The Synagogue of Satan: A Case Study in Anti-Semitism

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In English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the percentage of people with negative attitudes toward Jews is relatively low when compared to developing countries. Unfortunately, there are pockets of virulently racist individuals in the population who, for whatever reasons, anti-Semitic and deny the history behind the Holocaust. Because of the nature of its membership and the stability of its platform, Stormfront is home to a community of white nationalists who still prescribe to anti-Semitic beliefs that go back generations. A discussion from the Theology Section of the Stormfront site was analyzed for this paper. Findings indicate that a whole new generation of people are still influenced by not only Hitler’s rhetoric from the Third Reich but also America’s home grown extremist theology, Christian Identity. Some of the more seasoned discussants in the Stormfront discussion are on a mission to pass on racist and anti-Semitic dogma to the younger members of their white nationalist community. They do this by posting links in the discussion thread, citing passages from racist/anti-Semitic literature, and recommending books such as The Union Jack for those who want to know more.

Keywords: anti-Semitism, Hitler, Christian Identity, Stormfront, white nationalism

Introduction

Hannah Arendt referred to anti-Semitism as a nineteenth century ideology that was virtually unknown before the 1870s. Hatred of Jews, however, has been documented from the end of the Roman Empire through the Middle Ages (Arendt, 1968, p. vii). In Nazi Germany, the anti-Semitism of Hitler and his Third Reich resulted in Jews losing their power in business, politics, and education while, at the same time, retaining much of their personal wealth. In an attempt to explain individual hatred of Jewish people, Sartre (1995, p. 7) defined the anti-Semite as an individual who first blames Jews for all society’s misfortunes; deprives them of their human rights; resorts to expulsion and possibly extermination depending on which method best serves his purpose. Former Director of the Anti-Defamation League, Abraham H. Foxman wrote that theoretically American Jews live, study, and work anywhere they want with little fear of discrimination or threat of violence; however, he warns that Jewish people are still targets for religious bigotry both domestically and globally (Foxman, 2014).

Racism and anti-Semitism are closely related concepts especially given the fact that Jews have been (historically) described as swarthy and/or black and people who suffer from “choleric and melancholic temperaments” (Pritchard, 1973, p. 186). By the mid-nineteenth century, all races were described in terms of being either beautiful (white) or ugly (dark). Adjectives such as black/dark, diseased, and ugly became entrenched in the literature of the day that described Jewish characters (Knox, 1850, p. 134). By the latter half of the nineteenth century, Western European Jews were virtually indistinguishable from other people with
regard to language, dress, and general appearance although they were still considered a separate and distinct race (Mosse, 1975, pp. 90-91). The history of racial Jewishness encompasses the many ways that both Jews and non-Jews define what it is to be a Jew. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, it was not Jewish blood that set them apart but rather religion.

This paper begins with a discussion about anti-Semitism in the United States. I introduce some of the early American leaders in the British Israelist and Christian Identity movements along with William Pierce, founder of a neo-Nazi group called National Alliance. Next follows a theoretical perspective to help explain how anti-Semitic and racist beliefs emerge in human societies and why they have staying power. Many of the same references to Jewish people that Hitler espoused during the years of his Third Reich are still present in discussions on Stormfront.org, an Internet Web site for people who self-identify as white nationalist. One of these discussions will be analyzed in the findings section. A discussion about the findings followed by concluding remarks about how stereotypes and misinformation continue to result in prejudicial rhetoric aimed at Jewish people in the twenty-first century.

How Jews Became the Enemy of the People

A cottage industry of anti-Semitism emerged in 1930s America. The Anglo-Saxon Federation of America was affiliated with the British-Israel World Federation, located in London, England1. The dogma espoused by believers supported the notion that until Jews converted to Christianity, the Anglo-Saxon House of Israel would remain under siege. A key figure in the 1930s California Federation was Philip E. J. Monson who eventually founded the Kingdom Bible College and the Covenant Evangelistic Association (Barkun, 1994, p. 53). Monson’s goal was to wage a back to the Bible crusade in an effort to combat modernism, among other things. Both the Kingdom Bible College and Monson’s association advocated a national/historic interpretation of prophecy instead of the Jesuit inspired interpretation that favored autonomy for Jewish people living in Israel (Monson, 1930, p. i). Monson’s agenda and teachings stressed the need for salvation through the blood atonement of Jesus Christ; the baptism of the Holy Spirit; and the return of Jesus in the millennium. Anti-Semitism and racism were cornerstones of his writing and rhetoric.

Monson influenced Wesley Swift, an architect of what was to become known as Christian Identity ideology. The years following World War II are deemed by many historians and other scholars as an age of remarkable religious enthusiasm. The period is generally described as one of interfaith cooperation that helped usher in an era of relative social harmony (Douthat, 2012). Many Americans were searching for a higher calling and seeking relief from social turbulence and wartime violence that exemplified the previous half century. The need for religious sustenance appeared to overcome secular divisions in a rapidly changing social environment. However, a more sinister religious revival led by Identity minister Swift was on the horizon.

Swift’s brand of religion was based on the idea that whites were the only race that could ultimately achieve salvation. He was born in New Jersey in 1913, ordained as a Methodist Minister in 1931, and moved to Antelope Valley (near Los Angeles) shortly after his ordination. This is when some scholars believe he came in contact with Philip Monson for the first time. Their relationship resulted in Swift’s formulation of a race-based theological perspective (Milwicki, 2014/2015) and the founding of his first Christian Identity church, the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation (Barkun, 1994). During this time, Swift became an active member of the

1 For a full historical analysis of the connections between British Israelism and Christian Identity, it refers to Michael Barkun’s classic Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement.
Ku Klux Klan eventually rising to the official rank of Kleagle. His bombastic oratorical style and charismatic personality paid off with a large church following, some of whom were fellow Klan members.

In 1946, Swift rechristened his church the Church of Jesus Christ Christian (Ridgeway, 1990, p. 15). Already dedicated to the tenets of Christian Identity, Swift also advocated for removal of Jewish influence on white Christian biblical history. His teachings and sermons formed a lasting spiritual doctrine for religious-inspired racism and anti-Semitism that to this day remains a favored dogma for American white supremacists and neo-Nazis (Ridgeway, 1990). Swift grounded his movement theologically with the goal of justifying Hitler’s brand of Nazism along with traditional American prejudices. He convinced followers that his racist church was ordained by God.

**Anti-Semitism and the Cosmic Legacy of William Pierce**

William Pierce was born in 1933 in Atlanta, Georgia. He was the great, great grandson of Thomas Hill Watts, attorney general of the Confederacy and governor of Alabama. After earning a Ph.D. in physics from the University of Colorado, Pierce went to work at the University of Oregon where he taught during the 1960s. Pierce found the civil rights movement an anathema and was disgusted by many of his students who were active in the counterculture during that time. In 1968, he left academia and after the assassination of George Lincoln Rockwell, Pierce took over the leadership of the American Nazi Party. In 1974, he formed his own white-supremacist group, The National Alliance, which was based in Pocahontas County West Virginia.

According to Zeskind (2009, p. 66), Pierce’s primary concern was on the preservation of white genes during an era he perceived of as one in steeped in “racial decay.” Although Pierce was not a fan of the survivalist movement, he felt that his belief system was one that survivalists, in general, could embrace if steered in the right direction. Philosophically he was concerned about their individualist rather than collective understanding of advancing the white race. For example, Pierce thought the practice of building individual home bomb shelters and other structures, should be replaced with the creation of self-sufficient all white enclave communities. He also condemned any religious based community on the grounds that Christian values were useless for white racial survival. A holocaust denier, Pierce made sure that anyone who joined his group must accept the fact that in his estimation, Jews were the greatest threat to white culture globally (B. Roper, personal communication, August 9, 2011).

Additionally, Pierce was an avid student and admirer of Hitler’s National Socialism. Genetic reasons for racial differences were always at the top of his mind and he believed that religions of the Middle East (including Christianity) did not meet the needs of descendants of northern Europeans whom he considered superior to any other racial or ethnic group. According to Griffin (2001, p. 291), Pierce believed that Jews were a race apart from whites. He considered them to be universally despised throughout history which resulted in their expulsion from country after country. Additionally, he argued that even though Jews say religious bias is the reason for their mistreatment, in reality they have used history to form a racial special interest group that benefits only them. For these reasons, among others, he developed Cosmotheism, a religion devoted to the elevation of white culture through traditional family values, gender roles, and the eminence of God in the image of Super (Anglo-Saxon) Man.

**The Parasite Hypothesis**

Social constructionists view knowledge and truth as created rather than discovered by the mind (Schwandt,
Furthermore, certain constructionist concepts may correspond to a specific social reality. This idea is consistent with the work of Berger and Luckmann (1991) and Hammersley (1992) who posited that reality is socially defined while helping explain how the world is understood by social actors. As Steedman (2000) notes, most of what is known and most of the knowing that is done in everyday life tries to make sense of what it is to be human, as opposed to scientific explanations about the way the world works. Individuals or groups of individuals define their own reality. This branch of constructionism is not concerned with ontological questions or questions of causation.

According to social constructionist perspectives, society exists as both objective and subjective reality. The former is brought about through the interaction of people with the social world. In turn, individuals become accustomed to routine in their daily lives. For instance, any frequently repeated action becomes a pattern or a habit, if you will, which can be reproduced without much effort. Over time, repetitive behavior coupled with social expectations produce a general store of knowledge for human actors. The process becomes institutionalized by society to the extent that future generations experience this type of knowledge as objective. In other words, it is something to be expected. Additionally this objectivity is continuously reaffirmed by the individual’s interaction with others.

Berger and Luckmann (1991) argue that language is one of the most important ways that subjective reality is maintained, modified, and reconstructed. Among human groups there is shared meaning and understanding, so much so that concepts do not need to be redefined each time they are used in everyday conversation. Assumptions about reality are by and large taken for granted. Subsequently, Burningham and Cooper (1999) developed the idea that contextual constructionism recognizes objective reality and its influence. On the other hand, strict constructionism maintains a relativist position or the belief in multiple realities that are all meaningful.

This brings us to the discussion of concepts, such as racism and anti-Semitism. According to Koenigsberg (2011), Hitler’s ideology contained a deep structure of cultural belief systems helped along by the use of recurring images and metaphors contained in his rhetoric. Core fantasies and myths structured Hitler's perception of reality and energized national action aimed at ridding Germany of the Jewish parasite. Hitler’s Germany was a living organism comprised of Aryan flesh and blood that was superior to all others. The nation was under attack by a virulent, internal force working toward its ultimate destruction.

The objective of Nazism was to take whatever actions were necessary to assure that Germany would continue to live and that the evil diseased Jewish vermin would die. Hitler persuaded the German people to come together in support of his policy of extermination. He believed his own rhetoric and used theater to whip his people into a frenzy in the years leading up to the final solution. Aryan Germans were ordered to undertake a life or death struggle to save both the nation and the Volk. Hitler’s socially constructed reality influenced German thoughts and actions even though many mainstream Germans did not hate their Jewish neighbors.

Bein (1990, pp. 369-373) supports the theory that in Nazi rhetoric words assumed a biological aspect and he points out that Hitler also used descriptors, such as bacteria and viruses to describe German Jews. Nazism is an extreme example of the social construction of reality even though Hitler was able to make image and reality one and the same for much of the German population during the Third Reich. Supporters of the Nazi movement propagated the myth that when Jewish citizens were finally eliminated, Germany would prosper and live forever. In very simplistic terms, bodies become diseased and die. That was what supporters of Hitler believed was happening to their nation state. For that reason, something had to be done to fix the problem. The only solution was the final solution. Portrayal of Jews as undesirable, toxic, malignant viruses manifested as social
reality and ended in the Holocaust. Among contemporary white nationalists, the same rhetoric can still be found on Internet sites, such as Stormfront (see http://www.stormfront.org), Divine Truth Ministries (see http://www.divine-truth.org), and Kingdom Identity Ministries (see http://www.kingidentity.com), to name a few.

**Data and Methods**

Data for this paper was collected from Stormfront.org, the first hate related site to fully come online in 1995. Stormfront has evolved over time into an online community that is supported by voluntary monetary contributions. The site was first a private dial-in bulletin board to allow members of the David Duke for Senate Campaign to keep in touch. The year was 1990. In 1994, the site went public but only attracted a handful of visitors. According to its founder and current administrator, Don Black, in March 1995, with no paid advertising, the site attracted 1700 visitors and 21 years later shows no signs of slowing down. Discussion forums are visited by over 40,000 people each day and traffic often spikes much higher which sometimes overloads servers.

Users of the site can become members at different levels. Individuals who contribute at least $5 a month and supply a username will be added to the Sustaining Members users’ group, which will means they get a “Friend of Stormfront” designation under their username, custom titles, and larger Avatars. They are also allowed to start personal blogs, join social groups, and access a private forum and chat room that is not available to non-contributors. Data relating to anti-Semitism came from one discussion in the Traditional Christianity forum at [https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f83/ title d “The People Who Killed God on a Cross”](Stormfront.org, n.d.). Analysis of the archived Stormfront data began on July 10, 2017 and ended on Wednesday August 9, 2017.

Over the years researchers, such as Bowman-Grieve (2009), Brown (2009), De Koster and Houtman (2008), Meddaugh and Kay (2009), and Weatherby and Scoggins (2005/2006) have analyzed virtual communities, such as Stormfront to gain insights into how extremist movements utilize the Internet to disseminate information and recruit new members. The study consists of an interpretative analysis (Hijmans, 1996) of discussions based on years of work in the field with people who identify as white nationalist and who represent many different groups in the movement. Posts were selected based on relevance sampling (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 120), whereby discussants state their opinions, ask questions, and argue with each other regarding specifics about Christian Identity and hatred of Jews.

This type of sampling technique works well for a content analysis of a site, such as Stormfront, because it is not meant to be totally representative of the whole population of texts. As Krippendorff (2004) states, specific content excludes units that do not represent relevant information for the analysis. Regarding privacy issues, there continues to be debate about whether online posts to sites, such as Stormfront are public or private (Eysenbach & Till, 2001; Paccagnella, 1997). Most, but not all, members of the Stormfront community use pseudonyms rather than their real names. Exceptions include leaders in the movement, such as Billy Roper and David Duke. According to Eysenbach and Till (2001, p. 1104) if a discussion contains 10 or fewer posts, the argument can be made that informed consent might be necessary. This discussion contained a total of 73 posts from 14 discussants.

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2 This forum is only available to users who pay a maintenance fee to use the site.
3 None of the Stormfront posts have been edited by the author. You will encounter occasional misspellings along with other grammatical errors.
Findings

A Stormfront discussant named Coldstar started the discussion on April, 12, 2017 at 11:05 PM with the following statement regarding the people who killed God on the cross:

They are today known as Jews. Their religion is based on the Talmud and the Kabala and they have made anti-semitism and not believing in their kabbalistic 6-million holocaust an international crime.

Jesus Christ, God, called them the children of their father Satan. Believing in him and his words would save the world from their lies and falsehood. But because this world is evil men who should know better have returned to worship their money and returned to them the powers of the fallen ones.

Therefore, today, in Christian terms, antisemitism = believe in the true Jesus and Savior.

As Christians who want to be true to their God we must forever take a stand against the evil of the Babylonian Talmudic Pharisaic Jews who were and again are enslaving and destroying humanity.

The following morning on April 13, 2017 at 5:05 AM, three in one responded:

Every year leading up to Easter I hate the jews more, if that's possible, for murdering our Savior and then denying Him His rightful place as their Messiah.

Every year I lament the fact that the jews grow more powerful by feasting on the blood of Christians. The jews killed Christ during their Passover, and the fact that He resurrected doesn't negate their role in His murder. The parasite jews use their Passover to suck our lifeblood through their control of the media and the banks.

Our Lord described the jews as the spawn of Satan, who practice the dark arts and worship Satan as their god in their synagogues. All good Christians should be aware of the evil that the jews do and be prepared to defend ourselves against the serpent jews.

Coldstar not only started this discussion, he dominated throughout the four months of the thread’s existence. He responded in the following way:

Yes, absolutely. Are there even any churches left which preach the true Gospel? How will the young people understand what Christianity is all about when their preachers tell them that Jews are God's Chosen? Making this false claim will only cause young people to turn away from Christianity.

What can we do to help change this unfortunate situation? Is there anything at all that we can do that will have an impact?

The Bible states that in the last days Satan will be on the loose again for a little season, and he will go out to deceive the nations once again. He will be allowed to literally go to the ends of the earth to get as many people as he can under his reign to do his evil biddings. All of these misled and deluded people will get to surround the camps of the Saints (where Christians dwell) so that the Saints are under attack.

It appears to me as if this is happening right now under the leadership of the Jews!

Could it be that the Millennial rule of Christ's people is already past?

After several discussants posted external links touting the myth that Jews worship Satan and that Jesus condemned the Jews and that is why he was crucified, PureIntensity added to the conversation:

Pontius Pilate is the perfect example of how Jews operate.

They backed him into a corner and forced him to make a decision he did not want to make. To the point where he washed his hands of it (literally).

They have been using the same strategy over and over ever since. They are too few in numbers to do their own dirty work. They would not have the influence they have today if they did not have so many collaborators.

Almost a month after the discussion started, Coldstar comes back to the discussion with a revelation about British Israelism and how, for him, it answers a lot of questions about the correct ways to interpret the Bible. He posts a link to a book called The Union Jack that was mentioned several times in the Anglo-Saxon
Federation of America, Bulletin No. 35, as a book worth reading. In direct response three in one posts the following:

I believe that the jews were behind the crucifixion of Christ, and whether they drove in the nails themselves or manipulated the Romans into doing it is immaterial. The jews killed Jesus, and no proclamations to the contrary by mealy-mouthed paid-off popes is going to change my mind on that score.

The jews are all born liars, and one of their biggest lies is that they, or their ancestors, had nothing to do with the death of Christ, that it was all the fault of the Romans. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, wanted to let Christ go, but the jews threatened a riot and Pilate sought to placate the jewish mob by turning Him over to the jews to be crucified.

Furthermore, the jews still celebrate the death of Christ in their synagogues of satan, and call for the destruction of His religion, which is Christianity. The quotes from Jews posted above by Cold star prove this point. The destruction of Christ's religion is necessary for the world rule sought by the satanic jews, which will herald the coming of their own kingdom, in which Christians either will be killed outright or be slaves to be worked to death by the jews.

Jews love to cause pain and suffering to Christians, which is why so many jews become doctors, so they can witness the suffering of Christians first-hand. I suspect that this is also the reason why jews own meat-packing houses, so they can enjoy watching the painful death of cattle caused by their inhumane kosher slaughter methods.

Every jew that refuses to accept Jesus Christ as their Messiah, and refuses to repent the role that their ancestors had in causing the death of Jesus, is guilty of deicide, the killing of the Son of God, as much as if they had been present at Golgotha and nailed the Savior to the Cross themselves. The only way that the jews can absolve themselves and wash off the stain of killing Christ is for the jews to accept Jesus as their Savior. However, the jews with very few exceptions refuse to do this, because that would mean that they would have to repent of their many sins, which jews never do, and because it means they would have to give up their claim of being the chosen people, which is a lie anyway, because the jews lost their special status when they crucified Christ.

All in all, the jews are a danger and a threat to Christian society, and it's a shame that more so-called Christians don't understand this and take steps to remove the devil jews from our midst.

Posts to this thread ended on August 3, 2017 at 9:19 PM. The final post is shared here from a female discussant called Twyztd Valkyyrie who identifies as a devout Catholic:

I have a picture of pope st Pius X right across from me :D it's the one where he looks sad, it was actually taken after his sisters death.

It's not really the Catholic Church! It's a brand new satanic denomination, they even threw out the vestments, destroyed the altars, wrecked the churches and built new stadiums instead and burned the hymnals. They worship Lucifer (JPII introduced the luminous mysteries to the rosary. Luminous. Seriously, he could only be more obvious by saying lucifer) and man and are Kabbalistic.

My husband showed me some of "the young pope", the hbo show of "Pius xiii" and I'm pretty sure they're supposed to be mocking tradition and the papacy and the church and show how evil and bad he is, but it backfired. Catholics love Pius xiii and I wish he was pope :o

In my church we still recite the prayer for the conversion of the Jews during Easter. The perfidious Jews :D it was removed by the luciferians for being mean. Eff that noise, bring me the firewood!

Discussion

This discussion, as most on Stormfront, was male dominated. There were two other women besides Twyztd Valkyyrie who posted in this particular thread. Discussions in the Theology Section on Stormfront are not open to public view. I was able to gain access by writing an Institutional Review Board proposal and paying the site Administrator, Don Black, a small fee. I have found over the years that in order to gain access to some of these groups that are part of the broader white nationalist movement, one is expected to give small donations to their church services or to defray expenses for food at rallies. As my goal for this study was to discover
various ways people who align with the movement justify their racist attitudes with their religious beliefs, I elected to pay for access to this forum. With that said, some of the discussants were familiar to me, such as Coldstar, Klarn, and Twyzted Valkyrie, all three of whom participated in this discussion. In addition to having a relatively long term association with the site, they also provide financial support.

Wading through lengthy discussions on Stormfront can be tedious. I read every post, sometimes more than once. It was not surprising that the overall tone of this discussion was that Jews were responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. Discussants all agree that Jews are a problem and should have been eliminated during the Third Reich once and for all. Historical revisionism continues to be a focus for the Stormfront community, whether the discussion is about religion or about politics. The mention of a new world order orchestrated by Jewish Zionists was part of this discussion. Additionally, there was quoting of scripture throughout with points made by Coldstar that Jesus hated the Jews long before they killed him on the cross.

This discussion was also a source for many anti-Semitic and conspiracy tinged links. One of the reasons that it went on for some many threaded pages was due to the fact that entire passages from books, pamphlets, and other online sources were shared within the discussion. I was somewhat surprised that was no extensive discussion of Hitler beyond some bantering back and forth about how many things written about the Holocaust are not true and contemporary Jews use it as a ruse to keep themselves in power. One of the most hateful discussants, three in one, posted several times about how Jews worship Satan, they are the children of the devil, and they are Christ killers. This idea permeated the entire discussion.

Concluding Remarks

Approximately 2.1 million citizens of the United States participated in an Anti-Defamation League world survey beginning in July 2013 and ending in February 2014. Many of the respondents harbor varying levels of anti-Semitic beliefs with roughly 9% of the sample answering “probably true” to a majority of anti-Semitic stereotypes (Anti-Defamation League, 2015). When asked if they think Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States, 31% of the respondents answered true. In response to the statement that Jews talk too much about the Holocaust, 22% responded true. Regarding power questions, 18% agreed with the statement that Jews have too much power in the business world and 15% agreed they have too much power in the international financial markets. Regarding control over global media, 12% agreed that Jews wield too much control and 11% agreed that Jews have too much control over the United States government.

The survey also revealed that anti-Semitic attitudes are persistent globally and not just in the United States. When it comes to Holocaust awareness, only 54% of the global population polled had ever heard about it. In countries where there are very few, if any Jews, many respondents indicated they are anti-Semitic. In English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the percentage of people with negative attitudes toward Jewish people is relatively low when compared to developing countries. Unfortunately, there are pockets of virulently racist individuals in the population who, for whatever reasons, hate Jews.

Because of the nature of its membership and the stability of its platform, Stormfront is home to a community of white nationalists who prescribe to anti-Semitic beliefs that go back generations. In the discussion that was analyzed for this paper, more mature members of the site, such as Coldstar serve as conduits for anti-Semitic literature from the past. Many posts echo the words of Himmler (1946, p. 572), one of the most powerful men in Nazi Germany, who spoke about motives underlying the final solution, “Anti-Semitism is exactly the same as delousing. Getting rid of lice is not a question of ideology. It is a matter
of cleanliness. In just the same way, anti-Semitism, for us, has not been a question of ideology, but a matter of cleanliness, which now will soon have been dealt with”.

Propagandists for the Third Reich portrayed Germany as a living organism infested by the Jewish disease that threatened the very life of their nation (Raffles, 2007, p. 535). So do many discussants on the Stormfront site. Hitler and his henchmen promised that extermination would stop infestation of poisonous Jewish parasites once and for all. Discussants, such as Coldstar and three in one deny facts surrounding the Holocaust and appear to continue looking for a solution to the Jewish problem. Social researchers and others who are concerned about equality and social justice must continue to investigate why young people who are far removed from Hitler, Philip Monson, Wesley Swift, and William Pierce continue to be influenced by their racist ideology. The only way we will find solutions to the problem of racism and anti-Semitism is to make sure we never forget what happened in the past and practice due diligence in our struggle to maintain the balance between hate speech and free speech.

References


