

DELIVERING HATE:

How Amazon's Platforms Are Used

to Spread White Supremacy,

Anti-Semitism, and Islamophobia

and How Amazon Can Stop It

JULY 2018



Content Note

This report features descriptions of images that represent hateful, violent ideologies, including those connected to white supremacist terrorist violence and genocide. We have opted to isolate the images themselves in an appendix at the end of the report (Appendix A), but there are disturbing descriptions of images throughout the report.

Acknowledgments

This report is a contribution to a growing body of work identifying Amazon and other technology companies' ties to hate organizations. We are indebted to the ongoing work of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) to track hate organizations at Amazon and throughout our society. Color of Change has been tracking hate groups' use of payment service providers and Amazon as a selling platform. You can see its work at <http://www.bloodmoney.org>. SumOfUs has been calling on Amazon to stop advertising on Breitbart News after many other major companies have done so. You can learn more at <https://actions.sumofus.org/a/amazon-stop-investing-in-hate>.

Methodology

To identify hate symbols, this report relies on the ADL's Hate Symbols Database.¹ To identify hate groups and leaders in hate movements, including publishers and record labels, it relies on the Hate Map project of the SPLC.² To identify racist bands making hate music, this report relies on "Music, Money and Hate," a 2014 report from the SPLC.³

To identify products bearing hate symbols on Amazon, researchers conducted searches of Amazon.com using keywords. To identify books and blogs published by hate group publishers using Kindle, researchers searched for SPLC-identified hate groups using Amazon's Advanced Search: Books tool. To identify self-published print books, researchers searched for publications by SPLC-identified hate publishing houses and authors that list Amazon's CreateSpace independent publishing platform as the publisher. To identify hate music available to stream on Amazon, researchers searched for racist bands using both the general Amazon.com search and Amazon's Advanced Search: Digital Music tool.

Researchers identified hate organizations using Amazon Web Services's CloudFront service using two methods. First, they entered the group's URL into the CDN Finder tool at CDNPlanet.com. Second, they visited the sites in question and viewed the source code to identify specific media delivered by CloudFront.

¹ "Hate on Display™ Hate Symbols Database," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/hate-symbols>.

² "Hate Map," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map>.

³ "Music, Money and Hate," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2014/music-money-hate-0>.

About the Authors



PARTNERSHIP
for
Working Families

The Partnership for Working Families is a national network of 19 affiliate organizations driving a progressive agenda to harness the power of cities for change in our regions, and leverage that up to the state and national level. Our powerful coalitions of community groups, labor unions, faith networks and environmental organizations are building governing tables with a grassroots base of power to advance a vision of just, sustainable, equitable and democratic communities.



The **Action Center on Race & the Economy (ACRE)** is a campaign hub for organizations working at the intersection of racial justice and Wall Street accountability. We provide research and communications infrastructure and strategic support for organizations working on campaigns to win structural change by directly taking on the financial elite that are responsible for pillaging communities of color, devastating working class communities, and harming our environment. The Action Center on Race & the Economy (ACRE) is a campaign hub for organizations working at the intersection of racial justice and Wall Street accountability. We provide research and communications infrastructure and strategic support for organizations working on campaigns to win structural change by directly taking on the financial elite that are responsible for pillaging communities of color, devastating working class communities, and harming our environment.

Contents

- Executive Summary 1
- Introduction 3
 - The Recent Growth of Racist Hate Movements in the U.S. and Amazon 4
 - Amazon Reacts to Public Pressure Rather Than Taking Proactive Measures 4

- PART 1:**
- Products Displaying Well-Known Hate Symbols and Language Are Available on Amazon..... 6**
 - The Confederate Flag and Other Symbols of Violent Anti-Blackness..... 6
 - Nazi Imagery 7
 - Modern Hate Symbols in Widespread Use by Neo-Nazis and Other White Supremacists 7
 - Nazi Toys and Racist Propaganda for Children..... 8

- PART 2:**
- Groups Using Amazon to Spread Hate Idologies through Books, Music, and Online Content..... 10**
 - Amazon’s Kindle Fans Flames of Hate..... 10
 - Amazon’s CreateSpace Publishes Virulently Racist Content 12
 - Streaming “Hatecore” Celebrates Violence and Racism..... 13
 - Web Services 15

- Conclusion and Recommendations..... 16

- Appendices..... 17
 - Appendix A: Products Featuring Hate Symbols Available on Amazon.com..... 17
 - Appendix B: Selected Titles from Hate Publishers Available in Kindle eBook Format..... 21
 - Appendix C: Hate Music Available to Stream and for Digital Download on Amazon.com 24

Executive Summary

Amazon has been called the “everything store,” but today it is much more than just a store, with publishing, streaming, and web services businesses. Its reach and influence are unparalleled: Most U.S. online shopping trips begin at Amazon,⁴ Amazon dominates the U.S. e-book business,⁵ and the company’s web services division has over 60 percent of the cloud computing services market.⁶ All this adds up for Amazon and its owners. The company posted record profits of \$1.9 billion in the last three quarters of 2017,⁷ and CEO Jeff Bezos’s wealth soared to \$140 billion in 2018, largely because of the value of Amazon stock.⁸

A close examination of Amazon’s various platforms and services reveals that for growing racist, Islamophobic, and anti-Semitic movements, the breadth of Amazon’s business combined with its weak and inadequately enforced policies provides a number of channels through which hate groups can generate revenue, propagate their ideas, and grow their movements. We looked at several areas of Amazon’s business, including its online shops, digital music platform, Kindle and CreateSpace publishing platforms, and web services business.

Our key findings:

- ▶ Amazon enables the celebration of ideologies that promote hate and violence by allowing the sale of hate symbols and imagery on its site, including Confederate and anti-Black imagery, Nazi and fascist imagery, and the newly adopted imagery of the modern white nationalist movement. Additionally, a number of these products are targeted at children.
- ▶ As a publisher of media in e-book, print book, and streaming formats, Amazon facilitates the spread of hate ideologies, including white supremacy, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and homophobia. Amazon provides a platform for openly racist writers, musicians, and activists, including some who advocate for violence against Black people, Muslims, Jewish people, and LGBTQ people.
- ▶ These uses of Amazon’s platforms are made possible by what appear to be inadequate and poorly enforced policies. Amazon has a policy against “products that promote or glorify hatred, violence, racial, sexual or religious intolerance or promote organizations with such views”⁹ and reserves its right to remove any listing it deems inappropriate.¹⁰ Its Kindle Direct Publishing and CreateSpace businesses reserve the right to reject “offensive” content,¹¹ while its web services division (AWS) forbids users from using AWS “to transmit, store, display, distribute or otherwise make available” offensive content.¹² Either Amazon does not find the materials outlined in this report offensive or otherwise contrary to

⁴ Jason Del Rey, “55 Percent of Online Shoppers Start Their Product Searches on Amazon,” *Recode*, September 27, 2016, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.recode.net/2016/9/27/13078526/amazon-online-shopping-product-search-engine>.

⁵ Nick Wingfield, “Amazon’s Profit Swells to \$1.6 Billion, Lifted by Its Cloud Business,” *New York Times*, April 26, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/26/technology/amazon-prime-profit.html>.

⁶ Jordan Novet, “Amazon Lost Cloud Market Share to Microsoft in the Fourth Quarter: Keybank,” *CNBC*, January 12, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/01/12/amazon-lost-cloud-market-share-to-microsoft-in-the-fourth-quarter-keybank.html>.

⁷ Jason Del Rey, “Amazon Has Posted a Profit for 11 Straight Quarters—Including a Record \$1.9 Billion During the Holidays,” *Recode*, February 1, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.recode.net/2018/2/1/16961598/amazon-jeff-bezos-record-profit-11-quarter-q4-2017-earnings>.

⁸ Brad Tuttle, “Jeff Bezos Net Worth 2018: Amazon CEO Has Made \$40 Billion,” *Time*, June 5, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://time.com/money/5301812/jeff-bezos-net-worth-2018-amazon-worker-salary/>.

⁹ “Offensive and Controversial Materials,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://sellercentral.amazon.com/gp/help/external/200164670?language=en-US&ref=mpbc_200277420_cont_200164670.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ “Content Guidelines,” Kindle Direct Publishing, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://kdp.amazon.com/en_US/help/topic/G200672390; “Content Guidelines,” CreateSpace, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.createspace.com/Help/Rights/ContentGuidelines.jsp>.

¹² “AWS Acceptable Use Policy,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://aws.amazon.com/aup/>.

its policies, or it does not consistently enforce its own policies.

- ▶ Amazon has been reactive, not proactive, in its response to use of its site by peddlers of hate. Amazon has a history of responding slowly—or not at all—to public pressure on this front rather than effectively preventing hate groups from using its platforms in the first place.

Amazon has enabled hate organizations and ideologues to spread their ideas and generate resources to support their operations, and Amazon itself gets a cut of this revenue in turn. This report details the findings summarized above and makes several recommendations for how Amazon can take action to correct its failures and ensure that it is not a tool for the growth of racist hate movements.

Our recommendations for how Amazon should take responsibility:

- ▶ Amazon must take a clear public stand against hate movements and their ideologies and publicly pledge not to profit from hate.
- ▶ Amazon must develop more robust policies for all of its platforms in consultation with experts who study hate movements and symbols, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). These new policies must be consistent and transparent, and evolve appropriately as hate movements and their symbols evolve.
- ▶ Amazon must stop letting its platform be used to sell items featuring hate symbols.
- ▶ Amazon must destroy any merchandise displaying hate symbols currently in Amazon-controlled warehouses and distribution centers.
- ▶ Amazon must not facilitate the publication and distribution of hate movement propaganda. This means that Amazon should:
 - Stop providing web content delivery services to identified hate groups,
 - Remove electronic books by racist propagandists and authors connected to hate groups from its Kindle Store,
 - Stop allowing hate literature to be published via Kindle Direct Publishing, and
 - Stop making white power and “hatecore” music available on its streaming platform.
- ▶ Amazon must develop and resource transparent enforcement mechanisms to ensure that Amazon and its users and clients are adhering to its policies.

Hate movements are resurgent in the U.S. and around the globe. Amazon must take a public stand against hate and violence, and take action to ensure that it is not profiting from hate or enabling others to profit from hate. Across its platforms, Amazon has the right to determine what it sells, publishes, and helps to deliver online. As a wealthy corporation, it has the resources to ensure its policies are enforced. Amazon has an ethical and moral responsibility to stop delivering hate to the world.

Introduction

Amazon has been called the “everything store,” and today it is even more than a store, with publishing, streaming, and web services businesses. Its reach and influence are unparalleled. Most U.S. online shopping trips begin at Amazon,¹³ and an estimated 44 cents of every dollar spent on e-commerce goes to Amazon.¹⁴ Amazon dominates the U.S. e-book business, capturing an estimated 83 percent of revenue in that sector. Amazon Web Services (AWS), its cloud computing business, grew its sales by 49 percent in 2017¹⁵ and has over 60 percent of the market.¹⁶ All this adds up for Amazon and its owners. The company posted record profits of \$1.9 billion in the last three quarters of 2017,¹⁷ and CEO Jeff Bezos’s wealth soared to \$140 billion in 2018, largely because of the value of Amazon stock.¹⁸

The company posted record profits of \$1.9 billion in the last three quarters of 2017, and CEO Jeff Bezos’s wealth soared to \$140 billion in 2018, largely because of the value of Amazon stock.

For growing racist, Islamophobic, and anti-Semitic movements, the breadth of Amazon’s business combined with its weak and inadequately enforced policies provides a number of channels through which hate groups can propagate their ideas and grow their movements.

Our key findings:

- ▶ Amazon enables the celebration of ideologies that promote hate and violence by allowing the sale of hate symbols and imagery on its site, including Confederate and anti-Black imagery, Nazi and fascist imagery, and the newly adopted imagery of the modern white nationalist movement. Additionally, a number of these products are targeted at children.
- ▶ As a publisher of media in e-book, print book, and streaming formats, Amazon facilitates the spread of hate ideologies, including white supremacy, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and homophobia. Amazon provides a platform for openly racist writers, musicians, and activists, including some who advocate for violence against Black people, Muslims, Jewish people, and LGBTQ people.
- ▶ These uses of Amazon’s platforms are made possible by a combination of weak and poorly enforced policies. Amazon has a policy against “products that promote or glorify hatred, violence, racial, sexual or religious intolerance or promote organizations with such views”¹⁹ and reserves its right to remove any listing it deems inappropriate.²⁰ Kindle Direct Publishing (KDP) reserves the right to reject any content, including what it deems “offensive.”²¹ AWS’s Acceptable Use Policy forbids users from using the service “to transmit, store, display, distribute or otherwise make available content that is illegal, harmful, fraudulent, infringing or offensive.”²² Either Amazon does not find the materials outlined in this report offensive or it does not enforce its own policies.

¹³ Jason Del Rey, “55 Percent of Online Shoppers Start Their Product Searches on Amazon,” *Recode*, September 27, 2016, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.recode.net/2016/9/27/13078526/amazon-online-shopping-product-search-engine>.

¹⁴ Rani Molla, “Amazon Could Be Responsible for Nearly Half of U.S. E-commerce Sales in 2017,” *Recode*, October 24, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.recode.net/2017/10/24/16534100/amazon-market-share-ebay-walmart-apple-ecommerce-sales-2017>.

¹⁵ Nick Wingfield, “Amazon’s Profit Swells to \$1.6 Billion, Lifted by Its Cloud Business,” *New York Times*, April 26, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/26/technology/amazon-prime-profit.html>.

¹⁶ Jordan Novet, “Amazon Lost Cloud Market Share to Microsoft in the Fourth Quarter: KeyBanc,” *CNBC*, January 12, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/12/amazon-lost-cloud-market-share-to-microsoft-in-the-fourth-quarter-keybanc.html>.

¹⁷ Jason Del Rey, “Amazon Has Posted a Profit for 11 Straight Quarters—Including a Record \$1.9 Billion During the Holidays,” *Recode*, February 1, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.recode.net/2018/2/1/16961598/amazon-jeff-bezos-record-profit-11-quarter-q4-2017-earnings>.

¹⁸ Brad Tuttle, “Jeff Bezos Net Worth 2018: Amazon CEO Has Made \$40 Billion,” *Time*, June 5, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://time.com/money/5301812/jeff-bezos-net-worth-2018-amazon-worker-salary/>.

¹⁹ “Offensive and Controversial Materials,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://sellercentral.amazon.com/gp/help/external/200164670?language=en-US&ref=mpbc_200277420_cont_200164670.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ “Content Guidelines,” Kindle Direct Publishing, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://kdp.amazon.com/en_US/help/topic/G200672390.

²² “AWS Acceptable Use Policy,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://aws.amazon.com/aup/>.

- ▶ Amazon has been reactive, not proactive, in its response to use of its site by peddlers of hate. Amazon has a history of responding slowly—or not at all—to public pressure on this front rather than effectively preventing hate groups from using its platforms in the first place.

Amazon has enabled hate organizations and ideologues to spread their ideas and generate resources to support their operations, and Amazon itself gets a cut of this revenue in turn. This report details the findings summarized above and makes several recommendations for how Amazon can take action to correct its failures and ensure that it is not a tool for the growth of racist hate movements.

The Recent Growth of Racist Hate Movements in the U.S. and Amazon

Hate movements are resurgent in the United States. In February 2018, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) reported that the previous 12 months had seen a growth of hate groups and a continued mainstreaming of their ideas. The SPLC defines a hate group as an organization that “has beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics,” such as race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or gender identity.²³ Much of the growth the SPLC identified was with white supremacist organizations.²⁴ The SPLC’s February report cited action taken by President Trump, including tweeting out hate materials, as contributing to the “substantial emboldenment of the radical right.”²⁵

Just a month before the SPLC’s report, the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) reported that white supremacists and other far-right groups were directly responsible for the majority of extremist-related murders in the U.S. in 2017. The ADL attributed 18 deaths to far-right people and organizations in 2017—twice the number it attributed to those groups in 2016.²⁶ Among people murdered in 2017 was Heather Heyer at the white nationalist Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August. James Alex Fields Jr. drove a car into a crowd of anti-racist protestors at the event, killing Heyer and injuring 19 others.²⁷

As white nationalist organizations and violence grow, Amazon has been slow to respond to revelations about the way it provides infrastructure to this movement.

Amazon Reacts to Public Pressure Rather Than Taking Proactive Measures

Amazon’s responses to public pressure over specific products or relationships with specific people or organizations have been mixed. For example, in 2010, facing heavy public pressure over a Kindle book titled *The Pedophile’s Guide to Love and Pleasure: A Child-Lover’s Code of Conduct*, Amazon pulled the book from the Kindle Store.²⁸ In January of 2018, following public outcry, Amazon UK removed two Chinese costumes reportedly “modeled by white children pulling their eyelids back for a more ‘slant-eyed’ look.”²⁹

²³ “Frequently Asked Questions about Hate Groups,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20171004/frequently-asked-questions-about-hate-groups#hate-group>.

²⁴ Joe Heim, “Hate Groups in the U.S. Remain on the Rise, According to New Study,” *Washington Post*, February 21, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/hate-groups-in-the-us-remain-on-the-rise-according-to-new-study/2018/02/21/6d28cbe0-1695-11e8-8b08-027a6ccb38eb_story.html?utm_term=.66ffa3198813.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ “White Supremacists Committed Most Extremist Killings in 2017, ADL Says,” *NBC News*, January 18, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/white-supremacists-committed-most-extremist-killings-2017-adl-says-n838896>.

²⁷ Jonah Engel Bromwich and Alan Blinder, “What We Know about James Alex Fields, Driver Charged in Charlottesville Killing,” *New York Times*, August 13, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/13/us/james-alex-fields-charlottesville-driver.html>.

²⁸ Ki Mae Heussner, “Amazon Removes Pedophilia Book from Store,” *ABC News*, November 11, 2010, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://abcnews.go.com/Technology/amazon-removes-pedophilia-book-store/story?id=12119035>.

²⁹ Shanghaiist.com, “Amazon Pulls Chinese Costumes Modeled by White Kids Making ‘Slanty Eyes,’” *Medium*, February 5, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://medium.com/shanghaiist/amazon-pulls-chinese-costumes-modeled-by-white-kids-making-slanty-eyes-f33efd894e7e>.

However, Amazon has sometimes been quite slow to respond to public pressure or publicity. In 2015, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) reported that Mark Schwartz, the son of a Holocaust survivor, was calling for a boycott of Amazon after he found numerous Nazi-themed items on the site, including Nazi flags, Hitler Youth knives, and running shoes imprinted with swastikas. The CBC reported that a religious group in Canada had publicly alerted Amazon to these issues two years earlier in 2013 and called on the company to develop a clear policy around such products.³⁰ A similar incident occurred with the German Amazon site, which was selling Lego figures dressed as Nazi soldiers. A father who came across the toys while Christmas shopping gathered 1,500 signatures on a petition calling on Amazon and Lego to take action against the third-party sellers peddling these toys. According to reporting by *Quartz*, despite the fact that German law seems to prohibit this type of use of Nazi imagery, Amazon had failed to remove all of the figures at the time *Quartz* published a story about the petition.³¹

In March of 2015, the *Washington Post* ran a story about white supremacists using Amazon to make money, focusing on far-right publisher and hate outlet Counter-Currents' use of the Amazon affiliate program.³² The Amazon affiliate program allows members to advertise Amazon products on their own sites, with direct links to the products on Amazon. The affiliate gets a percentage of any sales made via those links, up to 10 percent.³³ Though the SPLC had been trying to get Amazon to stop associating with Counter-Currents for years before the *Post* article ran, it was not until after the piece appeared that, according to Counter-Currents, Amazon shut down Counter-Currents' affiliate marketing account.³⁴ (See the following sections of this report for more details on Amazon's ongoing relationship with Counter-Currents.)

Amazon also has a program called AmazonSmile, which allows people to contribute to a particular charity when they make purchases on Amazon through a special link. In 2014, the SPLC raised concern around the use of these programs to fund certain white supremacist groups with its report "Financing Hate."³⁵ In its report, the SPLC noted that it had contacted Amazon to raise these issues with the company directly, but three months later, the hate sites SPLC had contacted Amazon about were still earning commission through Amazon.³⁶ Years later, Amazon blocked 35 hate organizations from using the Smile program in December 2017.³⁷ According to the SPLC, Amazon now makes use of the SPLC's list of hate organizations that are also charities and excludes them from the Smile program.³⁸

While these examples demonstrate that Amazon sometimes responds to public pressure, they also suggest that the company lacks the internal controls necessary to ensure that it is not providing platforms and revenue sources to hate groups in the first place. As hate groups grow and become increasingly emboldened, it is more important than ever that Amazon create and implement effective policies and practices so the company is not spreading or profiting from these ideologies.

³⁰ Rosa Marchitelli, "Profiting from Hate: Amazon under Fire for Allowing Sale of Nazi Paraphernalia," *CBC News*, January 8, 2016, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/amazon-accused-of-profiting-from-hate-1.3358259>.

³¹ Molly Rubin, "Lego Figures Dressed as Nazis Are Being Sold on German Amazon," *Quartz*, December 13, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://qz.com/1155406/nazi-lego-figures-are-being-sold-on-german-amazon/>.

³² Caitlin Dewey, "Amazon, PayPal and Spotify Inadvertently Fund White Supremacists. Here's How," *Washington Post*, March 17, 2015, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2015/03/17/amazon-paypal-and-spotify-inadvertently-fund-white-supremacists-heres-how/?utm_term=.631d2f89088c.

³³ "Financing Hate," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2014/financing-hate>.

³⁴ Greg Johnson, "Counter-Currents Still under Siege," *Counter-Currents Publishing*, May 26, 2015, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2015/04/counter-currents-still-under-siege/>.

³⁵ "Financing Hate," Southern Poverty Law Center.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ "Amazon Boots FMI, the Online Fundraising Effort by Racist 'Alt-right' Lawyer," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/12/06/amazon-boots-fmi-online-fundraising-effort-racist-alt-right-lawyer>.

³⁸ Email conversation with Southern Poverty Law Center staff, June 14, 2018.

PART 1:

Products Displaying Well-Known Hate Symbols and Language Are Available on Amazon

We found dozens of products for sale on Amazon displaying widely recognized hate symbols, including some Amazon says it doesn't allow. Among them were anti-Black imagery and symbols, including the Confederate flag and images evoking the white supremacist terrorist violence of lynching, Nazi imagery, and well-known modern symbols of hate, such as Pepe the Frog.

The Confederate Flag and Other Symbols of Violent Anti-Blackness

After neo-Nazi Dylann Roof's 2015 murder of nine Black worshippers at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, a national debate reemerged around the Confederate flag and its use in spaces both public and private. Retailers like Walmart,

Although Amazon has said Confederate flag products are prohibited, we found dozens of examples for sale on the site.

eBay, Etsy, Sears, and Amazon declared that they would stop selling Confederate flag products.³⁹ Amazon also added Confederate flag products to its list of prohibited items.⁴⁰ However, we found dozens of examples of Confederate flag imagery on the site in June of 2018, for example, a "Confederate Officer" kids' costume, which is stickered as "Amazon's Choice," with the Confederate flag pin and patch gift set [Image 1],⁴¹ a T-shirt [Image 2],⁴² and an "old" Georgia state flag featuring Confederate battle imagery [Image 3].⁴³ That flag was adopted in 1956 by segregationist lawmakers who were fighting desegregation on multiple fronts,⁴⁴ and Georgia replaced that flag in 2001.

Also available is an image described as a "hangman's noose lynching" decal [Image 4].⁴⁵ The ADL describes the noose as "one of the most powerful visual symbols" used against Black Americans. It evokes the American white supremacist practice of lynching, an extremely violent, often deadly form of social control used by whites after the end of slavery.⁴⁶ The connection with racist violence and intimidation is even more explicit with the "Noosed Costume" [Image 5],⁴⁷ which appears to feature a prosthetic that makes the wearer appear to have been lynched. On Amazon, the costume is modeled by a man who appears Black, explicitly evoking the racist history of lynching.

³⁹ Sinclair Broadcast Group, "Confederate Flags Banned on Amazon; Swastikas Are Not," *WSET*, January 17, 2016, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://wset.com/archive/confederate-flags-banned-on-amazon-swastikas-are-not-01-17-2016>.

⁴⁰ "Other Restricted Products," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://sellercentral.amazon.com/gp/help/external/help.html?itemID=200685320&language=en-US&ref=efph_200685320_cont_200164330.

⁴¹ "Eagle Emblems Gift Set—Confederate (Pin and Patch)," Amazon, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/EagleEmblems-DIS0122-Gift-Set-Confederate-Patch/dp/B078982H7J/ref=sr_1_1?s=arts-crafts&ie=UTF8&qid=1529538155&sr=1-1&keywords=confederate pin.

⁴² "Flag Shirt," Amazon, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/MAXST-Quick-Designed-Shirt-Tshirts/dp/B07CVC2CHJ/ref=sr_1_5?s=apparel&ie=UTF8&qid=1529095353&sr=1-5&nodeID=7141123011&psd=1&keywords=confederate flag tshirt.

⁴³ "Old Georgia State Polyester Flag," Amazon, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/ANLEY-Breeze-Georgia-State-Polyester/dp/B01FGZVV5Q/ref=sr_1_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1522719523&sr=8-2&keywords=rebel flag.

⁴⁴ Mike Owen, "How and Why the Georgia State Flag Has Changed over the Years," *Ledger-Enquirer*, June 27, 2015, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.ledger-enquirer.com/news/local/article29462581.html>.

⁴⁵ "Hangmans Noose Lynching Decal Sticker," Amazon, accessed June 20, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/HANGMANS-LYNCHING-Sticker-Motorcycle-Window/dp/B01LYA80L0/ref=sr_1_22?ie=UTF8&qid=1521248413&sr=8-22&keywords=noose.

⁴⁶ "Noose," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/noose>.

⁴⁷ "Rubie's Costume Co Reel Fx—Noosed Costume," Toys and Games, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Rubies-Costume-Co-Reel-Noosed/dp/B002SDDU0E/ref=sr_1_32?ie=UTF8&qid=1521248561&sr=8-32&keywords=noose.

Parents looking for racist clothing for infants can purchase baby onesies featuring a burning cross, available for boys [Image 6]⁴⁸ and girls [Image 7].⁴⁹ The burning cross historically is most associated with the Ku Klux Klan's racist terror campaigns against Black Americans, but its use as a hate symbol by white supremacists has transcended both the Ku Klux Klan and international borders.⁵⁰

Nazi Imagery

We found numerous examples of Nazi or fascist imagery. Among them is an eagle sticker [Image 8],⁵¹ which shows up in search results for "Nazi eagle sticker" and strongly resembles the Nazi eagle that has been adopted by neo-Nazis and white supremacists around the globe.⁵² There is a German SS officer sword with the SS "bolts" imagery on the handle [Image 9]⁵³ and SS hats [Image 10].⁵⁴ There is also a swastika necklace [Image 11]⁵⁵ labeled *hakenkreuz*—the German Nazi "hooked cross."⁵⁶

The *Totenkopf*, or "death's head," is a Nazi-era skull-and-crossbones symbol commonly used by modern white supremacists because of its importance to the German SS.⁵⁷ There are numerous Totenkopf items available on Amazon, including decals [Image 12],⁵⁸ flags [Image 13],⁵⁹ patches [Image 14],⁶⁰ and an LED bar sign [Image 15].⁶¹

(Please see the "Nazi Toys and Racist Propaganda for Children" section for more examples of explicit Nazi imagery.)

Modern Hate Symbols in Widespread Use by Neo-Nazis and Other White Supremacists

Modern white supremacist and neo-Nazi movements have developed new symbols and vocabulary. Perhaps the best-known modern example of symbolism being used to normalize hate is the Pepe the Frog meme. Pepe is a cartoon frog whose image was adopted as a symbol by young members of the alt-right and neo-Nazi movements. In September of 2016, the ADL designated Pepe the Frog a hate symbol and added it to its online hate symbol database.⁶² Despite this, in early January of

⁴⁸ "Infant Baby Boy's Rompers," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Girlj's-Rompers-Sleeveless-Jumpsuit-Bodysuit/dp/B07DF9Y51J/ref=sr_1_2?s=apparel&ie=UTF8&qid=1529249218&sr=1-2&nodeID=7141123011&psd=1&keywords=burning+cross+onesie&dpID=41DERZFA55L&preST=_SX342_QL70_&dpSrc=srch.

⁴⁹ "Infant Baby Girl's Rompers," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Toddler-Rompers-Sleeveless-Burning-Bodysuit/dp/B07DLMB16N/ref=sr_1_1?s=apparel&ie=UTF8&qid=1529249218&sr=1-1&nodeID=7141123011&psd=1&keywords=burning+cross+onesie&dpID=41+VijnZ2UL&preST=_SX342_QL70_&dpSrc=srch.

⁵⁰ "Burning Cross," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/burning-cross>.

⁵¹ "Decal Stickers Eagle," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Decal-Stickers-Eagle-Motorbike-Vinyl/dp/B00T6M3CWG/ref=sr_1_1?s=automotive&ie=UTF8&qid=1529283483&sr=1-1&keywords=nazi+eagle+sticker.

⁵² "Hate on Display™ Hate Symbols Database," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, [https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/hate-symbols?cat_id\[151\]=151](https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/hate-symbols?cat_id[151]=151).

⁵³ "Szco Supplies German SS Dress Officer Sword," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Supplies-German-Dress-Officer-Sword/dp/B00EB86C2W/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1522713140&sr=8-1&keywords=ss+officer.

⁵⁴ "Replica Officer German Vizor," Amazon, accessed April 12, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Replica-Officer-German-Vizor-Size/dp/B01N33U00E/ref=sr_1_3?ie=UTF8&qid=1522713140&sr=8-3&keywords=ss+officer.

⁵⁵ "Hakenkreuz Gammadion Cross," Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Hakenkreuz-Gammadion-Cramponnée-Buddhism-Hinduism/dp/B01KHQ17E4/ref=sr_1_1?s=music&ie=UTF8&qid=1529450457&sr=8-1&keywords=Gammadion&dpID=41vrWw4L-1&keywords=Gammadion&dpID=41vrWw4L-pl&preST=_SX300_QL70_&dpSrc=srch#customerReviews.

⁵⁶ Mukti Jain Campion, "How the World Loved the Swastika—until Hitler Stole It," *BBC News*, October 23, 2014, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-29644591>.

⁵⁷ "Totenkopf," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/totenkopf>.

⁵⁸ "Totenkopf Death's Head Sticker," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Totenkopf-Deaths-Sticker-Decal-Vinyl/dp/B078X34LSQ/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1529251379&sr=8-1&keywords=totenkopf+decal.

⁵⁹ "Totenkopf Skull and Crossbones," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/TOTENKOPF-SKULL-CROSSBONES-FLAG-pole/dp/B01BU4HE8K/ref=sr_1_1?s=lawn-garden&ie=UTF8&qid=1529251623&sr=1-1&keywords=totenkopf+flag.

⁶⁰ "Judge Enemy Punisher Skull," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Judge-Enemy-Punisher-Military-Fastener/dp/B077WCZD96/ref=sr_1_1?s=apparel&ie=UTF8&qid=1529251828&sr=1-1&nodeID=7141123011&psd=1&keywords=totenkopf+patch.

⁶¹ "Totenkopf Bar Led Light Sign," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Totenkopf-Bar-Led-Light-Sign/dp/B017IQ5KXK/ref=sr_1_cc_1?s=aps&ie=UTF8&qid=1529251968&sr=1-1-catcorr&keywords=totenkopf+led.

⁶² Jessica Roy, "How 'Pepe the Frog' Went from Harmless to Hate Symbol," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 2016, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.latimes.com/politics/la-na-pol-pepe-the-frog-hate-symbol-20161011-snap-htmllstory.html>.

2017, fast-food chain Wendy's was caught unaware by the neo-Nazi frog meme when the company tweeted an image of Pepe with its Wendy character's trademark red pigtailed. The story made headlines, with infamous neo-Nazi leader and Daily Stormer website proprietor Andrew Anglin noting that Pepe the Frog had "crossed over" into mainstream culture. Anglin said, "Wendy's was always my personal favorite burger joint, but I never would have declared it the official burger of the Neo-Nazi Alt-Right movement—until now. Everyone knows that Pepe is a Nazi frog."⁶³

More than a year after the Wendy's "Pepe tweet" story was widely reported, dozens of products with Pepe imagery are available on Amazon. For example, there is a Pepe shirt [Image 16]⁶⁴ with four prints of the cartoon frog's face arranged in a way that suggests a swastika and a baseball cap [Image 17]⁶⁵ featuring Pepe the Frog in Nazi uniform. There is also a sweatshirt [Image 18]⁶⁶ imprinted with an anti-Muslim version of the meme.

Among dozens of products with Pepe imagery available on Amazon is a baseball cap featuring Pepe the Frog in Nazi uniform.

Pepe products also show up in search results for fascist imagery. For example, a search on Amazon for "fascist flag" returned a "Kek" flag⁶⁷ among various traditional Italian and British fascist symbols [Image 19]. Kek is an alt-right meme strongly associated with Pepe the Frog, and the Kek flag design—as the SPLC points out—"perfectly mimics" a German Nazi war flag.⁶⁸ Amazon's

algorithm is apparently able to provide shoppers who are looking for fascist items with both traditional, historical options and more modern options. Along similar lines, Amazon shoppers can also buy a "Kekfederate flag" [Image 20],⁶⁹ a flag modeled after the traditional Confederate flag but featuring a Pepe the Frog color scheme and images.

The availability of these modern hate symbols on the world's largest online shopping site serves to normalize and validate the ideas they represent.

Nazi Toys and Racist Propaganda for Children

Perhaps the most insidious way Amazon lets its platform be used is through the sale of hate-promoting products intended for children. We found numerous examples of racist toys and children's products featuring Pepe the Frog, as well as a children's book that is intentionally racist, anti-immigrant propaganda. Racist family members can use Amazon to buy products that help them expose their children to messages and symbols of hate, helping normalize racist beliefs from a young age. Or adults who are unaware of the ideology behind images such as Pepe could inadvertently send their child out into the world wearing or carrying products emblazoned with hate movement imagery.

George Lincoln Rockwell's *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens: A Dramatic Saga of Intrigue, Propaganda and Subversion* [Image 21]⁷⁰ is available on Amazon in hard copy from a third-party seller and on Amazon's Kindle e-book platform for \$3.00. Rockwell

⁶³ "Papa John's, the Latest Company Coopted by the White Supremacist Alt-right, Asks Nazis Not to Buy Its Pizza," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/11/08/papa-johns-latest-company-coopted-white-supremacist-alt-right-asks-nazis-not-buy-its-pizza>.

⁶⁴ "Men's Pepe the Frog," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/XingL-Mens-Notorious-Design-Shirt/dp/B01M0SF7J2/ref=sr_1_107?ie=UTF8&qid=1522723818&sr=8-107&keywords=pepe the frog.

⁶⁵ "Pepe the Frog Hat," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Popular-Cartoon-Champagne-Baseball-Trucker/dp/B01LWQEV3R/ref=sr_1_298?ie=UTF8&qid=1519927865&sr=8-298&keywords=pepe the frog.

⁶⁶ "U3JD9D Sad Frog Pepe Olympic Pullover," Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/U3JD9D-Olympic-Pullover-Leisure-X-Large/dp/B079JS4GD4/ref=sr_1_136?ie=UTF8&qid=1519927020&sr=8-136&keywords=pepe the frog.

⁶⁷ "MemeWerks Kek Flag," Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/MemeWerks-Kek-Flag-Republic/dp/B06XNLFGNK/ref=sr_1_4?ie=UTF8&qid=1529447139&sr=8-4&keywords=kek+flag&dplD=517N5JCesL&preST=_SY300_QL70_&dpSrc=srch.

⁶⁸ "What the Kek: Explaining the Alt-right 'Deity' behind Their 'Meme Magic,'" Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/05/08/what-kek-explaining-alt-right-deity-behind-their-meme-magic>.

⁶⁹ "3x5 Kekfederate Flag," Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Kekmart-3x5-Kekfederate-flag/dp/B0786M47GG/ref=sr_1_17?s=lawn-garden&ie=UTF8&qid=1529447948&sr=1-17&keywords=kek flag.

⁷⁰ George Lincoln Rockwell, *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens: A Dramatic Saga of Intrigue, Propaganda and Subversion*, Kindle ed. (Milwaukee, WI: New Order and Historical Review Press, 2014), accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Fable-Ducks-Hens-Propaganda-Subversion-ebook/dp/B00NJ62380/ref=asap_bc?ie=UTF8.

founded the American Nazi Party in 1959 and coined the term “white power.”⁷¹ American white supremacist David Duke has called Rockwell “the greatest American who ever lived,”⁷² and with the recent public reemergence of neo-Nazism, Rockwell’s ideas have seen a resurgence.

The description on Amazon’s site makes no mention of Rockwell’s background or the racist propaganda in the book. Parents considering the book would see it described as a “witty,” colorfully illustrated story about ducks whose lives are ruined by “an influx of pushy, scheming hens.”⁷³ Those taking a closer look might notice a user review approvingly describing the book as a “Great National Socialist Kids book” that “teaches our children to be careful and don’t let refugees in to your country” and illustrates how “we” are “screwed by the colored birds!”⁷⁴

We also found other Nazi-themed toys and action figures still up for sale in the U.S. and in the U.K. For example, on Amazon’s U.S. site, mini-figurines [Image 22]⁷⁵ depicting a World War II German machine gun team are listed with a manufacturer-recommended age of “8 years and up.” An action figure [Image 23] described as suitable for children as young as three years old depicts not a historical German soldier but an “Ultimate Soldier 21st Century Wehrmacht German”—apparently transporting the Nazi-era German armed forces into the modern era.⁷⁶ The U.K. Amazon site has a set of Nazi motorcycle soldier figurines [Image 24]⁷⁷ and numerous individual Nazi soldier figurines, such as one carrying a World War II-era Panzerfaust gun [Image 25].⁷⁸

Readers will remember Pepe, the neo-Nazi frog from our discussion of modern hate symbols. Pepe products for kids are also abundant on Amazon. For example, a backpack [Image 26]⁷⁹ for “1–6 years old,” available in pink or blue, features an angry-looking Pepe image. Another item listed under “Kids’ Backpacks” features Pepe as Donald Trump [Image 27].⁸⁰ (A Pepe Trump meme became popular with Trump supporters during the run-up to the 2016 election and was even tweeted by the Trump campaign.⁸¹) Another backpack described as “beautiful for girls” depicts Pepe wearing an SS officer’s hat [Image 28].⁸² Fidget spinners featuring the frog with a swastika across its belly [Image 29] are described as “great toys for fidget, anxiety, focus, ADHD, autism, quitting bad habits.”⁸³ There are even items for babies, such as a romper [Image 30]⁸⁴ featuring a dark-skinned Pepe with a beard and a turban, evoking a common anti-Muslim stereotype.

⁷¹ Michael E. Miller, “The Shadow of an Assassinated American Nazi Commander Hangs over Charlottesville,” *Washington Post*, August 21, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/08/21/the-shadow-of-an-assassinated-american-nazi-commander-hangs-over-charlottesville/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.f79451016e70.

⁷² “David Duke,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/david-duke>.

⁷³ Description of *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens* by George Lincoln Rockwell, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Fable-Ducks-Hens-Propaganda-Subversion-ebook/dp/B00NJ62380/ref=asap_bc?ie=UTF8.

⁷⁴ Review of *The Fable of the Ducks and the Hens* by George Lincoln Rockwell, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Fable-Ducks-Hens-Propaganda-Subversion-ebook/dp/B00NJ62380/ref=asap_bc?ie=UTF8.

⁷⁵ “WWII Barbarossa 1941 Action Figure,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/BARBAROSSA-including-Heinrich-Wehrmacht-Dragon/dp/B075HMQY2/ref=sr_1_40?s=toys-and-games&ie=UTF8&qid=1522785964&sr=1-40&keywords=Wehrmacht.

⁷⁶ “Ultimate Soldier 21st Century,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Ultimate-Soldier-Century-Wehrmacht-Germany/dp/B002GU2B5Y/ref=sr_1_28?s=toys-and-games&ie=UTF8&qid=1522785964&sr=1-28&keywords=Wehrmacht.

⁷⁷ “Dunkirk 1940 German WW2,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.co.uk/DUNKIRK-German-motorcycle-soldiers-minifigures/dp/B0767RHXX2/ref=lp_3866516031_1_6?srs=3866516031&ie=UTF8&qid=1521493017&sr=8-6.

⁷⁸ “WW2 Custom German Soldier,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Custom-German-Soldier-BrickArms-Panzerfaust/dp/B0153TN2TS/ref=sr_1_4?s=kids&ie=UTF8&qid=1529255253&sr=1-4&keywords=german ww2.

⁷⁹ “Lovely Baby Pepe,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Lovely-Baby-Children-RoyalBlue-Backpack/dp/B01KH3YYC/ref=pd_cart_vw_1_1?encoding=UTF8&pd_rd_i=B01KH3YYC&pd_rd_r=41CEHV36531QN7DPP3P3&pd_rd_w=NOxZb&pd_rd_wg=HtsOK&pssc=1&refRID=41CEHV36531QN7DPP3P3.

⁸⁰ “Grrry Stylish Lightweight,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Grrry-Stylish-Lightweight-Shoulder-Backpack/dp/B0798MGHHS/ref=sr_1_12?s=toys-and-games&ie=UTF8&qid=1519927794&sr=1-12&keywords=pepe the frog.

⁸¹ Sam Sanders, “What Pepe the Frog’s Death Can Teach Us about the Internet,” *NPR*, May 11, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/alltechconsidered/2017/05/11/527590762/what-pepe-the-frogs-death-can-teach-us-about-the-internet>.

⁸² “ZQWEOO Sad Frog Pepe,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/ZQWEOO-Drawstring-Backpack-Gorgeous-Beautiful/dp/B079KF7CKM/ref=sr_1_271?ie=UTF8&qid=1519927794&sr=8-271&keywords=pepe the frog.

⁸³ “Triangle High Speed Peg Top Spinners,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Triangle-High-speed-Peg-top-Spinners-Whipping/dp/B07B7FH3M8/ref=sr_1_104?ie=UTF8&qid=1522724859&sr=8-104&keywords=pepe+the+frog.

⁸⁴ “Sad Frog Pepe,” Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/WENXIANSHTISF-Romper-Sleeve-Custom-Deluxe/dp/B079L4WV7L/ref=sr_1_3?ie=UTF8&qid=1522772302&sr=8-3&keywords=pepe the frog romper.

PART 2:

Groups Are Using Amazon to Spread Hate Ideologies through Books, Music, and Online Content

Hate groups and racist propagandists are also using Amazon's e-book, self-publishing, and web services businesses to spread their ideologies and grow their movements. In these cases, Amazon is not just a retailer of products created by others, but it actually facilitates the publication or delivery of racist, Islamophobic, and anti-Semitic content, and in doing so generates revenue for itself. Additionally, companies dedicated to selling hate music—a powerful recruitment tool for racist movements—are able to sell on Amazon.

Amazon's facilitation of the publication of books and e-books, and delivery of online content, provides hate groups with a larger platform and potential audience than they would otherwise have.

While a great many books espousing a variety of views—including racist, misogynist, Islamophobic, and anti-Semitic views—are available for sale on Amazon in both print and e-book formats, here we focus on hate *organizations and ideologues* using Amazon to spread their ideas, persuade people to their point of view, and generate income to support their ongoing work. The ideological purpose behind these people and organizations, and their identification as hate groups or leaders by the

SPLC, distinguishes them from publishers or sellers who distribute a wide variety of books via Amazon's platform. Additionally, Amazon's facilitation of the publication of books and e-books, and delivery of online content, provides these groups with a larger platform and potential audience than they would otherwise have.

Amazon's Kindle Fans Flames of Hate

Amazon is the country's largest seller of e-books, taking in an estimated 83 percent of all e-book revenue annually.⁸⁵ Amazon sells "Kindle Edition" e-books on its site, which customers can read on its proprietary e-reader, the Kindle. Amazon makes Kindle Edition e-books available through its deals with publishing houses⁸⁶ and through KDP, a service for smaller publishers and individuals.⁸⁷

At least seven SPLC-identified hate groups are publishing materials in Amazon Kindle format as of June 2018, per a review of Amazon's site (see Appendix B for a full list of titles from these publishers).

The white nationalist publishing house Counter-Currents⁸⁸ has 50 titles available in Kindle format.⁸⁹ Titles include *Truth, Justice, and a Nice White Country*; *Trevor Lynch's White Nationalist Guide to the Movies*; and *In Defense of Prejudice*.⁹⁰ Additionally, Counter-

⁸⁵ Kinga Jentetics, "Amazon's Ebook Market Share: Is It Big Enough?" PublishDrive, June 6, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018. <https://publishdrive.com/amazon-ebook-market-share/>.

⁸⁶ Jeffrey Trachtenberg, "Amazon, Penguin Random House Agree to New Deal on Book Sales," *Wall Street Journal*, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/amazon-penguin-random-house-agree-to-new-deal-on-book-sales-1434644767>; "Amazon, HarperCollins Reach Multi-year Publishing Deal," *Reuters*, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/amazoncom-harpercollins/amazon-harpercollins-reach-multi-year-publishing-deal-wsj-idUSL4N0XB0UX20150414>.

⁸⁷ Amazon.com, Inc., Form 10-K for fiscal year ended December 31, 2017, p. 4, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://phx.corporate-ir.net/phoenix.zhtml?c=97664&p=irol-reportsannual>.

⁸⁸ "Greg Johnson," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/greg-johnson>.

⁸⁹ Search results for "Counter-Currents Publishing," Books: Kindle Edition, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/gp/search/ref=sr_adv_b/?search-alias=stripbooks&unfiltered=1&field-keywords=&field-author=&field-title=&field-isbn=&field-publisher=Counter-Currents+Publishing&node=&field-p_n_condition-type=&p_n_feature_browse-bin=618073011&field-age_range=&field-language=&field-dateop=During&field-datemod=&field-dateyear=&sort=relevanceexprank&Adv-Srch-Books-Submit.x=0&Adv-Srch-Books-Submit.y=0.

⁹⁰ Greg Johnson, *Truth, Justice, and a Nice White Country*, Kindle ed. (San Francisco: Counter-Currents), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Truth-Justice-Nice-White-Country-ebook/dp/B01958ZRWU>; Trevor Lynch, *Trevor Lynch's White Nationalist Guide to the Movies*, Kindle ed. (San Francisco: Counter-Currents), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Trevor-Lynchs-White-Nationalist-Movies-ebook/dp/B00BGAN9DS>; Greg Johnson, *In Defense of Prejudice*, Kindle ed. (San Francisco: Counter-Currents), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Defense-Prejudice-Greg-Johnson-ebook/dp/B06Y47LN5L>.

Currents distributes its regular blog via Amazon Kindle; for 99 cents per month, readers can have Counter-Currents' blog posts automatically delivered to their Kindle.⁹¹ The promotional image included on the listing for the Kindle blog subscription is a screenshot of a blog post titled "Some Thoughts on Hitler," still available on the Counter-Currents website. The writer of the post argues that "anti-Hitler orthodoxy" is "tacit propaganda for multiracialism" and that it is incumbent on white nationalists "as a simple matter of self-defense, to arrive at a balanced view of Hitler."⁹²

Chick Publications, long identified as a hate group due to its "militant, vitriolic propaganda war against anyone who doesn't adhere to its particular brand of Christianity,"⁹³ has 85 Kindle titles available on Amazon,⁹⁴ including titles that focus on conspiracy theories about Islam,⁹⁵ debunking the Qur'an,⁹⁶ and converting Muslims to Christianity.⁹⁷ Additionally, Chick Publications is a seller on Amazon, meaning it distributes its print publications directly via the site.⁹⁸

Kindle titles include *Truth, Justice, and a Nice White Country*; Trevor Lynch's *White Nationalist Guide to the Movies*; and *In Defense of Prejudice*.

Kindle titles from Fidelity Press include *The Jews and Moral Subversion* and *Escape from Globalism* ("globalism" is a well-known anti-Semitic dog whistle).⁹⁹ The SPLC identifies Fidelity as part of the radical traditional Catholicism hate movement, which "may make up the largest single group of serious anti-Semites in America."¹⁰⁰ Twenty-six titles from Fidelity, including *Escape from Globalism*, appear to be available *only* in Kindle format—no print editions are available per the publisher's website.¹⁰¹ Fidelity, like Chick, is a seller on Amazon as well.¹⁰²

By facilitating the publication of these e-books, Amazon is helping hate groups reach a large audience and make their materials available within mere moments. While the terms of Amazon's deals with these individual publishers are unknown, the company's description of its digital pricing states that it keeps between 30 and 65 percent of revenues from sales of e-books published via KDP.¹⁰³

Amazon's content guidelines for its KDP service reserve the company's "right to make judgments about whether content is appropriate and to choose not to offer it" and say that "what we deem offensive is probably about what you would expect."¹⁰⁴ Whether Amazon does not find these publications offensive or has failed to apply its standards is unknown to us.

⁹¹ "Counter Currents Publishing/North American New Right," Kindle ed., accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Counter-Currents-Publishing-North-American-Right/dp/B0063LZ94M>.

⁹² Irmin Vinson, "Some Thoughts on Hitler," *North American New Right* (blog), Counter-Currents Publishing, April 20, 2011, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2011/04/some-thoughts-on-hitler/>.

⁹³ "Pastor Apologizes for Hate-Filled Halloween Hand-out," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2011/11/02/pastor-apologizes-hate-filled-halloween-hand-out>.

⁹⁴ Search results for "Chick Publications," Books: Kindle Edition, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/gp/search/ref=sr_pg_1?rh=n%3A283155%2Cp_n_feature_browse-bin%3A61807301%2Cp_30%3AChick+Publications&sort=relevance&rank&unfiltered=1&ie=UTF8&qid=1529280208.

⁹⁵ Jack Chick, *The Prophet* (Crusaders Book 17), Kindle ed. (Ontario, CA: Chick, 1988), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.in/Prophet-Crusaders-Book-17-ebook/dp/B00FZXD3NI>.

⁹⁶ Mohammad Al Ghazoli, *Christ, Muhammad and I*, Kindle ed. (Ontario, CA: Chick, 2010), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Christ-Muhammad-Mohammad-Al-Ghazoli-ebook/dp/B004EEPNU6>.

⁹⁷ Gina S. Wilson, *When the Mosque Comes to Town*, Kindle ed. (Ontario, CA: Chick, 2013), accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/When-Mosque-Comes-Town-Wilson-ebook/dp/B00HLTBEJO>.

⁹⁸ Chick Publications storefront, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/sp?seller=AQ3384VNYU2AX>.

⁹⁹ "The Fidelity Press E-book Collection: E-books for Kindle," Culture Wars, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.culturewars.com/ebooks.htm>

¹⁰⁰ "Radical Traditional Catholicism," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/radical-traditional-catholicism>.

¹⁰¹ The following 26 titles available in Kindle format (see note 99) are not available in hard copy per Fidelity Press's website: *Escape from Globalism: Meditations while Rowing down the Danube*; *Jewish Nazis; There Is No We; Civiltà Cattolica on the Jewish Question; The Man behind the Curtain: Michael Voris and the Homosexual Vortex; Francisco y el fin de las guerras culturales: Observaciones críticas de un viajero; Niggas in Denial: Pimping the System and the System of Pimping; Mr. Puddle's Paradox; Culture Wars in India; The Roots of India's Rape Crisis; The Magi and the Apartheid Wall; The Absence of Father Brown; Abu Ghraib and the American Empire; L'affaire Williamson: The Catholic Church and Holocaust Denial; Travels with Harley in Search of America: Motorcycles, War, Deracination, Consumer Identity; Speed Bump; Requiem for a Whale Rider; The Academic Exercise; Impossible Possibilities; Lejzor and Fiszal Sing the Blues: Chess Records and the Black-Jewish Alliance; The Logos of Architecture and Its Opponents; The Christmas Stamp and Other Stories; Assassins and Character Assassins: Spielberg's Munich; Culture Jihad in Tehran; A Coney Island of the Mindless; Last Meal and Other Stories.*

¹⁰² Fidelity Press storefront, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/sp?seller=A3SNZF9SLL5A0S>.

¹⁰³ "Digital Pricing Page," Kindle Direct Publishing, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://kdp.amazon.com/en_US/help/topic/G200634500.

¹⁰⁴ "Content Guidelines," Kindle Direct Publishing.

Amazon's CreateSpace Publishes Virulently Racist Content

Known white supremacists also use Amazon's tools to publish print versions of their work. CreateSpace is Amazon's self-publishing service for print books. Similar to Kindle, CreateSpace's content guidelines reserve the company's right to reject content as inappropriate, and go further in warning against offensive content: "Be aware of cultural differences and sensitivities. Some materials may be acceptable in one country, but unacceptable in another. Please keep in mind our global community of customers."¹⁰⁵

The *Occidental Quarterly* is a racist journal devoted to the idea that as whites lose majority status, "the civilization and free governments that whites have created" are in danger.¹⁰⁶ As of June 2018, the *Occidental Quarterly* has published at least five editions via CreateSpace, all available for sale on Amazon.com.¹⁰⁷ Each of these issues lists Kevin MacDonald as an author. MacDonald has been called "the neo-Nazi movement's favorite academic."¹⁰⁸

Also published through CreateSpace and available for sale on Amazon.com is Kyle Bristow's novel *White Apocalypse*.¹⁰⁹ The SPLC describes the book as a "bloodthirsty white nationalist fantasy" and criticized Amazon for publishing the book in 2011.¹¹⁰ According to the SPLC, the book was hailed as "a bracing inspiration for future recruits" to white nationalism.¹¹¹

Billy Roper is a white supremacist who has predicted the breakup of the United States into ethno-states and who coordinates a group that believes it is preparing to create and defend a white ethno-state in the Ozark Mountains.¹¹² Roper has used CreateSpace to publish 18 fiction and nonfiction books on this and related topics.¹¹³ The description for one begins, "In 'The Ice Path,' the best-selling fiction author in the White Nationalist movement deftly interweaves a prehistorical and historical fiction narrative with an autobiographical testimony and nonfiction 'Rules For Racialists' guide to becoming a person of influence within the pro-White movement."¹¹⁴ The SPLC describes Roper as "the uncensored voice of violent neo-Nazism."¹¹⁵

CreateSpace says it keeps 40 percent of the list price of books it publishes, plus additional charges per book and, in some cases, per page. In an example provided by CreateSpace to describe its royalty structure to potential users, the Amazon subsidiary would keep the equivalent of 74 percent of a book's list price.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁵ "Content Guidelines," CreateSpace, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.createspace.com/Help/Rights/ContentGuidelines.jsp>.

¹⁰⁶ "Occidental Quarterly," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/occidental-quarterly>.

¹⁰⁷ Search results for "Occidental Quarterly," Books: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/gp/search/ref=sr_adv_b/?search-alias=stripbooks&unfiltered=1&field-keywords=occidental+quarterly&field-author=&field-title=&field-isbn=&field-publisher=CreateSpace+Independent+Publishing+Platform&node=&field-p_n_condition-type=&p_n_feature_browse-bin=&field-age_range=&field-language=&field-dateop=During&field-datemod=&field-dateyear=&sort=relevanceprank&Adv-Srch-Books-Submit.x=13&Adv-Srch-Books-Submit.y=7

¹⁰⁸ "Kevin MacDonald," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/kevin-macdonald>.

¹⁰⁹ Kyle Bristow, *White Apocalypse*, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/White-Apocalypse-Kyle-Bristow/dp/1453768475>. View "Product Details" for publisher name.

¹¹⁰ "Amazon Often Rejects Porn but Helps White Racists Publish Books," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2011/03/21/amazon-often-rejects-porn-helps-white-racists-publish-books>.

¹¹¹ "Kyle Bristow," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/kyle-bristow>.

¹¹² "What Is the ShieldWall Network Plan? Project New America," ShieldWall Network, February 6, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://shieldwallnetwork.wordpress.com/what-is-the-shieldwall-network-plan-project-new-america/>.

¹¹³ Search results for "Billy Roper," Books: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/s/ref=sr_pg_1?rh=n%3A283155%2Cp_27%3ABilly+Roper%2Cp_30%3ACreateSpace+Independent+Publishing+Platform&sort=relevanceprank&unfiltered=1&ie=UTF8&qid=1529291740x.

¹¹⁴ Description of *The Ice Path: A Way Forward* by Billy Roper, Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Ice-Path-Way-Forward/dp/1512272736/ref=sr_1_10?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1529291918&sr=1-10&refinements=p_27%3ABilly+Roper%2Cp_30%3ACreateSpace+Independent+Publishing+Platform.

¹¹⁵ "Billy Roper," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/billy-roper>.

¹¹⁶ "Understanding Royalties," CreateSpace, Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.createspace.com/Products/Book/Royalties.jsp>.

Streaming “Hatecore” Celebrates Violence and Racism

Music has long been a recruitment tool for organized white supremacists. As the ADL reported in 2012, “white power music is not simply entertainment. It is music with a message, a medium used to express an ideology suffused with anger, hatred and violence.”¹¹⁷ The SPLC describes white power or “hatecore” music as a “multimillion-dollar, worldwide industry that is a primary conduit of money and young recruits to the radical right.”¹¹⁸

The explosion of digital music distribution has bolstered the hate music world in recent years.¹¹⁹ Devin Burghart, a researcher who has tracked white supremacy in music for more than 20 years, says that racist musicians have been “emboldened” since Trump rose to power. White power bands are playing more frequently, and white power ideologies are showing up in more genres.¹²⁰

As of June 2018, Amazon is offering streaming music and digital downloads from least 11 bands identified as making hate music (see Appendix C for a full list of bands and titles available to stream or download). For example, Amazon offers 21 songs from racist band Max Resist, including “Romantic Violence” and “Boot Party,” which celebrate physical violence.¹²¹ Among the 30 titles from Brutal Attack is one called “Unity,” which includes the lyrics

Among the 30 titles from Brutal Attack is one called “European Unity” which includes the lyrics “European unity, white power, pride and dignity.”

“European unity, white power, pride and dignity.”¹²² This song is titled “European Unity” elsewhere,¹²³ and the title may have been shortened on Amazon Digital Music in order to make use of the mainstream distribution channel. Similarly, a number of titles from racist band Chingford Attack have been altered on Amazon streaming, but their content remains virulently racist, anti-Semitic, and misogynist. These titles include “C. Hunt,” where C stands for a racist epithet for Black people; “Dirty B Bastard,” listed elsewhere as “Dirty Black Bastard” and containing that lyric; “J Lies,” for “Jewish Lies”; and “Dirty W Whore,” for “Dirty White Whore,” a song about white women married to Black men.¹²⁴ The digital samples of Chingford Attack’s songs available on Amazon include explicitly racist lyrics like those in the song titles.¹²⁵

In addition to identifying specific bands, the SPLC identifies a number of record labels that produce and distribute hate music,¹²⁶ and at least four have a cumulative 48 albums available on Amazon to stream or download as of June 2018. Nineteen albums from Elegy Records are available digitally on Amazon.¹²⁷ The album art for Bitter Peace’s *Ashes of Oppression* shows a man carrying what resembles an Imperial German flag.¹²⁸ According to the ADL, some neo-Nazis use this flag because Germany

¹¹⁷ “The Sounds of Hate: The White Power Music Scene in the United States in 2012,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Sounds-of-Hate-White-Power-Music-Scene-2012.pdf>.

¹¹⁸ “Hate Music,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/hate-music>.

¹¹⁹ “Music, Money and Hate,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2014/music-money-hate-0>.

¹²⁰ Cristina Maza, “How to Avoid Accidentally Booking a White Power Band,” CityLab, November 13, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.citylab.com/life/2017/11/so-you-accidentally-booked-a-white-supremacist-band/545594/>.

¹²¹ Max Resist and the Hooligans, “Boot Party” lyrics, FlashLyrics, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.flashlyrics.com/lyrics/max-resist-and-the-hooligans/boot-party-25>; Max Resist, “Romantic Violence” lyrics, Genius, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://genius.com/Max-resist-romantic-violence-lyrics>.

¹²² Brutal Attack, “European Unity” lyrics, FlashLyrics, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.flashlyrics.com/lyrics/brutal-attack/european-unity-27>.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ “Chingford Attack,” Digital Music, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, [https://www.discogs.com/Chingford-Attack-Reds-Better-Run-When-Were-On-The-Attack/release/8472537](https://www.amazon.com/gp/search/ref=sr_adv_m_digital/?search-alias=digital-music&unfiltered=1&field-keywords=&field-author=Chingford+Attack&field-title=&field-label=&field-browse=&sort=relevancerank&Adv-Srch-MP3-Submit.x=0&Adv-Srch-MP3-Submit.y=0; Chingford Attack, Red's Better Run When We're on the Attack, ISD Records, 2012, accessed June 18, 2018, <a href=); Chingford Attack, “Dirty White Whore” lyrics, FlashLyrics, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.flashlyrics.com/lyrics/chingford-attack/dirty-white-whore-41>.

¹²⁵ Samples from “Dirty B Bastard” and “C. Hunt” by Chingford Attack, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/Reds-Better-When-Attack-Explicit/dp/B00FGLKFIA/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1529420015&sr=8-1&keywords=Chingford+Attack.

¹²⁶ “Hate Music,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

¹²⁷ Search results for “Elegy Records,” Digital Music: Albums, Amazon, accessed June 20, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/s?rh=n%3A163856011%2Cp_33%3A%22Elegy+Records%22%2Cp_n_feature_browse-bin%3A625150011&sort=relevancerank&unfiltered=1&ie=UTF8&qid=1529505702.

¹²⁸ Bitter Peace, *Ashes of Oppression*, Elegy Records, 2015, accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Ashes-Oppression-Bitter-Peace/dp/B0142YXY5C>.

has banned use of the swastika and other Nazi imagery.¹²⁹ From ISD Records, there is *Valhalla's Warriors* by Warhammer.¹³⁰ This album includes the song "Aryan White" and other songs whose titles appear to have been shortened on Amazon to make them less apparently racist: "Die Die" on Amazon is listed as "Die Jew Die" elsewhere, while "W.P. Skinheads" on Amazon is "White Pride Skinheads."¹³¹

Finally, in addition to providing digital distribution to hate bands and record labels, Amazon allows R.A.C. Records, a distributor of racist music, T-shirts, flags, and other products, to maintain an entire storefront on Amazon with 204 items up for sale as of June 2018.¹³² R.A.C.'s worldview is apparent; the domain www.whitepower.com redirects to its website.¹³³ Through the R.A.C. storefront, customers can purchase music by racist bands, including perhaps the best-known and most notorious white power band, Skrewdriver.¹³⁴ Skrewdriver is so beloved among white supremacists that despite the band's breakup more than two decades ago, its logo is the most common white power symbol used on "tattoos, patches, pins, and clothing."¹³⁵ The Amazon R.A.C. storefront also carries issues of a white power magazine called *Resistance*.¹³⁶

Amazon's guidelines for the content of music sold on its site, including streaming and digital music, appear to be the same as those provided to CreateSpace users: nothing "offensive"; "be aware of cultural differences."¹³⁷ Musicians and record labels wishing to offer streaming music or digital downloads on Amazon must go through a distributor,¹³⁸ and it does not appear that the terms of the distribution are published by Amazon. However, according to one distributor, Amazon sets the retail price of digital releases, and bands typically receive about 60 percent of the retail price.¹³⁹

Other platforms, like Apple Music and Spotify, have taken steps to remove hate music from their streaming services following critical reports from journalists and the SPLC.¹⁴⁰

¹²⁹ "Imperial German Flag," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/imperial-german-flag>.

¹³⁰ Warhammer, *Valhalla's Warriors*, ISD Records, 1995, accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/Valhallas-Warriors-Explicit/dp/B00K6OMTZO>.

¹³¹ Track listing for *Valhalla's Warriors* by Warhammer, MusiXmatch, accessed June 20, 2018, <https://www.musixmatch.com/album/Warhammer/Valhalla-s-Warriors>.

¹³² R.A.C Records storefront, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.amazon.com/sp?seller=A2P109XX86PAD3>.

¹³³ See www.whitepower.com.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ "Skrewdriver," Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/skrewdriver>.

¹³⁶ See note 132.

¹³⁷ "Content Guidelines," Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/gp/help/customer/display.html/ref=hp_left_v4_sib?ie=UTF8&nodeId=201995150.

¹³⁸ "Programs for Listing Items on Amazon," Amazon, accessed June 19, 2018, https://www.amazon.com/gp/help/customer/display.html/ref=hp_left_v4_sib?ie=UTF8&nodeId=201995000.

¹³⁹ "Start Selling Your Tracks on Amazon Music," Ditto Music Promotion, accessed June 19, 2018, <https://www.dittomusic.com/sell-your-music/amazon-mp3>.

¹⁴⁰ Abbey White, "Spotify Is Removing White Supremacist and Neo-Nazi Bands from Its Music Library," *Vox*, August 17, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/culture/2017/8/17/16162146/spotify-removing-white-supremacist-neo-nazi-bands>; Marc Hogan, "Is White Power Music Finally Getting Booted from the Internet?" *Pitchfork*, August 17, 2017, accessed June 23, 2018, <https://pitchfork.com/thepitch/is-white-power-music-finally-getting-booted-from-the-internet/>.

Web Services

Through AWS, Amazon facilitates the publication and distribution of digital media.¹⁴¹ Among the services offered by AWS is CloudFront, a content delivery network (CDN). CDNs are networks of servers that cache the static content of websites, allowing websites to load quickly.¹⁴² Indeed, Amazon says CloudFront “securely delivers data, videos, applications, and APIs to your viewers with low latency and high transfer speeds.”¹⁴³

Among the content Amazon is helping to deliver via CloudFront is the website of ACT for America,¹⁴⁴ which the SPLC and the ADL identify as the largest anti-Muslim hate group in the United States.¹⁴⁵ ACT for America organized a “March Against Sharia” in dozens of cities in June 2017. These marches mobilized racist extremists, including members of other SPLC-identified hate groups, like Identity Evropa and National Vanguard.¹⁴⁶ ACT for America claims to have successfully lobbied for 84 pieces of legislation in 32 states to date.¹⁴⁷

At least two other hate groups are using CloudFront to deliver content on their websites. One of these, Counter-Currents Publishing, was described above, and visitors to its website can read its blog, order books, stream podcasts, and watch videos.¹⁴⁸ Publisher Greg Johnson claimed in a recent blog post that the site receives about 150,000 unique visitors each month.¹⁴⁹ The anti-LGBTQ organization American Vision is another.¹⁵⁰ On its site, users can listen to podcasts, watch videos, read articles, and buy books. A post from March 2018 explores a debate about whether the death penalty should apply to LGBTQ people.¹⁵¹

Among the content Amazon is helping to deliver via CloudFront is the website of ACT for America, which the SPLC and the ADL identify as the largest anti-Muslim hate group in the United States.

¹⁴¹ “What Is AWS?” Amazon Web Services, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://aws.amazon.com/what-is-aws/>.

¹⁴² Nadya Khoja, “What Is a Content Delivery Network (CDN)? And What Does It Mean for Your Site?” *Huffington Post*, August 17, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/nadya-khoja/what-is-a-content-deliver_b_11405094.html.

¹⁴³ “Amazon CloudFront,” Amazon Web Services, Amazon, accessed June 18, 2018, https://aws.amazon.com/cloudfront/?nc2=h_m1.

¹⁴⁴ Search results for “<http://www.actforamerica.org/>,” CDN Finder Tool, CDN Planet, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.cdnplanet.com/tools/cdnfinder/#site:http://www.actforamerica.org/>. Homepage source code for <http://www.actforamerica.org> as of June 18, 2018, on file with author.

¹⁴⁵ “ACT for America,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/act-america>; “ACT for America,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/resources/profiles/act-for-america>.

¹⁴⁶ Abigail Hauslohner and Justin Wm. Moyer, “Anti-Sharia Demonstrators Hold Rallies in Cities across the Country,” *Washington Post*, June 10, 2017, accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/anti-sharia-marches-planned-for-numerous-cities-across-the-country-saturday/2017/06/10/40faf61e-4d6f-11e7-a186-60c031eab644_story.html?utm_term=.9a60b2b2fab1; see also note 2.

¹⁴⁷ “Accomplishments,” ACT for America, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.actforamerica.org/accomplishments>.

¹⁴⁸ Search results for “<https://www.counter-currents.com/>,” CDN Finder Tool, CDN Planet, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.cdnplanet.com/tools/cdnfinder/#site:https://www.counter-currents.com/>. Homepage source code for <http://www.counter-currents.com> as of June 18, 2018, on file with author.

¹⁴⁹ “Happy Birthday to Us: Counter-Currents Celebrates Its 8th Birthday,” Counter-Currents Publishing, June 12, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2018/06/happy-birthday-to-us-8/>.

¹⁵⁰ Search results for “<https://americanvision.org/>,” CDN Finder Tool, CDN Planet, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://www.cdnplanet.com/tools/cdnfinder/#site:https://americanvision.org/>. Homepage source code for <http://www.americanvision.org> as of June 18, 2018, on file with author.

¹⁵¹ Joel McDurmon, “Wilson vs. McDurmon on Homosexuality and the Death Penalty (Comments and Audio),” *American Vision*, March 22, 2018, accessed June 18, 2018, <https://americanvision.org/15716/wilson-vs-mcdurmon-on-homosexuality-and-the-death-penalty/>.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Amazon has responded to public pressure in particular instances and for particular parts of its empire, but has failed to create internal systems that effectively prevent hate groups from using its platforms to propagate their ideas or that stop the spread of hate symbols via its online store. In a moment when hate groups and racist violence are on the rise, Amazon's failure to effectively block hate organizations from the use of its platforms to spread violent ideologies is a dangerous choice.

The relationship between certain symbols and ideologies and violence is well understood in other parts of the world. In Germany, it is illegal to display Nazi imagery or to use hate speech, because these things are understood not as neutral speech but as provocations to violence.

Amazon must take a public stand against this hate and violence, and take action to ensure that it is not profiting from hate or enabling others to profit from hate. Across its platforms, Amazon has the right to determine what it sells, publishes, and helps to deliver online. As a wealthy corporation, it has the resources to ensure its policies are enforced.

Our recommendations for how Amazon should take responsibility:

- ▶ Amazon must take a clear public stand against hate movements and their ideologies and publicly pledge not to profit from hate.
- ▶ Amazon must develop more robust policies for all of its platforms in consultation with experts who study hate movements and symbols, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). These new policies must be consistent and transparent, and evolve appropriately as hate movements and their symbols evolve.
- ▶ Amazon must stop letting its platform be used to sell items featuring hate symbols.
- ▶ Amazon must destroy any merchandise displaying hate symbols currently in Amazon-controlled warehouses and distribution centers.
- ▶ Amazon must not facilitate the publication and distribution of hate movement propaganda. This means that Amazon should:
 - Stop providing web content delivery services to identified hate groups,
 - Remove electronic books by racists and other peddlers of hate from its Kindle Store,
 - Stop allowing hate literature to be published via KDP, and
 - Stop making white power and "hatecore" music available on its streaming platform.
- ▶ Amazon must develop and resource transparent enforcement mechanisms to ensure that Amazon and its users and clients are adhering to its policies.

Appendix A:
Products Featuring Hate Symbols Available on Amazon.com

The following products feature images identified by the Anti-Defamation League as hate symbols and were available for purchase on Amazon.com in June 2018.

Image 1 Confederate flag pin and patch gift set



Image 4 Hangman's noose decal—lynching imagery



Image 2 Confederate flag T-shirt



Image 5 "Noosed Costume"—lynching imagery

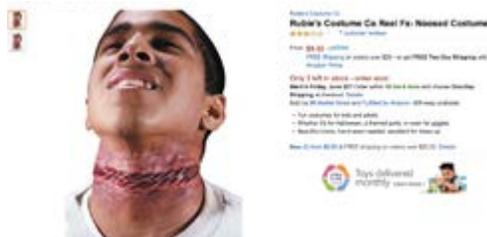


Image 3 Georgia state flag featuring Confederate imagery



Image 6 Cross burning baby onesie for boys



Image 7 Cross burning baby onesie for girls



Image 11 Nazi swastika pendant



Image 8 Nazi eagle sticker

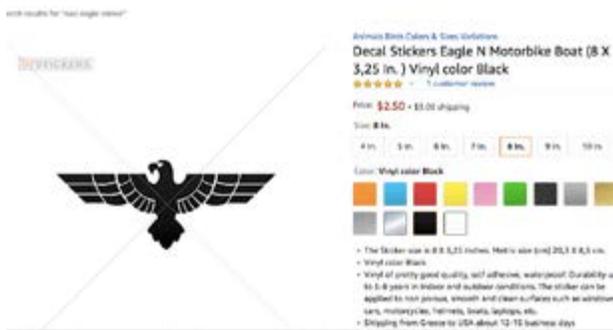


Image 12 Nazi Totenkopf decal



Image 9 German SS officer sword



Image 13 Nazi Totenkopf flag



Image 10 German SS hat



Image 14 Nazi Totenkopf patches



Image 15 Nazi Totenkopf bar sign



Image 19 Neo-Nazi “Kek” flag among traditional fascist images in search results for “fascist flag”

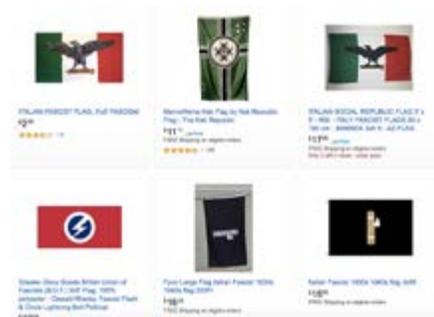


Image 16 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog shirt



Image 20 “Kekfederate flag”—hybrid of Confederate flag and neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog meme



Image 17 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog baseball cap



Image 21 Cover of racist propaganda book for children by American Nazi party founder George Lincoln Rockwell



Image 18 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog sweatshirt

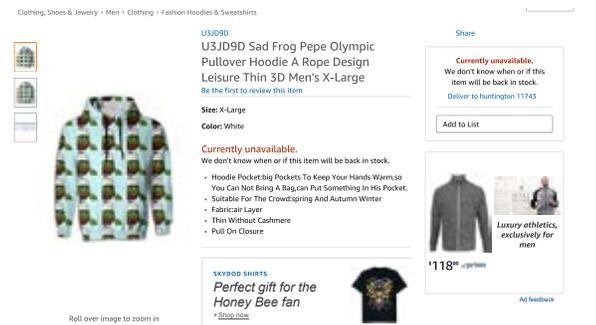


Image 22 Nazi machine gun team figurines—children's toy



Image 23 21st century Nazi soldier figurine—children's toy



Image 27 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog as Donald Trump kids' backpack



Image 24 Nazi motorcycle soldier—children's toy



Image 28 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog with SS officer hate kids' backpack



Image 25 Nazi soldier figurine with Panzerfaust gun—children's toy



Image 29 Neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog fidget spinner with swastikas

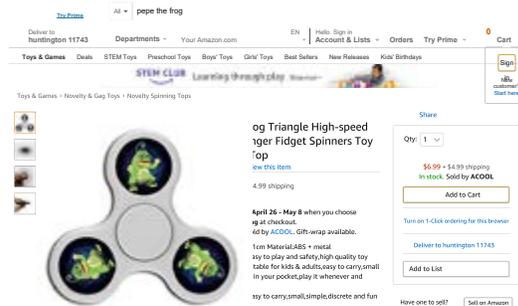


Image 26 Angry neo-Nazi Pepe the Frog kids' backpack



Image 30 Pepe the Frog baby romper—anti-Muslim



Appendix B:**Selected Titles from Hate Publishers Available in Kindle eBook Format**

The following publishers have been identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center as hate organizations. The following titles were available in Kindle e-book format from Amazon.com in June 2018. A full list of 226 titles available is on file with authors.

Publisher	Author(s)	Title
Chick Publications	Moshay, G. J. O.	<i>Anatomy of the Qur'an</i>
Chick Publications	Wilson, Gina S.	<i>When the Mosque Comes to Town</i>
Chick Publications	Ghazoli, Mohammad Al	<i>Christ, Mohammad and I</i>
Chick Publications	Chick, Jack	<i>The Prophet (The Crusaders Book 17)</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg, and Gregory Hood	<i>Dark Right; Batman Viewed from the Right</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg, and Tito Perdue	<i>In Defense of Prejudice</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Devlin, F. Roger	<i>Sexual Utopia in Power: The Feminist Revolt against Civilization</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Bowden, Jonathan, and Greg Johnson	<i>Western Civilization Bites Back</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Covington, Harold, and F. Roger Devlin	<i>North American New Right, Volume One</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg	<i>North American New Right, Volume Two</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Lynch, Trevor, and Greg Johnson	<i>Trevor Lynch's White Nationalist Guide to the Movies</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg, and Kevin MacDonald	<i>New Right vs Old Right</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg	<i>Truth, Justice, and a Nice White Country</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Quinn, Spencer J.	<i>White Like You</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Ludovici, Anthony	<i>The Confessions of an Anti-feminist: The Autobiography of Anthony M. Ludovici</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	O'Meara, James J., and Greg Johnson	<i>The Homo and the Negro</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Johnson, Greg	<i>Confessions of a Reluctant Hater</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Lynch, Trevor, and Greg Johnson	<i>Son of Trevor Lynch's White Nationalist Guide to the Movies</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Bowden, Jonathan	<i>Pulp Fascism</i>

Counter-Currents Publishing	O'Meara, James J., and Greg Johnson	<i>Green Nazis in Space: New Essays in Literature, Art, and Culture</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	O'Meara, James J., and Greg Johnson	<i>The Eldritch Evola and Others: Traditionalist Meditations on Literature, Art, and Culture</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Devi, Savitri, and R. G. Fowler	<i>And Time Rolls On: The Savitri Devi Interviews</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Bolton, Kerry, and Greg Johnson	<i>Artists of the Right</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Devi, Savitri, and R. G. Fowler	<i>Defiance: The Prison Memoirs of Savitri Devi</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Devi, Savitri, and R. G. Fowler	<i>Gold in the Furnace: Experiences in Post-war Germany</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Polignano, Michael, and Greg Johnson	<i>Taking Our Own Side</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Vinson, Irmin, and Greg Johnson	<i>Some Thoughts on Hitler and Other Essays</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Nowicki, Andy	<i>The Columbine Pilgrim</i>
Counter-Currents Publishing	Devi, Savitri	<i>The Non-Hindu Indians and Indian Unity</i>

Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Catholics and the Jew Taboo</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Jewish Fables</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Pope Francis in Context: Have the End Times Arrived in Buenos Aires?</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>How Meyer Lansky Took Over the Cincinnati Ballet: And What Four Ballerinas Did about It</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Shylock's Ewes and Rams: Economics and Morality</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>The Man behind the Curtain: Michael Voris and the Homosexual Vortex</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Islam and Logos</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael, and John Beaumont	<i>The Jews and Moral Subversion</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael, and John Beaumont	<i>The Catholic Church and Jews</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Ethnos Need Logos: Why I Spent Three Days in Guadalajara Trying to Persuade David Duke to Become Catholic</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Culture Wars in India</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Bruen, James G., Jr.	<i>There Is No We</i>

Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>The Magi and the Apartheid Wall</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Civilta Cattolica	<i>Civilta Cattolica on the Jewish Question</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>L'affaire Williamson: The Catholic Church and Holocaust Denial</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Travels with Harley in Search of America: Motorcycles, War, Deracination, Consumer Identity</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Bruen, James G., Jr.	<i>Errant Knight: The Scandal of Prochoice Knights</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Jewish Nazis</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Lejzor and Fiszal Sing the Blues: Chess Records and the Black-Jewish Alliance</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Niggas in Denial: Pimping the System and the System of Pimping</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Benedict's Rule: The Rise of Ethnicity and the Fall of Rome</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Escape from Globalism: Meditations while Rowing down the Danube</i>
Fidelity Press/Culture Wars	Jones, E. Michael	<i>Protectors of the Code: The Christmas Day Abortion Clinic Bombing</i>
IHS Press	Senior, John, Andrew Senior, and Dr. David Allen White	<i>The Death of Christian Cultures</i>
IHS Press	Senior, John, and Andrew Senior	<i>The Restoration of Christian Culture</i>
IHS Press	Pesch, Heinrich, and Dr. Rupert Ederer	<i>Ethics and the National Economy</i>
IHS Press	Lanz, Tobias J., and John Sharpe	<i>Beyond Capitalism and Socialism: A New Statement of an Old Ideal</i>
IHS Press	O'Huallachain, D. Liam, and J. Forrest Sharpe	<i>Neo-Conned! Again: Hypocrisy, Lawlessness, and the Rape of Iraq</i>
IHS Press	Penty, Arthur, and Dr. Peter Chojnowski	<i>The Gauntlet: A Challenge to the Myth of Progress</i>
The Remnant Press	Chudinova, Elena, and Duncan Maxwell Anderson	<i>The Mosque of Notre Dame</i>
Washington Summit Publishers	Lynn, Richard	<i>Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis</i>
Washington Summit Publishers	Roth, Byron	<i>The Perils of Diversity: Immigration and Human Nature</i>
Washington Summit Publishers	Lynn, Richard	<i>The Chosen People: A Study of Jewish Intelligence and Achievement</i>
Washington Summit Publishers	Bolton, K. R., and Edmund Connelly	<i>The Great Erasure: The Reconstruction of White Identity</i>

Appendix C: Hate Music Available to Stream and for Digital Download on Amazon.com

The following bands have been identified by the Southern Poverty Law Center as making hate music. The following albums and songs were available for streaming and digital download from Amazon.com in June 2018.

Hate Band	Album	Songs
Ad Hominem	<i>Napalm for All</i>	AMSB I Am Love Consecrate the Abomination Napalm for All Goatfucker V. Is the Law Imperial Massacre Bomb the Earth You Are My Slut Vatican Gay
Arghoslent	<i>1990–1994 The First Three Demos</i> [Clean]	Bloody Mary Jigsaw Arghoslent The Entity Prenotion Fascist Inculcation Cathari Jaws of the Furnace Werguild Mob of the Howling Incursions Swallowed Bastard Son of One Thousand Whores The Imperial Clans A Somber Warcry The Nexus of Chaos
Brutal Attack and Bully Boys	<i>Anthems with Attitude</i>	Avenge or Regret In Your Eyes My Final Vision Kill Me Now Green Fields Beyond Same Old Story Battle of the Highlands Intro Jail Break Skinhead Superstar Run Away Underdog Pray for Revolution Battle of the Highlands Outro

Brutal Attack	<i>Pride and Passion</i>	Pride and Passion Darkness Ocean of Warriors These Tears Are Real Child Unity Dear Mother Always Near (For Ian) Changes Deliverance For the Fallen and the Free You Deceived Me, Pt. 1 My Sword Duty Tomorrows Dream Blood No Way Out Last Day of Summer From the Inside Sacrifice Tell England My Last Goodbye Embers of Yesterday You Deceived Me, Pt. 2
Chingford Attack	<i>Reds Better Run When We're on the Attack</i>	Dirty W Whore Death or Glory Smash the System East End C. Hunt Dirty B Bastard J Lies Political Correctness Chingford Attack
Condemned 84	<i>Skins n Pinz</i>	In the Gutter
Condemned 84	<i>Skins n Pinz 2</i>	Face the Aggression
Geimhre	<i>Northern Black Metal</i>	Celtic
Ian Stuart and Stigger	<i>Patriotic Ballads: Our Time Will Come</i>	Ian Stuart and Stigger The Lion's Roar We Stand Alone One in a Million Wasted Life Never Give In Glory Left to Drown Why Worry Europe on My Mind Our Time Will Come Tuesday's Gone

Ken and Stigger	<i>They Died with Pride</i>	I Stand Get Yourself Tattooed I Heeded the Call Have a Drink with Me Berlin Stalingrad Just Outta Reach Stand Tall My Son Sleep Well My Brother The Drum and the Bugle
Max Resist	<i>Aces and Eights: The Best of Max Resist</i>	Traitors Beware Romantic Violence Max Resist Cut-N-Loose R.J.M. Boot Party Renegade Youth W.P. Rock N' Roll Anger and Hatred Maximum Resistance White Man Last Days Ghost 88 Rock N' Roll Band Keep Fighting Masters of the Media My Goodness, My Guinness Fight Night I Hope... My Heart for Deutschland Donna Maniac
Moloth	<i>Unbreakable Faith</i>	Witches Fog Above the Giant's Tomb Buchenwald By Thunder from Heaven My Native Land In Our Hearts And Still Will Be So Raven to Raven Black Spell of Destruction (Burzum)

For More Information Available Here



www.forworkingfamilies.org
[Facebook.com/PartnershipforWorkingFamilies](https://www.facebook.com/PartnershipforWorkingFamilies)
 Twitter: @P4WF



www.acreinstitute.org
[facebook.com/ACREcampaigns/](https://www.facebook.com/ACREcampaigns/)
 twitter: @ACREcampaigns