House Foreign Affairs Committee
Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission

Hearing
on
Worldwide Persecution of the Jews

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INTRODUCTION

Co-Chair Smith, Co-Chair McGovern, and Members of the Commission, thank you for inviting me to testify today for this important hearing. The namesake of this Commission unfortunately knew the true dangers of allowing antisemitism to flourish unchecked, I am thankful that we have an opportunity to bring a spotlight to this issue and discuss the current wave of hatred confronting the global Jewish community.

Since 1913, ADL's mission has been to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all. Seventy years later, in 1983, Congressman Lantos founded the Congressional Human Rights Caucus with the aim of promoting, defending, and advocating for international human rights. Following his passing, Congress rightfully passed legislation officially creating this crucial Commission and naming it in honor of Congressman Lantos. I want to thank the Commission, especially the current co-chairs, for continuing Congressman Lantos' commitment to speaking out and fighting for universal human rights, a mission much in line with the efforts of ADL.

I am proud to support ADL's work as Senior Vice President for International Affairs, where I lead our efforts to fight antisemitism globally. In this role, I engage with Jewish communities, governments, and NGOs around the globe and develop deep insights into the challenges and needs in combating anti-Jewish hate and sentiment. I am honored to lead a team of professionals in the United States, Europe and Israel pursuing ADL's mission of fighting antisemitism globally, promoting the security of Jewish communities around the world, and advocating for the safety and security of the Jewish and democratic State of Israel.

Before, but even more so since the horrific October 7th terrorist attacks perpetuated by Hamas and the ensuing conflict, the world has witnessed an alarming increase in antisemitic views and hatred across nearly every metric and at levels unseen for decades. ADL's most recent domestic antisemitic audit, international G100 survey, and research on online hate provide concrete data affirming these alarming trends. Our work and research have shown that antisemitism is increasingly a transnational issue, as hate and prejudice know no boundaries.

CURRENT TRENDS

ANTISEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Since 1979, ADL has been compiling an annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents ("the Audit") that includes both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs, as well as acts of vandalism and assault.

In 2024, ADL tabulated 9,354 antisemitic incidents, which represents a five percent increase from the previous year, an 893% increase over the past decade, and the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents 45 years ago.

For the first time in the history of the Audit, a majority (58%) of all incidents contained elements related to Israel or Zionism in 2024. Many of these incidents took place at anti-Israel rallies, where protesters' messaging crossed the line into antisemitism: glorifying antisemitic violence, supporting designated terrorist organizations like Hamas, and calling for the annihilation of Israel. Out of more than 5,000 anti-Israel protests tracked by ADL, we confirmed 2,596 included antisemitic expressions. The remaining protests — for which we could not confirm if they contained documented antisemitic elements — were not included in the Audit.

Antisemitic incidents rose particularly steeply, by 84%, at colleges and universities. Campus antisemitism extended far beyond the highly publicized protests, with Jewish students and faculty experiencing direct verbal harassment, targeted vandalism, and even physical violence.

ANTISEMITISM AROUND THE WORLD

Global 100 Survey

In January 2025, ADL released its 2024 Global 100 (G100) survey on antisemitic attitudes in 103 countries and territories. First launched in 2014, the G100 remains the world's most extensive study of antisemitic attitudes globally. The survey, which polled over 58,000 adults representing 94% of the global adult population, found that 46% of the world's adult population – more than 2.2 billion people – harbor elevated levels of antisemitic attitudes, more than double when compared to the nearly 1.1 billion from ADL's first G100 survey a decade ago, and the highest level on record since ADL started tracking these trends globally.

The G100's Index Score gauges levels of antisemitic sentiments through an index comprised of 11 questions that measure general acceptance of various negative Jewish stereotypes. Survey respondents who say at least 6 out of the 11 statements are "probably true" or "definitely true" are considered to harbor elevated levels of antisemitic attitudes.

Regional Breakdown

Breaking down the results by region, Western Europe has the lowest Index score at 17%. The three worst countries in the Western Europe are Cyprus at 58%, Greece at 50% and Belgium at 30%.

The region with the second lowest levels of antisemitism is Oceania, coming in at 20%.

In Eastern Europe, we saw a 15-percentage point spike, from 34% in 2014 to 49% in 2024, with the three highest countries being Russia at 62%, Bosnia and Herzegovina at 57% and Montenegro at 57%.

In the Americas - which includes the populations of North, Central and South America – the numbers were better at 24%, with the worst performers being Chile at 45%, Guatemala at 44% and Peru at 43%.

Sub-Saharan Africa came in at 45%, with Kenya at 57%, South Africa at 50%, and Mauritius at 49% representing the three worst countries in the region.

In Asia, 51% of respondents harbor antisemitic attitudes, with the three worst countries being Indonesia at 96% - and representing a 100% increase from 2014 – Malaysia at 75% and China at 58%.

And perhaps unsurprisingly, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region has the highest index score at 76%, with the worst results coming from the West Bank and Gaza and Kuwait at 97% and Bahrain at 95%.

G100 Respondent Results

Looking closer at results by age and specific topics, younger survey respondents show a greater prevalence of antisemitic attitudes, with 50% of respondents aged 18-34 having higher levels of antisemitic sentiments, 13 percentage points higher than respondents over 50. 40% of 18-34-year-olds agreed with the statement that "Jews are responsible for most of the world's wars" and 47% agreed with the statement, "Jews have a lot of irritating faults." And 23% of respondents worldwide express favorable opinions toward the Palestinian terror group Hamas, which increases to 29% among respondents younger than 35.

The results relating to Holocaust familiarity and education, which plays an important role in helping combat antisemitism, were quite shocking. The survey found that 20% of respondents worldwide have not heard about the Holocaust, and only 48% recognize the Holocaust's historical accuracy, which falls to 39% among 18- to 34-year-olds, highlighting a worrying demographic trend.

Global Outlook

The questions asked by the G100 survey seek to unearth views about a belief in dangerous, conspiratorial antisemitic tropes, hateful charges such as Jews acting as government puppeteers, Jews controlling financial markets, responsible for global conflicts, or being more loyal to Israel than to their own countries.

No one ideology has a monopoly on antisemitism. It comes from both the political left and right, from minority and majority communities, from religious and secular individuals – and everywhere in between. Even in countries with the lowest levels of antisemitic attitudes, we've seen many antisemitic incidents perpetrated by an emboldened small, vocal and violent minority.

These ideas do not live in a vacuum. In November, we all learned what the real-world impact these antisemitic attitudes have on Jewish communities around the world when dozens of Israeli soccer fans and Jews were hunted down and attacked after a soccer match between a Dutch club and an Israeli team. Jews on the streets of Amsterdam were attacked and forced to hide from an antisemitic mob who seemingly blamed Jews for the ills of the world.

Antisemitism is nothing short of a global emergency. We are seeing these trends play out, especially in Europe and Latin America. The October 7, 2023, Hamas attack on Israel sparked a sharp and deeply troubling surge in antisemitism, which has acutely impacted Jewish communities around the world.

The threat is not limited to rhetoric. We have seen dramatic spikes in antisemitic incidents globally. In France, where the largest European Jewish population resides, antisemitic incidents in 2023 and 2024 were triple the annual average of the prior 10 years and those were not calm years for French Jews either. In the UK, the second largest Jewish community in Europe, annual incidents more than doubled in 2023 and 2024, compared to the prior 10 years. Similar surges happened across Western Europe with even higher increases affecting some smaller communities.

Looking at the Western Hemisphere, Argentina and Brazil are home to over 70% of Latin America's Jewish population. In Argentina, reported cases rose by 44% in 2023 and by another 155% in the first half of 2024 alone. In Brazil, the situation is even more severe. Antisemitic reports surged by more than 1,000% in October 2023 compared to the same month the previous year. This marked the start of a sustained increase, with incidents rising 255% from 2022 to 2023 and another 314% in 2024, reaching a record 1,642 cases.

These trends are exacerbated by growing security threats to Jewish institutions. Following the October 7 attacks, synagogues were attacked in France, Germany, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal. In early 2025, multiple bomb threats forced the evacuation of Jewish schools in Buenos Aires.

Anti-Israel demonstrations have frequently included antisemitic slogans and targeted harassment of Jewish individuals. The United Kingdom recently had to introduce new legislation to prevent anti-Israel protests in the vicinity of synagogues, a phenomenon which had intimidated many Jews from attending Sabbath services. In Chile, in December 2024, there were organized efforts by government officials to disrupt the display of a public Hanukkah Menorah in the city of

Puerto Montt.

As we've seen in the United States, university campuses around the world — once seen as spaces for open dialogue — have become hotbeds of antisemitic discourse and intimidation against Jewish students and faculty.

Additionally around the world, but particularly in Latin America, government hostility, disinformation campaigns, and the expanding influence of the Islamic Republic of Iran are additional threats to Jewish communities, especially in countries like Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil whose governments have adopted increasingly antagonistic positions not only toward Israel but in some countries also toward their own Jewish populations. Jewish communities are also facing increasing threats from state-sponsored antisemitic campaigns, which aim to sow discord. For example, Iranian state media networks such as Press TV and HispanTV consistently broadcast antisemitic conspiracy theories, glorify designated terrorist groups like Hezbollah and Hamas, and promote Holocaust denial, and the Qatari-state funded Al-Jazeera media network, regularly platforms antisemitic, anti-U.S., and pro-Hamas and Iranian-regime commentators.

Today, Jewish communities around the world live with a heightened sense of vulnerability and are taking protective measures that impinge on their right to live openly and freely as Jews. We hear from some community leaders about Jews no longer wearing items that would identify them as Jews in public and avoiding Jewish events and institutions. Jews are changing their names on ride sharing apps and delivery apps. Rising societal antisemitism, extremist threats, and in some cases state-backed hostility have created an environment of fear and instability, challenging the safety and future of Jewish communities around the world.

Antisemitism within International Organizations

Antisemitism has also penetrated deeply into international and global organizations. Jewish communities are being targeted worldwide by actions at international organizations that legitimize harmful stereotypes, diminish Jewish suffering, and create a climate where antisemitism becomes normalized within respected international institutions.

The infiltration of antisemitism within the United Nations system is alarming, extending beyond rhetoric or clearly biased omissions in pronouncements to educational content and personnel appointments. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) schools have been documented promoting antisemitic and jihadist incitement in their educational materials, and further investigations revealed that dozens of senior UNRWA education staff in Gaza held membership in terrorist organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah. Similarly, troubling is the conduct of UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese, who has repeatedly amplified antisemitic tropes and used her official UN position to advance reports

steeped in antisemitism, which once submitted have the endorsement of the entire organization and not just of its author.

A large proportion of this phenomenon is also manifested in the substitution of Jews for Israel or Israelis as stand-in recipients of bias. This pattern is evident in international judicial forums like the International Criminal Court and its prosecutor which have levied arrest warrants against Israeli officials without regard for established principles of international law or even the court's own established procedural norms.

It has also manifested in the creation of special agencies, items, procedures and commissions of inquiry that single out this small democracy with more "attention" than the biggest violators of human rights in the world such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, the number one state sponsor of antisemitism and global terrorism. This not to mention the gross omissions when it comes to Israelis and Israeli women, such as the UN's delayed response to sexual violence perpetrated by Hamas during the October 7 attacks which further demonstrates this institutional bias or the wholesale lack of condemnation of Hamas in dozens of UN reports issued since October 7th, 2023.

This conduct has deeply affected Jewish communities around the world who are attacked or delegitimized or discriminated against, and the perpetrators using these clearly biased items as excuses for their bigotry. All of it feeds into a vicious cycle with Jews at the receiving end of ever-increasing hate crime statistics against them.

J7

In response to the global explosion of antisemitism, ADL took action and helped found the J7 Task Force Against Antisemitism – which consists of the seven largest Jewish communities outside of Israel – Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, the UK and the US.

The leaders of the J7 communities meet regularly to identify and address common challenges, develop coordinated strategies, and share best practices in combatting global antisemitism. Earlier this month, I attended a J7 gathering in Berlin, held at the time of the commemoration of the 80th anniversary of VE day.

While there, we released the inaugural J7 Annual Report on Antisemitism, which contains contributions from all seven Jewish communities documenting the sharp increase in antisemitic incidents in each country, driven in part by the aftermath of the Oct. 7, 2023 terrorist massacre in Israel. In 2024, Australia reported a staggering 317% increase in antisemitic incidents, while the United States saw a 5% rise, reflecting the enduring impact of October 7th. Additionally, preliminary data from J7 members including Canada and Germany indicate that antisemitic incidents have either continued to rise or remained at historically high levels. Further the report

recorded how from 2021 to 2023, antisemitic incidents spiked by 11% in Australia, 23% in Argentina, 72% in Germany, 83% in Canada, 90% in the UK, 185% in France, and 227% in the U.S. The report also identified several common trends across J7 countries: a rise in violent antisemitic incidents, repeated targeting of Jewish institutions including synagogues, schools, and community centers; an escalation of online hate; growing insecurity leading some Jews to hide their identity; and government failure to hold accountable those who engage in antisemitic violence or support terrorism against the Jewish state. The report closes by urging the further adoption and enforcement of the Global Guidelines for Countering Antisemitism.

ANTISEMITISM ONLINE

As identified in the J7 inaugural report on antisemitism, one of the main drivers of this global hate is through online sources. Antisemitism spreads and becomes normalized in digital spaces and tools, from online platforms to Large Language Models (LLMs), causing harm to users, amplifying extremist views, and contributing to physical violence. Limited access to data prevents civil society researchers from fully understanding the extent of antisemitic bias and harassment online.

What is clear is that hate and antisemitism online infect social media and online spaces such as online games, from violent extremists posting antisemitic screeds to users recreating school shootings in children's games. The ADL Center for Technology and Society (CTS) in 2025 has found disturbing trends across various digital social platforms.

Wikipedia

Wikipedia has inadequate enforcement tools and policies to prevent antisemitic bias. ADL examined how 30 volunteer editors have been able to insert anti-Israel and antisemitic bias into pages on contested topics. Because Wikipedia is so important for web searches and training AI models, antisemitic bias in contested topics is a critical issue that warrants policymaker attention.

Large Language Models

Many major LLMs show signs of antisemitic and anti-Israel bias in their responses. ADL tested products from Google, Meta, Anthropic, and OpenAI – and all showed that they have a long way to go before they can be a trusted resource for users on these topics. With LLMs poised to play important roles across the economy and in our educational systems, these companies need to do take responsibility and do better.

Trust and Safety Mechanisms

In January 2025, Meta decided to loosen content restrictions on its platforms (Instagram, Threads, Facebook, WhatsApp), allowing more hate and antisemitism through. ADL researchers showed that when Meta rolled back automated removal of hate speech, antisemitic comments on

the Facebook posts of Jewish Members of Congress soared.

Online Videogames
Antisemitism and extremism in digital spaces – such as online videogames – is experienced by millions of Americans. ADL researchers found that when people playing videogames publicly identified themselves as a member of a marginalized group, they experienced far more hate. Online videogame companies should be held to the same – or higher standards – than "legacy" social media companies that receive far more attention from policymakers.

Governments have an important role in reducing online antisemitism, hate, harassment, and extremism, which have become all too commonplace. The proliferation of online hate has resulted in the normalization of this abusive behavior and the degradation of our democracy and public safety, including through the suppression and silencing of diverse voices, and the glorification of hateful rhetoric and violent extremist acts.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

ADL strongly recommends urgent action to fight antisemitism and anti-Zionism both at home and abroad. This includes condemning antisemitism in all its forms, promoting Holocaust education, ensuring community institutions and students are safe from various threats, opposing hate and extremism driven by antisemitism, and pushing back against online antisemitism, hate, and harassment.

FIGHT GLOBAL ANTISEMTISM

Global Guidelines for Countering Antisemitism
Combating antisemitism domestically and internationally is an American interest, and there is no way that we can win this fight unless the United States plays a leading role by pressing other countries to do more. The fight against antisemitism requires countries to adopt and implement a whole-of-society strategy that involves all levels of government, corporations, academia, civil society, and the public. While no one action or policy can end antisemitism, ADL urges governments, as well as international and non-governmental organizations, to adopt and implement the Global Guidelines for Countering Antisemitism, which the United States led the process to develop. Governments that have already adopted the guidelines must fully implement and enforce their commitments to mitigate the threat and protect Jewish communities.

Office of the U.S. Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism
We urge Congress to ensure the Office of the U.S. Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Antisemitism (SEAS) has the proper resources, funding, and support to continue its work to fight

global antisemitism, including promoting the broad use and adherence to the Global Guidelines. Further, in support of SEAS we urge Congress to work with the Administration to ensure U.S. Embassies and consulates are submitting reporting on country-specific antisemitism, meeting with local communities, and collaborating with civil society to develop effective strategies to respond.

Act Against State-Controlled Media Promoting Hate and Extremism

State-controlled media outlets operated by authoritarian regimes pose a serious and ongoing threat to democratic values, global security, and the safety of Jewish communities worldwide. This includes the Qatari government's Al-Jazeera media network, and the Iranian regime's PressTV and HispanTV outlets. We urge Congress and the Administration to use all tools available to address the promotion of state-sponsored anti-Jewish hatred through media and digital social platforms by utilizing means such as diplomatic pressure and sanctions.

Diplomatic Engagement to Fight Antisemitism

As the Administration continues to engage in robust bilateral and multilateral diplomatic engagements, including on trade, we urge the integration of antisemitism prevention into the framework of future agreements. This can be achieved by incorporating explicit human rights clauses that address antisemitism, just as we currently include provisions for labor rights and protections for other vulnerable communities. As assessments are conducted by the Commerce Department and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative on new arrangements, we urge consideration for an overview of the current state of antisemitism in prospective partner countries and factor in those findings into trade discussions.

It is essential that combating antisemitism becomes a consistent component of how the United States defines strong and principled partnerships. This would ensure that our economic partnerships reflect the values of universal human rights and the protection of minority communities, including Jewish populations. By integrating antisemitism prevention into both our trade and diplomatic strategies, the United States can lead the world in reaffirming that hate and intolerance have no place in the global order, and reinforce a global norm that antisemitism is incompatible with democratic values and human dignity.

Finally, within strategic dialogues, antisemitism prevention should be a standing agenda item. As our G100 survey results indicate, almost half of the world's population harbors antisemitic views. Congress should ensure U.S. Embassies and consulates around the world have staff properly trained, empowered, and resourced to support local initiatives that promote Holocaust and antisemitism education, especially to support current normalization efforts and for potential new Abraham Accord countries.

<u>CONDEMN ANTISEMITISM</u>

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism

To most effectively combat antisemitism, we must understand it. Key to these efforts is employing a clear and comprehensive definition that explains the multiple forms antisemitism may take. For this reason, the non-legally binding International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism is an indispensable tool to understand and fight antisemitism. The IHRA Working Definition is used by more than 40 countries, more than 35 U.S. states, Presidential Administrations from both political parties, and hundreds of educational and private organizations. The IHRA Working Definition can – and indeed does – assist governments, law enforcement, and educational institutions to identify antisemitism, to train key stakeholders, and to collect relevant data that is essential to a comprehensive and effective approach to combating this hate.

Public officials and civic leaders — from the Presidents and Prime Ministers, to governors, attorneys general, mayors, other civic leaders, and law enforcement authorities — must use their bully pulpits to speak out against antisemitism and all forms of hate and extremism. Regardless of its origins — from the far left to the far right and anywhere in between — leaders must call out antisemitism, including anti-Zionist antisemitism, and rally their communities to action. By using the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism, leaders will have a tool to take action to condemn all forms of antisemitism, and respond to antisemitic incidents, in timely, specific, and direct ways.

PROMOTE HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

Office of the U.S. Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues

In congruence with the efforts of SEAS, it is crucial that Congress fully support and provide vital resources to the Office of the Special Envoy for Holocaust Issues (SEHI). We must never forget the horrors of the Holocaust, the work of SEHI to pursue restitution and justice for Holocaust survivors and their families so that they may live out their remaining days in dignity is crucial. Further, the Office is pivotal in promoting greater action by countries around the world to adopt robust Holocaust education programs, making sure the lessons of the past are not forgotten and building greater tolerance for future generations.

Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Lessons (HEAL) Act

Congress must pass legislation that strengthens Holocaust education at public schools and increase awareness of Holocaust educational resources available to local communities. ADL's Center for Antisemitism Research (CAR) survey results reveal alarming gaps in Holocaust knowledge, with nearly 6 in 10 Americans under 30 unable to identify how many Jews were murdered, and 1 in 4 adults saying they 'don't know.' We urge Congress to swiftly pass the

Holocaust Education and Antisemitism Lessons (HEAL) Act, which directs the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum to conduct a first-of-its-kind, comprehensive study on Holocaust education in the United States, and will ultimately ensure every student has access to comprehensive Holocaust education.

PROTECT COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS AND STUDENTS

Nonprofit Security Grant Program
For the past decade, funding assistance from all levels of government has provided crucial support for security hardening and enhancements for non-profit institutions, including religious institutions. At a time of increased vulnerability to threats of hate-motivated violence, the Jewish community must be protected from these threats and counter the movements that produce them. Congress must ensure vitals funds are secured and boosted to protect the physical security of Jewish community institutions through funding the Nonprofit Security Grant Program at $500 million for fiscal year 2026.

Antisemitism Awareness Act
Congress must swiftly pass the bipartisan Antisemitism Awareness Act to ensure the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights continues to have the tools it needs to address the alarming rise in antisemitism on college and university campuses and K-12 schools.

OPPOSE HATE AND EXTREMISIM

Hate Crimes and Domestic Antisemitic Extremism
Fighting hate crime is a critical task, especially now that antisemitism and other forms of hate, racism, and bigotry are at all-time high levels. As communities around the world are feeling increasingly vulnerable to bias-motivated crimes and extremist-fueled attacks, the work to address them and resolve the alarming gaps in data collection and reporting becomes more important to combat hate-motivated violence. Congress must support hate crime laws and improve hate crime data collection and reporting, as well as adopt wide-ranging measures to combat all forms of domestic antisemitic extremism.

PUSH BACK AGAINST ONLINE HATE

Transparency and Enforcement of Terms of Service
In order to push back on hate proliferating online, we urge Congress to compel platform transparency, a necessary incentive for platforms to articulate their policies on hate, harassment, and misinformation, to apply their rules consistently, and to enable the public and lawmakers to understand if and how those policies are enforced. Finally, we urge Congress to push digital social companies to rigorously enforce robust terms of service against cyberhate, including the

particular forms in which antisemitism manifests. In the face of a massive wave of online hate, Congress should work to ensure that digital social platforms maintain and enhance capabilities, especially in the case of Meta which has proactively chosen to walk back trust & safety tools. These measures are crucial to combat online hate and prioritize efforts to limit hateful and extremist rhetoric, including attacks on the global Jewish community.

CONCLUSION

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and for calling a hearing to highlight the crisis we are facing. ADL data clearly and decisively illustrates that rising antisemitism both at home and abroad poses a grave threat. Addressing antisemitism requires global, whole-of-government, whole-of-society approaches. In 2004, Congressman Lantos recognized the global wave of antisemitism and championed the passage of the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act, which ordered the State Department to rate governments on the treatment of Jews in their countries. Following passage of the bill, he noted "it is important for the United States, as the leading democracy...[to] keep tab[s] on…anti-Semitic episodes...[and] take whatever steps we can to fight anti-Semitism."[1] More than twenty years on, we must heed this call to action. Plans are only as effective as their implementation, and we urge the Administration, Congress, and global leaders to ensure that we meet this issue head on to fight the world's oldest hate. We must address these threats holistically and globally, and we look forward to continuing to work with Congress to pursue bipartisan solutions to this critical threat.

[1] Congressman Calls Passage of His Law 'a Milestone,' VOA, Oct. 21, 2004