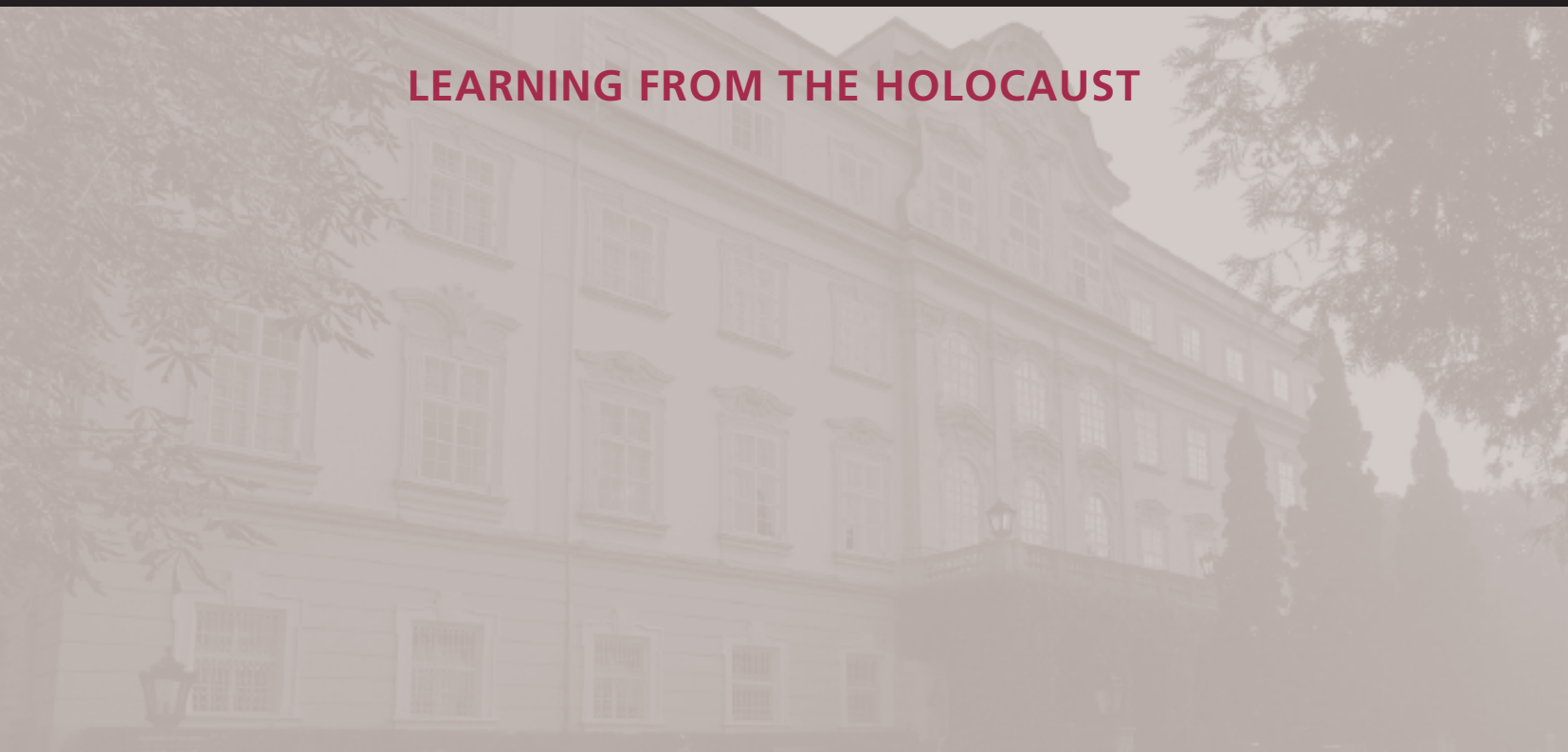




THE GLOBAL PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE:

LEARNING FROM THE HOLOCAUST



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Please note that the opinions expressed in this report are those of individual conference participants, and do not necessarily reflect those of the organizers or of institutions involved in the conference, including the Salzburg Global Seminar and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.



SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR

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The Salzburg Global Seminar is a unique international institution focused on global change—a place dedicated to candid dialogue, fresh thinking, and the search for innovative but practical solutions. Founded in 1947, it challenges current and future leaders to develop creative ideas for solving global problems, and has

brought more than 25,000 participants from 150 countries and regions to take part in its programs. The Salzburg Global Seminar convenes imaginative thinkers from different cultures and institutions, organizes problem-focused initiatives, supports leadership development, and engages opinion-makers through active communication networks, all in partnership with leading institutions from around the world and across different sectors of society. To learn more about the Seminar, please visit www.salzburgglobal.org

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SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR

INTRODUCTION

From June 28th to July 3rd 2010 a group of international experts from the fields of Holocaust and genocide studies, Holocaust and genocide education, human rights protection, and genocide prevention met at the Salzburg Global Seminar for a conference entitled “The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust.” This conference was developed by the Salzburg Global Seminar in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and sponsored by generous grants from the Austrian Zukunftsfonds and the Jacob Blaustein Institute. Austria supported and participated in the conference as a member of the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance, and Research.

The conversations and presentations during the week focused on the relationship between Holocaust and genocide studies, educational efforts in both fields, and the related issues of genocide prevention and the protection of human rights. Participants considered if and how Holocaust education could raise awareness of contemporary genocides, strengthen a culture of genocide prevention, and contribute to human rights education. They debated whether we improve our understanding of past genocides and contemporary human rights infringements by

connecting them, or if by doing so we endanger the recognition of their vast differences. These issues were discussed from a wide range of backgrounds and included psychological, historical, anthropological, legal, political, military, social, cultural, and pedagogical perspectives. The interdisciplinary nature of the conference allowed for important exchanges of ideas across disciplinary and regional boundaries. In their feedback, participants noted that they were able to make important new linkages with organizations and individuals working in related fields. During the course of the week participants engaged in panel discussions as well as small group work. The proceedings of the panels and the recommendations of the groups are summarized in the sections below.

Two notable contributions to the conference came in the form of survivor testimonies. One was an in person testimony from a survivor of the genocide in Srebrenica, Bosnia. The second was a film viewing of survivor testimonies from Rwanda. As many of the participants remarked, these personal testimonies were a valuable contribution and reminder of why work on Holocaust education, human rights education, and genocide prevention is so important.



Schloss Leopoldskron, Salzburg Global Seminar, Salzburg, Austria



KEY FINDINGS


Participants of the 2010 founding conference on the Global Prevention of Genocide

While the conference raised many new questions it also provided a number of key recommendations and findings. There was general agreement that the Holocaust continues to echo strongly in the world as one of the lowest points of humanity. Its presence is especially strong in western cultures, politics, and legislation, and serves as a frame of reference for discussions about contemporary genocides, ethnic conflicts, and human rights violations. The conference developed a number of findings and key recommendations with regard to both education and prevention.

EDUCATION

- Much of the discussion focused on the complex relationship between teaching *about* the Holocaust and learning *from* the Holocaust. Participants debated the contribution Holocaust education makes or could make to raising awareness of contemporary racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia or the situation of Roma and Sinti today. They sought to understand whether – and if so, how – Holocaust education could contribute to understanding and preventing future genocides.
- In spite of the recent expansion of Holocaust education programs, the last few years have seen a disturbing resurgence of Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism which is frequently disseminated via the Internet. There was a general feeling that better and more effective educational efforts, as well as political initiatives are needed to combat statesponsored anti-Semitism and other forms of extreme anti-Semitism that have the clear potential to lead to mass violence.

- Academics, activists, and practitioners working on Holocaust and genocide studies, education, and prevention have much to learn from each other. More investigation is needed to clearly highlight both the connections and the divisions between these two fields.
- Contemporary genocides, human rights, and genocide prevention have not been integrated into educational curricula as topics in their own right and are rarely integrated into the teaching of the Holocaust. These topics should be included within the curricula at both secondary and tertiary levels.
- Human rights education programs remain very rare and underdeveloped in schools, universities, and museums.
- The differences between the Holocaust, other genocides, and human rights abuses must not be minimized or understated in classrooms and in educational materials.
- The topics of law and justice and the role of the international justice system should be incorporated into educational curricula that focus on the Holocaust, genocide, and human rights.
- By and large the conference avoided discussing the precise definition and legal dimensions of the term genocide. It was noted however, that the term does have a precise definition in international law, and that this should be taken into account in the design of relevant education programs.
- Teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides needs to start at a young age and should be regularized within educational curricula.



“If our goal in teaching students about the Holocaust is to make them think harder about civic responsibility, human rights and the dangers of racism, then presumably we need to connect the Holocaust with other instances of genocide, and with ethnic conflicts or tensions in our own time and place. That would enable students not only to learn about the Holocaust, but also to learn important lessons from it.”

– **“The Myth of Never Again,” Kofi Annan Op-ed June 17, 2010 New York Times**

Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin, Germany

- Educational programs that teach about the Holocaust, genocide, and human rights need to be interdisciplinary and include historical, psychological, sociological, legal, anthropological, cultural, economic, gendered and sexual identity perspectives.
- The particular roles and experiences of women in genocides (both as victims and perpetrators) need to be further researched and incorporated into educational curricula.
- Homophobia was a notable characteristic of many past totalitarian regimes and ideologies. This phenomenon persists in many contemporary societies, but is not currently addressed in most education programs. It merits reflection, and should be integrated into the general discussion.
- Education programs about the Holocaust need to recognize and confront local and national political, cultural and historical realities.
- Education programs in Europe need to reflect and address rapidly changing multicultural European classrooms.
- Education about the Holocaust and other genocides would benefit from increased teacher training programs. Teacher training programs should encourage self reflection.
- Learning about the Holocaust and other genocides would benefit from being more interactive. Students should be encouraged to voice their opinions and ask questions both within the classroom and at memorials and museums. At the same time students must be guided to recognize the differences between genocides; in particular, differences between historical genocides and contemporary situations need to be clearly and carefully noted.

PREVENTION

- Societies that have experienced genocide and mass violence are especially in danger of experiencing repeated cycles of violence. The healing of trauma and the implementation of human rights education projects are key to promoting reconciliation in post conflict societies.
- The complex question of military intervention and mobilizing the international will to intervene in future genocides and instances of mass violence needs to be further explored.
- Genocide prevention efforts would benefit from more systematic early warning systems, as well as from a more widespread societal “will to intervene” in situations before they lead to genocide.
- Effective education programs that highlight the extent to which genocide is a global phenomenon and a cause for global concern are an important precondition for mobilizing the will to intervene in future conflicts and genocides. Education programs are also particularly important in post-conflict societies as a way of breaking the cycles of violence.
- The ability of international justice to prevent genocide should not be overestimated. Nonetheless, it serves as an important tool for codifying international standards of acceptable and unacceptable behavior.
- The use of sexual violence against women, children, and men during periods of ethnic conflict and genocide needs to be investigated as a specific form of dehumanization.
- The role of the web and social media both in preventing and in instigating hatred, genocide, and human rights abuses needs to be further investigated.
- A global awareness of past and contemporary genocides needs to be fostered in order to build a global anti-genocidal culture.



Kaja Glahn, Klaus Mueller

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

"We really want to open the questions ... Do the lessons of the Holocaust help us to understand not only the genocides of the past, but of the present and the future? ... How can we move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention? ... Do we improve our understanding of past genocides and contemporary human rights violations through connecting both topics, or do we endanger the recognition of their vast differences?"

— Klaus Mueller



KLAUS MUELLER (Conference Chair)

The keynote speaker set the tone for the conference by emphasizing its purpose: bringing together experts working on Holocaust studies and those working in the field of genocide studies and prevention to explore both the connections and divisions between these varied fields. The speaker noted the importance of differentiating between the Holocaust and other genocides and instances of ethnic conflict, stating that while the Holocaust was a genocide, no other genocide has been a Holocaust. He noted that this differentiation is important if we wish to understand the specific tools and mechanisms used by perpetrators as well as the societal processes that have led to genocides in the past. He raised the question whether we improve our understanding of past genocides and contemporary human rights violations by connecting the two topics, or whether by doing this we endanger the recognition of the vast differences between them. He challenged participants to think

about some difficult questions including: Can we learn from the Holocaust? Can understanding about the Holocaust help us prevent genocides in the future? Can Holocaust education help promote democracy and prevent racism, anti-Semitism, and homophobia? How can we develop a culture of genocide prevention and what role is there for Holocaust education in that process? What are the strengths as well as limitations of education, the rule of law, and military intervention in preventing genocide?

The speaker emphasized that the effects of genocide do not end when violence stops. He expressed concern about the resurgence of contemporary anti-Semitism and its proliferation via the Internet and its apparent sponsorship by states such as Iran. The speaker concluded by emphasizing his hope that through the questioning of old assumptions and working across disciplinary fields, the participants of the conference would be able to develop interdisciplinary and innovative approaches to Holocaust and genocide studies, education, and prevention.



Image of the exterior, 15th Street entrance to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC

"I believe strongly that a truly anti-genocidal society has to be one in which women are empowered."
— Gregory Stanton



PANEL PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Panel 1: The Roots of Genocide

Chair: Edward Mortimer · Speakers: Gregory Stanton, Ervin Staub

This panel examined the roots of modern genocides and considered how these should be linked to the future of genocide prevention. The panelists presented anthropological, historical, sociological, and psychological models for explaining genocide. They agreed that genocide is a step-by-step process (although not necessarily a linear one) that involves a transformation of social and cultural norms and an evolution in the behaviors of perpetrators, followers, and bystanders. This process begins with devaluing others and culminates in mass violence and genocide. The panelists agreed that the best way to prevent future genocides is to promote and foster an "anti-genocidal culture". They also stressed that the risk of new cycles of violence is particularly high in societies that have already experienced

genocide or mass atrocities. Various ways of using education to create or develop an anti-genocidal culture were suggested or recommended. These included:

- Developing a positive orientation towards the "other".
- Shaping students' attitudes towards people in positions of authority.
- Starting education about the processes and dangers of genocide at a young age.
- Ensuring that education programs are both conceptual and experiential.
- Ensuring that programs are interdisciplinary and stress not only historical, but also social and psychological perspectives.
- Developing specific initiatives, both cultural and political, to address the risk of renewed violence in post-genocidal societies.
- Developing anti-genocidal cultures locally, acknowledging and confronting local and national realities and conflicts.
- Empowering women.
- Persuading faith groups to cooperate and embrace an anti-genocidal culture.



Ervin Staub



Gregory Stanton and Jens Meierhenrich

PANEL 2: MUSEUMS AND MEMORIALS

Chair: Klaus Mueller · Speakers: Alexander Pollak, Suzanne Bardgett, Yehudit Inbar, Yariv Lapid

This panel examined and considered the work currently being done by a number of Holocaust museums and memorials and focused on whether and how such institutions might incorporate a human rights perspective in their work. The panel clearly demonstrated that a tension exists among museum practitioners regarding the compatibility of Holocaust and human rights education. There is no clear agreement that the goals of these two fields can or should be the same. One panelist suggested that Holocaust museums and memorials can and should connect the Holocaust and human rights, and specifically use the Holocaust as an example of the ultimate human rights violation. According to this panelist knowledge of the Holocaust and past human rights violations could lead to a fruitful discussion of contemporary human rights violations. Another panelist pointed out, however, that there is an important difference between understanding history and drawing lessons from it. According to this panelist there is a danger in conflating the two. A third perspective was offered by a panelist who suggested that the goals of Holocaust and human rights education meet at a certain point because they both challenge people to reflect critically on their society.

The panelists did agree that one of the biggest challenges facing museums and memorials today is the lack of knowledge that visitors bring with them. They also agreed that museums

and memorials can only play a relatively small role in educating the public, and that information both about the Holocaust and about human rights needs to be embedded more effectively within the educational system. Although many countries currently teach basic lessons about the Holocaust, human rights education is virtually non-existent in most classrooms.

A number of conclusions and recommendations were offered by the panelists and included the following:

- Human rights education is not a well-established practice either in classrooms or in most Holocaust museums and memorials.
- A reflection on both differences and similarities between Holocaust education and human rights education, both in their purpose and practice, is needed for a better understanding of when both can benefit from being connected, and when not.
- Students might benefit if Holocaust museums and memorial sites make a stronger connection to contemporary human rights issues currently facing their societies.
- Visits to memorial sites and museums are an important tool for engaging students in Holocaust education.
- Memorial tours should be an interactive process through which students are empowered to participate and engage.
- Students need to receive knowledge before visiting museums and memorials – this needs to take place in schools and requires a change in the curriculum and educational system.
- Museum displays aimed at young children should be further developed.
- Young people should not be left alone with their efforts to make sense of the past and relate it to their life experiences – they need to be guided and encouraged.



Suzanne Bardgett



Najwa Gadaheldam, Deborah Dwork, Yehudit Inbar – coffee break



Yariv Lapid



Georgyi Kassianov

PANEL 3: CHALLENGES AND SUCCESSES OF CONTEMPORARY HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

Chair: Karel Fracapane · Speakers: Raquel Katzkowicz, Werner Dreier, Georgyi Kassianov, Deborah Dwork

This panel considered the status of contemporary Holocaust education in a number of countries and regions around the world. Panelists were asked to reflect on the relevance of the Holocaust in their countries, the obstacles faced by teachers in educating students about the Holocaust, and how we can assess the impact and measure the success of Holocaust education programs. The panel included speakers from Ecuador, Austria, Ukraine, and the United States. The panel highlighted the way in which approaches to Holocaust education vary significantly from country to country.

In Ecuador, the Ministry of Education has instituted an innovative Holocaust education program as part of a new ethical education curriculum. The Holocaust is taught in conjunction with other recent genocides and within a framework of human rights education. As the first panelist explained, the purpose of this program is to promote peace, and fundamental rights.

In Austria, Holocaust education is a mandatory part of the secondary school curriculum. Within *_erinnern.at_*, an institute that trains teachers and develops material for learning about the Holocaust on behalf of the Austrian Ministry for Education, it has been decided that for the time being, the Holocaust should not be taught in conjunction with other genocides or within a broader human rights curriculum. The reason for this decision is based largely on the fact that the history of the Holocaust remains a

charged topic in Austria where many conflicting memories and narratives still exist. The biggest challenge continues to be the conflict between the official narrative of Austrian perpetration (i.e. participation in Nazi atrocities) and the Austrian family narratives that focus on Austria and its citizens as victims of or, at most, forced participants in, the Holocaust.

In Ukraine – in contrast to both Austria and Ecuador – the Holocaust is not a standard part of the school curriculum. In fact, according to third panelist, fewer than 10% of history teachers in secondary schools are trained to teach about the Holocaust. He noted that there are bureaucratic as well as political impediments to instituting effective Holocaust education programs in the Ukraine. Some of the biggest challenges include: a tradition of silence (Ukrainians don't believe that the Holocaust was a Ukrainian event or perpetrated by Ukrainians); a competition of victims (a sense that the number of victims of the Ukrainian famine must be higher than the number of victims of the Holocaust); and the "nationalization" of Ukrainian history through which Jews and other minorities are marginalized or ignored.

The final presentation on this panel focused on the development of a Ph.D. program in Holocaust and genocide studies in the United States. While in the United States Holocaust education programs at the secondary school level have been relatively successful, there was, until the 1990s, no possibility for scholars to receive doctoral training in Holocaust studies. With the development of new programs in Holocaust and genocide studies, scholars can now receive training in those areas. The speaker pointed out that the textbooks that would be used in secondary schools would largely come out of these institutions of higher education and that there was in fact a clear link between higher education programs and the wider societal dissemination of knowledge.



During a break outside the Meierhof at Schloss Leopoldskron

A number of conclusions and recommendations from the panel emerged including the following:

- The intention of Holocaust education programs remains disputed – one participant suggested that the aim is to learn about human cruelty and violence and how to prevent it. This participant suggested that in some places it might be more appropriate to focus on other genocides and conflicts to teach these lessons. Another participant expressed uneasiness with the notion that the aim is to learn something from the Holocaust and suggested that it is relevant and important in itself to study the Holocaust as a historical event.
- The assumption that historical learning about the Holocaust necessarily contributes to a better understanding of contemporary human rights issues was questioned from different perspectives and deemed by some participants as not sufficiently reflective of the complexity of either Holocaust education or human rights education.
- The history of the Holocaust and other genocides should be made a standard component of educational curricula, rather than an “optional extra”.
- In countries where Holocaust education does not currently exist it should be introduced carefully, with maximum involvement of teachers and civil society activities at the local or grassroots level so that it is understood as something normal and necessary rather than something imposed by the arbitrary whim of higher authority.
- Teachers need more training, particularly instruction about the historical facts, psychological reasons for genocide, and pedagogical approaches to teaching about genocide.
- Particular local and national contexts – especially in post-conflict and traumatized nations – need to be acknowledged and considered when teaching about the Holocaust.

PANEL 4: CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS IN ANTI-SEMITISM AND RACISM

Chair: Klaus Mueller · Speakers: Dina Siegel Vann, Albert Lichtblau, Douglas Davidson, Guenther Jikeli

This panel focused largely on the issue of anti-Semitism (rather than racism in general) and started with the observation that, although Holocaust education programs are more wide-spread than ever before, anti-Semitism is also increasing. Panelists were asked to reflect on this and consider why. They gave presentations on the contemporary development of anti-Semitism in Latin America, North America, and Europe.

The panelist speaking on Latin America noted that anti-Semitism in that region seems to remain an isolated phenomenon of extremist groups and remains “politically incorrect” in the eyes of mainstream opinion. A number of countries including Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina have adopted legislation that addresses discrimination, including anti-Semitism. However, the violent conflicts in the Middle East (including the 2006 Lebanon war and the 2009 Gaza conflict) have led to increased levels and expressions of anti-Semitism in Latin America. The panelist expressed concern about the extent to which Iran has been involved in exporting anti-Semitism to Latin America. She noted that the close relationship between the United States and Israel, the growing presence of Iran and the way in which Iran has been able to exploit anti-American sentiment in the region have all contributed to rising anti-Semitism. Venezuela, the country in the region with the closest ties to Iran has even instituted a program that she characterized as “state-sanctioned anti-Semitism”.

In the United States – unlike Europe and Latin America – anti-Semitism does not seem to be on the rise, according to the second panelist. However, the panelist noted that the United States continues to struggle and deal with racism and the particular legacies of slavery in North America.

The final two presenters discussed anti-Semitism in Europe. The first of these focused specifically on the Austrian context. This presentation questioned the tools used to measure anti-Semitism in Europe and the widespread rhetorical assertion that it is getting worse. The panelist questioned whether we have done sufficient research to justify the claim that anti-Semitism in Europe is on the rise. Nevertheless he did note the history of silence that has surrounded the reality of Austrian participation in the Holocaust and expressed concern about right-wing extremist

parties in Austria such as the FPÖ (Freedom Party), which appeal to young voters and can exploit the societal chasm created by silence about the past.

The last panelist spoke about the rise of anti-Semitism among European Muslims, citing evidence which suggests that European Muslims are more likely to be anti-Semitic than non-Muslim Europeans and noting anti-Semitic statements from prominent members of Muslim organizations in Europe. Based on his research, this panelist stated that anti-Semitism among Muslims could not be attributed solely to negative views of Israel or the influence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and suggested that European governments need to take a stronger stand against anti-Semitism. His presentation provoked strong reactions from a number of conference participants. Questions were raised about the robustness of the research methodology and sample size of his study. Some participants suggested that in addition to studying contemporary anti-Semitism, the conference should have looked at racism more broadly, and perhaps included a panel devoted specifically to Islamophobia.



Douglas Davidson

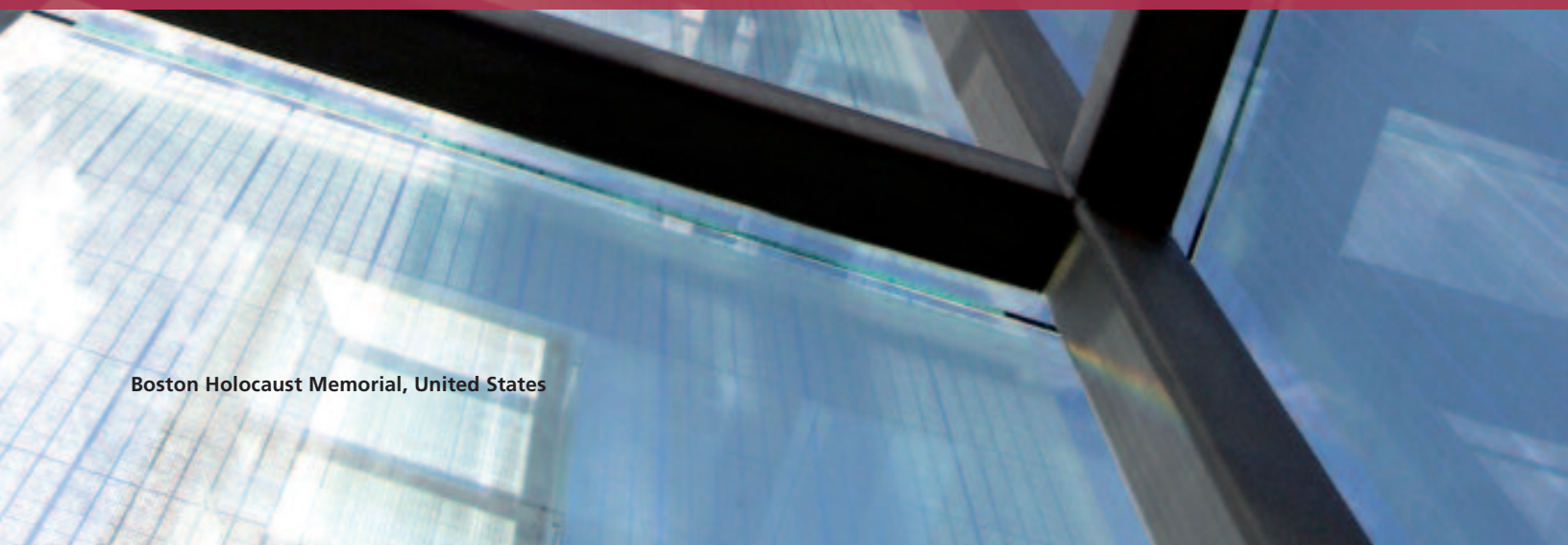


Klaus Mueller, Dina Siegel Vann



“One of my personal highlights was the panel “Learning from Nuremberg: Justice and Genocide Prevention”. It was a very interesting discussion that clarified very well the problems that can arise from an overly optimistic view of the possibilities of international legal structures for genocide prevention.”

— Annette Eberle



Boston Holocaust Memorial, United States

PANEL 5: JUSTICE AND GENOCIDE PREVENTION

Chair: Richard Goldstone · **Speakers:** Kirsten Ainley, Jens Meierhenrich, Lousewies van der Laan

Members of this panel were asked to consider the extent to which justice, and particularly international criminal courts and tribunals, could help prevent future genocides. There was agreement among the panelists that the power of the law and of the justice system to prevent genocides is more limited and more difficult to prove than is generally assumed by the public.

The first two panelists argued strongly that international justice can do very little to prevent future genocides. Both however suggested that the international justice system had other important roles to play. The first panelist suggested that the contribution of international courts lies in the development of international jurisprudence rather than in the prevention of future genocides.

The second panelist suggested that while justice can codify what attitudes and actions are acceptable in a society and can provide educators with a history and record of genocides, the law itself is powerless to deter perpetrators of genocide. This panelist argued that although law (in her view) is “fetishized” in contemporary society and tends to be seen as the answer to all problems, the focus in genocide prevention should in fact be on education on the one hand, and politics, power, and coercion on the other.

The final speaker on this panel was more positive about the role of justice in preventing genocide. This panelist argued that the International Criminal Court was set up with the belief that justice is central to the prevention of future genocides and that militaries do in fact take justice and legal ramifications into account before planning actions.

Specific conclusions and recommendations of this panel included the following:

- The extent to which justice can prevent future genocides remains unclear and is difficult to prove.
- Justice is important in withdrawing impunity from perpetrators.
- Justice is important to the victims. By acknowledging the perpetrators and victims, justice can help break the cycle of violence in societies.
- Justice can provide publicity about genocide and other crimes.
- The success of the International Criminal Court depends on a few key factors that include: global ratification, positive complementarity (i.e. its work should complement and encourage that of national jurisdictions, not undermine them), and international cooperation.
- A more realistic expectation of what the law can (and cannot) do is needed.
- The rule of law is not the answer to every evil and problem in the world – at times the “rule of law” is invoked by autocrats and even by perpetrators of genocide against those who resist or question their authority.
- There is a need to differentiate between law and ethics – not everything that is unethical can be illegal, nor is the reverse necessarily true.



Lousewies van der Laan



Richard Goldstone



Kirsten Ainley



"As I was growing up, my grandfather used to tell me about the Holocaust, and I think it was one of the drivers that led me to study law and to think about how this could be prevented in the future."

— Louisewies van der Laan



Tree of Life Holocaust Memorial, Budapest, Hungary

**PANEL 6: GENOCIDE PREVENTION:
A BLUEPRINT FOR THE FUTURE**

Chair: Louisewies van der Laan · **Speakers:** Klaus Mueller, Michael Pryce, Istvan Lakatos, Frank Chalk

This panel focused on the future of genocide prevention and on pragmatic steps and projects that are currently being undertaken both by public and private institutions to prevent genocide. The underlying assumption of the presentations was that genocide did not end with the Holocaust, but that it is possible to prevent genocides in the future. The panelists generally agreed that the key impediments to effective genocide prevention were the following factors:

1) a gap between policy makers and information/early warning on signs of impending or possible genocide, 2) a lack of political will to intervene in conflicts, and 3) a tendency to be reactive rather than proactive in preventing genocide. Panelists presented a number of projects that aimed to overcome these impediments.

The first panelist summarized the work of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in conjunction with the Genocide Prevention Task Force specifically with regard to the December 2008 final report on "Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers". The goal of this document was to engage US policy makers and integrate genocide prevention into US foreign policy goals. The recommendations of this report focused on making government agencies feel responsible for preventing genocide and suggested effective policy measures that could build the capacity and the will of the US government to intervene in future genocides.

The second panelist spoke about the creation of the Budapest Centre for the International Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities. Because there is currently no international institution dedicated to genocide prevention in a practical sense, this centre could have a very important role to play in giving early warnings to governments and other institutions about pending conflicts and genocides. The centre hopes to bring together researchers from different regions and provide information to decision makers, prepare concrete recommendations, raise issues in the EU and UN, and be directly involved in negotiations and mediations during the early stages of conflict.

The third panelist spoke about the need for counter-genocide planning based on military principles. This panelist emphasized that genocide is a policy based on long-term planning and that effective prevention similarly depends on long-term planning and early intervention.



Lousewies van der Laan, Klaus Mueller, Istvan Lakatos

The fourth and final panelist spoke about the study on "Mobilizing the Will to Intervene" at Concordia University. This panelist suggested that mobilizing the will to intervene needs to take place at the national rather than international level and that governments need to be convinced that when genocide is met with inaction it will lead to significant security threats including: forced migrations, epidemics, lawlessness, terrorism, piracy, and a political backlash against those who pursued a course of inaction.

In the discussion that followed these presentations many questions were asked. Some participants expressed concerns about the backlash against refugees that might occur if regions experiencing genocide and those fleeing from genocide were closely associated with a host of security threats including disease, terrorism, and lawlessness. Another participant pointed out the importance of distinguishing between preventing genocide and preventing mass atrocities, emphasizing the specific threshold of genocide, which should not be lowered by conflating it with 'mass atrocities'. Finally, some members of the audience also questioned the extent to which some of the plans for genocide prevention might realistically be implemented.

Conclusions and recommendations of the panel included the following:

- Early prevention and intervention is key and requires a paradigm shift because in the past the default reaction in most countries has been inaction
- Genocide prevention should be integrated into national foreign policy goals.
- Early warning systems that can prepare the ground for national and international interventions need to be more systematically prepared and coordinated.
- Early warning systems and accurate information about effective intervention techniques need to be connected to policy makers.
- Policy makers need to be convinced of the imperative to intervene at an early stage in conflicts – before they escalate to genocide.
- An international network of government officials and experts dealing with genocide prevention as part of their official function needs to be established in order to expedite early warning and intervention possibilities.

PANEL 7: LINKING HOLOCAUST EDUCATION AND GENOCIDE PREVENTION

Chair: Michael Baier · Speakers: Karel Fracapane, Marc Skvirsky, Raul Vallejo, Kimberly Mann

This panel revolved around Holocaust education, education about other genocides, human rights education, and the link to genocide prevention. It highlighted the extent to which connecting (or not connecting) these topics is both a political and a pedagogical issue. Many opinions were expressed about the appropriateness and usefulness of comparing (and contrasting) different genocides and the appropriateness and limitations of using Holocaust education as a vehicle for genocide prevention. The panel chair referred to the subcommittee on Holocaust and genocide established within the ITF and presented some arguments on how relating the Holocaust to other genocides and crimes against humanity might improve our understanding of other genocidal events and, by the same token, of the Holocaust itself. The moderator also noted the challenges in such a comparative approach, e.g. not to equate, diminish, or trivialise the Holocaust or, indeed, other genocides to which the Holocaust is compared.

The first panelist described a well-established educational program based in the United States that focuses on using Holocaust education for adolescents as a tool for preventing violence and potentially also genocide. This panelist emphasized that if we are interested in instilling particular values or lessons in adolescents then we need to take adolescent development and behaviour into account. He advocated a multi-disciplinary approach through which students not only learn about the Holocaust and other instances of genocide, but are encouraged to reflect on their own lives and the connections (as well as differences) that exist between contemporary events and the past. He argued that, while encouraging students to make those connections, teachers also need to push them to recognize and make distinctions between the various aspects of the Holocaust, other genocides and contemporary human rights violations in their own lives. In order to make the link between Holocaust education and genocide prevention explicit, this panellist suggested using concepts such as identity, inclusion/exclusion, individual choice and participation to augment an academic narrative about the rise of Nazism and the Holocaust.

The second panelist described the development of a state sponsored curriculum in Ecuador on “Human Rights, Holocaust, and other Recent Genocides”. This program was developed for students in the 11th grade. The justification for teaching these



Raul Vallejo

subjects in high school is that it is critical to introducing an ethic of compassion in students and teaching them citizenship values. These values are key to promoting non-violence, and more positive attitudes towards foreigners and aliens. According to this presenter, keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive in the context of teaching about human rights issues and modern genocides is crucial for showing students that we must care about others for our own sake and for that of humanity.

In contrast to the first two panelists, who explicitly promoted programs that encourage students to make links between the Holocaust, other genocides, human rights issues, and their own lives, the third panelist suggested an approach that remains much more focused on teaching about the history of the Holocaust and promoting Holocaust remembrance as a distinct and unique topic. The third panelist described the work of a European Holocaust memorial that focuses explicitly on the remembrance of the Holocaust and does not consider genocide prevention its primary mission. He preferred a reflexive approach to history (in other words learning about the Holocaust rather than from the Holocaust) and also noted that Holocaust education and human rights education are separate things with different goals, methodologies, and focuses. Therefore, the outreach programs of this memorial focus primarily on teaching about the Holocaust, for its own sake. Nonetheless, in recent years the memorial has begun making some attempts to link the history of the Holocaust with contemporary issues.

The fourth and final panelist outlined the multidisciplinary approach to learning about the Holocaust and the prevention of genocide taken by the “Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme”. Under its General Assembly mandate, the Programme organizes an annual day of remembrance observed by UN offices around the world, and partners with civil society to further understanding of the Holocaust and the causes of mass violence, which can lead to genocide. The Programme also develops educational seminars and materials that underscore the essential links between this history and the promotion of human rights and democratic values today.

As the presentations from this panel clearly demonstrated, different institutions and programs take very different approaches to teaching about the Holocaust, teaching about other genocides, and teaching about human rights. There are important pedagogical and political factors that influence the ways in which the links between these areas are made (or not made). While some panelists explicitly advocated the importance of learning from the Holocaust and other genocides and getting students to make connections between contemporary events and the past, other panelists remained wary of such an approach and instead advocated a more straightforward approach to teaching about the Holocaust and not explicitly drawing connections to other events, whether past or present.

Key conclusions and recommendations from this panel included the following:

- Teaching about the Holocaust and drawing lessons from the Holocaust are two different methodological and pedagogical approaches
- It is important to highlight not only similarities but also differences between the Holocaust, other genocides, and contemporary human rights violations
- We are always teaching a new generation of students and need to assess and respond to their questions, values, and needs when teaching about the Holocaust and other genocides
- Institutional identities strongly define possibilities and limits of Holocaust and genocide education programs and the ways in which they can be conducted.
- Holocaust museums and memorial sites have a considerable educational value and can highlight connections with present forms of mass atrocities.



George Weiss

PANEL 8: TRAUMA AND RECONCILIATION

Chair: Kaja Shonick Glahn · Speakers: Yael Danieli, Darko Gavrilovic, George Weiss

This panel focused on the importance of dealing with trauma and promoting reconciliation in order to stop cycles of violence and genocide from being perpetuated in post-conflict societies.

The three panelists approached the issue of reconciliation from three different disciplinary and regional backgrounds. The first spoke about a project in the United States working with Holocaust survivors and their children, which tries to promote psychological healing. The second described historical work being done in the former Yugoslav republics by the Center for History, Democracy and Reconciliation. The Center aims to foster cooperation in the region, promote democratic values, and ensure a positive political climate by creating a shared history of the region. It promotes dialogues between different religious groups, and works with teachers and local governments to dispel nation-building myths and promote a multinational, multiperspective, and non-partisan history of the Balkans.

The third panelist explained how radio soap operas have been used as a tool for reconciliation in Rwanda. This presentation demonstrated the extent to which radio and other forms of popular media can be an important and effective source of “counter-propaganda” and can educate listeners about the origins of group violence, thereby helping to change their attitudes and – hopefully – their actions.

Key conclusions and recommendations from this panel included the following:

- The healing of trauma is key to reconciliation in post-conflict societies. Trauma affects not only the immediate victims, but society as a whole, as well as successive generations.
- Reconciliation in post-conflict societies is the result of long-term processes and mediation.
- Creating a shared and non-partisan history is important in post-conflict societies and needs to be emphasized in education programs.
- A variety of media including radio, television, Internet, books, textbooks, journals, and comics can be used effectively to promote reconciliation.
- What reconciliation means and what it looks like varies according to country and region. But in all cases it implies an end to the cycle of violence.



GROUP RECOMMENDATIONS

"I wish to thank you for having invited me and for giving me a chance to tell the audience about the facts that characterize the role of the international community, the UN and the Dutch before all, in the Srebrenica genocide. I am currently very busy with many events related to the upcoming 15th anniversary of Srebrenica. As you know I will bury my mother's and my brother's remains next Sunday and my mind is occupied by that."

— Hasan Nuhanovic



In addition to presenting and joining in the panel discussions, participants were asked to take part in small group work. Each group was asked to come up with a specific set of recommendations concerning a particular set of questions or topics. While many of these recommendations duplicated the conclusions drawn from the panel discussions, some of the recommendations developed by the groups were particularly new and constructive.

Group 1: Linking Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention

Group 1 considered the following questions: What are the potential challenges of developing a closer relationship between Holocaust studies and genocide prevention? What are the sensitivities in bringing these two fields together and how can they be addressed? What can both fields learn from each other?

Recommendations:

- National, geographic, and political contexts are important – educational programs should be modeled on micro-economic efforts.
- Gender issues should be part of the discourse.
- Programs should be based on interdisciplinary scholarship.
- There should be more support and training for teachers about the Holocaust and other genocides.
- The topic of genocide and the Holocaust should be integrated into and become part of the standard school curriculum.

Group 2: Justice and Genocide Prevention

Group 2 considered the following questions: What are the roles of legal systems in preventing genocide? Where can we see successes and where can we see failures? How can these lessons be integrated into our initiative?

Conclusions and recommendations:

- The role of international law in preventing genocide is limited.
- The existence of a substantive rule of law appears to inhibit the perpetration of genocidal acts.
- The prosecution of specific individuals, especially in contexts where campaigns of large-scale social violence are still in progress, can make an important contribution by removing convicted perpetrators from the scenes of their crimes, thus potentially preventing them from committing renewed acts of genocide.
- The topics of law and justice should be integrated into genocide education efforts.
- Domestic education laws should include provisions for mandatory Holocaust and genocide related courses centering on law and justice and human rights.
- Political attempts to influence the operation of international courts and tribunals are damaging. The international community needs to safeguard these institutions' judicial independence.

Holocaust Memorial, Yad Vashem, Israel

Group 3: Holocaust and Human Rights Education

Group 3 considered the following questions: What are the connections between Holocaust education and human rights education? How can the benefits of Holocaust education for human rights education be measured? How do museums and memorials implement these connections?

Recommendations:

- Teachers need help in making appropriate connections between the past and the present, and between the particular and the universal.
- Teachers should be empowered to open discussions that will allow students to formulate their interests and questions. At the same time the teacher needs to be able to guide the discussion and point out distinctions between the past and the present.
- Teachers need a framework for preparing students for visits to memorials and museums. These visits need to be followed up in the classroom.
- Curricula should be multi-disciplinary and include literature as well as the other arts.
- Teachers should make links between the Holocaust and human rights issues today – for example stressing historical links between the Holocaust and the Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both of which are supposed to govern the behavior of states today.
- Young people should be empowered to reflect critically on the society they live in and on their own behavior.

Group 4: The Holocaust and Multicultural Societies

Group 4 considered the following questions: How can the Holocaust most effectively be taught in rapidly changing multicultural European classrooms? What are the challenges of teaching about the Holocaust in countries outside Europe/North America/Israel? Can other genocides be used to teach about genocide prevention in these areas? How can growing Holocaust denial be dealt with?

- The focus of learning should be a human rights agenda. Human rights are a universal value that extends beyond national/ethnic boundaries.
- Students need to learn about the Holocaust.
- A comparative perspective when dealing with the Holocaust and other genocides is crucial.
- Teachers must be able to introduce the human dimension and

empathy into their classrooms.

- Participatory learning is of paramount importance.
- Holocaust denial may be provoked when Holocaust education is imposed from above.
- Legal prohibitions of Holocaust denial are problematic.

Group 5: What kind of programs should the Salzburg Global Seminar develop around the areas of Holocaust education and genocide prevention?

Group 5 came up with a number of recommendations for how the Salzburg Global Seminar could most effectively engage in the fields of Holocaust education and genocide prevention.

- Country meetings
- National studies to share know-how and expertise on building the will to intervene at the national level in Europe.
- Pilot project within one specific country.
- Final report on obstacles to and strategies for building the will to intervene in specific countries.
- Advocacy and awareness raising
- Working in various countries to advocate appointment of Special Representatives or Ministers/Cabinet members for the Prevention of Genocides and Mass Atrocities.
- Outcome: institutionalization, at the national level, of mechanisms for raising the will and the capacity of governments in selected European countries to prevent genocide and mass atrocities.
- African and European command networks
- Establish Mass Atrocity Prevention Networks in Europe and Africa for the development of counter-genocide planning processes.
- These networks should function in cooperation with the UN agencies and authorities.
- Creation of university networks
- Under the supervision of an academic board, SGS should help to create and convene meetings of universities and other research institutions from countries which have been sites of military conflict from 1990 to the present and/or subject to widespread and sustained xenophobic and racist violence. This network can be created within the framework of an EU funding program (for instance the FP7) or similar university networks.
- Outcomes: opportunity for dialogue, creation and dissemination of teaching materials, special training sessions for: civil society leaders, representatives of the media, government officials, media and religious leaders.

Group 6: Genocide Prevention Activities

Group 6 considered the following questions: What areas can you identify as being particularly in need of genocide prevention activities? What kinds of programs could be useful in these areas? When do we need education programs? When do we need other forms of intervention? What should education programs look like in countries that have recently experienced ethnic conflict or genocide?

- Education efforts should be concentrated on countries at risk. These are identified by a combination of factors including:
- political upheaval, war, past unpunished mass killing, autocratic rule, exclusionary destructive ideology, ethnic or religious cleavages with discrimination, low international economic and political interdependence, sudden economic deterioration
- Target groups for education; All persons interfacing with the public: potential activists, potential rescuers, journalists, police,

military leaders and troops, political leaders, faith groups, teachers/educators, primary care givers

- Education programs are needed before, during, and after violence
- Countries that have experienced ethnic conflict need educational programs that are focused on healing and prevention
- Programs for the prevention of group violence can take many different forms and may include the following; Media psycho social literacy programs, human rights education, training leaders for coexistence, tolerance building, education for non-discrimination, engagement of faith leaders and traditional healers, educational radio, broadcasting ideologies of respect, supporting independent media, opposing hate speech, teaching empathy, creation of honest legal systems, provide compensation for discrimination.
- The term 'Genocide Prevention' education should not be used too broadly. At times it is more appropriate to label education efforts as 'Human rights education' or 'Tolerance building' programs.



Working group 2: Justice and Genocide Prevention



“Representing an organization that works with secondary schools it was important for me to hear the latest trends as well as debates in each academic discipline. Our role is to translate these very complicated issues into materials for classrooms across the globe. As I return to work I will be meeting with my senior team to discuss how to integrate what I learned into our daily work.”

— Marc Skvirsky



Coffins From Mass Grave, Bosnia Herzegovina

GROUP PROPOSALS

In addition to broad recommendations, the working groups were also asked to come up with specific project proposals that would bridge the fields of Holocaust education and genocide prevention. The proposals are briefly outlined below.

Group 1: “The Fate of Women During the Holocaust and Later Genocides”

A research project working with diverse organizations including: Voices of Rwanda, The Srebrenica and Potocari Memorial, and Remember the Women, to examine the specific experiences of women as they relate to the Holocaust and later genocides. Interviews would be carried out asking about sexual violence, rape, motherhood, and female perpetrators. The results of this research project would be presented at a conference at the Salzburg Global Seminar and would be used to generate new guidelines for including the specific experiences of women into educational programs and materials.

Group 2: “Shared Experience, Shared Memories: On Site International Exchange”

This would be a convening project to bring together experts and civil society leaders in specific locations for exchanges on teaching about mass atrocities. The goal of the project would be to open conversations and facilitate learning in specific countries that are still dealing with unresolved conflicts. Proposed sites include: Ukraine, Burundi, and the Western Balkans.

Group 3: “Regional Multi-disciplinary Centers of Excellence for Trauma and Healing”

This project would focus on building regional multi-disciplinary centers of excellence that would focus on trauma and healing. The centers would carry on the job of education and would be based within existing universities. Suggested locations include the University of Banja Luka (Bosnia) and the National University of Rwanda. The centers would conduct and support training programs and provide space and programs for victims.

Group 4: “Working Group for the Integration of Holocaust Education, Human Rights, and Genocide Prevention”

This project aims to create a new educational model that integrates Holocaust education with other issues including human rights and genocide prevention. In order to accomplish this, a working group of experts will be created. The goal of this group will be the creation of an educational model. Based on a strong theoretical foundation, the results will be designed for practical use in schools, memorial sites and museums.

Group 5: “Development of Country-by-Country Action Plans to Mobilize the Will to Prevent Mass Atrocities”

This research project would focus on examining successful and unsuccessful examples of mobilizing the will to intervene in specific national contexts. Based on the methodology successfully developed by the University of Concordia, the Salzburg Global Seminar would manage and execute the project, thereby positioning itself as the European hub for ensuring the sustained exchange of know-how at a national level on building the domestic will to intervene in specific European countries with a view to preventing mass atrocities in the future.



Working Group 4: The Holocaust and Multicultural Societies



CONCLUSIONS

View from Schloss Leopoldskron

The Salzburg Global Seminar’s 2010 conference on “The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust” was a highly productive meeting that brought together experts from diverse fields including: Holocaust and genocide studies scholars, Holocaust educators, human rights activists, genocide prevention experts, legal scholars, intervention planners, policy makers, museum practitioners, and a wide variety of representatives from governments, universities, and NGOs. The conversations and presentations during the week focused on:

1. Educational efforts in the fields of Holocaust education and genocide studies,
2. The relationship between Holocaust education and genocide studies,
3. The related issues of genocide prevention and the protection of human rights.

The explicit goal of this initial conference was to explore the connections as well as the divisions between these fields. In addition, the 2010 conference served to set the agenda for the future of the Salzburg Global Seminar’s programs on Holocaust education and genocide prevention.

One of the clear findings of the conference was the need for stronger lines of communication and closer cooperation between and among individuals and organizations working in the field of Holocaust and genocide studies, those working in the field of education, and those working in the area of genocide prevention. There are clear areas in which practitioners in these fields could learn from one another and benefit significantly from collaboration and interdisciplinary cooperation. The challenge of course is how to best approach such a sizable task in a manageable manner. Over the course of the next three years the Salzburg Global Seminar, in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, will develop an initiative to facilitate the appropriate and necessary conversations.

The initiative will create an interdisciplinary network of experts who can learn from each other with the aim of promoting quality educational efforts and cultural initiatives that support awareness and teaching of the Holocaust and other genocides, with a view to combating hatred, racism, and anti-Semitism and promoting the protection of human rights and genocide prevention. The initiative will focus on hosting critical conversations to showcase

successful models and develop principles and guidelines for addressing these complex issues in a responsible way. Our decision to focus primarily on Holocaust and genocide education is based both on the realistic capacity and scope of the Salzburg Global Seminar’s activities, and on our belief that education is an important tool in the long-term prevention of genocide. The initiative will pay special attention to educational efforts that have shown themselves to be viable and effective over time or have offered new ideas and approaches to the field.

The initiative will focus on a different issue or theme each year and include an annual program in Salzburg. The purpose of the program in Salzburg will be largely exploratory. It will provide an important place for sharing practices and research, and allow for the germination and sharing of ideas and innovations across disciplinary lines. Out of each annual Salzburg program we intend to establish small working groups that will meet twice during the subsequent year. The working groups will provide more tangible outcomes related to the initiative in the form of papers and articles on best practices, as well as curriculum outlines. These findings and recommendations will be widely disseminated to practitioners and educators across the fields involved in this initiative.

A number of specific issues emerged during the course of the initial 2010 conference that we believe (a) need further exploration; (b) fall within the scope of the planned initiative; and (c) are within the Salzburg Global Seminar’s capacity. We intend to develop a set of annual themes for the initiative, which will allow us address and revisit the issues outlined below.

- **The integration of the Holocaust, other genocides and human rights into education materials.** Contemporary genocides, human rights, and genocide prevention have not been integrated into educational curricula as topics in their own right, and are rarely integrated into the teaching of the Holocaust. Strategies for incorporating these topics into the educational curricula need to be further explored. As part of the Salzburg initiative we would therefore like to address this issue in its broadest sense. How should the topics of genocide and human rights be taught in classrooms? At what age should students learn about these issues? Can and/or should the Holocaust be taught about in conjunction with other genocides? How can or should Holocaust museums incorporate information and/or exhibits about other genocides? Can and should the Holocaust and other genocides be taught about within the context of a human rights curriculum?

- **Reconciliation and trauma.** Much evidence suggests that societies that have previously experienced mass violence and trauma are exposed to a much higher risk of experiencing renewed cycles of mass violence and genocide. As part of the Salzburg initiative we would therefore like to consider areas that have suffered from the Holocaust, genocide or extreme forms of mass violence, and look at processes of reconciliation and dealing with trauma. Reflecting upon the findings of the founding conference we would like to address a number of issues including: What models of reconciliation have worked? What are the difficulties of engaging in reconciliation? How can reconciliation be measured? What practices can be shared?

- **Gender roles and sexual identity.** The way in which gender roles and sexual identity expose individuals to specific experiences during genocides is a topic that needs to be further researched and incorporated into educational curricula. As part of the Salzburg initiative we would like to explore a number of issues including: the particular roles and experiences of women during genocides; homophobia as a notable characteristic of many past totalitarian regimes and ideologies; the marginalization of women in totalitarian regimes; the use of rape as a specific form of dehumanization for women, men and children; the possible relationship between women’s empowerment and genocide prevention and the long-term effects of totalitarian gender and sexual identity roles in post-genocidal societies.

- **Web and social media.** The web has become the main platform for disseminating anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial, racism and homophobia, with hate groups using social media to reach out to a younger generation and spread their message. On the other hand, online media have raised global awareness of the Holocaust and contemporary genocides. As part of the Salzburg initiative we would therefore like to give consideration to the role of the Internet, new social media, and web 2.0 both in preventing and in instigating hatred, genocide, and human rights abuses.

As we move forward with the Salzburg initiative, we will be exploring and proposing a set of annual themes that will allow us to engage with these and other key findings and recommendations that emerged during the 2010 conference. A number of themes for the future of the initiative are currently being considered and the final topic for 2011 will be announced in due course.

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