

Statement and Recommendations of

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My name is Abraham Foxman. I am the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League, an organization currently celebrating its 90th anniversary year of working to expose and counter anti-Semitism and all forms of bigotry. I am pleased to have the opportunity to address the subcommittee, not just to offer an assessment of the problem, but to highlight concrete steps that Members of the Senate and the US government can take to address it.

As nations of the world, including our own, have turned their focus to the fight against terrorism, we are acutely aware that fighting anti-Semitism and other forms of hatred is critical, not just on humanitarian grounds, but as a matter of the national security of all freedom loving nations.

Mr. Chairman, the convening of this hearing is just one more example of the kind of ongoing leadership, commitment and focus by members of the Committee to spotlight and combat anti-Semitism for which we are grateful.

This hearing is so timely because unfortunately we have had a fresh opportunity to examine a monumental manifestation of anti-Semitism and the reaction of the international community and Europe in particular. I am referring to the poisonous, hate-filled, anti-Semitic speech by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad just last week.

Let me begin by applauding the Senate for swiftly passing a Resolution condemning the Mahathir statement. Your action stands in stark contrast to that of other leaders who responded either with silence or bitter deliberations over whether it was appropriate to call anti-Semitism by its name and to criticize it publicly.

At last week's meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), Prime Minister Mahathir took the already incendiary issue of global anti-Semitism to new and dangerous heights in his call to leaders of the 57 nations assembled

for a final victory against the Jews who “rule the world by proxy.” I have attached excerpts of Mahathir’s remarks to my written testimony which you have in front of you.

The audience at this gathering was made up of the leaders of nations, most of which have witnessed an upsurge of anti-Semitic hate over the last three years. Surveys indicate that a significant part of the populations in these countries believe the big lie that Jews were responsible for carrying out the attacks of September 11th. Many opinion leaders and intellectuals in those states claim that the Holocaust did not happen or was greatly exaggerated by world Jewry in order to win support for Israel. There has been a proliferation of anti-Semitic stereotypes – Jews as Nazis, Jews drinking the blood of Muslims, Jews controlling America – in state-controlled media. And Muslim residents of European countries, inspired by this outburst of hate from Islamic media and the Internet, have committed hundreds of acts of anti-Semitic violence against Jews and Jewish institutions.

But the significance of Mahathir’s speech being delivered to this particular forum lies not merely in the prevalence of anti-Semitism in those countries but in the fact that this was a meeting of Islamic nations. This was not a United Nations committee meeting, or the organization of French-speaking countries, or the Davos Economic Summit. The OIC member nations are not bound by geography, or politics or culture – but by religion.

This was a rallying cry to an entire faith, a call to holy war against the Jewish religion and people by 1.3 billion Muslims. It is grotesque anti-Semitism with the intent to incite a religious war on an international scale.

The potential effect of the hatred spewed by Mahathir is particularly lethal because of the ability of his message to reverberate across the Muslim world where there are those who are more than willing to take them at face value, to translate them into international terrorism and suicide bombs.

It is far from a surprise that Mahathir personally holds these views. He has a history of which we are aware. In 1997 he blamed Jewish billionaire George Soros for the currency crisis in his country. In 1984 Malaysia banned a performance of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra of a work based on Hebrew melodies by Jewish composer Ernst Bloch.

It is shocking, nevertheless, that 60 years after Europe was decimated by the worst kind of horror that can result when anti-Semitism is unleashed and unchecked, after we had come to believe the world had learned the lessons of the Holocaust, that a head of state would make a call for holy war against Jews the “swan song” of his decades-long political career.

But what alarms us most is Mahathir's presumption that, in making this incendiary speech, he was walking through an open door. And indeed, his confidence was born out by the standing ovation he received after his remarks.

We were truly dismayed and saddened that among the leaders of 57 countries, including US allies like King Abdullah II of Jordan, Prince Abdullah Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia, and Morocco's King Mohamed VI, no one stood up, no one walked out, and no one challenged him. Where were the good people at this summit who should have stood up to proclaim that Mahathir's words were evil and unacceptable?

INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS

Beyond the speech itself, it is instructive to look at how the world beyond the OIC reacted, even under the microscope of intense media scrutiny. And what should engage and concern this subcommittee is the fact that this incident is emblematic of one of the most difficult aspects of the new anti-Semitism in Europe which reverberates from the Middle East and – absent clear condemnation and prevention -- has too often translated into acts of violence, and even murder of Jews in Europe and elsewhere.

Let us first look at just a sampling of the response from some leaders of Muslim nations:

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Maher said: "This was a pep talk to the Muslim countries for them to work hard and look to the future, but as soon as you have any criticism of Israel, then there are people who are very eager to rush to condemnation, even without comprehending what it's all about."

Somalian President Abdiqasim Salad Hassan defended Mahathir, saying: "The prime minister was not inciting war. He was just saying that we should be united to face threats from many quarters, including Israel."

Yemen's Foreign Minister Abubakar al-Qirbi said it bluntly. "I don't think they were anti-Semitic at all. I think he was basically stating the fact to the Muslim world."

Days after the controversy roared, Mahathir himself was unrepentant and defended his comments in a press conference saying: "My speech was very clear. I said that the Jews have all the world behind them... and that's why they can defy the United Nations."

In Europe, the response of those who should be the most sensitive, because of their history, and their own experience with a leader rallying nations around this kind of invective, was mixed.

A two-day summit of the European Union Council in Brussels last week provided the perfect forum to publicly issue a forceful joint declaration. Italy, which holds the current EU presidency, issued a strong statement as did Spain, Germany and others.

However we were stunned that representatives to an EU summit in Brussels had to debate in closed session whether to condemn this anti-Semitism as part of their concluding declaration. In the end, they did not see fit to make it a part of the official record of the summit. A French government spokesperson defended the position saying that it is not customary policy to deal with such issues in summit declarations. Beyond the fact that this incident should have compelled them to break with "customary policy", numerous reports indicated that leaders of France and Greece actually blocked a condemnation that some EU members asked for. We are not alone in our assessment of the French reaction. Malaysian newspapers report that Mahathir had expressed his gratitude to President Chirac for his "understanding" of the speech.

I'll read to you the French response so you can see first hand the kind of reticence we are talking about. Even after an international outcry, they could only say: "We have respect for the Organization of the Islamic Conference. We have respect for the vast community of Moslems whom this Organization represents. We expect those who speak on behalf of the OIC to show the same respect towards other faiths, in accordance with the spirit of tolerance which is also Islam's." President Chirac later issued what he must have believed was a stronger statement saying to Mahathir: "Your remarks on the role of Jews provoked strong disapproval in France and around the world." The President of France could not bring himself to use the word anti-Semitism.

There certainly have been good people of conscience who prevailed in their own way and were able to mobilize an outcry. But we sorely regret that, while Mahathir's remarks are proudly posted on the OIC website, visit the official EU website and you will find their criticism makes no mention of the word anti-Semitism and is buried deep in its document archive. While the hater unabashedly trumpets his message, the condemnation is muted by dissent within the EU. Let me quote the simple message that was so difficult for some to accept, hotly debated behind closed doors:

"The EU deeply deplores the comments made earlier today by Dr. Mahathir in his speech at the opening of the 10th session of the Islamic Summit conference in Putrajaya, Malaysia Such words hinder all our efforts to further inter-ethnic and religious harmony, and have absolutely no place in a tolerant world."

We commend those in the international community who took a strong stand against the incendiary anti-Jewish scapegoating of Mahathir's speech. In particular, we recognize Italy, Spain and Germany for their important comments

and efforts to rightly denounce and condemn this speech as anti-Semitic, dangerous and morally repugnant. We salute those who worked behind closed doors in the EU to push for a rejection of Mahathir's speech and message.

We are appalled by those who acquiesced, with their silence or even with public support. We are especially outraged by the actions of French President Jacques Chirac and Greek Prime Minister Costas Simitis to block the EU Summit official condemnation. By their disgraceful behavior, these countries are willingly complicit in spreading these words of hate.

ADL wrote the leaders of Australia, Germany, Italy, and Spain to express appreciation for their strong condemnations of Mahathir's speech, and, on the other side, to France, Greece, Jordan, Turkey, Morocco, Russia, and others, calling their behavior a "disgrace to their countries."

LESSONS GOING FORWARD

This chapter illustrates yet again that one cannot talk about anti-Semitism in Europe without confronting the role of the Arab world in propagating the kind of anti-Jewish myths which flourished in Europe centuries ago. These canards are being revived and cloaked in theology and religion. Islamist campaigns within the Muslim world and Europe have moved the anti-Jewish beliefs within Islam from the fringes, where they historically resided, closer to the center. This demonization of Jews and Judaism emanates from houses of worship and from clerics. It pervades educational systems and government-sponsored media, and it permeates popular culture well beyond the Middle East.

The ensuing radicalization of youth in Muslim countries and in Europe has played a large role in the attacks against individual Jews and Jewish institutions. I have appended to my written testimony just a sample of recent anti-Semitic incidents in Europe. This is in no way a quantitative representation but merely to demonstrate that, while the frequency may vary, the violence continues and presents a real danger to the security of Jews living in Europe.

Mr. Chairman, even the brief overview I have provided of world reaction to this one incident leads us to one paramount conclusion – that the US is unique in its resolve to be a voice of conscience when it comes to calling anti-Semitism by its name.

Even as the President traveled to Asia to meet world leaders to bolster US ties with nations on issues of vital US interest, he faced this issue head on. While others were afraid to mention the words anti-Semitism, our President spoke boldly and clearly in a face to face encounter with Prime Minister Mahathir himself. In making his outrage known on both a personal and public level, the President has left no doubt that the Prime Minister's anti-Semitism and his continuing

defense of his speech is unacceptable and morally repugnant in the eyes of the United States.

With similar moral clarity, the Senate swiftly passed a resolution of condemnation – not at the urging of any organization or religious community – but instinctively as a matter of clear policy and principle.

It is abundantly clear that the vital task of getting leaders around the world to denounce the ideology of anti-Semitism that has gripped the Islamic and Arab world will depend on the steadfastness of US leadership.

While the last century witnessed the most heinous results of bigotry unchecked, fortunately, we also have witnessed in our lifetime powerful examples of how strong US leadership has brought about dramatic change.

Members of Congress and of this committee are uniquely positioned to exert such leadership and to build among our allies in Europe a coalition of those willing to stand up. You are in a position to use your good offices to recognize constructive and courageous leadership as well as to criticize those nations and leaders who fail to step up to the plate.

Parliamentarians in the US and Germany have taken a lead in getting the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to address anti-Semitism for the first time in a separate meeting in Vienna. Germany has offered to host an important follow up meeting next April in Berlin. We urge Senators to look at other relevant international, regional and inter-parliamentary institutions that might address the issue.

I mentioned countries like Spain and Italy that have shown courage in speaking out. Your membership in this Committee, your meetings, your travel, your bilateral contacts with heads of state, foreign ministers and parliamentarians provide an opportunity to broaden the alliance of those who are courageous enough to stand up even where it is unpopular to do so.

We must reject the notion that a leader who acknowledges anti-Semitism must pay a price for somehow disrespecting their Muslim constituency. Surely we oppose all forms of bigotry including anti-Muslim hatred, but condemning anti-Semitism is in no way a denigration of any other religion or group.

On the contrary, combating anti-Semitism, especially in Europe, advances the protection of all minorities. It was anti-Semitism which infected Europe and dismantled its democratic institutions and ultimately the freedom of all its inhabitants. Jews have been referred to as the canary in the coal mine – because concerted attacks against Jews will not stop there but will endanger the civilized world and democratic institutions wherever they exist.

I would like to highlight some concrete steps which we hope the Committee will be able to take. We look forward to continuing to cooperate and share ideas about how to carry on this fight -- armed with the clear knowledge that we can make a difference.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. European nations must take seriously the ideology of anti-Semitism coming out of the Arab and Islamic world.

- Political, intellectual, and religious leaders must insist in a variety of forums that, the Big Lie --blaming the Jews for September 11th, growing Holocaust denial, the spread of the infamous forgery the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Arab and Islamic world -- are unacceptable, and call on Arab leaders to do something about it. The silence of nations in the face of this dangerous incitement against Jews must end.
- Nations of Europe have it well within their power today to play a very different role in international organizations where anti-Israel bias has been reflected even in the revival of the infamous "Zionism is racism" ideology. This bias has shown itself to be easily transformed into outright anti-Semitism, as we witnessed at the U.N. World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa in 2001.
- Nations must confront the connection between the bias against Israel internationally and the surge of anti-Semitism on the streets. While the state of Israel is not beyond legitimate criticism, states must reject the self-satisfying rationalization that this bias and violence are manifestations of disagreement with Israel. Leaders must recognize that the singling out of Israel creates an environment in which anti-Semitism flourishes. We cannot let anti-Semitism and efforts to brand Israel a pariah state seep into the public debate disguised as political commentary. The ultimate question is not whether one can criticize Israel without being an anti-Semite, but whether that criticism reflects a double standard and an unfair bias against Jewish national self-expression and self-determination.

2. Recognize anti-Semitism as a human rights violation – de-linked from Middle East issues. While anti-Semitism has been acknowledged as a form of racism, there is a reticence to address its re-emergence squarely within multilateral frameworks for fear of raising the ire of Arab communities or states, or of running against a political climate which is increasingly hostile toward Israel. US diplomats and NGOs repeatedly encounter discomfort with any kind of special focus on the issue. In the United Nations, language on anti-Semitism or Holocaust commemoration is dealt with as part of negotiations of language on the Arab – Israeli conflict and not as a separate human rights or religious freedom issue.

Addressing anti-Semitism head-on should not be viewed as a Middle East issue or taking a particular side in any regional political conflict.

Anti-Semitism is xenophobia that infects the community where it occurs – it should not be treated as a political hot-button issue related to the Middle East. Even, and especially when support for Israel may be unpopular, defense of Jewish rights must not be allowed to fall out of favor.

3. Hate Crime Data Collection and Monitoring

- **National and local authorities must call attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions what they are – anti-Semitism.** The first step is to ensure that incidents are taken seriously and appropriately categorized as hate crimes. We have witnessed in some countries incidents rationalized as hooliganism or as expressions of political disagreement with Israel. They are a violation of national law in many states and of international norms and treaties against incitement, religious intolerance, and hate violence.
- **Enhance worldwide monitoring efforts by governments and non-governmental bodies alike.** Nations should promote the adoption of comprehensive hate crime data collection laws and provide training in how to identify, report, and respond to hate crimes for appropriate law enforcement officials. It is impossible to properly assess the scope and nature of the problem without data collection and public reporting on anti-Semitic incidents.
- **Nations should allocate funds for national assessments of hate violence,** its causes, the prevalence of the problem in state schools, the characteristics of the offenders and victims, and successful intervention and diversion strategies for juveniles. There is a direct connection between identifying the nature of the problem and identifying appropriate educational initiatives to address the problem

4. Using the Bully Pulpit

- **Urge political and civic leaders to utilize opportunities they have every day to speak out against bigotry.** Their statements and actions to promote tolerance resonate nationally and internationally. It is hard to overstate the importance of outspoken leadership in opposition to all forms of bigotry. These leaders set the tone for national discourse and have an essential role in shaping attitudes. Further, politicians and civic leaders should never engage in divisive appeals based on race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or religion.
- **Urge parliamentarians abroad to take action.** The challenge is how to replicate these kinds of hearings and resolutions in parliaments of other nations. Building on the efforts of the US Congress, it is vital to broaden the alliance of those parliaments willing to speak the truth about this issue and take action. Let other parliaments do as Congress has

done, pass resolutions against anti-Semitism and develop national action plans to combat it.

- Urge support for the OSCE Berlin Follow-Up Conference. The landmark June OSCE conference on anti-Semitism brought together leaders from 55 states to recognize the problem and forge a common commitment to follow up on a program of action. The Berlin follow up meeting will be critical in seeing this process through to meaningful implementation.

5. Implement Anti-Bias Education

Anti-Bias Education is an essential building block of combating hatred. History has shown that, when people of conscience are given tools and skills to stand up against bigotry, they will do so. The ADL has many programs, some of which have been highlighted by European governments as “best practices” in the fight against racism. One of our earliest successes, which is used as a model worldwide, was implemented in Germany in response to hate crimes against Turkish Muslim immigrants in the early 1990s. I have included a checklist of additional programs we have found to be successful internationally.

- Parliaments should press education ministries to use schools as a staging ground for anti-bias education. Governments must act now to provide appropriate teacher training on anti-bias education curricula and empower students through peer training programs. From the ages of 3-5 years-old, where children begin to recognize differences and form attitudes based on those perceptions, to the college and university level, where inter-group understanding is critical to fostering a successful learning environment, anti-bias education is necessary to equip students with skills and confidence which enable them to confront prejudice, to become activists against bigotry and agents for change.
- Resources should be allocated to institute and replicate best practices and promising programs on prejudice awareness, conflict resolution, and multicultural education through public-private partnerships, as part of education exchange and public diplomacy programs.

6. Holocaust Education. The Holocaust serves as a grim reminder of where intolerance can lead if permitted to flourish and of the absolute necessity that it be stopped. Following up on the January 2000 Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, parliamentarians should seek to implement Holocaust curricula to draw upon the lessons of this tragic period to illuminate the importance of moral decision.

- ADL developed a comprehensive, interactive secondary level Holocaust curriculum enhanced with state of the art audiovisual supplements for use in American high schools. This kind of curriculum could be easily adapted for use in classrooms abroad.
- One useful model is the ADL’s *Bearing Witness Program for Religious Educators*. This program helps teachers examine anti-Semitism and the Holocaust as a starting point for addressing issues of diversity in

contemporary society. Its goal is to successfully implement Holocaust education in religious schools. In order to do this effectively, teachers work to confront and to acknowledge the history of the Holocaust including the role of Churches and other religious institutions. This is a collaborative effort between ADL, the Archdiocese, and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

7. Law Enforcement Training. In talking about grappling with bigotry with leaders, we often hear about the challenge of changing demographics. Beyond training in hate crimes response, anti-bias education for law enforcement professionals helps develop cross-cultural skills and communication in order to enhance officer effectiveness and safety by building cooperation and trust with diverse communities.

- **A new proposed EU Law Enforcement Training Center** would provide an ideal venue for such training.
- **Respond to racism and hate crimes in the armed forces.** Ministries of Defense should provide anti-bias and prejudice awareness training for all recruits and military personnel, improve procedures for screening out racist recruits, and clarify and publicize existing prohibitions against active duty participation in hate group activity. In Austria, ADL training has been implemented already for 8% of all law enforcement professionals throughout Austria. In Russia, ADL has provided training as part of the “Climate of Trust” hate crime training program for law enforcement.

8. Mobilize religious leaders to speak out. The religious context in which so much anti-Semitism festers – as we see in the Mahathir incident -- compels a response from leaders of all faiths, including Muslims. At home and abroad, we maintain our vigilance and unequivocal opposition to intolerance against Muslims. But we respect the faith of Islam and its leaders enough to hold them accountable for their broad failure to speak out against anti-Jewish hatred being fed to youth and other believers as God’s truth, as a tenet of faith.

Conclusion

Despite the troubling assessment I bring to this committee today I come to you as an optimist, as a believer that we can go forward from this hearing, from this house of Congress, from this country, to make a difference. I am a survivor of the Holocaust. I emerged from that horrific period only because of the courage and compassion of my Catholic nanny and her priest who hid my true identity and saved me. But 1 ½ million other Jewish children were not fortunate enough to meet with those rare individuals of conscience. My story is a living reminder that individuals can make a difference, one life at a time. Imagine the impact you can continue to make from the Halls of Congress and through the bully pulpit of the US government to confront this pernicious hatred.

We must raise our collective voices against any expression of hate and to challenge those whose “violence of silence” aids and abets its growth. Anti-Semitism has a particular place in the history of Europe and in the history of xenophobia. Focusing on it and combating it now can only advance the cause of eradicating all forms of hatred.

We assembled here know that this is not the work of a day, but a long term strategy to build an alliance of values – one country at a time, one minister at a time, one parliamentarian at a time, to sensitize our allies so that, years from now, the Mahathirs of that generation will face wall-to-wall international condemnation.

There is no greater challenge. There is no greater good.

Appendix 1

Speech by Prime Minister Mahathir Muhammad of Malaysia To the Tenth Islamic Summit Conference*

Prime Minister Mahathir:

Alhamdulillah, All Praise be to Allah, by whose Grace and Blessings we, the leaders of the Organization of Islamic Conference countries are gathered here today to confer and hopefully to plot a course for the future of Islam and the Muslim ummah worldwide ...

The whole world is looking at us. Certainly 1.3 billion Muslims, one-sixth of the world's population are placing their hopes in us, in this meeting, even though they may be cynical about our will and capacity to even decide to restore the honor of Islam and the Muslims, much less to free their brothers and sisters from the oppression and humiliation from which they suffer today.

I will not enumerate the instances of our humiliation and oppression, nor will I once again condemn our detractors and oppressors. It would be an exercise in futility because they are not going to change their attitudes just because we condemn them. If we are to recover our dignity and that of Islam, our religion, it is we who must decide, it is we who must act.

To begin with, the Governments of all the Muslim countries can close ranks and have a common stand if not on all issues, at least on some major ones, such as on Palestine. We are all Muslims. We are all oppressed. We are all being humiliated. But we who have been raised by Allah above our fellow Muslims to rule our countries have never really tried to act in concert in order to exhibit at our level the brotherhood and unity that Islam enjoins upon us. ...

From being a single ummah we have allowed ourselves to be divided into numerous sects, mazhabs and tarikats, each more concerned with claiming to be the true Islam than our oneness as the Islamic ummah. We fail to notice that our detractors and enemies do not care whether we are true Muslims or not. To them we are all Muslims, followers of a religion and a Prophet whom they declare promotes terrorism, and we are all their sworn enemies. They will attack and kill us, invade our lands, bring down our Governments whether we are Sunnis or Syiahs, Alawait or Druze or whatever. And we aid and abet them by attacking and weakening each other, and sometimes by doing their bidding, acting as their proxies to attack fellow Muslims. We try to bring down our Governments through violence, succeeding to weaken and impoverish our countries. ...

With all these developments over the centuries the ummah and the Muslim civilization became so weak that at one time there was not a single Muslim country which was not colonized or hegemonised by the Europeans. But regaining independence did not help to strengthen the Muslims. Their states were weak and badly administered, constantly in a state of turmoil. The Europeans could do what they liked with Muslim territories. It is not surprising that they should excise Muslim land to create the state of Israel to solve their Jewish problem. Divided, the Muslims could do nothing effective to stop the Balfour and Zionist transgression.

Some would have us believe that, despite all these, our life is better than that of our detractors. Some believe that poverty is Islamic; sufferings and being oppressed are Islamic. This world is not for us. Ours are the joys of heaven in the afterlife. All that we have to do is to perform certain rituals, wear certain garments and put up a certain appearance. Our weakness, our backwardness and our inability to help our brothers and sisters who are being oppressed are part of the Will of Allah, the sufferings that we must endure before enjoying heaven in the hereafter. We must accept this fate that befalls us. We need not do anything. We can do nothing against the Will of Allah.

But is it true that it is the Will of Allah and that we can and should do nothing? Allah has said in Surah Ar-Ra'd verse 11 that He will not change the fate of a community until the community has tried to change its fate itself.

The early Muslims were as oppressed as we are presently. But after their sincere and determined efforts to help themselves in accordance with the teachings of Islam, Allah had helped them to defeat their enemies and to create a great and powerful Muslim civilization. But what effort have we made especially with the resources that He has endowed us with.

We are now 1.3 billion strong. We have the biggest oil reserve in the world. We have great wealth. We are not as ignorant as the Jahilliah who embraced Islam. We are familiar with the workings of the world's economy and finances. We control 57 out of the 180 countries in the world. Our votes can make or break international organizations. Yet we seem more helpless than the small number of Jahilliah converts who accepted the Prophet as their leader. Why? Is it because of Allah's will or is it because we have interpreted our religion wrongly, or failed to abide by the correct teachings of our religion, or done the wrong things? ...

Today we, the whole Muslim ummah are treated with contempt and dishonor. Our religion is denigrated. Our holy places desecrated. Our countries are occupied. Our people starved and killed.

None of our countries are truly independent. We are under pressure to conform to our oppressors' wishes about how we should behave, how we should govern our lands, how we should think even.

Today if they want to raid our country, kill our people, destroy our villages and towns, there is nothing substantial that we can do. Is it Islam which has caused all these? Or is it that we have failed to do our duty according to our religion?

Our only reaction is to become more and more angry. Angry people cannot think properly. And so we find some of our people reacting irrationally. They launch their own attacks, killing just about anybody including fellow Muslims to vent their anger and frustration. Their Governments can do nothing to stop them. The enemy retaliates and puts more pressure on the Governments. And the Governments have no choice but to give in, to accept the directions of the enemy, literally to give up their independence of action.

With this their people and the ummah become angrier and turn against their own Governments. Every attempt at a peaceful solution is sabotaged by more indiscriminate attacks calculated to anger the enemy and prevent any peaceful settlement. But the attacks solve nothing. The Muslims simply get more oppressed.

There is a feeling of hopelessness among the Muslim countries and their people. They feel that they can do nothing right. They believe that things can only get worse. The Muslims will forever be oppressed and dominated by the Europeans and the Jews. They will forever be poor, backward and weak. Some believe, as I have said, this is the Will of Allah, that the proper state of the Muslims is to be poor and oppressed in this world.

But is it true that we should do and can do nothing for ourselves? Is it true that 1.3 billion people can exert no power to save themselves from the humiliation and oppression inflicted upon them by a much smaller enemy? Can they only lash back blindly in anger? Is there no other way than to ask our young people to blow themselves up and kill people and invite the massacre of more of our own people?

It cannot be that there is no other way. 1.3 billion Muslims cannot be defeated by a few million Jews. There must be a way. And we can only find a way if we stop to think, to assess our weaknesses and our strength, to plan, to strategize and then to counter attack. As Muslims we must seek guidance from the Al-Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Surely the 23 years' struggle of the Prophet can provide us with some guidance as to what we can and should do.

We know he and his early followers were oppressed by the Qhuraish. Did he launch retaliatory strikes? No. He was prepared to make strategic retreats. He sent his early followers to a Christian country and he himself later migrated to Madinah. There he gathered followers, built up his defense capability and ensured the security of his people. At Hudaibiyah he was prepared to accept an unfair treaty, against the wishes of his companions and followers. During the peace that followed he consolidated his strength and eventually he was able to enter Mecca and claim it for Islam. Even then he did not seek revenge. And the peoples of Mecca accepted Islam and many became his most powerful supporters, defending the Muslims against all their enemies.

That briefly is the story of the struggle of the Prophet. We talk so much about following the sunnah of the Prophet. We quote the instances and the traditions profusely. But we actually ignore all of them.

If we use the faculty to think that Allah has given us then we should know that we are acting irrationally. We fight without any objective, without any goal other than to hurt the enemy because they hurt us. Naively we expect them to surrender. We sacrifice lives unnecessarily, achieving nothing other than to attract more massive retaliation and humiliation.

It is surely time that we pause to think. But will this be wasting time? For well over half a century we have fought over Palestine. What have we achieved? Nothing. We are worse off than before. If we had paused to think then we could have devised a plan, a strategy that can win us final victory. Pausing and thinking calmly is not a waste of time. We have a need to make a strategic retreat and to calmly assess our situation.

We are actually very strong. 1.3 billion people cannot be simply wiped out. The Europeans killed 6 million Jews out of 12 million. But today the Jews rule this world by proxy. They get others to fight and die for them.

We may not be able to do that. We may not be able to unite all the 1.3 billion Muslims. We may not be able to get all the Muslim Governments to act in concert. But even if we can

get a third of the ummah and a third of the Muslim states to act together, we can already do something. Remember that the Prophet did not have many followers when he went to Madinah. But he united the Ansars and the Muhajirins and eventually he became strong enough to defend Islam.

Apart from the partial unity that we need, we must take stock of our assets. I have already mentioned our numbers and our oil wealth. In today's world we wield a lot of political, economic and financial clout, enough to make up for our weakness in military terms.

We also know that not all non-Muslims are against us. Some are well-disposed towards us. Some even see our enemies as their enemies. Even among the Jews there are many who do not approve of what the Israelis are doing.

We must not antagonize everyone. We must win their hearts and minds. We must win them to our side not by begging for help from them but by the honorable way that we struggle to help ourselves. We must not strengthen the enemy by pushing everyone into their camps through irresponsible and unIslamic acts. Remember Salah El Din and the way he fought against the so called Crusaders, King Richard of England in particular. Remember the considerateness of the Prophet to the enemies of Islam. We must do the same. It is winning the struggle that is important, not angry retaliation, not revenge.

We must build up our strength in every field, not just in armed might. Our countries must be stable and well administered, must be economically and financially strong, industrially competent and technologically advanced. This will take time, but it can be done and it will be time well spent. We are enjoined by our religion to be patient. Innallahamaasabirin. Obviously there is virtue in being patient.

But the defense of the ummah, the counter attack need not start only after we have put our houses in order. Even today we have sufficient assets to deploy against our detractors. It remains for us to identify them and to work out how to make use of them to stop the carnage caused by the enemy. This is entirely possible if we stop to think, to plan, to strategize and to take the first few critical steps. Even these few steps can yield positive results. ...

The enemy will probably welcome these proposals and we will conclude that the promoters are working for the enemy. But think. We are up against a people who think. They survived 2000 years of pogroms not by hitting back, but by thinking. They invented and successfully promoted Socialism, Communism, human rights and democracy so that

persecuting them would appear to be wrong, so they may enjoy equal rights with others. With these they have now gained control of the most powerful countries and they, this tiny community, have become a world power. We cannot fight them through brawn alone. We must use our brains also.

Of late because of their power and their apparent success they have become arrogant. And arrogant people, like angry people will make mistakes, will forget to think.

They are already beginning to make mistakes. And they will make more mistakes. There may be windows of opportunity for us now and in the future. We must seize these opportunities.

But to do so we must get our acts right. Rhetoric is good. It helps us to expose the wrongs perpetrated against us, perhaps win us some sympathy and support. It may strengthen our spirit, our will and resolve, to face the enemy. ...

There are many things that we can do. There are many resources that we have at our disposal. What is needed is merely-the will to do it, As Muslims, we must be grateful for the guidance of our religion, we must do what needs to be done, willingly and with determination. Allah has not raised us, the leaders, above the others so we may enjoy power for ourselves only. The power we wield is for our people, for the ummah, for Islam. We must have the will to make use of this power judiciously, prudently, concertedly. Inshaallah we will triumph in the end.

I pray to Allah that this 10th Conference of the OIC in Putrajaya, Malaysia will give a new and positive direction to us, will be blessed with success by Him, Almighty Allah, Arahman, Arahirn.

Prime Minister's Office

Putrajaya

* Source: OIC Web site

Appendix II

Selected Incidents Across Europe/Eurasia in 2003 *

Austria

May 10, 2003 – Vienna – A rabbi was physically assaulted by two youths as he was walking home from prayer in eastern Vienna. After shouting anti-Semitic slurs, the youths kicked the victim and struck his head with a beer bottle. According to the Austrian Anti-Terrorism Bureau for Protection of the Constitution, the suspects were in custody with charges pending.

Belarus

August 27, 2003 – Minsk – A synagogue in the Belarusian capital was set on fire by unidentified assailants who doused the building's main entrance with kerosene. Firefighters managed to save the edifice, but its façade was damaged, according to Yuri Dorn, President of the Jewish Religious Union of Belarus. The attack was the fifth attempt to burn the synagogue over the last two years.

May 26, 2003 – Minsk – Vandals desecrated a memorial to the thousands of Jews slain in Minsk during the Holocaust. The vandals scrawled swastikas, Nazi slogans and anti-Jewish threats on plaques at the Yama memorial, which marks the site of the ghetto where more than 100,000 Jews were exterminated by Nazi troops during World War II.

Belgium

June 13, 2003 – Charleroi – A 32-year-old man of Moroccan descent attempted to explode a vehicle loaded with gas canisters in front of a synagogue. He was arrested by police shortly after the incident. The man reportedly set his own car on fire, but it did not explode. Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt condemned the attempted attack but said he saw no need to raise security around Jewish buildings and institutions. In April 2002, the same synagogue, situated on the edge of the city, was hit by gunfire from unknown assailants

France

July 25, 2003 – Paris – A synagogue in the Paris suburb of Saint-Denis was ransacked and desecrated with anti-Semitic graffiti. Prayer books were scattered on the floor, the Torah scrolls opened and money was stolen. “Juif=mort” (Jew = death) was scrawled on an outside wall.

** This listing is in no way meant to be comprehensive or to be a quantitative representative of the number of incidents in specific countries but merely to provide examples.*

July 20, 2003 – Venissieux – Two plaques at a Holocaust memorial were defaced and broken. The plaques mark the site of a transit camp where hundreds of Jews from the Lyon region were rounded up before being sent to Nazi death camps in August 1942.

March 22, 2003 – Paris – A number of Jews, including teenagers, were chased and attacked by anti-war protesters outside the headquarters of a Jewish youth organization. The protesters were described by witnesses as “wearing kaffiyahs.” One teenage boy was hospitalized for injuries he sustained while being beaten by demonstrators.

Germany

August 15, 2003 – Kassel – More than 50 graves were vandalized at a historic Jewish cemetery in the central German city of Kassel. Some gravestones were overturned, while others had headstones weighing up to 2,000 pounds toppled on them. Police were investigating.

July 28, 2003 – Saxony-Anhalt – Vandals defaced a memorial to Nazi victims of a Buchenwald subcamp, plastering the buildings with anti-Semitic newspapers. Visitors to the Langenstein-Zwieberge memorial reported the damage to the police, who said that the perpetrators had used copies of anti-Jewish newspapers from 1933 to 1945, the years the Nazis ruled Germany.

July 8, 2003 – Berlin – A Jewish memorial in Berlin was vandalized. The vandals apparently threw small paving stones, gouging the surface of a memorial dedicated to the former Levetzowstrasse synagogue, which was used by the Nazis as detention center to deport Jews. According to the police, the incident took place in broad daylight, but the perpetrators escaped before they could be arrested.

June 27, 2003 – Berlin – A 14-year-old girl wearing a Star of David necklace was attacked by a group of teenage girls on a bus in the German capital. According to reports, the group first insulted the girl because of her religion and her Ukrainian nationality and subsequently hit and kicked her, injuring her slightly. Police were investigating.

Greece

August 4, 2003 – Ioannina – Vandals sprayed swastikas and Greek nationalistic slogans on the outer walls of a synagogue. The town’s Jewish community condemned the attack and urged the police to investigate.

February 1, 2003 -- Thessaloniki (Salonica) – Two swastikas were spray painted on a Holocaust memorial. The memorial honoring the tens of thousands of Salonican Jews killed by the Nazis has been vandalized before.

Italy

March 9, 2003 – Milan – Anti-Semitic graffiti appeared on the office of the RAI, the Italian state-owned radio and television network, after a journalist of Jewish origin was named director. The graffiti read "RAI for Italians, no to Jews." The messages were condemned by political and popular figures.

Russia

October 10, 2003 - An anti-Semitic sign with a fake bomb attached to it was placed on a roadside south of Moscow in the latest in a series of copycat crimes that began last year in Russia, the ITAR-Tass news agency reported on October 10. The sign, with an unspecified anti-Semitic slogan, was found by a motorist Thursday on a main highway about 60 kilometers south of the capital, ITAR-Tass reported, citing Moscow region police.

September 2, 2003 – Novgorod – An object resembling a bomb with an anti-Semitic slogan attached was found at a local synagogue in Novgorod, 400 miles northwest from Moscow. The “bomb” was determined to be a fake when no explosives were found.

June 28, 2003 – Pyatigorsk – On the last weekend in June, a Jewish cemetery in the town of Pyatigorsk, in the North Caucasus, was desecrated. Vandals smashed 10 tombstones, including those of Russian World War II soldiers. It is the only Jewish cemetery in the multi-ethnic Stavropol Region.

June 22, 2003 – Yaroslavl – Windows were shattered and anti-Semitic graffiti painted on a synagogue in Yaroslavl, a town 300 miles northeast of Moscow. No one was injured in the incident. The police were investigating.

Slovakia

January 21, 2003 – Banovce nad Bedravou - A 19th-century Jewish cemetery was desecrated in the western Slovak town of Banovce nad Bedravou, about 100 kilometers northeast of the capital, Bratislava. Thirty-five tombstones were toppled and vandals drew a swastika in the snow by the gate to the cemetery.

Sweden

April 27, 2003 – Malmö – Unknown assailants attempted to set fire to the purification room in the Jewish cemetery in Malmö. The attackers threw firebombs into the building, but the structure was still standing. It was the eighth time the purification room at the cemetery has come under attack

United Kingdom

August 5, 2003 - Manchester - Vandals smashed and toppled 20 headstones in an attack at a Jewish cemetery in Prestwich, in Greater Manchester. Police are treating the incident at Rainsough Hebrew Burial Ground as a racially motivated. The cemetery has been targeted in the past.

July 8, 2003 – Southampton -- Eleven tombstones in the Jewish section of the Hollybrook cemetery were desecrated with Nazi slogans and swastikas. Six others were toppled. A spokesman for the Community Security Trust, which provides security and defense advice for the Jewish community across Britain, said it was the second attack on Jewish graves in Southampton in seven months. Police were investigating.

May 15, 2003 – London – Police discovered the desecration of 386 Jewish graves at the Plashet Cemetery in East Ham. The gravestones had been pushed over. Police are treating the incident as a racially motivated attack. In addition to three youths, all under 17 and who were subsequently released on bail, four more youths have been arrested and were being held in custody.

APPENDIX III.

International Anti-Prejudice Programs Of the Anti-Defamation League

Germany

- A CLASSROOM OF DIFFERENCE™ Program integrated into Teacher Training Institutes of eleven German Laender
- Eine Welt der Vielfalt in Berlin implements ADL A WORKPLACE OF DIFFERENCE™ programs
- Participate in the Bertelsmann International Network on Education for Democracy, Human Rights, and Tolerance. This network identifies best practice models from programs that foster education, democracy, human rights and tolerance around the world
- Peer Training supported by Eine Welt der Vielfalt, the Deutsche Kinder und Jugendstiftung and EPTO (European Peer Training Organization)

Belgium

- In conjunction with Centre Europeen Juif d'Information (CEJI), the ADL Teacher and Peer Training programs are implemented in French and Flemish Belgium schools
- Foundation support –Evens and Bernheim Foundations

Italy

- In conjunction with CEJI, the ADL Teacher and Peer Training programs are implemented in the region of Milan
- Foundation support-Compagnia San Paolo

France

- In conjunction with CEJI and the French Catholic School Network (UNAPEC), the ADL Teacher and Peer Training programs are implemented in France
- Foundation support-Charles Leopold Mayer Foundation

Netherlands

- In conjunction with CEJI, the ADL Teacher and Peer Training programs will be implemented this year
- Funding support-Dutch Insurers Association

Spain

- In conjunction with CEJI, Peer Training programs exist and the ADL Teacher Training programs will begin this year in the region of Altea

Greece

- In conjunction with CEJI Peer Training programs exist

Luxembourg

- In conjunction with CEJI Peer Training programs exist

Portugal

- In conjunction with CEJI Peer Training programs exist

The United Kingdom

- In conjunction with CEJI Peer Training programs exist

Austria

- The A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE™ Institute office is responsible for implementing anti-bias education programs for all Law Enforcement professionals throughout Austria. To date 8% have participated in program. Funded by the Ministry of Interior
- In conjunction with CEJI Peer Training programs are being implemented
- Austrian ADL trainers deliver WORKPLACE programs

Japan

- In conjunction with the Diversity Education Network ADL Teacher Training programs are implemented in the region of Osaka

Argentina

- In conjunction with the Fundacion Banco De La Provincia Buenos Aires the ADL WORKPLACE program is being implemented in the areas of public administration, in the province of Buenos Aires

Israel

- Teacher and Peer Training programs exist in the schools and in after school programs. Materials are in Hebrew and Arabic
- Children of the Dream program exists initiating a cultural exchange between Ethiopian-Israeli teens and their native Israeli counterparts

Russia

- In conjunction with the Bay Area Council for Jewish Rescue and Renewal, the San Francisco Police Department and San Francisco District Attorney, ADL participates in the Climate of Trust Russian Hate Crime Training for Law Enforcement professionals

In conjunction with CEJI, Peer Training programs will begin in Hungary, Poland, Ireland and the Czech Republic this year

In every country materials are translated and culturally adapted