

# Appendix

## The Far Right and the Religious Right on the World Wide Web

### Notes and snapshots

*At the WLUML conference in London in November 2002, Harsh Kapoor, then a co-worker with WLUML in their office in France, presented a set of overheads and notes describing some of the activities of fundamentalist organisations on the world wide web.*

*For this publication, WLUML has updated his research. What follows is an amalgamation of Harsh Kapoor's original presentation and WLUML's update, conducted March to May 2004. The update could have gone on forever, because the internet is so volatile - some sites located in March were no longer available in May, and typing different search-words into Google produced rafts of previously undiscovered sites.*

*This does not, therefore, pretend to be a comprehensive list of fundamentalist websites. But it does, as Harsh said, give a few snapshots of what's out there, accessible to anyone with a modem and a working phone-line. What is unfortunately evident is that the internet is awash with racists and extremists of all hues.*

### The Muslim right (and some of its opponents)

Many of the Islamist websites have gone off air since 9/11. What is surprising, in the present climate, is how many are still available. The beheading of the unfortunate Nicholas Berg in Iraq in May 2004 was shown on the website of Ansar al-Islam: [www.al-ansar.biz/vb](http://www.al-ansar.biz/vb); according to the index on [www.islamicfinder.org](http://www.islamicfinder.org), the Ansar website received 4586 hits between 19 December 2003 and 13 May 2004 (though by the latter day - 2 days after Berg's murder was shown - the site was unavailable). There is much conspiracy theorising over the whole Nick Berg episode - was he dead before he was beheaded? Why was he wearing the orange jumpsuit the US prison system uses? Did US agents stage the atrocity to divert attention from the Abu Ghraib torture scandal? Many of the theories can be found on [www.kuro5hia.org](http://www.kuro5hia.org).

Harsh Kapoor's presentation on *transnational Islamist groups and networks* began with the following URL: <http://jihaadulkuffaarin.jeeran.com>. This is no longer available, but putting the search-word 'jihad' into Google produces any number of sites which have in common a powerful sense of victimhood and powerful appeals to readers to stand up against the 'kuffaar/kufr/kaffir' (non-Muslims). These are some of the sites:

#### (i) [www.missionislam.com/mission/index.htm](http://www.missionislam.com/mission/index.htm)

This site has as its mission statement: 'To increase awareness as to the extent of oppression against Muslims throughout the world and the conspiracy that exists to exterminate Muslims and the religion of Islam from the face of the Earth'.

The site's discussion board links to <http://forums.gawaher.com>, where on 28 August 2003, in response to a white racist who'd written in, 'Soldier of Islam' (a woman) writes: 'It is quite funny or more like sad 2 see how dumb the kaffir are. May Allah burn them with no mercy for what they have/and are doing (or shall I say trying 2 do 2 us) in the hell'.

**(ii) <http://alhaqq.jeeran.com/operations.html>**

Argues in favour of martyrdom attacks, and is pro-Taliban, but there is nothing on the site about the US/UK invasion of Iraq, which suggests the site is no longer live (though most of the articles are signed 'Abdul Aziz', and as late as 16 August 2003 'Abdul Aziz' has a contribution on the discussion site at *IslamicAwakening.com*, with a link back to *alhaqq.jeeran.com*).

In an article headlined 'Our Simple Choice', 'Abdul Aziz' says:

It seems that in the near future, there will be three types of Muslims: (1) those who passively accept the world-role which America has given to itself, and who accept America usurping that which rightly belongs to Allah (SWT); (2) those who actively aid the Kufr State of America and its Kufr ways; and (3) those who oppose America and its allies and who thus strive in the way of Allah (SWT) for the creation of an Islamic society, ruled only by Shari'ah, where Muslims are free to follow the example of Muhammad and obey the words of Allah, the Almighty (SWT).

In 'The Tughyan of the Kuffar', 'Abdul Aziz' says:

We Muslims have to accept that Islam ... is not compatible with the following:

1. The Western concept of the sovereign nation;
2. The Western concept of democracy;
3. The Western concepts of law and justice;
4. The division of everyday life, and Institutions, into secular, political and religious;
5. The overlordship of a kuffar organisation like the UN ...

**(iii) <http://www.2600.com/news/mirrors/harkatmujahideen/>**

[www.harkatulmujahideen.org/jihad/o-jihad.htm](http://www.harkatulmujahideen.org/jihad/o-jihad.htm)

which says, under the title, 'Jihad: The forgotten obligation':

What is wrong with the Muslim Ummah today? When the kuffar lay their hands on their daughters the Muslims do not even raise a finger to help them!! ... Muslimeen in these days bring up their children unprepared and unprotected against their enemy, the kuffar. These children don't have the heart to fight back. The consequence is that the kuffar are free to assault the Muslimeen, brutally shed their blood and mercilessly rape the Muslim women ...

(iv) Even a respectable site like that of the Islamic Information and Support Centre of Australia says, in its section on jihad at [http://iisca.org/knowledge/jihad/meaning\\_of\\_jihad.htm](http://iisca.org/knowledge/jihad/meaning_of_jihad.htm), that it has translated a section of relevant teaching by Sheikh Abdullah Azzam 'so that it may be beneficial to the Muslims in general and a final blow to the obstacles in the paths of the youths seeking martyrdom in the way of Allah'. Abdullah Azzam was the teacher of Islamic law who became a powerful figure in organising Arab participation in the Afghan resistance

to Soviet occupation. He also very much influenced the young Osama bin Laden, who described him as 'a man worth a nation'. In a pamphlet called 'Defending Muslim Territory is the Most Important Duty', Azzam said: 'This duty will not end with victory in Afghanistan; jihad will remain an individual obligation until all other lands that were Muslim are returned to us so that Islam will reign again: before us lie Palestine, Bokhara, Lebanon, Chad, Eritrea, Somalia, the Philippines, Burma, Southern Yemen, Tashkent and Andalusia'.

**(v) [www.allahuakbar.net/jihaad](http://www.allahuakbar.net/jihaad)**

In contrast to the racism of the sites which characterise all non-Muslims as *kuffar*, [www.allahuakbar.net/jihaad](http://www.allahuakbar.net/jihaad) prints an unambiguous denunciation of terrorism: 'Islam strongly opposes kidnapping, terrorism, or hijacking against civilian targets, even at the time of war'. It quotes the opinions of many sheikhs to condemn suicide bombings. One of its articles, by Aboo Khadeejah Abdul-Waahid, from the University of Essex Islamic Society, is called 'In Response to the Devil's Deception of Hizb ut-Tahreer and al-Muhajiroun' (for both these organizations, see below).

**(vi) <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org/english>**

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami (the Islamic Party of Liberation) was established in al-Quds (Jerusalem) in 1953 by Palestinian sheikh an-Nabhani. In an otherwise critical and premonitory article about Hizb ut-Tahrir as a 'threat to US interests in Central Asia', the Heritage Foundation's Ariel Cohen says: 'The genius of an-Nabhani was to marry Orthodox Islamist ideology to Leninist strategy and tactics' ('Hizb ut-Tahrir: An Emerging Threat to US Interests in Central Asia'; 30 May 2003; available at [www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1656.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/BG1656.cfm)).

Hizb ut-Tahrir organises through a cell structure: no more than 8 people to a cell, with only one person in the cell having links to any other part of the organisation. On its own website, Hizb ut-Tahrir says it 'is a political party that does not use material actions', and (undoubtedly for political and strategic reasons of their own) both the British and US governments have stated they consider the organisation to be non-violent. On its website, Hizb ut-Tahrir says it is involved in 'a struggle against the Kufr colonialist states which have dominance and influence on the Islamic countries ... A struggle against the rulers in the Arab and Muslim countries ... The prisons of Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Libya and Tunisia are full of [our] members'. According to Ariel Cohen, Hizb ut-Tahrir has 'over 10,000 members active in Pakistan, Syria, Turkey and Indonesia' and operates clandestinely in forty countries.

However, Hizb ut-Tahrir's 'core membership', according to the Heritage Foundation, is in former Soviet Central Asia - Uzbekistan, Krygystan, Tajikistan. It has been the target of particular repression in Uzbekistan; Uzbek president Islam Karimov is said to have scalded some Hizb ut-Tahrir members to death in 2002 (they sustained many terrible injuries during torture). An interesting article by Alisher Khamidov, dated 21 October 2003, on the informative website [Eurasianet.org](http://Eurasianet.org), says that while Hizb ut-Tahrir has previously been non-violent, the ruthlessness of Uzbek repression is provoking an internal split in the party in Central Asia, with some members advocating the adoption of military methods.

Hizb ut-Tahrir's success as an organisation can be measured by the fact that at least one website is devoted to attacking it. <http://www.htexposed.com> could be a creation of the Saudis, the Uzbek leadership, or indeed the Heritage Foundation. It takes Hizb ut-Tahrir to task firstly for what it says is its position on *hijab*: 'Hizb ut-Tahrir ... do not order their wives to dress Islamically, since they say that men do not have any authority over women until the Khilafah has been established - and of course this is contrary to the laws of Allah'. However, on its own English website, Hizb ut-Tahrir is happy to prove this wrong, with a stern article entitled 'The Islamic Attire for Women is obligatory according to the Shari'a'. [www.htexposed.com](http://www.htexposed.com) is also virulently anti-Shia, and criticises Hizb ut-Tahrir for accepting the Shia as part of the *Ummah* (after the bloody attacks against Shia in Kerbala and Baghdad in March 2004, Hizb ut-Tahrir issued a statement condemning sectarianism and attempts to stoke it up).

[www.paktribune.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=923](http://www.paktribune.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=923) carries a comprehensive list of different Hizb ut-Tahrir websites: for instance, [www.khilafat.org](http://www.khilafat.org) for **Bangladesh**; [www.khilafa.com.pk](http://www.khilafa.com.pk) for **Pakistan**; [www.khilafa.com](http://www.khilafa.com) and [www.khilafah.org](http://www.khilafah.org); and [www.mindspring.eu.com](http://www.mindspring.eu.com), the site for 'Islamist thinkers', with a postal address in London: 'Western democracy takes its final breath' was one of the articles on the site in May 2004.

**(vii) <http://www.as-sahwah.com/discus/messages/6/4943.html?1072574123>**

prints a long message dated 18 April 2003 (nine days after the toppling of the Saddam statue in Baghdad) from someone signing themselves Abu Iyad, Emir of the Mujahideen in Baghdad. It says there are '8000 Mujahideen in Iraq (from Syria, Sudan, Yemen, Algeria, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Albania, Bosnia etc.)', and that some 500,000 members of the Iraqi army have dug themselves in to underground bunkers to resist the American advance. (A December 2003 posting in response says, 'Oh yeah mate? 500,000 people underground? This is all b\*\*\*\*\*t'.) In further discussion on *IslamicAwakening.com* about the killing of Iraqi civilians by the Iraqi resistance, very anti-Kurd opinions are expressed.

**(viii) [www.tabligh.com](http://www.tabligh.com)**

is the website of the Tablighi Jamaat (literally, 'a group that propagates the faith'). Harsh Kapoor characterised them in his presentation as 'peddling ritualised Islam across the globe'; they organise huge prayer gatherings internationally, and have bases and schools in Pakistan, Britain and Canada. Tablighi Jamaat were reported in July 2003 to be under investigation by the FBI's 'international terrorism' section. Tablighi Jamaat control mosques and command considerable resources, and are more commonly under attack for espousing 'non-political Islam'. For instance, an article called 'Tablighi Jamaat Exposed', on [www.islamicacademy.org/html/Articles/English](http://www.islamicacademy.org/html/Articles/English), attacks them for having been pawns of the British Raj in India and for not espousing jihad. There is nothing in their programme, says the article, 'which might even slightly inconvenience a kaafir government'. And the website of the Muslim Public Affairs Committee of the UK ([www.mpacuk.org](http://www.mpacuk.org)), whose primary focus appears to be getting out the Muslim vote (see below), also attacks the Tablighi for practising what it calls 'non-political Islam'.

**(ix) [www.jihadonline.com](http://www.jihadonline.com)**

has no postings after December 2003. [www.jihadonline.net](http://www.jihadonline.net) exists as an address but not as a site.

(x) There are a number of sites devoted to monitoring 'jihad' websites. For instance, [www.internet-haganah.us](http://www.internet-haganah.us), based in the USA, announces itself as 'Confronting the Global Jihad Online'. It specialises in naming the people behind the various jihadi websites, publishing their work or home addresses (particularly if they are in the USA) and taking measures to block the websites. It appears to be the work of one person, Aaron Weisburd. The site links to the Israeli Center for Special Studies ('in memory of the fallen of the Israeli Intelligence Community') and the Friends of the Israeli Defence Forces. On 23 May 2004, four days after the Israeli army had fired one or several tank shells into unarmed demonstrators in Rafah, the site carried the distasteful image of an Israeli soldier cleaning his automatic weapon, with bullets prominently in the foreground, and the caption 'A workman is only as good as his tool ...'.

**(xi) [www.antijihad.cjb.net](http://www.antijihad.cjb.net)**

is an explicitly racist (and illiterate) site, even though it claims to 'fight Islamism, not Muslims'. The contact from this address is [Israeli\\_guy@hotmail.co.il](mailto:Israeli_guy@hotmail.co.il). The formal site, at [www.geocities.com/antijihad/home.html](http://www.geocities.com/antijihad/home.html), boasts that it has founded a growing 'kafir unity' movement. A post on the discussion site on 27 March 2004 rejoices at the death of Turks in an earthquake, because it happened in the Armenian region and the people who died were therefore 'illicit Turkish occupiers'. [www.littlegreenfootballs.com](http://www.littlegreenfootballs.com), a weblog, is another site with an alarmist discussion board; on 30 March 2004, for instance, 'Donna' was much exercised that 'if you look at a map of London, you'll find that the neighbourhoods of Golders Green, St Johns Wood and Hendon, where the Jewish population of London is concentrated, are located in North London right next to Finsbury Park. It alarms me that the London Jews live in such close proximity to such anti-Jewish nutcases ['Sheikh' Abu Hamza, currently preaching on the pavement outside the Finsbury Park mosque]'.

(xii) [www.jihadwatch.org](http://www.jihadwatch.org) is run by someone called Robert Spencer, who also uses the site to promote his book, 'Islam Unveiled'. Jihad Watch sponsors Dhimmi Watch, whose statement of intent says: 'The dhimmi attitude of chastened subservience has entered into Western academic study of Islam, and from there into journalism, textbooks and the popular discourse'. This site has many links, including to [www.rightwingnews.com](http://www.rightwingnews.com), an apparently jokey site that's deadly serious in support of George W. and the neo-conservative agenda; and [www.faithfreedom.org](http://www.faithfreedom.org), an interesting website which says it represents 'the Movement of ex-Muslim secularists and humanists to lead Muslims out of faith of hate and into the fold of humanity'.

## Islamist sites by country

### Afghanistan

TalibanOnline was hosted for a time on [www.muslimthai.com/talibanonline/text/taliban](http://www.muslimthai.com/talibanonline/text/taliban). Though Internet-Haganah reported it available on 1 March 2004, it certainly wasn't available by the end of March.

At the site for the Hezb e Islami, [www.hezb-e-islami.org](http://www.hezb-e-islami.org), a message says the address is for sale -- minimum \$800.

### Algeria

Neither of the original sites for the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) seems to be available: neither [www.fisalgeria.org](http://www.fisalgeria.org) nor [www.ccfis.org](http://www.ccfis.org). But unexpectedly, on a page for a website that specialises in Arab-German business and consulting links, you are given an opportunity to make contact with FIS; the address of this page is [www.arab.de/cgi-bin/arab/recoadd.cgi?ID=792](http://www.arab.de/cgi-bin/arab/recoadd.cgi?ID=792).

There are many websites with comment about the Islamic Armed Group (GIA), but no sign of a website of their own. For instance, on <http://www.eurolegal.org/terror/terror3.htm> an organisation called Eurolegal publishes interesting and up-to-date information about the GIA. (Eurolegal describe themselves as committed 'to the principles of liberalism and multilateralism, to the rule of law and the values of the European Convention on Human Rights'. Their home-page carries, in the aftermath of the 11 March 2004 bombings in Madrid, a big advertisement that says: 'Coming Soon to a European Venue Near You ... Another Sketch in the Millennium World Series ... Bush Crusaders -v- Bin Laden Jihadis'.)

An edition of the *Review of African Political Economy* published in March 2000 (Vol. 27, No. 1) has a very helpful review of websites relating to the Maghreb, with an important section on Algeria: [www.roape.org/www\\_maghreb.html](http://www.roape.org/www_maghreb.html).

### Bangladesh

The Jamaat-e-Islami are on [www.jamaat-e-islami.org](http://www.jamaat-e-islami.org), calling for 'an Islamic transformation of society' (see Sara Hossain's article, 'Apostates', Ahmadis and Advocates: Use and Abuse of Offences Against Religion in Bangladesh').

Hakat-ul-Jihad-i-Islami, the parent organisation of Jaish e Mohammed in Pakistan, are also active in Bangladesh: [www.icps.org](http://www.icps.org) (website of the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies) has a useful description of their activities. A report carried on [www.hrwf.net](http://www.hrwf.net) (website of the Brussels-based Human Rights Without Frontiers) says: '64,000 madrassas have been established in Bangladesh in recent years, most funded by Islamic charity groups in Saudi Arabia and the Arab peninsula'.

[www.sacw.net](http://www.sacw.net), website of the South Asia Citizens Web, carries the statement by Bangladesh human rights organisation Ain o Salish Kendra of December 2003 on Ahmadiyya persecution (ASK themselves are on [www.askbd.org](http://www.askbd.org)), and World Wide Religious News on [www.wwrn.org](http://www.wwrn.org) appears to be both non-sectarian and up-to-date.

### Egypt

The Muslim Brotherhood site is based in the UK, [www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan](http://www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan), and carries a huge disclaimer: 'This page has no political purpose of any kind and no connection whatsoever to any organisation or institution'.

### Indonesia

[www.geocities.com/salafyoononline](http://www.geocities.com/salafyoononline) is not available in English. Laskar Jihad, the paramilitary organisation rising out of the Sunni Communication Forum, FKAWJ (possibly with the support of elements in the Indonesian military) is no longer available on its own site, [www.laskarjihad.or.id](http://www.laskarjihad.or.id), but can be reached via [www.geocities.com/kesui2001/jahad\\_evil.htm](http://www.geocities.com/kesui2001/jahad_evil.htm), which greets you, 'You are visiting official site of Laskar Jihad'.

### Lebanon

The English website for Hizbollah is on [www.hizbollah.org/english](http://www.hizbollah.org/english). The site is incredibly slow, and does not appear to have been redesigned since the Israelis withdrew their occupation of south Lebanon. Hizbollah has MPs in the Lebanese parliament and says on its home-page, 'Hizbollah does not wish to implement Islam forcibly but in a peaceful and political manner, that gives the chance to the majority to either accept or refuse. If Islam becomes the choice of the majority, only then will it be implemented'.

Sayyed Fadlullah, the spiritual head of Hizbollah, has a separate website at [www.bayynat.org/www/english](http://www.bayynat.org/www/english), with up-to-date comment, for instance a press release from 30 March 2004 deploring the decision by Arab heads of government to postpone the Arab summit. Fadlullah says: 'The Arab peoples should take to the streets and follow the model of the Spaniards and the French. Staying silent in the face of all these catastrophes means that we are facing death and advancing towards the darkness of the unknown'.

In the 'Women and Family' section of the site, Fadlullah, responding to questions, says 'any person, male or female, has the legal right to get married to whom he/she sees his/her life with', and says that 'in principle' women are 'not prohibited' from working in the theatre or films.

[www.moqawama.tv/page2/main.htm](http://www.moqawama.tv/page2/main.htm), the website of the Islamic Resistance Support Association, carries an article about the March 2004 murder of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in Gaza, but otherwise doesn't seem particularly up to date.

### Malaysia

The Islamic party PAS (roundly defeated in the March 2004 general elections) has its own website at [www.parti-pas.org](http://www.parti-pas.org).



## Pakistan

The website of the Jamaat i Islami Pakistan is on [www.jamaat.org](http://www.jamaat.org). The website of the Islami Jamiat Talibat Pakistan, [www.jamiattalibat.org](http://www.jamiattalibat.org), expresses the Jamiat's concern with 'girl students' and its desire to 'arrest the growing tendency towards neglecting of the veil'.

Lashkar e Toiba ('the army of the pure') and Jaish e Muhammad (both described in the *Kashmir Herald* - which may not be neutral - in February 2002 as 'major instruments of Pakistani state policy') were banned by the Pakistan government in November 2003. Jaish e Muhammad renamed themselves Khuddam ul Islam (no website found), and Lashkar e Toiba, Jamaat-ul-Dawa. [www.satp.org](http://www.satp.org), the website of the South Asia Intelligence Review ('SATP' stands for 'South Asia Terrorism Portal'), carries up-to-date information about these organisations.

Sipah i Sahiba - described by the *Kashmir Herald* as 'a sectarian Sunni gang' (with, says *The Tribune* in March 2003, 'a record of countless pogroms against Shias') - has become the Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan. No website found, but a reference to them in a discussion board on [www.balochistan.org](http://www.balochistan.org), where 'Waleed K. Baluchi' in California sends greetings to 'all my baluch brother (sic) and to tableeghee jamaat and sepahay sahabe, millat e islamia pakistan ... '.

Jamia Binoria Pakistan, an anti-Ahmadi organisation based in Karachi, has a site at [www.binoria.org](http://www.binoria.org). Other anti-Ahmadi sites are based elsewhere: [www.irshad.org/idara](http://www.irshad.org/idara) is based in the USA, and <http://alhafeez.org/rashid> - 'home page of the Anti-Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam' - is run by Dr Sayed Rashid Ali from the United Arab Emirates.

## Palestine

[www.hamasonline.com](http://www.hamasonline.com) is a very up-to-date site with a live link to [www.ezzedeen.net](http://www.ezzedeen.net), the site of the Al Qassam Brigades, where you can view a 'Qassam Martyrdom Flash Animation' of the final statements of volunteers who've died in martyrdom operations.

The website of the Islamic Association of Palestine, [www.iap.org](http://www.iap.org), is not jihadist, and is a good site for up-to-date news.

## Senegal

<http://news.stcom.net> calls itself 'La Voix des Opprimés' (The Voice of the Oppressed), and expresses support for Moqtada al Sadr, the Shia militia leader in Iraq; Ansar al-Islam in Iraq; and Bin Laden. The editors also say they believe Bin Laden died in December 2001, and that Saddam Hussein was captured by the USA and smuggled out of Iraq in April or May 2003 (months before his capture was shown on television).

## South Africa

The website for People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) doesn't appear to have been revised since 19 March 2000: [www.pagad.co.za](http://www.pagad.co.za).



Recent visits to South Africa by WLUML researchers suggest many more women are wearing *hijab* and there are new mosques in African townships. How much of this activity is reflected on the web requires further investigation.

### Sweden

Stockholm is the base for the rabid [www.radioislam.org](http://www.radioislam.org), run by Moroccan exile Ahmed Rami (he is said to have made an attempt on the life of the King of Morocco in the 1970s and sought refuge in Sweden). Rami's website is virulently anti-Jewish, publishing the Tsarist forgery, 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion', articles like 'How the Jews dominate the world', 'USA's Rulers: They are all Jews!' and 'Judaism's War with Islam and the Muslims and Islam's Resistance', and work by Roger Garaudy (amongst other Holocaust-deniers).

### United Kingdom

[www.muhamajiroun.com](http://www.muhamajiroun.com), 'The Voice, the Eyes and the Ears of the Muslims', is run by Sheikh Omar Bakri Mohammad ([www.obm.clara.net](http://www.obm.clara.net) - though this had become unavailable by May 2004). 'The vision of al-Muhajiroun ... is the world-wide domination of Islaam as an ideology' (stated over a picture of the front door at 10 Downing Street, the residence of the British prime minister!).

Al-Muhajiroun's press statement on the site on 30 March 2004, immediately after the dawn arrest of eight British citizens (said by the press to be al-Muhajiroun supporters) and the confiscation of a large quantity of potentially explosive material, indicates the sort of psychological war being fought on these websites:

The most responsible action the Blair regime could take right now would be to take a lesson from Madrid and completely withdraw their forces from Iraq. Raiding hundreds of Muslim homes ... will just fuel anger in an already intimidated and oppressed Muslim community and lead to widespread civil unrest if and when London is targeted by the Mujahideen.

On 11 May 2004, after the pictures from Abu Ghraib prison had begun to appear in the press, [www.muhamajiroun.com](http://www.muhamajiroun.com) carried a press statement entitled 'Bush's Whores Practise Their Freedom'.

Harsh Kapoor said in his presentation that Islamic Revival, on [www.islamicrevival.has.it](http://www.islamicrevival.has.it), has links with al-Muhajiroun; their home-page carries the banner 'Khilafah [restoration of the Islamic Caliphate]: the Mother of All Obligations'. However, another website on the revival theme, <http://the.revival.proboards8.com>, which announces itself as 'The Voice of Muslim Youth', carries a discussion on the subject 'Should Omar Bakri and Abu Hamza [reputedly a former nightclub bouncer now active as an Islamist preacher in north London] be kicked out of the United Kingdom?'. Contributors to this discussion were overwhelmingly hostile to Omar Bakri and Abu Hamza.

[www.mpacuk.org](http://www.mpacuk.org) is the website for the Muslim Public Affairs Committee of the UK, whose primary interest is electoral politics but which uses the language of Islamic revivalism. For instance, in its comment on the fact that in September 2003, voters in London constituency Brent East overturned the Labour Party's 10,000 majority in favour of the Liberal Democrats, MPAC says Robert Evans, the Labour candidate, was vice-chair of the 'anti-Muslim, BJP-supporting Indian lobby', and goes on:

MPAC made history in the UK, as the first ever candidate was defeated by a Muslim Bloc vote. The Ummah had taken up a political jihad and delivered a bloody nose to the Government that attacked Iraq ... Allah has granted us this victory ... We would like to remind Muslims that the Mosques in the area still did not lift a finger to help. The next battle must surely change this.

MPAC appeals to Muslim voters to come out in the June 2004 elections to the European parliament, since the Far Right is organising vigorously, and the site links to Chomsky, Amnesty International, the Green Party, as well as to Palestinian Islamist charity Interpal.

## USA

Apart from hosting many of the websites mentioned above and below, the USA is also the home of the Nation of Islam, presently run by Louis Farrakhan: [www.noi.org](http://www.noi.org). In March 2004 the website concerned itself predominantly with what Farrakhan calls 'the sickness' of America - white supremacist thinking - and the failure of black Americans to follow the example of Jews and say 'never again' to the 'holocaust' of the slave trade (a mixed sort of message, since 'never again' in Israeli terms legitimizes a great deal of brutality against the Palestinians).

Progressive Muslim views are articulated on [www.altmuslim.com](http://www.altmuslim.com) - 'Cleared by airport security', it says on the banner. This site espouses *ijtihad* - the process of intellectual inquiry and freedom in Islam; is sympathetic to the Ahmadis; discusses HIV/Aids as an issue; and so on.

## The Christian right in the USA

(i) [www.cc.org](http://www.cc.org) is the website of the Christian Coalition of America (see Elfriede Harth's article, 'America's Mission of Saving the World from Satan: Christian Fundamentalism in the USA'). As Harth indicates, the Christian Coalition is very focussed on electoral politics and the voting intentions of specific members of the US Congress. 'America's Leading Grassroots Organisation Defending Our Godly Heritage' - 'Let's Take America Back' says the homepage - publishes an easily downloadable 'Voter 2004 Guide and Congressional Scorecard', and the site directs you to specific 'Action Alerts' regarding particular members of Congress. Headlines on the site in March 2004 proclaimed hostility to Israel being brought to the World Court over the construction of the separation wall, and support for anti-abortion legislation.

(ii) The old Pat Buchanan site, [www.buchanan.org](http://www.buchanan.org), is now an archive of the 2000 presidential campaign. The new site - 'God-Family-Republic' - is at [InteractBrigade.com](http://InteractBrigade.com), and it's supporting someone called Michael Peroutka for president.

(iii) [www.godhatesfags.com](http://www.godhatesfags.com) is the website of 74-year old Fred Phelps, a virulently anti-gay Baptist minister. 'Sodomy is an Abominable Sin, Worthy of Death', says Phelps, who publishes a constantly updated schedule of pickets (for instance, against the New Paltz municipality, which as of March 2004 was still performing gay marriages, in spite of almost daily demonstrations by Phelps and his fellow Christians).

(iv) [www.family.org](http://www.family.org) appears to be the relatively blameless site of the Family Research Council until you stumble on an article defending creationism, 'Why is Evolution Believed?'

(v) <http://home.Christianity.com> (featured 'hot topic': The Role of the Wife). This site links to [www.foi.org](http://www.foi.org), The Friends of Israel Gospel Ministry, Inc. For some hundreds of dollars FOI will take you to Israel: 'The Bible alone provides accurate information about the course and destiny of this planet. With our Bibles in hand, we will see with our own eyes how prophecy is being lived out in Israel today' (see Nira Yuval-Davis' discussion of this phenomenon in her paper, 'Jewish Fundamentalisms and Women').

(vi) [www.holywar.org](http://www.holywar.org) really belongs in the next section, since on examination it announces that it exists to 'Combat Jewish Terrorism'. The site opens with a big picture of Jesus; somewhere further down is the slogan, 'Jews are Jesus Killers'. In the middle are pictures of the US government with the slogan, 'Racist Jew' -- viz. 'Colin Powell, racist Jew; George W. Bush, racist Jew'. At [www.holywar.org/prot/fra/france.htm](http://www.holywar.org/prot/fra/france.htm) you can find a French translation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion with an introduction by Ahmed Rami of Radio Islam.

### The white supremacist right in the USA and Europe

(i) [www.stormfront.org](http://www.stormfront.org) leads to a home-page with Gothic lettering announcing 'White Pride World Wide'. Stormfront is based in West Palm Beach, Florida, in the home of Don Black; *The Guardian* newspaper in Britain describes him as 'a Ku Klux Klan member and convicted mercenary'. The site lists who is visiting at any moment by country of origin; on 30 March 2004 the highest number of visitors was from England, followed by the Netherlands, Germany, Serbia. It has 'subforums' in Serbia, Russia, South Africa, the Baltics/Scandinavia, 'Netherlands and Flanders', Italy and Spain, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, Germany and Britain. Some of the regular users include 'English Martyr', 'proudkraut' and 'White Waffan'. Sample article: 'Who Rules America?' -- why, the media, of course. And who owns the media? - four-letter word, begins with 'J' ...

(ii) [www.nationalist.org](http://www.nationalist.org) is extremely dismissive of outfits like Stormfront, which it regards as failing - as most other white nationalist organisations do, in its view - because they 'worship Hitler'. The Crosstar Nationalist Organization (the Crosstar symbol is not a million miles from a swastika) claims to be a white working-class organisation that doesn't go in for dressing up like the SS, but aims to take power: 'We view America as having the

premier bloodline, geography and heritage, which must be advanced over both foreign and domestic foes'. Used to support Pat Buchanan (see below), but no longer does so since he 'repudiated nationalists' and chose 'a Negress', Ezola Foster, as his running-mate for the 2000 presidential campaign.

(iii) [www.newnation.org/NNN-USA-web-links.html](http://www.newnation.org/NNN-USA-web-links.html) publishes a vast list of 'white unity' organisations and publications.

(iv) [www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com](http://www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com) is a venomous anti-black, anti-Jewish site. An item called 'The Browning of America' denounces 'the jew-led campaign to unleash jungle animals on helpless Aryan Americans'. A direct descendant of the Völkischer *Beobachter*, the Nazis' newspaper, as is [www.jewwatch.com](http://www.jewwatch.com).

(iv) **France.** Jean Marie le Pen's organisation, the Front National, doesn't appear to be available on its regular website, [www.frontrnational.com](http://www.frontrnational.com). However, it was easily found through his daughter Marine's campaign website for the June 2004 European elections: [www.marine.2004](http://www.marine.2004), which links to the youth site: [www.frnj.info](http://www.frnj.info); Jean Marie's own site: [www.jeanmarielepen.info](http://www.jeanmarielepen.info); and [www.francaisdabord.info](http://www.francaisdabord.info); plus the website of the Front National weekly newspaper, [www.national-hebdo.com](http://www.national-hebdo.com).

A rather surreal FN website is [sosenfantsdirak.org](http://sosenfantsdirak.org), which appears, under the presidency of another le Pen daughter, to have campaigned against sanctions against Iraq and to be continuing to raise funds for Iraqi children who have become victims of an 'illegal war'. On 23 May 2004, under the patronage of Jean Marie le Pen, Monseigneur Edmond Haddad, just returned from Baghdad as an emissary of the Vatican, was due to speak at a fundraising lunch in support of 'a thousand little Christians driven out of Iraqi towns'.

(v) **Britain.** The British National Party - 'Building a Future for British Children' - is on [www.bnp.org.uk](http://www.bnp.org.uk). Because the BNP is aiming for electoral credibility, the language of the site refrains from the nakedly murderous racism expressed by something like [www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com](http://www.vanguardnewsnetwork.com). One of the links is to [www.rhodesiawassuper.com](http://www.rhodesiawassuper.com); the BNP's revealing comment (as devoted national socialists): 'It will forever remain a crime that the productive British minority was undermined by global financiers to make things easier to make profits for their mining and agribusiness operations'.

### The Zionist right in the USA

(i) Meir Kahane was a Brooklyn rabbi who set up a Jewish self-defence organisation in the USA, the Jewish Defence League, and founded a violent settler organisation, Kach, in Israel. He was assassinated in 1990. [www.kahane.org/home.html](http://www.kahane.org/home.html) is based in the US, but Kach has, the website announces, recently been designated 'a Foreign Terrorist organisation' by the US State Department - 'an anti-Jewish decree', it says, 'by the blatantly anti-Israeli State Department'. Some of the links off the site don't work any more - like to [Judaea.org](http://Judaea.org) - but the one to [HinduUnity.com](http://HinduUnity.com) is still live ('Soldiers of Hindutva! Awake!'. Hindu Unity in turn has a link to Kafir Unity ... ).

(ii) <http://masada2000.org/kahane.html> salutes Meir Kahane and his most famous book, *They Must Go*. 'They' are the Palestinians living as citizens within Israel, and the Palestinians of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip; Kahane advocated - as do many Israelis today - driving them out. From the *masada2000.org* home-page, one can click, for instance, on an article about 'Israel's Growing Cancer' - the Arab citizens of Israel - or read another article about 'the filthy animals of Ramallah' who killed two Israeli army reservists in 2000 - 'the act of a primitive and savage people'. More echoes of the Völkischer *Beobachter*.

(iii) [www.jdl.org](http://www.jdl.org) is the website of the Jewish Defence League, the vigilante group Kahane established in Brooklyn in 1968, with the slogans 'Every Jew with a .22' and 'Keep Jews alive with a .45'. At some point the JDL claimed a membership of 18,000, but current reports suggest membership in the USA is down to a few hundred. In 1995 the US Nazi website [www.stormfront.org](http://www.stormfront.org) (see above) was outraged that the JDL had claimed responsibility for the fire-bombing of Toronto publisher Ernst Zündel's house; Zündel is the North American publisher of the booklet, *Did Six Million Really Die?* In December 2001 JDL chairman Irv Rubin and a colleague were arrested on charges of plotting to blow up the King Fahd mosque in Los Angeles. Rubin committed suicide in November 2002, before the case came to court; his colleague subsequently pleaded guilty. On the present site, the 'Armchair Activist' section urges supporters to 'uncover Anti-Israel "Jewish" sites', which it then lists: all of the organisations are active in peace, anti-occupation and refusenik actions.

### The Hindu right

(i) The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is on <http://www.rss.org>. (For background, see Chayanika Shah's article, 'Hindu Fundamentalism in India: Ideology, Strategies, and the Experience of Gujarat'.)

(ii) The Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh has sites at [www.hss-uk.org](http://www.hss-uk.org) and [www.hsworld.org](http://www.hsworld.org). In March 2004, ASAW (Awaaz: South Asia Watch) asked the British charity commissioners to revoke the charitable status of the HSS. ASAW's report alleging that millions of pounds raised for Gujarat earthquake victims was funnelled to Sangh organisations is available on [www.stopfundinghate.org](http://www.stopfundinghate.org).

(iii) The Vishwa Hindu Parishad is on [www.vhp.org](http://www.vhp.org). This is the organisation that gave the initial call for the 'liberation' of the Babri mosque (it was destroyed by a Hindu mob on 6 December 1992). The British site, <http://www.vhp-uk.com>, wasn't available in May 2004, but the US site was: <http://www.vhp-america.org>.

(iv) [www.hinduunity.org](http://www.hinduunity.org) claims to be 'the most hardcore Hindutva group on the net'. It has a 'Paki Jokes Archive', and links to endless anti-Islamic sites. On 17 May 2004, a few days after the election of Sonia Gandhi and the Congress party to government in India, the 'Hindutva Hot Topics' page was awash with vituperation from people like 'Saffron Warrior': 'Antonia Maino as PM would be a disgrace to the nation'; 'Christians [have been] let loose on the nation to feed on the Hindus', and so on. The home-page publishes a cartoon of a woman in a white sari, in chains and being attacked by four men: a Muslim with a sword, a Lenin

figure with a hammer and sickle, a man with a moustache (racial origins not immediately discernible), and a figure resembling the Pope. The caption says: 'Bharat will now bleed endlessly. Oh you shameless Hindus! Get ready to be raped, looted and converted by the new Sonia regime in India. Get ready to give up your daughters to Islam, your wives to Christianity, and your own pathetic selves to Communism'.

Under the heading 'Hindu Girls Beware!', an article says, 'Thousand pound rewards are being given to Muslim youths by Islamic organisations in the UK to any Muslim boy who can convert a Hindu or Sikh girl'. The article reproduces a leaflet claiming to be from the 'Real Khilafah Movement' in the UK, which says, 'It is easy to take the Sikh girls out on a date as they generally like a good drink and from there gradually they can be brought into Islam'.

HinduUnity.org links to the Shiv Sena on [www.shivsena.org](http://www.shivsena.org), the VHP, and the Hindu Holocaust Museum [www.mantra.com/holocaust](http://www.mantra.com/holocaust), amongst many other sites.

(v) The website for the Bharatiya Janata Party, voted out of government in India in May 2004, is [www.bjp.org](http://www.bjp.org).

(vi) 'Soldiers of Hindutva' - one of whom is Nathuram Godse, who killed Gandhi - are on <http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/7153/soh.html?mipyh8.html&2>.

(vii) <http://hindutva.org> is a news and opinion site, very anti-Muslim and pro-Israeli. In the aftermath of the BJP electoral defeat, it urged, 'Hard Hindutva needs to come back fast in to the BJP outlook'.

(viii) <http://www.geocities.com/hindutvapics> offers Flash Video of the Hindutva Brotherhood and the Kashmiri Hindu Liberation Army in action. Between revolving automatic rifles, the home-page announces, 'Hinduise the politics and militarize the Hindus!'.

(ix) [www.geocities.com/jairama1/posters.htm](http://www.geocities.com/jairama1/posters.htm) offers Hindutva posters, many festooned with blood. You can download or buy a *Ram Temple* poster, a *Sword of Hindutva* poster, a *Hindu-Jew Unity* poster, and so on.

(x) [www.hindunet.org/hindutva](http://www.hindunet.org/hindutva) offers a very sympathetic explanation of Hindutva.

(xi) Two anti-Hindutva sites are [www.foil.org/politics/hindutva/hindutva.html](http://www.foil.org/politics/hindutva/hindutva.html), and the website for a Dalit journal, [www.dalitstan.org/journal](http://www.dalitstan.org/journal) (which denounces Hindutva as 'a modern variant of Brahminism, a virulent ideology of hatred and fascism').