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**HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS OF THE
RESURGENCE OF RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM**

Y 4. F 76/1: H 88/63

Human Rights Implications of the Re... **ARING**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

JUNE 15, 1993

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



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HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESURGENCE OF RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

TUESDAY, JUNE 15, 1993

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY,
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p.m. in room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Tom Lantos (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. LANTOS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Today the Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights will examine the resurgence of racism and anti-Semitism, primarily in Europe, looking at its sources and various forms as well as efforts to counter it.

At the end of the 20th century, undoubtedly the deadliest 100 years in the history of man, there are some encouraging signs that we human beings are finally learning that exclusive identification with narrow, sectarian interests comes at an unacceptably high cost in our modern world. Of course, I make this statement fully cognizant of the brutal internecine warfare in the former Yugoslavia, in Sri Lanka, and in dozens of other places across the globe. Nevertheless, in some parts of the world—in South Africa, in El Salvador, even in Cambodia—there are serious efforts under way to end the violence and to heal long-standing divisions which have torn these countries asunder.

Perhaps the most striking example of former enemies uniting to find common ground is that of postwar Franco-German rapprochement, which has come after generations and centuries of bitter and bloody conflict. More important, the French-German relationship, which forms the backbone of the European Community, shows the enormous benefits that come from working together instead of at cross purposes.

And, of course, the European Community itself is the embodiment of a noble attempt to transcend petty tribalisms and so move toward a multicultural world that accommodates different values and different traditions. So, there is some reason for optimism as we survey the current landscape: There are people in many places striving for societies based on tolerance, understanding, and compromise.

But there is another trend as well, one that has long exerted its dangerous siren call over the disenfranchised, the marginalized, the brooding underachiever seething with resentment at a seem-

ingly indifferent society. It is the knee-jerk reaction of blaming the neighbor who is different, the outsider, for all the woes of contemporary life, whether they be economic, social, political, or spiritual.

This hateful phenomenon goes by many names. Today we will use anti-Semitism and racism, but there are others, just as this pervasive evil manifests itself in countless ways.

Many parts of the world are going through tremendous upheaval, but perhaps no region more so than the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe where an entire system of belief was abruptly exposed for the morally bankrupt ideology that it was. Although the debunking of communism is a welcome event, the people who labored under it are now faced with an unprecedented adjustment as they learn to cope with a new, hard-edged system that lacks the certainties of the former orthodoxy and has yet to deliver on its own promises. This dislocation has provoked some deeply disturbing developments, including a resurgence of racism and anti-Semitism.

In Germany, unification is proving to be a very mixed blessing, at least in the short run, as the country grapples with the huge political and economic costs of integrating the East into the former Federal Republic. The social challenges of unification have unleashed a ferocious wave of right-wing extremism that has horrified millions of Germans and the entire international community.

In the rest of Western Europe, the rhythms and norms of daily life are also changing as large foreign communities and a huge influx of refugees and immigrants make their mark on society. While many Europeans celebrate the richness and the diversity these old and new residents bring to their ancient cultures, there are those who feel threatened by the rapidity of change and want to turn back the clock in the mistaken belief that life was better and more manageable before the others came. Thus, even as the process of West European integration proceeds apace, we can also see atavistic backlashes aiming at fencing off, dividing, and segregating peoples from each other.

It is axiomatic to say that times of transition often lead to the scapegoating of minority elements in society, as the ordinary person tries to find simple ways of explaining the turmoil around him. But the resurgence of anti-Semitism cannot be categorized and filed away so easily. In 1993, after what the world knows of the Holocaust, it would appear truly unimaginable and it certainly is unacceptable that anti-Semitism could be as prevalent as it is today in so many lands that know its malevolence firsthand.

Given Germany's history, the world feels particular alarm at the mounting rate of violence there, but of course the problem is not unique to Germany. There have been frightening incidents of violence and desecration across the entire European continent. We must not forget, however, that there has also been a sincere and eloquent reaction against the hate groups by hundreds of thousands of concerned Germans and other Europeans, who are committed to keeping their societies open and tolerant.

One of the most moving episodes of recent months that I participated in was a meeting in Strasbourg in the middle of the bridge of Europe between France and Germany, where, with my colleagues, we participated in a mass demonstration organized by

Germans and Frenchmen on both sides of this bridge against racism, anti-Semitism, and all other hatreds. It was a powerful event and only one of scores that were held throughout Europe during this period of racial turmoil and hatred culminating in the nightmare of outrages against members of the Turkish community.

If we have learned any lesson from the tragic history of the 20th century, it surely must be that any act of inhumanity strikes at the well-being of all of us, whether or not we are directly affected. That is because an act of cruelty that goes unchallenged not only harms the victim, but also creates divisions among the decent, chipping away at the morality of those who turn their backs on the victims and do nothing.

As the Protestant theologian Martin Niemoller said after the Second World War: "When Hitler attacked the Jews, I was not a Jew; therefore, I was not concerned. And when Hitler attacked the Catholics, I was not a Catholic, and therefore, I was not concerned. And when Hitler attacked the unions, I was not a member of the unions and therefore, I was not concerned. And then Hitler attacked me and the Protestant Church, and there was nobody left to be concerned."

Concluding these introductory remarks, let me welcome our panel of distinguished witnesses who will help us to explore these issues of great complexity and great importance.

Today our witnesses include Rabbi Marvin Hier, Dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles; Mr. Yaron Svoray, an Israeli journalist, who at great personal risk and with great courage, infiltrated several neo-Nazi groups in Germany last year; Mr. Abraham Foxman, the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League; and Mr. Paul Goble, an expert on ethnicity in the former Soviet Union, currently affiliated with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Before turning to our witnesses, I am delighted to call on my good friend and colleague, Ranking Republican of the subcommittee, Congressman Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I certainly associate myself with the sentiments in your strong and balanced opening remarks. Unfortunately, it is a timely event to have this hearing today, and I look forward to the testimony of all of the witnesses here.

I want to recognize Mr. Paul Goble, an individual with whom I and many other Members of Congress have become familiar because of his demonstrated expertise when he was a member of the State Department. We often called upon him for his well-developed knowledge of racial and ethnic minorities in the former Soviet Union. I do welcome you, Mr. Goble, and all of you gentlemen for your testimony.

I would yield now to the ranking Member of the full committee, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Gilman, for any opening statement he might have.

Mr. GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I want to commend the chairman, Mr. Lantos, for arranging today's hearing. Please forgive me for not being able to attend the remainder of the hearing, since I have been called down to the White House on an event that is taking place.

Although the twin evils of racism and anti-Semitism have regrettably continued unabated for millennia, it is still a distinct shock to all of us, particularly to those of us in the Congress, to learn of the recent gruesome and racist arson attack against Turkish residents of Germany. And that was not the first outburst against what consider "foreigners", but it was certainly the most devastating in recent memory.

Also shocking was the disclosure, of which we will learn more today, that substantially more neo-Nazis exist in Germany than had been estimated by that government.

Clearly, the post-cold war era has retained substantial evils that must be addressed. Mankind cannot afford to allow such insidious behavior and attitudes to prevail. We have learned some costly lessons in the past about our silence.

I want to commend the subcommittee for arranging the appearances today of such an expert panel. I know that their insights will help give this subcommittee and the Congress and the American people a better understanding of the enormity of the task facing all of us, if we are truly to defeat these ugly manifestations of racism and hate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Congressman Gilman. Before calling on the witnesses, let me express my appreciation for the excellent work done by the subcommittee staff, both on the Minority and Majority side, but particularly Ms. Beth Poisson for preparing this hearing.

The hearing is timely. The Human Rights Conference is taking place in Vienna, which so far has distinguished itself by disinviting his Holiness, the Dali Lama, one of the great champions for human rights on the face of this planet; which distinguished itself by an unruly mob protestation against the appearance of President Carter, who clearly was one of the great leaders in the field of human rights while he served as President of this country and since. There will be attempts at Vienna to undermine the principle of universality in the field of human rights, and the arguments will be made that less-developed societies cannot be sensitive to human rights because they have more pressing concerns.

We reject those ideas and we reject those arguments. Nowhere is the need for human rights more pressing than in less-developed societies where the existing poor economic and social conditions make respect for individual human rights all the more pressing.

Mr. LANTOS. We will begin this panel with you, Dr. Hier, Dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. The prepared statements of all of the witnesses will be included in the record without objection. You may proceed anyway you choose.

STATEMENT OF RABBI MARVIN HIER, DEAN, THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER

Rabbi HIER. Mr. Chairman, Members of the committee, thank you for inviting me to discuss this very important question. I want to stress that my remarks will focus on one aspect, because of the limitations and respect for the committee's limitations on time. I am going to focus on the subject of Germany.

Mr. Chairman, between October 1992 and April 1993, The Simon Wiesenthal Center sponsored a covert operation to penetrate the neo-Nazis' leadership in Germany.

Before reviewing for the committee the mission's findings, and hearing the testimony of an extraordinarily brave man, Yaron Svoray, the son of Holocaust survivors, I would like to make some general observations about the German Government's attitude in confronting the extreme right.

I recall, Mr. Chairman, in February 1990, on the eve of reunification, even before the fine print had settled on all the agreements that Germany made with her former enemies, that I wrote a letter to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in which I put to him the crucial question of whether the new Germany was prepared to absorb the strains that could lead many young Germans into the extreme right camp.

To the victims of Nazism, Mr. Chancellor, I said, it is not the potential weakness of the Deutsche mark that concerns us, but the consequences that may lead to a weak Deutsche memory.

The Chancellor vehemently disagreed and wrote back, and I quote, "I cannot conceal my deep disappointment at how little note is taken of the fact that for decades now, especially the young generation in the free part of Germany has been informed, without any taboos, of the causes and consequences of the national socialist tyranny." He added, "It has probably also escaped your notice that in our penal code, precisely those crimes of hatred whose combating you recommend to me are punishable with fines or prison sentences," end of the quote.

Unfortunately, if my suspicion was too mistrusting, then I think that the Chancellor's faith was an act of wishful thinking. Not since the days of the Third Reich has Germany been witness to the wave of violence currently eating away at her social fabric.

In 1992, right-wing extremists committed 2,285 acts of violence, nearly a 50 percent jump from the year before. In the first 4 months of 1993, there have been an additional 670 attacks reported. Only a few weeks ago two Turkish women and three children perished in the arson attack on their Solingen home.

Neo-Nazis in Germany have openly taken their campaign of violence to the streets, sometimes applauded by passersby who gather to take in the spectacle of a burning refugee center, or who join the perpetrators and chant, "Foreigners out."

Jewish cemeteries and synagogues have been attacked, a tribute to the memory of Heinz Galinski, the late chairman of Germany's Jewish community, was marred when the heads of two pigs were delivered to a local synagogue. The pigs' heads were wrapped in letters that explained the gesture as an expression of joy over Galinski's death.

Nazis slogans have been sprayed on Jewish gravestones in cemeteries in Karlsruhe, in Stuttgart, in Wuppertal. Even the sacred memorials such as the Dachau and Ravensbrueck concentration camps have not been spared from desecration.

While most attacks have taken place in the states that once comprised the GDR, it is important to note that nearly 40 percent of all violent acts recorded by the Federal Republic's Office for the

Protection of the Constitution occurred in the more affluent western part of Germany.

Yes, it is also true, and it is certainly something that must be emphasized, that hundreds of thousands of German citizens, young and old, have taken to the streets in numerous towns and cities, to condemn the neo-Nazis' violence.

The record should also be clear that the postwar German democracy has withstood all tests hurled against it time and again during the cold war period by the menacing Soviet bloc dictatorships. But the record is equally clear that the German Government's reaction to the neo-Nazis' upsurge has been inadequate, late in coming, and in fact a rehash of a naive and outdated attitude toward the extreme right.

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, and Members of the committee, Chancellor Kohl was correct in pointing to the strict German penal codes and its unique laws against hatred, and yes, the thoroughness of its Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which monitors extremist activities. But sadly, these legal mechanisms are not matched by the government's determination to enforce them.

As the *London Observer* wrote recently, Germany must stop acting like the naive oaf that brandishes its constitution while simultaneously posing as the conscience of the world.

If the German Government is serious about stopping the extreme right, it must be willing to employ the same methods and strategies used in the fight against the extreme left. One cannot confer a special status on the Baader-Meinhof terrorists and then go on and treat neo-Nazis and skinheads who kill and maim Turks and other foreigners as if they were deprived teenage delinquents.

The sad state of affairs is that postwar Germany has always had a problem in dealing with the extreme right, and has never come to terms with that problem. Let me cite some examples.

In the mid-1970's, the German Government was publicly warned that Hans Sedlmeier, a key executive who worked for the Mengele family business in Guenzburg, was a go-between and a prime suspect in covering up the whereabouts of the infamous "angel of death," Dr. Josef Mengele.

Surely you would assume that such information would be treated very seriously, since it concerned a man responsible for the murder and torture of more than 400,000 innocent people at Auschwitz, and that no effort would be spared in determining the reliability of the information. Yet despite such public warnings given by Simon Wiesenthal and others, the authorities never once considered tapping Sedlmeier's telephone or opening his mail. They merely hid behind a narrow interpretation of the German Constitution, a notion that was less an impediment when going after the Baader-Meinhof terrorists.

Had the authorities bothered to tap Sedlmeier's phone or read his mail, they would have found some 200 letters sent to him by Dr. Joseph Mengele from South America to be passed on to his family in Guenzburg.

Likewise, in the late 1950's, when Mengele needed an Argentinian identification card, he went into the German Embassy in Buenos Aires. They, in turn, contacted Bonn who confirmed his identity as Josef Mengele, born in Guenzburg in 1911.

By that time, the Germans had opened the file on Mengele; technically, they were looking for him. The penal code was in place, but there were no resources to back it up, no agents to scan the globe in an attempt to bring him to justice. Had there been such a concentrated, all-out attempt, then Joseph Mengele would not have escaped the bar of justice.

Another example of this attitude came during the Gulf War. Germany certainly knew who Saddam Hussein was and what he was capable of doing if he acquired weapons of mass destruction. They, more than any other country, had a special obligation to understand the meaning of placing potent chemicals and gasses in the lands of such a tyrant.

But that did not deter 135 German firms from simply going about their business, offering up to Saddam's arsenal the most sophisticated technology and large quantities of the most dangerous chemicals, building up his destructive capability.

Yes, it is true, other Western companies, including some from the United States, did the same. But none approached the audacity and the boldness of the German companies.

Again, the danger was known, the penal code was in place, the constitution said the right things, but the will and the determination, backed by the necessary resources to prevent it from happening, just did not exist; not until an international outcry and storm of protest forced the government to implement and enforce its export control laws.

Similarly, in the late 1980's, computer hate games began appearing in Germany, and later made their way into Austria; games such as the Anti-Turk Test and KZ Manager, which sought to identify whether a player had the competence to manage a concentration camp.

If the player was very effective, then the graphics showed, as you can see here, a Turk dead on the floor from the gassing, with a caption reading, "The gas has had its effect and you have freed Germany from some parasites."

The Center has in its possession six such computer hate games. What is remarkable is that games such as these require graphics and computer programmers. Yet, since these games first appeared in 1986, not a single person has been apprehended and charged with violating Germany's antihate laws by manufacturing and producing these games.

Let us be quite clear for the record. There is no question that the government is horrified by the activities of the extremists, by the murders, by the bombings, but somehow its indignation is not matched by a sustained policy to apply sweeping measures equal to those used in the battle against the leftist extremists.

Recently, security officials dealing with the problem in Germany have made some sobering comments about the subject of violence in their country, quote, "I am afraid that an avalanche has been unleashed which we can no longer stop," said Hans-Dieter Schwind, head of the Commission on Extremist Violence. "It is probably already too late. My prediction is that it will get much worse and that this is just the beginning," he added.

Another official, the chief expert on right-wing extremism for the Office of the Protection of the Constitution, Heinrich Sippel, said

last week, "It is not just a German problem. England had 6,000 violent attacks against foreigners last year. Every Western industrialized country can reckon on the potential of more or less 15 percent extremism," he said, quote, "but that is normal," end quote.

I don't think it is acceptable, Mr. Chairman, and I don't think it is normal that 50 years after Auschwitz that the chief expert on security on right-wing extremism in Germany excuses what is going on as normal. If Mr. Sippel's figures were applied to the whole of Germany, a country of 80 million people, 15 percent of that would put 12 million Germans in the extremist camp, something that is hardly normal and hardly acceptable, especially not to those who suffered under Nazism.

As the *London Observer* commented, referring to Germany's reluctance to join in the peacekeeping force, quote, "Germany is no longer a shadow of the cold war; it must finally become a State, and if the constitution impedes some of this progress, then the constitution should be amended," end quote.

Mr. Chairman, in a few weeks Simon Wiesenthal Center officials will accompany Yaron Svoray and Rick Eaton, who will be debriefed by German officials about their penetration of the neo-Nazis leadership. At that time, we will publicly urge Bonn to create a joint Federal-State task force to effectively combat the extreme right, to launch more covert operations against them, to put more agents in the field, to institute mandatory Holocaust educational programs, and to create a National Tolerance Center in Germany.

For only if Germany is willing to deal forcefully and directly with the causes and manifestations of this scourge can she lay claim to a role in reshaping Europe for the 21st Century.

Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Rabbi Hier appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. Our next witness is Mr. Yaron Svoray, a journalist who, under cover, penetrated segments of the far right in Germany.

Mr. Svoray, we are pleased to have you. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF YARON SVORAY, ISRAELI JOURNALIST

Mr. SVORAY. My name is Yaron Svoray. I was born in an Israeli kibbutz on the Israeli border with Gaza. My father was born in Berlin, so was my grandfather, and my mom was born in Egypt, and later on, in Romania, for 3 years suffered under the German oppression. Many members of my family have been killed in the Holocaust, as with many Jews who still live in Israel.

I took on this mission as a journalist, and I found myself in the middle of 1992 investigating a very different story regarding World War II. I found myself on the French-German border. At that time, I encountered an ex-SS officer who introduced me to his relative, a young relative in Frankfurt. This young relative befriended me and took me into his confidence and offered me a glimpse into the world of the neo-Nazis.

I realized that as a journalist and as a Jew and as an Israeli, this is an amazing story, and I can't let it go by; but I also realized that I haven't got the tools or the knowledge to actually continue with this alone. I went back to Israel and turned to The Wiesenthal

Center, met Rabbi Hier and Rabbi Cooper, who gave me instructions and helped me with intelligence in my forthcoming mission.

The idea initially was to try and infiltrate the neo-Nazi movement and find out if there are any connections between the old-line Nazis and the new, younger, skinhead Nazis; and from what started off as a mission that was supposed to last 1 week or 10 days at the most, I ended up staying in this underground world for nearly 7 months.

In my travels within the movement, I traveled to various cities. I went from Mainz to Munich to Frankfurt to Dresden and all around Germany. I met the various known leaders of the neo-Nazi movement, some very surprising and unknown leaders within the movement. I spent time with the skinheads and I spent time with the Republikaner members of the right-wing movement. I met what are known as the icons of the movement. I spent time with Hitler's butler, and I spent time with Nazis that were just happy to be Nazis.

Some of my findings had to do with war criminals who are still hiding in Argentina and who are still being sought after. Some other findings had to do with the fact that there was an ongoing connection between American neo-Nazis and neo-Nazis in Germany.

Other findings were that I met a would-be self-made leader of the right-wing movement, a gentleman by the name of Wolfgang Juchen, who served his country gallantly apparently for 30 years, 12 years as a commander in the force and then 18 years as a spy master on the Elbe River. When he left the intelligence forces, he decided that he will unite with the right-wing movement, and he has been working very diligently at this.

I also met an expatriate American who has now been living in Germany for nearly 20 years, a man who ostensibly claimed to work for the Iraqi intelligence and as well for the Libyans; a man who wanted me to get secrets regarding some weapons and some other material which can only be found in America; a man who is also a Nazi and whose wife is a member of the Republikaner Party.

I realized that the longer these travels took me—

Mr. LANTOS. For the record, the Republikaner Party in Germany is the far right-wing political party?

Mr. SVORAY. It is the far right—

Mr. LANTOS. It has no relationship to our Republican Party. I hope my friend will note the correction.

Mr. SVORAY. It is the only legal far-right-wing group within Germany. In fact, most of the members have to actually pass a certain amount of scrutiny within the movement to prove that they are not Nazis or they have no contact with any neo-Nazis. That is a total fallacy.

I, in fact, spent a lot of time with Republikaner members of this group who were making fun not only of the law, but who actually took me, as I became their friend, to meetings with Nazis and with neo-Nazis. Some of them, in fact, are working very diligently at collecting money and other goods for skinheads who are fighting in Croatia. These skinheads are fighting in Croatia in what they believe to be the training for the real fight which will take place later on in Germany.

I also had various encounters as, quote-unquote, "a neo-Nazi." I was detained several times by the police. Most of these times, those six events that I recall—most of these times ended up not by being arrested and taken to jail, but usually I was taken to the edge of town and the handcuffs were taken off and I was given a nod and a pat on my shoulder and usually told by the local policemen, "Listen, you are doing a great job, but don't do it in our town."

Other activities which were quite interesting was the longer I hung around with the leaders of the neo-Nazi groups, several of them got phone calls at very particular times in the day, and this phone call was an anonymous phone call from a police informant who told them that there is going to be a raid on their house and they better get the stuff in their house out of sight; and they did that, and usually 2 or 3 hours later there was a raid.

When I got in close with the known leaders of the neo-Nazi movement, I also was quite interested to find that the numbers of membership within those groups, the ones that were given me from The Wiesenthal Center, which actually collected it from the official German records, were not exactly the numbers that I found on the ground.

In one case, I was told that a certain member, a guy by the name of Freidhelm Busse, who runs—who is the head of a party in Munich—I was told by the research center that this guy has 150 members in his organization; and after getting to know me for a while and trusting me, he took me to his room and he pulled out of a secret hiding place, he pulled a list of 980 members. I was not there as a detective, I was there as a friend, and he said, Listen, these are my real numbers and you can pick out any name on this list and pick it out and I will make a phone call, and the people will appear, and this will be proof that these are really 980 members, not just names out of the books.

So he made three phone calls and the people appeared on site.

The thing was that when he made the phone call and the other guy called on the other side of the line, his first words to the man on the other side of the line was Shalom; that was the key word, the code word, which was not quite as funny as it sounds now. It was quite frustrating.

Later on I met another member of another group who ostensibly was in Dresden and, according to the Germans, has only 100 members all through the country; and this guy himself showed me a list of 160-odd members. When I was there on that specific date, two more young men came to enlist in this group. This young man, a guy by the name of Constantin Mayer—he is unemployed, so he gets money from the government, and his office and activity and electricity is paid actually by the Dresden City Council.

Another important fact that I think came out of the investigation—and then I will be happy to answer questions—was that the ongoing connection between the American and Canadian neo-Nazis and the neo-Nazis in Germany is actually known to both sides, both apparently to the Canadian and American law enforcement agencies and to the Germans, but apparently there is either reluctance or an inability to do anything about it. Most of the neo-Nazi propaganda material that I saw in Germany had come from either America, from a guy called Willis Carto or from a Canadian called

Zundel; and in Zundel's case, the material that came from him had his name and address on it. And my friends, the neo-Nazi friends, were very proud to show me the material that they received from overseas. That was quite surprising, because I thought that you were not allowed to disseminate this material.

Some other findings had to do with what is known as the "rat line," which is—

Mr. LANTOS. If I may interrupt you, because I think it is an important point. When I last met with my friend, the Prime Minister of Hungary, as we were discussing neo-Nazi activities in that country, he pulled out of his desk a whole set of neo-Nazi materials in the Hungarian language, printed in the United States and sent into Hungary from the United States. So what you are telling about Germany is not at all unique.

Mr. SVORAY. I also—not only do I agree with you, but I saw a lot of material, I was actually handed a lot of material.

Another thing that I think has been coming out in the news, for instance, my friends again in the city of Porz, outside of Bonn, after spending 2 days with them, and these were the leaders of the skinheads in the local area said to me, Why don't you go to this town of Solingen? In the town of Solingen they are much tougher than us; and you will also be able to get a knife—apparently the knife capital of Germany, maybe of the world—and our friends will be able to give you a knife that can fit into your billfold, so if anyone attacks you, you will get a special knife from us.

I traveled to Solingen totally unaware that events would take place like that; and I met some of the skinheads there, and they made a lot of noise about too many foreigners in our town and too many "black workers," they call them, people who are doing the work that no one else wants to do, and we will get even with them.

But at the time, although I met nearly 200-and-something of the skinheads, I didn't find it any different than any other skinhead activities.

Later on I found out that three Turks were burnt in the town of Solingen actually 2 weeks ago. And I am pretty sure that if the police in Germany invited me to draw a sketch of the people I met, at least one of these will be a leader of the local group who did these activities. I am sure of it.

For the most part, I find that a lot of attention is being centered on the skinheads and on their activities, and it seems to be almost inevitable, because they are out there, they are up front. It is easy to spot a skinhead. He has tattoos, he has very short, cropped hair and he runs around with a semi-military uniform screaming and shouting.

It also seems to me that the Germans find it a bit easier to deal with them than to deal with the real problem. It is as though you said to yourself, let's deal with the drug problem and take care of all of the drug dealers in Harlem and East L.A. and there will be no more drug problems. It is not as easy as that. I think that the skinheads are an outward manifestation of this problem. I think they are problematic and violent and many of them are actual neo-Nazis.

Even in arresting all of them, you will not stop the Nazi movement. Because what was frightening to me—and when I traveled

within the neo-Nazi circles, I got to meet middle Germany—I met accountants, lawyers, doctors; I met pharmacists, and I met professors, professors who hold weekend seminars for married couples in the hills.

And this is a very pretty country in a very lovely area, and this professor who works, or worked, at the equivalent of the American MIT, has seminars, and these seminars are not called Nazi seminars, they are not even called far-right seminars, they are called ecology seminars; and the 50 couples come to a very lovely hacienda-type of building, like a retreat. What happens there is for 2 days you discuss German heritage, you discuss German ecology and somehow you start talking about clean Germany, nice Germany, beautiful Germany, and toward the end of this weekend you also realize that one of the ways we are going to preserve this clean Germany is get those filthy foreigners out. It is not said in a straightforward manner; it is just understood. By the end of this weekend you are almost a convinced Nazi.

One of the greatest surprises I had was, when I discussed neo-Nazi friends with the young skinheads, they said a lot of ridiculous notions about Zionist conspiracies and the protocols of the elders of Zion, et cetera; but each of them in various parts of Germany used to talk to me about ecology. What does the fact that Germany is doing much more to clean the space or to clean its rivers than Denmark, what has that got to do with neo-Nazis?

Eventually, after I met this professor, I realized it is one big cycle, much more insidious than I expected.

Another frustrating thing was while the neo-Nazis worked with computers and faxes and computer games and computer mailboxes, most of the German police who I met were very inadequately organized. In no station that I have ever visited, police station, did they actually have fax machines, let alone computers, et cetera. So I feel that while the Nazis are moving into the end of the 20th century in their dissemination of information, et cetera, the police are lagging behind, at least as far as I have seen; and I am definitely not an authority on what the police are up to.

And as a final note, in one of my visits to an outlawed neo-Nazi called Schoenborn, who had been outlawed by the German police, I was surprised to find out that not only does he have his own compound and he is allowed to have friends over there, he still retains his computer and his computer—and access to various computers, and on his computer he has large lists of memberships.

Now, the German police say that Schoenborn has in his membership list—he has less than 80 members. Well, maybe at the worst case 160. This man pulled out, after hitting various code buttons on the computer, pulled out a list of 8,600 that he called members and friends. Both Rick Eaton and I got a chance to look at the list.

Unfortunately, as I say, I was a friend of the movement and I was to them a Nazi, so it was very difficult for me to start asking questions, and I should have probably taken that list. But while this was happening, a week later when I returned back to America, he sent me a fax with a wish list and on the wish list he wants me to ship over computers, machine guns, ammunition, trucks, et cetera, et cetera; and his idea is to create the Fourth Reich, but not in Germany, he wants to create a school in which the Forth Reich

will train, and that will happen in Denmark, and from there they will bring the great message across.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much. We have a number of questions for you, Mr. Svoray.

Mr. LANTOS. We will go on now to Mr. Abraham Foxman, National Director of the Anti-Defamation League. We are happy to have you. You may proceed anyway you choose.

**STATEMENT OF ABRAHAM FOXMAN, NATIONAL DIRECTOR,
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

Mr. FOXMAN. Mr. Chairman, my name is Abraham Foxman—

Mr. LANTOS. Could you pull the mike very close to you, please.

Mr. FOXMAN. My name is Abraham Foxman. I am National Director of the Anti-Defamation League. I was born in Byrenvicz, Poland, raised as a hidden child, as a Christian in Vilnius, rescued by my parents who survived, and immigrated to the United States in 1950.

Mr. Chairman, as I sit here—and this is my first experience testifying before a committee of Congress—I cannot erase the question of what if? It is a haunting question of what if, in the 1930's, this Congress of the United States would have had a Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations and Human Rights, and it would have had in the 1930's, addressed the question of racism and anti-Semitism in Europe; that if maybe—maybe, if it were so, if it did happen, we would not have been dedicating a Holocaust Museum 2 months ago in the city of Washington.

So it is with those thoughts, Mr. Chairman, that I am so pleased and the ADL is pleased to have the opportunity to testify before this subcommittee, and commends the committee and its chairman for the continuous efforts to raise the issues of anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry. This committee and its efforts support the efforts of organizations like the ADL and The Wiesenthal Center in their struggle to fight bigotry and racial hatred, no matter who the target.

The committee staff has asked us to address the question of racism and anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, and that is what I will do. The situation in Eastern Europe cannot be divorced from certain European-wide trends and developments that provide a framework for the assessment of anti-Semitism in former Soviet bloc countries.

The fall of the Soviet Union and the failure of communism have had an impact on all of Europe, in terms of dislocation, revived nationalism and ethnic antagonisms within which anti-Semitism unfortunately is a constant threat. The nationalistic trends have deeply affected key countries of Western Europe, who are busy with their own problems and are not easily available to help combat xenophobia and anti-Semitism further East.

The former Yugoslavia, as you have indicated, is the most telling and frightening case in point. But it is merely the most dramatic and tragic expression of a continent-wide disorientation, of mass migrations made possible by newly opened borders and by old fears stirred up to new levels of panic and frequent violence.

The most widely observed phenomenon is the fear of "the foreigner." In Germany, as we have heard, this fear is being exploited

by a relatively small but excessively brutal group of skinheads and other mostly young people who take their cue from Nazism, even though they are far from the ideologically trained or tightly organized. They burn the homes of Turkish and other foreign residents and occupy local and national organs of control and investigation that have yet to come to grips with this plague.

Whenever there is xenophobia on the part of the uneducated, bitter or just destructive individuals and groups, the targets become the people who are different. When one has nothing to show in one's life, one is reduced to find a kind of innate superiority, which in this case means being German is superior to being Turkish or being German is superior to being a gypsy.

And whenever people who are "different" are the targets, so, unfortunately in history, Jews are close to the bull's-eye. This has shown itself in cemetery and memorial desecrations, in slogans painted on walls, in the lyrics of right-wing extremist bands, in computer games and in other ways.

This situation has made Jews nervous and apprehensive. When there is general dislocation and insecurity, Jews find themselves especially insecure. They work with allies in the prodemocratic world in combating the antforeign mood; and they attempt to work in the fields of education, both in and out of school, to buttress democratic thinking and forces.

I shall have a few words to say about this later, after I describe the situation in Eastern Europe.

In Eastern Europe, Mr. Chairman, anti-Semitism has a long, often tragic history. Under communism, it was not allowed open expression. One saw little anti-Semitic graffiti or read few openly anti-Semitic articles in newspapers unless they were government authorized. What really happened in Eastern Europe is that anti-Semitism went from a government-produced, government-controlled product to one of laissez-faire.

How tragic and ironic that the first signs of freedom of speech in liberated, free Eastern Europe was the freedom to exercise the hatred of anti-Semitism. How tragic and sad that the first organization liberated in a new Soviet Union, the first organization to exercise the right of association, that of Pamyat, was based on the principles of anti-Semitism. How tragic and how painful that the first elections in most of the countries of Eastern Europe revolved around the questions of how much Jewish blood does these candidates have? Is this a Jewish party? Is it supported by Jews? Are the candidates stooges of the Jewish people?

And yet with the fall of communism, Jewish life has improved dramatically. Jewish schools, camps, youth groups, seminaries, and university-level Jewish studies programs have been established. And communal institutions which existed under the Communists in a limited and precarious fashion are now beginning to breathe and maybe even flourish. This is an exciting and positive development and has prompted some to project the possibility of the reconstruction of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. In that situation, the Lauder Foundation, as well as others, deserve praise.

At the same time, however, the long-suppressed popular anti-Semitism has percolated to the surface. Anti-Semitic graffiti, articles, religious homilies, political slogans and vandalism have ap-

peared in virtually all of the countries of Eastern Europe. The sale of traditional anti-Semitic materials, including the well-known forgery, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, has been reported.

This phenomenon is far less predictable and sometimes more openly virulent. Previously, one could attribute it to a hated government policy; one could understand it and see it, and even expect it in certain forms and measures. Now it seems to be coming from one's neighbors. Moreover, it harks back to an age-old teaching, the Jews are the cause of all of our problems, and since there are many problems, "Jews are the cause of all of our problems" is a haunting, frightening refrain.

Mr. FOXMAN. I am enclosing along with this testimony a report on anti-Semitism in Europe during the first quarter of 1993, and I ask, Mr. Chairman, that you include it in the record. The report was produced by the project for the study of anti-Semitism at Tel Aviv University in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League.

Mr. LANTOS. Without objection.¹

Mr. FOXMAN. This report delineates the activities of racist anti-Semitic groups, anti-Semitic activities and propaganda, as well as the struggle against anti-Semitism during first 3 months of this year. This report has been also submitted, Mr. Chairman, to the U.N. Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, which, as you indicated, is meeting while we meet here this afternoon.

Mr. Chairman, fighting anti-Semitism requires a multidimensional approach. One crucial element in this process we have learned here and abroad is education to diminish prejudice and the resulting hatred which it breeds. The ADL, through a program called the A World of Difference prejudice reduction program, has influenced thousands of teachers and hundreds of thousands of students in this country. Now we are looking to use our experience overseas.

We have brought to the U.S. several members of the Moscow City Council, and educators to witness our prejudice reduction program. This summer the Anti-Defamation League will send some of its professionals to Moscow to begin working with Soviet educators. Obviously, this is just the beginning, but it could become a model for inculcating values of democracy and pluralism.

We believe that the U.S. Government agencies should seek to cooperate with nonprofit groups such as the ADL in finding ways to expand such programs throughout the CIS and Eastern Europe. Another area that is crucial, crucial for dealing with anti-Semitism, is holocaust education. The point of such education is to demonstrate where hatred can lead. And only a recognition that it did happen and how it happened and what the implications of hate and bigotry can bring about can make any effort to combat it successful.

Political, religious and communal leaders have a critical role to play in making their acceptance of individuals of different cultures, religions and ethnic origins acceptable. If government leaders promote respect for these differences, Mr. Chairman, a standard of tolerance can be set for those nations.

In the wake of racist or anti-Semitic incidents, it is imperative that government officials and other civic leaders speak out to con-

¹The report appears in the appendix.

demn this activity. What is needed is an active effort to increase public awareness of the problem of racism and anti-Semitic violence.

The answer is, and the answer to the perpetrators, is a very clear delivery of the message that these incidents are being taken seriously by the government and by the population. One needs a consensus and one needs a will to act.

It was never made so clear as it was in Germany. Until a consensus was built and until the government developed the will to act, the incidents only grew and grew and multiplied. While verbal condemnation is a first and crucial step, it must be accompanied by concrete actions. Such a step was taken by Poland's President, Lech Walesa, when he established a Presidential commission on anti-Semitism.

President Iliescu of Romania publicly condemned anti-Semitism and instructed his Attorney General to begin investigation which could lead to a court challenge of two Romanian newspapers that have published anti-Semitic diatribes. This type of response, if it receives sustained support from the highest political levels, as well as officials on the local and municipal level, can be important.

Otherwise, it will be relegated to the category of prestigious, but meaningless actions, designated to placate the foreign press and foreign opinion. A third element in the struggle must include legal, legislative, and analytical approaches to curtail prejudice, discrimination and anti-Semitism. We at the Anti-Defamation League have been instrumental here in the United States in urging the passage of hate crimes legislation on the State and Federal level, and we are delighted and pleased that I sit here in the week following the decision of the Supreme Court, nine-to-nothing, which found this legislation a proper expression, not only constitutionally, but of the will of the consensus of the moral standing and the moral commitment of this Nation.

It is also important, as we have been able to convince the legislative branch, to pass legislation mandating that the Federal Bureau of Investigation keep national statistics on hate crimes. This brief overview, Mr. Chairman, indicates that anti-Semitism in Europe must be seen in a context of a growing wave of antiforeign feeling.

What has happened and what is increasingly happening on the old continent is that once homogeneous or close-to-homogeneous countries have become overnight pluralistic societies and immigration countries like the United States. The trouble is that they still think of themselves as homogeneous, and look on people born there or who lived for decades in that country as foreigners.

Just as in times of trouble or dislocation, Jews have traditionally become the scapegoats even though they have lived in a country, often in the same town, for generations. There is no shortcut to combating these anti-Semitic trends and activities. There is a need to call attention to their destructiveness to the entire society, to demonstrate that all inhabitants have a stake in combating the divisiveness of extreme nationalism or antiforeign attitudes.

That is what the ADL has been about in America, Mr. Chairman, for the last 80 years. We are in our 80th year, an event we do not celebrate, for it is a sad event that after 80 years there still is a need to combat bigotry and prejudice. But we hope that we can,

with our experience, which is still better than in most places, be a catalyst for Europe or wherever our experience here in this country may benefit the interests of democracy, freedom and social justice.

And, Mr. Chairman, the beginning of that is a recognition and understanding that there is a problem, that there is a need, and there is a desire of good people to come together and find solutions.

Thank you for this opportunity.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Foxman appears in the appendix.]

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Foxman.

Our final witness is Mr. Paul Goble of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, formerly with our own Department of State. We are very pleased to have you, Mr. Goble.

STATEMENT OF PAUL A. GOBLE, SENIOR ASSOCIATE, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Mr. GOBLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to commend you and the committee for holding these hearings on such an important topic at such an important time, and to thank you for including me as a witness. Unfortunately, there are an awfully lot of aspects of the problem that we have to talk about today.

I would like to focus on one, and that is the very different and more threatening kind of anti-Semitism that we see on the territory of what was the Soviet Union. At the end of last year, an El Al jet landed in the Tajik capital of the central Asian Republic of Tajikistan to pick up more than 200 Jews who wanted to emigrate to Israel. When the plane arrived, the Jews themselves were in the airport building, which was under the control and protection of the Tajik authorities, while the plane itself of course was under the control of Israeli officials.

But as the Jews moved the 200 meters from the airport building to the plane, a group of Tajik bandits moved out, surrounded them, and because they were better armed than the authorities on either side, they announced to the Jews that they would have to hand over all goods they had on their persons because it was well-known that the Jews had stolen from the people of the area and therefore before they would be allowed to leave they would have to return it.

Unfortunately, the authorities were not able to prevent this outrage. But it is also true that the 200 Jews who wanted to leave were ultimately able to get on the El Al jet and emigrate to Israel.

In many ways, that event serves as a symbol of the new reality Jews face in all of the former Soviet Republics. On the one hand, the opportunities of Jews, both to develop as a community and/or to leave, are far greater than they ever were under the Soviet authorities. But on the other, the new governments, while generally respecting at least in words the rights of Jews, are in most cases far too weak to effectively block the actions of anti-Semites and their allies, both of whom also have new opportunities for action.

As a result, Jews in many of the new countries face a new kind of threat, one that is currently at least as dangerous as those in Soviet times, and in many cases may be potentially far worse. Un-

fortunately, this new threat has largely gone unrecognized, because many in the West continue to try to track anti-Semitism in the region the way they have always done, examining the press for attacks on Jews and Israel and assuming that the intensity of such attacks represents a reliable barometer of probable public action.

In Soviet times when the authorities were in virtually total control of the media and when they used the press to push regime policies, that was an entirely reasonable approach. Now, it is no longer appropriate, for while the number of anti-Semitic articles, books, and TV programs, has increased dramatically, that fact no longer reflects government policy, so much as the new opportunities for all groups to exploit the media to advance their agendas.

In short, in the former Soviet Union, anti-Semitism has been privatized, shifted from primarily a question of state policy to one of private actions, from an issue of what the government will do to the Jews, to one of whether any of the governments will be able to protect them in the face of still strong and often increasing anti-Semitic attitudes in many parts of the population. And the continued use of our methodology in this new environment is likely to lead to a situation where we will highlight one set of problems but miss another far more fundamental and threatening group of them.

In my remarks this afternoon, I would like to make three points as a way of making a contribution toward the development of an understanding of the new kinds of dangers anti-Semitism of this type presents in the post-Soviet environment. First, I would like to highlight the extent to which the new regimes have moved in various degrees to eliminate the worst forms of Soviet-style anti-Semitism.

Second, I want to suggest where I think the worst problems lie, both now and in the immediate future. And finally, I would like to suggest that the United States must adopt a new approach to the problem of anti-Semitism in the post-Soviet states, one that recognizes what the new governments what the new governments and the newly freed populations are capable of.

Like all other groups in the populations, Jews have both benefited and suffered as a result of the end of the Soviet system. They have benefited because the new freedoms that are generally available throughout the region give them enormous opportunities they did not earlier have.

They have suffered both because others, including anti-Semitic groups, now have equal or greater freedom to act, and because they like all regions of this region are suffering through the difficult transitions from dictatorship to democracy and free markets. This basic fact often gets lost in Western discussions of anti-Semitism in the new post-Soviet states.

Three other even more important facts tend to get lost as well. First, while there is an enormous variety of state policies toward Jews throughout the region, and while many general policies of these states often have negative consequences for Jewish communities, the new regimes generally have received high marks from Western human rights monitors for their officially stated policies, if not for their actions. Pressed by the United States and other governments to sign the Helsinki Final Act and to subscribe to other

international conventions, these regimes have done so, and with some exceptions, have at least on paper done the right thing.

Second, the 15 new regimes are in every case extremely weak and consequently not in a position to enforce their own laws. The opening up of the press to all groups has allowed many extremely unsavory people to speak out, and the general inability of regimes to control such utterances, combined with the absence of public understanding of how the press has changed, often has sent the wrong message to the population.

Many former Soviet citizens, as I have already suggested, still read the press as if it represented official policy, when in fact a newspaper like *Den'* or some of the other extremist and anti-Semitic tracts that often appear in Moscow, are just as marginal in those societies as they would be elsewhere in the world. So we are in a difficult period where many people are reading these statements in the press the way they would have read *Pravda* 5 years ago, and therefore that makes this explosion of articles more dangerous than many people conclude, because you have a readership that does not understand what is going on.

And third, these new regimes generally have not been willing to admit, if indeed they recognize, how weak they currently are vis-a-vis these various social forces. And hence, have not been willing to move toward an active program of education against evils such as anti-Semitism. Their general failure to do so, and we should remember that there are some happy exceptions, particularly in the Baltic states and in some of the Western republics, has contributed to a situation in which more and more people are finding anti-Semitism, if not attractive, at least acceptable, and many are seeing their governments as tacitly supporting it even when that is probably not a fair reading of the situation.

And that poses, of course, a very serious near-term and even greater long-term threat. Not unimportantly, the areas of greatest danger for Jews are not the places of traditional Jewish settlement, but rather in places where Jews are already small in number and where anti-Semitism is often less about actual Jews than about more generalized social protest and anger.

The three most dangerous areas of this kind of outburst are in Cossack settlements around the edge of the former Soviet Union, in Central Asia and the Caucasus, and in Russia itself where economic decline is already fueling a powerful anti-Semitic movement that is likely to fare increasingly well in the new round of elections we will see later this year or next.

The return of the Cossacks and Boris Yeltsin's unfortunate pandering to them before the April 25th referendum, is especially distressing, because much of their ideology is infused with anti-Semitism. I have a large collection of Cossack tracts and every single one that I have talks about the need to cleanse Russia of the Jews. The idea of ethnic cleansing is very much inside Russia today.

Located throughout the territory of the former Soviet Union, these groups have refused to accept the demise of the USSR and blame Jews and other groups for all current difficulties. It is worth noting that in the words of some of the Cossack leaders, virtually everyone in the world is a Jew and thus this designation loses some of its meaning.

I have even been described as a Jew and I am not, although I would not be ashamed to be, and so has the President of the United States, former President Carter, the Dalai Lama.

These groups already have participated in violence in Moldova and in Kazakhstan, without any Western protest of those actions, and unless they are put under tight control and at the present time the Russian Government is doing exactly the reverse, they can be expected to commit other and greater outrages.

The situation of Jews in Central Asia and the Caucasus is especially risky as the example I gave at the outset suggests. While not numerous in this region, Jews are subject to a double kind of pressure.

On the one hand, Russians and other European groups are all too willing to throw Jews overboard to protect their own, now-threatened positions in these predominantly Muslim areas. In other words, if a European group is being under pressure in the locals, then obviously you know who will be sacrificed first.

This was true in Soviet times; it is doubly true now. On the other hand, many in the local population while traditionally not anti-Semitic, are all too willing to lump the Jews with the Russians and to put pressure on them as such.

So that in this case, the Jews are victimized because they are caught between these two tools. European Jews, like all other Europeans, have no future in these regions, because the local population views them as *pieds noirs*, whatever the host governments may say. But it is in Russia itself that the danger is greatest.

The explosion and mass participation in political life, increasing number of elections and so on, and the rapidly deteriorating economic situation, have combined to fuel anti-Semitic movements of various kinds. As everyone knows, the vicious anti-Semite, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, won a large fraction of the vote in the last Presidential elections and would likely win even more votes in the future, when he will certainly run again.

Anti-Semitic newspapers and television programs are an increasing feature of the streets of Moscow and other cities. And speakers in the parliament and even in the government, and this is what is especially distressing, even people who are supposedly around the reformist Yeltsin government, have been saying things that give support to popular anti-Semitism, both by failing to oppose it and by trivializing it as some youth movement such as we have heard is happening in Germany. That is extremely depressing, because it means the situation will get worse to the extent that participation increases, and unless people in the region learn some important lessons.

Now in this situation, we have to go beyond the celebration of the end of communism, a celebration which all too trivialized the very real problems ahead, and the easy assumption that somehow things will somehow now work out for the best throughout this troubled region without any requirements being placed on us, and recognize that popular anti-Semitism is going to be on the rise there even though the governments have given us assurances and passed laws that in most cases are quite good.

What should we do? I would argue for three things in addition to the things that have been mentioned.

First, we must insist on good behavior by maintaining a heavy monitoring presence throughout the region, and more importantly, publicly calling the governments to account when they behave badly. The fact that there have been no comments about government officials in Moscow talking about ethnic cleansing or the use of troops or the support for anti-Semitic Cossack movements, is, I believe, unforgivable. We should speak out whenever governments back away from their obligations, and we should make sure they know what their obligations are.

I was told recently by officials in the Foreign Ministry of Sweden, that when Swedish diplomats visited Uzbekistan to meet with the Uzbek Foreign Minister and describe the obligations Uzbekistan had under the CSCE arrangements, the Uzbek Foreign Minister said it sounded like a very good organization and he wondered if his country could join. Well, of course his country had been a member for more than a year. This is a real problem.

Second, we need to move beyond our simple confidence that if these countries make the economic transition, everything will be well. We seem often to be the last defenders of the Marxist orthodoxy about economic determinism, that somehow if only they get the economics right, everything else will follow. Not only will any of these transitions take time, during which many will suffer, but this will not solve the problem of anti-Semitism or many other problems, *per se*.

We need to support institution building in the broadest sense, the construction of courts and police forces to make sure that the laws that we do approve of are enforced, the development of media training so that outrageous statements will be countered and marginalized and the shift from a controlled press to a free press won't remain mired in a yellow press as it is right now in so many places, and the elaboration of educational programs so that no one will be able to exploit anti-Semitism to the point of creating a fascist dictatorship in any of these countries.

Under the Marshall Plan, which is much discussed now, one of the things that the United States did was to insist on the rewriting of history textbooks in Germany and in France and other countries in Western Europe. That became the basis of European unity, as people came to see that the old images were wrong. I think we need to be a participant in that process again.

And finally, I believe we should push far more actively and provide assistance for immigration. Not only to Israel, but to the United States as well. Unfortunately, in the new age of mass politics in these countries, mass anti-Semitism is going to emerge in many places and the best way out for many Jews is to get out, unfortunately. Many who do not want to go to Israel for various reasons would be delighted to come to the United States, according to polling data we have, and I believe that we should respond to that positively.

Despite some recent decisions which point in another direction, we are a country where Emma Lazarus' poem is still relevant and should be the basis of public policy. If we do these three things, not only will we help prevent a new rise in anti-Semitism in the territory of what was the Soviet Union, but in improving things there,

we will be building a better future not only for that region but for ourselves as well.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Goble appears in the appendix.]

METHODS FOR ADDRESSING THE REEMERGENCE OF TRADITIONAL
ANIMOSITIES IN POST-COLD WAR EUROPE

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Goble, for a powerful and eloquent statement. Indeed, I want to thank all four members of the panel for their remarkable, unique contributions to this dialogue. And this certainly won't be the last of our hearings on this subject.

I would like to just take a minute or two before I turn it over to my colleagues. In a sense, there is nothing surprising about what any of you are saying. Because certainly in the areas which had been Nazi-controlled and Nazi-dominated for 12 years in the case of Germany, differing numbers of years elsewhere, followed by almost a half-a-century of a totalitarian ideology of the far left, the traditional attitudes of hatred and antagonism, as it were, were merely in a state of suspended animation.

And when the constraints of a police state, whether the police state of Stalin or the police state of Tito in the former Yugoslavia were removed, then it was only to be expected that these hatreds and antagonisms and blood feuds would erupt with elemental force. It is difficult to understand in any other context the blood bath which is going on in the former Yugoslavia.

My wife and I and our two daughters would drive down from the city of Budapest to the city of Dubrovnik every summer and we would stop invariably at Sarajevo or Mostar, beautifully multicultural, multiethnic, multireligious societies, that seemed too placid and vibrant simultaneously.

Yet underneath the hatreds were present to a sufficient extent that they could be mobilized as we have seen in Bosnia and Hercegovina and elsewhere. So the first question I would like to raise, and I invite all four of you to comment, is the formula for dealing with these issues. Several of you called for a multidimensional approach and I could not agree more.

The multidimensional approach clearly must have as its first dimension a candid confrontation with one's own past as a society. It is impossible to expect that we will make any headway against these monstrous attitudes of hatred, until the new generation understands what these hatreds led to in earlier periods.

So I suspect the first lesson will have to be what several of you referred to as the need to deal with history books so that history books accurately portray the past. It is interesting that in some societies such as Austria, for instance, confronting the past has not been the case. Avoiding the past has been the case.

As a matter of fact, several of the states in West Germany, deserve great credit for their educational programs, while in Austria and in a number of other countries which had a past just as ugly to confront, there was an attempt to sweep everything under the rug.

If Hollywood gave awards for great theater, I suspect for many reasons that Austria would deserve it because it transformed itself in the public mind from Hitler's first ally to Hitler's first victim, which was indeed a very successful transformation.

Moving on from education, several of you mentioned legislation. And here I think you indicated that in many instances there is good legislation on the books, but it is not implemented.

I believe you, Mr. Svoray, kept referring to it several times in your remarkable commentary. So what we need to call for is not just legislation, but the effective use of laws on the books, the meticulous prosecution of hate crimes, not just a definition of hate crimes, not just having statutes on the books against hate crimes.

I was expecting perhaps more emphasis than any of you gave to the enormous importance of the media. We are living in an age when the media are infinitely more powerful than any previous age. They are far more dramatic. And yet, there is an almost cavalier attitude toward the control of the media in many of these countries.

Certainly in several East European countries the media, in particular government-controlled radio and television, is perpetuating patterns of hatred and discrimination and persecution, for instance, directed against the gypsies, which I think those of us who live in free and open and democratic societies should object to.

A man who has given a great deal of thought to this issue, my friend George Shuler, suggested that aid programs to these countries should be contingent upon media in government hands being open, free and unbiased media, which clearly is not now the case. In a number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe and in the former republics of the Soviet Union, government-controlled media are part and parcel of the campaign of perpetuating hate and bigotry.

And I suspect all of us would agree that the responsibility of political leadership to speak out on these issues is in some ways perhaps the single most important item. Because unless political leadership takes an up front position, a courageous leadership position in personally denouncing these outrages and participating in concrete acts demonstrating solidarity, it will be difficult to see how we will be making much headway.

In this context, I must say, I found it deplorable that Chancellor Kohl did not attend the funeral of the three Turkish children and the two Turkish young women who were burned to death in a German city. I find it extremely important for political leaders to put themselves on the line and recognize the enormous importance of symbolism.

If a president, a prime minister, a chancellor, does not consider it important enough to attend a funeral which was caused by a crime of racial hatred, the lesson to be drawn is that there are more important items for a political leader to deal with. I can't think of any more important items for a political leader to deal with than hate flaring into violence in his own country. I wonder if you would like to pick up on my points.

Mr. Foxman.

Mr. FOXMAN. Mr. Chairman, your first point on what I guess should not have come as a surprise, not unfortunately to us, cer-

tainly around this table or to the gentlemen on your committee, but I think to the American people, and I think to a large part of the world, what happened did come as a surprise. Maybe because there was a great deal of wishful thinking. Maybe because we looked at these countries for so many years under dictatorship and totalitarianism, that we began to believe that their yearning for freedom would not express itself in a freedom to hate, but with a freedom of tolerance.

Unfortunately, it didn't happen. What you say as you synthesize that which we suggested, there is another major irony. And that is that we begin to look to government. Here it is, a continent or subcontinent, which suffered so much because of government and government action, and now the walls have come down and media is almost an orgy of freedom, there is an orgy of expression which hasn't happened in 40, 50, 60 years, and how ironic and how tragic that we look to government, because it, is the instrument, that is the institution which people expect, political leadership has to come from the elected leadership.

Legislation is not enough, we say, and we agree it needs a will, it needs a political will to implement it. Education is not a free-for-all. It again comes into the sphere of government, and then probably the most delicate, the most delicate, media. And media of that which certainly those of us familiar with the classical concepts of anti-Semitism, it is that Jews control the media. And here, how ironic, that so soon after a removing of the shackles, we have to begin sensitizing government who still holds on to media for its own, that there is a greater responsibility in terms of teaching and sensitizing.

I would say, Mr. Chairman, all of these, but we have to begin with government. They are responsible for well-being, law and order. They are still the instrument that people look to as they have looked to in suffering before, now hopefully with hope. And I think that is where it has to start.

Just as it is true here in our wonderful democracy, just as it depends on our leadership, the tone of our moral leadership. And I go back to the will, legislative will on hate crimes. The message delivered is a very clear message of the value that one puts, that we put in this country, of protecting other people's dignity, caring about their pain and anguish as a result of hate to the point that even challenges to its constitutionality were worked out in a way so that we respect our basic freedoms and yet are able to deliver that message, that we the people of these United States consider it so important to speak out against hate.

And that is where it has to start and if we did nothing else, it is our, again, visits and visitations and the cajoling as you have done in your visits, as some of the Congressmen seated up at the podium have done, by visiting other countries, speaking, raising the level of sensitivity and moral leadership.

So it is all of that, plus. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Goble.

Mr. GOBLE. Mr. Chairman, I completely share your views in this sense.

Obviously, we have to be engaged in a process of education in the broadest possible sense. I think that we have to understand that

in most of these countries government is going to be perceived as the problem, because government has been the problem. And the fact is that using the government to somehow start—once you give the government the power to restrict the bad things, pretty soon it restricts the good things, too. We have seen that happen all too often.

It is a very dangerous thing and I think it is worth remembering that the media is extremely diverse. While there are more anti-Semitic articles in the Russian media today than there were 5 years ago, there are also vastly more publications of Jewish culture, of other groups being able to express themselves than ever were there before. It is important to keep both of those things in mind.

Mr. LANTOS. But don't we need to differentiate between mass media and nonmass media? For instance, I believe Mr. Foxman mentioned a couple of positive things about Rumania. Well, theoretically, the press in Rumania has a tremendous variety of points of view, but television doesn't have a tremendous variety of points of view. Television is still controlled by a basically totalitarian government. So it is not enough to have little circulation publications dealing with issues, say, in an open and candid fashion, when the far more powerful television going into 10 million homes, still doles out the government's own line.

Mr. GOBLE. Well, I was not suggesting that the two were equivalent, but I think that one has to recognize that the orgy of freedom that has been referred to has been used in a positive sense as well as a negative.

Mr. LANTOS. I agree with you.

Mr. GOBLE. And that in some of the countries, but not all, but some of the 15 that have emerged on the territory of the Soviet Union, the official press or, that is, the government-controlled press and the government-controlled television, is far better on these issues than the nongovernment-controlled press. Izvestia is vastly better than Den'. And Russian television of Iztaniko is better on these issues than Leningrad television, with Nevgorov and the 600 seconds program.

So it works both ways. And last, I think we need—I think you are absolutely right about the need to speak for political leaders there to speak out. But I think we have a terribly big obligation to speak out, too. We have ended up in too many cases putting this issue of human rights so far down the list of our priorities that we decide not to criticize people.

I find it outrageous that there was no public criticism in the United States of Yeltsin's support 10 days before the referendum for the restoration of Cossack domination in Russian sites. Absolutely no criticism, none from the State Department, none from the White House, and as far as I am aware, none on Capitol Hill, either.

I think in focusing on Yeltsin as a desirable figure, we sometimes miss that this man has done some things which are undesirable. I think it is very unfortunate when we decide that in the name of stability we support people who are doing—the most totalitarian press in the former Soviet space is being run by some of the Central Asian governments with some of the worst kinds of articles and worst kinds of TV programs, but they are the ones who as long

as they chant we are secular, we are not interested in Iran, they can count on American, an absence of American criticism.

And I think if we expect the Yeltsins, the Gorbachevs, the mayors of those new countries to speak out and to act and to do the things that we would like, then we have to speak out, too. And I really think this is something that we have just got to face. We have not spoken out on a variety of outrages, for one reason or another, over the last year-and-a-half. We have been too self-congratulatory about what has happened. That is one side.

The other side is there is a tendency now almost to talk about a nostalgia for the system before. And I don't want in anything we say here today for us not to remember just how terrible that was.

The system before that might not have allowed a newspaper like Den' to emerge, also made very sure that low tirage Jewish publications, never appeared, either. And I think we need to keep this in perspective.

Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. Your point is extremely well taken Mr. Goble.

EDUCATION DOES NOT NECESSARILY LEAD TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF PAST DEEDS AND CONSEQUENCES

Mr. SVORAY. I would like to bring the other side of education. A lot of young people I met in my travels within the movement were not uneducated. In fact some of the most brilliant and probably the most eloquent speakers for the various neo-Nazi groups were men in the early 20's who knew everything about the holocaust, and yet denied it. It was not a question of them not knowing what happened in Auschwitz, not knowing what Dachau was. They knew and were upset it doesn't happen now. That is one thing.

Another thing in talking about education, I remember meeting one of the nicest Germans I have ever met, a good-looking young man in his late 20's who sat down for a very nice meal. His wife was pregnant, she was actually going to have the baby any day, and he tells me that I am called the Elvis of the movement. And I said what do you mean the Elvis of the movement? And he said, my name is Frank Rennicke and I am the most known singer for the movement.

And he took out his guitar and started strumming various old war Nazi songs and old German songs, which he just changed slightly so they are not illegal; they are just on the verge of being illegal. All of a sudden in the middle of this public, lot of people start joining in the songs, start singing. He is also a youth leader in the Wiking Jugend.

The Wiking Jugend is an exact copy of the Hitler Jugend, exact, with the same clothing except a different emblem. That is how we educate their young. So talking about education is assuming that everyone fell from a black hole, like it happened in Eastern Germany. That is not true. Within western Germany, I met a lot of people, in fact, some of the Nazis I met, some of the most virulent Nazis, one of them in the government, name of Mr. Windt, in fact ran a very large factory with a 1,200 workers in it.

He is now in his early 70's. He knows history very well. He is very aware of German's responsibility and he is also aware of what,

quote, unquote, the people are saying about them. He just doesn't accept it.

So the point I am sure that education is a very important point, having these people or that group of people actually understand the consequences of their deeds is a very different thing. It is not for lack of education.

I do agree totally that one of the things that has to be done is an ongoing attempt to try and explain to these people, listen, all your deeds have consequence and this is the terrible thing that Germany did. I met a lot of good Germans—if you can say “good” in that context—people who were very ashamed, very embarrassed, who knew how terribly what the Nazi regime has caused all over the world and the price.

And yet some of them told me in a straight out conversation, and this was not as Yaron Svoray, they just met me at a pub or a bar when I was at various nights hiding away in different places, I just speak to people and the guy said, listen, enough, we have been paying for 50 years, let us go on, let us be proud of being good Germans. Let us have the capability of patriots, like anyone else in the world. For us just saying I am a good German and I am proud to be a German and immediately someone will rise up and say are you proud of the 12 years of Hitler? No, I am not, but I have to tell you that Goethe and Mozart are also part of my heritage and it is very difficult for lots of these Germans to understand. Like you said before, the most important lesson in going to the future is looking backwards and facing history.

That has not been done. One of my most horrifying travels was after I met Himmler's daughter. I thought that if I am ever going to redeem my soul, I have to go to the worst place. And I traveled from her place in Munich, I traveled to Buchenwald. Sorry, I traveled to Dachau. And to my amazement, this wasn't some antiseptic place where you go and you can actually be part of the history and see the horrors.

Dachau is stuck somewhere in the middle of the industrial zone which it is almost shocking. I mean it is almost as though they have created Dachau. In a sense the whole world says keep Dachau as it was. We will, but we are not going to make any efforts to show this as special.

As you walk into Dachau there was a soccer team playing in the field next to it and on the rooftops around Dachau, literally around Dachau, people were hanging their clothing and working, et cetera. I was quite disappointed that Dachau wasn't as shocking as I thought it would be. And the people in Dachau, when you walk into that concentration camp, the first thing you see is a booklet from the city of Dachau.

It said, don't only look at Dachau as once having a concentration camp. We want to tell you that Dachau used to be a colony of great artists, et cetera. Don't judge us by this concentration camp. It is as though we are saying to you, we know Dachau happened, but we have better things. I am not going to go into the German mind, which I have no idea about, but I did feel at that moment, I just finished speaking to this woman who was born out of the loins of Himmler, and now I am in Dachau and I don't feel what I should have felt.

Mr. LANTOS. Rabbi Hier.

IMPORTANCE OF HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

Rabbi HIER. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I would like to just expand on that if I may just briefly.

First of all, I think we have to say with respect to Germany, that German television, German media, have put on prime time, countless times, the best films on the story of the holocaust and what happens. Everybody knows that, even films such as Holocaust. That American film created sensations in Germany that were played right on television, the media has been involved, but it has not helped. We still have a major problem in Germany.

One of the things that Yaron just touched on that is very interesting and I would like to just add to. You know that here in the United States, our country, our great country, led the fight to defeat Naziism. One could say that the United States of America, which led the fight to defeat Naziism, look at the amount of money being spent in the United States to preserve those freedoms just from the point of view of the Holocaust. Here in Washington, a magnificent museum in terms of an education institution, that will influence hundreds of thousands of people.

We built a museum, the Museum of Tolerance, in Los Angeles. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent to assure that by the United States of America which led the fight to defeat Naziism. Now Germany cannot escape the fact that Naziism was born and is a German creation.

They have a greater responsibility than the United States of America has to assuring the education of young Germans. In Wannsee, which is about 40 minutes outside of Berlin, the German Government or actually not the government, the local people, invested \$20,000, more or less 20,000 U.S. dollars, to make the Wannsee Conference.

When you back in there you will see now some photographs on the wall, and they tell the people that in this room the horrible Wannsee Conference which planned the final solution took place, for the proximate investment of about \$20,000.

That is like putting America's memorial to the holocaust in Loch Sheldrake, New York. We would be able to say we built a memorial to the holocaust, but it is located in Loch Sheldrake, go and visit it, not on the mall in Washington.

The point is that Germany has to recognize, the government has to recognize, it has a serious business educating young people and young minds starting early. You have to develop national institutions for this. You have to invest resources and money in this. In many—if they are all—if all of the statistics show that there is an antiforeigner attitude in Germany, well, the government has to step in and say that we better do something about it, instead of the only thing we heard was that in Berlin, when a magnificent museum was built and they wanted to put a Jewish section in it which did not deal with the Holocaust, there was a problem with funding.

And many of us at this table and elsewhere wrote letters of support to get—to make sure that they would have that component in that museum. But the German Government has not said to itself, you know what, if this is the problem we have in Germany, we are

going to invest maybe if necessary \$200 million in building major centers of tolerance in the middle of every major city in Germany. The government has not taken that view.

The government's view basically up until now is we have Dachau, we have Buchenwald, and we have Wannsee. And we also pay reparations. Yes, the government paid the reparations to the victims. But paying the reparations is not going to educate the young generation today and they have to face it squarely. They have not done so yet.

RESOLUTION CALLING FOR THE CREATION OF HOLOCAUST MUSEUMS IN GERMANY

Mr. LANTOS. I very much appreciate your comments. You will be pleased to note that several of us are introducing a resolution in the most constructive and cordial tones asking the Government of Germany to proceed along lines that they will develop of creating major museums beginning with one in Berlin on the Holocaust. And we hope that our friends and colleagues in the German parliament and in the government will accept this resolution in the spirit in which it is offered.

Congressman Bereuter.

PROFILE OF RIGHT-WING GERMAN EXTREMISTS

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have two questions I would like it pursue with the panel. The first question is on Germany, the second on Eastern Europe.

The Congressional Research Service produced a report in March of this year, the subject of which was right wing violence in Germany. According to their analysis, of the approximately 80 million Germans in the united Germany, an estimated 65,000 hold extreme right wing convictions. The CRS report does not call them neo-Nazis, and I'm sure that would be a broader category of right wing convictions.

Of the 65,000 right extremists who were willing to use violence to achieve their goals, the CRS says 70 percent are found between the ages of 16 and 21, and only 2 percent are over the age of 30. Of that amount, 97 percent are male.

So you have the picture then of disproportionate share of the population that is right extremist being young male and almost all beneath the age of 30. In general, they suggest that the kind of right wing violence that is coming out of this smaller group that they identified are a combination of poorly organized skinheads and well structured neo-Nazi groups, both are active and both are the cause of the violence today.

What would any of you gentlemen have to say about this remarkable concentration, first of all, of the right wing conviction people in this small segment of the population, young, male. And, secondly, what would you say about the 64,000 people who say, for example, they are willing to or actually involved in violence being that same category?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Svoray.

Mr. SVORAY. The numbers, I have no idea. But I tend to—my own gut feeling would be that these numbers would be a bit low if you spoke to people in their houses. I mean people who answer

these questions, especially when a journalist comes to your house, I don't know how these polls are conducted, but I was actually privy to several meetings in which people who started off not knowing me gave the most eloquent and long speeches about how they liked democracy and how, et cetera, et cetera. Within a day or two when they got to know me, quote, unquote, Yaron Svoray, not only did their tone change, but their ideas changed completely. All of a sudden I see myself sitting with the same guy who 2 days ago spoke of democracy and plural society, going Nazi and talking the talk and walking the walk of the Nazis.

Mr. BEREUTER. If, in fact, the estimates are accurate or low, the major point I want to focus you on is why is it this segment of the population that is so young.

Mr. SVORAY. That is actually quite obvious. It is just because they are the most active. It is—when there is an attempt to try and make the skinheads or especially that segment of the population, young male, male in a male society, to be the purveyors or the major danger of neo-Nazis. It is basically, I believe, from a lack of understanding of the overall picture.

I agree, the ones who take matters into their own hands, and I would tend to totally agree with the findings, the ones who are willing to go out at night and burn and get drunk and do the activities are the young men. And it is usually you have got an ordinary job where you have to get up in the morning, 7 o'clock and come back home at 8, you haven't got time to to it.

Mr. BEREUTER. That is understandable. Why is it that the 65,000 that are the right wing supporters who may not be activists? Why are they so much concentrated in that area? What are we missing here about the young population?

Mr. SVORAY. I move to Rabbi Hier.

Rabbi HIER. Well, let me just answer your question, try to answer your question.

Mr. SVORAY. I will defer to Rabbi Hier.

Rabbi HIER. The chairman pointed out that some of the lander in Germany of course have their own educational programs and some of them are quite good. There is no mandatory programs on the Federal level basically to all Germans. It is not mandatory.

Also there have been many studies done in German schools about the question of what exactly the students in high schools, for example, are exposed to. Have they met holocaust survivors, for example?

Yes, you can have a textbook—for example, we know from our own museum that if the teacher—you can have something in a textbook or in a curriculum, but if the teacher is not motivated to present it, if you don't have outside resources like survivors and educational institutions continuously helping out in the effort, that the students may get very little from the entire exercise that somebody will open up a textbook and say—in one of the states, there are two paragraphs or three paragraphs on the Holocaust.

Obviously, we are not connecting with young people, which is a very big problem. Let me also point out the fact there is a much more serious—people tend to say it is only the skinheads, but they don't want to point out that the miracle in Germany is the economic miracle before, of course, reunion—before unification. But in

Frankfort in the latest local elections, 9 percent of the population voted for the Republikaner, 9 percent. That is in the heart of Frankfurt.

In other words, that is the—that is the financial capital basically of Germany. And you have a 9 percent vote for the Republikaner, so there is a right wing sentiment and we are not reaching the population, I suspect, because the education is not as good as it should be in terms of mandatory education on these issues.

Mr. BEREUTER. Both of these gentlemen want to comment, too, but we have the whole middle-aged segment that apparently don't fall in this. Apparently they haven't had any better education, one would assume. But somehow they have escaped this right-wing extremism.

Mr. SVORAY. From my own findings, I have met a lot of these middle Germans that you are talking about. I met an ex-policeman and chemists and doctors, people who I am sure that in any public situation would say no, no, no, we have nothing to do with it. But when you speak to them behind closed doors, et cetera, they were the people who were actually giving money, and they were the people who were recommended to me as the lovers and as the true believers in the great cause of the neo-Nazis.

So I am not sure that the middle-aged, like the 40's to the 50's, or 55 to 60, are not in it. In fact, they are not the most boisterous, but they are definitely there; I met them.

Mr. BEREUTER. You both want to comment, I think.

Mr. FOXMAN. Congressman, we have been doing some polling, primarily in this country, and we just last week released a poll on racism in this country; and what you are painting as one of the disturbing findings—again, myths in this country, the younger people are—if only young people around this world, what a beautiful place it would be. Maybe, not yet.

We find that the greatest predictor of bigotry, of racism, of anti-Semitism, is the level of education. You will find that the level of education of these 64,000 or 65,000 does not go very far up the ladder. So that is one major element.

But in the United States, we found something very, very disturbing, and that is the 19- to 30-year-old category being as racist as the elder, noneducated.

Mr. BEREUTER. In the United States?

Mr. FOXMAN. In the United States. There are several explanations. One, we believe, is the fact that, unlike the boomer generation, the baby boomer generation, the 19- to 30-year-olds do not have as part of their experience watching on television the hosing by Mississippi and Alabama police forces, if you will, of people. They do not have as part of the experience the dogs being sent—they don't have as part of their experience the Martin Luther King voice. That makes them almost immune.

The baby boomer generation has that as part of their consciousness, has that as part of their being.

Now, again, you cannot quantify it, but somehow everybody assumed that because the baby boomers know and feel that way, their children will; their children haven't. So we now find that the younger generation, the 19 to 30's, are more racist, more bigoted,

more anti-Semitic than the middle generation; and it is because they have no experience.

Certainly in Germany, at least—the middle generation at least have parents that they have to deal with, worry about, you know, who may have—this generation of young people have nothing, nothing. And in Austria, it didn't even happen.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Foxman. That is enlightening.

Mr. Goble.

YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DRAWN TO RADICAL CAUSES THROUGHOUT HISTORY

Mr. GOBLE. Congressman, I think it is important to put this in context. It is not only extremism of the right, but also of the left. If the people in communism and the 64,000 are drawn into this group, who was the Baader-Meinhof gang—Lenin's government in 1918 and Hitler's government in 1933 were the two youngest governments in any major country on the face of the earth in this country—extremist movements on the left and the right; it is not just the right wing.

And it is because these are groups that have nothing to lose, that have not been integrated into the social system, that are facing, in the case of Germany, massively higher unemployment than anybody has been used to in that country since the war. The people who are not going on to university—and the percentage of young people that go on to university in Germany is a fifth or so what it is in the United States—have far fewer expectations. And if they are not employed, and the jobs are not there, they are alienated and are available for mobilization by extreme groups.

But I think it is important to remember that 64,000 number, that that is the number of people who identify publicly, who are very proud of it. But there is a shadow of this; somebody who is 45 years old may not go and burn down a building where Turkish people are living, but he may give money or vote—give money to the wrong people, or he may vote. And I think it is worth noting that that is a pattern of extremist support in all countries, and it is on the left as well as the right; that if you look at extremist movements around, they are not—people who are in their mid-40's are worried about a lot of things and because they are worried about a lot of things, they don't tend toward extremism. It is the people at the very young ages who go one way or the other.

Mr. BEREUTER. I kind of reflect, as the chairman and I often sit in with Members of the European Parliament, how long we have seen the EC defer even discussing seriously the entry of Turkey into the European Community. There are always a whole variety of reasons given, most of which I suspect are far from the real reason. When you have those kinds of sentiments or hidden messages given by all 12 countries to the population, that there is something different and unacceptable and un-European and un-Christian about the Turkish population, then perhaps it is a lesson to the citizens that they really should not be hearing.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISLOCATION AND THE REEMERGENCE OF
ANTI-SEMITISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Well, I would like to focus my final remarks and questions to you on what you would call the nations of Eastern and Central Europe, the old Warsaw Pact countries.

To what extent do you think the reemergence of anti-Semitism in those countries is due to the economic and social dislocation that is there? It is admittedly extreme; and the collapse of the Communist regimes, that sort of put a lid on it. To what extent do you think this is a reemergence of the traditional populist anti-Semitism that has long plagued the region?

If you want to say anything about what the current conditions between the Catholic church and the Jewish community, which has been a source of problems for a long period of time—where we are today in Poland, in particular, I would be happy to have comments on that, too.

Mr. GOBLE. Congressman, I think that the economic dislocation plays a major role. When people are doing fairly well, their desire to find an enemy is much less; and people in this part of the world are suffering in ways they had not suffered recently. But there are a few other things that are important.

The first is, there is a kind of reversal of values. Anything that was denounced by the former government has acquired a certain amount of cachet in the minds of a lot of people. Precisely the extent to which the Communist governments attacked certain things, or defended certain things, there is a tendency to invert those values. In other words, if the Communists said it was bad, it must be good; if the Communists said it was good, it must be bad. There is an awful lot of that psychology operative in Poland and in a lot of other countries.

I think it is important, too, to remember that the reemergence of popular anti-Semitism—that what it is today is different from what it was prior to the Soviet experience and the Communist experience. The imagery is usually there was this terrible public cauldron, and Communist power sat on it; and now the lid has been taken off, and now it is just coming right back out.

Let me suggest that the process of sitting on it profoundly changed what was going on, that, yes, some of the motivation is the same—I mean classical anti-Semitic attitudes—but part of it is what the Soviet system did.

Let's not forget that the Soviets played the demonization of the Jews as a means of mobilizing the opinion, played on this for years. When things got bad, this was a convenient way. This isn't something that somehow between 1945 and 1991 we didn't have a problem; we did have a problem. And it was Communist policy as well as this older tradition.

But I think your stress on the economic problem is an important one.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Foxman, thank you.

Mr. FOXMAN. I think what Mr. Goble said earlier, the answer, I guess, to your question is yes. Because even if we eliminated and ameliorated all the economic stress, all the situations of economic uncertainty and those problems, we would still be facing a major

problem of anti-Semitism, because it hasn't been there nobody has ever dealt with it before.

We are finding something—I guess Congressman Lantos said—not surprising to some of us, surprising to others; there is a coming together, a continuing trend toward rapprochement between former Communist and nationalist right-wing factions. Now, what is it that they have in common? To the Communists, the Jews were the international capitalists. To the right-wing nationalists, they were the international Communists. That is something they have in common. The first time, under glasnost, that I was in Moscow and walking through the streets, and one part of me celebrated because there were demonstrations, there were rallies, and I was wanting to be a part of it until I saw the little pictures of Czar Nicholas; and Czar Nicholas—my God, Czar Nicholas, was czarism, was The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, that is where they were created. And yet, today, more and more the two factions are coming together.

The unifying element, tragically or ironically, is they dislike Jews for one reason, they dislike Jews for another reason; and that is sadly what is coming together.

What I mentioned before in terms of the elections. It could be funny; it could be, you know, but it is grotesque. In countries where there are 5,000 Jews or 10,000 Jews, the issues on elections were not reform. The candidates were vilified not because of positions, former Communists or whatever; they were being vilified or they were being measured by what extent of Jewishness they had, how many Jews supported them, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

So it is there. And if we resolve everything economically, we are going to still be sitting here dealing with racism and anti-Semitism.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LANTOS. Congressman Ackerman.

RECONCILING FREE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WITH RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I have been here quite a while, and I do apologize for coming late. This has been most intriguing.

Mr. Svoray, I came in in the middle of your testimony, but I did indeed read the very intriguing article in today's *Washington Post*, and Rabbi Hier, I read your entire testimony as well. It is hard to figure where to begin after listening to so many eloquent remarks and so many poignant points.

Indeed, Mr. Foxman, your comments of what if, and if this had happened—indeed, one wonders what effect such a hearing would have had a Holocaust ago. And it is even just as hard probably for us to figure out what effect this hearing will have next week or a decade or so from now as well.

But you all bring up some very, very interesting points, many concerning the media, and many concerning free speech and free press and freedom of thought and all of those things that we, as Americans, have in recent generations, I suppose, taken a little bit more at face value than we perhaps should.

I find it difficult in my own mind, trying to reconcile some of the values we have with some of the values we would like to see others adopt. Certainly we admire free speech and freedom of the press, but certainly what happens as we have often seen with the new emergence of the supposed democracies and what we thought was Eastern Europe, now we are told that it was really Central Europe—I guess they considered that moving to the left, but nonetheless—indeed, what has happened in so many places, people having suffered under the yoke of tyranny and dictatorships, having their lips sealed and their hearts locked and their tongues unable to speak the things that they have felt for years, freedoms that we have encouraged continuously suddenly burst upon the scene; and we have to understand, as we certainly do, that freedom of expression and freedom of speech and all those other grit freedoms give one the ability to say and express those thoughts which are not only acceptable to us, but thoughts which are hateful and repressive and certainly to be exposed and decried by a civilized world, supposedly having learned so many lessons from the past.

And the first statement that so many of these people express in their new-found freedoms is—as if they had been frozen in a glacier for some 70 years or so, or have been in a coma, unable to speak their thoughts, and suddenly by some miracle—and miracle indeed it was, because we didn't expect this to happen in our lifetimes or even in the lifetimes of our children—suddenly the walls and the barriers and the curtains went up or down or whatever direction these things are supposed to go in, and these people suddenly became alive again and picked up at the point where we left them.

And we yet express a tremendous concern over the press being forced almost in some instances to decry this, telling governments how they should act and how they should respond. Indeed, one of the things we have to do is insist upon the morality of governments. Once that occurs, I am not sure how we ensure the morality of peoples.

We often say in our business that you can't legislate morality. Morality begins in the hearts and minds and souls of people.

As Chairman Lantos has pointed out often and eloquently, some folks around the world just have to be able to confront their own souls and find it difficult to do that; but until they face that basic reality, there is going to be no recognition of who or what they are or what they have been, or willingness, certainly, to change.

People who see blemishes in their own physical being don't like to confront the mirror very often. Those of us who are constantly on diets probably have fewer mirrors in our homes than most.

Nonetheless, government does have a responsibility, and all of your statements have indicated that that is so.

Once governments have laws in place, and once governments recognize that it is their right to say the proper thing, whatever is politically correct—and I think that we all know what those things are without reiterating them—how does government go about getting people to agree and to recognize those principles? It is not just legislating that does it. It is not just laws on paper. And some of the suggestions that have been made in one fashion or another by the panel are certainly very, very important ideas of education, ideas of not being historical revisionists, as the chairman points out

and I am sure we all agree to, the idea of national educational facilities and task forces and government officials speaking out.

We have not addressed, however—and we have it here, too, in our own country. I mean, you know, we have all the safeguards and everything you want, but those safeguards also include the KKK having the legal right, as our courts have interpreted “legal,” I underscore, right to march in Skokie, Illinois, and to be offensive and abusive if they want.

But how do we instill, I guess is the question, upon a population or upon all populations the importance of being human and humane and civil and respectful of the rights of others? We have not addressed in any way how you get people to accept that, except basically by government intervention, both State and Federal. Anywhere else, government can control, as they did during any oppressive regime, what is on people’s lips; you can prevent them from saying it, you can prevent them from writing it, you can prevent them from expressing it, but government can’t affect what is in their hearts.

And I was intrigued indeed by something Mr. Bereuter brought up and that was the question of the church. Certainly in so many of these places, the church has been refound in the minds and physical presence of so many. Should not our religious leadership throughout the world have the responsibility and probably a greater effect on moving people’s souls and hearts than governments can?

We spoke about the responsibilities of mass media, but what about using the media of the masses to try to affect people’s thinking and early learning and their deep beliefs and philosophical roots.

The story that Mr. Svoray mentioned about the young man that grabbed him, about he was the Elvis of the movement, I think is a whole other thing; and I will conclude my lengthy question with that.

You know, many have said that who cares, and I guess it was a song—I heard a version by Al Jolson once on a record, in which he said, “Who cares who makes the laws of a nation? Let me sing its songs, let me write its music, let me express the words.” I think that is what is going to affect young people more. And I think that if they are tapping into the Elvises of the generation, should not we be looking to that as an additional way to approach this, especially with our young people?

Mr. FOXMAN. Congressman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I apologize for the length of my statement.

Mr. FOXMAN. Congressman, what you are referring to is very, very significant, because you are talking about what goes beyond the legislation, what goes beyond the laws on the books. We are living in a period of great freedoms. There is within that freedom now almost a tolerance for intolerance. If we look at certain elements, whether it is the rap music in Germany or here, it is almost hip to hate, and therefore, it becomes important—I don’t want to trivialize it, but the business community has learned that you sell products with examples of opinion-holders or people want to follow people, whether it is to buy sneakers or toothpaste or whatever.

Again, without trivializing it, we were talking about the moral, the leadership example being set; and therefore, Chairman Lantos said, and it is—it takes on a meaning of its own. Yes, Chancellor Kohl had all kinds of political reasons not to go. None of them should have been important enough to act out the most important, and that is his physical presence, his being there would have given the example of moral leadership.

That is the hit parade. He is the number one that makes it on that screen on every network in Germany, his going. His not going also delivered a message.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Is that the same Chancellor Kohl who had Kurt Waldheim at his side?

Mr. FOXMAN. The same Chancellor Kohl. But that leadership example, starting on the level of political leadership, to moral leadership, to church leadership. I was in Germany about a year ago and I met with some church leadership, and I said I did not see you at the front of demonstrations. I said, I did not see collars or what I would like to see. Where were you?

They said, we were there. I said, not in the front. And if you weren't in the front, the negative message was more frightening than 700,000 people marching.

And so you are right. It is how do we reach the people?

I would not come into work every day if I did not believe that we can change people's minds and hearts. I am a pessimistic optimist, because I know that there are more people who love than there are people who hate. The only problem is, those that hate work 18 to 24 hours a day.

With Mr. Svoray, they worked from the night into the morning. The people who love sit back and wait. But the hope, the optimism in me is that you can get those people who love to work 24 hours a day. And this is one way. This is one way. Exposing the haters in the way that Mr. Svoray did is another way. A museum a third way. That is our hope.

Rabbi HIER. Let me just add, if I can, you know that the United States has a more than two-century history, of course, of tolerance and a commitment to democratic institutions; and we have tried very hard to work at it. Well, that doesn't prevent our freedom from being tested on a regular basis. Even today during this committee hearing revisionists were present here in this room. They distributed literature right here. Those who deny the Holocaust and who are well-known for denying the Holocaust cast aspersions on Mr. Svoray's testimony by submitting familiar threats right here in this room, claiming basically that he says, everyone, we knew immediately by using faxes, who Yaron Svoray really is. We just told people to play along and feed him false information.

They fed him such false information that one person went out and bought three suits because he thought that Mr. Svoray was going to introduce him to some big shots in the United States that would put money into their movement. They went to a tailor and bought three suits. That is how much they knew about his mission.

But the fact is, it doesn't prevent revisionists from being right here in the U.S. Congress.

Now, let me also state for the record we should note that even on the clearest issues, it is always difficult. Winston Churchill

stood alone. Today we talk about the rising of the Nazis in Germany. When Hitler was right there, speaking every night, we still had to convince a lot of people even in our country to join with Churchill.

So fighting for democracy and for tolerance takes guts, and as Mr. Foxman stated, the government has to apply all its energy, all its institutions; and they have to show that they really mean it. It is not important to issue statements. The idea is, what comes across the tube? Do the people believe that all parts of the government are behind this battle to do away with intolerance? If they don't get that message and if the wheels of government do not find their way into creating a task force, new legislation, museums that will deal with tolerance, then people really get the—then people come away with the impression the government really doesn't mean it, they don't care; and then you have this reaction.

Mr. LANTOS. I am obviously deeply grateful to all four of you. This has been an extraordinary panel. We still have a few minutes, and I want to give my good friend from New Jersey a chance to ask his questions.

Mr. SMITH. I have a number of questions, but I will restrict it to three. Let me just say how appreciative I am to the panel for their expert witness and to Mr. Lantos, Chairman of the committee, for convening this hearing to focus on an extremely important and, unfortunately, very troubling phenomenon that has been occurring since the early part of the 1990's.

DECLINE IN ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1993

Never again. It should be never again, and unfortunately, it is happening again.

Mr. Foxman, in your report on anti-Semitism in the first quarter of 1993, it is pointed out that a downward trend in anti-Semitic activity in Western Europe, as compared to the closing months of 1992, seems to have occurred. My question is—and Mr. Svoray, you might want to comment on this as well—having been inside these neo-Nazi groups, whether or not they saw this as, you know, going underground a deferral for the time being while they continue to network; or are the governments, particularly in Germany, really beginning to take some significant steps outlawing certain organizations and thereby having an impact? If you could comment on that, and especially, what the impression was on the inside.

Mr. FOXMAN. Let me just start. What we are finding are statistics of violent activities, they have gone down. Now, they have gone down because the crescendo of response to the rising tide of violence that we experienced in 1992 was such that the Government of Germany, especially, finally obtained its will, because we know they had the laws, and started doing some of the things that Mr. Svoray is recommending.

So while we still count, the numbers are low. But we are concerned. They haven't gone away. What you have heard here and what you read in this report is that they are there. They have taken a little bit of a quiet seat. They know people are watching. They know that the government is now being measured by how it exercises its will to use the laws.

But in the long run, you know, maybe 6 months from now, one way of measuring what is out there is the public's violent manifestations. That has been down, although everybody said, it is over; and we just witnessed violence in Germany again.

IS OFFICIAL GERMAN POLICY PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF
EXTREMISTS?

Mr. SVORAY. One of the notions that many of my acquaintances within the movement had is a different one than the German Government actually had. The people that came into the movement, they said to me, you see, we will go at this step by step, we will get the Germans to do what we want, and the way we will get things done is by violence.

Now, it was clear from the beginning—and actually when I started sending out my material to The Wiesenthal Center, when I got feedbacks, they said, these people are interested in changing the law regarding refugees. And what happened is that the German Government, unfortunately and I think it is very unfortunate—played into their hands.

I believe that the German Government said to themselves, we have to placate these people. We have to have quiet consideration now because we have many other problems, and they do. Let's change the laws regarding refugees and things will quiet down at least on the right. They did not realize that my friends were telling me on a daily basis, let's—and every time I passed in a city or a town actually a foreign-looking person in the streets, my friends were actually "friends," I mean, quote-unquote—were going to jump out of the car and beat him up, for nothing except to cause a situation in which more foreigners are beat up.

It is very easy within cities such as Frankfurt to see foreigners, because the Frankfurt society is well-dressed, well-kept, et cetera. When you see a foreigner, it is almost like a sore thumb. We actually drove through the outskirts of Frankfurt, and they said, that is a Turkish house, that is a gypsy house, there lives a Greek couple, et cetera.

The idea was that the German Government probably thought, let's quiet the situation down by going with tougher laws against refugees; and what happened is they played into the neo-Nazis' hands.

I can tell you now, from conviction, that the next step is going to go—the violence is going to increase, because now if neo-Nazis said to themselves, would you look, we have managed to do what we said we were going to do in less than 4 months. That is the reality.

Within the movement itself, violence is—it permeates all through the movement. But—the actual violence, although probably in numbers they have gone down. No more actual beatings of people. I would imagine in ferocity they have gone. For instance, 2 years ago they burnt no one, but five attacks in the train station, you go and burn five kids and in capacity of numbers, it is much smaller, but in effect it is much bigger.

DEMOCRACY IS THE ONLY ANTIDOTE

Mr. LANTOS. In conclusion, if I might just add that there are parallels between violence against tourists in the United States and the anxiety developed by local authorities that they are losing tourist income. I mean, this was giving a black eye to a whole country and the tourist industry and the investments, and these clearly had ramifications.

Mr. SMITH. I know we are out of time, but Mr. Foxman raised a very interesting point, about anti-Semitism being the bridge between left and right. Most of us—I have been on the Helsinki Commission for most of my 13 years as a Member—really believe that the democratization process in the East Bloc, especially in the former Soviet Union, is tenuous at best; and if the building blocks for the new reality in the 1990's are being laid, I think we need to take more aggressive action.

Perhaps you might want to comment on that. If these hatemongers reemerge—they call it the National Salvation Front, which parenthetically is exactly what it was called in Romania, when they took control—I think it portends a very dangerous future.

Mr. FOXMAN. I think there are programs——

Mr. LANTOS. One minute.

Mr. FOXMAN. There are programs, such as the National Endowment for Democracy, which deals with the basic element, and it is these United States and this Congress that must exercise the will. What is going to be needed is an understanding that in order to deal with the extreme right and left, democracy is still the only antidote, and they will have to be taught.

Mr. LANTOS. You will be unhappy to learn that there is a motion coming to the floor tomorrow abolishing the National Endowment for Democracy, and it will be a tall order for those of us who believe in it to retain it.

I want to thank all of you and my colleagues for a remarkable hearing.

The subcommittee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:30 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned to reconvene at the call of the chair.]

APPENDIX

TESTIMONY BY
RABBI MARVIN HIER
DEAN OF THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER
BEFORE THE HOUSE
FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.
JUNE 15, 1993

MR. CHAIRMAN:

BETWEEN OCTOBER 1992 AND APRIL 1993, THE SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER SPONSORED A COVERT OPERATION TO PENETRATE THE NEO-NAZI LEADERSHIP IN GERMANY.

BEFORE REVIEWING, FOR THE COMMITTEE, THE MISSION'S FINDINGS AND HEARING THE TESTIMONY OF AN EXTRAORDINARILY BRAVE MAN, YARON SVORAY, THE SON OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE IN CONFRONTING THE EXTREME RIGHT.

I RECALL, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN FEBRUARY 1990, ON THE EVE OF REUNIFICATION, EVEN BEFORE THE FINE PRINT HAD SETTLED ON ALL THE AGREEMENTS THAT GERMANY MADE WITH HER FORMER ENEMIES, I WROTE A LETTER TO CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL IN WHICH I PUT TO HIM THE CRUCIAL QUESTION OF WHETHER THE NEW GERMANY WAS PREPARED TO ABSORB THE STRAINS THAT COULD LEAD MANY YOUNG GERMANS TO THE EXTREME RIGHT.

"TO THE VICTIMS OF NAZISM, MR. CHANCELLOR," I SAID, "IT IS NOT THE POTENTIAL WEAKNESS OF THE DEUTSCHE MARK THAT CONCERNS US, BUT THE CONSEQUENCES THAT MAY LEAD TO A WEAK DEUTSCHE MEMORY".

THE CHANCELLOR VEHEMENTLY DISAGREED AND WROTE BACK..."I CANNOT CONCEAL MY DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT AT HOW LITTLE NOTE IS TAKEN OF THE FACT THAT FOR DECADES NOW, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG GENERATION IN THE FREE PART OF GERMANY, HAS BEEN INFORMED WITHOUT ANY TABOOS OF THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST TYRANNY..."

HE ADDED ... "IT HAS PROBABLY ALSO ESCAPED YOUR NOTICE THAT IN OUR PENAL CODE PRECISELY THOSE 'CRIMES OF HATRED' WHOSE COMBATING YOU RECOMMEND TO ME ARE PUNISHABLE WITH FINES OR PRISON SENTENCES".

UNFORTUNATELY, IF MY SUSPICION WAS TOO MISTRUSTING, THEN I THINK THE CHANCELLOR'S FAITH WAS AN ACT OF WISHFUL THINKING.

NOT SINCE THE DAYS OF THE THIRD REICH HAS GERMANY BEEN WITNESS TO THE WAVE OF VIOLENCE CURRENTLY EATING AWAY AT HER SOCIAL FABRIC.

IN 1992, RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS COMMITTED 2,285 ACTS OF VIOLENCE, NEARLY A 50% JUMP FROM THE YEAR BEFORE. IN THE FIRST 4 MONTHS OF 1993 THERE HAVE BEEN AN ADDITIONAL 670 ATTACKS REPORTED. ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO TWO TURKISH WOMEN AND THREE CHILDREN PERISHED IN THE ARSON ATTACK OF THEIR SOLINGEN HOME.

NEO-NAZIS IN GERMANY HAVE OPENLY TAKEN THEIR CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE TO THE STREETS, SOMETIMES APPLAUDED BY PASSERSBY WHO GATHER TO TAKE IN THE SPECTACLE OF A BURNING REFUGEE CENTER OR WHO JOIN THE PERPETRATORS AND CHANT "FOREIGNERS OUT".

JEWISH CEMETERIES AND SYNAGOGUES HAVE BEEN ATTACKED; A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF HEINZ GALINSKI, THE LATE CHAIRMAN OF GERMANY'S JEWISH COMMUNITY, WAS MARRED WHEN THE HEADS OF TWO PIGS WERE DELIVERED TO A LOCAL SYNAGOGUE. THE PIG'S HEADS WERE WRAPPED IN LETTERS THAT EXPLAINED THE GESTURE AS AN EXPRESSION OF JOY OVER GALINSKI'S DEATH.

NAZI SLOGANS HAVE BEEN SPRAYED ON JEWISH GRAVESTONES IN CEMETERIES IN KARLSRUHE, IN STUTTGART, IN WUPPERTAL. EVEN THE SACRED MEMORIALS SUCH AS THE DACHAU AND RAVENSBRUECK CONCENTRATION CAMPS HAVE NOT BEEN SPARED FROM DESECRATION.

WHILE MOST ATTACKS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE STATES THAT ONCE COMPRISED THE G.D.R., IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT NEARLY 40% OF ALL VIOLENT ACTS RECORDED BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S OFFICE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OCCURRED IN THE MORE AFFLUENT WESTERN PART OF GERMANY.

YES, IT IS ALSO TRUE, AND IT IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING THAT MUST BE EMPHASIZED, THAT HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF GERMAN CITIZENS, YOUNG AND OLD, HAVE TAKEN TO THE STREETS IN NUMEROUS TOWNS AND CITIES, TO CONDEMN THE NEO-NAZI VIOLENCE.

THE RECORD SHOULD ALSO BE CLEAR THAT THE POSTWAR GERMAN DEMOCRACY HAS WITHSTOOD ALL TESTS HURLED AGAINST IT TIME AND AGAIN DURING THE COLD WAR PERIOD BY THE MENACING SOVIET BLOC DICTATORSHIPS.

BUT THE RECORD IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO THE NEO-NAZI UPSURGE HAS BEEN INADEQUATE, LATE IN COMING, AND IN FACT A REHASH OF A NAIVE AND OUTDATED ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EXTREME RIGHT.

THE TRUTH IS MR. CHAIRMAN, CHANCELLOR KOHL WAS CORRECT IN POINTING TO THE STRICT GERMAN PENAL CODES AND ITS UNIQUE LAWS AGAINST HATRED ... AND YES THE THOROUGHNESS OF ITS OFFICE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH MONITORS EXTREMIST ACTIVITIES. BUT, SADLY, THESE LEGAL MECHANISMS ARE NOT MATCHED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO ENFORCE THEM.

AS THE LONDON OBSERVER WROTE RECENTLY..."GERMANY MUST STOP ACTING LIKE THE NAIVE OAF THAT BRANDISHES ITS CONSTITUTION WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY POSING AS THE CONSCIENCE OF THE WORLD".

IF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS SERIOUS ABOUT STOPPING THE EXTREME RIGHT, IT MUST BE WILLING TO EMPLOY THE SAME METHODS AND STRATEGIES USED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE EXTREME LEFT. ONE CANNOT CONFER A SPECIAL STATUS ON THE BAADER MEINHOF TERRORISTS AND THEN GO ON AND TREAT NEO-NAZIS AND SKINHEADS WHO KILL AND MAIM TURKS AND OTHER FOREIGNERS AS IF THEY WERE DEPRIVED TEENAGE DELINQUENTS.

THE SAD STATE OF AFFAIRS IS THAT POST-WAR GERMANY HAS ALWAYS HAD A PROBLEM IN DEALING WITH THE EXTREME RIGHT, AND HAS NEVER COME TO TERMS WITH THAT PROBLEM.

LET ME CITE SOME EXAMPLES...

IN THE MID-70'S THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT WAS PUBLICLY WARNED THAT HANS SEDLMEIER, A KEY EXECUTIVE WHO WORKED FOR THE MENGELE FAMILY BUSINESS IN GUENZBURG, WAS A GO-BETWEEN AND A PRIME SUSPECT IN COVERING UP THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE INFAMOUS "ANGEL OF DEATH" - DR. JOSEF MENGELE.

SURELY, YOU WOULD ASSUME SUCH INFORMATION WOULD BE TREATED VERY SERIOUSLY SINCE IT CONCERNED A MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDER AND TORTURE OF MORE THAN 400,000 INNOCENT PEOPLE AT AUSCHWITZ, AND THAT NO EFFORT WOULD BE SPARED IN DETERMINING THE RELIABILITY OF THE INFORMATION.

YET DESPITE SUCH PUBLIC WARNINGS GIVEN BY SIMON WIESENTHAL AND OTHERS, THE AUTHORITIES NEVER ONCE CONSIDERED TAPPING SEDLMEIER'S TELEPHONE OR OPENING HIS MAIL.

THEY MERELY HID BEHIND A NARROW INTERPRETATION OF THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION, A NOTION THAT WAS LESS AN IMPEDIMENT WHEN GOING AFTER THE BAADER-MEINHOF TERRORISTS.

HAD THE AUTHORITIES BOTHERED TO TAP SEDLMEIER'S PHONE OR READ HIS MAIL, THEY WOULD HAVE FOUND SOME 200 LETTERS SENT TO HIM BY DR. JOSEF MENGELE FROM SOUTH AMERICA TO BE PASSED ON TO HIS FAMILY IN GUENZBURG.

LIKewise, IN THE LATE 50'S WHEN MENGELE NEEDED AN ARGENTINEAN IDENTIFICATION CARD. HE WENT INTO THE GERMAN EMBASSY IN BUENOS AIRES. THEY IN TURN CONTACTED BONN WHO CONFIRMED HIS IDENTITY AS JOSEF MENGELE, BORN IN GUENZBURG IN 1911.

BY THAT TIME THE GERMANS HAD OPENED THE FILE ON MENGELE, TECHNICALLY THEY WERE LOOKING FOR HIM, THE PENAL CODE WAS IN PLACE. BUT THERE WERE NO RESOURCES TO BACK IT UP, NO AGENTS TO SCAN THE GLOBE IN AN ATTEMPT TO BRING HIM TO JUSTICE.

HAD THERE BEEN SUCH A CONCENTRATED, ALL OUT ATTEMPT THEN JOSEF MENGELE WOULD NOT HAVE ESCAPED THE BAR OF JUSTICE.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS ATTITUDE CAME DURING THE GULF WAR. GERMANY CERTAINLY KNEW WHO SADDAM HUSSEIN WAS AND WHAT HE WAS CAPABLE OF DOING IF HE ACQUIRED WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THEY, MORE THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY, HAD A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF PLACING POTENT CHEMICALS AND GASSES IN THE HANDS OF SUCH A TYRANT.

BUT THAT DID NOT DETER 135 GERMAN FIRMS FROM SIMPLY GOING ABOUT THEIR BUSINESS, OFFERING UP TO SADDAM'S ARSENAL THE MOST SOPHISTICATED TECHNOLOGY AND LARGE QUANTITIES OF THE MOST DANGEROUS CHEMICALS, BUILDING UP HIS DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITY.

YES, IT IS TRUE, OTHER WESTERN COMPANIES, INCLUDING SOME FROM THE UNITED STATES, DID THE SAME. BUT NONE APPROACHED THE AUDACITY AND BOLDNESS OF THE GERMAN COMPANIES.

AGAIN, THE DANGER WAS KNOWN, THE PENAL CODE WAS IN PLACE, THE CONSTITUTION SAID THE RIGHT THINGS. BUT THE WILL AND DETERMINATION, BACKED BY THE NECESSARY RESOURCES TO PREVENT IT FROM HAPPENING JUST DID NOT EXIST; NOT UNTIL AN INTERNATIONAL

OUTCRY AND STORM OF PROTEST FORCED THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT AND ENFORCE ITS EXPORT CONTROL LAWS.

SIMILARLY, IN THE LATE 1980'S COMPUTER HATE GAMES BEGAN APPEARING IN GERMANY AND LATER MADE THEIR WAY INTO AUSTRIA; GAMES SUCH AS ANTI-TURK TEST AND KZ MANAGER, WHICH SOUGHT TO IDENTIFY WHETHER A PLAYER HAD THE COMPETENCE TO MANAGE A CONCENTRATION CAMP.

IF THE PLAYER WAS VERY EFFECTIVE, THEN THE GRAPHICS SHOWED, AS YOU SEE HERE, A TURK DEAD ON THE FLOOR FROM THE GASSING WITH A CAPTION READING, "THE GAS HAS HAD ITS EFFECT AND YOU HAVE FREED GERMANY FROM SOME PARASITES".

THE CENTER HAS IN ITS POSSESSION SIX SUCH GAMES. WHAT IS REMARKABLE IS THAT GAMES SUCH AS THESE REQUIRE GRAPHICS AND COMPUTER PROGRAMMERS.

YET SINCE THESE GAMES FIRST APPEARED IN 1986, NOT A SINGLE PERSON HAS BEEN APPREHENDED AND CHARGED WITH VIOLATING GERMANY'S ANTI-HATE LAWS BY MANUFACTURING AND PRODUCING THEM.

LET US BE QUITE CLEAR, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS HORRIFIED BY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EXTREMISTS, BY THE MURDERS AND THE BOMBINGS. BUT SOMEHOW ITS INDIGNATION IS NOT MATCHED BY A SUSTAINED POLICY TO APPLY SWEEPING MEASURES EQUAL TO THOSE USED IN THE BATTLE AGAINST THE LEFTIST EXTREMISTS.

RECENTLY, SECURITY OFFICIALS DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM IN GERMANY, HAVE MADE SOME SOBERING COMMENTS ABOUT THE SUBJECT OF VIOLENCE IN THEIR COUNTRY...

"I AM AFRAID THAT AN AVALANCHE HAS BEEN UNLEASHED WHICH WE CAN NO LONGER STOP", SAID HANS-DIETER SCHWIND, HEAD OF THE COMMISSION ON EXTREMIST VIOLENCE. "IT'S PROBABLY ALREADY TOO LATE. MY PREDICTION IS THAT IT WILL GET MUCH WORSE AND THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING", HE ADDED.

ANOTHER OFFICIAL, THE CHIEF EXPERT ON RIGHT WING EXTREMISM FOR THE OFFICE OF THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION, HEINRICH SIPPEL, SAID LAST WEEK, "IT'S NOT JUST A GERMAN PROBLEM ... ENGLAND HAD 6,000 VIOLENT ATTACKS AGAINST FOREIGNERS LAST YEAR. EVERY WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRY CAN RECKON ON A POTENTIAL OF MORE OR LESS 15% EXTREMISM", HE SAID, "BUT THAT'S NORMAL".

I DON'T THINK IT'S ACCEPTABLE. MR. CHAIRMAN, AND I DON'T THINK IT'S NORMAL THAT 50 YEARS AFTER AUSCHWITZ THAT THE CHIEF EXPERT ON SECURITY ON RIGHT WING EXTREMISM IN GERMANY, EXCUSES WHAT IS GOING ON AS NORMAL.

IF MR. SIPPEL'S FIGURES WERE APPLIED TO THE WHOLE OF GERMANY, A COUNTRY OF 80 MILLION PEOPLE. 15% OF THAT WOULD PUT 12 MILLION GERMANS IN THE EXTREMIST CAMP...SOMETHING THAT IS HARDLY NORMAL AND HARDLY ACCEPTABLE, ESPECIALLY NOT TO ALL THOSE WHO SUFFERED UNDER NAZISM.

AS THE LONDON OBSERVER COMMENTED, REFERRING TO GERMANY'S RELUCTANCE TO JOIN IN A PEACE KEEPING FORCE ..."GERMANY IS NO LONGER A SHADOW OF THE COLD WAR, IT MUST FINALLY BECOME A STATE AND IF THE CONSTITUTION IMPEDES SOME OF THIS PROGRESS THEN THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD BE AMENDED".

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN A FEW WEEKS SIMON WIESENTHAL CENTER OFFICIALS WILL ACCOMPANY YARON SVORAY AND RICK EATON, WHO WILL BE DEBRIEFED BY GERMAN OFFICIALS ABOUT THEIR PENETRATION OF THE NEO-NAZI LEADERSHIP. AT THAT TIME, WE WILL URGE BONN TO CREATE A JOINT FEDERAL-STATE TASK FORCE TO EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE EXTREME RIGHT, TO LAUNCH MORE COVERT OPERATIONS AGAINST THEM, TO PUT MORE AGENTS IN THE FIELD, TO INSTITUTE MANDATORY HOLOCAUST EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, TO CREATE A NATIONAL TOLERANCE CENTER.

FOR ONLY IF GERMANY IS WILLING TO DEAL FORCEFULLY AND DIRECTLY WITH THE CAUSES AND MANIFESTATIONS OF THIS SCOURGE. CAN SHE LAY CLAIM TO A ROLE IN RESHAPING EUROPE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY.

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RABBI MARVIN HIER

Rabbi Marvin Hier is dean and founder of the Simon Wiesenthal Center and its Beit Hashoah-Museum of Tolerance.

In 1977, following a sabbatical in Israel and visits to Holocaust sites in Europe, Rabbi Hier left his position as rabbi of Vancouver's Schara Tzedek Congregation to create the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, which today stands as one of the foremost Jewish human rights agencies in the world, with a constituency of more than 380,000 families and offices throughout the United States, Canada, Europe and Israel. A Los Angeles Times Magazine cover story on Rabbi Hier noted that he "has made the Simon Wiesenthal Center the most visible Jewish organization in the world."

As the Center's dean and founder, Rabbi Hier meets regularly with world leaders to discuss the Center's agenda -- a wide range of issues including worldwide antisemitism, contemporary attitudes on intolerance and bigotry, the resurgence of Nazism and fascism, the prosecution of Nazi war criminals and international terrorism.

Noted for his powerful oratory, original thinking and creativity, Rabbi Hier was the recipient of an Academy Award as producer and co-writer of **Genocide**, a documentary on the Holocaust.

His views on issues of the day are regularly sought by the international media and his editorials have appeared in newspapers across the United States. Rabbi Hier has been invited by both Democratic and Republican leaders to address national conventions. As a public lecturer, he is much in demand and has spoken in numerous countries throughout the world on topics of concern.

In June 1992, in Paris at UNESCO's (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) international headquarters, Rabbi Hier keynoted an historic conference on antisemitism and the struggle for tolerance, which was co-sponsored by UNESCO and the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

In 1991, he led the Center's mission to the People's Republic of China and met with China's foreign minister to promote human rights and closer Sino-Jewish relations. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, his dialogue with Chancellor Helmut Kohl led to a critical public debate on German reunification and the need for a "deutsche memory."

In 1989, the government of Israel accepted Rabbi Hier's suggestion to convene the "Prime Minister's Conference on Jewish Solidarity With Israel," which was attended by more than 1,600 delegates from 42 countries. In 1983, Rabbi Hier had an audience with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican to discuss antisemitism and to urge diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel.

Rabbi Hier served as historical consultant to ABC television's miniseries adaptation of Herman Wouk's novel, *War and Remembrance*. In 1990, he wrote and produced *Echoes That Remain*, a documentary on pre-World War II European Jewish life. The film was recently awarded best documentary at the Worldfest International Film Festival.

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YARON SVORAYJOURNALIST

Editor, Menaholim. Israel's leading magazine for executives.

U.S. Correspondent, Hadashot, Israeli daily newspaper. Coverage of the United Nations and the American scene.

Reporter at large, Yediot America, a weekly journal. Coverage of the New York underworld.

Freelance reporter on CNN and FOX Network.

LECTURER

Over 700 invited lectures throughout the United States on topics ranging from international terrorism to analysis of internal and external affairs in the Middle East and the changing role of United States policy in the region.

EDUCATION

M.A. Media Studies, Queens College, City University of New York.

B.A. Communications, Queens College, City University of New York.

Political Science and International Affairs, Hebrew University.

Criminal Justice Studies, Central Police Academy, Haifa.

MILITARY/POLICE SERVICE

1990-93 Worked with Drug Enforcement Agency and Department of Firearms and Alcohol.

1985-92 International investigations in South America, Europe and Asia for various multinational companies.

1982-85 Police detective, Central Police Command Unit. Took part in investigations ranging from drug smuggling to murder.

1973-76 Sgt. Major in paratroopers, Israeli Defense Force. Participated in Yom Kippur War and the Lebanon War of 1982.

As a paratrooper, participated in commando raids across several Arab borders.

PERSONAL

Born: 1954, Kibbutz Gvulot, Negev, Israel. Father is a German Jew who escaped Germany and arrived in Palestine in 1938; mother is a Rumanian Jew who lived two years in hiding under German occupation and arrived in Palestine in 1943.

Status: Married with three children. Lives outside Tel Aviv.

Statement

of

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

FOR

Anti-Semitism in Europe and the Former Soviet Union Hearings

BEFORE THE

House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Security,
International Organizations and Human Rights

June 15, 1993

Testimony of
Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director
House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on International Security,
International Organizations and Human Rights

June 15, 1993

My name is Abraham Foxman and I am National Director of the Anti-Defamation League. I am accompanied by Jess Hordes, Director of the League's Washington Office.

The ADL is pleased to have the opportunity to testify before this subcommittee and commends the committee for its continuous efforts to raise the issues of anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry. It supports the efforts of organizations like the ADL in fighting bigotry and racial hatred, no matter who is the target.

The situation in eastern Europe cannot be divorced from certain Europe-wide trends and developments that provide a framework for the assessment of anti-Semitism in the formerly Soviet-controlled countries.

The fall of the Soviet Union and the failure of communism have had an impact on all of Europe, in terms of dislocation, and have revived nationalism and ethnic antagonisms within which anti-Semitism is a constant threat. The nationalistic trends have deeply affected key countries of western Europe, which are busy with their own problems and not easily available to help combat xenophobia and anti-Semitism further east.

The former Yugoslavia is the most telling and frightening case in point. But it is merely the most dramatic and tragic expression of a continent-wide disorientation, of mass migrations made possible by newly opened borders, and by old fears stirred up to new levels of panic and frequent violence.

The most widely observed phenomenon is the fear of "the foreigner". In Germany, as you have heard today, this fear is being exploited by a relatively small but excessively brutal group of Skinheads and other mostly young people who take their cue from Nazism, even though they are far from ideologically trained or tightly organized. They burn the homes of Turkish or other foreign residents, and occupy local and national organs of control and investigation that have yet to come to grips with this plague.

Whenever there is xenophobia or a feeling on the part of uneducated, bitter, or just destructive individuals and groups, the targets are people who are "different". When one has nothing to show in one's life, one is reduced to finding a kind of innate superiority, which in this case means being German is superior to being Turkish or a Gypsy.

And whenever people who are "different" are the targets, Jews are close to the bulls-eye. This has shown itself in cemetery and

memorial desecrations, in slogans painted on walls, in the lyrics of right-wing extremist bands, and many other ways.

This situation has made Jews nervous and apprehensive. When there is general dislocation and insecurity, Jews find themselves especially insecure. They work with allies in the pro-democratic world in combatting the anti-foreign mood; and they attempt to work in the fields of education, both in and out of school, to buttress democratic thinking and forces.

I shall have more to say about this later on, after I turn to the situation in eastern Europe.

In eastern Europe, anti-Semitism has a long, often tragic history. Under the Communists, it was not allowed open expression. One saw little anti-Semitic graffiti or read few openly anti-Semitic articles in newspapers unless they were government authorized. But this animus was never eradicated. The speed and ease with which it emerged after the fall of Communism is indicative of the fact that it has long festered under the surface.

With the fall of Communism, Jewish life has improved dramatically. Jewish schools, camps, youth groups, seminaries, and university-level Jewish studies programs have been established. Communal institutions, which existed under the Communists in a limited and precarious fashion, are flourishing. This is an

exciting and positive development and has prompted some to project the possibility of a reconstruction of Jewish life in Eastern Europe.

At the same time, the long-suppressed popular anti-Semitism has percolated to the surface. Anti-Semitic graffiti, articles, religious homilies, political slogans and vandalism have appeared in virtually all the countries of eastern Europe and the CIS. The sale of traditional anti-Semitic materials, including the well-known forgery, the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, has been reported.

On some levels, it is more frightening to Jews. It is far less predictable and sometimes more openly virulent. Before, one could attribute it to a hated government policy. Now it seems to be coming from one's neighbors. Moreover, it harks back to an age-old teaching: "The Jews are the cause of all our problems."

I am enclosing, along with this testimony, a major report on anti-Semitism in Europe during the first quarter of 1993, produced by the Project for the Study of anti-Semitism of Tel Aviv University in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. This report delineates the activities of racist, anti-Semitic groups, anti-Semitic activities and propaganda, as well as the struggle against anti-Semitism during the first three months of this year. This report has been submitted to the UN Conference on Human

Rights, which, as you know, is taking place as we speak today.

Fighting anti-Semitism requires a multi-dimensional approach. One crucial element in this process is education to diminish prejudice and the resulting hatred which it breeds. ADL, through its "A World of Difference" prejudice reduction program, has influenced thousands of teachers and hundreds of thousands of students in this country. Now we are starting to use our experience overseas. We have brought to the U.S. several members of the Moscow City Council and educators to witness our prejudice reduction program. This summer ADL professionals will go to Moscow to begin working with Soviet educators. Obviously this is just the beginning, but it could become a model for inculcating values of democracy and pluralism. We believe that U.S. government agencies should look to cooperate with non-profit groups such as ADL in finding ways to expand such programs throughout the CIS and Eastern Europe.

Another area that is crucial for dealing with anti-Semitism is Holocaust education. The point of such education is to demonstrate where hatred can lead.

Political, religious, and communal leaders have a critical role to play in making clear their acceptance of individuals of different cultures, religions, and ethnic origins. If government leaders promote respect for these differences, a standard of

tolerance is set for the nation. In the wake of a racist or anti-Semitic incident, it is imperative that government officials and other civic leaders speak out to condemn this activity. Active efforts to increase public awareness of the problem of racism and anti-Semitism will send a message to potential targets of racist and anti-Semitic violence -- and would-be perpetrators -- that these incidents are taken seriously by the government and will not be tolerated.

While verbal condemnation is a first and crucial step, it must be accompanied by concrete actions. Such a step was taken by Poland's President, Lech Walesa, when he established a Presidential Commission on anti-Semitism. President Ion Iliescu of Romania publicly condemned anti-Semitism and instructed his Attorney General to bring an investigation which could lead to a court challenge of two Romanian newspapers that have published anti-Semitic diatribes. This type of response, if it receives sustained support from the highest political levels, as well as officials on the local municipal level, can be important. Otherwise, it will be relegated to the category of prestigious but meaningless actions, designed to placate foreign opinion.

A third element in this struggle must include legal, legislative and analytical approaches to curtail prejudice, discrimination and anti-Semitism. We at the ADL have been instrumental here in the U.S. in urging the passage of hate crime legislation on the state and federal level, including recently

passed Congressional legislation mandating the FBI to keep national statistics on hate crimes.

This brief overview indicates that anti-Semitism in Europe must be seen in the context of a growing wave of anti-foreign feeling. What has happened and is increasingly happening on the old continent is that once homogenous or close-to-homogeneous contrives have become pluralistic societies and immigration countries like the United States.

The trouble is that they still think of themselves as homogeneous, and look on people born there or who lived for decades in the country, as foreigners. In times of trouble or dislocation, Jews have traditionally become the scapegoats, even though they have lived in a country, often in the same town, for generations.

There is no shortcut to combatting these anti-special trends and activities. there is a need to call attention to their destructiveness to the entire society, to demonstrate that all the inhabitants have a stake in combatting the divisiveness of extreme nationalism or anti-foreign attitudes.

This is what ADL has been about in America for 80 years. It is what we hope to be a catalyst for in Europe or wherever our experience may benefit the interests of democracy, freedom and social justice.



ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN
National Director

Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, enjoys an international reputation as an articulate spokesperson for the safety and security of the Jewish people, of Israel and human rights around the globe.

An attorney, Mr. Foxman was named to his present post in July 1987 after serving as ADL's associate national director for nearly ten years. He was director of the Middle Eastern Affairs Department from 1968 to 1973, director of National Leadership and assistant director of the Law Department. He joined the League in 1965.

As ADL's national director, Mr. Foxman's views on domestic and international issues are sought by national and world leaders as well as by scholars, writers and the media. He has traveled the country and crisscrossed the globe, meeting with elected officials and community leaders at home as well as in Israel, the former U.S.S.R., the Vatican, Poland, Rumania, Ethiopia, Australia, Africa, Asia, Western Europe and Latin America.

A recognized authority on the Holocaust and Jewish resistance to the Nazis, he is a member of the President's United States Holocaust Memorial Council, the Advisory Council to the New York City Holocaust Memorial Commission and is a vice president of the American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors.

Mr. Foxman has written extensively on the Holocaust and authored chapters in four books -- They Fought Back, Anthology of Holocaust Literature, The Jewish Catastrophe in Europe, Society on Trial -- and contributed to the Encyclopedia Judaica.

Born in Poland in 1940, he was saved from the Holocaust as an infant by his Polish Catholic nursemaid who baptized and raised him as a Catholic during the war years. His parents survived but he lost 14 members of his family, eight on his mother's side and six on his father's. He arrived in the United States in 1950 with his parents after a lengthy custody battle with the former nursemaid, who had come to love him as her own.

A graduate of the Yeshiva of Flatbush, Brooklyn, NY, Mr. Foxman earned a B.A. degree in political science from the City College of City University of New York, from which he was graduated with honors in history and received the university's history medal for his thesis, Vilna -- Story of a Ghetto, 1941-1945. He holds a Juris Doctor degree from New York University School of Law and is a member of the New York State Bar. In addition, he did graduate work in advanced Judaic studies at the Jewish Theological Seminary and in international economics at The New School for Social Research. In 1992, he was awarded a honorary Doctor of Law degree at Florida International University. Mr. Foxman is fluent in several foreign languages.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF AN ANCIENT EVIL:
ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE POST-SOVIET STATES

Paul A. Goble
Senior Associate
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Washington, D.C.

Testimony prepared for the U.S. House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on International Security, International
Organizations and Human Rights.
June 15, 1993

At the end of last year, an El Al jet landed in the Tajik capital of Dushanbe to pick up more than 200 Jews who wanted to emigrate to Israel. When the plane arrived, the Jews themselves were in an airport building which itself was under the control and protection of the Tajik government, while the airplane was naturally under the control of Israeli officials. But as the Jews moved from the airport building to the plane, a group of local bandits surrounded them in order to steal whatever goods the Jews were carrying. The Tajik officials were outgunned, and as a result, neither they nor the Israeli air crew was able to prevent this last outrage.

In many ways, this event serves as a symbol of the new situation Jews face in the former Soviet republics: On the one hand, the opportunities of Jews both to develop as a community or to leave are far greater than they were under the Soviets. On the other, the new governments--while generally respecting the rights of Jews--are often too weak to block effectively the actions of anti-semites and their allies, both of whom have new opportunities for action as well. As a result, Jews in many of the new countries face a new kind of threat, one that is at least as dangerous as those in Soviet times and, in some cases, potentially even worse.

Unfortunately, this threat has often gone unrecognized because many in the West continue to try to track anti-semitism in the region the way they have always done: examining the press for attacks on Jews and Israel and assuming that the intensity of such attacks represent a reliable barometer of public action. In Soviet times, when the authorities were in virtually total control of the media and when they used the press to push regime policies, that was a reasonable approach. Now, it is no longer appropriate, for while the number of anti-semitic articles has increased dramatically, that fact no longer reflects government policy so much as the new opportunities for all groups to use the media to advance their agendas.

In short, anti-semitism has been privatized, shifted from primarily a question of state policy to one of private actions, from an issue of what the government will do to the Jews to one of whether any of the governments will be able to protect them in the face of still-strong anti-semitic attitudes in many parts of the population. And the continued use of our old methodology in this new environment is likely to result in a situation where we will highlight one set of problems but miss another far more fundamental and threatening group of them.

In my remarks, I would like to make three points as a contribution toward the development of an understanding of the new kinds of dangers anti-semitism presents in the post-Soviet environment. First, I would like to highlight the extent to which the new regimes have moved in various degrees to eliminate the worst forms of Soviet anti-semitism. Second, I want to suggest where I think the worst problems lie, both now and in the near future. And third, I want to argue that the United States must adopt a new approach to the problem of anti-semitism in the post-Soviet states, one that recognizes what the new governments and the newly-freed populations are capable of.

The Good, the Bad and the Indifferent

Like all other groups, Jews have both benefitted and suffered as the result of the end of the Soviet system. They have benefitted because the new freedoms that are generally available throughout the region give them enormous opportunities they did not have. They have suffered both because others, including anti-semitic groups, now have equal freedom to act and because they like all residents of this region are suffering through the difficult transitions from dictatorship to democracy and free markets. This basic fact often gets lost in Western discussions of anti-semitism in the new post-Soviet states.

Three other even more important facts get lost as well. First, while there is an enormous variety of state policies toward Jews throughout the region and while many general policies of these states have often negative consequences for Jews, the new regimes have generally received high marks from Western human rights monitors for their officially-stated policies.¹ Pressed by the United States and other governments to sign the Helsinki Final Act and to subscribe to other international conventions, these regimes

¹ See, for example, CSCE Staff, Human Rights and Democratization in the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union, Washington, D.C., January 1993.

have done so and--with some exceptions--have at least on paper done the right thing.

Second, these regimes are in all cases extremely weak and consequently are not in a position to enforce their own laws. The opening up of the press to all groups has allowed many extremely unsavory people to speak out, and the general inability of the regimes to control such utterances, combined with the absence of public understanding of how the press has changed, often has sent the wrong message to the population. Many former Soviet citizens and as I have suggested already still read the press as if it represented official policy, when in fact a newspaper like Den' or some of the other extremist and anti-semitic tracts are just as marginal in those societies as they would be elsewhere in the world.

And third, these new regimes have not yet recognized how weak they are vis-a-vis these social forces and hence not moved toward an active program of education against evils such as anti-semitism. Their general failure to do so--and we should remember that there are some happy exceptions, particularly in the Baltic states and the former Western republics--has contributed to a situation in which more and more people are finding anti-semitism if not attractive, at least acceptable. And that poses a serious near-term and even greater long-term threat.

Areas of Greatest Danger

Not unimportantly, the areas of greatest danger for Jews are not the places of traditional Jewish settlement but rather in places where Jews are already small in number and where anti-semitism is less about actual Jews than about more generalized social protest and anger. The three most dangerous areas of an outburst are in Cossack settlements around the edge of the former Soviet Union, in Central Asia and the Caucasus, and in Russia itself, where economic decline is already fuelling a powerful anti-semitic movement.

The return of the cossacks--and Boris Yeltsin's pandering to them before the April 25 referendum--is especially distressing since much of their ideology is infused with anti-semitism. Located throughout the territory of the former Soviet Union, these groups have refused to accept the demise of the USSR and blame Jews and other groups for all current difficulties. (It is worth noting that in the words of some of their leaders, virtually everyone in the world is a "Jew" and thus the designation loses some of its meaning.) These groups have already participated in violence in Moldova and in Kazakhstan and unless they are put under tight

control they can be expected to commit other outrages.²

The situation of Jews in Central Asia and the Caucasus is especially risky. While not numerous, they are subject to a double pressure. On the one hand, Russians and other European groups are all too willing to throw the Jews overboard to protect their own, now threatened positions in these predominantly Muslim areas. On the other, many in the local population--while traditionally not anti-semitic--are all too willing to lump the Jews with the Russians and to put pressure on them as such. European Jews, like all other Europeans, have no future in these regions, because the local population views them as piers noirs whatever the host governments may say.

But it is in Russia itself that the danger is greatest. The explosion in mass participation in political life and the rapidly deteriorating economic situation have combined to fuel anti-semitic movements of various kinds. As everyone knows, the vicious anti-semitic Vladimir Zhirinovskiy won a large fraction of the vote in the last presidential elections and would likely win even more votes in the future. Anti-semitic newspapers and television programs are an increasing feature of the streets of Moscow and other cities. And speakers in the parliament and even in the government routinely say things that give support to popular anti-semitism, despite the top leadership's commitment to the protection of Jewish rights. At present, the situation is only threatening; in the coming months, it is likely to be explosive.

What Must We Do?

In this situation, we must go beyond the celebration of the end of communism, the easy assumption that things will work out for the best throughout this troubled region, and recognize that popular anti-semitism is on the rise even though the governments have given us assurances and passed laws that in most cases are quite good. What should we do? I would argue for three things:

--First, we must insist on good behavior, by maintaining a heavy monitoring presence throughout the region and calling the governments to account when they behave badly. Thus, we should have spoken out as a government when Yeltsin backed the cossacks and when the Tajik bandits attacked the Jews in Dushanbe.

--Second, we should move beyond our simple confidence that if these countries make the economic transition, all will be well. Not only will such a transition take time, during which many will

² Obviously, not all Cossacks are anti-semitic, but the statements of the Cossack leadership which can be characterized as such have not been disowned by many in the rank and file.

suffer, but it will not solve this or many other problems. We need to support institution building in the broadest sense: the construction of courts and police forces to make sure that laws are enforced, the development of media training so that outrageous statements will be countered and marginalized, and the elaboration of educational programs so that no one will be able to exploit anti-semitism to the point of creating a fascist dictatorship.

--And third, we should push for emigration, not only to Israel but to the United States as well. Unfortunately, in the new age of mass politics, mass anti-semitism is going to emerge, and the best way out is for Jews who want to leave. Many who do not want to go to Israel for various reasons would be delighted to come to the United States. Despite recent decisions which point in another direction, we are a country where Emma Lazarus' poem is still relevant and should be the basis of policy.

If we do these three things, not only will we help prevent a new rise in anti-semitism, but we will be building a better future for all the peoples of the planet--including ourselves.

Goble, Paul Alan

Paul Goble is a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, working on the Problems of the Post-Soviet Successor States. Prior to joining the Endowment in January 1992, he had served as Special Advisor on Soviet Nationality Problems to the Assistant Secretary for European Affairs and Desk Officer for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania at the U.S. Department of State. Earlier he worked as Director of Research at Radio Liberty, Special Assistant for Soviet nationalities in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and a Soviet Affairs Analyst at FBIS and CIA. Trained at Miami University and the University of Chicago, he has written more than 70 articles on Soviet nationality problems.

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Faculty of Humanities

Antisemitism in Europe in the First Quarter of 1993

The Project for the Study of Antisemitism

in cooperation with



The Anti-Defamation League

ANTISEMITISM IN EUROPE
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1993

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INTRODUCTION

This is the first quarterly report to be published by the Project for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism at Tel Aviv University. The survey relates to the first three months of 1993, January through March, and is based on material drawn from the Project's Database. The material, which we receive in the original language, is drawn from various sources, including newspapers, radio and television reports, news agencies, Jewish communities around the world, governmental offices, organizations that fight antisemitism and racism, institutions of research, and private individuals. The incoming data is categorized, summarized and computerized, so that it becomes a basis for up-to-date analysis and research.

This survey deals with the situation in Western and Eastern Europe, in light of Europe's centrality to antisemitism today. Future surveys will examine the situation in other parts of the world as well (an example on Australia is included at the end of this report), though Europe, doubtlessly, will continue to be central.

The computerized database facilitates analysis of the following trends in antisemitism in the beginning of 1993:

-The number of supporters of the extreme right has risen in some countries. These supporters are not necessarily registered members of extreme right-wing organizations, nor do they themselves of necessity participate in the activities of these organizations, but they do provide a basis for financial and electoral grass roots support.

-There has been a strengthening of ties between extremist organizations, both on the right and on the left, operating within Europe and throughout the rest of the world. This trend has manifested itself in several ways: financing is transferred

from country to country and from continent to continent; conferences, marches and demonstrations are attended by activists from around the world; activists and trainers travel across continents to lecture, distribute material and train members in other countries; material is printed in one country, sometimes in several languages at the same time, for dissemination in other countries; similar fashions in dress and music are found in diverse countries, and names of organizations and emblems are common to groups world-wide.

-Holocaust denial today is practically the only ideological thread that connects disparate organizations and individuals from the extreme right and the extreme left. It has spread to Muslim fundamentalist groups and has taken on new guises in Eastern Europe. In these extremist groups Holocaust denial takes the place of ideology, which is scanty nowadays, serving a gamut of political and social ends.

We hope that this survey provides the reader with an update that is credible and accurate to date; we will continue to keep track of developments as they happen.

I thank the staff and volunteers of the Project for their hard work, and especially Fania Pizov, Hadas Laor, Sara Rabishevsky, Limor Yagil, Deena Zeigen, Nima Dan and Esther Webman for the groundwork they did for this report.

Special thanks to the Jewish communities and Jewish organizations abroad for their material and help.

Dina Porat
April 1993
Tel Aviv University

ANTISEMITISM IN WESTERN EUROPE
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1993

The first three months of 1993 witnessed a downward trend in antisemitic activity in Western Europe, as compared with the closing months of 1992. The fact that a relatively small number of antisemitic incidents occurred during these months should be viewed as part of the general decline in violence by the extreme right and skinhead groups in Western Europe. This is a result, apparently, of the severe steps taken by the authorities, especially in Germany in the closing months of 1992, towards putting limits on violent groups with racist and antisemitic outlooks.

Jewish sites, however, continued to be vandalized and antisemitic propaganda continued to be disseminated throughout Western Europe during these months. From news reports it is clear that rightist groups that use violence and neo-Nazi movements, including those declared illegal, never ceased operation. Interestingly, there has even been a strengthening of ties between German neo-Nazi activists and members of extremist nationalist movements in the countries of the former Soviet Union, especially in Russia. Furthermore, the results of the recently held municipal elections in the German state of Hessen and the general elections in France, as well as reports from Belgium, all confirm the existence of a large number of supporters of extremist nationalist parties with racist attitudes.

Presented below is a general description of the West European racist groups and their activities in Western Europe. In addition, the struggle against antisemitism throughout Europe in the first quarter of 1993 will be discussed.

A. Racist Antisemitic Movements

Throughout 1992, and specifically in the second half of the year, there was an increase in race- and xenophobia-related violence, especially in Germany. This, in turn, apparently contributed to an increase in activism by groups that embrace violence, including groups of skinheads in other European countries. A report recently published by the German Ministry of the Interior found that from 1991 to 1992 there was a 54% increment in violent activities by the extreme right. Violence in Germany was, in the main, directed against "foreigners". Nevertheless, there were 77 counts of vandalism against Jewish sites and facilities in 1992; most prominent were acts of desecration of cemeteries and memorials.¹

Towards the closing of 1992 the German authorities stepped up their activities to counter extreme rightist, and specifically neo-Nazi, groups, several of which were declared illegal, including the Deutsche Alternative, the Nationalistische Front and the Nationale Offensive.²

As a result of vigilance on the part of the internal security forces, there was a marked decline in violent disturbances in Germany. Yet, agitation by right extremists didn't subside in the first quarter of 1993.³ In its findings, the German Ministry of the Interior reported that thousands of Germans continued to be active in the extreme rightist organizations, and many belong to organizations that foster violence.⁴ In the beginning of February 1993, German agents raided 65 neo-Nazi centers and training sites in a number of states, including Saxony, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia. Large caches of light- and medium-weight arms were uncovered, as well as Nazi propaganda material, training manuals, data sheets, and directives for movement activists.⁵ It was also discovered that extreme right groups that had not yet been banned, like the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD), had extended an offer of aid to members of the banned neo-Nazi organizations.⁶

Another interesting development in early 1993 is the strengthening of ties between the leaders of nationalist and neo-Nazi groups in Germany like Frank Hübner of the Deutsche Alternative, Gerhard Frey of the Deutsche Volkunion, and extreme nationalistic groups in Russia and the Ukraine. In the context of this developing affiliation, leaders of violent extremist organizations in Russia like Yuri Beliaiev and Nikolai Lyssenko have declared their willingness to train German activists in their movements' training camps. Beliaiev, whose movement incorporated the swastika into its emblem, has even announced that his movement identifies with the anti-Jewish policies of German National-Socialism.⁷

A strong show of support was granted to the extreme right in the regional elections that were held in Hessen, where the Republikaner Party, under the leadership of former SS officer Franz Schoenhuber received 8.1% of the vote, and gained representation in the state legislature. In Frankfurt, support for the Republikaner Party went as high as 9.3%. This is a significant increase in support for this party, which, four years prior, received only 0.7% of the vote. Furthermore, a German poll from April this year predicted that the Republikaner Party stands a good chance of gaining representation in the Bundestag, for which it needs to win 5% or more of the vote, and that without the support of the Republikaner Party, the Christian Democrats quite possibly stand to lose the upper hand.⁸

A victory for extreme right and racist ideologies in Western Europe was registered in the March elections for the Assemblée Nationale in France. In the first round of the vote, Jean Marie Le Pen's Front National got 12.5% of the vote nation-wide, a growth in support of 3%, making it the third largest political entity in France, after the Right and the Socialists. The biggest show of support for the Front National was registered in Ile de France surrounding Paris, the south, and the border regions. Le Pen won the largest number of votes for himself in the voting district of Nice.⁹

Because of the quirks of the electoral system in France, the Front National did not, in actuality, win a seat in the Assemblée Nationale,

nor did the Entente des Ecologistes, a union of the Ecology and Green parties, despite getting 8% of the vote. (The Communist Party, which also received 8% of the national vote, less than the Front National, did win twenty seats in the legislature). All in all, the results demonstrate a growing support for Le Pen's right-wing extremist racist party.¹⁰

Around the time of the elections, the French courts made public a court decision that pronounced Le Pen's speeches racist. The court acquitted Jean Kahn, President of the Conseil Representatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), in Le Pen's libel suit against him. Kahn had accused Le Pen of inciting racial hatred in the speech he gave on August 23, 1992 against the Maastricht Agreement.¹¹

Worth noting is the fact that Simone Veil, Buchenwald survivor and veteran opponent of racism and antisemitism in Europe and France, was chosen to serve in the new government formed by the right. On the other hand, also brought into the government was Charles Pasqua, a supporter of certain Front National positions.¹²

The Front National's success in the elections in France could serve as encouragement for extreme right movements in other European countries. The party maintains close links with racist-nationalist organizations in Belgium, Spain and Italy. In Belgium the Front National, and particularly Le Pen himself, exerts a significant influence on the Vlaams Blok, under the leadership of Philippe de Winter.

Financial support for the Vlaams Blok has grown in the past year, and its activists have fervently been trying to win over new sympathizers in anticipation of the 1994 local elections. Based on surveys published in Belgium, it is thought that the movement has a chance of achieving appreciable gains in the upcoming elections.

Vlaams Blok members, who view the Front National's achievements with admiration, campaign primarily to deport "foreigners". The Party's official platform is not antisemitic, but movement activists include former Belgian SS officers and neo-Nazis, the most prominent of which

is Karl Dillen, and also well-known Holocaust deniers like Jos Rogiers. More than once antisemitic overtones against the Jews of Antwerp have made their way into the xenophobic slogans of the Party. Party activists have even called for the rehabilitation of accused Nazi collaborators and those responsible for deportation of Belgian Jews to the death camps.¹³

The foremost Belgian collaborator is Leon Degrelle, leader of the Rexistes, who had formally joined the SS and was made an SS Sturmbannführer.¹⁴ When the war ended, Degrelle took refuge in Spain, as did other Nazi collaborators including Horiah Sima, leader of the Romanian Iron Guard, and Ante Pavelic', leader of the Croatian Ustashi movement. Degrelle has published many books in which he defends his war-time position, and he has participated in efforts by the extreme right to deny that the Holocaust ever took place.¹⁵

The support Degrelle still commands among right-wing extremists in Belgium is reflected in a recent publication dealing with antisemitic remarks by one of Belgium's first Sabena pilots who publicly declared his support of the extreme right's ideology and antisemitic views, and admitted being an ardent admirer of Degrelle.¹⁶

The racist and antisemitic British National Party (BNP) has also, of late, put great organizational efforts into swelling its ranks with new supporters, with some success. Party headquarters in Welling, S.E. London assigned members to work their way into certain London neighborhoods afflicted by unemployment and poverty. "With current levels of Unemployment, Crime and Immigraton [in Islington and Camden] there is a golden opportunity for this party to recruit on a scale never known before," wrote one BNP activist in a pamphlet distributed among the movement's members in the beginning of March. Their success in winning support in certain quarters of the city was reflected in the results of the October 1992 elections for the Millwall Regional Council; the Movement's candidate won 20% of the vote, coming out in front of the Conservative Party candidate.

Last year, hundreds of violent race-related acts took place with the backing of the extreme right throughout England, including London. It seems that BNP activists, together with others, have secretly organized to further the aims of the British neo-Nazi movements using violence. Probably inspired by events in Germany, a group known as Combat 18 (C18) began operating in the winter of 1991-1992. This group was responsible for a number of assaults in mid-1992 and early 1993 on Jews and anti-racist activists.¹⁷

Among the new organizations in Western Europe based on antisemitic and racist ideology is the Dutch group that calls itself the Students' National Socialist Front. In its recently distributed manifest, the organization announced that it was working for the good of the student public in Holland and for the future of the Dutch people, that it adhered to National-Socialist ideology, and that it had intentions to continue operating despite a lack of sympathy on the part of the public-at-large in Holland. The manifest's authors claim to enjoy the support of Belgian students in the Universities of Antwerp and Ghent.

The organization strives to disseminate its ideas and "to mold the Dutch student" via propaganda rallies and party meetings, and it has threatened to actively campaign against Jews and foreigners. Yet, members have not been satisfied with mere declarations of intent. Threatening letters were mailed to well-known Jews and Jewish institutions as "just the first psychological step",¹⁸ and the organization claimed responsibility for the damage to the Memorial for the Victims of the Holocaust (see below).

B. Antisemitic Activities

Violence, Vandalism, and Assaults on Jewish Facilities

The outstanding antisemitic-inspired act of violence in the first quarter of 1993 was the attempt on the life of the Jewish industrialist, Jacques Kimchi, a well-known personality in the Istanbul Jewish community. The Turkish Police report disclosed that the perpetrators, who used an anti-tank missile, were members of a Turkish

Muslim fundamentalist group affiliated with Iran.¹⁹ This incident underscores the growing danger from Muslim fundamentalist groups that view not only Israel, but also Jews all over the world, as potential targets.²⁰ This danger is especially acute in Turkey in view of the surge in activity by these groups, including the 1992 bombing of the Naveh Shalom synagogue in Istanbul by Turkish Hizballah activists.

Assaults on Jewish targets, specifically synagogues and cemeteries, which characterized antisemitic vandalism in Western Europe in 1992, have continued into the beginning of 1993. This was particularly evident in France where, on the eve of the New Year and throughout the months of January through March, there were nine acts of antisemitic-inspired vandalism, directed mostly at synagogues and cemeteries. Worth noting is the attack on the Villepinte synagogue in northern Paris, apparently the work of an organized group. On New Year's Eve, three masked figures threw fire bombs into the building. Several days earlier, the Vice President of the local Jewish community received an anonymous call threatening to harm members of the community and to "drown the Jews in a river of blood". It should be emphasized that four out of nine of the assaults and terrorist attacks on Jewish sites took place in Strasbourg and its environs.²¹

There were several counts of attacks of vandalism against memorial sites and Jewish public institutions during the period from January to March 1993 in other European countries, including Germany, England, Holland, Belgium, Italy and Spain. In certain instances the attacks were carried out by organized bands, obviously motivated by antisemitic sentiments. In Germany, for example, the police estimated that at least three out of the four assaults on synagogues were the work of neo-Nazis. Yet, it seems that it was not organized groups that were behind many of the incidents in Western Europe, but young locals working independently. It is difficult to say whether the acts were all motivated by outright antisemitism, as was the case in Amsterdam, with the cemeteries in Germany and the synagogue in Milan.²² Some were probably pure acts of hooliganism.

It should be emphasized that claims of responsibility for specific incidents by various groups should be viewed with suspicion. More than once, it has turned out that those behind the "organizations" were only isolated individuals with a myriad of motives. Furthermore, real organizations tend to take responsibility for things they didn't do, as was the case in Amsterdam with the desecration of the Memorial to the Holocaust Victims, the source of much rage in Holland. Although responsibility for the incident was claimed by the above-mentioned National Socialist Front, the police investigation determined that it appears to have been the work of one of the Memorial's craftsmen who was a drug addict.²³

Anti-Jewish activities in Western Europe has also assumed the shape of threats by telephone or post and antisemitic material mailed to individuals and Jewish institutions, true, especially of late, to England. In these cases as well, perpetrators have often presented themselves as representing organizations of dubious existence. The Israeli Embassy in Stockholm, for example, received a postcard signed by a previously unheard-of movement in which a threat was made on the lives of the community's Rabbi and a lay leader. As always, such threats must be dealt with in all seriousness; the attack on the Villepinte synagogue, it should be recalled, was preceded by a telephone threat.

Antisemitic Propaganda

One of the newest antisemitic publications to appear in Western Europe in the first quarter of 1992 was the book, *Les Financiers qui menent le Monde*, written by the Belgian Henri Coston, in the spirit of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Coston has been writing antisemitic literature since the Fifties, and his previous writings have appeared together with books written by French Holocaust deniers like Olivier Matthieu and Robert Faurisson. Coston's latest book is currently on sale at Brussels' most prominent bookstore, *Librarie de Rome*.²⁴

The idea of the Jewish-Zionist conspiracy, reminiscent of *The Protocols*, was given prominence in Turkey in articles that appeared in the beginning of the year in such newspapers and magazines as *Zaman*,

Mille Gazete and Yorunge. Serious consideration should be given to the increase in number of antisemitic articles published in Turkey, especially in light of the violence against Jews discussed above. Among the accusations hurled at the Zionist conspiracy is the idea that following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Zionism has taken upon itself to reduce six million Muslims to slaves.²⁵

The themes of Jewish "guilt" for the role they played in the Communist takeover in the Soviet Union and their responsibility for all of Russia's current ills, which has had a lot of exposure in the Russian antisemitic press, were given prominence in an article that appeared in the French Catholic newspaper, La Croix, in February, written by the Russian author Vladimir Zilewsky. The paper made it possible for Zilewsky to publish his vitriolic attacks against Jews, whom he calls "enemies of the Russian nation and of all of Europe".²⁶

An aspect of the Western European antisemitic scene not to be overlooked is skinhead and neo-Nazi rock music expressing Western European antisemitic themes. Usually originating in Germany, this music is aired throughout Europe and the U.S. The texts of these songs are usually printed in underground skinhead pamphlets called "fanzines" and propagate xenophobia and violence combined with venomous anti-Jewish remarks. Although it is forbidden to air these songs on the radio in Germany, recordings and cassettes, thousands of which were confiscated by the German police in January, are easily procured through the underground. Also available through the Young Vikings movement are the texts of SS songs, in emulation of Hitler's youth movement.²⁷

Another 1992 trend that continued into the first quarter of 1993 is the use of antisemitic slogans and posters at soccer games in Western Europe. Originally adopted by Italian football fans, this fad has recently spread to Belgium and Holland, and is especially common at Amsterdam's Ajax team's games. In the Thirties, the Ajax sports club had been favored by middle class Jews in Holland and ever since, Ajax has been considered the "Jewish" team. During the team's games, the opposing team's fans call out antisemitic slurs and make noises that

sound like gas escaping, recalling the Nazi extermination of Jews in gas chambers. Not long ago, the police forced two railroad cars full of football fans who yelled out antisemitic slogans against Ajax to return to Utrecht.²⁸

Holocaust Denial

Holocaust denial has become an integral part of antisemitic propagandizing in Western Europe; articles denying that the Holocaust ever happened, which appeared in such antisemitic newspapers as the German Remer Depesche and the Austrian Halt in January through March, clearly illustrate this affinity.

Editor-publisher of Remer Depesche is Otto Ernst Remer from Bad Kissingen in Bavaria, a veteran Nazi activist in Germany. Remer achieved a special status among disciples of the National-Socialist movement in Germany after World War II because of his part in extinguishing the officers rebellion against Hitler in July 20, 1944. In post-war Nazi propaganda, Remer was presented as defender of the Third Reich in face of the "betrayal" by the rebellion movement, and in 1949 he was among the founders of the Sozialistische-Reichspartei. Since then Remer has taken an active part in various right-wing organizations in Germany, and he maintains close ties with Holocaust deniers in other countries. He is behind distribution of the Auschwitz-Lüge video cassette, and in 1991 participated in the Holocaust-deniers convention in Munich. Remer was convicted, and fined, in Germany this year for racist incitement.²⁹

The January edition of Remer's newspaper, the Remer Depesche, deals mainly with Holocaust denial; the regular columns, news items and letters to the editor are replete with abusive language towards Jews. Holocaust denial, unrestrained attacks on Jews, Israel and the Mossad were the subjects of earlier issues of the paper and of a pamphlet published at the end of 1992, as well. Remer accuses the Israeli Intelligence, the Mossad, of terrorism and of ruining Germany's reputation in the eyes of the world.

Gerd Honsik, the neo-Nazi author of the book *Freispruch für Hitler*, is the publisher of the Austrian newspaper *Halt*. The leading article in the February 1993 issue advocates denying the existence of the gas chambers, using "testimonies" of Jewish "survivors" to substantiate the concentration camp guards' humanitarian conduct. Both Honsik and Remer, it must be pointed out, have been forced to print their papers in Barcelona,³⁰ out of fear, it seems, of legal prosecution in Austria and Germany; of late, the neo-Nazi publications of Austria have reportedly been printed at the printing press owned by Pedro Varela, the leader of the *Círculo Español de Amigos de Europa* (CEDADE), one of Spain's most extreme fascist movements.³¹

In France, the July 1990 Gayssot law outlawing dissemination of racist propaganda poses a serious obstacle for Holocaust denial activities. Nevertheless, this type of material continues to find its way onto the newspaper stands and book stalls, and Holocaust deniers have, of necessity, developed unconventional ways to promote their ideas. This fact is equally true of the first quarter of 1993. One unconventional method of dissemination involved the sending of hundreds of forged Ministry of Education directives to history teachers throughout France, stipulating that equal exposure be given to the claims of the Holocaust deniers, and above all, casting doubt on the existence of the gas chambers.³²

Holocaust denial was brought to the fore early this year because of the attempt by the Holocaust denier, Bernard Notin, to resume lecturing at Jean Moulin University in Lyon. Notin had been relieved of his position as a university lecturer in July 1990 after an article that he had written denying the Holocaust was published in the scientific periodical *Economics and Society*. Notin's attempt to return to teaching at the university was torpedoed as a result of anti-racist student opposition (see below).

The arsenal of Holocaust denial literature has recently been augmented by a new book written in Irish, called *Ce Hi Seo Amuigh* (Who Is That Out There?). The author Rozeen Ni Mheara, served in the British Propaganda Services during WWII, alongside William Joyce (nicknamed

Lord Haw Haw), and was married twice to former SS officers. Ni Mheara claims in her book that the Nazi masterplan to exterminate all the Jews has never been substantiated, and that the heaps of bodies of concentration camp victims photographed by Allied soldiers were, in fact, none other than the bodies of German citizens killed during the Allied bombings of Dresden. Publication of this book caused a public and political scandal in Ireland, especially after it was disclosed that the author had been given a grant from an Irish government-supported fund.³³

C. The Struggle Against Antisemitism

In the first quarter of 1993, there was much counter-activity struggling against racist antisemitism and Holocaust denial in Western Europe, with appreciable results: Protest demonstrations were held, public statements were made, and action was successfully taken against racist and antisemitic activists by public organizations and governmental authorities.

Mass demonstrations were held in early 1993 in several European capitals in protest of the racial violence of winter 1992. In Vienna, 200,000 people marched in protest against racism; in Paris, 100,000 took part in a demonstration against racism, antisemitism and xenophobia. In Berlin, as well as in other German cities, there were similar public demonstrations.

France and Holland were also the locations of demonstrations protesting antisemitism, in reaction to attacks on Jewish institutions in these countries. Following the attack on the Villepinte synagogue, French government officials and ministers participated in a public demonstration of solidarity with the Jewish community, while in Holland many people came to lay wreaths on the Holocaust victim's memorial.³⁴

A public statement condemning antisemitism was recently made by 400 lecturers of theology from universities throughout Germany, addressed to the "Christian citizens of our country". The theologians wrote that

"in recognition of the terrible outcome of the socially and theologically discriminatory policies that had been adopted in the past against Jews by Christian institutions, and especially in recognition of the responsibility and guilt they bear for the events of the Holocaust, we call upon all Christian citizens of our country to oppose antisemitism of any form, overt or latent".³⁵

Jewish community activists and organizations active in the struggle against racism in Europe have taken action to restrain agitation by racist and antisemitic activists. In Lyon, France, as previously mentioned, Jean Moulin University officials found it necessary to cancel the course given by the Holocaust denier, Notin. University authorities enabled Notin to take up his teaching position again, three years after the incident, despite the protestations of Jewish organizations, anti-racist movements and the University's student union. It should be noted that Notin never expressed regret for what he had said, nor did he ever retract his statement denying the Holocaust. President of the University of Lyon, Pierre Vial, a Front National sympathizer, announced that students sensitive to Notin's presence could be excused from his classes. University authorities, however, were finally forced to completely cancel the course because of demonstrations protesting Notin's holding classes.

The successful limitation of Notin's academic freedom is part of the public and legal efforts being conducted in France to fight Holocaust denial. The Gayssot Law has made it more difficult for Holocaust deniers to operate. The most vocal French Holocaust denier, Robert Faurisson, was recently fined 30,000 FF under the Gayssot Law. Curiously, at the end of 1992 Holocaust deniers who have suffered damages as a result of the Gayssot Law formed an organization known as ANVIV, headed by Phillippe Costa, who himself had been charged with dissemination of literature denying the Holocaust. German Holocaust deniers too suffered a reversal when a Munich court declined an appeal by David Irving, a veteran Holocaust denier, to cancel the fine imposed on him for remarks he made at a Holocaust deniers' convention in Munich 1991. Irving suffered an additional setback when, as a result of public pressure, Australian authorities refused his request to visit Australia where he had proposed to hold a series of lectures.³⁶

Another significant action was taken against antisemitism and racism in France by MRAP* and LICRA** when they attempted to prevent a large gathering of skinheads, under the leadership of Serge Ayoub, from being held in Paris in early March. As a result of lobbying by these organizations, the meeting was prevented from being held in Paris by order of the police, though apparently, in the end, it was held outside the capital with a much more limited scope than originally planned. Worth noting is the fact that representatives of skinhead groups and right-wing activists from Belgium and Switzerland attended the gathering, as did Holocaust deniers like Olivier Mathieu.³⁷

In England, action was taken by Jewish lay leaders and anti-Nazi activists against attempts by extreme right organizations to expand their influence in certain London neighborhoods, particularly in North London. In Bromley, a National Front meeting was prevented from being held in March. The local council cancelled the event following lobbying by the Jewish community and anti-racist organizations. Representatives of the Jewish community requested that the British Minister of Interior take definitive action to uncover who was behind the sending of Chanukka greeting cards on which antisemitic slogans had been scrawled. Subsequently the serious crimes unit in Scotland Yard was assigned to investigate the crime.³⁸

The role of public retaliation in the struggle against antisemitism has been proven vital in Germany as well. The head of the municipal council of the town of Senheim near Koblenz was forced to step down following publication of a vilifying antisemitic letter he sent to the chairman of the Jewish community in Germany, Ignatz Bubis. The councilhead wrote, among other things, that he was very happy that there were no Jews in his town. He also accused American Jewry and Israelis of treating Germans with contempt.³⁹

* Movement Contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples

** Ligue Internationale Contre le Racisme et l'Antisemitisme

Summary

It is evident from examination of antisemitic incidents in Western Europe in the first quarter of 1993 that the most salient characteristics of 1992 have carried on into the new year. A downward trend was registered in the number of attacks of vandalism; nevertheless Jewish locations, especially synagogues and cemeteries, still remain prime targets for violent attacks. In addition, threats and harassment continue to plague Jewish communities and their leaders in Western European countries.

The reduction in the number of antisemitic incidents in Western Europe so far this year is a direct outcome of the general decline in racist activities, reflecting the correlation between general racist activism and antisemitic activism. This correlation has typified antisemitic incidents in Western Europe over the past two years. Groups of nationalists and skinheads responsible for racist agitation and attacks against foreigners have now integrated antisemitic activism into their Weltanschauung, which comprises a threat to the well-being of the Jewish public at large. Thus increased support for extremist nationalistic groups exhibited in recently held elections and public opinion polls in France, Belgium and Germany could serve as encouragement for racist and antisemitic agitation.

Another potential source of danger to the Jewish public lies in activism by extremist Muslim groups. The assassination attempt on the life of the Turkish Jewish industrialist Jacques Kimchi shows that the physical danger may be real. Community leaders and Jewish institutions are likely to be targeted by Muslim pro-Iran extremists for whom Israelis, Zionists and the Jewish "enemy" are one and the same.

Public advocacy, which has proven itself in restraining antisemitism and racist movements, remains the main tool of the struggle against antisemitism in Western Europe. Furthermore, public pressure has led to the legal ban on neo-Nazi groups and to the arrest and prosecution of those held responsible for race-related crimes. The struggle against antisemitism is considered part

certain anti-racist movements and political parties such as the Socialist Workers Party in Britain, have in the past distributed venomous anti-Zionist propaganda, which has led to confrontation with the Jewish community.

Legislation still remains a vital tool in the struggle against antisemitism and Holocaust denial. It has not, however, led to the successful eradication of violence and vandalism by racist groups, nor has it prevented antisemitic propaganda and Holocaust denial literature from being disseminated. It has, nevertheless, been successful in imposing serious obstacles.

Roni Stauber

Notes

1. Die Welt, February 8, 1993; Neues Deutschland, January 23, 1993; Süddeutsche Zeitung, February 8, 1993.
2. Kieler Nachrichten, December 11, 1992; Süddeutsche Zeitung, February 1993; Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung, March 4, 1993.
3. Foreigners were again the targets of attacks in Hamborn and in Rostock-Duisburg; Markische Oderzeitung, January 27, 1993.
4. Die Welt, February 8, 1993; see also information regarding the large number of neo-Nazis, primarily from the NPD, in the Freiwillige Polizeireserve; Der Tagesspiegel, February 14, 1993; Berliner Zeitung, February 17, 1993.
5. Süddeutsche Zeitung, March 4, 1993; Ha'aretz, March 4, 1993; also see Die Tageszeitung, February 1, 1993, regarding arrests of the Deutsche Alternative activists and the breaking up of a meeting held in Lauchhammer in Brandenburg.
6. Frankfurter Allgemeine, January 13, 1993; Der Spiegel, no. 10, March 8, 1993.
7. Der Spiegel, January 4, 1993.
8. Süddeutsche Zeitung, March 10, 1993; Ha'aretz, April 25, 1993.
9. Le Figaro, March 22, 1993; Le Monde, March 23, 1993.
10. L'Événement du Jeudi, April 1-7, 1993; Ha'aretz, March 24, 1993.

11. Ha'aretz, March 19, 1993.
12. Le Nouvel Observateur, April 1-7, 1993; Le Monde, March 23, 1993.
13. L'Instant, January 7, 1993; Actualité Juive, no. 13, January 14, 1993.
14. Heinz Hohne, The Order of the Death's Head, New York, 1989, p.539
15. Leon Degrelle, Letter to the Pope on His Visit to Auschwitz, Historical Review Press, 1979.
16. Le Vif L'Express, February, 1993.
17. See posters and pamphlets of the BMP and pamphlets of the Anti-Nazi League in the van-Lennep Database of The Project for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, Tel Aviv University (hereafter: The Database), March 10, 1993; Eastern Eye, February 2, 1993; Socialist Worker, February 20, 1993; Jewish Chronicle, March 28, 1993; "Anti-Jewish Activity-1992", CSO, The Board of Deputies of British Jews.
18. See the organization's manifest in The Database.
19. Allgemeine Jüdische Wochenzeitung, March 4, 1993; see also the February 1993 Survey of Antisemitic Incidents by the Antisemitic Monitoring Forum, the Israeli Government Secretariat (hereafter: Monitoring Forum), in The Database.
20. See, for example, Esther Webman's paper, "Antisemitic Motifs in Hamas Leaflets 1987-1992", The Project for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, Tel Aviv University, 1992.
21. Jewish Chronicle, January 8, 1993; Ha'aretz, January 3, 1993.
22. Corriere della Sera, January 15, 1993.
23. Amsterdam Police Department Announcement, February 6, 1993.
24. Report of the Jewish Community of Belgium, March 15, 1993.
25. Monitoring Forum, February 1993.
26. Tribune Juive, February 1993.
27. Frankfurter Rundschau, February 6, 1993; Markische Oderzeitung, February 4, 1993; see also the collection of Fanzines in The Project for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism; regarding neo-Nazi Rock Music, see the pamphlet, Sounds of Hate, Neo-Nazi Rock Music from Germany, The Anti-Defamation League, New York, 1992.
28. International Herald Tribune, March 23, 1993.

29. Karl Dietrich Bracher, The German Dictatorship, New York & Washington, 1970, pp. 454-457, 470-471; see also Drahtzieher im Braunen Netz, Edition ID-Archiv, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1992.
30. Friedrich Wilhelm Schlomann, "The Foreign Right-Wing Influences in Germany", reprinted from Austrian Federal Police publication no. 199, December 1992.
31. Halt, February 1993; Remer Depesche, no. 1, January 1993; see also additional editions of newspapers in The Database, File C-02; in Germany and Austria there is legislation outlawing dissemination of literature denying the Holocaust. M. Davis's paper, "Anti-Semitism and the Law", the Project for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, Tel Aviv University, 1992.
32. Le Droit de Vivre, March, 1993.
33. The Independent, February 3, 1993.
34. Ha'aretz, January 3 and 11th, 1993; Monitoring Forum, February 1993.
35. Suddeutsche Zeitung, February 15, 1993.
36. The Australian National Daily, March 19, 1993; Tribune Juive, December-January, 1993.
37. Le Figaro, March 4, 1993; Le Quotidien de Paris, March 4, 1993; L'Humanité, March 4, 1993.
38. Monitoring Forum; see also the publication of the anti-Nazi League in The Database; and Jewish Chronicle, January 8, 1993.
39. Ha'aretz, January 27, 1993; Judische Wochenzeitung, February 4, 1993.

ANTISEMITISM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1993

Eastern Europe

Several trends and patterns of development that directly influence the intensity and nature of antisemitism can be found in the states of Eastern Europe, which are currently marking the fourth year of the downfall of the Communist regimes.

First, there is the pattern of intensification of nationalist activities, growing xenophobia, increased ethnic tensions, and escalating territorial claims.

Second, along with the growing political extremism of various right-wing forces, there is a continuing trend toward rapprochement between former communists, who now ally themselves with the "national camp", and nationalist right-wing factions.

Third, transition from communist regimes to liberal democracy with a market economy have caused economic, social and political hardships, creating a breeding ground for the emergence of nationalist extremism and various forms of right wing politics.

These factors have influenced the manifestations and patterns of antisemitic activities in the period under review throughout the states of the area.

A. Antisemitic Activities in the First Quarter of 1993

During this period there were continuing acts of vandalism and desecration of Jewish targets, especially Holocaust-related sites. Several such incidents were reported in Poland, where in one case, in the town of Lomza, a Holocaust memorial was disfigured with swastikas.¹ In a similar type of incident, commemorative plaques on

the building of the former Swiss Embassy in Budapest honoring Raoul Wallenberg were defaced.² Antisemitic slogans were scrawled on the walls of several synagogues in a chain of recent attacks. Similarly, a plaque commemorating the liberation of the Budapest Ghetto by the Soviet forces was removed from the courtyard of the central Synagogue in Budapest.³

Jewish cemeteries continue to constitute the main targets for assaults of vandalism. In a first attack reported this year from Romania, the small Jewish cemetery in Slatina was desecrated.⁴ Desecration of Jewish cemeteries was also reported in the Czech Republic.

There were other forms of violence such as physical attacks and threatening letters against Jews, some of which were carried out by skinheads. It seems that this German pattern of activities is spreading to Eastern Europe, where it should be noted, gangs of skinheads began harassing and attacking Jews, Gypsies and foreigners in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary very soon after the downfall of the Communist regimes.

With the deepening of Eastern Europe's present economic crisis which brought on an accompanying rise in the number of unemployed youth, there was a parallel rise in the number of youth gangs, especially skinheads. In Hungary at least three such attacks against Jews took place in January, the most brutal of which was in Budapest, where skinheads tattooed a swastika on the breast of a young woman. The skinhead issue has also been raised in the Hungarian Parliament, when one member, I. Kiraly, branded them as "good Hungarian boys", which caused further public debate on the skinheads, seen by some as a marginal phenomenon without long range impact.

The problems facing the younger generation in post-Communist societies, and their potential drift to the right is an issue much debated in the media. In general, such gangs, including the skinheads, are not considered by the new regimes a source of imminent danger to society, and there is even a tendency to downplay the issue. Neo-Nazi slogans,

graffiti, pamphlets and acts of vandalism have become a regular feature in parts of Eastern Europe, even in Albania, where grass-root antisemitism didn't previously manifest itself.⁵

Israelis visiting memorial sites in Poland often witness antisemitic incidents.⁶ At times they are even the targets of such incidents, which have been on the rise since the beginning of 1993. This can be linked to this year's ceremonies commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising and the increase in Israeli and Jewish delegations to the public events in Poland.

B. The New Right and Antisemitism

In several East European states right-wing political extremism is on the rise, along with nationalist-antisemitic elements which were in the past identified with the Communists. This trend is especially evident in Romania and Slovakia, and to a certain extent in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

The new right has revived the nationalist myths prevalent in inter-War Eastern Europe, and highlights the destructive influence of the Jews on national culture and the economy, blaming them for the establishment of the Communist regimes. Support for the right, in fact, is on the rise, in face of the frustrations and alienation experienced by segments of the East European public.

The Polish National Association-Polish National Party led by Boleslaw Tejkowski embodies just such sentiments. The movement emphasizes the racial supremacy of the Slavic nation, presenting Germans, Americans and above all, the Jews, as dangerous enemies of the Polish nation. Tejkowski's movement accuses the Jews of installing the Communist regime in Poland, on the one hand, and of infiltrating "Solidarity" on the other. The movement's ideology is based on the teachings of the antisemitic, nationalist Polish politician of the inter-War period, Roman Dmowski.⁷ Supporters of Tejkowski's movement are very active in anti-government demonstrations, like the one held in Krakow in

February, where antisemitic slogans abounded. In such demonstrations, national economic and social problems are intertwined with antisemitic messages, and the Jews are presented as responsible for the deterioration of the Polish economy.

In Romania there has been an increase in the number of right-wing groups and movements bringing out virulent antisemitic publications. Aggressive manifestations of Romanian nationalism is behind the increase in the number of threats and verbal insults against Chief Rabbi Rosen and the Jewish community as a whole. In spite of ideological differences, the diverse extreme right groups and those formerly associated with the Communists share several features characteristic of the recent upsurge in antisemitism in Romania:

1. The inter-War Romanian fascist movement, the Iron Guard, also known as the Legionary Movement, under the leadership of Corneliu Codreanu, is being revived by several, albeit small, political formations. Through their publications, they systematically try to present the relevance of the Legionary Movement today, especially to the younger generation. Included is the Movement for Romania formed in 1992, which, via its organ, The Movement, openly declares its affinity to the ideals of the Legionary Movement, and presents its ideology in terms relevant to present day Romania.

2. In several publications "Jewish power" is identified with the "Masonic conspiracy" and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This shows that present-day antisemites are clearly heirs to pre-War antisemitic ideology, including the myth of an international Jewish conspiracy.⁸

3. There has been increased support for the notion that the Jews use the Holocaust as a means of diverting attention from their crimes against the East European nations during the Communist period.

4. The Jews today, as in the past, remain enemies of the Romanian people.⁹

In the East European states, the growing political extremism in Romania may serve as evidence that extreme nationalist, antisemitic views have successfully penetrated the political and public life of the country, even the Parliament. This tendency is stronger in Romania than in other East European states. Following the September 1992 elections, several extremist parties with nationalist, authoritarian platforms and overtly antisemitic overtones formed the "national camp" in the Parliament. This "camp", led by the dynamic Greater Romania Party faction and the Socialist Labor Party, heir to the defunct Communist Party, contribute to the furthering of a red-brown coalition. The President of the Greater Romania Party, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, proudly reported on his faction's record in combating the machinations of Jewish factors, that include Chief Rabbi Rosen, and the Israeli Ambassador to Romania, Zvi Mazel.¹⁰ What emerged from the results of the 1992 elections is that the Democratic National Salvation Front government is dependent on the support of extremist factions, some of which, like the Greater Romania Party, have an antisemitic record.

The right-wing press in Romania, which is overwhelmingly antisemitic, enjoys a circulation of over 1,000,000, and its impact on certain segments of the public is great, although exact figures are not available. In spite of the rise in publishing costs, which certainly has caused some reduction in readership, there is still large scale demand for such publications. Romania Mare, for example, the organ of the Greater Romania Party, still commands a significant circulation of 180,000, down from 600,000.

The proliferation of extremist groups and movements in Romania is an indication of the growing rise of political extremism, though for some of them the long-range chances of survival is unclear. One such new movement, The New Right, which has published a periodical of the same name since the beginning of 1993, bases its fascist orientation on the Italian model of extreme xenophobia aimed at Gypsies and Hungarians who "poison Romania". The movement's platform calls for the expulsion of a million Hungarians, if they oppose the "Romanian ethnocentric state". The movement is also committed to using the "Latin spirit" of the Romanian nation to combat the "Judeo-Masonic" conspiracy.

Another indication of a gain for right-wing forces is the current political crisis in Hungary's ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF). Istvan Csurka, leader of the HDF's radical populist wing, has launched his own political movement, the Hungarian Way. Csurka, a well known nationalist writer, published an essay in August 1992 which caused a political storm in Hungary because of the racial slurs he used in defining his vision of a "Hungarian Hungary". Csurka, one of the past six Vice-Presidents of the HDF, accused Hungary's President, Goncez Arpas, of being an "agent of Tel-Aviv". Csurka formed his own movement, the Hungarian Way, in February 1993, which is a threat to the ruling HDF, whose leadership, including Prime Minister Antall Jozsef, distanced themselves from Csurka's line.

The ensuing split in the ruling HDF may have important implications for the upcoming 1994 elections. Csurka's movement presents a challenge to democratic forces, since it provides a forum for mainstream politicians to propagate their nationalist, antisemitic viewpoints usually held by small fringe extremist groups like Hunnia and the Holy Crown.

An example of the effect of the Csurka phenomenon on extremist elements can be seen in the fact that Csurka's name has frequently appeared in threatening messages and letters sent to Jews, to the effect that "Csurka knows how to take care of the Jews".

Jewish-Hungarian relations took a down-turn following a newspaper interview in which the Chief Rabbi of Budapest, Landeszmann Gyorgy, said that had it not been for the involvement of the Jews in the Hungarian culture, the Hungarians would today be "left only with their wide peasants' pants". This sentence caused much uproar, and was used by nationalist forces to underscore the alleged disloyalty of the Jews towards the Hungarian state and people. While the political right used the case to strengthen its arguments, leading Jewish activists distanced themselves from the Rabbi's statement. The case has provoked a public debate, which has escalated into a heated debate on Jewish-Hungarian relations that is expected to go on for some time.

C. Historical Revisionism and Holocaust Denial

The revisionist trend, accompanied by the denial of the Holocaust in various forms, continued in most East European states. There is an ongoing tendency to rehabilitate persons and movements with antisemitic and fascist records. This tendency is especially evident in attempts to rehabilitate and restore legitimacy to war-time leaders who cooperated with the Nazis.

Since the beginning of 1993, there were several events in Poland commemorating the 50th anniversary of the forming of the underground antisemitic and fascist National Armed Forces, the N.S.Z., which treated Jews, Germans and Russians as deadly enemies of the Polish people. Present day Polish political leaders, like the Speaker of the Sejm, the Polish National Assembly, attended these events.¹¹ Rehabilitation of the N.S.Z. overlooks the antisemitic record of the organization, emphasizing their contribution to the "national struggle". Support for this rehabilitation by leading dignitaries, including politicians, high ranking officers and clergy, gives the younger generation a completely distorted picture of the past and of the historical truth regarding fascist and antisemitic movements.

Similarly, in Hungary there is an ongoing public debate on Hungary's role during WWII and on the fate of Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust. There is a tendency to whitewash and justify the fact that Hungary sided with Nazi Germany during the war, and to present this as a justifiable struggle against Communism and the Soviet Union. In debates held on the issue such views were recently voiced by political leaders, including the Secretary of State in the Ministry of National Defense.

In Romania, the campaign to rehabilitate the country's war time leader, Marshal Ion Antonescu, is gaining momentum. The extreme right wing and antisemitic press, which includes the periodical Europa, continues to claim that the Jews are conducting a campaign against the Romanian people using the "alleged" Holocaust in order to exact more money from the world's nations. One extreme right wing Romanian paper, referring to the word "Holocaust", asked in what ways "was the death of small

Jewish shopkeepers in Majdanek and Dachau different from the Holocaust that the Communists committed in the Lubyanka prison in Moscow", considering that "Communism is a Jewish invention, and Jews were leading those regimes". Thus, concludes the Romanian paper, "the term "Holocaust" should imply also the 'Holocaust' of the Romanians, Poles, Russians and other peoples".¹²

D. The Dissolution of Czechoslovakia and Antisemitism

On the eve of the January 1, 1993 division of Czechoslovakia into two states, Jewish topics and the issue of antisemitism were frequently discussed in the media alongside political debates on the future of the two states. Following a long public campaign, the leading Czech antisemitic newspaper, Politika, was closed down by order of the Public Prosecutor of the Czech Republic. Politika, which began publication in January 1991, was the country's most vocal mouthpiece of antisemitism and right-wing extremism. Its editor, Jozef Tomas, who was questioned by the police several times following complaints regarding the vitriolic antisemitic content of his paper, repeatedly accused the Jews of controlling the country. He accused President Havel of being an agent of the "international Zionist conspiracy", and charged that the Jews are the one who are shaping the country's economic, political and cultural life. Legal steps were taken against Politika following the publication of a list of more than a hundred persons, all allegedly Jews, who, according to the weekly, control and rule the country. President Havel compared this list with similar lists published in Germany on the eve of the Nazis' rise to power.

Politika had well established ties with the Slovak publishing house of Agres, based in Bratislava, whose publications include The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Since March 1991 Agres has had a joint publishing agreement with Politika. Through the Slovak publishing house, Tomas has published antisemitic and anti-Israeli brochures, including brochures brought out during the Gulf War in which Israel and the U.S. were accused of "genocide". Cooperation between the Czech antisemitic weekly and the Slovak publishing house was highly unusual considering the bitter debates and mutual slander campaign in which Slovak and

Czech nationalists had been engaged as the two parts of country progressed toward dissolution. Evidently antisemitism is able to play the role of bridging the gap that separates various nationalist and right wing movements, as was the case in the period between the two World Wars, when opposing nationalist movements rallied around a common enemy, the Jews.

The dissolution of Czechoslovakia again raised the issue of growing right-wing extremism, especially in Slovakia. Since the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989, antisemitism played an integral part in Slovak nationalism, along with the gradual rehabilitation of the Slovak state's War time fascist leader, Jozef Tiso. The process of Czechoslovakia's break-up added fuel to nationalist groups and formations, which even if they have not been a part of the extreme right-wing, they have drifted with the rising tides of nationalism.

The small 3,000-member Jewish community adopted a policy of "wait and see" in regard to antisemitism in the new Slovakia. Some took a more pessimistic line, as did Fedor Gal, who until two years ago was the head of the country's largest political party, the Public Against Violence, the Slovak counterpart of the Czech Civic Forum. Gal himself became a victim of antisemitic threats and left Slovakia two years ago, after a vicious campaign to destabilize his movement during which the extremists accused Gal of his Jewish origins.¹³ Gal warned that the split in Czechoslovakia creates a fertile ground for nationalism, and the first to be hit are always the Jews.

While it is still too early to assess the short period since the formation of the Slovak Republic, there is no doubt that nationalist agitation, aimed at Hungarians, Gypsies, a line which characterized Slovak nationalism since 1989 continues. On the other hand, Premier Meciar's regime intends to prove that the new regime deserves the recognition and support of the world community, and that the freely elected political leadership is a reasonable one determined to stamp out any forms of extremism. The present economic difficulties, social unrest and continuing political instability may indeed prove to be a fertile ground for the further intensification of nationalist feelings. In such conditions, the level of antisemitism could serve as a test case for the stability of the new Slovakia.

RussiaA. Antisemitism and Nationalism in Russia

The referendum held on the 25th of April 1993 is yet another stage in the power struggle in Russia that has been going on ever since the collapse of the Communist regime and of the Soviet Union. Political tensions, power struggles, economic difficulties and accompanying social tensions set the scene for the emergence of what one study defined as "possibly the most dynamic antisemitic movement to be found anywhere in the world."¹⁴

There is no doubt that while antisemitism is manifest in several republics of the former Soviet Union, there are indications that antisemitism is more prominent in Russia than elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. First, the sense of the loss of the empire is strongest among the Russians, many of whom believe that a conspiracy by the various nationalities in the Soviet Union was the cause of the loss of their leading position among the Soviet states, and that the Jews played a major role in the destabilization of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the existing system. Second, in Russia the "return to history", based, in the Russian case, as elsewhere, on a selective historical memory, entails also the return to the strong antisemitic roots from Russia's past. In addition, the Communist regime left a legacy of "antisemitism from above", a sophisticated combination of traditional antisemitism with an ideological cover-up and anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli elements.

The more time that passes following the collapse of the Communist regime and of the Soviet Union, the more evident becomes the impact of years of antisemitic and anti-Zionist propaganda on the atmosphere in the post-Communist period. Furthermore, among significant segments of the people, there is a growing perception that dark, mysterious and unidentified forces, including international Jewry, continue to destabilize Russia, harm its image in the world, and conspire to deny it its rightful return to its natural right and spiritual values.¹⁵

Thus, in the eyes of Russian antisemites, Russia has become a battlefield on which Jews and Zionists struggle to gain control of the world. While antisemitism in Russia should not be seen as an integral part of the internal ethnic strife within Russia and the former Soviet Union, there is no doubt that the national conflicts have an influence on the level of antisemitism, as Russian nationalists emphasize the "encroachment" upon the Russian nation by forces which attempt to "close a historical account" with the Russians.

B. Antisemitism and the Russian Cultural-Spiritual Revival

The process of Russia's return to traditional values and to their cultural and national identity has been linked with forms of antisemitism. Since the beginning of "perestroika" in the Gorbachev period, topics which for years had been taboo, among them the "fate of Russia" under communism, came under intensive public debate. There was a proliferation of publications taking a nationalist and chauvinist line in which antisemitism became a major topic reaching hundreds of thousands of readers. Western studies pointed out the blurring of distinction on several issues between the "left" and "right", so that antisemitism, in which Jews are presented as a hostile and harmful element in Russian history, became a common thread running between the two.¹⁶ Years of intellectual fermentation, which are far from being over, have laid the groundwork for the ideas which today, to a large extent, shape public opinion in Russia. These ideas have found expression in such widely-read journals as *Nash Sovremennik* and *Molodaya Gvardiya*, which are known for the conservative, nationalist and neo-Stalinist line which they have taken since the late eighties.

A strong component of the Russian national revival movement rejects Western models of development as unsuitable for Russia and calls for the return to the "real traditional values of the Russian nation". This trend identifies the Jew as a foreign element, alienated from the Russian people, and as such is a sequel to the 19th century debate on Russia's future fate. However, the Jewish question has reappeared in its modern guise as one of the motifs of Russian nationalism, indicative not only of antisemitism but also of xenophobia. The following are the arguments behind this vein of thinking:

1. The Jews are presented as responsible for the discontinuation of Russia's normal line of historical development, having introduced destructive foreign ideas into Russia. Communism is presented as a Jewish ideology, transmitted by Jews, alien to the Russian spirit.

Such notions as these have gained exposure in the last few years, with extremist organizations as "Pamyat" stressing the alleged "Jewish character" of Bolshevism and the Jewish roots of the Communist rule in Russia. There is a continuing delegitimization of Communist leaders of Jewish origin, and a growing trend to present Communist terror as being the result of manipulations by Jewish leaders, while legitimizing "positive heroes", those who opposed the "Zionist conspiracy".

Hundreds of publications stress the "Jewish character" of Russian revolutionary leaders. The Jewish origins of Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders are constantly brought up, and there is an almost obsessive search for the "Jewish roots" of Lenin. For example, the organ of "Pamyat", the "Black Hundred", reported in the beginning of 1993 that Lenin, a Jew on both sides of his family, along with Trotsky, Sverdlov and other Jews, overturned the legal Tsarist regime.¹⁷ Similarly, *Nashe Vremya* the organ of the National-Republican Party writes about the "Jewish conspiracy" in which Lenin the Jew, aided by Jewish agents from abroad, conspired against the Russian nation.¹⁸ This is yet another example of the ongoing trend among the extremists to expose the "Zionist conspiracy" and the Jewish origins of the Bolshevik regime.

2. The Jews are presented as rootless cosmopolitans, reminiscent of Stalin's campaign of the late forties against "cosmopolitans", the end result of which was the destruction of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. The campaign emphasizes that "Russophobia", the fear and hatred of the Russian culture and people, is being sown by Jewish intellectuals. In order to fight what is perceived as "Russophobia", the nationalist right wing combats Western pluralism, giving antisemitism a position of prominence in the struggle against liberalism.

3. Jews are perceived as 'rootless', in contradiction to the Russians who have deep roots and rich spiritual values. This not only stresses the alienation of the Jew from Russian culture, it also emphasizes Russian ethno-centric creativity. Emphasis on the "rootlessness" of the Jews is also clearly linked to a Russian Orthodox religious revival, a major element in the nationalist revival, and Jewish Communists are now being accused of systematic destruction of the churches, religious institutions and the whole Orthodox infrastructure in Russia.¹⁹

C. Antisemitism as a Bridge Between Left and Right

In the last months there has been a growing rapprochement between the nationalist right wing and elements associated with the extreme left remnants of Communism. This tendency is noticeable in other post-Communist societies in Eastern Europe. This is a clear indication of the growing cooperation between the extreme right and left, with anti-democratic and anti-Western attitudes serving as a meeting ground between the two sides. In present day Russia, the lack of "law and order", the rejection of the West's "humiliating" stance towards Russia, and the struggle to restore "Russia's lost honor", along with opposition to Yeltsin's plans for reform, all serve as a the basis for the burgeoning unholy alliance between extreme left and right. The neo-Stalinist and ultra-nationalist attitude towards Jews form one more link in the left-right coalition.

The "National Salvation Front", established in October 1992, is the first umbrella organization of former Communists and self-styled fascists.²⁰ The Front goes back to the Gorbachev days when Communist hardliners found that they shared a lot in common with the growing number of nationalist right-wingers who opposed democratization and reform. The 1,200 delegates attending the founding Congress of the National Salvation Front condemned both the "Zionist-Western conspiracy" that aims to destroy Russia and Lenin's "Jewish origins".

Some of the front's leaders are members of both houses of the Russian Parliament, and the front's platform was published in *Dyen*, a publication replete with antisemitic material. Members of the Front include editors and writers from prominent nationalist and antisemitic publications, such as *Dyen* and *Nasha Rossiya*. Valentin Rasputin, Secretary of the Russian Writers' Union which has adhered to an ultra-nationalist line, is also a founding member of the Front. Among other leading members is the mathematician, Igor Shafarevitch, the leading writer on the "Russophobia" of Jewish and liberal intellectuals. The best-known leaders in the Front are those who contend that Yeltsin is a "captive" in the hands of the Jews, and that Jewish interests are behind his reforms.

Former Communists have reappeared on the public scene²¹ as nationalism has become their last refuge. Their loyalty to the "Russian homeland" and their joint efforts with the extreme right will certainly have an impact on the power struggle in Russia, as well as on future trends in Russian antisemitism.

Conclusions

There exist in Russia today more than a hundred political formations with right-wing, nationalist, xenophobic and antisemitic platforms which draw their antisemitism from both pre-1917 historical traditions and from the Communist period. The "Jewish Question" continues to be a central issue between those pushing forward to a democratic-liberal Russia and those advocating a "return to history". The activities of Russian Jewish organizations, the presence of Israeli and international Jewish factors in Russia, along with the activities of Russian liberal forces, all contribute to unmasking the activities of antisemitic groups. Emigration of the Jews from Russia has turned some of the allegations by antisemites of "Jewish influence" into empty accusations; time will tell whether Russia will turn into yet another case of "antisemitism without Jews".

Notes

1. Hatzofe, March 3, 1993.
2. Süddeutsche Zeitung, January 14, 1993.
3. Ha'aretz, January 24, 1993.
4. Hadashot, April 13, 1993.
5. Ma'ariv, December 25, 1992.
6. Hatzofe, December 23, 1992.
7. David Kochavi, "Antisemitism in Present Day Poland", (in a forthcoming publication of The Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism, Tel Aviv University).
8. Puncte Cardinale, no. 3, 1993.
9. See issues of the following papers after January 1993: Europa, Romania Mare, Puncte Cardinale, Miscarea.
10. Politica, October 31, 1992.
11. Yedioth Aharonot, April 11, 1993.
12. Puncte Cardinale, no. 3, 1993.
13. The Jewish Chronicle, January 1, 1993.
14. "In Search of a Scapegoat: Antisemitism in the Soviet Union Today", IJA Research Report, no. 3, 1991.
15. Vladimir Nosenko, "The Upsurge of Antisemitism in the Soviet Union in the Years of the Perestroika", in Yehuda Bauer (ed.), The Danger of Antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe in the Wake of 1989-1990, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991.
16. See Josephine Woll, "Russians and 'Russophobes': Antisemitism on the Russian Literary Scene", Soviet Jewish Affairs, vol. 19, no.3, 1989.
17. Reported in Ma'ariv, February 22, 1993.
18. Nashe Vremya, 1991.
19. Puls Tushina, no. 25, 1991.
20. IJA Intelligence Report, no. 1, February, 1993.
21. "Russian Communists Seek Salvation in Nationalist Alliance", Radio Free Europe Research Report, no. 13, March 23, 1993.

ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRALIA
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1993

In the first three months of 1993, members of the Australian Jewish community in Adelaide (South Australia) and Melbourne (Victoria) were harassed and intimidated when they presented submissions to Government-sponsored public meetings convened to discuss the desirability and form of national anti-racist legislation. Further evidence of the presence of an undercurrent of anti-Jewish feeling came with the public debate over the government's decision to refuse entry into Australia to Nazi apologist and rabble-rouser David Irving, which brought to the fore a disturbing degree of latent antisemitism. Neo-Nazi and extreme right-wing fringe groups continued to distribute anti-Jewish propaganda and propagate anti-Jewish myths. Petty manifestations of vandalism, harassment, abuse and intimidation continued. The Muslim press continued its hostility toward the Jewish community. Links between a segment of the "New Age" movement and a variety of antisemitic groups were established in this period.

On the positive side, a federal election passed with poor results for open antisemites and racists and a reaffirmation by political leaders of their repugnance of racists. Extremist groups of all political colours fared extremely badly in the election, despite high unemployment and social dislocation. Law enforcement agencies and educationalists have shown renewed commitment to combatting racist violence and the development of prejudice and intolerance.

A. Incidents of Violence, Vandalism and Intimidation

Between January 1 and March 31, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) had received reports of 46 incidents of

violence, vandalism and intimidation from its constituents around Australia. Fortunately, none of the incidents of violence or vandalism caused significant damage, although the effect of intimidation is difficult to assess at this point.

Amongst the more serious incidents of vandalism, there were six attacks on Kosher food outlets in Bondi, Sydney, in a six-week period from mid-February to late March, with windows smashed on five separate occasions, and two cars belonging to a Rabbi in North Bondi daubed with large swastikas while parked in his private home, in January. There were also two fires set on the doorstep of a synagogue in Caulfield, Melbourne in January.

There have been ten reports of graffiti, with Perth, the capital of Western Australia, experiencing large daubings of the slogans "Kill All Jews" and "Jews Are Scum" in three separate suburbs in January, and in a prominent position in Adelaide, South Australia, a Jewish retailer found the words "Jew Boy" spray-painted on his premises, also in January. A swastika was discovered in the entrance of the only synagogue in Canberra, Australian Capital Territory, in January.

Threatening telephone calls have been received by Jewish leaders in Brisbane (Queensland), Sydney and Perth, in January and February. A bomb threat, which led to an evacuation of the premises was received by a Jewish residential college in Sydney in March. In Brisbane and Sydney, in February, abusive anti-Jewish telephone calls were received by individual Jewish families.

Jewish residents of Sydney, Perth and Brisbane received abusive and threatening mail during the period in review. Six of the letters, all received by Sydney residents, included a call for "death to Jews, vermin of humanity", while the other six supported Hitler's genocide.

In February, in Adelaide and Melbourne, Jewish individuals and representatives of communal organisations were harassed, insulted and vilified at public meetings organized by the federal government for the specific purpose of helping the government develop anti-racist strategies. Also in February, mourners leaving Sydney's Chevra Kadisha were verbally abused by passengers in a passing vehicle, and two orthodox men were assaulted and had their hats stolen while walking to a synagogue in Rose Bay, New South Wales. In March, the only Jewish child at a school in Canberra reported systematic abuse and intimidation, and the matter is now before that Territory's Discrimination Commissioner. In addition, a research student at Brisbane's Sir Albert Sakzewski Virus Research Centre told The Courier-Mail (March 24) that she received hate-mail, including extracts of The Protocols of The Elders of Zion, as part of an effort to stop her reporting medical fraud at the centre.

B. David Irving and "Jewish Power"

Under the controversial visitors' provisions of Australia's immigration laws, Federal Immigration Minister Gerry Hand informed British Holocaust revisionist and Nazi rabble-rouser David Irving that he would not receive a visa to enter Australia for a proposed speaking tour in March and April. To a large degree due to an ill-researched initial report by a major wire service and publicity over the previous three months given to Jewish opposition to Irving, the issue was depicted in much of the media, particularly the printed media, as being a matter of Jewish community power opposed to the right to free speech. When it became clear that the major political parties were united in opposition to Irving, some Australian media, supplemented by an extraordinary piece in The New Zealand Herald, presented the issue as one of politicians intimidated by an overly influential, financially powerful Jewish lobby.

Holocaust revisionist John Bennett of Melbourne and the racist "Australian League of Rights" were quoted extensively, in this debate, generally without proper attribution. When Irving was interviewed (from South Africa) he made a series of comments on the alleged failure of the Australian government to stand up to "lying bigots" and, where permitted by interviewers, spread revisionist mythology.

In editorials in major newspapers, the Jewish community was described as "an influential lobby" which the government had to "placate" (*The Age*, Melbourne, February 13), and accused of unduly influencing the Immigration Minister (*West Australian*, Perth, February 16), forcing the government to "bow to pressure" (*Herald-Sun*, Melbourne, February 16), pressuring the government to put "pre-election considerations" first (*Sydney Morning Herald*, February 16) and forcing the government to "succumb to pressure" (*Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, February 17).

Columnists such as the left-wing Humphrey McQueen (*The Australian*, February 20-21) who wrote that "the Labor Party is terrified of losing votes and donations from the local Zionists" and Geoffrey Barker (*The Age*, February 16), with his statement that "We are in the throes of an election campaign and the Jewish community is large and influential", took advantage of the debate to promote their own prejudices.

The clear implication was that a minority group, with extraordinary clout, had pressured the Australian government to act against its own interests and that of the Australian people, and a variety of extremist groups happily reprinted some or all of the above references.

The Australian Muslim Times also carried an editorial condemning the refusal of the government to issue a visa to David Irving, quoting the leader of Australia's major racist organisation, the Australian League of Rights, and condemning the "Jewish lobby" for being part of a "notorious" international campaign by

"Zionists" which "should not be allowed to continue in Australia".

C. Holocaust Denial

John Bennett, leader of a tiny fringe group calling itself the Australian Civil Liberties Union, published the twentieth annual edition of his legal advice handbook *Your Rights*, which promotes antagonism towards a number of minority groups and publicizes a range of Holocaust denial literature. This year's edition repeats the claim that the gas chambers were established in Auschwitz after the Holocaust, a claim repeated by the author, and David Irving, on Australian radio. The Australian League of Rights has also included this claim, and related lies, in issues of their weekly *On Target* newsletter.

In a particularly offensive gesture, unknown persons placed leaflets on the windscreens of cars of patrons attending a Sydney performance of a play based on the experience of the family of Holocaust survivors who live in New Zealand, on March 30. These leaflets claimed that the Holocaust, and, in particular, Nazi usage of gas chambers, is a myth. Many of the recipients of the leaflets were Jewish, including a number of Holocaust survivors.

Also, the British-Israel World-Federation* office in Sydney, which serves as a clearing house of pseudo-Christian anti-Jewish literature, is now selling books and other material alleging the Holocaust is a "hoax".

* The Federation considers the English nation the true descendents of the Israelites.

D. Other Notable Extremist Activities

The Lyndon LaRouche cult publishes a newspaper in Australia, *New Citizen*, which portrays Jewish community leaders as criminals and associates of criminals. In addition, the international news magazine of the organization, *Executive Intelligence Review*, has published a series of articles on Australia, including a slanderous attack on leading Jewish community figures early this year. In an article headed "Nazi-Communist Alliance Set to Destabilize Australia", *New Citizen* included "the Australian Jewish business and political elite and their international connections which include the terrorism and organized crime connected Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith" in the "alliance" (*New Citizen*, February/March 1993).

Nexus, a magazine of the "New Age" movement, has included anti-Jewish conspiracy theories in its catalogue of theories which it alleges are suppressed by the same forces that will not publicize UFOs and alternative medicines. Despite the proclaimed hostility of LaRouche supporters to the New Age movement, this magazine acts as a distributor for "Dope, Inc.", a Larouchite standard text. The magazine also promotes and/or advertises material from the League of Rights, the pro-Libyan *New Dawn* and a variety of other opponents of the "New World Order", including Israeli conspiracy theorist Ari Ben-Menashe.

A report that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are being promoted amongst congregants of fringe churches in Tasmania by the League of Rights is an additional source of concern. Details are still being gathered.

Antisemitism in the Media

In addition to the comments related to David Irving's refused visa, a small number of examples of gratuitous and offensive commentary received publication in the mainstream media. These included a comment by former Workers' Revolutionary party (GB)

activist and propagandist (now the London correspondent for the mass circulation Sun-Herald), Alex Mitchell, that Jewish refugees from Nazism and survivors of the Holocaust "groaning with greed, return 'home' to reclaim land, homes, factories and farms" (Sun-Herald, 14 March). "Humor" columnist for the major business daily, Peter Ruchl, commented on Abe Hirschfeld's arguments with his New York Post staff, writing "I think maybe the world ought to finally learn a lesson about what happens when some strugglers from persecuted religious groups get a chance to turn a buck" (Australian Financial Review, 19 March). A letter was published in the major weekly newsmagazine alleging, "No doubt the elitist separatism practised by the Jewish community has some bearing on how they are perceived, but it is surely their unwillingness to be Australians first and foremost which underlies whatever antisemitism exists in this country" (The Bulletin, 30 March). Such lapses in standards are not common, but occur with a disturbing regularity.

Conclusions

The antisemitic manifestations included in this report must be considered against the back-drop of a tolerant society in which philo-semitism is far more common than antisemitism. There are, however, a variety of sources of anti-Jewish propaganda which may not have a major impact on Australian society but separately and together continue to present a challenge to the community. The Australian Labor Party, re-elected in the March 13 federal election, is committed to enacting anti-racist legislation which it intends will cover antisemitism.

Jeremy Jones

About The Project

The Project for the Study of Antisemitism and the Yolante and Frederik Th. Roeters van-Lennep Database of Contemporary Antisemitism began operating in the Fall of 1991 at Tel Aviv University in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith. This is the first undertaking of its kind in Israel and the world for the systematic gathering and analysis of computerized material on current antisemitism around the world. The head of the Project is Dr. Dina Porat, Roni Stauber coordinates the Database, and Dr. Raphael Vago is in charge of research.

The Project monitors manifestations of antisemitism around the world and operates a computerized database of contemporary antisemitism. It services researchers and community and organizational activists, as well as human rights organizations and groups that fight racism. In addition, it encourages research into matters related to post-World War II antisemitic activity.

Furthermore, the Project provides up-to-date reports on the current state of affairs, and analyses characteristics, factors and trends in antisemitic activity, both localized and international, by individuals and organizations, in practice and ideology.

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Testimony
Israel Singer
Secretary General
World Jewish Congress

before the
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on International Security
International Organizations and Human Rights

July 9, 1993

Mr. Chairman. Thank you for this opportunity to submit testimony before the subcommittee on the problem of antisemitism. My name is Israel Singer and I am the secretary general of the World Jewish Congress. The WJC is an international federation of Jewish communities and organizations representing more than 80 nations on six continents. We serve as the multinational representative of world Jewry. Our areas of involvement and concern are as diverse as our worldwide membership, but perhaps none is more important than our commitment to human rights and the struggle against antisemitism.

High levels of antisemitism continue to be a source of considerable concern in some countries and require urgent action to be taken. That is the conclusion of our annual worldwide human rights survey entitled *Antisemitism World Report 1993*. I submit to you a copy of the introduction with my testimony. A full copy, which will be deposited with the subcommittee, was submitted as a formal document to the United Nations conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June, which both you and I had the privilege to attend. The report was compiled by the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs, the research arm of the World Jewish Congress.

Of the 52 separate entries (states of the former USSR and the former Yugoslavia each constitute one entry), 33 show little change from the levels of 1991, the year in which antisemitism reached a post-Second World War peak and when the first volume of *Antisemitism World Report* was published.

The situation appears to have the potential to become more serious in a number of countries, although in different ways. In Ukraine, Russia and Slovakia, political and economic instability prevail and may worsen, thereby opening the door to intensification of antisemitism which is already at high, or relatively high, levels.

In nine countries -- Canada, Egypt, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey -- the situation has markedly worsened.

Antisemitism is the common currency of politics in a number of Eastern European countries. In Hungary, Romania, Russia and Poland, members of mainstream parties and some of those parties themselves are antisemitic. This form of political antisemitism is potentially the most dangerous.

In Romania, the ruling party is dependent for governance on the extremist parties which espouse virulent antisemitism. The prospects for Romania's small Jewish community have considerably worsened and there are legitimate fears for its safety.

In Hungary, Istvan Csurka, a former vice-president and influential former member of the ruling coalition party, is outspokenly antisemitic. He was recently expelled from the Hungarian Democratic Forum and founded his own party. Under his leadership, antisemitic tendencies are growing and may find fertile ground in the country's economic and political crisis.

In Russia, there remain numerous grassroots chauvinistic and anti-Jewish groups and publications, and in the Ukraine a worrying antisemitic fringe movement has emerged. Whilst there was no indication that anti-Jewish sentiment was endemic among the rank and file of any of the populations of the former USSR, with the continuing economic, political and social dislocation accompanied by strong nationalist sentiments throughout the area, the threat posed by antisemitism to Jewish communities and to the prospects for democracy could become much more serious. The situation in these countries gives serious cause for alarm.

Electorally Successful Far-Right Groups Spread Anti-Semitism

Hundreds of groups worldwide are vehicles for the propagation of antisemitism. In the US alone, the number of discrete hate organizations totaled 346.

The electorally more successful far-right groups, whose success continued in 1992, have concealed their antisemitism to gain public respectability. But for groups such as the Front National in France, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Vlaams Blok in Belgium and the Republikaner Partei in Germany, antisemitism often emerges both in innuendo expressed by their leaders and at the local level where party members do not feel constrained to adhere to the parties' national imperatives.

Skinheads appear to be behind many antisemitic incidents, and this phenomenon has spread from Western countries to Eastern Europe and is found in former Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Extremist organizations were more organized, developed increasing international links which enabled them to operate internationally, and were more prepared to indulge in violent activities.

Antisemitic Activists More Ready to Resort to Extreme Actions

There is a great propensity for the relatively few who express antisemitic beliefs to "act out" their beliefs. There also appears to be a greater propensity to desecrate cemeteries, and the frequency with which this occurs gives great cause for concern.

In the US, France and Canada, the number of antisemitic incidents -- violence to persons, cemetery desecrations, arson attacks on Jewish property, the daubing of graffiti -- decreased. But in Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy and Sweden, the number of incidents increased. In Eastern Europe, despite high levels of antisemitic sentiment and the significant role antisemitism plays in the political systems, there is little evidence of serious antisemitic incidents. In Latin America, the evidence suggests that there has been no overall increase in incidents and probably a falling off in their number.

In 1991, antisemitism from Islamic fundamentalist sources emerged more as a potential than an actual threat. In 1992 there appears to be more evidence of it as a present danger.

Antisemitic Publications Disseminated More Widely

Ugly antisemitic themes are common in the antisemitic publications which are freely available in certain parts of the world. In Russia, there are over 50 such publications, some circulating in hundreds of thousands of copies.

In France there is an extensive range of publications which include antisemitic material. A 1992 survey found 248 far-right publications of this kind, although most are only circulated locally and many are not published regularly. Also in France, antisemitic allusions appear in the press close to the far-right Front National, such as the fundamentalist Catholic daily Present, and the weeklies National-Hebdo and Minute-La France, which have much higher circulations.

In Turkey, Germany, the USA and the Middle East also, periodicals and books with overt antisemitic content are printed and distributed in large quantities.

In the Middle East, the caricatures and images used (in cartoons and in print) run the gamut of antisemitic stereotypes: deformed Jews, Jews with money bags, Jews clutching the globe in their hands, Jews controlling the Usa through finance, blood libels, claims that the Talmud is racist, that Jews undermine Islam, poison wells, bring AIDS.

Among the themes of antisemitic propaganda generally, Jews are held responsible for the current economic problems faced by many states and for the problems of the past, particularly the introduction of Communism in Eastern Europe. The notion of a Jewish conspiracy to control the world, or at least the central institutions of societies -- for example, the banks, the media,

parliament -- is constantly repeated. so too is the view that Jews have profited from the Holocaust and that the Holocaust never occurred or its scope has been exaggerated. Traditional antisemitic themes appear in slightly different forms in different countries, sometimes cloaked in special discourse. In Italy, among far-right groups, widespread credence is given to mondialismo, a conspiracy theory which propounds that all the "world powers" -- including Jews and Zionists -- seek to "subdue" world populations economically, culturally and psychologically. In Russia, many on the far right adhere to the notion of "Russophobia": Russia is seen as being undeservedly despised by almost everybody, but especially the Jews, Jews are therefore seen as the cause of Russia's misfortunes.

The United Nations: Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism

Anti-Zionism does not emerge as a major factor in antisemitism in 1992 except in the arena of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. For example, the Palestine Liberation Organization released a letter in December 1992, as part of documentation on alleged human rights violations in the occupied territories, which stated that the Israeli authorities, in observing Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), were "never fully happy on religious occasions, unless their celebrations as usual are marked by Palestinian blood and the immolation of defenseless numbers of the Palestinian people." The is an obvious allusion to the blood libel and purports to show Jewish religious obsession with blood rituals and human sacrifice. The matter was taken up by Jewish representatives early in 1993.

Holocaust Denial: A Common Denominator for Antisemites

Denial of the Holocaust -- misleadingly referred to as "revisionism", which lends it a legitimacy it does not deserve -- remained an important common denominator for both overtly and covertly antisemitic groups and individuals. there is still no evidence that Holocaust denial has had any impact on mainstream opinion, although its major practitioners, like David Irving in the UK, Robert Faurisson in France, Fred Leuchter in the uSA and Ernst Zundel in Canada, are nothing if not assiduous in attempting to spread their views worldwide.

In Eastern Europe, Holocaust denial mostly takes a different form -- the whitewashing and rehabilitation of former Nazi collaborators -- which continues unabated. In Romania, open denial of the Holocaust occurred, adding to the seriousness of antisemitism in that country.

Some Disturbing Evidence From Opinion Polls

Polls conducted in Germany, Italy and Poland during 1992 showed higher than average levels of antisemitic prejudice among young people. In Germany 14 per cent of 14-18 year-olds agreed that "Jews are Germany's misfortune", whilst only 1 per cent of 25-26 year-olds agreed. In Italy, among 14-20 year-olds, 13.4 per cent saw Jews as "foreigners". The importance of education emerges from the German poll: of the 14-18 year-olds, 29 per cent of apprentices agreed with the statement, whilst 11 per cent of students agreed.

Religion: The Churches

Since the Gulf War, manifestations of Christian antisemitism and anti-Zionism -- which had increased markedly during the early years of the intifada -- have declined in number and seriousness. During 1992, however, they remained a significant factor in antisemitism worldwide.

Germany: Antisemitism is an Adjunct of Hostility Towards Foreigners

In Germany, serious antisemitic incidents increased by approximately 20 per cent over 1991, in the wake of the violence against asylum-seekers. But Jews are not the principal targets in Germany today, and there is no serious basis for drawing parallels between Weimar and the plight of the Federal Republic today. Antisemitism is an adjunct to hostility towards foreigners.

But the German situation remains of great concern, especially following the deaths of five Turkish people in Solingen at the end of May 1993. In Germany it is vitally important to use all legal means to deal with the problems, to monitor extremist activity, to demonstrate opposition to racism and antisemitism, and to provide a firm lead at the highest levels of government.

"Antisemitism Without Jews": Poland, Romania, Egypt, Japan

The size of Jewish communities bears little relation to the degree of antisemitism. In Poland, where the Jewish community numbers less than 10,000, an opinion poll found that 10 per cent of Poles thought the Jews numbered between 4 and 7 million, and 25 per cent put their numbers at between 750,000 and 3.5 million -- astonishing results by any standards. but the phenomenon can also be found in Romania, Slovakia, many Arab countries and Japan.

There is disturbing evidence that antisemitism is becoming increasingly a grassroots phenomenon in Egypt, the one Arab country that has concluded a peace treaty with Israel. The surge in popular support for Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt has been accompanied by the Islamization of European antisemitism, where scriptural texts are cited to support antisemitic ideas.

Urgent Action is Required

The potential for increased expression of antisemitism remains high in a worsening racist and xenophobic climate and where traditional political and ideological structures are breaking up.

The plans to limit the numbers of immigrants and asylum-seekers entering West Europe may fuel anti-foreigner feeling, provide legitimacy to far-right groups and exacerbate the climate of intolerance which increasingly prevails in Europe as a whole.

The number of antisemitic incidents, the range of antisemitic publications available, the appetite for antisemitic literature, the readiness of some politicians to make cynical use of antisemitism to further their political aims, the high levels of antisemitic sentiment among less-educated young people do not augur well for human rights and democracy.

While the position of Jews is not comparable to that of the many non-white minority groups for whom discrimination, violence and abuse are a daily occurrence, it is clear that violent expressions of antisemitism follow in the wake of the anti-foreigner violence and racist attacks.

Heightened Concern Produced More Action Against Antisemitism

In 1992, in response to heightened concern, there was increased activity to counter antisemitism and other manifestations of racism.

While many Eastern European political leaders remain equivocal in their statements on antisemitism, in many former Soviet republics, Poland, Hungary and even Romania, some improvement activities condemning antisemitism were undertaken.

A survey of legal developments shows that many countries have laws outlawing incitement to race hatred, but legislation is very often found wanting and the authorities are unable or unwilling to prosecute or secure convictions.

Measures to combat antisemitism in many countries are insufficient and much needs to be done -- on the levels of legislation, education and political action. And that action must be taken within the context of the general tightening of measures to combat racism and xenophobia.

Introduction

The Balance Sheet for 1992

Last year's *Antisemitism World Report* noted a marked worsening of the antisemitic climate since the beginning of the 1990s. From the evidence of this year's *Report*, which covers the year 1992, the overall situation appears to have remained relatively unchanged. But since antisemitism reached a post-Second World War high point in 1991, there is every reason to be concerned and for urgent action to be taken in certain countries. Moreover, certain trends continue to give particular cause for alarm.

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Conditions conducive to the growth and spread of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism were more in evidence in 1992 than in 1991. And Europe remained the principal arena for manifestations of these phenomena.

In 1992, attention focused on the mounting violence against immigrants and asylum-seekers in Germany—and their inevitable echoes of Germany's Nazi past—which worsened towards the end of the year. These events gave rise to an international outcry, widespread calls for urgent action to be taken and to considerable soul searching, both in Germany and elsewhere, about the implications of the violence for Germany and for Europe as a whole. By March-April 1993, it appeared that the violence in Germany had peaked and that the action finally taken by the German authorities, as well as the expressions of international concern, had had a positive effect.

But as this *Report* goes to press, such optimism seems decidedly premature.

At the end of May 1993, the German Bundestag abolished the automatic right of refugees to asylum. Within days, an arson attack on the home of a Turkish family in Solingen resulted in the deaths of two women and three children.

With over 400,000 asylum-seekers arriving in Germany in 1992, there may well have been good reason to alter Germany's liberal asylum provisions. But whatever the motive for the change, many will see it as a sign that foreigners are not wanted in Germany. In fact this message emanates not only from Germany but from the European Community as a whole, which is taking measures to restrict the entry of non-EC nationals, and from other countries individually, such as France and the United Kingdom.

Governments claim that the steps being taken to limit the numbers of immigrants and asylum-seekers entering Western Europe are specifically designed to prevent the spread of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism. But many observers argue—pointing to incidents like that at Solingen—that such measures only fuel anti-foreigner feeling, provide legitimacy to far-right groups and exacerbate the climate of intolerance which increasingly prevails in Europe as a whole. If this is

the case, then expressions of antisemitism, which are clearly a by-product of hatred of foreigners, can be expected to increase.

There are other circumstances which were conducive to the growth and spread of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism in 1992.

First, in Western Europe, democratic institutions were increasingly tested by continuing, and in some cases deepening, recession and accompanying high rates of unemployment. This led to widespread disillusionment with established political parties, which were seen as increasingly out of touch with their electorates. In a number of member states of the European Community this disillusionment also manifested itself in opposition to the Maastricht Treaty, some provisions of which were seen as inimical to the preservation of national identity and sovereignty, as well as to economic recovery.

Second, in the post-Communist societies of Central and Eastern Europe, the pressure for radical free market reforms, with their attendant economic and social hardship, has placed a great strain on fledgling democratic institutions, many of which are fragile. In a number of these countries, there is relatively little democratic culture and developed state of law, particularly in relation to minority groups.

Third, nationalist and ethnic antagonism intensified, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. The appalling situation in the former Yugoslavia, where "ethnic cleansing"—a process reminiscent of the Nazi era—and dismemberment of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina could not be prevented by the international community, served as a tragic warning of the extremes to which ethnic warfare could descend.

In the last few years, there has been an unprecedented eruption of nationalism in Europe. Much of this nationalism does not stem from liberal impulses. In many respects it is based on race and ethnicity, rather than on shared history and culture. It is exclusivist and intolerant. Because it is often espoused by national groups within existing nation-states, it poses a threat to the nation-state as we know it and threatens to break up Europe into increasingly fragmented parts.

It was once thought that the future would consist of the assimilation of minorities into a large integrated whole, but the opposite is occurring. It is becoming increasingly legitimate to base political demands on ethnicity (however distorted that concept of ethnicity may be). Because the interaction of such groups cannot readily be resolved, the result is all too often intolerance, the denial of human rights, the breakdown of political order, the decline of economic performance and escalation into civil and regional wars.

Fourth, developments in Europe, both East and West, reflect the breakup of traditional political and ideological structures which served both as a bulwark against extremism and as a means of integrating into the mainstream individuals predisposed to far-right ideas. As a result, people have been seeking solutions at the edges of politics, turning not only to far-right parties, but to green movements of various kinds, sects, new age philosophies, single-issue pressure groups and anti-politics parties (for example in Switzerland and Sweden).

Fifth, supranational organizations which are supposed to manage conflict and defend human rights—such as the United Nations, the European Community, the

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (the "Helsinki Process"), NATO, the Council of Europe—do not appear to be adequate to the task. There was much hope that such bodies would increase in importance following the end of the Cold War, but the conspicuous failure to do little more than supply humanitarian aid in the conflict in former Yugoslavia has given encouragement to those who wish to use violence and the denial of human rights to gain control of territory and populations.

PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS, MOVEMENTS

There are hundreds of groups throughout the world, mostly of a far-right, neo-fascist or neo-Nazi character, which are vehicles for the propagation of anti-semitism. For most of these groups, however, antisemitism is not at the forefront of their political or ideological activities. Their targets are principally immigrants, asylum-seekers, refugees, guest-workers—people who are perceived as racially or ethnically different from the mainstream. The vast majority are politically marginal and have negligible influence in the countries where they operate. Nevertheless, it remains true, as stated in our 1992 *Report*, that for many of these groupings, antisemitism is an overt element of their ideological outlook, and for others, even though they may eschew antisemitism in public, it clearly exists not far below the surface. Groups such as the Front National in France, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Vlaams Blok in Belgium, the Republikaner Partei in Germany, have concealed their antisemitism to gain public respectability, but it often emerges both in innuendo expressed by their leaders and at the local level where party members do not feel constrained to adhere to the parties' national imperatives.

Whilst it is difficult to say whether, overall, the membership of extremist antisemitic organizations has increased, some clear trends emerge. First, according to the German monitoring authorities, membership of extreme-right groups rose in Germany from 39,800 in 1991 to 65,000 in 1992, clearly a significant increase, especially since these figures may well be on the conservative side. Second, skinheads, who number at least 6,400 in Germany—there may be ten times as many—pose an "increasing threat" (again, according to the German authorities), and this is clearly mirrored in many other countries. More than ever, skinheads appear to be behind antisemitic incidents, and the phenomenon has spread from Western countries (originating in the UK, but found throughout Western Europe and North America) to Eastern Europe, and can be found in the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Third, extremist organizations are tending to be more highly organized, to develop increasing international links which enable them to organize and operate internationally, and to be more prepared to indulge in violent activities.

The electoral success of West European far-right groups, which was noted in last year's *Report*, continued in 1992, particularly in Germany, although overall fewer elections were held. In elections in Baden-Württemberg and Berlin, the Republikaner Partei won 10.9 per cent and 8.3 per cent respectively. The French Front National did not do as well as it hoped in the regional elections but still succeeded in securing almost 14 per cent of the vote, and achieved 12.5 per cent

in the general election in 1993. In Turkey, the openly antisemitic Welfare Party, which has an Islamic fundamentalist orientation, gained 25 per cent support in elections in some provinces. Opinion polls and other data cited in this *Report* indicate that far-right parties appear to be holding on to their relatively high levels of support.

In Central and Eastern Europe, electorally significant nationalist groups with antisemitic leanings exist in Hungary, Poland and Russia. In Hungary, Istvan Csurka, who ceased to be a vice-president of the ruling Magyar Democratic Forum when all six vice-presidency positions were abolished following his antisemitic public statements, established a new grouping, Hungarian Way, which has to be watched very carefully. In Poland, two opposition groupings were formed after the collapse of the Olszewski government in June—the Movement for the Republic and the Third Republic Movement, which contain groups with an antisemitic record, and some of the leaders of which have been suspected of holding antisemitic views. In Russia, twenty members of the far-right National Salvation Front are Russian Supreme Soviet deputies.

MANIFESTATIONS

Antisemitic incidents—whether they be violence to persons, cemetery desecrations, arson attacks on Jewish property or the daubing of graffiti—are rightly scrutinized for what they tell us about levels of antisemitism. It must be emphasized, however, that, when considered on their own, they are a very imperfect indicator of whether antisemitism is on the rise, remaining static or in decline. Although some monitoring bodies, in the USA and the United Kingdom for example, have greatly refined the way in which they collect and analyse data on incidents, there remain problems of definition and interpretation.

Bearing in mind these problems, even a cautious approach to the figures reported here reveals some interesting developments. First, in some West European countries—Germany, the United Kingdom, Italy and Sweden—the number of incidents increased during 1992. In the USA, Canada and France, however, a decrease in incidents was recorded, although in the cases of France and Canada—and in many other countries—there was a sharp increase in such incidents towards the end of the year. This increase no doubt reflects both the impact of violence against asylum-seekers in Germany and the high level of racist attacks in Europe in general. (Figures produced by the Board of Deputies of British Jews show clearly that incidents increase in the UK following high-profile racist or antisemitic attacks elsewhere in Europe.) Second, although the systematic reporting of incidents in countries of Eastern Europe is in its infancy, our investigations show little evidence of serious antisemitic incidents (violence, bombing, firebombing, desecrations) occurring in large numbers. Third, in Latin America, where data collection is also not as fully developed as it should be, our evidence suggests that there has been no overall increase in incidents and probably a falling off in their number.

Concealed in the figures are three disturbing trends.

First, there is a greater propensity for the relatively few who express antisemitic beliefs to “act out” their beliefs in various forms of expression. This

development is compatible with stable or declining levels of antisemitic sentiment and indicates that the immediate threat posed by antisemitism to Jews—in terms of the likelihood of personal injury, damage to property or the generation of a climate of fear in Jewish communities—can be relatively high even though antisemitism may not be a serious long-term threat.

Second, the degree to which Jewish cemeteries are attacked is of considerable significance. The clear impression from this *Report* is that, even in countries where manifestations have declined, there is a greater propensity to desecrate cemeteries. Whilst it would be an exaggeration to describe this as an epidemic, attacks on cemeteries are a particularly ugly form of antisemitism which play on the sensitivities of Jewish communities everywhere and their frequency gives great cause for concern.

Third, despite the apparent decline in the number of manifestations in some countries and the absence of any increase in many others, the increase in incidents towards the end of 1992 (noted above) in a significant number of places, is very disturbing. This may well be at least partly explained by the violent events in Germany which mounted in the latter part of the year and which led to “copy-cat” attacks elsewhere.

PUBLICATIONS

This *Report* shows that antisemitic publications—books, pamphlets, leaflets, greetings cards, periodicals—are now much more freely available in certain parts of the world, particularly Central and Eastern Europe, and some countries, particularly the UK, report an increased dissemination of such material. In some countries, periodicals with overt or covert antisemitic content are printed and distributed in large quantities (i.e. more than 50,000 copies)—for example, Russia (over fifty periodicals are listed), Turkey, France, Germany, the USA. In the Middle East, open expressions of antisemitism appear in publications in Iran, Syria, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Algeria and Iraq. The caricatures and images used (in cartoons and in print) run the gamut of antisemitic stereotypes: deformed Jews; Jews with money bags; Jews clutching the globe in their hands; Jews controlling the USA through finance; blood libels; claims that the Talmud is racist, that Jews undermine Islam, poison wells, bring AIDS. Even liberal Arab newspapers write of Jewish power in antisemitic terms. Other caricatures used include an octopus entwined with the Star of David; a hand marked with the Star of David stabbing the globe; and the devil with long nails, horns, fangs and Stars of David for eyes. Jews are referred to as Nazis and snakes, and the Star of David is equated with the swastika.

Among the themes of antisemitic propaganda generally, Jews are held responsible for the current economic problems faced by many states and for the problems of the past, particularly the introduction of Communism in Eastern Europe. The notion of a Jewish conspiracy to control the world, or at least the central institutions of societies—for example, the banks, the media, parliaments—is constantly repeated. So too is the view that Jews have profited from the Holocaust and that the Holocaust never occurred or its scope has been exaggerated. Traditional antisemitic themes appear in slightly different forms in different countries.

sometimes cloaked in a special discourse. In Italy, widespread credence among far-right groups is given to *mondialismo*, a conspiracy theory which propounds that all the "world powers"—including Jews and Zionists—seek to "subdue" world populations economically, culturally and psychologically. In Russia, many on the far right adhere to the notion of "Russophobia": Russia is seen as being undeservedly despised by almost everybody, but especially by the Jews. Jews are therefore seen as the cause of Russia's misfortunes.

Most overtly antisemitic publications have very small circulations and make little impact. But copies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other traditional antisemitic tracts are freely available in many countries, particularly in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Much of this material originates from other countries. For example, CEDADE, the Spanish far right political organization, which has four publishing houses, is considered to be one of the largest producers of antisemitic publications in Europe and exports its material to Latin America and Austria.

MAINSTREAM POLITICS

Antisemitism remains relatively rare in mainstream political parties. In those countries where the far right, by virtue of its electoral success, can be judged to have entered the political mainstream—France, Austria, Belgium, Germany—there has been little change since 1991.

The role of antisemitism in mainstream politics in Eastern Europe is potentially the most dangerous. In Hungary, Romania and Poland, members of mainstream parties and some of those parties themselves are clearly antisemitic. Their antisemitism emerges most clearly during election campaigns, but not only then. Leading politicians in these countries are ready to make opportunistic use of antisemitism even if they are not antisemites themselves. In Russia, many members of the National Salvation Front, a loose alliance of extremist bodies which has twenty members in the Russian parliament, adhere to the notion that Russia's misfortunes are the fault of the Jews.

In the USA, the presidential candidacy bids of Pat Buchanan and David Duke undoubtedly brought antisemitism onto the national political stage. Duke is a veteran antisemite, former neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan leader who attracted considerable media attention during his short candidacy. Buchanan, a columnist, former White House staffer and a far more significant public figure, was seen by many as antisemitic.

RELIGION: THE CHURCHES

Since the Gulf War, manifestations of Christian antisemitism and anti-Zionism—which had increased markedly during the early years of the *intifada*—have declined in number and seriousness. During 1992, however, they remained a significant factor in antisemitism worldwide.

Roman Catholicism: Antisemitism was marked among small organizations of ultra-conservative Catholics representing pre-Vatican II theology, particularly among militant supporters of Monsignor Lefebvre. Some have links to far-right

parties, and cite *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and contemporary antisemitic writers such as Henri Coston. Publications by such groups in Italy, France, Belgium, Australia and elsewhere contained antisemitic sentiments.

Certain single-issue lobby groups, such as Pro Vita (Belgium), also propagated religious antisemitism. Antisemitism is present in some Catholic-nationalist groups in France, Spain, Italy, Poland and elsewhere; the French *Chrétienté-Solidarité* has links to the Front National. Some Catholic fundamentalist publications (which number seventy-two in France alone) contained antisemitic material. Common themes are the power of Jewish finance and of a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy to unite all world religions in order to gain global domination. Pre-Vatican II anti-Judaism was reflected, particularly in Italy, in reiterations of Jewish guilt for the crucifixion of Jesus and for past ritual murders, in Christian triumphalism and the use of anti-Jewish stereotypes and language. A few Catholic clergymen openly expressed antisemitism, especially in Italy and Poland. Old antisemitic tracts attacking the Talmud continued to be reprinted in Poland and elsewhere, and new ones written (Italy). In Italy and Poland some antisemitic slogans of skinhead groups expressed Christian triumphalism. A Catholic antisemite in Norway published *The Protocols* and other anti-Jewish material.

Protestantism: In Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia and elsewhere some right-wing groups propagated anti-Judaism in their pamphlets (which generally have a small circulation). An alleged Jewish conspiracy of world domination was a common theme. In the USA the old Protestant fundamentalism in Ku Klux Klan ideology has been largely replaced by the racist pseudo-religion of "Identity". A few fundamentalist preachers and writers (New Zealand, the Netherlands) expressed virulent antisemitism and anti-Judaism. Common to both Catholic and Protestant anti-Judaism is the view that the Talmud is intrinsically evil and that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is authentic.

Orthodox: Anti-Judaism was expressed by some clergy and in some unofficial Orthodox publications in Greece, Russia and Romania. Orthodox writers in Romania sharply attacked Romania's Chief Rabbi, Moses Rosen, using anti-Talmudic clichés and quoting from *The Protocols*. The Serbian Orthodox Church continued to publish antisemitic books by an anti-Jewish bishop. Charges of Jewish world supremacy and Jewish responsibility for creating Communism were common themes in Orthodox antisemitism.

Miscellaneous: A phenomenon of anti-Christian anti-Judaism exists (which urges return to pagan roots and blames Jews for having created Christianity). This was particularly noticeable among nationalist groups in Armenia and Belgium. Palestinian Christians are sometimes a source of antisemitism (Australia).

RELIGION: MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISM

The problem of antisemitism stemming from Muslim fundamentalist sources clearly looms larger in this year's *Report* than it did last year. This form of antisemitism can be separated into two parts: antisemitic propaganda and literature in Muslim countries, and antisemitic propaganda and literature in non-Muslim countries with large Muslim populations, particularly in Western Europe and Latin America. In 1991, anti-Jewish activity and propaganda from Islamic funda-

mentalist sources emerged more as a potential than an actual threat. In 1992, there appears to more evidence of it as a present danger.

There is certainly very clear evidence of antisemitism in the writings and manifestos of organizations like Hamas and Hizbullah, and a strain of antisemitism in the Palestine Liberation Organization, which publicly makes every effort to eschew antisemitism. The Muslim fundamentalist organizations have international networks, are capable of mounting international terror campaigns and in 1992 and 1993 appear to have been behind two major incidents: the bombing of the Israeli embassy in Argentina and the bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York.

THE ARAB WORLD

Evidence of antisemitism in the Arab world remains somewhat uneven. This is partly connected with the problems of data collection. Not that there is any lack of evidence of antisemitic expressions but principally because so few experts have been monitoring developments in Arab countries from this angle. There is also genuine disagreement among expert observers as to how far expressions of antisemitism can be directly related to the political struggle of Arab states against Zionism and the state of Israel, and how deeply rooted antisemitism is in Arab societies. (For a fuller treatment of this problem, see the introduction to the section on the Middle East.)

The entry on Egypt in this *Report* provides disturbing evidence that antisemitism is becoming increasingly a grassroots phenomenon in that country. That this should be occurring in Egypt, the one Arab country that has concluded a peace treaty with Israel, is especially worrying. With other Arab countries, it may be possible to argue that the absence of peace fuels the use of antisemitic imagery and rhetoric in the political struggle. The corollary would therefore be that antisemitism would be reduced once peace was achieved. But if the case of Egypt disproves this thesis, antisemitism looks set to remain a serious factor in Arab societies.

EFFECTS OF ANTI-ZIONISM

Anti-Zionism does not emerge as a major factor in antisemitism in 1992. In some regions and countries—for example, Latin America and Greece—the use of anti-Zionism to mask antisemitic sentiments is more widespread, and anti-Zionism still has a greater antisemitic potency on university campuses, particularly in Western countries. Nevertheless, since the collapse of Communism, the end of the Cold War, the change in Arab attitudes following the Gulf War, the commencement of Middle East peace talks and the declining importance of Third Worldist international gatherings, anti-Zionism has ceased to be as important a factor as it was.

UNITED NATIONS

The one arena in which anti-Zionism remains a significant vehicle for antisemitism is the United Nations and some of its specialized agencies. For example, the Palestine Liberation Organization released a letter in December 1992, as part of

documentation on alleged human rights violations in the occupied territories, which stated that the Israeli authorities, in observing Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), were "never fully happy on religious occasions, unless their celebrations, as usual are marked by Palestinian blood and the immolation of defenceless numbers of the Palestinian people." This is an obvious allusion to the blood libel and purports to show Jewish religious obsession with blood rituals and human sacrifice. The matter was taken up by Jewish representatives early in 1993.

A new body, UN Watch, was recently set up in Geneva by the World Jewish Congress to monitor activity of this kind.

HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Denial of the Holocaust—misleadingly referred to as "reversionism", which lends it a legitimacy it does not deserve—remained an important common denominator for both overtly and covertly antisemitic groups and individuals. There is still no evidence that Holocaust denial has had any impact on mainstream opinion although its major practitioners, like David Irving, Robert Faurisson, Fred Leuchter and Ernst Zundel, are nothing if not assiduous in attempting to spread their views worldwide. Holocaust denial developments in 1992 can more or less be traced by following the travels of Irving in particular. Fortunately, a number of countries either banned his entry or deported him once he had entered, signifying a greater awareness of the danger he represents and a greater willingness to take action to prevent his activities.

In Eastern Europe, Holocaust denial mostly takes a different form—the whitewashing and rehabilitation of former Nazi collaborators—which continues unabated. In Romania, open denial of the Holocaust occurred, adding to the seriousness of antisemitism in that country.

OPINION POLLS

Surveys of opinion can be useful indicators of the level of antisemitic sentiment, although social scientists have to find ways of compensating for the tendency of respondents not to admit to antisemitic prejudices. Comparisons of polls in different countries are difficult to make when different techniques and questions are used.

Polls conducted in Germany, Italy and Poland during 1992 showed higher than average levels of antisemitic prejudice among young people. In Germany, 14 per cent of 14-18 year-olds agreed that "Jews are Germany's misfortune", whilst only 1 per cent of 25-26 year-olds agreed. In Italy, among 14-20 year-olds, 13.4 per cent saw Jews as "foreigners". The importance of education emerges from the German poll: of the 14-18 years olds, 29 per cent of apprentices agreed with the statement, whilst 11 per cent of students agreed.

LEGAL MATTERS

The *Report* indicates a widespread desire to use the law to combat antisemitism and to punish antisemites, but in many cases legislation is found wanting or the authorities are unable or unwilling to prosecute or secure convictions. In a number

of cases, attempts to prosecute foundered when legal protection of freedom of speech was considered more important.

In Eastern Europe and the former USSR, legislation against racial incitement, or at least provisions in constitutions, allow for the prosecution of those preaching racial or ethnic hatred, but in practice measures are somewhat crude and ineffectively applied. In Hungary, the Constitutional Court found the outlawing of offensive or derogatory statements against racial groups to be unconstitutional. In Poland, a number of significant cases against politicians accused of antisemitic propaganda were dropped. The authorities are clearly not over-enthusiastic to prosecute. In Romania, the authorities constantly blocked attempts by the Jewish community to prosecute attacks on Jews by the magazine *Europa*. And in Russia, although a number of cases were being investigated under Article 74 of the Russian Criminal Code, many regard it as too narrow and in need of a replacement. The authorities are also sometimes indifferent to calls for prosecutions.

In Western Europe, the failure to secure convictions in what appear to be open and shut cases has led to calls for the strengthening of legislation and for the harmonization of anti-racist legislation in Europe. Austria amended its laws to make it easier to convict for neo-Nazi activities; a law against denial of the Holocaust was put before the Belgian parliament; Germany toughened up its sentencing of young offenders responsible for attacking asylum-seekers; a new anti-racist bill was introduced in Italy at the end of 1992; Spain's Socialists proposed reforms that would strike at neo-Nazi or racist gatherings and symbols; and in Switzerland a new law accepted by the lower house would prohibit racist and religiously prejudiced actions, including Holocaust denial.

In the USA, despite the constitutional protection of free speech, forty-seven states and the federal government have some form of "hate-crime" legislation. However, constitutionally many of these laws have been called into question by a 1992 decision of the US Supreme Court. In Canada, some long-running cases were brought to conclusion, at least temporarily. Elsewhere, in countries like Brazil and Australia, existing anti-race hatred laws are not considered effective. France, Germany and Austria have legislation against denial of the Holocaust, and at least two other countries are actively considering such legislation. In Canada, Ernst Zundel's conviction for Holocaust denial under a law against spreading false news, was reversed because the Supreme Court found the law to be unconstitutional on grounds of freedom of expression and vagueness. However, many feel that the laws which prohibit Holocaust denial are not the way to combat the phenomenon.

COUNTERING ANTISEMITISM

The heightened concern about antisemitism, noted in last year's *Report*, was translated in 1992 into increased activity to counter antisemitism and other manifestations of racism. There has been widespread mobilization of people to protest racism and antisemitism. Germany is the prime example, with hundreds of thousands taking to the streets towards the end of the year to call for an end to racial violence. But such activity also increased in, among other places, Austria, France, Italy, Sweden, Mexico, Peru and Czechoslovakia. There are reports of

new alliances being formed with other groups affected by racist attacks, expressions of solidarity with Jewish communities affected by antisemitic incidents and so on.

In Eastern Europe, many political leaders remain equivocal in their statements on antisemitism. Nevertheless, in some of the former Soviet republics, Poland, Hungary and even Romania some important activities condemning antisemitism were undertaken.

Branches of the Council of Christians and Jews and other Jewish-Christian friendship associations continued to oppose antisemitism and anti-Judaism in many countries during 1992, and undertook joint action with Jews. Religious leaders took part in demonstrations against racism in France and on the anniversary of Kristallnacht in Italy, and in other countries. Catholic and Protestant dignitaries in Germany denounced antisemitism, as did Pope John Paul II, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Conference of Catholic Bishops in both Hungary and Switzerland. Missionary campaigns targeted at Jews in Germany and the UK were opposed by church leaders. In Spain, 1,000 supporters of the International Christian Embassy held an act of public repentance for the expulsion of Jews from Spain. The desecration of Jewish cemeteries in several countries was condemned by Christian leaders.

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of such activity but there would of course be much greater cause for alarm if no such mobilization took place.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Of the fifty-two entries in this *Report* (taking former Yugoslavia, former USSR and the Gulf states as one entry each), thirty-three show evidence of little change from 1991. Among some of the countries in which there appeared to be little change—for example, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Poland, the former USSR, France, Austria—the range and depth of antisemitic expression is nonetheless very disturbing. The impact of that antisemitism on Jews and the threat it represents to Jews is not uniform. In Iran, Iraq, Syria and Poland, there are tiny or non-existent Jewish communities. But in France and Russia, antisemitism has the potential to affect large numbers of Jews.

The situation looks to have the potential to become more serious in a number of countries, although in different ways. In the Ukraine, Russia and Slovakia, political and economic instability prevail and may worsen, thereby opening the door to the intensification of antisemitism which is already at high, or relatively high, levels. In the United Kingdom, the threat from Islamic fundamentalism, the increased dissemination of antisemitic literature and the tendency towards more extreme activity as exemplified by Combat 18, seems to point towards some intensification of antisemitism, even though, in comparison to some other European countries, antisemitism in the UK is generally minimal.

The countries where antisemitism markedly worsened, although not necessarily in the same ways, were Germany, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Hungary, Romania, Canada and Egypt.

Countries where the situation appeared to improve were Belgium and Argentina, and possibly one or two Arab countries, Morocco and Tunisia.

PRINCIPAL TROUBLE SPOTS

Whilst there is an increasing desire to look at Europe as a whole, from the point of view of antisemitism it remains essential to differentiate between West and East. With very few elections in 1992, antisemitism could not be as significant a factor in the electoral process as it was in 1991. Nevertheless, in most former Communist countries, antisemitism remains a potent political force. This can be seen most clearly in Romania, Hungary and Russia.

In Romania, antisemitism certainly intensified between 1991 and 1992. With the ruling party being dependent for governance on the extremist parties, which espouse virulent antisemitism, the prospects for Romania's small Jewish community have considerably worsened and there are legitimate fears for its safety.

In Hungary, with the antisemite and leading figure in the main ruling coalition party, Istvan Csurka, still wielding considerable influence, antisemitic tendencies are growing. They may find fertile ground in the economic crisis and the general malaise and distrust of politicians that exist in Hungary today. Furthermore, there is reason to fear the agitation that will begin in 1993 in preparation for the 1994 general elections.

In Russia, there remain numerous grassroots chauvinistic and anti-Jewish groups and publications, and in the Ukraine a worrying antisemitic fringe movement has emerged. Whilst there was no indication that anti-Jewish sentiment was endemic among the rank and file of any of the populations of the former USSR, with the continuing economic, political and social dislocation accompanied by strong nationalist sentiments throughout the area, the threat posed by antisemitism to Jewish communities and to the prospects for democracy could become much more serious. The situation in these countries gives serious cause for alarm.

In the Baltic states, and Moldova, a problem causing considerable concern among Jewish communities is the continuing rehabilitation of Nazi collaborators.

The widespread and mounting violent attacks on asylum-seekers and foreigners in Germany led to an international outcry and, given Germany's Nazi past, considerable attention was paid to the role played by antisemitism in the events. Serious antisemitic incidents increased by approximately 20 per cent over 1991 (from 84 in 1991 to 104) but most of that increase was concentrated in the second half of the year, in the wake of the violence against asylum-seekers. This clearly indicates that antisemitism is an adjunct to hostility towards foreigners and that Jews are not the principal targets in Germany today.

The violence witnessed during 1992 was of grave proportions and there is no doubt that the government did not respond with sufficient resolution. Even now, the German situation remains of great concern, especially following the murder of five Turkish people in Solingen at the end of May 1993. Whilst the federal president and leading members of the government speak out forcefully against anti-immigrant violence and neo-Nazism, and attend the funerals of victims, Chancellor Kohl's failure to give a firm public lead and to visit the sites where violence has been at its worst has been conspicuous.

However, this *Report* finds no evidence to support comparisons between Weimar and Germany today. The German government does have the means at its

disposal to act against violence, and with tougher sentencing and the banning of some key militant neo-Nazi organizations, it finally demonstrated that it was prepared to take tough action. Monitoring of this activity is not in itself a guarantee that action will be taken against it, but Germany certainly has a very efficient monitoring system which plays a significant public role and without which it would be impossible to take appropriate action. In addition, the hundreds of thousands of Germans who took to the streets to demonstrate their opposition to the violence showed that Germany's liberal democratic system commands very wide support. Again, demonstrations in large numbers are no guarantee that a system will survive or that minorities will be properly protected. But, since democratic governments generally pay considerable attention to public opinion, such demonstrations have an important role to play.

The phenomenon of "antisemitism without Jews" was more acutely apparent in 1992 than in 1991. The current size of Jewish communities appears to bear no relation to the degree of antisemitism in a country. In Poland, where levels of antisemitic sentiment are high, the organized Jewish community numbers less than 10,000. Yet, an opinion poll found that 10 per cent of Poles thought the Jews numbered between 4 and just over 7 million, and 25 per cent put their numbers between 750,000 and 3.5 million—astonishing results by any standard. But the phenomenon can also be found in Romania, Slovakia, many Arab countries and Japan.

Like last year, no one could seriously argue that the contemporary Jewish situation is remotely comparable to that of the many non-white minority groups for whom discrimination, violence and abuse are a daily occurrence. However, complacency would be entirely misplaced. What emerges clearly from this *Report* is that violent expressions of antisemitism follow in the wake of general anti-foreigner violence and racist attacks. The combination of a worsening racist and xenophobic climate, the increasing tendency towards politically-motivated violence, disillusionment with established political parties and continued economic recession has opened up a social and political space which organizations propagating sanitized versions of racism, xenophobia and antisemitism can exploit. The potential for increased expressions of antisemitism therefore remains high.

The number of serious antisemitic incidents, the range of antisemitic publications available, the appetite for antisemitic literature, the readiness of some politicians to make cynical use of antisemitism to further their political aims, the high levels of antisemitic sentiment among less-educated young people—none of this augurs well for human rights and democracy. As is plain from this *Report*, measures to combat antisemitism are insufficient in many countries and much needs to be done—on the levels of legislation, education and political action. And that action must be taken within the context of the general tightening of measures to combat racism and xenophobia.

Methodology

While many organizations are devoted to combatting antisemitism and many individuals are engaged in researching its history and current manifestations, until the appearance last year of *Antisemitism World Report 1992* there had been no internationally accepted "barometer" against which the current level of antisemitism could be measured. Last year seemed therefore the right moment to attempt to create just such a "barometer" in the form of a world survey of antisemitism, country-by-country, produced as far as possible according to common criteria and categories. Following the pattern set by the major human rights monitoring organizations, the latest volume, *Antisemitism World Report 1993*, is intended to provide:

- 1 an internationally recognized means of monitoring the advance or decline of the phenomenon worldwide;
- 2 a means of judging whether government and juridical authorities are taking appropriate action to combat antisemitism in their respective countries;
- 3 a tool for use by organizations and Jewish representative bodies whose task it is to combat antisemitism in pressing government and juridical authorities to take action;
- 4 a yardstick for judging the overall democratic health particularly of those societies where democratic institutions are at an early stage of development.

Antisemitism World Report 1993 is based on a wide variety of sources: specialist authors; Jewish communal organizations; monitoring organizations; research institutes; academic researchers; and the expertise and archives of the Institute of Jewish Affairs. Whenever a statement raised doubts and independent corroboration was impossible to obtain, the statement was not included.

Since one of the main purposes of this *Report* is to serve as a research-based tool for those engaged in combatting antisemitism in specific countries, it was decided to structure the survey country-by-country, within regions. There are other ways of producing such a survey and some phenomena—for example, antisemitism within international Islamic fundamentalist groups, antisemitism in international organizations like the UN—cannot be dealt with fully in a country-by-country treatment. However, overall assessments of world trends and consideration of some of the main expressions of antisemitism that transcend national boundaries were included in Part I of the Introduction to this *Report*.

In regard to the question of defining antisemitism, a strictly common-sense approach has been adopted. It was found that when those who concern themselves with the phenomenon in a serious manner were asked to report on it, there was a remarkable degree of unanimity about what was being described. The only significant area where differences emerge is on the question of the relationship between anti-Zionism and antisemitism. Here, we have erred on the side of caution, including only those elements of anti-Zionism which are patently

antisemitic or had antisemitic effects.

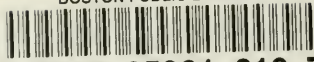
Since no single index presents a reliable way of judging the state of anti-semitism, contributors to this volume were asked to organize their data in accordance with the categories listed below, which were intended to be as exhaustive as possible:

- 1 General and Jewish population figures
- 2 Past history of antisemitism
- 3 General political, social and economic conditions prevailing in country
- 4 Antisemitic political parties, organizations, movements, groupings, and estimates of their numbers and influence
- 5 Antisemitic manifestations/incidents (violent and non-violent)
- 6 Antisemitic publications (books, newspapers, magazines, etc.) and in the electronic media
- 7 Antisemitism in mainstream political life
- 8 Antisemitism in cultural (high and popular) life
- 9 Antisemitism in the business/commercial world
- 10 Antisemitism in education and at grassroots (e.g. leisure activities, including sport)
- 11 Religious antisemitism
- 12 Denial of the Holocaust, Holocaust "revisionism"
- 13 Antisemitic effects of anti-Zionism and the campaign against Israel
- 14 Opinion polls
- 15 Legal matters (including prosecutions under anti-incitement and anti-discrimination legislation)
- 16 Countering antisemitism (e.g. statements by non-Jewish political, religious and other leaders, educational initiatives, demonstrations)
- 17 Special factors (if any)
- 18 Overall assessment

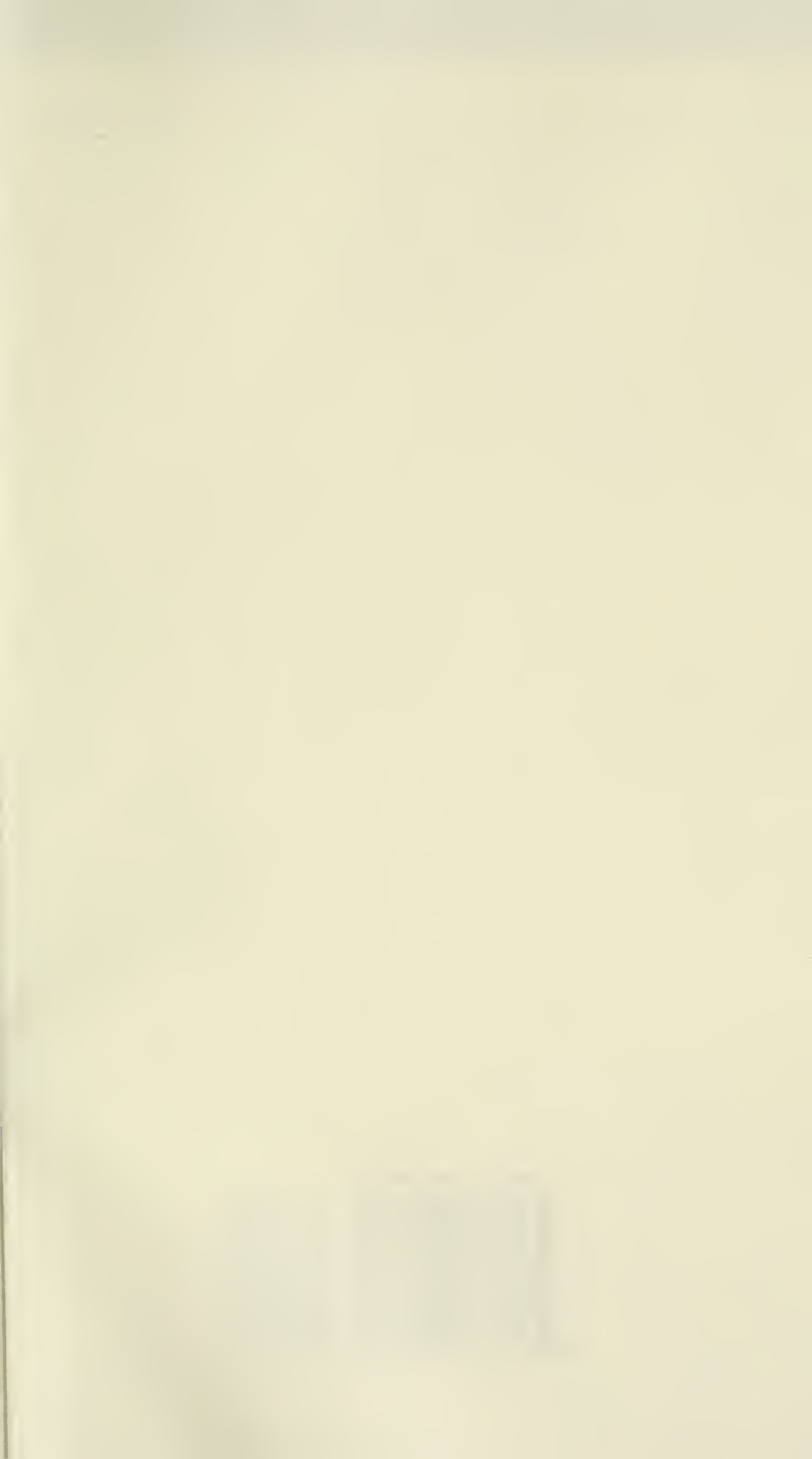
It was clear that some of these categories were overlapping and that their application might vary considerably from country to country. In addition, contributors were encouraged to introduce categories of their own choosing to reflect special circumstances in the countries on which they were reporting, and in some countries certain categories do not apply. In some cases, no assessment has been given since this would merely have repeated the brief information already provided in the entry concerned. In the text of this *Report* the category headings have been shortened and renamed for reasons of space.

The *Report* should also be seen as a contribution to the attempt to refine our techniques of assessing the significance of antisemitism and not the last word on the matter. It is hoped that, apart from fulfilling the need for an authoritative survey, the volume will also stimulate discussion about the whole problem of measuring antisemitism. Naturally, the Institute of Jewish Affairs welcomes any comments or criticism from readers of the *Report*. Whilst every effort has been made to ensure accuracy, errors of fact may have crept in, and for these we apologize.

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