

# RESISTING ANTI-SEMITISM AND XENOPHOBIA IN EUROPE

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## HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE, EURASIA, ENERGY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDRED SIXTEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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## RESISTING ANTI-SEMITISM AND XENOPHOBIA IN EUROPE

Wednesday, January 29, 2020

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE, EURASIA,  
ENERGY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, DC*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:01 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. William R. Keating (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. KEATING. The hearing will come to order.

The subcommittee is meeting today on a very important issue, and we are pleased to have the testimony from very important witnesses on resisting anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Europe.

And without objections, all members may have 5 days to submit statements, questions, extraneous materials for the record subject to the length limitations in the rules.

I will now make a brief opening statement, then turn it over to the ranking member of the full committee for his opening statement.

This week, the world, again, recognizes International Holocaust Remembrance Day, a day marking the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Together we mourn the lives lost during the Holocaust and honor the stories of victims and survivors. Importantly, we also reaffirm our commitment to countering all forms of hate and intolerance.

We are honored to be joined by Dr. Munzer, a Holocaust survivor. Anti-Semitism and hate is something we must work tirelessly to address in government and across civil society, but at its core, we cannot forget the deeply personal nature of these harms.

Thank you for taking the time to join us here today. It is important that you and Dr. Lipstadt are here to provide a personal and historical perspective on anti-Semitism in Europe and around the world. Nazism and fascism led to the State-sponsored persecution and mass murder of 6 million Jews, as well as millions of other innocent victims. It is essential to acknowledge that evil does indeed exist. Anti-Semitism and hate did not begin with Adolph Hitler and it did not end after the Holocaust.

Hate speech, discrimination, and violence based on a person's identity, be it creed, race, sexual orientation, place of origin or otherwise, is a scourge we cannot afford to ignore at anytime. It is also important to note that given the focus of the subcommittee, our hearing today addresses these trends in Europe; however, we are seeing similar concerning trends, sadly, right here in the United

States. One horrific attack occurred just at the end of last month in New York in a Rabbi's home during a Hanukkah celebration.

We have seen a concerning increase in anti-Semitism in Europe with 28 percent of European Jews reporting they experienced anti-Semitic harassment at least once during the last year. We also know these incidents often go unreported, so we know the actual number is significantly higher than this. And as we know, hate and discrimination do not only affect European Jews; reported cases of Islamophobia attacks have also increased in every country in Europe. And a recent EU study found that 26 percent of LGBT people surveyed have been attacked or threatened with violence in the last 5 years. Jewish cemeteries have been violated with anti-Semitic symbols and fires that have been started near—and intentionally so started near refugee camps. These numbers are staggering and the stories of these violent actions are heartbreaking.

Many of us familiar with the poem attributed to Lutheran Pastor Martin Niemöller, which has been transcribed in different ways, but it is engraved in the entrance of the New England Holocaust Museum in my home State of Massachusetts. Goes as follows: They came first for the Communists, and I did not speak up because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I did not speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up.

We must do more. This type of violence and hate is unacceptable if we want to call ourselves democratic societies. Reaffirming our commitment to addressing this is not enough. As governments, we must act and we must do the difficult work of changing laws and policies as well as the language we use so that innocent people are not killed or harassed because of who they are. We must also meaningfully engage communities, civic leaders, and educators to bring about critical change at the grassroots levels.

That is why I am so pleased to have our second panel joining us today. Our experts on that panel have decades of experience combating hate from governmental and nongovernmental posts, and I look forward to discussing our current efforts and what we should do to do better.

This is a critical time to work together with our partners and allies globally. We should share effective solutions, coordinate our efforts so that we are putting real action behind our rhetoric when we say, never again.

Accordingly, I am introducing a resolution this week recognizing these concerning trends in Europe, and calling on all countries to take action together to combat anti-Semitism and hate.

I want to thank our witness for joining us today on this important issue.

I now turn to the ranking member of the committee, Representative McCaul.

Mr. McCAUL. I want to thank you, Chairman Keating, for your leadership, your passion on this issue, for calling this important hearing to examine the rise of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Europe.

As a son of a World War II veteran, D-Day veteran, a B17 bombardier who bombed the Nazis 75 years ago to end their anti-Semitic regime, it saddens me today that we are still struggling with the same issues that the greatest generation defeated. I have toured Auschwitz and seen firsthand the horrors and evils that my father's generation fought to destroy.

A recent report by the EU said that in Europe today, quote, anti-Semitism pervades everyday life. This is a tragedy. It is unacceptable, and Congress must lead the charge to addressing this scourge. This is an international issue and it requires an international solution.

Our first panel will remind us of the tragedy that can result if we do not speak out, as the chairman said, speak out and take this problem seriously.

Al Munzer, who will share his story, we thank you, sir, for being here today, a very important story as a survivor of the Holocaust. And Deborah Lipstadt, one of the world's leading experts on the Holocaust, who herself has been victimized by anti-Semitic Holocaust denial, which astounds me that people could actually deny it happened. She will help explain the importance of ongoing Holocaust education.

And for our second panel, we will turn to the present day. Our witnesses will examine the different strains of anti-Semitism in Europe that are combining to create an atmosphere where many Jews fear for their safety. Understanding the drivers of this hatred is essential to preventing its spread.

I am grateful to this administration for taking this fight seriously. I have met with their special envoy to combat anti-Semitism, Elan Carr, who told me about how he travels the world working with our partners to identify the best way to fight anti-Semitism in their countries. This is a problem in Europe. It is also a problem in the United States. And I hope our witnesses will offer concrete solutions for how Congress can help the administration succeed in fighting this anti-Semitism in Europe and the United States.

This is not a partisan issue in such a partisan time. It is not Republican/Democrat. It is American. Back to our core values. And earlier this week, the House voted in an overwhelming bipartisan fashion to ensure funding for Holocaust education in our country.

I think about my own children today. For them, it seems like ancient history. For me, it is one generation away, and it is one generation that it is not—it is extinction, unfortunately, and it could happen again. And in the words we always say, never again. So we are leading by example, I think, in the United States with our commitment to understanding the poison of anti-Semitism, and now we must help others solidify their commitment to this fight.

So thanks, again, Mr. Chairman for holding this. And I want to thank the witnesses for being here today.

I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you. Thank you for those words.

I recognize for a brief statement, Vice Chair Representative Spanberger.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you to the committee for organizing this hearing. And thank you to our witnesses for your participation.

In advance of this hearing, I contacted rabbis and friends back home in Virginia. I wanted my questions to be centered in their thoughts and shared experiences, because as we talk about anti-Semitism in Europe, the deepest impact of anti-Semitism facing my constituents are the threats, the crimes, and the fear that exists in Virginia.

I am sure you have seen the images from 2017 when white nationalists walked through the streets of Charlottesville, a beautiful college town, men with torches shouted “Jews will not replace us,” and just miles down the road in my district, our JCC summer camp was graffitied with anti-Semitic slurs. Our high schools and our little leagues have been graffitied with language of hate, and a plot to bomb synagogues and attack Black churches was uncovered by the FBI a few years ago.

Central Virginia has one of the oldest Jewish communities in the United States, dating back to the 1700’s, and in the aftermath of a genocide that killed millions of Jews in Europe, we are a place where Holocaust survivors settled, raised families, and found some level of normalcy after escaping the unthinkable and losing everything. We have leaders in our community who share their stories of their escapes. The family that was warned by a professor, take your children and leave Germany, the woman who survived because a kind stranger gave her family false papers, and the man who spent months as a child living in a potato hole underground after escaping a deportation line.

Central Virginians have advocated for education, seeing it as the way to avoid the very rise in anti-Semitism generations past had escaped. We have a deeply moving Holocaust museum to educate our children, active communities, synagogues, and even a regionally known Jewish food festival. And yet as the generations of my parents and grandparents worked to root out anti-Semitism with community and education, today, we are confronted with the stories of my generation and our children’s.

High school children in my districts are told, take a shower, a dark reference to the gas chambers of concentration camps. Young mothers are fearful of having their children’s religion known. And a rabbi who grew up with the incomprehensible knowledge that his great-grandparents and other family members had perished en route to a concentration camp now must contend with how to lead his family and his congregation when his own young children are taunted by strangers on the street when wearing a kippah in public.

The response in Europe and here has been the fortification of Jewish spaces, but as another local rabbi noted, the doors of houses of worship should be opened to all seekers without those inside needing fear, and it keeps me up at night, not only the fear about whether I can keep my people safe, but also the sadness and frustration about who inevitably gets left out on the other side of the locked door.

Thank you for your participation today.

I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you.

The chair now recognizes, Vice Chair Wagner.



Mrs. WAGNER. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I thank the Ranking Member Mr. McCaul for this hearing. And I want to thank and welcome all of our witnesses today as well.

We are honored, of course, to be joined for this first panel by Dr. Alfred Munzer, a survivor of the Holocaust, one of the most unimaginable tragedies in human history, and Dr. Lipstadt, who has fought for decades to end the phenomenon of Holocaust denialism.

This Monday marked Holocaust Remembrance Day, and I was able to stand in solidarity with St. Louis' Jewish community, including six Holocaust survivors. And in a tribute to the 6 million victims of the Holocaust, the St. Louis Holocaust Museum and Learning Center announced its very first expansion in 25 years, made possible in part by a Federal grant that we were able to work on with them from the National Endowment of Humanities. The Jewish community of St. Louis is working to ensure the lessons of the Holocaust are never forgotten and to give the next generation the tools to end genocide and atrocities.

It grieves and shocks me that anti-Semitism is rising again in Europe and the U.S. and, in fact, across the world. The United States and its European partners must be leaders in examining the root causes of this hateful ideology and ending its influence. We remember the millions of victims of genocide throughout history, and we commit to working toward the day when genocide and mass atrocities crimes are inconceivable.

As decades pass and new strains of anti-Semitism emerge, the testimonies of survivors, liberators, and witnesses take on an even greater significance. So many in our community are stepping up to educate the next generation about the horrors of the Holocaust. And I believe we in Congress have the same responsibility.

Genocide is preventable. We are very good in the U.S. at response on genocide, but genocide is preventable. Anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination can be overcome. We are haunted by repeated failures and missed opportunities to end these tragedies before they begin. There is more the United States can do and must do to help vulnerable communities and persecuted people around the world.

Dr. Munzer and Dr. Lipstadt, thank you for your courage and your dedication. Again, we are honored to have you here. I look forward to your testimonies and to the testimonies of our second panel of experts as well.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you.

Let me introduce our first panel of witnesses. Dr. Alfred Munzer is a Holocaust survivor, as well as a volunteer at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. We thank you for coming here and sharing your story and the story of your family. We thank you for your service to this country as a veteran who served the United States Air Force. Thank you, Doctor.

Deborah Lipstadt is a Dorot professor of modern Jewish history and Holocaust studies at the Tam Institute for Jewish Studies and the Department of Religion at Emory University. Dr. Lipstadt continues to study and publish on these issues today with a recent book entitled, "Anti-Semitism: Here and Now," a book that I have

read myself. It is released just in the past year, and it looks at the history of concerning trends we are discussing today.

I appreciate both of you for being here. Look forward to your testimony.

We set a time of 5 minutes. Without objection, your prepared written materials will be made a part of the record.

I will now go to Dr. Munzer for your statement. Thank you, Doctor.

The microphone. There you go.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ALFRED MUNZER, HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR, VOLUNTEER, UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM**

Dr. MUNZER. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, I am a survivor of the Holocaust and a volunteer at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and I appreciate the opportunity to share my thoughts as you examine the frightening resurgence of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in Europe and elsewhere.

I was born in the Nazi-occupied Netherlands, and I am only able to appear before you because a Dutch-Indonesian family and their Indonesian Muslim nanny risked their lives to save a 9-month-old Jewish baby. Tole Madna, the Madna family, and Mima Saina cared for me and protected me from the Nazis for 3 long years. They shared their meager food allowance with me because I did not legally exist and was not entitled to ration coupons. They made sure I did not ever come near a window for fear that passersby might see a very different looking child. I slept in Mima's bed, and she kept a knife under her pillow, vowing to kill any Nazi who may try to come and get me. But what I remember most is being surrounded by love and laughter.

My sisters, Eva and Leah, did not share my good fortune. They had been entrusted to a different family but were betrayed and denounced to the Nazis and killed in Auschwitz. They were 7 and 5, two of 1.5 million children killed in the Holocaust.

My parents too were deported. My father was liberated 75 years ago by the 80th U.S. Army, but succumbed 2 months later to the effects of starvation and lies buried in the former Ebensee concentration camp. My mother survived 12 concentration camps, and I was reunited with her in August 1945. In 1958, she and I immigrated to the United States, in the hope of leaving behind the painful memories of the Holocaust.

I have remained in close touch with the Madna family. People asked Tole Madna why he risked the lives of his family to take in a Jewish baby. His response was simple: What else was I to do?

The Holocaust deprived me of the guidance of a father and the companionship of two siblings, but worse, the solemn promise "never again" did not spell an end to anti-Semitism or to prejudice and hate directed to anyone perceived as being "the other."

I am a physician, and the Holocaust has taught me that hate is a communicable disease that can engulf entire nations and continents. We may never eliminate hate from every human soul, but perhaps we can take measures to prevent its spread. Like the fight against AIDS, the campaign against tuberculosis, and the drive to prevent malaria, a campaign against hate requires a global com-

mitment that includes all segments of society, but especially those who occupy any kind of leadership position.

There is a prayer on the monument of a mass grave in Ebensee that reads: To the faithful companions, the heroes, and the comrades of a thousand dead who rest here, and countless others of all nationalities and every faith, brothers and sisters in a common tragic destiny, dedicated by an Italian woman who prays that such incredible sacrifice might turn the human heart to good.

Recent events around the world add urgency to the prayer of that Italian woman, and it falls to all of us to answer her plea to confront hate, to prevent its spread, and to foster a world that celebrates our common humanity.

I have two photographs with me, Mr. Chairman, which I would ask to be included in the record. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Munzer follows:]

Testimony of Alfred Munzer  
House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy and Environment  
“Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe”  
January 29, 2020

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee,

I am a survivor of the Holocaust and a volunteer at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. I appreciate the opportunity to share my thoughts as you examine the frightening resurgence of antisemitism and xenophobia in Europe and elsewhere.

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I am a physician and the Holocaust has taught me that hate is a communicable disease that can engulf entire nations and continents. We may never eliminate hate from every human soul, but

perhaps we can take measures to prevent its spread. Like the fight against AIDS, the campaign against tuberculosis and the drive to prevent malaria, a campaign against hate requires a global commitment that includes all segments of society, but especially those who occupy any kind of leadership position.

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Thank you.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Doctor.

Dr. Lipstadt.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, thank you for having me, and more importantly, thank you for holding this hearing.

Anti-Semitism is a prejudice and, as such, it is an irrational sentiment. It is not disliking a Jew; it is disliking someone because they are a Jew. The etymology of the word "prejudice" makes its irrationality quite clear: prejudice. You decide on a person's qualities before you even meet them. It is unrelated to what the person does. To hate an entire group because of the behavior of one person or even a group of people makes no sense.

While anti-Semitism is a prejudice and, as such, shares many of the characteristics of prejudice in general, it has certain unique characteristics that set it apart from these hatreds. First of all, it is rooted in a conspiracy theory. As such, the Jew is not just to be loathed, but to be feared. We see this notion on the far right. According to the anti-Semite on the far right, the Jew is engaged in a conspiracy against others, a conspiracy designed to destroy White Christian culture by replacing Whites with people of color.

This is what motivated the murder at Pittsburgh, San Diego, Halle. This is what the demonstrators in Charlottesville meant when they said, "Jews will not replace us."

Second, anti-Semitism is unique because it comes, not just from the right, but also from the left. The anti-Semite on the left sees Jews as privileged, White, which, of course, is ironic. First of all, there are a substantial number of Jews who are not White. The estimate in the United States is 12 percent of the Jewish community is not White, and well over 50 percent of the Israeli—Jewish Israelis would not be considered White.

Finally, as mentioned, anti-Semites on the far right consider Jews to be decidedly non-Caucasian.

Today, however, we see it not just from the right and the left, as been mentioned by some of the members of the committee; we see it from Islamist extremists, and particularly in Europe in countries such as Belgium, France, Germany, and the U.K., and amongst some sectors of the Muslim community, I emphasize some, of course, not all, who were not extremists and may never engage in a violent action against Jews, have been inculcated with the hatred of Jews.

Irrespective of whether these charges come from right, left, Christian, Muslims, or atheists, they rely on the same themes: The nefarious Jew manipulating the scene to his own and her own advantage.

What then can we do about it? If it is irrational, must we simply throw up our hands in defeat? I think not, even though Jews may not present as typical victims of prejudice. In Halle, Germany, there was no police guard outside the synagogue on Yom Kippur because the mayor rejected the request. That is not taking it seriously.

In 2017, Sarah Halimi, a retired 65-year-old physician, mother of three, was murdered in her apartment by a man who shouted "Allah Akbar" as he threw her out of the window. Just last month in a shocking decision, one decried by President Macron, the Paris

Court of Appeal decided that he was not—he was not criminally responsible because he was too high on marijuana to understand what he was doing. He understood enough to find the one Jewish resident of the building. He understood enough to declare that he had killed the Satan. He did not randomly go and kill people; he sought out the Jew. Declaring him not responsible, that is not taking it seriously.

The British Labor Party, exemplifying an attitude on the left, repeatedly dismisses the claims made by Jews that they have been subjected to anti-Semitism. Jeremy Corbyn may be gone, but those around him who exemplify this attitude remain. They do not take anti-Semitism seriously.

One of the greatest results of anti-Semitism is Jews increasingly going underground. In the Netherlands, there is a town where if you want to know the time of synagogue, you have to know somebody. There is no listing for the times, there is no listing of the address of the synagogue, there is no website. That is fear.

A few days ago, a professor here in Washington, a Jew, told me she had gone to Portugal with her husband on a vacation. She did not—she reached for an umbrella, did not take the umbrella with the logo of the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia because it had a star on it. That is fear. Parents in Europe regularly tell their children not to wear their kippots; wear hats. That is fear.

Friends have asked me whether my recent decision to wear a Jewish star is smart. That is fear. Jewish parents in New York, Berlin, Brussels are taking their children out of Jewish schools because they fear for their safety. That is fear. After the Shoah, it is inconceivable that, once again, Jews feel safer hiding their Jewish identity.

This is not healthy for Jews or for the societies in which they live. We must fight anti-Semitism for these reasons. All genocide begins with words. No genocide ever began with actions. But there is an even more important reason: We must do so because anti-Semitism is a lethal threat to democracy. Wherever anti-Semitism has flourished, democracy has withered.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Lipstadt follows:]

ANTISEMITISM HERE AND NOW

Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe:  
Testimony Before Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the  
Environment

Deborah E. Lipstadt, Ph.D.  
Emory University  
January 29, 2020

Antisemitism is a prejudice and, as such, it is an irrational sentiment. Antisemitism is not something random. It is not disliking a Jew. It is disliking someone *because* they are a Jew.

The etymology of the word prejudice makes its irrationality quite clear. To *pre-judge*, to decide what a person's qualities are long before meeting the person him or herself. It is unrelated to what Jews do. The person who claims that he does not like Jews because of the actions of a certain Jew is engaging in antisemitic behavior. To hate an entire group because of the behavior of one person or even a group of people makes no sense.

Antisemitism has a structure. It is not just a haphazard conglomeration of sentiments. It generally has three to four essential elements: wealth, cunning (smarts used nefariously), and power beyond their "legitimate number" (punching above their weight).

While antisemitism is a prejudice and, therefore, shares many of the characteristics of prejudice in general, it has certain unique characteristics that set it apart from these other hatreds.

First of all, it is rooted in a conspiracy theory. As such, the Jew is not just to be loathed but it to be feared. We see this notion on the far right. According to the antisemite on the far right the Jew is engaged in a conspiracy against others, a conspiracy designed to destroy white Christian culture by replacing whites with people of color. This notion of a conspiracy against



white Christians is what motivated the murders at Pittsburgh, San Diego, and Halle, Germany. This is what the demonstrators in Charlottesville meant when they chanted Jews “will not replace us.”

Secondly, antisemitism is unique because it comes, not just from the right but also from the left. The antisemite on the left sees Jews as privileged and white -- which is ironic on two accounts. First of all, there are substantial numbers of Jews who are not privileged. Secondly, there are many Jews of color (12% of the American Jewish population, over 50% of the Jewish population of Israel). Finally, as just mentioned, antisemites on the far right consider Jews to be decidedly non-Caucasian.

Today, however, we see it, not just on the right and the left, we see it from Islamist extremists and, particularly in Europe – in countries such as Belgium, France, Germany, and the UK – from some, and I emphasize *some*, members of the mainstream Muslim community, not extremists, who, while they may never engage in violent action against Jews have been inculcated with a hatred of Jews.

Irrespective of whether these charges come from the right or the left, Christians, Muslims or atheists, they always rely on the same themes: the nefarious Jew, unscrupulously manipulating matters behind the scene acting to his own advantage and to the detriment of the non-Jew, particularly the white Christian.

What then can we do about it? If it is irrational must we simply throw up our hands in defeat? I think not. We must challenge others who engage in it. We must demand that it be taken seriously.

In Halle Germany there was no police guard outside the synagogue because the mayor of the town rejected the community's request for protection. That's not taking the threat seriously

In 2017, Sara Halimi, a retired 65-year-old physician, mother of 3, was murdered in her Paris apartment by a man who shouted "'shut your mouth", *Allah Akbar*, and "I killed the Shaitan" during the murder. The suspect claimed insanity. In a shocking decision, one decried by President Macron, last month the Paris Court of Appeal, while officially acknowledging the antisemitic nature of the murder, decided that the murderer was "criminally irresponsible" because "he was too high" to understand what he was doing. He understood enough to find the one Jewish resident of the building. He understood enough to declare that he had killed the Satan. He did not randomly go and kill people. He sought out the Jew. That's not taking the threat seriously.

I fear that one of the greatest results of antisemitism is Jews are increasingly going underground. A synagogue in the Netherlands no longer posts the time of services. It has no website and no sign outside its door indicating it is a synagogue.

A few days ago, a senior professor at a prestigious American university, a specialist in Jewish history, told me that she and her husband recently took an extended trip to Portugal. She needed to pack an umbrella. She reached into her closet and took one but quickly rejected it. It had the logo of a Jewish museum on it and she was fearful of carrying anything that openly identified her as a Jew.

Some students of mine who wear kippot were discussing their plans to travel in Europe. Without prompting they told me that they planned to wear baseball caps, rather than kippot, while traveling.

Friends have asked me whether my decision, prompted by these aforementioned events, to wear a Jewish star is wise. "Is it safe?" one very sober, rational, person asked me recently.

I have heard from parents on the Upper East Side of New York, in Berlin, and London that they are considering taking their children out of the very fine pre-schools they attend because they are *Jewish* schools and they fear for their children's safety.

After the Shoah, it is inconceivable that, once again, Jews feel safer hiding their Jewish identity. This is not healthy for Jews or for the societies in which they live.

We must fight antisemitism for all these reasons. But there is an even more important one. We must do so because antisemitism is a lethal threat to democracy. Wherever antisemitism has flourished democracy has suffered.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the witnesses.

I now recognize myself for just a couple of questions, I hope.

Dr. Lipstadt stated that anti-Semitism is not something random. Dr. Munzer, you lost two sisters, you lost your father, and you were an innocent boy when this all began. If you could, if it is all right, could you share how, from the innocence of youth, you came to understand that these acts were not random, that they were selected, they were targeted? And how did you come about understanding that, coming from the standpoint of that innocence, to what you know today, and what was important to you in that journey?

Dr. MUNZER. Well, I grew up with the Holocaust all around me, so I really had very little understanding in terms of differentiating what was normal and not normal. You know, I did not understand what happened to my sisters. People would tell me wonderful stories about them, and I grew up as a 4-year-old, 5-year-old being a little bit jealous of my sisters. And then I overheard people saying, well, such and such a person came back and that person did not come back, and I began to understand that my sisters had been taken somewhere and did not come back.

I also remembered the very first experience I had being exposed to anti-Semitism, and it was not long after the Holocaust. My mother and I were standing in line to go see a movie, and there was a man behind us who saw the tattoo, the Auschwitz tattoo on my mother's arm. And he said, there is one they did not get.

So even immediately after the Holocaust, there continued to be anti-Semitism in the Netherlands, and it is one of the reasons why ultimately we came to the United States.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you so much.

I remember as a young boy one of my neighbor's, the mother of two of my playmates, I did not understand some of the symptoms that were traumatic stress—I view it now—that she was going through. And there was a tattoo that you just mentioned similar to that on her arm, and I did not know what it meant and asked my parents, and we had a discussion where my parents tried to explain to me something that was hard to comprehend as a child. Thank you for sharing your story.

Dr. Lipstadt, you said Holocaust deniers are wolves in sheep's clothing spreading hate but attempting to present its rational discourse. The statement struck me, and in this sense too: The dissemination of this kind of thought, today it is aided by social networking, the internet, anonymity that surrounds that. Could you share with us some of the things we could do to try and counter that, given these new challenges?

Dr. LIPSTADT. It is very hard to control social media, as we all well know. When I started to work on Holocaust denial in the early 1990's writing my first book, which precipitated the lawsuit against me and the trial, if you wanted to receive Holocaust denial materials, you had to get them to a P.O. Box from a P.O. Box in a plain envelope. Today, all you have to do is put on the internet. Dr. Munzer comes from the Netherlands. If you Google Anne Frank's diary, depending what you put in and, in particular, you know, what is going on, but very often the second, third—maybe not the second, the third or fourth thing that will come up will be a claim that it is a fraud, you know, was written after the war, et cetera.

So it is very hard to control that, but I think the need for education is paramount. But it cannot just be education, this is what happened to the Jews, because a kid who hears anti-Semitism at home or encounters it on the media is going to say, oh, they hated them too. It is got to be well thought out education about anti-Semitism, well thought out education about Holocaust education. I hope—I am very glad that this bill that you mentioned passed, but it is got to be thought out structurally very, very carefully.

Mr. KEATING. Well, thank you.

The chair recognizes Ranking Member McCaul.

Mr. MCCAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And, Dr. Munzer, thank you for that powerful testimony. I cannot imagine growing up as a child in that kind of environment and having—as I mentioned to you, my father's generation, we thought it was destroyed. We thought it was over after the war. Now, we are seeing this rise in anti-Semitism.

How do you—I just find it hard to believe, and who would subscribe to being a Neo-Nazi after seeing the horrors of what the Nazis did and the awful chapter in history that even people in Germany today are, you know, I think, from a conscience standpoint feel guilty, and they should. But how do you account for this rise in anti-Semitism? That is for both of you.

Dr. MUNZER. We left the Netherlands in 1958 to escape anti-Semitism and to go to the new world. And we had, you know, this is how we looked on the United States, a totally different world where people were free of hate. And then we turned on our television set, it was our first piece of furniture, actually, and we saw little Black kids being beaten up because they wanted to go to a particular school, and we realized that America was not perfect either. But then, as we saw the unfolding of the civil rights movement, we also realized that America has the mechanisms to overcome tremendous difficulties, social difficulties, and problems.

And so to this day, even now, even as we see a rise in anti-Semitism and acts of hate, I still remain optimistic that there are going to be ways to overcome this.

Mr. MCCAUL. I appreciate your optimism.

Dr. Lipstadt, how do you—

Dr. LIPSTADT. I am just reminded, speaking of optimism, that the definition of a Jewish optimist is someone who thinks things cannot get any worse. So, you know, a Jewish pessimist knows that they can and a realist knows that they are.

I think there are a number of reasons that they do not explain it all, but they help us understand. I am not sure there are many more anti-Semites in the world today than there were 10, 15, 20 years ago, but I think what has happened is the moral guardrails that made it unacceptable to say certain things, to do certain things are down, so that people feel freer to make these comments. I think that is one thing.

And what happens is then you get, particularly young people or not so young people, drawing a swastika, even though they may not quite understand what it means. And at the museum—the Holocaust museum, they have all sorts of evidence of people who even draw it backward, they do not know how to quite draw it, which

is something they do not need to learn, but—because now they know it gets people angry. They know it is an edgy thing to do.

I think we live in a day and age of populism. I do not mean by that patriotism. Populism. I am right; you are wrong. And the people who are wrong are the—you look for the traditional enemy, the people who have long been hated. Remember, anti-Semitism is called the longest hatred for a reason. It is in the weeds, it is in the atmosphere, and it is so easy to pull up.

And today we have been speaking about some of the extremists, certainly the Shoah, the Holocaust, and the examples I gave, but there is the dinner party anti-Semite, the person who says, oh, we just hired a new associate at our firm, he is Jewish, but he is very honest, you know, or as happened to me in my first job, a colleague took me out to coffee. I was teaching at the University of Washington in Seattle. He told me that when—I was the first person at the university there—this goes back to the 1970's—to ever teach Jewish studies—that when he had been on leave when this whole process of establishing that position and hiring me had gone on, and he said, when I came back and I learned we had hired a New Yorker, a woman, and he paused, and then he said, and a Jew, I thought, oh, my God, what have we done? And I was sitting there, I did not know what to do, and I kept—to my enduring shame, I did not say anything. And he said, but, Deborah, you are the best thing to ever happen to this department. You are terrific.

So, you know, you take the negative and you turn it—you think you are turning it to a positive, but it is rooted there as well.

Mr. MCCAUL. Just a quick question, I have limited time, but the—this Holocaust denial, I do not understand it because it is so real. Anybody that has been to Auschwitz and seen the horrors and the evil there, what is the motivation and what do they seek to gain from rewriting history and covering this up?

Dr. LIPSTADT. It is very simple: anti-Semitism. For the denier to be right, who has to be wrong? Tens of thousands of documents, many of them in the archives here and the library here at the museum and other places, the National Archives, that lay out what was going to happen and what happened. Who else? The survivors. Dr. Munzer, all the other survivors who have given their testimony. The bystanders, the people who lived in the towns and the villages around the camps who lived adjacent to the mass shooting sites who saw the trains going and filled with people coming out empty. But thousands of historians would all have to be in on the hoax or have been duped.

And finally, the perpetrators. Germany says we did it. There has been not one war crimes trial since the end of World War II where a perpetrator stood up and said it did not happen. He may have said, I did not do it, I could not help it, I was following orders, and yet these people come along and say it. They are anti-Semites. They do not like if Jews get sympathy, and they want to gin up anti-Semitism. So it is an irrational thing just like anti-Semitism.

Mr. MCCAUL. I appreciate it.

And I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Vice Chair Spanberger.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you very much.

Thank you for your compelling and very interesting testimony today. Thank you for your presence here.

Dr. Munzer, I would like to begin with you. You told very deeply personal and moving story of your family's experience, and I was wondering if you could comment on what you see as the particulars of the trends, the changes that we have witnessed here in the United States or in Europe over the past few years as we are seeing noted in the data an uptick in anti-Semitic attacks here and in Europe, what are the on-the-ground things that you have noticed that we should be reacting to, that we should be denouncing?

Dr. MUNZER. Well, one of the saddest things is that surveys have shown, for example, that many, many young kids today or high school students do not know what Auschwitz was and do not know anything about the Holocaust at all. And I think once you forget events, you also forget the lesson. And the Holocaust does teach us some very important lessons that we—my family paid a tremendous price, and I do not want that to go totally to waste. I really want people at least to learn the lessons of the Holocaust, what hate can do. That hate eventually can lead to mass murder. That is the key lesson and that there are ways of avoiding that. Education, I think, is probably the very, very first thing that needs to happen.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you.

And, Dr. Lipstadt, you mentioned that anti-Semitism rears its head on the right, it rears its head on the left, and there becomes a chasm between those two things. My question for you today is, could you comment on what you have seen in terms of the use of anti-Semitism as a dividing factor, as an othering factor, as a political motivator? And I would just note, even within the recent weeks with all that has been happening on Capitol Hill, there has been gross anti-Semitic tropes used against many of our colleagues—

Dr. LIPSTADT. Jew coup, right.

Ms. SPANBERGER [continuing]. Conspiratorial and such. And could you please comment on how deeply—well, I do not want to put words in your mouth, but what that is from a scholar's perspective like yours?

Dr. LIPSTADT. You know, on one hand, it is shocking, but it is not surprising. When there is tension in a society, it is so easy to fall back on the usual scapegoats, whether it is people of color, whether it is Jews. You fall back on a scapegoat that people will believe.

There was a story told that said that German Jews used to tell this joke during the 1930's, that a Nazi came to a mass meeting, Nazi official, and he said the Jews did this and the Jews did that, with great vigor, and someone yelled out, and the bicycle riders. And he turned, why the bicycle riders? And the person said, why the Jews? In other words, it is irrational.

So if we look for a rational explanation, we will not find it, but it is so embedded as are some other isms, but certainly this has this ancient, ancient history that when—in New York State, my home State, when a man who may well have been schizophrenic, may well have had a mental illness, but when he wanted to do something, he took a machete, drove 32 miles to Monsey, and went after Jews. Something in him had been embedded. He did not just

go out on the street and start hitting people or cutting people up. He went to find Jews. This man who killed Sara—who threw Sara Halimi, the doctor, out of the window in Paris, went to find the one Jewish resident. If it is in the society, we have got to address it.

I want to echo what Dr. Munzer said in terms of education, but I, again, want to stress that it is got to be well thought out. It cannot be simplistic. It cannot be this is just bad. It cannot be an hour or 2 hours at the Holocaust Museum, however important that is. That will not do it. We have got to think it out. We have got to give teachers the training mechanisms, how you address this, so the students get it, especially those students who may be hearing it at home or now they do not even have to hear it at home; encountering it on the internet.

Ms. SPANBERGER. I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Representative Burchett.

Mr. BURCHETT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all so much for being here.

I come from Knoxville, Tennessee, and my daddy, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, daddy enlisted in the United States Marine Corps and did his service over there on a couple islands, one was Peleliu and the other island was Okinawa. And after the war, he went to China and fought the Communists. But my mama, she lost her brother Roy fighting the Nazis in the hedgerow shortly after D-Day. He was too old to go. He enlisted. He was heavily educated and he came home. They sent him home, and they needed bodies and he went back and, of course, he died, I believe, 15 days after the invasion. To the day I died, when they play the national anthem, my mama would always tear up. I knew she was thinking about her brother Roy.

And with that, I was fortunate enough to be in the State senate in Tennessee with now Congressman Cohen, but he was a State senator then and I was a State senator. And he chaired the Holocaust Commission and he knew my love of the Jewish folks, and he put me on the Holocaust Commission. And I came up with the idea of actually building a Holocaust memorial in West Knoxville, in Knoxville, Tennessee. And we built that.

And I will never forget my parents—they are both in heaven now—but they were in their 80's, and I was laying sod out 1 day, and my friend Bernie Bernstein, who is a very prominent lawyer in town, had given us the words they put on the stone. And I remember this lady came up and said, what are you all doing here? And she was not from there. I could tell by her accent. And my mama said—see, mama was in her 80's and she was about 5-foot nothing, and she said, well, we are building a memorial. And the lady said, who is the memorial to? And she said, the Jewish folks that died in the Holocaust. And that woman, I will never forget, said, we have got enough monuments in this town. And my mama, all 5-foot nothing of her, stood up, dusted herself off, looked at this woman right in the face, and said, not in this park we do not, ma'am. She just—lady moved on.

And my parents were very good people. They were righteous people. And I appreciate what you all are doing here and I appreciate—we need to let our young folks know that it is not just some black and white thing on the history channel and that 6 million,



6 million people were murdered. And I hear all this political correctness that they were eliminated. No, they were murdered, they were murdered, and that word needs to be used every time. And I thank you all so much and I appreciate your passion. I have a lot of passion about that myself. I was fortunate enough to go visit Israel this year, and I only wish my folks could have been able to do that. That would have been something for them.

And with that, I just had one question, ma'am, maybe, sir, maybe both you all want to try to answer this: Which specific European countries are you particularly concerned about the rise of anti-Semitism? You know, I have heard France. I read the news, but you do not know what is getting filtered and what is not. And I was just curious what you all think. And sorry about my long talk. I have cutoff all the time.

Dr. LIPSTADT. I do not know how you feel about cloning, but I would love to clone your mama.

Mr. BURCHETT. Yes, ma'am. She was a wonderful woman. If I could have her back for 1 minute.

Dr. LIPSTADT. There should be more people like that, irrespective of their height.

Mr. BURCHETT. Yes, ma'am.

Dr. LIPSTADT. I am going to answer your question and not answer your question. Virtually all of them. France is in a very, very difficult situation, and we have seen that and we have seen it repeatedly. And President Macron has talked about it, as have other French officials.

In Brussels, I was speaking to a woman who is a member of the Belgium Parliament, and she told me that she had asked her two teenage children not to wear their Jewish star. And she said, I was embarrassed to ask them and glad when they agreed to put it under their shirts.

Mr. BURCHETT. Was this homegrown? Do you think it is homegrown or is it imported or is it through the internet?

Dr. LIPSTADT. Some of it is homegrown. Some of it is coming from recent arrivals, particularly from Muslim countries, and some of it is coming from—increasingly from the right. Halle was from the right. Halle, Germany, the attack on Yom Kippur was from a rightist. Some of it is coming from Muslims, and this is acknowledged. I am part of a Muslim Jewish dialog advisory group and we talk about it. There has been an inculcation sometimes from Imam, sometimes from YouTube, sometimes from newspapers, of antipathy toward Jews.

So this made someone who will never take a machete, never take a bomb, never take—but who sees a Jew on the street and knocks off the yamaka. And there is the story of what happened in Berlin about a year and a half ago of an Israeli Arab who lived in Berlin who had gone back to Haifa for a visit, and one of his Jewish friends gave him a kippot, gave him a yamaka, and said, but do not wear it in Berlin because you will get beaten up. And the young Arab could not believe that, so he decided to test it. And he wore it in the streets of Berlin and he was attacked, and because he speaks out—he is a native Arabic speaker, he understood that the person attacking him was someone who spoke with an—Arabic with a heavy Syrian accent and beat him up.

So, you know, you do not have to be Jewish, but—so I cannot single out one country. Each one has its problems. And the President of Germany just said, we have not addressed it. In Germany you have it, again, from the left often expressed as an antipathy, a hatred of Israel, and you have it from the right, Halle, the alternative for Deutschland, AFD, and others.

Mr. BURCHETT. Well, thank you. I have run over my time, but if you ever catch me in the hall, I will show you a cool picture of my mama. She flew an airplane during the war.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Oh, my God.

Mr. BURCHETT. I have bored Ms. Spanberger with this story many times, but I am very proud of my mama and daddy. They were wonderful people.

Thank you all so much for being here.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you for sharing that, Representative.

Representative WILD.

Ms. WILD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and to the ranking member of this subcommittee, for holding this very important session. And thank you, Dr. Munzer and Dr. Lipstadt for what you have said.

I am the proud mother of two Jewish young adults. They were raised in a very safe and inclusive community in my district in Pennsylvania, perhaps so safe and inclusive that as a young mother, I was able to pretend that the specter of anti-Semitism would never affect them. Frankly, when their father and I made the decision to raise them in the Jewish faith, anti-Semitism was the furthest thing from my mind, even though their father had told me many stories of his own youth and encountering anti-Semitism in his childhood. But I thought we had moved beyond that. I was a young and perhaps naive mother. The Holocaust was a distant part of history, in my mind and, in fact, I became a Jew by choice in solidarity with my husband and my children and have never regretted it for a moment, and would do it all over again.

But as I have passed through middle age and, regrettably, have probably gotten to the other side of middle age, I find that I constantly—I am in fear for my children and for other young Jews as they travel around the world, particularly, but, of course, here in the United States as well. I am happy to say that my children are avid travelers. Their passports have far more stamps from different countries than mine ever did at that age, but I worry about them constantly and have found myself occasionally thinking about whether I should counsel them about what to say if they are ever asked if they are Jewish. I have not done so, and they have seen me proudly wear my Star of David.

When I was running for Congress, I was counseled by a well-meaning local political activist that perhaps I should not wear my Star of David in my community, which has a very small number of Jews. I took that as a challenge and instead went out and bought a larger one, which I wear every single day.

Having said that, you know, I really—I do believe that the only way to fight anti-Semitism is to confront it, to talk about it, to educate others, to tell the stories.

Dr. Munzer, your story is one that I will never forget. And the story of the family—the Indonesian family that raised you I think

causes all of us to want to be braver and more vocal and do more than we have done.

So with all of that said, and I am sorry that I have taken so much time, but I felt that it was important to tell you that, I come back to your remarks, Dr. Lipstadt, that education is a good thing, but we need to do it in a very well thought out way. And I would like you to elaborate a little on that.

As a member also of the Education and Labor Committee, I spent a lot of time thinking about what we do in our schools. What do we need to do to educate better on this subject?

Dr. LIPSTADT. First of—the reason that I said Holocaust education is very important, but it is not a silver bullet, because if done, even in a good, well-meaning way, well-intentioned, a child can walk away and say, well, the Nazis did not like the Jews either. I mean, you see that with other study of other isms. They did not like them, I have good reason not to like them.

I think there has to be understanding of the history of anti-Semitism, of the way its ubiquitous nature, starting in medieval Christianity, moving out of the church, to Karl Marx, who hated all religions, to the pseudoscience of eugenics, to the Nazis, how it migrates, how it makes no sense. The anti-Semite charges. Jews are revolutionaries. They are all communists. Jews are Rothschilds and Soros and—last time I checked, you cannot be a Communist and a Rothschild at the same time. Jews are pushy; they are always trying to get into places where they are not wanted. Jews are clanish; they stick together. Last time I checked, you cannot be all those things. That it is irrational.

So that the way of doing—it cannot be just, this is a horrible thing that happened, but the bigger meaning, how it started. The Holocaust would have been impossible—and Dr. Munzer knows this, he has volunteered at the museum—the Holocaust would have been impossible without the help of hundreds of thousands of people. Many of those people active helpers, but many of them just looked the other way. And as the late Elie Wiesel said, and many others have said, when it comes to evil, there is no bystander.

If you walk out of a building, you see somebody being beaten up and you do not do anything—maybe you cannot intervene, there is three of them and there is one of you, but you do not call for help or something, you are not neutral. You have sided with the oppressor.

Ms. WILD. Thank you very much. Unfortunately, my time is up, but I very much appreciate what you have said.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Representative.

We are out of order because Representative Pence has yielded and Cicilline, but Representative Deutch chairs the Ethics Committee, and so the other members have let him go forward, so I thank those members and recognize Representative Deutch.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thanks. Thanks very much, Chairman Keating. And thank you very much to our witnesses for being here.

I had the honor last week of joining with leaders—a delegation led by Speaker Pelosi and leaders from nearly 50 countries at Yad Vashem to mark 75 years since the liberation of Auschwitz. And then we stopped at Auschwitz-Birkenau on our way there.

And the question that I have for both of you, in light of the conversation that we are having here is, while it was—it was moving to be in a room with all of these world leaders pledging—remembering the Holocaust and pledging to fight anti-Semitism, it is hard not to feel like it is a distinct moment in time and everyone goes back to everything that they are doing and does not think so much about this until the next act of violence anywhere in the world.

And I guess, Dr. Lipstadt, the question I have for you is, how do we get to a point where there is no tolerance for any act of anti-Semitism? How do we—and how do we drive home the point that you have made eloquently and lots of us try to make, that if there is anti-Semitism in your country, there is a—it is your country's core that is really at risk—

Dr. LIPSTADT. Right.

Mr. DEUTCH. How do we do that?

Dr. LIPSTADT. There is no easy answer. First of all, I think you sit on this committee, this subcommittee of Foreign Affairs Committee, I think we have to call out leaders of other nations who engage in anti-Semitism, whether directly, overtly, or not, even if they are our friends. If they try to rewrite history—we see an attempt to rewrite history in Poland, we see an attempt to rewrite history in Hungary and Lithuania and other places, and Russia about the Soviet Union's—I think we have to call them out. And then at the other end of the spectrum, not in terms of heads of State in governments, we all have to become the unwelcomed guest at the dinner party.

If someone says something—you know, to paraphrase our friends at the TSA at the airport: If you hear something, say something. If someone makes a crack, you cannot let it just go by. You may not change the mind of the person who made the crack, who said this anti-Semitic kind of, oh, I am just joking, or racist or whatever it might be, but you have got to telegraph the message to the other people at the table, especially but not only the young people, that this is not acceptable. And so I think that that is another extremely important thing.

And the final point, then, with this I will stop it, we also have to understand or other groups—this is not a Jewish problem, you know. Rape is not a women's problem. You want to stop rape, ask the rapist. You want to stop anti-Semitism, ask the anti-Semite. But a few weeks ago, I went up to New York to participate in the march and the rally, and as we walked across the Brooklyn Bridge, I found myself walking, I get verklempt, to use the Saturday Night Live term, not a Yiddish term, next to a woman carrying a sign, this Catholic hates anti-Semitism. And I thanked her for being there and she said, oh, no, do not thank me. It is our problem.

Mr. DEUTCH. And she is right. And for every opportunity that we have to hear powerful survivors like Dr. Munzer, for every opportunity we have to hear that, there are a hundred or a thousand people on social media right now—

Dr. LIPSTADT. That is right.

Mr. DEUTCH [continuing]. Posting things that there can be no—that no one should be able to defend. And I—I guess I would finish with this question: As we spend our time thinking about the role that technology companies have here, you cannot hide behind a

claim that we are just putting the information out there, when the purpose of your company is a for-profit venture and, in fact, you are profiting by anti-Semitism that gets—that gets rebroadcast over and over and over again, can you?

Dr. LIPSTADT. Not at all. You had testifying here in Congress—I do not know what committee, but the head of one of those companies who was proudly raising his children as Jews saying that when it comes to Holocaust denial, we are not going to stop it, we are just going to be neutral because everybody has a right to their ideas. The social media—this is beyond my expertise, but social media platforms need to take some responsibility, and maybe we need to have the urging of governmental leaders. When it comes to hatred, there is no neutrality, whether it is anti-Semitism, whether it is racism, whether it is homophobia, whether it is hatred of Muslims, whatever. There is no neutrality when it is hatred.

Mr. DEUTCH. Mr. Chairman, if I may, it is an accurate point to say that everyone has the right to have whatever views they hold.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Absolutely.

Mr. DEUTCH. That said, if anyone in this room were starting a business right now, and part of the decision at the outset of that new venture was to decide whether there should be some part of it devoted to the espousing of hatred and racism and anti-Semitism, everyone here would say, nope, that cannot be a part of what we are doing, and it shouldn't be a part and it shouldn't be tolerated. And I agree with you that it will continue until, I am afraid, until this Congress acts to stop it.

And I yield back. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEATING. Representative Pence.

Mr. PENCE. Thank you, Chairman Keating, for bringing together this hearing.

And thank you, Dr. Munzer and Dr. Lipstadt, for being here. I am a Catholic who hates anti-Semitism. It is part of the Pence family business, by the way, OK.

I am going to go off something that Dr. Lipstadt said, but, Dr. Munzer, maybe you can weigh in on this one too. I am talking about education and the place—let me ask you where you—where higher education was in educating anti-Semitism in this country and where it is today?

Dr. LIPSTADT. We see a real problem on many campuses. Not all campuses, not every campus is a hotbed of anti-Semitism, but what we have seen on campuses primarily the way it expresses itself there is an antipathy toward Israel. And I am not talking about criticism of Israeli policies. No intelligent person would think that criticism of Israeli policies constitutes anti-Semitism. You want to read criticism of Israeli policy? Read Haaretz or go to the Knesset if you have criticism of the policies. But it is holding Israel to a different standard. It is attributing Israel's successes or achievements to anti-Semitic—"Well, they control the media. They control the press. They do not allow any criticism." It is an inherited hatred that is not for everyone but often has anti-Semitism at its core. And that has become a real problem on campus.

Emory, which is my university, I have been there many years, is essentially a fairly apolitical campus, and the Jewish students

who wear kippot or openly identify have had terrific experiences, but in this past year, they have begun to hear anti-Semitic cracks, to see those kind of things.

And the people who do that, they are not the faculty, but the students feel they have gotten permission to say that.

Mr. PENCE. Where did that permission come from?

Dr. LIPSTADT. Well, sometimes it will come from a faculty member, and sometimes it will come from the larger society that this kind of thing is OK. It is those moral guardrails that I was talking about. "The moral guardrails are down, and I can make that kind of crack." It is very disturbing, and I think it needs to be seriously addressed.

You also have another problem on certain campuses, and there are, you know, thousands of campuses in the United States. There are people who are in charge of diversity programs, provosts or whatever, or just the people in the administration who do not get it. And I am not saying that they are doing this nefariously, but it is hard for them to grasp that a Jewish student who looks privileged, who may not be privileged but looks to them as White, looks to them as—you know, comes from a stable home, has advantages. When they come in and say, you know, "I have been subjected to an anti-Semitic barrage or an anti-Semitic crack by a student in my dorm," or whatever it is, it is often hard for them to grasp that this person is the object of prejudice because their view of the person is going to be the object of prejudice does not look like this person.

And I am very careful about making analogies to the Holocaust. Today is not the 1930's. When I was once at the Holocaust Museum, a survivor told me the story of Kristallnacht, November 1938. He went to a Jewish school, a boarding school because the school in his town, he could not go to anymore. All the teachers were Nazis, and he was getting terrible treatment. So his parents sent him to a boarding school, a Jewish boarding school in a larger town.

November 1938. The synagogue next door, next to the school is burning. The teachers come in and yell: Get out, get out.

And these little kids, 9, 10, 11 years old, go running out in their pajamas, and they say to one another: Well, where should we go?

And one of them says, well, you know, like Mrs. Rogers told her son Fred, "Find the helpers." They said we are going to go to the policeman. So they ran up to the policeman, and he looked at them and sneered and said, "I do not take care of Jewish children," and sent them away. And, finally, they found some Jews on the street to help them.

Today is not that day. Today we have—I am sitting here in the Congress of the United States with Dr. Munzer, a survivor of the Holocaust, giving testimony about anti-Semitism. We hear it being addressed seriously from so many different quarters. So today is not that day, but there are enough forces on the right and on the left who have given it quarter that it shouldn't have.

Mr. PENCE. Can Dr. Munzer answer that question, please?

Mr. KEATING. Doctor.

Dr. MUNZER. By the same token, we are talking about education, through the Holocaust Museum, I have had the opportunity to

speak, you know, to dozens or hundreds of groups by now of high school students, and I am absolutely struck, you know, how receptive they are to the message, to learning the history of the Holocaust and learning the lessons.

Last year, I was in a small town in Arkansas, Morrilton, Arkansas, and I spoke to several thousand students over several days. I really wasn't sure whether they would get the message. And then, first of all, they asked some wonderful questions. Even though this was a huge group, it was well organized. And then I got a stack of letters which very much made it clear that they got the message. One of them was very simple. They said: You know, we had a bullying problem in our school, and now, thanks to you, it is much better.

Mr. PENCE. Thank you.

Mr. KEATING. Representative Cicilline.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the ranking member for calling this very important hearing, and it is a great honor to hear both from Dr. Munzer and Dr. Lipstadt, and thank you for being here.

Dr. Munzer, thank you for sharing your story, and I think it is incredibly important that people all over the world continue to hear directly from Holocaust survivors and those who have been impacted by anti-Semitism today. We know that today's children are the last generation that will have the opportunity to see and hear for themselves directly from survivors, and it is our responsibility as a result to be certain that we keep your voice alive and the voices of other survivors to share your story and, most importantly, for all of us to absorb the lessons of the Holocaust so that we can work together to prevent future instances of hate and bigotry and devastating brutality.

But I think as your testimony, both of your testimonies, reveal, this is a scary time for Jews all over the world. And despite my Italian last name, I am Jewish. I think we have seen the rise of neo-Nazis and white supremacist movements partly being fueled by the ability to communicate online and a rise in anti-Semitic attacks in the United States and around the world and of course, particularly in Europe.

And what I am particularly interested in, Dr. Lipstadt, we have a Holocaust—what was a Holocaust museum in Rhode Island, and we changed it into a Holocaust education center because we recognized that part of the importance of teaching the lessons of the Holocaust was to make sure that people understood the history and the horrific murder of millions of Jews and others but also to learn of the current dangers of bigotry and hatred and intolerance.

And so it became really an education center, and we have in Rhode Island, I am proud to say, mandatory Holocaust education in the public schools. So I am curious to know what other kind of educational lessons we should learn to make education about the Holocaust useful in terms of not only teaching people history but making sure we do not repeat it and whether or not there are examples that you think we should look to and what role Congress might play in promoting that kind of education to prevent a future example of that kind of—

Dr. LIPSTADT. I think we just heard an example from Dr. Munzer of his experience in the small town in Arkansas. When someone can speak in the first-person singular, "This is my story, this is what happened to me," it has a tremendous impact. I am in residence at the Holocaust Museum this year as a Senior Research Fellow, and sometimes, when I walk through the lobby, there is a desk, Talk to a Survivor, and you are often sitting there. And I watch—I stand in a little off in the corner, but I watch young people of all colors, all faiths, all ages, middle school, high school, hanging on every word that is being said.

And when I bring a survivor to my class, when I first started teaching, I would decide, did I want a survivor who was in a camp? Did I want a survivor who was hiding? Now I just want someone who is vigorous enough to be able to come and speak.

So that first-person singular is so important. I have cousins who grew up in Cincinnati, which was—even Ohio was still a Southern town, and they are about 15 years older than I am. I came from a large family. And they grew up knowing—one of the people who worked for their father had been born a slave on a plantation. And so they grew up knowing his story. And 15 years older than I am, slavery has a different resonance because they have heard the first-person singular.

I wish all survivors, as we say in Jewish tradition, 120 years, the lifespan of Moses, but soon that will go away. And I think what the museum is doing and the education program there is something, as you begin to craft these educational programs, as you give advice, you know, to different—whether it is on the State level or the national level that those lessons, it is not a simple thing, "Just bring them to the Holocaust Museum." It is got to be more than that.

Mr. CICILLINE. The other question I have is I think one of the other challenges we face is the ability to quickly and in a very profound way disseminate false information over the internet and the use of social media, which compounds, I think, this rise in anti-Semitism because it is just easier to transmit false hate speech and information to millions and millions of people, you know, with the stroke of—you know, one stroke of a keyboard. And I am wondering what you see, you know.

I am in the midst of an antitrust investigation of a big large technology platforms, and they have enormous market power. But their failure to in any meaningful way curate what gets put on a platform and shared broadly and, in fact, some of the most contentious hate speech engenders the biggest reaction from consumers on the internet.

Do you think that these platforms have a greater responsibility to manage or curate particularly hate speech, which is on these platforms and being disseminated and contributing significantly, in my view, to the rise of anti-Semitism?

Dr. LIPSTADT. Yes. Very simply, they have a big responsibility. They have the power—look, I am bringing coals to Newcastle telling you this—you know this from your work far better than I. They have a tremendous responsibility, and when it comes to hate, irrespective of who the object of the hate is, there is no neutrality. There is no neutrality. And to say, "Well, we are just a platform and anything goes," it is not—you know, this is not an issue of free-



dom of speech. Everyone has the right to, you know, as the Brits say, make an arse of themselves, but this is much more than that. This is engendering, inculcating, and it has a snowball effect, a tremendous snowball effect.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you very much.

I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEATING. Representative Meeks.

Mr. MEEKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, first, for your testimony. It is tremendously important to hear from you, Dr. Munzer, your life story, Dr. Lipstadt, your understanding and ability to articulate the truth of what has taken place and the hurt that hate causes, that anti-Semitism causes. I have been sitting hearing and listening and looking and watching the audience, especially Dr. Munzer, as you gave your testimony. I could see the hurt in most of just about anybody in the audience.

And for me, Dr. Lipstadt, you said that hatred is a threat to democracy. I agree with that, but I think it is more than that. I think hate is a threat to humanity, to all of us because that is what this is. It affects each and every individual no matter where you come from, no matter what your religious belief, no matter what your ethnicity is, and we have got to say something about it.

I am a firm believer and follower—you talk about the civil rights movement and Dr. King and, you know, a number of his quotes and words, and he says: Our lives begin to end the day we become silent about things that matter. Anti-Semitism, hatred, it matters. And we have got to stand up and speak out about it.

And for me, I wanted to cancel all the meetings that I had because I thought I had to be here because one of the things that I know as an African American, and given the history that you talked about here, one of the things I wanted to make sure when we are talking about civil rights and other issues, I think it is necessary for people who do not look like me to be on these microphones talking about it or to be in the audience. So this should not be a situation where it is just individuals of Jewish heritage. It has got to be something where all of us are involved and all of us stand up.

You know, it just seems to me the trouble that we are having today in the world, whether we are talking about Europe or the United States, we are thinking that certain speech is—you talked about freedom of speech. Well, to me, the day that hate speech becomes acceptable, freedom of speech ends because that is a danger to all of us. And so we have got to stand up and speak out about it. Dr. King also said, you know, people are not going to remember the actions of our enemies but the silence of our friends. So we have got to stand up.

I think I have an obligation whenever I see or hear of the opportunity to talk about fighting anti-Semitism, I have got to make sure, but not only in places like this, because you are right. If I am in a local meeting and I hear somebody that utters something that is anti-Semitic, I have an obligation to say: That is not appropriate. You cannot do that. That is hate.

I know when I talk about racism, I thought the same—you know, the same thing, and that is what this is all about. And I am con-

cerned, you know. I like your optimism. I think that optimists—I am optimistic also. I think that this is—the United States is still—we have been able to overcome a lot, and we have still got a lot to overcome, but we will do that.

But I do get concerned when I look at Europe and I look at the United States and when I see governments accepting and/or even to some degree running on anti-Semitic, you know, they do it in ways that try not to be pronounced, but everyone understands those little things. Whether you are a Member of Congress, whether you are a member of a Parliament someplace else, those things that we have got to make sure that we stand up and we talk about.

So I guess I am almost out of time, but I just feel passionate and concerned, concerned. We just marched over the bridge together, over the Brooklyn Bridge walking together with my friend, Michael Miller, in New York. I felt honored to be there and honored to see the number of good people there because I truly believe when good people are talking loudly, I do not think that necessarily we are going to be able to in one phase end folks who have hatred in their heart, but I do want to silence them. I do not want them to feel that they can be free to talk and say anti-Semitic remarks and not going to be scolded about it.

Dr. LIPSTADT. We live in a day and age where haters have been emboldened, and from your remarks, I would say we have to embolden the good people.

Mr. MEEKS. That is exactly right. So, again, I just want to thank you for being here. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for conducting this hearing and having it and keeping it focused because we can never sit back and take it easy and take things for granted because if we do, we allow history to repeat itself, and that is one thing that I think that we all have an obligation is to make sure the ugly part of history does not have the opportunity to repeat itself. And as soon as we see it, we have got to stamp it out. And by you doing this hearing, we are trying to stamp it out. Thank you, and I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you for your words.

Representative COSTA.

Mr. COSTA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I want to thank those witnesses who testified today. Dr. Lipstadt and Dr. Munzer, your testimony, I think, is as relative today as it was 75 years ago. As we recognized the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, Monday I was honored to participate at the United Nations on that anniversary with the Secretary General and Ambassadors of Israel and Germany and other U.N. nations to recount what took place 75 years ago.

And I am not sure that my comments will add anything to what has already been discussed except that I think, Dr. Lipstadt, you, I think, for all of us pointed out what is clear and evident, that anti-Semitism at its very root is hate. And hate, sadly, has been a part of man's history from the very beginning. I am hesitant to say it is a part of nature, our human nature, but it seems to have been a pattern, certainly.

I note that, you know, what took place during the Holocaust was predated by the Armenian genocide, the first genocide in the 20th century, which was predated by horrific acts in the 19th and the

18th century. And you can go back—I am a student of U.S. and world history, but to the Inquisition.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Antonio Gutierrez, in his comments marked by the dark history in Portugal when some of the most important members of the community who were Jewish were asked to either—to leave during that inquisition, that time period with Spain. They were rivals, but they had to live together, sort of, or to convert, which some of them did—my family is a reflection of that; we are Marrano—or to go underground, and the Jews in Portugal did all of the above. Some left, some converted, and some went underground.

But it gets back to hate. And I have got a fellow who is a professor in my office who has got a very interesting book that he wrote last year called “Hitler’s American Friends: The Third Reich Supporters of the United States during the 1930’s.” Interesting. Interesting prominent people in America in the 1930’s, people who had investments in Nazi Germany.

And the story that you told, Dr. Munzer, about your own personal experience, I had a dear friend whose mother was Dutch, and she wrote an interesting short story about the bicycle paths, these Dutch women who would ferry Jewish babies. And as the Nazi soldiers would pull them aside as they were off their bicycle with the little baby, they would, with guns pointed, urge them to demonstrate that that was their child by seeing whether or not those women could nurse the child. Part of your story, Dr. Munzer.

And so I think when we talk about all of these points in history that go back thousands of years, it gets back to hate. How do we combat hate? Dr. King said, you know, hate can only be overcome by love, to paraphrase him. We have got to figure out a better way to deal with it. Or in that great play in South Pacific: You have got to be taught, taught very carefully to hate.

And, sadly, history has indicated time and time again we are very good at teaching hate. You can see that in the 5,000 or more radicals that left Europe to join Isis in the last 2 years, to be a part of that hate.

So we must combine all of our collective resources, I believe, Mr. Chairman, and the efforts of this subcommittee and the efforts of those of you who have been so engaged to try to do in every possible way to overcome that hate. Thank you very much, and I have exceeded my time.

Mr. KEATING. Representative Trone.

Mr. TRONE. Thank you, Chairman. Certainly the hate that Congressman Costa speaks about has touched, you know, so many, so many people across the world now. And I mean, members of this panel ourselves, my oldest daughter received her Hebrew name at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh where we had the atrocity.

And you know, so we have kind of worked to make it a point that everybody has got to hear these stories as long as they possibly can. And the work you are doing, Dr. Munzer, is just, so important for so many people as we move forward and try not to let it slip away. Our staff is going to be at the museum on Monday, and they are going to be touring there just so we all make sure we have a direct appreciation.

Your story is such a powerful one and, then again, the story of an immigrant that reached the top of your profession, another powerful story that speaks to the diversity and how awesome it is for America to create the country that we have. But you know, as you testified, those personal interactions with the visitors at the Holocaust Museum are so important to really understand the horrors of what took place.

Has anybody in Europe at different museums—and I visited a number throughout Europe. Do they have anything where folks are there to share those personal stories and have an opportunity for, for personal interaction?

Dr. MUNZER. I am not sure.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Yes. There are a number of museums. Certainly in England, the Holocaust Educational Trust, and England is now building a memorial which will have an educational program. There is Memorial De La Shoah in France, in Paris. There are other examples. Nothing of the significance, I think, and the gravitas that you have of the Holocaust Museum located a few steps from the National Mall, located within sight. I look out my window, and I can see the Jefferson Memorial. I can see the Washington Monument.

But there are places. There are places, and they need support. The Holocaust—the Auschwitz Museum needs support. It is being pressured by the government to sort of shift the story a little by the Polish Government. There are places, but I think, again, as Dr. Munzer has so exemplified, that ability to hear the story told in the first-person singular. No professor, however scintillating they may be and however compelling they may be, can match that first-person singular.

Mr. TRONE. Agreed. As we look at extremist anti-Semitic rhetoric, it is entering everywhere in Europe, particularly mainstream politics. What can a civil society and other elected officials like ourselves or multi, national organizations, what can we do to help hold our public officials accountable for this rhetoric?

Dr. MUNZER. Well, one of the programs that I was involved with and exposed to was a few years ago was a State Department-run program that brings students from overseas to the United States to learn what it is to live in a multifaith society. The specific experience I had was with a group of students from Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world. These students had never met anyone who was Jewish. They had been exposed to a lot of anti-Semitism, actually.

And I told them my life story with photographs, and at the very end, I said: You know, one memory I have of Mima Saina, the nanny who take care of me is that she used to sing a lullaby to me, and it was called Nina Bobo in Indonesian.

And the entire group of about 40 students started singing it unison. And after that, these students embraced me, hugged me and said: You know, we are family. I retell that story very frequently because I think that is the ultimate message is to get across the idea that we are all part of one human family.

Mr. TRONE. I think it is absolutely crucial. I have about six mosques in my district, and I speak to them on Friday afternoon after prayers, and we always talk about the fact that they are now

being singled out in a lot of ways also, and this is all part of a continuing of hate crimes and they need to hear that we are with them. And after the incident in Pittsburgh they came to our temple, and they were with us. And that example is just so crucial that we all—we all stand together. Thank you.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you.

Now, Representative Frankel is not a member of the committee, heard about this hearing, and rearranged her whole schedule today and has joined us and certainly always welcome here.

Representative FRANKEL.

Ms. FRANKEL. Thank you for allowing me to participate, and thank you to our speakers today, honored to have you here.

I am going to ask all my questions at once, and if you are able to answer, I hope you do.

No. 1 is, could you assess the European governments' response to the rise in anti-Semitism? Are they sharing data with each other? Is this being addressed at the EU level? And what, if anything, can the U.S. Government do in this regard? There we go.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Well, let me say that you are going to have witnesses who follow us who probably are much—

Ms. FRANKEL. OK. Well, I am happy to—you know, I am going to—actually, just to let you know. I am going to step out for a quick meeting, but I am going to come back, and if you want to wait—

Dr. LIPSTADT. They know in the weeds of that, but I will only say one thing.

Ms. FRANKEL. OK.

Dr. LIPSTADT. And that I think our government has to call to account both those who are friends and those with whom we are not so friendly. When they begin to play with history, it is a steady slope downwards. They are playing with history and saying: We were not responsible. We did not do. We did not—whatever it might be.

It is dangerous. But about the specifics of the different governments, I think the next panel is much better equipped.

Ms. FRANKEL. All right. Well, I will tell you what, Mr. Keating. Let me yield back. I am going to step out for a quick meeting, and then I am going to come back, and the panel—where is the next panel? You heard my question. Be thinking it. In fact, I will be right back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you.

Ms. FRANKEL. Thank you.

Mr. KEATING. I want to thank our witnesses. I just—you know, your testimony had the effect—I have been through many hearings. Seldom have I heard my colleagues open up and share so much of themselves, their stories as I have today, and I think that was because of your testimony and your presence here. It is deeply appreciated. It is very important. Thank you for being here, and we will all work on this together, not just in Europe but in our own country, in our own neighborhoods, in our own schools, and at our own dinner tables.

Dr. LIPSTADT. Thank you.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you both.

As our first panel leaves, if we could assemble our second panel, and we will have people coming in and going. We had a special

member briefing on the coronavirus in the midst of this, so you will see people coming in and coming out, but we will take a few moments to recess and assemble the second panel.

[Recess.]

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Ira Forman is a senior advisor for combating anti-Semitism at Human Rights First, and an adjunct professor on anti-Semitism with the Center for Jewish Civilization at Georgetown University. Thank you for being here.

Ms. Christie Edwards is the acting head of the Department on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination in the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Thank you so much for being here as well.

Dr. Robert Williams is the deputy director of international affairs at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. We have heard a great deal from the first panel about the museum. I think, as most Members of Congress, have been there. It is one of the most moving experiences people will have in their life.

Rabbi Andrew Baker is director of international Jewish affairs at the American Jewish Committee as well as the personal representative of the Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Thank you so much for being here. We appreciate your time.

I think there were questions raised. A lot of the first questioning for the first panel was unique for hearings. I think there was a lot of people sharing their own experiences, but many of the questions they have as their time ran out could be appropriately addressed with you as a panel, and I am looking forward to that.

I will go with Mr. Forman for your statement. Thank you very much. We will set a time as we do with the first 5 minutes for the opening statements. Anything else with written statements can be for the record. Mr. Forman.

**STATEMENT OF IRA FORMAN, SENIOR ADVISOR FOR COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM, HUMAN RIGHTS FIRST, ADJUNCT PROFESSOR ON ANTI-SEMITISM, CENTER FOR JEWISH CIVILIZATION, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, FORMER SPECIAL ENVOY TO MONITOR AND COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. FORMAN. Thank you, Chairman Keating, and members of the subcommittee for the opportunity to appear today. I am especially appreciative that the subcommittee is holding this hearing. Shining this type of congressional spotlight on the problems is exactly what international political actors who dabble in anti-Semitism fear the most. I would hazard a guess that no one on these two panels would disagree with the statement that anti-Semitism has increased worldwide in recent years. There is lots of data to prove this. Moreover, if one talks to Jewish community leaders in any European country, you will get the same answer.

Of course, in the U.S., we cannot ignore the spike in violence, anti-Semitic violence in the last few months. It is a wakeup call for the American Jewish community and for the United States. Yet, for all of our problems here, the smaller Jewish communities in Europe I believe face much more immediate and existential threats from anti-Semitism.

To effectively fight anti-Semitism, we must first understand its nature and where in society it is located. This is no simple task. Today's anti-Semitism takes multiple forms and mutates. In my written testimony, I cite three European countries, Hungary, France, U.K. as examples of different forms of anti-Semitism going from the extreme right to the extreme left.

In my remarks today, I would like to focus briefly on anti-Semitism in Hungary. Anti-Semitism in Hungary is a far right nationalist phenomenon, xenophobic. Prime Minister Orban has said on numerous occasions that Hungary has U.S. tolerance for anti-Semitism and he has strengthened the relationship with Israel's government. Yet Jewish community leaders are deeply concerned about a number of government activities.

The first set of actions are what have to do with historical memory, the unwillingness to truthfully deal with historical Hungarian anti-Semitism, especially during the Holocaust. The first example is a Holocaust museum they are developing called the House of Fates. And yet, inexplicably, they insist on naming a well-known Holocaust distorter to develop the museum's program. They also over the past few years have honored numerous figures, political and even literary, from the World War II era that are deeply anti-Semitic and responsible for Jewish deaths.

The second set of problems are what I call dog whistle anti-Semitism. Prime Minister Orban's party has employed subtle but clear Nazi-era anti-Semitic memes: the laughing Jew, the Nazi meme of the Jewish puppet master. In fact, Orban's speech in the parliamentary elections in 2018 were so rife with vile, classic, anti-Semitic language that a National Review writer who had been sympathetic to the Fidesz government said: It reads like something right out of the protocols of the Elders of Zion.

So what do we do? Clearly, there are no silver bullets. We have to be doing multiple things. If you talk to experts, they talk about the importance for security for Jewish communities but also other endangered communities. We have to deal with hate crime data—and I am sure our OSCE representative will talk more about this—collect it better.

We talked about education. Education will be crucial, and social media and dealing with social media. But one thing I want to mention here that we cannot do, and that is let anti-Semitism become just another partisan wedge issue. If we do, we will lose this battle. We need bipartisanship on this issue.

I recommend a number of things in my testimony. I just want to mention that the—I want to ask you to urge your Senate colleagues to pass legislation similar to H.R. 221, which raises the status of the special envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism at the State Department, to the Ambassadorial level. Doing that, as well as making sure the office has enough resources, is critical at this time.

In conclusion, I would like to paraphrase the comments of one French leader I met when I visited at the State Department who told me, in the aftermath of violent incidents that hit his community, he said, this is not ultimately about us. It is not about the Jews. The Jewish community may be the first group that faces this

type of hate, but we will not be the last. This is about the very values of the French republic, the very values that sustain democracy.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Forman follows:]





Testimony of Ira N. Forman

Senior Advisor for Combating Antisemitism  
Human Rights First

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE,  
EURASIA, ENERGY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe

January 29, 2020

Chairman Keating, Vice Ranking Member Wagner, and members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to appear here today. I deeply appreciate the Subcommittee's commitment to examining antisemitism in Europe. Continuing to focus the congressional spotlight on this most ancient of evils is a critical first steps in combating its resurgence.

I am also appreciative for the opportunity to bring students from my class at Georgetown University's Center of Jewish Civilization, "Confronting Contemporary Antisemitism." As I emphasize to my students, the battle against antisemitism will continue for years and decades to come. It is an important part of our job as practitioners in this fight to educate a new generation on how to wage it. I can think of no better way of educating a new generation than to have them witness today's proceedings with their elected representatives and the distinguished experts with whom I am honored to be sitting this afternoon.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not recognize the professionals at the U.S. State Department who work in the human rights arena. I have never been prouder of my country than when I had a chance, as the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, to work with these dedicated men and women in upholding our country's ideals. The personnel at our embassies and consulates around the world are worthy of special praise. Not only do they do an exemplary job of tracking antisemitism and other forms of bigotry for the annual Human Rights and International Religious Freedom reports, but every U.S. diplomatic mission I visited was in close contact and working with the local Jewish communities. In some instances, U.S. embassy staff were the only reliable ally for small, beleaguered Jewish communities overseas. Under such circumstances, just showing up and telling these Jewish leaders that their plight will not be forgotten provides some degree of safety and relief.

#### **The Seriousness of the Problem**

Seventy-five years ago, almost to the day, allied forces liberated the death camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Thus, it is most fitting to start with the questions of "how bad is the world's antisemitism problem today" and "how alarmed should we be?"

I won't spend time this afternoon recounting the hate crime data or the antisemitic incidents data in the United States and Europe. Nearly every news story on this topic cites these statistics to reinforce the belief that we are in a period of escalating antisemitism. There is also a wealth of recent polling data on such topics as antisemitic attitudes prevalent in individual countries, as well as surveys of Jewish populations focusing on their experience with antisemitism— and this data is often shockingly negative. Moreover, one need only talk to Jewish leaders and citizens in some European countries to understand the increasing fears within many European Jewish communities.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example: <https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2018>; <https://www.adl.org/2018-audit-S>; [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2018-experiences-and-perceptions-of-antisemitism-survey_en.pdf); <http://www.fondapol.org/en/etudes-en/analysis-of-anti-semitism-in-france/>

But are the circumstances as bad as the situation in the decade before the Holocaust in Europe and the United States? The honest answer is no. One difference is that, unlike in the 1930s, when nearly the entire world shut its doors to Jewish refugees, today Jews threatened by antisemitism have a place they can go—the state of Israel. Another significant difference is that in the 1930s, a number of national governments (not just Nazi Germany) openly advocated for and implemented blatantly antisemitic policies.

Yet current facts on the ground in Europe prohibit us from imagining any Pollyannaish scenarios. National governments may not be openly advocating antisemitic policies, but some are employing dog whistle forms of antisemitism when they feel it is politically advantageous to do so. Likewise, some governments persist in distorting their histories to erase all records of past antisemitism on their national territories that can't be attributed to Nazi German occupation. Segments of the population in some countries are deeply infected with problematic attitudes toward Jews and beliefs about Jewish conspiracies. Moreover, while we can find many differences between today's antisemitism and that of the 1930s, we have no tools to accurately predict whether trends seen today will lead to more dire consequences a decade or more from now. In other words, we ignore this peril only at great risk to individual Jewish communities and the health of democratic societies.

We should also consider, as we employ scarce resources, whether the threat from antisemitism is greater for the Jewish community in the United States or communities in Europe. If we quickly scan Moment Magazine's Anti-Semitism Monitor, an archive of incidents of antisemitism by date and country, we might conclude that antisemitism in the United States is the greater problem.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, in the United States in recent years, taboos against antisemitic speech have weakened, while violence against Jewish individuals and vandalism of Jewish property has grown. In the last 15 months, 14 Jewish Americans have been killed by domestic terrorists motivated by antisemitism. Tragically, this represents a greater number than in any other period in American history.

Nevertheless, there is equally compelling evidence that overall, public opinion toward American Jews remains very positive, and that the American Jewish community's position in society is much more secure than in any of the much smaller diaspora communities around the world.<sup>3</sup> These findings do not justify ignoring signs of rising antisemitism in the United States. But they are a reminder that despite recent, appalling violence at home, European Jewish communities face even greater immediate threats.

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<sup>2</sup> <https://momentmag.com/anti-semitism-monitor-2019/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.pewforum.org/2019/07/23/feelings-toward-religious-groups/>

### The Complexity of Today's Antisemitism

To effectively fight antisemitism, we must first understand its nature and from where it emanates within societies. In 2020, this is no simple task. Today, in any given country, antisemitism takes multiple forms that interact and mutate.

The story of antisemitism in three European countries illustrates the major paradigms.

In Hungary, antisemitism manifests as xenophobic, extreme right-wing, and nationalist. While the Fidesz-led government of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán consistently declares that Hungary has "zero tolerance" for antisemitism, and has strengthened cooperation with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's government in Israel, it also has employed a number of policies that are of great concern to the Hungarian Jewish community.

The Fidesz government has touted a false historical narrative that minimizes the role of Hungarians in the persecution and deportation of the majority of Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz in 1944. In pursuing this false history, it has attempted to establish a museum dedicated to the fate of Hungarian Jews in the 1940s, while, at the same time, insisting that the museum be led by a known Holocaust distorter.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, the Orbán government has, on multiple occasions, honored literary and political figures from the 1930s and 1940s who were outspoken antisemites.<sup>5</sup>

The Fidesz government has also employed Nazi-era antisemitic themes, such as portraying liberal financier and philanthropist George Soros as a "puppet master" conspiring to undermine Hungary.<sup>6</sup> Billboards and posters deployed during Hungary's recent federal elections portraying a laughing Soros mimicked an infamous Nazi-era meme, the "laughing Jew."<sup>7</sup> The fact that these posters were often defaced with antisemitic comments underscores the potency of their message. Simply put, the antisemites and neo-Nazis understood exactly what Orbán intended to convey. As did his critics. One one-time Orbán admirer wrote in the *National Review* that the prime minister's March 2018 re-election speech echoed language found in the infamous antisemitic forgery the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.<sup>8</sup>

In France, antisemitism emanates from both the extreme right and the extreme left. However, in recent decades, the French Jewish community has been most threatened by violence—sometimes lethal—carried out by a small number of followers of extremist forms of Islam. During the 2014 Gaza war, such individuals targeted Jewish individuals, Jewish property, and

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/House-of-Fates-Fact-Sheet%20.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-hungary-jews-statue-idUSKBN0TW0RG20151213>  
<https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/press-release/hungary-must-reverse-its-support-memorial-antisemitic-politician> <http://hungarianspectrum.org/2019/03/14/honoring-anti-semitic-literati-on-the-national-holiday/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/06/george-soros-viktor-orban-ceu/588070/>

<sup>7</sup> <https://forward.com/fast-forward/376352/will-hungary-yank-laughing-jew-billboards-targeting-george-soros/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/viktor-orban-george-soros-speech-anti-semitism/>

Jewish businesses. As reported widely in the media, many French Jews responded by emigrating.<sup>9</sup>

When I visited France on behalf of the State Department in the weeks following the Gaza war, our Paris embassy arranged a meeting with representatives of the French Jewish community. At that gathering, I asked about the fate of French Jewry. What I heard from one Jewish community leader was instructive. He began by describing how everyone in his circle of friends was talking of leaving, but relatively few were likely to do so, as emigration is a very difficult and consequential decision for a family. He went on to outline the series of problems the community faced in the wake of the violence—including the large numbers of Jewish children being sent to private Catholic schools by their parents to avoid bullying and harassment in public school, and the threat from terrorists in Jewish day schools.

He praised the French national government for its commitment to combatting antisemitism. Yet, at the same time, he expressed concern that government action was not enough. He explained that the ultimate fate of the community rested with the degree of support that French civil society would lend to the fight against antisemitism. He closed by declaring that the crisis was not about just the fate of the French Jewish community. For though Jews were—and are—often the first minority to suffer consequences when societies succumb to conspiracy theories, they are never the last. The people of France were living, he concluded, in a defining moment for the values underpinning the French Republic and the fate of French democracy.

Lastly, the United Kingdom. Five years ago, few observers believed that British Jews encountered antisemitism to a degree comparable to that faced by communities on the European mainland. In the last few years, however, we have been proven wrong, as Britain's Labour party has become poisoned with a form of extreme, left-wing antisemitism.

There is no better description of this form of antisemitism than a monograph recently authored by Professor Alan Johnson titled "Institutionally Antisemitic: Contemporary Left Antisemitism and the Crisis in the Labour Party."<sup>10</sup> Johnson describes how, under Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn's direction, a two-camp worldview that divides the planet into an evil western imperialist camp and a virtuous anti-imperialist camp has been adopted by significant segments of Labour's membership and elected officials. Under this simplistic philosophy, Israel, Zionists and the vast majority of Jews who support the concept of a Jewish state are relegated to the former camp, even when their opponents are Iranian Revolutionary Guards or Hamas terrorists.

This Manichean worldview turns complex geopolitical events like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into a cartoon pitting good against evil. Moreover, though much of the philosophy manifests itself as vitriol aimed at Israel and Zionists, it also sometimes reveals itself through criticisms of the Rothschilds and Jewish control of banks and capitalism. At its most extreme, this form of

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.vnetnews.com/articles/0.7340.L-4609941.00.html>

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/04/is-it-time-for-the-jews-to-leave-europe/386279/>

<sup>10</sup> <http://fathomjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Institutionally-Antisemitic-Report-FINAL-5.pdf>

left-wing antisemitism even manifests itself in incidents where Labour supporters circulate materials generated by the racist right, one example being when a local elected Labour official shared a video on Facebook from KKK leader David Duke entitled "CNN, Goldman Sachs, and the Zio Matrix."<sup>11</sup> The most important reason that many who closely follow global trends in antisemitism have championed the International Holocaust Alliance's (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism is because it is a particularly potent tool for identifying just this type of antisemitism: a form where "Zionist" becomes a convenient stand-in for "Jew."

#### **How Should the World Respond?**

There are no silver bullet solutions to today's antisemitism. Yet, if you attend any of the numerous international gatherings organized to examine the phenomenon behind today's hearing, you invariably encounter a number of counter-strategies.

First, there is widespread agreement that we need better data collection and analysis to more fully understand the problem. Though the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mandates that its 57 member states collect, maintain, and publish hate crime statistics, in 2018 only 41 states submitted this data, and only 25 of those states provided data disaggregated by bias motivation.<sup>12</sup>

Virtually everyone agrees that heightened security measures are indispensable to securing the safety of Jewish communities and other beleaguered minority groups. Yet as essential as such measures are, they rarely do anything to counter the actual spread of antisemitic sentiments.

Similarly, there is widespread agreement that education is part of the necessary response. However, there is little research as to what type of education is most effective. There may be many reasons to require Holocaust studies as part of school curriculums. However, not every Holocaust education program is an effective tool against antisemitism. To give an obvious example, if we are going to rely on education to help stop the spread of antisemitism, we must avoid teaching about the Holocaust as mere history. We must instead find ways to relate the lessons of the Holocaust to the lives of today's students.

Everyone also agrees that hate has proliferated online, and that we must focus on how to counter bigotry on multiple social media platforms. However, as successful as we have been in the past in pushing back against hate in other forms of media, we still don't fully understand on how to effectively counter bigotry in the digital world.

There is also broad agreement that antisemitism can't be fought by Jewish community alone, and an effective response must incorporate larger civil society. At the local level, religious leadership, business leadership, law enforcement, political leadership, and other civil leaders must be mobilized to counter antisemitism and other forms of bigotry and discrimination.

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/labour-take-no-action-against-11923281>

<sup>12</sup> <http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-do-we-know>

Twenty-five years ago, someone widely thought to be a white nationalist hurled a cinder block through the window of a Billings, Montana home where a Jewish family had displayed a Hanukkah menorah. Billings' civil society spontaneously responded with an outpouring of support for the Jewish community and a message of outrage aimed at the white nationalists.<sup>13</sup> How do we replicate the Billings response all over the United States and in Europe? How do we send messages of support to victims of hate in our communities, while isolating and ostracizing those doing the hating?

There are also actions that we should assiduously avoid if we wish to effectively counter renascent antisemitism. Foremost among them is the temptation to treat antisemitism as another partisan wedge issue. As with any struggle, we can't fight the war if we're not united against the enemy. As documented above, antisemitism comes from both the right and the left. If we choose to only recognize the antisemitism of our ideological adversaries, and ignore that which emanates from our ideological allies, we are doomed to failure.

#### **Recommendations for Congressional Action**

Members of Congress have a number of avenues by which to constructively engage in the fight against antisemitism, and I would be remiss not to mention them today. These include:

1. Conduct further hearings on the challenge of antisemitism in countries of specific concern. This is most important in countries where government policies contribute to the growth of antisemitism. From my experience, focusing a bipartisan light on certain international examples of antisemitism is one of the most effective methods of grabbing the attention of problematic actors. One caveat to this recommendation is that it is important to determine, in a private and sensitive manner, how this public spotlight will affect a local Jewish community. There are some communities that feel that public criticism of their government will have negative consequences for their own well-being. In other cases, local communities will welcome public advice and censure.
2. Identify countries of particular concern, and schedule CODELS to meet with foreign government officials and Jewish communities. On more than one occasion, I have been told by community leadership that high-level U.S. government visits, including Congressional visits, serve to protect their community's status, as these events signal that the U.S. government is watching.
3. Urge your Senate colleagues to bring up and pass legislation similar to the House passed bill H.R. 221, which elevates the status of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism to the rank of Ambassador. Enhancing the status of the Executive branch's point person on antisemitism, and ensuring that the office has adequate

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<sup>13</sup> <https://www.rd.com/culture/town-stands-up-anti-semitism/>

resources, are critical if the United States is going to continue to take a leading role in the fight against international antisemitism.

4. Speak out in the form of resolutions and public letters addressed to heads of government on the most egregious examples of international antisemitism. In late 2015, the State Department put together a coalition of democratic allies, local Jewish community representatives, local civil society actors, Jewish NGOs, and human rights NGOs to protest the Hungarian government's support for the placement of a statue to a leading 1940s era antisemite. A letter addressed to the government by a bi-partisan group of House members served a critical role in convincing Prime Minister Orbán to withdraw his support for the project.
5. Join the House Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism. And if you've already done so, urge your colleagues to do the same. Bolstering this body on a bipartisan basis lends credibility to the idea that confronting antisemitism is a top congressional priority.

In closing, we should be clear-eyed about the nature of the challenge we face. Antisemitism is an ancient hatred. In modern form it takes many guises. Pushing back against antisemitism requires an understanding of its specific nature at a given time and place. It also requires both government and private resources, and genuine bipartisan cooperation.

Moreover, we need to understand that our goal is not the eradication of antisemitism. This disease has infected human societies for at least 2,000 years, and we can be confident that it will be around for many years to come. But if we can't realistically expect to eliminate the threat, we can strive to reduce and tame it. To use a metaphor, we can't turn off the faucet, but we can turn down the flow. That in and of itself is an important goal, because the stakes are so high.

The struggle against antisemitism in 2020 is not just a fight to protect beleaguered Jewish communities. As the French Jewish leader whom I referenced earlier stated, this is ultimately a fight about democratic values. It is about the well-being of our democracy, and that of the democracies of our European allies. It could not, therefore, be of greater importance.



Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Mr. Forman.  
 Ms. EDWARDS.

**STATEMENT OF CHRISTIE J. EDWARDS, ACTING HEAD, TOLERANCE AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, OFFICE FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS, ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Ms. EDWARDS. Chairman Keating, distinguished members, thank you so much for the opportunity to join you today. I am coming from the Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights for the Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe.

And my office provides support, assistance, and expertise to participating States and a civil society promoting democracy, rule of law, human rights, and tolerance and nondiscrimination.

OSCE participating States recognize that manifestations of discrimination and intolerance, such as anti-Semitism, racism, xenophobia, and hate crimes threaten the security of individuals, communities, and societies and may give rise to wider scale conflict and violence that undermine international stability and security. For this reason, OSCE participating States strongly condemn racial and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and discrimination as well as persecution on religious or belief grounds and have committed to combat these phenomena in all of their forms.

The past few years have evidenced a trend away from a global culture of respect for human rights. Anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia continue to be an issue of concern across the OSCE region. Some minority communities, including people of African descent, Roma and Sinti, and persons with a migrant background, including refugees and asylum seekers, are disproportionately affected and targeted by security policies that include racial and ethnic profiling.

Additionally, numerous hate crimes against these communities and other minority communities can be seen across the OSCE region as contributions to the ODIHR annual hate crime report show. While this has resulted in a broader and more visible dialog on the existence and impact of hate crimes throughout the OSCE region, it also threatens to reorient the focus of ODIHR's work from proactive to reactive.

Occupying the vast area and fulfilling human rights left open by government, civil society has globally been put on the defensive in this work. The OSCE region has, unfortunately, not been spared this challenge as groups active in the promotion of tolerance and nondiscrimination and the identification of hate crimes are often branded as agitators and accused of destabilizing communities and societies. The subsequent withdrawal of many groups from the regional discourse has resulted in a lack of transparency and given license to the persecution of vulnerable groups.

Additionally, human rights defenders from civil society addressing anti-Semitism, racism, and xenophobia are often themselves the victims of hate crime, often by association. In some participating States, they also report that the rise in intolerance leads to an increasing hostile environment for their work, cuts in government funding, and other ways of impeding their work. There is also

a trend of emerging anti-migrant feelings with feelings of racism directed at a range of minority groups accompanied by the intersectional nature of many hate crimes.

We also note that the increasingly technically sophisticated tools are needed to understand, analyze, and help combat hate crimes, anti-Semitism, racism, xenophobia, and discrimination. So, to address this, ODIHR has developed a collection of resources and programs to raise awareness about discrimination, hate crimes, anti-Semitism, and other forms of intolerance.

Through advising on policy and training of law enforcement personnel and educators, ODIHR works to build the capacities of governments in preventing and responding to this problem. And in my written testimony, I note a couple of different programs that we have for civil society, which I am happy to address further.

There is a need to tap further into the potential of dialog between governments, faith groups, and civil society, and in this light, ODIHR has convened a number of international events and trainings to address intolerance and discrimination. In all of these activities, ODIHR takes a comprehensive approach and brings stakeholders from different sectors and different communities to work together on a wide range of tolerance and non-discrimination issues.

OSCE participating States have committed to take steps to prevent and address intolerance and discrimination while applying a common approach to address all acts and manifestations of hate while acknowledging the uniqueness of the manifestations and the historical background of each form.

Different types of intolerance have their own unambiguous etymologies and rationale. Yet, in order to address the underlying biases and othering that underpins many forms of discrimination, we need to be aware of their similarities, their interconnected developments, and their constant intersection.

At ODIHR, in line with the comprehensive nature of our work, we also believe in the power of building coalitions to address intolerance and discrimination, and we have built a set of tools for civil society and communities willing to engage together. ODIHR remains at the disposal of OSCE participating States, civil society, and other actors in supporting the implementation of their commitments to counter intolerance and discrimination. I look forward to your questions. Thank you so much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Edwards follows:]

Christie Edwards  
 Acting Head, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination  
 Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)  
 Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE)

House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment

29 January 2020

**Hearing on anti-Semitism and other concerning trends in anti-minority and xenophobic sentiments in Europe**

Chairman Keating,  
 Distinguished Subcommittee Members,

Thank you for the opportunity to speak in today's hearing. My name is Christie Edwards, and I am Acting Head of the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department in the Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE). ODIHR provides support, assistance and expertise to participating States and civil society to promote democracy, rule of law, human rights and tolerance and non-discrimination.

OSCE participating States recognize that manifestations of discrimination and intolerance such as anti-Semitism, racism, xenophobia and hate crime threaten the security of individuals, communities and societies and may give rise to wider scale conflict and violence that undermine international stability and security.

For this reason, OSCE participating States strongly condemn racial and ethnic hatred, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and discrimination, as well as persecution on religious or belief grounds, and have committed to combat these phenomena in all their forms.<sup>1</sup>

The past years have evidenced a trend away from a global culture for the respect of human rights. Anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia continue to be a concern across the OSCE region. Some minority communities – including people of African descent, Roma and Sinti, and persons with a migrant background (including refugees and asylum seekers) – are disproportionately targeted by security policies that include racial and ethnic profiling. Additionally, numerous hate crimes against members of these and other minority communities can be seen across the OSCE region, as contributions to the ODIHR annual hate crime report show.

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<sup>1</sup> Copenhagen Document 1990. Since 2003, OSCE participating States have established a normative framework of legislation and Ministerial Council decisions to reflect their commitments to address these phenomena and to promote mutual understanding (e.g. Ministerial Council Decision 4/03 on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination, and subsequent Ministerial Council Decisions 12/04, 10/05, 13/06, 10/07 and 9/09).

While this has resulted in a broader and more visible dialogue on the existence and impact of hate crimes throughout the OSCE region, it also threatens to reorient the focus of ODIHR's work from proactive to reactive.

Occupying the vast area in fulfilling human rights left open by government, civil society has globally been put on the defensive in this work. The OSCE region has unfortunately not been spared this challenge, as groups active in the promotion of tolerance and non-discrimination and the identification of hate crimes are often branded as agitators and accused of destabilizing societies. The subsequent withdrawal of many groups from the regional discourse has resulted in a lack of transparency and given license to the persecution of vulnerable groups.

Additionally, human rights defenders from civil society addressing anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia are also often themselves victims of hate crime, by association. In some participating States, they also report that the rise in intolerance lead to an increasingly hostile environment for their work, cuts in government funding, and other ways of impeding their work.

There is also a trend of merging anti-migrant feelings with racism, directed at a range of minority groups, accompanied the intersectional nature of many hate crimes. We also note that increasingly technically sophisticated tools are needed to understand, analyze and help combat hate crimes, anti-Semitism, racism, xenophobia and discrimination.

To address this, ODIHR has developed a collection of resources and programmes to raise awareness about discrimination, hate crimes, anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance. Through advising on policy and the training of law enforcement personnel and educators, ODIHR works to build the capacity of governments in preventing and responding to this problem.

Civil society working to address anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia, especially organizations led by activists from the affected communities, report need for further support, including capacity building. ODIHR builds the capacity of civil society organizations to monitor hate crimes, including specialized training.<sup>2</sup>

ODIHR convenes OSCE human dimension meetings, including those that focus, inter alia, on combatting racism and xenophobia and promotion of tolerance and mutual understanding. Addressing racism and xenophobia frequently features on the agenda of OSCE's annual Human Dimension Implementation Meetings, Europe's largest annual human rights conference.

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<sup>2</sup> Raising awareness of intolerance and discrimination is also necessary. ODIHR produced a series of factsheets on hate crime against different groups, available in print and on our website in English, Russian and Spanish.

There is a need tap further into the potential of dialogue between governments, faith groups and civil society, and in this light ODIHR convened a number of international events to address intolerance and discrimination.

In all of these activities, ODIHR takes a comprehensive approach, and brings stakeholders from different sectors, and different communities, to work together on a wide range of tolerance and non-discrimination issues. OSCE participating States have committed to take steps to prevent and address intolerance and discrimination, while applying a “common approach” to address all acts and manifestations of hate, while acknowledging the “uniqueness of the manifestations and historical background of each form.”<sup>3</sup> Different types of intolerance have their own unambiguous etymologies and rationale, yet in order to address the underlying biases and “othering” that underpins many forms of discrimination, we need to be aware of their similarities, their interconnected developments, and their constant intersection.

At ODIHR, in line with the comprehensive nature of our work, we also believe in the power of building coalitions to address intolerance and discrimination, and have built a set of tools for civil society and communities willing to engage together. Also, ODIHR’s comprehensive, holistic training approach is premised upon principles identified through data gathered through focus groups with victims and targeted communities of hate crimes and other forms of intolerance, to ensure that state representatives appreciate the impact of these phenomena on victims, their communities, and society as a whole and to ensure that they treat the incidents with the importance and severity they demand.

ODIHR remains at the disposal of OSCE participating States, civil society and other actors in supporting the implementation of their commitments to counter intolerance and discrimination.

Thank you.

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<sup>3</sup> Ministerial Council Decision 13/06.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Ms. Edwards.  
Dr. WILLIAMS.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ROBERT WILLIAMS, DEPUTY DIRECTOR,  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST ME-  
MORIAL MUSEUM**

Dr. WILLIAMS. Thank you, Chairman Keating, and members of the subcommittee not only for convening this discussion but for your leadership on this crucial issue.

It is my great honor to speak on behalf of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. At the museum, we inspire citizens and leaders in the United States and abroad to confront hatred, to prevent genocide, and to promote human dignity through active engagement with the Holocaust.

Why the Holocaust? We focus on the Holocaust because it was an unprecedented catastrophe because it involved multiple societies and cultures and did not respect any borders and because its scale was so vast we had to invent new international systems to cope with the damage.

The Holocaust resonates in part because it warns us that the unthinkable is always possible, that all of us must rise above our potential to abuse privilege, and that we cannot remain on the sidelines when we encounter hatred.

With the passing of the generation of Holocaust survivors, it is both more difficult and more necessary to counter anti-Semitism and hate in all of their forms. In addition to working at the museum, I am the chairman of the Anti-Semitism Committee at the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, a 34-Nation body of diplomats and experts who gather to deal with these issues. And I can tell you that today, one of the more increasingly common manifestations of anti-Semitism is distortion, less so denial of the Holocaust. This is something that spreads from the Russian Federation all the way to Ireland and from Finland to Italy. No country is immune.

Now, there are many reasons for this. But one, to borrow from H.G. Wells, is our collective, ongoing race between education and catastrophe. Unfortunately, catastrophe seems to be leading the way. Decades of investment in scholarship, secondary education, Holocaust survivor testimonies, and commemoration built awareness of the Holocaust, but more is needed.

For example, a recent study found that, in France, 57 percent of adults do not know that 6 million Jews died during the course of the Holocaust; 45 percent of French millennials are unaware that the French Government under Petain collaborated with the Nazis. Similarly disheartening results can be found elsewhere.

Clearly, Holocaust education needs reinforcement over both the long and the short term, and it needs to be extended to new audiences. To do so, we Americans should work with our European allies and with intergovernmental bodies in order to first expand and strengthen the infrastructure of European institutions that can provide authoritative information on the Holocaust and help counter anti-Semitism and extremism.

Consider my home institution, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. With consistent support by the U.S. Congress

since 1993, my institution has hosted more than 45 million people onsite at our museum here in Washington, and more than that, close to 20 million people from 238 countries and territories each year accessing our online resources. Imagine if there were similar institutions in the lands where the Holocaust occurred.

Second, we must work with our European allies to ensure that funds do not go to organizations that promote anti-Semitism, Holocaust distortion, or other forms of hate. It is surprising, but it happens more often than you may think. I have a few examples in my written testimony.

Third, we must develop sustainable training programs for public servants that communicate the relevance of the Holocaust to their work. These programs should target civil servants, law enforcement, military leaders, legislators, and other government professionals. It might highlight the failures of their predecessors to not stand up against encroaching fascism or instruct on the warning signs that threaten our core transatlantic values or teach how to counter resurgent anti-Semitism and bias.

There is no more American ethic than taking on the responsibility to do more, and doing more in this arena can help us continue to build a future that can avoid the calamities of the past and ensure that the Holocaust resonates for future generations. But if we do not act now, if we do not educate better, if we do not train more audiences, and if we do not equip ourselves to resist anti-Semitism and extremism, we will have failed the victims, we will have failed the survivors, and we will have failed one another. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Williams follows:]



**Testimony for House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment  
“Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe”**

January 29, 2020

Robert J. Williams, PhD  
Deputy Director, International Affairs  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Thank you, Chairman Keating and Ranking Member Kinzinger for convening this important discussion. As this subcommittee knows, the scourge of antisemitism did not disappear with the end of the Holocaust and the Second World War. However, at no point since 1945 have these matters seemed more acute. With the passing of the generation of Holocaust survivors, it is at once more difficult and more necessary to counter these challenges, and there will be no path forward without American leadership.

It is my honor to speak on behalf of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, our nation’s *living* memorial to the Holocaust. At the Museum, we inspire citizens and leaders in the United States and abroad to confront hatred, prevent genocide, and promote human dignity through active and regular engagement with the Holocaust. We focus on the Holocaust because it was an unprecedented catastrophe. It took place across Europe, it involved persons from multiple societies, professions, and cultures, and it happened on a scale that shattered our civilization so greatly that we had to develop new international systems to cope with the devastation. The effects of the Holocaust resonate for many reasons, not the least of which is its ability to warn us that the unthinkable is always possible, that we must rise above our potential to abuse privilege, and that we cannot remain on the sidelines when we encounter hatred.

To borrow from H.G. Wells, we seem to be in a “race between education and catastrophe” in the fight against antisemitism and other forms of hate.<sup>1</sup> Often, we think of education in ways that we imagine will serve our economies or the physical sciences. There is certainly a logic to this, but does this model of education generate a moral citizenry or secure human dignity? Are we educating one another in ways that sustain learning over a lifetime?

There are many approaches to consider, including supporting education on ethics, civics, and democratic values. Certainly, we need to continue enhancing how we educate about the Holocaust and we must begin to educate against antisemitism. Despite the growth of Holocaust awareness, teaching and learning about the Holocaust needs reinforcement. A recent study by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany found that a majority of French citizens

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<sup>1</sup> H.G. Wells, *The Outline of History: Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind*, vol. II (New York, Macmillan, 1920), 594.



(57%) did not know that six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust. The percentage was even greater (69%) among those aged 18-38. More troubling, perhaps, 45% of French millennials did not know that the French government collaborated with the Nazi regime.<sup>2</sup> A 2019 study of adults in Austria yielded similarly disheartening data.<sup>3</sup>

One explanation for these results may be how we learn. Many of us only learn about the Holocaust in secondary school, and only then somewhat inconsistently. To be certain, it is critical to introduce this subject at the secondary school level because it is in the classroom that many students first encounter the Holocaust and can begin to understand the devastation that follows unbridled hate, the decline of democracies, and the horrors of conflict. Secondary school education is an investment in the future. It needs support from other forums to influence behavior, and such change takes many years. Unfortunately, we are witnessing social, political, and cultural challenges in Europe that demand more immediate solutions that can support and build from more traditional education initiatives.

Perhaps there are lessons from the German experience? Within a few generations after the Second World War, Germany became one of the more peaceable, democratic, and tolerant countries in Europe, where the subject of the Holocaust continues to resonate on a regular basis. The German people and their governments deserve considerable credit, particularly since reunification. This state of affairs also emerged because of a U.S.-led international effort to work with and educate Germans on democracy building. Americans and German cooperation did not then and does not now only focus on secondary schools. We also train those leaders responsible for building and affirming democratic values, namely, journalists, lawyers, the judiciary, politicians, public intellectuals, the police, and the military.

Training people to identify and respond to antisemitism must include opportunities to learn about the Holocaust, as well as the range of Jewish experiences and the ways by which Jews have contributed to politics, culture, and society across the globe and on the local level. Sadly, it is all too common to hear European educators, political leaders, and the public refer to events like the Holocaust as “Jewish history,” as if it were somehow something other than part of a shared past. If we do not reconnect our common experiences, discord and discrimination will fill the void.

It is imperative to acknowledge that antisemitism is not just a problem unique to one particular community or region. In Europe today, there is too great a tendency to dismiss antisemitism and some related biases as an import from abroad or a problem of countries only in one region of Europe. The claim of antisemitism as a foreign import is often directed at migrant communities, particularly Muslim communities in Western Europe. To be certain, there have been significant and frightening examples of violence against European Jewish communities by Muslim extremists. There have also been many verbal and physical attacks against Europe’s Jewish communities by non-Muslims, as seen most tragically of late in the October 9, 2019 attack on the

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<sup>2</sup> Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, “Stunning Survey of French Adults Reveal Critical Gaps in Holocaust Knowledge,” January 24, 2020, as at <http://www.claimscon.org/france-study/>, last accessed January 25, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, “New Survey by the Claims Conference Finds Critical Gaps in Holocaust Knowledge in Austria,” 2019, as at <http://www.claimscon.org/austria-study/>, last accessed January 25, 2020.

synagogue in Halle, Germany. No community, religious group, ethnicity, or nation is immune from antisemitic animus.

The second type of claim, that is, the claim that antisemitism happens elsewhere, often rests on imprecise hate crime statistics or statements by political leaders that their home countries are free of antisemitism. Hate crime statistics are notoriously difficult to compile with accuracy, and even more difficult to compare across borders due to different reporting standards, cultural differences, and a tendency by states to not report data. More to the point, as indicated by recent research by the European Union's Agency on Fundamental Rights, 79% of European Jews have indicated that they do not report antisemitic incidents to police, with close to half of these respondents saying that they feel "nothing would have changed had they done so."<sup>4</sup>

Although some forms of antisemitism are perhaps more common in certain countries and there are clearly different rates at which anti-Jewish hatred rears its head, antisemitism in all of its forms has been and remains a Europe-wide challenge that requires a trans-Atlantic and multilateral effort to combat. In more ways than not, antisemitism was born in Europe. Anti-Jewish prejudice waxed and waned over Europe's centuries, reaching heights at several points, including but not limited to the Inquisition, the pogroms of the late Russian Empire, and during the Holocaust, but antisemitism has been and remains a constant of the European experience.

One form of antisemitism that is particularly pernicious and growing is distortion and denial of the Holocaust. As the well-known survivor of Auschwitz, Primo Levi, wrote many years ago, "The best way to defend oneself against the invasion of burdensome memories is to impede their entry."<sup>5</sup> This statement rings sadly true today.

The origins of Holocaust denial and distortion began with the Nazis. It appeared through coded euphemisms to describe the murder of Jews, such as "special treatment" (*Sonderbehandlung*), as well as through formal efforts, such as Special Action (*Sonderaktion*) 1005, which was a Nazi program that used slave laborers to exhume mass graves and destroy the corpses of murdered Jews in order to cover up what had happened. Distortion and denial continued in the postwar era. In the West (including in the United States), it became most notorious in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s when hate groups and their affiliates engaged in campaigns to deny the factuality of the Holocaust. In the communist-controlled East, distortion and denial took the form of omission, namely, the specificity of the genocide of the Jewish people was lost in favor of state-mandated claims that there were multiple "victims of fascism."

The dynamics of distortion and denial changed after former communist countries began to grapple with their histories in the 1990s. Sometimes these debates led to positive developments, including Holocaust education efforts in key Eastern European countries. Sometimes negative outcomes emerged, such as myths of "Judeo-Communism" that seemed to excuse crimes against Jews. Despite our hopes, denial and distortion continued to gain acceptance. By 2003, the

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<sup>4</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, "Antisemitism: Overview of Data Available in the European Union, 2008-2018," 9, as at [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2019-antisemitism-overview-2008-2018\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2019-antisemitism-overview-2008-2018_en.pdf), last accessed January 24, 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986, 1988), 20.

European Court of Human Rights recognized that Holocaust denial and distortion “subverts the fight against racism and anti-Semitism ... [and is] a serious threat to public order.”<sup>6</sup>

Today, Holocaust denial, that is, claims that the genocide of the Jews never occurred, is relatively rare in Europe but distortion of the Holocaust is common enough to seem almost omnipresent. The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, a 34-country international body where I serve on the U.S. delegation and chair the committee on antisemitism and Holocaust denial, has identified several forms of Holocaust distortion.<sup>7</sup> They include

- Intentional efforts to excuse or minimize the impact of the Holocaust;
- Minimizing considerably the number of victims of the Holocaust;
- Blaming the Jews for the Holocaust;
- Using the term “Holocaust” to describe related atrocities or by engaging in false comparisons with other mass crimes;
- Casting the Holocaust as a positive historical event; and
- Blurring responsibility for the murders of the Holocaust era.

Holocaust distortion buttresses other and more dangerous forms of antisemitism. The groups and individuals who employ Holocaust distortion often engage with others who doubt the realities of the Holocaust, as well with those who pursue narrow and identity-based ideologies. Holocaust distortion is a component in the growing international dialogue of extremism, one that is helping destabilize the social-political dynamics of NATO-allied states and in those other European countries that seek to build and sustain healthy democracies.

Holocaust distortion can also skirt European legal norms. Many European countries have laws and regulations that criminalize denial of the Holocaust. The first of these appeared in the immediate postwar era in Austria and then in West Germany, and were part of larger denazification efforts. As Holocaust denial became more common, European policymakers developed more focused regulations, beginning with France’s Gayssot Law of 1990. In 2008, the European Union passed a Council Framework Decision “on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law,” which gave additional impetus to the adoption of Holocaust denial laws.<sup>8</sup> Although not every EU country implemented this decision, 21 EU member countries have passed laws that address Holocaust denial. Outside the EU, a further five European countries have similar regulations and a few others attack this issue through hate speech provisions.

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<sup>6</sup> ECtHR, *Garaudy v. France*, Appl. No. 65831/01, June 24, 2003, as at <http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng-press?i=003-788339-805233>, last accessed January 23, 2020.

<sup>7</sup> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), “Committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial Paper on Holocaust Distortion and Denial,” May 13, 2019, as at [https://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/inline-files/Paper%20on%20Distortion\\_0.pdf](https://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/inline-files/Paper%20on%20Distortion_0.pdf), and IHRA, “Working Definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion,” October 23, 2013 as at <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>. Both accessed last on January 24, 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA, November 28, 2008, Official Journal of the European Union, L 328/55, as at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32008F0913&from=EN>, last accessed January 24, 2020.

Paradoxically, some of these laws might open the door to distorting history. Whereas the original laws against Holocaust distortion sought to protect historical facts, newer variants seem to seek the protection of historical narratives. The Russian government, for example, has applied its 2014 law in ways that might curtail full engagement with history.<sup>9</sup> Since the passage of the Russian law, a number of other European countries both within and outside the EU have passed or amended Holocaust denial laws in ways that bring with them the potential for abuse because they seem to affirm particularistic and nationalistic narratives.

Given these complications and inconsistent applications of existing laws, it remains unknown if these laws help or take away from attempts to address denial and distortion of the Holocaust. Besides, is legislation always the best solution? When has censorship curbed the development of worldviews, both good and ill? Moreover, these laws often do not address the tendency to politicize and misuse the Holocaust – a trend seen in many vigorous discussions about how European museums present the Holocaust.

For more than a decade, there have been political and civil society debates about museums and their narratives on countries as diverse as Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Serbia, Ukraine, and several others. This unfortunate development often relates to a similar challenge, namely, a tendency by some European cultures to focus on the histories of rescuers at the sake of similar interrogation of the actions of those who collaborated with the Nazis, those who profited from the Holocaust, or those stood idle as their Jewish neighbors disappeared. An almost singular focus on one group fails to educate or inform appropriately the range of experiences that led to the Holocaust, thereby distorting our view of the past and limiting our ability to imagine ways that we might respond in the face of evil.

Decades of investment in initiatives that include education at the secondary level, the opening of archives, and the support of cultural dialogue have brought remarkable growth in awareness of the Holocaust and related atrocities of the Second World War. The problems that led to the Holocaust persist, continue to metastasize, and threaten our regional, national, and international security. We must build from the foundations of our earlier successes in new ways that can achieve long-term opportunities and peace for future generations.

First, we must expand and strengthen the infrastructure of European organizations that can work with international partners to provide authoritative information on the Holocaust and help counter antisemitism and other forms of extremist thought. Relatively few large memorials and museums benefit from significant and ongoing support of European governments. Consider, for example, developments in the United States since the Congress established the United States

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<sup>9</sup> This became clear in 2016 when a Russian blogger received a fine of 200,000 rubles for reposting an article that discussed the Nazi German and Soviet occupations of Poland in 1939. This decision was possible because the Russian law bases itself on the *judgments* of the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, whereas earlier European laws based themselves in Article 6 of the *Charter* of the IMT and Articles 6, 7, and 8 of the Statute of the International Criminal Court. For the case of the Russian law, see Nikolay Koposov, *Memory Laws, Memory Wars: The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 296. For European laws, see Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA, November 28, 2008, Official Journal of the European Union, L 328/55, Art. 1(1) c, d., as at <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:32008F0913&from=EN>, last accessed January 23, 2020.

Holocaust Memorial Council in 1980.<sup>10</sup> This act led to the establishment of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Since the Museum opened its doors in April 1993, more than 45 million people have visited us here in Washington and each year close to 20 million people from 238 countries and territories access our online resources. Imagine the impact if there were similar institutions in the lands where the Holocaust occurred.

Second, national governments and international organizations should ensure that funds do not go to organizations that promote antisemitism, distortion of the Holocaust, or other forms of hate and bias. In 2016, for example, a foundation linked to the far-right Alliance for Peace and Freedom Party received €600,000, of which close to €200,000 helped go to sponsoring a neo-Nazi meeting in Stockholm, Sweden, at which antisemitic songs were sung.<sup>11</sup> And in 2018, the German government was finally able to cut state funding of its longest-lasting neo-Nazi party, the National Democratic Party.<sup>12</sup> While the EU and a few sovereign European governments have wrestled with this issue for many years, gaps remain. It is self-evident: One cannot simultaneously resist Holocaust distortion and antisemitism, while at the same time enabling those who promote it.

Third, and perhaps most critically, European governments and international organizations should develop programs for public servants that can communicate the relevance of understanding the Holocaust and combating antisemitism for their work. These programs should target civil servants, law enforcement personnel, military leaders, legislators, parliamentarians, and other government professionals. They might highlight the failures of the predecessors to stand up against encroaching fascism and Nazism; instruct on the warning signs of threats to core values; or teach about the risks associated with resurgent antisemitism, racism, and the distortion of historical crimes.

The Holocaust occurred across Europe, just as today's manifestations of antisemitism and hate transgress borders. Therefore, it is necessary for the EU and other multilateral organizations to develop similar programs. In the case of civil servants in the EU, training might call for the mobilization of existing training and education facilities, such as the European Judicial Training Network or the EU Agency for Law Enforcement Training, or the creation of new bodies. For the military, a Transatlantic Holocaust Training Initiative would enhance the ability of officers to recognize and confront mass crimes and human rights violations. NATO and related defense structures should provide analogous training to military officers in national and in multinational training facilities, such as the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, where military leaders from NATO, Europe, and beyond undergo excellent training in subjects that

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<sup>10</sup> "An Act to Establish the United States Holocaust Memorial Council," Public Law 96-388, U.S. Statutes at Large 94 (October 7, 1980), as at <https://uscode.house.gov/statutes/pl/96/388.pdf>, last accessed January 26, 2020.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Harry Cooper, "Far Right Feels Squeeze on EU Funding," *Politico*, February 14, 2017, as at <https://www.politico.eu/article/far-right-politicians-to-meps-we-want-eu-money-even-though-we-hate-the-eu-alliance-for-peace-and-freedom-apt/> or Daniel Mützel, "European Parliament Funding of Neo-Nazi Conference Rings Alarm Bells," *Euractiv*, April 27, 2016, as at <https://www.euractiv.com/section/euro-finance/news/european-parliament-funding-of-neo-nazi-conference-rings-alarm-bells/>. Both accessed last on January 24, 2020.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Josh Gabbatiss, "Germany Votes to Cut State Funding to Neo-Nazi Political Party," *The Independent*, February 2, 2018, as at <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-ndp-funding-neo-nazi-political-national-democratic-party-afd-a8191611.html>, last accessed January 24, 2020.

represent the most pressing international threats, such as arms control and the resolution of inter-ethnic conflict.

A few days ago, German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier reminded the international community of the duty to remember the Holocaust and to resist antisemitism and hatred in all of its forms.<sup>13</sup> This is not a responsibility of just one or two countries. It is a shared burden. Almost no country comes away clean from the legacy of the Holocaust. This is even true of the United States, where a variety of responses to the rise of Nazism remains an active topic of discussion and influences how we respond to genocide and mass crimes. This is why the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum developed an exhibition and educational resources on the actions and inactions that we Americans we assumed during the period of the Holocaust.

The suggestions I outline above can help us continue building a future on the foundations we created with our European allies in the last century, and it will help ensure that the Holocaust will continue to resonate for future generations. But if we do not act now, if we do not come to understand how to educate in order to better inform, and if we do not better equip ourselves to resist antisemitism and bias, we will have failed our communities, our allies, and each other.

Thank you very much for your leadership and your commitment to these critical issues.

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<sup>13</sup> Bundespräsident Frank-Walter Steinmeier, "World Holocaust Forum at Yad Vashem," January 23, 2020, as at <http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/EN/Frank-Walter-Steinmeier/Reden/2020/01/200123-World-Holocaust-Forum-Yad-Vashem.html>, last accessed January 24, 2020.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Dr. Williams.  
Rabbi Baker.

**STATEMENT OF RABBI ANDREW BAKER, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL JEWISH AFFAIRS, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, CHAIRPERSON-IN-OFFICE ON COMBATING ANTI-SEMITISM, ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

Rabbi BAKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity to address you and the committee.

I have served for almost 30 years in my AJC role working with Jewish communities in Europe and in the last 12 years with the OSCE as a Special Envoy on Combating Anti-Semitism, which has allowed me to bring up this issue in about 30 of those countries. So let me suggest a kind of quick basic framework with which to look at the problem and identify the concerns and try and mobilize for action. More complete information you will find in my written testimony.

I would say what we want to do, quite simply, is define the problem, recognize the sources of where the problem is emerging in Europe, and mobilize. How do we mobilize governments and others to deal with the problem? The issue of definition ought to be apparent by now. Anti-Semitism presents itself in various forms. It is prejudice. It is discrimination, but it is also conspiracy theories. It is Holocaust denial. It is also anti-Semitism as it relates to Israel, as when the State of Israel itself is demonized. It is important that societies understand it; that police, prosecutors, judges, and monitors recognize this multi-dimensional nature of anti-Semitism. We need to be able to recognize the different sources, the places from which anti-Semitism is coming today.

There are five areas to look at and identify. We see anti-Semitism from the right, often present in extremist neo-Nazi groups, and in the growth of right-wing extremist parties where anti-Semitism is a part of their agenda.

We see anti-Semitism on the left, a kind of anti-Semitism folded into left-wing movements and parties. The most notable, most evident had been Jeremy Corbyn and his cohorts in, the Labour Party in the U.K., where anti-Semitism is thinly disguised as a kind of anti-Zionism and that anti-Israel animus coming forward.

We see anti-Semitism coming in different countries in Europe from parts of the Muslim and Arab communities. Here it may be generated by antagonism stemming from conflicts in the Middle East and perhaps a kind of imported anti-Semitism from those countries, but it has probably been the source in Western Europe of most incidents of anti-Semitism that Jews themselves have identified.

Finally, we need to see that there are other aspects of anti-Semitism, that are not so much along a political spectrum. Holocaust distortion is a form of anti-Semitism in countries of Central and Eastern Europe, places where the Holocaust occurred, countries that did not really come to terms with their own history of participation, of collaboration. They could not do this until the fall of Communism, and what we saw was a kind of revival of their Fascist-era heroes and figures. The idea that somehow these people

could be honored despite the role they played in the Holocaust is a terrible situation that we see in various countries. But its threat to the safety and security, to the physical and emotional comfort of Jews who themselves are largely communities of survivors and their heirs ought to be evident.

Additionally, we see efforts in a number of Northern European countries to ban or restrict traditional religious practices, namely religious slaughter, kashrut, and ritual circumcision, Brit Milah. These may not be anti-Semitic by design, by intent, but they ultimately are anti-Semitic in effect, meaning Jewish communities could be prevented from observing ritual practices and parts of their religious life that has been with them for centuries.

These are areas where we see the present day problems. The question now is what do we do? How do we mobilize governments? What can they do? The issues are clear. Security is first and foremost. We can only address anti-Semitism by understanding it. Thus, adopt that working definition of anti-Semitism so that society has a complete picture.

Education. We have heard much about education dealing with the Holocaust, but that education also ought to include the long histories of Jewish life in these countries, so students understand what Jews contributed to those societies, and not see them only as victims in the Holocaust that followed.

These elements, I think, all put together can give us a picture of the problems we face and the goals, the efforts that we ought to be asking our European partners to undertake. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Rabbi Baker follows:]



**RABBI ANDREW BAKER**  
**Director of International Jewish Affairs, American Jewish Committee**  
**Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism**  
**Testimony**  
**Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy and the Environment**  
**Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe**  
**January 29, 2020**

As AJC's Director of International Jewish Affairs and previously as its European Director, I have worked closely with European Jewish communities for nearly three decades and have a firsthand appreciation for their struggles and their success in rebuilding Jewish life after the Holocaust and (in Central and Eastern Europe) after the fall of Communism.

In the early 2000s, when we witnessed a resurgence of antisemitism in Europe, I was part of efforts, initiated by Members of Congress and then taken up by the Administration to press the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to organize the first high level international conferences in Vienna and then in Berlin to address the problem. Since 2009, I have served as the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism, which has afforded me the opportunity to address officially and directly the governments of over 30 participating States on what they must do to combat anti-Semitism.

We can generalize and say with certainty that antisemitism remains a persistent and serious threat to the wellbeing of Jews and Jewish life and worship across Europe. But we must also recognize that it manifests itself in different ways in different countries, even as Jewish communities themselves differ in numbers, in visibility and in their national histories.

Mindful of the limited time I have, let me suggest three essential steps that we must take if we are to successfully combat the antisemitism we see today.

- **DEFINITION:** We must define the problem. Antisemitism comes in old and new forms. We need to know what it is and how it affects Jews and Jewish life.
- **RECOGNITION:** We must recognize that there are multiple and often quite different sources for antisemitic incitement, incidents and hate crimes today, and we need to identify them.
- **MOBILIZATION:** Armed with this information, we should be better able to mobilize governments and develop the necessary tools to combat antisemitism. This ranges from the immediate concerns of physical security to long-term efforts to educate and create a climate of acceptance.

#### **DEFINITION**

Fifteen years ago, I worked closely with a group of academic experts and the leadership of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in the development of what came to be called the Working Definition of Antisemitism. We sought to provide a succinct definition with clear and pragmatic examples of what antisemitism looks like today. As most people understand, this can be plain hatred, prejudice and discrimination directed at Jews. It can also show itself in conspiracy theories that paint Jews as controlling the media or world economy, a form of antisemitism that can exist even in places where there are no Jews. It is the basic motivation of Holocaust deniers who use this denial or distortion of history as a weapon first directed against those very survivors who were eyewitness to the crimes. And notably, and most recently, it can present itself in ways relating to the State of Israel. When Israel is

demonized, when its actions are equated to the crimes of the Nazis, when its very right to exist is questioned we are no longer talking about criticism, but instead a new form of antisemitism. And as Jews and Jewish communities are often conflated with Israel, they have in turn become targets and victims of physical attacks.

It is reassuring then, that a growing number of European countries are now adopting and implementing this Working Definition. It helps police understand that antisemitic hate crimes can take many forms. As police and other government authorities monitor and collect data on antisemitic hate crimes (and even disaggregating data to separate antisemitic hate crimes from others is a recent development), it will help them define individual categories to record those incidents. It's also an effective educational tool for prosecutors and judges. We have examples of anti-Israel demonstrators in France who have turned violent and attacked Jews, but authorities considered this a political incident rather than a hate crime. An arson attack on a synagogue in Germany was deemed by the judge not to be an antisemitic hate crime because the perpetrator had voiced anti-Israel opinions on his social media accounts. Knowledge and use of the definition should prevent such occurrences in the future.

#### **RECOGNITION**

The sources of antisemitic incidents are multiple. Data from the surveys conducted by the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights point to (1) rightwing, populist and neo-Nazi groups, (2) those with an extreme political left agenda, and (3) those from Muslim communities who hold strong Islamist views.

##### **On the Right**

There has been an increase in threats and violent incidents coming from rightwing extremists in several countries. This includes a notable increase in Germany and particularly in its Eastern States, which parallels the increasing political support for the rightwing party, Alternative for Germany (AfD). The armed attack on the synagogue in Halle last fall—which might have been much worse had congregants not been able to lock the doors—is the most notable example. White nationalist groups in Scandinavia, which have long been a matter of concern, are becoming more popular, drawing on public fears over increased migration from the Middle East and North Africa. These groups have always and continue to espouse antisemitic messages as part of their agenda. Graffiti attacks last November on synagogues, cemeteries and private homes in several Scandinavian countries did no physical harm. But the fact that they had the exact same pattern and took place simultaneously on the anniversary of *Kristallnacht* made very clear that this was a planned and organized assault, and it sent a very chilling message to the Jewish community. Next time the attacks could prove violent.

##### **On the Left**

Antisemitism on the left may not pose the same physical threats, but it undermines and even challenges the place of individual Jews in their own societies. The most notable example of this is what we have witnessed in recent years in the United Kingdom, with the takeover of the British Labour Party by Jeremy Corbyn and his associates. A party and this party leader, who claimed to fight racism in society, willfully condoned antisemitism in its midst. Mr. Corbyn's extreme anti-Israel views led him to embrace recognized terrorist movements while casually casting antisemitic aspersions at Jewish critics. A majority of British Jews had long viewed the Labour Party as their natural political home, but now an even larger majority of those Jews concluded that its leader was an anti-Semite. This has been the most extreme and unvarnished

example of antisemitism on the left, but it is far from the only one. We can find similar voices in the mainstream center-left parties elsewhere in Europe as well.

#### **Within the Muslim Community**

When we witnessed a resurgence of antisemitism in Western Europe in the early 2000s, it quickly became evident to those Jews who were victims of these attacks that most of them came from parts of the Arab and Muslim communities. But it took governments much longer to come to the same conclusion. As I noted earlier, not many countries recorded hate crime data and fewer still took note of specific antisemitic incidents, let alone attempt to identify the perpetrators. In some cases, the Middle East background of the attacker would lead authorities to characterize the incident as political rather than antisemitic, even if it was a synagogue or a Jewish school bus that was attacked. In France, with Europe's largest Jewish community and the country with the greatest number of antisemitic incidents, its policy of *laïcité* or secularism meant that authorities were prohibited from formally identifying either victims or perpetrators by religion. Other countries, which may have had the ability to examine their own hate crime data more deeply, avoided doing so. One could only conclude that they feared revealing the extent of Muslim antisemitism would bolster support for rightwing, anti-immigrant parties. But these inconvenient facts can no longer be ignored.

It is not only the ample anecdotal evidence of identifiable Jews (wearing kippot or other signs of their Jewishness) being harassed and attacked on the streets of major European cities, but the objective data from new surveys. In fact, in a survey released only last week by AJC Paris and IFOP, French Jews identified "Islamist antisemitism" as the primary source of attacks. And to put this in its proper perspective, consider that even though French Jews constitute only 1 percent of the total population, they are the victims of 50 percent of all racist attacks.

While I have briefly summarized what European Jews have identified as the three primary sources for antisemitic invective and attacks, there are other concerns that also impact segments of European Jewry. They must also be identified when describing antisemitism today.

#### **Holocaust Distortion**

The very week of this hearing marks the seventy-fifth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. The date of that liberation, January 27, has come to be known as international Holocaust Remembrance Day. We are mindful that as time passes and as the number of living survivors who were firsthand witnesses are passing away, knowledge of the Holocaust and even familiarity with a few basic facts are diminishing. This was confirmed in the latest Pew Research survey, *What Americans Know about the Holocaust*.

But in the countries where the Holocaust took place there is the added burden of recognizing the role and responsibility of local authorities and collaborators in the murder of their Jewish citizens. This did not come easy or soon even for Western Europe, where democratic governments were reestablished immediately after the war's end. When the small number of Dutch Jews who survived the Holocaust returned to their homes in Amsterdam, they were presented with unpaid tax bills covering their time in concentration camps; only a few years ago did Dutch leaders apologize for this. Even though French police and bureaucrats carried out the work that rounded up and deported over 70,000 Jews in France to their deaths, the French government only formally acknowledged responsibility for its role in 1995. Similarly, only in 1995 did the Austrian Government establish a fund for Nazi victims and accept its role as a ready accomplice.

Mindful of this, we must recognize the special challenges facing the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which had no opportunity to confront their own Holocaust-era past until 1991. But these were countries where some of the worst atrocities took place and where collaboration frequently involved the actual murder of Jewish neighbors. And the small remnant Jewish communities—undergoing their own remarkable rebirth after the Holocaust and decades of Communist oppression—are significantly composed of survivors and their descendants. One can readily understand their horror when new post-Communist governments and political parties sought to rehabilitate former war criminals and to honor the very fascist-era leaders who were complicit in the Holocaust.

Thus, in the late 1990s and 2000s, there were concerted efforts to push back on this troubling phenomenon. International historical commissions aided by the considerable research carried out at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum and Yad Vashem brought forward correct and critical accounts of this period. At the same time, these Jewish communities sought to reclaim former Jewish properties—synagogues, schools and other communal buildings that had first been seized by the Nazis and then nationalized under Communism. They were necessary resources to rebuild local Jewish life and to assist the remaining, needy survivors in their midst. But it quickly became evident that pushing for restitution and demanding a critical self-examination of this complicated historical era also brought with it a wave of antisemitism. Perhaps this was inevitable, since a half century of Communism did not eradicate the antisemitism that was commonplace in prewar times, but rather merely kept it frozen. As one Jewish communal leader put it, “We can have antisemitism with restitution or antisemitism without restitution, but we will have antisemitism.”

Nevertheless, there was considerable progress in these areas—negotiations and agreements on communal property return or compensation and the publication of new, critical histories and documents detailing local involvement in the Holocaust. Statues and street signs that had quickly been erected to honor those fascist-era leaders were being removed. Proving one’s readiness for NATO membership and demonstrating this to Washington and to Members of Congress clearly pushed things along.

Thus, it is particularly distressing that today we are seeing a return of this Holocaust distortion and often by people and in places that should know better. Legislation adopted in Poland to defend the nation’s honor is widely recognized as impeding critical analysis of the Holocaust period. Last summer when the mayor of Vilnius removed a plaque that honored one wartime leader whose involvement in the Holocaust was well-documented, he faced angry demonstrators, intent on restoring the honor, while most national politicians were largely silent. In Sofia and Budapest, skinheads and neo-Nazis organize marches to commemorate fascist-era leaders and events, although this is not supported by the government. However, the bottom line is this: For Jewish communities that are composed primarily of survivors and their descendants this is much more than a debate over history. It undermines their own present-day sense of comfort and security. It is felt in its own way as significantly as are the physical attacks taking place in Western Europe.

#### **Restricting Jewish Religious Practice**

Finally, we must take note of efforts in some European countries to restrict or ban outright the practices of religious slaughter (*kashrut*) and ritual circumcision (*brit milah*), which have been essential elements of Jewish life for centuries. The main proponents of these efforts are not antisemitic; more likely they are animal rights activists or child right advocates. But what may not be antisemitic by intent can still be antisemitic in effect. Although the practice of infant circumcision is common in America, that is not the

case in Europe. Opponents claim this is a barbaric act that physically mars and psychologically damages the child. They propose that the decision “merely be deferred” until adulthood, when the individual can make his own decision. But for Jews—and for Muslims—circumcising one’s infant son is an obligation rooted in Biblical commandments. While there has been legislation in some countries to restrict the ways in which circumcision is carried out or to mandate the presence of medical professionals, it has nowhere yet been banned altogether. But efforts to do so continue to be mounted. And should they one day succeed they could very well mark the end of Jewish communal life in those countries.

There has been more success in the passage of legislation that forbids the practice of kosher slaughter, most recently in Belgium, where the Jewish community is now challenging this in court. Several countries already have bans in place. The oldest is Switzerland, where legislators decided over a century ago that it would discourage Jewish immigration to the country. Denmark banned the practice more recently, and as the community there imports the kosher meat it needs, it decided not to challenge the decision. However, should more countries adopt a ban, it will make it harder for all these communities to find kosher meat, and it will certainly increase the costs of doing so.

One might assume—especially viewing it from an American perspective—that these measures obviously clash with the elemental principle of religious freedom and should be soundly rebuffed. But in some Western and Northern European countries, where societies are quite secular, this may not count for very much. As one Dutch Jewish leader told me when they were fighting Parliamentary legislation to ban kosher slaughter, “I am confining my argument to saying that there is no scientific evidence to show that our method of slaughtering animals is any less humane than what the law would require. I think more Dutch citizens believe in animal rights than in religious freedom.”

#### **MOBILIZATION**

There has been considerable success in getting European governments and intergovernmental organizations to recognize the problem of antisemitism today. To a degree this is a result of widespread advocacy and educational efforts, which have had considerable support from, among others, the United States Congress in its network of relations and direct meetings with foreign leaders and parliaments. But it has also been a function of the growing severity and lethality of the problem, which makes it impossible to ignore.

So, what are the steps governments are taking and what more can they do?

#### **Adopt the Working Definition**

It is notable that an ever-growing number of European governments are adopting the (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism. Only last week, Sweden and Italy did so, bringing the total number to nineteen. In December 2018, the European Council passed a declaration on combating antisemitism which recommended that Member States adopt the definition and in March the EU’s Coordinator for Combating Antisemitism will bring together EU representatives in Brussels to discuss adoption and implementation by every Member State. Even the very debate and discussion about taking such a decision are valuable as they serve to educate the general public to the multidimensional nature of antisemitism. With the adoption of the definition we can anticipate that it will become a part of police training manuals and serve as guidance to public prosecutors and judges. A few countries are doing this, but many others need to be encouraged to follow suit.

### **Provide Security**

Sadly, physical threats to Jewish life and worship are very real. Most governments recognize this and are acting accordingly. In some places, such as France, Belgium and Denmark, this has meant deploying more police and even calling on the military to protect Jewish schools and synagogues. More money is being made available to improve the physical security of these buildings. Police authorities are working more closely with Jewish community security professionals so that there is now genuine crisis management coordination. But more can be done. Most Jewish communities still rely primarily on their own volunteers. There is a gap between money that is needed and the money that is made available. And the protection of these Jewish sites does not address the vulnerability that Jews feel on their way to and from them or in other day-to-day activities.

### **Appoint a National Coordinator**

One significant development—and a sign that governments are taking the problem seriously—is the appointment of national coordinators to oversee the fight against antisemitism. This is the case now in Germany and Bulgaria and most recently Italy. They can be advocates for the needs of the community; they can coordinate responses to antisemitic incidents bringing together local and national officials; they can push for education and training and serve a voice to raise public awareness.

### **Educate**

Education matters. A Pew Research survey of attitudes in European countries found that positive views of Jews coordinated with those who knew Jews. But with such relatively small numbers, there is need for new and creative efforts to help people learn about Jews and Judaism. These include Jewish museums which can offer a picture of the role that Jews play in the life of their respective countries. It includes outreach programs that send Jewish high school and college students on the road to visit schools and to meet directly with young people of their same age. One good example of this is the Jewish Community of Copenhagen which welcomes visiting school groups and encourages others to “Book a Jew,” which will send a community representative to them.

It means ensuring that textbooks and school curricula properly reflect the long history of Jews and their contribution to national life. In this regard Hungary is worth noting, as a lengthy but productive negotiation between Education Ministry officials and a consortium of Jewish organizations resulted in several hundred facts of Jewish history being included in the national curricula and the textbooks printed to serve it.

Understanding that there are more negative views of Jews among Muslims is not a matter of finding blame but should be an impetus to develop targeted educational programs that will change those attitudes. The German government and the city of Berlin are supporting civil society initiatives undertaken by Muslim NGOs that are geared to the new Muslim migrants in that city. Rabbis and Imams—and Jews and Muslims more generally—are joining to promote interfaith dialogue and understanding. Only last week our AJC CEO David Harris and a Jewish delegation together with the Muslim World League (MWL) Secretary General and a delegation of 62 Muslims from 28 countries visited Auschwitz. The group then traveled to Warsaw where they toured POLIN: Museum of the History of Polish Jews and participated in interfaith worship.

### **Understand the Lessons of the Holocaust**

At the OSCE Berlin Conference on Combating Anti-Semitism in 2004, participating States agreed that Holocaust education is an effective tool in fighting antisemitism and committed to programs of education and remembrance. Since then, an ever-increasing number of countries observe Holocaust Remembrance Day and include the subject in school curricula. But these programs and their effectiveness vary greatly. In some places the universal lessons of the Holocaust are so focused on human cruelty and multiple genocides that the words “antisemitism” and “Jews” and those lessons are entirely absent. Particularly in Europe there are national and local stories—of persecution and collaboration as well as rescue—that should be part of the curriculum, as the Holocaust not only happened elsewhere. More governments are recognizing that with growing numbers of students who come from migrant backgrounds new methods must be found to engage them in what might otherwise be dismissed as someone else’s national history.

#### **Address Cyberhate**

We have also come to recognize that white supremacists and ultranationalists are using the tools of social media to connect with each other across vast distances and thereby reinforce their agenda of hate and lethal attacks. In this way the violent attacks that we have witnessed in Queensland, in Pittsburgh and in Halle really are part of a “conspiracy” of murderers who share a common racist and antisemitic ideology. Teaching an appreciation for pluralism and diversity must be a part of all our schools; it can never and nowhere be taken for granted. But we will also need to rely on pressure and government engagement if we are to successfully rein in cyberhate.

I hope I have offered you a clear and comprehensive picture of the problem of antisemitism in Europe today along with measures to combat it. I am ready to elaborate on my testimony as well as answer any questions you may have.

Mr. KEATING. I thank all of you.

A couple of points as I went through. The consistent thread was the issue of security, law enforcement, training. Before I was in Congress, I was a district attorney, and we had our own office, and we had programs on training prosecutors, educating prosecutors, training them, and police, including not only the police attached to us at our office but local police forces. When we had these programs, not only were the police willing participants, but they were enthusiastic, given the chance to get involved in this, but there were funding issues.

And, also, I think, important for today's hearing, the fact that somehow the pressing issues of the day and the week and the budgetary issues, this well-intended effort probably on some of the forces would keep getting pushed aside by the leadership. So I think one of the lessons of today is the importance of that. We can make all the laws we want. If they are not interpreted—if they are not recognized when they are in violation or they are not enforced, those laws become meaningless. So that is an important thread I heard. I am glad these programs are being done outside the country as well, and if we can find ways to support that, let us know. Certainly come to us as a committee.

The other thing is it is a little different politically in Europe and in the U.S. in this respect. They're parliamentary in nature, and there are multiple parties and coalitions. And the differences between those parties as they try and become larger or build coalitions, not the kind of coalitions we were talking about necessarily here, but there is a different political landscape there with these coalitions.

And I recall trips that we took as Members of Congress where we raised issues with specific political parties within those countries saying, you know, you are gathering together. You are combining with these other groups that are clearly hate groups. And we called them out on it as, you know, part of the U.S., but can you just enlighten us a little bit with your experience internationally? That is a difference and there is more pressure with these coalitions that are built to have small minority people have greater influence because that could push them over the top of the coalition.

Ms. Edwards, I know you are anxious to address that.

Ms. EDWARDS. Thank you. Yes. Well, of course, as many of you might know, some of the flagship programs that ODIHR has been offering for many years now are training on hate crimes for police and for prosecutors. And so that is one of the major efforts that we do make with governments across the OSCE region, and that has been highly successful and well implemented series of programs. And we are actually very grateful for the United States and their recent contribution to that work. So I would definitely agree with your statement that this is something that we found to be very effective but also something that many police forces and prosecutors are very enthusiastic about. It is certainly helpful in their work.

To your points regarding coalition building, this is an issue that we address more regularly with members of civil society rather than political parties. And I think it could go both ways. I think that obviously the tools that we have for civil societies who are



building coalitions are to build coalitions specifically addressing intolerance and nondiscrimination, and—I am sorry—intolerance and discrimination. So we are encouraging them to join with groups that might be completely different than their own perspective, whether it is a Jewish community, Muslim community, LGBTI, people of African descent, refugees, migrants, et cetera. We encourage work all of them to come together because there are so many issues in areas where they do have things in common, where they do face similar challenges, and where they can support—as Representative Meeks said, you know, he wants the Jewish community to stand up against racism as well as—

Mr. KEATING. What if we could—about the issue of these political coalitions because we see that all the time, even in the most democratic of countries. We see coalitions, political coalitions within parties coming together so they have enough for the majority. And they seem to be embracing, frankly, other groups, political parties that are some of them racist, clearly racist. I mean, we do see it. Is there any comment that—I know, Mr. Forman, you touched upon it. That is what got me to thinking about this question.

Mr. FORMAN. So, in a parliamentary situation, one of the things I was struck with when I was at the State Department was the influence of the United States on our European allies, and I talk often with my students about where our influence is greatest.

A lot of times we have allies in Europe who are doing things on anti-Semitism which we are very—we think they are trying their best. And the problems are largely civil society. We have actually more influence when the government is part of the problem. Countries often, as in eastern Europe, where, again, they want U.S. support. I think you touched on it, Mr. Chairman, that the administration, any administration needs to speak out on some of these things.

Where we have neo-Nazis being possibilities in coalitions, it is essentially we are embarrassing, we are shaming people, and I think on some levels, Members of Congress also have that ability. These hearings, hearings like this, hearings on specific countries have that power.

And the other thing is there is an organization of parliamentarians against anti-Semitism. It has not been very active, but U.S. Members of Congress could take a more leading role in that organization and encourage parliamentarians to push on whether issues like this or other issues we think they could be doing better on.

Mr. KEATING. Since my time is up, I will recognize Representative Pence, but I think for the other members of the panel, you will have an opportunity, I think, to address those kind of issues with the other questions.

Representative Pence.

Mr. PENCE. Thank you, again, Chairman Keating and Ranking Member McCaul, for having this hearing, and thank you all for being here. I think you heard that I am in the family business on anti-Semitism earlier, and it is education, education, education. I would like to start by highlighting my home State for its work to educate the next generation of Hoosiers about the Holocaust. Indiana is currently one of only 12 States that requires Holocaust education as part of State curriculum. I would like to commend Gov-

ernor Holcomb, who declared January 27th to be Eva Education Day in honor of Auschwitz survivor and Hoosier Eva Kor.

To all the witnesses, thank you for your time. I appreciate you sharing your experience. Rabbi Baker, I think you put it wonderfully and simply in your testimony, quote: Education matters, and all of you, actually, everyone today mentioned the education. I could not agree more. This point is an important theme in all the testimony we have heard today: education, education, education. This morning I had a long conversation with Department of State Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Elan Carr. Special Envoy Carr highlighted that we know the three distinct sources of anti-Semitism, which is—was mentioned repeatedly today: far right Neo-Nazism; radical left anti-Israeli-ism, if you will; and militant Islam. To talk about only one source is to not take the problem seriously. Mr. Carr's most important message to me, one that I think is worth emphasizing in this chamber is that it is important to fight all of it, all anti-Semitism wherever it rears its ugly head. Like many of the witnesses, Special Envoy Carr emphasizing importance of education combating the spiritual sickness that is anti-Semitism.

I am grateful for Special Envoy Carr's time and very proud of the work he and his team are doing to ensure the United States is leading voice combating anti-Semitism around the world. We are truly blessed with amazing professionals dedicated to this important mission, like those of you at the table here. America is and must remain the leading voice in combating anti-Semitism around the world, and while we must call out both our partners and non-partners alike who fall short of the mark in addressing anti-Semitism and hate, I sincerely hope and appreciate that this conversation also includes scaling up our efforts to work alongside likeminded nations toward our common goals.

I do not have a question for the witnesses today; I simply want to say that I am grateful to you, Chairman Keating, for convening such an important hearing. I am thankful to all the witnesses for briefing the committee. Finally, I would like to close by saying that myself and my entire family have always been and always will be committed to pushing back against hate in all of its forms, and this week, in particular, I am proud of my home State and the work of the U.S. Government to combat the evil of anti-Semitism at home and abroad. I am proud that this subcommittee has devoted time to this important issue as there is always room to do better. I look forward to working with everyone in this room to continue to combat anti-Semitism.

Mr. Chair, thank you. And I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you, Representative.

Vice Chair Spanberger.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to begin by asking questions on behalf of my colleague, Representative Frankel, who had to leave to another meeting, but she was kind enough to task me with her questions. Her first question is, can you assess overall what European governments' responses are to rising anti-Semitism and how effective they are? And the second piece of her question, which I think might direct some of your answers, are European governments coordinating

on data sharing and hate crime sharing across borders, and do you see this being effectively addressed at the EU level?

And I will open it up to whoever would like to speak to this questions.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So perhaps I will just start, and then I will hand it over to my colleagues because we are all engaged in this together, overlapping at times. Concerning European government responses, it will not surprise you to know that those responses are inconsistent across borders. It depends on the State, and it depends on how seriously they view anti-Semitism as a domestic issue as opposed to an issue that they like to displace on other countries. There is a tendency in some European countries to say that anti-Semitism is a problem only of France. "We do not have anti-Semitism here because we do not have a Muslim population, for example." This form of displacement is increasingly common in certain central European countries. There are other times where anti-Semitism is displaced as a legacy from the Second World War, but you are seeing this rhetoric more often than not emerging from the Russian Federation vis—vis Baltic member countries or Poland.

So there is no single formula. Now there are convening bodies of which the OSCE is one. I will let the OSCE ODIHR speak for itself. The other would be the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights where there are attempts to collect data and to issue recommendations on how to deal with anti-Semitism, but as the so-called FRA notes in its most recent report, which came out at the end of last year, inadequate reporting of hate crime incidents, in particular, anti-Semitism makes their work exceedingly difficult. Added to this, there is a report also done by the Fundamental Rights Agency that notes that 79 percent of Jews in, at least, 12 EU member countries do not report hate crime incidents when they happen. This is because they believe that, even if they told the police, nothing would happen as a result.

So there are problems to be solved. I think there is also a demand for American leadership and American expertise. I see Representative Pence—I wanted to mention something specific to Indiana, which is hard for a boy who grew up in Kentucky, but IU, in particular, has a model that may be worth exporting abroad. IU is one of the only universities in the world that has an academic center focused on the study of anti-Semitism. And more than that, IU has been one of the central universities in the United States teaching the essential foreign language skills needed to confront anti-Semitism today. Those foreign languages, in particular, include Russian and Ukrainian. Thank you.

Rabbi BAKER. I think one of the real challenges and questions, if you compare countries, is really, what is the political will to deal with these problems. In some of these countries, I would say the first problem is the question of physical security for Jewish communities, and it took some years for governments really to step forward. They have made partial progress, but hopefully one can look at what one country is doing to try to press or encourage another country to follow suit.

I think as recently as, 2012, 2013, we saw serious attacks, but little effort on the part of governments to really realize the threats facing Jewish communities, let alone doing something about them.

More and more they are doing something now. They are providing funding. They are trying to coordinate with their own police and so on. There have been tragic events where they were simply not there when they should have been, and so I think that is one area where there is growing recognition and action on the part of governments. At the same time, those threats have not disappeared, and even if buildings themselves are protected, Jews going to and from synagogue or schools or simply walking day-to-day in the streets are vulnerable, and it may not always be physical attacks but verbal harassment and the like. So that is something that is present as well.

When we talk about education, I think it becomes so important to say: Understand that Jews are part of your society, and even as there is a focus on Holocaust education, keep in mind that that Holocaust history often presents a very limited and distorted picture of what Jewish life is or was like. Our own organization analyzed the textbooks, of several European countries, and typically we found Jews appeared twice—2000 years ago to explain the coming of Jesus and Christianity, then they disappear, and return only in the 1930's and 1940's to be victims in the Holocaust.

So, to try to get a full picture of who they are, particularly in societies where Jews are few, is a challenge. It requires government support, not just in education but supporting museums and the like. And here, too, I think, good examples in one place can help leverage others. The European Union, the European Council has important declarations. It is up to governments to follow through. Similarly, in the OSCE, there are a great number of significant commitments that governments have made in security and education, in police training, in collecting data, but countries really need to be encouraged to live up to those commitments.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you.

Ms. EDWARDS. Can I answer your question about the data collection? This is actually one of the biggest flagship areas that my office actually works on, and we produce the largest collection of hate crime data in the world every year on November 16th on the International Day of Tolerance. And, of course, anti-Semitism is one of the issues that is covered, as well as racism, xenophobia, anti-Muslim bias, LGBT, many, many forms of bias, and this is, of course, reported to us by all of the OSCE governments, or, at least, most of them, but this is one of the commitments that OSCE countries have made to provide that data to ODIHR every year so that we can publish it.

We also publish a significant amount of information given to us by civil society and international organizations as well. But to your question about what can countries be doing better, this is an issue that we spend a lot of time in my departments working on. As Rob mentioned, we do a lot of trainings, often in coordination with FRA to assist participating States in improving their data collection efforts because we—and some of the studies that we have done have shown that we know—we get about 20 percent of the actual hate crimes that occur reported to us. So it is a very, very underreported phenomenon, and there are many reasons for this that we can obviously spend a lot more time talking about, but this is a huge effort,

again, done by my departments to give us better data, and then that helps us, in turn, provide better assistance to governments.

And one of the programs that was actually significantly supported financially by the U.S. Government was a project on comprehensive criminal justice approaches to hate crime. And we worked with four countries looking at different ways where criminal justice agencies in four different countries could work better to address these issues from a comprehensive nature. So doing joint police and prosecutor trainings, having an interagency approach, having studies on underreported natures of hate crimes. And then, at the end of that program, we brought all of these countries together so that they could learn from each other in the things they had gone through, and now that is being expanded. And, again, the U.S. has given us a contribution to help expand that work into countries beyond those four initial countries.

So there is so much more that can be done. We are certainly so grateful for the support of the U.S. Government in doing this, but certainly a lot of room to grow in this area as well.

Mr. FORMAN. Vice Chair Spanberger, my experience from 2013 to 2017 at the State Department was there is a whole range of government reactions. In general, I would tell you that our major allies such as U.K., France, and Germany, I think at least at the Federal level, there is a real understanding, not only that they have to protect their Jewish communities, but this is an existential threat to their Democratic ways. I think you hear that and actually even, for example, in France when you went from a socialist government to the Macron Government, that kind of attitude stayed generally at the top, at least. And I think that oftentimes we will see, for example, in a place like Germany, they want to do the right thing; they often do not have the answers.

When they have such large immigrant populations from countries where anti-Semitism attitudes are very high, they know that is a problem. They know 10 years down the road it could be a huge problem, and they are trying to think about how do they solve that problem. They do not know and, frankly, I do not think we know either, but some collaboration would be helpful.

Once you get past those countries, there is a range of attitudes. There is apathy, there is ambivalence in some countries in terms of how important this issue, and in some countries, frankly, anti-Semitism is used as a political tool. It can be used in election campaigns by using anti-Semitism. Sometimes it is, "Oh, look at how well we treat our Jewish communities." So there is a real range. And, frankly, things could change. For example, U.K. Governments both Labour governments earlier and Conservative governments have been very responsive and worked very closely with Jewish organizations like this Community Security Trust on security. They have been great, but if we had a change in governments, if we had a Labour government now, this would change dramatically. We would have real problems at the top at the U.K., so this is a whole range and a panoply, and I think as we look as a U.S. Government on how we address this issue, it is not simple. There is no cookie-cutter approach. We have to go country by country and the bilateral relationship to the United States and those countries is critical.

And, again, political leadership starts it, but it is not—and our political leadership working with them sometimes in private diplomacy, sometimes in public diplomacy.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you very much.

I yield back.

Mr. KEATING. Thank you. Just a final comment, and you could react to this if you want, but you brought up the issue, and it is a challenge generationally. You know, one of the things that I have discussed with my counterparts in the European Union and other European countries was the fact that the lack of understanding of historical coalition that we had, why NATO was based, why it was formed because the generation before, at least, me, they were participants. It was part of their real life. It occurred. They lived it. But the subsequent generations, they really do not quite understand that because they have not lived it. And we talked about, in terms of issues of security, how we have to work together on both sides of the Atlantic to make sure the next generation understands better and the generation after that because that is a real challenge. And, you know, when I was looking at the comment, I think, Dr. Williams made about, you know, denial is less used in distortion now, and if you have not lived it and you do not have that experience, it is that much harder to just educate and make people aware of it and that is another challenge. You know, I was in—several years ago when I was in Berlin, I was walking around and I was absolutely stunned because I looked around, and there was a huge set of murals of Adolph Hitler in his Nazi uniform all with his chief of staff and all his—all the names we recognize so well, the leading Nazis that worked with him and I said, what is that doing there? And I looked over and in the murals was historical, you know, explanation of what happened right out there in the public so you could not miss it. And then across the street—some of you might know—across the street was a park of stones and each of those stones represented victims in the Holocaust, and there it was. You could not miss it. Now that is not going to solve all the problems, but it is the kind of thing that is important because it is helping those other generations understand that something happened, and importantly, that these things were real.

Hitler was real to my parents and that generation. They knew his evilness. They knew it existed in the world. It is so much harder transcending generations because he is some kind of character that is out there, and that is—when they have that kind of lack of real-time experience, it is easy to distort the way that they are doing that, whether it is social media or not.

So that is part of our challenge, whether it is done, but we have to acknowledge what happened, and we have to make—we have to realize those of us that are touched with the generation that went to war and closer to it, that—or lost an uncle, as I did in World War II, I mean, those things are real. Now, the Holocaust Museum does a terrific job of making it real, but we have to find ways throughout all our communities and in other countries the fact that this existed, evil exists, it exists today, and we have to challenge it and acknowledge it.

So, if you want to end with a closing statement on those things, and then I will give a second round before I give my closing state-

ment if the vice chair wants more—maybe I will do this. I will have the vice chair—the day has been long—I will give the vice chair a chance to ask and you can address all of those issues.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am so grateful for all of the time that you have spent with us. We have talked a lot about the need for education. Our first panel mentioned it, you all have mentioned it, and we have talked a lot about what happened in the Holocaust, the magnitude of the Holocaust, and I think Dr. Lipstadt made an interesting point when she said the Holocaust could not have happened without hundreds of thousands of helpers, people who either helped through aggressive action or people who helped by their silence. And we also see that, throughout history, there are ebbs and flows, and the data show that, in fact, right now we are seeing an uptick in Europe, in the United States, in anti-Semitic violence and rhetoric and so my question is, in addition to educating ourselves on what happened, I would love your comments, having read a fair amount about this just on a personal level, about what is wrong right now? What are we doing? What are some of the weaknesses in our society, be it economic, be it social, that is allowing for this sickness to take hold in a way that it hasn't as deeply in recent past and we see trends of what happened before Nazi Germany took hold? And I would love for you to comment socially, economic, political, what are the weaknesses, and how can we educate ourselves to inoculate ourselves against those weakness so that we can root out this sickness aggressively and ensure that, in fact, it is a never again reality that we all live? I will open the question to anyone who wants to answer.

Mr. WILLIAMS. So maybe I will start. It is a very complicated question. I will not try to characterize the rise of populist governments in Europe in a few statements, but we do have—we are in a State, akin to whatever Professor Lipstadt said, where the guard rails have come off to a certain extent. There have been significant changes to the way that we educate not just on the other side of the Atlantic but closer to home as well. We often think of education in economic terms. There is a logic to this, of course, but it is not certain that our new modes of educating are promoting or creating the citizenry that we aspire to in the immediate post-war era. Are we teaching enough ethics? Are we teaching enough civics? There is no easy answer there.

Part of it is also the breadth of what we educate. As Rabbi Baker noted, oftentimes when we talk about education about the Jewish experience, we get Israel 2,000 years ago, and then we get the Holocaust. We do not get the ways by which Jews have contributed to our societies and our culture. So we are seeing not just Jews but other subaltern groups, to use a very academic term, only in snippets. There is also, if I may, a tendency 75 years after an event for history to become subject to what some are calling denialism, some are calling the post-factual reality. This did not just happen in the case of the Holocaust, this happened in the case of the French Revolution. You need people to carry forth that history, especially when you are dealing with an event like the Holocaust, which was a civilizational break akin to the French Revolution, akin to our own revolution, that reshaped society, and if we reinsert these events in a way that have real meaning, like our revo-

lution has meaning for our students today, perhaps then we will return to a more proper path.

Mr. FORMAN. I would like to say that I do not want to be a pessimist here, but I think we have to recognize that we are not in the business of ending anti-Semitism. It has been alluded here it has been around at least 2,000 years. We can count on it is going to be around for centuries to come. We cannot eliminate it, but we can turn down—I like to use the metaphor of a faucet. We cannot turn the faucet off, but we can turn it down. But even that is difficult because it takes multiple strategies, and we have talked about some security strategies, we have talked—and there is all kinds of things to talk about in security, but, frankly, security as essential as it is does relatively little to tone down anti-Semitism. Perhaps prosecution will give some—strong prosecution will deter some violence, but, by and large, it is absolutely essential, but it is more like a Band-Aid than a cure.

We talked a lot about education and I would like to address the chairman's talk about what education works, but, frankly—and we talk about political leadership, which I think is essential. Starting at the top but going down all the way to the local level. The one thing we do not talk a lot about—and it is not a magic bullet, it is not a silver bullet, it is not a magic wand, but an important piece—and that is civil society. We are not going to do this with just governments. We are not just going to do this with the Jewish community. We need to mobilize civil society. How do we do that? Well, 25 years ago in Billings, Montana, probably a white nationalist threw a cinder block through the window of a Jewish home where there was a Hanukkah menorah. Very few Jews in Billings, maybe 150, and there was this spontaneous reaction in civil society—religious leaders, all kinds of different denominations of Christian leaders, there were the local/political electeds, there were civic leaders, there were business leaders and the newspaper—that they had menorah marches. People put that—the paper published a menorah that they put in their windows. That message was to the white nationalists: You are not part of our society. We are going to ostracize you, and we are going to support the victims.

Now that has to be done for anti-Semitism, but other forms of bigotry too. How do we generate that at a local level? How do we—we have probably the strongest civil society in the world, and yet perhaps there is some signs its weakening, and it does happen in Europe as well. There was in Italy just the other day a concentration camp survivor's home, she died a few years ago, her son is there and there was publicity in the Italian newspapers and someone wrote: Jews live here in graffiti on the door. And, again, there was a spontaneous march of hundreds of people in that village. We need to learn how to generate local leadership as well as to augment our political leadership.

It will not be the silver bullet, but it is an important piece when we put it together with a lot of these other pieces.

Ms. EDWARDS. I would add that, to address your question about some of the root causes here, there has been some fascinating studies about the cognitive bases for why these forms of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism exist and these studies show that humans are basically hardwired cognitively for an in-group preference, for



people who look and speak and believe and think like them. And this can basically be overcome in two ways: One is being self-aware about one's own personal biases, and, two, by meaningful connections with people who are different from themselves. And we, of course, at ODIHR highlight that this is a huge way in which intolerance and discrimination can be overcome is through coalition building, civil society as Mr. Forman mentioned, you know, bringing people from different backgrounds together to all come together and say, you know: Hatred has no place here. We do not accept any form of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, et cetera.

And I think the other key issue that we are working on in my office around educational issues, because it does start with young people, we have to make sure that young people have the tools and resources and that teachers have the tools and resources to address this in the classroom. And so we have spent the last few years working on educational policy guidelines around anti-Semitism, creating teacher tools and educational guides on various different forms of anti-Semitism; the history, what does this look like when statements are made; and giving very clear step-by-step guidelines to teachers on how to address it very easily because often they do not have the tools or resources or knowledge on how to address some of these things. We are also creating video guides and a framework curricula around anti-Semitism, and we are taking these tools and then expanding them. So we are creating a similar set of tools around intolerance against Muslims and hoping to do this for other communities as well. So making sure that teachers have these tools, not just at a high level, you know, at the Federal or national level, but that teachers in the classrooms in every part of the country have these resources available to them as well.

Ms. SPANBERGER. Thank you.

I yield back. Thank you for the extra question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEATING. And thank you Mr. Forman about civil engagement. I just want to say that you are on target—and if people are listening, there are so many ways to do it. It can be done through clergy, through faith-based communities, but it can also be done from families. I learned much as a young child from my grandmother who talked about the discrimination she suffered coming from Europe where they—people in the neighborhood banded together to buy the house that they finally scrimped up enough money to save for, and they had a neighborhood meeting, made phone calls. Fortunately, they were not successful, but someone wanted to build a temple right down the street where she lived, and the chutzpah of the woman organizing the meeting called up my grandmother to see if she would get involved, and she would say in her Irish brogue: This wouldn't be the same type of meetings you had about me, would it?

But she told me the story when I was a young boy, and one way we can civilly engage is families should tell the stories while the generations are there. We had an event I cosponsored; it was a leap of faith in Cape Cod in Massachusetts, and it was an American mosaic. It was just an idea. We threw it out there. We did not know if it would succeed. We just put in the newspaper and asked people to come together and tell their family stories. We had people come from Europe, so many came from Europe and their families came

in the 1930's to escape what was occurring there that is the subject of today, the Holocaust, and they told remarkable stories of their family.

We had people telling stories from parts of Asia and how they came here. We had people whose generationally they did not come here voluntarily. Their families came as slaves, and they told stories about lynchings from their grandparents. They told stories about how their parents' parents could not get married legally, what happened. So many different stories.

So, Mr. Forman, there is no dearth of opportunity to engage civilly in this and hopefully we can come from this.

And just a final note. This is the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I think we have a special place when we deal with issues of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism. I know all of the committees in Congress and all the Members of Congress share a real concern and a need to speak up and go forward and be leaders, but the Foreign Affairs Committee from the seats that you are in, if you could look up to your right and see the portrait that is hanging there on the furthest to the left, that is the portrait that is hung of Tom Lantos. Tom Lantos was the only Holocaust survivor to serve in Congress, and he was the former chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and he founded the human rights caucus which later was transformed into the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. So I am sure, as he is looking down at us now, he would be very proud of the committee today, of your participation here today, of the thoughtful and moving comments that our two panels have made, as well as the comments of members of the committee.

So I thank you for being a part of that today and, with that thought in mind, adjourn.

[Whereupon, at 4:39 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

## APPENDIX

**SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128**

**Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment**

**William R. Keating (D-MA), Chairman**

January 29, 2020

**TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held by the Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/>):

**DATE:** Wednesday, January 29, 2020  
**TIME:** 2:00 p.m.  
**SUBJECT:** Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe  
**WITNESSES:** **Panel I**

Dr. Alfred Münzer  
Holocaust Survivor  
Volunteer, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Deborah E. Lipstadt, Ph.D.  
Dorot Professor of Modern Jewish History and Holocaust Studies  
Tam Institute for Jewish Studies and the Department of Religion  
Emory University

**Panel II**  
Mr. Ira Forman  
Senior Advisor for Combating Antisemitism  
Human Rights First  
Adjunct Professor on Anti-Semitism  
Center for Jewish Civilization  
Georgetown University  
*(Former Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, U.S. Department of State)*

Ms. Christie J. Edwards  
Acting Head  
Tolerance and Non-Discrimination  
Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights  
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

Robert Williams, Ph.D.  
Deputy Director  
International Affairs  
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

Rabbi Andrew Baker  
Director  
International Jewish Affairs  
American Jewish Committee  
Personal Representative  
Chairperson-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism  
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

**By Direction of the Chairman**

*The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202-225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.*

To fill out this form online: Either use the tab key to travel through each field or mouse click each line or within blue box. Type in information.

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Note: Red boxes with red type will NOT print.

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment HEARING

Day Wednesday Date 1/29/2020 Room 2172

Starting Time 2:01 Ending Time 4:39

Recesses ☐ (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ ) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ ) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ ) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ ) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ ) (\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_ )

### Presiding Member(s)

*William R. Keating*

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☒

Executive (closed) Session ☐

Televised ☒

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Stenographic Record ☒

To select a box, mouse click it, or tab to it and use the enter key to select. Another click on the same box will deselect it.

### TITLE OF HEARING:

*Resisting Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia in Europe*

### SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

*See Attached*

### NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: (Mark with an \* if they are not members of full committee.)

*Representative Michael McCaul, Representative Lois Frankel\**

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes ☒ No ☐

(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

### STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record.)

*Dr. Alfred Muenzer's Testimony*

*Dr. Deborah E. Lipstadt's Testimony*

*Mr. Ira Forman's Testimony*

*Ms. Christie J. Edwards' Testimony*

*Dr. Robert Williams' Testimony*

*Rabbi Andrew Baker's Testimony*

*Dr. Alfred Muenzer's Photographs for the Record Submitted by Representative William R. Keating*

*Rabbi David Asher's Addition to the Record Submitted by Representative Abigail Spanberger*

*ADL's Addition to the Record Submitted by Representative Eliot L. Engel*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE \_\_\_\_\_

or TIME ADJOURNED 4:39

Clear Form

Note: If listing additional witnesses not included on hearing notice, be sure to include title, agency, etc.

*[Signature]*  
Subcommittee Staff Associate

WHEN COMPLETED: Please print for subcommittee staff director's signature and make at least one copy of the signed form. A signed copy is to be included with the hearing/markup transcript when ready for printing along with a copy of the final meeting notice (both will go into the appendix). The signed original, with a copy of the final meeting notice attached, goes to full committee. An electronic copy of this PDF file may be saved to your hearing folder, if desired.

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
*EUROPE, EURASIA, ENERGY, AND THE ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING*

<i>PRESENT</i>	<i>MEMBER</i>
X	William Keating, MA
X	Abigail Spanberger, VA
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X	Brian K. Fitzpatrick, PA
X	Greg Pence, IN
	Ron Wright, TX
X	Michael Guest, MS
X	Tim Burchett, TN

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

Statement for the Record

**Resisting Anti-Semitism  
and Xenophobia in Europe**

ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

Hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy, and the Environment

Rayburn House Office Building  
Room 2172

Washington, D.C.

January 29, 2020  
2:00 pm



*Working to stop the defamation of the Jewish  
people and to secure justice and fair treatment  
to all since 1913*

### **Introduction:**

Since 1913, the mission of ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has been to “stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.” For decades, ADL has fought against anti-Semitism and bigotry by exposing extremist groups and individuals who spread hate and incite violence. Today, ADL is the foremost non-governmental authority on anti-Semitism, extremism, hate groups, and hate crimes.

ADL combats anti-Semitism both at home and abroad. ADL’s International Affairs Division pursues ADL’s mission around the globe: fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry and prejudice, promoting the security of Jewish communities worldwide, and working for a safe and democratic State of Israel. The International Affairs staff, based in the U.S., Israel, and Germany, works with partners around the world using programs and resources on anti-Semitism, hate crimes, cyber hate, and anti-bias education. It also works to counter the delegitimization of Israel as well as the terrorist threats that Israel faces. ADL places a special emphasis on Europe but advocates for all Jewish communities around the world facing anti-Semitism.

### **Jewish Communities Under Threat:**

In failing societies, Jews are often the proverbial canary in the coal mine. During times of upheaval, Jews are a convenient scapegoat for extremists and demagogues because of perennial anti-Semitic conspiracy theories that imagine evil Jewish puppet masters behind all of society’s ills. Such animus against Jews rarely ends there either, since it frequently presages a broader downturn in pluralism and rising violence against not just Jews but other ethnic and religious minorities as well.

Throughout Europe’s history, anti-Semitism has purged entire societies of their adherents to Judaism when rulers have expelled Jewish communities based on bigoted ideas about Judaism or Jewish life. Pogroms and the Holocaust serve as a chilling reminder that hatred against Jewish people can manifest in even more violent forms as well.

Today, anti-Semitic incidents in Europe often take the form of attacks against Jewish religious or communal institutions (such as arson, vandalism, or attacks against Jewish people during prayer), or against visibly Jewish people on the street or in their homes, or even just against people known to be or perceived to be Jewish. In numerous European countries, Jewish communal leaders advise their community members not to display outward signs of their Jewish religion or identity, such as kippot, for fear of violent attacks by anti-Semites in public. In much of Europe, synagogues must be surrounded by armed guards, and attacks against Jewish houses of worship force many Jews to feel frightened of attending religious services or to disconnect from their faith community entirely.

Threats to ban kosher animal slaughter or ritual circumcision could also have a major impact on freedom of religion in national or subnational jurisdictions in Europe where they are pursued. Consideration of such prohibitions demonstrates intolerance that negatively affects observant Jewish communities. Likewise, prohibitions of this sort have a destructive impact on observant Muslim communities as well.

### **Tracking Anti-Semitic Incidents and Attitudes:**



In order for Jews to feel that they have a future as a community in Europe, to be able to live their lives without fear, and to exercise their religious freedom, they must feel free to live their lives, identify publicly as Jews, and to attend Jewish events if they wish to do so. Two factors in particular impact their sense of security in this regard: the number and nature of anti-Semitic incidents and the level of animosity towards Jews in the general public. We have data to attest to the worrying state of both.

The three largest Jewish communities in Europe are in France (450,000), the UK (300,000), and Germany (200,000). The latest data from France shows a 27% increase in anti-Semitic hate crimes in 2019 and revealed that a shocking 60% of racist hate crimes documented by the Interior Ministry were directed at Jews, who make up less than 1% of France's population.<sup>1</sup> In the UK, anti-Semitic incidents are at their all-time highest rate, with 892 incidents in the first half of 2019, a 10% increase of the same period in 2018.<sup>2</sup> In Germany, data collection is not as developed, but just in Berlin, on average, there are two anti-Semitic incidents per day.<sup>3</sup>

ADL has compiled unique data on anti-Semitic attitudes amongst the general population in countries where major Jewish communities exist. ADL's Global 100 Index Survey measures anti-Semitic attitudes around the world using a core 11-question index that has served as a benchmark for previous ADL polling around the world, starting in the U.S. in 1964. In November, we released the findings of our latest iteration of the poll, a survey of more than 9,000 adults in 18 countries, in Eastern and Western Europe, Canada, South Africa, Argentina and Brazil.<sup>4</sup> We found that anti-Semitic attitudes remain pervasive. In the 12 EU countries surveyed, plus Ukraine and Russia, the poll found that one in four respondents agreed with a majority of the 11 stereotypes tested.

Some of the most disturbing findings involve stereotypes about Jews that relate to political attitudes and perceptions of Jewish power and loyalty. In seven Western European countries – Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, and Spain – more than 40 percent of respondents believe that Jews are more loyal to the State of Israel than to their own country.

In the Central and Eastern European countries surveyed, the most common stereotype is that Jews have too much power in the business world. The numbers are astonishing: Ukraine 72 percent, Hungary 71 percent, Poland 56 percent, and Russia 50 percent. Combining the trope about Jews and money with the notion of illegitimate Jewish power is classical anti-Semitism.

The European Union's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) polled Jewish communities across Europe, covering about 95% of the Jews in Europe, to learn about their experiences with anti-Semitism, first in 2012, then again in 2018.<sup>5</sup> The 2018 report paints a portrait of fear in Europe's Jewish communities, and a disturbing deterioration compared to the 2012 survey. It concludes that "Anti-Semitism pervades everyday life," and "Anti-Semitic harassment is so common it is normalized." Some of the key findings were:

<sup>1</sup> Cnaan Liphshiz, "In France, Jews Targeted in Majority of Racist Incidents in 2019," *JTA*, January 26, 2020 (<https://www.jta.org/quick-reads/frances-tiny-jewish-minority-targeted-in-majority-of-racist-incidents-in-2019>)

<sup>2</sup> Community Security Trust, *Antisemitic Incidents Report, January - June 2019*, August 1, 2019. ([https://cst.org.uk/data/file/3/d/IR\\_Jan-Jun\\_2019.1564410415.pdf](https://cst.org.uk/data/file/3/d/IR_Jan-Jun_2019.1564410415.pdf))

<sup>3</sup> Agency for Research and Information on Anti-Semitism (RIAS), *Antisemitische Vorfälle: Januar bis Juni 2019*, September 26, 2019. ([https://report-antisemitism.de/documents/2019-09-26\\_rias-be\\_Annual\\_Antisemitische-Vorfälle-Halbjahr-2019.pdf](https://report-antisemitism.de/documents/2019-09-26_rias-be_Annual_Antisemitische-Vorfälle-Halbjahr-2019.pdf))

<sup>4</sup> ADL, *Global 100: 2019 Survey Update*, November 21, 2019. (<https://global100.adl.org/about/2019>)

<sup>5</sup> European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, *Experiences and perceptions of Antisemitism: Second survey on discrimination and hate crime against Jews in the EU*, December 2018. (<https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/2nd-survey-discrimination-hate-crime-against-jews>)

- Those who have experienced anti-Semitic harassment increased by a third over the past 6 years.
- Attitudes about anti-Semitism in Germany, the UK, and Sweden show some of the most significant changes. The percentage of Jews who consider anti-Semitism to be a “very big” or “fairly big” problem increased in Germany from 62% to 85%, in the UK from 48% to 75%, and in Sweden from 60% to 82%.
- 28% experienced some form of harassment for being Jewish in the past 12 months; 2% were physically attacked during that same period.
- Half of Europe’s Jews worry about being targets of verbal assaults, and 40% fear being physically attacked.
- 9 out of 10 considered anti-Semitism online to be a problem in their country.
- A third of Jews have avoided Jewish events at least occasionally because of safety fears.
- A quarter of Jews have been exposed to Holocaust denial.
- 38% have considered emigrating in the past five years over safety fears, up from 27% six years ago.

The report says anti-Semitic abuse has become so common that most victims do not bother reporting the incidents. It found that 79% of the respondents who said they had experienced anti-Semitic harassment in the prior five years chose not to report the most serious incident that they experienced to the police or to any other organization.

#### **ADL Data on Xenophobia in Europe:**

In our 2019 update on ADL’s Global 100 polling data, we also asked questions about European public attitudes toward a range of other vulnerable groups. As such, our study also offers a window into contemporary levels and trends pertaining to xenophobic sentiment in Europe.

For example, compared to our 2015 study, unfavorable attitudes in Hungary toward Muslim people jumped dramatically from 20% to up to 47%, compared to only 12% currently in Russia, for example. Favorable attitudes toward refugees and immigrants in Hungary were only 13%, compared to 71% in neighboring Ukraine, for example.

In Sweden and Denmark, roughly two-thirds of respondents reported favorable attitudes toward Muslims, roughly three-quarters of respondents reported favorable attitudes toward immigrants and refugees, and large majorities reported positive views toward people of African descent.

In the Western European countries that we polled, attitudes toward Muslim people were generally positive, with favorable attitudes ranging from about 60 to 75%. Immigrants and refugees had highly favorable ratings, from 60 to around 80%.

However, the belief that immigrants threaten national culture or traditions in these countries represented a significant plurality of views, falling in the 30 to 50% range for most of these countries. This was also the case in Sweden and Denmark.

#### **States Are Failing to Report Anti-Semitic Incidents to the OSCE:**

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has 57 Participating States, all of which have committed to report meaningful data to the OSCE on an annual basis regarding the

levels of hate crimes that take place inside their territory. And yet the vast majority of these states are still failing to follow through on this commitment.

Although 41 out of 57 OSCE Participating States reported statistics to the OSCE on hate crimes in their territory for the 2018 reporting year, less than half of these countries provided statistics that were disaggregated by bias motivation – meaning how many incidents targeted which vulnerable communities their territory. This is both inexcusable and deeply harmful, since the first step toward addressing bias motivated violence is typically to assess how significantly various communities are being affected.

For example, only 19 of these states actually reported anti-Semitic hate crimes in their territory to the OSCE for the most recent reporting year of 2018: Austria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, the Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. This is despite the fact that anti-Semitic incidents were reported to the OSCE by civil society groups in numerous other Participating States during this period, such as violent anti-Semitic assaults in Belgium, Georgia, Hungary, and Switzerland as well as other categories of anti-Semitic hate crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Estonia, Italy, Moldova, Romania, Russia, and Serbia.<sup>6</sup>

Less than half of all OSCE Participating States reported whether any racist or xenophobic hate crimes took place in their territory during the most recent reporting year.<sup>7</sup> During this period only 16 out of 57 Participated States reported hate crimes against Muslim people<sup>8</sup> and only 10 out reported hate crimes against Roma or Sinti people,<sup>9</sup> response rates that are simply not credible.

#### **Responding to Incidents:**

Anti-Semitic incidents affect the sense of security of European Jewish communities. But so do the responses to those incidents.

Just a few weeks ago, in eastern France, a Jewish cemetery suffered a major vandalism attack. Over 100 graves were spray-painted with swastikas and other graffiti. The reaction of the French government was swift. The very next week, Minister of the Interior Christophe Castaner announced the creation of a new national hate crime office to coordinate with police forces to ensure – in his words – that “perpetrators of these vile acts are brought to justice.”<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, law enforcement are not always responsive to Jewish security concerns, and the consequences can be devastating. This past Yom Kippur, the Jewish community in Halle, Germany, had asked for police protection during services on this High Holiday. The local police did not respond,<sup>11</sup> so they weren’t there when a white supremacist opened fire on the synagogue.

<sup>6</sup> OSCE ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting, “Anti-Semitism,” accessed January 25, 2020

(<http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/anti-semitism?year=2018>)

<sup>7</sup> OSCE ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting, “Racism and Xenophobia,” accessed January 25, 2020

(<http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/racism-and-xenophobia?year=2018>)

<sup>8</sup> OSCE ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting, “Bias against Muslims,” accessed January 25, 2020

(<http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/bias-against-muslims>)

<sup>9</sup> OSCE ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting, “Bias against Roma and Sinti,” accessed January 25, 2020,

(<http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime/bias-against-roma-and-sinti>)

<sup>10</sup> “France Pledges Hate Crime Office after Jewish Cemetery Desecrated,” *France24*, December 4, 2019.

(<https://www.france24.com/en/20191204-france-pledges-hate-crime-office-after-jewish-cemetery-desecrated>)

<sup>11</sup> Luisa Beck and Rick Noack, “Synagogue Attacker Hoped to Inspire Further Anti-Semitic Attacks, German Authorities Say,” *Washington Post*, October 10, 2019. (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/after-deadly-synagogue-attack-in-halle-germany-police-say-attacker-hoped-to-inspire-further-anti-semitic-attacks-german-authorities-say/2019-10-10/>)

Only following that attack did the German Federal Ministry of Interior gather all state-level Ministries of Interior to develop and announce a 10-point plan against extremism, including securing all major Jewish facilities.<sup>12</sup>

We have also seen heartening responses from outside of government. In the UK, many non-Jewish political and civil society leaders have spoken out forcefully against anti-Semitism in the Labour Party. Just as the local Muslim community in Pittsburgh rallied to support their Jewish neighbors after the shooting at the Tree of Life synagogue, so did the Muslim community in Denmark after the shooting at the Copenhagen synagogue.<sup>13</sup> Members of the Danish Muslim community, many of them young adults, came together to form a symbolic protective ring around the synagogue.

Too often there is indifference to anti-Semitism, but the forceful responses by governments and civil society are important factors in reassuring Jews.

#### **How Anti-Israel Bigotry Affects Jewish Communities:**

In countries with Jewish communities, we often see the issue of anti-Semitism occurring through the prism of Israel. For example, it would be impossible to fully understand the UK Labour Party's descent into being institutionally anti-Semitic under Jeremy Corbyn's leadership without understanding the kneejerk anti-Israel orientation of Corbyn and his inner circle.

European Jewish university students have told ADL that they face both anti-Semitism and severe anti-Israel bias. Through a new partnership with the European Union of Jewish Students, ADL will provide significant training on how best to respond. ADL's "Words to Action" training has many years of proven success with Jewish students in the United States, and it has been field tested with European Jewish students over the last year. ADL and EUJS are looking to expand their joint capacity to bring this valuable "Words to Action" training to students across Europe.

Educating law enforcement, prosecutors, and judges about anti-Semitism is a prerequisite for proper enforcement of hate crime laws, when the incidents have an anti-Semitic aspect. Too often we have seen egregious cases, such as a German judge ruling that a Molotov cocktail attack against a synagogue was an anti-Israel protest. ADL has tremendous experience in educating U.S. law enforcement officials, and educated Austrian law enforcement for over a decade to better understand and react to anti-Semitism and other biases.

#### **How ADL Supports Jewish Communities Abroad:**

ADL works day in and day out to protect Jewish communities all over the world. Europe looms particularly large in these efforts, since it is home to 1.4 million Jews in 38 countries.

ADL works with large and small communities, from France (450,000) to Finland (1,000), to address issues that confront their ability to live openly and freely as Jews. ADL's advocacy in Europe focuses foremost on the physical security of Jewish communities. In coordination with the

[attack-outside-halle-synagogue-jewish-community-worries-about-safety-in-germany/2019/10/10/434b2ce8-cae5-11e9-a329-7378fbfa1b63\\_story.html](https://www.adl.org/press-releases/attack-outside-halle-synagogue-jewish-community-worries-about-safety-in-germany/2019/10/10/434b2ce8-cae5-11e9-a329-7378fbfa1b63_story.html)

<sup>12</sup> "German Officials Present Plan to Combat Anti-Semitic Violence, Far-Right Extremism," *Deutsche Welle*, October 18, 2019. (<https://www.dw.com/en/german-officials-present-plan-to-combat-anti-semitic-violence-far-right-extremism/a-50893395>)

<sup>13</sup> "Danish Muslims Get OK to Form Peace Ring Around Copenhagen Synagogue," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, March 10, 2015. (<https://www.jta.org/2015/03/10/global/danish-muslims-to-form-peace-ring-around-copenhagen-synagogue-2>)

local communities, we call on governments to ensure that adequate attention and resources are devoted to security, that potential threats are addressed, and any perpetrators of attacks on Jewish communities are prosecuted to the full extent of the law. ADL's expertise in extremism is increasingly being shared with European interlocutors. We are training senior European law enforcement and counter-terrorism officials, and we are conducting joint research with leading European extremism experts.

When anti-Semitic statements in Europe are made prominently, pervasively, or by public officials, ADL condemns the hateful remarks and calls on leaders and opinion-makers to join with us. Since 2016, ADL has trained European Jewish students to respond to anti-Semitic comments and anti-Israel bias with techniques that we have honed through decades of work with American Jewish students.

Since 1985, ADL's work has also included a dedicated team combating cyberhate and online harassment, reporting on trends, sharing intelligence with law enforcement, and helping more than 20,000 individuals face down threats. As part of this work, ADL has worked in close partnership with industry, urging them to adopt best practices for addressing cyberhate. These practices have been guiding brand-name Internet and media companies for years. ADL has provided input on cyberhate to European policymakers in particular and works with European Jewish communities to address cyberhate, helping them to respond to incidents and intervening with tech companies on their behalf.

#### **Policy Recommendations:**

Congress should **finally pass the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism Act** (H.R. 221/S. 238) to bolster the authorities of the U.S. Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism position housed at the State Department. This bill would ensure that the envoy reports directly to the Secretary of State, holds the rank of ambassador, and can coordinate efforts to combat anti-Semitism abroad across all relevant federal agencies. This bipartisan bill was endorsed by a coalition of over 70 national and local Jewish communal groups in a letter organized by ADL.<sup>14</sup> It passed the House with around 400 votes both this session of Congress and the last one, and yet the Senate still has yet to take a single meaningful action on this bill. U.S. Special Envoy Carr is working diligently to press European governments to prioritize tackling this problem, and this bill would help him and future U.S. envoys have a greater impact.

In addition, **Congress should continue urging the State Department to examine whether certain violent white supremacist groups operating abroad should be sanctioned as Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs)**. It is possible that one or more violent white supremacist groups might meet the criteria for such a designation, and the State Department should determine whether there is sufficient evidence and justification to do so. None of the current 69 organizations on the FTO list is a white supremacist organization. However, while the possibility of designating white supremacist organizations under the State Department's FTO authority holds potential promise, there are some critical constitutional considerations that Congress should consider, most notably possible civil liberties and civil rights consequences.

**Maintain visible contact with Jewish communities in Europe.** While many U.S. embassies have deep and longstanding relationships with Jewish community activists, and the Office of the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism makes a point of engaging

<sup>14</sup> ADL, "Letter to Congressional Leaders Regarding Global Anti-Semitism Bills," November 28, 2018 (<https://www.adl.org/news/letters/letter-to-congressional-leaders-regarding-global-anti-semitism-bills>)

with local Jewish groups in Europe, Members of Congress can help by visibly engaging vulnerable Jewish communities in Europe and elevating their concerns in bilateral government meetings.

**Provide training and assistance to improve the policing and prosecution of anti-Semitism.** Much more can be done to leverage existing international training programs, particularly those that reach governmental and law enforcement audiences in Europe and beyond. We should not miss an opportunity to provide training on hate crime response, including legal tools, model policies, and on investigating and prosecuting anti-Semitic crimes.

More broadly, there are numerous other proactive **steps that Congress can urge governments in Europe to take** in order to step up the fight against anti-Semitism inside their jurisdictions. These include:

- Provide robust political leadership to reassure targeted communities and to discredit, reject and marginalize anti-Semitism by speaking out against manifestations of anti-Semitism and other forms of scapegoating across the political spectrum.
- Utilize the IHRA (the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance) working definition of anti-Semitism with its illustrative examples to provide educational guidance for law enforcement, teachers, and community leaders. A broad, inclusive definition should include current manifestations of anti-Semitism, allow for protected political expression on Israel and Zionism, but draw the line before such expression becomes intentional, unlawful, discriminatory intimidation and harassment.
- Promote detailed and comprehensive public reporting on anti-Semitic incidents and all other forms of hate violence and discrimination.
- In particular, all governments that are members of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe should ensure that they better fulfill their obligations to report to the OSCE detailed data on hate crimes in their territory, including furnishing detailed data about the number and nature of anti-Semitic hate crimes committed in their country in the most recent reporting year.
- Ensure that governments have specific senior officials tasked with combating anti-Semitism and to do the same for all forms of hate.
- Mandate hate crime prevention and response training into law enforcement education.
- Work closely with local Jewish communities to address issues of concern, including security matters and opposing bans on circumcision or kosher slaughter.
- Ensure that school curricula include education about the Holocaust, modern-day anti-Semitism, and inclusive anti-bias training.
- Vigorously combat violent extremist groups that perpetrate attacks on Jews or other communities, regardless of whether such extremist groups hail from radical segments of the right wing, the left wing, or other religious or ethnic communities.
- Ensure that social media and other technology companies adopt and rigorously enforce robust terms of service against cyberhate, including the particular forms in which anti-Semitic slanders and conspiracy theories manifest.

### **Statement for the Record: Rabbi Dovid Asher**

I am grateful for the opportunity to share a few brief words about my past and my present for consideration as a part of this important hearing. My name is Dovid Asher, and I am a rabbi of Keneseth Beth Israel, which is Central Virginia's oldest traditional synagogue and one of its most thriving Jewish houses of worship. I continue to be driven to a life of service to the Jewish community in part because of the maniacal efforts that Nazi Germany undertook to uproot my family and my fellow Jews. At one point, 9 million Jews lived in Europe. Now, only 1.5 million Jews can be found on the continent.

I am the grandson of Ruth and Arthur Eulau. Arthur escaped by the skin of his teeth just hours before Kristallnacht began. Ruth was able to get a ticket from her brother-in-law to cross the Atlantic as a helper to her older sister, who was traveling with a newborn. Having taken the last ticket available to the family, she carried a sense of responsibility for her youngest sister's death for the rest of her life. The memory of my grandparents' nightmares in the middle of the night still ring loudly in my head.

My grandparents never saw their respective mothers and fathers again. Even at the age of 36, I am haunted by the notion that my great-grandmother was gassed to death along with her precious youngest daughter, my mother's aunt and my great-aunt. It's hard for me to imagine being denied a future in a country based on my religion and my people. It's hard for me to hear that the body of my great-grandfather—who died en route to a concentration camp—was thrown off a moving cattle car as his fellow passengers, packed into the train like animals, desperately needed the room. 75 years later, this is still all too much for me to process.

That this happened cannot be changed. We can't go back in time. However, we can educate and stand up to injustice today. Millions of Americans don't know that a Jewish genocide took place less than a hundred years ago. French Jews are once again leaving the continent to seek a refuge and practice freely, and even Germany itself faces a rise in Jew-hatred in living memory of the Shoah.

A rise of hate in the United States has deeply affected my own congregation and my own family. Please take a moment to close your eyes and consider what it's like to be targeted for your religion in the 21st century. Now imagine it's happening in the country known for being the greatest democracy in the history of the world.

I don't exactly know how you all can help us reclaim the feeling of being at peace with our ancestry and traditions in America. However, when an issue comes up about Jews in Israel, Europe, the United States, or anywhere else, please act as an ally and a friend and help Jews feel safe again in our districts and in our communities. Thank you for listening.





