

The Stockholm International Forum Conferences (2000–2004)





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Four conferences in retrospect

PRODUCING A BROCHURE that reflects the spirit of four conferences is a challenge. This brochure is partly based on the book published in October 2005, *Beyond the 'Never Agains'* which can be seen as a follow up to the conferences within the series Stockholm International Forum (SIF). The contents of that book derive from conversations with 18 men and women, all of whom participated in at least one of the conferences. Each person brought a unique perspective to his or her interview. Through their eyes various questions, issues, and themes related to the Stockholm conferences were examined and explored. We also asked their opinions about future developments related to these questions, issues, and themes. Some of these persons are presented in this brochure.

We hope the contents of this brochure will inspire readers to want to further explore what took place during the discussions at each of the four conferences. In the book *Beyond the 'Never Agains'* we have enclosed a CD containing the full proceedings from all four conferences, which will enable readers to read the entire presentation from which we have extracted excerpts.

Each SIF conference had a dedicated website which remained active even after the conference ended. In Autumn 2005, the Swedish government will launch a single integrated SIF website. It is located on the Swedish government's Human Rights website (under the subject area, democracy and human rights. www.humanrights.gov.se)

The four conferences within the series:

- 2000 Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust –
A Conference on Education, Remembrance and Research
- 2001 Stockholm International Forum on Combating Intolerance
- 2002 Stockholm International Forum on Truth, Justice and Reconciliation
- 2004 Stockholm International Forum on Preventing Genocide –
Threats and Responsibilities

The Stockholm International Forum

– a series of four conferences



Background

In a parliamentary debate in June 1997, Prime Minister Göran Persson promised that he would initiate an information campaign on the Holocaust – on what happened and on which values and attitudes led to the Shoah. The purpose was to convey facts about the Holocaust which, in turn, were to provide the basis for a discussion about democracy, tolerance and the equal worth of all. The reason for the topic being raised in Parliament was coverage, at the same time, of a Swedish survey which showed that knowledge among young people of the Holocaust was deficient and that a large number of teenagers were not even certain that it had taken place. Furthermore, the growth of extreme right wing groups – which were spreading their propaganda in schools – had started to attract more attention and was being openly discussed. These factors resulted in an information project being initiated directly by the Cabinet Office – that is, under the responsibility of the Prime Minister himself. The project was given the name Living History.

International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research

In May 1998, Prime Minister Persson, the British premier, Tony Blair, and the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, agreed to set up a Task Force to promote international cooperation on Holocaust education, remembrance and research on the eve of the new millennium. In this same year Prime Minister Persson pledged he will invite the Task Force countries and other interested countries to an international government conference, The Stockholm International Forum on these issues.

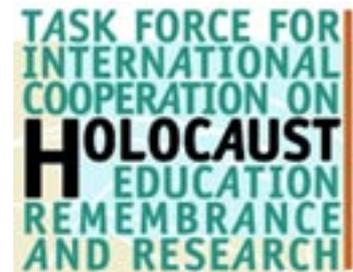
At the Washington Conference on Holocaust-era Assets in November–December 1998, these countries adopted a joint declaration, in which they pledged to encourage parents, teachers, political, religious and other leaders to support education on the Holocaust and to contribute towards remembrance. Since then several countries have joined their ranks and currently (January 2006) The Task Force has twenty-four member countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Decision-makers and Practitioners

One important aim of the Stockholm International Forum (SIF) conference series was to provide a meeting place for an exchange of information, knowledge, ideas and perspectives between experts, decision-makers and



When the Swedish Government initiated the information project 'Living History' in 1997, its first major project was the publication of the book *Tell Ye Your Children*. The book gives a factual outline of the Holocaust and attempts to explain how the unimaginable became reality (authors: Stéphane Bruchfeld, Paul A. Levine).



practitioners. It was a guiding principle, therefore, to invite to each Forum conference academics, practitioners and non-governmental organisations, as well as politicians and speakers within the respective subject areas, along with individuals who could speak, on the basis of their own experience, about the type of violations or conflicts under discussion. This unique mix of participants was one of the specific features of the conferences.



The first Stockholm International Forum was organised with the aim of encouraging education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust. Photo: Lars Nyman

Conference One: Education, Remembrance and Research on the Holocaust

This conference became an international manifestation of the importance of not forgetting – and of learning from – the history of the Holocaust. The first Stockholm International Forum demonstrated a growing commitment on the part of the international community to remember the victims of genocides and to attempt to learn from the tragedy of the Holocaust. During the 50 years since the Holocaust took place, interest in research and learning about this historical event which had the utmost impact on Europe and large parts of the world had been an area that attracted relatively few people. Over the past few years, however, there had been a shift to a new attitude.

The Declaration adopted by this conference has come to be regarded as a milestone in international support for combating racism, antisemitism, ethnic hatred and ignorance of history.



UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mrs Mary Robinson during the second conference, Combating Intolerance in 2001. Photo: Claudio Bresciani/Scanpix

Conference Two: Combating Intolerance

The second conference focused on racism, antisemitism and right-wing extremism in the contemporary world. Its theme was based on the question How can we combat intolerance in our societies today? This theme was developed around real examples of how expressions of intolerance are dealt with in different places, in different countries, and how intolerance is one of the threats to democracy in modern societies. Participants from all over the world met to discuss and exchange information and knowledge about how to prevent and counteract prejudice, hatred, political extremism and violence. The Forum had a concrete, work-oriented agenda. It aimed to increase collaboration between individuals and organisations at all levels of interaction – local and national, as well as regional and international.



H.E. President Xnana Gusmão, Timor L'este, at the third conference on Truth, Justice and Reconciliation, in 2002. Photo: Henrik Montgomery/Pressens Bild

Conference Three: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation

The theme of this conference was chosen with a starting point focusing on a way of coming to terms with the past in a future-oriented spirit. The central issue here was how to move forward and live with painful memories of injustices, with the legacy of past atrocities and authoritarian rule. We do not only need to know about our history; we also need to be able to deal with it. There is great need for more knowledge about the role and significance of reconciliation in political, social and psychological processes. The conference examined ways in which reconciliation initiatives could be created, how societies could be involved and mobilised, and ultimately whether and how former enemies could find common ground and live together after intractable conflicts.

At this third conference it was discussed whether it is possible for former enemies to find common ground, a modus vivendi, and live together in the same society after horrific bloodshed or a bitter, long-standing conflict, and what approaches might be most successful in achieving a state of peaceful coexistence.

Conference Four: Preventing Genocide, Threats and Responsibilities

This last conference in the series focused totally on the future. The theme of this conference was one of the most difficult and most delicate issues for the international community: How can we commit ourselves to cooperating and supporting remembrance, research and education that will promote awareness of genocidal dangers among a wider public? The panels and workshops at this Forum examined the issue of preventing genocide from four primary perspectives, four tracks:

- Anticipating genocide, mass murder or ethnic cleansing
- Genocide and international law, and the responsibilities and capabilities of international organisations
- Genocide and policy instruments: diplomatic, legal, humanitarian, economic and military tools for preventing genocide
- Genocide and mass media, genocide in education, and genocide in a nation's memory.

The fourth conference became the first major inter-governmental conference to address these crucial issues relating to genocide prevention since the adoption of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. It was, therefore, significant that the Secretary-General of the United Nations was the opening keynote speaker. At the conference he expressed his determination to strengthen the UN's capacity for action, to move the organisation from a culture of reaction to one of prevention. The appointment of a Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide in July 2004 was a result of his pledge at this conference. The concluding keynote address was delivered by the Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union, Javier Solana, who linked the conference theme to the newly adopted EU Security Strategy agreement.

Beyond the 'Never Agains'

In his closing remarks at the fourth conference the Swedish Prime Minister, Göran Persson, said 'When we leave this hall, our will-power must be our starting point; admitting our failures, committed to make use of our will, as stated in the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum we have just agreed upon, to help us go beyond the 'never agains''.

The issues raised at the Stockholm Forum conferences must remain on the agenda. The book, *Beyond the 'Never Agains'*, published after the fourth conference, was aimed to strengthen this message. On the following pages you will find some excerpts from this book.

The book comes with a CD containing full documentation of the four conferences, including speeches, seminars and lists of participants.



Mr. Philippe Kirsch, President of the International Criminal Court at the fourth conference, Preventing Genocide – Threats and Responsibilities. Photo: Björn Larsson Ask/Scanpix



A full dokumentation of the four conferences comes on a CD with the book *Beyond the 'Never Agains'*.



Gitta Sereny is a writer who is especially interested in the personality and motives of perpetrators. Among her more well known books is *Albert Speer: His Battle with Truth*, based on her many conversations with Albert Speer. Gitta Sereny attended Conference 2.

Gitta Sereny

You have dealt a lot with the problem of bias and prejudices, do you believe that anyone can be totally free from this?

I have never felt bias against anyone and yet when, for instance, I find a black man sitting next to me in a cinema, I find myself being aware ... not as I might with a white person that a man is sitting next to me, but that he's a black. Morally, that awareness is obviously wrong.

At the second Stockholm Forum on 'Combating Intolerance' you spoke about 'inner racism'.

Is this what you are referring to?

Nazi Germany is a very good example of this. Because while anti-Semitism existed there – and for that matter everywhere else – for a very long time, very few people in Germany would ever have thought that it could result in murdering the Jews. I mean, it's just an impossible thought. So how come that when people did hear that it was being done – and they did, even if they later denied it – how come that they passively accepted it? I don't mean that every individual in Nazi Germany agreed with it, but even so, except for very few courageous voices raised, until very, very late nothing was done to stop it. Of course, I am perfectly aware of the dangers people incurred when opposing it. But one could imagine an anonymous campaign of letters which, if nothing else, would have indicated the

presence of a moral position. But there is nothing like this in the archives, which unfortunately has to lead us to conclude that, fundamentally, a majority of Germans were either indifferent to the fate of the Jews, or in agreement with the Nazis' measures.

In the sense of world peace, the prejudice in occidental Europe and the United States against Muslims in the Middle East may be the most dangerous. But morally, the most malevolent is no doubt antisemitism, if for no other reason than that it is so widespread. If you discuss their feelings with antisemites, if you ask them to explain why they feel like this, they say they don't know. They may mention that too many Jews hold high positions or excel in trade to the disadvantage of others, but in the final analysis they will say they don't like them and cannot tell you why.

Do you believe it is possible to learn from history?

Yes, I do, not in general ways, but in particulars. For instance, I don't think there could ever be gas chambers again. What I am trying to say is that while it should be possible to stop torture by international law, as we have seen in Somalia and Rwanda, it is impossible to stop people from killing each other – for land, for religion and for politics, which so often take on the mantle of religions. However, there

Any decent human being will feel sorry for someone who is hurt, who suffers pain or suffered abuse. But for me that is a bit too simple. I'm afraid I am not all that interested in simple answers.



Adolf Hitler, accompanied by Albert Speer (second from left), discusses plans for a new administration building for the provincial government at Weimar.
Photo: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis

are only two things which will bring about fundamental changes. One is the realisation in ourselves of prejudice, however minute ... such as my awareness of the man sitting beside me being black. In those of us who are adults, we have to work on this ourselves.

For the young – and that is the second and most important measure – education is the only answer: knowledge not only about the differences between themselves and other nations, other races and other colours, but about the humanity we all share which makes us the same.

You once said you are more interested in perpetrators than victims?

Any decent human being will feel sorry for someone who is hurt, who suffers pain or suffered abuse. But for me that is a bit too

simple. I'm afraid I am not all that interested in simple answers. Of course, it is important to learn to understand the circumstances which create victims. But as I say, feelings of compassion for them are almost automatic for decent human beings. It's true that I'm more interested in complexity.

You are basically a journalist. What do you think about the role of media today?

The role of media in our world is enormous and I'm also part of it, so if they do wrong, then I am part of that, too. The way the media presents its material is said to be in reaction to public feeling or wishes. But I think this is not true: the media does not react – it creates public feelings and attitudes. The power of the media exceeds by far the power of any politician or leader.



Youk Chhang is a survivor of the genocide in Cambodia during 1975–1979 and participated in Conference 3. He is the director of the Cambodia Documentation Center.

Youk Chhang

Are your personal experiences as a survivor of the Cambodian genocide fundamentally important for your ability to deal with the issues of documentation and remembrance? Yes, I came to this work for a personal reason. I quit my UN job and at first did not come to this research with the right attitude. I was driven by anger, I simply wanted revenge.

But revenge is not the answer. I visited the village chief whom I knew was responsible for the death of my sister. He didn't remember me because I was a little boy at the time of the genocide. He still lived in a pole house in that same village and had two scrawny cows ... I visited him several times and found he was a nice guy.

I came to the realisation that it was purely ideology that drove us. So revenge is not the answer, and whatever I might do in harming others, it wouldn't give me back what I have lost. I have to accept reality. Doing research makes me happy and gives me strength. It sets me free; it is suddenly finding a piece of truth that sets me free. I see all the difficulties in my work as a challenge in seeking truth. I have to challenge it and it is helping me.

Research has helped to heal those difficult feelings, and for me it led to knowing that revenge is not the answer.

So I am motivated by this passion and also by my love for my mother, who suffered so much and lost so many of her loved ones. But you also have to understand Cambodian culture. A Cambodian doesn't do things for personal reasons – that would be viewed as arrogance. You do it for the nation, for the religion. The result is that individuals don't understand their own value, their own worth in life. They tend to think that if the Government beats them, it is acceptable, it is for the sake of the nation. But the nation is formed of individuals.

At the third conference you spoke about the importance of perpetrators being brought to justice and the slow process of bringing Khmer Rouge leaders to trial. How would you assess progress on that since April 2002?

In my view, only legal prosecution can legitimate the complete process of reconciliation. I strongly believe that a trial is the last step in moving towards the reconciliation process. Legal prosecution is very important and also helps people. It is part of the healing of victims and we need it. There is also a connection to religion, because without its support reconciliation cannot happen.

'It seems to me that religion can help people to be reconciled among themselves, but not with their neighbours, and that is a problem, a barrier, because of religious differences.'



At the killing fields in Cheung Ek, Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge killed newborn babies by smashing them against an oak tree. Photo: Peppe Arninge/Scanpix



Esther Mujawayo-Keiner is a survivor of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. She was one of the founders of the women's support group Avega. Mrs Mujawayo-Keiner participated in the third and the fourth conferences.

Esther Mujawayo-Keiner

The issue of reconciliation is central in Rwanda. What are your views on this?

When I heard the title of the first conference I attended, 'Truth, Justice and Reconciliation', I was a bit concerned. I avoid using this term, I don't believe in reconciliation. It is a word that makes it seem too easy, too much like magic. I think people have to live in a cohabitation pacifique (peaceful coexistence). They have to learn to live together, to coexist. We are not obliged to love each other, but we must learn that, 'You have your right to exist and I have my right to live. I must be guaranteed that you won't be a threat to me, and you have to be guaranteed that I won't be a threat to you.' Sometimes I have the feeling that people who use the word 'reconcile' mean that feelings of hostility or fears about each other should just change into love for one another. I have nothing against love, but it's as if people who didn't do enough to prevent something terrible from happening, now dream of happiness – that we should all be happy and embrace each other. But it's not so simple as that. Most of the time, too much is expected of the victims. They have already lost so much and now they are asked to be reconciled with those who took it all away from them. I say, let the victims first be reconciled with themselves, let them learn to believe in the human being again. I have

to get myself back before I can go to another person.

People too easily say, 'Let's move on,' but they forget that there are people who cannot follow because they have been so deeply affected, so much damaged. It's like a situation in which you are being asked to walk despite the fact that you don't have legs any more. You are just supposed to be able to get up and follow. I just want to tell people, 'Listen, sit down first and listen to me. Look at me. I don't have legs. I cannot walk. I have to move in another way. Please be patient with me.'

You can't ask somebody to reconcile with the killers after they have killed your relatives, when they still have theirs. Our women say, 'First, at least tell me where the bodies of my people are, so that I can bury them. After that, perhaps we can reconcile. You destroyed my house, but you still have yours. Let's talk about rebuilding my destroyed house. After that, let's talk, when we both have roofs over our heads. I look at you – you have your roof, you have your kids, you have your cows, but I have nothing. I am still homeless. I am still childless. I am still without my cows.'

I wrote a book entitled *Survivantes*, and in it I write about la vache – the cow. My dream is that every widow in Rwanda should at least get back her own cow, because the cow is a concrete

*I survived without any physical wounds;
I survived with my head still working,
so I cannot keep silent.
There has been too much silence.*



way to help a widow recover socially and economically, a concrete way to help her be somebody, because a cow is so significant there. I tell you this because the issue of restitution, of reparation is essential before we in Rwanda can begin to speak of reconciliation.

How did you become involved in the Stockholm Forum conferences?

Whenever I'm invited to speak about the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, I accept, because it is important for people to know what we went through. I often ask myself 'Why did I survive?' I survived without any physical wounds;

I survived; with my head still working, so I cannot keep silent. There has been too much silence. I get encouraged when I see people listen and when I hear them say, 'We didn't realize that such terrible things happened.' This is why I agreed to go to Stockholm, why I accept other invitations – because I want people to know. What was different about Stockholm was that the decision makers and those who had closed their eyes in 1994 were present, and now I was asked to speak to them about my experiences and what I witnessed.

Esther wrote a book entitled *Survivantes*, in which she writes about *la vache* – the cow. Her dream is that every widow should at least get back her own cow, since the cow is a concrete way to help a widow recover socially and economically, a concrete way to help her be somebody, because a cow is so significant in Rwanda.

Photo: Christophe Calais/In Visu/Corbis



Luis Moreno Ocampo is the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC). He attended Conference 4.

Luis Moreno Ocampo

Is it possible to learn from history?

I believe that we can learn from history. We learn both positive and negative lessons: how to kill more effectively but also how to control killing. It's a race between the two sides. It is, of course, dangerous to be naïve, because we all know there will be more massacres and more atrocities, but we still have to insist on learning. In 1988, I met Mr. Telford Taylor at Columbia University. He was one of the Chief Prosecutors at the first trial in Nuremberg. He was 82 years old when I met him. He told me something I understood from my own experience of prosecuting leaders of the military junta in my own country. He told me, 'What I found most shocking was learning that the Nazi German leaders were normal people.' Since they were normal people, we have to recognize that this kind of crime could be repeated. Then when I gave lectures, I told my students this, that perpetrator could be good citizens, good parents with families and so on, and the students were furious with me. They did not want to see them as normal citizens. It would be easier if they were monsters because then this would be an extreme case which could not easily be repeated. We must learn that this is not just about bad guys; a whole society can believe in the elimination of other people. This is why we have to continue learning.

Were developments in Argentina a source of your hope and optimism?

What happened in Argentina was in a way the source of my hope, my optimism. Argentina is a chaotic country with problems, but there is no more dictatorship and the trial of the junta leaders was a key element in this. I know that a trial can be very helpful, which is why I think that a court like the ICC may be very useful.

But we have to learn constantly to respect the values of different people when we carry out trials involving global communities. When you study a society, feelings may be much more complicated than they look at first sight. In Argentina, for instance, we were deeply divided. My mother was against me; she loved the generals because her father – my grandfather – was a general. Then two weeks after the hearings started, my mother called me and said, 'I was wrong.' She said, 'I still love Midela (one of the generals), but he should be in jail; you are right.' So trials can give people a new perspective.

You receive reports from around the world of horrific crimes against humanity. Do you maintain your personal belief in mankind, in goodwill and the spirit of justice?

Yes, I do. I meet with my prosecutors who have been out in the field interviewing criminals of war. There are youngsters who have killed hundreds, and they look like boys. These are still human beings. I think we have the most noble mission in the world here within the ICC. We accept that we earn four times less money now than we did before. I work with wonderful people who are proud to be here. But there is a world also outside the court rooms. Even if we succeed, we should not forget that afterwards these killers need schools, hospitals, jobs, and so on. It is up to the entire world to help them. We have to think in a holistic way. We have to do our job, keep the focus on our work, in accordance with the statutes. My role is to focus on my litigation, to do my cases, and to show that the Court is helping people. Then, slowly, people will learn, and we will hopefully succeed in what we are trying to achieve.



A wide-angle shot of the entire courtroom at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg during the cross-examination of Hermann Goering by one of the German defence attorneys, Professor Herbert Kraus. Photo: Bettmann/Corbis

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Kofi Annan is Secretary-General of the United Nations. Mr Annan attended the second and fourth Stockholm Forum conferences.

Kofi Annan

In the context of current efforts to reform and strengthen the UN, what is the role of the Secretary-General's Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide?

People often point out that the biggest obstacle we face in trying to prevent genocide is not lack of information but lack of political will. While there's a lot of truth in that, I think if you present accurate information in the right way it can help generate political will. That's where my Special Adviser comes in. His job is to pull together timely and accurate information from all the different parts of the UN system, as well as from governments and non-governmental organizations, about violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that are ethnic, racial, national or religious in character. He is there to help me make sure that information is reported to governments, and that it is accompanied by realistic and compelling proposals for preventive action.

The reform proposals contained in my report *In Larger Freedom* are based on a holistic approach to security and a much greater emphasis on prevention. I see the Special Adviser's work very much in that context. The issue of genocide stands at the intersection of human rights and international peace and

security, and the Special Adviser has the ability, through me, to report to the Security Council. His office is there to support me in my efforts to encourage the Council to implement a broader concept of security, and to take preventive action before massive violations of human rights and humanitarian law occur which could degenerate into genocide.

Where do you personally find the energy in your urgent endeavours to contribute to a better world? Is there something particular that motivates and inspires you with hope? I've always felt that peace and human rights are, ultimately, indivisible. What encourages me is the belief that more and more people realize that our world is getting smaller; that your problem is my problem and my problem is your problem. Even horrors such as those we saw in Rwanda have made people more alert to the threat of genocide, and I am convinced that humankind can learn from its past and improve its future. So what keeps me going is my belief that, over time, we can all expand our moral horizons and our understanding of what our real interests are. Some might say that's a dream, but if you don't have a dream, you never get anywhere.

'What encourages me is the belief that more and more people realise that our world is getting smaller; that your problem is my problem and my problem is your problem.'

We the peoples of the United  Nations

We the peoples

Determined

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, **and to** reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, **and to** establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, **and to** promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And for these ends

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, **and to** unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, **and to** ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, **and to** employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Preceded by the Charter of the United Nations
Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information,
Photographic and Exhibition Section.

A poster showing the preamble to the United Nations Charter.
Photo: UN



Samantha Power

Samantha Power is the author of *'A Problem From Hell'* for which she won the 2003 Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction. She attended Conference 4.

Given that Prime Minister Göran Persson initiated the 2004 conference on 'Preventing Genocide', do you think Sweden has more of an obligation to speak out, to do something when it comes to genocide or genocidal events? Well, yes, I do think they have an obligation to be 'out front' on such issues. With all the heads of state they had in Stockholm, with all their statements, and with all their 'Never Again!', something concrete should be done. It's not enough to make abstract commitments. They don't translate into anything useful for anybody.

What do the people of Darfur get from a conference? Regrettably, I'm becoming used to the fact that countries talk big and act small. Sweden has a legitimacy in international settings that the US and the UK lack. If it were to decide to work the 'back-channels' of the UN and the EU to mobilize the necessary protection and policing force, I think you would actually start to see things happen. You might not see all the atrocities stop, but you could see an incredible improvement on the ground. Almost everything the US Government has done in Sudan has come about because of domestic political pressure. As an example the so-called 'G' word declaration first came out in Congress; then the Executive branch backed into its legal investigation.

Sweden could do many things. There is a lot that a single, well-resourced, well-meaning state can do – and should do. Sweden, in particular, should do more than talk. Sweden must act. Otherwise, why spend all that money to bring all those heads of state together, to put all those people up in fancy hotels? If one really intended to do nothing, one could have spent less money doing it!

The real question – on Darfur and on

atrocities prevention in general – is: Where are the Europeans? Where is the public pressure in various European countries? Why don't they mobilize? Why don't the French or the Belgians – with their guilt over Rwanda – harness that guilt to do more for Africa today? American students are being arrested in front of the White House for protesting inaction. American students are getting universities to divest from companies who do business in Sudan. American students have helped to pressure the most ideological administration in American history to refer the case against Sudan to the International Criminal Court. Why is there no similar political pressure in Europe?

In your career, you have gone from journalist to lawyer, to writer, to academic, and soon you will be involved in American politics as a member of staff of a US Senator. How did your career evolve that way?

I am a sort of 'platform agnostic'. I don't actually care whether I am reporting, teaching, working as a staffer in some Democratic administration or writing my next book, I am always trying to figure out where the points of leverage are. Even when I was a cub reporter and had no power whatsoever, I had that same instinct: I should give whatever information I have to the person who can do something with it. I am very lucky to have been able to bounce back and forth between mediums because I do get frustrated often and easily with my lack of impact. I don't have any master plan. Of course, there are some people I would not work for, but on the whole I am pretty flexible, I am not all that ideological. As long as I could be convinced that working for someone or some project would be useful, I would probably give it a try.

The real question – on Darfur and on atrocity prevention in general – is: Where are the Europeans? Where is the public pressure in various European countries? Why don't they mobilize? Why don't the French or the Belgians – with their guilt over Rwanda – harness that guilt to do more for Africa today?



A young boy looks out of the window of a flat in central Grozny. Bullet holes riddle the facade and the next flat has a gaping hole. Grozny, Russia, March 2003.
Photo: Fredrik Naumann/Panos



Göran Persson

Göran Persson, the Prime Minister of Sweden, thinks that one of the reasons for the remarkable response to invitations to the first conference was because it was so different from anything else done in the 1980s and 1990s.

When you took the initiative to organize that first conference, can you remember what you had in mind at the time?

Yes, with the proviso that I may make it sound a bit more brilliant than it was – there's always that risk when you look back on something in the past. Of course, what lay behind it was the alarming inquiry made among schoolchildren that gave me the impression that the memory of the Holocaust was beginning to fade, and that young people were unsure whether it had happened or not. So I initiated the Living History project to tell the story through resource packages for schools, through films, conferences, concerts, speeches in the Parliament and so on. And this turned into a broad popular movement in the classic Swedish mould. It made an enormous impact and it was in this context that I was bold enough to think something could be done internationally as well. I remember I wrote letters to Prime Minister Blair and President Clinton about this idea for an International Task Force. That's where it began and the conference came later.

I got a lot of criticism for the Task Force idea. Many of the major Swedish newspapers thought it was presumptuous of me to have ideas about what world leaders like Blair and

Clinton might think. And then with Sweden's background, its historical failings – as they saw it, not least during the Second World War – they just thought it was presumptuous of me to bring it up.

There was also the temptation of the new millennium. In view of our success in Sweden and the response from the Task Force group, it felt natural to organize a conference as well, right at the start of the new millennium. I remember Prime Minister Jospin saying, both to me personally and also in his conference speech, that it was remarkable how we had devoted the whole of the 1990s to international conferences about economics, and now it was a new millennium and the first big international conference was about ideology, humanism and values. It turned out this was the right note to strike and that also explains why the idea grew so strong and proved so attractive. It was so different from everything else there had been in the 1980s and 1990s, which in many ways were the decades of strict economism. All international efforts had revolved around this.

A conference is also an opportunity for visibility, a chance to make a breakthrough, to spread ideas. A big international conference of this type establishes an issue definitively, puts it on the agenda. It can't be ignored, you have

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to take a position on it. Then perhaps afterwards you don't see any immediate effects, but too many people have said too much for a conference like that simply to be dropped.

We were spurred on by success, challenged by the nature of the issue and inspired by the occasion, namely the turn of the century, the new millennium. That's roughly how it happened.

In talking with the people interviewed in the book *Beyond the 'Never Agains'*, which is a kind of a follow up to this series of conferences, one of the questions we asked was whether after taking this initiative, Sweden has a duty to protest more actively when there are signs of abuse and injustice in the world. What do you think?

Now and then in Sweden people have made a point of attacking the Swedish Government and its foreign policy over the decades for seeing ourselves as a 'moral superpower'. Somebody responded to this criticism by saying, 'Yes, that's just the way it is; what's wrong with that?' In our political tradition, we've seen our position between the major blocs during the Cold War as an opportunity to develop a standpoint of our own. Over the years this has been expressed with more or less skill and more or less spirit, depending on the current leaders and spokesmen.

Just take an issue that we're discussing recently, in 2005: the dissolution of the union with Norway in 1905, which of course also contained the germ of something that came to dominate Swedish foreign policy – the multi-lateral approach, peace promotion, peaceful conflict resolution. When we talk about asserting human rights and shaping public opinion, it's not a matter of how big or small countries are. It's a matter of good arguments and correct reasoning.

This work falls within the same tradition and will put additional pressure on those who come after us to be active and visible, to take a stand. This, in turn, will of course bring



criticism that we're not doing enough, the view that with such a high profile, we should be doing more. And having made such a point of emphasizing principles and values, we should also be clearer in condemning individual conflicts or events. I gladly accept this sort of assessment and scrutiny. It's much, much more positive for a government, a Prime Minister, a Foreign Minister, to be subject to scrutiny based on a standard of high expectations than on a mediocre standard. Certainly, a lot should be demanded of us; we demand it of ourselves. And the fact that we demand a lot of ourselves is precisely what leads us to do something like this; otherwise we wouldn't have done it.

The launch of the Living History information campaign in Sweden led to the decision to make 27 January an official commemoration day for the Holocaust. Here lights are burning in Raoul Wallenberg Square, Stockholm, 27 January 2005. Photo: Bertil Ericson /Pressens Bild

Declarations

The first conference adopted a Declaration now known as *The Stockholm Declaration*, which has come to be regarded as a milestone in international support for combating racism, antisemitism, ethnic hatred and ignorance of history.

A Declaration was also adopted at the second conference. It emphasised the determination of all participating states to combat genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, antisemitism, Islamophobia and xenophobia, and to combat all racial discrimination and the intolerance associated with it.

The fourth conference also resulted in a Declaration that included a number of key concepts. One such concept relates to the international community's common responsibility, *the responsibility to protect*, which draws on one of the background documents distributed to conference participants, the 'Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty' (ICISS). Another key concept of the Declaration is justice. It raises the importance of *perpetrators of genocidal acts being brought to justice*. A third key concept is education. The Declaration clearly indicates the need for *education against genocidal dangers* and increased awareness of how to recognise early warning signals.

Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust – Education, Remembrance and Research

We, High Representatives of Governments at the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, declare that:

1. The Holocaust (*Shoah*) fundamentally challenged the foundations of civilization. The unprecedented character of the Holocaust will always hold universal meaning. After half a century, it remains an event close enough in time that survivors can still bear witness to the horrors that engulfed the Jewish people. The terrible suffering of the many millions of other victims of the Nazis has left an indelible scar across Europe as well.

2. The magnitude of the Holocaust, planned and carried out by the Nazis, must be forever seared in our collective memory. The selfless sacrifices of those who defied the Nazis, and sometimes gave their own lives to protect or rescue the Holocaust's victims, must also be inscribed in our hearts. The depths of that horror, and the heights of their heroism, can be touchstones in our understanding of the human capacity for evil and for good.

3. With humanity still scarred by genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, anti-semitism and xenophobia, the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils. Together we must uphold the terrible truth of the Holocaust against those who deny it. We must strengthen the moral commitment of our peoples, and the political commitment of our governments, to ensure that future generations can understand the causes of the Holocaust and reflect upon its consequences.

4. We pledge to strengthen our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.

5. We share a commitment to encourage the study of the Holocaust in all its dimensions. We will promote education about the Holocaust in our schools and universities, in our communities and encourage it in other institutions.

6. We share a commitment to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust and to honour those who stood against it. We will encourage appropriate forms of Holocaust remembrance, including an annual Day of Holocaust Remembrance, in our countries.

7. We share a commitment to throw light on the still obscured shadows of the Holocaust. We will take all necessary steps to facilitate the opening of archives in order to ensure that all documents bearing on the Holocaust are available to researchers.

8. It is appropriate that this, the first major international conference of the new millennium, declares its commitment to plant the seeds of a better future amidst the soil of a bitter past. We empathize with the victims' suffering and draw inspiration from their struggle. Our commitment must be to remember the victims who perished, respect the survivors still with us, and reaffirm humanity's common aspiration for mutual understanding and justice.

Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on Combating Intolerance

Recalling the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and all other related international conventions and recalling the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, its commitments to plant the seeds of a better future through education and remembrance, and its pledge to fight the evils of genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, antisemitism and xenophobia; in support of the preparations for the Durban World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance; and also in support of the United Nations Secretary-General's Global Compact, we, representatives of governments at the Stockholm International Forum: Combating Intolerance, condemn intolerance in all its aspects and declare that:

1. Racism, racial discrimination, antisemitism, islamophobia, xenophobia; discrimination, violence and murder because of sexual orientation, and all other forms of intolerance, violate basic human values and threaten democratic society. All crimes against humanity, genocide such as the Holocaust, and atrocities such as slavery and apartheid serve as grim reminders of where intolerance can lead if permitted to flourish and of the absolute necessity that it be stopped. We recognize the need and will take steps to protect the weak and vulnerable in our societies, including immigrants and asylum seekers. We pledge to take steps at the national level, and to encourage and support action at the local, regional and international levels, to combat all manifestations of intolerance in our societies.

2. We will develop and encourage participation in networks including all states here assembled and others who wish to join, as well as relevant international organizations. The networks will

exchange information about experiences with combating all forms of intolerance, with a focus on best practices and lessons learned, in such fields as education and training, legislation, community strategies, and media. We will draw on these networks in fulfilling our pledge to take action. We will improve existing systems for collecting and analyzing information and monitoring intolerance at the local, regional, national and international levels. Such information is a prerequisite for combating intolerance and establishing inclusive societies.

3. We call on parliamentarians, educators, religious communities, youth associations, corporations, commissions, foundations, employers, unions, local, municipal and regional authorities, and parents in our societies to instil in our youth respect and appreciation for diversity and the conviction that intolerance is an evil that must be fought. We will support education and research to this end, as keys to combating intolerance. We commend and support all efforts directed toward combating intolerance and promoting respect through education. We will support the creation of a research process linking academics and policy-makers working to understand and combat intolerance, and will consider the establishment of regional research centres.

4. We will further develop, and where absent consider establishing, legislative measures, including anti-discrimination legislation, in national, regional and international contexts to deny intolerance a place in our societies. We will seek recommendations from the networks formed here on using legislation to further the aims of this declaration. We will enforce with determination our laws in these fields.

5. In order to provide an infrastructure in the fight against intolerance, we undertake to strengthen, or where necessary establish, independent national, local and municipal specialized bodies to combat intolerance in cooperation with governmental authorities, organizations of civil society and the private sector. We will promote coordination between these bodies and the networks, education and training efforts, legislative measures, and public-private partnerships.

6. Recognizing that respect for freedom of expression and opinion is essential to a democratic society, we invite media in our societies to develop training programmes for journalists, editors and producers to positively approach the notion of inclusive societies and to guard against media becoming a platform for those who preach hatred and intolerance. We will commend, publicize and support those who establish such programmes.

7. We underline the positive contribution that the Internet can have in combating intolerance. However, we are concerned by its use in the service of the promoters of intolerance. We support international cooperation in the establishment of a voluntary Internet Code of Conduct Against Intolerance and will encourage participation by Internet providers in our countries. In the code's development, we urge Internet providers to draw on recommendations of the networks formed here. We take note of legal instruments restricting the use of the Internet to spread messages of intolerance being considered in a number of countries.

8. We will work to find ways to reach out to those advocating intolerance and will engage them in the building of our inclusive societies.

9. We reaffirm our support for other international contributions on the subject (including the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance, the Final Report of the UN Year for Tolerance, the OSCE's Copenhagen Document, the Political Declaration of the European Conference Against Racism, and the European Union's Council of Ministers for Youth Document on Combating Racism, the Council of Europe's Vienna Declaration on Racism, Intolerance and Antisemitism, among others), and offer this declaration and the proceedings of this Forum for consideration at the Durban World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.

10. As we begin the new millennium, we offer our support to those affected by and vulnerable to all forms of intolerance. The memory of those killed by violent racism, antisemitism, islamophobia, xenophobia, homophobia and other forms of intolerance will remain vivid in our minds as we make a world where intolerance has no place, where all human beings are respected and equal in dignity, and where all societies are inclusive. In the name of justice, humanity and respect for human dignity we pledge to continue combating all forms of intolerance and to do all we can to bring about a world of inclusive societies speedily in our day.

Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on Preventing Genocide – Threats and Responsibilities

The Holocaust, as reaffirmed by the Stockholm International Forum Declaration of January 2000, challenged the foundations of human civilization. Recalling our responsibility to fight the evils of genocide, ethnic cleansing, racism, antisemitism, islamophobia and xenophobia, we, participants of the Stockholm International Forum 2004: Preventing Genocide: Threats and Responsibilities, conscious of our obligations and responsibilities under international law including human rights and international humanitarian law, deeply concerned with the repeated occurrence of genocide, mass murder and ethnic cleansing in recent history as well as with the widespread occurrence of impunity for such crimes, are committed to doing our utmost for the prevention of these scourges in order to build a more secure future for us all.

To this end we declare that:

1. We are committed to using and developing practical tools and mechanisms to identify as early as possible and to monitor and report genocidal threats to human life and society in order to prevent the recurrence of genocide, mass murder and ethnic cleansing.
2. We are committed to shouldering our responsibility to protect groups identified as potential victims of genocide, mass murder or ethnic cleansing, drawing upon the range of tools at our disposal to prevent such atrocities in accordance with international law and fully upholding the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.
3. We are committed to ensuring that perpetrators of genocidal acts are brought to justice. We are also committed to supporting survivors of genocide to rebuild their communities and to return to normal life.

4. We are committed to supporting research into the possibilities of preventing genocide, mass murder and ethnic cleansing.
5. We are committed to educating the youth and the wider public against genocidal dangers of all kinds through formal and informal educational structures. We are also committed to disseminating knowledge of these dangers to those involved in government, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, humanitarian and peace support operations and the media.
6. We are committed to exploring, seriously and actively, the options presented at this Forum for action against genocidal threats, mass murders, deadly conflicts, ethnic cleansing as well as genocidal ideologies and incitement to genocide, including the concrete proposals presented by the United Nations Secretary-General.
7. We are committed to cooperating in our search for effective measures against genocidal dangers with all members of the family of nations, in the United Nations and other relevant global and regional organizations as well as with non-governmental organizations, labour organizations, the media and with business and academic communities.

The circle of countries

THE CIRCLE OF COUNTRIES invited to the first conference was based on the group of countries involved, in a broad sense, in the policies and ideals that were spread through the ideology of Nazism. The circle of participants then consisted of representatives of 46 nations. Already at the second conference, the circle of invited nations was somewhat enlarged due to the theme of this conference, which led to representatives of 51 nations participating.

Delegations from 55 nations and 14 international organisations took part in the fourth conference. Invited to all conferences were also survivors and people who were personally affected by one of the many different mass violations referred to in the conference programmes, as well as a number of experts on all the subject areas discussed.

At the fourth conference, delegations from the following nations and international organizations took part:

Albania	Israel	United Kingdom
Argentina	Italy	United States
Armenia	Japan	Uruguay
Australia	Latvia	
Austria	Lithuania	<i>Organizations</i>
Belgium	Luxembourg	Commission of the
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Macedonia	African Union
Brazil	Malta	Council of Europe
Bulgaria	Morocco	Council of the
Canada	The Netherlands	European Union
Chile	Norway	ECOWAS
Croatia	Poland	European Commission
Cyprus	Portugal	ICRC
Czech Republic	Romania	NATO
Denmark	Russia	OSCE/ODIHR
Egypt	Rwanda	OSCE/HCNM
Estonia	Serbia and Montenegro	UN
Finland	Slovakia	UNDP
France	Slovenia	UNESCO
Germany	South Africa	UNHCR
Greece	Spain	UNMIK
Holy See	Sweden	
Hungary	Switzerland	
Iceland	Timor Leste	
India	Turkey	
Ireland	Ukraine	

all is in that wind
the forgotten
and the recalled
a wind we have named memory
listen,
it blows through the gardens
of time

all is in a life
the lost
the given
and the fought for
wastelands
and familiar faces
and songs of comfort

WHEN THE FIRST CONFERENCE was being organised in the late 1990s, there was great uncertainty about the potential international response because after World War II, even 55 years after the Holocaust, no conference at international political level had dealt with the question of Holocaust remembrance. However the response the Swedish Government received exceeded all expectations. That positive response provided the incentive to organise three further conferences in the series.

One important aim of the Stockholm International Forum (SIF) conference series was to provide a meeting place for an exchange of information, knowledge, ideas and perspectives between experts, decision-makers and practitioners. It was a guiding principle, therefore, to invite to each Forum conference academics, practitioners and non-governmental organisations, as well as politicians and speakers within the respective subject areas, along with individuals who could speak, on the basis of their own experience, about the type of violations or conflicts under discussion. This unique mix of participants was one of the specific features of the conferences.

Hopefully none of the conference participants left the meetings totally empty-handed; but with an increased will and determination to take action, or with an intention to be a bit more 'unreasonable', in the spirit of Raphael Lemkin. Hopefully all left with a commitment to move beyond the much repeated 'Never Again'.



REGERINGSKANSLIET

Statsrådsberedningen

SE-103 33 Stockholm, Sweden