



**German Delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
&
Gert Weisskirchen
Personal Representative of the
Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE on Combating Antisemitism**

BEST PRACTICES ON COMBATING ANTISEMITISM

- EXPERT MEETING -

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Conference Documentation



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Members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly,
Conference participants,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Two years' work as the OSCE Chairman-in-Office's Personal Representative on Combating Antisemitism has convinced me that efforts need to be stepped up. Antisemitism continues to poison trust between the people who live in our common space. In a number of regions there has unfortunately been an upsurge in this scourge. While comprehensive empirical studies are needed to fill the considerable gaps in what we know, the picture is already frightening enough. The OSCE Conferences in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Brussels and Córdoba paved the way for the member states to make the necessary decisions in consensus. 2006 was supposed to be the year which showed how the commitments that were undertaken were being implemented at national level.



The main questions for our conference are therefore: what problems have arisen in terms of implementation? And, what needs to be done to rectify these problems?

The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly initiated the OSCE's fight against Antisemitism and the commitment of OSCE funds to this cause. It was the Assembly which voted to canvas the support of the foreign ministers of the OSCE states for this fight. Ultimately the task has to be tackled at state level. Now that two years have passed, it is time for parliamentarians to take stock of what has been achieved so far. I am grateful to the national delegation of the German Bundestag for inviting experts, NGOs and parliamentarians to undertake a provisional evaluation in order to assess what measures have been successful, what have not been successful and what steps need to be taken from here onwards in order to achieve the goals agreed on.

In this process, we depend on the involvement of civil societies, organised either nationally or internationally. We parliamentarians are in a unique position to detect tectonic shifts taking place within our populations at an early stage, but we can only do so if and as long as the players within our civil societies work closely together with us. Their strength, in turn, is their autonomy which the state must guarantee. If we unite together to combat Antisemitism, we can make efficient use of the resources available to us nationally and internationally.

Thank you for accepting the invitation extended by the German Bundestag. I am sure our meeting will help us in our search to find the best forms of practice in the fight against Antisemitism.

I look forward to open and critical discussions.

With best wishes

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read 'Gert Weisskirchen'.

Gert Weisskirchen

*Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office
of the OSCE on Combating Antisemitism*

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1. Program of the Conference

Opening remarks

Wolfgang Thierse

MP; Head of the German Delegation to the OSCE PA;
Vice-President of the German Bundestag, Germany

Pierre Chevalier

Senator; Special Envoy of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, Belgium

Trends in Antisemitism(media, academia and cultural sphere, immigrant communities)

Jean-Yves Camus

France Institute for International and Strategic Relations
Assistant of the magazine Actualité juive, France

PANEL 1: Data Collection

Jacques Huntzinger

Ambassador; French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Rt. Hon. Dr. Denis Mac Shane

MP; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom

Dr. Esther Webman

Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Israel

Moderator

Dr. Kathrin Meyer

Advisor on Antisemitism Issues, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Programme, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), Poland

PANEL 2: Hate Crimes

David Friedman

Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation-League (ADL), USA

Paul Goldenberg

National Public Safety Strategy Group Chief Executive Director, USA

Danijela Petkovic

Police Academy Instructor of Criminal Law Police Academy, Croatia

Antonio Arrabal Villalobos

Ministry of Interior, Department of International Police Cooperation, Spain

Moderator

Michael Whine

Community Security Trust, Director, United Kingdom

Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Antisemitism in Europe

Dr. Charles Asher Small

Director of the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism, USA

PANEL 3: Education

Dr. Kathrin Meyer

Advisor on Antisemitism Issues, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Programme,
Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), Poland

Dr. András Kovács

Central European University and the Hungarian, Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Karen Polak

Anne Frank House Amsterdam, Netherlands

Moderator

Dr. Juliane Wetzel

Center for Antisemitism Research of the TU Berlin, Germany

Hate on the Internet: the situation based on the Simon Wiesenthal's recent electronic report, Digital Hate and Terrorism 2006

Mark Weitzman

Simon Wiesenthal Center, Director Task Force against Hate and Terrorism, USA

Concluding Statements

Where do we go from here? - Results from the panels

Andrew Baker

Director of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), USA

Prof. Gert Weisskirchen

MP; Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE on Combating Antisemitism; Member of the German Delegation to the OSCE PA, Germany

2. Zusammenfassung der Konferenz

Britta Hanke-Giesers, Inga Immel, Anna Weiland, Philip Wüst

Eröffnungsansprache

Wolfgang Thierse, MdB, Vizepräsident des Deutschen Bundestages, eröffnete die Konferenz „Best practices on Combating Antisemitism“. Er erklärte, in Deutschland sei die Überwindung des Antisemitismus ein Teil der Raison d'être unseres Staatswesens geworden. Aber trotz der Anstrengungen zur Auseinandersetzung sei der Antisemitismus nicht überwunden. Die Aufgabe bestehe trotz Aufklärungsmaßnahmen, trotz Pflege von Gedenkstätten und anderen Maßnahmen unverändert fort.

Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland habe in Berlin das Holocaust-Denkmal zur Erinnerung an die Verbrechen der Vergangenheit errichtet. Diese Entscheidung des Bundestages zeige, dass das Parlament sich zur Verantwortung bekenne. Dramatische Veränderungen wie Globalisierung, Demographischer Wandel, technologische und wirtschaftliche Veränderung hätten dazu beigetragen, dass die Empfänglichkeit für scheinbar einfache Antworten zunehme. Manche benutzten auch den Konflikt in Nahen Osten, um antisemitischen Hass zu schüren.

Ein Generationenwechsel stehe an und es sei unsicher, wie nachfolgende Generationen mit der Erinnerung umgehen. Auch wenn diese andere Formen der Erinnerung finden, müsse man ihnen eine Chance geben, sich überhaupt zu erinnern. Die Weitergabe der Erinnerung sei deshalb eine wichtige Aufgabe, eine pädagogische und politische Herausforderung, der sich die OSZE annehme.

Der Sondergesandte des OSZE-Vorsitzenden **Senator Pierre Chevalier**, dankte für die Einladung. Wenn man die Stätte der bisherigen Antisemitismus-Konferenzen – Wien, Berlin, Cordoba, Paris etc. – besuche, sehe man dort den jüdischen Beitrag zur Gesellschaft in diesen Ländern. Gleichzeitig seien dies Orte, wo Juden gelitten haben. Es sei bedenklich, dass man solche Treffen wie das jetzige überhaupt brauche. Die OSZE habe Antisemitismus als eine maßgebliche Bedrohung für Freiheit und Sicherheit erkannt. Deshalb habe ODIHR entsprechende Strukturen aufgebaut und ein Toleranz und Nicht-Diskriminierungsprogramm geschaffen. Zusammen mit dem Anne-Frank-Haus werde Lehrmaterial erarbeitet. Die OSZE habe Sonderbeauftragte eingesetzt, um die Themen voranzubringen, ferner wurde eine Task Force zum Thema Antisemitismus und andere Formen der Intoleranz eingesetzt. Der Vorsitz habe sich für mehr Kooperation zwischen den Sonderbeauftragten und mit ODIHR ausgesprochen. Chevalier unterstrich die Rolle der Erziehung und des Aufbaus von Fähigkeiten sowie die Bedeutung des gesetzlichen Rahmens und der Partnerschaft mit der Zivilgesellschaft. 2007 werde eine weitere Konferenz gegen Antisemitismus stattfinden.

Jean-Yves Camus, Institut für internationale und strategische Beziehungen in Frankreich, sprach zum Thema „Tendenzen im Antisemitismus“. Nach Camus gibt eine neue Dimension des Antisemitismus: die Negierung des Holocaust. Dies präge die öffentliche Meinung in anderer Weise als in den achtziger Jahren. Wenn der Holocaust nicht stattgefunden hätte, wären Entschädigungen unberechtigt. Alles würde damit in Frage gestellt. Der Libanon-Krieg in den achtziger Jahren sei der zweite Aspekt, der zu der jetzigen Situation führe. Israel wurde als nazistischer Staat definiert und die Juden vom Opfer zum Täter gemacht. Im Anschluss seien die Anzahl der antisemitischen Presseartikel gestiegen, aber es habe zunächst noch keine antisemitischen Taten gegeben. Später habe es Antisemitismus auch in der extremen Linken gegeben, was alles zusammen den Rahmen für das heutige Klima bilde. Neu sei nun, dass Antisemitismus nicht mehr nur theoretisch bleibe, sondern Anschläge und Übergriffe sich häufen. Israel werde als Staat anders als andere Staaten behandelt, indem sein Existenzrecht in Frage gestellt werde. Seit dem Jahr 2000 gebe es extrem viele Übergriffe. Antizionismus und Anti-

semitismus verbänden sich zu unheilvollen neuen politischen Allianzen; die extreme Linke und Islamisten hätten auf einmal gemeinsame Ziele. Er machte darauf aufmerksam, dass häufig mit zweierlei Maß gemessen werde: so werde in den Nachrichten die Hisbollah häufig als Angegriffene gezeigt. Junge Leute auch mit arabischem Hintergrund in Europa wachsen mit dieser Wahrnehmung auf. Gleichzeitig sei die extreme Rechte in Parteien und Parlamenten vertreten und die Zivilgesellschaft habe nicht reagiert.

In der folgenden Debatte wurde darauf eingegangen, dass der neue Antisemitismus den alten Bildern folge (so Juliane Wetzel, TU Berlin); und die Frage gestellt, wie man die Situation de-eskalieren könne. Dennis McShane (Vereinigtes Königreich, MP) verwies auf die Banalisierung des Holocaust durch relativierende Vergleiche mit anderen Taten. Professorin Hart unterstrich, die Unkenntnis von jüdischem Leben und jüdischer Geschichte, Kultur etc. trage ebenfalls zum Antisemitismus bei.

PANEL 1: Datenerhebung

Nach der Begrüßung der Teilnehmer durch **Prof. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB**, ergriff als erster Gastredner der britische Abgeordnete **Dr. Denis MacShane** das Wort. In einem ausführlichen Bericht schilderte er die im britischen Parlament unternommenen Aktivitäten, um sich mit dem Phänomen Antisemitismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit auseinanderzusetzen. Dabei ging es im Besonderen um die Datenerfassung und Informationszusammenstellung im Hinblick auf antisemitische Übergriffe und Straftaten. MacShane bezeichnete es als besonders besorgniserregend, dass wissenschaftliche Daten nicht in dem Maße verfügbar seien wie es notwendig sei. Zum Beispiel würde durch die Polizeikräfte keine Erfassung der Übergriffe mit antisemitischem Hintergrund erfolgen. Der britische Staat gebe sehr viel Geld für Sicherheits- und andere Maßnahmen zum Schutze jüdischer Gemeinden aus. Aber nicht nur gegen jüdische Gemeinden, sondern auch gegen moslemische Gemeinden haben sich Hass und verstärkte Islamophobie entwickelt, die auch immer mehr Ausdruck in der Presse und den Medien finden. Er bezeichnete den in den letzten Jahren festzustellenden wachsenden Antisemitismus als ein wieder entflammtes Phänomen, in dem sich viele unterschiedliche ideologische Ansichten vereinten, wie z. B. eine antiwestliche Haltung, die Ablehnung des Rechtsstaates, die Verachtung der westlichen Werte sowie der Widerstand gegen monotheistische Religionen, wie er von einigen religiösen fundamentalistischen Kreisen ausgehe. Festzustellen sei auch, dass es einen breiteren Rahmen für antisemitische Einstellungen gebe, der über die ursprünglich primitiven Beschuldigungen hinausgehe und nun eine gehobene Ebene erreicht habe. Auf alle diese Entwicklungen habe die britische Regierung gut und rasch reagiert und sich auch mit dem im britischen Parlament eingebrachten Bericht zu diesem Thema eingehend auseinandergesetzt. Eine der Schlussfolgerungen des Berichtes sei es gewesen, Polizeikräfte stärker für Übergriffe mit antisemitischem Hintergrund zu sensibilisieren und zum Anderen, dem im Internet und anderen Medien verbreiteten Hassmaterial, das insbesondere von Personen und Gruppierungen arabischer und anderer Staaten ausgehe, Grenzen zu setzen. Das Internet sei der größte Verbreiter von Antisemitismus. Leider hätten es die USA bislang abgelehnt zu akzeptieren, dass dies eine Tatsache sei und dass man gemeinsam etwas dagegen unternehmen müsse. Er betonte, dass der vom britischen Parlament verfasste Bericht jedermann zugänglich sei.

Als zweiter Redner am Vormittag war **Botschafter Jacques Huntzinger** vom französischen Außenministerium eingeladen worden, einen Bericht über Datenerfassung und Informationsvermittlung über Vorfälle mit antisemitischem Hintergrund in Frankreich vorzulegen. Als erster Punkt sei festzuhalten, dass die Datenerfassung alles erfassen müsse, was mit Antisemitismus zu tun habe. Zweitens sei wichtig festzustellen, dass eine Bekämpfung dieses Phänomens nur erfolgreich sein könne, wenn die Gesellschaft und die Regierung über ein gutes

Überwachungssystem und eine gute Datenerfassung über sämtliche antisemitistische Vorfälle verfügten. Dies sei der Ansatzpunkt für jede weitere Aktivität. In Frankreich habe man im Jahr 2001/2002 erkennen müssen, dass das Phänomen des Antisemitismus erneut aufflackerte. Damit hätte eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Debatte eingesetzt, in deren Folge im Jahre 2002 beschlossen worden sei, ein System in Gang zu setzen, das exemplarischen Charakter habe. Viele Länder hätten die französische Vorgehensweise als Modell für eigene Einrichtungen genommen. Ausgangssituation im Jahre 2002 sei gewesen, dass jüdische Verbände wie CRIF und andere sich mit lautem Protest beim Innenministerium gemeldet hätten. Dem war vorausgegangen, dass ein kontinuierlicher Anstieg antisemitistischer Vorfälle zu verzeichnen gewesen sei - vom Jahre 2002, in dem es 150 bis 200 Vorfälle gegeben habe - seien diese zum Jahr 2003 sprunghaft auf 500 angestiegen mit einem Höhepunkt im Jahre 2004 von 1000 Vorfällen. Im Jahre 2005 habe man 600 bis 700 Vorfälle erfasst. Die explosionsartige Zunahme der Vorfälle vom Jahr 2002 zum Jahr 2003 und 2004 sei zurückzuführen auf eine neue Art von Antisemitismus.

Dieser gehe überwiegend von Bevölkerungsteilen aus, die aus nordafrikanischen und nahghrebinischen Staaten stammten und sich stark mit dem israelisch/palästinensischen Konflikt identifizierten. Dieser Konflikt habe eine große Polemik ausgelöst. Viele jüdische Einrichtungen hätten Überwachungssysteme gefordert oder selbst eingerichtet. Das Innenministerium habe zunächst die von den jüdischen Gemeinschaften vorgelegten Zahlen abgelehnt und sich in ersten Auseinandersetzungen nur mit der Zahl der Vorfälle befasst. 2003 habe man jedoch gezielt damit begonnen, ein Überwachungs- und Datenerfassungssystem einzurichten. Dessen erstes Prinzip sei eine Koordinierung zwischen verschiedenen Akteuren wie den jüdischen Gemeinden, jüdischen Einrichtungen und den staatlichen Ministerien gewesen. Das zweite wichtige Prinzip sei die Informationsweitergabe unter diesen Akteuren. Dies erfolge in Form einer Ständigen Kommission, die sowohl auf nationaler als auch auf regionaler Ebene arbeite. Zwischen dem Innen-, Bildungs- und Justizministerium sei eine interministerielle Koordinierungsstelle eingerichtet worden, weil Übergriffe mit antisemitischem Hintergrund zunächst in die Zuständigkeit dieser Ministerien fielen - das Innenministerium, wenn es sich um Vorfälle im öffentlichen Leben z. B. Straßen, Gebäuden handele, das Bildungsministerium, wenn es sich um Vorfälle in Schulen und Bildungseinrichtungen handele und das Justizministerium, wenn es sich um angezeigte Straftaten handele. In Bezug auf die Informationsweitergabe sei es wichtig, eine Beobachtungsstelle zu haben, die die Gesamtzahl der Übergriffe möglichst noch vor Ort erfasse und anschließend rasch an die übergeordneten Stellen weitergebe. Diese Stellen entschieden gemeinsam, wo Schwerpunkte für Prävention und Bekämpfung zu setzen seien. Zu diesem Zweck sei in den Ministerien eine spezielle Software entwickelt worden, die sehr gut funktioniere. Die Daten der Opfer würden von der Polizei erfasst und an das Innenministerium weitergegeben. Das Bildungsministerium sei gehalten, in Form der Schulaufsicht auf Vorkommnisse in allen sensiblen Schulbereichen und Akademien zu achten.

Natürlich sei auch das französische System kein perfektes System, doch man sei bemüht, dieses System ständig weiter zu verbessern. Wichtige Fragen, um die es dabei gehe, seien zum einen die Identifizierung der Tatsachen, zum zweiten verschärfte Sensibilisierung im Hinblick auf Banalisierung/Trivialisierung von verbalen Diffamierungen, zum dritten Übergriffe in Presse und audiovisuellen Medien und zum vierten eine Strafmaßerhöhung für Gewaltakte und Übergriffe, denen antisemitistische Motive zugrunde lägen. Dieser letzte Punkt sei jedoch der schwierigste, denn es gebe keine eindeutige Definition von Antisemitismus, und letztlich sei bei Straftaten die jeweilige Auslegung des einzelnen Richters maßgeblich. Frankreich habe mit dem Lellouche-Gesetz u. a. ein verschärftes Strafmaß für antisemitistische Übergriffe und Straftaten festgelegt. Jedoch zögerte eine Reihe von Richtern bei der Frage, ob es sich im Einzelnen um Antisemitismus oder noch um Meinungsfreiheit handele, und die Grenze zwischen Antizionismus und Antisemitismus werde immer diffuser, wobei Antizionismus kein

Straftatbestand sei. Es habe Gerichtsverfahren gegeben, bei denen sich Richter geweigert hätten, ein antisemitisches Motiv zu erkennen. Mittlerweile gebe es Anweisungen des Innenministeriums an die Generalstaatsanwaltschaft, auf verschärfte Anwendung des Lellouche-Gesetzes zu achten. Bedauernswerterweise entwickle sich auch der verbale Antisemitismus immer weiter; er werde zunehmend banalisiert und deshalb käme es auch zu weniger Verurteilungen. Das Pressegesetz in Frankreich über die Meinungsfreiheit aus den 30er Jahren musste auf die neue Situation, die z. B. Hassverbrechen und Straftaten mit antisemitischem Hintergrund mit einschließen, angepasst werden. Außerdem sei es schwierig, ein Beobachtungssystem im Hinblick auf die Medien festzulegen.

Dr. Esther Webman vom Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism der Universität Tel Aviv, Israel stellte einen Kurzbericht vor, den sie zum Thema „Europäische Anstrengungen zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus aus der arabischen Perspektive“ zusammengestellt hatte. Sie beschrieb die Arbeit des Stephen Roth Instituts in Tel Aviv, das ein akademisches Institut der Universität von Tel Aviv sei und weltweit antisemitische Vorfälle beobachte, eine große ständig weiterentwickelte Datenbank unterhalte und jährliche Veröffentlichungen publiziere, die länderspezifische Aufstellungen enthalten ebenso wie Analysen von Presseartikeln und Buchbesprechungen. Ihre Arbeit bestehe in erster Linie darin, Tages- und Wochenzeitschriften und andere Publikationen auszuwerten und auch Nutzen zu ziehen aus der in den letzten Jahren von israelischen und jüdischen Organisationen geleisteten Arbeit in Bezug auf die Erfassung von Vorfällen mit antisemitischem Hintergrund. Frau Dr. Webman ging ausführlich auf die Reaktion der arabischen Welt auf die Aktivitäten der OSZE sowie auf das amerikanische Gesetz zur Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und antiisraelischer Stimmung in Europa ein. Dies sei nicht nur wichtig für ein Verständnis der arabisch/muslimischen Position, sondern auch für einen zukünftigen Erfolg internationaler Bemühungen zur Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und Holocaustleugnung.

Die internationale Konferenz zur Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus, die im April 2004 in Berlin unter der Schirmherrschaft der OSZE stattgefunden habe, habe in der arabischen Welt eine Reaktion des Misstrauens und der Kritik hervorgerufen. Unter Reaktion sei die Debatte zu verstehen, die in der Öffentlichkeit, in Zeitschriften und Fernsehprogrammen entstanden und nicht eine offizielle Reaktion der Staaten gewesen sei. Von palästinensischer Seite sei diese Konferenz als eine gemeine Ablenkung vom Verhalten Israels gegenüber den Palästinensern bezeichnet worden. Dabei seien unverhältnismäßige Vorfälle einander gegenüber gestellt worden. So z. B. die Schändung eines jüdischen Grabs in einer französischen Stadt im Verhältnis zu der Zerstörung eines ganzen Stadtviertels in Rafah. Frau Dr. Webman zitierte im Einzelnen verschiedene Zeitschriften und Fernsehauftritte insbesondere des jordanischen Wissenschaftlers George Haddad, Reaktionen ägyptischer Journalisten, die aus Berlin berichteten und der Konferenz vorwarfen, eine negative Haltung gegenüber der arabischen und muslimischen Gemeinschaft in Europa einzunehmen.

Auch das in Stockholm im Jahre 2000 veranstaltete internationale Forum über den Holocaust sei als geschichtsverzerrend dargestellt worden. Die Verabschiedung des amerikanischen Gesetzes zur Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus im Oktober 2004 habe starke Opposition von arabischen Kommentatoren und Journalisten hervorgerufen. Der gemeinsame Tenor habe darin gegipfelt, dass die Juden Legislative und Exekutive übernommen und diese dazu gebracht hätten, Kritik an Israel zu verbieten. Obwohl einige Kommentatoren eingeräumt hätten, dass Antisemitismus gefährlich sei, seien generell aber in erster Linie die Araber bedauert worden. Der zunehmende Antisemitismus und die Übergriffe würden eher als ein Trend wahrgenommen, der sich gegen die Juden richte, und es sei angedeutet worden, dass die europäische Straße darauf warte, ein Zeichen zu erhalten. Wenige Stimmen habe es dabei gegeben, die sich für die Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und gegen die Leugnung des Holocaust ausgesprochen hätten. Eine dieser Stimmen gehöre Abdal-Rahman Rashid, dem Generaldirektor

des Arabischen Satellitenfernsehens al-Arabiya und früherem Herausgeber einer in London ansässigen arabischen Zeitung. Er hätte in seinen Leitartikeln die Araber immer wieder davor gewarnt, sich mit Antisemitismus und Holocaustleugnern zu verbünden. Seiner Meinung nach sollte das amerikanische Gesetz genau als das verstanden werden, was es bezwecke – ein Gesetz zur Überwachung von Antisemitismus, und anstatt es zu verurteilen, sollten die Araber seine Umsetzung ermutigen und sich darum bemühen, es so auszuweiten, dass es Anstiftung zu jedwedem Rassismus gegen Muslime, Farbige und anderen Minderheiten mit umfasse. Der Schutz der Juden sollte der erste Schritt zum Schutze für jedermann sein, fügte ein amerikanischer Journalist arabischer Abstammung hinzu. Ein weiterer Journalist unterstrich, dass Konferenzen und Beschlüsse den Antisemitismus nicht ausrotten würden. Die einzige Möglichkeit, dies zu tun, bestünde darin, sich mit seinen Hintergründen auseinanderzusetzen, und die lägen in der israelischen Politik. Frau Dr. Webman erklärte, dass sie der Ansicht widerspreche, dass der israelisch/palästinensische Konflikt die Ursache allen Übels sei. Sie bezweifle die Wirksamkeit von Gesetzen zur Ausrottung antisemitischer Denkweisen und Stereotypen und halte es für extrem wichtig, Wege und Mittel zu finden, sich auf die arabische Welt und die Gesellschaften der dritten Welt zuzubewegen, denn Eines sei sicher, man wolle die Welt nicht in zwei Achsen teilen, eine, die des Antisemitismus beschuldigt werde und die muslimische Welt, Europa, Lateinamerika und China umfasse und die andere, die sich dagegen stelle und aus Israel und den USA bestehe.

Die Moderatorin der Diskussionsrunde, **Dr. Kathrin Meyer**, Referentin für Antisemitismusfragen des OSZE-ODIHR (Büro für demokratische Institutionen und Menschenrechte), Warschau, ergänzte die Vorträge der Gastredner durch einen Überblick über den Stand der Dinge in Bezug auf Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung von Antisemitismus und Hasskriminalität in den OSZE-Staaten. Sie führte aus, dass das OSZE-ODIHR damit beauftragt sei antisemitische Vorkommnisse zu beobachten und Informationen über die Bemühungen der Teilnehmerstaaten in diesem Bereich zu sammeln. Die Aufgabe, verlässliche Informationen zusammenzutragen, gehe auf die Erklärung der Konferenz in Berlin im Jahre 2004 zurück. 56 Staaten der OSZE wirkten bei dieser Aufgabe mit. Von 2004 bis 2005 habe ODIHR fünf Verbalnoten an alle Staaten gesandt, um Daten zu erhalten und diese zu erfassen. 46 Länder hätten nationale Stellen als Kontaktstellen für den Bereich der Hasskriminalität genannt. 38 Länder hätten statistische Angaben übermittelt. Das Bild werde jedoch differenzierter, wenn man die zugesandten Informationen genauer betrachte. Vor zwei Wochen habe es eine Implementierungssitzung gegeben, die das Datendefizit zum Thema hatte. 33 OSZE-Teilnehmerstaaten hätten ein Ministerium als Kontaktstelle für die Bekämpfung von Hasskriminalität benannt, sieben Länder Staatsanwälte und Polizeistellen nominiert und 10 Teilnehmerstaaten spezielle Arbeitsgruppen oder Institutionen, die direkt in diesem Bereich arbeiten. Sechs Staaten hätten mitgeteilt, dass es keine Übergriffe und daher keine Statistiken zur Hasskriminalität in ihrem Land gebe. Aus Italien und der Tschechischen Republik habe es besonders detaillierte Daten und Informationen gegeben. Sie unterstrich, dass es aber generell gesehen in manchen Bereichen noch ein großes Datendefizit gäbe, obwohl Gesetzesvorschriften in Bezug auf die Datenerhebung existierten, die aber nicht umgesetzt würden, vielleicht wegen fehlender Ressourcen oder mangelnder Schulung von Mitarbeitern. Schwierig sei aber auch die Definition von Hassverbrechen und antisemitischen Übergriffen. Es sei darauf hinzuweisen, dass über viele Vorkommnisse gar kein Bericht erstattet würde, denn viele Vorfälle würden lediglich als Hooligan-Straftaten verbucht. Sie fügte hinzu, dass es am richtigen Verständnis und auch an der Schulung der Mitarbeiter der Strafverfolgungsorgane fehle.

In der anschließenden Diskussion wurde von **Georg Heuberger** (Jewish Claims Conference, JCC) die Frage an Botschafter Huntzinger gestellt, warum nur dann etwas getan werde, wenn sich eine Krise oder eine dramatische Situation entwickle, und warum nicht kontinuierlich vorher etwas unternommen werde. Er stellte auch die Frage, warum es immer Aufgabe der

jüdischen Organisationen sei, sich um Hilfe an den Staat zu wenden. Er ging auf die Grenze zwischen Meinungsfreiheit und Straftatbeständen ein und wies darauf hin, dass oft erst nach der Feststellung eines Richters, dass es sich um eine Straftat handele, etwas unternommen werde. In seiner Antwort verwies **Botschafter Huntzinger** darauf, dass sich der Antisemitismus entwickelt und in einer abrupten Form verändert habe. Seien es in den Jahren 2001 und 2002 noch Straftaten gewesen, die sich gegen herkömmliche Orte wie Friedhöfe oder jüdische Einrichtungen richteten - deren Zahl sei mittlerweile in Frankreich rückläufig - so habe es im Jahre 2003 ein Aufflammen eines Antisemitismus in eine andere Richtung gegeben. Dies habe Staat und Öffentlichkeit gleichermaßen irritiert. Junge Leute aus den Vororten hätten - oft in Nachahmung der Intifada oder nur aus Lust an Gewaltausübung - für große Unruhe gesorgt. Nach den Präsidentschaftswahlen in Frankreich sei die Regierung fest entschlossen gewesen, eine Politik in Richtung Prävention und Repression umzusetzen. Auf die Frage, warum sich jüdische Organisationen zuerst äußerten, stellte Huntzinger fest, dass diese Einrichtungen unmittelbar und als erste betroffen seien und sie über Vorfälle berichteten, die zunächst möglicherweise zunächst gar nicht bekannt seien. In Frankreich gebe es nach Israel und den USA die größte jüdische Gemeinde mit etwa 700 000 Mitgliedern, aber auch die drittgrößte muslimische Gemeinde. Überwiegend Juden aus osteuropäischen Staaten lebten in den gleichen Vierteln wie Araber und Einwanderer maghrebischer Herkunft, oft in ärmlichen Verhältnissen. Dort komme es zu Spannungen und zu ersten Übergriffen. Nachdem in Frankreich die Alarmglocken bei den staatlichen Stellen geläutet hätten, sei der Prozess der Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Gerichtsbarkeit und den politischen Stellen sehr positiv verlaufen. Die Datenerhebung erfolge auch durch Polizeistellen, Schuldirektoren und andere Stellen, wobei viele dieser Vorfälle keine Straftatbestände im eigentlichen Sinne darstellten. Die Grenze zwischen Antisemitismus und Antizionismus liege nicht auf der Hand. Man dürfe diese Begriffe auch nicht vermischen, sondern müsse beide genau definieren.

Der Teilnehmer **David Hirsh** (Universität London, Gründer „Engage World Jewish Congress“) beklagte, dass in Großbritannien der so genannte „common sense“ für Übergriffe und unzulässiges Verhalten nachlasse und stattdessen ein bestimmtes Ambiente und bestimmte Diskussionen salonfähig geworden seien und von der Gesellschaft akzeptiert würden. So werde Israel der Apartheid und des rassistischen Verhaltens beschuldigt. Diese Situation lasse sich gesetzlich nicht ändern. Man müsse die Menschen überzeugen, damit sie erkennen würden, welche Motive hinter diesen Denkweisen stünden.

Als letzter Redner in der Debatte äußerte sich **Roman Spektor** (Präsident der jüdischen Dachorganisation in Russland) und stellte die Frage, warum auf dem 2. Berliner Treffen keine russischen Teilnehmer und nur sehr wenig OSZE-Vertreter seien. Er wies darauf hin, dass man sich in Russland zwar häufiger mit dem Antisemitismus auseinandersetze, dieser aber weiter zunehme und es immer mehr einschlägige Straftaten gebe. Um solchen deutlichen Erscheinungsformen entgegenzutreten, sei es eine bewährte Praxis, die OSZE-Teilnehmerländer an die auf der 1. Berliner Konferenz gemachten Zusagen zu erinnern.

Juliane Wetzel vom Zentrum für Antisemitismusforschung der TU Berlin stellte fest, dass in Frankreich und Großbritannien die Datenerhebung und Informationsbeschaffung sehr gut in allen Formen und auf allen Ebenen funktioniere. Sie beklagte, dass dies in Deutschland allerdings nicht der Fall sei. Daten würden in erster Linie über Straftaten gesammelt, die der Verfassungsschutz von den Landes- und Bundeskriminalämtern erhalte. Auch von Verfassungsschützern werde kritisiert, dass verschiedene Spektren nicht abgedeckt würden.

Prof. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB, schloss die erste Diskussionsrunde und bedauerte, dass die drei Persönlichen Beauftragten des OSZE-Vorsitzenden bislang trotz intensiver Bemühungen keine Einladung von Russland erhalten hätten. Auch er bezeichnete die Entwicklung in Russland in Bezug auf antisemitistische Vorfälle als besorgniserregend. Er fügte hinzu, dass auch alte Formen des Antijudaismus sehr ausgeprägt seien. Russland sei quasi zweigeteilt, wobei

auf der einen Seite Präsident Putin eine klare und überzeugende Position bezogen habe, zum anderen aber weite Teile der russischen Gesellschaft mit antisemitistischen Vorurteilen stark durchsetzt seien. Daneben sei auch festzuhalten, dass es eine zunehmende Islamophobie und andere Formen von Vorurteilen z. B. gegenüber Sinti und Roma gebe.

PANEL 2: Hassgeprägte Verbrechen

Unter der Leitung von **Michael Whine**, Direktor des britischen Community Security Trusts (CST) und Mitglied des Polizeiforums für hassgeprägte Verbrechen, stellten vier weitere Experten jeweils verschiedene Konzepte vor, die versuchen, hassgeprägten Verbrechen vorzubeugen, aber vor allem anstreben, deren Aufklärung und Ahndung zu verbessern.

Der erste Redner war der US-Amerikaner **Paul Goldenberg**, der als leitender Direktor der National Public Safety Strategy sowie als Berater für OSZE/ODIHR und des Law Enforcement Officer Programmes (LEOP) tätig ist. Er betonte ausdrücklich, dass Datensammlungen über den „Horror des Antisemitismus“ unerlässlich sei, jedoch Polizisten, die direkt auf diesen Hass reagieren, eine spezielle Ausbildung durchlaufen müssten. Daher müsse Zeit, Geld und Ressourcen in die polizeiliche Aus- und Weiterbildung investiert werden, damit die Beamten den Unterschied zwischen Vandalismus und jenen Verbrechen, die durch Hass ausgelöst werden, erkennen.

Die zielgerichtete Ausbildung im Bereich der Strafverfolgung sei bereits in einigen OSZE-Staaten eingeführt. Obwohl es eigentlich die Aufgabe des Staates sei, seine Bürger zu beschützen, sei die Beteiligung von NROs unverzichtbar, insbesondere um eine Brücke zwischen staatlichen Strafverfolgungsinstitutionen und der Zivilgesellschaft zu bilden.

Die polizeiliche Ausbildung stand auch bei **Danijela Petkovic**, Dozentin für Strafrecht an der Polizeiakademie in Zagreb, Polizeipräsidentin und nationale Ausbilderin für das LEOP zur Bekämpfung von hassgeprägten Verbrechen in Kroatien im Vordergrund. Mit Hilfe der engen Zusammenarbeit mit dem Innenministerium und dem ODIHR haben im Juni dieses Jahres neun kroatische Polizeibeamte als erste in ihrer Region ihre Ausbildung erfolgreich abgeschlossen. Die weitere Umsetzung des LEOP werde in den kommenden Jahren durch die Aufnahme der Ausbildung in den allgemeinen Lehrplan, sowie einige Spezialschulungen und durch die Kooperationen mit Ministerien und NROs erreicht, so dass in Kürze mindestens ein fortgebildeter Polizeibeamter in jedem Bezirk arbeitet. Darüber hinaus wurden im letzten Monat einige Zusatzartikel in das Strafgesetzbuch aufgenommen, die eine Definition von hassgeprägten Verbrechen liefern und den Strafenkatalog verschärfen. Ebenso seien alle Einheiten dazu verpflichtet, eine Datensammlung über Gewaltverbrechen, aber auch verdächtiges Musik- oder Filmmaterial, Graffitis u.ä. zu erstellen und Informationen untereinander auszutauschen. Dies solle zu einer verbesserten Verbrechensverhinderung und -verfolgung führen.

Antonio Arrabal Villalobos (Abteilung für Internationale polizeiliche Zusammenarbeit im Staatssekretariat für Sicherheitsfragen des spanischen Innenministeriums) stellte die seit März 2005 existierende enge Zusammenarbeit von Spanien mit der OSZE in der Aus- und Weiterbildung von Polizisten sowie die derzeitige Lage im Land vor. Hauptaugenmerk jedoch liegt auf dem Konzept des „good policing“, das eine Mischung aus der Stärkung von Demokratie und dem Schutz der Menschenrechte sowie Toleranz ist. Die Polizei habe dabei die wichtige Aufgabe, das Gesetz effektiv umzusetzen und vorbeugende Maßnahmen im Kampf gegen Rassismus und Diskriminierung zu ergreifen. In Reaktion auf die stetige und schnelle Veränderung der Bevölkerungen weltweit müsse die Polizei handlungsfähig sein. Das Ziel dabei bleibe, in den OSZE-Staaten eine Region der Toleranz zu schaffen.

David Friedman, amerikanischer Regionaldirektor und Koordinator der Anti-Defamation League (ADL) und Direktor der National Law Enforcement Initiative meinte, dass es von höchster Bedeutung sei, dass beispielsweise Polizisten in der Lage seien, antisemitische

Verbrechen auch als solche zu erkennen. Schnelligkeit sei der entscheidende Faktor bei der Strafverfolgung. Je länger eine effektive Handlung der Polizei oder Staatsanwaltschaft dauere, desto größer würde der Schmerz der Opfer und parallel dazu würde das Vertrauen in Justiz und Polizei sinken. Daher sei eine wechselseitige Beziehung zwischen Gesellschaft und Strafverfolgungsorganen sehr wichtig; die Polizei müsse jüdische Gemeinden ebenso sehr verstehen und begreifen, wie jüdische Gemeinden die polizeiliche Arbeit. Da hassgeprägte Verbrechen von Natur aus unterschiedlich seien, gebe es auch kein universal wirkendes Modell.

Moderator **Michael Whine** stellte in knappen Worten die Sicherheitsberatung für jüdische Gemeinden seines britischen CST vor. Dabei werde stets eng mit der Regierung und Strafverfolgungsorganen gearbeitet. Die von dem CST entwickelte Datenbank über antisemitische Verbrechen sei zuverlässiger als die der Polizei, so dass diese nun um eine Mithilfe bei der Erstellung einer eigenen Datensammlung gebeten habe. Darüber hinaus würden Opfer von hassgeprägten Verbrechen betreut und unterstützt. Seit kurzem sei die britische Regierung auch offener in Bezug auf eine Zusammenarbeit und einen Dialog mit NROs geworden, so dass der CST bereits heutzutage in die Formulierung von Gesetzen mit Bezug auf Religionen eingebunden ist. Mitglieder des Trusts seien unabhängige Berater in Gerichten, im Polizeiforum über hassgeprägte Verbrechen. Aufgrund des erstaunlichen Erfolges in der Durchsetzung seiner Ziele habe die Polizei den CST gebeten, auch andere Gemeinden wie beispielsweise Hindus oder Moslems in Bezug auf Sicherheitsaspekte zu schulen.

In der offenen Diskussionsrunde beklagte ein NRO-Mitglied aus der Ukraine, dass NROs zwar großes Interesse an einer engen Zusammenarbeit mit staatlichen Strafverfolgungsinstitutionen haben, letztere jedoch leider nicht. Auch der Versuch, ein adäquates Datennetz aufzubauen und effektiv dem Antisemitismus entgegenzuwirken, sei bisher gescheitert, da dies Aufgabe des Staates und seiner Organe sei. Er fragte daher, wie man die von den Referenten beschriebene Zusammenarbeit von staatlichen und zivilen Organisationen praktisch umsetzen könne.

Paul Goldenberg antwortete, dass in den vergangenen sechs Monaten Treffen mit NROs und der Polizei auf hoher Ebene stattgefunden haben und im Rahmen des LEOP vier Leute im hohen Staatsdienst bereits ausgebildet wurden und weitere derartige Ausbildungen geplant seien. Dennoch sei die Situation sicherlich verbesserungswürdig, aber ein erster Schritt sei gemacht.

Sonja Biserko vom *Helsinki Committee* beschrieb kurz die Situation des Antisemitismus in Serbien. Aufgrund der Radikalisierung der Politik in den 1980er Jahren sei Serbien ein Sonderfall, der im Ausland wenig bemerkt wird, welches aber gefährliche Ausmaße annehmen könne. Antisemitismus sei ein Teil des Nationalstolzes, was sich auf die Unfähigkeit der Gesellschaft, die Vergangenheit und insbesondere den Zweiten Weltkrieg zu bewältigen und auf eine rechtsradikale Auslegung der Kirche und einiger politischer Parteien zurückzuführen sei. Rassistische sowie antisemitische Vorfälle seien gerade auch in der Jugend verbreitet, doch auf offizieller Ebene wurde durch die Regierung wenig gehandelt und Programme, die seit 2003 hin und wieder veranstaltet werden, zeigen lediglich geringen Erfolg. So lange der Oberste Gerichtshof nicht auch als moralische Instanz von der Gesellschaft anerkannt werde, werde sich auch wenig ändern. **Paul Goldenberg** wies kurz darauf hin, dass bei einer kommenden Konferenz in Paris über polizeiliche Ausbildung gesprochen werde, woran auch serbische Vertreter teilnehmen und zugesagt haben, im ganzen Land Polizisten dementsprechend auszubilden.

Azay Quliyev, Delegierter der OSZE PV aus Aserbaidschan, stellte zwei direkte Fragen an die Panelmitglieder. Erstens, wie könnten andere Staaten und ausländische Organisationen besser in den nationalen Aufbau eines solchen Ausbildungssystems eingebunden werden und

zweitens, wie könne man die Rolle der zivilen Organisationen und der Zivilgesellschaft allgemein verstärken?

Michael Whine bemerkte, dass solche Schulungen bereits von ODIHR geplant seien und **David Friedman** fuhr fort, dass der Erfolg der Bekämpfung des Antisemitismus vom politischen Willen der Regierung abhängig sei. Vor 25 Jahren haben in den USA auch noch Gesetze über den Umgang und die Ahndung von hassgeprägten Verbrechen gefehlt. Doch es sei wichtig, dass lokale NROs durchhielten und ständig für eine Verbesserung der Situation kämpften.

Rafal Pankowski von der Never Again Association aus Polen warf ein, wie man der Internationalisierung von Hass-Netzwerken entgegenwirken könne. **Paul Goldenberg** bestätigte, dass Hass keine Grenzen habe und befürwortete daher eine neue und umfassende Datenbank für viele Organisationen, die beispielsweise auch Informationen über Musik und sog. Hass-Konzerte enthalte. Musik sei seiner Ansicht nach ein nicht zu unterschätzendes Medium, um Hass zu verbreiten und zu akzeptieren. Daher solle auch in diesem Bezug der Kontakt zur Strafverfolgung verbessert werden.

Auch **Prof. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB**, bemerkte, dass Neonazis und Antisemiten sich weltweit vernetzen. Deutschland versuche, Schritt für Schritt nationale Gesetze an die Regelungen der OSZE anzugleichen und fordere transnational eine bessere Abstimmung. Das Problem sei erkannt, nun müsse noch adäquat gehandelt werden.

Michael Whine nannte darüber hinaus noch Programme der EU und Europol zur Bekämpfung von grenzüberschreitenden Verbrechen. Ein Muster-Beispiel für eher bi- als multilaterale Zusammenarbeit sei der Informationsaustausch über Fußball-Hooligans. Das Hauptmedium für die Verbreitung von Hass sei aber seit einigen Jahren das Internet, worauf NROs sowie Polizei noch effektiver reagieren müssen. Hierbei fehle es leider in einigen Ländern an politischem Willen.

Vortrag von Dr. Charles Asher Small: Antisemitismus in Europa: vorhersehbar aufgrund israelfeindlicher Stimmungen

Dr. Charles Asher Small (Direktor der Yale Initiative für Interdisziplinäre Studien über Antisemitismus der Yale Universität in den USA) stellte die Ergebnisse seiner Studie „Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Antisemitism in Europe“ vor. Darin wird insbesondere die Korrelation zwischen Anti-Israel Sentiments und Antisemitismus betont. Small argumentiert, dass die Globalisierung ein Prozess sei, der auf der einen Seite Leute verbinde, auf der anderen Seite Bevölkerungsgruppen jedoch auch voneinander trenne. Die einsetzende Schwächung der Staatlichkeit in vielen Ländern schreite immer weiter voran und das sog. „politische Vakuum“, das früher vom Staat besetzt wurde, werde nun von zivilen Organisationen gefüllt. Dies gelte insbesondere im Zusammenhang der sozialen Absicherung eines sich immer mehr zurückziehenden Wohlfahrtsstaates.

Im Zuge dieser „social movements“ und postmoderner Demokratie sei der Begriff der Toleranz von höchster Wichtigkeit. Toleranz bedeute im klassischen Sinne, sich selbst als Spiegelbild des Anderen zu betrachten. Radikaler Islamismus und die fortschreitende Islamisierung, die beide nicht mit der Religion der Muslime verwechselt werden dürfen, sei eine Bedrohung nicht nur für Juden, sondern ebenso sehr für die Werte der modernen Welt. Als Beispiele für diese Bedrohung führt Small die Hamas sowie den iranischen Präsidenten Ahmadi-nejad auf und liefert Zitate, die diese Bedrohung belegen. Beide, die palästinensische Organisation ebenso sehr wie der iranische Präsident, riefen wiederholt öffentlich zur Zerstörung des Staates Israels und der Tötung von Juden auf. Daher dürfe man nicht wegsehen oder diese

Bedrohung als nicht existent oder nicht umsetzbar einschätzen, sondern sich vielmehr informieren, welche Ziele die Hamas und ähnliche Gruppen verfolgen.

Antisemitismus sei jedoch kein neues Phänomen. Die Juden wurden in der (europäischen) Geschichte schon lange aufgrund ihrer religiösen Überzeugung und ethnischen Herkunft benachteiligt, diskriminiert oder verfolgt. „Die Juden“ wurden von verschiedenen Bereichen der Wissenschaft, wie beispielsweise Religion, Biologie, Philosophie und anderen generell als eine unterlegene und problematische Rasse eingestuft. Als Außenseiter im eigenen Heimatland entwickelten die Juden schließlich eine vergleichsweise starke Verbundenheit mit dem Staat Israel, die mittlerweile einen Teil der Identität eines Juden ausmache. Die Antisemitismus-Studie in Europa habe gezeigt, dass eine Dämonisierung des Staates Israel eine neue Art des Antisemitismus hervorbringe. Wenn Leute nun eine überzeugte anti-israelische Haltung eingenommen haben, so sei die Wahrscheinlichkeit um 56% größer, dass sie auch antisemitisch eingestellt seien. Erstaunlicherweise sei jedoch der Antisemitismus in Europa relativ wenig verbreitet. Ebenso paradox sei es, dass Anhänger der extremen Linken, die eigentlich Demokratie und Menschenrechte fördern sollten, zu Israel eine eher autokratische Einstellung einnehmen.

Wie zuvor schon erwähnt, sei das jüdische Identitätsgefühl eng mit dem Staat Israel verbunden. Die größte momentane Bedrohung gehe von Iran und der „Koalition der nuklearen Waffen“ aus. Die Zitate des iranischen Präsidenten Ahmadinejad seien keine Aussagen eines verrückten Mannes, sondern lägen der Überzeugung der Imame und anderer zugrunde. Dies sei kein Feind mit einer klaren politischen Agenda. Die Geschichte habe aber gezeigt, dass es fatale Auswirkung habe, wenn man die Zeichen nicht richtig deute und rechtzeitig handeln würde. Die Zeichen seien offensichtlich, daher bestünde nun auch Handlungsbedarf. Eine Möglichkeit wäre beispielsweise eine Resolution der Versammlung über Völkermordsverbrechen und Empfehlungen für Länder und deren Regierungen.

In der anschließenden Diskussionsrunde griff **Prof. Dr. Micha Brumlik** (Universität Frankfurt) das Problem und den Ursprung des europäischen Antisemitismus auf. Zuerst einmal sei dies natürlich ein sehr komplexes Phänomen. Eine vor kurzem in Deutschland durchgeführte Umfrage ergab, dass 60% der Befragten der Äußerung zustimmten, „das, was die Juden mit den Palästinenser machten, sei das Gleiche, wie die Nazis mit den Juden“. Dies sei eine neue, eine kalte und passive Art des Antisemitismus, da die Bevölkerung Israel seine Solidarität langsam, jedoch stetig entziehe; er nennt dies auch „die Gleichgültigkeit der Mitte“. Er glaube nicht daran, dass die viel diskutierte Schuldfrage bei den Medien liege. Es gebe nun einmal ein übermäßiges Interesse an Israel in Deutschland aufgrund der jüngeren Vergangenheit. Vielmehr müsse darauf geachtet werden, Antisemitismus nicht nur in einzelnen Gesellschaftsschichten oder politischen Gruppierungen zu suchen, sondern die gesamte Bevölkerung anzusprechen.

Doris Barnett, MdB, äußerte sich betroffen von den von Small vorgestellten Ergebnissen und sah ebenfalls aktuell eine konkrete Gefahr für den Staat Israel. Das Problem sei, dass nur wenige in Europa Arabisch verstünden. Durch die Übersetzungen ginge wahrscheinlich viel Inhalt verloren. Darüber hinaus empfinde sie es als wichtig, ein richtiges Bild vom Islam als Religion sowie den Fundamentalisten zu haben. Sie widerspräche allerdings Prof. Dr. Brumlik und denke, dass Medien aufgrund der Auswahl der gezeigten Bilder und deren Kommentare durchaus eine Macht der Manipulation haben. Dabei denke sie mit Grauen an einen möglichen europäischen Fernsehsender der Al Qaida.

Maciej Kozłowski aus Polen fragte, warum keine Studien in Mitteleuropa durchgeführt wurden. Der moderne Antisemitismus in Polen sei vielmehr gegen Israel und die gesamte Lage im Nahen Osten gerichtet, es bestünde daher keine Korrelation zwischen traditionellem und modernem Antisemitismus. Auf politischer Ebene habe Polen sehr gute Beziehungen mit Is-

rael und setze sich regelmäßig für den Staat ein. Das Problem sei jedoch bereits im internationalen Diskurs zu finden, bei dem eine Sprache benutzt werde, derer sich Extremisten bedienen; Beispiel: Israel übt Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit aus.

Andrew Baker (American Jewish Committee - AJC) warf ein, dass es keine Überraschung sei, dass Anti-Israelismus in Antisemitismus umschlage. Darüber hinaus fügte er hinzu, dass die Bedrohung für den Staat Israel und die Juden von allen anerkannt werde.

Dr. Charles Asher Small betonte noch einmal, dass momentan eine Umwandlung stattfinde. Das Vakuum der schwachen Staatlichkeit werde nun durch Islamismus gefüllt und führe zu dieser modernen Form des Antisemitismus.

Der Abgeordnete des britischen Unterhauses **Dr. Denis MacShane, MP**, bemerkte, man müsse trotz allem das Recht verteidigen, Israel auch kritisieren zu dürfen. Der Glaube sei ein sehr mächtiges Instrument, worauf es zu achten gelte und man müsse zu allen religiösen Fundamentalisten sagen „zurück in deine Kiste“. Der Iran von heute sei jedoch keineswegs Nazi-Deutschland, solche Vergleiche seien gefährlich. Natürlich sei Präsident Ahmadinejad verrückt, jedoch sollte man niemanden dämonisieren. Er plädiere für eine politische Lösung des Konflikts.

Dr. Charles Asher Small entgegnete, er würde keineswegs den Iran dämonisieren und vielmehr die Geschichte, Kultur und Bevölkerung bewundern, aber er würde jene verurteilen, die vom Völkermord sprächen.

Henrik Bachner aus Schweden beklagte die irrationale Auffassung über Juden. Antisemitische Ideen und Gedankengut würden mehr und mehr akzeptiert, jedoch nicht verstanden. So würden die Juden auch verbreitet als Ursprung des Terrorismus und der Spaltung des Nahen Ostens vom Westen gesehen. Es gebe jedoch auch hier keine universell anwendbare Lösung, da in jedem Land die Verhältnisse unterschiedlich seien.

Prof. Dr. Micha Brumlik griff Dr. MacShanes Aussage auf und meinte, niemand würde den Iran mit Nazi-Deutschland gleichsetzen. Jedoch sei höchste Aufmerksamkeit geboten, da Ahmadinejad der erste Staatsmann seit Hitler sei, der öffentlich plant, Juden töten zu lassen. Solche Aussagen müssten ernst genommen und die Probleme gelöst werden.

Als Vertreterin der Nachkriegsgeneration setzte sich **Marieluise Beck, MdB**, intensiv mit den Taten der Vater-Generation auseinander. In irgendeiner Form müsse man die Aussagen des iranischen Präsidenten bewerten; dieses könne jedoch zwischen „kann man nicht ernst nehmen“ und „wird ernst genommen, aber man weiß nicht, was zu tun sei“ liegen. Wirtschaftliche und politische Sanktionen haben am Beispiel des Irak gezeigt, dass diese von autoritären Führern zu ihrem Nutzen verwendet werden und die Bevölkerung gegen jene, die die Sanktionen durchführen, aufhetzten. Ein Angriff sei noch weniger möglich und politische Diplomatie habe bisher keinen nennenswerten Erfolg gebracht.

Prof. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB, betonte, dass sich alle auf eine gemeinsame politische Linie einigen müssten. Man müsste herausfinden, wie sich die Staatenwelt verhalten solle. Ein wichtiger Punkt sei die Förderung von zivilem Engagement. Er bedankte sich bei Small für die „schnörkellose und brutale“ Schilderung des Problems und nannte die neueste Studie der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, die die Bedrohung bestätigt, dass der Antisemitismus in der Mitte der Gesellschaft Fuß fasst.

PANEL 3: Erziehung

In diesem Panel wurden die unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen an das Thema Antisemitismus in Schulen diskutiert und analysiert. Dabei ging es sowohl um die eingesetzten Lehrmaterialien als auch um die Rolle der Lehrenden und deren Ausbildung.

Dr. Kathrin Meyer (ODIHR) und **Karen Polak** (Anne-Frank-Haus) stellten ein gemeinsames Programm für Unterrichtsmaterialien vor. Antisemitismus werde in der OSZE-Region als Sicherheitsrisiko wahrgenommen. Daher hätten die Teilnehmerstaaten Programme gegen Antisemitismus beschlossen und sich zum Gedenken an den Holocaust verpflichtet. Diese Erziehung sei wichtig, aber nicht ausreichend. Eine Untersuchung des Europäischen Jüdischen Kongresses (EJC) besage, dass antisemitische Tendenzen innerhalb der EU zunehmen, obwohl alle Länder Holocaust-Erziehungsprogramme haben. Die vom ODIHR und dem Anne-Frank-Haus vorbereiteten Lehrmaterialien stehen allen OSZE-Teilnehmerstaaten zur Verfügung. Entscheidend sei die Umsetzung und Anwendung der zur Verfügung stehenden Möglichkeiten. Diese sei deshalb noch nicht zufrieden stellend, auch weil das Bewusstsein über die Notwendigkeit von Unterricht zum Thema Antisemitismus in vielen Ländern wenig ausgeprägt sei. Außerdem fehle es an nachhaltiger Lehrer-Ausbildung zu diesem Thema.

Karen Polak verwies auf die vielfältigen Strategien, die zum Thema Antisemitismus-Bildung existieren und unterstrich, dass es bei solch einem Thema sicherlich keine perfekte Lösung gebe. Deshalb müsse diese Vielfältigkeit auch erhalten bleiben. Bei der Auswahl der Lehrmittel müsse man sich auf die gesellschaftliche Mitte der Schüler konzentrieren, um möglichst viele Menschen zu erreichen.

Viele Menschen würden mit dem Begriff „Juden“ oder „Antisemitismus“ hauptsächlich den Holocaust verbinden; hier müsse angesetzt werden, in dem beispielsweise die vielfältige jüdische Geschichte in Europa in den Unterricht integriert wird. Dass Antisemitismus-Aufklärung in den Schulen eher ein Schatten-Dasein friste, hänge auch damit zusammen, dass viele Lehrer solch einen Unterricht – durch die dadurch verbundenen notwendigen Fortbildungen – als zusätzliche Belastung empfinden würden. Hier müssten die Rahmenbedingungen verbessert werden, in dem zum Beispiel der Antisemitismus nicht nur im Fach Geschichte auf dem Lehrplan stehe, sondern darüber hinaus auch in Fächern wie Sozialwissenschaften, Politik, u.ä. thematisiert wird. Hilfreich wäre es außerdem, prominente Fürsprecher für dieses Thema zu finden. Auf diese Weise könnte man in der Lehrerschaft mehr Personen dazu bewegen, sich freiwillig mit dieser Materie zu beschäftigen. Abschließend müsse im Unterricht nicht nur erklärt werden, *was* Antisemitismus sei, sondern auch *wie* man darauf reagiere. Insgesamt habe das Anne-Frank-Haus positive Erfahrungen gesammelt. Diese gelte es, nun auszuweiten und zu vertiefen.

Dr. Andras Kovacs verwies in seinem Beitrag auf eine soziologische Erhebung in Ungarn, nach der der Bildungsstand einer Person in keinem direkten Zusammenhang mit möglichen antisemitischen Tendenzen stehe. Vielmehr seien oft die Leute mit viel Wissen über Antisemitismus und den Holocaust eher antisemitisch eingestellt. Dieses Problem hänge auch mit einem falschen Lehrplan zusammen. Darüber hinaus habe die Studie ergeben, dass in der Bevölkerung Ungarns zwei Grundtendenzen im Denken über Juden existieren würden. Erstens fände es die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung wichtig, Gedenktage an den Holocaust aufrecht zu erhalten. Zweitens würde aber ebenfalls eine Mehrheit empfinden, dass die Juden ihre „Opferrolle“ unverhältnismäßig ausnutzen würden. Diese Tendenzen müssten genauer untersucht werden.

Im Anschluss benannte er Grundprobleme beim Kampf gegen Antisemitismus:

- der Antisemitismus ist der älteste Hass auf eine bestimmte Gruppe der Menschheit; es gibt dadurch ein Kontinuitätsproblem

- Antisemitismus existiert weltweit, sogar in Ländern, in denen gar keine Juden leben
- Die Rolle der Juden in der europäischen Geschichte, da sich dargestellte jüdische Geschichte zu sehr auf die Zeit von 1933-1945 konzentriert
- die aktuelle Generation, die über keine eigenen Erfahrungen mit Judenverfolgung verfügt und deshalb dem Problem keine große Relevanz einräumt.

Karen Polak griff Beispiele aus der aktuellen Generation auf und unterstrich, dass hier auch erste Erfolge bei der Vermittlung des neuen Lehrstoffes ausgemacht werden könnten, da junge Menschen mit dem Begriff Juden inzwischen vermehrt Israel und weniger Holocaust assoziieren würden.

Juliane Wetzel betonte, dass die Unterrichtung der jüdischen Geschichte nicht ausreichend sei, um vor Antisemitismus zu schützen. Außerdem sei Antisemitismus eine Erscheinung, die sich nicht gegen den einzelnen Juden, sondern gegen das ganze Kollektiv richten würde.

In der anschließenden Diskussion erinnerte **Georg Heuberger** von der Claims Conference an die Eröffnungsrede von Wolfgang Thierse, in der dieser betonte, dass es wichtig sei, die Erinnerungen des Holocaust konsequent an die nachfolgenden Generationen weiter zu geben. Dabei seien zwei Aspekte wichtig: Erstens müsse klar gemacht werden, dass es sich im Dritten Reich um einen Zivilisationsbruch gehandelt habe und zweitens müsse auch darüber nachgedacht werden, *wie* Erinnerung transportiert werde und die didaktischen Mittel müssten dementsprechend angepasst werden. In den Schulbüchern würden die Juden grundsätzlich in einer Opferrolle präsentiert, ihre wichtigen Beiträge zu Kultur, Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft würden nicht erwähnt. Hier läge auch eine wichtige Aufgabe bei den Lehrern, die eben diese Wahrnehmung verändern müssten.

Shani Rozanes vom World Jewish Congress (WJC) betonte die Wichtigkeit von anderen Medien bei der Bildungsarbeit. Zu viele junge Menschen würden nichts mehr mit dem Begriff Holocaust verbinden. **Josef Zissels** vom Congress of National Communities of Ukraine bemängelte, dass es bei vielen Antisemitismuskonferenzen zu wenige zählbare Ergebnisse gäbe. Deshalb fände er den Beitrag von Andras Kovacs auch sehr gut, da dieser auch einmal kritische Töne habe verlauten lassen. Er regte an, dass bei einem nächsten Meeting auch Sozialpsychologen eingeladen werden könnten, die über die Entstehung des Antisemitismus in der Gesellschaft berichten könnten. In der Ukraine nähmen antisemitische Veröffentlichungen in Fachblättern wie auch Gewalttaten gegen Juden beständig zu. Bei der Bekämpfung dieses Phänomens müsste aber auch mehr auf die unterschiedlichen Mentalitäten in Russland und der EU geachtet werden.

Dr. Andras Kovacs antwortete, dass in Tschechien ähnliche Erfahrungen mit dem Antisemitismus und seiner Bekämpfung gemacht worden seien wie in Deutschland. Problematisch sei die Umstellung des Unterrichts in den ehemaligen Sowjetstaaten: da sei man jetzt in einer Übergangsphase. Auf seine Frage, wer die verschiedenen Lehrmethoden umsetzt, antwortete **Dr. Kathrin Meyer**, dass eng mit den jeweiligen Bildungsministerien zusammengearbeitet werden würde.

Vortrag von Mark Weitzman, Simon-Wiesenthal-Center „Hate on the Internet: the situation based on the Simon Wiesenthal’s recent electronic report“, Digital Hate and Terrorism 2006

Mark Weitzman ging auf den Antisemitismus in digitaler Form ein. Als Beispiel nannte er eine Reihe von Websites. Die digitale Technik stelle dabei einen neuen Faktor in Hinblick auf die technologischen Möglichkeiten und die Verbreitung dar. Als Grundfaktor sei festzustellen, dass nun ein größeres Publikum grenzüberschreitend und so schnell und kostengünstig er-

reicht werde, wie es bislang nicht möglich war. Das alles zeige sich in einer wachsenden Zahl von Hass-Seiten. Er nannte Spiele, die unter den Namen „Selbstmordbomber“, „Ethnische Säuberung“ oder „KZ-Manager“ verbreitet werden. Die Technologie finde auch leichter den Weg zu einer jungen Zielgruppe. Gewalt werde als Lösung propagiert und die Ziele werden entmenschlicht. Durch die Entmenschlichung des Opfers in solchen Spielen werde eine Generation von Nutzern herangezogen, die dieses modellhaft verinnerliche. Man müsse sich über diese Aspekte des Internet bewusst werden und auch selbst agieren.

Abschlussitzung: Ergebnisse aus den Diskussionsrunden

Andrew Baker (American Jewish Committee - AJC) erinnerte, dass der Ministerrat der OSZE vor vier Jahren die erste Antisemitismuskonferenz in Wien beschlossen habe. Ein enormer Anstieg der Taten sei zu verzeichnen gewesen. Wichtig sei dabei auch die Anerkennung solcher Taten als antisemitische Straftaten gewesen und nicht lediglich als Sachbeschädigung oder Körperverletzung.

Ein Kernaspekt im Zusammenhang mit dem Antisemitismus sei der Umgang mit dem Nahost-Konflikt. Die Berliner Erklärung von 2004 habe ODIHR ein neues Mandat gegeben. Man habe sich um Sonderbeauftragte bemüht, was im Fall des Antisemitismus nun von Gert Weisskirchen erfolgreich wahrgenommen werde und der Thematik höhere Aufmerksamkeit gebe. Auch dies sei aber nicht unumstritten; manche sehen hierin eine Hierarchie der Diskriminierungen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Konferenz sollten dem Vorsitz zugeleitet werden, damit sie 2007 berücksichtigt werden könne n.

Prof. Gert Weisskirchen, MdB, nannte die OSZE ein schweres Schiff, das im Konsens agieren müsse. Wenn das Schiff einmal Fahrt aufgenommen hätte, produziere es gute Ergebnisse. ODIHR habe im Bereich Erziehung und Polizeitraining erfolgreiche Arbeit geleistet. Der Antisemitismus sei nicht überwunden, sondern komme in neuer Gestalt. Er wünsche sich mehr Handlungsspielraum für Aktivitäten. Im Bereich Gesetzesvollzug und Erziehung sei man auf gutem Wege; nun sei die Umsetzung wichtig. 2006 habe unvollkommene Ergebnisse gebracht; manche Länder hätten gut, viele zurückhaltend und einige gar nicht reagiert. Die Probleme lägen nicht auf der politischen Führungsebene, sondern auf zwei anderen Ebenen. Die Umsetzung des politischen Willens bis hin in die Behördenstrukturen sei wichtig; noch wichtiger sei aber die erfolgreiche Einbeziehung der Zivilgesellschaft. Leider gäbe es ein Wiedererstarken von antisemitischen Äußerungen, so dass der Kampf verstärkt werden müsse. Er wolle im kommenden Jahr Akzente setzen, sowohl sektoral als auch regional. Zum Beispiel sollte ein Blick auf die Akademische Welt und auf die Medien gerichtet werden. Ein selbstverpflichtender Kodex könnte von und für Journalisten entwickelt werden. Ferner sollten bestimmte Länder, insbesondere Russland, in den Fokus genommen werden. Weisskirchen verwies nochmals auf die Studie der Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, die bestätigte, dass in Deutschland knapp zehn Prozent der Bevölkerung ein geschlossenes rechtsextremes Weltbild haben. Er begrüßte den Vorschlag des künftigen OSZE-Vorsitzenden, des spanischen Außenministers Moratinos, eine Konferenz zum Thema Islamophobie durchzuführen. Zusätzlich sollte in einem der Maghreb-Staaten aber auch eine Konferenz zur Problematik des Antisemitismus in dieser Region in 2007 stattfinden.

3. Summary of the Expert Meeting

Britta Hanke-Giesers, Inga Immel, Anna Weiland, Philip Wüst

Opening Speech

Wolfgang Thierse, MP, (Vice-President of the German Bundestag) opened the Expert Meeting on Best Practices in Combating Antisemitism. In Germany, said Thierse, overcoming Antisemitism has become part of the *raison d'être* of our body politic. Yet despite all the efforts to confront it, Antisemitism has still not been overcome. The problem continues to exist despite awareness-raising, the preservation of memorial sites and other measures.

The Federal Republic of Germany has established the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin in remembrance of the crimes committed in the past. This decision by the German Bundestag demonstrates that Parliament is fully committed to its responsibility. Dramatic changes such as globalization, demographic change and technological and economic developments have played a part in heightening people's susceptibility to simplistic solutions. Some people are also using the conflict in the Middle East to generate antisemitic hate.

A generational change is about to take place and it is uncertain how future generations will deal with the task of remembrance. They may opt for different forms of remembering, but they must be given a chance to engage with the remembrance process. Handing on the task of remembering is therefore an important educational and political challenge which the OSCE is addressing.

Senator Pierre Chevalier (Special Envoy of the OSCE Chairmanship) expressed his thanks for the invitation to the Conference. If one were to visit the venues of the previous Antisemitism conferences – Vienna, Berlin, Cordoba, Paris etc. – one would see evidence of the Jewish contribution to these countries' societies. Yet at the same time, these are places where Jews have suffered. It is worrying that conferences like today's are needed at all. The OSCE has recognised Antisemitism as a major threat to freedom and security, and so ODIHR has set up appropriate structures and launched a Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Programme. ODIHR and the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam have developed teaching materials that deal with various aspects of Antisemitism. The OSCE has appointed Special Envoys in order to drive the issues forward and a Task Force on Antisemitism and other forms of intolerance has been set up. The Chairmanship has called for more cooperation among the Special Envoys and with ODIHR. Chevalier underlined the role of education and capacity-building as well as the importance of the legal framework and partnership with civil society. A further conference on Antisemitism will take place in 2007.

Jean-Yves Camus (Institute for International and Strategic Relations (IRIS) in France) spoke about "Trends in Antisemitism". According to Camus, there is a new dimension to Antisemitism – Holocaust denial. This is influencing public opinion in a different way from in the 1980s. If the Holocaust had not taken place, there would be no justification for compensation payments. This would call everything into question. The war in Lebanon in the 1980s is the second aspect informing the current situation. Israel was equated with Nazism and the Jews were cast as the perpetrators, not the victims. As a result, the number of antisemitic articles in the press increased, although there were still no antisemitic crimes at first. Later, Antisemitism emerged on the far Left as well, and all of this has created the framework for the current climate. The new aspect now is that Antisemitism is no longer purely theoretical, and that attacks and outrages are on the increase. The State of Israel is treated differently from other states in that its right to exist is called into question. Since 2000, an extremely high number of violent incidents has occurred. Antizionism and Antisemitism are joining forces in new and unholy political alliances; suddenly, the far Left and the Islamists have common

goals. Camus pointed out that double standards are often applied, with Hezbollah often being portrayed in the news as the victim of attacks. Young people, especially of Arab descent, in Europe are growing up with this perception. At the same time, the extreme right is represented in the party-political landscape and in parliaments and there has been no response from civil society.

The **ensuing discussion** explored whether the new Antisemitism conforms to old patterns (as suggested by Juliane Wetzel, TU Berlin). A further question was how the situation could be defused. Denis McShane MP (United Kingdom) drew attention to the trivialization and relativization of the Holocaust through comparisons with other crimes. Professor Hart stressed that a lack of knowledge about Jewish life and history, culture, etc. also contributes to Antisemitism.

PANEL 1: Intelligence gathering

After the delegates were welcomed by **Prof Gert Weisskirchen, MP**, the first guest speaker, **Dr Denis MacShane, MP**, took the floor. He gave a comprehensive account of the activities being undertaken by the British Parliament to deal with the issues of Antisemitism and racism. The main focus is on gathering intelligence and information on antisemitic attacks and crimes. What is especially worrying, according to MacShane, is that scientific data are not available to the extent that is necessary. For example, MacShane drew attention to the failure of some police forces to collate statistics and monitor anti-Jewish incidents. The British Government spends a great deal of money on security and other measures to protect Jewish communities. However, it is not only the Jewish communities which are targeted: hate against Muslim communities and Islamophobia are also on the rise, and are increasingly finding expression in the press and media. He described the growing Antisemitism that has been discernible in recent years as a resurgent phenomenon which unites many different ideological viewpoints, such as an anti-Western stance, the rejection of the rule of law, contempt for Western values, and resistance to monotheistic religions, which emanates from a number of fundamentalist religious groups. It is also apparent that there is now a broader framework for antisemitic attitudes which goes beyond the originally primitive accusations and has now reached a more sophisticated level. The British Government has responded promptly and effectively to all these developments and has also studied in detail the Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism. In its conclusions, the report highlighted the need to sensitise the police to attacks with an antisemitic background and impose limits on the public dissemination on the Internet and other media of material aimed at stirring up race hate and Antisemitism, which is mainly produced by individuals and groups from the Arab and other countries. The Internet is the main tool for the distribution of antisemitic material. Unfortunately, the USA has so far refused to accept this fact or that joint action must be taken in this area. MacShane emphasised that the British Parliament's report is available to everyone.

The second speaker during the morning session was **Ambassador Jacques Huntzinger** from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was invited to give a report on intelligence and information gathering on incidents with an antisemitic background in France. As his first point, the Ambassador stressed that intelligence gathering must include everything that relates to Antisemitism. Secondly, it is important to remember that this phenomenon can only be combated successfully if the government and society have a good monitoring system in place as well as effective intelligence gathering on all antisemitic incidents. This is the starting point for every other activity. In 2001 and 2001, the French people were confronted with the fact that Antisemitism was resurfacing. This prompted a debate across the whole of society, which culminated in 2002 with an agreement to set up a best practice system. Many countries have now adopted the French approach as a model for their own institutions.

The background in 2002 was that Jewish associations such as the Representative Council of the Jews of France (CRIF) and others had protested vociferously to the Ministry of the Interior after a steady increase in the number of antisemitic incidents. From 2002, when there were between 150 and 200 incidents, there was a sharp rise to 500 in 2003, peaking at 1000 in 2004. In 2005, between 600 and 700 incidents were recorded. The soaring number of incidents from 2002 to 2003 and then 2004 could be attributed to a new form of Antisemitism, mainly emanating from migrant communities from North Africa and the countries of the Maghreb which strongly identify with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This conflict triggered a powerful polemic. Many Jewish institutions called for monitoring systems or established systems of their own. The Ministry of the Interior initially rejected the figures presented by the Jewish communities and simply kept track of the number of incidents at first. However, in 2003, it made a targeted effort to establish a monitoring and intelligence gathering system. Its main principle is to improve coordination between the various actors such as the Jewish communities, Jewish institutions and the government ministries. The second key principle is information sharing among these actors. This takes place via a permanent commission working at both national and regional level. An interministerial coordination unit has been set up by the Ministries of the Interior, Education and Justice Ministries because attacks with an antisemitic background initially fall within these ministries' responsibility: the Ministry of the Interior if such incidents occur in the public arena, e.g. on streets or in public buildings; the Education Ministry if they occur in schools or educational facilities, and the Justice Ministry if the incidents are criminal offences and are reported to the police. As regards information sharing, it is important to have a monitoring unit which records the total number of attacks, preferably in the immediate locality, and then passes this information to the higher authorities as quickly as possible. These units jointly decide on the priorities to be set for preventing and combating Antisemitism. To this end, specialized software has been developed in the ministries, which is working very well. The details are collected from the victims by the police and passed on to the Ministry of the Interior. The Education Ministry's task is to monitor incidents in all sensitive areas of the school system and academies via their governing bodies.

Of course, the French system is not perfect, but every effort is made to continuously improve this system. Key issues in this context are, firstly, establishing the facts; secondly, raising awareness, especially as regards the trivialization of verbal defamations; thirdly, monitoring and prosecuting excesses in the press and audiovisual media; and fourthly, increasing the penalties for violent acts and assaults motivated by Antisemitism. This latter point poses the greatest difficulties, however, as a clear definition of Antisemitism does not exist; in the case of criminal offences, for example, it is up to the individual judge to use his discretion to interpret the underlying motives for the crime. The Lellouche Law in France now provides, *inter alia*, for much stricter penalties for attacks and other crimes committed with an antisemitic motive, but many judges have been hesitant to say whether individual acts are antisemitic or whether it is a question of freedom of speech, and the line between Antizionism and Antisemitism is becoming increasingly blurred, although Antizionism is not a criminal offence. In a number of trials, judges have refused to recognise an antisemitic motive. The Ministry of the Interior has now issued instructions to the General Prosecution Service to ensure that the Lellouche Law is applied more stringently. Unfortunately, verbal Antisemitism is becoming more and prevalent and is also being increasingly trivialized, the result being fewer convictions. France's press law, which deals with freedom of opinion, dates back to the 1930s and should be amended to take account of the new situation, e.g. by extending it to hate crime and crimes with an antisemitic background. It is also difficult to establish a monitoring system for the media.

Dr Esther Webman (Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism at the University of Tel Aviv, Israel) gave a short report which she had compiled on the topic "European Efforts to Combat Antisemitism from the Arab Perspective". She described the work of the Stephen Roth Institute in Tel Aviv – an academic institute at Tel Aviv University which monitors antisemitic manifestations worldwide, maintains a large ongoing database and publishes an annual journal consisting of country-by-country surveys, analytical articles and a book review section. Dr Webman's work is mainly to go over daily papers, weekly magazines and other publications. The Institute benefits from the work done in recent years by Israeli and Jewish organizations engaged in monitoring incidents of Antisemitism. Dr Webman presented in detail the Arab response to OSCE activities as well as to the US Antisemitism legislation and the anti-Israel mood in Europe, which in her view is not only important for an understanding of the Arab/Muslim position but for the future success of international efforts to combat Antisemitism and Holocaust denial.

Suspicion and criticism characterized the Arab reaction to the International Conference on Antisemitism held in Berlin in April 2004 under the auspices of the OSCE. By Arab reaction, Dr Webman meant the discourse that emerged in public debates in newspapers and in television programmes and not official reactions. The OSCE conference was described by Palestinians as a "sly distraction" aimed at diverting attention from Israel's behaviour toward them, with disproportionate comparisons being drawn; for example, the desecration of a Jewish grave in some French town was set against the destruction of an entire neighbourhood in Rafah. Dr Webman quoted various journals and TV appearances, especially by Jordanian academic George Haddad, and reactions by Egyptian journalists reporting from Berlin, who accused the conference of failing to deal with the negative attitude toward the Arab and Muslim communities in Europe. Likewise, the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust held in 2000 was presented as being aimed at forging history.

The adoption in the US of the Global Antisemitism Review Act as law in October 2004 also triggered strong opposition among Arab writers and commentators, the general tenor being that the Jews have taken over the legislative and executive authorities in the US and prompted it to prevent criticism of Israel. Although some of the writers conceded that Antisemitism is a dangerous phenomenon, they mainly considered the Arabs to be the victims. The rise of antisemitic manifestations in Europe and the attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions were generally perceived as part of a new European trend against the Jews, as if – it was suggested – the European street was waiting for a sign to express latent feelings toward the Jews. Voices expressing support for combating Antisemitism and Holocaust denial were rare. One of these was `Abd al-Rahman Rashid, the director general of al-`Arabiya satellite TV and former editor of a London-based Arabic newspaper, who has persistently pursued an anti-fascist line in his editorials, warning the Arabs against aligning themselves with antisemites and Holocaust deniers. In his view, the US law should be understood for what it is – a law for monitoring Antisemitism, and instead of condemning it, Arabs should encourage it and seek to expand it to include any incitement to racism against Muslims, blacks and other minorities. Protecting Jews should be the first step to protecting everyone, added an American writer of Arab descent. Another journalist stated that conferences and decisions will not eliminate Antisemitism; in his view, the only way is to deal with its causes and those are embedded in Israeli policies. Although Dr Webman rejected the view that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the cause of all evil, she doubted the efficiency of legislation to uproot antisemitic thinking and stereotypes and considered it extremely important to find ways to reach out to Arab and third world societies. For one thing is certain: we don't want to divide the world into two axes – one that is accused of Antisemitism and includes the Muslim world, Europe, Latin America and China, and one that opposes it, consisting only of Israel and the US.

Chairing the session, **Dr Kathrin Meyer** (Advisor on Antisemitism Issues, OSCE-ODIHR Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Programme in Warsaw, Poland) supplemented the guest speakers' contributions by providing an overview of the situation with regard to measures to combat Antisemitism and other forms of hate crime in the OSCE participating States. She explained that the ODIHR was tasked to undertake the monitoring of manifestations of Antisemitism. The task of collecting and maintaining reliable information and statistics arises from the Berlin Declaration adopted at the 2004 conference. 56 OSCE participating States have joined this initiative. In the years 2004-2005, the ODIHR sent five verbal notes to all participating states in order to obtain and collect information. 38 countries supplied the ODIHR with statistical information. Two weeks ago, an implementation meeting was held which drew attention to the hate crimes data deficit. However, close examination of the information received reveals that 46 participating States have nominated national points of contact on hate crimes. 33 OSCE participating States have nominated a ministry as a contact point on hate crimes, and some have even named specific departments, which deal specifically with these issues. Seven countries named public prosecutors or police units which serve as points of contact. Overall, only ten countries have named specialised bodies dealing with hate crimes and intolerance. Six participating States claimed that no attacks had occurred in their country – hence the lack of data. By contrast, Italy and the Czech Republic supplied particularly detailed data and information. Dr Meyer underlined the fact that overall, there is still a substantial data deficit, even though legal provisions on data collection are in place. However, these are not being implemented adequately, perhaps due to a lack of resources or staff training. It is also difficult to define hate crime and antisemitic attacks. It should be borne in mind that many incidents go unreported, notably those which are categorized as hooliganism. Dr Meyer added that there is also a lack of proper understanding and training of law enforcement officers.

In the ensuing discussion, **Georg Heuberger** (Jewish Claims Conference, JCC) asked Ambassador Huntzinger why action is only taken once a crisis or dramatic situation is developing, and why nothing is done on a continuous basis beforehand. He also asked why it is always up to the Jewish organizations to turn to the government for help. He spoke about the dividing line between freedom of opinion and criminality, and pointed out that in many cases, action is only taken once a judge has ruled that a criminal offence has occurred. In response, **Ambassador Jacques Huntzinger** pointed out that Antisemitism has developed and changed in an abrupt way. In 2001 and 2002, the crimes committed were directed against the usual targets such as cemeteries or Jewish institutions – which in France are decreasing in number. In 2003, however, there was an upsurge of Antisemitism in a different direction. This alarmed both the government and the general public. Young people from the suburbs – often imitating the intifada or simply for the thrill of violence – caused considerable unrest. After the presidential elections in France, the government was determined to implement a policy of prevention and to clamp down on Antisemitism. Responding to the question why the Jewish organizations are always the first to speak out, Huntzinger said that these institutions are directly affected, and are affected first, and so they report the incidents before anyone else may be aware of them. France has the world's third largest Jewish community after Israel and the USA, with around 700 000 members, but it also has a very large Muslim community. Jews, mainly from Eastern European countries, live in the same – often poor and run-down – districts as Arabs and immigrant communities from the Maghreb countries. Tensions arise and attacks occur. After the alarm bells sounded in France's government institutions, the cooperation between the judicial system and the police has progressed very smoothly. Data collection is also being undertaken by the police, head teachers and other agencies, although many of these incidents do not constitute criminal offences in the real sense. The dividing line between Antisemitism and Antizionism is not clear-cut. It is important not to confuse these two terms; both need to be precisely defined.

The delegate **David Hirsh** (University of London, founder of the "Engage" campaign) lamented the fact that in Great Britain, a common-sense approach to attacks and unacceptable behaviour is no longer being applied. Instead, a particular climate and type of debate have taken root and are accepted by society: for example, Israel is accused of apartheid and racist conduct. The law is powerless to change this situation; the only option is to influence people so that they understand the motives underlying these attitudes.

As the final speaker in the debate, **Roman Spektor** (President of a Jewish federation in Russia) asked why no Russian delegates and very few OSCE representatives were attending this second meeting in Berlin. He pointed out that there is now a greater focus on Antisemitism in Russia, but that Antisemitism is still on the increase and more and more antisemitic crimes are being committed. As a means of combating its obvious manifestations, it is a well-established practice to remind OSCE participating states of the commitments made at the first Berlin conference.

Dr Juliane Wetzel from the Centre for Antisemitism Research at Berlin's Technical University observed that in France and Great Britain, intelligence and information gathering are working very well in all forms and at all levels. Unfortunately, this is not the case in Germany. Data collection focusses primarily on criminal offences that are referred to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution by the criminal investigation departments at federal and *Land* level. Officials charged with protecting the constitution also complain that various aspects are not being covered.

Prof Gert Weisskirchen, MP, concluding the first discussion session, expressed regret that despite intensive efforts, the three Special Envoys of the OSCE Chairmanship had still not received an invitation from Russia. He too described the situation with regard to antisemitic incidents in Russia as worrying. He added that old forms of anti-Judaism are very prevalent as well. In effect, Russia is divided into two: on the one hand, President Putin has adopted a clear and convincing position; on the other, large sections of Russian society are steeped in antisemitic prejudices. It is also important to bear in mind that there is growing Islamophobia and other forms of prejudice, e.g. towards Sinti and Roma.

PANEL 2: Hate Crimes

In this panel, chaired by **Michael Whine** (Communications Director of the Community Security Trust (CST) in the UK and a member of the Metropolitan Police Authority Race Hate Crime Forum) a further four experts presented various strategies aimed at preventing hate crimes but above all at improving education and law enforcement.

The first speaker was **Paul Goldenberg**, President of the National Public Safety Strategy Group in the USA and an advisor to the OSCE/ODIHR and the Law Enforcement Officer Programme on Combating Hate Crime (LEOP). He emphasised that while collecting data on the "horror of Antisemitism" is essential, police officers who respond directly to this type of hate crime require special training. Time, money and resources must therefore be invested in police training and professional development so that the officers are able to distinguish between vandalism and crimes that are motivated by hate.

Targeted training for law enforcement officers has already been introduced in a number of OSCE countries. Although it is actually the task of the state to protect its citizens, the participation of NGOs is essential, especially in order to build a bridge between the state's law enforcement agencies and civil society.

Police training was also the focus of attention in the contribution by **Danijela Petkovic**, a teacher of criminal law at the Police School/Police Academy in Zagreb and a chief police inspector and national trainer in the Law Enforcement Officer Programme on Combating Hate Crime in Croatia. In June this year, with the support of and close cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior and ODIHR, nine Croatian police officers successfully completed the training course – the first cohort of graduates from the programme in the region. Further implementation of LEOP will take place in the coming years through its integration into the National Police Curriculum, special courses and additional specialized training, and in cooperation with ministries and NGOs so that there will soon be at least one trained police officer for hate crimes in each police district. Furthermore, the latest amendments to the Criminal Code which entered into force in October 2006 incorporated a definition of hate crime and substantially increased the penalties. All organizational units are also now obliged to monitor and document violent crimes, collect information about suspect music bands, films, graffiti etc., and exchange information. The aim is to improve law enforcement, the prevention of further incidents and the processing of perpetrators.

Antonio Arrabal Villalobos (International Police Cooperation Section in the State Department for Security in the Spanish Ministry of the Interior) described the close cooperation which has existed between Spain and the OSCE since March 2005 in the field of police training, and outlined the current situation in his country. The key priority lies with the concept of "good policing", which combines the promotion of democracy, human rights and tolerance. The police have an important responsibility in enforcing the law as well as taking preventive measures to combat racism and discrimination. The police must adapt their professionalism, quality of service and their legal and wider responsibilities to the needs of a continually changing population worldwide. The key objective remains unchanged: to create a culture of tolerance in the OSCE region.

David Friedman (Regional Director and Coordinator of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in the US and ADL Director of Law Enforcement Initiatives) said that it is extremely important for police officers, for example, to be able to identify antisemitic crimes as such. Speed is of the essence in law enforcement. The longer it takes for the police or prosecution service to take effective action, the greater the victim's pain, while public confidence in the judicial system and the police decreases. That is why a mutually supportive relationship between society and the law enforcement agencies is extremely important; the police must properly understand and have an insight into the Jewish communities, just as these communities must understand how the police work. As hate crimes are by their very nature quite diverse, no universally applicable model can be adopted.

Chairing the panel, **Michael Whine** presented a brief overview of the Community Security Trust (CST) in Great Britain, a registered charity which provides security training and advice for Jewish communities. CST has a close working relationship with the police and the government. The database of antisemitic crimes set up by the CST is more reliable than the police database, so the police have asked for assistance in undertaking their own data gathering. CST also provides relief, comfort and counselling for victims of hate crime. Recently, the British Government has also become more open to cooperation and dialogue with NGOs, with the result that CST is now involved in the drafting of legislation relating to religions. Members of the Trust provide independent advice to the courts and sit on the Metropolitan Police Authority Race Hate Crime Forum. Due to its remarkable success in achieving its goals, the police have now requested CST to provide security training for other communities such as Hindus and Muslims.

In the open forum, one NGO representative from Ukraine complained that NGOs are very interested in establishing a close working relationship with law enforcement agencies, but the latter are not. Efforts to establish an adequate data network and take effective action against

Antisemitism have also failed so far because these are the responsibilities of the state and its institutions. He therefore asked how the working relationship between state institutions and civil society, described by the speakers, could be implemented in practice.

Paul Goldenberg, in response, said that in the last six months, high-level meetings have taken place between NGOs and the police and that within the LEOP framework, four senior civil servants have already undergone training, with more being planned. The situation could undoubtedly be improved, but a first step has been taken.

Sonja Biserko (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights) briefly described the situation with regard to Antisemitism in Serbia. Due to the radicalization of politics in the 1980s, Serbia is a special case which tends to go unnoticed, but the situation there could escalate to a dangerous extent. Antisemitism is integral to Serbia's national pride, due to society's inability to come to terms with the past, especially the Second World War, as well as the extreme right-wing orientation of the Church and some political parties. Racist and antisemitic incidents are commonplace, especially among young people, but little action has been taken at official level by the government, and the programmes which have been occasionally launched since 2003 have little real impact. Until the Supreme Court is accepted by society as a moral institution as well, little is likely to change. **Paul Goldenberg** briefly pointed out that the issue of police training will be addressed at a forthcoming conference in Paris; delegates from Serbia will be attending the conference and have pledged to introduce appropriate training for police officers throughout the country.

Azay Quliyev, an OSCE PA delegate from Azerbaijan, posed two direct questions to the panel members. Firstly, how can other countries and foreign organizations be involved more effectively in the establishment of this type of training system at national level, and secondly, how can the role of civil society organizations, and civil society in general, be enhanced?

Michael Whine pointed out that this type of training is already planned by the ODIHR. **David Friedman** added that the success of measures to combat Antisemitism depends on the political will of the government. Even the USA had no laws on dealing with and prosecuting hate crimes 25 years ago. So it is important for local NGOs to be persistent and continue their work to improve the situation.

Rafal Pankowski (Never Again Association, Poland) asked what action can be taken to combat the internationalization of hate networks. **Paul Goldenberg** agreed that hate has no borders; he was therefore in favour of a new and comprehensive database of the many different organizations, which would also include information about music and so-called "hate concerts". In his view, the power of music as a medium to promote hate and its acceptance tends to be underestimated. Liaison with law enforcement bodies therefore needs to be improved in this area too.

Prof Gert Weisskirchen, MP, also commented that neo-Nazis and antisemites are networking worldwide. Germany is attempting to bring its national laws progressively into line with OSCE standards. He called for better coordination at transnational level. The problem has been recognised; now, appropriate action needs to be taken.

Michael Whine also drew attention to the programmes adopted by the EU and Europol to combat transnational crime. A good example of bilateral, rather than multilateral, cooperation is the exchange of information about football hooligans. Over recent years, however, the Internet has become the main medium for the dissemination of hate, and NGOs and the police need to take even more effective action here. Unfortunately, some countries lack the political will to do so.

Working lunch with a statement by Dr Small on "Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Antisemitism in Europe"

Dr Charles Asher Small (Director of the Yale Initiative for Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism at Yale University, USA) presented the findings of his study entitled "Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts Antisemitism in Europe". The study particularly emphasised the correlation between anti-Israel sentiment and Antisemitism. Small argued that globalization is a process which brings people together, on the one hand, but also separates communities from one another, on the other. The weakening of statehood in many countries is still ongoing and the "political vacuum" where the state previously existed is now being filled by civil society organizations. This applies especially in the context of social security, with the diminishing role of the welfare state.

In the wake of these social movements and post-modern democracy, the notion of tolerance is extremely important. Tolerance, in the classic sense, means viewing others as an extension of oneself. Radical Islamism and ongoing Islamization, neither of which should be confused with the Muslim religion, pose a threat not only to Jews but also, and in equal measure, to the values of the modern world. As examples of this threat, Small mentioned Hamas and Iranian President Ahmadinejad and supplied the quotes underlying this threat. Both the Palestinian organization and the Iranian President have repeatedly called for the State of Israel to be wiped off the map and for the killing of Jews. This threat therefore cannot be disregarded, ignored or viewed as unrealistic; instead, it is important for us to inform ourselves about the objectives being pursued by Hamas and similar groups.

However, Antisemitism is not a new phenomenon. The Jews in Europe have suffered centuries of deprivation, discrimination and persecution due to their religious beliefs and ethnicity. In various branches of science, notably theology, biology, philosophy and others, "the Jews" were generally held to be an inferior and problematical race. As outsiders in their own countries, the Jews ultimately developed a comparatively strong sense of identification with the State of Israel, which is now integral to the Jewish identity. The study on Antisemitism in Europe showed that demonizing the State of Israel produces a new form of Antisemitism. The study showed that among people with the most extreme anti-Israel sentiments, 56 percent report antisemitic leanings. Yet paradoxically, Antisemitism is not especially prevalent in Europe. Another paradox is that supporters of the far Left, who should really be promoting democracy and human rights, tend to adopt an autocratic attitude towards Israel.

As mentioned before, Jewish identity is closely linked to the State of Israel. The greatest threat at present emanates from Iran and the "coalition for nuclear weapons". The statements made by Iranian President Ahmadinejad, which Small had quoted, are not the utterings of a madman but reflect the beliefs of the imams and others. This is not an enemy with a clear political agenda. However, history has shown that failing to recognise the warning signs and take prompt action can have fatal consequences. The signs are obvious, and so action must be taken now. One option, for example, would be the adoption of a resolution by the Assembly on the crime of genocide, with recommendations for action by countries and governments.

In the ensuing discussion, **Prof Micha Brumlik** (University of Frankfurt) addressed the origins and problem of Antisemitism in Europe, and began by pointing out that this is of course a very complex phenomenon. A survey recently carried out in Germany revealed that 60% of respondents agreed with the statement: "What the Jews are doing with the Palestinians is the same as what the Nazis did to the Jews". This is a new, cold and passive form of Antisemitism, with the public slowly but surely withdrawing its support from Israel.

Brumlik called this "the indifference in our midst". He did not believe that the issue of guilt, which is often discussed, lies with the media. It is simply that there is a very high level of interest in Israel within Germany due to the recent past. It is important to ensure that Antisemitism is not merely attributed to specific social or political groups, but that the population as a whole is addressed.

Doris Barnett, MP, voiced her concern about the findings presented by Small; she too felt that there is a real threat to the State of Israel. The problem is that very few people in Europe understand Arabic. In her view, it is likely that a great deal of content is lost in translation. She agreed that it is important to gain an accurate picture of Islam as a religion, as distinct from fundamentalism. However, she contradicted Professor Brumlik on one point; in her view, the media – by selecting the images to be shown and through their commentaries – undoubtedly have the power to manipulate public opinion. She viewed the possibility of an al-Qaeda channel broadcasting on European TV with horror.

Maciej Kozlowski (Mission to the OSCE, Poland) asked why no studies have been carried out in Central Europe. Modern Antisemitism in Poland is targeted much more against Israel and the situation in the Middle East as a whole; there is therefore no correlation between traditional and modern Antisemitism. At political level, Poland has very good relations with Israel and regularly lobbies on its behalf. The problem, however, can be found in the international discourse itself, in which the language used serves the interests of extremists. Claims that Israel is committing crimes against humanity are just one example.

Andrew Baker (American Jewish Committee - AJC) commented that it is not surprising that anti-Israel sentiment predicts Antisemitism. He added that the threat to the State of Israel and the Jews is recognised by everyone.

Dr Charles Asher Small emphasised once again that a transition is currently taking place. The vacuum created by weak statehood is being filled by Islamism, resulting in this modern form of Antisemitism.

Dr Denis MacShane, MP, observed that despite everything, it is essential to defend the right to criticise Israel. Faith is a very powerful instrument which has to be respected, and it is essential to tell all the religious fundamentalists to "get back in your box". However, modern-day Iran is certainly not Nazi Germany, and such comparisons are dangerous. Of course President Ahmadinejad is mad, but no one should be demonized. MacShane called for a political solution to the conflict.

Dr Charles Asher Small, in response, said that he was certainly not demonizing Iran; on the contrary, he admired its history, culture and people, but would condemn anyone who advocates genocide.

Henrik Bachner (Living History Forum, Sweden) complained about the irrational attitudes towards Jews. Antisemitic ideas and ideology are becoming increasingly accepted, but a real understanding is lacking. For example, the Jews are widely regarded in the West as being behind terrorism and the division of the Middle East. But here too, there are no universally applicable solutions, as conditions are different in every country.

Prof Micha Brumlik (University of Frankfurt) responded to Dr MacShane's statement and said that no one would equate Iran with Nazi Germany. However, extreme vigilance is required as Ahmadinejad is the first statesman since Hitler to publicly advocate the killing of Jews. Such statements must be taken seriously and the problems must be resolved.

As a representative of the post-war generation, **Marieluise Beck, MP**, a Member of the German Bundestag, has focussed intensively on the crimes committed by the previous generation. Some kind of conclusion has to be drawn about the Iranian President's comments, but this conclusion could fall somewhere between "not being able to take it seriously" and "it is being taken seriously, but no one knows what to do". As the example of Iraq has shown, authoritarian leaders can use economic and political sanctions to their advantage in order to inflame the public mood against those imposing the sanctions. An attack is even less feasible, and political diplomacy has so far failed to achieve any real success.

Prof Gert Weisskirchen, MP, stressed that all sides must agree on a common political line. It is essential to agree an appropriate response by the international community. An important point is to foster civic engagement. He thanked Small for his "unadorned and brutal" depiction of the problem and cited the most recent study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which confirms the threat that Antisemitism is taking hold in the midst of society.

PANEL 3: Education

This panel discussed and analysed the different ways of dealing with Antisemitism in schools, and focussed on the teaching materials used as well as the role and training of teachers.

Dr Kathrin Meyer (ODIHR) and **Karen Polak** (Anne Frank House) gave an overview of their joint programme on teaching materials. Antisemitism is acknowledged to be a threat to stability in the OSCE region, and so participating states have adopted programmes on Antisemitism and Holocaust remembrance. This awareness-raising is important, but is not enough. According to the findings of the European Jewish Congress (EJC), antisemitic crimes are on the increase in the EU, although every country has Holocaust education programmes. The teaching materials prepared by the ODIHR and Anne Frank House are available to all the OSCE participating states. Applying and implementing the options available is crucial. However, this is still not happening to a satisfactory extent, partly because there is little awareness of the need for Antisemitism education in many countries. There is also a lack of appropriate teacher training on this issue.

Karen Polak drew attention to the diverse strategies that exist in relation to Antisemitism education, stressing that a perfect solution probably does not exist here. For that reason, the current diversity must be maintained. In selecting the teaching materials, it is important to link in with the students' social milieu in order to reach as many people as possible.

Most people would probably associate the terms "Jews" and "Antisemitism" primarily with the Holocaust. This must be the starting point for integrating the multifaceted history of Judaism in Europe into the curriculum. Antisemitism education in schools leads a somewhat shadowy existence, partly because many teachers regard the subject as an additional burden, mainly due to the training involved. Here, the framework conditions need to be improved, e.g. by ensuring that the issue is not only dealt with through the history curriculum but is also addressed in disciplines such as the social sciences, politics etc. It would also be helpful to find high-profile figures to champion this issue. This might encourage more teachers to deal with the subject voluntarily. Finally, the lessons should not only explain what Antisemitism is but also the appropriate response to it. Overall, Anne Frank House's experiences have been positive, and the task now is to broaden and deepen them.

Dr Andras Kovacs drew attention in his contribution to a sociological study in Hungary which showed that there is no direct correlation between a person's level of education and possible antisemitic tendencies. In fact, the study found that it is often people with a great deal of knowledge of Antisemitism and the Holocaust who are more likely to harbour antisemitic attitudes. This problem shows that the school curriculum is inappropriate. The study also re-

vealed that among the Hungarian population, there are two basic attitudes towards Jews. Firstly, the majority of the population thinks it is important to keep the Holocaust memorial days. Secondly, however, a majority also believes that the Jews are exploiting their "role as victims" to a disproportionate extent. These tendencies require further and more detailed analysis.

He then identified a number of basic problems in combating Antisemitism:

- Antisemitism is the oldest form of hate against a specific group of people, which poses the problem of breaking this continuity
- Antisemitism exists worldwide – even in countries with no Jews at all
- The role of the Jews in European history – the Jewish history presented concentrates excessively on the period 1933-1945
- The present generation has no direct experience of the persecution of Jews and therefore does not regard the problem as particularly relevant.

Karen Polak gave a number of examples relating to the current generation and emphasised the initial successes in teaching the new material; for example, young people now associate the term "Jews" primarily with Israel rather than the Holocaust.

Dr Juliane Wetzel emphasised that teaching Jewish history is not enough to guard against Antisemitism. Furthermore, Antisemitism as a phenomenon is not directed at individual Jews but at the entire Jewish community.

In the ensuing discussion, **Georg Heuberger** (Claims Conference) referred back to the opening speech by Wolfgang Thierse, who had emphasised how important it is to hand on the task of remembering the Holocaust consistently to the next generations. Two aspects are important in this context. Firstly, it must be made clear that the Third Reich was a breakdown in civilization, and secondly, we must consider *how* remembrance is passed on, and the teaching materials must be adapted appropriately. In the textbooks, the Jews are generally depicted as victims and their major contributions to culture, business and science are not mentioned. Changing this perception is an important task for teachers.

Shani Rozanes (World Jewish Congress - WJC) underlined the importance of other media in education work. There are far too many young people for whom the word "Holocaust" has no meaning at all. **Josef Zissels** (Congress of National Communities of Ukraine) lamented the fact that many of the conferences on Antisemitism fail to produce enough tangible outcomes. He therefore greatly appreciated the contribution by Andras Kovacs, because for once, criticism was being voiced. He suggested inviting social psychologists to a future meeting as they would be able to report on the emergence of Antisemitism in society. In Ukraine antisemitic statements in specialist journals and violence against Jews are steadily increasing. However, measures to combat this phenomenon must take greater account of the different mentalities in Russia and the EU.

Dr Andras Kovacs, in response, said that the Czech Republic's experience with Antisemitism and efforts to combat it is similar to Germany's. What is problematical is the revision of the curriculum in the former Soviet states, which are currently in a transitional phase. Responding to his question as to who should implement the various teaching methods, **Dr Kathrin Meyer** pointed to the potential for cooperation with the various Education Ministries on this issue.

Lecture by Mark Weitzman, Simon Wiesenthal Center "Hate on the Internet: the situation based on the Simon Wiesenthal's recent electronic report", Digital Hate and Terrorism 2006

Mark Weitzman talked about digital forms of Antisemitism and named a number of websites as examples. Digital technology brings in a new factor, not only as regards the technological options but also dissemination. First and foremost, material can now reach a wider transnational audience swiftly and cheaply, which has never been possible before. This is reflected in a growing number of hate websites. He referred to games with names such as Kaboom – a game that encourages would-be suicide bombers to aim for the highest number of victims – "Ethnic Cleansing" or "KZ Manager". The style and technology are designed to appeal to young people. Violence is promoted as a solution and the targets are dehumanized. Through the dehumanization of the victims in these games, an entire generation of users is growing up having absorbed these models. It is important for everyone to be aware of these aspects of the Internet and take action themselves.

Closing session: Outcomes of the discussions

Andrew Baker (American Jewish Committee - AJC) reminded the audience that four years ago, the OSCE Ministerial Council agreed to hold the first conference on Antisemitism in Vienna. A massive increase in criminal offences has been observed. What is also important is to recognise these crimes as antisemitic crimes, not just as criminal damage or bodily harm.

A key aspect arising in relation to Antisemitism is how to deal with the Middle East conflict. The Berlin Declaration adopted in 2004 equipped ODIHR with a new mandate. Special Envoys have been appointed; in the case of Antisemitism, this is Gert Weisskirchen, who is performing the role very successfully and raising awareness of this issue. But this is not entirely uncontroversial, as some people view this as entrenching a hierarchy of discrimination. The results of this Expert Meeting should be passed to the Chairmanship so that they can be taken into account in 2007.

Prof Gert Weisskirchen, MP, described the OSCE as a cumbersome ship which can only act on the basis of consensus. However, once the ship is under way, it produces good results. ODIHR has achieved some very good outcomes in the field of education and police training. Antisemitism has not yet been overcome, and is taking on new forms. He would like to see more scope for activities. As regards law enforcement and education, the efforts are on track, and now it is the implementation that is important. 2006 produced some incomplete results; some countries responded well; many were reticent, and some did not respond at all. The problems lie not at political leadership level but at two other levels. Ensuring that the political will is implemented within the administrative structures is important, but it is even more important to ensure the successful involvement of civil society. Unfortunately, there has been a resurgence of verbal Antisemitism, so efforts to combat Antisemitism must be stepped up. In 2007, he would like to set priorities at sectoral and regional level; one option is to look at the academic community and the media. A voluntary code of conduct could be developed by and for journalists. Furthermore, specific countries, notably Russia, could be put under the spotlight. Weisskirchen drew attention once more to the study by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation which confirmed that in Germany, almost 10 percent of the population has an entrenched far-right view of the world. He welcomed the proposal by the future OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Moratinos, to hold a conference on the topic of Islamophobia. However, a conference on the problem of Antisemitism in the Maghreb region should also be held in one of the countries in this region in 2007.

4. Opening Speech

Wolfgang Thierse¹

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In my capacity as Vice-President of the German Parliament and head of the German OSCE delegation, I would like to welcome you very warmly on behalf of the German Bundestag to this conference on "Best Practices in Combating Antisemitism".

Ladies and Gentlemen, over recent years, months and days, it has become clear that Antisemitism is not a relic of the past. It has become clear that Antisemitism is not only a problem outside the European Union, but also in our European countries. This represents a challenge for all democrats in all democracies. In Germany, overcoming Antisemitism became part of the *raison d'être* of the political system which formed the foundation of our shared beliefs following the terrible World War and the horrific crimes of National Socialism. Again and again, it emerges that in Germany, where such wide-ranging efforts have been made to deal with its horrific past, that even here Antisemitism has not been banished. Despite all the efforts which have been made in the area of political education, in raising awareness of history, despite all efforts in the preservation of monuments, the preservation of the authentic sites of atrocities, the preservation of the memory of National Socialist crimes, we still face the task of combating Antisemitism which constantly takes root anew.

The Federal Republic of Germany has created a monument at the heart of its capital to remind people of the most terrible crime in German history. We have built a Holocaust memorial near the Brandenburg Gate. This was the result of a decision taken by the Bundestag, in which the German Parliament recognised the responsibility which it bears against the background of German history. Not because we believe it our duty to allocate guilt to subsequent generations, but because we believe there is a task which we must entrust to them: that of continually learning and acting on the lessons to be drawn from our history.

This is the situation in Germany. It is clear that, despite all the efforts undertaken and despite forty years of democratic development – in West Germany at least – the problem has not been solved. We are experiencing dramatic changes, whatever terms we may use to describe them: globalisation, demographic change, accelerated technological, scientific and economic change. It would seem that all of this is helping to once again make people receptive to perilously simple answers. Dramatic change and fears about the future evidently create a need for easy answers.

This basic pattern is one which is familiar to us from German history: "The Jews are to blame for everything" is something we have heard before. And today the fears about change felt by many people can help right-wing extremist ideologists and the peddlers of propaganda to achieve their goals. "Foreigners are to blame": and even Antisemitism has taken off once again.

¹ Vice President of the German Bundestag and head of the German OSCE delegation

I do not believe that I am talking about a uniquely German problem. Yet the same problem which exists elsewhere is worse in Germany and we must be particularly vigilant with regard to it. That is why we believe that efforts to combat and overcome Antisemitism must be a joint task for the Germans, the European democrats and the democrats of the world as a whole. This is especially the case if we notice that in global conflicts, in the Islamic world, religious fundamentalists are finding supporters and that the difficult and conflict-ridden situation in the Middle East is repeatedly the source of anti-Semitic prejudice or anti-Semitic hate - or is exploited in order to cultivate such prejudice or hate. This also represents a challenge for us: how can we tackle Antisemitism across the world.

I think it would be sensible to agree how this can best be achieved: to establish which forms of awareness raising, political education and political debate are successful and which less successful.

To a certain extent, we are experiencing a transition from one time to another, or at least from one generation to another – this is something which we have discussed frequently in Germany. The generation of those who experienced the Holocaust as victims, perpetrators, followers or silent observers is dying out. And we cannot be completely sure how subsequent generations will deal with this historical memory, which they are after all not familiar with from personal experience, but rather can only at best learn about at second hand. This is a particular challenge. Personally, I believe that we older people have no reason to suggest that subsequent generations are less bound by morals or take history less seriously. We must learn to accept that subsequent generations may experiment with different forms of remembrance. Yet what we must do is to provide them with opportunities for remembrance, for access to historical knowledge and for drawing moral and political consequences for their own times.

I believe that that is the challenge for what we internationally term Holocaust education – passing on memories with the political and moral responsibilities which go with them! This may well be different in different countries. Yet I believe that this task unites us. It is a major educational challenge, a major political challenge, which unites us as democrats and parliamentarians within the OSCE in particular – an organisation, after all, particularly committed to defending and spreading democracy in Europe. This makes the battle against Antisemitism an important topic for the OSCE.

I would like to welcome you to the conference and thank you for making the trip to Berlin, for taking up our invitation and allowing us to discuss this important topic with each other. I wish the conference much success and hope together we will be able to learn the right lessons.

A very warm welcome and all the best for the conference.

5. Opening Statement: The fight against Antisemitism in the OSCE

Pierre Chevalier²

Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to start my speech by thanking you very much for having invited me to deliver some remarks on “The fight against Antisemitism in the OSCE” at this expert meeting organized by the German Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE. My gratitude goes to the head of the German delegation, Mr. Wolfgang Thierse, and the Bundestag.

A special word is certainly also due to Mr Gert Weisskirchen, the Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office for combating Antisemitism and also a member of the Bundestag. While he has invited us as a Member of Parliament, I greet him as a fellow parliamentarian. As the Special Envoy of Karel De Gucht, Chairman in Office, I greet and salute the Personal Representative, but more importantly I thank him for his hard work and dynamic approach in fulfilling his mandate.

Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen

At one point, the working title “From Vienna to Cordoba via Berlin, Paris and Brussels” was suggested for my intervention, with a reference of course to the high-level conferences on intolerance, racism and xenophobia organised by the OSCE these past few years. In fact, if one wanted to study Jewish history in Europe, traveling to the cities mentioned in this title – Vienna, Cordoba, Berlin, Paris and Brussels – would be a very good start indeed. These cities, and – as I should emphasize - many other cities all over Europe, bear witness to the major contribution of Jewish culture to European civilization. European cities are also places, however, where Jewish people have suffered tremendously. Before we look back at the OSCE experience in recent years, it is important to reflect upon the tragic events in these cities and indeed throughout Europe, in particular the Holocaust. As Elie Wiesel has said, “Not to transmit an experience is to betray it”. It is of the utmost importance that we continue to remember.

On that note, the fact that, in 2006, it is still necessary to organize a meeting on Antisemitism, is something we should reflect about. It is, however, more than necessary to hold such meetings, in order to confront the persistence of various forms of Antisemitism throughout the OSCE-area at this day and age. For, as we all know, more than 60 years after the liberation of Auschwitz, Antisemitism did not come to an end. During recent years we have seen a resurgence in many parts of the OSCE region.

The OSCE has acted on this, recognizing Antisemitism as a major threat to freedom and human dignity throughout history. The high level conferences from Vienna to Cordoba have acted as catalysts for increasing the level of activity of the participating States on combating Antisemitism.

As part of the OSCE’s response, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights has created a Tolerance and Non-Discrimination programme that this year, among other projects, produced Guidelines for educators when preparing Holocaust memorial days, a joint project with Yad Vashem, as well as teaching materials on Antisemitism, developed with the Anne

² Special Envoy of the 2006 Belgian OSCE Chairmanship

Frank House in Amsterdam. The Guidelines were launched at the Holocaust Commemoration ceremony in Brussels on 27 January, whereas the teaching material was presented during the “Tolerance Implementation Meeting on Education to promote Mutual respect and understanding and to teach about the Holocaust”, that was held in Dubrovnik a month ago. The ODIHR law enforcement and police training programme, implemented in several OSCE countries into the national police education curricula, is also worthwhile mentioning. This programme does not only aim to help to combat hate crimes, but also to provide the affected communities with support from the law enforcement agencies. The increased capacity of law enforcement agencies to identify hate crimes when they occur will help the participating States to collect data and report on it in the future.

These examples indicate that, after the high-level conferences that started in Vienna, the OSCE has this year given priority to concrete implementation of commitments. There are three important points here:

- first of all, in doing so, the Organization has followed up on the mandate given by Ministers at the Ministerial Council in Ljubljana in December 2005 to focus on implementation.
- secondly, combating intolerance and discrimination within the OSCE, and promoting mutual respect and understanding, has to take place at a level ensuring the highest possible impact on the ground, and
- finally, although ODIHR and the three Personal Representatives are there to assist them, it is very clear that it is the final responsibility of participating States themselves to implement the commitments they have made.

In addition to the concrete projects I already referred to, the focus on implementation has materialized in three implementation meetings on tolerance this year. The first, in June in Almaty, dealt with interreligious, intercultural and interethnic dialogue. The second one, in Dubrovnik, focused in particular on education as the most effective long term instrument to promote tolerance and mutual understanding. The third one, which was held in Vienna two weeks ago, addressed the hate crime data deficit. I am certain that several of the recommendations and conclusions from those meetings will be referred to in the course of the proceedings of this meeting today and tomorrow.

In the work this year relating to Antisemitism more in particular, we have been fortunate to be able to rely on the cooperation with partner organizations such as Yad Vashem, the Anne Frank House and the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. As you are aware, Belgium joined the Task Force in 2005.

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Mutual respect and understanding, integration with respect for diversity and intercultural and inter-religious dialogue remain core issues within the OSCE's Human Dimension. Obviously, our efforts in combating each and every form of intolerance should be equal. That being said, we do, of course recognize that the distinctiveness of different forms of intolerance sometimes may require appropriate distinctive approaches.

The mechanism of the three Personal Representatives of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE – Professor Weisskirchen on combating Antisemitism, Ambassador Orhun on combating Intolerance and Discrimination Against Muslims and Mrs Crickley on Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination also focusing on Intolerance and Discrimination against Christians and Members of Other Religions - exemplifies this approach. While they strive to coordinate their activities - and the Chairmanship has encouraged such coordination and close cooperation among themselves and with the ODIHR - their respective mandates and positions ensure the visibility but also the distinctive approaches in response to specific forms of intolerance.

A Ministerial Decision on combating intolerance and discrimination and promoting mutual respect and understanding is currently being negotiated in Vienna for adoption at the upcoming Brussels Ministerial Council. It emphasizes, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the experience gained during past years, the role of education, youth, capacity-building for law enforcement authorities, awareness-raising on the value of cultural and religious diversity as a source of mutual enrichment of societies, a sound legal framework and effective partnerships with civil society.

While recalling the need to continue to implement commitments, the draft decision also, importantly I think, provides the basis for convening, during the first half of 2007, a new High-Level Conference on Combating Discrimination and Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding, following up on the 2005 Cordoba Conference on Antisemitism and Other Forms of Intolerance.

Finally, in the wake of the “cartoon crisis”, the current draft also emphasizes the role of public figures in political discourse, as well as the role of the media.

Politicians of course being such public figures, and parliamentarians being politicians, this text therefore calls on us to take our responsibilities and strongly condemn acts of any form of intolerance, including anti-Semitism, while promoting and supporting initiatives that allow for progress towards mutual respect and understanding.

I can assure you that both the Chairman-in-Office and myself have taken on that commitment with firm resolve, and will continue to do so in the future. We are fortunate to have personalities such as Professor Weisskirchen to remind us of this commitment, and to be able to call on experts who can provide us with sound advice and best practices on the way forward. This meeting is a welcome contribution to that end.

Thank you.

6. Trends in Antisemitism: France

Jean-Yves Camus³

What is commonly referred to as the wave of Antisemitism in France began immediately after the start of the Second Intifada in autumn 2000, and peaked in 2004. That year, according to the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior, 950 anti-Semitic acts were recorded, against 601 in 2003. However, the rise of Antisemitism is only part of a more global phenomenon, that of an increase in the numbers of racist and anti-Semitic acts: once again, 2004 was a peak, with 1513 recorded incidents, against 833 in 2003 and 1313 in 2002. This phenomenon, which is not linear in progression, seems to have changed in nature in the last months of 2004, which witnessed a sharp decrease in the number of anti-Semitic incidents, while the number of racist, that is, mostly anti-Arab or anti-Black incidents, remained steady. It is documented by the statistics of the Ministry of the Interior that 41, 97% of those racist and anti-Semitic incidents recorded in 2004 took place in the Paris and suburbs area, closely followed by the Rhône-Alpes and Provence Côte d'Azur regions. When it came to anti-Arab incidents however, including what can be named Islamophobic incidents such as the daubing of mosques or attacks on imams and veiled women, the Alsace region came second. Eastern France in general, including Alsace, is also where most desecrations of Jewish cemeteries took place, and the area is a hotbed of skinhead/ neo-nazi activity. The island of Corsica was characterized by an unusual number of racist attacks against Moroccan immigrants and citizens of Moroccan descent. In 2005, the decrease in anti-Semitic incidents and racist actions continued: 504 antisemitic incidents and 470 racist actions were recorded. However, this does not mean that anti-Semitic violence has stopped. First of all, the level of Antisemitism is higher than it was at the worst moments before 2000 (including 1967 and 1973, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982). Then, the worst anti-Semitic act took place in Paris, in February 2006, when a 23 years-old cell phones retailer, Ilan Halimi, was abducted and killed by a gang of youth of West African, North African and West Indian origin, who were obviously motivated by the hatred of the Jews.

Other figures one needs to keep in mind are that in 2004, 307 individuals were questioned by the police because of their alleged involvement in a racist or anti-Semitic act, 182 being specifically questioned regarding an anti-Semitic action. The increase in repression as well as the first convictions in courts in cases of Antisemitism, were certainly pivotal in slowing down this wave of Antisemitism. Most of the controversy around those events had to do with the alleged higher than average implication of Muslims. While figures on this matter cannot be exact (for under French law it is forbidden to mention an individual's ethnic origin in the police or judiciary statistics), it has been estimated by the police that, out of 209 of those questioned in 2004, following an anti-Semitic incident, 104 were Muslims, which does not say much about those people's religious practice). However, a survey conducted by CEVIPOF, a scholarly research centre in political science, concluded that 39% of practising Muslims showed anti-Semitic stereotypes, as against 18% in the overall French population. But this can only be properly interpreted in the context of a low rate of religious practice within the Muslim community, generally estimated at around 15-17%. Therefore, while Islamism and even radical Islam have made significant progresses in the last decade, especially among the youth, it is totally impossible to conclude, as many proponents of the "clash of civilizations" theory have, with regard to the case of France (Pipes; Horowitz; Goldnadel), that "the Muslim community" is intrinsically anti-Semitic, or that it adheres to radical or political Islam. And the anti-Semitic prejudice shown by part of the immigrant population, far from being grounded in the

³ Associate Researcher, Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques (IRIS), Paris

Muslim faith, is often of a cultural or political nature, as Antisemitism is also used as a weapon against Israel and what is described as the “Zionist lobby” worldwide, by the Arab nationalist movement and the State-controlled media in Arab secular countries.

Why has this “wave of Antisemitism” caused such a trauma within the Jewish community? I see three reasons. The first one is that there is a wide belief, among the Jews and among the French population at large, that Antisemitism was dead after 1945 and the Shoah. The horrors of the Second World War were such that it was assumed the antisemites were shameful and were silenced once and for all after Auschwitz. Therefore, any upsurge of Antisemitism was denied in the first instance, then was interpreted as a “resurgence” of the Nazi past, with the only difference that the antisemites of today are not the neo-nazis, but “the Muslims”. The second reason is that many Jews feel betrayed by the French Government, which at first took the rise of Antisemitism lightly, dismissing it as a mere consequence of the Middle-East conflict and avoided, until 2002, taking the necessary measures to fight it.

The third reason is that Antisemitism has changed in nature, moving from a classical racial or theological (Christian) prejudice to the more subtle form of radical Antizionism, which can be defined as the position which denies the Israeli State the right to exist, or/and which denies the Jews the right to live in this State or emigrate to it. Because the overwhelming majority of the Jews which are active in communal life are strongly pro-Israel, and even consider that the Jewish State is at the centre of their Jewish identity, they see radical Antizionism as the ultimate enemy. Another, but secondary, reason is that the French Jewish community of today, being predominantly Sephardi, sees the situation through its past experience of fleeing the newly independent countries of North Africa. The rationale behind their fear is that “they” (the Muslims) have driven us out of our country (Algeria; Morocco or Tunisia) in the past, and “they” will try to drive us out of France. There is clearly a fear of being outnumbered by the Muslims, thus of being worth less attention from the authorities, and a significant part of the French population today, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, even shares Bat Yeor’s theory that Europe, having cut from its Judeo-Christian roots, has become “Eurabia”, that is, a continent colonized by Islam and thus, a territory where the Jews will not be safe anymore. As a consequence of this position, the number of Jews who emigrate to Israel rose to an all-time high figure of 2980 in 2005. However, immigration to Israel is an option chosen mostly by those who already have family there and who are observant and besides, the number of those who later come back to France, although not accounted for in the Israeli statistics, seem to be high.

As a consequence of this new situation, a significant segment of the Jewish community, shifted from the Left to the Right of the political spectrum, a move that is common to all Western countries. In the case of France, two factors are responsible for this. First, the Socialist Government of the former Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, did not immediately tackle the issue of Antisemitism after September 2000 and in the months following 9/11, which were also those preceding the April 2002 presidential election. Then, the anti-Israel bias which was traditional within the Communist Party; the Green Party and the Far-Left parties (especially the Trotskyite groups which represented 7,22% of the vote in the last presidential election) came at the forefront of the political agenda with the rise of the anti-globalization movement and the close ties between part of this movement and some Muslim personalities who are perceived here as being Islamic fundamentalists (e.g, Tariq Ramadan). This caused a widespread rejection of the Left, and even allegations that “the Left” had become hostile to the Jewish community and to Israel. A conservative, non-Jewish columnist from the daily *Le Figaro*, Alexis Lacroix, went as far as writing, in a recent essay⁴, that “The Left is not becoming anti-Semitic. It goes back to its anti-Semitic roots. Today, Antisemitism is at the margins of the

⁴ *Le Socialisme des imbéciles*, Editions La Table Ronde, 2005

Left, tomorrow may be, it will be at its core”. In the meantime, the shift in the French foreign policy to a more pro-Israeli stand under the conservative governments of Raffarin and Villepin, the efforts of the Minister of the Interior, Nicolas Sarkozy, to fight Antisemitism, coupled with his tough law and order and immigration policies, have convinced a significant part of French Jewry that the Right is its natural ally. What is clear is that the Jewish community does not perceive the problem of anti-Semitic violence as merely a law and order issue. They see it as a part of a much wider crisis of the French national identity, in which the “clash of civilizations” theory becomes a reality. It is also noteworthy, for example, that the Autumn 2005 riots in the Paris suburbs were frequently described in the Jewish and non-Jewish media alike, as an “Intifada of the suburbs”, thus suggesting that the revolt was caused by radical Muslims, that it was an ethnic uprising in essence, and that it targeted a Jewish enemy, in short, that it was the revolt of an intrinsically anti-Semitic population⁵.

In conclusion, I would like to say that one cannot understand the current wave of Antisemitism without mentioning that: (1) although anti-Semitic violence begins in 2000 at the time of the Second Intifada, the big change in the anti-Semitic discourse occurred in 1982, at the time of the Israeli intervention in Lebanon, when even the mainstream media used stereotypes that equated the Israeli armed forces to the Nazis. (2) the so-called “new Antisemitism” which is rampant among a minority of the Muslim-born (but not necessarily observant) population emerged in a country where an extreme right political party, the Front National, receives more than 15% of the vote since the 1990s, and where its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, has repeatedly trivialized the Holocaust, as have done many of the party’s top and middle level executives. Finally, it should also be said that, while Antisemitism reaches unprecedented level, there is a continuous decrease in anti-Semitic prejudices among the French population.

⁵ It is to be reminded that the level of antisemitic attacks during the riots was much lower than in the otherwise quite year 2004. The riots did not specifically target the Jewish communities. Besides, it was neither masterminded by Muslim fundamentalists, nor organized as a guerrilla movement such as it is the case with the Palestinian Intifada.

7. PANEL 1: Data Collection

7.1. *European Efforts to Combat Antisemitism from the Arab Perspective*

Dr. Esther Webman⁶

Good morning to you all.

As you've heard I'm representing the Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Antisemitism and Racism – an academic institute at Tel Aviv University which monitors antisemitic manifestations worldwide, maintains a large ongoing database and publishes an annual journal consisting of country-by-country surveys, analytical historical articles and a book review section. In this framework my responsibility is the Arab world. We go over daily papers, weekly magazines and other publications, and of course we benefit from the work done in recent years by Israeli and Jewish organizations engaged in monitoring Antisemitism. But, I'm not going to talk about collecting data or about legal aspects. I would like to present the Arab response to OSCE activities as well as to the American Act against Antisemitism and the anti-Israel mood in Europe, which I think is not only important to an understanding of the Arab/Muslim position but to the future success of international efforts to combat Antisemitism and Holocaust denial.

Suspicion and criticism characterized the Arab reaction to the international conference on Antisemitism held in Berlin in April 2004 under the auspices of the OSCE. By Arab reaction, I mean the discourse that emerged in public debates in newspapers and in television programs and not official reactions, which were, for instance, well demonstrated at the Durban conference. The OSCE conference was described by Palestinians as a "red herring" and a "sly distraction" aimed at diverting attention from Israel's behavior toward them. "Which crime is more serious: the desecration of a Jewish grave in some French town, or destroying an entire neighborhood in Rafah? Scrawling a swastika on the wall of a Jewish synagogue in Italy or turning Palestinian towns and villages into virtual concentration camps?," wondered a Palestinian writer in an interview to al-Jazira. Comparing Jews to Nazis, he claimed, is not a "sweeping condemnation of Jews, but rather a rejection of evil actions, behavior and dogmas." This kind of conference, contended Jordanian scholar George Haddad, is taking place according to a plan set up by "International Zionism" in view of the European opinion poll which considered Israel and the US the states most endangering world stability and peace. "It aims at fighting by law and punishment whoever criticizes or denounces an Israeli crime or a Jewish movement." It would have been more proper, added an Egyptian journalist reporting from Berlin, if the conference would have dealt with the negative attitude toward the Arab and Muslim communities in Europe or at least with Israeli violations against the Palestinian people. The Jewish feeling of victimhood is "a political game" for exploiting others and deepening the feeling of guilt in the West, which was responsible in the past for the persecution of Jews, the concentration camps and the crematoria.

⁶ Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism; Tel Aviv University

Likewise, the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust held in January 2000 was presented as being aimed "at forging history by hiding the truth about the so-called Holocaust." The Zionist entity was accused by a Hamas statement of using "psychological and ideological terrorism" through the conference and the "Nazi Holocaust story," and participant states were called upon to revise their positions and renounce their "sympathetic understanding of Zionist arrogance and continuing blackmail." An *al-Hayat* editor `Abd al-Wahhab Badrakhhan considered the conference a rebirth of the "Holocaust business," and depicted Holocaust studies "as an injection in the blood or the head" of the student.

The adoption in the US of the Global Antisemitism Review Act as law in October 2004 also triggered strong opposition of Arab writers and commentators. As in previous debates on Antisemitism, they concurred that the Jews who have taken over the legislative and executive authorities in the US promoted it to prevent criticism of Israel. It was also perceived as an attempt by Republicans to curry favor with traditionally pro-Democratic US voters.

The major arguments against the Act accused it of being:

- Interference in the domestic affairs of states and a violation of freedom of expression;
- A racist law, hostile to Arabs and Muslims, that ignores the fact that the Arabs who are also Semites are victims of discrimination and persecution;
- A form of "intellectual terrorism," through which the US is trying to force its hegemony and values on the world;
- A political and not a humanitarian act, which blurs the line between Judaism and Zionism, in order to protect Israel from legitimate criticism, providing it with a license to continue its terrorist policies against the Arabs. Moreover, it allows the Israeli security apparatus to instigate acts of Antisemitism in countries with Jewish communities, such as France, in order to force immigration to Israel.

A three-day conference on the repercussions of the act was held in Cairo University in March 2005 in collaboration with Arabs Against Discrimination (AAD), an organization founded in December 2003 to monitor racist activities and statements of Israeli and Zionist organizations, and the Egyptian Society of International Law. Several questions were raised for discussion: Will the act muzzle freedom of expression in the Arab and Muslim world? What is the law's exact definition of Antisemitism, and why does it not include criticism of Israel and Zionism? And how can Arab countries stand up to it? There was reportedly a general consensus among the experts that it was designed "to gag critics of Israeli crimes, and underline US global hegemony" as well as target Muslims and Arabs. The act was seen as "a blatant violation of international law," according to which "no country has the right to enact punishment on another country for violating human rights, or committing antisemitic acts." The act's requirement to remove antisemitic statements from Arab school and university textbooks "was meant to distort history, brainwash youths and alienate them from their culture," explained comparative international law professor, `Ali al-Ghatit, who participated in the Arab team for the defense of Garaudy in 2002. The conferees agreed to take action to resist the law's application, and to start by raising public awareness of its perils, especially in the West. The first step in this direction was the opening of an AAD branch office in Washington with the aim of reaching out to the American public and joining forces with experts, intellectuals and human rights activists "to find ways to stop this clampdown on freedom."

Some of the writers conceded that Antisemitism is a dangerous, deplorable phenomenon, but considered the Arabs also its victims, because they paid and are still paying compensation for antisemitic crimes perpetrated in Europe. "It is not Jews who are being murdered by the thousands by Arab Antisemitism," wrote Joseph Massad, a Palestinian professor of modern Arab politics and intellectual history at Columbia University, who argued that the term Antisemitism is "anachronistic and ahistorical," "but rather Arabs and Muslims who are being murdered by the tens of thousands by Euro-American Christian Antisemitism and by Israeli Jewish Antisemitism."

In contrast to this criticism of the OSCE and the American Act, the rise of antisemitic manifestations in Europe, the attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions, statements against Jews in Germany, and the results of the EU opinion poll in 2003 were perceived jubilantly as part of a new European trend and "a political revolution against the Jews." It seems as if "the European street was waiting for a sign to express latent feelings toward the Jews," against their excessive influence and political exploitation, wrote one commentator who predicted that in the near future the traditional parties, which represented the ruling power since the end of WWII, will be replaced by new parties representing new generations, whose foremost issue on their agenda would be the defeat of Jewish influence. For these younger generations, the European antisemitic past would be less compelling. Shi'i scholar Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah also assessed that "something has really begun to change in the West in general, and in some European states in particular," urging Arabs and Muslims to devote serious attention to it, and exploit the new mood in Europe for enhancing awareness to their cause and to Israel's deeds. The new Antisemitism today, opined columnist Jihad al-Khazin, is not comparable to that which prevailed in the 1930s. The old Antisemitism was perpetrated by governments and led to the Holocaust, whereas present-day Antisemitism is carried out by individuals mainly from the margins of society. Nevertheless, it should be denounced but should not be used as an excuse for Israeli crimes.

Amidst this array of opinions, voices expressing support for combating Antisemitism and Holocaust denial were rare. One of these was `Abd al-Rahman Rashid, the director general of al-`Arabiya satellite TV and former editor of the London-based *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, who has persistently pursued in his editorials an anti-fascist line, warning the Arabs against aligning themselves with antisemites and Holocaust deniers. The law should be understood for what it is – a law for monitoring Antisemitism, he explained, and instead of condemning it, Arabs should encourage it and seek to expand it to include any incitement to racism against Muslims, blacks and other minorities. Protecting Jews should be the first step to protecting everyone, added an American writer of Arab descent.

Lebanese columnists Joseph Samaha and Jihad al-Khazin, Egyptian liberal scholar and activist Sa`d al-Din Ibrahim, Egyptian writer `Ali Salim, and Egyptian academic scholar in Leipzig `Umar Kamil were among those who criticized antisemitic manifestations in the Arab discourse, including Holocaust denial. These were detrimental to the Arabs' demand for their legitimate rights and their relations with the world, and could not be justified even in light of Israel's deplorable "crimes" against the Palestinians. Kamil called upon Arab intellectuals to free themselves from their abortive discourse and devise a new one more agreeable to "the other," whereas Salim expected the Arab League to play a role in changing the Arab attitude to the Arab-Israeli conflict and peace in the Middle East.

This was the Arab discourse on Antisemitism in a nutshell.

In a study that I conducted with a colleague on representations of the Holocaust in the Arab world since the end of WWII, we established that there was a strong correlation between the growing role of the Holocaust in Israeli and Jewish identity and the frequency of Arab reference to it. With its assumption of further significance for Jewish and western culture, it has

aroused increased antagonism among Arabs and Muslims. Thus, it seems that the intensified international preoccupation with Antisemitism and the Holocaust – the establishment of the international task force on Holocaust education, the UN commemoration of 60 years to the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps, and its decision to designate 27 January as Holocaust Remembrance Day – has elicited an adverse reaction in the Arab world.

Conferences and decisions will not eliminate Antisemitism, stated Jihad al-Khazin. The only way is to deal with its causes, he said, and those are embedded in Israeli policies. Although I reject the view that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the cause of all evil, I doubt the efficiency of legislation to uproot antisemitic thinking and stereotypes and consider it extremely important to find ways to reach out to Arab and third world societies. After all we don't want, as wrote another Arab critic, to divide the world into two axes – one that is accused of Antisemitism and includes the Muslim world, Europe, Latin America, China, and one that opposes it consisting only of Israel and the US - and bring about the escalation of hatred.

Thank you.

7.2. *Hate Crime Data Collection and the Implementation of OSCE Commitments*

Dr. Kathrin Meyer⁷

1. Summary of Commitments

OSCE Participating States have committed to:

- Combat hate crimes, including on the internet;⁸
- Collect reliable information and statistics on hate crime, including on anti-Semitic crimes and make this information available to the public;⁹
- Submit existing legislation, statistics and reliable information on hate crime to the ODIHR;¹⁰
- Strengthen efforts to provide public officials, and in particular law enforcement officers with appropriate training on responding to and preventing hate crimes;¹¹
- Consider nominating national points of contact on hate crimes and examine the possibility of establishing within countries appropriate bodies to promote tolerance and combat racism.¹²

The Office for Democratic Institution and Human Rights (ODIHR) was mandated to:

- Follow closely anti-Semitic incidents;¹³
- Systematically collect and disseminate information (legislation, statistics) pertaining to anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes;¹⁴
- Support the ability of civil society and the development of partnerships to address racism, xenophobia and related intolerance, including Antisemitism;¹⁵
- Assist participating States upon their request in developing appropriate methodologies and capacities for collecting and maintaining reliable information and statistics about hate crimes and violent manifestations of intolerance and discrimination, with a view to helping them collect comparable data and statistics.¹⁶

2. ODIHR Working Definition of Hate Crime

Part A) Any criminal offence, including offences against persons or property, where the victim, premises or target of the offence are selected because of their real or perceived connection, attachment, affiliation, support or membership with a group as defined in part B

Part B) A group may be based upon their real or perceived race, national or ethnic origin, language, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, sexual orientation or other similar factor.

⁷ Advisor on Antisemitism Issues, OSCE-ODIHR

⁸ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 607 on Combating Antisemitism.

⁹ Ibid.; Maastricht MC Decision No. 4/03.

¹⁰ Maastricht MC Decision No. 4/03.

¹¹ Ljubljana MC Decision No. 10: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 607 on Combating Antisemitism.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 621 on Tolerance and The Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination.

¹⁶ Ljubljana MC Decision No. 10/05: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding.

3. Implementing OSCE Commitments

a) Responses to ODIHR activities

Tolerance Implementation Meeting, Vienna 2006: Addressing the Hate Crimes Data Deficit:

- 36 participating States were represented at the Meeting.
 - 17 of the 46 nominated National Points of Contact on Hate Crimes registered: USA, Andorra, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Spain, Finland, France, Kazakhstan, Norway, the Netherlands, Poland, Holy See, Sweden, and the Czech Republic.

See for more information: <http://www.osce.org/item/21879.html>

ODIHR Report on Hate-Motivated Incidents

- 18 participating States provided the ODIHR with information and feedback on the report

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2006/10/21496_en.pdf

Response to the ODIHR Notes Verbales

- In the period 2004-2006, 50 participating States, which constitute 80%, have submitted information on: legislation, statistics, practical initiatives and National Points of Contact on Hate Crimes to the ODIHR.
- 46 participating States have nominated National Points of Contact on Hate Crimes.
- 46 participating States have submitted information about legislation
- 38 participating States have submitted information about practical initiatives
- 38 participating States have submitted information about statistics

b) Overview of the information collected by the ODIHR: Preliminary results

The National Points of Contact on Hate Crimes

In total, 46 participating States have nominated a National Point of Contact, some of them more than one.

- 3 participating States have nominated their delegations to the OSCE as Point of Contact.
- 33 participating States have nominated a ministry/department as Point of Contact: for example *Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Security, Ministry of Heritage, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Human and Minority Rights* etc.
- 7 participating States have nominated prosecutors and police as National Points of Contact on Hate Crimes.
- 22 participating States have informed the ODIHR of the existence of specialised bodies to monitor or respond to incidents motivated by intolerance. 10 participating States have nominated specialised bodies and working groups as National Point of Contact on Hate Crimes. Some of them deal with racism and hate crime, others with human rights, minority and discrimination issues.
 - *Belgium*: Center for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR)
 - *Bulgaria*: Commission for the Protection against Discrimination
 - *Czech Republic*: Interministerial Commission for Combating Extremism, Racism and Xenophobia.
 - *Ireland*: National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism

- *Latvia*: Latvian National Human Rights Office
- *Liechtenstein*: Office of Foreign Affairs, Working Group against Racism, Antisemitism and Xenophobia.
- *Luxembourg*: Government's Commissioner for Foreigners
- *Portugal*: High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME)
- *Sweden*: Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention
- *Switzerland*: Federal Commission against Racism

In addition to that, there are special envoys dealing with Antisemitism issues in the following participating States:

- *Germany*: Ambassador Benedikt Haller, Special Envoy for Relations with the Jewish Communities, Federal Foreign Office
- *United States of America*: Dr. Greg Rickman, U.S. Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism, U.S. State Department
- *France*: Ambassador Jacques Huntzinger, International Dimension of the Shoa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- *Poland*: Ambassador Maciej Kozłowski, Ambassador at Large for Polish-Jewish Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Statistics

- 6 participating States did not respond to the Notes Verbales.
- 6 participating States did not submit statistics on hate crime claiming that there are no reported hate crimes in their countries.
- 5 participating States submitted other information, but did not provide statistics.
- 10 participating States have provided the ODIHR with qualitative and/or quantitative data and information on anti-Semitic incidents and/or discourse.

Implications: Data Deficit = Information Deficit

- Without data, it is difficult to combat such crimes
- Without data, it is difficult to assess on what exactly policies dealing with issues of tolerance and non-discrimination should focus

c) ODIHR Recommendations

With respect to data collection, the ODIHR recommends that participating States should:

- Enact legislation requiring the relevant national criminal justice authorities to record and report on incidents motivated by hate or bias at the local and national level;
- Strengthen existing methodologies for identifying and monitoring hate crimes and incidents and for the collection of data on the types of crime or incident, perpetrators and victims, as well as the legal or other follow-up to the crime, including prosecution and length of sentences;
- Strengthen their efforts to establish specific mechanisms for registering, recording, and publicly reporting on hate crimes, including official databases and annual reports;
- If they have not done so already, nominate National Contact Points to gather and send to the ODIHR updated and regular information on hate crime statistics and legislation and relevant national initiatives to combat hate crime.

d) Tools provided by the ODIHR

In accordance with its mandate, the ODIHR

- Systematically collects and disseminates information (legislation, statistics, best practices) on tolerance and non-discrimination in the OSCE area and has made this information available to the public:
 - The Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System: <http://tnd.odihr.pl/>
 - OSCE-ODIHR Report on “Challenges and Responses to Hate-Motivated Incidents in the OSCE Region”, published in October 2006

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2006/10/21496_en.pdf

- Provides assistance to OSCE participating States in the areas of education, law enforcement training, legislation, and civil society capacity building.

ODIHR Law Enforcement Officer Training Programme for Combating Hate Crime

The programme focuses of four main components:

1. Training for police officers on all aspects of hate crime: response, investigation, gathering intelligence, sharing information, and working with prosecutors;
2. Developing strategies to combat hate crime that are based on proactive police leadership and community-based partnerships;
3. Developing an effective process for collecting and disseminating data on hate crime; and
4. Training prosecutors on how to use evidence to establish that a crime has been committed.

The following participating States have implemented the training: *Spain, Hungary, and Croatia*, with *Poland* being in the process of doing so.

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/odihr/item_11_20673.html

8. PANEL 2: Hate Crimes

8.1. *Lessons Learned in the Fight Against Anti-Semitic Incidents and Hate Crimes*

David C. Friedman¹⁷

I am David C. Friedman, the regional director of the Anti-Defamation League's Washington, DC regional office and the director of ADL's national law enforcement initiatives. I want to thank our hosts, the Germany Parliamentary Delegation to the OSCE, and Professor Gert Weisskirchen in particular, who serves as the Personal Representative of the Chair in Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, for the leadership role they have played in combating Antisemitism and hate crimes in this vast region.

Today's panel discussion on hate crimes brings together three critical issues in which ADL is a recognized leader – Antisemitism, hate crimes and working with law enforcement. ADL is a non-profit, human relations organization created in 1913 to fight Antisemitism and all forms of hate. As a direct outgrowth of this mandate, ADL has evolved into the leading non-government organization in the area of combating hate crimes. It was ADL that first created model hate crimes legislation twenty five years ago in the United States. Today, almost every state in the nation has laws based directly or indirectly on the ADL model. ADL has provided assistance to thousands of victims of anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes through its network of 27 regional offices. And the League is recognized by law enforcement, the media, governmental agencies and the education community as the most authoritative private resource on hate groups and extremism.

ADL's relationship with law enforcement is unique. Law enforcement turns to ADL for information, expertise and training. During the course of a year, thousands of law enforcement personnel access the League's online database on extremism and hate groups. Over the past eighteen months, ADL has trained more than 40,000 law enforcement personnel in the areas of hate crimes, extremism, counter-terrorism, ethics and diversity. ADL training is required for every New Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. ADL's counter-terrorism training program – the Advanced Training School – has trained more than 350 senior federal, state and local police commanders and receives eight applications for every place at the training. Under contract from the Austrian government, ADL is currently providing diversity training for the Austrian Police.

I want to share with you some of the lessons ADL has learned from almost a century fighting Antisemitism, and a quarter century leading the efforts to combat hate crimes targeting the Jewish community and other hate crime victim groups. These crimes demand priority attention because of their special impact. Hate crimes are designed to intimidate the victim and members of the victim's community, leaving them feeling isolated, vulnerable, and unprotected by the law. Failure to address this unique type of crime could cause an isolated incident to explode into widespread community tension. The damage done by hate crimes, therefore, cannot be measured solely in terms of physical injury or dollars and cents. By making members of minority communities fearful, angry, and suspicious of other groups – and of the power structure that is supposed to protect them--these incidents can damage the fabric of our society and fragment communities.

The impact of a hate crime on the victim, targeted group and the community is often determined by how the victim and his or her community perceived themselves to have been treated

¹⁷ Director of the Anti-Defamation League's Washington, DC regional office; Director of ADL's national law enforcement initiatives

by the responding and investigating officers. These perceptions can be affected by how law enforcement professionals related to the victim, the speed of their response, whether or not they appeared to dismiss the victim's perception that an attack was motivated by hate. There are a great many cases in which the anger of a victim and his community quickly turns from the perpetrator of a hate crime to the law enforcement community. Victims who believe that they have not been treated with sufficient respect or sensitivity by police – whether or not that assessment is fair – often consider their experience with law enforcement to be a “second victimization.”

Negative perceptions about police handling of hate crimes undermine the trust and partnership that are essential to a police department's performance, and increase the risk of violence directed at law enforcement personnel. Most importantly, such negative perceptions can often be avoided. Through its years of providing assistance to victims of anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes and its work with law enforcement, ADL has identified a number of operational issues that can be addressed by police to ensure the quality of law enforcement's interaction with hate crimes victims.

1. **Speed of response.** Hate crimes resonate exponentially. Word of an attack spreads extremely quickly across a community, and is often picked up by the media shortly after it has transpired. Rumors within a community and media reports may have already been circulating before the responding officers have finished taking their reports, and well before police superiors and spokespersons have been alerted to a particular incident. All of these factors may contribute to a perception that police have been slow to respond to an anti-Semitic incident or hate crime and some in the community may conclude, often without justification, that police “don't care” about attacks on members of their particular racial, religious or ethnic group. For that reason, rapid and forceful law enforcement response to possible hate crimes and hate incidents is essential.
2. **Recognizing anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes.** In order for police to respond quickly, build trust with the victim and his/her community, and bring the perpetrators of hate crimes to justice, it is imperative that law enforcement professionals at all level have the ability to recognize hate crimes and anti-Semitic incidents. Hate motivated attacks on Jews and the Jewish community present a special challenge in this regard because Jews are targeted because of their religion, race and identity with the State of Israel. Training for responding officers, supervisors and commanders will increase law enforcement's ability to quickly recognize hate crimes directed at members of the Jewish community and will assist them in their investigations and apprehension of those responsible.
3. **Relationships with the Jewish community.** One of the most effective techniques to prevent hate crimes and anti-Semitic incidents and to respond effectively when crimes occur is to establish relationships with key Jewish community leaders in advance. There are numerous and far-reaching benefits for this proactive strategy. In Washington, DC, many of the communities that were the frequent targets of hate crimes were hostile to, and distrustful of, police and prosecutors, whom they did not believe were committed to enforcing the city's hate crimes law. To address this issue, ADL and the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia (the city's chief prosecutor) created a task force composed of prosecutors, police and community based NGOs to meet monthly to share information about hate crimes. Within two years, this task force had built an exceptional level of trust and partnership between community groups and law enforcement. The task force was so successful, that it became the model for similar task forces in all 94 U.S. Attorneys Offices in the United States.

Formal task forces and individual relationships between community and law enforcement leaders increase understanding on both sides. By interacting with community leaders, law enforcement professionals gain a level of knowledge about specific communities that they could not find in training sessions or classroom presentations. Many law enforcement community outreach efforts focus on police learning about specific racial, religious and ethnic groups. It is equally important for community leaders to learn about law enforcement. One of the causes of distrust and conflict between victim communities and police in the wake of a hate crime is the public's lack of knowledge about hate crime laws and police procedures. Relationships increase understanding on both sides.

In the immediate aftermath of a hate crime, communication between the police and the targeted community is critically important. For law enforcement, the information they may gain from community members can assist in the apprehension of perpetrators and reduce the chances of retaliatory violence. Having open channels of communication into the community will allow police to share important information related to the investigation and to communicate with the community directly regarding their handling of a case. Effective communication requires that relationships between law enforcement and community leaders exist in advance. Such relationships can seldom be established during a crisis.

Combating anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes provide law enforcement with a unique opportunity to build trust with communities within diverse societies. When ADL crafted the first model hate crimes statutes in the United States more than 25 years ago, our goal was to provide police and prosecutors with a tool to bring hate crime perpetrators to justice and deter and prevent such criminal acts. In many jurisdictions within the U.S. police were unconvinced of the need for such laws. Over the past two and a half decades, however, police across the United States have recognized the value and importance of hate crime laws, not simply as a means of enforcing laws and protecting the community, but as a vehicle to build trust and partnership with the public.

The tools of the ODIHR and the networking that the OSCE process fosters among NGOs should be used to build networks and connections among advocates and officials of good will across the OSCE region. NGOs can and should play a significant role in assisting Participating States and their law enforcement agencies in addressing the problem of hate crimes. There are certainly many differences in the legal frameworks, as well as the social and political contexts in each of the OSCE Participating States, but there are also critical similarities. As a result, the precise role played by NGOs will differ from country to country, but their value as a bridge between communities and law enforcement and governmental institutions is vitally important. Alliances between representatives of NGOs, community organizations, police and prosecutors build trust and send a forceful message to racial, ethnic and religious communities that those sworn to protect them are truly committed to fighting hate crimes. The role that trained representatives of NGOs can play in providing training to law enforcement in both hate crimes and in community relations should not be underestimated. Civilians training police is one of the most effective means of increasing understanding between law enforcement and the public. Moreover, the use of highly skilled civilians for police training represents a concrete and very powerful expression of law enforcement's core values and of a nation's democratic principles and ideals.

In the 1980's, when ADL began its campaign to combat hate crimes in the United States, there were few laws on the books, little police training on the issue and no political will to address the problem of hate crimes. Hate crimes remain a serious problem in America, but we have made very significant progress. This twenty-five year struggle to protect people from the scourge of hate crimes might not have taken so long had ADL been able to work with the support of a government agency with the commitment, understanding and vision of OSCE.

8.2. OSCE/ODIHR Law Enforcement Officers Programme for Combating Hate Crime

Paul Goldenberg¹⁸

International training programme for law enforcement agencies and their community partners

Emphasis on four main components:

4. Training for police officers on all aspects of hate crime: response, investigation, gathering intelligence, sharing information, and working with prosecutors
5. Developing strategies to combat hate crime that are based on proactive police leadership and community-based partnerships
6. Training prosecutors on how to use evidence to establish that a crime has been committed
7. Developing an effective process for collecting and disseminating data on hate crime

Promotes peaceful communities through an *education* process

Supports healthy communities through:

1. Police:
 - Problem awareness
 - Effective Police-Community relationships and partnerships
 - Informed police intervention
2. Communities
 - Community engagement and police-community leadership in community safety and security
 - Community incident management
 - Community mediation
 - Community conflict prevention and resolution techniques

Delivery of the programme through the Human Rights Office of the OSCE:

- Promotes peace, order and good governance through the support of human rights, civil society and the advancement of democratic institutions
- Strengthens and promotes Community Capacity Building

Community Capacity Building is a cornerstone of the programme design

This unique program has successfully facilitated positive police-community relationships among:

- Grassroots community organizations
- Police officials
- NGOs
- Community and religious leaders
- Everyday citizens

¹⁸ Chief Executive Director, National Public Safety Strategy Group, OSCE/ODIHR

Focus on safety and basic human rights issues. This provides opportunities for:

- Expanded discussions on the impact of hate crimes and ways to combat them
- Improved mutual Police-Community understanding and support
- Implementation of new strategies for resolving differences among communities and their police agencies
- Addressing the strong and direct correlation between public support for police services and affected communities' perception regarding police responses to hate crimes and hate incidents

Implementation of the law enforcement programme results in:

- Training-facilitated and post-training education sessions between the police and minority communities
- Often the first time NGO and police leaders collaborate on policing around community issues
- Each educating the other

Participation of NGO leaders allows an opportunity to:

- Learn about police procedure
- Open new lines of communication
- Create new pathways to long-term relationships that would not otherwise be available
- Facilitate an on-going dialogue between the minority and NGO community and law enforcement officials
- Articulate State commitment to developing and sustaining peaceful communities
- Yield significant benefits using educational means
- Assignment of resources each may provide to the other for building peaceful solutions to conflict

8.3. Participating and implementing LEOP on CHC in Croatia

Daniela Petkovic¹⁹

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

It's my honour to participate in such an expert meeting dealing with Antisemitism and intolerance. My name is Daniela Petkovic, I'm lawyer by profession and I work with the Ministry of interior as the teacher of criminal law at the Police School/Police Academy in Zagreb. I'm also chief police inspector and national trainer in Law Enforcement Officer Programme on Combating Hate Crime in Croatia.

Croatia entered LEOP in 2005 and the first training was held between June, 28/ 30 2006 at the Police Academy in Zagreb. With the support of the experts who work for the ODIHR, especially Paul Goldenberg, Tim Parsons and John Howley, we have successfully finished education course of nine police officers to become future trainers. Training was very interactive and included representatives from the Governmental Office for Human Rights, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Deputy General Attorney as well representatives from the NGO Step out and Contra.

Further implementation of LEOP will be proceeded in the following way:

- LEOP will be integrated in National Police Curriculum through all teaching programmes, especially at the basic police training
- through the special courses in duration of more than one week which are carried out through the Department for Advanced and Specialized Training
- through additional specialized training carried out by the Police Districts (that means we need to execute one more training for the multipliers so we'll have at least one educated police trainer for hate crimes in each Police District)
- through the cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration, Governmental Office for Human Rights, district attorneys and the police, especially in collecting, processing and disseminating data
- through NGO – police partnership at all levels (state and local) which has been already accepted as our policy

With the latest amendments to the Criminal Code which entered into force October 1, 2006, in a way that Article 89 Paragraph 36 clearly defines hate crime as “any criminal act according to the Criminal Code, committed by reasons of hatred towards a person on the basis of his/her race, skin colour, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other belief, national or social background, property, birth, education, social status, age, medical status or any other attribute”.

Article 91 Paragraph 6 was amended in a way that hate crime murder is now considered as Aggravated Murder with the punishment by imprisonment not less ten years or by long term imprisonment.

In the Article 174 – Racial and Other Discrimination, Paragraph 3, fine punishment was erased and imprisonment was increased from six months to three year.

On October 23, Memorandum of Agreement between Ministry of Interior of Croatia and ODIHR was signed in Dubrovnik. Croatia became first country in the region to offer training in combating hate – motivated crimes to its police officers.

¹⁹ Police Academy Instructor of Criminal Law, Republic of Croatia

Police Director General brought a guideline to order executing of measures for systematic monitoring and synchronisation of activities concerning hate crimes in October. The line of work dealing with terrorism and extreme violence in each Police District are obliged to monitor, collect, and analyze systematically all kinds of dealings with problems concerning hate crimes, and will be directly involved in processing criminal offences in its jurisdiction according to the criminal acts current nomenclature. All organizational units are obliged to monitor and document by photos or VCR records or in any other way appearing of graffiti and other inscriptions which publicly insult and call to hatred and non – tolerance, and take measures in identifying the perpetrators and their processing.

It is also necessary to collect information about music bands concerts, especially those who in their performances and through their lyrics spread hatred and non – tolerance, and take measures in identifying the perpetrators and their processing.

If the number of hate crime cases starts to increase, it is necessary to take urgent and more severe measures and activities focused on prevention of further incidents, identifying and processing of perpetrators as well as protecting the threatened population or the specific group.

Together with the stated amendments to the Criminal Code, this represents quality framework for police efficiency in hate crime prevention.

Thank you for your attention!

8.4. Outcomes of LEOP-CHC²⁰ Delivery in Spain

Antonio Arrabal Villalobos²¹

At the beginning 2005 of March the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) asked the Spanish Ministry of Interior for cooperation to developing a program of police experts in hate crimes to be delivered in good number of countries belonging to the International Organization addressed to having Police officers more sensitive to hate crime and with better instruction to deal with hate crime.

In may 2005 took place in Madrid the delivery of first Law Enforcement Officers on Combating Hate Crimes session. The purpose of the course, addressed to teachers and trainers of National Police and Civil Guard academies and teaching centres, was reinforce the contents of curricula of teaching programs of police academies centres.

Spain (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) expressed from the very beginning the determination of collaborating with OSCE participating in the project because,

- it agree with the efforts of the space OSCE to create cultures of tolerance and coexistence,
- it responds to the objectives of defending of the multilateral mechanisms and promotion of the human rights.
- It assess very positively to increase the awareness of Police bodies in as delicate field for democratic coexistence as is the racism, intolerance, xenophobia, and discrimination incidence

The Spain's Ministry of Interior decided its active collaboration with OSCE from the very beginning.

- National Police and Civil Guard activity is inside higher standards on respect to human rights. The youth of our democracy has allowed in this, like in other scopes, renovate the whole penal law and procedure rules adapted to best practices patterns on individual freedoms respect for Law Enforcement Agencies.
- Particularly in what refers to police education in the scope on the prevention and fighting against racism, xenophobia, Antisemitism and other forms of intolerance, educational curricula includes those kind of topics, from ethics subjects to prevention and investigation measures and treatment of offenders and victims ones.
- Nevertheless the Ministry of Interior appreciates the benefits of developing of the programme in Spain and contributing to develop it in many others countries. So, Spain is part of the team in this issue.

The outcomes of the delivery of the programme in Spain has been,

- Inclusion in educational curricula of National Police and Civil Guard academies at all levels: first access, specialization, promotion which currently are in effect.
- Inclusion on lessons and topics related with police dealing with racism, Antisemitism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance in internal web sites (intranet)

As a consequence the Ministry of Interior is going to follow up and keep the level of integration and collaboration with ODIHR-OSCE proposals in this scope.

²⁰ LEOP-CHG (Law Enforcement Officers Programme on Combating Hate Crimes) - OSCE

²¹ State Department for Security, Spain

SITUATION ON RACISM IN SPAIN

A Spanish advocacy group, Movement against Intolerance, has demanded that the parliament pass a Hate Crimes law to deal with what it describes as an increasing occurrence of hate crimes, especially due to the growth of neo-Nazi groups in Spain.

Media reported Ministry of the Interior figures of 70 operative neo-Nazi groups with a membership of 11,000 operating in the country. The Nazi website “The Censure of the Democracy” claims membership of over 16,000 people committed to an ideology of hate. Among the crime statistics cited in the media were at least 60 people killed and hundreds injured by hate-motivated crimes over the past 13 years in Spain.

The RAXEN report warned about 94 music bands, self-described ‘patriots’, playing concerts in relative secrecy and publishing CDs containing a hate ideology of racism, Antisemitism and intolerance.

Roma situation

Reliable estimates of the Romani population in Spain range among 600,000 to 700,000 out of a total general population of around 44 million. Nearly half of the Roma in Spain live in the southern region of Andalusia, the autonomous community with the largest Romani population (approximately 3% of the total population). Large Romani communities are also found in Madrid, Valencia and Catalonia.

The Romani population is young in comparison with the population at large; around half of the Spanish Roma people are less than 16 years old and the birth rate of Roma is much higher than among the general population. Spanish Roma are also, however, very diverse and heterogeneous. Cultural differences among Spanish Romani peoples are in part related to regional differences and in part due to various historical and cultural factors.

Moreover, Spanish Roma people are currently going through a period of important change. Several generations ago, for example, the majority of Roma lived in rural areas and small towns, but in recent decades many Roma have moved to urban areas. There has also been a gradual decrease in the birth rate and the number of children per family. The average age of marriage is also increasing, although it is still lower than the general population.

The social situation of the Spanish Roma has improved considerably during the last 30 years. This is fundamentally due to the fact that the Roma have gained from the universalization of welfare state benefits as well as the rest of the citizens, and also due to the action of positive measures specifically addressed to this group. Despite this improvement of their living conditions, in comparison with the rest of society, the income level of the Roma is still under the average and a part of them still live in conditions of poverty and exclusion (30% according to the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion 2001-2003).

The Spanish Roma community has suffered a historical racism and discrimination shown during centuries in legal providences and legal provisions such as the Social Dangerousness Law, or certain articles of the Guardia Civil regulation. In this sense, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 improved considerably the situation of the Roma community, although it does not mention the ethnic minorities living in Spain, as the right of equal treatment for all persons is recognised under article 14.

Nowadays, although remarkable advances have been achieved, racism and discrimination are still one of the main obstacles for the Roma people’s incorporation to society as full-fledged citizens. Roma people, according to all opinion studies, always appear as one of the worst valued groups, and such social rejection produces discriminatory practices in the daily life.

Regarding hate crimes, Roma people still suffers racist attacks mainly committed individually, although are also one of the target groups of extremist organisations. It is also relatively frequent the commitment of racist attacks in the framework of public demonstrations against Roma people, especially in small villages and rural areas where stereotypes and prejudices link them with crime.

Source: Fundacion Secretariado Gitano

Spain's Police sources

- About 10.000 people are integrated in right wing groups in Spain (1/3 Civil Guard territory). But there are much more sympathizers (soccer ultras, or attendants to a RAC concert).
- Common denominator, being against immigration. Nothing more common to joint these groups.
- Right wing organizations must be divided into two groups: about 20 mini legal political parties, and neo-nazi groups and among which stand up Hammerskin, Blood an Honour an Volksfront.
- The illegal groups are weakly organized and they have not a clear leader. The clearest manifestation of their existence is when they attend sporadic and occasional musical concerts. And also through internet.
- In 2005 Law Enforcemnt in Spain detained 142 people member of that groups because use of street fights using knives and sharp weapons, bats, sticks and, mostly fists and kicks
- Legal wing right parties has insignificant implantation in political scenario and constitute a very atomized constellation of acronyms.

POLICE ROLE ON HATE CRIMES

I'd like to speak about the role of Police on hate crimes, taking a sentence which is at the very beginning of the OSCE Law Enforcement Officer's on Combating Hate Crimes Facilitator's Guide. The sentence is

"Policing is an ideal issue for the OSCE. It combines security and human rights. Good policing has a vital role to play in the prevention of conflicts, the preservation of Social Stability during political crises, and the post-conflict rehabilitation of societies.

Without an effective law enforcement, respect for the rule of law and the operation of institutions responsible for upholding it, there can be little likelihood of social, political or economic development"

It was pronounced by a former OSCE Chairman-in Office not very long time ago.

And borrowing to Paul Goldenberg a saying:

"Law Enforcement agencies, particularly foron-line officers have an important role to play in leading the fight against hate crimes. Police are often at the forefront of social change. They are in an unique an vital position in maintaining civil society and protecting the safety and security of nation's citizenzy".

One of the key issues on prevention of conflicts is the promotion of human rights, the democracy, tolerance, non-discrimination, including hate crimes an violent manifestations of racism, xenophobia, Antisemitism an other forms of intolerance.

Although the police are certainly not the only public organisation with a responsibility in these matters, they can be considered the gatekeepers of equality, integration and cohesion in our rapidly changing societies. It is necessary that the police are active and reliable in carrying

out their role as guardians of the anti-discrimination legislation. In other words, the police have an important responsibility in enforcing the law as well as taking preventive measures to combat racism and discrimination.

The composition of population in Europe and all over the world has changed radically and is changing more and more. Now we have in many countries multi-ethnic communities which places special demands on the police organisation. As a result, the police must accept the need to adapt their professionalism, quality of service and their legal and wider responsibilities to the needs of a continually changing population. The goal is to provide services that are applicable and accessible to all citizens regardless of their ethnic origin and background.

To combat the destructive and socially damaging impact of hate crime, law enforcement must be in the foreground of social change. States and communities, in responding to hate crimes (such as in the form of action, policy, legislation and justice), are most often heavily dependent on effective law enforcement to create positive change and reduce criminality. The responding police officers' behaviour and approach to a hate crime are indicative to the community how the issue is perceived by the State, and how the community may be affected positively or negatively.

8.5. Policing Hate Crimes

Michael Whine²²

A series of reports on hate crimes in general, and on Antisemitism in particular, have been published during the past two years.

They reflect mounting concern that Europe may once again provide the arena for a new wave of anti – Jewish violence. Some Jewish voices express their fear that this new Antisemitism, which frequently comes from new and different directions, has the potential to be as genocidal as were the Nazis. These fears may be regarded as exaggerated and misplaced but our experience teaches us to recognise the symptoms of hate. We understand better than most the symbiotic relationship between hateful discourse and the violence that inevitably ensues. We also know that when we are the first in line for victimisation, other minorities are not far behind and that what is at ultimately at stake is the wellbeing of democracy itself.

The reports also reflect the concern of international governmental and non-governmental organisations within the OSCE region, who recognise that violence and violent speech directed to a particular community or communities provide a tension indicator and that democratic rights are threatened and international agreements and undertakings are contravened.

A short list of recent reports by international bodies which inter alia examine the rise in Antisemitism would include;

- the May 2006 EUMC Summary Overview on Antisemitism;
- the October 2006 OSCE ODIHR report on Challenges and Responses to Hate-Motivated Incidents in the OSCE Region
- the October 2006 AGIS European Union Social Fund Report on Reducing Hate Crime in Europe
- the 2005 Survey of Violent Hate Crimes in Europe and North America published by Human Rights First, formerly the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights;
- the 2005 Annual Report by the International Network Against Cyberhate.

Among the recent national reports we have had:

- The September 2006 Report of the All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism;
- The US Government Uniform Crime Report on Hate Crime Statistics 2005.

Jewish communities have also published their own reports and at the beginning of November 2006, the European Jewish Congress issued a report on Anti-Semitic Incidents and Discourse in Europe During the Israel-Hizbollah War, which reflected the concerns of some Jewish communities within the OSCE region that, once again, Middle East tension was overspilling on to the streets of Europe.

The OSCE is foremost among international governmental organisations in initiating training so that law enforcement agencies can better address one of the failings highlighted by nearly all the reports mentioned. That is that there is a data deficit; ie governments, despite their commitments, are failing to monitor and record hate crimes in general, and antisemitic crimes in particular.

²² Community Security Trust, Director; Member of the UK police forum on hate crimes

It is apparent that many states have yet to realise the threat that hate crimes pose to the fabric of their societies, and having no experience of monitoring such crimes are incapable of designing policies to counter them.

The OSCE/ODIHR has also established the Law Enforcement Officer Training Programme so that police forces, which previously served often to enforce the will of governments, can now learn to protect their citizens' human rights, on the one hand and monitor and record hate crimes, on the other.

These concerns were the theme of the OSCE Meeting in Vienna two weeks ago. Here, states were reminded of the Ministerial Council Decisions of 2003 and 2005 that they should keep reliable information and statistics on hate crimes, including forms of violent manifestations of racism, xenophobia, discrimination and Antisemitism, and that this information should be made public.

To assist states, ODIHR has offered a working definition of hate crime, which sits alongside that provided by the EUMC on Antisemitism.

It has also published an Overview of Statistics, Legislation and National Initiatives on Combating Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region, intended for practitioners and civil society which serves as a useful handbook.

Thematic sessions at the Vienna meeting focussed on the importance of data collection, the importance of data collection in police – community relations, and the importance of data for formulating policy.

The meeting was preceded by a Forum attended by representatives of 25 Non Governmental Organisations, which recalled OSCE commitments and urged support for civil society projects aimed at monitoring and reducing hate crimes and the development of networks and coalitions focussed on the issue.

What has also become apparent is that states do not necessarily have all the information, or best answers, in combating hate crime, and Antisemitism. Civil society organisations sometimes lead the way in both the provision of information and in its analytical use.

The organisations for which I work, particularly the Community Security Trust, are among the best in this arena, in part because we are focussed on the problem and because we are capable of mobilising resources to address them. Our experience is now increasingly sought by other communities and by government agencies, and we are happy to share our experiences. We know that Antisemitism cannot be fought just by Jews. It needs others as well, but most importantly it needs states to address the problem through its criminal justice and other agencies.

8.6. Recommendations from the Hate Crimes Session

Michael Whine

1. The ODIHR Law Enforcement Officer Programme recognises that the police are the first responders to a hate crime, and that their response will determine the course and outcome of any investigation. It therefore deserves continued prioritisation by OSCE states if they are to reduce the level of hate crime in the region.
2. We recognise the hate crimes increasingly have an international dimension and OSCE and state law enforcement agencies need to recognise this, and to substantially increase their cooperation and exchange of information.
3. We recognise that NGO's and civil society can add value to the work of law enforcement agencies in combating hate crimes and Antisemitism, and urge them to avail themselves of the assistance they can offer.
4. We recognise that those states that have demonstrated the political will to tackle antisemitic and other hate crimes have made significant progress in enacting legislation, training law enforcement officers, and thereby reducing such crimes. Their example should be followed by those states which have so far failed to implement their OSCE and other undertakings.
5. We recognise that some former Soviet states have no history of government working with NGO's on combating antisemitic and other hate crimes, and urge them to do so. Likewise, we urge NGO's to continue to press their governments, with a view to including them in their counter-actions against antisemitic and other hate crimes.

9. PANEL 3: Education

9.1. *Education on Antisemitism and the Holocaust in the Framework of the OSCE*

Kathrin Meyer²³

1. Summary of Commitments

OSCE Participating States have committed to:

- Encourage public and private educational programmes that promote tolerance and non-discrimination, and raise public awareness of the existence and the unacceptability of intolerance and discrimination, and in this regard, to consider drawing on ODIHR expertise and assistance in order to develop methods and curricula for tolerance education in general, including:
 - Fighting racial prejudice, xenophobia and discrimination;
 - Education and remembrance of the Holocaust, as well as other genocides, recognized as such in accordance with the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and crimes against humanity;
 - Education on Antisemitism in order to ensure a systematic approach to education, including curricula related to contemporary forms of Antisemitism in participating States;²⁴
- Work with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to determine appropriate ways to review periodically the problem of Antisemitism;²⁵
- Encourage the development of informal exchanges among experts in appropriate fora on best practices and experiences in law enforcement and education;²⁶
- Examine the possibility of establishing within countries appropriate bodies to promote tolerance and to combat racism, xenophobia, discrimination or related intolerance, including against Muslims, and Antisemitism;²⁷

The Office for Democratic Institution and Human Rights (ODIHR) was mandated to:

- Follow closely anti-Semitic incidents;²⁸
- Systematically collect and disseminate information throughout the OSCE area on best practices for preventing and responding to Antisemitism and, if requested, offer advice to participating States in their efforts to fight Antisemitism;²⁹
- Support the ability of civil society and the development of partnerships to address racism, xenophobia and related intolerance, including Antisemitism.³⁰

²³ Advisor on Antisemitism Issues, OSCE-ODIHR

²⁴ Ljubljana MC Decision No. 10/05: Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding.

²⁵ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 607 on Combating Antisemitism.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 621 on Tolerance and The Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination.

²⁸ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 607 on Combating Antisemitism.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Annex to Sofia MC Decision No. 12/04, Permanent Council Decision No. 621 on Tolerance and The Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination.

2. Reasons for the promotion of education on Antisemitism and the Holocaust

With the Berlin Declaration (2000), participating States

- Reacted to the rise of Antisemitism in the OSCE region and simultaneously recognized that Antisemitism has assumed new forms and expressions;
- Acknowledged that Antisemitism poses a threat to: democracy, the values of civilization and to the overall security in the OSCE region and beyond.

Ever since, Antisemitism has continued to be on the rise:

- A recent report by the European Jewish Congress concluded that “overall, the number of anti-Semitic incidents increased in the European Union”, notably in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, and the UK.
- The recent ODIHR Report on *Challenges and Responses to Hate-Motivated Incidents in the OSCE Region* highlighted that
 - places of worship, such as cemeteries and synagogues, Holocaust memorials and persons have become targets of violent anti-Semitic attacks in numerous countries;
 - at the same time, anti-Semitic discourse is on the rise, involving Holocaust denial, the transference of anti-Israel sentiment onto all Jews, with Jewish communities receiving numerous threats.
- Observers emphasize the special role played by the internet. Schools have also become sites, where Antisemitism manifests itself. On 12 October, a 16 year-old German boy was forced by school colleagues to walk around the schoolyard with a sign on his neck saying “I’m the biggest pig in town, only with Jews do I hang around.” On 9 November, arsonists set fire to a Jewish school in Gagny, North of Paris, France. The same school had been badly damaged in another arson attack in 2003.

Against this background, the role of education is crucial.

- Education is a means of not only combating Antisemitism but also a preventive measure.
- Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism can be linked to the area of tolerance and non-discrimination in general and is thus conducive to creating and fostering a climate of tolerance and understanding among and within communities.

3. ODIHR Activities

a) Collecting Information and Disseminating Good Practices

Publication:

Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism in the OSCE region: An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches

- Country by country
- Overview

With this study, the ODIHR evaluated existing initiatives in the OSCE participating States and identified gaps and areas where the teaching about the Holocaust and on Antisemitism needs to be strengthened.

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/odihr/item_11_18712.html

Areas of concern:

- Lack of training for teachers and/or lack of adequate teaching materials
- Time limitations within the curriculum
- Inadequate training or educational strategies targeted at teaching about the Holocaust within multicultural learning environments
- Difficulties in dealing with issues connected to the current political situation in the Middle East.
- The existence of prejudices and stereotypes among some educators,
- Disagreements over the rationale for teaching about the Holocaust and its relationship to other genocides

Recommendations:

- Holocaust Education should be implemented in each participating State and needs to be strengthened in many;
- Contemporary Antisemitism cannot be sufficiently addressed by Holocaust education, it should be acknowledged as an issue of itself;
- Teacher Trainings should be implemented in OSCE participating States and supported by the Governments;
- Sufficient teaching materials should be developed;
- Cooperation within the region and between educators and exchange of experience should be encouraged.

b) Providing participating States with Tools

The ODIHR has established a close co-operation with key international organizations and developed assistance projects to support the implementation of OSCE commitments.

- ***Preparing Holocaust Memorial Days – Suggestions for Educators***
 - Document compiling good practices from various OSCE participating States.
 - Developed in cooperation with Yad Vashem, Israel.
 - Available in 12 languages: English, Croatian, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, and Spanish.
 - Available online on: <http://www.osce.org/odihr> or on <http://tnd.odihr.pl/?p=edu>
- ***Teaching Material on Jewish History and Antisemitism***
 - Developed in cooperation with the Anne Frank House Amsterdam and with a team of experts from seven countries
 - Germany, Croatia, Denmark, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, and Ukraine.
 - The material consists of three major themes:
 - The history of Jews and Antisemitism in Europe until 1945
 - Contemporary forms of Antisemitism
 - Antisemitism as one of many forms of discrimination.
 - It has been adapted to the pilot countries' historical and social background and has been tested in schools

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/odihr/item_11_20672.html

c) Response to ODIHR activities

Holocaust Memorial Days

- 39 out of 56 participating States commemorate the victims of the Holocaust
 - 33 participating States have designated special Holocaust memorial days.
 - 7 participating States have translated the ODIHR/Yad Vashem guidelines *Preparing Holocaust Memorial Days* into their languages (*Belgium, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, and Switzerland*).
 - 4 participating States use the guidelines officially: *Italy, Croatia, Greece, Hungary*

See for more information: http://tnd.odihr.pl/content/documents/table_hmd.pdf

2nd OSCE Tolerance Implementation Meeting: “Education to Promote Mutual Respect and Understanding and to Teach about the Holocaust”, October 2006, Dubrovnik

- 24 participating States registered for the Meeting
- 18 participating States sent their OSCE delegations or other diplomats
- 6 participating States sent experts:
 - *USA*: Deputy Director, Office for Holocaust Issues, State Department
 - *Austria*: Federal Ministry for Social Affairs, Generations and Consumer Protection, Deputy Head of Unit International Youth and Family Policies
 - *Bulgaria*: Senior Expert
 - *Croatia*: e.g. Head of Jasenovac Memorial Center, Senior Adviser for History and History of Arts Education, Education and Teacher Training Agency
 - *Slovakia*: Research Institute for Child Psychology, Government of Slovak Republic
 - *Spain*: Ministry of Education

See for more information: http://www.osce.org/conferences/tolerance2_2006.html

9.2. *Knowledge and Prejudice: Results of a survey in Hungary*

András Kovács³¹

Many people were surprised and worried by the antisemitic discourse that arose after the collapse of Communism in Hungary and elsewhere in the former Communist countries. Others, however, believed that it was no more than the ill-fated undertaking of a few fanatics and something that should not be taken too seriously. There was much debate about how to react to anti-Jewish hostility and how best to deal in public with anti-Jewish views. At the same time, nobody knew the degree to which the societies in question were inclined to adopt the re-emerging antisemitic ideology. Reliable research data on the tenacity and strength of antisemitic prejudice in post-Communist Hungary and in the other post-Soviet countries was not yet available. Nor did we know the extent to which antisemitic rhetoric could influence social actions and which sections of society would be the most susceptible. Moreover, during the decades prior to the political changes of 1989, there had been no examination, based on social scientific methods, of changes occurring in historical consciousness in Hungary in the course of the 50 years since the Holocaust. The history of the Horthy regime, Nazism, Jewish persecution, and the responsibility felt for the Holocaust, were all issues that were either wrapped in a veil of silence or were discussed – in school textbooks and in public – in accordance with the requirements of the Communist party state. Nobody knew the extent to which historical memory could provide an antidote when faced with the challenge of reemerging Antisemitism.

All these questions and considerations led us to carry out several surveys in Hungary on antisemitic attitudes. In the course of these surveys we asked a nationally representative sample to respond to among others, questions that would enable us to reconstruct the views of the interviewee on the Holocaust in general, and especially on the Holocaust in Hungary. In the following I will present some results of the surveys of 2003 on the knowledge of the population on the Shoa and on the correlation of knowledge level and antisemitic attitudes³².

³¹ Central European University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

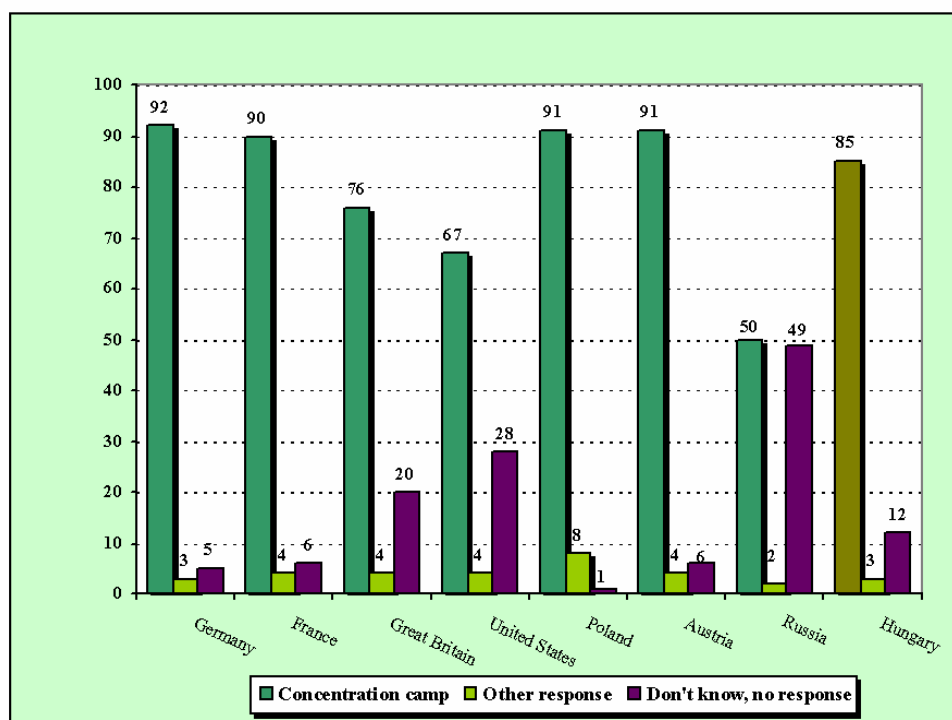
³² The survey was carried out by the Szonda-Ipsos Opinion Polling Institute for the Holocaust Memoria Center, Budapest in October 2003. In the survey 1000 face-to-face interviews were made with members of a sample that represented the adult Hungarian population by gender, age, domicile and education.

1. Knowledge of the Holocaust

In the questionnaire, we listed the former locations of Nazi and Soviet concentration camps and asked respondents to state whether or not they had heard of these places and if so to tell us why they were well known.

Diagram 1.: What are Auschwitz, Dachau and Treblinka known for?

(International data 1994-1996; percentage)



As the findings show, 91 percent of respondents had heard of Auschwitz, 49 percent of Dachau, 20 percent of Treblinka, 76 percent of Recsk (concentration camp in Hungary in the early 50th), and 16 percent of Vorkuta. In the case of Auschwitz, 85 percent of respondents correctly stated why the location was so well known. The corresponding ratio was 41 percent in the case of Dachau, while just 15 percent knew that Treblinka had been a concentration camp.³³ Sixty-one percent correctly stated the former purpose of Recsk, but just 8 percent did so in the case of Vorkuta. A comparison of the international data showed that the Hungarian population is better informed than the British or U.S. populations and also much better informed than participants in the Russian sample.³⁴

The next item on the questionnaire asked respondents to identify the group suffering the greatest human sacrifice as a result of wartime persecution in Hungary. A similar question had been posed in a Polish survey conducted in 1995. We compared the Hungarian figures

³³ In 2006 in a similar survey 92 % of the respondents gave a correct answer to the question about Auschwitz, 46 percent on Dachau and 13 percent on Treblinka.

³⁴ The relevant surveys posed the question in a slightly different manner: "What do you know or what have you heard about Auschwitz, Dachau, and Treblinka?" in *Knowledge and Remembrance of the Holocaust*, 879. In Hungary the questionnaire posed three separate questions about these concentration camps. For this reason, in order to make a comparison, we examined exclusively the data for Auschwitz. We did so because Auschwitz was probably the best-known camp in the other countries too – and respondents gave correct or erroneous answers on this basis. In several countries the question was not open-ended (France, United States), and so the Hungarian data suggest the population is relatively well-informed.

with the findings in Poland.³⁵ Whereas 89 percent of Hungarian respondents indicated Jews as the group suffering the greatest human sacrifice, this had been the response of just 28 percent of Poles. In both countries, relatively few respondents were able to state approximately how many Hungarian or Polish Jews had died in World War II. In Hungary, 22 percent of respondents estimated the number of victims to be greater than half a million. Even if we accept that an estimate of 250 thousand – 500 thousand is correct response, the ratio giving a correct response is still only 35 percent. In Poland, just 13 percent knew that more than 80 percent of Polish Jews were murdered during the war.

After several knowledge-questions finally we asked interviewees whether they knew of any artistic or literary works dealing with the persecution of Jews in Hungary. Twenty percent of respondents said that they did know of such a work – with the majority (47 %) mentioning the novel *Fatelessness* by the Nobel Prize-winning author Imre Kertész. This means that just a year after he was awarded the Nobel Prize, less than 10 percent of the adult population knew something about Kertész's work.

Table 1: Knowledge level of the Hungarian adult population (percentage, N=998)

	%	N
Very uninformed	16	163
Uninformed	39	389
Averagely informed	32	315
Informed	11	107
Well-informed	2	25
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>998</i>

If we aggregate the responses to the knowledge questions,³⁶ we find that more than half of the Hungarian adult population (55 percent) fails to reach the average level of knowledge for the general population and just a small fraction of the population (2 percent) has significant knowledge of the Holocaust. A comparison of the informed and uninformed groups generally produced the anticipated results: the more educated groups, urban dwellers (in particular Budapest residents), and people of higher social or economic status³⁷ scored higher than other groups on the knowledge scale.³⁸ The only unexpected difference between the groups related to age: old people and the young were significantly more likely to be uninformed.

³⁵ The exact wording of the question was: "In your view, who was the main victim of the Nazis during the Second World War?" in *Knowledge and Remembrance of the Holocaust*, 897.

³⁶ The knowledge questions were used to develop a complex factor by means of principal component analysis. The table shows the percentages for the *quintiles* of the principal component. The knowledge level for the two upper categories (4-5) is higher than average, while that for the two lower categories (1-2) is lower than average.

³⁷ The factor measuring social status – which includes respondents' place in the employment hierarchy, their level of education and economic wealth – was constructed by means of principal component analysis.

³⁸ We examined connections between the level of knowledge and other factors by means of crosstable analysis, variance analysis (*one-way* procedure), and – in the case of two continuous variables – by calculating the correlation between them.

2. Knowledge and prejudice

In terms of the extent Antisemitism³⁹ there is no significant distinction between the groups displaying different level of prejudice.

Table 2.: Antisemitic and non-antisemitic groups according to their knowledge of the Holocaust (percentage, N = 983)

	Extreme antisemites	Moderate antisemites	Non-antisemites
Very uninformed	8	15	11
Uninformed	40	47	46
Averagely informed	39	29	31
Informed	10	7	11
Well-informed	3	2	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

13 percent of extreme antisemites, 10 percent of moderate antisemites, and 12 percent of non-antisemites were included in the informed and well-informed group (Table 2.). This piece of data appears to refute the existence of a direct connection between knowledge level and prejudice. Greater knowledge is clearly linked with a higher level of formal education and with higher status, but other motives – for instance, life experiences, affiliation with certain religious denominations, and even extreme anti-Jewish prejudice – probably serve to encourage people to gather information about Jewish persecution. All this seems to give credence to those who argue that knowledge of the Holocaust can only reduce the likelihood of prejudice if it is placed in an interpretive context within a cautiously elaborated framework of a special educational program.

³⁹ In this survey, the antisemitism factor was constructed on the basis of answers to two questions. The first question concerned whether or not the respondent placed himself in the group whose members “are hostile towards Jews”. The second concerned whether or not the respondent liked or disliked Jews on the basis of a (nine-point) scale. Those respondents who stated that they were hostile to Jews were classified as extreme antisemities; those who stated that they were not hostile but fell into the lower *tercile* on the like/dislike scale were classified as moderate antisemites; all other respondents were classified as non-antisemites. Based on respondents’ answers, nine percent of total respondents may be described as extreme antisemites and 68 percent as non-antisemites, while the rest could be placed in the group of “moderate antisemites”. In relation to the previous classifications, we can say that the extreme antisemites’ group can be defined with almost the same precision as in earlier surveys, but in light of the imperfect nature of our means of measurement, it is likely that some respondents who, on the basis of the previous questions, would have been placed in one of the categories between the extreme antisemite groups and the non-antisemitic groups, were placed in the non-antisemitic group.

9.3. *Pragmatical Approaches to Teaching about Antisemitism throughout Europe*

Karen Polak⁴⁰

Ladies and gentleman,

I am very thankful for the opportunity to speak here for a forum of people all dedicated to combating Antisemitism. All though we all share a deep concern for the rise of Antisemitism in Europe we have - I am sure - different strategies in how to respond, how we think best to be able to stem the tide as it were. Our responses depend on where we are working and with whom we are working.

I will limit myself to a few main points concerning the field of education.

My first plea is to encourage support for a wide variety of strategies and to reach out to different target groups in education.

If we had one panacea - one medicine, to 'cure' Antisemitism this would not be necessary. If we had this, we wouldn't be in the situation that we are in now. As Yves Camus mentioned yesterday - France has a long tradition of education on the Shoah, but this not proven to be effective in an over all way, to stop the rise of Antisemitism.

We are dealing with a complex phenomena that manifests itself in many ways. We cannot expect to have just the one 'right' answer.

Over the last year I have worked with a team of educational experts from seven countries across Europe - from the Ukraine, to Croatia, to Denmark and Germany, developing teaching materials on Antisemitism. These materials are aimed at the average student and the average teacher. I want to stress this point of 'the average' - as this is an important target group, but by no means the only important target group.

I talk of teaching materials 'on' rather than 'against' Antisemitism'. Of course the underlying aim is to contribute to combating Antisemitism, but first we need to bring across some basic knowledge and some basic insights, which sadly, are not to be taken for granted. If we have to take into account that many teachers have very little understanding of Antisemitism, we have to accept that they will not be dealing with it at length. Materials aimed at such an 'average' audience will of necessity be limited in scope and not go into depth. Teachers will often approach Antisemitism as one of the many ills of society and the same is true of students. They do not have a deeper interest and I feel that we should not lose sight of this 'average' situation and respond to it in a pragmatic way. This is not to say however, that a little more understanding for the general body of students will not go a long way.

I want to support the point made by Professor Hart yesterday, that many students, indeed many educators have no idea of what it means to be Jewish and that many have only the concept of the Holocaust victim in mind (or Israel) when they speak of Jews. Although, to be realistic, we may assume that many educators will not be interested in a fuller understanding of the Jewish religion, or of Jewish history, we can bring across that a certain minimum understanding of Jewish history as part of European history is essential for anyone teaching history or social sciences. One cannot understand the modern world, let alone modern Antisemitism without some historical insight in the Jewish prescience in Europe throughout nearly 2000 years.

The project that I have worked on with colleagues from seven countries and with the support of the OSCE is a three part teaching pack. These materials - three magazines for students,

⁴⁰ Anne Frank House Amsterdam

with introductory texts and assignments, on historical and contemporary forms of Antisemitism and on Antisemitism in relation to other forms of discrimination - have been tested in schools and are near to being finalised. Each theme is material for two - to three lessons, for 14-16 year olds. You will find a full description in a fact sheet that is available on the table outside.

To come back to the diverse strategies that are needed I want to point out the need to reach out to community leaders, among teachers and students. Teachers who are prepared and have the skills to put a sometimes unpopular and therefore sensitive issue on the agenda of a teacher meeting. Students that are prepared to work at greater length on understanding Antisemitism and to take an outspoken stand point in opposing any form of Antisemitism.

In France we have the example of Coexist - a group of Jewish and Muslim students that visit schools together to discuss prejudices and intolerance in general and Antisemitism and discrimination of Muslims in particular. In Amsterdam the city council supports a peer education project that enables Jewish and Muslim students to go in pairs to vocational training colleges, where the lowest level of students get their schooling. The peer educators teach the Second World war, the Holocaust and the conflict in the middle east.

Here in Berlin there is KIGA, the Kreuzberg Initiative Gegen Antisemitismus, that brings together youngsters of different backgrounds to work together on understanding and taking action against Antisemitism. Such projects deserve full support at every level. Dialogue among young people of different backgrounds can lead to a small but important group of dedicated young people that serve as a role model for a larger group.

These are the civil initiatives that we take as an example in our teaching materials for our 'average' students - to show them that we all have the choice to make a difference and to speak out against Antisemitism when we are confronted with it.

I'd like to point out the importance of also focussing on trainee teachers, still in college. These future teachers need to learn the basic skills to work on themes such as prejudices and discrimination and to they have to learn how to help students develop critical learning skills.

These future teachers need to understand the connection between different forms of discrimination and the differences between them. Only if teachers have the necessary sensitivity and the skills to cope with what is present, 'in the air', in the classroom, can we expect 'education' to make a difference.

Next year, before the next school year starts, the teaching materials for the Ukraine, Poland, Germany, Denmark, Croatia, the Netherlands and Lithuania will be ready to implement in schools. What is now needed is support for the implementation - on the one hand making the materials available to schools and on the other hand making it possible for teachers to take part in a seminar to give them the confidence to work with these materials.

Antisemitism is complex and it is sensitive - tied up as it is in many peoples minds with the conflict in the Middle East. Across Europe teachers are ready to work on Antisemitism, but often they are also insecure and 'on their own'. So the plea I make here is to support teachers - giving them the opportunity to meet and discuss different approaches in dealing with Antisemitism. Having tested the materials in schools we have seen that students of all backgrounds are open to learning about this history of Jews and Antisemitism and that teachers are keen to have materials that are 'easy to use' - not presupposing that they are experts. They are also open to further education themselves, as long as it fits the reality of a often very heavy work load.

I hope we can all work together to make the teaching training on a wider scale possible.

Thank you.

9.4. Antisemitism as a Topic in Education

Juliane Wetzel⁴¹

The term "Antisemitism" (hostility towards Jews) means nothing other than a negative attitude towards Jews. Antisemitic prejudices include negative stereotyping of Jews, social distancing from Jews, and an emotional rejection of Jews which may escalate into deadly hatred. All of this is based on the assumption that Jews are not only sometimes but all intrinsically bad; in other words, their negative characteristics cannot be remedied. In this context, Jews are perceived not as individuals but are always viewed collectively, as strangers in the midst of mainstream society, bringing nothing but evil or misfortune on their "host societies", or indeed on the entire world – and what's more, doing so clandestinely.

Over the centuries, the forms of Antisemitism have changed. Alongside the religiously motivated hatred of Jews, economic forms of Antisemitism became prevalent in the Middle Ages and early modern times, which produced the stereotype of the usurious, haggling Jew. These prejudices still survive today, but are now frequently emerging with different connotations, especially in connection with conspiracy theories. One of the dominant motifs in Antisemitism today is still the world conspiracy theory: this claims that Jews are the string-pullers behind global events, either through their financial or media power or through clandestine political influence, especially over the USA but also the European countries. In addition, in Germany in particular, "secondary Antisemitism" ("Antisemitism because of Auschwitz") plays a key role. This is closely linked with the Holocaust and Holocaust remembrance. Here, the line of argument goes like this: the Jews are using the past to derive benefits for the present. It also includes criticism of Israel and draws comparisons with the methods deployed by the Nazis, and calls for a line to be drawn under history, combined with the assertion that the crimes against the Jews are constantly being held against Germany. This "secondary Antisemitism" is also extended to Israel in current debates if a Jewish victim status and therefore the State of Israel's right to exist are denied.

Antisemitism often goes unnoticed until it makes use of the racist stereotypes of National Socialist ideology or assumes a violent character. More subtle forms of anti-Jewish prejudice are often not accepted as being a form of Antisemitism.

Today, other than at the far right of the political spectrum, Jews are no longer discriminated against because of their "race" or religion, but because – in line with antisemitic world conspiracy theories – they are regarded as an intrinsic threat, the spawn of Satan, dominating the world.

Developments over the last four years have shown how the Middle East conflict can have a mobilizing effect on latent antisemitic prejudice structures. However, these modern forms of Antisemitism are often not recognised as such because they lack the racist elements which are assumed to be a constituent part of Antisemitism. There is little awareness of other and more subtle forms of anti-Jewish prejudice which differ from the learned forms. Antisemitic stereotypes have therefore changed radically in that Antisemitism is now directed against Zionism, and particularly Israel, instead of "the Jews". This is why now more than ever, Holocaust education cannot serve as a preventive measure against Antisemitism. However, for teachers in current society, Holocaust education means being confronted with modern antisemitic stereotypes which they encounter in class and which they are inadequately prepared to deal with.

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In school, the social discourse in which "Jews" are equated with "Israelis", and old antisemitic prejudices – now set in new contexts – result in a tangibly distanced, if not ostracizing, attitude towards Jews as a collective. The reticence in the public's handling of expressions of Antisemitism – in other words, the refusal to speak openly about negative constructs of Jews – is also reflected in the pedagogical approach to this issue.

Shying away from this difficult theme, which also demands self-reflection on one's own possible reservations about the Jews – often directed nowadays against Israel as the Jewish collective – often results in teachers falling back on tried and trusted topics such as the Holocaust. A favourite way of dealing with the issue of Antisemitism nowadays is to invite contemporary witnesses of the Holocaust to speak to the class, although the real meaning of the term "contemporary witnesses" is never discussed. A more sensible approach would be to invite young German Jews, for example, rather than Holocaust survivors, to talk about their own experience of discrimination or Antisemitism in every-day life.

The ability to empathise with the persecuted is undoubtedly an essential prerequisite for sensitization to new and hostile prejudices. Often, however, children and young people perceive the moral message – all too clearly conveyed or at least inferred in lessons about the Holocaust – as an attribution of guilt, prescribing an affected response, and this is counterproductive, for it can create distance or even resistance. In relation to Antisemitism, educationists nowadays often face a dilemma: how to react appropriately to the antisemitic stereotypes voiced consciously or unconsciously by the schoolchildren. On the one hand, it runs counter to good educational practice to tackle such prejudices head-on through accusations, but on the other hand, antisemitic content needs to be identified as such and the underlying motives challenged. Rarely are these stereotypes motivated by entrenched antisemitic world views or ideologies, although Antisemitism is often a convenient hook on which to hang difficult social or political issues or economic crises, offering a monoclausal view of the world and a construct of the social distancing between "us" and "them". Even school children and teenagers who explicitly distance themselves from Antisemitism may not be free from such stereotypes, which they may have "learned" through public discourse or entrenched attitudes in their families.

First and foremost, it is essential to convey cognitive knowledge and familiarize schoolchildren with the long tradition of antisemitic prejudice and its function in mainstream society. This also entails sensitizing them to modern forms of antisemitic prejudice and stereotypes.

Curricula and lessons must take account of social changes which are primarily reflected in schools with pupils from many different cultures. In relation to the topic of Holocaust education in particular, it is not only the class's diverse cultural and social origins which pose a challenge to teachers, but also their own attitude towards migration, their position on their own family history, and their perception of the social problems facing migrants. The fear of further alienating already marginalized young people through accusations that they are deploying antisemitic stereotypes prompts many teachers to play down antisemitic attitudes rather than address them consistently as issues. In some cases, it is helpful to rely on and reinforce counter-arguments from the class. Experience has shown that when antisemitic prejudices are voiced, they do not go unchallenged. Furthermore, an antisemitic background cannot always be assumed to exist. If pupils reproduce the cliché of the "rich Jew", for example, this may be prompted by recognition, envy or stereotyping, or simply the subconscious replication of entrenched prejudices. In order to ensure that this stereotype is not perpetuated as "knowledge", a discussion in class is required. This also applies to the term of abuse – "you Jew" – which is often heard today; this is used as provocation or is content-free, but is rarely an expression of entrenched antisemitic attitudes.

Children and young people nowadays primarily learn about Jews – and by this I mean the abstract concept, not Jews as individuals – through negative content. Jewish history is rarely viewed as an integral part of German history. So children need to gain an insight into Jewish life in Germany today. This can also open up opportunities to look at the fractures in life histories, the perceived threat from antisemitic incidents, the stigmatization of the Jews as "foreigners", the reasons for their particular affinity with the Jewish state, but also the minority's perspective on mainstream society.

The "Democracy and Tolerance" project in which pupils are trained as youth leaders in confronting Antisemitism, which is being implemented by the Centre for Research into Antisemitism in conjunction with the Berlin Land Institute for Schools and Media (LISUM) and the Berlin office of the American Jewish Committee, is not only providing youth leader training. It is also developing new strategies to tackle Antisemitism via the curriculum. The outcomes will be available on a CD-Rom which will be released by Cornelsen in autumn 2007. The key issues are: prejudices, Christian anti-Jewish sentiment, racist Antisemitism, Antisemitism under National Socialism and after the Holocaust, Antisemitism against the background of the Middle East conflict, the Jewish world conspiracy theory, and the classic stereotype of rich Jews in commerce and revolution. Using the multimedia opportunities afforded by the CD-Rom, schoolchildren and teachers can work on the individual themes using pictures, cartoons, film excerpts and texts. This not only conveys cognitive knowledge but also – through the appeal of the medium itself – inspires a greater willingness to tackle this difficult issue.

10. Further Presentations on Antisemitism

10.1. *Anti-Israel Sentiment Predicts / Antisemitism in Europe*^{42 43}

Edward H. Kaplan⁴⁴, Charles A. Small⁴⁵

Abstract:

In the discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, extreme criticisms of Israel (e.g., Israel is an apartheid state, the Israel Defense Forces deliberately target Palestinian civilians), coupled with extreme policy proposals (e.g., boycott of Israeli academics and institutions, divest from companies doing business with Israel), have sparked counterclaims that such criticisms are anti-Semitic (for only Israel is singled out). The research in this article shines a different, statistical light on this question: based on a survey of 500 citizens in each of 10 European countries, the authors ask whether those individuals with extreme anti-Israel views are more likely to be anti-Semitic. Even after controlling for numerous potentially confounding factors, they find that anti-Israel sentiment consistently predicts the probability that an individual is anti-Semitic, with the likelihood of measured Antisemitism increasing with the extent of anti-Israel sentiment observed.

On April 22, 2005, the Executive Council of Britain's Association of University Teachers (AUT) voted to boycott two Israeli universities (Bar Ilan and Haifa). The boycott was advocated "as a contribution to the struggle to end Israel's occupation, colonization and system of apartheid" (<http://www.zionismontheweb.org/AUT/autres.htm>), while the boycott's main proponent stated that this action would increase pressure on the "illegitimate state of Israel" (<http://education.guardian.co.uk/higher/worldwide/story/0,9959,1466250,00.html>). Similarly spirited statements include London Mayor Ken Livingstone's assertion that Israeli Prime Minister "Sharon continues to organise terror. More than three times as many Palestinians as Israelis have been killed in the present conflict" (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/coment/story/0,,1430132,00.html>). Addressing suicide bombings in Israel, philosopher Ted Honderich wrote that "those Palestinians who have resorted to necessary killing have been right to try to free their people, and those who have killed themselves in the cause of their people have indeed sanctified themselves" (<http://chronicle.com/free/v50/i09/09b01201.htm>).

Many Israeli and Jewish individuals and organizations have characterized statements such as these as anti-Semitic in effect if not intent, given that Israel is singled out in the face of silence over human rights violations committed elsewhere. There is indeed a long and sad history of Antisemitism in Europe and elsewhere (Almog 1988; Martire and Clark 1982; Selnick and Steinberg 1969). Dating back to the study of Adorno et al. (1950), several scholars have conducted empirical (i.e., survey-based) studies to determine those factors that characterize persons who exhibit more (or less) prejudice against Jews (Anti-Defamation League 1998, 2002; Frindte, Wettig, and Wammetsberger 2005; Konig, Eisinga, and Scheepers 2000;

⁴² Published as well in: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50 No. 4, August 2006, p. 548-561

⁴³ AUTHORS' NOTE: The raw data with explanatory notes and additional technical material are available in an Excel file available at <http://jcr.sagepub.com/>. The data for this study were provided by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), and while we thank the ADL for sharing their data with us, the views expressed in this article are ours and do not represent the official positions or policies of the ADL. EHK was supported by the Yale School of Management research fund.

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Konig, Scheepers, and Falling 2001; Lutterman and Middleton 1970; Weil 1985). In reviewing this literature, Konig, Scheepers, and Falling (2001) identify religious (e.g., Christian worldview, fundamentalism), social-psychological (e.g., anomie, authoritarianism), and sociostructural (e.g., age, education, gender) variables as key correlates of Antisemitism at the individual level. More recently, scholars have addressed the relationship between Antisemitism and Antizionism (Frindte, Wettig, and Wammetsberger 2005; Wistrich 1990, 2004), but whether extreme criticism of Israel, as exemplified in the recent AUT boycott debate, is de facto anti-Semitic remains bitterly contested (<http://www.engageonline.org.uk>). Although motivated by strong anti-Israel sentiment such as that earlier described, our research question is not whether anti-Israel statements are anti-Semitic in either effect or intent. Rather, we ask whether individuals with strong anti-Israel views are more likely to harbor anti-Semitic attitudes than others. Certainly, Bayes's rule would suggest this to be true. Let p be the proportion of the population with anti-Semitic leanings, q be the fraction of those with anti-Semitic leanings who are anti-Israel, and r be the fraction of those not anti-Semitic who are anti-Israel. Then, the fraction of those with anti-Israel views who are also anti-Semitic, f , is given by

$$f = \frac{pq}{pq + (1-p)r} . \quad (1)$$

Presumably, those with anti-Semitic leanings would be more likely to espouse anti-Israel viewpoints than those who are not anti-Semitic (given that Israel presents itself as a Jewish state), implying that $q > r$, which in turn implies that the fraction of those with anti-Israel leanings who are anti-Semitic (f) exceeds the unconditional proportion of the population that is anti-Semitic (p).

Following the logic of equation (1), one can ask not only whether those with anti-Israel leanings are more likely to be anti-Semitic but also whether the *degree* of anti-Israel feeling differentially predicts the likelihood that one harbors anti-Semitic views. This framework does *not* require any assumption regarding causality, that is, whether Antisemitism “causes” anti-Israel sentiment (or vice versa). Rather, our analysis focuses on information updating (as is common in Bayesian analyses). Worded differently, our research addresses the following scenario: when confronted by an individual espousing anti-Israel statements such as those cited in the opening of this article, what is the probability that the person issuing such statements is anti-Semitic? Working from a baseline assessment of the fraction of individuals in the relevant population who are anti-Semitic, the presentation of strong anti-Israel statements constitutes new information, which forces attention on the fraction of such individuals who are anti-Semitic. More generally, we seek the fractions of those with anti-Israel views of differing severity who also harbor anti-Semitic views (as opposed to arguing whether such anti-Israel views themselves are or are not inherently anti-Semitic).

The contribution of this article is that for ten European countries, we are able to answer our research questions empirically. We next describe our data source and method of analysis, after which we present our statistical findings. Not only do we find that the extent of anti-Israel sentiment differentially predicts the likelihood of Antisemitism among survey respondents, but the predictions are sharp. Those with extreme anti-Israel sentiment are roughly six times more likely to harbor anti-Semitic views than those who do not fault Israel on the measures studied, and among those respondents deeply critical of Israel, the fraction that harbors anti-Semitic views exceeds 50 percent. Furthermore, these results are robust even after controlling for numerous additional (and potentially confounding) factors both singularly and simultaneously.

DATA

The Anti-Defamation League (henceforth ADL, <http://www.adl.org/>) commissioned First International Resources (<http://www.first-intl.com/default.htm>) to develop a study of attitudes toward Jews, Israel, and the Palestinians (Anti-Defamation League 2004). In addition to survey items probing such attitudes, questions addressed the degree of respondents' social contacts with Jews and respondents' attitudes toward others (e.g., different religion, immigrants). Respondents were also asked to provide standard demographic information (e.g., age, gender, income etc.). The resulting survey was administered by Taylor Nelson Sofres (<http://www.tns-global.com>) via telephone, resulting in interviews with 500 citizens in each of ten countries for a total sample of 5,000 (actually 5,004). No information is available regarding those contacted who refused to participate in the study, which raises an obvious statistical question regarding nonresponse bias. However, given that the goal of our analysis is to examine the relationship between Antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment rather than to estimate the true prevalence of either, nonresponse becomes less of an issue. The situation is somewhat akin to epidemiological studies relating, say, the incidence of cancer to smoking behavior: there is no need for the proportion of smokers in such studies to mimic the true percentage in the population. As will be detailed below, the consistency of the relationship between Antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment across many different analyses makes it difficult to believe that the results obtained are somehow artifactual due to nonresponse bias.

TABLE 1
Statements Comprising the Anti-Semitic Index with Corresponding Response
Frequency in Agreement (of n = 5,004)

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Response Frequency</i>
Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind.	1,052
Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want.	784
Jews are more loyal to Israel than to this country.	2,200
Jews have too much power in the business world.	1,309
Jews have lots of irritating faults.	545
Jews stick together more than other (CITIZENS OF RESPONDENT'S COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE).	2,942
Jews always like to be at the head of things.	1,150
Jews have too much power in international financial markets.	1,460
Jews have too much power in our country today.	500
Jewish business people are so shrewd that others do not have a fair chance to compete.	884
Jews are just as honest as other business people.	485 ^a

a. Frequency of respondents that disagreed with this statement.

THE ANTI-SEMITIC INDEX

Table 1 reports the eleven statements used in this study to measure Antisemitism along with the number of respondents who agreed with each proposition. As in prior ADL surveys (Anti-Defamation League 1998, 2002), an anti-Semitic index was defined by counting the number of statements with which a respondent agreed.⁴⁶ Figure 1A reports the survivor distribution for this index, which is the fraction of all respondents with index scores exceeding x for x ranging from 0 through 11. Consistent with the prior ADL surveys, we say that a respondent harbors anti-Semitic views if he or she agrees with more than five of the eleven statements in Table 1, although we will show that our results are not particularly sensitive to this cutoff.

⁴⁶ See the online companion to this article for interitem correlations, reliability, and other diagnostics for the anti-Semitic and anti-Israel indices.

From Figure 1A, the overall fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views equals 14 percent.

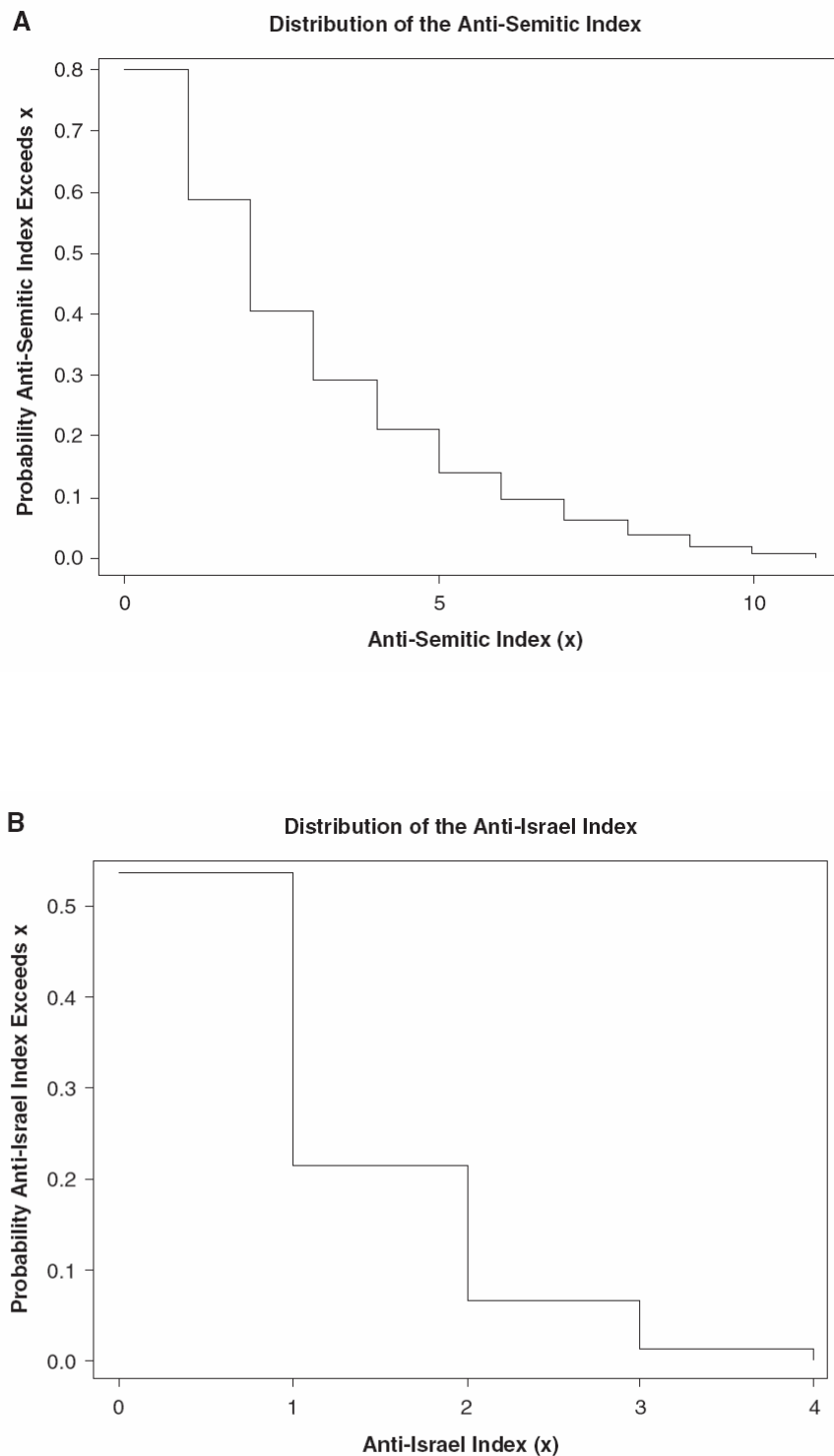


Figure 1: Survivor Distributions Reporting the Fraction of Survey Respondents with Index Scores Exceeding x for (A) the Anti-Semitic Index (x Ranges from 0-11) and (B) the Anti-Israel Index (x Ranges from 0-4)

TABLE 2
Statements Comprising the Anti-Israel Index with Corresponding Response
Frequency in Agreement (of n = 5,004)

<i>Statement/Question</i>	<i>Response Frequency</i>
The Israeli treatment of the Palestinians is similar to South Africa's treatment of blacks during apartheid.	705 ^a
Who do you think is more responsible for the past three years of violence in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Israelis, or the Palestinians?	1,254 ^b
In your opinion, during military activities inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip, do the Israeli Defense Forces intentionally target Palestinian civilians, or are civilian casualties an accidental outcome of Israel's military response? ^c	1,765 ^c
In your opinion, is there any justification for Palestinian suicide bombers that target Israeli civilians?	426 ^d

a. Frequency of respondents that agree a lot with this statement.

b. Frequency of respondents stating Israelis.

c. Frequency of respondents stating that the Israeli Defense Forces intentionally target civilians.

d. Frequency of respondents stating yes.

THE ANTI-ISRAEL INDEX

Table 2 reports the four statements used in this study to ascertain anti-Israel sentiment and the number of respondents who agreed with each. Similar to the anti-Semitic index, we used the number of these statements agreed to by a respondent to define an anti-Israel index. The higher the value of this index, the stronger the anti-Israel sentiment expressed. Figure 1B reports the survivor distribution for the anti-Israel index. Just under half of all respondents report anti-Israel index scores of 0, indicating no measured anti-Israel sentiment, while only 1 percent of respondents agreed with all four of the anti-Israel statements considered.

PREDICTING ANTISEMITISM FROM ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT

To see whether anti-Israel sentiment is generally predictive of anti-Semitic views among the 5,000 respondents to our survey, we examined the survivor distribution of the anti-Semitic index for each of the five levels of the anti-Israel index. The results are shown in Figure 2A. The five curves are significantly different (log-rank $\chi^2 = 286$, $df = 4$, $p \sim 0$), confirming that measured Antisemitism differs by the extent of anti-Israel sentiment. It is noteworthy that these five survivor curves never cross: for any value x of the anti-Semitic index, the fraction of respondents who agree with more than x anti-Semitic statements strictly increases with the value of the anti-Israel index. Figure 2B reports the fraction of respondents who agree with more than five of the eleven anti-Semitic statements for the different levels of the anti-Israel index. Recall that of all respondents, 14 percent harbor anti-Semitic views. Only 9 percent of those with anti-Israel index scores of 0 report harboring anti-Semitic views, but the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views grows to 12, 22, 35, and 56 percent for anti-Israel index values of 1 through 4, respectively.

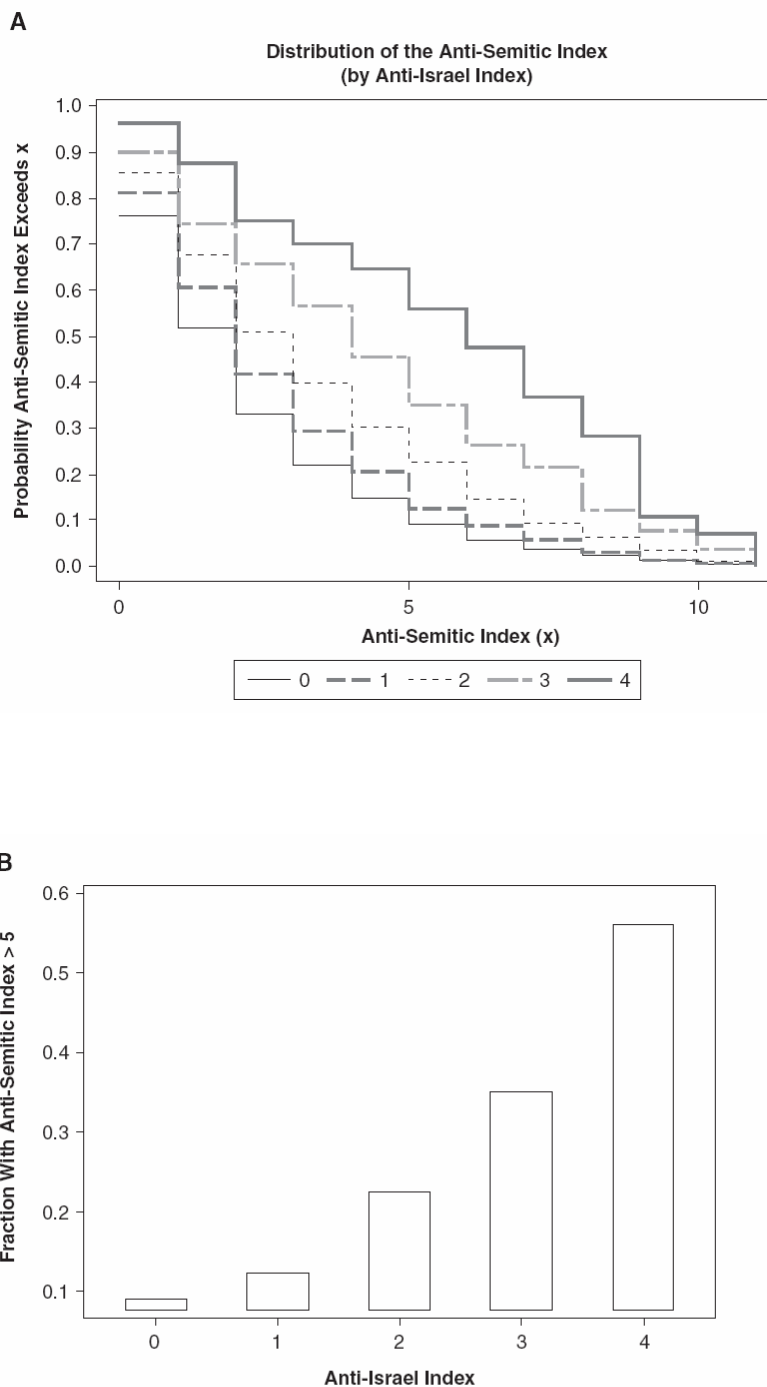


Figure 2: (A) Survivor Distributions Reporting the Fraction of Survey Respondents with Index Scores Exceeding x for the Anti-Semitic Index (x Ranges from 0-11), Conditional on the Anti-Israel Index Equaling, from Bottom to Top, 0 (Solid Bottom Line), 1 (Long-Dashed Line), 2 (Short-Dashed Line), 3 (Broken Line), or 4 (Solid Top Line); and (B) Fraction of Respondents Defined as Harboring Anti-Semitic Views (Anti-Semitic Index Scores Exceeding 5) as a Function of the Anti-Israel Index

THIRD-FACTOR INTERACTIONS

As discussed earlier, presumably those with anti-Semitic views are more likely to oppose a Jewish state than others; therefore, the greater the extent of anti-Israel sentiment revealed, the higher the likelihood of associated Antisemitism via Bayes's rule. However, it is also possible that the relationship observed between anti-Israel and anti-Semitic attitudes is the result of third-factor interactions. For example, those who are intolerant of others (e.g., different religion, different country of origin) might be more likely to express both anti-Semitic and anti-Israel sentiment as a result. Does the relationship displayed in Figure 2B survive when one controls for possible confounding factors?

Figure 3 explores such interactions by reporting the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views as a function of anti-Israel index levels while controlling for the levels of third factors. The most important observation from this graphical exploration is that the panels of Figure 3 repeat the basic pattern shown in Figure 2B for essentially all levels of all factors. Figure 3A shows that within each of the ten countries surveyed, the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views increases with the extent of anti-Israel sentiment measured. While there is considerable variation among these countries in measured Antisemitism overall – ranging from 8 percent in Denmark and the Netherlands to 22 percent in Spain – the association between anti-Israel and anti-Semitic leanings appears in each country. Figure 3B shows that for each of several different income levels (and including those who refused to divulge their income), the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views increases with the anti-Israel index. Figure 3C considers the interaction between Antisemitism, anti-Israel sentiment, and religion. For Christian respondents and those who profess no religion, the fraction reporting anti-Semitic index values in excess of 5 strongly increases with reported anti-Israel sentiment. This is also true of those reporting “other” as their religious affiliation. Among Muslims, the reported level of Antisemitism jumps past 60 percent for those with anti-Israel index values of 2 or more; a similar rapid rise is seen among those refusing to state their religion. Even among Jewish respondents, one sees an increase in anti-Semitic responses as the anti-Israel index increases, but note that there are only 25 Jewish respondents (compared to 2,970 Christians, 1,547 reporting no religion, 92 Muslims, 295 reporting “other,” and 75 who refused to state their religion). Among these 25 Jewish respondents, 13 scored 0 on the anti-Israel index (with one of these scoring over 5 on the anti-Semitic index), 10 scored 1 on the anti-Israel index (with 2 reporting anti-Semitic leanings), and 2 scored 2 on the anti-Israel index (with 1 reporting anti-Semitic leanings). When considering the statement “Illegal immigrants today are a burden on our economy because they take our jobs, housing and health care,” Figure 3D repeats the same relation between Antisemitism and the anti-Israel index for all attitudes toward illegal immigrants. Does the extent of contact respondents have with Jews matter? The survey asked respondents, “Approximately how often would you say that you come into contact with Jews either at work or in social occasions?” Figure 3E reports the by now familiar relationship between Antisemitism and the anti-Israel index for different levels of contact. Finally, Figure 3F reports the fraction of respondents who agree with specific anti-Semitic canards (Table 1) as a function of the anti-Israel index. Whether the accusation is that “Jews have too much power in our country,” “Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want,” or “Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind,” the fraction of respondents agreeing with these (and the rest of the) anti-Semitic stereotypes consistently increases as a function of the anti-Israel index.

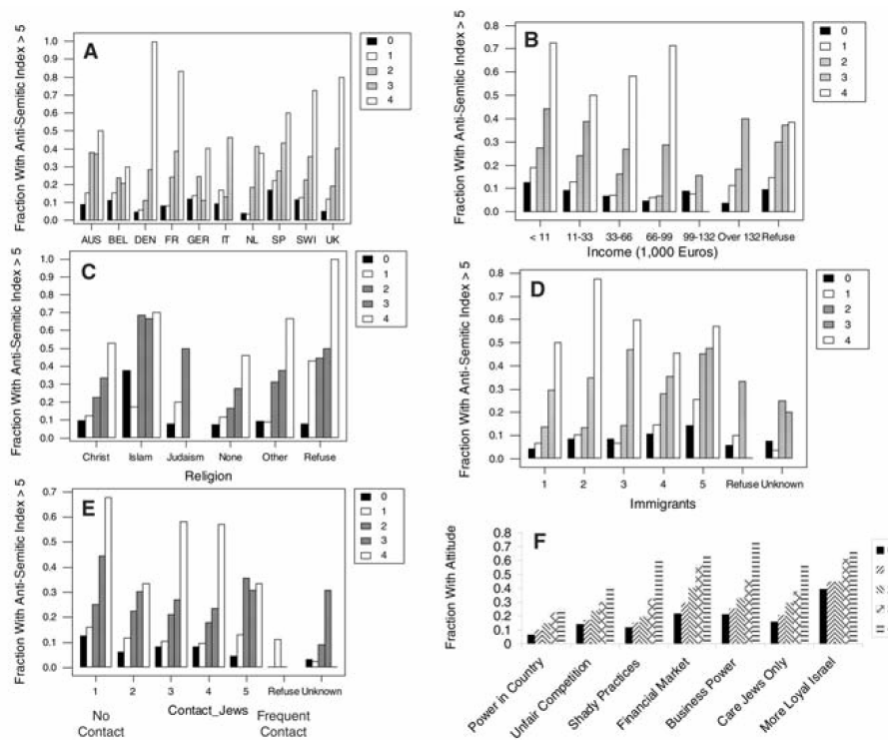


Figure 3 Fraction of Respondents Harboring Anti-Semitic Views (Anti-Semitic Index Scores Exceeding 5) as a Function of the Anti-Israel Index Equaling 0 (Solid Black), 1 (Forward Slash), 2 (Back Slash), 3 (Cross-Hatch), and 4 (Horizontal Bar) Controlling for (A) Country of Residence, (B) Income, (C) Religion, (D) Attitudes toward Illegal Immigrants (See Text), (E) Frequency of Contact with Jews (See Text), and (F) Fraction of Respondents Agreeing with Specific Anti-Semitic Attitudes (See Table 1), as a Function of the Anti-Israel Index Equaling 0 (Solid Black), 1 (Forward Slash), 2 (Back Slash), 3 (Cross-Hatch), and 4 (Horizontal Bar)

MULTIFACTOR MODEL

To further explore the association between the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views and the anti-Israel index, we fit a multiple logistic regression model to the survey data. Such a model enables estimation of the level of Antisemitism as a function of the anti-Israel index while simultaneously controlling for possible confounding factors. The model also enables estimation of the independent effects (if any) of these same factors on the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views.

Several findings emerge from the results shown in Table 3.⁴⁷ First, even after controlling for respondents' country of residence, age, religion, income, gender, extent of contact with Jews, attitudes toward people of other races/religions, and attitudes toward illegal immigrants, the relationship between Antisemitism and anti-Israel attitudes remains intact. The odds ratios of the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views for anti-Israel index scores greater than 0 (relative to those with an anti-Israel index of 0) equal 1.59, 3.28, 6.51, and 10.94 for anti-Israel index scores of 1 through 4, respectively. All of these scores are significantly different from unity (which would occur if anti-Israel index levels carried no information about Antisemitism). The mitigating effects of the possible confounds considered are minor, as the equivalent odds ratios associated with the uncontrolled results of Figure 2B equal 1.43, 2.92, 5.45, and 12.94 for anti-Israel index scores of 1 through 4, a similar set of ratios with the same

⁴⁷ A more complete table reporting estimated coefficients, standard errors, coefficient z-statistics and p-values, and overall goodness-of-fit tests appears in the online companion to this article.

qualitative implications as the figures derived from the logistic model. Furthermore, of all the factors considered in this model, the anti-Israel index is by far the most important, as indicated by its chi-square of 196 at 4 degrees of freedom.

While simultaneously considering the factors shown in Table 3 did not meaningfully alter the relationship between Antisemitism and anti-Israel attitudes in the data, these other factors all tested significant in their own right, as can be seen from their associated chi-square statistics in Table 3. The important relationships between these factors and Antisemitism will now be summarized. First, the fraction of respondents harboring anti-Semitic views tends to increase with age. Second, relative to Christians, Muslim respondents are much more likely to harbor anti-Semitic views (odds ratio = 7.8). There was no statistically significant difference between the fraction of anti-Semitic responses obtained from Jews, other religions, or those reporting no religion as compared to Christians, although those who refused to identify their religion were more likely to harbor anti-Semitic views. Third, the fraction of anti-Semitic responses tended to decline as income increased. Fourth, women were much less likely than men to report anti-Semitic results. Fifth, the level of contact with Jews had no statistically significant relation to Antisemitism, except that those who did not know how much contact they had with Jews were much less likely to harbor anti-Semitic views (odds ratio = 0.34 relative to those who reported no contact with Jews). Sixth, the less one feels in common with other races/religions, the more likely one is to exhibit Antisemitism. Seventh, the less tolerant respondents were of illegal immigrants, the more likely they expressed Antisemitism.

TABLE 3
Multifactor Logistic Model Predicting the Probability a Respondent Reports an Anti-Semitic Index Exceeding 5 from the Anti-Israel Index, Controlling for Country of Residence, Age, Religion, Income, Gender, Contact with Jews, Commonality with Other Races/Religions, and Attitudes toward Immigrants

<i>Predictor</i>	<i>Odds Ratio</i>	<i>95% Confidence Interval</i>	
		<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
Anti-Israel Index (Relative to 0)			
1	1.59	1.28	1.99
2	3.28	2.56	4.19
3	6.51	4.68	9.04
4	10.94	5.93	20.17
Country (Relative to NL)			
AUS	2.82	1.79	4.44
BEL	2.37	1.51	3.72
DEN	1.21	0.73	2.01
FR	2.30	1.43	3.70
GER	2.58	1.63	4.08
IT	2.11	1.31	3.38
SP	4.56	2.91	7.15
SWI	3.20	2.05	5.02
UK	1.45	0.90	2.34
Age (Relative to 18-24)			
25-34	1.10	0.73	1.66
35-44	1.25	0.85	1.84
45-54	1.62	1.10	2.39
55-64	2.03	1.37	3.01
Refuse	0.98	0.29	3.36
Unknown	2.62	1.77	3.87

Religion (Relative to Christianity)			
Islam	7.80	4.69	12.98
Judaism	1.84	0.58	5.84
None	0.97	0.79	1.20
Other	1.39	0.94	2.05
Refuse	2.88	1.52	5.47
Income (Relative to < 11K Euros)			
11-33	0.75	0.58	0.98
33-66	0.56	0.41	0.77
66-99	0.43	0.26	0.69
99-132	0.65	0.30	1.40
Over 132	0.48	0.19	1.19
Refuse	0.72	0.56	0.94
Gender (Relative to Male)			
Female	0.62	0.52	0.75
Contact with Jews (Relative to Never Any Contact)			
Hardly ever	0.79	0.61	1.01
Once in while	0.77	0.59	1.00
Fairly often	0.76	0.52	1.12
Very often	0.97	0.62	1.51
v Refuse	0.31	0.04	2.49
Unknown	0.34	0.21	0.54
Not Much in Common Other Races/Religions? (Relative to Disagree a Lot)			
Disagree	1.20	0.92	1.56
Neither	1.25	0.92	1.72
Agree	2.33	1.80	3.02
Agree a lot	2.23	1.62	3.06
Refuse	2.00	0.68	5.94
Unknown	0.75	0.34	1.65
Immigrants Drain on Economy? (Relative to Disagree a Lot)			
Disagree	1.45	1.07	1.97
Neither	1.37	0.92	2.05
Agree	2.12	1.60	2.82
Agree a lot	3.82	2.85	5.12
Refuse	1.21	0.34	4.31
Unknown	1.15	0.55	2.40

Tests for Terms with > 1 Degree of Freedom

<i>Term</i>	<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Anti-Israel	195.67	4	0.00
Country	75.22	9	0.00
Age	48.62	6	0.00
Religion	76.73	5	0.00
Income	19.73	6	0.00
Contact Jews	23.90	6	0.00
Common	60.41	6	0.00
Immigrants	97.50	6	0.00

An important potential explanatory factor that is not included in the model shown is education. Unfortunately, the ADL survey did not provide a useful measure of the extent of respondents' education, asking instead, "At what age did you complete your full-time education?" There are two problems with this question. First, the respondents are asked for their age at completion of formal studies rather than the actual level of education attained. Second, the response options for this question are as follows: sixteen or younger, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty and older, don't know/not sure, and refused to answer. This range of ages is too narrow to assess meaningfully the amount of education received.

Finally, as a check on the sensitivity of our results to the specific cutoff employed in operationalizing Antisemitism (anti-Semitic index values in excess of 5), we also explored ordered logistic models that estimate the probability a respondent reports *any* particular level of the anti-Semitic index (rather than only index values in excess of 5 or not). These more complex models did not lead to any important differences from the results described earlier, which is perhaps not surprising given what was shown earlier: conditional on the values of the anti-Israel index, the survivor distributions of the anti-Semitic index *never cross* (see Figure 2A), indicating strong explanatory power at *any* anti-Semitic index threshold and not just the ADL-inspired cutoff of 5.

CONCLUSIONS

We began this article by noting that extreme anti-Israel sentiment has been interpreted by some as anti-Semitic in effect if not intent. It is therefore important to consider the competing motivations behind such sentiment. There are certainly critics of Israel on specific policy grounds, but there are also anti-Semitic individuals for whom attacks on Israel are manifestations of prejudice. Given this mix, what is one to think when presented with accusations such as "Israel is just like apartheid South Africa," "Israel is responsible for the violence in the Middle East," or "Israel deliberately targets Palestinian civilians"?

Our research directly addresses this issue. From a large survey of 5,000 citizens of ten European countries, we showed that the prevalence of those harboring (selfreported) anti-Semitic views consistently increases with respondents' degree of anti-Israel sentiment (see Figures 2 and 3 and Table 3), even after controlling for other factors. It is noteworthy that fewer than one-quarter of those with anti-Israel index scores of only 1 or 2 harbor anti-Semitic views (as defined by anti-Semitic index scores exceeding 5), which supports the contention that one certainly can be critical of Israeli policies without being anti-Semitic. However, among those with the most extreme anti-Israel sentiments in our survey (anti-Israel index scores of 4), 56 percent report anti-Semitic leanings. Based on this analysis, when an individual's criticism of Israel becomes sufficiently severe, it does become reasonable to ask whether such criticism is a mask for underlying Antisemitism.

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10.2. *The Situation on Hate on the Internet*

Mark Weitzman⁴⁸

Recent years saw a debate over whether the wave of Antisemitism in Europe and the rest of the world was a resurgence of traditional Antisemitism, or whether it was a manifestation of a new Antisemitism. As in so many other debates of this nature, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Antisemitism has always reflected the realities of its time, whether the theological traditional Antisemitism of the medieval period, the pseudo-scientific Antisemitism of the late 19th and early 20th century, or the conspiratorial Antisemitism reflected in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion stemming from the political and social upheavals of the early 20th century.

In our time the new factors involve an ideology and a technology. The ideology is Antizionism stemming from the birth and existence of the State of Israel. The method is, of course, the Internet. The Internet has radically changed the way Antisemitism (and other forms of extremism) can impact upon society. To quickly sum up a few basic points, it can reach a wider audience than ever before, (over 1 billion people, or 16.7% of the world's population - <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm>), it crosses borders, empowers by lessening personal risk and so on. This is all reflected in the growth of hate sites, from 1 in 1995 to almost 6,000 today.

However, the best way to illustrate this growth, including the growth in the technical value and sophistication of these sites, is by seeing for ourselves. I would like to now show you exactly what we are talking about, by using examples drawn from our database. Some of these can be found on our annual compilation of Digital Hate and Terrorism (the 2006 edition), and others are more recent updates.

I will begin with some drawn from the category of games. These are doubly dangerous on that they not only encourage the worst types of stereotyping, dehumanization and violence, but they do so in a style that is aimed to appeal to youth (who are, after all, the most prominent gamers online).

1. Kaboom – a game that encourages would be suicide bombers to aim for the highest number of victims.
2. Ethnic Cleansing – based on a popular game, and encourages genocide as a goal
3. Nazi Moorhunjagd – Gerhard Lauck's revised approach, after his release from prison.
4. Way to Al-Quds – Middle Eastern based game
5. Hizbollah
6. NY Defender
7. KZ Manager
8. Oklahoma City
9. Border Patrol
10. Ass Bandits

⁴⁸ Simon Wiesenthal Center

Other websites try to manipulate the minds of the user in different ways. Some of these provide religious justifications for Antisemitism and violence, such as the following:

1. Ask the Scholar
2. Mujahidat

Others try to use a distorted view of history to provide justification for their beliefs.

1. MLKing.org
2. Free Arab Voice
3. Pure Lies
4. Holocaust Class
5. Butz (Ahmadinejad)
6. Farsi
7. Al Queda in Iraq

The last few sites above show the beginning of what possibly may be a new trend – the meeting of Western neo-nazis, particularly Holocaust deniers, with Muslim antisemites who view attacks on the Holocaust as a way of delegitimizing Israel. The primary leader in that regard is of course, the noxious President of Iran, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad; but he is not operating in isolation. His country's recent contest for cartoons negating the Holocaust drew entries from all over the globe, including Europe and the US. And, the US neo-Nazi, David Duke, who now teaches and spends time in the Ukraine, has also made the rounds of Arab countries, where he is treated as an honored and welcome guest. (In 2006 there already existed a site from Iran devoted to this theme [Iran Cartoon], along with the Teheran Times, Iran's English newspaper [Teheran Times.com] and we can also visit David Duke's site as well – [David Duke.com]). A report from a British paper on Sunday describes how a prominent Anglo-Muslim leader (Asghar Bukhari, a founder of the Muslim Public Affairs Committee raised money “and urged Islamic websites to make donations to [David Irving's] fighting fund” – Observer.

Another area of concern is the growing use of the Internet as a training grounds for terrorism. The following sites are all in that category, and show how easy it is for violence, both on an individual and group level, to be taught and incited, with increasing sophistication.

1. Cyanide Bombs
2. Chemical Warfare
3. Cell Phone
4. GPS
5. Terrorism Manuals
6. Home Built Launchers
7. Jihad Encyclopedia

Lastly, just to show the geographical range of these sites here are some samples drawn from European countries that illustrate the varieties of extremism that currently exist online.

1. Coramix.com
2. Leeds Crow
3. Madrid SUR
4. Resistance Aria
5. Hizbut al-Tahrir

A report in last Wednesday's New York Times described how the Internet has even created a shift in radical Islam. Using online forums and chat rooms, some little known Muslim thinkers are replacing Osama Bin-Laden, Ayman Al-Zawahiri and other Al-Queda thinkers as the leaders of the jihadist movement. Leaving aside the ramifications of such a change, for our purposes let me point out that if this is indeed true, it illustrates once again the power of the Internet in the radical Islamist world. For, if it did not serve as the communications center for radical Islam, conversations and tracts posted online would not be able to induce such a shift.

If Antisemitism is, as some have described it, a virus that attacks society, then it is a virus that mutates with the times. The remedies of the past are not necessarily the remedies that will work today. Any plan that does not factor in the influence of the new technology (including satellite TV) is simply not going to be effective. So what can we do? For on thing, I would suggest not getting bogged down in a useless debate over the US' First Amendment. That provides a convenient excuse for doing nothing.

1. We must be aware of the empowering effect of the Internet on extremists of all types. This also includes the ability to ratchet up the language and level of extremism.
2. We must have researchers who are fluent in the technology and languages of use on line, and who can keep us informed.
3. We must make people aware of the misinformation and techniques used by extremists. This requires teaching critical reading skills from an early age to get away from the syndrome of if something is in print, then it must be true.
4. We must cooperate internationally, on the NGO, political and legal levels.
5. There must be political will to act legally when necessary. Even in the US there have been prosecutions of web sites; others have been closed down or had their assets frozen.
6. We must recognize the ability of the Internet to resuscitate themes and texts that were assumed to be irrelevant. Even the most obscure, discredited text takes on new life and force when it is posted online. Thus texts like the Protocols of the Elders of Zion that now appear in many languages (the Protocols in about 20) have a new power and ability to influence.
7. We must be equally prepared to use the Internet for positive purposes, including the preparing and funding of positive sites.

The philosopher Avishai Margalit has recently written "We need morality not so much to counter evil as to counter indifference." And he added, "the combination of evil and indifference is lethal." This is an important reminder for us all. If we do not deal with the issue of Antisemitism, if we do not recognize and confront it in all its manifestations, then we are essentially saying that we are willing to be complicit in the triumph of evil, with all its lethal implications. And that is a story whose ending, 62 years ago, we are all too familiar with.

11. OSCE initiatives to combat Antisemitism

Thomas von Winter and Christoff Soltau⁴⁹

Conferences and declarations

The first OSCE conference on Antisemitism was held in Vienna on 19/20 June 2003. At the **11th Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council** in Maastricht on 1/2 December 2003 delegates among other things adopted Ministerial Decision No. 4/03, in which the Ministerial Council expresses its concern about all the manifestations of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, Antisemitism and violent extremism in the participating States. It calls on the participating States to collect data on hate crimes, which include crimes motivated by Antisemitism.

The **second OSCE conference on Antisemitism** was held in Berlin on 28/29 April 2004. The Final Document has become known as the Berlin Declaration (see below). The **Meeting on the Relationship Between Racist, Xenophobic and Anti-Semitic Propaganda on the Internet and Hate Crimes** was held in Paris on 16/17 June 2004.

An **OSCE Conference on Tolerance and the Fight Against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination** was held in Brussels on 13/14 September 2004. In the Final Declaration the OSCE participating States condemn, without reserve, all forms of racism, xenophobia and Antisemitism and other acts of intolerance and discrimination.⁵⁰ The **Decision on Tolerance and the Fight Against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination**, which the Permanent Council adopted on 29 June 2004, is explicitly incorporated into the Declaration.

At its 12th Meeting, held in Sofia on 6/7 December 2004, the OSCE Ministerial Council adopted **Decision No. 12/04**, which recalls Decision No. 4/03. It also expressly endorses the Permanent Council's **Decision on Combating Antisemitism**. In Decision No. 12/04 the participating States declared their intention to ensure that their legal systems foster an environment free from anti-Semitic harassment, to promote national educational programmes for combating Antisemitism and to collect data on anti-Semitic crimes.

Following on from the conferences held in 2004, the OSCE Conference on Antisemitism and on Other Forms of Intolerance was held in Córdoba (Spain) on 8/9 June 2005. The **Cordoba Declaration**⁵¹ was adopted at the end of this conference and recalls previous resolutions. The participating States are called on to fulfil their commitments to combat Antisemitism. The resolution also recalls the great importance of education on the Holocaust as a means for effectively preventing Antisemitism.

Decision No. 10/05 was adopted on the occasion of the **13th Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council** in Ljubljana (Slovenia) on 5/6 December 2005.

At a meeting held from 3 to 7 July 2006, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly adopted the **Brussels Declaration**,⁵² in which the participating States are called on to work closely with the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), particularly to collect and pass on the information the Office requires to accomplish its tasks and to forward the reports they agreed to compile on the status of implementation.

⁴⁹ Reference and Research Services of the German Bundestag

Remark: Studies and other information made available by the Reference and Research Services do not represent the position of the German Bundestag, any of its bodies or the Bundestag Administration. Rather, they fall within the specialist responsibility of the author and of the Head of the Research Section concerned.

⁵⁰ http://osce.org/documents/cio/2004/09/3567_en.pdf.

⁵¹ www.osce.org/documents/cio/2005/06/15109_en.pdf.

⁵² www.osce.org/documents/pa/2006/07/19815_en.pdf.

The Berlin Declaration

On 28/29 April 2004, Germany hosted the OSCE Conference on Antisemitism. The conference was held in the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin on the invitation of the Federal government. The OSCE's and the Federal government's aim in holding the conference was to send a clear signal that they take very seriously the problem of Antisemitism in the OSCE participating States. The Berlin Declaration adopted at the conference sets out various measures initiated and commitments entered into by the OSCE participating States to combat Antisemitism.⁵³

The participating States, for example, commit to:

1. Examine their legal systems and, if necessary, to make improvements in order to be able to better prosecute Antisemitism;
2. Promote educational programmes for combating Antisemitism;
3. Promote remembrance of and education about the Holocaust;
4. Combat hate crimes with an anti-Semitic background as well as anti-Semitic propaganda on the Internet;
5. Support international organisations and NGOs (non-governmental organisations) which combat Antisemitism; and
6. Work with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to determine procedures to regularly review the problem of Antisemitism.

In the Berlin Declaration, the OSCE participating States also commit themselves to collect information and statistics on anti-Semitic and other hate crimes and to report this information to the ODIHR and to make it available to the public. The ODIHR is tasked with reporting its findings to the Permanent Council and to make them public. In addition, the ODIHR is to promote the exchange among experts of best practices regarding the work done to combat Antisemitism and experiences in the field of law enforcement and education.⁵⁴

Data collection

According to the ODIHR (communication, 19 October 2006), the OSCE participating States have not yet submitted the reports to which they committed themselves in the Berlin Declaration. As soon as the participating States have passed the reports promised in the Berlin Declaration to the ODIHR, the Office will compile a summary report.

In accordance with the Berlin Declaration, the ODIHR is also to follow closely anti-Semitic incidents in the OSCE area "in full co-operation" with, among others, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which was founded on 2 June 1997. The EUMC already collects and publishes reports from the EU Member States on racism, Antisemitism and xenophobia in its European Information Network on Racism and Xenophobia (RAXEN) database. The 2004 annual report on "Manifestations of Antisemitism in the EU 2002-2004" contains country reports from Greece, Spain and the United Kingdom, for example.⁵⁵ The EUMC also publishes country reports from the EU Member States compiled by National Focal Points (NFPs). These NFPs put together regional reports on the aforementioned topics at NGO level in the EU Member States⁵⁶:

⁵³ The text of the Berlin Declaration is available at: http://www.osce.org/documents/cio/2004/04/2828_en.pdf. For further information on the conference go to: http://www.osce.org/documents/cio/2004/07/3349_en.pdf.

⁵⁴ In response to the conference the Berlin Senate Administration for the Interior in September 2004 published a brochure entitled "Antisemitismus im extremistischen Spektrum Berlins" (Antisemitism in the Extremist Spectrum in Berlin): <http://www.berlin.de/imperia/md/content/seninn/verfassungsschutz/antisemitismusberlin.pdf> (available only in German).

⁵⁵ Report in the EUMC database: <http://www.raxen.eumc.eu.int/eumc/index.html>.

⁵⁶ http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/index.php?fuseaction=content.dsp_cat_content&catid=3e4fca599fa38.

Austria	Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights + Department of Linguistics at the University of Vienna + Institute of Conflict Research
Belgium	Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism (CEOOR)
Bulgaria	Project 1 EEOD
Cyprus	Cyprus Labour Institute (INEK/PEO)
Czech Republic	People in Need
Denmark	Documentation and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination (DACoRD)
Estonia	Legal Information Centre for Human Rights (LICHR)
Finland	Finnish League for Human Rights
France	Centre d'Etudes des Discriminations, du Racisme et de l'Antisémitisme (CEDRA)
Germany	European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS)
Greece	ANTIGONE - Information & Documentation Centre on Racism, Ecology, Peace and Non Violence
Hungary	Centre of Migration and Refugee Studies, Institute of Ethnic and Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (CMRS)
Ireland	National Consultative Commission on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) + Equality Authority (EA)
Italy	Co-operation for the Development of Emerging Countries (COSPE)
Latvia	Latvian Centre for Human Rights (LCHR)
Lithuania	Institute for Social Research (ISR)
Luxembourg	Centre d'Etudes de Populations, de Pauvreté et de Politiques Socio-économiques / International Network for Studies in Technology, Environment, Alternatives, Development (CEPS/INSTEAD)
Malta	Jesuit Centre for Faith and Justice (JCFJ)
Netherlands	Dutch Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (DUMC)
Poland	Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights (HFHR)
Portugal	Númena - Research center on human and social sciences
Rumania	Center for Legal Resources (CLR)
Slovakia	People Against Racism (PAR) + Institute for Public Affairs
Slovenia	Peace Institute - Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies
Spain	Movement for Peace and Liberty (MPDL)
Sweden	Expo Foundation
United Kingdom	The University of Warwick

The ODIHR's **Annual Report 2005**⁵⁷ describes the collection and systematising of information on hate crimes as one of the most important tasks of the ODIHR in 2005. Since most par-

⁵⁷ www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2006/04/18821_607_en.pdf.

ticipating States do not, in the opinion of the ODIHR, have effective mechanisms for recording data on the background, perpetrators and victims of the hate crimes, the Office felt it necessary to take responsibility for collating the relevant data on such crimes, legislative measures on prevention and prosecution of such crimes and good practices, and began doing so in 2004. The results were published in a report entitled **Combating Hate Crimes in the OSCE Region: An Overview of Statistics, Legislation and National Initiatives**.⁵⁸ As a result of that report the ODIHR was, by its own accounts, able to identify gaps and deficiencies in the participating States as regards the collection of data and was able to make suggestions on how to improve the work done in this area as well as for legislation in the area of hate crimes. The ODIHR published the report **Challenges and Responses to Hate-Motivated Incidents in the OSCE Region** for the period January to June 2006.⁵⁹ The report contains an overview of hate crimes committed in the first half of 2006. It also describes what governments and civil society in the affected participating States have done in response to such crimes. Finally, the report contains the ODIHR's "Toolbox" of ideas for the OSCE participating States which is intended to support them in combating hate crimes. Both these reports on hate crimes indicate that many OSCE participating States have not yet collected any statistics on these types of crimes.

Implementation

The ODIHR's publication on **Education on the Holocaust and on Antisemitism: An Overview and Analysis of Educational Approaches**⁶⁰ deals with education in schools on Antisemitism. The publication aims to support participating States in implementing the commitments resulting from the Berlin Declaration. Part A of the report lists the applicable legal bases in each participating States regarding Antisemitism and Holocaust education in schools. Further, the report contains details on whether the respective country has official memorial days and activities to commemorate the Holocaust. Part B of the report contains the ODIHR's recommendations on what form Holocaust and Antisemitism education in schools is to take in future. Good practices from each participating State are also included. In order to give participating States concrete ideas and materials for implementing the recommendations contained in the study, the ODIHR has developed special materials in co-operation with international groups of experts. In co-operation with Yad Vashem (Israel) and experts from 12 OSCE participating States, the ODIHR drew up guidelines for educationalists concerning Holocaust memorial days. These guidelines are currently available online in nine languages. Translations were done by governments in the respective countries. Apart from the guidelines, the ODIHR, in co-operation with the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam and national experts from seven OSCE participating States, developed special teaching materials on combating Antisemitism. These materials are being adapted to match the respective historical, political and social background in each individual country. Some of the participating States have committed themselves to integrating these materials into their national curricula as a teaching unit and to push forward implementation by organising seminars for teachers.

The ODIHR's **Law enforcement officer programme on combating hate crime** was developed in co-operation with international police experts. It comprises a concept for actively combating violent crimes motivated by hate. Various participating States have already incorporated the programme into their national training curricula for police training and further training.

⁵⁸ www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2005/09/16251_452_en.pdf.

⁵⁹ www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2006/10/21496_en.pdf.

⁶⁰ www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2006/04/18712_586_en.pdf.

12. Concluding Statement

Andrew Baker⁶¹

By way of concluding this day-long meeting on the problems of Antisemitism it might be useful to review developments beginning four years ago when the OSCE at its Ministerial Meeting in Porto agreed to hold its first ever conference devoted to the problem of Antisemitism. This decision did not come easily.

At the time we had already witnessed a dramatic increase in attacks on Jewish targets in parts of Europe, in France in particular. Nevertheless, there was an inability and perhaps even a refusal to recognize the problem as one of Antisemitism on the part of many European leaders. This surge in attacks was certainly related to events in the Middle East, where the collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process gave way to the Second Intifada. Because of this, some people claimed that as the “motivation” for these attacks was solidarity with the Palestinians in their struggle it meant they were somehow political rather than anti-Semitic in nature. This was despite the fact that the targets were not Israeli but Jewish – primarily synagogues, cemeteries, and schools. Others downplayed the fact that many of the attackers came from Muslim and Arab communities, and instead labeled the incidents as acts of vandalism that one might sadly expect from poor and unemployed youth.

Governments were notoriously lax at recording anti-Semitic incidents, as well as other incidents of hate crimes. Even in 2004, the EUMC conceded that half of its monitors in the then 15 member Union did not even have a definition of Antisemitism to provide guidance. Thus, even if anti-Semitic incidents took place, government agencies often did not recognize them, did not report them, and did not record them. This only added to the difficulty of acknowledging the problem.

So it was that the initial push for an OSCE conference came from the United States. Jewish organizations and others in America were acutely aware of the growing problem. Congressional hearings brought the subject greater attention, and increasingly European diplomats and politicians were pressed on the subject by their American colleagues. Nevertheless, even the State Department was a reluctant advocate. It did not question the seriousness of the problem, but it was nervous about prevailing with the cumbersome OSCE consensus decision-making process.

The incoming Dutch Chair-in-Office was given the task of organizing the first conference, which took place at the OSCE headquarters in Vienna in June 2003. A second, parallel conference designed to address other forms of discrimination and intolerance was also scheduled for later that same year, and the Chair was scrupulous in insuring that its format, its schedule and even its expenses would be exactly equal.

The Vienna Conference was criticized by some for being “only speeches” although some excellent speeches were certainly delivered. Former New York City Mayor Rudi Giuliani emphasized the importance in identifying and monitoring anti-Semitic and other hate crimes so that police and government can see where the problems lie and address them. Canadian Parliamentarian Irwin Cotler was the first to take up the subject of the pariah treatment of the State of Israel as a new manifestation of Antisemitism, describing it as, “the Jew among the nations.” In large measure the success of this conference was the agreement that there would be a follow-up conference in 2004, hosted by the German Government in Berlin. There were surely some OSCE members who had thought this Vienna conference would be a one-time only event.

⁶¹ Rabbi, American Jewish Committee (AJC)

By now, European leaders no longer denied the problem; it had become self-evident to all even if NGOs still led in monitoring efforts. The Berlin Conference in April 2004 was notable both for the high level of participants – the presence of the German Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State insured that many other foreign ministers also attended – and the adoption of the “Berlin Declaration” – a description of the problem of Antisemitism and a statement of commitment by the OSCE member states to deal with it.

The OSCE consensus process still presented serious challenges. The idea of a declaration to be issued in Berlin came from several NGOs, but was initially viewed only tepidly by both the State Department and the German Foreign Office, the two main champions of the conference. They were troubled by the difficulties of securing the necessary unanimous support. (One official suggested that a statement could be drafted by taking language exclusively from previously adopted decisions.) But we were insistent that something be done that would begin to define the problem and also take up the “new forms” of Antisemitism that were related to Israel and to events in the Middle East. Once engaged, the US and Germany with support from France shepherded various texts through the OSCE missions in Vienna. In the end, an agreement was reached that accomplished a fair amount. For the first time in an official OSCE document Antisemitism was defined, and it further asserted that in recent years it had assumed “new forms and expressions.” It did not prove politically possible to address the demonization of Israel – surely what we all recognized as one of those new forms – but it did state that, “international developments in Israel or the Middle East never justify Antisemitism.”

Berlin was also the occasion for enumerating governmental commitments and for setting out new responsibilities for ODIHR to collect information and disseminate best practices for countering Antisemitism. Nevertheless, it was far from certain whether the governments would meet even these first, modest commitments which centered largely on reporting. And it was also unclear how much initiative ODIHR would demonstrate in this field, when it already was fully occupied with other responsibilities. Partly for these reasons we also used the meeting to propose the designation of an OSCE “special envoy” – someone outside the bureaucratic structure with the prominence and ability to prod governments and the OSCE and ODIHR, if necessary, to keep focused on the problem of Antisemitism. Following much discussion and negotiation that continued until the end of the year, a decision was reached to appoint three “personal representatives” of the Chair-in-Office, including one with the sole responsibility for combating Antisemitism.

While our focus is the OSCE, it is important also to cite certain parallel efforts. Although established in 1997 to address problems such as Antisemitism, the European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) had not yet undertaken any comprehensive examination of the issue until 2003. In that year it commissioned a report prepared for it by the Berlin Center for Research on Antisemitism, but later decided not to release it. Claiming that it had certain deficiencies--but widely accused of bowing to political pressures – it announced that it would instead prepare its own report. Published shortly after the Berlin Conference, it did provide a thorough account based on data that could be gleaned from official and NGO sources in the 15 member countries. This provided evidence that much of the recent anti-Semitic activity could be traced to Europe’s Arab and Muslim communities as well as (the more traditional) right wing extremists, neo-Nazis and skinheads. A parallel report, based on interviews conducted with Jewish representatives in various EU countries, provided a distressing picture of Jewish communities wrestling with the meaning of this new upsurge and the lack of a firm societal or governmental response. The EUMC report also highlighted the fact that most of its official monitors (“focal points”) had no definition of Antisemitism and of those that did no two were the same. This would lead the way for an initiative of its executive director in consultation with key NGOs to develop a “working definition” that was precise

and detailed and that also offered clear examples of Antisemitism as it related to the treatment of the State of Israel. ODIHR representatives also participated in the discussion and adopted the definition for their own – albeit primarily internal – use.

Even as there was considerable progress made at the Berlin Conference, it resulted in a certain backlash. Ironically, some country delegates saw the high level of participation not as a reflection of the seriousness of the problem but a result of the “Jewish lobby” in America. They began to speak about a “hierarchy of discriminations” in which the problem of Antisemitism was given too prominent a place. In response, there was a call for taking a “holistic” approach to dealing with problems of intolerance, which was somehow a principled way for not singling out Antisemitism or even uttering its name. At the conclusion of the Berlin Conference, the Spanish Foreign Minister proposed hosting a similar conference in Cordoba the following year. Many of his EU colleagues bristled at the idea of another conference on Antisemitism, and in the end it was decided that the Cordoba event would encompass other forms of discrimination, as well. Reflecting the difficulties of securing support for this and other initiatives to address the problem during the year 2005 and the insistence of some ambassadors that it was the last time they would agree to do so, the US Ambassador to the OSCE privately joked that while we may not be able to predict anything else about the future, “we can say for certain that on December 31st the problem of Antisemitism will be solved.”

This year was to be devoted to implementation, an opportunity for governments to address the commitments they have made. In keeping with the view of the current Chair-in-Office to pursue a “holistic approach” the scheduled meetings were grouped by theme – interreligious and interethnic dialogue, education, and monitoring and data collection. The fact that today’s meeting in Berlin is not an “official” OSCE meeting is partially a reflection of the difficulty in maintaining that OSCE special focus on Antisemitism. We owe a debt of thanks to the Personal Representative Gert Weisskirchen and to the German Bundestag for organizing and hosting this meeting. The incoming Chair-in-Office, Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Moratinos has already expressed his openness to the suggestions that are offered today, and his representatives are here with us. Let me in closing offer several comments and suggestions:

- Since it was given the task two years ago, ODIHR’s Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Unit has made substantial progress. It should be commended and it should be given the support and the necessary resources to continue them. In particular I want to cite the Law Enforcement Officers Program, which involves police training police in identifying and responding to hate crimes.
- Both the reports that have been prepared by ODIHR and its NGO forum and the EUMC’s own more recent studies still reveal that many countries have no adequate system for collecting data. This must be given priority in the coming year.
- The Spanish Foreign Minister has already described his intention to engage the Mediterranean Partner Countries during his chairmanship with particular reference to the “Dialogue of Civilizations.” We cannot ignore the fact that several of these countries (Arab nations in North Africa) are today a new source for anti-Semitic media, disseminated within their own borders as well as “exported” to immigrant communities in Europe. Dialogue with these partner countries should also provide an opportunity to address this very serious problem.
- For those of us here it is obvious, and we hope it will prove so for the OSCE Member States: the continued mandate of the Personal Representative for Combating Antisemitism is critical for the success of these efforts.

13. Closing Statement: Combating Antisemitism in 2007

Gert Weisskirchen

Thank you, Andy Baker, for providing us with a good summary of what we need to work on.

The OSCE is an organisation which works on the basis of consensus, a cumbersome ship to steer through the waves. It only works if it has the consent of all. Otherwise absolutely nothing happens. Some who do not know the world of the OSCE have many reservations about its instruments. One way of ensuring this tanker has a chance of reaching its destination is to ensure it sets sail in the first place.

ODIHR does outstanding work, not least because of the involvement of such people as Kathrin Meyer and many others. As one can see from the example of Education and Police Training, its work is extraordinary, necessary and excellent. I would like to extend my personal thanks to you, Ms Meyer, for this.

Nevertheless, we have to face up to a series of problems. Our debate yesterday and today has shown that rather than going away, the problem of Antisemitism is manifesting itself in ever new forms and assuming new threatening traits. No matter whether or in what form the OSCE is prepared to continue the fight against Antisemitism, it remains a task that must be done. I can only hope that more potent instruments will be made available for this fight and that those who are called on to undertake this work for the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE will have more scope for action than has been the case in the past two years. I do not believe that it is necessary to abandon the holistic approach. What is needed is simply to provide those who are working in these three areas with the scope to take action and give the three Personal Representatives the support they need to enable them to do their work better and more effectively than has hitherto been the case. I say this with the incoming OSCE Chairman-in-Office in mind.

I would like now to touch on a few practical problems. I think that progress has been made with the instruments of Law Enforcement and Education, despite the fact that we all know that what is currently happening falls far short of what is needed. But the framework that has been developed is very good. The task now is for the member states to adequately implement the commitments they have undertaken and the framework which has been developed with the considerable support and collaboration of the ODIHR. Our task as Personal Representatives is to help to drive forward this implementation process. 2006 was the year when headway was supposed to be made with the process, but I must report frankly that there is still much to do. There are some countries which are working very well, there are a large number of countries which have been slow off the mark and there are unfortunately too many countries which are doing absolutely nothing. This brings me to a fundamental problem which is particularly important in the context of the fight against Antisemitism and which has emerged today and yesterday.

The problem does not, I believe, lie with the political leaders. They have spoken out clearly and convincingly where necessary. The problem lies at other levels: firstly at government level there is a problem with ensuring that all the structures of authority are involved in implementing and enforcing the political will. Secondly, I am concerned about what will happen if we fight Antisemitism only at state level or simply raise it to a rhetorical level. What is much, much more important, as we have seen repeatedly yesterday and today, is civil society. We must join together with active groups within our societies in the fight against Antisemitism in order to win over society itself. I see a number of trends which indicate that we are losing certain sections of society, be it in sports, culture or in the universities. I am sorry

to say I detect a trend towards an increase in the use of anti-Semitic language and sometimes even more than just language. This means that we have to step up our fight.

A new picture is emerging from all this in terms of the tasks we have to tackle. Next year I shall propose to the OSCE Chairman-in-Office that we focus on the following areas.

Firstly there is the academic world. I believe it would be possible to combine a regional with a sector-specific aspect here. I would like in particular to seize on developments in Western Europe, notwithstanding the fact that there are obvious problems, too, in Ukraine and elsewhere east of Vienna. We have to fight the tendencies we see in Western Europe now because we can nip them in the bud while they are in an early stage. Now is the best time to take up the fight wholeheartedly wherever we need to, be it in Germany, France, the UK or the Netherlands, the countries where we can see an upsurge in this evil problem. I would therefore like to ask the OSCE Chairman-in-Office to agree that this must be made a very clear priority area.

Secondly I would like to suggest that we need to link regional and sector-specific aspects. This means everything to do with the media. In certain countries of southern Europe, Greece in particular, very pronounced anti-Semitic attitudes are in evidence. I envisage that this problem could be tackled on a sector-specific basis and also at the same time regionally. This is a further point I would like to press ahead with next year. I have a practical suggestion to make here. Miklos Haraszi is the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media. I believe it would be possible to develop something akin to a code of ethics which would be devised not by ourselves at governmental or parliamentary level but by journalists. We would not, of course, wish to interfere with journalistic freedom. In some countries, however, including the UK, Germany and elsewhere, journalists have, of their own accord, developed principles governing how they use their journalistic freedom. I envisage a scenario whereby Anne Applebaum, Timothy Garton Ash, Jorge Semprún, André Glucksmann and journalists from Eastern Europe, for example, might be invited to work together to devise an autonomous code subscribed to by journalists themselves on how conflicts can be presented in the media. We have seen numerous examples today which show that the way in which the media report has a considerable influence on sentiments and resentments and on the re-emergence and burgeoning of anti-Semitic prejudices.

I would like to bring up a third point which is to do with countries. I believe that there are some countries on which we need to focus more attention. At the risk of repeating myself, I must start with the country which is the most difficult. Russia needs to be looked at a little more closely and I do not know if the country is prepared, following the Council of Ministers meeting in Brussels, to open itself up a little more. I hope so very much because there are indeed a number of worrying developments there which need to be looked at more closely. I am not talking about President Putin here. Indeed, he has made his opinion known very clearly on the subject.

To strike a balance, I think we also need to take a very close look, for example, at the case of Germany. I refer to the study published by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation⁶², which signals that there is a growing problem emerging here. This is particularly horrifying for Germany since it was here that the Holocaust had its beginnings and was carried out on an industrial scale with the aim of following it through to its terrible end, the destruction of all Jews.

⁶² Decker, Oliver/ Brähler, Elmar/Geißler, Norman (November 2006): Vom Rand zur Mitte: Rechtsextreme Einstellungen und ihre Einflussfaktoren in Deutschland, Berlin: FES.

I also feel we might examine two other regions more closely, perhaps Belgium and the Netherlands or Lithuania and the Baltic region. It would be good if we were able to take a somewhat closer look to see what is happening there.

I would very much like to pick up on the last point Andy Baker mentioned. The Spanish Foreign Minister, Miguel Angel Moratinos, said in Sharm-el-Sheikh that there should be a special conference on the subject of combating Islamophobia. I support this idea and believe it makes sense and is necessary. I would then ask that we take a look, too, at growing Antisemitism in one of the countries of the Arab world, Morocco for example. This would be an opportunity for these neighbours, some of whom are looking wishfully at the OSCE and whose civil societies are also in some cases ready to work harder for the cause of improving human rights. That, of course, is a decision for the OSCE Chairman-in-Office.

We could therefore set new priorities in 2007 and I hope very much that I can rely on your support in this respect. The non-governmental organisations and civil societies are the crucial factors in the fight against intolerance, Antisemitism and other forms of xenophobia. It is they ultimately who, with the support of governments and parliaments, must find the energy to ensure that this evil is banished from society. If the civil societies do not muster this strength, we could lose this battle. We can only win it if we work together with them!

Thank you very much for your attention and for this very fruitful conference.

14. Participants of the Conference

Aderhold, Eltje

German Bundestag, Germany

Ahlefeldt, Johannes

German Bundestag, Germany

Arrabal Villalobos, Antonio

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MP, Member of the Azerbaijanian delegation to the OSCE PA, Azerbaijan

Bachner, Henrik

Living History Forum, Sweden

Baker, Andrew

Director of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), USA

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Beck, Volker

MP, Germany

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Biserko, Sonja

Helsinki Committee, Serbia

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Interpreter, Germany

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Federation of Jewish Organizations, Russia

Corbi, Henar

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de Kerchove, Francois

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Jewish Community, Ukraine

Edathy, Sebastian

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Canadian Jewish Congress, Canada

Ferguson, Helen

Interpreter, Germany

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Interpreter, Germany

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World Jewish Congress, USA

Friedman, David

Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation-League (ADL), USA

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B'nai B'rith International, USA

Gadirova, Ateshi

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Congress of National Communities of Ukraine, Germany

Großruck, Wolfgang

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Hanke-Giesers, Britta

Secretary of the German Delegation to the OSCE PA, German Bundestag, Germany

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Heiden, Lisa

World Jewish Congress, USA

Heuberger, Georg

Claims Conference, Germany

Hildebrandt, Axel

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Hirsh, David

University of London, Founder of “Engage”, United Kingdom

Huntzinger, Jacques

Ambassador, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Immel, Inga

Secretariat of the German Delegation to the OSCE PA, German Bundestag, Germany

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MP, Germany

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Department of State, USA

Knobloch, Charlotte

President of the Central Council of Jews, Germany

Koffler, Adam

World Jewish Congress, USA

Konstantinis, Mosis

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Central European University and the Hungarian, Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Kozłowski, Maciej

Mission to the OSCE, Poland

Kramer, Stephan

General Secretary of the Central Council of Jews, Germany

Krings, Günter

MP, Germany

LeGendre, Paul

Human Rights First, USA

Likhachev, Vyacheslav

Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, Russia

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Miller, Jonathan

Israeli Embassy in Berlin, Israel

Mock, Karen

Hate Crimes Community Working Group, Canada

Mykhalehlik, Natalia

Counsellor of the Ukrainian Parliament, Ukraine

Nakian, Elizabeth

Department of State, USA

Offergeld, Philipp

Office of MP Pflug, German Bundestag, Germany

Pallade, Dr. Yves

American Jewish Committee (AJC), Germany

Pankowski, Rafal

Never Again Association, Poland

Papiashvili, Lali

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Parnigoni, Rudolf

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Pau, Petra

MP, Germany

Peklushenko, Oleksandr

MP, Ukraine

Petkovic, Danijela

Police Academy Instructor of Criminal Law Police Academy, Croatia

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MP, Germany

Podolsky, Anatoly

Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies, Ukraine

Polak, Karen

Anne Frank House Amsterdam, Netherlands

Ptuschko, Elisabeth

Interpreter, Germany

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German Bundestag, Germany

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Interpreter, Germany

Rickman, Greg

Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Antisemitism, USA

Ripperger, Sabine

Deutsche Welle, Germany

Rozanes, Shani

World Jewish Congress, Israel

Rusch, Ute

Office of MP Link, German Bundestag, Germany

Salberg, Michael

Anti Defamation League (ADL). USA

Sálonom, Ana

Special Ambassador in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spain

Schroer, Annette

Interpreter, Germany

Small, Dr. Charles A.

Director of the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism, USA

Spektor, Roman

Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, Russia

Stahelin, Philipp

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Stone, Danny

World Jewish Congress, United Kingdom

Teichtal, Rabbiner

Chabad Lubawitsch, Germany

Thaddeus, Kontek

Mission to the OSCE, USA

Thierse, Dr. Wolfgang

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Vice-President of the German Bundestag, Germany

Van Emden, Gidon

A Jewish Contribution to an incl. Europe, Belgium

Versmessen, Bert

Belgian Embassy, Belgium

Way, Ingo

Jüdische Allgemeine Zeitung

Webman, Dr. Esther

Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Israel

Weiland, Anna

German Bundestag, Germany

Weisskirchen, Prof. Gert

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Weitemeyer, Sebastian

Interpreter, Germany

Weitzman, Mark

Simon Wiesenthal Center, Director Task Force against Hate and Terrorism, USA

Weßnigk, Daniel

Office of MP Weisskirchen, German Bundestag, Germany

Wetzel, Dr. Juliane

Center for Antisemitism Research of the TU Berlin, Germany

Whine, Michael

Community Security Trust, Director, United Kingdom

Wiegel, Gert

Office of MP Pau, German Bundestag, Germany

Wilpert, Czarina

Eine Welt der Vielfalt, Germany

Würzburg, Martina

Interpreter, Germany

Wüst, Philip

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Zemskova, Polina

Moscow Bureau for Human Rights, Russia

Zissels, Josef

Congress of National Communities, Ukraine

15. Further Links

<http://sicsa.huji.ac.il>

The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University Jerusalem

<http://tnd.odhr.pl/>

ODIHR Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System

www.adl.org

Anti-Defamation League

www.ajc.org

American Jewish Committee, New York

www.ajcgermany.org

AJC Berlin Office / Lawrence and Lee Ramer Center for German-Jewish Relations, Berlin

www.annefrank.org

Anne Frank House, Amsterdam

www.antirasizm.ru

Moscow Bureau for Human Rights

www.bnaibrith.org

B'nai B'rith International

www.bundestag.de/internat/interparl_organ/osze/index.html

German Delegation of the OSCE PA

www.ceji.org

European Jewish Information centre – Centre Européen juif d'information, Brussels

www.cidi.nl/index-en.html

Centre Information and Documentation on Israel, The Hague

www.cjc.ca

Canadian Jewish Congress

www.crif.org

The Committee Representing the Jewish Institutions in France, Paris

www.dialog.org.pl

Forum for Dialogue among Nations, Warsaw

www.dig-frankfurt.de

Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft, Frankfurt a. M.

www.eajc.org

Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, Moscow

www.fcje.org

Jewish Community of Spain

www.fsju.org

Fonds Social Juif Unifié

www.fzo.cz

Federation of Jewish Communities in Czech Republic, Prague

www.gert-weisskirchen.de

Private page of Gert Weisskirchen, Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE

www.helsinki.org.yu

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade

www.holocaust.kiev.ua

Ukrainian Center for Holocaust Studies, Kiev

www.humanrightsfirst.org

Human Rights First, New York

www.iibsa.org

International Institute for Education and Research on Antisemitism – Internationales Institut für Bildungs-, Sozial- und Antisemitismusforschung, Berlin

www.isgap.org

Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy, New Haven, CT.

www.iuej.net

Institut Universitaire d'Études Juives Élie Wiesel, Paris

www.jf-stockholm.org

Council of Swedish Jewish Communities, Stockholm

www.kis.gr

Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece

www.kngu.org

Congress of National Communities of Ukraine, Kiev

www.levandehistoria.se

Sweden Living History Forum, Stockholm

www.licra.org

International League against Racism and Antisemitism – Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisémitisme, Paris

www.litjews.org

The Jewish Community of Lithuania, Vilnius

www.magenta.nl

Magenta Foundation, Amsterdam

www.movimientocontralaintolerancia.com

Movement against Intolerance, Madrid

www.musevicemaati.com

Jewish Community of Turkey

www.nigdywiecej.prh.pl

Never Again Association, Warsaw

www.osce.org/odihr/

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Warsaw

www.romanianjewish.org

The Romanian Jewish Community

www.sova-center.ru

SOVA Center for Information and Analysis, Moscow

www.tau.ac.il/Antisemitism

The Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, Tel Aviv

www.thecst.org.uk

The Community Security Trust, London

www.unwatch.org

United Nations Watch in Genf, Switzerland

www.wiesenthal.com

Simon Wiesenthal Center

www.worldjewishcongress.org

World Jewish Congress, Washington, DC

www.wupj.org

World Union for Progressive Judaism, Jerusalem

www.yadvashem.org

Yad Vashem - The Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem

www.zentralratjuden.de

Central Council of Jews in Germany – Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin