108th CONGRESS
1st Session

Printed for the use of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Special Meeting on Anti-Semitism

in conjunction with

OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY
WINTER MEETING

Vienna, Austria

February 21, 2003

Prepared by the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

WASHINGTON : 2003

AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
234 Ford House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515-6460
(202) 225-1901
csce@mail.house.gov
http://www.csce.gov

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

HOUSE

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey
Co-Chairman
FRANK R. WOLF, Virginia
JOSEPH R. PITTS, Pennsylvania
ZACH WAMP, Tennessee
ROBERT B. ADERHOLT, Alabama
STENY H. HOYER, Maryland
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, Maryland
LOUISE MCINTOSH SLAUGHTER, New York
ALCEE L. HASTINGS, Florida

SENATE

BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, Colorado
Co-Chairman
SAM BROWNBACK, Kansas
GORDON H. SMITH, Oregon
KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, Texas
SAXBY CHAMBLISS, Georgia
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut
BOB GRAHAM, Florida
RUSSELL D. FEINGOLD, Wisconsin
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, New York

EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

LORNE W. CRANER, Department of State
JACK DYER CROUCH II, Department of Defense
WILLIAM HENRY LASH III, Department of Commerce

ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

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

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

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

ABOUT THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

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

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

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

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

SPECIAL MEETING ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The Special Meeting on Anti-Semitism held in conjunction with the Winter Meeting of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly is part of a series of actions undertaken by members of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) in cooperation with partners from other OSCE participating States to develop effective, coordinated actions to deal with the sharp increases in anti-Semitic incidents that took place in many countries of the region in 2002. The Helsinki Commission convened a special hearing on this phenomenon on May 22, 2002 at which the testimony of expert witnesses was heard and the strong concerns of Members of Congress were voiced. The US Delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Annual Session held in Berlin in July 2002, sponsored a resolution specifically focused on anti-Semitism and related violence. The Assembly adopted unanimously that resolution condemning the escalation of anti-Semitic violence and calling for appropriate action by the participating States of OSCE.

In Berlin, the German and US delegations also co-hosted a parliamentary forum to explore the reasons behind the outbreaks of anti-Semitism to which American, German and French experts participated. A follow-up event jointly organized by the German and U.S. Co-Chairmen in December explored concrete recommendations from expert witnesses for government action. At the conclusion of that meeting, Dr. Gert Weisskirchen and Rep. Christopher H. Smith, signed an action plan by which they committed themselves to pursue specific actions to combat anti-Semitism, including immediate condemnation of anti-Semitic acts by government officials, parliamentary declarations, strengthened legislation and enhanced educational efforts. The chairmen also agreed to work together to obtain the active support of parliamentarians from other OSCE participating States. The Special Meeting on Anti-Semitism, held in Vienna in conjunction with the OSCE PA Winter Meeting, was organized as part of an ongoing effort to build upon support among parliamentarians creating a pro-active "coalition of the willing" to deal with the problem of anti-Semitism. More than 75 parliamentarians from 17 countries attended this event and expressed their support. Canadian, French, Italian and Swedish parliamentarians signed formal statements of solidarity with the German-U.S. initiative.

SPECIAL MEETING ON ANTI-SEMITISM

FEBRUARY 21, 2003

CO-CHAIRMEN

Page

Gert Weisskirchen, Member, German Bundestag, and Vice-President, OSCE PA 1
Christopher H. Smith, Member, U.S. House of Representatives, and Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the OSCE PA 2

SPEAKER

Marta Halpert, Journalist and Vienna Correspondent of *Focus* 6

PARTICIPANTS

(in speaking order)

Michel Voisin, Member, French National Assembly, and Chairman, French Delegation to the OSCE PA 3
Jerehmiel Grafstein, Member, Senate of Canada, and Treasurer, OSCE PA 8
Svend Robinson, Member, Canadian Parliament, and Vice-Chairman, General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, OSCE PA 9
Benjamin L. Cardin, Member, U.S. House of Representatives 10
Luigi Compagna, Member, Senate of Italy 11
Marcello Pacini, Member of Italian Chamber of Deputies, and Chairman, Italian Delegation to the OSCE PA 11
Kamal H. Qureshi, Member, Danish Parliament 12
Helmut Rauber, Member, German Bundestag 13
Pert Sulak, Member, Czech Parliament, and Chairman, Czech Delegation to the OSCE PA 13
Steny H. Hoyer, Minority Whip, U.S. House of Representatives 14
Tom Cox, Member, British House of Commons 14
Clifford Lincoln, Member, Canadian Parliament 14
Rita Süssmuth, former Speaker, German Bundestag, Chair, German Delegation to the OSCE PA, and Vice President, OSCE PA 15
Ambassador Stephan M. Minikes, U.S. Permanent Representative to OSCE 17
Pierre Fauchon, Member, Senate of France 17
Colette Avital, Member, Israeli Knesset 19
Michele Demessine, Member, Senate of France 20
Adrian Severin, Member, Romanian Chamber of Deputies, and President Emeritus, OSCE PA 20
Alcee L. Hastings, Member, U.S. House of Representatives, and Vice-President, OSCE PA 22
Elena Mizulina, Member, Russian Duma, and Chair, General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, OSCE PA 23

APPENDICES

Berlin Declaration of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Text on Anti-Semitism, July 10, 2002 26
Porto OSCE Ministerial Decision on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination, December 2002 28
German–U.S. Action Plan for Confronting and Combating Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region, signed December 10, 2002 31
Statement of Solidarity with the Action Plan signed by the Canadian, Italian and Swedish Parliamentarians, February 20, 2003 33
Statement of Solidarity with the Action Plan signed by the French Parliamentarian, February 20, 2003 34
Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents, 2001, compiled by the Anti-Defamation League 35

SPECIAL MEETING ON ANTI-SEMITISM
in conjunction with
OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY WINTER MEETING

HOFBURG CONFERENCE CENTER
VIENNA, AUSTRIA

FEBRUARY 21, 2003

The special meeting was held in the Hofburg Conference Center, Vienna, Austria, Gert Weisskirchen, Member, German Bundestag, and Vice-President, OSCE PA [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly], and Christopher H. Smith, Member, U.S. House of Representatives, and Chairman, U.S. Delegation to the OSCE PA, co-chairing.

Participants present: Marta Halpert, Journalist, and Vienna Correspondent of "Focus"; Michel Voisin, Member, French National Assembly and Chairman, French Delegation to the OSCE PA; Jerehmiel Grafstein, Member, Senate of Canada and Treasurer, OSCE PA; Svend Robinson, Member, Canadian Parliament and Vice-Chairman, General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, OSCE PA; Benjamin L. Cardin, Member, U.S. House of Representatives; Luigi Compagna, Member, Senate of Italy; Marcello Pacini, Member of Italian Chamber of Deputies and Chairman, Italian Delegation to the OSCE PA; Kamal H. Qureshi, Member, Danish Parliament; Helmut Rauber, Member, German Bundestag; Pert Sulak, Member, Czech Parliament and Chairman, Czech Delegation to the OSCE PA; Steny H. Hoyer, Minority Whip, U.S. House of Representatives; Tom Cox, Member, British House of Commons; Clifford Lincoln, Member, Canadian Parliament; Rita Süssmuth, former Speaker, German Bundestag and Chair, German Delegation to the OSCE PA and Vice President, OSCE PA; Amb. Stephan M. Minikes, U.S. Permanent Representative to OSCE; Pierre Fauchon, Member, Senate of France; Colette Avital, Member, Israeli Knesset; Michele Demessine, Member, Senate of France; Adrian Severin, Member, Romanian Chamber of Deputies and President Emeritus, OSCE PA; Alcee L. Hastings, Member, U.S. House of Representatives and Vice-President, OSCE PA; and Elena Mizulina, Member, Russian Duma and Chair, General Committee on Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, OSCE PA.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. I welcome all of you to this special meeting on combating anti-Semitism in the OSCE region and thank you for making the effort to attend. We want to use this opportunity to focus special attention on this issue that once again challenges our region. I feel that it is necessary for members of our Assembly to speak out with a strong voice to condemn anti-Semitism and take specific actions in our respective countries. This was done last summer at the annual session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly where a strong resolution on anti-Semitism was adopted. At that time, members of the German Bundestag and the U.S. Congress were so concerned with what we saw taking place that we sponsored a separate meeting to consider the problem and develop a course of action.

This was followed up by a meeting we had in Washington in December where we signed a letter of intent outlining an action program. Our meeting today is an effort to continue and obtain increased support for this process.

I would like to ask my partner in this initiative, Chris Smith, to give you some thoughts on how we might work together. We also are very pleased that our distinguished Parliamentary colleague from France has agreed to outline recent developments in his country. In addition, we have invited an expert on anti-Semitism living in Austria, Marta Halpert, to provide us with her observations and recommendations. After that we would appreciate your questions and ideas.

To conclude, I would remind you that the OSCE Chairman-in-Office has decided to have a special OSCE meeting on anti-Semitism somewhere in Europe. We are working on it, trying to find a good place where this could lend us the best opportunity to deliver our message. At this point, I do not know what capital of Europe—I heard west of Vienna or west of Budapest and east of Washington.

We are tackling a very serious problem in confronting anti-Semitism. This is not only a "normal minority problem," but it is the heart of xenophobia. I do think that we have made a start in Berlin at the summer annual Parliamentary Assembly Session last year, and at the December congressional meeting in Washington. I thank you very much, Chris, for delivering this and for your fine organizational work in connection with these events.

[Audio gap.]

Mr. SMITH. It has been my great pleasure to serve with you. This will be our third forum that we have held on this growing problem of anti-Semitism. It is a problem in the United States. It is a problem in North America and Canada. It is a problem in Europe. It is something that we all have to aggressively and systematically seek to root out. Anti-Semitism, even if it is under the pretext of disagreeing with a policy that might emanate from the Knesset, from Israel, is to be deplored.

As we heard from some of our speakers at previous events such as representatives from the Anti-Defamation League and others, one can disagree with Israeli policies and yet do so in a way that is not a pretext to vent anti-Semitism. I think we have got to make that very clear.

Just as in our own Parliaments, just as in our debate this morning on Iraq, which I think was a very robust and honest exchange, we still come back unified as friends with many common purposes and common goals as to how we should proceed in our commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

I think we need to strip away that facade that has been creeping into many of our societies that somehow it is permissible to be anti-Semitic and use a disagreement with policies in the Middle East as a front for that.

Gert, again, it is great to be working with you. I think what we have tried to do—and we did this in Washington, we signed an agreement, a letter of intent to try to bring to this Parliamentary Assembly and all 55 nations that comprise it, an action plan. This is a plan that can put us all on the same course, decrying and deploring and using whatever means necessary within our own Parliaments and societies to root out this ugly cancer called anti-Semitism.

We need to make sure that our police are actively pursing hate crimes and acts of hate when they are committed against people simply because of their ethnicity or because of their religious beliefs. That is why we are trying to encourage commitments from all of

us to look at our own laws, our own policies and the implementation of those policies to ensure that wherever this kind of hate manifests itself, there is a sure and decisive response to it.

We are joined by Mr. Voisin, head of the delegation from France. A few weeks ago, his colleague from the French National Assembly, Pierre Lellouche, visited our delegation in Washington and brought to us the news that France is working very aggressively on a new law designed to root out and to prosecute this vicious crime. I know Mr. Voisin will provide us with further details on the actions taking place in his country.

We hope at Rotterdam to again address this issue and do some assessment to see how far we have come. I've been in Congress now for 23 years, and along with Steny Hoyer, who is a good friend and colleague—he's a Democrat, I am a Republican—we have served for many years together on the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Steny has chaired the Helsinki Commission when the Democrats had control of the House. I have chaired it since the Republicans are in the majority.

We've always been united in the cause of human rights. Certainly anti-Semitism is one of those issues that we need to confront together.

There has been a spike. There has been a rising tide of anti-Semitic activity in all of our societies, from swastikas being painted on walls, to desecration of memorials in cemeteries, to actual attacks on rabbis as well as upon Jewish people.

So we need to speak out with one voice. We're very gratified—and I know Gert is as well—by your strong response. We had a very robust debate just a few minutes ago. You know, some people might have thought it would be time for a little rest before proceeding later on. We are very grateful that you are here.

I'd like to turn the microphone over to the head of the delegation from France for any thoughts he may have.

[Applause.]

Mr. VOISON. [Through translator.] Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As you said, our Parliament and the National Assembly meeting together have recently adopted the law of February 3, 2003, that has indicated the renewed interest taken in the provisions of French legal codes pertaining to the fight against racism and anti-Semitism. Permit me to express satisfaction at the opportunity offered me to share with you our experience. The actions we have taken testify to an unsleeping vigilance on the part of the democratic and Republican currents in our country against what we have always called the foul beast.

Now to understand the significance of French legislation in general, I will require your indulgence in advance for elaborating on our legal provisions at some length. Perhaps this will take some 10 minutes.

So, as I was saying, to understand the implications of our legislation, I think we need to remember that, going back to the foundation of the Third Republic in our country, going back to 1875–1880, the emergence of a shared idea in our nation, there was an agreement that arose about the major principles of freedom, equality and fraternity. These were understood not only as principles of political morality, but as standards or rules underlying the entirety of our legal system.

This process didn't take place in just a few months, or even a few years. First, the Republic itself and Republican principles had to prevail over the temptations to restore the monarchy. This meant dealing with a large amount of ideological baggage.

Historically speaking, France, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, was a country where anti-Semitism and reactionary current politics were bound up together. The Dreyfus Affair, named for the French Army captain of Jewish origin who was unjustly accused and convicted of treason in conditions largely explained by that Jewish origin, sparked a very intense political debate in France. This debate left a lasting link between the promotion of Republican ideals and principles and the need for vigilance against anti-Semitism as a specific category of racism.

Every time we have witnessed in French political life a major resurgence of ideas or behaviors inspired by racism and anti-Semitism, this has demonstrated the imperfections of the law enforcement apparatus or the legislation intended to deal with it. In each case legislators have intervened in order to stem the tide and protect the Republic and democracy.

French criminal law describes acts and other deeds in categories of provocation, insult and propaganda in favor of these shameful theories. The law of July 29, 1881, on the freedom of the press, many times amended since, particularly in 1972, provides for 1 year of imprisonment and a fine of 45,000 euros for seeking to provoke discrimination, hatred or violence. It also penalizes defamation and public insult as well as seeking to justify crimes against humanity. The law of July 19, 1990, which was adopted at the initiative of Mr. Jean Claude Gayssot, a Communist deputy, provided that the penalty should be extended to expressing theories or publicizing theories or opinions denying crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Nazis, known as "negationism."

What are the material elements that constitute these offenses? Well, they are behavior made known to the public through writing, printing, drawing, painting, engraving, the production of emblems and images on it, or any other medium underlying the written or spoken or images sold, distributed or exposed to the public, as well as any audiovisual means. Subject to penalty are not only the direct perpetrator, but also those responsible for publishing the written work or the audiovisual item.

Furthermore, since 1972, associations combating racism and anti-Semitism that are very active in our country have been able to exercise rights recognized for civil parties. This helps them to institute proceedings before a civil magistrate to ensure that actions are taken against the perpetrators of racist or anti-Semitic acts.

The law on press freedom is not the only source of law penalizing this kind of behavior. Racial discrimination is subject to penalty under the penal code: 2 years of imprisonment and 30,000 euros fine. The penal code also penalizes the desecration of graves or wearing or exhibiting in public Nazi uniforms or insignia. Furthermore, the labor code provides, among other things, that the burden of proof is reversed when a plaintiff claims discrimination in employment on racist or anti-Semitic grounds.

As was made clear by the debates in the Parliamentary Assembly on this subject that we had in Berlin, we are now seeing within the OSCE area, and notably in France, a worrying resurgence of anti-Semitic behavior. We must recognize that this phenomenon is at one and the same time contained and new in nature.

Racist xenophobia and anti-Semitic violence in large part in our time derives from reactions sparked by international events. There is an obvious correlation between these outbursts and events such as the Gulf war, the Algerian crisis and the Israel-Palestinian conflict. We are no longer dealing simply with racist behavior but discrimination, racist insults and the propagation of "negationist" arguments, and also attacks against persons

or property, that on the surface appear to be unexceptional, but upon closer examination appear to be dictated by racist motives.

Until the adoption of the law of February 3, 2003, the existence of such a racist motive was not taken into account in determining the penalty to be applied except in the case of the desecration of graves. The law of February 3, 2003 that has just been unanimously adopted by the National Assembly and the Senate has filled this legal void. It provides that the penalties for crimes or offenses are aggravated when the offense is committed "by reason of the belonging or the non-belonging, real or supposed, of the victim to an ethnic group, a nation, a race or a particular religion."

What is the explanation for this legislation?

First, why is there this reference to the real or supposed belonging or non-belonging of the victim to a particular race or religion? Because this makes it possible to penalize behavior based on erroneous interpretations or theories. We know that the classification of human beings into races and ethnic groups very often rests on extremely dubious theories. On the other hand, it is established that people tend to base on such considerations racist-type reasoning which impels them subjectively to commit offenses. It is the establishment of that link that gives rise to the aggravating circumstance. During the parliamentary debate, some members did in fact wonder aloud as to whether it would be appropriate to delete the term "race" in French legislation since it does not rest on any scientific or biologic reality.

Secondly, what are we to understand by ethnic group? In French law, the notion of ethnicity or ethnic group denotes a set of individuals who are united by a commonality of language or culture. This makes it possible to protect a group of persons going beyond the framework of a nation. According to case law, foreigners residing in France, because they do not belong to the French nation, constitute a group of specific persons. They will, therefore, be protected by this new law.

Thirdly, how can the presence or existence of a racist motive be evaluated? The law providing for this aggravating circumstance is in place, and it applies to how the offense has occurred, and its accompaniment by speech, writing, images, objects, or acts of any nature damaging to the honor of the victim or a group of persons to which the victim belongs. Because of their belonging or not belonging, real or supposed, to an ethnic group, a nation, a specific race, or a particular religion, the drafting makes it clear that the proof of the motive for the offense must, in practice, derive from factual elements. The mere fact that the victim belongs to a particular ethnic group or a particular religion cannot, in itself, make the offense racist or anti-Semitic in nature.

The offenses concerned range from murder to acts that do not present a danger to persons. In certain cases, the applicable penalty is doubled. These are the principal provisions of this new law. The coming months and years will show how effective the new legislation is.

In conclusion, I would like, if I may, to draw your attention to another dimension of the fight against anti-Semitism. That is the fight against the propagation of racist and anti-Semitic ideas through the Internet.

French law is applicable to this means of diffusion. Court decisions have established the principle of the liability of hosts as well as those providing access if the host is abroad. Draft legislation, now under consideration, defines more precisely the scope of this responsibility or this liability by making it clear that service providers cannot be held to an obligation of general surveillance of the content they make available, but that their liabil-

ity comes into existence when they effectively know that an obviously illegal or illicit activity is taking place and refrain from doing anything about it.

I believe that other states may well be interested in this question and in finding out more about it all the more so, as it concerns not only anti-Semitism, but also pedophilia.

At the initiative of France, this subject is going to be put on the agenda of this year's G8 meeting. So far as our assembly is concerned, if we were to look at a draft resolution on the fight against anti-Semitism, I would hope to see it containing developments in this direction.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. I would now like to introduce our expert speaker, Ms. Maria Halpert. She is a veteran correspondent and journalist who has covered Central Europe extensively during her career. She has been a correspondent for the region for the Israeli newspapers *The Jerusalem Post* and *Haaretz* and from 1974 to 1991 was the editor, publisher and co-owner of *Illustrierte Neue Welt*, a monthly founded by Thoedor Herzl. From 1997 until 2001, Ms. Halpert was the director of the Central and East European Office of the Anti-Defamation League, based in Vienna. She is currently the Vienna correspondent for the Münich weekly news magazine *Focus*. Ms. Halpert, we all look forward to learning from your experience and expertise.

Ms. HALPERT. Good afternoon.

As a practicing journalist mainly working in Austria and in Germany, I do not want to feed you any figures or statistics, but would rather like to share with you my experience and my observations in these specific fields, meaning anti-Semitism and xenophobia, with special focus on Germany and Austria.

First of all, it is up to you as to who will go back to your national parliaments and can make the big difference there. My conclusion is that the only way to help change an undesirable situation is to promote civil society and, , also to support the NGOs that you have in your countries, to safeguard freedom and tolerance.

The two points I would like to concentrate on is to observe is happening in Austria and Germany as well as in many other countries all over Europe, including Central and Eastern Europe.

The first point is political populism has been breaking taboos and is breaking them constantly. This is how anti-Jewish stereotypes and xenophobic resentments infiltrate and actually creep into mainstream society and sometimes also into the media.

I would like to start with two examples which will show you that despite the fact that political populism was a sort of starting point, public opinion, and partially also the media, proved to be able to stop these things.

So we will start just by going a little bit backwards and talking about what today we would define as political populism.

The end of the Cold War and the demise of Communism made the mainstream parties of the right and left move much more into the center, thus often diminishing the choice for ordinary people who feared being ignored.

Nearly all of the established mainstream parties lack today charismatic personalities as I remember them, such as Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Olaf Palme.

Instead, all around us, including of course in my country, we find sometimes colorless managers of power making the possible come true. But there are others nowadays who do

fill this gap. A masculine Jörg Haider driving a Porsche or an eccentric cigar-smoking Pym Fortayne meet the needs of the needy photo-finish audience.

These politicians appear to offer very simple solutions to complicated problems. They command a language that is easily understood, and they radiate an aura of stability in an insecure world. Stopping immigration is the popular answer to containing crime, and making one feel safe and strong behind one's national walls.

Very often this phenomenon is compared to a national kind of provincialism and as the basis for populist political parties to instrumentalize the fears of the voters.

You have all probably heard of the case of the Möllemann affair in the context of the German national elections last September. The German Free Democratic (FDP) leadership set itself a goal to gain 18 percent of the vote, an ambitious target considering that the party's support ran from 6–9 percent in most of the country. Jurgen Möllemann, the marketing guru of his liberal party then proudly presented Jamal Karsli, a Syrian-born newcomer to the FDP.

Karski's recruitment by Möllemann was costly, as the former was made to leave the Green Party. Karski instantly fulfilled the expectations of his recruiter. He started to abuse the Israeli army, comparing it to the Nazis, lamented the influence of the Zionist lobby and its power over the biggest media in the world, which all of us know.

As soon as the vice president of the Central Organization of Jews in Germany, Michael Friedmann, protested this public statement by Karski, Möllemann defended his protegé and stated bluntly that Friedman was "arrogant and aggressive in a way that would arouse anti-Semitic resentment."

A harsh controversy followed this exchange of words and showed the following two things. One was positive and one negative.

On the negative side, we witnessed a traditional liberal party in Germany not hesitating to use anti-Semitic prejudice to try and maximize its votes, nourishing the infamous idea that "the Jews themselves provoke anti-Semitism and therefore are guilty if anti-Semitism raises its ugly head." This is one of the stereotypes that you can hear again and again.

The second thing—and this is the good news—is that the German voters did not accept this maneuver, and the FDP lost, compared to previous elections, and they were very far short of their 18 percent target.

Now turning to Austria, we have, you also know, the right wing populist Jörg Haider, who found himself compared to Möllemann in a much more convenient situation, especially since February 2000, he already commanded over 27 percent of the vote, and his party was in a Christian conservative coalition government.

This past 3-year period of Austrian *real-politik* granted Haider a fool's license to continue his populist policies, xenophobia against foreigners and a lot of offensive connotations against Jewish people.

But not only Möllemann and also Haider stood corrected in the end as the efforts of Haider to help his party friends in Vienna gain votes in regional elections by giving the campaign an anti-Semitic flavor, were turned down by the voters.

Haider, at that time, was mocking the first name of the head of the Jewish community in Vienna, calling him by his first name, Ariel, which happens to be the name also of a well-known detergent. Haider repeatedly said, "How can one be called Ariel if he has such a lot to answer for?"

How does this all, what I was telling you now, infiltrate into the mainstream?

Sadly it can happen very easily. Following Haider's remarks, the Jewish community in Vienna was flooded with mail they had never received before, taking up Haider's connotations, his game of words, his insinuations. Of course, you know, that if you hear of a detergent, and you think about the Holocaust, the connotations are really as bad as they can be.

All of those remarks by Haider and others, which were simple to get, easy to understand, and sometimes really cruel, were not met by a prompt and fierce reaction by political leaders. Therefore, they fell on fertile ground.

Much more seemed to be allowed. Suddenly you could "refer," and use populist inferences. Barriers were lowered.

Austria has, like many other countries, a very small right wing, and a very few small right wing publications. Unless a diligent journalist is looking for them, they rarely enter the center of attention. They became a noticeable because we all know that the presence of revisionist racist and extremist in the worldwide web is much stronger. This network of communication is unfortunately well woven.

So not many people in Austria or anywhere else would have cared for an Austrian monthly edited by Andre Moser. Also, this gentleman was a long-term ideologist of Jörg Haider. His publication has no big waiting list or dissemination.

But it was Jörg Haider's populism over the years that prepared the grounds for breaking the taboos I mentioned before. Due to the survival policy of the former Austrian Government, which meant that Haider's remarks were not denounced, as they should have been, not only Haider but the people around him became more outrageous.

In this way a personality like Andre Moser came out from the shadows and entered into the respectable mainstream in the media and in society. He no longer had to publish only in his small paper. He became one of the most well paid and well acclaimed, at least in that audience, tabloid writers in Vienna.

He is writing a column for the *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, which is selling 1 million copies. For Austria means that the paper reaches 42 percent of the population, actually making it a world champion of a certain type.

What I wanted to share with you is the idea that any kind of political populism that goes and thinks about very short-range success is really pollution of the mind and of the soul. Anything that plays with names or makes insinuations about people, does not really just do that, you do not stop short of that. This is my food for thought, which I wanted to share with you so that you might be better on the lookout for these developments.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you. This message is that we need to be on the lookout for these developments. For our next intervention first is Chris—and—there appears to be four or five more who have asked to be recognized.

Mr. SMITH. Let me recognize our Canadian friend, Jerry Grafstein. Jerry.

Mr. GRAFSTEIN. Well, first of all, Chris and Gert, let me congratulate the OSCE Commissioners from the United States, Chris Smith and Ben Cardin, for promoting the resolution that was passed unanimously in Berlin. This was a unique initiative and I am happy that they asked me at the last moment to join with them. I did because, as you know, sometimes OSCE resolutions do have an immediate impact.

I was delighted at the time, that there was a seminar in Berlin where Gert, our very distinguished vice-chair and chairman of our former chairman of our Human Rights Committee, joined you and gave your initiative ever greater impetus.

So I want to congratulate the U.S. Commission, Gert and the German delegation for taking up the battle. Obviously, today I am delighted that Michel Voisin of France, an old, old friend, is joining this movement.

What has happened since the annual meeting in Berlin last summer is quite interesting. We are all concerned as representatives of the OSCE whether or not our resolutions have any impact or immediate impact, and what are the results. Since that time, again at the initiative of Gert, Chris and Ben Cardin, we had a very interesting seminar in Washington. I think that that triggered some wider interest. To my mind, coming here to Vienna, in the Hofburg Palace, where other voices in the last century were heard, is an astounding and important movement forward. Yesterday we heard from the Chairman-in-Office that the OSCE itself will have a full-day event on anti-Semitism.

Now I can report on my own account that action has been taken in the Canadian Parliament that really echoes the resolution of the OSCE and adds a Canadian dimension. I am absolutely delighted today that my colleague Svend Robinson, who has been in the forefront of the fight for human rights, has also been a strong advocate against anti-Semitism. He can speak for himself on this.

I want to say that if history teaches us one thing, it is that silence is acquiescence. If there is not an immediate outcry in response to flagrant abuses of human rights, including anti-Semitism, then silence is acquiescence and will lead to more abuse.

I am absolutely proud and privileged to be an officer and a member of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly because I think of all international organizations and particularly due to the efforts of you, Chris, and you Gert, and now Michel, it has led the way in raising public awareness of this issue.

The more concrete steps we take in the next year or so, the quicker we will do what our speaker has just told us, that is to end this public pollution.

Everyone should remember this as well, history teaches another important lesson. That is, violent discrimination may start with the Jews, but it never ends with the Jews.

Therefore I wanted to congratulate the members here today for coming. I hope that one of the lasting impacts of your presence will be that all Parliaments across the OSCE region, 55 Parliaments, will follow the lead of America, France, Germany and hopefully Canada.

Together I think we can make a difference. So I want to thank you all.

Mr. SMITH. Thanks very much, Jerry.

Mr. GRAFSTEIN. If I might allow my colleague Svend Robinson to tell you about a current problem …

Mr. SMITH. Certainly.

Mr. ROBINSON. Thanks very much, Chris and Gert. I'll be very brief.

I just wanted to echo the words of my colleague Jerry Grafstein and to note what we have done in Canada, where, I think, we have succeeded in forging an alliance of people across party lines, as we recognize that this is not, in any way, a partisan issue. It is an issue that transcends partisan politics because it goes to the core of our values.

One of the examples that came up recently in Canada when there was a particularly virulent outburst of anti-Semitism and attack in a very public forum by a prominent indi-

vidual, was that we saw an immediate condemnation of this incident right across the political spectrum. We moved quickly, to use Ms. Halpert's words. I think we were prompt and we were fierce in our collective response.

I tabled a motion in the House on the issue. Jerry, who has been fighting on this issue all of his life, spoke out strongly. I think that's one of the things that we really have to emphasize.

The Toronto city police, in the largest city in Canada, just did a report about hate crimes. They pointed out that the two biggest increases in hate crimes were, unfortunately, attacks against Jews, and those in some cases perceived to be Jewish, because we have to remember the whole perception issue, and I regret to say as well, attacks on those who are Muslim and Arab-Canadian. This is another very serious concern that we have to address and deal with as part of our response to racism.

But the major point I would make is just that we have to respond to these in a visible, public, active way. We must make sure that our laws are strong and tough. In areas like the Internet where we have to strengthen the laws, we must take the necessary action.

Jerry talked about silence and breaking the silence. I just want to finish by reminding delegates that when Martin Luther King Jr. was asked one time about the struggle against racism, and fighting for equality for blacks in America, he responded that the greatest fear that he faced was not the hatred of his enemies, but rather the silence of his friends.

This is not just an issue for Jews. It is an issue for all of us. That is why we must speak out.

Mr. SMITH. Just to add to that, I recall that Abraham Lincoln once said, "The sin of silence when they should protest makes cowards of men."

So we do need to speak very effectively and robustly against these actions.

Thank you for your contribution.

Ben Cardin.

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As legislators, we have a dual responsibility not only to pass laws and resolutions, but to make sure that there is follow-through, that these laws and resolutions are in fact carried out. This is our oversight function.

I think as members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, we have responsibilities not only to pass resolutions, but to make sure those resolutions have meaning. Yes, we have passed very strong resolutions against anti-Semitism. I applaud my colleagues for bringing these resolutions forward and supporting them. But we are also taking our responsibility of oversight very seriously. That is why I applaud these follow-up meetings that are taking place.

Mr. Chairman, I note the number of people that are in this room, which is a very encouraging sign that we take this responsibility very seriously to deal with the problem and to learn from each other.

I want to compliment our French colleagues for the passage of their new law that makes it clear that the motivation for a crime is indeed important if we are going to get at the root cause of anti-Semitism and bigotry based upon ethnic background, race or religion.

Ms. Halpert points out that if we are going to fight political populism, we need to have political leadership. I think that is a common theme we can find, that leadership makes a difference, and that you can trust the voters, but that you also need leadership in

order to make sure that a strong message gets out that we won't tolerate discrimination based upon race, religion or ethnic background.

The formula that we have followed is clear. We need appropriate laws in our countries. We need to continually evaluate to make sure that we have the right tools in place. We need attitude, enforcement and leadership to make sure that these laws carry out their intended purpose.

We need to deal with our schools. We need leadership within our school systems, which I think all of us need to watch in our own countries to make sure that teachers are trained, in order to deal with these issues. We must insure that education is a positive experience rather than a negative experience, as unfortunately it is in some countries.

As this forum has pointed out, the challenges of technology are going to be difficult for us to deal with us. It is not easy to trace the Internet, but we need to do that.

It has come to our attention that we have problems within my own country that can conflict with our protections of freedom of speech. We do not want to hamper the development of new technology.

Therefore, we are going to have to reach out and figure out ways to deal with the problems of anti-Semitism that new technology makes much easier to dissimulate. The bottom line is that these forums are very important, and I would encourage us to continue down this path and have regular sessions so that we can accomplish our purpose of protecting our communities against anti-Semitism.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Cardin, thank you very much.

The gentleman, four rows back, would you please identify yourself.

Mr. COMPAGNA. For the promotion of education among younger persons, to count anti-Semitic stereotypes, I think that there is a modern kind of anti-Semitism, [through translator] that is neither a crime but rather a national matter. In the history of the past generation, and I have listened with a great deal of attention and a great appreciation to the history, the story Mr. Voisin told us about this new law passed on February 3rd and the historic background for this move against anti-Semitism that we are seeing in Europe and Russia and elsewhere, that we have seen specifically in France and Germany.

In the modern kind of this foul beast that we are experiencing now today, it is being said that Zionism is a crime. Now the question should be phrased differently. If we look at the actions of the Israeli Government in one period or another, it is a completely different matter.

The question of Zionism is that it is an ideology that is legitimized by the history of Europe that began half way through the 19th century.

Mr. COMPAGNA. [non-translated] There are types of propaganda against the Jews that are an actual taboo in this period of our generation.

Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. PACINI. Complete information for the delegation, one minute.

Mr. SMITH. OK, the gentleman from Italy.

Mr. PACINI. I simply would like to supplement what was just said. I believe that the problem is a very strategic in nature. As I mentioned yesterday, if you allow me, I'd like to inform my colleagues here as was the chair, Mr. Smith, that within the Italian Parliament, we are taking the initiative to present a resolution which resolves around condemning any form of anti-Semitism, in whatever form it may be.

Now in Italy, it is not that such acts are not widespread, but still this is very important. We do have a Jewish community in Italy, and they're directly implicated by these moves.

They are interested in knowing what will be done. I wanted to inform you what we are doing along these lines. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much.

The gentleman from Denmark, Kalman Qureshi

Mr. QURESHI. Thank you. Thank you for the opportunity to raise this important issue.

I would like to supplement on a small point on history. Many of the speakers have pointed out that it is very important to learn from history. I also think it is very important to know that history does repeat itself, but it doesn't repeat itself in the same face or with the same problems.

We are seeing, as many of you have mentioned, a growth in xenophobia throughout Europe, throughout the OSCE region. We're seeing a growth that is very highly correlated with the growth of the extreme right wing.

And also in Denmark, we are seeing the growth of the extreme right wing which is the supporting party of the Danish Government, which is not only neglecting combating xenophobia, but also denying the xenophobic attacks and the xenophobic tendency in Danish society.

Many of you know that in Denmark the Danish Government, as definitely the Germans know, is still economically supporting a radio run by the Nazi party. That is the situation as it is at the moment.

We also know that during the last years in Denmark, independent bodies combating discrimination have been shut down.

So it is important to know that the things will repeat themselves, but not necessarily with the same problems, or necessarily with the same face.

What I'd like to emphasize is that many of the attacks that some of colleagues such as Svend Robinson mentioned, some of the attacks that we are seeing in Europe, also in Denmark, are sometimes attacks on Jews, on the Jewish community.

We know that the Jewish communities are just going to synagogue, they have to have protection. Or we know that some of the orthodox Jews, who in appearance look like some of the ethnic minorities, are being harassed.

But the problem is that if you have to emphasize and say that it is an anti-Semitic problem only, it would be difficult to face it because if you have a Jewish person who has been harassed because somebody thinks that he's a Muslim, for instance, I do not think that it is important for him to know whether he was harassed because of his religion.

[Audio gap.]

… many of the communities that are being targeted are, as has been mentioned, historically a problem in Europe or in other OSCE countries, but they are not recovering with the same face.

And as soon as you narrow it down, it is hard to fight it because the harassment might not be because people say they were Jews, but maybe because they are seen as someone else.

So I would try to emphasize whether you should consider using a more broad approach so it is easier to cover the whole problem facing the Jewish community in the OSCE region.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Rauber.

Mr. RAUBER. [Through translator.] Dear colleagues, I consider it to be appropriate here that we look at the legal ramifications and also our penal law in our fight against anti-Semitism.

However, I do have my doubts as to whether we will have a lasting success here.

For me, it is more important that we look at the content of the opinions, at the various hypothesis and the arguments that anti-Semites deal with so we can show them that their position is wrong. I find that would be a more successful approach.

Mr. SMITH. The representative from the Czech Republic.

Mr. SULAK. Ladies and gentlemen, allow me to make a very short speech about this problem in Czech Republic.

During World War II, more than 300,000 of our citizens were killed. The majority were Jews who were victims of the Holocaust and died in concentration camps.

Because we have this bad historical experience, we are conducting in the Czech Republic active politics against anti-Semitism and racism.

In Czech Republic, there exist now necessary and rational laws against it. All parties and political movements have the same opinion. We have the support of our people. Czech justice can now deal with anti-Semitic and racist-motivated incidents and crimes.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

QUESTIONER. A very brief question to the chairman regarding U.S. politics: As we heard, a lot of hate is spread on the Internet. As you know, there is a problem with the legislation. How could we manage to improve the awareness of American providers to get Nazi web sites off of the Internet?

Could Germany then be an example for that? Could you use the Berlin Declaration of June 2002? What would be your first step to raise this awareness? Could we meet again in 1 $^{1}/_{2}$ years to discuss what kind of example America is?

It seems that the problem is getting bigger and bigger as you see on the Internet, the coming together of leftist radicals and Nazis regarding the Iraq war, the coming Iraq war,—although we do not know if there is going to be war. But in the anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli movements there is a coming together of left radicals and the right wing radicals.

How could we work together to improve this legislation? What could the American Government do on that?

Thanks.

Mr. SMITH. It is a very good question and a very difficult one.

In the United States, as many of you know, we have a constitutionally protected right to freedom of speech, under the First Amendment, which is very broad in its meaning and allows very diverse and sometimes very negative expressions of speech, making it that much more difficult to put a rein on it, whether it be on the Internet or in any other venue.

We are moving and making some progress, particularly at the state level—and I support it at the federal level—in doing something similar to what our colleagues in France have done by enhancing the penalties for hate crimes, when the motivation is based on ethnicity, religion or country of origin.

And while we do not have an all-encompassing federal statute, we have made progress in that area. We do have some state laws that are, I think, a model that needs to be replicated.

But when it comes to speech, we grapple with what is permissible. You know, the old adage you can't yell "fire" in a crowded movie theater. That crosses a line.

I would err on the side that disallows hate speech, but we do have a very difficult obstacle with our First Amendment constitutional right in accomplishing what some of you in Europe would more easily accomplish with your legislation.

And, after we would pass such a law, it would then be looked at by our courts, ultimately the U.S. Supreme Court, and any review of its constitutionality would probably render it mute.

But it is—Steny, did you want to comment on that.

Mr. HOYER. No, I think that's pretty accurate, Chris. I think that the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States is probably the strongest protection of free speech in the world. The consequences of that are that we have some pretty hateful speech, which is protected.

Now I am not sure that I would agree with Chris on whether or not on whether or not that ought to be modified. Jefferson believed that the antidote for hateful speech was nonhateful speech and an answer that was persuasive, effective and well distributed.

But I think Chris is correct. From the United States' standpoint, and now that affects all of the world, because obviously speech through the Internet can be transmitted so easily and so quickly from any place to any place in the world, almost instantaneously. So it becomes a world problem, not just a country problem.

Mr. COX. Let me just add that, you know, the special situation that the Internet provides, and you know, the idea that it crosses state and federal boundaries with the greatest of ease, obscenity is not protected speech or within the United States.

We have begun to crack down and again our friend and colleague from France spoke about the pedophiles and the like.

We have very strong laws on obscenity. They're not always enforced adequately, but we do have very strong laws. That, it was argued by those who—the purveyors of that kind of smut, that that was an expression of speech. Well, it is not.

And we at least come down very hard on child pornography as well as other manifestations of obscenity.

But you know, the Internet what it portends and the challenges it raises for all us. We need to rethink what is permissible when it comes to Nazi-like or other types of hate crimes and other anti-Semitic speech and the like.

But it is a very real challenge for us with a First Amendment guarantee of speech, free speech.

Mr. LINCOLN. I would like to follow up on the question of the Internet because it has been the subject—it has been the subject of a study that our Standing Committee of the House of Commons in Canada is conducting right now.

Because of its international nature, it is so hard to control. Our Chairman Smith spoke about pornography, and hate propaganda is another subject that needs to be somehow controlled on the Internet. How do we do it?

We've got very strong hate legislation in Canada as well. But the Internet is such a tremendous, diffuse instrument that it is almost impossible to apply national laws to the Internet at large.

I understand that some countries in Europe, and I'd like to find out if that is correct, our study seems to show that certain countries in Europe are making the provider responsible for anything that goes through a channel of the provider across the Internet.

I would like to address that and if we feel that this is or is not a restriction on freedom of expression and speech. Perhaps this is the way to tackle it. We are studying this ourselves without arriving at a conclusion, but we'd like to find out what Europe does.

Mr. SMITH. OK.

Mr. VOISON. [Through translator.] Just briefly, yes, that's precisely what we want to accomplish in our legislation. We want for the provider to be the one that controls the system and that the provider be made responsible for this, if and when in that provider system, hate speech or for example, anti-Semitism is propagated.

That is one point. The other point is that, independently of that, whether they are a provider or not, or a journalist, or a "journalist," where anti-Semitic speech is used regardless of what system they are functioning in and whether he or she is the owner of the system, the provider of the system, or the deliverer of the system, by contributing those words, each should be responsible for what they write and what they do. If it is anti-Semitic, then we must prosecute this either by the federal authorities—must condemn it and prosecute them.

If you will allow me, I'd just like to add something in regard to your question, in regard to our legislation, which we passed very recently, that is now being implemented to find the principle of responsibility in France.

The providers, if they are French nationality, are considered the supplier of access as well as if they are foreign providers.

So in both cases, we can accuse them or racism and anti-Semitism. We do have that possibility.

Ms. SÜSSMUTH. I'd like to emphasize once again that this is question of how far does free speech go, it is more constrained, more confined in our country than it is in the United States.

If speech, contains elements which impugn the integrity of the person, then that is punishable by law. This goes back to the early '90s when we experienced a resurgence of xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

I think it is very important that whether it takes place in the print media or whether it takes place in the electronic media, it makes no difference. Whether it is stale or in a political speech, then limits of free speech lie or extend as far as the point at which it injures the dignity of others. That is what the constitution says.

Mr. SMITH. I just wanted to note, so there is no misunderstanding, that we do have very strong libel and slander laws in the United States. When there is an aggrieved party or an aggrieved person, and they believe it is actionable, they need to bring a case to court.

But as public persons, as Members of Congress, we are in a different category all together. We can be slandered and libeled and ridiculed—I say that with some tongue in cheek—to their hearts' content, particularly by our newspapers, and there is very little recourse.

I mean, you have to show a considerable amount of damage.

Mr. HOYER. What Chris is saying, if you're a public official, you have to prove malice.

Mr. SMITH. Malice…

Mr. HOYER. Malice of forethought that there has to be a conscious intent to injure as opposed to simply criticize. Political speech is probably the most protected speech that we have in America.

So if you're a public official, for the most part, you're fair game no matter what is said. And President Clinton would tell you, I think, that is in fact, as you know in Europe, what happened to him. He really had no defense.

Mr. VOISIN [Through translator.] We have exactly the same thing in our country so far as political speech is concerned. But the immunity does not protect you on this point if somebody insults somebody to the point as Mrs. Süssmuth was saying to us, to the point where immunity can be lifted and the courts can never proceed against anyone who has perpetrated hate speech.

For reasons that are quite obvious, because we have a different history from that of the United States of America and we draw the line much more sharply here than you do.

Thank you.

QUESTIONER. A very brief comment. I would like to ask you as OSCE is—I am a Jewish journalist. I am an outsider here. But could it be manageable to make very similar laws because if you prevent it in Germany, then the people would go to the Baltic Republics, which they did already, and get the providers there who would then go to Moldova or wherever.

So it would be a giant effort to get established. You would have to have very similar laws to make a minimum of awareness on the Internet. Then, I would ask you to go back to your countries to try to think about how could we try to create more awareness in school children. How could they access the Internet with more awareness to see what is a good side, which information is good for me and reliable, and which is not?

This would be something that we would have to do through education mainly and not only through censorship. Thanks.

Mr. SMITH. Just let me comment on the idea of education. I think it is a good one, and Mr. Cardin mentioned it earlier.

In our joint declaration that we made, Gert and I, on behalf of our German and U.S. delegations, we are trying to encourage at every level, at the school board level which is our local level that handles public school education, at the national level, to encourage that the antidote to anti-Semitism is to be taught; that respect and tolerance be encouraged to the greatest degree; that the ultimate and horrific outcome of a Holocaust which began with hateful ideas that began and poisoned hearts, be taught.

Some of you may recall that in the great Rogers and Hammerstein musical *South Pacific*, there was a great song in there, very telling, "You've Got to be Taught to Hate." It starts at the earliest years, and the more we can inculcate in our young people a sense of tolerance and respect, you may not be able to get them to the point of love, although we do want to love our neighbors, but at least to respect and tolerate them—I think we have come a long way.

We need to break these cycles because they are passed down from generation to generation. So we have made it one of our action plan items that at every turn we encourage within our educational system from the very beginning a sense of tolerance for all people,

regardless of race or ethnicity. Certainly, since anti-Semitic behavior is on the rise, that needs to be very aggressively addressed.

Ambassador Minikes?

Amb. MINIKES. Just in response to the prior speaker, what can OSCE do, based on what the Parliamentary Assembly has done in Berlin and also very notably the Commission in our Congress, OSCE is right now embarked on a very important measure to hold a conference on anti-Semitism in the next few months.

Let me mention some of the breakout sessions that play right into what's being said here. These are proposed at this point. It is a work in progress. We plan to have it for about a day and a half in a city yet to be decided.

The sessions we are talking about are firstly: What is the role of governments in monitoring and responding to incidents.

Another is appropriate anti-discrimination legislation and national experience with the criminal prosecution of violence. A third would be law enforcement training. A fourth, education and school curricula; a fifth, public opinion and media work. Then there would be a session on the roles of civic and religious leaders and of NGOs. Finally, we would examine the role of the OSCE and other intergovernmental bodies in assisting governments to deal with anti-Semitism.

Those are just some proposals for breakout sessions that would be part of this conference.

Mr. SMITH. Just to amplify very quickly on the police issue. At one of our forums that we held in Berlin, the Wiesenthal Center representative made a very telling argument about how the police were misapplying or not adequately describing why certain acts of violence were occurring. So that not only were the statistics skewed in a way that showed that there was no problem, any legislation that existed in that locale, was not—there was no extra penalty for the hate crime that was being committed.

The problem was within the police department itself. There were anti-Semitic beliefs and attitudes. So they looked the other way when these acts occurred. That is where human rights training in general, but training in anti-Semitism, in particular, needs to be promoted within our police forces, not unlike what we have been talking about at this conference with regard to trafficking.

Our delegation offered the first trafficking resolution at the St. Petersburg Annual Session a few years back. When we first offered that, we were met by some of the other delegations, who will remain nameless, with some derision. They said that somehow this problem really doesn't exist, that the trafficked persons were just prostitutes. The police thought the victimized women were part of the problem rather than wanting to find a solution to help them.

But with police training, and the OSCE has led this effort, the police are no longer seen as part of the problem, but part of the solution. The same can apply, we think, to anti-Semitism.

Sensitivity can go a long way, and police training, I think, would be very helpful.

Mr. FAUCHON. [through translator] I am a French member of Parliament. Two thoughts, the first follows on from the presentation by my colleague and friend, Michel Voisin, noting the particular difficulty we have in France, namely that efforts undertaken against racist manifestations are made difficult by particular rules of procedure, which are part of our French system because they have to do with actions in the field of the press.

We have older legislation, mentioned by Mr. Voisin that raises very difficult procedural difficulties. I do not want to go into details, but just flag the existence of these things. But that's the reason why where you have anti-Semitic actions or writings, very often they're not pursued; they're not prosecuted, not dealt with.

Because of these procedural obstacles, we have endeavored to remedy these procedural obstacles, but the difficulties are political in nature, you have to tackle the status of the press. Everybody knows that politicians do not much enjoy tackling the press.

Now a second, general comment, and this is actually a request for information, I believe that we are not being quite precise or we do not have enough information about the development of racist phenomena. We know that there's been a resurgence of racism for some years now, at least in France we have been seeing this.

[Audio gap.]

It seems to us that we need some overall information updated year after year, so that we know exactly what's going on, whether things are getting worse, whether it is getting more intense, or less intense. We need to know what's happening with for example, in regard to the Internet.

I think it would be useful if we had more progressive information. I believe that there is a center there for the observation of these phenomena. But I am sure if everybody is aware of the report of this center.

I myself, if there is such a thing, I am not aware of it. I think it—periodically, it would be very useful if information of this sort could be circulated so finally we could know, have a better understanding of what we are talking about.

UNKNOWN. [Through translator.] Could I just give you a brief indication here. The Anti-Defamation League has this on the Internet or you could ask about this in Paris, and they collect exactly this information. They are very reliable.

Mr. SMITH. The United States Justice Department does keep statistics on hate crimes, and at least gives us some barometer how well or poorly we are doing with regards to trying to mitigate these acts.

QUESTIONER. So is there national legislation that would collect information?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

UNKNOWN. [Through translator.] Allow me to say that I do not doubt that this information exists somewhere, but if we want to carry out activities here, we need to organize the distribution of this information to the general public because if we wait for people to go out and get the information, we are not going to reach very many people.

And so we have to make sure that the distribution of this information is greatly increased.

Mr. QURESHI. Two issues I just wanted to raise here: one, that legislation can be used. There are some politicians at the moment who are going to debate in the European Parliament where political immunity should be lifted on one of the members from Denmark, who has been committed on racist, hate speech.

So you can use legislation, but the problem is, in my opinion, when legislation is used or when it is confronted, and it is the lack of political leadership that ends up in using the legal means.

As you have mentioned, Sweden is a very good example of that. If you have a fierce political leadership, you can withstand xenophobic tendencies.

Germany, as you mentioned, is also a very good example in that even though some might try to have benefit from anti-Semitic political speech, if you have a fierce political leadership, that withstands that challenge, it can be fought.

So, I believe that one point is that even though we are talking about legal instruments, it is important to say that legal instruments can work when we use them, but that this depends on the political leadership—or the lack of it.

I think that this is an important issue for us as parliamentarians to recognize.

I am also pleased to hear about the emphasis on police training because in Denmark we have had—actually we have had the point made that police should register crimes, if there is a doubt whether a crime is hate related.

But this hasn't functioned very well. Many of the NGOs have reported that although many of the crimes that should obviously be registered as hate crimes, the police didn't believe that that was correlated to the victim's ethnic or racial background.

So that is also that if you do not have training and you have the police developing the idea themselves, that when is it a hate crime and when it is not a hate crime, you might get or you might not get the registration that is needed to go in and use it in combating anti-Semitism or xenophobia.

Mr. SMITH. I think the Member of Parliament from Israel wanted to make a statement.

Ms. AVITAL. Mr. Chairman, I think first of all, a word of appreciation is in order. Both of the initiators of this forum, the German delegation and the American congressional delegation and all of those who participate. Coming from Israel and being very concerned with the outbursts of anti-Semitism, certainly in Europe, much more than elsewhere, the seriousness of this debate and some of the measures and resolutions that have been discussed here, comes as a very welcome surprise to us.

I really and truly would like to thank you all, and we are very moved.

The second thing is I'd like to perhaps say two words about the context of the current wave of anti-Semitism. There is no doubt that we have seen it grow very much after the beginning of the current intifada.

That there has been a very big connection between the outbursts of violence in Europe against Jewish communities and what they have seen in the media. Therefore, it seems to me that somehow the question of how the media covers violence, how the media covers conflicts, how the pictures are being relayed and reported over and over again, has to be addressed and studied.

Because we know this plays into anti-Semitism. We know of acquired stereotypes. But we think also that somehow there is a connection between the way some of the media has repeated again and again certain images out of context and some of the results.

So I think this aspect should not be ignored.

The other thing that, to a certain extent, has shocked and surprised us is the transfer of anti-Semitism on the Israeli issue in a very strange context. For instance, if very well known university professors are barred from speaking or cooperating with such for universities in Europe, notwithstanding any political ideas they may or may or not have about the conflict, or if Israelis are not allowed to enter certain restaurants in France or elsewhere. I think that those are also phenomena that have to be looked at.

There is a transfer here. There is an amalgam between anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic expressions of those feelings. I believe that somewhat or somewhere this is phenomenon has to be addressed, too.

And again, thank you for all of the legislation that is already currently being underway. A word of appreciation also to the French legislation.

Thank you.

Mr. FAUCHON. [through translator] I would like to thank you very much for this contribution to our debate, because it makes it quite clear that we are indeed seeing anti-Semitism as a central issue. We must recognize it as such. Not simply include it in the general topic of xenophobia.

It is definitely one aspect of xenophobia. But anti-Semitism is the central topic that we see as a key problem and must be recognized as such. Under no circumstances should confuse this with other topics that are related to it.

And for that reason, I believe that the criticism we hear for example, from the—what's being done by the Israeli Government, that is not the issue here. That must not be confused with the issue of anti-Semitism. We look at stereotypes of anti-Semitism. We must avoid that at all cost. We must be very clear in making this political statement,that the one has nothing to do with the other. They are two separate issues. That is why anti-Semitism is so important.

[Audio gap.]

Ms. DEMESSINE. [through translator] I am a senator from France. I would like to react to what we have just heard from our Israeli colleague about what might possibly happen in France.

I have to say that I completely approve of what was said. But now, is the fact that there should absolutely not be an amalgamation between the Israeli - Palestinian conflict and anti-Semitism. That is indeed extremely dangerous.

We really must be very careful not to blur the differences.

I've just understood, I've just heard that you said apparently in France there might be places, there might be restaurants, for examples, where Israelis were allowed to go.

Now I do not know where you get your information. I am not sure whether this is personal information, but we must—we are going to have to talk about this, because if it does happen, it is extremely rare.

I would say that in France, there is far more effort being undertaken to combat anti-Semitism. Of course among the people themselves, far more of that than the manifestations that you've mentioned. We in France are very much committed to the fight against all forms of racial discrimination and, in particular, anti-Semitism.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Severin?

Mr. SEVERIN. Well, thank you.

First, I would like to say that indeed we have to keep anti-Semitism as such on the top of the agenda.

[Audio gap.]

Mr. SEVERIN. For us it is always bad. But we should not mix up all of these things. We have to fight against all of this kind of discriminatory behavior, these policies, et cetera.

But anti-Semitism is something particular.

[Audio gap.]

Mr. SEVERIN. That is why I believe that by fighting anti-Semitism, we are doing a proper action, a proper job in respecting all of our values.

Number two, I think that we should also fight against gradations in description of anti-Semitism. Saying we are slightly anti-Semitic. They are more anti-Semitic, the others are less anti-Semitic.

I believe that there is not such a thing as slight anti-Semitism or a more or less kind of anti-Semitism. You are either anti-Semitic or not anti-Semitic.

So it is an excuse for some people, mainly politicians, who are trying to defend their countries sometimes for national pride reasons, you know—our country is not very anti-Semitic at all. But what does it mean?

So I think that here we should be extremely clear and that zero tolerance for anti-Semitism should be displayed.

And also I would like to say that certainly we have to collect information about anti-Semitism to know which are the ways in which anti-Semitism is displayed. But also we have to look to the causes of this anti-Semitism. Looking for causes are not excuses, . But causes are things we need to understand in order to know how to be more efficient in fighting anti-Semitism. I believe that the anti-Semitism that grew up between the last world wars, had a certain environment of development.

Now I am extremely concerned to see that in a Europe of a certain prosperity and a certain stability, and where there is already a quite well-developed democratic system, anti-Semitism is still a very dangerous phenomenon and an increasing phenomenon.

So we have to find an answer to that in order to know how to defeat it.

My last point, it is nice for us to stay here, and I follow these discussions with a lot of attention, all of our discussion. I commend the organizers, the initiators of this initiative.

But on the other hand, we have to agree that our enemies—I would not call them opponents—but our enemies, which are those propagating anti-Semitism, are extremely efficient in talking to the people. At the same time, we do not yet find a way into the souls and the minds of these people, who might be innocent at the beginning, but in the end they are captured by anti-Semitic propaganda.

This is something maybe OSCE should do, OSCE should find, and we as parliamentarians should find ways to be much more active and not so closed in these kinds of rooms where we are apparently are like-minded people.

But our duty is outside of these rooms. Thank you.

UNKNOWN. I would like to combine and answer to your statement, and the gentleman from Germany who has left at the beginning, where he said that actually one should meet those who confront you with anti-Semitic remarks or whatever, with arguments.

Well, I think I am for the dialogue wherever, at any time, at any place. Yes, but any kind of anti-Semitism—and this is one thing we have to understand, is not a matter of the mind. It is not an argument that to thing, and it is not a rational thing.

Then also, as we very often say, it comes from the belly. It is not something which you start and you contemplate. Why? Because anti-Semitism, as also, the gentleman from Denmark pointed out, it is the prototype of all of the things that you mentioned, in factions.

It includes xenophobia. Why? Because you knew the area you came from at the turn of the century. Then the stranger was that strange guy coming from Romania, from Poland, from the Czech Republic. Today, he's Mr. Novratil and he is my neighbor. But then, at that time, he was the foreigner.

So it has xenophobic thing.

Then, because you talked about causes, which I do not think are the causes. Austria is a very good example when in '33 the discrimination started with the laws and without laws.

You had the enemy was the poor cobbler in the second district who had nothing, and you had the guy who was sitting in another district. That means if you want to be an anti-Semite in the broadest sense now, if you want to leave room for the feelings, if you want to give into stereotypes, if you want to actually express human feelings or resentment, then you do not need the object to be poor. He can be rich.

There was a very good German saying after the way when they said, "Why the Jews?"

It is exactly the same argument. You can be small. You can be tall. You can be fat. You can—I do not think it is a rational thing.

Of course, we cannot go without history. We know that the churches also have their share in this, and many other things. But I think that we have to see it as a prototype for many of the human angst and stereotypes that find their venue. They go in this direction because it is a big part, and they feel that they can sort of feel safe there.

So I actually, I agree with all of your concerns. I do not agree with the looking for a cause, because I think that there's an abstract cause in that sense.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Hastings?

Mr. HASTINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. You and Gert and all who are assembled here, listening to the discussion, lead me to feel more helpless about what can be done.

Let me make one quick assertion regarding something that we as individuals may be able to do as opposed to the Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe per se.

Watchdog-type activity can be established pretty much in any of our constituencies, particularly with something as pervasive as the Internet, so as when bad information is put up, that someone is there saying, "Look, this is bad information."

There are organizations, you pointed out—the Anti-Defamation League—there are throughout the world, organizations that try to do this.

We should encourage them. Maybe one way of encouraging them might be—and I offer this only for future consideration—to create as we did the prize for journalism, to create some kind of award for those who are fighting on the front of anti-Semitism. Ms. Halpert should probably get the first award.

[Laughter.]

But in any event, that may be something that we could consider that might look small, but at the very same time, might encourage that kind of activity.

Now I have a habit of saying in my community that I've been discriminated against in every conceivable way that it could be offered. I do not like for people to invite me to meetings anymore about bi-racial stuff. I am an expert Negro. I've been one 66 years. So I damn well know about discrimination, I might add, in France, Romania—Adrian is gone. In Germany, I have experienced it, and in America over and over again.

The methods of fighting anti-Semitism are identical to the methods for fighting xenophobia, identical to the methods for fighting racism.

Therefore, it is true that we should separate these things when we discuss them, and we should, in this case, heighten our concern about anti-Semitism. But we damn well cannot leave out the fact that if we learn something, we should translate it to how we handle the Roma and other minority problems, for example, and not let one rise without lifting the other.

I offer that just as consideration within the organization. I will stand toe to toe with every man and woman in here, fighting against people who are anti-Semitic.

But I cannot but offer to us that we not ignore the pervasiveness of racism in a rather general sense. And Europe doesn't stand any more accused than anywhere else.

Did I say I was discriminated against in China? Then let me make sure you understand that I was.

I haven't been anywhere that I haven't been discriminated against. I've been a lot of places.

But at the very same time, I want us in this organization, to focus on anti-Semitism, as the Chair-in-Office and others have said.

And that's my take on it.

Mr. SMITH. The gentlelady from Russia.

Ms. MIZULINA. [Through translator.] Thank you, Mr. Presiding Officer. I have been listening very carefully to all of the statements, and I will not conceal from you that this is a very difficult, very complex subject. Trying to summarize what has been going on in Russia and myself being once again convinced that the subject of anti-Semitism is indeed one that we have to take very, very seriously.

I do not know what the reason is for the rise of anti-Semitism in Russia, too. But it is clear to me that anti-Semitism is on the rise as is spite, malice, discontent in general. One has to say that the situation existing now in Russia is that on a number of occasions, at we have come up against public appeals, public insults, public provocations against persons of Jewish nationality by certain well-known politicians.

The state Duma has endeavored to adopt certain declarations or to take certain decisions condemning these kind of actions. But unfortunately, more than once, and not my own group to which I belong, the Union of Right Forces or the Yablako action which we …

[Audio gap.]

Ms. MIZULINA. [Through translator.] This is not true in Russia because after all, Zhiranovski's party is the Liberal Democratic Party. Everything is in fact, is reversed, the whole thing. It is thrown on its head.

But you have a situation where President Putin defers to the views of the parties that regard themselves as parties that support him, and which constitute the majority of the state Duma. Nevertheless, he introduced a federal law on combating extremism.

There was a very great deal of discussion about this law, but it was adopted. The law provides a definition of extremism, fascism and a link with anti-Semitism. But the law does not contain any rules or norms providing for direct liability for these things. But it does contain prohibition on appeals to fascism, extremism and anti-Semitism. It does contain a definition of what is to be understood by all of these phenomena.

Despite 10 years of attempts to introduce a definition of these things in legislative terms, this did not succeed, although we tried very hard for 10 years. Every time we had counterarguments raised, to the effect that if we do have a definition of the concept of fascism, or of extremism, and of anti-Semitism, then the Communist Party can immediately, and will then rise in defense of anybody who is the object of any kind of harsh pronouncements. Thanks to the position taken by the President, however, this law now has been passed successfully.

So I consider that this is a milestone for Russia because on the level of presidential power, there is a declared position now, clearly condemning racism, fascism and anti-Semitism, that comes from the President.

We do, indeed, need an ideological stand of that kind in Russia because I believe that the widespread anti-Semitism and the anti-Semitic statements and even attitudes of that as if it were normal, and this—all of this represents a low level of culture.

The authorities have until now, been all too indifferent to these phenomenon. But I do at the same time, realize that adoption of this law and of the ideological stance taken by the authorities to the effect this is bad, that does not yet mean that in practice, in practice statements of this kind have ceased to be a daily phenomenon.

Unfortunately, it continues to be the case in the Russian Federation that is not yet regarded as indecent to express one's anti-Semitism in public. This applies to some politicians. This doesn't result in any disciplinary proceedings or any prosecutions. This also includes, I have to say, the governors of certain regions of the Federation who allow themselves not only to make anti-Semitic pronouncements, but even call upon the population to use methods of violence or force.

I am thinking, for example, of Krasnodar, where these things are taking place.

So notwithstanding, everything that now exists in legislation, this is still the reality. Unfortunately, there is a long way to go to implement these principles into practice. This is a gulf that still must be crossed.

I believe that the Parliamentary Assembly of our OSCE has done very little to promote this issue. Our efforts have been very weak. It is all very well to adopt resolutions. It's very fine that we are having a discussion of this problem today, but that's not enough.

I think for the Russian delegation, too, and for the delegations of the other countries of the Confederation of Independent States that are taking part in the OSCE parliamentary assembly. I think we need to raise our voices more loudly and more convincingly as parliamentarians. I think that's of the utmost importance.

I'd like to express the hope that we will once again place this issue on the agenda for the next session of the Parliamentary Assembly. I think it should be a separate agenda item, maybe not just an additional and not just an add-on.

I think it needs to be dealt with as a main issue because anti-Semitism, racism and I know, that in the Western countries too, that there have been manifestations of this as well as anti-Islamic manifestations. These too. There have even been deaths. This is all part of it.

So I think that there does need to be a special resolution. It needs to be a special agenda item at the next session.

So let me once again thank you for having allowed us to have a serious discussion of this question, which really does need the most serious possible approach.

Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. And …

[Applause.]

... Before yielding to my colleague from France, we are running out of time before the next meeting. Let me just say, bringing it up at the Parliamentary Assembly in Rotterdam is what we have intended. We also have—in various languages—a statement that we would ask you to consider. Don Kursch will have copies of it if you would like to sign it just as an expression of support, to do all that you can do as you return to your Parliaments.

But also, when we reconvene in Rotterdam, to really begin doing a systematic assessment as to what we are indeed doing so that the deeds match the rhetoric. That goes for our delegation as well to ensure that we are doing all that we can do.

Because as the delegate from Russia pointed out words are not enough. We need to do more.

Mr. VOISIN. [Through translator.] I would like to come back for a moment to what was said by our Russian colleague. Now when we look at everything that we can put into legislation, and I believe that our legislation that we passed, tried to be as precise as possible.

Here we cover everything, whether it is race, or ethnicity or religion, we tried in our legislation to cover all of these areas that would logically lead to the respect of human dignity. Despite all of this, all parliamentarians might not agree. It is the task, the duty of our country to draw attention to this and to make the necessary proposals to our Parliaments so that such resolutions can be put into law, and can be passed. We hope that this example can be followed in other countries as well throughout the OSCE and elsewhere.

I think there is also something else, very important, that we see beyond this legislation, that is the education of our younger generation. The need to make them aware of what has happened in the past, by making them aware of what we need to avoid, and by teaching them, above all, tolerance and respect for the human beings.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you so much.

Two closing remarks. First is Jerry.

Mr. GRAFSTEIN. Thank you, Chairman, again. I was very taken by what the Ambassador said about a preparatory conference and following up on what my colleague Michel Voisin said, I think it would be very, very useful as a preparatory document, that there be a comparative law analysis of the state of the law in each of the 55 nations, if that is possible. It can be an ongoing study, to examine where the gaps are.

Because I think that, for instance, if France has led the way, and I think in Canada we have led the way, too, with our legislation, that would be a very useful piece of assistance to other countries that are trying to develop a model or a context upon which to do this.

That is one thing, and obviously the prosecution. So I really commend to Ambassador Minikes, if the ministerial wing will take this in hand, certainly all of us as parliamentarians can assist and provide our domestic information, where we think it is sound, and where we think its weak, and what the status of prosecution is. Because it is one thing to have a law and it is another thing to have the determination to enforce it.

But again, I want to thank you Chairman, and particularly Michel Voisin, whose legislation here has shown real leadership, because we all believe in the rule of law.

Let's start with the rule of law and let's defend it.

I want to thank you all.

Dr. WEISSKIRCHEN. Thank you, Jerry.

Last remarks, too. First, we have tackled the problem. I am thankful that Chris Smith picked it up and that the American delegation paved the way to do it.

Secondly, we have to accelerate, and Elena Mizulina was right in demanding this. We are doing it. Chris is ready to attend that meeting, and if there is someone who would like to join, especially, Michel, then he's invited.

You will get the information by Internet. That means then we are approaching and reaching Rotterdam and the Annual Assembly Session, and there we will be presenting a new resolution and we would be happy if you could give us—Chris and me—input as to how this resolution should look.

So thank you so much. This session is now closed now.

[Applause.]

APPENDICES

BERLIN DECLARATION OF THE OSCE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED DURING THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL SESSION JULY 2002

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE IN THE OSCE REGION

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

14. Urges participating States to bolster the importance of combating anti-Semitism by holding a follow-up seminar or human dimension meeting that explores effective measures to prevent anti-Semitism, and to ensure that their laws, regulations, practices and policies conform with relevant OSCE commitments on anti-Semitism; and
15. Encourages all delegates to the Parliamentary Assembly to vocally and unconditionally condemn manifestations of anti-Semitic violence in their respective countries and at all regional and international forums.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE

TENTH MEETING OF THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL
6 AND 7 DECEMBER 2002

P O R T O

DECISION NO. 6
TOLERANCE AND NON-DISCRIMINATION
(MC(10).DEC/6)

The Ministerial Council,

Recalling the principles of human rights and the inherent dignity of the human being, freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief that underpin the general provisions of the OSCE human dimension commitments,

Recalling the Charter for European Security, Istanbul Summit 1999, which reaffirms full adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, and to the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris and all other OSCE documents,

Recalling Decision No. 5 by the Ministerial Council at its Ninth Meeting in Bucharest reaffirming its concern about manifestation of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and violent extremism, wherever they may occur,

Reiterating that democracy and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms are essential safeguards of tolerance and non-discrimination and constitute important factors for stability, security, co-operation and peaceful development throughout the entire OSCE region, and that conversely tolerance and non-discrimination are important elements in the promotion of human rights,

Reaffirming the internationally recognized prohibition of discrimination, without adverse distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion or belief, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Recalling the continuing work of the OSCE structures and institutions in the field of promoting human rights, tolerance, non-discrimination and multiculturalism, in particular by the human dimension meetings and activities, projects and programmes including those of participating States,

Stressing the positive role of multicultural and inter-religious dialogue in creating better understanding among nations and peoples,

Noting that promoting tolerance and non-discrimination can also contribute to eliminating the basis for hate speech and aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and violent extremism,

Recognizing the responsibility of participating States for promoting tolerance and non-discrimination,

1. (a) Condemns in strongest terms all manifestations of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and violent extremism, as well as hate speech and occurrences of discrimination based on religion or belief;

(b) Undertakes to further promote multicultural, interethnic and inter-religious dialogue in which governments and civil society will be encouraged to participate

(c) Also undertakes to further promote the rights of persons belonging to national minorities;

2. Decides to intensify efforts to maintain and strengthen tolerance and non-discrimination, with the assistance of OSCE institutions and in co-operation with relevant international organizations and civil society, by such means as the exchanges of information and best practice;

3. Calls on participating States, which have not yet done so, to consider ratifying the international instruments, which address the problem of discrimination and calls for full compliance with the obligations assumed therein;

4. Commits to take appropriate measures, in conformity with respective constitutional systems, at national, regional and local levels to promote tolerance and non-discrimination as well as to counter prejudices and misrepresentation, particularly in the field of education, culture and information;

5. Condemns, in particular, discrimination on religious grounds and undertakes to endeavour to prevent and protect against attacks directed at any religious group, whether on persons or on places of worship or religious objects;

6. Condemns in particular the recent increase in anti-Semitic incidents in the OSCE area, recognizing the role that the existence of anti-Semitism has played throughout history as a major threat to freedom;

7. Also condemns the recent increase in acts of discrimination and violence against Muslims in the OSCE area and rejects firmly the identification of terrorism and extremism with a particular religion or culture;

8. Decides to take strong public positions against hate speech and other manifestations of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and violent extremism, as well as occurrences of discrimination based on religion or belief;

9. Calls on relevant authorities of participating States to investigate promptly and impartially acts of violence, especially where there are reasonable grounds to suspect that they were motivated by aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and violent extremism, as well as attacks motivated by hatred against a particular religion or belief, and to prosecute those responsible in accordance with domestic law and consistent with relevant international standards of human rights;

10. Tasks the Permanent Council to consider further enhancement of the Contact Point on Roma and Sinti Issues in the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR);

11. Urges the convening of separately designated human dimension events on issues addressed in this decision, including on the topics of anti-Semitism, discrimination and racism and xenophobia;

12. Tasks the Chairmanship-in-Office and the Permanent Council in close co-operation with the ODIHR, the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Representative on Freedom of the Media to ensure an effective follow-up of the present decision, through increased use of tools already available to the OSCE, including the annual human dimension meetings and seminars.

GERMAN–U.S. ACTION PLAN FOR CONFRONTING AND COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE OSCE REGION, SIGNED DECEMBER 12, 2002

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

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

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

A. Persuade other Parliaments in OSCE participating States to adopt resolutions condemning anti-Semitism as the U.S Congress and the German Bundestag have already done.

B. Energize governments and other elected officials at all levels in OSCE participating States to condemn forcefully and publicly anti-Semitic acts, when they occur.

C. Encourage all OSCE countries to enact appropriate criminal legislation to punish anti-Semitic acts and ensure that such laws are vigorously enforced.

D. Call upon governments in OSCE participating States, if they have not already done so, to adhere to international instruments which, by addressing the problem of discrimination, may counter anti-Semitic attitudes and actions.

E. Promote educational efforts throughout the OSCE region to counter anti-Semitic stereotypes and attitudes among younger people and help identify the necessary resources to accomplish this goal. Encourage teachers, social workers and members of the clergy to focus on anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior of younger people and support the development of curricula for teacher training.

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

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

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

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

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

Christopher H. Smith, M.C.

Gert Weisskirchen MdB

STATEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE ACTION PLAN SIGNED BY CANADIAN, ITALIAN AND SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIANS FEBRUARY 21, 2003

We, the undersigned members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, hereby concur that National Parliaments in the OSCE Participating States must play a strong, pro-active role in combating anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic violence. We wholeheartedly support the resolutions condemning anti-Semitism taken by the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE at its July 2002 meeting in Berlin. We endorse the efforts of our German and American colleagues to develop and promote actions to attain this goal and associate ourselves with their Letter of Intent of December 2002. We commit ourselves to work within our respective parliaments to promote specific measures to combat anti-Semitism and will remain in touch with our colleagues from other Parliaments in the coming months to inform them of our progress in preparation for the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly's Annual Meeting in Rotterdam on July 5-9. We intend to use this Annual Meeting to demonstrate that the Participating States of the OSCE have developed a series of concrete measures to oppose anti-Semitism in all its forms and that we are determined to continue this fight.

Vienna, February 21, 2003

Senator Jerry Grafstein Canada
(Treasurer OSCE)

FRANCE . J.L VOISIN

Luigi Compagna , ITALY
(CDL PACE)

Annelie Enochson
MP / SWEDEN

STATEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE ACTION PLAN SIGNED BY THE FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIAN FEBRUARY 21, 2003

Nous soussignés membres de l'assemblée Parlementaire OSCE, déclarons que les parlements nationaux des membres Etats participants de l'OSCE doivent jouer un rôle important et pro-actif pour combattre l'antisémitisme et la violence antisémite. Nous soutenons fortement les résolutions de l'assemblée Parlementaire de l'OSCE fait à Berlin en juillet 2002. Nous appuyons les efforts de nos collègues Allemands et Américains afin de développer et de promouvoir des mesures pour atteindre ce but. Nous soutenons leur «lettre d'intention» du 12 décembre 2002. Nous nous engagons a travailler avec nos parlements respectifs pour promouvoir des mesures spécifiques afin de combattre l'antisémitisme et nous nous mettrons en contact avec nos collègues des autres parlements dans les mois qui suivent pour les tenir au courant des progrès des préparations de la réunion annuelle de l'Assemblée Parlementaire a Rotterdam du 5 au 9 juillet. Nous avons l'intention d'employer cette réunion pour démontrer que les Etats participants de l'OSCE ont développe une série de mesures ayant pour objectif de s'opposer l'antisémitisme sous toutes ses formes et que nous sommes détermines à continuer cette lutte.

Vienne, le 21 février, 2003

FRANCE . VOISIN

2001

ADL
Anti-Defamation League®

Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents

AP Photo/Kathy Willens

An Orthodox Jewish man looks at a doorway painted with anti-Semitic graffiti in Brooklyn, New York.

Anti-Defamation League
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
www.adl.org
(212) 885-7700
Fax: (212) 867-0779

Glen A. Tobias, *National Chair*
Abraham H. Foxman, *National Director*

This publication was funded in part by a bequest from the estate of **Sidney Weisner**,
and in part by a generous grant from the
William and Naomi Gorowitz Institute on Terrorism and Extremism

Copies of this report are in the
Rita and Leo Greenland Human Relations Library and Research Center

© 2002 Anti-Defamation League
Printed in the United States of America
All rights reserved
Web site: **www.adl.org**

CONTENTS

Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents 2001

Executive Summary 3

Preface 4

The Findings 5

A Note on Evaluating Anti-Semitic Incidents 7

Anti-Semitism on the Internet 8

Harassment, Threats and Assaults 9

Vandalism Incidents 10

Campus Incidents 12

The Regional Breakdown 14

Appendices

Appendix I. - Anti-Semitism Worldwide 17

Appendix II. - ADL Confronts Anti-Semitism on Campus 2001 25

Appendix III. - Federal Action to Confront Hate Violence 27

Appendix IV. - State Hate Crime Statutes (Charts) 31

ADL 2001 *AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS*

The Anti-Defamation League was founded in 1913 "to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all." Now the nation's premier civil rights/human relations agency fighting anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry, ADL defends democratic ideals and protects civil rights for all.

A leader in the development of materials, programs and services, ADL builds bridges of communication, understanding and respect among diverse groups, carrying out its mission through a network of 30 Regional and Satellite Offices in the United States and abroad.

Executive Summary

- In 2001, 40 states and the District of Columbia reported **1,432 anti-Semitic incidents** to the Anti-Defamation League. This marks approximately an **11% percent decrease** in anti-Jewish incidents from 2000, when the total was 1,606.

- Anti-Semitic activity reported in 2001 comprised **877 acts of harassment** (intimidation, threats and assaults), the same number as in 2000. As in the past, harassment directed at individuals and institutions made up more than half of all the incidents reported (approximately 61%). Also, **555 acts of vandalism** were reported — the lowest total in 20 years — which reflects a decrease of 24% from 2000, when 729 incidents were reported. Acts of vandalism include arson, violence against Jewish institutions, cemetery desecration and other forms of property damage.

- The biggest declines in anti-Semitic incidents were reported in New York (408, down from 481 in 2000) and California (122, down from 257), which together account for virtually the entire decrease in the totals.

- Among the worst anti-Semitic incidents were a synagogue arson in Tacoma, WA, a bomb threat directed at a synagogue in Des Moines, IA, a cemetery desecration in Greensburg, PA (headstones overturned and defaced with swastikas), and the mailing of Holocaust denial materials to a Holocaust survivor in New York City. (None of these acts resulted in personal injury.)

- A total of 85 anti-Jewish incidents were reported on college **campuses** nationwide, a **23% increase** from 2000, when there were 69 incidents reported. After a five-year general trend of decline, campus incidents have increased for two straight years.

- Higher security awareness by Jewish community institutions and the significant law enforcement mobilization since September 11 may help account for the substantial decrease of anti-Semitic vandalism incidents in a year otherwise noted for terrorism.

- The *Audit* does not exist in a vacuum. There are still many groups dedicated to promoting their racist and anti-Semitic worldviews. In addition to their mass mailing of anti-

Semitic propaganda and printing of anti-Jewish and racist publications, these extremist groups continue to find in the Internet a growing vehicle for their hate. In today's atmosphere of heightened security measures at Jewish institutions, the Internet, as a medium that is inexpensive, can provide anonymity, and is almost impossible to regulate, has become an increasingly active vehicle for transmitting anti-Semitism. (Note: "General" Internet-related anti-Semitism not aimed at a specific target — e.g., that which is found at ongoing Web sites of hate groups; chat rooms and message boards; "spam" messages, and the like — is not part of the statistical findings of the *Audit*.)

Preface

Heightened security awareness in response to the events of September 11, the American campaign against terrorism, and the Palestinian Intifada against Israel, may have contributed to a decline in the number of anti-Semitic incidents in the United States last year.

While there were still well over 1,000 anti-Semitic incidents reported to ADL in 2001, the American people did not buy into the anti-Semitic conspiracy theories that blamed Jews for the September 11 attacks.

Conspiracy theories and rumors in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, which primarily emanated from the Arab and Islamic world, found wide distribution on the Internet and in some American Arab newspapers, even though they had no basis in reality.

ADL documented instances where haters in the U.S. have seen their rhetoric published in the Arab world. Some hate groups also found an audience in American Muslim newspapers and e-mail lists. In several instances, Muslim newspapers and Web sites reprinted articles found on Internet sites operated by hate groups. The Internet continues to play a prominent role in disseminating hate literature.

According to an ADL poll taken after the September 11 attacks, the American people also overwhelmingly rejected the notion that the close U.S.-Israel relationship was to blame for the September 11 terrorist attack on America.

The survey found that 63 percent of the American people believe that Osama bin Laden's attack on America occurred because "the terrorists don't like our values or way of life, not because of our relationship with Israel." Only 22 percent believe the attack would not have occurred if the U.S. were not such a close ally of Israel.

The finding of the 2001 *Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents* supports the evidence suggesting that anti-Semitism has not increased in the U.S. as a result of the attacks.

The Findings

- The number of anti-Semitic incidents documented by the Anti-Defamation League dropped to **a total of 1,432** incidents from 1,606 in 2000, an **11% decrease**. Of the instances of anti-Semitism in 2001, there were **877 cases of harassment** (the same as in 2000) and **555 acts of vandalism** — the lowest total in 20 years — (down 24% from 729 in 2002). Harassment and vandalism incidents represent 61% and 39% of the total incidents respectively. The predominance of harassment totals over those of vandalism continues an **11-year trend**.

- The **five states** reporting **the most anti-Semitic incidents** in 2001 are **New York** (408), **New Jersey** (192), **Massachusetts** (126), **California** (122) and **Florida** (115). Together, these states (with the largest Jewish populations and thus the most targets of opportunity) account for 963 of the 1,434 incidents reported (67%). Florida showed an increase, while New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and California showed decreases in the number of reported incidents.

- A total of 85 anti-Jewish incidents were reported on college **campuses** nationwide, a **23% increase** from 2000, when there were 69 incidents reported. After a five-year general trend of decline, campus incidents have increased for two straight years. Of these incidents, 28% involved the publication of Holocaust-denial materials in campus newspapers, a growing problem.

What is the ADL *Audit*?

The *ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents*, published annually since 1979, is an account of overt acts and expressions of anti-Jewish bigotry or hostility. It reflects accurately the number of incidents reported to ADL, and to law enforcement agencies when such figures are made available. It is not, and does not claim to be, a scientific measure of anti-Semitism in all of its forms.

Many incidents reported in the *Audit* are not crimes. For example, distributing neo-Nazi pamphlets or slurs directed against Jewish individuals are both protected free speech. Therefore, there will most likely be discrepancies between the total numbers of anti-Semitic incidents reported in the *Audit* and in official law enforcement bias-crime statistics.

The *Audit* is not only a catalog of anti-Jewish acts that take place in a given year. It seeks also to uncover trends in anti-Semitic activity, especially trends in the types of activity reported, such as changes in the proportion of attacks against Jewish institutions.

ADL 2001 *AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS*

A Note on Evaluating Anti-Semitic Incidents

Overt and obvious expressions of anti-Jewish animosity are easiest to categorize as anti-Semitic incidents, and the vast majority of incidents in the *Audit* do reveal such overt expressions of anti-Semitism. Swastikas spray-painted on synagogues or on tombstones in Jewish cemeteries, and epithets like "dirty Jew" directed against people wearing identifiable Jewish clothing (such as yarmulkes), are all clear evidence of anti-Semitism. More difficult to classify are situations in which, for example, a Jewish institution is vandalized without any specific anti-Semitic graffiti. For the purposes of this report, any deliberate and gratuitous destruction of Jewish property (such as broken windows or display cases), brings the act into the sphere of the *Audit*. Therefore, a stone thrown at a synagogue window, even without any markings of definitive anti-Semitic intent, is considered anti-Jewish hostility. While there may not be conclusive evidence to that effect, ADL tries to make reasonable judgments based on likelihood and probability.

- ADL generally counts as anti-Semitic harassment the distribution of neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic materials to individual Jews, or the placing of such items on their property. This also holds true if the material is sent to a Jewish institution or posted in a public area.

- A series of apparently related incidents, such as similar anti-Semitic graffiti painted on neighboring Jewish properties in one night, or a mass mailing of anti-Semitic material to many recipients in a particular neighborhood, counts as one incident, even though many people may be affected.

- ADL also receives complaints of anti-Semitism directed at *non-Jews*. In ADL's view, anti-Semitic slurs, threats or vandalism "mistakenly" carried out against targets thought to be Jewish, or purposefully directed against non-Jews believed to be sympathetic to Jewish causes, are clearly signs of anti-Semitic behavior and deserve inclusion in the *Audit*.

- Anonymously reported incidents represent an obstacle to maintaining the *Audit*'s integrity. ADL seeks to corroborate reports of anti-Semitic activity to assure accuracy, and to respond effectively to such acts. While it is relatively easy to authenticate acts of vandalism against Jewish institutions or in public areas, verifying incidents of verbal harassment and slurs proves more challenging. Absent any additional follow-up information to support anti-Semitic intent, these reported incidents require further evaluation and may be omitted from the *Audit*.

- ADL does not include cases of alleged employment discrimination in hiring, firing or promotion, unless the situation includes evidence of overt anti-Semitism. A claim of discrimination in itself, based on inferences of anti-Semitism because of alleged unequal treatment in work assignments or denial of time off for holiday observance, is not considered an incident for the purposes of the *Audit*. Such claims involve a different kind

of anti-Semitic problem which, while hurtful to the complainant, are nevertheless distinct from overt expressions of anti-Jewish hostility.

From year to year, ADL strives to maintain a consistent policy of evaluating anti-Semitic incidents in an effort to make accurate and reliable comparisons. There are times, however, when a significant shift in the types of anti-Semitism reported emerges, which requires a rethinking of *Audit* procedure. In response to the explosion of Internet use in the past few years, ADL has instituted the following policy on evaluating Internet-related incidents.

Anti-Semitic hate messages, threats or harassment received by electronic mail are treated as if they were sent by traditional mail and are therefore considered anti-Semitic harassment. These messages are sent deliberately from one person to another in an effort to intimidate. As with mass mailings or local distribution of hate literature, an anti-Semitic e-mail sent to a large number of recipients is classified as one incident.

Hate-oriented sites on the World Wide Web are not included as anti-Semitic incidents in the *Audit*. The presence of such a Web site is comparable to the publication of a KKK or neo-Nazi newspaper, the mere existence of which, while of ongoing concern, would not be considered an anti-Semitic incident for purposes of the *Audit*.

Finally, the central purpose of the *ADL Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents* remains limited but pragmatic: to provide one way, one consistent yardstick, for public officials, Jewish community leaders and the media to measure certain specific manifestations of anti-Semitism in the United States.

Anti-Semitism on the Internet

While some bigots mail anti-Semitic letters to or shout hateful slurs at their victims, others transmit their hate electronically. Anti-Semitic propaganda or threats directed to a specific person and received by e-mail, in a chat room, or sent via an instant messaging program are considered anti-Semitic harassment by the *Audit*. These messages are deliberately directed to a particular person in an effort to intimidate.

E-mail messages are essentially electronic letters. Nearly anyone with access to the Internet can send and receive e-mail messages anonymously and free of charge. A mailing list can easily be compiled from public sources such as online e-mail address directories.

Enterprising bigots have e-mailed hate materials to hundreds, if not thousands, of people. Targets of such messages open their e-mail mailboxes and find hate mail just as surprised recipients of anti-Semitic leaflets find printed hate material on their doorsteps. Bigots can easily create numerous e-mail accounts, so even if an e-mail account is deleted because of the hate messages sent using it, another can quickly be opened. As with mass mailings of printed hate literature, anti-Semitic electronic messages such as these are each classified by the *Audit* as one incident, regardless of the number of people they are sent to.

In a chat room, an Internet user can communicate in real time with one or many other users. The text that the user types into his computer almost immediately appears on the screens of the other users in the room. Haters enter chat rooms, sometimes those specifically devoted to Jewish interests, and aim anti-Semitic comments at other users. Their victims resemble friends conversing on a street corner who are hassled by bigots shouting hateful comments.

Instant messaging software enables Internet users to create a private chat room with another individual. Functionally, an instant messaging session is similar to a telephone call. Haters can use directories of instant messaging users to find targets for their attacks, just as they might find Jews to target with harassing telephone calls by looking in the telephone book. An unsuspecting victim might receive a disturbing instant message just as he or she might pick up the telephone and hear a hateful voice on the other end of the line.

Hate-filled World Wide Web sites and online bulletin board messages are not included as anti-Semitic incidents in the *Audit*. While readers may be offended by such material, it generally does not target them specifically. In addition, Internet users are often not passive recipients of this material, unlike the unsuspecting addressees of e-mail messages.

Harassment, Threats and Assaults — 2001

Anti-Semitic acts of harassment, threats or assaults against Jewish individuals or institutions remained the same as in 2000 at 877. Acts of harassment accounted for 61% of the total of 1,432 incidents in 2001. As in previous years, incidents of this nature constitute the majority of all anti-Semitic activity included in the *Audit*.

Anti-Semitic harassment covers a wide range of hostile acts, ranging from anti-Jewish slurs and affronts to physical assault. Fliers containing anti-Semitic messages or leaflets from virulent anti-Semitic groups that are left on cars or in mailboxes are considered acts of harassment, as are anti-Jewish or Holocaust-denying letters to the editors or advertisements printed in newspapers. In addition, verbal or written threats directed against individuals or Jewish institutions (including death threats and bomb threats) account for a portion of the harassment incidents.

Over the last few years, as the Internet has moved into more and more homes, libraries and schools, the number of harassing acts associated with the world of computers has increased. In 2001, several anti-Semitic and threatening messages were sent through electronic mail to Internet users. While most of these incidents of harassment are not criminal in nature, they shed light on another important form of expression of anti-Semitism which is generally not included in hate crimes statistics.

Examples of Harassment, Threats and Assault

The following is a representative sampling of anti-Semitic incidents of harassment, threat and assault in the states reporting the highest totals of such acts in 2001.

- **New York** (211 incidents) — 2/1/01 — A woman received a message on her answering machine which stated, "You fucking Jewish Kike. Drop dead you fucks. I'll kill you all in the ovens." (Queens)

- **Florida** (89 incidents) — 7/16/01 — Storeowner received a letter with a photograph that said "gas chamber for Jews." Below the photograph was written, "Where your ancestors should have gone so you would never have been born. You are a stooly [sic] snitch. You will be there shortly though...too bad there is a son to follow in your footsteps pig!!!" (Lake Worth)

- **Massachusetts** (83 incidents) — 8/29/01 — Complainant received an anti-Semitic letter entitled "How to Identify a Jew." (Concord)

- **California** (78 incidents) — 4/27/01 — Rabbi and congregant were confronted outside the synagogue by a white male who told them that they are "fucking Zionists" who are "killing Palestinians." The perpetrator then spat, told them that he would "kill you fucking Jews" and assaulted them. The rabbi's glasses were broken and the congregant suffered lacerations to the face and torso. (San Francisco)

- **New Jersey** (56 incidents) — 11/23/01 — Rabbi received a letter with powder substance inside. The letter also read: "You Jew assholes get out of our land." (Lakewood)

- **Pennsylvania** (40 incidents) — 11/16/01 — Package of four different National Alliance fliers distributed on residential lawns during the night. (Hanover)

- **Connecticut** (37 incidents) — 8/21/01 — *Connecticut Jewish Ledger* received envelope with a photo of a rabbi in the cross hairs of a gun drawn on. (West Hartford)

- **Georgia** (29 incidents) — 4/1/01 — National Alliance flier left in men's restroom at Turner Field. (Atlanta)

Vandalism Incidents — 2001

Acts of anti-Semitic vandalism decreased in 2001 to the lowest total in 20 years. ADL recorded a total of 555 incidents of vandalism in 2001, compared to 729 in 2000, a decrease of 24%. Acts of vandalism accounted for 39% of the total of 1,433 incidents in 2001.

Anti-Semitic incidents of vandalism include any destruction of property coupled with anti-Jewish messages or evidence of anti-Semitic intent. This encompasses any defacement of synagogues or other Jewish institutions, whether it be with graffiti, smashing windows or, in more serious instances, arson. Vandals also acted against privately-owned Jewish property by marking swastikas and anti-Semitic messages on doors and lawns or by scratching them into cars. Many incidents in this category are public acts of anti-Semitic vandalism, including swastikas and anti-Jewish graffiti on sides of buildings, on street signs and in schools.

New York, the state with the largest Jewish population, once again recorded the highest number of anti-Semitic acts of vandalism of any state. There were 197 such incidents in 2001 (110 of which occurred in the five boroughs of New York City). This marks an 8% decrease from 2000, when there were 246 incidents of vandalism.

New Jersey registered the second highest number of anti-Semitic incidents of vandalism with 136, down from 141 such acts in 2000. Massachusetts recorded 43, down from 60; California had 34, down from 104; and Florida had 26, down from 30 in 2000.

Vandalism: A Look at Some Noteworthy Incidents

While most of the incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism consisted of graffiti and light property damage, there were instances of more dangerous and damaging acts of destruction. In 2001 there were at least three acts of arson and several bomb threats.

- **New York** (197 incidents) — 7/17/01 — The words "Hitler was right" were etched into the steps of a synagogue. (Brooklyn)

- **New Jersey** (136 incidents) — 2/15/01 — Vandals smashed two glass doors and threw rocks and bottles through stained glass windows of synagogue. (Elizabeth)

- **Massachusetts** (43 incidents) — 4/29/01 — A Holocaust survivor found "Jews suck" and an arrow pointing toward her house painted on the sidewalk in front of her house. (Fall River)

- **California** (34 incidents) — 4/8/01 — On first day of Passover, three cars were stolen from, and swastikas were painted on, a Jewish-owned auto dealership. (Reseda)

- **Florida** (26 incidents) — 5/21/01 — Graffiti at Miami-Dade Public Library included swastikas and the phrase "kill the Jews." (Miami)

Cemeteries

Jewish cemeteries continued to be a target of opportunity for anti-Semitic vandals, in part due to the fact that they cover large areas of land that are difficult to secure effectively. The number of Jewish cemeteries desecrated decreased to 7 in 2001, down from 9 in 2000. Incidents occurred in Pennsylvania, California, New York, New Jersey, Maine, Missouri and Massachusetts.

Campus Incidents — 2001

After a 15% increase in 2000, the number of anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses in 2001 rose to 85, an increase of 23%. Two thirds of these incidents involved acts of anti-Jewish harassment.

A persistently troubling phenomenon on campuses in 2001 was the Holocaust-denying advertisements, opinion pieces and a longer insert by Bradley Smith and the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust. A total of 24 college newspapers across the country ran such pieces in 2001. For over 10 years, Smith has attempted to place Holocaust-denial material in campus newspapers. It should be noted that in some instances, the editors of the newspapers may not have fully realized the anti-Semitic nature of Smith's propaganda.

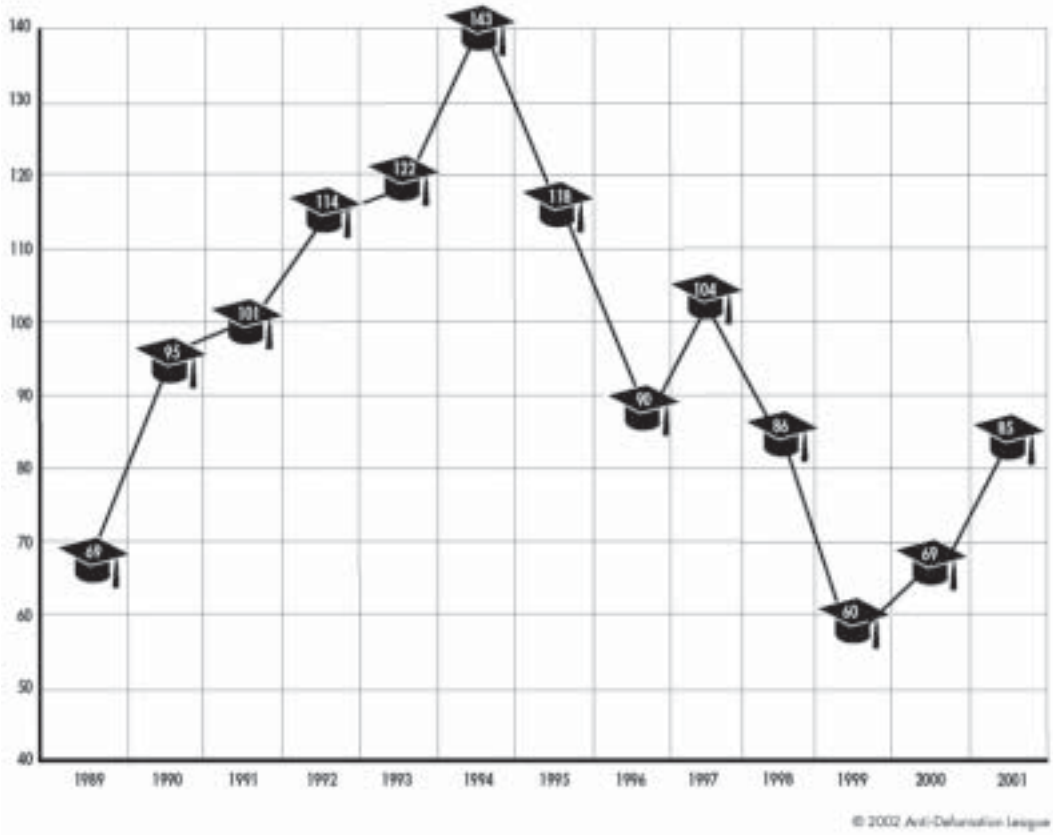
Yet another important point should be made regarding this problem. Some student editors have decided to publish these Holocaust-denial ads in the mistaken belief that the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and free press require them to do so. The fact is that determining a paper's editorial content and deciding what stories to print, and which advertisements to accept, is solely the province of editors.

The U.S. Supreme Court has stated, "A newspaper is more than a passive receptacle or conduit for news, comment, and advertising. The choice of material to go into a newspaper ... constitute[s] the exercise of editorial content and judgement."

For further detail on campus incidents, see Appendix II — ADL Confronts Anti-Semitism on Campus.

ADL 2001 *AUDIT OF ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS*

CAMPUS ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS
1989–2001



© 2002 Anti-Defamation League

The Regional Breakdown

Of the **1,432** anti-Semitic incidents reported to ADL in 2001, **873**, or **61%**, occurred in the ***East;*** **224**, or **16%**, occurred in the ***South***; **177**, or **12%**, occurred in the ***West***; and **122**, or **9%**, occurred in the ***Midwest***.

I. The East

Among the 11 states and the District of Columbia reporting in the East, there were 873 incidents. New York had the most (408, down from 481 in 2000), which includes 238 incidents in New York City, followed by New Jersey (192, down from 213), Massachusetts (126, down from 128), Pennsylvania (61, down from 72), Connecticut (49, up from 32), Maryland (11, up from 6), New Hampshire (7, up from 5), Rhode Island (7, up from 3), the District of Columbia (6, same as last year), Vermont (3, down from 4), Maine (2, same as last year), and Delaware (1, up from 0).

II. The South

Among the 12 Southern states, 224 incidents were reported. Florida ranked first, with 115 (up from 81 in 2000), followed by Georgia (34, up from 14), Virginia (25, up from 15), Texas (20, down from 40), Louisiana (8, up from 6), North Carolina (6, down from 19), Tennessee (6, up from 2), Arkansas (5, up from 1), Mississippi (3, up from 1), Oklahoma (1, same as last year), South Carolina (1, same as last year), and Alabama (0, down from 1).

III. The West

Among the 13 Western states, 177 incidents were reported. California had the most, with 122 (down from 257 in 2000), followed by Colorado (26, up from 13), Arizona (10, up from 5), Washington (7, up from 3), New Mexico (5, down from 8), Nevada (4, up from 3), Oregon (2, up from 0), Idaho (1, up from 0), Hawaii (0, down from 1), Montana (0, down from 1), Utah (0, down from 1), and Wyoming (0, down from 1). No incidents were reported in Alaska in 2001 or 2000.

IV. The Midwest

Among the 14 states in the Midwest, 122 incidents were reported. Illinois reported the most, with 31 (down from 41 in 2000), followed by Michigan (20, down from 22), Minnesota (18, down from 32), Ohio (18, down from 44), Wisconsin (12, down from 16), Missouri (8, down from 9), Iowa (4, up from 3), Indiana (4, up from 3), Nebraska (4, up from 3), Kansas (3, down from 4), Kentucky (0, down from 1), and North Dakota (0, down from 1). No incidents were reported in West Virginia or South Dakota in 2001 or 2000.

Note: In addition to the geographical statistics, a total of 36 anti-Semitic e-mail messages sent directly to the ADL Webmaster are included in the 2001 totals in the harassment category.

Appendix I:

Anti-Semitism Worldwide

In order to provide a broader perspective and to place the findings of the 2001 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents *in the context of other manifestations of anti-Jewish activity, it is important to consider the following information.*

Among extremist groups of all stripes in the United States, the following are some of the most active and the greatest causes for concern:

The stridently white supremacist and anti-Semitic **World Church of the Creator** (WCOTC) promotes the creation of "an all-white nation and ultimately an all-white world," rejecting Christianity outright in favor of its "race-based," whites-only pseudoreligion, "Creativity." After its founder and leader Ben Klassen committed suicide in 1993, the group suffered a decline, but was revived by Matt Hale in 1996. Hale calls himself "Pontifex Maximus," or "supreme leader," of the group and uses an Israeli flag as a household doormat on which he wipes his feet.

The reborn WCOTC is headquartered in East Peoria, Illinois, with a small but dedicated cadre of members who run upwards of 50 contact points across the U.S. and another 10 abroad, in Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Norway and Sweden. These "Creators'" mission is to disseminate WCOTC's "Creativity" propaganda and recruit new members to the cause. The group makes a particular effort to engage college students, and spreads its propaganda via the Internet and e-mail, as well as by dropping booklets on lawns or inserting fliers in free newspapers. "Distribution blitzes" are commonly held on dates of significance to the group, such as Hale's and Klassen's birthdays. Hale has also taken to scheduling appearances at public libraries, in an effort to draw attention to his cause both around Peoria and wherever else he travels. He has spoken at several libraries thus far, including Bloomington, Springfield, Decatur, Schaumburg and Mattoon, Illinois, as well as libraries in Utah, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

In February 2001, Hale, who graduated from law school a few years ago, was denied a license to practice law in Montana, as he had been in Illinois the year before. In both cases, the Character and Fitness committee of the state bar decided Hale's views made him unfit to practice law. Hale is now suing the Illinois bar and remains determined to acquire a law license and become a lawyer who can defend white supremacists.

Hale seemed to be tightening the reins in 2001, in an apparent effort to shore up his control over the organization — especially in light of the defections of Women's Frontier head Lisa Turner, a prominent WCOTC leader, along with other key members. In July, he issued a directive that all WCOTC "ministers" send him monthly reports detailing their organizational activities, or risk having their credentials revoked. Hale also detailed in a long essay, in September, his case for consolidating all "Creators" in Illinois. He argued, "There is no doubt in my mind that

unless adherents of our Church consolidate geographically in one area — and sooner rather than later — we cannot win....In order for any movement to be successful on a large scale, it must first be successful on a small scale."

Hale's reaction to September 11 illustrated the energy with which white supremacists attempted to co-opt the tragedy for their own ends. After the attacks, Hale issued a press release with a headline that read "PRO-ISRAEL POLICY COSTS THOUSANDS OF LIVES TODAY." The release, calling for an end to U.S. aid to Israel and the "liberation" of the U.S. from "the manipulations of the Jews that have had such terrible consequences," set the tone for Hale's subsequent actions. He urged followers to be as active as possible in spreading this message, calling for a "fervent and immediate response." His followers did indeed respond; within a week of the attacks, for instance, WCOTC members had distributed fliers in Phoenix, Arizona, featuring the slogan, "Let's stop being human shields for Israel," and urging Americans to "find a nationalistic government that will look after their interests and not the interests of the Jews." Members in Spokane, Washington, distributed the same fliers.

Among organized right-wing hate groups active in the United States today, the **National Alliance** is also a top cause for concern. This neo-Nazi organization, led since 1974 by veteran anti-Semite and white supremacist William Pierce, has grown increasingly active in the past few years, with climbing numbers of members and contacts. Pierce has continually fashioned and expanded a multimedia approach to recruitment, specifically targeting young people through the extensive, vicious pseudo-intellectual propaganda available on his Web site and through the purchase of companies that produce and distribute hate-rock music. Pierce acquired Resistance Records, the largest distributor of hate-rock music in the U.S., in 1999, and in 2000 purchased the neo-Nazi black metal music company Cymophane Records.

Pierce took advantage of the September 11 tragedies by repeatedly blaming Jews and Israel. The terrorist acts, he claimed, were "a direct consequence of the American people permitting the Jews to control their government and to use American strength to advance the Jews' interest at the expense of everyone else's interests." Many more people, he warned, will be killed because of U.S. government actions "at the behest of the Jews." Within weeks, the National Alliance propaganda machine had developed fliers for members to distribute. In Pennsylvania, fliers contained an image of the collapsing Tower Two with the accompanying caption, "Is Our Involvement in the Security of the Jewish State Worth This?"

On November 10, 2001, National Alliance held what it described as "one of its most successful demonstrations ever" in front of the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C. to "express the opposition of American patriots to the policies of the U.S. government that expose Americans to terrorist attacks." Also in attendance were members of other extremist groups, including the World Church of the Creator, the Council of Conservative Citizens, the American Friends of the British National Party, and EURO (the organization of David Duke's followers). NA's deputy membership coordinator, Billy Roper, led the

demonstration; marchers carried signs with slogans such as "No Blood for Israel" and shouted chants such as "No more terror, no more war, no more being Israel's whore." About 70 people participated in the march.

This convergence of right-wing hate groups is a noteworthy trend. On January 12, 2002, a similar collection of groups gathered in York, Pennsylvania, the scene of deadly race riots in 1969. What began as a scheduled appearance by WCOTC leader Matt Hale at the local public library became a confrontation that pitted members of the National Alliance, WCOTC, Aryan Nations, National Socialist Movement and Hammerskin skinheads — who waved swastika flags, gave Nazi salutes and chanted racial slurs —against anti-racist and anarchist protesters. Both sides, separated by police, traded insults and taunts for a few hours; 25 were reportedly arrested by day's end.

The **Christian "Identity"** movement promotes its racist, anti-Semitic agenda by manipulating religious themes. It holds that people of white European ancestry are descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel, making them the "chosen people" of the Bible. Identity's "two seedline" theory asserts that only whites descend from Adam and Eve and that Jews derive from a sexual union between Eve and Satan.

Among the notable "Identity" groups in the U.S. today are America's Promise Ministries of Sandpoint, Idaho; Dan Gayman's Schell City, Missouri, Church of Israel; Pete Peters' Laporte, Colorado-based Scriptures for America Worldwide; Elohim City of Oklahoma; Carl Story and Vincent Bertollini's 11th Hour Remnant Messenger of Sandpoint, Idaho and Kingdom Identity Ministries in Harrison, Arkansas.

Aryan Nations, a paramilitary neo-Nazi group formed in the mid-1970s, also subscribes to Identity ideology. Aryan Nations was based in Hayden Lake, Idaho and led by its founder, Richard Butler, until recently. The group began undergoing a period of significant change in September 2000, when a jury ordered Butler and his organization to pay $6.3 million to a mother and son who had been assaulted by Aryan Nations guards outside the group's compound. The judgment forced Butler and Aryan Nations to declare bankruptcy and, in May 2001, the compound was seized.

In August 2001, "Pastor" Neuman Britton, a longtime member whom the elderly Butler had in 1998 designated his successor, passed away. The following month, Butler named "Pastor" Harold Ray Redfeairn of Dayton, Ohio, as the new national director. Redfeairn had served as the Aryan Nations state leader in Ohio four years earlier. August Kreis, named director of information, also announced the creation of an Aryan Nations outpost in Ulysses, Pennsylvania, while a presence would remain in Idaho as long as Butler was still alive. In November 2001, Redfeairn summed up Aryan Nations' reaction to the events of September 11, saying, "Our main goal is to use the tragedy to awaken our Aryan People to the vile actions of the satanic Jew."

Once a brand name among American extremist groups, it appears that Aryan Nations membership has dwindled significantly, to possibly as low as 100. To that end, Redfeairn has

instituted stricter membership rules, requiring more frequent contact with headquarters and a more detailed application process, while youth corps director Shawn Winkler has stepped up recruiting efforts. However, there is a serious split in progress: Butler, under the influence of Winkler, denounced Redfeairn and Kreis, who in turn announced that Butler was no longer head of Aryan Nations. Redfeairn and Kreis have been trying to solidify control, while Winkler has been using his close relationship with Butler to try to halt that.

Formed in Dallas in the late 1980s, the white supremacist **Hammerskin Nation**, the most violent and best-organized neo-Nazi skinhead group in the United States, is comprised almost exclusively of young white males, whom the group actively recruits. As is often characteristic of racist skinheads, a number of its members have been convicted of violent crimes, including harassing, beating or murdering minorities. The most recent incident involved six Hammerskins who severely beat a 23-year-old African-American man in an open field near Temecula, California, in March 1999.

Many popular racist rock music bands are affiliated with the Hammerskin Nation, and the group regularly sponsors hate-rock concerts. The Hammerskins have an estimated 19 chapters in the U.S. and their Web site lists chapters in several other countries, including Canada, England, France, the Netherlands and Germany. This is in keeping with a recent trend that finds American white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups forging alliances, both with each other and with their European counterparts. However, in 2001 the group also ceased publication of its newsletter and had problems maintaining its Web site, so its level of organization is debatable at this point.

In late September 2001, the Hammerskins' online bulletin board added a pop-up window that read "BLAME ISRAEL" over a picture of the burning twin towers of the World Trade Center. "The United States has looked the other way while the Jews have murdered hundreds of Palestinians, and stolen land from them," the Hammerskins wrote. "We've bombed Arab country's [sic] like Baghdad [sic] because Hussein invaded its neighbor, yet our country looks away from atrocities done by the Jews." According to the Hammerskins, "Our ties with the state of Israel are what brought on this act, this is mere retribution on [the] part of the Arabs because of these strong ties with Israel." The message concluded by urging the bombing of Israel.

The Minnesota-based neo-Nazi National Socialist Movement has contact points throughout the U.S. and believes in racial separation and minimal intervention of government into the lives of its citizens. NSM grew rapidly in 2001, adding a number of chapters. In addition, members of the group have begun to engage in armed paramilitary training in Ohio.

Shortly after September 11, NSM stated on its Web site that "the attack in New York, although tragic, was forth coming. The U.S. has continued to aid Israel in its genocidal war against Palestine and now innocent U.S. citizens have paid, in blood, for their Government's stupidity." Subscribers to the National Socialist Movement mailing list express sentiment such as the following: "the jews are our misfortune altho shocking the events of today should come as no

surprise, the eternal disease ridden international jew is the enemy of all the pure races of mankind and freedom loving peoples the world over, we do not want to be a part of some jew - white race traitor lead coffee colored raceless mongrell society."

Liberty Lobby, founded by Willis Carto in 1955, was long the most influential anti-Semitic propaganda organization in the United States. Liberty Lobby has had considerable impact on right-wing extremism, through three media vehicles: *The Spotlight*, a weekly newspaper which published anti-Semitic, anti-Israel and anti-government conspiracy theories, with a circulation of about 100,000; Liberty Lobby's national radio programs, "Radio Free America" and "Editor's Roundtable," which broadcast interviews with hate group leaders and conspiracy theorists; and *The Barnes Review* (after Harry Elmer Barnes, one of the first Holocaust deniers), a monthly magazine focusing on historical revisionism and Holocaust denial, with a claimed circulation of 11,000. Carto launched this publication after he broke with the Institute for Historical Review, which publishes the *Journal of Historical Review*, also a Holocaust denial publication.

In December 2000, *The Spotlight* reported that a legal settlement in which Liberty Lobby had filed for bankruptcy protection was overturned. Bankruptcy protection would have enabled Liberty Lobby to continue avoiding payment of damages owed to IHR from a longstanding legal and financial dispute rooted in Carto's break with IHR. In July 2001, Liberty Lobby was denied protection and forced to liquidate its assets, which meant ceasing publication of *The Spotlight*. However, a month later, a new and almost identical newspaper called *American Free Press* was launched by the *Spotlight* staff. Continuing in the same anti-Israel vein as *The Spotlight*, recent *American Free Press* articles have included themes such as Israel being behind the World Trade Center attacks.

David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader, now defines Russia as the "key to white survival." He has been targeting this country as a means of broadening his popularity internationally and finds a receptive audience for his anti-Semitic message there. Duke's organization, formerly called **NOFEAR** (National Organization for European American Rights), based in Mandeville, Louisiana, lists 26 chapters in 17 U.S. states on its Web site and stands to gain publicity from his visits and discussions there. Duke has also used leaflets to try to recruit more members, sporadically distributing pamphlets in many communities across the United States. In June 2001, NOFEAR lost a lawsuit brought by a sportswear company with a similar name, and was forced to change its name. It is now called the European-American Unity and Rights Organization, or **EURO**. EURO joined other right-wing extremists with a spate of its own anti-Semitic pronouncements following the events of Sept. 11. Duke stated that the primary reason for the terrorist attack "is because our foreign policy is completely subordinated to a foreign power: Israel and the efforts of worldwide Jewish supremacism."

The **Church of the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**, led by Jeff Berry of Butler, Indiana, is one of the most active Klan (KKK) organizations in America. Berry established the American Knights of the KKK in 1995. (Its cur-

rent name was adopted in 1999.) While most other Klans across the country have declined, the American Knights have been active, spreading propaganda and attempting to hold rallies across the country. Prior to his arrest (see below), Berry was one of the most active Klan figures in America. His group held frequent rallies in cities including New York and others throughout the Midwest and the South. They also distributed propaganda by illegally stuffing fliers in free local newspapers. The American Knights of the KKK used this "night riding" technique as recently as December 2001 in Northern California.

Other active Klan groups include the **Imperial Klans of America** (IKA) and the **Knights of the Ku Klux Klan**. The IKA holds an annual "Nordic Fest" event featuring White Power concerts, which attracts neo-Nazis and racist skinheads. Most Klan groups are virulently anti-Semitic.

Militia groups in the United States have decreased in number in the past few years, but still pose a criminal threat, as they encourage turning anti-government sentiment into action. Although most militia groups claim to be non-racist, some militia members have expressed racism or anti-Semitism, such as Mark Koernke's frequent references to the "Kosher Mafia." Militias are most active at the moment in Texas, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky and California. Leaders of the movement include Koernke of Michigan, Charlie Puckett of Kentucky and John Trochmann of Montana.

Following the events of September 11, militia groups initially offered assistance to the government in its efforts to defend the homeland and establish order. Shortly thereafter, however, militia rhetoric turned to talk of the potential curtailment of our civil liberties and how to mobilize against it. On the Web and in print, a number of militia members and other anti-government groups have begun to buy into conspiracy theories surrounding the terrorist attacks, believing that the U.S. government had some role in the attacks so as to justify repressive measures in the interest of "security." The Militia of Montana has put forth in its print newsletter, *Taking Aim*, elaborate theories explaining how and why the U.S. was responsible for the attacks, but has let the public pin the blame on Muslim extremists. Other groups have touted familiar extremist conspiracy theories, such as the idea that the U.S. government's repressive measures could facilitate the establishment of an internationalist "New World Order."

Western Illinois Militia leader Dan Shoemaker was convicted on eight of the 13 counts brought against him on November 3, 2000. William Cooper, a patriot leader and author of the anti-government "exposé" *Behold a Pale Horse*, was fatally shot after firing on sheriff's deputies on November 5, 2001 in Eager, Arizona.

Christian Identity is not uncommon among militia groups. For example, Steve Anderson, a radical Kentucky militia member, set up a pirate short-wave radio station in 2001 to broadcast anti-government and racist programs. Anderson became a fugitive after allegedly firing an AK-47 at a deputy sheriff during a routine traffic stop on October 23, 2001.

Despite substantially toning down his

rhetoric during Saviours' Day and at the Million Family March in 2000, Minister **Louis Farrakhan**, leader of the Black separatist **Nation of Islam** (NOI), has continued to preach that Jews control the lives of African-Americans. In June 2001, Farrakhan addressed a "Hip-Hop Summit" organized by recording industry mogul Russell Simmons. Simmons had called on music and entertainment industry types to support Farrakhan's Million Family March, saying in October 2000 that he believed it could have a dramatic effect on race relations. NOI national assistant Benjamin Muhammad (Chavis) served as a summit moderator while the Fruit of Islam, NOI's security force, provided security. It seems that this type of appearance can help Farrakhan gain legitimacy — particularly among the impressionable young people who make up much of the hip-hop music audience — without changing his message of hate.

Although Farrakhan was quick to condemn the September 11 attacks as "vicious and atrocious," he was later critical of the Bush administration in his Holy Day of Atonement speech marking the sixth anniversary of the Million Man March in October 2001. Farrakhan argued that America had brought hatred upon itself by virtue of its foreign policy, especially with regard to the oil-producing countries of the Middle East.

At the Saviours' Day convention held in Los Angeles on February 13–17, 2002, approximately 14,000 men, women and children attended Farrakhan's keynote address. Farrakhan chose his words carefully, couching anything potentially controversial between neutral comments. For example, sharply criticizing American foreign policy, he made particular reference to the conflict in the Middle East: "You know every time one of the Palestinians come strapped with a bomb, the response from the Israeli government is the use of F-16 planes which are American, tanks from America, helicopter gunships from America, rockets from America," he said. "The Palestinians have nothing to defend themselves with...and then [the] world [gets] upset because Iran or somebody is trying to send them some weapons....If you were Jewish and you saw unarmed Jews being persecuted, wouldn't you come to your brother's aid? Do you expect Muslims to see their brothers suffering like that and not come to their aid?" Yet, Farrakhan attempted to neutralize these remarks immediately, by going on to comment, "That situation there [in Israel] is horrible and as a Muslim I feel the pain of the Palestinians, but as a human being I feel the pain of the Jews, as well. And until you can feel pain on both sides and understand where justice is and move on that principle, you cannot bring peace."

The main NOI Web site continues to maintain links to several of Farrakhan's past speeches, including some in which he makes racist and anti-Semitic remarks. The site is also linked to Ahmed Rami's Radio Islam Web site. (Rami is an Arab Holocaust denier and Radio Islam promotes many anti-Semitic works in addition to those of Holocaust deniers.) Other NOI links lead to a range of additional articles hostile to Jews, including the NOI's infamous publication *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, which charges that Jews bear major responsibility for the colonial slave trade. The NOI has posted many anti-Israel articles in connection with the Middle East conflict.

After Khallid Abdul Muhammad, national chairman of the **New Black Panther Party** (NBPP), also a racist, black nationalist movement, died on February 17, 2001, Malik Zulu Shabazz became the group's new leader. Shabazz has a long record of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic remarks. In November 2001, the NBPP joined members of the American Muslim community for a televised conference in which they labeled the U.S. and Israel as "The number one and number two terrorists right now on the planet." Shabazz added, "Zionism is racism, Zionism is terrorism, Zionism is colonialism, Zionism is imperialism, and support for Zionism is the root of why so many were killed on September 11."

The **Nation of Aztlan**, a small California-based Latino group that has emerged as virulently anti-Semitic, responded similarly. After the September 11 attacks, Hector Carreon, editor of its publication *La Voz de Aztlen*, claimed that the attacks had occurred because the U.S. supported an "Israeli apartheid policy" that "has made all of Islam our mortal enemy." Carreon later blamed the Florida anthrax outbreak as "the work of Jews," claiming that "Jews had an illustrious history in biological research. Everyone assumes that the dangers we face come from Islamic terrorists," Carreon wrote, "but our experience has been different. We fear Zionist terrorists more. They have been trying to take away our constitutional right of freedom of political expression through acts of terrorism." In late October, the Nation of Aztlan similarly claimed that the anthrax-laced letters sent to Tom Brokaw and Tom Daschle "were possibly sent by Zionists." According to its statement, "Zionists have been worried because they perceive that the American public is wavering in their support of Zionist racist policies against the Palestinians. They are desperate and will do anything to manipulate U.S. public opinion. This is one of their favorite tactics."

Appendix II:

ADL Confronts Anti-Semitism on Campus 2001

Jeffrey Ross
Director, Campus/Higher Education Affairs

While there were a "normal" number of traditional interpersonal anti-Semitic incidents among students on American colleges and universities in 2001, there was a marked increase in the frequency and intensity of incidents resulting from the "campus Intifada," the organized and increasingly widespread anti-Israel campaign tied to the ongoing violence in the Middle East. This campaign did much to generate a negative atmosphere on campus during the year, creating a sense of disquiet and some real fear among Jewish members of the campus community.

Many of the reported cases of anti-Semitic vandalism and harassment, seemingly independent of events in the Middle East, were generated, at least in part, out of this environment. This may have been the case at Binghamton University, when in the aftermath of increasing anti-Israel agitation on campus, a total of 27 swastikas were drawn on campus buildings during a single night in March.

While most anti-Israel and pro-Palestinian campus events were entirely legal and peaceful, if often uncivil in tone, a substantial number crossed the line into bigotry and a few degenerated into bias crimes. For instance, the Hillel building at the University of California, Davis campus was set on fire in the early morning hours near the end of the spring semester. While considerable damage was done, the building was saved due to the diligence and quick response of neighbors who immediately called the Fire Department. An "anti-Zionist week" at the University of California, San Diego featured fliers promoting the notorious tract/forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. A December column in the campus newspaper at the University of Massachusetts alerted readers to the dangers of "Jewish supremacy" and Israel as a "Jewish supremacist state."

Anti-Israel activity on campus created de facto alliances among domestic extremist groups of the left and the right, often interacting with extremist Palestinian/Arab/Muslim groups. For instance, Arab Students United at New York University sent out an e-mail bulletin on campus in October, featuring long articles on the Middle East by David Duke and Noam Chomsky. The Chomsky and Duke pieces were remarkably similar in tone and analytical perspective. At the University at Albany (SUNY), a History Department-sponsored web site providing linkages to on-line Middle East materials included a connection to a site run by the Palestinian Authority, which in turn is linked to domestic U.S. hate sites promoting Holocaust denial and *The Protocols*.

Campus anti-Semitism quickly adapted to the events of September 11. Voices were heard on campus arguing that U.S. support for Israel

created an antagonistic atmosphere in the Muslim world supportive of a backlash against the United States. A student columnist in *The Daily Targum* at Rutgers University argued that following "President Bush's statement that any state harboring terrorists is an enemy of freedom" it follows that Israel, which he sees as a terrorist state, "needs to be dismantled, either politically or physically." A writer in the campus newspaper at San Diego State University repeated the canard that the September 11 attacks had been carried out by the Mossad, and that Jewish employees of the World Trade Center had been pre-warned to stay away.

Holocaust deniers, including Bradley Smith, sent out paid ads and Op-Ed pieces to campus newspapers developing the theme of Jewish/Israeli culpability. A stealth ad from Smith along these lines was published in over 25 campus newspapers during the fall semester.

ADL staff, including those from regional offices, the Campus/Higher Education Affairs and Programs Department and the Civil Rights Division have responded and continue to respond to anti-Semitic incidents on campuses as they occur. The League serves as a central 911 location for the Jewish campus community. Campus Affairs and Programs Department staff, funded by ADL's Samuel and Mildred Levine Institute to Combat Bigotry on Campus, have appeared on, spoken at and conducted programs on dozens of college/university campuses and at many academic/campus affairs conferences during the past year.

ADL and Hillel have jointly prepared a guide on "Fighting Holocaust Denial on Campus" that has been distributed nationwide. The League's "Advocating for Israel: An Activist's Guide" (which includes a segment on "Advocating for Israel on Campus") has been widely distributed to the Jewish community on campus. A new publication, "Responding to Bigotry and Intergroup Strife on Campus: A Guide for College and University Presidents and Senior Administrators," has been nationally distributed among campus administrators, and has received wide acclaim. In August 2001, the League's annual Albert Finkelstein Memorial Campus Editors Study Mission brought 18 student journalists to Poland, Bulgaria and Israel. The League's Bess Myerson Campus Journalism Awards recognizes and promotes excellence in human relations writing in campus publications. ADL continues to provide anti-bias education training through it's a CAMPUS OF DIFFERENCE program and through its partnership with the Association of College Unions International (ACUI) Stop the Hate program. ADL continues to be a primary resource in the struggle against all forms of bigotry and anti-Semitism on our campuses.

Appendix III:

Federal Action to Confront Hate Violence

The urgent national need for both a tough law enforcement response as well as education and programming to confront violent bigotry has only increased since the September 11 terrorist attacks. Since then, the nation has witnessed a disturbing increase in attacks against American citizens and others who appear to be of Muslim, Middle Eastern and South Asian descent. Perhaps acting out of anger at the terrorists involved in the September 11 attacks, the perpetrators of these crimes are irrationally lashing out at innocent people because of their personal characteristics — their race, religion or ethnicity.

Law enforcement officials are now investigating hundreds of incidents reported from coast to coast — at places of worship, neighborhood centers, grocery stores, gas stations, restaurants and homes — including vandalism, intimidation, assaults and several murders.

In response to this disturbing series of attacks, many key **Administration figures** — including President George W. Bush, First Lady Laura Bush, Secretary of Education Rod Paige, Attorney General John Ashcroft, FBI Director Robert Mueller, and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights Ralph Boyd, Jr. — have spoken out against hate crimes and reached out to affected communities. The Justice Department has launched more than 300 federal civil rights investigations — and is now on pace to bring a record number of federal hate crime indictments emanating from these incidents. On September 26, at a meeting with Sikh leaders at the White House, President Bush pledged that "our government will do everything we can not only to bring those people to justice, but also to treat every human life as dear, and to respect the values that made our country so different and so unique. We're all Americans, bound together by common ideals and common values."

Before September 11, the first session of the **107th Congress** had been characterized by partisan wrangling over budget and tax issues. After the terrorist incidents, Members of Congress have tried to downplay party politics in an effort to focus on needed counterterrorism and aviation security measures. At the end of the session, Congress succeeded in reauthorizing the **Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)**, the most important federal funding measure for public schools. Despite significant, sustained opposition by some national conservative groups, Congress retained the important anti-bias programming authority in ESEA. This measure, along with the pending **Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA)**, are the top legislative priorities for the Anti-Defamation League and the coalition of civil rights, religious, law enforcement and education groups that advocate in Washington on behalf of strong federal action to confront hate violence. Another top priority is securing congressional and administrative support for **Partners Against Hate**, a unique collaborative public education and training initiative to prevent juvenile hate violence, funded jointly by the Department of Justice and the Department of Education.

1) **Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)**

   In 1994, with broad bipartisan support,

Congress approved several important new initiatives as part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) to provide training and technical assistance for communities to address violence associated with prejudice and intolerance. Under these provisions in ESEA, a number of innovative and successful prejudice-reduction programs have been developed and piloted in local communities across the country. Title IV of the Act, Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities, also included a specific hate crimes prevention initiative — promoting curriculum development and training and development for teachers and administrators on the cause, effects and resolutions of hate crimes or hate-based conflicts. The enactment of these Federal initiatives represented an essential advance in efforts to institutionalize anti-bias initiatives as a component of violence prevention programming.

Yet, these important provisions have also attracted persistent, vehement opposition from some conservative and right-wing organizations. In part because of this vocal (if wrongheaded and erroneous) opposition, the leadership of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce removed every existing reference to bias, prejudice and hate crime as they crafted their version of the ESEA rewrite early in the last session of Congress. The House approved this version in May — without the hate crime provisions. The Senate passed its version of the bill, which retained each of the hate crime provisions, in June. Efforts to reconcile the two versions on a wide range of issues continued until early December. On several occasions over that period of time, a broad coalition of over 100 civil rights, religious, law enforcement, civic and education groups sent letters of strong support for the hate crime provisions. In the end, overcoming considerable opposition, the version signed into law by President Bush in January, 2002 retained existing hate crime prevention authority.[1]

2) The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA): Closing Gaps in Federal Law

First proposed in the aftermath of the 1997 White House Conference on Hate Crimes, the LLEEA would permit federal investigations and prosecutions of certain hate crimes. This new authority would complement Section 245 of Title 18 U.S.C. — one of the primary statutes now used to combat racial and religious bias-motivated violence. That statute prohibits intentional interference, by force or threat of force, with enjoyment of a federal right or benefit (such as voting, going to school or working) on the basis of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin. Under the current law, enacted in 1968, the government must prove that the crime occurred because of a person's membership in a protected group — *and because* (not while) he/she was engaging in a federally protected activity. Justice Department officials have identified a number of significant racial violence cases in which federal prosecutions have been stymied by these unwieldy dual jurisdictional requirements.

The LLEEA would remove these overly restrictive obstacles to federal involvement by permitting prosecutions without having to prove that the victim was attacked because he/she was engaged in a federally protected activity. Second, it would provide expanded authority for federal officials to investigate and prosecute cases in which the bias violence occurs because of the victim's actual or perceived sexual orientation, gender or disability.

The vast majority of bias crimes are effectively addressed at the state and local level. However, in states without hate crime statutes, and in others with limited coverage, local prosecutors are simply not able to pursue bias crime convictions. In a limited number of these cases, and others in which the local prosecutor is unable or unwilling to investigate and prosecute, federal assistance or involvement is warranted.

As drafted, the LLEEA contains a number of significant limitations on prosecutorial discretion. First, the bill's requirement of actual injury, or, in the case of crimes involving "the use of fire, a firearm, or an explosive or incendiary device," an attempt to cause bodily injury, limits the federal government's jurisdiction to the most serious crimes of violence against individuals — not property crimes.

Second, for the proposed new categories — gender, sexual orientation and disability — federal prosecutors would have to prove an interstate commerce connection with the crime — similar to the constitutional basis relied upon for the Church Arson Prevention Act, which was passed unanimously by Congress in 1996.

Third, the LLEEA includes a certification requirement comparable to the limitations under 18 U.S.C. 245. Justice Department officials have historically been extremely selective in choosing which cases to prosecute under the federal criminal civil rights statutes. For example, in 2000, a year in which the FBI's HCSA report documented 8,063 hate crimes reported by 11,690 police agencies, the Justice Department brought only 25 racial violence cases under all federal criminal civil rights statutes combined. In fact, since its enactment in 1968, there have never been more than 10 indictments in any year under 18 U.S.C. 245. Yet, while the number of federal prosecutions for racial violence is small, these efforts provide an essential supplement to state and local criminal prosecutions. The importance of these few cases cannot be overstated. For example, a number of the racial violence cases involve prosecutions of members of the Ku Klux Klan and other organized hate groups. These cases — 7 in 2000, involving 7 defendants, and 8 more cases in the last two years, involving 16 defendants — help to demonstrate the federal government's resolve to combat organized bigotry.[3]

Supporters of the LLEEA know well that new federal criminal civil rights jurisdiction to address crimes directed at individuals because of their gender, sexual orientation or disability will not result in the elimination of these crimes. But the possibility of federal prosecutions in select cases, the impact of FBI investigations in others and expanded partnership arrangements with state and local investigators in still other cases should prompt more effective state and local prosecutions of these crimes. Especially at this time of enhanced counterterrorism coordination between law enforcement authorities, facilitating federal, state and local cooperative working arrangements to combat hate violence and other forms of domestic terrorism has great merit.

In the 106th Congress, bipartisan majorities in both the Senate and the House voted to approve the measure. On June 20, 2000, the Senate voted 57 to 42 to include the language of the Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act as an amendment to the Department of Defense Authorization bill. On September 13, the House

instructed its participants in a House-Senate conference meeting to reconcile differences in that bill to retain that hate crimes language by a margin of 232 to 192. Unfortunately, at the urging of Republican leadership in the House and Senate, the LLEEA was stripped from the final version of this legislation. In this Congress, the measure has attracted over 205 cosponsors in the House and 51 in the Senate. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the bill in July, 2001 and the measure is expected to be taken up in the Senate early in the second session.

3) Partners Against Hate: Confronting Youth-Initiative Bias Crime

In 1992, Congress approved several new hate crime and anti-bias initiatives as part of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act reauthorization.[3] Since then, the Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) has achieved distinction for the development of fine educational resources and training curricula addressing hate violence. In September, 2000, OJJDP awarded a three-year $3 million grant to the **Partners Against Hate** project created by the Anti-Defamation League, the Leadership Conference Education Fund and the Center for the Prevention of Hate Violence.

Partners Against Hate has designed and begun to implement an ambitious three-year program of outreach, public education and training to help address the cycle of bias, hatred, distrust and violence by: (1) increasing public awareness — especially among youth and juvenile justice professionals — about promising practices to reduce and prevent youth-initiated hate violence; (2) providing effective hate crime prevention and intervention strategies and training and technical assistance for law enforcement agencies, educators, religious and community leaders, parents and youth; and (3) helping individuals working with youth embrace the potential of advanced communications technologies — particularly the Internet — to break down barriers, address biases and provide communities with the services and support they need.

The Partners Web site, **www.partnersagainsthate.org**, serves as a comprehensive clearinghouse of hate crime-related information, including resources developed through the grant, as well as other promising programs from across the country. In addition, the Web site includes access to the finest database of hate crime laws that form the basis of criminal enforcement in the states, and counteraction tools.

---

[1] Public Law 107-110.

[2] Data provided by the Department of Justice as of August 31, 2001.

[3] Public Law 102-586.

Appendix IV:

State Hate Crime Statutes

*The District of Columbia has a penalty-enhancement hate crimes law.

© 2002 Anti-Defamation League. All rights reserved.

STATE HATE CRIMES 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	MO
Bias-Motivated Violence and Intimidation — Criminal Penalty	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓[5]	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civil Action				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
Race, Religion[1], Ethnicity	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sexual Orientation			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
Gender		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓				✓		✓		✓			✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
Disability	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
Other[2]					✓			✓		✓		✓				✓	✓		✓	✓				✓		
Institutional Vandalism	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Data Collection[3]			✓		✓		✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Training for Law Enforcement Personnel[4]			✓		✓									✓		✓		✓	✓			✓		✓		

	NE	NV	NH	NJ	NM	NY	NC	ND	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VT	VA	WA	WV	WI	WY
Bias-Motivated Violence and Intimidation — Criminal Penalty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civil Action																								
Race, Religion[1], Ethnicity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sexual Orientation				✓		✓																		
Gender																								
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" includes political affiliation (CA, DC, IA, LA, WV) and age (CA, DC, FL, IA, HI, KS, LA, ME, MN, NE, NY, VT).

3. States with data collection statutes which include sexual orientation are AZ, CA, CT, DC, FL, IL, IA, MD, MI, MN, NV, OR, TX and WA; those which include gender are AZ, DC, IL, IA, MI, MN, TX, WA.

4. Some other states have regulations mandating such training.

© 2002 Anti-Defamation League

	AST	NE	NV	NH	NJ	NM	NY	NC	ND	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VT	VA	WA	WV	WI	WY
Bias-Motivated Violence and Intimidation — Criminal Penalty	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓[6]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Civil Action		✓			✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	
Race, Religion[1], Ethnicity	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Sexual Orientation		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓		✓			✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	
Gender		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					✓				✓		✓		✓	✓		
Disability		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓			✓				✓		✓		✓		✓	
Other[2]		✓					✓				✓									✓			✓		
Institutional Vandalism	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	
Data Collection[3]		✓			✓						✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			✓	✓			
Training for Law Enforcement Personnel[4]												✓		✓								✓			

5. The Georgia statute enhances criminal penalties for crimes in which the defendant "intentionally selected" the victim or property "because of bias or prejudice."

6. The Utah statute ties penalties for hate crimes to violations of the victim's constitutional or civil rights.

© 2002 Anti-Defamation League

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the **Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).**

★★★

This publication is intended to inform interested individuals and organizations about developments within and among the participating States of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

★★★

All CSCE publications may be freely reproduced, with appropriate credit, in any form. The CSCE encourages the widest possible dissemination of its publications.

★★★

Visit our site on the World Wide Web at

http://www.csce.gov

The Commission's web site provides instant access to the agency's latest press releases and reports on recent hearings and briefings in addition to an electronic subscription service. Using the Commission's subscription page, readers with e-mail may choose to receive press releases, notices, reports, and other documents on issues in which they are most interested.
Please subscribe today.