



**WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS  
American Section**

**Legislative Responses to Anti-Semitism**  
**An International Roundtable of Parliamentarians**



*Ron Sachs / CNP*

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NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia**

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### **Shai Franklin**

**Director of International Organizations  
Executive Director, American Section  
World Jewish Congress**

On behalf of all the sponsors of today's event, I want to welcome you and thank you for joining us. The cosponsors are the Institute on Religion and Public Policy, which is represented here by Joseph Grieboski, the President; the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding; and NCSJ: Advocates on behalf of Jews in Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States & Eurasia.



Shai Franklin

I attended (I think Stacy Burdett from the Anti-Defamation League was there as well a few years ago in Berlin, during the 2002 OSCE Parliamentary Assembly) a similar event which was organized by the American and German delegations, and that was the first OSCE event that focused on anti-Semitism. It is very appropriate that we are back in Washington today, having started in Germany. We now have an opportunity to sit around the table on the side of another OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, not only with this forum but with an important resolution that has been introduced by Professor Weisskirchen on continuing the fight against anti-Semitism by ensuring accountability.

The co-chairs of today's event, Professor Gert Weisskirchen and Congressman Chris Smith, initiated a historic inter-parliamentary forum for combating anti-Semitism. And it is the members of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly who really initiated this process. The United States Congress was particularly instrumental in focusing the United States government further on the global fight. During the 30 years of Helsinki, as well, it has been the United States Congress that has pushed so hard to make sure that non-governmental organizations, such as today's sponsors and many others, are represented and are able to participate alongside governments and parliamentarians in the OSCE proceedings.

Senator George Voinovich and Congressman Smith, together with Congressman Tom Lantos, achieved ground-breaking legislation last year ensuring a new office within the U.S. Department of State, and the new U.S. law has already generated the first global

anti-Semitism report ever compiled by a government. France, represented today by Monsieur Voisin, has an ambassador at large for issues relating to the Holocaust and to Jewish concerns. Germany has so many officials focused on this effort, beginning with Dr. Joschka Fischer and obviously with Professor Weisskirchen. Israeli officials, represented by Member of Knesset and former diplomat Colette Avital, obviously play a crucial role in shaping and advancing the struggle against anti-Semitism.

Beyond what is happening at the diplomatic level, in which the OSCE parliamentarians and many of you around the table have been so instrumental, it is the legislators who are also responsible for adopting laws back home and holding their own governments accountable, just as the OSCE tries to hold all governments accountable. As World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman emphasized in his keynote address last month in Cordoba, we must not ignore the overlap between anti-Zionist rhetoric and appeals to anti-Semitism.

Mr. Bronfman also stressed that education is key. On the subject of education, I should mention that we are joined not only by ambassador Ed O'Donell, the U.S. Special Envoy on Holocaust Issues, but his predecessor Ambassador Randolph Bell, and I want to take a special note to mention and to recognize Ambassador Stephan Minikes for his work over the last few years and to wish him the very best of luck as he comes back to the United States. I know that you don't need luck, but we greatly appreciate your efforts and we look forward to working with you in the future back here.

I am only giving welcoming remarks. My colleague Joe Grieboski will say a few additional words later. But I now want to introduce Congressman Alcee Hastings, the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Congressman Hastings has been a leader in the cause of civil rights, human rights, and the fight against anti-Semitism. He is, like so many around this table, a true believer. His presidency of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly is not only a proud moment for Americans, but it also underscores the unbreakable bond between the United States and Europe, and Eurasia, something that those who rely on the OSCE cannot afford to take for granted. So Congressman, thank you so much for all of your effort and thank you for being with us here today.

**The Honorable Alcee Hastings**  
**U.S. House of Representatives**  
**President, Parliamentary Assembly, Organization**  
**for Security and Cooperation in Europe**

Thank you very much, Shai. I am always proud of Shai Franklin and the extraordinary work that he and others do. I think we were all very fortunate to have Senator Voinovich as the prime mover in the Senate of the legislation that was critical to us. I will take a moment of personal pride, if you do not mind, since she likely will not have the opportunity to welcome you officially again here in Washington.



Del. Eleanor  
Holmes Norton

For those of you that have not been with us, we are very pleased to have with us the distinguished delegate from the District of Columbia, Eleanor Holmes Norton, my good friend. Many of you know Mrs. Holmes Norton and have worked with her, but

if there is a person that has a wealth of experience in this arena she would be one of those. And I would ask you to draw from much of the wisdom that she has exercised throughout not just her tenure as a Congressperson but her long struggle. Eleanor's and my paths have been very similar in the struggle here in the United States against anti-Semitism and intolerance and discrimination in many forms.

I also take special cognizance of the fact that in this room are two people that had lead roles in the development of the anti-Semitism conferences and, they are your co-chairs today: my good friend and colleague from the United States Congress, Chris Smith, and my good friend and colleague in the Parliamentary Assembly – I have known him from my beginnings in this organization – Professor Gert Weisskirchen, as two of the people that were responsible for us being able to get to Vienna and Berlin and later in Cordoba. In addition, [Canadian] Senator Jerry Grafstein is here and [Representative] Ben Cardin is here, and I am here, and I think the only one that is not here but has been in meetings at other times that were very instrumental in the Parliamentary Assembly is [U.S. House Minority Whip] Steny Hoyer. So to have five of the six of us four years later, and to add Senator Voinovich to that mix, is an honor for you and for me.



Rep. Ben Cardin

Some of you have been in these settings with us. Our effectiveness is often linked together, but as parliamentarians who participate in this Assembly we are all working, at least here, on a national level to implement the strategies to which our Assembly has committed itself. We could not have gone forward very much – Shai, you mentioned ambassador Minikes – I'm going to be in a void when the ambassador leaves Vienna. He has been a guiding light not only on this subject but on a substantial number of matters in which this organization interfaces. And Steve, as you exit this stage and enter right into a flourishing life, I want to thank you personally for all of the things that you have done.

**The Time for Action is Now**



Rep. Alcee Hastings

In Vienna and Berlin, and recently in Cordoba, this organization at each of these historic meetings has renewed and increased its commitment to reduce the threat of anti-Semitism and worked to promote universal tolerance.

That is something we need to focus on. We need to recognize, and I am sure all of us do, that Muslims are also suffering at the hands of this famous "anti-" that we all talk about. Therefore hopefully we will be mindful of all of our responsibilities as it pertains to all of our brothers and sisters in the sphere that we are operating in.

Albert Einstein once said, "The world is a dangerous place not because of those who do evil but because of those who look on and do nothing." Governments throughout the OSCE region and throughout the world can no longer look on silently as ageless threats of anti-Semitism, racism, xenophobia, and prejudicial discrimination and intolerance continue to threaten the livelihoods of each and every one of us. And I will depart from the rest of my prepared remarks and stay clearly under the five minutes that have been allotted to me. You are going to do a lot of talk, but here is where I think we are, and here is my charge to all of us not just in the OSCE but in the respective organizations that do this work. And my compliments to the Institute on Religion and Public Policy and the Foundation for Ethnic Understanding, and my good friends from the NCSJ.

We have passed this point now where we need to come together. We are preaching to the choir. We know what the problem is. Many of us – all of us at some level – have lived the problem. The time for us

now is to use the experts among us that are in this room and to bring in the other technical experts that are around this world to bring to bear true implementation of the ideas that have fomented from the three conferences on anti-Semitism that have gone forward. In the interim, I was in Brussels at the racism and xenophobia conference as well.



The time for action is now.

### **Addressing Islam and Iran**

I want to bring in what I believe is among the more troubling things in our society for all of the Middle East and indeed the world. Friends, whatever is happening in the radicalization of human beings is affecting us and it is impacting Jews and others, Muslims, and Blacks. Somewhere this seed of hatred is spreading throughout the world, and those of us that are tolerant need to find a way to put this dirty weed down. Now, I can tell you, we can come together and talk about all of the forms of discrimination all of the times that we want to. But overarching all of this is what is happening in the Middle East and more specifically in Iran. We need to try to figure a way to settle some of those issues and to do so with the kind of vigor that can bring dramatic change. The residual spillover from those particular events is what I think fuels much of the anti-Semitism and much of the intolerance.

Last night on the boat going to Mt. Vernon, I sat with the distinguished chair of the Tajik delegation and their ambassador to Vienna. For more than 40 minutes I listened through translation after putting the question to him, how were they handling matters in their region in Central Asia and what portends for us as a result of the recent occurrences in Uzbekistan and elsewhere. What he said to me was something I believe most of us know but have not really paid the kind of attention that is needed. He said one of the reasons this rise of radicalism inside Islam is taking place has to do with a lack of respect of religion, but that is not the dominant reason. He told me that in Tajikistan what they did was mandate that 30 percent of their elected body would be Muslims. But he said what he found and what is happening, not only in that region but elsewhere, is that the radical element is interested in power and they are not interested in religion. We tend to focus it in a different way when their hatred is spewed toward us.

I am telling you, it is time for new thought, and out of this conference my challenge to you is to come up

with more than the phrases and the rhetorical flourishes and trying to say the smartest thing about getting rid of anti-Semitism. Hatred will destroy us all if we do not take action.

### **Shai Franklin**

Thank you very much Mr. President. I would now like to turn it over to our co-chairs who really need no introduction around this room as Congressman Hastings didn't need an introduction, either. Thank you so much, Congressman, for your leadership.

I will just point out, as Congressman Hastings did say a few moments ago, that it really is Chris Smith and Gert Weisskirchen who have led this effort.



There are a number of leaders from the effort in this room, but I see the co-chairs of this effort – outside this room and inside this room – as being Chris Smith and Gert Weisskirchen.

So with that, I will hand it over to the two of you. I have already given a bit of an introduction about our speakers, but most important – as Congressman Hastings said – is not so much who they are but what they have to tell us about where to go from here. So Congressman and Professor, thank you very much.

### **Professor Gert Weisskirchen**

**German Bundestag**

**Vice President, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly  
Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-  
in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism**

Where do we go from here? That is the question that I raised for myself after Cordoba. And I must tell you that after Cordoba I did have a mixed feeling, because of two facts: The first, that the Berlin Declaration was from the outset very good, clear cut and had the commitments laid out. And from Berlin over to Paris, Brussels, and then to Cordoba, we have seen a development. And I must say, to be very open and frank, I would have thought that in Cordoba we would have seen a better development. Although I am not against the Cordoba Declaration, no doubt, I would have thought that we could make it better in order to implement what has been said and what has been taken in the Berlin Declaration.

### **Honoring the Berlin Commitments**

Only some of the countries made it well – the United States of America, at first, Britain, France, and some

others, Canada too. These four countries are a good model of what they have delivered, to bring about data – that is the basic line – and then to try to focus on different issues. And in this regard I do think that on two items Cordoba was a success. Although the [Cordoba] Declaration was not that clear following the opening that we have seen in Berlin, on two issues I do think that it was a success, dealing at first with the media, and a lot of good recommendations came out of this debate. And Andy [Baker, of the American Jewish Committee] was the one to lead this panel, and he did it wonderfully. And the experts had given a lot of good material in order to work on this in advance. And then the second panel was on Holocaust education, and I do think that again the recommendations that were produced out of this debate were really good ones to work on. So in this regard, I do think that Cordoba was on one hand a success dealing with issues, but on the other hand showing the weakness of the member states not to deal in a proper way with what they had committed to in Berlin and the follow-on conferences in Paris and in Brussels.

So what to do? I do think we should follow strictly what the President [Hastings] has said. We should now try to find out in what way we could bring about a real action plan. I do have the feeling now, turning to our level – the Parliamentary Assembly – that the supplementary item [“Resolution on Combating Anti-Semitism,” subsequently adopted by the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly] which we both are bringing forward could be a good enhancing point in order to fulfill the implementation process we are in. And I do hope that if the parliamentarians are ready to enhance this implementation process, they now have the real key in their hands in order to take some of the elements of the parliamentary items into their own national debate. That is what I hope for, because not only we are the ones to bring this into the national and to the international debate, but parliamentarians could play a real outstanding role. They are not governments and they are not civil societies, but in a way they are right in the middle of that kind of process. We are the ones that are responsible to think of our future societies.

### **Parliamentarians and NGOs**

We need, in this regard, the support of civil society, of NGOs [non-governmental organizations], and the only ones who really could act in this regard are parliamentarians because they are not linked to the governmental level but they are linked to the societal level. So I do hope that we are ready to pick that up and have a debate once a year in all respective

national parliaments. This could be a focal point to bring about that we are responsible in the fight against anti-Semitism.

And in the end – because we should have an exchange of views, I do think – I would like to draw your attention to the Anti-Defamation League report from May this year. They covered 12 European countries, how the tendencies of anti-Semitism are growing or not growing. There is a slight reduction of some attitudes. This has something to do with the clear and open debates we tried to inaugurate with this fight against anti-Semitism.

Take the example of France, or take the example of Germany. The government in France took a clear-cut position against anti-Semitism and, not to forget, the clear-cut decision that the Assemblée Nationale did in a lot of lawmaking processes – very clear. This reflects that we can do something, we can make a difference as parliamentarians to start a process, to start a debate in our respective societies, and then follow up this debate. And now it comes to two ways that we should try to work out the kind of action plan I have envisioned.

First is to go to these countries who are lacking, who are not delivering databases, for instance, who are not really tackling, who are not really fighting. Take the issue – that was the reason I went to the Russian Federation, because of the unbelievable letter that 19 Duma members signed, although the President [Putin] made a clear-cut statement against anti-Semitism in a brilliant way in Krakow.



Prof. Gert Weisskirchen

But this is one thing that the President is tackling. On the other hand, there are different and contradictory tendencies within the country. So we have to focus on these different structures in these societies. Not only Russia, take Ukraine, take others, there are to be seen these contradictory tendencies. That is one thing. I do hope, in talking about these issues with parliamentarians, that in the end there will be a convincing attitude of the political elite fighting against anti-Semitism.

### **Continue the OSCE Focus**

The last thing is that I do hope we come to the next point after Cordoba. We should think about in what way we are doing the work, especially because Mr. [Ömür] Orhun is here, too, the personal

representative dealing with Islamophobia. We two, together with Mrs. [Anastasia] Crickley [personal representative on Christianophobia and xenophobia], we should think about the idea in the end of this year to have an exchange of views with the outgoing Chairman-in-Office and the incoming Chairman-in-Office in order to be, if possible, much more active than we were in the first half of this year.

And there are some problems to be solved as we have debated on. I do hope that the end of this year can be a new starting point, so that we are ready to work together in a comprehensive way, and you know my attitude towards this. I do think that anti-Semitism is a kind of a special historical problem. I do not want to go into details, but only to mention that I as a German know what I am talking about. And in this regard, anti-Semitism is the kind of evil that we, from the beginning on – from the starting point when we are observing and seeing what is occurring – we have to fight really in the best way we can, and I would hope that you could understand this point of view. In closing, Christopher Smith, we both and all the others in the Parliamentary Assembly, and Michel [Voisin], we are keeping up our awareness and fighting this evil when it is occurring. Thank you.

**The Honorable Chris Smith**  
**U.S. House of Representatives**  
**Co-Chair, U.S. Helsinki Commission**

Let me say to my good friend and colleague, Gert Weisskirchen, what an honor it is to share the podium with him. He has laid out, I think for all of us, the importance not only of the issue but of keeping our hand to the plow. There is a concern we all have that a ‘compassion fatigue’ – a fatigue – will set in: “Been there, we’ve done that, we’ve had the conferences now we move on to other things,” and that would be the most egregious mistake we could possibly make.



Rep. Chris Smith

We are at the beginning – not even in the middle, not at the end – this is a beginning effort. And I want to thank Gert Weisskirchen for his leadership; he has done a magnificent job.

For the record, when we began partnering as parliamentarians along with Jerry Grafstein and Mr. Voisin – who joined us in these resolutions and has been a leader in France – it made the difference to not only educate but sensitize and mobilize each and every one of us to bring the message back to our own parliaments and to work collectively as well. It has

been said that one man, one woman with a passion is worth a thousand with an interest. We need people who are passionate about eradicating this scourge, this cancer called anti-Semitism, from the face of the earth. We start in our own countries, but we need to work cooperatively and in a collaborative way. Let me also say that on our Commission – the United States Helsinki Commission made up of nine members of the House, nine members of the Senate and three members of the Executive Branch – no one has been more dogged in his determination than my good friend and colleague Ben Cardin. There is no distance between us. I am a Republican, he is a Democrat. We roll up our sleeves and we work passionately on this, and I want to thank Ben for his leadership as well – it has been extraordinary. Let me also say that there are good friends like Vladimir Farsirotu from Romania.

I just walked in and I met an old friend Tom Melady – the former U.S. Ambassador to the Vatican – and his wife Margaret, who have been very staunch friends of the fight against anti-Semitism.



Eleanor Holmes Norton is here, of course, and Alcee Hastings mentioned her before. She, too, is a great believer in trying to eradicate all forms of racism and xenophobia, including this terrible and despicable anti-Semitic belief.

**20<sup>th</sup> Century Lessons**

Let me just put down a couple of thoughts and then move on. In 1982 – Shai Franklin is a good friend and has been for many years – one of his colleagues and I, Mark Levin and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, as it was known then, went to the Soviet Union.

I mention this because it is so important that the NGOs and the advocates who know so much, that they not assume that parliamentarians are always aware or have the depth of knowledge. They invited me to go to the Soviet Union, to Moscow and Leningrad, to meet with Refuseniks, men and women who had been denied exit visas from the Soviet Union and who were being systematically discriminated against. While we were there in Moscow, Natan Sharansky – then known as Anatoly Sharansky – his mother made an impassioned plea to us that her son was going to die as a result of the very cruel treatment he was receiving because of his belief and because of the fact that he was a Jew.

We made representations in our Congress, we went down to the embassy, we raised the issue in meetings with Moscow leaders. And he got some of the help that he needed, and being the tenacious man that he is he survived to fight another day. But that experience coupled with some that I had had earlier in meeting with Holocaust victims, including one when I was in my early teens, who I remember rolled up his sleeve and said, "This is the number that they tattooed on my arm," and then he talked about the loss of life that he saw and experienced.

For those who have not done it, we need to encourage our colleagues to go to the Holocaust Museum. Approximately 50 went yesterday, hopefully more will go. You cannot walk through the Holocaust Museum and not walk out a changed man or a changed woman. Even those of us who feel we know it, when you look at the faces of the people doing "Heil Hitler," they could be anybody's kids, big wide-eyed smiling kids giving a salute to a man who epitomizes death and destruction and hatred. It shows that any society can be deceived, and in this case an entire nation was deceived.

We had a hearing in 1995 – and I chaired it – entitled "The Rising Tide of Anti-Semitism." With the breakup of the Soviet Union and all the talk about a peace dividend, and the fact that things were going to go from black to white, we quickly found that it went to a very dark-colored gray and that in Russia, for example, there was a very disturbing trend towards privatizing acts of anti-Semitism. And then we found that government leaders were putting their hands in their pockets, or worse. Indifference very often enables evil, and it was there.

#### **Berlin's Promise, Cordoba's Shortfall**

In 2002, and Ben was there, and many of my colleagues were there – George Voinovich who is a great leader on behalf of this issue. We heard again about this rising tide of anti-Semitism and decided *that's it, it's time to do something dramatic*. We asked the Administration to put together a meeting which we eventually had in Berlin and before that in Vienna. While we made the recommendation, it was Steve Minikes who worked that issue very, very hard in the diplomatic quarters among the OSCE but also among the Administration to make them aware of the fact that something had to be done dramatically: Get all the issues on the table, and then follow up hopefully effectively with an action plan.

I think it is disturbing that at Cordoba, 13 nations did not provide data on hate crimes. Another 13 were

infirm in their submissions, in that they did not give any kind of chronicling of what is actually happening. They talked about the laws but missed the mark in terms of what they had been asked to do; maybe they did not have it. I am very concerned about the troubling recognition of the problem; we want to end this problem. But in the United States, according to the ADL, our own acts of anti-Semitic behavior have gone up 17 percent. That is a disturbing trend. We have not put a tourniquet on this as we wanted. We certainly now have to start a redoubling of our efforts. Cordoba has to be a start of best practices, and implementation, implementation, and more implementation. None of this actually is on automatic pilot.

#### **Parliamentary Leadership**

Finally, let me suggest to my colleagues, we need to keep promoting this, we need to find that one or two or three people who will make it happen in their parliament. You don't need the whole parliament to be working on it. You need a Jerry Grafstein, you need a Gert Weisskirchen to take this burden upon themselves and promote it '24-7'.

Let me also say that we passed, and it was signed by President Bush – and you might even look at doing this in your own respective parliaments – the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of 2005. And very soon, President Bush will name an envoy to head up that office who can be the lightning rod – just as we have an ambassador at large on international religious freedom, as we have an ambassador at large heading up our anti-trafficking efforts – to focus your foreign policy and your domestic policy like a laser beam on these issues.

#### **United Nations Role**

Finally, just let me say that United Nations reform now has begun. I chair the International Relations Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations. I had it six years previously and I have back again this year. We have already held a number of hearings on UN reform. I would go year in and year out to the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, and would be shocked and dismayed at how rogue nations were sitting in judgment and very often running interference for those who are committing egregious human rights abuses around the world, whether it be Sudan or Cuba, or other nations. There they would be, ambassadors in good standing running interference, watering down resolutions. Now we are moving, I believe, to a Human Rights Council where the price

of admission as an adjudicator of human rights today would be that you have at least met minimum standards with regard to human rights.

We need to redo the human rights enforcement mechanisms. They have been infirm and – unfortunately – very unevenly applied, and I could talk the whole day about that. As we move towards new reform, I would ask you all to join us in one big movement to end that situation where we have general resolutions and then a whole category attacking Israel, which is so disproportionate and hate-filled. I have sat through those sessions and debated and been a part of it; it is awful.

It was Sharansky who at Berlin made the point about the three “D”s. Anyone can disagree with the State of Israel on any issue or with the United States, as you do often and very robustly – that’s what democracy and dialogue are all about. Sharansky said that when you see the three “D”s – demonization, double standard, and deligitimization – watch out, because that is when anti-Semitism rears its ugly head. The [Israeli] Knesset debates issues like we do in Congress, and like you do, in the Bundestag, but once you cross that line which is so easily crossed by so many, that is where you get into the ugly specter of promoting anti-Semitism. Much has to be done. I look forward to working with all of you.

### **Shai Franklin**

I will just help and expedite the process, and introduce Senator Voinovich, with whom I have had the privilege to work very closely on this issue, and I say work closely because he has really been carrying a lot of the water on this issue on Capitol Hill, especially on the Senate side. There is no single person responsible for what we have achieved so far, but there is a small number of individual leaders without whom we would not be here. And they are all, as I said before, true believers. Senator, thank you very much for your leadership, and we look forward to hearing your remarks.

### **The Honorable George Voinovich** **U.S. Senate**



Sen. George Voinovich

Thank you very much. It has been referenced that we got started on this at the Helsinki Commission in 2002. We followed with an ad hoc meeting in Berlin [during the 2002 Parliamentary Assembly]. We had the conferences in Vienna, Berlin, and Cordoba.

It has been three years, we have made some progress, but we have a long, long way to go if we are serious about doing something about this problem. The Berlin Conference produced a very good Declaration which called for several goals, specifically to get the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights to take up the issue of anti-Semitism. That declaration was not easy to get, and the man



Ambassadors O'Donnell & Minikes

responsible for it is Steve Minikes. He did an outstanding job under some really difficult circumstances and got a declaration that meant something. I would be remiss also if I did not mention [Ambassador] Ed O'Donnell [U.S. Special Envoy on Holocaust Issues] who worked with all of us, too, on that issue here in the United States.

We mentioned Cordoba, and prior to that meeting I met with [Slovenian Foreign Minister] Dimitrij Rupel, who is Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, to try and light a fire under him to be committed to this. I met him again before Cordoba, when I met with him in Slovenia, and I think that the agenda for the Cordoba meeting was very good. But as it was pointed out, one thing that was missing was our Secretary of State. The fact that [then-Secretary of State] Colin Powell was at the Berlin Conference meant a great deal. It is important for the United States, when we have these kinds of meetings, to do everything in our power to ensure that the top person is there because when they are there – you know what that means, that other people will be there.

### **Commit the Resources**

Where are we going? Number one, we have talked with Christian Strohal who heads up ODIHR. I met with Gert in my office, and the bottom line is – like so many times in government – you ask someone to do a job and you do not give them the resources to get the job done. And so I asked Christian to give us the budget that he needs to get the job done. This afternoon when we go back at 2:30, I have a resolution dealing with ODIHR and its budget [subsequently adopted by the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly]. The fact is, if we are interested in getting something done, we have to provide the resources to do the job. If that is not forthcoming, then I think we also need to go to the NGOs, and Gert has come up with some suggestions on how NGOs can help in this process. By the way, I want to also mention that without NCSJ and some of the other organizations, the progress we made would not have happened.

They did an outstanding job outside the government entity to get the job done.

So we need a budget. We also need to get some specific things, and Gert has a wonderful resolution that I think will be considered tomorrow. It urges the participating states to adopt national uniform definitions for monitoring and collecting information about anti-Semitism and hate crimes. In other words, let's have a definition that we all agree to, and then let's have metrics to determine whether or not people indeed are meeting them. And we recommend national data collection and monitoring mechanisms. And we talk about a call for national governments to allot adequate resources to the monitoring of anti-Semitism, including the appointment of national ombudspersons or special representatives.

### **Setting an Example**

One of the things we did here in the United States, all of us working together, was we created this global anti-Semitism legislation. The State Department should be congratulated that even before the legislation was signed, we now have a section in the State Department's Religious Freedom and Human Rights reports on what's happening around the world. And we are hopeful that very soon the Secretary of State is going to appoint someone to head up the office to combat and monitor anti-Semitism. But for those of us in the United States, we need to do a better job in our own country of doing some of the things we are asking other countries to do, so we can show that we're very sincere about this. You cannot ask others to do something without you in your own right doing the job that you should be doing.

And I know that a lot is being done, but I think that a lot more has to be done. Instead of beating somebody over the head, the next year at our meeting, Gert and Chris, we ought to talk about the progress that some people have made and recognize them as benchmarks and celebrate the successes that we have had. Provide some initiative for people to get excited about this. Find those one or two people in those parliaments who are going to take this on.

### **UN Reform**

The last thing that I want to mention is that, yes, we are working in the OSCE and trying to do the job that we think needs to be done on this issue. But all of us know that it also has to be done in the United Nations. I know there is a controversy about what the UN should do. But I want to tell you something, folks. I believe that with the Mitchell-Gingrich report

– with the statement that Kofi Annan has made – he finally gets it. We have the best opportunity in my lifetime to see the reforms that we need at the United Nations, including eliminating the UN's anti-Zionism and anti-Israel bias by going from the Human Rights Commission to a Human Rights Council that has people on it who are dead serious instead of the façade we have had for so many years.

And again I am urging you not miss this opportunity that we have at the United Nations to make the changes that are needed. If we blow it, shame on us. It is there to be had, and we need to make sure that it gets done. And I thank all of you for everything, and your respective organizations. All of you are making a difference in terms of this issue. I have two mottos: One of them is, "Together we can do it," the other is, "With God, all things are possible." And I really believe that together and with some inspiration we can do a real job in this area that is so important to the future of the world.

### **Shai Franklin**

Thank you very much, Senator. Colette Avital is one of Israel's most distinguished diplomats. Having served as Israel's ambassador to Portugal and also as Israeli Consul General in New York – which is a very senior posting – Colette Avital is now one of the leaders in the Knesset and has been a leader on behalf of the Israeli delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. I first met her in that capacity in 2002 in Berlin, where she played an important role. And Israel, as I may have mentioned previously, plays an obviously important role in shaping our response and in advancing that response. So, Ambassador Avital, thank you very much.

### **Her Excellency Colette Avital** **Israeli Knesset**



First of all, very sincerely – and those are not really words said with politeness – I would really like to thank those who organized this meeting, our hosts, and more importantly

those who have initiated and have done so much in the struggle against anti-Semitism from Berlin in the year 2002 until now. I am saying this as an Israeli, I am saying this as a Jew. I am saying this as someone who was born Jewish, did not choose to be Jewish, who is proud to be Jewish, and as a Holocaust survivor. With all of these, I do not take things for granted. I know that what you have done was not easy to achieve. Part of the job has been done. The

fact that today the phenomenon has been acknowledged, that so many resolutions have passed, that your resolutions have percolated through to higher echelons. All of these are extraordinarily important achievements and I really and truly would like to thank you, to thank more particularly the leaders of the German and the United States delegations: Professor Weisskirchen and Christopher Smith, and obviously all the other friends who have helped all along.

I am a little bit moved when I speak, because I think that this issue is very important to us. I think that much has been achieved. I have not been at Cordoba, but I have listened very carefully to some of the reservations that have been expressed. What has been achieved is very important, but I have also seen attempts to dilute some of these achievements and to make anti-Semitism sort of be part of a wider group of racism and xenophobia. Again, having lived through many experiences, I think that anti-Semitism is a separate, distinct phenomenon and I believe that it should be treated as such.

#### **Parliamentary Priorities**

I would like to say, in addition to what has already been said, two or three things. You have been monitoring the efforts that have been made in many countries. You have monitored also the continuation of acts of anti-Semitism. It is true that some of these have been reduced. I believe however that what we need to do as parliamentarians – and I'll concentrate on that – involves three issues.

#### **Legislation**

Number one, I would concentrate as much as we can on the issue of legislation. I have with me a list of the countries that have passed legislation which covers the issue of anti-Semitism and includes at the same time the issue of Holocaust denials. And I can read the list to you. It is Croatia, France has very extensive laws, the Vatican, Latvia, Slovakia, Spain, Romania has a very good law, Sweden, Switzerland, Mexico has just adopted a very complete law, Belgium, the Czech Republic has a law against all forms of fascism, Austria has a law against all types of Nazi symbols, and Luxembourg. There are other countries that have laws against racial discrimination; Canada is such an example.

We believe that we need to concentrate our efforts as much as we can through the OSCE, to try to promote in those countries that do not have the legislation both law and law enforcement. And when I say law

and law *enforcement*, if I will be forgiven, I would like to give an example of one of those countries where there exist laws to bring people to justice and where the law is not enforced. Because people are brought to justice and then they are let off without any punishment, and that is Russia. I am taking this opportunity to say, just like Professor Weisskirchen, that we were particularly shocked that on a declaration condemning the fact that Jews have their own institutions, 19 members of the Duma signed it, then it became a list of 500, and subsequently another declaration of 5,000 people was issued as well on such issues.



MK Colette Avital

I think that we in this organization, in the OSCE, should have the opportunity to put the question to the national delegations that come, certainly the national delegation of Russia, as to what they as a delegation – who are a party to the declaration that we have all adopted – what they have done in order to curb some of the action of these members of the Duma. That I think is our first role.

#### **Educating Against Hate**

The second thing which I would recommend is that we work within the education committees of our national parliaments to see what can be done to introduce more friendly materials about Jews and Judaism in the educational systems. Whether we study history or whether we study the contribution of Jews to civilization, those are things that can be introduced into our national systems. We are at the point where we should not only have debates in our parliaments. I think that is very important, but we should try to persuade our fellow parliamentarians – whether it is at the government level or whether it is at the parliamentary level – to promote such laws.

#### **Media**

Last but not least, we should also include in our work the work of the media. My experience has been one which has proven this, and I will give you one example of a time when I was in France during the Lebanon war. No sooner had the Lebanon war started than the French press was filled with anti-Semitic remarks. The Jews were again killing children, and the Israeli army was treated as the Wehrmacht, and the Israeli Air Force was treated as the Luftwaffe and so on and so forth. It took shock-treatment articles that we wrote in the press picking up all of these expressions. At one point, the French press had to

stop to consider what was being said about these expressions which they had used so loosely and I think that they made amends. Actually, they did not use those expressions again. And I think that we do have the opportunity to conduct such dialogue with the press.

I would like maybe, just for the sake of good order, to mention that unfortunately we in Israel are not totally left out of the picture when it comes to anti-Semitic or anti-Nazi kind of legislation. It may seem strange to all of us – it certainly has been very strange to me – but I had to table two draft laws in Israel. One is against the use of Nazi symbols, because in the fight for or against disengagement, some people have been using loosely such expressions and such symbols. So I believe that charity begins at home. And I tabled a draft law in Israel against the use of Nazi symbols. I did not know that I would reach the day. I am also tabling now a draft law against neo-Nazi organizations. Unfortunately, this is also a phenomenon which I did not think that we would live to see in a country like Israel. But in the past few weeks we have discovered that we have our own little neo-Nazi groups, strange as this may seem. So we have to go through legislation as well.

I know this is not easy. I thought that in this forum I should at least tell you that we have our trouble as well – not as big as in other countries – but we believe very firmly that strong legislation, strong law enforcement is one part. The education and the changing of attitudes is a long-range project in which we all have to be engaged. And last but not least, since Senator Voinovich spoke about the help of God, I should tell you that Ben-Gurion once said that we believe in miracles but we have to make them happen.

### **Shai Franklin**

Thank you so much. Before introducing our next speaker I just want to mention as a follow-on to the Israeli presentation that another diplomat who is leaving his OSCE post is also with us. Yossi Moustaki, who represents Israel at the Permanent Council in Vienna, has also been instrumental and involved in this from day one. I wish you best of luck back at the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem.



Yossi Moustaki

Michel Voisin is a member of the French Parliament, Assemblée Nationale, and a member of its Defense

Committee. He is a former Vice President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. He has been active in the Inter-Parliamentary Forum on Combating Anti-Semitism for several years, together with legislators like Chris Smith and Gert Weisskirchen. He was an active supporter of the Lelouche law which, as you probably know, has mandated stiffer penalties for hate crimes, particularly those motivated by anti-Semitism. It is a great pleasure to have you with us, Monsieur Voisin. Thank you for joining us.

### **His Excellency Michel Voisin** **French Assemblée Nationale** *[translation from French]*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very pleased to be here today. This is the fourth day of the Parliamentary Assembly, and it confirms the great sense of hospitality of the American people.



I would like to start by saying to Christopher that there is no difference or disagreement between the American people and the French people – except on the Iraq issue, I admit – but only on that issue. I would like to tell him also that the French people love the American people.

In a civilized world, I should not talk about racism and anti-Semitism. Those two things should belong to the past. But history is here, and European history, especially, which paid a heavy price to these two evils in the 1930s. The philosopher Hannah Arendt, in her analysis of the Eichmann Trial, warned us about the trivial aspect of evil and reminded us that any human being in certain circumstances can become evil at any moment.

Anti-Semitism does not belong to the past. It is not limited to the dates of history, starting from the first century through 1945. Anti-Semitism still exists in different forms, from the traditional cliché of Jews being very rich and Jews being in all levels of society. It exists now at a more sophisticated level, in which it is used as a weapon for the creation of the Palestinian state and also for the liberation of the Arab world.

### **The French Case**

There is a clear difference between now and the situation in the '30s. Above all, anti-Semitism is no longer accepted in our society, especially not with indifference. Two years ago, American media spoke

of France as a racist country and would accuse its government of not doing enough because the number of anti-Semitic attacks had greatly increased. The statistics were correct and I will not deny it. But being a democracy, it is a phenomenon that debated with our people, and France did not hesitate to give to the ODIHR reports and statistics about all of the incidents. We have an organization that focuses specifically on the number of anti-Semitic aggressions in France and I can tell you that since the beginning of the year, the number of anti-Semitic attacks has decreased dramatically.

At the same time, the state – in its laws, its social bodies, and its protests – has stated clearly the message of France from 1789 about the irrevocability of human dignity and the equality of all human beings. The French government got close to the Jewish community and put in place a program that the OSCE cites as an example to be emulated. I would like to remind you that the rejection of evil ideology is one of the main principles adopted by all of the European nations after the Second World War. France, being part of the European Community, knows well that racism is part of an international phenomenon and should therefore be addressed on an equally international level. Thus our country has given financial support to an educational program of the OSCE to train policemen and to give money to non-profit organizations in Eastern Europe.

Important work about memory and education has been accomplished in all the countries of Europe over the past 60 years. This program has weakened anti-Semitism, although our societies and our democracies face these

problems once again. I will give you a specific example of what I did in my department: I am from a department between Lyon and Geneva. During the Second World War resistance was strong there. We have two museums: first, a Holocaust museum, because we had much discrimination against the Jews, and a second museum about the Jewish children in Izieu. Through our program, all children between the ages of 10 and 12 visit this museum with their teachers for free. We think this kind of program, focusing on young people of an impressionable age, can influence them a lot and in this way and can help to fight anti-Semitism and racism.

Anti-Semitism is still based on some behavioral attitudes that translate into physical aggression and attacks on synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. I

would like to point out that in France, this racism is not different from the one that the Muslim community faces, which experiences the same kind of attacks. The number of anti-Semitic acts has also increased because of what is happening in the Middle East. This fight exists among Muslim communities which have immigrated to Western Europe. I regret that Western Europe has become a battlefield of what is going on in the Middle East between Palestinians and Israelis. Everybody knows that this battle is not rational and that it involves religion in the Promised Land and has many consequences of hate.

### Media

This racist violence also exists in Western Europe, and I would call it political racism, but in no way does this word justify anti-Semitic acts. The most recent example that we had in France was the broadcast of the Al-Manar channel. This illustrates the new trend of trivializing anti-Semitism for political reasons. Our organization figured out that people who watched Al-Manar too much would become anti-Semitic. It makes me very proud to say that our country acted very quickly and very efficiently against the threat. It took some time, but this was due to a lack of legislation. The political body, notably our Parliament, reacted strongly to this fact and said that human values are more important than laws. In a second step, our Parliament produced a new piece of legislation to fight against anti-Semitism and racism, but our laws are already very efficient in this respect.

I know that I am being very long, especially because of the translation. But I cannot leave without talking about the problems linked to the Internet. This technology is by nature completely decentralized. Everyone can admit that it has become the terrorists' favorite weapon. So now the OSCE is focusing and forbidding all Web sites with a racist nature. We know that this is just the beginning of the fight, but you can count on our readiness to remain vigilant.

Today, our country has laws against racism, but since 2003 it has also had laws that punish any act which is directly or indirectly racist. For example, if someone steals the cell phone of a person wearing a kippah, the act may be considered anti-Semitic. France rebukes any idea of a society based on the establishment of a hierarchy between people.

We all need to remain very vigilant in order to stop and to fight any extremists who try to attack the basis of civilization. I would like to quote Victor Hugo, who used to say that if you don't want to build



H.E. Michel Voisin

prisons you need to build schools and libraries. The fight against racism is firstly about education and often recalls the strong symbols of our memory. Everybody was very moved by the ceremonies commemorating the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the death camps. This work is very important, especially because soon all of those people who fought in the war and those who saw the creation of the State of Israel will no longer be living. In the future, when all the witnesses have died, there will only be the historians, pictures, books, and certain memorable phrases such as those of Primo Levi, to remind us that it was not only a bad nightmare but that it existed.

I am going to please my British friends. Winston Churchill said that you need to handle events with the hand before they choke you by the throat. The noblesse of politics is not to be passive in looking at the world but to try to shape the world into a world of justice. This is a very difficult struggle because we need to fight the obscure part of the human soul. But you can count on France to never let down its guard.

**Shai Franklin**

Thank you very much, Monsieur Voisin. I want to briefly call on my colleague and partner in today's effort and in so many efforts here in Washington and overseas, Joseph Grieboski, from the Institute on Religion and Public Policy, and then we will open it to some of you around the table to please share your comments. And I see Senator Grafstein, who is also Treasurer of the Parliamentary Assembly, and we should definitely let him speak. He is also one of the co-conveners of the Inter-Parliamentary Forum that Messrs. Weisskirchen and Smith have initiated. Let me just mention that Mr. Grieboski is also the Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Conference on Human Rights and Religious Freedom, which has already convened twice and will be convening again this coming November.

**Joseph Grieboski**  
**President, Institute on Religion and Public Policy**  
**Secretary General, Interparliamentary**  
**Conference on Human Rights and Religious**  
**Freedom**



Joseph Grieboski

Thank you very much, Shai. It is a great honor and pleasure for me to have all of you here today. We have heard some stirring remarks this afternoon and I would encourage as many of you as possible to become

engaged in the discussion not just here today but back in your own parliaments and in your own nations. We have come very far in the fight against anti-Semitism, and we obviously have much further to go. I wanted to take this opportunity to recognize the delegations which joined us today: the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Israel, Croatia, Romania, Turkey, Montenegro, Monaco, Latvia, Canada, and the Czech Republic. It is a great indication of the commitment of the international community to the fight against anti-Semitism that at this hour on a Sunday morning we can have so many distinguished individuals here to engage in such an important and worthwhile discussion. And now, with the co-chair's permission, we would like to open the floor for discussion.

**The Honorable Jerry Grafstein**  
**Canadian Senate**  
**Treasurer, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly**

First of all, I apologize. We have business at 2:30, our meetings are continuing. My name is Senator Grafstein, I am a senator from Canada and I represent Toronto. I want to briefly echo what all have said. I want to commend all of them, Michel Voisin, Chris Smith, and Weisskirchen, and Ben Cardin. All of us have been a gang of four or five that have been pushing this agenda, but the leadership certainly has been with Gert and Chris.

**Parameters for Parliamentary Action**

I think we have to move quickly, as both our co-chairs have said, from the macro to the micro. We have to remember the macro and keep the international going, but at the micro level we now have to go state by state with a scorecard. We have to keep score, and let me tell you the issues that we have to keep score of.

The debates in Parliament: Gert and Chris have both talked about that, how we have to have annual debates in Parliament. That is very important. And then Parliament and the committees, as Colette said, have to study and come up with specific recommendations.

What are the other four [substantive] areas where we can focus and should be focusing? Number one, statistics. Number two, the state of the laws themselves, where they have to be strengthened. Number three, enlightened policing to enforce the laws. And finally, education. And I will not deal with the media, which is another complex subject, but those are the four things that we and the Parliament can deal with.

## Canada's Scorecard

Let me give you the Canadian scorecard. When we introduced the resolution at the first Berlin conference [of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly] some five years ago, that was a benchmark, and that was before the Ministerial Council was even dealing with this subject. We had very nice general statements from the [2002 Porto] Ministerial, but we got specific, and so on. So it started really then. I took that [PA] resolution to my own Parliament. I could not get the parliamentarians on the House side to deal with it. I put it on the order paper, it took me three-and-a-half years to get it discussed and referred to a committee. It went to a committee, they dealt with it for an hour-and-a-half and they did not make a recommendation. So what I have done is come back again, and last week – you will be pleased to know – I put the Cordoba Resolution back on the order paper and I will refer it again and it will be another uphill struggle to get it debated first of all, and second of all to be referred to a committee for specific recommendations. And that is just Parliament. So we need Parliament.

## Statistics

Number one, on statistics, my country has talked about statistics. We get our statistics from B'nai B'rith, not from [the government] but from B'nai B'rith, and quite frankly they are good. But again, in Toronto, the statistics have been horrible because this year anti- and hate incidents have increased about 87 percent, and over 50 percent of them have been anti-Semitic, clearly anti-Semitic things. Tombstones, etc., scorching. Since Berlin, we had four synagogues scorched in Canada, and no word from any political leader except a few of us in Parliament. And by the way, after a school library in Montreal was burnt the entire community erupted, the Prime Minister got upset. And all of a sudden we heard the vox populi, the parliamentarians, the police officers, and mayors speak out. It took four years for that to happen.

So again, Parliament must speak out, must speak out regularly at the leadership. And I want to commend Michel Voisin because [French President Jacques] Chirac has been precise about this. His government has led the way. Germany has led the way, but I want to tell you that where they had a problem it was Chirac and a conservative government that led the way in that. And he has been instrumental in that. That is why, if there is a diminution in incidents, that's because it's happened as Gert said, right at the center. So, Michel, felicitations.

In Canada, we've promised national statistics. They are not provided yet. We are doing experiments on statistics. We need regular, quarterly statements on statistics. Not hard to do, we're organized, we should get it done.

## Laws and Law Enforcement

Number two, on renovation of laws, Canada – we have a very liberal government, I'm member of the Liberal Party – has promised renovation of our laws. Promises, but no introduction of legislation. I want to commend the Americans, they're leading the way on that. I want to commend Gert, they've led the way on that. I want to commend Colette, she's led the way on that – specific changes in laws to strengthen them.

Number three, and here's where Toronto and Canada have played a leadership role: policing. A month ago we had a meeting of police chiefs from Toronto, from the United Kingdom, from France, from



Sen. Jerry Grafstein

Hungary, and others. Why? To develop a core curriculum for police officers to teach them how to specifically deal with hate crimes. They need expertise on that. And they all came at our behest to Cordoba and they expanded them. But every country, every member state should be participating in this important work. We are teaching officers how to deal with hate crimes, which is different than ordinary crimes.

## Education

And finally, education. You remember what Elie Wiesel said to us all in Berlin: If we teach a child to love as opposed to hate, there will be no hate in the world. But you have to teach a child. So what do we have to do? We need a core curriculum. And again I want to congratulate Gert, because at his seminar in Cordoba – it was fabulous – we had for the first time a very thorough understanding of the complexity of developing a core curriculum at the primary level, at the secondary level, and at the university level. And so again, the work is not done, we're just at the beginning.

I want to conclude by saying this: Let's keep a scorecard state-by-state. By the way, I would ask the World Jewish Congress, and I would ask the NGOs to press each of our member states to get this work done. I have felt very little support, quite frankly. In Canada I have received three letters of support in all

these years for it. We make great speeches to ourselves, but we do not get at parliamentarians. We must pressure parliamentarians in every member state to do the work they have to do.

And finally I want to say this: There's a dangerous problem here. The problem is, there's battle fatigue. We saw it in Cordoba: "We've talked about it, we've talked about it, enough is enough, and let's move on." And we are fighting a rearguard action at the OSCE to keep this on the front burner so we can complete the work. To my mind, colleagues, we are at the beginning of the beginning. We should remember this is a war – we've won some battles but we have not won the war. And again I want to thank the World Jewish Congress, I want to thank all the organizations, and we will continue this, we will work on in solidarity until we remove the most ancient of all the scourges, anti-Semitism.

**Reverend Woody Barnette**  
**Washington, DC**

Professor Weisskirchen, last year at the NGO meeting in Berlin, in your remarks, I counted about three times a phrase, "the new barbarity." And I've been waiting a year to ask you the question of what you meant by that.



Rev. Woody Barnette

**Gert Weisskirchen**

I mean by this that there at first was an old-style xenophobia towards Jews. It has a long cultural tradition. But what we are seeing now is that there is a new form occurring. And the new form, of which Michel has spoken, is a problem in our immigrant societies in Western Europe where we have an influx of people who are not really integrated into our societies. There is a new modernization process going on and we are not ready up to now to deliver that kind of integration that is necessary in order to give the young people – coming from Arabic countries or from different parts of Turkey, for instance – to give them the kind of integration necessary to make them immune to that form of new anti-Semitism growing. That's what I meant.

**His Excellency Vladimir Farsirotu**  
**Romanian Parliament**

I am from Romania, Farsirotu is my name. I would like to say only some words. Thank you for the invitation to be here. I agree totally with Ms. Avital

on the fact that anti-Semitism should be treated separately from other forms of racism or other forms of discrimination.



H.E. Vladimir  
Farsirotu

I agree also with the point of needing to track and report on it. I am new here, I don't know if this activity has a form of institutionalization. It should, because we can meet every year to expose a situation, but I think it is necessary to create a committee with a continuous

activity, with reciprocal and continuous information and maybe a plan of action. And what does everybody do in his own country? Maybe they have difficulties, maybe they need support from outside or from other countries and from experience, exchanged experience. And that should be a continuous activity, not a periodic one. Thank you.

**Ambassador Ömür Orhun**  
**Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairman-in-Office on Combating Discrimination and Intolerance Against Muslims**

My name is Ömür Orhun. I am the OSCE Chairman-in-Office's personal representative on combating discrimination and intolerance against Muslims. When my good friend suggested that I attend this meeting, I hesitated that I would be a little bit out of place, but I am glad that finally I decided to come. I am leaving this meeting with perhaps two messages to carry back.

**Implementation and Respect**

One is the need for dedication to fight intolerance and discrimination and the second is perhaps more important, the need for implementation. At different fora, I have underlined that not only OSCE but also other international organizations have already set up an adequate normative framework. What we need now is to put that normative framework into action.

A few speakers underlined the necessity of having good data collection and adequate legislation. I couldn't agree more, but of course legislation is not enough. We must also put that legislation into good practice. I would like to underline even more the need for education, and not education in general, but especially education of the young people and training of the law enforcement officials.



Another thing that needs to have attached importance is the media. Media can have either a very negative role in this field or a very positive role. One point has not been raised, which I faced this in my visit to Holland, and that is the language the political leaders – especially of some marginal parties – are using when addressing this issue. I believe what we need to do is continue to raise awareness, to continue to underline the need for harmony and respect to the other, whoever the other might be. I think Mr. Voisin mentioned that we should keep respect for human dignity. I think that is the catch word.



Amb. Omür Orhun

Very briefly, I would like to underline three points. Senator Voinovich underlined the necessity of resources for the personal representatives. I couldn't agree more. We are part-time honorary personalities, we have other things to do in our

other capacities, so we need dedicated personnel to try to help us, mostly to come from the ODIHR's office. Secondly, my good friend Gert underlined the need for better coordination between the three personal representatives, not only that, but also between the representatives, ODIHR, and the OSCE chairmanship.

Finally I would like to raise one issue, which Congressman Hastings and others also mentioned. Anti-Semitism is an evil that we need to fight, but there are other evils that we also need to fight. In that respect I would submit that the draft supplementary item on combating anti-Semitism might send a wrong message to the general public – that the Parliamentary Assembly is adopting only one supplementary item on only one issue whereas the OSCE has been addressing, as you all know, other forms of discrimination and intolerance, including against Muslims. From a procedural point of view it might be too late to submit additional resolutions on this issue, but I believe a simple fix might be to edit the heading and some language in this text which we might perhaps discuss after this meeting, so that the message that the OSCE tried to convey in Vienna, in Berlin, and lately in Cordoba would also be conveyed to the resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly. Thank you, once again.

**His Excellency Luigi Compagna**  
**Italian Senate**

A question for my friend Michel Voisin. When Michel Voisin used the category of political racism, he said that there is a strong linkage between anti-

Semitism and the question of the Middle East. But I think that the problem is in the history of international organizations. And the question is Zionism. People say, "Anti-Semitism? I am not an anti-Semite – anti-Zionist, that's something completely different. I'm against Zionism." Here is the problem. I think it is absurd that Zionism, which is an ideology of another century, an ideology which has the aspiration of nationality for a people, may be considered a kind of racism. But there are many international decisions, I think the decision of the United Nations, 1975. And at the terrible United Nations conference in Durban, two weeks before 11<sup>th</sup> of September, the *Protocols of Zion* were distributed.

Educating young people in school is very important. But international organizations should be precise that deliberate anti-Zionism as a kind of racism is absurd, is a method of hate. In the strategy of Mr. Voisin, quoting Hannah Arendt, Victor Hugo, Winston Churchill, there is a problem. Raymond Aron used to debate with Jean Paul Sartre and say that the State of Israel is a statehood of the heart.



Sen. Luigi Compagna

**Michel Voisin**

I would like to say first that the result that we can obtain regarding the fight against anti-Semitism is a result of the political wheel. I regret that Mr. Grafstein left, because he talked about Jacques Chirac. The President of the French Republic put in place some networks and established contact with parliamentarians. I can tell you that once I called him to tell him that in a town close to me, we were about to give the medal for people who saved Jewish lives during the War. Chirac sent a message to congratulate this person, but also told me what kind of words and themes I should use when giving my speech. Another example: When Mr. Chirac came back from the commemoration ceremony of the 60th anniversary of the liberation of the death camps, I talked to him on the phone for 15 minutes, and he told me that we really should copy and reproduce this television program to use it for educational purposes.

Now I would like to talk to you about racism and Zionism. Zionism is a national affair. We agree or we do not agree. For us, our analysis cannot consider Zionism as racism. Because Zionism never called for the destruction of an Arab state and never called any Arab an inferior human being.

**Colette Avital**

Before we wrap up the session, I got permission from the co-chairs to address some of the concern that was voiced by our new colleague from Romania, and I think that many of us agree to the points which you have brought up. And let me therefore make a very practical suggestion which in a way I think was approved, half-approved at least by half of my colleagues here, that between Montenegro and the next session in Vienna, we invite you to convene in Jerusalem to take stock of what has been done and to try to have a working session in what we can do together. We would like to host you in the Knesset and see how we can work together if that is agreeable to all of you.

**Chris Smith**

First of all, let me just introduce you. Randy Bell is our former Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues and has done a tremendous job. To all my parliamentarian friends, it is getting people into positions



who have a passion and a heart and an understanding and an expertise who then work on it in an institutionalized way – and he and Ed O’Donnell – that ensures the focus isn’t lost. And so I just want to congratulate him for his work.

**Middle East Textbooks Teaching Hate**

Mr. Voisin talked about that critical age period of 10 to 12 and how he’s ensuring that young people get that exposure. That is the critical time, and I want to again urge you to not only look into your own textbooks as relates to the Holocaust and anti-Semitic passages but help us with what’s going on in Saudi Arabia, what is going on in many of the Middle Eastern countries where their textbooks are often rife with hatred.

We had a hearing just recently in the House International Relations Committee on Saudi Arabian textbooks, and we had some Saudi experts who came in – Saudi citizens – who are outraged, and brought in books, had them piled up on the witness table and started reading those textbooks so that we would get a flavor of what a 4<sup>th</sup> grader and a 3<sup>rd</sup> grader are exposed to. One of the questions that is asked in the textbook, and he’s reading it obviously in an English translation for us, is, “Can you love a Christian or a Jew? Absolutely not.” And it got worse from there,

and that is not the Muslim belief that I know and understand.

And yet there is this rabid, isolated, but unfortunately disproportionately powerful group of individuals, Wahabists and the like, who are able to promote this, and then the émigré community brings that hatred into their respective countries by way of their the Internet, television, and the like. Only recently did UNRWA (the UN Relief and Works Agency) – and we have had hearings on this I’ve offered legislation on this myself – begin to look at what we’re paying for under the auspices of the PA, the Palestinian Authority. Those textbooks, which are now in the process of being improved, were horrific.

All of you have foreign affairs departments. We have the ability to have hearings, hold to account. Begin by making yourselves more aware of what these textbooks contain, because the hate, like that famous song from “South Pacific,” “You’ve Got to Be Taught.” The hatred, whether it be racial or any other way, has to be taught,. It’s at that young age, 10 to 12 and even younger, that it’s taught. And you need pliers to change it over time because it’s already set into the heart and soul of the individual. So textbooks I think, and of course Colette mentioned this, and Jerry Grafstein mentioned how important it is. We’ve got to do much better jobs on the textbooks.

**Gert Weisskirchen**

May I thank the organizers, Shai and Joe, that you invited us, and this was a good exchange of views. And if I may say a last word from my perspective, I’m not fighting anti-Semitism only to give Jews a secure place in Europe or in Germany, but I’m fighting against anti-Semitism because of myself. Because of democracy. Because we know when anti-Semitism is taking ground that not only is democracy in danger but in the end will be destroyed. So this is the reason why we are fighting, why I am fighting against anti-Semitism.



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