

Hate on the Net

Virtual nursery for In Real Life crime



Compiled by the members, candidate-members & co-operation partners of
the International Network Against Cyber Hate
-June 2004-



www.inach.net

Cover photo:

German Anti Antifa Network (anti-fascist Network), inciting to hatred against antifascists, anti-racists and minorities.

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Preface

The members, candidate-members & co-operation partners of the International Network Against Cyber Hate compiled this booklet for the OSCE Conference on the relationship between racist, xenophobic and antisemitic propaganda on the Internet and hate crimes in Paris, June 16 –17, 2004.

You will find an overview of cases in which incitement on the Internet led to crime In Real Life, to racist developments or the worsening of relations between groups in society. You will see examples of how the Internet is being used by extremists for recruitment, command & control, planning actions and spreading their rhetoric. This overview is not complete and does not aim to be, but will give the reader an idea of the scope of the problem, the methods and rhetoric that are being used and the dangers that stem from incitement in general.

Racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, discrimination, more than ever since the 2nd World War, hate and its ideologies are alive and well, giving cause to misery, conflict, murder, genocide and war. Humanity is repeating its historical mistakes, seemingly unable to learn from the past. The political climate in this world is hardening. The contemporary problems are not only racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia and other forms of hate, but also the fact that the idea of citizenship is by and large being abandoned in favor of ethnic, religious and political agenda's, which give cause to more 'us and them' feelings on which extremists and fundamentalists feed. Liberals and moderates on all sides are either not being heard or have to shout so loudly that they are being lumped together with the extremists, extremists who, in order to get more support, use the Internet as their tool of choice.

It comes as no surprise that the internet is being used to recruit, disseminate and incite hatred. Internet is the biggest information and communication device in the world and Neo-Nazi's saw the potential in its very early stages, using Bulletin Board Systems (BBS) already in the pre-world wide web age¹. By now, the

¹ The Germany-based Thule-Netz BBS, which started operations in 1993. IDGR Lexikon Rechtsextremismus, http://lexikon.idgr.de/t/t_h/thule-netz/thule-netz.php

amount of extremist websites runs in the tens of thousands. Hate on the Net has become a virtual nursery for In Real Life crime, the 'Real Life' bit becoming a moot point, since the Internet is an integral part of society, not a separate entity. It is just the latest in communication and dissemination tools which can, as any other tool, be used or abused. Incitement through electronic means is not different from incitement by traditional means. In that sense you could ask yourself if there is a relation between a paper pamphlet with the text 'kill all Muslims' being handed out in the streets and the actual killing of Muslims. The direct link between those acts will have to be proved while you can say with certainty that calling for the killing of Muslims in a pamphlet (or by other means like the Internet) is incitement and adds to a negative atmosphere towards Muslims, raising the probability of violence. The linkage between racist speech and violations of individual civil liberties is as topical as newspaper headlines.² What's more, to some of us it is an everyday reality.

Little sparks can kindle big fires, which was proved by all the hate speech and dehumanization that was dished-out by media (including the Internet) during the Balkan-war, conditioning the public to support any new conflict.³

As you will see, the most dominant examples in this booklet of the linkage between incitement on the Internet and actual hate crimes In Real Life are the cases in which web sites or e-mail were used to deliver the message in the shape of threats, incitement or on-line Hit lists targeting individuals or organizations, sometimes with terrible results.

We all have our separate responsibilities in dealing with incitement to hatred on the Internet, Industry, NGOs and governments. Which does not mean that we can't co-operate. In fact, it is imperative that we do. Hate has consequences that go further than violence and murder; hate disrupts society in all of its facets, including government and commerce.

In combating hate on the Internet we do not aim to hinder free speech, nor do we think we will be able to 'change the hearts and minds' of hate mongers. There will always be people who hate.

² Bloody words, hate and free speech, by David Matas, p.21, Bain & Cox publishers, Winnipeg, 2000.

³ Panayote Elias Dimitras, Hate Speech in the Balkan, p.8, published by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, Vienna, 1998.

Rather, by using the various national and international anti-hate speech legislation, we aim to curb the communication of hate speech, by this preventing the recruitment of others who do not yet hate, and prevent In Real Life hate crime.

As for free speech, the European antiracist maxim goes, 'Racism is not an opinion, it's a crime', or to quote Sartre on antisemitism, 'it is not an idea as such, it's a passion'⁴. Having said that we do recognize and support Free speech as an important value in any democratic society. However, we do strongly oppose Free speech extremism, the idea that even incitement to murder can be considered free speech, as was the case with the 'Nuremberg Files'⁵, or the abuse of Free speech as a means of propagating hate speech and incitement to violence. People tend to think that freedom of speech and the prohibition of hate speech is contradictory. It's not. If we look at the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁶ we will see that article 20 quite clearly states that;

any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law,

while article 19 states that;

everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary: (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; (b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

So 143 countries think those are not opposing or conflicting obligations. In fact, most constitutions of Western states show

⁴ Jean Paul Sartre: "Antisemitism does not fall within the category of ideas protected by the right of free opinion...it is something quite other than an idea. First of all it is a passion"

⁵ See the sections on The Netherlands and The United States

⁶ 1966, signed and ratified by 143 countries. See http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm

more or less the same situation; an article prohibiting hate speech or discrimination, in close companionship with one securing the freedom of speech. Even the constitution of the United States (and for that matter, U.S. jurisprudence), much quoted by freedom of speech advocates, does recognize situations in which hate speech can be harmful and should be illegal, for the simple fact that whereas freedom of speech is a condition for a successful democracy, tolerance is essential for the survival of a democracy. Would one allow hate speech to run rampant, democracy will in the end be destroyed and tyranny would result, bringing with it the abolition of free speech⁷.

The issue of free speech versus combating hate speech does not really play a role in the INACH-network, which is after all a practical and flexible network geared towards possibilities rather than debate on seemingly opposed issues. The legislation of the United States does not hinder the INACH members, including ADL, to do their work and at the end of the day we must conclude that the differences in legislation between the US and Europe are not as big as often perceived. Moreover, neither 'side' will change its constitution but that is also not necessary. As our work shows, U.S.-European cooperation in fighting hate comes quite easy and is successful. As most Internet Providers in the United States have Terms Of Service that strictly prohibit the dissemination of hate speech through their services, it is not as hard as it seems to get material like that removed.

However, in the end the best protection against hate speech, which can be implemented everywhere no matter what, is education, teaching how information on the Internet can be assessed for its validity and how to recognize the rhetoric of hate. Lots of low-profile websites and hate-language on web forums never comes to the attention of law enforcement, or agencies that combat hate on the Net. By and large it is this material that creates an atmosphere of hate and intolerance and ultimately generates an environment in which hate becomes acceptable behaviour to people who are infected with prejudiced information. Especially the youth runs the risk of being misled, indoctrinated and recruited. We think it is imperative to educate and promote

^{7 7} Bloody words, hate and free speech, by David Matas, p.38, Bain & Cox publishers, Winnipeg, 2000.

attitude change. Several INACH network nodes are working on this.

Again, the relation between hate speech (on-line or off-line) and hate crime is not a question but an everyday reality. After all, Auschwitz was not built out of bricks and stones, it was built with words. Words that were also at the roots of the Rwandan genocide, the Balkan war and other massacres.

Ronald Eissens

June 2004

Denmark

Hate mail and SMS

by David Hopmann, Danish Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DRC)

Racist websites in Denmark rarely openly encourage their visitors to commit general hate crimes; we do however have seen some examples of 'hit lists' targeting left wing persons and/or anti-racism organizations.

Hate mails and offensive and threatening messages on public discussion forums, in particular on usenet (newsgroups) are much more common.

Another "trend" are SMS messages sent to mobile phones owned by persons with a non-Danish background⁸, including pictures of a black man strung up in a rob, subtitled "White power".

Unfortunately, it is not our experience that the authorities are as eager stopping and prosecuting the authors of such messages as they are when confronted with for example child pornography. However, one example of a successful prosecution is a judgement of March 13, 2004 by the Eastern High Court. The leader of the Danish branch of the organization Hizb-ut-Tahrir was sentenced for the dissemination of a handbill containing degrading, insulting and threatening remarks about Jews. The "Kill Jews" remarks were also published on the website of Hizb-ut-Tahrir and were part of the High Court judgment.⁹

However, the fact that not many websites with hate on them are known in Denmark doesn't mean we have no problems at all.

Even though hit lists with personal information are relatively seldom, there is some evidence of the connection between hate on the Internet and in real life violence. Especially in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 much of the online hate speech roused public sentiments, which culminated into a rise of arson attacks, violence, death threats, etcetera, in the weeks after.

⁸ DACoRD case no. SA0954.

⁹ Op.cit 2003 page 1428, UfR .2003.1428Ø

Due to lack of verdicts truly aimed at stopping racist activity in Denmark, hate speech generally is to be found in newspapers, on the radio and on TV, and not so often on the Internet. In Denmark, there is not the same need for extremist groups to use the Internet instead of other media, as they can easily use 'traditional' media to transport their messages. Until recently, the Danish state even funded a Neo Nazi radio station. After the withdrawal of public funding, the Radio station – called Oasen – applied for additional time for broadcasting, which may result in Oasen becoming the biggest non-commercial radio station in Denmark.

France

Hate speech and hate crime in France

by Sylvain Tirreau & Gerard Kerforn, MRAP

The struggle of the MRAP against racism on the Internet led us to a particularly interesting case concerning the link between online hate speech and hate crime.

The webring sos-racaille.

Sos-racaille.org was the central site of a violently racist conglomerate of 26 Internet sites in total, spreading thousands of racist messages daily. It was active between January 2001 and March 2003. This network came into existence through the French discussion boards and French language news groups on Usenet. In fact, all the protagonists of this network, from the site creators to the text writers and the sympathisers who contributed to the different site forums, have met and united through their involvement in the French language news groups. In just two years, this group of people perpetrated an incredible number of crimes, generating violently racist texts and abuse, slander and libel of private persons and members of the press and politicians, incitement to murder, death threats accompanied by the divulgation of private addresses, computer piracy, etcetera. All their targets were chosen in accordance to their deeply rooted racism. Before the sites were removed (all 26 of them were closed down in one night), these individuals had already

committed hate crimes, and were preparing more through the Internet.

The racist network already begun to form in the summer of 1999 in French news groups, one and a half year before the site Sos-racaille opened. During the preceding year, Internet service providers closed some accounts, motivating their decision by the fact that their owners were spreading violently racist messages through Usenet which were illegal under French law. For a while, closing the accounts helped to reduce the dissemination of racist rhetoric, but already in July and August of 1999, the posting of messages began again; a very small group of persons had found the means to send racist messages without through anonymous services on the Internet, without having their accounts closed. The promotion they made for the anonymising tools and the wealth of racist publications which followed, against which no action could be started because of the use of anonymisers, made it possible for other people who until now had refrained from writing racist messages because of the threat of the closing of their accounts, to pour their hatred on the news groups. At the end of 1999, hundreds of racist messages were posted daily in news groups.

Seeing the success achieved by the perpetrators, who saw the number of their 'disciples' increase, led the main activists of this group to set up anonymous hosting and mailing providers that they could control. Thanks to these systems, they were able, during the whole year of 2000, to continue with massive racist mailings and attacks, mostly against the anti-racists who opposed them, or by posting Hit-lists with the private data of their opponents, or by publishing fake articles with pedophilic characteristics or content, signed with the name and e-mail addresses of their targets.

Seeing the large-scale discrediting and defamation which took place during the whole year of 2000, and for which the perpetrators enjoyed total impunity, a growing number of supporters of this group began to post and publicly express their sympathy for these activists. Their number was growing every day. Noticing their success, the leading activists of the network decided to make this whole 'community' into a conglomerate, and in January 2001 the first sites opened and the domain name sos-racaille.org was registered (it would open in March 2001). The 26 sites, which formed the conglomerate, were brought online swiftly. The network was based on: 1. a site (liberty-web.net) which facilitated the anonymous hosting of all the sites and

provided documentation on how to use the anonymity tool. 2. A propaganda site (sos-racaille.org) which spread the hate texts, and 3. on a uniting site (aipj.org) which only hosted discussion forums, some of which were password protected and functioned as decision-centers. It's from these forums that they coordinated their actions, notably during April and May of 2002 during the presidential election campaign, to help the extreme right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen win by facilitating mailing lists and writing thousands of alarmist texts on the danger of people of non-French origin.

During the rest of 2002, they went on with their racist mailings and attacks against persons, increasing the calls for murder of their adversaries. The defeat of the extreme right during the elections inspired them to consider harder actions than only propaganda through Internet. That's how sympathisers of sos-racaille.org could claim the numerous assaults on -and wrecking of the MRAP premises. On the 15th of September 2002, the priest of the basilica of Saint-Denis was attacked by a commando who resented his support of the 'Sans papiers'¹⁰; a couple of hours later, the pictures of the attack were posted on the site of Sos-racaille, who claimed its planning and execution through their own network. The 23rd of January 2003, the Sos-racaille site claimed the daubing of six mosques with blue-white-red paint (the colors of the French flag), and announced that the pictures of the defamed buildings would soon be published on the site. On the 18th of February, on the password-protected forum of Sos-racaille (to which the MRAP had access), the hard core of these extremists began to discuss the possibility of even harder actions. During the following days, the regular visitors of the network began to organise the conditions for a civil war by studying a number of scenarios: planting bombs in migrant neighborhoods to provoke a reaction from the residents; bombing one or two mosques; car arson in Arab and African neighbourhoods to provoke a reaction by the 'native French', etcetera. One of the protagonists even proposed to abduct an imam. On the password-protected forum, one of them even boasts about the bombing of a mosque some years ago (a boast which, after investigation, proved to be true.)

In March Of 2003, all these sites were closed down in one night. At the beginning of July 2003, the MRAP denounced the

¹⁰ Persons without a valid staying permit

conglomerate of extremist sites in a public report. The day before the presentation to the press, the main person in charge of the sites, Joel Sambuis, was arrested in Russia. On the 30th of September, the trial against the webmaster of amisraelhai.org, one of the 26 sites of the network, took place, and a conviction followed. He was sentenced to 4 month imprisonment (suspended) and a 13.000 euro fine for inciting racial hatred.

Since then, the police have interrogated many of the participants of this network, but the main actors remain unknown. They regrouped in a more discrete way, but they are still active on the web. The MRAP goes on with its work to try to put an end to the terror of these people, who, as we have seen, do not limit themselves to the Internet. On the contrary, Internet helps them in the actions they organise in real life.

Germany

Hate Speech on the Internet and Hate Crimes in Germany

by project team, Jugendschutz.net

The seductive power of right-wing ideas is well known. They are the ground on which activists legitimise racially motivated violence. The Internet offers the possibility to spread right-wing ideologies and to incite to hatred against specific persons or groups.

In Germany right-wing slogans summarize the strategies and goals of extremists in an understandable emotional way and at the same time show the propensity to violence of parts of the right-wing movement. Slogans cause a kind of mutuality, are used as threatening gestures and are an important verbal instrument of neo-Nazi propaganda.

One main term of right-wing extremism is "Nationaler Widerstand" (national resistance). It expresses protest and fundamental opposition against the social and political system and its supporting powers. Article 20- IV "All Germans shall have the right to resist any person seeking to abolish this constitutional order, should no other remedy be possible" of the German Constitution, is misinterpreted by Right-wing extremists as the right to resist

against the democratic legitimised political system. In their interpretation it is a "natural duty" to participate in the "*Nationaler Widerstand*" and to fight against the existing political system – on the Internet as well as in the streets.

German racists agitate against foreigners and different-minded people while talking of "*Heimatschutz*" (protection of the homeland) and "*Nationalbewusstsein*" (national consciousness and pride). They regard themselves as "*frei, stolz und heimatreu*" (free, proud and loyal to their homeland) and depict society as "*entartet und wert(e)los*" (degenerated and without morality), its protagonists as „*undeutsch*" (non- German) or „*Vaterlandsverräter*" (traitor to one's fatherland). Foreigners, Jews, supporters of the "political left" and other groups are held responsible for social and political problems. Hate against these groups is expressed as a way of 'letting off steam' and by violent action. Everyone outside the right-wing scene becomes an enemy. A central point of activities against the "enemy" is the so-called Anti-Antifa, supported by lots of web sites. It is connected to the concept of „*National befreite Zonen*" and is spread throughout the Internet. The authors declare the will to create „no go-areas" for enemies. This reminds of the „*judenfreien*" or „*judenreinen*" (cleansed from Jews) places in National-Socialist Germany. 'Free Zones' in which authorities like German Law enforcement or police no longer hold power.

"The reconnaissance of enemies and the absolute security of our movement are important tasks in the political fight. (...) Effective intelligence protects the comrades from attacks and allows the possibility of retaliatory action. (...) Effective intelligence diminishes the risk of injuries and legal prosecution of activists. Long-term and anticipatory intelligence contributes the consolidation of strategies and tactics."

The terms Anti-Antifa and "*Feindaufklärung*" are understood by the German right-wing movement as collecting and publishing personal data of opponents. The goal is to intimidate them in their private, social and working lives. Opponents are defined as persons or institutions which are against right-wing extremism or which support organizations or publications of the "political left". Other bogeymen are for example members of trade unions or anti-racism initiatives.

In 1993 „*Der Einblick*" has been published. It contained a list of several hundred persons and included the demand: „*Jeder von uns muss selbst wissen, wie er mit den ihm hier zugänglich gemachten Daten umgeht. Wir hoffen nur, IHR GEHT DAMIT UM!!!*" (Everyone should

know how to use the information, everyone should take their own responsibility on what to do with this information. We only hope, EVERYONE USES IT!!!) Since then so-called blacklists with names, addresses and personal data, phone numbers, license plates etc. have been disseminated several times, not at least on the Internet.

Anti-Antifa and Enemy-lists

The Internet is a perfect platform to realize the concept of defaming and threatening opponents. Right-wing extremists distribute lists of "enemies" (anti-Fascists, Jews etc.) on web sites and via mailing-lists. Because of legal issues (the incitement to crimes is illegal), specific guidelines, what to do exactly with the data, are not published. Having the concept behind those listings in mind, the intention is obvious: the named persons shall at least be threatened physically.

Especially on web sites of the so-called Kameradschaften (regional right-wing comradeship groups) the Anti-Antifa plays an important role. For example the „*Nationaler Widerstand Berlin-Brandenburg*" spreads pictures and information about anti-Fascists in Berlin on its web site under the subject Anti-Antifa. On the web page of "*Die Kommenden*" one can find a complaints form for web sites of the "political left". All this is legitimised as means of self-defence and protection of the homeland.

Another example is the English web site redwatch, publishing a blacklist and linking to the German Pendant "*Redwatch Deutschland*". They promote the "*National befreite Zonen*" and ask for reports about strategies against the „Danger from the Left".

Forums

There are lots of right-wing forums, some with trans-national importance. They are linked from many web sites and have up to thousands of members from all countries.

One of the most important German language neo-Nazi forums is the „*Nationale Forum*" also known as WPMP3. In many threads hate speech against minorities can be found. Within a discussion about homosexuality a user wrote: "*Such scum should not be allowed to live here.*"

In the forum of the English combat18 web site there is also a German language area with racial threads that obviously incite to violence.

Requests like „I need some instructions to build a pipe bomb (...) I would like to construct some bombs with my comrades to destroy a punker-hut or a Turkish store. I would be glad to get some links or instructions!“ are often answered with links to manuals or “terrorist handbooks”.

Right-wing music

Right-wing music and its lyrics convey racist and neo-Nazi ideas. Listeners internalise any kind of prejudice and resentment. On the Internet the whole spectrum of right-wing music plays an important role. It is integrated in many ways in web sites and distributed through several Internet services. Many songs are forbidden in Germany because of illegal racist and violent content.

The example of the right-wing band *Landser* shows the connection between real life violence and hate speech. The members of *Landser* call themselves “terrorists with e-guitar”. In their songs they stir up hate and violence against Turks, Vietnamese or Jews. Titles like “*Kanacke verrecke*” (Kanacke = German swearword for Turk; verrecke = perish) proclaim how to deal with ethnical minorities. Another example is the “*Afrika-Lied*”: „*Africa for apes, Europe for whites...put the apes in the toilet and flush them away like shit!*“. In the antisemitic song “*Ran an den Feind*” („*Go for the enemy*“) Jews are the enemies who have to be destroyed. Lyrics say: “*We set up the chosen ones for the last battle, we are holding court, their world power breaks...bombs, bombs, bombs on Israel.*”

They do not give specific guidelines how to realize these ideas, but violence is always regarded as an appropriate means. Songs of *Landser* have been the “background music” for hate crimes several times. In summer 1999 some youngsters chased three foreigners in Guben/Germany through the streets. The Algerian Omar Ben Noui jumped during the chase – feared to death – through a glass door and died of his injuries. The perpetrators bawled *Landser* songs before the act. While attacking two Vietnamese in Eggesin/Germany some right-wing activists sang the *Landser* song “*Fidschi, Fidschi, gute Reise*” (“*Have a nice trip, Fidschi*” = swearword for Asians). In summer 2000 three neo-Nazis beat the Mozambican Alberto Adriano to death on his way home in Dessau/Germany. Here the music of the bands *Sturmwehr* and *Kraftschlag* played an important, motivating role.

In October 2001 the conspiratorially acting band *Landser* was prosecuted. In December 2003 the members were sent to prison for several years because of incitement to racial hatred and founding a criminal organization. The songs and lyrics are still available on the Internet.

Regional Grouping Sites (Kameradschaften)

The German Verfassungsschutz counted about 160 regional active and conspiratorial Kameradschaften in 2003. Most of them are assessed as violent and connected to the neo-Nazi scene.

Many web sites of regional groups are used to promote local events and to mobilize for marches and demonstrations. Mainly younger Internet users are targeted. Subsequently reports on the web sites say “*we don't simply speak, we act!*”. On those sites one can find propaganda which clearly promotes violence against persons or groups and asks visitors to send “*Feinddaten*” (enemy data).

In 2000, German authorities reported on violent activities by members of Kameradschaften directed against refugees, homeless or different-minded people, and explosives found in apartments of right-wing extremists. In 2003 the Bavarian ‘Kameradschaft Süd’ showed that the readiness for violence is obvious. The members of this ‘Kameradschaft’ are under suspicion of having planned bomb attacks on various (mainly Jewish) facilities in the region of Munich. The ‘Kameradschaft Süd’ intensely used their web site for propaganda purposes and to mobilize comrades, right up until the point of the police investigation. One of their main intentions was the „*elimination of all subversive and unnatural processes in our homeland*“. Since the prime suspects were arrested the web site is no longer accessible. In the meantime connections between the ‘Kameradschaft Süd’ and various national and international neo-Nazi groups, e.g. combat18 from the United Kingdom, have been discovered.

combat18

Combat18 is connected to the international network Blood & Honour. In the United Kingdom the network is well known as a militant neo-Nazi organization. The German section of the web site took responsibility for the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in Neustadt/Germany in May 2003. The “*Aktionsrapport 05/03*” described the action in a revisionist way as necessary against “*the dominant Jewish Clique, its odd-job men, institutions and pseudo-memorials*” and subsequently proclaimed: “*The Holocaust never happened (...) The one that serves the Jew is an enemy – you are the next*”. All this accompanied by a number of pictures of the mayor, the county commissioner and the public prosecutor. The picture beneath shows a masked person with a gun, subtitled by the words: “*The solution*”.

In Northern Germany police broke up a combat18 cell in October 2003. Leads to a connected nationwide structure of the Blood & Honour Network have been detected. During the operation the police also found propaganda material, illegal racist music, various weapons and hit lists.

Death Threat against anti-Racist Online Platform

Recently neo-Nazis from Niedersachsen/Germany sent death threats to the anti-Racist web-platform "Informationsdienst gegen Rechtsextremismus (IDGR)". The IDGR is a private online initiative. Their work includes education about right-wing extremism. Recently they received a national tolerance award for their activities against neo-Nazis.

The sender threatened to kill IDGR members – in case of nationalist revolution – if they do not switch to the "right side" in time. Previously, he answered the question what should happen after the reinstatement of the "Deutsches Reich", with: "*Well, that is no problem. The politicians will be hanged, the opportunists will be sent to prison and the Anti-Fascists deviants and lazy people will be sent to re-education camps.*"

The Netherlands

Hate speech and hate crime on the 'Dutch' Net

By Ronald Eissens, Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet

During the last 3 years we note a steady increase of discrimination on the Dutch part of the Internet. Especially Antisemitism and Islamophobia are on the rise. During 2003 a total of 1496 expressions were reported of which 121 also contained threats against individuals or ethnic or religious groups or called for violence against those.¹¹ That same year, 8 Mosques in the Netherlands were the subject of racist violence. Three were set on fire, one was daubed with racist slogans, of one the windows were thrown-in, one was fire-bombed with a Molotov

¹¹ MDI, Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet, Annual report 2003

cocktail, one was bombed with a hand grenade and one was closed-off with chains by a 'concerned neighbourhood committee'.¹²

On the side of antisemitic violence, during the period May 2002 to May 2003, 9 instances of physical violence were reported, 3 desecrations of graveyards, 7 daubing of slogans or swastikas on Synagogues and monuments and 61 instances of verbal violence.

The Dutch Monitor Report Racism and Extreme-right identifies 317 cases of racist and extreme-right violence over 2001 in their last report.¹³

In most cases there is no *direct* link between incitement and calls for violence on the Internet and the actual violence taking place in Real Life. However, sometimes there are direct links. The general atmosphere that is created on the Internet is worrisome. Just as much as rabble-rousing in other public parts of society can have a profound effect on the way people are thinking or the way they act, so does hate on the Internet. No longer is hate on the Net limited to neo-Nazi and other extremist websites. Nowadays most mainstream web forums will have at least some hate messages and some of them are even inundated with it, moderators fighting a losing battle to remove such expressions, or just giving up and ignoring it. In some cases entire forums were shut down by the owners because they just couldn't handle it anymore.

The Dutch penal code explicitly forbids any form of discrimination,¹⁴ but not everybody agrees with that and often people want to say whatever they want, not taking any responsibility for the (possible) consequences, or crying 'freedom of speech'.

The annual figures the Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet generates are just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Not everything is reported to us and although an increase in complaints over the last 4 years shows that Internet users are very aware of us, not everybody wants to report on hate. What's more, some users agree with the hate, or

¹² Antifacist research collective Kafka, Report of incidents for 2003

¹³ Monitor Racisme en Extreem Rechts, vijfde rapportage, Anne Frank Stichting & Universiteit van Leiden, by Jaap van Donselaar & Peter Rodrigues.

¹⁴ <http://www.meldpunt.nl/indexe.php3?link=wvs90qe>

do not take action because they do not think it is their responsibility, or start about the 'first amendment', confusing Dutch jurisdiction with another.

In the 7 years that we are operating the Complaints Bureau we have been threatened hundreds of times, sometimes directly (*We are coming to cut out your lying tongues, we will put a bullet in your heads, we will gas you all, your time will come when we take over, you left-wing scum and your Muslim friends will be the first to go, or alternatively, we will gas all you Zionist pigs, you are going to die, Jews*) but mostly implicitly by posting names, photographs and addresses of our board and staff members on extreme-right wing websites and forums.

Up till now nothing happened, but we had to take heavy security measures and the psychological strain further adds to the already omnipresent stress.

We are very aware of what happens and what can happen. The recent firebombing of the PAR office (see the section on Slovakia) and the other examples in this booklet speak for themselves.

The latest threat, dished-out by users (and condoned by the administrators) of the popular web forum geenstijl.nl, wants us to '*stop messing about with us or else we will shoot some Moroccans and we will get at you too*'. Sadly, this kind of rhetoric is becoming very common on the Internet.

'New' to the Dutch part of the Internet are Jihad-sites or Jihad recruitment sites on which, often in a rather graphic and extreme way¹⁵, Muslims are recruited for a 'Jihad' against 'the west', 'America', 'The Dutch' or all 'Kaffirs'¹⁶ in general. Usually these sites also contain antisemitic material or Holocaust Denial like 'The protocols of the Elders of Zion' and 'Did six million really die?' Since the start of 2003 to the present we counted (and have gotten removed) 17 jihad sites, the most notorious being 'Sluitjeaan – bij de karavaan der martelaren'¹⁷. This site had five 'mirrors' hosted by other providers, mainly in the United States, but we succeeded in having all of these removed with the help of ADL and Jugendschutz, two other members of the INACH network.

¹⁵ Videos of the beheadings of Daniel Pearl, Nick Berg, the planes flying into the WTC, etcetera.

¹⁶ Unbelievers or Heathen.

¹⁷ Join the caravan of martyrs

Some Examples of In Real Life violence linked to incitement or threats on the Internet.

The Mosque Database

The site www.moskeedatabase.com was brought online in November 2001. The owner, a right-wing extremist who uses the nickname Ssnake, created a comprehensive database of Mosques in the Netherlands with addresses and photographs, the ethnicity of the Mosque community, names of contact persons, phone numbers, and street maps. The site contains 456 files on Mosques, which constitutes almost all the Mosques in the Netherlands.

The sites introductory remarks about 'The danger of the Islam' showed right away that this was not a handy and benevolent guide to Mosques in the Netherlands: 'Right now the Islam is the greatest danger to western (Dutch) society' 'It is impossible for Muslims to live together in a normal way with those who do not agree with their views' 'To show how far Islam has penetrated the Netherlands we have created this public database'

After the Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet (MDI) filed a complaint with the District Attorney the owner of the Mosque Database changed the introductory text in such a way that the illegality was somewhat diminished but it still implicitly called for violence against Muslims and Muslim institutions.¹⁸

In an interview the owner claims that he "is strongly opposed to violence against individuals and Mosques, what's more, I'm against any form of physical violence". This noble stand is negated by the way he advertised the Mosque database on nazi-web forums and discusses it's use with others there who call it 'an ideal database for nationalistic pyromaniacs'.

Who doubts the nature and intent of the site has only to look at the introductory text and the links. The site exclusively links to right-wing extremist websites and proudly shows a banner stating that 'the Mosque database is created in co-operation with the users of the Polinco discussion forum'. Polinco being a web forum owned and used by Dutch neo-nazi's and right-wing extremists. The 'success' of the Mosque database recently produced a discussion on the Dutch web forum of the Stormfront site about

¹⁸ Database: @ll@h is groot, by Laurens Lammers, Algemeen Dagblad, June 3, 2002, <http://www.ad.nl/artikelen/InternetenPc/1020147054506.html>

building a separate database for synagogues. In the meantime the DA's office is still studying the file.

During the 3 years since the Mosque database was brought online there were a number of violent attacks against Mosques, including arson and the use of a hand-grenade. Right now we cannot prove that the incitement on the website and the facilitation of data on the Mosques is directly linked to those.

The April 13, 2002 anti-Israel demonstration

On April 13, 2002 a pro-Palestine demonstration was organized in Amsterdam during which hundreds of hate-signs were carried. Swastika's, photos of Hitler strangling Sharon. Signs and banners saying 'Hitler came out of his grave and the world stands by and watches', 'The Arab army will slaughter you all', 'Stop the Zionist genocide', ' Hamas-Jihad-Hezbollah', 'El Yahud kalbulah'¹⁹, 'wir haben das nicht gewusst', Stars of David with a 'bigger then' sign and a Swastika, Stars of David with Swastika's in the centre or superimposed, Stars of David with a skull and bones in the centre, Little boys sitting on their father's shoulders, proudly waving toy machine guns, USA=Jews=Nazi's, 'Holocaust in Palestine, Sharon=Hitler' 'USA you will People chanting 'Jews into the sea!', 'Sieg Heil! Et cetera.'²⁰ Some 300 protesters behaved in a very aggressive way, which led to the throwing of a Molotov cocktail to a discotheque, the burning of flags, the setting of small fires, the throwing-in of windows of Hotel Krasnapolsky (a so-called Jewish Hotel), the destruction of terraces, the beating-up of an American-Jewish tourist wearing a Kipah²¹ and attacks against gay bars in the centre of town. The closing manifestation at Dam square ended in riots and fights with the police.

Already in the weeks before the demonstration, there were calls on Internet web forums to go to the demo and 'teach those Jews a lesson', 'protest against the Zionist conspiracy and it's American henchmen' and 'not to be stopped by the kaffirs' (non-Muslim Dutch).

¹⁹ 'The Jews are dogs'

²⁰ "75 Swastikas and 'the Jews are dogs'" - Ronald Eissens, Magenta/IMRI, 2002/04/16 in 'Watch News'

²¹ Eric Krebbers and Jan Tas, '*Biggest manifestation of antisemitism since 1945*', in De Fabel van de illegaal 52/53, summer 2002. <http://www.gebladerte.nl/30038v01.htm>

Weerwolf (Werewolf)

The Weerwolf(werewolf) site was brought online in 2001 by Eite Homan, an infamous Dutch neo-nazi, leader of the Aktie Front Nationaal Socialisten (Action Front of National Socialists). Although the site had a definite antisemitic tone, it's raison d'être at the start was providing a hit list of 'enemies of national-socialism', being 'migrants, anti-fascists, and especially 'lackeys of the state'. The site itself was nothing much to look at, but it's content attracted a lot of attention, especially when the so-called list of 'Jews in the Netherlands' was published on it. The list included photo's, addresses, phone numbers and other private details and read like a 'who's who' of the Dutch Jewish community. By that time Homan was collaborating with other Dutch Neo-nazis to make the site into an instrument of intimidation and fear. Under the details of the Centre for Information and Documentation Israel in the Netherlands (CIDI) was written: 'This organization must be exterminated root and branch'. A Hamas-flag was placed next to the logo, and now the site all of a sudden called for 'anti-zionist action'.

The site provoked a lot of unrest and fear within the Dutch Jewish community. Since it was hosted by the well-known nazi-provider Odinsrage in the United States both the CIDI and us filed charges against the owner, Eite Homan, who was after all residing in the Netherlands. We even filed follow-up charges one year later, but due to what can only be called administrative foul-ups, lack of knowledge of the Internet, plain indifference and unwillingness from the side of the District attorneys office, the case went nowhere. In the meantime the CIDI has started legal action against the DA's office and the monthly Dutch Jewish magazine 'Joods Journaal' has filed a civil suit for copyright violation, since most of the photos on the website were copied from the magazine. All this has become rather academic since the provider Odinsrage went offline earlier this year, and the Weerwolf site with it. This case stands as an example of direct threats against individuals, which could have had²² severe consequences but the authorities did not seem to care.

The Nuremberg Files

Contrary to what one might think, this site had nothing to do with the Nuremberg trials or the Nuremberg laws. The Nuremberg files site was in fact an online hit-list, brought online in 1997, with

²² Maybe it had nasty consequences, but there is no direct link to it.

names and addresses of doctors in the U.S. who worked at abortion-clinics or who were known to practice abortion. That it was named this way is a distasteful comparison between abortion and the Holocaust. Court cases were started in the United States against the owner of the site. The site was put offline voluntarily in 1999 by the Internet Service Provider MindSpring in Atlanta, but a Dutch Freedom of Speech activist placed a mirror of it on her site.²³ Actually, the Nuremberg files site got people killed and after each killing a name was stricken-through in red on the website, while the wounded would be 'grayed-out'.

After protests from a number of Internet-users and after an anonymous user posted her own personal data online, the Dutch freedom of speech activist removed the mirror-site. She defended her actions by claiming she was a protagonist of the total freedom of speech, that the site was not violating the freedom of speech, and was not inciting to violence against the abortion doctors. She also claimed that the data on the abortion doctors Hit-list on her site could have been altered by her. 'They cant know that I did not change any names and addresses and if they don't run the risk of shooting their own if they use my data'. By this admitting that the Nuremberg files indeed incited to murder.²⁴ She quite cynically stated that it would also be possible that people would 'send flowers or chocolate to the doctors'.

Meanwhile in the United States, a number of abortion doctors on the list, rightly fearing that their lives were in danger, together with a number of abortion providers sued the ACLA²⁵ and twelve anti-abortion activists for violations of state and federal law. A jury awarded the plaintiffs "US\$107 million in actual and punitive

²³ <http://news.com.com/2100-1023-221994.html?legacy=cnet>

²⁴ NRC, 25 februari 1999 - <http://www.nrc.nl/W2/Columns/Draad/990225.html>

²⁵ American Coalition of Life Activists. In 1997, a pro-life activist affiliated with ACLA posted a list called the "Nuremberg Files" on the Web. ACLA supported the use of force to oppose abortion services, even though doctors David Gunn, George Patterson, and John Bayard Britton were shot and killed the previous year following the release and publication of wanted-style posters by pro-life activists that identified the doctors as abortionists and included their names, photographs, and addresses.

damages"²⁶ The district court issued a permanent injunction prohibiting the distribution of similar content on posters or Web sites. This verdict was overturned by the Ninth Circuit court but in a rehearing the same court upheld the liability of ACLA, finding that the content on the posters and the Nuremberg website constituted "true threats" and was not protected speech. Right now defendants are appealing again to a higher court²⁷

Poland

Incitement to violence in Poland

by Rafal Pankowski, Never Again Association

The Polish constitution (article 13) and the penal code (articles 256 and 257) specifically forbid organized activities promoting violence and hatred on the basis of race, ethnicity and religious belief. However, these provisions seem to be rather poorly enforced and organizations preaching violence and hate are allowed to operate both in real life and on the Internet.

One such example is the National Rebirth of Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, NOP, www.nop.org.pl), registered as a political party despite its openly anti-democratic and openly (and virulently) antisemitic pronouncements. It is linked with and sponsored by a group of Italian terrorists with roots in the notorious group "Third Position" responsible for the 1980 Bologna railway station massacre which left 80 people dead and many more wounded. On its website the NOP promotes its open antisemitism and Holocaust-denial, while at the same time boasting about the paramilitary trainings it organizes each summer for neo-fascists from several countries (including from Germany). It encourages its followers to "act" against "enemies of the nation".

²⁶ Catherine E. Smith, INTENTIONAL INFLICTION OF EMOTIONAL DISTRESS: AN OLD ARROW TARGETS THE NEW HEAD OF THE HATE HYDRA - Denver University Law Review, 2002

²⁷ Also see the section on the United States

Another example of open fascism and promotion of violence on the Polish-language Internet is the website "nara" (the most recent address was www.nara.mwfront.org). "nara" stands for "national radical". The website includes a section "our enemies" with photos, names, and personal addresses

of minority politicians and anti-fascist activists, especially members of "NEVER AGAIN" Association, the main anti-racist organization in Poland (candidate-member of INACH). It openly encourages violent actions such as burning down a club in Sopot - because it had planned anti-racist cultural events. It also threatened judges and law-enforcement representatives. The website was removed from a Polish server, it relocated to Slovakia, and then to Germany.

Each time it was tracked down and removed with the assistance of INACH members. Recently, the subject of the "nara" website was raised on the governmental level in Poland which resulted in an intervention by the Polish deputy prime minister addressed to the ministry of the interior.

In December 2003 Poland's main newspaper "Gazeta Wyborcza" exposed the websites of the Polish section of Combat 18 (also using some research and advice from "NEVER AGAIN") - as a result the websites were closed. There have been good articles about racism on the Internet on the pages of "Trybuna" daily, also with the assistance from "NEVER AGAIN". These are signs allowing some hope for an increased awareness of the alarming rise in the number of pro-hate and pro-violence websites in Poland today.

Slovakia

Racist and hate-sites in Slovakia

by Daniel Milo, People Against Racism

During the existence of People against racism we encountered quite lot of examples of hate-sites on the Internet in the Slovak language that are openly racist or contain materials inciting racial hatred and antisemitism. We also received hundreds of racist or threatening emails because of our activities. Publication and spreading of materials inciting racial, ethnic or religious hatred,

supporting publicly fascism or denying the holocaust via the means of the Internet is a crime under Slovak law. However this law is very hard to implement in practice, as we found out on many occasions.

The first major Slovak website dedicated to neo-Nazism and so far most complex was the site called "WHITEFRONT". It has been spreading hate and hardcore neo-Nazi propaganda for more than two years. We contacted the police in autumn 2000 and gave them a printed version of this website, containing a complete translation of "*Mein Kampf*," and many other antisemitic, racist, neo-Nazi and fascist articles. Whitefront changed its address several times, but still contains the same materials.

After we gave notice to the media about this case and pictures of Whitefront appeared on the national TV and in newspapers, picture of leader of People against racism at that time - Ladislav Durkovic with title: "Wanted: Dead or alive" appeared on its' front page. However after couple of months it ceased to be publicly accessible, but its archived version was still on the web and used by other authors of hate sites until march 2004 when after an alleged hacker attack on its American provider it is not functional anymore.

There are also other web sites containing more or less open racist or Antisemitic propaganda:

World Government (Svetovlada),²⁸ a site containing antisemitic propaganda such as the infamous "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion" (Protokoly Siónskych mudrcov) and Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf";

The Loyal (Die Treue),²⁹ the electronic version of the Czech-Slovak White Power magazine;

Free Word (Slobodné Slovo),³⁰ the electronic version and successor of the zine Aryan Voice (Árijský hlas);

Free Slovakia (Libertas Slovakia),³¹ an extremely nationalistic, anti-NATO, anti-EU, and anti-Zionist site and e-zine.

²⁸ <http://www.svetovlada.host.sk>.

²⁹ <http://www.geocities.com/spolecnost2002/treue/index.html>.

³⁰ <http://narod.szm.sk>.

³¹ <http://www.libertas.host.sk/folder1/skwelcome.htm>.

Another recent addition to this list of hate sites and at moment the most dangerous one is "national-socialist information server" NSINFO.³² It was created in spring 2003 on a Russian server. Its authors created it in a form of a "news server" for neo-nazi supporters. They already published a list (names, addresses, ID numbers) of so called "white trash", – people which they consider to be enemies of their activities with accompanying text inciting physical attacks against them. In its articles they inform about so called "combat actions" – physical attacks against Roma, or people opposing their views – alternative youth groups (they call them white trash or junkies) and incite in this way more physical attacks. We filed a criminal complaint against this site last year, but again its authors are not known till today. The ultimate aim of its authors is to create a database of all "enemies of white race" with names and addresses, which then will be given to people who would conduct physical attacks against them. It is very dangerous development, because this development could lead to more organised and coordinated attacks with terrorist character. Maybe one such attack has been also the recent arson attack on our office in the beginning of May this year destroying completely one room in the office.

The fact that authors of hate-sites are also conducting other activities in the extremist scene has been proved by another website: Blood and Honour Cassovia³³. Its author (in police custody at the moment) was also author of the skin-zine³⁴ Edelweiss, containing articles celebrating the nazi regime, denying the holocaust etcetera. He also has been distributing various items for neo-nazis in Eastern Slovakia – T-shirts, CDs, badges etcetera. When the police searched his apartment last year, a computer with files linking him to this web site was found. This is so far the only case where the author of a hate-site is being prosecuted for his activities.

In addition, there are many chat-channels and forums where people openly spread ideas supporting racism, neo-Nazism and antisemitism. There is no authority monitoring these public

³² See: <http://www.nsinfo.org>

³³ www.bloodandhonour.org

³⁴ Home-made, photocopied magazine –usual form of publishing in the early 90s in Slovak extremist scene

forums on a regular basis, and there is no board or authority dealing with the regulation of content on the Internet. Most of the Slovak Internet Service Providers (ISPs) state in their rules that users should not store, post, or create content that is in contradiction with Slovak law. However, they are not monitoring whether these rules are observed or not. When Slovak ISPs find racist or neo-Nazi Web pages, or when we notify them of web pages on their servers with similar content, they remove those promptly. Because of this, most extremist Slovak websites are at ISPs in foreign countries (some 95%), most often in countries where dissemination and propagation of such materials is not illegal at present (primarily in the U.S.A.). This makes the criminal prosecution of its authors very difficult because the American law enforcement authorities do not provide any form of cooperation to Slovak authorities, due to the fact that such activities are not illegal in the USA.

Sweden

Connections between propaganda on the Internet and violence

by David Lagerlöf, Expo

On Swedish web sites there are few examples of propaganda that directly promote violence. There have been a few cases where more or less secret web sites have published the names and pictures of "communists" and "reds" together with violent texts. The main purpose of these web sites has probably been to threaten. But in most cases the web sites are not that outspoken. I will give a few examples of how propaganda in one way or another can promote violence.

National Democrats

This is a right extremist party that has got four local mandates. The party made itself famous last summer when its activists attacked a manifestation for homosexuals. In the attack one of the functionaries, Unia Facundo, was badly beaten. In May this year, nine persons were found guilty of the attack and several of them were sentenced to jail for up to 18 months.

The interesting thing is how the National Democrats have been using the Internet. The problem for the party is that if their activists are found guilty, this is something that the media will mention every time they write about the party. Their strategy has therefore been to argue that it was militant anti-racists among the homosexuals that started to throw bottles which made the National Democrats go to attack as an act of "self defence".

Since the attack almost a year ago their web site has published "proof" of that they were the victims and that they now are under siege by the police and other authorities who are ruled by influential lobby groups. Among the material there are film clippings and pictures that are intended to "prove" their own version of what has happened. One of the main arguments, according to them supported by film clippings, is that Facundo actually attacked the National Democrats which is the reason why they beat him up, even though several of them continued to kick him as he was lying unconscious on the ground.

This version is of course not trustworthy in any way which the court rulings confirmed. But for the extreme right this shows that the establishment, media and "influential lobby groups" has decided to crush the "nationalistic opposition". The court rulings are therefore described as political rulings on their web site.

In the time between the attack and the court case there have been a lot of discussions on right extremist chat forums like the now defunct www.mp3.nu. In these forums their version of what has happened seems to have been growing along the discussions. For example Facundo who was beaten up are described as a violent giant who was going berserk and led the alleged attack on the National Democrats. In reality Facundo is very short and does not fit in to their description at all. The discussions has also been about what they call the increasing influence from homosexual lobby groups that are being accused of trying to destroy the traditional family, the corner stone of every stable society, and are therefore undermining the stability of the nation.

Propaganda and conspiracy theories, since the attack last summer, has made the extreme right to focus on the gay movement which is expressed mainly on the internet. In the time between the attack and the court case there has been some incidents. One café in Stockholm for homosexuals was set on fire and a newly opened café for homosexuals had its address published on a neo Nazi web site. There is really nothing in the text that can be described as a threat, but everyone who reads

the article gets the message. After the court case, there has been some smaller incidents where personal working at gay bars and cafés were visited by strange persons which they describe as right-wing extremists. The right-wing extremist propaganda and violence last summer seems to have created a general feeling of uneasiness among homosexuals in Stockholm.

Info14

This is a web site and not an organisation. But in the vicinity of the persons who run Info14 there are activists that constitute a loose group of Nazis in Stockholm with contacts all over Sweden, more like a network than a real organisation. During Christmas and New Year, Info14 reported about "Christmas presents" and fire crackers delivered to leftist activists. Leftist organisations in different parts of Sweden got "visits" on several occasions from Nazis who for example shot fireworks at an office, another office was set on fire and in another case Nazis entered a house where several leftist activists were living and beat up them up.

Altogether there are twelve similar reports published on Info14. It is hard to prove that these deeds are coordinated. A guess is rather that the reports have inspired other to commit further deeds in order to get this published on Info14, which gives activists more status in the right-wing movement.

The same web page has several times published "good examples" of how Nazis have used violence against "enemies". An article about how some Nazis have beaten up anarchists ends with the following words:

Read and be inspired, defend your town like it is your home. No one has the right to contaminate it with propaganda hostile towards Swedes...

Another "good example" is how Nazis in the town of Helsingborg have been harassing associations of homosexuals, leftists and anti-racists. The harassment has been extensive including violence against individuals and firebombing their offices or clubhouses. Similar acts of violence have been conducted in Stockholm. Info 14 states:

What conclusions can we draw from what has happened in Helsingborg and Stockholm? One is that radical actions work and are necessary. It can be done in any other Swedish town as well, it is just to get a group of good patriots together and to work across the organisational borders and the leftist bandits and the homosexual movement will soon only be a memory in your town.

United Kingdom

Hate groups' use of the net for command and control – a revised examination

by Michael Whine, The Community Security Trust

Towards the end of the nineteen nineties it was established that the development of cyberspace had allowed cheap, accessible communication across long distances avoiding legal restrictions and capable of being encrypted, and that this had facilitated the development of new forms of hate groups, in particular among the far right and Islamists. During the past few years further developments have taken place, which it is now also possible to discuss and analyse.

It is important to understand why it is that these groups in particular have seized upon the advantages offered by the Internet, and for the purposes of the analysis to distinguish between hate groups and terrorists. Some of these groups may promote violence and their members may be terrorists, and although such groups may overlap, the purpose of this paper is not to look at terrorist groups per se, but rather those groups and individuals that promote hatred of others.

I have chosen to concentrate on two types of hate groups, the far right and Islamists. There is no coincidence: both share common forms and outlooks and have built in some areas a tactical alliance around common hatreds. Both were among the first forms of extremism to use the Net, and it can be argued that their use of the Net has gone further than with other extremists. Both cater to a widely spread diaspora. Both share a common hatred of Jews, the US Government and the United Nations and both seek to overthrow existing governments and replace them with mono-cultural states (national or trans-national) based on a totalitarian political philosophy.

Far Right

The real development since the late 1990s has been in the internal, restricted access, sites of hate groups. Increasingly they provide a means of communication between elements of the

leadership, or between the leadership and the membership. It is these which most potently fulfil Louis Beam's 1992 prophecies of a militant political movement organising itself covertly in a networking format.

Despite the commonly held view that the far right are relatively unsophisticated in relation to other extremists, the fact is that the new generation has grown up in a digital world: they see greater potential for cyberspace than their predecessors, and they communicate in cyberspace ever more frequently, and effectively.

Third positionists and national revolutionaries are dedicated to cyberspace communication and organisation as a consequence of their international outlook. Their British affiliate, The International Third Position (ITP) recently charted its progress in using the Net on its site www.fc.net. It noted that in February 2001 their daily FC news portal was inaugurated; in June 2001 a major upgrade over the FC news-web engine was established; in July 2001 www.politicalsoldier.net became a reality with the inclusion of material support from the American Third Position; in August 2001 the portal was moved to a new web location at www.politicalsoldier.net where an online shop opened together with FC archives, FC papers and online downloadable books; in October 2001 web sections in Spanish and Croatian were established; in November 2001 the England First site located at www.England-first.org was established; in December 2001 a major upgrade on the FC news fight was made; in February 2002 the associated PS.net gate had news of third positionist activities around the English-speaking world, etc. This rapid rate of progress has been mirrored by other increasingly cyberspace-sophisticated groups communicating online.

Other British far right sites which also provide examples of such developments are: British National Front (NF) guestbook; Combat18 Blood & Honour site; British National Party (BNP).

The newly-formed British White Nationalist Party, composed mostly of former NF members, established a web site immediately after its formation, which they have since used to organise street demonstrations.

Islamists

The Islamist diaspora, now spread world-wide, seeks the creation of, or a return to divine-ruled states (or even one trans-national state) in which all Muslims will live. Islamists tend to be organised in networks and this makes them ideal users of cyberspace networks. Proponents of Jihad (religion-sanctioned

offensive activity or war, in this case) in particular, have seized upon the advantages of cyberspace. One estimate, made prior to 9/11, noted that there were 150 sites devoted to Jihad. This report noted that an organisation called the JihadWebring sought to bring together all international Jihadi organisations to provide a common reference and navigation point and that the Jihadi sites undertook to disseminate information regarding Jihad in different countries, provide instructions on how to become mujahideen, manufacture explosives, and where to buy arms and ammunition. It also published a bibliography of articles on urban warfare and low-intensity conflict (usually culled from US military manuals).

In the wake of 9/11, Internet service providers trawled through the contents of the Islamist sites they were hosting and many were closed down. Yahoo alone reportedly removed 55-Jihad-related sites; Google likewise trawled through the sites that it hosted and removed the web pages that had been removed from other sites.

Islamist sites which promote hatred of the west, christianity and particularly the jews, and which appear to have been knocked off the net at this time, included the Al Qaeda-related sites Quoqaz.net, Azzam.com and Sakina Securities. The British Al-Muhajiroun Islamist group led by Omar Bakri Mohammed and Anjem Chowdhary have been forced to move sites and service providers on several occasions following complaints about the offensive nature of the material they publish.

It is possible to determine three separate ways in which the sites of groups promoting hate are used now for command and control. These are: planning action, which could be meetings, rallies, violence, post-action analysis; discussion of ideological themes including inter and intra-group discussion; fundraising; recruitment and introduction of new members.

Planning Action

It may be considered unnecessary, but it is important to point out that the racist far right, particularly in Britain, frequently uses vile language, and that this is an important and intrinsic element of the white racist working-class mindset. No allowance is made for the fact that the material is available for (at least a limited number) of others to read, and indeed this well illustrates the fact that the writers feel themselves to be operating in a friendly, like-minded environment, which is not subject to outside scrutiny. It is also a noted feature that the British far right is for the most part

composed of some of the most thuggish elements of society, and this too is reflected in their often illiterate writings.

Although some of the violence in British northern industrial cities during early 2001 appears to have been spontaneous, and organised on a personal basis as a reaction to perceived local inequalities and other issues, there is evidence that the Internet was used at least during the latter stages to plan activity. Subsequent attempts to re-start the rioting by the far right have been monitored. The following posting appeared on two different sites within an hour of each other:

*Can you let me know when we are landing back on oldham?
Them fucking pakis thought that they had what it took to take
on white nazis! but we fuckin made sure they found out what
the white nazi can do through a fist or two!*

Meetings are frequently organised online now, some even trans-nationally. It had previously been observed that meetings that were organised solely on line were unlikely to take place, but Internet usage has grown in the intervening period and it is now possible that some meetings are organised solely in this fashion without recourse to printed leaflets or other forms of advertising. In this way, organisers may feel that they are serving their security needs by targeting only those they want to attract to the meeting.

Some of this covert meeting organisation now takes place across borders. For example, Spanish neo-Nazis have been advertising meetings to take place later this year in Spain, to which have been invited representatives of neo-Nazi groups from around Europe.

Rather than just type out adverts for forthcoming activities, some groups are now able to scan in the leaflets that they also distribute on the streets. The NF held a demonstration against the government's plan to build a reception centre for asylum seekers in Bicester, Oxfordshire. Their leaflets were distributed in the area beforehand, but also reproduced on their internal site.

Postings on the following days reported that members had travelled from Manchester, London and the Midlands to attend the demonstration which suggests that they had seen it on the NF site.

Among British-based Islamist groups, two in particular use cyberspace in the manner suggested above. They are Hizb ut-Tahrir (The Islamic Liberation Party) and Al-Muhajiroun (The Emigrants). Most of their meetings are advertised openly on the

Net. Recent examples include the post 9/11 conference organised by Al-Muhajiroun on their Focus on Jihad website entitled, 'A Towering Day in History'. This was held at the Finsbury Park Mosque and the posting provided the full programme.

Demonstrations are also increasingly advertised by Islamist groups. For examples:

National Demonstration against terrorism, Blackburn, the Constituency of the pro-Zionist terrorist – Jack Straw, Saturday 20th April, 2pm, march starts: Banglar Street Community Centre and finishes with demonstration and speeches outside: Blackburn Town Hall.

Ideological themes

A recent exchange in a chat room between members of a far right group in which one posted the following message illustrates how the Net is now used not just to present ideology but also for enquirers and existing members to discuss ideology, and for ideologues to educate members.

The bulletin boards of the Far Right groups have increasingly become the vehicles through which the internal ideological shifts of these organisations, and internal wranglings that occur, can be traced.

For example, the BNP shift in focus from an openly neo-nazi street-based group to a white English nationalist political campaigning force, with its new focus on asylum seekers and the asian communities can be followed on-line. The expulsion of BNP founder John Tyndall and his followers by his successor Nick Griffin in July 2003 was announced on-line by interested on-lookers from both ideological camps, on-line. Equally, the internal dissatisfaction among some members with these new policies and their concentration on political campaigning, have all been mirrored on-line. Indeed, some aspects of the internal insurrections have been organised on-line.

The White Nationalist Party, the new northern-based break-away faction led by long-term activist Eddy Morrison, has been particularly active in recruiting on-line and in seeking its difference with the BNP.

Among Islamist groups there has been much discussion, particularly since 9/11, of the activities of other groups with whom they disagree. In particular members of some lists are warned against al-Muhajiroun and Hizb ut-Tahrir and Abu Hamza.

In some cases, the groups publishing these warnings are no less extreme; the difference is over tactics rather than ideology.

Islamist activists in London are known to have created web sites specifically to recruit for Jihad activity

United States

Online Hate: Communications, Coordination, and Crimes

by Brian Marcus, Anti Defamation League

Although hate speech is offensive and hurtful, in the United States the First Amendment usually protects such expression unless the speech contains a direct, credible threat against an identifiable individual, organization, or institution – at which point it may cross the line into criminal conduct. The Internet has been used to intimidate and harass individuals on the basis of their race, religion, sexual orientation, or national origin - and hate speech containing criminal threats is not protected by the First Amendment.

Criminal cases in the United States concerning hate crimes on the Internet have, to date, been few in number. The Federal government defines a hate crime as "a crime in which the defendant selects a victim, or in the case of a property crime, the property that is the object of the crime, because of the actual or perceived race, color, religion, national origin, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation of any person." 28 U.S.C. § 994, as amended. Like hate crime penalty enhancement statutes that now exist in 45 states and the District of Columbia, this law increases sentences for bias-motivated federal crimes. With respect to the Internet, a hate crime is almost always a threat. In a criminal context, e-mail messages containing threats can be sent behind a cloak of anonymity or false identity. Persons can be chosen to receive messages without their consent or knowledge.

A bias incident is an act that is motivated by bias or prejudice that does not involve criminal conduct. For example, the distribution of hate literature is a bias incident. The definition of what constitutes a hate crime varies from state to state and under U.S. Federal law. Hate crime offenders may be prosecuted

under Federal or state criminal and civil rights laws. Participants in bias incidents cannot be prosecuted criminally, but state law may provide a civil remedy.

Although there are relatively few reported cases, local police and high school and college administrators indicate that the use of the Internet to send bias-motivated messages and threats is increasing. The majority of Internet hate crime cases result from e-mail messages containing threats.

Overall Internet use has increased exponentially in recent years, and widespread Internet use combines nearly limitless reach of communication with apparent lack of accountability. For the bias-motivated user, this combination is tantalizing, as the user can both send a threatening message and, theoretically, remain unknown to the recipient. These factors, among other technicalities, make prosecutions and investigations of hate crimes on the Internet difficult.

Some examples of cases regarding hate on the Internet in the United States include:

United States v. Machado

In September 1996, a 21-year-old expelled college student who lived in Southern California sent a threatening e-mail message to 60 Asian students at the University of California Irvine ("UC Irvine").

The message expressed a hatred for Asians and stated that UC Irvine would be a much more popular school without Asian students. The message further blamed Asians for all crimes that occurred on campus, and concluded with a clear threat to hunt down and kill all Asians on campus if they did not leave the university: "*I personally will make it my life career [sic] to find and kill everyone one [sic] of you personally. OK?????? That's how determined I am....*"

The message was signed "Asian Hater."

The sender did not sign his name to the message, and the message was sent from an e-mail account that hid his identity. Ultimately, however, in voluntary interviews with UC Irvine police, Richard Machado admitted that he sent the threatening message. He was charged with violating the Federal Civil Rights laws, which prohibits (among other things) interference by force or threat of force based on race or national origin with a person's attendance at a public university. Machado's first trial ended in a hung jury. A second trial in 1998

resulted in Machado's conviction, and he was sentenced to one year in prison.

State v. Belanger

In 1997, Casey Belanger was a 19-year-old freshmen student at the University of Maine at Orono. He posted his resume, which included a statement that he "*dislike[d] fags,*" on the university's computer network. In response, another student posted a message attacking Belanger's resume and asking whom Belanger thought he was. This subsequent message was sent to student groups organized on the university's Internet system for Religion, Gay/Lesbian/ Bisexual, Politics, and Debate.

Later that same day, Belanger posted a message to all of these same groups, which stated [expletives deleted]:

I hope that you die screaming in hell... you'd [sic] better watch your...back you little... I'm [sic] gonna shoot you in the back of the...head... die screaming [name of student], burn in eternal...hell I hate gay/lesbian/bisexuals, so...what...

The State Attorney General brought an action against Belanger under the Maine Civil Hate Crime Act seeking an injunction to require Belanger to cease from threatening any person because of the person's sexual orientation, race, color, religion, ancestry, sex, national origin, or physical or mental disability. The Court issued a permanent injunction against Belanger.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. ALPHAQ

In 1998, a white supremacist in Pennsylvania named Ryan Wilson was charged by the Commonwealth's Attorney General with threats, harassment, and ethnic intimidation in connection with a Web site that Wilson owned and operated for his racist organization, ALPHA.

Among other images, the Web site depicted a bomb destroying the office of Bonnie Jouhari, a fair housing specialist who regularly organized anti-hate activities. Next to her picture, the ALPHA Web site stated, "Traitors like this should beware, for in our day, they will be hung from the neck from the nearest tree or lamp post."

Wilson did not contest the State's action under Pennsylvania's Civil Hate Crimes Act; the site was removed from the Internet, and the Court issued an injunction against Wilson and his organizations barring them from displaying certain messages on the Internet.

United States v. Kingman Quon

A college student, Kingman Quon, sent e-mail messages to 42 Hispanic faculty members at California State University at Los Angeles, 25 Hispanic students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and numerous other Hispanic persons employed at various institutions and businesses across the nation. Quon's racially derogatory messages discussed his hatred of Latinos, accused them of being "too stupid" to have been accepted at the university or have obtained employment without the help of affirmative action programs, and concluded that he intended to "come down and kill" them.

In 1999, the U.S. Department of Justice charged Quon with interfering with the students' Federal rights in violation of Federal Civil Rights laws. Quon plead guilty and received a two-year prison sentence.

Hate Web Sites

For relatively modest fees or free of charge, many Internet Service Providers host Web pages and provide nearly unlimited use of the hardware and communications lines for creation of a Web site. Most providers include "Terms of Service" or "Acceptable Use Policies" that preclude users from posting hateful or illegal materials online, but providers generally rely upon the good faith of their users and do not actively patrol or search the sites they host for content that breaks their rules. Because it would be technologically difficult and time-intensive, most hosting services do not have a picture of what types of sites they are hosting.

As would be expected, Web sites that contain bias or prejudice based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender, disability, and sexual orientation have taken full advantage of these low-cost opportunities to spread their messages. As previously mentioned, generally even the most reprehensible and bigoted Web sites receive First Amendment free speech protection, so long as the sites cannot be interpreted to satisfy the narrow exceptions for threats or harassing speech directed at specific individuals or identifiable groups.

However, although they may not be illegal under US law, many of these sites are in violation of the rules they have agreed to and Internet Providers generally reserve the right to remove a Web

site at their own discretion. This self-regulation model has been one reason terrorist sites, for example, have found it difficult to post their content on servers based in the United States. Recently, a number of racist and bigoted sites in the United States have found that their providers are choosing to no longer host their content because the hosting companies are enforcing their rules more vigorously.

Web Sites and Links to "Real World" Hate

The Nuremberg Files

In this case, a Web site anti-abortion activist Neal Horsley had created, known as "The Nuremberg Files" offered extensive personal information about abortion providers: pictures; work and home addresses and phone numbers; license-plate numbers; Social Security numbers; names and birth dates of spouses and children. Viewers were exhorted to send photos, videotapes and data on "the abortionist, their car, their house, friends, and anything else of interest." Headlined "Visualize Abortionists on Trial" and depicting blood dripping from aborted fetus parts, the site called for these doctors to be brought to justice for crimes against humanity. The site said that the information garnered "will be used to prosecute abortion providers when abortion becomes illegal, just as Nazi leaders were prosecuted after the Second World War."

This verdict and injunction were reversed on appeal in March 2001 by a unanimous three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Contrary to the lower court rulings, the Court of Appeals held that defendants' Web site was a lawful expression of views protected by the First Amendment.

The Court of Appeals concluded that "[u]nless [defendants] threatened that its members would themselves assault the doctors, the First Amendment protects its speech." 244 F.3d 1007, 1015 (9th Cir. 2001). In October 2001, the Court of Appeals decided to rehear the case before all members of the Court, and it held that the Web site constituted a true "threat of force" and was not protected by the First Amendment. 290 F.3d 1058, 1063 (9th Cir. 2002).

Some examples of hate crimes that took place in the "real world" where those committing them were heavily involved in activities online include;

Benjamin Smith and World Church of the Creator

After being named "Creator of the Year" in 1998 by World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) leader Matt Hale, Benjamin Nathaniel Smith went on a racially motivated shooting spree in Illinois and Indiana over the July 4, 1999 weekend. Targeting Jews, Blacks, and Asians, Smith killed two people - Indiana University student Won Joon Yoon and basketball coach Ricky Byrdsong - and wounded eight. As law enforcement officers prepared to apprehend him, Smith took his own life.

"It wasn't really 'til I got on the Internet, read some literature of these groups that...it really all came together." Benjamin Smith told documentary filmmaker Beverly Peterson months before his spree. *"It's a slow, gradual process to become racially conscious."* The Webmaster for WCOTC at the time of the Smith rampage, Kelly Daniels, admitted that Smith had sent him "about five" E-mail messages "congratulating" him on his Web work, indicating that Smith regularly consulted WCOTC Web sites.

The Williams' Spree in California

In California in June 1999, Benjamin Matthew Williams and his brother James Tyler Williams were charged with murdering gay couple Gary Matson and Winfield Mowder and helping set fire to three Sacramento-area synagogues. Police found boxes full of hate literature at the home of the brothers, though they were apparently "lone wolves" and not members of any extremist group but got involved in hate via the Internet.

Described as a "born fanatic" by acquaintances, Williams reportedly adopted nearly every radical-right philosophy he came across online, from the anti-government views of militias to the racist and Antisemitic beliefs of the Identity movement. He regularly downloaded pages from extremist sites and used printouts of these pages in his frequent attempts to convince his friends to adopt his beliefs.

In 2003, James Tyler Williams was sentenced to 25 years to life in prison for the shooting deaths of Gary Matson and Winfield Mowder. He had previously admitted fire bombing the three synagogues and a building housing an abortion clinic, and was given 30-year prison sentences for the fires.

Richard Baumhammers' Attacks in Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh gunman Richard Baumhammers' Web site called for an end to "non-white immigration," and in April of 2000, he murdered five people. His victims were a Jewish woman, a Black man, two Asian-Americans, and two Indian men. Before his

shooting spree, Baumhammers admitted to visiting Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) Web site. (Metzger later characterized him as "a white man" who "decided to deliver Aryan justice in a down home way.") On the Web site for his fledgling Free Market Party, Baumhammers called for an end to non-white immigration. He stated that "almost all" present day immigration "is non-European," and "the effect of such massive waves of immigration has been disastrous for Americans of European ancestry." He was sentenced to death in May 2001.

Tom Metzger, a television repairman from Fallbrook, California, has been a leader in organized bigotry for more than 25 years. Metzger preaches a fierce brand of anti-Semitic, racist and anti-immigrant invective, combined with a leftist-leaning revolutionary ideology known as the "Third Position."

Metzger has been widely acknowledged as the principal mentor of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement since its appearance in America during the mid-1980s; in this connection, he attracted nationwide publicity in 1990, when an Oregon jury rendered a \$12.5 million judgment against Metzger and his son, John, for inciting the murder of an Ethiopian immigrant by skinheads. Today, although still paying the judgment, Metzger continues to cultivate a following through his monthly newspaper, WAR - White Aryan Resistance, a Web site, a telephone hotline, an e-mail newsletter, and other media.

About the International Network Against Cyber Hate

The International Network Against Cyber Hate is a network in which National Complaints Bureaus for Discrimination on the Internet work together to get hate removed or to get perpetrators of hate prosecuted.

INACH was founded in 2002 by Magenta Foundation, Dutch Complaints Bureau for Discrimination on the Internet and by Jugendschutz.NET in Germany. INACH combats racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia, Holocaust denial and discrimination on the Internet through education, monitoring, regulation, legal action and promotion of international measures.

While cyber hate is international, it can only be tackled on a national basis using national and international legislation and treaties and co-operating with the industry on internationally acceptable codes of conduct for 'clean providing'.

The network consists of governmental organisations and non-governmental organisations.

However none of the members are industry related. From 1997 to the present day, the INACH members were responsible for the removal from the Internet or prosecution of thousands of instances of online hate, often working together with Internet Service Providers and others.

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The International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH) is a foundation established in 2002 under Dutch law.

Members of INACH are:

Germany

Jugendschutz

www.jugendschutz.net

The Netherlands

Stichting Magenta, Meldpunt Discriminatie Internet

www.meldpunt.nl

Switzerland

AkdH - Aktion Kinder des Holocaust

www.akdh.ch

Belgium

CENTRE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND OPPOSITION TO RACISM

www.antiracisme.be

U.S.A.

Anti Defamation League (ADL)

http://www.adl.org/main_internet.asp

Candidate-members and starting-up bureaux:

Sweden

EXPO

www.expo.se

Poland

Nigdy Wiêcej/Never Again

http://free.ngo.pl/nw/

Denmark

DRC

http://www.drcenter.dk/

France

MRAP

http://www.mrap.asso.fr/

ADL Moscow

Slovakia

People Against Racism (PAR)

http://www.rasizmus.sk/en.stm

Co-operation partners:

United Kingdom

The Community Security Trust (CST)

www.thecst.org.uk