, wondering who could hate them that much, a former unbalanced student perhaps? The professors talked about how the message left them fearful about being alone on campus and caused them to be continually looking over their shoulders in anxiety.

As the Federal investigation continued, the investigative team learned that the 42 Latino professors were not the only victims targeted by this messenger of hate. The sender had searched the Internet for other victims and sent similar death threats to 25 Latino students at MIT and to Latino employees at NASA, Xerox, Indiana University, the Texas Hispanic Journal, and the IRS. Similar concerns of anxiety and fear were communicated to the FBI from the victims at those institutions as well.

As a result of the Federal investigations, my investigative team was able to successfully prosecute the senders of threatening e-mail in both the UC-Irvine and the Cal State-Los Angeles cases. However, the climate of fear and foreboding caused by these electronic threats transmitted over the Internet vividly illustrates the need for increased vigilance by all in order to successfully combat this new method of violating the civil rights of Americans.

Despite some views to the contrary, there is nothing unique about the Internet that insulates the sender of such hate threats from the criminal laws of our country. A sender simply cannot target a group of individuals because of their race, national origin, or religious beliefs and send them threats via the Internet.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that threats of violence are not protected by the First Amendment. In accord with that jurisprudence, similar threats of violence are not protected by the First Amendment simply because they are transmitted in cyberspace.

Because the Internet presents an effective and efficient way for persons to communicate to numerous individuals, the ability of individuals and hate groups to terrorize victims has multiplied exponentially. A person or hate group who wants to target and threaten scores of individuals can do so simply sitting at a computer terminal for a few minutes.

Unlike the traditional means of sending threatening communications via the telephone or through the U.S. mail, the Internet offers a medium of communication where a skilled user can spew out hate-laced threats to countless victims throughout the country with little effort. Moreover, hate mongers can create threats at their terminal and send out those threats while hiding behind computer screens. In short, the Internet has created a whole new class of criminals. Persons who do not have the fortitude to threaten persons face-to-face or even over the telephone can hide behind the anonymity of cyberspace and send out their hate-laced threats.

In addition, I have learned through my prosecution of Internet hate crimes that certain inherent characteristics of e-mail make hate threats communicated over the Internet particularly frightening to targeted victims. Unlike traditional mail, electronic mail is transmitted instantaneously. The receiver thus knows that the sender is thinking the communicated message of harm at the same time the transmission is received.

Moreover, unlike communications over the telephone, the electronic message is not accompanied by non-verbal inflections, tones of voice, or any other auditory cues. The message simply blips on to the victim's screen. As a result, the victim cannot gauge, except from the message itself, the degree to which the sender is intent on carrying out the threat, whether the sender has the capacity to implement the threat, or any other information about the person who sends the hate transmission. This knowledge vacuum makes any threat received over the Internet particularly disturbing to the victim.

Finally, because an electronically transmitted message arrives directly on the victim's computer screen, usually with a ring or other audio cue, the message is much more invasive than traditional mail. Regular mail is delivered in a mailbox. Electronic mail flashes on to a computer screen at the victim's work station, her home, her bedroom, her children's room, wherever the victim's terminal happens to be.

There is thus no question that this new mode of transmitting thoughts, knowledge and ideas, while having great potential and tremendous advantages over traditional methods of communication,

also presents a new and serious challenge to law enforcement authorities with regard to those that would abuse the technology.

The inherent nature of Internet hate crimes investigations and prosecutions also demands that Federal investigators and prosecutors assume an active role in bringing hate criminals to justice for several reasons. First, oftentimes, as with the Cal State-Los Angeles case, the sender transmits hate mail across State lines to victims throughout the country.

Second, investigators must have expertise in computer crimes and sufficient resources in order to track the sender of the electronic transmissions and recapture any similar message sent from the sender's computer. The FBI, for example, has the expertise in its computer crimes units.

Finally, as with both the UC-Irvine and the Cal State cases, in order to obtain locator information about the sender and potential victims, one must have the capability to subpoena Internet service providers. Quite often, those providers reside outside the State in which the transmission originated. Accordingly, the Federal Government must play a role in investigating and prosecuting cyberspace hate crimes.

Of course, because much of the electronically transmitted hate, while despicable, may be protected by the First Amendment, criminal prosecution cannot always provide the answer. For that reason, it is essential that other methods to combat the spread of hate on the Internet be devised and implemented, whether through education or new technologies such as filtering devices.

Internet service providers, civil rights organizations, Federal and local investigative and prosecutive authorities, and State and Federal legislators must all play a role in countering the hate mongers on the Internet. It is only by working together that we can successfully combat those who would use the Internet to spread their message of hate and fear, and in order to ensure a cyberspace consistent with a world view of racial and religious tolerance.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you so much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gennaco follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MICHAEL J. GENNACO

HATE ON THE INTERNET

In September 1996, 62 Asian American students at the University of California at Irvine began preparing for another academic year. It was orientation week, a time of renewal, a return to campus, a welcoming for both new and returning students * * * but the unfortunate greeting that 62 Asian American students received arrived over the Internet to their e-mail accounts, from a person who called himself "Asian Hater". "Asian Hater" e-mailed all 62 students stating that he hated Asians, that he blamed them for all of the ills on campus, and for keeping the reputation of UC-Irvine down. In the e-mail, "Asian Hater" demeaned and derogated Asian Americans and told each of the victims that if they did not leave campus that he would make it his personal career to hunt down and kill each of them.

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singular threat of hate, not only for the 62 students who were the direct recipients of the threat, but also for the entire Asian community on campus and the campus as a whole.

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I soon learned that the UC-Irvine hate crime was only a precursor of other Internet hate crimes. For example, on the morning of March 5, 1998, 42 Latino faculty members turned on their computers at Cal State Los Angeles to read their e-mails. They read a mean-spirited derogatory threat against Latinos. Using the most demeaning racial slurs, the sender told the faculty members that he hated their race, that he wanted them to die, that the only reason that the professors were hired was because of affirmative action, that their race was stupid, greedy, and ugly and that the sender was going to personally come down and kill each of them. As with the UC-Irvine case, many of the Latino faculty members were terrified by the message of hate, wondering who could hate them that much (a former unbalanced student perhaps). The professors talked about how the message left them fearful about being alone on campus and caused them to be continually looking over their shoulders in anxiety.

As the Federal investigation continued, the investigative team learned that the 42 Latino professors were not the only victims targeted by this messenger of hate. The sender had searched the Internet for other victims and sent similar death threats to 25 Latino students at MIT, and to Latino employees at NASA, Xerox, Indiana University, the Texas Hispanic Journal, and the IRS. Similar concerns of anxiety and fear were communicated to the FBI from the victims at those institutions as well.

As a result of the Federal investigations, my investigative team was able to successfully prosecute the senders of threatening e-mail in both the UC-Irvine and the Cal State Los Angeles cases. However, the climate of fear and foreboding caused by these electronic threats transmitted over the Internet vividly illustrates the need for increased vigilance by all in order to successfully combat this new method of violating the civil rights of Americans.

Despite some views to the contrary, there is nothing unique about the Internet that insulates the sender of such hate threats from the criminal laws of our country. A sender simply cannot target a group of individuals because of their race, national origin or religious beliefs and send them threats via the Internet. The Supreme Court has repeatedly said that threats of violence are not protected by the First Amendment. In accord with that jurisprudence, similar threats of violence are not protected by the First Amendment, simply because they are transmitted in cyberspace.

Because the Internet presents an effective and efficient way for persons to communicate to numerous individuals, the ability of individuals and hate groups to terrorize victims has multiplied exponentially. A person or hate group who wants to target and threaten scores of individuals can do so simply by sitting at a computer terminal for a few minutes. Unlike the traditional means of sending threatening communications via the telephone or through the U.S. mail, the Internet offers a medium of communication where a skilled user can spew out hate-laced threats to countless victims throughout the country with little effort.

Moreover, hate mongers can create hate threats at their terminal and send out those threats while hiding behind computer screens. In short, the Internet has created a whole new class of criminals—persons who do not have the fortitude to threaten persons face to face or even over the telephone can hide behind the anonymity of cyberspace and send out their hate-laced threats.

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Finally, because an electronically transmitted message arrives directly on the victim’s computer screen, usually with a ring or other audio cue, the message is much more invasive than traditional mail. Regular mail is delivered in a mail box. Electronic mail flashes onto a computer screen at the victim’s work station, her home, her bedroom, her children’s room * * * wherever the victim’s terminal happens to be.

There is thus no question that this new mode of transmitting thoughts, knowledge, and ideas, while having great potential and tremendous advantages over traditional methods of communication, also presents a new and serious challenge to law enforcement authorities with regard to those that would abuse the technology.

The Inherent nature of Internet hate crime investigations and prosecutions also demands that Federal investigators and prosecutors assume an active role in bringing hate criminals to justice for several reasons. First, oftentimes, as with the Cal State-Los Angeles case, the sender transmits hate mail across State lines to victims throughout the country. Second, investigators must have expertise in computer crimes and sufficient resources in order to track the sender of the electronic transmissions and recapture any similar messages sent from the sender’s computer—the FBI, for example, has the expertise in its computer crimes units. Finally, as with both the UC-Irvine and Cal State cases, in order to obtain locator information about the sender and potential victims, one must have the capability to subpoena Internet service providers—quite often those providers reside outside the state in which the transmission originated. Accordingly, the Federal Government must play a role in investigating and prosecuting cyberspace hate crimes.

Of course, because much of the electronically transmitted hate, while despicable, may be protected by the First Amendment, criminal prosecution cannot always provide the answer. For that reason, it is essential that other methods to combat the spread of hate on the Internet be devised and implemented whether through education, or new technology such as filtering devices. Internet service providers, civil rights organizations, Federal and local investigative and prosecutive authorities, and State and Federal legislators must all play a role in countering the hate mongers on the Internet. It is only by working together that we can successfully combat those who would use the Internet to spread their message of hate and fear and to ensure a cyberspace consistent with a world view of racial and religious tolerance.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to personally hear all the rest of the testimony. We have a vote. I am suggesting that we recess so that we can go and vote, so we can come back and hear all of you. We appreciated your testimony, Mr. Gennaco.

So it will take us about 5 to 10 minutes to be able to go over and vote and get back here, but we will try and do that as quickly as we can. We will just recess for that amount of time until we can get back from this vote.

Senator LEAHY. I would like to also put a statement in the record by Senator Kennedy.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, we will keep the record open for statements from every member of the committee until 5:00 p.m. today.

[The prepared statement of Senator Kennedy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I welcome this opportunity to discuss once again this critical issue. Hate crimes continue to be a festering problem that cannot be ignored by Congress or the American people. During the last two years, the nation’s conscience has been shocked by the hate and brutality targeted against innocent victims because of their race, religion, gender, disability or sexual orientation.

Just look at today’s newspapers, which contain an article about Lawrence Brewer, one of the men who dragged James Byrd, Jr. to death in Texas. Brewer bragged in a jailhouse letter about the “rush” he felt while killing James Byrd. In the letter, Brewer said “And no longer am I a virgin. It was a rush and I’m still licking my lips for more.” According to Jasper prosecutors, by killing James Byrd, Brewer and his friends intended to give publicity to a new white supremacist group, the Texas Rebel Soldiers.

White supremacist Benjamin Smith left two people dead and injured nine people during his July 4th rampage in Indiana and Illinois.

Last month, Buford Furrow, terrorized children and adults at the North Valley Jewish Community Center, in Los Angeles, wounding three children and two adults.

These incidents are just the tip of the iceberg. Many, many more hate crimes occur across this country that don't receive nationwide attention. And, many of them go unreported because the victims are embarrassed or feel too intimidated to go to the police.

Recently, California Attorney General Bill Lockyer announced that 1,750 hate crimes were reported by California law enforcement agencies last year—nearly five a day.

The national statistics collected by the FBI show that:

- In 1997, 11,211 law enforcement agencies around the country reported 8,049 bias-motivated criminal incidents to the FBI, compared to 8,759 in 1996.
- Of the 8,049 total incidents, 4,710 were motivated by racial bias; 1,385 by religious bias; 1,102 by sexual orientation bias and 836 by ethnicity/national origin bias.
- Of the 1,385 incidents reported by religious bias, 79 percent were anti-Semitic.
- This report included, for the first time, crimes directed against disabled individuals.

In 1997, there were 12 crimes reported to have occurred due to a person's disability.

It is long past time for the Senate to act against the problem of hate crimes and their impact on the nation. We can continue to do this by funding organizations such as the National Center for Hate Crime Prevention, located in Newton, Massachusetts, which organizes hate crime prevention and response training for practitioners, trainers and youth across the country. The Center also develops publications and other resource materials to help professionals and communities address the complex issues involved in juvenile hate crime and its impact on society. At the request of city officials, the Center just completed training sessions in Jasper, Texas, Denver and Los Angeles.

It is clear that tolerance in this country faces a serious challenge, because of these despicable crimes. As the Southern Poverty Law Center has noted,

In a year that saw hate groups soar past the 500 mark, the most dangerous sign was not the rising number of jackbooted sieg-heilers or hooded cross-burners. It was not even the highly publicized slayings of James Byrd, Jr. in Jasper, Texas, and Matthew Shepard in Laramie, Wyoming. Instead, it was the increasing number of reminders that hate-based ideology is being repackaged as an intellectualized version of white self-affirmation that seeks mainstream respectability.

We are coming to a new millennium, and enjoying record economic prosperity and dramatic technological advance. Yet every day, lives continue to be shattered by hatred and bigotry. The explosion of hate organizations on websites is an ominous example of the dark side of our progress in technology. These sites are spewing hate to millions of people, young and old. No family with a computer is immune from the infiltration of hate into their home. No family is immune from having their children, who surf the web unsupervised, come across these sites. No community is safe from those who seek to carry out violent acts of prejudice.

Every mindless act of hatred exacts a toll upon the nation. Finding the right strategies to fight hate is the responsibility of everyone. I commend the organizations that are represented here today for their work in combating hate crimes. Together, Congress, state and local governments and communities must send the powerful message that America is determined to stop these vicious crimes.

The CHAIRMAN. So with that, we will recess until we can get back.

[The committee stood in recess from 10:45 a.m. to 11:01 a.m.]

The CHAIRMAN. We will turn to you, Rabbi Cooper. Sorry for the delay, but it is just one of those things we have to go through around here. So we will turn to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF ABRAHAM COOPER

Rabbi COOPER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the 400,000 constituent families of the Wiesenthal Center, I first wish to commend this committee for revisiting the problem of hate on

the Internet and for giving our Center the opportunity to share its perspective on this crucial issue.

The phenomenal growth of the Internet and its impact on all aspects of our lives continues to astound even its most ardent promoters. Consider that as we speak there are more than 109 million users of the Internet in North America alone. By the year 2000, Europe's online population will increase to 59 million. By 2001, China will have 40 million users. Worldwide Matrix Information and Directory Services reported that last year there were 102 million accessing the Internet, up from 57 million in 1997, and projected for 2001, 707 million users.

It is not only the venture capitalists who have understood the limitless potential of these new technologies. Human rights groups like the Wiesenthal Center utilize the World Wide Web to spread their educational mandate free of charge to schools, researchers, and the media. Recently, our Center has used the Internet to broadcast the Dali Lama's speech at our Museum of Tolerance into Asia, beamed your colleague Senator Brownback's speech from Capitol Hill to an audience in Los Angeles attending our International Conference on Slavery Today, and broadcast a live simultaneous conference on Japanese war crimes from Tokyo and Los Angeles. We have also utilized our Web site to empower victims of the Nazi Holocaust seeking justice and restitution from Swiss banks and European insurance companies.

It is this very power of communication and marketing that extremists, professional bigots, anarchists, and terrorists have sought to harness in their ongoing efforts to promote their agendas into the mainstream of our society, with a particular focus on America's youth. The main weapon of choice to market hate has become the World Wide Web. For the first time in the history of our democracy, those promoting hate, racial violence, and terrorism are able to do so directly into the mainstream 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, in an unassailable and attractive format.

As our Digital Hate 2000 CD-ROM report shows, many of these groups, once isolated geographically and marginalized to the fringes of society, have succeeded in creating an online sub-culture of hate. This enables extremists to market hate music CD's alongside practical how-to guides to make bombs in your home or garage. By the way, Mr. Chairman, I have the current top 10 list of bomb-making sites, downloaded just this past Friday.

Digital links are the virtual cement for the skinhead movement, bridging the geographic distance between the Charlemagne skinheads in France, for example, to groups in New Jersey and Colorado. To date, there is no evidence that this online culture of hate has yet succeeded in creating a mass movement, but not for lack of trying. Indeed, the World Church of the Creator, a group linked to this summer's anti-Semitic and racist violence, has designed Web sites for kids as young as 9 and 10 years old. The KKK and other extremist groups like the Aryan Nations have followed suit.

But those behind the changing face of hate in America are not concerned in the short run about numbers. For them, the Internet has already succeeded beyond their wildest dreams in undermining our civil society. Taking a page from the all too successful game

book of international terrorists, they use the Internet to inspire a social misfit in a high school, a racist lone wolf, or an unnamed leaderless resistance cell to act out white power fantasies against blacks, Jews, and Asian Americans.

In 1999, the Internet can serve as a terrorism tutor. It did for Eric Harris at Columbine. It provided the theological justification for torching of synagogues in Sacramento and the pseudo-intellectual basis for violent hate attacks in Illinois and Indiana.

While the main activities of these groups and individuals have been focused on the World Wide Web, there is growing evidence that other technologies available via the Internet are being used to promote this agenda, and to also engage in illegal activities, including the illegal sale of firearms.

So here we are on the eve of the millennium with every indication that the overwhelming majority of Americans reject the anti-Semitism, the racism and bigotry repackaged on the Internet. But we also live at a time when, despite the greatest period of sustained economic growth in U.S. history, we see the number of self-proclaimed hate groups soaring to over 400 and hate crimes continuing unabated. This year, we have also witnessed individuals prepared to carry out domestic acts of terrorism, and the young and impressionable being lured to an online world promoting racist violence and terrorism.

What steps should be taken? First, every law enforcement department that deals with hate crimes in America has to be online. Second, parents need to take a more proactive approach to their kids' Internet activity. The Internet is not a babysitting service. Talk to your kids, and by all means utilize a filtering software or work with your kids to set your own guidelines.

Third, we need the attention and involvement of the collective genius that is giving us the Internet. We need them to be good corporate citizens and neighbors. We need their leadership not only in technology, but in fostering good citizenship and tolerance.

To give one point, there is no law requiring for-profit companies to continue to do business and provide services to individuals and groups teaching and preaching bomb-making and terrorism. It is preferred that the online community set their own standards and stick to them. In this connection, the Wiesenthal Center wishes to commend yahoo.com's recent removal of racist clubs from their sites as a welcome example of proactive leadership. Just last night, Yahoo indicated that they have now taken off probably over 70 of these free clubs that have been utilized by the Klan and other hate organizations.

In short, a good rule of thumb in approaching these issues online is to review what Americans have done in the pre-Internet world. If we are talking about mail, mail equals privacy. If there is evidence of illegal activity via e-mail, as we heard from our distinguished speaker, the same standards should apply as traditional mail. The same would hold true for telephonic-type communications.

As for the World Wide Web, it is the new main street of commerce, marketing, and advertising. It is not generally a venue for discussion and debate. We would therefore hope that Internet providers would at least take the basic step of setting their own stand-

ards for use of their service, and that they would be responsive to those standards and the concerns of the community.

After Columbine, Sacramento and Chicago, after the North Valley JCC, we desperately need to work together to marginalize the message and messengers of terrorism and racism in our country. The Internet community's direct involvement in this effort will go a long way in ensuring that our kids will be living in a safer, more tolerant America.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and if you have any questions, I would be happy to answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Rabbi Cooper.

[The prepared statement of Rabbi Cooper follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RABBI ABRAHAM COOPER

Mr. Chairman; on behalf of the 400,000 constituent families of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, I first wish to commend this committee for revisiting the problem of hate on the Internet and for giving our Center the opportunity to share its perspective on this crucial issue.

The phenomenal growth of the Internet and its growing impact on all aspects of our lives—continues to astound even its most ardent promoters. Consider that as we speak, there are 109.23 million users of the Internet in North America alone. By the year 2000, Europe's online population will increase to 59 million. By 2001 China will have 40 million users.

Worldwide, Matrix Information and Directory Services reported that in 1998, there were 102 million accessing the Internet, up from 57 million in 1997. Projected for 2001?—707 million users!

And it's not only the venture capitalists who have understood the limitless potential of these new technologies. Human rights groups like the Wiesenthal Center utilize the Worldwide Web to spread their educational mandate—free of charge—to schools, researchers and the media—free of charge. Our Center has used the Internet to broadcast the Dali Lama's speech at the Museum of Tolerance into Asia, beamed Senator Brownback's speech from Capitol Hill to our audience in Los Angeles attending our International Conference on slavery, and broadcast a live, simultaneous conference on Japanese war crimes from Tokyo and Los Angeles. We have also utilized our Website to empower victims of the Nazi Holocaust seeking justice and restitution from Swiss banks and insurance companies.

It is of course, this very power of communication and marketing that extremists, professional bigots, anarchists and terrorists have sought to harness in their ongoing efforts to promote their agendas into the mainstream of our society—with a particular focus—on America's youth.

The main weapon of choice to market hate is the Worldwide Web. For the first time in history of our democracy, those promoting hate, racial violence and terrorism have been able to do so directly into the mainstream, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week in an unassailable and attractive format. And as our *Digital Hate 2000* CD-Rom report shows, many of these groups, once isolated geographically and marginalized to the fringes of society, have succeeded in creating an online subculture of hate. This enables extremists to market hate music CD's alongside practical how-to guides to make bombs in your own home or garage. Digital links are the 'virtual' cement for skinhead movement, bridging the geographic distance between the Charlemagne skinheads in France to groups from New Jersey to Colorado.

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But those behind the changing face of hate in America are not concerned in the short run about numbers. For them the Internet has already succeeded beyond their wildest dreams in undermining our civil society. Taking a page from the all-too-successful gamebook of international terrorists, they use the Internet to inspire a social misfit in a high school, a racist lone wolf—or an unnamed leaderless resistance cell to act out white power fantasies against blacks, Jews or Asian Americans.

In 1999, the Internet can serve as a terrorism tutor—it did for Eric Harris at Columbine; it provided the theological justification for the torching of synagogues in

Sacramento, and the psuedo-intellectual basis for violent hate attacks in Illinois and Indiana.

And while the main activities of these groups and individuals have been focused on the Worldwide Web, there is growing evidence that other technologies available via the Internet are being used to promote this agenda and to also engage in illegal activities including the illegal sale of firearms.

So here we are, on the eve of the millennium, with every indication that the overwhelming majority of Americans reject the antisemitism, the racism and bigotry repackaged on the Internet. But we also live at a time when, despite the greatest period of sustained economic growth in U.S. history, we see the number of self-proclaimed hate groups soaring to over 400, and hate crimes continuing, unabated. This year, we have also witnessed individuals prepared to carry out domestic acts of terrorism and young, impressionable, being lured to an online world promoting racist violence and terrorism.

What steps should be taken? First every law enforcement department that deals with hate crimes in America has to be online. Secondly, parents need to take a more proactive approach to their kids Internet activity. The Internet is not a babysitting service. Talk to your kids and by all means utilize a filtering software or work with your kids to set your own guidelines. Third, we need the attention and involvement of the collective genius that has given us the Internet. We need them to be good corporate citizens and neighbors. We need their leadership, not only in technology, but in fostering good citizenship and tolerance. To give just one suggestion, there is no law requiring for-profit companies to continue to do business and provide services to individuals and groups teaching and preaching bomb making and terrorism. It is preferred that the online community set their own standards and stick to them. (Yahoo.com's recent removal of racists clubs from their sites is a welcomed example). In short, a good rule of thumb in approaching these issues online is to review what Americans have done in the pre-Internet world. If we are talking about 'mail'—mail-privacy. If there is evidence of illegal activity via e-mail, the same standard should apply as traditional mail. The same would hold true for telephonic-type communications. As for the Worldwide Web, it is the new mainstreet of commerce, marketing and advertising—it is *not* generally a venue for discussion and debate. We would therefore hope that Internet providers would at least take the basic step of setting their own standards for use of their service and that they would be responsive to those standards and the concerns of the community.

After Columbine, Sacramento, Chicago, after the North Valley JCC, we desperately need to marginalize the message and messengers of terrorism and racism in our country. The Internet community's direct involvement in this effort will go a long way to ensuring that our kids will be living in a safer, more tolerant America. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We will turn to you now, Mr. Henderson.

STATEMENT OF WADE HENDERSON

Mr. HENDERSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Wade Henderson. I am the Executive Director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. I also serve as counsel to the Leadership Conference Education Fund. I am pleased to appear before you today on behalf of both organizations to discuss the issue of hate on the Internet.

As you noted, Mr. Chairman, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is the Nation's oldest, largest, and most diverse coalition of organizations committed to the protection of civil and human rights in the United States. Since its establishment in 1950, the Leadership Conference has promoted the passage and monitored the implementation of laws designed to achieve equality under law for all persons in the United States. The Leadership Conference Education Fund was founded in 1969 as the education arm of the civil rights coalition and continues to fill that role today.

Hate, whether it is purveyed on the Internet, on the printing press or on the street corner, is a matter of fundamental concern to the Leadership Conference. Hatred of people because of who they are, where they worship, or the color of their skin is the an-

tithesis of what we stand for as an organization. Hate makes a mockery of our accomplishments and undermines our half century of work to rid the United States of vestiges of slavery and oppression.

Hate manifests itself in many ways, ranging all the way from a muttered remark in the workplace to brutal killing sprees. All hate must be condemned, but society's response to hate must be tailored to the manner in which it is expressed. Specifically, it is important to recognize a distinction between hate speech and hate crimes.

In my testimony today, I will outline the Leadership Conference's concern about the proliferation of both hate speech and hate crimes, and explain our view of the relationship between these two phenomena. In doing so, however, I will make it clear that we believe the legislative reply to hate speech and hate crimes should be very different.

At the outset, I want to emphasize that I believe the Internet is a wonderful development. It dramatically lowers the barriers to those who wish to enter the marketplace of ideas, enabling many more people to publish information and disseminate their views. Indeed, the Internet is perhaps the most democratic form of communication ever invented. In just a few years, the Internet has already revolutionized such diverse fields as medicine, law and commerce. Over time, I believe it will contribute greatly to the civil life of the Nation as well.

The Internet is profoundly non-judgmental. It transmits information, whether the information is good or bad, true or false, helpful or hurtful. In the realm of civil rights, that means that the Internet is a forum for messages of racial healing, as well as messages of racial hatred. For reasons I will explain, I am ultimately optimistic that, on balance, the Internet is a force for social reconciliation. But while we marvel at the Internet's potential for good, we can't afford to ignore that which is frightening.

The Leadership Conference abhors hate speech on the Internet and, of course, we abhor hate speech conveyed through any other medium. But we recognize that hate speech on the Internet reaches a wider and perhaps more impressionable audience, and that sophisticated hate mongers can use the Internet to enlist converts to their cause.

As other witnesses have already described, hate groups are increasingly well-established in cyberspace, using the Internet to promote and distribute their propaganda, recruit members, and exchange information. Their messages are disturbing, despicable, and must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. But the existence of these viewpoints in cyberspace merely confirms their existence in American culture. The Internet does not create hatred; it illuminates it. It reminds us of the long road we must travel before we reach a truly race-blind society.

The Leadership Conference believes that the best antidote for offensive speech is more speech on the other side, and therefore we have sought to answer hate speech on the Internet with anti-hate speech on the Internet. We have aggressively used the Internet to disseminate our message of racial harmony and non-discrimination to a broader audience, and to make more widely available the tools that we believe can combat bigotry.

For example, 2 years ago, with the assistance of the Bell Atlantic Corporation, we launched a new Web site, www.civilrights.org, to educate the public about the history and goals of the civil rights movement and to counter those who espouse hatred because of individuals' race, ethnicity, gender, disability, religion, or sexual orientation. A central component of this Web site is the Hate Crimes Prevention Center, initiated by the Leadership Conference Education Fund. It is an interactive clearinghouse for information about bigotry and hate crimes.

These initiatives, inspired by the White House Conference on Hate Crimes, have dramatically extended our institutional presence in combatting prejudice in cyberspace and elsewhere. Our online Hate Crimes Prevention Center, for example, now provides updated information on Federal and State hate crime statutes and statistics, community-based law enforcement strategies to respond to bigotry and violence, materials for parents and teachers to help them raise a generation of children who will grow up to embrace diversity and non-discrimination, and, of course, links to other relevant resources.

In addition, the Leadership Conference has entered into a long-term relationship with America Online to develop a portal that will serve as the seminal resource on the Internet on the history and future of the civil rights movement in this country. As a leader in information technology, America Online believes strongly in the power of combatting prejudice and improving inter-group understanding utilizing the Internet.

These are but some of the steps we are taking to counter hate speech on the Internet, to drown out bigots with a chorus of harmony. But for two very important reasons, the Leadership Conference emphatically does not endorse proposals to censor hate speech on the Internet.

First, we want the Internet to thrive, and we believe that the Internet by its nature cannot thrive in a climate of censorship. We want it to thrive because we recognize the Internet's potential as a force for cohesion and tolerance. It empowers individuals to reach across racial, ethnic, and religious lines like never before. It fosters dialogue. We support robust speech on the Internet because we are convinced we are right, that the hate mongers are wrong, and we know that reason will ultimately prevail over prejudice in the marketplace of ideas.

Second, the Leadership Conference is deeply committed to the First Amendment. There was a time not too long ago when the message of the civil rights movement was seen as subversive and offensive. There was a time when civil rights leaders invoked the constitutional principle of free speech to confront threats of censorship and repression. Now that we are in the mainstream and the bigots are on the fringes, we will not abandon the principles and protections that brought us as a Nation to where we are today.

Now, one reason we must be so vigilant about countering hate speech is that, left unchallenged, hate speech can incite violence. When bigots cross over the line from speech to action and carry out their warped ideology through violence, we leave the realm of hate speech and enter the realm of hate crimes. And whereas hate

speech must be condemned but tolerated in our constitutional system, hate crimes must be condemned and prosecuted.

While we do not believe that Congress should attempt to censor or crack down on hate speech, the Leadership Conference strongly believes that a fresh legislative response to the epidemic of hate crimes is both necessary and appropriate. And for that reason, we do support the passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999.

I won't discuss the hate crimes bill, Mr. Chairman. I know that you are familiar with it. But I will say that it does remove anachronistic and unnecessarily burdensome limits on Federal prosecution, and that for us is a very important matter.

And I will just make one final point to conclude. We know that the limits of current law are evident from the prosecution of Buford Furrow, the avowed white supremacist who shot up a day care center and killed a Federal employee. While the murder of Federal postal worker Joseph Iletto, because of his ethnicity, has resulted in a Federal indictment, Furrow's brutal assault on four children because of their religion did not constitute a Federal crime and therefore must be prosecuted by the Los Angeles district attorney's office in State court.

The fact that the children are not Federal employees and were not engaged in a federally-protected activity does not make the assault on them any less of an infringement on Federal interests. Buford Furrow's crime was deliberately intended to shatter the ideals of equality and tolerance, on which our Federal Government was founded and which are embodied in the Federal Constitution. We hope that Congress will act soon to strengthen the Nation's hate crime laws.

Now, where is the line between speech and action? As the Federal prosecution described by my colleague initially makes clear, there are times when hate speech takes the form of threats so specific and so imminent that law enforcement may appropriately intervene. The line is not always bright, especially as we come to grips with the promise and perils of the Internet, but we rely on the courts to define that line in individual cases. And I want to commend the prosecutor for being able to do that through his case.

The aftermath of the Matthew Shepard case, however, contains a lesson about the promise and perils of the Internet. Judy Shepard, Matthew's mother, wrote recently that almost overnight after the killing, memorial Web sites for Matthew appeared. But then the huge number of hate-filled messages left at some of them forced the web masters to shut down their guest books.

Ms. Shepard notes that, "It is in the environment of institutionalized intolerance that our senses are bombarded almost daily with incident after incident of violence and hate." But then she writes, "For all who ask what they can do for Matthew and other victims, my answer is to educate and bring understanding where you see hate and ignorance, bring light where you see darkness, bring freedom where there is fear, and begin to heal."

Judy Shepard is exactly right. The way to fight those using the Web to promote hate is to counter speech with more compelling speech, promoting the vision of America where we live together in mutual respect and celebrate our diversity.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Henderson.
[The prepared statement of Mr. Henderson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WADE HENDERSON

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: My name is Wade Henderson and I am the Executive Director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. I also serve as Counsel to the Leadership Conference Education Fund. I am pleased to appear before you today on behalf of the Leadership Conference to discuss the issue of hate on the Internet.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is the nation's oldest, largest and most diverse coalition of organizations committed to the protection of civil and human rights in the United States. Since its establishment in 1950 by A. Philip Randolph, Arnold Aronson, and Roy Wilkins, three civil rights leaders who would eventually receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom, LCCR has promoted the passage and monitored the implementation of laws designed to achieve equality under law for all persons in the United States. Today, LCCR consists of over 180 organizations working in concert to advance the cause of equality. Our coalition includes groups representing persons of color, women, labor organizations, persons with disabilities, older Americans, gays and lesbians, major religious groups, and civil liberties and human rights interests. It is a privilege to represent the civil and human rights community in addressing the Committee today. LCEF was founded in 1969 as the education arm of the civil rights coalition and continues to fill that role today.

Hate—whether it is purveyed on the Internet, on the printing press, or on the street corner—is a matter of fundamental concern to the Leadership Conference. Hatred of people because of who they are, where they worship or the color of their skin, is the antithesis of what we stand for as an organization. Hate makes a mockery of our accomplishments and undermines our half century of work to rid the United States of the vestiges of slavery and oppression.

The Leadership Conference proudly participated in historic struggles that led to enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Fair Housing Act of 1968, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and many other landmark civil rights laws. As difficult as those campaigns may have been, that may have been the easy part. Much more difficult is the struggle to change attitudes, to overcome bigotry, to build harmony. All the laws in the world cannot exorcise the demons of hatred, racism, sexism, xenophobia and homophobia that still plague this society.

Hate manifests itself in many ways, ranging all the way from a muttered remark in the workplace to brutal killing sprees. All hate must be condemned; but society's response to hate must be tailored to the manner in which it is expressed. Specifically, it is important to recognize a distinction between hate *speech* and hate *crimes*. In my testimony today I will outline LCCR's concern about the proliferation of both hate speech and hate crimes, and explain our view of the relationship between these two phenomena. In doing so, however, I will make clear that we believe the legislative reply to hate speech and hate crimes should be very different.

HATE SPEECH

Some bigots keep their thoughts to themselves, never uttering a hateful remark or engaging in a hateful deed. Others, unfortunately, make themselves heard. They spread their vile opinions through casual conversation, or by confronting the object of their hatred with verbal abuse. Still others go so far as to disseminate their views through leaflets, pamphlets, books or broadcast media. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* is one of history's most notorious examples of published hate speech, but the ugly tradition both predates Hitler and survives him. And today, hate speakers have a new medium through which to express themselves: the Internet.

At the outset, I want to emphasize that I believe the Internet is a wonderful development. It dramatically lowers the barriers to those who wish to enter the marketplace of ideas, enabling many more people to publish information and disseminate their views. Indeed, the Internet is perhaps the most democratic form of communication ever invented. In just a few years the Internet has already revolutionized such diverse fields as medicine, law and commerce; over time, I believe it will contribute greatly to the civic life of the nation as well.

The Internet is profoundly non-judgmental. It transmits information whether that information is good or bad, true or false, helpful or hurtful. In the realm of civil rights, that means the Internet is a forum for messages of racial healing as well as racial hatred. For reasons I will explain, I am ultimately optimistic that, on bal-

ance, the Internet is a force for social reconciliation. But while we marvel at the Internet's potential for good, we cannot afford to ignore that which is frightening.

The Leadership Conference abhors hate speech on the Internet. Of course we abhor hate speech conveyed through any other medium; but we recognize that hate speech on the Internet reaches a wider and perhaps more impressionable audience, and that sophisticated hate-mongers can use the Internet to enlist converts to their cause.

As other witnesses have described, hate groups are increasingly well-established in cyberspace, using the Internet to promote and distribute their propaganda, recruit members, and exchange information. In 1995, Ku Klux Klan leader Don Black established the Stormfront site that "serves as a clearinghouse for traditional white supremacist materials, addresses, and links to Home Pages * * * [of other hate groups]." Skinheads USA also maintains a web page that begins with a warning: "If you are not interested in the survival of the White race, piss off." The page also includes a game called "write a caption"—on one day the photograph to be captioned was of an African-American man being assaulted by a Caucasian.

Another web page by a group calling itself CNG expresses the view that "all non-Whites must be either exported or segregated to prevent further bastardization of our people, domination of our land, jobs and positions of education and employment." Still other "hate pages" on the Internet are run by individual extremists such as the site "Independent White Racialists" whose organizer, a self-described skinhead, says his page "is evidence that concerned White people don't have to be members of an organization to fight our freedom for White survival."

Such messages are disturbing, despicable and must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. But the existence of these viewpoints in cyberspace merely confirms their existence in American culture. The Internet does not create hatred; it illuminates it. It reminds us of the long road we must travel before we reach a truly race-blind society.

What, then, is the proper response to Internet-spread hate speech? In our view, it is not sufficient to turn off the computer or slap on filtering software; these voices of disunity must be countered. Over seventy years ago Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis wrote:

[T]he fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones * * * If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehoods and fallacies, to avert the evil by processes of education, *the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence.* Only an emergency can justify repression. Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled with freedom. Such, in my opinion, is the command of the Constitution.

Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357, 375 (1927) (Brandeis, J., concurring) (emphasis added).

The Leadership Conference has taken Justice Brandeis' wisdom to heart. We believe that the best antidote for offensive speech is more speech on the other side, and therefore we have sought to answer hate speech on the Internet with anti-hate speech on the Internet. We have aggressively used the Internet to disseminate our message of racial harmony and non-discrimination to a broader audience and to make more widely available the tools we believe can combat bigotry.

For example, in November 1997, with the assistance of Bell Atlantic Corporation, we launched a new Web site, www.civilrights.org, to educate the public about the history and goals of the civil rights movement and to counter those who espouse hatred against individuals because of their race, ethnicity, gender, disability, religion, or sexual orientation. A central component of this web site is the Hate Crimes Prevention Center, located at <http://civilrights.org/lcef/hcpc/>, an interactive clearinghouse for information about bigotry and hate crimes. These initiatives, inspired by President Clinton's challenge at the White House Conference on Hate Crimes for Americans to find ways to overcome the fears that lead to bigotry and violence, have dramatically extended our institutional presence in combating prejudice in cyberspace and elsewhere.

Since that time, with funding from the Levi Strauss Foundation and the Gill Foundation, the Leadership Conference has expanded "civilrights.org." Our on-line Hate Crimes Prevention Center, for example, now provides updated information on federal and state hate crime statutes and statistics; community-based and law enforcement strategies to respond to bigotry and violence; materials for parents and teachers to help them raise a generation of children who will grow up to embrace diversity and non-discrimination; and of course links to other relevant resources.

In the near future, the Leadership Conference expects to take another major step forward in the on-line fight against hatred. With the assistance of Ripple Effects, a San Francisco-based software company, we are developing a multimedia tool, de-

liverable over the Internet, that will proactively spread our message of racial and ethnic tolerance to pre-adolescents before the destructive thoughts and behaviors that can lead to violence take root. Combining the power of technology and cutting-edge behavioral research, we believe this module will effectively leverage the digital medium to help counter all forms of bigotry and hate.

In addition, the Leadership Conference has entered into a long-term relationship with America Online to develop a portal that will serve as the seminal resource on the Internet on the history and future of civil rights in this country. As a leader in information technology, America Online believes strongly in the power of combating prejudice and improving intergroup understanding utilizing the Internet.

These are some of the steps we are taking to counter hate speech on the Internet, to drown out the bigots with a chorus of harmony. But for two very important reasons, the Leadership Conference emphatically does not endorse proposals to censor hate speech on the Internet.

First, we want the Internet to thrive; and we believe that the Internet, by its nature, cannot thrive in a climate of censorship or heavy-handed government regulation. We want it to thrive because we recognize the Internet's potential as a force for cohesion and tolerance. It empowers individuals to reach across racial, ethnic and religious lines like never before. It fosters the dialogue that is the sine qua non of reconciliation. We support robust speech on the Internet because we are convinced we are right, the hate-mongers are wrong, and we know that reason will eventually prevail over prejudice in the marketplace of ideas.

Second, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is deeply committed to the First Amendment. There was a time, not too long ago, when the message of the civil rights movement was seen as subversive or offensive. There was a time when our leaders invoked the constitutional principle of free speech to confront threats of censorship and repression. Now that we are in the mainstream, and the bigots are on the fringes, we will not abandon the principles and protections that brought us to where we are today.

HATE CRIMES

One reason we must be so vigilant about countering hate speech is that, left unchallenged, hate speech can incite hate violence. When bigots cross over the line from speech to action and carry out their warped ideology through violence, we leave the realm of hate *speech* and enter the realm of hate *crimes*. Whereas hate speech must be condemned but tolerated in our constitutional system, hate crimes must be condemned and prosecuted.

The Leadership Conference believes that hate crimes are a more serious problem than is generally recognized, and that the problem requires a more unified and determined response by governmental, civic, religious and educational organizations. Two years ago, in conjunction with the Leadership Conference Education Fund (LCEF), we published *Cause For Concern: Hate Crimes in America*, one of the first comprehensive assessments of the hate crime problem in the United States. That investigation confirmed our fear that violence motivated by hatred is both prevalent and on the rise.

Even in the short time since we published *Cause for Concern*, there have been a series of hate-related crimes that serve as painful reminders of the bigotry still simmering in our society. On June 7, 1998, the dismembered body of 49 year-old James Byrd, Jr., an African American male, was found in a wooded area in Jasper, Texas. The assailants chained Byrd to the back of their pickup truck and dragged his body along a rural dirt road. When found, Byrd's head and right arm were missing. Three white males were subsequently arrested and charged with his murder.

In October of the same year, three white males tied Matthew Shepard to a wooden fence along an old dirt road, and pistol-whipped him with the butt of a .357 Magnum until they believed he was dead. They broke his skull. Then they took his wallet, his patent leather shoes and took off to burglarize his house. Matthew died a few days later in the hospital.

Earlier this year, Steven Mullins admitted to crushing the head of Billy Jack Gaither, an Alabama gay man with repeated blows of an ax handle, after stabbing him in the neck and ribcage.

Most recently, avowed white supremacists Benjamin Smith and Buford O. Furrow, Jr. went on shooting sprees in two Midwestern states and at a Jewish Community Center in Los Angeles, respectively. Smith killed two and wounded nine others while Furrow shot five individuals, including four children, before, killing a Filipino postman. Furrow said he wanted the community center attack to be "a wake-up call to America to kill Jews."

These are crimes against individuals, but they also represent an attack on the American ideal that we can forge one nation out of many different people. The violence reverberates beyond the immediate victims, scarring every other member of the targeted minority group and cracking the bedrock of peaceful tolerance on which our country was founded.

While we do not believe that Congress should attempt to censor or crackdown on hate speech, the Leadership Conference strongly believes that a fresh legislative response to the epidemic of hate crimes is both necessary and appropriate. For that reason, we support passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999 (S. 622 and H.R. 1082), legislation cosponsored by members of both parties in both Houses, including Senators Kennedy, Specter, Leahy and Schumer on this Committee.

S. 622 would strengthen the current federal hate crimes statute in two respects. First, it would remove unnecessary and anachronistic obstacles to federal prosecution of hate crimes under current law. Second, it would bring within the ambit of 18 U.S.C. § 245 crimes committed due to the victim's disability, sexual orientation or gender.

The limits of current federal law are evident from the prosecution of Buford Furrow, the avowed white supremacist who shot-up a day care center and killed a federal employee. While the murder of Post Office employee Joseph S. Iletto, because of his ethnicity has resulted in a federal indictment, Furrow's brutal assault of 4 children because of their religion did not constitute a federal crime and must be prosecuted by the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office in state court. The fact that the children are not federal employees and were not engaged in a federally protected activity does not make the assault on them any less of an infringement on federal interests. Furrow's crime was deliberately intended to shatter the ideals of equality and tolerance on which our federal government was founded and which are embodied in the federal constitution.

Consider other brutal hate crimes beyond the reach of federal law:

- On June 18, 1995, Thai Mai, a 23 year old Vietnamese American was attacked by three young white males at a nightclub in Michigan. After yelling racial slurs at Mai, the three men beat him until he fell against the cement floor splitting his head open. Mai died five days later from major head trauma.
- Randy Lawson, a white male and father of three was attacked and murdered by two African Americans on April 9, 1994. Lawson's attackers later admitted that they had killed him because he was white and they did not like white people. The murder incited intense outrage within the community and led to two other racially motivated killings.
- On January 4, 1996 Fred Mangione, a gay man was brutally murdered in Houston Texas by two neo-Nazis who bragged about hating homosexuals. The two assailants, both members of a white supremacist group, stabbed Mangione 35 times.

To be sure, the assailants in each of these cases were prosecuted in state court. But our support for the Hate Crimes Prevention Act does not rest on the assumption that perpetrators of violent crimes will go unpunished. Most often state prosecution will suffice. But we believe it is important for there to be a federal backstop to ensure adequate punishment if local authorities are unable or unwilling to prosecute.

More important, we urge passage of the Hate Crimes Prevention Act on the grounds that federal law should reflect the federal interest in protecting all minorities from bigotry and hate-motivated violence. Just as there is symbolic value in congressional condemnation of hate speech on the Internet, we think Congress should express the entire nation's outrage at these heinous hate crimes by including them within the protection of federal criminal law. That is a legitimate function of the criminal law.

The civil rights community is frustrated, frankly, that this Congress, which is so quick to deploy the federal criminal law to condemn other conduct that could be left to state prosecutors, has been suddenly overcome by abstract concerns about federalism when it comes to condemning hate crimes. We respectfully submit that the slaying of Matthew Shepard by homophobic bigots implicates federal interests far more than the sale of two marijuana cigarettes on a city street corner. Yet Congress has not hesitated to mobilize federal law and federal resources against the latter crime, despite the existence of concurrent state criminal jurisdiction over drug distribution.

One other criticism of hate crimes legislation is that it somehow infringes on the right of free speech. As I have made clear, the Leadership Conference takes a back seat to no organization in its support of civil liberties, including the liberty of free speech. That is why it is important to recognize the distinction between hate speech

and hate crimes. Until a hate-monger crosses the line from speech to action, he is cloaked in the protection of the federal Constitution. When he does cross the line, we believe the federal criminal law should be available to protect his victims.

Where is the line between speech and action? As the federal prosecution described by my colleague on the first panel makes clear, there are times when hate speech takes the form of threats so specific and so imminent that law enforcement may appropriately intervene. The line is not always bright, especially as we come to grips with the promise and perils of the Internet, but we rely on the courts to define that line in individual cases.

CONCLUSION

The aftermath of the Matthew Shepard case, in particular, contains a lesson about the promise and perils of the Internet.

Judy Shepard, Matthew's mother, wrote recently that "[a]lmost overnight [after the killing], memorial Web sites for Matthew appeared—but then the huge number of hate-filled messages left at some of them forced the Web masters to shut down the guest books." Mrs. Shepard notes that "it is in this environment of institutionalized intolerance that our senses are bombarded, almost daily, with incident after incident of violence and hate."

But then she writes, "For all who ask what they can do for Matthew and other victims, my answer is to educate and bring understanding where you see hate and ignorance, bring light where you see darkness, bring freedom where there is fear, and begin to heal."

Judy Shepard is exactly correct. The way to fight those using the Web to promote hate is to counter hate speech with more compelling speech promoting the vision of an America where we live together in mutual respect and celebrate our diversity.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Berkowitz, we will turn to you.

STATEMENT OF HOWARD BERKOWITZ

Mr. BERKOWITZ. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am Howard Berkowitz, National Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League. I am accompanied here today by Abraham Foxman, National Director, by Jess Hordas, ADA's new Washington Director, and by Michael Lieberman, the League's Washington counsel. ADL very much appreciates this opportunity to testify on hate on the Internet.

Hate groups and extremists have moved quickly to the Internet. This is the dark side of the information superhighway. What attracts all of these hate groups to the Internet is fairly easy to understand. First, it is very cheap. Second, it is easily accessible to literally hundreds of millions of people. Third, it provides them a new method of communication which is far better than what they have had in the past. And, fourth, it is anonymous. People can go to their Web sites. Nobody knows they have been there, and therefore they are very much in every one of our homes 24 hours a day.

As a vehicle for spreading hate, the Internet is more powerful than any extremist of the past decade could have imagined. Anti-Semites and racists use the Internet to recruit new members and threaten their enemies with violence. Online membership firms make it easy to join. Online, they become part of an electronic community of like-minded individuals which helps to reinforce their hateful convictions.

While hundreds of hate sites currently online comprise only a tiny portion of the World Wide Web, these sites are just as easily accessible to the 100 million Americans using the Internet as is the Web site of the U.S. Senate. Children who explore the Internet, whether visiting Web sites, reading e-mail messages, or conversing in chat rooms, run the risk of encountering hate. Many hate groups specifically target the young. These hateful messages can deeply in-

fluence and affect impressionable young children, seducing them with very sophisticated graphics, rock music, and even crossword puzzles.

They may stumble on these sites inadvertently. For example, a child doing a homework assignment on World War II or the Holocaust might enter the term "holocaust" into a search engine. In response to his query, the search engine will provide the child with links to historic Holocaust Web sites, but also will include sites prepared Holocaust deniers and white Aryan racists.

The propaganda presented by hate sites is aimed at influencing not just attitudes, but also behavior. Hate crimes in Chicago, Sacramento, and Los Angeles this summer demonstrate how online propaganda can lead to action. Matthew Williams, a primary suspect in the murder of a gay couple in Redding, CA, and the Sacramento synagogue arsons in June, was drawn into the hate movement by white supremacist Web sites.

Benjamin Smith, a member of the racist and anti-Semitic World Church of the Creator who shot at six orthodox Jews and murdered a Korean student and a black man over the July 4 weekend, repeatedly viewed the group's Web site and complimented its web master on his work.

At the Web site of hate group Aryan Nations, Internet users can order the extremist book that Los Angeles gunman and former Aryan Nations security guard Buford Furrow had in his car at the time of his vicious attacks in Los Angeles in August.

Many of the groups and individuals creating hate sites have extensive histories of violence. In the League's written statement, we have included additional material on all these extremist individuals, groups and movements that I have mentioned above.

But what can be done about hate on the Internet? There are no simple answers to this question. We feel strongly that censorship is not the answer. The First Amendment's protection of free speech shields most extremist propaganda. However, the First Amendment does not protect speech that threatens or harasses other people.

What can be done? The ADL carefully monitors and documents Internet hate and promotes public awareness of the plans and histories of online bigots. In line with our view that exposure will lead to the rejection of the haters and their propaganda, we continue to publish materials concerning hate on the Internet. These can be found on our own Web site, and are included in our new report called "Poisoning on the Web," which has been provided to all members of Congress.

Additionally, in cooperation with the Learning Company of Massachusetts, ADL has released a new software filter. This software filter is entitled the ADL Hate Filter. It provides parents and others with the ability to block access to Internet sites that ADL believes promote hate. It is a site-specific filter, not a word-specific one, and it also offers those being blocked from the site an educational experience to learn why the site is being blocked.

We have several other recommendations that we think could be very helpful in trying to deal with hate on the Internet. First, provide education and training for Federal prosecutors in the use of Federal criminal civil rights statutes to prosecute incidents of bias-

motivated threats on the Internet. In addition, we urge Congress to enact the Hate Crimes Prevention Act. This necessary complementary legislation would authorize the Department of Justice to assist local prosecutions and, where appropriate, investigate and prosecute cases in which bias violence occurs because of the victim's sexual orientation, gender, or disability.

Second, mandate a new study by the Commerce Department's National Telecommunications Information Authority on the impact of electronic hate on bias crimes. The NTIA's very useful December 1993 report, "The Role of Telecommunications in Hate Crimes," pre-dates the widespread use of the Internet by these organized hate groups.

Third, provide funds for the Department of Education to develop outreach and educational programs to protect our Nation's children by teaching teachers how to develop their students' critical thinking skills and responsible use of the Internet.

Fourth, civic leaders and politicians should take a leadership role in speaking out against bigotry, anti-Semitism and racism on the Internet and wherever it occurs. Americans of goodwill must join together to reject the efforts of extremists to exploit the Internet for their own propaganda purposes.

Fifth, encourage the ISP's to identify and eliminate hate sites that are on the ISP's programs. And, six, penalize knowingly advocating an action of physical violence to an individual.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for these hearings and for all that you are doing in this area.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you, Mr. Berkowitz. We appreciate that.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Berkowitz follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HOWARD BERKOWITZ

HATE ON THE INTERNET: THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE PERSPECTIVE

Concerns about online extremism are not new. In January 1985, the Anti-Defamation League released a report entitled *Computerized Networks of Hate*. Years before the Internet became a household word, that report exposed a computerized bulletin board created by and for white supremacists and accessible to anyone with a modem and a home computer. Aryan Nations, a paramilitary group affiliated with the "Identity Church" pseudo-theological hate movement, sponsored the bulletin board and named it "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." The project was the work of two individuals: Louis Beam, then a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations leader, and George Dietz, the man behind the largest neo-Nazi publishing mill in the United States.

This bulletin board was a forerunner of extremism on the Internet. *Computerized Networks of Hate* detailed five ways the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net" served the white supremacist movement, all of which remain important to extremism on the Internet today. First, the bulletin board was designed to draw young people to the hate movement with appealing propaganda. Second, the network helped stir up hatred against the "enemies" of white supremacy. Third, the bulletin board was a means to make money. Fourth, the system offered the potential for circulating secret, coded messages among extremists, and finally, it bypassed embargoes that nations outside of the United States placed on hate literature.

Though *Computerized Networks of Hate* noted little to suggest that Aryan Nation Liberty Net represented a great leap forward in the spread of anti-Semitic and racist propaganda, it warned that "complacency" about this development "would be unwise." At the time, Beam wrote that the bulletin board was a "patriotic brain trust" and boasted that "computers are now bringing their power and capabilities" to the white supremacist movement. "The possibilities," Beam remarked, "have only been touched upon."

The same month that ADL released *Computerized Networks of Hate*, white supremacist Stephen Donald (Don) Black was released from prison. While serving just over two years, Black had learned to use computers. In 1981, Black was arrested with a group of nine other neo-Nazis and Klansmen in Slidell, Louisiana, and charged with plotting to invade the Caribbean island of Dominica, overthrow its government, and turn it into a "white state." He was convicted, and following an unsuccessful appeal, he surrendered to Federal marshals in December, 1982.

In the years following his release, Black gradually withdrew from white supremacist activism, eventually becoming a computer consultant. However, he did not disavow his racism. It was Black who would launch *Stormfront*, the first extremist hate site on the World Wide Web, a decade after ADL reported on "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." "There is the potential here to reach millions," Black said of the Internet. "I think it's a major breakthrough. I don't know if it's the ultimate solution to developing a white rights movement in this country, but it's certainly a significant advance."

Initially, Black could find only a handful of other Web sites that reflected his anti-Semitic, racist message. Today, hundreds of bigotry-laden sites promoting a variety of philosophies have joined *Stormfront* on the Web. The propaganda presented by these sites, from subtle to heavy-handed, is aimed at influencing both attitudes and behavior.

Though it is not always easy to draw a connection between online speech and violence, extremist groups with histories of violence have extensive Web sites. Additionally, extremists have used the Internet to comment favorably on violent acts. One Web site calls John William King, convicted murderer of James Byrd, an "American Hero" and asks readers to "give thanks to God" for King's act. Another site's "Memorial" to gay murder victim Matthew Shepard claims he "got himself killed" because of his "satanic lifestyle" and "will be in hell for all eternity."

Many extremist sites target the young. Hate groups such as the World Church of the Creator have posted Web sites filled with simple propaganda devoted specifically to wooing children. Bigotry-laced hard rock and the Internet have proved a natural match for racist Skinheads trying to capture the minds of teens.

While deeply disturbing, the growth of hate and extremism on the Internet simply mirrors the expansion of Internet use. What began as a small computer network used primarily by scientists and academic researchers has become a mass medium. Computers and Internet access are in workplaces, homes, schools and libraries, and prices for both are falling rapidly. For many Internet users in the United States, going online costs nothing. Large numbers of U.S. workers have free access to the Internet at their offices. Many U.S. residents use free Internet access at their local public libraries, and educational institutions regularly connect their students to the Web free of charge.

Most Internet Service Providers willingly "host" their customers' World Wide Web pages; in return for a user's access fee, they provide nearly unlimited use of the hardware and communications lines necessary for creating a site on the Web. Some Web-based services, such as Tripod and GeoCities, host Internet users' pages free of charge. All of the above provide free, easy-to-use Web development tools, making it simple, even for those who know nothing about computer programming, to create their own Web pages.

Beyond low cost and availability, the Internet provides a new type of information distribution, since time and distance are compressed. Information posted there is available instantaneously, 24 hours a day, from anywhere on the planet. The World Wide Web creates the illusion that all information is present in the user's computer at the instant it is needed. Accessing information has never been easier. What's more, the Internet has done more than that, for it has turned every user into a potential publisher. It has never been easier for any individual to broadcast his or her ideas to the world.

A worldwide collection of computers linked by high-speed phone lines, the Internet displays remarkable versatility, sometimes resembling a letter, on other occasions a telephone, and still other times a television. Like a printed letter, the Internet provides a way to communicate directly with others, near or far, but on the Internet, "E-mail" (electronic mail) is delivered nearly instantaneously (E-mail arrives so much more quickly than standard printed correspondence that users of the Internet sometimes call traditional letters "snail mail"). Furthermore, E-mail users pay nothing for the transmission of messages; their accounts are charged a flat fee for service, if they pay for their accounts at all.

Like a telephone, the Internet provides a way to communicate in "real time" with others. A person using a chat room or Internet Relay Chat channel to converse with friends can engage in a fast-paced conversation, for friends' words appear on the screen mere seconds after they've been typed. Like television, the Internet can

“broadcast” information to vast audiences. Millions of Internet users can view the same World Wide Web site simultaneously, and Web sites, like television programs, are able to transmit text, sound, photos, and moving images. The growth of the Internet represents a revolution in communication as significant as that begun by the development of the printing press in the 15th century. Yet the time needed for its impact to be felt has been drastically telescoped. What took centuries is now taking place in a matter of a few years.

Even before *Stormfront* appeared on the Web, extremists had begun exploiting other ways to use the Internet, and these practices continue today. Lively conversations take place on numerous extremist Internet Relay Chat channels. The USENET, a collection of thousands of public discussion groups (or newsgroups) on which people write, read and respond to messages, attracts hundreds of thousands of participants each day, both active (those who write) and passive (those who simply read or “lurk”). Newsgroups have been compared to community bulletin boards. Haters of all sorts debate, rant, and insult their opponents on newsgroups with titles such as *alt.politics.white-power* and *alt.revisionism*.

Electronic mailing lists (or “listservs”) flourish as well. Such lists are like private “bulletin boards” available only to subscribers. While some lists keep their subscription information confidential, most are easy to join. Postings to some of these lists are moderated (i.e., monitored by the list operator who applies certain standards of acceptability), but others are entirely unregulated.

In fashioning their lists, extremists and racists create an “electronic community” of like-minded people. Before the Internet, many extremists worked in relative isolation, forced to make a great effort to connect with others who shared their ideology. Today, on the Internet, bigots communicate easily, inexpensively, and sometimes anonymously with hundreds of fellow extremists. Online, extremists reinforce more easily each other’s hateful convictions.

Extremists also use E-mail, which allows them to communicate with one another directly, their missives ostensibly hidden from public view. In fact, E-mail is not truly private: computer-savvy individuals can intercept and read private messages. Some users, nervous about eavesdroppers, now use cryptographic programs. Cryptography converts written material using a secret code, rendering it unreadable by anyone who does not have the means to decode it. With encrypted E-mail, extremists have found a secure forum in which to exchange ideas and plans. E-mail can also be used to spread hate propaganda. With a mailing list and a message, hate mailings can easily reach the mailboxes of large numbers of people. Enterprising haters have managed to mass-mail hate materials to tens, hundreds, or even thousands of unsuspecting people without revealing their identity.

Though purveyors of hate make use of all the communication tools the Internet provides, the World Wide Web is their forum of choice. In addition to its multimedia capabilities and popularity with Internet users, the Web allows bigots to control their message. Organized haters complain about civil rights activists who criticize their manifestoes in USENET newsgroups and other interactive forums. In contrast, haters can refuse to publish critical messages on their Web sites, just as a TV station can refuse to broadcast another station’s opinions over its airwaves. Furthermore, 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, and many Web users lack the experience and knowledge to distinguish between them. Increasingly, Web development tools have made it simple for bigots to create sites that visually resemble those of reputable organizations. Consequently, hate groups using the Web can more easily portray themselves as legitimate voices of authority.

DON BLACK

Since its creation, *Stormfront* has served as a veritable supermarket of online hate, stocking its shelves with many forms of anti-Semitism and racism. In its first two years, *Stormfront* featured the writings of William Pierce of the neo-Nazi National Alliance; David Duke; representatives of the Holocaust-denying Institute for Historical Review and other assorted extremists. By 1997, Black’s site became home to the Web pages of other extremists, such as Aryan Nations and Ed Fields, racist publisher of *The Truth At Last*, a hate-filled newspaper. He also posted new reprints of white supremacist articles and essays, such as *The Talmud: Judaism’s holiest book documented and exposed*. Meant to inflame Christians by characterizing the Talmud as primarily anti-Christian and filled with “malice,” “hate-mongering” and “barbarities,” this particularly scurrilous tract willfully distorts and misrepresents an important religious document while demonstrating a complete lack of understanding of its history, complexity, and role in Jewish religious practice.

Some of Black's recent efforts have involved the expansion of *Stormfront*: enlarging its collection of links, adding an interactive chat room, and housing additional racist Web sites. One of these sites, *Our Legacy of Truth*, offers the text of works such as "Proof of Negro Inferiority" by Alexander Winchell and Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, as well as Willie Martin's "1001 Quotes By and About Jews." This pernicious compendium of quotations strings together mistranslated remarks made by Jews, statements of well-known non-Jews taken out of context, and the ravings of anti-Semites, so as to give readers the impression that Jews are constantly striving for global control. Another site now housed by Black, *White Singles*, serves as a free dating service for white supremacists. "Women and men listed on WS [*White Singles*] are heterosexual, white gentiles only," its Home Page declares. Well over 200 men and women have registered for this service, many of them submitting pictures of themselves for viewing by prospective mates. A third new site at *Stormfront*, *White Nationalist News Agency* (NNA), posts the text of articles from the Associated Press and other reputable news sources, seemingly without legal permission. Attached to these articles are the racist and anti-Semitic comments of Vincent Breeding, NNA editor and National Alliance activist of Tampa, Florida.

Beyond his additions to *Stormfront*, Black has begun to help other white supremacists by hosting their sites without publicly admitting that he is doing so. Unlike sites such as *The Truth at Last* or *White Nationalist News Agency*, which are housed by Black and are in effect part of *Stormfront*, it is not readily apparent that he services these other sites.

Adrian Edward Marlow of Suisun City, California, maintains one of these sites, *White Pride World Wide*.¹⁰ In fact, Marlow owns Black's Web server, the computer that contains his Web site and makes it available to Internet users. Black rents this server from Marlow and controls it electronically from a remote location: his home in West Palm Beach, Florida.¹¹ Marlow also uses his own server to co-host white supremacist sites with Don Black.

Not surprisingly, *White Pride World Wide* is advertised on *Stormfront* and links to the mailing lists and chat room at Black's site. The rest of the site reflects Black's values as well: it includes "1001 Quotes By and About Jews," Madison Grant's racist tract *The Passing of the Great Race* and transcriptions of Louis Beam's speeches. Like *Stormfront*, *White Pride World Wide* also houses other racist Web sites, such as *Verboten* (a German-language extremist site) and *women.wpww.com* (a site created by and for white supremacist women).

Black hosts a site named *Blitzcast*, which *Stormfront* and *White Pride World Wide* recommend for those seeking online, racist audio "broadcasts." Using free audio software easily downloadable from the Web, visitors to *Blitzcast* can listen to the speeches of American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell, the weekly radio addresses of National Alliance leader William Pierce, and the ravings of anti-Semitic Jew Benjamin Freedman. Also appearing at *Blitzcast* is Frank Weltner, who uses the pseudonym "Von Goldstein Mohammed" and runs *Jew Watch*, yet another site hosted by Black.

Jew Watch organizes its anti-Semitic materials much in the same way a popular Web directory might group more benign information. Weltner presents accusations that Jews were behind the terrors caused by Russia's Communist regime in "Jews, Communism, and The Job of Killing Off the USSR's Christians." "Jewish Genocides Today and Yesterday" describes an alleged Jewish plan to deport non-Jews from the U.S. in 1946. "90 percent of All United States News-papers Are Owned and Run by Jews" repeats the oft-heard charge that Jews run the media, and "The Rothschild Internationalist-Zionist-Banking-One World Order Family" claims that Jews control the world of finance. Adolf Hitler's writings, transcripts of Father Charles Coughlin's anti-Semitic radio broadcasts, and the text of Henry Ford Sr.'s bigoted *International Jew* are all available at *Jew Watch* as well.

When Marlow created Web sites at more than ten domain names that resembled the names of major daily newspapers, another misleading Web venture involving Black garnered attention. In October 1998, Marlow linked these sites directly to *Stormfront*. Consequently, Web users looking for news about Philadelphia at "philadelphiainquirer.com," for example, ended up visiting Don Black's site, not the *Philadelphia Inquirer* Home Page (which is located at phillynews.com). Other newspapers affected included the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Atlanta Constitution*, and the *London Telegraph*.

As Black's site has grown and he has aggressively continued to promote it, an increasing number of Web users have been visiting *Stormfront*. Black told the Associated Press that the number of contacts to *Stormfront* doubled during the domain name incident, to 2,000 per day. According to Black, Web surfers have accessed *Stormfront* more than a million times since its debut.

Web users visiting *Stormfront* right now will likely find a bold advertisement in the lower left-hand corner of their screens. By clicking on it, they arrive at the Web site for perhaps America's best-known and most politically active racist: Black's mentor, David Duke.

DAVID DUKE

Like Don Black, David Duke first became an active racist as a teen-ager. Soon after, as a student at Louisiana State University, he founded the neo-Nazi group White Youth Alliance. After his graduation, Duke founded the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and launched a publicity blitz that boosted its membership.

Duke's days as a Klan leader ended abruptly in 1980, after he was accused of trying to sell his group's membership list. Duke left the Klan to establish and head the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP), which he himself confirmed was simply a Klan without robes. Though Duke shed his official role in the NAAWP when he became more politically active, he continued to maintain ties to the group and its agenda continued to parallel his.

Running as a Republican, Duke won a Louisiana State Legislature seat in January 1989, despite scrutiny and opposition from national Republican leaders. While in office, he continued to sell neo-Nazi literature. While claiming that he had repudiated racism, Duke made statements such as "Jews are trying to destroy all other cultures." Duke won 43.5 percent of the vote in an unsuccessful 1990 U.S. Senate race and 700,000 votes in a 1991 race for the governorship of Louisiana.

After an unsuccessful Presidential bid in 1992, Duke retreated from the political arena but continued to concentrate on raising his media profile. He tried his luck as a radio talk show host in 1993, but his controversial program, the "David Duke Conservative Hotline," proved unpopular. Two years after Duke failed to raise the \$7,000 needed to continue broadcasting his program, he established *The David Duke Report Online*, a less costly venue for disseminating his views.

David Duke has embraced the Internet as a key to the future of the white supremacist movement. An article featured prominently at his site, "The Coming White Revolution—Born on the Internet," outlines his high hopes that the Internet will "facilitate a world-wide revolution of White awareness."

Concerned that the "non-white birthrate," "massive immigration," and "racial intermarriage" will "reduce the founding people of America into a minority," Duke boasts at his Web site about the "genetic potential" of "our people," stressing the "innate intellectual and psychological differences" between whites and Blacks.

In another piece posted at his site, "Race and Christianity," Duke writes, "I truly believe that the future of this country, civilization, and planet is inseparably bound up with the destiny of our White race. I think, as the history of Christianity has shown, that our people have been the driving force in its triumph."

In November 1998, Duke renamed and redesigned his site. The site, now simply called *David Duke*, pictures Duke amid colorful images of an American flag, the Lincoln Memorial, Mount Rushmore, and the White House. A "David Duke Biography" portrays the former Klan leader as a respectable citizen, listing the awards and degrees he has received and pointing out that he is a "publicly-elected Republican official" (Duke currently serves as the Chairman of the St. Tammany, Louisiana, Republican Parish Executive Committee). Duke's site also sells his autobiography, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*; Duke promises to personally autograph all copies of the book ordered from the site.

Though Duke's site does not possess the depth or breadth of a site like *Stormfront*, his well-known name may attract curious, potential extremists browsing the Web. This is particularly troublesome considering Duke's expressed belief in the Internet as a white supremacist recruitment tool and his recent offline activities.

After years spent denying his racism in order to advance in politics, Duke has once again openly embraced the white supremacist movement. In a July 1997 article published by *The Tallahassee Democrat*, he acknowledged that his politics were becoming "more radical" in reaction to what he referred to as a "growing undercurrent" of white frustration. Most disturbing are his speeches given in 1997 and 1998 at four separate events sponsored by the National Alliance, a group the Anti-Defamation League has identified as the single most dangerous organized hate group in the United States today.

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

The National Alliance (NA) was originally established as the "Youth for Wallace" campaign in support of the failed 1968 Presidential bid of Alabama Governor George Wallace. After Wallace lost, the group was renamed the "National Youth Alliance." In 1970, William Pierce, a former American Nazi Party official, joined the group,

and in 1974 (around the time that David Duke founded his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan), Pierce took the reins and dropped the word "Youth" from the organization's name.

Now in his mid-60's, Pierce still leads the group out of a compound in West Virginia. Using the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald, he authored the novel *The Turner Diaries*, which details a successful world revolution by an all-white army, and the systematic extermination of Blacks, Jews, and other minorities. Many extremists regard *The Turner Diaries* as an explicit terrorism manual, and the novel is believed to have inspired several major acts of violence, including the April 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. Pierce continues to encourage violence, viewing it as the ultimate solution to what he terms "the Jewish problem." His weekly radio program, *American Dissident Voices* (ADV), is rife with incendiary speech. Between his novels and his broadcasts, Pierce provides bigots with both an ideological and a practical framework for committing acts of mass destruction.

The National Alliance is currently the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the nation. In the past several years, dozens of violent crimes, including murders, bombings and robberies, have been traced to NA members or appear to have been inspired by the group's propaganda. At the same time, the organization's membership base has experienced major growth, with its numbers more than doubling since 1992.

The NA's current strength can be attributed to several factors: its willingness to cooperate with other extremists (such as David Duke); its energetic recruitment and other promotional activities; its vicious, but deceptively intellectualized propaganda, and a skillful embrace of the Internet.

A former physics professor at Oregon State University, Pierce was quick to understand the potential power of the Internet. Today, the NA's site is one of the best-organized and most informative hate sites on the Web. It promotes Pierce's Nazi-like ideology: biological determinism, hierarchical organization, an emphasis on will and sacrifice, and "a long-term eugenics program involving at least the entire populations of Europe and America."

In the section of its site entitled "What is the National Alliance?," the NA calls for the creation of "White Living Space" purged of all non-whites and demands the formation of a government "wholly committed to the service of [the white] race and subject to no non-Aryan influence." On the site, this section is reprinted in Swedish, Dutch, and German, as are French and German translations of *The Turner Diaries* and the text of selected ADV broadcasts in Swedish.

Also included on the NA's site are Pierce's anti-Semitic screed "Who Rules America" (a particular favorite among online bigots) and articles from the NA's print publications, *Free Speech* and *National Vanguard*. These documents contain familiar themes: America is in decline, its vital essence polluted by non-Aryans, and only the revolutionary program of the NA can save it.

The NA Web site also features an online version of the NA's *National Vanguard Books* catalog, which offers an extensive selection of racist and anti-Semitic books, videotapes, and cassettes. These items are divided into categories such as "National Socialist Revolution"; "Race: Science and Sociology"; and an especially long list of materials concerned with "Communism, Zionism, Feminism, and the Jews."

Visitors can order books from the National Alliance by downloading a user-friendly order form from the NA site, printing it out, and sending it to the NA with payment. Additionally, "any White person (a non-Jewish person of wholly European ancestry) of good character and at least 18 years of age who accepts as his own the goals of the National Alliance" can apply for membership using the Web, by downloading and printing out a membership form and mailing it to the group. Users can also find items relating to a particular topic by plugging in key words to the site's search engine; over 250 items turned up when searching for the term "Jews."

NA sympathizers have also increased the group's exposure by using public Internet forums, sending unsolicited E-mail messages, and disrupting USENET newsgroups. In the "Reviews and Commentaries" section of the Web site for Amazon.com, visitors are invited to comment on books they have read. In at least two reviews (no longer at the site), NA supporters promoted their organization's message. Reviewing *The Turner Diaries*, one of these sympathizers urged other readers to "contact the author's organization, the National Alliance, and get involved in the struggle for self-determination and freedom for our people." Another commentary lamented that whites who "just sit on their butts all day and allow the Jewish takeover of the U.S. to continue unchallenged really need to read the chapter called the 'Day of the Rope.' Everyone else who wants to fight needs to join the [NA]."

In October 1994, thousands of people in four states received an unsolicited E-mail message containing NA propaganda from an untraceable address. An action like this is considered a serious breach of "netiquette" (responsible Internet use). The NA dis-

avowed this act but noted its interest in sending unsolicited messages in its newsletter.

A similar transmission of another National Alliance piece occurred in 1995, on the eve of the Jewish High Holy Days, and again in February 1998, when hundreds of people received an unsolicited E-mail message containing the transcript of Pierce's ADV program entitled "Bill, Monica, and Saddam." In it, Pierce claimed that by writing about the Monica Lewinsky affair, the "Jewish media bosses" harmed President Clinton, who "would do whatever they told him to do," but "had screwed up so many times that he had become a liability for them."

Those sympathetic to the NA have also targeted specific institutions, such as Southwest Texas University. In April 1998, three Black students there were charged with raping two white students at a dormitory party. The campus NAACP chapter voiced opposition to the charges and criticized school administrators for a "rush to judgment." In response, a National Alliance supporter sent 16,000 unsolicited E-mail messages to students and faculty calling on the NAACP to apologize to "victims of rape" and all white women. "The truth is," the E-mail read, "White people in this country are under attack by an ever-growing population of black criminals." NA sympathizers have also posted thousands of messages to USENET newsgroups, seeing them as a way to broadcast their message widely. In its July 1995 Bulletin, the NA encouraged "the Alliance's seasoned cybernauts" to spread its Web site address "as widely as possible."

In a 1996 speech to the NA's Cleveland unit, Pierce described the NA's organized effort to dominate discussions in USENET newsgroups. He outlined the operations of an "Alliance Cybercell," a group of NA supporters active in USENET newsgroups. "We have organized members working as teams, not identifying themselves as Alliance members but going into these discussion groups and virtually taking them over," Pierce explained. These cell leaders "decide what discussion groups they want to get into * * * analyze the situation, analyze the types of propaganda that have been presented by the other side and we go in there and just tear them apart." Though Pierce encouraged online NA supporters to shift their recruiting activities from public debate to private discussions, one still finds NA members descending on USENET newsgroups and other public forums where they believe they might find sympathizers, spewing their hateful propaganda and inviting people to visit the NA Web site.

NA members correspond privately via E-mail not only with potential recruits, but also with each other. The organization claims to have established a "Rapid Response Team (RRT)," a group of NA volunteers who are contacted via E-mail to respond to special situations. According to the NA, this team serves many purposes, from gathering information to quickly alerting other NA members in their area when an "emergency" arises.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE

While David Duke has recently allied himself with the National Alliance, his NAAWP has also jumped on the Internet bandwagon. Duke once described the NAAWP as "a perfect foil for me." Around 1990, soon after his successful run for the Louisiana State Legislature, he resigned from leadership of the group, but he still remained active behind the scenes. Duke's campaign treasurer, Paul Allen, became the NAAWP's leader, and the office for Duke's unsuccessful 1991 gubernatorial campaign served as the group's headquarters. The NAAWP has described Duke as "former NAAWP President and still, best friend to the organization," and Duke's Web site proudly identifies him as "founder and former National President of the NAAWP."

The NAAWP portrays itself as a non-profit "white rights" organization that defends white interests and rights in the same fashion that the NAACP works for the "Advancement of Colored People." Unlike some groups that proudly embrace the label of "racist," the NAAWP is more subtle in its hate. As early as 1985, the NAAWP encouraged its followers to mute their white supremacist views and "never refer to racial superiority or inferiority, only talk about racial differences, carefully avoiding value judgements." The NAAWP North Carolina chapter Web site responds to the question "Is the NAAWP a 'hate group?'" with a firm "absolutely not." At the national NAAWP site, a group leader writes, "I don't condemn black people. I want the best for them, both from a compassionate Christian-point-of-view, and because if they escape from the cycle of poverty, drugs, and crime, then we too will be better off." According to the NAAWP Michigan chapter, "the NAAWP doesn't stand for hating anyone, and more importantly it never has. It's about building a new, better society. A homogeneous community where everyone contributes, everyone benefits, and all share a common set of values and cultural beliefs."

The NAAWP, like David Duke, has tried to hide its hate, but its racist and anti-Semitic views, like those of its founder, are evident. *NAAWP News*, the group's newsletter, has regularly published articles with titles like "Anti-Semitism is normal for people seeking to control their own destiny"; "Jewish control of the media is the single most dangerous threat to Christianity," and "Why most Negroes are criminals."

On its Web sites as well, the NAAWP shows its true colors. "Tired of Black History Month, Martin Luther King Day, Miss Black USA, Black Entertainment Network, The United Negro College Fund, [and] Affirmative Action?" asks the NAAWP Arkansas chapter site. The Hawaii chapter's site calls gays "the worst predators on [sic] our children" and declares, "the Jesse Jacksons of this World just want White Women around to Pimp for Money and Drugs and to make the White Man Pay."

The National NAAWP Web site offers particularly clear examples of the bigotry that underlies the NAAWP's talk about "white rights." It presents an anti-Semitic essay by National Alliance member Kevin Alfred Strom with the comment, "this essay is a real call to all arms for all the races and nations of the world to rise up against these hypocrites, deceivers and tyrants—the j*ws [sic]." The site also posts another essay by Strom, "The Beast as Saint," which purports to discredit Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a plagiarizer and a patron of prostitutes. A third document at the site, "Jews, Jews, Jews," offers "proof that the Jew really does control the media" in the way of a list of "Jewish CEO's."

KU KLUX KLAN

NAAWP members sometimes attend rallies organized by an older, better-known hate group: the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). For more than 130 years, the Klan has provided a model for extremists by actively practicing and promoting bigotry, intimidation and violence.

The strength of America's oldest hate group has fluctuated, peaking and receding at various times in American history, coinciding with the rise and decline of social and economic discontent in the nation. The economic, political and cultural changes in the South after the Civil War, the dislocations in the early 1920's and the struggle for civil rights in the 1950's and 1960's all fueled Klan growth.

In recent years, as a result of the counteractions of law enforcement and civil rights groups, changing fashions in the extremist movement, and internal power struggles, the Klan has lost much of its clout. David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which fell into decline when Don Black went to jail, underwent a major split in 1994. Other large, national Klans active in the 1960's, 1970's, and 1980's have also disintegrated. For instance, a 1987 Southern Poverty Law Center legal victory effectively dismantled the United Klans of America after its members lynched a Black teen-ager, Michael Donald. A 1993 court order disbanded the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan after group members pelted civil rights activists with rocks and bottles during a brotherhood march in Forsyth County, Georgia.

Still, in the 1990's, Klan members remain active and violent, planning terrorist bombings and burning Black churches. In April 1997, three Klan members were arrested in a plot to blow up a natural gas refinery near Fort Worth, Texas. Three more men with links to the Klan were arrested in February 1998 for planning to poison water supplies, rob banks, plant bombs, and commit assassinations. In a July 1998 court judgment, the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, its South Carolina state leader Horace King, and several other Klansmen were held responsible for their roles in a conspiracy to burn down a Black church.

Like other white supremacist groups, the Klan has turned to the Internet as a means to revitalize their movement and attract a new cadre of supporters and activists. "Up until last month, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Realm of Florida was very small," writes Brian K. Bass of his Klan group. "But now we have a website up, and our numbers are growing dramatically. We picked up 6 new members in just the last two weeks, and have other applications under consideration. I feel that this is due to the website." On the Web, some Klan factions favor the toned-down rhetoric associated with the NAAWP and other hate groups trying to appear mainstream. The first Klan page on the Web belonged to a group that adopted this strategy: Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Robb's site presented a "kinder, gentler" Klan that teaches white racial pride but professes to be neither anti-Black nor anti-Catholic. Whites "have a right to be proud of their race" the site explains, adding that the popular image of a racist Klan is a lie deliberately spread by the liberal media.

Nonetheless, Robb's site relied on traditional Klan themes: whites are victims of intolerance who face 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. Furthermore, early incarnations of Robb's site reprinted the "Franklin Prophecy," a vile, anti-Semitic speech falsely attributed to Benjamin Franklin.

Today, Robb's Klan site reflects even stronger efforts to appear respectable, particularly in stating, like Duke, that the Klan's goal should be "political power." This "political power" is to be used to combat "anti-white and anti-Christian propaganda" and to promote "White Christian civilization." Robb remains dismissive of the Klan's violent image, claiming his group "is well known through out [sic] law enforcement for being non-violent."

Some Klan members are not content with this toned-down language. One unabashedly bigoted Klan with more than a few Web sites, the Knights of the White Kamellia was founded in Louisiana in 1993. This group seeks to "maintain and defend the superiority of the White race," maintain "a marked difference between the White and Negro race," prevent the government "from falling into the hands of the Negro and or the ungodly," and educate "against miscegenation of the races."

Many other Klans are also now on the Web. Web users can find a membership application for the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, perhaps today's most vocal and active Klan, at that group's Web site. A few sites use the old Klan moniker "Invisible Empire," among them America's Invisible Empire of Alabama and Pennsylvania's Invisible Empire KKK. Smaller regional groups, such as the Southern Cross Militant Knights and the Northwest Knights, are active on the Internet as well.

While the Klans on the Web represent different factions and espouse various viewpoints, their Web sites are formatted in similar ways. Most Klan sites contain a membership application, a list of upcoming rallies, a statement of principles, an explanation of customs (such as cross burning), and a spurious account of Klan history. At many sites, the three latter items are adaptations, if not direct appropriations, of the materials originally posted at Robb's Klan sites. In fact, Robb threatened another Klan group with legal action for posting a document that Robb claims belongs exclusively to his Klan.

Furthermore, some Klan sites link to other Klan sites with which they are not affiliated. For instance, the North Georgia White Knights Web site links to many chapters of the Knights of the White Kamellia, the New Order Knights, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The site for America's Invisible Empire links to the Web pages of the Northwest White Knights and Knights of the White Kamellia, among others. Such links, as well as the similarities between KKK sites, demonstrate the bonds among the different Klan factions, despite their infighting.

IDENTITY CHURCH MOVEMENT

The Identity Church movement, a pseudo-theological manifestation of racism and anti-Semitism on the far right, first came to light in the U.S. during the late 1970's and early 1980's, though its roots lie in the late years of the last century, with the British movement known as Anglo-Israelism.

Anglo-Israelism held that white Anglo-Saxons are descended from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Adherents to this doctrine believed that England and the U.S. are the true Israel in which Biblical promises to the "Chosen People" are to be fulfilled. The Identity movement takes the position that white Anglo-Saxons—not Jews—are the real Biblical "Chosen People;" that Jews are the descendants of a union between Eve and Satan; and that the white race is inherently superior to other races. Identity believers assert that Blacks and other nonwhites are "mud people," on the same spiritual level as animals, and therefore without souls.

A nationwide movement, Identity has filled dozens of "churches" with its hate. Additionally, Identity has become the "religion" of choice for many hate groups, including Aryan Nations and the Posse Comitatus, in addition to some factions of the Ku Klux Klan.

Numerous Identity "churches" have established a Web presence in recent years, among them America's Promise Ministries, Stone Kingdom Ministries, and Kingdom Identity Ministries. Many of these organizations have made good use of the Web to market their pamphlets, books, and videotapes to their supporters. America's Promise Ministries offers Web users a vast online catalog of books, pamphlets, audio tapes, and video tapes filled with their racist beliefs. Along with a section full of online Identity books and book reviews, the Stone Kingdom Ministries Web site lists hundreds of "Bible Studies on Audiocassettes" for sale. Among bumper stickers, decals, charts, and other merchandise, the Kingdom Identity Ministries Web site retails Identity-based books written for children. Also at the Kingdom Identity site, Web users can enroll in a correspondence course, which consists of studying almost 300 pages of Identity materials, to receive a "Certificate in Christian Education."

With links to these “churches” at its Web site, the bimonthly newspaper *The Jubilee* of Midpines, California, serves as a national umbrella publication for Identity believers. Like the Web sites for those groups, the *Jubilee* site puts the power of the Web to use to raise funds. In addition to selling books and videotapes that the *Jubilee* guarantees “you won’t find in the B. Dalton bookstore,” visitors to the *Jubilee* site can sign up for subscriptions to the newspaper’s print edition; buy advertising in its print or online versions, and purchase inexpensive, long distance telephone service that will benefit *The Jubilee*.

While some Identity “churches” focus on the Web’s commercial potential, paramilitary Identity groups such as the Posse Comitatus and Aryan Nations have used it to encourage action.

POSSE COMITATUS

William Potter Gale created an Identity group named Posse Comitatus, which means “power of the county” in Latin. Other Posses unaffiliated with Gale sprang up in its wake, particularly during the 1970’s and 1980’s. Loosely affiliated bands of armed anti-tax and anti-Federal government vigilantes and survivalists, these Posses believed that all government power is rooted at the county, not Federal, level.

Because they are convinced that the Federal government is controlled by “enemies” (usually Jews), Posse adherents resist paying taxes as well as other duties of law-abiding citizens. Aspects of the Posse’s ideology, most notably its fierce hostility to Federal authority, reverberate among today’s militia and common law court activists.

In the 1970’s, Posses attracted Klan members and other anti-Semites (among them David Duke), and in 1983, these groups gained nationwide attention when active Posse member Gordon Kahl murdered two Federal Marshals in North Dakota and became a fugitive. When Kahl died in a shootout with Arkansas law enforcement officers, Posses and other Identity groups made him a martyr.

In 1991, James Wickstrom, an Identity minister and Posse leader based in Michigan, was convicted of plotting to distribute \$100,000 in counterfeit bills to white supremacists at a 1988 Aryan Nations event. He was released from prison in 1994 and today runs a Posse Web site with fellow Identity “Pastor” August Kreis of Pennsylvania.

At his Posse Web site, Kreis calls “the occupying forces” of the “zionist [sic] or jewish [sic] occupied government” the enemies of “We the People” and describes them as the reason that the government has “grossly overstepped its bounds.”

Kreis and Wickstrom also use their Web site to editorialize about current events. Written by Kreis, “Villain or American Folk Hero?” voices support for alleged abortion clinic bomber Eric Robert Rudolph. Kreis claims that “those who call themselves Identity” and “a growing consensus of conservative Christians” believe Rudolph has “done the will of * * * God.”

In justifying Rudolph’s alleged actions, Kreis stresses that “it is * * * an arguable matter of Scriptural mandate that those involved with [abortion] have committed capital murder—a crime punishable by DEATH!” Kreis maintains that “several hundred [Jewish Occupational Government] agents” are chasing Rudolph to “execute him” on the spot, and he urges “the proud European White folk living in this country” to “rise up against this tyrannical, parasitic [Jewish] communist government.” Perhaps Rudolph engenders greater sympathy among this group because he himself may be an Identity believer: in 1984, he and his family spent several months at the Schell City, Missouri, Church of Israel compound run by Identity preacher Dan Gayman.

With regard to the brutal murder on October 23, 1998, of Dr. Barnett Slepian of upstate New York, likely targeted because he performed abortions, Kreis and Wickstrom comment, “Not much needs to be said. The justice in the ‘putting to DEATH’ of this jewish [sic] abortionist says it all! * * * Pray that other True Israelite Warriors across this land continue to rid our country of these murdering bastards!”

ARYAN NATIONS AND THE ORDER

A contemporary of Posse Comitatus co-founder William Potter Gale, Wesley Swift was a Klan organizer who served as an aide to Gerald L.K. Smith, for many years America’s most notorious peddler of anti-Semitism. During the 1950’s, Swift was a leader of a Los Angeles church called the “Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation.” When Swift died, “Rev.” Richard G. Butler proclaimed his “Church of Jesus Christ Christian” (CJCC the direct successor to Swift’s church. In the early 1970’s, Butler formed a new group around his church: Aryan Nations (AN). Since then, he has held

court at a 20-acre AN/CJCC compound in Northern Idaho, anticipating the creation of an exclusively white “national racist state” in the Pacific Northwest. At its Web site, AN preaches that God’s creation of Adam marked “the placing of the White Race upon this earth”; and that “the twelve tribes of Israel” are “now scattered throughout the world” and are “now known as the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, Celtic peoples.” As a corollary, all non-whites are seen as inferior, but it is the Jews who are singled out as the special object of AN’s “theologically” based hatred.

AN vilifies Jews as “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.”

Citing the Book of Revelation, AN envisions a “battle” being fought “between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light * * * the Aryan Race, the true Israel of the bible.” According to AN, there will “soon” be a “day of reckoning,” in which “the usurper will be thrown out by the terrible might of Yahweh’s people, as they return to their roots and their special destiny.”

In this struggle between the Jews and “the children of light,” AN claims that the Jews have a surrogate: the United States Government, often referred to as “ZOG” (Zionist Occupied Government). In 1996, AN posted to its site an “Aryan Declaration of Independence,” which declared, “the history of the present Zionist Occupied Government of the United States of America is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations * * * [all] having a direct object—the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states.” Holding “the eradication of the White race and its culture” as “one of its foremost purposes,” this “ZOG” is accused of relinquishing the “powers of government to private corporations, White traitors and ruling class Jewish families.”

AN perceives itself as literally surrounded by enemies: vigorously fighting back is not only a solution to its problems, but a duty. According to AN, those whites who resist “ZOG” are “chosen and faithful,” and the white “Racial Nation has a right and is under obligation to preserve itself and its members.”

Although primarily an Identity group, AN embraces a neo-Nazi philosophy. Richard Butler himself has praised Hitler, and at the AN Web site, which announces, “WE BELIEVE in the gam-ma’di’on * * * a cross formed of four capital gammas * * * in the figure of a swastika,” he is pictured giving the raised stiff-arm Nazi salute.

One of the most ambitious Identity Web sites, the AN site contains a membership application, a substantial book catalog, an online “Literature Archives” of hateful texts, and a long list of links to other hate sites.

AN is no stranger to violence. During the early 1980’s, several of Butler’s followers joined members of the neo-Nazi National Alliance and some Klan splinter groups to form a secret organization called The Silent Brotherhood, also known as The Order, which planned to overthrow the U.S. government.

To raise money for its planned revolution, The Order engaged in a crime spree involving murder, counterfeiting, bank robberies, and armored-car hold-ups. Ostensibly, the group’s activities ended with the death of its founder and leader, Robert J. Mathews, in a shootout with Federal agents in December 1984 and the incarceration of many of its members. Yet The Order has taken on a new life on the World Wide Web, serving as inspiration for today’s Identity adherents and other white supremacists.

Hosted by the same Internet Service Provider as the AN Web site, the 14 Word Press Web site is devoted to the work of David Lane, an imprisoned member of The Order. Lane’s best-known legacy is the “14 words”: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.” Despite the fact that Lane is a convicted felon serving a 190-year sentence in a high-security prison, his writings, including pieces from his monthly Focus Fourteen newsletter, can reach millions through the Internet. Among his columns, many of which are offered at the 14 Word Press site, is a sympathetic letter to convicted Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh.

NEO-NAZIS

The symbols associated with Hitler’s Nazis are attractive to bigots on the Web because they suggest anti-Semitism in an immediate, forceful way to the general public.

Like Identity “churches,” neo-Nazis use the Web to market merchandise, selling items emblazoned with the instantly recognizable symbols of Hitler’s Nazi party. Naming itself for the *Shutzstaffel*, the elite section of the Nazi Party that ran Hitler’s extermination camps, the online store *SS Enterprises* specializes in selling

Nazi-related paraphernalia, including newly-designed T-shirts, pins, patches, hats, stickers, flags, belt buckles, arm bands, and helmets bearing swastikas, the initials "SS," a German eagle, or an iron cross. Also available are Nazi patches, pins, rings, and hats designed during Hitler's era. Like the T-shirt a music fan might buy at a rock concert, one shirt reads "Adolf Hitler European Tour 1939-1945," listing the nations that Hitler invaded during those years. Other white supremacist T-shirts sold by *SS Enterprises* feature racist slogans such as "If we knew they were going to be this much trouble, we'd a picked our own damn cotton!" or depictions of Klansmen behind phrases like "Boyz N' the Hood." Another shirt depicts a "Black Family Tree": a tree with nooses hung from it, seemingly ready for a Klan-style lynching.

At *Our Hero's Library* Web site, twenty something neo-Nazi Tom Smith proudly displays a picture of his "Aryan hero," Adolf Hitler, flanked by animated, swirling swastikas. Hosted by Don Black's *Stormfront*, Smith's site features numerous Hitlerian essays covering topics such as eugenics and "Aryan" culture. Amidst photos of Jews with their eyes blacked out, he lists Jewish "powerlords" and posts a Jewish "surname index." "Before buying anything always check to make sure the company is not j*wish [sic]," Smith writes. Seeing Jewish conspiracies everywhere, he calls Bob Dole, Bill Clinton, Ross Perot, and Pat Buchanan Jewish "marionettes"; blames Jews for schoolyard violence in Arkansas, and declares them responsible for the conflict between Ireland and Britain. "The J*w has been and is always very aware of the conflict amongst non-j*ws, and is tireless in his pursuit of trying to profit from the internal feuds of his enemies," Smith writes. "When these feuds are not [innate] in and of themselves, the j*w creates new feuds via his presence in each of the opposing countries to create a new profit-scenario for himself." Also available at *Our Hero's Library* are downloadable copies of Smith's extensive messages to USENET newsgroups, the Internet's system of electronic bulletin boards.

Other neo-Nazis on the Web represent more established organizations and have been active in the white supremacist movement much longer, since the days of American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell. Following Rockwell's assassination by a disgruntled party member in 1967, Matthias (Matt) Koehl took over his American Nazi Party, renaming it the National Socialist White People's Party. In 1970, NSWPP member Frank Collin started his own group, the National Socialist Party of America (NSPA), made famous by its attempts to march through the predominantly Jewish town of Skokie, Illinois in 1977. Another former NSWPP member, Harold Covington joined the NSPA in the mid-1970's. At that time, Gary "Gerhard" Lauck, who went on to found the NSDAP-AO (a German acronym meaning National Socialist German Workers Party—Overseas Organization), was also a member of Collin's group. Covington took over the NSPA in 1980, after Collin was sentenced to seven years in prison for sexually abusing children. In 1982, Koehl dropped the name NSWPP in favor of the name "The New Order," and Covington's NSPA disbanded. In 1994, Covington founded a new group using the old name once used by Koehl: NSWPP. Today, Covington and Lauck both have a presence on the World Wide Web.

Harold Covington was one of the first neo-Nazis on the Web, establishing a site as early as 1996. Covington's original site defined National Socialism as "a world view for White People" and listed guiding principles such as "Racial Idealism" and "The Upward Development of the White Race." The site listed "Ten Basic Principles of National Socialism," which urged "Aryan" racial purity and conquest of the world. Covington lauded Rockwell at length and provided links to other white supremacist sites.

"Gerhard" Lauck has also been online for many years. In the early days of cyberspace, Lauck's materials were circulated on a closely guarded computer network named the "Thule Network," a bulletin board system similar to the "Aryan Nation Liberty Net." In order to gain access to the network, prospective users had to pass a loyalty test and a background check. According to some estimates, over 1,500 neo-Nazis in Germany had access to Lauck's propaganda via the "Thule Network," which remains active today.

In 1995, Danish authorities, acting on international warrants, arrested Lauck and agreed to extradite him to Germany, where he was sentenced in 1996 to four years in prison for inciting racial hatred by disseminating anti-Semitic and racist material. Lauck was released in March 1999 and deported to the United States.

While he was in jail, Lauck's Web site featured the headline, "Free Gerhard Lauck!" The site said about Lauck's arrest and imprisonment: "these illegal and reprehensible acts by the anti-White authorities are a direct assault upon ALL pro-White organizations. YOU are under attack now! If International Jewry is allowed to kidnap Gerhard Lauck their next step will be to systematically silence all pro-White leaders, organizations, and members worldwide one by one."

Like other neo-Nazis, Lauck has expressed intense approval for Hitler and hatred for Jews. He has stated that “anything that is bad for the Jews is good for us” and told a Danish audience that “the Jews were treated too nicely in the concentration camps.” Yet buried among the Nazi-themed books sold at his Web site were a group of texts that question whether the Holocaust took place, bearing titles like “Auschwitz: Truth or Lie?” and “Did Six Million Really Die?”

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Why would an anti-Semitic neo-Nazi such as Gerhard Lauck deny that the Holocaust took place? A July 1996 message from fellow neo-Nazi Harold Covington to his National Socialist White Peoples Party E-mail mailing list provides some possible reasons. Covington comments, “take away the Holocaust and both the National Socialists and the Jews become very different people, almost reversing roles.”

Viewing the Holocaust as a “seemingly bottomless gold mine in the form of ‘reparations’ which has financed murderous Israeli aggression in the Middle East and numerous anti-White Jewish institutions,” Covington wonders: “without the Holocaust, what are the Jews?” His answer: “Just a grubby little bunch of international bandits and assassins and squatters who have perpetrated the most massive, cynical fraud in human history.”

Likewise, Covington thinks the general public would be “stunned with admiration for the brilliance of Adolf Hitler”²⁹ if it believed the Holocaust did not happen. Paraphrasing prominent Holocaust historian and Emory University professor Deborah Lipstadt, he declares that “the real purpose” of Holocaust denial is “to make National Socialism an acceptable political alternative again.”

Since 1979, when Willis Carto founded the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), a sizable Holocaust denial movement has surfaced. Holocaust deniers make the mendacious claim that the account of Nazi genocide universally accepted by legitimate historians is false, either in its entirety or in most of its central facts. To support this claim, they distort and even fabricate history.

Unlike Harold Covington, most in the Holocaust denial movement try hard to mask the anti-Semitism underlying their claims. Instead, hoping to make their views seem respectable, they pretend that their sole goal is to “correct” the historical record. Posing as historians and cloaking themselves in ersatz scholarship, the deniers claim that the Holocaust is a Jewish fabrication, not the product of Nazi hatred.

Holocaust deniers’ thousands of pages of propaganda on the Web, presented as academic fact or in the guise of free and open “debate,” take particular advantage of many Web users’ difficulty distinguishing between reputable and disreputable Web sites.

When ADL first reported on Holocaust denial Web sites in 1996, only three existed: Greg Raven’s IHR site, Bradley Smith’s site for the Committee for Open Discussion of the Holocaust Story (CODOH), and the *Zündelsite*, which promotes the work of Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zündel. Today, these sites are still among the most significant manifestations of Holocaust denial on the Web, but have been joined by more than a dozen others, as well as numerous sites with Holocaust-denial materials alongside other hateful propaganda.

INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW

The California-based IHR, which split with Willis Carto in 1993, remains the world’s single most important outlet for Holocaust-denial propaganda. While the IHR seeks to gain credibility by working under the guise of scholarship and impartiality, many of its staffers and Editorial Advisory Committee members often participate in pro-Nazi and anti-Jewish activities. Current director Mark Weber was an activist in the National Alliance during the 1970’s, and editorial advisor Robert Faurisson was convicted three times of violating French hate-crime laws because of his anti-Semitic activities. Other active participants in IHR include David Irving, the leading Holocaust denier in England, and Ernst Zündel, Canada’s most notorious neo-Nazi.

From 1996 to 1998, IHR Associate Director Greg Raven housed extensive IHR materials at his “personal” Web site, which he claims is “not supported, sponsored, or financed by the Institute for Historical Review.” Raven’s “personal” site continues to exist, though he moved all of his IHR materials to a separate, “official” IHR site in March 1998.

The IHR Web site contains hundreds of online “revisionist” pamphlets, books, and articles, as well as a complete index of the *JHR*. Among IHR’s leaflets, one finds “Auschwitz myths and facts,” which claims that “Auschwitz was not an extermination center” and that “the story of mass killings in ‘gas chambers’ is a myth.”

Many *JHR* articles are reprinted in their entirety, including “Is The Diary of Anne Frank genuine?” Additionally, IHR publishes the full text of a few books at its site, such as *Did Six Million Really Die?* by British “revisionist” Richard Harwood.

BRADLEY SMITH AND CODOH

Formerly the “Media Project Director” for IHR, longtime Holocaust denier Bradley Smith joined current IHR leader Mark Weber in founding the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH) in 1987. On his Web site, Smith presents himself as an intellectually honest gadfly with no ax to grind.

Smith works hard to create the image of a man who wants to encourage reasonable debate among reasonable people. His admission that “the Hitlerian regime was antisemitic [sic] and persecuted Jews” seems meant to show that it is intellectual honesty, not anti-Semitism, that leads him to deny that “the German state pursued a plan to kill all Jews or used homicidal ‘gassing chambers’ for mass murder.”

For many years, Smith has been at the center of the deniers’ college outreach program. He first drew public attention when about 70 college newspapers published his Holocaust denial ads, which he still regularly sends to campus editors, in the early and mid-1990’s. All of these ads are reprinted at the CODOH Web site.

At first, Smith’s ads featured long essays that outlined the deniers’ position, such as Mark Weber’s “The ‘Jewish soap’ myth.” Smith’s first widely published ad stated “the figure of 6 million Jewish deaths is an irresponsible exaggeration, and * * * no execution gas chambers existed in any camp in Europe which was under German control.” This ad went on to note that the “purpose” of accounts of the Holocaust is “to drum up world sympathy and political and financial support for Jewish causes, especially for the formation of the State of Israel.” Another early CODOH ad claimed “The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum displays no convincing proof whatsoever of homicidal gas chambers.”

Upset about the high cost of these lengthy ads, Smith soon realized the power of the Internet. He began to place brief, inexpensive ads in school papers that merely listed his Web site and E-mail addresses. Not only did these ads cost less money, they also hid Smith’s agenda. In addition, Smith tried to draw his readers’ attention with misleading slogans such as “Ignore the Thought Police” and “Judge for yourself.”

Smith’s savvy marketing technique was tailor-made for students, many of whom are comfortable with the Internet, predisposed against authority, and willing to challenge received wisdom. Students responding favorably to these deceptive ads would realize Smith’s intention to deny the Holocaust only after visiting the CODOH Web site, where they would receive his message without mediation.

Once at the CODOH site, students are targeted further. They are urged to distribute CODOH leaflets on their campuses and fight what Smith calls the “Campus Thought Police” (that is, legitimate Holocaust historians). Also, students are offered a set of links and asked to “choose a major” such as “Mathematics,” “Science,” or “Politics.” By clicking on a “major,” they are linked to Holocaust denial articles specially tailored to their areas of interest. Also presented is an innocuous-sounding section titled “Hot Links to Higher Learning,” which contains links to a variety of Holocaust denial sites; Smith classifies such sites as “Social, Political and Historical Activism & Commentary.”

The CODOH Web site today contains a vast amount of Holocaust-denial information. Visitors to the site can look for any one of over 1,000 separate documents using one of the site’s eight search tools, such as its index of articles by subject and its chronological list of additions. Particularly troublesome are the sections titled “War Crimes Trials” and “The Tangled Web: Zionism, Stalinism, and the Holocaust Story.” “War Crimes Trials” offers articles that attack the objectivity and legal validity of the post-war Nuremberg Trials, where much information about the Holocaust first became public, and where the basic history of the genocide was first established. “The Tangled Web” suggests that Jews were responsible for Bolshevism in the Soviet Union while linking Zionism to Fascism. CODOH manages to present Jews as both International Communist conspirators and ultra-nationalist bigots who willingly cooperated with violent anti-Semites.

ZÜNDEL AND RIMLAND

Another longtime “revisionist,” Ernst Zündel has been the leading Holocaust-denial propagandist in Canada for more than two decades. In the early 1970’s, Zündel penned pro-Nazi materials under the name Christ of Friedrich, including the book *The Hitler We Loved and Why*. In the late 1970’s, ads for his Samisdat Publishers Ltd. in George Dietz’s neo-Nazi *Liberty Bell* magazine (based in West Virginia) offered Holocaust-denial books for sale, and Zündel wrote articles for *Liberty Bell* and

another Dietz publication, *White Power Report*. In the early 1980's, the German government named Zündel as one of the world's largest distributors of neo-Nazi material. Mid-1995 marked the debut of the *Zündelsite*. Though Zündel, a German citizen, lives in Canada, the site has been hosted by an Internet Service Provider in California. Zündel has denied that he operates the *Zündelsite*. Rather, he claims, the site is run by his "webmaster," Dr. Ingrid Rimland of California. Currently, the site is called "Ingrid Rimland's Zündelsite" and declares, "the Zündelsite, located in the USA, is owned and operated by Dr. Ingrid A. Rimland, an American citizen." Regardless of who actually maintains the *Zündelsite*, its agenda is clearly that of its namesake.

From its first appearance on the Internet, the *Zündelsite* made its Holocaust denial agenda unambiguous, challenging assertions that there "was a Fuhrer order for the genocidal killings of Jews, Gypsies and others"; disputing the fact that gas chambers were "designed for the express purpose of targeting groups of human beings," and refusing to believe that "the numbers of victims claimed to have been killed are anywhere near the number of people who actually died in concentration camps of whatever cause." The site rejects claims that "World War II was fought by the Germans to kill off the Jews as a group," arguing that these are "deliberately planned, systematic" deceptions "amounting to financial, political, emotional and spiritual extortion."

Early editions of the *Zündelsite* provided readers with Zündel's writings on "revisionism," including the text of his newsletters, book reviews and editorials. The site today focuses mostly on other sources of Holocaust denial propaganda, though it continues to sell audio and video tapes featuring Zündel.

The Zündel site contains an archive of daily "ZGram" E-mail messages sent by Ingrid Rimland to the site's supporters; almost a thousand messages are archived, dating back to early 1996. A passionate admirer of Zündel, Rimland shares his views on the Holocaust, seeing it as an extortion "racket" run by Jews for the purpose of financing Israel and humiliating Germany and Germans.

Both Zündel and Rimland lived through the defeat of the Nazis, and both lament it. Rimland holds high hopes that Holocaust "revisionism" will help revive the image of Hitler as a man who made Germany "the most progressive and advanced Nation of its time." In her view, teaching the facts of the Holocaust is emblematic of a systematic assault against people of German descent. "Holocaust teaching," she writes, "is * * * child abuse. It is adult abuse. It is ethnic abuse. I want to go on record that it is soul-abuse." Additionally, unlike many other Holocaust deniers, who go to great lengths to deny the anti-Jewish sentiment that fuels their views, Rimland has openly voiced her approval for anti-Semitism, calling it "a responsible and, indeed, unavoidable response to relentless provocation against the gentile culture and tradition conflicting with a Jewish culture and tradition."

The *Zündelsite* also reprints a book originally published by Zündel's Samisdat press: the infamous "Leuchter Report." Despite the fact that he has publicly acknowledged his lack of scientific credentials, Fred Leuchter claimed to have taken scientific "samples" from death camp gas chambers that prove they could not have been used to exterminate people. Notwithstanding the discredited nature of Leuchter's work, deniers like Zündel still pass his report off as fact, and the IHR continues to market it as "essential revisionist reading." Also posted at the Zündel site is the fallacious "Rudolf Report," by German "scientist" Germar Rudolf, which defends Leuchter's work. Rudolf also claims to have taken "samples" from masonry in gas chambers and found no trace of poison gas.

AHMED RAMI

One high-profile Arab Holocaust denier is Swedish-based Moroccan exile Ahmed Rami, creator of the *Radio Islam* Web site. Once a lieutenant in the Moroccan military, Rami reportedly played a leading role in a failed 1972 coup d'état and fled, gaining political asylum in Sweden. In 1987, Rami began using a public access Swedish radio station to broadcast Radio Islam, ostensibly a public relations program for Sweden's Muslims but in fact a vehicle for unvarnished anti-Semitism.

Rami has rationalized his bigotry as support for Palestinian causes. While he has become a source of embarrassment for serious Palestinian activists, Holocaust deniers have unabashedly and enthusiastically associated with him. Rami spoke at the 1992 IHR conference and has often been praised by Ingrid Rimland, among others.

Off the air from 1993 to 1995, Rami's program returned in 1996, the same year that he established the *Radio Islam* Web site. From the start, Rami's site offered visitors anti-Semitic material in English, French, German, Swedish and Norwegian. Early versions of the site described the "so-called 'holocaust'" as a tool used by "Zi-

onists” to win “sovereign rights to oppress and vilify other people,” namely Palestinians. These “Zionists,” according to *Radio Islam*, have a monopoly over “information services in the West” and bribe Western politicians to support them in their “Anti-Arab and anti-Moslem racism” and “hatred against everything German.”

Today, visitors to the *Radio Islam* site are greeted with a statement that seems to deny Rami’s extremism: “No hate. No violence. Races? Only one Human race.” Yet his site has become even more bigoted than ever and demonstrates the implicit connection between Holocaust denial and other forms of anti-Semitism. *Radio Islam* promotes a myriad of anti-Semitic works in addition to those of Holocaust deniers such as Robert Faurisson, Greg Raven, John Ball, and Bradley Smith.

The *Radio Islam* site continues to portray the Holocaust as part of a Jewish conspiracy to draw the world’s attention away from “the ongoing Zionist war waged against the peoples of Palestine and the Middle East” and “Zionism’s totalitarian and racist backgrounds.” To support this theory, it provides numerous anti-Semitic texts that allege Jewish conspiracies for political domination, such as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Expanding on the anti-Semitism expressed by its denial of the Holocaust, *Radio Islam* equates “Jewish Racism,” envisioned as Jewish prejudice against Muslims, with “Jewish ‘Religion,’” as outlined by the Talmud. Visitors to *Radio Islam* can read “The Truth About The Talmud” by Michael A. Hoffman II and Alan R. Critchley, which asserts that Jews are impelled, by religious law, to mistreat and attempt to dominate non-Jews. *The Nature of Zionism* by Vladimir Stepin, also available at the *Radio Islam* site, declares that Zionism rests on three basic beliefs: that Jews are “God’s chosen people”; that all others are “merely two-legged animals (goys),” and that “Jews have both the right and the obligation to rule the world.”

Furthermore, according to *Radio Islam*, the Jews are not the “chosen people” for they are not “‘descendants’ of the mythic Jews of the Bible.” Rather, today’s Jews are “descended from Mongolians and other Asiatic peoples who had adopted ‘Judaism’ as their ‘religion’ over 1,000 years ago and had become known as ‘Jews.’” Often advanced by Identity believers, this theory alleges that most, if not all, Ashkenazic Jews descended from the Khazars, an obscure Turkic people whose leaders converted to Judaism in the eighth century. While Identity adherents employ this theory in order to bolster their assertion that Anglo-Saxon whites are actually the biblical Church of Israel, Rami uses it to demonstrate that the ancestors of the Jews were not from Palestine, implying that Israel has no right to exist.

WORLD CHURCH OF THE CREATOR

In 1973, Ben Klassen announced the birth of the Church of the Creator, publishing a 511-page book entitled *Nature’s Eternal Religion*. In it, Klassen wrote, “we completely reject the Judeo-democratic-Marxist values of today and supplant them with new and basic values, of which race is the foundation.” Sharing the Identity movement’s view that non-whites are subhuman “mud people,” Klassen believed “that which is good for the White Race is the highest virtue” and “that which is bad for the White Race is the ultimate sin.” “Rahowa,” an acronym for “Racial Holy War,” was Klassen’s battle cry and remains a rallying point for “Creators” today. The heart of his “religious creed” was “total war” against Jews and non-whites, “politically, militantly, financially, morally and religiously.”

Under Klassen’s leadership, Church of the Creator grew slowly but steadily. That growth stopped abruptly two decades later, in 1992, when George Loeb, a Church Reverend, was convicted of first-degree murder for killing Harold Mansfield Jr., an African-American Persian Gulf War veteran. In 1994, Mansfield’s family, represented by the Southern Poverty Law Center, won \$1 million in damages from Klassen’s Church. Klassen appears to have anticipated this lawsuit, as he tried to rid the group of its assets and committed suicide in 1993.

Continuing legal problems forced Klassen’s successor, Richard McCarty, to dissolve the group. In two separate incidents in California, police averted potential bombing sprees that were to be directed at Jews, Blacks, and homosexuals. In both cases, the would-be terrorists were closely affiliated with branches of Klassen’s Church.

Church of the Creator was reborn in 1996 with the emergence of the young, charismatic Matt Hale as its leader. Following Hale’s ascension as Pontifex Maximus (an ancient Roman title designated for the Church’s supreme leader), the Church of the Creator became known as World Church of the Creator. Aggressive pamphleteering ensued; new local chapters were created, and membership has grown. Since Hale’s ascension, Creators have been arrested in Florida for attacking an African-American boy and his father.

Additionally, WCOTC spawned dozens of sites on the World Wide Web, probably because most of its members are young and computer-literate. While Klassen was in his 70's when he led the Church, Hale is in his 20's, and he has taken his Church onto the Web with a vengeance.

At the group's main site, a document entitled "Expanding Creativity on the Net" (referring to the racist, anti-Semitic "religion" practiced by WCOTC) outlines Hale's plan for an "Internet Blitzkrieg." Calling the WCOTC central site "one of the finest White Power pages out there," Hale asserts that the Internet "has the potential to reach millions of White People with our message and we need to act on that immediately."

"We call on all Creators and White Racial Comrades to go to [Internet discussion groups] and debate and recruit with NEW people," he declares, "post our URL everywhere, as soon as possible."

Updated frequently, the WCOTC Home Page features books for sale, articles about WCOTC, editorials by Hale from *The Struggle* newsletter, and Hale's weekly "Voice of *The Struggle*" audio-on-demand broadcasts. The site makes WCOTC membership easy, providing a membership form, dozens of "contact points" in the United States, and a lengthy membership manual that covers topics from a WCOTC "Wedding Ceremony" to "Dealing with Law Enforcement."

According to this manual, "the inferior mud races are our deadly enemies, and the most dangerous of all is the Jewish race." Creators are urged to "relentlessly expand the White Race, and keep shrinking our enemies." Also spreading anti-Semitism, the "Jew Watch" section of the site contains the full text of Henry Ford's hate tract *The International Jew*. The online version of *FACTS That the Government and the Media Don't Want You to Know*, a pamphlet widely distributed by WCOTC, claims that Jews control the media, promotes the myth of a "Kosher Food Tax," and reprints spurious anti-Semitic documents purportedly penned by Benjamin Franklin and George Washington.

Connected in a "Creator Webring" (which links WCOTC sites, one to the next, in a virtual circle), the World Church subsidiary sites serve a variety of purposes, though they share significant content with the group's main site. Many World Church sites have been housed at *WCOTC.COM*, which claims to be "dedicated to hosting all the WCOTC Web Pages all over the White World."

A formerly active World Church site highlights WCOTC's aggressive recruiting techniques: *World Church of the Creator Kids!* With a site like this, easily accessible to young Web surfers, the danger to impressionable youngsters posed by hate's reach on the World Wide Web becomes evident. The *WCOTC Kids!* site (subtitled "Creativity for Children!") utilized enticing graphics to lure young Web users. For instance, the site posted a picture of a white family next to the phrase, "The purpose of making this page is to help the younger members of the White Race understand our fight." While many of the documents at the site were copied directly from the WCOTC membership manual, one—"What It Means To Be A Creator"—is an adaptation of a membership manual piece, "The Essence of a Creator." The children's version of this hateful tract simplified and tones down its language, making its racist ideology easier for children to understand.

Also available at the *Kids!* site were "Coloring Pages" and "Crossword Puzzles." Children were urged to "have fun" solving these puzzles while helping "educate" themselves "in the Creed of Creativity." Kids are encouraged to E-mail the site so that Creators can "answer any questions" they might have about the crosswords. It is suggested that youngsters print out and color illustrations bearing calligraphic, medieval designs, apparently upheld by WCOTC as artistic accomplishments of the "white race."

At the *White Berets* Web site, a drawing of white men holding guns and a WCOTC flag is set against a green, camouflage background. It describes the Church's "security legions," composed of "White Berets" and "White Rangers," who are charged with providing "security services for members and Church property." Though these uniformed militants are urged to "abide by the law of the land," they are instructed to own a handgun, practice "martial arts," and school themselves in "police communications."

The *White Berets* site also links to a "Frequently Asked Questions" pamphlet about racist Skinheads (violent, shaven-headed youths). In fact, the "White Berets" pictured at the site are themselves racist skinheads: they have shaved heads, wear suspenders, and sport combat boots. WCOTC has courted racist skinheads since the 1980's, a few WCOTC sites are specifically designed to target that element of the white supremacist "movement."

Visitors must click "OK" in a window that declares "Whites Only" before entering the *Skinheads of Racial Holy War* site, where they are greeted by a drawing of a giant WCOTC "White Beret" crushing a tiny, Hasidic Jew in his closed fist. The

Web site for the SS Bootboys, who are referred to as the WCOTC “Church Band,” also reflects a skinhead theme. This group of skinhead musicians, which has been active in the San Francisco area since the mid-1990’s, plays what it calls “WP metal” [white power heavy metal]. In addition to racist and anti-Semitic articles by William Pierce and Don Black, the SS Bootboys site provides Web users with audio recordings of the group’s songs to download, such as “Coon” and “White Patriot.”

Along with these WCOTC skinhead sites, Resistance Records, a racist Skinhead rock-and-roll record label, has long had a site on the Web. Resistance was founded by three Church members, and its former president, George Eric Hawthorne, has been described as “a top honcho in the Church of the Creator.” While the Resistance Records site was one of the first racist skinhead sites on the Web, there are now dozens of sites that promote skinheads and their hate-filled brand of rock music.

RACIST ROCK

The skinhead phenomenon originated in the early 1970’s, when groups of menacing-looking, shaved-head, tattooed youths in combat boots appeared on the streets of England. For some, the racist and chauvinistic attitudes held by these gangs developed into a crude form of Nazism with a penchant for violence, exemplified by frequent, racially motivated attacks on Asian immigrants (“Paki-bashing”) and homosexuals (“fag-bashing”).

In the years that followed, the Skinhead movement spread from England to the Continent and beyond. Racist Skinheads are found today in almost every industrialized country whose majority population is of European stock, though not all Skinheads are racists. Skinheads are almost uniformly white youths in their teens and twenties, who respond to the movement’s seductive sense of strength, group belonging and superiority over others.

Generally, neo-Nazi Skinheads’ views have varied. Some believe in orthodox Nazi ideology, while others adhere to a mixture of racism, populism, ethnocentrism and ultranationalist chauvinism, along with a hodgepodge of Nazi-like attitudes.

Their numbers have grown substantially since Neo-Nazi Skinheads first appeared in the United States during the mid-1980’s. Predictably, this growth has been matched by violence: since 1987, racist Skinheads have committed at least 43 murders in the United States as well as thousands of lesser crimes such as beatings, stabbings, shootings, thefts, and synagogue desecrations. In addition to World Church of the Creator, Skinheads in the U.S. have also linked up with other established hate groups, such as Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan, and Tom Metzger’s White Aryan Resistance (WAR). On November 12, 1988, three members of a skinhead gang in Portland, Oregon, killed an Ethiopian immigrant, Mulugeta Seraw. In a suit brought by the Southern Poverty Law Center and ADL, it was later shown that Metzger and his son John had incited these Skinheads to murder Seraw. A jury awarded Seraw’s family \$12.5 million in damages, one of the largest civil verdicts of its kind in U.S. history.

A major aspect of Skinhead life is devotion to bands that play “oi” white power music, a hard-driving brand of rock and roll whose lyrics pound home a message of bigotry and violence. Music is the Skinhead movement’s main propaganda weapon and its chief means of attracting young recruits. Skinhead use of the Internet has almost exclusively focused on racist music. Bigotry-laced hard rock and the Internet have proved a natural match in being used by white supremacists trying to capture the minds of youngsters.

Bigoted music companies sell their hateful music on the Web. The Tri-State Terror Web site peddles *Aryan vs. Alien* by the group Mudoven, which features a cover photo depicting corpses from Nazi concentration camps. According to that site, over 900 copies of this release have already been sold. Also available there are *Racially Motivated Violence* by Angry Aryans and *Murder Squad* by Blue-Eyed Devils, which displays a photo portraying three lynched Jews on its cover.

The huge *Plunder and Pillage* Web site serves as two fans’ tribute to white power music. These lovers of racist rock, who go by the names “Plunder” and “Pillage,” give their fellow fans the latest news on new releases and concert appearances of Skinhead bands; reviews of the latest white power records; reports on recent concerts; lyrics from various albums and transcripts of their interviews with over a dozen music groups. The *Plunder and Pillage* site also provides racist rockers a historical perspective in “Oi! The Classics,” which features reviews of and sound clips from early “oi” albums that have “earned a spot in every skinhead’s record collection.”

The Skinhead who maintains *The White Pride Network* registered his site under Ian Stuart’s name in order to hide his identity. At his site, he goes by the name

“Micetrap.” Though he cloaks himself with a pseudonym, Micetrap doesn’t hide his hateful views. Claiming to “have been involved in the skinhead movement for many years,” Micetrap declares the Holocaust “the biggest financial scam in history” and glorifies the Skinhead movement as “a sub-culture built for pissed off Pro-White youth to rebel against the ZOG system.”

Formerly known as *Whitepower*, *The White Pride Network* features Micetrap’s reviews of the latest racist rock records and houses the page for “Patriot Video Services,” which stocks video tapes of white power bands performing. In addition to music-oriented pages, *The White Pride Network* pays tribute to Hitler; posts some of William Pierce’s allegations of Jewish media control, and contains a “Skinhead Cyber Tattoo Parlor,” which pictures racist designs etched in ink on Skinheads’ arms, backs, and skulls. Micetrap also encourages his supporters to become active, offering to sell them E-mail addresses and space for Web sites, connecting them with each other in his “Personal Ads & Pen Pals” section, and giving them advice on how to use Internet Relay Chat (IRC).

Though not a Skinhead, Alex Curtis also uses the Internet as a tool to bring together and motivate the “youth of the Aryan Struggle.” Along with racist Skinheads and WCOTC devotees, Curtis, who is still in his mid 20’s, represents the new, young face of white supremacy on the Web.

ALEX CURTIS

Alex James Curtis, an anti-Semitic and racist activist based in San Diego, is a rising star among bigots on the Web. Originator of the Lemon Grove (San Diego) Ku Klux Klan, Curtis has described himself as a history student at San Diego State University.

The *Nationalist Observer* Web site is the online version of the print publication of the same name, which was founded by Curtis in 1996. Curtis is the editor of this online edition, posting his “Lead Editorials” from the print edition as well as content available exclusively online. Curtis also includes transcripts of his telephone hotline message; an archive of hateful articles by propagandists such as David Lane of The Order and neo-Nazi Matt Koehl, and a catalog of racist audio and video tapes. Additionally, readers can find Curtis’ “White Power Manual,” which suggests white supremacist propagandizing strategies and offers assistance to aspiring hatemongers.

Curtis believes Jews have corrupted the white race, using the media to convert whites into “comfort-loving cowards” who “sit passively” as Jews and minorities seize power. His *Nationalist Observer* “Tribute to Jewry” consists of a picture of “Jew York City” being destroyed by an atomic bomb under the caption “The quickest way to exterminate 6 million vermin!”

Curtis thinks the answer to whites’ problems is separatism. “Racial separation seeks the preservation of life, whereas racial integration is the realization of the death of peoples,” he writes. According to Curtis, white supremacists should not regard themselves as U.S. citizens, but as members of the white race who should concentrate on “moving into separatist areas or assisting in dismantling the system.” He envisions a “race-centered” state in which “citizenship and residency will be explicitly stated as restricted to those of pure White ancestry.”

He feels that only the elite of the white supremacist movement should participate in creating this state. “We believe the Aryan struggle to be an elite one,” Curtis writes on the *Nationalist Observer* Home Page. “We don’t promote democratic or mass appeals. We support the unity of our movement and the revolutionizing of our spirit into a combined force to take back control of our Race’s destiny, by any means necessary.”

Unity among white supremacists is central to Curtis’ vision. He sees many different white supremacist movements as part of a single “White Nation.” “We go by names such as White nationalists, White separatists, Skinheads, National Socialists, Ku Klux Klansmen, and Identity Christians, or others,” Curtis writes, “but these people who put White Racial survival as their highest priority are members of the White Nation.”

HOMOPHOBIA ONLINE

Many racist and anti-Semitic Web sites also contain anti-gay propaganda, but some Web pages, in particular C.N.G. (Cyber Nationalists Group) and S.T.R.A.I.G.H.T (Society To Remove All Immoral Godless Homosexual Trash), focus their hatred primarily on gays and lesbians. Perhaps the most vile and best-known anti-gay Web site is *God Hates Fags*, which is maintained by Benjamin Phelps, grandson and compatriot of Westboro Baptist Church (WBC) leader Fred Phelps.

Incorporated May 15, 1967 as a not-for-profit organization adhering to Calvinistic Baptist beliefs, WBC (which is located in Topeka, Kansas) is well-known for picket-

ing the funerals of AIDS victims and others it perceives as homosexual or connected to homosexuality. *God Hates Fags* contains an archive of photos depicting Fred Phelps and his supporters picketing, carrying signs bearing slogans such as “No Fags in Heaven”; “Thank God for AIDS,” and “2 Gay Rights: AIDS and Hell.” According to *God Hates Fags*, WBC has “conducted some 10,000 such demonstrations during the last five years at homosexual parades and other events,” including the funeral of slain University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepard.

The site reprints dozens of flyers promoting its activities, including a few regarding Shepard. One states:

Matt Shepard now believes the Bible. He checked into Hell Oct. 12 [1998] where the worm that eats on him never dies and the fire is never quenched * * * Not the wealth of the world, nor an act of Congress, nor a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, nor all the prayers of mankind, nor any power on earth—can buy Matt Shepard a drop of water to cool his tongue or ease his pain—or ease his sentence a day short of eternity.

Citing the Book of Romans, WBC asserts that the Bible deems gays and anyone who supports them “worthy of death.” The group believes the activities of gays and their supporters encourage God’s anger against humankind. Addressing homosexuals, WBC states, “it was your ilk who brought destruction on Sodom, and it will be your ilk who fuels God’s wrath to the point that there will be no remedy.”

Reflecting a conspiracy-oriented outlook, WBC declares that gays have an “agenda” they are trying to impose on an unsuspecting public. This agenda involves “desensitizing the public,” convincing people “to affirm their filthy lifestyle,” and turning them away from Christianity. WBC believes, homosexuality is no longer classified as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association only because gays used “guerrilla theater tactics” at that group’s convention for two successive years. WBC also believes that gays “infiltrate the house of God to try to make themselves look holy,” and calls religious congregations that welcome gay members, ordain gay ministers, or perform gay marriages, “fag churches.”

While WBC’s anti-gay activities have received much press coverage, its anti-Semitism has gone largely unnoticed. According to *God Hates Fags*,

The only true Jews are Christians. The rest of the people who claim to be Jews aren’t, and they are nothing more than typical, impenitent sinners, who have no Lamb. As evidence of their apostacy [sic], the vast majority of Jews support fags.

In 1995, WBC picketed a synagogue in Kansas because it was holding a commemoration for victims of the Holocaust, including homosexuals.

“MILITIAS” AND “COMMON LAW” COURTS: “PATRIOTS” ONLINE

In mid-1994, bands of armed right-wing militants calling themselves “militias” began to appear in several states. Often spouting mistaken interpretations of early American history to justify their actions, militia members are united in their obsession with “protecting” Americans’ Constitutional rights, which they claim the Federal government has trampled. A variety of activists make up the militia movement. There are those militia adherents who merely discuss the Constitution and perceived Federal intrusions. Others trade conspiracy theories at gun shows. At the extreme are members of heavily armed paramilitary units.

“Common law court” adherents declare themselves exempt from the laws of the United States. Using pseudo-legal theories based on selective—and often bizarre—interpretations of the Bible, the Magna Carta, state and Federal court decisions, and the U.S. and state constitutions, these activists present a serious threat to the rule of law by using phony liens, money orders, and documents in an attempt to defy the authority of legitimate courts.

Militia activists and common law court adherents refer to themselves as “patriots.” Like anti-Semites and racists, these “patriots” have a fondness for historical distortions and conspiracy theories (such as the contention that the Federal Reserve runs the United States). Elements of overt anti-Semitism and racism have frequently surfaced in the “patriot” movement, which has been inspired by the activities of the Identity group Posse Comitatus.

Though many “patriots” deny the movement’s racial and religious bigotry, its intolerance is apparent on the Web. For instance, though the *Patriot Knowledge Base Web* site states that “the enemy” is “not the Jewish masses,” it posts the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, one of the world’s most widely circulated anti-Semitic works. Similarly, the U.S.A. *The Republic* page links to the vicious Identity site *God’s Order Affirmed in Love* while claiming “We Are Not Anti-Semitic.”

Even though militia membership dwindled following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, militia members continue to plan bombings and robberies. Meanwhile, new militia-oriented Web sites continue to appear. Likewise, despite the fact that legitimate authorities have cracked down on unlawful common law court activities, common law court advocates persist in threatening violence and common law Web sites are still active. Currently, there are more than a hundred “patriot” sites on the Web.

Common law Web sites often post legal jargon out of context and link to reputable law sources, leading readers to misinterpret actual law. For instance, *Dr. Tavel’s Self-Help Legal Clinic*, called “The Disneyland of the web for patriots and freedom fighters!” by the extremist publication *Spotlight*, links to online records of state and Federal rules, procedures, and laws. Visitors are encouraged to interpret this information based on fallacious common law principles and then use it in a court of law, even when under oath as part of a jury. The *Legal Clinic* posts a document entitled “The Citizens Rule Book—Jury Handbook,” which encourages jurors to judge cases based on their own understanding of “natural, God-given, Common or Constitutional Law”:

You—as a juror—armed merely with the knowledge of what a COMMON LAW JURY really is and what your common law rights, powers and duties really are, can do more to re-establish “liberty and justice for all” in this State and ultimately throughout all of the United States than all our Senators and Representatives put together. WHY? Because even without the concurrence of all of your fellow jurors, in a criminal trial, you, with your single vote of “NOT GUILTY” can nullify every rule of “law” that is not in accordance with the principles of natural, God-given, Common or Constitutional Law.

Numerous common law sites also promote anti-government activists as “sovereign citizens” answerable only to God and thus immune from state or Federal jurisdiction. Some offer a racist twist to this formulation, arguing that there are two classes of citizens: “Sovereign” white citizens, whose rights are God-given, and “Fourteenth Amendment” citizens, non-whites whose citizenship is granted only by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Militia Web sites express paranoid fantasies about a power-hungry government trying to impose tyranny on its citizens, a government often portrayed as a pawn of the United Nations or the vaguely defined “New World Order.” False depictions of militia members as the true defenders of liberty and democracy abound.

For instance, one *Militia of Montana* Web site declares that group “an educational organization dedicated to the preservation of the freedoms of ALL Citizens of the State of Montana and of the United States of America.” Yet the militia held “the tyranny of a run-away, out of control government” responsible for usurping those freedoms.

The “Articles of the Alliance Of the Southeastern States Militia” claim that group’s members “stand against all enemies of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, both foreign and domestic.” The group appears to consider the government one of these “enemies”: it pledges to actively resist whatever it feels constitutes “unconstitutional use of our armed forces * * * against the America people” and promises to “fight the New World Order, and any of its proponents, to the bitter end.”

Many militia Web sites provide resources to help their readers become more active. For example, the *Citizen Soldier* Web site contains a “Militia/Survivalist” post exchange page, which links to the Web sites of weapons suppliers, as well as military manuals that cover topics including “combat training.” The *Minnesota Minutemen Militia* site allows supporters to “enlist” online by filling out a simple form. The *American Patriot Network and California Militia* Web sites, among others, feature real-time chat rooms in which “patriots” can communicate with each other, and the *United States Theatre Command* Web site maintains the “Eagleflight” electronic mailing list, which often contains messages urging violent action from various militia members across the nation.

Militia and common law court propagandists on the Internet have openly expressed sympathy for “patriot” activists on trial for committing, or planning to commit, acts of violence. These sites lend credence to the anti-government movement by focusing on those who have actually come face to face with the government. Militia and common law Web sites have provided biased accounts of trial proceedings involving North American Militia of Southwest Michigan member Bradford Metcalf and the Montana Freemen, among others.

On November 18, 1998, members of the Montana Freemen, a group of common law court adherents notorious for their 81-day standoff with the FBI in 1996, were convicted on criminal charges including bank and mail fraud and armed robbery. During the trials that led to these convictions, the *Fully Informed Grand Jurors Alliance* (FIGJA) Web site, maintained by Georgia common law guru Elder Burk Hale

and former Militia of Montana member Kamala Susan, kept Web users abreast of the latest happenings “at the request of family and friends of the ‘Freemen’ prisoners.” Erroneously citing laws in support of the Freemen’s cause, Hale posted photos of Freeman Ralph Clark, who he alleges was “tortured” by his jailers, as well as “Common Law Affidavits” written by other incarcerated Freemen.

On the same day as the Freemen decision, Bradford Metcalf was convicted of conspiring to possess machine guns; threatening to assault and murder Federal employees, and plotting to damage and destroy Federal buildings using explosives. As with the Freemen case, anti-government Web sites, such as *Patriots Under Siege and Caged Patriots: An American Disgrace*, kept militia sympathizers updated on the trial’s progress and voiced support for its defendant.

In April 1996, Oklahoma Constitutional Militia leader Ray Lampley, his wife, Cecilia, and their friend John Baird were convicted of plotting to bomb ADL’s Houston office, the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama, welfare offices, abortion clinics, and gay bars. Also the leader of the Universal Church of God in Hanna, Oklahoma, Ray Lampley has expressed intensely anti-Semitic and anti-government views and visited Elohim City, an encampment on the Oklahoma-Arkansas border associated with the Identity movement.

Writing on the Web about the Lampley trial, Indiana-based militia figure Linda Thompson declared that the trials of Lampley and other militia figures were fixed by what she sees as a corrupt Federal government that pays informants to help convict anti-government activists:

At the defense table, the jury will see the “nut” or target and his “co-conspirators” and the jury will hear the babbling and crazy “confidential” tapes played, as they look at the “nut” and his “friends” while the “good-guy informant” tells them how all these folks were planning to do nasty terrible things. The “good-guy informant” of course will be backed up by “good-guy law enforcement” who will parade a lot of evidence, whether it is relevant or not, to support this public bastion of integrity, their informant, emphasizing how good his work was. The Ray Lampley case is a good example of this that most are familiar with.

Two weeks prior to his arrest, Ray Lampley told a group in Tulsa, “If you want to have freedom in this country, you are going to have to shed somebody’s blood for it.” He also suggested that he had been attempting to acquire bomb-making materials. “I only wanted one bag [of ammonium nitrate fertilizer,]” he said, “because I realized that one bag is enough to blow up several Federal buildings if you know the right thing.”

Where did Lampley learn the “right thing” that told him “one bag is enough” to blow up several buildings? According to law enforcement authorities, he likely retrieved this information from bomb-making manuals. Several of these are available on the Internet.

BOMB-MAKING FORMULAS

In November 1995, Ray Lampley, Cecilia Lampley, and John Baird began construction of a bomb with the help of the bomb-making manual entitled “Homemade C-4.” When the FBI arrested the conspirators, law enforcement agents recovered the bomb-making manuals *Anarchist’s Cookbook* and *Homemade Weapons*, in addition to the “Homemade C-4” text, from the Lampley residence.

Many of these bomb-making instructions are available online. Numerous pages devoted to terror manuals are currently present on the Web, and explosives enthusiasts regularly post information at USENET newsgroups.

Additionally, some white supremacist sites, such as *Death 2 ZOG* (Zionist Occupation Government), have posted bomb-making instructions. Covered with Nazi and World Church of the Creator symbols, this site urged its readers to “Kill the jew [sic] pig before it’s too late” and proclaimed its support for “black on black violence.” *Death 2 ZOG* contains downloadable copies of bomb-making manuals such as “Jolly Roger Cookbook,” “The Big Book of Mischief,” and “Anarchy Cookbook.”

William Powell’s legendary *Anarchist’s Cookbook*, first published in 1971, has inspired many Web pages. Though Powell’s book has not been available on the Web in its entirety, a number of Web pages contain works named after it, such as “The Anarchist Cookbook IV,” otherwise known as the BHU Pyrotechnics Cookbook. Explosive-related sections of this document, which is widely available on the Web, include “Making Plastic Explosives,” “Napalm,” and “Revised Pipe Bombs 4.14.” “The Anarchy Cookbook IV” also contains instructive information about lock picking, computer “hacking,” and robbing Automated Teller Machines.

Many versions of another popular online manual, the *Terrorist’s Handbook*, include a disclaimer that warns, “don’t try anything you find in this document!!! Many of the instructions doesn’t [sic] even work.” Yet these directions are posted nonethe-

less, instructing readers how to construct “High Order Explosives” such as “Ammonium Nitrate,” “Dynamite,” and “TNT” as well as “Molotov Cocktails,” “Phone Bombs,” and other destructive devices. Significantly, this *Handbook* also includes a “Checklist for Raids on Labs,” concluding that “in the end, the serious terrorist would probably realize that if he/she wishes to make a truly useful explosive, he or she will have to steal the chemicals to make the explosive from a lab.”

According to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, Federal agents investigating at least 30 bombings and four attempted bombings between 1985 and June 1996 recovered bomb-making literature that the suspects had obtained from the Internet. In these investigations, the possession of bomb-making literature has been taken by law enforcement authorities as strong circumstantial evidence that this literature has been used to plan crimes.

Like other extremist material on the Internet, bomb-making manuals are readily accessible to children. In fact, these tracts have already been accessed by eager, impressionable youngsters. *The Washington Post* has described discussions among 14-year-olds about “which propellants are best to use, which Web sites have the best recipes and whether tin or aluminum soda cans make better bomb casings.” Furthermore, children have used recipes found on the Web to create and detonate bombs. For example, two 15-year-old boys from Orem, Utah, landed in a juvenile-detention center after they constructed a pipe bomb using online instructions. Similarly, three high school students in Ogden, Utah, who ignited a bomb at a Jehovah’s Witnesses church later told police they learned how to make the device from a Web page devoted to the *Anarchists Cookbook*.

RESPONDING TO HATE ON THE INTERNET

As an organization dedicated to the eradication of bigotry in all its forms, the Anti-Defamation League has long been concerned about the propagation of racism, anti-Semitism, and prejudice on the Internet. After all, this medium allows extremists easy access to a potential audience of millions. In numerous reports, the League has detailed the ways bigots are using the Internet to promote and recruit for their cause, communicate more easily and cheaply and reach new audiences—particularly the young.

Practically and legally, combating online extremism is enormously difficult. The First Amendment’s protection of free speech shields most extremist propaganda, and Internet Service Providers, the private companies that host most extremist sites, may freely choose whether to house these sites or not. When providers choose not to host hateful sites, these sites migrate easily to the computers of services without such restrictions. Furthermore, the size of the Web, which contains hundreds of millions of distinct pages, complicates efforts to identify extremist material. Hundreds if not thousands of Web pages, some of which are not listed by search engines, contain bomb-making formulas.

What follows are answers to 10 frequently asked questions regarding regulation of hate on the Internet.

Why can’t the government ban use of the Internet to spread hateful and racist ideology in the United States?

The Internet is probably the greatest forum for the exchange of ideas that the world has ever seen. It operates across national borders, and efforts by the international community or any one government to regulate speech on the Internet would be virtually impossible, both technologically and legally.

In the United States, the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the right of freedom of speech to all Americans, even those whose opinions are reprehensible. In a number of recent decisions, the Supreme Court has reaffirmed that our government may not regulate the content of Internet speech to an extent greater than it may regulate speech in more traditional areas of expression such as the print media, the broadcast media, or the public square. While courts may take into account the Internet’s vast reach and accessibility, they must still approach attempts to censor or regulate speech online from a traditional constitutional framework.

What kind of hate speech on the Internet is not protected by the First Amendment?

Internet speech that is merely critical, annoying, offensive, or demeaning enjoys constitutional protection. However, the First Amendment does not provide a shield for libelous speech or copyright infringement, nor does it protect certain speech that threatens or harasses other people. For example, an E-mail or a posting on a Web site that expresses a clear intention or threat by its writer to commit an unlawful act against another specific person is likely to be actionable under criminal law. Persistent or pernicious harassment aimed at a specific individual is not protected if

it inflicts or intends to inflict emotional or physical harm. To rise to this level, harassment on the Internet would have to consist of a “course of conduct” rather than a single isolated instance. A difficulty in enforcing laws against harassment is the ease of anonymous communication on the Internet. Using a service that provides almost-complete anonymity, a bigot may repeatedly E-mail his victim without being readily identified.

Blanket statements expressing hatred of an ethnic, racial, or religious nature are protected by the First Amendment, even if those statements mention individual people and even if they cause distress in those individuals. Similarly, denial of the Holocaust—though abhorrent—is almost never actionable under American law. The Constitution protects the vast majority of extremist Web sites that disseminate racist or anti-Semitic propaganda.

Has anyone ever been successfully prosecuted in the United States for sending racist threats via E-mail?

There is legal precedent for such a prosecution. In 1998, a former student was sentenced to one year in prison for sending E-mail death threats to 60 Asian-American students at the University of California, Irvine. His E-mail was signed “Asian hater” and threatened that he would “make it my life career [sic] to find and kill everyone one [sic] of you personally.” That same year, another California man pled guilty to Federal civil rights charges after he sent racist E-mail threats to dozens of Latinos throughout the country.

Has anyone ever been held liable in the United States for encouraging acts of violence on the World Wide Web?

Yes. In 1999, a coalition of groups opposed to abortion was ordered to pay over \$100 million in damages for providing information for a Web site called “Nuremberg Files” which posed a threat to the safety of a number of doctors and clinic workers who perform abortions. The site posted photos of abortion providers, their home addresses, license plate numbers, and the names of their spouses and children. In three instances, after a doctor listed on the site was murdered, a line was drawn through his name. Although the site fell short of explicitly calling for assault on doctors, the jury found that the information it contained amounted to a real threat of bodily harm.

Can hate crimes laws be used against hate on the Internet?

If a bigot’s use of the Internet rises to the level of criminal conduct, it may subject the perpetrator to an enhanced sentence under a state’s hate crimes law. Currently, 40 states and the District of Columbia have such laws in place. The criminal’s sentence may be more severe if the prosecution can prove that he or she intentionally selected the victim based on the victim’s race, nationality, religion, gender, or sexual orientation. However, these laws do not apply to conduct or speech protected by the First Amendment.

May commercial Internet Service Providers (ISP’s) prevent the use of their services by extremists?

Yes. Commercial ISP’s, such as America Online (AOL), may voluntarily agree to prohibit users from sending racist or bigoted messages over their services. Such prohibitions do not implicate First Amendment rights because they are entered into through private contracts and do not involve government action in any way.

Once an ISP promulgates such regulations, it must monitor the use of its service to ensure that the regulations are followed. If a violation does occur, the ISP should, as a contractual matter, take action to prevent it from happening again. For example, if a participant in a chat room engages in racist speech in violation of the “terms of service” of the ISP, his account could be cancelled, or he could be forbidden from using the chat room in the future. ISP’s should encourage users to report suspected violations to company representatives. The effectiveness of this remedy is limited, however. Any subscriber to an ISP who loses his or her account for violating that ISP’s regulations may resume propagating hate by subsequently signing up with any of the dozens of more permissive ISP’s in the marketplace.

May universities prevent the use of their computer services for the promotion of extremist views?

Because private universities are not agents of the government, they may forbid users from engaging in offensive speech using university equipment or university services. Public universities, as agents of the government, must follow the First Amendment’s prohibition against speech restrictions based on content or viewpoint.

Nonetheless, public universities may promulgate content-neutral regulations that effectively prevent the use of school facilities or services by extremists. For example, a university may limit use of its computers and server to academic activities only.

This would likely prevent a student from creating a racist Web site for propaganda purposes or from sending racist E-mail from his student E-mail account. One such policy—at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana—stipulates that its computer services are “provided in support of the educational, research and public service missions of the University and its use must be limited to those purposes.” Universities depend on an atmosphere of academic freedom and uninhibited expression. Any decision to limit speech on a university campus—even speech in cyberspace—will inevitably affect this ideal. College administrators should confer with representatives from both the faculty and student body when implementing such policies.

How does the law in foreign countries differ from American law regarding hate on the Internet? Can an American citizen be subject to criminal charges abroad for sending or posting material that is illegal in other countries?

In most countries, hate speech does not receive the same constitutional protection as it does in the United States. In Germany, for example, it is illegal to promote Nazi ideology. In many European countries, it is illegal to deny the reality of the Holocaust. Authorities in Denmark, France, Britain, Germany, and Canada have brought charges for crimes involving hate speech on the Internet.

While national borders have little meaning in cyberspace, Internet users who export material that is illegal in some foreign countries may be subject to prosecution under certain circumstances. An American citizen who posts material on the Internet that is illegal in a foreign country could be prosecuted if he subjected himself to the jurisdiction of that country or of another country whose extradition laws would allow for his arrest and deportation. However, under American law, the United States will not extradite a person for engaging in a constitutionally protected activity even if that activity violates a criminal law elsewhere.

What are Internet “filters” and when is their use appropriate?

Filters are software that can be installed along with a Web browser to block access to certain Web sites that contain inappropriate or offensive material. Parents may choose to install filters on their children’s computers in order to prevent them from viewing sites that contain pornography or other problematic material. ADL has developed a filter (ADL HateFilter™) that blocks access to Web sites that advocate hatred, bigotry, or violence towards Jews or other groups on the basis of their religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or other immutable characteristics. HateFilter™, which can be downloaded from ADL’s Web site, contains a “redirect” feature which offers users who try to access a blocked site the chance to link directly to related ADL educational material. The voluntary use of filtering software in private institutions or by parents in the home does not violate the First Amendment because such use involves no government action. There are also some commercially marketed filters that focus on offensive words and phrases. Such filters, which are not site-based, are designed primarily to screen out obscene and pornographic material.

May public schools and public libraries install filters on computer equipment available for public use?

The use of filters by public institutions, such as schools and libraries, has become a hotly contested issue that remains unresolved. At least one Federal court has ruled that a local library board may not require the use of filtering software on all library Internet computer terminals. A possible compromise for public libraries with multiple computers would be to allow unrestricted Internet use for adults, but to provide only supervised access for children.

Courts have not ruled on the constitutionality of hate speech filters on public school library computers. However, given the broad free speech rights afforded to students by the First Amendment, it is unlikely that courts would allow school libraries to require filters on all computers available for student use.

The CHAIRMAN. We will finish with you, Mr. Roy, and then I will have a few questions for you.

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH T. ROY, SR.

Mr. ROY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, I want to thank the committee for inviting us here today. My name is Joseph Roy. I am Director of the Intelligence Project at the Center.

Basically, we are a non-profit, private law firm out of Montgomery that for the last 20 years has tracked these hate organizations

and reported on them. We have developed the largest database file in the country which houses hundreds of thousands of activities, identification of members, photographs, news reports, court records, and other items of interest to the law enforcement community.

With this information, we develop trends, write stories about who is involved in the movement, where they are from, what they believe, and what their motivations are. And we publish this four times a year and send it out free to about 50,000 law enforcement agencies and other people.

Part of the trend that we have been noticing for the last few years is a disturbing one. The number of hate groups for the last 2 years has gone up about 26 percent. This comes at a time when historically these numbers should be down, with a good economy, low unemployment and things of this nature. In the past, these groups have not thrived very prosperously.

We attribute most of this growth to the Internet, which has stimulated new recruiting, new technology, and a tremendous weapon in the arsenal of these hate groups reaching an audience that would probably never in their lives have come across these organizations or their ideology.

In 1995, there was only one Internet site, Stormfront, on the Internet that we were aware of. And since that time, in just a very short period of time, in the last 4 years or so, that has grown 60 percent. There were 163 sites in 1997 that we tracked. There were 254 sites in 1998, which is a 60-percent increase. We expect that number to go up again for 1999 when we report out on the sites.

Another thing that we have noticed about the Internet and the use of it by these organizations is they are getting a lot better. I can remember when we first started aggressively tracking the Internet, the sites were slow. Their links didn't work half the time. There was a lot of confusion as to how to insert graphics into the pages and audios and other things. That is not the case anymore.

The sites we see now—and my co-panelists here, we had conversations about it—they are very slick. They use all the bells and whistles that technology affords to them. They are tracking their own sites. They are monitoring the number of hits each site is receiving, and they are also finding out where these hits are coming from to see who is interested in their site, just like any other site in cyberspace would.

They have a much better networking capability where they share information, where they are able to share e-trees, publish notices, announce events. They use PGP encryption to communicate with their membership and other people in the movement, you know, so they are not the same old guys that we saw 4 years ago struggling to get up on the Web site.

And one of the things we have also noticed is how cost-effective the Internet is. Back several years ago in the early 1990's, we had a civil suit against the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which we bankrupted in North Carolina. And I spent several months auditing their financial records and it was obvious that they were spending probably \$2,000 or \$3,000 a month to publish a newsletter that went out every month to about 5,000 or 10,000—it varied—members and supporters that got their newsletter.

With the Internet technology, this same group, were it in existence today, could reach millions, potentially, for about \$50 a month, plus it offers people who would never join their ranks, never get a tattoo—it offers them the anonymity to sit in their den and to spew this hatred and download the information they want and to share it with their friends and like thinkers.

Another alarming trend that we have noticed is the targeting of young children and young adults by these organizations. The movement leadership, the old guys that have been around for a long time, see the Internet as a new recruiting field and where the leadership of the movement in the future is going to come from. These are people that are headed off to college with their laptops. They are not the beer-bellied, red-neck, toothless stereotypical hater that we have seen in the past. These are tekkies that they are looking for. They don't want the old stereotypical hater.

Keep in mind also that of all the hate crimes that were reported last year, only 15 percent of the hate crimes committed in this country—and that is our best estimate—were committed by people who actually belong to any organization. The rest were Bob down the street, or Fred with a fax line, or somebody who is out there looking to get into this movement. These are very recruitable people. There were over 8,000 hate crimes reported, which is not all of them, certainly, but the people that committed these hate crimes come from a culture where these groups will meet some kind of success in recruiting them.

It is pretty easy to categorize who falls into the shadow of these hate organizations. They are people not much different from you and I, but they are people who are angry, they are frustrated, they are afraid. They are looking to regain control of their lives. If they are young kids, they are looking for acceptance. That is why guns and scapegoating are such a powerful part of the recruitment of these organizations because it gives instant empowerment. It gives them control. It makes them feel like they are doing something to regain direction in their lives.

And there is something out there for everybody. We see sites that are wrapped in religion, like Christian Identity which teaches that Jews are the actual spawn of Satan and that white people are the lost tribe of Israel, and that anything that is not white are beasts of the field.

If Christianity is not your bent, there are groups like World Church of the Creator that teaches that religion is a joke that the Jews are playing on white people and has been going on for 2,000 years. The list is endless.

There is hate music. There were over 50,000 CD's sold by one organization that were CD's that you can't go down to the local record store and pick up. And there is a political correctness air that we see pop up occasionally during the movement, where they have become a lot more media-savvy. They say, we are not racist, we are racialists; we are not segregationists, we are separatists; we don't hate anybody, we just love white folks. And they try to use orderly, reasonable arguments in their Web sites to bring these people in.

Finally, the solution to this type of problem is one that has to be very guarded, we think. I think the aggressive tracking and

identification of these sites, reporting on them to the law enforcement community and to the proper authorities, is something that is critical. I think criminal and civil litigation needs to continue and develop new ways to attack these problems as they show up.

Software filters are an immediate relief, but the one problem that we have discussed with other organizations is the fact that there is high maintenance on it. These groups move around very, very quickly. Of the 254 groups that we reported on for 1998, more than half of them are gone or moved to another site or another provider. To replace them, though, we have already identified another 100 to 150 sites to take their place for the next reporting. This is an ever-evolving, ever-changing environment they are in.

The Internet has provider policing that goes on that kicks a lot of these groups off their Web sites. That is another relief that we can take advantage of, but basically this is not a one-time, fix-all cure that can be taken to the Internet. It is like a new infant, and the Internet is in its infancy and we must protect it from the virus of hate and from attack from the hate peddlers out there that want to recruit our children.

But we have to be careful not to stunt its growth. We have to use education, supervision, and parental involvement. You know, boiling water at one time was new technology. We didn't quit using it. We took our kids aside and said, this will hurt you, this will burn you, but it will also feed and clothe and warm you. And that is the approach I think we should take to the Internet.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Roy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOSEPH T. ROY, SR.

Good morning. My name is Joseph T. Roy, Sr. and I am the Director of the Intelligence Project at the Southern Poverty Law Center, which is located in Montgomery, Alabama. At the Center, we have been tracking and studying hate groups for the last two decades. Over the years, we have built the largest data base on these groups and their activities in the world. In order to educate the public and law enforcement as to the nature of white supremacist and other hate groups, we publish the *Intelligence Report*, which is sent out free four times a year to almost 50,000 law enforcement officers, among others.

We are here today to discuss the role of the Internet in disseminating racial and religious intolerance and promoting violence. In the past few years, the Center has been intensively monitoring the Internet and the increasingly important role it plays in recruitment and propagandizing for hate groups. We have seen how this technology has been adopted wholesale by such groups, and the remarkable and unprecedented access this has afforded these groups to teenagers and other potential recruits. This access is all the more frightening because of changes in how America parents its children.

Today, when parents send an errant child to his bedroom, little Johnny is not alone. With a few clicks of his computer mouse, he can join a large crowd of people who want to be his friends. He meets them in Internet chat rooms, on Web pages where their propaganda is posted, on E-mail lists where messages are forwarded to large groups of people. Too often, what these "friends" are offering up to Johnny—whose parents today are often working, or too busy to monitor his activities closely—is a smorgasbord of violent hate propaganda. The people who want to talk to your children are Tom Metzger, the head of the racist White Aryan Resistance in California, Matt Hale, leader of the neo-Nazi World Church of the Creator, and a host of other professional white supremacists and revolutionaries.

The outcome can be disastrous. In South Carolina, what was once a tiny neo-Nazi band known as the Knights of Freedom put up a World Wide Web page last fall, and as a result it has managed to grow into a real group of more than 100 dues-paying members, a large number of them high school and college students. In Littleton, Colorado, the two youths who opened fire on their classmates at Columbine

High School may well have been inspired, in some part, by neo-Nazi propaganda they encountered on the Net. It seems clear that they found plans for building pipe bombs and other weapons there.

Although hate on the Internet has received a great deal of attention lately, it's wise to remember that the very first hate site on the net, known as Stormfront and run by a former Klansman who served time in federal prison, went up just over four years ago. Since then, there has been a veritable explosion in the number of such sites. Just last year, the number of "hate sites"—sites based on hatred of such groups as blacks, Jews and homosexuals—jumped by almost 60 percent, from 163 at the end of 1997 to 254 in late 1998. The leading reason for this growth is obvious. A few years ago, a Klansman, for instance, needed to put out substantial effort and money to produce and distribute a shoddy pamphlet that might reach 100 people. Today, with a \$500 computer and negligible other costs, that same Klansman can put up a slickly produced Web site with a potential audience in the millions.

The propaganda power of such sites is, in other ways too, unprecedented. When a teenager visits one of the many Holocaust denial sites, for instance, he or she is not typically confronted with crude expressions of anti-Semitism. Instead, the visitor finds well-written essays by allegedly renowned historians, analyses by a so-called gas chamber expert concluding that there were no Nazi death camps, and so on. There is nothing to suggest that all serious historians find such theories to be pure malarkey. In the same way, organized white supremacist groups often put up Web material that portrays the groups not as haters, but as simple white pride civic groups concerned with social ills. Add to that some of the high-tech bells and whistles these sites often include—arcade-style games, chat rooms, bulletin boards, music, real-time videos and so on—and it becomes understandable how these sites can be genuinely attractive, especially for rebellious teens.

Consider, for example, the "Creativity for Children" Web site put up by Matt Hale's World Church of the Creator. The title page, which says its purpose is to awaken white youth to "our fight," is written in childlike handwriting, a kind of Sesame Street for haters. On another site, you've invited to play "Sieg Heil," a computer game where you become an Aryan hero battling to thwart scientists creating a "cross-bred" race. On a third, you can watch a real video of Skinheads taunting an apparently retarded black man.

A growing number of hate sites are carrying clips or even entire songs from white power bands. You can't find this kind of music, which features extremely racist and violent lyrics, in your local record store. But you can hear tracks from many of these CD's by visiting certain Web sites, and you can order them over the Net. Along with the propaganda found on hate sites, this racist music—some 50,000 CD's of which are sold in the United States annually—can be very effective at reaching young people. There are reports that the two students who attacked Columbine High School were fans of "extreme music" genres known as Gothic/Black Metal/Death Metal, music that was always violent and rebellious, but which today is increasingly influenced by white power themes.

The Net is proving useful to the organized white supremacist movement in other important ways, as well. In the 1980's, groups like the White Aryan Resistance made efforts to recruit racist Skinheads as the "shock troops" of the movement. The result was a number of deaths and a larger number of people hurt—but no real advancement of white supremacy as a political movement. Today, the aging cadre of white supremacist leaders recognize this lack of progress and are concentrating instead on a different kind of youthful recruit: the bright, college-bound teenager who is seen as a potential leader and movement-builder of tomorrow. The Net gives white supremacists unprecedented access to precisely these teens, who live in their parents' homes and have computers in their bedrooms.

These children are largely middle- and upper-middle-class youths who wouldn't be caught dead at a Klan rally—or whose parents would make sure they weren't. The Net, with its promise of privacy, lowers any social inhibitions they might have had about consorting openly with racists and other haters. Where these teens would likely have met social disapproval if they expressed anti-Semitic or racist ideas at home or in school, they are able to propound such ideas over the Internet in a welcoming environment. Unlike older forms of debating ideas—in public forums or classrooms or even over the family dinner table—talk on the Internet is often limited to those who already agree with one another. There is no real exchange of ideas on www.whitepower.com.

What can be done about hate on the Net, which the Supreme Court has clearly ruled is protected speech under the First Amendment? One approach is that taken by the Anti-Defamation League and others, who have developed software packages capable of filtering out many hate sites. This is a useful tool, but the fact is that many computer-savvy teens are probably going to be capable of finding technical

ways around the filters. There also are other difficulties in trying to limit these sites by technological means. Hate sites today are frequently booted off private servers with “no-hate” policies like America On-Line, and so their Web addresses tend to change very frequently as they move around to new servers. Almost half of the 254 hate sites that were monitored by the Intelligence Project in 1998 have gone off line or changed their internet address. Over 100 new sites have been discovered as well. This means that constant changes are required to update the filtering software, which in turn requires a large force of programmers and monitors. Finally, one can ask parents to monitor every moment their kids are on the Net, but this is, I think, unrealistic. With large numbers of single-parent families, with almost 50 percent of American women in the work force, and with people in general working longer hours to make ends meet, it is difficult to picture the parent who has time to keep track of all his or her child’s Net explorations.

I The only real inoculation is communication. Parents need to talk to their children about these sites and what they represent. Hate sites that claim there was no Holocaust can serve as a catalyst for a discussion of what Nazi Germany was all about. The racism found on white supremacist sites can spark a family exchange about the nature of racism and the need to celebrate, not fear, racial and other differences in America. Extreme homophobia like that displayed on www.godhatesfags.com can be used to talk about sexual differences between people. The alternative is to try to ignore these sites and to hope your child does not come across them—a hope that is increasingly unrealistic. History shows us that ignoring ugly social problems like racism does not make them go away. On the contrary, burying one’s head in the sand is a sure way to guarantee the spread of hate.

- (1) Editorial, *Intelligence Report*, No. 94, Spring 1999.
- (2) Internet Hate Site List, *Intelligence Report*, No. 93, Winter 1999.
- (3) Story on Hate Sites and Related Litigation, *Intelligence Report*, No. 93, Winter 1999.
- (4) Story on Hate Sites, *Intelligence Report*, No. 89, Winter 1998.

EDITORIAL

Violence, Hate and Youth



By Mark Potok, Editor

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OUR CHILDREN?

In the aftermath of the mass murder by two students at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colo., Americans have agonized over that painful question as they sought to make sense of the senseless. As details about the killers emerged, it seemed clear that one part of the puzzle was the influence of white supremacy.

The attack occurred on the 110th birthday of Adolf Hitler. Students reported that one of the killers called 18-year-old Isaiah Shoels a "nigger" just before shooting him, and others said that members of the so-called "Trench Coat Mafia" idolized Hitler, spoke German to one another and listened to German music. There were even reports that members of the group wore red shoelaces — a symbol of neo-Nazi Skiaheads.

Many have pointed accusing fingers at the parents of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, the youths who apparently committed suicide after their attack. But others, closer to the families, have described the parents as utterly normal, attentive people.

It's not clear how important a role racist beliefs may have played in igniting the attack. But there is evidence that the presumed killers were deeply involved in the Internet and in the "extreme music" subculture — both worlds that have seen a rapidly increasing incursion of white supremacist and neo-Nazi influences.

Music and the Net

Since the first hate site went up on the Web just four years ago, racist propaganda on the Net has exploded. In addition, there are scores of sites glorifying violence and detailing how to build bombs like those used at Columbine High.

Hate groups have used the Net to target people like Harris and Klebold — bright, college-bound youths seen as capable of building a radical right political movement. Many hate groups have put up Web pages explicitly aimed at young students.

Harris and Klebold were also said to be deeply interested in extreme music, including Gothic, Black Metal and Death Metal. Typically, this music has been characterized by anti-authoritarian, violent, occult and even pornographic themes. But now, neo-Nazism has become very much a part of the scene.

Evidence of this change can be seen in magazines like *Pix* that cover extreme music. According to the Coalition for Human Dignity, a Seattle-based human rights group, *Pix* has run uncritical interviews with musicians like "Kapricornus," who refers to

his national socialist beliefs and "the plague of negroidial [sic] creatures." Another musician predicts: "Auschwitz and Birkenau will be reopened under new management — US!"

Metastasizing Hate

The Littleton massacre is not the only horror story that has caused parents and others to examine the roots of hatred among the young. Peggy Greenbaum has wrestled with a similar situation since it was revealed early this year that her 20-year-old son, a youth with Jewish ancestry, leads a neo-Nazi group.

"I don't know how you don't know these things, but you just don't," a weeping Greenbaum told the *Intelligence Report*. "I just don't know where it came from."

Part of the answer may lie in the ways that normal teenage rebelliousness and problems at school can become poisoned by white supremacist organizers, who are capitalizing on the new technology of the Net to reach teens. While parents are at work or simply too busy to pay close attention, their kids are often squirreled away in their bedrooms sitting at the keyboard — and absorbing the message of Net hate sites.

In Littleton, the killers apparently had been ostracized as oddballs by many of their classmates. Greenbaum says her son, who has changed his name from Andrew Greenbaum to Davis Wolfgang Hawke, was ridiculed in school and taunted by children who called him a "kike." These problems apparently metastasized when Hawke, Harris and Klebold came into contact with the increasingly powerful neo-Nazi movement.

Hawke, his mother says, "is beyond the point of reasoning." But that is not true of millions of other American children, kids who live in a society suffering from endemic racism. If we are to stop the upward spiral of hate, parents now more than ever must speak to their children openly about this plague, explaining why it is wrong.

Ultimately, that may be our best hope. ▲

Our New Look

Since the Southern Poverty Law Center began publishing the *Intelligence Report* in 1979, the periodical has undergone a series of changes. From a newsletter that ran to only a few pages, it has grown into a large, quarterly journal with a wide array of departments and features. With this issue, we present a completely redesigned magazine in the hope of better serving our readers. Let us know what you think.

Hate Groups on the Internet

HATE GROUPS ON THE INTERNET

This list of hate sites on the World Wide Web includes pages linked to Klan, neo-Nazi, racist Skinhead, Christian Identity, black separatist and other hate groups. Pages were current in early 1999, but sites tend to move from server to server or shut down without notice so they may be hard to locate. Sites that are indicated with an asterisk represent those linked to groups that actively promote hate beyond the mere publishing of Internet material (see also hate group listing, p. 40). Almost half of the sites listed this year are linked to groups.

<p>KU KLUX KLAN</p> <p>Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* members.aol.com/alabamakkk/politics/ www.gulfel.com/~kimheads/Semmes, AL members.delphi.com/awk1/index.html Clanton, AL*</p> <p>America's Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.aimet.net/niteider/ www.aimet.net/fixierosel/ Hartselle, AL www.bardstown.com/~equaliz/Rentucky*</p> <p>American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.imperium.net/~eastjig/ www.americknights.com/ www.voice.net/~cs2/index.htm Butler, IN www.angelfire.com/ibj/revhoggakkk/index.html Old Washington, OH*</p> <p>BamaBoy's Volksumund members.delphi.com/bamaboy14w/index.html</p> <p>Beaumont Alliance of the Ku Klux Klan www.angelfire.com/tv/BK00K</p> <p>Imperial Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.kkkk.net/ Powderly, KY</p> <p>International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.delphi.com/keystones/ www.angelfire.com/pa/keystones/Johnstown, PA www.angelfire.com/ar/keystone/Parkin, AR* members.delphi.com/agek/index.html Auburn, IN* members.delphi.com/bevys311/ind</p>	<p>ex.html Tennessee* www.angelfire.com/wa/realn1/Washington*</p> <p>Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.mindspring.com/~kcc74KKK.htm Louisville, KY</p> <p>#KKA - Via DALnet Chat Network www.com/irc/Bame7KKA/ NWS Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.mindspring.com/~awol/jskknights.html Georgia</p> <p>Klan and Country expage.com/page/skinn</p> <p>Knights of Cyberspace knights.cyberspace.fsn.net/ Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Thom Robb)* www.kukuklan.org/ www.angelfire.com/ar/akia/ www.cswinet.com/~trobbl/index.htm Harrison, AR kkk.stormfront.org/ Hillard, OH*</p> <p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (offshoot)* www.k-k-k.com home.odsnet.net/~wtkan/rcmain.htm www.angelfire.com/in/hakduklan/Dusco, IA www.com/knights/ Humansville, MO* home.odsnet.net/~wotan/ Grants Pass, OR* members.delphi.com/bkkk/index.html Merritt Island, FL* members.delphi.com/Meagle/Sealston, VA*</p> <p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (other faction) www.angelfire.com/ii/CyberCred/</p>	<p>Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern Brotherhood* members.aol.com/RealmofGa/LAtlanta, GA</p> <p>Knights of the White Kamellia* www.kamellia.com Vidor, TX www.kamellia.com/michigan.htm Caledonia, MI* www.edel.com/~litanfa.htm Louisiana* bigsun.wbs.net/homepages/le/realmotva/ha.html Alanonte Springs, FL* members.theigdb.com/realmotva/Atlanta, GA* www.glasscity.net/users/viper911/main.htm Lambertville, MI* www.kamellia.com/missouri.htm Leslie, MO* members.theigdb.com/Alanman/L/default.html Bellbrook, OH* www.edel.com/~litan/ Austin, TX* www.1-2-free.com/mypage/news/realmotva/ Chesterfield, VA* www.kamellia.com/waco/aven.htm Waco, TX*</p> <p>Mississippi Shotgun Club www.angelfire.com/ms/missden/ Missouri Federation of Klans Inc. www.angelfire.com/mo/MissouriFOW/ St. Louis, MO*</p> <p>New Order Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.neworderknights.com/ www.neworderknights.com/mainNewOrderMoSite2.htm www.angelfire.com/va/nokshocktroopers/ Overland, MO www.neworderknights.com/</p>	<p>nekkkmain.htm Ohio* www.neworderknights.com/mainKlanSite.htm www.angelfire.com/bv/klansite/Texas* www.angelfire.com/ca/kkcalifornia/Garden Grove, CA* www.neworderknights.com/NA&2010main.htm www.neworderknights.com/mainKORVA.htm Virginia Beach, VA* North Georgia White Knights* www.kkkk.com/ Rossville, GA members.surfsouth.com/~ngkw/index.html Hogansville, GA* Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.kkk.com/ www.cris.com/~mkk/ www.concentric.net/~lhw/ Tacoma, WA www.nidlink.com/~idream/ reaim.html www.concentric.net/~nwk/intro.htm Coeur d'Alene, ID*</p> <p>Order of the Ku Klux Klan* indiana Historical Research Foundation www.kkklan.com/ Rockville, IN</p> <p>Southern Cross Militant Knights* members.delphi.com/kkklordpayne/index.html personal.atl.bellsouth.net/atlw/k/akia/index.html Valley Head, AL</p> <p>US Klans Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* expage.com/page/whitepride Camden, TN</p> <p>White Kamellia Knights of the Ku Klux Klan* www.wckkk.com/</p>
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Hate Groups on the Internet

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Location:

<p>Cleveland, TX users.nwol.net/~mccray/ Midland, TX* Wizard's Ku Klux Klan Page www.lac.net/~wizard/</p> <p>NEO-NAZI</p> <p>Aryan Angel's Web Page www.aryan.com/ Aryan Liberation members.xoom.com/abrotherhood/ Aryan Nations* www.nidlink.com/~aryanvic/ www.geocities.com/Research/1940/ ThinkTank1121 Hayden Lake, ID Better Than Auschwitz mail.comcast.net/~deathdlr/ Blitzcast.com www.blitzcast.com/ Boogirl88's Page www.concentric.net/~Boogirl/ Christian Defense League* home.inreach.com/cov/dl.htm Arabi, LA Creator88's Battlefield www.mindspring.com/~creator88/ Der Cougar homepages.infosseek.com/~ dercougar/index.html Halt the Order Bruder Schweigen www.14words.com/theorder/ Hate Mongers Hangout www.hatemonger.com/ Klassen.net www.klassen.net Knights of Freedom Homepage* www.kof.net/ Wolpelo, MA Library, The www.ourhero.com National Alliance* www.natall.com/ www.natvan.com/ Hillsboro, WV National Socialist German Workers Party* www.alpha.org/nsdap/ Lincoln, NE National Socialist Hitler Youth of America www.geocities.com/Vienna/4365/ National Socialist Movement* www.nsm88.com/ Minneapolis, MN National Socialist Vanguard* www.alpha.org/nsv/</p>	<p>Goldendale, WA National Socialist White People's Party* home.earthlink.net/~centurion88/ www.nsvpp.org San Antonio, TX www.io.com/~jack88/ members.tripod.com/~Utah88/html home.att.net/~helmdal/ members.tripod.com/~bombatl8/ res1888 Salt Lake City, UT* National Socialist www.crosschairs.com/users/nsdap/ www.io.com/~studius/ Nazi Party USA* home.earthlink.net/~wbhall/ Memphis, TN Origins of Christianity www.geocities.com/Athens/ Academy/3488/ Our Mission members.aol.com/Shawman88/ RAHOWA - Racial Holy War www.ariskamp.com/rahowa/ Reichsfolk* www.reichsfolk.com/ Albion, IN Revisionist Productions www.eskimo.com/~ralph/ S.S. Enterprise's Home Page www.sseaterprises.com SNOWIT'S Site members.delphi.com/snowhit88/ index.html SS Regalia www.klassen.net/ss_regalia/ The Republic - NSDAP - This Time The World nsdap.fsn.net/ Tribute to Himmler members.aol.com/HIMMLER/ index.html Volksfront* www.volksfront.org/ Portland, OR White Aryan Resistance* www.resist.com/ Fairbrook, CA World Church of the Creator* www.creator.org/ flashback.net/~wcatol/ www.rahowa.com www.ariskamp.com/1st/ www.wcotc.com/vaovae/ www.wcotc.com/teens/index.html www.wcotc.com/kids/</p>	<p>www.wcotc.com/wiking/ www.wcotc.com/west/ www.wcotc.com/imperium/ East Peoria, IL www.mindspring.com/~creativity/ Creator/Creator.html Laurel, MI* www.ariskamp.com/wiking/ www.wcotc.com/ www.wcotc.com/webdesign/ Ormond Beach, FL* www.wcotc.com/wcotc/cal/ California* www.blackleague.com/mindslayer/ wcotc.html Columbus, OH* www.wcotc.com/sisterhood/ Federal Way, WA* www.wcotc.com/rahowa88/ Davie, FL* www.wcotc.com/wcotcwf/ Sacramento, CA* www.wcotc.com/indiana/ Indiana* www.wcotc.com/michigan/index.html Westland, MI*</p> <p>RACIST SKINHEAD</p> <p>Blood & Honor - Florida* www.fiber-net.com/pub/hooligan/ Lacoochee, FL Boston Skinheads* www.bac.net/users/hated/cotc.html Boston, MA Confederate White Pride home.earthlink.net/~aryanresist Death 2 Zag www.death2zag.com/ Hammerskin Nation* www.hammerskins.com/ home.att.net/~wps8814/ Harrison, NJ Her Race www.adp.ftoday.com/herace.htm Minneapolis Skinheads www.usinternet.com/users/sonic88/ home.html National Party Home Page www.cyberg8t.com/natparty/ Official Squadron Homepage 207.230.34.4/squadron/ OH Boys* www.execpc.com/~olinthor/ Kenosha, WI Plunder and Pillage www.unitedskins.com/</p>	<p>Rebel 88's White Patriot Page www.gromit.com/RAHOWA/ Sieghell 88's Homepage www.concentric.net/~%7 eastig/hell/ Skinheads on the Internet www.personal.ku.edu/~fashout/skins .html Southern Cross Militant Skinheads members.delphi.com/sms88/ index.html SS Bootboys* www.wcotc.com/ssbootboys/ San Francisco, CA Traditional Skinhead pages.prodigy.com/WV/quintskin- head/fredperj.html Tri-Head Terror* www2.cybemex.net/~odintst1.htm Stroudsburg, PA</p> <p>CHRISTIAN IDENTITY</p> <p>America's Promise Ministries* www.amprgm.org/ Sandpoint, ID Carl Klang - Home Page www.klang.com/ Christian Separatist Church Society* www.christianseparatist.org/ Kodak, TN God's Order Affirmed in Love (G.O.A.L.) www.milenet.com/~tmw/ www.mevig.org/ Gospel Broadcasting Association* www.broadcastet.org/ Houston, TX Gospel Ministries* www.mevig.org/gmo.html Boise, ID Jewish Ritual Murder www.mevig.org/jrm/jrm_toc.html Jim Wickstrom's Home Page www.logoplex.com/resources/ wickstrom/ Jim Wickstrom's Posse Comitatus www.posse-comitatus.org Jubilee Newspaper* www.jubilee-newspaper.com Midpines, CA Kingdom Identity Ministries* www.kingidentity.com/ Harrison, AR Lord's Work, Inc.* www.thebardswork.com/ Austin, KY</p>
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Hate Groups on the Internet

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<p>Melchizedek Vigilance* www.melvig.org/mel/MELVIC.HTM Denver, CO</p> <p>New Beginnings Home Page* www.nba.com/home/new_... beginnings/ Waynesville, NC</p> <p>Proclaim Liberty* www.angelfire.com/re/ProclaimLiberty/ Adrian, IN</p> <p>Right of Israel Online home.arkansasusa.com/dlackey</p> <p>Sanctuary Christian Resource Center www.sacnet.net/srsc/</p> <p>Scriptures for America* www.identity.org/ Laporte, CO</p> <p>Stone Kingdom Ministries* www.rust.net/~wvalivas/Stone_... Kingdom/ Asheville, NC</p> <p>Tom Blair's home page www.entrance.net/~blair/index.html</p> <p>Weisman Publications www.seek-info.com/</p>	<p>sit.com/~civl/index.html</p> <p>American Front* www.americanfront.com/ Harrison, AR</p> <p>Ariskkamp www.ariskkamp.com/ Aryan Book Center* www.aryanbook.com/ Decatur, IL</p> <p>Aryan Dating Page www.adp.fpbday.com/ Aryan Women women.wwww.com/ Christian Gallery www.christiangallery.com/ Council of Conservative Citizens* www.cccf.org/ members.aol.com/bange63/ politics2/ St. Louis, MO www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/ 8085/ Falls Church, VA*</p> <p>Cyber Nationalist Group 207.105.95.101/Tests/cng</p> <p>David Duke Online Report www.duke.org</p> <p>Euro-American Students Union esu.single.net/ Jess8814's homepage members.sprees.com/sip/jess8814/ Jew Watch www.jewwatch.com/ Johnny Reb - A Shelter in the Storm www.jps.net/jonnyreb/ Library of Yggdrasil www.ddc.net/ygg/index.htm</p> <p>Louis Beam www.yosemitte.net/beam/ www.louisbeam.com/ Mother's Cross www.angelfire.com/a/kittyandme/ MSR Productions* www.msproductions.com/ Wheat Ridge, CO</p> <p>NAACP Florida Chapter, Inc.* www.naacplch.org/ Jacksonville, FL</p> <p>National NAACP* www.mindspring.com/~naawp/ www.mindspring.com/~ghogan Hogansville, GA www.freeusa.net/ Honolulu, HI* pw2.netcom.com/~Hemire/ naavpnic.html Garden City, MI*</p>	<p>www.flash.net/~guardian/ Houston, TX*</p> <p>www.netars.com/web/gus.sitml Blytheville, AR*</p> <p>www.connectu.net/ginn/ North Carolina* members.delphi.com/paasawp/index... html Thonksala, PA*</p> <p>www.netcom.com/~Hemire/ naavpnic.html Dearborn Heights, MI* www.naawp.com/ www.naawp.org/ Tampa, FL*</p> <p>Nationalist Movement* www.nationalist.org/ Learned, MS</p> <p>Nationalist Observer acurtis.stormfront.org</p> <p>Night-Shade www.pw.com/nightshade/ Occidental Pan-Aryan Crusader* www.crusader.net/ Richmond, VA</p> <p>Occupied America ourworld.compuserve.com/ homepages/americas/ Official Home Page of Eric Owens www.1488.com/ericowens/ Ostara Wahsriver www.ostara.org/ Our Legacy of Truth www4.stormfront.org/postarity/ Panzerfaust Records* www.panzerfaust.com/ Newport, MN</p> <p>Politics and Terrorism www.finet.net/~politics</p> <p>Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion www.pblaska.net/~swampy/ illuminate/zion.html</p> <p>Race Crisis and Separatism in America pwl.netcom.com/~owensva/ separatist.html</p> <p>Racewar expage.com/page/whiterevolution</p> <p>Racial Compact www.racialcompact.com/ Resistance Records Home Page* www.resistance.com/ Elwanda, CA</p> <p>Saxon Order ourworld.compuserve.com/ homepages/Saxon_Troth/ SodalAryan White Power Page mail.dailypost.com/~mcbriev/</p>	<p>Stormfront www.stormfront.org/ West Palm Beach, FL</p> <p>Sunwheel Records www.hammerstins.com/sunwheel.htm</p> <p>Tattoos, Blood, Ink and Pain! come.to.tattoos88</p> <p>Truth at Last* www.stormfront.org/truth_at_last/ Marietta, GA</p> <p>United Strike* www.unitedstrike.com/ St. Peters, MO</p> <p>Viking Productions members.tripod.com/~... vikingproductions/ Voice of White America members.aol.com/tsauiki/whitear... .htm</p> <p>Wake Up or Die www.wakeupordie.com/ Westboro Baptist Church* www.godlatestags.com/ Topsie, KS</p> <p>Western Imperative Network www.westernusers.com/gm/</p> <p>White Nationalist News Agency wna.stormfront.org</p> <p>White Paper www.intrstar.net/~wppaper/index.htm</p> <p>White Power Central www.blackplague.org/mindslayer/</p> <p>White Power World Wide www.pwww.com/</p> <p>White Separatist separatist.isn.net/ Whitesounds* www.whitesounds.com/ Greensboro, NC</p> <p>Whitepower.com www.whitepower.com</p>
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<p>BLACK SEPARATIST</p> <p>Blacks and Jews Newspage www.blackandjews.com/</p> <p>House of David* www.hodc.com/ New York, NY</p> <p>Nation of Islam* www.noj.org/main.html Chicago, IL www.noj.org/miami/index.html Miami, FL* www.noj.org/losangeles/index.html Los Angeles, CA* www.noj.org/durham/index.html Durham, NC* www.noj.org/boston/index.html Boston, MA* www.noj.org/atlanta/index.html Atlanta, GA*</p>	<p>OTHER</p> <p>14 Word Press* www.nklitnk.com/~fourteenwords/ St. Maries, ID</p> <p>ALPHA* www.alpha.org/ Philadelphia, PA</p> <p>American Civil Rights Review webusers.anset-</p>
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SITE TOTALS	
KU KLUX KLAN 48 GROUPS	73 WEB SITES
NEO-NAZI 23 GROUPS	63 WEB SITES
RACIST SKINHEAD 8 GROUPS	19 WEB SITES
CHRISTIAN IDENTITY 12 GROUPS	22 WEB SITES
BLACK SEPARATIST 7 GROUPS	8 WEB SITES
OTHER 25 GROUPS	63 WEB SITES
TOTALS 121 GROUPS	254 WEB SITES

HATE ON THE NET AS NEW SITES ARISE, SO DO LEGAL ISSUES

In a year when the number of hate sites on the Internet jumped by almost 60%, white supremacists and other cyberspace extremists tested the legal limits of the new medium. By early 1999, a number of hate site cases that could shape the future of racist propaganda on the Net were in court.

The legal battles shaping up—including a \$107 million February judgment against several anti-abortion hardliners—are important ones. They involve the often fine line between espousing unpopular political doctrines and actually inciting criminal attacks on those seen as enemies. For white supremacist and other race-based groups, the cases could prove to be pivotal to the future of a medium that has exploded in just four years.

Since the first site was put up by former Klansman Don Black in March 1995, Web hate sites have been added almost weekly. In just the last year, the Intelligence Project found that the number of sites went from 163 at the end of 1997 to 254 by the end of 1998. Included in that total are a more than doubling of Klan and neo-Nazi sites; the Klan went from 29 to 73 sites in 1998, while neo-Nazi sites climbed from 27 to 63.

This count is conservative. It does not include Holocaust denial sites, pages that are implicitly anti-Semitic but not explicitly so. It doesn't cover race scientists who claim to be able to prove that blacks are less intelligent than whites (see p. 27). Pages put up by so-called "Patriot" groups, even though some may contain racist propaganda, are not included (they will be published in the forthcoming Spring 1999 *Intelligence Report*). And it is limited to sites based in America, although many others worldwide are available here.

TARGETING MIDDLE-CLASS YOUTH

Aside from legal developments, several related trends were seen in 1998.

Increasingly, commercial service providers went after the proprietors of hate sites, kicking them off their computer servers. But the hate site proprietors had little trouble finding other electronic homes, simply moving to other servers with less restrictive policies or actually run by white supremacist co-religionists.

At the same time, there has been a marked upswing in the use of "chat rooms" for communications among extremists, with at least 20 now devoted to racist talk. These forums allow large numbers of people to "meet" or "converse" in real time. One popular Klan chat room is organized so that smaller groups can meet privately in separate forums. This chat room's operators have the ability to lock out any participant's messages.

Many of those who run hate sites specifically target youngsters, reasoning that they need to reach the kind of bright, college-bound students who are most likely to have a computer in their bedroom. White supremacist groups today are far less interested in picking up thuggish followers to physically assault their enemies than in developing future movement strategists, and for this the Net is an ideal recruiting tool.

There have been some efforts to combat this recruiting. The Anti-Defamation League last fall released new software designed to serve as a "hate filter," allowing parents to restrict their children's access to sites the ADL deems hateful. But as hate sites change servers and names, users will likely be able to regain access to them.

Legal limitations may prove to be different. Just as a Klansman has an absolute right under the First Amendment to rally and express views judged hateful by most people, Net propagandists are pro-

tested in pushing their extremist views. Generally speaking, such rhetoric has been protected unless it calls for "imminent lawless action." But there is a large gray area, yet to be litigated, over what constitutes an incitement on the Net.

'TERRORISTIC THREATS' AND 'CYBER-SQUATTING'

An important case was heard in early 1998, when the nation's first E-mail threat case resulted in the conviction of Richard Machado. Machado, a former student at the University of California-Irvine, had sent out an E-mail in 1996 to 59 mostly Asian students from a computer in the school's library. It said, in part: "I personally will make it my life's work to find and kill every one of you personally. OK? That's how determined I am."

Machado's first case ended in a mistrial, but he was convicted of committing a federal hate crime over the Internet in a second hearing. Prosecutors said his conviction was a key precedent, adding that many similar cases are arising. In particular, E-mail hate cases began to crop up last year on college campuses around the country.

Two other important cases were also being litigated.

In Pennsylvania, state officials filed suit last October against the Alpha HQ site (www.alpha.org), charging that it published "terroristic threats" against two women who worked at the state's fair housing and human relations office. The site labeled the women "race traitors" and said that such traitors "will be hung from the neck from the nearest lamp post or tree." It carried a doctored photo showing their workplace blowing up.

Pennsylvania authorities quickly won a civil injunction banning publication of the doctored photo and prohibiting the group's Internet service provider from giving computer support to the site. Alpha subsequently shut down its site, at least temporarily.

Alpha is a huge site run by Ryan Wilson, but technical support has been provided by Don Black, who runs his own "Stormfront" site and has come to be seen as the godfather of Net hate. Black calls the Pennsylvania suit an attack on the First Amendment.

A civil trial in the lawsuit is expected this year.

In a related development, newspapers in Chicago and St. Louis obtained temporary restraining orders last fall after Web addresses that sounded like they belonged to the newspapers were put up by Stormfront administrator Ed Marlow. Using addresses such as www.philadelphiainquirer.com, Marlow's new pages sent visitors directly to the Stormfront page—a shock to most users, who expected to get the official page of the Philadelphia Inquirer newspaper.

Similar tactics were used on at least 13 newspapers, provoking the federal suit for alleged copyright infringement. Almost immediately after Marlow's "cyber-squatting" was noticed, he gave up the Web addresses. The case has not yet been set for trial.

'THE NUREMBERG FILES'

In the most important case yet, Planned Parenthood and several doctors who provide abortions won a \$107 million judgment in February in a federal civil suit filed against 14 of the nation's most hard-line anti-abortion activists and groups. A key allegation of the suit, brought under the federal racketeering statute and the 1994 Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances (FACE) Act, was that a Web site listing personal information about 225 doctors and others constitutes a direct threat.

After the verdict, several legal experts predicted that the judgment would not survive appeal.

"It's tempting but very dangerous to permit longstanding First Amendment standards to be compromised in order to deal with this outrageous

form of expression," Robert O'Neill of the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression told *USA Today* after the verdict. "But if we do, it will come back to haunt us."

A visitor logging on to the Christian Gallery site (www.christian-gallery.com) is quickly met with a vision of mangled pieces of fetus dripping blood. On one page, the site's creator, Neal Horsley writes that his home state of Georgia should secede from the United States, using nuclear weapons if need be. With a few clicks of the mouse, the visitor will find "The Nuremberg Files" — a list of "baby butchers" and their "accomplices" who Horsley says should one day stand trial for the murder of children.

The names of doctors wounded by

anti-abortion extremists are grayed out. Those who have been killed have lines drawn through their names. The others have information such as their workplaces and their children's names and schools detailed on the site.

The site does not specifically advocate killing doctors, although it is linked to others that do argue for so-called "justifiable homicide." In one of them, convicted murderer Paul Hill speaks of "the joy I felt after shooting the abortionist, and still feel today."

Therein lies the crux of the matter. Is the site merely providing publicly available information while espousing a particular political viewpoint? Or is it, as the plaintiffs in the FACE suit successfully contended, a bona fide threat?

'THESE PEOPLE PLANNED TO KILL ME'

Early on in the case, U.S. District Judge Robert E. Jones turned down the defendants' motion to dismiss the case on grounds of First-Amendment protection. He quoted an appeals court ruling that "alleged threats should be considered in light of their entire factual context, including the surrounding events and the reaction of the listeners."

In opening statements, defense attorneys denied any incitement. "This is a case about the threat to kill or injure, which is simply not there," Chris Ferrara told jurors in mid-January. "Opinions? Yes, sometimes harsh. But no violence."

Rodney Smolla, a First Amendment law expert at the University of Richmond, told *The Atlanta Constitution*, "You have to ask what is the ide-

ological purpose [for the list and accompanying data]. It seems that the information adds little ... to the political debate but does provide very practical advice for someone who wants to commit murder."

The results of all these cases, and particularly appeals of the Planned Parenthood suit, may clarify when and whether actionable "threats" are being made — at a time when violent talk is proliferating on Web sites, in Web chat rooms and on Web E-mails. But whether they are illegal or not, there is no question how they make many of their targets feel.

"I felt like a hunted animal, that I would be shot at any time," Dr. Warren Hern of Colorado told the jury. "I felt that these people planned to kill me." ▲

DIAL 'H' FOR HATE

EVEN WITH NET, HATE HOTLINES STILL RINGING

Despite the advent of sophisticated propaganda channels like the Net, at least 34 telephone hotlines carrying the recorded messages of hate groups are still thriving. Recent examples of these messages range from the claim of the neo-Nazi National Alliance to embody "competence, professionalism, determination [and] realism" to this chilling admonition from the white supremacist White Aryan Resistance: "[I]f it comes to it, you might as well go for the largest possible body count..." Many of the hotlines listed here belong to different chapters of the same groups and carry the same material.

KU KLUX KLAN

Alabama White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Saraland, AL
334-675-1261

American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Butler, IN
219-337-5555

Confederate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Henderson, NC
919-492-7000

Sandston, VA
804-328-4379

Fiery Cross Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Richmond, VA
804-778-0959

Invisible Empire, Pennsylvania Ku Klux Klan

Punxsutawney, PA
814-938-0409

International Keystone Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Johnstown, PA
814-539-6403

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Kathleen, FL
941-858-0186

Reading, PA
610-478-8018

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Washington

Seattle, WA
206-781-7713

Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Tacoma, WA
253-537-2278

White Shield Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Parkersburg, WV
304-485-1541

NEO-NAZI

Aryan Racial Loyalist Party

Lakewood, OH
216-556-1086

Knights of Freedom

Walpole, MA
617-278-4312

National Alliance

Hillsboro, WV
304-853-4600

North Royalton, OH

440-230-2450

Tampa, FL

813-852-9234

Sacramento, CA

916-436-5588

Levittown, PA

215-949-0826

Waterloo, MD

410-813-4105

North Carolina

336-538-1838

Florida

407-281-0706

Texas

512-916-3150

New Jersey

973-697-1011

Missouri

517-689-6160

National Socialist Movement

Minneapolis, MN
612-659-6307

White Aryan Resistance

Fallbrook, CA
760-723-8996

Catoosa, OK

918-834-4272

World Church of the Creator

Peoria, IL
309-699-0135

Auburn, CA

916-491-5377

OTHER

Nationalist Movement

Learned, MS
601-373-3847

Nationalist Observer

San Diego, CA
619-286-6709

White Liberation Message Line

Mobile, AL
334-602-1410

White United Hotline

Detroit, MI
313-729-1702

163 AND COUNTING...

HATE GROUPS FIND HOME ON THE NET

Netscape: Global White Power Skinhead Unity

Location: <http://www.whitepower.com/skinheads/>

During the more than ten years that I have been a skinhead, I have noticed that extremely few people seem to have the same opinions of what a skinhead is supposed to be. The skinhead scenes are so diverse that even skins in the same crew often have varying political, racial or religious stances. Looking at our current situation, I am deeply concerned that too many racist skins have lost touch with our roots. In the mid and late 1960's, the skinhead scene was alive and thriving, but within the past several years it has been rapidly declining. I blame the majority of this decline on the almost constant attack by Jewish-frenzied police and federal agencies, but I also think we are to blame for losing sight of our goals and a total lack of unity! As we sit back and continue to watch the finger pointing and the silly gossip spreading our heavily-funded enemies are growing immensely! Although I am not one to hide behind this 'aryan-brotherhood' excuse when a fight is to be had, it seems there is way too much 'in-fighting' amongst crews and organizations. I have been guilty of participating in this self-destructing behavior in the past, but we need to put aside our differences to once and for all unite! We must all do our part in supporting one another - we are brothers and sisters, and must start treating each other as such - "Together we are strong, together we will win!" I am going to do everything in my power, both on and off the internet, to help do my part in putting the skinhead movement back onto it's correct path of White Unity and White Victory! If there is anything that I can do to help you advertise your events or organization, please do not hesitate to ask. My site is not just some web page, it is perhaps one of the greatest tools our movement has to create a World-wide network of communication. I have already assembled what I personally believe is the greatest collection of skinhead pictures, music and information to be found anywhere, and I am far from finished! I am willing to help my White comrades throughout the world, together we must utilize this technology to its fullest!!!

Hate sites like this one, with technology that allows users to listen to high-quality racist rock music, have proliferated since 1995.

In less than three years, hate on the Internet has exploded. Thirty-four months after the March 1995 day when former Klansman Don Black put up the first neo-Nazi site on the World Wide Web, there were 163 active sites spewing racial hatred.

The sites include 29 espousing Klan beliefs; 39 by neo-Nazis; 27 by racist Skinheads; 25 by proponents of Christian Identity, an anti-Semitic and racist religion; and 43 others pushing a hodgepodge of ideologies based on hate.

Almost half those Web sites represent actual groups — organized associations that can be contacted or

joined, or from whom racist materials can be ordered. These are not merely lone malcontents serving up hate from a bedroom computer.

This count by the Intelligence Project is conservative. It includes only sites that were active in January 1998, and only those that contain explicitly racist or anti-Semitic material. The count does not include Holocaust denial sites — pages that are implicitly anti-Semitic, as they assume a Jewish conspiracy to cover up the true facts of the Holocaust, but pass themselves off as scholarly revisionism. And it is limited to sites based in America, although many others worldwide are available here.

The count also excludes sites put up by Patriot groups — militias, common-law courts and others — even though some of these groups endorse racist beliefs. A list of Patriot sites will be published in the spring issue of the *Intelligence Report*.

Frighteningly, many of the new sites are aimed directly at children.

For example, the World Church of the Creator, a virulently neo-Nazi group with 33 chapters, recently put up a page specifically aimed at kids. Its title page ("Creativity for children!") looks for all the world like some kind of Sesame Street for haters. Its aim: "To help the younger members of the White Race understand our fight."

"RAHOWAI" it ends. Racial HOly WAr.

That is in line with a general trend on the hate pages. The racist movement has realized its future lies in the next generation (see related interview, page 21), childreñ enamored of the Web and its colorful presentations. It has targeted these kids, and it is increasingly successful at drawing even those from well-to-do backgrounds.

Net hate sites run the gamut. They feature easy-to-reproduce Third Reich posters. They offer hundreds of violently racist and anti-Semitic jokes and cartoons. Many include "chat rooms" where racists trade news and views. One offers a real-life video of the harassment of an apparently retarded black man. There are dozens of pages featuring pin-up Skinhead women with names like "Katrina." Other sites explain the Byzantine Biblical interpretations of Christian Identity (see page 7).

These sites may seem arcane curiosities. But the fact is, they are slickly packaged propaganda that have given racists an audience of millions.

Five years ago, a racist group had to struggle financially, find a sympathetic printer and work long hours writing and editing to produce a pamphlet that might reach 100 people. Today, a lone racist can quickly pull down copy from other sites, package it using high-quality photos and graphics that are already available on the Net, and create a page that's accessible worldwide — often for no money at all.

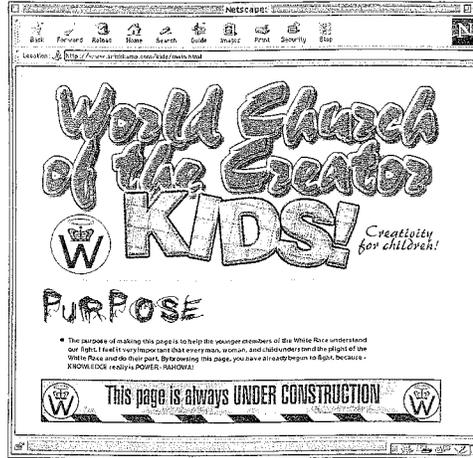
The Net has given racists other advantages as well:

- Encrypted messages, chat room talk, e-mail communications and the propaganda put up on Web sites all give racists an empowering sense of community. Even lone racists, with no co-religionists nearby, feel they are part of a movement.

- Free encryption technology makes intergroup communication easy. Where such codes were once easily breakable, new technology is far more secure.

- E-mail messages are increasingly being used to send hate-mail to unsuspecting victims. While only one case has gone to court so far, incidents are rising fast.

- Net sites give groups the ability to market their wares — anything from Klan robes and Hitler mugs to paramilitary manuals and other publications — and



raise revenue as never before. Racist white power bands, formerly limited to insiders and subscribers to certain magazines, use Net audio tracks to attract new customers.

- For those inclined to violence, the Net offers a wealth of information — from instructions on building an ammonium nitrate bomb to methods for converting semi-automatics to fully automatic weapons — that can be accessed in minutes.

The interest of the far right in computers is not new. In the late 1980s, former Texas Klansman Louis Beam was already building computer bulletin boards that racist groups used to communicate with one another. But the Net added another dimension, a virtual world in which hate groups easily could appeal to the uninitiated.

Don Black, a former Klan leader who served three years in prison for plotting to overthrow a Caribbean island government, was the first hate propagandist to recognize the potential of the Internet. After learning to operate and program computers in prison, he emerged to set up a Web site that is still active. Now, most major hate groups have Net sites, many of them containing pages and pages of propaganda.

This upsurge would come as no surprise to Don Black.

"There's a potential here to reach millions," he said years ago. "I think it's a major breakthrough. I don't know if it's the ultimate solution to developing a white rights movement in this country, but it is certainly a significant advance." ▲

Hate groups are reaching out to children with kid-friendly internet sites.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me just ask a few questions. Mr. Gennaco, I am most impressed by your efforts in securing the first conviction of a hate crime assailant for acts undertaken on the Internet, and I am also encouraged to hear that the conviction you secured in that matter has recently been affirmed on appeal.

Is the statute you utilized to prosecute the defendant—that is, 18 U.S.C. section 245, which is a 30-year-old civil rights statute that pre-dates the creation of the Internet—is that an adequate tool to pursue those who engage in illegal threats and harassment on the Internet, and what did you view as the strengths and weaknesses of that statute insofar as you utilized it to prosecute illegal activity on the Internet?

Mr. GENNACO. Mr. Chairman, 18 U.S.C. 245 did prove to be an adequate statute in order to enforce the law in the two cases that I have prosecuted, and that was in large part because the victim class in both the UC-Irvine case and the Cal State-Los Angeles case were involved in federally-protected activities; that is, they came within one of the categories demarcated under 18 U.S.C. 245.

In the first instance, the students were attending a public institution, which is one of the federally-protected activities. And in the second case, the professors were engaged in employment at a public institution, which was also covered by 18 U.S.C. 245.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, it was reported this August that the Department of Justice was supportive of a proposal that would allow Federal agents to obtain search warrants on a lesser showing than probable cause to search through computers for passwords and to override encryption programs. Now, would this proposal, if ultimately enacted, be of assistance in Federal prosecutors' efforts to respond to hate crimes on the Internet?

Mr. GENNACO. Mr. Chairman, I think that it could be of assistance. As the perpetrators of hate crimes over the Net become more sophisticated, it becomes more difficult to track down and trace the perpetrators, including identification numbers and locator information. In fact, there are new technologies that allow senders of e-mail to send e-mail from anonymous sites which mask effectively the perpetrator and make it very difficult for technicians to track down individuals who are responsible for those threats.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, all of you have heard my opening remarks on some of the suggestions that I have made, or at least thoughts on possible approaches that Congress might pursue without treading at all on the First Amendment, we hope, to better enable Federal prosecutors to respond to hate on the Internet.

I would like each of you to tell me your thoughts specifically on a proposal that would criminalize the knowing or intentional advocacy on the Internet of the commission of a crime of physical violence against the person or the property of any individual or group or class of individuals. Can we start with you, Mr. Roy?

Mr. ROY. Well, the Law Center supports the efforts that everybody is making in this arena. We feel like that civil litigation and criminal prosecution, whenever possible, are good things to do. We have been doing it for a long, long time. But these groups are still with us and the reason they are still with us is because this is handed down from generation to generation, and that is why we say education is so important.

You can't legislate morality. You can only encourage people to do the right things and offer the children that come out of this movement a viable alternative. What we have put a lot of effort into is providing schools with curricula to teach diversity. We have just put out "Responding to Hate in the Schools," and we encourage law enforcement everywhere.

I have been doing this for—this is my 14 year. One thing that I have learned about the law enforcement community is that they are very able, willing and ready to prosecute these crimes if they are given the proper constitutional vehicle to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Berkowitz.

Mr. BERKOWITZ. I believe, as I understand it, that if an individual over the Internet is specifically advocating action of physical violence to an individual, then we would be in favor of that type of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. OK. Mr. Henderson.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Chairman, you raise an interesting and difficult question. Let me just say in response to Mr. Gennaco's comments to you, 18 U.S.C. section 245 does have two limitations. One, as he noted, it requires individuals to be engaged in a federally-protected activity, and unless that is, in fact, taking place, it does not permit a prosecution by Federal officials. Second, the statute does not cover crimes directed to persons because of their disability status or their sexual orientation or their gender. And those are two issues that we think are adequately addressed in proposed amendments to the Hate Crimes Prevention Act.

Now, with respect to your question, Mr. Chairman, I think there are a couple of issues. One, when you focus on the knowing and intentional conduct of individuals, that is helpful. Specificity is, in fact, needed, but I think the second element is one in which you suggest the individual must be taking activity specifically for purpose of generating violence or harm. If that can be established, I would think that those are two useful elements that would perhaps encourage some of our member organizations to look more closely and more favorably at the statute. There are others who would still express some concern.

So I think from the standpoint of the Leadership Conference, we would like to take a closer look at the proposal. We do think that the more specificity and the narrower the scope of application, the better, and we are committed to examining it in greater detail.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Rabbi Cooper.

Rabbi Cooper. Chairman Hatch, I think I can echo almost all the other comments that were made before. You know, this has not been a quiet summer for us. The Wiesenthal Center was Furrow's first and main target.

Michael Gennaco is a very important partner for our efforts at the Museum of Tolerance, and I think in this area, through our training of law enforcement, our Tools for Tolerance program, and trying to spread the message of tolerance, that is basically our pedagogical and educational mandate.

When it comes to the area of stiffening the laws and narrowing the distance between the new technologies and our commitments

here, we are going to be looking to the people in the field, like this brilliant U.S. attorney, for the signal. If they feel that they need, in the day-to-day fight, in the expanding online fight, more expansion along with the general hate crimes expansion, then certainly our Center would back it.

We are trying to continue our approach in a consortium of getting as much input as we can from the people at the U.S. attorney's office in Southern California and around the country, at the same time trying to do the same balancing act that you and your committee try to do everyday, balancing First Amendment rights with the need to protect our kids and our community.

And I just might add one additional image for us to consider, which is I know every parent in America was wondering where was Eric Harris' father when this kid was downloading all of this information teaching him how to make bombs, et cetera, et cetera. And we leave this hearing this morning, I am still not sure that if the next potential Eric Harris' mother is looking over his shoulder, that we have the necessary partnering from everyone involved with this issue.

In other words, I think the U.S. Senate is taking leadership here. We have the brilliant civil servants, but if we don't have partners from the online community to help parents, even with the phenomenal software available from the ADL and the rest, we are going to see these kinds of events repeating themselves over and over and over again.

So I commend everything that you are trying to achieve here. I hope at the next set of hearings, we will have the important leaders of the Internet community sitting with us in order to try to work out a community-based approach to a problem that is not going to go away.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Gennaco.

Mr. GENNACO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would echo my fellow panel members with regard to the proposal that you have set forth. As I am sure you are aware, Mr. Chairman, there is a body of law that puts outside of First Amendment protection direct and immediate incitement to violence by anybody, whether it is over the Internet or any other medium. And I believe a carefully crafted legislation that would prevent such behavior and would not impinge upon the First Amendment would be a helpful weapon in our arsenal against hate.

To echo what Mr. Henderson said again, with 245, just to elaborate on my comments, while I was able to use 245 in the two scenarios that we successfully prosecuted, I can envision hypotheticals in which I would not have had 245 available to me in a prosecution. For example, in the UC-Irvine case, if the victims had been attending a private school and, in fact, the threat had been because of the sexual orientation of students at that facility, 245 would not have been available.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Now, let me just ask one other question because it is an important question. I would like you to address generally where you think the best solutions lie in our efforts to combat hate on the Internet.

Is each of you of the conviction that heightened responsibility by Internet companies and parents through self-policing as well as anti-hate filters provides the key, or is the ultimate answer to be found in a legislative response that, while vigilantly respecting the boundaries of the First Amendment, may assist prosecutors in combatting illegal threats and harassment and that assist Internet companies in terminating those sites that illegally incite violence through hate speech?

Can we start again with you, Mr. Roy?

Mr. ROY. I think certainly that the Internet providers are the obvious place to start. One of the things that we have seen out in the Internet community is an effort by a number of these groups to develop their own domain, their own ISP's, to where they can't be kicked off. And for providers to have a "no hate" policy and push them in that direction is certainly fine. If we had them all in one spot, it would make our lives a lot easier.

But I think that it is going to take a combination of things. I think that we need some regulations that may or may not exist to be retooled or developed, you know, to combat this. But I think initially and ultimately, it is going to be the providers that police cyberspace, and some of them do a really good job and some of them are making no effort at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Berkowitz.

Mr. BERKOWITZ. Yes, Senator. I don't think there is a silver bullet and I don't think there is an either/or. I really believe that this is a new challenge, one of the most difficult challenges that we face in continuing to make sure that the pluralistic democracy that we all cherish continues.

For all the reasons that were mentioned here, I think that we have to find the answers, and it is not going to come with just one answer. Yes, we have developed a hate filter and we think it is a good one and we think it does a very good job. Should it be mandatory? It is a very difficult thing to say. I don't think that it should be unless you have the ability of either librarians or teachers to override the filter.

Should it be on all library computers? No. If there are some libraries, as I understand it, that have computers for children under the age of 15 and other computers for those over the age of 15, you maybe can find some kind of age level to deal with that. Do you need to train teachers and librarians to a greater extent in how to deal with the Internet and problems of the Internet? Absolutely.

I think that legislation is important. I think that Senator Feinstein's legislation as it relates to bomb-making instructions on the Internet will be a valuable tool. A number of the ones that you have mentioned, I think, will also be valuable. So I don't think it is going to be one solution. Certainly, the ISP's are going to have to be brought into the situation, and as Mr. Roy stated, I think that if we can isolate the hate groups on their own ISP's, we will be able to control them to a greater extent. All of this has to be done within the framework of protecting the First Amendment in every single instance.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Henderson.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Chairman, this is an important hearing, and I really do commend you on behalf of the Leadership Conference for having initiated this discussion. I note that it takes place on the second day of the trial of a white supremacist charged with the murder of James Byrd in Texas from the dragging death last year. So what we are attempting to do today by focusing attention on this problem, I think, is really commendable and important.

Having said that, I think there is no simple solution and answer to your question specifically about what must be done. I think all of us have emphasized a combination of a number of approaches that we think when taken together will make a significant start in trying to address the problem. We in the Leadership Conference have emphasized the importance of education and more speech, and we still believe that that is the first among many options that we would encourage pursuing.

I do think that you have suggested a range of additional steps that might be taken, including collaboration with the online supporters of Internet sponsors and others to talk about ways, consistent with the First Amendment, of trying to address the problem. But the emphasis on family responsibility, on training, on civic participation, on the role of religious groups and the religious community, all have to be added together in developing a comprehensive approach to the problem. And we stand ready to work with you as you continue to pursue solutions to this difficult issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Rabbi Cooper.

Rabbi Cooper. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I note here that on the top 10 active bomb-making sites right now that only one of them would be on a racist server. So, clearly, if the Internet community would act to get rid of the other nine, we won't remove or eliminate the problem, but we would, I think, put a significant crimp on terms of the links between hate music and other youth-oriented sites. And that is an action which I think all Americans are behind.

The only question is will the Internet community do this on their own or do they have to be pushed by the U.S. Congress. And I think after the events starting with Columbine, most Americans want action. We prefer if we don't have to come to the Government. But if not, possibly in this area alone, some basic common sense and regulation may be necessary.

Obviously, everyone here agrees with the basic idea that the answer to hate speech is more speech. But I would suggest to everyone when you go home tonight and you go online, take a look at a site called mlking.org, as in martinlutherking.org. It is the perfect address for your average teenager who is going to go home and do a research project on one of the greatest Americans in the history of our country. It took us about 4 or 5 minutes at the Wiesenthal Center to figure out that this is a site that was developed, put up and maintained by Stormfront, one of the leading white supremacist groups.

And so what we are talking about in terms of the challenge is the basic approach of answering hate speech with more speech is an unprecedented challenge when we look at the Internet. The manipulation of information, sometimes the stealing of domains, the fact that there is no online librarian, that all information is flat—

you put in the word “Holocaust” or “Martin Luther King, Jr.,” and if there isn’t a librarian or parent around, we don’t quite know what they are going to end up getting.

So we have all seen this tremendous growth of the Internet. We all welcome it. Everyone in this room utilizes the Internet, and I still feel that in a sense there is an empty chair here today, and that is the Internet community themselves. We need their collective genius, we need them at the table as partners.

And again I want to commend, Senator Hatch, you and your entire committee for revisiting this issue again, and we are going to have to come back again and again until we come up with, at the end of the day, an unscientific approach of where we draw the line between hate and speech.

One last comment, if I may. When we use the term “hate speech”—and Mr. Henderson made a very important distinction between speech and action—let’s also understand that when we are talking about the Internet, it is not only hate speech, but the posting of information that has to do with terrorism, mayhem, violence and other illegal activity and, as such, interwoven with the issues of the First Amendment.

We will need the continued leadership of your committee, and I commend you for bringing us together this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, thank you. I might mention that we did invite representatives of the Internet service community to testify today and they respectfully declined. We are hopeful that we can get them in sometime in the future because we do need their viewpoint on what should be done here, and perhaps we can do that just with a panel for them. We are not trying to railroad anything here. We want to solve these problems to the extent that they can be solved. As you know, they don’t go away easily. We will give them another opportunity to testify, but it needs to be noted that we did invite them.

Mr. Gennaco, we will end with you.

Mr. GENNACO. Mr. Chairman, as a prosecutor on the front line I also commend you for directing focus to this issue. There is one other thing that I think is an important component of ways to address the situation and that is to continue to support partnerships. In Southern California, we have a good working partnership with both local prosecutors, with the Museum of Tolerance.

As a result of the partnership that we have formed, I think we are able to share intelligence, techniques, and expertise in various areas to combat the problem. And I think it is this synergy that is as a result of this partnership that causes me optimism that we can beat this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we are appreciative. I think this hearing has been very valid and very important today. As you can see, we are thrashing around trying to find some way of solving these problems because they are going to get worse. We know that there are a lot of offensive things on the Internet. There are a lot of wonderful things, too. What we want to do is find some way, within the constraints of the First Amendment, to resolve some of these problems so that our kids are not beset with this type of garbage day in and day out. And as you know, it is a very difficult thing to do.

I presume that many ISP's don't want to get involved because they know that it would be a never-ending journey for them, and they also worry about legal liability for taking people off the Net, perhaps, or worry about whether or not they are making the right decisions, or worry about whether they will be criticized for taking some off the Net who, in the eyes of many, should not be taken off the Net.

It is a very, very difficult set of problems as far as I can see, and especially when you consider the importance of the First Amendment. Every one of you have expressed a certain degree of solicitude for the First Amendment, as we all should, and every one of you have been champions of the First Amendment.

On the other hand, there are limitations that society does provide as to what can or cannot be done under the First Amendment. And something has to be done, it seems to me, to at least help our children in this society to have a better chance to be hate-free, to be pornography- and obscenity-free and, of course, to be free of some of the evil influences that I think almost any reasonable person in our society would call evil.

We are seeing more and more acts of violence in our society committed by juveniles. That is why this juvenile justice bill is so important. You know, many in the media and many who have political points to make are trying to make that bill into a gun bill. That is a very small part of it. That bill does an awful lot of things that could help to resolve the problems of juvenile justice. And we are probably going to go into a conference this week, and I am hopeful that I can get something out that will be supported by the vast majority of people in the Congress.

If one side wants to play the gun issue all the way through, we will never get it done. If either side wants to, we are never going to get it done. So it is very important that we have the wisdom of people like yourselves in these processes and with regard to these problems so that we can get to the bottom of what should be done, what can be done, and how we should do it.

So we would like to keep the record open so that you folks, having heard my opening remarks and the opening remarks of Senator Leahy, and having heard each other, might be willing to give us more of your advice and counsel so that we can do what is best here, because if I don't miss my bet, you folks are as concerned about all these principles as anybody I know. And you are experts in this area and I think all of you are noted for having done very, very important and worthwhile things in this particular area. So that is why we called on you. It has been a very helpful committee meeting and I am very grateful to all of you for putting in the time and effort to give these excellent statements to us today and answer the questions.

So with that, we will adjourn until further notice. Thanks so much.

[Whereupon, at 12:01 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

RESPONSES OF MICHAEL GENNACO TO QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR LEAHY

Question 1. The Department of Justice seems to have made effective use of the Internet in the context of various online investigations, such as the “Innocent Images” efforts to combat distribution of child pornography through the Internet. Has the Department used the Internet to gather evidence of criminal activity on the part of hate groups in the United States?

Answer. The Department has used the Internet to gather evidence of criminal activity on the part of hate groups or perpetrators of hate or terrorism in the United States. For example, a review of messages sent over the Internet helped locate additional threats and victims in a recent hate crimes threats prosecution. In another case, review of a militia group’s Internet communications resulted in additional federal charges being lodged against members of that group.

Question 2. Does the Internet provide the Department of Justice with access to information published online that makes it easier for you to monitor potential domestic terrorist activities organized by hate groups in the United States?

Answer. The Department of Justice does not engage in the regular federal monitoring of hate groups in the United States unless it is pertinent to investigative actions undertaken by the FBI pursuant to the Attorney General’s guidelines for investigations. In situations where there have been allegations of criminal activity by certain hate groups or there has already been evidence developed of criminal activity by members of hate groups, the open source material on the Internet may be searched in order to locate additional information about the criminal activity alleged.

RESPONSES OF HOWARD BERKOWITZ TO QUESTIONS FROM SENATOR LEAHY

Question 1. How has your organization been able to use the Internet to gather information about organized hate groups in the United States?

Answer. The Anti-Defamation League monitors the Web sites, USENET newsgroups, E-mail mailing lists, and chat rooms used by extremists to spread their message and communicate with each other. Most online information created by hate groups is openly available. There are neither practical nor legal barriers to the collection of most of this material.

Question 2. Has the Internet helped your organization find out information such as events or gatherings organized by hate groups in the United States?

Answer. The Internet consistently, provides the Anti-Defamation League with relevant, timely information about hate group rallies and gatherings nationwide.

Question 3. Has your organization used the Internet as an organizing tool opposing hate groups or events organized by hate groups? Can people use the Internet to join or support your organization?

Answer. At the Anti-Defamation League Web site, a Web user can find contact information for any of our 30 regional offices, report an anti-Semitic incident to us, or make a donation. Additionally, our site contains publications such as “Prejudice: 101 Ways You Can Beat It!,” which proposes specific, concrete actions people can take in the fight against hate. Also present on the ADL homepage is our Legislative Action Center, which allows Web users to E-mail Members of Congress about prior-

ity issues of concern, such as the Hate Crime Prevention Act or anti-Semitism in Russia.

Question 4. Does your organization use the Internet, including web pages or e-mail lists, as an education tool to teach people about the damage hate and hate groups can do?

Answer. The full text of all ADL reports exposing hate and hate groups is posted on our Web site, where it is available free of charge. It is our hope that these reports will lead the public to reject hate groups and their propaganda.

Question 5. I understand that your organization has developed a product called "HateFilter," which parents can install on their home computers if they want to prevent their children from being exposed to web sites that advocate hatred or intolerance.

I understand that there is a fairly robust market for these kinds of tools, including close to a dozen like HateFilter and perhaps two dozen or more Internet Service Providers that filter hate speech as part of the Internet service they sell to dial-up customers. Are these options useful tools for families who are concerned about hate speech on the Internet? Do they work on web sites outside of the United States as well as on hate sites in the U.S.?

Answer. Though there is no single solution to the problems posed by online hate, filtering software is a useful tool. The ADL's HateFilter is a frequently-updated, site-specific filtering device, effectively blocking hate sites selected by ADL researchers both in the United States and outside the country. Unlike other filtering software products, HateFilter empowers parents who want to restrict their child's access to hate—and encourages parents to teach their children about the nature of bigotry and the hatemongers who promote it. It offers users who try to access a blocked site the chance to visit a special portion of the ADL Web site, where they can find basic information about hate and hate groups.

ADDITIONAL SUBMISSION FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KAREN NARASAKI, ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL ASIAN
PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CONSORTIUM

I. INTRODUCTION

The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium (Consortium) respectfully submits this statement to urge the Senate Committee on the Judiciary to respond to the growing problem of hate crimes and hate groups on the internet by ensuring that S. 622, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999 (HCPA), is enacted this session without amendment.

The Consortium and its Affiliates—the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF), the Asian Law Caucus (ALC), and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC)—have been the leading authorities on hate crimes against Asian Pacific Americans (APA's). Every year, the Consortium and its Affiliates produce the nation's only nongovernmental, comprehensive report and analysis on anti-Asian violence. Additionally, we monitor bias-motivated incidents against APA's, collect data, provide technical assistance to victims of hate crimes, conduct educational outreach efforts on the general problem of hate crimes and collaborate with government agencies, civil rights groups and community organizations to improve data collection, police training on the identification of hate crimes, and community response to hate acts.

This statement first discusses hate on the internet directed at APA's, in particular a precedent-setting case which successfully invoked federal hate crime laws to prosecute an individual for sending hate e-mail messages to 60 students at a public university. Second, the statement provides examples of hate messages aimed at APA's on websites. Third, the statement recounts the deaths of three APA hate crime victims as demonstrative evidence that hate violence is growing increasingly brutal and deadly; is not disappearing despite a booming economy; and, is perpetrated increasingly by individuals with connections to hate extremist groups. These groups have been turning to the internet to incite violence, recruit youth, and target minorities via anonymous e-mail and broadcast hate messages over websites. The Consortium strongly supports HCPA as a powerful statement that America will not tolerate hate.

II. USE OF E-MAIL MESSAGES TO PURVEY HATE AGAINST APA'S

The incident that led to the nation's first successful federal prosecution of a hate crime over the internet occurred in September 1997, when Richard Machado sent a threatening e-mail to members of an APA student group at the University of California at Irvine. Machado warned the students that if they did not leave campus, "I personally will make it my life career to find and kill every one of you personally." The Consortium's Affiliate, the APALC, monitored the trial that followed.

Sixty APA students sued Machado over violation of their civil rights pursuant to federal hate crimes laws. At trial, several of the students who received the e-mail testified that they believed the threat was real. They said they feared walking alone around campus and were scared that they may be physically harmed. They felt isolated and vulnerable even though APA's comprised roughly 50 percent of the campus population; several testified that they had not reported the crime because they believed that no action would arise from their disclosure. On February 1998, Machado was found guilty and convicted on a misdemeanor count and sentenced to one year in prison.

One of the laws which the students were able to rely upon was 18 U.S.C. §245, a 30-year-old federal statute, to bring their case because Machado singled them out because of their race and intended to interfere with their federally protected right to a public education. In the same year, hate e-mail incidents were reported by students across the nation including Indiana University, Stanford University and the University of Southern California.

The Consortium believes that the Kennedy-sponsored bill, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999 (S. 622), would address this gaping hole in federal protection and urges the Senate conferees to pass it without any weakening amendments before the session adjourns.

III. USE OF WEBSITES TO BROADCAST HATE AGAINST APA'S

The Consortium is monitoring a rise in websites sponsored by hate groups, especially white supremacist organizations, which are beginning to include APA's in their vitriol against minority groups.

The majority of hate messages remain directed against Jews and blacks. However, groups who target hate against one group are likely to strike at all minorities. A case in point follows in the website titled "Better Than Auschwitz," where the author spews the following hate diatribe:

"I don't have a flying f—k about what anyone thinks. I have been f—ked over an uncountable number of times by the mud people, and the jews which overlook them. * * * There are no blacks, mexicans, there are no asians, there are no "kosher people". There are only niggers, spics, gooks and kikes. I have never met a descent person from the above, and so choose not to refer them as people anymore, but things; monsters. Everyone that is not white deserves to be melted down in a f—king oven."¹

The websites reflect xenophobia and show the perverse extremes of the affirmative action debate. Despite the number of generations who have lived in the United States, cultural assimilation and innumerable contributions made to society from high technology to science, moviemaking and architecture and more, APA's still are considered the perpetual foreigners posing an outside threat to their own homeland. The perceptions are not mere misunderstandings. As was the case in 1982, when bat wielding, unemployed Detroit workers thought a Chinese American was Japanese, these perceptions can be lethal. The following website fosters the same type of hate that likely would engender animosity toward any person of Asian descent:

A cartoon sketches an Asian man with slanted eyes, buck teeth and a menacing grin rubs his hands in delight as he stands next to a poster advertising the sale of property with the words "Sold" written over it. Overhead, the message reads, "Do you think that those rice-nibblin' little Nips have ceased being sneaky and dreaming of world domination just because WWII is over? * * * Don't be a fool * * * today, just like yesterday * * * BEWARE THE YELLOW PERIL!"²

In the following two cases, the hate mongers push the envelope on free speech protections by promulgating hate, yet stopping short of encouraging immediate and specific violent acts at an identifiable group. In the "Voice of White America," one site posts in capital letters, "Hordes of Incoming Asians are Taking Over our West!!" next to a headshot of an unidentified Asian man. When the photo is clicked, a kung-fu-type cry sounds over the speaker. Under the title, the message reads:

"We are being *flooded* with Chinese and Filipinos! These people stick to their own, and stick up for their own, AT THE EXPENSE OF EVERYONE ELSE! The San Francisco city & county government now has equal numbers of Asian and White employees. When Asians come into power, they do not hire fairly, they hire MORE ASIANS! And affirmative action give them the blessing to do it! * * * The number of exclusively Chinese language businesses, city areas, and theme parks is expanding at an ALARMING rate! WAKE UP, AMERICA! * * *"³

Similarly, in "Our Racial Hatred," an author by the name of Shaun W. states,

"Why is it that for five years, while I went to college here in California, I felt like an exchange student living in China? * * * Since being around them in school, I've learned to really hate the little yellow bastards."⁴

IV. THREE APA DEATHS IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS

In its annual 1997 audit, the Consortium and its Affiliates reported 481 anti-Asian incidents, including two murders. In the past five years during which the Consortium and its Affiliates have monitored bias-motivated violence, there have been approximately two hate crime murders per year.

The Consortium is alarmed that in the past 6 months, the Asian Pacific American community has seen THREE particularly vicious attacks on members of its community. Of the three deaths, two were caused by individuals with clear ties to white supremacist groups. Both groups spread hate propaganda online.

One of the men murdered was a 26-year-old Korean student, Won Joon Yoon. Yoon was killed during the racially motivated shootings that took place in Illinois

¹ See <http://www.yoderanium.com/webhome/deathdlr/>.

² See <http://www.resist.com>.

³ See <http://members.aol.com/tsaukki/taketake.htm>.

⁴ See <http://www.resist.com/Aourracialhatred.html>.

and Indiana this past July. The gunman, Benjamin National Smith, was an active member of the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC). The WCOTC has used the internet as means of organizing, publishing its hate materials and recruiting. The group's current campaign is called "Operation Internet Blietzkrieg," which exhorts its members to use the internet extensively to spread their hate messages. One of the fastest growing white supremacist organizations in the country, WCOTC now has over 40 chapters across the country and abroad.

Another man shot to death was 39-year-old Joseph Iletto, a Filipino American letter carrier. Iletto was gunned down by Buford Furrow, who had hours earlier walked into a Jewish Community Center and shot five victims, including three young children. Furrow confessed to shooting Iletto because he looked Hispanic or Asian. Furrow had ties to the Aryan Nation and The Order. According to the Anti-Defamation League, "the Aryan Nation perceives itself as literally surrounded by enemies: vigorously fighting back is not only a solution to its problems, but a duty." The Aryan Nation has a prolific website including a youth corp section, news updates, state offices contact information, audio and video tape catalog, language translations of their website and links to other hate sites, among other things.

The Consortium believes that while hate on the internet was not directly responsible for these men's deaths, it contributed to the climate of hate that influenced and goaded the perpetrators toward their ultimate acts of murder.

IV. CONCLUSION

One of the nation's leading experts on anti-Asian violence, the Consortium believes that hate crimes is a serious national problem that requires federal government involvement to supplement the traditional state role of policing crimes. Hate crimes are unique in that they strike not only at the victim, but at all members of the community to which the victim belongs. Consequently, the impact of hate crimes has more far-reaching effects than the ordinary crime. With the advent of the internet, the ability of hate extremist groups to spread hate, communicate with each other and organize will only continue to be enhanced.

Whereas in the past, hate mongers primarily relied on public rallies, marches, and leafleting to spread their messages, the favored communication tool is now the internet. For a few hundred dollars, any individual may purchase a computer, acquire an e-mail account and sign up with an Internet Service Provider to host their World Wide Web page, sometimes for free. The expenses are little; one Southern Poverty Law Center investigator reported that the rise in chapters are often due to one individual setting up shop.

The federal government has an important role to play in the prevention of hate crimes. By passing the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999, Congress can and should send a strong symbolic statement that the nation does not tolerate hate; furthermore, the law puts potential criminals on notice that they will be sentenced with stiffer penalties if they target any innocent person for violence on the basis of their race, religion, national origin, as well as sex, disability and sexual orientation.

Hate Crimes Prevention Act will also allow for enhanced cooperation between the federal and state law enforcement agencies similar to the joint federal-state partnerships forged after the enactment of the Church Arson Prevention Act of 1996. That initiative led to successful investigative and prosecution efforts in church arsons nationwide after the lifting of restrictions placed on federal prosecutors. Hate Crimes Prevention Act needs to be passed to lift the undue restrictions which bar federal prosecutors from adequately addressing hate crimes.

Based on the foregoing, the Consortium urges the Members of this Committee to continue its support of S. 622, the Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999, in its current form as it heads for a joint conference and ensure that it is enacted into law before the end of this legislative session.