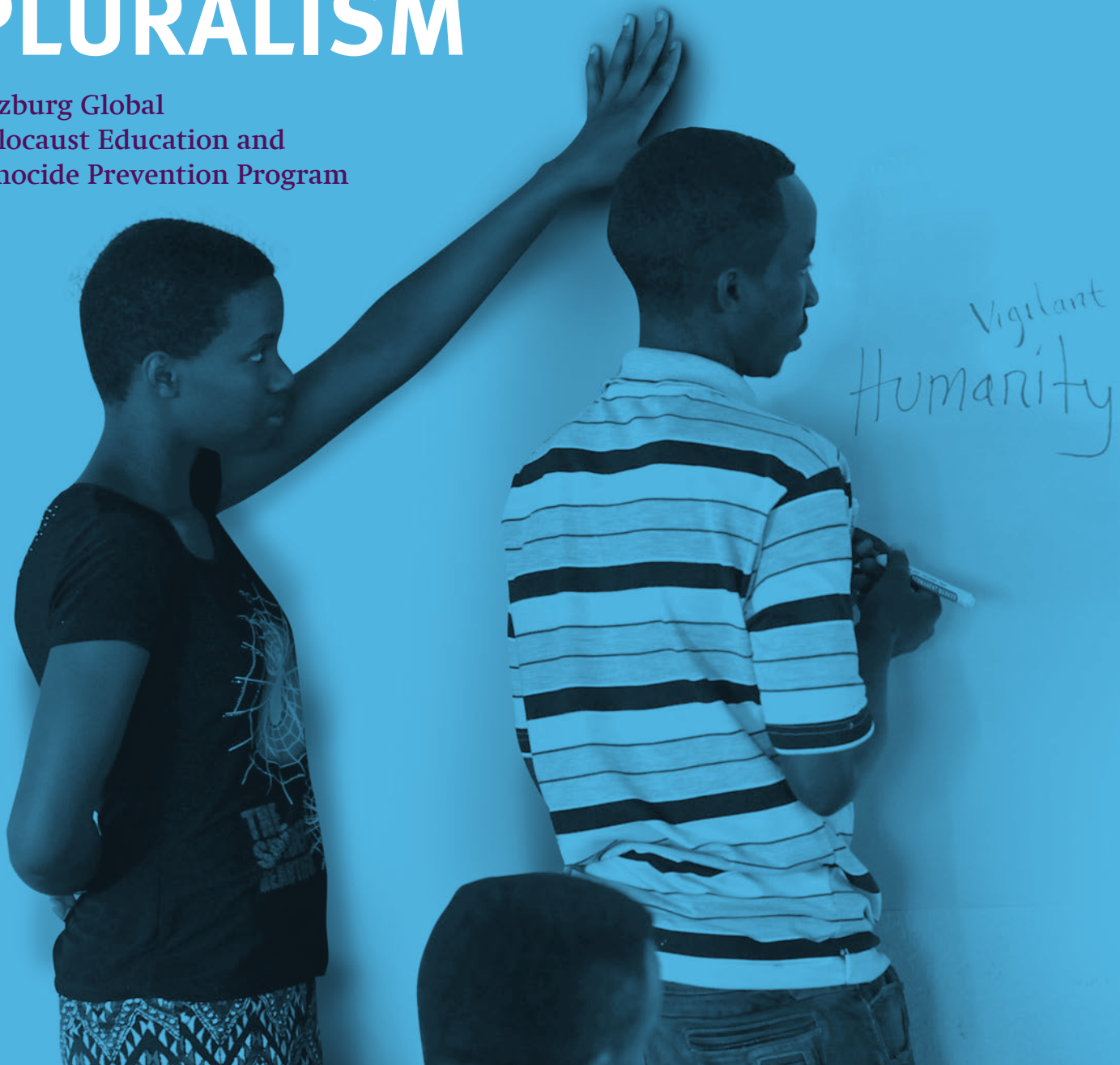




SALZBURG
GLOBAL
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COMBATING EXTREMISM AND PROMOTING PLURALISM

Salzburg Global
Holocaust Education and
Genocide Prevention Program



Combating Extremism and Promoting Pluralism

Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program

2016 – 2018

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Rapporteur:

Joshua Spector

Contributors:

Ian Brown and Charles E. Ehrlich

with Jinny Do, Maryam Ghaddar, Helena Santos, Carly Sikina, Mirva Villa and Tomas De La Rosa

Editor:

Louise Hallman

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Introduction

Xenophobia, racism, and violent extremism are tearing at the fabric of societies across the globe. Although contexts and specifics differ, many shared human values do not: the wish to live in peace and security, and to ensure a positive future for the next generation. At the same time, where atrocities have occurred there is a need to commemorate victims and to confront perpetrators without perpetuating a cycle of violence or creating a climate overwhelmed by vengeance.

Since 2010, Salzburg Global Seminar has implemented the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* in partnership with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Through a series of global and regional gatherings, the Program has engaged participants from more than 50 countries on six continents, the majority of which are non-Western countries, and many of which have a recent experience of mass atrocities.

The original goal was to foster dialogue, promote tolerance, and provide a knowledge-sharing resource platform for people and institutions using Holocaust education to address issues of genocide, mass violence, and crimes against humanity outside of the geographic focus of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA, an intergovernmental organization comprising mostly Western European and North American countries). There was a need to identify and connect people and institutions working in diverse national contexts, and to help IHRA understand the state of Holocaust education in these countries.

The Program has conducted a rigorous and thorough examination of how Holocaust

education can help develop a culture of genocide prevention through respect for human rights. Its network of individuals and NGOs across these countries has deepened and extended their collaborative work, allowing practitioners to identify cross-regional strategies to empower institutions and individuals with tools for ethical education and peaceful conflict resolution. It has helped academics and grassroots practitioners with educational missions (such as universities, schools, museums, remembrance sites, documentation centers, civil society, and religious communities) find dignified methods based on Holocaust education and commemoration to study and memorialize their own national tragedies in a way that could advance reconciliation and post-conflict societal transformation. Cross-border and cross-cultural exchanges have fostered new ways of thinking and have facilitated international partnerships for building better societies, and generated methodologies for outreach to the next generation.

Faced with a rise in violent extremism, policymakers are under pressure to invest in prevention and to show that it works. Structured efforts to reduce extremist mindsets and behaviors have existed for some time, but evidence of effectiveness is often not widely known or utilized. Many interventions require considerable time to effect change, making rigorous measurement of their success over the long-term resource-intensive with sustained political will around an often-unpopular topic. What works? How do we know? And will it work in different geographic, cultural, and political contexts?

Combating Extremism and Promoting Pluralism

In 2016, the Program received a grant from the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office to continue its work developing strategies to support cultures of prevention, both within the IHRA and outside, with a specific focus on Africa, the



Participants of the second workshop in November 2017 at Schloss Leopoldskron

Middle East, and South Asia. To this end, in Salzburg in December 2016, Salzburg Global convened a small workshop of individuals and institutions seeking to maximize their impact on combating extremism in specific countries in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and sub-Saharan Africa, with select participants from European countries with large and growing populations of non-European migrant backgrounds where there have been problems of intolerance. Participants exchanged expertise and drafted pilot projects to advance their institutions' development and test local approaches to combat extremism and promote pluralism in their countries using the lessons of and tools developed for Holocaust education, commemoration, and reconciliation.

Pilot projects conceived in Salzburg were then developed further in the project's five focus countries (Egypt, Morocco, Pakistan, Rwanda, and South Africa), where they were taken forward by the partner institutions themselves during the course of the subsequent year. Throughout 2017, Salzburg Global provided support to the pilot projects through peer advisory visits to ensure hands-on expertise and promote wider impact in each location. In consultation with the in-country partners, Salzburg Global Seminar chose peer advisors with relevant expertise from its wide-

ranging network (Salzburg Global Fellows), who traveled to the respective countries and in most cases generously provided additional pro bono advice remotely.

The country teams, along with several of the peer advisors, returned to Salzburg in November 2017 to share their experiences and to discuss practical next steps both for their own work and for expanding cooperation in their respective regions of the world. Salzburg Global Seminar seeks to scale these pilot projects upward and outward, engaging a wider range of stakeholders to magnify their impact. Broader participation from each country and from additional countries ensured the pilot projects can be further refined, modified for implementation elsewhere, and aided to spark positive change across their regions. Increased exchanges and partnerships among peers, including the involvement of diaspora communities, have strengthened common approaches and collaborations. New stakeholders, from policymakers to public communications specialists have facilitated new avenues to optimize the work, increasing its impact in shaping broader public opinion for peaceful, secure, and tolerant societies.

Our Global Network

Since its launch in 2010, the Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program has convened over 150 Fellows from more than 50 countries. During 2016–18, Fellows launched pilot projects in five countries, drawing in expertise from across the global network.

Legend



Countries of origin
and operation of
Fellows from 2016–18



Additional countries
of origin and
operation of Fellows
since 2010



Location of
pilot projects

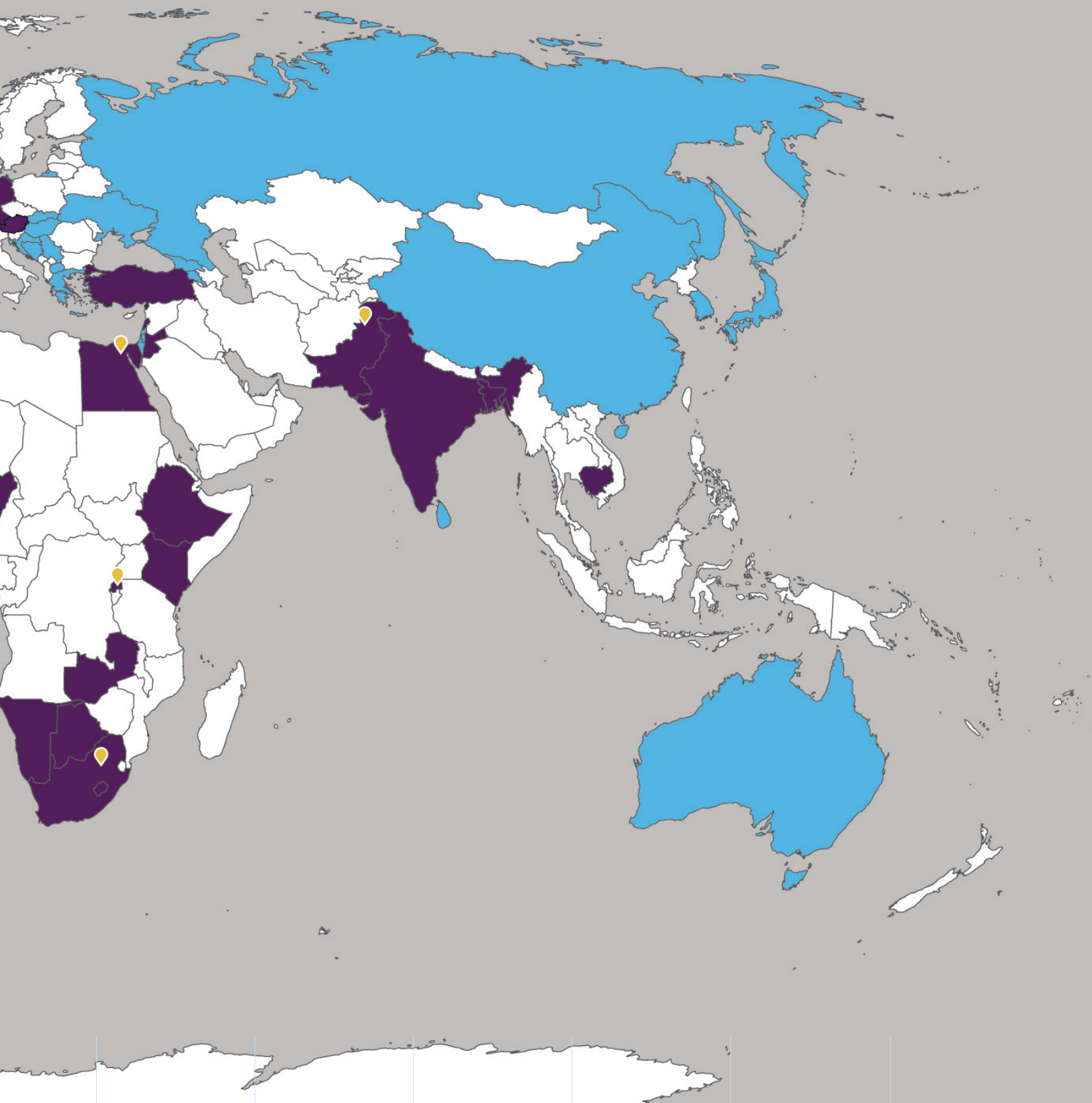
Pilot Projects

Cairo, Egypt
Johannesburg,
South Africa
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa,
Punjab and Sindh,
Pakistan
Kigali, Rwanda
Rabat, Morocco

Countries

Armenia
Australia
Austria
Bangladesh
Belgium
Bosnia and
Herzegovina
Botswana

Brazil
Cambodia
Canada
Chile
China
Croatia
Ecuador
Egypt



Ethiopia
France
Gambia
Georgia
Germany
Greece
Hungary
India

Israel
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Lebanon
Lesotho
Macedonia – FYR
Mexico

Morocco
Namibia
Netherlands
Nigeria
Pakistan
Republic of Korea
Russian Federation
Rwanda

Senegal
Serbia
Slovakia
South Africa
Sri Lanka
Sweden
State of Palestine
Tunisia

Turkey
Ukraine
United Kingdom
USA
Venezuela
Zambia

Our Program Supporters

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Sebatatso Manoeli

Consultant in the fields of governance, peace, security and development in Africa on why participating in the Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program is valuable to her and her work.

“AS SOMEONE WHO HAS LIVED THROUGH THE POST-APARTHEID HARD PERIOD AND SEEN VARIOUS ITERATIONS OF THE ATTEMPTS OF MENDING FRAGMENTED SOCIETIES, I’M VERY CURIOUS AND INTERESTED IN WAYS OF MAKING MULTICULTURALISM WORK, BOTH IN HISTORICAL PERIODS OR IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS... IT’S BEEN GREATLY BENEFICIAL TO GET INSIDE THE NETWORKS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED IN GENOCIDE PREVENTION WORK, MEMORIALIZATION WORK, AND PEOPLE WHO ARE BROADLY INVOLVED IN ANTI-EXTREMISM WORK AND TO SEE THE AREAS THAT OVERLAP WITH MY OWN FIELDS AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THAT CONVERSATION.

I THINK THAT THE NETWORK THAT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED HERE IS SOMETHING THAT I WOULD CONTINUE TO DRAW FROM, TAP INTO AND CONTRIBUTE TO BEYOND THIS SESSION. THE SEEDS OF INSIGHTS THAT HAVE BEEN PLANTED THROUGH THE DIFFERENT PANELS ARE ALSO THINGS THAT I HAVE BENEFITED FROM AND WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO THINK ABOUT AND SEE HOW I CAN APPLY THE DIFFERENT LEARNINGS TO MY SPECIFIC CONTEXT... TO BE ABLE TO CREATE A CONNECTION BETWEEN THE INTERESTING IDEAS THAT WE AS ACADEMICS SOMETIMES DEVELOP AND TO SEE THE POSSIBILITIES OF THEM BEING IMPLEMENTED AND PUT INTO PRACTICE IS SOMETHING QUITE POWERFUL.”

01

KEY THEMES

Since 2010, the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* has explored both the historic and societal importance of Holocaust education, remembrance and memorialization and how learning about this atrocity can help to prevent future atrocities.

The Program has also examined other incidences of genocide and mass violence, not in an effort to compare or rank human suffering, but to understand how such violence can happen and how it can be halted in the future.

In the last two years, the Program expanded its focus to consider extremism in a broader sense, exploring its varying manifestations and the conditions in which it arises and thrives. The Program has also explored how learnings from our previous years' work on Holocaust education and genocide prevention could be applied in efforts to instill in younger generations and society-at-large a greater sense of pluralism and global citizenship in the face of hatred and vilification of others.



Fellows meet
in the Chinese
Room of Schloss
Leopoldskron for
a regional working
group discussion
focusing on Africa

Extremism, Radicalization and the Promotion of Pluralism

The discussions in Salzburg in 2016 and 2017 explored the varying manifestations that extremism takes in different social and political contexts, its root causes, and the progression from extremist thought to violence. While a range of participants attested to the challenges posed by various forms of extremism in their societies, pinpointing an exact definition as to what constitutes extremism could itself be a source of contention.

Many participants described extremism as highly relative to both time and place. Extremism can relate to the salient political issues of the day in a given country, and can stem from the government or society as a whole. Some described authoritarian regimes as a form of extremism, which also raised the reverse concern that accusations of extremism can be used as a tool by those in power in such regimes to suppress unpopular opinions or groups. Others pointed to particular instances of government-orchestrated violence and oppression such as the Rwandan genocide or South African apartheid as concrete examples of extremist ideologies put into action by the state apparatus.

Although there would seem to be no common definition of extremism (and some who would even argue that extremism is acceptable to advance positive goals and when not accompanied by violence), no consensus arose as to a better term. Instead, there was agreement on the promotion of common values of pluralism and human dignity, and a desire to combat ideologies that would threaten those values. By casting a broad net across cultures and societies, the diverse participants hoped to avoid singling out individual typologies (e.g. Islamism) and rather to look at how to address challenges to plural societies more generally, commonalities that could then be tailored for each individual context.

At a more fundamental level, numerous participants examined and stressed the importance of the individual thought processes that lead and amount to extremism. They cited a lack of empathy and understanding of others and absolutism in thought (whether political, religious, or otherwise) as roots of extremism. Lack of respect and the dehumanization of others are also hallmarks of extremist thought and behavior.

External factors were also recognized as pushing people toward extremist ideologies. A number of represented countries are dealing with refugee crises, the handling of which can exacerbate extremism both among the refugee and receiving populations. Others made note of a mismatch between socio-economic expectations and reality as creating a breeding ground for extremist ideologies. Growing political polarization was also recognized as a global problem, and not just in the developing world. Numerous individuals from Europe and the United States pointed to the growth and mainstreaming of far-right and far-left political movements in their own countries, emphasizing the universal threat posed by extremist thought.

Participants further explored the means by which extremist thought transistions to violent action and its attendant social consequences. Different regions were found to have different combinations of factors. Many

sub-Saharan African states are politically fragile societies, torn by ethnic and religious cleavages. Factors such as human rights issues, state legitimacy, and state capacity all play varying roles in this political fragility. Group grievances tend to develop, usually stemming from underdevelopment and socio-economic disparities between majority and minority communities. Images of the oppositional “other” become entrenched, leading to a cycle of fear and ultimately violence once a sparking event occurs. Each side can then rationalize violent actions committed against “the other” as part of a historiography of victimhood and revenge.


Similar dynamics were found to play a role in polarized societies in other, more developed regions. White supremacists chanting “Jews will not replace us” (or also “you will not replace us”) in Charlottesville, Virginia; US President Donald Trump claiming to represent the “forgotten men and women of America;” and the idea of “taking back control” in Brexit all speak to an idea

of people having lost their deserved power to some usurper. This basic ideology also fuels conspiracy theories that currently run rampant in the politics of countries such as Hungary and Poland. Underlying these movements is a fear of displacement and loss of cultural identity.

In the Middle East and North Africa, the situation was characterized by the failure of the governmental and social models given to that part of the world by historical circumstances. The problems there run through the whole of society. For example, though many people and governments profiled those joining Daesh (also known as Islamic State, IS, ISIS and ISIL) as poor and uneducated, studies have revealed that the fighters joining Daesh were diverse and included educated individuals from the middle class. Another component of the issue is the exportation of extreme religious ideologies to historically pluralistic Muslim societies such as those in North African countries.

Klaus Mueller has served as the chair of meetings of the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* since 2010



A woman with dark hair tied back, wearing a purple long-sleeved shirt and light blue trousers, is leaning forward to touch a moss-covered stone wall. She has a black backpack and is carrying a light-colored bag. The setting is a forest with many trees and a ground covered in fallen leaves.

Sayana Ser, consultant of witnesses and experts at the Court of Cambodia, examines building remains at Hitler's property at Obersalzberg

Holocaust Education

For many societies, Holocaust education can be an effective path toward engaging with the legacies of other more recent tragedies with an eye toward future genocide prevention.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), created in part as a response to the horrors of the Second World War and the crimes committed by Nazi Germany, has used its mandate to advance Holocaust education within its own Global Citizenship Education work. April 2017 saw the publication of UNESCO's *Education about the Holocaust and preventing genocide: a policy guide*, prepared together with Salzburg Global Seminar's partner, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, and with input from numerous Salzburg Global Fellows (alumni of Salzburg Global Seminar programs).

In applying these materials to a diverse range of contexts, participants in the Program have described important questions faced by the UNESCO curriculum's creators in designing a program with the goal of genocide prevention. How can the Holocaust be compared to other mass atrocities without degrading the specificities of either event? Should mass atrocities be compared at all? The drafters decided that despite the danger of generalization inherent in comparing events, many people will draw comparisons regardless. Therefore, they carefully crafted their curriculum's language to discuss shared lessons like warning signals. These insights were particularly important for Fellows as they seek to apply components of the UNESCO curriculum in their own countries' unique socio-political settings. Examining commonalities, differences, and cases where genocide did not occur can provide useful insights for future genocide prevention.

Once adapted, UNESCO officials found that their program often serves as a useful proxy in opening the discussion on genocide in countries where the conditions are not yet ripe to engage in local tragedies. As a case study with well-developed tools for memorialization and pedagogy, Holocaust education can serve as an excellent entry point for the discussion of other atrocities. Numerous participants corroborated this view, having used Holocaust education in conjunction with content on local history. In sub-Saharan Africa for example, Fellows discussed the use of Holocaust education to open conversation on apartheid in South Africa and the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda. Fellows found that by beginning the discussion with the Holocaust rather than local events, they can foster a more meaningful and critical dialogue about their own countries' respective, tragic pasts.

UNESCO POLICY GUIDE

Contributing Fellows:

Youk Chhang, Pinar Dost, Werner Dreier, Karel Fracapane, Alexander Leicht, Kimberly Mann, Klaus Mueller, Freddy Mutanguha, Tali Nates, Tracey Petersen, Yael Siman, and Tad Stahnke.

"This Guide provides policy-makers with solutions to introduce education about the Holocaust, and possibly broader education about genocide and mass atrocities, into education systems and curricula. It is the first of its kind, focusing on matters that are relevant to policy, rather than on teaching practices alone. The publication addresses a wide range of essential questions, including: Why teach about the Holocaust? What learning outcomes can be expected from such educational endeavours? How do they relate to global education priorities? How to introduce the subject in the curriculum, train teachers, promote the most relevant pedagogies, and work with the non-formal sector of education?"

UNESCO, *Education about the Holocaust and preventing genocide: a policy guide*, p. 4.

Interview: Kimberly Mann



“It’s key to present information to people in a way that allows them to understand the lessons that are to be learned from this tragedy”

UN education outreach chief shares why learning about the Holocaust is so important for today’s youth

It happened in Europe over 70 years ago, but teaching about and learning from the Holocaust is still vital across the world today, says Kimberly Mann, Salzburg Global Fellow and chief of the Education Outreach Section in the United Nations’ Department of Public Information.

In November 2017, Mann discussed the importance of Holocaust Education: “I think that when we look at Holocaust Education, we have to focus on two things: education and remembrance. It’s key to present this history to young people in a way that they can understand the lessons that are to be learned from this tragedy.”

In her role with the UN, Mann devised the strategy and outreach program to be used by all 63 field offices of the UN around the world, which each has a mandate to observe the International Holocaust Remembrance Day on January 27 (the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp). In 2005, the first year of the outreach program, 10 Holocaust education and remembrance activities were held in 10 countries. By 2017, this had grown to 150 events and activities in 50 countries.

“To me [that growth] says a lot,” says Mann. “To me it says that the United Nations has taken this subject very seriously and we have been very determined to encourage Holocaust education in countries around the world, in countries that are at risk and in countries that have had absolutely or very little connection to the Holocaust as it occurred at the time.”

In April 2017, UNESCO published *Education about the Holocaust and preventing genocide: a policy guide*. As Mann explains, the guide “defines what it is about the Holocaust that is universal; why it’s important for educators around the world to introduce education about the Holocaust in their classrooms; the relationship that it has not only with the preventing of genocide but [also] international law; and the role of the international community has in helping to prevent such tragedies from occurring again.”

The document, which was contributed to by 12 Salzburg Global Fellows, makes the link between Holocaust education and global citizenship education and the role that all individuals have to help promote peace and sustainable development.

There are challenges in this approach. Mann attended an earlier session in the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* where she says there were many intellectual debates: “Do we teach about the Holocaust in order to protect human rights? Or do we look at human rights and then consider the Holocaust? There are some great sensitivities.”

Mann believes that “the Holocaust is a very important subject in and of itself.

“You don’t teach about the Holocaust to learn about other genocides; you teach about the Holocaust to understand how the Holocaust came about – the specific history, the impact that it had on the Jewish people, and what that meant to the rest of the world.

“Comparative genocide [studies are] important but you can’t compare the suffering of the victims. There is no hierarchy of suffering,” Mann explains. “But you can look at certain warning signs. You can be more aware



Kimberly Mann believes Holocaust education has an important role in teaching societies what can happen if there is a lack of respect for minorities

and take action to prevent these things from happening by looking at case histories like the Holocaust, and what happened in Rwanda or other countries.”

For Mann, Holocaust education has an important role in teaching societies about what happens when there is discrimination, hatred and bigotry, and a lack of respect for minorities and diversity, as well as how communities – local, national and international – respond to such atrocities. She highlights the importance of learning how the Holocaust was perpetrated and by whom: “It wasn’t just the Nazis, it was the German people and their collaborators.”

Sharing personal experiences such as *The Diary of Anne Frank* has great value, says Mann, as they can help to make the atrocities feel more “real”: “It’s so important that we continue to listen to the stories of survivors, that this history has been documented.”

At a UN event in New York City to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the publication of *The Diary of Anne Frank*, at which the accounts of Anne Frank and other young victims of genocidal violence were presented to an audience of than 500 13 to 18 year olds,

Mann remarks that she was “very inspired by [their] reaction.”

“The reaction from the young people was to ask: ‘Why? Why do we see people who are different to us as being less than us? Why do we think that people who are different than us don’t deserve to have same treatment, the same quality of life, the same standards of living and protections under the law as we do? Why?’ ...I really think that what I see [now] versus when I was younger in school is that there is a lot of critical thinking that is happening now.”

“There is a lot of work to be done but I think the first step is for young people to analyze the information that is being presented to them and then question the assumptions that they have already made themselves or the so-called ‘truths’ that have been presented to them.”

Ultimately, Holocaust education is not only about learning about and from the past. Mann hopes that programs like as hers will “motivate [young people] to take some sort of positive action to defend human rights.”

Freddy Mutanguha has helped to launch the Change Makers Program to teach young people in Rwanda about the Holocaust and their own country's 1994 genocide, in the hope of preventing future atrocities



Genocide Prevention

Mass violence can take many different forms. Discussions in Salzburg focused on two, which present different sets of challenges: state-sponsored ethnic violence and violence occurring in conflict zones. Both arise from similar processes of dehumanization and incitement, often relating to socio-economic and/or religious differences. Yet the methods to prevent and combat these threats to civilian life are distinct.

State-sponsored violence can be difficult to prevent and track where the implicated government restricts the flow of information. Participants in Salzburg raised particular concern over the situation in Myanmar, where government forces are engaged in a military campaign against the Rohingya Muslims in Rakhine State resulting in a mass exodus of refugees. Given the region's current inaccessibility to outsiders, the exact nature of the violence, the extent to which there is armed resistance as the government claims, the total number of casualties, and the breadth of destruction is difficult to ascertain.

While there are systems to prevent genocide in place by international institutions such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union, Fellows questioned their effectiveness. The prevention systems are difficult to implement since the state, often the perpetrator of violence, must voluntarily

call for outside assistance. Fellows warned that where the government is the perpetrator, foreign intervention on behalf of the government may actually worsen the human rights situation. Moreover, in some parts of the world like sub-Saharan Africa, there may not be a regional power willing to intervene to prevent or stop genocide. Consequently, there is often a reliance on global powers like the United States to intervene, rendering local governments subject to outside powers' agendas.

Similarly, numerous participants questioned the effectiveness of established warning mechanisms in preventing the outbreak of genocide, citing recent violence in Burundi, Myanmar, and South Sudan. Warning signs can be subtle and often entail complex internal politics. Additionally, while political splits may exist, the causal connection between such splits and ethnic violence are not always perceptible. To illustrate, Fellows focused on the example of South Sudan. There, growing ethnic splits within the Sudan People's Liberation Army over the course of multiple conflicts with Khartoum went unaddressed in the agreement which established the path for South Sudanese independence. Growing resentment between the Dinka and Nuer tribes exploded after independence, culminating in the ongoing rounds of ethnic violence.

Fellows stressed the importance of local civil society and common people across the world in raising awareness and preventing genocide. Local civil society organizations and activists need to find ways to deescalate mounting intercommunal tensions. Meanwhile, once violence has broken out, common people across the globe must call for international action to halt the violence. Many states are reluctant to get involved due to the intricacies of these intrastate issues. However, Fellows stressed that domestic political pressure can lead to greater action by Western governments.

Learning from the Past

Salzburg Global Fellows explore the lessons of genocides and mass violence – both historic and current – in the hope of stopping them in the future.

The scars left by decades of systematic persecution and genocide are strewn across our recent history and are still evident across the globe today.

The Holocaust may be the most widely known and studied genocide of the 20th century, but understanding of it is fading with each generation. The world may now cry “never again” but the dehumanization of its Jewish population and other minorities began long before the Nazis erected their concentration and death camps. To understand how such atrocities occur, it is important to not only study, remember and memorialize the Holocaust, but also other cases of genocide and mass violence, especially if we hope to mitigate against such atrocities happening again in the future.

The examination in Salzburg of various atrocities – including the genocide of Herero in Namibia, the genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda, and more recently, the ethnic cleansing of Rohingya in Myanmar and the massacre of Yazidi in Iraqi Kurdistan – was not to compare or rank human suffering, but to understand how such violence can happen and how it can be halted in the future. By acknowledging the differences; highlighting

their distinct histories; identifying the impact of political, cultural or religious indoctrination of populations, especially young people; the experts gathered by Salzburg Global Seminar hoped to find a common ground in the fight to prevent future genocides.

Mapping Dehumanization in Colonial Namibia

Genocide is often divided into several stages, three of which can be described as dehumanization, extermination, and denial. These stages do not necessarily occur chronologically, but rather intertwine and create a breeding ground for hostility.

Jeremy Silvester, director of the Museums Association of Namibia (MAN), has spent much of his adult life examining the Herero genocide of 1904-1907, which saw tens of thousands of Herero people deliberately starved to death or rounded up into concentration camps in German South West Africa (modern-day Namibia). The victims suffered further indignity when more than 3000 of their skulls were sent to Germany to be studied.

“What is the process by which you dehumanize a group of people to the extent you can kill them without regret?” Silvester asks. “The exports of decapitated heads to Germany to be used for racist science...it’s very instructive that there were postcards, for example, of skulls being packaged to be sent from Swakopmund concentration camps.”

Through his work with the Africa Accessioned project, Silvester has attempted to map out the historical implications of this dark period of German history and repatriate the victims’ remains and artifacts being held in German museums.

“There has been a willful amnesia within Germany,” he laments. “The emphasis is... very much on the memories of the Holocaust and the Second World War, but the colonial history has been, I think, suppressed. The links between these two events have also not been explored sufficiently.”



Jeremy Silvester works to repatriate the remains of the victims of the Herero genocide from Germany to Namibia

The Protracted Extermination of the Rohingya

One cannot begin to speak about dehumanization as a genocidal process without first understanding the degree to which hatred and distrust settle in people's minds. The minority Muslim Rohingyas are a very small ethnic religious community in the strait of Myanmar, with a distinct language, culture, and identity. Their persecution has a long history. They are denied citizenship in Myanmar and were excluded from the country's most recent census. The most recent violence is officially in response to Rohingya insurgent attacks, but the Burmese military has responded brutally, targeting not only the militants but destroying whole villages in northern Rakhine State. The UN has called the violence a "textbook example of ethnic cleansing."

Mofidul Hoque, director of the Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice, has witnessed the refugee crisis unfold in neighboring Bangladesh, as nearly 700,000 Rohingya people have fled their homes and sought safety over the border.

"Here, the group is small and the intent to destroy is almost complete... It has a similarity with the Holocaust. The Jewish population was [not] large... the brutality was immense, and the same thing we see with the Rohingyas. They

have... denied them of their ethnic identity and citizenship, and they are now trying to wipe them out... There are [Buddhist] monks and priests... who are actually propagating hate speech, who are branding the particular community as an enemy of the state, and the reflection now we see in the tragedy which has unfolded before us."

Buddhism is a religion of Ahimsa, or non-violence, but with state support in Myanmar, ultra-nationalist, Buddhist extremism and anti-Muslim rhetoric is spreading. "Genocide does not happen overnight," Hoque says. Instigating hatred, perpetuating that hatred through years of propaganda, and denying atrocities all play a role in making the nightmare a reality.

A Portrait of Denial in Rwanda

Tom Ndahiro, a Rwandan researcher specializing in genocide ideology and denial, contends that denial is present in every phase of genocide, be it a denial of humanity, dignity, or the crime itself.

"When you don't find the targeted group as equal to the others, when you deny the others' right to existence, dehumanization is

simple. Dehumanization leads your venture to extermination.”

In Salzburg, Ndahiro highlighted the many points in history in which denial has facilitated crimes against humanity, from the genocide of Native Americans and the pogroms against Jews in the Middle Ages, to the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda in 1994, which saw 70% of the Tutsi population brutally slaughtered in just 100 days at the hands of their Hutu compatriots.

The publication and dissemination of anti-Tutsi propaganda, such as the Bahutu Manifesto in the 1950s and the Ten Hutu Commandments in the 1990s, helped to galvanize Hutu hatred of their fellow Rwandans over many decades.

After the Bahutu Manifesto-inspired killing of over 20,000 Tutsis in 1959, Ndahiro explains that “The persecution and the killing was never seen as a crime, but a political act

they called a revolution... Some voices were raised that there was a genocide in Rwanda, but the world received that information with contemptible indifference. Discrimination against the Tutsis continued for many years... almost total extermination of them was contemplated, planned and prepared by the government in place...in 1994, followed by the perpetrators running away...Their plan to deny the genocide was instituted with impunity as we see today.”

To counter this denial of humanity and history, Ndahiro says that a culture of human rights is needed “that is inculcated from the lowest to the highest strata of the society.”

Extremist Ideology behind the Yazidi Massacre

Speaking of the recent Yazidi persecution by Daesh in Iraqi Kurdistan, Güneş Murat Tezcür, Jalal Talabani chair of Kurdish political studies and associate professor at the University of Central Florida, emphasized how Daesh underpinned their killing, raping and enslaving of the Yazidi with religious extremism: “The Islamic State... have a very strong ideological justification for the particular treatment they brought to the Yazidis. To be more specific, they actually used lots of Islamic sources to claim that Yazidis... abandoned Islam. From a classical theological perspective, abandoning Islam for any religion is basically a big sin... In some cases, they were given the choice of conversion... Many Yazidis decided not to convert and they were killed on the spot... So there you basically see a very clear-cut example of ideology shaping an organization’s behavior toward a minority.”

The plight of the Yazidis is not a new phenomenon; campaigns against minority religions have been ongoing for centuries. The pattern is often the same: kill the males, enslave the women and children. Daesh’s ideology has “strong, local connections and... many local people took part,” says Tezcür. In this sense, race and religious prejudice plays a significant role.

Tom Ndahiro is the author of *The Friends of Evil: When NGOs Support Genocidaires*



“Since the Yazidis were a very isolated community, they did not have much interaction with the outside, it was much easier to... just label them as devil worshippers and then characterize them with some very bizarre features or cultures, so it becomes much more justifiable to dehumanize them and basically attack them.”

Translating Narratives into a Framework for Peace

Acknowledging the patterns of atrocities, memorializing victims of genocide, and learning from humanity’s tragic mistakes will help forge a path toward resilience and global citizenship. Without these elements, humanity is doomed to repeat the worst parts of its history.

Looking again at the Rohingya crisis, Hoque and his team at the Liberation War Museum and The Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice have been conducting small scale research on prevention strategies. He stresses the importance of giving the Rohingyas a human face, giving the women and children a voice, listening to their suffering, protecting their identity, and providing medical support and post-trauma counseling.

Similarly, Silvester suggests integrating the subject of genocide prevention into the schools’ curriculum worldwide. Keeping the memory of victims of the Herero genocide in Namibia alive over a century later is key to “creating a new marker in terms of relations between Africa and other countries that were colonized in Europe. Perhaps it opens up other debates and issues.”

Ndahiro compares the memorialization of the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda to a sort of vaccination against massacres. He suggests establishing legal mechanisms, coupled with education. The process of fighting extremism begins with reversing all policies that led to the genocide – discrimination, unequal treatment of citizens, and poverty.

“Most of these crimes, they don’t start



with action,” Ndahiro elaborated. “They start with words...You can’t combat extremism without fighting extremist discourse.”

Tezcür notes that ending local support for insurgency and establishing more effective policies to protect the remaining Yazidis, rather than thinking of them as refugees, would contribute to the survival of a community.

“As some organizations are doing nowadays...like YAZDA...they document the projects, conduct interviews with survivors, with other Yazidis, they try to document the signs of the massacres, collect evidence, so that these things will not only stay at the oral level... but they will be part of a written archive...In the long run, you can basically think about these sites as places for museums or memorials.”

Incorporating lessons from the Holocaust and genocides from a broader international and historically universal perspective ensures that remembrance and empathy are ever-present. As Mofidul Hoque said: “This is a crisis of humanity and humanity should act as one.”

Mofidul Hoque is director of the Center for the Study of Genocide and Justice in Bangladesh. His country is currently witnessing a large influx of Rohingya refugees fleeing ethnic cleansing in neighboring Myanmar.

02

CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

Structured efforts to counter extremist mindsets and behaviors have existed for some time, but evidence of effectiveness is often not widely known or utilized. Many interventions require considerable time to effect change, making rigorous measurement of their success over the long-term resource-intensive with sustained political will around an often-unpopular topic. What works? How do we know? And will it work in different geographic, cultural, and political contexts?

In two workshops in Salzburg, Fellows explored the key challenges in defining and addressing extremism and possible responses to these challenges. Much of the discussion involved story-telling: who builds the narrative? To what

end is it constructed? How can we change narratives to be more expansive, positive and inclusive? The inclusion of women's and young people's voices was especially highlighted. Participation in the Program was designed to be reflective of this more inclusive approach, with Fellows under the age of 35 making up a quarter of the participants.

Understanding these various prevailing, competing and overlooked national and communal narratives, and the differing geographic, cultural, and political contexts in which these narratives have been developed is essential to respond adequately and appropriately to the challenges of rising extremism and violence.

Haydar Muntadhar is responsible for implementing the UK government's counter-extremism PREVENT strategy at the local level in the London borough of Newham



Addressing Religion and Ideology

The combination of religious fanaticism and political ideology differs from secular extremism – and can be particularly difficult to combat.

While the nexus of religion and violent extremism is not unique to Islam or the Middle East, Fellows discussed this phenomenon primarily through the lens of Daesh. Daesh has attracted to a greater degree than previous extremist groups an internationally, socio-economically diverse group of foreign fighters with varying ages, genders, and religiosity. Clearly, the group has an appealing ideology that it effectively spreads through propaganda.

The difficulty in responding to religious extremist ideology is that the impact of ideology is not easily measurable, and more research of its effects on behavioral patterns is needed. Fellows, however, observed that an ideology is more likely to be received when it can be connected to people's otherwise mundane lives, often doing so by relying on preexisting stereotypes and norms. For example, they pointed to the Nazi use of Christian anti-Semitism in Europe to galvanize support for the Holocaust.

Moreover, participants indicated that religious extremism is intrinsically more difficult to uproot. Whereas secular political terrorists usually have tangible demands, religious fanatics' actions are rooted in a non-temporal ideology making negotiation more difficult. Religious extremism usually transcends local contexts and globalizes the struggle it promotes. Its core narrative is the hope of achieving ideological supremacy over the world. Thus, Fellows contrasted groups like the predominantly Catholic but primarily politically, not religiously motivated Irish Republican Army (IRA), which confined its terrorist activities to targets related to Northern Ireland and the mainland of Great Britain, with the global scope of Daesh activity and its ability to inspire violent acts on its behalf by individuals with no direct link to its central organization.

Fellows from sub-Saharan Africa described a slightly different situation in their home countries, identifying socio-economic factors as a key differentiator in where violent extremism occurs. There, identity issues result from a mixture of ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic conditions. Extremists use current political realities as sub-grievances to enflame and catalyze violence, but the core of extremism arises from group differences and dehumanization. Once these narratives are established, they are difficult to deconstruct, and the challenges of asymmetric warfare make it hard to combat militarily groups like Al-Shabab in Somalia and Boko Haram in Nigeria.

Participants responded to these challenges by offering proposals intended to promote pluralistic religious interpretations



Najib Mokhtari and colleagues from the International University of Rabat devised a new master's degree in peace and conflict studies, as a result of their participation in Salzburg

thereby lessening dehumanization by fanatics, which can result in violence. In addition to addressing past extremism, one Fellow remarked it is equally important to highlight examples of past pluralism. Radical Islamists espouse intolerance of non-Muslims, but the Prophet himself showed pluralistic tendencies, as outlined in the Ashtiname of Muhammad, which granted protection and other privileges to Christians.

Fellows noted the most effective means of de-radicalization is to challenge the worldview of the extremist. Thus, studying the particulars of extremist ideology has important implications for de-radicalization efforts. Participants stressed the importance

of religious leaders in this effort, in addition to the ongoing efforts by organizations such as the UN and initiatives on social media. In addition, narratives on the extreme left and right wings of the political spectrum that respectively serve as apologists for religious extremism or manipulate its manifestations to sow xenophobia must be curbed. Finally, fellows highlighted intercommunal dialogue as a potential means of promoting commonalities and preventing the spread of extreme religious ideology.



Nagwa Megahed

Associate Professor at the American University of Cairo (AUC), Graduate School of Education shares how her project, Civic and Peace Education Initiative, came to be.

“I’VE BEEN WORKING ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT FOR MANY, MANY YEARS SO I’M NOT RESTRICTING MYSELF TO ACADEMIA. I DON’T LIKE LIVING IN AN IVORY TOWER. MY AREA OF EXPERTISE IS EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT. I’M VERY PASSIONATE ABOUT DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS THAT WOULD LEAD TO CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION. THIS IS WHY I REALLY APPROACH IT OUT OF PASSION AND I’M VERY GRATEFUL FOR HAVING BARBARA [IBRAHIM] AND I WORKING ON THAT AND ALSO THE SUPPORT FROM SALZBURG GLOBAL SEMINAR...

IT WAS BORN HERE [IN SALZBURG]... BARBARA [IBRAHIM] AND I – BECAUSE OF HER BACKGROUND IN PROMOTING CIVIL ENGAGEMENT AND MY INTEREST IN MEASURING CIVIC-MINDEDNESS AND HOW IT’S PERCEIVED BY THE FACULTY AND THE STUDENTS AND HOW CAN WE IMPROVE THAT TO IMPROVE THE LEVEL OF STUDENTS’ CIVIC-MINDEDNESS AND CITIZENSHIP – WE CAME WITH THAT...

I THINK IT WAS THE FORMULATION OF THE IDEA AND WHAT WE WOULD FOCUS ON WAS DEVELOPED DURING MEETINGS, GROUP DISCUSSIONS, SESSIONS, AND A LOT OF FOLLOW-UP AS WELL BY SKYPE MEETINGS... IF WE ARE ABLE TO ENSURE WHAT WE’RE DOING IS WELL INSTITUTIONALIZED INSIDE AUC AND MOVE TOWARD INTEGRATING IT NATIONALLY, BUT PRIOR TO THAT HOW TO MAINTAIN OR INITIATE CROSS-NATIONAL COLLABORATION, THIS WOULD BE VERY NICE.”

Building Narratives

A number of factors which converge to build narratives that define self-perceptions and images of others. In Salzburg, Fellows explored how refugee and immigrant communities can impact national narratives and conceptions of identity.

Influxes of newcomers can lead to conflicts with pre-existing identities and lead to fear of cultural loss or dilution among host societies, necessitating a redefinition of local identity to be more inclusive.

Meanwhile in post-conflict societies, narratives can form through the sharing of personal memories and testimonies and begin a healing process. Participants warned these narrative forms do not always provide a full picture of past events. Some felt, however, an over-simplified narrative has advantages for promoting dialogue when dealing with a complex political situation. Sometimes a quest for complete accuracy can cause people to become mired in unhelpful minutia. Ultimately, narratives can be altered over time through sustained efforts in public education and dialogue, helping to reach eventual reconciliation.

Civil society organizations, and in particular educational institutions, can play a crucial role in redefining national narratives to avoid future conflict. Fellows highlighted educational institutions at all levels as a key avenue to a more pluralistic future for the younger generation of a society. However, government restrictions on curricular content may limit the space for discussion

of politically contentious topics like national and intercommunal conflicts. Universities can similarly serve as catalysts for change, but some participants noted that academics sometimes have a negative influence by lending their credibility to radical ideas used to justify violence.

Media can also influence the dominant national narrative, shaping normative views, but can in turn invalidate dissenting or minority opinions. Language employed by media outlets can influence perceptions of an event even through its manner of presentation. Participants thus cautioned that while access to information is a public good, its manipulation can fuel conflict. They pointed to examples where media can serve as a platform for government and extremist propaganda, which was defined as the dissemination of biased information intended to influence public opinion and behavior.

However, some forms of media are easier to control and more susceptible to misuse than others. Fellows agreed the rise of social media as a primary news source has fundamentally changed the information landscape. The proliferation of “fake news,” and the ability to spread hate speech anonymously has made it more difficult for the average reader to discern truthful news from inflammatory propaganda, enabling extremist organizations and regimes to spread and entrench their narratives. Relatedly, participants observed young people’s tendency to look for quick, rather than comprehensive answers to complex political questions as further enabling the spread of misinformation.

Fellows pointed to a number of actors and institutions which can help overcome challenges posed by the current political and media environment. In integrating new immigrant communities and expanding the scope of national identity, Fellows looked to established diaspora communities as a cultural bridge between locals and newer arrivals. Additionally, they believed the sharing of refugee and immigrant stories can foster greater mutual understanding. Such stories can engender sympathy among the host



Charity Meki-Kombe from Zambia and Ruth Bolline Aluoch from Kenya took part in the November 2017 meeting, expanding the Program's African participation and subsequent outreach

population while serving as a form of catharsis for the refugees and immigrants.

On a broader scale, the public, and in particular youth, need greater training in media literacy. They need to learn to double-check information by consulting multiple sources and by recognizing source bias. Fellows recommended educational initiatives warning of the dangers and past uses of propaganda, and teaching the public, and in particular young people, to scrutinize the news they consume.

Case Study: Partition of India

Both the 2016 and 2017 meetings in Salzburg dedicated time specifically to discuss the 1947 Partition of India as a counterexample to the thoroughly developed memorialization and pedagogy of the Holocaust. Indeed, the failures to address the tragedies that emerged from the Partition have created polarization in the three successor countries today – not just in the relations among and between those countries, but also within their own societies.

Exclusive academic focus on the international tensions arising from Partition's

legacy and the governmental actors involved, led to longstanding neglect of the event's psychological impact on a micro-level. Fellows discussed the important implications of the Indian Subcontinent's failure to address adequately this psychological impact on the various affected populations, and maintained that studying its legacy is critical to understanding persistent societal dynamics across the Subcontinent.

Fellows from each of the affected countries described how the legacy of this largely unaddressed psychological trauma continues to influence public policy and social attitudes in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to this day. They agreed that reorienting education on the subject may provide tangible benefits for societies in the three countries, and recommended greater attention be given to alternative histories including Partition's impact on women and micro-minorities. Overall, the discussion highlighted the essential importance of proper engagement and memorialization of national tragedies.

Interview:

Arjimand Hussain Talib



Believing in a future that is “inclusive, plural, and not extreme”

International development expert-turned-newspaper editor returns to Kashmir to change the narrative in his homeland

Kashmir, divided under the control of India, Pakistan and China, is one of the most militarized zones in the world. The ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan over the ownership of the prosperous region began with the violent partition of British India 70 years ago. The Kashmiri people are no strangers to power struggles – they have been under foreign rule for centuries, from the Mughals in the 16th to the British in the 20th.

The lives of the people living in the area continue to be affected by the aftermath of the 1947 partition. Seventy years on, approximately one million armed forces man both sides of the line of control, guarding a population of about 12 million people.

“Because of this insurgency and the counter-insurgency operations, life of the ordinary Kashmiris is really very difficult,” says Arjimand Hussain Talib.

“Basic civil liberties are hampered to a great extent. There are extra-constitutional laws, which don’t really allow people to

live a life of normality. Armed forces have almost complete impunity: they can fire and shoot anyone at any time at will without accountability. So these are very difficult circumstances,” Talib says, adding that living in an environment of constant fear and uncertainty has taken a great toll on the people’s psyche and mental health as well.

Talib was brought up in Kashmir, during what he calls a “very difficult time.” In the 1990s, the region was in the midst of heightened armed conflict. Most parents at the time, Talib explains, chose to send their children abroad to receive their education.

“Like many others, I was sent to South India.”

Talib trained as an engineer, though his passions lay elsewhere. “I had more leanings toward social and political sciences, but finally, I became an engineer.”

He later went on to study water resource management and worked for international organizations such as Oxfam, UNESCO, Plan International and ActionAid. The work took him to 16 different countries (including Austria, where he participated in a Salzburg Global Seminar program on the *Politics of Water* in 2002) and many years away from Kashmir, but now, Talib is set on returning to help his home region.

“At this point in time I had two options: to continue my international career, working outside of Kashmir, or going back and doing something for Kashmir.”

As Kashmir is yet again living through a turbulent period of unrest, Talib has returned to Kashmir to launch a newspaper, *Ziraat Times*. The paper has been running since October 2017, and it is the first print publication focused solely on Kashmir’s agricultural business community – which makes up a large portion of the local economy.

While other papers largely report on the ongoing struggles of the region, *Ziraat Times* aims bring something new to the public conversation by focusing on the local economies of Jammu and Kashmir – the Indian-administered part of the region – and wider issues that impact the area, such as



Arijmand Hussain Talib (center), Fawad Javaid (left) and Tom Ndahiro (right) take part in a thematic discussion on building popular narratives

climate change. In addition to the news and weather, the newspaper features interviews with farmers and agricultural experts.

This is part of an effort on Talib's part to change the narrative around the region – something he spoke about at Schloss Leopoldskron during the session, alongside participants from other parts of the Indian subcontinent that were partitioned in 1947.

Talib insists that “Kashmir is a very resilient nation.” Despite its decades-long conflict, Kashmir is a relatively prosperous region, with lower rates of poverty in both India and Pakistan compared to the other regions in the two countries. According to a 2013 Bank of India report, Jammu and Kashmir ranks as the seventh most prosperous of the 36 states and union territories of India with 10.35 percent of the population living below the poverty line compared to the national average of 21.92 percent. While much higher than over the border, at 25 percent the poverty rate of Azad Jammu and Kashmir makes

it the second most prosperous of the eight administrative units of Pakistan, according to a 2016 report by the Pakistan Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform.

“We don't have people without homes for example. We don't have homeless people. We don't have Kashmiri beggars on the streets – beggars do come, but they are from the mainland of India.”

According to Talib, the fertile lands have ensured the fruit-growing region enjoys economic prosperity – but what is needed now is political stability and space for open discussion and dialogue to solve the long-simmering tensions before they flare up into another major conflict.

“You cannot have a sustainable peace, you cannot have stability, and you cannot have a stable political system without a credible democratic system,” says Talib.

In this vein, another project Talib is planning is a youth dialogue project, encouraging young people to come together



Talib left a long career in international development for a new role in newspaper publishing to help change the prevailing narrative in his homeland, Kashmir

and discuss issues of contention and find common ground.

Discussion is particularly valuable at this point in time, as Talib says Kashmir has lately seen “tendencies of growing extremist ideologies.”

“I’ve seen the perils and pain of the Arab Spring, and what it did to countries like Libya and Syria, and I’m affected by that.... I don’t want Kashmir to face a similar situation,” said Talib, “This [idea of] going back [home] is guided by that desire of contributing something small in making sure that we prevent Kashmir from becoming a situation like Syria or Libya.”

International collaboration gives participants in the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* the opportunity to learn from other people’s experiences on tackling local issues of extremism and consider adapting tried-and-tested strategies in their own contexts and communities. Hearing Rwandan participants share how their country worked through the aftermath of the 1994 genocide, where an estimated 800,000 Tutsi Rwandans were killed by their Hutu compatriots in the space of 100 days, was especially valuable for Talib.

“Much of the world is currently facing this challenge of extremism. Extremist right-wing parties and ideologies are taking center-stage almost everywhere.”

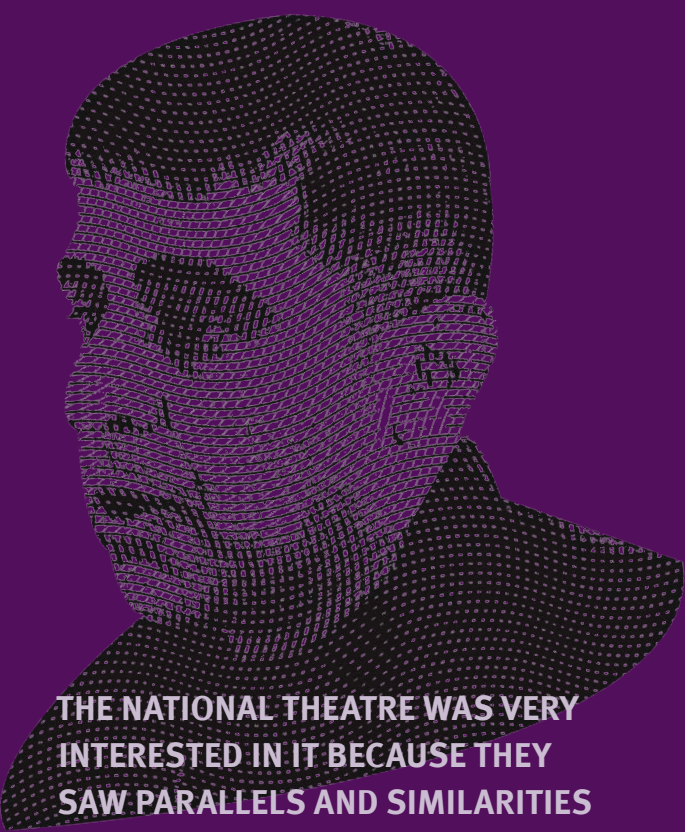
Talib values the moral support offered by the network of likeminded people.

“The biggest thing is that we come to know in these events there are people who believe in a future which is inclusive, which is plural, which is not extreme. And that motivates you, and that gives you an opportunity to form linkages, to think of a future where you would have allies in furthering your vision.”

Anwar Akhtar

Chief-executive of The Samosa, a London-based arts and media charity, shares why it was important to bring the Pakistani Ajoka Theatre's production of Dara to London's National Theatre. The play made history as the first Pakistani play to be chosen and adapted by the National. Set in 1659, Dara tells the story of the succession war between Dara and Aurangzeb, the two Moghul princes who had two very different visions on how to interpret the Quran. A filming of the play was screened in Salzburg in November 2017.

“ONE, IT IS JUST AN INCREDIBLY POWERFUL STORY, BUT TWO, IT HAS A LOT IN IT ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MUSLIM TRADITIONS, SIKH TRADITIONS, HINDU TRADITIONS. DARA WAS ACCUSED OF APOSTASY BY AURANGZEB FOR HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH SIKH GURUS AND HINDU PANDITS, AND ESSENTIALLY THERE WAS A WAR AND THE WAR WAS OVER RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN SOME WAYS. MANY PEOPLE POINT TO IT AS THAT MOMENT IN INDIAN HISTORY THAT LAID THE SEEDS FOR THE TENSIONS THAT ERUPTED VIS-À-VIS THE PARTITION OF INDIA IN 1947 AND CREATION OF PAKISTAN...



THE NATIONAL THEATRE WAS VERY INTERESTED IN IT BECAUSE THEY SAW PARALLELS AND SIMILARITIES WITH RELIGIOUS AND SECTARIAN CONFLICTS THAT HAD OCCURRED IN EUROPE IN A SIMILAR TIME PERIOD. THERE'S SOME COMPARISON WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHARLES I AND CROMWELL. THERE'S SOME COMPARISON VIS-À-VIS THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND PHILIP IN SPAIN...JUST THE MESSAGE OF HAVING AN ALL-ASIAN CAST ON THE MAIN STAGE AT A NATIONAL [THEATER] INSPIRES YOUNG PEOPLE THAT THEY DON'T JUST HAVE TO BE SHOPKEEPERS OR CAB DRIVERS. THEY COULD REACH THOSE GIDDY HEIGHTS AS WELL... I ALSO LOVE WORKING IN THE ARTS AND CULTURE, AND IT'S A PRIVILEGE TO WORK ON PROJECTS LIKE DARA, AND THE EDUCATIONAL WORK THAT WE DO AND THE CULTURAL WORK THAT WE DO, I THINK, BRINGS A POSITIVITY TO SOME VERY NEGATIVE DEBATES.”

Women's Narratives

Narratives around extremism and mass violence often focus on the male perpetrators, overlooking the role of women – not only as victims but also as perpetrators of atrocities. Women also have important roles to play as custodians of peace and community builders.

Victims and Survivors

Women's stories at times of conflict are often pushed aside, remarked one Fellow during discussions in Salzburg, so talking about the experiences of women is vitally important. Statistically, women are most often the victims of extremists' acts – directly or indirectly – while men are the perpetrators.

Many female victims have emerged from their difficult circumstances as powerful speakers and promoters of peace. These women are often listened to and respected by the society, and for many other victims, survivors and observers alike, they become symbols for hope. Not all women need to become public speakers: there are plenty of other ways to become role models within their own communities, added a Fellow.

It can be a challenging task to negotiate the space between the role of a victim and that of a survivor. One Fellow shared her own story of being the only female descendant of a family where the other female relatives had died as victims of a mass atrocity. "Holding that kind of special position can be a great gift, but also burden for a girl," she said.

Perpetrators

Women can of course too be perpetrators of extremism and violence, either directly or indirectly by joining movements and supporting structures that perpetuate extremism, such as European Muslim women who have chosen to join the self-declared Islamic State. In more patriarchal societies where women are seen as more passive and of having lower status to men, recruiting female extremists can be way for these groups to spread fear in the society.

Fellowss agreed that empowering women economically and via education as a means to prevent their joining or supporting such groups was vital. One Fellow argued that "it should be a priority, so that parents don't think that the best next step for their daughter is getting married."

"Custodians of Peace"

Enabling and encouraging women to be actively involved in society through politics was also seen as an important strategy. According to one Fellow, women often hold positions of leadership in their families as mothers and wives, but they should also be empowered as individuals to transcend their leadership skills to deal with wider issues in the community. They have a real chance of effecting change in the next generation.

To increase the reach of women's sphere of influence in the society, and bring them to the forefront of societal development efforts, more women need to be involved in leadership roles in the society. One Fellow called for women in powerful positions to support other women and children: "We need to bring other women on board."

While many may not have leadership roles, that is not to say that women are not already part of their communities. In one particularly powerful statement, a Fellow called for society to acknowledge the roles women already hold: "Men, if you think you need to mainstream women, or include us in the community, you fail to see that we're already a part of that."



A former teacher, Amie Hassan Njie now works in the Basic and Secondary Education Ministry in The Gambia, where she is the head of the Life Skills Education Unit. Through her role, she seeks to empower young women and girls

Interview: Obioma Uche



“If we can find ways to empower women, they will not fall prey to the ideology of those groups.”

When examining violent extremism, women are often left out of the narrative. And for professor and chemical engineer Obioma Uche this is extremely problematic.

Although she teaches petroleum chemistry at the American University of Nigeria, Uche is predominantly interested in the delivery of STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) education to students, particularly young girls. She believes this initiative can help solve local and regional problems. Moreover, she devotes her life to improving the educational infrastructure in Nigeria and supporting children's education.

“There have been a few bombings in Yola [in the east of Nigeria, near the Cameroonian border]. Fortunately for us, things have quietened down in the past year. But in Maiduguri, there's a bombing every other day, and what has struck me over the past year is that these bombings have been carried out by women,” she explains.

This realization of the increased participation of women in extremist groups, spurred Uche to become further involved in improving women's education. Uche believes it is important to empower women, as extremist groups attempt to gain members by giving people hope and by convincing them the group's beliefs are better than their own. “If we can find ways to empower women, they [will] not fall prey to the ideology of those groups.” This empowerment comes through education. “I think for many African countries, they do not understand that child and girl education is important.”

Uche understands challenging this common ideology will not be easy. She believes

that it is one thing to create a law but another thing to put it into practice. “The law is on the book, but is the will to enforce it there?”

In addition to her teaching obligations, Uche is involved in a community scholarship fund. “[We] look for underprivileged children and we pay their tuition all the way through primary school, and for a select few, we also support them through secondary school.”

She continues, “Now, that might not seem like much, but for a lot of families in the region, when you are struggling to actually feed your family, having to spend a few extra naira on educating your daughter does not seem like a workable solution.”

In addition to supporting children throughout school, she explains the fund strives to improve the infrastructure in schools.

“If you go to some of these local schools, you'll find they are pretty much husks, really. There are no windows, ceiling is in bad repair. So one of the initiatives ... this semester has been to refurbish the staff support rooms, give them a facelift, put in a new ceiling and also provide tools that would enable the teachers to put together their lesson plans.”

When speaking about her time in Salzburg, Uche is very enthusiastic. “It's been an eye-opening experience; I've learned quite a lot. I think it's been interesting, being a scientist in a room of people in the arts, learning how they frame their discussions.”

“It's a very educational experience, and I have been able to make a network of colleagues that I think will enable me to do a much better job of trying to improve the situation of the girls that I currently work with.”

Despite the obstacles, Uche remains hopeful. “Nigeria is a very patriarchal society and I feel that one of the ways in which I have been able to live a rather independent life for a woman in Nigeria is through education... And so I think, if I can at least be a part of having other women have access to that [same] opportunity, then that's how we move Nigeria to a better place.”



Providing girls with an education can help deter them from supporting extremist groups, says Nigerian professor Obioma Uche

Youth Narratives

What are the best practices to promote pluralism and prevent extremism among the current generation of young people?

Isolation and Seeking Community

Growing up in communities where deep-seated stereotypes of others shape popular opinion from a young age can help develop deep prejudices. It is often only through later encounters with the proverbial “other” and deep introspection that these young people can overcome these prejudices with which they had been indoctrinated.

Conservatism and intolerance among young people is rising in communities that had historically been better integrated or more pluralistic. There are concurrent narratives being pushed by both Islamist extremism and far-right extremism that “Muslims do not truly belong in the ‘West.’” This internal and external pressure has led to feelings of alienation among many young Muslims in Western countries, with the result that some turn to extremist groups to find their place in a community. Combating this narrative is particularly important to prevent the spread of domestic extremism among youth in Europe and North America.

Respect and Understanding

Approaching young people with respect and understanding was seen as vital. Listening to young people and providing them a platform to exchange their feelings was seen as an important method of reaching young people. Listening to and directly engaging with young people also provides insights into the sources of their extremist ideas.

Encouraging the young people to discuss and question their views in a safe space allows them to open their minds to other points of view. Young people should be approached without judgement. One participant remarked when countering any extreme view, you need to plant a seed of doubt and encourage the young person to question their own view of the world, leading them to start thinking: “Maybe the world isn’t black and white, maybe what I’m doing is causing more harm than good.”

Online Engagement

Another point brought forward was the importance of the internet. It can provide a platform for open discussions, no matter what geographical location. It may be a “safe space,” but it is also a space where extremism is often apparent, encouraged and spread.

In addition to encouraging open discussion, sharing positive examples was also seen as highly important. Use of the arts was also raised, channeling youthful energy into promoting pluralism and acceptance. Social infrastructure can also mitigate some of the factors that attract people to extremism. “It’s important to push positive narratives, and to encourage and empower young people to be that positive change.”

The Salzburg discussions ended on a note of hope – while the issues that attract youth to extremism are complex, there are many people determined to push for positive change. One participant stated that it is their firm belief that “as society has fought homophobia and racism before, so it can counter extremism now.”

Speaking to Salzburg Global on the record, young British Pakistani social behavioral researcher, Sadaf Rasheed said that young people need to feel involved in the society, and their narratives should be better recognized by politicians and policymakers.

“I don’t think that often people understand the value of youth; the amount of power that they have but also their capabilities. In areas that have limited resources, lack of resources or lack of formal education, particularly for the areas on the periphery, there’s not [a] real avenue for youth to get involved.” Such avenues should be established, she implored.

“

The young people,
they are drawn into mass
atrocities, into violence...
The genocide seems to be a past,
as history. But it's really alive.
Even today you can see the skulls,
you can see the consequences.
People really feel traumatized...
So we have to tell them:
'Other people made wrong actions.
How can you change it?
How can you change Rwanda to
be a very good story to tell instead
of telling the story of genocide?'

”

Freddy Mutanguha

Director, Kigali Genocide Memorial, Rwanda

Interview:

Sarah AlNemr



“Being introduced to so many different perspectives and different terminologies... makes you think more about the world.”

As a television and film studies major at the Lebanese American University in Beirut, Egyptian college student Sarah AlNemr understands the complicated role media plays in society. On one hand, media has the ability to reinforce fears and stereotypes, on the other hand it can also enable shared dialogue, which can help facilitate positive social change.

AlNemr first came to Salzburg in the summer of 2017 for the three-week *Salzburg Academy on Media and Global Change*, a long-running program of Salzburg Global Seminar that promotes media literacy and global citizenship. While attending the session, which was that year titled *Voices Against Extremism: Media Responses to Global Populism*, AlNemr and the other student participants created a multimedia “playbook” to facilitate cross-cultural conversations about populism and extremism.


She described her experience as “amazing”, as she was able to meet people from around the world. Since attending the Academy, AlNemr says, “I am far more comfortable being here with a group of people that I’ve never met... Being introduced to so many different perspectives and different terminology, just a lot of different ideas, makes you think more about the world.”

Based on her thoughtful contributions while attending the Academy, AlNemr was invited to return to Salzburg for a second time and bring her youth perspective to the *Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program*.

AlNemr states that she wanted to attend the Program because of her desire to learn about the topic of extremism. “I’m really trying to understand a lot more about it [extremism] because it’s very vital to our existence. It’s not something that we talk about.” She continues, “it’s [important] for me to understand more about the world, to understand how things happen and why conflicts happen.”

Although they were different, AlNemr identifies connections between the two sessions. She describes both as “experimental” and “very raw.” She sees the sessions as vital to dismantling current worldviews and systems as well as crucial components to understanding the importance of gaining “different perspectives on how things could be.”

She now plans to incorporate her new insights from Salzburg into future filmmaking projects. She highlights the importance of examining “different contexts, having different cultures, having different histories, ...and different explanations of one story, of one history,” and she believes that doing so, “really gives you a lot of perspective on how you can use that in film.”



Undergraduate student Sarah AlNemr was invited to join the *Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* after her involvement in the summer program, the *Salzburg Academy on Media and Global Change*



The Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program engages academics from multiple fields, such as Nagwa Megahed, an associate professor of comparative and international education at the American University in Cairo, and Günes Murat Tezcür, the Jalal Talabani chair of Kurdish political studies and an associate professor at the University of Central Florida

Countering Extremism

Structured efforts to reduce extremist mindsets and behaviors have existed for some time, but evidence of effectiveness is often not widely known or utilized. Many interventions require considerable time to effect change, making rigorous measurement of their success over the long-term resource-intensive with sustained political will around an often-unpopular topic. What works? How do we know? And will it work in different geographic, cultural, and political contexts?

In Salzburg, the Fellows considered various strategies they could promote and implement to counter extremism – from the grassroots to the policy level.

Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship education (GCED) has a long history at Salzburg Global Seminar. From 2004 to 2015, Salzburg Global administered the Global Citizenship Program, bringing students from across the US to Austria not only to inspire and enact change within individual participants and their peer groups at their home colleges or universities, but also to change the very higher education institutions from which the students, faculty and administrators came. Today the program continues to operate at Schloss Leopoldskron, under the leadership of the independent non-profit organization, the Global Citizenship Alliance.

GCED was formally embraced by the UN and UNESCO in 2012 to promote “a universal sense of belonging to the community

and a common sense of humanity” leading to a sense of “solidarity and collective identity... and collective responsibility at the global level.” UNESCO’s educational program targeting global youth was described as having three dimensions: cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral development. The cognitive development portion focuses on knowledge acquisition and building critical thinking skills such as bias awareness, media literacy, and understanding the role of rhetoric. The socio-emotional dimension emphasizes respect for diversity, social-connectedness and solidarity, and tolerance. Finally, the behavioral dimension stresses ethical and personal responsibility to build a more peaceful and environmentally sustainable planet.

Fellows discussed GCED, which by its nature promotes a pluralistic worldview, as an important means to reduce levels of extremism. Global citizenship is rooted in principles of non-violence, empathy, and universal solidarity, values opposed to tenets of extremism. The UNESCO program’s message is anti-hierarchical, promoting equality and tolerance among all people, all of which is antithetical to the core ideology of various forms of extremism. There was some disagreement, however, over the role of globalization overall, with some criticism of its economic, cultural, and social impacts. Additionally, participants expressed a need to be aware of power dynamics as it relates to systems of knowledge intended for global use.

Research to Influence Public Policy

Research has an important role to play in improving public policy to combat extremism and deal with the legacy of mass atrocities. Research following the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda was pivotal in revealing the roles played by perpetrators both at the government and civil society level. It also shed light on individual and institutional bystanders and collaborators like the Roman Catholic Church and international NGOs.

Fellows discussed the many challenges to not only producing such research but also making it influential at the government level. Proper methodological tools can be difficult to pinpoint, and funding is often limited, particularly in Asia and Africa where limits on free speech can diminish the space available for independent research. Research needs to reach senior government officials, yet Fellows found those officials are often inaccessible or are unreceptive to their research. It is usually easier to reach lower ranking government officials, but their influence may be limited in government bureaucracy. For example, one Fellow shared an experience in one sub-Saharan African country where a meeting scheduled with junior government officials about USAID-funded programming never translated into government action as it was never communicated to higher-ups.

Fellows concluded steps need to be taken

to ensure the receptivity and applicability of research. If lacking a clear causal connection between the data and the event, the research's utility for public policy may be limited. Its source can also impact its acceptance by the government and by the public. If the state is accused as a perpetrator or promoter of mass violence, its research may not be accepted by the public as objective. In some circumstances, any level of government involvement in research projects can compromise the research's perceived neutrality.

Civil Society Engagement

The nature of civil society is changing and so too is its impact. Fellows agreed in most countries, civil society is trending away from the institutionalism that traditionally served as its underpinning, toward more spontaneous, transient movements. The effects of this shift

Tali Nates has been engaged in the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* since 2014. In early 2017, she launched the *Change Makers Program* with Fellows from South Africa and Rwanda



for social sustainability are still unclear and require further study. Nonetheless, the shift necessitates a broader definition of civil society to include innovative forms of grassroots mobilization.

In conjunction with the generational shift away from institutionalism, numerous participants stated that greater focus needs to be placed on young people and youth engagement. Youth movements and organizations can play a greater role in giving young people a voice in society by providing skills to lobby effectively for their causes. One such common cause in many countries discussed by participants is the mismatch between educational achievement and outcomes in labor markets leading to widespread disillusionment and discontent. Some participants noted, however, that employment alone may not be a panacea; young people seek meaning through

Salzburg-based historian Albert Lichtblau led Fellows on a tour of the Nazi history of the city, showing the past is still ever present with memorials and street signs honoring the regime's victims – and perpetrators



their societal participation. Additionally, participants discussed the important role religious organizations have played in indoctrinating youth and can play in fostering pluralism. In every circumstance, local identity and culture should be considered in designing programing for civil society engagement.

Memorials and Museums

Attempting to memorialize national tragedies is fraught with crucial decisions about content, medium of communication, intended audience, location, and even nomenclature. Fellows described the panoply of forms memorials can take. As one Fellow described, they are not limited to a building; entire cities can serve as living museums, where the physical scars of past conflict left visible to the public can serve as an omnipresent reminder of the past. Relatedly, naming roads and plazas after national figures can serve to memorialize, but also to politicize local history.

One Fellow focused on the importance of nomenclature and institutional design. She explained the deliberate choice she and her colleagues made to establish a “center” rather than a museum as a means to connote an interactive experience rather than a memorial site for passive visitation. The center offers a community space for dialogue, education, and critical thinking. It hosts multiple activities a week, and works to integrate special exhibitions in the hope of raising new topics of conversation.

Whatever the decisions taken, the importance of memorializing cannot be understated. Fellows warned undiscussed tragedies can become like open wounds festering in societies. Museums and memorials provide an avenue for conversation to begin the healing process.

03

PILOT PROJECTS

In 2016, the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* received a grant from the United Kingdom Foreign and Commonwealth Office to continue its work developing strategies to support cultures of prevention, both within IHRA and outside, with a specific focus on Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia.

Following the initial small workshop in Salzburg in December 2016, participants from South Africa, Rwanda, Egypt, Morocco and Pakistan drafted pilot projects to advance their institutions' development and test local approaches to combat extremism and promote pluralism in their countries using the lessons of and tools developed for Holocaust education, commemoration, and reconciliation.

Their pilot projects were then taken forward by the partner institutions themselves during the course of the subsequent year. Throughout 2017, Salzburg Global provided support to the pilot

projects through peer advisory visits to ensure hands-on expertise and promote wider impact in each location. In consultation with the in-country partners, Salzburg Global Seminar chose peer advisors with relevant expertise from its wide-ranging international network of Salzburg Global Fellows, who traveled to the respective countries and in most cases generously provided additional *pro bono* advice remotely.

Representatives from the initial pilot projects, along with several of the peer advisors, returned to Salzburg in November 2017, together with new participants from the focus countries and other countries in their regions, to share their experiences and to discuss practical next steps both for their own work and for expanding cooperation in their respective regions of the world. Salzburg Global Seminar seeks to scale these pilot projects upward and outward, engaging a wider range of stakeholders to magnify their impact.



Participants in the South African workshops of the Change Makers Program examine photos of from the Holocaust

South Africa and Rwanda

At the December 2016 session in Salzburg, the Fellows from Rwanda and South Africa decided to work together on a joint pilot project to educate youth in their respective countries.

Together, the South African and Rwandan Fellows utilized the leadership of the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation (through its three centers), the Aegis Trust, the Kigali Genocide Memorial, and the Interdisciplinary Genocide Studies Center in Rwanda. After a series of consultations with educators from the UK and North America as well as continued communications and exchanges between South African and Rwandan colleagues, including a field visit in Rwanda by members of both country teams and peer advisors in April 2017, they devised the “Change Makers Program.”

An interactive youth leadership program offered as an extra-curricular activity for high school student leaders and their teachers, the Change Makers Program strives to build resilience and resistance to violence, help develop the necessary skills to challenge the idea of extremism and encourage participants to become upstanders (rather than bystanders) and agents of change in their society. It uses a combination of history, literature, drama,

arts, and other materials to teach about the Holocaust, apartheid in South Africa, and the Rwandan genocide. The educational modules are designed to build leadership and critical thinking skills, and to encourage participants to reflect on values of identity and justice. The program intends to empower participants upon completion to serve as leaders and change-makers in their schools and communities, asking students at the end of the program to propose community projects of their own. The idea was to enable the students to critically analyze the atrocities committed during the historical scenarios and make connections between them and current issues, to learn lessons from the past by understanding the impact of various moral choices made by different people historically and to reflect on how they themselves could make choices today to deal with challenges such as xenophobia, racism, and human rights abuses. Most important was to develop leadership skills, so that they could share the information and lesson learned with their friends, to create a future they wished to see and not to be reliant on adults.

The program’s pilot was delivered to students and teachers in South Africa and Rwanda in October and November 2017. Researchers from the University of Pretoria (South Africa) working with the University of Leeds (UK) conducted an independent assessment and evaluation, which looked not only at the effectiveness of the pilots but also whether and how they could be scaled up both in the two original countries as well as elsewhere in Africa.

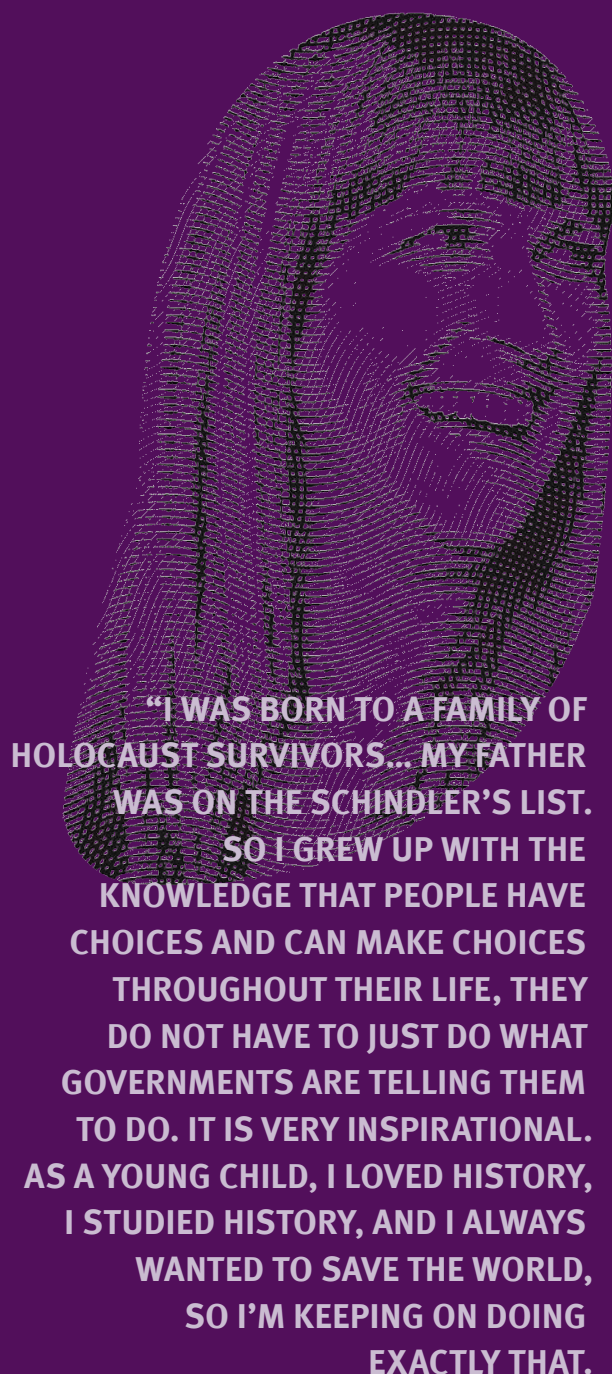


Students in Rwanda explore what it means to be an upstander and change-maker

Initial results were highly promising. Students were highly motivated, and post-program evaluations showed higher levels of empathy along with improvements in the skills which the program intended to strengthen. Students also came up with a number of projects for their own communities including, for example, fighting teen pregnancy in Soweto, South Africa. Educators found the external dimension of the program, focusing on genocides and conflicts from around the world, was a useful pedagogical method. When students were taught about their own history, they would often become engrossed in their own lives and struggles, making it difficult to critically examine the issues. By contrast, students were deeply engaged in external events like the Holocaust about which

they had little or no prior knowledge. While certain modifications are still required, the overall program was successful.

Participants from additional African countries attended the November 2017 workshop in Salzburg to prepare the expansion. In 2018, participants are collaborating to conduct training of trainers activities in order to launch the in program in The Gambia, Guinea, Senegal, and Nigeria as well as in new schools in South Africa. Additional future training is also being planned for Kenya, Mauritius, and Namibia. When launching the program in other African countries, one of the case studies used in the pilot program can be changed according to the needs of each country using the model currently developed.



**"I WAS BORN TO A FAMILY OF
HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS... MY FATHER
WAS ON THE SCHINDLER'S LIST.
SO I GREW UP WITH THE
KNOWLEDGE THAT PEOPLE HAVE
CHOICES AND CAN MAKE CHOICES
THROUGHOUT THEIR LIFE, THEY
DO NOT HAVE TO JUST DO WHAT
GOVERNMENTS ARE TELLING THEM
TO DO. IT IS VERY INSPIRATIONAL.
AS A YOUNG CHILD, I LOVED HISTORY,
I STUDIED HISTORY, AND I ALWAYS
WANTED TO SAVE THE WORLD,
SO I'M KEEPING ON DOING
EXACTLY THAT.**

Tali Nates

*Founder and director of the Johannesburg
Holocaust and Genocide Centre and one
of the creators of the Change Makers
Program on what inspires her to do her
work.*

**IT'S WONDERFUL TO BE IN SALZBURG.
OUR IDEA STARTED HERE LAST
YEAR... IT IS NOW A REALITY,
AND IT IS A SUCCESSFUL REALITY,
WHICH IS REALLY EXCITING.
I CAN'T WAIT TO SHARE THE
NEWS WITH EVERYONE HERE
IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS."**

Interview: BBC World Service

Students of the Change Makers Program in Johannesburg celebrate their graduation



Could lessons from the Holocaust help people overcome the divisions created by modern day extremism?

On November 19, 2017, the BBC World Service featured Salzburg Global Fellows, Albert Lichtblau, Tali Nates and Freddy Mutanguha, and Salzburg Global Program Director Charles Ehrlich as they discussed with BBC Foreign Correspondent Bethany Bell the importance of teaching about the Holocaust in order to prevent future extremism.

Presenter The rise in violent extremism is one of the most troubling phenomena facing governments and communities in recent times but what actually works to prevent it? Well, this week Salzburg Global Seminar in Austria has brought together people from 20 different countries, including Rwanda, South Africa and Bangladesh, who are working to try and promote peace in troubled regions. The seminar asks how tools developed for educating people about the Holocaust can help counter extremism in societies today, as Bethany Bell now reports from Salzburg.

Lichtblau “Adolf Hitler was from Austria. He was born here. He grew up here and he moved to Bavaria then...”

Bell An unusual tour of Salzburg by the Austrian historian Albert Lichtblau. Rather than focusing on the city’s famous citizens like Mozart, this tour is about its Nazi history and the way the city remembers or tries not to remember its past.

But this isn’t just a history lesson. The people on the tour are part of a group which is trying to find ways countering extremism today. Charles Ehrlich is from Salzburg Global Seminar.

Ehrlich The people who are here make a mix of activists, government officials, museum directors, civil society from countries in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. They all have their own national tragedies or difficult atrocities or difficult histories that they need to come to grips with. And Holocaust education is so well developed that it has a set of tools that they can actually adapt to their own societies to be able to help them address their own problems in a way that both memorializes the past in a dignified way and remembers the victims of the atrocities, but also allows them to heal and move into the future.



Bell One of the projects to emerge from the group is the Change Makers Leadership Program, which aims to help high school students from South Africa and Rwanda counter extremism by confronting past atrocities. One of its leaders is Tali Nates from the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Center.

Nates Our idea was to take three case studies: The Holocaust, the genocide in Rwanda and the apartheid in South Africa. But to add to that, issues of resilience and empathy and the kids, they would be treated as leaders.

One of the most important components was to look at individual stories and the choices people made in those times. So not only talking about the perpetrators and victims but also bystanders, also rescuers, upstanders, in the case of Rwanda, the international community: where was the world? So really looking deeply into human behaving those times and choices the people – individuals and groups – made. And the feeling was with the kids was that “now we are empowered.”

One of the students said, “the program allowed me to understand my power that

I am an upstander. I can stand up and speak up.”

Bell Tali Nates, the daughter of a Holocaust survivor, works closely with Freddy Mutanguha, who lost his parents and siblings in the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. He said they wanted to work with teenagers because they were most at risk of being radicalized.

Mutanguha The young people, they are drawn into mass atrocities, into violence. So we decided to focus on them and help them to resist extremism. The genocide seems to be a past as history. But it's really alive. Even today you can see the skulls, you can see the consequences. People really feel traumatized at some point. So we have to tell them, “Other people made wrong actions. How can you change it? How can you change Rwanda to be a very good story to tell instead of telling the story of genocide?”

Presenter Freddy Mutanguha ending that report by Bethany Bell.

Egypt

Educators at the American University in Cairo (AUC), Egypt, established the “Civic and Peace Education Initiative” as a curricular module (including teaching strategies involving community-based learning, intergenerational dialogue, and story-telling) on civic engagement that can be incorporated into courses across the university and more widely.

Aseel Al-Shawareb, chair of the Educational Sciences Department at the University of Petra, Jordan served as a peer advisor to the Egyptian pilot project

The implementing team at the university was especially well-placed for this task, as they had spent the academic year 2016-17 developing a project on integrating effective community-based learning across disciplines as a transformative pedagogy that promotes student engagement and develops civic responsibilities and shared values.

The program was designed to help students think more deeply about societal splits within Egypt and instill values of global citizenship. In developing the program, AUC collaborated extensively with peer advisers facilitated by Salzburg Global and partnered with Jordanian university faculty engaged in a similar initiative. They mobilized AUC faculty and students in workshops discussing topics such as civil discourse, conflict resolution, and appreciating diversity. In the course of developing the module, AUC adapted a preliminary baseline survey on students’ civic mindedness. After several months of preparation, including Skype meetings with the peer advisors, AUC arranged for each of the peer advisors to come individually at one month intervals in September, October, and November 2017, using those visits not only for program work but also for greater stakeholder outreach. By separating the visits, they found that they could maintain momentum and enthusiasm among stakeholders, to demonstrate this was not a one-off event but the start of something more continuous. The respective peer advisory visits focused on strategies for classroom and community engagement, the Jordanian experience, and UNESCO involvement to foster wider governmental support and project expansion.

The team identified a set of seven values and intended learning outcomes for each value related to the Egyptian context, as well as assessment strategies. The values were:

01. Self-Awareness and Self-Reflection
02. Respect
03. Non-Violence
04. Equity in Diversity
05. Solidarity and Global Consciousness
06. Social Justice
07. Social Responsibility and Civil Engagement.





UNESCO Program Specialist and Salzburg Global peer advisor Gabriel el Khili (center) with Nagwa Megahed and participants of the new AUC program

Global Citizenship Education, as promoted by UNESCO, was seen as a framing paradigm for how education can develop knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes – but it should also be seen in a global context and promoting 21st-century skills related to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

While AUC students are not a representative sample of Egyptian society, it was nonetheless useful in evaluating where students stand before experiencing the module and will make possible assessment of outcomes in the classroom as the module enters a pretest phase. Educators also found that preliminary discussions among faculty were essential to building a more robust module and increasing the likelihood of faculty support for its incorporation in their classes. Faculty appreciated the opportunity to explore their own biases and build greater self-awareness.

These modules have now been rolled out in the faculty of education for the second

semester of academic year 2017-18. This coming year, the team plans to expand the initiative, creating a learning community for civic and peace education based on the modules they have developed. The programming is interdisciplinary and can be applied in a wide array of courses, from arts to engineering. As of fall semester 2018, the university will also incorporate the module into the required freshman orientation program as well as the core curriculum for all undergraduates. Ultimately, the team would like to spread the programming to public Egyptian universities as well, but there will be a number of challenges. The module and its supporting teaching materials, currently in English, would need to be translated to Arabic. In addition, implementation in public universities would require official government approval and coordination.

Morocco

As a result of the December 2016 meeting in Salzburg, educators from the International University of Rabat (UIR) developed a new graduate degree program entitled “Conflict Resolution and Peace Governance,” which would, among other things, include a component on Holocaust education.

The UIR master’s degree will be the first program of its kind in the Maghreb. The UIR submitted the proposal to the Moroccan Ministry of Education in February, and it was approved by summer 2017 for commencement as early as the 2018-2019 academic year. It will be a two-year program at UIR with courses on the substance of various conflicts and on mechanisms for their resolution. It will be taught in English and French, drawing students from across the Arab world. The goal of the program is to promote a common Middle

Eastern identity, and to encourage students to think critically about potential solutions for regional issues including military, political, and religious conflicts.

Subsequent to ministerial approval, the UIR invited all three peer advisors to visit Rabat in October 2017 to hold public lectures and engagement with stakeholders, including providing concrete input into teaching models. They shared their own perspectives and experiences and added new modules to the curriculum to be developed at UIR. They also helped devise strategies for future collaborations and exchanges (of faculty, students, and resources) with their own universities in Austria, India, and Turkey. Participation by UIR faculty in Salzburg has also opened up potential collaborations with colleagues from Egypt and Tunisia.

Different faculty have been confirmed so that they can prepare materials and resources. Promotional materials are being distributed from early 2018. While the program has made major strides in planning and gaining government approval, there are still several anticipated needs. More experts on conflict resolution are needed to contribute to the program as consultants or visiting professors. The program will also likely require more full-time faculty and additional funding sources.

Najib Mokhtari (left) with peer advisors Navras Jaat Aafreedi and Kenan Cayir on a site visit to UIR



Pakistan

Fellows in Pakistan engaged students and young people in remote regions of the country, to encourage them to examine the past and imagine a peaceful and pluralistic future.

Due to internal specifics within Pakistan, the Pakistani partners found direct in-country collaboration between them difficult. However, they had no difficulty working together remotely.

Together, the Pakistan team and their peer advisors carried out complementary studies and outreach in separate hard-to-access areas of the country plagued by extremism and intolerance, using local religious leaders to work with youths and to highlight pluralism in the Quran. Both studies will contribute to the creation of a baseline of data on extremism in a wide area of Pakistan and will develop tools that will aid in efforts at countering these attitudes. Tools developed for Holocaust education are being adapted to help memorialize Pakistan's own national tragedy from Partition, which the country has had difficulty addressing.

As an additional matter, based on security concerns the authorities would not issue visas for peer advisors to travel to these remote areas, but only for Islamabad. Since that would not allow on-site visits, it was agreed that there was no added value for travel by advisors to Islamabad and the Pakistani partners would instead carry out consultations remotely. One peer advisor, who had double nationality (UK/Pakistan) did not require a visa and so could arrange in-country visits.

A study circle at Kohat University of Science and Technology connected students to the communities in the surrounding areas of Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly known as the North-West Frontier Province) to discuss community and youth related issues, encouraging participants to contribute toward the civic education and social welfare. The study circle also promotes tolerance and pluralism by studying current issues in Pakistan, and engaging in exchanges and broader study circles conducted with Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan and the University of Peshawar.

One case study on religious tolerance focused on the lynching of a journalism student, Mashal Khan, at Abdul Wali Khan University, who was attacked for allegedly posting blasphemous content on social media. Faculty and students from the group appeared on a Pashtun television program where students held a speaking contest on themes of hope and rebuilding lives after conflict and national trauma. The Jewish people's experience and resilience after the Holocaust was highlighted as a guiding example for war-torn Pashtun regions in northwestern Pakistan and southeastern Afghanistan seeking to overcome their own national tragedy.



Anwar Akhtar, founder of the British-Pakistani arts and media organization, The Samosa, served as a peer advisor to the Pakistani projects

Meanwhile, the Renaissance Foundation for Social Innovation, Pakistan (RESIP) conducted a comparative study examining the effect and role of socio-religious identities in shaping university students' behavior across Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It explored religious indoctrination as the likely basis of student involvement in violent and non-violent extremist groups. Case studies and interviews were also conducted to explore the impact of extremist group affiliation on students' indoctrination. Case studies were also used of arrested militants, their recruitment process, and tendencies toward religion, social problems, and political government. The purpose of these surveys was to provide baseline analysis that would allow for effective counter measures.

Results showed young people with weak belief systems are the most vulnerable population for recruitment to the banned outfits. Their views are more malleable due to their ignorance of pluralistic religious interpretations, making them more susceptible to manipulation by radicals. This begins often with non-violent extremist groups, and is then exploited by violent groups who convince students that Islam is under threat by force from the West requiring violent defense,

including intolerance toward others inside Pakistan.

The study concluded by offering recommendations to Pakistani social agencies and institutions for socializing vulnerable students and inoculating them against extremist recruitment efforts. After sharing these outcomes and getting feedback from peers at the November 2017 meeting in Salzburg, RESIP initiated a "postervism" (poster activism) competition on campus across Pakistan, focusing on three themes:

- **Gender Impartiality**

"Imagine a society where no person is discriminated against based on just their gender."

- **Spatial Identity**

"Explore how the space one inhabits shapes one's identity accordingly, or vice versa."

- **Countering Extremism**

"Imagine a society where extremism is moderated and peace can sustain."

Interview:

Ayub Ayubi



“I had no time for thinking independently or I was not allowed to go around freely”

Today Ayub Ayubi is a Pakistani social activist dedicated to youth empowerment and to engaging college students from different cultural and religious backgrounds through the Renaissance Foundation for Social Innovation, Pakistan (RESIP). But this story could have been radically different if Ayubi had not attended college. Born and raised in a “religiously fanatic environment” as he describes it, Ayubi’s childhood was marked by hatred and extremist views on how to treat others who didn’t belong to the deobandi – a strict Sunni school of thought.

“My time was divided 40% for school, 30% for madrassa and the rest of the time for my family. In this proportion I had no time for thinking independently or I was not allowed to go around freely with friends of not my culture. The parents belong to a deobandi sector and they didn’t want any friend outside that sector.”

Gaining time to think and his own space is what Ayubi considers as the defining moment in his life. While in college he started to have contact with believers from other Muslim sects and it led him to challenge preconceived notions that were prevalent in his household, like how the Shias are the enemies of Islam.

“At the college time I changed my circle of friends and that was the time I began to change. I improved myself and it was the initial point for me to de-radicalize myself and to have some freedom, for me to have some space for myself. That was the beginning of it and I really love that moment.”

This passion and will to change his extremist ways propelled him to create a safe space for others

to go through the same process he had. Hence RESIP was born.

His main goal with RESIP, an organization he founded in 2011 and of which he now serves as its chairman, is to promote de-radicalization and preventing violent extremism in his country. With support from Salzburg Global Seminar, he is now also piloting another de-radicalization project, as part of the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program*.

RESIP started as an informal way for students to gather and have the opportunity to discuss their own views, and since 2011 it has helped 5000 young Pakistanis. Seven years later RESIP has two nationwide programs, one of which is Mashal-e-Rah.

“Mashal-e-Rah is an on campus campaign for alternative engagement to stop the recruitment of extremist groups like ISIS/Daesh and many of these jihad groups [that] are actively working within the campus. We are trying with this campaign to provide young people a platform where they could share their voices, that could share their grievances against the state, against their own families, against the campus, anyone.”

Issues such as gender equality, Islamic extremism and other religions are discussed by students who have different views so that they have a chance to develop empathy with the other person’s beliefs and values. Mashal-e-Rah is currently present in 25 campuses across Pakistan.

“We are not judging them; we are giving them an option to speak up [...] We are trying to let them realize that violence is not an option and that you need to tolerate other people’s views.”

Having a space to talk and confront different ideologies is exactly one of the things Ayubi cherishes the most about his time in Salzburg. In his opinion, global meetings are the key to think of the world without any constraints imposed by family, society, governments or media.

“I would call it building empathy with the international community. That’s what we need at this stage. That’s one of the stepping stones toward peacebuilding and this is what I’m learning from here.”

A former zealot-turned-social activist, Ayub Ayubi now helps other young people in Pakistan to de-radicalize



Future Projects

At the Program's second Salzburg session in November 2017, the Fellows were encouraged to explore opportunities for expanding their existing projects as well as launching possible new initiatives, harnessing the expertise of both the bigger cohort of participants at Schloss Leopoldskron and the Program's global network at large.

Sub-Saharan Africa

In devising future projects, participants from across sub-Saharan Africa worked together to foster greater collaboration and exchange of ideas.

Change Makers Program

The primary initiative was the expansion of the Change Makers Program piloted this past year in Rwanda and South Africa. Following the session, the South African and Rwandan creators of the Change Makers Program are planning to expand their initiative to up to seven additional countries – The Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, and Senegal – over the course of 2018.

In application to other African contexts, the case studies could be changed. For example, instead of apartheid in South Africa it could focus on the Herrero genocide in Namibia or the legacy of the slave trade in Senegal. The social and political context of each country should be taken into account when adapting the program for local use, paying careful attention to approach these issues with local sensitivities in mind. Some countries including Kenya and Nigeria identified challenges in local replication of the program, but found alternative applications for its use such as training for military and police personnel. Additionally, the introduction of the program

could coincide and compliment other efforts of memorializing national tragedies such as an already-planned exhibition on the Herrero genocide in Namibia this coming year.

The Change Makers Program has also been selected for additional support and study by the University of Leeds research project, Changing the Story. This collaborative research project, involving universities, international, artists, grassroots civil society organizations, and young people is investigating "how the arts, heritage, and human rights education can support youth-centered approaches to civil society building in Cambodia, Colombia, Kosovo, Rwanda and South Africa." The project is underwritten a grant from the Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) through the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council.

Girls Empowerment

New project proposals included work on intergenerational dialogue along with a foundation to empower young girls to promote entrepreneurship through formal and informal education in The Gambia through The Gambian Basic and Secondary Education Ministry, which has identified a need for advice and professional development for educators to help implement these initiatives.

Peace and Justice Fellowship

In addition, a "peace and justice fellowship" program for young people who live in conflict zones and/or authoritarian countries in Africa, was proposed to enable them to travel elsewhere, bring back their experiences, and establish new ventures as social entrepreneurs in their home communities. The program would cover issues of diversity and conflict, the ethical dilemmas of multiculturalism, and place a strong emphasis on social responsibility. Ideally, the program will take place outside the target countries to provide a safe-space for open discussion among participants. Through the network, there is an intention to pilot this in southern Africa in 2018.



Veteran civil society actors and academics, Saad and Barbara Ibrahim have been involved in many Salzburg Global Seminar programs over the past decade, including the importance of strengthening civil society and the role of philanthropy in countries undergoing political transition

Network Building

To further all of these initiatives, participants from across Africa agreed on the importance of maintaining communication. They would like to establish a network of organizations and individuals engaged in human rights and genocide awareness programs in Africa. A meeting is planned for May 2018 to concretize plans for the expansion and adaptation of the Change Makers Program and to further explore ways which it can be used to supplement and support other local memorial exhibitions. Other challenges such as elusive government entry and funding sources still remain an issue for the programs' initiation and replication in many countries.

Middle East and North Africa

Participants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region proposed two new primary projects.

Conflict Resolution

The first project would seek to regionalize the conflict resolution program approved by the Moroccan Ministry of Education and the global citizenship education modules developed at AUC by holding a two-day conference in the spring semester of 2019 at UIR. The goals of the conference would be to provide a comprehensive cross-disciplinary account of religion, conflict, and peace-building in today's Middle East and North Africa region. It would also help determine resources and identify practitioners available for the development of the master's program at UIR, and to establish a regional repository for syllabi and bibliographies that could be used in similar global citizenship and conflict resolution education modules. These resources would be especially useful as a tool to combat extremism and hate speech in media. A gender component was explicitly encouraged. It will be necessary to identify funding for eventual translation of the programs into other languages such as Arabic. Finally, they will also seek regional partner universities that may be interested in replicating the programs.

Oral Histories

The second initiative would collect oral histories on Jewish history in the MENA region to educate younger generations on the history of intercommunal coexistence. The hope is that the content would provide an opportunity for youth to challenge their preconceived stereotypes of Jews and, as a result, other minorities. This project could be done in a number of countries with extensive Jewish history including Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Turkey, and Iraq.

There are numerous challenges facing such initiatives in the region. While degrees of restrictiveness vary by country, there is a general lack of free expression across the region. Human rights advocates are often painted as seditionists or foreign conspirators, making it difficult for their initiatives to take hold at the grassroots level. Universities were recognized as one place where various sectors of society converge and policy can be influenced. Collaboration among the participants from across the region, most of whom hail from various universities, will serve as a key support structure moving forward.

South Asia

Fellows looked for ways they might work together across the subcontinent as a whole, and not just within their individual countries, recognizing inherent geopolitical difficulties.

Regional Partnership

They considered a partnership among universities from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan and maybe Afghanistan, to promote joint projects among students such as a poster contest on policies to deal with the regional youth bulge. It is hoped that the partnership would also foster values of regional peace and diversity. They could also engage in research on the ancient history of the three countries to facilitate cross-border discussion without being overtly political. These projects still need to find funding sources and technical support to establish media sites and online fora, especially considering that in-person meetings might not be possible under current political circumstances. This forum could utilize a variety of social media and internet platforms, along with other commonly used media platforms in the region, especially television.

Museum Exchange

One concrete idea was to hold a conference in a neutral country (if in-region this could be in Sri Lanka or Nepal). The main component would be an

Asian museum exchange in conjunction with youth engagement to promote pluralism. The conference would bring together museums, historic sites, and educational initiatives in post-conflict societies to study the past (and particularly mass atrocities, including everything from the Holocaust to the partition of India to the current genocide being carried out against the Rohingya in Myanmar) with an eye toward promoting peace and pluralism.

Parallel to the conference would be a youth engagement road show and festival that would create links between various youth initiatives celebrating diversity. The meeting would explore the possibility of making the conference an annual event in light of available local resources. The event should also pave the way to develop further bilateral and regional exchanges, and would be open to representatives from other regions facing similar issues as well.

Kashmir Center

On a more local level, a center in Kashmir has been established to serve as a safe-space in promoting dialogue and youth reconciliation between Pakistanis, Indians, and Kashmiris. The Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali Center for International Understanding already has an advisory board comprised of 16 individuals from different sectors of Kashmiri society and a building to host participants. Additional funding is needed to provide transportation for participants to the center, where upon arrival they will be provided food and lodging. The Salzburg Global Fellow leading this initiative will also, following group recommendation, seek to enlist the aid of a professional mediator for initiating dialogue. An online and print publication, *Ziraat Times*, has also been established that aims to focus on Kashmir's issues of land depletion, climate change, and water resource management as a non-sectarian topic for mutual benefit and cross-cultural (and cross-border) cooperation.

“

If we ensure that children have proper education from nursery all the way up to university, then they'll be able to face the challenges in life...

As women, if we are empowered with education, you'll see we'll be able to be independent and do our work as expected, everywhere.

”

Amie Hassan Njie

Education Officer and Head of the Life Skills Education Unit,
Basic and Secondary Education Ministry,
The Gambia

04

FELLOWS' RECOMMENDATIONS

Faced with a rise in violent extremism, policymakers are under pressure to invest in prevention and to show that it works. Over the course of the two-year program, through the in-session discussions and in-country pilot projects, Fellows of the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* have formulated recommendations for how different stakeholders, from policymakers to grassroots activists could combat extremism and promote pluralism.

These recommendations were primarily policy-focused and directed at both Western governments and those in the focus countries, tackling extremism at home and abroad, as well as civil society groups seeking to engage on the community level.

Further recommendations from the Fellows cover the importance of Holocaust education, narrative building, genocide prevention, civil society engagement, policy-focused research, museums and memorials, teacher training and community-based learning, and university research and teaching.

While these recommendations are directed at governments and civil society actors, Salzburg Global Seminar will also use them to inform our own work as we move our Program forward in addressing these issues.



Jean-Pierre Karegeye
takes notes during
group discussions in
Salzburg

Policy-level Recommendations

Western governments countering extremism at home

Western governments seeking to counter domestic manifestations of extremism should:

- Promote greater integration of historically disadvantaged minorities, immigrants, and refugees through government programs and public-private partnerships;
- Fund or establish educational initiatives teaching values of pluralism and diversity of race, religion, ideology, etc.;
- Collaborate with civil society actors, particularly religious leaders, to combat extremist recruitment efforts;
- Address past issues of local injustice through open discussion and memorialization; and
- Rebuke inflammatory rhetoric by government officials targeting specific segments of society that has potential to engender feelings of alienation and sow xenophobia.

Western governments countering extremism abroad

Recommendations for Western governments seeking to counter extremism abroad fall into two broad categories:

01. Actions to be taken toward foreign governments responsible for stoking extremism, and
02. Actions to support civil society actors engaged in counter-extremism activities.

Government policies are often directly or indirectly responsible for violent extremism through repressive and divisive policies or through the promotion of extremist ideologies.

Western governments countering extremism abroad should:

- Continue to prioritize the spread of democracy and the promotion of liberal reforms in authoritarian regimes as a strategic interest in the fight against extremism;
- Use a combination of “carrots and sticks” to encourage liberalization in authoritarian regimes, including but not limited to the promise or threat of removal of foreign aid, economic sanctions, and other forms of diplomatic pressure;
- Use those same methods to address countries who actively promote extremist ideologies beyond their own borders;
- Offer assistance to those countries internally divided by sub-groups through offers of mediation and guidance on reconciliation processes; and
- Ease the strain on countries heavily affected by refugee crises through increased aid, by working with international partners.

While addressing extremism caused by governments is essential, Western governments should also seek to bolster civil society actors on the ground in these countries by:

- Offering material assistance to civil society actors engaged in counter-extremism and the promotion of pluralism;
- Providing various forms of training to activists; and
- Relaxing labelling requirements, in some situations, on aid provided to such actors so to avoid accusations that they are agents of “foreign interference.”

Sebatatso Manoeli has consulted for the African Union Commission's Department of Political Affairs and the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation on transitional justice

Governments in the pilot project countries

Recommendations for governments in pilot project countries – South Africa, Rwanda, Egypt, Morocco and Pakistan – focus on the approval and support for the projects themselves and support for other civil society initiatives, including:

- Granting meetings with project leaders to hear proposals that can bolster civil society in the fight against extremism;
- Working with project leaders to approve the educational components of pilot projects for use in public schools and universities;
- Supporting pluralistic discourse and respect for religious and ethnic minorities through these educational initiatives and through media programming; and
- Supporting religious institutions and leaders who espouse more pluralistic theological interpretations.





Civil society in Western countries

Recommendations for civil society actors in Western countries address both their ability to influence their own societies as well as advocate on behalf of people in other countries abroad. For their own societies, civil society actors in Western countries should:

- Address increasing social and political polarization through intercommunal dialogue in various fora; and
- Work to improve media literacy and civic awareness through educational initiatives.

Meanwhile, as citizens of democratic states, often with strong international capabilities, Western civil society actors should:

- Lobby elected officials to commit government resources to humanitarian operations;
- Bring violent conflict situations to the attention of government; and
- Mobilize wider civil society, including various political and interest groups, to pressure Western governments to respond to humanitarian crises abroad.

Civil society in the pilot project countries

In order to establish effective initiatives, civil society groups operating in the pilot project countries – South Africa, Rwanda, Egypt, Morocco and Pakistan – should:

- Identify key government and civil society stakeholders, and seek buy-in (whose approval is necessary, and whose support will help gain that approval?);
- Align projects to the country's wider policy environment and aspirations to maximize official institutional support;
- Seek to leverage international connections for technical support and assistance where civil society is underdeveloped;
- Tailor all programming to the cultural and political context of the target audience, taking into account sensitivities and prejudices the audience might hold at the onset of initiatives;
- Develop programs (including their aim, content, activities, and methodologies) through a consultative process involving experts with experience in history education and youth programs;
- Plan for the logistical needs of the project, particularly funding; and
- Formulate the aim of the program so that it is concise, easy, and realistic to implement.

The son of an Austrian Jewish exile, Charles Ehrlich has served as the program director of the Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program since 2016, having been involved in the Program since 2014

Further Recommendations

Tad Stahnke, director of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, and Kenan Cayir, professor at Istanbul Bilgi University, advised Fellows both in Salzburg and in-country

Holocaust Education

All countries should:

- Adapt the UNESCO curriculum to their own cultural and political environments

In the Middle East, where discussions of the Holocaust can often become embroiled in arguments over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it may be necessary to discuss the Nazis' systemic repression more broadly before focusing on Jews as the victims of the Holocaust.

- Establish a local connection

Tying the events of the Holocaust into contemporaneous local history can increase public interest and improve the effectiveness of the content.

Building Narratives

Governments and civil society actors should:

- Promote the humanitarian cause of immigrants and refugees through various media campaigns;
- Highlight commonalities between new arrivals and established society;
- Attempt to recast national identity in terms of universal ideals, such that the identity can be inclusive of a diverse array of ethnicities and religions; and
- Promote media literacy training programs to help citizens better recognize fake news and propaganda.

For example, the UN and US Holocaust Memorial Museum have created a poster exhibit on Nazi propaganda and its use to build support for discriminatory policies and genocide. Such interactive exhibits can be useful and adapted to a range of cultural contexts.

Genocide Prevention

Western governments should:

- Continue to combat extremism; and
- Offer economic development aid as a preventative measure in underdeveloped societies.

If a genocidal event is beginning to occur, Western states should:

- Apply diplomatic and economic pressure on perpetrating regimes;
- Build international coalitions to condemn and address the atrocities; and
- Enter conflict zones to stop mass atrocities where diplomatic and economic pressure is insufficient.

Civil society actors in Western countries should:

- Apply political pressure on their governments to take the above actions when such governments are reluctant to do so;
- Develop awareness campaigns in different media outlets combined with lobbying efforts.

Meanwhile, civil society actors in conflict zones should:

- Work to promote pluralism in accordance with the recommendations in this report.



Youth Engagement

Civil society actors wanting to focus their engagement on young people should explore:

- The establishment of training programs to teach youth to advocate and lobby effectively for their own causes;
- Social entrepreneurship and artistic activity as a means of harnessing creativity as another potential outlet for expression, political or otherwise;
- The use of media and newer forms of communications technology by youth to spread their message; and
- The creation of open study groups, and use of educational institutions such as museums and universities to empower and immunize young people against intolerance.

Global Citizenship Education

Global citizenship education (GCED) can be effective in imparting feelings of empathy and interconnectedness and can be implemented through a variety of pedagogical tools:

- Integrated with and complement existing school curriculum;
- Presented in stand-alone programs; and
- Offered through community-based learning and informal education.

The development of specific educational materials can vary, with examples including:

- A mobile museum;
- Animated films, and
- Flyers or handouts.

Any educational module should take into account local problems facing a society.

Research to Influence Good Public Policy

To produce research capable of improving public policy in addressing legacies of mass violence, combating extremism and promoting pluralism, researchers should:

- Consider their content, its methodology, and its sources;
- Identify a broad number of contributing factors including differing viewpoints and variety of participants;
- Differentiate between state and individual actors;
- Devise questions in surveys and interviews that are sufficiently simple to solicit responses from average people;
- Present results in a manner useful to crafting public policy with practical recommendations for governments;

- Take into account political realities;
- Identify potential funding sources, and consider whether any might taint the acceptability of the research;
- Search for government officials who are willing to review the research and who have the ability to see that it influences public policy;
- Seek broad societal involvement in the research's production, including private-public partnerships, to produce widely accepted results.

Dervis Hizarci specializes in comparative religious studies, focusing on anti-Semitism and anti-Muslim racism.

Museums and Memorials

In any context, people seeking to memorialize their past should consider some of the following questions:

- Who is the target audience?
- Who is being “honored” or memorialized?
- Are there boundaries to what can be shown and discussed? Who is and who should be involved in making decisions about the memorial?
- How do you address situations where multiple perpetrators were involved in the atrocity?



Srimanti Sarkar's areas of research are democracy and democratization in South Asia and peace and conflict studies, with particular focus on India's relationship with its neighbors



- And how do you present the subject matter in societies that have not yet come to terms with their own conflicted past?

Overly graphic content may be unsuitable, particularly when the intended audience is younger or when the psychological wounds are too fresh to revisit the episode in a vivid manner. Additionally, memorialization must be sensitive toward those members of society who may be closely related to or associated with perpetrators yet are themselves innocent. Finally, political circumstances may necessitate editorial decisions.

Open the conversation by examining an external conflict or tragedy before delving into local events.

Teacher Training and Community Learning

In order to improve education on genocide, educators should:

- Create an online depository of available pedagogical resources such as teacher guides, training materials, or books;
- Apply quality controls for teacher training programs to ensure educator knowledge of curricular content and proper teaching methodology;

- Organize an international conference on genocide and peace education that would attract diverse participants from different world regions.

Additionally, activists should:

- Produce a publication on success stories of teacher training for peacebuilding, tolerance, and coexistence in different countries.

University Research and Teaching

Governments should:

- Grant universities some license to alter their curricula to inculcate skills and ideas that support values of peace and tolerance.

When curricular changes are made there should be:

- Follow-up research to gauge the effectiveness of the programming.

Social media can be useful in this process, allowing educators to exchange information, raise awareness of critical issues, and to monitor the rhetoric of students as a means of program evaluation.

05

NEXT STEPS

In late 2016, the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* seeded four pilot projects in five countries with the intention for them to expand geographically and thematically. Several new projects were also initiated at the end of 2017, primarily focusing on cross-border collaboration to address both similar and distinct challenges.

The emphasis on grassroots activity within existing institutional budgets and missions anchors projects in their local communities and improves chances for longer-term sustainability. Activities depend on the partners and are demand-driven: the Program provides no

financial support to activity implementation, but rather the Program facilitates networks and exchange of experiences across borders to help in-country partners achieve their own institutional mandates, and to help external partners (government, academic, and other interested parties) to have access to practical feedback from on the ground within affected countries and communities.

New cross-border cooperation, exchange and partnerships have already grown from these pilot activities. Salzburg Global Seminar now looks forward to continuing our support of our Fellows and their institutions and communities.



Salzburg Global Development Director Ian Brown (top left) joins Fellows discussions as they consider new regional programs

Supporting Transformative Change

In March 2018, the Salzburg Global board of directors approved a new mission statement and set of strategic aims for the organization, which will drive our work going forward on all our programs, including the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program*.

The newly reframed mission of Salzburg Global Seminar is **to challenge current and future leaders to shape a better world**. To do this, we aim to:

Bridge divides

Convening outstanding talent across generations, sectors and cultures.

Expand collaboration

Fostering lasting networks and partnerships for creative, just and sustainable change.

Transform systems:

Inspiring new thinking and action on critical issues, connecting local innovators and global resources.

These aims will form the basis of how Salzburg Global both decides on the activities it undertakes and how it evaluates the effectiveness of those activities.

As such, as Fellows have returned home to work on their ongoing and new projects, Salzburg Global Seminar will continue to serve as a resource to foster collaboration and connect local project leaders to regional and international resources.

Salzburg Global also intends to continue this series on Holocaust education and combating extremism through the convening of future sessions in Salzburg, as well as by supporting in-region gatherings of Fellows to aid in the execution of these initiatives.

“After the Holocaust, people have repeated the mantra “never again” – but then mass atrocities keep happening,” explains Charles Ehrlich, Salzburg Global Program Director. “In Salzburg, we’ve heard first-hand accounts of tragedies taking place right now afflicting the Rohingya and the Yazidis, among others. Many of our participants in this program have themselves witnessed or survived unspeakable horror.

“As an institution based in Austria, a country which itself continues to have difficulty addressing its own Nazi legacy, Salzburg Global Seminar has an especially important role in working with our colleagues from countries across the world to both address their own difficult histories and, through grassroots action, to seek to create a future where these tragedies do not repeat. The network has grown organically – mostly consisting of Fellows from countries in the Global South – as a way to break the isolation, so they have the opportunity to share experiences and ideas and to learn from each other how to develop initiatives appropriate for the circumstances of their own countries.”

The *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* has shown that it can indeed bridge divides and convene a diverse range of key decision-makers and action-takers in this field, even from across conflicting sectors, geographies, and factions. The Program has also proven its ability to spark collaboration between those diverse individuals and their institutions, creating new learning exchange opportunities and scalable projects. Transforming systems involves taking such new partnerships and new thinking to scale, and we believe that the collective actions our Fellows have undertaken show considerable potential for such growth.

We look forward to playing our part to further encourage that transformative change.





Program Participants

Participants of
the first workshop
in December
2016 at Schloss
Leopoldsdorfer

The following people have participated in the *Salzburg Global Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention Program* between August 2016 to March 2018 as session participants, resource specialists, peer advisors, or session observers. All positions were correct at time of participation.

- **Navras Jaat Aafreedi**
Assistant Professor,
Presidency University, India
- **Anwar Akhtar**
Director, The Samosa Media
Project, UK (Pakistan)
- **Sarah AlNemr**
B.A. Candidate, TV and Film
Studies, Lebanese American
University, Lebanon (Egypt)
- **Aseel Al-Shawareb**
Chair of Educational Sciences
Department, University of
Petra, Jordan
- **Ruth Bolline-Aluoch**
Directing Staff (Training,
Education & Research),
International Peace Support
Training Centre, Kenya
- **Ayub Ayubi**
Chairman, Renaissance by
Social Innovation, Pakistan
(RESIP), Pakistan
- **Thomas Michael Baier**
Austrian Ambassador and
Special Envoy, International
Holocaust Remembrance
Alliance (IHRA), Austria
- **Wolfgang Benedek**
Emeritus Professor of
International Law, Karl-
Franzens-University Graz,
Austria
- **Belin Benezra-Yensarfati**
Doctoral Candidate,
Department of Modern
Turkish History, Bogazici
University, Turkey
- **Sue Breeze**
Head of Equality &
Non-Discrimination Team,
Foreign and Commonwealth
Office, UK
- **Kenan Cayır**
Professor of Sociology,
Istanbul Bilgi University,
Turkey
- **Youk Chhang**
Director, Documentation
Center of Cambodia, Phnom
Penh, Cambodia
- **Lesley Cushman**
Educator, Cape Town
Holocaust Centre, South
Africa
- **Christopher Dearing**
Independent Consultant, USA
- **Jason Dorio**
Instructor in Education,
University of California, Los
Angeles, USA
- **Pinar Dost-Niyego**
Member, Jewish Studies Unit,
Istanbul Bilgi University,
Turkey
- **Hakima Fassi Fihri**
Director of International
Relations and Partnerships,
Université Internationale de
Rabat, Morocco
- **Richard Freedman**
Director, Cape Town
Holocaust Center,
South Africa
- **Roman Gerodimos**
Principal Academic in Global
Current Affairs, Bournemouth
University, UK (Greece)
- **Negede Gezahegn**
Co-Founder & Executive
Director, DANA Social Group,
Ethiopia
- **T. Jeremy Gunn**
Professor of Law and
Political Science, Université
Internationale de Rabat,
Morocco (USA)
- **Karen Hamling**
Freedom of Religion or Belief
Desk Officer, Foreign and
Commonwealth Office, UK
- **Dervis Hizarci**
Chairman, Kreuzberger
Initiative gegen
Antisemitismus, Germany
- **Mofidul Hoque**
Director, Center for the Study
of Genocide and Justice,
Bangladesh
- **Barbara Ibrahim**
Founding Director,
John D. Gerhart Center for
Philanthropy and Civic
Engagement, American
University of Cairo, Egypt
- **Saad Eddin Ibrahim**
Founder, Arab Organization
for Human Rights, Egypt
- **Noël Iglessias**
Co-Founder & Deputy Director,
DANA Social Group, Ethiopia
- **Fawad Javaid**
Lecturer in Pakistan Studies,
Kohat University of Science
and Technology, Pakistan
- **Jean-Pierre Karegeye**
Director, Interdisciplinary
Genocide Studies Center,
Rwanda
- **Gabriel el Khili**
Program Specialist –
Focal Point for Tunisia and
Mauritania, UNESCO, Tunisia
- **Charity Meki-Kombe**
Postdoctoral Research
Fellow, Faculty of Education,
University of Pretoria,
South Africa (Zambia)
- **Albert Lichtblau**
Vice-Chair, Centre for Jewish
Cultural History; Chair of
the Department of History,
University of Salzburg,
Austria
- **Aloys Mahwa**
Executive Director,
Interdisciplinary Genocide
Studies Center, Rwanda



- **Kimberly Mann**
Chief of Education Outreach, Department of Public Information, United Nations, USA
- **Sebatatso Manoeli**
Consultant, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa (Lesotho)
- **Clark McCauley**
Research Professor of Psychology, Bryn Mawr College; Co-Director, Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, USA
- **Nagwa Megahed**
Associate Professor of Comparative and International Education, American University of Cairo, Egypt
- **Najib Mokhtari**
Director, Mediterranean, North African and Middle East Studies, Université Internationale de Rabat, Morocco
- **Klaus Mueller**
Representative for Europe, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Germany
- **Haydar Muntadhar**
Community Resilience Office, London Borough of Newham, UK
- **Freddy Mutanguha**
Regional Director – East Africa, Aegis Trust; Director, Kigali Genocide Memorial, Rwanda

- **Tali Nates**
Director, Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre, South Africa
- **Tom Ndahiro**
Technical Advisor and Researcher, Interdisciplinary Genocide Studies Center, Rwanda
- **Amie Hassan Nije**
Senior Education Officer, Ministry of Basic and Secondary Education, The Gambia
- **Armin Osmanovic**
Head of Office, Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, Senegal (Germany)
- **Sadaf Rasheed**
Social Behavioral Change Communications Professional, UK (Pakistan)
- **Astrid Reisinger Coracini**
Director of International Criminal Law, Humanitarian Law, and Human Rights Law, University of Salzburg, Austria
- **Srimanti Sarkar**
Doctoral Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta, India
- **Sayana Ser**
Consultant of Witnesses and Experts, Court of Cambodia, Cambodia
- **Arlene Sher**
Head of Education, Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre, South Africa

- **Jeremy Silvester**
Director, Museums Association of Namibia, Namibia
- **Tad Stahnke**
Director, Initiative on Holocaust Denial and Antisemitism, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, USA
- **Arjmand Hussain Talib**
Editor in Chief, Ziraat Times, Kashmir, India
- **Yasemin Tekgürler**
B.A. Candidate, Sociology and Studio Art, Davidson College, USA
- **Günes Murat Tezcür**
Jalal Talabani Chair of Kurdish Political Studies, University of Central Florida, USA (Turkey)
- **Ceris Turner-Bailes**
Chief Operating Officer, Aegis Trust, UK
- **Obioma Uche**
Assistant Professor of Petroleum Chemistry and Engineering, American University of Nigeria, Nigeria
- **Daniel Wilhelm**
President, The Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation, USA
- **Steven Wilkinson**
Nilekani Professor of India and South Asian Studies and Chair, Department of Political Science, Yale University, USA

Rapporteur

- **Joshua Spector**
Silverman-Rodin Scholar, University of Pennsylvania Law School, USA

Staff

- **Charles Ehrlich**
Program Director
- **Antonio Riolino**
Program Associate
- **Ian Brown**
European Development Director
- **Benjamin Glahn**
Vice President, Development and Operations
- **Louise Hallman**
Editor
- **Jan Heinecke**
Fellowship Manager
- **Tomas De La Rosa**
Christopher Hamill-Stewart
Yeji Park
Helena Santos
Carly Sikina
Mirva Villa
Communications Interns
- **Torra Hausmann**
Anna Speth
Library and Archives Interns
- **Joy Willis**
Program Intern

Ronald D. Abramson

Bates African Fellowship
Endowment

ZukunftsFonds
der Republik Österreich

Penn Fellows
Endowment FundThe Thompson
Fellowship

RAPPEURTEUR: Joshua Spector is a recent graduate from the University of Pennsylvania Law School where he was a Silverman-Rodin scholar and a senior editor of the *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. During law school he interned for the United States House Committee on Foreign Affairs, where he worked on matters related to foreign aid and international security. He previously worked at the Pennsylvania Superior Court for the Honorable James J. Fitzgerald, III, researching and drafting memoranda on issues including mandatory minimum sentencing, property law, and contract disputes. In 2016, Joshua served as the campaign manager for Nicolas García, a Democratic candidate for the Florida State House of Representatives. Prior to law school, he served as an intern for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in Washington and Senator Robert Casey in his Philadelphia office. Additionally, he worked for over a year with the Anti-Defamation League in New York. There, he developed a program to educate Jewish college and high school students about anti-Semitism and methods of response, and created a paid fellowship for college students to be trained to facilitate the education program on their college campus. Joshua is fluent in Hebrew and has a working knowledge of Arabic, French, and Spanish. He received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in political science and modern Middle Eastern studies. He will begin work this fall as an associate at Proskauer Rose LLP in Boston, MA, USA.

EDITOR: Louise Hallman is the Strategic Communications Manager at Salzburg Global Seminar, responsible for managing and advancing Salzburg Global's worldwide outreach through consistent, dynamic and integrated content, both digital and print. Her publications for Salzburg Global have covered topics including the future of the post-"Arab Spring" Middle East, European regional cohesion, Asian regional co-operation and sustainability, philanthropy in times of crisis, the right to health care, LGBT human rights, and education reform. She also leads the production of the annual flagship publication, *The Salzburg Global Chronicle*. Prior to joining Salzburg Global as editor in 2012, she worked for the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) as the manager of the "Mobile News in Africa" project, and the International Press Institute as a press freedom advisor, focusing on Latin America and Europe. She has also worked for the UK's Department of International Development and the crowdfunding platform, IndieVoices. During her studies, she undertook internships at media outlets including Al Jazeera and the *Yemen Times*. Louise holds an M.A. (Hons) in international relations and Middle East studies from the University of St. Andrews, UK, and an M.A. (with distinction) in multimedia journalism from Glasgow Caledonian University, UK.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Ian Brown, European Development Director and **Charles E. Ehrlich**, Program Director
with **Jinny Do**, **Maryam Ghaddar**, **Helena Santos**, **Carly Sikina**, **Mirva Villa** and **Tomas De La Rosa**, Communications Interns



**SALZBURG
GLOBAL
SEMINAR**

Salzburg Global Seminar

Leopoldskronstrasse 56–58
5020 Salzburg, Austria

TEL: +43 662 839 830
FAX: +43 662 839 837

1250 H Street, NW – Suite 1150
Washington, DC 20005 USA

info@SalzburgGlobal.org
www.SalzburgGlobal.org

