



*Remembering the Modern World*

# REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Edited by  
Andy Pearce



# REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

*Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings* brings together a group of international experts to investigate the relationship between Holocaust remembrance and different types of educational activity through consideration of how education has become charged with preserving and perpetuating Holocaust memory and an examination of the challenges and opportunities this presents.

The book is divided into two key parts. The first part considers the issues of and approaches to the remembrance of the Holocaust within an educational setting, with essays covering topics such as historical culture, genocide education, familial narratives, the survivor generation, and memory spaces in the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany. In the second part, contributors explore a wide range of case studies within which education and Holocaust remembrance interact, including young people's understanding of the Holocaust in Germany, Polish identity narratives, Shoah remembrance and education in Israel, the Holocaust and Genocide Centre of Education and Memory in South Africa, and teaching at Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.

An international and interdisciplinary exploration of how and why the Holocaust is remembered through educational activity, *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings* is the ideal book for all students, scholars, and researchers of the history and memory of the Holocaust as well as those studying and working within Holocaust education.

**Andy Pearce** is a Senior Lecturer in Holocaust and History Education at University College London. His research interests include education, memory studies, Holocaust studies, and contemporary European history. His recent works include *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* (Routledge, 2014).

# REMEMBERING THE MODERN WORLD

Series Editors: David Lowe and Tony Joel

The *Remembering the Modern World* series throws new light on the major themes in the field of history and memory in a global context. The series investigates relationships between state-centred practices and other forms of collective and individual memory; looks at the phenomenon of anniversaries and national days in the context of global and national identities; shows how some cities and sites play active roles in generating acts of remembrance and asks why some phenomena and events are remembered more widely and easily than others.

## **Titles in the series:**

*Remembering the Cold War*

David Lowe and Tony Joel

*Remembering Genocide*

Nigel Eltringham and Pam Maclean

*Remembering the First World War*

Bart Ziino

*Remembering the Second World War*

Edited by Patrick Finney

*Remembering Independence*

Carola Lentz and David Lowe

*Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings*

Edited by Andy Pearce

# REMEMBERING THE HOLOCAUST IN EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

*Edited by Andy Pearce*



First published 2018  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2018 selection and editorial matter, Andy Pearce; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Andy Pearce to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Names: Pearce, Andy, 1981– editor.

Title: Remembering the Holocaust in educational settings / edited by Andy Pearce.

Description: New York, NY: Routledge, [2018] | Series: Remembering the modern world | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017060107 | ISBN 9781138301535 (hardback : alk. paper) |

ISBN 9781351008648 (ebook : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Holocaust, Jewish (1939–1945)—Study and teaching.

Classification: LCC D804.33 .R4614 2018 | DDC 940.53/18071—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017060107>

ISBN: 978-1-138-30153-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-00864-8 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo

by Out of House Publishing

For Sören and Eadie



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Series editors' foreword</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xxii</i>

Introduction: Education, remembrance, and the Holocaust: towards pedagogic memory-work	1
<i>Andy Pearce</i>	

## **PART I**

### **Issues, approaches, spaces 23**

1 Lessons at the limits: on learning Holocaust history in historical culture	25
<i>Klas-Göran Karlsson</i>	
2 The anatomy of a relationship: the Holocaust, genocide, and education in Britain	40
<i>Andy Pearce</i>	
3 <i>Väterliteratur</i> : remembering, writing, and reconciling the familial past	60
<i>Carson Phillips</i>	

4	Memories of survivors in Holocaust education <i>Wolf Kaiser</i>	76
5	Figures of memory at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum <i>Michael Bernard-Donals</i>	92
6	Imperial War Museums: reflecting and shaping Holocaust memory <i>Rachel Donnelly</i>	107
7	Beyond learning facts: teaching commemoration as an educational task in German memorial sites for the victims of National Socialist crimes <i>Martin Schellenberg</i>	122
<b>PART II</b>		
	<b>National perspectives, contexts, and case studies</b>	<b>141</b>
8	Hitler as a figure of ignorance in young people's incidental accounts of the Holocaust in Germany <i>Peter Carrier</i>	143
9	Who was the victim and who was the saviour? The Holocaust in Polish identity narratives <i>Mikołaj Winiewski, Marta Beneda, Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, and Marta Witkowska</i>	159
10	Conveying the message of Holocaust survivors: Shoah remembrance and education in Israel <i>Richelle Budd Caplan and Shulamit Imber</i>	174
11	Holocaust education in the US: a pre-history, 1939–1960 <i>Thomas D. Fallace</i>	190
12	The presence of the past: creating a new Holocaust and Genocide Centre of Education and Memory in post-Apartheid South Africa <i>Tali Nates</i>	205



13	Educational bridges to the intangible: an Australian perspective to teaching and learning about the Holocaust <i>Tony Joel, Donna-Lee Frieze, and Mathew Turner</i>	221
14	Myths, misconceptions, and mis-memory: Holocaust education in England <i>Stuart Foster</i>	239
	<i>Index</i>	257

# ILLUSTRATIONS

**Figure**

12.1 The Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre.	216
------------------------------------------------------	-----

**Table**

8.1 Numbers of pupils who mention given events, protagonists, and their contexts.	149
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

# CONTRIBUTORS

**Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs**, PhD, is Lecturer and the UNESCO Chair for Education about the Holocaust at the Institute of European Studies, Jagiellonian University. In 2011–2012 she was Ina Levine Invitational Scholar at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. She has conducted research at Columbia, Oxford, and Cambridge universities and as a member of projects organised by DAAD, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft (EVZ), and the International Remembrance Holocaust Alliance (IHRA).

**Marta Beneda** is a PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge and collaborates closely with the Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw. Her research focuses on psychological factors influencing intergroup reconciliation as well as on mechanisms underlying sex-typical behaviours in children.

**Michael Bernard-Donals** is the Nancy Hoefs Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he is also an affiliate member of the Mosse-Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies, and is currently serving as Vice Provost for Faculty and Staff. His most recent work includes *Figures of Memory* (SUNY, 2016) and *Jewish Rhetorics: History, Theory, Practice* (Brandeis University Press, 2014, co-edited with Janice Fernheimer).

**Richelle Budd Caplan** has been the Director of the European Department of the International School for Holocaust Studies of Yad Vashem since 2009. She received her MA from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She is a member of the Israeli delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance and has developed Holocaust-related projects with numerous international organisations.

**Peter Carrier** is a Research Fellow at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig. He has published widely on Holocaust monuments, historiography, and national memory in France and Germany. Recent works include *School and Nation: Identity Politics and Educational Media in an Age of Diversity* (Peter Lang, 2013) and *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula* (UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 2015, co-edited with Eckhardt Fuchs and Torben Messinger).

**Rachel Donnelly** is Learning and Audience Advocate (The Holocaust Galleries) at Imperial War Museums, where her role involves running the Holocaust learning programme for schools. Before joining the museum in 2009 she was a history teacher. Rachel is also working on the project to develop new Holocaust Galleries at IWM London.

**Thomas D. Fallace** is Professor of Education at William Paterson University of New Jersey (USA). He researches intellectual and curriculum history. He is author of *Dewey and the Dilemma of Race: An Intellectual History 1895–1922* (Teachers College Press, 2010), *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education, 1880–1929* (Teachers College Press, 2015), and *The Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

**Stuart Foster** is Executive Director of both University College London's Centre for Holocaust Education and the First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme. His research interests include the teaching, learning and assessment of history, Holocaust education, and the study of school history textbooks and curriculum, nationally and internationally. He has written more than fifty scholarly articles and book chapters focused on teaching and learning history and authored or co-authored six books.

**Donna-Lee Frieze** is a Genocide Studies scholar who has taught courses on genocide at Deakin University, Australia, for over a decade. In 2013–2014, Donna was the Prins Senior Scholar at the Center for Jewish History in NYC, and she has published widely on twentieth-century genocides, film, philosophy, and testimony. Donna is the editor of Raphael Lemkin's autobiography (Yale University Press, 2013). She is a member of Deakin's Contemporary Histories Research Group, and has been appointed by the Australian government as an expert for the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance.

**Shulamit Imber** has been the Pedagogical Director of the International School for Holocaust Studies of Yad Vashem since 1994, and is the Fred Hillman Chair in Memory of Janusz Korczak. She has over thirty years of teaching experience and has developed numerous Holocaust-related teaching units. She has lectured on Holocaust education around the world.

**Tony Joel**, Associate Professor, is Course Director of the Bachelor of Arts at Deakin University, Australia. A former DAAD scholarship holder and member of Deakin's Contemporary Histories Research Group, Tony's publications include *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction* (I.B.Tauris, 2013) and, with David Lowe, *Remembering the Cold War: Global Contest and National Stories* (Routledge, 2013). Tony has won multiple prizes for his teaching, including most recently a National Award for Teaching Excellence in the Australian Awards for University Teaching in 2016.

**Wolf Kaiser** previously worked as a historian and educational director at the House of the Wannsee Conference in Berlin. He is a member of the German delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. He has published books and articles on Holocaust history and education at memorial sites, including most recently a book on German trials against Holocaust perpetrators (together with Hans-Christian Jasch).

**Klas-Göran Karlsson** is Professor of History at Lund University, Sweden. He has written extensively within Russian and Soviet studies, genocide studies, and on uses of history in Europe. Since 2017, he has conducted the research project 'The Historical Lessons of Communism and Nazism – A Genealogical Approach'.

**Tali Nates** is Founder and Director of the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre. Tali lectures internationally and contributes to publications and books, the latest being *God, Faith and Identity from the Ashes: Reflections of Children and Grandchildren of Holocaust Survivors* (Jewish Lights Publishing, 2014). She serves on the Academic Advisory Group of Monash University's School of Social Science.

**Andy Pearce** is Senior Lecturer in Holocaust and History Education at University College London's Centre for Holocaust Education. He is the author of *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain* (Routledge, 2014) and one of the lead authors of *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools* (UCL, 2016). He is co-editing *Holocaust Education in the 21st Century: Challenges and Controversies* (UCL, 2018) with Stuart Foster and Alice Pettigrew, and is co-editor with Tom Lawson of the forthcoming *Palgrave Handbook on Britain and the Holocaust* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

**Carson Phillips**, PhD, is the Managing Director of the Sarah and Chaim Neuberger Holocaust Education Centre, Canada, and adjunct faculty at Gratz College, USA. The recipient of numerous scholarly awards and research fellowships, he also served as a Canadian delegate to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. He is an editorial board member of *Prism: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Holocaust Educators*.

**Martin Schellenberg** is head of the Education Department of the Memorial and Museum of Sachsenhausen and of the memorial's International Guest House Haus



Szypiorsky. He worked as a researcher and educator in such institutions as the Memorial of Bergen-Belsen and the House of the Wannsee Conference. He studied history, philosophy, and theatre studies in Berlin and Jerusalem and has researched concentration camp history and the Israeli perception of the Shoah in film.

**Mathew Turner** is a historian at Deakin University, Australia. A former DAAD scholarship holder and a member of Deakin's Contemporary Histories Research Group, Mat's research interests include Nazi Germany, the Holocaust, and historians as expert witnesses. His book *Historians at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial* is scheduled for publication by I.B.Tauris in 2018.

**Mikołaj Winiewski**, PhD, is Assistant Professor at the Center for Research on Prejudice at the Faculty of Psychology, University of Warsaw. He is also Affiliated Assistant Professor at the Department Psychological and Brain Sciences at the University of Delaware. His key research interests are intergroup relations, collective violence, stereotype content, antisemitism, and research methods.

**Marta Witkowska** is a PhD candidate at the Center for Research on Prejudice at the University of Warsaw. Her primary scientific interests lie in the area of the psychology of intergroup relations and their history-based preconditions. In her research she also investigates methods of prejudice reduction.

## SERIES EDITORS' FOREWORD

Organised thematically, this ambitious new series takes a broad view of what constitutes remembering great historical events and phenomena in the late modern period (i.e. since 1789). Volumes in the series draw on such things as: ceremonies associated with anniversaries and national days; episodes of memorialisation and commemoration including museum exhibitions; filmic representations and popular culture; public discourse and debate as shaped and reflected by speeches of political and civic leaders; and school curricula *et cetera*. *Remembering the Modern World* makes a fresh contribution to memory studies by placing much emphasis on narrative (with substantive introductory chapters addressing the main theoretical and methodological issues), and by drawing on the strengths of complementary disciplines including History, Cultural Heritage, Anthropology, Journalism Studies, Sociology, International Relations, and Law. To complement the text, wherever appropriate volumes are encouraged to make widespread use of maps, timelines, illustrations, and especially photographs taken by contributing authors during field research.

The series offers a comparative glance across the contemporary world in a manner that explores both the reach of globalisation and the insistence of localising forces. As for themes projected for examination throughout the series, these include *inter alia* war and peace, genocide, political and social emancipation, imperialism, decolonisation, terrorism, sporting triumphs, tragedies, and rivalries, heroes and villains, political revolutions and constitutional crises, and feminism.

Each book in the series will start with an overview of the most significant theoretical and methodological approaches historians and other scholars have deployed in relation to the kind of material being explored within the volume. The aim is to sketch the theoretical and methodological landscape, enabling interested readers to follow key references to what has become a well-theorised field. The substantive chapters/sections thereafter might be theoretically suggestive, but primarily

focus on presenting narrative constructed around whatever case studies are being remembered.

*Remembering the Modern World* throws new light on key themes for students, scholars, and general readers of contemporary history. The series aims to: provide greater understanding of relationships between state-centred practices and other forms of shared or common memories; examine the phenomenon of anniversaries and national days in the contexts of global and national identities; explore the 'transition zones' between narrative histories and explorations of history's significance in contemporary societies; and ponder why some phenomena and events are remembered more widely and easily than others. In its ambitious geographical and topical reach, the series suggests connections and invites new research questions that inform further historical inquiry.

*David Lowe*

*Tony Joel*

# PREFACE

On Friday 27 January 2017 the international community commemorated the eleventh International Holocaust Remembrance Day. Established in 2005 by the United Nations (UN), the day is predicated on the notion 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’ (UN 2005). Accordingly, the day exists as: a spur to ‘educational programmes that will inculcate future generations with the lessons of the Holocaust in order to prevent future acts of genocide’; a rebuttal to and rejection of denial and revisionism; and a condemnation of intolerance and discrimination.

The normative framework proffered by Holocaust Remembrance Day feeds off and into dominant trajectories found in international Holocaust politics since the late 1990s. Thus, governments mark the day with customary solemnity: their representatives commonly speak in platitudinous and pious tones, affirm their commitment to combatting social ills at home and foreign ‘evils’ abroad, and rhetorically proclaim ‘Never again’. By all accounts 2017 was no different, with one notable exception: in Washington, DC, the newly installed administration of President Donald Trump marked the occasion by issuing a statement making no explicit reference to the fate of European Jewry.

It was a move which attracted international attention and commentary. At root, controversy resided in how the statement contrasted from established convention by successive presidents, and marked a significant deviation from the international discourse of Holocaust memory politics. What made the affair more acute was its occurrence on the back of a rancorous presidential campaign conducted by Trump, one which courted an electoral base rooted in right-wing politics and seemed to cultivate social, ethnic, and racial division. Having won the election, the administration had done little to shake off accusations of prejudice and discrimination.

Indeed, on the same day the White House released its statement on Holocaust Remembrance Day, Trump also signed an executive order for the ‘extreme vetting’ of any would-be refugees or migrants from the Middle East.

The White House was combative in the face of widespread criticism by institutions like the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), the Anne Frank Centre, and the Anti-Defamation League. The statement was intended, explained spokeswoman Hope Hicks, to take ‘into account all of those who suffered’ and be inclusive towards other victims of Nazism (Tapper 2017). Yet in the months that followed, as the Trump administration pursued ever-more divisive policies, the Remembrance Day statement acquired increasing salience. During Passover that April, Press Secretary Sean Spicer bizarrely declared whilst talking about the Assad regime in Syria that Hitler ‘didn’t even sink to using chemical weapons on his own people’ (Snyder 2017). Later that summer, as neo-Nazis and white supremacists descended on Charlottesville on the false pretext of defending Confederate Civil War memory, Trump not only failed to condemn their violent clashes with anti-fascist protesters but equated the two as one and the same. Such actions did little to remove suspicions about the ideological underpinnings of the Trump presidency. As much as they appeared to establish a pattern of wilful transgression of ‘the norms of American political memory’ (Bond 2017), they also spoke of what Timothy Snyder (2017) calls an inability and refusal to ‘acknowledge the basic politics of the Holocaust’.

Today, the global status of Holocaust consciousness is such that occurrences like these in any Western nation-state would be controversial, but America is not ‘just’ any country. Regardless of how far we subscribe to the idea that domestic ‘Americanisation’ of the Holocaust accounts for the scale of contemporary ‘cosmopolitan’ Holocaust memories (Levy & Sznajder 2006: 183), recent developments in America’s Holocaust culture create questions that resonate far and wide. This is for two reasons.

First, as Peter Novick (2000) has shown, Holocaust culture in America rests upon institutional foundations. This is not limited to a concretisation of memory, but – significantly – extends to the construction of cultural institutions and harnessing of the formal education system. As Novick notes, this means ‘the set-in-stone-ness of Holocaust commemoration is the guarantor of its continuation’ (277). That may be so, but in light of the social, cultural, and political turmoil currently enveloping America one must ask just how efficient, effective, and efficacious this process has been. For the time being the presence of the Holocaust in American life is secure, but the recent rise of the so-called ‘alt right’ and the extent of national sympathy, if not support, for right-wing populism quashes any naïve assumption that ‘collective memory’ of the Holocaust can, in and of itself, immunise a society from intolerance and extremism. But institutionalisation of the Holocaust has, of course, not been exclusive to America. On the contrary, the global turn to the Holocaust in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has seen the creation of new, and the harnessing of existing, sociocultural ‘vectors of memory’ (Wood 1999) to



help secure cultural memory of the Holocaust. This has occurred both at micro and macro levels – finding shape in the ‘memory projects’ (Irwin-Zarecka 1994: 8) undertaken by nation-states, and in the formation of supranational organisations and agencies. In each register, exercises in public remembrance and education have significantly increased. Seen from this perspective, the questions currently being posed to Holocaust culture in Trumpian America have transnational reverberations.

In part, this is because of the second reason: that being the political turbulence currently swirling around numerous corners of the Western world. Talk of a ‘crisis of democratic liberalism’ (Luce 2017), of ‘populist revolt’ (Goodhart 2017), or a ‘battle to save’ Western ideals (Emmott 2017) clearly helps sell books and fill op-ed columns, but such claims acquire traction and portent when set against a resurgence in the politics of the far right in a growing number of countries. For evidence of this one need only look at the spectacular electoral results secured by Marine Le Pen, leader of the Front National, in her ultimately unsuccessful campaign for the French presidency; note the acquisition in the German election of 2017 of ninety-two seats in the Bundestag by the Alternative für Deutschland; observe the growing confidence of right-wing parties across Europe, from Scandinavia to Greece, the Netherlands to Hungary; or look at the centre-right Austrian People’s Party entrance into formal coalition with the far-right Austrian Freedom Party following each party’s electoral success in the Austrian general election of October 2017.

That these green shoots of extremism have appeared in lands formerly part of the geographies of the Holocaust makes for a chilling reality – one only more ominous given the ‘semi-comatose’ state (Stone 2014: 232) of the postwar antifascist consensus. Equally disturbing is how the majority of these countries also now boast established institutions of Holocaust memory – be they monuments, memorials, teaching programmes, or all of the above – and also subscribe to the coda and conventions of international Holocaust politics, as promoted and sustained by organisations like the UN, Unesco, the European Parliament, and the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).

We arrive therefore at a peculiar, paradoxical, and altogether perturbing reality – one that sits behind and is visible through this volume. As a ‘present past’ (Terdiman 1993), the Holocaust has greater global presence in contemporary society than ever before; at the same time, the politics, mentalities, and behaviours which helped bring about continental genocide now have at least as much (if not more) currency in Europe and North America than at any other point during the last seventy years. Whilst we may have no cause to anticipate an imminent descent into persecution and murder in mainland Europe or North America, as storm clouds gather and coalesce we cannot afford complacency. Fundamentally, we should not presume our Holocaust cultures can or will inoculate us and our progeny from committing future atrocities.

The origins of this book lie in long-standing research interests and professional experience. As a contemporary historian, the ways the past is made present and the uses it is put to, are matters of much importance. In the case of my particular area of

expertise – Britain and the Holocaust – my academic career has tracked major shifts in the status of Holocaust history and memory. Influential in this development has been education, which has emerged as one of the principal conduits for Holocaust consciousness. As a scholar, I am therefore intrigued as to whether this process has similarities and/or differences in other countries.

Through my professional context, working in teacher education, I come at Holocaust memory and education with a slightly different perspective. Having taught in schools myself I have some degree of insight (albeit increasingly dated) into the distances between the academy, the classroom, and wider society, and the very real challenges involved in teaching and learning. At the same time, having worked in ‘Holocaust education’ for nearly a decade, I am struck by how little thought and attention has been given by the field to the complex and complicated ways memory relates to education and vice versa.

There are, of course, exceptions – as the contributors to this volume, many of whom are renowned figures and pedagogues, demonstrate. Still, as a general rule, I would argue there is much more thinking to be done and discussion to be had by all and any who are engaged in or interested by teaching, learning, and remembering about the Holocaust. This applies not just to those in schools, but colleges and universities too; it holds not merely for formal education, but informal education as well. And, as events unfolding around us have come to demonstrate, there is an urgency to this endeavour. With right-wing populism on the rise, and the seeds of intolerance and extremism ever more diffuse, all those concerned with the future of the Holocaust need to contemplate difficult and pressing questions.

It is against that dark and portending backcloth that *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings* has been conceived. Its purpose is to throw shards of light onto dimensions of our contemporary Holocaust cultures and, in the process, illuminate some issues requiring urgent attention. It does so by taking as a point of focus the multidimensional relationship between Holocaust memory and education. As motioned to above, the importance of this nexus has grown exponentially in recent years, in line with a sharp upturn both in the number of projects predicated on these endeavours and their heightened social, cultural, and political capital. Yet the significance of teaching, learning, and remembering the Holocaust should not mean these processes are beyond analysis, interpretation, and debate. If in some small way this volume contributes to catalyse these endeavours, then it will have achieved its principal aim.

## References

- Bond, L. (2017) ‘How Charlottesville has exposed competing narratives in America’s cultural memory’. *The Conversation*, 17 August. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/how-charlottesville-has-exposed-competing-narratives-in-americas-cultural-memory-82621> [last accessed 8 November 2017].
- Emmott, B. (2017) *The Fate of the West: The Battle to Save the World’s Most Successful Political Idea*. London: Profile Books.

- Goodhart, D. (2017) *The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics*. London: C. Hurst & Co.
- Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1994) *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Levy, D. & Sznajder, N. (2006) *The Holocaust and Memory in a Global Age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Luce, E. (2017) *The Retreat of Western Liberalism*. London: Little, Brown.
- Novick, P. (2000) *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Snyder, T. (2017) 'The White House forgets the Holocaust (again)', *The Guardian*, 12 April.
- Stone, D. (2014) *Goodbye to All That? The Story of Europe since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tapper, J. (2017) 'WH: No mention of Jews on Holocaust Remembrance Day because others were killed too'. *CNN Politics*, 3 February. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/28/politics/white-house-holocaust-memorial-day/index.html> [last accessed 8 November 2017].
- Terdiman, R. (1993) *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- United Nations (2005) 'Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the Holocaust Remembrance (A/RES/60/7). 1 November'. Available at: [www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/res607.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/res607.shtml) [last accessed 8 November 2017].
- Wood, N. (1999) *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*. Oxford: Berg.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As befits any edited volume, this book is a product of collaboration, collegiality, and cooperation.

In the first instance, I am extremely grateful to the series editors, David Lowe and Tony Joel, for their unstinting support of this project. Together with Eve Setch at Routledge, they have offered encouragement, guidance, and counsel in equal measure. They have also shown considerable understanding during the latter stages of this project when personal circumstances disrupted the completion of the manuscript. I am also sincerely grateful for the careful copy-editing of Christopher Feeney.

For producing essays of rigour, full of insight, from which I have learned a great deal, I am grateful to colleagues who have contributed to this volume. It has been a very long and protracted journey, and I have appreciated their continued patience and enthusiasm.

Over the course of the project various friends and colleagues have provided advice, insight, sustenance, an ear to lend, or all of the above. In particular, my thanks to Kay Andrews, Stuart Foster, Darius Jackson, Becky Jinks, Tom Lawson, Ruth-Anne Lenga, and Nicola Wetherall. For agreeing to read drafts of my own chapters and providing invaluable feedback, I am especially grateful to Becky Hale, Darius Jackson, and Tony Joel. For funding my time to complete this project, my thanks to Pears Foundation.

Ultimately, this book would not have been completed without the love, warmth and supportive understanding of family. My thanks to my father, Bob, and all of the Webb clan. For humouring, entertaining, making me smile, and generally putting up with me on a daily basis, I owe most to my dearest Anna and our precious children, Sören and Eadie.

# INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION, REMEMBRANCE, AND THE HOLOCAUST

## Towards pedagogic memory-work

*Andy Pearce*

During an interview a quarter of a century ago, in the early 1990s, the Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel was asked whether he believed anything had changed in the aftermath of the genocide. His answer was mixed. ‘Yes and no’ – ‘things have changed, but not enough,’ said Wiesel. ‘How can one change things?’ asked the interviewer, ‘By education? By remembrance?’ With characteristic, almost off-the-cuff lyricism, Wiesel offered his reply. ‘The two are the same. Education occurs through remembrance, and remembrance through education. Education implies remembrance’ (Schuster & Boschert-Kimmig 1999: 80–81).

Wiesel’s assertion that Holocaust remembrance and Holocaust education are fundamentally reciprocal and mutually reinforcing has, over the past twenty-five years, become canonical. Nationally and internationally, the idea that remembrance and education are natural bedfellows and organically interdependent now legitimates government programmes, community initiatives, and transnational projects. Seen in retrospect, through the melange of activity today, Wiesel’s remarks were aphoristic. But beyond the alluring simplicity, Wiesel’s formulation raises a host of questions.

Some of these relate to content and to form: for instance, what do ‘education’ and ‘remembrance’ actually look like? What do they include/exclude, who chooses, against what criteria? How are they conducted? Other questions relate to the veracity of the claim and its mechanics: *does* education occur through remembrance, and remembrance through education? How does this happen? Against what can this be gauged or measured? And then there are matters of philosophy, ethics, and pedagogy: how are ‘education’ and ‘remembrance’ conceived? Who or what determines this? What are the implications for practice? Finally, underscoring all of these queries is the fundamental issue of rationale: do we necessarily *want* education to ‘remember’, and remembrance to ‘educate’? To what, and to whose, interests does this proposition work towards?



Any one of this cluster of questions could feasibly serve as a focus for an entire book or research project. As a critical mass, they highlight how the entwinement of education and memory in our Holocaust cultures requires reflection, analysis, and interrogation. To date, this has not occurred in any sustained sense. Indeed, within existing secondary literature, there is a general lack of theorisation of how Holocaust education and memory relate to one another, and an underwhelming amount of analysis of projects which actively combine the two. The catalogue of books on the Holocaust and Holocaust memory is notoriously colossal, while publications related to Holocaust education – though nowhere near as abundant – have increased in recent times. Even so, studies of Holocaust memory tend to have little, if anything, to say about the role of education in memory-work, just as scholarship on Holocaust education invariably leaves to one side interrogation of how teaching and learning can or should work towards remembrance.

There are two possible explanations for this state of affairs. First, despite education being recognised some years ago as one of ‘the core disciplines for a new field of memory studies’ (Roediger & Wertsch 2008: 14), this has not translated into a significant body of scholarship that examines education and memory’s relationship. One need only look at the relative marginalisation of education from summary works and general readers in memory studies for evidence of this. In the absence of integrated investigation, interdisciplinary analysis, and rigorous reflection on the intricacies of education and memory, a lacuna has subsequently emerged where sophisticated research ought to be. The failure to properly incorporate education as a field of study into memory studies has not been inconsequential. Instead, it has meant reductive views held in wider society about how education and memory relate to one another have gone unchecked and unchallenged.

The second possible explanation is that of a reticence – a reluctance, even an aversion – to question what has become orthodoxy. As we all know and recognise, whatever else ‘the Holocaust’ has become, it is now arguably more morally, ethically, and politically electrified than it has ever been. To some extent this is understandable, and in certain circumstances it is a positive quality. In this context, however, it is quite possible for the differences between critique and criticism to be lost or ignored, for inquiry to be misconstrued as inquisition, or for healthy scepticism to be read as naysaying. In short, to ask whether we should be using Holocaust education to remember or Holocaust remembrance to educate, and to call for investigation of these processes is to go against dominant discourse and practices.

And yet, question we must; not for the purpose of being difficult or cantankerous, to satisfy intellectual curiosity or fulfil publishing requirements, but because teaching, learning, and remembering the Holocaust in the early twenty-first century is too important to be left to assumption, supposition, and axioms. This, then, is the spirit which infuses *Remembering the Holocaust in Educational Settings* and informs the chapters contained within it. Its aims – broadly stated – are to interrogate the education–remembrance binary by historicising its evolution, examining its manifestation in different contexts, and reflecting on what is revealed about how and why we teach, learn, and remember the Holocaust in our present age.

To help realise these objectives, this Introduction works in the first instance to orientate the reader by outlining key concepts in the book, and further detailing its themes. Following Wiesel, at the heart of this book are two principal concepts: education and memory. Around these, however, are a number of other related terms such as teaching, learning, remembrance, and remembering. As most readers of this book will no doubt be aware, each and all of these terms resists any universally agreed definition and, to some extent, therein lies the problem: in the absence of consensual, shared understandings, exercises that look to fuse education and memory are open to contestation and subjective interpretation. In some ways, that is all to the good – if, that is, open-endedness is transparent and embraced. As it is, because many education–memory projects are state-sponsored and/or steeped in ritual, this is frequently not the case.

Having offered some summative remarks on our core concepts, the Introduction moves to further reflect on Wiesel's formulation of the reciprocity and intersection between education and remembrance. From here I forward some tentative suggestions for further consideration by the reader. Finally, we end by way of a brief road-map outlining the book's directions of travel.

## Education, teaching, and learning

Discussions about education span millennia. None would dispute its primacy to the human condition, but beyond this consensus lies a cornucopia of issues and debates. Many of these resist resolution precisely because they 'have always been and will remain philosophical' (Fairfield 2009: 14). This, of course, does not mean educational questions are the sole purview of scholars; on the contrary, education has immense real-world significance, with the capacity to liberate or oppress.

Conceptualising what education 'is' forces us to confront the reality it 'is not very close to the ground' (Peters 2010: 23). As R. S. Peters explains, "education", in other words, refers to no particular process; rather it encapsulates criteria to which any one of a family of processes must conform'. If educational processes are such because they are, in some way or another, educative, the question of what educative means nevertheless remains unanswered. What complicates matters is that the 'family of processes' do not exist in the abstract or in splendid isolation, but instead are housed and enacted within societal frameworks, structures, and systems. Even where these do not enforce conformity they still exert influence, determine ranges of action, and impact how any conceptualisation of education plays out in reality.

Deliberating what education is may not be the focus of this volume, but it is never too far from the minds of all contributors. For the purposes of this Introduction, it is worth considering Phillip W. Jackson's position. In his treatise *What is Education?* (2012) Jackson develops a definition of education from an initial nine-word formulation into something more comprehensive. In so doing, Jackson identifies what he regards as the two 'most immutable components' of education: that it is

‘a socially facilitated process’; and ‘that process is basically one of cultural transmission’. Expanding further, he explains:

What those two components imply is, first, that education calls for social cooperation. It is not something that happens naturally or automatically. It entails enacting a social obligation that each generation owes to the next. Second, it involves transmitting something that is considered valuable by those in charge of the operation. That transmission takes time. It does not happen overnight. It requires work and effort from everyone involved. Those two components of education’s essence may sound too obvious to mention, but from them flow a host of unexpected consequences.

*(Jackson 2012: 94)*

Jackson’s insights – as he himself acknowledges – are not beyond critique, but they are particularly useful on three counts.

First, they underline how education is a sociocultural enterprise entwined with and inextricable from multiple contexts. Of these, temporality holds considerable significance, for the passage of time and human mortality provide education with urgency and added immediacy. Second, Jackson’s remarks underscore that education is not an exercise in and of itself, for its own ends; it does not simply exist, but rather is brought into being by humans, for whom it has cultural value and, therefore, purpose. Importantly, Jackson indicates this value judgement is also bound up with power and power relations. Finally, Jackson’s emphasis on education as an ‘operation’ that ‘takes time’ and ‘requires work and effort from everyone involved’ reminds us that educational processes involve various agents, all of whom are active and have agency. This is a salutary reminder, given conceptions of education as a conduit for cultural heritage tend to either erroneously view transmission as a ‘simple procedure’ (Kimball 1974: 99) or naïvely place excessive weight on culture ‘as a determinant of thought and behaviour, shaping the thinking of all of us’ (Stenhouse 1967: 9).

Each of these insights shows the complexity of education as a concept, term, and field of enquiry. Moreover, they also demonstrate how thinking about education conceptually cannot be divorced from thinking about education as praxis and practice. To do this, we must take account of teaching and learning for they are ‘at the heart of the educational enterprise’ (Winch & Gingell 2005: 35). The terms teaching and learning appear self-explanatory; their meaning clear, unambiguous, self-evident. However, closer inspection reveals this is not altogether true.

‘Teaching’, wrote the late Donald McIntyre (2002: 124), ‘is a relatively easy concept to define: teaching is acting so as deliberately and directly to facilitate learning’. Though conceding this was a ‘crude’ definition, McIntyre insisted it offered a ‘central truth’: namely, ‘nothing can be taken for granted about the importance of any kind of teaching, except its purpose of facilitating learning’. Others have spoken in similar tones. T. W. Moore (1982: 67) was adamant ‘teaching is an intentional matter. To teach is to intend that someone should learn something’,

whilst Paul Hirst (2010) stands by the ‘simple and banal’ formulation ‘the intention of all teaching activities is that of bringing about learning’ (81). For Hirst, this embodies how ‘the concept of teaching is in fact totally unintelligible without a grasp of the concept of learning’, to the extent that ‘the characterisation and *raison d’être* of teaching rests on that of learning’.

There is ostensibly nothing objectionable in these views. Indeed, on account of how they highlight the interrelationship between teaching and learning, all of these positions have validity and value. That said, individually and collectively they do pose further queries. For example, if learning occurs which was not deliberate, direct, or intended, does this necessarily mean ‘teaching’ has not taken place? Conversely, if learning does not occur, how far is this to be read as a failure in teaching? The prospect that ‘teaching does *not* imply learning’ (Noddings 2011: 49), and the reality that learning does not exclusively depend upon teaching, demand we approach any attempt to fold the two into one another with due caution.

Further considerations come from Christopher Winch and John Gingell (2005: 35–36). Though Winch and Gingell agree teaching is mainly purposive, they note how ‘a vast range of behaviours ... might count as part of teaching’ or could alternatively ‘hinder’ the process. In addition, they also place store on the idea ‘teaching involves a triadic relationship between a teacher, something that is taught and someone who is taught’. The introduction of this third component is notable, for it questions what this ‘something’ is, why it has been chosen, and what learning about it is intended to do. Since these are subjective and contextually dependent queries, there is substance to Jackson’s argument that ‘there is no unequivocal definition of teaching that holds for all times and all places’ (Jackson 2012: 344).

In sum, what can we say about teaching? It may be debated whether it is a science, or an art, or a craft, but teaching is undeniably a social process (Leach & Moon 2008: 5) which is culturally situated and inexorably related to learning. Because of this latter symbiosis, the likes of Hirst (2010: 81) are right to suggest we cannot fully comprehend what teaching is without considering learning at the same time. Simultaneity here is key, for how one approaches the double helix of teaching and learning can and does impact on the sorts of questions we ask and conclusions we draw. Put differently, to approach the processes of teaching and learning in a linear fashion can easily misconstrue the complex and intricate nature of this interconnection. Alex Moore (2012: xiv) gestures to this truth when he argues we ‘need to have a clear idea what we think learning is *for*; that is to say, why we are teaching what we are, how we are, and what we hope to achieve thorough our endeavours’.

Moore’s assertion raises the issue of rationale and how this is devised in the context of understandings of teaching and learning. But just as we have seen teaching to be a deceptively multifarious term, so the same holds for learning. Bob Moon (2002: 3) captures this adroitly when he observes how ‘creating the conditions for learning, observing learning, and assessing learning is the key task of teachers. Yet learning is a misty territory.’ This is more than just the result of our still incomplete

know-how of the brain's physiology and the workings of the mind. It also reflects the complexity of the learning process.

For simplicity, we might say learning entails 'the acquisition of particular information or the development of some type of skill by an individual, although the term may also be used in relation to the acquisition or change of beliefs, attitudes, or other concepts' (Voss & Wiley 2000: 35). Nel Noddings (2011) has shown, however, that once 'the intentionality criterion' is introduced to this equation, the neatness of the formulation begins to unravel. If what is to be acquired or developed has been 'predetermined' by the teacher, then learning is no more than an exercise in achieving correctness; the learner either has or has not 'learnt'. By contrast, if the aims are more open-ended, then learning becomes 'developmental', aimed at leading to or demonstrating 'structural changes in thinking' (50–51).

The *object* of learning therefore impacts the form, type, and process of learning that is intended, just as the *subject* of learning also effects the shape learning takes. This necessarily means different processes and activities are required depending on whether the learning being pursued is procedural – which is concerned with 'knowing *how*' – or declarative – concerned with 'knowing *that*' (Baddeley 1988: 83). In this way, the statement 'learning is the acquisition of knowledge' (Terry 2016: 5) comes with clarity, but also confusion: it says nothing about what knowledge is to be acquired, its fundamental nature, or what 'knowing' is held to look like. Nor does it explain how knowledge relates to 'understanding and insight', or how the learner is to 'translate those insights into meaningful courses of action' (Pring 1989: 98).

In just these few moves it is abundantly clear learning is not as simple or as straightforward as many would presume. Evidently this has ramifications for understandings of teaching, and the nexus between teaching and learning. It should be obvious from our very cursory remarks, then, that we are dealing with highly complex phenomena, to which – of course – whole careers, let alone books, have been dedicated.

## Memory, remembering, remembrance

From the outset it is worth restating with Barbara Misztal (2003) that 'memory is social' (11), and note with Barry Schwarz (2015) that 'its major function, [is] to bring us into more direct contact with the past' (9). That as a species we should want, need, and even depend upon a more intimate relationship with what has gone before is attributable to what memory makes possible; of which more will be said later. Just what these projected possibilities are is a matter inseparable from the subject of memory – that is the 'who' is engaging in memory, or what Paul Ricoeur (2004) calls 'the egological question' (3). Nonetheless, regardless of whether memory is approached on the plain of the personal or the collective, it remains always and forever 'socially constructed and socially reproduced' (Leccardi 2015: 111).

Our focus in this volume is on the collective, though not without an acute awareness of the need to consider matters relating to reception at the individual level.

Indeed, the exploration of ‘the transmission, diffusion, and, ultimately, the meaning’ of memory (Confino 1997: 1395) is very much of interest for all contributors, with some (Bernard-Donals; Joel et al.; Carrier; Winiewski et al.; Foster) providing invaluable empirical insights. In each of these cases and others (Karlsson; Donnelly; Schellenberg; Fallace), the importance of the social dimensions of memory is shown to reside in the influence culture wields upon the ‘horizons of memory’ (Assmann 2016: 11) that are operative within and can be constructed through educational encounters.

The culturally situated nature of memory is therefore of crucial significance; as is a recognition of memory as at once an expression of and a tributary to its cultural milieu. This synergy matters for multiple reasons, not least because it underlines how ‘collective or cultural memory is not a simple, monolithic thing’ but rather ‘is negotiated, constructed, and contested’ (Stone 2006: 185). The means and terms by which this negotiation, construction, and contestation takes place – something which this volume is especially concerned with – requires an appreciation that memory, in Ann Rigney’s pithy phrase, is ‘not a “thing”’ (2015: 68); rather, as she puts it, ‘memory is best seen as a practice of remembrance’ – ‘never pre-given but the always emerging outcome of acts of remembrance’, which renders remembering ‘an observable cultural practice’.

Rigney’s remarks echo with others. Astrid Erll suggests “‘memory” (to give a preliminary definition) is an umbrella term for all those processes of a biological, medial, or social nature which relate past and present (and future) in sociocultural contexts’ (2011: 7). If this helps us gain a sense of the general scope of memory, Rigney’s and Erll’s pointers to the processual also force us to think more specifically about the means by which memory materialises. Useful here is Ricoeur, who explains ‘the verb “to remember” stands in for the substantive “memory.” What the verb designates is the fact that memory is “exercised”’ (2004: 56). As a concept and a term, then, memory cannot be separated from remembering and remembrance, for it is – in Michael Lambek’s (2006) formation – ‘at once representation and practice, making and doing... poiesis and phronesis’ (213).

A raft of questions naturally flows from this. Amongst them is whether remembering and remembrance ineludibly mean the same thing in any given context. To take each in turn, Erll (2011: 8) suggests ‘across the disciplines there is a general agreement that “remembering” is a process of which “memories” are the result’. Recalling the sociocultural dimensions of memory means we can view remembering as an active modality that requires agents; or, as James V. Wertsch (2002: 13) puts it:

Remembering is a form of mediated action, which entails the involvement of active agents and cultural tools. It is not something done by an isolated agent, but it is also not something that is somehow carried out solely by a cultural tool. Both must be involved in an irreducible tension. This has several implications, perhaps the most important being that because cultural tools reflect particular sociocultural settings, mediated remembering is also inherently situated in a sociocultural context.

Wertsch's notion of 'mediated action', developed as it is out of L. S. Vygotsky's insights into 'mediated memory' (1978: 38–51), opens up our thinking about the processes involved in remembering. It demands we identify not just the person(s) participating in an act of remembering, but how this is being carried out, on what terms, with which resources, and for what purpose(s). In this way we are taken towards thinking about the means and intent of remembering and – by extension – to appreciating how it 'help[s] to create new narratives and displace or marginalize others', and works to 'continuously change the grounds on which common futures are imagined' by 'opening up fresh perspectives on the past' (De Cesari & Rigney 2014: 10). In the process, it becomes possible to acquire a better sense of memory's relationship with temporality – a relationship sharply contrasting with historical time (Miszta 2003: 108), and one inseparable from how 'collective memories' function within social groups (Leccardi 2015: 110).

What, then, of remembrance? In one register of course the term operates as no more than a noun for remembering, but this is not always the case, especially in the context of the public sphere of the modern nation-state. Noting 'remembrance emerges at the crossroads of experience and expectation', Bo Stråth (2008) observes how 'public remembrance is both a matter of practice and a matter of politics and substance' as it seeks to provide 'new experiences' with a necessary 'new interpretation of the past'. Moreover, says Stråth, these 'practices of remembrance manifest themselves in [various] public acts ... in which group specific experiences, interpretations, and expectations are negotiated' (629). It is useful here to recall Marita Sturken's assertion (2002: 357) that 'the forms remembrance takes indicate the status of memory within a given culture'. This astute remark prods us to determine the extent to which certain public activities are, or are not, framed as works of, in, and for memory.

Performative acts of ritual like memorial days or commemorations, or concretisations of memory like monuments or memorials, are unambiguous in their concern for, and preoccupation with, remembrance. Meanwhile, the history of the nation-state shows cultural institutions like museums or galleries, or social structures like education systems, all have the capacity to make potentially telling contributions to public remembrance but may do so in far less explicit ways or, in some instances, even seek to disavow this purpose. These multiple and multifarious 'forms' of remembrance are therefore best understood as cultural tools which can contrast with and complement one another in the process of mediated remembering.

The above remarks are very broad brush, and have brought us – unavoidably – into contact with a slew of other critical concepts, including mediation, commemoration, and memorialisation. If space does not allow us to discuss these in detail here, it suffices to say that – as with memory, remembering, and remembrance – these terms are more complicated and variant than is often presumed.

## **Education through remembrance (or, remembering to educate)**

With a working conceptual framework in place, let us return to the claims made by Wiesel which opened this chapter. I am not concerned at this stage with the

validity or otherwise of Wiesel's assertions, so much as thinking more prosaically about what such a formulation entails.

If we begin with the notion of 'education occurs through remembrance' we can say the object in this arrangement is not memory, but 'education'. This may be to state the obvious, but within this configuration it is not immediately clear what is understood to constitute 'education'. An intimation lies in the status accorded to memory and the power duly invested in it. Significantly, in this arrangement memory is 'propositional', undergirded by an 'epistemic theory of memory' whereby 'to remember something is to know it' (Bernecker 2007: 137). This truth claim becomes self-serving and self-perpetuating, for it provides justification for remembrance which seemingly needs no real elucidation.

To see how this plays out in practice, we can look at the remarks of Ambassador Mihnea Constantinescu, the Romanian former Chair of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), on Holocaust Remembrance Day 2017. Addressing the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Central Europe's (OSCE) Permanent Council, Constantinescu (2017) argued:

It need not be explained that remembrance can accomplish many things. It educates the young. It allows us to draw lessons for the future. It aids our efforts to prevent such tragedies occurring again.

(Constantinescu 2017)

Though the context of Mihnea's words cannot be ignored, they equally articulate norms which circulate widely in international Holocaust politics. Quite beyond merely preventing erasure, remembering is invested by Mihnea with transformative capabilities. Rachel Baum (1996) explains how this articulates a conviction that 'memory supposedly changes us, makes us more vigilant against future abuses, for people who remember are more likely to fight against injustice'. Subsequently, Baum suggests, remembering becomes politically and emotively invested, for 'according to this logic, the person who remembers is fundamentally different, *ethically different*, from the person who forgets' (47, emphasis in original). Thus, we see with Baum that the proposition of education occurring through remembrance necessarily casts the process of remembering as avowedly didactical: in effect, we are remembering to educate, and doing so on account of an appeal to moral and ethical imperatives.

This has various issues. For instance, it paints memory as 'a tool of truth', with the inference there is 'a direct correspondence between the experience and how it is remembered' (Hodgkin & Radstone 2003: 2). Remembrance, as we know, is not merely representational, but also 'necessarily involves selective, partial or otherwise biased forms of forgetting' (Assmann & Shortt 2012: 5). Additionally, there is the propensity of remembering to domesticate the past by stabilising it, simplifying it, and interjecting it with 'contemporary significance' in the interests of accessibility (Judt 2008: 5; Terdiman 1993: 8). Finally, there is the question of *what* memory or memories. Following Avishai Margalit, as much as we may now speak of a transnational 'common memory' of the Holocaust, this does not translate into a



‘shared memory’ which ‘integrates and calibrates the different perspectives of those who remember’ (Margalit 2002: 51; also van der Knaap 2006: 165). Therefore, using memory to educate has the unavoidable consequence of creating distorted, parochial understandings of the past.

Remembering the Holocaust in order to educate people about it duly rests on somewhat questionable understandings of what memory is and what remembering entails. But it also demands a distinct conception of teaching and learning. Since memory is held to be instructive and its meaning pre-determined, out of necessity education becomes a process of transmission stripped clean of any interaction or agency on the part of the learner. To be clear, this is not to say that ‘learning’ doesn’t take place – it can and it does, but the *type* of learning that occurs is not what would be called developmental.

Illustrative of this is the adherence of many education-remembrance projects to ‘Holocaust lessons’. The history of this phenomenon has most recently been charted by Michael Marrus (2016) and has become a frequent point of discussion in secondary literature (e.g. Bartov 1996; Gregory 2000; Holroyd 1995; Langer 1995; Novick 2000; Pearce 2014; Roth 2001; Short & Read 2004). The battle lines of this debate do not need rehearsal; instead, we can limit ourselves to saying the premise of Holocaust lessons – that they are absorbed and assented to – sees learning reduced to a pre-determined state, thus limiting the need or opportunity for individual thought and meaning-making. Education, in such a setting, becomes one-dimensional, and little more than an exercise in behavioural instruction.

## Remembrance through education (or, educating to remember)

Turning to the idea of remembrance occurring through education, it is noteworthy how much Holocaust education taking place around the world is predicated – at least in part – as being the best defence against a natural oblivion of memory. Consider for example these claims of the Director-General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova (2014: 5), who has stated:

Holocaust education is a responsibility – to face the reality of crimes perpetrated, to commemorate the victims and to sustain a meaningful dialogue between history and memory. Many people risked everything to leave a trace of what happened to themselves, their families and their communities, so that their story would not be forgotten. We have an obligation to the victims and their legacy, as well as to the survivors who speak for them, to ensure that their stories are heard and will be studied for generations to come.

So framed, Holocaust education is not about education per se, but remembrance: we are educating to remember, with the aim in the first and the last to ensure the pledge to ‘Never Forget’ is perpetually fulfilled. As an objective, it has immense ethical and emotional force. In part, this comes from the cultural belief, long-standing in Western societies, ‘that learning is a matter of building up skills or

knowledge ... and that forgetting is a matter of losing some of what was built up'. Accordingly, it is understood that 'learning is a good thing and forgetting is a bad thing' (Bjork 2011: 1).

This notion is given added poignancy by the murder and horror at the heart of the Holocaust and the passing of survivors. With those realities in mind, the commitment to 'Never Forget' expresses what David Rieff (2016: 83) describes as the resolve

To keep faith with two moral imperatives: honouring and remembering those who died and, by reminding as many people as possible of the murder of European Jewry, helping individuals and societies alike become more resistant to such evils, and perhaps even to prevent them from recurring in the present or the future.

The pursuit of memory as an educational aim is neither straightforward nor value-free. Indeed, the reverse is true, if – as is the case with Bokova – commemoration is an expressed objective. Commemoration as ritual practice works to 'sanctify' the past (Schwarz 2015: 12), has 'a consumerist dimension' (West 2017: 9), and reproduces a morally saturated 'commemorative narrative' (Zerubavel 2011: 237). In turn, the co-opting of teaching and learning for commemorative purposes expresses a particular conception of what education is; one where the development of independent thought or encouragement of critical inquiry is impossible.

A similar degree of unease comes with the prospect of educational endeavours satisfying an obligation to victims and survivors. Ultimately, any assertion that learning about the Holocaust is or should be obligatory remains at root a matter of conjecture. That is not to decry or dismiss the motives and sentiments underpinning this claim, so much as highlight its inherent subjectivity. Furthermore, Margalit (2002: 7) shows how multiple questions flow from such declarations; we are forced to consider for instance 'the nature of this obligation', who is obliged, why, and to what ends.

Enzo Traverso (2016) has written of how 'today, the "duty of memory" has become a rhetorical discourse, rather conformist, and used as a ritual formula' (119). Applied to the educational context, this carries clear consequences for teaching and learning. How far the Holocaust has brought about changes in the 'duties of memory in the contemporary world' (Baer & Sznajder 2017: 134) is undoubtedly worthy of consideration – especially by younger generations. But how far people can reflect on the broader societal implications of the unconcealed dictum contained in the ethics of 'Never again' is a moot point if learning is understood as commemorative and obligatory.

## **Towards pedagogic memory-work**

It would seem at this juncture as though we have arrived at something of an impasse. In itself, the suggestion education occurs through remembrance and remembrance through education is not altogether incorrect. In each calibration we have seen the

principle holds. However, we have also observed that in both configurations the processes involved are far more complex and multifaceted than they are made to appear in Wiesel's aphorism. If the minimalism of the equation is misleading, then the outcomes and consequences of each framing are potentially problematic. And, of course, the question remains whether it is actually efficacious for education to work towards remembrance and vice versa.

In light of these complications, it is worth considering an alternative approach to understanding the nexus between education and remembrance. As I have motioned already, it appears that a root cause of many of the issues we have encountered is a common failure to fully understand the contribution educational activities can make to remembering and remembrance. Not only is there a lack of clarity around what education is or might be, there is also an inadequate grasp of the nuts and bolts of teaching and learning, and how these could be positively harnessed for what has been termed 'productive remembering' (Huysen 2003: 27; Mitchell et al. 2011: 2). Furthermore, even within the field of Holocaust education, there is often scant attention given over to pedagogy; pedagogy, that is, understood with Robin Alexander (2008) as 'the performance of teaching together with the theories, beliefs, policies and controversies that inform and shape it' (3). Given our earlier remarks on the relation of teaching and learning, this necessitates we adopt a more holistic conception of pedagogy; one predicated on 'critical' grounds, where pedagogy functions as 'a cultural politics and a form of social-memory' (Giroux 1997: 124–125).

What I mean to suggest, then, is the need for something of a cultural turn – one which recognises Holocaust education as a culturally situated endeavour, and positions the education–remembrance relationship securely within a pedagogical frame. Such a casting would see a greater 'understanding of learning processes and the factors which affect them' (Ireson et al. 2010: 210), a better appreciation of the influence of popular and mainstream culture (Giroux & Simon 2005: 159), and – crucially – allow 'the learner to develop the skills and the knowledge to deliberate (as part of a collaborative critical dialogue) their critical awareness and choices' (Waring & Evans 2015: xi).

To begin moving in these directions requires an understanding of education as empowerment (Pring 1989: 98), with premium placed on 'good thinking' (Lipman 2003: 2) and the development of 'the ability to exercise judgement and to engage in intelligent discussion about ideas and worldly events' (Fairfield 2009: 5). From here it becomes possible for engagements in memory, remembering, and remembrance to become exercises in learning the forms and functions of cultural memory; particularly if these processes are understood as memory-work in the vein of Annette Kuhn (2002) – that being the 'active practice of remembering which takes an inquiring attitude towards the past and the activity of its (re)construction through memory' (157).

Educating for pedagogic memory-work requires more than just a learnt toolbox of skills or mental dispositions. These are essential, but superfluous without knowledge. To make this statement is not to ignore the complexities and multifaceted

nature of historical knowledge, or efface how the Holocaust has impacted its terms and conditions (Weissman 2004: 92). Rather, it is to follow Jörn Rüsen's argument that:

The cognitive procedures of historical knowledge are well able to develop a basic critical view regarding the central meanings of the past inscribed in remembrance and collective memory. Memory's prae-historical constitutive attribution of meaning to the past has to prove itself, as it were, on the testing ground of the operations of historical consciousness, where it is often significantly emended as a result of memory's workings and those operations.

(2005: 173)

It would be wrong to presume this represents a privileging of history over memory of the kind seen in earlier generations of memory studies scholarship. As Misztal (2003: 107) among others has shown, 'the interdependence between history and memory has been enhanced by the cultural turn', and only underlined the need to 'avoid a rigid bifurcation between the two' (Winter 2010: 12). Subsequently, to quote Timothy Snyder (2002), 'we must distinguish history from memory, while establishing the nature of their mutual independence. Neither can be studied apart from the other, and yet without separate conceptions the study of neither can proceed' (39).

Historical knowledge, in one sense, is a prerequisite for pedagogic memory-work, for it provides a barometer against which the frailties and fragilities of memory can be identified. At the same time, since historical knowledge is itself complex, selective, and at times incomplete, pedagogic memory-work carries the capacity to augment and enrich what is 'known' and 'understood' about the past. Put differently, for pedagogic memory-work to function, history and memory are required in equal measure. This demands an acceptance of memory's distinctiveness, and recognition that as 'a special kind of knowledge about the past' (Misztal 2003: 107–108) memory is fundamentally different from disciplinary history. In making this acknowledgement the subjective dimensions and dynamics of memory become a virtue, enabling it to serve as 'a useful corrective to history's claims to objectivity' (Hodgkin & Radstone 2003: 9). Finally, if it is made transparent that 'memory involves the impact of the events of the past and their meaning *in the present*' (Stier 2003: 2, emphasis in original), then a pedagogic focus on remembering could potentially be educative as a means of enhancing critical consciousness of contemporary culture and society.

## Structure and overview

I will leave it to others to assess the strengths and limitations of these formative suggestions, but in light of the challenges I outlined in the Preface to this volume, it seems our prevailing orthodoxies and established approaches must – at the very least – be subject to review. To do so requires two elements: input from a

variety of different disciplinary and professional perspectives, and a more nuanced understanding of how Holocaust education and Holocaust memory already interface together with accompanying issues.

The contributors to this book are a cadre of experts, drawn from a range of backgrounds. They include: academics and researchers; museum workers and educators; and directors of major institutions alongside senior staff at historical sites. All contributors have extensive experience in their respective fields; most are recognised internationally as leading figures, and many are current or former members of national bodies and/or delegations to international organisations. Accordingly, each chapter speaks with the authority that comes from specialists with experiential and scholarly insight.

The chapters contained in *Remembering the Holocaust* are grouped into two parts. In Part I, seven essays collectively explore a range of topical issues, practical approaches, and physical spaces of memory. These discussions are complemented and advanced by the seven essays contained in Part II, which provide deeper analysis by focusing on national case studies. *In toto*, the fourteen chapters that follow this introduction provide the reader with perspectives from eight different countries across five different continents. This speaks to the geographical scale and scope of education–remembrance activity. It also helps to highlight matters of common interest and concern, and advances our understanding of how specific issues relate to particular contexts.

The first two chapters of Part I, by Klas-Göran Karlsson and myself, address long-standing topics that show no signs of losing their intensity. In his chapter, Karlsson focuses on historical learning vis-à-vis the Holocaust; a process he makes clear is more than mere knowledge acquisition. For Karlsson, historical learning cannot be understood apart from historical culture; this requires we look at socio-cultural constellations, and the different ways historical learning is perceived, understood and practised. In presenting a typology for achieving this, Karlsson suggests we move beyond anodyne notions of ‘Holocaust lessons’ to recognise ‘one can learn *about* history, learn *from* history, learn history, or learn history *in* history’.

My own chapter, meanwhile, focuses on the ways in which Holocaust education has and has not been related to, and understood as, the phenomenon of genocide. Taking developments in Great Britain as an example, I suggest a systemic tendency to see the Holocaust as a paradigm has been counter-productive for a broader pursuit of genocide education. As much as this may reflect the nebulous condition of genocide education as a field of study and practice, I also argue disconnect and dysfunctionality are the product of memory politics. With the Holocaust detached from its phenomenological context, and genocide reduced to the Holocaust exemplar, the result I suggest is impoverished and unsatisfactory levels of historical knowledge and understanding.

Following these essays are two chapters which, whilst diametrically opposed in terms of their subjects of study, speak to one another in intriguing ways. Carson Phillips’ chapter on *Väterliteratur* offers a fascinating take on how these ‘tormented familial narratives’ authored by descendants of perpetrators can be used with

students to develop appreciation of ‘the complexities of memory as well as the legacies of the Holocaust’. Tackling a genre which will no doubt be unfamiliar to most, Phillips presents a close reading of three exemplar texts which he peppers with reflections drawn from his own experiences of teaching. In the process, Phillips shows that through *Väterliteratur* students can truly come to understand how history is not only made, but how it continues to reverberate’.

As a counterpoint to Phillips’ contribution, Wolf Kaiser takes on the vexed issues raised by the passing of the survivor generation. While Kaiser recognises this means ‘extraordinary opportunities ... will soon come to an end’, he suggests this need not mean the voices of survivors cannot still be present in educational settings. Through sympathetic but rigorous study, Kaiser surveys a range of different resources and approaches currently available, and points towards others which are presently in development. Importantly, Kaiser underlines that the learning potential of these materials can only be realised in the hands of pedagogues with clarity of aim and rationale.

The final cluster of chapters in Part I offer analysis and insight of how education and remembrance intersect in three sites of memory. Examining such spaces has been a mainstay of memory studies for over thirty years, but the question of how they work as educational arenas or for educational purposes has rarely been of concern in the literature. Michael Bernard-Donals’ chapter takes as its subject the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). For Bernard-Donals, from inception the USHMM has been marked by conflict between its dual aims of education and remembrance, evolving into an institutional concern with trying to shape what visitors would go away remembering and having learnt. Employing Michel de Certeau’s concept of ‘delinquent’ memory and utilising the empirical evidence from USHMM documentation and comments left by thousands of visitors, Bernard-Donals illustrates ‘the tension between the didactic and the memorial aims’ and how this has played out on the ground. Importantly, Bernard-Donals demonstrates how the inherent instability of memory means that despite the best efforts of the museum, the memories and meanings visitors leave with lie outside and beyond the institution’s control.

In her discussion of Holocaust memory and the United Kingdom’s Imperial War Museums, Rachel Donnelly provides an alternative perspective on how education and remembrance interact and are handled in a museum setting. Specifically, Donnelly details how the museum’s learning programme for schoolchildren supplements the educational experience of students visiting The Holocaust Exhibition in London. Notably, Donnelly emphasises the IWM’s concern for historical learning over purely emotional engagement, though – like Bernard-Donals – she illustrates how ultimately the visitor experience cannot be policed or pre-determined. This reflexivity, together with insights provided by recent historical and educational research, is shown by Donnelly to be a driving force in revisions to the IWM’s treatment of the Holocaust.

The triptych of chapters on memory spaces concludes with Martin Schellenberg’s wide-ranging discussion of educational approaches at German memorial sites like

Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, House of the Wannsee Conference, and Ravensbrück. Schellenberg, like Bernard-Donals and Donnelly, discusses the experiences of visitors to various historical sites but offers intriguing insights into how visitor expectations contrast with the aims and attitudes of educators at these locations. At its core, Schellenberg's chapter calls for 'an educational practice of commemoration which lies somewhere between a mere focus on the victims ... and on learning for the present day': a powerful and persuasive notion, and one which has resonance far beyond site visitations.

In the opening chapter of Part II, Peter Carrier provides an absorbing examination of the ways young Germans organise and narrate their understandings of the Holocaust. Carrier shows that the defining feature of this process is, what he calls, 'Hitleration': that being the use of Hitler as a 'literary' and 'epistemic aid'. For Carrier, this practice is to be understood as a 'form of remembrance' whereby the Holocaust is subsumed into 'semantic patters'. The employment of Hitler as a metonym for the Holocaust is, of course, not limited to the young or to Germany, but Carrier's research provides rich empirical evidence for how this finds cognitive form. In this, Carrier's chapter raises various questions about what is being taught and how, but also how learning is understood, and the nature of historical knowledge and historical consciousness.

A number of these themes find echoes in the chapter following Carrier, authored by Mikołaj Winiewski, Marta Beneda, Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, and Marta Witkowska. Winiewski et al. are primarily concerned with how the development of Holocaust memory and education in Poland has functioned in relation to dominant social, cultural, and political identity narratives. Significantly, Winiewski and his colleagues suggest that although Poland has adopted transnational mnemonic strategies and pedagogical templates in Holocaust education and remembrance, how far these 'have had an actual influence' in terms of teaching, learning, and 'the attitudes of young Poles towards Holocaust victims' is an 'unanswered question'. What is apparent from available empirical studies, they argue, is that young people encounter selective readings of Polish involvement in the Holocaust which tend to emphasise Polish victimhood and have potentially pernicious consequences for attitudes towards 'the other'.

Following the Polish case study, Richelle Budd Caplan and Shulamit Imber offer a historical overview of the evolution of Holocaust education and remembrance in Israel. Budd Caplan and Imber focus in particular on the role played by survivors in these endeavours, and in so doing underline some peculiar and somewhat unexpected aspects of this history. They argue, for instance, that a 'culture of commemoration preceded educational directives' and show that despite the repeated efforts of survivors, it was some decades before curriculum development began to occur. Alongside these insights, Budd Caplan and Imber's chapter touches on a number of other issues central to this book; including, for example, the influence of survivors in the emergence of a discourse that combined education and remembrance.

As Budd Caplan and Imber's contribution illustrates, contemporary trends and trajectories in Holocaust education and remembrance cannot be comprehended

without due appreciation of their historical context and antecedents. This point is reinforced in Thomas D. Fallace's chapter, which focuses exclusively on what he sees as the pre-history of organised Holocaust education and remembrance in the United States. Through a clever and informative handling of statements by public intellectuals and educators, Fallace shows 'the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis' was addressed through 'indirect and direct ways during and after the Second World War'. Importantly, however, Fallace demonstrates that how this occurred was inescapably bound up with broader responses to and silences around issues of colour racism and racial discrimination.

The conjoining of the Holocaust and approaches to race relations underscores the sociocultural dimensions of teaching and learning; something which, in light of current events in America, acquires an especially pointed edge. It is also a theme taken up by Tali Nates in her chapter on Holocaust education and remembrance in post-Apartheid South Africa. Writing as the founder of the Johannesburg Holocaust and Genocide Centre of Education and Memory, Nates offers a unique perspective on the emergence of education and remembrance in South Africa since the early 1990s. Nates shows this development was tied to wider, post-Apartheid political agendas, with the belief being that, by first encountering and engaging with the genocide of the Jews, South Africans could more comfortably move 'to make connections to current issues, including human rights abuses in South Africa and throughout the African continent'. Nates also reveals a similar line of thought informed her decision for the Johannesburg centre to jointly focus on the Holocaust and genocide; in particular, the Rwandan example.

As Fallace and Nates respectively show, concerns for and preoccupations with the perceived 'relevance' of the Holocaust are not new and have an added salience in countries spatially and experientially detached from the loci of the Holocaust. In their contribution, Tony Joel, Donna-Lee Frieze, and Mathew Turner recount how these particular challenges have been met in the context of teaching and learning at Deakin University in Melbourne, Australia. Noting how the 'tyranny of distance' in no way saps enthusiasm for learning about the Holocaust among Deakin students, Joel et al. recount the use of online learning technologies and research-driven bridging exercises which, cumulatively, help to counter distantiation and at the same time inspire independent enquiry. Joel and his colleagues also emphasise the role performed by the Jewish Holocaust Centre in Melbourne in their curriculum design. As they explain, this serves the function of bringing students into contact with survivors and, in the process, deepening memory by 'enmeshing their learning experience into their everyday life'.

The attitude of young people towards learning about the Holocaust is also a topic of concern in the book's final chapter, authored by Stuart Foster. As one of the lead authors of the world's largest empirical research into English students' knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust, Foster takes as his departure point the various positive findings from this investigation – including the desire of young people to know more about the Holocaust, and their overwhelmingly



positive responses to encounters with survivors. However, Foster shows that beyond these 'good news' stories lies far more troubling evidence of knowledge gaps, misunderstandings, and misconceptions. These findings are all the more startling on account of how deeply institutionalised Holocaust education and remembrance is in England. Yet, in some ways, Foster suggests this may equally help to explain the condition of young people's knowledge and understanding. As Foster explains, in the eagerness to commemorate and memorialise, and the keenness to 'use' the Holocaust for multiple ends, the potential for 'mis-memory', in the words of Tony Judt, only increases.

## Conclusion

In 1985, against the backdrop of the *Historikerstreit* and Bitburg affair in Germany and a broader waxing of Holocaust consciousness in Western culture more generally, the literary theorist and former *Kinder* transportee Geoffrey Hartman reflected on the condition of public memory of the Holocaust. For Hartman, it was entirely possible – inevitable, even – that 'education and ritual' might 'in less than one more generation ... carry the entire burden of sustaining the collective memory' of the Holocaust (1996: 62).

More than thirty years on from those predictions, we remain fortunate some eloquent Holocaust survivors still dwell amongst us. Their dwindling number and growing age rightly cause increasing concern about the prospect of a post-survivor world, and are used to legitimise projects meant to forestall an erosion of memory that, it is presumed, will inevitably come with their passing. In these ways, the future envisaged by Hartman has indeed come to pass. Yet one might go further and suggest we may have even gone beyond what Hartman originally foresaw. For today we not only see educational and remembrance activity continuing at a frenetic, almost relentless pace, but increasingly witness projects which consciously and purposely look to enfold education and memory into one another. Whether this is a positive development, how far it helps or hinders the creation of nuanced Holocaust cultures, and what consequences come in its wake, are pressing points for urgent discussion.

## References

- Alexander, R. (2008) 'Pedagogy, Curriculum and Culture' in *Pedagogy and Practice: Culture and Identities*, ed. Patricia Murphy, Kathy Hall, & Janet Soler. London: Sage/Open University. 3–27.
- Assmann, A. (2016) *Shadows of Trauma: Memory and the Politics of Postwar Identity*. Trans. Sarah Clift. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Assmann, A. & Shortt, L. (2012) 'Memory and Political Change: Introduction' in *Memory and Political Change*, ed. Aleida Assmann & Linda Shortt. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 1–14.
- Baddeley, A. (1988) 'The Psychology of Remembering and Forgetting' in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler. Oxford: Blackwell. 33–60.

- Baer, A. & Sznajder, N. (2017) *Memory and Forgetting in the Post-Holocaust Era: The Ethics of Never Again*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bartov, O. (1996) *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Baum, R. N. (1996) “‘What I Have Learned to Feel’: The Pedagogical Emotions of Holocaust Education”, *College Literature* 23:3. 44–57.
- Bernecker, S. (2007) *Memory: A Philosophical Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bjork, R. A. (2011) ‘On the Symbiosis of Remembering, Forgetting, and Learning’ in *Successful Remembering and Successful Forgetting: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert A. Bjork*, ed. Aaron S. Benjamin. New York, NY & London: Psychology Press. 1–22.
- Bokova, I. (2014) ‘Foreword’ in *Holocaust Education in a Global Context*, ed. Karel Fracapane & Matthias Haß. Paris: Unesco. 5–6.
- Confino, A. (1997) ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method’, *American Historical Review* 102:5. 1386–1403.
- Constantinescu, M. (2017) ‘Address by amb. Mihnea Constantinescu, IHRA Chair’, Meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council, 26 January 2017. Available at: [http://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/speech\\_mc\\_meeting\\_of\\_the\\_osce\\_permanent\\_council.pdf](http://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/speech_mc_meeting_of_the_osce_permanent_council.pdf) [last accessed 8 November 2017].
- De Cesari, C. & Rigney, A. (2014) ‘Introduction’ in *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*, ed. Chiara De Cesari & Ann Rigney. Berlin: De Gruyter. 1–25.
- Erll, A. (2011) *Memory in Culture*. Trans. Sara B. Young. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fairfield, P. (2009) *Education after Dewey*. London: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. A. (1997) ‘Crossing the Boundaries of Educational Discourse: Modernism, Postmodernism and Feminism’ in *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*, ed. A. H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, & Amy Stuart Wells. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giroux, H. A. & Simon, R. I. (2005) ‘Popular Culture as a Pedagogy of Pleasure and Meaning’ in *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*, 2nd edn. New York, NY & London: Routledge. 1–29.
- Gregory, I. (2000) ‘Teaching about the Holocaust: Perplexities, Issues and Suggestions’ in *Teaching the Holocaust: Educational Dimensions, Principles and Practice*, ed. Ian Davies. London: Continuum. 1–8.
- Hartman, G. (1996) *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holroyd, P. R. (1995) ‘Lest We Forget: The Importance of Holocaust Education’, *National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin* 79. 16–25.
- Hirst, P. H. (2010) *Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical Papers*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hodgkin, K. & Radstone, S. (2003) ‘Introduction: Contested Pasts’ in *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, ed. Katharine Hodgkin & Susannah Radstone. London: Routledge. 1–21.
- Huyssen, A. (2003) *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ireson, J., Mortimore, P., & Hallam, S. (2010) ‘The Common Strands of Pedagogy and Their Implications’ in *The Routledge Education Studies Reader*, ed. James Arthur & Ian Davies. Abingdon: Routledge. 202–218.
- Jackson, P. W. (2012) *What is Education?* Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Judt, T. (2008) *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. London: William Heinemann.
- Kimball, S. T. (1974) *Culture and the Educative Process: An Anthropological Perspective*, New York, NY & London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
- Kuhn, A. (2002) *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*, new edn. London: Verso.

- Lambek, M. (2006) 'Memory in a Maussian Universe' in *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity and Recognition*, ed. Susannah Radstone & Katherine Hodgkin. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction. 202–216.
- Langer, L. (1995) *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leach, J. & Moon, B. (2008) *The Power of Pedagogy*. London: Sage.
- Leccardi, C. (2015) 'Memory, Time and Responsibility' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen. London: Routledge. 109–120.
- Lipman, M. (2003) *Thinking in Education*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McIntyre, D. (2002) 'Has Classroom Teaching Had its Day?' in *Teaching, Learning and the Curriculum in Secondary Schools: A Reader*, ed. Bob Moon, Ann Shelton Mayes, & Steven Hutchinson. London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer. 124–141.
- Margalit, A. (2002) *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Marrus, M. (2016) *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Misztal, B. (2003) *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead & Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Mitchell, C., Strong-Wilson, T., Pithouse, K., & Allnutt, S. (2011) 'Introducing *Memory and Pedagogy*' in *Memory and Pedagogy*, ed. Claudia Mitchell, Teresa Strong-Wilson, Kathleen Pithouse, & Susann Allnutt. New York, NY: Routledge. 1–13.
- Moon, B. (2002) 'Learning Perspectives on the Teachers' Task' in *Teaching, Learning and the Curriculum in Secondary Schools: A Reader*, ed. Bob Moon, Ann Shelton Mayes, & Steven Hutchinson. London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer. 3–9.
- Moore, A. (2012) *Teaching and Learning: Pedagogy, Curriculum and Culture*, 2nd edn. London & New York, NY: Routledge.
- Moore, T.W. (1982) *Philosophy of Education: An Introduction*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Noddings, N. (2011) *Philosophy of Education*, 3rd edn. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Novick, P. (2000) *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Pearce, A. (2014) *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*. London & New York, NY: Routledge.
- Peters, R. S. (2010) 'What Is an Educational Process?' in *The Routledge Education Studies Reader*, ed. James Arthur & Ian Davies. Abingdon: Routledge. 22–36.
- Pring, R. (1989) *The New Curriculum*. London: Cassell Educational.
- Ricoeur, P. (2004) *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey & David Pellauer. Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Rieff, D. (2016) *In Praise of Forgetting: Historical Memory and its Ironies*. New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press.
- Rigney, A. (2015) 'Cultural Memory Studies: Mediation, Narrative, and the Aesthetic' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen. Abingdon: Routledge. 65–76.
- Roediger, H. L. III & Wertsch, J.V. (2008) 'Creating a New Discipline of Memory Studies', *Memory Studies* 1:1. 9–22.
- Roth, J. (2001) *Holocaust Politics*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Rüsen, J. (2005) *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.
- Schuster, E. & Boschert-Kimmig, R. (1999) *Hope against Hope: Johann Baptist Metz and Elie Wiesel Speak Out on the Holocaust*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.
- Schwartz, B. (2015) 'Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen. Abingdon: Routledge. 9–21.
- Short, G. & Read, C.A. (2004) *Issues in Holocaust Education*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

- Snyder, T. (2002) 'Memory of Sovereignty and Sovereignty over Memory: Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine, 1939–1999' in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*, ed. Jan-Werner Müller. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 39–58.
- Stenhouse, L. (1967) *Culture and Education*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.
- Stier, O. B. (2003) *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust*. Amherst, MA & Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Stone, D. (2006) *History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide*. London: Vallentine Mitchell.
- Stråth, B. (2008) 'Constructionist Themes in the Historiography of the Nation' in *The Handbook of Constructionist Research*, ed. James A. Holstein & Jaber F. Gubrium. New York, NY & London: The Guildford Press. 627–642.
- Sturken, M. (2002) 'The Wall, the Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial' in *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd edn, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff. London: Routledge. 357–370.
- Terdiman, R. (1993) *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Terry, W. S. (2016) *Learning and Memory: Basic Principles, Processes and Procedures*, 4th edn. London & New York, NY: Routledge.
- Traverso, E. (2016) *The End of Jewish Modernity*. Trans. David Fernbach. London: Pluto Press.
- van der Knaap, E. (2006) 'Tracing (Holocaust) Memory and Rereading Memory Matters' in *Uncovering the Holocaust: The International Reception of Night and Fog*, ed. Ewout van der Knaap. London & New York, NY: Wallflower Press. 165–171.
- Voss, J. F. & Wiley, J. (2000) 'A Case Study of Developing Historical Understanding Via Instruction: The Importance of Integrating Text Components and Constructing Arguments' in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, & Sam Wineburg. New York, NY: New York University Press. 375–389.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978) *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*, ed. Michael Cole, Vera John-Steiner, Sylvia Scribner, & Ellen Souberman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Waring, M. & Evans, C. (2015) *Understanding Pedagogy: Developing a Critical Approach to Teaching and Learning*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Weissman, G. (2004) *Fantasies of Witnessing: Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust*. Ithaca, NY & London: Cornell University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (2002) *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- West, B. (2017) 'War Commemoration and the Expansion of the Past' in *War Memory and Commemoration*, ed. Brad West. Abingdon: Routledge. 1–14.
- Winch, C. & Gingell, J. (2005) *Philosophy and Educational Policy: A Critical Introduction*. London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Winter, J. (2010) 'The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity' in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilman, Frank van Vree, & Jay Winter. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 11–31.
- Zerubavel, Y. (2011) 'From Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, & Daniel Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 237–241.



# Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

## Introduction: Education, remembrance, and the Holocaust

- Alexander R. (2008) 'Pedagogy, Curriculum and Culture' in *Pedagogy and Practice: Culture and Identities*, ed. Patricia Murphy, Kathy Hall, & Janet Soler. London: Sage/Open University. 3–27.
- Assmann, A. (2016) *Shadows of Trauma: Memory and the Politics of Postwar Identity*. Trans. Sarah Clift. New York, NY: Fordham University Press.
- Assmann, A. & Shortt, L. (2012) 'Memory and Political Change: Introduction' in *Memory and Political Change*, ed. Aleida Assmann & Linda Shortt. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 1–14.
- Baddeley, A. (1988) 'The Psychology of Remembering and Forgetting' in *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, ed. Thomas Butler. Oxford: Blackwell. 33–60.
- Baer, A. & Sznajder, N. (2017) *Memory and Forgetting in the Post-Holocaust Era: The Ethics of Never Again*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Bartov, O. (1996) *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Baum, R. N. (1996) "'What I Have Learned to Feel": The Pedagogical Emotions of Holocaust Education', *College Literature* 23:3. 44–57.
- Bernecker, S. (2007) *Memory: A Philosophical Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bjork, R. A. (2011) 'On the Symbiosis of Remembering, Forgetting, and Learning' in *Successful Remembering and Successful Forgetting: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert A. Bjork*, ed. Aaron S. Benjamin. New York, NY & London: Psychology Press. 1–22.
- Bokova, I. (2014) 'Foreword' in *Holocaust Education in a Global Context*, ed. Karel Fracapane & Matthias Haß. Paris: Unesco. 5–6.
- Confino, A. (1997) 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *American Historical Review* 102:5. 1386–1403.
- Constantinescu, M. (2017) 'Address by amb. Mihnea Constantinescu, IHRA Chair', Meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council, 26 January 2017. Available at: [http://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/speech\\_mc\\_meeting\\_of\\_the\\_osce\\_permanent\\_council.pdf](http://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/speech_mc_meeting_of_the_osce_permanent_council.pdf) [last accessed 8 November 2017].
- De Cesari, C. & Rigney, A. (2014) 'Introduction' in *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*, ed. Chiara De Cesari & Ann Rigney. Berlin: De Gruyter. 1–25.
- Erll, A. (2011) *Memory in Culture*. Trans. Sara B. Young. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fairfield, P. (2009) *Education after Dewey*. London: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. A. (1997) 'Crossing the Boundaries of Educational Discourse: Modernism, Postmodernism and Feminism' in *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*, ed. A. H. Halsey, Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown & Amy Stuart Wells. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giroux, H. A. & Simon, R. I. (2005) 'Popular Culture as a Pedagogy of Pleasure and Meaning' in *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*, 2nd edn. New York, NY & London: Routledge. 1–29.
- Gregory, I. (2000) 'Teaching about the Holocaust: Perplexities, Issues and Suggestions' in *Teaching the Holocaust: Educational Dimensions, Principles and Practice*, ed. Ian Davies. London: Continuum. 1–8.
- Hartman, G. (1996) *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holroyd, P. R. (1995) 'Lest We Forget: The Importance of Holocaust Education', *National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin* 79. 16–25.
- Hirst, P. H. (2010) *Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical Papers*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hodgkin, K. & Radstone, S. (2003) 'Introduction: Contested Pasts' in *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*, ed. Katharine Hodgkin & Susannah Radstone. London: Routledge. 1–21.
- Huyssen, A. (2003) *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ireson, J., Mortimore, P., & Hallam, S. (2010) 'The Common Strands of Pedagogy and Their Implications' in *The Routledge Education Studies Reader*, ed. James Arthur & Ian Davies. Abingdon: Routledge. 202–218.
- Jackson, P. W. (2012) *What is Education?* Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Judt, T. (2008) *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. London: William Heinemann.

Kimball, S. T. (1974) *Culture and the Educative Process: An Anthropological Perspective*, New York, NY & London: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Kuhn, A. (2002) *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*, new edn. London: Verso.

Lambek, M. (2006) 'Memory in a Maussian Universe' in *Memory Cultures: Memory, Subjectivity and Recognition*, ed. Susannah Radstone & Katherine Hodgkin . New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction. 202–216.

Langer, L. (1995) *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leach, J. & Moon, B. (2008) *The Power of Pedagogy*. London: Sage.

Leccardi, C. (2015) 'Memory, Time and Responsibility' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen . London: Routledge. 109–120.

Lipman, M. (2003) *Thinking in Education*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McIntyre, D. (2002) 'Has Classroom Teaching Had its Day?' in *Teaching, Learning and the Curriculum in Secondary Schools: A Reader*, ed. Bob Moon , Ann Shelton Mayes & Steven Hutchinson . London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer. 124–141.

Margalit, A. (2002) *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Marrus, M. (2016) *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Misztal, B. (2003) *Theories of Social Remembering*. Maidenhead & Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Mitchell, C. , Strong-Wilson, T. , Pithouse, K. , & Allnutt, S. (2011) 'Introducing *Memory and Pedagogy*' in *Memory and Pedagogy*, ed. Claudia Mitchell , Teresa Strong-Wilson , Kathleen Pithouse & Susann Allnutt . New York, NY: Routledge. 1–13.

Moon, B. (2002) 'Learning Perspectives on the Teachers' Task' in *Teaching, Learning and the Curriculum in Secondary Schools: A Reader*, ed. Bob Moon , Ann Shelton Mayes & Steven Hutchinson . London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer. 3–9.

Moore, A. (2012) *Teaching and Learning: Pedagogy, Curriculum and Culture*, 2nd edn. London & New York, NY: Routledge.

Moore, T. W. (1982) *Philosophy of Education: An Introduction*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Noddings, N. (2011) *Philosophy of Education*, 3rd edn. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Novick, P. (2000) *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience*. London: Bloomsbury.

Pearce, A. (2014) *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*. London & New York, NY: Routledge.

Peters, R. S. (2010) 'What Is an Educational Process?' in *The Routledge Education Studies Reader*, ed. James Arthur & Ian Davies . Abingdon: Routledge. 22–36.

Pring, R. (1989) *The New Curriculum*. London: Cassell Educational.

Ricoeur, P. (2004) *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Trans. Kathleen Blamey & David Pellauer . Chicago, IL & London: University of Chicago Press.

Rieff, D. (2016) *In Praise of Forgetting: Historical Memory and its Ironies*. New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press.

Rigney, A. (2015) 'Cultural Memory Studies: Mediation, Narrative, and the Aesthetic' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen . Abingdon: Routledge. 65–76.

Roediger, H. L. III & Wertsch, J. V. (2008) 'Creating a New Discipline of Memory Studies', *Memory Studies* 1:1. 9–22.

Roth, J. (2001) *Holocaust Politics*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Rüsen, J. (2005) *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Schuster, E. & Boschert-Kimmig, R. (1999) *Hope against Hope: Johann Baptist Metz and Elie Wiesel Speak Out on the Holocaust*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Schwartz, B. (2015) 'Rethinking the Concept of Collective Memory' in *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies*, ed. Anna Lisa Tota & Trever Hagen . Abingdon: Routledge. 9–21.

Short, G. & Read, C. A. (2004) *Issues in Holocaust Education*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Snyder, T. (2002) 'Memory of Sovereignty and Sovereignty over Memory: Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine, 1939–1999' in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past*, ed. Jan-Werner Müller . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 39–58.

- Stenhouse, L. (1967) *Culture and Education*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.
- Stier, O. B. (2003) *Committed to Memory: Cultural Mediations of the Holocaust*. Amherst, MA & Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Stone, D. (2006) *History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide*. London: Vallentine Mitchell.
- Str  th, B. (2008) 'Constructionist Themes in the Historiography of the Nation' in *The Handbook of Constructionist Research*, ed. James A. Holstein & Jaber F. Gubrium . New York, NY & London: The Guildford Press. 627–642.
- Sturken, M. (2002) 'The Wall, the Screen and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial' in *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd edn, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff . London: Routledge. 357–370.
- Terdiman, R. (1993) *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Terry, W. S. (2016) *Learning and Memory: Basic Principles, Processes and Procedures*, 4th edn. London & New York, NY: Routledge.
- Traverso, E. (2016) *The End of Jewish Modernity*. Trans. David Fernbach . London: Pluto Press.
- van der Knaap, E. (2006) 'Tracing (Holocaust) Memory and Rereading Memory Matters' in *Uncovering the Holocaust: The International Reception of Night and Fog*, ed. Ewout van der Knaap . London & New York, NY: Wallflower Press. 165–171.
- Voss, J. F. & Wiley, J. (2000) 'A Case Study of Developing Historical Understanding Via Instruction: The Importance of Integrating Text Components and Constructing Arguments' in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns , Peter Seixas & Sam Wineburg . New York, NY: New York University Press. 375–389.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978) *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*, ed. Michael Cole , Vera John-Steiner , Sylvia Scribner , & Ellen Souberman . Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Waring, M. & Evans, C. (2015) *Understanding Pedagogy: Developing a Critical Approach to Teaching and Learning*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Weissman, G. (2004) *Fantasies of Witnessing: Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust*. Ithaca, NY & London: Cornell University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (2002) *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- West, B. (2017) 'War Commemoration and the Expansion of the Past' in *War Memory and Commemoration*, ed. Brad West . Abingdon: Routledge. 1–14.
- Winch, C. & Gingell, J. (2005) *Philosophy and Educational Policy: A Critical Introduction*. London & New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Winter, J. (2010) 'The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity' in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, ed. Karin Tilmans , Frank van Vree & Jay Winter . Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 11–31.
- Zerubavel, Y. (2011) 'From *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey K. Olick , Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi , & Daniel Levy . Oxford: Oxford University Press. 237–241.

## Lessons at the limits

- Alexander, J. (2004) 'On the Social Construction of Moral Universals: The "Holocaust" from War Crime to Cultural Trauma' in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. J. Alexander , R. Eyerman , B. Giesen , N. Smelser & P. Sztompka . Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA, & London : University of California Press. 196–263.
- Bartov, O. (1996) *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation*. New York, NY & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bauer, Y. (1994) 'The Significance of the Final Solution' in *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, ed. David Cesarani . London: Routledge. 300–309.
- Bauman, Z. (1989) *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- von Borries, B. (1994) '(Re-)Constructing History and Moral Judgment: On the Relationships between Interpretations of the Past and Perceptions of the Present' in *Cognitive and*



Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences, ed. M. Carretero & J. Voss . Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. 339–356.

Browning, C. (1992) *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Confino, A. (2012) *Foundational Pasts: The Holocaust as Historical Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fogu, C. , Kansteiner, W. , & Presner, T. (eds) (2016) *History Unlimited: Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Friedlander, S. (ed.) (1992) *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the 'Final Solution'*. Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Hartman, G. (1996) *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. New York, NY & Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hoffman, E. (2005) *After Such Knowledge: A Meditation on the Aftermath of the Holocaust*. London: Vintage.

Karlsson, K.-G. (2010) 'The Uses of History and the Third Wave of Europeanisation' in *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance*, ed. M. Pakier & B. Str  th . New York, NY & Oxford: Berghahn. 38–55.

Karlsson, K.-G. (2015) 'The Evil Twins of Modern History? Reflections on the Entangled History of Communism and National Socialism' in *Perspectives on the Entangled History of Communism and Nazism: A Comnaz Analysis*, ed. K.-G. Karlsson , J. Stenfeldt , & U. Zander . Lanham, MD: Lexington. 9–50.

Karlsson, K.-G. & Zander, U. (eds.) (2003) *Echoes of the Holocaust: Historical Cultures in Contemporary Europe*. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.

Lowenthal, D. (2000) 'Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History' in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. P. Stearns , P. Seixas , & S. Wineburg New York, NY & London: New York University Press. 63–82.

Marrus, M. (1991) 'The Use and Misuse of the Holocaust' in *The Meaning of the Holocaust in a Changing World: Lessons and Legacies*, ed. P. Hayes . Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. 106–119.

Marrus, M. (1998) 'Good History and Teaching the Holocaust' in *Teaching the Holocaust in a Changing World: Lessons and Legacies II*, ed. D. Schilling . Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press. 13–25.

Nietzsche, F. (1986) 'On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life' in *Untimely Meditations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 57–124.

Rousso, H. (2016) *The Latest Catastrophe: History, the Present, the Contemporary*. Chicago, IL & London : University of Chicago Press.

R  sen, J. (2001) 'Holocaust Memory and Identity Building: Metahistorical Considerations in the Case of (West) Germany' in *Disturbing Remains: Memory, History, and Crisis in the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. Roth & C. Salas . Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Institute. 252–270.

R  sen, J. (2005) *History – Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*. New York, NY & Oxford: Berghahn. 9–39.

Snyder, T. (2015) *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning*. London: The Bodley Head.

## The anatomy of a relationship

Annan, K. (2010) 'The myth of "Never Again"'. New York Times, 17 June. Available at: [www.nytimes.com/2010/06/18/opinion/18iht-edannan.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/18/opinion/18iht-edannan.html) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Apfel, J. (2004) 'Moral Dilemmas and Pedagogical Challenges in Teaching about Genocide'. *Human Rights Review* 5:4. 104–129.

Assmann, A. (2010) 'The Holocaust – A Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community' in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices, and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann & Sebastian Conrad . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 97–117.

Auron, Y. (2005) *The Pain of Knowledge: Holocaust and Genocide Issues in Education*. Trans. Ruth Ruzga . New Brunswick, NJ & London: Transaction Publishers.

Baer, A. & Sznaider, N. (2017), *Memory and Forgetting in the Post-Holocaust Era: The Ethics of Never Again*. Abingdon: Routledge.

BBC (2015) 'Teenagers campaign to raise awareness of genocide'. *BBC School Report*, 10 December. Available at: [www.bbc.co.uk/schoolreport/35060491](http://www.bbc.co.uk/schoolreport/35060491) [last accessed 9 November 2017].

Beorn, W. W. (2015) 'Perpetrators, Presidents, and Profiteers: Teaching Genocide Prevention and Response through Classroom Simulation'. *Politics and Governance* 3:4. 72–83.

Bergen, D. (2015) 'Studying the Holocaust: Is History Commemoration?' in *The Holocaust and Historical Methodology*, ed. Dan Stone. New York, NY: Berghahn Books. 158–177.

Bloxham, D. (2003) 'Britain's Holocaust Memorial Days: Reshaping the Past in the Service of the Present' in *Representing the Holocaust*, ed. Sue Vice. London: Vallentine Mitchell. 41–62.

Bloxham, D. (2013) 'Holocaust Studies and Genocide Studies: past, present, and future' in *Genocide Matters: Ongoing Issues and Emerging Perspectives*, ed. Joyce Apsel & Ernesto Verdeja. Abingdon: Routledge. 59–81.

Cameron, H. (2013) *Britain's Hidden Role in the Rwandan Genocide – The Cat's Paw*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Coates, S. (2017) 'Ministers aim to build "empire 2.0" with African Commonwealth'. *The Times*, 6 March.

Cesarani, D. (2016) *Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews 1933–1949*. London: Macmillan.

Charny, I. (2016) *The Genocide Contagion: How We Commit and Confront Holocaust and Genocide*. New York, NY & London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cooke, S. (2000) 'Negotiating Memory and Identity: The Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial, London'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 26:3. 449–465.

Critchell, K. (2016) 'Remembering and Forgetting: The Holocaust in 21st Century Britain'. *Quest* 10 (December). Available at: [www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=383](http://www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=383) [last accessed 9 November 2017].

Daily Mirror (1971a) 'Genocide! MP hits out over East Pakistan', 28 April.

Daily Mirror (1971b) 'A threat to world peace', 14 June.

Daily Mirror (1979) 'Emergency appeal', 11 July.

Debnath, A. (2011) 'British Perceptions of the East Pakistan Crisis 1971: "Hideous Atrocities on Both Sides"?'. *Journal of Genocide Research* 13:4. 421–450.

Department of Education and Science (1990) *National Curriculum History Working Group: Final Report*. London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1991) *History in the National Curriculum (England)*. London: HMSO.

Dudok de Wit, A. (2015) 'It's pure sophistry that stops Britain recognising the Armenian genocide'. *The Independent*, 23 April.

Elkins, C. (2005) *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya*. London: Pimlico.

Fallace, T. W. (2006) 'The Origins of Holocaust Education in American Public Schools'. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20:1. 80–102.

Fox, J. P. (1989) *Teaching the Holocaust: A Report of a Survey in the United Kingdom*. Leicester: National Yad Vashem Charitable Trust and The Centre for Holocaust Studies, University of Leicester.

Garton-Ash, T. (2010) *Facts Are Subversive: Political Writing from a Decade without a Name*. London: Atlantic Books.

Gott, R. (2011) *Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression and Revolt*. London: Verso.

Hansard (2015) '1915 Armenian Genocide'. Volume 594. 23 March.

Hansard (2016) 'Daesh: Genocide of Minorities'. Volume 608. 20 April.

Heerten, L. & Moses, A. D. (2014) 'The Nigerian-Biafra War: Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide'. *Journal of Genocide Research* 16:2–3. 169–203.

Heinsohn, G. (2010) 'What Makes the Holocaust a Uniquely Unique Genocide?' *Journal of Genocide Research* 2. 411–430.

Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (2014) 'HMDT Survey: Half of UK population unable to name a post-Holocaust genocide'. 24 January. Available at: <http://hmdt.org.uk/news/hmdt-survey-half-uk-population-unable-name-post-holocaust-genocide> [last accessed 9 November 2017].

House of Commons Education Committee (2016a) 'Holocaust Education: Second Report of Session 2015–2016'. London: HMSO.

House of Commons Education Committee (2016b) 'Holocaust Education: Government Response to the Committee's Second Report of Session 2015–2016'. London: HMSO.

House of Commons Education Select Committee (2017) 'Role – Education Committee'. Available at: [www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/education-committee/role/](http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/education-committee/role/) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Ignatieff, M. (2001) *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*. Ed. Amy Gutman . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (2000) 'Declaration of the Stockholm Forum'. Available at: [www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/17](http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/17) [last accessed 14 February 2018 ].

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (2010) 'Education Working Group Paper on the Holocaust and Other Genocides'. Available at: [www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/EWG\\_Holocaust\\_and\\_Other\\_Genocides.pdf](http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/EWG_Holocaust_and_Other_Genocides.pdf) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Irwin-Zarecka, I. (1994) *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Jinks, R. (2016) *Representing Genocide: The Holocaust as Paradigm?* London: Bloomsbury.

Kansteiner, W. (2006) *In Pursuit of German Memory: History, Television and Politics after Auschwitz*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Kushner, T. (1994) *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lawrence, A. (2016) 'Genocide, through our Eyes'. Independent Schools Council, 27 January. Available at: [www.isc.co.uk/media-enquiries/isc-blogs/genocide-through-our-eyes/](http://www.isc.co.uk/media-enquiries/isc-blogs/genocide-through-our-eyes/) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Lawson, T. (2014) *The Last Man: A British Genocide in Tasmania*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Marrus, M. (2016) *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Moshman, D. (2010) 'Conceptions of Genocide and Perceptions of History' in *The Historiography of Genocide*, ed. Dan Stone . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 71–92.

Moyn, S. (2014) *Human Rights and the Uses of History*. London: Verso.

Murray, J. (1979) 'Life worth zero under tyrant Pot'. *Daily Express*, 30 October.

Olusoga, D. (2017) 'Empire 2.0 is dangerous nostalgia for something that never existed'. *The Guardian*, 19 March.

Pearce, A. (2013) 'Britain's Holocaust Memorial Day: Inculcating "British" or "European" Holocaust Consciousness?' in *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide*, ed. Caroline Sharples & Olaf Jensen . Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pearce, A. (2014) *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*. New York, NY & London: Routledge.

Pearce, A. (2017) 'The Holocaust in the National Curriculum after 25 Years'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 231–262.

Pilger, J. (1971) 'Doomsday'. *Daily Mirror*, 30 July.

Preston, P. W. (2014) *Britain after Empire: Constructing a Post-War Political-Cultural Project*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rae, J. (1984) 'Holocaust the world forgot'. *The Observer*, 22 July.

Regeringskansliet (2006) *The Stockholm International Forum Conferences: 2000–2004*. Available at: [www.government.se/contentassets/66bc8f513e67474e96ad70c519d4ad1a/the-stockholm-international-forum-conferences-2000–2004](http://www.government.se/contentassets/66bc8f513e67474e96ad70c519d4ad1a/the-stockholm-international-forum-conferences-2000–2004) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Russell, L. (2006) *Teaching the Holocaust in School History: Teachers or Preachers?* London: Continuum.

Salzburg Global Seminar (2012) 'Learning from the past: Global perspectives on Holocaust education'. Available at: [www.salzburgglobal.org/index.php?id=417](http://www.salzburgglobal.org/index.php?id=417) [last accessed 9 November 2017 ].

Shaw, M. (2011) 'Britain and Genocide: Historical and Contemporary Parameters of National Responsibility'. *Review of International Studies* 37:5. 2417–2438.

Smith, K. E. (2010) *Genocide and the Europeans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, K. E. (2014) 'The UK and "Genocide" in Biafra'. *Journal of Genocide Research* 16:2–3. 247–262.

Smith, N. (2014) *Holocaust Education and Genocide Prevention: Sharing Experiences across Borders*. Salzburg Global Seminar.

Stevick, D. (2017) 'Teaching the Holocaust' in Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust: A Dialogue Beyond Borders, ed. Monique Eckmann , Doyle Stevick , & Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs . Berlin: International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. 191–222.

Stevick, D. & Gross, Z. (2014) 'Research in Holocaust Education: Emerging Themes and Directions' in Holocaust Education in a Global Context, ed. Karel Fracapane & Matthias Haß . Paris: UNESCO. 59–76.

Stone, D. (2006) History, Memory and Mass Atrocity: Essays on the Holocaust and Genocide. Edgware: Vallentine Mitchell.

Stone, D. (2013) 'Genocide and Memory' in The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies, ed. Donald Bloxham & A. Dirk Moses . Oxford: Oxford University Press. 102–119.

*Submission on the Teaching of the Second World War and the Rise and Fall of Nazi Germany in the National Curriculum for History* (1989) Board of Deputies Archive, ACC/3121/C8/2/16.

Tharoor, S. (2017) *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*. London: Hurst & Company.

Tusan, M. (2014) "Crimes against Humanity": Human Rights, the British Empire, and the Origins of the Response to the Armenian Genocide'. *American Historical Review* 119 (1). 47–77.

UNESCO (2017) Education about the Holocaust and Preventing Genocide: A Policy Guide. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations (2005) 'Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on the Holocaust Remembrance (A/RES/60/7). 1 November'. Available at: [www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/res607.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/holocaustremembrance/docs/res607.shtml). [last accessed 8 November 2017 ].

Wertsch, J. V. (2002) *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Väterliteratur

Gauch, S. (2002) *Traces of My Father*, 1st edn. Trans. William Radice . Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Himmler, K. (2012) *The Himmler Brothers*. Trans. Michael Mitchell . London: Pan Macmillan.

Hirsch, M. (2012) *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Moffit, G. (1993) *Bonds and Bondage: Daughter–Father Relationships in the Father Memoirs of German-Speaking Women Writers of the 1970s*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Rehmann, R. (1997) *The Man in the Pulpit: Questions for a Father*. Trans. Christoph Lohmann & Pamela Lohmann . Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Seixas, P. & Morton Tom (2013) *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts*. Toronto: Nelson.

## Memories of survivors in Holocaust education

Barricelli, M. (2012) 'Das Visual History Archive aus geschichtsdidaktischer Sicht' in *Zeugen der Shoah. Die didaktische und wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit Video-Interviews des USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, ed. S. Abenhausen N. Apostolopoulos , B. Körte-Braun , & V. L. Nägel . Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, CeDiS. 44–48.

Bundesregierung (2008) *Fortschreibung der Gedenkstättenkonzeption des Bundes*. Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache 16/9875. Available at: [www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/\\_Anlagen/BKM/2008-06-18-fortschreibung-gedenkstaettenkonzeption-barrierefrei.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/BKM/2008-06-18-fortschreibung-gedenkstaettenkonzeption-barrierefrei.pdf?__blob=publicationFile) [last accessed 23 February 2017 ].

Friedländer, S. (1997/2007) *Nazi Germany and the Jews*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2 vols.

Gumpp, R. et al. (2002) *Erinnern für Gegenwart und Zukunft. Überlebende des Holocaust berichten. Handbuch für den Unterricht*. Berlin: Cornelsen.

Holland, L. (2010) 'Final Account: Third Reich Testimonies'. Unpublished presentation, Annual Holocaust Research Centre Lecture, Royal Holloway, University of London, 30 January.

- Höss, R. (1992) *The Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz*. Ed. Steven Paskuly. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Jockusch, L. (2007) 'Khurbn Forshung: Jewish Historical Commissions in Europe, 1943–1949'. *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 6. 441–477.
- Kenkmann, A., Kohlhaas, E., & Wolters, A. (2011) 'Vor Tieren hatten wir keine Angst, nur vor Menschen': Kinder über den Holocaust in Polen. Didaktische Materialien, 2nd edn. Münster: Villa ten Hompel.
- Klingenböck, G. (2012) 'Über die Bearbeitung lebensgeschichtlicher Interviews für multimediale Anwendung' in *Zeugen der Shoah. Die didaktische und wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit Video-Interviews des USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, ed. S. Abenhausen N. Apostolopoulos, B. Körte-Braun, & V. L. Nägel. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, CeDiS. 29–33.
- Kluger, R. (2001) *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered*. New York, NY: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York.
- Knellessen, D. & Possekel, R. (2015) 'Einführung der Herausgeber' in *Zeugnisformen. Berichte, künstlerische Werke und Erzählungen von NS-Verfolgten*, ed. D. Knellessen & R. Possekel. Berlin: Stiftung 'Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft'. 13–21.
- Kulka, O. D. (2013) *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death: Reflections on Memory and Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Levi, P. (1985) *Survival in Auschwitz: The Reawakening. Two Memoirs*. New York, NY: Summit.
- McMullan, T. (2016) 'The virtual Holocaust survivor: how history gained new dimensions'. *The Guardian*, 18 June. Available at: [www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jun/18/holocaust-survivor-hologram-pinchas-gutter-new-dimensions-history](http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2016/jun/18/holocaust-survivor-hologram-pinchas-gutter-new-dimensions-history) [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- Obens, K. & Geißler-Jagodzinski, C. (2016) 'Dann sind wir ja auch die letzte Generation, die davon profitieren kann'. *Erste Ergebnisse einer empirischen Mikrostudie zur Rezeption von Zeitzeugengesprächen bei Jugendlichen/jungen Erwachsenen*. Available at: [www.bildungsverbund.net/kre\\_pdf/Forschungsbericht\\_Geissler\\_Obens.pdf](http://www.bildungsverbund.net/kre_pdf/Forschungsbericht_Geissler_Obens.pdf) [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- Paul V. Galvin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology (2009) *Voices of the Holocaust*. Available at: <http://voices.iit.edu/> [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- Sabrow, M. (2012) 'Der Zeitzeuge als Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten' in *Die Geburt des Zeitzeugen nach 1945*, ed. M. Sabrow & N. Frei. Göttingen: Wallstein. 13–32.
- Shulman, A. (1982) *The Case of Hotel Polski: An Account of One of the Most Enigmatic Episodes of World War II*. New York, NY: Holocaust Library.
- Survivors of the Shoah Visual History gGmbH (2000) *Erinnern für Gegenwart und Zukunft. Überlebende des Holocaust berichten* [CD-ROM]. Berlin: Cornelsen.
- The Nazis: A Warning from History* (1997). Directed by Laurence Rees. London: BBC.
- Tych, F., Kenkmann, A., Kohlhaas, E., & Eberhardt, A. (eds) (2008) *Kinder über den Holocaust. Frühe Zeugnisse 1944–1948*. Interviewprotokolle der Zentralen Jüdischen Historischen Kommission in Polen. Berlin: Metropol.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2003) Oral History Interview with Jack Bass. Available at: <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn514241> [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2015) *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Oral History Project with David Boder Interviewees*. Available at: <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn44522> [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- USC Shoah Foundation (1997) *Jack Bass – Jewish Survivor*. Available at: <http://i.witness.usc.edu/SFI/Watch.aspx?testimonyID=33751&segmentNumber=0&returnIndex=0&contentView=1&pg=2> [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- USC Shoah Foundation (n.d.) 'New Dimensions in Testimony'. Available at: <https://sfi.usc.edu/research/initiatives/new-dimensions> [last accessed 23 February 2017].
- von der Lühe, I. (1997) 'Das Gefängnis der Erinnerung. Erzählstrategien gegen den Konsum des Schreckens in Ruth Klügers "Weiter leben" in *Bilder des Holocaust. Literatur, Film, Bildende Kunst*, ed. M. Köppen & K. R. Scherpe. Cologne: Böhlau. 29–45.
- Wein, D. (2012) 'Projektstage mit Video-Interviews des Shoah Foundation Institute. Didaktische Ansätze und Erfahrungen' in *Zeugen der Shoah. Die didaktische und wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit Video-Interviews des USC Shoah Foundation Institute*, ed. S. Abenhausen N. Apostolopoulos, B. Körte-Braun, & V. L. Nägel. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, CeDiS. 34–39.

Wein, D. , Enzenbach, I. , Irmer, T. , Klingenböck, G. , Körte-Braun, B. et al. (2012) Zeugen der Shoah. Fliehen, überleben, widerstehen, weiterleben. Schulisches Lernen mit Video-Interviews. DVD-Begleitheft für Lehrende. Berlin: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung & Freie Universität Berlin.

Zeugen der Shoah (2012) [4 Video-DVD + 4 DVD-ROM]. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

## Figures of memory at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

### 1

Auge, M. (1995) *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity*. London: Verso.

Bernard-Donals, M. (2016) *Figures of Memory: The Rhetoric of Displacement and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Blair, C. (2008) 'Civil Rights/Civil Sites: "... Until Justice Rolls Down Like Waters"'. The Carroll C. Arnold Distinguished Lecture, National Communication Association, November 2006. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Comments, Left by Visitors (n.d.) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Institutional Archive. Organised by date, uncatalogued.

De Certeau, M. (2011) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven F. Rendall . Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

'Elie Wiesel's Remarks at the Dedication Ceremonies for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, April 22 1993' (1993). Available at: [www.ushmm.org/research/ask-a-research-question/frequently-asked-questions/wiesel](http://www.ushmm.org/research/ask-a-research-question/frequently-asked-questions/wiesel) [last accessed 15 August 2016 ].

Hart, Peter D. (1997a) Survey of Visitors to the USHMM, May–June 1997. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Institutional Archive. 2002.022.

Hart, Peter D. (1997b) Survey of Adults and Non-Jewish Visitors, November–December 1997. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Institutional Archive. 2009.005.

Kavanagh, G. (2000) *Dream Spaces: Memory and the Museum*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Linenthal, E. (1994) *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York, NY: Penguin.

Luke, T. (2002) *Museum Politics: Power Plays at the Exhibition*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Maleuvre, D. (1999) *Museum Memories: History, Technology, Art*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Nora, P. (1998) *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Ed. Lawrence Kritzman ; trans. Arthur Goldhammer . New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Patraka, V. (1999) *Spectacular Suffering: Theatre, Fascism, and the Holocaust*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Phillips, K. & Reyes, G. (eds) (2011) *Global Memoryscapes: Contesting Remembrance in a Transnational Age*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Red Book (n.d.) 'To Bear Witness, To Remember, and To Learn: A Confidential Report on Museum Planning', prepared for the US Holocaust Memorial Council, February 2, 8 1984. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Institutional Archive. 1993-093.

'Remarks of President William J. Clinton at the Dedication Ceremonies for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, April 22, 1993' (1993). Available at: [www.ushmm.org/research/ask-a-research-question/frequently-asked-questions/clinton](http://www.ushmm.org/research/ask-a-research-question/frequently-asked-questions/clinton) [last accessed 15 June 2016 ].

Stier, O. (2003) 'Holocaust Icons: The Media of Memory' in *Impossible Images: Contemporary Art after the Holocaust*, ed. L. Levitt , S. Hornstein , & L. Silberstein . New York, NY: New York University Press. 207–244.

Summary of Views Received to Date , Museums and Monuments (n.d.) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Institutional Archive. 1999.015.

# Imperial War Museums

Anon . (2011) Teacher feedback on a Holocaust learning session at IWM London. 19 September.

Bardgett, S. (2008) 'The Holocaust Exhibition at The Imperial War Museum: Challenges of Representation' in *Representing the Unrepresentable: Putting the Holocaust into Public Museums*, ed. R. Schulze . Wivenhoe, Essex: University of Essex. 27–37.

Bardgett, S. (2012) 'The Material Culture of Persecution: Collecting for the Holocaust Exhibition at the Imperial War Museum' in *Extreme Collecting: Challenging Practices for 21st Century Museums*, ed. G. Were & J. C. H. King . Oxford: Berghahn Books. 19–36.

Berger, R. (1995) *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust: A Life History of Two Brothers' Survival*. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado Press.

Bulgin, J. (2016a) Interview with author, 27 October.

Bulgin, J. (2016b) 'Detailed Narrative – The Holocaust Galleries'. London: unpublished IWM document.

Casson Mann et al. (2016) 'The Holocaust Galleries: Stage 2 Concept Design Report'. London: unpublished report.

Cesarani, D. (1998) 'Should Britain Have a National Holocaust Museum?' *Journal of Holocaust Education* 7:3. 17–27.

Cesarani, D. (2016) *Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews 1933–1949*. London: Macmillan.

Confino, A. (1997) 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method'. *American Historical Review* 102:5. 1386–1403.

Donnelly, R. , Howarth, V. , & Salmons, P. (2012) 'The Way We Lived'. London: Imperial War Museums. Available at: [www.iwm.org.uk/learning/resources/the-way-we-lived-exploring-jewish-life-and-culture](http://www.iwm.org.uk/learning/resources/the-way-we-lived-exploring-jewish-life-and-culture) [last accessed 21 May 2017 ].

Foster, S. , Pettigrew, A. , Pearce, A. , Hale, R. , Burgess, A. , Salmons, P. , & Lenga, R.-A. (2016) *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: Centre for Holocaust Education, UCL Institute of Education.

Hansen-Glucklich, J. (2014) *Holocaust Memory Reframed: Museums and the Challenges of Representation*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Hirsch, M. (2012) *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture After the Holocaust*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Judt, T. (2008) 'The Problem of Evil in Post-War Europe'. *New York Review of Books* 55:2. Available at: [www.nybooks.com/articles/2008/02/14/the-problem-of-evil-in-postwar-europe/](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2008/02/14/the-problem-of-evil-in-postwar-europe/) [last accessed 6 January 2017 ].

Kushner, T. (2002) 'The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain: A Study of Ethnography'. *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 21:1–2. 12–40.

Muse Research (2016) 'Holocaust Exhibition: Initial Quantitative Research Findings'. London: unpublished report.

Optimisa Research (2016) 'Summary of IWM's Contemporary Conflict Market Research'. London: unpublished report.

Pearce, A. (2014) *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.

Rivera-Orraca, L. (2009) 'Are Museums Sites of Memory?' *New School Psychology Bulletin* 6:2. 32–37.

Rothberg, M. (2009) *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wachsmann, N. (2016) *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps*. London: Little, Brown.

Winter, J. & Sivan, E. (1999) *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Young, J. (1993) *The Texture of Memory*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Alba, A. (2015) *The Holocaust Memorial Museum: Sacred Secular Space*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Benton, T. (2010) *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bevan, R. (2016) *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, 2nd edn. London: Reaktion Books.

Hirsh, M. (1997) *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kushner, T. (1994) *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Levy, D. & Sznaider, N. (2006) *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Marrus, M. (2016) *Lessons of the Holocaust*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pearce, A. (2017) 'The Holocaust in the National Curriculum after 25 Years'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 231–262.

Stone, D. (2013) *The Holocaust, Fascism and Memory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Young, J. (2000) *At Memory's Edge*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

## Beyond learning facts

Arbeitsgemeinschaft der KZ-Gedenkstätten in Deutschland (1997) 'KZ-Gedenkstätten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Selbstverständnis, Leitlinien, Organisationsprofil'. *Gedenkstättenrundbrief* 80. 18–20.

Barricelli, M. (2012) 'Narrativität' in *Handbuch Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts*, vol. 1, ed. Michele Barricelli & Martin Lücke. Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau Verlag. 255–280.

Benjamin, W. (1991) 'Über den Begriff der Geschichte' in *Walter Benjamin: Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1.2, ed. Hermann Schweppenhäuser & Rolf Tiedemann. Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp. 690–708.

Buchenwald and Mittelbau-Dora Memorials Foundation (2008) *Multiplikatorenseminar Weinen bildet nicht! Neue Methoden historisch-politischer Bildungsarbeit*. Ein Seminar für Multiplikatoren zur Eröffnung der neuen Jugendbegegnungsstätte der Gedenkstätte Buchenwald vom 17. bis 19. April 2008. Available at: [www.buchenwald.de/47/date/2008/04/07/multiplikatorenseminar/](http://www.buchenwald.de/47/date/2008/04/07/multiplikatorenseminar/) [last accessed 20 July 2017].

Brauer, J. (2013) 'Empathie und historische Alteritätserfahrung' in *Emotionen, Geschichte und historisches Lernen. Geschichtsdidaktische und geschichtskulturelle Perspektiven*. Studien des Georg-Eckert-Instituts zur internationalen Bildungsmedienforschung 133, ed. Juliane Brauer & Martin Lücke. Göttingen: V&R unipress. 75–92.

Ehmann, A. (1998) 'Pädagogik des Gedenkens' in *Erinnern in Gedenkstätten*. Vienna: Bundesministerium für Unterricht und kulturelle Angelegenheiten. 39–51.

Flug, N., Bloch, S., Herz, B., Mannheimer, M., Chanoch, U. et al. (2009) 'The Survivor's Bequest: Preserve Remembrance, Conserve Authentic Places, Assume Responsibility'. Available at: [www.auschwitz.info/en/essentials/essential-texts/the-survivors-bequest.html](http://www.auschwitz.info/en/essentials/essential-texts/the-survivors-bequest.html) [last accessed 14 February 2018].

Gudehus, G. (2006) *Dem Gedächtnis zuhören. Erzählungen über NS-Verbrechen und ihre Repräsentation in deutschen Gedenkstätten*. Essen: Klartext.

Haug, V. (2015) *Am 'authentischen' Ort. Paradoxien der Gedenkstättenpädagogik*. Berlin: Metropol-Verlag.

Kaiser, W. (2009) 'Zeitzeugenberichte in der Gedenkstättenpädagogik'. *Gedenkstättenrundbrief* 152. Available at: [www.gedenkstaettenforum.de/nc/aktuelles/einzelansicht/news/zeitzeugenberichte\\_in\\_der\\_gedenkstaettenpaedagogik/](http://www.gedenkstaettenforum.de/nc/aktuelles/einzelansicht/news/zeitzeugenberichte_in_der_gedenkstaettenpaedagogik/) [last accessed 20 July 2017].

Knigge, V. (1996) 'Interview with Volkhard Knigge: Weinen bildet nicht'. *Der Spiegel* 50:52.

*Kunst – raum – erinnerung. Künstlerische und kulturpädagogische Strategien in KZ-Gedenkstätten* (2010) Potsdam: Bildungsverbund für die Internationale Jugendbegegnungsstätte Sachsenhausen e.V. Available at: [http://bildungsverbund.net/kre\\_pdf/abschlusspublikation\\_k\\_r\\_e\\_web.pdf](http://bildungsverbund.net/kre_pdf/abschlusspublikation_k_r_e_web.pdf) [last accessed 20 July 2017].

Marchesoni, S. (2013) 'Walter Benjamins Konzept des Eingedenkens. Über Genese, Stellung und Bedeutung eines ungebräuchlichen Begriffs in Benjamins Schriften'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, TU Berlin.

Margalit, G. (2010) *Guilt, Suffering, and Memory. Germany Remembers Its Dead of World War II*. Trans. Haim Watzmann. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mkayton, N. (2011) '"... the great danger is tears ...". Die Bedeutung von Empathie und Emotionen im Holocaustunterricht'. *Zeitschrift für Didaktik der Gesellschaftswissenschaften* 2:1.



- Schellenberg, M. (2009) 'On Mourning and Friendship in German–Israeli Youth Encounters. The Need to Address the Sensitive Issues' in *Exchanging Young Discourses between Israel and Germany*, ed. Charlotte Misselwitz & Cornelia Siebeck . Bielefeld: Transcript. 45–54.
- Scheurich, I. (2006) 'Historisch-politische Bildung in KZ-Gedenkstätten. Ein Forschungsprojekt zur aktuellen Fachdebatte' in *Nationalsozialistische Lager. Neue Beiträge zur NS-Verfolgungs- und Vernichtungspolitik und zur Gedenkstättenpädagogik*, ed. Akim Jah , Alexander Korb , & Alexa Stiller . Münster: Klemm u. Oelschläger. 187–201.
- Siebeck, C. (2015) 'NS-Vergangenheit und nationale Selbstvergewisserung. Geschichtskulturelle Beobachtungen aus den Gedenkjahren 2014/15'. *LaG-Magazin 7: Erinnern und Gedenken an das Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. Available at: <http://lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/Lernen-und-Lehren/content/12552> [last accessed 20 July 2017 ].

## Hitler as a figure of ignorance in young people's incidental accounts of the Holocaust in Germany

- Barton, K. & Levstik, L. (2009) *Teaching History for the Common Good*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Becker, A. (2013) 'Das 'dritte Reich' in Vorstellungen von Grundschulkindern' in *Shoa und Schule. Lehren und Lernen im 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. P. Gautschi , M. Zülsdorf-Kersting , & B. Ziegler . Zurich: Chronos. 19–35.
- Bloch, M. (2004) 'Ritual and Deference' in *Ritual and Memory. Towards a Comparative Anthropology of Religion*, ed. H. Whitehouse & J. Laidlaw . Lanham, MD: Attamira Press. 65–78.
- Bloch, M. (2005) *Essays on Cultural Transmission*. Oxford & New York, NY: Berg.
- von Borries, B., Körber, A. , with von Baeck, O. , Pille, U. , & Wilberg, S. (2001) 'Jugendliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im zeitgeschichtlichen Prozess – Konstant und Wandel' in *Geschichtsbewußtsein. Psychologische Grundlagen, Entwicklungskonzepte, empirische Befunde*, ed. R. Rüsen . Cologne: Böhlau. 317–404.
- Boßmann, D. (1977) 'Was ich über Adolf Hitler gehört habe ...' *Folgen eines Tabus*. Auszüge aus Schüler-Aufsätzen von heute: Frankfurt am Main: Fischer.
- Bunn, R. (1962) 'Treatment of Hitler's Rise to Power in West German School Textbooks'. *Comparative Education Review* 6:1. 34–43.
- Carrier, P. (2015) 'Divergences et convergences narratives. La personnalisation de l'histoire dans les récits du passé de l'Allemagne'. *À l'école de Clio 1*. Available at: <http://ecoleclio.hypotheses.org/165> [last accessed 7 February 2018 ].
- Carrier, P. , Fuchs, E. , & Messinger, T. (2015) *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula*. Paris: UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.
- de Cock, L. & Falaize, B. (2016) 'Les acteurs de l'histoire. Présences, absences et fonctions' in *Le récit du commun. L'histoire nationale racontée par les élèves*, ed. F. Lantheaume & J. Létourneau . Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 51–66.
- Cohen, E. (2013) *Identity and Pedagogy in Holocaust Education: The Case of Israeli State Schools*. Brighton: Academic Studies Press.
- Fontanier, P. (1977) *Les figures du discours*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Foster, S. , Pettigrew, A. , Pearce, A. , Hale, R. , Burgess, A. , Salmons, P. , & Lenga, R.-A. (2016) *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: Centre for Holocaust Education, UCL Institute of Education.
- Gray, M. (2013) 'Exploring Pupil Perceptions of Jews, Jewish Identity and the Holocaust'. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12:3. 419–435.
- Haralambos, M. (1985) *Sociology. Themes and Perspectives*. London: Bell and Hyman.
- Hermant, M. (1936) *Hitlérisme et humanisme*. Coulommiers : Brodard & Taupin.
- Hitler, A. (2016) *Mein Kampf*. Eine kritische Edition. Munich: Institut für Zeitgeschichte (orig. 1925).

Kantorowicz, E. (1957) *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kershaw, I. (1985) *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Kershaw, I. (1987) *The 'Hitler Myth'. Image and Reality in the Third Reich*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Kershaw, I. (1992) *Qu'est-ce que le nazisme? Problèmes et perspectives d'interprétation*. Trans. Jacqueline Carnaud . Paris: Gallimard.

Lantheaume, F. (2016) 'Introduction' in *Le récit du commun. L'histoire nationale racontée par les élèves*, ed. F. Lantheaume & J. Létourneau . Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 5–11.

Malewski, E. & Jaramillo, N. (2010) *Epistemologies of Ignorance in Education*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Mathis, C. & Urech, N. (2013) '... da hat man sie in Häuser eingesperrt und das Gas reingetan'. *Vorstellungen von Schweizer Primärschülerinnen und -schülern zum Holocaust* in *Shoa und Schule. Lehren und Lernen im 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. P. Gautschi , B. Ziegler , & M. Zülsdorf-Kersting . Zurich: Chronos. 37–52.

Ohliger, R. (2015) *Integration und Partizipation durch historisch-politische Bildung*. Berlin: Fonds Erinnerung und Zukunft.

Posner, R. (2003) 'Kultursemiotik' in *Konzepte der Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. A. Nünning & V. Nünning . Stuttgart & Weimar: Metzler. 39–72.

Saupe, A. & Sabrow, M. (eds) (2016) *Historische Authentizität*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Schlaos, J. (1982) *Hitler-Legenden. Vorschläge zu ihrer Behandlung im Unterricht*. Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag.

Smithson, M. (2008) 'Social Theories of Ignorance' in *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance*, ed. R. Proctor & L. Schiebinger . Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 209–229.

Steed, W. (1934) *The Meaning of Hitlerism*. London: Nisbet.

Teistler, G. (1998) *The Education System of the Federal Republic of Germany*. Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Tulving, E. (1983) *Elements of Episodic Memory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wirsching, A. (2016) 'Hitlers Authentizität. Eine funktionalistische Deutung'. *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 64:3. 387–417.

## Who was the victim and who was the saviour?

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, J. (2003) *Me Us Them. Ethnic Prejudices among Youth and Alternative Methods of Education. The Case of Poland*. Cracow: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas.

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, J. (2008) 'Attitudes toward Jews and the Holocaust among Polish Youth'. Unpublished research.

Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, J. & Szuchta, R. (2014) 'The Intricacies of Education about the Holocaust in Poland. Ten Years after the Jedwabne Debate, What Can Polish School Students Learn about the Holocaust in History Classes?' *Intercultural Education* 25. 283–299.

Anti-Defamation League (2012) 'Attitudes toward Jews in Ten European Countries'. Available at: [www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/adl\\_anti-semitism\\_presentation\\_february\\_2012.pdf](http://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/adl_anti-semitism_presentation_february_2012.pdf) [last accessed 17 November 2017 ].

Bar-Tal, D. & Antebi, D. (1992) 'Siege Mentality in Israel'. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 16. 251–275.

Bartov, O. (2013) 'Conclusion' in *Bringing the Dark Past to Light. The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe*, ed. J.-P. Himka & J. B. Michlic . Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. 663–694.

Bergmann, W. (2008) 'Anti-Semitic Attitudes in Europe: A Comparative Perspective'. *Journal of Social Issues* 64. 343–362.

Bilewicz, M. (2007) 'History as an Obstacle: Impact of Temporal-Based Social Categorizations on Polish–Jewish Intergroup Contact'. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 10. 551–563. doi:10.1177/1368430207081540 [last accessed 13 May 2017 ].

- Bilewicz, M. & Jaworska, M. (2013) 'Reconciliation through the Righteous: The Narratives of Heroic Helpers as a Fulfillment of Emotional Needs in Polish-Jewish Intergroup Contact'. *Journal of Social Issues* 69. 162–179. doi:10.1111/josi.12009 [last accessed 13 May 2017 ].
- Bilewicz, M. & Stefaniak, A. (2003) 'Can a Victim be Responsible? Anti-Semitic Consequences of Victimhood-Based Identity and Competitive Victimhood in Poland' in *Responsibility: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. B. Bokus . Warsaw: Lexem. 69–77.
- Bilewicz, M. , Stefaniak, A. , & Witkowska, M. (2013) 'Polish Youth Confronting Jewish Past: Antagonistic History and Pathways to Reconciliation' in *Reconciliation in the Bloodlands: Assessing Actions and Outcomes in Contemporary Central-Eastern Europe*, ed. J. Kurczewski . Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 97–111.
- Błoński, J. (1987) 'Biedni Polacy patrzą na getto' [Poor Poles look at the ghetto]. *Tygodnik Powszechny* 11. 34–52.
- Braham, R. L. (1999) 'The Assault on Historical Memory: Hungarian Nationalists and the Holocaust'. *East European Quarterly* 33. 411–425.
- Cała, A. (2016) 'Kultura i społeczeństwo w podręcznikach szkolnych z przedmiotów humanistycznych' [Culture and society in school humanities textbooks] in *Antysemityzm nie jest poglądem. Podręcznik dla edukatorów i edukatorek [Antisemitism is not an opinion]*, ed. A. Makówka-Kwapisiewicz . Cracow: Żydowskie Stowarzyszenie Czulent. 45–80.
- Čehajić-Clancy, S. & Bilewicz, M. (2016) 'Fostering Reconciliation through Historical Moral Exemplars in a Post-conflict Society'. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Cioflanca, A. (2004) 'A "Grammar of Exculpation" in Communist Historiography: Distortion of the History of the Holocaust under Ceausescu'. *Romanian Journal of Political Science* 4. 29–46.
- Davidovitz, G. (2016) 'Romanian president: Holocaust not unique to Jews'. *Haaretz*, 22 July. Available at: [www.haaretz.com/1.5350579](http://www.haaretz.com/1.5350579) [last accessed 16 November 2017 ].
- Fleming, S. B. (2006) 'Faith, Action, and Inaction during the Holocaust'. *Religion in Eastern Europe* 26. 20–23.
- Friling, T. , Ioanid, R. , & Ionescu, M. E. (2005) *Final Report: International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania*. Bucharest: Polirom.
- Golec de Zavala, A. (2011) 'Collective Narcissism and Intergroup Hostility: The Dark Side of "In-Group Love"', *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 5. 309–320.
- Golec de Zavala, A. & Cichocka, A. (2012) 'Collective Narcissism and Anti-Semitism in Poland'. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 15. 213–229.
- Golec de Zavala, A. , Cichocka, A. , Eidelson, R. , & Jayawickreme, N. (2009) 'Collective Narcissism and Its Social Consequences'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97. 1074–1096.
- Gross, J. T. (2000) *Sąsiedzi. Historia zagłady żydowskiego miasteczka*. Sejny: Pogranicze [Polish edn of Gross 2001].
- Gross, J. T. (2001) *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gross, J. T. (2006) *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Gross, J. T. & Gross, I. G. (2012) *Golden Harvest: Events at the Periphery of the Holocaust*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gross, J. T. & Gross-Grudzińska, I. (2011) *Złote żniwa: Rzecz o tym, co się działo na obrzeżach zagłady Żydów*. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Znak [Polish edn of Gross & Gross 2012].
- Huener, J. (2003) *Auschwitz, Poland, and the Politics of Commemoration, 1945–1979*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Jasińska-Kania, A. (1992) 'Zmiany stosunku Polaków do różnych narodów i państw' [Change of attitudes of Poles towards different nations and countries] in *Bliscy i dalecy [Close and distant]*, ed. A. Jasińska-Kania . Warsaw: IS UW. 219–246.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2015) 'Historical Space and Critical Museologies: POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews' in *From Museum Critique to the Critical Museum*, ed. K. Murawska-Muthesius & P. Piotrowski . Farnham: Ashgate. 147–162.
- Krzemiński, I. (1993) 'Anti-Semitism in Today's Poland: Research Hypotheses'. *Patterns of Prejudices* 27. 127–135.
- Krzemiński, I. (1996) *Czy Polacy są antysemitami? Wyniki badania sondażowego [Are Poles antisemites? The survey results]*. Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa.

- Krzemiński, I. (2002) 'Polish–Jewish Relations, Anti-Semitism and National Identity'. *Polish Sociological Review* 1. 25–51
- Krzemiński, I. (2003) Antysemityzm w Polsce i na Ukrainie. Raport z badań [Antisemitism in Poland and Ukraine. The survey report]. Warsaw: Scholar.
- Kula, M. (2002) *Nośniki pamięci historycznej* [Carriers of historical memory]. Warsaw: DiG.
- Mach, Z. (2006) 'The Holocaust in Public Memory and Collective Identity of Poles' in *Fact and Lies in the Common Knowledge on the Holocaust. Conference Materials, 2005.11.17*, ed. D. Nałęcz & M. Edgardo Warsaw & Cracow: Oficyna Wydawnicza 'ASPRA-JR'. 99–103.
- Machciewicz, P. & Persak, K. (2002) *Wokół Jedwabnego* [Around Jedwabne], vol. 1. Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.
- Materski, W. & Szarota, T. (2009) *Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod dwiema okupacjami* [Human losses and victims of repressions under two occupations]. Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej.
- Misco, T. (2008) "'We Did Also Save People": A Study of Holocaust Education in Romania after Decades of Historical Silence'. *Theory and Research in Social Education* 36. 61–94.
- Moscovici, S. & Pérez, J. A. (2009) 'A New Representation of Minorities as Victims' in *Coping with Minority Status: Responses to Exclusion and Inclusion*, ed. F. Butera & J. M. Levine. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 82–103.
- 'Museum concerned over Polish Education Minister's remarks on Jedwabne pogrom' (2016) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, press release, 20 July. Available at: [www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-concerned-over-polish-education-ministers-remarks-on-jedwabne-pogrom](http://www.ushmm.org/information/press/press-releases/museum-concerned-over-polish-education-ministers-remarks-on-jedwabne-pogrom) [last accessed 11 May 2017].
- Noor, M., Brown, J. R., & Prentice, G. (2008) 'Precursors and Mediators of Intergroup Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: A New Model'. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 47. 481–495.
- Noor, M., Shnabel, N., Halabi, S., & Nadler, A. (2012) 'When Suffering Begets Suffering: The Psychology of Competitive Victimhood between Adversarial Groups in Violent Conflicts'. *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 16. 351–374.
- 'Polish officials rapped for perceived revisionism of Holocaust history' (2016) *Times of Israel*, 22 July. Available at: [www.timesofisrael.com/polish-officials-rapped-for-perceived-revisionism-of-holocaust-history/](http://www.timesofisrael.com/polish-officials-rapped-for-perceived-revisionism-of-holocaust-history/) [last accessed 13 May 2017].
- Sulek, A. (2010) 'Zwykli Polacy patrzą na Żydów' [Ordinary Poles look at the Jews]. *Nauka* 1. 7–23.
- Sulek, A. (2011) 'Pamięć Polaków o zbrodni w Jedwabnem' [Polish memory of the Jedwabne crime]. *Nauka* 3. 39–49.
- Szuchta, R. (2010) 'Tematyka Holokaustu w najnowszych gimnazjalnych podręcznikach do nauczania WOS' [The subject of the Holocaust in the latest secondary school textbooks for the teaching of civics]. *Wiadomości Historyczne* 4. 34–38; 5. 32–41.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (1979) 'An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict' in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. W. Austin & S. Worchel. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole. 33–47.
- TNS-OBOP (2002) *Polacy o zbrodni w Jedwabnem* [Poles about the Jedwabne massacre]. Warsaw: TNS-OBOP.
- TNS-OBOP (2010) *Antysemityzm AD 2010* [Antisemitism AD 2010]. Warsaw: TNS-OBOP.
- TNS-OBOP (2011) *Po 'Złotyach Żniwach'* [After 'The golden harvest']. Warsaw: TNS-OBOP.
- Todorov, T. (1995) *Les abus de la mémoire*. Paris: Arléa.
- Traba, R. (2000) 'Symbole pamięci: II wojna światowa w świadomości zbiorowej Polaków. Szkic do tematu' [Symbols of memory. The Second World War in the collective consciousness of Poles: a sketch on the topic]. *Przegląd Zachodni* 294. 52–67.
- van Iterson, S. & Nenadović, M. (2013) 'The Danger of Not Facing History: Exploring the Link between Education about the Past and Present-Day Anti-Semitism and Racism in Hungary'. *Intercultural Education* 24. 93–102.
- Wohl, M. J. A. & Branscombe, N. R. (2008) 'Remembering Historical Victimization: Collective Guilt for Current In-Group Transgression'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94. 988–1006.
- Żbikowski, A. (2006) *U genezy Jedwabnego. Żydzi na Kresach Północno-Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej: wrzesień 1939–lipiec 1941* [The origins of Jedwabne: Jews in the eastern Polish borderlands of the Second Polish Republic from September 1939 to July 1941]. Warsaw:

## Conveying the message of Holocaust survivors

- Ahren, R. (2013) 'Israeli schools to teach Holocaust in first grade'. *Times of Israel*, 17 October. Available at: [www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-schools-to-teach-holocaust-in-first-grade](http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-schools-to-teach-holocaust-in-first-grade) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].
- Avivi, Y. (2014) 'Are preschoolers ready to learn about the Holocaust?'. *Al-Monitor*, 29 April. Available at: [www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/originals/2014/04/shai-piron-holocaust-kindergarten-education-nationalism.html](http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/en/originals/2014/04/shai-piron-holocaust-kindergarten-education-nationalism.html) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].
- Bar Ilan University (2016) 'Hundreds of BIU Students Attend Holocaust Remembrance Day Ceremony'. Available at: [www1.biu.ac.il/index.php?id=11415&pt=20&pid=4&level=1&cPath=4&type=1&news=1857](http://www1.biu.ac.il/index.php?id=11415&pt=20&pid=4&level=1&cPath=4&type=1&news=1857) [last accessed 30 August 2016 ] (Hebrew).
- Beit Terezin (2016) 'The Founding of Beit Terezin'. Available at: [www.bterezin.org.il/120869/ff](http://www.bterezin.org.il/120869/ff) [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].
- Brog, M. (2002) 'In Blessed Memory of a Dream: Mordechai Shenhavi and Initial Holocaust Commemoration Ideas in Palestine, 1942–1945'. Shoah Resource Center, Yad Vashem. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205423.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%205423.pdf) [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].
- Budd Caplan, R. & Gutman, Y. (2000) Interview with Professor Yisrael Gutman.
- Carmon, A. (2014) 'Holocaust Studies for Preschoolers: Another Missed Educational Opportunity?' Israel Democracy Institute. Available at: <http://en.idi.org.il/analysis/articles/holocaust-studies-for-preschoolers-another-missed-educational-opportunity/> [last accessed 31 August 2016 ].
- Cohen, A. (2014) "'We'll March in Uniform and Swear: Never Again'". *Israel Hayom* 7 (Hebrew).
- Cohen, B. (2005) 'The Birth Pangs of Holocaust Research in Israel'. *Yad Vashem Studies* 33. 203–243.
- Cohen, E. (2016) 'Shoah Education in Israeli State Schools: An Educational Research 2007–2009'. Highlights submitted by Dr Erik Cohen, School of Education, Bar Ilan University. International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. Available at: [www.holocausttaskforce.org/images/itf\\_data/documents/03\\_member\\_states/israel/shoah\\_education\\_in%20israeli\\_state\\_schools.pdf](http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/images/itf_data/documents/03_member_states/israel/shoah_education_in%20israeli_state_schools.pdf) [last accessed 31 August 2016 ].
- Cowan, P. & Maitles H. (2017) *Understanding and Teaching Holocaust Education*. London: SAGE.
- David, A. (2015) 'Thousands of Israeli Holocaust survivors still living in poverty, fighting for recognition'. *Haaretz*, 13 April. Available at: [www.haaretz.com/jewish/holocaust-remembrance-day/.premium-1.651572](http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/holocaust-remembrance-day/.premium-1.651572) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].
- El Diario de Hoy (2015) 'El Salvador recordó a las víctimas del Holocausto'. *El Diario de Hoy*, 27 January. Available at: [www.elsalvador.com/articulo/tendencias/salvador-recordo-las-victimas-del-holocausto-67620](http://www.elsalvador.com/articulo/tendencias/salvador-recordo-las-victimas-del-holocausto-67620) [last accessed 30 August 2016 ] (Spanish).
- Eckmann, M. (2015) 'Is Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust Relevant for Human Rights Education?' in *As the Witnesses Fall Silent: 21st Century Holocaust Education, Policy and Practice*, ed. D. Stevick & Z. Gross . London: Springer/UNESCO. 53–65.
- Gordon, A. , Goldberg, A. , & Young, J. (1998) Interview with Professor James E. Young. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/odot\\_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203659.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203659.pdf) [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].
- Gray, M. (2014) *Contemporary Debates in Holocaust Education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gutman, Y. (1999) *The Holocaust and Memory*, part II.2. Jerusalem, Israel: Zalman Shazar Center (Hebrew).
- Gutman, Y. & Schatzker, C. (1983) *The Holocaust and Its Significance*. Jerusalem, Israel: Zalman Shazar Center (Hebrew).
- International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (2014) 'Holocaust Remembrance Days in IHRA Member Countries'. Steering Committee on Holocaust Remembrance Days. Available at: [www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/holocaust\\_remembrance\\_](http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/holocaust_remembrance_)

days\_in\_ihra\_member\_countries\_as\_of\_january\_2014\_final\_0.pdf. [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].

Israel Hayom Staff (2013) 'Stop shocking our kids about Holocaust, minister tells teachers'. *Israel Hayom*, 1 July. Available at: [www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter\\_article.php?id=10379](http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=10379) [last accessed 31 August 2016 ].

Kaminka, E. (2016) 'Teaching about the Holocaust in Israel: A Pedagogical Approach Adopted by the Israeli Ministry of Education'. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* 3. 1–13.

The Knesset (1959) Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day Law, 5719-195. Available at: [www.knesset.gov.il/shoah/eng/shoah\\_memorialday\\_eng.pdf](http://www.knesset.gov.il/shoah/eng/shoah_memorialday_eng.pdf). [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].

Kovner, A. (1994) 'From Generation to Generation'. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 8:1. 111–112.

Lanir, N. (2013) 'Don't teach young kids about the Holocaust'. *Haaretz*, 3 November. Available at: [www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.555817](http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.555817) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Lifschitz-Klieger, I. (2016) 'We were like dreamers'. Yedioth Ahronoth, *24 Hours* magazine. B16 (Hebrew).

Malka, T. (2011) 'Who Knows Them? Searching for Relatives in Post-Holocaust Europe'. *Israelis* 3. 47–69. Available at: <http://in.bgu.ac.il/bgi/israelis/DocLib/Pages/2011/tdm.pdf>. [last accessed 30 August 2016 ] (Hebrew).

Mitgang, H. (1986) 'Writing Holocaust memories'. *New York Times*, 15 November. Available at: [www.nytimes.com/1986/11/15/books/writing-holocaust-memories.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1986/11/15/books/writing-holocaust-memories.html) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2015) 'Remembering the Holocaust'. Available at: [www.osce.org/odihr/136546](http://www.osce.org/odihr/136546). [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].

The Orly and Guy Morning Show (2015) *Shai Piron* [video]. Available at: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=MFfO8lYz0mQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MFfO8lYz0mQ) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ] (Hebrew).

Peres, S. (2013) 'Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day Address'. The Website of the Presidency of the State of Israel. Available at: [www.president.gov.il/English/ThePresident/Speeches/Pages/news\\_070413\\_02.aspx](http://www.president.gov.il/English/ThePresident/Speeches/Pages/news_070413_02.aspx) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Porat, D. (2004) 'From the Scandal to the Holocaust in Israeli Education'. *Journal of Contemporary History* 39:4. 619–636.

Rivlin, R. (2016) 'Address by President of Israel, Reuven Rivlin on the Eve of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day'. Yad Vashem. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/remembrance/2016/reuven-rivlin.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/remembrance/2016/reuven-rivlin.asp) [last accessed 31 August 2016 ].

Sherwood, H. (2013) 'Israelis agonise over plan to teach children as young as five about the Holocaust'. *The Guardian*, 10 November. Available at: [www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/10/israel-plans-holocaust-lessons-for-five-year-olds](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/10/israel-plans-holocaust-lessons-for-five-year-olds) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Skop, Y. (2013) 'What I learned in kindergarten today about the Holocaust'. *Haaretz*, 25 October. Available at: [www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.554376](http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.554376) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Spero, J. (2014) 'A Holocaust book for young children'. *BBC News*, 29 January. Available at: [www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25843788](http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25843788) [last accessed 28 August 2016 ].

Starratt, G. K. , Fredotovik, I. , Goodletty, S. , & Starratt, C. (2017) 'Holocaust Knowledge and Holocaust Education Experiences Predict Citizenship Values Among US Adults'. *Journal of Moral Education* 46:2. Available at: [www.tandfonline.com/eprint/fB54TNiZvWJ92a6Gtai/full](http://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/fB54TNiZvWJ92a6Gtai/full) [last accessed 4 April 2017 ].

Weiss, R. (2014) 'Paratroopers at the Gates of Hell'. Yedioth Ahronoth 11 (Hebrew).

Yablonka, H. (2008) 'As Heard by the Witnesses, the Public, and the Judges: Three Variations on the Testimony in the Eichmann Trial' in *Holocaust Historiography in Context: Emergence, Challenges, Polemics and Achievements*, ed. D. Bankier & D. Michman . Jerusalem, Israel: Yad Vashem and Berghahn Books. 567–587.

Yablonka, H. (2011) 'Choosing to Go Forward'. Yad Vashem. Available at: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkJ\\_UdnbG1g](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PkJ_UdnbG1g). [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].

Yad Vashem (1953) Martyrs' and Heroes Remembrance (Yad Vashem) Law 5713-1953. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/pdf/YV\\_law.pdf](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/pdf/YV_law.pdf). [last accessed 30 August 2016 ].

Yad Vashem (2016) 'Rationale for Studying the Holocaust in Primary School'. Available at: [http://education.yadvashem.org/razional\\_yessodi.asp](http://education.yadvashem.org/razional_yessodi.asp) [last accessed 31 August 2016] (Hebrew).

## Holocaust education in the US

- Alpers, B. J. (2003) *Dictators, Democracy, and American Public Culture: Envisioning the Totalitarian Enemy, 1920s–1950s*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Allport, G. (1954) *The Nature of Race Prejudice*. New York, NY: Perseus Books.
- Adorno, T. W. , Frenkel-Brunswik E. , Levinson, D. J. , & Sanford, R. N. (1982) *The Authoritarian Personality*. Abridged version. New York, NY: Norton [orig. 1950].
- Baker, L. D. (1998) *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Barkan, E. (1992) *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Conceptions in Britain and the United States between the World Wars*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, D. (1960) *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*. New York, NY: New Press.
- Benedict, R. (1940) *Race: Science and Politics*. New York, NY: Modern Age Books.
- Benedict, R. (1942) 'American Melting Pot, 1942 Model' in *Americans All: Studies in Intercultural Education*, ed. M. Edman . Washington, DC: Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. 14–24.
- Benedict, R. & Weltfish, G. (1943) *The Races of Mankind*. Public Affairs Pamphlet 85. New York, NY: Public Affairs Committee.
- Bohan, C. (2007) 'A Rebellious Jersey Girl: Rachel Davis DuBois, Intercultural Education Pioneer' in *Addressing Social Issues in the Classroom and Beyond: The Pedagogical Efforts of Pioneers in the Field*, ed. S. Totten & J. Pedersen . Charlotte, NC : Information Age Publishing. 99–115.
- Burkholder, Z. (2011) *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cesarani, D. & Sundquist, E. (2011) *After the Holocaust: Challenging the Myth of Silence*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ciepley, D. (2006) *Liberalism in the Shadow of Totalitarianism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cole, S. G. (1941) 'Intercultural Education'. *Religious Education* 36. 131.
- Cole, T. (1999) *Selling the Holocaust, from Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought, Packaged, and Sold*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cravens, H. (1978) *The Triumph of Evolution: American Scientists and the Heredity–Environment Controversy, 1900–1941*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dewey, J. (1938) 'Democracy and Education in the World of Today' in *The Later Works of John Dewey, vol. 13: 1899–1924*, ed. J. A. Boydston . Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press. 294–303.
- Diner, H. (2010) *We Remember with Reverence and Love: American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- DuBois, R. D. & Schweppe, E. (1935) *The Jews in American Life*. New York, NY: T. Nelson & Sons.
- DuBois, R. D. & Schweppe, E. (1936) *The Germans in American Life*. New York, NY: T. Nelson & Sons.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1941) 'A Chronicle of Race Relations'. *Phylon* 2:2. 172–190.
- Fallace, T. D. (2006) 'The Origins of Holocaust Education in American Public Schools'. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20:1. 80–102.
- Fallace, T. D. (2008) *Emergence of Holocaust Education in American Schools*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fallace, T. D. (2016) 'The Origins of Classroom Deliberation: Democratic Education in the Shadow of Authoritarianism, 1938–1960'. *Harvard Educational Review* 86:4. 506–526.

- Feinstein, S. (1964) 'The Shoah and the Jewish School'. *Jewish Education* 34.2. 165–168.
- Fowler, R. B. (1978) *Believing Skeptics: American Political Intellectuals, 1945–1964*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Halvorsen, A. & Mirel, J. (2013) 'Intercultural Education in Detroit, 1943–1954'. *Paedagogica Historica* 49:3. 361–381.
- Hickman, L. (ed.) (2005) *The Correspondence of John Dewey, vols 1–3*, 3rd edn, CD-ROM version. Carbondale, IL: Center for Dewey Studies, Southern Illinois University.
- Hunt, M. P. & Metcalf, L. E. (1955) *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems in Reflective Thinking and Social Understanding*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Jackson, W. A. (1990) *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938–1987*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Jick, L. A. (1981) 'The Holocaust: Its Use and Abuses within the American Public'. *Yad Vashem Studies* 14. 303–318.
- Lane, M. (1956) 'On Anne Frank'. *English Journal* 45:5. 269–271.
- Linenthal, E. T. (1995) *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York, NY: Viking.
- Lipstadt, D. E. (1996) 'American Memory of the Holocaust, 1950–1965'. *Modern Judaism* 16:3. 195–214.
- Maloney, H. B. (1959) 'Screening Study Guide: Diary of Anne Frank'. *The Clearing House* 34. 59–60.
- Marcus, L. (1961) *The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Textbooks*. New York, NY: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
- Mintz, A. (2001) *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- Myrdal, G. (1944) *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers.
- National Education Association, Education Policies Commission, & the American Association of School Administrators (1940) 'Educators and the Defense of American Democracy'. Washington, DC: author.
- Niebuhr, R. (1944) *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of its Traditional Defense*. New York, NY: Scribner's.
- Novick, P. (1999) *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Pells, R. H. (1973) *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years*. Chicago, IL: Harper & Row.
- Pells, R. H. (1985) *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Purcell, E. A. (1973) *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Schlesinger, A. , Jr. (1949) *The Vital Center*. New York, NY: Riverside Press.
- Selig, D. (2008) *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sheramy, R. (2000) 'Defining Lessons: The Holocaust in American Jewish Education'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Brandeis University.
- Spotts, L. (1967) *Guide to Teachers and Group Leaders: The Story of the Jewish Catastrophe in Europe*. New York, NY: National Curriculum Research Institute.
- Toubin, I. (1964) 'How to Teach the Shoah'. *Conservative Judaism* 18:3. 22–26.
- Whitfield, S. (1991) *The Culture of the Cold War*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wilcox, F. O. (1941) 'Teaching Political Science in a World at War'. *American Political Science Review* 35:2. 325–333.



## The presence of the past

Bloch, G. (2009) *The Toxic Mix: What's Wrong with South Africa's Schools and How to Fix It*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Centre for Development and Enterprise (2015) *Teachers in South Africa: Supply and Demand, 2013–2025*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

Chislom, L. (2016) 'Understanding the Limpopo Textbook Saga'. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. Available at: [www.hsrc.ac.za/en/review/hsrc-review-september-2013/understanding-the-limpopo-textbook-saga](http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/review/hsrc-review-september-2013/understanding-the-limpopo-textbook-saga) [last accessed 21 December 2016].

Department of Basic Education (2011a) *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Grades 10–12, History*. Cape Town: Department of Basic Education.

Department of Basic Education (2011b) *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Grades 7–9, Social Sciences*. Cape Town: Department of Basic Education.

Freedman, R. (2008) 'Teaching the Holocaust to Non-Traditional Audiences: The South African Experience'. Presentation at Yad Vashem International Conference, Jerusalem, 7–10 July.

Friedman, M. (2008) 'Report on Follow-Up Workshop: Understanding Apartheid and the Holocaust'. Presented to the Gauteng Department of Education, 2–4 March, in Johannesburg.

Gilbert, S. (2010) 'Jews and the Racial State: Legacies of the Holocaust in Apartheid South Africa, 1945–60'. *Jewish Social Studies* 16:3 (Spring/Summer). 32–64.

Jansen, J. (2015a) 'The big read: the ugly face in the mirror is your own'. *Times Live*, 11 September. Available at: [www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2015-09-11-the-big-read-the-ugly-face-in-the-mirror-is-our-own/](http://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2015-09-11-the-big-read-the-ugly-face-in-the-mirror-is-our-own/) [last accessed 29 December 2016].

Jansen, J. (2015b) Speech at the dedication of the JHGC. JHGC Collection.

Levi, P. (1986) *Survival in Auschwitz and The Reawakening: Two Memoirs*. New York, NY: Summit Books.

Levi, P. (1995) *The Reawakening*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Levin, L. (2015) Speech at the dedication of the building, 1 September 2015. JHGC Collection.

Mayet, A. & Reddi, B. (2009) *Evaluation Report of the Workshops 'Understanding Apartheid and the Holocaust' Offered by the Apartheid Museum in Conjunction with the Holocaust Centre, in Partnership with the Gauteng Department of Education*. Johannesburg: JET Education Services.

Motshekga, A. (2015) First History Round-Table Discussion, Pretoria, 3 December.

Mthente Research and Consulting Services (Pty) Ltd (2012) 'An Evaluation of the South African Holocaust and Genocide Foundation's Teacher Training Programme from 2007 to 2011'. Cape Town: Mthente Research and Consulting Services.

Nates, T. (2010). "'But, Apartheid Was Also Genocide ... What About Our Suffering?'" Teaching the Holocaust in South Africa – Opportunities and Challenges'. *Intercultural Education* 21:S1. 17–S26.

Pearl, B. (2016) '20 years after the TRC hearings South Africa's pain persists'. *Sunday Times*, 10 April.

Petersen, T. (2015) 'Teaching Humanity: Placing the Cape Town Holocaust Centre in a Post-Apartheid State'. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of the Western Cape South Africa.

Shimoni, G. (2003) *Community and Conscience: The Jews in Apartheid South Africa*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, for Brandeis University Press.

South African Contemporary Military History (2015) 'The South African Air Force discovered Auschwitz extermination camp'. *The Observation Post*. Available at: <https://samihistory.com/2015/12/28/the-south-african-air-force-discovered-auschwitz-extermination-camp/> [last accessed 27 December 2016].

South African Jewish Board of Deputies (1937) 'The Immigration of Jews into the Union, 1926–1936: An Analysis of Official Statistics'.

Wald, H. (2016) 'Work Detail. Memorial to the Six Million'. Hermanwald.com. Available at: [www.hermanwald.com/pages/FormViewAdd.aspx?id=187](http://www.hermanwald.com/pages/FormViewAdd.aspx?id=187) [last accessed 27 December 2016].

Yad Vashem (2017) 'Aerial Photographs of Auschwitz' in *Through the Lens of History: Mini Exhibits from the Yad Vashem Collections*. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/through-the-lens/auschwitz-aerial-photos.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/through-the-lens/auschwitz-aerial-photos.asp) [last accessed on 27 December 2016].

## Educational bridges to the intangible

Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2000) 'War Crimes: Calling Australia Home', *Four Corners* (programme first broadcast 28 February 2000). Transcript accessible online at: [www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s104149.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/s104149.htm) [last accessed May 2017].

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013) '1.3 Estimated Resident Population, State of Territory Composition'. Available at:

[www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/3412.0~2011~12+and+2012~13~Chapter~State+and+Territory+Composition+of+Country+of+Birth?OpenDocument](http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Products/3412.0~2011~12+and+2012~13~Chapter~State+and+Territory+Composition+of+Country+of+Birth?OpenDocument) [last accessed April 2018].

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2014) 'Where do Migrants Live?'. Available at:

<http://abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0Main+Features102014#MELBOURNE> [last accessed April 2018].

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016a) 'Greater Melbourne'. Available at:

[http://stat.abs.gov.au/itt/r.jsp?RegionSummary&region=2GMEL&dataset=ABS\\_REGIONAL\\_ASGS&geoconcept=REGION&measure=MEASURE&datasetASGS=ABS\\_REGIONAL\\_ASGS&datasetLGA=ABS\\_REGIONAL\\_LGA&regionLGA=REGION&regionASGS=REGION](http://stat.abs.gov.au/itt/r.jsp?RegionSummary&region=2GMEL&dataset=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&geoconcept=REGION&measure=MEASURE&datasetASGS=ABS_REGIONAL_ASGS&datasetLGA=ABS_REGIONAL_LGA&regionLGA=REGION&regionASGS=REGION) [last accessed April 2018].

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016b) '3412.0 – Migration, Australia, 2014–15'. Available at: [www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/PrimaryMainFeatures/3412.0?OpenDocument](http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/PrimaryMainFeatures/3412.0?OpenDocument) [last accessed April 2018].

Berman, J. E. (2001) *Holocaust Remembrance in Australian Jewish Communities, 1945–2000*. Perth: University of Western Australian Press.

Chan, M. (2016) 'There are just 100,000 Holocaust survivors alive today'. *Time*, 3 July.

Available at: <http://time.com/4392413/elie-wiesel-holocaust-survivors-remaining/> [last accessed April 2018].

Cooke, S. & Frieze Donna-Lee (2015) *The Interior of Our Memories: A History of Melbourne's Jewish Holocaust Centre*. Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers.

Dafner, A. (2002) 'Kadimah's Role in Founding a Holocaust Centre'. *JHC Centre News* 21:2. 16.

Foster, S. , Pettigrew Alice , Pearce, Andy , Hale Rebecca , Burgess, Adrian , Salmons, Paul , & Lenga Ruth-Anne (2016) *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: Centre for Holocaust Education, UCL Institute of Education.

Frieze, D.-L. (ed.) (2013) *Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin*. New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press.

Frieze, D.-L. (2014) 'Three Films, One Genocide: Remembering the Armenian Genocide through *Ravished Armenia(s)*' in *Remembering Genocide*, ed. Nigel Eltringham & Pam Maclean . London & New York, NY: Routledge. 38–53.

Gearing, M. (2010) 'A Walk to Remember', *The 7.30 Report* (programme first broadcast 1 December 2010). Transcript accessible online at: [www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2010/s3082041.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2010/s3082041.htm) [last accessed April 2018].

Hirsch, M. (1997) *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (2016) 'Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust'. Available at: [www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/stockholm-declaration](http://www.holocaustremembrance.com/about-us/stockholm-declaration) [last accessed April 2018].

Jewish Holocaust Centre (1984a) *Volunteers' Committee Minutes*, 26 July.

Jewish Holocaust Centre (1984b) *Volunteers' Committee Minutes*, 6 August.

Joel, T. (2013) *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Joel, T. & Lowe David (2013) *Remembering the Cold War: Global Contest and National Stories*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Lennon, J. & Foley Malcolm (2004) *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*. London: Thomson Learning.

Maher, L. W. (1994) 'Migration Act Visitor Entry Controls and Free Speech: The Case of David Irving'. *Sydney Law Review* 16. 358.

Monash University (2016a) 'Yiddish Melbourne: Introduction'. Available at:

<http://future.arts.monash.edu/yiddish-melbourne/introduction/> [last accessed April 2018].

Monash University (2016b) 'Yiddish Melbourne: Community Service. Yiddish at the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies'. Available at: <http://future.arts.monash.edu/yiddish->

melbourne/community-service-yiddish-at-the-victorian-jewish-board-of-deputies/ [last accessed April 2018].

Parliament of Australia (2016a) 'Migration to Australia: A Quick Guide to the Statistics'. Available at: [www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick\\_Guides/MigrationStatistics](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/MigrationStatistics) [last accessed April 2018].

Parliament of Australia (2016b) 'Asylum Seekers and Refugees: What Are the Facts?'. Available at: [www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/AsylumFacts](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1415/AsylumFacts) [last accessed April 2018].

Rajzner, R. & Lew Henry R. (2008) *The Stories Our Parents Found Too Painful to Tell*. Melbourne: AMCL Publications.

State Library of Victoria (n.d.) 'The Holocaust'. Available at: <http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/australia-wwii/abroad-wwii/holocaust> [last accessed April 2018].

Turner, M. (2018) *Historians at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial: Their Role as Expert Witnesses*. London: I.B.Tauris.

UNESCO Education Sector (2013) 'Why Teach about the Holocaust?'. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002186/218631E.pdf> [last accessed April 2018].

Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority (2016) 'Victorian Certificate of Education History Study Design 2016–202'. Available at: [www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Documents/vce/history/HistorySD-2016.pdf](http://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/Documents/vce/history/HistorySD-2016.pdf) [last accessed April 2018].

Victorian Multicultural Commission (2013) 'Victoria's Diverse Population: 2011 Census'. Available at [www.multicultural.vic.gov.au/images/stories/documents/2013/pop\\_diversity\\_vic\\_brochure\\_2013\\_web.pdf](http://www.multicultural.vic.gov.au/images/stories/documents/2013/pop_diversity_vic_brochure_2013_web.pdf) [last accessed April 2018].

Yad Vashem (2016) 'Heartstrings: Music of the Holocaust'. Available at: [www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/music/index.asp](http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/music/index.asp) [last accessed April 2018].

## Myths, misconceptions, and mis-memory

Bauer, Y. (2016) 'Foreword' in Stuart Foster, Alice Pettigrew, Andy Pearce, Rebecca Hale, Adrian Burgess, Paul Salmons, & Ruth-Anne Lenga, *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: Centre for Holocaust Education, UCL Institute of Education.

Bauman, Z. (1989) *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cabinet Office (2015) *Britain's Promise to Remember: The Prime Minister's Holocaust Commission report*. London: Cabinet Office.

Cameron, D. (2014) David Cameron's Holocaust Commission Speech. Available at: [www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-camerons-holocaust-commission-speech](http://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-camerons-holocaust-commission-speech) [last accessed 27 October 2017].

Cameron, D. (2015) David Cameron's Holocaust Commission Speech. Available at: [www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-holocaust-commission-report](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prime-ministers-holocaust-commission-report) [last accessed 27 October 2017].

Canadine, D., Keating, Jenny, & Sheldon Nicola (2011) *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carrier, P., Fuchs Eckhardt, & Messinger Torben (2015) *The International Status of Education about the Holocaust: A Global Mapping of Textbooks and Curricula*. Paris: UNESCO/Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Cesarani, D. (2008) 'From the Pulpit: Striped Pyjamas'. *Literary Review* 359. 3.

Cesarani, D. (2016) *Final Solution: The Fate of the Jews 1933–1949*. London: Macmillan.

Cole, T. (1999) *Selling the Holocaust, from Auschwitz to Schindler: How History is Bought and Sold*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Coughlan, S. (2017) 'Cash cuts "threaten school standards", say MPs'. *BBC News*, 29 March. Available at: [www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-39419136](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-39419136) [last accessed 31 October, 2017].

Dargis, M. (2008) 'Horror through a child's eyes'. *New York Times*, 6 November, C15.

Dwork, D. (2017) 'A Critical Assessment of a Landmark Study'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 385–395.

- Eckmann, M. (2010) 'Exploring the Relevance of Holocaust Education for Human Rights Education'. *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 40:1. 7–16.
- Foster, S. & Burgess Adrian (2013) 'Problematic Portrayals and Contentious Content. Representations of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks'. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 5:2. 20–38.
- Foster, S. , Pettigrew Alice , Pearce, Andy , Hale Rebecca , Burgess, Adrian , Salmons, Paul , & Lenga Ruth-Anne (2016) *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust? Evidence from English Secondary Schools*. London: Centre for Holocaust Education, UCL Institute of Education.
- Foster, S. & Karayianni Eleni (2017) 'Portrayals of the Holocaust in English History Textbooks, 1991–2016: Continuities Challenges and Concerns'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 314–344.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992) *On Collective Memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Holocaust Educational Trust (2017) 'About Us'. Available at: [www.het.org.uk/about/work](http://www.het.org.uk/about/work) [last accessed 31 October 2017 ].
- Huysen, A. (2011) 'Presents Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey Olick , Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi & Daniel Levy . Oxford: Oxford University Press. 430–437.
- Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. London: Penguin.
- Judt, T. (2009) *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. New York, NY: Penguin Random House.
- Kaiser, W. (2010) 'Nazi Perpetrators in Holocaust Education'. *Teaching History* 141. 34–39.
- Kinloch, N. (1998) 'Learning about the Holocaust: Moral or Historical Question?'. *Teaching History* 93. 44–46.
- Kushner, T. (2017) 'The Holocaust in the British Imagination: The Official Mind and Beyond, 1945 to the Present'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 364–384.
- Lawson, T. (2017) 'Britain's Promise to Forget: Some Historiographical Reflections on *What Do Students Know and Understand about the Holocaust?*'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 345–363.
- Pearce, A. (2014) *Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Pearce, A. (2017) 'The Holocaust in the National Curriculum after 25 Years'. *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 231–263.
- Pettigrew, A. (2017) 'Why Teach or Learn About the Holocaust? Teaching Aims and Student Knowledge in English Secondary Schools.' *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 23:3. 263–288.
- Pettigrew, A. , Foster, Stuart , Howson, Jonathan , Salmons, Paul , Lenga, Ruth-Anne , & Andrews Kay (2009) *Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary School: An Empirical Study of National Trends, Perspectives and Practice*. London: Institute of Education.
- Ricoeur, P. (2011) 'Memory–History–Forgetting' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey Olick , Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi & Daniel Levy . Oxford: Oxford University Press. 475–481.
- Russell, L. (2006) *Teaching the Holocaust in School History*. London: Continuum.
- Salmons, P. (2003) 'Teaching or Preaching? The Holocaust and Intercultural Education in the UK'. *Intercultural Education* 14:2.139–149.
- Seixas, P. (1993) 'Popular Film and Young People's Understanding of the History of Native American–White Relations'. *History Teacher* 26:3. 351–370.
- Short, G. (1994) 'Teaching about the Holocaust: A Consideration of Ethical and Pedagogic Issues'. *Educational Studies* 20:1. 53–67.
- Short, G. (2005) 'Learning from Genocide? A Study in the Failure of Holocaust Education?'. *Intercultural Education* 16:4. 367–380.
- Stevick, D. & Michaels Deborah (2013) 'Empirical and Normative Foundations of Holocaust Education: Bringing Research and Advocacy into Dialogue'. *Intercultural Education* 24:1–2: 1–18.
- Totten, S. , Feinberg, Stephen , & Fernekes William (2001) 'The Significance of Rationale Statements in Developing a Sound Holocaust Education Program' in *Teaching and Studying the Holocaust*, ed. Samuel Totten & Stephen Feinberg . Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon. 1–16.
- Welker, R. (1996) 'Searching for the Educational Imperative in Holocaust Curricula' in *New Perspectives on the Holocaust: A Guide for Teachers and Scholars*, ed. Rochelle Millen . New

York, NY: New York University Press. 99–121.

Wenzeler, B. (2003) 'The Presentation of the Holocaust in German and English School History Textbooks: A Comparative Study'. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3:2. 107–118.

Winter, J. (2011) 'Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, ed. Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi & Daniel Levy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 426–430

Young, M. (2013) 'Overcoming the Crisis in Curriculum Theory: A Knowledge-Based Approach'. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 45:2. 101–118.

Young, M. & Lambert, David (eds) (2014) *Knowledge and the Future School*. London: Bloomsbury.