

Bearing Witness to Trauma:
An Analysis of Testimonies of Rape in
The Men Who Killed Me:
Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence

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Master's thesis
April 2015

“Never Again,
Plus Jamais”
(Jean-Paul Martinon, *After 'Rwanda':
In Search of a New Ethics*, 47)

Fragments, rape shrapnel, images,
sensations that lodge forever in the body, in the soul.
These testimonies are unbearable.
The acts of hatred and violence unimaginable.
The resiliency and kindness of the survivors
beyond grace.
(Eve Ensler in *The Men Who Killed Me:
Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence*, 165)

Tampereen yliopisto
Englantilainen filologia
Kieli-, käännös- ja kirjallisuustieteiden yksikkö

LÖFSTRÖM, SILJA: *The Men Who Killed Me: Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence*, rape in testimonial literature bearing witness to trauma
Pro gradu –tutkielma, 72 sivua, liitteitä 7 sivua ja lähdeluettelo 3 sivua
Huhtikuu 2015

Vuonna 1994 Ruandan kansanmurhassa hutut tappoivat arviolta 800 000 tutsia sadan päivän aikana. Tämän lisäksi noin 250 000-500 000 tyttöä ja naista raiskattiin. Väkivaltaisuuksien tarkoitus oli tuhota lopullisesti tutsien kansanryhmä. Kansainvälinen yhteisö Yhdistyneiden Kansakuntien (YK) johdolla epäonnistui julmuuksien estämisessä, sitä on sittemmin arvosteltu voimakkaasti tästä virheestä.

Tämän tutkielman aiheena on Anne-Marie de Brouwerin ja Sandra Ka Hon Chun toimittama dokumentaarinen kirja. Aineisto kirjaan on kerätty haastattelemalla kuuttatoista kansanmurhasta selviytynyttä naista ja yhtä miestä heidän kansanmurhan aikana kokemastaan seksuaalisesta väkivallasta. Näiden haastattelujen pohjalta on muokattu teoksen kertomukset. Teos edustaa kirjallisuuden lajina nonfiktiota, kokemuskirjallisuutta ja sen kerrontamuotona on minäkertoja. Tutkielman tarkoituksena on selvittää, mikä kansanmurhan aikana koetun seksuaalisen väkivallan pitkäaikaisvaikutus on sen uhreiksi joutuneiden ihmisten elämään sekä se, miten uhrit itse kokevat näistä kokemuksista kertomisen ja niiden muokkaamisen kirjalliseksi teokseksi länsimaisen tarinankerronnan mallin mukaan. Teoreettisena pohjana kirjan kvalitatiiviselle analyysille toimivat feministinen teoria naisten erityisasemasta konfliktissa, traumateoria kokemuksellisen kirjallisuuden vastuusta ja sen kohtaamista haasteista sekä poliittinen teoria raiskauksesta aseena, kansanmurhan välineenä ja rikoksena ihmisyyttä vastaan. Koska enemmistö naisista sai raiskauksien seurauksena HIV-tartunnan, AIDS liittyy osaltaan konfliktin aiheuttamiin pitkäaikaisvaikutuksiin.

Traumateorian mukaan koetusta traumasta kertominen voi toimia selviytymiskeinona ja osaltaan auttaa siitä ylipääsyssä. Toisaalta taas keskustelua herättää se, kenellä on oikeus kirjoittaa traumasta ja millaista tämän kirjallisuuden tulisi olla. Yksi keskeisimmistä teemoista tutkielmassa onkin selvittää onko de Brouwerin ja Chun kirjaan osallistuminen hyödyttänyt kansanmurhasta eloonjääneitä vai voidaanko nähdä, että heitä olisi käytetty hyväksi tuotettaessa länsimaalaiseen yleisöön vetoavaa kirjallisuutta kauheuksista. Tutkimuksen edetessä traumasta todistamisen monet ulottuvuudet nousevat esiin ja tulee selväksi, että asiaan ei ole yksiselitteistä vastausta. Lisäksi huomataan miten moninaiset ja pitkäkestoiset vaikutukset seksuaalisella väkivallalla on sen uhriksi joutuneeseen yksilöön sekä konfliktinjälkeiseen yhteisöön kokonaisuutena. Tutkimus yhdistää kirjallisuuden tutkimukseen poliittisen näkökulman tuoden esiin kokonaiskuvaa raiskauksen moninaisista aspekteista, sekä kokemuksellisesta kirjallisuudesta näiden välittäjänä.

Avainsanat: de Brouwer, Chu, Ruanda, Ruandan kansanmurha, kirjallisuuden tutkimus, nonfiktio, seksuaalinen väkivalta, raiskaus, traumateoria

List of Abbreviations

BBTG:	Broad-Based Transitional Government
DPKO:	United Nations Department for Peacekeeping Operations
FAR:	Armed Forces of Rwanda (French: <i>Forces Armées Rwandaises</i>)
ICC:	International Criminal Court
MRND:	National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (French: <i>Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement</i>)
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
RPF:	Rwandese Patriotic Front
UN:	United Nations
UNAR:	Union Nationale Rwandaise (English: Rwandan National Union)
UNSC:	United Nations Security Council
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNAMIR:	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
UNOMUR:	United Nations Observance Mission Uganda-Rwanda

Glossary

<i>Gacaca:</i>	“An indigenous form of local justice used in precolonial Rwanda that was adapted in the late 1990s and implemented in the early 2000s to try alleged perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.” (Totten and Ubaldo, 196)
<i>Génocidaire:</i>	(French) Perpetrator in the Rwandan Genocide.
<i>Inkotanyi:</i>	‘Those who fight bravely’ RPF insurgents
<i>Interahamwe:</i>	‘Those who attack together’ Rwandan Militia, former MRND youth wing
<i>Kinyarwanda:</i>	The national language of Rwanda
<i>Mukomeze:</i>	Kinyarwanda for ‘empower her’. The name of the foundation founded by the editors of <i>MKM</i> working to improve the lives of the survivors of sexual violence in Rwanda.

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1. Introduction and background

During the Rwandan genocide in 1994, an estimated 800,000 people were killed and millions of people became refugees (See UNSC report and UNCHR statistics). The killings were not random but their purpose was to obliterate a whole ethnicity, the Tutsi. Not only were close to a million lives lost during the genocide, but also the lives of the survivors would never again be as they were before the genocide. Among the people whose lives were permanently transformed are the Rwandese who were raped during the genocide, some of whom share their experiences in *The Men Who Killed Me: Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence* (hereafter *MKM*) by Anne-Marie de Brouwer and Sandra Ka Hon Chu. *MKM* is a documentary collection of first-person narratives of seventeen Rwandese, sixteen women and one man who share their experiences of the sexual violence they faced during the genocide. As de Brouwer and Chu inform us, between 250,000 and 500,000 women and girls were raped during the three months of genocide in Rwanda between April and July 1994 (3). Furthermore, a shocking 70 per cent of the rape victims are now HIV positive (11). In *MKM* sixteen women and one man break the tradition of silence that often surrounds the victims of sexual violence, by telling of the horrors they had to endure when they were raped during the genocide, often with great brutality and on more occasions than one. The shocking stories of these seventeen genocide survivors bring forth a range of other political and psychological issues that I found important to discuss in relation to the collective and individual narratives that *MKM* offers.

My objective is to examine the narratives in *MKM* in terms of what they might contribute to our political understanding of the Rwandan genocide and what value they might have for the surviving victims, and assess them in the light of critical discussions of testimonial literature relating to trauma. I will look into the debate on what form trauma literature should take and by whom it should be written, the challenges that testimonial

literature bearing witness to trauma includes, and how these issues relate to *MKM*. Through feminist theory I will discuss the special position occupied by women in conflict; rape as a weapon of war, a genocidal act, and a crime against humanity. The general discussion on human rights, and the responsibility of the international community to protect those whose human rights are being violated, function as the broader framework for my research. Because most of the rape victims were infected with AIDS, this should be discussed in connection with the other issues while also noting women's heightened vulnerability to AIDS in Africa.

Furthermore, I will look into the testimonials of the sixteen women and one man of *MKM* in order to find the individual reasons why they chose to share their experiences. What did these seventeen Tutsi aim to accomplish by telling their experiences to the world? What was the role of the editors in the process? I will also examine what effect the form of testimonials and first person narratives has on the reader, using trauma theory as my theoretical framework. Trauma theory is a genre of literary criticism that focuses on texts on trauma, and debates over whether the marketing of narratives such as these might be considered exploitative. Trauma theory has previously been principally referred to in discussion of Holocaust literature, and because the Rwandan genocide and the Holocaust share some unifying characteristics despite having some major differences as well, I found trauma theory relevant also for the case of the Rwandan genocide. The works that I will later refer to include the noted trauma theorists' Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's *Testimony; Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* and Dominick LaCapra's *History and Memory After Auschwitz*, as well as more recent works such as, *Writing Trauma: The Voice of the Witness in Rwandan Women's Testimonial Literature* by Catherine Gilbert. In the course of the research I expect to form an understanding of the reasons behind what happened in Rwanda. I will incorporate the different aspects of wartime rape into the specific case of Rwanda. My research will highlight ways in which *MKM* helps enhance

understanding of the reasons for what happened in Rwanda. It will also examine the different ways in which wartime rape was a central aspect of the genocide, and explore how this experience of trauma has continued to influence the society.

My approach to this topic is interdisciplinary, combining literary study with international relations and gender studies, and I hope my research will bring a new perspective on the issue. Although there already exists plenty of research on some of the topics of the thesis, I do not find it exhaustive. Because of the previous research, there is a strong theoretical background on which to base my own writing. There is enough material to form a cohesive analysis and discussion of the topic. In addition, this specific piece of literature has not been discussed in this manner before. It is also the only piece of testimonial literature that I have managed to find that focuses specifically on sexual violence during the Rwandan genocide. As the discussion on sexual violence in conflict is underrepresented in the political discussion at the moment, I found it an important topic to address with this thesis. The diverse effects that wartime rape has on an individual are worth studying together in order to form a full picture of what sexual violence during war does to an individual's life and self-image, as well as to a community as a whole, based on the seventeen testimonials in *MKM*. From a feminist perspective it will be noted that a woman can also be a symbol of a nation in general, and in Rwanda's case represent a whole ethnicity. When the Tutsi women were hurt, it damaged the entire ethnic group. This in my opinion is also an important aspect of how rape can function as a weapon of war. The issue has been approached for example in the work of Chiseche Mibenge in *Sex and International Tribunals: The Erasure of Gender from the War Narrative* and in *Women's Issues: Crimes Against Women* by Eileen Servidio and David Wingeate Pike.

Even though gender and women's issues have recently emerged on the UN and various NGOs' agendas, attitudes towards violence against women have not changed

accordingly, and there still remains a lot that can and should be done to improve the position of women and to ensure their security. I wish to contribute to the discussion with my thesis. The Rwandan genocide could have been prevented, as becomes clear later in the thesis based on the magnitude of evidence that has been published after the genocide, which is why it is necessary not to forget this event in order not to repeat the mistake (see for example Barnett, Straus, and Totten and Ubaldo). This thesis will participate in the discussion on the Rwandan genocide to, for its part, keep the discussion going and to show respect for the people whose lives were lost, as well as for those who survived, but still bear the physical and psychological scars of the trauma experienced.

1.1. The structure of the thesis

The structure of thesis is as follows: the first, introductory chapter will look into the debate of the main reasons behind the Hutu/Tutsi hatred that sparked off the violence leading up to the genocide and resulted in the loss of so many lives. This chapter will also offer an overview of the timeline of the Rwandan genocide and a brief description of *MKM* that functions as the main material for this thesis.

The second chapter, i.e. the first theory chapter, will be fully devoted to trauma theory, and will explain what trauma theory is, when, by whom, and for what purposes it was created. This chapter will also discuss the main points developed by the most noted trauma theorists. In the third chapter I will move on to political theory, by discussing the issues of women's special position in conflict and gendered violence during conflict, rape-as-weapon-of-war, a genocidal act and a crime against humanity, AIDS, and the world community's failure to stop the genocide.

The fourth chapter will take a closer look at *MKM*, by describing how and for what reasons it was compiled and what the testimonials in it are like, describing also the

methods that will be used for the following analysis chapter.

The fifth chapter contains the analysis of the main material, and will look deeper into the testimonials in *MKM* and examine what the victims state as the reasons for sharing their experiences, if and how their experiences resemble each other, if and how the victims have learned to live with the ongoing trauma, and what they think of the world's society's reaction to their suffering, and finally, what should or could be done in the victims' opinion for justice to be fulfilled for the wrongs they have faced.

The sixth and final chapter ties the theory and analysis chapters into conclusions on what the long-term effects of sexual violence have been on the victims of *MKM*, individually, and on the Rwandan society as a collective. I will also try to deduce what could be done in order to stop atrocities like the ones that were performed to the Rwandese from happening again, while also noting that cruelty and sexual violence not unlike what happened in Rwanda have also happened after it, and still continue to happen today, showing no signs of stopping in the near future.

Before the bibliography, the appendix section contains a map of Rwanda, a timeline of the UN actions before and during the Rwandan Genocide, a table of the expenses and income of the Mukomeze Foundation, and a few of Samer Muscati's black and white photographs of the survivors from *MKM*.

The next subchapter begins the thesis by providing a background to the Rwandan Genocide, examining the different theories on the roots of the Hutu hatred towards the Tutsi.

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1.2. The roots of the genocide

The main cause behind the genocide has been an issue of major debate. The question of why the Hutu wanted to destroy the Tutsi still remains to be answered, as several reasons for the hatred of the Hutu majority against the Tutsi minority have been brought forth. Nigel Eltringham quotes a Rwandan church worker on the competing explanations for the genocide:

Many have looked and still look at the Rwandan tragedy as the result of ethnic hatred, others as the consequence of bad politics and power struggle; some take it for the direct outcome of colonial and neo-imperialist manipulations, while others take it to be the outlet of socio-economic frustrations, and so on. Blind men with a big elephant in the middle to identify! And the truth again is there in the middle – as big as all those elements put together. (xv)

To this speculation on the reasons for the genocide, Straus has added that to a large degree the killings were government-orchestrated and as such very systematic, which is why to refer to them as tribal warfare, would be erroneous (23). Equally misleading is to refer to the Rwandan genocide as a civil war since the Hutu were a majority with the means to systematically annihilate a minority, whereas a civil war usually requires two relatively equal parties. Prunier has claimed that,

the Rwandese crisis is completely atypical if one compares it with other contemporary African crises. [...] The genocide happened not because the state was weak, but on the contrary because it was so totalitarian and strong that it had the capacity to make its subjects obey absolutely any order, including one of mass slaughter. (353-354)

With this claim he brings forth his view that the genocide was government-orchestrated, and that the state played a crucial role in the planning and enabling of the genocide. Roger Bromley has written about the role of hate media in constructing an image of the enemy, and in this way enabling the genocide. He says that print and broadcast media facilitated the genocide by creating a “moral disengagement” of the Tutsi ethnicity by presenting “de-

humanised stereotypes” of the Tutsi minority (39). One of the main media for this hate propaganda was the *Radio Television Libre de Mille Collines* (RTLM) which, for example, launched the derogatory term *inyenzi* (cockroaches) used to refer to the Tutsi.

The Hutu, who comprise 85 per cent of the Rwandan population, have traditionally been farmers, administrators and soldiers, while the Tutsi who constitute 14 per cent of the Rwandese were keepers of cattle (Destexhe, 37; Moghalu, 9; and Totten and Ubaldo, 2). Beyond this division of tasks, the Tutsi and the Hutu do not have many differentiating factors. They speak the same language, Kinyarwanda, and share a culture with the same taboos and traditions, the same religion, and belong to the same clans, and most importantly, in many areas live as neighbours in the same neighbourhoods, and also intermarry (de Brouwer & Chu, 12, Destexhe, 36, Straus, 20).

According to Moghalu the two ethnicities, if they can even be differentiated as such, originate from separate locations, the Hutu are of Bantu origin, probably from Cameroon, while the Tutsi are considered to be of Ethiopian descent (9). However, they have occupied the same land already for centuries, which is why the difference in origins now seems an unlikely reason for the Hutu hatred towards the Tutsi. Destexhe claims that the German and later Belgian colonisers of Rwanda had a part in creating the distinction between the two groups. He says that

colonisers developed a system of categories for different ‘tribes’ that was largely a function of aesthetic impressions. Individuals were categorized as Hutu or Tutsi according to their degree of beauty, their pride, intelligence and political organization. The colonisers established a distinction between those who did not correspond to the stereotype of a negro (the Tutsi) and those who did (the Hutu). (38)

According to Straus, “[c]olonial-era documents consistently describe Hutus as short, stocky, dark-skinned, and wide-nosed, by contrast, the Tutsis are presented as tall, elegant, light-skinned, and thin-nosed” (21). Furthermore, during the genocide it was the identity cards that

by Belgian initiative contained the ethnic classification of either Hutu, Tutsi or Twa, (Twa: the third, pygmy tribe of Rwanda, constituting 1% of the population) that later functioned as tools for the génocidaires (genocide perpetrators) to decide who would be killed and who would live (Destexhe 47, de Brouwer & Chu, 12). Destexhe continues by stating that: “the Tutsi people [...] were ‘guilty’ on three counts: they were a minority, they were a reminder of a feudal system and they were regarded as colonisers in their own country.” (47)

However, the view expressed by Destexhe is challenged by Totten and Ubaldo who state that the tension between the Hutu and the Tutsi originates already from the pre-colonial times, and was due to the superior position of the Tutsi in relation to the Hutu (2). According to Totten and Ubaldo, the Tutsi had after an initially peaceful migration into the Hutu area gained control over cattle, land, and labour from the Hutu in a series of battles, and it was this inequality dating back over a century, that was the main cause of tension between the groups, tension that would later erupt in an extreme manner in the Rwandan genocide (2).

It is also worth noting that the genocide of 1994 was not the first instance of violence against the Tutsi in the twentieth century, but that “the first episode of genocide against Tutsi” took place already in November 1959 (Eltringham, 34). The violence began when the Tutsi of the *Union Nationale Rwandaise* (UNAR: a nationalist movement demanding independence from Belgium) attacked two of the Hutu chiefs of *Parti du Mouvement de l’Emancipation Hutu* (Parmehutu; a pro-Hutu party) causing the Hutu to retaliate with extreme force, by burning several Tutsi houses and killing a total of over 20,000 Tutsi during a period of three years (Prunier, 49, Destexhe, 43). In this series of events that has also been termed “the Hutu Revolution” the Hutu rose violently from their inferior position in relation to the Tutsi, and the previous Tutsi domination was replaced with a Hutu one under Belgian support (Eltringham, 35, Straus, 21). The Tutsi elite were banished from their positions of power and driven into exile. In 1962 Rwanda was declared

independent under a Hutu monopoly (Destexhe, 44).

This was the beginning of the change of the power structure in Rwanda, and the end of a peaceful coexistence between the Hutu and the Tutsi. The attacks of 1959 were followed subsequently by further anti-Tutsi violence in years 1963 and 1967, when the Hutu struck the Tutsi with attacks that have later been acknowledged as genocidal, killing and sending into exile chiefs and sub-chiefs of UNAR (Eltringham, 35). These killings were lesser in scale compared to the genocide of 1994, and the deaths were counted in thousands as opposed to hundreds of thousands (Holmes, 18). The attacks however started the steady flow of Tutsi refugees into neighbouring countries, as they had to escape the threat of violence that had gained space in the political atmosphere of their home country. According to the information the editors of *MKM* received from the Kigali Memorial Centre, 700,000 Tutsis fled Rwanda between 1959 and 1973 (12). President Juvénal Habyarimana came into power in a military coup in 1973, when the Tutsi yet again had to face violence from the Hutu, which was followed by a “period of calm” until 1990 (Destexhe, 45).

In the years before the genocide, between 1990 and 1993, there was a civil war between the Hutu-dominated government and the Tutsi rebels that were the descendants of the exiles who had escaped after the Hutu revolution of 1959 (Straus, 24). The Tutsi fought under the name of *Rwandan Patriotic Front* (RPF) while the Hutu were part of the *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement* (MRND) government (Straus, 24). The goal of the RPF was to gain a foothold in the now Hutu-dominated Rwanda, by regaining some of the rights they had been deprived of after the Hutu Revolution. During the civil war, President Habyarimana started peace negotiations with the RPF rebels, and was favourable for a solution that would have granted the Tutsi some of the rights they were demanding (Straus, 24). However, President Habyarimana was killed before the peace agreement came into force.

It must be added that although the history of Rwanda shows that the Hutu under government support aimed to extinguish the entire Tutsi ethnicity, even this matter is not as straightforward as it first might seem. In no conflict is the other party entirely guilty or innocent. In her autobiography *Surviving the Slaughter, The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire*, Marie Béatrice Umutesi, a Hutu, shows the other side of the matter as she describes her experiences after the genocide, and the threat of violence that she escaped. Catharine Newbury in her foreword to Umutesi's book, states that "not all Hutu were *génocidaires*" (xii), and that the genocide affected also the Hutu. Umutesi was among the group of Hutu who escaped into Zaire "the great confusion, helplessness, fear and wanton violence that marked this period" (xiv). During the Rwandan genocide also moderate Hutu were targeted, and the Hutu who tried to protect the Tutsi risked their lives, as well as those who had family ties to the Tutsi, as many did. One of the survivors in *MKM*, Marie Mukabatsinda, is a Hutu who suffered sexual violence solely because her husband was a Tutsi. This note is just a means to show that there are many perspectives to every story, and that human suffering is not logical or coherent. The next section of this chapter will handle how the hatred escalated after Habyarimana's death resulting in a massacre the speed and efficiency of which by far surpassed even the Holocaust.

1.3. 100 days of blood

On the 6th of April 1994 President Habyarimana's plane, which was also carrying President Ntaryamira of Burundi, was shot down above the Kanombe airport in Kigali, on their return from Tanzania (Totten, 8). He had been discussing a peace agreement as part of the Arusha Accords in Dar Es Salaam, an agreement that would have been favourable to the Tutsi, granting them for example a military and government presence (Holmes, 13, Straus, 24). After Habyarimana's death all hope for a peaceful resolution was lost, and the massacring of

the Tutsi began the day after his plane was shot down, as roadblocks were set up around Kigali to prevent the Tutsi from escaping. A large part of the killings were performed during the two first weeks of the genocide (Holmes, 13). The weapons used for the genocide were very different from the “modern industrial technology” employed by the Nazis during the Holocaust, as the weapons the Hutu resorted to were mostly rudimentary farming tools, clubs and machetes, that demanded them to take close contact with their victims (Barnett, 1, Straus, 18, Totten, 1). The weaponry used contributed to the sadistic and brutal nature of the Rwandan genocide.

The massacres were performed to a large degree by the members of the Hutu militia, the Interahamwe, a former MRND “youth wing” that has now become synonymous with genocide perpetration (Straus, 26-27). The Interahamwe were particularly cruel in performing the massacres as they attacked the Tutsi where they sought refuge, in churches, schools, and government offices, having little respect for the dead bodies as they were left to rot where they had been killed or on the sides of the roads (Straus, 18). A majority of the Tutsi women and girls were raped, and also men had to endure sexual violence, often in the form of genital mutilation, forced rape of Tutsi women or forced sex with Hutu women (*MKM*, 15). However, the sexual violence towards men was much less frequent and less systematic than the rape of the Tutsi women. The speed and efficiency of killing exceeded that of the Holocaust as there were approximately “333½ deaths per hour, 5½ deaths per minute” (Barnett, 1). Prunier has calculated the daily rate of killing to exceed the one of the Nazi death camps at least five times (261). The numbers are even more horrifying if the weapons that were used are taken into account.

While the aforementioned was happening in Rwanda, the world did little to stop the atrocities. As the massacres began, there were 2,500 UN peacekeepers in the country. The troops were led by UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) force

commander, Canadian General Roméo Dallaire. As the massacres began, he was immediately ordered not to protect civilians, and on the 21st of April the UN ordered Dallaire to withdraw all but 270 of his troops, despite the fact that Dallaire had just before asked for reinforcements to stop the slaughter (Barnett, 2). The Belgians had left earlier, as a response to the death of ten of their troops who were protecting the moderate Hutu Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana (Prunier, 230). The Prime Minister was not the only Hutu that was killed as also other moderate Hutu were targeted by the Hutu radicals.

Barnett writes that what he considers unique about the Rwandan genocide is that the prevention of the events would have required relatively little effort on behalf of the United Nations (2). According to Barnett the UN had to decide whether its responsibilities to the Rwandans overrode those that it had to its own personnel (6). The decision that was made can be read from the number of the victims. The death of the American Rangers in Somalia on October 3rd 1993 was a factor that affected the UN's actions in Rwanda, claims Barnett, as the United States were unwilling to send troops to Rwanda fearing for the lives of their soldiers (13). Because of this fear the United States used its veto right in the UN Security Council to stop a much-needed humanitarian intervention in Rwanda. On June 22nd 1994 the UN authorised Operation Turquoise led by French forces, the purpose of which was to establish and maintain a safe-zone for the Rwandan civilians. However the success of this operation is questionable, a matter to which I will return to in Chapters 3 and 5.

On July 4th 1994 the RPF ended the genocide by taking control of Kigali and declared a unilateral ceasefire on the 18th of July 1994, finally ending the genocide after 100 days of blood and the carnage of 800,000 Tutsi (Totten, 8, Barnett, 187). *MKM* provides concrete accounts that clarify the important historical aspects of the genocide and the international response and the following chapter will discuss the literary theory that will be used to evaluate how *MKM* functions as a narrative account of the genocide.

2. Trauma theory

This chapter presents the theoretical framework that I will use in analysing the testimonials in *MKM* in the light of critical discussions of trauma narratives, and outlines the main points and different approaches of trauma theory. The first subchapter presents paradigmatic trauma theory, as it was developed by literary scholars in the 1990's. The second subchapter handles trauma theory in connection to a famous quote by the philosopher Theodor Adorno relating to ethical concerns regarding testimonials of trauma. The third subchapter addresses the pitfalls of trauma theory, while the fourth approaches testimonial literature bearing witness to trauma as a means of healing.

2.1. Paradigmatic trauma theory

In the 1990's, literary scholars Cathy Caruth, Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, and Dominick LaCapra started to explore historical trauma and how it is represented, both in oral testimony and in literary texts. The research done by these scholars has come to constitute the paradigmatic trauma theory. The basis for their approach to trauma lies largely in Freudian psychoanalytical theory and psychotherapy, especially in how a traumatised individual deals with the resurfacing of traumatic memories. Trauma theory was first developed in the fields of psychoanalysis and medicine, and only subsequently applied to cultural and literature studies (Gilbert, 24).

Trauma theory in the literary field is, put bluntly, a theory of how trauma should be addressed in literature, and by whom this literature should be written (Colin Davis in Sonntag and Modlinger, 20-21). It also addresses the ethics of fiction on trauma, and discusses whether the basic idea of writing fiction about atrocities that have actually been experienced by people can be justified. While taking a critical stance regarding fiction on

trauma, trauma theory also acknowledges the traumatised individual's difficult task in giving testimony on a traumatic event. Without questioning the importance of sharing traumatic stories with the world, trauma theory accepts the difficulty of plausibly expressing the experienced trauma in a way that transmits to the reader what the victim has gone through (Colin Davis in Sonntag and Modlinger, 20-21).

According to Martin Modlinger and Philipp Sonntag, a new interest in the "pain of others" has emerged in the field of literary and cultural studies, and research focusing on the narratives of the annihilated and oppressed has become a topical issue in the humanities at the moment (1). As "we inhabit an academic world that is busy consuming trauma" (Patricia Yaeger qtd in Modlinger and Sonntag, 1) this interest in traumatic stories that could be said to have reached a level of an obsession, and has itself become a question of ethics has brought forward the question; is it acceptable that we devour literature on the pain and death of others? Since *MKM* offers for the Western reader just this, a piece of literature on the pain and death of others to consume for their pleasure, the analysis chapter will consider possible ethical criticisms of publishing testimonies of the genocide survivors. Trauma theory as a field of study, is primarily an Anglo-American invention, a fact that should be noted while applying the theory into literary texts originating from outside of the United States, as noted also by Gilbert (23). It is likewise important to note that when taking possession of someone else's trauma by constructing a narrative about it, and when formatting and addressing this narrative for the consumption of a Western audience, we encounter a risk of exploiting the traumatised individual's experience. This is also a risk that is worth considering in relation to *MKM*.

In addition to the issues mentioned above, trauma theory also notes the difficult relationship between the traumatic event, memory and imagination, which Dominick LaCapra has raised by inquiring: "when things of an unimaginable magnitude actually occur

and phantasms seem to run rampant in ‘ordinary’ reality, what is there for the imagination to do?” (181). With this quote, he wants to address the problem of writing about an experience that has been so traumatic, that the horrors of it “go beyond the imagination’s powers of representation” (181). How to write about a reality that is so horrific that it seems like a figment of imagination in itself? What literary devices, what allegories and metaphors, may be used in such representation so as not to misrepresent or undermine the traumatic event? In relation to this, he has also addressed how the victim of trauma does not necessarily know how to put the traumatic experience into words. A survivor of the Holocaust, when asked about his experience, had answered that he does not know how to describe it, since he is no poet (180). This comes to show how difficult a task writing about trauma is, and how complicated also the question of who has the right to address trauma in literature. This view too will be weighed in relation to *MKM* in the analysis chapter.

Felman and Laub approach giving testimony also from the point of view of the survivor, and recognize the effect that giving testimony has on an individual’s survival and coming to terms with the trauma. Dori Laub has written that “[t]he survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their story; they also needed to tell their story in order to survive” (78). He continues by saying that there is an inescapable desire in the survivor to tell and to be heard in order to come to terms with the truth of what has happened and to be able to continue one’s life (78). As scholars focusing their studies on Holocaust literature, Felman and Laub accurately describe the Second World War as “the watershed” trauma of our time, a trauma that is still not over, but which continues to resonate in contemporary history and politics, art and culture and which has permanently changed the psychological landscape of Europe (xiv). There exists now a plethora of literature on the Holocaust, both fictional and testimonial, and it has also been addressed a great deal by art and cinema. These pieces of art, literature and film have helped to raise awareness on the Holocaust and in the

process made the suffering of the Jews part of mainstream culture (Rothe, 3-4). Some aspects of the ethics of this may remain questionable, but it cannot be argued that the trauma of the Holocaust survivors and of those who perished has not been successfully transmitted to a wide audience. The exact value of the transmitted trauma can only be measured in how it affects our actions, and in relation to the case of the Rwandan genocide it could be argued that the atrocities performed during the Holocaust, despite shocking us, have not made the world community determined to prevent future suffering. As Susan Sontag has addressed it, “[c]ompassion is an unstable emotion. It needs to be translated into action, or it withers” (101). It could be argued that to feel sympathy is easier than to translate the emotion into action and could even function as a substitute for action. I will return to this issue in relation to the world community’s failure to prevent the genocide in Subchapter 3.4. The points mentioned here apply to *MKM* in that it is an example of testimonial literature directed at a Western audience, and a large part of its purpose seems to be evoking sympathy in the reader, in addition to bringing attention to the issue of sexual violence in conflict that has been underrepresented in political discussion so far. It could also be seen as an example of testimonial literature providing the privileged Western reader trauma for “consumption”. The analysis chapter will return to the issues discussed in this chapter to determine how successful *MKM* in transmitting the survivors’ trauma and how its value could be seen both for the reader and the testifier, as well as more broadly for the Rwandan and the Western community. The next subchapter will discuss the famous quote by Theodor Adorno about writing poetry after Auschwitz bringing yet another perspective to trauma theory. With this quote Adorno wants to bring attention to the ethics of addressing trauma with the means of art.

2.2. "No poetry after Auschwitz"

Theodor Adorno is famous for his 1949 dictum that to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric (first published in the essay "Cultural Criticism and Society" reprinted in *Prisms*, 34). His controversial comment has been interpreted and reinterpreted in a variety of ways, but Adorno himself has written in his later work, as quoted by Felman and Laub, that:

I have no wish to soften the saying that to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric... But [...] *literature must resist this verdict*... It is now virtually in art alone that suffering can still find its own voice, consolation, without immediately being betrayed by it.

Today, every phenomenon of culture, even if a model of integrity, is liable to be suffocated in the cultivation of kitsch. Yet paradoxically in the same epoch it is to works of art that has fallen the burden of wordlessly asserting what is barred to politics. (34, emphasis original)

With these words, he recognises art's responsibility to pass on the stories of trauma and by these stories to accomplish what politics cannot. Art has the ability to deeply affect us, and to make it possible for us to understand an individual foreign to us, in ways that cannot be accomplished with other means. As was mentioned also in the previous subchapter, although art (in this case literary art) has the ability to affect us, there also exists a responsibility in the consumption of the pain of others. What is the reason behind our need to read narratives that shock us and move us? When does this need to be affected cross the border of exploitation? James Dawes has said that the quote from Adorno: "has been used for decades to summarize the ethical paradoxes involved in representing atrocity. In giving voice to suffering we can sometimes moderate it, even aestheticize it" (8). He continues:

As Adorno argues, the artistic depiction of pain "contains, however remotely, the power to elicit enjoyment out of it." Through the stylization of violence, he warns, "an unthinkable fate appear[s] to have had some meaning; it is transfigured, something of its horror is removed. This alone does an injustice to the victims." Indeed, giving voice can also be a matter of taking voice. (8)

With this quote it is possible to grasp the concern that has been central for scholars of trauma theory: in the search for literature that has the power to deeply affect and even shock the

reader, what is the justification for finding the material for these narratives in the real life experiences of traumatised individuals? Who has the right to write this literature? When does giving voice become a matter of taking voice?

Anne Cubilie (2005) has also addressed similar issues to those raised by Adorno by addressing the dilemmas of testifying terror from the specific point of view of women. She says that giving testimony is “a profoundly political act that demands a performative engagement with the witnessing by the spectator witness” (4). With this quote she brings attention to the responsibility that the witness has in performing the traumatic experience to an audience, as the act also has political repercussions. Dorota Glowacka adds to the discussion her comment on Holocaust literature and art:

This constitutive tension between ethical and aesthetic imperatives animates the search for new means of expressing their intertwined, yet contradictory, claims. The resulting new literary and artistic idioms come to the aid of the Holocaust survivor as well as his listeners -potential future rememberers, whom his words, aided by “a poet,” bring into existence. In works of literature and art, these new languages of testimony make it possible for us to describe, to understand, to imagine, and to remember. (2)

The comment made by Glowacka stresses the tension that exists between ethics and aesthetics in Holocaust literature and art, and the effect that these both can have on the audience. The questions posed by Adorno, Cubilie and Glowacka will be kept in mind in the reading of *MKM*, in which the risk of exploitation of the survivors’ trauma is also present, as well as the possibility for the testimony to be a means to healing.

2.3. Pitfalls of trauma literature

Dawes has addressed the pitfalls of trauma literature by posing this question: “Do I have the right to talk about this? And, do I have the right *not* to talk about this?” (24) He continues by addressing the issue of the polarity of on the one hand the justification of sharing an

experience, and on the other the duty to do so. Dawes also notes the issue of the difficulty of making stories “out of catastrophic violence, out of events that by their very nature resist coherent representation” (22). He quotes Philip Gourevitch, the author of the award-winning eyewitness account on the Rwandan genocide *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families*:

There was a study done. During the first thirty days of the genocide, in the American print media virtually no Rwandans, no Rwandan civilians, were identified by name. So you had a faceless, anonymous mass of Africans. And what do Africans do in the American press? They die of miserable things. (23)

With this quote he aims to show how important it is that the Rwandans represent themselves in a way that the stories on the traumatic events that happened in Rwanda come from the victims, not from Westerners, who according to Dawes “are speaking for Rwanda, not from it” (24). This again brings into question how the survivor accounts in *MKM* could be seen. Should they be approached as an addition to the tradition of Western representation of African suffering and as an addition to the imperial-colonial binary, or as offering a voice to the Rwandans that has been absent from the discussion already for too long? What exactly is the audience that the editors have directed the narratives to? These are the questions that the methodology and analysis chapters will address.

By quoting Amy Novak’s article “Who Speaks? Who Listens?: The Problem of Address in Two Nigerian Trauma Novels”, Gilbert addresses the problem of the hearer, who is often reluctant to hear of the pain of the other (32). Gilbert quotes Esther Mujawayo: “les rescapés ont volontiers une parole. Plus réaliste, la vraie question est: à qui dire? On connaissait la réponse, on a osé la formuler: personne. Personne, sauf nous-mêmes” (32). Sometimes it is as difficult for the recipient to hear of the suffering of another person, as it is for that person to share the experience. Gilbert tells us of the need of the Rwandan woman witnesses to be heard and to be taken seriously (31). This need is also present in the

testimonies in *MKM*, as many of the survivors address a desire for their experiences to be heard and acknowledged outside of Rwanda (see analysis chapter). Gilbert quotes the women saying that upon hearing their testimonies the recipients have, instead of showing sympathy, said that what they have said to have experienced cannot be true or that the witnesses are lying (32). Gilbert also describes their frustration when facing this kind of doubt in addition to having survived the traumatic events that they would wish to share with the world (31-32).

Another aspect of this issue and a reason for the reluctance of the Western listener to hear of African suffering might, according to Gilbert, be that Europe and Africa are very different continents. She states that “[e]ven today, Africa is still perceived by many to be the ‘dark continent’ characterised by brutal tribal warfare” (33). Because of this polarisation, she sees it as difficult for the Western listener to identify with the suffering of the African witness.

In the analysis chapter *MKM* will be examined also in relation to the claims expressed by Gilbert and Dawes. The challenges that *MKM* faces in taking possession of the trauma of the Rwandan survivors and constructing the narratives for a Western audience are important to note as they are an example of the possible pitfalls of trauma literature. The following subchapter will examine the positive aspects of testimonial literature bearing witness to trauma as a means of healing.

2.4. Testimonial literature as a means for healing

In addition to the pitfalls and challenges of trauma literature it should not be forgotten that there also exist more positive aspects of trauma literature in terms of the beneficial effects of testimony. For instance LaCapra participates in the debate on the ethics of trauma literature by offering his view of the essence of testimonial literature in bearing witness to trauma: “[...]”

those with direct experience of traumatic events may bring the experience to bear in what they write, and often such writing or discourse is itself crucial in the attempt to come to terms with the past” (210). With this view he challenges the approach to trauma literature as consumption of the pain of the other offered in the previous subchapter. According to this opposing view offered by LaCapra, writing about the experiences may function as a surviving mechanism for the traumatised individuals. Genocide literature is important in giving a voice to the genocide victims and in sharing their experiences with the (Western) world and reading about atrocities in a culture different from our own can even reshape our own world view.

In relation to this, Kate O’Neill offers a view according to which “texts which explore the Rwandan Genocide for Western readers are significant because as one half of the imperial-colonial binary, they develop awareness of an event which remains poorly understood in Western society” (262). She continues by adding that it seems that the Rwandan Genocide “was perhaps the first significant point of contact between Rwandan and global citizens” (164). In the perspective offered by O’Neill, the testimonial literature on the Rwandan genocide that also *MKM* represents, takes yet another role, in this case one of informing the Western readers of Rwandan’s postcolonial reality. O’Neill continues:

This emerging body of literature conveys to readers a vision of the Rwandan Genocide contextualized by Rwandan history and culture, providing Western readers with complex representations of Rwandan identity and community interactions, and demonstrating Rwanda’s recovery while advocating for increased cross-cultural interactions between Rwandan and Western citizens. Taken as a collective, these texts establish the basis for new definitions of Rwandan national identity. (264-265)

In this view offered by O’Neill the literature on the Rwandan Genocide could provide the reader a deeper understanding of the particularities of the Rwandan culture and identity.

Gilbert also writes that testimonial literature is the primary tool for the victims of trauma to speak of their suffering and to seek retribution both as a collective and as

individuals (1). Gilbert stresses the importance of published testimonies, as they are a way to break the silence around the genocide by speaking of its horrors, and also to bring forth the issues that post-genocide Rwanda is struggling with, as well as speaking of the long-term effects of the experienced trauma (2013, 11). As Gilbert states, for Rwandan women “giving testimony has emerged as a key tool to raising awareness and making women’s experience known” (2013, 30). Giving testimony in addition to being a coping mechanism, is also a way to bring to the fore a view of the atrocities that differs from the official narrative of those in power (Gilbert, 2013, 31). These testimonies raise awareness of the suffering that the Rwandans have endured among the Western audiences and speak on behalf of the survivors and also for those who were lost bringing a voice to those who have previously not been heard. This is also the case for the Rwandese who give their testimonies in *MKM*; by sharing their experiences they have expected to raise much needed awareness on sexual violence during war, and to bring attention to the issue of rape as a crime against humanity. Gilbert’s view is supported by O’Neill who argues that “[l]iterature is a powerful social tool because it instigates consideration of another’s lived experience among a broad potential readership. Literary expression allows personal resistance to be shared within a community, enabling collective action” (1). In O’Neill’s view literature on the Rwandan Genocide has a positive impact in sharing the traumatic experiences of the genocide survivors with a broader audience. At the same time she however acknowledges what other consequences the sharing of trauma can entail:

[I]t is important to remember that in a globalized world, the Rwandan genocide was a trauma which touched a diverse population. Allowing Rwanda to remain a space of genocide in the collective imagination is a further trauma to witnesses and survivors of the genocide. Just as trauma can be transmitted through cultural productions, so too can recovery be passed along the same lines of transmission. Recovery from an event as significant as the Rwandan genocide can occur only once global citizens have an awareness of the cultural, social, and political causes of the violence, an understanding of the long-term implications of the violence for survivors and witnesses, and an acceptance of equality among all people. (O’Neill, 261)

With this quote she aptly describes the multiple aspects that giving testimony has both for the Rwandan individual and collective, as well as in a broader sense for all global citizens. While acknowledging how trauma can be passed on through culture, she agrees that transmission of trauma can also be a means of recovery. O'Neill also notes that Rwanda's citizenry is often "homogenized for Western audiences" (274) and stresses the importance of taking into account also the particularities of Rwandan identity which she says "demonstrates depth as well as breadth" (267). Based on this it is not sufficient to have factual knowledge of Rwandan history, cultural organization, and political dynamics without hearing "the voices of citizens" in texts that "evolve Western perceptions of Rwandan identity" (267). The claims by O'Neill are important points to be discussed also in connection with *MKM* to determine whether or not the editors of the book have in the process of constructing the narratives managed to preserve the voice of the Rwandans.

Gilbert quotes Stevan Weine on the therapeutic benefits of trauma narrative:

Contemporary theory and practice in mental health and human rights often makes the assumption that after political violence, trauma-related disturbed cognitions in individuals pose obstacles to peace and reconciliation. Psychosocial interventions, according to this view, are needed to transform these disturbed cognitive mechanisms, including through survivors' [sic] telling their trauma stories. Giving testimony, then, will help people to transform the memories, thoughts, and emotions of trauma and to move on. (34)

In order to move on, the traumatic experiences need to be allowed to rise to the surface, despite the pain that they may cause. One way of doing this in addition to the other psychosocial interventions described by Weine, is in the form of testimony. Gilbert, however, challenges the view expressed above by addressing the dilemma of imposing this "inherently Western model of recovery" (34) on the Rwandans. It would be arrogant to assume that a model developed for Western needs would be applicable in a culture very different from our own, and for this reason the direct implementation of Western ideas of recovery to African

trauma should not be evaluated without some criticism. The debate around these issues demonstrates the difficulty of balancing the positive and negative elements of testimonial narratives, especially in the context of post-colonial power relations.

As quoted by Martina Kopf in her article on the ethics of fiction on the Rwandan genocide, James Dawes approaches human rights work as being “at its heart, a matter of storytelling” (65). In his own book Dawes recounts that:

Many of the most recognizable organizations that intervene in humanitarian crises do so in large part by using language instead of food, medicine, or weapons; the most important act of rescue, for them, is not delivering supplies but asking questions, evaluating answers, and pleading with those of us who observe from a distance. Indeed, for people in need of rescue and care, the hope of being able to tell their story is sometimes the only hope. How do you make your case? Get someone to believe you? Get someone to speak for you? (1-2)

Kopf continues by telling how it is not only important to listen to the stories of the victims of violence, abuse, trauma and persecution, but for them to have their stories heard by a larger audience, and with these stories to raise awareness and concern (65). Kopf, then, sees testifying as valuable in the process of healing.

An opposing view to Kopf’s is presented by Dawes with his story on what challenges Boubacar Boris Diop, a Senegalese author of a fictitious book on the Rwandan genocide *Murambi, le livre des ossements* (2000), met on his journey in Rwanda:

Some of the survivors Diop met in Rwanda begged him: “Please don’t turn what we tell you into novels.” They were anxious about the kind of stories being told, about being turned into stories. “People wanted to remain human beings and not become characters,” he said. “Literature can make things more beautiful and more acceptable,” he added. “I think the people we met feared this.” (27)

This shows that giving testimony bearing witness to trauma is not as straightforward an issue as some scholars have made it out to be, as recounting a traumatic experience to people who do not share this experience clearly poses its risks and challenges. The points mentioned in

this chapter about the different aspects of trauma theory, its benefits and pitfalls, as well as the various viewpoints of the trauma theorists, need to be kept in mind also while reading the testimonies in *MKM*. In this chapter it became clear that while constructing narratives on trauma, there is a range of issues that need to be accounted for, which include the responsibility of the witness of trauma in transmitting the experiences, the role of the audience and the more substantial issue of the imperial-colonial binary position of the traumatised and the consumer of trauma.

The following chapter will handle political theory in relation to gender and conflict, rape as a weapon of war, AIDS, and the failure of the world community to prevent the genocide. These issues are important to discuss in relation to *MKM* as they rise as the key components in the testimonies in shaping the experience of the Rwandan genocide survivors during and post-genocide. The effect that rape has on an individual and on a community should be addressed in general, before applying this theory to the specific cases of the testimonies in *MKM*.

3. Political theory

3.1. Gender and genocide

Suffering is a fact for all parties in conflict. There are no real winners. However, the suffering that women endure is very different from that of men. Not worse or more important, just different. Not only during genocide, but in all kinds of armed conflict, the role of women has been different to that of men, and the violence that women have faced has taken a very distinct form. Irene Kahn, quoted by David Wingeate Pike in Servidio and Pike, formulates this as follows:

“Throughout history,” wrote Irene Kahn, secretary general of Amnesty International, “women’s bodies have been considered the legitimate booty of

victorious armies. Custom, culture and religion built an image of women as bearing the "honour" of their communities, so that destroying a woman's physical integrity became a means by which to terrorize, demean and defeat entire populations, as well as to punish, intimidate and humiliate women."²² (xx)

But it is also true that the specific suffering that women endure during conflict has not achieved as much attention as would be necessary to bring forth a change. In the 1980's women scholars started to examine the experiences of women survivors of the Holocaust, shifting focus from the male experience that had come to constitute the literary and historical canon of the Holocaust. Elizabeth Baer and Myrna Goldenberg have noted that the research focusing on the experiences of women and Holocaust has paved the way for an even broader field of study relating to gender and genocide (xxvi) that also this thesis draws from. The scholars on the Holocaust and women recognized that women had indeed written the bulk of memoirs and testimonies after the Second World War and by researching these texts, differences of experiences based on gender finally began to be noted. Hedgepeth and Saidel have stated that:

Rape is almost always a component of war and terror. The Holocaust was no exception. Women who regrettably underwent this experience can, perhaps, take some comfort in knowing that their misfortune is finally being recognized. (Hedgepeth and Saidel, x)

During the Holocaust in addition to the sexual violence that all women faced, pregnant women were treated especially cruelly by the Nazis, due to the symbolism that the pregnancy represented. Women faced the threat of sexual exploitation during the whole experience of the Holocaust, from the camps where they were raped by their peers and the Germans, until their liberation when they were raped by the soldiers of the Soviet army (Joeden-Forgey in Moses and Bloxham, 63-65). These specific types of violence come to prove that gender had a meaning in the construction of the genocide experience.

Furthermore, women are often treated as a symbol of their nation, and by

hurting the women, the perpetrator hurts the whole nation. According to Mibenge:

[...]masculinity and the male body are aggressively militarized, femininity and women's bodies are transposed onto the identity of the nation: the vulnerable mother nation must be protected from violation, and the enemy nation must be violated (raped even) and conquered." (14)

As women's bodies do not belong to themselves, they are available to be used to the advantage of their enemy. In a country where a woman's integrity during peacetime is not respected, the same can also be expected in conflict. James Dawes in *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity* has addressed the topic:

Genocide and war, after all, are all about our power over other people's bodies. Indeed, by some accounts part of the initial force that swept young Hutu men to the roadblocks was the promise of rape, the promise of unrestricted access to and control over women's bodies (rape was "a weapon of war," writes African Rights, and women were "the spoils of genocide"). (34)

According to Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, in Moses and Bloxham, the Rwandan genocide and the genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina changed the perception that gender is not important to the process of genocide as a whole. She states that these genocides with their "widespread and systematic rape of women and sexual exploitation of men" in addition to the evident use of "gendered patterns of attack" were among the perpetrators genocidal strategies (Moses and Bloxham, 61). Robin May Schott has drawn attention also to the sexual violence experienced by men in conflict in her article published in the *Journal of Genocide Research*:

The incidents of sexual violence against men in armed conflicts are under-reported, and these incidents deserve much greater attention. [...]This silence about male –male rape and genital torture is buttressed on the one hand by survivors' fear of feminization. One male survivor of rape in DRC said that while he was being raped, the perpetrators kept saying, 'you're no longer a man, you are going to become one of our women'. On the other hand, such silence is perpetuated by survivors' fears of being identified as homosexual. As Sandesh Sivakumaran has noted, given the prevalence of homophobia in societies, enforced rape 'taints' both perpetrators and victims with homosexuality. (7)

Because Rwanda is a very traditional society, the fear of feminisation and homophobia are

probable causes of why the rapes of men are underreported. But they should not be left out of the discussion. The issue of sexual violence experienced by men in conflict will be returned to in the discussion on the testimony of Faustin Kayihura in the analysis chapter.

Joeden-Forgey denotes the importance of gender studied in relation to genocide, pointing to its function as an early warning system. As further reasons she states that gender analysis of genocide emphasises issues that are gender-specific, for example the intentionality of the *génocidaires* in disrupting and destroying families, the stigmatising of the individuals that were raped during genocide, and the “structural vulnerability of women in post-genocidal societies” (Moses and Bloxham, 79). This vulnerability comes in the form of social exclusion, poverty and homelessness caused by discrimination in hereditary customs and the limited occupational options. Women are often compelled to raise children alone, including also orphans and children conceived by rape. In addition to these problems that the women survivors of genocide survivors have to live with, they are also plagued by disabilities and illnesses caused by the genocidal violence, that affect their ability to have children. For many women the violence has influenced their desirability as spouses, which further advances their economic hardship. Furthermore, the threat of violence has not ended with the genocide, but they continue to live under it and according to research, the threat is higher in post-conflict societies (Moses and Bloxham 79, *MKM*, 19).

In the foreword to *MKM* Stephen Lewis says that “there is a contagion of sexual violence sweeping parts of Africa: Liberia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of Congo” (2). According to him, this violence can even be seen as a war on women. As an explanation for this kind of violence he considers that “gender inequality -appropriately called femicide in this context- is fiercely rooted in the human psyche” (2). However, he does not elaborate on how the current state of affairs of the human psyche could be transformed, in order for this “war on women” to cease. He admits that although he knows that we must, he

does not know how we should bring to an end the “femicide” that is currently happening in Africa. Lewis finishes by saying that “the stories in this book [MKM], however painful, are exactly what is needed to jolt the world into sanity” (2). These points that Lewis makes will prove invaluable for discussing *MKM*.

3.2. Rape in conflict

In spite of wartime rape’s acknowledged status as a genocidal act and as a crime against humanity, it continues to a large degree to be a taboo or a non-issue in political discussion. Under the statute of the International Criminal Court (1998), gender crimes are now expressly named as crimes against humanity and as war crimes, in both national and international armed conflict, as opposed to offenses to personal dignity. Eileen Servidio, in Servidio and Pike, writes that regardless of the international conventions that condemn sexual violence in armed conflict and are designed to eventually eliminate it, wartime rape has not diminished during the twentieth century, nor in the beginning of the twenty-first, and that some claim that it has on the contrary increased (53). Rape and other kinds of sexual violence have been perpetrated by combatants in both World Wars, and in most of the armed conflicts ever since, notably in Sudan, Angola, ex-Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Darfur, for example. Although women are the primary victims, men are affected too, and one of the victims in *MKM* is also male. On the difference on the experiences of sexual violence according to gender Hedgepeth and Saidel have noted that:

This is the one primary difference between the descriptions of sexual abuse provided by male and female survivors. In cases of male-male abuse, the perpetrators are usually referred to as homosexuals, as being in some way different. Men who assaulted women were not presented as abnormal, which indicates that the survivors understood heterosexual rape as something more normal, something explicable in a landscape of heterosexual normativity. This discrepancy provides evidence of what scholars refer to as the inherent rapability of women, the idea that women are always susceptible to rape and that this affects their behaviour. (87)

The above quote also lends support to the claims made on the position of women in conflict in the previous subchapter, about the threats which women face during conflict being different from the ones met by men.

It was because of the international attention afforded to the systematic rape employed by the Serb forces during the wars in former Yugoslavia, and the international movement of women caused by it, that had rape explicitly recognised as a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a crime of genocide (Joyden-Forgey in Moses and Bloxham, 69). The ways in which rape was used as a genocidal tool in Rwanda were forced maternity, where the raped women had to bear the enemy's children, disabling the women permanently with the brutality of the rapes so that they were unable to bear future children, and purposely infecting the raped women with HIV making sure that the women, if they survived the genocide, would eventually die an untimely death (Joyden-Forgey in Moses and Bloxham, 70-71). Joyden Forgey also addresses attacks on the symbols of family and reproductivity. As common practices she lists:

[...]killing infants in front of their parents, forcing family members to rape one another, destroying women's reproductive capacity through rape and mutilation, castrating men, eviscerating pregnant women, and otherwise engaging in ritual cruelties aimed directly at the spiritually sacred, biologically generative, and emotionally nurturing structures of family life." (Moses and Bloxham, 73)

Some of the practices listed above were also used against the Tutsi during the Rwandan genocide, as the analysis chapter will show with its relevant examples from *MKM*. In connection to the Rwandan genocide Gilbert states that, in addition to the fact that so many lives were lost, women and children were also raped, mutilated and infected with AIDS, and the social structure of the society was permanently destroyed, so that despite surviving the genocide the victims' lives were changed for good (5). This is also a point that should be stressed in relation to *MKM* as its testimonies provide evidence in support of Gilbert's claim.

3.3. AIDS in post-genocide Rwanda

A shocking 70 per cent of the Rwandan rape victims were infected with AIDS (MKM, 1). It was the single most life-changing factor in the rape survivors' lives, as it permanently affected all areas of their daily activities. Also, for people who can rarely afford to purchase antiretroviral medicine, HIV-positivity is basically a death sentence. As noted by Ezekiel Kalipeni, Karen Flynn and Cynthia Pope in their book on African women and AIDS, women carry a "disproportionate burden" in relation to AIDS, meaning that the women are at a higher risk of contracting HIV because of gender related sexual practices that put them in a weaker position in relation to the men. In their view this inequality mirrors the overall unequal position of women in Sub-Saharan Africa (Kalipeni et al., 2).

According to a recent UNAIDS report on Rwanda, women continue to be the ones who are most affected by AIDS, as the AIDS prevalence of women was 3,6 per cent in 2005, while that of Rwandan men was 2,3 per cent. The difference is especially notable between young women and men (15-24 years old). In urban areas the percentage of AIDS prevalent women is 3,9 per cent versus 1,1 per cent of men, and in rural areas 1,5 per cent versus 0,3 per cent. HIV prevalence is considerably higher in urban areas (7,3 per cent) than in rural areas (2,2 per cent). The capital Kigali generally presents the highest prevalence (60-61).

HIV/AIDS is also the leading cause of hospital mortality, accounting for 24 per cent of Rwandan deaths in 2008, followed by malaria, pulmonary infections, cardiovascular diseases, hepatitis, and renal infection. On a more positive note, general HIV prevalence has decreased from 11 per cent in 2000 to 3 per cent in 2008 (UNAIDS, 60-61). The change has been achieved with a combination of relatively late sexual debut, infrequency of multiple sexual partners and condom usage.

As a consequence of the many people dying of AIDS, the structure of Rwandan

society has changed. A large number of Rwandan children are orphans and raised by their grandparents or other relatives. Many of these children are also HIV-positive. A high percentage of the generation between the young and the elderly are HIV-positive, and have or will die in the near future, distorting the age structure of the society. This will also affect the wealth of the society, as young adults/adults are usually the ones who work and provide for their family. These are the facts in which the long term effect of rape can be seen most clearly. Most of the people killed were men, which also distorts the gender structure of the society since immediately after the genocide 70 per cent of the Rwandan population were female (*MKM*, 158). Although Rwanda is conservative in values, and not known for promoting gender equality, the situation after the genocide has forced women to take on roles previously preserved for men out of necessity, not by choice. Jennie Burnet has examined how the Rwandan women found themselves as “heads of households” (6) as their men were dead, exiled or imprisoned. She says that these women: “transformed society by breaking cultural taboos that defined the proper role of women. They broke these taboos not because they sought liberation from gender oppression but because they had no other choice” (6). As an example of how the changed gender structure has affected Rwanda, it is the only country with a female majority in national parliament at the moment (*MKM*, 158). The situation in relation to AIDS in Rwanda is relevant to my analysis of *MKM* as all the witnesses in it except for the male victim contracted the HIV-virus as a consequence of the sexual violence suffered during the genocide. AIDS is the factor that has had a major influence in forming the survivors’ post-genocide lives. Most of the women in *MKM* are the heads of their households and provide for their families alone. AIDS poses further challenges for their and their families’ survival. The next section will look into the discussion on the non-action of the UN and the world community that functioned to enable the atrocities of the genocide. Because the international community did not intervene it was possible for the genocide to take as many

lives of the Rwandese as it did.

3.4. The world ran away: The world community's failure to prevent the genocide

In the discussion on the Rwandan genocide, the most frequently encountered point is: why did the world community not do more to prevent the atrocities? There were reports of severe human rights violations in Rwanda delivered to the UN and the United States by Human Rights Watch (HRW) before the genocide and it is argued that these reports could have been read in a way as to see that a genocide was waiting to happen (See HRW report 1993). Even after the shooting down of Habyarimana's plane and the first killings, the world community led by the UN chose to do nothing except withdraw its own troops from danger (Barnett, 2).

William Shawcross in Destexhe has discussed the matter as follows:

How did the world react? Barely at all. The Security Council left the Tutsi to their fate. Why? Because the United States was 'haunted by the ghost of Somalia' where thirty of its soldiers had died. When the massacres began, almost all foreigners were evacuated. General Romeo Dallaire, the commander of the UN forces in Kigali, asked for reinforcements and later said that with 5000 troops he could have saved 500,000 people. Instead the contingent was cut to 270. *The world ran away*. The Security Council refused to accept the massacres were genocide, for that would have compelled them to intervene under international law. (ix, emphasis mine)

From this quote it becomes clear that the world community led by the UN indeed failed Rwanda, and instead "[t]he world ran away" (ix) as Shawcross put it. Barnett has added to this discussion that: "for many in New York the moral compass pointed away from and not toward Rwanda" (5). With this comment Barnett brings attention to UN personnel's neglect of the evidence it received on the genocide waiting to happen and later on the atrocities that were taking place. Instead of the moral attitudes offering support for an intervention, they seemed to function as a hindrance. This led to the failure to prevent the genocide.

When the UN awoke to the atrocity of the situation by responding to the moral pressure it faced and finally did do something, its actions were insufficient at best. The troops

it sent were too scarce and they arrived too late, reducing its role into a bystander-position. According to the testimonials in *MKM*, instead of helping and protecting the Tutsi population, some of the French troops sent to Rwanda under a UN mandate towards the end of the genocide actually took part in raping the Tutsi women in the refugee camp (See analysis chapter). Furthermore, Barnett has stated that the French “have the distinction of calling the killers their friends and allies” (12) which is why they for their part were reluctant to intervene, and once Operation Turquoise was launched, they did not perform the task given to them. Barnett describes France’s behavior during the genocide as “scandalous” (171), saying that France failed in multiple ways, in warning the genocide leaders of the consequences of their actions in order to make them stop, and by giving protection and weapons for the génocidaires instead of providing help to the civilians. The witnesses of *MKM* in the analysis chapter provide an insider view of the actions of the French in Rwanda during the genocide.

The reports the UN received from the Human Rights Watch were received so that the United Nations would have had plenty of time to act in order to prevent the genocide. The former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has confessed the responsibility the world community had in preventing the genocide and their failure to do so “[w]e are all to be held accountable for this failure, all of us, the great powers, African countries, the NGO’s, the international community. It is a genocide... I have failed... It is a scandal!” (Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Prunier, 277). After the Rwandan genocide the UN introduced the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle, under which it made a promise not to repeat the mistake it had made in Rwanda in not protecting the Rwandan people from the atrocities. Despite the nobleness of the idea in principle, the success of realising it has been and continues to be debatable.

The Rwandan genocide can be compared to the Holocaust, after which the United Nations was founded. The reason for its foundation was to prevent such monstrosities as the Holocaust from ever happening again. Why is it that the UN failed its purpose of promoting peace and security and protecting human rights in Rwanda, even though that is the exact thing it was founded to do? Why did the other member states and actors, such as other NGO's follow the United Nations' lead and choose not to act? In light of recent events in for example Ukraine, Syria, and Sudan, the topic of our responsibility as UN member countries to protect people whose human rights are being violated again becomes relevant. The most disturbing atrocity of the Rwandan genocide is the fact that the world community failed to act to prevent it. The consequences of the failure can be read in the testimonies in *MKM* where the survivors bring forth their views on the inaction of the world community in protecting them.

One of the main debates in international relations is on the value of state sovereignty versus the value of human rights. State sovereignty has been held in the highest regard, but since some states have failed their role as the protector of their people, its value in comparison with human rights has had to be re-evaluated. According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty report:

“Humanitarian intervention” has been controversial both when it happens, and when it has failed to happen. Rwanda in 1994 laid bare the full horror of inaction. The United Nations (UN) Secretariat and some permanent members of the Security Council knew that officials connected to the then government were planning genocide; UN forces were present, though not in sufficient number at the outset; and credible strategies were available to prevent, or at least greatly mitigate, the slaughter which followed. But the Security Council refused to take the necessary action. That was a failure of international will – of civic courage – at the highest level. Its consequence was not merely a humanitarian catastrophe for Rwanda: the genocide destabilized the entire Great Lakes region and continues to do so. In the aftermath, many African peoples concluded that, for all the rhetoric about the universality of human rights, some human lives end up mattering a great deal less to the international community than others. (1)

This quote stresses the gravity of the failure to stop the Rwandan Genocide and the dire

consequences it has had globally. The entire world community and especially the UN have faced major criticism on their failure to prevent the Rwandan genocide, and for their refusal to interfere. The UN was founded after the Second World War for the purpose of protecting the human rights of those who are oppressed, and to prevent atrocities such as were performed during the Second World War from ever happening again. The UN's declaration of human rights has been the foundation of the constitutions in many countries and it is also the basis for the programmes of many human rights NGO's. Yet in the case of Rwanda it failed to follow its own mandates.

Among the reasons thought to have prevented the UN and the world community as a whole from intervening is the juxtaposition of Europe and Africa, the coloniser and the colonised, that according to some affected the motivation for attempting to come to the aid of those in need. In addition to this, the United States had its own reasons for the reluctance to send troops to Rwanda. France supposedly was on the side of the génocidaires and had cooperated with them in the past, which is why it did not want to take part in an intervention in Rwanda and why during Operation Turquoise, it to a significant extent failed to provide the civilians the protection it was supposed to, as testified also by the survivors in *MKM*.

Although Barnett condemns the inaction of the United Nations, he also states that according to the information he has, and to his conclusions based on this information, the decision of non-action, although later judged unethical, was at the time not made without some responsibility and consideration of ethics (4). He continues by noting that the UN is indeed "a multidimensional, not a unidimensional, ethical space" (6). Although the UN is presumed to carry a moral responsibility to end the genocide, and a duty to help and protect the innocents, as Barnett understands, these "moral claims and obligations" are accompanied by "other commitments, loyalties, and obligations" that do not disappear in the face of an event that would require UN action. Barnett adds that "before we accept this moral

fundamentalism, we must recognize that the UN, like all institutions, assumes at any single moment a multitude of responsibilities and obligations” (6). These “responsibilities and obligations” evidently stopped the UN from intervening during the Rwandan genocide, with fatal consequences for the Rwandan people, including the survivors in *MKM*.

Dawes writes about how the “génocidaires manipulated the media not only to incite violence but also to control how outsiders (who could intervene) perceived events in Rwanda” (42). Among the claims of the genocide perpetrators were statements of equal violence from both the Hutu and Tutsi (but see the end of Subchapter 1.2). Because of the manipulation the foreign media did not talk about a genocide, but referred to the events as “tribal violence”, “anarchy”, or “ancient tribal feud” (Dawes, 43). By not talking about a genocide, the moral obligation for a humanitarian intervention ceased to exist. Because a humanitarian intervention did not take place, many of the witnesses in *MKM* lost their families and suffered sexual assaults.

Despite the valuable features of trauma literature there can still be a downside in transmitting narratives of pain to a Western audience. In connection to the Western responsibility to protect those whose rights are being violated, and the role that testimonies on trauma play in this, Dawes has neatly summarised the Western mentality of our need for absolution and towards stories of the pain of others:

The story about the failed story is itself a satisfying story that serves important cultural purposes. The world’s failure to recognize the genocide, its failure to value the lives of Africans, has, if anything, become a more potent and vivid story in the West than the genocide itself ever could be. We are culpable, and it feels good to be culpable. It assures us that we are good people, because we are the kind of people who feel bad about these sorts of things. (21)

The “consumption of trauma” seems to be something that there is a need for in Western readers, and there is no lack of narratives of suffering directed for the entertainment or relief of a privileged Western audience. As Dawes notes, these “failed stories” also serve a purpose for the reader, in the form of “feeling good to be culpable” and “assuring us that we are good

people” with the guilt that the consumption of these narratives brings forth. Dawes continues with an anecdote of Bill Clinton travelling to Rwanda to apologise for the genocide (how does one apologise for a genocide?) four years after the events took place, but his visit does not take him beyond the Kigali airport (21-22). With this Dawes draws our attention to how words can be nothing more than empty gestures. It seems that Clinton’s apology did little good for the Rwandans as the words did not carry much meaning, besides relieving the United States’ own guilt for the genocide. The action that the United States took should have happened during the genocide, not after it. The same question of the emptiness of words, if they are not shown in acts, applies to the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights. How much did it benefit the Rwandans when it was not implemented for their protection? These questions of the responsibility of the world community in relation to human rights, as well as the problems of trauma literature functioning as entertainment for a privileged audience, will be addressed in relation to *MKM* in the analysis chapter and returned to also in the conclusions chapter. Appendix B will offer additional information on the timeline of the UN actions during the genocide.

4. Methodology and material

4.1. The Men Who Killed Me: Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence

MKM tells the shocking stories of sixteen women (Marie Louise Niyobuhungiro, Marie Odette Kayitesi, Maire Jeanne Murekatete, Jeanette Uwimana, Adela Mukamusonera, Marie Claire Uwera, Pascasie Mukasakindi, Marie Mukabatsinda, Immaculée Makumi, Françoise Mukashimana, Gloriose Mushimiyimana, Clementine Nyinawumuntu, Hyacintha Nirere, Béatrice Mukandahunga, Françoise Kayitesi and Ernestine Nyirangendahayo) and a man (Faustin Kayihura) who were brutally raped during the Rwandan genocide. The survivors of

MKM are born between 1949 and 1981, which makes the two youngest, Hyacintha Nirere and Ernestine Nyirangendahayo, only thirteen years old at the time of the rapes. The stories are written in the form of testimonials and as first-person narratives, edited by Anne-Marie De Brouwer and Sandra Ka Hon Chu, with a foreword by Stephen Lewis, the Canadian politician and diplomat, and an afterword by Eve Ensler, American playwright, performer and feminist, best known for her play *The Vagina Monologues*. The book is illustrated by portraits of the survivors shot by photographer Samer Muscati. The editors state that “[m]uch has been written about the use of rape and sexual violence during the Rwandan genocide, but the survivors themselves have been notably absent from the discussion. The survivors in this book hope to change that.” (19)

Anne-Marie de Brouwer works as an assistant professor of international criminal law at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, and she is also the founder of the Mukomeze (Kinyarwanda for ‘empower her’) Foundation, a sponsorship programme for Rwandan genocide survivors (more information on the organisation later in this chapter and in Appendix C). Sandra Ka Hon Chu is a senior policy analyst with the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, whose work has concentrated on promoting women’s rights in the Netherlands, East Timor, Hong Kong and Canada. Samer Muscati is a Canadian lawyer, freelance photographer and former journalist. He works in the fields of human rights and development in Rwanda, Iraq and East Timor (*MKM*, 175).

The testimonials all follow a similar pattern, as the survivors tell of their experiences before, during, and after the genocide. All the survivors give their testimony using their real name and agreed to be photographed by Muscati, although some chose not to be recognisable from the pictures. Considering the stigma that rape victims are subjected to in a country like Rwanda, testifying in the book must have demanded a lot of courage. The date and place of birth (if known) are given in the beginning of each testimony.

The Men Who Killed Me: Rwandan Survivors of Sexual Violence consists of seventeen testimonies collected by a series of interviews. Editors Anne-Marie de Brouwer and Sandra Ka Hon Chu got the idea of providing a venue for women who had experienced traumatic sexual violence to share their experiences (*MKM*, 3) while working together at a women's rights organization in The Hague. There they both dealt with issues relating to sexual violence in war. The idea came to them in 2007, while visiting Solace Ministries, a grassroots organisation run by survivors of the genocide, offering help to widows and orphans of the genocide in the form of "food, housing, HIV medication, counselling, income-generating projects and spiritual care." (*MKM*, 3) They were impressed by the strength of the women of the organisation and by how they supported each other, and this was the reason they say why they wanted to share their stories (*MKM*, 4).

Samer, the photographer who was in Rwanda doing development work at the time, had the idea that they could bring "another dimension" into the testimonies with his photographs. Although the photographs could be seen as an easy way to evoke sympathy in the reader, they can also be justified, as Susan Sontag has written: "[i]n contrast to a written account [...] a photograph has only one language and is destined potentially for all." (20) And also, "[t]he image as shock and the image as cliché are two aspects of the same presence." (23) Furthermore she writes that a picture gains meaning and a response from the viewer by identifying or misidentifying on words (29). What Sontag has written applies also to the pictures by Muscati in *MKM*: although they might bring about a negative response in the reader by being a "cliché" they could as well be seen as doing exactly what Muscati's goal was, to bring another dimension into the testimonies of the survivors, because they have a potential to be a very effective means to affect the viewer. Whether or not Muscati was successful in performing the task, depends on and can be decided by the reader.

After working on the book separately, de Brouwer, Chu, and Muscati returned

to Rwanda in the summer of 2008 to perform the interviews that would later constitute the survivor accounts in *MKM*. The interviews were performed in three to four sessions and on the last occasion the entire testimonial was read to the survivors for them to approve or to dismiss. They say that in this manner the survivors experienced less trauma, and it gave the editors time to revise the testimonials and to ask follow-up questions. The survivors were told that they could withdraw from the book at any time. Only one survivor decided to drop out of the process. (*MKM*, 4) Additional information for the reason the person did this is not given in the book. During the process of the interviews, the editors were assisted by Denise Uwimana and Mama Lambert, who apparently helped in the interviews, and by translators Jessie Gakwandi and Doris Uwicyeza. (*MKM*, 173) More specifics on the writing process of the book are not given, which is why the role of the translators, editors and other people in molding the narratives remains obscure. The narratives are framed in a way to evoke a reaction in the reader. As the editors' role in altering the texts or imposing a structure on the narratives is unclear, the ethics of this remain debatable. It seems that they are simultaneously exploitative of the witnesses' trauma and written for the consumption of the Western readers, while also retaining a value, both therapeutically, as a means to come to terms with the traumatic experience, and socially, as giving a voice to people and issues that have previously been kept silent.

The authors' proceeds from the book go to Mukomeze a sponsorship program for girls and women who were raped during the genocide in Rwanda. The authors say that "[i]n this way, we hope to help not only the survivors interviewed here but the thousands who were not. The women and young man featured in this book have profoundly changed our lives. We hope their stories will do the same for you." (*MKM*, 5) Because Mukomeze is a sponsorship program surviving on donations, it becomes clear that one of the motivations for the writing of the book is to appeal to the sympathies of the reader with the testimonies

enough to make them become a sponsor for a Rwandan genocide survivor. According to the information provided by the Mukomeze Foundation's annual report of 2013, it seems that the foundation has indeed been successful in improving the lives of the survivors who participated in the making of the book as it states that almost all of the people who participated in the making of the book are now under Mukomeze Foundation's sponsorships (15). Furthermore the report informs us that Gloriose Mushimiyimana's, Faustin Kayihura's and Hyancintha Nirere's life quality has significantly improved due to the sponsorship program, and that they are now able to provide for themselves as a consequence of the assistance they have had (15). The overview of the Mukomeze Foundation's income and expenses can be found in Appendix C, providing additional information on the work of the foundation.

I could only find a few reviews of the book, but the ones that I found praised the book for raising awareness on an important issue that is often left in the dark for the Western audience. In a reader review found on *Goodreads* a person with the username Adria states that MKM was "one of the hardest books" she had ever read. At the same time she describes how important it was in presenting sexual violence towards women during conflict as a tool of genocide and how its effect continues even after the genocide. She also addresses the failure of the international community to acknowledge these issues (*Goodreads*).

Her view is challenged by the user *gross77162* on *Amazon*, who criticizes the book for lack of information while also crediting it for "giving a voice to the silent". He says that "First person accounts are invaluable, but the information is pretty limited outside of survivors [sic] stories. As a direct source of survivors [sic] stories, this book is useful, but it does not provide as much information as I was hoping it would." (*Amazon*)

These are however only reader reviews found online, on pages where any registered user is allowed to publish their review. Of magazines focusing on book reviews,

Publisher's Weekly has commented on the book with these words: "Muscati's 35 b&w photographs of the survivors and their families are as moving and unforgettable as their words." (3.1.2010) The reviews that I found do not seem to offer support for the view that *MKM* is exploitative of the survivors trauma as none of them directly address this issue, however the reviews found were so few, and most of them written by readers, that it hardly suffices as adequate evidence either way. Because of this, the analysis of *MKM* will mainly resort to the testimonials alone in order to form an opinion of its success in transmitting the trauma of the survivors.

4.2. Method of analysis

In the following analysis chapter, I will go through the recurring themes that emerged in the testimonies, relating them to the theory that was discussed in the earlier chapters. The method of study used is a qualitative research method, since a quantitative method would not have served my purposes, as the issues that will be examined cannot be summarized in numbers. The aim of the analysis is to examine the individual narratives by themselves as well as together as a collective narrative of the Rwandan victims of sexual violence, while taking into account also the form of the narrative.

In order to achieve a better understanding of *MKM* and to decide which of the claims examined above apply to it, the testimonies will be analysed with care, also examining the form these horrific experiences have been put into by the editors. I will discuss the life of the survivors before, during and after the genocide in order to see what kind of thoughts emerge relating to reconciliation and reasons for testifying. The testimonies of the seventeen Rwandese genocide survivors will be examined in relation to how the survivors perceive the effects that genocidal sexual violence has had on their post-genocide life. The testimonies will be carefully read paying attention to finding similarities in the experiences of sexual

violence and in the ways these experiences have affected the victims post-genocide. In these testimonies I will try to find out if the victims see testifying of a traumatic event as a means of healing, as it has been approached in trauma theory. In addition to this, I will look into the testimonies in order to find how the rapes have permanently affected the victims, as well as their communities. In performing this, I expect AIDS to rise as the largest factor in the victims' post-genocide experience.

As was mentioned in the introduction chapter, trauma theory, which will be applied in analysing the testimonies, has been criticised when implemented in relation to cultures outside of the United States, because the theory is mainly an Anglo-American invention (Gilbert, 23). It is important to address this issue in connection with this thesis, since that is exactly what I am attempting by implementing trauma theory into a collection of African testimonies. Although there exists the question of ethics and credibility in performing this sort of an analysis, the book is, however, edited by Canadian editors and directed to a Western audience, which could be seen as justification for the implementation of trauma theory. For these reasons *MKM* cannot be seen as a particularly *Rwandan* or African book, although the events it discusses take place in Rwanda. The book has been created by Canadian editors, and as such represents Western literature directed at a Western audience. Furthermore, the book has been compiled from oral testimonies that have been edited into a literary form according to a Western model of storytelling, which is another reason why the implementation can be seen as justified.

As Gilbert informs us, "Rwandan culture [...] boasts a strong oral tradition" (17). Reading and writing are not necessarily typical of Rwandan culture, which has a vital oral tradition. Therefore access to the publishing industry remains limited, despite the literacy level of Rwanda being among the highest in Africa and still on the rise (Gilbert, 18). This is one of the reasons why it is important for the Rwandans of *MKM* to have had assistance in

bringing forth their stories, as they probably would not have been able to accomplish it on their own. For the reasons noted by Gilbert, Rwandan literature on the genocide remains scarce; most of it has not been brought to markets outside Rwanda or been translated into English, while some of it has only been published abroad but not in Rwanda and not in Kiyarwanda. Gilbert writes that

the Rwandan women to have published testimonies were living in exile in the West, and their testimonies have been published in France or Belgium and seem to be targeting a predominantly Western audience. These texts are not widely available in Rwanda and have not been translated into English. (10)

In light of the information provided by Gilbert, it can be deduced that in order for the voices of the Rwandan to be heard, at all, outside of Rwanda, Western assistance is needed. This claim can be continued by stating that this seems to be what the editors of *MKM* offered the witnesses, without taking a stance on their ulterior motives, or the ethics of aestheticising the witnesses' experiences for a Western audience. In addition, it is noteworthy that there were also Rwandans assisting in the interviews and the translators too were Rwandans, which could be interpreted as a justification that the book is not, however, entirely a Western creation. The following chapter will draw on the theory discussed in the previous chapters into an analysis on how *MKM* manages to present the trauma of the Rwandan Genocide, while addressing also how the political issues of gender and genocide, rape in conflict, AIDS, and the international community's failure to intervene, emerge in the testimonies. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the narratives in *MKM* in terms of their contribution to our political understanding of the Rwandan genocide and their possible value for the surviving victims, while assessing them in the light of critical discussions of testimonial literature bearing witness to trauma.

5. Analysis

5.1. *Life before genocide*

As was explained in Chapter 1, the genocide started on the 7th April after president Juvénal Habyarimana's plane was shot down outside Kigali the previous day. Roadblocks were set to stop the Tutsi from escaping the massacre that would continue for the next one hundred days, taking the lives of 800,000 Rwandese, mostly Tutsi. However, the stories of the witnesses begin before this. Some of the witnesses in *MKM* say that their lives were good and that they were happy before the genocide. Some describe acts of discrimination by the Hutu pre-genocide, but some say that they mostly had a good relationship with their Hutu neighbours until the genocide began. Pascasie Mukasakindi's says that where she lived, the Tutsi and Hutu shared everything. Her mother was a Hutu, but her grandmother was a Tutsi. Because her father was a Tutsi, she was considered a Tutsi as well, as the ethnicity of the father also determined the ethnicity of the child (74). In her testimony she comments that "[e]thnicity didn't seem to matter to the ordinary Rwandan; it seemed to matter only to the people who wielded power" (74). This statement also supports the claim that was made in Subchapter 1.2 about the genocide being government-orchestrated, and about the role that the leaders of Rwanda played in enabling the genocide (see Straus 23).

On the other hand Marie Louise Niyobuhungiro recalls that her family was hated by their Hutu neighbour already before the genocide began, and that her father was poisoned by their neighbour when she was a child (29). It appears that the relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi vary considerably according to area and also by period of time, and that the tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi sometimes originate already from the past. As Mukasakindi also says that her parents and grandparents faced violence or a threat of violence in 1959, 1963 and 1973, when there were anti-Tutsi attacks in Rwanda (73). This goes to show that Hutu-Tutsi relations were and continue to be very complicated as

was also stated in Subchapter 1.2. The eyewitness accounts in *MKM* prove that intermarriage is common between Tutsi and Hutu, as many of the survivors tell the reader that they also have Hutu relatives. Friendships between the two ethnicities are not rare either, and some of the survivors describe acts of kindness from their Hutu friends during the genocide.

One of the witnesses in *MKM*, Marie Mukabatsinda was treated as Tutsi because she was married to a Tutsi, and because she for her appearance could pass as one, although she was actually Hutu. This and the fact that the génocidaires often had to resort to the identity cards in order to identify who was Tutsi comes to show that differentiating between the two ethnicities is indeed difficult, as was stated in Subchapter 1.2. Marie Jeanne Murekatete avoided death in the hands of the Interahamwe by saying that she did not have an identity card (44), and Jeanette Uwimana by throwing it away (51). Without this document the Hutu were unable to ascertain their ethnicity and they were let go.

Many of the witnesses say that although the Hutu in their neighbourhoods accepted them, they were discriminated against in schools by their teachers and classmates.

From the testimony of Marie Jeanne Murekatete:

Perhaps I was naïve, but when I was young I felt that all ethnic groups lived in harmony. I had a very happy childhood. Only rarely did I feel as if I didn't belong. I never felt there was any reason to hate the Hutu. The only time I felt upset was at school. When both Hutu and Tutsi passed their exams, the teachers, who were all Hutu, favoured Hutu students. I hated my teachers. Even though I was clever I could not succeed. (*MKM*, 41)

Marie Odette Kayitesi has addressed the same issue by saying that: “[w]hen I first went to school, I studied at private schools because the discrimination against Tutsi in public schools was unbearable. [...] students' ethnicity in school files was a way for teachers to discriminate against Tutsi.” (35) Marie Mukabatsinda describes similar experiences by telling how “Tutsi children were forced to stand up and identify themselves so that the Hutu children could beat them up after class” (79). So does Faustin Kayihura:

[n]umerous Tutsi had left school because the conditions were horrible. We were continually frustrated, and the teachers would sometimes make us stand so they could humiliate us before the other students. [...] There were few Tutsi in primary school, and none in secondary school. We weren't given the opportunity. Our ethnicity was written down in the school files. (91-92)

These comments are further evidence to support the claim of the genocide's government orchestration, as the discrimination was at its worst in government institutions such as the public schools.

Some of the witnesses state that anti-Tutsi violence began again already four years before the actual genocide, in 1990 when the RPF exiled in Uganda returned and attacked the Hutu, and the Hutu troops retaliated with extreme force. Jeanette Uwimana recounts that her father was accused of being an RPF spy and fired from his position at the bank where he was working. He was imprisoned for two months (49). Mukasakindi says that Tutsi traders and teachers were killed and others were jailed in 1990, as the anti-Tutsi discrimination became worse (73). Immaculée Makumi's house was burned down by the Hutu, and her mother died in the fire. During the same year, her cousin was killed by the police and she was arrested, thrown to jail and tortured by the police. She was imprisoned for a year in different prisons without probable cause (87). The events of 1990 functioned for some as an early warning sign that something horrible was on its way. For example, Glorioso Mushimiyimana states in her testimony that

[i]n 1990, a multi-party system was introduced in Rwanda. Many Hutu joined political parties and started stockpiling all kinds of weapons, especially machetes. Starting that year, we could not walk safely in the streets, and many of my friends also stopped going to school. In the bars and on the streets you could hear Hutu making speeches in which they proclaimed that the last hour of the Tutsi was very near. We were afraid something bad was being planned. (105)

Although some Tutsi realised what was going to happen, they were powerless to stop it and had no idea of the entire scale of the atrocities that were about to take place despite these

early warnings. The next subchapter will handle the experiences that the Tutsi had to live through during the genocide.

5.2. *Life during genocide*

As Totten and Ubaldo put it in the introduction to their collection of survivor interviews: “As one reads story after story of horror, one begins to appreciate the words of one interviewee: ‘We aren’t survivors, we’re victims’” (23). The experiences of the survivors in *MKM* are likewise disturbing to say the least, and to say that their plight ended when the genocide did would be wrong. In addition to being survivors, the witnesses are the victims of horrific sexual atrocity that has permanently scarred them and continues to affect their daily lives to this day.

According to the editors of *MKM*,

[w]omen and girls were subjected to the full range of sexual atrocity. This included rape, gang rape, sexual slavery, forced incest, forced marriage, and amputation or mutilation of victims’ breasts, vaginas and buttocks, or of features considered to be Tutsi, such as small noses or long fingers. Even pregnant women were not spared. (15)

The forms of sexual violence that were used against the testifiers in *MKM* include rape, gang rape, sexual slavery, forced marriage and mutilation of the victims’ reproductive organs. Forced incest is not mentioned, possibly because of its taboo status, or simply because the Tutsi in question were not subjected to it. The editors also note that “[r]ape [...] served as a means to degrade and subjugate Tutsi women” (15). Traditionally Tutsi women were considered more beautiful and arrogant than Hutu women, which is why the genocide gave the Hutu men access to the bodies of women who according to the editors of *MKM* were otherwise seen as looking down on them and being “too good” for them and as such out of their reach (15). This “promise of rape” was what Dawes as mentioned in Subchapter 3.1 addressed as “part of the initial force that swept young Hutu men to the roadblocks” (34).

It should be noted that Tutsi women were not the only ones who suffered sexual violence during the genocide as also Hutu women considered moderate were targeted, i.e. women that were married to Tutsi men, protected Tutsi, or were politically involved with the Tutsi (*MKM*, 15). Sometimes, although rarely, random Hutu women with no connections to the Tutsi were violated, for no other reason than the opportunity provided by the current disarray of the conflict (*MKM*, 15). Men, mainly of Tutsi ethnicity, were more often assaulted by genital mutilation, and only infrequently forced to rape Tutsi women or forced to have sex with Hutu women (15). Faustin Kayihura is an example of the former in *MKM* and his experiences will be returned to later in this subchapter.

The majority of the genocide survivors lost most of their family, were brutally abused and witnessed atrocious things happen to themselves as well as to their families and friends, and as a consequence many lost the ability to live a normal life, being permanently scarred by these experiences both physically and mentally. The sexual violence endured seriously affected the victims' capability to participate in their society, since HIV positivity affected their working ability as well as stigmatised them in their communities. In Pascasie Mukasakindi's testimony she confirms that "the Interahamwe militia and FAR soldiers killed what I would have become." (76) This strong statement comes to show how entirely the sexual violence endured during the genocide has affected her and permanently changed her self-image. This is evidence to support the claims made earlier in Subchapters 2.2 and 2.3 about the entirety of the effect that rape has on its victim (see for example, Joyden-Forgey in Moses and Bloxham, 79).

In the theory chapter it was argued that the form that violence takes during conflict is determined by gender. Marie Claire Uwera's testimony also comes to show how the genders were treated differently during the genocide:

I did not feel anything except fear. My older son cried. I begged them to kill me, too. Though they beat me, they said they had no reason to kill me; they

were in no rush, since they could kill me anytime they wanted. Instead, they killed my older son, who was four years old, because as a boy, he would have been able to fight them after growing up. [...] I sat there for hours and hours, not feeling anything. I wondered whether I was still a human being. (*MKM*, 67)

Uwera's infant son was murdered because of his gender but she was left alive. The reason why this happened is that as a male the son was seen as a future threat for the Interahamwe soldiers who decided to kill him, despite his young age. Instead of being killed, the mother, Uwera, was kept as a sex-slave by an Interahamwe militia man for the duration of three weeks (69). This also indicates how sexual violence functioned as a weapon towards the Tutsi women, and killing them was not necessary because the rapes caused them enough suffering.

Most of the women were subjected to repeated sexual assaults during the genocide. Many were gang raped and some were kept as sex slaves. All of the women contracted AIDS presumably as a consequence of the rapes during the genocide. Some of the women had to witness their family members and/or children being killed during the genocide. Uwera had to see her four year old son's dead body thrown into a ditch, Françoise Kayitesi witnessed his brother struck with a sword and buried alive, and Ernestine Nyirangendahayo survived because she fell unconscious under the bodies of her aunt, uncle and grandmother. The atrocities endured by the Rwandans are each more horrible than the next.

The sole male victim of *MKM*, Faustin Kayihura, has described his experiences when he was raped by a Hutu woman as follows:

The woman locked me in her house. I was only thirteen, and the horrors I experienced in her house were more than I could endure. She forced me to have sex with her. She raped me three times a day for three days. [...] It was pure cruelty, especially considering my young age. (93-94)

Kayihura's young age is noteworthy as the rape in a way feminises him, and as was mentioned above in Subchapters 3.1 and 3.2, sexual violence is usually gender-related and rape in conflict more frequently targets women. Because of Kayihura's young age, it could be

argued that he was “not yet a man”, which made him an easier target of exploitation for the Hutu woman, due in part to his lesser physical strength compared to a grown man. Kayihura’s post-genocide experience and the effect that rape had on him will be returned to in the next subchapter.

In relation to the scarcity of NGO resources in Rwanda during the genocide and their inability to stop the atrocities as a consequence, Marie Jeanne Murekatete states in her testimony that “[e]ven though the Red Cross witnessed the crimes the Interahamwe were committing, they were powerless to stop them. All they could do was search among the bodies to treat those who were still alive.” (*MKM*, 44) Prunier has even claimed that sometimes “the presence of humanitarian NGO’s on the ground was an excuse for governments and the UN to keep quietly procrastinating, waiting for the genocide to be over so that they could intervene without any political or military risk” (277). In the case of Rwanda the UN failed its task completely, as the few NGO’s that were on the ground could do little to help the civilians, as was also stated by Murekatete. The UN should have intervened and not let the safety of the Rwandans depend on the few NGO’s that were on the ground but had little real chance of helping the civilians. On the UN’s Operation Turquoise the editors of *MKM* say that although the operation troops were supposed to establish and maintain a “secure humanitarian area” (17), some French soldiers actually participated in the rapes. Murekatete has informed us in her testimony that

[a]lthough we spent a month in that stadium [a stadium in the Zone Turquoise], life was not safe. The Interahamwe would enter the stadium with lists of the names of educated Tutsi, call those people out and remove them from among us. Anyone who could speak French or English was on a list. The French soldiers stationed outside the stadium knew what was going on. The people who were taken never returned. (45)

From this statement it is evident that although the French were in Rwanda to protect the Rwandans under a UN mandate, they did not fulfil their responsibilities. Hyacintha Nirere

describes her related experiences with the French at a Zone Turquoise camp as follows:

About three hundred women and girls were at the camp. The soldiers just picked whomever among us they wanted to rape. The French knew what was happening and did nothing to prevent it. The rapes sometimes took place in front of their eyes. Rather than protecting Tutsi, the French were helping the Hutu, and towards the end of the genocide, the Zone Turquoise was used by many Hutu as an escape route from Rwanda to the DRC. (121)

Instead of protecting the Tutsi, they let the Interahamwe do what they pleased. Later in her testimony Murekatete describes how she was gang raped by the French soldiers outside the Operation Turquoise camp:

[He] appeared out of nowhere, grabbed me by the arm, took me to a trench, took my baby of my back, slapped me, pushed me into the trench and raped me, while five other French soldiers watched. [...] When he finished raping me the others raped me too, one by one until all six had had their fill. (46)

She says that the rapes were repeated four times while she was at the camp (46-47). She says it became a “nightly routine” (47) for the French soldiers to come looking for women and girls to rape at the camp. The actions of the French during the genocide added to the suffering of the Tutsi instead of relieving it which is yet another reason why the inaction of the international community in preventing the genocide is particularly condemnable.

Jeanette Uwimana testifies that she was raped in her own home by the Presidential Guards, Interahamwe and FAR soldiers, during a period of two months practically every day, she says that sometimes the rapists would come alone, sometimes in groups, sometimes even twice a day (53). As she was too afraid to flee because of the threats made by the rapists about killing her, she submitted to the rapes. She describes her experience:

During this period, I felt I was no longer a human being, and I wanted to kill myself. But I couldn't do it, since I still had my son to care for. Eventually I no longer felt pain; instead, I felt like a ghost. I didn't really think of escaping, since I felt I would be killed either way. There was no one to help me, and I preferred to die in my own house. The nightmare ended the day the Inkotanyi arrived, July 4, 1994. (53)

Jeanette Uwimana was helped and comforted by a Hutu female friend after she had been raped (52). She was not the only one who got help from the Hutu during the genocide, although some of the other survivors also had experiences where their trust was betrayed by a Hutu. For example, Marie Odette Kayitesi was protected by her Hutu neighbour Marcelline in her house, but Marcelline's son revealed her location to the Interahamwe (36). Protecting Tutsi put the Hutu at risk, which is why they often gave in to the Interahamwe in order to protect their own lives. This subchapter was just a brief glimpse into the multitude of suffering that the testimonies in *MKM* describe but it functions to show the variety of sexual assaults that the Rwandans were subjected to and provides evidence on how rape can function as a weapon of war and on how organised and frequent sexual violence was during the Rwandan genocide. It also comes to show how sexual violence is indeed gendered as only one of the victims is male and his experience somewhat differs from the experiences of the women. The next subchapter will provide an image of the survivors' post-genocide lives and the many challenges that it poses.

5.3. Life after genocide

As was mentioned in the previous subchapter, the suffering of the Rwandan survivors did not end with the genocide, but still continues more than two decades after the ceasefire was declared. The editors of *MKM* also note this, and based on the experiences of photographer Muscati in Rwanda in 2008, they describe the present conditions in Rwanda as follows:

Once the interviews were complete, Samer [Muscati] travelled across Rwanda photographing survivors in their homes and areas where they experienced the genocide. What he saw shocked him. Most survivors live in rundown shacks with no electricity or running water. Some still live within a walking distance of those who committed violence against them. Many lost their entire families in the genocide and so live a great distance from any support. In addition, a horrifying 70 per cent of survivors of sexual violence in Rwanda are now HIV

positive. They are often stigmatized because of their condition, and the disease makes it difficult for many people to earn an income. (4-5)

The survivors themselves describe their life after the genocide in the same way as the editors. All of the survivors in *MKM*, except for Faustin Kayihura, have contracted AIDS as a consequence of the rapes. Because of this, many of them say that they are discriminated against in their community, in addition to the burden of being continually weak and ill. Many also confess that they live in extreme poverty, due to the fact that the HIV condition has significantly lowered their ability to work and earn an income, in addition to having to pay for the expensive antiretroviral medicine. Having children and caring for genocide orphans adds to the economic distress. Women's heightened vulnerability to AIDS, which was discussed in Subchapter 3.3, is demonstrated in *MKM* by the fact that the only genocide survivor who is not HIV positive is the man, Faustin Kayihura.

In relation to the permanent effect of genocidal rape, Clementine Nyinawumuntu, who was seventeen years old when she was raped, has testified that

[w]hen I reflect on my lost childhood, I have a feeling of such extreme sadness. I lament whenever I remember all the dreams that I once cherished and that are now forever lost. I lament when I remember all those men who repeatedly raped me during the genocide, those same men who broke and destroyed me and every single aspect of my life. Those same *men who killed me*, slowly but very effectively. (111, emphasis mine)

From Nyinawumuntu's testimony comes also the name of the book, *The Men Who Killed Me*. The words in cursive also speak on behalf of the gravity of the crime of rape. Her testimony is proof of the claim that rape is also a weapon of war and a genocidal act, as well as a crime against humanity, as statements similar to the one made by Nyinawumuntu's about the pertaining effect of rape on post-genocide life also arise in the testimonies of the other survivors in *MKM*.

Although the victims of sexual violence say that what they endured during the genocide has permanently affected their ability to function as part of their society, Gilbert

offers a view that the women of Rwanda have also helped to build peace and to reconstruct post-genocide Rwanda, not surrendering to play the part of a passive victims (28-29). It is true that because of the changed gender structure of the Rwandan society resulting from the genocide, women have had to take on stronger roles in their communities out of necessity, as there simply are not enough men to perform these roles that traditionally have been reserved for them instead of women.

Faustin Kayihura, the man who was raped during the genocide when he was only thirteen years of age, was affected by the rapes in such a way that he says he could no longer continue his secondary school education, due to the flashbacks he had of the woman who had forced him to have sex with her. He also says that for a while he had hated himself and his life, and had wanted to commit suicide. But he has since found people who care for him and has also learned to trust women again. He says that he is now healing and does not despise women as he used to: "I have seen the other side of women and human beings in general, the good side that I had not known since 1994". (97) On being a man and having been raped by woman, he confesses,

I don't know of any other men who experienced sexual violence during the genocide, but I know they wouldn't talk about it if they had. It was a very difficult experience, and not all men are brave enough to talk about it. *It is considered shameful to be raped by a woman*. I first spoke about in only in 2007. (MKM, 91, emphasis mine)

The comment Kayihura makes about it being "shameful to be raped by a woman" comes to show that (sexual) violence is in fact gendered, and that rape committed towards men is treated differently than that of women. Schott addressed the underreportedness of sexual assaults towards men in Subchapter 3.1., and evidence in support of her claim is found in that, likewise, for Kayihura, it took more than ten years before he found the courage to report the crime that he had been subjected to.

Many of the HIV positive women have said that their condition has had a major impact on their post-genocide lives. Because the disease weakens them, it is difficult for them to work, which affects their economic conditions. In addition to this, they are discriminated against in their communities. Marie Jeanne Murekatete says that she was abandoned by her boyfriend after she fell ill, even though they had two children together (40). Jeanette Uwimana tells that her children are beaten and made fun of by other children because she is HIV positive (48). Marie Louise Niyubuhungiro testified that

[p]eople think I am crazy because I am always crying, and I do not blame them for thinking so. I am always angry, and I do not sleep at night. I hoped secretly that I would die during the genocide, but being among other survivors within a survivors' organization has brought me comfort and hope. I feel like I have a family now, and I am very grateful for that. (29)

Niyubuhungiro's testimony represents well the emotions that are brought forth by the other survivors as well, as many describe feelings of hopelessness and extreme sorrow, while also admitting that they have found some consolation in charitable organisations or in the other genocide survivors. The testimony also transmits the destructive effects of genocide and how they continue on beyond the actual acts violence.

The next subchapter will handle the ideas that the survivors have regarding reconciliation and forgiveness, and whether or not they have forgiven, or think that they could forgive those who have hurt them. This subchapter will also describe how the survivors see that justice could be fulfilled for the crimes that the genocide perpetrators have committed. The purpose of this and the next subchapter is to show the value of the detail the book provides for understanding the overall effects of the sexual violence on the Rwandan individual and community. Since reconciliation and forgiveness are important aspects of coming to terms with trauma in addition to giving testimony, I found it necessary to discuss those two factors in relation to the testimonies in *MKM*.

5.4. Reconciliation

Although the survivors are the victims of similar atrocities, their opinions on reconciliation vary considerably. While some see testifying in the *gacaca* courts (Kiyarwanda for ‘justice on the grass’, a community justice system established after the Rwandan Genocide to judge war crimes committed during the genocide) as instrumental in seeking justice, some think the exact opposite and indicate that justice is to be found elsewhere, and that the courts release the *génocidaires* too easily. Some are also afraid of testifying because of the threat of violence from the accused Hutu. While saying that justice is not necessarily found in the *gacaca* courts, many however feel the need for some sort of reconciliation for the wrongs perpetrated against them. They feel that it is wrong for the perpetrators to be living their lives as if nothing had happened and hope for retribution. Marie Odette Kayitesi recounts:

No one has ever asked for my forgiveness, and I do not forgive the Interahamwe who hurt me. Nkezebara, one of the Interahamwe who murdered Zavier, offered me 100,000 Rwandan francs so I would not testify against him in Gacaca court. I told him no money in the world could replace the loss I still have in my heart. Nkezebara was eventually convicted at the Gacaca court and sentenced to five years. However, he has since appealed the case, after bribing the panel of judges for a shorter sentence. Even if I felt like forgiving, it is not easy, because those Interahamwe continue to lie during their trials. (40)

Some of the survivors wish for the death of those who have assaulted them, while some say that they have already forgiven them. Mukasakindi has testified:

The men who killed me should be better trained in how to treat survivors after they return to society. Soon, I will accuse some of the perpetrators myself in *gacaca* court. I am afraid of testifying against them, but I will not allow my fear to get in the way. Despite all that has happened to me, I can forgive those who ask for forgiveness from the bottom of their hearts. (77)

Marie Jeanne Murekatete has a patient approach to her traumatic life and she says that despite all, she is not bitter towards those who have wronged her:

I don't feel hatred towards the Hutu. I have never accused those who killed my family at the *gacaca* courts, because that won't do anything for me. The killers can't bring my family back, so I don't see any point in accusing them. I do have advice for others who suffer: as a genocide survivor who is HIV positive, has lost two husbands and is responsible for four children, I think anyone who has travelled the same road as I have should pray and be patient. Just be patient. (48)

Adela Mukamusomera thinks in a similar vein as Murakatete as she also says

I think I have forgiven the man who killed my daughter and my in-laws. Maybe it is because he asked for forgiveness, and his request seemed to be heartfelt. [...] I don't go to the *gacaca* courts anymore, because the people we are accusing are being released. I don't see the point in taking the risk of sharing my testimony there if it doesn't make any difference. (56)

The statements made by Murekatete and Mukamusonera show astonishing forgiveness towards those who have destroyed their lives and broken their families. Mukamusonera also brings forth the issue that going to the *gacaca* courts poses serious threats for the ones willing to testify, and it seems that doing so does not have obvious benefits, as the perpetrators are often released before their sentences are fulfilled or not condemned at all.

Mukamusonera likewise describes an experience of a man who raped her and tried to burn her alive during the genocide trying to bribe her into forgiveness by giving her a cow:

That really upset me. This man who reduced my life to nothing thinks he can make amends by giving me a cow? How can a human life be exchanged for a cow?

Damascene and his wife are now my neighbours. They are getting richer every day, while my situation remains the same. One time, Damascene passed by my house and saw that my mother was ill in bed. He gave her three hundred Rwandan francs and told her to go to the hospital. He put the money in my mother's hands, but she threw it back in his face. She did not want to take money from him. That is humiliation. It made me so angry! I might have forgiven him before, but I can't forgive a man who thinks forgiveness can be bought. Why should I forgive him? I don't want to be corrupted for forgiveness' sake. I can forgive, but not in exchange for money or a cow, I just want sincerity. (63)

In Adela's testimony is present what also the other survivors have spoken about, the need for sincerity from those who have hurt them in order to earn their forgiveness. The opinions

expressed by the genocide survivors on justice and reconciliation expand our understanding of the variety of issues that the victims of sexual violence continue to battle with post-genocide. The long-term effects that rape has on an individual as well as on their community becomes clear from these testimonies. The next subchapter will add to this discussion by examining the reasons the witnesses state as affecting their desire to testify. These reasons also contribute the critique of the failure of the world community in preventing the genocide.

5.5. Reasons for testifying

Among the reasons for testifying rise most notably the need to be heard and to have the world community acknowledge what happened in Rwanda, and to receive sympathy from the reader of the testimonies. The reasons the survivors state most often as the motivation for testifying, come to support the claims made by trauma theory of testifying as a means of healing. Although some of the testifiers are suspicious of whether sharing their experiences will benefit them, for example in the form of reconciliation or as a means to seek justice, they nevertheless seem to see a value in just informing the reader of what they have had to endure (see Subchapter 2.4). For instance Adela Mukamusonera states in her testimony,

I want to share my testimonial with you for two reasons: I want the world to know what happened here in Rwanda and what we had to endure, and I want to heal myself by unburdening my heart. When more people learn the truth, I hope their voices will add to the chorus of those ensuring such crimes never happen again. (57)

Gloriose Mushimiyimana's describes her reason for testifying along the same lines as Mukamusonera:

I hope that my testimony will be proof of what happened in Rwanda. Some people deny this part of our history, but it is reality they must face. I hope that some of those who read this testimony will help genocide survivors, because we urgently need help. (110)

In Mushimiyimana's testimony it is noteworthy how she addresses "people [who] deny this part of our history" as there are people who do deny that the genocide ever happened in Rwanda (*MKM*, 17), in a similar vein as there still are those who say that the Holocaust never happened, despite the abundance of evidence suggesting otherwise.

In some of the testimonies can be noted a bitterness towards the world community for not helping the Rwandan people, in addition to the need for the genocide to be acknowledged. From Hyacinthe Nyarere's testimony:

[t]he international community abandoned us in 1994. If the international community is still denying the realities and atrocities of the genocide, then they are killing us. Maybe our testimonies will help them open their eyes. Maybe. We are still hurting, and we wish someone would notice. (123)

Nyarere is of the opinion that the world community abandoned the Rwandese during the genocide, a claim that finds resonance in for example in the writings of Barnett, who was referred to in Subchapter 3.4. It now appears to be widely recognised that the UN, among others, did not fulfill its duty of protecting the Rwandan people.

Trauma theory and testifying as a means of handling the surfacing of traumatic memories was discussed in Chapter 2 and its subchapters, in reference to the theory developed by LaCapra, Shoshana Shelman and Dori Laub, among others. In support of this theory Pascasie Mukasakindi has spoken of the resurfacing of the traumatic memories she endured during the genocide and of her need to let the world know of her suffering in her testimony:

To this day, when I think back to the genocide of 1994, a feeling of coldness comes over me and I start to shiver. I remember the freezing house where the Interahamwe enslaved me in nothing but my undergarments. But I still wish to share my testimonial with you to help let the world know what happened during the genocide and bring justice to those who suffered. I wish to have a better life. Without people who care about our plight, we will die. (73)

In this testimony, as well as in many others, is present the trust that testifying will in some way improve the witness's life. As Dawes has written, this poses its challenges, as sometimes the journalist has to take a testimony from a witness who relies on the fact that giving it would in some way help their future, but this is not in fact the case and the journalist has no tools to help the survivor. Because of this, the journalist just ends up taking the story, and exploiting the witness without necessarily wanting to. Dawes quotes Michael Montgomery, a former correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*:

We have this idea that the simple act of bearing witness is what matters to survivors, but it's far more complicated than that. When you come and interview them, their hope is that their lives are going to improve, that they're going to be helped by this in some tangible way. So they tell you their stories, these painful stories, and you listen knowing that you're almost certainly not going to help them. It's not deception, but sometimes it comes close to feeling like it. (175)

Mukamusonera for example hopes that by testifying she would help her community: "I shared my testimony hoping that this book will spread my message farther than I could ever do myself. The international community should help us to rebuild our hopes and dreams" (56). The same phenomenon can also be detected in the stories of the other survivors in *MKM*, who also wish that their stories would evoke sympathy in the readers who could eventually act in order to improve their lives. As the proceeds from the book go to the Mukomeze Foundation, by participating in the making of the book most of the witnesses have actually received the help they required and hoped for (Mukomeze Foundation's annual report, 5). But at the same time it is equally true that there remains a lot that needs to be done for the survivors. According to the information provided by the Mukomeze Foundation, the majority of the aid it offers seems to reach its target, the survivors of sexual violence.

As was written by O'Neill, literature on genocide directed at Western audiences has a responsibility in bringing forth "the voice of the Rwandan citizenry", in addition to providing the necessary information on the factual circumstances. In the case of *MKM* it is

still unclear whether “the voice” can be heard in these testimonies, as the amount of editing that has gone into the text cannot be discerned. However it seems that the book is just a part of the important work that the editors do for the benefit of the Rwandan citizenry in helping them overcome their trauma and in helping the overall development of the Rwandan nation, particularly improving the lives of the women. Despite the doubts about the way the narratives were constructed, and not knowing the whole process, the value that the testimonies have in bringing forth issues that have previously been kept in silence seems to be high.

5.6. *MKM's success in transmitting the trauma to the audience*

This section will try to determine whether or not *MKM* was indeed successful in transmitting the trauma of the genocide survivors to the reader, based on the different points made in the previous sections. As has become evident throughout the thesis, this decision is not an easy one, as there a variety of issues that need to be considered together in order to form a conclusion. It also appears that although it would seem that the trauma is successfully transmitted to the audience, the witnesses could still have been exploited in the process. In this case the ethics of this piece of testimonial literature remain questionable.

As mentioned in Subchapter 2.4, O'Neill and Gilbert discussed testimonial literature bearing witness to trauma as a means of healing. They noted that giving testimony on trauma may function as a way to overcome the traumatic experience. In connection with the claims made by these scholars it should be noted that it is difficult to ascertain if *MKM* was successful in bringing a voice to the Rwandan survivors of the genocide without exploiting them or “homogenizing” (O'Neill, 274) their experience for the Western audiences. O'Neill acknowledged the need to take into account the particularities of the Rwandan identity in texts on Rwanda in addition to having factual knowledge (267). Whether

or not *MKM* was successful in this is not clear. The process of editing the interviews of the victims of genocidal rape into narrative form, must to a degree have demanded the authors of the book to “take voice” in order to be able to “give voice” (Dawes, 8). However, as was noted by LaCapra in Subchapter 2.1, it is also possible that the traumatised individual does not know how to put the traumatic event into words. Glowacka added to this discussion that the Holocaust survivor “aided by ‘a poet’” can, in testimonial literature, find a way of understanding and remembering the experienced trauma. Is it then possible that instead of exploiting the witness, the writer who turns the experience into narrative form does in fact a favour for the survivor of trauma? In recounting their experiences the Rwandan Genocide survivors have already put a certain amount of editing and filtering into their testimonies. Could it then be that the professional writer better succeeds in transmitting the trauma than the traumatised person? Maybe aestheticizing can even function to an extent to present the trauma more truthfully with the use of literary devices than the survivors themselves could with their own words. If this is possible it offers further support for the view that *MKM* could in fact be successful in presenting the trauma of the genocide.

What, nevertheless, is clear is that the topic of sexual violence in conflict and women’s special position in war are underrepresented in political discussion at the moment. It is thus important to address these issues in literature to keep the discussion alive, as they affect whole societies, not just the women. Women’s rights are also human rights, and should be addressed accordingly, and not be left out of the discussion. *MKM*, according to the knowledge I have, is the only book completely devoted to sexual violence during the Rwandan Genocide. As such it succeeds in bringing forth these valuable issues to a larger audience that would not necessarily hear of them otherwise. The survivors have been interviewed on their experiences during the genocide and they have been moulded into a story form directed at a Western audience based on these interviews. Because the stories are

similar in form as they all describe the witnesses' lives before, during and after the genocide, bringing forth similar experiences, it seems hard to find an individual voice in the chorus of collective suffering. On the other hand, I find the book successful in presenting to the reader an image of the collective suffering that the victims of sexual violence go through with its testimonies. The whole atrocity of sexual violence is laid bare in *MKM*.

Furthermore the experiences shared by the genocide survivors bring forth the long-term effects that genocide and genocidal rape have on an individual and the Rwandan collective, as reconciliation, economic hardship, physical and mental health related problems, as well as racial discrimination, are topics that still rise in the testimonies, almost twenty years after the end of the genocide. This comes to speak on behalf of *MKM*'s success in representing the Rwandan Genocide survivors, as the book has, for its part, participated in keeping the memory of the genocide alive.

The success could also be measured in the amount of income that the Mukomeze Foundation has gained from the book and used to improve the lives of the victims of atrocities. According to its year report from 2013, the income generated from the sales of the book amounted to € 2,169.66 in 2012. In 2013 the number was € 0. In 2012 book related expenses were at € 161.40 and in 2013 at € 310.91. Put together the total profit from the book during 2012-2013 is € 1,697.35. This, however, is only a small portion of the entire income as the foundation mostly gains its proceeds from donations. The Appendices contain a table of the total income and expenses of the foundation in 2012-2013, showing also how they have used the income for the benefit of the Rwandan Genocide survivors. For the purchaser of the book, it is nice knowing that the money has been put to good use.

Despite this, the question of *MKM*'s success remains. It may be safe to assume that in some aspects the book is more successful than in others. It has not managed to make the process of editing the book transparent to the reader, in order to make it possible to

discern how much of the voice of the Rwandan witness is present in the testimonies. Nevertheless, it has been able to begin an important discussion that would not necessarily have started otherwise. With this discussion it has brought forth gender specific issues in conflict, rape as weapon of war, women's vulnerability to AIDS and the responsibility of the world community in protecting those who desperately need it. With the help of the Mukomeze Foundation founded by the editors, some of the witnesses have received aid and hope for the future. For them taking part in creating the book by sharing their traumatic experiences has to some extent been beneficial. The next chapter will continue with the comments made here, while also summarizing the main points of the entire thesis into conclusions on the value of testimonies of rape provided by *MKM* in bearing witness to trauma.

6. Conclusions

During the course of this research *MKM* was approached through the different viewpoints of trauma theory. The political issues that rose most prominently in the testimonies—gender and rape in conflict, AIDS, and the responsibility of the world community—were discussed in general as well as in relation to *MKM*. The testimonies were approached through what they tell the reader of the witnesses' lives before, during and pre-genocide. Because reconciliation and retribution are important in overcoming to terms with trauma, we looked at what the survivors say about these issues. This final chapter will conclude the observations made regarding *MKM* and discuss whether or not the objectives set for the thesis were achieved.

As the criticism on trauma literature proves, it demands specific care to address atrocities such as genocide. The aestheticising of the traumatic events experienced by the Rwandan survivors in *MKM* proved also a question of ethics. Although the aim of the editors

was to help the Rwandan survivors and to make their voice heard, the editing of the experiences into the form of narratives directed at a privileged Western audience can also be seen as exploitative and instead of “giving voice”, as “taking voice” (Dawes, 8). This became particularly clear when applying the theory discussed by Dawes to the case of *MKM*. But during the course of my research the complexity of the issues relating to trauma, and on the literature written about and by traumatised individuals, has become increasingly evident. As discussed in Chapter 2, Felman and Laub and O’Neill and Gilbert also approached trauma literature from the point of view of healing and overcoming of trauma. Support for the claims on the positive effects of testimonial literature can be found also in *MKM*. Many of the witnesses see a value in sharing their experiences with the world and have since started the process of healing due largely to the support provided by the Mukomeze Foundation. For the reasons stated above I can conclude that there is evidence to be found in support of both of the contrasting approaches to trauma theory.

Fiction as well as non-fiction on trauma can be exploitative or healing, but most of the time it is both at the same time. I would say that because of the plethora of literature on the pain and suffering of others, other people’s suffering has to a large degree stopped affecting us. As the quote from Dawes on “genocide tourism” (34) goes to show, the Western audience keeps looking for more and more effective ways to be shocked and affected. While we are “busy consuming trauma” (Yaeger qtd in Modlinger and Sonntag, 1) we have in the process to some degree become immune to it. In contrast, it also remains possible that information provided by literature on trauma could make the reader take action. In relation to *MKM* it would be interesting to know how many of the readers have, as a consequence of reading the book and feeling sympathy for the survivors, wanted to examine the case of the Rwandan Genocide further or taken action, and perhaps donated to the cause.

In relation to the political issues, some conclusion can be drawn based on what

types of experiences the testimonies in *MKM* brought forth. Regarding gender and genocide, it seems that violence is gendered, and the testimonials in *MKM* proved that this was the case in Rwanda too. The forms of violence that men and women faced during the Rwandan genocide, as well as during genocides in general, with some rare exceptions (such as the man in *MKM*) differ according to gender.

The results of this study revealed the multitude of effects that wartime rape has on an individual's life, but also on a community as a whole. The effects that rape has on an individual's life are long term, which the testimonials in *MKM* show to be true, as many of the witnesses have still not recovered from their trauma and it is doubtful if they ever will. By infecting the victim with HIV the long term effects of rape become even more severe and moreover, final.

Since the consequences of rape are so severe for the victims in *MKM* and because the raping in Rwanda happened systematically and with extreme cruelty, it did function also as a weapon of war. The sexual violence that happened during the Rwandan genocide had a variety of effects on the survivors, among which were the physical symptoms of pain in different body parts, including the head, stomach and reproductive organs, bleeding, inability to bear children, and evidently AIDS. The psychological symptoms include depression, hopelessness, resurfacing of the traumatic memories, trust issues, and deteriorated self-image, these symptoms often worsened by the stigma resulted from being raped and/or HIV positive and the consequent discrimination by their community. By considering these factors of genocidal rape together, the reasons behind the systematic sexual violence appear to include the destruction of the victim's self-esteem, stigmatizing her, impregnating her with the child of an enemy, destroying her reproductive organs and infecting her with AIDS. In many of the testimonials the rape victims tell how they wish for some kind of retaliation for the brutalities they had to endure, which they, however, failed to

get. The accounts show the need to establish a proper system of restorative justice in Rwanda so that the victims of genocidal violence could achieve the retribution they grave for.

The threat of sexual violence towards women continues to be a major issue globally, both in countries at war and at peace. It is important to acknowledge this issue since the legislation in many countries does not necessarily even condemn sexual violence towards women in all instances. In Finland, although we consider ourselves a modern and equal society the debate still continues on what constitutes rape, and on whether the victim has a responsibility in preventing becoming a victim of sexual violence. The stance that a state takes to rape is a good indicator of the value it puts on gender equality. As has been noted by many feminists, instead of teaching our girls how not to become a victim of rape, we should teach our sons not to rape (See, for example, Travis, 165). Sexual violence in Rwanda has not stopped with the genocide, and the Rwandan women continue to live with its threat daily, which is further evidence that the need to address this issue continues. AIDS has made the already difficult lives of the genocide survivors even more challenging. This demonstrates how essential it is to keep up efforts to address the issue of sexual violence in a way as to make it possible for the demanding conditions of victims of sexual violence to be acknowledged and improved.

In the case of Rwanda, the world community led by the United Nations failed to protect the Rwandese people with dire consequences. My study discussed the dire consequences of the failure of the world community to protect Rwandese people and revealed some of the reasons for this failure. Although the United Nations has valuable principles relating to peace and security, in practice its system has often proven ineffective, slow and unreliable in situations where swift and effective action would have been required. Such was the case in Rwanda as well. *MKM* shows in concrete terms the consequences of UN non-interference as well as the need that existed for a humanitarian intervention, demonstrated by

the horrific testimonies and by the observations of the survivors themselves on international inaction.

As was mentioned above, state sovereignty has been the most highly prized value in international relations, and international law is in many instances based on protecting these rights. It is only fairly recently that state sovereignty has been questioned in states that have failed in their responsibility to protect their people. In such instances, human rights surpass the state's right to autonomy. This, however, did not happen in Rwanda, although for the requirements to justify a humanitarian intervention were fulfilled. The United Nations has the right to intervene if the violence in a state takes a genocidal form, but in Rwanda it did not use its right until it was too late, and even then acted with insufficient force. The result of this neglect can be read in the testimonials of the seventeen Rwandese in *MKM*, and in the hundreds of thousands lives lost.

In the course of the research, it became possible to find reasons why the form of testimonials that *MKM* represents functions well in causing a reaction in the reader. The form of first-person narrative is easily approachable, and the topic of atrocities efficiently evokes sympathy in the reader. To write about these events as non-fiction, should have proved less risky than fiction, but has in fact appeared to pose equal challenges.

The reasons why the Rwandan victims of genocidal rape chose to share their stories, despite knowing the stigma that this would cause them in their community, were for the majority of them the desire to let the world know what happened in Rwanda and to know that there were people who cared. In addition to this, many of the witnesses demanded retribution and reconciliation for the injustice they had faced. They found it wrong that genocide perpetrators were not punished for their terrifying deeds during the genocide, although some were more forgiving.

I hope that my research will result in ideas on how wartime rape victims can

find reconciliation for what they had to endure, and how a community can help them find it. One clear issue that would improve the situation is providing the victims a safe venue for testifying as the *Gacaca* courts have proven inadequate. Although some of the questions posed in the introduction could not be conclusively answered with the means available to me, the main points of rape in conflict, AIDS and the world community's failure to stop the genocide were found to have resonance in *MKM*. The questions that were left unclear were the reliability of *MKM* and whether or not it is exploitative of the witnesses' trauma since there was not enough reliable evidence. The material on how the interviewing, translating, writing and editing process was conducted by the authors of the book does not suffice for an exhaustive analysis.

To expand on the work done here, it would be an interesting topic of further study to take a grassroots approach to *MKM* by travelling to Rwanda and seeing how the witnesses themselves feel about the book published on their experiences, and to see if they feel as they have accomplished what they expected they would in testifying. How would they themselves formulate their experiences? Do they feel exploited? Has testifying had a positive impact on their lives? To perform this kind of comprehensive research is not possible with the means at my disposal, but I would welcome it if someone chose to expand on this piece of research since I feel that there is a need for it.

The testimonies of sexual atrocity performed during the Rwandan Genocide have functioned as an eye-opener to the underrepresentation of wartime rape in current academic and political discussion. In the course of the research, it has become evident that there is a need to address these issues in order bring about a change in the position of women in conflict. In light of *MKM* it should be considered how immune the Western countries are to horrible events taking place in post-colonial countries. The imperial-colonial binary position that was discussed by O'Neill (262) in Subchapter 2.3 is an important aspect of

trauma literature. *MKM* is important in that it raises awareness on suffering in the post-colonial reality of Rwanda that we might otherwise know nothing of.

To conclude, it now seems that *MKM* is successful in transmitting the trauma to the reader and in raising awareness on the Rwandan Genocide and sexual violence in conflict. It also has at least to some extent provided help and relief for the victims that share their experiences in the book. The ethics may still remain questionable in terms of the editors' part in constructing the narratives and their motivation in this, but it seems safe to assume that in light of the information at hand the benefits outweigh the negative aspects.

7. Appendices:

Appendix A: Map of Rwanda



Appendix B

Brief Chronology of Rwandan Conflict (from Barnet, 183-187)

1885-1973

- 1885 Berlin Conference makes Ruanda-Urundi a German colony.
- 1916 Belgian troops take control of Rwanda.
- 1923 Rwanda becomes a League of Nations mandate under Belgian control.
- 1933 Belgian administration conducts census and distributes identity cards.
- 1945 Rwanda becomes a UN trust territory under Belgian control.
- 1957 Hutu Manifesto is published.
- 1959 Thousands of Tutsis flee amid violence.
- 1960 First municipal elections return rule to overwhelming Hutu majority.
- 1961 Monarchy is formally abolished; proclamation of republic is issued. There is more anti-Tutsi violence and refugee flight.

- 1962 Rwanda gains independence. Armed attacks by Tutsi refugees are staged from Burundi. Anti-Tutsi violence and flight continues.
- 1963 There is massive anti-Tutsi violence, and a mass exodus of Tutsis to neighboring countries.
- 1972 Hutus are massacred in Burundi. There is an anti-Tutsi purge in Rwanda.
- 1973 Habyarimana becomes president in a coup.

1990

- July* Habyarimana concedes the principle of multiparty democracy.
- October* RPF invades Rwanda. There is immediate international intervention. A cease-fire agreement is signed at the end of the month and is to be monitored by the Organization of African Unity.

1991

- March* After repeated violations, a more comprehensive cease-fire agreement is signed by Rwandan government and RPF.

1992

- July* New cease-fire agreement is signed.

1993

- February 8* After months of violence, RPF invades Rwanda. The French intervene.
- February 21* RPF declares a cease-fire.
- February 22* Uganda and Rwanda request UN observation of cease-fire agreement.
- March 4–19* Secretary-general sends goodwill mission to Rwanda to examine all aspects of the peace process.
- March 7* RPF and Rwandan government renew cease-fire and agree to peace talks, which begin on March 16. Negotiations continue through June.
- March 12* Security Council adopts Resolution 812, calling on parties to respect cease-fire and to examine possible military observer mission.
- April 8* Technical mission for a possible military observer post visits from April 2 to 6.
- April 8-17* Secretary-general sends three advisers to Arusha, Tanzania, to assist the negotiations. Special rapporteur from UN Human Rights Commission visits Rwanda.
- May 20* Secretary-general formally recommends the establishment of UNOMUR
- June 9* RPF and Rwandan government sign agreement on refugee repatriation.
- June 14* RPF and Rwandan government send a joint request to Security Council for an international force to oversee anticipated peaceagreement
- June 22* Security Council adopts Resolution 846 establishing UNOMUR
- August 4* Arusha peace agreement is signed, envisioning a transitional government within 37 days and an executed peace in 22 months.
- August 11* Special rapporteur delivers his findings on human rights and suggests that there is evidence of a genocide.
- August 18* UNOMUR advance team arrives

- August 19-31* UN reconnaissance mission visits Rwanda to assess possible UN peacekeeping force to oversee Arusha Accords.
- September 10* Parties miss date to establish broad-based transitional government (BBTG).
- September 15*
Joint RPF-Rwandan delegation visits UN and urges immediate establishment of peacekeeping force.
- September 24* Secretary-general proposes a peacekeeping operation to Security Council.
- September 30* UNOMUR becomes fully operational.
- October 5* Security Council adopts Resolution 872 authorizing UNAMIR
- October 21* Coup in Burundi leaves tens of thousands dead, and hundreds of thousands of refugees flee to Rwanda.
- October 22* Force Commander Dallaire arrives in Kigali.
- November 23*
Special Representative of the Secretary-General Jacques BoohBooh arrives in Kigali.
- December 10*
Parties agree to establish BBTG by December 31 (supposed to have been established in mid-September).
- December 20* UNOMUR is extended for another 6 months.
- December 24* Kigali Weapons-Secure Area agreement signed.
- December 31* Parties fail to establish BBTG.

1994

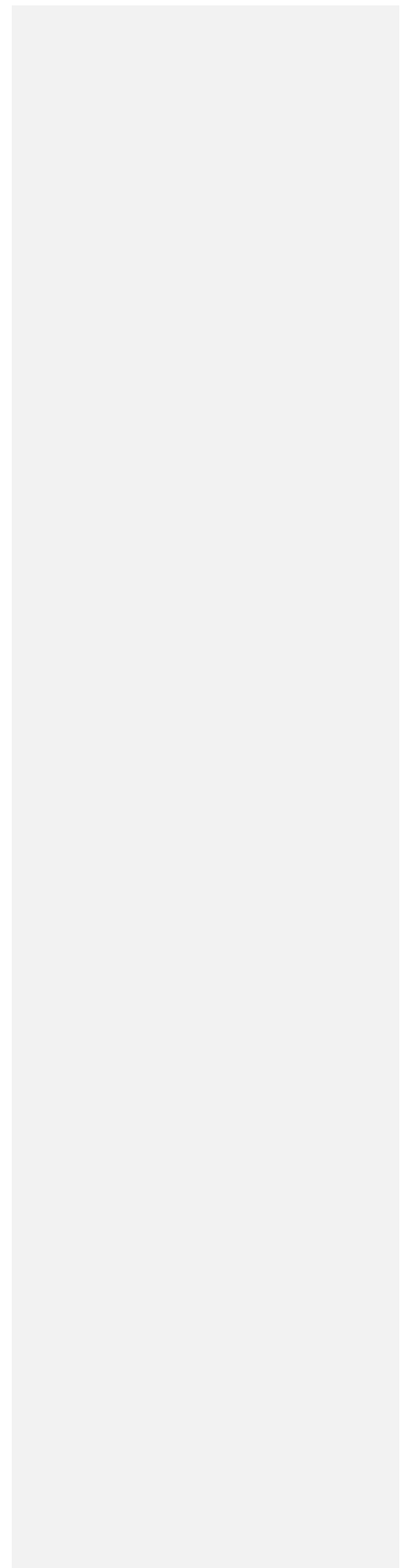
- January 1* Rwanda becomes a nonpermanent member of Security Council.
- January 5* The current president of Rwanda, Juvenal Habyarimana, is sworn in, satisfying one step in transitional process. Still no transitional government in sight.
- January 6* Security Council adopts Resolution 893, which reaffirms Resolution 872.
- January 11* DPKO receives cable from Dallaire outlining plan to kill peacekeepers and Tutsis, and denies his plan to seize weapons caches.
- February 3* DPKO authorizes seizure of weapons caches if UNAMIR forces are accompanied by Rwandan authorities.
- February 7* Special representative to secretary-general holds series of meetings, which lead the parties to accept a new deadline of February 14 for BBTG.
- February 14* Parties miss deadline for establishing BBTG.
- February 17* Security Council insists that Rwanda immediately establish transitional government.
- February 18* Parties announce new target date of February 22 for establishing BBTG.
- February 21* Wave of violence occurs in Rwanda.
- February 22* Amid violence and assassinations, Rwanda misses another deadline for transitional government.
- March 1* Prime minister-designate announces proposed composition of transitional government.
- March 22* UNAMIR is now at full strength.
- March 30* Secretary-general delivers report to Security Council and recommends renewal of UNAMIR mandate.
- April 5* Security Council adopts Resolution 909, conditionally renewing UNAMIR until July 29, 1994.
- April 6* President Habyarimana's plane is downed on return from Arusha, Tanzania.
- April 7* Ten Belgian peacekeepers are killed.

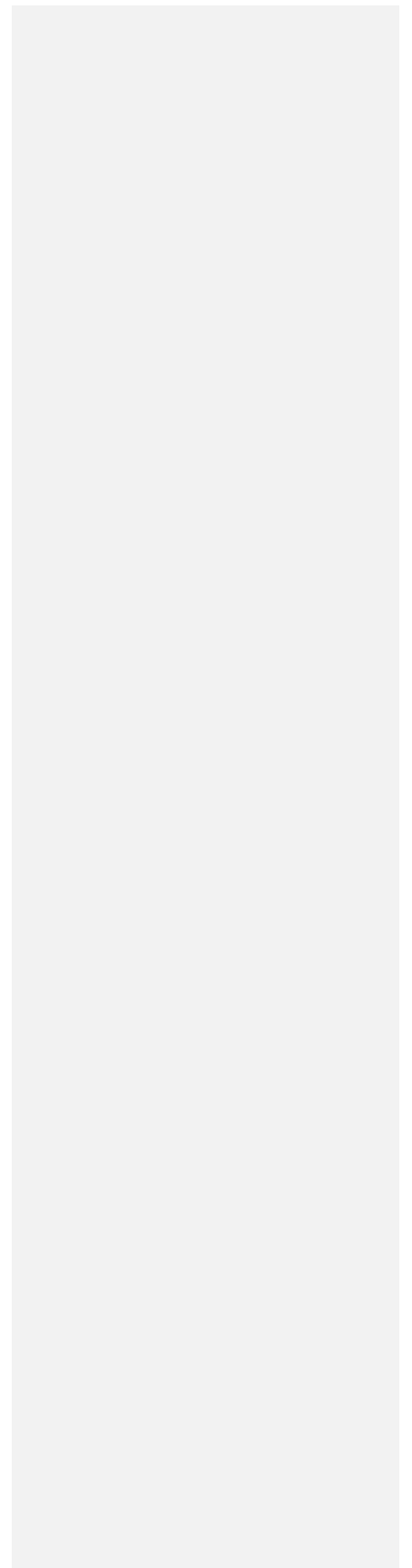
- April 8* Civil war starts.
- April 8-19* Dallaire continually urges DPKO to recommend intervention with expanded force that is capable of protecting civilians.
- April 9* “Interim” government forms and departs Kigali 3 days later.
- April 12* Belgium formally announces that it will leave Rwanda.
- April 13* Last intervention proposal is withdrawn from Security Council.
- April 20* Secretary-general presents report to Security Council outlining three options and recommending a slimmed-down mandate.
- April 21* Keating proposes new resolution authorizing intervention and calling Rwanda killings a genocide.
- April 27* Security Council continues to debate future options.
- April 29* Boutros-Ghali urges the council to consider intervention but fails to refer to ethnic cleansing or genocide.
- May 6* Security Council asks secretary-general to prepare contingency plans.
- May 13* Secretary-general recommends expansion of UNAMIR to 5,500 to assist humanitarian intervention.
- May 17* Because of objections from the United States, Security Council adopts Resolution 918, which authorizes the creation of UNAMIR II contingent on satisfaction of some conditions.
- May 21* RPF, accumulating various military victories, finally takes Kigali airport.
- May 31* Secretary-general calls for immediate expansion of UNAMIR II.
- June 8* Security Council adopts Resolution 925 extending UNAMIR until December 9, and authorizes the deployment of another battalion.
- June 19* Secretary-general recommends that Security Council accept France’s offer to lead a multilateral operation.
- June 22* Security Council adopts Resolution 929, Operation Turquoise.
- Late June* With Rwandan military rapidly disintegrating, RPF steps up offensive and takes control of territory between Kigali and Zaire.
- July 1* Security Council authorizes Resolution 935 calling on the secretary-general to establish a commission of experts to examine the possibility of genocide.
- July 4* RPF takes full control of Kigali.
- Mid-July* In a span of 2 weeks, nearly 2 million Rwandans flee Rwanda.
- July 18* In nearly complete control of Rwanda, RPF declares unilateral cease-fire. Security Council adopts Resolution 912 authorizing the reduction of UNAMIR

Appendix C: The income and expenses of Mukomeze organization**Table 1**

		2012	2013
Income	Sponsorships (RI)	€ 8,930.04	€ 11,000.04
	Projects (RI)	€ 27,540.00	€ 10,919.00
	Regular donations (RI)	€ 120.00	€ 190.00
	One time donations (RI)	€ 2,934.20	€ 2,470.05
	Handicrafts	€ 502.50	€ 858.20
	“The Men Who Killed Me”	€ 2,169.66	-
	Interest	€ 132.56	€ 137.71
	Other	€ 2,032.31	€ 1,235.27
		€ 44,361.27	€ 26,810.27
	2012	2013	
Expenses	Sponsorships	€ 11,030.00	€ 12,575.00
	Projects	€ 28,855.00	€ 11,120.00
	General contributions	€ 2,866.37	€ 2,400.00
	Handicrafts	€ 1,295.68	-
	“The Men Who Killed Me”	€ 161.40	€ 310.91
	Other	€ 1,941.83	€ 1,267.31
	Rabobank foundation package (OH)	€ 253.61	€ 215.51
	Travel costs (OH)	€ 193.28	€ 170.61
	Administrative costs (OH)	€ 248.67	€ 651.69
	Current account balance 31/12	€ 46,845.84	€ 28,711.03
	Ratio Overhead costs (OH) /	€ 9,479.45	€ 7,578.69
	Reg. income (RI)*	2.19 %	2.57 %

Appendix D: Photographs from MKM by Samer Muscati





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