



2004

Theme Paper

From the Holocaust to Rwanda

lessons learned, lessons still to learn

Preface

The relevance of Holocaust Memorial Day

As well as providing a national mark of respect for the victims of Nazi persecution and those who still suffer its consequences, Holocaust Memorial Day aims to raise awareness and understanding of how the events of the Holocaust are a continuing issue of fundamental importance.

In particular the Day offers an opportunity for people in 21st century Britain to reflect upon, consider and discuss how those events still have relevance for all members of today's society. Ultimately the Day aims to restate the continuing need for vigilance and to motivate people, individually and collectively, to ensure that the horrendous crimes, racism and victimisation committed during the Holocaust are neither forgotten nor repeated, whether in Europe or elsewhere in the world.

A theme each year

Since Holocaust Memorial Day began it has focused each year on a theme,¹ highlighting specific topics or concepts and supported in the last two years by a paper examining the issues in some depth. Although people may choose to mark Holocaust Memorial Day in different ways, these themes aim to encourage debate around particular aspects of the Holocaust and help event organisers narrow down what can be an immense and daunting subject.

Holocaust Memorial Day is not a substitute for formal education about the Holocaust. The theme papers do not presume to present a definitive and exhaustive account of events and issues. They are intended to help mark

¹ 2001 – Remembering Genocides: Lessons for the Future; 2002 – Britain and the Holocaust; 2003 – Children and the Holocaust

Holocaust Memorial Day by providing a focus through which people can draw on wider materials and then examine the continuing relevance of the Holocaust. The 2004 theme paper also suggests activities that people might undertake against the background of the theme, in order to engage meaningfully with the issues.

Why look at Rwanda?

One way we can remind ourselves of the relevance of the Holocaust is to look at more recent atrocities that raise similar issues – showing that genocide did not end with the Holocaust, and that in the years since, many of the human tragedies witnessed in the Holocaust have recurred, albeit in different contexts and circumstances. The Rwandan genocide is one example.

Although comparisons between the Holocaust and any other event are not necessary in order to ‘learn the lessons’, it does seem appropriate, however, to ask the question: ‘So what have we learned?’ Given that the year 2004 will mark the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, it is fitting to consider this question in the theme for that year’s Holocaust Memorial Day.

But how are events such as the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide relevant to 21st-century Britain? There are two broad ways in which they are very significant. Firstly, they act as warnings of where racism and other forms of prejudice and discrimination can lead (in combination with other factors) and so allow us as individuals to reflect on our own responsibility to tackle these issues personally and in our society at large. Secondly, we can consider how Britain and the British respond to atrocities in other parts of the world.²

What this paper is not

The 2004 theme **From the Holocaust to Rwanda: lessons learned, lessons still to learn** is not intended to be a full account or analysis of the Rwandan genocide, its causes and the responses to it.³ Nor is it intended to be a full account or analysis of the Holocaust.

² For a fuller consideration of the Holocaust’s relevance to Britain today, see ‘Britain and the Holocaust’ at <http://www.holocaustmemorialday.gov.uk/2004/sections/theme/previous.asp>

³ For such information we would encourage you to read further in the further reading section included in the local activities guidance and on the Holocaust Memorial Day website, which also refers to key source documents.

The paper looks at two 20th-century genocides in relation to four topics,⁴ but these topics should not be regarded as the only intersections between them, nor should they be seen as a prescriptive template of genocide that can be applied in all other cases or used to characterise all genocide. However, the dynamics of genocide do follow contours which bear comparison with the Holocaust and other genocides. This year's theme should therefore deepen our understanding of how genocide can and does emerge in different forms and places.

This year's theme will not alter the purpose of Holocaust Memorial Day, which is to commemorate and learn about the Holocaust. It is not *the* means to learn about or reflect on the genocide in Rwanda and it should not compete with the Rwanda Genocide Memorial Day which will commemorate the *actual* tenth anniversary on the 7th April 2004.

⁴ Preventing atrocities; International Humanitarian Obligations; Justice; and Treatment of Refugees and Survivors

From the Holocaust to Rwanda: lessons learned, lessons still to learn

Introduction

One of the stated purposes of Holocaust Memorial Day is to 'ensure that the horrendous crimes, racism and victimisation committed during the Holocaust are neither forgotten nor repeated, whether in Europe or elsewhere in the world'. Another purpose of the day is to 'restate the continuing need for vigilance in light of the troubling repetition of human tragedies in the world today'. Since the Holocaust, some lessons have been learned. Yet tragedies involving genocide and mass murder have continued to occur.

Holocaust Memorial Day 2004 coincides with the tenth anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda. In many regards the genocide in Rwanda was different from the Holocaust, taking place in a different historical and geographical context, underpinned by a different ideology and carried out in different ways. But the most striking similarity is in the intent of the perpetrators. The Nazis had intended to wipe out everyone of Jewish descent within their territory and even beyond. The perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda intended to murder everyone identifiable as Tutsi within the territory under their control. It is estimated that this resulted in the deaths of up to a million people, largely Tutsi but also moderate Hutu and others – yet it is the intent, rather than the scale, that identifies this as genocide.

The theme of this year's Holocaust Memorial Day focuses on the lessons that emerge out of the Holocaust. It asks what lessons may have been learned in the fifty years since the Holocaust, and what still needs to be applied ten years after the genocide in Rwanda. This paper focuses on these questions in four ways:

- 1. Preventing atrocities:** understanding the origins and mechanics of the Holocaust and why fifty years later, preventing the occurrence of genocide in Rwanda was not successful.
- 2. International Humanitarian Obligations:** examining the instruments and bodies that emerged out of the Second World War to create agreement on the way in which the international community should react to events including genocide.

3. Justice: reviewing the process of justice after the Holocaust and Second World War and asking in what ways international jurisprudence has developed sufficiently to deal with events such as those that occurred in Rwanda.

4. Treatment of Refugees and Survivors: observing the way in which survivors were treated after the Holocaust and in what ways survivors of the genocide in Rwanda have been supported through the crisis.

For more detail on the events of and background to the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide, please refer to the further reading and useful contacts sections in the local activities guidance and on the website.

1. Preventing Atrocities

Following the end of the Second World War, slogans such as ‘Never Again’ signalled a common determination to prevent a repeat of the Holocaust and other atrocities. New international instruments were created, such as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); however, there was little understanding as to how these might practically be applied in each instance and who would take responsibility if they were not. During the fifty years that followed the Holocaust there were several genocides and mass murders, yet it was not always clear under whose jurisdiction the responsibility for prevention lay.

In the early 1990s and in the context of the end of the Cold War, regional conflicts in many parts of the world further tested the international community’s commitment to prevention of atrocities. By the end of 1993 – but with roots stretching further back – major domestic conflict was occurring in Rwanda and signs were developing of a disturbing nature. The resolve of the international community to engage in preventative measures was about to be tested.

The role of mass media in reporting genocidal situations and alerting governments and public opinion remained poorly developed. Events in Rwanda tended to be reported at face value without sufficient context and background. Many mistakenly regarded them as evidence of a barbaric, tribal conflict that had always gone on, and for which they had no responsibility.

The international community avoided its responsibility. It did not take the warning signs seriously enough. Through the reluctance of key member states of the UN to invoke international law, it failed to instigate timely intervention. An atrocity which was almost certainly preventable occurred.

Lessons have been learned from the Holocaust about the precursors to genocide. If applied well, they should provide sufficient evidence to invoke preventative measures. Prevention requires a number of components. Among them is developing knowledge of the history, ideology, precursors, institutions and mechanics of previous acts of genocide in order to be able to recognize its form and potential.

1.1 History

The Holocaust did not occur in a vacuum. Historical conflict does not make genocide inevitable, but it invariably conditions the environment in which genocide occurs. The long history of antisemitism, persecution, deportation, expulsion and murder created precedents. These were cited regularly by Nazi propaganda to convince the population of the evil nature of the Jews. The presence of prejudice, stereotypes and historical precedent almost certainly conditioned the outcome.

The genocide in Rwanda occurred following a century of turbulent history in which colonial influence, ethnic cleavage, political struggle and mass killing created layers of mistrust, misperceptions and hatred. The division between Hutu and Tutsi had created historical enmity. The mass killings of the 1960s had created the precedent of dehumanising the Tutsi minority. Historical references to Tutsi inferiority were used by elements of the governing regime and by Radio Milles Collines on a regular basis, to reinforce its genocidal message.

- The antecedents of genocide are often found in historical events, conflicts and stereotypes.
- For genocide to occur, the victim needs to be dehumanized or demonized in some way. Historical prejudices often form the basis of such lies.
- Ideas in the collective conscience need not be genocidal themselves, but may form part of the context in which genocide later occurs.
- Genocidal ideologies often use historical myths as a means to justify their objectives.
- Historical myths of the 'other' will often form part of the propaganda of the potential perpetrators.

1.2 Ideology

National Socialism was an ideology that was constructed with the intent of the exclusion and expulsion of the Jews and those who did not fit its Aryan ideal.

As the Nazis gained in power, the promises of the manifesto took shape in its actions. Legislation on the rights of citizenship, introduced at the Nuremberg Rallies of 1935, was a direct result of the manifesto promise of *Mein Kampf*.

Hutu Power was the ideology that underpinned the genocide in Rwanda. It did not have sufficient power initially to exert its will as a part of a coalition of ethnic Hutu parties. However, the ideology of Hutu Power specifically stated its aim to rid the country of its Tutsi minority as a part of its so-called 'Ten Commandments'. Its political aim was to assert the total dominance of Hutu influence at any cost.

- Genocidal ideology played a critical role in shaping the German society of the Third Reich.
- Ideology also played a critical role in shaping the society of Rwanda under the influence of Hutu Power, which, in pursuit of its aims, identified its victims carefully, isolated them and attempted their complete eradication.

One key attempted justification for the ethnic cleavage in Rwanda was the belief in the differences between Hutu and Tutsi as distinct racial groups. This emerged from the same racial sciences and anthropologists of the turn of the twentieth century that inspired the Nazi race scientists.

1.3 Precursors

The precursors of the Holocaust included the unfolding of events in Nazi Germany from 1933-39 (such as the passing of the Nuremberg citizenship laws), during which time the intent of the regime was made increasingly clear. At this point, mass murder was not inevitable, but was becoming increasingly predictable.

Genocide in Rwanda unfolded with a series of clearly identifiable steps that were necessary preconditions for its occurrence. The issuing of identity cards, the division of opportunity, and the forced identification of Tutsi and Hutu, were a few precursors among many.

- Prior to genocide taking place, there is a development of activity which sets the tone, demonstrates intent and creates its possibility.
- These activities indicate the intent of the perpetrators and need to be taken seriously.
- The presence of widespread stereotyping, propaganda, genocidal ideology, isolation, dehumanisation and state-sponsored killing all play their role as precursors.

These precursors existed with increasing intensity in the Third Reich from 1933 up until 1941. A number of precursors to genocide existed in Rwanda after independence – and some prior it – but particularly from 1990.

1.4 Institutions

When the Nazis gained power in Germany, they quickly took control of the main organs of state and persuaded institutional bodies to support their goals, however indirectly. The lack of resistance to the change of political power and the growing acceptance of the inevitability of Nazi domination, persuaded many to accept its dominance. The control of society through the use of its respected institutions, including the judiciary, churches, education system, medical practice and higher education institutions, to name but a few, almost guaranteed the full penetration of its power.

During the genocide in Rwanda institutions of state and society all played a significant role in the execution of genocide. Lecturers in Butare University are known to have killed their own students. Some priests are known to have given orders to have their own congregation killed. External institutions also played a role. Individual governments outside of Rwanda and international bodies, including the United Nations, have recognised that they failed to act at critical moments against the *genocidaires*. In the meantime, Rwanda was exercising its right to its place on the UN Security Council throughout the duration of the genocide.

- Genocide requires significant resources, apparatus and influence, including the apparatus of state.
- Such influence is found from the military, civil service, education system, religious bodies and media. These institutions and structures have the ability to impede the success of genocide or concede to it.
- The success of genocide relies on the involvement or tacit support of most or all of them.
- International institutions created in response to the Second World War in part to help prevent such violent outbursts did not succeed in this respect with regard to the genocide in Rwanda.

1.5 Mechanics

The 'Final Solution' was a carefully planned operation, in which the intent of the killers was the absolute destruction of the Jewish population. This intent, supported by the means, is what makes the Holocaust an event in history which demands continued thought and analysis. The mechanics of destruction were effected through bureaucratic processes, infrastructure,

development and technology. The murder of the Jews became an industrial process.

The genocide in Rwanda involved intent, planning, delegation, communication, training and implementation through a variety of well defined channels. It was not a spontaneous tribal uprising. The system of local governance was used as the basis of executing orders, which meant that instructions could be passed down to 'sector' and 'cell' level very efficiently. Creating a systematic process was a part of their aim to ensure success.

- Intentional killing always involves planning and execution.
- Genocidal powers rarely create new mechanisms for delegating powers, bureaucracy, communication or military command, although both the Nazis and the architects of the Rwandan genocide did create some new groups. They tend to use structures that exist and optimise them for deploying genocidal policy.

Genocide, although requiring human choice and agency, is a process that involves many departments, mechanisms and methods of implementation.

- Perpetrators leave a trail of bureaucracy and communication which can be observed at the time and, provided evidence has not been destroyed, retraced later for the prosecution of justice.

2. International Humanitarian Obligations

The prevention of atrocities requires a combination of knowledge, political will and functional structures. It was widely recognised after the Second World War that events such as the Holocaust should never be repeated. A number of international bodies and instruments were then introduced to attempt to outline and uphold the obligations of the international community. While these were not intended as preventative measures alone, they were understood as preventative provisions, to help create a recognised code of conduct toward humanitarian issues, including the occurrence of genocide.

After the Holocaust there were important advances in international obligations and a declaration of shared values and responsibilities via the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Refugee Convention, and the Genocide Convention. However, the lack of a permanent international criminal court and relevant authorities to enforce international conventions limited their efficacy.

Strides had been made through these provisions, yet discussion of the events in Rwanda did not result in timely and effective intervention. Parties to the

Genocide Convention 'undertake to prevent and to punish' genocide; by avoiding the conclusion that genocide was underway, the international community thus avoided its obligation to intervene. The Genocide Convention that had been created out of one tragedy was therefore unable to prevent another.

The Conventions and Declaration that were created following the Second World War and the Holocaust which should contribute to the prevention of atrocities are:

2.1 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

This Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948. The Convention was created following the work of international lawyer Raphael Lemkin. He wanted to provide definitions by which the international community might recognise genocide as an international crime. Article 2 of the Convention identifies the acts which may be deemed genocidal when committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. These are:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Categories (a), (b) and (c) were all in evidence from an early stage in the execution of the genocide. This should have been sufficient for the international community to react effectively as events in Rwanda unfolded.

2.2 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The United Nations introduced a Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 1948 as 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms...'

The thirty articles of the Declaration introduced a new standard by which members of the United Nations may judge the human rights' conduct of nation states. The impetus for this Declaration emerged out of the end of the Second World War and the devastation of the Holocaust. It attempts to redefine the importance of the equality of rights, regardless of background. Article 1 begins the Declaration by reasserting that, 'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and

conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.’ The articles that follow describe the conditions under which signatories to the Declaration should uphold the principle in practice.

2.3 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees

The Convention relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted on 28 July 1951 by the United Nations. In Article 1 of the Convention it defines refugees as those persons who ‘owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country’. The provisions of the Convention cover aspects of refugee status such as the right to seek employment and receive welfare and education in accordance with the local population. The Convention has 140 parties who are bound to abide by its regulations.

However, refugees fleeing persecution often find the barriers to entry and the conditions of their stay impeded by local conditions and attitudes which either misunderstand their plight as people or their rights under international agreements. The gap between the intent of the Convention and the practice for individuals fleeing persecution often leaves refugees isolated and vulnerable rather than included and safe.

2.4 Enforcement

Each of the above Conventions and Declaration has made some positive impact upon the way in which governments understand their obligations where they are signatories, or the will of the majority, where they are not. However, these Conventions are limited, as they can only contribute to a positive outcome if they are enforceable. Most international Conventions are only enforceable through consensus where the political will of the signatories is engaged. Ten years after the genocide in Rwanda, there is an International Criminal Court. However, its jurisdiction is limited and prevention of potential genocide will only be instigated where the collective political will of member states is sufficient to instigate political activity.

3. Justice

In the aftermath of the Holocaust the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg and subsequent trials partially attained their goal of administering justice. But the achievement of restitution and redress for the victims of Nazi persecution was limited. The crime of genocide involves an immense web of perpetrators, from the architects of the ideology, through to the rank and file killers and bureaucrats. There were several military courts established by the

allies, most prominently in Nuremberg, where 21 high-ranking Nazi officials were indicted. The rank and file were tried much later when national war crimes legislation was introduced in several countries, including Germany and much later Britain. Many escaped facing justice altogether.

After the genocide in Rwanda, it was understood that justice had to be seen to be done. An international tribunal was set up at Arusha, Tanzania, and further courts convened in Rwanda itself. They have functioned slowly to date and have not delivered the sense of redress necessary for the victims to feel that justice has been done. Local, community courts – *Gacaca* courts – have now been introduced in Rwanda to expedite the legal process at a local level.

Since the Holocaust, justice over international crises has developed over several phases:

3.1 Justice after Genocide

The trial and conviction of Nazi war criminals following the Second World War was not focused on seeking justice for the Holocaust alone, but to redress the atrocities carried out during the whole of the Nazi period. The process did not seek justice for individual victims, but attempted first to convict ideologues, organisers and prominent perpetrators, such as camp commandants and their assistants. In British courts, war crimes legislation was introduced in 1992. Of the potential 70 cases that could have led to prosecution, only one war criminal was successfully prosecuted in the United Kingdom.

The Genocide Convention was envisaged as an instrument to enforce jurisprudence in the wake of genocide, to end the environment of impunity. Within its provisions the Convention identifies the following acts as punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

It states that ‘Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated... shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.’ The Convention made provision for international tribunals, having jurisdiction with respect to its contracting parties, to carry out trials of those charged with these acts. In several instances following atrocities, a specific tribunal has been established in order to expedite judgement. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) is one established by the UN Security Council, the International Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) another.

The ICTR was established in the same year as the genocide in Rwanda took place. It is based in Arusha, Tanzania, and is presided over by a panel of international judges. The process to secure convictions has been slow. This is in part due to the sensitive nature of genocide as a crime, and in part due to lack of experience in trying state-sponsored crimes of this type. Moreover, the Tribunal has faced administrative and funding difficulties. It took four years to secure its first two convictions.

In Rwanda itself, some 125,000 suspects were remanded in custody awaiting trial. Most of these were individuals alleged to be involved in the militia groups at a local level. To provide some form of justice to the victims, the Rwandan authorities re-instated a traditional local court known as the *gacaca* court. Meaning 'on the grass', the courts are not dissimilar in concept to a magistrate's courts. Local community leaders receive a basic training in conducting trials, which a minimum of 100 witnesses must attend. Sentencing is carried out by the presiding panel in the presence of the community. In many cases the prisoner will have carried out his sentence while on remand. He will then be turned over to undergo rehabilitation through a 'solidarity' retraining camp and community service before re-entering the community.

3.2 International Criminal Court

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court came into force on 1 July 2002, having been adopted on 17 July 1998 at a diplomatic conference organised by the United Nations. The United Kingdom was among the initial signatories for the court, ratifying its creation through Parliament on 4 October 2001; as of 10 March 2003, 90 countries in all had ratified the Rome Statute. The International Criminal Court is based in The Hague and elected its first bench in February 2003. The Rome Statute outlines the crimes it is able to prosecute as the most serious crimes of concern to the international community as a whole. Article 5 states that the Court has jurisdiction in accordance with this Statute with respect to:

- (a) The crime of genocide
- (b) Crimes against humanity
- (c) War crimes
- (d) The crime of aggression

Only countries which have ratified the Statute fall within the jurisdiction of the court. A number of states are therefore not legally bound by its provisions. This demonstrates that ten years after the genocide in Rwanda, effective international law still has some way to go to be in a position to adequately indict and punish those responsible for genocide.

- A justice process after genocide is necessary to ensure impunity does not exist.
- Delivering justice after genocide will inevitably be imperfect.
- Victims will rarely, if ever, feel that justice is done.
- The lack of justice is one of the most difficult experiences for survivors.
- Improvements to international justice mechanisms have been considerable since the Holocaust.
- The creation of the International Criminal Court makes the commitment to ending impunity permanent.

4. Treatment of Refugees and Survivors

Once the Nazi regime had been defeated and mass murder had ceased, the consequences for its survivors had only just begun. Holocaust survivors and refugees were largely abandoned to remake their lives on their own after the Second World War. Awareness of the Holocaust and the ongoing suffering of the victims was slow to develop, including in the UK. Education and memorialization came late. The abandonment of the survivors, the lack of effective and comprehensive justice, the loss of community, history, language, family and friends continues to be a heavy burden for those who survived. The consequences of the 'Final Solution' continue to impact today, and will do so for many generations to come.

In countries such as Rwanda where survivors of the genocide live as refugees, there is currently inadequate provision for these trauma victims or a significant awareness of what they have endured. Following the genocide in Rwanda, there has been poor support for survivors, a lack of successful convictions in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and little or no international restitution for its victims.

In Rwanda there is a national fund for survivors to assist the most destitute. However, there is little other funding specifically earmarked for the rehabilitation of survivors. Many are suffering from trauma, or have insufficient means to keep them from the most basic subsistence. Women with HIV/AIDS as a result of intentional infection by rape do not have medication. Many are dying from the disease. Children orphaned because of the genocide are largely cared for by other survivors who are already in difficult financial and personal conditions. Many of the sites of mass execution remain uncared for. Most survivors were not able to give their

families a burial. Many corpses are still missing. International support for the redevelopment of Rwanda has been relatively positive, yet the amount of support directed specifically at survivors is very limited, resulting in disillusionment among the most vulnerable group.

- Genocide does not end when the killing ceases. Its consequences for survivors and the society as a whole are all-pervading and do not recede quickly or effectively.
- Survivors of genocide have specific and special needs that are too easily overlooked.
- The prospect and appropriateness of reconciliation is complex.
- Genocide creates the potential for genocide. It creates insecurity, mistrust and fear. Therefore working with survivors is important as part of preventative measures for the future.
- Narratives are inadequate; pictures do not tell the story; memorials do not remember. It is important to listen and to share the real experiences of real people.

5. Opportunities for Activity

It is envisaged that this theme will encourage a number of activities when combined with the resources which are available on this topic.

- **Discussion** might be encouraged about issues raised by the Holocaust which could be set against tangible contemporary experiences. Questions may revolve around the progress that has been made since the Holocaust and the issues that the genocide in Rwanda highlights about outstanding actions that need to be taken.
- **Listening** to the experiences of survivors as people from different backgrounds, with similar struggles highlights the human suffering of genocide. You may wish to find ways to bring the voices, faces and experiences of survivors of genocide into the homes, schools and communities of people around you, to make the experiences described as personal as possible. It is important to underscore the fact that genocide is not a theory, but a tragedy for all those that endure its consequences. There are survivors of the Holocaust and of the Rwandan genocide living in the UK, and organisations exist that may be able to guide you in making contact with them.

- **Examining** key documents and legislation provided through the resources can help to explore the obligations that exist in more detail. The genocide in Rwanda took place 45 years after the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. There is an opportunity to ask questions about the role of the United Nations and its member states – including the UK – in avoiding human tragedy.
- **Learning** about the causes and consequences of genocide and the international tools that exist to prevent its repetition can be done through the case of the genocide in Rwanda. The clearly definable path to mass murder provides opportunity to learn about indicators and the appropriate responses to them.
- **Acting** to understand and support rehabilitation of victims. Holocaust survivors were neglected for many decades following their experiences. It was not understood that the consequences of their traumatic experience required listening and support. The survivors of the genocide in Rwanda are having a difficult recovery. Many are orphaned, infected with HIV, have lost large numbers of family members, are disabled or unemployed. Some of the organisations listed in the useful contacts section are involved in rehabilitation projects.
- **Involving** professional groups, associations and educational institutions in your activities, aiming to encourage a greater involvement with the issues and the responsibility to engage with those issues.
- **Informing** our communities that the occurrence of genocide is an issue for everyone by looking at the issues that Holocaust Memorial Day raises in practice.
- **Asking** questions about ourselves – what choices, roles and responsibilities did individuals have in the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide as perpetrators, resisters, bystanders, rescuers and liberators? What choices, roles and responsibilities do we have in our society today?

The Holocaust Memorial Day website contains resources, contact details for relevant organisations and suggestions for further reading that may help you learn more about the issues raised in this paper. Much of this information is also contained within the local activities guidance.

Go to www.holocaustmemorialday.gov.uk