

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON
INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HEARING ON
GLOBAL EFFORTS TO COUNTER ANTI-SEMITISM

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P A R T I C I P A N T S

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:

Tony Perkins, Chair
Gayle Manchin, Vice Chair
Nadine Maenza, Vice Chair
Gary L. Bauer
Johnnie Moore

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Adjourn

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P R O C E E D I N G S

CHAIR PERKINS: Come on in and take your seats. We are ready to begin our hearing. Good afternoon, everyone, and thank you for attending today's hearing on Global Efforts to Counter Anti-Semitism.

I would like to thank our distinguished witnesses for joining us to offer their expertise and recommendations, and I would also like to thank Senator Manchin and his office for securing this room for us today.

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, or USCIRF, is an independent bipartisan U.S. government advisory body created by the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act, or IRFA.

The Commission monitors the universal right to freedom of religion or belief abroad, using international standards to do so, and we then make recommendations, policy recommendations, to Congress, to the President of the United States, and to the Secretary of State. Today, as we're

gathered here for this hearing, USCIRF is exercising its statutory authority under the law to convene this hearing.

We're also very grateful to have with us this afternoon Senator Jacky Rosen of Nevada. Senator Rosen is a tireless advocate working to confront anti-Semitism in all of its forms, and she is also the co-chair of the Senate Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism.

Senator Rosen, thank you very much for being here today with us, for your commitment to the issue, and the floor is now yours.

SENATOR ROSEN: Thank you so much for having me, for bringing everybody here today on this very, very important topic and issues which we're going to talk about. So, again, I'm thanking the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom for holding this important hearing, and I thank all of you and all the other participants who cannot be with us today for providing their crucial insight to this important topic.

As you said, I'm Senator Jacky Rosen, and

I am proud to represent the great State of Nevada in the United States Senate, but I'm also incredibly proud to hold the distinction of being the third Jewish woman in the United States Senate and the first former synagogue president elected to the United States Senate.

[Applause.]

SENATOR ROSEN: You know serving as my synagogue's president and now serving as a United States senator both have been the greatest blessings of my life, and they've been blessings that have allowed me to connect and to serve my communities with passion and commitment for the things that I not only care about but that they care about as well, and we can make progress for all of our communities for our country and the world.

Right now, though, no issue threatens our progress more than the alarming rise of anti-Semitism in our country and around the world. We've seen the rise of anti-Semitism in political movements across Europe for some time now. Anti-

Semitic groups--they're organizing within political parties in places like Greece and Hungary and France. We've witnessed increasing anti-Semitic sentiments in Poland and the UK, and now this hatred has reared its ugly head right here at home in our country.

We only have to look at the news to see depraved individuals right here in the United States who once hid their dangerous and hateful views. They feel emboldened to take violent action.

We have seen all of this, and unfortunately some of us have even experienced it. In Charlottesville, in synagogues in Pittsburgh and Poway, and most recently at a rabbi's home celebrating lighting the lights of Hanukkah. It is the Festival of Lights, and the guests there met with terror and darkness on something that is supposed to illuminate us--the Festival of Lights.

These are not isolated incidents. These incidents are part of a dark and dangerous trend, and we are all deeply affected by anti-Semitic

violence--acts of hate that have left many injured and unfortunately too many dead. We must be ready to act, to do our part to combat anti-Semitism. This epidemic has been on the rise, as we know, and it must be taken seriously.

Anti-Semitism, acts of hate, they are growing at an alarming rate. Earlier this year, the State Department called the rise in anti-Semitism worse than it has been in decades, and its impacts go far beyond the Jewish community.

In their report to Congress, the State Department offered this warning: history has shown that wherever anti-Semitism has gone unchecked, the persecution of others has been present or not far behind.

Defeating anti-Semitism must be a cause of great importance, not only for Jews but for all people who value humanity and justice.

[Applause.]

SENATOR ROSEN: Anti-Semitism is also a direct threat to religious freedom for all people of all faiths across the globe. This hate is

unacceptable, and it's something we must come together to call out and confront head on. We can only tackle this hate if we do so together and we do so with a clear purpose.

That's why last year, I helped launch the first-ever Senate Bipartisan Task Force for Combating Anti-Semitism. Alongside our counterparts in the House, these bipartisan groups are dedicating themselves to preventing anti-Semitism before it starts.

Together with my co-chair James Lankford and over 30 fellow senators from both sides of the aisle, 17 Democrats and 17 Republicans so far--I'm working on getting all of them--we're working together to take on one of the most disturbing trends of our time.

When anti-Semitism and bigotry occur, it is critical that we do not allow ideological or partisan thinking to blur our perspective of what is right and what is wrong because combating hate is always and must always stay a nonpartisan issue.

[Applause.]

SENATOR ROSEN: As members of Congress, it is our responsibility to our neighbors, to our friends, to our children, to eradicate this evil, and this task force allows us to collaborate with law enforcement, federal agencies, state and local governments, educators, advocates, clergy and any other stakeholders to educate, to explain, and to empower every single community across this nation to have the tools to combat anti-Semitism and all other forms of hate.

We're also working with the State Department's Special Envoy for Monitoring and Combating Anti-Semitism, Elan Carr,--

[Applause.]

SENATOR ROSEN: --who is with us today. We're going to tackle these issues in Europe and the Middle East and around the world.

These are challenging times, but in great darkness, it is all the more important that we band together as a community, as a country, and as a Congress to hold up our faith and our values as a source of beacon of light that will illuminate our

path forward.

While it may seem that the world is in disrepair, I have unwavering faith in the capability of Jews and non-Jews alike to do their part to repair the world, to help better the world, to take care of one another, to promote religious freedom and to diminish hate.

So our call to action is this: to keep educating, keep believing and keep up the fight against hate by encouraging those around us to help repair the world, and leave the world a better place than how you found it, to combat bigotry for ourselves, for our children and for our future, and as we say from generation to generation, this is our call, this is what we must do, and I am proud to have started this and be a partner with all of you.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Senator Rosen, thank you for being here. Thank you for your work.

We appreciate the time you spent with us

today, and you really have set the foundation as we have our first hearing at USCIRF for the year. This is the topic we chose. We have, as you will hear today from some of our expert witnesses, this is information we've been combing through and, to echo the senator, this is the--this is the issue that affects so many others, and it is, as you may hear later, the canary in the coal mine when it comes to religious persecution, and we would be negligent as a nation, as a Commission, to ignore what is happening around us.

I would now like to recognize Commissioner Gary Bauer for an opening statement.

COMMISSIONER BAUER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As luck would have it, my remarks sort of build on I think what the senator just said, and it's the reason I asked the chair if I could have just a moment to express those thoughts.

This is the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. So we're supposed to focus on what's happening around the world, but

it seems to me that there's a little bit of a challenge here that we need to confront if we're identifying anti-Semitic problems around the world and not squarely acknowledging what's been happening right here in the United States.

We have witnessed the horror of anti-Semitism at the Tree of Life Synagogue and at Poway. We've seen anti-Semitism grow on American university campuses. We've watched Orthodox Jews be assaulted in the streets of New York City. We've heard anti-Semitic statements right here in the halls of Congress.

I've watched in horror as a Christian as mainline churches have passed resolutions singling out democratic Israel for special condemnation, while ignoring countries like North Korea and Iran and Syria. And they do this in the name of my savior Jesus Christ. As a Christian, that outrages me.

[Applause.]

COMMISSIONER BAUER: These church bureaucracies do not speak for America's

Christians.

So I have a humble suggestion to make, and the Senator has already alluded to it: let's not permit anti-Semitism to become a political football in the United States. If someone on the right engages in anti-Semitism, those of us on the right should aggressively confront that individual.

If anti-Semitism comes from the progressive left, the first responsibility to deal with it comes from the leaders of the progressive movement, who should boldly get it out of their movement.

If an imam somewhere in America is teaching the attendees at his mosque to hate Jews, then peace-loving Muslims should speak up and confront him.

Anti-Semitism is a deadly virus, and it should have no home anywhere in American cultural or political life.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Commissioner

Bauer, and now I'd recognize the first Vice Chair, Commissioner Manchin.

VICE CHAIR MANCHIN: Thank you, Chair Perkins, and thank you, Commissioner Bauer, for your words.

I want to join everyone else in welcoming those of you to join us here today. We often hear about this resurgence or global uptick in anti-Semitism and how things are looking increasingly grim for the Jewish community and unfortunately 2019 was sadly no different.

The attack on the synagogue in Halle, Germany during Yom Kippur, the holiest day on the Jewish calendar, is arguably the most jarring incident of violence against the Jewish community abroad this year, or last year. We are now in the new year.

The gunman chose to attack on Yom Kippur knowing that the number of people in the building would be higher than usual on this holy day. He repeatedly shot at the door's lock and set off an explosive device, but thankfully was unable to

breach the building due to the enhanced security measures that the synagogue recently installed. The sad part is that that had to be done.

In the United Kingdom, several members of the Labour Party, under the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn, have made numerous anti-Semitic comments and espoused conspiracy theories within its ranks, to the extent that at least seven of the Parliament members have left the party.

In February 2019, Nazi symbols adorned 80 graves at a Jewish cemetery in eastern France. In Italy, police are assigned to around-the-clock guarding of an 89-year-old woman, who is both a Holocaust survivor and a senator in the Italian Parliament, after she proposed a national commission to battle hatred and bigotry.

While a significant number of incidents we hear about in the news have occurred in Europe, this truly is a global phenomenon. In Argentina, vandals desecrated a Jewish cemetery with Nazi symbols in February, and in a separate occurrence, in June, three youth shouted anti-Semitic insults

at an Argentinean rabbi, hit, kicked him in the head and abdomen, threw him to the ground and trampled his hat before fleeing.

In Kenya, intruders attacked a rabbi and his wife in a Jewish center before robbing and stealing many items from that center in April. They hurled anti-Semitic insults at them and stole many things.

In Saudi Arabia, textbooks espousing vile stereotypes and hatred against Jews continue throughout to be used in schools throughout the country.

And in Australia, authorities recorded at least two incidents in 2019 of Nazi graffiti aimed at intimidating the Jewish community there.

As you can see from just this handful of examples, unfortunately the scourge of anti-Semitism is alive and well in its varied and wide-ranging forms and manifestations.

I look forward to hearing the recommendations from our witnesses on how the United States government can better address the

rise in anti-Semitism around the world and how the international community can more effectively ensure that the global Jewish community can worship freely and without fear.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Vice Chair Manchin.

With that backdrop, I'd like to now turn to our panelists. We have experts from around the globe that are with us here today, and we're very grateful for the time that they have made to join us for this hearing.

We've asked them to distill their remarks to five to six minutes each because we have a lot of area to cover. Their bios are available. I think if you didn't receive it on the way in, I would ask you to get a copy of that because they are certainly experts on this topic.

As Vice Chair Manchin mentioned, we not only want information. Our purpose here is not just to talk about the problem although that is a

part of our mission. We want to develop the action steps, and so we have asked those that are joining us today to help us in the policy recommendations that we would make.

Beginning with our first panel, Ahmed Shaheed assumed his mandate as Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief on November 1, 2016, with the United Nations.

We are grateful for the work that he has done. He briefed us on a report that was just recently released, which in many ways was the catalyst for the hearing we're having here today, and I would recommend that report to you although I'm certain Dr. Shaheed will give us an overview of that.

Dr. Shaheed, thank you so much for being with us today.

DR. SHAHEED: Good afternoon, and thank you, distinguished chair, distinguished vice chairs, commissioners, distinguished guests.

It's an honor for me to be here this afternoon at this very important hearing. As the

UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, I am mandated by the Human Rights Council to identify existing and emerging obstacles to the enjoyment of the right to freedom of religion or belief and to examine incidents and governmental actions that are incompatible with the provisions that are there in the international legal framework to protect this right, including the 1981 UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

Consequently, four months ago in October last year, I presented my report to the UN General Assembly on the global phenomenon of anti-Semitism and its impact on the right to freedom of religion or belief of Jewish persons worldwide--the first UN report dedicated to examining this issue as a global phenomenon.

The report was meant as a wake-up call to decision-makers about the frequency of anti-Semitic incidents and the pervasiveness of anti-Semitic attitudes which appear to be increasing in

magnitude and perniciousness in several countries where monitors attempt to document it, as well as online expressions.

The report noted the prevalence of anti-Semitic attitudes and the risk of violence against Jewish individuals and sites around the world.

Because of time, I want to focus on the key recommendations that I made in this report. I argue for taking a human rights-based approach to this problem because, number one, it's a state obligation to protect Jewish members of their communities.

It is not a favor. It is an entitlement, a right, Jewish members hold and an obligation upon states to fulfil. That's why I argue for a human rights-based approach.

Second, it must be based on non-discrimination. All individuals are entitled to equality, equal dignity, and therefore the state again has an obligation to defend all members of the community, including Jewish members, on that ground.

Third, although they cannot, the law cannot demand solidarity, human rights cannot be fulfilled without solidarity. So whenever a person, whenever a Jewish member of the community is attacked, it is an obligation upon all of us to stand up in support of that person in solidarity.

The key recommendations I call for in my report include a call to all states to embrace the "Working Definition of Anti-Semitism" and the examples developed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. These can offer valuable guidance for education and awareness-raising, including for those working in law enforcement.

One must first know what is one trying to protect, and therefore it's important that all states embrace Working Definition developed by the IHRA.

I also argue that the primary responsibility for addressing acts of intolerance and discrimination rests with states and governments, including their political representatives. As such, states must also foster

freedom of religion and belief and pluralism by promoting the ability of members of all faith-based communities to manifest their right to freedom of religion or belief and to contribute openly, on equal footing, to society.

Governments must acknowledge that anti-Semitism poses a threat to stability and security and that anti-Semitic incidents require prompt unequivocal responses from leaders.

Such responses should be based on the recognition that the commission of anti-Semitic hate crimes engages the obligation of states to respond under international human rights law.

The NGO community also has a wider role to play in ensuring that they take a multi-stakeholder, broad coalition approach in defending, in combating anti-Semitism. Academic experts and researchers can support governments by providing independent expert advice and insights on the prevalence and manifestations of anti-Semitism, as well as effective ways to counter it.

They can play an important role in raising

awareness about the various ways in which anti-Semitism can be manifested along with the impact of prejudiced messages faced by Jews and Jewish communities on human rights and society at large. They can also support government efforts to raise awareness within Jewish communities as to where and how to report such incidents. They must also refrain themselves from promoting anti-Semitic attitudes.

Moreover, social media companies should take reports about cyber hate seriously, enforce terms of service and community standards and do not allow for dissemination of hate messages and provide more transparency of what their efforts have been to combat cyber hate, and to offer user-friendly mechanisms and procedures for reporting and addressing hateful content.

They should also report criminal anti-Semitic behavior online to relevant local law enforcement agencies, including expression that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence.

Lastly, in October, I called upon the UN Secretary General to consider appointing a senior-level focal point in his office reporting to him directly with responsibility for engaging with Jewish communities worldwide, as well as monitoring anti-Semitism and the response of the UN as whole thereto.

And I recommended that various UN entities, such as the Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN Alliance of Civilizations, and the Advisor on Genocide Prevention, to enhance their cooperation with relevant human rights treaty bodies and other mechanisms to stimulate joint action on anti-Semitism and other forms of hate.

For my part, I will continue to use my mandate to raise awareness and to advocate for the recommendations in my report. As I describe in my report, anti-Semitism is the canary in the coal mine of hate. It is the first to surface and we must ensure we respond to it.

My final comment is in taking a human rights-based approach, we must focus not just on

protection but also on prevention.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Dr. Shaheed.

I'm sure some of our commissioners have questions. I'd like to start just with this question about your report. As we often know, reports and recommendations are just one step on a long journey. How is the journey going in terms of the implementation of your recommendations? How have they been received by the UN and associated countries?

DR. SHAHEED: Thank you, chair.

The report was very well received by the UN system, but I also want to thank the Jewish communities worldwide for supporting the work I did in preparing the report and also for their response to the report which ensured that states cannot reject that report.

When the General Assembly entered in December a resolution which noted the report, and now I'm looking forward to see how various actors

will implement various elements in it. I have announced I shall follow up on this work by presenting a report on the implementation of this by member states, making sure that I identify critical steps and ask them to implement them and report back on what they have done.

It's still early days, but I hope to come back in a year, in two years' time, with a full report on what steps have been taken by states.

I am going around to various cities, talking to governments on four focal points: number one, to ask the UN Secretary General to appoint a high-level focal point on this subject; second, to strengthen reporting procedures in their countries and legal framework on this; third, embrace the IHRA definition; and fourth, work with UNESCO in tackling anti-Semitism in school context and textbooks.

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you.

Second Vice Chair Nadine Maenza.

VICE CHAIR MAENZA: Thank you, Dr.

Shaheed. It's always a pleasure to have you, and

we're always encouraged by your enthusiasm and your knowledge of these issues.

USCIRF, our mandate is to make recommendations to our own government on policies. So my question to you would be if the United States could focus on one or two things as our first steps, because you've made so many great recommendations, what would you recommend how we start?

DR. SHAHEED: Thank you very much.

I would want to focus both on the U.S. domestic situation as well as U.S.' role as a world leader.

In the domestic context, I think it would be important to ensure that the reporting mechanisms are strengthened. There are reporting systems in place. Of course, underreporting is a serious challenge, and therefore I think we need to find ways to ensure that there is better reporting.

Also, this also means that there is better understanding at the municipal level of what constitutes an anti-Semitic hate crime. I think

that goes with that.

At the global level, I would again stress the important role the U.S. can play in supporting my call to have the UN appoint a senior focal point to monitor anti-Semitism.

And secondly, I also think the U.S. can support other states or promote the idea of embracing the IHRA Working Definition. The definition and examples are very important in understanding how anti-Semitism manifests in different ways, and unless we understood the phenomenon, we wouldn't be able to actually act against that. So these are my crucial comments.

I also want to add my fourth point can also be supported by the U.S. because, at the present time, the U.S. does cover globally religious freedom or human rights globally, and in doing so, it can pay special attention to how in specific contexts anti-Semitism manifested.

One example would be, of course, how school textbooks and the general media disseminate these tropes.

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you.

Commissioner Johnnie Moore.

COMMISSIONER MOORE: Dr. Shaheed, I should just begin by telling you that we hear your name all the time in our meetings with various countries. They're always talking about your recommendations and the implementation of your recommendations. And so as a Commission, we're indebted to you for your very, very, very good work.

I also understand that you're part of the solution and not part of the problem within this context. However, there is for me a bit of irony when I hear that your mandate came from UNHCR because I think it is the prevailing view of a lot of us that watch these issues that UNHCR is notorious for providing a shield in aiding and abetting anti-Semitism through its pervasive consistent, I can't even--you cannot be hyperbolic with the anti-Zionism within UNHCR.

And so what is your perspective on how your responsibility is being aided or abetted by

the very agency that commissioned this report?

And the one thing that we're very, very cognizant of is too often around the world, there are public relations statements made by governments and nonprofit organizations and agencies in order to take heat off of problems. And one of our mandates is to make sure that the furnace is turned up and not down until there's change. And so I'd like your perspective on UNHCR.

DR. SHAHEED: Thank you very much.

I take it you mean the Human Rights Council--

COMMISSIONER MOORE: Yes.

DR. SHAHEED: --which mandated me?

I am not a UN official. My full-time job is academic at Essex University. I'm hired--I'm engaged by the UN pro bono to produce analysis of issues around the world. It was my decision to choose this topic of anti-Semitism for a number of reasons. One, of course, is that I observed how that we had failed as a mandated system--we have 58 mandates--to look at issues affecting Jewish

communities--how many have we sent out to countries where we say we are the beneficiaries of Jewish members, and one or two, three that I found out of thousands of communications. That was a scandal.

The second is this mandate I hold has origins in response to the Swastik [?] academic 50 years ago. That's when the UN began to look at issues of intolerance. But somehow the UN forgot about anti-Semitism and went forward. So for me, this is bringing it back home to where it all began, a desire to challenge anti-Semitism.

So I understand the UN is a multi-pronged, multi-dimensional house, so to speak, and there are parts of it which are anti-Semitic, and you're right to point out item seven is a problem.

And it is used to vilify Israel, to, in fact, is counterproductive in many ways, and it also perhaps undermines the work of the other parts of the UN, which may have a genuine desire to work on subject.

UNESCO is an example. UNESCO I think it's doing good work now on education to combat anti-

Semitism, but, of course, that work gets drowned out by three times a year discussion on Israel in the Human Rights Council.

So my response is that I can either take a nuanced response to UN. It is composed of many parts, differently configured where different states have different levels of influence, and we should understand that we can use some parts of it to advantage, and we can try to contain from elsewhere, but that's why it's, again, important to have the UN Secretary General take a lead and have a senior focal point in his office, which can report to him also of the overall context. But the UN must step up more on making sure it speaks for the Jewish communities worldwide also.

COMMISSIONER MOORE: Thank you.

CHAIR PERKINS: Dr. Shaheed, thank you so much for being here today, and again we want to commend you for your work. We're grateful for it, and we appreciate what you're doing.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: We will transition to our

second panel. Elan Carr serves as the Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism. As a Special Envoy, he advises the Secretary of State and is responsible for directing U.S. policy and projects aimed at countering anti-Semitism throughout the world, and as I mentioned, you can look at his bio. It's very impressive, and we're grateful for him to be here today and look forward to your remarks.

[Applause.]

MR. CARR: Thank you.

Good afternoon. Thank you for your important efforts in the cause of international religious freedom and combating anti-Semitism, both top priorities for this administration, and for holding this hearing today.

I'm honored to be with you, and I greatly value the opportunity to discuss our work combating anti-Semitism. In light of recent attacks in Monsey, Jersey City, Halle, Germany, and too many other locations around the world, the timing of this hearing could not be more significant.

Only 75 years since the Nazi crematoria have cooled. The relentless, indefatigable evil of anti-Semitism continues its global rise, mutating into new forms and spreading with blinding speed via new technologies.

We are seeing Jews vilified, demonized, and physically attacked, both overseas and right here at home. The Anti-Defamation League recently released a survey of anti-Semitic attitudes that included 14 European countries.

Of the survey's key findings is that roughly one out of every four residents of those European countries polled by the ADL fall into the "most anti-Semitic" category, meaning that they subscribe to a majority of the anti-Semitic stereotypes tested in the index.

We are also seeing a disturbing erosion of Holocaust education. The 2018 CNN poll on European attitudes toward Jews found that 34 percent of those surveyed said they knew just a little or had never heard of the Holocaust. The statistics are not much better in the United States.

In last year's State of the Union address, President Donald Trump declared, quote: "We must never ignore the vile poison of anti-Semitism or those who spread its venomous creed. With one voice, we must condemn this hatred anywhere and everywhere it occurs."

Anti-Semitism is a barometer of human suffering. President Trump calls it a vile poison because societies that have imbibed this poison have rotted to their core and produced human misery on a scale that defies description.

Anti-Semitic hate begins with the Jewish people but rarely ends there, and I want to thank Senator Rosen for making those dangers so clear in her opening remarks.

There are three primary sources for the rise in anti-Semitism today: the far right ethnic supremacists, the radical left anti-Zionists, and militant Islamists.

In our work, we do not rank or minimize these sources. All three are dangerous, and all must be combatted.

If one-third of a tumor is left untreated, the patient remains in danger. We fight all forms of Jew hatred regardless of the ideological clothing it wears.

We are familiar with the all-too real dangers of anti-Semitism from the far right. The anti-Semitic gunmen in Pittsburgh and Poway both wrote white supremacist manifestos before the shooting, and I recently met with the Jewish community in Strasbourg, France, where neo-Nazis have been perpetrating anti-Semitic attacks on a weekly basis.

We are also observing a rise in the so-called "new anti-Semitism" that clothes itself in the language of anti-Zionism, but there is nothing new about the so-called "new anti-Semitism." It is the very same hatred, this time targeted at the Jew among the countries instead of at the Jew in the community.

The same kinds of medieval blood libels that were leveled against Jews in the past are now targeting Israel claiming that Israel is

perpetrating genocide, that Israel is an apartheid regime, and that Israel is infecting--yes, I've seen it said--I've seen it printed--infecting Palestinian children with viruses.

So too with the ago-old economic boycotts, conspiracy theories or persistent double standards, now all focused on the Jewish state instead of only on a Jewish community.

When Israel is demonized, delegitimized or held to a standard not applied to any other country in the world, that is anti-Semitic.

Secretary of State Pompeo has clearly stated, quote, "This bigotry is taking on an insidious new form in the guise of anti-Zionism. Now don't get me wrong. Criticizing Israel's policies is an acceptable thing to do in a democracy. It's what we do. But criticizing the very right of Israel to exist is not acceptable. Anti-Zionism denies the very legitimacy of the Israeli state and of the Jewish people. Let me go on the record. Anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism." End quote.

[Applause.]

MR. CARR: The International Holocaust Remembrance, or IHRA, Working Definition of Anti-Semitism has been a game changer. Many European countries have adopted it, and we encourage all countries to do so.

The Working Definition identifies both traditional and contemporary forms of anti-Semitism. The Department of State has been using it for sometime and now with President Trump's recent executive order, the United States has embraced the definition at large.

With regard to Israel, the working definition equates the following with anti-Semitism: targeting the state of Israel, conceived of as a Jewish collective; denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example, by claiming that the existence of a state of Israel is a racist endeavor; applying double standards by requiring of it behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation; using the symbols and images associated with classic

anti-Semitism to characterize Israel or Israelis; drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis, or holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

In addition to encouraging countries around the world to adopt and implement the IHRA definition, please allow me to share some of my top priorities:

One, urging governments to provide adequate security for their Jewish populations and Jewish community assets. Security must be a top priority because when people do not feel safe, and when they do not feel that their children are safe, there is no quality of life.

Two, ensuring that countries properly investigate, prosecute and appropriately punish hate crimes. Even misdemeanor crimes must be addressed because these are often the best opportunities to intervene in the life of an angry and alienated youth before he turns to violence.

Three, demanding that countries remove anti-Semitic content from textbooks used in their

schools. Teaching innocent children to hate other children is mass child abuse and it creates deep damage that is very difficult to repair.

Four, confronting and condemning hate speech, particularly on social media. Let me be clear. We are not speaking of restrictions on the First Amendment. Even despicable hatred can be protected speech, but we must understand that the Internet has been the chief effector of this disease.

And we must continue to urge leaders around the world swiftly to speak out against hate speech.

Anti-Semitism is on the rise, and the stakes could not be higher, but I want to stress that there is much good news to be celebrated, and I want to close on this.

First, there are many leaders around the world who are genuinely appalled by rising anti-Semitism and are committed to this fight. Some are heads of government. Some are ministers. Some parliamentarians. Some appointed anti-Semitism

coordinators. And one, whom I want to commend today, is the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion and Belief, whose work I've been praising around the world.

I'm inspired by their dedication and am convinced that through our collective and coordinated efforts we can make substantial gains in our fight against anti-Semitism.

Since my appointment nearly one year ago, I have visited ten countries and engaged both bilaterally and multilaterally with foreign governments. I've also met with Jewish communities and civil society organizations. The work of our partners around the world has already yielded important results.

The second piece of good news is that the Jewish people do, in fact, have self-determination in their ancestral homeland. The state of Israel is successful and strong, and it is a beacon of democracy and innovation. Israel's strength helps to make the Jewish people strong and better able to confront anti-Semitism in all its forms.

Finally, the third piece of good news is that the United States is both the most powerful country and the most philo-Semitic country in the history of the world. Even with recent painful regrettable tragic events, it still is that, and now it is led by the most philo-Semitic administration we have ever had.

President Trump and his team are committed in unprecedented fashion to combating anti-Semitism, to protecting the Jewish people throughout the world, and to supporting the state of Israel.

With committed friends and allies working together shoulder-to-shoulder and arm-in-arm, we can turn the tide of anti-Semitism and bequeath to our children and grandchildren that just and decent world that they so richly deserve.

Thank you so much, and I welcome your questions.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Mr. Carr. Very well said.

Let me ask a question before I recognize my other commissioners. You address some of the sources. You identified three of the sources, but as a former prosecutor, you're often looking for motives, and we've seen this rise. There is no question; the evidence is there.

In your opinion, what is behind this rise? What is the motive that is there?

MR. CARR: Yeah. So the motives are different for each of the three ideological camps. Interestingly enough, Mr. Chairman, these three camps, when you think of the ethnic supremacist far right, the radical anti-Zionist left, and militant Islam, these are three ideological groups that should hate each other more than they hate anything else on Earth when you look at the ideologies.

Yet, they're united by their hatred of the Jewish people, and I would argue united also by the fundamental incompatibility of their values with everything on which the United States was built and frankly on which all decent tolerant just democracies around the world were built.

So the motivations might be different, but the methods are the same: using the Internet to spread this venom. As bad as things are in the visible Web, you know, YouTube and Twitter and Facebook, I'm troubled to say that the dark Web is dramatically worse.

I just had a meeting about this literally yesterday, and you cannot believe--you cannot believe what is being said when there is some veil of protection accorded these people through these deep dark chatrooms.

You know I say it this way. Those of us who are parents would never dream of allowing our kids to wander unescorted or even escorted in neighborhoods of crime and drugs and violence and danger, and yet everyday kids are being sucked into this vortex, this venomous vortex of Internet chatrooms and sites that spout hatred, hatred first of Jews but really hatred of everybody.

And they feed off of this for years--years of this--and then they become radicalized and turn toward violence. This is something that has to be

addressed because this is a key component of this problem.

And then the last thing I'll say, Mr. Chairman, as a former prosecutor--and I've handled hate crimes--we would never close a case without requiring a defendant or a suspect to undergo a tolerance program. That means even a kid, some minor who commits a trespass, or a skinhead who shoplifts a beer, why would you ever end that case without requiring that person to undergo a tolerance program?

So I've had the great privilege of sitting down with prosecution and law enforcement leaders in Jersey City, in Teaneck, in New York, and now, by the way, also in Germany. I met with prosecutors and justice officials from seven separate German states to coordinate our efforts and specifically to talk about dealing with hate crimes, even when the conduct is very low level, because if we intervene early in an alienated angry kid's life, not only are we protecting the Jewish community from future violence, but we are doing

the best thing we could do for that young man by intervening and correcting their path. And so this is a critical point.

CHAIR PERKINS: Commissioner Bauer.

COMMISSIONER BAUER: Always great to see you, sir, and I commend you for the work that you're doing.

I don't want to invite you to get into an area of American foreign policy that you might not want to tread in so forgive me if I'm making it uncomfortable. But Iran has been in the news a lot lately. The thought struck me that in addition to all the other controversy, Iran is the only nation that I'm aware of that seems to have as an item of their reason for existence the promise of a second Holocaust.

They're the only government that I'm aware of that regularly uses government resources to bring tens of thousands of people into the street to chant "death to the Jews" or "death to Israel."

And yet it seems to me that everything from corporations looking to where to invest or

European countries trying to make trade deals, there's always a great deal of resistance about doing much about Iran. And isn't this the perfect example of how people give lip service to anti-Semitism, but they're not willing to ever call out a very--a nation with some power, and it's getting more powerful, and it threatens to have a nuclear weapon someday, when anti-Semitism appears to be one of the core reasons they exist?

MR. CARR: Well, Commissioner Bauer, thank you, and I couldn't agree with you more. Iran is not only the world's leading state-sponsor of terrorism. It is the world's chief trafficker in anti-Semitism. Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran, has pushed anti-Semitic dogma throughout the Middle East and throughout the Muslim world beyond the Middle East.

And when one looks at violence against Jews in Western Europe, much of which comes from a radicalized Muslim community, you have to look back at Iran that is responsible for so much anti-Semitic venom throughout the Arab world, and, look,

what happens in the Middle East doesn't stay in the Middle East. What happens in the Middle East directly affects the European street and in many cases the U.S. college campus.

Anti-Semitism isn't ancillary to the ideology of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is a central foundational component of the ideology of that regime, and we have to be clear about it, and we have to confront it and call it out for what it is.

And, you know, I've been asking our friends around the world that, you know, how is it possible to talk about protecting Jews and to talk about fighting anti-Semitism when, when there is a refusal to designate Hezbollah a terrorist organization? If you are not willing to designate Hezbollah a terrorist organization, then protecting Jews seems to be a goal that is not being achieved.

And so I thank you for your question and for shedding light on this. It's a critical component of what Iran is doing, and we've got to confront it.

COMMISSIONER BAUER: Thank you, sir.

CHAIR PERKINS: Vice Chair Manchin.

VICE CHAIR MANCHIN: Thank you so much for your remarks and insight.

I want to dig a little deeper when you're talking about the Internet and that dark world, and I think across the world, even here in the United States, I think that's something as parents and teachers, we fear that dark underside, and as you go into this new decade, are there any ideas on how we really go about attacking, in some way limiting or blocking, or what are the ideas in moving forward that we start combating this force that's out there?

MR. CARR: Thank you, Vice Chair Manchin, for that question.

It's a vexing policy challenge because we don't want to trespass upon the First Amendment certainly. That is one of the things that makes America great, and we would never attenuate freedom of speech.

So how do we do this? There are several

things that we can and should be doing, and I had the privilege of participating in a meeting with leading social media companies, together with the ADL. It was hosted in New York by the ADL. And I was part of that meeting.

First of all, anti-Semitic speech very often violates the terms of use of these sites and platforms. So we should be encouraging not censorship but these platforms to enforce their own terms. I mean why wouldn't they; they're terms of use. Well, they should enforce the terms of use. It's not the government doing it; it's them doing it. And they claim they're committed to doing it. So we should work with them to help them do that.

Second of all, exposure. We have got to expose this venom, especially what's being trafficked in the dark web. Americans have no idea what's going on. I will tell you one piece of information that was recently uncovered and that hasn't been widely disseminated yet, is that there is a campaign by, believe it or not, the neo-Nazi far right specifically focused on inner-city

African American communities to turn African Americans against Jews.

Of course they don't do it as neo-Nazis, but they hide their identities, and they're putting forth materials specifically meant to poison African American-Jewish relations.

These things need to be exposed. People have to understand what's being done, how focused it is, how deliberate it is, that there are malign actors that are actively working, utilizing the Internet--for all the good, of course, technology has given our world--but utilizing this as a vehicle for enormous evil and great destructive power.

So, third of all--second of all, exposure. Third of all, incitement to violence is not protected speech by the First Amendment, and we have to get very serious in enforcing that. That's not censorship. If anything leaves the realm of First Amendment protections, the United States should be coming down like a ton of bricks on that speech.

We should say okay, once you cross the line, that's it. We are absolutely going to, first of all, to the extent a crime is committed, prosecute that crime, but certainly, certainly prevent it from being disseminated. That is not an encroachment on the First Amendment, and that's something we've got to do.

Those three things will go a long way to addressing the problem.

VICE CHAIR MANCHIN: Thank you.

CHAIR PERKINS: Commissioner Moore.

COMMISSIONER MOORE: What you have said here is incredible. You've already touched on this a bit, but do you feel like the tech companies in this country are utilizing the fullness of their resources to address this problem?

And the reason why is because it seems as if Silicon Valley can make anything happen--right. It's the place where miracles happen. And yet anyone who is a public figure, as soon as something controversial happens, automatically sees all of these things.

I know a number of Evangelical leaders across America who are the subject of Iranian trolling just a couple of days ago, you know, threats, these things everywhere. And so you wonder are these, are these tech companies, are they really, really paying attention? Are they really, really working on this problem?

MR. CARR: My impression--and obviously there are a lot of tech companies so I would never paint them with a broad brush, and different companies are doing different things and implementing different measures. My impression is that there is a growing awareness that this is a problem that has to be dealt with, and that if the tech companies don't deal with it, the United States government may deal with it.

And, now I'm not--again, it's not my role to--I deal with anti-Semitism. I'm not advocating policy or legislation here. However, I think there's a growing realization in the tech world that, that the leadership of our country and our policymakers understand that something has to be

done.

So I have seen real movement here and a real willingness to take on this problem. I'm very encouraged by that. So I think we've got to give it time and see, and I think we've got to work with these tech companies to support them and to make sure that they understand that we want to let them have the space to take care of this problem. That's very important.

And so I look forward to doing that. Again, we had a very productive meeting in New York with several of these very prominent companies. I look forward to going to the Bay Area and actually meeting with them there. I've already had those conversations.

And I'm encouraged by the movement we're seeing. It's not sufficient to this point, but we're moving in the right direction.

CHAIR PERKINS: Mr. Carr, thank you so much for making time to be here today.

MR. CARR: Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: We appreciate your testimony.

MR. CARR: Thank you to all of you for your vital work.

CHAIR PERKINS: We're going to transition to our third panel of expert witnesses. I will introduce them as they come up.

Deborah Lipstadt is Professor of Holocaust Studies at Emory University in Atlanta.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: We also have Sharon Nazarian. She is the Senior Vice President of International Affairs and heads ADL's work on fighting anti-Semitism and racial hatred globally, including in Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

And then Ambassador Akbar Ahmed, who is the Chair of Islamic Studies at the American University here in Washington, D.C.

Grateful for all of them, as well as Rabbi Abraham Cooper, who is the Associate Dean, Director of Global Social Action Agenda, as well. We're

glad to have him with us today as well.

So we will begin with Deborah making her opening comments, and we will go down the line, and then the commissioners will have questions.

DR. LIPSTADT: Thank you. Thank you to the Commission, thank you to the chair of the Commission for holding this very important gathering.

Recently, a well-educated, accomplished man, the CEO of a Fortune 500 company, was present when I was giving a talk and a seminar to a small group on anti-Semitism. He listened intently--not a Jew--and when it came time for questions, he said to me Jews are so smart, so accomplished, how is it they have not been able to solve this problem?

His question was sincere, but I pointed out to him kindly that it was directed in the wrong direction. He should be asking the perpetrator.

This past Sunday I marched--[pause]-- across the Brooklyn Bridge--that was unexpected--I marched across the Brooklyn Bridge, standing next to a woman who carried a sign "This Catholic hates

Anti-Semitism." When I thanked her for being there, she said it's our problem more than it's your problem, and she was right.

But it's the victim who "bleeds." Suffice it to say that anti-Semitism is a problem for all of us. There is no easy solution to anti-Semitism because it's a prejudice, and prejudice is irrational. Think of the word "prejudice"--pre-judge; I've made up my mind; don't confuse me with the facts.

We decide who and what a person is. The person may still be two blocks away, but their stereotype is in front of us. That doesn't mean that members of a particular group can't be people who do bad things, but when one person or even a small group from a minority group or particular group does something wrong and then people say, oh, "they" are all like that, we've moved into the realm of prejudice.

Now while anti-Semitism is a prejudice and shares many of the characteristics--racism, homophobia, other prejudices, a fear of Muslims--it

is different also.

First of all, it's a conspiracy theory. Conspiracy theorists find culprits to blame for something that they find threatening or bothersome. The conspiracy theorists reject logic. So if you were to explain the irrationality of anti-Semitism to a conspiracy theorist, they would just blow you off. They aren't interested in logic. They are prejudiced, and that's how they look at things.

Secondly, anti-Semitism is unlike other prejudices because it comes from the right and from the left. Usually a prejudice only comes from one side, but here, this is the one place where the right and the left, the far right, the far left, however you want to describe it, exists in perfect and happy harmony.

Thirdly, anti-Semitism is different contrasted to racism. The racist punches down. The racist looks at the person of color, whomever they may be, whatever color they may be, and says they're not as smart as us, they're not as capable as us. If their children go to our schools, there

goes the school. If they move into our neighborhood, there goes the neighborhood.

In contrast, the anti-Semite, who often is the same person as the racist, punches up: the Jews are more powerful than us; they're smarter than us; they're richer than us. So they not only have to be hated, but they have to be feared. And when you put that together with the conspiracy theory, you have a toxic brew.

Simply put, anti-Semitism makes people stupid. It is delusional. Think about it. The anti-Semite says the Jew is the communist; the anti-Semite says the Jew is the Rothschild, the Soros, the capitalist. Last time I checked, you can't be both at the same time.

The anti-Semite says the Jews are clannish; they stick together. The anti-Semite says the Jews are pushy; they always want to live in neighborhoods where they're not wanted, be in schools and in groups and in clubs where they are not wanted. Last time I checked, you can't be clannish and pushing into other groups at the same

time. But that's logic, and the anti-Semite detests logic.

Anti-Semitism isn't something random. It's not disliking a Jew. I dislike a lot of Jews.

[Laughter.]

DR. LIPSTADT: Everyone here does. Come on. You want to see disliking, come to my synagogue. I'll show you.

[Laughter.]

DR. LIPSTADT: Oh, they're watching.

CHAIR PERKINS: You're going to make me compare it with Baptists so don't do that.

[Laughter.]

DR. LIPSTADT: Afterwards we'll have, you know, I would say we'll have a drink, but I don't know if that's allowed.

[Laughter.]

DR. LIPSTADT: It's anti-Semitism is not disliking a Jew. It's disliking someone because they are a Jew. It is persistent. It has a structure, and it has a template. You can recognize it. It began as anti-Judaism, but soon

it went--as Christianity differentiated itself from another religion--not something unheard of when there are two religions particularly so closely connected--but it quickly migrated out of the confines of the church, out of the confines of religion, to the opposite end of the spectrum: to Karl Marx who hated all religion.

But if you read what he wrote about Jews, it sounded just like the worst of an anti-Semitic church father. And the Nazis, the eugenicists, they all were saying the same things. Left, right, center, it didn't matter.

One of the most widely known anti-Semitic sources easily available--you were talking about high tech previously with Special Envoy Carr--is the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, easily available on Amazon in many different iterations, a publication that began having nothing to do with Jews and was in the hands of czarist Russia.

They changed the culprits from someone else to put in Jews, and it has maintained itself as a best seller.

Car magnate Henry Ford distributed half a million copies in the early decades of the previous century, and despite the fact that it's been exposed, it's available today in French, in German, in Arabic, and an array of other languages.

Holocaust denial. Holocaust denial is not only contra to history. The Holocaust has the dubious distinction of being the best-documented genocide in the world. For deniers to be right, who would have to be wrong? The victims? The bystanders who watched the trains going into the camps day after day or who were near the shooting sites?

Thousands of historians would either have to be in on the hoax or have been duped. And the perpetrators themselves in that one war crimes trial since the end of World War II, not just the Germans but of any one of any nationality, has a perpetrator said it didn't happen.

Eichmann--I didn't do it; I was only following orders. But not "it didn't happen." But what will deniers tell you? Oh, the Jews did this.

Why? To get reparations, a fancy word for money, part of the anti-Semitic template.

They forced the Allies to have hearings in Nuremberg they were so powerful. Part money, power, conspiracy, the anti-Semitic template.

As you've heard before, today we see anti-Semitism on the right, we see it on the left, we see it from Islamic extremists, we see it from atheists, always relying on the same themes.

Ultimately, as I said, I believe that on some level--and it's a sad thing to say because I fight it, and I write about it, and I teach about it and lecture--but anti-Semitism can be described as a herpes disease. If you know herpes, until recently there was no way of curing certain forms of herpes. If you had it, you were under pressure. The bride who wakes up on the morning of her wedding with a cold sore, the person who gets an outbreak of herpes before the big interview, it was always there, and it came out in tension.

And so too with anti-Semitism. It takes many different forms, and it persists.

What then can we do about it? It's irrational. We can't, but we can't simply throw up our hands in defeat. We must understand it, understand its history. We must call it out. You've heard some very good suggestions from the two previous people testifying. We must challenge it. We must take it seriously.

We must never let it overwhelm us. The costs of doing so are too great, and we must act now. Later will be too late.

Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Dr. Lipstadt.

Ms. Nazarian.

DR. NAZARIAN: Thank you. Thank you very much and thank you for holding this hearing and for inviting ADL to testify today.

Since 1913, ADL's mission has been to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all.

I lead ADL's International Affairs Division, which seeks to promote the security of

Jewish communities abroad, fighting anti-Semitism, bigotry and prejudice, and working with partners around the world using ADL programs and resources regarding hate crimes, cyber hate and anti-bias education.

Regrettably, our work and our expertise on anti-Semitism and hate is more current and urgent than ever in the U.S. and around the globe. In the U.S., our comprehensive annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents found that anti-Semitic assaults doubled in the U.S. in 2018, and that the number of victims of such assaults tripled.

Given the daily reports of anti-Semitic attacks in 2019 along with the deadly violence of Jersey City, Poway and others, we know that 2019 will be one of the most violent years of anti-Semitic incidents we have witnessed.

In addition, ADL seeks to combat efforts to attack or delegitimize the Jewish state and call out when such campaigns cross the line into anti-Semitism.

In Europe, we urge governments to support

the security of local Jewish communities, to address potential threats, and to hold perpetrators of attacks fully accountable.

In Latin America and Europe, we support communities and train students to stand up against anti-Semitism and extreme anti-Israel slanders.

And in the broader Middle East, we name and shame governments that enable anti-Semitism such as in their official textbooks.

I have personal experience understanding the fear and isolation that extremists can inflict on vulnerable communities and religious minorities, having left Iran as a child to flee the anti-Semitic oppression of Khomeini's dictatorship.

The global anti-Semitism crisis is a core concern for religious freedom. I think one of the signs at the march that was referred to this Sunday against anti-Semitism in New York said--said it best: "If you need a security guard to practice your religion, you don't have freedom of religion."

Jews are often the first community targeted when pluralism is under threat. We have

been expelled from entire countries and suffered mass atrocities of the Holocaust and pogroms.

Today, anti-Semitic incidents often take the form of attacks against Jewish institutions or worshippers. We see bans on kosher animal slaughter or on ritual circumcision that make it impossible for observant communities to remain.

Jews in many European countries, and now even reportedly in Brooklyn, are fearful of wearing religious garb, kippahs, Stars of David, or other visible signs that they are Jewish.

Anti-Semitism is also a powerful driver of terrorism, as we saw in the AMIA in Buenos Aires and the Hypercacher in Paris--the terrorist attacks.

Unfortunately we have data to attest to worrying trends both in terms of anti-Semitic incidents and public attitudes. The latest data from France shows a 76 percent increase in anti-Semitic incidents in the first half of 2019.

In the UK, anti-Semitic incidents are at their highest ever rate. And in the German capital

of Berlin, there are on average two anti-Semitic incidents per day.

As for attitudes, ADL recently polled public opinion about Jewish people in 18 countries where Jewish populations are significant. In the 12 EU countries surveyed, as well as Ukraine and Russia, at least one in four respondents agreed with the majority of anti-Semitic stereotypes tested.

Just as anti-Semitic incidents can affect the sense of security for Jewish communities so do governmental and societal responses. For example, the "No Hate, No Fear" solidarity march that we just referred to that ADL was a co-sponsor of in New York this Sunday sent a powerful signal that tens of thousands of people will stand up against anti-Semitism.

More importantly, governments need to be engaged and proactive. Before Yom Kippur this year, the small Jewish community in Halle, Germany had asked for police protection. The local police did not respond so they weren't there when the

white supremacist opened fire. Only following that attack did the German Federal Ministry of Interior gather state level counterparts to develop a ten-point plan against extremism.

In this case, this plan was simply too late. Their inaction had led to loss of life.

A member of my team was in Halle when the shooting took place and worked with the local Jewish community to support those who were targeted. ADL along with the Central Welfare Board of Jews in Germany provided funds to establish a psychological help hotline for victims and the community.

USCIRF can be an important voice in urging governments to take proactive steps in better fighting anti-Semitism. Governments should be urged to provide robust political leadership to reassure targeted communities by speaking out against manifestation of anti-Semitism and other scapegoating.

They should utilize the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance working definition

of anti-Semitism to provide educational guidance for law enforcement, teachers, and community leaders.

It should improve public reporting on anti-Semitic incidents as well as other forms of hate violence and discrimination.

They should ensure that governments have specific senior officials tasked with combating anti-Semitism and to do the same for all forms of hate. This is a very important recommendation we think USCIRF can really follow up on.

They should mandate hate crime prevention and response training into law enforcement education. This is something ADL does in the U.S. We are the largest trainer of law enforcement, FBI, Homeland Security. This can be done internationally. All law enforcement should be expected to offer hate crime training.

Work closely with local Jewish communities to address issues of concern, including security and freedom of worship. Jewish communities are the front line. They know what's going on in their

communities.

There should be very direct access between governments and Jewish communities to know what are the solutions that they need and the support they need.

Ensure that school curricula address the Holocaust, modern-day anti-Semitism and anti-bias training. Many countries have laws mandating Holocaust educations. These should be implemented. There should be funding for that, and that's something USCIRF can be very important, play an important role in that as well.

Vigorously combat violent extremist groups that attack Jews or other communities, regardless of whether such extremists emerge from the right, the left or religious or ethnic communities as has been said before.

And ensure that social media companies rigorously enforce robust terms of service against cyber hate, including the particular forms in which anti-Semitism manifests, as was referred to earlier.

We were very happy to host the social media companies at ADL. We're really glad Elan Carr was there as well. There are important conversations to be had.

Thank you so much for having us here. We look forward to your questions and anything else I can help with. Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Ms. Nazarian.
Ambassador Ahmed.

AMBASSADOR AHMED: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you. I would like to thank the Commission for inviting me to this very important session. I'd especially like to thank my friend Dr. Hadi Sensa [ph].

Anti-Semitism to me is like a dense poisonous fog, which rarely disappears altogether. At times it is thick and at times it begins to lift, but we know that somewhere it's lurking out there.

And I'm saying this because for the last three to four decades, I have been personally

involved in fighting the bigotry that creates anti-Semitism. I would request you to pay heed to this because I'm bringing a different kind of experience.

Firstly, I was privileged to be a commissioner in a Runnymede Trust study called "A Very Light Sleeper: The Persistence and Dangers of Anti-Semitism." This consisted of some very eminent British Jewish scholars.

Although I had some ideas of Jewish history, working on this project opened my eyes to the extraordinary stirring story of the Jewish people. Through the terrible persecution, the exile, the genocide, the suffering, the community remains steadfast to its faith.

And not only was I understanding Jewish history and culture, and a lot of the time I was very ignorant and therefore appreciating my horizons of knowledge opening, but noting that so much of the abuse and attacks on the Jewish community had a familiar ring, as I saw them happening to my own community.

I believe anyone interested in the topic of anti-Semitism ought to read "A Very Light Sleeper." I've given some references below, and I hope that they be consulted for the same purpose.

The exercise helped me to understand better another phenomenon based on hatred that concerns and threatens my own community, commonly referred to as Islamophobia.

A landmark study, again produced by Runnymede, on prejudice against Muslims emerged from this earlier study on Anti-Semitism.

In 1999, I was invited to deliver the Rabbi Goldstein Memorial Annual Lecture by the Liberal and Progressive Synagogues of the UK at the famous St. John's Wood synagogue.

Again, this was an event which proved historic and broke the ice between the two communities.

After 9/11, I was privileged to be part of the first Abraham Summit initiated by Senior Rabbi Bruce Lustig of the Washington Hebrew Congregation and the Episcopal Bishop of Washington John Chane

over a meal at the rabbi's home. The rabbi, the bishop and myself visited houses of worship, universities, think tanks, and appeared in mainstream media, including the BBC.

I had the honor of speaking at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. and found the experience deeply moving.

I was also troubled that a lot of people, including my own community, were not aware that this was a national American museum. They thought that this was a Jewish organization meant to propagate or use false propaganda, and people didn't understand that this is something that is American, and that to my mind should really be compulsory in terms of education, especially for the young generation.

I became a charter member of the ADL's Interfaith Coalition on Mosques, which has challenged attacks and assaults on mosques after 9/11. I have worked with the Greater Washington Muslim Jewish Forum, the predecessor to JAMAAT, and the Muslim Jewish Council.

This work has created a great deal of goodwill among Muslims for the Jewish community.

My friend Judea Pearl, whose son Daniel Pearl was so brutally and tragically killed in Karachi in an act of blatant and cruel anti-Semitism, Judea and I have traveled the world promoting Jewish-Muslim dialogue to improve understanding. We traveled all over the world, and the high point came when we spoke in the Moses Room--highly symbolic--in the House of Lords in London, in an event hosted by a Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Lord.

A powerful and successful development in Jewish-Muslim relations came when the renowned scholar Professor Edward Kessler appointed Dr. Amineh Hoti as the founder-director for the first Center for the Study of Muslim-Jewish Relations at Cambridge.

Dr. Hoti, with a Ph.D. from Cambridge University, played a significant role in building bridges and therefore checking anti-Semitism by involving women and their families--first time ever

it was happening on the ground level.

So what were the lessons that I learned? I want to very briefly give a few points, and hopefully they may give us some ideas how to move ahead.

After decades of dealing with the subject, here are the lessons I learned:

The first lesson was that anti-Semitism is born of bigotry. Bigotry comes from lack of knowledge, lack of understanding. Very often people who are anti-Semitic, they may have ideological reasons, ethnic reasons, political reasons, but to me in the field I found most of them were coming from a sense of no knowledge--blank knowledge--and that allowed all kinds of stereotypes and tropes to enter their vision of the Jewish community.

So I think it's vital that the scholars, especially the Jewish scholars, the rabbis, and I must say I've been deeply impressed by the rabbis. I've had the privilege of meeting some of the most outstanding rabbis probably on this planet, and I

have been very, very impressed by their learning, their wisdom and their compassion.

And, of course, I have one rabbi sitting on my left.

[Laughter.]

AMBASSADOR AHMED: Now, I also found that in these dialogues--very often we have the dialogues--breaking bread in all three traditions is vital. If you want to make friends, if you want to build bridges, break bread. Dr. Amineh Hoti initiated this in Cambridge in England, and very quickly she found that the Jewish community, Muslim community, with lots of complaints about each other, by the second and third meal, they were old friends. They were talking about shopping trips. They were talking against their husbands. All sorts of dynamics suddenly began to emerge. So there was a lot that was in common between families.

Also I find that the dialogues that are taking place thankfully should be visible and frank. Very often they're stilted. We try to be

good to each other, kind to each other, and we don't bring out the really harsh. There's a lot that is wrong in the Jewish community, in the Muslim community, in other communities, which we must confront because anti-Semitism, as someone used the expression, is like a tumor. We have to understand, and as a victim, as a patient of this terrible disease, the malady, the emperor of all maladies, we really need to understand that disease to be able to attack it. And I don't think it's being done unless you are very frank.

Next point. I notice you had these terrible incidents, Pittsburgh, then the Hanukkah stabbings, and we got the reaction, the usual reaction, we'll have more guards, we'll have more patrols. I've been a field officer. I've run large parts of Pakistan in the tribal areas. Guards and patrols are not going to change minds because if there's hatred in people's hearts, that hatred will remain.

So you need to--

[Applause.]

AMBASSADOR AHMED: You need to clean, you need to challenge the hearts of the people and where this is coming from. And that will happen, that can happen if some of these steps are taken.

The media must be involved. The media, we all complain about as a terrible source of confusion and hatred. We heard Ambassador Carr talking about the trolls and the venom in it. But it can also be a force of good. There can be documentaries. The platform can be used to promote dialogue, to promote friendship.

One of the most powerful symbols happened in terms of Jewish-Muslim dialogue when Rabbi Lustig walked across the stage in the synagogue at the Washington Hebrew Congregation during our dialogue and kissed me in both cheeks. And suddenly you had this huge audience, first time, this was just after 9/11, seeing a Muslim and a rabbi embracing and the rabbi kissing a Muslim.

It had a very powerful effect, and I could see how the Muslim students congregated towards each other.

Now I want to conclude by saying that I've heard this phrase "never again." In the Holocaust Museum, I repeated it again and again. And I'm sorry to say we must not be complacent about this. We think we just say never again and go home and nothing happens. The government, you distinguished people running this government, you must make sure that when we say "never again," we mean never again because it is happening--anti-Semitism. It may not be happening on a vast scale. It's happening too frequently. And to me, that's very alarming.

If you have one Jewish person killed, that's too many, and when you have again and again this happening--Pittsburgh, New York, today here, tomorrow over there--we cannot accept it. We must not say "never again" and not mean it. We must mean it.

In conclusion, in the highly complex and interconnected world that we live, we must work together to bring down the temperature. The violence and hatred must not congeal into the new normal. It is the moral obligation of American

leaders regardless of party and other affiliation to preserve the grand and noble vision of the Founding Fathers of this great nation.

At the heart of that vision lies Jeffersonian religious pluralism. Hatred, bigotry and violence against minorities are unacceptable. They're unacceptable because they are immoral and they are un-American.

Over the years, I've been most impressed, and Senator Rosen cited this, the Judaic phrase--I don't think she used the phrase, but she meant "Tikkun Ulam." Am I right, rabbi?

RABBI COOPER: Tikkun Ulam.

AMBASSADOR AHMED: Thank you. Now this phrase I learned from my guru, my friend, Lord Jonathan Sacks. It is I think something that we all as a civilization, as a world civilization, into the 21st century must use. Christians, Muslims, Jews. Tikkun Ulam. We need to know that the world needs healing, and we will work together shoulder-to-shoulder to go out and heal this world.

If you look at the world, it is in such a

mess, and it's in flames. So there is nothing more powerful for me than this particular image.

And as a proud Muslim, let me say that it echoes my own South Asian tradition in which scholars and Sufis preached and practiced what they called Sulh-I-kul, which means "peace with all."

Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Ambassador, thank you.

Rabbi Cooper.

RABBI COOPER: Thank you.

I, first on behalf of the 400,000 members of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, I want to commend Senator Jacky Rosen and through the chair, Chairman Perkins, for being here, right here in the U.S. Senate, at a time of a broken political conversation in our country, and through C-SPAN and high tech sending out a message to our elected officials on both sides that shouldn't only be anti-Semitism, but let us start with it in order to try to rediscover a sense of why we're really here and a type of bipartisanship, and when we can,

nonpartisanship.

So I commend the commitment across the board politically, religiously, for USCIRF and be-- you don't know me very well, but you should be very worried when a rabbi starts by saying something nice about you.

[Laughter.]

RABBI COOPER: So let me make also with permission two comments on some of the important issues that have been raised previously.

On the Monday morning after the mass murders in New Zealand, I received a phone call from a senior official from Facebook. He said, Rabbi, I've got great news for you. We've already removed 1.5 million copies of the livestreaming of the mass murders that took place in New Zealand.

And I said, Peter, I thought you were calling me for a different reason: to tell me that Facebook and Twitter were going to take the lead, if necessary, in eliminating livestreaming altogether if that meant, as we've seen since, that every other shooter since has put a camera up on

their helmet or hat and have tried to mimic this horrific game plan.

Now I had a program called "Digital Terrorism and Hate." I didn't know anything about technology. I asked my grandchildren. But this is last year's report. We'll be back in Washington on March 5 for the 2020 report.

We're being too kind to the social media giants. I've had many meetings with them. I enjoy putting out our report card. We actually grade them. They've done some great things, but this is not really a time for more conversation. I think Commissioner Moore said it. They create the most incredible opportunities for all of us technologically, and the short answer to a complicated question, can they do more, much, much more. They know they can, and they need to be nudged.

So I would suggest for starters that perhaps the next hearing of USCIRF take place in California. If they don't let you up in Silicon Valley, you can always use our Museum of Tolerance

in Los Angeles.

Secondly, yesterday, we were hosts to Secretary of State Pompeo's point man on Iran. Brian Hook was in Los Angeles to speak with the very large Persian American community, and he had a visit to our Museum of Tolerance and a press conference.

During that press conference, Rabbi Hier, and I think both of them brought up the issue of the fact that it is the state policy of Iran in promoting Holocaust denial. So when perhaps the first iterations of this took place 20, 30, 40 years ago, we would say that's really terrible, the victims feel horrible, you're killing the people who died again. It really is terrible hate speech. We're way beyond that.

For the Iranian regime, the denial of the Holocaust is a precursor to planning the next genocide. They are a state which is on the verge of getting a nuclear weapon, but even without it, the players they put in play, and all of us in a sense are hostage, looking at the events of the

last few days, bringing the world literally to the brink of, God forbid, of another global conflagration.

So what everyone has said here, you know, it starts with anti-Semitism, it never ends, when you don't deal with it, for example, Germany won't call out the Holocaust denial of the Iranians to their face. It's not just maybe a clever move on them for their economic interests, but there is a huge price to pay, part of which we're seeing right now, where Holocaust denial becomes a live wire, and that came out yesterday during the press conference where we were all holding our breath and thankfully we all know now that no American lives were lost.

So for my presentation this morning, and I think it's a good move that you took the clergyman last and gave him four minutes instead of five or six that I just heard, but let me focus really on four countries in Europe.

I'm certain that no one here has ever heard of Chalom Levy. He died on December 29th

having never recovered from a knife-wielding fanatic screaming "Allah Akbar." Worse still, his attacker, who had stabbed an innocent victim back in 2010, was deemed unfit for trial by French authorities. So he was let go, free to attack again.

Chalom paid the ultimate price, and believe it or not, this time the killer was released after six months, deemed mentally unfit, and in January 2020, no one has a clue where he is.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center released our Top Ten 2019 Anti-Semitic and Anti-Israel Incidents a few weeks ago. Number four was the release of another murderer, a murderer of a beautiful French Jewish kindergarten teacher, Sara Halimi, who was attacked at her own apartment and flung to her death by an assailant, who by his own admission was chanting Koranic texts.

He was recently released because he had smoked pot before the attack. Yesterday, or actually on Sunday, French Jews and others, outraged and fearful citizens, took to the streets

of Paris to protest this outrage.

In 2015, another Muslim with no prior history of mental illness was deemed unfit to stand trial for stabbing of Jews in Marseille. Initially released, the protest did lead for him to be jailed for four years.

This French judiciary policy of ultimate appeasement of murderous anti-Semitism traces back to Abel Amastaibou, who was deemed mentally unfit to stand trial for stabbing a Jew to death. He had no prior history of mental illness.

Commissioners, it is the French judiciary that has exposed itself again and again as unwilling and unfit to protect French Jewry from violent anti-Semitism, even when law enforcement does its job. Left unchanged, such despicable policies endanger all Jews in France and merits the placing of France on your Tier II Watchlist.

Sweden. On the 81st anniversary of the November 9th Kristallnacht, the "Night of Broken Glass," when German synagogues were torched by the Nazis, today's Nazis plastered stickers shaped like

yellow stars on multiple Jewish sites in Sweden and Denmark.

In Denmark, they were placed on private residences, and in Randers, 84 tombstones in the Jewish cemetery were vandalized. Those same yellow stars appeared across Sweden, including in the capital of Stockholm where the Bajit Jewish cafe near the Ada Jeshurun synagogue, the Great Synagogue of Stockholm, and the Hillel school were all targeted.

Elsewhere, Jewish buildings in the city of Helsingborg, where a Jewish woman was stabbed and severely injured earlier last year, and Norrkoping were also desecrated.

A Jewish mother who sends her kids to the Hillel school in Stockholm declined to give her name in an interview, but said the following: "It is very, very sad that it is so. And it is perhaps something that makes us sometimes think about moving to another country where it would be easier to be fully who we are."

Nearly ten years ago, the Simon Wiesenthal

Center placed a travel advisory on Sweden's third-largest city, Malmo, for failing to deal with incessant anti-Semitic incidents against its rabbi and small Jewish community. Very little has changed despite the government's recent announcement it will give a grant to better protect Jewish community facilities. Simply put, that may be too late.

Media reports that the number of Jews in the city has rapidly decreased in the last 20 years and warned that the city's community might disappear entirely.

A local Jewish teen described his experience living in the city this past summer saying, quote: "Uncertainty means that you cannot go to school with a visible Star of David because then there is a high risk of being threatened or that someone follows you from the school or even of being beaten."

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention reported a record high 280 anti-Semitic incidents, a jump of 53 percent over their last

audit. While Jews make up no more than one-fifth of one percent of Sweden's population, more than four percent of all hate incidents in the country target Jews.

Shari Tingman, Acting Group Chief and Preliminary Investigations Leader at Stockholm Police Democracy and Hate Crime Group, said police need to do more to understand Jewish culture.

You want to know how clueless they are? It was the same Swedish police who gave permission to neo-Nazis to rally in the square named in the memory of Raoul Wallenberg directly across from Stockholm's Main Synagogue.

Sweden fails to protect its Jewish citizens and institutions and has failed to hold anti-Semites accountable for their actions in both public and private sectors, including at its famed and respected Karolinska Hospital.

Sweden should be placed on the Commission's Tier II Watchlist.

German official lamentations against anti-Semitism are not always matched by consistent

broad-based actions. We've heard about the description of Yom Kippur, what happened around the synagogue in Halle. Only a miracle saved dozens of Jews from the bullets of a neo-Nazi gunman as they stood in prayer.

Two other innocent people nearby who weren't Jews but deserve to be remembered today weren't so lucky. They were killed by the gunman.

Anti-Semitism in Germany is surging, and not only from the extreme right. Recently, hours after I met with the Mayor of Berlin, an Israeli student was assaulted on the streets of the most important city in central Europe, maybe in all of Europe. His crime? Speaking Hebrew in public.

Jewish kids have been bullied in schools. Jewish tourists accosted. The Wiesenthal Center and others have been urging Chancellor Merkel and the Mayor of Berlin, Mr. Muller, to declare Hezbollah a terrorist organization. This would cut them off from the financial support they enjoy from supporters in Germany and make it harder for them to further spread their hatred of Jews among young

Muslims in that country.

To date, unfortunately, Chancellor Merkel has refused, ensuring that Germany's Jewish community be further endangered.

We, therefore, call on the Commission to put Germany on your Tier II Watchlist.

Finally, England. Days before the UK's last election, our Center listed Jeremy Corbyn's led Labour Party as number one in a very crowded field of 2019 Top Anti-Semites. Thankfully, Corbyn resigned after historic defeat of his party. The anti-Semitism he allowed to be unleashed within the Labour Party played a role in his political demise.

Tragically, however, the injection of cancerous anti-Semitism into the mainstream of England's national political and social discourse will have long-lasting impact. Ugly anti-Semitic hate crimes have continued daily since election day.

Given the close historic links between our two countries and cultures, it is important that the Commission carefully analyze the current

situation and consider placing the UK on its watchlist as well.

In closing, the Wiesenthal Center urges the Commission to expand its consultation with Special Envoy Elan Carr and to perhaps convene a future hearing in 2020 in a European capital. It's an important statement by us Americans, and I think we're strong enough and have enough moral backbone to know we'll be suffering the backlash immediately by saying--I'm going to quote you the ADL's statistics of the U.S.--why did you cross the Atlantic? We're crossing the Atlantic because in addition to the problem, we have some solutions.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you, Rabbi Cooper, and I would just say we have discussed that as a possibility for the Commission.

I know there are some commissioners that have some questions. I would just state at the beginning that we have exceeded our time, posted time, for our hearing today, which was to end at

three, but because of the content here and the opportunity we have with such distinguished panelists, I'm going to allow each of the commissioners that would like to ask a question.

I'll start with Commissioner Bauer.

COMMISSIONER BAUER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Rabbi, I think that phone call that just came in was probably the Ambassador of either Sweden, France--

[Laughter.]

COMMISSIONER BAUER: --Germany, or England who wanted to give some input on our vote.

So I don't have a question because we're running late on time, but I will tell you that I'll be the daring one to promise publicly that at the next Commission meeting when we're making decisions on this that I will move to do exactly what you suggest, and we'll see how the vote goes.

[Applause.]

RABBI COOPER: Thank you.

CHAIR PERKINS: Vice Chair Manchin?

VICE CHAIR MANCHIN: No. I was saying I would--

CHAIR PERKINS: Oh, okay. Thought you-- she was going to report on that phone call.

[Laughter.]

CHAIR PERKINS: But I think she's going to pass.

VICE CHAIR MAENZA: Thank you. Thank you, all. It was just so helpful and informative for us to hear all your perspectives.

Ambassador, I was curious about your interfaith work, if you've received hostility for that? And how you have dealt with that going forward?

AMBASSADOR AHMED: Thank you for asking that question.

I received a lot of hostility, as you can imagine, both in the United States and here. Straight after 9/11, when we did this groundbreaking work with Bruce Lustig, the rabbi, and the bishop, I got e-mails, people ringing up, and this carried on.

However, I look at the positive side of life, and I also saw, in fact, Judea Pearl used to laugh with me on stage. We used to look at the audiences--we attracted huge audiences--and he would say, look up, there are only about ten percent Muslims, and they're all Jews here. And I said give them a chance, and you'll see from ten, it will become 15, 20, 30 percent, and that will tilt things. That will change things because unless you get the community involved, and you talk to them, and you have a dialogue where they feel you are listening to them, they're understanding your problems, nothing really is going to change.

My aim was to try to create that dynamism, that dynamic which would change things. So, yes, I think anyone involved in this has to understand that they face challenges from their own community, and let me tell you that some of my rabbi friends and bishop friends also said the same thing, that they also faced resistance from their own community.

And you really have to carry on because

it's more than just a job, a nine-to-five kind of action you are taking. It's a belief; it's a commitment that you have.

My daughter, Dr. Hoti, who I mentioned, luckily is here with us today, and when she became the first ever director of the only Jewish-Muslim Center in the world, she got a lot of this hate mail and people ringing up and saying, oh, are you a Zionist agent and that kind of nonsense, and she rang me.

I was in America. She was at Cambridge, and she said, papa, what do you advise? And I said, look, it's hot in the kitchen. You have to face this because you are facing ignorance. Remember, your primary aim is to see the world as through the lens of compassion and love, which is what we are commanded as Muslims. God constantly tells us to reach out and embrace the world.

Now if other people are interpreting that differently, we have to challenge that, and that is what drives us, and we must remember this word "compassion," which really is at the heart of both

Judaism, as far as I can understand, Christianity and Islam. It may be misinterpreted, but that is at the heart of these great faiths.

[Applause.]

CHAIR PERKINS: Thank you. Thank you, Ambassador Ahmed. And I want to thank all of our panelists, all of our witnesses.

What we have heard here today, there is certainly a consistent thread that has been woven throughout the testimony today that this is a shared problem, and it must result in a shared responsible action.

It begins with each of us in our various communities, speaking to the need of this, but there was also the recognition that was addressed here today repeatedly, that this is not a problem just for the Jewish community. If anything they are at the tip of the spear, and what we see happening globally to the Jewish community, it is something that will affect every religious community in every part of the world.

And we have a responsibility as a leading

nation, as a Commission, that oversees and promotes religious freedom globally, to address this issue even though there has been some resistance even to us taking up this issue.

But I want all of our panelists and witnesses here that have experienced that to know that today we express great appreciation to each of you in your respective areas of expertise in bringing attention to this issue and continuing to address this issue, and as a Commission, I think I speak on behalf of all the commissioners, in saying we look forward to working with you and others that are addressing this issue going forward.

So thank you very much. Thank all of you for being here. We are adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:21 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]