

Parliamentary Forum on Confronting and Combating Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region



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ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Helsinki process, formally titled the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, traces its origin to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in Finland on August 1, 1975, by the leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada. As of January 1, 1995, the Helsinki process was renamed the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The membership of the OSCE has expanded to 55 participating States, reflecting the breakup of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The OSCE Secretariat is in Vienna, Austria, where weekly meetings of the participating States' permanent representatives are held. In addition, specialized seminars and meetings are convened in various locations. Periodic consultations are held among Senior Officials, Ministers and Heads of State or Government.

Although the OSCE continues to engage in standard setting in the fields of military security, economic and environmental cooperation, and human rights and humanitarian concerns, the Organization is primarily focused on initiatives designed to prevent, manage and resolve conflict within and among the participating States. The Organization deploys more than 20 missions and field activities located in Southeastern and Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. The website of the OSCE is: <www.osce.org>.

ABOUT THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission, is a U.S. Government agency created in 1976 to monitor and encourage compliance by the participating States with their OSCE commitments, with a particular emphasis on human rights.

The Commission consists of nine members from the United States Senate, nine members from the House of Representatives, and one member each from the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce. The positions of Chair and Co-Chair rotate between the Senate and House every two years, when a new Congress convenes. A professional staff assists the Commissioners in their work.

In fulfilling its mandate, the Commission gathers and disseminates relevant information to the U.S. Congress and the public by convening hearings, issuing reports that reflect the views of Members of the Commission and/or its staff, and providing details about the activities of the Helsinki process and developments in OSCE participating States.

The Commission also contributes to the formulation and execution of U.S. policy regarding the OSCE, including through Member and staff participation on U.S. Delegations to OSCE meetings. Members of the Commission have regular contact with parliamentarians, government officials, representatives of non-governmental organizations, and private individuals from participating States. The website of the Commission is: <www.csce.gov>.

PARLIAMENTARY FORUM ON CONFRONTING AND COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE OSCE REGION

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DECEMBER 10, 2002

**COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
WASHINGTON, DC**

The Commission met in Room 334, Cannon House Office Building, Washington DC, at 10:00 a.m., the Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Co-Chairman, presiding.

Commissioners present: Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Co-Chairman and Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly; Hon. Benjamin L. Cardin, Commissioner; and Hon. Alcee L. Hastings, Commissioner and Vice President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

Other Members present: Hon. Joseph Crowley, Member of Congress.

Forum participants present: Dr. Gert Weisskirchen, Member, German Bundestag and Vice President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly; Hon. Dietmar Nietan, Member, German Bundestag; Markus Löning, Member, German Bundestag; and Hon. Jerahmiel Grafstein, Member, Senate of Canada and Treasurer, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

Witnesses present: Dr. Juliane Danker-Wetzel, Center for Research into Anti-Semitism, Berlin; Ken Jacobson, Associate National Director, Anti-Defamation League; Dr. Hanno Loewy, Founder, Fritz Bauer Institute, Frankfurt; Ambassador Alfred H. Moses, former President, American Jewish Committee and former U.S. Ambassador to Romania; Rabbi Israel Singer, President, World Jewish Congress; and Arkadi Vaksberg, Deputy Head Moscow PEN Center.

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, CO-CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND CHAIRMAN, U.S. DELEGATION TO THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

Mr. SMITH. This forum will come to order.

I want to thank all of you for attending this very important forum on combating the growing problem of anti-Semitism in the countries that make up the Organization for Security and Cooperation [OSCE].

It is a particular pleasure, ladies and gentlemen, for me to welcome Dr. Gert Weisskirchen, who is a member of the German Bundestag, a very gifted legislator, a powerful voice in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. I have seen him in action many times fighting the battle on

human rights, democratization, corruption and all the issues that confront the OSCE countries, especially the emerging democracies. He is a good friend.

I thank him for co-chairing this forum, which I believe to be a very historic meeting. Today's session is a follow-up to our conference held in Berlin, a conference that focused on this rising tide of anti-Semitic violence. I want to thank Dr. Weisskirchen for hosting that forum, which was very enlightening and has been a catalyst for so much of what we are doing on the issue of rising anti-Semitism.

I also would like to welcome Dietmar Nietan and Markus Löning, who are also members of the German Parliament.

I also welcome our good friend Senator Jerry Grafstein from Ottawa, who is a member of the Senate of Canada. He has been also a very active mover and shaker in the Parliamentary Assembly every time that I have been there, and Ben Cardin and I have been part of the U.S. delegation now a number of times.

I want to thank all of our witnesses in advance. We look forward to your testimony. It is especially important that we meet here today on International Human Rights Day. We need to focus on this terrible cancer of anti-Semitism on this very important day when human rights are spotlighted and celebrated as they so rightfully should be.

Today's meeting is the continuation of a process begun last July in Berlin. It was on the occasion of the Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly when our German colleagues, as I just pointed out, hosted a special event on anti-Semitism. The 11 members of the delegation to the Assembly that I led believed that such an event was urgently needed to underscore our shared concerns about the rise of anti-Semitic violence we had observed earlier in the year in much of the OSCE region. The violence included vandalism against Jewish cemeteries, synagogues, cultural property, mob assaults, firebombing and gunfire.

This unsettling trend has led the U.S. Helsinki Commission to hold a special hearings in May to obtain a clear picture of the threat and to consider how we could respond. Of course, for many of us, especially our very distinguished witnesses and some of those in the room, the fight against anti-Semitism has been lifelong.

I looked out and saw, just a moment ago, Mark Levin, from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. Mark and I traveled together on my first human rights trip to the U.S.S.R. back in 1982 with the focus on Soviet Jews.

We met with Natan Scharansky's mother, who made an impassioned plea to us about the impending health crisis that her son was experiencing in Perm Camp 35. We also met with Yuli Koshirovsky and a host of other *refuseniks*. For me it was an eye-opener second to none about what a repressive dictatorship can do and was doing to people simply because of their ethnicity and their religious belief or their country of origin. So I want to thank all of you for that long-standing work that you do on behalf of Jews who are persecuted worldwide.

At the Berlin OSCE Parliamentary Assembly meeting, I am happy to say, 40 Parliamentarians from 14 countries co-sponsored a U.S. draft resolution on anti-Semitism that received the overwhelming endorsement of the full Assembly. Among other things, that resolution declared that anti-Semitic violence must have no place in the 21st century, and called upon the OSCE participating States to take concrete steps to make this vision a reality.

The process that we and our German parliamentary colleagues are carrying forward is designed to be an action plan to help realize and build upon the goals endorsed by the Parliamentary Assembly in Berlin.

At the conclusion of today's events, Dr. Weisskirchen and I will sign a letter of intent to continue and expand our joint cooperative initiative on anti-Semitism within the framework

of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. In this document we propose specific actions we believe should be undertaken to confront and combat anti-Semitic actions throughout the OSCE region.

Among the concrete measures we call for are the formal condemnation by Parliaments of anti-Semitism as the Bundestag and the U.S. Congress have already done, the enactment of appropriate criminal legislation to punish anti-Semitic acts and other actions generated by racial hatred, and the promotion of expanded educational efforts to combat anti-Semitism among young people.

It is our hope that representatives of other parliaments in the OSCE's 55 participating States will sign onto this document and actively commit themselves to this initiative and its worthy goals.

We wish to disseminate information of our own best practices as well as to help others learn from our mistakes. By working actively and persistently together, I am convinced that we can reverse the troubling trend of increased anti-Semitic violence in the OSCE region. We can create an environment that not only tolerates diversity, but welcomes it and its potential for greatly enriching our societies.

Given the many impossible dreams that have already been realized through the Helsinki Process, such as the great progress in establishing freedom and democracy throughout former Communist Central and Eastern Europe and in Russia itself, this is not an unrealistic goal. This is a winnable war, and it has to be fought.

I look forward to hearing from our distinguished European and American witnesses. We particularly appreciate their recommendations on actions we can take to maximize our efforts to combat anti-Semitism.

We will open the forum up at the end to any questions that some folks might have, or comments or interventions that they might want to make.

I would now like to yield to the Co-Chairman of this event, my good friend from Germany, Dr. Weisskirchen, for any opening comments he might have.

**DR. GERT WEISSKIRCHEN, MEMBER,
GERMAN BUNDESTAG AND
VICE PRESIDENT, OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you so much, Chris. It is wonderful to have you all here and to be here.

First I would like to thank you, Chris, that you are the initiator of this event, together with the national delegation of the United States of America in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. We have to meet at this point, we have to act now, and we have to have an action plan.

We will continue our discussions in Vienna at the winter session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, and then in Rotterdam next July.

Anti-Semitism is a separate and unique form of racism. We Germans know how anti-Semitism works. Ethnic hatred may start small, then it gains momentum, and then it gets out of control—a poison to the bodies of the state institutions. In the end democracy is destroyed.

In some member States of the OSCE, this year, 2002, was a dangerous year. Synagogues were attacked, Jewish men and women suffered random attacks, hate letters and hate speeches reached record levels. That shows anti-Semitism is not a fringe phenomenon in our societies.

The latest study on this subject in Germany conducted by Wilhelm Heitmeier, published a month ago, concludes that fundamental rights are endangered by hostile attitudes within society.

Anti-Semitism is a global phenomenon that needs to be combated on a global scale. Therefore, we need a comprehensive, multidimensional, and long-term approach.

I thank you again, Chris, that you and your delegation was the inventor of this project. But frankly speaking, it is not only a project, but much more than that.

Our combat will determine the future in which we will live. Anti-Semitism is a direct violation of the principles of liberty, respect for human rights, and the rule of law; principles on which modern democracies are founded.

The OSCE States are committed to these principles. That gives us a chance to build a coalition of the willing, and we are starting this. The starting point is to deliver a review of the current situation, and this hearing is a decisive step in that direction.

The next step must be the development of a specific program of action to combat anti-Semitism. It involves efforts to strengthen civil society and to encourage people to stand up for their convictions, and a preventive strategy focusing especially on education, both formal and informal, on the media and on religion.

For too long we allowed an undercurrent of anti-Semitism to simmer in our societies. Now the time has come to act. We all can make an important difference and we will.

Alongside with us—Germans and Jews, Europeans and Americans, and all citizens of the world—we do have a witness to tell us what will happen if anti-Semitism is the winner. It is the utmost terrible experience mankind ever made: the Holocaust. The victims are calling upon us to act until the end of the time: "Never let this happen again."

Let me end by mentioning the outstanding contribution of Kertész Imre, who will get the Nobel Prize for literature, to the memory of the Holocaust.

He said, and I quote, "To reflect upon Auschwitz does not mean to deal with the past but to think about the future."

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Weisskirchen, thank you very much for that very eloquent statement and for the indefatigable work that you have done on a host of human rights issues, especially this one.

We are very grateful. Again, you hosted the Berlin conference and did it so admirably. This is the follow-on to that, so I want to thank you for your leadership.

I would like to yield to Commissioner Cardin, the gentleman from Maryland.

HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, COMMISSIONER COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Let me first say that the Helsinki Commission and the OSCE are synonymous with human rights progress. So I think it is very appropriate, on International Human Rights Day, that Chairman Smith has convened this meeting to talk about the rising trend of anti-Semitism and what we can do as parliamentarians to fight the rise of anti-Semitism.

It is also an honor to have my good friend, our colleague from Germany, Mr. Weisskirchen, with us today. Gert has been one of the true leaders in the Helsinki Commission on human rights issues, not only dealing with anti-Semitism, but dealing with a whole host of human rights problems in all of the OSCE regions and, quite frankly, in our entire world. So it is a

real honor to have here one of the true leaders. I have worked on this Committee. I have worked with him on specific issues. He has always been very sensitive to the human rights issues of all people in our regions.

I also want to acknowledge the leadership of Chris Smith. He has been the moving force behind our efforts to engage other parliamentarians on the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe and also within the United States and Canada. He is the moving force behind getting us together, not only here in the United States, but in Germany, and raising this issue at all the forums.

It is interesting that one by-product of our working together was the passage at the Berlin Meetings of a strong resolution on anti-Semitism authored by Chairman Smith and the United States delegation.

So, Chris, I thank you for your steadfast leadership on these issues.

Today's forum continues this Commission's important work and focus on anti-Semitism. In May 2002, the Helsinki Commission held a hearing on escalating anti-Semitic violence in Europe. At that hearing, we received testimony which conclusively documented the rising amount of anti-Semitic violence in both Europe and throughout the OSCE region. You have heard some of those examples already expressed today.

In July 2002, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Meeting in Berlin held a separate forum on this issue, which, by the way, was a historic occasion. We had not done that in the past. This meeting is a historic meeting. It showed that we will use every vehicle we can to deal with human rights abuses and the rise of anti-Semitism.

That meeting was hosted by the American and German parliamentarians. The Parliamentary Assembly ultimately adopted the resolution to which I referred.

The Berlin Declaration recalled that in 1990, in Copenhagen, all participating States pledged unequivocally to condemn anti-Semitism and take effective measures to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence. Today, we should focus on the specific steps OSCE parliamentarians can take to address this growing problem.

The Berlin Declaration urges the participating States to take several concrete steps to combat anti-Semitism, including making public statements recognizing violence against Jews and Jewish cultural properties as anti-Semitic, ensuring aggressive law enforcement by local and national authorities on anti-Semitic criminal acts, and reviewing their laws, regulations, practices and policies to ensure that they conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism.

We must also remember that violence against Jews can never be justified by international developments or political issues. The OSCE participating States have an obligation to stamp out anti-Semitism now and not wait for this cancer to continue to spread its prejudice and intolerance toward Jews and ultimately to other religious minorities.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that, at the conclusion of this forum, a letter of intent will be signed by the American and German parliamentary delegations to OSCE. You have mentioned that.

Let me point out two actions discussed in that letter of intent. First, the letter of intent pledges that the parliamentarians will promote educational efforts throughout the OSCE regions to counter anti-Semitic stereotypes and attitudes among young people.

As I stated in our May 2002 hearing on this issue, I believe that education of younger generations is a key to the solution of tackling the problems of anti-Semitism. In some countries, we have actually seen counterproductive educational programs that actually breed prejudice.

We must take a more proactive approach on this issue, encouraging and promoting tolerance and diversity of curricula so that generations of young people are not growing up learning to hate their fellow citizens, simply based on their religious beliefs and practices.

Mr. Chairman, I must tell you that I can recall when I was in school the textbooks then used stereotypes of gender and race that added to prejudice. We have taken steps to combat that in our country, and we need to do that throughout the OSCE countries and our neighboring alliances.

The letter of intent supports the establishment of an OSCE Parliamentary-based "coalition of the willing" to address anti-Semitic propaganda that appears to be increasing rapidly in a number of OSCE partner countries including, most recently and notably, Egypt. I strongly support further engagement and discussion with the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation (which includes Israel and Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia), on the issue of anti-Semitism. I am very eager to open a dialogue with our fellow parliamentarians in those nations in the near future.

Mr. Chairman, again, I thank you for hosting this conference. I look forward to hearing from the distinguished panel of witnesses that we have before us to continue our action plan to fight anti-Semitism.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Cardin, thank you very much for your very kind remarks, but most importantly, for your leadership on this issue throughout the years. You have been a real giant in the House of Representatives. We are absolutely united on this issue and on human rights issues in general, but especially this very important issue of combating anti-Semitism.

So thank you, Ben.

I would like to introduce Senator Grafstein, from Canada. Do you have any opening remarks?

**HON. JERAHMIEL GRAFSTEIN, MEMBER,
SENATE OF CANADA AND
TREASURER, OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

Sen. GRAFSTEIN. First, I want to thank both the Co-Chairmen for their kind invitation to invite me to share my experiences and observations at this forum.

I regret I was unable to attend the forum held in Germany last summer. However, I heard very good reports and so I was most anxious to come and participate and perhaps take this experience back to Canada.

May I congratulate both the Co-Chairs, Chris and Gert, who have been very active and vocal leaders at the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly on every human rights front; it is not just on anti-Semitism, but their leadership has impact on every "human rights" front. May I say for the record, having been a witness at the OSCEPA for the last 8 years, the leadership shown by both of you has been extraordinary. This forum, I think, is another example of concrete action— not just putting words on the paper, but concrete action.

I want to congratulate, as well, the U.S. Helsinki Commission, in particular, Chris and Ben Cardin, for their leadership in preparing this resolution, and your staff that provoked these discussions here in Washington and Berlin. I recall that I was asked almost the day before the time limit at midnight by one of your staff members to read and endorse it, which I did gladly after reading it, to assure that it dealt with as an "urgent" resolution before the Parliamentary Assembly. The good news is that it was endorsed not only in committee, after a very good and active debate, but it was also endorsed unanimously by the entire Parliamentary Assembly.

Again I want to congratulate Gert, who made an outstanding speech to second my speech in Berlin, which I think led to a very quick and unanimous endorsement, which I thought was both timely and important and demonstrated great leadership on his part.

So I am delighted as well that the resolution has now been passed, as I understand, by both the U.S. Congress and by the German Parliament. On November 21 last month, I introduced a similar resolution in the Senate of Canada, and I hope that this resolution will be referred to a standing committee of the Senate of Canada for a similar action plan so that when we get back to the Parliamentary Assembly, not just in Vienna in February, but in Rotterdam next summer, we will be able to report that we have not only passed resolutions that are important, but we put in place action plans behind those resolutions.

I hope, Mr. Chairman with your indulgence that when the witnesses have completed their evidence, that I might be able to speak for a minute or two to bring a personal perspective from a Canadian viewpoint. I have been a Senator in Canada for close to 2 decades. With your indulgence I will do that after witnesses have given their testimony.

But thank you so much again, and I am delighted to be here and I await with great anticipation the evidence of our witnesses.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Nietan?

Sen. GRAFSTEIN. Oh, by the way, it would be imprudent of me if I did not comment on the fact that Alcee Hastings, a Vice President of the OSCE, our colleague in the American Congress, is here with us, today. Alcee has been on the forefront of all these issues, and I am delighted that he is here today.

I am sure you will pay special note of him, but I would hazard that I would be in very difficult straits, as the treasurer of the OSCE, if the important power of Mr. Hastings was not endorsed on all my actions. For me not to note him here would have been a sign of regression on my part.

[Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Nietan?

HON. DIETMAR NIETAN, MEMBER, GERMAN BUNDESTAG

Mr. NIETAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the invitation and thank you for the opportunity to speak to you as a member of the younger generation of members in parliament in Germany. Please allow me to continue my statement in my native language, in German. [through translator]. I welcome the opportunity to work with this forum, because I personally feel that it is especially important that parliamentarians are engaged in this effort and work towards the anti-discrimination goals of this effort.

I am particularly pleased to see that members of parliaments of the different member States are engaged in this effort and this dialogue, and I am of the opinion that the statement which one occasionally hears in Germany that you cannot talk about anti-Semitism is wrong. You must talk about anti-Semitism.

I want to continue the thought expressed by Mr. Cardin. Now it is especially important that we educate the younger generation, for the actual victims and perpetrators of the Holocaust are dying out. This is but ancient history for our younger generation.

Therefore I hope that we will be able to formulate a strategy in this very important fight against anti-Semitism. I look forward to the final document that this forum will pass.

I thank you very much for your attention.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for your statement.

I would like to recognize my good friend from Florida, Commissioner Alcee Hastings, who, as was pointed out, is very much a leader in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, not just in the United States, but also in Vienna and elsewhere at our various parliamentary meetings; Mr. Hastings has served in various capacities, including OSCEPA vice president. Alcee, please proceed.

**HON. ALCEE L. HASTINGS, COMMISSIONER
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
AND VICE PRESIDENT, OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY**

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank my colleague from Canada for recognizing me. I am going to hold it against Gert Weisskirchen that he did not. [Laughter.]

Really, I did not know that Jerry was going to be here, and I did know that Gert was. We are in three meetings; actually Ben and I are in one meeting together, and then each of us has an 11:00 meeting. My apologies, Mr. Chairman, for having to leave. But because our colleagues came from such far distances, I thought it at least worthy to stop by and pay homage to them, as well as to listen to as many of the witnesses as I can.

I do want to point to the fact that this is a worldwide phenomenon, and it comes home to some of us in rather dramatic ways. Florida, the state that I hail from, had an increase in anti-Semitic incidents of 1,400 percent in the last year. We know some reasons these actions are being taken, and our previous speaker, Mr. Nietan, pointed out that the younger generation is in need of greater education. Most of that increase in anti-Semitism came from people under the age of 21.

That said, I know that we have much work to do in the United States, and I urge this multinational effort in fighting this scourge throughout the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CARDIN. Would the gentleman yield just for one moment?

Mr. HASTINGS. I certainly will.

Mr. CARDIN. I would just like to acknowledge, particularly at this forum, the leadership of Alcee Hastings on getting the African-American and Jewish members of Congress together to deal with prejudice within our own communities, to try to deal not only with anti-Semitism, but with broader concerns of the spread of prejudice in our own country.

I just want to compliment you for your leadership in that effort.

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Commissioner Hastings.

I would like now to introduce a member of the Bundestag, Mr. Löning.

**HON. MARKUS LÖNING, MEMBER,
GERMAN BUNDESTAG**

Mr. LÖNING [through translator]. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to emphasize particularly that this is an international effort, but it was initially a German-American effort to fight anti-Semitism. I think it is important that we continue this work and emphasize the evils of anti-Semitism.

There are two points in the proposed action plan that are particularly important to me:

First, the question of education: the education of our young citizens to respect others, to respect minorities, to respect differences among human beings. I think it is very important that we undertake this. This is an obligation that the older generation has, never to let this obligation die and never to let this effort die, to educate and inculcate in the younger members of our society these values of tolerance.

Tolerance and respect for minorities is something that must be nurtured and continually upheld as a goal and as an ideal for our society.

Second, which I consider to be most important for a free citizenry, it is significant for members of society—and I am not just talking about our political representatives, but every member of a society—to acknowledge his identity and to deal with the identity of others on an open and fair basis.

This is a significant aspect of a free society; namely, that members of the society can profess to be against racism, against hatred against minorities, and against hatred for the oppressed. It is important that we uphold this ideal for our society.

In that sense, I think that passage B of our joint declaration is particularly important because it requires every member of our society to publicly profess his devotion to these ideals. If we can succeed in creating this kind of social climate, then we will have won.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much for your excellent statement.

Today we have two panels with a total of six very expert, distinguished global citizens who will be testifying. I will be introducing from the American side and Gert will be introducing those who he has asked to be on the panel. We have arranged the panel in alphabetical order because you are all very, very important and we want to hear what you all have to say.

I would like to begin by introducing Mr. Ken Jacobson, whom I have known for a long time, the Associate National Director of the Anti-Defamation League [ADL]. As we all know, he represents an organization that has been a spearhead in promoting tolerance and understanding in developing educational materials to achieve these goals. The ADL has always been in the forefront in trying to mitigate and eradicate these acts of violence and anti-Semitism. It is a very, very credible and important organization. We look forward to your statement.

Gert?

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Now, from Germany we have two witnesses. One of them is Juliane Danker-Wetzel from the Center for Research on Anti-Semitism, Technical University, Berlin. She is the first speaker from my country.

**DR. JULIANE DANKER-WETZEL,
CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON ANTI-SEMITISM,
TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY, BERLIN**

Ms. DANKER-WETZEL. Thank you very much for inviting me to this forum.

The rise in anti-Semitic activities is clearly observable in most of the EU member States since the beginning of the so-called al-Aqsa Intifada. The frequency and intensity of the violent nature of those activities increased parallel to the escalation in the Middle East conflict in April-May of this year. This points to a connection between events in the Middle East with criticism of Israel's politics on the one hand, and mobilization of anti-Semitism on the other.

While it is certainly correct to view anti-Semitism sometimes as part of racism, at the same time, anti-Semitism possesses very specific traits. The range of anti-Semitic motifs stretches from racist to conspiratorial-oriented and religious prejudices, but anti-Zionist notions, often coupled with anti-American patterns, are also activated.

The dominating motif of contemporary anti-Semitism is still that of a so-called "Jewish world conspiracy." This basic assumption is applied to explain very different phenomena. Here the Holocaust denial assumes a central role in European right-wing extremism.

Precisely at this point, extreme right-wing propaganda becomes an employable, ideologically for radical Islamist groups in their struggle against Israel. For the victims' status and Israel's right to exist are challenged by the so-called Auschwitz lie.

Here, a learning process has taken place in which revisionist thought propagated very early and very prominently by French intellectuals, lastly by Roger Gaudy, was adopted by some people in the Arab world. Via Arab-language media in Europe, these notions reached into a small section of the Muslim population in European countries. Such stereotypes are also spread by the World Wide Web.

In almost all EU member countries the World Wide Web is an important medium for anti-Semitic propaganda, precisely because it is suited to the international dissemination of anti-Semitism due to the difficulty in identifying the perpetrators. The World Wide Web reflects a development observable since 2000, namely the networking of the extreme right scene via links with sections of the radical Islamist spectrum, some sites from anti-globalization campaigners, from the anti-American far left and from some radical religious groups. For example, the Italian-English site "Holy War" combines anti-Judaism and traditional anti-Semitism with anti-Zionist stereotypes.

Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of home pages present on the web from far-right groups and parties, which quite often also have ties to radical Islamic fundamentalists. Such groups create ideological ties, in particular by utilizing the denial of the Holocaust as a component of anti-Semitic agitation, and build up a network.

Revisionism is spread by European organizations such as the Belgian "Vrij Historisch Onderzoek" (VHO), the Swedish "Radio Islam," the French "L'Association des Anciens Amateurs de Récits de Guerre et d'Holocaustes," the Danish site "Patriot," or numerous home pages in German that are hosted in various countries. These are in turn linked to the entire international scene, that means respective leading representative home pages in America, Australia and Canada.

A current example of conspiratorial thought is offered—by the way, also on the Internet—by the September 11 attacks, which in some Arab newspapers is presented as an action initiated by the Israeli secret service—or even the Israeli government itself—seeking to prevent the establishment of closer ties between the United States and the Arab world, in order to gain a free hand for their aggressive plans against the Palestinians. This rumor has also spread through Europe, where it found great resonance, above all, in Greece.

The fact that the Middle East conflict is taking place in the Holy Land of the Christians has led in various countries to the revitalization of anti-Judaist motifs by church leaders in confessionals, as well as in some liberal newspapers.

This takes the form of current events—the conflict over the Church of Nativity, children and young as the victims of military action—being brought into connection with events in the New Testament, which historically have clear anti-Jewish connotations. Such phenomena

are particularly virulent in Italy, but are also not absent in Protestant countries like Denmark or the United Kingdom.

During a wave of anti-Semitism—like the one we observed in April and May of this year, in which a heated public debate took place on Israeli politics on the boundary between criticism of Israel and anti-Semitism—persons become motivated by latent anti-Semitic attitudes, mostly in the form of telephone calls and insulting letters. These persons, who are not politically active and do not belong to one of the ideological camps, use these stereotypes.

Opinion polls prove that in some European countries, a more-or-less large percentage of the population harbors anti-Semitic attitudes and views, but that these usually remain latent and can be mobilized in circumstances like the heated debate on the Middle East conflict.

I will give a short overview of the situation in the EU member States. There are a number of EU member States—namely, Ireland and Luxembourg—where anti-Semitic incidents in general seldom occur and were hardly evident since the radicalization of the Middle East conflict. At most, threatening letters were sent to the Israeli consulate or to local Jews. The same applies to Portugal and Finland.

At the other end of the scale is a series of countries in which there was a massive wave of anti-Semitic incidents. Here, France assumes the top position, with Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in second place.

These countries witnessed numerous physical attacks and insults directed against Jews and vandalism of Jewish institutions. In these countries, the violent attacks on Jews and/or synagogues were reported to be committed often by members of the Muslim Arab minority, frequently youths. The observers agree that these are disaffected young men who themselves are frequently targets of racist attacks. That means here the social problems of these migrant minorities are obviously an essential factor for their propensity to violence and susceptibility to anti-Semitism.

Far fewer anti-Semitic attacks committed by members of this group were evident in countries like Sweden and Denmark, where attacks similar to those in the Netherlands were only seldom evident in the 1990s, given general populations in which, according to polls, anti-Semitic attitudes are not widespread.

Other countries show a very specific expression of anti-Semitism. In Greece, we find a series of cemetery and memorial desecrations which point to a far-right background. Anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist statements and sentiments were found in the mass media and were also expressed by some politicians and opinion leaders.

Here, the Greek foreign policy position perhaps plays a role. Since the Second World War, Greece has opposed Israel because of its alliance with Turkey.

Spain offered a mixed picture, where the traditional strong presence of neo-Nazi groups was evident alongside a series of attacks which indicate an Islamist background. An ADL survey released in October of this year found out that 34 percent of Spanish respondents held anti-Semitic views; one of the highest percentages in Europe.

In Germany, where many anti-Semitic offenses have been registered annually since the 1990s, we found that some of the few attacks on Jews during the last and this year were committed by persons of Arab descent. Anti-Semitism manifested itself less in the higher number of attacks, but more as a flood of anti-Semitic letters to the Jewish communities and prominent Jews sent by German citizens who by no means all belong politically to the far right. This was in part a reaction to a hefty political controversy.

Italy showed a certain similarity with Germany; also no physical attacks or few physical attacks were evident. There were threatening telephone calls, insulting letters, slogans and graffiti whereby the perpetrators did not come from the Muslim population.

However, particularly pronounced in Italy is a pro-Palestinian mobilization within left-wing parties, organizations and newspapers, which, in connection with public rallies, partially took an anti-Semitic turn.

In contrast to other countries, there is rather in Italy a revival of anti-Judaist themes, coupled with traditional anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist stereotypes rooted in the left.

In Italy, France, Spain and Sweden, sections of the political left and Muslim groups unified to stage pro-Palestinian demonstrations. At some of these demonstrations anti-Semitic slogans and placards were to be seen and heard, and some even resulted in attacks upon Jews or Jewish institutions.

A similar trend was observable in the Netherlands, although without any great participation from the political left.

In Finland, however, pro-Palestinian demonstrations passed without any anti-Semitic incidents.

Mainly in Germany, but also in a weaker form in Austria, public political discourse was dominated in contrast by a debate on the link between Israeli policy in the Middle East conflict and anti-Semitism, a debate in which the cultural and political elite were involved, whereas the mobilization of the extreme left remained low key.

In Germany, the critical reporting of the media was a topic for controversy, as it was also in the United Kingdom, where leftist liberal papers were heavily criticized by Jewish representatives.

In other countries there was obviously no heated public discussion on the scene, such as in Luxembourg, Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and Finland.

In summary, it can be said that the threatening nature of the situation, in particular for the Jewish communities, arose because in most of the monitored countries, the increasing number of anti-Semitic attacks, committed frequently by young Arab Muslims but also in part by far-right extremists, was accompanied by a sharp criticism of Israeli politics across the entire political spectrum, a criticism that in some cases employed anti-Semitic stereotypes.

This parallel character arose out of the joint reference to the escalating situation in the Middle East.

Both phenomena, the attack and the public discussion, have significantly receded since June of this year.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

Mr. Jacobson?

Just for the information of the members of the panel and witnesses, Mr. Cardin will be returning in about 15 or 20 minutes, he has a caucus meeting he has to attend. We expect one other member to be here, I thought we would go through the testimony of all six of our witnesses and then go to questions, because I think there will be a common effort on our part to elicit information, and all six of our witnesses might want to respond to those questions.

Mr. Jacobson?

**KEN JACOBSON, ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR,
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

Mr. JACOBSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am honored that ADL has been a part of the historic effort of the Helsinki Commission and the Bundestag delegation, begun here in May and in Berlin in July, to take OSCE activities against anti-Semitism to a new and higher level.

As the first leading international body formally to recognize and condemn the problem of anti-Semitism in 1990, OSCE is an ideal forum for meaningful action. We are grateful to have the opportunity to discuss with you how to build on the momentum of your efforts.

The Congressional members and Bundestag members assembled here are familiar with the phenomenon of global anti-Semitism, and we have provided two recent ADL polls done in 10 West European countries that show the trends that are cause for urgent concern.

This is not a problem, however, of West Europe alone, and it is not a problem to which we are immune on this side of the Atlantic. So our recommendations are relevant across the OSCE region.

While the rash of incidents we convened to address in May have been somewhat reduced in frequency, we continue to grapple with the disturbing upward trend in both the incidence and the virulence of hate propaganda. We are fighting what we call the Big Lie, the story circulating in many parts of the world that Jews were responsible for the attacks of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Gallup did a poll in nine Arab and Islamic countries a number of months ago, indicating as much as 60 percent of people in those countries are influenced by this idea, so we are not talking about the extremists, we are talking about masses--millions of people.

This outrageous conspiracy theory is accepted as truth by ever-growing numbers and is fueling anti-Semitism throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds. OSCE leaders bear an important responsibility to help counter the spread of the Big Lie.

One cannot talk about anti-Semitism even within the OSCE region without confronting the role of the Arab and Muslim world, where anti-Jewish myths that flourished in Europe centuries ago, such as blood libels, are being revived and cloaked in theology and religion.

This demonization of Jews and Judaism emanates from houses of worship and from clerics. It pervades educational systems, government-sponsored media and permeates popular culture well beyond the Middle East.

For example, in France, a newly released best-selling novel for teens, "Dream of Palestine," sympathetically portrays a young Palestinian who becomes a suicide bomber.

The ensuing radicalization of Muslim youth in Muslim countries and in Europe has caused increasingly open and violent attacks against individual Jews and Jewish institutions.

Here in the United States and abroad, we maintain our vigilance and unequivocal opposition to intolerance against Muslims. Nevertheless, we respect the faith of Islam and its leaders enough to hold them accountable for their broad failure to speak out against anti-Jewish hatred being fed to youth and other believers as God's truth, as a tenet of faith.

While we recognize that Israel is no more beyond criticism than any other state, one-sided criticism, standards applied to Israel alone or the denial of Israel's right to exist are manifestations of anti-Semitism.

Honest efforts to confront the link between anti-Israel bias and anti-Semitism are in no way an effort to censor legitimate criticism of Israel. But rather we cannot let anti-Semitism

and efforts to brand Israel a pariah state seep into the public debate disguised as political commentary.

The ultimate question is not whether one can criticize Israel without being an anti-Semite, but whether that criticism reflects a double-standard and an unfair bias against Jewish national self-expression and self-determination. This is a message of particular importance among human rights advocates from the political left.

While anti-Semitism has been acknowledged as a form of racism, there is a reticence to address its re-emergence squarely within multilateral frameworks for fear of raising the ire of Arab communities or states, or running against a political climate that is increasingly hostile toward Israel.

Now is precisely the time to insist that anti-Semitism be recognized and reaffirmed as a form of intolerance and incitement that violates international human rights treaties and norms. Anti-Semitism is not a Middle East issue.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of Congress and members of the Bundestag, the CSCE and OSCE have played a key role in charting a course for combating anti-Semitism over the years, condemning anti-Semitism 8 years before the U.N. would even acknowledge anti-Semitism as a form of racism. We commend your efforts today to turn bold recognition of the problem into concerted multilateral action.

The ADL has dozens of programs, many of which have been highlighted by OSCE-member governments as, quote/unquote, "Best practices in the fight against racism."

One of our proudest successes, used as a model worldwide, was implemented in Germany in response to hate crimes against Turkish Muslim immigrants in the early 1990s.

In the interest of time I have attached as an appendix to my written statement a summary of the history of our program in Germany, and a checklist of additional programs we have found to be successful internationally.

In the spirit of the action-oriented nature of this process broadly, and this discussion today, I would like to use my time to focus on recommendations that I would be pleased to follow up on in detail during Q&A, or following this meeting.

Number one. National and local authorities must call attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions what they are, anti-Semitism, not drunken hooliganism or expressions of political disagreement.

Number two, urge political and civic leaders to utilize opportunities they have every day to speak out against bigotry. It is hard to overstate the importance of outspoken leadership like the resolutions in Congress and in the Bundestag this spring, which resonate worldwide.

Number three, OSCE must continue to reaffirm anti-Semitism as a form of racism and xenophobia, as it did in Berlin. Even and especially when support for Israel may be unpopular, defense of Jewish rights must not be allowed to fall out of favor.

Number four, follow up on each nation's implementation of the Berlin Declaration and broaden the coalitions of nations willing to speak up.

Number five, convene a supplementary human dimension implementation meeting. The U.S. and Germany must approach the soon to be Dutch chair to build on the Portugal ministerial support for supplementary HDIM as one of the issues it will address during its tenure.

Number six, administrative, legal and monitoring instruments: Nations must craft approaches to ensure that regional, constitutional, administrative and legal instruments are fully utilized to combat cases of anti-Semitism.

For example, enhance the worldwide monitoring efforts by adopting comprehensive hate crime data collection laws and provide training in how to identify, report and respond to hate

crimes. ADL has been very active here in the United States in that process and would be more than happy to participate worldwide.

Nations should fund national assessments of hate violence. There is a direct connection between identifying the nature of the problem and identifying appropriate educational initiatives to address the problem.

Number seven, anti-bias education: OSCE is a perfect mechanism through which to urge parliaments to use schools as a staging ground for anti-bias education. Governments must act now to provide teacher training on anti-bias education curricula and empower students through peer training programs. An OSCE-sponsored showcase of best practices of school-based anti-bias education programs, including peer leadership programs, can help provide proven skills and materials for member countries to adapt to their specific country culture.

Eight, Holocaust education: OSCE parliamentarians should seek to implement Holocaust curricula to draw upon the lessons of this tragic period as we have done in both the United States and Germany. April 19, 2003, marks the 60th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. We suggest an OSCE meeting to discuss the importance of educating against hate using the Holocaust as a model in showcasing Holocaust educational programs.

In the spring of 2003, ADL will launch a comprehensive, interactive, secondary-level Holocaust education curriculum enhanced with state-of-the-art audio-visual supplements for use in American high schools. This kind of curriculum could be easily adapted for use in classrooms abroad.

Religious educators are an important constituency. In the United States, ADL's Bearing Witness program for religious educators, in which we bring Catholic school teachers every summer to Washington for a week, helps teachers examine anti-Semitism and the Holocaust as a starting point for addressing issues of diversity in contemporary society.

Nine. Law enforcement training: Beyond training and hate crimes response, anti-bias education for law enforcement professionals helps develop cross-cultural skills and communication. It boosts officer effectiveness and safety by building cooperation and trust with diverse communities. The proposed EU Law Enforcement Training Center will provide ideal opportunities in this regard.

Ten, responding to racism and hate crimes in the armed forces: Ministries of defense should provide anti-bias and prejudice awareness training for all recruits and military personnel; improve procedures for screening out racist recruits; and clarify publicized existing prohibitions against active duty participation in hate group activity.

While the last century witnessed the most heinous result of bigotry unchecked, fortunately we have also witnessed in our lifetime powerful examples of how strong U.S.-German leadership has brought about dramatic change. America and Germany, each having learned painful lessons from her respective experiences with the dangers of bigotry, are uniquely positioned to lead the OSCE to a new level of activism against anti-Semitism.

We assembled here know that this is not the work of a day, but a long-term strategy to build an alliance of values. One country at a time, one minister, one parliamentarian at a time to broaden our alliance so that years from now, a forum such as this one has the support of a plurality of OSCE member nations.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Jacobson, thank you very much for your testimony and for their very, very comprehensive list of recommendations, which we will not only look at and study, but so many of which we will implement and seek to bring to floor, particularly within the OSCE.

Gert?

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you so much, Ken, especially because you mentioned in the end that it is our task to build an alliance of values. That is the point.

The next speaker will be Dr. Hanno Loewy. He is a brilliant expert on these issues as the founder of the Fritz Bauer Institute in Frankfurt.

You have the floor.

**DR. HANNO LOEWY, FOUNDER,
FRITZ BAUER INSTITUTE, FRANKFURT**

Dr. LOEWY. Ladies and gentlemen, let me first express my gratitude for being invited to this forum.

The thoughts I would like to share with you include, indeed, some challenges to the general perception of the problem we confront and to which you address your remarkable efforts.

I will first say a few words about the character of anti-Semitism with respect to its difference to other forms of prejudice, such as xenophobia or racism. To begin, we might distinguish also between different forms of anti-Semitism, which we have to confront in the OSCE region, let us say, in German, Eastern Europe or Western Europe. By understanding the different shades of anti-Semitism, we can better address the most urgent problems regarding newer and more threatening forms of it. I will conclude with a few recommendations on a principle level and in the field of education.

First, it is quite common, unfortunately, to mix up anti-Semitism with other forms of prejudice. Anti-Semitism manifests as a unique pattern of conspiracy theories projecting fears and anxieties onto a distorted image of a protean, all-powerful foe, explaining the world, and fostering identity. It provides—and that makes it attractive unfortunately—the possibility to concentrate simultaneously on an imaginary enemy and a symbolic antagonist that allegedly threatens the well-being of the whole world.

This world view bestows upon a community—whether that community is religious or political—a nation or an ethnic group, a certain noble claim to the so-called true nature of world conflict: competing with others to establish legitimacy for their own hegemony and dominance. As you will see, this difference has a strong and dangerous impact on our task.

Second, the different forms of anti-Semitic patterns in the identity politics of Europe have shown that anti-Semitism has different functions in different national political discourses for different elitist and marginal groups alike. If we first look at the German scene, we have to realize that the most serious threat of anti-Semitism does not only come from marginal and radical right-wing extremists. Their violent acts are directed mainly—and that is not at all better—against immigrants, asylum seekers, and so-called strangers.

German anti-Semitism comes also in a more distinguished form, from the center of society and from the center of the political spectrum. It was, unfortunately to say, a liberal center party leader who could campaign for the Parliament elections with anti-Semitic slogans, under the camouflage of criticizing Israeli government, by blaming German Jews for their ills.

One of the most acclaimed writers of Germany, Martin Walser, published a best-selling novel with a plot and language relying on numerous, maybe most, anti-Semitic stereotypes. Nevertheless, still there is something even more disturbing in Germany particularly, Martin Walser excused his novel by claiming that it is not anti-Semitic, but the expression of—and this is a quote—“an unhappy love.” This is a telling argument.

Germany has a long tradition of both philo-Semitism and anti-Semitism since the early 19th century. In 1850, it was Heinrich Laube, one of the most acclaimed scholars of literature and a German revolutionary, who expressed this ambivalent attitude. I quote, "Either we must be barbarians and expel the Jews to the last man or we must digest them."

For Germans, Jews have served throughout the history as a kind of mirror image for both German aspirations and German fears. This schizophrenic attitude toward Jews formed a bedrock for violent and radical German anti-Semitism that could ultimately motivate the Holocaust.

Auschwitz became a central point of reference for German identity politics right now, and Jews remained an abstract symbol mostly. Today young Germans learn quite a bit about the destruction of German and European Jewry but almost nothing about the fast-growing community of about 100,000 Jews who actually live among them; most of them came as immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Third, if we look at the Eastern European discourse, apart from the former Soviet Union—and Mr. Vaksberg will speak about that—and maybe Hungary, we recognize the phenomenon of anti-Semitism without Jews.

In countries like Poland or Slovakia, the Baltic states or Romania, anti-Semitism becomes again a political tool for certain political elites, arouses patriotism and national self-expression in a post-Communist setting.

These elites fly upon traditional anti-Jewish prejudices deeply rooted in major parts of the populations. Anti-Jewish prejudices that come to the fore the more the history of these countries does not any longer provide a plain image of occupied victims of the Great Powers, but as a much more complex history of collaboration and ethnic violence.

Four. As I alluded to at the beginning, the most serious threat of anti-Semitism in Europe derives from the conflict and discontent emerging in the framework of a post-colonial and globalized world. Anti-Semitism has made inroads into the political orientations and cultural patterns of immigrant communities in Europe—most visibly in France and its huge post-colonial immigrant communities from the Maghreb but as well in Great Britain or the Netherlands and their immigrant communities from Asia, and to some extent in Spain, as we have heard, or Italy and in Germany.

The communities, national entities, and religious orientations among which we today experience the most vivid and violent anti-Jewish prejudices are composed of people who themselves are fighting for recognition, who are victims of xenophobia, racist hatred, ethnic struggle, and their homelands' undemocratic regimes. Anti-Jewish ideologies are a valve to express discontent with the process of globalization, with the very real discrimination they face in Europe, and with the perceived disadvantages regarding markets, technologies, political development.

Anti-Jewish ideologies are attractive because they portray the world as a conspiracy in which the own culture is despised and discriminated, self-fulfilling a process of isolation and violent disintegration. We see the emergence of anti-Semitism in parts of the radical left too, as an attractive conspiracy theory giving simple answers to the political dynamics and social injustices of globalization.

While there is a certain tendency to interpret these new anti-Jewish ideologies as Islamic anti-Semitism, I would sharply oppose that view. It does not only simplify the problem, but it regenerates an ideological notion of culture that indeed is a very European and a very German phenomena and drives the very problems we face instead of explaining them.

Five, Europe as a whole has become more of an immigration society, no matter how much this is publically acknowledged or not. Taking into account the given demographical and economical data, this process is irreversible.

In this process, Germany plays a particularly ambivalent role. Traditionally, Germany fueled its labor market with immigrants from Eastern Europe, and only after 1945 did this change substantially. Today far more than 3 million Muslims live in Germany. A growing number of them apply for German citizenship. As most of these Muslims come from Turkey, anti-Semitic prejudices are not so widespread among these immigrants as in the Maghreb-based communities in France, for instance.

As Julianne Wetzel already told us, this is due to the specific relationship between Turkey and the Middle East, and to Israel in particular. The Greek example is quite telling. For certain political reasons, there is a strong tendency for anti-Semitism opposing the Turkish position. Nevertheless, Germany has not been a post-colonial society and increasingly has to confront similar problems like Western Europe.

The discussion in Germany about the definition of Europe comes at a decisive moment. Again, this is a conflict about competing images of Europe. On the one hand we find self-images that either define Europe as a basically homogeneous cultural space defined by either its Christian-Hellenic heritage or—and that is not really better—by its Christian-Jewish history centered around Auschwitz, which some misuse as an excuse for a new exclusive ideology to legitimate culturally defined borders. On the other hand, we can view Europe as a political entity with a constitutional framework that invites, in principle, the whole OSCE region under its umbrella. That, indeed, means not only to accept Judaism but also Islam as an integral part of the European heritage and future.

Sixth, to conclude with a few recommendations in principle and in detail:

First, I do not think that Europe can exist as a fortress, defined by the idea of a clash or even the dialogue of cultures, even if relevant parts of the elites in Germany and in other European countries seem to entertain such a world view.

The fact that in Turkey a difficult process of reconciliation between the invented national tradition of the 20th century and the Islamic heritage of this country has begun is a prerequisite for the integration into the European community, which should be encouraged and not slowed.

This also means that the legislation of European countries should establish legal structures regarding education, tax collection, public funds, etc., for Europeans of Islamic faith comparable to those that Christians and Jews already have.

We are indeed far away from this. I know that it is not the task of this forum to discuss political plans on that level, but there will be no efficient strategy to combat anti-Semitism without political initiatives to counter discrimination and to open the European theater toward the Middle East and to northern Africa.

Secondly, to fight anti-Semitism in Europe in the realms of education first requires the readiness to acknowledge the situation of the immigrant communities seriously, and the will to spend substantial funds into research in this field, research that right now is absolutely marginal.

This lack of attention substantially reduces the value of expertise provided by recent studies undertaken to explore patterns of prejudice and political attitudes.

The last point is, this research should, in fact, lead to educational activities that take seriously the specific situation in different European countries, which do not try to play over

the significant differences in the historical contexts of the respective countries and their different composition regarding immigrants and traditional minorities.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Doctor.

I would ask our three very distinguished witnesses if you would not mind, it is a little bit awkward, but to take a seat, we will bring up our other three distinguished witnesses and then ask all six of you to come back. We should have had a bigger table, so I apologize for that. Then we will go to questioning by the panel.

I would also at this point like to ask Dr. Weisskirchen if he would assume the chair. We are co-chairs. This is a joint German-American initiative, and I wish to pass the chairmanship to him.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you, Chairman.

So then the next speaker will be Ambassador Alfred Moses. Please take your seat and the floor is yours.

Mr. SMITH. If I could, Mr. Chairman, because I do—Ambassador Moses, just for the record—and we have a larger statement we will include—but is one of America's most respected Jewish leaders who has served with great distinction as the past Chairman of the American Jewish Committee, and as U.S. Ambassador to Romania.

Let me also invite Rabbi Israel Singer, who is president of the World Jewish Congress. He has been a tireless advocate in the fight against bigotry and most recently took part in the Commission's summer hearing on property restitution.

I would just point out parenthetically, Rabbi, that as a result of that hearing I did bring to the Polish President your concerns and the concerns of the community. He took it all in. The Commission has looked at the legislation that is pending. There are some very serious flaws that we could get into at a different forum, if you would like.

We are watching this very carefully and we thank you for that insight that you provided at that hearing, as well.

**AMBASSADOR ALFRED H. MOSES, FORMER PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AND
FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA**

Amb. MOSES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is unusual for me to speak before the rabbi speaks. I suppose this is the separation of church and state.

But I am delighted to be here with my friends and colleagues. I listened with admiration—great admiration—to the previous panelists whom I thought individually and collectively made superb presentations.

As a past president of the American Jewish Committee and current Chairman of the Geneva-based U.N. Watch, which the World Jewish Congress was a founder of, as an American with a record of 4 decades of service to my country and to the causes it champions around the world, we at the American Jewish Committee, and I individually, view the recent resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe with deep alarm.

Amb. MOSES. Prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, I visited Europe regularly to assist in the flight of Jews and Christians from Communist oppression, particularly in Romania, where, as the Chairman stated, I later served as the American Ambassador.

While anti-Jewish sentiment was still apparent after World War II, it was visibly and encouragingly in decline in the ensuing decades, only to reemerge in the last few years in Europe in forms not previously seen.

We are witnessing a re-emergence of anti-Semitism that has left many European Jews feeling more vulnerable, and consequently, disillusioned and even more frightened, than at any time since the Holocaust.

Mr. Chairman, the past 2 years we have witnessed hundreds of aggressive, often violent, acts targeting Jewish individuals and institutions in the OSCE region. Just last Wednesday, 300 skinheads interrupted a Hanukkah candle-lighting ceremony in downtown Budapest for over an hour with shouts of, "Hungary is for Hungarians and it is better for those who are not Hungarians to leave." Although those who were celebrating Hanukkah were Hungarians, their distinguishing feature was that they were Jewish.

In Ukraine earlier this year, a large group of youngsters marched 2 miles to attack a synagogue in Kiev, where they beat the Lubavitch principal of a yeshiva.

In France, as others have commented, the problem has been particularly acute. Scores of synagogues and Jewish day schools were firebombed and desecrated. In April alone the Jewish community in France reported 119 anti-Semitic acts and almost 450 anti-Semitic threats, while the Government of France was dismissing these outrages as simple acts of vandalism.

In Belgium, where politically motivated legal proceedings, now dismissed, have been brought against Israel's prime minister, Ariel Sharon, the chief rabbi and a friend were assaulted and spit upon by a gang as they left a restaurant.

In Denmark, the widely circulated newspaper *Jutland Posten* ran a radical Islamic group's offer of a \$35,000 reward for the murder of a prominent Danish Jew.

In Germany, morbid reminders of the Holocaust have appeared in the form of slogans such as "6 million is not enough," which was scrawled on the walls of synagogues in Berlin and elsewhere. Jewish memorials have been defaced with swastikas. Jews have been attacked in the streets, leading some German municipal officials to warn Jews not to wear identifiable Jewish symbols.

In Greece, newspapers have bombarded readers with anti-Semitic editorials and cartoons, comparing the Israeli military operation in Jenin, where false cries of massacre have been disproven, to the Holocaust and likening Ariel Sharon to Adolf Hitler. Such polemics reached a fevered pitch of hysteria and anti-Semitism in Greece.

These manifestations of Jew-hatred are rooted in a tradition of anti-Semitism that has plagued Europe for centuries. The historic theologically-based Judeophobia gave way to an ethnocentric nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries, in which Jews were viewed as an alien presence in the states of Europe, leading to suspicion, vilification, exclusion, expulsion, and ultimately, for two-thirds of the Jews of Europe, extermination.

The historic anti-Semitism of Europe has been given new life by voices on both the political right and the left. There are a number of factors at work here. I will mention them briefly.

First, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its distorted image in much of the popular media in Europe has provided a pretext for anti-Semitic characterizations of Israel and its leaders and attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions.

Secondly, Israel, closely identified with the United States, has become a surrogate target for anti-American and anti-globalization protests, making Jew-bashing an all-too-common mode of attack.

Third, Holocaust restitution issues have opened much that was long dormant, both bank accounts and anti-Semitic feelings.

Fourth, those right-wing parties that have always been anti-Semitic at their roots have gained new vigor in Europe by playing on anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner sentiments, which easily spill over into anti-Semitism. Jean-Marie Le Pen in France and Joerg Haider in Austria may be the best-known proponents of these views, but lesser known and just as dangerous political personalities are on the rise in other Western European states.

These four factors have provided traditional anti-Semites with new intellectual cover to rationalize their anti-Semitism and to swell the ranks of the new forces of hate.

Comments such as the reference by the French ambassador to Britain, who described Israel with a well-reported epithet that I will not repeat here, or the criticism by a Swiss politician of "international Judaism," in the wake of the Swiss bank negotiations are but examples, as are the words of a liberal member of Britain's House of Lords: "Well, the Jews have been asking for it and now, thank God, we can say what we think at last."

I know from my personal experience that anti-Semitism is never far below the surface in Central and Eastern Europe. Openly anti-Semitic political figures—among them Vadim Tudor in Romania, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in Russia, Istvan Czurka in Hungary—are among the names most familiar to this Commission—but they are not alone.

Against this backdrop, the pronounced growth of Europe's Arab and Muslim population presents another factor. The Muslim community in Europe today may number close to 20 million.

In France alone, as another witness commented, there are some 6 million inhabitants with roots in the Maghreb region in North Africa who are not integrated into French society, nor held to the same standards when it comes to acts of violence. It is generally understood that most of the recent attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions in France have been carried out by members of this community.

Arabic-language cable networks such as *Al-Jazeera*, print publications, Internet sites, all of which offer predictably one-sided content, inflammatory coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, also spread virulent anti-Semitism. The Arab media is awash in a tidal wave of anti-Semitism. These outlets employ primitive Jewish stereotypes in service of their anti-Zionist message, often drawing symbols and motifs from Nazi-propaganda. Thus, one sees images of Jews as ghoulish, even Satanic, characters with misshapen noses, and of Israelis bearing swastikas or drinking the blood of children.

During Ramadan, which just ended, Arab communities were treated to satellite broadcasts from Cairo and throughout the Middle East of the televised version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Today Arabic editions of *Mein Kampf* sell briskly in London and other European capitals.

Sadly, many officials in the OSCE region persist in viewing anti-Semitism as a purely political phenomenon related to the Middle East conflict.

Amb. MOSES. In their view, once the Middle East conflict subsides, violence against Jews will also diminish. They refuse to recognize the severity of the problem as a longstanding issue of hate, racism, discrimination, and ultimately human rights. Too often they fail to speak out against anti-Semitism with the pragmatism, intensity, and conviction that the current situation demands.

We have also ignored the way in which the new anti-Semitism uses criticism of Israel and Israeli practices as a justification for acts of violence against Jews.

As I stated at the outset, the problem of anti-Semitism today is more acute than it has been in decades.

There are exceptions to the prevailing lack of official will and vision in confronting anti-Semitism. Few leaders, unfortunately, as inspiring as Germany's foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, have appeared on the scene. Most tend to ignore the issue of rising anti-Semitism.

However, there are things that we can do. I recommend the following.

Officials of European countries need to hear from us, from the Helsinki Commission, often and methodically, and from the administration in our country and in Germany, that anti-Semitism is again a serious problem in Europe, one that they must address. The United States and Germany have a great deal of positive influence at their disposal and should use it.

The most recent round of NATO enlargement announced at the Prague summit last month provided an example of the constructive role that the United States and Germany can play in this arena. Thanks to the determined insistence of my country, the United States, over the past decade, governments in Central and Eastern Europe understand that they must address problems related to their Holocaust-era past before they can finally join NATO. The actions those countries have taken in this regard are directly connected to their NATO aspirations.

For example, Romania, one of the seven republics formally invited to NATO accession talks and a country that I know well, has officially rejected the rehabilitation of its fascist wartime dictator, Marshal Antonescu. Their government has instituted a Holocaust studies program in its military academy in Bucharest, something Mr. Jacobson, one of the earlier witnesses, comments upon: the importance of educating the military. The government has supported a course in tolerance at Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj, which has long been a hot bed of intolerance, reflecting the conflict between the Romanian and Hungarian nationalities.

As Romania and the other six countries slated for NATO accession in 2004 undergo further review in the lead-up to ratification, the United States, Germany, other NATO countries, and other members of the OSCE, must remain vigilant lest these governments backslide on these issues.

The Prague summit is not the end. Our administration, our Congress, and our friends in Europe must continue to hold these countries accountable in combating anti-Semitism and to encourage their ongoing efforts at Holocaust education and commemoration.

At the same time, Mr. Chairman, we urge that the European Union be encouraged to hold EU-aspirant countries to the same standards as that structure enlarges. Germany is the country with the greatest awareness of the Holocaust and of the dangers of anti-Semitism and, we submit, has a special responsibility in this regard.

Through its membership in OSCE—its seat at the table of a multilateral organization centered in Europe—my country, the United States, should work with European member States to make the problem of anti-Semitism a top priority. Intergovernmental mechanisms such as the Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance and the EU's monitoring center on racism and xenophobia, have not effectively addressed this scourge of anti-Semitic acts.

It is the United States and Germany that are now showing leadership in overcoming this failure. The resolution adopted at the Parliamentary Assembly in Berlin, thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, was the key step—initiated with you, Mr. Weisskirchen—to mobilize participating States.

Later the United States ambassador to the OSCE led the way—in Warsaw and beyond—to garner support for the first-ever separate OSCE meeting on anti-Semitism, which, Mr. Chairman, you stated would be held in June or July of this year. We commend you and congratulate you and applaud what you and your colleagues have done in that regard.

This is the first time at a multilateral international forum that the issue of anti-Semitism will be directly addressed. In the past, it has been addressed on the fringes in separate meetings, not directly in a multilateral forum. It is commendable as well as historical that this is happening now.

In concluding, Mr. Chairman, only last week Jews around the world marked the holiday of Hanukkah, a festival that celebrates the triumph of freedom over tyranny, in which leadership made the critical difference.

Amb. MOSES. In our lifetimes we have seen freedom's hard-won victory over oppression across Europe, vanquishing Nazism and throwing off the yoke of communism. We have seen the unique, irreplaceable role of political leadership in these struggles. In the end it is political leadership that makes the difference.

I recall 20 years ago celebrating Hanukkah with my then-young daughters in a small Romanian village deep in the Carpathian Mountains. As we marked the Festival of Lights with our Romanian brethren, a menacing group marched on the synagogue in darkness.

Those in the synagogue were unaware of it. I happened to step outside to get a breath of air, and I saw what took place. As this menacing group in darkness was approaching the synagogue with wooden clubs and shouts of anti-Semitism, several Romanian police officers stood in their way and turned them back.

They saved the small remnant of Romanian Jewry that had gathered to light the lights of Hanukkah. Violence was averted by official action, and the Hanukkah celebration continued.

It is official action that is required. There is no longer time to ignore the rising anti-Semitism in Europe, to blame it on political factors in the Middle East or elsewhere, but to recognize it for what it is: a deep-seated historic anti-Semitism that has re-emerged in a new guise, fostered no doubt by the conflict in the Middle East, but appearing today in a virulent form that cannot be ignored, lest it grow out of control.

Mr. Chairman, the history that has befallen European Jewry in my lifetime is a tragic one, with anti-Semitism now at its greatest peak since the most tragic of all human episodes, the Holocaust. Let us be mindful of this history, let us speak out, let us use our influence, let us remember the price of inaction or denial, and let us act now.

Thank you.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you so much. Mr. Ambassador, your words are going to my heart, thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Rabbi Singer, please proceed.

RABBI ISRAEL SINGER, PRESIDENT, WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Rabbi SINGER. Thank you very much. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the co-chairmen, particularly my friend Representative Smith, who has been there for critical issues at every turn and it is not good not to thank good friends for two reasons. Number one, because they are doing the right thing. Number two, because you are going to be back to ask them for another favor in the future. I will be back.

I want to thank you, Representative Smith, because you really believe in the things you support and you really make a difference.

I would like to tell that to your co-chairs, and I would like to tell that to everyone in this room. You make a difference. Thank you.

I would like to direct some of my comments, Herr Weisskirchen, to you, our chair at this moment, and to my friend Senator Grafstein. I would like to thank you for having made this trip from Toronto, I know it well, I make it often and from Ottawa, and I would like to begin by suggesting to everyone present here today that I have some remarks that I am going to have my colleague, Pinkus Shapiro, give you. I am not going to deliver them. I have some documents that I am going to give you, which I am not going to present orally, which I am going to give you.

I know that you will read them, I know that you will study them, and I know that you will do something about them. They address all of the issues that my brothers have addressed, Ken Jacobson, who as the Anti-Defamation League representative here, my colleague has worked on, together with the World Jewish Congress, the yearly report that we put out together in Israel with the help of the Israel government and the Tel Aviv University Institute on Anti-Semitism. It is a yearly report that should be on the desk of every legislator throughout the world.

My first suggestion, to be practical, is that we are going to—together with the ADL we have already done some of that—but we are going to put it on every country member desk so that what we know you know.

But not only you who are interested, Mr. Weisskirchen, not only you who are interested, Mr. Smith, not only you who are interested, Mr. Grafstein, but all of your colleagues who have less interest than you, and some of your colleagues who are part of the problem.

That is what I have come here to these halls today to address. I have come to address the fact that not all people that sit in parliaments feel the same way as you do. I have come to appeal to you with regard to the cynicism of some of your colleagues who are actually part of the problem rather than part of the solution.

I think if the wrong message is sent from the top, the wrong kind of permissiveness and worse, encouragement, is given to people on the bottom.

I came here at the top of our organization rather than sent one of my executives because I felt that it was a message that I wanted to give you before the holiday season to take back to your homes.

I have been to your homes to give this message to you. I spoke with your foreign minister only a week and a half ago, Herr Weisskirchen, in Berlin, and I am going back tomorrow to speak at the University of Frankfurt to a thousand students on this subject, and before that to Paris for a 24-hour turnaround to make the same message heard there.

The reason that I am doing that is not because I lack frequent flyer miles. It is because I feel that in my three chairs that I hold there is a special problem that has been addressed by Ambassador Moses, that has been addressed by my colleague Ken Jacobson, but should be repeated.

When this committee's members—thank you again, Mr. Cardin, for being part of this very important meeting and for lending us your voice and your support.

I do want to tell you that with regard to restitution, and as president of the claims conference and as Chairman of the World Jewish Restitution Organization, rather than just doing justice, rather than just taking properties that were looted and stolen and giving them back as a measure—a small measure of justice, there were actually people who are members

of the community that we are dealing with today that used that opportunity to create new anti-Semitism, that used that opportunity of making justice to behave in a cynical manner in which injustice was further fomented.

I spoke to your committee, Mr. Smith, and I raised that subject. I raise it today. It is unconscionable. I raise it as the first of my subjects because I am charged with feeling that as president of the Claims Conference and Chairman of the World Jewish Restitution Organization. I say that to my colleague sitting on my left because the American Jewish Committee are our colleagues in these organizations.

It is unconscionable that members of parliament, that representatives of major corporations in Germany who ask this government here in the United States to give a statement of interest and ask the courts to give them closure, legal closure, at the same time foment anti-Semitism. -

There is a major leader of German insurance industries that actually made statements that were scandalous, and that person continues to represent those companies at the hearings and at the meetings. He is a fountainhead of anti-Semitism at the very same time he is seeking closure.

His corporate heads permit it. They permit it because the same thing is happening in parliament. Because Moelleman has continued and suffered and not silenced. Because it happens in parliament, it happens in corporations, it will happen in the streets. We should not allow it.

If you want to know where to go, go to the very head. Go to the head of the corporations, go to the head of the parties, all parties and go to those who are cynical and silent to their colleagues, those members of industry who do not shut up those people among their collegium and those in parliament who do not silence their colleagues. That is point number one.

Point number two, as Chairman of IJCIC, of the International Jewish Committee on Inter-religious Consultations, I would like to tell you that in this spirit of this season I came down because Don Kursch asked me to and he is an old friend. Many countries represented in this grouping in the new countries that will enter the European Union, among the new countries that have entered NATO and that will enter NATO, there are lots of members who belong to the World Council of Churches. Much headway has been achieved with the Catholic Church in dialogue since Nostradamus.

I sit with my colleagues of the American-Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League on IJCIC together as their chair for this round and we have made much headway. The pope has condemned these statements. The pope has announced that anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia are a sin against God and against man.

But the World Council of Churches continues to poison the wells, continues to give a kosher stamp by itself making statements that are worse than medieval in nature. I am insulting the medieval period by repeating the kinds of remarks made from Geneva.

It is not just the United Nations that you should be monitoring now. You should be monitoring your neighbors at the World Council of Churches who are giving kosher stamps to people who are their members.

Only last week I sat with President Thierse in the Parliament. We agreed to create a joint program that will monitor the remarks made by a world council of religious persons who should be diminishing hatred and are encouraging it because they believe they are encouraging a peace settlement in the Middle East.

You may have different views with regards to politics, but you cannot have those views encourage the hatred of persons who are associated by being of the same religion, who live in countries in which you live. You encourage the fact that Jews support the killing of innocent victims in the year 2001 and remain silent over such things in the name of worldly and religious beliefs.

It is a scandal that this should happen. We call on the World Council of Churches today to reread their own issued statements and to look at their own pronouncements.

It is not just al-Jazeera that I am dealing with today. It is not just the various statements that you will be reading in the reports that we have by a respected British journal that became a mouthpiece of anti-Semitic canon. It is not just the bracing for a renewed assault on the integrity of Jews and the Jewish state, even in our own country here in the United States repeating various remarks that have been made by religious leaders throughout the world. It is not only because of radical Islam and Europe that I come to speak to you.

I have come today to give you this anti-Semitism worldwide report, because I think that the statements in it are critical with regard to: one, anti-Semitism caused by new feelings against Jews because of the injustice that they have encouraged; two, because of religious presentations that have renewed what they consider moral standing and moral positions with regard to the Middle East and have expanded it toward Jews.

Rabbi SINGER. The third and most important is that this thing, this new anti-Semitism, this new expression, has become a method through which cynical persons have abused this in various countries for their own political advancement.

This third point that I make I make as Chairman of the World Jewish Congress now because we know what I am referring to and if we do not I am going to describe it. Not in my formal remarks, which I am submitting to you, but in a practical way.

We know that Csurka uses anti-Semitism in Hungary as a way to try to get himself elected. We know that Le Pen hints at various kinds of racism as a way to get himself elected. We know that Moelleman did this in Germany as a way to get himself elected.

We know and I could go on and on and on, and describe it in country after country after country, and I do not want to at the present time, but I want to tell you that we have announced the establishment in Europe, last week in Strasbourg, of a monitoring center that will work together with yourselves. It will send you reports on a daily, weekly and monthly basis, that will work together with our colleague organizations and that will work together with the OSCE to inform you when somebody is doing something in a parliament that is cynical, who has received a kosher stamp from a religious organization that gives them the approval to do this. Or worse, when somebody takes an event which is meant to make justice and uses it to create injustice.

These things happen throughout Western Europe for the most cynical and crass reasons. I need not go through them at the present time.

In some cases because some of the country representatives and government officials will hope that the terrorists will go to other places rather than to their place: cynicism number one.

Cynicism number two: because they have need for fossil fuel and do not want to upset the sources.

Cynicism number three: because they have economic relations with countries that give them the reason to behave in a manner that is cynical and crass.

If you expected me today to come and give you a litany in an orderly statement you have it in writing. If you expected me today to come and do something to you and with you that was frank I felt that this was more important.

Do not stand up for your colleagues. That is the only message I have for you.

We can speak of the WCC, we can speak of information dissemination methods, we can speak of newspapers that encourage anti-Semitism, we can speak of professors at universities that spread anti-Semitism and racism and xenophobia, even in our country and in Canada.

However, what we have not done is really call the spade a spade and that is we have not pointed the finger at representatives of government and representatives of parties sitting in parliaments doing this. That is a scandal and that is what we should really be organizing today. We should be organizing a self-study, just as we should have ourselves when we do something wrong, you should have yourselves.

That is what I have come to appeal to you to do today. Not to allow any transgressions with regard to racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, with regard to members of parliament in those countries. Because that is a scandal, and that should not be tolerated, and that should not be permitted and that should not be allowed.

The day that becomes clear coming out of these halls we will have made some headway and had some accomplishments that have been useful.

Thank you. I am sorry if I have taken so much of your time.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. I think it is a good idea and a good proposal and I do think that we are ready to pick this up, Rabbi. Thank you.

Rabbi SINGER. Thank you.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. The last speaker is Mr. Vaksberg, now coming from Paris. He is the deputy president of Moscow PEN.

ARKADI VAKSBERG, DEPUTY HEAD, MOSCOW PEN CENTER

Mr. VAKSBERG [through translator]. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. I thank you deeply for having an opportunity to speak in front of your forum.

Anti-Semitism is anti-Semitism wherever it crops up, it does not matter which country you come from. However, Russian anti-Semitism has its own very clear specifics.

Going back to the 1930s, and starting at that time, anti-Semitism was a matter of government policy, even though the fundamental law established an equality among all nationalities. Government propaganda has always rejected the notion that there existed any kind of discrimination against any minority groups in the country.

As a part of the official government policy, anti-Semitism and discrimination has existed as a matter of law until 1988.

Being totally convinced in what I am about to say, I must take certain joy in stating unequivocally that, as an official policy—government policy, anti-Semitism has ceased to exist in Russia. There are no limitations or official barriers to Jews from attending universities. There are no barriers in choosing your place of domicile. Absolutely no barriers in seeking labor and employment, no barriers in issues dealing with culture and religion.

During the last 60 years of the existence of the Soviet Union, there has never been an instance where Jews had high-ranking posts within the government, which now they do. There are no barriers at this moment.

Jewish culture is very vibrant and alive. The spiritual life of Jews is not being suppressed. The relations between Russia and Russian Jews and Israel are growing. President Putin himself has on many occasions voiced his condemnation of anti-Semitism.

Having said that, I think that it would be a gross overstatement to say that anti-Semitism has been eliminated. Our efforts in the struggle against anti-Semitism must continue.

Having said what I said, the situation in Russia has become a paradox. Simultaneously with the ending of official anti-Semitism on the part of the government and government organs, the country has been flooded with anti-Semitic literature.

We do not have the exact numbers and quantities, but according to Memorial and other organizations, there are approximately 400 publications currently being published that have a very distinct and strong anti-Semitic slant. Hundreds of books are sold in stores that are encouraging the resurgence of pogroms.

I brought only one with me at this time. This is a pseudo-intellectually written treatise that Jews are a very distinct threat to all humanity, that they must be exterminated like cockroaches and poisoned like rats. The primary objective is to, number one, drive them out of Russia and, as a second goal, is to exterminate them wherever they may be found.

Having, of course, not violated one or other law of countries where this may take place, but at the present time, the way that laws are phrased and written on the books in Russia are a very good example of how legislation should be written to prevent this type of discrimination.

President Yeltsin submitted a bill, Bill 310, which was passed and no changes have been made since that time. Condemnation was strictly identified of any act that would demonstrate some kind of discriminatory act to a minority group. There are distinct criminal laws on the books that condemn any acts dealing with instigation of riots or public demonstration against any minority group.

In actuality this law has not been implemented yet. In no case, no matter which region that we speak about in Russia, have the prosecutors ever implemented the laws that are presently on the books dealing with anti-Jewish instigation acts.

In order to bring their views into the public forum, anti-Semites have joined in organized groups and are at the present time seeking to form political parties.

Mr. Mironov, who was a former minister in the Chernomyrdin government, formulated a party 2 months ago; one of the planks in its platform stated that their objectives are to bring about the policies described in this book.

There have not been enough votes in the Russian Parliament to bring about an official statement condemning anti-Semitism in Russia. As an example of this, the Parliament and the Duma has failed to recognize the anniversary date of the Holocaust and declined to make any official statements in regards to that, using an argument that this was a personal problem, an individual problem, and not a problem that dealt with the collective whole.

That is why I called this situation a paradox, because on one hand there is a total absence of official government-stated anti-Semitism. But simultaneously you also do not have the government taking any official steps to suppress anti-Semitic action and activities among the rest of the population.

I would like to offer some suggestions how this situation might be resolved. First, I think it would be very desirable to bring about a uniform legal structure that would be subscribed to by the Council on the Unification of Europe. In particular in dealing with those laws that have a direct effect on human rights.

Another is to establish concrete definition as to what it means to instigate and create an environment for anti-Semitic action. There are a number of various countries that do have laws on human rights, but there is a lack of a single unified basis for it.

It would be also desirable to form an international Commission to conduct a struggle against anti-Semitism in any of its forms, wherever it might come up in the world; an organization that would be monitoring and cataloging anti-Semitic acts, collect the data and other information about organized groups and make their findings known to leaders of the various countries, to various parliaments, and including mass information sources: the press.

This will be very desirable in the struggle and more effective in the struggle against anti-Semitism because the sheer weight of the number of countries and the documentation would have on individual countries and would lead to a clear understanding of the extent of the problem.

I would like also to note that this will also, as a matter of the educational process, bring to the masses the idea as to the extent of the problem.

Taking note, of course, that the young people of the world also are being affected by these ideas. It is a matter of education in making sure that they are aware that this is a problem.

But the education of the youth of the world is not the only issue. Of course, it is very important for the teachers to also get this kind of education; to write a history of the Holocaust and use that in the curriculum of schools.

Presently, there is a lot of literature being distributed, particularly in Russia, that claims that there is no Holocaust, there was no Holocaust and that this is just a myth.

Starting next year, there is an obligatory course that will be taught in all of the schools on the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox religion. Of course, there is nothing negative in that, but that in itself is a violation of the separation of church and state by having religion being taught in the public schools. By introducing this course into the school curriculum in a country that is multi-ethnic and multi-religious like Russia is, this can only serve to create more internal stress.

One can easily imagine what will be the psychological effect on youth of 10 and 11, 13 years old who do not attend those classes in Orthodoxy. They will immediately become outcasts among their fellow students.

These are the points that I wanted to bring to light before this distinguished forum. This is but a small introduction because I do not want this forum to be limited by what I have said.

Thank you very much.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you, Arkadi.

Thank you all for the outstanding expertise that you have given to us.

Now the first speaker will be Senator Grafstein.

Sen. GRAFSTEIN. Well, again, thank you, Co-Chairman, for this opportunity to come and participate in this event.

Sen. GRAFSTEIN. As all of our witnesses have confirmed this morning, hate always starts with words. Words can kill.

Sadly, we have experienced these very painful lessons: incitement to hatred, incitement to hate, anti-Semitism, starts with Jews but never ends with Jews. This is the tragic lesson of history, the bitter lesson of European history is still, unfortunately, scorched in our minds.

The treatment of Jews, as some philosophers have suggested, is a benchmark, a test of a free and open civic society. The ugly faces of anti-Semitism have not been heard or seen

from my own personal experience with such ferocity in my lifetime, and historically not since the 1930s.

License, even reaching into national and international fora, has been granted to acts of violence, of anti-Semitism. Incitement to hatred always, always leads to violence.

In Canada, in my country, in Canada in the past year four synagogues have been scorched or burned; more than at any time in the entire history of our country. In Canada more than two incidents of anti-Semitism per day have been collated in the last year this past spring. All this in Canada, in my Canada, in the 21st century.

Now after 1989, when the Berlin Wall came tumbling down and I was in Berlin shortly after the wall came tumbling down, I never thought, I never dreamed that I would have even to open a dossier on anti-Semitism. Certainly not a dossier in the 21st century.

But in England, from my own eyes, in Germany, in France, in Denmark, in Denmark of all places, and worse, even in Canada, and elsewhere across the entire OSCE space, across the face of Europe and North America, synagogues, synagogues, houses of worship, must now be guarded, some 24 hours a day, to allow for freedom of worship.

In Canada today there is a new tax, a new tax on freedom of worship in the synagogues, because the full-time guards must now be paid for to provide for safe and security to worship in freedom.

I should note in Germany that guard tax is now borne freely and openly by the German Government. In Canada, in my own synagogue, the largest synagogue in Canada, in Toronto, we now have guards 24 hours a day. I cannot enter into—I cannot go through the main door. I cannot go through the side door. I have to go through the parking lot. Each time I go to my synagogue I find that totally abhorrent and unacceptable that I have to sneak through into my own synagogue through the parking lot where there is a 24-hour guard and be searched.

So it is clear to me that there is no corner now of the OSCE space that is free of taunts and tears of anti-Semitism.

The news media—and we have not mentioned too much about the news media, but the news media in many instances have accelerated and even inflated this problem.

State-sponsored media, as some of the witnesses have referred to, are now relentlessly stooping to produce and broadcast the oldest of old canards, the *Protocols of Zion*. Modern, 21st-century technology has provided the *Protocols of Zion* yet again, and we thought that a century ago that would be the end of it. But it is alive and in 24 or 40 segments now being broadcast and rebroadcast virtually in many places across the world.

Last summer, in the Reichstag in the German Parliament in Berlin, where Jews had settled on the banks of the Spree well before the founding of Berlin more than 750 years ago, we urged that the OSCE lead in raising our voices against runaway anti-Semitism.

I was absolutely delighted that the OSCE resolution was so quickly and unanimously adopted in Berlin's Reichstag on July the 8th, 2002, in the very same place where Hitler stood in 1933 to introduce his heinous laws. The OSCE was not silent.

Yet in Canada I have waited and all I have heard is silence.

What we cannot do, what is unacceptable, is to remain silent. Imagine, four synagogues burned or scorched, four synagogues in four provinces of Canada, and still eerie silence from our leaders, all of our leaders, all of our institutions, all of our church leaders. Not a word. Silence.

Silence is acquiescence. Acquiescence breeds license, license breeds legitimacy, legitimacy leads inevitably to fear, scorn, loathing and then violence.

All unacceptable, all unacceptable, all in breach of the founding principles of the OSCE, the 1975 Helsinki Accords, the 1990 Charter of Paris, the 1990 Copenhagen Declaration, unacceptable to our own Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Sen. GRAFSTEIN. So what can we do? We can support this resolution as our colleagues from Germany and America have done so quickly and magnificently, first in Berlin and now here in Washington. We can urge our colleagues in all the parliaments, the 55 countries, to pass similar resolutions. We can urge our parliamentary colleagues publically to study the issue and monitor and report on these egregious breaches of human rights.

As I have said earlier that I have introduced the resolution in the Senate on November the 21st. I hope that we will parallel the experience here by having similar formal hearings. I hope some of you witnesses will come up and give us the benefit of your experience.

I think that this resolution in a strange way might light the way out of the current gloom. This resolution might ignite other lights that can push away the darkness that I find descending upon us.

In the last millennium, the last 1,000 years, two out of every five Jews were murdered: two out of five. In the last century, the murder of Jews continued. During the last century, the 20th century, one out of three Jews were murdered.

While discrimination always starts with Jews, it never, ever ends with Jews. Discrimination always starts with a word, then a phrase, perhaps a joke, then gossip, then conversation, then a speech or a sermon, then a lecture, usually a book, then a policy, then a state program, followed by the expectation that the state program will be fully executed. It was. We never believed it could happen, but it did. What happened in the last century, in civilized state after civilized state, remains beyond imagination. Yet it did happen.

Friends, words of incitement against Jews are always followed—always followed by discrimination against the “other.” This is the pathology of hate. This is the oxygen of violence.

Must we repeat the anguish call of the 20th century “Never again”?

I fear we must.

So colleagues, what must we do? We can encourage leaders, as we have heard today, to speak out. We can encourage bilateral and multilateral fora to pursue courses of action to suffocate these eruptions.

I want again to conclude by congratulating my two colleagues from the OSCE, Gert Weisskirchen and Chris Smith as co-chairs and of course Ben Cardin, for this magnificent start. There is much to do. This is a very useful start. Now we must march forward together, hopefully, in every Parliament of the OSCE. I hope that we will parallel this really stimulating and enlightening experience in Canada early next year.

Thank you very much, Chairman, for your patience. Thank you very much, witnesses, for your indulgence.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you so much, Jerry.

Well, it was a good idea you raised, Rabbi Singer, to give some support to the center of monitors you talked about in Strasbourg.

Chris, is there any problem that we could take this into account and bring it into our draft resolution?

Mr. SMITH. Would the gentleman yield?

I think all of our witnesses today have given us very valuable insights. Rabbi Singer's idea, all of the recommendations that came forward need to be collated, we need to sleep on it, so to speak, and then further refine our plan of action.

I mean there were some very, very good—I mean, the idea that the insurance industry is seeking closure on the restitution issue and other issues while simultaneously engaging in anti-Semitic behavior is unconscionable.

The fact that the World Council of Churches aids and abets these acts of hate, rhetorically presumably, is also, because as my good friend and colleague from Canada just pointed out the physical manifestation of hatred, violence, usually is preceded by numerous acts of incitement, of statements that go unchecked and uncountered.

You know, as Abraham Lincoln said in the context of slavery in America, to sin by silence when they should protest makes cowards of men. And silence is acquiescence, and it does lead to the horrors that follow almost as day follows night.

So I think we need to continually expand, become more comprehensive, bring more people into it, including Muslims.

I think while President Bush has been very effective in saying that the fight against terrorism is not against Islam, we also need to point out where this incitement of hate is going on and have zero tolerance toward that intolerance.

So I think, as you pointed out, we need to be much more aggressive and expansive and I think each witness today—I mean, the last speaker, Mr. Vaksberg, pointing out with regards to Russia that there has been a privatization of anti-Semitism.

While President Putin himself, for whatever reason, no one knows his heart or motives, certainly is not going to be—you know, when he is seeking the cooperation of the United States and the European Community and others—coming down on the side of being against anti-Semitism.

But if the Duma and if the local governments, if the press and if the apparatchiks who now make up the modern mafia and/or mob who, unfortunately, run so much of Russia today, are engaging in anti-Semitic—and the Orthodox Church as well, which has unfortunately not been stellar at its denunciations of anti-Semitism—it seems to me that privatizing of anti-Semitism needs to be aggressively attacked as well. Very aggressively, I think. You know we have an opportunity and our witnesses might want to speak to this.

You know the OSCE Chairmanship obviously now goes to the Netherlands. Maybe we could have some specific recommendations about that.

At Rotterdam, I think we have an opportunity to say, "You know, nobody voted against our resolution on anti-Semitism in Berlin. But how many people sat there silently and detested what you and I and others tried to do and will continue to try to do?"

So we need to surface that out and confront it very boldly and aggressively and say, "Zero tolerance for that kind of intolerance."

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you, Chris.

Are there any comments or questions? Please ask.

Mr. CARDIN. Let me follow up on, I guess, both of your comments.

I think Rabbi Singer's suggestion, parliamentarians monitoring actions of parliamentarians, is a good suggestion. I question whether that will work in some countries, whether there is the courage among the fellow parliamentarians to call to task their colleagues.

But I do think there is strength within the assembly, within the Parliamentary Assembly of OSCE, to try to develop perhaps a resolution in Rotterdam that calls upon us to assist

parliaments to monitor the actions of their fellow parliamentarians. Because I think that is our first responsibility as parliamentarians, what we do.

And clearly there are times that we feel that the ends justify the means. So therefore, trying to appeal to local prejudice may help us politically. But that is not what leadership is about.

That is why I think it is important that we try to establish the standards for monitoring parliamentary action. That may be something that we want to take up as we look at the Rotterdam opportunity and the assembly.

I do want to just challenge all of our panelists to be thinking about how we can use the opportunities in OSCE to advance an agenda against anti-Semitism. You have come forward today with some good suggestions, but the more specific you can be, I think the better it will help us. We have all talked about education, but what is the target age? What are the most vulnerable ages for children? If we have to set priorities, where should we be moving there? How do we go about training the teachers? Because it does not do any good to work on an education program if we do not have the people to deliver the educational programs. What progress has been made in various countries that would be good models for us to use in other countries?

These types of issues would be helpful for us as we interact with our fellow parliamentarians at our next meetings.

So this has been an excellent presentation by the panel. I do think you have given us a lot of material to use in our opportunities within OSCE. But I do challenge you to come forward with more specific recommendations that we can use when we have the opportunity to make a difference.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Any comments?

LONING [through translator]. I want to thank from the bottom of my heart to the lady speaker, but also to our gentlemen colleagues.

Especially, what you have said, Rabbi Singer, at the beginning has strengthened my belief that it is very important for elected representatives of the citizenry clearly and forcefully to express themselves. That we may not falter in our efforts to chastise anti-Semitism as a social evil.

Therefore, I think it is an excellent suggestion of yours that we critically evaluate members of our parliaments. Judging from my personal experience, it is very important that members of parliaments are exposed to public pressure, because we are, after all, very susceptible to pressure from our citizenry, from our electorate.

In that sense, I welcome your comments on this topic, and I would be very happy to see them included in our final program.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you, sir.

I give the chair back to the real chairperson.

[Laughter.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

I just want to conclude by thanking all of our participants and the members of the parliaments, our staffs, for the yeomen's work they have done. This is part of a process, and it is a very aggressive process. It is comprehensive. Your recommendations today will enable us to do a much better job, because we have heard from two experts who care, who live these issues, the issue of anti-Semitism, and how can we mitigate and, God willing, eradicate it.

Mr. SMITH. But I do have one question, Mr. Jacobson, that I would like to ask you or any of the members of the panel.

In your recommendations, you had two that I think are very pertinent and need more focus on our parts, as well, and that is the training of military and the training of law enforcement agents.

It seems to me that whenever we are dealing with human rights abuses anywhere on any scale, including Northern Ireland, where policing was a—and continues to be a major issue regarding the aiding and abetting of paramilitaries and acts of terrorism, and this Commission here in America and my subcommittee spent a great deal—we had seven hearings on the policing issue in Northern Ireland.

Policing in our country, my daughter worked on an Amnesty International initiative on police brutality in the United States, and because it exists, it is an abomination, and it needs to be stopped.

But it seems to me that when it comes to anti-Semitism, when you have in France, for example, a police chief who will not regard an act of violence against a Jewish synagogue in the painting of a swastika or the firebombing of a car as an act of hate and mischaracterizes it as something else, just a vandalism act, when there is a clear motive because a person happened to have been Jewish, it seems to me it misses justice by a mile.

So you mentioned in Austria that there is some training going on, in Romania and some other places. Perhaps you might want to amplify on how well that is going and how we can be helpful in our respective parliaments in getting that kind of training into police and military.

Mr. JACOBSON. Yes, it really has to be approached on many levels. We developed the model hate crime legislation that exists in over 40 states in the United States, but we realize it is not enough to have legislation.

You have got to train people who are on the front lines to be able to identify what is a hate crime, how do you deal with it, how do you relate to the community involved, the sensitivities. Because hate crimes affect not only the individuals but a community in which it resonates and echoes.

So what we have done here in the United States, and we have now transferred it to various parts of Europe—as a matter of fact we have trained German military people, as well as U.S. troops overseas in Germany, to deal with issues of not only diversity, but how do you identify what hate crimes are and how you deal with communities in trying to make it into a productive process rather than a destructive one.

You will see in many of our materials that we shared that I did not really talk about, and I think Congressman Cardin, too, we have very specific programs that we have already experienced in Germany, in Austria, in Russia, in Israel and other places, and we would be happy to continue this process to share our experiences.

In Germany we have worked with the Bertelsman Foundation, we now have programs in 11 *Länder*; programs are now over there, started in the 1990s with certain incidents, in Rostock against immigrants, and these are now expanded to include large parts of society.

So I think there are very practical programs, but I think our experience is that they have to be broad-based; they cannot just speak to one part of the problem, they have to deal with diversity, it has to do with hate crimes training, it has to do with the role of the military and the role of the police.

While I have the microphone I just would add one thing. One thing that I would just stress in all of this, which I did not think got enough attention, in my view the greatest threat to the Jewish people today, the only threat that may potentially out there someday be comparable to the great tragedies of the past, is the fact that in too large parts of the Arab and Islamic world, the ideology of the demonization and the dehumanization of the Jewish people

is marching afoot. Together with the development of weapons of mass destruction and the use of them by terrorists, therein lies the potential danger to large parts of Jews around the world.

And in that respect there is nothing more important than that the OSCE and the European Community can do than to begin to speak up about the great dangers coming out of that part of the world.

This has nothing to do with the Middle East crisis. It has to do with the most virulent form and the most dangerous form of anti-Semitism in the world.

I believe the United States has taken the lead in denouncing this kind of thing, and I think Europe has to see this as a major responsibility. Of course, to deal with problems in their own communities, but by not speaking up about what is going on in the Islamic world is to rationalize those activities and allows the extremists in the Islamic world to feel they can get away with it and march ahead.

So if I would have any one plea, besides all the things we have talked about here, is for the European, the OSCE and then others in Europe to start to immediately demand that governments and societies in the Arab and Islamic world denounce this kind of hatred and extremism.

Mr. SMITH. Any other comments?

If not, I again want to thank you on behalf of my Co-Chairman and my distinguished colleagues. We are going to sign this letter of intent at the table. If you do not mind we will get a picture with all of us. Because what we really want to do now is implement, implement and implement.

Thank you very much.

[Whereupon at 12:35 p.m. the forum was adjourned.]



An Action Program: Confronting and Combating Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region

As members of the German Bundestag and U.S. Congress and participants in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, we wish to express our deep concern regarding the significant increase in the number of anti-Semitic incidents in many countries of the OSCE. We condemn anti-Semitism in all its forms. Anti-Semitic bigotry must have no place in our democratic societies and needs to be actively opposed by all 55 participating States of the OSCE, including by members of Parliament. The sorry lessons of the past have demonstrated that the virus of anti-Semitism, when not successfully resisted, will lead to terrible tragedy for the Jewish people, and promote prejudice and intolerance towards other minority groups.

We affirm our commitment to work together closely to fight anti-Semitism and encourage colleagues in our respective legislatures, and in the legislative bodies of other OSCE participating States, to develop a series of specific measures to counter anti-Semitic actions and attitudes. In executing our action plan we will make full use of all appropriate OSCE institutions and instruments. Actions that we intend to pursue are the following:

- A. Persuade other Parliaments in OSCE participating States to adopt resolutions condemning anti-Semitism as the U.S Congress and the German Bundestag have already done.
- B. Energize governments and other elected officials at all levels in OSCE participating States to condemn forcefully and publicly anti-Semitic acts, when they occur.
- C. Encourage all OSCE countries to enact appropriate criminal legislation to punish anti-Semitic acts and ensure that such laws are vigorously enforced.
- D. Call upon governments in OSCE participating States, if they have not already done so, to adhere to international instruments which, by addressing the problem of discrimination, may counter anti-Semitic attitudes and actions.
- E. Promote educational efforts throughout the OSCE region to counter anti-Semitic stereotypes and attitudes among younger people and help identify the necessary resources to accomplish this goal. Encourage teachers, social workers and members of the clergy to focus on anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior of younger people and support the development of curricula for teacher training.

F. Consider what concrete actions may be possible within the OSCE to discourage the proliferation of anti-Semitic, neo-Nazi and other racist material over the Internet, while preserving the right to freedom of expression.

G. Encourage religious leaders in OSCE participating States to work more closely together and consider the past experiences of certain religious institutions in dealing with the experience of the Holocaust.

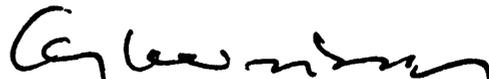
H. Create an OSCE parliamentarian-based "Coalition of the Willing" to address anti-Semitic propaganda that appears to be increasing rapidly in a number of OSCE partner countries. Explore the possibility of using the OSCE's partnership with the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries for promoting this goal.

We pledge to meet again in conjunction with the February 2003 Winter Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Vienna to evaluate progress and seek the active support and cooperation of our parliamentary colleagues from other countries. On this occasion, we will also determine how we can best utilize the July 2003 Rotterdam Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to further our common goal of combating anti-Semitism throughout the OSCE region.

Signed in Washington, D.C. on December 10, 2002.



Christopher H. Smith, M.C.



Gert Weisskirchen MdB

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
HON. STENY H. HOYER, RANKING MEMBER,
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Mr. Chairman, thank you for hosting this important and timely forum. I also want to welcome and thank our Co-Chairman for this event, my friend and colleague from the German Bundestag, Dr. Gert Weisskirchen. An expert in international affairs and cultural studies, Dr. Weisskirchen is a Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and has also served with distinction as Chair of the Assembly's General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights Humanitarian Questions.

It is indeed fitting that this forum convenes today as we mark the 54th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That document confirmed in international law inalienable and universal human rights for people in every corner of the globe, and made it the responsibility of all nations to ensure the protection of those rights.

The adoption of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 indisputably linked respect for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms to security and long-term peace. In the landmark 1990 Copenhagen Document, the participating States of the OSCE adopted the first international agreement to condemn anti-Semitism.

Those commitments, Mr. Chairman, are not taken lightly. This forum provides the opportunity for members of the U.S. delegation and our German colleagues to build on our initiative in Berlin last July. We must not only understand the breadth and depth of the anti-Semitic violence which engulfed much of the OSCE region during the past year, but also raise awareness among our citizens of its threat to our societies.

Clearly, the first line of action is immediate and forceful condemnation of anti-Semitic acts and swift prosecution of those who commit violent crimes. Public leaders play a critical role, and bear a particular responsibility, to ensure this is done. In the long-term, in my view, ongoing educational programs in schools and other public fora will be critical to combating the ignorance and intolerance which spawn anti-Semitism and racial hatred.

It is my hope that the distinguished panel of witnesses here today will provide recommendations for action we can take in cooperation with other parliamentarians to ensure that the governments of all OSCE participating States forcefully condemn and prosecute anti-Semitic violence.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, COMMISSIONER,
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Mr. Chairman, I want to begin by thanking you for organizing today's forum on confronting and combating anti-Semitism in the OSCE region. Let me also welcome the distinguished members from the German Bundestag, led by OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Vice President Dr. Gert Weisskirchen. I also want to acknowledge the distinguished panel of expert witnesses that will testify before us today, and want to thank the hard work of the many non-governmental organizations that have tirelessly advocated for Jews and religious freedom for many years.

Today's forum, Mr. Chairman, continues this Commission's important work and focus on anti-Semitism. In May 2002 the Helsinki Commission held a hearing on escalating Anti-Semitic violence in Europe. At that hearing we received extensive testimony which conclusively documented the rising amount of anti-Semitic violence in both Europe and throughout the OSCE region.

In July 2002 the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, meeting in Berlin, held a separate forum on this issue with American and German parliamentarians. The Parliamentary Assembly ultimately adopted a resolution on anti-Semitic violence in the OSCE region. The Berlin Declaration recalled that in 1990 in Copenhagen all participating states pledged to "unequivocally condemn" anti-Semitism and take effective measures to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence.

Today I would like to focus on what specific steps OSCE parliamentarians can take to address this growing problem. The Berlin Declaration urges that participating states take several concrete steps to combat anti-Semitism, including: making public statements recognizing violence against Jews and Jewish cultural properties as anti-Semitic; ensuring aggressive law enforcement by local and national authorities of anti-Semitic criminal acts; and reviewing their laws, regulations, practices and policies to ensure that they conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism.

We must also remember that violence against Jews can never be justified by international developments or political issues. The OSCE participating states have an obligation to stamp out anti-Semitism now, and not wait for this cancer to continue to spread its prejudice and intolerance towards Jews and ultimately to other religious minorities.

I am pleased that at the conclusion of this forum a letter of intent will be signed by the American and German parliamentary delegations to the OSCE. Let me point out two actions discussed in the letter of intent. First, the letter of intent pledges that the parliamentarians will promote educational efforts throughout the OSCE region to counter anti-Semitic stereotypes and attitudes among younger people. As I stated in our May 2002 hearing on this issue I believe that education of the younger generation is a key solution to tackling the issue of anti-Semitism. In some countries we have actually seen counterproductive educational programs that actually breed prejudice, hatred, intolerance, xenophobia, and ultimately anti-Semitism. We must take a more pro-active approach to this issue by encouraging and promoting tolerance and diversity in our curriculum, so that generations of our young people are not growing up learning to hate their fellow citizens simply based on their religious beliefs and practices.

Second, the letter of intent supports the establishment of an OSCE parliamentarian-based "Coalition of the Willing" to address anti-Semitic propaganda that appears to be increasing rapidly in a number of OSCE partner countries, most recently and notably in Egypt,

who is an ally in the Middle East of the United States. I strongly support further engagement and discussion with the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation (which includes Israel and Arab countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) on the issue of anti-Semitism. I am very eager to open a dialogue with our fellow parliamentarians in those nations in the near future.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for hosting this important forum today. As we approach our February 2003 Winter Session in Vienna and the July 2003 Rotterdam Annual Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, I look forward to engaging our Parliamentary colleagues from throughout the OSCE region as we seek to further our common goal of combating anti-Semitism.

**SUBMITTED REMARKS OF
HON. JOSEPH CROWLEY, MEMBER,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the opportunity to address this distinguished forum.

I am greatly concerned by the rise of anti-Semitism throughout the OSCE region. In the 21st century, countries in Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia should not witness attacks against Jews, desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries, or booby-trapped hate-filled signs designed to maim and kill Jews who try to remove them. Nor should these countries tolerate the hatred spewed by skinheads and other radical groups throughout the region.

Such hatred has brought catastrophe to the region in our lifetimes already, and we must ensure that the fields of Europe and Asia are not sown with the seeds of intolerance ever again.

It is the responsibility of the OSCE governments to set a zero tolerance policy for anti-Semitic speech and acts. In their OSCE commitments, all governments pledged to condemn anti-Semitism unequivocally and take effective measures to both prosecute those who commit such hate crimes and to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence. Governments must also work to eradicate the hopelessness that drives those on the margins of society to seek out scapegoats for their predicaments. I fear that governments are doing little to either crack down on expressions of hatred or to address its root causes. I was therefore motivated to introduce House Resolution 393, which calls on European governments to:

- (1) continue to take necessary steps to provide security and to protect the safety and well-being of their Jewish communities;
- (2) deplore anti-Semitic expressions and prosecute and punish perpetrators of anti-Semitic violence; and
- (3) continue to make a concerted effort to cultivate an atmosphere in which all forms of anti-Semitism are rejected.

The House of Representatives passed this resolution unanimously on July 9 of this year, making clear the belief of this body that its counterparts overseas must attack the problem of anti-Semitism head on.

I look forward to working with this distinguished commission and my colleagues in the OSCE region to develop and implement measures that will combat anti-Semitism. I commend the Commission, Congressman Smith, my European colleagues who are here today to testify, and others who are dedicated to eradicating anti-Semitism in the OSCE region for their work to remove this evil from our midst.

Thank you once again, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to be here today.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
DR. JULIANE DANKER-WETZEL,
CENTER FOR RESEARCH INTO ANTI-SEMITISM, BERLIN**

The fact that a rise in anti-Semitic activities is clearly observable in most of the EU Member States since the beginning of the so-called al-Aqsa Intifada, which increased in frequency and the intensity of their violence parallel to the escalation in the Middle East conflict in April/May 2002, points to a connection between events in the Middle East with criticism of Israel's politics on the one hand and mobilisation of anti-Semitism on the other.

While it is certainly correct to view anti-Semitism as part of racism, at the same time it possesses very specific traits. Jews in the European Union are well integrated socially, economically and culturally. Thus, the typical motives of xenophobia are hardly of consequence for the Jews. Instead, Jews are imagined to be a national and international influential group who allegedly exert a bad influence on or even steer politics, the economy and the media, which is a way of expressing the old anti-Semitic prejudice of hidden Jewish power.

FORMS OF ANTI-SEMITIC PREJUDICES

The range of anti-Semitic motives stretches from racist to conspiratorial-oriented and religious prejudices; but anti-Zionist notions, often coupled with anti-American patterns, were also activated. The dominating motive of contemporary anti-Semitism is still that of a Jewish world conspiracy. This basic assumption is applied to explain very different phenomena. Here the Holocaust denial assumes a central role in European right-wing extremism. At this point, extreme right-wing propaganda becomes employable ideologically for radical Islamist groups in their struggle against Israel, for the victim status and Israel's right to exist are challenged by the "Auschwitz lie". Here a learning process has taken place in which "revisionist" thought, that was propagated very early and very prominently by French intellectuals (lastly by Roger Garaudy), was adopted by some people in the Arab world. Via Arab-language media in Europe these notions reach in turn a small section of the Muslim population in European countries. Such stereotypes are also spread by the World Wide Web.

The Internet is in almost all EU Member countries an important medium for anti-Semitic propaganda, precisely because it is suited to the international dissemination of anti-Semitism due to the difficulty in identifying the perpetrators. The World Wide Web reflects a development observable since 2000, namely the networking of the extreme right scene via links with sections of the radical Islamist spectrum, some sites from anti-globalisation campaigners, from the anti-American far left, and also from some radical religious groups for example the Italian-English Site "Holywar" which combines anti-Judaistic and traditional anti-Semitic with anti-Zionist stereotypes.

Since the end of the 1990s there has been a dramatic increase in the number of homepages present on the web from far-right groups and parties, which quite often also have ties to radical Islamic fundamentalists. Such groups create ideological ties, in particular by utilising the denial of the Holocaust as a component of anti-Semitic agitation, and build up a network. Revisionism is spread by European organisations such as the Belgian "Vrij historisch Onderzoek" (vho), the Swedish "Radio Islam", the French "L'Association des Anciens Amateurs de Récits de Guerres et d'Holocaustes" (AAARGH), the Danish site "Patriot" or numerous homepages in German that are hosted in various countries. These are in turn linked to the entire international scene, i.e. the respective leading revisionist homepages in America, Australia and Canada are then accessible.

A current example of anti-Semitic conspiratorial thoughts, which can be observed also most prominently on the World Wide Web, is offered in connection with the attacks of the 11th of September 2001. Some Arab newspapers in Jordan, Egypt and Syria, but also in the London and Saudi-Arabian editions of *Al-Hayat* presented these terrorist attacks as an action initiated by the Israeli secret service or even the Israeli government itself, who were seeking to prevent the establishment of closer ties between the US and the Arab world so as to gain a free hand for their aggressive plans against the Palestinians. This rumour has also spread through Europe, where it found great resonance above all in Greece.

The fact that the Middle East conflict is taking place in the Holy Land of the Christians has led in various countries to a revitalisation of anti-Judaist motives by church leaders and confessional as well as some liberal newspapers. The liberal Italian daily *La Stampa*, for example, depicted a baby Jesus looking up from the manger at an Israeli tank, saying, "Don't tell me they want to kill me again." And in Edinburgh, an Episcopalian clergyman was forced to defend a mural showing a crucified Jesus flanked by Roman soldiers—and modern-day Israeli troops. This takes the form of current events (the conflict over the Church of Nativity, children and youths as the victims of military action) being brought into connection with events in the New Testament which historically have clear anti-Jewish connotations (Massacre of the Innocents, crucifixion of Christ). Such phenomena are particularly virulent in Italy, but are also not absent in Protestant countries like Denmark or the United Kingdom.

Looking at the perpetrators identified or at least identifiable with some certainty, it can be said that the anti-Semitic incidents since the radicalisation of the Middle East conflict were committed above all by right-wing extremists and radical Islamists or young Muslims; but also that anti-Semitic statements came from the pro-Palestinian left as well as politicians and citizens from the political mainstream.

During a wave of anti-Semitism like the one we could observe in April and May 2002, in which a heated public debate took place on Israeli politics and the boundary between criticism of Israel and anti-Semitism, persons become motivated to voice their latent anti-Semitic attitudes (mostly in the form of telephone calls and insulting letters) who are not politically active and do not belong to one of the ideological camps sketched above. Opinion polls prove that in some European countries a more or less large percentage of the population harbours anti-Semitic attitudes and views, but that these usually remain latent and can be mobilised in circumstances like the heated debate on the Middle East conflict.

There are a number of EU Member States, namely Ireland and Luxembourg, where anti-Semitic incidents in general seldom occur and were hardly evident since the radicalisation of the Middle East conflict. At most threatening letters were sent to the Israeli consulate or to local Jews. The same applies to Portugal and Finland. At the other end of the scale stand a series of countries in which there was a massive wave of anti-Semitic incidents. Here, France assumes the top position, with Belgium, the Netherlands and the UK in second place. These countries witnessed numerous physical attacks and insults directed against Jews and vandalism of Jewish institutions (synagogues, shops, cemeteries). In these countries the violent attacks on Jews and/or synagogues were reported to be committed often by members of the Muslim-Arab minority, frequently youths. The observers agree that these are disaffected young men who themselves are frequently targets of racist attacks, i.e. here the social problems of these migrant minorities are obviously an essential factor for their propensity to violence and susceptibility to anti-Semitism. Far fewer anti-Semitic attacks committed by members of this group were evident in countries like Sweden and Denmark, where attacks—similarly to the Netherlands—were only seldom evident in the 1990s given general populations in which, according to polls, anti-Semitic attitudes are not widespread. Other countries

show a very specific expression of anti-Semitism.—In Greece we find a series of cemetery and memorial desecrations, which point to a far-right background. Anti-Semitic/anti-Zionist statements and sentiments were found in the mass media and were also expressed by some politicians and opinion leaders. Here the Greek foreign policy position perhaps plays a role; since the Second World War Greece has opposed Israel because of its alliance with Turkey. Spain offered a mixed picture where the traditional strong presence of neo-Nazi groups was evident alongside a series of attacks which indicate an Islamist background. The recently published book “El Lobby Judío” by the Colombian-born journalist Alfonso Torres, which plays into some of the very stereotypes it seeks to deflate, comes at a time when anti-Jewish tendencies in Spain are discovered to be on a very high level. An ADL survey, released in October 2002, found out that 34% of Spanish respondents held anti-Semitic views, one of the highest percentages in Europe.

In Germany, where a large number of anti-Semitic offences have been registered annually since the 1990s, Anti-Semitism manifested itself less in a higher number of attacks but more in the form of a flood of anti-Semitic letters to the Jewish Communities and prominent Jews sent by German citizens who by no means all belong politically to the far-right. This was in part a reaction to a hefty political controversy. Italy showed a certain similarity with Germany; although no physical attacks were evident, there were threatening telephone calls, insulting letters, slogans and graffiti, whereby the perpetrators did not come from the Muslim population. However, particularly pronounced in Italy is a pro-Palestinian mobilisation within left-wing parties, organisations and newspapers, which in connection with public rallies partially took an anti-Semitic turn. In contrast to other countries, there is rather in Italy a revival of anti-Judaist topoi coupled with traditional anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist stereotypes rooted in the left. This religiously connotated anti-Semitism stems above all from fundamentalist Catholic circles (the so-called “integrationists”); it became particularly visible during the events which took place at the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem. Even in some of the politically moderate press there are scattered references to the murder of Christ, showing that, after decades of absence, such stereotypes are also being revived in secular circles.

In Italy, France, Spain and Sweden sections of the political left and Muslim groups unified to stage pro-Palestinian demonstrations. At some of these demonstrations anti-Semitic slogans and placards were to be seen and heard and some even resulted in attacks upon Jews or Jewish institutions. A similar trend was observable in the Netherlands, here though without any great participation from the political left. In Finland however pro-Palestinian demonstrations passed without any anti-Semitic incidents. Mainly in Germany, but also in a weaker form in Austria, public political discourse was dominated in contrast by a debate on the link between Israeli policy in the Middle East conflict and anti-Semitism, a debate in which the cultural and political elite were involved, whereas the mobilisation of the extreme left remained low-key. In Germany the critical reporting of the media was also a topic for controversy, as it was also in the United Kingdom, where left-liberal papers (The Guardian and The Independent) were heavily criticised by Jewish representatives. In other countries there was obviously no heated public discussion on the theme criticism of Israel/anti-Semitism, such as in Luxembourg, Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and Finland.

In summary it can be said that the threatening nature of the situation, in particular for the Jewish communities, arose because in most of the monitored countries the increasing number of anti-Semitic attacks, committed frequently by young Arabs/Muslims but also in part by far-right extremists, was accompanied by a sharp criticism of Israeli politics across the entire political spectrum, a criticism that in some cases employed anti-Semitic stereotypes. This parallel character arose out of the joint reference to the escalating situation in

the Middle East; both phenomena, the attacks and the public discussion, have significantly receded since June 2002. In the following months the sometimes heated discussions about the Middle East conflict in the public and the media died down and the number of the incidents decreased. In countries like Denmark, Greece, Spain, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Austria, Portugal and Finland there are only a few or no incidents known for the second half of the year. In some States like Belgium, France and Sweden the number of anti-Semitic incidents, including violent attacks and threatening phone calls, increased again in September and October, but it does not compare to the situation during the first half of the year.

It is to be recommended that steps for an improved recording and monitoring of anti-Semitic incidents as well as regulations for combating them are quickly implemented. Given the connection between the Middle East conflict and the wave of anti-Semitic incidents, such incidents could once again break out if there is a renewed escalation, for example if military action is taken against Iraq. Experience shows that the political willingness to take action in response to such waves is only of short duration and thus fails to recognise that here long-term perspectives must be developed and financed.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
RABBI ISRAEL SINGER, PRESIDENT,
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS**

Events of this past year force us to view anti-Semitism in a new light. It needs to be understood in an optique of religious hatred directed towards the rest of the world, the United States in particular and to Israel as the nominated whipping boy standing in place of the West and specifically the United States. Jews have been made the worldwide representatives of the whipping boy.

Although the twin towers and the defense department attacks began as general victims of Islamic fundamentalism, the perpetrators discovered a more viable victim than the United States alone. Jews made a new and vulnerable target. This must be practically addressed and the terror and continued threat must be arrested and squelched. The assault on the Jewish nation and people is the litmus test for this old brand of hatred and if they succeed in terrorizing Israel and the Jewish people, Western civilization at large will fall under attack and become victimized by this new crusade.

I have a survey of anti-Semitism as it appears around the world, which was conducted by the World Jewish Congress, Tel Aviv University and the Anti-Defamation League. This is something I would like to submit for the record. However, what I would like to direct to this committee today is far more important and that is a plan for action and not merely a series of reports.

I have come here today to tell you that civilian institutions in the West that are unguarded, particularly those in the United States need to be protected because of our open and liberal way of life. Specifically, we can no longer delay the creation of a protection system for all Jewish institutions because their protection is the protection of the democratic way of life that we are duty bound to protect. They are the target-test case not merely of the Islamic fundamentalist but everybody for whom classical anti-Semitism has always been an activity of hatred.

European and Latin American Jewish communities are better protected than U.S. Jews because their numbers are smaller and their histories of anti-Semitism are greater although they too are lacking in sufficient defense. American Jews live in a society where open institutions are part of the lifestyle, but organizations without proper defense become the new targets. We are the soft underbelly of terrorism.

We have to find a way to protect these places because if they are exposed and naked all of Western civilization is vulnerable and unguarded. Conversely, we cannot succumb to the base instincts of many people that would revel in the creation of an armed camp for vigilante action. A secure environment must be created slowly and carefully without the repression that in so many countries becomes an excused method of the loss of civil liberties where freedom is at bay in the name of security.

We cannot be limited to a religious approach of prayer for safety or to making statements and pronouncements that will not make safety happen; this is not sufficient and so far we have not done enough. Today, the World Jewish Congress is announcing a worldwide campaign calling on all governments of free men to exchange information, intelligence and resources to protect their Jewish communities, because the primary duty of democracies is to protect minorities not only the majority. This is something we are not used to in the United States because we never had this problem. But this is a new ballgame. We will not countenance a response like the one that occurred in Argentina where we have waited for a decade to find the culprits that killed hundreds of civilians. We thought that the world of tolerance

and mutual respect was upon us, but we were wrong. This is a new era with an old enemy. Once again, we find ourselves struggling for our existence against a formidable foe and we will not be the victims, not again.

Defensive strategies have to become the new approach. Western governments must heed this call and protect their citizenry from within and without. We alone cannot be asked or expected to this. We will not be vigilantes. We will create a mechanism to test whether governments will be sufficiently effective. We will not allow Western European governments to hide behind their own attempts to make peace with their Muslim minorities at the expense of their Jewish minorities. Dealing in a soft and flaccid manner was the response of most Western European governments for their own misguided, self-serving notions of security and the need for fossil fuels.

We hope we do not have to replace governments; the burden of protecting the Jewish people should fall on their countries, the United States and other Western governments. This will be the ultimate test of Western civilization and the American policing and investigatory systems. Governments are being tested not just whether American society will be safe, but if social minorities worldwide will be safe, not just from fanatical Muslims but all those who hate who are using the Muslim fundamentalist hate as a model to mimic.

Schools should not be protected by right wing defense institutions and our neighborhoods should not be transformed into camps governed by vigilantes, but in the absence of sufficient government protection we will not leave the wellbeing of our citizenry to others. This is something we must do to protect our people. We shall be examining our institutions and government on a day-to-day bases to see that they give us security and peace of mind.

Every parent should know that their child can attend a Jewish school and that that child is safe. This safety needs to be assured. It cannot be implied or implicit. It must be overt and concerted. A citizen minority that is free but is left to defend that freedom alone has no liberty at all.

Last week the secretary-general of the World Jewish Congress announced the establishment of the European Information Center at the parliament in Strasbourg. This monitoring group will act as a watchdog and collect information which will be shared with the United States Government and particularly this body. We expect to establish the same kind of mechanism in Latin America and will integrate these functions through the World Jewish Congress and its Latin American Jewish Congress and European Jewish Congress branches. Our head office in New York will make regular reports available to this committee and to all interested national states and international institutions.

What is happening now that is different than before is that terror is not merely a general assault in a diffuse way on everyone to be hated, despised and feared but is directed at a defenseless group of individuals who have been nominated once again by a new breed of haters that are doing something heinous about it. Silence and dependence on public institutions alone are not a functional method of responding to this reality. From these halls today, we announce a process, which will monitor anti-Semitism as it is expressed through fundamentalism.

If the governments with whom this information will be shared will be efficient then our societies and our way of life will be secure. I trust and hope that they will be. If their answers are weak and ambivalent we will publicly announce those who are accomplices by indifference and cynicism. We will not accept a response like the one that occurred in Argentina where we have waited for a decade to find the culprits that killed hundreds of civilians. That is the purpose of this testimony, to warn of an impending danger to all free men.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
DR. HANNO LOEWY, FOUNDER,
FRITZ BAUER INSTITUTE, FRANKFURT**

Ladies and gentlemen, Let me first express my gratitude for being invited to this forum. The thoughts I'd like to share with you might include some challenges to the general perception of the problem we confront and to which you address your remarkable efforts.

I will say a few words about the character of antisemitism with respect to its difference to other forms of prejudice, such as xenophobia or racism. To begin with we should also distinguish between different forms of anti-semitism, which we have to confront in the OSCE Region, in Germany, Eastern Europe and Western Europe. By understanding the different shades of anti-semitism we can better address the most urgent problems regarding newer and more threatening forms of it. And I will conclude with a few recommendations on a principle level and in the field of education.

1. It is quite common, unfortunately, to mix up anti-semitism with other forms of prejudice. Anti-semitism manifests a unique pattern of conspiracy theories, projecting fears and anxieties onto an distorted image of a protean, all powerful foe, explaining the world, and fostering identity. It provides, and that makes it attractive, the possibility to concentrate simultaneously on an imaginary enemy, and a symbolic antagonist that allegedly threatens the well being of the whole world. This world view bestowes upon a community (wether that community is religious or political, a nation or an ethnic group) a certain noble claim to the so called true nature of world conflicts, competing with others to establish legitimacy for their own hegemony and dominance. As you will see this difference has a strong and dangerous impact on our task.

2. The different forms of anti-semitic patterns in the identity politics of Europe have shown, that anti-semitism has different functions in different national political discourses, for different elites and marginal groups alike. If we first look at the German scene, we have to realize, that the most serious threat of anti-semitism does not only come from marginal and radical right wing extremists. Their violent acts indeed get directed mostly against immigrants, asylum seekers and so called "strangers". German anti-semitism also (in a somewhat more distinguished form) comes from the center of the society, and from the center of the political spectrum. It was a liberal center party leader, who could campaign for the parliament elections with anti-semitic slogans, under the camouflage of criticizing Israeli government, by blaming German Jews for their ills. One of the most acclaimed writers of Germany, Martin Walser, published a bestselling novel with a plot and a language relying on numerous anti-semitic stereotypes. But still there is something even more disturbing in Germany. Martin Walser excused his novel, by claiming that it is not anti-semitic but the expression of an "unhappy love". This is a telling argument. Germany has a long tradition of both philo-semitism and anti-semitism since the early 19th century. In 1850 Heinrich Laube, one of the most acclaimed scholars of literature and a german revolutionary, expressed this ambivalent attitude: "Either we must be barbarians and expel the Jews to the last man, or we must digest them". For Germans Jews have served as a kind of a mirror image for both German aspirations and German fears. This schizophrenic attitude toward Jews formed the bedrock for violent and radical german

antisemitism that could ultimately motivate the Holocaust. Auschwitz became a central point of reference for German identity politics. And Jews remained an abstract symbol. Today young Germans learn quite a bit about the destruction of German and European Jewry but almost nothing about the fast growing community of about 100.000 Jews who live actually among them—most of them coming as immigrants from the former Sovjet Union.

3. If we look at the Eastern European discourse, apart from the former Sovjet-Union and maybe Hungary, we recognize the phenomenon of an anti-semitism without Jews. In countries like Poland or Slovakia, the baltic states or Roumania, anti-semitism becomes again and again a political tool for certain political elites, arouse patriotism and national self expression in a post-communist setting. These elites play upon traditional anti-jewish prejudices, deeply rooted in major parts of the populations. Anti-Jewish patterns, which come to the fore, the more the history of these countries does not any longer provide a plain image of occupied victims of the great powers, but as a much more complex history of collaboration and ethnic violence.
4. But as I alluded to in the beginning: the most serious threat of anti-semitism in Europe however derives from the conflicts and discontent emerging in the framework of a post-colonial and globalized world. Anti-semitism has made inroads into the political orientations and cultural patterns of immigrant communities in Europe: Most visibly in France and its huge post-colonial immigrant communities from the Maghreb. But as well in Great Britain and its immigrant communities from Asia, and to some extent in Spain or Italy, and also in Germany. The communities, national entities and religious orientations among which we today experience the most vivid and violent anti-jewish prejudices are composed of people who themselves are fighting for recognition, who are victims of xenophobia, racist hatred, ethnic struggle and in their homelands undemocratic regimes. Anti-jewish ideologies are a valve to express discontent with the process of globalization, with the very real discrimination they face in Europe, and with the perceived disadvantages with regard to markets, technologies and political development. Anti-Jewish ideologies are attractive because they portray the world as a conspiracy, in which the own culture is despised and discriminated, self-fulfilling a process of isolation and violent disintegration. We see the emergence of anti-semitism in parts of the radical left too, as an attractive conspiracy theory, giving simple answers to the politicals dynamics and social injustice of globalization. While there is a certain tendency to interpret this new anti-jewish ideology as an "islamic anti-semitism", I would sharply oppose that view. It does not only simplify the problem, but it regenerates an ideological notion of "culture", which indeed is a very European and a very German phenomenon in particular that drives the very problems we face.
5. Europe as a whole has become more of an immigration society, how much this is publicly acknowledged or not. And taken into account the given demographical and economical data this is a process of no return. Germany plays in this process certainly a particularly ambivalent role. Germany filled its labour market traditionally with immigrants from Eastern Europe, and only after 1945 this changed substantially. Today more than 3.000.000 Muslims live in Germany and a growing part of them apply for German citizenship. As most of them come from Turkey, anti-semitic prejudices are not as much wide-spread among these immigrants than in the Maghreb

based communities in France. This is due to the specific relation between Turkey and the middle East, and to Israel. (And interestingly enough this is taken on the other side by many Greeks as a rationale for own anti-semitism.) But still, Germany increasingly has to confront similar problems like Western Europe. The discussion in Germany about the definition of Europe arrives, as it seems, at a decisive moment. Again this is a conflict about competing images of Europe. On the one hand we find self-images which either define Europe as a basically homogeneous cultural space, defined by either its christian-hellenic heritage, or (and that is not really better): by its christian-jewish history, centered around Auschwitz, which some misuse as an excuse for a new exclusive ideology to legitimate culturally defined borders. Or on the other hand: to accept Europe as a political entity with a constitutional framework, which invites in principle the whole OSCE Region under its umbrella. And that indeed means not only to accept Judaism but also Islam as an integral part of the European Heritage and future.

6. To conclude with a few recommendations in principle and in detail:

- I don't think that Europe can exist as a fortress, defined by the idea of a clash (or even the dialogue) of cultures, even if relevant parts of the elites in Germany and in other European countries seem to entertain such a world view. The fact that in Turkey a difficult process of reconciliation between the invented national tradition of the 20th century and the islamic heritage of this country has begun, is a necessary prerequisite for the integration into the European Community, which should be encouraged and not slowed down. This also means, that the legislation of European countries should establish legal structures (regarding education, tax collection, public funds etc.) for Europeans of islamic faith comparable to those that Christians and Jews already have. And we are indeed far away from this. I know, that it is not the task of this forum to discuss political plans on that level. But there will be no efficient strategy to combat anti-semitism without political initiatives to counter discrimination and to open the European theatre towards the Middle East and also to Northern Africa.
- To fight anti-semitism in Europe in the realms of education requires first of all the will to acknowledge the situation of the immigrant communities, second the will to spend substantial funds into research in this field, research which right now is absolutely marginal. This lack of attention substantially reduces the value of expertise, provided by recent studies undertaken to explore patterns of prejudice and political attitudes.
- This research should in fact should lead to educational activities, which take serious the specific situation in different european countries, which do not try to play over the significant differences in the historical contexts of the respective countries and there different composition regarding immigrants and traditional minorities.

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF
AMBASSADOR ALFRED H. MOSES, FORMER PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AND FORMER U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA**

Mr. Chairman,

I would like to thank you for the privilege of addressing this inter-parliamentary forum on behalf of the American Jewish Committee and its more than 125,000 members and supporters.

As a Past President of the American Jewish Committee and current Chairman of its Geneva-based U.N. Watch institute, and as an American with a record of 4 decades of service to my country and to the causes it champions around the world, I have viewed the resurgence of antisemitism in Europe the past 2 years with alarm.

Prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, I visited Europe regularly to assist in the flight of Jews and Christians from Communist oppression, particularly in Romania, where I later served as U.S. Ambassador.

While anti-Jewish sentiment was still apparent after World War II, it was visibly and encouragingly in decline in the ensuing decades, only to reemerge in the last few years in forms not previously seen. We are witnessing a reemergence of antisemitism that has left many European Jews feeling more vulnerable and, as a consequence, disillusioned and even more frightened than at any time since the Holocaust.

Mr. Chairman, the past 2 years have seen hundreds of aggressive, often violent, acts targeting Jewish individuals and institutions in the OSCE region.

Just last Wednesday night, 300 skinheads interrupted a Chanukah candle-lighting ceremony in downtown Budapest for over an hour with shouts of "Hungary is for Hungarians, and it's better that those who are not Hungarians leave."

In Ukraine earlier this year, 50 youths marched 2 miles to attack a synagogue in Kiev, where they beat the Lubavitch principal of a yeshiva.

In France, the problem has been particularly acute. Scores of synagogues and Jewish day schools have been firebombed and desecrated. In the month of April 2002 alone, the French Jewish community reported 119 anti-Semitic acts and 448 anti-Semitic threats — while the Government was dismissing these outrages as simple acts of vandalism.

In Belgium, where politically motivated legal proceedings (now dismissed) have been brought against Israeli Prime Minister Ariël Sharon, the Chief Rabbi and a friend were assaulted and spit upon by a gang as they left a restaurant.

In Denmark, the widely circulated newspaper, *Jutland Posten*, ran a radical Islamic group's offer of a \$35,000 reward for the murder of a prominent Danish Jew.

In Germany, morbid reminders of the Holocaust have appeared in the form of slogans like "Six million is not enough," which was scrawled on the walls of synagogues in Berlin and elsewhere. Jewish memorials have been defaced with swastikas, Jews have been attacked in the streets—leading some German municipal officials to warn Jews not to wear identifiable Jewish symbols.

In Greece, newspapers have bombarded readers with anti-Semitic editorials and cartoons comparing the Israeli military operation in Jenin—where false cries of "massacre" have since been disproven—to the Holocaust and likening Prime Minister Sharon to Adolph Hitler. Such polemics reached a fevered pitch of hysteria and antisemitism in Greece.

These manifestations of Jew-hatred are rooted in a tradition of antisemitism that has plagued Europe for centuries. The historic, theologically based Judeophobia gave way to an ethno-centric nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in which Jews were viewed as an alien presence in the states of Europe, leading to suspicion, vilification, exclusion, expulsion and, ultimately, for two-thirds of the Jews of Europe, extermination.

The historical antisemitism of Europe has been given new life by voices on both the political right and the left. There are a number of factors at work here:

- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and its distorted image in much of the popular media in Europe, has provided a pretext for anti-Semitic characterizations of Israel and its leaders and attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions.
- Israel, closely identified with the United States, has become a surrogate target for anti-American and anti-globalization protests—making Jew-bashing an all-too-common mode of attack.
- Holocaust restitution issues have opened much that was long dormant—both bank accounts and anti-Semitic feelings.
- Those right-wing parties that have always been anti-Semitic at their roots have gained new vigor in Europe by playing on anti-immigrant and anti-foreigner sentiments, which easily spill over into antisemitism. Jean-Marie Le Pen and Joerg Haider may be the best-known proponents of these views—but lesser-known and just as dangerous political personalities are on the rise in other Western European states.

These factors have provided traditional antisemites with new intellectual cover to rationalize their antisemitism—and swell the ranks of the new forces of hate.

Comments such as the reference by the French ambassador to Britain, who described Israel with a well-reported epithet not to be repeated here, or the criticism by a Swiss politician of “international Judaism” in the wake of the Swiss bank negotiations, are but examples, as are the words of a Liberal member of Britain’s House of Lords: “Well, the Jews have been asking for it and now, thank God, we can say what we think at last.”

I know from my personal experience that antisemitism is never far below the surface in Central and Eastern Europe. Openly antisemitic political figures—among them Vadim Tudor of Romania, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy of Russia, and Istfan Czurka of Hungary—are among the names most familiar to this Commission, but they are not alone.

Against this backdrop, the pronounced growth of Europe’s Arab and Muslim population presents another factor. The Muslim community in Europe today may number close to 20 million. In France alone, some 6 million inhabitants with roots in the Maghreb region of North Africa are not integrated into French society nor held to the same standards when it comes to acts of violence. It is generally understood that most of the recent attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions in France have been carried out by members of this community.

Arabic-language cable TV networks such as Al Jazeera, print publications, and Internet sites, which offer predictably one-sided, inflammatory coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are also spreading virulent antisemitism. The Arabic media is awash in a “tidal wave of antisemitism,” according to Professor Robert Wistrich in an American Jewish Committee report, *Muslim Antisemitism: A Clear and Present Danger*. These outlets employ primitive Jewish stereotypes in service of their anti-Zionist message, often borrowing symbols and motifs from Nazi propaganda. Thus, one sees images of Jews as ghoulish, even satanic, caricatures with misshapen noses, and of Israelis bearing swastikas or drinking the

blood of children. During the Ramadan that just ended, Arabic communities were treated to satellite broadcasts from Cairo and throughout the Middle East of a televised version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Today, Arabic editions of Mein Kampf sell briskly in London and other European capitals.

Sadly, many officials in the OSCE region persist in viewing antisemitism as a purely political phenomenon related to the Middle East conflict; once the Middle East conflict subsides, violence against Jews, they claim, will also diminish. They have refused to recognize the severity of the problem as a longstanding issue of hate, racism, discrimination and, ultimately, human rights. Too often, they have failed to speak out against antisemitism with a pragmatism, intensity and a conviction that the current situation demands. They have also ignored the way in which the "new antisemitism" uses criticism of Israel and Israeli practices as a justification for acts of violence against Jews. As I stated at the outset, the problem of antisemitism today is more acute than it has been in decades.

There are exceptions to the prevailing lack of official will and vision in confronting antisemitism—few, unfortunately, as inspiring as that offered by German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer. But since many leaders in the OSCE region still cannot accept the gravity of present circumstances, they need to hear often and emphatically from U.S. officials, in the Administration and in the Congress, that antisemitism is again a serious problem in Europe, one that they must address. The United States has a great deal of positive influence at its disposal, and should use it.

The most recent round of NATO enlargement, announced at the Prague Summit last month, provided an example of the constructive role that the U.S. can play in this arena. Thanks to America's determined insistence over the past decade, governments in Central and Eastern Europe understand that they must address problems related to their Holocaust-era past before they can finally join NATO. The actions these countries have taken in this regard are directly connected to the NATO aspirations of their governments. For example, Romania—one of the seven republics formally invited to NATO accession talks last month, and a country I know well—has officially rejected the rehabilitation of its fascist war-time dictator, Marshal Antonescu, while the government has instituted a Holocaust studies program at its military academy in Bucharest and a course on tolerance at the University of Cluj, long a hotbed of Romanian-Hungarian tension—and even violence.

As Romania and the other six countries slated for NATO accession in 2004 undergo further review in the lead-up to ratification, the United States must remain vigilant lest these governments backslide on these issues. The Prague Summit is not the end; the Administration and the Congress must continue to hold these countries accountable in combating antisemitism and should encourage their ongoing efforts at Holocaust education and commemoration.

At the same time, the European Union should be encouraged to hold EU-aspirant countries to the same standard as that structure enlarges. Germany, as the country with the greatest awareness of the Holocaust and of the dangers of antisemitism, has a special responsibility in this regard.

Through its membership in OSCE—its "seat at the table" of a multilateral organization centered in Europe—the United States should work with EU member-states to make the problem of antisemitism a top priority.

Inter-governmental mechanisms such as the Council of Europe's European Commission on Racism and Intolerance and the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xen-

phobia have not effectively addressed the scourge of antisemitic acts. The United States and Germany have already shown leadership to overcome this failure.

The resolution adopted at the Parliamentary Assembly in Berlin was the key step initiated by you, Congressman Smith, together with German Parliamentarian Gert Weisskirchen, to mobilize participating states. Later, U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE Stephan Minikes led the way in Warsaw and beyond to garner support for the first-ever separate OSCE meeting on antisemitism, which we expect to take place in 2003. By focusing on the issue through an international forum, national experts and policy-makers will be able to create a system to assess and analyze the origins of antisemitism in order to build the legal and educational standards to eradicate the scourge.

Mr. Chairman, only last week Jews around the world marked the holiday of Chanukah, a festival that celebrates the triumph of freedom over tyranny—in which leadership made the critical difference. In our lifetimes, we have seen freedom's hard-won victory over oppression across Europe—vanquishing Nazism and throwing off the yoke of Communism. And we have seen the unique, irreplaceable role of political leadership in these struggles.

I recall, twenty years ago, celebrating Chanukah with my then-young daughters in a small Romanian village deep in the Carpathian Mountains. As we marked the Festival of Lights with our Romanian brethren, a menacing group marched on the synagogue in darkness. Suddenly, a Romanian police force appeared, turned back the mob—and saved this small remnant of Romanian Jewry that had gathered to light the lights of Chanukah. Violence was averted by official action, and the Chanukah celebration continued on.

Mr. Chairman, the history that befell European Jewry in my lifetime is a tragic one. With antisemitism now at its greatest peak since the most tragic of all human episodes, the Holocaust, let us be mindful of this history. Let us speak out; let us use our influence; let us remember the price of inaction or denial; and let us act now.

Thank you.

**MATERIAL SUBMITTED BY
HON. JERAHMIEL S. GRAFSTEIN, MEMBER,
SENATE OF CANADA**

**MOTION TO REFER 2002 BERLIN RESOLUTION OF
ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN
EUROPE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY
TO COMMITTEE**

Hon. Jerahmiel S. Grafstein, pursuant to notice of November 20, 2002, moved:

That the following resolution, encapsulating the 2002 Berlin OSCE (PA) Resolution, be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs for consideration and report before June 30, 2003:

WHEREAS Canada is a founding member State of the Organization for Security and Economic Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the 1975 Helsinki Accords;

WHEREAS all the participating member States to the Helsinki Accords affirmed respect for the right of persons belonging to national minorities to equality before the law and the full opportunity for the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and further that the participating member States recognized that such respect was an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation between themselves and among all member States;

WHEREAS the OSCE condemned anti-Semitism in the 1990 Copenhagen Concluding Document and undertook to take effective measures to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence;

WHEREAS the 1996 Lisbon Concluding Document of the OSCE called for improved implementation of all commitments in the human dimension, in particular with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms and urged participating member States to address the acute problem of anti-Semitism;

WHEREAS the 1999 Charter for European Security committed Canada and other participating members States to counter violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief and manifestations of intolerance, aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism;

WHEREAS on July 8, 2002, at its Parliamentary Assembly held at the Reichstag in Berlin, Germany, the OSCE passed a unanimous resolution, as appended, condemning the current anti-Semitic violence throughout the OSCE space;

WHEREAS the 2002 Berlin Resolution urged all member States to make public statements recognizing violence against Jews and Jewish cultural properties as anti-Semitic and to issue strong, public declarations condemning the depredations;

WHEREAS the 2002 Berlin Resolution called on all participating member States to combat anti-Semitism by ensuring aggressive law enforcement by local and national authorities;

WHEREAS the 2002 Berlin Resolution urged participating members States to bolster the importance of combating anti-Semitism by exploring effective measures to prevent anti-Semitism and by ensuring that laws, regulations, practices and policies conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism;

WHEREAS the 2002 Berlin Resolution also encouraged all delegates to the Parliamentary Assembly to vocally and unconditionally condemn manifestations of anti-Semitic violence in their respective countries;

WHEREAS the alarming rise in anti-Semitic incidents and violence has been documented in Canada, as well as Europe and worldwide.

APPENDIX

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE IN THE OSCE REGION BERLIN, 6– 10 JULY 2002

1. **Recalling** that the OSCE was among those organizations which publicly achieved international condemnation of anti-Semitism through the crafting of the 1990 Copenhagen Concluding Document;
2. **Noting** that all participating States, as stated in the Copenhagen Concluding Document, commit to “unequivocally condemn” anti-Semitism and take effective measures to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence;
3. **Remembering** the 1996 Lisbon Concluding Document, which highlights the OSCE’s “comprehensive approach” to security, calls for “improvement in the implementation of all commitments in the human dimension, in particular with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms,” and urges participating States to address “acute problems,” such as anti-Semitism;
4. **Reaffirming** the 1999 Charter for European Security, committing participating States to “counter such threats to security as violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief and manifestations of intolerance, aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism”;
5. **Recognizing** that the scourge of anti-Semitism is not unique to any one country, and calls for steadfast perseverance by all participating States;

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly:

6. **Unequivocally** condemns the alarming escalation of anti-Semitic violence throughout the OSCE region;

7. **Voices** deep concern over the recent escalation in anti-Semitic violence, as individuals of the Judaic faith and Jewish cultural properties have suffered attacks in many OSCE participating States;

8. **Urges** those States which undertake to return confiscated properties to rightful owners, or to provide alternative compensation to such owners, to ensure that their property restitution and compensation programmes are implemented in a non-discriminatory manner and according to the rule of law;

9. **Recognizes** the commendable efforts of many post-communist States to redress injustices inflicted by previous regimes based on religious heritage, considering that the interests of justice dictate that more work remains to be done in this regard, particularly with regard to individual and community property restitution compensation;

10. **Recognizes** the danger of anti-Semitic violence to European security, especially in light of the trend of increasing violence and attacks regions wide;

11. **Declares** that violence against Jews and other manifestations of intolerance will never be justified by international developments or political issues, and that it obstructs democracy, pluralism, and peace;

12. **Urges** all States to make public statements recognizing violence against Jews and Jewish cultural properties as anti-Semitic, as well as to issue strong, public declarations condemning the depredations;

13. **Calls** upon participating States to ensure aggressive law enforcement by local and national authorities, including thorough investigation of anti-Semitic criminal acts, apprehension of perpetrators, initiation of appropriate criminal prosecutions and judicial proceedings;

14. **Urges** participating States to bolster the importance of combating anti-Semitism by holding a follow-up seminar or human dimension meeting that explores effective measures to prevent anti-Semitism, and to ensure that their laws, regulations, practices and policies conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism; and

15. **Encourages** all delegates to the Parliamentary Assembly to vocally and unconditionally condemn manifestations of anti-Semitic violence in their respective countries and at all regional and international forums.

He said: Honourable senators, I rise in support of this resolution encapsulating the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Resolution on Anti-Semitic Violence in the OSCE Region, including Canada—the OSCE being comprised of 55 nations, stretching from Vancouver in Canada to Vladivostock—a resolution that I supported energetically and endorsed and which was unanimously approved by all OSCE parliamentarians in the Reichstag in Berlin last July.

Honourable senators, hate always starts with words. Words can kill. Sadly, daily, we experience these painful lessons. Incitement to hate, anti-Semitism, starts with Jews, but never ends with Jews. This is the tragic lesson of history. The bitter lesson of European history is still scorched in our memories.

The treatment of Jews, some political philosophers have argued, has been a test, or at least one benchmark, of a free and open civic society. The ugly faces and voices of anti-Semitism have not been seen or heard with such ferocity and force, nor witnessed, since the 1930s. Licence, even reaching into international fora, has been granted to acts of anti-Semitism—incitement to hatred—always leading to violence.

In Canada, in the past year, four synagogues have been scorched or burned, more than at any time in our entire history. In Canada, more than two incidents of anti-Semitism per day in the last year were collated this past spring—all this, in Canada, in the 21st century.

After 1989, when the Berlin Wall finally came tumbling down, I never thought that I would ever have to open a dossier on anti-Semitism, certainly not a dossier in the 21st century. Yet, in England, in Germany, in France, in Denmark of all places, and worse even in Canada and elsewhere throughout the entire OSCE space across the face of Europe and North America, synagogues—houses of worship—must now be guarded, some 24 hours a day, to allow for freedom of worship. In Canada today, there is now a new tax on freedom of worship in synagogues, the cost of fulltime guards just to exercise the right to worship in Canada in peace and security. I should note that in Germany this guard tax is now borne freely and openly by the German government.

Regrettably, no corner of OSCE space is free of taunts and fears of anti-Semitism. The news media has accelerated and even inflated this endemic problem. State-sponsored media are relentless, even stooping to produce and broadcast that oldest of old canards, the Protocols of Zion.

Last summer, I spoke in the Reichstag, the German Parliament in Berlin—where Jews had settled on the banks of the Spree well before the founding of Berlin over 750 years ago—urging the OSCE to lead in raising our voices against runaway anti-Semitism. I was absolutely delighted that the OSCE resolution, encapsulated in this resolution, was so quickly and unanimously adopted in Berlin's Reichstag on July 8, 2002, in the very same place that Hitler stood in 1933 to introduce his heinous laws. The OSCE was not silent.

Yet, in Canada, I have waited, and all I have heard is silence. What we cannot do, what is unacceptable, is to remain silent. Imagine, four synagogues burned or scorched—four synagogues in four provinces of Canada—and still eerie silence from all our leaders and all our institutions. Honourable senators, silence is acquiescence. Acquiescence breeds licence. Licence breeds legitimacy. Legitimacy leads to fear, scorn, loathing and then violence—all unacceptable to the founding principles of the OSCE, the 1975 Helsinki Accords, the 1990 Charter of Paris and the 1990 Copenhagen Declaration, and above all, unacceptable to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

What can we do? We can support this resolution in this Senate, as the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly did unanimously and quickly last summer. It is to be hoped that a similar resolution will be passed in every house of parliament of the 55 member states of the OSCE, and Canada should lead the way. This resolution might light the way out of this current gloom. This resolution might ignite other lights that can push away the darkness descending upon us.

In the last millennium, the last 1,000 years, two out of every five Jews were murdered. In the last century, the murder of Jews continued. During the last century, the 20th century, one out of three Jews was murdered.

While discrimination always seems to start with Jews, it never ends with Jews. Discrimination always starts with a word, then a phrase, perhaps a joke, then gossip, then conversation, then a speech or a sermon, then a lecture, usually a book, then a policy, then a state program followed by the expectation that the state program will be executed, and it was! We never believed it could happen, but it did. What happened in the last century in civilized state after civilized state remains beyond imagination, yet it did happen.

Honourable senators, words of incitement against Jews are always followed by discrimination against the "other." This is the pathology of hate. This is the oxygen of violence.

Must we repeat the anguish call of the 20th century—"Never again"? I fear we must.

I urge colleagues to unanimously support this resolution, as our parliamentary colleagues did so readily in Europe, and the modest actions proposed.

Honourable senators, we must make a start. This is the place. Now is the time.

Hon. Noël A. Kinsella (Deputy Leader of the Opposition): Would the honourable senator entertain a question?

Senator Grafstein: Yes.

Senator Kinsella: In recent times, we have observed in Montreal, at Concordia University, the imposition of silence. My understanding is that the imposition of silence continues to this day and is, if I am not mistaken, even upheld by a court injunction. Would the honourable senator reflect on this domestic Canadian incident, relating it to this resolution, which I wish to advise him I support?

Senator Grafstein: I thank the honourable senator for his question.

I have not had a chance to examine all the facts surrounding that incident, other than what I have read in the newspapers and other reports. I believe that the right of free speech that is guaranteed in the Charter is almost sacrosanct, if not totally sacrosanct.

However, such an activity must take place in a forum where freedom of speech is allowed. It is my understanding, based on a comment that I heard from another member of Parliament, whose daughter was at the event and was punched out, that there was not freedom of speech at this event, nor an atmosphere of peace and security.

This is a very difficult question to answer. I do not want to make a glib response to it. However, this is exactly the type of thing that a committee might examine objectively to see whether there are ways in which honourable senators can deal with what I consider to be a sacrosanct right of every Canadian, and that is freedom of speech.

Let me say this, honourable senators: What troubles me personally, and the reason why I have sat here for a year now and waited for a response, is that when I go to my synagogue now, and it is one of the largest in Toronto, I cannot go in through the front door, nor can I go in through the side door. I have to go in through the parking lot, as does every other member of that synagogue. Thereafter, we go through a chamber where our bags are checked. This process goes on 24 hours a day. That is a tax. Recently, I received my membership account, and we are now charged \$150 or \$200 per family for those guards.

Senator Di Nino: Security.

Senator Grafstein: I am now, in Canada under the Charter, personally taxed to enter into my own place of worship. Down the street there is a Roman Catholic edifice, and down the other street there is a Protestant edifice. Several miles away, there is a mosque. I do not detect guards there.

I say that if anything else comes out of this inquiry, at least there should be something said in Canada about the fact that one religion is required to be taxed just to exercise its freedom under the Charter, which is the freedom of worship. I find that abhorrent and unacceptable.

Senator Kinsella: My reading of the literature on the administration of universities in the United States and Canada has raised concerns for me that there is a new kind of systemic discrimination, of which the events that occurred at Concordia are but a symptom, or the tip of the iceberg, to use a different metaphor.

Do you think that the committee to which this resolution might be referred would serve a very rich end if it were to examine the nature of the response that is appropriate in a free and democratic society such as Canada in the year 2002? Such a rich end indeed that those who follow us, in generations to come, and with the hindsight of the future, will say that while we were not necessarily asleep at the switch, we did not critically examine the changed dynamic; that we did not probe the systemic nature of the anti-Semitism that prevailed; that we were confused by the complexity of geopolitical considerations?

Those of us who read history try to understand, for example, the actions of the churches—and I can speak of my own church, the Roman Catholic Church. There are today a great many questions as to the appropriateness of the actions of the Vatican during the era of the Second World War and the Holocaust. Much of the historical research that is being done in that regard is not crystal clear, either on the one hand or on the other. Great historians such as the one from your city of Toronto, Michael Morris, who served on an important commission of historians, have been examining Vatican archives, at least those that were made available to the researchers.

My analysis of it, if we can learn from that history, is that those living during that era were not reflecting upon the changed dynamics. If we are to learn something from that terrible period of history, how men and women of goodwill and institutions of goodwill, such as the Vatican and other institutions, may not have been as proactive as they could have been. I do not want us to be condemned by the generations that follow us in the future.

To return to the specificity of my second question, does the honourable senator believe that the committee to which this resolution would be referred ought to examine the nature and complexity of the world that we live in, the political dimensions as well as the ethnocentric conflicts so critically important for a country such as ours that is so metropolitan and multicultural a society?

Senator Grafstein: I wish to thank the honourable senator for that informed question. Let me deal with two aspects of it.

I do not believe the committee to which this resolution will be referred has to invent the wheel. Substantive work, serious, critical, scholarly work has been done with respect to the Roman Catholic Church.

As a result of my origins at the University of Western Ontario, and being a member of the Newman Club as a youngster, I have always had, both from the inside and the outside, a very close and careful view of the Roman Catholic Church.

From my own perspective, while one can be critical of the church, as Roman Catholic members are today, remarkable progress has been made with respect to dealing with some of the systemic problems within the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. I was pleased to see that within the last year or so the Lutheran Church of Canada has done likewise. Remarkable progress has been made. It has taken a lot of time and energy.

However, the self-reform within religious organizations, institutions and communities is more important than reform from without. I see that evolving, and particularly under the current Pope. It has been two steps forward, one step backward, but there is still some forward motion.

I would not expect the committee to do other than perhaps examine this question. It does not have to reinstitute serious and substantive work that has been done on that front.

For me as an observer, and for the honourable senator as a student of history, what I found to be absolutely remarkable is the time and the energy I have spent going to Germany over the last 20 years since becoming a senator. I am a member of a Canadian-German group, the Atlantik-Brücke. In the back of my mind I have always had the thought: How could a civilized society such as Germany, the leader of Europe in terms of science, literature and philosophy, succumb to what I consider to be the horrors of anti-Semitism? The people who were the most surprised about that were Germans themselves, many of who served in the First World War with great distinction.

Once I came across a text that said there was a higher proportion of Germans of Jewish origin who served with distinction in the First World War for Germany than perhaps any other community. How could that happen? I have studied the subject for the last 20 or 30 years. I edited a book on the same issue, and I am still puzzled. There are no short answers.

I have decided that the only good answer is not to remain silent, and to say over and over again that this conduct, private or public, is unacceptable. For me, I must say that I was amazed that there was no church or political leader, nor any major institution in Canada, set up to deal with this precisely, like fraternal relationships between Christians and Jews who were upset about the scorching and burning of synagogues.

I know that had a church in the United States been burned, the President of the United States would have been there the following day, as happened on several occasions—but in Canada, silence. Perhaps we are too nice and complacent.

To my view, this very modest resolution might ignite some small lights that might change people's attitudes toward these things and make Canadians such as myself feel fully that we are equal citizens with you as you go to your church and we go to our synagogue.

The Hon. the Acting Speaker: Honourable Senator Grafstein, I am sorry to interrupt, but I must advise that your time for speaking has expired. Is the honourable senator asking for leave to continue?

Senator Grafstein: Yes, please.

The Hon. the Acting Speaker: Is leave granted?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

Hon. Joan Fraser: Honourable senators, I welcome Senator Grafstein's motion. For those senators who are interested, I would recommend, among many other publications, the remarkable book by Erna Paris called: *Long Shadows: Truth, Lies and History*, which is an examination of societies where systemic racism has taken hold, not only anti-Semitism but many forms of racism. It is a remarkable and most enlightening document.

I would ask Senator Grafstein whether he is aware that the Board of Governors at Concordia University has voted to lift the moratorium on discussions concerning the Middle East, but the exact timing of the lifting is to be left to the principal of the university. The decision has been made.

I would also ask the honourable senator whether he is aware that the original moratorium was brought in and then confirmed by a court injunction, not so much as a question of censorship but in order, literally, to preserve the physical peace in the university. What happened was that when Benjamin Netanyahu, a politician with whom I disagree on almost every imaginable point, came to speak at Concordia, his arrival was greeted with remarkable physical violence by a number of protestors who did a great deal of physical damage. Senator Grafstein referred to someone who was punched out, and I believe there was more than one person who suffered personal violence. There was damage to the university property—huge windows broken and furniture hurled down from a height greater than our galleries. It was a dangerous situation. The university was acting to restore the climate of calm in which proper debate of profound ideas can occur.

Senator Grafstein: I thank my colleague for referring to Erna Paris. She is an old friend of mine. She was included in my book as well, and she is one of Canada's outstanding writers. Her books have been well received not only in Canada but also in Europe. I commend everyone to read her book. She has also written one on the Spanish experience, which is edifying and well written.

I would like to respond to the Concordia episode, but I must say that, particularly in the Senate, I do not like to respond unless I am on top of the facts—and I am not on top of those facts.

I can give honourable senators another incident that startled me, involving a mutual friend of mine and of Senator Keon. He is an outstanding heart surgeon in Canada. He was on Bloor Street in Toronto some months ago, walking out of a bookstore. A protest was marching by, and he stood up and said, "What about suicide bombers?" He was immediately trampled. He was kicked and had his arm dislocated, which meant he could not perform heart surgery. No one on Bloor Street, on a Saturday, stopped and said, "Get off this guy."

I was in Europe at the time and came back to Canada because he is a good friend. I called him and asked what had happened, and he confirmed that story.

I found that story to be absolutely beyond my imagination: downtown Toronto, Bloor Street, police officers within yards, someone being beaten up on the street, and no one saying, "Back off." This is Canada in the 21st century.

Hon. Eymard G. Corbin: Could the honourable senator tell us why he is suggesting that this motion be referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee? At first sight, I would think that the Human Rights Committee could best deal with it.

Senator Grafstein: Honourable senators, since this is an OSCE resolution that reflects events in Canada but also events in practically every member state of the OSCE, it is not purely a domestic human rights issue. It is a domestic human rights issue that has been replicated in every civilized country of the Western world.

The history of Denmark is well known to Jews because when the hideous star was imposed upon them during the Second World War, the king walked out and wore the star. In that country, 99 per cent of the Jews were not eradicated because the population all said they were Jews.

When I was in Denmark some months ago, a Jewish team was playing. They were beaten up on the field. I happened to be there. It happened on a Saturday and I was there on the Sunday. I read the newspapers and then talked to members of Parliament. I asked, "Where is the outcry? Where is the church? Where is the government? Where is the king?" Frankly, I do not want to quote our parliamentary colleagues out of context, but I found the answers unacceptable.

I did not concoct the resolution that was placed before the OSCE. I seconded it, but I did not propose it. It came from the United States. I felt that this resolution would be an answer. I spoke to parliamentarians in Denmark and asked, "Will you take a look at this?" They said "Yes, we may." I found that to be such a change from what happened in Denmark just half a century ago.

On motion of Senator Stratton, for Senator Spivak, debate adjourned.

BERLIN DECLARATION OF THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED DURING THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE IN THE OSCE REGION

1. Recalling that the OSCE was among those organizations which publicly achieved international condemnation of anti-Semitism through the crafting of the 1990 Copenhagen Concluding Document;
2. Noting that all participating States, as stated in the Copenhagen Concluding Document, commit to "unequivocally condemn" anti-Semitism and take effective measures to protect individuals from anti-Semitic violence;
3. Remembering the 1996 Lisbon Concluding Document, which highlights the OSCE's "comprehensive approach" to security, calls for "improvement in the implementation of all commitments in the human dimension, in particular with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms", and urges participating States to address "acute problems", such as anti-Semitism;
4. Reaffirming the 1999 Charter for European Security, committing participating States to "counter such threats to security as violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief and manifestations of intolerance, aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism";
5. Recognizing that the scourge of anti-Semitism is not unique to any one country, and calls for steadfast perseverance by all participating States; The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly;
6. Unequivocally condemns the alarming escalation of anti-Semitic violence throughout the OSCE region;
7. Voices deep concern over the recent escalation in anti-Semitic violence, as individuals of the Judaic faith and Jewish cultural properties have suffered attacks in many OSCE participating States;
8. Urges those States which undertake to return confiscated properties to rightful owners, or to provide alternative compensation to such owners, to ensure that their property restitution and compensation programmes are implemented in a nondiscriminatory manner and according to the rule of law;
9. Recognizes the commendable efforts of many post-communist States to redress injustices inflicted by previous regimes based on religious heritage, considering that the interests of justice dictate that more work remains to be done in this regard, particularly with regard to individual and community property restitution compensation;
10. Recognizes the danger of anti-Semitic violence to European security, especially in light of the trend of increasing violence and attacks region wide;
11. Declares that violence against Jews and other manifestations of intolerance will never be justified by international developments or political issues, and that it obstructs democracy, pluralism, and peace;
12. Urges all States to make public statements recognizing violence against Jews and Jewish cultural properties as anti-Semitic, as well as to issue strong, public declarations condemning the depredations;
13. Calls upon participating States to ensure aggressive law enforcement by local and national authorities, including thorough investigation of anti-Semitic criminal acts, apprehension of perpetrators, initiation of appropriate criminal prosecutions and judicial proceedings;
14. Urges participating States to bolster the importance of combating anti-Semitism by holding a follow-up seminar or human dimension meeting that explores effective measures to prevent anti-Semitism, and to ensure that their laws, regulations, practices and policies conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism; and

15. **Encourages all delegates to the Parliamentary Assembly to vocally and unconditionally condemn manifestations of anti-Semitic violence in their respective countries and at all regional and international forums.**



CSCE DIGEST

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Chairman
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Rep. Christopher H. Smith, Co-Chairman
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BERLIN FORUM HIGHLIGHTS DISTURBING RISE IN ANTI-SEMITISM CONCERTED ACTION TO STEM ESCALATING VIOLENCE URGED

BY DON KURSCH, CSCE SENIOR ADVISOR

United States Helsinki Commission Co-Chairman Rep. Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ) and German Bundestag President Wolfgang Thierse convened a forum to address the rise in anti-Semitism in the OSCE region and consider possible collective actions in order to reverse this alarming trend.

The panel forum was held in early July in conjunction with the 11th annual Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Each of the 11 delegates to the Assembly from the U.S. Congress attended the forum as did several members of the German delegation, including former Bundestag President and OSCE PA Vice President Dr. Rita Sussmuth. Parliamentarians from other delegations to the Assembly, U.S. Embassy officials, representatives of civil society and members of the press were also present.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Smith, who headed the U.S. delegation to the Berlin Assembly, condemned politicians who promote aggressive nationalism and, as a result, have fed "the latent monster of anti-Semitism." He noted that the actions of the extreme right are a startling reminder of how the sins of intolerance and xenophobia remain prevalent in certain circles. Smith also observed that hostility toward Jews has erupted from second generation Arabs in Western Europe.

Mr. Smith called upon all OSCE participating States, including the United States, to be "proactive, vigilant and determined" to combat anti-Semitic violence. He urged the decisive adoption by the Parliamentary Assembly of a US-sponsored resolution condemning anti-Semitism. That resolution was subsequently approved unanimously by the Assembly of nearly 300 parliamentarians from throughout the OSCE region.

German Parliamentarian Prof. Gert Weisskirchen recalled the horrors that anti-Semitism had inflicted on Germany and Europe as a whole. It is imperative that these crimes never be forgotten, Weisskirchen said. Germany had made extensive efforts to educate its citizens about the Holocaust, however, as the current rise in anti-Semitism suggests, such efforts had

to be continued and intensified. Prof. Weisskirchen called for a serious program of action to be embraced by all of the countries of the OSCE and suggested that the United States and Germany work closely together to provide leadership.

Four experts on anti-Semitism then offered their views to the Forum. They included Dr. Wolfgang Benz, Director of the Center for Anti-Semitic Research at the Technical University of Berlin; Mr. Abraham Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League; Dr. Shimon Samuels, Director for International Liaison at the Simon Wiesenthal Center, Paris; and Dr. Wolfgang Schoeps, Professor at the University of Potsdam and Director of the Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies.

Prof. Schoeps began by stressing that anti-Semitism was not just a German or European problem but a worldwide phenomenon. He said that about 15 percent of the German public might be described as anti-Semitic. More ominous was the additional 30 percent of the population he described as "latent anti-Semites" who, in reaction to media reports, would be inclined to condone or even participate in anti-Semitic actions. Such individuals would deny being anti-Semites, at the same time declaring that "they didn't like Jews." Schoeps decried the threefold increase in attacks on Jewish institutions that have taken place since unification. As a German citizen, who was also Jewish, this impacted negatively on his comfort levels. At the same time, he complimented German schools and trade unions on their educational efforts to combat anti-Semitism and racism.

Dr. Benz noted that while anti-Semitic attitudes have become less socially acceptable in Germany, the number of incidents was clearly rising. These have increased from 65 in 2000 to 106 in 2001. The first quarter of 2002 had registered 33 incidents. Benz suggested the deteriorating situation in the Middle East and the inclination of certain elements in the media to compare Israeli actions to those of the Nazis may be connected with this trend. At the same time, he insisted that anti-Semitism in Germany did not have any resonance in the German political arena. However, Benz added, this was not true in certain other European countries such as Hungary, Latvia and Ukraine.

Mr. Foxman began by noting that, after ten years of decline, anti-Semitic attitudes are increasing in the United States. According to ADL-initiated surveys, 17 percent of the U.S. population had anti-Semitic feelings, but among the black and Hispanic populations the level was much higher at 35 percent. The number of incidents in the first five months of 2002 had increased by 11 percent, according to Foxman.

Sadly, according to ADL surveys, the levels of anti-Semitic feelings in Europe were approximately twice as high as in the United States, with 30 percent of the population harboring a wide range of anti-Semitic stereotypes and 45 percent believing that their fellow Jewish citizens were more loyal to Israel than to their own countries.

Foxman said that the apathy among so many European leaders and citizens in what is happening is very alarming. "How many times must the world learn that the sin of omission is as dangerous as the sin of commission?" Foxman asked, calling on all OSCE participating States to follow the lead of the German Bundestag and decisively pass resolutions that condemn anti-Semitism in all its forms.

Dr. Samuels pointed out how the hate speech featured so prominently at the 2001 United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban contributed to an increased acceptance of anti-Semitic attitudes. He feared the World Conference on Sustainable Development, scheduled for Johannesburg in August, could produce similar, or worse, results.

Dr. Samuels called upon the United States and Germany to take the lead in ensuring the U.N. forum maintain the integrity of its environmental agenda. Samuels said one bright

note was the apparent readiness of the new French government to recognize the problem and take appropriate action. He concluded that OSCE governments must take every measure to remove their Jewish communities from the cross hairs of the Middle East conflict for which they are too often forced to pay a price.

The Helsinki Commission held a hearing May 22 on the continuing wave of anti-Semitic attacks that has swept across Europe this year.

The United States Helsinki Commission, an independent federal agency, by law monitors and encourages progress in implementing provisions of the Helsinki Accords. The Commission, created in 1976, is composed of nine Senators, nine Representatives and one official each from the Departments of State, Defense and Commerce.

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