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Let me lay out here in this testimony what I believe are the main concerns that define the problem of anti-Semitism in Europe today recognizing that they may vary from country to country.

Jewish Community Security

Only a week ago the Jewish Community Security Service of France (SPCJ) issued its annual report, which described 2012 as, "a year of unprecedented violence against Jews in France." Physical attacks nearly doubled over the previous year. That increase in anti-Semitic acts was more than eight times higher than all other racist and xenophobic acts in the same period. You will recall that those acts included the murder of four at a Jewish school in Toulouse, an event that drew international attention. But the SPCJ report reveals that following this there was a spike in incidents. Rather than generating awareness and sympathy, there was instead support and identification with the anti-Semitic murderer.

France may stand out with its significant number of violent acts, and with the largest Jewish community in Europe it offers the largest number of potential targets. But the French Jewish community is not alone with the need to address an increasing security threat. Other Western European Jewish communities face similar challenges. Physical attacks and threats directed toward persons and property are now a part of daily life. Synagogues, schools and community centers have been refitted with secure entryways and sidewalk barriers. Experts say they need to be prepared not only for home grown violence but also the possibility of international terror attacks. This is a formidable challenge especially for small communities with limited budgets, and it spans the continent as I witnessed in my OSCE travels. The 1000 Jews of Oslo, Norway and the 1000 Jews who live in Melilla, a Spanish enclave on the North African coast may have little in common, but both communities are spending an inordinate share of their budgets to keep their members safe.

Governments have a basic obligation to provide for the security of their citizens. They also affirm a bedrock commitment to the free exercise of religion. And yet the security needs and the financial burdens that many Jewish communities now face seriously call these principles into question. So it is that these quite elemental challenges of a decidedly practical nature ultimately pose an existential threat to the future of Jewish life in Europe,

The sources of these anti-Semitic incidents are generally known. Right wing, neo-Nazi groups have long been a focus of concern, and they remain a steady source of the problem. But the recent increases that are documented in France and elsewhere in Western Europe largely come from parts of the Arab and Muslim communities. Knowing the source of attacks is necessary in order to devise ways to prevent them—through law enforcement in the short term and education over time. Yet some governments willfully do not want to know, and they have limited their monitoring tools so that they will not be confronted with the facts. This may be a reflection of political correctness or a fear that such data are likely to increase anti-Muslim sentiments. Either way they contribute to the problem.

To be sure there are also examples of good practices which include close cooperation with law enforcement and government funding for security enhancements. But we need to find ways to get more countries to follow suit. This will be one of the primary goals of an OSCE/ODIHR conference on Jewish community security that we anticipate will take place in early April.

Anti-Semitism in Public Discourse

In 2011 the OSCE convened a conference on anti-Semitism in public discourse. It noted that popular attitudes about Jews may not derive from firsthand knowledge, especially as the Jewish population is often quite small. Instead they are more frequently informed by inherited prejudices and media coverage. That media coverage often features highly critical depictions of the State of Israel. And at times that criticism crosses over into anti-Semitism. When Israel is demonized, when its legitimacy as a Jewish state is questioned, when its actions are compared to those of the Nazis this is not mere criticism.

This aspect of the problem was referenced in the seminal OSCE Berlin Declaration adopted in 2004, and it was described and defined in more detail a year later in the Working Definition of anti-Semitism promulgated by the EUMC, now the EU Fundamental Rights Agency. That working definition also warns against holding local Jewish communities responsible for the actions of the State of Israel. But that regularly happens. Jews and Israel are conflated, and incidents in the Middle East and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict trigger attacks on Jewish targets in Europe. European Jews have their own views about Israel, and they may vary widely. But only they are being told that they must publicly condemn the Jewish State as the price for support and civic inclusiveness.

Last year a government funded Norwegian study found that 38 percent of the population agreed that Israel's treatment of the Palestinians was akin to the policies of the Nazis. It was a sobering statistic even for political leaders who are openly pro-Palestinian in their views. Israel's *Hasbarah* challenges are formidable, and they should be carefully separated from the problem of anti-Semitism. But for Norway's small Jewish community—a third of whom were murdered in the Holocaust—such distinctions have little meaning.

Extremist Political Parties

The growth of right wing, populist parties in some European countries is a new cause for alarm. The severe economic problems and inability of mainstream political parties to cope with them have opened a door to extremist views. New parties such as Jobbik in Hungary, Svoboda in Ukraine and Golden Dawn in Greece have found success following a path already trod by more established movements such as National Front in France and the Freedom Party in Austria. Their success draws from anti-foreigner, anti-immigrant and anti-Roma prejudice.

But these xenophobic appeals vie for primacy with equally hateful anti-Semitic messages. As a result of election successes these words are no longer confined to street corner rallies; they also echo in the halls of Parliaments. Jobbik leaders demand a public listing of Hungarian Jews whom they accuse of undermining national identity. The Golden Dawn party now attacks Holocaust education in Greek schools and calls for the reversal of the Parliamentary decision that established an official commemoration day. Local rallies of the Svoboda Party often featured anti-Jewish rhetoric. Now that they sit in Parliament they defiantly defend the use of the word "kike" in their speeches.

The danger may not be that these parties will come to power; after all their support for now is in the 10-15 percent range. But they already exert an influence beyond their numbers, as there is a discernible gravitational pull to the right. FIDESZ leaders periodically condemn anti-Semitism, but they also play to the Jobbik voters with more artfully worded attacks or with those attacks being spoken by trusted friends who stand just outside the door. In Ukraine Jewish community leaders report that now when they press local officials to investigate anti-Semitic incidents they're given a new reason for hesitation: Svoboda party members will denounce them if they are too active in taking up these concerns. The thuggish behavior of Golden Dawn party members openly attacking immigrant merchants on the streets of Athens has been caught on camera. But that behavior extends to the halls of Parliament as well. Greek MPs visiting Washington in November (as part of an election observer team) confided that when they speak out they and their families are physically threatened by Golden Dawn MPs. The problem they said is that there is just not enough security to protect them all. Perhaps as economic conditions improve support for these movements will diminish. But this is a poor prescription for addressing what is undeniably an acute problem.

Limiting Jewish Ritual Practices

We have also witnessed efforts in various European countries to restrict or ban the practice of ritual circumcision and kosher slaughter. The proponents of these efforts are not necessarily anti-Semitic. In fact they are self-described animal rights advocates or defenders of children. Political support is broader, and as these ritual practices are also a part of Islam that support may likely reflect an anti-Muslim bias as well. Legislation banning ritual slaughter came close to passage in the Netherlands, and a regional court decree in Germany prohibiting circumcision left the Government scurrying to draft legislation upholding the practice. Several countries have long-standing legislation that bans kosher slaughter outright. Adopted long before there were

any animal rights activists, these laws were anti-Semitic by design, intended to limit the number of Jews who would otherwise consider moving there.

Country by country Jewish communities in the postwar years worked out their own understanding of what was needed and quietly negotiated arrangements with their respective governments. In some cases exceptions were granted or some conditions were voluntarily accepted. Rarely did these issues figure as topics of public debate. That has now changed for several reasons. Western European society has become increasingly secular, and as a result there is less respect for religious practice generally. It is particularly evident when addressing those practices that are considered archaic and even "barbaric" as *shechita* and *brit milah* are viewed. A large and growing Muslim population in Europe also means that they are more prevalent and thus more likely to require a legal framework and official regulations in which to operate. As a result the ad hoc approach that served the needs of mostly small Jewish communities is now beginning to unravel. And public discussions and blog postings easily turn to anti-Semitic expressions. With all of the difficulties that have been enumerated above, we should not lose sight of the fact that if a ban on these age old precepts of Judaism were to be imposed it would also threaten the future of Jewish life .

I append to this testimony copies or excerpts from my OSCE country reports prepared in 2012, which describe these problems in more detail and also offer specific recommendations for action.

Country Visit: Hungary
Report of the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism
Rabbi Andrew Baker
March 21-23, 2012

The FIDESZ led government of Hungary has been criticized by the Venice Commission and others for imposing new laws and constitutional changes that will have a significant impact on social and political life—among them a media law, changes in the appointment of judges and a religion law that sharply reduces the number of officially sanctioned churches. Inside the country government officials speak of these steps as a necessary "consolidation" of laws and regulations while opposition voices decry what they believe is a "democracy deficit" in the country. My visit to Budapest came shortly after National Day events which included a fiery speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orban widely understood as an attack on Brussels and the EU establishment.

The state of the Jewish community in Hungary and questions about anti-Semitism in society should be examined separately from this broader discussion, but of course they cannot be entirely divided. Hungarian Jewry, numbering 80,000-100,000, represents the largest Jewish community in Central Europe. They are deeply-rooted, largely assimilated and well-integrated into Hungarian social life. They have naturally gravitated to politically left-leaning parties and are understandably troubled by appeals to Hungarian nationalism even when voiced by center-right politicians. Six hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were murdered in the Holocaust, and

that trauma still hovers over the present-day community which is virtually entirely a community of survivors and their offspring. Like other former Communist states, Hungary has only recently confronted its own Holocaust-era past, and this process of self-examination remains incomplete.

The emergence of the Jobbik Party—an unabashed, right wing force that espouses a strong anti-Roma and anti-Semitic agenda—has unnerved many people in Hungary and abroad. The periodic gatherings of its affiliated, militia-like Hungarian Guard dressed in uniforms modeled after the wartime, fascist Arrow Cross, are at the very least a provocative symbol especially to those Jews who lived through the Holocaust in Hungary. When the Hungarian Guard masses in towns and villages with significant Roma populations they pose a threat to physical security and safety. Few people in Hungary believe that the party will be able to increase its level of support much beyond its current level of 20 percent, and they note that a considerable number of Jobbik voters are only looking for a way to express their dissatisfaction with the political establishment and a deteriorating economic situation. Nevertheless, Jobbik's presence means extremist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic rhetoric is now a regular feature of Parliamentary debate.

Hungarian Jews largely agree that FIDESZ leaders are very careful in their own public remarks and do not accuse them of espousing anti-Semitism. There are some who see in the general attacks on certain European and economic interests coded references to attacks on Jews, although this is surely open to debate. However, there is general agreement that in the outer circles of the party or among traditional party supporters in the media more explicit anti-Semitic appeals are present, and they believe that the FIDESZ leadership turns a blind eye to this. With a worsening economic climate and the prospect that FIDESZ will need to ratchet up its populist appeals in the next election, Hungarian Jews—not a terribly optimistic people in the best of times—are quite understandably on edge.

Assessing the Climate of Anti-Semitism:

By coincidence the Anti-Defamation League released a survey on attitudes toward Jews in ten European countries at the same time as my visit to Budapest. Based on telephone interviews conducted in each country, ADL determined that the level of anti-Semitism was highest in Hungary. Although a prominent Jewish researcher in Hungary criticized the survey's methodology and questioned its findings, his own research work shows the problem increasing in recent years. No doubt the presence of the Jobbik Party in the Parliament is a contributing factor; for the first time in post-Communist Hungary one can hear overt anti-Semitic language from the mouths of MPs. While the worst of this rhetoric has been condemned by MPs from other parties, they have yet to figure out how to prevent its continuation. Also during my brief stay in Budapest anti-Semitic posters appeared on some city kiosks. Professionally produced, they depicted a paramilitary man in an Arrow Cross-like uniform dangling a crude caricature of a Jew from his fingers with words below reading, "Join the Fight."(A photo of this poster appears at the end of this report.)

Such unvarnished anti-Semitic manifestations may be largely relegated to the extreme—but not insignificant—right. However, there are those who see in the populist and frequently anti-European and anti-business rhetoric of mainstream politicians veiled references to Jews. As one moves outward from this core of national, political leaders to columnists and writers associated with them or to regional and local politicians, the anti-Semitic references are more evident.

Internet web sites frequently host anti-Semitic postings, and Jewish leaders point out that even major newspapers are lax in removing such writings from their own on-line publications. When they protested to the Mayor of Budapest on the appointment as director of the city-sponsored theater of the late István Csurka—more noted in recent years for his anti-Semitic political agenda than as a dramatist—they were told that the city deserved at least one "Hungarian" theater. At the same time, physical attacks are rare, and security precautions taken at Jewish institutions in Budapest are less stringent than those in most Western European capitals.

Development of a National Curriculum:

At the present time the Ministry of National Resources is developing a national curriculum for use in all Hungarian schools. It provides an important opportunity to address the general lack of information on Jews and Jewish life in the country and its history. According to those familiar with the current teaching materials, Jews "appear" on three occasions—in the time of Jesus to account for the birth of Christianity, in the Nazi era as victims of the Holocaust, and in modern times as part of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Nothing is presented of the long history of the Jewish presence in Hungary and its contribution to Hungarian culture. This limited, two dimensional picture of Jews is likely to perpetuate old stereotypes and prejudices, especially in regions where few if any Jews live today. This serious omission should be corrected. A consortium of Hungarian Jewish organizations has prepared a detail analysis of the national curriculum and offered its recommendations; they should be given serious consideration. Minister Réthelyi citied the educational programs of Centropa which offer a more detailed picture of Jewish life in Hungary before and after the Holocaust, and more support should be given to this effort. ODIHR has developed secondary school teaching materials in cooperation with the Hungarian Holocaust Memorial Center and the NGO *Zachor* Foundation designed to combat anti-Semitism through education, and the Ministry is encouraged to facilitate their dissemination and use in Hungarian schools.

The Hungarian Jewish Community:

As noted above, the Jewish population in Hungary is the largest in Central Europe. While the adoption of a new religion law severely reduced the number of officially recognized and supported church groups—and as a result engendered considerable criticism abroad—it actually extended designation to two new Jewish congregations. (Until now the government had accorded recognition only to the Jewish Federation of Hungary.) However, many were surprised that the Reform synagogue movement was not included in the legislation. Foreign Minister János Martonyi conceded that this was a mistake which should be corrected when the law is next amended.

A larger but related question—and not necessarily the full responsibility of government—is predicated on the fact that Hungarian Jews are a largely assimilated community with relatively few identifying through synagogue affiliation. Many more are likely to express their Jewishness through social, cultural and educational activities, but these institutions receive only limited if any financial support.

Holocaust Remembrance and Education:

The Holocaust Memorial Center in Budapest contains a permanent exhibit detailing the story of the Holocaust in Hungary, research facilities and a moving memorial to the 600,000 Hungarian victims. In principle, it is an invaluable resource for training teachers and instructing students.

However, some critics say its remote location and the lack of any mandated Holocaust education in the schools leave it underutilized. With the change in government in 2010, there were charges that the new authorities sought to change the content of the permanent exhibition so as to downplay Hungarian culpability in the Holocaust. In fact the subject was raised in my meeting with Andras Levente Gal, Commissioner for Good Governance in the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice and the official primarily responsible for dealing with Holocaust-related issues. Mr. Gal defended his criticism of the exhibition saying it was time, "to go beyond well-established Communist history." In the meantime the controversy has partially abated and for the time being the exhibition remains unchanged.

The Museum was officially opened during the previous term of Prime Minister Orban, whose government also established an official Holocaust commemoration day. Despite the singular presence of this center in Southeastern Europe there are also critics who contrast it unfavorably to the larger, more centrally located and more frequently visited House of Terror Museum which focuses primarily on the crimes of Communism.

The Hungarian government has created a special commemorative committee to mark 2012 as the centennial anniversary of Raoul Wallenberg. The committee has organized events inside Hungary and abroad to highlight the Swedish diplomat's rescue of Jews in Hungary during the war. Certainly Raoul Wallenberg is a rare example of what a committed individual could do even in those darkest days, and Hungary should be commended for raising awareness of his efforts.

Professor Szabolcs Szita, Director of the Holocaust Memorial Center, also indicated that they intend to focus more on the prewar experience of Jews and Hungarians living together. By way of example, he cited an exhibit which just opened that described day-to-day Jewish life in those times prepared by *Centropa*.

Hungary's new constitution declares that the country lost its self-determination with the Nazi occupation in March 1944 and only regained it in 1989. There are some who see in this language—especially when taken together with calls for changing the narrative of the museum exhibition—an effort to distance Hungary from taking responsibility for the worst crimes of the Holocaust. Although the mass deportations were ordered by the Nazi occupiers they were largely implemented and carried out by Hungarian civil and police authorities. It would be unfortunate while other European countries such as France and Austria have belatedly confronted their own complicity in Holocaust-era crimes if Hungary would march in the opposite direction. In this regard it is worth making special note of Foreign Minister Martonyi's words in his January 2012 speech marking the opening of the Wallenberg Centennial Commemoration: "It is especially painful for me as minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary to say this: during the Holocaust the Hungarian State was weighed on the scales and found wanting. It could not protect its citizens, what's more—even if under foreign occupation—it assisted in their extermination."

Combating Hate Crimes:

Peter Polt, the Prosecutor General, explained that the concept of a hate crime is not defined under Hungarian law. In cases of violence directed at specific ethnic communities authorities have no difficulty in categorizing them as hate crimes. But it is far more difficult when examining hate speech, especially as the constitution offers a wide protection of freedom of

opinion and speech, and the line is not clearly defined. As a result there have been very few cases of prosecuting hate speech—24 in 2009, 16 in 2010 and 16 in 2011.

Data collection is also a problem. Not only is it not the practice of police to note the ethnic or religious identity of a victim, but according to the prosecutor data protection laws forbid it. The only exception is where the victims themselves ask that it be noted.

In my 2009 visit the Hungarian Guard was a new and disturbing presence and drew considerable attention. This paramilitary organization with connections to the Jobbik Party continue to parade in central Budapest and in other towns and cities in uniforms modeled on those of the wartime, fascist Arrow Cross. In an effort to prevent their activities laws were passed that banned the display of certain symbols, the wearing of certain uniforms and even marching in formation. And yet, despite this legislation, they continue virtually unabated. By their own admission, officials in the Ministry of Interior said the laws simply do not work. By making small changes to their uniforms or to the way they assemble or to the symbols they display, they manage to avoid prosecution. In fact, Deputy State Secretary Dr. Krisztina Berta explained that they frequently come to their demonstrations with legal counsel. These attorneys will explain to the police who are present why these guardsmen are not in violation of the law, and are thus left unhindered. Police and authorities are equally frustrated by this.

Addressing Concerns of the Roma Minority:

By all accounts anti-Roma attitudes in Hungary are dramatically high. They play a significant role in fueling support for the right wing Jobbik Party and surely are a contributing factor in the physical attacks that have occurred on Roma villages and encampments. Although the Roma in Hungary are quite different from Hungarian Jews, the two groups are often dual targets by xenophobic extremists in what is a largely homogenous society. A national social inclusion strategy has been drafted by the government which includes job training, economic development and the training of local community leaders.

Recommendations:

1. The Ministry of National Resources should accept the recommendations offered by Hungarian Jewish organizations in the development of the national curriculum. (See appendix.) Education officials should support and facilitate the use of materials prepared by ODIHR and the *Zachor* Foundation and by Centropa in Hungarian schools. Greater use should be made of the Holocaust Memorial Center as an educational tool by encouraging more comprehensive visits by student groups and teachers.

2. The presence of the Jobbik Party in the national Parliament and in local and regional councils has brought overt anti-Semitic (and racist and xenophobic) rhetoric to a new level in Hungarian society. It is thus incumbent on all mainstream political leadership and especially those of the ruling FIDESZ Party to counter this. Wherever possible and permitted under the law this hate speech should be prosecuted. Senior government leaders should swiftly and loudly condemn such anti-Semitic outbursts. They should avoid any unnecessary contact or seemingly friendly relations with Jobbik members which might thereby accord the party de facto respectability.

3. The OSCE Prague Conference on Anti-Semitism in Public Discourse (March 2011) warned of the dangers of anti-Semitic rhetoric and note the corrosive effect they posed to the security of Jewish communities. Hungarian political leaders should continue to be careful in their own speech and to admonish their allies and supporters when such language presents itself.

4. Despite sincere interest on the part of Hungarian authorities, efforts to curtail the presence of the (newly renamed) Hungarian Guard have not succeeded. New methods should be explored and undertaken. Perhaps with the assistance of ODIHR or other governments new legislative language could be found and adopted that would prove more effective in day-to-day use. Police should be encouraged to act more aggressively (albeit within the law) and in greater numbers so as to minimize the impact of the group's gatherings.

5. It is well-established that comprehensive methods of the monitoring and data collection of hate crimes serve multiple, positive purposes. By identifying victims and perpetrators and the locations of these crimes, police, prosecutors and public officials are better able to deal with them at all stages of the justice process and to take effective counter-measures going forward. Other countries with strong data protection laws have nevertheless been able to carry out this work, and guidance should be sought from ODIHR and/or other governments.

6. Hate crime data collection starts with proper reporting by the police. As reported to ODIHR, no hate crimes were recorded by the police in 2010 whereas 15 were recorded in 2009. The Hungarian authorities should accept ODIHR's offer to deliver training for law enforcement in the framework of its TAHCLE program.

Appendices:
Poster appearing on Budapest kiosks (as reported in *Nepszava*, March 23 2012):

A report and recommendation on the proposed national curriculum was prepared by a consortium of 14 Jewish congregations and NGOs (identified below) and shared with the Ministry of National Resources. (The full report can be accessed here: http://www.jmpoint.hu/nat .)

Az előterjesztő szervezetek:
Magyarországi Autonóm Ortodox Hitközség, Balázs Gábor Elöljáró
Egységes Magyarországi Izraelita Hitközség, Köves Slómó vezető rabbi
Budapesti Zsidó Hitközség Frankel Leó utcai Zsinagógai Körzet, Verő Tamás főrabbi
BZSH Bét Salom zsinagóga Radnóti Zoltán rabbi és Heisler András a MAZSIHISZ korábbi elnöke
Szim Salom Progresszív Zsidó Hitközség
Magyarországi Cionista Szövetség, Dr Kardi Judit elnök
Magyar Zsidó Kulturális Egyesület, Kirschner Péter elnök
B'nai B'rith Budapesti Szervezete, Vadász Magda elnök
Magyar Zsidó Örökség Közalapítvány, Szabó György mb. elnök
Lauder Javne Zsidó Közösségi Iskola
Bét Menachem Oktatási Központ, Betseva Oberlander igazgató
HAVER Alapítvány, Kuratórium
JMPoint a Zsidó Közösségért Közhasznú Alapítvány, Kürti Csaba igazgató
Bálint Ház, Fritz Zsuzsa Igazgató
(csatlakozási sorrend)

Meetings:

Representatives of civil society

- Ms Andrea Szőnyi, Regional Consultant in Hungary of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Chairperson of the Board of Trustees - Zachor Foundation for Social Remembrance
- Ms Mónika Kovács, Vice-Dean for International and Scientific Affairs of the Faculty of Education and Psychology - Eötvös Loránd University
- Mr László Csősz, Historian - Holocaust Memorial Center
- Mr András Kovács, Sociologist, Professor at the Nationalism Studies and Jewish Studies Program at the Central European University
- Mr László Várkonyi, President and CEO of the International Centre for Democratic Transition
- Mr Máté Fischer, Operations Officer of the Tom Lantos Institute
- Ms Nora Kuntz, Programme Director of the Tom Lantos Institute
- Mr Imre Szebik, M.D. Master of Bioethics, Institute of Behavioral Sciences
- Rabbi Slomó Köves, Chief Rabbi of the Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH)

- Mr Andras Megyeri, Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation (EMIH)
- Mr Gábor Szántó, Chief Editor of "Szombat" The Hungarian Jewish monthly
- Mr Janos Gado, Editor "Szombat" The Hungarian Jewish monthly
- Prof. Szabolcs Szita, Executive Director of Holocaust Memorial Centre
- Dr. Janos Botos, Deputy Director of Holocaust Memorial Centre
- Mr Péter Feldmájer, President of the Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities (MAZSIHISZ)

Ministry of National Resources
- Mr Miklós Réthelyi, Minister for National Resources
- Ms Ágota Schmidt, Chief of Cabinet of the Minister
- Ms Mária Ladó, Head of International Department
- Ms Bettina Török

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Mr János Martonyi, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr Gergely Prőhle, Deputy State Secretary for EU Bilateral Relations
- Mr Zsolt Németh, Deputy Minister for State for Foreign Affairs
- Ms Andrea Komáromy, Deputy Head of Delegation, Head of Department for Cultural Diplomacy
- Mr Mihaly Dudas, OSCE Desk Officer
- Ms Anna Miklos, Third Secretary, Cabinet of the Minister

Parliament
- Mr János Fónagy, MP (KDNP), member of the Economic and Information Technology Parliamentary Committee
- Mr László Kovács, MP (MSZP), member of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs (former Minister for Foreign Affairs)
- Mr András Schiffer, MP (LMP), member of the Constitutional, Judicial and Standing Orders Parliamentary Committee
- Mr Károly Tüzes, Head of Secretariat for Security and Defense Policy of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Parliament

Office of Prosecutor General
- Mr Péter Polt, Prosecutor General
- Ms Eszter Mária Köpf, Head of Department of International and European Affairs
- Ms Katalin Gáspár, Adviser of the Department of Supervision of Investigations and Preparing of Charges
- Mr Krisztian Eperjes

Ministry of Interior
- Dr Krisztina Berta, Deputy State Secretary
- Mr István Erdős, Head of International Department

Ministry of Public Administration and Justice

- Mr Béla Locsmándi, Deputy State Secretary for Social Inclusion
- Mr András Levente Gál, Government Commissioner for Good Governance
- Mr Márton Lacsni, Senior Advisor, Cabinet of Mr Gál
- Ms Eszter Andits, Advisor in international affairs of the State Secretary for Social Inclusion

US Embassy

- Ambassador Eleni Tsakopoulos Kounalakis

Hungarian News Agency

- Ms Alexandra Nádori (Hungarian News Agency)

Accompanied by (OSCE/ODIHR)

- Ms Floriane Hohenberg, Head of the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department
- Mr Timur Sultangozhin, Associate Programme Officer

Country Visit: Spain
Report of the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office
on Combating Anti-Semitism, Rabbi Andrew Baker, April 22-25, 2012

This visit served as a follow up to a visit in June 2009. At that time the release of several opinion surveys showing a high level of prejudice against Jews together with a spike in anti-Semitic incidents occurring during and after the war in Gaza focused significant attention to the problem of anti-Semitism in Spain. Since that time there have been genuine efforts to address it.

The timing of this visit enabled me to attend the Jewish community's Yom Hashoa commemoration in King Juan Carlos I Park in the outskirts of Madrid. The ceremony took place at the Holocaust memorial in the park, a moving and modern sculptural installation that was erected in 2005. Although the audience was relatively few in number and came largely from the Jewish community, it was an impressive event featuring the mayor of Madrid. It reflects a growing interest and attention to Holocaust remembrance, which is officially commemorated by the government on January 27.

Surveying anti-Jewish Attitudes

Attitude surveys in Spain continue to describe a rather significant degree of anti-Jewish sentiment among the general population—which has ranged in recent years from 30 to 50 percent. Because of the very small number of Jews in Spain (estimated at no more than 40,000) and the fact that the Jewish community was only formally recognized in 1978, there has been considerable speculation as to the reason for these highly negative numbers. Since these attitudes cannot be based on a firsthand knowledge of individual Jews, some have speculated that the source lies in the generally strong anti-Israel depictions in the Spanish media. This was certainly an argument heard frequently at the time of my 2009 visit, which occurred only a few months after the war in Gaza. However, the Spanish Jewish scholar Alejandro Baer maintains that the basis for these anti-Jewish views can be traced to the

Expulsion from Spain in the 15th Century and the nationalist identity politics that remain a strong legacy of the Franco regime. According to Professor Baer, Spain is essentially a case of "anti-Semitism without Jews" and thus these attitudes are not based on any objective considerations but rather on "imaginary or abstract Jews."

This is certainly more than an academic debate, for if we are to devise appropriate strategies to combat these anti-Jewish views we shall need to know their source.

In an opinion poll released only weeks before this visit, the ADL found that anti-Jewish sentiments in Spain were held by over 50 percent of the population, putting them among the highest of the ten European countries surveyed. A more detailed survey conducted two years ago by Casa Sefarad-Israel concluded that a third of the population harbored prejudice against Jews—a lower number but still cause for concern.

Whatever the actual figure, there seems to be a general consensus on the part of Jewish community leaders, interested observers and government officials that there are now positive and concerted efforts to address this anti-Semitism. In particular the Jewish community leaders believe they have a sincere partner in the current government which can build on some of the initiatives undertaken by the previous one. In this regard the community leadership did not hide its annoyance with those who have been using the recent survey results to castigate the Spanish government, fearing that they may retard the cooperative work inside Spain. In any case there appears to be a distinct change from 2009. At that time there were still many in Spain who disputed the presence of anti-Semitism. Today this is no longer questioned, and instead the discussion is focused on what can be done about it.

Jewish Community Views

The Jewish community recognizes that its small numbers and low profile may be a contributing factor to the negative sentiments, since it inevitably falls to others to define them. They identify anti-Israel views related to the Middle East conflict, traditional Christian prejudice toward Jews and the unhelpful role of the media as the sources for these views. In recent years the Jewish Federation has undertaken efforts to monitor media coverage and now prepares an annual report. Selected cartoons and opinion pieces offer evidence of anti-Semitic depictions particularly with reference to the State of Israel. Community leaders have taken up the issue with some newspaper editors, and there has been some discussion of establishing—with media cooperation—an outside, independent monitoring body. Jewish leaders are divided on this approach, with some fearing that doing so would limit its own freedom to criticize.

Spain had in place Holocaust denial legislation that resulted in two well-publicized convictions after years-long litigation, but in 2009 the law was overturned by the high court and effectively eliminated. Both the Jewish community and government officials expressed their dismay at the "legal vacuum" that has ensued. They would like to see a new law adopted that will allow for some prosecution. The Ministry of Justice has asked the Jewish community for its analysis and suggestions, but it is unclear how much more time will pass before any new legislation is proposed.

The community recognizes the importance of getting Spanish schools to include material in curricula that portrays the history of Jews and Judaism including the Holocaust. They note that the difficulties are compounded because of a decentralized educational system that grants autonomy to the regions. At the very least they would like to see strong guidelines issued by the national government in Madrid.

Jewish leaders expressed their belief that they have a "cooperative partner" in the current government that shares its concerns and wants to work with them. Because of this they note that while some attitude surveys carried out and publicized by outside organizations may have served to focus renewed attention on the problem of anti-Semitism in Spain they are not necessarily helpful. They would like to see prior coordination with their community leadership and a greater awareness of the Jewish community's own activities in this area.

The Jewish community maintains contact with Muslim religious leaders in Spain, but there is no cooperative activity.

As in other European countries, the Spanish Jewish Community has special concerns about maintaining the security of its synagogues, schools and other institutions. It maintains regular communications with the Director General of Police but must spend 15 percent of its total budget on security needs. A focus of special concern is the Jewish community of Melilla, which has a relatively large Jewish population of 1,000 on territory surrounded by Morocco.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Spain has appointed an Ambassador at Large for relations with the Jewish community and international Jewish organizations. He and his colleagues share a similar analysis to that of the Jewish community in describing the contributing factors to anti-Semitism in Spain. They describe a number of specific initiatives that they have encouraged or implemented. These include the adoption of an official Holocaust commemoration day which was observed in 2012 in the Senate and in most regional parliaments; public participation in Jewish holiday events such as lighting a Chanukah menorah in Madrid, Barcelona and Malaga; organizing study trips to Israel for members of Spanish think tanks; and promoting a visit by the leader of the Spanish Church to Auschwitz, to Israel and to the main synagogue in Madrid.

The Ambassador at Large who heads the Spanish delegation to the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF) also coordinates a working group in Spain that is tasked with transmitting the lessons of the Holocaust to educators, journalists, jurists, and religious leaders throughout the country.

Police and Interior Ministry

In 2009 we were informed of a newly-established special prosecutor in Barcelona with a mandate to focus on hate crimes. He has now established himself and receives positive reviews for his work. However, the need remains to make this a nation-wide and comprehensive approach.

Data collection on hate crimes—particularly with disaggregating data on anti-Semitism—can be improved. We were informed of 60 cases of anti-Semitism—the majority of which are believed to be Internet related—but no official data are collected.

Spain was an early participant in police training efforts pioneered by ODIHR. Now that the police training program has been revamped and reactivated by ODIHR, there is hope that they might renew that relationship.

Officials report no increase in social unrest as a result of the worsening economic crisis in Spain and despite frequent public demonstrations. However, they say they are prepared should the need arise. While the budgets of other government ministries have been slashed, theirs remains nearly unchanged.

Ministry of Justice

The 1992 law which formally reestablished the Jewish community in Spain provided the legal framework for relations between the government and the community. This enables the community to receive grants for specific projects channeled through the Pluralism and Coexistence Foundation amounting to €1 million over the last three years. In such fashion the community is placed on an equal level with, for example, the Evangelical Church. Ministry officials reported that they have held discussions with the Jewish community regarding security needs, but there was no clear answer when asked about the availability of financial support.

Ministry experts were quite candid in describing a widespread lack of knowledge in Spain about religions other than Catholicism. They have developed guides intended for internal use by other ministries and by municipalities to help them in dealing with Jews and with other minority religious communities.

Officials also acknowledged that there is a "feeling of impunity" when it comes to Holocaust denial and even some aspects of anti-Semitism as a result of the high court decision to overturn the previous Holocaust denial law. However, they believe this is largely a "technical issue" that can be corrected with new legislation that could be sent to Parliament in the coming months.

Education Ministry

The Ministry maintains that Holocaust education is an important tool in combating anti-Semitism and it is identified in eight different subject areas of school curricula. At the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it is now preparing a report on how Judaism and Jewish history are also taught.

Significant credit is given to the role of Casa Sefarad-Israel as a vehicle to teach both children and adults about Jewish culture. It has directly sponsored public Jewish holiday events and book fairs and supported the activities of other organizations with these aims. Casa Sefarad-Israel also assumes responsibility for training Holocaust education teachers, and our visit included a discussion with several dozen teachers from the Madrid area. They are an impressive and inspiring group, and they have taken their own initiative to expand programs and identify new student populations. These range from primary school classes in religious education to university students in the faculty of medicine.

Unfortunately in the current financial crisis the budget of Casa Sefarad-Israel has been significantly cut and this has also affected what it can do in the area of Holocaust education.

Melilla visit

At the suggestion of Spain's Ambassador to the OSCE we included a visit to the Spanish territory of Melilla in our visit. An enclave of 70,000 people in North Africa, Melilla once boasted a Jewish community of 10,000. Even today, with 1,000 Jews it is a relatively sizeable community compared with the rest of Spain.

During our brief stay we had an opportunity to meet with the leaders of Melilla's Jewish, Catholic, Muslim and Hindu communities, and there is obviously an easy and genuine spirit of friendship and cooperation among them. Asked how this came to be, they all described the experience of growing up together and sharing holidays and celebrations with each other.

The oldest buildings in Melilla, part of the original fortifications, have been converted into museums which showcase the diverse cultural history of the enclave, and a presentation of Jewish history and Judaism is a significant component.

Much has been made of Spain's history as a center for Jewish, Christian and Muslim civilization. But Melilla is a moving and positive symbol—if not very well known—of present-day tolerance and interreligious cooperation. It surely deserves more attention and recognition.

Recommendations

1. Resolve remaining barriers to the adoption of appropriate, revised Holocaust denial legislation.
2. Bolster support for Holocaust education teachers, including national endorsement of their efforts.
3. Continue in the development and implementation of educational materials that address the history of Jews and Judaism in Spain and combat anti-Semitism, including those prepared by ODIHR and Casa Sefarad-Israel.
4. As accurate and comprehensive information is important to understanding the extent of the problem, more should be done by authorities to collect data on hate crimes including anti-Semitism.
5. The Jewish Federation should be assisted in its efforts—including assistance from ODIHR—to monitor and report on anti-Semitism in Spain.
6. Encourage cooperative efforts by the government and the Jewish community and support the work of Casa Sefarad-Israel in fostering a positive picture of Jews and Judaism in Spain.
7. Reengage with ODIHR in its training for police and prosecutors on combating hate crimes.

Meetings included the following participants:

<u>Representatives of civil society and non-governmental organizations</u>

- Mr. David Hatchwell, President of the Madrid Jewish Community
- Mr. Issac Querub, President of the FCJE
- Ms. Carolina Aisen, Executive Secretary of the FCJE, and Coordinator of the Anti-Semitism Observatory
- Mr. Esteban Ibarra, Expert on intolerance issues, "Movimiento contra la Intolerancia" (Movement against intolerance)
- Mr. Antonio Domingo, Fundación Violeta Friedman
- Mr. Jorge Trías, lawyer, defended Violeta Friedman in the Léon Degrelle trial
- Mr. Ricardo Ruiz de la Serna, lawyer from the Anti-Semitism Observatory civic network
- Ms. Mayte Rodriguez, Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos (Centre of Jewish-Christian Studies)
- Mr. Pedro Tarquis, Speaker, Consejo Evangélico de Madrid (Madrid Evangelic Council)
- Mr. Miguel Palacios, Minister, Iglesia Evangélica de Filadelfia
- Ms. Concha Díaz, Amical Mauthausen

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Mr. Juan González-Barba, Director General for the Maghreb, the Mediterranean and Africa
- Mr. Juan Manuel Cabrera, Ambassador at Large for Human Rights
- Mr. Álvaro Albacete, Ambassador at Large for Relations with the Jewish Community and Jewish Organizations
- Ms. Cristina Fraile, Under-Director General of the Human Rights Office
- Mr. Juan Armando Andrada-Vanderwilde, Head of the Council of Europe and OSCE Division
- Mr. Martín Remón Miranzo, Council of Europe and OSCE Division

Ministry of Justice

- Mr. Ángel Llorente, Director General on International Legal Cooperation and Relations with Religions
- Mr. José María Contreras, Under-Director General of Relations with Religions

Ministry of Interior

- Mr. Carlos Abella, Director General of International Relations and of Alien Status
- Mr. Antonio Arrabal Villalobos, Under- Director General for International Police Cooperation

Ministry of Education

- Mr. Carlos María Rodríguez Amunátegui, Under-Director General of Academic Planning
- Ms. Ángeles Muñoz, Under-Director General of External Education Promotion
- Ms. Yolanda Zárate, Technical Counsellor
- Mr. Antonio López Soto, Under-Director General of International Cooperation
- Mr. Ángel Santamaría, Technical Counsellor
- Mr. Juan Lopez Martinez, Inspector Central De Educaion

Centro Sefarad-Israel

- Mr. Florentino Portero, Director General
- Mr. Miguel de Lucas, Secretary General
- Ms. Henar Corbí, Director of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism Department
- Ms. Yessica Sanromán, Coordinator ITF
- Ms. Esther Bendahan, Director for Cultural affairs
- Ms. Sonia Sánchez, Director for Educational affairs
- Mr. Fernando Martínez-Vara de Rey, Coordinator of Culture and Tribune

Melilla Regional Government

- Mr. Miguel Marín, First Deputy President of the Regional Government
- Ms. Simi Chocrón, La consejera de Cultura

Interfaith Committee of Melilla “Mesa Interconfesional de Melilla”

- Episcopal Vicar D. Red Roberto Aguado, Highest religious authority of the Catholic Christians of the city of Melilla
- Mr. Abderrahman Benyahya, Spokesman of the Muslim Association in Melilla
- Mr. Jaime Cánovas Azancot, President of the Jewish Community of Melilla
- Mr. Ramesh Ramchand, President of the Community Nanwani Hindu Melilla

US Embassy

- Mr. Alan Solomont, U.S. Ambassador to Spain

Accompanied by (OSCE/ODIHR)

- Ms. Floriane Hohenberg, Head of the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department
- Mr. Timur Sultangozhin, Associate Programme Officer

Report of the Personal Representatives of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Issues

Ambassador Adil Akhmetov, Rabbi Andrew Baker and Judge Catherine McGuinness

Norway
June 11-15, 2012

Norway is an exemplary state that both espouses a commitment to human rights and equality and seeks to implement these goals in practice. Long a homogenous and cohesive society, it has in recent decades opened its borders to growing numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers. The country's oil wealth has shielded it from some of the economic constraints—and accompanying social woes—that beset other European countries, but that does not make it immune to the social and political turmoil that comes with managing cultural and ethnic diversity.

Our visit coincided with the trial of Anders Brejvik, the confessed mass murderer of 77 individuals including 69 young people at a political summer camp in July 2011. The physical and emotional scars of that terrorist act were quite visible in the still unrepaired government buildings that were bombed and in both formal and informal discussions with our Norwegian interlocutors. As one official put it, Brejvik was a "lone wolf" but he acted "in a context." Norwegian society appears to be wrestling with how to manage a public discussion of its multi-cultural evolution and allow more space for airing these critical views, now aware that forcing it underground means that some of the most extreme examples such as Brejvik go undetected. At the same time there is concern that doing so might also raise the level of public prejudice.

Until now the largely positive climate of tolerance and more respectful debate (even on the part of right wing political parties) has had a mitigating effect on the country's minorities. Even though they confront tangible problems of prejudice and discrimination, they still speak admiringly of Norwegian society.

Muslim Community

While Norwegian census figures do not note religion, estimates can be drawn from data identifying residents who come from majority-Muslim countries. This suggests a Muslim population of about 95,000. Of this about 70,000 are represented by the Islamic Council of Norway. Leaders of the Council speak positively about their freedom to practice their religion and organize themselves. They are directly engaged in dialogue with other religious and civic groups and are in regular communication with government ministries and political parties.

However, they also report numerous examples of discrimination primarily in the areas of employment and housing. They believe that having a foreign (Muslim-sounding) name puts them at a disadvantage when seeking a job. (One government survey proved this to be so.) As a way to promote diversity in hiring, government agencies are obligated to interview minority candidates, but the Council representatives believe it more frequently means "checking a box" rather than giving serious consideration to these job seekers. Local laws and informal practice, they say, result in concentrating Muslims in certain neighborhoods. By way of example, they point to restrictions of some municipalities on the building of mosques or limiting them to certain geographic districts.

Legal restrictions on ritual slaughter—a problem for Jews as well as Muslims—is also a subject of concern for the Islamic Council. However, they are optimistic that they will find a solution.

Jewish Community

At the start of the Second World War there were 2100 Jews living in Norway. Following the German occupation and with the support of the puppet government of Vidkun Quisling, 775 Jews were deported to concentration camps where all but a handful were murdered. The remaining Jews survived by fleeing to neighboring (neutral) Sweden or finding refuge in other countries. Today's Jewish community of approximately 2000 concentrated in Oslo and Trondheim are mostly their descendants.

In 1995 Norway was forced to confront its inadequate treatment of Jewish material and moral claims for losses during the Holocaust and established a commission to examine the situation and make recommendations. The commission itself was split and issued two reports. The minority report, chaired by a representative of the Jewish community, took into account the special nature of Nazi seizures and postwar bureaucratic negligence and also called for an official apology. In 1997, after public debate the government chose to accept and implement the minority report. Some of those funds were used in the establishment of the Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities, which is housed in the onetime Oslo residence of Vidkun Quisling.

Shortly before our visit to Oslo the Center for the Study of the Holocaust and Religious Minorities issued the results of a national attitude survey designed to measure the level of anti-Semitism in Norway, and this was already generating discussion. Two findings in particular were drawing special note: According to the Center's researchers 12.5% of Norwegians harbor significant, anti-Jewish prejudice. This is a disturbing finding considering the small number of Jews in Norway, their successful integration into society and the general level of tolerance in the country.

A second question found that 38% of Norwegians believe that Israeli treatment of Palestinians was analogous to Nazi actions against Jews. Although Norwegian political leaders have been quite critical of Israel in their discussions of the Middle East conflict, they claim to be taken aback by this. It surely reflects a lack of knowledge about the Holocaust, but its implications go further. Anti-Israel animus can also become a form of anti-Semitism, and the EU Fundamental Rights Agency has cited describing Israelis as Nazis to be one such example. Norway's small Jewish community must directly face the results of a larger society harboring strongly negative views of Israel that are frequently folded into their view of Jews.

That said, Jewish community leaders describe a generally positive picture of day to day to life, marked by good relations with government authorities and effective dialogues with other religious and ethnic communities. Still, there are concerns that need to be addressed.

The community conducted a survey of its own young people in Oslo and found that Jewish students faced a disturbingly high level of harassment in the public schools. Of particular concern was the seeming indifference of teachers and school officials and a reluctance to intervene. This has led to the development of an action plan (not yet implemented) by the Ministry of Education to combat anti-Semitism in the schools.

Since 1929, Norwegian law has forbidden the practice of ritual (kosher) slaughter, the legacy of an anti-Semitic era. Because of the small size of the community this may be viewed today as more of a symbolic

than a real burden. However, Jewish leaders point out that the law already includes exceptions for the hunting practices of Norway's indigenous Sami people. Whatever its implications for Norway's Jews, the continued ban on kosher slaughter is surely a stain on the country's reputation for tolerance and inclusion.

As with other Jewish communities in Europe, security is a very real concern. In 2006 a dozen high caliber rifle shots were fired on the synagogue and community center in Oslo, and police determined that the perpetrator had conducted prior surveillance of the site. While the government has paid for some physical enhancements of the building, ongoing security remains the sole burden of the Jewish community, a significant financial obligation for such a small population.

Roma

The Roma and Traveler population in Norway is estimated to be small (about 10,000) and divided between transient and settled communities. They appear to encounter better treatment in Norway than in some other European countries, but still believe the government can do more in recognizing their special needs. One Roma leader argued that their social conditioning means normal employment paths may not work for them. Until recently there was a special government office that served as the main point of contact between state authorities and Roma. However, this is now closed and Roma are instead directed to municipal authorities. This is particularly problematic for Roma travelers who may leave Norway for extended periods. Schooling for Roma children may include books in the Roma language and teachers who focus on Roma culture, but this is not always the case. Many students will leave school at an early age, and providing the necessary schooling for children in transient communities has particular challenges.

Religious Groups and the Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities

The Council was originally established in 1996 as a vehicle for discussing the development of a curriculum on religion for the public schools. This itself reflected a change in education policy, which until then included only religious (Norwegian Lutheran) instruction. Education officials determined that students were largely ignorant about other religions. Today the Council is the central vehicle to bring together official representatives of major religious groups, including Jewish, Catholic, Baha'i, Muslim, Lutheran, and Protestant Free Churches, along with several humanist organizations. Council participants pointed out that education about religious diversity is important in more than theoretical ways, as Norwegian society itself has come to reflect that same diversity.

Another sign of change—and topic for discussion—was the recent constitutional amendment that eliminated the designation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church as the country's official religion. This was to be understood, we were told, as recognition of religious pluralism in Norway, and it may also result in some additional state support for other religious groups. Some participants noted that it would not have occurred had not Lutheran Church leaders also agreed. Presumably the law gives them greater freedom. By way of example, it was pointed out to us that no longer will the Norwegian king serve as the head of the Church with the authority to appoint its bishops.

Council participants expressed their belief that it was becoming increasingly more socially acceptable to be openly religious in Norwegian society.

By all accounts the interreligious Council with the active participation of the Muslim community played a significant role in defusing the tensions that arose with the publication of the "Mohammed cartoons" which first appeared in neighboring Denmark. Government officials also echoed this view.

Center for the Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities

The Center was created in 2005 and is housed in the former residence of Vidkun Quisling, the Prime Minister of the wartime Nazi puppet state. It is located in a leafy suburb of Oslo close by other attractions such as the Viking Museum. The Center includes in its basement floor a museum with a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust in Norway. The work of the Center focuses on research and

education; about 5,000 students visit the Center yearly. Much attention is placed on engaging the student visitors (primarily 8th and 9th graders) and avoiding rote learning.
Several years earlier a Norwegian broadcast report revealed that teachers of the Holocaust were reluctant to discuss the subject with their Muslim students. The Center was engaged to help develop ways to work with teachers and address this problem as part of broader efforts to combat anti-Semitism. They are gearing up to work on a pilot project with five schools where student prejudice will be measured before and after the implementation of new teaching techniques.
The Center had also recently released the results of an extensive attitude survey with 1500 respondents. As noted, it revealed that 12.5% of the population harbored strong, anti-Jewish prejudices. Center researchers reported that those with anti-Jewish views are also likely to harbor negative views of other minorities. The survey also reflected the fact that the Norwegian public is more critical of Israel and largely "pro-Palestinian." Much attention focused on the finding that 38% believe that Israeli treatment of the Palestinians is similar to the actions of the Nazis. They noted that people in this category were also more likely to share traditional anti-Semitic views of Jews. Among the Center's recommendations are educational programs that not only deal with Jewish history and the Holocaust but also address anti-Semitism as a special phenomenon with its own history.

Foreign Ministry

Norway's oil wealth places it in an enviable position when compared with other European states. However, its economic success means that it is fully dependent on immigration. Officials believe that they have had a more "mature" public debate on multiculturalism than have their neighbors, and they note that Norway's conservative opposition party is more "responsible" on this issue than similar parties in other countries. In part for this reason, the Brejvik murders have had an even more powerful impact on Norwegian society and leads to questions about how it is managing this social transition.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion

Although the country's largest minority groups are Swedes and Poles for whom acculturation issues are not dramatic, there are also significant minorities from Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey, Vietnam and the Balkans. A strong focus is placed on integrating minorities in the labor market and society. To this end the government provides asylum seekers with stipends while they attend two year obligatory culture and language classes. Free language classes are also offered to most immigrants. Free kindergarten is also provided as a means to help encourage women to join the work force. The Ministry has established a goal of seeing women occupying 40 percent of public sector jobs and is keen on seeking immigrant women to fill some of these positions.
There are established mandates for government ministries to promote social inclusion, which include obligations to interview minority candidates and to report regularly on the results. A white paper on the integration of minorities will soon be published which will contain proposals relating to integration and combating discrimination.
Roma are classified as a national minority although their most visible presence appears to be begging in the streets of Oslo. Ministry officials note the absence of Roma children among these beggars, a common occurrence in other countries. They maintain that because of Norway's "zero tolerance" toward children not being in school, these Roma travelers do not bring their children with them.
Within the Ministry representatives of the Department of Integration and Diversity highlighted several developments. These included the change in status of the Norwegian Lutheran Church as no longer the official State religion, a national action plan soon to be adopted that will offer 66 measures to combat discrimination, and a Justice Ministry action plan on extremism and the importance of measuring hate crimes. These representatives also highlighted the recent survey that found 12.5% of the public harbor negative attitudes toward Jews—a surprising figure, they said, considering the strong economy.

Ministry of Education

There is a strong tradition in Norway of all students attending the same (public) schools, which provides the opportunity to promote shared values, including human rights, respect for diversity and citizenship. Early education is considered especially important for integrating immigrant children into Norwegian society.

About 35% of Norwegian students will attend universities, while the remainder is channeled into practical studies. A much higher percentage of second generation immigrants will attend universities than those of a first generation. There are relatively few Roma children in the education system, and those of settled Roma tend to leave school at a relatively early age (around 12). Very few reach higher levels. A new plan is being implemented to educate Roma parents and children together, but no results can yet be reported.

Media reports in 2010 on the harassment of Jewish students in the schools led the Minister to establish a working group to propose an action plan which calls for a three year pilot project. Due to technical delays it is only now being announced. More details about this were shared with us by the Holocaust Study Center, which has been involved in formulating the project.

Department of Sami and Minority Affairs

There are five official national minorities: Roma, Romany/Tater, Kvens, Forest Finns, and Jews. Annual funding of about 6 million Norwegian Kroner is provided by the state to organizations representing these groups. An additional 25-30 million Kroner is available for special projects. [Although Muslims are recognized as a minority in Norway, classification as an official national minority requires settlement in Norway for 100 years or more.]

The Sami, numbering about 100,000, are classified as an indigenous people. There has been a resurgence in the use of the Sami language in recent years, which is viewed positively after efforts in the 1950s and 1960s at forced assimilation. Surveys show that the Sami face a significant degree of prejudice in Norway, although the national minority groups facing the most prejudice are Roma and Jews.

Addressing the problems with Roma has been particularly difficult. In 2008 the Minister stated that government policies regarding Roma had "failed totally." Limited education, disorganization and lack of trust contribute to the challenge.

Department officials note that Norway is a young state whose independence was established only in 1905. As a result in the search for a Norwegian identity, they said, it was a hard time for national minorities. Policies began to change in the postwar years, and Norway has issued a number of formal apologies for the mistreatment of them.

Office of Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombudsman

The office was established in 2006 with responsibility to monitor compliance with anti-discrimination legislation adopted in the same year and with UN CERD commitments. It is the point of contact for public complaints about discrimination. It is hoped that it will serve to increase equality in society and promote ethnic diversity in the public and private sectors.

The Ombudsman has no authority to impose remedies or penalties. It can and does issue recommendations, and it can also wield some power by "naming and shaming" violators.

In 2011 the office received 350 complaints. Discrimination based on disability accounted for 57% of those complaints. Only 20 were cases of religious discrimination; one-third of which involved Muslims. At the same time the office conducted a test on hiring practices of employers and determined that applicants with a Pakistani name are 25% less likely to be offered a job.

The office indicted that it would classify complaints by Muslim women who encountered discrimination because they wear the hijab as a gender issue and not a religious one.

Because many private resolutions worked out with complainants are kept secret the Ombudsman's Office has no way of knowing how many of the 350 complaints have been positively resolved.

Still, the office can assist those who cannot afford to hire legal representation. Since it is a new agency they hope their visibility and reach will increase over time.
Officials also expressed some frustration, indicating that the laws are good but enforcement is an issue. They suggested that the police do not pay enough attention to discrimination and hate crime cases and believe that there are more cases than those registered.

National Police Directorate

When the doubts expressed in the Ombudsman Office were shared with representatives of the Police Directorate they were naturally defensive. At first they argued that hate crimes in Norway are low because crime in general is low. However, the most recent annual statistics available (2009) reported only 240 hate crimes (21 on religion, 183 on race and 33 on sexual orientation) a number dramatically lower than neighboring Sweden for example. Further discussion pointed to the need for a new and more reliable hate crime registration system.
Exact data on minority representation in the police force is not available, but officials estimate it to be only about 2.2%. A campaign is underway to recruit more minorities focusing on 18-26 year olds.
Police training on diversity is not focused on hate crime reporting but rather on addressing underlying personal prejudices they may hold and the need for professionalism in their work.
The police maintain a special section to monitor hate on the Internet. Officials noted a significant degree of anti-Jewish hate speech at the time of the 2009 war in Gaza, which they say came as a revelation.

Recommendations

1. The Police Directorate needs to complete and implement its plan for more comprehensive monitoring and reporting of hate crime incidents. Police officers should receive the proper training on how to recognize and respond to hate crimes. In these areas ODHIR's Department on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination can offer assistance.
2. The Foreign Ministry should promote a civil discussion of the Middle East conflict and admonish those who in the course of debate would demonize the State of Israel.
3. The Government should bolster support for the Islamic Council and for the Religious Council dialogue as important civil society contributors to combating discrimination and promoting tolerance.
4. The Government and Parliament should insure that Muslim communities face no barrier in providing for halal meat. As an important symbolic gesture it should repeal the 1929 ban on kosher slaughter.
5. Consideration should be given to provide additional financial support to the Jewish community to meet its security needs, as was done recently in neighboring Sweden.
6. The Holocaust Center and Ministry of Education experts might benefit from ODIHR's experience. ODIHR is ready to convene a regional roundtable to share information and exchange good practices on the development and implementation of teaching materials.

APPENDIX:

List of participants in meetings with the Personal Representatives

Meeting with civil society representatives

- Gunnar Gulbrandsen, Head of one of the Roma organizations in Norway
- Gunnar Stålsett, Moderator of the European Council of Religious Leaders, Bishop Emeritus of Oslo, Church of Norway
- Senaid Kobilica, President of the Council;

- Faruk Terzic, Chairman, Imam Committee;
- Shazia Mushtaq, IRN representative at STL.
- Guri Hjeltnes, Director of the Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities;
- Peder Nustad, teaching assistant, Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities;
- Vibeke Moe, Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities;
- Mr Kjell Magne Bondevik, President of Oslo Center.
- Tore Torstad, Executive Director of Oslo Center;
- Einar Esteensnæs, Senior Advisor of Oslo Center;
- Anna Hushagen, Special Advisor of Oslo Center;
- Ervin Kohn, President and Chairman of the Board of the Jewish Community in Oslo.

Meeting with the Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities

- Britt Strandli Thoresen, the Bahá'í Community of Norway;
- Ingrid Rosendorf Joys, the Catholic Church in Norway;
- Dag Nygård, Christian Council of Norway;
- Camilla Aschjem, the Church of Norway;
- Anne Sender, the Jewish Communities in Norway;
- Lars-Petter Helgestad, the Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities;
- Lise Tørnby, the Council for Religious and Life Stance Communities.
- Shazia Mushtaq, IRN representative at STL.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion

- Inga Marthe Thorkildsen, Minister;
- Anne Folkvord, Deputy Director General, Department of Integration and Diversity;
- Thea Bull Skarstein, Deputy Director General, Department of Family Affairs and Equality;
- Tewasen Teshome, Senior Advisor.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Torgeir Larsen, State Secretary;
- Halvor Saetre, Deputy Director General, Section for Human Rights and Democracy;
- Rune Resaland, Deputy Director General, Section for Security Policy and the High North;
- Stein Iversen, Assistant Director General, Section for Russia, Eurasia and Regional Cooperation;
- Geir Løkken, Assistant Director General in the Section for Human Rights and Democracy;
- Birgit A. Kleven, Senior Adviser, Section for Russia, Eurasia and Regional Cooperation;
- Monika P. Thowsen, Senior Adivser, Section for Human Rights and Democracy.

Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs, Department of Sami and Minority Affairs

- Raimo Valle, State Secretary for Sami and Minority Affairs;
- Bjørn Olav Megard , Director General, Department of Sami and Minority Affairs;
- Magnus Forberg Andersen, Adviser, Department of Sami and Minority Affairs.

Ministry of Education and Research, Department for Education and Training

- Eli Telhaug, Deputy Secretary General;
- Kari Brustad, Deputy Director General;
- Jørgen Haavardsholm, Senior Adviser.

Equality and Anti-Discrimination Ombud Office

- Bjorg Unstad, Head of Department, Department of Documentation and Policy Promotion;
- Margrethe Sobstad, Senior Adviser.
- Amna Velidar, officer.
- Ole-Fredrik Einarsen, officer.

National Police Directorate

- Senior Adviser Ingvild Hoel, Section for Crime Prevention and Combating;
- Senior Adviser Trine Hinna, Section for Human Resources.

Irish Chairmanship of OSCE

- Alan Owens, Senior Policy Adviser, Legal Affairs, Irish Mission to OSCE in Vienna;

Accompanied by OSCE/ODIHR

- Floriane Hohenberg, Head, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department;
- Timur Sultangozhin, Associate Programme Officer, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department;

Rabbi Andrew Baker
Personal Representative of the OSCE Chair-in-Office on Combating Anti-Semitism

November 20, 2012

Mr. Erik Ullenhag
Minister for Integration
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Mr. Minister,

I am grateful for the opportunity to meet with you in Stockholm on November 12, and for the assistance that was provided me by your government for other meetings during my brief visit. By way of this letter, I would like to acknowledge the positive steps that have already been taken, review some of the salient points that emerged during our discussions and propose some recommendations going forward.

1. As I had pointed out in my 2010 report, the Jewish community in Sweden must assume an outsized security burden unlike any other religious or ethnic community, absorbing some 25 per cent of its overall budget. All governments bear the primarily responsibility to insure that minorities can function freely and safely within society. We very much appreciate that you were able to channel funds during this past year to provide a significant, one-time payment to the Jewish Community (as a national minority) to install security enhancements. **However, much of the community security also requires maintaining trained personnel, and thus we hope that the Swedish Government will find a way to provide annual financial support.** We have seen how events in the Middle East frequently trigger anti-Semitic incidents in Europe, and in light of the current conflict with Gaza we should be braced.

2. Sweden's National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) is widely recognized for its comprehensive work in documenting incidents of hate crimes, including those of an anti-Semitic nature. Their data (available through 2011) document the high level of police reports with anti-Semitic motives that have occurred in Stockholm, Gothenburg and especially Malmö. Incidents in Malmö in particular seem to parallel controversies relating to Israel and the Middle East, but the current reporting procedures of BRÅ do not identify the perpetrators of these anti-Semitic incidents, even if they may be discerned from the police reports. However, BRÅ officials informed us that if tasked with such an assignment from the Government they would be able to review police reports and offer an informed analysis of the sources of anti-Semitic incidents. **Such a report would have obvious value—a sharper knowledge of the source of the problem can help to devise better ways to combat it. Thus, the Government should ask BRÅ to prepare this analysis as soon as possible**.

3. It is also important to note that by BRÅ's own measures, approximately half of all hate crimes that the Council identifies from its analysis of police reports are in fact not classified as such by the police officers themselves. Even though reporting forms contain a box for police to check if it appears that the crime was such, they obviously lack the knowledge or instructions to do so properly. If only for this reason, it would be important for police officers in Sweden—and particularly those in the region covering Malmö—to participate in appropriate hate crime training programs. **Recognizing that the final decision on such matters rests with the twenty-one independent regional police agencies, we hope you and other senior officials in the Ministry of Justice will follow through as promised and encourage participation in the OSCE's TAHCLE police training program particularly for that region that encompasses Malmö.**

4. Sweden is to be commended for providing a generous grant to the Swedish Committee Against anti-Semitism to implement a teacher training program for combating anti-Semitism in the Malmö region that is expected to reach 400 teachers and that will make use of materials originally developed in conjunction with ODIHR**. However, recognizing that Jewish students have reported that some teachers are often indifferent to or dismissive of their complaints, this teacher training project should also include an evaluation component to determine its effectiveness.**

5. There is little doubt that the frequently provocative and even incendiary statements of Malmö Mayor Reepalu have exacerbated the problem in that city while also projecting a negative picture of Sweden internationally. This only underscores the importance of national leaders to speak out clearly and swiftly when there are instances of anti-Semitism as well as finding ways to demonstrate their solidarity with the Jewish community at these times. **One notable and innovative example has been the *Kippah* walks that have occurred on some Saturdays in Malmö, and I want to thank you for your personal participation in this. It is useful to note that they provide an innovative example of employing electronic social media to counter anti-Semitism and intolerance which could be replicated elsewhere.**

In closing, I can report that most people with whom I spoke on this visit indicated that in recent months the problem of anti-Semitism in Sweden has received increased attention and generated thoughtful and serious discussion. We all know that this is an essential first step if the problem is to be properly addressed. And the problem, as we also see, is still very much present. However, I am hopeful that with

continued efforts and with the leadership in this area that you have personally exhibited, there will be success.

As I noted during our meeting, we anticipate that the OSCE will organize a conference on Jewish community security in the first part of 2013 that will bring together Jewish community leaders, governmental authorities and representatives of the participating States in order to discuss this critical problem and showcase best practices that are worth replicating. It would be a good opportunity for Sweden to share its own experiences.

Let me thank in advance for your continued attention to this issue.

With sincere regards,