



The Holocaust
and the United Nations
Outreach Programme



Volume II

Discussion Papers Journal

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The discussion papers series provides a forum for individual scholars on the Holocaust and the averting of genocide to raise issues for debate and further study. These writers, representing a variety of cultures and backgrounds, have been asked to draft papers based on their own perspective and particular experiences. The views expressed by the individual scholars do not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations. The discussion papers series is also available online at www.un.org/holocaustremembrance.

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Foreword

By Peter Launsky-Tieffenthal Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information

Some years ago, I had the privilege to be present at the United States Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. for a screening of a new film about Anne Frank. I was reminded again how important it is to ensure that people understand the dangers of prejudice and hatred.



UN Photo

Peter Launsky-Tieffenthal

The protection of human rights, and the promotion of respect for each and every individual, is a mission that is integral to the United Nations itself.

The legacy of the last century is marred by tragic events where human rights were violated and the international community failed to respond adequately – from the Holocaust to the killing fields of Cambodia, the genocide in Rwanda and mass murder in Srebrenica. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, in his visit to the Memorial Centre in Srebrenica in July 2012, reiterated the importance of implementing the principle of the responsibility to protect which, he noted, had been applied recently to protect civilians in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya.

Education has an important role to play in genocide prevention, and it is a core element of the Holocaust and the United Nations

Outreach Programme. This compendium of discussion papers is the second in a series and one of many pedagogical tools made available by the Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme. Since its creation in 2006 as mandated in United Nations General Assembly resolution 60/7, the Programme has developed a multi-faceted approach in all six official languages that includes online and print educational products, DVDs, exhibits, social media campaigns, student video conferences, seminars, a film series, and this Journal. It also continues to combat Holocaust denial, as called for in United Nations General Assembly resolution 61/255.

The Discussion Papers in this volume have been written by a diverse group of authors on a wide range of topics, from their distinct personal perspectives. Among these is Professor Pan Guang (China), who recounts how Shanghai emerged as a shelter for Jewish refugees during the Second World War. Juan Méndez (Argentina) discusses the trial of accused Serbian war criminal Ratko Mladic and its impact on the international criminal justice system. Tali Nates (South Africa) illustrates how Holocaust education in South Africa is helping the country come to terms with its own history of racial oppression.

I invite you to read and share this publication. While the views expressed by individual scholars might not necessarily reflect those of the United Nations, the writers offer insights that help to raise the level of dialogue, as well as define possible means to curb abuses of human rights. These articles provide an opportunity for deeper reflection, structured debate and, hopefully, positive change. And that is what the United Nations, ultimately, is all about.

Peter Launsky-Tieffenthal
Under-Secretary-General
for Communications and Public Information
United Nations



1. Remembering the Nazi Persecution of Roma and Sinti



Close-up of a "Gypsy" couple in the Belzec concentration camp, 1 July 1940. Belzec, Poland.

Photo Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



UN Photo

Andrzej Mirga

Andrzej Mirga (Poland) has served as Senior Adviser on Roma and Sinti Issues in the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) since December 2006. He co-founded the first Polish Roma association after the fall of communism and served as its chair between 1991 and 1995. He organised two historic events commemorating the Romani *Pharrajimos* in 1993 and 1994 in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Cracow and he represented the Roma at the Days of Remembrance ceremony at the Capitol Rotunda in Washington, D.C., in 1995. Mr. Mirga is also a long-term associate of the Project on Ethnic Relations, the United States-based non-governmental mediating organisation with headquarters in Princeton, New Jersey (since 1993).

Andrzej Mirga has served as expert on the Committee of Experts on Roma and Travelers of the Council of Europe (former Specialist Group on Roma/Gypsies, since 1996), and as its chair (2003-2005). He was also a member of Poland's Common Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities (2005-2006) and at the High-Level Group on Labour Market and Disadvantaged Ethnic Minorities (European Commission, 2005-2007). Mr. Mirga was a guest speaker at the Holocaust Memorial Ceremony held in the United Nations General Assembly Hall on 27 January 2010. He made a statement on the persecution and murder of the Roma and Sinti under the Nazi regime.

The Legacy of the Survivors: Remembering the Nazi Persecution of Roma and Sinti — a Key to Fighting Modern-day Racism

by *Andrzej Mirga*

Senior Adviser on Roma and Sinti Issues, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR)

On 27 January 1945 the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp was a salvation for 7,000 camp prisoners that managed to survive torture, starvation, diseases, medical experiments, executions and gas chambers. There were no Roma and Sinti among those survivors. Half a year before the liberation, on the night of 2 August 1944, the remaining 2,897 Roma women, old men and children from the so called “Zigeunerlager” (Gypsy camp) established by Himmler’s decree in December 1942, who by then already suffered all possible atrocities, were killed in gas chambers. Around 23,000 Roma and Sinti altogether were detained in Auschwitz, some 13,000 from Germany and Austria and others from countries under the rule of the Third Reich or collaborating with it. Between April and July 1944 about 3,500 Roma and Sinti were transferred to other camps.

Some of them survived the ordeal of persecution, but 85 per cent of those originally transported to Auschwitz-Birkenau were eventually exterminated.¹

For many decades Roma and Sinti survivors of Nazi persecution were silent and rarely voiced their stories or reported their experiences and observations. And because remembrance depends on people's memories, survivors' testimonies, research, historiography and official recognition, the Roma and Sinti suffering went largely unnoticed. After 1945 many countries did not acknowledge and condemn their racial persecution; furthermore, they for decades pursued discriminatory practices against Roma and Sinti, including in the restitution process.

Roma and Sinti struggled for recognition and a righteous place among the victims of the Nazi regime. Only in the early 1980s, Germany officially recognised that the extermination of the Roma and Sinti was based on 'racial' grounds.² Only in 1994, Roma and Sinti themselves started to commemorate their genocide in Auschwitz on 2 August, the date of liquidation of the "Zigeunerlager", with the participation of state officials and the international community. Only in 2001, the State Museum of Auschwitz opened a permanent exhibition on the Roma and Sinti genocide.³

Symbolic personalities and their stories, like that of Anne Frank which encapsulates the experience of the Holocaust, are remembered for generations. Roma and Sinti still have to uncover such personal evidence symbolising the experience of persecution. The story of "Unku" or Erna Lauenburger, a German Sinti girl could be one of such telling stories symbolising Roma and Sinti genocide. Erna, a model for the title heroine of the children's book "Ede and

1 "Genocide of European Roma (Gypsies)", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Available from: <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219>.

2 "Institutionalisation and Emancipation", Project Education of Roma Children in Europe, produced by the Council of Europe.

3 "Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum Timeline", Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial Museum. Available from: <http://en.auschwitz.org>.

Unku” by Grete Weiskopf-Bernheim (pseudonym: Alex Wedding), was born in 1920. The book was published in 1931. The writer was Jewish, her book was therefore banned by the Nazis in 1933. Erna was “racially” registered in 1939 and was classified as a “gypsy of mixed race” in 1941. She was deported from the detention camp in Magdeburg directly to Auschwitz on 1 March 1943 with her family and died there that same year. Out of the 11 Sinti children mentioned in this book, based on real life-stories, only one child survived the persecution.

The memory of the Holocaust cannot fade away as the suffering of millions should not go in vain. And yet, humanity is confronted time and again with the evil of genocide. Is it possible to avoid that? The survivors teach us not to collaborate with those who espouse hatred, but actively resist it and oppose it.

Racist ideologies have not vanished in our world; still there are groups in societies who are ready to preach such ideas and act based upon them. Those who suffered during the Nazi era, including Roma and Sinti, cannot forget that racist ideologies were the root cause of their persecution at the time, and that is also why they feel particularly threatened today by extremist or neo-Nazi groups. These groups, no doubt at the fringe of society, are not afraid to go out to the public and praise Nazi ideology, recall its symbols and slogans, and organise rallies and marches to celebrate the Nazi past. And, sadly, they continue to attract followers.

Remembering the Holocaust is key to fighting modern day racism and intolerance. It means a commitment to value the human being, its dignity and rights. Remembering is not enough; laws which protect the dignity and rights of human beings have to follow. That was the logic of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Roma and Sinti struggled for recognition and a righteous place among the victims of the Nazi regime. Only in the early 1980s, Germany officially recognised that the extermination of the Roma and Sinti was based on ‘racial’ grounds.

and that's the logic of ensuring the principles of equality and non-discrimination within basic laws or constitutions. In the same way, law enforcement tools must be applied effectively to prevent or punish violent manifestations of racist and extremist ideologies.

Recognising the danger of hate speech, aggressive racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, jointly with other international organisations, has repeatedly called for strengthening efforts to promote tolerance and non-discrimination. Such efforts should in particular be targeted at the younger generations in order to build up their understanding of

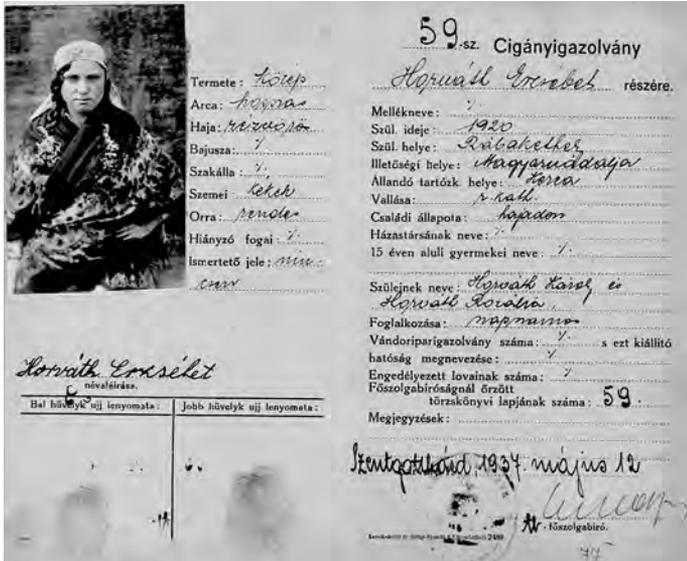
the need for tolerance and the importance of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

With respect to the Roma and Sinti survivors, their narratives about persecution under the Nazi regime should become a legitimate part of main Holocaust narrative and teaching – and serve as a universal reminder of what should never happen again.

The other legacy of survivors is about teaching the Holocaust. It is an obligation but at the same time a challenge, especially after nearly 65 years have passed since the end of World War II. It requires involvement of specialised institutions to develop teaching curricula and institutionalise them. We are living in a new world; it offers new tools to keep the memory, to learn and teach about the past. In this regard it is a sign of hope that the Auschwitz Museum has been visited by over 47 million people since its establishment and that a million visitors come to see it every year. With respect to the

Roma and Sinti survivors, their narratives about persecution under the Nazi regime should become a legitimate part of main Holocaust narrative and teaching – and serve as a universal reminder of what should never happen again.

Please see page 8 for discussion questions



In many European countries Roma and Sinti were issued special “Gypsy” identification cards during the interwar years, papers which they were required to carry always on them and which later facilitated their arrest and deportation to forced labour and concentration camps.

Photo Credit: Archives of Vas County, Hungary



Katalin Barsony, Executive Director of Romedia Foundation, speaks at a side event on Roma at the OSCE's annual human rights conference, Warsaw, 5 October 2011.

Photo Credit: OSCE/Jens Eschenbaecher

The Legacy of the Survivors: Remembering the Nazi Persecution of Roma and Sinti — a Key to Fighting Modern-day Racism

Discussion questions

1. For several decades Roma and Sinti persecution during the Second World War was not recognised. What happened to the Roma and Sinti during the Holocaust?
2. What was the basis for Nazi discrimination against the Roma and Sinti?
3. As stated in Mr. Mirga's paper, Germany only officially recognised that the extermination of the Roma and Sinti was based on 'racial' grounds in the beginning of the 1980s. Why did their persecution go unnoticed for such a long time?
4. What is the danger of hate speech, aggressive racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism? And why is it essential for international organisations such as the United Nations and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), to promote tolerance and non-discrimination?
5. Why is Holocaust education an important tool today?



2. The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust



The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme produced a study guide on Women and the Holocaust. Partners included the International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem and the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation Institute for Visual History and Education.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives



Edward Mortimer



Kaja Shonick Glahn

Edward Mortimer (UK) is Senior Vice President and Chief Programme Officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar. From 1998 to 2006 he served as chief speech writer and (from 2001) as Director of Communications to United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He has spent much of his career as a journalist, first with *The Times of London*, where he developed an expertise in Middle East affairs, and later with *The Financial Times*, where from 1987 to 1998 he was the main commentator and columnist on foreign affairs. He has also served as a fellow and/ or faculty at several institutions, including Oxford University, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and the University of Warwick; and on the governing bodies of several non-governmental organisations, including Chatham House and the Institute of War and Peace Reporting. His writings include *People, Nation, State: The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism* (coedited with R. Fine), and *The World that FDR Built* (1989). Mr. Mortimer received an M.A. in modern history from Oxford University.

Kaja Shonick Glahn (Germany) is the Programme Director for the Salzburg Global Seminar's project on *The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust*. She also works on Global Citizenship Education programmes for City University London. Her research interests focus on minority populations in Germany, European migration history and ethnic conflict. She holds a Ph.D. in European history from the University of Washington, Seattle.

The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust

by Edward Mortimer

Senior Vice-President and Chief Programme Officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar

and Kaja Shonick Glahn

Programme Director for The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust at The Salzburg Global Seminar

From 28 June 2010 to 3 July 2010, a group of international experts from the fields of Holocaust and genocide studies, Holocaust and genocide education, human rights protection and genocide prevention met at the Salzburg Global Seminar for a conference entitled “The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust”. The conference was developed in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and chaired by Dr. Klaus Mueller, the Museum’s European Representative.

The explicit goal of this conference was to explore the connections as well as the divisions between the fields of Holocaust education, genocide prevention, and human rights. Participants considered if and how Holocaust education could raise awareness of contemporary genocides, strengthen a culture of genocide prevention, and contribute to human rights education. They debated whether we improve our understanding of past genocides and contemporary human rights

infringements by connecting them, or if by doing so we endanger the recognition of their vast differences. One of the topics that participants returned to again and again was the complex relationship between teaching *about* the Holocaust and learning *from* the Holocaust. Participants debated the contribution that Holocaust education makes or could make to raising awareness of contemporary racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia or the situation of Roma and Sinti today. They sought to understand whether – and if so, how – Holocaust education could contribute to understanding and preventing future genocides.

Among policy makers and within the scholarly literature, there tends to be a belief that Holocaust education can be an effective tool for teaching students about the importance of protecting democracy and human rights, preventing racism and anti-Semitism, and promoting mutual respect between people of different races, religions, and cultures. Scholars have argued for example that, “studies of the Holocaust, genocide and human rights are inseparable”¹, and that “Holocaust education can make a significant contribution to citizenship by developing pupils’ awareness of human-rights issues and genocides and the concepts of stereotyping and scapegoating”². A 2004 report by the Stanford Research Institute suggested that, “Holocaust education is not merely an academic undertaking but the best hope for inoculating humankind against future instances of genocide”³. Academics have made similar arguments, stating for example that Holocaust education can sow “seeds of concern...that produce ideas that bloom into ongoing considerations about one’s own place in the world, and what it means to be a citizen in a democracy”⁴.

1 David A. Shiman and William R. Fernekes, “The Holocaust, Human Rights, and Democratic Citizenship Education” *The Social Studies* (March/April 1999), pp. 53- 62.

2 Henry Maitles, “Why are we learning this?: Does Studying the Holocaust Encourage Better Citizenship Values?”, *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 3 (December 2008), pp. 341-352.

3 SRI International, “National Study of Secondary Teaching Practices in Holocaust Education, Final Report”, August 20, 2004. Available from: www.policyweb.sri.com/cep/publications/SRI_Natl-Study_TeachingPractices.pdf.

4 Samuel Totten, *Holocaust Education: Issues and Approaches* (Boston: Alyn and Bacon, 2008), p. 138.

Based on this theory, that Holocaust education can play an important role in preventing racism, anti-Semitism, and ethnic conflict and promoting human rights, many states around the world have instituted mandatory Holocaust education programmes at the secondary school level. However, recent studies and surveys have shown that most Holocaust education programmes in both schools and museums do not explicitly link the history of the Holocaust with the history of other genocides or with larger human rights issues.⁵ At the same time, there is little empirical evidence to suggest that Holocaust education, on its own, can necessarily teach students about the ongoing contemporary dangers of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and genocide. The 2010 Salzburg conference aimed to engage practitioners from the various fields of Holocaust education, genocide prevention, and human rights protection, with these issues and was guided by a series of overarching questions regarding the purpose of Holocaust education. Is it to provide students with knowledge about the Holocaust? Is it to make them “think harder about civic responsibility, human rights, and the dangers of racism”?⁶ Or, can it be both?

Among policy makers and within the scholarly literature, there tends to be a belief that Holocaust education can be an effective tool for teaching students about the importance of protecting democracy and human rights.

The Holocaust, Other Genocides, and Human Rights Education

One of the major issues discussed during the week in Salzburg was the compatibility of Holocaust and human rights education. For the purposes of this article we rely on UNESCO’s definition of human rights education as “Education, training and information aimed at building a universal culture of human rights...human rights education fosters the attitudes and behaviors needed to uphold

⁵ European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, “Discover the Past for the Future: A study on the role of historical sites and museums in Holocaust education and human rights education in the EU”, Main Results Report, January 2010.

⁶ Kofi Annan, “The Myth of Never Again”. *New York Times*. 17 June 2010.

human rights for all members of society".⁷ On the one hand, some participants argued that it was critical to connect these two areas and advocated a pedagogical approach that would situate Holocaust education within a larger discussion and context of human rights. They argued that teachers should be encouraged to make links between the Holocaust and human rights issues today — for example by stressing historical links between the Holocaust and the Genocide Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Other participants disagreed, suggesting that Holocaust and human rights education should not be conflated and that they constitute separate fields with different goals, methodologies and focuses. This disagreement was highlighted by a panel presentation that focused on education in museums. One speaker suggested that Holocaust museums and memorials can and should connect the Holocaust and human rights, and specifically use the Holocaust as an example of the ultimate human rights violation. According to this panelist, knowledge of the Holocaust and past human rights violations could lead to a fruitful discussion of contemporary human rights violations. Another speaker pointed out, however, that there is an important difference between *understanding* history and drawing lessons from it.

While participants disagreed about whether it was appropriate to locate Holocaust education within the framework of human rights education, in general, most of the conference participants recognised the value and importance of teaching students not only about the Holocaust, but also about other genocides. Many participants argued that comparing the Holocaust, which is often considered to be the paradigmatic case of genocide, to other genocides and crimes against humanity might improve our understanding of other genocidal events and, by the same token, of the Holocaust itself. At the same time, they noted the challenges of such a comparative approach and highlighted the importance of differentiating between

⁷ UNESCO, Plan of Action. World Programme for Human Rights Education, New York and Geneva, 2006:1.

the Holocaust, genocide, and other instances of mass violence, human rights abuses or ethnic conflicts within the classroom.

The Holocaust and Lessons for the Future?

The conference highlighted many different opinions regarding the purposes of Holocaust education. On the one hand, some participants explicitly advocated the importance of learning *from* the Holocaust and other genocides and getting students to make connections between contemporary events and the past. One participant for example suggested that the purpose of Holocaust education is to learn about and understand human cruelty and violence and how to prevent it. This participant suggested that in some places it might be more appropriate to focus on other genocides and conflicts to teach these lessons. Other participants remained wary of such an approach and instead advocated a more straightforward approach to teaching *about* the Holocaust and not explicitly drawing connections to other events, whether past or present. They expressed some uneasiness with the notion that the aim is to learn something from the Holocaust and suggested that it is relevant and important in itself to study the Holocaust as an historical event.

They expressed some uneasiness with the notion that the aim is to learn something from the Holocaust and suggested that it is relevant and important in itself to study the Holocaust as an historical event.

As part of the conference programme, educators from around the world showcased some of the different ways in which they and their institutions define the purpose and limits of Holocaust education. One speaker, for example, described a well-established educational programme based in the United States that focuses on using Holocaust education for adolescents as a tool for preventing violence and potentially also genocide. This speaker emphasised that if we are interested in instilling particular values or lessons in adolescents then we need to take adolescent development and behaviour into

account. He advocated a multidisciplinary approach through which students not only learn about the Holocaust and other instances of genocide, but are encouraged to reflect on their own lives and the connections (as well as differences) that exist between contemporary events and past instances of genocide. A second speaker advocated a similar approach and described the development of a state sponsored curriculum in Ecuador on “Human Rights, Holocaust, and other Recent Genocides”. This programme was developed for students aged 16 and 17. The justification for teaching these subjects in high school is that it is critical to introducing an ethic of compassion in students and teaching them citizenship values. These values are key to promoting non-violence, and more positive attitudes towards foreigners and aliens. According to this presenter, keeping the memory of the Holocaust alive in the context of teaching about human rights issues and modern genocides is crucial for showing students that we must care about others for our own sake and for that of humanity.

In contrast to the first two speakers, who explicitly promoted programmes that encourage students to make links between the Holocaust, other genocides, human rights issues, and their own lives, a third speaker suggested an approach that remains much more focused on teaching about the history of the Holocaust and promoting Holocaust remembrance as a distinct and unique topic. This third speaker described the work of a European Holocaust memorial that focuses explicitly on the remembrance of the Holocaust and does not consider genocide prevention or human rights education its primary mission. He preferred a reflexive approach to history and suggested that the purpose of Holocaust education is to learn *about* the Holocaust rather than to learn *from* the Holocaust.

The fourth and final panelist outlined the multidisciplinary approach to learning about the Holocaust and the prevention of genocide taken by the “Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme”. Under its General Assembly mandate, the Programme organises an annual day of remembrance observed by United Nations offices around the world, and partners with civil society

to further understanding of the Holocaust and the causes of mass violence, which can lead to genocide. The Programme also develops educational seminars and materials that underscore the essential links between this history and the promotion of human rights and democratic values today.

Confronting Local Realities

While the question about how to teach the Holocaust and whether it is better to embed it within a curriculum that is focused strictly on history, or one focused on human rights, or one focused on comparisons with other genocides and contemporary events remained a point of disagreement, all conference participants acknowledged the extent to which local histories and contexts place constraints on the forms that Holocaust education can and should take. A separate panel that focused on the challenges and successes of contemporary Holocaust education shed further light on the extent to which the stated purpose of Holocaust education programmes and the ways in which they are implemented vary and are reflective of particular local realities. For example, one Austrian speaker explained that in Austria learning about the Holocaust is a mandatory part of the secondary school curriculum. However, within “erinnern.at”, an institute that trains teachers and develops material for learning about the Holocaust on behalf of the Austrian Ministry for Education, it has been decided that for the time being, the Holocaust should not be taught in conjunction with other genocides or within a broader human rights curriculum. The main reason for this decision is that the history of the Holocaust remains a charged topic in Austria where many conflicting memories and narratives still exist. The biggest challenge continues to be the conflict between the official narrative of Austrian perpetration (i.e. participation in Nazi atrocities) and the Austrian family narratives that focus on Austria and its citizens as victims of or, at most, forced participants in, the Holocaust.

In Ukraine by contrast — as the next speaker explained — the Holocaust is not a standard part of the school curriculum. In fact,

according to this speaker, fewer than 10 per cent of history teachers in Ukrainian secondary schools are trained to teach about the Holocaust. He noted that there are bureaucratic, as well as political impediments to instituting effective Holocaust education programmes in the Ukraine. Some of the biggest challenges include: a tradition of silence (Ukrainians do not believe that the Holocaust was a Ukrainian event or perpetrated by Ukrainians); a competition

of victims (a sense that the number of victims of the Ukrainian famine must be higher than the number of victims of the Holocaust); and the “nationalisation” of Ukrainian history through which Jews and other minorities are marginalised or ignored.

All conference participants acknowledged the extent to which local histories and contexts place constraints on the forms that Holocaust education can and should take.

As these and other presentations clearly demonstrated, different institutions, countries, and educators take very different approaches to teaching about the Holocaust. There are important pedagogical, political, and historical factors that influence the ways

in which Holocaust education is implemented and whether it is linked to other genocides, human rights, or local histories.

Conclusion

Returning to the original questions posed at the conference regarding the purpose of Holocaust education, we would like to suggest that there is validity to all of the arguments presented and dispute the notion that there is a single “right way” to teach about the Holocaust. The Holocaust was clearly an important and pivotal event in the history of the twentieth century. For that reason, it is important for students to study and learn about it. Particularly when talking about education within universities, the notion that we must learn something from the Holocaust is, in some ways antithetical to the entire notion of research and study. We do not deem a subject worthy or unworthy of study simply because it is something that

we can or cannot draw lessons from in our contemporary societies. At the same time however, we recognise that education is never value neutral and that education broadly defined, functions as one of the most effective vehicles through which nations inculcate certain values and ethics (both constructive and destructive) within their citizens. In our increasingly global world we believe that it is crucial to teach students about the dangers of racism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia and instill them with a respect for human rights. We believe that an important aim for education is to create a culture in which students are willing and able to challenge intolerance, injustice, and genocidal violence. As one of our conference participants noted in a panel entitled “The Roots of Genocide”, we need to focus our attention and energy on creating an anti-genocidal culture if we want to prevent genocide in the future. While learning about the Holocaust can be an important component in creating an anti-genocidal culture, on its own it is not enough. Students must be shown the extent to which “genocide is a common human tragedy that has occurred far too many times in the past”.⁸ The Holocaust cannot be taught or understood as an aberration in the history of humanity. Instead, we should show students that while the Holocaust might be the most extreme case of genocide, it shares distinct similarities with more recent genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda and Bosnia. If we want to prevent genocide in the future, we must educate students about the prevalence of genocides and genocidal conflicts throughout modern history and teach them about how and why such conflicts arise.

The Holocaust cannot be taught or understood as an aberration in the history of humanity. Instead, we should show students that while the Holocaust might be the most extreme case of genocide, it shares distinct similarities with more recent genocides in Cambodia, Rwanda and Bosnia.

⁸ Francis Deng, “In the Shadow of the Holocaust”, *Holocaust and United Nations Discussion Papers Journals*, Discussion Paper 7 (United Nations, 2009).

At the moment there are relatively few educational models that successfully combine teaching about the Holocaust with teaching about other modern genocides, human rights, and genocide prevention. One of the clear findings of our conference was that more cooperation and collaboration between practitioners and educators working across these fields is needed if we hope to eventually create a pedagogical model that allows for the incorporation of these different areas into a single educational framework. To this end the Salzburg Global Seminar, in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, has created an initiative around the topics of Holocaust education and genocide prevention that will engage with these issues and create an interdisciplinary network of experts who can learn from each other with the aim of promoting quality educational efforts and cultural initiatives that support awareness and teaching of the Holocaust and other genocides, with a view to combating hatred, racism and anti-Semitism, and promoting the protection of human rights and genocide prevention.

Please see page 22 for discussion questions



The winning entries of the design student poster competition were exhibited by the global network of United Nations Information Centres (UNIC) to mark the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust on 27 January 2012. Visitors to the exhibit mounted by UNIC Asunción in Paraguay are pictured here. Photo Credit: UNIC Asunción



Kimberly Mann, Manager of the United Nations Holocaust Programme, leads a session on learning from remembrance, at the Educators' Institute for Human Rights, held at the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda.

The Global Prevention of Genocide: Learning from the Holocaust

Discussion questions

1. Why is it important for students around the world to study the Holocaust?
2. In what ways are studies of the Holocaust, genocide prevention and human rights inseparable? In what ways are they distinct?
3. What are some the potential dangers and benefits of linking the study of the Holocaust with other genocides?
4. What are the lessons of the Holocaust? Do these apply to your everyday life and to your interactions with others?
5. Do you think Holocaust education could help to prevent future acts of genocide? Please explain why or why not.

3. Holocaust Education in South Africa



Students visit an exhibition on Anne Frank in South Africa.

Photo Credit: Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre



Tali Nates

Tali Nates (South Africa), Director of the Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre, has lectured internationally about Holocaust education, genocide prevention, reconciliation and human rights. She has presented at numerous conferences, published many articles and was involved in documentary films made for South African Television. In 2010, Ms. Nates was chosen as one of the top 100 newsworthy and noteworthy women in South Africa, published in the *Mail & Guardian Book of South African Women*. Ms. Nates acts as a scholar and leader of many Holocaust education missions to Eastern Europe as well as educational missions in South Africa and Rwanda. She is also one of the founders of "Holocaust Survivors Services" in Johannesburg, an organisation that offers social, educational and psychological services for survivors and their families. She comes from a family of Holocaust survivors — her father and uncle were both saved by Oskar Schindler, but the rest of the family perished.

Holocaust Education in South Africa

by Tali Nates

Director of the Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre,
the South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation

Teaching about the Holocaust in South Africa is a complicated affair. How do you teach about atrocities and pain in a country that has its own heavy burden of immense man-made suffering? The German politician and writer Richard von Weizacker wrote:

It is not a matter of overcoming the past. One can do no such thing. The past does not allow itself to be retrospectively altered or undone. But whoever closes his eyes to the past becomes blind to the present. Whoever does not wish to remember inhumanity becomes susceptible to the dangers of new infection.

He spoke, of course, about Germany as a nation and how “their forefathers have bequeathed them a heavy legacy”.¹

December 1948 saw the birth of two momentous United Nations agreements on human rights: the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*. Earlier that year Apartheid (“separateness” in Afrikaans) was officially institutionalised in South Africa. The country also bears a heavy legacy. 2011 marks 17 years since the end of the Apartheid regime and the celebration of South Africa’s new

¹ Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know* (New York: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 196.

democracy. The country's painful past is always under the surface and to a large extent it determines much of how the present and future are shaped. Suffering during Apartheid does not necessarily mean that South Africans are now immune to becoming "susceptible to the dangers of new infection"; the murderous xenophobic attacks of May 2008 were proof of that.

In 2007 the Holocaust was included as part of the new national history curriculum of South Africa. It is the only country in Africa that includes this module in its curriculum, and this allows for many opportunities that teaching the Holocaust can bring to the country. When the new curriculum was decided upon, the Holocaust was included in both the Grade nine and 11 social sciences and history curriculum. The National Department of Education decided to implement a curriculum that emphasises the theme of human rights and is based on the Constitution and Bill of Rights of South Africa. These documents were directly influenced by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which in turn came as a result of the Second World War and the Holocaust. While serving on the South African Human Rights commission, Andre Keet said:

It is widely accepted that the events of the Holocaust represented one of the most extreme human rights violations in the history of humankind. The lessons drawn from this crime against humanity played a defining role in the construction and development of contemporary human rights. Therefore and alongside the many historical and present-day human rights atrocities across the world and our continent, the inclusion of the Holocaust in the curriculum was never disputed.²

South Africa's high school education system is five years long, from Grade eight to 12. Learners are allowed to leave the education system at the end of Grade nine by law. Up until the end of Grade nine, the teaching of history is compulsory for all learners. From Grade 10

² Richard Freedman, *Teaching the Holocaust to Non-Traditional Audiences: The South African Experience* (2008).

on, learners are required to select six or seven focused subject choices and there are many who don't choose History. The curriculum designers purposefully included the study of the Holocaust in Grade nine, as their aim was that all learners would have the opportunity to learn this important section of history. Following the decision, teachers were required to teach the Holocaust in all schools across the country. The Holocaust is taught for a recommended 12-15 hours and is the first part of the module "human rights issues during and after World War Two". In the second term, this is followed by the study of Apartheid. Through learning about the Holocaust first and then Apartheid, learners are better equipped to make connections to issues of our time such as the genocide in Rwanda and xenophobia in South Africa (also included in the grade's curriculum).

The first Holocaust Centre in South Africa was established in Cape Town in 1999. Its establishment was prompted by an 18-month tour of South Africa and Namibia of the "Anne Frank in Our World" exhibition in 1993-1994. For the first time in the country's history, a number of special panels about South Africa's own history of human rights abuse were developed as part of the exhibition. The exhibition was viewed by thousands of South Africans of all ages, especially by high school learners and their educators. This presented teachers with the opportunity to learn about anti-Semitism. This knowledge gave them a perspective that racism "was not only dependent on skin colour and that even 'white' people could be victims of stereotyping, discrimination and persecution".³ The response of the educators was extraordinary. The Anne Frank exhibition showed the role Holocaust education could play in post-Apartheid South Africa in raising the issue of prejudice and abuse of power. In the context of the painful history of racism in South

Teaching about the Holocaust in South Africa is a complicated affair. How do you teach about atrocities and pain in a country that has its own heavy burden of immense man-made suffering?

³ Ibid.

Africa, the realisation that people classified as “white” could also suffer, and at the hand of other “whites” no-less — allowed for new learning processes and continues to do so. South Africans tend to see all human rights violations through the prism of “white vs. black”. Learning about the Holocaust, where using the same lens “whites killed whites” and Rwanda where “blacks murdered blacks” is hugely important.

South Africans tend to see all human rights violations through the prism of “white vs. black”. Learning about the Holocaust, where using the same lens “whites killed whites” and Rwanda where “blacks murdered blacks” is hugely important.

In 2008 two new Holocaust Centres were established in South Africa: one in Durban and one in Johannesburg.⁴ The Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre will house a permanent exhibition with a focus on the Holocaust and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. A national umbrella body, “the South African Holocaust & Genocide Foundation” (SAHGF), was also established in 2008 to create better coordination and cohesion nationally in the field of Holocaust and genocide education.

The SAHGF’s approach to Holocaust education and educator training is based on the belief that while content knowledge of the Holocaust is extremely important, “providing educators and learners with content alone is not enough. Informing both school and educator programmes is the idea that the history of the Holocaust provides a powerful case study for examining the dangers of prejudice and discrimination and the moral imperative for individuals to make responsible choices and defend human rights”.⁵

To help the learners expand their own moral compasses the educator has to develop the ability to stay neutral in the classroom.

⁴ The Durban Holocaust Centre was opened in March 2008. The Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre was established in January 2008 and is currently operating in a temporary location. It will open officially in 2012, upon the completion of its new premises.

⁵ Tracey Petersen, *The Holocaust: Learner’s Interactive Resource Book, Lessons for Humanity* (Cape Town, 2004), p. 11.

Through educators' responses, it seems that this is proving to be a difficult and emotional task when teaching about the painful history of Apartheid. Many educators cannot divorce their own personal history from that of the required curriculum and find it increasingly difficult to teach about the Apartheid period. For that reason, teaching the Holocaust as a case study of human rights abuse serves as an excellent entry point for both educators and learners; this history is removed from the local experience as it happened in another country and continent more than 65 years ago and is less emotionally charged for South Africans. For these reasons it has the potential of bringing to the surface personal attitudes and prejudices such as racism and xenophobia which otherwise remain hidden. Only when these issues are exposed can they begin to be addressed. Our findings show that it is easier to learn values and moral lessons from a history removed from one's own experience yet have some parallels to the country's narrative. From comments made by educators, it would appear that "learning about the Holocaust created the emotional space for educators to speak frankly about their experiences". Thus in moving first into the extreme history of the Holocaust they were more ready and able to begin examining their own painful history.

South Africa has great oral tradition and the use of story-telling to acquire knowledge, values, ethics and morals presents itself naturally. Using oral history, testimonies of survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, resisters or rescuers has the potential to bring both the content of the Holocaust as well as its lessons to life. In any study of the Holocaust, the sheer number of victims is hard to grasp. Sharing with learners testimonies of survivors can remind them that people like themselves, with parents, siblings, friends and grandparents are behind the numbers. Listening and learning from testimonies of survivors help learners to look more closely at the issue of choices and connect to the lessons they can learn from this history. The curriculum also asks for the use of oral history in the classroom – learners are encouraged to interview, for example, people in their communities and make connections to their own lives. Personal

history is an important tool to empower learners to have a look at their own lives and to draw lessons from their own stories. In South Africa there are very few survivors or rescuers and the remaining witnesses to this history are aging. Film can be used very successfully to make up for this. The SAHGF created the film *Testimony*, in which five Holocaust survivors who settled in South Africa share their Holocaust testimony. The film has proven to be a very powerful educational resource. The SAHGF produced another short film during a visit to South Africa of survivor Hannah Pick-Goslar, who tells the story of the Holocaust through the reflections on her friendship with Anne Frank. Literature can also be used successfully to find the voices of the witnesses. Using diary entries or excerpts from memoirs such as the *Diary of Anne Frank*, the works of Elie Wiesel (*Night* for instance) or Primo Levi's *If This Is a Man*, could be used as primary sources and tools to enhance the traditions of storytelling.

Holocaust education makes it possible for learners to make the connection between the past and the present and translate it into social activism. Teaching the history of the Holocaust creates opportunity for learners to reflect on the consequences of the choices they might face in their daily lives, by examining the consequences of choices made by people during the Holocaust. The case study of the Holocaust helps young people to respond more effectively to their present realities. The hope is that learners will be able to move from knowing what they “should do”, to actually doing it. There are very few other opportunities in the curriculum where learners can strengthen their convictions and learn how to take action by understanding the factors that can hold them back from action.

Understanding the role of bystanders and choosing to take action is extremely important, especially in a young democracy such as South Africa. Jaap van Proosdij, a Dutch rescuer (recognised by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem as a Righteous among the Nations) who saved the lives of dozens of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust, lived in Pretoria, South Africa until his death in January 2011. When asked: “Why did you do it?” he answered with a question

of his own: “If you see a drowning man, won’t you save him?”⁶ For him, it was a rhetorical question. But sadly for many, the answer is not so clear cut. Most people would not save the drowning man, be it out of fear for their own lives or just the thought that someone else swims better and so should or would do it.

Stories such as that of Jaap van Proosdij’s encourage learners to use critical thinking and develop tools for dealing with these difficult dilemmas. Again, processing the issue of choices can be empowering for the learners and it is done through learning about the roles of bystanders and rescuers and resisters (“upstanders”).⁷ It is vital that learners come to understand that they can choose to behave as bystanders or not. Realising that there is a choice is critical. This was the case during the Holocaust and this is still true today. Primo Levi said, “In spite of the varied possibilities for information, most Germans did not know because they did not want to know. Because, indeed, they wanted not to know,”⁸ In fact, bystanders always aid the perpetrators just by keeping silent. Time and again the learners, like the rest of us, find themselves in the position of bystanders, standing near, but not taking part when something happens, paralysed by fear or a sense of powerlessness. Learning from the bystanders of the Holocaust, the learners realise that bystander behaviour is a choice not to get involved, to stand on the side and look. This kind of behaviour has the same consequence in the case of bullying at school or a fight.

Teaching the history of the Holocaust creates opportunity for learners to reflect on the consequences of the choices they might face in their daily lives, by examining the consequences of choices made by people during the Holocaust.

⁶ A conversation between Jaap van Proosdij and Tali Nates in 1998.

⁷ Upstanders is a new word coined by *Facing History and Ourselves* to describe people who choose action over inaction.

⁸ Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz and the Reawakening: Two Memoirs* (New York: Summit Books, 1986), p. 381.

Learners can begin to link this understanding to the broader stage of the country's history during Apartheid. During the xenophobia related riots in May 2008, one of the educators who went through extensive Holocaust training, when teaching about the Holocaust, created an opportunity for the learners to make posters and banners and to demonstrate outside the school against those attacks. The learners translated the lessons of the Holocaust to actively becoming upstanders themselves.

Another opportunity teaching the Holocaust brings is to highlight the linkage between different cases of genocide, human rights abuses or prejudice. In April 1994, when South Africans were celebrating their freedom from Apartheid and people were standing proudly in queues for hours to vote, only a mere three-and-a half hours flight away, in the same continent and time, in Rwanda, hundreds of thousands of Tutsis and some politically moderate Hutus were murdered in a period of three months. Yet most educators and learners do not consider these two parallel events and don't make the connections. Introducing the Holocaust and its lessons create opportunities for that leap to be made.

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu who is one of the patrons of the SAHGF summed up the opportunities teaching the Holocaust in South Africa presents when he said:

We learn about the Holocaust so that we can become more human, more gentle, more caring, more compassionate, valuing every person as being of infinite worth, so precious that we know such atrocities will never happen again and the world will be a more humane place.⁹

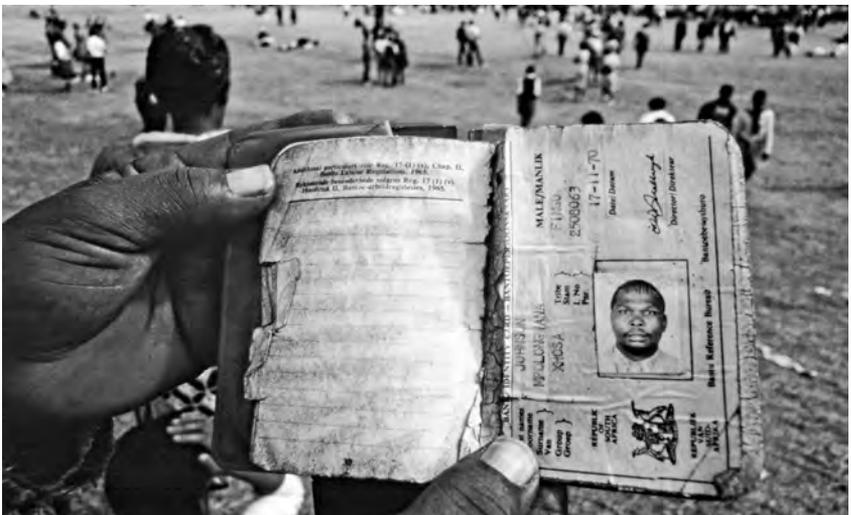
Please see page 34 for discussion questions

⁹ *The Holocaust: Learner's Interactive Resource Book, Lessons for Humanity.* (Cape Town, 2004) p. 64.



High School students view a portable exhibition “The Holocaust: Lessons for Humanity” in South Africa.

Photo Credit: Johannesburg Holocaust & Genocide Centre



Passbook that South African Blacks were required to carry during Apartheid, January 1985.

Photo Credit: UN Photo

Holocaust Education in South Africa

Discussion questions

1. Why were the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* adopted in 1948?
2. What connections might students make between the Holocaust, the genocide in Rwanda and Apartheid in South Africa?
3. Discuss why the Holocaust became part of the history curriculum in South Africa. Can Holocaust education help to teach South African history? If so, in what way?
4. How might Holocaust education facilitate promoting tolerance in contemporary South African society?
5. Do you think that teaching stories from the Holocaust, especially about the role of rescuers and bystanders, can help younger generations to understand better the consequences of their actions? If so, how?



4. The Law as an Accelerator of Genocide



*The defendants, officials of various Reich Ministries,
in the Wilhelmstrasse Trial, Nuremberg, Germany.*

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives



B'nai Brith International

David Matas

David Matas (Canada) is an international human rights, refugee and immigration lawyer in private practice in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. He also holds a position as an Adjunct Professor in Immigration & Refugee Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Manitoba. In addition, Mr. Matas currently acts as Senior Honorary Counsel for B'nai Brith Canada.

Mr. Matas was also appointed as a member of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court; the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research; and the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe Conferences on anti-semitism and Intolerance.

He received the Manitoba Bar Association Distinguished Service Award in 2008, the Order of Canada in 2009, the Canadian Bar Association National Citizenship and Immigration Section Achievement Award in 2009; and the International Society for Human Rights Swiss Section Human Rights Prize in 2010. Mr. Matas has also authored several publications, including *Justice Delayed: Nazi War Criminals in Canada* with Susan Charendoff (Summerhill Press, 1987).

The Law as an Accelerator of Genocide

by *David Matas*

Senior Honourary Counsel to B'nai Brith Canada and a lawyer in
Winnipeg, Canada

In the Third Reich, the complicity of the legal profession in Nazi persecution permeated the bench, the prosecution and even the defence bar. The laws and those that upheld them helped to legitimise brute prejudice and facilitate the marginalisation and exclusion of the Jews from society. This raises a number of questions that warrant investigation. Was there not an international standard of ethics that honourable judges and members of the legal profession should have followed? What if members of the legal profession had refused to cooperate? Why didn't they? What impact did this have on the perpetrators?

One case regarding opposition to Nazi practices by Judge Lothar Kreyssig, of Brandenburg Germany, might provide some of the answers. Judge Kreyssig, in charge of guardianships, noticed that a number of his wards, mentally retarded children and adults housed in a local mental hospital, died suddenly after transfer to certain institutions. He concluded that they had been murdered by the Nazi regime under its policy "Operation Mercy Killing" and wrote to the Minister of Justice Franz Gurtner to object.

When nothing happened, Judge Kreyssig in July 1940 filed with the state attorney in Potsdam a murder complaint against Philip

Bouhler, the head of both Hitler's Chancellery and the Nazi euthanasia programme. He then, in August, issued injunctions against the hospitals housing his wards, ordering the hospitals not to transfer his wards without his prior approval.

Justice Minister Gurtner summoned Kreyssig to Berlin and asked him to abandon his efforts. Kreyssig refused and Gurtner ordered his early retirement.¹ Kreyssig suffered no other consequence; he received a state pension from the Third Reich. He lived until 1986.

In his book, *Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich*, Ingo Muller wrote:

*No matter how hard one searches for stout-hearted men among the judges of the Third Reich, for judges who refused to serve the regime from the bench, there remains a grand total of one: Dr. Lothar Kreyssig.*²

An extreme form of a more typical phenomenon, the anti-Semitic jurist, was Oswald Rothaug. The Nazi race laws prohibited, amongst other things, sexual relations between Jews and Aryans. Leo Katzenberger was prosecuted in March 1942 for having an affair with Irene Seiler. Both denied the affair and there was no evidence to the contrary other than that they knew each other and were friends. Katzenberger was nonetheless convicted by Judge Oswald Rothaug, sentenced to death and executed in June 1942.³

Oswald Rothaug was prosecuted at Nuremberg after the war in the Justice Trial, a trial of sixteen members of the Reich Ministry of Justice or People's and Special Courts. The trial was conducted by a United States military court in the United States occupied zone of

¹ Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (UNC Press, 1997), p. 121.

² Ingo Muller, *Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich* (Harvard University Press, 1991).

³ Christiane Kohl, *The Maiden and the Jew: The Story of a Fatal Friendship in Nazi Germany* (Steerforth, 2004).

Germany in Nuremberg after the International Military Tribunals were completed.

One element of the charge against Rothaug for war crimes and crimes against humanity was his conduct of the Katzenberger trial. Rothaug was convicted December 1947 and sentenced to life in prison. In convicting Rothaug, the United States military tribunal wrote:

From the evidence it is clear that these trials [one of which was the Katzenberger trial] lacked the essential elements of legality. In these cases the defendant's court, in spite of the legal sophistries which he employed, was merely an instrument in the programme of the leaders of the Nazi State of persecution and extermination.⁴

The laws and those that upheld them helped to legitimise brute prejudice and facilitate the marginalisation and exclusion of the Jews from society.

Rothaug was released in 1956 and died in 1967.

A fictionalised version of the prosecution of Rothaug was included in the movie *Judgment at Nuremberg*. Judy Garland played the part of a character based on Irene Seiler.

The complicity of the legal profession in Nazi persecution, of which the Katzenberger prosecution was an example, permeated the bench and the prosecution. It also convulsed the defence bar. Counsel for the defense saw themselves as agents of the state and routinely turned against their clients in pursuit of what they saw as Nazi state interests.⁵

Nazi corruption of the law was not confined to the criminal sphere. Every legal domain, including contract law, labour law and child custody, became venues for the application of Nazi racist ideology.

⁴ *United States of America v. Alstoetter et al.* ("The Justice Case") 3 T.W.C. 1 (1948), 6 L.R.T.W.C. (1948), 14 Ann. Dig. 278 (1948).

⁵ Yitzchok A. Breitowitz, book review of *Hitler's Justice: The Courts of the Third Reich*.

Moreover, this exclusion through law was not limited to Nazi Germany. In every country but Denmark that the Nazis invaded, racial laws excluding Jews from economic activities were enacted and enforced.⁶

It is easy to see why Nazis would want to use the law to promote their racist ideology. Totalitarianism meant total control, control of the legal profession along with every other profession. But there was more to Nazi control of the legal profession than that.

The law is normative. It is statements by the lawmakers of what they want society to be. The law sets out the legislator's ideal. Legal discourse is a discourse about what ought to be.

To exclude Jews in fact from society was just bigotry, discrimination. To exclude Jews by law from that same society was exclusion at a higher level, a level of standards. Legislated anti-Semitism was marginalisation in principle, dehumanisation as an ethic.

In the Third Reich, the legality of exclusion provided an additional justification for that exclusion, reinforcing the marginalisation, making it more systematic. Law gave respectability to brute prejudice.

It is harder to explain why the legal profession went along with this Nazi attempt to legitimise bigotry. Kreyssig, the one judge who resisted the Nazis, as noted, suffered no other consequence than dismissal with a pension. And this was the result of active opposition to Hitler in 1940, long after the Nazi project had gathered steam, even after World War II had started. If the judges and lawyers had actively opposed the Nazi project in the early years of the Third Reich, it seems likely that they would not have suffered even this sort of adverse consequence.

Why did they not do so? In light of how little happened to Lothar Kreyssig for resisting so boldly so late in the Third Reich, the answer cannot be that they cooperated because they had to. The answer must be that they cooperated because they wanted to.

⁶ "Anti-Jewish Legislation", Shoah Resource Center, The International School for Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority.

How could the legal profession have abandoned so completely and systematically its ideals? The explanation is the same for the lawyers as for the rest of society, the pervasiveness of anti-Semitism.

In Germany and virtually everywhere the Nazis went, vicious anti-Semitism had become an informal ethic. Legalising that ethic just formalised what was already rampant. The legal profession did not resist the anti-Semitism of the Nazis because all too many jurists were anti-Semitic themselves.

There may be a temptation to suggest that this legitimisation of anti-Semitism did not matter. The death camps, the roving killing squads, the Final Solution, the Holocaust, were not implemented through legislation and court orders. Yet, the complicity of the legal profession mattered very much indeed.

If the legal profession had insisted from day one of the Third Reich on obedience to justice, fairness, due process and the rule of law, the Nazi project could have been stopped before it developed a full head of steam. Only because the legal profession and the legal system tolerated and cooperated in the lesser wrongs did the greater wrongs become possible.

When Rothaug was prosecuted at Nuremberg, he argued in mitigation that the numbers killed as the result of his decisions paled in comparison to the numbers killed by those who ran the death camps or operated the roving extermination squads.⁷ The Court, in convicting him, said:

That the number the defendant could wipe out within his competency was smaller than the number involved in the

The legal profession did not resist the anti-Semitism of the Nazis because all too many jurists were anti-Semitic themselves.

⁷ Matthew Lippman, "Law, Lawyers and Legality in the Third Reich. The Perversion of Principle and Professionalism" in *The Holocaust's Ghost: Writings on Art, Politics, Law, and Education* — edited by F. C. DeCoste and Bernard Schwartz, (University of Alberta Press, 2000), p. 302.

*mass persecutions and exterminations by the leaders whom he served, does not mitigate his contribution to the programme of those leaders. His acts were more terrible in that those who might have hoped for a last refuge in the institutions of justice found these institutions turned against them and a part of the programme of terror and oppression.*⁸

The failure of legal recourse makes crimes against humanity even more terrifying. Victims of persecution are entitled to expect refuge, safety, protection from the law. When the law joins in the persecution, the horror of the persecution is amplified.

The law of the Nazi era provided a continuity with the past, camouflaging the abrupt nature of the change the Nazi regime inflicted on Germany and the other countries where the Nazis went. Relying on the law made discrimination easier, not just easier to accomplish but easier to attempt. Those who hesitated to wallow in the pure discourse of bigotry could hide behind the fig leaf of the law.

Exclusion through law cloaked Nazi ruled countries in a semblance of similarity with other countries where the rule of law prevailed, giving Nazis a smokescreen of respectability as they went about their business of exclusion. The legitimisation of exclusion served as form of self delusion for the perpetrators and a deception of outsiders and non-participants, mitigating their objections and interference.

When Nazis preempted and coopted the law to serve their ideology of exclusion, they gave an excuse, a pretence of civilisation to some of the most barbaric behaviour the world had ever seen. Those who could not seek comfort for their inhumanity in bigotry alone sought and obtained solace in the connection with legal traditions with which they were familiar. To all too many, both insiders and outsiders, what the Nazis did was not wrong because it was legal.

⁸ *United States of America v. Alstötter, et al.* ("The Jurists' Trial"), 3 T.W.C. 1 (1948), 6 L.R.T.W.C. 1 (1948), 14 Ann. Dig. 278 (1948). PDF available at Library of Congress Web site http://loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/NTs_war-criminals.html.

It is noteworthy that the one judge who did object to Nazi murders, Lothar Kreyssig, did so in legal terms. In his letter of protest to the Minister of Justice, Kreyssig argued that the killings of his wards were illegal on both substantive and procedural grounds.

On substance, he asserted that there was no legal basis for killing wards of court. On procedure, he inveighed against the absence of both the opportunity to call expert witness and the possibility of appeal.

The Minister of Justice Gurtner attempted to persuade Kreyssig that what was done was legal because it met with the Fuhrer's will, something which was stated in print in a document Gurtner showed Kreyssig. Kreyssig asserted the view that the Fuhrer's will could not represent a legal basis for the killing of his wards.⁹

In one sense, the objections Kreyssig made, legal and not moral, seem formalistic, suggesting that a mere change in the law would have removed his objections. Nonetheless, his insistence on legality was more than just form. In another sense, he hit dead on a least part of what was amiss in what was happening, the abuse of law.

Perpetrators developed a sense of immunity through law. Though at the end of the day, after the War, when Nazis were hauled before the Nuremberg courts, their defences based on local law were dismissed, many thought they had those defences, thought that they would be immune from prosecution for what they were doing because it was legal. The then legality gave the perpetrators what later turned out to be a false sense of security; but at the time the crimes were committed it helped mobilise partners in exclusion and undermined attempts to turn them away from their awful deeds.

Sometimes, all that is necessary to prevent wrongdoing is to see it plainly for what it is. The mask of legality prevented the clear and unequivocal exposure of wrong doing. It muddied the waters, confused and obfuscated, making it unclear to those without strong moral grounding where their duty lay.

⁹ Anton Legerer, "Preparing the Ground for Constitutionalisation through Reconciliation Work", 6 German Law Journal No. 2 (1 February 2005).

The phrase, "I was only doing my job", when it came to applying Nazi exclusion law, was more than just an excuse. It became an effective means for getting Nazi dirty work accomplished. If the task of exclusion can be extracted from its impact on humanity, if it can be turned into a mere technical abstraction, it becomes that much easier to perform.

Violations of human rights are a spreading stain. By being complicit from the very start, the legal profession in Nazi Germany legitimated, spread and amplified exclusion.

Making exclusion legal sanitised the task and anaesthetised the perpetrators. Legalisation became a technique of avoidance. Instead of confronting and flinching from the infliction of suffering on real human beings, perpetrators thought instead only about the mundane, everyday application of legal technicalities. Killing real human beings is a bloody business; but applying legal technicalities can seem bloodless.

Those who did not think that what they were doing was right because it was racist could and did think that what they were doing was right because it was legal. Legality expanded the range of perpetrators beyond true believers to encompass the full, formal machinery of the state.

Violations of human rights are a spreading stain. By being complicit from the very start, the legal profession in Nazi Germany legitimated, spread and amplified exclusion. The law in Nazi Germany became a building block of the Final Solution; the legal profession was a builder.

What are the lessons which can be learned from this experience? One is that civil society can be suborned to the process of marginalisation, dispossession, dehumanisation and deportation. One would have thought the legal profession, with its ideals of justice, equality, due process, fairness and the rule of law, would be steeled against this subornation. But Nazi Germany showed that this was not so.

Before Nazi Germany there had been an equation of law with civilisation. If one looks at the statute of the Permanent Court of

International Justice which began in 1922, it states as one of the sources of international law “the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations”.¹⁰ International law, according to the Court statute, came from civilised nations.

While the Statute of the Court did not state which nations were civilised and which were not, it was drawn up in the era where the colonial powers were thought to be the civilised nations and the colonised states were not. The phrase “civilised nations” was understood to refer to the states of continental Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States.¹¹

The Holocaust was distinctive, unprecedented, unique from a wide variety of perspectives. Germany at the time of the Holocaust was an advanced civilisation in a myriad of ways, not least of which was its development of legal scholarship and jurisprudence. It was startling to see the failure of the participants in a fully developed legal culture, judges as well as the legal profession, with the sole exception of Lothar Kreyssig, to oppose crimes as illegal, and, on the contrary, their willingness to participate actively in these crimes.

In Nazi ruled countries, human rights violations were perpetrated by means of visible legal structures. Nazi ruled countries were states dedicated to the violations of human rights, built upon the principle of human rights violations. Nazi ruled countries used the law to pursue the Nazi racist agenda.

Because of the behaviour of the legal profession in Nazi ruled countries we have to think of the law in a completely different way. The participation of the legal profession in Nazi crimes showed in a way that jurisprudence alone never could the complete divorce between law and morality, between the law and the rule of law, between law and respect for human rights standards. The Holocaust showed that advanced civilisation, even an advanced legal culture,

¹⁰ Article 38 (3).

¹¹ Hanna Bokor-Szeg, “General Principles of Law”, Chapter 8, *International Law: Achievements and Prospects*, editor Mohammed Bedjaoui, UNESCO, 1991, p. 214.

is no defence to the worst crimes known to humanity. Legality and barbarity can go hand in hand.

The advanced legal culture of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century speaks to the universality, the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust. It may be tempting to say of other killers in other genocides that they were nothing but uncivilised barbarians. It cannot be said of the perpetrators of the Holocaust.

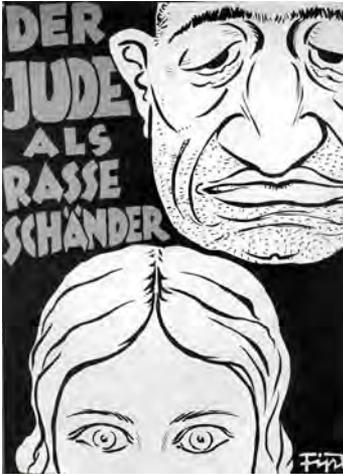
The law can make an oppressive state even more oppressive; that the law can partner and reinforce tyranny as much as liberty; that the law can be a harbinger and accelerator of genocide.

Even during the midst of the Holocaust, many of the most accomplished German jurists of the day were among its most enthusiastic supporters. The Holocaust tells us in a way that no other tragedy can that the law alone can not immunise us from evil.

On the contrary, law can and in the case of the Holocaust did contribute to dehumanisation. Laws and lawyers and courts, by giving an appearance of legality to the exclusion of the Jews, served to legitimise that exclusion.

Nazis did not just flout the law; they used it. There is a tendency even today to think of the law as a friend of the oppressed, as a bulwark or defence against the authority of the state. Yet, if we direct our attention to the law and the legal profession in Nazi ruled countries, we can see the complete opposite, not just that the law can be overwhelmed and undermined, but that the law can make an oppressive state even more oppressive, that the law can partner and reinforce tyranny as much as liberty, that the law can be a harbinger and accelerator of genocide.

Please see page 48 for discussion questions



This poster served to reinforce the Nuremberg race laws adopted in Germany in 1935, which excluded German Jews from Reich citizenship and prohibited them from marrying or having sexual relations with persons of “German or related blood”.

A Nazi anti-Semitic poster depicts the Jew as “the defiler of racial purity”.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives.



Participants in the roundtable discussion on “Justice and Accountability after the Holocaust” organised by the United Nations Holocaust Programme on 9 November 2011. From left: Ramu Damodaran, (moderator, DPI/UN); Karen Odaba Mosoti (ICC/ NY); Kimberly Mann (DPI/UN); Stéphane Dujarric (Officer-in-Charge, DPI/UN); Patricia Heberer (US Holocaust Memorial Museum); Irwin Cotler (MP, Canada); and Cecile Aptel (IBA/War Crimes Committee; Tufts University).

Photo Credit: UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras

The Law as an Accelerator of Genocide

Discussion questions

1. What might the case of Judge Kreyszig tell us about the possible impact that other judges and lawyers who actively opposed the Nazis might have had?
2. Why didn't members of the legal profession oppose the racist laws and exclusionary laws of the Nazis?
3. What impact did this have on the perpetrators?
4. What should be the international standard of ethics that the legal professional should be called upon to uphold?
5. What does the Holocaust tell us about the role of law in a society?

5. Women in the Holocaust



Employees of a sewing workshop in the Lodz ghetto.

Photo Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras

Professor Lenore J. Weitzman

Professor Lenore J. Weitzman (USA) is the author/editor of five books and many articles including *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale, 1998) coedited with Professor Dalia Ofer. This seminal work focused attention on the importance of gender in the Second World War.

She is now completing a book on “the Kashariyot”, the young women who were secret underground “couriers” for the Jewish resistance movements in the ghettos. This book chronicles their courageous missions to reach Jews trapped behind ghetto walls and to mobilise resistance, revolt and rescue.

Lenore Weitzman has been a Professor of Sociology at Stanford University, the University of California, George Mason University and Harvard University, where she received the *Phi Beta Kappa* distinguished teaching award. Professor Weitzman was the keynote speaker during the Holocaust memorial ceremony in the United Nations General Assembly Hall, which was held on 10 February 2011.

Women in the Holocaust

by Lenore J. Weitzman

Professor Emeritus, George Mason University

Why, you may ask, should we talk about WOMEN when we know that the Nazis murdered six million Jews without regard to whether they were men, women, or children?¹ One answer is that concentrating on a particular group helps us break down that daunting number of six million, and helps us think about individuals.

When we hear about a mother who saved the one piece of bread she was given in the ghetto factory for “lunch”, to take home to share with her emaciated children; and when we hear about the teenage girl who was helping her grandmother, and held her arm on the ramp at Auschwitz, and ended up being sent to the gas chambers with her, we understand that these were ordinary women like us – like our mothers, and our sisters, and like our daughters and granddaughters – ordinary innocent people who were caught up in Nazi terror.

A second answer is that a focus on women provides us with a more detailed, more nuanced and more complete understanding of what happened to Jews during the Holocaust.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Dalia Ofer of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, my co-author of the original article on “Women in the Holocaust”, which is the basis for this talk. It was first published in our coedited book *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1998).

This paper explores three spheres of gender differences:

First, how the roles of women before the war shaped their experiences during the Holocaust; second, how German policy treated women differently; and third, how Jewish women developed different ways of coping in the ghettos and the camps.

1. Pre-war Roles

We first examine the roles of men and women before the Holocaust, when women were primarily responsible for their children, families and homes, and men for their family's economic support. These roles provided the two sexes with different spheres of knowledge, skills and life-experiences with which to face the Nazi onslaught.

For example, in Nazi Germany, when the first anti-Jewish laws were passed, and Jews were dismissed from their jobs and professions, Jewish men were affected most directly. Men who had spent their whole lives working were suddenly fired and cut off from their work, their co-workers, and their daily routines.² Because they were forced to be idle and were no longer able to provide for their families, they felt humiliated by their loss of income, their loss of status and their loss of self-esteem. It is therefore not surprising that the rate of male suicides increased dramatically during this period.³

For Jewish women, in contrast, the early years of the Nazi regime had the opposite effect: it brought them more work and more responsibility – as they tried to manage their households with less money and no help, shop for food in hostile stores, help their frightened children cope with harassment at school and provide comfort and solace for their husbands.⁴ In fact, as late as February 1938, five

² Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 24-29.

³ Christian Goeschel, *Suicide in Nazi Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴ Marion Kaplan, "Keeping Calm and Weathering the Storm: Jewish Women's Responses to Daily life in Nazi Germany", in Ofer and Weitzman, *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 42-43.

years after Hitler assumed power, an article in a German Jewish newspaper still encouraged Jewish women “to light the candles and brighten their homes with cheer”.⁵

2. German Policies

A second source of gender differences was German policy and the many rules and regulations that specifically targeted Jewish women.

One painful example was the policy that prohibited pregnancy and the birth of Jewish children in Lithuania. Jewish doctors in the ghettos were required to report every pregnancy and to perform an abortion to terminate it. The penalty for non-compliance was death – for the woman and for the doctor. For example, in the Kovno ghetto the order of July 24, 1942 stated that “Pregnancies have to be terminated. Pregnant women will be shot”.⁶

Despite the death penalty, some young women in the Kovno ghetto decided to defy this order and to remain pregnant. These women were engaged in a conscious act of resistance because they did not want to allow the Germans to deprive them of the experience of giving birth and the experience of motherhood.⁷ They were fortunate to find a Jewish doctor, Dr. Abraham Peretz, who agreed to help them – at the risk of his own life – and to shelter them through their pregnancies (even though they all knew that they might be caught and killed).⁸ This example also reminds us of how important it is to examine how the Jews responded to German orders – and how they tried to cope and resist – instead of treating German decrees as a *fait accompli*.

⁵ Ibid, p. 43.

⁶ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto* (Little Brown and Company, 1997), p. 245. See also the diary of Dr. Aharon Pick in the Shavli ghetto: *Writings from the Death Area, Memoirs Written in the Ghetto of Shavli Lithuania During 1942-1944* (in Hebrew).

⁷ Aharon Peretz, *Ba-Mahanot lo bakhu : reshimot shel rofe* (only in Hebrew) (In the Camps They Did Not Cry: a doctor's notes) (Tel Aviv: Masadah publishing, 1960), p. 36.

⁸ Ibid.

Pregnancy was also a death-sentence for women in the concentration camps where all pregnant women — and women with children — were selected for immediate murder. The selection process on the arrival ramp of the Auschwitz concentration camp determined who would be sent to forced labour, and who would be sent to the gas chambers to die. Those Jews who appeared strong enough for work were sent to one side, while those who looked too young, too old, or too weak to work, were sent to the other side — which led to the gas chambers.

The one exception to this rule was for a woman who was carrying a child in her arms or holding the hands of her children. Even if she looked healthy and fit for work, if she was holding onto a child, she was automatically sent to the gas chambers. Some of the Jews who worked on the arrival ramp at Auschwitz, who of course knew what was going to happen to these mothers, devised a way to try to save some of them. In a whisper, they told the mothers “be sure to give your child to their grandmother” because the workers knew that all the older women would be sent to the gas chambers anyway, and they hoped to save the lives of the mothers if they were not holding onto their children.

3. Different Reactions and Coping Strategies

We now turn to the third sphere of gender differences, the responses of Jewish men and women in the ghettos and camps.

3a. Reactions and Coping Strategies in the Ghettos

In Eastern Europe, where the ghettos were located, the Holocaust was much more violent than in Western Europe. For example, in Germany it took six years, from 1933 to 1939, to implement over 400 anti-Jewish laws.⁹ But in Poland, in contrast, the same measures were instituted in a matter of months and were accompanied by physical violence from the very start. The Jews in Poland were then forced into overcrowded ghettos and trapped behind their gates and

⁹ Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know* (Little Brown & Co, 1993), p. 22.

walls. They were stripped of their homes and possessions, barred from their bank accounts, and cut off from their jobs, shops, offices and business.

Jewish men, especially those who were most visible because of their beards and traditional clothing, were immediately targeted for beatings, humiliation, harassment, arrest and execution. Many were assaulted and had their beards ripped off, mocked and jeered on the streets, and taken away for harsh forced labour. It is therefore not surprising that many Jewish men were simply afraid to leave their homes during the day, and they increasingly relied on their wives to deal with the world outside. As a result, their wives began to take over many of their husbands' former roles.

For example, the distinguished historian of the Warsaw ghetto, Emmanuel Ringelblum wrote in his diary:

(The) men don't go out...

She stands on the long line (for bread)...

When there is need to go to the Gestapo, the daughter or wife goes...

The women are everywhere...

(Women) who never thought of working are now performing the most difficult physical work.¹⁰

But how could these women, most of whom had never worked outside the home, manage to support their families? Most of them could not really do it. Some found jobs in ghetto factories, labour brigades, and soup kitchens, and others did private cleaning, laundry or childminding. But there were severe job shortages, and most women simply could NOT find regular work. In Warsaw, for example, in September 1941, about half of the inhabitants of the Warsaw ghetto (200,000 to 250,000 people) had no regular jobs and were starving to death; most of them were women and children.¹¹

¹⁰ Emanuel Ringelblum, *Diary and Notes from the War Period: Warsaw Ghetto* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1992), pp. 51-52.

¹¹ Lenore J. Weitzman and Dalia Ofer, "Introduction" to *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1998), p. 9.

This led many women to turn to the dangerous and illegal “occupation” of smuggling as the only way to feed their children.¹² They had to first escape from the ghetto, and then find non-Jews willing to buy their cherished belongings in exchange for food. Little by little they parted with their favourite dress, the bedding from their dowry, and, eventually, even their wedding rings.¹³

While we may be surprised to learn that many women became food smugglers, we understand it better when we know that the daily calorie ration for people in the Warsaw ghetto was only 181 calories for each person. But, in the end, despite all of their efforts, we know that most women simply could not manage to support their families: the draconian odds in the ghetto were all stacked against them. Their heartbreaking efforts show that they did everything they could to try – including depriving themselves of food to keep their children alive. But most of them gradually exhausted all their resources, and most of them gradually exhausted themselves.

This desperate sacrifice of mothers is one of the most common themes in ghetto diaries. For example, as 15-year-old Dawid Sierakowiak described his emaciated mother on the eve of her deportation from the Lodz ghetto (in Poland):

*My little, emaciated mother,
who suffered so many calamities.....
(She) devoted her whole life to others ...
My poor mother, who always took everything on herself...
She agreed when I told her that she had surrendered her life
by lending and giving out food,
but ... I saw that she had no regrets.*¹⁴

¹² Dalia Ofer, “Gender Issues in Diaries and Testimonies of the Ghetto”, in *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 152-162.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Dawid Sierakowiak, *The Diary of Dawid Sierakowiak: Five Notebooks from the Lodz Ghetto*, Alan Adelson, trans. (Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 219-220.

3b. Women in the Jewish resistance

While that was the fate of most women in the ghettos, it is important to take note of a small group of women who were NOT mothers or caregivers and were therefore “free” to participate in the Jewish resistance in the ghettos. These women were typically young and single, without family responsibilities, and were actively involved in the groups that planned the ghetto revolts.

The Jewish resistance was one arena in which women assumed leadership roles that were equal to those of men. In several ghettos, including the Warsaw ghetto, women like Zivia Lubetkin were among the central leaders of the uprising. In fact, Zivia Lubetkin was one of the three commanders of the Warsaw ghetto revolt, and widely recognised as a powerful inspiration for their historic stand for Jewish honour. Women also played critical roles in other forms of resistance in the ghettos — establishing illegal schools, secret libraries, and underground cultural events, and they often spearheaded underground efforts to rescue other Jews.

One fascinating group of women in the Jewish resistance were the underground couriers who operated outside of the ghettos, who are the focus of my current research. Known as *kashariyot*, these young women travelled illegally, disguised as non-Jews. They smuggled news, information, money, food, medical supplies, forged documents and other Jews in and out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe. Their missions took guts, courage, chutzpah and nerves of steel.

Once they learned about the mass killings, these couriers set out to warn the Jews in far flung ghettos who were cut off from the news and information. They wanted to reach the isolated Jews before the Germans could deceive them with promises of “resettlement”, when, in fact, the Germans were planning to send them on trains to the death camps.

While we may be surprised to learn that many women became food smugglers, we understand it better when we know that the daily calorie ration for people in the Warsaw ghetto was only 181 calories for each person.

The couriers urged the Jews NOT to board the trains, but to instead join the Jewish underground and resist — by telling others about the true nature of the deportations, building bunkers for those who were most vulnerable, and by fighting and thwarting the Germans in any way possible. The kashariyot also set out to secure arms and ammunition and to smuggle them into the ghettos for the planned revolts. Their final mission was to rescue other Jews from the doomed ghettos and to provide them with false documents, homes, money and moral support. Though most women were not in a position to do what these daring young women did, it is important for us to remember their heroism and their special role in the Jewish resistance.

3c. Reactions and Coping Strategies in the Camps:

Finally, we consider the reactions and coping strategies of women in the concentration camps. One of the greatest differences in the experiences of men and women in the concentration camps was their response to their initial “processing”. Women who were selected for work were first forced to undress and stand naked in front of German male guards, while they were shaved all over and then tattooed with numbers. Women survivors described this process as traumatic, degrading, humiliating and mortifying. Many sobbed from the assault and shame — which was often intensified by having to witness one’s mother or one’s daughter being subjected to the same brutality — while one was forced to stand by helplessly.

While Jewish men also described the degrading process of being stripped of their identities, they were not as emotionally distraught as the women. And when they wrote about the processing, they appeared to be most upset about the ways that their wives, mothers, and daughters were treated. In fact, the men reacted as if they themselves were personally assaulted by the humiliation of their women.

Once in the camps, we find three coping strategies that appear to be unique to women.

The first was the way that women coped with hunger. Although this may sound counter-intuitive, they talked about meals, and what

they served on Jewish holidays, and they shared their favourite recipes for their mother's gefilte fish or cholent.¹⁵ At night, in the barracks, they told each other stories about special family dinners and how they celebrated each Jewish holiday. Some survivors say that these conversations had a satiating effect. But whether or not they actually did, they clearly affirmed the women's identities as mothers, wives and daughters. And that was important in a place where there was an explicit plan to destroy those identities and to dehumanise them.

A second coping strategy was women's continued use of their homemaking and grooming skills. For example, they made an effort to improve their looks by pinching their cheeks to look healthier, and rubbing black coal into their greying hair to look younger. This not only improved their chances of being seen as fit for work during the endless roll calls and "selections", it also helped them maintain a more human appearance and their dignity. In addition, as Felicia Karay observed, women's attention to personal hygiene and their appearance induced their overseers in the labour camp to treat them more humanely.¹⁶

A third coping strategy was the formation of "Camp Sister" relationships in which two women supported and sustained each other like sisters, by sharing food and other resources, trying to protect each other from threats and assaults and taking care of one another when one became sick. This was especially important during roll call when women were required to stand for hours on end and those who were sick needed a camp sister to hold them up.¹⁷

Women also played critical roles in other forms of resistance in the ghettos – establishing illegal schools, secret libraries, and underground cultural events, and they often spearheaded underground efforts to rescue other Jews.

¹⁵ See, for example, Myrna Goldenberg, "Memoirs of Auschwitz Survivors: The Burden of Gender", in *Women in the Holocaust* (Yale University Press, 1998), p. 335.

¹⁶ Felicia Karay, "Women in the Forced-Labor Camps", in Ofer and Weitzman (1998), p. 305.

¹⁷ Brana Gurewitsch, *Mothers, Sisters, Resisters* (University of Alabama Press, 1998), pp. xviii-xix.

Camp sisters also encouraged each other not to give up and die. It is therefore not surprising that many survivors refer to their camp sister as the person who “kept them alive”, both physically and emotionally. In addition, many women spoke of feeling that they themselves had to remain alive so that they could help their camp sister.

4. Conclusion:

Initially, many of us assumed that if we learned more about the Holocaust, we would have the tools to be sure that it could never happen again. And yet we have witnessed so many atrocities and so many mass killings in the years since then, and in most of them we have seen women singled out for abuse. In addition, most recently we have seen the horrifying phenomenon of rape used as a weapon of war. At first, this might lead us to conclude that we have not made any progress since the Holocaust. But, at the same time, we have also seen something that never happened during the Holocaust. We have seen the international community stand up, and speak out, and try to stop these genocides.

In addition, we have seen the international community define the specific targeting of women as a war crime and rape as a crime against humanity. While we shudder at the terror of today's genocides in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Darfur, we should also think about how much worse they could have been, and how much longer they could have continued, had these events been ignored, as the Holocaust was and had they been met with the silence of the international community that prevailed during the Holocaust. Thus even though we know that the international community can and should do more, we can also point to the many ways in which the lessons of the Holocaust have already helped to change the course of recent history.

Please see page 62 for discussion questions



Jewish women and children on their way to the gas chambers, Auschwitz-Birkenau, in German-occupied Poland, May 1944.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives



Women at forced labour in Plaszow, Poland, 1943.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives

Women in the Holocaust

Discussion questions

1. How did the changed reality under Nazi rule in Germany affect women's roles within their families?
2. How did women cope with life in the ghettos and the camps?
3. How were women's experiences different from men's?
4. Why is it important to learn about women's experiences during the Holocaust?
5. What might the international community do to help protect women against violence today, especially in conflict situations?

6. Shanghai: a Haven for Holocaust Victims



*Jewish refugees arrive on the Italian ship "Conte Verde"
in Shanghai, China, 14 December 1938.*

*Photo Credit: National Archives and Records Administration, College Park.
Courtesy of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*



Professor Pan Guang

Professor Pan Guang (China) is the Vice Chairman and Professor of the Shanghai Centre for International Studies and the Institute of European & Asian Studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. He holds a number of prestigious posts at Chinese institutions on International Studies, Asian Studies, Middle East Studies and Jewish Studies.

Professor Pan served as a panellist in the Holocaust Programme's observance of the anniversary of the Kristallnacht pogrom, held at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 10 November 2008 under the theme "Nowhere to Turn". The event focused on immigration policies and their consequences for the Jewish people, who found it nearly impossible to escape Nazi persecution and murder in Europe during the Second World War. Professor Pan provided an overview of the Shanghai Ghetto, which was one of the only safe havens for Jews during that time.

For his work in the field of Holocaust Studies, Professor Pan has received several awards, including the James Friend Annual Memorial Award for Sino-Jewish Studies (1993), Special Award for Research on Canadian Jews from China (1996), the Saint Petersburg-300 Medal for contribution to China-Russia relations (2004) and the Austrian Holocaust Memorial Award (2006).

He has served as a member of the High-Level Group for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (AoC) since 2005 and was appointed as Ambassador of the AoC in 2008. He has travelled and lectured extensively in North America, Europe, Asia and the Middle East. Professor Pan has published books and articles on a variety of topics, several of which are on the history of Jews in China and Asia.

Shanghai: a Haven for Holocaust Victims

by Pan Guang

Professor and Vice Chairman of the Shanghai Centre for
International Studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

From 1933 to 1941, Shanghai accepted almost 30,000 European Jews who escaped from Nazi Persecution and the Holocaust. Excluding those who left Shanghai for other countries, by the time of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the city was sheltering 20,000 – 25,000 Jewish refugees. According to the Simon Wiesenthal Centre on Holocaust Studies, Shanghai took in more Jewish refugees than Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India combined.¹ Like “Schindler”, “Wallenberg” and “Sugihara”, the name “Shanghai” has now become synonymous with “rescue” and “haven” in the annals of the Holocaust.

Why Did Shanghai Become a Haven for Jewish Refugees?

The accepted historical account is that Jews came to China as early as the Tang Dynasty (around the 8th Century). The Jewish community in Kaifeng, which took shape during the Song Dynasty (960-1279), is known to all.² In modern times, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Tianjin and Harbin had become the places where Jews chose to live. Shanghai,

¹ Alex Grobman and Daniel Landes (ed.), *Genocide, Critical Issues of the Holocaust* (Los Angeles: 1983), p. 299.

² There are many books about Kaifeng Jews. For a general picture, see Sidney Shapiro (ed.), *Jews in Old China* (New York, 1984).

in particular, had a Jewish community of about 5,000 people in the early part of the 1930s, comprised of Sephardic Jews who came to do business in the city from Baghdad, Bombay, Singapore and Hong Kong in the second half of the 19th century and Russian (Ashkenazi) Jews who came to make a living in the city via Siberia and Harbin after the pogroms, revolutions and civil war in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. The community had its own communal association, synagogues, schools, hospitals, clubs, cemeteries, a chamber of commerce, political groups, publications and a small fighting unit (a Jewish company belonging to the Shanghai Volunteer Corps).³ Several notable families such as the Sassoons, the Hardoons and the Kadoories became economic powers not just in Shanghai but throughout the whole of China and even East Asia. The important point is that although many Jews have inhabited China from ancient to modern times, no indigenous anti-Semitic activity has ever taken place on Chinese soil. That is why European Jews retain a friendly feeling towards the Chinese and cities like Shanghai.

Viewed culturally, most Chinese are influenced by Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism rather than Christianity, and Chinese and Jewish cultures share a great deal in common. For example, both lay great stress on family ties and educational values, and although both have absorbed various exotic cultures, their central core has never changed. On a stone monument erected in 1489, the Kaifeng Jews wrote: "Our religion and Confucianism differ only in minor details. In mind and deed both respect Heaven's Way, venerate ancestors, are loyal to sovereigns and ministers, and filial to parents. Both call for harmony with wives and children, respect for rank, and for making friends".⁴ For this reason, the religious roots of anti-Semitism do not exist in China, and never have. No doubt, this environment was strongly appealing to Jews who had suffered untold tribulations in Nazi Europe.

³ See Pan Guang (ed.), *The Jews in Shanghai* (Shanghai: 1995 and 2005).

⁴ Chen Yuan and Ye Han, *Study on the Israelite Religion in Kaifeng — Commentaries on the Stone Inscription of the Israelites* (Shanghai, 1923), p. 2.

The international environment of that time also accounted for Shanghai's popularity among Jews. In the wake of the global economic depression and imminent threat of war, many countries refused to accept immigrants. In July 1938, representatives from 32 countries attended the Evian Conference on Jewish refugees, but, with the exception of the Dominican Republic, no country was willing to take in more Jews. In May 1939, the British government issued the White Paper which imposed strict restrictions on the entry of Jewish immigrants into Palestine.⁵ The United States, which has the world's largest Jewish community, also closed its door to Jewish refugees.⁶ It was in these desperate days that the European Jews found Shanghai, the only metropolis in the world at that time where foreigners could enter without visas. These advantages were particularly important to Jewish refugees, most of whom were penniless and some of whom had just escaped from concentration camps.

It was in these desperate days that the European Jews found Shanghai, the only metropolis in the world at that time where foreigners could enter without visas.

All these factors conspired to turn Shanghai, a Far Eastern metropolis, into an ideal haven for Jewish refugees, adding a bitter but memorable chapter to the history of Shanghai.

"Final Solution" in Shanghai and "Hongkew Ghetto"

As Japan had declared war against the United States in December 1941, Nazi Germany assumed that Japan would be certain to begin implementing German-type anti-Semitic policies. In July 1942, eight months after the Pacific War broke out, Colonel Josef Meisinger, chief representative of the Nazi Gestapo in Japan, arrived in Shanghai and put forward a plan for the 'Final Solution in Shanghai' to

⁵ H.H. Ben-Sasson (ed.), *A History of the Jewish People* (London: 1976), p. 1034.

⁶ Alex Grobman and Daniel Landes (ed.), *Genocide, Critical Issues of the Holocaust* (Los Angeles: 1983), p. 299.

the Japanese authorities. It was designed to be implemented in two steps. Step one was to arrest all Jews in Shanghai in a surprise attack as they were spending the Jewish New Year with families. Step two was to 'deal with' the problem they were assumed to create in a decisive manner. The plan suggested three ways of 'dealing with' these Jews. They could be placed in old ships and set a drift on the East China Sea, so that they would eventually die of hunger; they could be forced to toil themselves to death in the abandoned salt-mines on the upper reaches of the Huangpu River; or the Japanese could set up a concentration camp on Chongming Island, where the Jews would be subjected to medical experiments and die of their sufferings.⁷ Although the "Meisinger Plan" was not put into effect, the Japanese authorities established "the Designated Area for Stateless Refugees", ordering all Jewish refugees from Central Europe to move into the area — Hongkew.⁸ The whole operation was similar to setting up a concentration camp.

Why did the Japanese not carry out the "Meisinger Plan"? There are four main reasons: (1) The lobby within Japan which advocated peace with the United States still considered the Jews in Shanghai to be a means by which good relations with the United States could be restored and exerted their limited influence over the Japanese leadership to this end. (2) Japanese leaders were still hoping to maintain non-belligerent relations with the Soviet Union. If the Jews in Shanghai were to be slaughtered as the Nazis demanded, no doubt this barbarism would involve Russian Jews and would have an adverse influence on relations between the two countries. (3) The Jews in Harbin and Japan, who spoke up for the Jewish community in Shanghai with Japanese senior officials in an attempt to persuade Japan not to carry out the "Meisinger Plan", also exerted some influence. (4) As a result of the Confucian

⁷ Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz, *The Fugu Plan, The Untold Story of the Japanese and Jews during World War II* (New York and London, 1979), p. 223.

⁸ David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews, the Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai 1938-1945* (New York: 1976), pp. 489-490.

cultural tradition, East Asia did not foster the same religious, racial, and cultural prejudices against Jews, which were prevalent in Christian Europe. Even the Japanese and the puppet officials at the middle and lower levels in Shanghai found it hard to accept the “Meisinger Plan” both intellectually and emotionally. For example, Mr. Shibata, Japanese Vice-Consul in Shanghai, was arrested because he gave secret support to Jews.

All the factors mentioned above notwithstanding, the Japanese fascists were still Hitler’s allies, and the probability that they would take sudden action against Jews in Shanghai was an ever-present threat. The pressure and the capriciousness of Japanese policy towards Jews put the Shanghai Jews in a difficult, unpredictable and sometimes dangerous position for nearly four years.

Hongkew soon began to take on the appearance of a small German or Austrian city. Chusan Road, once a small, dingy, typically Chinese lane, now looked like a street in Vienna.

How were Jewish Refugees able to Survive in Shanghai?

Firstly, Determination of the Jewish Refugees. The move to the ghetto imposed tremendous economic, physical and, above all, psychological burdens on Jewish refugees. Malnutrition and disease brought the total mortality figures for 1943 to 311.⁹ Everybody waged a vital, dire struggle to survive. Despite such difficult conditions, on the whole the community showed a surprising amount of solidarity. The majority of refugees maintained a remarkable degree of stability and equilibrium. They reconstructed dozens of shattered streets, using the rubble to erect new buildings and shops, and Hongkew soon began to take on the appearance of a small German or Austrian city. Chusan Road, once a small, dingy, typically Chinese lane, now looked like a street in Vienna.¹⁰ Hundreds of business establishments were opened, catering mostly to refugee customers. There were groceries,

⁹ Comprehensive statistics according to materials from oral interviews and the International Red Cross’s report (1943) about Jewish refugees in Shanghai.

¹⁰ (Oral) interview with Michael Blumenthal, New York, June 17, 1996.

pharmacies, bakeries, plumbers, locksmiths, barbers, tailors, milliners, cobblers and, of course, there were the inevitable Viennese “coffee houses”. A few enterprising souls even established small factories, turning out such products as soap, candles, knitwear, leatherwear and especially European-type food products like sausages, confections, soft drinks, etc. There were a large number of medically trained personnel among the refugees, including 200 physicians. These doctors, dentists and nurses soon set up little clinics in Hongkew. They even established the first hospital for refugees with 120 beds.¹¹

One of the chief factors which made life bearable for refugees was the amount and variety of recreation they could enjoy. Among the refugees, there were many professional, as well as amateur, entertainers and they quickly swung into action. Actors and actresses organised drama groups, even a Yiddish theatre; musicians set up bands and orchestras; several singers even formed a light opera company, which put on some highly successful operettas.¹² Some musicians like Professor Alfred Wittenberg, a famous violinist from Germany, later became professors at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Refugees set up soccer teams and played annual tournaments before thousands of enthusiastic spectators.¹³ From 1938 to 1947, editors and journalists among the refugees ran more than 10 German publications, and several Polish and Yiddish ones. They included the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (later *Shanghai Echo*), *Shanghai Woche*, *Acht Uhr Abendblatt*, *Die Gelbe Post*, *Yiddish Almanach*, *Unser Wort*, *In Weg*, *Dos Wort*, *Die Tribune*, *Medizinisch Monatshefte*, *Unser Weg* and so on.¹⁴

11 Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council, 1940, p.472.

12 (Oral) interview with William Schurtman, New York, Jan. 17, 1989 and with Heinz Grunberg, Shanghai, April 26, 1998.

13 (Oral) interview with Schurtman and Grunberg.

14 See Rena Krasno, “Jewish Publications in Shanghai during First Half of 20th Century”, *Points East*, Vol.6, No.1, March 1991, Seattle. See also Abraham Kaufman, “Jewish Journalism in the Far East”, *Our Press*, No.8, Tel-Aviv, 1991, World Federation of Jewish Journalists.

Secondly, Support from overseas Jewish communities. In the bleak ghetto period, various international organisations, especially Jewish communities and organisations all over the world, gave great support to Jewish refugees in Shanghai. The unremitting rescue efforts undertaken by the JDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) should certainly be mentioned. The JDC set up its office with a resident representative in Shanghai in 1938. At regular intervals it wrote a report detailing the situation of the Shanghai Jewish refugees and collected donations in the United States for Jewish refugees in Shanghai with monthly donations averaging \$30,000. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, fearing reproaches from the American government, the JDC headquarters in New York had to discontinue posting money to Shanghai in May 1942. This was just at the time the JDC's resident representative, Laura Margolies, was put into a concentration camp by the Japanese.¹⁵ Thanks to the efforts of Rabbi A. Kalmanowitz and Ms. Margolies, who was later released and returned to the States by the end of 1943, the United States government granted permission for the resumption of communication with enemy-occupied Shanghai. In March 1944, the JDC was able to transfer the equivalent of \$25,000 to Shanghai through Switzerland. Because of the steadily rising inflation in Shanghai during 1944, the rate of relief sent by the JDC soon increased. Starting with \$35,000 per month, it reached a sum of \$100,000 by January 1945, a rate which continued until the end of the war.¹⁶

Some other organisations and communities, which also played an important role in rescuing and aiding Jewish refugees in Shanghai, should also not be overlooked. They include: the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, the World Jewish Congress in New York, the Va'ad ha-Hazalah, Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the Polish Relief Committee for War Victims, the Jewish community in Kobe, the Jewish community in Harbin, Arbeitsausschuss zur Hilfeleistung

¹⁵ Laura Margolis, "Report of Activities in Shanghai, China, from December 8, 1941 to September 1943", *Shanghai Jews Memoirs*, ed. by Pan Guang (Shanghai: 1995), pp. 18-34.

¹⁶ (Oral) interview with Laura Margolis, New Jersey, February 24, 1989.

für Europäische Juden in Stockholm and the Comite Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa. Of course, there are too many to be listed in their entirety.

Thirdly, aid offered by Chinese people. When thousands of Jewish refugees arrived in Shanghai between 1937 and 1941, millions of Shanghai residents had themselves become refugees after the Japanese occupied part of Shanghai. However, in spite of this, the natives of Shanghai tried their best to help Jewish refugees in various ways. Chinese residents in Hongkew overcame all kinds of difficulties to vacate their own rooms to put up refugees. Before the hospitals for Jewish refugees were set up, Chinese hospitals treated a great number of Jewish refugees and saved many lives. In the hardest days in Hongkew from 1943 to 1945, Jewish refugees and their Chinese neighbours enjoyed mutual help and shared weal and woe. Though largely separated by linguistic and cultural barriers, they found themselves bound together by mutual suffering. Wang Faliang, who lived in Hongkew throughout the war, said: "The Japanese persecuted us; Hitler persecuted the Jews, we were all subjected to great hardship."¹⁷ Lilli Finkelstein wrote:

*We noticed that the Chinese in the neighbourhood behaved very well towards us. They knew how precarious our situation was, and they did not take advantage of it. They let us live our life unmolested. ... I even formed a kind of friendship with one or two of those women. Once a family invited us to their festive meal at their New Year's celebration.*¹⁸

Especially noteworthy is the close cooperation between Chinese and Jews on 17 July 1945, when American aircraft accidentally bombed the refugee area in Hongkew. Some memoirs described how Jewish refugees were ripping up the last of their treasured table and bed linen to make bandages, how the Chinese helped carry the

¹⁷ (Oral) interview with Wang Faliang, Shanghai, May 5, 1997.

¹⁸ Lilli Finkelstein, "Four Decades of My Life", *Shanghai Jews Memoirs*, Pan Guang (ed.) (Shanghai: 1995), p. 163.

wounded through rubble, and offered to transport heavy loads of cots, mattresses, and buckets of water to the clinics, and how the poor Chinese in Hongkew brought food and even money to the emergency clinics.¹⁹

These pages in history, composed on Chinese soil by many ordinary Chinese and Jews and cataloguing the traditions of Sino-Jewish friendship, form a chapter in the history of human progress that will forever shine.

Please see page 75 for discussion questions

¹⁹ (Oral) interviews with Schurtman, Wang Faliang and B. Lumenthal.

猶太避難民調查表
DIRECTORY OF JEWISH REFUGEES

29 MAR. 1948

編號 No.		
姓名 Name in full	CHAISE GOTTFRIED	
男女別 Sex	女 FEM	
年齡 Age	40 YEARS	
國籍 Nationality	GERMAN	
使用言語 Language	GERMAN, POLISH	
現住所 Address	241, CHAOYUEN ROAD, HONGKONG	
職業或技能 Occupation or Ability	PRIVATE	
教育程度 Education	MIDDLE-SCHOOL	
宗教 Religion	JEWISH	

本件差支無之
右許可矣

Directory of Jewish Refugees in Shanghai

Photo Credit: Courtesy of the Gottfried Family,
Published in *The Jews in China*, Pan Guang (ed),
(China Intercontinental Press, 2001) p. 113



A lesson at a secretarial school in the Shanghai ghetto.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives

Shanghai: a Haven for Holocaust Victims

Discussion questions

1. Persecuted by the Nazis, European Jews attempted to flee the continent. What was the reaction of the countries that attended the Evian Conference? Why did Jewish refugees choose to go to Shanghai?
2. According to Professor Pan, unlike in Europe, anti-Semitism was not present in China. Why not?
3. What was the "Meisinger Plan"? Why was it not implemented?
4. What factors contributed to the survival of Jewish refugees in Shanghai?
5. What was the attitude of the local population in Shanghai towards the Jewish refugees?

7. The Holocaust by Bullets



*A German policeman aims his rifle
at a woman and her child, Ivangorod, Ukraine, 1942.*

Photo Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The views or opinions expressed in this journal, and the context in which the images are used, do not necessarily reflect the views or policy of, nor imply approval or endorsement by, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum



Father Patrick Desbois

Patrick Desbois (France) is a Catholic priest and President of the association Yahad-In Unum. He also serves as Director of the Episcopal Committee for Catholic-Judeo Relations, under the auspices of the French Conference of Bishops. The grandson of a French prisoner held in the Rawa Ruska Nazi prison camp on the Poland-Ukraine border during the Second World War, Father Desbois began in 2004 to investigate the story of the Jewish, Roma and other victims murdered in Eastern Europe during the Second World War by the Nazi mobile killing units, the Einsatzgruppen, and their allies.

Father Desbois has devoted his life to researching the Holocaust, fighting anti-Semitism, and furthering relations between Catholics and Jews. The organisation he co-founded in 2004, Yahad-In Unum, sends research teams to Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Poland to interview the aging local residents who witnessed the mass murders of their neighbours. In 2008, he published the book *The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest's Journey to Uncover the Truth behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews*. The Jewish Book Council awarded the book the 2008 National Jewish Book Award. Father Desbois has received recognition around the world for his work with Yahad-In Unum.

The Holocaust by Bullets

by *Father Patrick Desbois*

Catholic priest and President of the association "Yahad-In Unum"

The old man gazes at the young woman standing before him in the road that runs through his rural Ukrainian village. He appears unsurprised by her question. "Yes, I lived here during the war", he says. "Yes, I can tell you what happened here."

And so begins another journey back in time. It is a journey of memories as dark as the shadows in the woods nearby, of a day almost 70 years ago when the old man, then a 12-year-old boy, watched as his neighbours were shot and buried in a mass grave at the edge of his village. Another interview with another witness to the "Holocaust by Bullets".

In July 1942, my grandfather, Claudius Desbois, was deported as a French prisoner to a German camp of Soviet prisoners in Ukraine. He returned home silent. Much later, I came to understand that he had been held in a region where many Jews had lived prior to the war and that, as a prisoner, day after day, he had seen Jews being shot.

At the end of the 1990's, I returned to Rawa-Ruska, Ukraine, the town of the camp in which my grandfather had been imprisoned, to look for the mass graves of the Jews who had been killed. Unexpectedly, the mayor of the town gathered 50 people who had witnessed the shootings, and brought me to the site of the mass grave to listen to their testimony about the last 1,500 Jews of Rawa-Ruska. All at once, I realised that the shootings in Ukraine had been carried out

in public and witnessed by Ukrainian people who now wanted to speak to let us know the truth. The same evening, I was alone in the forest with the mayor. He told me, "Patrick, what I did for you in one village, I can do for 100 villages." I will never know why he said that. And I will never know why I said, "Yes".

So was born the organisation "Yahad-In Unum", the name formed by the words in Hebrew and Latin for "together". Or, as the late Cardinal Lustiger said, "We will not say 'unum', because we are not 'unum' Catholic and Jews but we are 'in unum' and 'unum' is God".

Before the death camps of Auschwitz, Treblinka and Sobibor, the Nazis were already at work in their quest to annihilate the Jews and Roma of Europe in the territory of the former Soviet Union. In the wake of the Third Reich's invading armies came the *Einsatzgruppen*, mobile killing squads moving from village to village to carry out mass shootings of Jews, Roma and other civilian victims of Hitler's regime. The victims, some not yet dead, were buried in pits and ditches.

Unlike the secrecy surrounding the camps, however, the genocide carried out in the towns and villages of Eastern Europe occurred in full public view, witnessed by the victims' neighbours. These people, farmers or woodsmen, often live today in the same village where, as children, adolescents or young adults, they saw the shootings occur, sometimes requisitioned by the killers and forced to perform some task: to gather; to drive; to dig.

Unlike the Holocaust of the camps, the bodies of the victims in the East were not burned. "Operation 1005", a massive effort by the Nazis to conceal their crime by exhuming the mass graves and burning the corpses was cut short by the faster than expected advance of the counterattacking Red Army. The aging witnesses whom we meet in Eastern Europe know where the bodies are buried. They lead us through fields or forests to the mass grave sites, often overgrown with weeds and rarely marked. "There", they will say, pointing at the slight depression in the ground; "that is where the Jews are buried".

For the past nine years, teams of mainly young people from Yahad-In Unum have travelled the back roads of Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Poland videotaping interviews with non-Jewish eyewitnesses to shed new light on the Holocaust in Eastern Europe. Our focus is identifying the mass grave sites of the genocide – we are not hunting for the killers or seeking to assign culpability. Instead, we are looking for the victims, too often cast aside and forgotten in the historical reconstruction of events. We patiently pull on the threads of memory of the witnesses to establish crime scenes and identify the precise locations of the mass graves – while we still can.

We are indeed in a race against time to interview as many of these witnesses, most today in their 80's or 90's, before they and their memories are gone. To date, Yahad teams have covered approximately 60-70 per cent of Ukraine, identifying more than 650 mass grave sites, many previously unknown, that contain the remains of more than 1 million victims. Videotapes of our interviews with more than 1,850 witnesses can be seen at Yahad's headquarters in Paris, at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington and soon online at www.yahadinunum.org.

The stories recounted by the witnesses during the interviews are sometimes horrible beyond imagining. Yet, the interviewer continues asking the questions. When the interview is concluded, the team moves off to meet another witness. Once the history and mass grave sites of a village are confirmed, the search continues in the next village. This year, Yahad teams will make 15 two-week research trips, interviewing 40-50 new witnesses each trip.

Sometimes I'm asked the question, "But why do you do it, Father?" It is an understandable question. The Holocaust is not something that most of us are inclined to think about when we wake

Before the death camps of Auschwitz, Treblinka and Sobibor, the Nazis were already at work in their quest to annihilate the Jews and Roma of Europe in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

up in the morning. It is unpleasant, tragic, frightening, revolting. There is so much to live for, why focus on the terrible deaths that happened so long ago?

Part of the response is found in the reaction of the old people whom we meet. "What has taken you so long to come?" they sometimes ask. It is as if they have been expecting us. The events that they witnessed have remained locked inside them – many of them tell us that it is the first time they have ever spoken of these events. For the first time, the voices of those who can confirm the facts first-hand are being heard, bringing another perspective to the Holocaust in Eastern Europe and adding a powerful element to the body of evidence. Their memories oftentimes fill in the details we have gleaned from archival accounts of Soviet and German war crimes investigations, details that would otherwise soon be lost forever.

They are details about real people. The Jews, Roma and others whose existence the Nazis sought to erase from the earth, were thrown like animals into anonymous mass graves that are disappearing beneath the grass and trees. It has been said that these victims suffered death twice, the first time as human beings, murdered by the Nazis and their allies, the second time as dead persons forgotten by the world. The Russian proverb that a war is not over until the dead are buried spurs us on. Our work seeks to preserve the memory of the lives of these people and to ensure that they are not forgotten. By identifying the mass graves, we enable dignity and respect to be restored to the victims and the memory of their existence, re-integrating them with humanity.

Yahad's work is also about education, about increasing awareness and understanding of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe and building human resistance against genocide. The fact that the Holocaust by bullets occurred in plain view of everyone, that the evidence of the atrocities exists not somewhere far removed from our daily lives but rather, "just behind this wall" and that genocide, sadly, did not end with the Nazis, should serve as a warning that it is an ever-present danger requiring vigilance, assertive action and

the power of conscience, to prevent it. Locating the mass graves also is important for humankind as a whole: if military cemeteries are a lesson against war, mass graves are a lesson against genocide. A failure to act, a failure to remember, provides the next mass murderer with a license to commit genocide.

Yahad's educational efforts now extend around the world. In the past year, Yahad has taken its message to Latin America, Asia and Australia. While it may seem that these audiences are far-removed from the Holocaust in the camps and fields of Europe, their interest and engagement with the subject speaks to universally shared values. They remind us that the history and lessons of the Holocaust are not unique to a certain part of the world. Yahad seeks to connect to the suffering experienced in every country; in speaking to students at 14 schools in Hong Kong earlier this year, I began each presentation by recalling the horrors of Nanking.

It has been said that these victims suffered death twice, the first time as human beings, murdered by the Nazis and their allies, the second time as dead persons forgotten by the world.

Whether investigating, researching, educating, working to remember the victims or taking a stand against genocide, those who become involved in Yahad's work find a purpose that is self-propelling. The aging witnesses who are waiting for our teams when we come to interview them seem to understand this. And I am never asked the "Why?" question by anyone who has sat listening to a witness tell what happened the day the Germans arrived.

After thousands of kilometers of travel, through Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Poland, it seems clear to me that genocide is a temptation of humanity. It is not only a national question; it is a human one. In Eastern Europe, Yahad continues its work to find each of the victims: Jews, Roma, Soviet prisoners, partisans... A modern Europe cannot be built on top of thousands of mass graves of the unknown victims of genocide.

After a war, there is usually a military cemetery. After genocide, there is no cemetery. If we succeed in burying correctly and protecting the mass graves of each of the victims of the genocide which occurred on the territory of Europe, it will make a stronger Europe, a Europe that can say we are not predators, we are noble nations, and we will have made our best attempt to help restore the dignity and honour to those who have until now been forgotten.

Burying the victims and protecting the mass graves is the greatest barrier we can build against future genocide. Himmler said often, "Who remembers the genocide of the Armenians? Nobody." It must never be said anywhere that no one remembers the victims of the Holocaust. Europe is ready to stand, not above, but before, the mass graves of the victims of the genocide that occurred on our territory, and to say to the world, "Here we are, the victims and the living, and together, we say, "it is time to stop."

Please see page 86 for discussion questions



Father Patrick Desbois during one of his first research trips to Moldova.

Photo Credit: Yahad-In Unum Photo Archives



Yahad found cartridges used by the Nazis to murder 1,400 Jews. Motol, Belarus.

Photo Credit: Nicolas Tkatchouk/Yahad-In Unum Photo Archives

The Holocaust by Bullets

Discussion questions

1. During the Holocaust, how did the Nazis' policy toward Jews and other minorities in Eastern Europe differ from their policy in Western Europe?
2. Why does Father Desbois state that "the victims in Eastern Europe suffered twice"?
3. Unlike Poland or Germany, where the Holocaust remains visible through symbols of extermination camps, the horrors of the war remained untold throughout most of Eastern Europe. Why do you think this was the case?
4. Father Desbois spent the last ten years interviewing witnesses and identifying mass graves in Eastern Europe. Why do you think this research is important?
5. How can understanding of the Holocaust as it took place in Eastern Europe help foster genocide awareness and education in other parts of the world?



8. The Arrest of Ratko Mladic and Its Impact on International Justice



At the memorial site for the victims of the 1995 genocide in Srebrenica, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (second from right) gives a joint press conference with Bakir Izetbegovic (right), Chairman of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Photo Credit: UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe



UN Photo / Mark Garten

Professor Juan E. Méndez

Juan E. Méndez (Argentina) is a Visiting Professor of Law at the American University-Washington College of Law and the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment since November 2010. He has been an advisor on crime prevention to the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Court. He is also Co-Chair of the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association. Until May 2009 he was the President of the International Centre for Transnational Justice (ICTJ) and in the summer of 2009 he was a Scholar-in-Residence at the Ford Foundation in New York. Concurrent with his duties at ICTJ, he was Kofi Annan's Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide (2004 to 2007).

Mr. Méndez has dedicated his legal career to the defence of human rights and has a long and distinguished record of advocacy throughout the Americas. As a result of his involvement in representing political prisoners, the Argentinean military dictatorship arrested him and subjected him to torture and administrative detention for more than a year. During this time, Amnesty International adopted him as a "Prisoner of Conscience". After his expulsion from his country in 1977, Mr. Méndez moved to the United States, where he continued his work in the field of human rights.

The Arrest of Ratko Mladic and Its Impact on International Justice and Prevention of Genocide and Other International Crimes

by *Juan E. Méndez*

Professor, Washington College of Law, American University, and
United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel,
Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

I. Introduction¹

After nearly 16 years at large, former Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic was arrested by Serbia in May 2011 and extradited to The Hague where he faces trial for war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. The offenses for which he is accused arise from the worst events of the 1992-1995 Bosnian conflict, including the massacre at Srebrenica, the siege of Sarajevo and ethnic cleansing campaigns elsewhere in the country.

Mladic's arrest and extradition is the end of a long road of impunity. He was first indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) while the conflict was still ongoing; in grim fact, Srebrenica occurred just two days after the ICTY confirmed charges against Mladic and Bosnian Serb President Radovan

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the invaluable assistance of Megan Chapman, JD 2011, and Andrew Maki, JD candidate 2012, both of the Washington College of Law.

Karadzic. Mladic continued to operate in Bosnian territory for two years after the Dayton Accords brought peace, before escaping in 1997 to sanctuary in Serbia and Montenegro. For most of the years since, it is generally believed that Mladic lived openly in Serbia, for example continuing to receive a military pension until about 2000. Only with more recent changes in the Serbian domestic political climate that evidence waning nationalism and a desire for Serbia to accede to the European Union (EU), was the threat of arrest in Serbia real enough to force Mladic into hiding.

The international community has over recent years kept a commendable level of sustained pressure on Serbia to surrender Mladic, most notably making the execution of outstanding ICTY warrants a precondition to EU accession. Particularly important has been the leading role of The Netherlands, which in 2008 blocked the ratification of Serbia's Stabilisation and Association Agreement, which was supported by a majority of EU member states, before this condition was met.

Mladic's arrest and extradition have been hailed, quite rightly, as a victory for international justice. His prosecution will hopefully offer one form of recompense to the victims of the crimes he allegedly committed during the Bosnian war and, if conducted in such a way as to give appropriate domestic effect in Serbia and Bosnia, may be part of bringing further closure to a tragic chapter in history.

Moreover, Mladic's arrest comes along side signs of genuine change in the region. While there were public demonstrations following Mladic's arrest and support for him among Bosnian Serbs, these were smaller and less mainstream than other recent manifestations of Serbian nationalism. Responding to statements from ICTY Prosecutor Serge Brammertz following Mladic's arrest, Serbia publicly agreed to investigate and hold accountable those who shielded Mladic from arrest. It also acted on a second demand within just two months, arresting Goran Hadzic, a Croatian Serb political leader who was the subject of the final outstanding ICTY warrant.

In the midst of these positives, I write the present article in order to look at the significance of the Mladic arrest through a different lens: what it means and does not mean for the goal of preventing the future commission of international crimes. In my capacity as the Special Advisor to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC) on the Prevention of International Crimes until November 2010, I worked to advance the elements of the international criminal justice framework that operate to prevent atrocities rather than reacting after they have already occurred. Within the theory of prevention that I outline and explore below, the arrest of Mladic, together with that of Karadzic and Hadzic, offer a lesson about the importance of sustained international pressure to enforce the warrants issued by international criminal tribunals such as the ICTY and the ICC.

Mladic's arrest and extradition have been hailed, quite rightly, as a victory for international justice.

Yet, we should not be under any illusion that these are perfect examples for either general international deterrence or for prevention of a return to violence in the former Yugoslavia. With continued international encouragement, Serbia can take further steps to demonstrate that it is now genuinely committed to justice for justice's sake and that this is part of a broader process aimed at bringing about public truth and societal reconciliation. Moreover, in its prosecutorial and outreach strategies, the ICTY may play a part in facilitating this process, allowing it to reconnect to its original mandate and leave a stronger legacy on prevention.

II. The Theory of Prevention in International Criminal Justice

The ultimate goal of the international criminal justice framework that has taken shape over recent decades should be the prevention of the worst atrocities before they occur. There are three aspects of this framework that are particularly essential to prevention through deterrence: prosecutions; state cooperation; and affirmative preventive action.

The prosecution of individuals most responsible for genocide and other international crimes is the linchpin of deterrence when it demonstrates that perpetrators, no matter their military rank or political position, will be held accountable for their actions and inactions that violate international law.² By contrast, the deterrent effect is undermined when perpetrators enjoy impunity, evading attempts

The ultimate goal of the international criminal justice framework that has taken shape over recent decades should be the prevention of the worst atrocities before they occur.

to arrest and prosecute them at either the national or international level. However, not just any prosecution will suffice. For prosecutions to effectively prevent future international crimes, certain conditions must be met that illustrate that their genuine purpose is justice itself: they must not be politicised, due process and the rights of the accused must be strictly adhered to and they must be pursued with the same steadfast resolve and consistency no matter where in the world the

crimes occurred or the perpetrator is from. Moreover, for international prosecutions to be effective in preventing cycles of violence and revenge in the locality where crimes occurred or from which perpetrators originate, they should be paired with transitional justice mechanisms, including domestic prosecutions, truth telling, reparations for victims, reconciliation, restitution, or other forms of accountability that will have local significance.

State cooperation is the mechanism through which the swift prosecution of international crime should be made possible. The ICC framework outlined in the Rome Statute, which has been ratified by 116 States Parties to date, envisions overlapping spheres of national and international jurisdictional responsibility in which states are the key actors in investigating, executing arrest warrants, and prosecuting international crimes, as well as assisting other states and the ICC when either undertake these activities. The clear intent is to create an international network of state obligations that guarantee the

² Juan E Méndez, *The Importance of Justice in Securing Peace*, RC/ST/PJ/INF.3.

prosecution of international crime and a supranational institution that will step in when prosecution at the domestic level fails. Such intent becomes more of a reality with increasing numbers of States Parties, national implementing legislation, and the strengthening of domestic capacity through positive complementarity.

Finally, the international community has an arsenal of tools, from diplomacy to the deployment of peacekeeping forces, that it may use to prevent the commission of international crimes where conditions indicate they are likely to occur. What the international criminal justice framework adds to this is public monitoring of conflicts by the Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) of the ICC carrying the implicit threat of future prosecution that makes the deterrent effect more immediate. For example, as I noted in my paper for the ICC Review Conference in Kampala in 2010³, as soon as violence erupted in Georgia in August 2008, the OTP issued public statements affirming its jurisdiction over any crimes committed that rose to international level. Subsequently, both parties to the conflict turned to legal means to find resolution, invited a visit by the OTP and pledged their cooperation with the ICC. Similar public monitoring and assertions of jurisdiction over alleged crimes proved effective in Kenya in January 2008 and Guinea in October 2009. More recent examples include OTP preventive engagement in Cote d'Ivoire and Libya.

III. The Legacy of the ICTY on Prevention

Perhaps more than any other ad hoc international tribunal established to date, the ICTY had prevention at the core of its original mandate, making it in this way as in so many others the pioneering ancestor for the current international criminal justice framework. The Security Council established the ICTY in the midst of the conflict in Bosnia by Security Council Resolution 827 in order to “contribute to the restoration and maintenance of peace”. In 2003, the ICTY Trial Chamber in the case of Momir Nikolic asserted that the ICTY is “intended to send the message to all persons that any violations of international

³ Juan E Méndez, *The Importance of Justice in Securing Peace*, RC/ST/PJ/INF.3.

humanitarian law — and particularly the practice of “ethnic cleansing” — would not be tolerated and must stop”.

The failure of state cooperation in full support of the ICTY’s preventive mandate during its early years of operation may well have contributed to the continuation of the Bosnian conflict for nearly two and a half years after the tribunal’s establishment. Tragically, it was

Perhaps more than any other ad hoc international tribunal established to date, the ICTY had prevention at the core of its original mandate, making it in this way as in so many others the pioneering ancestor for the current international criminal justice framework.

only a few days after the ICTY Trial Chamber publicly confirmed the charges against Karadzic and Mladic that over 8,000 Muslim men and boys were slaughtered in Srebrenica, the worst massacre of the war and one masterminded by these same two men. Even after Srebrenica, the international forces in Bosnia after the Dayton Accords failed to execute ICTY warrants against key Bosnian Serb leaders such as Mladic, eventually allowing him to escape to sanctuary in Serbia. Some attribute this demonstration of the international community’s lukewarm attitude toward ICTY prosecutions as one factor that permitted the new outbreak of persecution of ethnic Albanians

and retaliation against ethnic Serbs in Kosovo in 1999.⁴ In this climate, the ongoing investigations and trials at the ICTY on their own seemed to have had little preventive effect, at least initially in Serbia. Rather they illustrated that their deterrent effect depends on the real support and resources they marshal.

On the other hand, the ICTY arrest warrants against Karadzic and Mladic are an example of justice aiding the cause of peace

⁴ See insider analysis by former United States Ambassador David Scheffer on post-Dayton perspective, expressing regret that the hesitation of United States-led IFOR allowed Mladic and Karadzic to escape from Bosnia, where they could have been easily arrested, to Serbia under Milosevic and successors’ protection “leaving a dark cloud over the Balkans”. See David Scheffer, “The Least Wanted Most Wanted Man”, *Foreign Policy*, 2 June 2011. Available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/02_the_least_wanted_most_wanted_man?page=0,1.

instead of being an obstacle to it. In the days before the peace conference in Dayton several international actors wanted the ICTY to withdraw the warrants so that Karadzic and Mladic could attend and participate. Prosecutor Richard Goldstone and ICTY President Antonio Cassese resolutely refused to do that and defended their judicial and prosecutorial independence. In the end, the conference took place without Karadzic and Mladic and it did succeed in bringing the conflict over Bosnia to an end. The object lesson is that sometimes the true spoilers of a peace accord have to be removed from the negotiating table, and that removing them on the basis of an objective standard like a judicial indictment provides the whole peace process with credibility and likelihood of success.

IV. One Lesson from Mladic: The Importance of Continued International Pressure for Execution of Outstanding Arrest Warrants

Mladic's eventual arrest — like that of Karadzic before and Hadzic shortly after — demonstrates the important role that continuous international pressure can have in bringing about the execution of arrest warrants even by states that may be hesitant or unwilling to do so. This is an important lesson for the international community, as it has not always acted with such resolve in supporting the ICTY in the former Yugoslavia and does not always do so in support of the ICC elsewhere. As I have asserted before, “Firmness from State Parties and international organisations and from the [International Criminal] Court itself will determine [the Court's] long-term success.”⁵

In 1995 after the Dayton Accords, the multinational Implementation Force (IFOR) troops kept a tentative peace on the ground in Bosnia while both Mladic and Karadzic continued to operate in the territory. According to some involved in United States foreign policy at the time, the hesitation of United States and other IFOR forces to execute the Mladic and Karadzic warrants stemmed in large part from fears that arresting such high-profile leaders would trigger backlash

⁵ Juan E Méndez, *The Importance of Justice in Securing Peace*, RC/ST/PJ/INF.3.

in the Bosnian Serb community.⁶ It was not until July 1997, two years after their indictments, that the United States finally heeded the appeals by outspoken advocates including then United States Representative to the United Nations Madeleine Albright and then ICTY Prosecutor Louise Arbour, to provide authorisation for IFOR to enforce the arrest warrants. But by then it was too late. Mladic and Karadzic had escaped to sanctuary in Serbia and Montenegro where IFOR did not have authority to operate. Thus, rather than keeping the peace by ignoring the demands of justice, IFOR's choice to allow indicted war criminals to operate openly in Bosnia left "a dark cloud over the Balkans"⁷ and undermined any deterrent effect the ICTY prosecutions could have had immediately after the Bosnian conflict.

By contrast, the international pressures brought to bear on Serbia in more recent years that did lead to the eventual arrest of Mladic indicate, albeit belatedly, what is possible. Regular visits and public statements from ICTY Prosecutor Brammertz had the backing, most significantly, of the EU, which made Mladic's arrest a precondition on Serbia's road to EU membership. Such a powerful economic and political incentive worked not only on Serbia's political leaders but also on the voting public, as evidenced by the 2008 elections that have shifted the balance of power in the Serbian Parliament from the nationalist party to the pro-EU party.

Also significant is the consistency of the international community's – most significantly, the EU's – demand for complete compliance with the ICTY's outstanding warrants. It did not say "good enough" after the 2009 arrest of Karadzic or even after the 2011 arrest of Mladic, despite some rumblings that it might do so. Instead, it demanded full compliance, which meant that Mladic's arrest has been followed in short order by that of Croatian Serb politician Goran Hadzic, the last fugitive of the 161 individuals indicted by the ICTY.

⁶ See Scheffer, *supra* note 4.

⁷ See Scheffer, *supra* note 4.

Part of understanding why it took 16 years to bring about these final arrests of those most responsible for the crimes under the ICTY's jurisdiction requires recognising the international community's ambivalence about the idea of justice for heads of state and others in the highest positions of power, even after they have left office. It is comparatively easy to arrest and prosecute non-state actors or lower-level state actors, for whom national jurisdictions are often willing and able to marshal the necessary resources to arrest and prosecute. Those of high rank or those currently in power pose many additional challenges because of longstanding norms of international law that defer to state sovereignty and official immunity.⁸ While these norms have been shifting in recent decades, the international community has not yet demonstrated its full commitment to ending this form of impunity. The arrest of Mladic, like that of Karadzic and Hadzic, came after he had left power and after significant erosion of his popular support. Yet, still regarded by some ethnic Serbs as a war hero, Serbia would not likely have volunteered his arrest without significant international pressure and powerful economic and political incentives.

It is comparatively easy to arrest and prosecute non-state actors or lower-level state actors ... Those of high rank or those currently in power pose many additional challenges because of longstanding norms of international law that defer to state sovereignty and official immunity.

The clearest example of the international community's ambivalence toward the arrest of political leaders is the outstanding ICC warrant for the arrest of current President Omar Al Bashir of Sudan, which the international community has acted with inconsistent resolve to execute. Since the issuance of his initial arrest warrant in March 2009, amended in 2010, for crimes against humanity, war crimes, and genocide, Al Bashir has continued to operate with impunity both within

⁸ See William A. Schabas, *Preventing Genocide and Mass Killing: The Challenge for the United Nations* (London: Minority Rights Group, 2006) (pointing out that until 2006 the ICC had largely focused on the prosecution of non-state actors and arguing that that amounted to pursuing the course of least resistance).

Sudan and beyond its borders. In addition to visiting a growing list of non-ICC States Parties, most recently attending a summit in China, Al Bashir has openly travelled to Chad and Kenya, two states that have ratified the Rome Statute and are thereby legally bound to arrest him. However, the picture is not entirely bleak. Both Chad and Kenya have rescinded subsequent invitations for visits by Al Bashir, South Africa disinvited him to the inauguration of its President, and the international community has successfully pressured the Central African Republic and Malaysia to state that they would arrest Al Bashir if he completed scheduled travel to either state.

In this context, the use of economic and political incentives to encourage the arrests of Mladic may provide a lesson to the international community about the forms of pressure it must muster to achieve greater accountability. While the lure of EU accession is limited by the geographic bounds of Europe, other economic and political carrots and sticks can and should be used to encourage Sudan to arrest Al Bashir and to discourage other states from allowing him to visit or compelling them to arrest him if he does. The effectiveness of particular incentives and sanctions no doubt varies from state to state, but the lesson from Serbia's arrest of Mladic, like that of Karadzic and Hadzic, is clear: that the right combination of pressures may eventually change the political balance within states that harbour indicted war criminals and that the international community should accordingly be steadfast in demanding nothing less than full compliance with the mechanisms of international justice. By contrast, the more it waives or offers its support inconsistently, opening itself to criticisms that justice is politicised, the more it undermines the deterrent effect of prosecutions and compromises the ultimate goal of prevention.

V. A Second Lesson: Mladic's Arrest and Prosecution Can Still Be Made a Better Example of Justice for Prevention Purposes

As I have stated elsewhere, "For justice to have an impact, the most important condition is that justice follows its own rules, without interference and without being subject to political considerations. Justice contributes to peace and prevention when it is not conceived

as an instrument of either and on condition that it is pursued for its own sake".⁹ Without denying the significance of Serbia's recent arrests and extraditions, it is possible to see how they might yet offer a lesson that is not entirely about justice for justice's sake. Serbia's choice to execute the final ICTY arrest warrants appears to be primarily motivated by the economic and political gains that come with EU accession. While these gains may in fact play a very important role in their own right in bringing long-term stability to the region, Serbia and the other former Yugoslav states could do more to demonstrate that they are now genuinely committed to a full transitional justice process. For its part, the ICTY may facilitate this process by localising the impact of prosecutions.

Serbia has already committed itself, in response to demands from ICTY Prosecutor Brammertz, to undertaking domestic investigations and prosecutions of those individuals who shielded Mladic from arrest during the past sixteen years.¹⁰ Following through on these promises, more than any far-flung prosecution of a former military or political leader, is likely to demonstrate at a local level the Serbian state's genuine commitment to rule of law in the absence of substantial political and economic benefits. Yet, to make such pursuit of justice legitimate and genuine, the Serbian government will have to wrestle publicly with its own complicity in failing for so long to arrest Mladic, implicating both state and non-state actors.

The conditions for justice to serve a preventive purpose, as explained above, are that it is not politicised and that it is pursued for its own sake. In a post-conflict situation, such as the former

So long as proceedings remain distant from the communities most affected by Mladic's alleged crimes, the local impact of any conviction will be shallow.

⁹ Juan E Méndez, *The Importance of Justice in Securing Peace*, RC/ST/PJ/INF.3

¹⁰ Serge Brammertz comments at United Nations Security Council Meeting No. 6545, S/PV.6545, (6 June 2011). Available at: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/ICTY%20SPV%206545.pdf>.

Yugoslavia, criminal prosecutions may also need to be paired with other transitional justice mechanisms. Even as the former Yugoslav states experience political change and move toward EU accession, there are plentiful indications that historical, ethnic, and nationalist tensions are still alive. The recent violence and tit-for-tat blockade of imports on the border between Serbia and Kosovo, like the fervent though smaller numbers who did protest Mladic's arrest in Bosnian Serb territory, should speak volumes in support of the need for some form of regional as well as national truth and reconciliation commission or other transitional justice process.

The manner in which the final ICTY prosecutions are given local effect in Serbia and throughout the rest of the Balkans, likewise, is critical to their preventive effect in the region. So long as proceedings remain distant from the communities most affected by Mladic's alleged crimes, the local impact of any conviction will be shallow. Therefore, to the greatest extent possible, states in the Balkans must embrace the process of bringing Mladic to justice as a step toward national reconciliation and the creation of a balanced historical narrative. This process is not easy, and much like the trial of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which was met with nationalist sentiment of rejection while it was ongoing, the effect of Mladic's trial on Serbia's legal and political culture should be judged over the long term. The prosecutorial strategy pursued before the ICTY should also consider the potential role of Mladic's trial in the process of reconciliation in the Balkans. In this regard, the Office of the Prosecutor may take warnings from earlier trials of the savviest of political leaders, from Milosevic to Karadzic, to find ways of ensuring expedient proceedings and avoiding attempts to manipulate and control the narrative of trial, even while offering full protections for the rights of the accused.

VI. Conclusion

The arrest and pending prosecution of Mladic provides the international community a unique opportunity for reflection on the best means of realising the full potential of international criminal justice

to the prevention of genocide and other international crimes. The arrest of Mladic alone is insufficient. The international community should take lessons from its initial failure to execute ICTY arrest warrants and the success of using political and economic leverage to encourage Mladic's eventual arrest. However, it is only when justice is pursued for its own sake, as evidenced by the prosecutions as part of a broader transitional justice process, that deterrence will be strongest.

Please see page 103 for discussion questions



Ratko Mladic, following his arrest, at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 2011.

Photo Credit: ICTY



United Nations soldiers from the British battalion on patrol in Vitez. May 1994.

Photo Credit: UN Photo/John Isaac

The Arrest of Ratko Mladic and Its Impact on International Justice and Prevention of Genocide and Other International Crimes

Discussion questions

1. What are the functions of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)? For which crimes has the ICTY indicted Ratko Mladic?
2. What are the goals of the international criminal justice framework today? In addition to the International Criminal Court (ICC), which tools and mechanisms can the international community use to investigate, prosecute and prevent international crimes?
3. History shows that the prosecution of a former head of state or a high level state official is not an easy process. How can the international community put pressure to bring perpetrators to justice when states are unable or unwilling to do so?
4. Should criminal prosecutions be paired with other transitional justice mechanisms in post-conflict situations? If so, why and what should those mechanisms be?
5. What lessons can the international community learn from the arrest and prosecution of Ratko Mladic?



9. My Journey as a Child Holocaust Survivor



Several Jewish children were hidden at the Château de la Guette children's home in France during the Holocaust.

Photo Credit United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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UN Photo/Devra Berkowitz

Professor Robert Krell

Dr. Robert Krell (The Netherlands/Canada) is a Professor Emeritus of Psychiatry at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. He is a child survivor of the Holocaust, devoted to understanding the problems of Holocaust survivor-families and supporting their well being. Dr. Krell was born in The Hague, The Netherlands on 5 August 1940. He survived the war hiding with the Munnik family and then returned to his parents, who had also survived in hiding. In 1951, the Krells moved to Vancouver, British Columbia and Dr. Krell earned his medical degree from The University of British Columbia in 1965 and completed his psychiatric training at Temple University Hospital in Philadelphia and Stanford University Medical Center in Palo Alto, California.

In his private practice, Dr. Krell treated Holocaust survivors and their families, as well as Dutch survivors of Japanese concentration camps. He established a Holocaust Education Centre in 1994 in order to continue teaching programmes for high school children as a warning of the consequences of unchecked racism and intolerance. For these activities, Dr. Krell received the 1998 State of Israel Bonds Elie Wiesel Remembrance Award. He has published several books, among them *And Life Is Changed Forever: Holocaust Childhoods Remembered* with Martin Glassner, *Medical and Psychological Effects of Concentration Camps on Holocaust Survivors*, coedited with Marc I. Sherman, and *The Children of Buchenwald* with Judith Hemmendinger. Dr. Krell's interests remain in the psychiatric treatment of aging survivors of massive trauma and participating in programmes against racism and prejudice.

Dr. Robert Krell was the keynote speaker during the Holocaust memorial ceremony in General Assembly Hall on 27 January 2012. Dr. Krell's personal story of survival and perseverance is a moving testimony to the endurance of the human spirit, while serving as a reminder that the horrors of the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

My Journey as a Child Holocaust Survivor

by Robert Krell

M.D., Professor Emeritus of Psychiatry at the University of British Columbia (Canada)

I was born in The Hague, Holland on 5 August 1940. After nearly three years in hiding during the Holocaust, I returned to my parents who had also miraculously survived. I heard the stories of other returning survivors who came through our living room and told their tales of unrelenting horrors. What could a child possibly say about his or her own experiences, of the loss of childhood or adolescence, of deprivation and fear, of separation from family? We remained silent, as silent as when we had been in hiding.

On 19 August 1942, we were ordered to report for “resettlement to the East”. My parents, Leo and Emmy Krell, were aware that none of their friends who obeyed had returned. We fled the house, taking nothing with us, not even a photo album, especially not a photo album. I was placed with former neighbours, and through a series of miracles ended up in the home of Albert and Violette Munnik and their 12-year-old daughter, Nora.

For nearly three years they risked their lives simply because “it was the right thing to do”. At the Munniks', my memory begins at age two and two-and-a-half. I was leaning against my father in a chair learning to call him Uncle, as in a close friend of the family. I had to be careful not to refer to him as my father.

While living with the Munniks, I was warned to stay away from the front window. I was a little boy with a mop of dark-brown hair in a sea of blondes. I quickly absorbed a sense of danger and fear, especially when Nora took me out in a buggy. That was so unusual that I remember it vividly. We reached a viaduct that was partly flooded. A German soldier came over to help carry the buggy. I had pulled the blanket over my face. I was perhaps three years old.

What could a child possibly say about his or her own experiences, of the loss of childhood or adolescence, of deprivation and fear, of separation from family? We remained silent, as silent as when we had been in hiding.

Many years later, I asked Nora where we were going. Initially, she denied my memory, but I would not give in. She eventually acknowledged that we were going to visit my mother. I asked if we arrived there because I could not remember. She said we did, but unfortunately that was the day the Gestapo showed up to search the tiny apartment. We hid under the bed and my mother succeeded in turning them away.

Nora had good reason to forget that memory because she had endangered us all. Except for that lapse, she proved to be a wonderful older sister, hiding my existence from her school friends and coming home early to teach me how to read and write. And I was a terrific little brother: quiet, cooperative and obedient. I never complained, not of pain or illness. I did not cry — ever. Not until liberation.

After the war's end, I protested having to leave the Munniks' home and return to my parents. The three of us had survived. Almost everyone else in my family had been murdered, including my mother's and father's parents and all of my aunts and uncles. My Aunt Mania's son had survived in hiding, similar to me. But Aunt Mania had been killed at Sobibor and her husband at Auschwitz, so my cousin was orphaned and remained with his rescuers. Liberation was not particularly liberating for Jewish children. A new set of challenges arose: how to survive survival.

At this point in 1945, we knew so little. But the news spread quickly. More than 80 per cent of Holland's 140,000 Jews had been murdered.¹ Of those deported via Westerbork to Auschwitz and Sobibor, only about 5,000 returned.²

I did not yet know I was a Jew. In fact, my first postwar school was a Catholic kindergarten, where I was the Mother Superior's prize pupil, or perhaps most promising convert. I learned about being Jewish from hearing the stories of survivors who gathered in our home. They spoke in Yiddish of Auschwitz and other mysterious places. Their stories were ably translated by my second cousin Milly, who had returned from Switzerland, where her family had escaped. Hearing stories no child should ever hear, we listened even more attentively. Our experiences meant we had grown up too quickly, too seriously. We had become elderly children.

Apparently, there were children willing to speak. Some tried to be heard. Yet, few were asked, "What was it like for you? What did you see? What happened to you? How did you feel?" Adults assumed that children were lucky. Lucky not to have memories. Lucky not to have suffered unless they were in concentration camps. Lucky not to have understood what was happening. Most of the assumptions proved to be wrong.

The pre-war mental health professionals, who had been pre-occupied with even a single trauma experienced by a child, were nowhere to be seen. Jewish children subjected to a relentless series of traumas for months and years received little help. Perhaps the problems of brutalised children were simply too overwhelming even for the healers. We remained silent. It was expected of us.

Therefore we were alone, struggling with fragments of memories that were painful and made little sense. Most of us thought

¹ "The Fate of the Jews Across Europe", Yad Vashem, <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/about/09/europe.asp>.

² "The Netherlands", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Holocaust Encyclopedia, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005436>.

we were a little crazy and kept that belief, as well as other secrets, to ourselves. The reality of being hunted left many with a sense of shame. Who but the guilty are pursued with such ferocity? But we had not done anything. The Jewish people were the target of a genocidal assault on their existence, and genocide demands the killing of children. The Nazis and their legions of enthusiastic collaborators achieved near success. In the countries under German occupation, 93 per cent of Jewish children were murdered.³

Hearing stories no child should ever hear, we listened even more attentively. Our experiences meant we had grown up too quickly, too seriously. We had become elderly children.

My parents and I immigrated to Canada in 1951. There, I felt liberated. This was my chance to become normal. We children learned the language and we learned to fit in.

Yet, I still encountered the murders of Jewish children through the eyes of Holocaust survivors who were friends of my family. In our Synagogue, Anshel, a broad-shouldered, powerful man, sat in front of me.

He would turn to greet me with a huge smile and firm handshake. But on Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, his shoulders shook as he mourned the murders of his first wife and two children, ages three and five. And I would cry with him. There were others there who had lost their children. I learned from their tears how to cry in silence, just as I had learned to live in silence. Silence is the language of the child survivor. Unlike the older survivors and their second-generation children, we maintained our silence for forty years.

A turning point came in 1981 at the First World Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Jerusalem. I heard Rabbi Israel Meier Lau state that at age eight he was the youngest survivor of Buchenwald. It was like a bolt of lightning. He was eight years old, I was

³ The author's own estimates, based on the work of Deborah Dwork in *Children with a Star*. She estimated that 11 per cent of Jewish children alive in 1939 survived the war, but that figure includes children spirited out of Europe on Kindertransports and rescued prior to 1 September 1939.

five, and my cousins were six and nine. We were all child Holocaust survivors. Within a year, I helped found the Child Holocaust Survivors' Group of Los Angeles, organised a panel of child survivor psychiatrists and psychologists to speak at the American Psychiatric Association meetings in 1984, and served on the Advisory Committee for the First International Gathering of Child Survivors in New York in 1991. About 1,600 people attended; most were children who had survived in hiding, along with a smaller number of child concentration camp survivors.

We child survivors had found our voice and we had found each other. We were the only ones who truly understood the impact of those terrible years. We were pursued by our memories. Not pleasant recollections of childhood, but memories encompassing darkness and fear, hunger and cold, and the endless grief and mourning for lost family and lost childhood.

Since then, we have gathered annually under the auspices of the World Federation of Jewish Child Survivors of the Holocaust and their Descendants. We have met in Los Angeles and Toronto, in Prague and Amsterdam, in Montreal and Jerusalem, in Houston and Cracow.

Together, we tackle the issues that plague us: the meaning of faith, the struggle with our identity, the intrusion of fragments of memories and the nightmares. These nightmares, which we seldom mention, never go away. Mine reek of death. Death remains close to those who survived. My mother discovered late in life that her parents and little sister had been hiding in a hole dug into frozen ground in a forest in Poland. Local Poles discovered them and murdered them with shovels and axes. From that point, I was burdened with the thought of who was the first to die. Did 13-year-old Raisel, my aunt, see her parents murdered, or were they witness to their daughter's death? How were such things possible? I remain haunted by their absence.

Throughout the Holocaust, children were burned alive in pits. They, along with their families, were driven into wooden synagogues

and set on fire. Others were buried alive. Babies were killed in ways too brutal for words, words that I cannot speak. And this was done by people inspired by teachings from the pulpits in the churches they frequented.

As a consequence, perhaps we survivors have come to view death differently. My father never set foot in a Jewish cemetery, not even for the burial of friends. He suffered from an overdose of death. Elie Wiesel, author, Nobel Prize recipient and survivor of Auschwitz and Buchenwald, captured the essence when he was asked about his readjustment to life. He said, "Our educators after the war thought they had to help us adjust to life. Our problem was how to adjust to death. Death was an everyday phenomenon, we were used to death. We woke up with corpses. After the war we had to develop a new relationship of respect, awe and fear in the presence of death".⁴ How true. Death had lost its meaning. What is the meaning of the murders of 1.5 million Jewish children? What is the meaning of the murders of nearly one million Rwandans in 100 days, a rate of some ten thousand per day?⁵ The meaninglessness of the killings is intensified by the arrogance of the killers.

As one survivor in my programme once confided, "I must tell you something. In Poland, in my village, the Germans arrived. One with a camera posed a little girl for a photo. She was, of course, Jewish, the daughter of a friend of mine. But she had blue eyes and curly, blonde hair. He placed her by a tree, gave her an apple, walked away, turned and shot her in the head. The apple fell. He picked it up wiped it, and ate it. I can still hear the crunching". It is the meaninglessness of these murders that must be addressed.

His Excellency Richard Sezibera, M.D., former Ambassador of Rwanda to the United States, addressed the Houston Forum on "Children and Genocide" that formed part of our annual gathering

4 "Children during the Holocaust", United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005142>.

5 Kigali Memorial Centre, <http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org/old/genocide/index.html>.

of child Holocaust survivors in 2001. He stated, "Memory is the highest, and perhaps the most meaningful tribute one can pay to the victims of genocide. Those who commit genocide do not only intend to kill, but to erase their victims from the collective memory of the world". He continued, "We survive, and we remember. We heal and we become agents of healing. For personifying this, I salute all the survivors of the Holocaust."⁶

I am so proud that Holocaust survivors have spoken out and have been faithful to memory. We have struggled to find meaning and thereby enabled others to speak of their own tragedies. Our insistence on preserving memory has not prevented other genocides, but perhaps has served as a reminder for those in power, making it harder for the killers to kill. It is clear that we must remember that which we would rather forget. But we cannot; we are not allowed to forget. We must not participate in the murder of memory, the ultimate objective of the murderers.

We must teach, and that confers the awesome responsibility to veracity and truth. Teachers cannot talk of Anne Frank and her belief in the goodness of mankind without including details of her betrayal and gruesome death in Bergen-Belsen. We do not know what she might have said had she survived. And we must pursue justice. For in genocidal murders, the perpetrators have not only killed and left behind wounded survivors, but they have torn the fabric of human society.

We must remember our losses. The murdered Jewish children have left a tremendous void. We will never know what they might have contributed to human existence. But we can guess. Of the 1,000

We have struggled to find meaning and thereby enabled others to speak of their own tragedies. Our insistence on preserving memory has not prevented other genocides, but perhaps has served as a reminder for those in power, making it harder for the killers to kill.

⁶ Richard Sezibera, "From the Holocaust to Healing the World", edited by Stephen Johnson (Houston Holocaust Museum, 2003).

children found in Buchenwald on 11 April 1945, 426 were brought to Ecouis, France to recover. That small group alone produced Rabbi Israel Meier Lau, recently Chief Rabbi of the State of Israel; his brother Naftalie Lavie, a former Israeli Consul to New York; Rabbi Menashe Klein; the physicist Kalman Kalikstein; many physician-specialists in the United States and France; medical directors of hospitals; numerous teachers and businessmen; and, of course, Nobel Laureate Professor Elie Wiesel. Few, if any, became a burden in the countries where they settled. Not one exacted revenge unless revenge includes the successful recapture of a meaningful life against overwhelming odds.

We observe the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust each year, reminding us what is possible when racism and prejudice run wild. In remembering the Shoah, we ensure that all those who deny this tragic event in order to write their own fictional version are exposed for the world to see. No longer can a fascist leader with mass murder in mind dismiss his critics, as did Hitler, with "Who remembers the Armenians?" We have chosen to keep hopes and dreams alive for our people, as well as our children and grandchildren. For surely we have learned that hatred directed towards the Jewish people never stops with Jews. We are your warning, we elderly children now grown old. Listen to us carefully. We carry a message from over there.

Please see page 116 for discussion questions



Petr Ginz was just 14 years old when he was separated from his family and sent to the Terezin Ghetto. He wrote four novels, a diary and produced hundreds of works of art. One of these is shown here, created before he was murdered at Auschwitz at age 16.

Petr Ginz (1928-1944) Night Blossoms, Linoleum-cut.

Credit: Collection of the Yad Vashem Art Museum, Jerusalem; Gift of Otto Ginz, Haifa



Children's identification card issued by the German police to Inge Engelhard, in which she has been given the middle name of "Sara" and declared stateless. This card was used in lieu of a passport when Inge entered England on a Kindertransport and was stamped by immigration authorities in Harwich.

Photo Credit: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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My Journey as a Child Holocaust Survivor

Discussion questions

1. As outlined by Dr. Krell, what did Jewish children experience during the Holocaust? Why would perpetrators of genocide target children in particular?
2. Dr. Krell quotes Professor Elie Wiesel who said, "Our educators after the war thought they had to help us adjust to life. Our problem was how to adjust to death." What challenges did child Holocaust survivors face re-adjusting to society?
3. Much of the discussion paper focuses on the power of memory. Why is memory so important? What is the relationship between memory and healing? How can we better preserve the memory of those who have lived through genocide?
4. Dr. Krell combines a very personal narrative with statistics on the Holocaust. What does this combination accomplish? How do both aspects of the discussion paper complement one another?
5. What message do child Holocaust survivors, now grown, have for future generations? Why is it important that child Holocaust survivors tell their stories?

10. Holocaust Education in Russia Today: Its Challenges and Achievements



A monument bearing the names of the Jews who were murdered during the Holocaust in 1942, Gusino, Russia.

Photo Credit: Yad Vashem Photo Archives



Professor Ilya Altman

Professor Ilya Altman (Russia) was born in 1955 in the Soviet Union. He studied history at the Moscow State Historical-Archival Institute (today Russian State University for the Humanities) before going on to receive his doctorate in 1983 from the Leningrad Department of the Institute for the History of the USSR in the Academy of Science of the USSR. He was the head of the Department of the State Archives of the Russian Federation from 1985 to 1990, and then worked as an Assistant Professor at the Russian State University for the Humanities.

Dr. Altman is the founder and co-chairman of the Russian Research and Educational Holocaust Centre, which he started in 1992. In the same year, he started teaching about the Holocaust at the Jewish University of Moscow (part of the Maimonides Academy), the Centre for Jewish Civilization within Moscow State University and the Russian State University for the Humanities.

Dr. Altman has written extensively about the Holocaust and his work has been published in several countries including Belarus, Finland, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Lithuania, Russia, Sweden, Ukraine and the United States. He has edited almost 40 books in the series *The Russian Holocaust Library*. He is the author of the monograph *Victims of Hate: The Holocaust in the Soviet Union (1941-1945)* (Moscow, 2002) and the handbook for universities *History of the Holocaust and Jewish Resistance in the Occupied Territory of the Soviet Union*. (Moscow, 2002). Ilya Altman is a project manager and senior editor of the encyclopedia *The Holocaust in the Soviet Territories* (Moscow, 2009) which was presented at United Nations Headquarters in New York in 2010.

Holocaust Education in Russia Today: Its Challenges and Achievements

by Ilya Altman

Professor, Founder and Co-chairman of the Russian Research and Educational Holocaust Centre

In Russia, teaching of the Holocaust began in the 1990s by individual enthusiasts. At that time, the Russian Government had started to declassify archival records and make them available to the general public. Between 1991 and 1994, the Government launched a pilot public education effort that included international exhibits, such as the Anne Frank House (The Netherlands), which were held in Moscow and other cities. In contemporary Russia, two non-governmental organisations — The Russian Research and Educational Holocaust Centre (established in June 1992), and the Holocaust Foundation (established in 1997) — have played a leading role in organising the teaching of the Holocaust. More recently, the Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Holocaust, with funding by the Russian Jewish Congress, has initiated some interesting educational projects, such as the training of evangelical baptist Sunday school teachers.

One of the Holocaust Centre's main objectives is to organise the teaching of Holocaust history in Russian schools and universities. In 1999, the Centre worked with staff members from the Russian Academy of Education, the country's main teaching methodology centre,

to establish a curriculum and write guidelines for the teaching of Holocaust history. The Centre published a teachers' guide, *History of the Holocaust in the Occupied Territory of the Soviet Union*, written three years earlier (1996) by Russian Galina Klokova, which has played an especially important role in the teaching of the Holocaust.

Because Russia has not had a government programme for teaching the subject of the Holocaust, it has been important to develop teaching aids, and expose educators to international experts in the field through educational seminars. To achieve this, the Centre worked with the Holocaust Foundation from 2007 until 2011 to organise six international conferences under the theme *Lessons of the Holocaust and Contemporary Russia* and several regional seminars by *The Living History Forum*. Swedish educators and staff members of the Centre and the Holocaust Foundation were invited to speak at these events, and academic papers from these conferences were published and made available to teachers. It is estimated that tens of thousands of teachers have been reached through these efforts.

The international teacher training courses of the Centre and the Holocaust Foundation served as a collective hub for the study of methods for teaching about the Holocaust. The courses given were created jointly with the Moscow Institute of Open Education, the government agency which oversees teacher certification, and the re-certification of Moscow teachers which is required every five years. Since 2010, these courses have been operating under the auspices of the Federal Academy of Advanced Training and Professional Retraining for Educators.

Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, has also been an instrumental partner for Holocaust education in Russia. Since 2000, the School has conducted summer classes for between 40-50 educators, 25 of whom are sent to seminars in Israel each year. To date, more than 250 educators from Russia have received training in Jerusalem, and have gone on to become regional representatives of the Holocaust Centre in professional development institutions and pedagogical universities. These institutions not only

train school teachers on the subject of the Holocaust, but also participate in international exchanges in Europe and the United States. Over 100 teachers have participated in these programmes, and have visited the House of the Wannsee Conference Memorial and Educational Site in Germany, Mémorial de la Shoah in France, and various Holocaust museums in the United States. Unfortunately, all of these trips were funded by the Holocaust Centre and its foreign partners, and not by the Government.

In 2003, the inclusion of the Holocaust in a draft of the official *Russian Standard of History Education* marked a turning point in the teaching of the Holocaust in the country. Although the *Standard* has not yet been fully incorporated in the educational process, it has made Holocaust education a mandatory topic in textbooks, and, to date, almost 20 textbook writers have written a chapter about the Holocaust. In 2010, the prestigious “Russkoe Slovo” publishing house compiled these various chapters of the Holocaust into one publication titled *The Subject of the Holocaust in School Textbooks*, which also gives teachers recommendations on how to use the texts in lessons. In 2011, the Holocaust Centre succeeded in including questions about the Holocaust in the Unified State Examination, which is equivalent to recognition of the importance of the subject by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation.

Today, government institutions for the professional development of educators hold regular lectures and seminars on the subject of the Holocaust for teachers of history and social studies throughout the country. The Moscow Institute of Open Education offers lectures on the Holocaust as part of its professional development programme. In 2010, the Holocaust Centre, together with the Federal Academy of Advanced Training and Professional Retraining for

Because Russia has not had a government programme for teaching the subject of the Holocaust, it has been important to develop teaching aids, and expose educators to international experts in the field through educational seminars.

Educators, developed a unified educational module on the Holocaust which has been recommended by the Ministry of Education and Science to its local offices.

In schools where the Holocaust is not taught (altogether, only six lessons are devoted to the history of the Second World War in Russian secondary schools), the students' extracurricular work and homework have become fundamental. Many teachers offer elective classes which feature evening discussions with Holocaust witnesses and survivors, and movie screenings followed by discussion periods. In recent years, as children have learned about the Holocaust they have become more active in preserving the memory of it. They have participated in activities such as interviewing witnesses, and have been involved in the maintenance of Holocaust memorial monuments.

For the past 12 years, the Holocaust Centre and the Holocaust Foundation have organised an international competition titled *Memory of the Holocaust – the Path to Tolerance*, and the number of entries submitted by Russian students and teachers has been growing each year. In 2011, 2,000 entries from almost every region in Russia were submitted for the competition. This increase in participation was partly due to a public information campaign conducted by the Ministry of Education and Science in 2010 and 2011. The competition is an excellent way to assess qualitative and quantitative parameters of the teaching of the Holocaust in Russia.

The most interesting entries in the competition have been projects based on local history materials. These entries have included essays, stories, poems, drawings, scripts, and documentary films created from oral history archives, documents from personal archives, and sociological surveys.

Awards are presented to the winners on 27 January, the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust, with the United Nations Information Centre in Moscow. Since 2004, student winners have also presented their submissions to UNESCO in Paris. The winning projects have also been published

in eight special volumes titled *We Cannot be Silent: Schoolchildren and Students on the Holocaust*.

From 2001 until 2005, the Federal Government conducted a nationwide programme to promote tolerance titled *Tolerance Awareness and Prevention of Extremism in Russian Society*. Although the programme did not mention the Holocaust, the subject was broadly represented in seminars for educators, and through a series of teaching aids that were produced for the occasion. One of the first teaching aids published under this programme was a textbook titled *History of the Holocaust and Jewish Resistance in the Occupied Territory of the Soviet Union*, by Ilya Altman.

In 2002, 25,000 copies of the textbook titled *History of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, by authors Ilya Altman, Alla Gerber, and David Poltorak, were printed with the Ministry of Education's seal of approval. In 2003, it was translated into German in Austria. The Holocaust Centre issued lesson plans and teaching aids for teachers of Russian literature. The Centre also published a list of extra curricular activities on various Holocaust subjects such as the International Holocaust Remembrance Day (2009), Babi Yar (2006), Kristallnacht (2008) and the Righteous Among the Nations (2005, 2011).

Thus, very interesting experiences have been accumulated in Russia in teaching about the Holocaust in the context of the history of the Second World War. A number of these educational programmes have been supported by grants from international organisations such as the Council of Europe; the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany; the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, as well as local sponsors. Since 2008, the Holocaust Centre's educational programmes have been funded annually by a grant from the President of Russia in the amount of \$70,000–\$80,000. Unfortunately,

Very interesting experiences have been accumulated in Russia in teaching about the Holocaust in the context of the history of the Second World War.

teacher training and participation of official educational institutions in Holocaust education projects have been negatively affected by the fact that Russia is not a member of the “Task Force” and because there has been no formal Government programme for teaching about the Holocaust in the country.

International cooperation—primarily with regard to the exchange of experiences about the culture of memory associated with events of the Second World War—is still an important tool for making the educational community aware of the importance of the Holocaust. It is revealing that the inclusion of the Holocaust as a subject in the Unified State Examination was announced at a meeting of the Ministers of Education of Russia and Israel.

Bringing together Russian educators and leaders of educational institutions in other countries is mutually beneficial. This exchange helps to familiarize Russian educators with ways in which their counterparts are preserving the memory of the victims of the Holocaust. It also enables their counterparts to learn how the Russians are working to preserve the memory of victims and heroes of the Great Patriotic War. This exchange of ideology and methodology helps to address the issue of the universality of the Holocaust.

New opportunities for teaching about the Holocaust in Russia have opened with a new course titled *Principles of World Religions*, which devotes considerable attention to Judaism and the history and culture of the Jewish people. Other topics, such as *The Righteous and Righteousness* (in the context of the title *Righteous among the Nations* bestowed by Yad Vashem) make it possible to introduce information on the Holocaust through the telling of stories about heroic rescuers. In this regard, the latest edition in the Russian Holocaust Library series, *Righteous Among the Nations. Righteous of Russia: 1941–1945* (Moscow: Russkoe Slovo, 2011) has generated a lot of interest among educators and the general public. The preparation of multimedia teaching aids and distribution of them at regional seminars for teachers would help to interest more students and teachers on the subject of the Holocaust.

The training of future educators and young researchers remains a matter of utmost importance in Russia. At the initiative of Professor Efim Pivovarov, President of the Russian State University for the Humanities, a new university course titled *The History of the Holocaust* was introduced at the university and a proposal was made to invite teachers from different regions of Russia to participate in a professional development course on this subject.

In 2011, numerous articles on teaching about the Holocaust appeared in a number of leading Russian pedagogical publications, including *Teaching of History in School*. The articles were written by not only eminent scholars, such as Professor Evgenii Vyazemskii, but also young educators from remote corners of Russia such as Elena Petrova, a young history teacher from the Polyarnye Zori in Murmansk Region.

In 2012, a new Museum of Tolerance, created by the Federation of the Jewish Communities of Russia, and modelled after similar museums in Los Angeles and New York, will open in Moscow. The Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Holocaust at Poklonnaya Gora has also proposed the use of state-of-the-art technologies in its own collection. A Russian branch of The Anne Frank House project (The Netherlands), which trains young tour guides for the *Anne Frank: Lessons of History* exhibit, will also be launched in 2012. Pilot projects in Moscow and St. Petersburg demonstrate that there is an increasing interest in the subject. In recent years, the Holocaust Centre has devoted special attention to “museum pedagogy”, emphasising the creation of exhibits, or partial exhibits, on the subject of the Holocaust in regional local history museums.

The term “Holocaust” is entering the public consciousness of Russian society more dynamically with broad public participation in

The term “Holocaust” is entering the public consciousness of Russian society more dynamically with broad public participation in Holocaust memorial events, including the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, in many cities across Russia.

Holocaust memorial events, including the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, in many cities across Russia. However, there are also some troubling trends. In Rostov-on-Don, for the first time in recent post-Soviet history, a memorial plaque in honour of the 20,000 local Jews who were murdered during the Holocaust was recently taken down and replaced with a plaque that makes reference to “the loss of peaceful Soviet citizens”. This event was met with protest from citizens, the academic community, and leading Jewish organisations in the country, and made headlines in leading international papers and media, including the *New York Times*¹ and the *Jerusalem Post*².

The latest initiative of the Holocaust Centre and the Russian Jewish Congress, called “Relay of Memory”, is designed to attract educators and students, in an out-of-school context, to research the names of Holocaust victims, and rescuers, and to preserve important Holocaust artifacts such as letters, diaries and photographs in school museums.

Awareness of the history of the Holocaust as an integral part of the history of our country is one of the most important directions for creating a culture of memory that can counteract any manifestations of anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia in Russia.

Please see page 128 for discussion questions

1 “Russia: Protest by Jewish Group Over Memorial”, *The New York Times* (24 January 2012). Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/25/world/europe/russia-protest-by-jewish-group.html>.

2 “Revisionism Not Remorse”, by Alex Ryvchin, *The Jerusalem Post* (2 February 2012). Available from: <http://www.jpost.com/Magazine/Opinion/Article.aspx?id=257917>.



Leonid Rozenberg, veteran of the former Soviet army during the Second World War, speaks at the Holocaust memorial ceremony held at the United Nations on 27 January 2009.

Photo Credit: UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras



Students meeting with Professor Ilya Altman at the Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Holocaust in Moscow, July 2012.

Photo Credit: The Museum of Jewish Heritage and the Holocaust, Moscow

Holocaust Education in Russia Today: Its Challenges and Achievements

Discussion questions

1. According to the author, when did teaching about the Holocaust begin in Russia?
2. What are the main challenges of teaching the Holocaust in Russia?
3. What is the role of state institutions and non-governmental organisations in promoting Holocaust education?
4. Why are international cooperation and exchanges important elements in Holocaust Education in Russia? Do you have an example?
5. Why do you think Holocaust education should be part of the public school curriculum in Russia?

The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme



Annexes



United Nations

General Assembly

A/RES/60/7

Distr.: General
21 November 2005Sixtieth session
Agenda item 72**Resolution adopted by the General Assembly***[without reference to a Main Committee (A/60/L.12 and Add.1)]***60/7. Holocaust remembrance***The General Assembly,*

Reaffirming the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,¹ which proclaims that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, religion or other status,

Recalling article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person,

Recalling also article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,² which state that everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion,

Bearing in mind that the founding principle of the Charter of the United Nations, “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”, is testimony to the indelible link between the United Nations and the unique tragedy of the Second World War,

Recalling the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide,³ which was adopted in order to avoid repetition of genocides such as those committed by the Nazi regime,

¹ Resolution 217 A (III).

² See resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex.

³ Resolution 260 A (III), annex.

Recalling also the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind,

Taking note of the fact that the sixtieth session of the General Assembly is taking place during the sixtieth year of the defeat of the Nazi regime,

Recalling the twenty-eighth special session of the General Assembly, a unique event, held in commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps,

Honouring the courage and dedication shown by the soldiers who liberated the concentration camps,

Reaffirming that the Holocaust, which resulted in the murder of one third of the Jewish people, along with countless members of other minorities, will forever be a warning to all people of the dangers of hatred, bigotry, racism and prejudice,

1. *Resolves* that the United Nations will designate 27 January as an annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust;

2. *Urges* Member States to develop educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide, and in this context commends the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research;

3. *Rejects* any denial of the Holocaust as an historical event, either in full or part;

4. *Commends* those States which have actively engaged in preserving those sites that served as Nazi death camps, concentration camps, forced labour camps and prisons during the Holocaust;

5. *Condemns without reserve* all manifestations of religious intolerance, incitement, harassment or violence against persons or communities based on ethnic origin or religious belief, wherever they occur;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to establish a programme of outreach on the subject of the "Holocaust and the United Nations" as well as measures to mobilize civil society for Holocaust remembrance and education, in order to help to prevent future acts of genocide; to report to the General Assembly on the establishment of this programme within six months from the date of the adoption of the present resolution; and to report thereafter on the implementation of the programme at its sixty-third session.



United Nations

A/RES/61/255

General AssemblyDistr.: General
22 March 2007Sixty-first session
Agenda item 44**Resolution adopted by the General Assembly***[without reference to a Main Committee (A/61/L.53 and Add.1)]***61/255. Holocaust denial***The General Assembly,**Reaffirming* its resolution 60/7 of 1 November 2005,*Recalling* that resolution 60/7 observes that remembrance of the Holocaust is critical to prevent further acts of genocide,*Recalling also* that, for this reason, resolution 60/7 rejects efforts to deny the Holocaust which, by ignoring the historical fact of those terrible events, increase the risk they will be repeated,*Noting* that all people and States have a vital stake in a world free of genocide,*Welcoming* the establishment by the Secretary-General of a programme of outreach on the subject of “the Holocaust and the United Nations”, and also welcoming the inclusion by Member States within their educational programmes of measures to confront attempts to deny or minimize the importance of the Holocaust,*Noting* that 27 January has been designated by the United Nations as the annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust,

1. *Condemns without any reservation* any denial of the Holocaust;
2. *Urges* all Member States unreservedly to reject any denial of the Holocaust as a historical event, either in full or in part, or any activities to this end.

*85th plenary meeting
26 January 2007*

The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme



The Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme strives to remind the world of the lessons to be learned from the Holocaust in order to help prevent future acts of genocide. Since its establishment in 2006 with United Nations General Assembly Resolution 60/7, the Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme has developed an international network of partners and a multifaceted workplan that includes online and print educational products, DVDs, learning opportunities for students, professional development programmes for teachers, seminars, a film series, exhibitions on a variety of themes and a permanent exhibition on the Holocaust at United Nations Headquarters in New York. The Programme's work culminates each year with the worldwide observance of the International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust on 27 January.

The Holocaust Programme works closely with Holocaust survivors to ensure their stories are heard and heeded as a warning against the consequences of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination. In all of its activities, particularly with students and educators around the globe, the Programme draws crucial links between the underlying causes of genocide, the lessons to be learned from the Holocaust and the promotion of human rights today.

I. The International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust

Each year the Holocaust Programme takes the lead in organising events held around the world for the annual International Day of Commemoration in memory of the victims of the Holocaust. At New York Headquarters, a moving ceremony is held on 27 January, the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz Birkenau concentration and death camp. Recent themes have included “Women in the Holocaust”, which examined the courage of women in the face of the Holocaust; “The Legacy of Survival”, which emphasized the universal lessons that survivors pass on to succeeding generations; and “Children and the Holocaust”, which honoured the 1.5 million children who perished in the Holocaust. In 2013, the theme will be “Rescue: the Courage to Care”, to recognize people who risked their lives to save Jews from their Nazi persecutors and collaborators.

In addition, the Programme organises a series of events in the week leading up to the ceremony. These events range from



UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon addresses the Holocaust memorial ceremony in the General Assembly Hall at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 10 February 2011.

Photo Credit: UN Photo/Paulo Filgueiras

exhibition openings to film screenings to solemn candle lightings. Commemorative events are also held in many countries with the cooperation of the United Nations Information Centres (UNICs). In recent years, students in Zambia viewed a documentary film on the Holocaust, children from the Czech Republic spoke with a Holocaust survivor and educators in Japan learned to teach the next generation about the Holocaust.

II. International Partnerships

The Holocaust Programme has developed partnerships with Governments and civil society, including non-profit organisations, Holocaust memorials, and educators around the world. These partnerships help the Programme produce influential educational materials, create effective professional development programmes and extend the programme's work to a global audience. Dynamic exhibitions at United Nations Headquarters are a visible achievement of these partnerships.



One of the top 16 entries in the Design Student Poster Competition 2012, submitted by Isabel Hahn.

Together with the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, the Holocaust Programme presented *The Holocaust—Keeping the Memory Alive*, an exhibit organised by Yad Vashem that featured the top entries from a poster contest for design students. The contest was jointly sponsored by Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, (Israel), le Mémorial de la Shoah (France) and the European Shoah Legacy Institute (Czech Republic).

A new partner of the Holocaust Programme is the Topography of Terror Foundation, based in Berlin, which developed the exhibit *The Face of the Ghetto*. The exhibit comprises pictures of the Lodz ghetto taken by Jewish photographers from 1940-1944. In addition, Yad Vashem created a special exhibition, *A Monument of Good Deeds: Dreams and Hopes of Children during the Holocaust*, that conveyed the reality of this tragedy for its youngest victims. All three exhibitions opened at the United Nations during the January 2012 Holocaust Remembrance week.

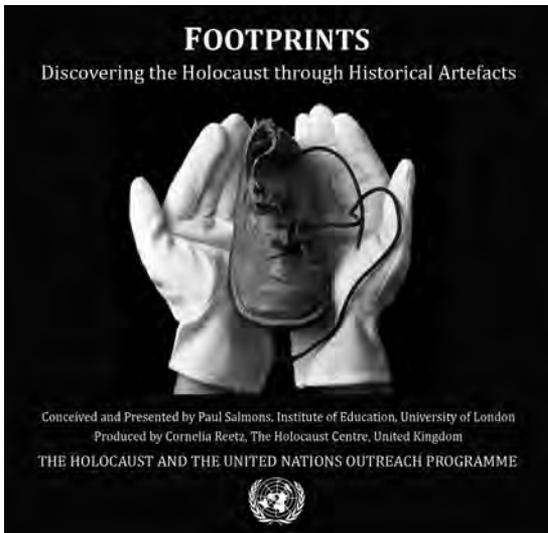
In April 2012, the Programme partnered with Yad Vashem and the State of Israel on an exhibition to mark the 1961 historic trial of Adolf Eichmann, *With Me Are Six Million Accusers: the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem*. The exhibition featured documents and newspaper clippings about the trial and Eichmann's role in the deportation and murder of European Jewry during the Holocaust.

The Programme also worked with the Anne Frank Center USA to organise a Twitter campaign. Students were invited to "tweet" messages of support to Anne Frank and share their thoughts about what they have learned from her life. More than 300 young people



Yossi Peled, Minister, State of Israel, and a Holocaust survivor, with Maher Nasser, Acting Head of the United Nations Department of Public Information, at the opening of the exhibit on Adolf Eichmann at UN Headquarters in New York on 19 April 2012.

Photo Credit: UN Photo/Mark Garten



Footprints for Hope DVD and lesson plan. Produced for middle school students by the United Nations Holocaust Programme, the Holocaust Centre in the United Kingdom and the Institute of Education at the University of London.

Photo Credit: Olivia Hemingway

sent tweets in 11 languages, honouring Anne Frank and her legacy of hope. Other recent Holocaust Programme partners have included the 92nd Street Y in New York, the University of Southern California Shoah Foundation Institute in Los Angeles, the Memorial Library in New York, the Enough Project in Washington, D.C., the International Criminal Court in The Hague and the Kigali Memorial Center in Rwanda.

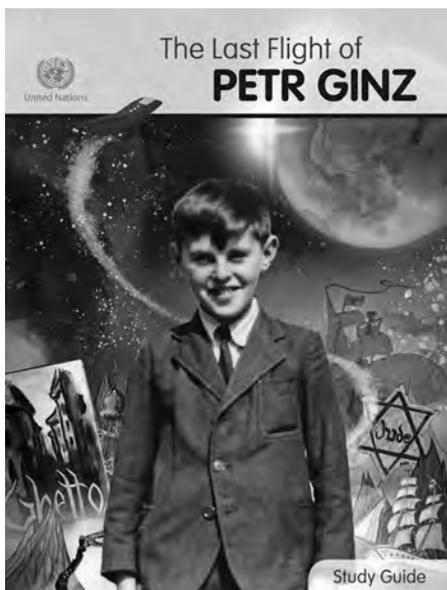
III. Holocaust Educational Materials

The Holocaust Programme has developed a wide variety of educational tools in cooperation with leading institutions in Holocaust and genocide education. Its first teaching aid was the Electronic Notes for Speakers, an online pedagogical tool that uses survivor testimony, other primary source materials and lesson plans to tell the human experience of the Holocaust. Initially produced in English with Yad Vashem and survivor testimony from the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, Le Mémorial de la Shoah and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum later helped to make it available in French and Spanish as well. In addition, the Programme released a short educational DVD and lesson plan, Footprints: Discovering the Holocaust through Historical Artefacts to introduce this difficult

topic to children through the story of one child's shoe left behind at Auschwitz. The Holocaust Centre in the United Kingdom and the University of London's Institute of Education were partners on this project.

In 2011, the Holocaust Programme issued an educational study guide, *Women and the Holocaust: Courage and Compassion*, and a companion DVD that includes survivors' testimonies. These products help high school students better understand how the Holocaust affected women's lives. The University of Southern California's Shoah Foundation Institute and the International School of Holocaust Studies at Yad Vashem partnered with the Programme.

The Holocaust Programme's most recent product for young students is a study guide which serves as a companion to a recent documentary film with animation titled *The Last Flight of Petr Ginz*.



The Last Flight of Petr Ginz study guide was produced for students age 13 and up by the United Nations Holocaust Programme. Illustration by Cory Godbey. Based on the artwork of Petr Ginz.

The film, created by the Documentary Film Programme at Wake Forest University and the Documentary Institute at the University of Florida, focuses on the inspiring life and transcendental artwork of a young Jewish boy from Prague who died during the Holocaust. The study guide provides historical context to the story and educates students on the importance of human rights and the work of the United Nations. It is being

translated into all six United Nations official languages and can be downloaded from the Programme's website.

The Holocaust Programme's gateway website offers a number of innovative products and teaching resources about the Holocaust, as well as materials on the Roma and Sinti to help educate the public on their experience during the Holocaust. Please visit www.un.org/holocaustremembrance.

IV. Holocaust Remembrance and Educational Events

The Holocaust Programme also holds numerous events throughout the year that are open to the public and the diplomatic community. The Programme hosts a regular film series that has featured some of the best films produced recently about the Holocaust. These films have included documentaries such as *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (Warner Bros.) and the Hollywood blockbuster *Defiance* (Paramount Pictures). Each film screening is



Ambassador Ron Prosor, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, speaks with Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor and United Nations Messenger of Peace, at the roundtable discussion on Adolf Eichmann, organised by the UN Holocaust Programme on 23 April 2012 in New York.

Photo Credit: Shahar Azran

usually followed by an interactive discussion with film producers, historians and United Nations officials.

The Holocaust Programme also organises roundtable discussions on a spectrum of topics. In March 2012, the Programme held its first observance of International Women's Day, highlighting the role of women survivors of mass violence in empowering others. The event was held at the University of Southern California with the Shoah Foundation Institute. In April 2012, the Programme partnered with the State of Israel to hold an interactive roundtable discussion to mark the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann. The event featured eye-witness accounts of the Holocaust and the Eichmann trial and examined its importance in shaping international law.

In May 2012, the Programme and the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance held a round table discussion titled "Cambodia: A Quest for Justice". Guest speakers examined the issues that led to mass murder during the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia and current efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice. A similar event was held in October in partnership with The Center for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights at Rutgers University—Newark. In September 2012, the Programme partnered with the Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust and the Permanent Missions of Hungary and Sweden to the United Nations in a discussion with award-winning authors Kati Marton of the United States and Bengt Jangfeldt of Sweden on the heroic efforts of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg to rescue Jews in Hungary. In November 2012, the Programme will organise a discussion with Father Patrick Desbois, who founded *Yahud-In Unum*, an organisation dedicated to identifying the sites of mass graves of Jewish victims of the Nazi mobile killing units in Eastern Europe. The presentation will also highlight Father Desbois' newest discoveries of Roma burial sites.

In addition to film screenings and roundtable discussions, the Programme organises many learning opportunities for students and teachers. In May 2011, the Programme held an interactive dialogue



UN Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson delivers a statement at the special event organised by the UN Holocaust Programme to mark the centenary of the birth of Raoul Wallenberg, held at the Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust on 19 September 2012.

Photo Credit: Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust/ Melanie Einzig

on genocide prevention with Francis Deng, United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide and John Prendergast, cofounder of the grassroots organisation *Enough*. Later that year, the Programme convened a panel of experts with the International Bar Association to discuss the concept of “justice and accountability in the 21st century”. This roundtable examined the failure of Germany’s judicial system to safeguard the rights of individuals during Nazi rule and the responsibility that States and the courts now have to protect their populations.

In January 2012, the Programme helped to launch at New York Headquarters the University of Southern California’s Shoah Foundation Institute’s new online educational tool, IWitness, which gives teachers and students access to the video testimonies of more than 1,000 Holocaust eyewitnesses. The Programme has also contributed to training programmes for educators around the world, most recently at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and the Kigali Memorial Centre in Rwanda. These professional development seminars afford the opportunity for the Programme to connect with teachers in the field of Holocaust education and remembrance and share its materials with them.



Zoe Rasoaniaina, Information officer at UNIC Antananarivo (Madagascar) briefs local students on the history of the Holocaust.

Photo Credit: UNIC Antananarivo

V. Support to the Worldwide Network of United Nations Information Centres

The Holocaust Programme and the global network of United Nations Information Centres are actively involved in engaging people around the world in Holocaust education and remembrance. Soon after its inception, the Holocaust Programme organised four regional training programmes to support the outreach efforts of these United Nations Information Centres. The training programmes were designed to give staff in the field the tools they need to boost public awareness about the contemporary relevance of the Holocaust. Staff could then integrate these principles into outreach activities aspiring to combat Holocaust denial and promote respect for diversity and human rights. As a follow-up to these trainings, the Programme has organised video conferences between a Holocaust survivor and students in Asia, Africa and Latin America to help deepen young people's understanding of the dangers of hatred and racism.

Among many activities held in the field over the past seven years, in 2011, the Programme partnered with Le Mémorial de la

Shoah in Paris to produce a travelling exhibition on the Holocaust in Europe. Hosted by UNICs in Austria, Burundi, Mexico, the Philippines, Russia and Senegal, the travelling exhibition was made available in English, French, Spanish and Russian and viewed by hundreds of visitors. The Holocaust Programme continues to provide these field offices with films and educational materials to strengthen their efforts to reach young people around the world with the universal lessons of the Holocaust.

For more information on the
Holocaust and the United Nations Outreach Programme,
please visit www.un.org/holocaustremembrance
or email holocaustremembrance@un.org



"Each year, the international community unites in memory of the Holocaust and reflects on the lessons that we all must heed. It is a vitally important annual observance.

Families should never again have to endure the kind of evil seen during the Holocaust. Only by working together can we prevent genocide and end impunity. By educating new generations about this terrible episode of our history, we can help to uphold human dignity for all."



United Nations Secretary-General
BAN Ki-moon

*International Day of Commemoration in
memory of the victims of the Holocaust,
27 January 2011*

www.un.org/holocaustremembrance