

COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE OSCE REGION: TAKING STOCK OF THE SITUATION TODAY

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

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COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE OSCE REGION: TAKING STOCK OF THE SITUATION TODAY

December 2, 2011

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
WASHINGTON, DC

The hearing was held at 10 a.m. in room 2203, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Chairman, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, presiding.

Commissioners present: Hon. Christopher H. Smith, Chairman, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Hon. Steve Cohen, Commissioner, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Members present: Hon. Eliot Engel (D-16), a Member of Congress from the State of New Jersey; Hon. Trent Franks (R-8), a Member of Congress from the State of Arizona; and Hon. Frank Wolf (R-10), a Member of Congress from the State of Virginia.

Witnesses present: Hannah Rosenthal, Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, U.S. Department of State; Rabbi Andrew Baker, Personal Representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism; Stacy Burdett, Director of Government and National Affairs, Anti-Defamation League; Mark Levin, Executive Director, National Conference on Soviet Jewery; Shimon Samuels, Director for International Relations, Simon Wiesenthal Center; and Eric Fusfield, International Director of Legislative Affairs, B'nai B'rith International.

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, CHAIRMAN, COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Mr. SMITH. The hearing of the Helsinki Commission will come to order. And I want to welcome and thank, express thanks to our witnesses and everyone for joining us at this very important hearing. Almost a decade ago, in May of 2002, I chaired a Helsinki Commission hearing focused on the horrifying spike in anti-Semitism making itself through much of the OSCE region.

Many of our witnesses today testified at that hearing, which put the issue of combating anti-Semitism on the top of the OSCE's agenda, resulting in OSCE commitments on fighting anti-Semitism and a series of high-level annual conferences on combating anti-Semitism, and even led to the creation of a global network of parliamentarians united against anti-Semitism, the inter-

parliamentary coalition, the ICCA, of which I am on the steering committee.

A lot of good has come out of this. It's worth recalling some of the things we've done, and it has been done as a team. Since the 2002 hearing, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has annually passed declarations addressing anti-Semitism and calling for concrete measures by all participating states in the OSCE.

At the high-level conference in Berlin in 2004, leaders from throughout the OSCE region met to focus specifically on combating anti-Semitism, leading participating states to commit, at the Sofia ministerial later that year, to collect and report hate crimes data. In that same year, a tolerance unit with a focus on anti-Semitism was established within the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, or ODIHR, and the OSCE appointed a special representative on combating anti-Semitism.

I'm very pleased, and I think it's a great honor, that we have here today Rabbi Andrew Baker, a critical force in the development of the Berlin conference—and, matter of fact, one of those who wordsmithed much of that actual document, especially when we hit some snags. He was there writing out language that was incorporated into the final product. I'm very happy that you are here, and just laud you for the great work you have done for so long.

The OSCE is now equipped with a toolbox to combat anti-Semitism, ranging from more than a dozen publications focused on addressing anti-Semitic hate crimes, Holocaust remembrance, and now has a new training against hate crimes for law enforcement programs to assist participating states in their efforts.

The Anti-Defamation League and other NGOs that fight so hard to ensure that human rights and the dignity of Jews worldwide will always and everywhere be fully respected—they have also been an absolute critical part of this work. While the OSCE has the potential to contribute mightily to this fight, it is only truly effective when it works with these vital human rights defenders.

Efforts in the U.S. Congress and other parliaments have complemented this work over the years. The Inter-Parliamentary Coalition for Combating Anti-Semitism, which held its most recent major conference in Ottawa last fall, has been a crucial forum for parliamentarians to work across national boundaries to address common problems of anti-Semitism.

In our own Congress, other members and I have worked hard to fight this terrible hate through this Commission, as well as through the Congressional Anti-Semitism Task Force and other committees of Congress where this has been taken up. It was a 2004 amendment of mine that created the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism and the Special Envoy on anti-Semitism.

And, of course, we're very pleased to have the current special envoy, Hannah Rosenthal, with us today. Ms. Rosenthal is doing an exemplary job, a fine job in that position. I got to know her a little better at Ottawa, and I appreciated her comments there and her comments worldwide as she travels and as she speaks out boldly. And her presence is a reminder of our government's true commitment to fight against anti-Semitic hate.

Yet our work is far from done. Despite the efforts of many good people, mostly in courageous NGOs, but also in our Government and a few other governments, despite the conferences, commitments, laws, training, monitoring, the measure of our success is what happens on the ground. By most accounts, the despicable evil of anti-Semitism has decreased in some parts of the OSCE region in recent years, but remains at higher levels than in 2000. This is simply unacceptable, and it's why we are here today.

I'd like to also just note that one of our witnesses later on today will be Mark Levin. And I would just note for the record that during my first term in Congress, in 1982, Mark was encouraging many of us—as was the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and others—to speak out on behalf of refuseniks, so I responded to a letter that Ham Fish had sent around—the former member from New York—engaged in what we call a special order at the end of the legislative day. And Mark was in the gallery, came down. We had lunch in follow up to that, and he invited me to join him in a special trip to Moscow in January of 1982.

We spent 10 days in Moscow and Leningrad, met with refuseniks around the clock, and for me, it was the primer—it was the eye-opener as to what anti-Semitic hate in its most virulent form looks like. We met with great people, like Yuli Kosharovsky, Dr. Lerner, who was one of the leading refuseniks of that time, and heard their stories. And really, when you're there in total immersion for, like I said, the better part of 10 days in Moscow and Leningrad, you come away a changed person.

And so I want to forever thank Mark Levin for inviting me, for his leadership—because he's still with it today, all these years, and has never stopped in his fight. As have all of you—you are the long stayers, people who have been absolutely committed and have just never given in. I'd like to now recognize my good friend and colleague, Mr. Cohen, for any opening comments he might have.

**HON. STEVE COHEN, COMMISSIONER, COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Mr. COHEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you for scheduling this important hearing and for your important work over the years on many issues concerning human rights, but also anti-Semitism in general, and for having this distinguished panel that has done so much and has so much knowledge. And they bring to us testimony that I'm eager to hear.

The OSCE really sprang from the rubble of the Second World War, and the Second World War had as its base anti-Semitism and the Holocaust actions of the German government—not that that was the entire reason for the Second World War. I mean, Germany wanted to—über alles—but at the same time, they had this way of bringing their people together by hating Jews. And the Holocaust ensued, and concentration camps and deaths, horrific behavior.

It's so appropriate that we look at what's going on with this issue today in the world. And it's not just in the Middle East, where it is a significant issue. But it's also in Europe, and it's frightening to think that in Europe, where just 60-some odd years ago—65, 66 years ago—they were firsthand witnesses of the horrors of anti-

Semitism, of religious prejudice, of discrimination, of all types of awful human behavior.

That was just on this Earth 66 years ago, and yet it's being replicated with anti-Semitic actions in Europe. I think as we look at anti-Semitism, we look at civilization, because until we can get along with each other and accept our differences—whether they be religious or racial, sexual, gender identity or whatever—we're not going to do what we should be doing on the Earth that God created and gave us, which is to help each other get through the time and enjoy the time that we're here.

And if we concentrate on the minimal differences that we have rather than the commonality that we share, which is 99.7, 99.8 percent the same, according to all the studies we've had over the years—Human Genome Project—we should look at those. Until we do, we're not going to have achieved our purposes on Earth. So it's important that we look at this issue, that we study it, we keep an ever-mindful eye on it and try to do what we can to ward it off.

I've done it in my career, with the Holocaust Commission—one of the first in the United States, in Tennessee that we started in 1984. And I saw to it that it didn't just teach about the Holocaust, which it does, but also teaches about man's inhumanity to man in all areas. It goes into the areas where we've had—the Cambodians, and other areas where we've seen horrific conduct.

And we need more of that in our schools, more education about tolerance and understanding. And we need more hate-crime enforcement, which we were fortunate to pass in the Congress a couple of terms ago, where we've seen hate crimes perpetuated against people in this nation as well as around the world. But this nation is not immune to the horrors that we see.

And all you have to do is go to your local newspaper, and sometimes look at the comments that are made on the newspapers' websites, particularly if a Jewish congressman is involved, and you'll see anti-Semitism, with anonymity protecting the bigots that use that as a way to attack people that have different political thoughts than they. So, Mr. Chairman Smith, I thank you for having the hearing and I look forward to the testimony of our witnesses.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Cohen, thank you very much. I'd like to now introduce our two very distinguished witnesses, beginning with Hannah Rosenthal, who was sworn in as special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism on November 23rd of 2009.

Sparked by the work and experience of her father, a rabbi and Holocaust survivor, and her own experience studying to become a rabbi, Hannah Rosenthal has led a life marked by activism and a passion for social justice, having served as executive director of the Chicago Foundation for Women and Jewish Council for Public Affairs. And without objection, yours and all of our distinguished witnesses' full resumes will be made a part of the record—they are very extensive and very distinguished.

Next, we'll hear from Rabbi Andrew Baker, who is director of International Jewish Affairs for the American Jewish Committee. Since 2009, he has served as the personal representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism.

A leading expert on anti-Semitism in Europe and Holocaust restitution issues, he travels extensively to address issues impacting Jewish communities worldwide, including anti-Semitic violence and Holocaust restitution issues, promoting tolerance in the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, and, of course, in the Middle East, which has gotten even worse, obviously, most recently in Egypt. So I'd like to yield to Special Envoy Rosenthal for such time as she may consume.

**HANNAH ROSENTHAL, SPECIAL ENVOY TO MONITOR AND
COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Ms. ROSENTHAL. Thank you very much. Chairman Smith, Mr. Cohen, thank you for the invitation to testify before you today.

Since its founding in 1976, the U.S. Helsinki Commission has dedicated itself to addressing human rights issues, including anti-Semitism. And for the past three decades, Chairman Smith has provided unparalleled leadership in his efforts to combat anti-Semitism and promote human rights.

As the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat anti-Semitism, I'm honored to be able to present my findings on anti-Semitism in Europe, and I would kindly ask that my full written statement be submitted for the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objections, so ordered.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. More than six decades after the murder of 6 million Jews in Europe, the countries of that region have made some important strides. Their leaders have denounced new and old forms of anti-Semitism, and they have forcefully stated, in unison, never again. But sadly, we've also seen many setbacks within these very same countries.

Over the past two years, my staff and I have diligently reported on anti-Semitic incidents throughout Europe, following and tracking developments in old and new cases. We've observed six distinct trends. Though in my written testimony today—all six are there—I want to draw your attention to three trends in particular. The first is the persistence of traditional anti-Semitism. Through my travels, I run into people who think anti-Semitism ended when Adolf Hitler killed himself. Regrettably, it didn't.

Anti-Semitism is not history; it is news. And it is alive and well. According to reports by the Governments of Norway, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom, there is a disturbing increase in anti-Semitism. Since June, we have seen desecrations to Holocaust memorials, synagogues, Jewish cemeteries in Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Lithuania, and Poland.

We have heard modernized versions of the blood libel, where Jews are accused of kidnapping children to steal their organs; conspiracy theories, like the supposed Jewish control over the banking system or the media. They continue to gain traction with some groups. And perhaps the most disturbing is the physical violence that remains a problem. Just last week in Belgium, a 13-year-old girl was beaten by a group of girls, shouting "Shut up, you dirty Jew, and return to your country."

The second trend I want to mention is Holocaust denial. This form of anti-Semitism is unfortunately espoused by religious and political leaders, and is a standard on hateful websites and other

media outlets. For example, British denier David Irving continues to get public airings of his anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial.

Petras Stankeras, a Lithuanian historian and former government official, teaches that the Holocaust never happened. Bishop Williamson of the Secret Society of Pius X regularly preaches Holocaust denial and anti-Semitic canards. As the number of survivors, direct witnesses, and camp liberators drops, there is a heightened sense of urgency in recording their stories and building monuments and museums for future generations.

Ironically, while some deny the Holocaust ever happened, others glorify that it did, and this accounts for a third trend, which we call Holocaust glorification. The public display of Nazi ideology and the presence of neo-Nazi groups is of special concern in Europe. This year, we have seen numerous cases. In Austria, a politician resigned after his “blood and honor” tattoo, the motto of Hitler Youth, was seen in public.

At a soccer match in the Netherlands, soccer fans chanted “ Hamas, Hamas, all Jews be gassed.” A British politician was expelled from his party for shouting “sieg heil” and giving the right-arm salute at a concert. And on Middle East satellite television watched by tens of millions in Europe, Sheikh Qaradawi, founder and president of the Dublin-based European Council for Fatwa and Research, called for a new Holocaust to finish the job.

At the State Department, we monitor these trends and activities in 198 countries and territories. We report on them in two major annual reports—the International Religious Freedom Report and the Annual Report on Human Rights. As part of this process, I am developing a pretty major and aggressive training initiative for the State Department employees, so that they can better monitor what is happening in their countries and be sensitized to the various forms of anti-Semitism.

Of course, it’s not enough to study and monitor these deeply troubling trends. It is critical that we act to reverse them. And to do that, we can’t just preach to the choir, so to speak. We have to join in partnership with non-Jews in condemning it. To change the culture of hate to one of tolerance, we have to continue building bridges among different ethnic and religious groups. We have to continue working with opinion leaders in government, civil society, and the media.

And the State Department is doing that in a number of ways. We sponsor teacher training on the Holocaust. We provide training to foreign law-enforcement officials that cover hate crimes and crimes toward vulnerable groups. And we use old and new technologies to communicate with the public about human rights and tolerance and democracy. But we also have to think outside the box, and I want to note two specific examples.

First, to combat Holocaust denial, I accompanied eight leading imams, two of which had been Holocaust deniers, to Dachau and Auschwitz camps. When we arrived at Dachau, the imams, who clearly knew very little or nothing about the Holocaust, were so overwhelmed by what they saw in Dachau, they immediately went down to the ground in prayer. And that was in front of the sculpture commemorating the 6 million Jews who had been exterminated.

All the passers-by stopped in their tracks—the docents and the tourists—and they were recognizing that this was a historic moment. Following the emotional visit to Auschwitz, all eight imams produced a statement strongly condemning Holocaust denial and all other forms of anti-Semitism, and they're now urging their colleagues and schools to join in the statement. They're also planning trips for their youth to bear witness and to bear the burden of the reality of the Holocaust.

A second example took place at the February OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Along with my colleague, Farah Pandith, the special representative to Muslim communities, we launched a virtual campaign called 2011 Hours Against Hate. Using Facebook, we asked young people around the world to pledge an hour or more of their time to help or serve someone who didn't look like them, pray like them, or live like them.

At the time, our goal was to get 2,011 hours pledged. To date, we have over 16,000 who have actually gone online and pledged time. And we have had dozens of countries already inviting us to come to their country and incorporate 2011 Hours Against Hate in their efforts. Last week, I met with the Olympic committee that's trying to figure out a way to incorporate the campaign in next year's summer games.

So while I fight anti-Semitism, I'm also keenly aware that hate is hate. Nothing justifies it—not economic instability and not international events. When history records this chapter, I hope it will reflect on our efforts to build a peaceful, fair, and just world, where people defend universal human rights and dignity.

The Jewish tradition tells us you are not required to complete the task, but neither are you free to desist from it. Together, we must confront and combat the many forms of hatred in our world, and in this vein, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to working with you. And I'm happy to answer any questions. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Special Envoy Rosenthal, for your passion and the comprehensiveness of your effort. It is extraordinary. I'd like to now yield to Rabbi Baker—whatever time you would like to consume.

RABBI ANDREW BAKER, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OSCE CHAIR-IN-OFFICE ON COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM

Rabbi BAKER. Chairman Smith, thank you—thank you very much. Thank you, Representative Cohen, for being here. I too have a fuller testimony in written form, but will try to provide an abbreviated version here now.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, your full statement, and anything you would like to add to the statement for the record, will be made a part of the record.

Rabbi BAKER. Thank you. Enormous appreciation has to be expressed to you personally, Representative Smith, and to, really, this Commission, which has spearheaded efforts to understand and to combat anti-Semitism in Europe. A decade ago, at the immediate aftermath of the ill-fated U.N. conference in Durban, we sought effective means to alert the public to the resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe, which included a dramatic increase in attacks on Jewish targets, frequently triggered by events in the Middle East.

We also witnessed the beginnings of what would become a new problem of anti-Semitism in public discourse, and we turned to you. We turned to this Commission. It was the Helsinki Commission that pushed and prodded a reluctant diplomatic bureaucracy here in Washington to press the OSCE to take up this problem. Much to the surprise of some of those skeptics, a first OSCE conference on anti-Semitism took place in Vienna in 2003—as you indicated, a seminal follow-up conference and declaration in Berlin in 2004.

We saw, as well, commitments by governments to monitor and collect data on anti-Semitic and other hate crimes, to promote Holocaust education and effective legislation. That was followed by the establishment of a department on tolerance and nondiscrimination at ODIHR, at further conferences and expert meetings, including the conference in March where you were present in Prague, focusing on anti-Semitism in public discourse.

These efforts, as you indicated, also included the appointment of a Special Envoy of this Personal Representative of the Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism, a position which I am honored to hold.

My message today to you is a simple one: The problem remains, and we still need your help. The Prague—and I'd like to sort of go through thematically on several of these issues, first being anti-Semitism in public discourse—that Prague conference itself was a recognition that this is one of the most difficult current challenges we face. Opinion surveys in many European states reveal anti-Jewish sentiments are still held by significant numbers of the population. These percentages may fluctuate over time; they are certainly not uniform from country to country. But the overall picture remains a distressing one, and it has direct and immediate consequences for local Jewish communities.

While governments still fall short in monitoring and reporting physical incidents of anti-Semitism, fewer still have any systematic process of monitoring and recording, let alone responding to, incidents on the Internet or in the media. Governments can and should do much more, and in the interim, practical steps can be taken to help civil society groups develop the capacity to do their own monitoring.

Participants in Prague stress the importance of political and community leaders responding loudly and swiftly as a way of fostering a taboo culture when it comes to anti-Semitism. In the area of Holocaust education, this has long been identified as an important contribution to combating anti-Semitism, and it is among the commitments that participating states made at that OSCE conference in Berlin in 2004.

We should bear in mind that even where the subject is included in secondary school curricula, that still may mean only a day or less over the course of the entire school year. And there are also special challenges when teaching the subject. Some students from immigrant Arab and Muslim communities have voiced resentment or sought to bring the Middle East conflict into the discussion, which draws attention away from the subject itself and really subverts its intention. Some governments have recognized this problem and sought, in some cases, creative ways to deal with it.

In the area of Muslim-Jewish relations, which we must recognize is critical to the evolution of these problems in the last decade, when the EUMC conducted its survey on anti-Semitism in European Union countries in 2004, it revealed that a new and growing source of anti-Semitic incidents could be traced to Arab and Muslim communities. This remains a matter of concern and is still reflected in that available data that disaggregates these things. In some cities or in some neighborhoods in Europe, visibly identifiable Jews—that is to say, those in Orthodox garb or wearing Jewish symbols—may well be fearful of physical or verbal attack when they are on the streets in certain neighborhoods. Obviously, enhanced security measures and more rapid and serious responses to complaints provide some relief to these problems.

More and more countries are developing educational programs to promote tolerance, to combat racism and xenophobia; and of course, they should be commended for doing so. But I have found in conversations with European Jewish leaders that there are also some words of warning: such general programs do not necessarily address the problem of anti-Semitism when it is stemming from individuals who themselves may also be victims of racism or discrimination.

There is a special problem with the demonization of the state of Israel. It has become almost commonplace to find mainstream media coverage of the Middle East conflict, and particularly in Western Europe, demonizing Israel. It is manifest in news, in cartoons, and in commentary. Some observers have described this as a new form of anti-Semitism, but it also contributes to prejudice against Jews who are seen as Israel's friends, supporters, or surrogates. We also see that the term Zionist is increasingly being used in a pejorative way, and frequently substitutes for Jew in written or oral discourses.

In 2005, the EUMC adopted a working definition of anti-Semitism. It provided an overall framework, but it went, as well, to provide specific examples of how anti-Semitism can manifest itself with regard to the state of Israel. It was endorsed by parliamentary conferences in London and Ottawa. The State Department special envoy sitting next to me here has adopted it for her own work and analysis.

And I share it and recommend its use when I travel in my OSCE capacity. But it still meets with some opposition, including from the EUMC's successor organization, and thus it bears repeating whenever possible.

Security: Despite their small numbers, European Jewish communities have shouldered an outsized burden in providing security for their members and their institutions. From the 1970s, some have been and remain targets of international terrorism. The corrosive impact of this increased anti-Semitic rhetoric in more recent years has meant that synagogues, religious schools, community centers and cemeteries face physical attacks ranging from graffiti to arson.

So community leaders, in turn, must decide how much of their limited resources can be diverted from educational and religious needs to provide for their own protection. At its essence, it restricts the Jewish community's ability to exercise the full freedom of religious practice, a bedrock principle of the OSCE.

Let me raise something that may at first seem a very particular issue, and that is the efforts to ban religious slaughter—essentially, kosher meat. A growing number of countries have adopted these laws, which require the stunning of animals before they are slaughtered, thus effectively banning kosher slaughter, ritual slaughter. Jewish communities have adapted by importing kosher meat.

But discussion of this topic, at least during OSCE visits I had this year in the Netherlands and in Switzerland—in the Netherlands, where a law is being debated, and in Switzerland, where such a law was imposed a century ago—reveal a more troubling situation. The Dutch legislation is spearheaded primarily by animal rights advocates. It's received support from nationalist MPs who may believe, although I think they're mistaken in this case, that this law would also prohibit halal meat to all Muslims in the country.

Meanwhile, Dutch Jewish leaders are cautious in marshaling the arguments in opposition. They're reluctant to assert the basic principles of religious freedom, which they believe, frankly, would not have popular appeal.

In Switzerland, even government officials acknowledge that their law, coming as it did in the wake of the Dreyfus trial in the 1890s, was anti-Semitic by intent. They say, or they have told me, it's even likely that Swiss courts would respond positively to an appeal to overturn it. But successive Jewish community leaders have elected not to do so.

They long ago accommodated themselves to the ban with imported meat from nearby France, and they have told me that they believe challenging it could generate an anti-Semitic backlash. Better, then, to keep a low profile. Now, this is understandable, but surely it is a very outdated prescription for averting or combating anti-Semitism.

Let me turn now to the role of the OSCE and this Commission. As you've indicated in your opening remarks, there has been significant progress in focusing the OSCE to address the problem of anti-Semitism and in educating people to its unique manifestations and its stubborn persistence. Monitors have generally recorded a decline in anti-Semitic incidents since early 2009, but we are still far, far higher than the baselines of previous years.

We also know that turmoil in the Middle East could again trigger a new wave of incidents, and it is still far from clear what repercussions there might be if Europe's economic crisis still worsens. The U.S. and the Helsinki Commission have been the primary driving force to keep the OSCE focused on this problem of anti-Semitism, a necessary and constant reminder that it is still with us, and that it can always again turn deadly.

When Secretary of State Clinton and the U.S. delegation take their seats at the OSCE ministerial meeting in Vilnius next week, I very much hope that they will include this message in their remarks. In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me pay respects to—I know he was a good friend of yours and ours—Ambassador Steve Minikes, who died earlier this fall.

It was, in significant measure, due to his personal efforts that there was that first conference, and the important follow-up con-

ference and declaration in Berlin and then later in Cordoba. You know, I still vividly recall, one evening early on in this process, sitting with him at his residence in Vienna. And he pulled out of a pile of items a small postcard with a handwritten message in pencil.

It was sent to him 60 years ago by his grandmother, with a very benign message to her grandson, simply saying everything was OK; she was fine. But as he pointed out, the postmark belied that message. It was sent from Theresienstadt. And shortly thereafter, his grandmother was deported to Auschwitz and to her death.

We could understand why this was so personal to him. But I think in sharing that, it was also a lesson—it was also a message never to forget where anti-Semitism in Europe once led, and to be vigilant now and in the future. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Rabbi Baker, thank you very much for your leadership. Your very, very eloquent statement gives us much to act on. The reason for this hearing isn't just to receive information. It's to give us the guidance on this Commission, and by extension, the Congress—both House and Senate—a blueprint for where we should go from here. And both of you have done that very, very well today.

Ms. Rosenthal, in your trends that you articulated, you talked about Holocaust relativism. And Shimon Samuels, Dr. Samuels, makes a very similar and very strong point in his testimony, and talks about, in Eastern Europe, Baltics, and the Ukraine, seemingly innocent conflation of the Holocaust with Stalinist atrocities—all of this, you know, this sense that the Holocaust was not an absolute unique, horrific historic event that stands out in time forever.

Could you perhaps speak a little bit further about that? Because it seems to me—it becomes a very useful way of downgrading the atrocities that occurred during that period, during the Holocaust. Not to trivialize any other terrible set of atrocities, but it was unique. It was an effort to wipe Jews off the face—certainly, of Europe, if not the face of the earth. Had Nazism prevailed worldwide, certainly, that was a final solution contemplated. So if you could speak to that, if you would, and perhaps Rabbi Baker.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. Yes, Holocaust relativism, obfuscation, and whatever other word we want to use—we see it in a lot of places. Some of it has to do with trying to cloak it into honoring people who fought communism and the Soviets, without any historical context on what else was going on under the Nazi regime. It's very, very problematic.

I just came back last week from Estonia, where we were encouraging the government to move ahead in prosecuting a Nazi war criminal that remains unprosecuted. And I had the opportunity to talk to many people while I was there. And I asked about the rally that occurs annually of the Waffen-SS.

The young people in Estonia that I met pulled me aside after the leader of the Jewish community—this sounds very much like what you were talking about, Rabbi Baker—was saying, everything's fine. We're even invited to the rally. Don't worry about it. The young people pulled me aside and said they're very concerned. They're very concerned when they see anyone who honors anything

Nazi, and that increasingly, young people are attending this rally. So this is something I needed to follow up with, with the foreign minister's office and the prime minister's office.

There are parades of Waffen-SS that are cheered on in other parts of Europe, and it's very problematic. Also, we see increases in not just the number of people in a neo-Nazi group, but a proliferation of neo-Nazi groups and websites and hateful platforms that are being used.

In no way do I want to indicate that I think that those platforms should be censored, I want to be clear, but it isn't good enough to protect free speech if we're not condemning the bad speech. And so we need to call on people in civil society, in the media, in government, religious leaders, to immediately and strongly condemn when those events or that rhetoric occurs.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Rabbi BAKER. If I could supplement that with a couple of comments. It has become a given that Holocaust education is useful, not only in combating anti-Semitism, but promoting climate of tolerance and appreciation for difference. And I wouldn't deny that. But I think the way it is sometimes employed should be cause for some caution and concern and a special focus. In more and more cases, Holocaust education is being infused with a human rights focus.

Again, nothing wrong with that: There are obviously general lessons of man's inhumanity to man that come from looking at the Holocaust. But sometimes, those general lessons can almost lead to what we would recognize as a kind of perversion of its essential historical message.

There was one film produced a couple of years ago showing, kind of, a day in the life at the Mauthausen concentration camp. It showed a man with his son walking through the camp and the exhibits, and then writing some comments in a guest book before he left. And after he left, the camera focused in on these remarks, and his message was, well, now Israel should understand what its treatment of the Palestinians is all about. So perhaps he had a human rights lesson that he derived from that visit. But if that lesson was one that should teach us to be concerned about the presence of anti-Semitism today, I think it was lost.

Secondly, there has become, certainly with positive motives, an interest in elevating and understanding of the sufferings under communism, of what that meant in Central and Eastern Europe. And by the way, Jews in these communities themselves suffered disproportionately under communism.

But in some places, it has become a kind of competition. And even at times, equivalency is being drawn between what took place under communism and what happened during the Holocaust. The term genocide is frequently used, and even misused, in this regard.

By the way, I noticed in one of the draft documents for the ministerial declaration on tolerance—where, in the past, these declarations have spoken of the importance of Holocaust education, we now find it's added Holocaust education and education of other genocides. Again, not to diminish that importance, but the way they have become linked together in this, I don't think, is a helpful step.

Mr. SMITH. Well, as you know, Rabbi Baker, that was from the very start part of the problem we faced within the OSCE. Some of the delegations, especially the Dutch, immediately wanted to—after the Vienna, and certainly after the Berlin conference—wanted to just merge everything. And when you merge everything, you lose that specific focus that is absolutely critical.

So let me just ask you, with regards to the Lithuanian chair-in-office, and now that the baton's being passed to the Irish, do you sense, how poorly did they do, honestly? The issue of justice fatigue, is it perhaps showing itself here? Everything that's being done in the OSCE, we first did in the Parliamentary Assembly, and then we try to mirror it and to offload it, and have them take the baton.

We had a coalition of the willing that Gert Weisskirchen and I put together right here in the building; that was, like, pulling teeth to get other heads of delegation to join us. We only had a half a dozen other delegations that joined us, and the others kind of said, yeah, we're not against you. But they certainly weren't robustly for us in combating anti-Semitism. That kind of changed, I think, and changed for the better over time.

But it seems to me that the status quo—given what's happening in Egypt, which is a potential huge game-changer, all to the negative, with the elections that are occurring. The ultra-ultra party has about 15 percent of the votes, and the ultra party—the Muslim Brotherhood, which I am very frightened will take things in a very, very poor direction—not that the SCAF has done a good job, nor Mubarak, but it's all a matter of relative—things could get much worse.

I'm not sure the Parliamentary Assembly or the OSCE really realizes that we're on the cusp of an even worsened situation, because we know that anti-Semitism often tracks what happens in the Middle East anyway. Egypt is a partner, as part of the Mediterranean countries, and they are on the brink of going the way of Iran. And I hope that's not true.

Many of us, with the foreign aid bill that will be coming up shortly—I know Senator Leahy has spoken eloquently about this—we want to condition U.S. aid based on the treaty with Israel, based on how well the Coptic Church is treated, which has become a very real canary in the coal mine because they have seen an accelerated attack on churches and individuals of that faith.

So I think the status quo is not enough, just continuing as we are. Again, how well do you see the Irish doing? Are they showing the right kind of commitment? How well did the Lithuanian chair-in-office do? But I think we're on the brink of a significantly worsened situation vis-à-vis anti-Semitism, which means we've got to ratchet up our combating of this terrible hate.

Rabbi BAKER. Well, look, over the years—and I go back a long time, in my American Jewish Committee role, with Lithuania, a discussion of its history and the restitution issues and the like—but I have to say, during this year, under their chairmanship, they have been fully supportive—

Mr. SMITH. Good.

Rabbi BAKER. —beginning with my efforts to secure their support for that conference that took place in Prague on anti-Semitism

in public discourse. I think in some circles that was viewed as somewhat controversial. And some of the governments you mentioned, in the past, might have had troubles with it, but the Lithuanians were certainly supportive of it.

To fast-forward, even, to these days—as you know, beginning on Sunday in Vilnius will be a civil society meeting, organized by ODIHR, drawing NGOs from Mediterranean partner states. I was personally troubled when I first saw the initial drafts of this conference. Again, it was prepared in Warsaw by ODIHR, focused on electoral reform, good governance, and so on. But absent in that draft was any reference to the tolerance agenda, which, as you've indicated, is obviously a critical one—and if anything, it must be seen as even more critical as we look at the current election results in Egypt. I have to say, in pushing to see that it would be included, the Lithuanians were supportive of this. And now, it will at least be a part of that conference, although a side event, so not fully integrated into it.

But it seems to me that the OSCE provides a real opportunity because of the partnership relationship with these countries, because of the special tradition of the OSCE and NGOs and governments sitting together at the same table, to try and take some of that and bring it to bear on the changes going on there.

I have to say that some of the same governments or representatives that posed problems to us early on in this process no longer do, although others may be less helpful. Again, I think the U.S.'s role here is critical. And sometimes, perhaps, even U.S. representatives, whether in Vienna or here in Washington, are not so mindful of this history and maybe fall a bit short, not out of, I think, any ill motive, but just not realizing how critical that is, that if you're going to accomplish something, you have to have a few governments that are really championing it. Lithuania alone, as a chairman, is not able to shoulder the full burden.

So I think, again, when the U.S. delegation or when the Department of State hear from you, that certainly helps focus the attention, and it can perhaps move this forward. As you identified in a critical point, one of the things—and I've raised it when I could—the reality that much of the anti-Semitic material that you find today, at least in Muslim and Arab communities in Europe, is imported from the Middle East, from some of these partner states. So it is a problem there that finds its way into Europe.

Finally—and I think it bears importance for what develops in these emerging democratic societies, in Egypt and Tunisia and elsewhere—most of them have a history of Jewish life in these countries, even though those communities today may be small or almost nonexistent. And yet, how they deal with that piece of their Jewish history can be very revealing as to how open they will be as a tolerant society and treatment of minorities that are there today. We saw that, in a way, in Eastern Europe 20 years ago. How these countries dealt with their Jewish past told us something about where they were going.

And I think that's an important opportunity. In fact, it was not easy, but I managed to encourage and find, then, a place for representatives of Egyptian Jews who have lived in Europe since their departure in the '50s and '60s to participate in this civil society

conference in Vilnius. At least new Egyptian NGOs, civil society leaders should have an understanding, a direct feeling that Jews were also, at one time, part of their society.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. I would only add—first, on the question of Lithuania’s leadership, I had put, when I first came into this job two years ago, Lithuania as a priority country because of press and Jewish community remarks and all. And what has happened in these two years, in large part due to Rabbi Baker and our fabulous ambassador, Anne Derse, in Lithuania, we’ve seen amazing things happen in Lithuania, including Holocaust education teacher training. We have seen the compensation bill passed. We have seen re-dedication of important monuments and recognition of the Ponary killing fields.

And just last week, Lithuania—the foreign minister and the prime minister held a conference on totalitarianism and anti-Semitism, and it was all about anti-Semitism, so that comparing and not trying to get into dueling victimhoods, they are very sensitive to it, and I think that is reflected in how they lead whatever endeavor they’re doing.

How can OSCE improve? What can we hope will be better? Well, I’m kind of stunned to realize how, in 2004, everyone committed to doing intensive reporting—you know, investigations and reporting, and how few do. Of the 56 countries, 20 claim they collect data, and only four sent it in. Whatever the barrier to that is, we should use our leadership and effort to make sure that that’s happening, because to quote you, Mr. Chairman, you can’t fix it if you can’t name it. And that becomes, I think, fundamental to something that OSCE can do.

I have great hopes about Ireland. I, last year at this time, was in Ireland for a conference, and this was the first conference I’d ever heard of like this that was totally focused on Holocaust denial. And so I think that there’s great promise. But we have to admit that, where participating countries have made an agreement, some of those have not been fulfilled.

As to Egypt and what’s happening in the so-called Arab Spring, I just want to tell a completely different story, and I was able to communicate this to the government of Egypt—Jews have lived in Egypt for thousands of years. And from all records, this was the first year that they feared they could not go to synagogue for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the two high holy days, to pray. Our embassy was very helpful in facilitating it.

But what’s been happening there for religious minorities has people very afraid. You have definitely called out what we all fear could be the bad outcome of a transition. I don’t expect the transition to be smooth, but I have to remain optimistic that ultimately, the people who took to the streets because they wanted basic freedoms, that they will prevail. But when I hear that thousands of years of tradition were stopped this year because of fear, it was foreboding.

Mr. SMITH. Can I just encourage you, if you would, to encourage the secretary of state to designate Egypt as a “country of particular concern” for all that you just mentioned, for the accelerated attacks on all minority religious, including the Coptic Church? I have chaired two hearings on the Coptic Church, and especially this new

and horrific abuse whereby—and I don't want to deviate too much, but they're literally abducting Coptic Christian girls who are teenagers and then forcing them to become Muslim, and then, at age 18, putting them into a marriage that is a coerced marriage.

We had the former ODIHR—Michele Clark, ODIHR number-two on human trafficking, testified at our hearing just a few months ago—who said, it's not a matter of allegations; it's a matter of reality and we need to recognize it. And it seems to me that CPC status, which the international religious commission has recommended anyway that Egypt be so designated, carries with it the potential of at least 18 separate actions that can be taken by the U.S. Government, including denial of certain types of aid—and military aid is something that needs to be considered. And I know the Senate and House are looking at that even as we talk on the continuing resolution or omnibus that will finally emerge before we close down for this year.

CPC status can be done anytime. It seems to me that the relevant issues on the ground have so shifted that, if not now, when? This would be the time. So please take that back, and especially in light of what you just said about the fear factor that is palatable for people who want to go to synagogue.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. I'll be glad to—[inaudible].

Mr. SMITH. [Inaudible.] Thank you.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you. We have votes coming up pretty soon, so I'm going to be real brief. But, you know, the problem is great and it continues, and that's sad. But at the same time, there's some good things happening. When I was in Berlin this summer—and it might not have been that new, but it was new to me, because I hadn't been to Berlin for about 15 years—I was very impressed with the Holocaust Memorial and the work that was underneath the ground there, underneath the memorial; the Jewish Museum; and the designation of where Jewish homes were in the neighborhood near the new synagogue. And I think there are a lot of Jewish people emigrating to Germany, as I understand it. So there is some positive things happening.

I wondered what other positive signs there are in Europe or other places of education, understanding and renewal of Jewish communities in Europe.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. I think that we're seeing it happen in many places. Warsaw is in the process of building an incredible Jewish museum. Lithuania has a tolerance center that is not just about the Holocaust and the elimination of most of the Jews of Lithuania, but the rich history that was there.

We're funding a program called Centropa that actually teaches teachers how to have students learn about how Jews lived and the contributions that were made by the Jewish communities when they were there, or focused on how they lived with the hope that people will want to reinvigor that memory and, hopefully, a future for Jewish communities rather than just focusing on how Jews died.

And then we see very interesting things happening where non-Jews are getting fed up with some of the things that are happening. And so, in Malmo, Sweden, which was identified—you know, like, half the Jews were leaving because of harassment, and

they didn't want their children to experience this—where there's a very new organization of the last few months—it's called Young Muslims Against Anti-Semitism—where they're going into the schools and saying, we need to be working together; hate is hate and we want to stand up for the Jewish students who are feeling harassed rather than having the families feel they have to leave. So there's some good news stories that are happening. And I appreciate all of the baby steps that are occurring.

Mr. COHEN. And on the other hand—and maybe Rabbi Baker could take this one—who are the bad guys? Who are the worst ones in the stands and in Europe that might make overtly or even lightened anti-Semitic remarks?

Rabbi BAKER. Well, first to comment just a little bit on your first question or view. Look, Germany, in many ways, is—perhaps it's ironic, but has become the example that shines and that we cheer with other countries about because of how it confronted its own past. You saw this reflected in Berlin in the memorials that you have there. And obviously, it has been an open door to Jews from parts of the former Soviet Union, making it the largest-growing Jewish community in the world. It also, obviously, came to terms with much of the material claims for losses during the Holocaust.

The reality is that in all of these much smaller communities in Eastern and Central Europe, many people two decades ago thought, with the fall of Communism, those communities would disappear. People would leave. They'd build new lives in America, in Israel or whatever. The fact is that they've all remained. The numbers may be small, but there are wonderful stories of revival and even renaissance, I think, in almost all of these countries.

But the reality is, it's not as though if there are arrows going up, there are not also arrows going down. In every place, there are other forces that have come forward. In some of these countries, it has been a kind of romance, a rehabilitation of the era of that fascist past. We've seen elements of it in Slovakia, in Romania, in Hungary. You have, in a number of these countries, still or developing significant right-wing nationalist parties. You see this in Hungary with the Jobbik party. We see it in Bulgaria with a party there. They draw on antagonisms toward minorities—frequently Roma, but often folding in anti-Semitic elements, a romance, again, with some of the fascist figures of that Holocaust past. They may exist and literally coincide with a revival, let's say, of Jewish life and culture.

So it becomes important to try to bolster those voices that are combating this that will provide that kind of security or long-term comfort that can allow the revival of Jewish life to continue. And so it then means we really need to turn, in many cases, to the mainstream leaders and to the bystanders—people who are inclined, perhaps, to sit back and observe; they need to be more forceful, more outspoken. In some cases, the examples may be only symbolic, whether it's programs in parts of Western Europe, say, that bring Jews and Muslims together. But they can be amplified. They send an important message. And I think those are stories that—one shouldn't overlook the realities of the problems in bringing them forward, much as in Sweden—for example, there's a program in the Netherlands that brings peers, Jewish and Muslim young

adults, to teach about the Holocaust and to talk about the Middle East conflict in Dutch schools. It's a great program; I don't know how many people directly are impacted by it. It sends a certain symbolic message. But it's still fighting against larger trends, nationalist parties and general difficulties.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you. And I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Cohen, thank you very much. You know, we do have a few votes—and I apologize to our second panel, but we'll come back as quickly as we can.

But I do have a couple of questions. If we do have to run, please continue answering. Chief of Staff Mark Milosch—we will go into a very brief recess.

But Stacy Burdett, in her testimony from ADL—she is very strong and focusing on a whole lot of issues, but including the—and you mentioned it too, Rabbi Baker, in your statement—the rising incidents of anti-Semitic hate on college campuses. And I'm thinking early next year of having a hearing at Rutgers—that would be my preferred venue for a hearing. And she points out the situation that occurred at Rutgers where one of the staff members called a student a Zionist pig on Facebook, and goes on and on about that terrible incident.

Could you, perhaps, speak to this very alarming trend? It reminds me of what we just last week in Cairo where chants went up about death to the Jews. But we also saw something very similar happening on our own college campuses that was awful to behold. If we don't see, I think, our leadership at our universities and colleges drawing a bright line against such hate, it will get worse. Students should not live in fear, especially in the United States of America, but anywhere in the world—Europe, anywhere—with regards to openly and very proudly manifesting the very real fact that they're Jewish. So if you could speak to the university issue.

And also, Special Envoy Rosenthal, the training issue—does it look like monies will be available for additional training of law enforcement assets within the OSCE, something that we've all talked about, worked on over the years? If you could speak to that issue, where you see that going, and—I'm actually out of time, but the record will be open as you answer that. And then we'll have a brief recess and invite our second panel.

Ms. ROSENTHAL. Well, I sit at the foreign policy table. So the only country I am not mandated by you to monitor is the United States. But I live in the United States, and I have grown children who were products of the universities here in the United States. And so certainly I am aware of minority populations on campus and very specifically Jews feeling harassed by political correctness—I hate using that word, but that's how it's reported. So I don't have a lot to share, because I don't—my office does not monitor that.

As for OSCE, we have—in 2011, we funded ODIHR at \$91,000, and the NGO strengthening initiative at 65,000 [dollars], and 125,000 [dollars] to ODIHR's tolerance efforts, 50,000 [dollars] for support for my colleague Andy Baker. And I've heard nothing that that isn't going to move forward, but you would know that better than I.

Mr. MILOSCH. Thank you very much. Rabbi Baker?

Rabbi BAKER. Well, to the last point, I think we see that so much of the efforts in ODIHR to deal with these issues rely on extra budgetary contributions. So that becomes and remains a critical concern as for many countries there is an effort to control costs and to reduce support.

The reality is, even if we have secured a greater environment for supporting these projects—the work, also, of me and my two colleagues as personal representatives—at the end of the day, if there isn't financial support to make things happen, that becomes a problem. So I hope that this Commission and others, in your meetings with other governments and colleagues in other countries, can reinforce the importance of having this available.

I'm pleased to hear that you'll consider a separate hearing to look at the problem of anti-Semitism on college campuses. I have colleagues who focus on that more directly and with greater expertise than do I.

I think we are fortunate, in this country, that in the larger environment and atmosphere particularly where that anti-Israel discourse becomes something much worse is not present in the way it is in many European countries.

But perhaps if there is an exception, it's in the heightened and somewhat rarefied environment of college campuses. Therefore, I think it does invite a special focus. I know it's not the purpose of the meeting—of this hearing today, but certainly worth addressing in the future. Thank you.

Mr. MILOSCH. Thank you, Rabbi Baker. As you know, the congressman has fought and will continue fighting for extra budgetary contributions to this most important work.

We will now go into recess. I think the members will return in about 30 minutes. Thanks.

[Break.]

Mr. SMITH. The Commission will resume its seating. We're joined by Commissioner Joseph Pitts of Pennsylvania, who is the chairman of the Health and Human Service—or the Energy and Commerce—

Mr. PITTS. Health Subcommittee.

Mr. SMITH. —Health Subcommittee. And we're also joined by Trent Franks from Arizona, who is the chairman of—or co-chairman of the American [sic] Israel Allies Caucus here in the House and also the chairman of the Religious Freedom Caucus. So very much focused and concerned about these issues. And if either of my two colleagues would like to say a word before we introduce our second panel?

OK. Now, let me introduce panel number two. We'll begin with Dr. Shimon Samuels, who's the director for international liaison of the Simon Wiesenthal Center based in Paris and also serves as honorary president of the Europe-Israel Forum. He has long been a force in the fight against anti-Semitism, having also served as the European director of the Anti-Defamation League based in Paris, and the Israel director of the American Jewish Committee.

We'll then hear from Mark Levin, who is the executive director of the NCSJ; advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine and

the Baltic States and Eurasia. 2008, Mr. Levin received the Soviet Jewry Freedom Award from the Russian Jewish Community Foundation, and the Order of Merit medal from the Ukraine president Victor Yushchenko.

Mr. Levin has served three times as the public member of the U.S. delegation to meetings of the OSCE and served as a public adviser for the U.S. delegation to the 2004 Berlin Conference on Anti-Semitism. And as he knows, as I mentioned earlier, I joined him on my first trip to Moscow back in 1982, which frankly began my push in this entire effort—so thank you, Mark.

Then we'll hear from Eric Fusfield who has served as deputy director of the B'nai B'rith Center for Human Rights and Public Policy since 2007, and director of legislative affairs for B'nai B'rith International since 2003. He has been a leading advocate for B'nai B'rith in the OSCE's adoption of efforts to combat global anti-Semitism; he's been there every step of the way as language was crafted, as action plans were hatched, and brings a great degree of wealth and knowledge and wisdom to this effort.

And then Stacy Burdett is the Anti-Defamation League's Washington director, and heads the Government and National Affairs Office. Ms. Burdett reaches out to Congress, the administration and foreign diplomats to mobilize leadership and support on global anti-Semitism, securing fair treatment for Israel, and broader human rights issues like international religious freedom and the fight against anti-immigrant bigotry. She has been a leading force in efforts to advance the global fight against anti-Semitism in the OSCE and at the United Nations.

Dr. Samuels, if you could begin.

Dr. SAMUELS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I open—

Mr. SMITH. If you could just suspend—we're joined by Robert Aderholt. Robert, did you want to just say a word or two? OK. OK, thank you.

DR. SHIMON SAMUELS, DIRECTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER

Dr. SAMUELS. Mr. Chairman, I opened the European office of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Paris in 1988 to focus on three challenges. Firstly, in Western Europe, the second religion demographic, it was already Islam. An interfaith outreach was necessary, as was monitoring of incipient extremism.

Second, tremors in Eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall signaled a new nationalism variant of past phantoms. There was no need to get to seven on the Richter scale to understand that monitoring was required. Thirdly, flea markets across Europe sold under-the-counter floppy disks—Amiga and Commodore 64 for those of us who remember—disks of neo-Nazi games. Hate would advance exponentially with that technology and had to be monitored.

By the millennium, the year 2000, the first focus on Islamism was now characterized by the Durban Process, which in turn inspired a jihadist anti-Semitism and anti-Semitism terrorism nexus with Middle East satellite television and website inculcation and recruitment across Europe. The second focus was marked by the European Union enlargement. In April 2004, a Warsaw-welcomed

fiesta focused on the challenges facing the East European countries entering Europe.

I was invited to speak on anti-Semitism in the West and scapegoating in the East. Scapegoating is a result of painful withdrawal from the central of Soviet economy to the market or capitalist economy. That very same month, the OSCE Berlin Declaration on Anti-Semitism was announced and set a new threshold of standards for the region. I addressed the state parties, noting that you are the same nations we meet at Geneva at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, now called the council.

Yet, here at the OSCE, the language is different, perhaps due to the absence of the tyrannies and the NGOs whose vested agenda is to perpetuate the Middle East conflict. I view the OSCE therefore as the answer to the stultification of the U.N. system—even today, exemplified only last week by the appointment of Syria to a human rights role at UNESCO.

What forms of anti-Semitism did the Berlin Declaration not foresee? First, that which at the OSCE high-level meeting in Astana in 2010 I called supersessionism. Just as the early church viewed itself as “Israel non in carne sed in spiritum,”—Israel, not in the flesh but in the spirit—so today we witness an identity theft of the Jewish narrative among several OSCE parties.

In Eastern Europe, you have referred to the Baltics and the Ukraine; a seemingly innocent conflation is made between the Holocaust the atrocities of Stalin. Its political instrument, the Prague Declaration, seeks through the European Parliament to replace the 27th of January, the day of Auschwitz liberation—as a “Holocaust Commemoration Day”—with a “Double Genocide Day” on the 23rd of August, which marks the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that resulted in the Soviet occupation of the countries concerned.

In Western Europe, the ongoing Durban Process has redefined Holocaust as Naqba, the 1948 catastrophe of Israel’s birth. Anti-Semitism, to quote from Hadi Alham [ph], professor at Teheran University: Anti-Semitism until 1945 focused on the Jew, but from 1948 and the victory of Zionism, it targets the other Semite—the Arab. Thus, by Orwellian double-speak, if Anti-Semitism is Arabiphobia, then Zionism is Anti-Semitism.

Add to that the mix of terms like apartheid or BDS, boycott divestment sanctions—misappropriated from South African victimology—to castigate the state of Israel. The Norwegian foreign minister uses Holocaust images to depict the Palestinian predicament. But if Gaza is Auschwitz, then Auschwitz is but a lie.

The anti-Semitic backlash in Europe to this historical gangrene, or what I would like to call the gangrening of history, is to be exacerbated further via the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO. In that context, supersessionism aims to cut the Jewish link to the Holy Land.

The Cave of the Patriarchs and Rachel’s Tomb have been rebaptized as mosques. In the background material that I sent you, there is a volume called the Buraq Wall, which I purchased at the Frankfurt Book Fair this year. This book, Buraq, renames the Wailing or the Western Wall, the holiest site in Judaism, as a Jewish heresy of aggression against a Muslim heritage site. Last week, a film

clip found on YouTube, “Travel Palestine,” funded by the U.N. Development Program, expunges all Jewish roots in the Holy Land.

I believe that Jews also have a trinity—the people, the book, the land. Eliminate one leg of that triangle, you delete them all. Also not perceived by the Berlin Declaration was an even more dangerous demonstration—that the enemy of the good is indifference. Here we encounter a new phase in anti-Semitism. Ahmadinejad stated the Holocaust is a lie, and was answered by a wave of international condemnation. A little later he continued, wipe Israel off the map. This passed with muted indignation.

His repeated “Jews are vermin, bacilli, a tumor” are met with fatigue. By a numbing effect, he tests the limits of Western timidity. Voilà, the anti-Semitism of indifference. This week, 5,000 Tahrir Square demonstrators in Cairo, screeching “death to the Jews,” created no expressions of global outrage. The bar has thus been raised on anti-Semitism.

After eight assaults on the Rabbi of Malmö, Sweden, a community of 700 Jews and 70,000 Muslims, the Wiesenthal Center during a visit in January, 2011, imposed a travel advisory on the city. Our campaign resulted in the Swedish Government finally subsidizing community security. Faced with mass total indifference, the Rabbi was further subject to 15 assaults since our visit. Indeed, now the Muslim community has joined us in criticizing Malmö’s inattentiveness to hate crimes—the anti-Semitism indifference.

Next month, January the 20th, we will mark the 70th anniversary of the Wannsee Protocol, which was a meeting of 15 Nazi bureaucrats in Berlin to coordinate the extermination of 11 million Jews as the final solution of the Jewish question. In the material that I sent is the list of the 11 million Jews—and I stress 11 million. Six million were murdered; 11 million were the intent. I’ve always respected the power of water; 30 miles of British Channel saved my family and the 330,000 Jews of England on that list.

Today 30 miles of channel are as defensible as 3,000 miles of Atlantic waters—zero. We are all tripwires crisscrossing the OSCE region. Recently discovered documentation of Nazi German strategic designs on Persia’s oil wealth includes a Wannsee-style memorandum signed Adolf Eichmann, the architect of the Holocaust. Therein, he consigns up to 100,000 Iranian Jews to extermination. The current president of Iran persists in his intentions to finish the job.

The late Simon Wiesenthal often said: What starts with the Jews never ends with them. And on the Venezuelan coast, Iran is building a Shahab-3 missile base with a range of 2,000 miles, facing these United States. Twice, in two World Wars, you have invoked the Monroe Doctrine to address the balance of the old world. Mr. Chairman, through this Commission—which I consider an early-warning system—we call on the United States Government to maintain that balance in the OSCE region.

For if anti-Semitism is indeed to be a benchmark, then this session must be replayed at a purpose-built, high-level OSCE meeting, perhaps to be called Berlin II, stocktaking and counteracting anti-Semitism in the OSCE region. It is you, Mr. Chairman, and I quote you—you said: The status quo is not enough. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Dr. Samuels, thank you very much for your very eloquent testimony. Anti-Semitism of indifference tests the limits of Western timidity—you've really nailed a snapshot of exactly where we are today. And the Berlin II idea is something we really need to very seriously consider. And I thank you for that recommendation and all the other points you've made.

Now, Mr. Levin.

**MARK LEVIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWERY**

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, thank you. I also would ask that my full statement be put into the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. LEVIN. And what I'd like to do is just try to make a few brief points and summarize my testimony. But before I do that, Mr. Chairman, I would like to return the compliment that you gave me earlier. I think your leadership has been instrumental in making not just the issue of anti-Semitism but many of the other human rights challenges that the world faces much more public, much more on the United States Government agenda. And you should take great pride in your 30-plus years in being on Capitol Hill and accomplishing as much as you have.

You should also know that this is the 40th anniversary of NCSJ, and we're going to Israel next week. And we will be hosting a reception in honor of many of the former refuseniks and activists that you and I met on our first trip in 1982. So I will, with your permission, give your personal regards to Yuli Kosharovsky and Yuli Edelstein.

This is a very good time to reflect on the progress made on this issue. Seven years have passed, as many of my colleagues have noted, since the conference on anti-Semitism in Berlin. And as far as the Jewish communities of the former Soviet Union, I think it's the good news versus the bad news. And these are the four points I'd like to make before I get to the specific countries.

We're dealing more with the increase in popular street anti-Semitism today than we are state-sponsored anti-Semitism. So if there's any good news, it's that there's virtually no state-sponsored anti-Semitism in the region today. But we've seen a corresponding rise in, as I said, in popular anti-Semitism. Interestingly, if you look at the former Soviet Union as a whole, anti-Semitism seems to be a much larger problem in the Slavic countries than it does in the Central Asian and Caucasus areas.

Next, you know, many of us talk about the new anti-Semitism. I think that's one reason we saw the action taken by the Helsinki Commission and the OSCE as a whole. And we commonly refer to the demonization, delegitimatization and double standard of Israel as the new forms of anti-Semitism. Unfortunately—or fortunately, in the former Soviet Union, we're dealing with tried and true traditional forms of anti-Semitism. We see, what I like to call, an unholy alliance of the far right and far left coming together in many of these countries.

And fourth, we have seen an unprecedented rise in xenophobia, extremism and ultra-nationalism. Interestingly, in the last couple of years the neo-Nazi skinheads and others who engage in these

hideous acts have focused their attention more on other ethnic and religious minorities than the Jews—but as we all know, that can change very quickly. And for many years the primary target for these ultra-nationalist and xenophobic groups were their Jewish citizens.

I'd like to give a brief overview of current anti-Semitism across the former Soviet states. As I said, official state anti-Semitism is virtually non-existent. We are focusing on popular anti-Semitism. The first country I'd like to focus on is Russia. Anti-Semitism in Russia today is most often political and street-level, and increasingly features a rising number of attacks by, as I said, young skinheads and nationalists. Incidents most often involve vandalism against and firebomb attacks on synagogues, cemeteries and Jewish community centers, but have also included outright physical assaults on Jews and attempted bombings of Jewish buildings.

Most alarming is the fact that human—Russian human rights monitoring groups have reported a steady rise over the last 10 years in the number of overall attacks, as I said, by skinheads and extremists on minorities, migrant workers, and foreigners across Russia. Leading Russian human rights groups estimate that Russian far-right extremists now number in the tens of thousands, and warn that nationalist movements are gaining strength across Russia.

It was just a year ago this week that a Russian nationalist riot took place in central Moscow, next to the Kremlin. And it's important, I think, to remember this because some in the government refer to these as soccer fans, not as neo-Nazis and skinheads. We're concerned by the strong potential for violence, including anti-Semitic violence, inherent in this movement. And we have been urging the Russian government to strengthen its enforcement of existing commitments, including to the OSCE charter, and to take stronger legal action against incitement of racial hatred and overt calls for violence.

The Russian government recently publicly denounced nationalist ideology and expressed support for legal action against anti-Semitic acts. But follow through has been uneven. Some anti-Semitic attacks in recent years have in fact been successfully prosecuted as hate crimes, but many others continue to be dismissed as mere hooliganism or random violence.

Next in Ukraine—Ukraine is home to another vibrant Jewish community. It's the second-largest in the former Soviet Union. Although popular anti-Semitism has persisted in recent years, the Ukrainian government has demonstrated a strong commitment to combating this trend, and it has in fact achieved some successes.

Anti-Semitic vandalism and other incidents occur regularly, and have included physical assaults on Ukrainian Jews and at least two known fatalities. There've been firebomb attacks and vandalism on synagogues and other monuments. We continue to urge the Ukrainian government to deal with these forthrightly.

Now, one positive step that has occurred—and I've sat before you before and talked about a group known as MAUP. MAUP was the largest private university in Ukraine for a number of years, but it was also the largest purveyor of anti-Semitic material and took a lead in promoting anti-Semitism throughout the country. The good

news is that it's virtually non-existent in the anti-Semitism business today, and that is because of the strong action taken by the Ukrainian government, followed on by the recommendations of this Commission, the U.S. government as a whole and many NGOs.

In Moldova, we're dealing with a large community. Again, there've been isolated incidents, but the government has been responsive. The government officially condemns anti-Semitism and has taken steps to combat it, including supporting Holocaust education in local schools and partnering with Jewish groups from Moldova and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union.

Next is Belarus. It's a country, I know, Mr. Chairman, that you and the members of this Commission know very well. The community in Belarus today numbers approximately 70,000. As in neighboring Ukraine and Russia, Belarusian Jews today have access to a wide range of religious, educational and community resources.

And Belarus is also the home of the only official Soviet-era Holocaust memorial in the former USSR, which was dedicated in 1946. However, there are incidents of popular anti-Semitism, such as vandalism of synagogues and community buildings and cemeteries, and monument desecrations have occurred.

Openly anti-Semitic publications have also appeared in recent years in local newspapers and in books published by local publishing houses affiliated with the Minsk Orthodox Church. Belarusian authorities have also shown themselves unresponsive to official complaints against anti-Semitic hate literature, and have inconsistently investigated or prosecuted perpetrators of anti-Semitic actions.

President Lukashenka himself has made on-the-record anti-Semitic comments in the recent past, and members of his administration have published openly anti-Semitic books and articles. However, and interestingly, relations between the Belarusian Jewish community and the government are generally stable, despite evidence of periodic official involvement in popular anti-Semitism and official support for policies insensitive toward Jews and other minorities.

Lastly, I'd like to talk about the Baltic states just for a second. Despite much good that's taken place in the Baltic countries, and despite the small size of the Jewish communities, we have seen anti-Semitic episodes there as well, especially in Latvia and Estonia. And you've already heard a little bit about Lithuania. Local nationalists and veterans of World War II-era Nazi-sponsored auxiliary units continue to generate anti-Semitic hate speech, and stage annual marches with anti-Semitic and Nazi displays.

A bit of good news is that the prime minister of Latvia stated last month that any member of his government attending these annual marches of the Waffen-SS veterans would be fired—which, while commendable, also highlights the persistence of these difficult World War II-era divisions in the Baltic society.

Perhaps most disturbing has been the shameful prosecution in recent years by Lithuanian authorities of several elderly Jewish Holocaust survivors for their wartime anti-Nazi resistance activities as somehow anti-Lithuanian. Although it appears that the prosecutors are no longer actively pursuing a case against these in-

dividuals, the instigation of their prosecution certainly sent a troubling signal.

NCSJ and other leading organizations have maintained a steady, productive dialogue with Baltic officials on these issues of concerns. We will continue to press them.

Mr. Chairman, I want to finish with a series of recommendations, and it'll just take a second. And I think it's important to note many of these, particularly in light of what happened seven years ago at the Berlin conference.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Levin, if you could just suspend for one brief second. We have three minutes to be on the floor, but there's only one vote after that immediate, so within 10 minutes, we'll all be back. So I apologize, again, for this interruption. When we schedule these, we have no idea what the schedule might be on that particular day. So I thank you for your forbearance, and we stand in brief, very brief, recess.

[Break.]

Mr. SMITH. The Commission will resume its hearing. Mr. Levin?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to offer the following recommendations. It sounds obvious, but the first one would be to continue to strongly condemn hate. Incidents of anti-Semitism, political and religious leaders that polarize society and media outlets which propagate intolerance must be strongly condemned, to send a clear message that incitement to and acts of ethnic, religious, and racial hatred will not be tolerated.

Secondly, enact adequate hate-crime legislation to create an environment in which Jews and other minorities can live without fear. The successor states of the former Soviet Union must enact hate-crime and hate-speech legislation and enforce existing laws for all citizens, including elected officials.

Three, train local law enforcement. To properly combat anti-Semitism and extremism, government must empower local police forces. Police must be able to delineate between ordinary hooliganism and a crime motivated by bias or hate. A well-trained police force will better follow through on hate-crime enforcement and investigations, leading to an increase in prosecutions, data collections, and dealing more sensitively with victims.

Fourth, monitor and catalogue incidents. Cataloging and reporting anti-Semitic, xenophobic and bias-motivated activities enables prompt condemnation of such acts, increasing the chances that perpetrators will be apprehended swiftly.

Fifth, implement region-wide programs of interethnic understanding and Holocaust education. This is the most effective way to combat the roots of popular or street anti-Semitism. Teaching children the values of tolerance and basic human rights from a very young age begins to stop the perpetuation of ignorance and negative stereotypes of Jews and other minorities.

And finally, reform the message of religious and media outlets throughout the region. Beyond the classroom and the government, the two other major sources of information in the former Soviet Union are the media and places of worship. Governments and non-governmental organizations need to work with leaders of these reli-

gious institutions and the editors and reporters of media outlets to ensure that they will spread a message of tolerance.

At NCSJ, we will keep engaging governments throughout this region strongly and persistently on these and other problematic areas in the human rights field. We will continue to make our position known in the United States and the former Soviet Union, and in international fora. Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity. And again, I want to thank you and the Commission for everything that you've done to address this problem.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Levin, thank you so very much for your insights, particularly the country-specific insights, your recommendations at the end, and for your 30-plus years of extraordinary leadership. We are joined by Commissioner McIntyre, joined by Mr. Engel, who in addition to serving as a senior member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and a former chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee—now ranking member—also co-chairs the Caucus for Combating Anti-Semitism here in the House.

And we're also joined by Chairman Frank Wolf, who is the chairman of the approps Justice Subcommittee. Mr. Wolf, thank you for being here. And for the record, Mr. Wolf is the prime sponsor of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, which has, I believe, revolutionized, within the State Department, and has made a priority where one did not exist, of religious freedom issues within State and in our government. Thank you, Mr. Wolf.

Mr. WOLF, would you like to say anything? Or Eliot or Mike?

Mr. ENGLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm good.

Mr. SMITH. OK. We'll now go to Eric Fusfield, and thank you for your patience and for your leadership as well.

**ERIC FUSFIELD, DIRECTOR OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS, B'NAI
B'RITH INTERNATIONAL**

Mr. FUSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to ask that my written testimony be entered into the record.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. FUSFIELD. And I will use my time just to summarize. First, I would like to thank you for the privilege and honor of addressing the Commission on behalf of B'nai B'rith International and its more than 200,000 members and supporters in over 50 countries, including many states in the OSCE region.

B'nai B'rith would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, Co-Chairman Cardin, Mr. Wolf, Mr. Franks, Mr. McIntyre, Mr. Engle and the other Commissioners, not just for convening this hearing, but for your strong leadership in addressing the serious problem of anti-Semitism. The role of the U.S. Helsinki Commission and the State Department has been absolutely indispensable in generating forward momentum within the OSCE on combating anti-Semitism, and we're very grateful for that.

It's been 11 years since the outbreak of the second intifada in the Middle East, and subsequently, the start of a new wave of anti-Semitism throughout the OSCE region and around the world. This spread of hatred has resulted not only in widespread attacks against Jewish communities, but in a proliferation of anti-Semitic propaganda, much of which is directed against the State of Israel.

Tragically, the demonization and delegitimization of the Jewish state has become a daily occurrence, as Israel's enemies repeatedly accuse it of being a Nazi-like occupier and an apartheid state that disenfranchises the Palestinians. Falsehoods about Israel are repeated so often that they become widely accepted in the popular culture, and sometimes impact government policy.

The effort by Israel's relentless critics to denigrate the Jewish state is not only evidence that anti-Semitism is alive and well 66 years after the Holocaust. This new variation of the world's oldest social illness actually poses a security threat to the Jewish state by intensifying its international isolation.

Now, over the past decade, the OSCE, with the United States in the lead, has taken up the urgent struggle against rising anti-Semitism. While much has been done to fight anti-Semitism in that time, much work remains. The need for practical and effective strategies to combat and defeat this pathology is still crucial. To this end, the OSCE's Ministerial Council should formalize the scheduling of conferences on anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance at regular intervals.

Over the next few years, we'll have opportunities to mark the tenth anniversaries of landmark OSCE conferences in Vienna, Berlin and Cordoba. By scheduling review conferences at the appropriate junctures, we can take advantage of these anniversaries by challenging OSCE member states to follow through on their commitments. We should widely promote, within the OSCE, the EU Monitoring Center's comprehensive working definition of anti-Semitism.

This document, whose principles have also been adopted by the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, is tremendously useful in identifying current manifestations of anti-Semitism to those who might not otherwise recognize them. It should be disseminated as widely as possible among public officials, educators, and journalists, among others.

We must enhance support for ODIHR's tolerance and non-discrimination unit, which has now become a fixed and integral part of the OSCE's work. We must enable the TND unit to sustain and expand its critical activities, which currently include educational programs on anti-Semitism in 14 countries. At least two more countries may soon be added to that list. TND would like to adapt those materials to an online format to make them more readily accessible, but this will require increased support from member states.

Security for Jewish communities must be enhanced. In some cases, additional money has been allocated to make this possible. But even where funding is not available, much can be done through the exchange of best practices facilitated by the OSCE. The U.S. has a critical role to play in ensuring that the OSCE maintains its focus on anti-Semitism as a distinct phenomenon, even as some of the remedies used to address anti-Semitism may have broader application.

I hope that Secretary of State Clinton will attend the OSCE Ministerial Council in Vilnius next week as expected, and that when she does, she will specifically reference the problem of anti-Semitism and the importance of the work of the three personal rep-

representatives in ODIHR's tolerance and nondiscrimination unit. Her doing so will assist in keeping attention focused on anti-Semitism at the highest levels.

Last summer, I had the opportunity to travel to Oslo with representatives of the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. In a meeting with leading Norwegian journalists, I confronted the editor of the daily paper *Dagbladet* with an editorial cartoon, which I have here, which I've entered into the record—an editorial cartoon that he had published, depicting former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert as a concentration camp guard.

His response was that the cartoon had provoked a healthy public debate. Three months later, he ran a second piece by the same cartoonist, this one depicting Gaza as an Israeli-run concentration camp. When asked in an interview why he had used the flawed and inherently anti-Semitic Nazi analogy twice, the cartoonist replied, because I think it fits.

Mr. Chairman, I think of my eight-month-old son Emmanuel—and this is my final exhibit—I'm a new father, so please bear with me—and I imagine that he will graduate from college around the time that we mark the 100th anniversary of the Holocaust.

With very few Holocaust survivors likely to be alive then, and with the lessons of history further faded, how much more difficult will it be for his generation to prevent such misuses of the Holocaust analogy, and to promote an understanding that these distortions heighten the isolation of the Jewish state and undermine the security of the Jewish people?

The implacability of the Norwegian cartoonist and his editor is an unsettling reminder of the problem we continue to face, and an illustration of why Elie Wiesel has described anti-Semitism as the world's most durable ideology. As we gauge the OSCE's progress in the struggle against anti-Semitism, we can draw reassurance from the positive accomplishments of the past eight years, even as we commit ourselves to sustaining and intensifying our focus.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for your unstinting commitment to this issue. B'nai B'rith pledges its ongoing cooperation as we all confront the challenge of combating anti-Semitism together. The history of European Jewry in the past century is a tragic one. Let us be mindful of that history. Let us speak out. Let us use our influence, and let us act now. History demands nothing less from us. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Fusfield, thank you very much. And I would just say that 20 years from now, that eight-year-old soon will be very proud of the leadership that his dad demonstrated throughout these very difficult years. So thank you so very much for that testimony and for your statement.

Mr. FUSFIELD. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Engle, did you want to say something now or—

Mr. ENGLE. I'll wait.

Mr. SMITH. Oh, you will. OK, fine. Ms. Burdett?

STACY BURDETT, DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL AFFAIRS, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Ms. BURDETT. Thank you very much. Just, I'll quickly echo the thanks of the rest of the panel for your commitment and your partnership. And we hear a lot in the OSCE these days about fatigue—fatigue on the anti-Semitism issue on the part of the governments. And Mr. Chairman, when I look at the other members of the panel who are here, I know we meet that fatigue with tirelessness.

And so your work really is an inspiration to us in the NGO community, and we're eager and ready to work with you on the next phase of this work. I want to ask that my full statement be submitted for the record.

Mr. SMITH. No objection, so ordered.

Ms. BURDETT. Thank you—and use my few minutes to take advantage of my position as the wrap-up guy, and do a little bit of stocktaking on some of the observations today that I hope can jumpstart a question-and-answer session.

Now, nine years ago, almost to this day—it was December 10th, Human Rights Day—we sat in a room in this building, all of us, and we were worried about three specific issues: a resurgent anti-Semitism, the broad denial by governments and their failure to act, and the lack of basic definitions and strategies and tools to even wrap our heads around the problem and to begin to think about how to respond.

Now, on the first count, we've heard the threat persists. Middle East developments continue to fuel new forms of anti-Semitism. Some of the witnesses have talked about the Arab Spring. The Anti-Defamation League has released a new report on the Muslim Brotherhood and its political party, the Freedom and Justice Party, which is espousing virulent anti-Israel and anti-Semitic messages. So the trends continue along that path.

On the second count, the governments still do not show the political will to fulfill the commitments that they've made. Each year, the Anti-Defamation League, in partnership with Human Rights First—we analyze the annual hate crime report of the OSCE, and we use that data to issue what the ODIHR is not in a position to do, but a real scorecard.

And seven years after ministers stood in Berlin and pledged to do the most basic job of collecting data on anti-Semitic incidents, only three of the 56 governments bothered to give that information to ODIHR for this year's report. So there's a lot of work to be done—again, still big gaps in compliance.

But what is different today is we do have a strategy. We do have a very serious arsenal of tools in place for any government that would make the choice to use them. So while states have stayed lagging and behind in their own compliance, the OSCE really is a focal point for progress, for fighting anti-Semitism and hate crime. So the ministerial decisions we've all talked about, the personal representative on anti-Semitism, the tolerance unit and its dedicated program and staff adviser on anti-Semitism have really carved out a focus in the OSCE, and a menu of tools and strategies.

Now, we've been so immersed in the incremental development of these tools, I wanted to just sketch where we've come, and how far we've come. So the ODIHR fulfills its mandate, I think, in an ex-

pansive way. They start with a tasking that essentially is very passive in nature; they're supposed to serve as a collection point for anti-Semitic incidents and assist states in complying with their commitments. And they use that mandate and those reports to expose real failings and to respond to those with tools for any states that want to improve.

So ODIHR reports have looked at key questions that we've asked in these rooms: How much hate crime is there? What are governments doing about it? What education approaches can deal with new forms of anti-Semitism? How do you commemorate the Holocaust? And how, in countries across this region, should governments and teachers be remembering the Holocaust in a way that deals with the fact that, as the special envoy said, anti-Semitism didn't die with Hitler?

Now ODIHR has responded to their findings with some cutting-edge tools, and they focus on key target groups that have been talked about in our own collective recommendations and in ministerial decisions. So now teachers can have off-the-shelf teaching tools in 13 different languages that look at anti-Semitism in the context of the experience of students in different countries. There's another educators' guide that really walks teachers through: why teach about anti-Semitism, how to do it. That guide is being translated today into Turkish, and it exists in other languages. And there are guides for teachers and officials on preparing appropriate and meaningful Holocaust events.

Now, governments also have a tool kit. There is a how-to guide on drafting hate crime laws and policies. There are trainings they can take advantage of for law enforcement officials and officials across the criminal justice system. Now we know that communities and NGOs fill these gaps that are left behind by the failed policies of governments, and they can receive training and support as well. And even in the far reaches of the region, there are downloadable tool kits for hate crime response and on anti-Semitism.

And just like the U.S. was a major proponent of these programs and for progress on the anti-Semitism issue, we should be proud that American models and expertise have played a big role in their development. The Anti-Defamation League's been very gratified to be involved in helping develop the hate crime law guidelines and some of the trainings that are in the ODIHR's hate crime tool kit. And you have an appendix at the back of the testimony; it's a document we've looked over many times. But if you look at it and think about where we were in 2002, the progress is really remarkable in terms of what are the resources.

Now, the major challenge is, obviously, how to build more political will so governments will avail themselves of these tools. You know, back in 2002, we also called for the U.S. to do better in its own reporting, and we welcome all of your support and, Chairman Smith, your work to enact the Global Anti-Semitism Awareness Act.

If you look at a chart that is on page seven of my testimony, I did a little snapshot of what's been happening since 2002 in the area of U.S. reporting. And if you look, the coverage of anti-Semitism in the State Department Country Reports on Human Rights has just about doubled. So in 2002, there were 30 countries

that included a chapter on anti-Semitism in their report; today that number is 62. And there is a similar doubling if you look just at OSCE-participating states. And the content of the reports that the State Department issues also do address what's the relationship between anti-Semitism and the public discourse, and also our primary trend that we're concerned about: how anti-Israel hatred impacts Jewish security and Jewish rights.

And I'm confident that U.S. reporting can continue to improve, especially since the special envoy talked today about how she's instituted expanded training in the Foreign Service Institute. And ADL's been proud to partner with her in delivering some of those trainings. And it's incredibly important—as you know from your work on trafficking and international religious freedom, it's very important to give American diplomats practical tools so they can recognize indicators and understand the nature of anti-Semitism, especially now that they're required to report on it. So your support for a strong special envoy can really help ensure that these—the specialized focus that we've fought for inside of our own government, and the dedicated effort within other governments to mobilize their foreign policy tools, can continue.

You know, even here in the U.S., the Jewish community enjoys such broad acceptance, but hate, violence and harassment is also a disturbing part of American Jewish life as well. The ADL's audit of anti-Semitic incidents has shown, the last few years, a continuous level of incidents. This year there was a slight increase; we found 1,232 incidents. And the FBI hate crime data—I've also provided as an appendix to my written statement—shows consistently that about two-thirds of hate violence that targets an individual based on their religion targets Jews. So this is proportionally very, very disturbing.

And our own ADL survey of attitudes in the United States showed that about 15 percent of Americans, so that's about 35 million people, have anti-Semitic views. So we're very concerned at home about the bullying and harassment of our children. And you talked, Mr. Chairman, a little bit about how on American campuses anti-Israel activity has sporadically been spilling over into anti-Semitism, and it has made campus life uncomfortable for some Jewish students.

So we welcome important new guidance from the Department of Education Office of Civil Rights. And that guidance made clear that anti-Semitic harassment can be prohibited by federal law. I've attached a list of resources and links and recommendations on fighting bullying and hate crime. With that, I hope the Commission can consider, as a follow-on to this hearing—I'm very pleased to hear you say you're interested in convening another event, perhaps at Rutgers or somewhere else, on the issue of campus harassment and would be delighted to work with you on crafting that.

I submitted a full list of recommendations, things that participating states can do, echoing a lot of what my colleagues have said, and recommendations for the U.S. And I wanted to just point out that some of what can be done is—some of the recommendations are easier to tackle than others. And I wanted to just note, of all the OSCE-participating states—they have all designated a national point of contact on hate crime.

And ironically, the United States is the only country that has as our national point of contact someone in our OSCE mission. I think we should work together and think about shifting that designation to one of our hate crime experts, so we're putting forward our best expertise. This was an initiative that was driven a lot by American leadership, and we should put our best foot forward in that department.

And the other thing I would add as a recommendation that may be easier than some of the others is, we have talked about ODIHR tools on law enforcement training and assistance, and I think we should take an initiative to look at the other areas of American training initiatives in law and justice areas. And let's look at anti-Semitism as a potential component of programs that are already ongoing.

And then another—there's a meeting coming up of the Mediterranean partners. You know, we've all talked about—really, the incubator of some of the worst elements of anti-Semitism is coming from the Arab media, the Arab and Muslim world today. And the OSCE Mediterranean partners meeting comes around every December, and we know that this is a forum that could be better used to address anti-Semitism among civil society groups where it's needed, among governments where it's needed. So that's another recommendation I think we could follow up on, if not for this year, but look at it as a goal for next year.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Ms. Burdett, thank you very much for that testimony, for the recommendations and for offering to work with us—which I know you would anyway, [chuckles] even if you didn't say today—on the upcoming hearing, probably at Rutgers or at some college venue. I would just note that George—Professor George Zilbergeld, professor of political science at Montclair State University, is here. And he has been very strongly promoting this issue of what is happening on our college campuses, and has met with me and my staff several times. And I want to thank him for those interventions.

I know Mr. Engel wanted to make a statement, I believe.

**HON. ELIOT ENGEL (D-16), A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'll be very brief. I have a hearing in Energy and Commerce Committee, so thank you for kind of jumping me ahead. First of all, I want to thank the witnesses for the testimony. I know all of them personally—or know of their work, certainly, and the work you all do, each of you collectively, and your organization is truly very, very important.

I have often said in the 21st century—we're now one-tenth through the 21st century—who would have believed even 20 or 24 years ago when I came to the Congress that we would actually be sitting in 2011—soon to be 2012—and talk about the very existence of the State of Israel, about whether or not the State of Israel can survive and then thrive. That was something that we thought we had put to bed a long time ago, certainly with the Holocaust not being very long ago and people already denying it, and the State of Israel, born out of the ashes of the Holocaust.

I think that—and, by the way, when I say that I don't mean it was only born of the Holocaust—the Jewish ties to the Middle East and the Holy Land has been for thousands and thousands of years. But I think it's important that we not sweep it under the rug and we talk about it, and my colleague, Mr. Smith, the gentleman from New Jersey, has been in the forefront. He and I have talked many, many times throughout the years about this, and I want to publicly, Chris, say thank you for the job that you do, and Mr. Frankson, I have the honor of co-chairing the Israel Allies Caucus.

And, you know, people who try to say they're not anti-Semitic; they're only anti-Zionist—we know what that is, and we know it's a phony and a fraud. If you deny the existence of the Jewish state, if you say the most vile things about Israel and about Jews, you're not anti-Zionist, you're also anti-Semitic. It's very, very clear—from the hate cartoons to the editorials to the nonsense on campuses and everything that is happening, and frankly, it's shameful that barely a generation after the Holocaust that we kind of see these exhibits of extreme anti-Semitism anywhere in the world, but certainly on a continent of Europe, where six million Jews perished—it's just absolutely unbelievable. And I point to the United Nations as being very culpable, quite frankly. Some like to sugarcoat it, but I don't. Durban was an absolute disgrace, and each time—Durban II, Durban III—compounds the absolute disgrace.

So I want to thank all of you for doing the wonderful job that you do. It's important to keep talking about it, it's important to keep saying it. If people don't like it, it's too bad. It has to be said, and it has to be said by Jews and non-Jews alike—all people of goodwill—and that's why it's so important. That's why I talk about my colleagues here, who certainly have been in the forefront, and I just want to thank you, and I thank you very much.

When I saw this was on the agenda today, I wanted very much to make it because I think it's important that we highlight it and not sweep it under the table, and I think it's also important that we say thank you to these people who are on the front lines day in and day out. I've traveled with some of you—Mr. Levin—and certainly met with some of you, and I want to just thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Engel, thank you very much for your leadership and friendship and partnership on this very critical issue. Thank you so much.

I'll save my questions for last. I'd like to go to Mr. Frank, Chairman Franks.

**HON. TRENT FRANKS (R-8), A CONGRESSMAN FROM THE
STATE OF ARIZONA**

Mr. FRANKS. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, that's very kind.

You know, I'm not a member of this Committee on a regular basis, but I admire so much the work of Chairman Smith and Congressman Wolf, and certainly Mr. Engel and I are good friends and have such great commonality on some of the issues that are before us here. And I just—from my heart—commend each one of you for being here.

You remind me that there is still much to hope for with all of the challenges we face in the world, and I couldn't help but be especially struck by two particular thoughts that were brought up by

your testimony, Dr. Samuels. Your point that it is critically important for people to respond to these anti-Semitic, virulent remarks by people like Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is so, so very important because we win or lose this battle in the long run, if we let our hearts grow cold to the evil that is perpetrated through some of these remarks, and it's very, very important that we stand up and are willing to repudiate it in the strongest possible terms.

And I think I mentioned a quote that kind of puts it in perspective for me, but: The vice is an evil with so frightening a mien that to be hated needs only to be seen. But seen too often with its familiar face, first we endure, and then we pity, and then we embrace.

And there is a great danger in allowing the free peoples of the world—the people that love Israel, people that love the humanity—growing kind of cold and indifferent. When you have an Ahmadinejad saying things that are just beyond comprehension, saying, well, Israel should be wiped off the map or Jews are vermin, after a while we get used to what a maniac he is, and we forget that we need to respond and repudiate this each time. So I want you to know I'm grateful for that point. I think that it may be singularly the most important one because that keeps this issue alive in the family of man to where we're responding to it as a collective group.

And, Ms. Burdett, I thought your point was also very compelling, and that is the need for governments to have the resolve and the courage to stand up in these circumstances, when these situations occur across the world.

So, my question is simply this—and I feel bad about throwing it out because it's always the most unfair one. You are pulled in many directions as a group—and I will assure you those of us on this panel are as well—and if you could say what the most important public policy to-do item would be for this Congress to combat anti-Semitism and to combat the diminishment of people of any faith or group, but in this particular context the anti-Semitic forces in the world.

Let me just remind you, just as an aside, Israel and the Jewish people have been attacked for thousands of years. Most of their persecutors are gone. There is much to hope for in the future, but if we could do one thing in this Congress—could I just make a round with the panel and ask you to tell me one thing—not to diminish any other thing—but just the one most important priority that you'd put before us.

Dr. Samuels, I'll start with you, and we'll leave the lady to close. [Chuckles.]

Dr. SAMUELS. Thank you.

That's probably the most difficult question I've heard in my career. I'm not an American, so I can't tell what the U.S. Congress to do. I did recommend that the U.S.—this Commission, which plays such an important role—continue to afflict its counterparts in Europe.

So sessions such as this would not be held in the Parisien Sénat or Assemblée Nationale. It has been held, due to you, in the Palace of Westminster.

I think that, just on the parliamentary level, we have taken what you have done to the Parlatino, Latin American Parliament, which

has its headquarters in Panama. We have a resolution regarding anti-Semitism, which is being discussed today—as we speak—in Panama at the Parlatino. That is basically the result of your initiative through us. And I would like to suggest that, maybe using us as vectors, we could work in different parliaments where we are around the world, and bring to bear the thoughts of this Commission, and perhaps hold another parliamentary assembly of the OSCE region in order to replicate what happened in the past, and to see how we take it forward. Thank you.

Mr. LEVIN. Congressman, let me also reiterate, it's not the easiest question, but the one constant reminder—not just in combating anti-Semitism, but in promoting human rights in the United States over the last thirty-plus years—has been the United States Congress. Without the support of all of you and your colleagues and the people who served in the past, we wouldn't have human rights being a fundamental part of U.S. foreign policy. We wouldn't have the focus on anti-Semitism that we have today. So for a very difficult question, I think my answer is to continue on, to not give up.

You know, Congressman Smith and I, when we would—and Congressman Wolf, when we would confront the Soviets, the Soviets were convinced that the United States, whether our elected officials or Americans in general, would get bored. We would forget. We would move on to something else. And what I would try to tell the Soviet officials is that our community, as a whole, Americans as a whole, we're like water on a rock. Change may not take place quickly, but change will occur. And by speaking out, by taking legislative initiatives, we will defeat this problem. I don't know how long it will take, but as long as there are people of conscience working together and challenging those who engage in hate of others, they don't stand a chance.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. FUSFIELD. There are specific recommendations where the United States can lead the OSCE in very practical ways, some of which I mentioned in my remarks. For example, the work of the ODIHR's tolerance and nondiscrimination unit—they're providing educational materials in anti-Semitism in 14 different countries. They want to expand that number; they want to take this program and move it online. The U.S. needs to generate support and provide support, generate support among other member states for ODIHR to continue this work and to expand this work.

Also, there needs to be more security for Jewish communities abroad. And this is something—sometimes it costs money. The OSCE has allocated money in certain cases for upgrading security. But in other ways, it could just require an exchange of best practices which the OSCE can facilitate. And again, this is something that the U.S. can lead the way on. These are specific recommendations, but the broader picture is that U.S. leadership remains indispensable. U.S. leadership has always been indispensable to the OSCE's efforts in combating anti-Semitism.

We scored some early successes in this effort. The Berlin Declaration in 2004 was a landmark declaration and can't really be improved upon very much as a document. But, the challenge since then has been in making those words come to life, making govern-

ments follow through in their commitments. And the U.S. could continue to be instrumental in encouraging other member states to do that, and also not just following through on commitments, but maintaining the focus on anti-Semitism as a distinct phenomenon—not just grouping it together with other forms of hatred and losing the distinct focus on it. There are remedies for anti-Semitism that can be applied to other forms of intolerance too, but anti-Semitism is a unique phenomenon, and we can't lose sight of that. And that's why I hope, when Secretary Clinton goes to Vilnius next week, she makes specific reference to anti-Semitism so we retain that sense of its distinctness.

Finally, I would just say, speaking out whenever possible—Americans are faced with a challenge that's almost unique, because our speech laws are more liberal than almost any other democratic country in the world has. And it's our first amendment. We love it. We cherish it. We wouldn't have it any other way. But it does pose certain challenges for us in reining in hatred.

And the way that we've done it in this country, sometimes to great effect, is to publicly stigmatize hate speech and make it clear from those people in positions of leadership, certainly elected officials but other people in positions of influence, that this is unacceptable. It needs to be identified. It needs to be decried and deplored for what it is. And in many other countries in the OSCE region, leaders, public officials have not done as good a job in this as U.S. officials have so many times. And I think U.S. officials can persuade their colleagues and other governments to do the same.

Mr. FRANKS. Thank you. I hope that little boy grows up and follows in his dad's footsteps.

Mr. FUSFIELD. That's very kind of you, thank you.

Ms. BURDETT. I'll add just one recommendation. You know, the best calling card the United States has in dealing with these problems is our example. It's been this way all along in the OSCE with respect to anti-Semitism. And, when you look at the incidents that some of my colleagues have talked about—of a list of incidents that I and others have provided, you'll see, last week, a 13-year-old girl in Belgium was beaten and called a dirty Jew. We know in Paris, a lot of the examples of incidents are young, young kids beaten senseless and being told, you'll pay for what your brothers did in Palestine.

And I think we should start with the most vulnerable victims, the children. And, we hear the word bullying. We see it on TV. We see shows about it. Bullying targets Jewish children today in our communities. And it's painful. And the stories are painful.

And I want to just tell one story. There is a young man—this isn't a Jewish young man, but I think it's a very powerful example of how we know hate violence works. And he was beaten up because he was a Mexican-American, beaten senseless. He had about 40 surgeries just to get back to normal.

And he came and he sat at this table in the Judiciary Committee room, and told the Judiciary Committee that the system worked for him. The law worked in his home state of Texas. The police responded perfectly. The community poured out support for their family. Everything worked. He was a champ. And he came here triumphantly to talk about how the law worked for him. And about

a year later, he went on a cruise with his family and he jumped off the second deck of the ship.

And so I think about that boy, David Richardson [sp], and it reminds me, the only way to keep hate violence and anti-Semitism from scarring people is really to prevent it. It's really the single best thing we can do. And we have the Tyler Clementi Act pending in the House that addresses bullying. And it will help those Jewish kids and all kids who were bullied, because the best tack against anti-Semitism, as we've seen in the hate crime work in the OSCE, is sometimes putting in a system that will help all minority kids.

Mr. FRANKS. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. It's very kind of you to let me go. You know, sometimes, those of us that love Israel and the Jewish people want to find some expression in this congressional environment to come up with policy that would really help. And that's why I asked the hard question. But thank you all very much. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Chairman Franks, thank you very much for your leadership.

I'd like to now yield to Frank Wolf. Frank Wolf, as you know, is co-chair of the Lantos Human Rights Commission, but also the Commerce, Justice, Science and Related Agencies Committee, and before that, State and Foreign Aid—Foreign Ops Committee.

Just a little quick story: In the mid-1980s, Mr. Wolf and I went to a human rights conference in Zeeland, Holland. The procurator-general of all of the Soviet Union was there, bombastically and very arrogantly saying how they had nothing to hide, and any place that could—we asked the question—any place we wanted to go, Mr. Wolf, Chairman Wolf and I would be permitted to do. We said, Perm Camp 35; we want to meet Natan Sharansky. And he said yes.

Two years later and one delay after another, Sharansky was out of that camp. There were still many other political prisoners and Jewish refuseniks still there. We got into that camp. We met with Lieutenant-Colonel Assen [ph], the KGB camp director who was a brute of a man, and his fellow torturers, but we videotaped every one of the prisoners. And eventually, because of glasnost and perestroika, that camp closed and all those people were released. But it was a privilege to join Congressman Wolf at that meeting. When Sharansky saw the videotape, he broke down and said, they were all my friends. And they were still left behind, of course. And he went on, obviously, and continues to do great things.

But I'd like to yield to Chairman Wolf.

**HON. FRANK WOLF (R-10), A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM
THE STATE OF VIRGINIA**

Mr. WOLF. Thank you, Chris. I want to thank you and thank the panel. I'll just make a comment. One, I want to thank particularly Chris for being a leader on these issues from the very beginning, during the beginning of the Reagan years, and probably has done more on human rights and religious freedom and anti-Semitism than, frankly, any other member of the Congress.

I'm concerned that I see the trend going, probably in the wrong direction. And I may be an exception here. But we see the Arab Spring going south in Egypt. I was in Egypt in July, and I pre-

dicted what was taking place and what took place. We saw just the other day, you have the Muslim Brotherhood taking over now with a Salafist. The Sinai is wide open. Bad things are happening. There were anti-Semitic cartoons in the Egyptian press under Mubarak. I predict you're going to see things that you never thought you would see coming out of that.

I think there's less interest here in Washington and in the Congress and, frankly, in this administration, than I have ever seen since I have been here since 1980. President Reagan said, the words in the Constitution were a covenant with the entire world, and Reagan advocated and pushed Secretary Shultz when he would go to Moscow, would meet with dissidents, or if they were imprisoned, would meet with their families. Our embassy was an island of freedom.

That doesn't happen anymore. I see less interest up here, on the Hill, in both political parties. The religious freedom commission bill that Chris mentioned, we passed it here in the House months ago, months ago. I think it was a 400-to-something vote. A couple of senators have it blocked. They want to reduce the funding of it. And they will be successful in reducing the funding. And it's blocked. One or two senators have blocked it. And frankly, the faith community are saying very, very little about it.

I also have a bill passed to create a special envoy to advocate, modeled after the special envoy for anti-Semitism, to model it after that, for religion minorities in the Middle East—the Coptic Christians. It passed the House overwhelmingly. Two senators have it blocked. I mean, the Coptic Christians in Egypt now are going to face—unbelievable. You're going to find that the numbers who want to come to the United States are soaring. And we have two senators who have it blocked.

Thirdly, there are not the giants in this institution and this—in town that used to have—Chris is a giant. Henry Hyde was a giant. Tom Lantos was a giant. Scoop Jackson was a giant. Tell me, who was the Scoop Jackson in the United States Senate today? You don't have to say it for the record, but you just tell me what you're thinking of—name the two or three that really—this administration has been a failure. Cairo is a failure; they've done nothing with regard to what's taking place with regard to the Muslim Brotherhood over in Egypt.

So my request to you is—and when you listen to the Republican debates, this issue never comes up. I don't blame the candidates; I blame the media. They don't think it's that important. It never comes up. Now, is it the economy? Is it—that we're going through high—I don't know. We've gone through high unemployment and 10 percent unemployment in the Reagan administration, and there was still a driving interest with regard to Secretary Shultz and President Reagan.

So I would urge you, and those who care deeply in all the faith communities—anti-Semitism is particularly bad. I've been to Auschwitz. I've seen with Dachau, we speak out and make this an issue. Congressmen and senators ought to be forced to make decisions on these issues. There should be votes on these issues. People should go to their town meetings and ask him about it.

But we got the religious freedom commission bill that's tied up in the Senate for three or four months—with what's taking place in the world today, and we can't move it, then I think there's a problem right here in River City.

I think memory is diminishing and anti-Semitism on the college campuses—I watched the rally a while back where Amedi [ph]—what's this guy?—Alan Moody [sp] stands up in front of the White House, and says, I am Hamas. Do you hear that, White House? And the crowd cheers. I am Hezbollah, he says, and the crowd cheers. I have the tape. I saw the tape. And nobody says anything.

And so I think I would urge you to make this an issue in the political process. All the candidates ought to be asked, what is your position on anti-Semitism? What do you think's taking place with the Coptic Christians in the Middle East? What do you think about the Gaza being—emptied out? What do you think about these things, and what is your plan? What will you do?

And also, to put pressure on this administration—and I appreciate Chris Smith having this hearing. I want to urge you to go out and make this an issue, a political issue the same way that it was during the '80s with—remember Scoop Jackson, Jackson-Vanik? I mean, where would've the issue—what would've happened without Jackson-Vanik? Now, this Congress will give MFN to anybody for anything for trade or for business. I mean, that—man does not live by bread alone. And so that's what I would urge you, and that's what I wanted to comment on. Just take this issue out and make this an issue in every political race, every House race, every Senate race. Everyone ought to be asked what their position is on anti-Semitism, on the persecution of people of faith, on human rights.

Bashir, the head of Sudan, is an indicted war criminal. Hu Jintao invited him to a red carpet treatment, a red carpet welcome in Beijing. And nobody said a word about it.

Thanks for what you're doing. I particularly want to thank Chris Smith for what he does. Thank you. I yield back.

Mr. SMITH. Chairman Wolf, thank you for your outstanding statement and leadership for 30 years. [Chuckles.] Really do appreciate it. Would anyone want to respond to anything Chairman Wolf has said?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Wolf, I think many of us at this table agree with much of what you had to say. But I want to answer one question. When you say, where are the giants, we're looking at two of the giants. I know you weren't looking for an unsolicited compliment, but you and Congressman Smith and other members of the Commission, whether it's Senator Cardin and others, are leading the way.

I also would like to say that I agree with you that it's incumbent upon all of us to try to do more to reinvigorate our government, be it in the executive or the legislative, to the concern of global human rights. And at least you have my commitment that my organization and our members will do everything we can to try to remind people of the importance of looking out for our fellow men and women around the world.

Mr. FUSFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I would echo what was just said. And I would add that we all represent nonpartisan NGOs. And I

think it's fair to say, we all agree that human rights is a bipartisan issue if ever there was one.

And I'll speak now for my organization: We believe that human rights should remain in the forefront of U.S. foreign policy. We feel that regardless of which party is in power, either in the executive branch or in Congress, the emphasis should remain the same.

And, we do feel that leadership is being demonstrated in Congress today, particularly in this venue. The Helsinki Commission, the role it's played in identifying the problem of anti-Semitism, has been indispensable, and we're grateful for it.

We all need to continue doing whatever we can on all fronts to spotlight these issues and to generate forward momentum.

Mr. WOLF. [Off mic] —Well, I'll just ask you a question, and you don't have to answer. Is there a [inaudible] in this administration? Was there a [inaudible] in the Bush administration? Now, if I were asked to answer that, I would say no to both. We should have a [inaudible] in every administration. I say this administration has no [inaudible]. I say, for the last four years, the Bush administration—[off mic]—they had no [inaudible]. And every administration—[off mic]—[inaudible], and that's what I'm trying to say is diminishing because of that concern.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, Dr. Samuels?

Dr. SAMUELS. I'd just like to answer you, Congressman, as a European, which today is a questionable description, self-description—we fear very greatly a weak America. A strong America is needed to ensure that Europe remains on the rails not only economically—politically. And I thank you very much for everything you've just said.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Chairman Wolf. I'll just conclude because you've been very patient. We'll have some questions I'll submit for the record. But very, very briefly: You know, Mr. Levin, you talked about privatizing, but you pointed out, in Russia, in your comments on specific countries, that more alarming is the fact that Russian human rights monitor groups have reported a steady rise over the last 10 years on the overall attacks by skinheads. You talked about the concern about violence but you also made the point that it's not state-sponsored.

But I think, as Dr. Samuels pointed out, indifference—perhaps it's a distinction without a difference. When a government is indifferent—as far back as February of 1996, when I chaired a hearing called “Worldwide Persecution of Jews,” wearing my hat as human rights subcommittee chair, Paul Goble made a very important point. And he said, third and most important, anti-Semitism has been privatized, like much else in the region.

That is to say, in contrast to Soviet times, when the government was in the position to decide how much anti-Semitism would be manifest and how much would be sponsored, now the governments are too weak to be in a position to do something about it. What has changed over those years is the “too weak.” The Russian government, and Putin et al, are all very strong. They could do much more. So would you be admonishing them to really take up this cause far more robustly than they have?

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, we try to do that on a regular basis. For a long time, the Russian Government diminished the role of

the ultranationalist skinheads and neo-Nazis that have proliferated throughout Russia. And I think that the recent events over the last year and a half—at least some in the government have begun to change their mind, and have recognized that they have a serious problem on their hands.

Now, what they're doing about it is a whole 'nother issue, and that's why we continue to press them, specifically, on the recommendations that we made. But at the very least, they have spoken out on certain specific incidents. And now we're saying that's a good first step. And in one or two cases, they actually, as I noted in my testimony—they did charge people with hate crimes, and those individuals were convicted and sentenced.

But there's a lot more that has to be done. And as I also noted, when I say fortunately, I don't mean to diminish what's happening to other groups—but the attention of these groups have been focused on ethnic groups primarily from the Caucasus and Central Asia as those responsible for all the problems in Russia today.

The attention has been diverted away from the Jewish minority, but we all know that it won't take much for a neo-Nazi or skinhead to turn his attention back toward the Jewish community. And the Jewish community in Russia has also been in the forefront of trying to get its government to recognize that, as a community, they have specific concerns, but there are also larger issues that need to be addressed.

So you have our commitment that we're going to continue to press them.

Mr. SMITH. Would anyone else like to respond to—

Ms. BURDETT. I would just say that in all 56 of the participating states, the president, prime minister, and leadership have an opportunity to make the most significant and immediate difference in this problem. And there may be 56 different agendas and different suggestions for what they could do, but no leader is too weak to not be able to move their country a little bit further forward in what they're doing.

Mr. SMITH. You know, Dr. Samuels—and Trent Franks did respond to this, and it jumped off the page to me as well—when you pointed out that Ahmadinejad stated the Holocaust is a lie, he was answered with a wave of international condemnation. And then you worked down to the point where he has repeated, Jews are vermin, a tumor—they're met with fatigue.

And then you talked about Western timidity—tests the limits of Western timidity. Anti-Semitism is indifference. You also point out, last week, how 5,000 demonstrators in Cairo, screaming “death to the Jews,” created no global outrage. Would that also apply to us in Congress, and to the White House and to other Western capitals?

Because I've been shocked by the—I mean, there needs to be a daily condemnation of this further erosion that's happening in Egypt, a huge, strategically important country. When the peace treaty was signed, it was a game-changer. And now we're in a situation of equally ominous events occurring as we meet here in this hearing.

Dr. SAMUELS. In the aftermath of Cast Lead, the Gaza engagement, I was invited to anchor a BBC World Service phone-in pro-

gram called “The [sic] World Have Your Say.” I asked if this was going to be a repeat of the anti-Israeli programs of the past, and I was ensured that no, this was going to look at the repercussions for Jewish communities in terms of anti-Semitic incidents.

What it turned out to be was a one-hour program, and after 40 minutes of fielded-in phone calls that showed only an interest in how opinion of Israel had deteriorated, I said that I have been taken in, abused, used, and I’m leaving this program. Now, what was the point of raising this?

Media has created, among public opinion, a prejudice, an anti-Semitic prejudice that is new and goes beyond their own government’s policy. In fact, it is endorsing government’s policy. And here is a tremendous danger. Recently, the European Jewish press had a conference at which I presented a press charter for integrity on anti-Semitism, which was five points. I don’t have it in front of me, but I’d be happy to send it.

This charter, I think, can be reworked. It can be retooled according to the prevailing psycholinguistics and psycho-environment of each jurisdiction. However, I think it is most important to focus upon the media. And I know about First Amendment and I know that there are trans-Atlantic differences on this, but when we held a conference on the Internet as a vector for hate in Berlin, Louis Freeh, who was then the head of the FBI, came over and said, help us to help you.

Not everything in the United States is protected. We all know the Wendell Jones famous statement. Therefore, I think that it’s very important that Congress helps on the question of media, helps to point out to media—gently, certainly not by censorship. The dangers of what is happening in Europe, I think, is a paradigm that should be greatly avoided in this country. And by the same means, this country has a role to play. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Anyone else like to respond? Next week, I’m going to be chairing a hearing on—with an empty chair in this room—on Liu Xiaobo, the Nobel Peace Prize winner for last year. I’m one of those who nominated him, led a congressional effort. He’s a great human rights activist in the People’s Republic of China.

And I raise that because it would appear that dictatorships and despots all over the world—and that includes in many of these Muslim countries, where, unfortunately, the radical side has gained the upper hand to the exclusion of the moderates—we don’t raise the issue. I mean, this is just me now answering my own question, in a way.

We don’t raise human rights issues consistently, in a transparent fashion, so that the offending parties know, almost in an absolute predictable fashion, the United States of America will be on your case every time. No diminution of—or no gaps when it comes to this. When Hu Jintao came to the United States, he got a red-carpet treatment, and nary a word was said about human rights, including in the press conference with Hu Jintao and President Obama—a lost opportunity beyond words.

Hannah Rosenthal is doing a great job. The individual-designated, very committed individuals who are not the president, not the top echelon—in the sense that we’re not either; I haven’t made this the priority that I believe it should be. And I hope we

can get some game-changing going on here, or else we are in for a much worsened situation.

If you could all respond very briefly to—Dr. Samuels, you made a very, very telling point, and it goes to that very point about consistency. You know, we should be saying the same thing in every venue, with intensity and with an understanding of the facts on the ground as it relates to anti-Semitism and every other human rights issue, but we don't.

And you point out that at the meeting of states parties you're the same people we meet at Geneva in the U.N. Human Rights Commission; now the council. Yet here in the OSCE, the language is different. Why the two different messages, and what can we do to change that? We should make sure that we're not doing that as well.

You know, when we're at the OSCE, everyone is really strong about affirming the three Ds that Natan Sharansky so eloquently talked about when he talked about, you know, disagree with Israel on a policy, but don't matriculate into anti-Semitism. Could you respond to that? I thought that was a very profound statement, Dr. Samuels, about the same diplomats, same country, same heads of state, different message.

Dr. SAMUELS. Mr. Chairman, very, very briefly: I fear that OSCE may be going in the same direction as other international institutions. We are seeing this today in UNESCO. We are seeing it in other U.N. agencies, and unfortunately, unless you—this Commission—takes a stand, that may happen, even due to the Mediterranean partners and through them, in the OSCE. And I think we should be on our guard. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Yes. Stacy?

Ms. BURDETT. I think one of the main differences—again, the OSCE had a tradition of being flexible and taking on new human rights challenges. But I think when we first started this process, we were certainly told, sometimes on this side of the pond, that you cannot explicitly speak about anti-Semitism in the OSCE. And we did—we pressed for it—and the sky didn't fall. Governments didn't walk away from the institution.

And I think there are a lot of countries who said it couldn't be done, and they themselves are talking about it, and talking about it in pretty forthright ways. And so I think it's a model. And we've had conversations, looking at other IGOs, where they may be trying to hold a hearing and then it gets cancelled, or it's not popular for some reason.

I think it's a slow building. And we do have to really cling to and sustain that focus in the OSCE. If we look away for a minute, it can erode. But I think it's a model of just showing, yeah, we can talk about it. Now, you know, I mentioned one of these teaching tools is being translated into Turkish. That might have been something, in 2002, someone would have said would be a pipe dream.

Mr. FUSFIELD. You know, one of the features of the OSCE known to all of us is that it's a consensus-driven organization, and this is in some ways a virtue, and in some ways the bane of the organization, because it can be so difficult to generate momentum and to mark accomplishments. But this is always the context in which we've been dealing in the OSCE.

And again, I made this point several times, but it reinforces the importance of U.S. leadership within this environment. There has to be an engine. There has to be something driving forward progress. We have, as I said in my remarks earlier—we have the Berlin Declaration from 2004, and it's a document that's hard to improve on. The Berlin Declaration was actually a statement of the chair-in-office.

It has never been incorporated into a ministerial declaration, which would be the highest—other than a summit statement, that would be the highest statement coming out of the OSCE. But were we to go that route, we would face a situation where some governments would want to dumb down what we already have, chip away at it. And that's the last thing we would want to see happen.

So we have to be protective of what we've already achieved—at the same time, fight very hard to go beyond that, not just accept this kind of stasis and status quo, and move the ball forward. And, you know, we've always encountered resistance up till now, and we'll continue to. But we just have to keep pushing.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I briefly want to remind you of three instances over the history of the Helsinki Commission, and why—the importance of the Helsinki Commission, your message to your colleagues, has to be expanded, but also to the executive branch. Because there has always been tension between Congress and the executive branch, and it didn't matter if it was a Republican or a Democratic administration.

In 1977, Arthur Goldberg was the leader of the U.S. delegation of the first review conference, when it was the CSCE. And he had to fight, and if it wasn't for Dante Fascell and Robert Dole and Spencer Oliver insisting that names be named, the American delegation wasn't going to lead that effort. But through Goldberg and Fascell and others, names were named. In 1980, Max Kampelman was the leader of the U.S. delegation, and the same thing—going through from 1980 to 1981, there was a reluctance to name names.

But it happened, and it happened because of what started at this Commission and spread to members of Congress. In 1991, the word anti-Semitism never appeared in any OSCE or CSCE document. So it took 16 years. And why did the word anti-Semitism finally appear in the document? Well, I'd like to think, partly because my chairman at the time, Shoshana Cardin, was a public member to the U.S. delegation.

But it was the U.S. delegation, and there was turmoil within the U.S. delegation even to push for that. And look how far we've come from 1991 to today. It doesn't mean that the challenges aren't still there. But what is required is the commitment, the ongoing commitment, of the United States Congress to ensure that when our government is represented at international conferences, that the right message is put forward.

And that can only happen when there is a bipartisan message coming from Congress. And I think my colleague Eric mentioned it already, but it needs to be reinforced: Human rights are a bipartisan effort. And the success that we've enjoyed, as well as trying to meet ongoing challenges, will only continue if the bipartisanship on this issue continues.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, Dr. Samuels.

Dr. SAMUELS. Question to you, Mr. Chairman. I don't know if anyone in Congress has recognized the fact that in the new government of Greece, which emerged out of what some thought was a Greek spring—as a hope for the economy of Greece—the minister for development and the minister for transport are representatives of not a neo-fascist, but a neo-Nazi party called LAOS, which has, through its leader, Plevris, has made pronouncements that are horrific—not only in denying the Holocaust, but speaking of the Jews in medieval ways.

I wouldn't be surprised if no one in this Congress had noticed that. But certainly, in Europe, in the European Parliament, nobody is prepared to pronounce on that. And that is even more worrying.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for that admonishment. We need to speak out. One final question—I have many, but we'll submit them for the record—Dr. Samuels, you mentioned Berlin II. Eric, you talked about implementation, and I think you rightly suggested that we be careful about what is reopened, because there will be an attempt to water down and weaken. But the implementation process, idea of a Berlin II, I think, as a minimal effort—is that something that all of you would agree with?

Should we as a Commission make that recommendation to the administration and to other delegations—use our parliamentary assembly as a conduit to recommend that there be a full-scale effort to—because it seems to me that if there's not something we're shooting for, we lose our focus.

But when there's a conference and there's accountability—at least, hopefully, some—it does add a measure of foreign ministers saying, what are we doing on anti-Semitism? And then that echoing throughout the chain of command to really be doing something. And that happens in our own State Department.

Next week, I'm reintroducing the Global Online Freedom Act, a much-changed and much-improved bill. But in this room, in 2006, when I had a hearing with Microsoft, Google, Yahoo, and Cisco, and had a draft that we circulated and shared with the State Department that included an office to combat global online freedom issues, they came and announced—not the—an equivalent of an office, which took the wind out of the sails of the bill right away. But it was fine.

In other words, having to give an account led to some real movement where there had been none before. So I think a Berlin II, or a Vienna II, or a Cordoba—but certainly, Berlin would be—that was, I thought, the watershed meeting. Would all of you agree with that? And could you make, in addition to your many excellent recommendations proffered here, give us something that would show real solidarity for that initiative? Eric?

Mr. FUSFIELD. Well, I'll start by expressing my immediate support for the idea. I think it's an excellent idea. I would love for the Commission to take this issue up. We had, at one point, in the OSCE, a kind of unwritten understanding that there would be high-level conferences at regular intervals. And at some point, the intervals became less regular, and the conferences became less high-level.

But this is the perfect opportunity. I identified—the three conferences that took place in '03, '04, '05, and there could be a second installment of each of the three—but Berlin being the most important of the three. And if ever there were an occasion for a review conference, an opportunity to really hold member states accountable for their commitments—and we have the blueprint—it's the Berlin Declaration.

But as with all of these OSCE gatherings, it won't happen unless there is a driving force behind the idea, a host who's willing to come forth and organize the thing. And in the case of a Berlin II conference, it might be the German government, but Berlin does not necessarily have to be the venue for Berlin II, but that remains to be decided. But it definitely needs support, and the idea should be circulated as broadly as possible. So thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Stacy?

Ms. BURDETT. I think it would be important for us to work together in moving forward a proposal, like we did before Vienna, because a high-level conference can signal momentum, as it has in Berlin. And if we do the legwork properly, it could. And if there's not enough buy-in at the ministers' level, or by a country—a group of countries—it can also signal flagging support. So I think it's important to do some planning and legwork in thinking about it together. I'd be glad to do that with you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. LEVIN. The issue hasn't gone away. And we heard that only three countries submitted any documentation in the last go-around. Now is the time to reconvene. And I don't think the place is less important than the purpose. And if there's a way to send that message beginning next week, then it should be done.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Dr. SAMUELS. Berlin in Dublin may not reflect Irish neutrality in World War II, but I think it would be a wonderful place to hold it. And I think it should be held as soon as possible, and not wait for the 10th anniversary of Berlin.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Anything else any of our distinguished witnesses would like to add? If not, thank you for your leadership, your moral courage, and for your patience as we went through all those votes on the floor today. The hearing's adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12 noon, the hearing was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

Welcome and thanks to our witnesses, and to everyone, for joining us this morning.

Almost a decade ago, in May 2002, I chaired a Helsinki Commission hearing focused on the horrifying spike in anti-Semitism making itself throughout much of the OSCE region. Many of our witnesses today testified at that hearing, which put the issue of combating anti-Semitism on the top of the OSCE's agenda, resulting in OSCE commitments on fighting anti-Semitism—and a series of high-level annual conferences on combating anti-Semitism—and even led to the creation of a global network of parliamentarians united against anti-Semitism, the Interparliamentary Coalition Combating Anti-Semitism, of which I am on the steering committee.

A lot of good has come out of this—it's worth recalling some of the things we've done. Since that 2002 hearing, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has annually passed declarations addressing anti-Semitism and calling for concrete measures by all participating States and the OSCE. At the seminal High-Level Conference in Berlin in 2004, leaders from throughout the OSCE region met to focus specifically on combating anti-Semitism, leading the participating States to commit, at the Sofia Ministerial later that year, to collect and report hate crimes data.

In that same year a Tolerance Unit with a focus on anti-Semitism was established within the OSCE's Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights or ODIHR and the OSCE appointed a Personal Representative on Combating Anti-Semitism. I am very pleased that Rabbi Andrew Baker, a critical force in the development of the Berlin conference and creation of this position, now fills this position and is able to join us today. Rabbi Baker, I was also very happy to have participated, at your invitation, in the OSCE meeting on anti-Semitism in public discourse, which you organized last March.

The OSCE is now equipped with a toolbox to combat anti-Semitism, ranging from more than a dozen publications focused on addressing anti-Semitic hate crimes, Holocaust remembrance, and now has a new Training Against Hate Crimes for Law Enforcement program to assist participating States in their efforts. The Anti-Defamation League and other NGOs that fight to ensure that the human rights and dignity of Jews will always and everywhere be fully respected—they have been integral to this work. While the OSCE has the potential to contribute mightily to this fight, it is only truly effective when it works with these vital human rights defenders.

Efforts in the U.S. Congress and other parliaments have complemented this work over the years. The Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Anti-Semitism, which held its most recent major international conference in Ottawa last fall, has been a crucial forum for parliamentarians to work across national boundaries to address the common problem of anti-Semitism.

In our own Congress, other members and I have worked to fight anti-Semitism through this Commission as well as the Congressional Anti-Semitism Taskforce, which I co-chair. It was a 2004 amendment of mine that created the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism and the Special Envoy on Anti-Semitism—of course we are very pleased to have the current Special Envoy, Hannah Rosenthal, with us here today. Ms. Rosenthal is doing an excellent job—I got to know her last year in Ottawa—and of course her presence is a reminder of our government's commitment to the fight against anti-Semitism.

Yet our work is far from done. Despite the efforts of many good people, mostly in courageous NGOs but also in our government and a few other governments—despite the conferences, commitments, laws, training, monitoring—the measure of our success is what happens on the ground. By most accounts, the despicable evil of anti-Semitism has decreased in most parts of the OSCE region in recent years—but it still remains at higher levels than in 2000. This is simply unacceptable, and it's why we're here today.

I'd like to close with a word on the Combating Anti-Semitism Act of 2010, legislation I introduced last fall, and which was taken as a model by the Ottawa conference of the ICCA. The purpose of that bill was to strengthen the State Department's—and Ms. Rosenthal's—efforts to combat global anti-Semitism. Today it is with the goal of introducing a new version of this bill, that I seek everyone's advice on two questions: what is the nature of the anti-Semitic danger *today*; and how do you think our government can more effectively lead the fight against this scourge?

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Mr. Chairman, I commend you for convening this hearing on an issue of long-standing importance to me personally and to this Commission.

Just over 20 years ago, I had the opportunity to attend the 1989 Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension as part of a Helsinki Commission Congressional delegation.

Until that meeting, every effort to refer explicitly to the problem of anti-Semitism in an international document had been blocked by the Soviet Union. In Copenhagen, with the U.S. Delegation under the able leadership of Ambassador Max Kampelman, that finally changed. I feel privileged to have witnessed that historic meeting that produced **an international agreement that broke new ground in so many areas and included an explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism.**

But as Ambassador Kampelman observed at a subsequent Helsinki Commission hearing, “having accomplished the words in Copenhagen [we now have to see] how those words are being implemented.”

That is exactly what today’s hearing should do.

With this in mind, I want to flag an issue that has been of particular concern to me and one that I hope our witnesses may be able to address: the **continuing strength of extremist parties and movements.** In a number of European parliamentary systems, these extremist parties (which often combine anti-Semitism with other forms of bigotry) can find themselves, by default, kingmakers.

To be clear, the threat from these groups is not just because of the rhetoric they espouse, but because extremist views have a tendency to bleed over into the mainstream. In Hungary, for example, more than 16 percent of the voters in the last elections cast their votes for a noxious extremist party, *Jobbik*—either as an intentional sign of support for its anti-Semitic platform or without regard for it. Following the elections, Peter Feldmajer, president of the Hungarian Jewish community, warned “Today is a very dark time for modern Hungary . . . It is a very dangerous direction not just for Hungarian Jews, but for Hungarian democracy.”

In the context of *Jobbik’s* electoral success, I take particular note of the facts that

- 1) President Pal Schmitt quoted from convicted war criminal Albert Wass in his August 2010 inaugural address.
- 2) The Budapest City Council cut by one third the funds it provided for the annual Holocaust memorial event “March for Life” after *Jobbik* objected to the event.
- 3) The new constitution adopted in April disavows Hungarian responsibility for war-time atrocities committed after March 19, 1944 (the date of the German occupation), without regard for Hungarian complicity in the deportation of half a million Hungarian Jews, and
- 4) Some Hungarian officials have asserted that the 1920 Treaty of Trianon was worse than the Holocaust, thereby trivializing the genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity of World War II.

The ascension of the Dutch Freedom Party (PVV) to power purportedly following an agreement to pass anti-Muslim laws that ultimately led to Dutch efforts to ban the ritual slaughter of animals, impacting kosher practices, is yet another example of how extremist parties have hurt not only Jewish communities but also worked to undermine basic OSCE human rights and democratic principles. There are also many other examples of this phenomenon in the region.

I commend the OSCE participating States for using the OSCE as a tool in the effort to combat anti-Semitism. There is much that the OSCE has to contribute in this regard. But the offices and institutions of the OSCE need to push on an open door. It is one thing to provide training for a country that genuinely seeks expertise and reform, but where a country lacks the political will to address these issues at the national level, then we have a different sort of challenge in front of us.

Finally, I feel I would be remiss here if I did not make a few observations in connection with the High Level Conference on Tolerance the OSCE convened last year in Astana, under the Kazakhstani Chairmanship. We often speak of the critical role of civil society and I think the partnership with NGOs in this particular field has been exemplary.

Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HANNAH ROSENTHAL

Chairman Smith, Co-chairman Cardin, Commissioners—thank you for the invitation to testify before you today. Since its founding in 1976, the U.S. Helsinki Commission has dedicated itself to addressing human rights issues, including anti-Semitism. And for the past three decades, Chairman Smith has provided unparalleled leadership in his efforts to combat anti-Semitism and promote human rights. As the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat anti-Semitism, I am honored to present my findings on anti-Semitism in Europe.

The Obama Administration is unwavering in its commitment to combat hate and promote tolerance in our world. The President began his Administration speaking out against intolerance as a global ill. In his historic speech in Cairo, he signaled a new path that embraces a vision of a world based on mutual interests and mutual respect; a world that honors the dignity of all human beings. He then went to Buchenwald concentration camp to remind the world of the horrors of the Holocaust and the ultimate lesson that the Holocaust represents the possible.

President Obama and Secretary Clinton have honored me with this appointment, and have elevated my office and fully integrated it into the State Department.

We are attempting—through traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy and grassroots programs all over the world—to confront and combat hatred in all its ugly forms, whether it is directed against people on account of their religion, ethnicity, race, sexual orientation or differences of political opinion or due to their country of origin. Anti-Semitism is one such form of hatred rooted in historical forces that go far beyond any current policy debate. If we want to change this trend, we need to stand together in our efforts to promote tolerance, acceptance and compassion.

As a child of a Holocaust survivor, anti-Semitism is something very personal to me. My father was arrested—on Kristallnacht, the unofficial pogrom that many think started the Holocaust—and sent with many of his congregants to prison and then to Buchenwald. He was the lucky one—every other person in his family perished at Auschwitz. I have dedicated my life to eradicating anti-Semitism and intolerance with a sense of urgency and passion that only my father could give me.

Since the murder of six million Jews in Europe, we have made some great strides as the countries of Europe have come together to denounce new and old forms of anti-Semitism and forcefully state in unison, “Never Again.” But we have also seen many setbacks within these very same countries that issued these statements and bore witness to the Holocaust seventy years ago. Over the past two years, my staff and I have diligently reported on anti-Semitic incidents throughout Europe, following and tracking developments in new and old cases. We have classified these incidents into six trends, which provide a comprehensive framework from which we can analyze anti-Semitism in Europe.

First of all, anti-Semitism is not History, it is News. I run into people who think anti-Semitism ended when Hitler killed himself. More than six decades after the end of the Second World War, anti-Semitism is still alive and well, and evolving into new, contemporary forms of religious hatred, racism, and political, social and cultural bigotry. According to reports done by the governments of Norway, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom there is a disturbing increase in anti-Semitism.

This stems from the fact that traditional forms of anti-Semitism are passed from one generation to the next, and sometimes updated to reflect current events. We are all familiar with hostile acts such as the defacing of property and the desecration of cemeteries with anti-Semitic graffiti. Since June, we have seen desecrations to Holocaust memorials, synagogues, and Jewish cemeteries in Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Lithuania, and Poland. The Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki, Greece, was vandalized with a swastika and a statement denying the Holocaust on the day the City was to honor the 30 Holocaust survivors still living Thessaloniki. Swastikas and slogans such as “Hitler was right” were spray painted on the Holocaust memorial for the Ponary massacres in Lithuania; “they were flammable,” defaced the monument to the victims of the Jedwabne Pogrom in Poland during World War II. Although both governments immediately condemned the attack, the harm was already done. There are still some accusations of blood libel, which are morphing from the centuries-old accusations by the Catholic Church that Jews killed Christian children to use their blood for rituals, to accusations that Jews kidnap children to steal their organs.

Conspiracy theories continue to have traction with some groups, such as supposed Jewish control of the U.S. media and the world banking system, or that Jews were involved in executing the September 11 attacks. In July 2010, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy’s Liberal Democratic Party of Russia held a roundtable in the Duma “On the Question of Recognizing the Genocide of the Russian People” which produced a declaration blaming the “international Zionist financial mafia for genocide

against the Russian people.” The old Czarist forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, can be found in parts of the OSCE region. In October 2011, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Europe identified approximately 20 anti-Semitic texts on display at the prestigious 2011 Frankfurt Book Fair. The “old fashioned” anti-Semitism is alive and well.

Physical violence is also a problem. Just last week in Belgium a 13-year old girl was beaten by a group of girls shouting: “Shut up, you dirty Jew, and return to your country.” Instances like this are not isolated to Belgium. We praise the Belgium government for addressing this specific instance and, more so, for being proactive. As we speak, there is a conference going on in Brussels addressing ways to fight anti-Semitism.

A second trend is Holocaust denial. It is being espoused by religious and political leaders, and is a standard on hateful websites and other media outlets. In August 2010, British Holocaust denier David Irving went on Iranian TV and declared that he thinks that Jews “have overplayed their hand. They’ve over-used the Holocaust and this in turn, has tarnished the Zionist cause.” Catholic Bishop Richard Williamson is another well known Holocaust denier and anti-Semite. Last year he was convicted of Holocaust denial in Germany, having claimed that Jews were not murdered in gas chambers and that *only* 300,000 European Jews were killed in all. Just recently, this Holocaust-denying bishop reportedly blamed the Jews for deicide. And Holocaust denial still plays a role in our diplomatic engagements with countries that are trying to come to terms with their moral responsibility to prosecute Nazi war criminals and denounce the past crimes of their citizens. As the generation of Holocaust survivors and death camp liberators reaches their eighties and nineties, the window is closing on those able to provide eyewitness accounts and thus we have a heightened sense of urgency to promote Holocaust education, create museums and memorials, and carry the memory and lessons of the Holocaust forward. That is why I sponsored a program at the State Department honoring Father Patrick Desbois, who has made it his life’s work to find, identify and honor almost 1000 previously unknown mass graves of Jews and Roma murdered in Ukraine, Belarus and Poland.

A third, disturbing trend is Holocaust glorification, which can be seen in parades honoring soldiers who fought in the Waffen SS, which glorify Nazism under the guise of fighting the Soviets and obscures their roles in the Holocaust. Following a March 2011 commemoration in Latvia, a notorious neo-Nazi made blatantly anti-Semitic statements, including incitements to violence against Jews, on a television talk show. In Austria, Carinthian Freedom Party Councilor Gerry Leitmann resigned in May after his “Blood and Honour” tattoo, the motto of the Hitler Youth, was seen in public. And in the Netherlands in March, soccer fans in The Hague chanted, “ Hamas, Hamas, all Jews be gassed,” during a soccer match. No less, in August, London Regional Secretary Chris Hurst was expelled from the far-right British National Party for shouting “sieg heil” and giving the right-arm salute at a far-right rally in Hungary. Satellite TV is also a concern, as it is an accessible means for the propagation of anti-Semitic views. Some Middle Eastern satellite channels integrate anti-Semitic rhetoric into programming that reaches into Europe. Such broadcasts can have a negative impact on European citizens and residents who are already predisposed to anti-Semitic beliefs. Truly bone-chilling.

A fourth concern is Holocaust relativism—where some governments, museums, academic research and the like are conflating the Holocaust with other terrible events that entailed great human suffering, like the Dirty War or the Soviet regime.

No one, least of all myself, wants to weigh atrocities against each other, but to group these horrific chapters of history together is not only historically inaccurate, but also misses opportunities to learn important lessons from each of these historic events, even as we reflect on universal truths about the need to defend human rights and combat hatred in all of its forms.

Other examples of trivializing the Holocaust and the Nazis, are examples of over-use and misuse of comparisons, for example spiteful politicians have compared their opponents to Hitler: In August, London Mayoral candidate Ken Livingstone said that next year’s mayoral race, “[is] a simple choice between good and evil—I don’t think it’s been so clear since the great struggle between Churchill and Hitler.” And in September at a meeting of the EU’s finance ministers, Austrian Finance Minister Maria Fekter compared criticism of the banking industry to the Nazis’ persecution of Jews, a remark she later apologized for. History must be precise—it must instruct, it must warn, and it must inspire us to learn the particular and universal values as we prepare to mend this fractured world.

The fifth trend is the blurring of the lines between opposition to the policies of the State of Israel and anti-Semitism. What I hear from our diplomatic missions, and from non-governmental organizations alike, is that this happens easily and

often. I want to be clear—legitimate criticism of policies of the State of Israel is not anti-Semitism. We do record huge increases in anti-Semitic acts whenever there are hostilities in the Middle East. This form of anti-Semitism is more difficult for many to identify. But if all Jews are held responsible for the decisions of the sovereign State of Israel, this is not objecting to a policy—this is hatred of the collective Jew or anti-Semitism. It is anti-Semitism when a right-wing group distributes posters depicting a doll with peyote, a yarmulke, wrapped in an Israeli flag, and with an arrow through its head—as we saw in Switzerland in June of this year. It is anti-Semitism when posters say, “Committed every war crime in the book yet the world remains silent, death to Israel,” and “Israel, your days are numbered,” and “For world peace Israel must be destroyed,”—as we saw during London’s Al Quds rally in August of this year. When individual Jews are effectively banned or their conferences boycotted, or are held responsible for Israeli policy—this is not objecting to a policy—this is aimed at the collective Jew and is anti-Semitism.

Natan Sharansky identified three cases that he believes cross the line: It is anti-Semitic when Israel is demonized, held to different standards or delegitimized.

In June, the German Left Party issued a resolution which specifically excludes the 3-Ds from the definition of anti-Semitism. While condemning traditional forms and manifestations, this resolution ignores the E.U.’s working definition of anti-Semitism, which includes hatred of Israel. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, the University College Union recently passed a resolution claiming that the E.U.’s definition of anti-Semitism is used to prevent criticism of Israel. But demonization, delegitimization, and holding Israel to different standards is not mere criticism, it is, in my view, clearly anti-Semitism.

The sixth trend is the growing nationalistic movements which target “the other”—be they immigrants, or religious and ethnic minorities—in the name of protecting the identity and “purity” of nations.

Extremist far-right parties have popular support throughout Europe. Far right groups have now entered parliaments in Austria, Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. These extremist parties run and gain popular support through anti-immigration and racist platforms. In Germany, experts are concerned about the influence of these far-right ideologies on youth. In Hungary, the country’s third largest party, Jobbik, mirrors the ideology of the Arrow Cross Party, which came to power at the end of World War II and collaborated with the Nazi regime in the Holocaust. And in Sweden, the extremist neo-Nazi “Swedes Party,” organized a camp this summer called “Nordic Vision” to attempt to spread its racist views. Although the neo-Nazi “Swedes Party” is not a member of parliament, their existence and assent is disturbing.

When this fear or hatred of the “other” occurs or when people try to find a scapegoat for the instability around them, it is never good for the Jews, or for that matter, other traditionally discriminated against minorities. The history of Europe, with pogroms, Nazism, and ethnic cleansing, provides sufficient evidence. And when public figures talk about protecting a country’s purity, we’ve seen that movie before.

We appreciate, and indeed praise, the good work of the OSCE in focusing on issues of tolerance generally, and anti-Semitism specifically. The OSCE has repeatedly provided an excellent forum for discussing issues of religious tolerance including in June 2010 in Kazakhstan, in February 2011 in Vienna where Farrah Pandith and I made a presentation, and in March 2011 where the OSCE specifically focused on anti-Semitism in the public discourse.

The State Department monitors these trends and activities and reports on them in all 198 countries and territories—in two major annual reports: The International Religious Freedom Report and the Human Rights Report. I am now involved in developing a major training initiative for State Department employees so they can better monitor what is happening in their countries, and be sensitized to the various forms of anti-Semitism. This will make our annual reports more comprehensive, and allow us to do an even better job of monitoring and confronting anti-Semitism in all its forms. These reports tell us that many countries are pushing hard to advance human rights and fight discrimination. It also tells us that there is so much more work to do. If we do not chronicle it, if we do not name it, we cannot fight it.

Of course, it is not enough to study and monitor these deeply troubling trends. It is critical that we act to reverse them.

My approach to combating anti-Semitism is not just to preach to the choir, so to speak, but to join in partnership with non-Jews in condemning it—government, civil society, international institutions, business leaders, labor unions, and media.

Last summer, Secretary Clinton launched an initiative to strengthen civil society across the globe and she instructed all of us in the State Department and all our overseas posts to treat civil society organizations as strategic partners. Partnering with opinion leaders from civil society as well as government—and building bridges

among ethnic and religious groups—is the way to change a culture from fear and negative stereotyping to acceptance and understanding, from narrow mindedness to an embrace of diversity and pluralism, from hate to tolerance.

Educating our young is a priority—they are the future; their values and opinions form at a very early age.

No government should produce materials that are intolerant of members of any religious, racial, or ethnic group, or teach such intolerance as part of its educational curriculum. The Department of State continues to focus on this important issue. We sponsor teacher training on the Holocaust through the OSCE—focusing on its uniqueness and its universal lessons.

The United States provides training to foreign law enforcement officials, which covers crimes against vulnerable groups, including Jews, because these issues are of great concern to the U.S. We use old and new technologies to communicate with the public about human rights, tolerance and democracy. We strongly support the freedom for all people to express their views, even distasteful ones, both offline and online—but we also work to promote tolerance and to eradicate ignorance. We are enhancing our cultural and educational exchanges to showcase our civil society organizations, and to learn from the successes of other countries in confronting and combating hate in all of its forms.

I want to note two examples of efforts I am engaged in to encourage Jews and non-Jews to take action against anti-Semitism.

To combat Holocaust denial, I went with eight leading imams—two of whom had been deniers—to Dachau and Auschwitz last summer. My goal was to have them issue a statement condemning Holocaust denial.

When we arrived at Dachau, Germany's first concentration camp, the imams were overcome with the pictures they saw and immediately went to the ground in prayer at the sculpture commemorating the six million Jews exterminated. At that moment, I knew I was watching history being made. All of the passers-by, tourists, and docents stopped in their tracks to witness the spontaneous prayer of these leading imams. And at Auschwitz, it was as overwhelming for them, and, for some, transformational. We were walking amidst ash and bone fragments from the 1.5 million Jews exterminated there—solely because of who they were. We were facing the fact that unfettered and unanswered hatred can indeed create an Auschwitz. The imams produced a statement strongly condemning Holocaust denial and all other forms of anti-Semitism.

They are now urging colleagues and schools to join their statement. Some are planning to take their youth on the same trip, bear witness and bear the burden, to teach the destructive power of unanswered hatred, and the positive power that condemnation can have to stop hatred.

At the February OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, my colleague Farah Pandith, the Special Representative to Muslim Communities, and I launched a virtual campaign called *2011 Hours Against Hate*, using Facebook. We are asking young people around the world to pledge a number of hours to volunteer to help or serve someone who may look different, or pray differently or live differently. For example, a young Jew might volunteer time to read books at a Muslim pre-school, or a Russian Orthodox at a Jewish clinic, or a Muslim at a Baha'i food pantry. We want to encourage them to walk a mile in another person's shoes. And while our goal was to get 2011 hours pledged, we have already had over 16,000 hours pledged.

Farah and I began meeting with hundreds of young people earlier this year—students and young professionals—in Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Spain—countries that in their histories celebrated Jews and Muslims co-existing and thriving together. They expressed strong interest in the campaign—and we have already surpassed our goal of 2011 hours pledged against hate. More recently, Farah and I met with youth and interfaith leaders in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Lebanon, discussing reaching out to others and increasing tolerance and understanding among different religious groups. In Malmö, Sweden a group called Young Muslims Against anti-Semitism is touring schools to teach tolerance and combat anti-Semitism. Really, we have just begun.

So while I fight anti-Semitism, I am also aware that hate is hate. Nothing justifies it—not economic instability and not international events.

When history records this chapter I hope it will reflect our efforts to build a peaceful, fair, just, free world where people defend universal human rights and dignity. This is not a vision to be dismissed as naive idealism—it is a real goal that should never be far from our thoughts.

Since the beginning of humankind, hate has been around, but since then too, good people of all faiths and backgrounds have striven to combat it. The Jewish tradition tells us that “you are not required to complete the task, but neither are you free to desist from it.”

Together, we must confront and combat the many forms of hatred in our world today. Where there is hatred born of ignorance, we must teach and inspire. Where there is hatred born of blindness, we must expose people to a larger world of ideas and reach out, especially to youth, so they can see beyond their immediate circumstances. Where there is hatred whipped up by irresponsible leaders, we must call them out and answer with our full strength—and make their message totally unacceptable to all people of conscience.

Thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission for your efforts to do just that. Once more, I would like to thank you for the invitation to testify before you, and I look forward to our future collaboration. I am happy to answer any questions you may have.

Hannah Rosenthal was sworn in as Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism on November 23, 2009. Sparked by the work and experience of her father, a rabbi and Holocaust survivor, and her own experience studying to become a rabbi, Hannah Rosenthal has led a life marked by activism and a passion for social justice.

Before joining the State Department, Ms. Rosenthal was Executive Director of the Chicago Foundation for Women, where she led one of the largest women's funds in the world. Prior to that, she was Executive Director of the Jewish Council for Public Affairs for five years, where she worked on domestic and international policy for the organized Jewish community in North America.

Ms. Rosenthal served as Midwest regional director of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services during the Clinton Administration. She was involved in community organizing, and the antiwar and civil rights movements in the 1960s.

Ms. Rosenthal attended graduate school for rabbinical studies at Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem and Los Angeles, and holds a bachelor's degree in religion from the University of Wisconsin. Ms. Rosenthal has two grown daughters who are busy mending the world with their mom.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RABBI ANDREW BAKER

Introduction

At the outset, let me express my appreciation to the Chair of the Commission, Representative Chris Smith, and to the Co-Chair of the Commission, Senator Ben Cardin. Your long-standing attention to the problem of anti-Semitism has been unwavering and your leadership has been central to marshaling efforts to combat it both in the US and abroad. We thank you.

A decade ago in the immediate aftermath of the ill-fated UN Conference in Durban, we sought effective means to alert the public to the resurgence of anti-Semitism in Europe, which included a dramatic increase in attacks on Jewish targets, frequently triggered by events in the Middle East. We also witnessed the beginnings of what would become a new problem of anti-Semitism in public discourse.

And we turned to you.

It was this Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe that pushed and prodded a reluctant diplomatic bureaucracy here in Washington to press the OSCE to take up the problem. And much to the surprise of some those skeptics, a first OSCE conference on anti-Semitism took place in Vienna in 2003, which led in turn to the seminal high level conference and declaration on anti-Semitism in Berlin in 2004. It included a commitment by governments to monitor and collect data on anti-Semitic and other hate crimes, to promote Holocaust education and effective legislation. It was followed by the establishment of a department on tolerance and non-discrimination in ODIHR and further conferences and expert meetings including the March conference in Prague this year focused on anti-Semitism in public discourse.

These efforts also included the appointment of a special envoy at the OSCE, a Personal Representative of the Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism, a position which I now hold.

My message to you today is a simple one: The problem remains and we still need your help.

Anti-Semitism in Public Discourse

The Prague Conference on anti-Semitism in public discourse was itself recognition of one of the most difficult current challenges we face. Opinion surveys in many European states reveal anti-Jewish sentiments are still held by significant numbers of the population. These percentages may fluctuate over time and are certainly not uniform from country to country. But the overall picture remains a distressing one, and it has direct and immediate consequences for Jewish communities.

The Jewish population in OSCE participating states ranges from a high of two percent (in the United States) to fractions so small they barely register. And yet the presence of Jews is not the determining factor in the presence of anti-Semitism. For the most part popular attitudes toward Jews are not formed from personal encounters, which are rare, but rather from the images and rhetoric of public discourse—in mainstream media, in political debate and on the Internet. Conspiracy theories of Jewish world domination and economic prowess are no less evident today than they were a century ago. But a new phenomenon has been the identification of the State of Israel as a source for anti-Jewish prejudice. Frequently Jews and Israel are conflated, and those harboring antagonistic views of Israel ascribe the same attributes to Jews and local Jewish communities. The OSCE recognized this phenomenon in 2004, in its Berlin Declaration, which, “declare[d] unambiguously that international developments or political issues, including those in Israel or elsewhere in the Middle East never justify anti-Semitism.”

While governments still fall short in monitoring and reporting physical incidents of anti-Semitism, fewer still have any systematic process of monitoring and recording let alone responding to incidents on the Internet or in the media. Governments can and should do much more, and in the interim practical steps can be taken to help civil society groups develop the capacity to do their own monitoring.

Because of constitutional protections, the United States especially recognizes that ways must be found to address this growing problem without constraining freedom of speech and the press. The laws in European states vary, with some countries having the ability to prosecute and punish hate speech. Such laws may serve to articulate an important societal value, but even this can be undercut when the prosecution is arbitrary or infrequent or when punishment is minimal or long-delayed. Participants in Prague stressed the importance of political and community leaders responding loudly and swiftly as a way of fostering a taboo culture when it comes to anti-Semitism.

Holocaust Education

Holocaust education has long been identified as an important contribution to combating anti-Semitism, and it is among the commitments that Participating States made at the OSCE Berlin Conference in 2004. We should bear in mind that even where the subject is included in the secondary school curriculum, that still may mean only a day or less over the course of the school year. There are also special challenges when teaching the subject. Some students from immigrant Arab and Muslim communities have voiced resentment or sought to bring the Middle East conflict into the discussion, which draws attention away from the subject itself and subverts its intention. Some governments have recognized this problem and sought ways to address it. One notable example is a project in the Netherlands that teams young Jewish and Arab peer teachers to present the subject in public school classrooms with a particular focus on vocational school students. In Germany the House of the Wansee Conference has developed special teaching materials aimed at students of Turkish descent.

There are increasing calls to apply a “human rights focus” to Holocaust education, which in the process of drawing universal lessons may lose sight of the important particular one: This is where prejudice against Jews can lead. Recent efforts in some Eastern European countries to focus attention on the legacy of Communist oppression and to seek support for education and remembrance efforts have also caused confusion. Although a worthy endeavor in its own right, some proponents draw false equivalencies to the Holocaust.

Muslim-Jewish Relations

When the European Monitoring Centre (EUMC) conducted its survey on anti-Semitism in European Union countries in 2004, it learned that a new and growing source of anti-Semitic incidents could be traced to Arab and Muslim communities. This remains a matter of concern and is still reflected in the available data. In some cities or in some neighborhoods visibly identifiable Jews—i.e., those in Orthodox garb or wearing Jewish symbols—may be fearful of physical or verbal attack when they are on the streets. Enhanced security measures and more rapid and serious responses to complaints provide some relief to these problems. Some communities have helped foster Muslim-Jewish dialogues and cooperative projects. Although the actual numbers of individuals who participate in such activities may be small, they are symbolically important, and positive media coverage can help amplify their reach.

More and more countries are developing educational programs to promote tolerance and combat racism and xenophobia. By and large such efforts are commendable and reflect the goals established by the OSCE and ODIHR. But in conversations with European Jewish leaders there are also some warnings. Such general programs do not necessarily address the problems of anti-Semitism stemming from individuals who themselves may also be the victims of racism.

Demonization of Israel

It has become almost commonplace to find mainstream media coverage of the Middle East conflict particularly in Western Europe demonizing the State of Israel. It is manifest in news, in cartoons and in commentary. Some observers have described this as a new form of anti-Semitism, but it also contributes to prejudice against Jews who are seen as Israel’s friends, supporters or surrogates. We also see that the term “Zionist” is increasingly used in a pejorative way and frequently substitutes for “Jew” in written or oral discourse. This may at first appear to be accidental or just reflecting the growing tendency of conflating Jews and Israel in public rhetoric, while demeaning an honorable movement. But there may be more to it. French law, for example, has legal provisions for prosecuting certain hate speech directed at particular nationalities or ethnic groups. Thus, a verbal attack on “Jews” or a call to boycott “Israelis” could land someone in jail, but not so if the targets are “Zionists” which makes finding a solution to such changes in terminology particularly important. In 2005 the EUMC adopted a “working definition” of anti-Semitism, which offered examples of how anti-Semitism can manifest itself with regard to the State of Israel. It was endorsed by Parliamentary Conferences in London and Ottawa. The State Department Special Envoy has adopted it for her work and analysis. I share it and recommend its use when I travel in my OSCE capacity. But it still meets with some opposition including from the EUMC successor agency, and thus bears repeating wherever possible.

Security

Despite their small numbers, European Jewish communities have shouldered an outsized burden in providing security for their members and their institutions. From

the 1970s some have been—and remain—the targets of international terrorism. The corrosive impact of increased anti-Semitic rhetoric in more recent years has meant that synagogues, religious schools, community centers and cemeteries face physical attacks ranging from graffiti to arson. Community leaders in turn must decide how much of their limited resources can be diverted from educational and religious needs to provide for their own protection. At its essence it restricts the Jewish community's ability to exercise the full freedom of religious practice, a bedrock principle of the OSCE.

Governments approach this problem differently. Some have accepted the responsibility to assist, while others have not. During my country visit to Sweden in 2010 this problem was identified as a priority issue by the Jewish Community of Stockholm which was spending a quarter of its overall budget on security. In recent months the Swedish government has come forward with financial grants to assist the Jewish community to meet these security needs. It should be commended for this action, and I hope it will serve as a model for other states to follow.

The Banning of Ritual Slaughter

A growing number of countries have adopted laws which require the stunning of animals before they are slaughtered, thus effectively banning ritual (kosher) slaughter.

Jewish communities have adapted by importing kosher meat. But discussions of this topic during OSCE visits this year to the Netherlands (where a law is pending) and in Switzerland (where a ban was imposed over a century ago) reveal a more troubling situation. The Dutch legislation is spearheaded by animal rights advocates and has received support from nationalist MPs who may believe—mistakenly as it turns out—that this law would also prohibit *halal* meat. Meanwhile, Dutch Jewish leaders are cautious in marshaling arguments in opposition. They are reluctant to assert the basic principles of religious freedom, which they believe would not have popular appeal. Instead they look to expert testimony that maintains there is no conclusive scientific evidence proving one method is more humane than the other.

In Switzerland even government officials acknowledge that their law banning kosher slaughter, coming as it did in the wake of the Dreyfus trial in the 1890s, was anti-Semitic by intent. They say it is likely that an appeal to Swiss courts to overturn the law as a violation of religious freedom would succeed. But successive Jewish community leaders have decided not to do so. They long ago accommodated themselves to the ban with imported meat from France and believe that challenging it could generate an anti-Semitic backlash. Better then, to keep a low profile. This is understandable, but surely an outdated prescription for averting anti-Semitism.

Role of the OSCE and the Helsinki Commission

When the OSCE Permanent Council agreed to support a conference on anti-Semitism in June 2003, I am sure that some members imagined that this would be one event, one time and then attention could turn elsewhere. We remember how international declarations would frequently condemn a long litany of evils—"racism, xenophobia, prejudice, intolerance, racial discrimination, etc., etc."—without ever actually uttering the word "anti-Semitism." (It led one friend, a long-time senior staff member at the Council of Europe and a child survivor of the Holocaust to quip, "Anti-Semitism is always left to the 'et ceteras.'")

There has been significant progress in focusing the OSCE to address the problem of anti-Semitism and in educating people to its unique manifestations and its stubborn persistence. Monitors have generally recorded a decline in anti-Semitic incidents since early 2009, but we are still far, far higher than the baselines of previous years. We also know that turmoil in the Middle East could again trigger a new wave of incidents. And it is still far from clear what repercussions there might be if Europe's economic crisis still worsens.

The U.S. and the Helsinki Commission have been the primary driving force to keep the OSCE focused on the problem of anti-Semitism, a necessary and constant reminder that it is still with us and that it can always again turn deadly.

When Secretary of State Clinton and the U.S. Delegation take their seats at the OSCE Ministerial Meeting in Vilnius next week, I very much hope they will include this message in their remarks.

Ambassador Stephan Minikes

In closing let me also pay respects to Ambassador Steve Minikes who died earlier this autumn. He was the U.S. Ambassador to the OSCE during the critical period when we witnessed the resurgence in anti-Semitism in 2002. It was in significant measure due to his personal efforts that there was that first conference on anti-Semitism in 2003 and the following meetings in Berlin and Cordova, along with the various other measures that were adopted. Those of you here who worked with him

knew of his dedication. I still vividly recall one evening at his residence in Vienna early on in this process when he showed me a postcard sent to him by his grandmother sixty years ago. It was a brief note written in pencil telling her grandson that everything was fine. But the postmark belied the message. It was sent from Theresienstadt, and only a short time afterward she was deported to Auschwitz. I understood then why this effort was personal and not just one concern among many in an ambassador's portfolio. We have all benefited as a result, and he will be missed.

Rabbi Andrew Baker is Director of International Jewish Affairs for the American Jewish Committee. He has been a prominent figure in international efforts to combat anti-Semitism. In January 2009 he was first appointed the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism, and he was reappointed in 2010 and 2011.

He has played an active role in confronting the legacy of the Holocaust. He is a Vice President of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, the Jewish umbrella organization that has worked on restitution issues for half a century. In 2003 he was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit (First Class) by the President of Germany for his work in German-Jewish relations. He was a member of Government Commissions in both the Czech Republic and Slovakia that were established to address the claims of Holocaust Victims.

He was a founding member of the National Historical Commission of Lithuania and involved in restitution negotiations there. In 2006 the President of Lithuania presented him with the Officer's Cross of Merit for his work. For similar work he was awarded the Order of the Three Stars by the President of Latvia in 2007. He helped the Romanian Government establish a national commission to examine its Holocaust history and served as one of its founding members. For this work he was awarded the National Order of Merit (Commander) by the President of Romania in 2009.

Rabbi Baker directed AJC efforts in the development and construction of the Belzec Memorial and Museum, a joint project of the AJC and the Polish Government on the site of the former Nazi death camp in Southeastern Poland. In May 2006 he was appointed by the Prime Minister of Poland to a six year term on the International Auschwitz Council, the official governmental body that oversees the work of the Auschwitz State Museum.

A long-time resident of Washington, DC, Rabbi Baker has served as President of the Washington Board of Rabbis, President of the Interfaith Conference of Washington and Commissioner on the District of Columbia Human Rights Commission.

A native of Worcester, Massachusetts, Rabbi Baker received a B.A. from Wesleyan University and a Masters Degree and Rabbinic Ordination from Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City. He is the father of four children.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. SHIMON SAMUELS

Mr. Chairman,

I opened the European office of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Paris, in 1988, to focus on three challenges:

1) In Western Europe, the second religion demographically was already Islam—inter-faith outreach was necessary—as was the monitoring of incipient extremism.

2) tremors in Eastern Europe, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, signalled a neo-nationalism redolent of past phantoms—monitoring was required.

3) flea markets across Europe sold under the counter floppy disks of neo-Nazi games (for Amiga and Commodore 64 proto-computers)—hate would advance exponentially with that technology and had to be monitored.

By the Millennium, the year 2000: our first focus was now characterized by the Durban process, which in turn inspired a Jihadist antisemitism-terrorism nexus, with Middle East satellite television and website inculcation and recruitment in Europe.

The second focus was marked by the EU enlargement. In April 2004, a Warsaw welcome party focussed on the challenges facing the East European new members. I was invited to speak on antisemitism in the West and scapegoating in the East, the latter as a result of painful withdrawal from the central Soviet to the capitalist market economy. That same month, the OSCE Berlin Declaration on Antisemitism was enunciated, setting a new threshold of standards for the region.

I addressed the States Parties, noting that “You are the same nations we meet at Geneva in the UN Human Rights Commission (now Council). Yet, here, at the OSCE, the language is different, perhaps due to the absence of the tyrannies and NGO’s whose vested agenda is to perpetuate the Middle East conflict”.

I viewed the OSCE as the answer to the stultification of the UN system, even today exemplified only last week by the appointment of Syria to a human rights role in UNESCO.

What forms of antisemitism did the Berlin Declaration not foresee?

That which, at the 2010 Astana OSCE High-level Meeting, I called supercessionism. Just as the early Church first viewed itself as “Israel non in carne sed in spiritum” (not in the flesh but in the spirit), so today, we witness an identity theft of the Jewish narrative among several OSCE parties.

In Eastern Europe, the Baltics and Ukraine—a seemingly innocent conflation is made between the Holocaust and the atrocities of Stalin. It’s political instrument, “The Prague Declaration” seeks, through the European Parliament, to replace the 27 January “Holocaust Commemoration Day” (Auschwitz liberation day) with a “Double Genocide Day” on 23 August (which marks the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact that resulted in the 1939–1941 Soviet occupation of the countries concerned).

In Western Europe, the ongoing “Durban process” has redefined “Holocaust” as “Naqba” (the 1948 catastrophe of Israel’s birth); antisemitism according to Teheran University, “until 1948 victimized the Jew. Due to the victory of Zionism, since 1948 it targets the other Semite—the Arab. In Orwellian doublespeak, it concludes that ‘if antisemitism is Arabophobia then Zionism is antisemitism’”.

Add into the mix the terms “apartheid” and BDS (Boycott, Divestment, Sanction), which are misappropriated from South African victimology to castigate the State of Israel

The Norwegian Foreign Minister specialises in Holocaust imagery to depict the Palestinian predicament. He does not appreciate the dangerous consequences of his allusions for, if Gaza is Auschwitz, then Auschwitz is but a lie.

The antisemitic backlash in Europe to this historical gangrene, or gangreening of history, is to be exacerbated further via the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO. In that context, supercessionism aims to cut the Jewish link to the Holy Land.

The Cave of the Patriarchs and Rachel’s Tomb have been rebaptised as mosques. Now, laid out in the volume “Buraq Wall”—which I purchased at the Frankfurt Book Fair—Islam contends that Buraq, the winged-steed, carried Muhammad from Mecca, via Jerusalem, on a night flight pilgrimage to heaven and back. The mount was tethered during the stopover at the Wailing or Western Wall of the Temple Mount. Hence, “The Buraq Wall” calls Judaism’s holiest site: “a Jewish heresy of aggression against a Muslim heritage shrine”.

Last week, “Travel Palestine” (a film clip found on YouTube), funded by the UN Development Programme (UNDP), expunges all Jewish roots in the Holy Land.

Jews also have a trinity: the People, the Book, the Land. Eliminate one leg of the triangle, delete all.

Not perceived in the Berlin Declaration and even more dangerous, is the demonstration that “the enemy of the good is indifference”—there we encounter a new phase of antisemitism—

Ahmadinejad stated: “the Holocaust is a lie”, and was answered by a wave of international condemnation.

A little while later, he continued: “Wipe Israel off the Map”, this passed with muted indignation.

His repeated: “Jews are vermin, bacilli, a tumour” are met with fatigue.

By a numbing-effect, he tests the limits of Western timidity. Voila, the “antisemitism of indifference”.

This week, 5,000 Tahrir Square demonstrators in Cairo, screeching “Death to the Jews”, created no global expression of outrage.

The bar has been raised on antisemitism.

After eight assaults on the Rabbi of Malmo, Sweden—a community of 700 Jews and 70,000 Muslims—the Wiesenthal Centre during a visit in January 2011, imposed a “travel advisory” on the city. Our campaign resulted in the Swedish government finally subsidizing community security. Faced with the Mayor’s total indifference, the Rabbi was further subject to 15 assaults since our visit. Indeed, the Muslim community has now joined us in criticizing Malmo’s inattentiveness to hate-crimes.

Next month, January 20, we will mark the 70th anniversary of the Wannsee Protocol, which was drafted at a meeting of fifteen Nazi bureaucrats in Berlin, to coordinate the extermination of 11,000,000 Jews as the final solution of the Jewish question. I stress that the Protocol lists 11,000,000.

Six million were murdered—Eleven million were the intent.

I have always respected the power of water, 30 miles of British Channel saved my family and the 330,000 Jews of England on that list.

Today, 30 miles of Channel are as defensible as 3,000 miles of Atlantic waters. Zero! We are all tripwires criss-crossing the OSCE region.

Recently discovered documentation of Nazi Germany’s strategic designs on Persia’s oil wealth, includes a Wannsee-style memorandum of Adolf Eichmann, the architect of the Holocaust: Therein he consigns up to 100,000 Iranian Jews to extermination. The current President of Iran persists in his intentions to finish the job.

Simon Wiesenthal said, “what starts with the Jews never ends with them”. On the Venezuelan coast, Iran is building a Shahab-3 missile base with a range of 2,000 miles facing these United States.

Twice—in two World Wars—you have invoked the Monroe Doctrine to redress the balance of the Old World. Indeed, as we speak, under your inspiration, in Panama, the 28th General Assembly of the Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO) has adopted a Wiesenthal Centre drafted Resolution to Combat Antisemitism in the Americas: “Conspiracy Theories, Holocaust Denial and Delegitimization of the Jewish Sovereignty are Contributing Factors to Antisemitism.”

Mr. Chairman, through this Commission, which I consider an early-warning system, we call on the US government to maintain that balance in the OSCE region. For if antisemitism is indeed a benchmark, then this session must be replayed at a purpose-built High-Level OSCE meeting under the forthcoming Irish Presidency, perhaps to be called, “Berlin II: Stocktaking and Counteracting Antisemitism in the OSCE Region”.

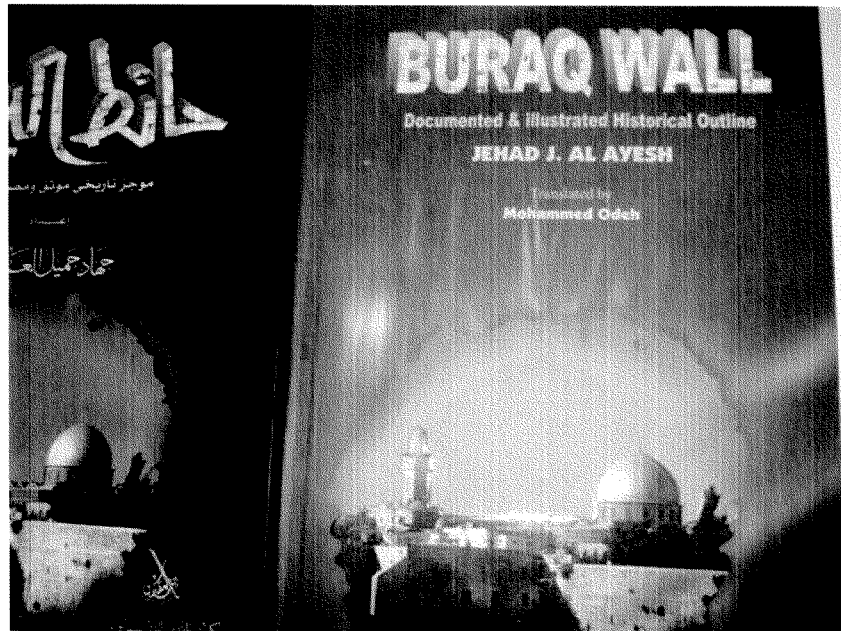
Thank you, Mr. Chairman,

Dr. Shimon Samuels was born in England. He came to Israel in 1963 and received a B.A. in Political Science and History from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, returning to England for his second degree, an M.Sc. (Econ.) in International Relations from the London School of Economics. He earned his doctorate in a combined program with the University of Pennsylvania and the Sorbonne, Paris, and then served as Deputy Director of the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at Hebrew University. Dr. Samuels then was appointed European Director of the Anti-Defamation League based in Paris, and later became Israel Director of the American Jewish Committee. He is the Director for International Liaison of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, based in Paris, and also serves as Honorary President of the Europe-Israel Forum.

BURAQ WALL

The Arab Publishers' Association, Hall 5.D 933 of the Frankfurt Book Fair, featured English and Arabic versions of "Buraq Wall: Documented and Illustrated Historical Outline" by Jihad J. Al Ayesh, Bait Al-Maqdis Documentary Center in Cairo, Gaza, Nablus and Nicosia, 2011.

"Buraq" refers to the "Wailing" or Western Wall of Solomon's Temple, Judaism's holiest site. This blatantly antisemitic screed claims that "Worshipping near the Wall is a new heresy in the religion of the Jews"(p.16); "Jewish subversive acts" (p.31); "Jewish aggressions to Judaize the Wall" (p.37); "Conclusion : Buraq Wall is the Property of Muslims (p.40).



L a n d	Zahl
A. Altreich	131.800
Ostmark	43.700
Ostgebiete	420.000
Generalgouvernement	2.284.000
Bialystok	400.000
Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren	74.200
Estland - judenfrei -	
Lettland	3.500
Litauen	34.000
Belgien	43.000
Dänemark	5.600
Frankreich / Besetztes Gebiet	165.000
Unbesetztes Gebiet	700.000
Griechenland	69.600
Niederlande	160.800
Norwegen	1.300
B. Bulgarien	48.000
England	330.000
Finnland	2.300
Irland	4.000
Italien einschl. Sardinien	58.000
Albanien	200
Kroatien	40.000
Portugal	3.000
Rumänien einschl. Bessarabien	342.000
Schweden	8.000
Schweiz	18.000
Serbien	10.000
Slowakei	88.000
Spanien	6.000
Türkei (europ. Teil)	55.500
Ungarn	742.800
UdSSR	5.000.000
Ukraine	2.994.684
Weißrußland aus-	
schl. Bialystok	446.484
Zusammen: über	11.000.000

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Top Secret !

30 copies
16th duplicate

Protocol of Conference

I. The following persons participated in the conference on the final solution [Endlösung] of the Jewish question held on January 20, 1942, in Berlin, Am Großen Wannsee No. 56-58:

Gauleiter Dr. Meyer and Permanent Secretary Dr. Leibbrandt	Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories
State Secretary Dr. Stuckart	Reich Ministry of the Interior
State Secretary Neumann	Plenipotentiary for the Four Year Plan
State Secretary Dr. Freisler	Reich Ministry of Justice
State Secretary Dr. Bühler	Office of the Governor General
Undersecretary of State Dr. Luther	Foreign Ministry
SS Oberführer Klopfer	Party Chancellery
Permanent Secretary Kritzinger	Reich Chancellery

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SS Gruppenführer Hofmann	Race and Settlement Main Office
SS Gruppenführer Müller SS Obersturmbannführer Eichmann	Reich Security Main Office
SS Oberführer Dr. Schöngarth Commander of the Security Police and the SD in the Government-General	Security Police and SD
SS Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange Commander of the Security Police and the SD in the General- bezirk Latvia as representative of the Commander of the Security Police and the SD for the Reichskommissariat for the Ostland	Security Policy and SD

II. SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich, Head of the Security Police and the SD, opened the meeting with the announcement that the Reich Marshal [Göring] had put him in charge of preparations for the final solution of the Jewish question. He noted that this conference had been called to clarify fundamental questions. The Reich Marshal's request that a draft be submitted to him regarding the organizational, technical and material aspects of the final solution of the Jewish question required prior joint consideration by all central agencies directly concerned with these problems in order to coordinate their subsequent course of action. [Translation corrected according to what Heydrich probably said. The original German sentence here is nonsense grammatically, literally stating that "prior all central agencies directly concerned with these problems have to be treated".].

The authority for directing the final solution of the Jewish question rests with the *Reichsführer-SS* and Chief of German Police [i.e. Himmler] (Head of the Security Police and the SD) [i.e. Heydrich], without regard to geographic boundaries.

The Head of the Security Police and the SD [Heydrich] then gave a brief review of the struggle conducted so far against this foe. The most important elements are:

- a) forcing the Jews out of the various spheres of life of the German people,
- b) forcing the Jews out of the German people's living space (*Lebensraum*).

In pursuance of these endeavors, an accelerated emigration of the Jews from the territory of the Reich was seen as the only temporary solution and was accordingly embarked upon in an intensified and systematic manner.

On instruction of the Reich Marshal [i.e. Göring], a Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was established in January 1939; its direction was entrusted to the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) [i.e. Heydrich]. Its particular tasks were:

- a) to take measures for the preparation of increased Jewish emigration,
- b) to direct the flow of emigration,
- c) to speed up the emigration process in individual cases.

The aim of this task was to purge German living space of Jews by legal means.

The disadvantages of such forced emigration methods were evident to all agencies concerned. Yet in the absence of other feasible solutions they had to be accepted for the time being. After a while, the handling of emigration was not merely a German problem but one that affected also the relevant authorities of the countries of destination.

Financial difficulties such as the increased surety immigrants had to show upon landing; higher landing fees that different foreign countries demanded; a lack of berths on ships, constantly increasing restrictions and bans on immigration, all of these impeded emigration efforts exceedingly. Yet despite these difficulties, roughly 537,000 Jews were compelled to emigrate between the [Nazi] seizure of power [January 30, 1933] and the fixed date of October 31, 1941. Of these,

- ca. 360,000 left the *Altreich* [Germany with its 1937 borders].
- ca. 147,000 left the *Ostmark* [Austria after March 15, 1938],
- ca. 30,000 left the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia [after March 15, 1939].

Emigration was financed by the Jews themselves or by Jewish political organizations. In order to make sure that the proletarianized Jews would not stay behind, it was determined that affluent Jews had to finance the emigration of Jews without means. Based on assessments of assets, an appropriate apportionment or an emigration tax was imposed on the former in order to pay for all financial obligations impecunious Jews had incurred in the course of their emigration.

In addition to this levy in Reichsmarks, foreign currency was required as security to be presented upon arrival abroad and as landing fees. In order to conserve the German holdings of foreign currency, Jewish financial institutions abroad were called upon by Jewish organizations in this country to make sure that the required sums in foreign currency were supplied. Up to October 30, 1941, a total of about \$ 9,500,000 all told was provided in this way as gifts by these foreign Jews. In the meantime, the *Reichsführer-SS* and Head of the German Police [i.e. Himmler] has forbidden any further emigration of Jews in view of the dangers posed by emigration in wartime and the looming possibilities in the East.

III. As a further possible solution, and with the appropriate prior authorization by the *Führer*, emigration has now been replaced by evacuation to the East. This operation should be regarded only as a provisional option, though in view of the coming final solution of the Jewish question it is already supplying practical experience of vital importance.

In connection with this final solution of the Jewish question, roughly eleven million Jews will have to be taken into consideration. They are distributed over the individual countries as follows:

Country		Number of Jews
A.	Altreich	131,800
	Ostmark	43,700
	Eastern Territories	420,000
	Government-General	2,284,000
	Bialystok	400,000
	Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia	74,200
	Estonia - free of Jews -	
	Latvia	3,500
	Lithuania	34,000
	Belgium	43,000
	Denmark	5,600
	France / Occupied territory	165,000
	Unoccupied territory	700,000
	Greece	69,600
	Netherlands	160,800
	Norway	1,300
B.	Bulgaria	48,000
	England	330,000
	Finland	2,300
	Ireland	4,000
	Italy, incl. Sardinia	58,000
	Albania	200
	Croatia	40,000
	Portugal	3,000
	Romania, incl. Bessarabia	342,000
	Sweden	8,000
	Switzerland	18,000
	Serbia	10,000
	Slovakia	88,000
	Spain	6,000
	Turkey (in Europe)	55,500
	Hungary	742,800
	USSR	5,000,000
	Ukraine	2,994,684
	Belorussia, with- out Bialystok	446,484
Total: over		11,000,000

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The figures of Jews in the different countries listed here, however, pertain only to those who are of Jewish faith (*Glaubensjuden*) as definitions of Jews along racial lines are in part still lacking there. Given the prevailing attitudes and conceptions, in particular in Hungary and Romania, the handling of the problem in the individual countries will encounter certain difficulties. For instance, a Jew in Romania even today can still buy for cash the appropriate documents that certify officially that he is of foreign nationality.

The influence that Jews exert everywhere in the USSR is well known. In the European part of Russia live approximately five million Jews; in the Asian part barely a quarter of a million.

The occupational distribution of Jews living in the European part of the USSR was approximately as follows:

Agriculture	9.1%
Urban workers	14.8%
Trade	20.0%
State employees	23.4%
Professions - medicine, press, theater, etc	32.7%

In the course of the final solution and under appropriate direction, the Jews are to be utilized for work in the East in a suitable manner. In large labor columns and separated by sexes, Jews capable of working will be dispatched to these regions to build roads, and in the process a large number of them will undoubtedly drop out by way of natural attrition.

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Those who ultimately should possibly get by will have to be given suitable treatment because they unquestionably represent the most resistant segments and therefore constitute a natural elite that, if allowed to go free, would turn into a germ cell of renewed Jewish revival. (Witness the experience of history.)

In the course of the practical implementation of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from West to East. Priority will have to be given to the area of the Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, if only because of housing shortages and other sociopolitical needs.

The evacuated Jews will first be taken, group after group, to so-called transit ghettos from where they will be transported further to the East.

As SS-Lieutenant General (*Obergruppenführer*) Heydrich pointed out in addition, one important prerequisite for carrying out the evacuation at all will be the precise designation of all persons to be involved.

The intention is not to evacuate Jews over the age of 65 but to send them to an old people's ghetto Theresienstadt has been earmarked for this purpose.

In addition to these age groups - and of the 280,000 Jews who lived in the *Altreich* and the *Ostmark* on October 1, 1941, some 30% are over 65 - the old people's ghetto will also receive Jews with war injuries and Jews with war decorations (EK I) [Iron Cross First Class]. With this

convenient solution the many intercessions [for exemptions from deportation to the East] will be eliminated at one blow.

The onset of the individual major evacuation moves will largely depend on military developments. In regard to the manner in which the final solution will be carried out in those European territories which we now either occupy or influence it has been suggested that the pertinent specialists in the Foreign Office should confer with the appropriate official of the Security Police and the SD [Security Service].

In Slovakia and Croatia the situation is no longer all that difficult since the essential key questions there have already been resolved. In the meantime the Romanian government has likewise appointed a plenipotentiary for Jewish affairs. In order to settle the matter in Hungary it will soon be necessary to impose upon the Hungarian government an adviser on Jewish questions.

With regard to the beginning of preparations for a settlement of this problem in Italy, SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich considers it advisable to establish contact about these concerns with the chief of police.

In occupied and unoccupied France, the collection of Jews for evacuation will in all probability proceed without major difficulties. Undersecretary of State Luther commented in this connection that the far-reaching treatment of this problem will cause difficulties in some countries, notably the Nordic states. Therefore he would recommend to defer the matter in these countries for the time being.

In view of the insignificant number of Jews involved there, such a postponement would in any case not amount to a substantial restriction.

On the other hand, the Foreign Office visualizes no major difficulties in southeastern and western Europe.

SS Major General [*Gruppenführer*] Hofmann voiced his intention to send to Hungary a specialist from the Race and Settlement Main Office for general orientation whenever the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) gets ready to tackle the matter over there. It was resolved that this specialist -- who is not to become actively involved -- be officially seconded, on a temporary basis, as an assistant to the Police Attaché.

IV. During the implementation of the plan for the final solution its basis, as it were, should be the Nuremberg Laws, whereby the solution of the problem of mixed marriages [*Mischehen*] and mixed parentage [*Mischlinge*] must likewise be a prerequisite for the definitive settlement of the questions.

With reference to a letter from the Head of the Reich Chancellery, the Head of the Security Police and the Security Service (SD) thereupon discussed -- for the moment still theoretically -- the following issues:

1) Treatment of first-degree *Mischlinge*

First-degree *Mischlinge* will be treated like Jews in regard to the final solution of the Jewish question.

The following will be exempt from this treatment:

- a) First-degree *Mischlinge* married to spouses of pure German blood from whose marriages children were born (second-degree *Mischlinge*). These second-degree *Mischlinge* are essentially given equal status with Germans.
- b) First-degree *Mischlinge* for whom the highest authorities of party and state have temporarily granted special exceptions in some selected spheres of life. Each individual case must be checked, whereby the possibility cannot be ruled out that the new decision arrived at may be to the *Mischling's* disadvantage.

Prerequisites for any special exception must always be the fundamental services rendered by the *Mischling* in question himself. (The merits of the German blooded parent or marriage partner do not count).

Any first-degree *Mischling* to be exempted from evacuation will be sterilized in order to prevent any progeny and to settle the *Mischling* problem once and for all. Sterilization will be voluntary, but it is the precondition for remaining in the Reich. The sterilized *Mischling* will henceforth be exempt from all restrictive regulations to which he was previously subjected.

2) Treatment of second-degree *Mischlinge*

Second-degree *Mischlinge* will on principle be given equal status with persons of German blood except in the following instances when second-degree *Mischlinge* will be considered equivalent to Jews:

- a) The second-degree *Mischling* is the descendent of a bastard marriage (both spouses being *Mischlinge*).
- b) The racial appearance of a second-degree *Mischling* is particularly unfavorable in which case he will be classed with the Jews purely on the basis of his looks.
- c) A particularly negative police and political assessment of the second-degree *Mischling*, indicating that he feels and behaves like a Jew.

And even if such a second-degree *Mischling* should be married to a person of German blood, no exceptions are to be made in cases like these.

3) Marriages between full Jews and persons of German blood

Here it must be decided from case to case whether the Jewish spouse should be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto in consideration of the effect which such a measure might have on the German relatives of the mixed-marriage partners.

4) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and persons of German blood

- a) No children.

If the marriage has remained childless, the first-degree *Mischling* will be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto. (The same treatment as in marriages between full Jews and persons of German blood; [see above,] Article 3).

b) With children

If children have resulted from the marriage (second degree *Mischlinge*), they will, if they are to be treated as Jews, be evacuated or sent to a ghetto along with the first degree *Mischling*. If these children are to be treated as Germans (regular cases), they are exempted from evacuation as is therefore the parent of first degree *Mischling*.

5) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and first-degree *Mischlinge* or Jews.

In these marriages, all parties (including children) will be treated as Jews and therefore be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto.

6) Marriages between first-degree *Mischlinge* and second-degree *Mischlinge*

Both marriage partners will be evacuated or sent to an old-people's ghetto, regardless of whether they have children or not, because as a rule children of such marriages have, racially speaking, more pronounced Jewish features than do second-degree *Mischlinge*.

SS Major General [*Gruppenführer*] Hofmann takes the view that extensive use must be made of sterilization, notably because once the *Misch-*

ling, faces the choice between evacuation and sterilization, he will prefer to be sterilized.

State Secretary Dr. Stuckart noted that the actual implementation of the possible solutions regarding mixed marriages and *Mischling* questions just discussed would, in this form, constitute endless administrative work. And in order to take into account the biological aspects involved as well, State Secretary Stuckart suggested that forced sterilization be embarked upon.

To simplify the problem of mixed marriages, further possible solutions should be considered with the objective, for instance, of the legislative body simply ruling: "these marriages are dissolved."

State Secretary Neumann stated in regard to the question of how the evacuation of the Jews will effect the economy that Jews now working in essential war industries cannot be evacuated as long as there are no replacements for them.

SS Lieutenant General [*Obergruppenführer*] Heydrich thereupon pointed out that on the basis of the guidelines for the implementation of the currently proceeding evacuations previously approved by him, these Jews would not be evacuated anyway.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler declared that the *Generalgouvernement* would welcome it if the final solution of this question would begin in the Generalgouvernement first because the transportation problem was no overriding factor there,

and because considerations of labor utilization would not impede the course of this action. Jews should be removed from the territory of the *Generalgouvernement* as speedily as possible because precisely there the Jews constitute a significant danger as carriers of epidemics. In addition, they were constantly upsetting the economic structure of the region through ceaseless black market activities. Moreover, the majority of the 2 1/2 million Jews in question were anyhow unfit for work.

State Secretary Dr. Bühler noted further that the Head of Security Police and SD [Security Service] was in charge of the final solution of the Jewish question in the *Generalgouvernement*, and that the administrative agencies of the *Generalgouvernement* would assist him in his work. He had only one favor to ask: that the Jewish question in this territory be resolved as fast as possible.

In conclusion there was a discussion about the various types of possible solutions. Here *Gauleiter* Dr. Meyer and State Secretary Dr. Bühler both took the position that in connection with the final solution certain preparatory measures be carried out in the occupied territories at once, but in such a way that the population there would not become apprehensive.

The Head of Security Police and SD [Heydrich] terminated the conference with the request that all participants in today's deliberations give him their cooperation in implementing the tasks connected with the solution.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARK B. LEVIN

Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Senator Cardin, and Members of the Commission. My name is Mark Levin. I am the Executive Director of *NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia*. Since 1971, we have represented nearly 50 national Jewish organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith International, Hadassah, and AIPAC, and hundreds of local Jewish community councils, committees, and Federations across the country, including a number partnering with the OSCE.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome today's hearing on combating anti-Semitism. NCSJ has worked closely on this important issue for 40 years with officials and organizations in the United States, Europe, and the former Soviet Union, including OSCE.

This is a good time to reflect on progress made on this issue. Seven years have passed since the Second OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism in Berlin condemned all acts motivated by anti-Semitism and required participating states to take specific and practical countermeasures. Since then, we have seen an uneven response in the area that we cover: the former Soviet Union.

I would like to give a brief overview of current anti-Semitism across the former Soviet states. Official, state-sponsored anti-Semitism is virtually non-existent, but popular anti-Semitism, both non-violent and violent, appears to be on the rise, and official response across the region has been inconsistent. Much has been done by national governments, but more work remains. My remarks will focus on Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and the Baltic states, traditional centers of Jewish life in the former USSR.

I'll start with Russia, home to the world's fourth-largest Jewish community. Russians and Russian Jews share a long and complex history that includes both official and popular anti-Semitism. Since the last two mass emigrations in the 1970s and the 1990s, Jewish emigration from Russia has leveled off, and we have welcomed a renaissance of Jewish communities across Russia. The Russian Jewish community's relationship with the current Russian government under both Putin and Medvedev has been generally good and often better than the historical norm. However, we remain concerned both by the rise of popular anti-Semitism in Russia and by the inconsistent official response to this movement.

Anti-Semitism in Russia today is most often political and street-level, and increasingly features a rising number of attacks by young skinheads and nationalists. Incidents most often involve vandalism against and firebomb attacks on synagogues, cemeteries, and Jewish community centers, but have also included outright physical assaults on Jews and attempted bombings of Jewish buildings.

More alarming is the fact that Russian human rights monitoring groups have reported a steady rise over the last ten years in the number of overall attacks by skinheads and extremists on minorities, migrant workers, and foreigners across Russia. Leading Russian human rights groups estimate that Russian far-right extremists now number in the tens of thousands, and warn that nationalist movements are gaining strength across Russia. A Russian nationalist riot took place in central Moscow next to the Kremlin itself just one year ago, on December 11, 2010, and massive and widespread Russian nationalist rallies on Hitler's birthday on April 20th have become annual events.

We are concerned by the strong potential for violence, including anti-Semitic violence, inherent in this movement, and urge the Russian government to strengthen its enforcement of existing commitments, including to the OSCE Charter, and to take stronger legal action against incitement of racial hatred and overt calls for violence.

The Russian government has publicly denounced nationalist ideology and expressed support for legal action against anti-Semitic acts, but follow-through has been uneven. Some anti-Semitic attacks in recent years have in fact been successfully prosecuted as hate crimes, but many others continue to be dismissed as mere "hooliganism" or random violence. NCSJ will continue to engage the Russian government on this issue, and will continue to press for expanded prosecution of hate crimes against Jews and other targeted minorities in Russia, for enactment of more effective hate crime and hate speech legislation by Russian authorities, and for expansion of training programs to give Russian law enforcement the know-how to confront violent extremists.

I next turn to Ukraine, home to another vibrant Jewish community, the second largest in the former Soviet Union. Although popular anti-Semitism has persisted in recent years, the Ukrainian government has demonstrated a strong commitment to combating this trend, and has in fact achieved some successes.

Anti-Semitic vandalism and other incidents occur regularly, and have included physical assaults on Ukrainian Jews and visiting Israelis with at least two known

fatalities, as well as firebomb attacks on and vandalism of synagogues and monuments, cemetery desecrations, and publication and distribution of anti-Semitic literature and leaflets. Inconsistent official response to many of these attacks showcases the reluctance of some local officials to prosecute racist and anti-Semitic crimes in Ukraine. Several prominent public figures, including Ukrainian parliamentarians and independent candidates for President, have also voiced anti-Semitic views in public venues in recent years.

A positive step in Ukraine's fight against anti-Semitism has been the marginalization of the Interregional Academy of Personnel Management, better known by its Ukrainian acronym, MAUP. This is Ukraine's largest private university, with over 50,000 students and many campuses. Until recently, it was also one of the leading purveyors of anti-Semitic and xenophobic material in Ukraine, publishing a large volume of virulent anti-Semitic publications, and inviting white supremacist and former KKK leader David Duke to lecture at the university. Starting in 2006/2007, the Ukrainian government began to take concerted action against MAUP, in part due to the rising concern shown by the international community, including by NCSJ. I am happy to report that both MAUP's influence and anti-Semitic output seem to have been halted in recent years, a clear victory for the Ukrainian government and for international human rights organizations.

Similarly, the Ukrainian government in 2011 has moved to toughen punishments for anti-Semitic acts, and has stepped up security for the annual pilgrimage by thousands of Hassidic Jews to Jewish sites for the High Holidays. Earlier, during President Yushchenko's administration, Ukraine's Security Service created a Special Operative Unit on Fighting Xenophobia, and the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry created the office of Special Ambassador on Racism, Xenophobia, and Discrimination. Likewise, deputies in the Ukrainian parliament introduced bills designed to punish hate crimes and displays of racial and religious intolerance, although actual implementation of this legislation has been slow. We welcome these efforts by Ukrainian authorities to recognize and confront the problems of extremism and anti-Semitism, and continue to work with the current government to build on this foundation and make progress on these issues.

I next turn to Moldova, home to an estimated 30,000 Jews, but once hosting a much larger community that has been significantly reduced by the Holocaust and, more recently, by high rates of emigration. As in Russia and Ukraine, Moldova's Jewish community has been reborn in the last twenty years, with synagogues, schools, and community centers opening across the country. However, popular anti-Semitism continues there today, despite the government's condemnation of racial and religious intolerance.

Jewish cemeteries and buildings have been vandalized, and Moldovan and Romanian nationalists regularly make anti-Semitic statements. Two years ago, in December 2009, a radical Orthodox priest led his congregants to tear down a menorah on public display in the capital city of Chisinau during Hanukkah, in a particularly egregious example of intolerance. He was later charged with a misdemeanor and was fined a small amount.

The Moldovan government officially condemns anti-Semitism and has taken steps to combat it, including supporting Holocaust education in local schools and partnering with Jewish groups from Moldova and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. NCSJ will continue working with the Moldovan government to craft a more systematic approach to combating anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism is an especially complex issue in Belarus. Once at the center of Eastern European Jewry, the Belarusian Jewish community today numbers no more than 70,000. As in neighboring Ukraine and Russia, Belarusian Jews today have access to a wide range of religious, educational, and community resources and organizations. Belarus is also home to the only official Soviet-era Holocaust memorial in the former USSR, dedicated in 1946.

Incidents of popular anti-Semitism, such as vandalism of synagogues and community buildings and cemetery and monument desecrations, have occurred. Openly anti-Semitic publications have also appeared in recent years, in local newspapers and in books published by local publishing houses affiliated with the Minsk Orthodox Diocese.

Belarusian authorities have often shown themselves unresponsive to official complaints against anti-Semitic hate literature, and have inconsistently investigated or prosecuted perpetrators of anti-Semitic actions.

President Lukashenko himself has made on the record anti-Semitic comments in the recent past, and members of his administration have published openly anti-Semitic books and articles. However, relations between the Belarus Jewish community and the Belarusian government are generally stable despite evidence of periodic official involvement in popular anti-Semitism and official

support for policies insensitive toward Jews and other minorities. Since Belarus is a signatory to OSCE commitments, NCSJ will continue to engage the government in an attempt to promote a more positive official attitude towards religious and ethnic tolerance in that country. I note that instances of productive cooperation with local officials have been possible on the ground in Belarus in recent years, and we hope to build on these successes.

Finally, I would like to address the situation with regard to anti-Semitism in the Baltic states. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are the most Westernized of the former Soviet states, and are to date the only post-Soviet countries accepted into NATO and the European Union. Despite this impressive achievement and despite the small size of their native Jewish communities—approximately 20,000 members in all three states—we have seen anti-Semitic episodes there as well. Especially in Latvia and Estonia, local nationalists and veterans of World War II-era Nazi-sponsored auxiliary units continue to generate anti-Semitic hate speech and stage annual marches with anti-Semitic and Nazi displays. The Prime Minister of Latvia stated last month that any member of his government attending these annual marches of Waffen SS veterans would be fired, which, while commendable, also highlights the persistence of these difficult World War II-era divisions in Baltic society.

Perhaps most disturbing has been the shameful prosecution in recent years by Lithuanian authorities of several aged Jewish Holocaust survivors for their wartime anti-Nazi resistance activities as somehow anti-Lithuanian. Although it appears that prosecutors are no longer actively pursuing a case against these individuals, the instigation of their prosecution certainly sent a troubling signal.

NCSJ and other leading Jewish organizations have maintained a steady, productive dialogue with Baltic officials on these issues of concern. We will continue to press for their resolution, and for the governments to address issues such as community restitution and Holocaust education.

Mr. Chairman, the fight against anti-Semitism in the former Soviet Union today presents a complex picture, with both bright and dark spots, and requires a careful and calibrated approach. Unfortunately, anti-Semitic incidents continue across the region, and official response to these hate crimes is too often inconsistent. At the same time, all governments in the region officially oppose anti-Semitism, and local Jewish communities are in general far better organized, resourced, and internationally connected than at any time in the recent past.

I would like to offer the following recommendations to all the governments in the former Soviet Union, in the spirit of the 2004 OSCE Berlin Declaration. All countries must:

1) *Strongly condemn hate*: Incidents of anti-Semitism, political and religious leaders that polarize society, and media outlets which propagate intolerance, must be strongly condemned to send a clear message that incitement to and acts of ethnic, religious, and racial hatred will not be tolerated;

2) *Enact adequate hate crimes legislation*: To create an environment in which Jews and other minorities can live without fear, the successor states must enact hate crime and hate speech legislation and enforce existing laws for all citizens, including elected officials;

3) *Train local law enforcement*: To properly combat anti-Semitism and extremism, government must empower local police forces. Police must be able to delineate between ordinary hooliganism and a crime motivated by bias or hate. A well-trained police force will better follow through on hate crime enforcement and investigations, leading to an increase in prosecutions, data collections, and dealing more sensitively with victims;

4) *Monitor and catalogue incidents*: Cataloguing and reporting anti-Semitic, xenophobic and bias-motivated activities enables prompt condemnation of such acts, increasing the chances that perpetrators will be apprehended swiftly.

5) *Implement region-wide programs on interethnic understanding and Holocaust education*: This is the most effective way to combat the roots of popular or “street” anti-Semitism. Teaching children the values of tolerance and basic human rights from a very young age begins to stop the perpetuation of ignorance and negative stereotypes of Jews and other minorities.

6) *Reform the message of religious and media outlets throughout the region*: Beyond the classroom and the government, the two other major sources of information in the FSU are the media and places of worship. Governments and non-governmental organizations need to work with leaders of these religious institutions and the editors of media outlets to ensure that they will spread a message of tolerance.

NCSJ will keep engaging governments throughout this region strongly and persistently on these and other problematic areas in the human rights field. We will

continue to make our position known in the United States, in the former Soviet Union, and in international fora.

NCSJ and our member organizations are working hard to support the ongoing revival of former Soviet Jewish communities, and we look forward to continuing to work with Congress and the OSCE on these vital issues.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity and for the good work of this organization.

Mark B. Levin, Executive Director of NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia since 1992, is one of the organized Jewish community's leading experts on national and international political and legislative issues. Mr. Levin travels extensively throughout the former Soviet region on a frequent basis.

In 2008, Mr. Levin received the Soviet Jewry Freedom Award from the Russian Jewish Community Foundation, and the Order of Merit medal from Ukraine President Viktor Yushchenko. In 2006, Mr. Levin was honored for 25 years of distinguished service with NCSJ.

Mr. Levin has served three times as a Public Member of the U.S. Delegation to meetings of the Organization on Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and served as a Public Advisor for the U.S. Delegation to the 2004 Berlin Conference on Anti-Semitism. He has also represented NCSJ at Democratic and Republican National Conventions since 1980.

Mr. Levin made his first trip to Russia in 1982, leading a Congressional delegation to meet with Soviet officials and Jewish activists. He organized the first International Parliamentary Spouses for Soviet Jews Conference in Washington, D.C. Mr. Levin was instrumental in creating the Congressional Coalition for Soviet Jews—one of the largest Congressional caucuses ever formed.

In 1987, as a member of the Summit Task Force, Mr. Levin was a key figure in organizing the Washington Mobilization on behalf of Soviet Jews which brought more than 250,000 people to the nation's capital on for the December 6 "Freedom Sunday" rally. In 2002, he again worked closely with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and other NCSJ member agencies to organize the massive April 15 "National Rally for Israel."

From 1987 to 1989, Mr. Levin served as Director of the NCSJ's Washington office. He has been a member of the organization's professional staff since 1980. Prior to coming to NCSJ, he worked for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Mr. Levin is a graduate of the University of Maryland.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ERIC FUSFIELD

Mr. Chairman,

I would like to thank you for the privilege and honor of addressing the Commission on behalf of B'nai B'rith International and its more than 200,000 members and supporters in over 50 countries, including many states in the OSCE region. B'nai B'rith would like to thank Chairman Smith, Co-Chairman Cardin, and the other Commissioners for convening this hearing and for their strong leadership in addressing the serious problem of anti-Semitism.

It has been 11 years since the outbreak of the second intifada in the Middle East and, subsequently, the start of a new wave of anti-Semitism throughout the OSCE region and around the world. This spread of hatred has resulted not only in widespread attacks against Jewish communities, but in a proliferation of anti-Semitic propaganda, much of which is directed against the State of Israel.

Tragically, the demonization and delegitimization of the Jewish state has become a daily occurrence, as Israel's enemies repeatedly accuse it of being a Nazi-like occupier and an apartheid state that disenfranchises the Palestinians. Falsehoods about Israel are repeated so often that they become widely accepted in the popular culture and sometimes impact government policy. The effort by Israel's relentless critics to denigrate the Jewish state is not only evidence that anti-Semitism is alive and well 66 years after the Holocaust—this new variation of the world's oldest social illness actually poses a security threat to the Jewish state by intensifying its international isolation.

Over the past decade, the OSCE has taken up the urgent struggle against rising anti-Semitism. High-level conferences in Vienna in 2003 and Berlin in 2004, as well as later conferences in Cordoba, Bucharest, Astana, and Prague have focused a needed spotlight on this and other forms of intolerance. One can feel encouraged by the many positive developments that have resulted from these gatherings, even though much more work remains to be done.

The historic 2004 Berlin Declaration, which provided a series of important recommendations for governments to follow in combating anti-Semitism, specifically addressed the growing problem of anti-Semitic attacks being committed by opponents of Israel's policies. The passage stating that "international developments or political issues, including those in Israel or elsewhere in the Middle East, never justify anti-Semitism" still represents a crucial stance by the OSCE against attempts by opponents of Jews or Israel to rationalize their hatred.

Permanent Council Decision No. 607, which preceded the Berlin Conference, and Ministerial Decisions Nos. 12-04 and 10-05, which followed it, represent vital affirmations of the OSCE's commitment to fight anti-Semitism and related forms of racism and xenophobia. That pact has been bolstered by the creation of ODIHR's indispensable tolerance and non-discrimination unit, which carries out this important work each day and which includes an expert advisor on anti-Semitism, and by the appointment of the Chairman-in-Office's three personal representatives on combating intolerance.

While much has been done to fight anti-Semitism in the past decade, much work remains. The need for practical and effective strategies to combat and defeat this pathology is still crucial. To this end,

- The OSCE's Ministerial Council should formalize the scheduling of conferences on anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance at regular intervals. Over the next few years, we will have opportunities to mark the 10th anniversaries of landmark OSCE conference in Vienna, Berlin, and Cordoba. By scheduling review conferences at the appropriate intervals, we can take advantage of these anniversaries by challenging OSCE member-states to follow through on their commitments.
- We should widely promote, within the OSCE, the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency's comprehensive working definition of anti-Semitism. This document, whose principles have also been adopted by the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, is tremendously useful in identifying current manifestations of anti-Semitism to those who might not otherwise recognize them. It should be disseminated as widely as possible among public officials, educators, and journalists, among others.
- We must enhance the funding for ODIHR's Tolerance and Non-Discrimination unit, which has now become a fixed and integral part of the OSCE's work. We must enable the TND unit to sustain and expand its critical activities, which currently include educational programs on anti-Semitism in 14 countries. At least two more countries may soon be added to that list. TND would like to adapt those materials to an online format to make them more readily accessible, but this will require increased support from member-states.

- Security for Jewish communities must be enhanced. In some cases additional money has been allocated to make this possible. But even where funding is not available, much can be done through the exchange of best practices, facilitated by the OSCE.
- The U.S. has a critical role to play in ensuring that the OSCE maintains its focus on anti-Semitism as a distinct phenomenon, even as some of the remedies used to address anti-Semitism may have broader application. I hope that Secretary of State Clinton will attend the OSCE Ministerial Conference in Vilnius next week, as expected, and that when she does she will specifically reference the problem of anti-Semitism and the importance of the work of the three Personal Representatives and ODIHR's Tolerance and Non-Discrimination unit. Her doing so will illustrate the importance of keep attention focused on anti-Semitism at the highest levels.
- We must extend, for the foreseeable future, the terms of the three personal representatives on intolerance.
- Member-states must fulfill their reporting requirements with respect to hate crimes data. Fewer than 20 governments have done so until now.
- Finally, we must strongly reinforce the crucial principle declared at the Berlin Conference—That no political position, cause or grievance can ever justify anti-Semitism—and make clear that the demonization and delegitimization of the Jewish state is often none other than a pretext for the hatred of Jews themselves.

Among the many recommendations and commitments by OSCE member-states that remained to be adequately implemented are government support for anti-hate programs; assistance in facilitating the prosecution of anti-Semitic crimes; and the promotion of academic exchange and educational programs. Furthermore, there must be follow-up in the areas of legislation; law enforcement; education; media; and general monitoring of anti-Semitic hate crimes. Progress in these spheres will require a continuation of the collaborative effort of friendly countries and NGOs in order for the promise of Berlin to be realized in a serious way. Education ministers and justice ministers, for example, should regularly meet in multilateral forums to develop an ongoing form of cooperation on matters related to anti-Semitism and hate crimes. And as OSCE member-states create legislation, they should increasingly call on the experience of NGOs to assist them in this effort.

U.S. lawmakers have provided important leadership in these areas and their ongoing efforts should be strongly encouraged. The fact that we are joined at this hearing today by a U.S. Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Anti-Semitism is a positive result of the passage by Congress of the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2004, which requires the State Department to report on acts of anti-Semitism around the world. Hannah Rosenthal is to be commended for her outstanding work in this post; Chairman Smith, Co-Chairman Cardin, and Representative Hastings should also be commended for their substantial contributions to the cause of combating global anti-Semitism through their participation in the OSCE process.

Another significant development in this country occurred last year when the Department of Education issued a directive effectively applying Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the protection of Jewish students from anti-Semitism on campuses. This sent an important signal that some forms of even Constitutionally protected speech can amount to harassment and, when they do, the rights of the victims must be safeguarded. This action came at a time when Jewish students in this country are facing increased hostility related to virulent anti-Israel activism on university campuses; too often, the response from administrators and educators has been mere passivity.

Last summer I had the opportunity to travel to Oslo with representatives of the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. In a meeting with leading Norwegian journalists, I confronted the editor of the daily paper *Dagbladet* with an editorial cartoon he had published depicting former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert as a concentration camp guard. His response was that the cartoon provoked a healthy public debate. Three months later, he ran a second piece by the same cartoonist, this one depicting Gaza as an Israeli-run concentration camp. When asked in an interview why he had used the flawed and inherently anti-Semitic Nazi analogy, the cartoonist replied, "Because I think it fits."

Mr. Chairman, I think of my eight-month-old son Emanuel and imagine that he will graduate from college around the time that we mark the 100th anniversary of the start of the Holocaust. With very few Holocaust survivors likely to be alive then, and with the lessons of history that much more faded, how much more difficult will it be for his generation to prevent such misuses of the Holocaust analogy and to

promote an understanding that these distortions intensify the isolation of the Jewish state and undermine the security of the Jewish people?

The implacability of the cartoonist and his editor is an unsettling reminder of the problem we continue to face and an illustration of why Elie Wiesel has described anti-Semitism as “the world’s most durable ideology.” As we gauge the OSCE’s progress in the struggle against anti-Semitism, we can draw reassurance from the positive accomplishment of the past eight years, even as we commit ourselves to sustaining and intensifying our focus.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for your unstinting commitment to this issue. B’nai B’rith pledges its ongoing cooperation as we all confront the challenge of combating anti-Semitism together. The history of European Jewry in the past century is a tragic one. Let us be mindful of that history; let us speak out; let us use our influence; and let us act now. History demands nothing less from us.

Eric Fusfield has served as Deputy Director of the B’nai B’rith Center for Human Rights and Public Policy since 2007 and as Director of Legislative Affairs for B’nai B’rith International since 2003. He is responsible for B’nai B’rith’s policy advocacy and government relations, including formulating and promoting B’nai B’rith’s agenda on Capitol Hill and representing the agency before Congress, the Executive branch, foreign governments, and international organizations. He also helps oversee B’nai B’rith’s public policy operations in Washington, New York, Brussels, and its other offices abroad. He has met with numerous heads of government, foreign ministers, and ambassadors; has frequently been interviewed by radio programs and print publications; has testified before several government bodies in the United States and abroad; and has spoken at many conferences and other public events.

Mr. Fusfield previously served as Assistant Director of European Affairs for the American Jewish Committee for five years. The international programs he coordinated in the agency’s Washington, D.C. office involved diplomatic advocacy; outreach to international Jewish communities; research and analysis; and development of exchange programs. An attorney formerly in private practice, he holds degrees from Columbia University (B.A. in History), Oxford University (M.St. in Modern Jewish Studies), and American University (J.D./M.A. in Law and International Affairs). He also has studied in Sweden, Israel, and France. He has worked for several different law firms and Jewish organizations in Washington, and has written articles for various publications.

Mr. Fusfield was born in Hamburg, Germany and raised in the Washington, D.C. area, where he still lives. In 1999 he was awarded a Nahum Goldman Fellowship by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and in 2005 was named a Young Leader by the Atlantik Bruecke Institute of Germany. He is a former President of Beth El House, Inc., a non-profit organization providing transitional housing for formerly homeless families in Northern Virginia.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF STACY BURDETT

Let me offer special thanks on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League and its National Director, Abraham Foxman, to Chairman Smith and all of the Commissioners for holding this hearing today and for the many hearings, letters, and rallying cries that have kept this issue front and center. Your commitment to the fight against anti-Semitism and your determination to move from concern to action, inspires and energizes all of us.

The history of the Jewish people in the OSCE Region is fraught with examples of the worst violations of human rights—forced conversions, expulsions, inquisitions, pogroms, and genocide. The struggle against the persecution of Jews was a touchstone for the creation of some of the foundational human rights instruments and treaties as well as the development of OSCE human dimension mechanisms.

We focus today on anti-Semitism but we are mindful that in advancing the fight against anti-Semitism, we elevate the duty of governments to comply with broader human dimension commitments and to support ODIHR and its efforts. That is the core of ADL's mission: to secure justice and fair treatment for Jews in tandem with safeguarding the rights of all oppressed groups.

Anti-Semitism is a primary concern for the Anti-Defamation League—not just because we are a Jewish community organization, but because anti-Semitism, the oldest and most persistent form of prejudice, threatens security and democracy, and poisons the health of a society as a whole. The Anti-Defamation League was established in 1913 with its core mission to combat the then horrific discrimination against Jews in all facets of American life and the growth of anti-Jewish movements and organizations peddling their hate around the world. Over nearly a century, as part of the fight against anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, we have been at the forefront of the campaign to secure historic civil rights achievements, pioneered the development of model hate crimes laws, and developed anti-bias education models to address all forms of prejudice and to prepare each succeeding generation to live in an increasingly diverse society.

As we have learned: where anti-Semitism flourishes, no minority group is safe.

Nine years ago, we assembled in this hearing room and focused on three goals:

1. Identifying and calling attention to a stunning resurgence of anti-Semitism.
2. Exposing the broad denial and inaction of too many Participating States.
3. Calling for measures to overcome the lack of awareness and to identify basic tools for the US and OSCE to respond.

We came away from that hearing charged with re-engaging the Copenhagen Concluding Document's call for governments to confront a 21st century anti-Semitism that crossed the globe in an instant. This hatred wore new masks and unfolded in a new era where taboos against anti-Semitism that existed after the Holocaust were eroded.

You will hear today that the threat persists and follows the broad contours of the assessments in 2002. What we called then an “upsurge” proved to be more than a wave of incidents requiring emergency action, but an enduring reality that requires a comprehensive, institutionalized, and ongoing response.

You will also hear today that the lack of political will by governments to take seriously their obligations is the single largest obstacle to progress.

But the arsenal of tools to respond is starkly different than it was then. Think back to how we remarked that, in too many parts of the region, in the face of anti-Semitism, there was nowhere to call and no understanding of the problem. The gaps in the readiness and capability to quantify and to respond on the part of the OSCE institutions and—even the US Government—were stunning.

Terms like “hate crime” and “data collection” had hardly been uttered on the international stage until the 2003 Vienna conference on anti-Semitism, and they were incorporated into the Maastricht Ministerial Council Decision that year. Through that prism, the progress has been swift and the difference that nine years of continued advancement has made is very welcome.

OSCE: A Model IGO Approach to Fighting Anti-Semitism and Hate Crime

When we first were confronted by the surge of anti-Semitic hate violence in the OSCE region, we were a community still scarred by the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban and the realization that many in the international community did not view anti-Semitism as a legitimate human rights issue. For Jewish communities targeted in ways they had not seen in decades, there was no one to call, no focal point of responsibility, and an international community largely in denial. Our groups came to Congress, and to the Administration with a simple request: if international bodies such as the U.N. could not address the human rights violation that is anti-Semitism, let the OSCE, the largest regional security organization, with a body of commitments to fight anti-Semitism, convene a conference to address the racism and discrimination that is anti-Semitism.

Since then, while progress in other international forums has been lagging and incremental, the OSCE has become a center of activity and progress. The OSCE has been a forum for forthright recognition of, and response to, anti-Semitism in what continues to be a poisonous and politicized environment. Key achievements include:

- Groundbreaking Ministerial Council Decisions, Parliamentary Assembly Resolutions and tolerance conferences recognized anti-Semitism and secured commitments for action by Participating States and for the OSCE institutions.
- The appointment by the Chair in Office of Personal Representatives on anti-Semitism, on Xenophobia and on Discrimination against Muslims has added political muscle to OSCE efforts to raise the profile of these issues.
- The creation of a specialized unit on tolerance which included a dedicated staff advisor on anti-Semitism

ODIHR Tools and Responses

ODIHR has used the decisions and taskings in an expansive way to address challenges and expose gaps. ODIHR reports have examined critical questions:

- What are governments doing to combat hate crime? Where are the gaps?
- What are effective educational approaches to deal with anti-Semitism?
- How is the Holocaust commemorated across the Region?
- What role can governments, parliamentarians and public officials play in getting the most out of these commemorations?

ODIHR has used its mandate and the findings of its reports to develop innovative approaches to fill those gaps. Today there is an impressive body of cutting edge program activity underway as part of the Tolerance and non-Discrimination program. The ODIHR's Toolbox for Combatting Hate Crime [Appendix I] is an impressive menu of tools that addresses directly precisely the problems, the policies, the target groups that we have identified repeatedly. Participating States can avail themselves of tools to:

1. Educate students about anti-Semitism, its past and present
 - ODIHR teaching materials are adapted and customized to relate to the history, language and experience of students in nine countries—with four more versions under development now.
 - Addressing Anti-Semitism: Why and How? A Guide for Educators gives teachers definitions and strategies they can use to tackle anti-Semitism in the classroom. It is available in 9 languages and currently being translated into Turkish.
 - Make Holocaust education mandates and Holocaust Memorial Days an opportunity to recognize and address the reality that anti-Semitism did not die with Hitler. Preparing Holocaust Memorial Days: Suggestions for Educators guides teachers on how to use remembrance days to address anti-Semitism today and underscore that anti-Semitism did not die with Hitler. It is available in 13 languages.
2. Help Governments Fulfill Commitments to Address Hate Crime
 - The annual report on hate crime—Incidents and Responses—highlights the prevalence of hate and notes how governments and civil society are responding;
 - Guide Participating States in drafting effective hate crime laws. Hate Crime Laws: A Practical Guide provides practical advice for lawmakers, community organizations and law enforcement for responding to bias crimes. Developed with

input from an international team of judges, prosecutors, human rights officials, representatives of international non-governmental organizations, including ADL, the guide has already been used by ODIHR as the basis for legislative reviews and training sessions and has been translated into several languages.

- Train to build the capacity of Participating States' criminal justice systems and the law-enforcement officials, prosecutors and judges that staff them;
- Partner with and empower communities to respond and prevent hate crime. ADL was proud to work with OSCE's ODIHR in creating a resource guide for communities—"Preventing and Responding to Hate Crimes." The guide provides a menu of tools to help non-governmental organizations respond to hate crimes and to serve as a bridge between officials and the communities they serve.
- Support practical initiatives by civil society to monitor and report hate crimes and fill in the gap left by the unmet commitments of governments.

So now, in the face of hate, there is a place to call, a locus for action, an intergovernmental partnership with civil society to spotlight and combat this problem. Institutions, including those of the United Nations, are partnering with ODIHR and using OSCE materials in areas like Holocaust remembrance and education.

This is a model for how, in the relatively brief time of seven years, an organization can transcend a reticence to address the problem and catalyze a serious IGO initiative to combat not just anti-Semitism but also hate crimes and discrimination on a comprehensive basis.

Through our engagement with the Helsinki Commission and the State Department and with ODIHR, the Anti-Defamation League has been gratified to be involved in putting the fight against anti-Semitism squarely on the OSCE human dimension agenda and to putting our experience to work in helping the OSCE develop a toolkit to fight anti-Semitism that holds incredible promise and potential.

The major challenge today is how to build more political will at a high level, so more governments are willing to use these tools to help meet their commitments.

What is Anti-Semitism?

Anti-Semitism is a form of hatred, mistrust, and contempt for Jews based on a variety of stereotypes and myths, and often invokes the belief that Jews have extraordinary influence with which they conspire to harm or control society. It can target Jews as individuals, as a group or a people, or it can target Israel as a Jewish entity. Criticism of Israel or Zionism is anti-Semitic when it uses anti-Jewish stereotypes or invokes anti-Semitic symbols and images, or holds Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel. I have appended to my statement a brief description of anti-Semitism and the manifestations we are seeing today.

What is the Nature and Magnitude of the Problem?

Appendix II of this statement notes the key themes of contemporary anti-Semitism, and Appendix III outlines select incidents that exemplify some of the trends discussed below. As a practical matter, anti-Semitism manifests itself in two primary areas: public discourse and incidents of harassment, vandalism and hate violence. As such, while anti-Semitism can require distinct responses, a number of the recommendations we have to fight anti-Semitism are also components of a comprehensive hate crimes response strategy.

The Data Deficit

The first question you should have is: what is the scope and magnitude of anti-Semitism today? The answer to that question points to a key obstacle. There is a massive data deficit across dozens of countries that do not monitor or document anti-Semitic incidents.

The obstacles to comprehensive data collection by police—and the disincentives to reporting for victims of these crimes—are significant. Some of the most likely targets of hate violence are the least likely to report these crimes to the police. But we have focused on data collection, because it is the essential jumping off point for prevention and response. Counting these crimes requires defining anti-Semitic hate crimes and training police to recognize and understand them. Where there is data, there is awareness; where there is awareness, there is action.

We first called for data collection on anti-Semitism in this room. Those calls, amplified by then New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani at the first OSCE conference on anti-Semitism in Vienna in 2003, culminated that same year in ODIHR being

tasked by the Maastricht Ministerial Council with serving as a “collection point” for incidents of anti-Semitism and responses.

What ODIHR’s Report Shows

ODIHR has done a great service by fulfilling a charge that is essentially passive in nature and using it to highlight challenges and create tools advocates can use to urge progress.

The annual report, *Hate Crimes in the OSCE: Incidents and Responses*, is a straightforward presentation of available information on anti-Semitic incidents and the actions governments are taking in response. While compiling available data on incidents provides only a limited view of the actual prevalence of anti-Semitism, presenting hard information about current government policies and actions is a useful measure of how governments are responding and how seriously they are addressing problems.

The ODIHR report lays bare for us to see which countries are fulfilling their commitments, beginning with the first step of monitoring anti-Semitism in their country. The report documents whether and how their laws and policies address crimes motivated by anti-Semitism and which governments share this information with ODIHR and with the public.

While the ODIHR effort is not aimed at judging governments and their performance, it lifts the veil on what governments are doing and allows advocates to make their own assessment. For the last three years, the Anti-Defamation League has partnered with Human Rights First to convert ODIHR’s information into a scorecard which rates the performance of OSCE Participating States in specific areas of monitoring and addressing hate crimes. The report assesses the performance of Participating States not based on where incidents occur, but by the policies and procedures they use to respond—for which they have direct responsibility.

This is an important barometer by which we measure the performance of governments. So, seven years after Ministers stood in Berlin with great fanfare and committed to gather data on anti-Semitism and hate crime, only four of the 56 OSCE Participating States actually submitted information to ODIHR on anti-Semitic incidents for this year’s hate crime report.

While monitoring efforts by non-governmental organizations may only provide a limited picture, it is meaningful that the ODIHR augments the government-supplied data with information provided from NGOs and documented in the media. So the ODIHR report makes clear that the absence of official data certainly does not signify a lack of anti-Semitic incidents in a given country. The ODIHR report noted that, in 26 of the countries where no data on anti-Semitism was submitted, a number of anti-Semitic incidents were reported by media, Jewish communities, or other non-governmental sources like the Tel Aviv University’s Stephen Roth Institute.

The Increase of US Reporting

We worked together, Congress and NGOs, to strengthen US reporting to fill the data deficit, because we understood that, regardless of what the OSCE and other governments might do, US reporting on anti-Semitism as a human rights and religious freedom issue is an indispensable tool in spotlighting the problem and a tool for US diplomacy. As with any reporting which originates in embassies around the world, US reporting on anti-Semitism has varied from place to place. We were enthusiastic about the introduction of the Global Anti-Semitism Awareness Act of 2004 to call for State Department efforts to improve their reporting and their engagement.

As a result of the enactment of the law, first introduced by Chairman Smith and others, US embassies are mandated to seek out information on trends in anti-Semitism as part of their core human rights and religious freedom monitoring function. The increased reporting is accompanied by increased awareness and enhanced engagement by America’s diplomats.

The impact of this routinized and required scrutiny is evident in the reports themselves. The number of countries in which the State Department is documenting incidents of anti-Semitism has more than doubled. You see a similar jump in reporting when you look just at OSCE Participating States as a group.

Country Reports on Human Rights	Country Reports Citing Anti-Semitism or its Absence	Incidents of Anti-Semitism Reported	Anti-Semitism Reported in OSCE Participating States
2002	30	30	30
2010	192	62	38

But mandating reporting is not sufficient to make a difference. The reports are only one indicator of how the issue of anti-Semitism has growing recognition and presence across the private and public diplomacy instruments in the State Department. The Special Envoy position, also created by the law, provides an invaluable platform to strengthen the reporting as well as the US response. ADL has consistently pressed for the fight against anti-Semitism to be a part of US policy and for the response to employ the full array of US policy and diplomacy mechanisms. Continued support for a strong Special Envoy will ensure that the US maintains a specialized focus on anti-Semitism and a dedicated effort to mobilize the arsenal of US diplomatic tools to respond.

The Special Envoy has instituted expanded training on anti-Semitism in the State Department's Foreign Service Institute to give diplomats the understanding and tools to recognize anti-Semitism and the contemporary forms it takes. The Foreign Service Institute course on "Promoting Human Rights and Democracy" now includes training, led by ADL and the Special Envoy which is being integrated into the Foreign Service Institute's future courses, including in a new curriculum on religious freedom launched this summer. The ability to integrate training on the ODIHR definition, how to spot anti-Semitism and what the indicators mean for American diplomats serving in places as diverse as Saudi Arabia, Khartoum, Oslo, Kigali, Bogota, Tbilisi, Madrid, and Jakarta is a very meaningful step.

ADL has been proud to partner with the State Department to share our training and subject matter expertise. This program models the best of what a public-private partnership can achieve.

Indeed, the growth of the reporting reflects a greater awareness of what anti-Semitism is and how it threatens human rights. The State Department Country Reports on Human Rights have been increasingly attentive to the issue of how anti-Semitism in the public discourse puts Jews at risk, as well as how hostility toward Israel and Jews is intertwined. The importance of this kind of reporting also demonstrates the need for sustained FSI training on what is a delicate and nuanced issue.

The enactment of the Global Anti-Semitism Awareness Act did more than create a position or ask for a report. It launched a process that is dynamic and evolving.

For NGOs and communities, the Special Envoy and her staff have established their office as a real listening post and a focal point for bringing issues forward for high-level attention by Regional Bureaus or the Secretary herself. At a very practical level, the Envoy's office is a hub for information and advocacy inside the State Department and for Jewish communities as well through quarterly NGO strategy meetings and the regular flow of information back and forth through the Envoy's newsletter and new media tools.

Overview and Trends

Violence against Jews and Jewish institutions has been documented mostly in Western Europe and North America—with large concentrations of reported incidents in the UK, France, the US, and Canada. These are also countries with large Jewish communities and also better government and NGO monitoring.

Everyday Insecurity, Harassment, Vulnerability

The Anti-Defamation League is deeply involved in fighting discrimination today and, during our century of work, discrimination had been a major barrier for Jewish participation in the life of the countries in which they live, including the United States.

Today, overt anti-Jewish discrimination is not the law of the land anywhere in the OSCE Region, nor is it the chief barrier to the full realization of the rights of Jews. Today, a Jew's right to live in security with dignity and freedom to express his/her identity is threatened by an atmosphere of intimidation and ugly acts of hatred. It manifests in the form of violent hate crimes, which target Jews and visible Jewish sites such as schools, synagogues, and cemeteries. It is the everyday harassment that prevents Jews in so many places from being able to express who they are, to freely wear yarmulkes, Stars of David, or even T-shirts bearing Hebrew let-

tering or slogans. Rabbis, parents, and students live with the knowledge that walking the streets bearing an identifiable Jewish symbol could put you at risk of violence, intimidation, and harassment. This is the unwritten rule many Jews are forced to live by.

Stroll through some Jewish neighborhoods around Brussels and you will find bearded Jewish men wearing baseball caps instead of yarmulkes. Ask yourself what it would mean if in Baltimore or in Elizabeth NJ, your Orthodox Jewish constituents were forced to hide their traditional religious garb or symbols just to avoid harassment that has become commonplace.

In so many communities, when we ask Jewish leaders about the nature and levels of threats, they discount stunning incidents of bias or harassment as simply a fixture of the landscape in which they live. Incidents and situations that would be scandalous in any American city often go unreported or are ignored.

In Latvia, for example, during an interview in March on a major TV station, a neo-Nazi called for Jews to be shot and hanged from lampposts. The police opened an investigation, but inexplicably closed it several months later without bringing any charges.

Just last week in Belgium, a 13 year-old Jewish girl was attacked and severely beaten by five schoolmates of Moroccan origin, who repeatedly called her a “dirty Jew” and told her to “go back to her country.” According to the Central Council of Jewish Organizations of Belgium, the police did not consider it an anti-Semitic incident. Except for one Jewish member of parliament, no public figure condemned the attack.

This is part of the routine calculus of trepidation and caution that Jews must navigate. This is impossible to measure, but it is possible, indeed vital, to address. Governments must meet their commitment to keep Jews and all their inhabitants safe from discrimination and hate violence.

Anti-Semitic Hate Linked to Demonization of Israel

Expressing disagreement with Israeli action through violence against one’s Jewish neighbor or the Jewish community is untenable and a violation of rights. Yet, successive reports by both Inter-Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations note that there is a direct link between flares of Israeli-Palestinian tensions and a spike in anti-Semitic hate violence.

When Israel has taken action to defend its citizens from attacks from Gaza or Lebanon, we have witnessed Jews around the world also coming under attack. Following events like Operation Cast Lead in Gaza, we saw anti-Israel rallies and demonstrations in Europe and the US become scenes of anti-Semitic rhetoric and imagery. Jews were beaten on the street. Synagogues were fire-bombed. The OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights first documented this phenomenon during the 2006 conflict between Israel and Hezbollah: “Analyses and investigations of these incidents show that the projection of anti-Israel sentiment onto Jewish communities throughout Europe was a widespread pattern in 2006, with the conflict between Israel and Hezbollah frequently being used as a justification for anti-Semitism.”

Anti-Zionism as a Mask for Anti-Semitism

Not only are events in the Middle East a catalyst for anti-Semitic incidents, but anti-Zionism and anti-Israel animus are used as a thin disguise for anti-Semitism. The European Union’s Fundamental Rights Agency in its Working Paper on anti-Semitism (April 2011) notes “the use of anti-Zionism as a way to circumvent prevailing taboos that still exists around using old anti-Semitism.”¹ This follows on other FRA reports like one in 2008 that observed: “Anti-Semitic activity since 2000 is increasingly attributed to a ‘new anti-Semitism’ characterized primarily by the vilification of Israel as the Jewish collective, and perpetrated primarily by members of Europe’s Muslim population.”²

¹ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Antisemitism, Summary Overview of the situation in the European Union from 2001-2010*, April 2011, page 4.

² European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Antisemitism, Summary Overview of the situation in the European Union from 2001-2007*, Jan. 2008, page 19.

A prime example of this is playing out in Sweden where, in January 2009, Malmö's mayor Ilmar Reepalu said "we accept neither Zionism nor antisemitism" in Malmö and that the Jewish community could help reduce tensions in the city by condemning Israeli actions. He then criticized the Jewish community for organizing a pro-Israel demonstration, since that "could send out the wrong signals."³

These incidents are more than just one day stories. Two and a half years after the Malmö incident—just this week—ADL received a report from the Swedish Committee Against Anti-Semitism (SKMA) that Palestinians continue to harass Swedish Jews in front of Malmö's synagogue. According to SKMA, neither the police nor the politicians have reacted adequately.

Rabbi Menno ten Brink of Amsterdam summed up this sentiment: "Their reasoning goes something like this: Israelis are Jews, Palestinians are Arabs, so we Moroccan 'Arabs' in the Netherlands are going to take on Dutch Jews."⁴

Equating Israel with Nazism and Jews with Nazis

The use of Nazi imagery to portray the Jewish state is a perversion of memory, an insult to those who perished in the Holocaust, an affront to those who survived the horrors of Nazi Germany and to those who fought to defeat the Nazis.

This widespread use of Holocaust and Nazi analogies goes well beyond legitimate criticism of Israel. Particularly dangerous and disturbing is the use of Nazi imagery to depict Israelis and comparisons of Israel's actions to the absolute evil perpetrated by the Nazis in the Holocaust. These comparisons and imagery are modern incarnations of the age-old myths of Jews as a satanic and conniving force which endeavors to take over the world.

Caricatures that depict Israelis as Nazis appear with alarming frequency in the Arab press, on the web, and even in some mainstream European newspapers. ODIHR first documented this in its 2006 report which noted that, as part of organized and spontaneous anti-Semitic violence, "direct reference to the Third Reich was often made, with Holocaust imagery being used as a rhetorical device to threaten Jews or to equate them with the perpetrators of the Holocaust."⁵

European media have also included clearly anti-Semitic caricatures.

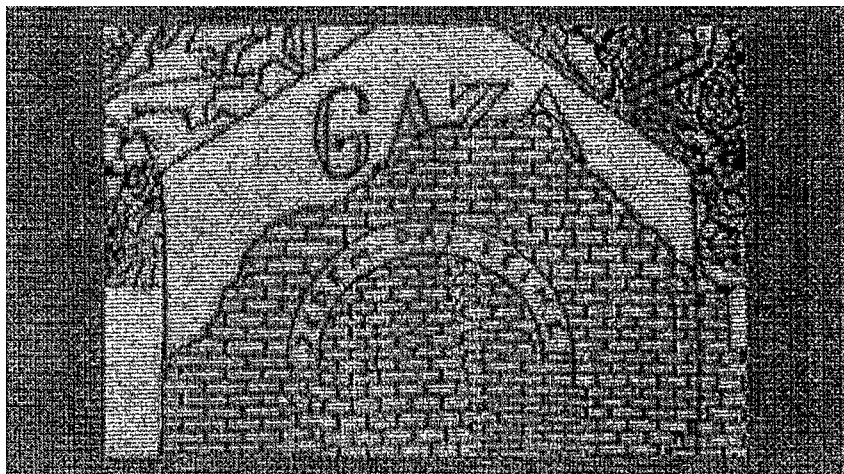
- In Norway, one of the largest mainstream dailies, *Dagbladet*, published a cartoon in October that compared Gaza and Buchenwald.
- In Belgium, a major Flemish paper, *De Morgen*, published a cartoon of a Jew carrying two suitcases bursting with cash and the caption, "Switzerland, the Promised Land."

(See illustrations on following pages.)

³ Cnaan Lipshiz, *Swedish mayor calls both Anti-Semitism and Zionism forms of unacceptable extremism*, Ha'aretz, Jan. 29, 2010, <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spagcs/1146123.html>.

⁴ Karel Berkhout, *Anti-Semitism on the rise in Amsterdam*, NRC Handelsblad (Netherlands), Jan. 26, 2010, http://www.nrc.nl/international/article2468489.ece/Anti-Semitism_on_the_rise_in_Amsterdam.

⁵ OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, *Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region: Incidents and Responses*, Sept. 18, 2007, http://www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2007/09/26296_931_en.pdf.



Dagbladet, October 19, 2011



De Morgen, September 8, 2011

Conspiracy Theories Gaining Acceptability in Public Discourse

One of the constant themes of anti-Semitism is that, in every generation, conspiracy theories emerge that appeal to people from the fringes of society to the mainstream. In Sweden in 2009, a false and malicious report in a Swedish newspaper that Israeli soldiers abducted and killed Palestinians, including children, to harvest their internal organs mushroomed into a global conspiracy theory. Within months, the story generated several conspiracy theories about Jewish plots to harvest organs from victims around the globe, including from kidnapped Algerian and Ukrainian children and from Haitians pulled from the rubble of the earthquake that devastated their nation.

The false conspiracy theory related to the Israeli rescue teams in Haiti reached all the way to the British House of Lords, where Baroness Jenny Tonge called on Israel to launch an investigation into the conduct of its military in Haiti. Tonge made the comment after an English-language Palestinian newspaper, *The Palestine Telegraph*, published an article that cited a report by Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV regarding the organ trafficking allegations. The Palestinian paper lists Tonge as one of two members of a "board of patrons." Following the story, Tonge apologized. However, Nick Clegg, the leader of the Liberal Democrat party, called Tonge's comment "unacceptable" and he subsequently removed her from her position as party spokeswoman on health issues.

The conspiracy theories have been reported as fact by Iranian and Arab media, including Syrian TV, Press TV, a state-funded Iranian TV news channel, and leading pan-Arab satellite news networks Al Jazeera and Al-Arabiya. In addition, newspapers in Jordan, Oman, Qatar, and other Arab countries published a series of editorial cartoons that depicted Israelis as vicious butchers who were gleefully cutting off the body parts of Arabs and trading in Palestinian organs.

Anti-Semitism in Politics and Political Discourse

Of great concern is the return of political anti-Semitism in Hungary and Ukraine, home to two large Jewish communities. Jobbik is a major Hungarian party, which won over 15 percent of the vote in the 2010 parliamentary election. Its leaders have a long history of anti-Semitic statements and used anti-Semitic campaign materials. In Ukraine, the anti-Semitic Svoboda party came in first place with 30–40% of the vote in the last regional elections in three western oblasts—Lvov, Ivano-Frankivsk, and Ternopil. In September, Svoboda's leaders organized an anti-Jewish protest, "Uman without Hasidim," against the annual Rosh Hashanah pilgrimage of Hasidic Jews from around the world to a famous rabbi's grave in city of Uman.

Complacency in the face of anti-Semitism by politicians is another concern. In Belgium, Laurent Louis, a member of parliament from the small MLD party, said that the Parti Populaire (PP) ought to change its name to "PJB" for "Parti Juif de Belgique" (Jewish Party of Belgium) for having Jewish members and for its support of Israel. Louis has stated on many occasions that Israel is no different from the Nazi regime. No major political figure denounced Louis' statement. Last year, European Union's Trade Commissioner Karel de Gucht, a former Belgian Foreign Minister, said in a radio interview, "It is not easy, even with a moderate Jew, to have a rational conversation." The European Commission only said that it was a personal comment and took no action against de Gucht. He remains a member of the EU's highest political body.

In Greece, the anti-Semitic LAOS party was invited into the current coalition government, despite past statements by its leaders that denied the Holocaust, blamed 9/11 on the Jews, and asserted that "Jews have no legitimacy to speak in Greece and provoke the political world."

Anti-Semitic Incidents in the US

The good news is that we in the United States have continued to enjoy a period of relative calm, where the overall numbers are mostly unchanged and the incidents are isolated. But the bad news is that for all our efforts to educate, to raise awareness, and to legislate, anti-Jewish incidents remain a disturbing part of the American Jewish experience.

The FBI's just released annual report Hate Crime Statistics 2010, found that in 2010, the number of reported anti-Jewish crimes decreased slightly, from 931 in 2009 to 887 in 2010. However, the data revealed a very disturbing and persistent fact: two-thirds of the reported religion-based crimes in 2010 were directed against Jews and Jewish institutions—consistent with data over the past decade. The report details hate crimes by states, cities, towns, and colleges and universities. A chart

which compiles and compares the FBI data from 2010 to 2000 is included as Appendix IV at the end of this statement.

Reporting is a challenge in the US as well. Eighty of the largest cities in the United States—all over 100,000 in population—either did not report data to the FBI in 2010 or affirmatively reported zero hate crimes to the FBI in 2010. The fact that law enforcement agencies in 80 major cities either did not report hate crime data or affirmatively reported zero hate crimes in their jurisdiction should prompt questions and/or concern about the seriousness of their response to hate violence.

The ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents, released last month, found that the number of anti-Semitic incidents increased slightly in 2010, to a total of 1,239 incidents, compared to 1,211 incidents reported in 2009. This is the first increase reported by ADL since the numbers hit a record high in 2004, when the U.S. experienced 1,821 incidents of anti-Semitism. Since 2004, the total number of anti-Jewish incidents had declined incrementally each year.

The 2010 Audit comprises data from 45 states and the District of Columbia, including official crime statistics as well as information provided to ADL's Regional Offices by victims, law enforcement officers, and community leaders and members. The Audit encompasses criminal acts, such as vandalism, violence and threats of violence, as well as non-criminal incidents of harassment and intimidation.

Continuing a longtime trend, the states with the highest totals were those with large Jewish populations. The top four states were California, with 297 incidents in 2010, up from 275 in 2009; New York, with 205 incidents, down from 209; New Jersey, with 130 incidents, down from 132; and Florida, with 116 incidents, up from 90.

According to the Audit, other states with double-digit totals in 2010 include Massachusetts (64, up from 55 in 2009); Pennsylvania (42, down from 65 in 2009); Colorado (38, up from 14); Connecticut (38, up from 24); and Texas (37, up from 28).

Addressing Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Activity on College Campuses

As both a civil rights and Jewish community organization, the Anti-Defamation League works to address anti-Semitism and anti-Israel activity on American college campuses in a nuanced and thoughtful manner. The rights to free speech and academic freedom are sacred and deserve protection. At the same time, when anti-Israel activity crosses the line into anti-Semitism and expressions of support for terrorism, or when the Israel activity is so pervasive and severe that it creates a hostile environment for Jewish students, it is imperative to expose these incidents, speak out strongly in opposition, and urge university officials to issue condemnations. ADL also works with Hillel professionals and students to address these issues.

ADL strongly welcomed the October 26, 2010 Dear Colleague guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) to address bullying in schools.

We believe members of the Helsinki Commission should be aware that the OCR Dear Colleague letter made clear that anti-Semitic harassment on campus can be prohibited by federal civil rights law. ADL had called for clarification of this issue in a March 2010 letter that the League helped coordinate with 12 other Jewish organizations. That letter called on the Department to interpret Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to protect Jewish students from anti-Semitic harassment, intimidation and discrimination—including anti-Israel and anti-Zionist sentiment that crosses the line into anti-Semitism.

Specifically, the OCR guidance makes clear that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—which bars schools receiving federal dollars from discriminating based on “race, color or national origin”—protects Jewish students from anti-Semitism on campuses “on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics.” The OCR guidance defines Title VI coverage as follows:

While Title VI does not cover discrimination based solely on religion, groups that face discrimination on the basis of actual or perceived shared ancestry or ethnic characteristics may not be denied protection under Title VI on the ground that they also share a common faith. These principles apply not just to Jewish students, but also to students from any discrete religious group that shares, or is perceived to share, ancestry or ethnic characteristics (e.g. Muslims or Sikhs).

This clarification is particularly welcome in conjunction with ADL's continuing work to combat anti-Semitic bullying, harassment and bigotry on campus—including anti-Semitic intimidation of pro-Israel activists. At times, anti-Semitic conduct amounting to intimidation, harassment, and discrimination is manifested not by

overt anti-Semitic expression, but instead by anti-Israel and anti-Zionist sentiment that crosses the line into anti-Semitism. The OCR guidance covers harassment that is “sufficiently serious that it creates a hostile environment and . . . is encouraged, tolerated, not adequately addressed or ignored by school employees.”

While a complete examination of the parameters of the Title VI coverage of anti-Semitic, anti-Israel, or anti-Zionist activities on campus is beyond the scope of this statement, it is critically important to distinguish between anti-Semitic activities on campus and anti-Israel activities. We certainly do not believe that every anti-Israel action is a manifestation of anti-Semitism. But the League is, obviously, concerned about organized anti-Israel activity which can create an atmosphere in which Jewish students or faculty members feel isolated and intimidated.

In addition, importantly, in recent years both the US Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR) and the State Department have tailored their own responses to the spread of this new stream of anti-Semitism that manifests itself as vilification of Israel. Both use definitions similar to the EUMC Working Definition of Antisemitism.

In its short April 2006 “Finding and Recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Campus Anti-Semitism,” the USCCR stated:

On many campuses, anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist propaganda has been disseminated that includes traditional anti-Semitic elements, including age-old anti-Jewish stereotypes and defamation. This has included, for example, anti-Israel literature that perpetuates the medieval anti-Semitic blood libel of Jews slaughtering children for ritual purpose, as well as anti-Zionist propaganda that exploits ancient stereotypes of Jews as greedy, aggressive, overly powerful, or conspiratorial. Such propaganda should be distinguished from legitimate discourse regarding foreign policy. Anti-Semitic bigotry is no less morally deplorable when camouflaged as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism.

As previously mentioned, ADL recognizes that much vehemently anti-Israel and anti-Semitic speech can—and should—be protected First Amendment activity. This is as it should be in a nation that values freedom of speech. There is a high bar before any speech or conduct can amount to legally actionable harassment. Nevertheless, conduct that threatens, harasses, or intimidates particular Jewish students to the point that their ability to participate in and benefit from their college experience is impaired should not be deemed unactionable simply because that conduct is couched as “anti-Israel” or “anti-Zionist.” It is also the case that harassment or intimidation that holds Jewish students responsible for the acts of other Jews, or of Israel, is better understood as ethnic or “national origin” discrimination than as religious discrimination.

Here are four examples of campuses on which a climate of persistent anti-Israel activity is concerning:

University of California—Irvine

In recent years UC Irvine has become a center for anti-Semitic activity, much of it organized by the Muslim Student Union (MSU) which has been responsible for staging large events every spring featuring virulently anti-Semitic speakers. One such speaker, Amir Abdul Malik Ali, gave a speech in May 2010 titled “Death to Apartheid” in which he compared Jews to Nazis, expressed support for Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad (groups designated as Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States Department of State) and called for the destruction of the “apartheid state of Israel.” MSU has also distributed radical and anti-Semitic literature through Al Kalima, UCI’s Muslim student paper. This activity has created an environment in which many Jewish students do not feel safe to openly express their Jewish identity on campus. ADL has worked closely with UCI Chancellor Michael Drake to address this situation and create a more inclusive environment on campus, with moderate success so far.

Evergreen State College, Washington

Jewish students and faculty have reported, both to ADL and to the media, that Evergreen State College does not always feel like a safe place for Jewish students. A November 2010 news article on MyNorthwest.com quoted Josh Levine (then president of the campus Hillel Foundation) saying, “There are days I feel uncomfortable walking across campus alone because I wear a yarmulke on my head.” In 2008–2009, a pro-Israel organization was created that was almost immediately met with opposition, including students who set up “mock checkpoints” designed to imitate the Israel Defense Forces and forced students to show identification in order to continue onto campus. Five Jewish students reportedly left the college at the end of the school year because of this and other related harassment. Akiva Tor, Israel’s Consul-General for the Pacific-Northwest region, has expressed his concern about

this situation, noting that pro-Israel students do not feel comfortable expressing their opinion “without being harassed.” In May 2010, graffiti featuring hate messages and “depicting the Star of David ... and epithets and a Nazi ‘SS’ symbol,” were found near the school’s library, according to the university’s Bias Incident Response Team. The college notified ADL of the incident. In June, the student body passed a resolution supporting divestment from companies that profit from Israel. The decision passed with 79.5% of the vote.

Hampshire College, Massachusetts

In the last several years, students at Hampshire College have reached out to the ADL to express their fears about the climate on campus. They have reported feelings of intimidation and of being silenced. In 2007–2008 when Jewish students on campus declined to sign a petition calling for divestment from the State of Israel, they were shouted at and called “killers” and “murder lovers.” In 2009, students reported feeling consistently intimidated, marginalized, and unwelcome on campus. Former College President Ralph Hexter was fairly responsive to the concerns of the Jewish students on campus. In February 2009 he attended a discussion with Jewish students to provide a forum for them to share their concerns and the following September, the ADL conducted a training for the administration on how to create and support an open environment on campus that is safe for all individuals and points of view. When President Hexter stepped down from his position in the fall of 2010, ADL again began to receive reports of students being harassed, bullied, and silenced on campus, including one student who received an anonymous death threat via e-mail. Following these incidents, ADL has continued to work with the university administration to address the situation.

Rutgers University, New Jersey

Over the past couple years, allegations of a hostile environment for Jewish students at Rutgers have been raised. We believe university officials have been insufficiently attentive to this issue to date. For example, since May 2011, the Anti-Defamation League has been corresponding with Rutgers President Richard L. McCormick concerning anti-Semitic remarks attributed to a staff member. In December, 2010, this individual posted a comment on Facebook in response to a column written by a student in the student newspaper. In her Facebook posting, the staff member referred to the student as a “Zionist pig” and encouraged others to post comments on Facebook and write letters to the student newspaper. We believe that it is simply unacceptable for a university employee to publicly use such hurtful, derogatory, and poisonous language when referring to a student. We had called on President McCormick to initiate an investigation and pursue appropriate disciplinary action if the allegations are verified. To our knowledge, neither action has been taken. We are not aware of any investigation or follow up. In fact, it is our understanding that university officials have yet to interview the student involved or even attempted to contact him about the posting and its impact on him.

Incubator, Broadcaster: The Arab and Muslim World

For decades, the Anti-Defamation League has focused on monitoring and exposing the anti-Semitism that has pervaded the Arab and Muslim print media. Since this Commission met in 2002 to examine the resurgence of anti-Semitism, there has been a growing awareness and understanding of the role that demonizing Israel and Zionism plays in fomenting hatred of and violence against Jews. This section focuses on examples of more traditional anti-Semitism but it is vital to recognize that anti-Zionism and the vitriolic hatred of Israel promoted in the Arab world draws on traditional anti-Semitic themes, fosters hatred of Jews and often veers into anti-Semitism itself.

Our particular monitoring focus has been editorial cartoons, where we have found that the exaggerations intrinsic to caricatures all too often propagate age-old anti-Jewish stereotypes and myths.

In Arabic newspapers across the Middle East one can find a steady stream of images depicting Jews and Israelis drawing on a series of incendiary themes:

- Jews and Israelis as stooped, hook-nosed and money-hungry, as snakes (a particularly nefarious figure in the Arab world) bent on world domination.
- Israeli leaders are regularly depicted as Nazis, at the same time that other articles deny or diminish the Holocaust.
- Jewish caricatures shown manipulating the United States government, as the puppeteers behind the President, the Secretary of State and Congress.
- Other caricatures show the US and Israel as partners plotting to dominate the world, the United Nations, the Arabs, the Palestinians.

- Anti-Jewish conspiracies blaming Jews and Israel for things like the H1N1 virus outbreak, criminal organ harvesting from Palestinians, Algerians and Haitians (depending on the conspiracy theory).
- Jews are subtly scapegoated, depicted as fomenting and benefiting from internal conflict in the Arab world.

Anti-Semitism is also broadcast on television across the Arab and Muslim world. Among the most infamous examples are two dramatic, multi-part, mini-series which were broadcast during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan—the major “sweeps” period for Arab television. The Egyptian-produced *Horseman Without a Horse*—aired on Egyptian state television in 2002, and the Syrian-produced *Ash-Shatat*—aired in 2003 on the Hezbollah owned Al-Manar satellite network.⁶

Horseman featured base stereotypical depictions of Jews living in nineteenth century Egypt plotting to take over Palestine, the Middle East, and the entire world, guided by the infamous anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. *Ash Shatat* was saturated with horrifying stereotypes of Jews, references to the *Protocols*, and included a shocking dramatization of a rabbi slitting a Christian child’s throat to drain blood to make matzah. In both dramas, Jews were presented as conspiring, violent, evil, and manipulative characters who would quickly betray their native country and even their community for their own interest.

Organizations monitoring major Arab satellite and state-run television networks and television stations affiliated with the Palestinian Authority and Hamas, have documented anti-Jewish statements and characterizations permeating news programs, religious broadcasts and documentaries. Recent examples include:

- Iranian television regularly broadcast speeches by Iranian leaders, such as President Ahmadinejad, questioning the Holocaust, and talk shows featuring infamous Holocaust deniers.
- MEMRI (The Middle East Media Research Institute) released video of a January 2010 program on Syrian Television alleging that Israeli rescue workers in Haiti were harvesting the organs of earthquake victims for trafficking. In the panel discussion, Dr. Jassem Zakariya, Professor of International Relations, Damascus University, states:

“Of course, when we watch the scenes in this fine report, Shakespeare immediately comes to mind . . .

Moderator: Shylock . . .

Dr. Jassem Zakariya: Shylock, yes. As we see, the Jew has not changed—especially the Zionist Jews, who are now gathered in the so-called ‘Israel,’ which is the largest concentration in history of war criminals, who committed crimes against humanity. This is how they will be remembered if they continue with this.”⁷

- Al Aqsa TV, the Hamas-run television station, incites hatred of Jews and Israelis. The station, directed by Palestinian Legislative Council member Fathi Ahmad Hammad, began broadcasting in the Gaza Strip in January 2006. Much of Al Aqsa TV programming that glorifies violence is geared towards children, including music videos. In April 2007, the show “Tomorrow’s Pioneers” featured a Mickey Mouse-like character, Farfour, promoting a message of radical Islam, anti-Semitism and hatred for the West. Farfour encouraged comments from children such as a call to “annihilate the Jews.” On April 3, 2009, Hamas’ Al Aqsa TV broadcast a play that included the ancient blood libel of Jews using blood for religious rituals. The play, “The House of Sheikh Yassin” was performed at the Hamas-affiliated Islamic University in Gaza City, featured the character of an ultra-orthodox Jewish father. According to a translation by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, the father declares: “We Jews hate Muslims. We like to kill Muslims. We Jews drink the blood of Muslims and Arabs.” He then turns to the audience and asks, “Are you Arabs? Are you Muslims? I hate you. I hate you for the sake of [our] God’s will.” Later, the father says to his son, “Shimon, I want to teach you some things: first of all, you have to hate Muslims.” Shimon answers, “I don’t like them, I hate them.” The father continues,

⁶ Al-Manar has a long record of incendiary anti-Jewish, anti-Israel and anti-American programming. It appears to be the source of the conspiracy theory that claimed that 4,000 Israelis were absent from their jobs at the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, thereby implying that Israel was in some way behind the attack. The story was posted on its Web site on September 17, 2001 and picked up by extremists around the world. It has been banned from broadcasting several European countries and the United States.

⁷ The Middle East Media Research Institute, *Syrian TV and Organ Transplant Experts: Israel Reminiscent of Shylock, Engages in Organ Trafficking in Haiti and Worldwide*, Jan. 27, 2010, <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/2370.htm>.

“You have to drink Muslim blood. We have to wash our hands in Muslim blood” [in the context of Jewish ritual hand washing before prayer], and adds, “We have to conspire against Arabs and Muslims to satisfy God. We will destroy the Arabs and the Muslims.”⁸

- Sermons by Muslim clerics broadcast on stations across the region are peppered with anti-Semitic accusations and references. For example, a MEMRI transcript of a speech by Egyptian cleric, Ahmad 'Eid Mihna, broadcast in January 2010 on Egypt's Al-Shabab TV in which he stated: “The history of the Jews shows that they are against any reform movement in the world. Any reformer, Muslim or not, will be attacked by the Jews. The Jews are like that. They thrive only on civil strife, on the selling of arms, on usury, on whorehouses, and so on . . . Jews will be Jews—everywhere and always. Their innate characteristics include lying, deceiving, the practice of usury, and the selling of arms. Even when it comes to our brothers in Hamas—may Allah grant them victory—their number one source of weapons is the Jews. They buy weapons from Jewish traitors.”⁹
- The most recent State Department Country Report on Human Rights in Saudi Arabia noted the anti-Semitism propagated by imams like the broadcast on Al Jazeera of Saudi cleric Khaled Al-Khlewī referring to Jews as “treacherous, disloyal, deceitful, and belligerent by nature.”

The Arab Spring Climate

The impact of decades of these demonizing depictions on generations of Arabs cannot be discounted. While reading the morning newspapers or watching television with their family, many in the region have only encountered Jews as images of evil, threatening, subhuman figures to be feared, hated and fought against.

Compounding this problem is the instantaneous, global transmission of these images via the internet and satellite television, from the Middle East to Europe, Africa, Asia, and the United States, reaching and potentially radicalizing a much larger audience.

In the era of the “Arab Spring,” we have seen new manifestations of anti-Jewish demonization. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood, and its political party, the Freedom and Justice Party, which is expected to play a major role in the country's political future, has espoused militant anti-Semitic and anti-Israel messages at political rallies, and in their media. For example, a November 24, 2011 article in the Brotherhood's Arabic language newspaper, *Risalat al Ikhwan* reads: “[Muhammad] held treaty after treaty with the Jews . . . which the prophet and the Muslims adhered to faithfully, while the Jews breached all treaties. Then began the epic stories of jihad and fighting to protect the message [Islam] from the enemies . . .”

Anecdotally, we have heard of Western journalists being physically attacked on Cairo streets and accused of being Jews and Israelis.

We know well the connection between charged rhetoric and violent action. Incitement can create an environment conducive to, and accepting of, violence and terrorism. We have also seen that where Jews are scapegoated and demonized, incendiary anti-American rhetoric flourishes as well, inviting extremists to step in with violent action.

An Egyptian born in 1979 at the time of the signing of the Camp David Accord, the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, and going to the polls this week, has lived an entire life in the era of peace between Israel and Egypt. Yet, given the images in the media and other influences in society, it is more likely than not that this Egyptian has incorporated the age-old anti-Semitic canards about Jews and Judaism into his or her world view. He or she has also been educated to believe anti-Semitic conspiracy theories—told that Jews introduced AIDS to Egypt; that Israel developed a special gum sold in Egypt that promotes promiscuity among young Egyptian girls; even a claim in the Egyptian weekly *Al-Usbu'* that Israel was responsible for a tsunami as a result of an Israeli nuclear underground test that was conducted in the Indian Ocean. Given these ingrained prejudices, this Egyptian, more likely than not, does not understand or support Egypt's diplomatic relationship with the Jewish state, which has brought stability to the region, and great benefits

⁸ Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, The hate industry: Hamas incorporates crude anti-Semitism into its battle for hearts and minds, Apr. 8, 2009, http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/hamas_e069.htm

⁹ The Middle East Media Research Institute, *Egyptian Cleric Ahmad 'Eid Mihna: The Jews Are Behind Misery, Hardship, Usury, and Whorehouses*, Jan. 10, 2010, <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/2409.htm>.

to both countries. Particularly at this time of turmoil and transition in Egypt, when rejecting the peace treaty with Israel has become an obligatory political position and the messages from the dominant political force, the Muslim Brotherhood, demonize Jews and Israel, these attitudes will undoubtedly have great consequences Egypt's policies towards, Israel and the United States, and thus on regional stability.

Official Responses Across OSCE: Fear, Denial, and Ambiguity

As a community, we have had meaningful access and opportunity to raise the issues with leaders at the highest levels in most places where Jews are targeted and there are examples of leadership that have made a difference. In both France and the UK, anti-Semitic attacks reached all-time highs in 2009, yet we commended both governments for their serious and sustained responses, including unambiguous condemnations by President Nicolas Sarkozy and then-Prime Minister Gordon Brown. However, all too often, even where there are documented cases or examples of systemic public incitement, leaders at the highest levels of government often dismiss them as "isolated." Other times, when a case is being investigated, we are told that since a process is underway, the leadership must not comment on an ongoing investigation or trial. While prosecution of anti-Semitic crimes is vital, the minority of cases that make it to prosecution are resolved many months or even years after the community has suffered the impact of the incident. Further, even where there are such laws, the lack of faith of targeted groups in the police or judicial system makes victims reticent to even initiate action.

In many places there are laws prohibiting anti-Semitic violence or discrimination, but a law is not enough if the political leadership does not lay down a marker affirming that anti-Semitic accusations and conspiracy theories have no place in a country that respects Jewish rights, minority rights, human rights. We in the U.S. attach great importance to the value of leaders condemning anti-Semitic hate speech and believe that it can help protect vulnerable communities more than some legal remedies available in other countries.

Even where hate speech is prohibited by law, judicial remedies in no way substitute for a swift statement from a political leader that sends an unequivocal message to extremists, reassuring the community that they are a valued part of their country, and that their rights enjoy the support and backing of the government.

The key is to overcome the denial and defensiveness that prevents solution-oriented action. Time and again, governments respond to ADL reports and even our polling data with one reflexive response: "The data is flawed because my country is not an anti-Semitic country." We remind governments that the real measure of a society is not the presence of anti-Semitic attitudes or the documentation of incidents but rather how robust a response and prevention mechanism is in place to help the victims, to ensure that these incidents are investigated and prosecuted, and that the attitudes and rhetoric are rejected by the leaders.

Recommendations for Action:

Governments bear the primary responsibility to ensure that Jews are afforded the same rights as others to live in security and with dignity in their communities. If, in the past, the challenge was to combat state-supported anti-Semitism, the challenge now lies in the need for states to make good on their pledges to fight anti-Semitism, by mobilizing political will and utilizing the human rights and anti-discrimination instruments related to anti-Semitism and intolerance.

Below are recommendations for governments to institutionalize a systemic, comprehensive strategy.

What OSCE Participating States Can Do

Start by using your own bully pulpit to speak out. Political leaders have the most immediate and significant opportunity to set the tone of a national response to an anti-Semitic incident. Nothing gives a greater sense of security than seeing anti-Semitism publicly rejected. This signals that the government takes seriously the right to live free of harassment. Even without hate crimes laws, where there is political will, where the police know anti-Semitism when they see it, when local and national officials marginalize and reject it, people are more secure.

Lead by example and set a tone of civility. Political leaders should lead by example in their own country and must never engage in divisive appeals that demonize any member of society based on race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, or religion. When political leaders are determined to build consensus across party lines to demonstrate that some behaviors are beyond the pale, we see

real change. We know in our own country the power that words have to shape, not just our political debate, but the environment in which targeted communities live.

Zero tolerance for anti-Semitism in international forums. The action in the OSCE has shown that leaders can use international forums to marginalize instead of to “tolerate” anti-Semitism.

Support the reappointment of the Personal Representative of the CiO on Anti-Semitism.

Support ODIHR focus on anti-Semitism and ask for other countries to join the effort. The US should support the specialized work of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) Tolerance and non-Discrimination Unit. But what does it say when most governments will come to an OSCE conference to condemn anti-Semitism, yet only the same two or three delegations come forward each time with support for education programs and other tools to combat anti-Semitism and hate crime?

Enact inclusive hate crimes laws. The OSCE has developed guidance to establish a common framework for improving responses to hate crimes.

Partner with communities and empower them to help address hate crime.

Educate about anti-Semitism and empower students to reject and combat it. Anti-bias lessons which focus on the specific nature of anti-Semitism should be integrated into the curriculum and into after-school activities. Education ministries should establish anti-bias teaching standards and model policies to protect students from school-based anti-Semitic incidents and harassment. Schools should adopt formal written policies governing how teachers, administrators and security professionals identify and respond effectively to bias-motivated bullying, violence, and harassment. The policy should include formal reporting and complaint procedures and facilitate cooperation between educators and law enforcement officials.

Promote effective Holocaust remembrance and education. There is increased recognition that Holocaust education alone does not counter anti-Semitism and that effective programs must also address contemporary anti-Semitism as a separate subject.

Utilize parliamentary forums. Many of the initiatives we have described were the product of Congressional hearings and inquiries like this one. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has mobilized some of the OSCE efforts. The All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry Into Antisemitism in the UK is also a model other parliaments could follow. Parliamentarians from different countries gathered in London in February 2009 for the founding Conference and Summit of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism, issued a “London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism” which any parliamentarian can endorse. A follow-up conference was held in Ottawa in November 2010, which led to the Ottawa Protocol on Combating Antisemitism of September 2011.

What the US Can Do

Prioritize combating anti-Semitism on bilateral agendas. The US should let our allies know that addressing anti-Semitism and hate crime is part of our bilateral agenda. Special Envoy Rosenthal can play a role in putting a country’s lack of compliance on the US agenda. Congress has a central role to play in promoting this emphasis both within the State Department and in your own bilateral contacts and outreach to foreign officials.

Sustain support for the Office of Special Envoy. One of the primary reasons it is so important that Presidents Bush and Obama appointed Special Envoys to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism is because anti-Semitism is a continuously mutating phenomenon that is not always easy to discern. As this testimony has set out, it sometimes must be addressed in unique ways and it requires the attention of someone experienced to have a particular focus on crafting a strategy to address it.

Congress and the Administration should have visible contact with Jewish communities. While many embassies have deep and longstanding relationships with Jewish community activists, there are many communities which have never had contact with their local US mission. Outreach to Jewish communities is one way to facilitate data collection and connect Jewish communities with US resources and efforts.

Elevate the Role of the US National Point of Contact on Hate Crime. The US is well poised to lend expertise and put forward programming initiatives as part of the OSCE discussion on hate crime. But that effort should engage hate crime experts who can put forward practical tools and initiatives. Although the US drove the creation of the OSCE hate crime initiative, the current list of the 56 National Points of Contact shows that the US is the only country that has designated an officer of its OSCE mission as its National Point of Contact on hate crime. While diplomats play a vital role in safeguarding and advancing our agenda on a day-to-day basis in Vienna, there is no question that the US would be well served by putting our best hate crime experts into this mix as so many of the other countries do.

Combating anti-Semitism should be part of the full array of human rights and democracy programming, funding, and public diplomacy efforts. For example, the State Department's International Visitor Programs and other US-funded exchange and public diplomacy programs should reflect the growing US and international recognition of anti-Semitism and of the problem of hate crime broadly. US assistance programs should fund prevention as well as response efforts. While part of the challenge is to institute legal norms and protections for victims of anti-Semitism, we also know that prevention efforts can head off tension, conflict, and violence that can erupt when anti-Semitism goes unanswered. US assistance programs could focus on public education campaigns to promote tolerance.

The US must not demur from addressing anti-Semitism with Muslim and Arab leaders. In his Cairo speech, President Obama spoke directly to the Arab World about the centuries of persecution and anti-Semitism endured by the Jewish people. The President understood the challenge, that hatred of Jews is deeply rooted there and is poised to be part of the landscape for generations if it is not addressed. The instruments of US public diplomacy and President Obama's emissary to the Organization of the Islamic Conference should actualize the spirit of the President's statement in Cairo and seek ways to address the issue of anti-Semitism where it is needed most.

Provide training and assistance to improve the policing and prosecution of anti-Semitism. US training and technical assistance programs, such as rule of law and judicial assistance programs and police training delivered through US International Law Enforcement Academies, are prime vehicles to reach governmental and law enforcement audiences around the world. We should not miss an opportunity to provide training on hate crime response, including legal tools, model policies, and training on investigating and prosecuting anti-Semitic crimes.

Strengthen the fight against anti-Semitism and intolerance at home. Congress has been instrumental in advancing the fight against global anti-Semitism on the international stage. As legislators, each of you has the ability to also strengthen America's efforts to address and prevent anti-Semitism and hate crime here at home. The federal government has an essential role to play in helping law enforcement, communities, and schools implement effective hate crimes prevention programs and activities. We know of no federal anti-bias or hate crimes education and prevention programming that is currently addressing youth hate violence. Members of Congress should authorize federal anti-bias and hate crimes education programs to help schools and communities address violent bigotry.

Appendix I

Toolbox for Combating Hate Crime

ODIHR has developed a range of tools and expert networks to support participating States in implementing their commitments related to tolerance and non-discrimination. These provide States with technical assistance in their efforts to combat hate crimes and intolerance. The following is an overview of the ODIHR toolbox to aid the work of governments and society in OSCE participating States. Further information can be found on the ODIHR website at <http://www.osce.org/odihr/20057.html>

Tool	Description
Law enforcement officer training on combating hate crime	A train-the-trainer approach tailored to each target country is used to equip police officers with methods for identifying and investigating hate crimes, as well as with skills for sharing intelligence and working with prosecutors and affected communities. Having been developed by a network of law enforcement experts on hate crimes from seven OSCE participating States, the curriculum (including working definitions and a police reporting form template) is delivered by police officers for police officers, and can be customized by states to address their needs.
Prosecutor training (under development)	Training for prosecutors is an essential corollary to police training. This training is tailored to the specific needs and concerns of legal professionals and has been developed and delivered by international experts on prosecuting hate crimes. Two modules – initial awareness-raising expert round-tables or advanced-level training – will be available. Local legislation, case studies and international legal frameworks will be integrated into both modules.
Hate Crime Laws: A Practical Guide	The guidelines set out the rationale for and approaches to drafting hate crime legislation, with examples of and commentaries on different approaches available to legislators. Good practices are highlighted and risks identified. The use of technical legal terminology has been minimized, so the publication not only provides guidelines for legal experts, but also a reference guide for policy-makers, civil society, law enforcement officials and other interested parties.
Civil society capacity building	Publication of a resource guide for civil society on hate-motivated violence including definitions of hate crimes and practical advice on how to best prevent and respond to the phenomenon and a useful list of resources. The resource guide will be available in English and Russian on the ODIHR website. Organization of training seminars for civil society on how to prevent and respond to hate crime throughout the OSCE region.
Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System (TANDIS)	TANDIS (http://tandis.odihr.pl/) is a public website providing single point access to a broad collection of information from OSCE states, NGOs, and other organizations. The information offered covers international standards and instruments, country reports and annual reports from intergovernmental organizations, and upcoming events related to tolerance and non-discrimination issues. The site also offers country-specific pages providing access to country initiatives, legislation, national specialized bodies, statistics and other information, and thematic pages covering different key issues.

Preventive and Awareness- Raising	Measures to Combat Hate
Guidelines and assessment of approaches to education on the Holocaust and anti-Semitism	The study <i>Education on the Holocaust and on Anti-Semitism: An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches</i> evaluates existing approaches and identifies good practices to support efforts by OSCE participating States and civil society. It also identifies gaps and areas where teaching about the Holocaust and about anti-Semitism needs to be strengthened. The report's comprehensive recommendations provide a framework for the development of curricula on Holocaust education and education about anti-Semitism.
Guidelines for educators on Holocaust commemoration	The document "Preparing Holocaust Memorial Days: Suggestions for Educators" identifies and presents best practices from 12 OSCE participating States. Developed in co-operation with Yad Vashem and education experts from Austria, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, the Russian Federation, Sweden, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom, the document is available in 13 languages on the ODIHR website.
Overview of governmental activities on Holocaust Memorial Days	The country-by-country overview of governmental activities on Holocaust Memorial Days, developed in co-operation with the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, is designed to facilitate the exchange of good practices among public officials by providing information about different forms of commemoration in OSCE participating States. The document is available in English on the ODIHR website.
Educational materials about anti-Semitism	Teaching materials have been developed for seven OSCE participating States in close co-operation with the Anne Frank House and experts from each of the states. Country-specific adaptations, based on the historical and current situation in each country, have been developed and piloted. The materials come in three parts, with the first and second parts covering the history and contemporary forms of anti-Semitism, respectively and the third putting anti-Semitism within the framework of other forms of discrimination. A teacher's guide will accompany the materials. The teaching materials are currently being adapted for three additional participating States.
Guide for Educators on Addressing Anti-Semitism: Why and How?	Developed in co-operation with Yad Vashem and experts from various OSCE participating States, the Guide provides educators with an overview of contemporary manifestations of anti-Semitism. It also provides suggestions on how to respond to expressions of anti-Semitism in the class room. The document is available in English, Croatian, German, Spanish, Polish, Slovak, Lithuanian and Russian on the ODIHR website.
Country-Specific Resource Books on Muslim Communities	This project seeks to support the development of a series of country-specific resource books to promote an increased understanding of Muslim communities across the OSCE region and to provide a more complete overview of their role in and contribution in society. The resource books are designed as practical tools for journalists, policy makers, public officials and educators. The Resource Book on Muslim Communities in Spain is available on the ODIHR website in English and Spanish.
Guide for Educators: Addressing prejudice against Muslims: Why and How?	Developed in co-operation with Anne Frank House and experts from various OSCE participating States, the Guide provides educators with an overview of contemporary manifestations of prejudice against Muslims. It also provides suggestions on how to respond to stereotypes and prejudice against Muslims in the class room. The document will be available in English on the ODIHR website.

Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools	<p>Developed in 2007 by the ODIHR Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief and leading scholars, policy-makers, educators and lawyers, the principles provide a tool to assist participating States whenever they choose to promote the study and knowledge about religions and beliefs in schools.</p> <p>They offer an overview of the human rights framework and legal issues to consider when teaching about religions and beliefs, providing practical guidance for preparing curricula, preferred procedures for assuring fairness in their development, and standards for their implementation.</p> <p>They also highlight procedures and practices for training those who will implement such curricula, and the treatment of pupils from different faith backgrounds to be taught according to the curricula. The guidelines are available in English, Russian and Spanish.</p>
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APPENDIX II: WHAT IS ANTI-SEMITISM?

Anti-Semitism is a form of hatred, mistrust, and contempt for Jews based on stereotypes and myths. It can invoke the belief that Jews have extraordinary influence with which they conspire to harm or control society. It can target Jews as individuals, as a group or a people, or it can target Israel as a Jewish entity. Criticism of Israel or Zionism is anti-Semitic when it invokes anti-Jewish stereotypes, symbols and images, or holds Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel.

Anti-Semitism has existed over many centuries and the negative stereotypes it draws on have taken hold in the popular culture and thought of many societies. It can take the form of hate speech, discrimination, or violence against people or property. It may target individuals or communities on small or large scales. The most extreme example of this was the Nazi's organized plan to exterminate the Jews through the Holocaust.

Various forms of intolerance—racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism—share many elements in common. Stereotyping, seeing the victim as the other, are among these common elements. On the other hand, there are core characteristics unique to each type of hatred. In the case of anti-Semitism, it resides in a matrix of three beliefs about Jews:

1. They have almost mythical, overwhelming power;
2. They are more loyal to an outside party than they are to their own country;
3. They approach work or involvements, not merely as individuals, but rather in a cabal, in a conspiracy to achieve some sinister, Jewish-centric end.

This matrix is insidious and provides the fuel for a lethal form of hatred, political anti-Semitism. This belief system, when running rampant, created the justification for large-scale murders of Jews on the grounds that Jews were so poisonous that society had a right to defend itself in any way against this poison.

There is sometimes confusion around the term "Semitic," which historically has referred to a language group that includes Arabic, Amharic, and Hebrew. "Semite" was a term that described a person who spoke one of these languages. Notwithstanding the traditional meaning of the word "Semite," anti-Semitism in conventional English refers specifically to hatred of Jews.

The word "anti-Semitism" is generally attributed to Wilhelm Marr, who used the German term "Antisemitismus" in a book entitled "The Way to Victory of Germanism over 'Judaism,'" in 1879. Marr claimed that "scientific" research into the characteristics of the Jewish "race" justified hatred for Jews. The same year his book was published, Marr founded a political party, "The League of Antisemites," which campaigned for the expulsion of Jews from Germany. Just over half a century later, Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party took this racial hatred for Jews a deadly step further when they exterminated six million Jews in what they called "The Final Solution."

There are two key points to understanding the origins of the word "anti-Semitism." The first is that "anti-Semitism" was popularized as a term not by Jews themselves, but by individuals and political groups who openly proclaimed hatred of the Jewish people. The second is that "anti-Semitism" in modern English refers solely to hatred directed against Jews. Some who express prejudice or hatred toward the Jewish people claim that they cannot be anti-Semites because they too, as speakers of a Semitic language, are technically "Semites." This semantic argument that a speaker of a certain language cannot by definition hold prejudice against Jews detracts from the real issue and undercuts the potential for dialogue about ways to end hatred of all kinds.

Today, it is all too common to find anti-Semitism under the guise of extreme criticism of Israel or of Zionism, the founding nationalist ideology of the Jewish state. In these cases, criticism of Israel crosses the line into anti-Semitism when such criticism invokes age-old anti-Jewish stereotypes, or when Israel is singularly demonized.

Holocaust denial is a form of anti-Semitism that minimizes or denies the Nazi regime's systematic mass murder of six million Jews in Europe during World War II. Holocaust deniers suggest that Jews pulled off a scam of monumental proportions, compelling governments, media, and academia around the world to acknowledge a catastrophe that never really happened.

The most vexing issue raised by anti-Semitism is its constant presence throughout history, across different societies and cultures, as well as its continued existence in

our own time. It's important to note that the presence of a substantial Jewish community is not a necessary condition for anti-Semitism to emerge. An anti-Semitic campaign launched by Poland's communist regime in the late 1960s was described by one scholar as "anti-Semitism without Jews," because Poland's Jewish community, which numbered over 3 million before World War II, had already been decimated by the Nazi Holocaust and further depleted by the emigration of survivors. Today, the Arab and Islamic world is a major incubator of anti-Semitism towards Jews individually or as a collective, even though the Jewish population in these countries is nearly invisible.

The existence of anti-Semitism in societies where there are few or no Jews, and its evolution throughout history, demonstrates how deeply embedded anti-Semitism has been across different cultures and also why persecution has been a constant fear in Jewish life for centuries. Anti-Semitism has been compared to a virus which adapts to different conditions. As with a virus, when it comes to anti-Semitism, it is possible to identify both consistent elements and elements which, while borrowing from previous eruptions, are updated to suit a particular environment. Many of these elements—conspiracy theories, myths, mob violence and much else—recur throughout the history.

Raul Hilberg, an eminent historian of the Holocaust, telescoped the history of anti-Semitism like this: "The missionaries of Christianity had said in effect: You have no right to live among us as Jews. The secular rulers who followed had proclaimed: You have no right to live among us. The German Nazis at last decreed: You have no right to live. The German Nazis, then, did not discard the past; they built upon it. They did not begin a development; they completed it."

APPENDIX III: EXAMPLES OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS ACROSS THE OSCE REGION,
2010—2011*2010 Incidents**Austria*

July 30, 2010—Villach—Five teenagers between 17 and 19 years old vandalized a memorial for Nazi victims. The five were known by police to be members of a neo-Nazi group. The memorial, with the names of residents who were killed by the Nazis, has been repeatedly damaged since it was unveiled in 1999.

March 5, 2010—Upper Austria—Vandals defaced the walls of the former Nazi concentration camp Mauthausen with anti-Jewish and anti-Turkish slurs.

Belgium

May 21, 2010—Brussels—An identifiably Jewish rabbi was walking down the street when a bucket of water was dumped on him from an apartment balcony.

April 13, 2010—Brussels—A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a synagogue in the Anderlecht neighborhood. Neighbors put out the fire, resulting in only superficial damage.

April 5, 2010—Antwerp—According to a complaint to the police, three women around 20 years old and of Arab descent yelled insults at Jewish pedestrians from a car. One woman reportedly got out of the car, grabbed a young Jewish girl by the throat, and threatened to kill her. When a young man tried to separate them, the other two women got out of the car, shouting anti-Semitic insults, and one hit the young man. The police arrived and restored order.

April 1, 2010—Antwerp—A visibly identifiable Jew was accosted as he approached his car, parked on a street near a mosque, and told “If we see you again, we’ll kill you.”

January 15, 2010—Antwerp—A Molotov cocktail was thrown at the main entrance of the Bouwmeester synagogue. Some burn marks were left on the wall near the door, but no other damage was reported. Police are investigating.

Bulgaria

May 14, 2010—Sofia—A memorial to Soviet World War II soldiers was spray-painted with Stars of David and the phrase “Occupiers from distant lands.”

Canada

April 5, 2010—Gatineau, Quebec—Two students at Carleton University, including the vice-president of the Carleton University Students’ Association, were allegedly harassed and chased by a group of men brandishing a machete and screaming anti-Semitic remarks in English and Arabic. The victims said they were assaulted outside of a bar by a group of ten men, who threatened and hit them. After running to a nearby parking lot, the assailants allegedly reappeared in a car, calling the students “F***ing Jews” and wielding a machete. As the students ran from the parking lot, one of the attackers threw the machete, narrowly missing them.

Czech Republic

August 30, 2010—Prague—A swastika was drawn on the front stoop of the Jubilee Synagogue.

Denmark

June 15, 2010—Copenhagen—Tombstones were broken in the Jewish cemetery.

France

October 11, 2010—Paris—A Jewish high school student had a sticker put on his back that read, “I boycott the Israeli occupier.”

October 3, 2010—Strasbourg—Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti were painted on the house of a Jewish doctor.

September 29, 2010—Aubervilliers—A Jewish teenager on his way to a synagogue was attacked and robbed by several individuals, who said “Dirty Jew, I’m going to take out my knife” and “We Algerians are going to kill you.”

September 13, 2010—Toulouse—A synagogue in a suburb of Toulouse was burglarized and “dirty Jews” was written on the ark housing the Torahs.

August 24, 2010—Paris—An anonymous letter with a death threat and nine bullets was sent to the synagogue in Draney (a suburb of Paris where the Vichy government established a transit camp and from where 65,000 Jews were deported to death camps). The death threat read, “dirty Jew, we’re going to put nine bullets in each of you.” According to reports, the letter also contained a swastika and an allusion to the Gaza flotilla, and a similar letter was received by a synagogue in Stains, another Paris suburb.

August 17, 2010—Toulouse—A Jewish woman was accosted on a plaza by two men, who reproached her for buying food and not respecting the Ramadan fast. When the woman responded that she was Jewish, the two men called her a “dirty Jew” and hit her in the head, causing her to fall to the ground. A security guard who was present did not intervene. When police investigators later asked the guard why he did nothing, he responded that he was in a hurry to get home to break the Ramadan fast at sundown. The attack reportedly occurred at 7:30 p.m. Sundown on that day was at 8:55 p.m.

August 3, 2010—Marmande—A Holocaust memorial in the town of Marmande, near Bordeaux, was vandalized. The monument, which lists the names of camps to which French Jews were deported, was spray-painted with “lies,” “Zionism,” and dollar signs. Nearby the same red paint was used to draw swastikas and “France for the French!”

July 29, 2010—Paris—Swastikas were spray-painted on several kosher shops and a Jewish school in the center of Paris.

July 22, 2010—Melun—Anti-Semitic graffiti and swastikas were spray-painted on the front of the town’s only synagogue and over the entire surrounding wall. The public prosecutor of the town, southeast of Paris, said that highest priority would be given to the investigation, as this was the first such attack in Melun.

July 21, 2010—Wolfisheim—Twenty-seven graves were desecrated at a Jewish cemetery near Strasbourg.

June 13, 2010—Nice—A group of young men of North African descent threw rocks at a Chabad rabbi while shouting, “Jew murderers.”

June 7, 2010—Paris—A man of North African origin walked up the aisle of a train, shouting, “Are you a Jew? Are you a Jew?” When he came upon a man whom he took for a Jew, he shouted, “I don’t like Jews! I’m going to beat you. Did you see what your cousins did in Gaza?” He punched him in the face and threw him to the ground. The victim was hospitalized.

June 4, 2010—Paris—Five students, ages 14 to 21, were subjected to anti-Semitic taunts and threats at a subway station in the Paris suburb of Bruney. Two men reportedly insulted them, yelled “Death to you,” “Jews, we’ll kill you all,” and “Fofana, Fofana” (the name of the leader of the Gang of Barbarians who tortured and murdered Ilan Halimi in 2006). One reportedly showed a knife and made a sign of throat-cutting. After a student called the police, the men were arrested in a nearby supermarket.

June 7, 2010—Metz—A Molotov cocktail was thrown at a Jewish elder care home; no damage was reported.

June 6, 2010—Nice—A rabbi was insulted on the street and rocks were thrown at him, injuring his leg.

April 30, 2010—Nîmes—Three men, described as being of Arab descent, assaulted an 80-year-old Jewish man with tear gas in front of the town’s synagogue and spray-painted “F---the Jews” on the wall. As of May 5, police have one suspect in custody and are searching for the two others. The attack was widely condemned, including by the Muslim Council of France.

March 18, 2010—Marseille—“Jews are whores” was spray-painted on the Ohel Yaacov synagogue.

January 26, 2010—Strasbourg—Swastikas and anti-Semitic phrases such as “Juden Raus” (Jews out) were painted on more than 30 headstones in a local Jewish cemetery. Some of the headstones were also damaged or overturned.

Germany

August 28, 2010—Dresden—The door of a Jewish funeral home was set on fire, but quickly extinguished by firefighters after being alerted by a passing cyclist.

August 4, 2010—Bocholt—Ten gravestones were vandalized at a Jewish cemetery with swastikas and other anti-Semitic slogans.

June 22, 2010—Sahlkamp, Hanover—Members of a Jewish dance troupe were forced off stage during a neighborhood street festival, after a group of children and teenagers pelted the dancers with stones and used a bullhorn to scream anti-Semitic remarks. One of the dancers was injured. The dance group of the Liberal Jewish Congregation in Hanover ended their performance. The assailants were reportedly of Lebanese, Palestinian, Iraqi, Iranian and Turkish origin. Politicians and local associations responded in outrage and disbelief to the incident.

June 15, 2010—Babenhausen—Swastikas were spray-painted on tombstones in the town’s Jewish cemetery.

June 1, 2010—Hessen—“Free Gaza—long live global intifada” and “Stop the offense against the Gaza-flotilla” were spray-painted on the door of the Jewish Council.

May 16, 2010—Worms—A synagogue was doused with flammable liquid and set on fire during the night, resulting in a blackened exterior but no major damage. Police found eight copies of a note that stated, “So long as you do not give the Palestinians peace, we are not going to give you peace.” Kurt Beck, premier of the German state of Rhineland-Palatinate, said, “The perpetrator should know that such an act against a Jewish house of God is a travesty that we will pursue with all legal means.”

March 26, 2010—Berlin—A man and two women, all in their 20’s, were beaten on a subway station platform. The three were approached by a man who asked if they were Jewish. He reportedly returned some time later with a group of youths who attacked the three, physically beating and kicking them and hitting them over the head with beer bottles.

Greece

June 22, 2010—Athens—Red swastikas were painted on the walls of the Jewish Museum of Greece.

June 13, 2010—Kavala—“Jews Murderers” was spray-painted on a wall of the local Jewish cemetery.

June 6, 2010—Komotini—A man was arrested after he allegedly spray-painted a swastika on a Holocaust Memorial.

May 17, 2010—Rhodes—The Holocaust monument on the island of Rhodes was vandalized. A heavy object was used to damage the granite facade in several places.

May 13, 2010—Thessaloniki—Gasoline-soaked rags were used to set fire to a tomb in the Jewish cemetery. Swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti reading “Fire to the Jews” and “Juden raus” appeared on a number of tombstones and on the wall of the cemetery. Three Greek neo-Nazi activists were arrested on suspicion of writing Nazi slogans on the cemetery walls. The Greek Government strongly condemned the vandalisms.

January 6, 2010—Crete—Unknown vandals broke into the island’s only synagogue and set fire to the building using an improvised firebomb. The perpetrators also threw a bar of soap at the building, to illustrate the common Greek anti-Semitic expression “I’ll make you into a bar of soap.” The building sustained significant water and smoke damage.

Italy

August 15, 2010—Trani—“Juden Raus” (Jews out) and a swastika were spray-painted on the exterior wall of an apartment building in Trani, a town of 50,000 in southern Italy.

May 13, 2010—Rome—Graffiti mocking Anne Frank and a swastika were spray-painted on a wall near an old fort where Nazis shot anti-fascists during World War II and which in 2009 was dedicated to victims of Nazism and fascism. The graffiti used a play on words in Italian to read, “Anne Frank didn’t get away with it.” Rome Mayor Gianni Alemanno denounced the incident as “obscene and shameful.”

Kyrgyzstan

September 8, 2010—Bishkek—A pipe bomb was thrown at the synagogue an hour before services began for the Jewish New Year.

Latvia

December 7, 2010—Riga—Swastikas were spray-painted on more than 100 tombstones at the New Jewish Cemetery. At a news conference, Latvian President Valdis Zatlers said, “We absolutely condemn vandalism in Jewish cemeteries and call for everything to be done to find those responsible and repair the damage.”

Lithuania

August 21, 2010—Kaunas—A pig’s head, costumed with a hat and sidelocks, was placed outside a synagogue.

January 20, 2010—Vilnius—A statue commemorating Dr. Tsemakh Shabad, a near-legendary figure in Vilna Jewish lore, was defaced with paint.

Poland

July 15, 2010—Warsaw—Vandals desecrated the grave of a Polish woman who saved about 2,500 Jewish children from death during World War II. The words “Jews out” were spray-painted on the Warsaw grave of Irena Sendler, who was recognized as one of the Righteous Among the Nations by the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Israel.

May 8, 2010—Rzeszow—During a soccer match fans of a local team displayed a large banner showing a caricature of a hook-nosed stereotypical Jew with a blue and

white yarmulke—the colors of the opposing team—and the phrase, “Death to the Crooked Noses.”

March 13, 2010—Krakow—A former concentration camp, Plaszow, was defaced with anti-Semitic slogans such as “Juden Raus” (Jews out) and “Hitler Good.” The vandalism was discovered on the 67th anniversary of the Nazi liquidation of the Krakow ghetto.

Romania

April 2010—Miercurea Ciuc—Three young ethnic Hungarians were arrested in a Transylvanian town for placing a poster on the wall of a supermarket that said, “Be ashamed. You have bought from Jews again.” The three are members of the local Hungarian Guard that is affiliated with the radical Jobbik party in Hungary. The phrase on the poster was used in Hungary during World War II.

Russia

October 6, 2010—Barnaul—“The Holocaust is a myth,” “Adolf was right” and “Death to the Jews” were spray-painted on the city’s synagogue.

June 21, 2010—Tver—A homemade bomb exploded outside a Russian synagogue, causing property damage. Police officials have characterized the incident as “malicious hooliganism,” and believe it was motivated by anti-Semitism. Terrorism experts from the Moscow office of the Federal Security Service have begun a criminal investigation.

March 17, 2010—Tver—Leaflets with photos of Russia’s Chief Rabbi Berl Lazar were hung on lampposts with the phrases: “Remember, our main enemy is the Jew. If you see him, beat him!”

Spain

June 16, 2010—Torremolinos—A swastika was spray-painted near the local synagogue.

February 1, 2010—Madrid—A young Hasidic Jew was stopped on the street in the center of Madrid by a woman who slapped him and repeatedly hurled insults, including “Dirty Jew,” “You Jews are responsible for all the evil in the world,” and “You Jews are thieves.” Bystanders called the police, who arrived while the woman was still there and are investigating.

Sweden

October 10, 2010—Malmo—About 10 teenagers threw eggs and trash cans at building where a weekend retreat for Jewish children was taking place. The teenagers also reportedly shouted, “Heil Hitler” and “Jewish pigs” during the attack.

July 23, 2010—Malmo—A small explosion early in the morning blackened the entrance to the synagogue and broke three windows. A note with a bomb threat had been put on the synagogue door the day before.

July 7, 2010—Stockholm—A rabbi was walking home from Stockholm’s central train station when four young rnen of Arab descent yelled, “You will die, f--- Israeli, f---- killer, you will be beaten.” The four then ran towards the rabbi, who escaped by jumping into a nearby taxi.

June 2, 2010—Stockholm—A bomb threat was made when someone called the Jewish community center in and said, “the Jewish center will blow up today.”

March 14, 2010—Stockholm—Rocks were thrown at the Jewish community center, breaking a window.

Turkey

June 25, 2010—Istanbul—Police arrested a man on suspicion of planning to murder rabbis in Istanbul. According to media reports, the 20-year old had sent an anonymous threat to a synagogue in Istanbul.

Ukraine

October 27, 2010—Evpatoria—“Die dirty kikes” and swastikas were spray-painted on a synagogue.

April 21, 2010—Kyiv—“Death to the Jews” and “The Holocaust Continues” were painted on walls of a Jewish school.

April 19, 2010—Ternopil—Twenty-six graves in the town’s old Jewish cemetery were vandalized with anti-Semitic and other graffiti.

United States

Illinois: Two suspicious packages, later determined to be explosive devices, that were intercepted on cargo planes were addressed to Chicago-area Jewish institutions. The packages were thought to have originated in Yemen as part of a terror plot by Al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula.

California: At a high school party in someone's home, one boy said to another, "you kike" and punched him in the face, breaking his jaw.

New York: A man was approached by another man on the street who pushed him and yelled "Go back to Aushwitz."

Florida: On the day before Yom Kippur, a group of students said to a Jewish student, "Jews starve themselves because they hate G-d." The victim was struck six or seven times in the head and suffered a concussion.

New Jersey: Two identifiably Jewish individuals were walking down a street when a pick-up truck drove past them and approximately five paintballs were fired from the driver-side window.

Indiana: One campus saw a spate of incidents where a rock was thrown into the window of a Jewish facility, a menorah was vandalized, a display case in the Jewish studies department was smashed and several Hebrew-language texts (including some sacred texts) were stolen and were urinated on.

California: Vandals spray painted anti-Semitic graffiti on the wall of a Jewish institution's parking lot. Vandalism included a swastika with "88," which is a commonly used number symbol meaning "Heil Hitler."

Massachusetts: A 10th grade student found a swastika, "F--- the Jews" and "Hitler was right" written on a bathroom stall.

Connecticut: Graffiti written on stone in Jewish section of a cemetery, stating "Damn right you kikes aren't gonna forget," with a swastika below the words.

New York: Eight posts were defaced with blue magic marker reading: "Down with Jews (3 times)...," "Down with the racist Jews, exterminate them all the world will be a cleaner place," and "Down with racist Jews."

Georgia: Someone posted "stupid Jewish bitch" on a teenager's social networking page.

Florida: A cantor received a threatening phone call that said, "Be careful Hitler's behind you, and he's going to put an axe in your neck."

Colorado: 3 Boulder Jewish communal organizations had their websites hacked and language including "Jews are terrorists. Child Organ Smugglers. F--- The Jews! and F--- Israel" was posted.

New Jersey: A father and 12-year-old son, both identifiably Jewish, were walking to synagogue when a driver stopped and shouted anti-Semitic comments.

New York: Slips of paper with the words "kill Jews" were found scattered across New York City and Nassau County.

California: Complainant received an anonymous letter at her work address that said "F--- you kike, too bad Hitler didn't finish the job."

2011 Incidents

Belgium

November, 2011—13 year-old Jewish girl was attacked and severely beaten by five schoolmates of Moroccan origin, who repeatedly called her a "dirty Jew" and told her to "go back to her country."

February 22, 2011—Antwerp—A Jewish man riding a bicycle was punched in the face. When he asked the attacker why he hit him, the assailant said, "Because you're a Jew."

March 1, 2011—Antwerp—When three Orthodox Jews entered a cafe, the barman shouted at them, "No Jews." When they insisted that he repeat his comment, he said the cafe was closed, despite numerous clients being served.

Canada

August 4, 2011—Toronto—A swastika with the words "Islam will rule" was spray painted on the exterior of the Beth Tikvah synagogue.

January 15, 2011—Montreal—Vandals hurled rocks through the windows of five synagogues and a Jewish day school.

France

June 20, 2011—Paris—A 40-year-old Jewish man was attacked by two assailants who grabbed his bag with his tallit (prayer shawl) and tefillin (phylacteries). The attackers punched and kicked him in the head and body, while shouting anti-Semitic insults. The victim suffered deep bruises on his face, head lacerations that required suturing, and a fractured wrist.

June 18, 2011—Villeurbanne—A 21-year-old identifiably Jewish man was assaulted in a suburb of Lyon. He was accosted by an individual who said, "turn around and go back, you son-of-a-bitch Jew." The attacker left, then returned with a hammer and hit the victim on the head. A dozen other assailants joined in, kicking the victim and hitting him with a nightstick. The victim was hospitalized with head and other injuries.

May 7, 2011—Marseilles—An 11-year-old Jewish girl on her way to a synagogue was accosted by a teenager who demanded to know if she was Jewish. The assailant threatened the girl with a knife and reportedly said, “You are going to dirty meeting.” Another teenager rescued the girl, who took refuge inside the synagogue.

May 7, 2011—Marseilles—Three Jewish boys were beaten during a soccer match by a dozen attackers, who shouted “dirty Jews, we’re going to f--- your corpses.” One boy sustained a serious eye injury; the other two were only slightly injured.

May 7, 2011—Nancy—A Jewish school was vandalized with anti-Semitic slogans and, evidence at the scene suggested, attempted arson. Minister of Education Luc Chatel denounced the attack as an attack on France.

April 7, 2011—Lyon—A 21-year-old Jewish student was shot four times with a pellet gun in an attack involving two unidentified assailants. The incident started when one of the perpetrators asked the student’s name. After he responded, the perpetrator reportedly said, “You don’t look like an Antoine, you look like a Jew, you’re definitely a Jew.” When the victim confirmed he was Jewish, one of the assailants shot him. The student was also beaten on his head and body with the butt of the gun. He was hospitalized with wounds to the head, neck, abdomen, and arm.

March 19, 2011—Garges-lès-Gonesse—A rock was thrown through a window of a synagogue during an evening Purim celebration.

March 17, 2011—Pont de Heruy—A 15-year-old Jewish boy was beaten by a group of about a dozen teenagers. The attackers threw him to the ground and beat him while yelling anti-Semitic insults.

Germany

March 30, 2011—Aachen—A swastika was spray-painted on the synagogue.

January 24, 2011—Goshen—A country house owned by an identifiably Jewish man was the target of an arson attack. A Star of David had been painted on the wall, together with the word “Out,” and police found evidence of arson.

Greece

May 15, 2011—Volos—“Jews you will die” and “Jewish (expletive), the gallows are coming” were among numerous anti-Semitic threats scrawled on the Volos synagogue and Jewish community center. Ultra-nationalist slogans, “Greece,” and crosses were also spray-painted on the synagogue’s exterior walls.

February 8, 2011—Athens—Mikis Theodorakis, the composer of “Zorba the Greek,” said in a television interview that he is an “anti-Semite and anti-Zionist.”

Hungary

January 23, 2011—Marcali—Three teenagers toppled 75 tombstones in a Jewish cemetery and admitted to police that they were “showing off” for one another. Prime Minister Orban’s spokesman condemned the incident, saying, “vandalism triggered by anti-Semitism” is “offensive to the Hungarian Jewish community and to all Hungarians.” He added that “the government condemns vandalism and will punish such acts.”

Netherlands

May 14, 2011—Leek—“C18,” a neo-Nazi slogan, and a swastika were spray-painted on the door of a Jewish school, which also houses a museum to the Jews of Leek who were deported and murdered during the Holocaust.

February 10, 2011—Amsterdam—During an interfaith walk by two rabbis, two Muslim scholars, a bishop and a pastor in an area where several anti-Semitic incidents have occurred, a young man made a Hitler salute and yelled, “Cancerous Jews.”

Poland

August 10, 2011—Orla—“Jews to the gas,” “Jude raus,” “All of Poland for the Poles,” and “White power” were spray-painted on a historic synagogue.

Russia

July 11, 2011—Moscow—Following the conviction of 12 neo-Nazis for murdering at least 20 non-Slavic people (mostly from Central Asia and the Caucasus), six Molotov cocktails were thrown at a Moscow synagogue. The synagogue did not catch fire and no one was injured.

January 31, 2011—St. Petersburg—Swastikas, anti-Semitic slogans, and threats were spray-painted on the gate and wall of the Jewish community center. The logo of a neo-Nazi group, NSWP, was also drawn.

Serbia

February 28, 2011—Belgrade—On a popular reality TV show, Serbian pop star Maja Nikolic said, “I don’t like Jews.” The Minister of Justice denounced the hate speech and the Public Prosecutor has opened an investigation.

Switzerland

February 23, 2011—Lausanne—Upon leaving a synagogue, a rabbi’s assistant was attacked by three individuals. The assailants asked if he was Jewish. When he responded positively, the three shouted anti-Semitic epithets, beat him with their fists and kicked him. Passers by intervened and called the police, who managed to arrest two of the assailants.

UK

January 29, 2011—Manchester—The head of the National Union of Students had to be led to safety by police from a tuition fees rally he had been due to address after being surrounded by protesters chanting anti-Semitic insults at him.

Compiled by the Anti-Defamation League’s Washington Office: More information about ADL’s resources on hate crimes can be found at the League’s Web site: <http://www.adl.org> and <http://www.partnersagainsthate.org/>

APPENDIX IV

Comparison of FBI Hate Crime Statistics (2010-2000)

	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
Population	306,756,318	303,825,298	300,914,290	298,000,000	295,085,000	292,170,000	289,255,000	286,340,000	283,425,000	280,510,000	277,595,000
Total Hate Crime Incidents Reported	6,828	6,804	7,783	7,624	7,722	7,163	7,449	7,489	7,462	8,730	8,083
Number of States, including D.C.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Percentage of U.S. Population Agencies Represented	92.37%	90.90%	88.9%	85.7%	85.2%	82.7%	80.9%	82.6%	85.7%	85.6%	84.2%

Offenders' Reported Motivations in Percentages of Incidents (2010-2000)

	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
Racial Bias	51,354.7	51,354.7	53,625.3	53,625.3	50,951.8	49,454.7	47,957.5	46,460.3	44,963.0	43,465.7	41,968.4
Anti-Semite	2,201,632	2,201,632	2,876,569	2,876,569	2,640,342	2,530,367	2,731,037	2,540,740	2,489,333	2,890,000	3,884,050
Anti-Arab / Islamic	1,875,800	1,875,800	2,716,212	2,716,212	2,448,915	2,338,940	2,539,610	2,348,305	2,296,998	2,697,600	3,691,600
Religious Bias	1,822,9	1,822,9	1,371,8	1,371,8	1,812,3	1,992,8	2,172,6	2,353,1	2,533,4	2,713,8	2,904,5
Anti-Semite	1,325,517	1,325,517	1,276,185	1,276,185	1,405,824	1,277,137	1,379,027	1,259,979	1,140,867	1,329,168	1,522,785
Anti-Semite	897,134	897,134	1,013,010	1,013,010	857,125	848,118	954,125	927,124	931,125	1,043,127	1,108,128
Ethnicity	180,24	180,24	105,13	105,13	1,592,0	1,201,8	1,662,0	1,402,0	1,552,1	1,814,9	2,003,5
National Origin	54,81	54,81	55,172	55,172	57,975	57,975	47,903	48,57	48,84	58,781	58,781
Sexual Orientation	1,103,448	1,103,448	1,226,816	1,226,816	1,064,83	1,167,432	1,397,916	1,238,968	1,224,402	1,358,73	1,594,818
Disability	430,85	430,85	781,0	781,0	701,0	59,074	57,074	330,44	450,59	350,26	300,45

Updated November, 2011
 Compiled by the Anti-Defamation League's Washington Office from information submitted by the FBI
 (Note: information for 2011 is preliminary and subject to change as more information is received from the Department of Justice)

Appendix V: FBI HCSA Did Not Report (DNR) and Zero Reporting

Group 1-DNR-2010						
City	Population (2010)	2010 Incidents	2009 Incidents	2008 Incidents	2007 Incidents	2006 Incidents
1 Honolulu, HI	950,268	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
2 Louisville, KY	637,428	DNR	DNR	5	2	2
3 Toledo, OH	315,647	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
4 Lexington, KY	300,069	DNR	DNR	20	7	10

Group 2-DNR-2010						
City	Population (2010)	2010 Incidents	2009 Incidents	2008 Incidents	2007 Incidents	2006 Incidents
1 Birmingham, AL	231,009	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
2 Baton Rouge, LA	226,001	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
3 Columbus, GA	184,576	DNR	0	DNR	DNR	DNR
4 Overland Park, KS	178,669	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
5 Jackson, MS	174,153	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
6 Kansas City, KS	143,867	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
7 Olathe, KS	126,090	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
8 Topeka, KS	125,306	DNR	DNR	2	DNR	DNR
9 Evansville, IN	116,541	DNR	DNR	0	2	1
10 South Bend, IN	104,182	DNR	DNR	1	DNR	0
11 Lafayette, LA	115,378	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR

Group 1-Reporting Zero-2010						
City	Population (2010)	2010 Incidents	2009 Incidents	2008 Incidents	2007 Incidents	2006 Incidents
1 Jacksonville, FL	822,414	0	2	3	1	3
2 Miami, FL	440,482	0	0	0	0	0
3 New Orleans, LA	356,317	0	0	0	4	DNR
4 Tampa, FL	347,830	0	5	2	13	18
5 Newark, NJ	280,379	0	2	3	1	1
6 Mobile, AL	255,178	0	1	0	0	DNR

Group 2-Reporting Zero-2010						
City	Population (2010)	2010 Incidents	2009 Incidents	2008 Incidents	2007 Incidents	2006 Incidents
1 St. Petersburg, FL	243,666	0	3	3	1	3
2 Chandler, AZ	241,826	0	2	0	4	7
3 Winston-Salem, NC	232,928	0	0	0	0	0
4 Laredo, TX	230,674	0	0	0	0	0
5 Lubbock, TX	227,867	0	0	0	0	0
6 Reno, NV	222,242	0	5	1	3	4
7 Hialeah, FL	217,995	0	0	2	0	2
8 Irvine, CA	217,193	0	3	9	2	5
9 Gilbert, AZ	215,215	0	0	5	7	3
10 Savannah-Chatham Metro, GA	210,744	0	0	DNR	DNR	DNR
11 Fayetteville, NC	208,263	0	2	2	DNR	0
12 Irving, TX	206,308	0	0	0	0	0
13 Montgomery, AL	203,966	0	DNR	0	DNR	DNR
14 Shreveport, LA	199,900	0	0	0	DNR	0

Compiled by the Anti-Defamation League's Washington Office from information collected by the FBI.

More information about ADL's resources on response to hate violence can be found at the League's Website:

www.adl.org

Updated November, 2011

15	Little Rock, AR	192,922	0	0	0	1	0
16	Amarillo, TX	190,393	0	0	0	0	0
17	Knoxville, TN	185,554	0	4	9	10	9
18	Huntsville, AL	183,357	0	0	0	0	DNR
19	Brownsville, TX	180,040	0	0	0	0	0
20	Grand Prairie, TX	166,866	0	0	0	0	0
21	Joliet, IL	150,723	0	2	1	DNR	DNR
22	Pembroke Pines, FL	147,343	0	0	0	0	1
23	Pasadena, TX	145,713	0	2	0	0	0
24	Hayward, CA	144,509	0	0	0	0	0
25	Sallnas, CA	144,242	0	3	2	2	0
26	Hollywood, FL	142,793	0	0	1	0	1
27	Elk Grove, CA	142,330	0	3	4	3	0
28	Cary, NC	141,461	0	1	0	1	2
29	Orange, CA	137,606	0	4	3	4	5
30	Syracuse, NY	136,284	0	0	1	DNR	DNR
31	McAllen, TX	134,623	0	0	0	0	0
32	Mesquite, TX	133,964	0	0	0	0	0
33	Fullerton, CA	133,139	0	7	1	2	4
34	Carrollton, TX	130,862	0	2	5	5	1
35	Cedar Rapids, IA	129,605	0	0	3	0	1
36	Waco, TX	127,039	0	0	0	2	0
37	Elizabeth, NJ	126,494	0	1	2	3	0
38	Stamford, CT	122,933	0	0	2	2	3
39	Killeen, TX	122,557	0	6	1	0	1
40	Victorville, CA	117,057	0	0	0	0	0
41	Frisco, TX	113,686	0	1	2	1	0
42	Santa Clara, CA	112,917	0	1	1	2	1
43	Athens-Clarke County, GA	112,851	0	DNR	DNR	DNR	DNR
44	Inglewood, CA	112,100	0	3	2	1	0
45	Midland, TX	109,791	0	2	6	3	DNR
46	Flint, MI	109,245	0	9	44	34	18
47	Waterbury, CT	108,489	0	0	0	0	0
48	Allentown, PA	108,473	0	0	0	0	0
49	Westminster, CO	108,383	0	1	0	0	1
50	Elgin, IL	107,731	0	2	1	1	DNR
51	Fairfield, CA	104,202	0	1	1	0	4
52	Erie, PA	104,077	0	0	1	0	1
53	Richardson, TX	104,051	0	0	1	0	1
54	Lowell, MA	103,065	0	2	0	3	1
55	Wilmington, NC	102,649	0	0	0	DNR	0
56	Gresham, OR	102,540	0	DNR	0	0	0
57	Daly City, CA	101,939	0	2	1	2	1
58	Odessa, TX	101,580	0	1	0	0	0
59	West Palm Beach, FL	101,267	0	0	0	0	0

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Updated November, 2011

APPENDIX VI: ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE STATE HATE CRIME STATUTORY PROVISIONS

	AL	AK	AZ	AR	CA	CO	CT	DC	DE	FL	GA	HI	ID	IL	IN	IA	KS	KY	LA	ME	MD	MA	MI	MN	MS	MT	NC	ND	NE	NH	NJ	NM	NY	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VA	VT	WA	WI	WV	WY				
Bias Motivated Violence and Intimidation - Criminal Penalty ¹		✓			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Civil Action				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Race, Religion, Ethnicity		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Sexual Orientation				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
Gender		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Gender Identity					✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Disability		✓			✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Other ²					✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Institutional Vandalism					✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Data Collection ³					✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Training for Law Enforcement Personnel ⁴					✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

¹ The following states also have statutes criminalizing interference with religious worship: AR, CA, DC, FL, ID, MD, MA, MI, MN, MS, MO, NV, NM, NY, NC, OK, RI, SC, SD, TN, VA, WV.
² Other states with hate crime statutes: CA, DC, IL, IA, IN, KS, LA, ME, MN, NE, NM, NY, VT.
³ States with data collection statutes which include sexual orientation are: AZ, CA, CT, DC, FL, HI, IA, MD, MI, MN, NV, NM, OR, TX and WA; those which include gender are AZ, CA, DC, HI, IL, IA, MI, MN, NJ, RI, TX, and WA.
⁴ Some other states have administrative regulations mandating such training.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE STATE HATE CRIME STATUTORY PROVISIONS

	MT	NE	NV	NM	NJ	NM	NY	NC	ND	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VT	VA	WA	WV	WI	WY
Race-Motivated Violence and Intimidation - Criminal Penalty *1, *5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civil Action		✓	✓					✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Race, Religion, Ethnicity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sexual Orientation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gender	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gender Identity				✓	✓	✓						✓											✓		✓
Disability	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Other *1	✓						✓					✓									✓				
Institutional Violence	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Data Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Training for Law Enforcement Personnel *4												✓											✓		✓

*5 The U.S. statute has penalties for hate crimes to violations of the victim's constitutional or civil rights.

Compiled by the Anti-Defamation League's Washington Office
 More information about ADL's resources on hate crimes can be found at the League's Web site:
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SELECTED RESOURCES ON HATE CRIME RESPONSE AND COUNTERACTION

Anti-Defamation League

Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act (HCPA): What You Need to Know: http://www.adl.org/combating_hate/What-you-need-to-know-about-HCPA.pdf

This document provides an outline of HCPA—why it was needed and how the law works to protect the rights of all citizens.

An Introduction to Hate Crime Laws: http://www.adl.org/combating_hate/Introduction-to-Hate-Crime-Laws.pdf

A primer on the purpose and utility of federal and state hate crime laws.

How to Combat Bias and Hate Crimes: an ADL Blueprint for Action: <http://www.adl.org/blueprint.pdf>

A compilation of the best ADL resources, programs, and education initiatives designed to combat bias and hate crimes.

Hate Crime Laws: <http://www.adl.org/99hatecrime/intro.asp>

A comprehensive overview of the history of hate crime legislation, including the ADL Model Hate Crime Law and an interactive map of the nation's state hate crime laws.

Hate Crime Laws: Punishment to Fit the Crime: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=3278>

A robust defense of hate crime laws by the League's Washington Counsel.

Bullying/Cyberbullying Prevention Law: Model Statute and Advocacy Toolkit: http://www.adl.org/civil_rights/Anti-Bullying%20Law%20Toolkit_2009.pdf

This resource includes ADL's Model anti-bullying law and an online chart of the nation's existing anti-bullying statutes.

http://www.adl.org/CivilRights/letter_bullying_cyberbullying_2010.asp

The League's recommendations for anti-bullying policies and programs, sent in advance of the August, 2010 Federal Bullying Summit in Washington, DC

FBI

Hate Crime Statistics, 2010: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/2010>

The FBI's most recent annual hate crime report, with data collected from more than 13,000 state and local police departments.

Hate Crime Data Collection Guidelines: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/hcguidelinesdc99.pdf>

The FBI's guidelines for law enforcement agencies regarding the classification and collection of hate crime data.

Hate Crime Data Collection Training Guide: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/hate-crime/trainguidedc99.pdf>

The FBI's training manual for law enforcement agencies, with model reporting procedures and training examples.

Department of Education

Preventing Youth Hate Crime: <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/HateCrime/start.html>

A resource that describes effective school-based hate crime prevention programs.

Department of Education Office of Civil Rights October 26, 2010 Guidance on School Bullying and Harassment: <http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/guidance-targeting-harassment-outlines-local-and-federal-responsibility>

Department of Education/National Association of Attorneys General

Protecting Students from Harassment and Hate Crime: <http://www.ed.gov/offices/OCR/archives/Harassment/harassment.pdf>

A detailed guide designed to help schools develop a comprehensive approach to protecting students from harassment and hate-motivated violence.

Department of Justice

Addressing Hate Crimes: Six Initiatives That Are Enhancing the Efforts of Criminal Justice Practitioner: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/bja/179559.pdf>

This Bureau of Justice Assistance report highlights six innovative law enforcement initiatives to respond to violent hate crime.

Hate Crime Training: Core Curriculum for Patrol Officers, Detectives, and Command Officers: <http://www.usdoj.gov/lcrs/pubs/hct.pdf>

A comprehensive hate crime training curriculum prepared by the International Association of Directors of Law Enforcement Standards and Training, the National Association of Attorneys General, the Justice Department, and the Treasury Department.

A Policymaker's Guide to Hate Crimes: <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/bja/162304.pdf>
This resource highlights the use of hate crime laws and problems that impede reporting hate crime incidents.

National District Attorneys Association

A Local Prosecutor's Guide for Responding to Hate Crimes: http://www.ndaa.org/pdf/hate_crimes.pdf

The single best resource designed to assist local prosecutors handling hate crime investigations and prosecutions.

Organization of Chinese Americans

Responding to Hate Crimes: A Community Action Guide, 2nd Edition: <http://www.ocanational.org/images/stories/docscenter/ocahatecrime2006.pdf>

The best guidebook for community organizing and response to hate violence, with step-by-step guidelines, checklists, internet resources, and best practices.

SELECTED RESOURCES ON BULLYING, CYBERBULLYING, AND HARASSMENT

ADL

1) Educational Strategies To Respond To Bullying And Cyberbullying

ADL Curriculum Connection: "Cyberbullying: Understanding and Addressing Online Cruelty": http://www.adl.org/education/curriculum_connections/cyberbullying/default.asp

ADL Tools for Responding to Cyberbullying: <http://www.adl.org/combatingbullying/>

Committing to Respect: Lessons for Students to Address Bias: http://www.adl.org/education/9-11_committing_to_respect.pdf

Words That Heal: Using Children's Literature to Address Bullying: http://www.adl.org/education/curriculum_connections/winter_2005

Understanding and Addressing Cyberbullying: half-day or full-day training programs for middle and high school educators, Administrators and youth service providers: <http://www.adl.org/education/cyberbullying/workshops.asp>
<http://www.adl.org/education/cyberbullying/program-cyberbullying-flyer.pdf>

CyberALLY™: a half or full-day Interactive training for middle and high school students: <http://www.adl.org/education/cyberbullying/cyberally-student-flyer.pdf>

What Can Be Done About Name-Calling: <http://www.adl.org/combatingbullying/pdf/what-can-be-done-bullying-handout.pdf>

Take a Stand: A Student's Guide to Stopping Name-Calling and Bullying: <http://www.adl.org/combatingbullying/pdf/taking-a-stand-bullying-guide.pdf>

Internet Safety Strategies for Students: http://www.adl.org/education/curriculum_connections/cyberbullying/internet%20Safety%20Strategies%20for%20Students.pdf

Confronting Hate Speech Online: http://www.adl.org/main_internet/hatespeechonline2008.htm

2) Advocacy Resources To Prevent And Respond To Bullying And Cyberbullying

ADL Bullying/Cyberbullying Advocacy Toolkit for state anti-bullying laws: http://www.adl.org/civil_rights/Anti-Bullying%20Law%20Toolkit%202009.pdf

Responding to Cyberhate: Toolkit for Action: http://www.adl.org/internet/Binder_final.pdf

In advance of the August 11–12 Federal Bullying Summit, ADL submitted to a trio of federal agencies (Health and Human Services, Department of Education, Department of Justice) recommendations for programs, training initiatives, and research proposals: http://www.adl.org/Civil_Rights/letter_bullying_cyberbullying_2010.asp

ADL statement at the May 13 2011 United States Commission on Civil Rights briefing on Federal Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws to Protect Students Against Bullying, Violence and Harassment: <http://www.adl.org/combatbullying/ADL-USCCR-statement-on-bullying-prevention.pdf>

Updated November 2011

Stacy Burdett is ADL's Washington Director and heads the Government and National Affairs Office which represents the Anti-Defamation League(ADL) to the Federal government and foreign embassies on the full range of policy issues on ADL's agenda.

As the lead lobbyist on international issues, Ms. Burdett reaches out to Congress, the Administration and foreign diplomats to mobilize leadership and support on issues such as global anti-Semitism, securing fair treatment for Israel, and broader human rights issues like international religious freedom. Stacy is also the ADL's point person on advocacy for comprehensive immigration reform and the fight against anti-immigrant bigotry.

During her 18 years of service at ADL, Stacy has led efforts to advance the fight against anti-Semitism in international human rights fora such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United Nations. She has testified before the US Congress and represented the Anti-Defamation League at numerous inter-governmental conferences to share ADL's experience and strategies for countering anti-Semitism and hate crime, and for promoting anti-bias and Holocaust education.

**MATERIAL FOR
THE RECORD**

ODIHR BACKGROUNDER ON ANTI-SEMITISM ACTIVITIES—HATE CRIME

Hate Crime Report—Information received from participating States and civil society

Information from participating States submitted to ODIHR from 2008 to 2010 demonstrates that anti-Semitic crimes and incidents continue to occur across the OSCE region undermining personal, neighbourhood and regional security. These incidents include attacks against Jews or Jewish institutions and attacks against Jewish property, including the vandalism of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues.

In 2010, **twenty** States reported to ODIHR that they collect data on anti-Semitic hate crimes. These include Austria, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Liechtenstein, Moldova, Netherlands, Poland, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States. However, out of this number only **three**, namely France, Germany and the United Kingdom provided data in 2010. Data for the United States was released in November and documented 921 anti-Semitic offenses in 2010.

- France reported 125 convictions for crimes committed with an anti-Semitic motive. French authorities also reported on an individual case that involved an attempted homicide resulting in serious injury, in which the perpetrator admitted that the motive was anti-Semitic. The crime was categorized as “racial, ethnic or religious”; the court case is still pending.
- In Germany, there were 1,268 anti-Semitic hate crimes, of which 37 were categorized as violent. The non violent crimes reported by the German authorities refer to the production and dissemination of anti-Semitic speech, including Holocaust denial. The German officials reported two instances of arson, one at a synagogue and one at a Jewish cemetery.
- In the United Kingdom, official figures recorded 488 anti-Semitic hate crimes in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Sweden, United Kingdom provided data for 2008 and 2009. Additionally, Belgium and France submitted data for 2008; meaning that that **eight** States submitted information to ODIHR in **2009** and **six** in **2008**.

The lack of data on anti-Semitic crimes remains a serious issue throughout the region. Additional efforts need to be invested to ensure that clear, reliable and detailed data are available on anti-Semitic crimes as they can enable States to assess the extent of hate crimes and to develop appropriate policies to address them. While in 2010, eight participating States provided information on new activities launched to combat hate crimes, none of these initiatives had a particular emphasis on anti-Semitism.

Data on hate incidents are a significant source of information for ODIHR. In 2010, 21 civil society organizations from 31 participating States reported anti-Semitic incidents. Information from civil society included assaults, and damage or desecration of property, including places of worship, cemeteries, schools, the buildings of Jewish organizations and private homes.

Hate Crime Report—activities in 2012

ODIHR is currently developing a web-based interface to present the data and information on hate crimes submitted by governments and civil society. This web presentation will be user friendly, allowing users to upload easily the data submitted in previous years, on specific target groups or in selected countries. This will in particular respond to one of the shortcomings of the current Hate Crime Report: participating States with comprehensive data collection systems such as the United States or Canada have a different reporting cycle than ODIHR and thus relevant data is not published in the annual report. Given the fact that this is a pilot project for ODIHR and the sensitive nature of the data, the exact date of the publication of the web interface can not be determined with certainty. ODIHR expects a completion within the next 12 to 24 months. The development of the interface will include consultation with key actors, including representatives of participating States.

Activities to improve government response to hate crimes

Legislation—ODIHR continues to distribute the publication Hate Crime Laws: A Practical Guide. Approximately 5,500 copies of the Guide have been distributed so far. It is available in x languages.

Police training—Following the independent evaluation of the Law Enforcement Officers Programme (LEOP), ODIHR reviewed the methodology of the programme and revised the content of its curriculum. The review process included the consultation of a broad group of police experts from throughout the OSCE region in May 2011. The methodology and the curriculum of the programme, renamed Training

against Hate Crime for Law Enforcement (TAHCLE), are finalized. It is currently being piloted in Kosovo with the support of the OSCE Mission.

TAHCLE is a short, compact and flexible training. It is designed to be integrated with other training efforts, drawing on existing resources and curricula of police training institutions. TAHCLE can be delivered as a training for police or as a training of trainers (ToT) for pre-service or in-service training. It can be delivered to commanders, police cadets/trainees, uniformed officers and investigators. TAHCLE is tailored to the needs and experiences of each country or region in which it is adopted.

In order to address identified shortcomings in the evaluation, ODIHR defined TAHCLE's methodological principles as follow:

Interactive and motivational

- The training is interactive because learning by doing is more effective.
- The training is motivational as hate crime training should focus simultaneously on: acquiring technical skills and knowledge, as well as recognizing the adverse impact prejudice has on society and motivating police to address the issue.

Human rights based

- The programme endorses a rights-based approach because the promotion and respect of fundamental human rights principles, such as the right to equality, are essential elements to guaranteeing the security of individuals and communities.

Experts oriented

- The training team is composed of professional trainers and police, as well as prosecution experts, with comprehensive experience dealing with hate crimes. Ideally, experts will have understanding and experience with the local context.

Inclusive

- Consultation with civil society and community representatives is crucial: they offer significant intelligence and information in relation to the nature of hate crime and are important partners in effective responses to hate crime.

Transparent and Accountable

- The programme's implementation is monitored in order to identify difficulties that need to be overcome, to recognize good practices that can be replicated and to help authorities make informed decisions on the next steps.
- The programme is evaluated upon its completion to ensure its sustainability, and to integrate this initiative in comprehensive policy efforts aimed to address hate crimes.

Activities to improve government response to hate crimes—2012

The predecessor of TAHCLE was delivered in Poland and Croatia and has been used since then in the national police academies. In Poland 20,000 police officers were trained. Authorities in both countries expressed interest in a delivery of TAHCLE to their police trainers to give them the opportunity to refresh their skills and to amend the national curriculum as they see fit. ODIHR will present the TAHCLE curriculum in Poland and Croatia and seek the opportunity to gather informed feedback.

Following the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding in Bulgaria in 2011, the implementation of TAHCLE will start in March 2012. The implementation plan includes the delivery of a training of trainers, the inclusion of TAHCLE in the national curriculum for police cadets and for investigators. A crucial part of ODIHR's role in the implementation of the programme includes providing support to the authorities to identify, develop and enforce policies necessary for police to use the skills acquired during the training. The implementation of this multi-year programme includes monitoring the delivery of training and evaluating the impact of the training programme.

Additional five participating States have manifested interest in implementing TAHCLE. ODIHR will seek to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with at least two of them in 2012.

Prosecutors —ODIHR is currently developing a Practical Guide for Prosecutors on Hate Crimes in close cooperation with the International Association of Prosecutors. The publication of the Guide is foreseen in the first half of 2012. The dissemination of the Guide is accompanied with the delivery of workshops for prosecutors on how to use legislation to prosecute hate crimes. Pilot seminars for prosecutors are being held in Kosovo and in Ukraine (Crimea) in December 2011.

Activities to Combat Anti-Semitism and to Promote Holocaust Remembrance and Education

Participating States have committed to support programmes on education on anti-Semitism and on education of the Holocaust. Participating States have also committed to promote remembrance of the Holocaust. In this regard, participating States were encouraged to draw on ODIHR's expertise. ODIHR has developed technical-assistance programmes in co-operation with a number of partners, including the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, the Yad Vashem International School of Holocaust Studies in Israel, and Anne Frank House in Amsterdam.

The following materials have been prepared by ODIHR:

- Teaching Materials to Combat Anti-Semitism—developed in co-operation with the Anne Frank House; they aim to raise awareness among students on stereotypes and prejudices against Jews. (available at <http://tandis.odihr.pl/?p=ki-as,tm>);
- The Guide Addressing Anti-Semitism: Why and How? A Guide for Educators, developed with Yad Vashem; the Guide provides educators with facts, background information and good practices regarding how to address anti-Semitism in the classroom. (available at <http://www.osce.org/odihhr/70295>);
- Preparing Holocaust Memorial Days: Suggestions for Educators is a set of recommendations for teachers on how to plan commemoration activities connected with annual Holocaust Remembrance Days. The Guide will be updated in 2012 (available at <http://www.osce.org/odihhr/17827>).

The following is the overview of education activities on combating anti-Semitism:

- In Austria, ODIHR's main implementing partner is the organization *Erinnern* associated with the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education. Educational materials have been translated and are currently being tested on focus groups in youth clubs and schools. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism and publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days are translated and disseminated.
- In Croatia, education authorities adapted, tested and implemented the teaching materials. Approximately, 7,500 copies have been printed in 2008 and 2009. Dissemination of materials is carried out during teacher training seminars and online. In 2010, Croatia translated a teachers' guide that assists teachers in lesson delivery. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism and publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days are translated and disseminated.
- Denmark is implementing and conducting training of teachers. In 2009, Danish education authorities organized six teachers seminars were organized about materials to combat anti-Semitism and 18 seminars on teaching about Holocaust and other genocides.
- In Germany, approximately 12,000 copies of the teaching materials have been distributed during teachers' seminars or through online orders. Almost 600 teachers have been trained and more than 40 seminars organized. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism and publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days are translated and disseminated.
- The teaching materials have been prepared and translated in Hungary. A teacher training is planned in December.
- In Lithuania, more than 6,000 copies of the teaching materials have been printed. Around 50 teachers have been trained during three seminars organized in 2008 and 2009. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism and publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days are translated and disseminated.
- Anne Frank House organized eight training seminars and trained approximately 200 teachers on the use of materials in the Netherlands. The materials were printed in 15,000 copies. The publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days is translated and disseminated.
- In Poland, 22 training seminars were organized in 2008 and 2009 with a total of 450 teachers. Materials were printed in 9,000 copies. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism and publication on preparing Holocaust Memorial Days are translated and disseminated.
- In the Slovak Republic, teaching materials were printed in 7,000 copies were distributed to approximately 125 schools in 2008 and 2009. Approximately, 5,000 students have been exposed to the materials. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism is translated and disseminated.
- In Spain, materials are currently being translated. The main implementing partner is the organization *Casa Sefarad*.

- Sweden is implementing and conducting training of teachers. Main partners include Swedish Committee against Anti-Semitism and Living History Forum. In 2010, Sweden organized a training seminar for teachers.
- In Ukraine, more than 250 teachers have been trained in 2010. Two additional training seminars are planned to take place in December. Ukrainian Centre for Holocaust Studies printed approximately 9,000 copies of the teaching materials. The Guide on addressing anti-Semitism is translated and disseminated.

Holocaust Memorial Days

- In 2010, ODIHR published a report “Holocaust Memorial Days in the OSCE Region.” It provides a country-by-country overview of the official commemorative activities that take place in OSCE participating States on Holocaust remembrance days.
- The data shows that 21 States commemorate 21 January (the date Liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp). These include: Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Norway, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Canada and the United States commemorate Yom Hashoah —Beginning of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943, while Austria, Bulgaria, France, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia commemorate special dates from their history.
- The updated version of the publication will be available on 19 April 2012.

Activities in 2012

- ODIHR seeks to improve the visibility and the accessibility of the teaching materials. To this end, a web version of the teaching materials will be developed and the existing national versions will be uploaded on TANDIS and the websites of partner institutions.
- The Latvian version of the teaching materials will be finalized. ODIHR is currently discussing with two additional participating States the possibility of adapting the teaching materials.
- ODIHR will continue supporting training of teachers upon availability of resources.

THE OSCE HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON CONFRONTING ANTI-SEMITISM IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE (23–24 MARCH 2011)

Introduction and Background

The OSCE high level meeting “Confronting Anti-Semitism in Public Discourse” was held in Prague on 23-24 March 2011.¹ The meeting was co-organized by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and the OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office and was hosted by the Foreign Ministry of the Czech Republic. A total of 164 participants registered, including 51 civil society representatives. Participants came from 36 participating States.

The meeting took place in the framework of the OSCE’s ongoing efforts to promote international co-operation to combat anti-Semitism. Ministerial Council Decisions in Maastricht and Sofia,² among others, established a broad set of commitments aimed at preventing and responding to anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance. Participating States have also equipped the Organization with tools to address the problem of anti-Semitism and there has been considerable progress in combating anti-Semitism in the OSCE area, and in particular in response to hate crimes. Despite these efforts, expressions of anti-Semitism in public discourse remain a serious issue of concern in the OSCE region.

Key Themes and Discussions

The meeting was organized into three working sessions, focused on:

- Traditional anti-Semitic themes and practices (Session I);
- International developments as a new factor related to manifestations of anti-Semitism (Session II); and
- Effective practices in combating anti-Semitism in public discourse (Session III).

¹ For a copy of the final meeting report, please refer to <http://www.osce.org/odihr/77450>

² Maastricht Ministerial Council decision 4/03 on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination (2003); Sofia Ministerial Council Decision 12/04 on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination and Annex to Decision 12/04 on Combating Anti-Semitism (2004).

Session I explored the distinction between ‘traditional’ or historic forms and contemporary forms of anti-Semitism. During subsequent discussions, there was an overwhelming focus on hate speech regulation and in particular the challenges in new or transitioning states to combat such discourse. While there was a divergence of opinion about the role of the state in prohibiting and/or regulating hate speech, there was overwhelming agreement on the need to build the capacity of media professionals to report on interfaith and tolerance related issues in a professional and impartial manner.

Session II provided meeting participants with an opportunity to explore how international developments can spark manifestations of anti-Semitism. In particular, panelists and participants discussed how events in the Middle East and negative perceptions of Israeli policies have been followed by spikes in anti-Semitic hate crimes. Other modern forms of anti-Semitism were also raised, including manifestations on the Internet.

The focus of Session III was to share good practices and gather a set of recommendations on how to prevent and respond to anti-Semitism in public discourse. The value of coalition building—both within parliaments through cross party alliances and more broadly—emerged as a good practice. Education was also stressed for its positive value, both within the formal education sector and non-formal sector. Holocaust, peace and tolerance education, and the use of social networks and creative campaigns targeting youth were provided as examples. Finally, capacity building and professional development for journalists were favoured as strategies rather than prohibitive sanctions.

Key Recommendations

The following recommendations represent some of the key recommendations which were proposed during the high level meeting and are addressed to OSCE participating States. A full list of recommendations targeting different stakeholders, including members of the media and OSCE institutions, can be found in the meeting report.³

- Participating States should implement OSCE commitments on monitoring and reporting of hate crimes and should enact laws that establish hate crimes as specific offenses or provide enhanced penalties for bias-motivated violent crimes. When collecting and publicizing data on hate crimes, participating States should produce disaggregated statistics in order to be able to distinguish anti-Semitic hate crimes from other hate crimes.
- Participating States should fulfill their obligations to provide security to vulnerable communities and invest the necessary resources to protect vulnerable community institutions and places of worship, including synagogues, cemeteries, and faith based schools.
- Parliaments should consider establishing all-party parliamentary committees against anti-Semitism.
- Governments should consistently and publicly denounce all forms of intolerant speech, and condemn the use of foreign conflicts to inflame domestic inter-communal tension. Politicians should counter hate speech and Holocaust denial with truthful and informative responses and should increase the use of the Internet and online forums in addition to traditional media sources when communicating these messages to the public.
- Participating States should create specialized law enforcement units to monitor and investigate cyber hate speech and should strengthen transnational networks and partnerships that monitor and investigate hate speech on the Internet.
- Participating States should invest in educational initiatives that confront prejudice and stereotypes related to anti-Semitism and should invest in teacher training programs on human rights norms and principles.
- Participating States should invest in professional training programs for members of the media to develop their skills and capacity to report about issues facing different religious and cultural groups, including the Jewish community. These programs should focus on the role of the media in exacerbating and/or decreasing inter-ethnic tension and violence and explore issues relating to professional ethics and responsibility.

³ For a copy of the final meeting report, please refer to <http://www.osce.org/odihr/77450>

SUMMARY OF MINISTERIAL COUNCIL TASKINGS GIVEN TO THE ODIHR IN THE AREA OF TOLERANCE AND NON-DISCRIMINATION

Ministerial Council Decision No. 4 (Maastricht MC 2003)

- Encourages all participating States to collect and keep records on reliable information and statistics on hate crimes, including on forms of violent manifestations of racism, xenophobia, discrimination, and anti-Semitism, as discussed and recommended in the above-mentioned conferences. Recognizing the importance of legislation to combat hate crimes, participating States will inform the ODIHR about existing legislation regarding crimes fuelled by intolerance and discrimination, and, where appropriate, seek the ODIHR's assistance in the drafting and review of such legislation;
- Tasks the ODIHR, in full co-operation, *inter alia*, with the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), as well as relevant NGOs, with serving as a collection point for information and statistics collected by participating States, and with reporting regularly on these issues, including in the format of the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, as a basis for deciding on priorities for future work.
- The ODIHR will, *inter alia*, promote best practices and disseminate lessons learned in the fight against intolerance and discrimination;
- Encourages the participating States to seek the assistance of the ODIHR and its Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief.
- Undertakes to combat discrimination against migrant workers. Further undertakes to facilitate the integration of migrant workers into the societies in which they are legally residing. Calls on the ODIHR to reinforce its activities in this respect;
- Undertakes, in this context, to combat, subject to national legislation and international commitments, discrimination, where existing, against asylum seekers and refugees, and calls on the ODIHR to reinforce its activities in this respect;
- Tasks the Permanent Council, the ODIHR, the HCNM and the RFoM, in close co-operation with the Chairmanship-in-Office, with ensuring an effective follow-up to the relevant provisions of the present decision, and requests the Permanent Council to address the operational and funding modalities for the implementation of this decision.

Ministerial Council Decision No. 12 (Sofia MC 2004)

PC Decision 601 on Combating Anti-Semitism Tasks participating States to:

- Collect and maintain reliable information and statistics about anti-Semitic crimes, and other hate crimes, committed within their territory, report such information periodically to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), and make this information available to the public;
- Endeavour to provide the ODIHR with the appropriate resources to accomplish the tasks agreed upon in the Maastricht Ministerial Decision on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination;

Tasks the ODIHR to:

- Follow closely, in full co-operation with other OSCE institutions as well as the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and other relevant international institutions and NGOs, anti-Semitic incidents in the OSCE area making use of all reliable information available;
- Report its findings to the Permanent Council and to the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting and make these findings public. These reports should also be taken into account in deciding on priorities for the work of the OSCE in the area of intolerance;
- Systematically collect and disseminate information throughout the OSCE area on best practices for preventing and responding to anti-Semitism and, if requested, offer advice to participating States in their efforts to fight anti-Semitism;

PC Decision 621 on Tolerance and the Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination Tasks participating States to:

- Collect and maintain reliable information and statistics about hate crimes motivated by racism, xenophobia and related discrimination and intolerance, committed

within their territory, report such information periodically to the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and make this information available to the public;

— Endeavour to provide the ODIHR with the appropriate resources to accomplish the tasks agreed upon in the Maastricht Ministerial Decision on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination;

Tasks the ODIHR to:

— Follow closely, in full co-operation with other OSCE institutions as well as the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD), the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and other relevant international institutions and NGOs, incidents motivated by racism, xenophobia, or related intolerance, including against Muslims, and anti-Semitism in the OSCE area making use of all reliable information available;

— Report its findings to the Permanent Council and to the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting and make these findings public. These reports should also be taken into account in deciding on priorities for the work of the OSCE in the area of intolerance;

— Systematically collect and disseminate information throughout the OSCE area on best practices for preventing and responding to racism, xenophobia and discrimination and, if requested, offer advice to participating States in their efforts to fight racism, xenophobia and discrimination;

— Support the ability of civil society and the development of partnerships to address racism, xenophobia, discrimination or related intolerance, including against Muslims, and anti-Semitism;

Ljubljana Ministerial Decision No. 11 on the promotion of human rights education and training in the OSCE area (Ljubljana MC 2005) Tasks the ODIHR:

— To produce a compendium of best practices for participating States on enhancing the promotion of human rights education and training, including the promotion of tolerance, mutual respect and understanding, and non-discrimination in the OSCE area.

Ljubljana Ministerial Decision No. 10 on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding (Ljubljana MC 2005) Commits participating States to:

— Strengthen efforts to provide public officials, and in particular law enforcement officers, with appropriate training on responding to and preventing hate crimes, and in this regard, to consider setting up programmes that provide such training, and to consider drawing on ODIHR expertise in this field and to share best practices;

— Encourage public and private educational programmes that promote tolerance and non-discrimination, and raise public awareness of the existence and the unacceptability of intolerance and discrimination, and in this regard, to consider drawing on ODIHR expertise and assistance in order to develop methods and curricula for tolerance education in general, including:

— Fighting racial prejudice and hatred, xenophobia and discrimination;

— Education on and remembrance of the Holocaust, as well as other genocides, recognized as such in accordance with the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and crimes against humanity;

— Education on anti-Semitism in order to ensure a systematic approach to education, including curricula related to contemporary forms of anti-Semitism in participating States;

— Fighting prejudice, intolerance and discrimination against Christians, Muslims and members of other religions;

— Strengthen efforts to collect and maintain reliable information and statistics on hate crimes and legislation within their territories, to report such information periodically to the ODIHR, and to make this information available to the public and to consider drawing on ODIHR assistance in this field, and in this regard, to consider nominating national points of contact on hate crimes to the ODIHR;

Tasks to the Secretary General:

— The Secretary General, drawing on the expertise of the OSCE structures and institutions, in particular the ODIHR, to provide in co-operation with participating States an OSCE contribution to the “Alliance of Civilizations” initiative and to bring

it to the attention of the Alliance of Civilizations High-Level Group by the end of June 2006.

Tasks the ODIHR to:

- Assist participating States upon their request in developing appropriate methodologies and capacities for collecting and maintaining reliable information and statistics about hate crimes and violent manifestations of intolerance and discrimination, with a view to helping them to collect comparable data and statistics;
- Continue its co-operation with other OSCE structures and institutions, as well as with the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD), the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, and with other relevant institutions and civil society, including non-governmental organizations;
- Through its Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief, to continue providing support to the participating States, upon their request, in their efforts to promote freedom of religion or belief, and to share the Panel's conclusions and opinions with OSCE participating States, both bilaterally and at relevant OSCE conferences and events;

Brussels Ministerial Decision No. 13 on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination and Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding (Brussels MC 2006) Encourages the ODIHR, based on existing commitments, including through co-operation with relevant OSCE executive structures to:

- Further strengthen the work of its Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Programme, in particular its assistance programmes, in order to assist participating States upon their request in implementing their commitments;
- Further strengthen the work of the ODIHR's Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief in providing support and expert assistance to participating States;
- Continue its close co-operation with other relevant inter-governmental agencies and civil society working in the field of promoting mutual respect and understanding and combating intolerance and discrimination, including through hate crime data collection;
- Continue to serve as a collection point for information and statistics on hate crimes and relevant legislation provided by participating States and to make this information publicly available through its Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System and its report on Challenges and Responses to Hate-Motivated Incidents in the OSCE Region;
- Strengthen, within existing resources, its early warning function to identify, report and raise awareness on hate-motivated incidents and trends and to provide recommendations and assistance to participating States, upon their request, in areas where more adequate responses are needed;

Madrid Ministerial Decision No. 10/07 on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding

The Decision:

- Calls for continued efforts by political representatives, including parliamentarians, strongly to reject and condemn manifestations of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, discrimination and intolerance, including against Christians, Jews, Muslims and members of other religions, as well as violent manifestations of extremism associated with aggressive nationalism and neo-Nazism, while continuing to respect freedom of expression;
- Underlines the continued need for participating States to collect and maintain reliable data and statistics on hate crimes and incidents, to train relevant law enforcement officers and to strengthen co-operation with civil society;
- Encourages the promotion of educational programmes in the participating States in order to raise awareness among youth of the value of mutual respect and understanding;
- Calls on participating States to increase their efforts, in co-operation with civil society to counter the incitement to imminent violence and hate crimes, including through the Internet, within the framework of their national legislation, while respecting freedom of expression, and underlines at the same time that the opportuni-

ties offered by the Internet for the promotion of democracy, human rights and tolerance education should be fully exploited.

Athens Ministerial Decision No. 9/09 on Combating Hate Crimes

Calls on the participating States to:

- Collect, maintain and make public, reliable data and statistics in sufficient detail on hate crimes and violent manifestations of intolerance, including the numbers of cases reported to law enforcement, the numbers prosecuted and the sentences imposed. Where data-protection laws restrict collection of data on victims, States should consider methods for collecting data in compliance with such laws;
- Enact, where appropriate, specific, tailored legislation to combat hate crimes, — providing for effective penalties that take into account the gravity of such crimes;
- Take appropriate measures to encourage victims to report hate crimes, recognizing that under-reporting of hate crimes prevents States from devising efficient policies. In this regard, explore, as complementary measures, methods for facilitating, the contribution of civil society to combat hate crimes;
- Introduce or further develop professional training and capacity-building activities for law-enforcement, prosecution and judicial officials dealing with hate crimes;
- In co-operation with relevant actors, explore ways to provide victims of hate crimes with access to counselling, legal and consular assistance as well as effective access to justice;
- Promptly investigate hate crimes and ensure that the motives of those convicted of hate crimes are acknowledged and publicly condemned by the relevant authorities and by the political leadership;
- Ensure co-operation, where appropriate, at the national and international levels, including with relevant international bodies and between police forces, to combat violent organized hate crime;
- Conduct awareness raising and education efforts, particularly with law enforcement authorities, directed towards communities and civil society groups that assist victims of hate crimes;
- Nominate, if they have not yet done so, a national point of contact on hate crimes to periodically report to the ODIHR reliable information and statistics on hate crimes;
- Consider drawing on resources developed by the ODIHR in the area of education, training and awareness raising to ensure a comprehensive approach to the tackling of hate crimes;
- To seek opportunities to co-operate and thereby address the increasing use of the Internet to advocate views constituting an incitement to bias-motivated violence including hate crimes and, in so doing, to reduce the harm caused by the dissemination of such material, while ensuring that any relevant measures taken are in line with OSCE commitments, in particular with regard to freedom of expression.

ODIHR

- Invites the Director of the ODIHR to keep the participating States informed about the ODIHR's work in assisting the participating States to combat hate crimes during his or her regular reporting to the Permanent Council.



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