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The Decolonizing Potential of Local and Metropolitan
of the Rwandan Genocide

by

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ABSTRACT

Rwanda has been on the international stage. However, understandings of the genocide do not necessarily represent the citizens. The popular construction of Rwanda as a nation over the Rwandan Genocide as a defining feature of Rwandan nationhood from 1962, Rwanda continues to be shaped by neocolonial forces.

In response to this problematic reality, literary representation beginning to provide a forum for Rwandan voices to assert authentic Rwandan identity for Western dissemination. This dissertation considers seven diverse perspectives about the Rwandan Genocide which articulate the distance between Rwandan and Western citizens.

Philip Gourou *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed Here by Our Own People* and Gil Courtes *Am Sunday at the Pobleina* offer detailed consideration of Rwandan history and culture to challenge the colonial rhetoric of Western citizens. Elizabeth C. Bortolin *Memory in Philippe Starck's* and Tierno Monémbé *The Oldest Expatriate* share the lived experience of genocide and the impact of violence on individuals and communities, affectively representing genocidal suffering in order to bear witness to victims and perpetrators. Tadjou *The Shadow of In* and Soja Lind *Have Before Me a Remarkable Document Given to Me by a Young Lady from Rwanda* offer significant perspectives on recovery achieved within Rwanda, the cultural interaction in further affirming this recovery.

This study draws on the insights of postcolonial theory, tra the area of national identity to parse the ~~negro~~ ~~productive~~ ~~texts~~ ~~in~~ Rwandan identity for Western readers. This dissertation argue citizens with an understanding of national Rwandan identity tha the superstructure of ~~Western~~ ~~Asosob~~, these narratives have t enable Western citizens to recognize and challenge the role of public discourse about the Rwandan Genocide.

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Chapter Literature as a Response to Genocide

Crimes against humanity require new means of redress, a hidden histories of atrocity, didactically and provides collective victims a place of respect, dignity, and agency in the process. Catherine Cole, *Performance and Justice in the Law: South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 171

The writer of fiction can be and must be the pathfinder. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*

As one aspect of the public discourse concerning genocide, a great deal about the perceived social and political importance of the discourse on the Rwandan Genocide which almost one million people were killed between April and July 1994, demonstrates this observation. Literature it instigates consideration of another's lived experience among readers. Literary expression allows personal resistance to be shared with others, leading to collective action. As bell hooks states, speaking is not solely an act of resistance, a political gesture that allows the voiceless and nameless and voiceless & [it] can be healing, can protect us (8). Writing has addressed a range of human injustices; representation of inequality has helped to influence private and public behaviours. Depictions of gender and racial oppression in literature have brought individual dissatisfaction with the social order to the public sphere. Literature erodes the efficacy of systems of oppression, such as European colonization, by allowing local victims to enunciate their pain and reclaim their cultural and political identities. It was the written word which empowered individuals to collectively initiate

authoritarian regimes. Western and Rwandan writings about the post-genocide era evoke the horror of the genocide, but also praise the decolonizing potential of such writing. Tracing the state of the citizens, and their social recovery, these texts lay the groundwork for a new understanding of emerging Rwanda. Rejecting imposed identities and drawing attention to the external political structures of neofunctionalism as a fragile but potentially powerful force in the history of Rwanda, these texts have the potential to instigate important change.

As a literature of resistance, genocide literature at large is as personal as it is political. The Rwandan Genocide writings examine the genocide as a local event, targeting a specific group of people and reflecting the socio-political realities of a given community or nation. However, the genocide is also an international concern. Genocidal violence rejects the concept of hierarchy and seeks to imagine a new social order. Because genocide destroys the rhetoric of equality at the very root of modern international relations, the responses from the international community are often contradictory. These responses are factors which inform specific international relationships and in turn, lead to a focus on the statements and actions of those perpetrating violence against the victims of violence. Political and militaristic responses can be both rhetorical and practical. While the content of these messages diverge, they demonstrate the impact of practiced international politics. While these responses are at their core, they emphasize the lived experience of genocide in a way that is crucial. However, by merging the personal and the political, genocide literature

mass violence on the individual victim and the impact of the genocide on the individual's engagement with the politics of genocide in the modern era.

The Western response to the Rwandan genocide demonstrates the impact of neocolonial ideology on Rwanda's identity within the international community. The underwhelming Western engagement in Rwanda's recovery and reconstruction suggests a continued neocolonial dismissal of Rwanda as a national community of nations. By framing the genocide in racialized and colonial terms, the killings are indicative of innate African chaos, media and political discourse in Rwanda continues to be defined by the limiting racial hierarchy of the colonial encounter. This neocolonialism has the Rwandan diaspora as a byproduct of neocolonialism, as well as from the genocide of 1994. While Rwanda's recovery measures, Rwanda's recovery must also address the legacy of the genocide to occur without a significant loss of life. The Rwandan Genocide becomes potentially productive as an agent of international social and political change.

Despite the fact that the Rwandan folktales and oral traditions are rich, there are a surprisingly limited number of literary texts which represent the genocide within Rwanda are limited by a lack of representation in the novel, a popular Western genre, is not a form of writing native to Rwanda that Kinyarwanda, the local language of Rwanda, is not commonly used.

¹Rwanda has no alphabet and no written language, and so all cultural production is oral (Adekunle 47). The Rwanda has a rich oral tradition which is comprised of music and dance, the accepted forms of oral tales: predynastic stories, royal literature, and oral poetry. As notes that these oral narratives can vary greatly; the Rwandan poem "Ubusungu" (Source of Wisdom) is a traditional narrative which recounts Rwanda's success in the genocide. However, narratives with casual themes or based on information passed down through generations change over time (31). As Chrétien observes, the oral tradition is not static; their interpretation

Many of the literary texts concerning the Rwandan genocide are introduced into Rwanda with the arrival of the Belgian colonial and remained a primary language of instruction until 2010, when English was introduced for educational purposes. There have been some texts written and translating earlier French publications into English has also been because English increasingly functions as a sort of international language. English texts are widely disseminated and English is an important consideration for these texts. English texts reach a wider audience but in the case of the literature of the Rwandan Genocide, we desire to ensure that these texts that are intended to provide new understandings of the genocide outside of media representation.

As a group, these English publications are representing the genocide and travel agency by American Whitcomb and African writer Tadeo, frame individual experiences of genocide and children's literature by Combres and the graphic novel by Philip Stassen, explore the impact of the Rwandan Genocide on children who observed violence in their lives. Courtemanche and Ménémbé use the novel to respectively explore lived experiences of the genocide while prioritizes her message and discourse by which these plays have points of similarity and difference. Each text uses a distinct

must be. More often than not, old narratives reveal more about ancient culture and contribution is hardly negligible (32). Rwandan stories performed at the beginning of the 20th century for the Royal Court by the Intore Dance Troupe (Traditions of Rwanda form an important part of Rwandan culture today.

the genocide to readers, and this in itself is an interesting aspect. The messages contained within each text, the diversity of form here, the authorial experimentation in style and political, and the historical events consistently challenges established representational forms, and, generally understood by Western citizens, this diversity marks the Rwandan Genocide as a Western audience. In this dissertation, we do not ignore the question of form, its uses and functions, as these several intersect thematically in very interesting ways. The three shared chapters three, four, and five, and will explore the issues of Rwandan experiences of the genocide, and Rwandan recovery. The dissertation is to clarify the emergence of a Rwandan identity, post-genocide, for Western readers, the consideration of theme proves itself

These seven literary Rwandan authors form the basis of this consideration of the role of literature in educating Western readers; they have been chosen on the Rwandan authorship and availability for Western readers. While each author here claims a different nationality, all are unique Rwandan Genocide authors. While the primary considerations of the genocide authors, such as Véronique Rwinda, *The Coulistes*, Jofa, *The Genocide*, Marie Vianney, *The Rwanda*, and the Tutsis expansion, *Fore Rwanda*, are a collaboration between Western and Rwandan scholars, this dissertation seeks to evaluate the efforts to understand and productively engage with Rwandan Genocide scholarship exploring literary representations of

² While using Rwandan representations of the genocide is not about Rwanda can be as an acceptance of cultural appropriation, there are Rwandan variations

has been limited in the nearly two decades since 1994, and in be fruitful for future research to undertake a comparison of the Rwanda by Rwanda. The accessibility of the text was a key factor in each. These seven texts are broadly available for English readers, easily obtained through major booksellers. While these are other authors in circulation, their availability for English readers is limited by the publication and their slow adoption by major libraries and bookstores. These texts reflect the literary representations of the Rwandan Genocide for Western audiences. What these texts share is an interest in depicting the common tropes applied by the Western media onto the Rwandan media. Currently, a powerful force in shaping global knowledge in creating and sustaining social, political, and historical records for the reader. Fundamentally, humans write to convey knowledge and experience. Writing is the original mode of production and transmission of knowledge gained through (visual, visceral)

into the Western social and political discourse about the Rwandan Genocide. The language, cultural form, and economics, Rwanda's history of colonial rule and the West have made it hard for Rwandan narratives to gain traction with this practical application. Rwandan texts under consideration here draw Western attention and experience, asserting the value of Rwandan literature. In doing so, they challenge the socio-political forces which have marginalized Rwandan voices. As Arnd Schneider links cultural appropriation with imperialism, stating that appropriation implies a resignification of meaning against its original context (or what is appropriated, and what (or who) is alienated) (225). While cultural appropriation maintains social imbalances, drawing on the qualities of a productive and challenging imbalances between individuals and collectives. Moreover, all of Rwandan history and society, as well as interaction with Rwandan genocide, these texts foreground Rwandan voices and concerns to Western readers, there is a Rwandan concern in the Western imagination. These seven texts represent an attempt to convey Rwandan experiences to Western readers, but the texts themselves strike back at the superstructure which limits their impact. The texts themselves strike back at the superstructure and forge the way for a more inclusive and representative Rwandan identity.

intersecting interests of each of these scholars, including the d
discourses about Rwanda within the Western public imagination
historical development of the Rwandan Genocide as the emerging po
genocide literary texts to demonstrate the potential of literature
framing of the Rwandan Genocide, and thus, Rwandan national
and Hron, this dissertation demonstrates how literature can make the political
neocolonialism more visible; like the work of Small and Kalisa,
how literature can establish a new discourse which bolsters neocol
decolonization

There are seven texts examined here, divided according to
directly, although there is a great deal of crossover in each te
of Rwanda: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. Philip Gourevitc
We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our
Courtemanche Sunday at the Pottery Kilns. explore the lived exper
genocide and the impact of genocide on individuals, families, and communities
Élisabeth Coudré's *My Mother's Story* and Tierno
Monémé's *The Oldest One*. Finally, Véronique Tadjo's *Daughters of the Rain*
Linden's *Haye Before Me a Remarkable Memory of a Young Lady*
Rwanda. Consider the interaction between individuals and cultures
These collaboratively produced texts of the Rwandan Genocide
for innovations in the way that Westerners can be
meaningfully engaged in the social, cultural, and political reality
providing historical and cultural education, generating rooted e

value of cross-cultural interaction. Fundamentally, these texts offer Genocide which was not available to Western audiences during Western-era critically engaged writings of the Rwandan and Genocide Western-political discourse

Readers of these texts are able to grasp the precolonial and Rwanda, they can intellectually and emotionally understand the recognize the for-cultural interactions in order to specifically recover outside of Rwanda. This knowledge provides readers with the a complex nation, rather than relying on the trope of a small and insignificant African country. Individually, these texts encourage Genocide as an event born out of very specific causes and which Rwandan society. Collectively, they encourage their share over these the aspects of Rwanda's genocide demonstrate that empathy, and cross-cultural engagements, it is possible to develop an as an independent institution to the politics of continued neocolonial in emergent Rwandan national consciousness within a Western reader challenge the continued reliance on neocolonial politics on the re-creative decolonization of Rwanda in the minds of informed a

³ The issue of justice has been widely discussed in other academic work and traditional Western forms of justice in Rwanda has been discussed at least Paul Bornkamm. Similarly productive work has critically evaluated the role for the Rwandan people (Barria and Roper). As will be discussed in chapter genocide justice in Rwanda far outweighed their interest in helping Rwandan citizens dissertation takes as its starting point this Western preference for justice and understanding about the colonial and the impact of the genocide populations, and the efforts towards social, cultural and political recovery discussed within the West.

The use of Rwandan literature, and the literary form more trauma offers three distinct advantages to other forms of information: emotive content, explore multiple subject positions, and reclaim dialogue. Genocide literature permits understanding because it is both intellectually and emotionally. This literature does not consider the realities of subject positions. Finally, genocide literature is vital to reclaiming the history of genocide, as narrative creates community in its very telling. However, literature needs creative licence to explore histories that were jeopardized by genocide, concerns about the ability of literary representations. Such literature has the potential to be a primary source of information, but it also raises concerns about the possibility of literature which propagates misinformation. Such literature takes as its basis the assumption that genocide is a necessary evil which runs counter to the interests of survivors who choose not to forgive. Benefits and reservations must be carefully considered in order to evaluate the role of literature in the context of the Rwandan Genocide.

Creative forms of expression are used to gather and disseminate memories and individual narratives in order to educate the reader. The writer to balance between a historical fidelity to truth and an artistic veracity and credibility (Kreider 2000). In order to present truth, fictionalize the narrative to be engaging. Prefaces are used by Courtemanche and Tadjo to identify the narrative and assure readers of the degree to which fiction should be used. They offer additional information, such as maps, historical records, and interviews to provide additional context for the play, as Sonja has her own intertextual

with Rwandan survivors in London, demonstrating how individual testimony can be conveyed affectively to large audiences. Authors of factual evidence in order to corroborate the horror of their fiction must guard against accusations of being inauthentic in their details. Given the brutality implicit in genocide literature, it is possible that details as constructed rather than representative of survivor stories avoid real engagement with the subject matter. Offering evidence within the narrative affirms the accuracy of such fiction.

It is important to note in this consideration of the literature that the genres do not impose a single reading on the reader, but rather invite intellectual and emotional engagement with the text in order to generate meanings that are always provisional and negotiable. Readers are encouraged to extract their own messages and meanings. The binary of perpetrator and victim categories that do not reflect the nuance of lived experience. Genocide literature reaffirms subject positions from which the world is viewed. This flexibility demonstrates Berel Lang's concept of "worlding," whereby representation explores the world from a specific subject position, a subject position relative to the world. These texts represent the experience of genocide: the perpetrator fraught with guilt, the victim desperate for survival, the observer. Genocide literature explores the experience of genocide from various subject positions, and raises questions about how genocide should be understood at individual and societal scale. Authoritarian regimes rely on such texts to ascribe to a stated ideology, and to interrogate literary texts that em-

genocide avoid offering collective truths and instead emphasize individual truths.

Genocide literature also offers social benefits; the act of writing literature can affirm the value of community and create new communities and engaged readership. Genocide requires the dehumanization of language, and the narrative of desubjectification (Haidt 277) revoked the rights of the targeted group. During the recovery process, the humanity of survivors is re-established. This recovery is not a neutral process. Levi notes: coming out of the darkness of the Holocaust, the conscience having been diminished (56). This recovery of personal authority. However, the act of writing, or engaging with the writing of others. Announcing personal experience establishes the right to speak and to be heard, challenges the victim position imposed during genocide, and creates a space in which to speak. Genocide literature narrates a search for some sense of a fragmented self under siege, about memory, about trauma that has been forgotten (Horowitz 24). The act of writing or speaking as a survivor reclaims the self, no matter how fraught this identity and right to be heard. The act of writing of survivors can empower victims and witnesses by forming communities that can be divided by geography and language.

However, one of the most significant hesitations over literature is the use of factual records to inform fiction, and fiction to explain history. It offers authors a degree of representational freedom which can be used for the representation of lived experience through which the individual is distinguished.

paramount to genocide authors, fact without human context makes intellectual engagement difficult. As Julia Alvarez, an author who sometimes took liberties by changing time and place and by collapsing characters or incidents, a novel is not, after all, a historical document that goes through the human heart (342). The potential for slippage between writing often impedes rather than encourages discussion. The author documents the genocide. However, the author has no requirement so the words of the writer can be questioned. The writer's words purposefully inaccurate. Genocide literature raises these kinds of writing precisely because these texts are so valuable in engaging complex social and political discussion.

Efraim Sivo warns that there can indeed be no future without remembrance relies on imagination to give it meaning, one must be involved (84). Indeed, this is not an idle point, and it would be fiction can be helpful to aid recovery. Recovery absolutely requires genocide become part of the historical record. Accurate history allows a better understanding of the way that genocide developed. For some who deny documented genocides, refuting or reframing the factual evidence. For many, genocide literature casts a pale over existing suggesting the possibility of fictionalizations within the

⁴ Of note in the case of Rwandanis Black, who defended General Ndindiliyima, highest ranking officer. Black has claimed that the RPF were responsible for April 6, 1994, and also contends that the RPF instigated much of the killing by militias (Black). Peter Erlinder, an American lawyer who was lead defence at the Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, was arrested in Kigali in May, 2010, for promoting Genocide. He argues that unless individual perpetrators were engaged in planning, they fairly be identified as genocidal, as there is no evidence of an ultimate goal.

record. However, historical accounts are similarly flawed by how they are fundamentally shaped by the subjects who narrate them, and they can corroborate one another. Representations which stray from accepted historical truth because they threaten the perceived inviolability of historical truth, the authenticity of truth, fiction can be used as a means of resistance. The threat of truth toppled by alternative truths cannot be allowed. Recognizing that truth is a creation by users, a deviation from expected absolute incontrovertibility, it is argued that fiction offers context from the vantage point of a chosen character rather than as an absolute truth. In the graphic novel, the main character's view diverges from the reality of those around him; by playing with fact as an artistic device, the actual impact of the genocide on Deogratias. Fiction engages with experiential truth in the hopes of understanding the experience.

As genocide is predicated on the erasure of one specific group, the history of genocide must accurately affirm both the identity and the value of the social community. In Rwanda, the categories of Hutu and Tutsi have been defined by a shared identity as Rwandans. Nation building is a complex process and ethnicity cannot serve as a basis for national identity in post-genocide Rwanda. Centered nationalism (Brass 20) has become the dominant form of nationalism. Brown, discussing the development of national identity, states that the invented ideology is created with the imagining of a national society. The impact of industrialisation and colonialism dis-

communities of family landholders sought to imagine a new which could mimic the kinship groups in offering a sense of identity. The promise of state élites to provide equitable development seemed to fulfil these societal needs (40).

A similar process is underway in Rwanda currently, and the imagined communities (Anderson) fundamental to the emergence of definitions of Rwandan identity. Rejecting the discourse of ethnic difference, citizens have been encouraged to find common ground for a shared future. One example is Umuganda, a traditional Rwandan practice post-colonialism which requires citizens to set aside one day a month to devote to community interaction (Gaminde). Multiple artistic and dramatic initiatives in Rwanda to help local communities recover from the genocide also become a source of education about Rwanda's precolonial and colonial history, providing a clearer understanding of the forces which shaped the definition of Rwanda. If the Rwandan government and Rwandan citizens are forward looking, there is also a clear effort to re-define identity in productive ways. The Rwandan government and Rwandan citizens are working out a broad national identity which draws modern aspects of Rwanda into the future. More importantly, citizens are recovering from the genocide also serve to re-define national identity as a productive means of forming a new national cohesion.

In the aftermath of a conflict, there is always a confusion of space. Primo Levi, writing on the issue of genocide survival, observed that those who experienced imprisonment are divided into two distinct categories:

shadings: those who remain silent and those who speak (121). instinct to gasp air after being stifled, is immediately understood and recovery. However, the silence imposed on the survivors is a similar act of survival taking place in the Rwandan context. In the case of the murder of her mother, retreats from Rwandan society and does not speak. Similarly, in the case of the massacre at Nyamata in the final lines of the text. His dedication of his life. This silence can mark a space for reflection and so cannot speak for themselves. In remaining silent, these survivors acknowledge that the cost of human hatred and suffering is silence. There is a sense that speaking can itself be a form of violence. At the beginning of the text, the word itself is a breaking out. The word itself is an act of resistance to silence (119). However, when silence is imposed on any group, it is a form of violence. In such cases, this act of speaking resists the violence of silence during genocide and serves as a means of reclaiming identity for the dead, past any aid, can have their stories told, and through the acts of those who survived. Holding silence marks loss and suffering. It is an effective educational tool and offers no path forward towards reconciliation. In Rwanda, this is particularly true because Rwandan voices have been silenced since the colonial and neocolonial encounter, and the Rwandan identity. Similarly, the Western world, economic, and political narratives have the potential to educate Western readers about Rwanda, as well as about the

maintain-political inequality, it is imperative that Rwandan voices are heard globally

While literature, as a form of communication, is not infallible in order to be effective. As Albert Levi argues, literature belongs not to the human institution of scientific chain of meaning & not meant even by its most loyal defenders as a compendium of truth in some sense (373). Authors who have written falsified be summarily shamed for offering fiction in the guise of fact. Protection from such writing only by becoming knowledgeable. Protection that readers are informed and willing to engage in the story of genocide. Ultimately, genocide fiction asks readers to accept their world and the world of the text. As a genre, it requires to empathetically and with the literary characters of the narrative. While complex exploration, they are fundamentally driven by the question: genocide in this world? Upon closing the novel, the informed reader understands to ask: how can we challenge this reality?

A central aspect underscored by the Rwandan writings is the complex process, and in Rwanda, recovery efforts have addressed concerns. However, international event, the Rwandan Genocide also played a role in shaping the discourse about Rwanda among the international community. The genocide was a media spectacle informed by colonial and neo-colonialist misconstrued moment of Rwandan experience to stand as representative of the Western imagination is to further legitimate racial hierarchies.

social, political, and historical discourse about the Rwandan Genocide have the potential to refute the neocolonial undertone of the current media coverage of Rwandan identity during the genocide. These texts serve important interests: educating a global audience about Rwandan culture from the post-genocidal period, connecting readers emotionally to the experiences of Rwandan citizens, and exploring Rwandan cultural recovery through literature. While all of these texts under consideration here take on these interests in different ways, they reveal as a collective is the power of literature to convey complex cultural understanding and empathy through which potential.

In examining the significance of my contention that they not only educate about the genocide but also facilitate the recuperation of national identity and Rwanda's decolonization, I have structured this dissertation by an introduction and chapters on a detailed, contextual review of the Rwandan Genocide as a historical and political event. This includes historical records detailing pre-colonial Rwanda, German colonial influences once the colonial endeavour began. The development of Rwandan Tutsis and Hutus is traced within the social and political context of the destruction of collective Rwandan heritage over years of colonial rule and failed decolonization, a topic of particular relevance during the genocide. The genocide are considered, with particular attention to the international interest demonstrated by civilian observers. In order to provide a historical context as the genocide became public knowledge, the UN response to the genocide and accompanying narrative of the genocide in the media are also

historical research with analysis of the political and social discourses developed in the West prior to, during, and after the Rwandan Genocide. The next chapter, titled "The Rwandan Genocide: A History of the Rwandan Genocide," is the next chapter in the book. The next five chapters offer additional context for Western readers and establish a politically manipulated understanding of Rwandan national identity.

The texts evaluated here are perhaps the best known texts concerning the Rwandan Genocide. Philip Gourevitch's *Life and Death in Rwanda: The Story of a Country Killed With Our Families* is the definitive contextual text on the genocide, a travelogue tracing the development from the earliest records of the genocide to the genocide era. Gil Courtes' *A Sunday at the Pigeonhole* is a fictional novel informed by the experiences of the author during the genocide. Valcourt, a Québécois journalist named Valcourt comes to find his own story as the genocide tears the country apart. Both of these texts juxtapose the narrators' emotions and experiences of Rwanda with the authors' colonial history of Rwanda, and examine the powerful role of colonialism in modern Rwandan politics.

Genocide literature can serve as a bridge for readers who are culturally, ethnically, or geographically distant from the violence. This literature is educational, supplementing the reader's understanding of violence with social, political, and historical context. By tracing the development of the genocide, this violence is rendered understandable. In the case of Rwanda, contextualization refutes the common narrative of the genocide as endemic African violence; both Gourevitch and Courtes make the

colonial regime as a primary cause of the ethnic division which Rwandan voices were not well represented in the media coverage trace individual responses to the genocide in the Rwandan community order to provide local understandings of events to readers around education helps to ensure that Western readers recognize the role of the Rwandan Genocide in the productive understanding of Rwandan national identity.

Chapter 1 examines the genocide from the Rwandan perspective and provides readers with a means of understanding the chaos that was so often reported about the genocide. There are three texts under consideration: the genre of literary fiction, *Épique* by C. B. Mbarika, a memoir by a young survivor which traces the recovery experiences of a young Rwandan survivor in post-genocide Rwanda, *Deceit* by Philip De Graaf, a graphic novel which deals with the complex role of recovery as a perpetrator. This extremely compelling book makes the novel format and addresses in particular the institutionalization of the genocide. Tierno Monékan's *The Oldest Grave* is a novel which addresses the failed recovery of a young Tutsi boy who survives the Nyamata massacre but cannot find his way back to Rwanda. The texts focus on the role of the individual in the genocide and challenge the readers' understanding of the simple binary of victim and perpetrator.

Genocide challenges the limits of human comprehension but it is through the help of individuals come to terms with the implications of mass violence. For the removed reader, the emotional exploration of distant events is a central theme of genocide literature. Survivors often struggle to make sense of their

distant observer also needs to develop understanding; literature focusing on a specific community of people, Combres, Stassen, of the Rwandan Genocide to name a few. These narratives explore characters that challenge the presumed binary of victim and perpetrator, reminding us of such simplifications as a counterpoint to the pervasive binaries. In the coverage of the genocide, these texts engage the imaginative empathy of the reader by creating a narrating consciousness who makes sense of the world for the reader to imagine being there (Sicher 66). Narrating the lived experiences and complex sufferings and reactions of protagonists can form the basis for a deeper understanding of genocide. Such literature allows the victims to share the value of Rwandan experiences and creates a space for Rwandan imagination.

In chapter 5, *The Shadow of a Bird Before Me: A Remarkable Document Given to Me by a Young Lady from Rwanda* and value cultural exchanges in aiding recovery from the genocide, both as actors. Véronique Tranjor's *The Shadow of a Bird* is a movement through-genocide Rwanda while encouraging the reader to imagine characters and sites directly related to the genocide. *Before Me: A Remarkable Document Given to Me by a Young Lady from Rwanda* follows the development of a relationship between Simon, a local English writer, and Juliette, who is asked to write a book about the genocide in order to educate an international readership. This relationship demonstrates the act of interaction, and suggests to the reader that, despite its pitfalls, such moments of connection can foster powerful change.

instigating public awareness and discussion about genocide and decolonization.

These texts encourage readers to recognize that despite different interactions across racial, cultural, and political boundaries, the impact of the genocide is felt by all, especially for Western actors. By demonstrating positive and productive ways to respond, these texts encourage readers that international politics depend on the acceptance of responsibility and begin to challenge the political and economic structures that have led to the genocide. Seeing Rwandan citizens as the victims and perpetrators of genocide allows readers to realize that all citizens have to offer the international community. Fundamentally, these texts encourage readers to consider their commitment to the Western political ideology that devalues African voices. In doing so, these texts challenge the political and economic structures that legitimize racial hierarchies within political discourse and action.

Chapter 6 contends that literature has the potential to instigate change in the Western world. The shared concerns of these writers demonstrate a desire for rebuilding national identity, rejecting the ethnic discourse of the West, and creating a collective Rwandan identity. This emerging nationalism is inspired by Fanon, and Rwanda's independence, begun in 1962 and finally being realized. Considering this emergence of nationalism in the context of the Rwandan Genocide, it becomes clear that these collaborative texts are spurring the decolonization of Western ideology by politicizing the Western response to the genocide and critiquing continued neocolonial framing. It is clear that a complete recovery for Rwanda requires the decolonization of international politics. By establishing a clear vision of Rwandan national identity,

historical discourse emotional representation and actions, the text consideration here assert a new Rwandan identity for Western concept of national consciousness as the basis of an emergent propose that these texts developed the consciousness, an internally understanding of national identity made available to the citizens as a means of decolonizing the West in the wake of Rwanda history of colonialism, colonization, and genocide, the value of as in the West imagination cannot be underestimated. As Stuart Hall begins to be decentered (184) when the voices lost to the recovered. For Rwanda, a nation which was denied true independence left Rwanda, these genres reflect a collaboration between Western and writers and Rwandan citizens, offer the opportunity to forge a reflective of, but not defined by, the genocide. Furthermore, the international communities of people who recognize and reject the neocolonialism that so powerfully impact the role of former colonies.

Collective texts demonstrate knowledge and respect for written with awareness of the lived experience of Rwandan citizens explore Rwandan concerns. Most importantly, they provide an directional cultural interaction of culture and history set of cultural ideas and allegates difference into silence. G cannot offer justice for genocide, but as a genre of writing, it genocide that is emotionally, intellectually, and socially produced important because the established systems of justice in response

inaccessible, particularly for observers. Through literature, the
discussed and debated, and it is these ~~summed~~ ~~debates~~ ~~that~~ ~~will~~ ~~inform~~
authorities to reject neocolonial power structures which deny f

Chapter Two: The Rwandan Genocide as an International

Making visible the experience of a people poses the existence of mechanisms, but not their inner workings or logic; we know but we don't understand it as constituted relationally. For the historical process, its course, participants and their experiences.

Joan Scott, *Experience*, 59

The genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1994 is a fact of and internationally writers make known, a fact that Rwanda, as a real imagined space, has been shaped by a long history of forces for one hundred and twenty years. As an African country, Rwanda suffers African identity and this is a legacy of the slave trade. More has been shaped by colonial rule, which lasted in Rwanda for 70 years. The Germans arrived in 1884 and the Belgians assumed control from the Germans in 1916. A trend toward national independence in colonial spaces after WWII, Rwanda gained independence in 1962. However, the arrival and the exit of European forces have shaped social, cultural, and political identity, both internally and externally. In this era, Rwanda's social and cultural history, the country's experience with the challenges of independence have consistently been shaped by Western perceptions of Rwanda. The idea of Africa as a continent of organization with violence and disorder, a perspective which has shaped engagements in the form of neocolonialism. The overarching neocolonial control has influenced Western understandings of Rwanda's history, specifically the Rwandan Genocide. In order to understand the neocolonial influence on Rwanda's national identity and international

the writers considered here, it is necessary to examine the actions between Rwandan and Western forces from the beginning of the colonial era.

Each of the writers examined here were born during the colonial era, which demonstrates their awareness of Rwanda's colonial history. As an economically viable means of expanding empire, national leaders in Africa in the 1880s. The Berlin Conference of 1884 marked the division of the African continent between several Western powers. Victorian constructions of Africa in the public imagination. Many were already in Africa, working diligently to extract resources from the continent. The Conference legitimated the pillage of the African continent, and European nations seeking profit through African loss. The conference did not divide Africa, but only how best to do so. The conference agreed that colonies must be effectively governed by representatives of the colonizing nations, so was tantamount to an invitation for other European nations to colonize Africa. This motivated the Germans to stake out their territory in Rwanda. The advantage of tactical German weakness, and perhaps motivated by the desire to reach the coast through Belgium, the Belgians invaded Rwanda and claimed it as their own. Since the beginning of colonial rule in Rwanda, the continent has been a ground for the concerns and affairs of distant governments, with such actions on local identity.

The European mission to dominate Africa reveals the intention of the European leaders wished to extract economic value out of Africa.

African populations. However, as Go Wee Wish from the film *Der 3h Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families* in a land was also asserting authority in Europe, as imperialism required the expansion of influence over colonial spaces as a means to affirm the imperial ideal, and Germans did not markedly change Rwanda's established social structure under their supervision of Rwanda. The political structure of the nation was nullified by the absence of central governance (Chrétien 270), but the Belgians introduced agricultural techniques to improve Rwanda's farming culture, and to improve living conditions (Chrétien 273). (Chrétien 273) Prattwood states where these two cultures intersect, they grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetric zones of subordination (4). These contact zones (4) are spaces in which the political structures are not recognized and social organization is disrupted. As with most African negotiations, the Belgians privileged their political models over the systems of the Rwandan people, and disrupted the social balance of Rwanda.

The Rwandan population of the early 19th century was made up of three groups: the Tutsi, the Hutu, and the Twa. The nature of early social interaction remains in contention as surviving records are limited, but through the work of European in Rwanda, these were flexible categories determined more by social status than by any clear sense of ethnic difference (Gourevitch 57). The Tutsi, characteristically tall, slender, and cattle herders, an occupation that gave them access to wealth and social authority. The Hutu, characteristically shorter, dark-skinned, traditionally worked as farmers in Rwanda, generally

result. The Tutsi population comprising only 1% of Rwanda's population was largely ignored in recent Rwandan history but were the only group defined solely by their physical attributes. By contrast, Hutu were flexible identity categories. An individual's identity was determined by wealth, and that identity could change as economic fortunes improved. Interactions between Tutsis and Hutus was common and socially accepted. For Europeans, tensions between these two categories reflected economic interests rather than ethnic biases. The nation was controlled by a line of Tutsi local authority in the forms of *Chiefs* (1900-1910). This Tutsi rule was resented among various groups in Rwanda, and a social weakness exploited by the colonizers. The Belgians were strong supporters of Rwanda's traditional flexible identification with the introduction of identity categories. These actions had a massive impact on the cultural politics of Rwanda. The past became the ethnic signifiers of the present and future.

The decision to standardize identity categories in Rwanda is part of a standard colonial approach to the other. As Pratt argues, the process of making people to be subjected, that is, producing subjects, is not a neutral act even further into the future. This is a choice that they are the subject of verbs in a time of the present. Example in the (1934) The Belgian authorities required the Rwandan society in order to maintain a hierarchy of Rwandan identity. Distinct ethnic groups, in which the Hutu majority were marginalized and the Tutsi were empowered, created a clear hierarchy. This change destabl

structure of Rwanda an absolute determination of identity created from order. Indeed, this chaos was destined to arise, as

the intensity and the disruptive consequences of conflict are enhanced in societies where the rigid identities of groups are directed at each other in such a way as to generate a sense of otherness on each side, where individuals belong to relatively homogeneous groups and membership in different types of groups are reinforcing, the potential for conflict is high. (Brass 265)

The sense of rivalry between citizens of Rwanda distracted from the Hutu's taken control of the nation by validating Tutsi authority and legitimizing the newly empowered Tutsi rule.

The colonial enterprise required constructed distinctions between Hutu and Tutsi identity, and in this regard, the introduction of identity cards is particularly effective. As Jan Mohamed observes, colonial power requires a sense of superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of positions without ever losing him the [Empire's] superior position. Indeed, this Manichean allegory was an essential aspect of most colonial imperium, maintained through the construction of an impervious European identity and refusal from the colonial subjects to establish a new ethnic class. This caused a great deal of tension between Tutsi and Hutu citizens

⁵ Europeans have been constructing a Western African cultural imagination for hundreds of years, and the narrative is particularly consistent, despite the large scale and diverse endeavours. From the early colonial explorations to the present, whether confident or doubtful, the writers describe Africa in the same conventions. The image of Africa remains a shadow of British imperialism (Hammar 1991). European narrations of Africa are framed by a sense of superiority, and dismissed whole aspects of African identity and culture as systems of knowledge.

Rwandans. However, public dissatisfaction was directed at the rather than the colonial authority who legitimated that power. Tutsis became allies who supported colonial authority so long as their own local colonists. This is an excellent example of the flexible position playing-~~mark~~ to the Tutsis in exchange for support, and disempowering a working-class who were too fixated on Tutsi gain to see the true manipulation. By introducing the disease of ~~the~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~ind~~ ~~en~~ ~~t~~ ~~if~~ ~~to~~ ~~ro~~ Rwandans ceased to speak with one voice or identify as a homogeneous ethnicity as indicative of social authority, the subtle fractures were magnified and manipulated by colonizers.

It is well known that despite the technological power of the authority was not established with weapons and military prowess colonialism were affirmed and ~~wait~~ ~~en~~ ~~it~~ ~~wo~~ ~~d~~ ~~th~~ ~~r~~ ~~o~~ ~~u~~ ~~g~~ ~~h~~ ~~o~~ ~~t~~ ~~h~~ ~~e~~ ~~B~~ ~~h~~ ~~a~~ ~~b~~ ~~h~~ ~~a~~ ~~r~~ colonial mission seeks authorization for its strategies by the colonizer and ~~ed~~ ~~wh~~ ~~ic~~ ~~h~~ are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated and to establish ~~as~~ ~~ys~~ ~~t~~ ~~e~~ ~~m~~ ~~s~~ ~~r~~ ~~a~~ ~~t~~ ~~i~~ ~~o~~ ~~n~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~str~~ ~~u~~ ~~ct~~ ~~i~~ ~~o~~ ~~n~~ (101). The great colonial arsenal was the perception of European superiority. Colonizers encouraged to see Europeans as members of far more developed accomplishments ~~so~~ ~~w~~ ~~e~~ ~~r~~ ~~e~~ ~~an~~ implicit superiority. African identity was counterpoint to European identity, and African characters in European constructed in deference to the project of ~~W~~ ~~e~~ ~~s~~ ~~t~~ ~~i~~ ~~m~~ ~~n~~ ~~t~~ ~~i~~ ~~o~~ ~~n~~ ~~l~~ ~~i~~ ~~t~~ ~~e~~ ~~r~~ ~~g~~ ~~e~~ ~~n~~ ~~e~~ ~~r~~ ~~l~~ ~~y~~ ~~u~~ ~~s~~ ~~e~~ ~~d~~ ~~f~~ ~~o~~ ~~r~~ Africans to claim dominion over them, Europeans silenced African knowledge on the basis of its origin. Writings about Africa

normalized the European imperative the dominance of Africa as a necessary under oversight. As the colonial era demonstrates, given sufficient authority and narrative King Solomon and the merchants of Dahomey had the power to shape public opinion regarding a range of political cases in the globe.

In the process of colonization, the colonizer's role and influence were naturalized. Narrative is once again an ally to the colonizer. Colonial leaders and European authors used historical narratives about Rwanda to legitimize their mutual authority. Alison Des Forges, a leading scholar, observes that

mutually supportive historians created a mythic history to order the joint product was shaped in Rwanda and packaged and delivered back into Rwanda by European educators and teachers. In addition, the results of the collaborative enterprise were disseminated in intellectual circles around the court, eventually those without European schooling and integrated into their oral histories. It was not surprising that the majority of Rwandans were pleased with this version of history. But even the majority of Rwandans distorted their account of the past, so great was their respect for European history. (The Ideology of Genocide 45)

By constructing the convincing perspective of the Belgians were able to convince Rwandan civilians to accept European authority. Moreover, the sheer length of colonial rule in Rwanda meant that these constructions were passed on to subsequent generations and became part of the fabric of national identity. This is evident in the rise of nationalism in Rwanda, as David Brothman

the subordination of the Hutu majority under colonial rule identity developed reactively against the state and emerged as a nationalist form. The Hutu perception saw Hutu as a majority based nation, and Tutsi as a minority based nation, both within the same state and the same perceptions of identity and development. The Hutu perception of identity and development was transformed by colonial rule, so that when Tutsi nationalism developed, it was seen as a threat to the Hutu. This means that from the Hutu perspective, the Tutsi were seen as a threat to the Hutu communities within a (protectorate) Rwandan nation. (161)

This division between the citizens of Rwanda, instituted to facilitate the fundamental part of Rwanda's national identity, was a basis of identity groupings that had become politically relevant under colonial rule. As Brown further observes, by the time of the late 1950s, the rivalry between the Hutu majority (about 85 percent) and a Tutsi minority (less than 14 percent) erupted into violence, an undercurrent of rivalry between the two groups (161).

The European rule of Rwanda was a certainty only so long as colonialism could sustain it. However, the Second World War and the emergence of human rights a new level of importance in the global discourse. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10, 1948, states that it is to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded in schools, other educational institutions, without distinction based on the

territories (History of the Document). This document is a significant attempt to shape the perception of race and culture on the global stage. The discourse of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was curbed by an emerging implicit ideology of racial generalization. The document prohibited slavery and addressed important aspects of social life, such as marriage and family. It represented the ideals of a liberal society. Of primary importance, the first article of the document stated that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights). The principle of the equality of all people, this document is a principled critique of colonialism, which framed colonial subjects as incapable of governing themselves and as bearing the burden of white colonial rule. The document's resistance to colonialism and nations began to liberate themselves from former colonial powers. The mid-twentieth century period marked the beginning of a global discourse about how nations might take shape in specific societies.

With this assertion of the rights of all people, colonial subjects were no longer subject to European rule, and the Rwandans were no exception. The document's challenge to the myriad ways that colonialism had dominated the world was a challenge to European involvement in the rest of the earth, decolonization needed to be a subtle way in which colonial influence had inserted itself into the world. The document's discourse of African and Indian subservience, examples of the largest colonial spaces, could no longer maintain themselves as a challenge to human equality. However, these discourses were not to be struck down.

were replaced with less pointedly biased narratives of local identity inherent in the colonial mission shifted under the social pressure way to new discourses that reflected both ideological and postcolonial

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Decolonization, poignantly for the earliest postcolonial independence, is the creation of new men (2). Fanon, a leading theorist and an architect of postcolonial thought, argues that former colonial subjects claim identity by reclaiming through active cultural and political engagement. Decolonization has not only enabled equality on the global political scene but also new political and social relationships with global powers. Political narratives of the colonial era were used to influence the perception of former colonial spaces, both internally and internationally. This condition is a form of coloniality as the discourse becomes a tool but the former colonial space remains. Mehta notes that in the neocolonial era, former colonial spaces on the colonizer's side, morality, institutional modes of production (which may seem innocuous, the colonizing culture in a newly independent space can propagate other and indirect forms of development of the local expression. Cultural expression simultaneously define and reflect a nation, and in a newly independent are particularly. Edward Said observes that the framing of the colonial Western cultural productions is itself a strategy of containment and domination (16). Throughout the colonial enterprise, cultural other provided a means of legitimating the supremacy of the dominant

which independence arrived. Rwanda became a UN trust territory, but ceased to exist in 1946, although still officially under Belgian administration. Independence divided Rwandans along the ethnic lines established by the Belgians. The Hutus, who had been pushed for immediate independence, which caused tensions for the Tutsi claim to power under colonial rule. The Hutus, who were politically distinct after almost seventy years of colonial control, sought to do one another through the immediate period of violence became the Rwandan Revolution at the end of the monarchy as a result of which Hutu authority throughout the period of colonial rule (Background Note: Rwanda). With the promise of independence, Hutu activists began to see Hutu liberation after the exit of the colonial forces, and began to die. The earliest civilian clashes left hundreds of Tutsis dead and late 1961, approximately 160,000 Tutsis fled Rwanda to find refuge in surrounding African countries (Background Note: Rwanda). The Rwanda as the wind of change (Background Note: Rwanda) demonstrates the complex reality of Rwanda's first taste of independence. The Belgian colonial rule, divisive throughout the history, had become the most violent during the decolonization. It was at this point that Rwanda received a gift from their colonializers: the exit of Rwanda with colonial structures. Belgian officials chose to disrupt the carefully cultivated ethnic divisions for their own benefit. The Belgians supported the Hutu resistance of Tutsi rejection of the monarchy by holding an election in 1962 to determine the future of Rwanda.

(Background Note): Rwanda's massive Hutu majority took control of the country when Rwanda separated from Burundi and became an independent nation in 1962.

As a majority group disempowered throughout colonial rule, the Hutus were able to assert themselves in their newly independent nation. They were able to do this because they were not absorbed into the traditional structures of the As Fantsi, but rather, they were able to develop a new identity strengthened by the collective engagement of their citizens. This was a success (16.8). However, Rwanda has not had an experience of decolonization. Instead, the ethnic divisions that existed before 1962 have been re-created. These two groups understood their relationship in fundamentally different ways. Tutsi identity was identified with their empowered position within the nation under colonial rule, while Hutu identity was defined by their disempowered position during the colonial period. Because these two groups conceived of their relationship in different ways, they were unable to develop a new concept of Rwandan citizenry. As David Brown writes in his book on postcolonial politics,

an emergent Rwandan nationalism was not able to accommodate an emergent Hutu ethnocultural nationalism. The intensity of the ethnic divisions, and the physical and emotional insecurities which they engendered, have ensured that the Hutu nationalist ideologies which insecure élites have propagated. Conflict is thus no longer the rivalries for state power and mutual distrust, misunderstanding which is embedded in the two countries.

ideologies. The inability of the decolonising state to inter-
 identities so as to generality, sedition, subject to the unc-
 deprivation, curtesy, simple formulas of countervailing Hutu
 enemies and (1964) nies.

Given these distinct modes of relating to the nation, as well as
 the substantial disparity in the ethnic ideas of the Hutu and Tutsi
 representatives aggressively claimed power in the new Rwanda
 the retreating Belgian forces, Hutus began to assert a national
 which would not accommodate the Tutsi minority. This national rhetoric, always
 key element of national identity formation, reflected and inspired
 terms. Tutsis were excluded from the Rwandan identity, and tensions
 transformed into violence as the nation developed through the ne-

In Rwanda the process of colonization and decolonization signi-
 meaning Tutsi and Hutu identities made sense of collective identity
 place prior to 1884. Decolonization empowered a massive population
 power as a result of ethnic distinctions, simultaneously disempowered
 population who had alienated themselves by association with the Belgian
 officials. Most importantly, the Belgians, in supporting the Hutu
 rule, had validated the Hutu perception that it was the Tutsis,
 enemy. The victimization of the Tutsis became a desirable line of action; their
 and the belief that Tutsis were not indigenous to Rwanda, instigated
 pressure on the Tutsis to leave Rwanda. Public discourse and
 this time became politically loaded, as the Tutsis were increas-

immigrants but as foreign occupants and oppressors (Buc Zistel 104). The shared culture and collective memory of the country sustain the fractures of, and on Rwanda's independence mirrored political divisions of the colonial era.

In national spaces, collective memory shapes the story that they tell themselves, painting present and future in a narrative (Dandane Bell 2014). This narrative creates a generational coherence. The colonial fragmentation of Rwandan identity by messaging class and fundamental ethnic differences is a key distinction that is taken on by the post-independence state. Significant differences between peoples are cultural. People identify themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language and institutions. They identify with cultural groups, tribes, ethnic groups, religion. At the broadest level, the Rwandan state is a (Rwand 9). However, Rwanda has had been so manipulated by colonial powers and claimed independence as a country fundamentally divided. Memory of the violence which shaped the nation quickly took up a permanent place in Rwanda's national identity.

Rwanda's post-colonial identity was based on the rejection of Tutsi and the emergence of Hutu identity. The first government, headed by Gregoire Kayibanda, promoted a Hutu ideology (Background Note 2014) that prompted Tutsis to flee Rwanda's borders. This party was in power when Major General Habyarimana became president. He won re-election himself after elections held in 1978. Habyarimana was shot down in late April of 1994, sparking the Rwandan Genocide. The violence through

exacerbated ethnic tensions and maintained a consistent rhetoric of violence against Tutsi citizens. The aggressive discourse propagated by the Rwandan government alienated Hutus and destabilized the nation by inciting violence and vilification of Tutsi citizens. In the interim, the government's attacks on Tutsis, which have now been recognized as the local, national, and international responses (Background Note: Rwanda). The Rwandan Patriotic Front, or RPF, was created in 1990 by exiled Tutsis determined to change Rwandan society. Conflict between the military troops under the president occurred with some frequency between 1990 and 1992, in the form of the Organization for African Unity instigated a ceasefire.

The Arusha Accords were designed by the Rwandan government and the RPF on August 1993 in an attempt to end the conflict. These discussions emphasized the need for all citizens of Rwanda to have an expectation of peace and the need for a national force to ensure a fundamental error in the discourse of the Arusha Accords was a failure to recognize two groups. As shown, the ethnic divide between Hutus and Tutsis was not a political one but was rooted in the broader context of emergent postcolonial Rwandan identity and unity could not be politically. Rather, Rwanda needed to reaffirm the pre-colonial divide between Hutus and Tutsis. Instead, the UN formed the Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) with the goal of contributing to the establishment and maintenance of a climate conducive to the installation and operation of the transitional Government (Rwanda Background). The UNAMIR force, led by General Dallaire, comprised

primarily of Belgian soldiers, arrived in Kigali on October 22, 1994, to keep peace, in accordance with the UN mandate.

The Rwandan genocide began on April 6, 1994, when President Habyarimana was shot down near Kigali airport. Early reports suggested that the shooting was intended to undermine the political aspirations of the Hutus, but the evidence has not yet shown who shot down the plane, although the speed of the military action suggests their involvement (O'Rourke and Urvashi Vaid). In a particular moment, several of the texts under consideration details it factually, Courtemanche and Stassen powerfully depict the first action for the génocidaires was the murder of the government, an objective that was completed within hours of the genocide's implementation. They could not have done this without the aggressive nationalistic views of the Hutu propaganda of the time, which came under Hutu control in the mid-1990s. Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) turned to the globe and them disappeared (Kiernan 28) prior to and during the three months of genocide. The genocide was a nationalistic Hutu population action by creating local militias. Hutus who were engaged in violence were themselves threatened, and Hutus who were killed. The discourse of this genocide was strictly ethnic nationalist fervour on the basis of collective national slaughter.

Over the period of three months, approximately 800,000 Tutsis and Tutsi sympathizers were brutally and laboriously murdered by the

Rwanda, using domestic tools and machetes. The violence was directed against the Tutsis and was characterized by extreme prejudice. While the machetes used by the Hutu militias partly because they were common to Rwanda, concerns that a similar cache of guns might be used to inflict death conferred on the victim. Tutsis and Hutu sympathizers were killed in order to further the goal of eradicating the issue of dignity in violence, Lindner's commitment

genocide is about humiliating the personal dignity of the victim group to a subhuman level. The Rwanda genocide of 1994 provides a catalogue of practices designed to bring down the victims' dignity. The way of achieving this was to bring down the victims' dignity by cutting off their legs to shorten not only their bodies but also their arrogance.

This conscious effort to humiliate Tutsis and Hutu civilians during the conflict was a means of ensuring that they would not return to Rwanda.

The Interahamwe and the Impuzamugambi, Hutu paramilitary civilian militias, made use of local knowledge to create lists of Tutsis to be killed in each area of Rwanda. These groups affirm the communal nature of their work; Interahamwe means those who stand / Impuzamugambi means those who have a sharp goal. This discourse of a common Hutu objective to rid Rwanda of Tutsis was rampant and shows how fundamental ethnicity was to the construction of

observations of genocide are created when they are forced to
 that they might not share, based on categories imposed on them
 political regime (772), and certainly, the definition of Tutsi pro-
 not reflect the definition of Tutsi citizenship. The fact that the legal
 of the genocide was disproportionately imposed by the Tutsi is that
 the same synchronic es, (Cornell et al. 2010) (Standard colonial policies
 when they arrived in Rwanda. By constructing Tutsis as antithetical
 authorities translated the colonial dependence on the political
 over Tutsis.

As each of these texts demonstrates, with varying degrees of in-
 creased problems associated with genocide: the cessation of gov-
 massive physical and mental trauma across the population, and
 However, there were other concerns as well: huge refugee popula-
 flooded across the Rwandan border in all directions, and security
 Rwandan border became a major problem. While it was delayed until near
 end of the genocide, RPF forces attempted to regain ground from
 local killing squads. Preparing their forces on the borders of
 Rwandan government army threatened safe pockets in the hills of R-
 from the north into central Rwanda throughout the month of
 Kigali in July 1994. The RPF defeated the final governmental structure
 (What happened between April and July 1994) of the RPF in the cess-
 Rwandan genocide is complex; many Tutsis fleeing Rwanda were
 have also been reported by Hutu citizens without evidence.

complicity in the genocide. The issue is beyond the scope of this report to note that there were individuals on both sides who stepped forward whether to aid a purported enemy or to bring an end to the chaos. Certainly the militias and the RPF essentially distinguished themselves from the victims and the aggressors, and the genocide. Regardless of the opposition between April and July, 1994, murdered at a rate five times that of the Nazi death camps (Prunier 261), a figure which fails to capture the event, and which raises serious concerns about the role of the international community in these events.

There were many actors who should have heeded the early warnings of genocide in Rwanda, and who could have acted when presented with the atrocities. These governing bodies should have been able to prevent the violence in Rwanda, from its inception, was a demonstrable effort to eliminate the Tutsi, therefore met the accepted definition of genocide as a crime against humanity. The Holocaust is a historical mass atrocity that serves as a warning. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a fundamental tenant of the emerging modern world. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide laid out a collective political and militaristic response. Without a doubt, there were lives lost during the transition, but these were instigated massive social changes appropriate to the principles of the discourse. Thus, aside from asserting individual equality, sought the actions of nations in line with the professed ideals of the UN.

The UN created the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, which established international responsibility and a system of international law. This document establishes genocide as a crime under international law, and a crime against humanity. Operation is required for the Convention to be effective. The crime of Genocide. This collective investment in global stability was supported by the UN, particularly in light of the Holocaust, which demonstrated the dangers of racial and religious persecution. With the Holocaust, the world was faced with the need to prevent a recurrence, the phrase "Never Again" became a public declaration of the face of threats to human liberty. How has the world shifted towards a defined global order? Enabled, and required, a great deal of change in the global order. The ideal human interaction is a global order that respects the rights of basic human rights. However, as Shaw notes, this increase in empathy is not sufficient to promote a political response to protect the world. The political and social crisis in this African genocide. Second half of the century, the world saw a scale of conflict which individuals were required, specific ethnic or racial groups targeted by governments behind confusion and a global unwillingness to challenge. Rwanda, the numerous powerful countries, provided Rwanda with virtually no military, governmental, or public support during the genocide.

The internal debates and discussions over how best to avoid Rwanda by the UN, Western governments, and the UN, and the UN, and the UN.

However, there was a systematic effort to delegitimize the UN. Considering the role of the United Nations first, the UN received a Special Rapporteur on Summary, Arbitrary, and Extrajudicial Executions detailing the massacre of Tutsis taking place in the Rwandan country (23). Furthermore, Dallaire, leading the UNAMIR mission, offered his superiors regarding the threat of genocide in Rwanda. Genocide prevention to expand the date of the UNAMIR mission, recognizing the compromise by the Arusha Accords, the situation in Rwanda, an attempt to stem the potential for violence, he formed a local intelligence about the plans of the Hutu militias, a radio broadcasted for use during the coming genocide. Despite this, and his insistence when discussing the political reality of Rwanda, he was ignored by UN officials (Melvern 202). Within this was a deliberate attempt with Rwandan government, whom were involved in the planning of the genocide. Gourevitch and Coupland emphasize the fact that there were opportunities to preclude the violence of the genocide, all of which were officials at the highest levels.

It should be noted for contextual relevance genocide is the threat to civilians that the UN did act. However, that action was of the UN mandating genocide. When the UNAMIR headquarters were

⁶ The United Nations webpage offers notes and a timeline regarding the details the various discussions and resolutions which determined the UNAMIR particularly in the early period and in the early days of the violence. Further comprehensive overview of the UN and responses to the genocide, 1994, in his *Accounting for Genocide: Debates Published by Pluto Press in London*. Linda Melvern *People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda* is a thorough text.

19th, the Security Council the UNAMIR reduced from 2,165 military personnel to 270, that this number represented the maximum number to act as an intermediary force between the Rwandan militias and humanitarian relief efforts and UNAMIR Background. The Security Council considered bringing in several thousand additional troops in order to control, but did not elect to approach the UN in its response to the aspiration of a UN position on genocide as a case with which action can be dismissed and inaction is a greater assistance on Western perceptions of war in Darfur, the UN's response demonstrates that the UN Security Council five permanent members veto power: the United States, Britain, France, Russia and China meaningful forms of intervention. (The UN did not know the genocide until May 4th was done instantly after reports of violence in Rwanda and UNAMIR Background through the Western media.)

On May 31st, 1994, the Secretary-General admitted to the Security Council that 1 million Rwandans had been displaced and 400,000 were along external borders, challenging the stability of the region. Despite the Security Council's resolution to send 5,500 troops to Rwanda on delay in preparing troops was such that it was not until before July, a full three months after the genocide began Background. The UN Security Council released a report of violations of the laws of genocide in Rwanda and UNAMIR Background. Actually, at this point in Rwanda

more than 800,000 people had been killed, and the objectives of the United Nations, which were to prevent genocide, were not actively ignored. Evidence of genocide was provided by their own personnel, and refused decisive action when decisive action alone could have ended the Rwanda genocide.

The UN is the most easily identifiable actor in the Rwanda genocide. Its mandate was fundamentally with the preservation of humanity in the imagination. It is considered a neutral party which, through political, social, and humanitarian channels, who cannot act for themselves. However, the response to the Rwandan Genocide was a stark example of the failure of the UN. The response was hampered by the individual nations who carried out the intervention. The UN did not have the necessary resources, including military personnel, weapons, heavy armour, and air support, to intervene in Rwanda. The reason for this was that the US suffered a loss of domestic confidence after the death of soldiers during a humanitarian mission in Somalia. The US was not interested in a protracted intervention in Africa. Brent Beardsley, who was the executive assistant to General Dallaire, stated that there was a lack of military will at the Pentagon and other US military headquarters, with an overwhelming majority of US and allied military in 1994. They believe that a national military should not be squandered on sideshows like the Rwanda genocide.

in someone else's conflict in an unambiguous attitude was the prevalent in most major international quarters (18) this day. Neocolonialism dismisses foreign and regional matters with economic and militaristic authority. For any Rwandan as a stage, irrelevant to a colonial era and a post-colonial discourse in order to validate political and social disinterest in protecting human equality.

Nations avoid involvement in a degree of semantics. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the sets out, acts of genocide under international law. As a result, naming the Rwandan genocide became a protracted game of politics that in 1994 the United States, among others, would acknowledge genocide were taking place and would not define how many acts of genocide (word). This kind of word play undermines the very which is limited by the meaning of authoritative declarations government can be an extremely powerful aspect of public discourse the very real horror occurring in Rwanda, public investment in this issue.

*

In considering Western investment in Rwanda, general discourse about Rwanda in 1994. Publicly established media narratives and priorities, Rwanda and great Western media

⁷ Luke Glanville coined the term semantic squirming (472) in relation to the US State Department during the genocide, who was reportedly evasive about occurring en masse. The US government engaged in purposeful manipulation to avoid having to commit to a foreign mission that might undermine American Somalia had been to do.

There was virtually no information about Rwanda that was relevant to the Westerners. It was precisely this lack of information that influenced many of the decisions about Rwanda. Beardsley argues that the international community about Rwandan history and culture, political, economic, and social Rwanda's ethnic divisions, or about the false myth of Tutsi and Hutu as two tribes in pre-war Rwanda. This lack of knowledge directly contributed to the Western Rwanda discord and the genocide that followed. The ignorance of virtually every Western decision maker during this crisis could have been a foundation upon which to build a solution to the problems that we expect to be part of the solution to the problem. (48)

Furthermore, this lack of knowledge led to a lack of action, allowing the genocide to occur without significant public

In many cases, the refusal to provide the means for intervention was a lack of public will in individual nations. Few people in the world have ever heard of Rwanda and they certainly did not care. It was vital to their security and prosperity. Public opinion could be manipulated by effective politicians who were lacking in 1994. The lesson is therefore clear that, if we are going to prevent genocide, political leaders must be prepared to expect significant intervention by other nations. (Beardsley 47)

Effective leadership requires the sound judgement of those elected, but also the wisdom to make decisions to maintain, rather than to assert power. Beardsley

leadership in the face of such a crisis, and leadership emerges from vibrant public discussions of Rwanda on the national and international level. At the same time, the responsibility that good governments require. The recent Western military and political authorities are concerned for the fate of Rwandans, butchered by the hundreds of thousands, and are interested in locating on a map.

In the modern world, media representations are particularly notable for the speed at which these representations are made available across borders. Global mass cultures are dominated by the modern, dominated by the image that crosses linguistic frontiers much more easily and that speaks across languages in a much more efficient transmission of cultural and political information has served as the Arab Spring of 2011, but can also propagate dubious understandings and connections. While discussion of Rwanda in the Western world is extremely limited, the details of the violence are reported in the discourse about this small, poor and globally insignificant (or, at best, a significant peril to the world) in these representations, the most fundamental distinction in the narrative runs through them: specifically, it devotes to following this pervasive Western media outlets to inaccurately explain the causes of the genocide, misrepresent their principal factors of dictation when discussing the genocide.

While technology makes the world far more accessible than in centuries past, the fact remains that there is a decline in the

Western media compounded with a pacifist view of international terrorism, these trends with the use of statistics from The 1995 Health Report time spent by the three major American networks (ABC, NBC, CBS) on stories in evening reports dropped from 14,991 (29%) in 1991 to a drop of more than 50% in the coverage of international news. This trend continues in the most recent decade. The 2010 Health Report for the same three American networks offered 146,643 minutes of news coverage, of which only 25,333 minutes were devoted to international news stories (Tyndall 2011). That is, only 17.3 percent of the total broadcast time in the last ten years was devoted to any discussion of the world beyond the American border. The 2,533 minutes remains much lower than the figure quoted in 1991, which is that the media coverage on offer in the 1990s was in fact a reflection of the coverage of the real challenges experienced on the ground in Rwanda. To enable public discourse the diversity of broadcast topics to ensure that the public received far more attention to international news.

Most Western reporters evacuated the first days of the genocide; there were never more than 15 reporters in Rwanda between April and July. However, this did not mean a lack of journalistic discussion of the cause and development of the genocide. Meevern points out that aid organizations gave priority to ensure that the daily casualty numbers were provided (2011). Furthermore, those who did remain in Rwanda were very active in publishing their reports. Philippe Ceppe, a French reporter, specifically reported on the genocide in his April 10th article in the French newspaper, *Le Monde*.

have shaped a more considered narrative of the killing in Rwanda (64). Instead, the Western media chose to bury the story and avoided the use of the publications for two weeks. The New York Times only reported that the killings represented a genocide in April 2003. Eltringham observes that genocide was the result of a premeditated, well-organized attempt to annihilate the Tutsi population (64). By positioning violence as tribal, western media outlets were complicit with the narrative around the world in allowing the racialist system to maintain a narrative of Rwandan tribalism used as a convenient frame for the violence being perpetrated against the Tutsi population. As Eltringham observes, the motif of naturalism more recent racial (re)constructions of social identity. Rather than uncovering the complex causes of this genocide, media outlets and France effectively exempted readers from understanding the political context of the violence.

While many scholars have examined media analysis of 38 full-length genocide in American news. The New York Times and U.S. News and World Report reveals Rwanda in a narrative with a wide global distribution. Article headlines locate Rwandan identity as a factor of the violence. In the analysis, 71% of headlines offer a solution to the genocide, an omission that speaks to the common perception of African violence as tribal (264). 16% of headlines wrongly frame the genocide as a tribal conflict, trivializing the nature of the violence and the political nature of the violence. 3% of headlines raise questions of valiant Westerners bringing justice to the genocide.

Rwandans were not capable of ending the chaos of genocide (2
 expand on these framings, the genocide is Hutu and Tutsi 456 times a
 the word ethnic and tribal 55 times the word extremists was used
 times (265) perhaps the worst of the omissions and false reporting of the
 genocide is failure to clarify that the genocide was organized and
 extremist sanctioned by the interim Rwandan government as a large
 conflict by forcing citizens to participate in local killings. To believe
 that the genocide was spontaneously erupting ethnic conflict between ne
 misrepresentation of a very serious political agenda instigated

It is worth noting that 25 sources of these articles, 48% of these
 were Western sources, while 44% were Rwandan sources (this
 like a judicious division of local and foreign perspectives, but the
 sources frame the genocide as a problematic reality. 74% of commen
 Rwandans as passive, 75% of the sources framed Westerners as
 problems of the world. Such articles offer readers a relational vie
 Rwandan and Western responsibilities to the affair. The priority occu
 at the detriment of acknowledging Rwandan efforts to stop the genocide
 reflects a predictably neocolonial belief that Westerners are
 actors, particularly in the face of crisis situations. Son of
 Africa in the public imagination, writes that the more remote o
 we are to have full frontal views of the dead and dying. Thus p
 consciousness of the genocide is mainly a sacrificial succession of un
 photographs of victims (71). Certainly the negative possibilities

the violence of Rwanda did so with a claim that it was valorizing and minimizing Rwandan African actors, even though Western involvement was severely limited.

Wall identifies five themes which arise from her analysis of these themes have been identified⁸ by other scholars

1. The violence as a result of irrational tribalism
2. The Rwandan people as inherently pathological
3. The violence as incomprehensible to a Western audience
4. Nearby African countries violence and no help to Rwanda
5. Western intervention as a way to solve the conflict (265)

These constructions are politically and ideologically charged as a way of consolidating cultural and ideological conceptions of reality. A singular narrative explaining the genocide also reveals the conditions that went into validating this narrative of African savagery. Despite irrefutable evidence that the killing was carried out by an extremist Hutu government, these narratives were used to avoid engaging with tired narratives of African savagery in order to avoid engaging

The representation of Rwanda as a place of violence and victimhood exclusively with violence and victimhood. Terms like ethnic violence, the actual causes of the genocide, implicitly suggests that such causes are irrelevant to Western audiences. Most problematically, there was no space for Rwandans to respond to and of Rwanda as a country in its own language, a

⁸ Specifically, see Mark Doyle's *Reporting the Genocide*, Steven Livingston's *American Media and Government Failed Rwanda*, and Linda Melvern's *Miss Rwanda: The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*. London: Pluto Press.

accurate understanding of the Rwandan Genocide is pervasive
 stereotypes of Africa and recognize that the product of colonial
 ethnic discourses, ineffective independence, and a well-trodden
 familiar narrative of starving savages is not only
 disseminated by the media and Western news outlets but also by a notable
 disinterested political and military action

Academic consideration of the media coverage of the Rwandan
 violent conflicts revealed the negative impact of narrative tropes
 trauma. Susan Moeller argues that presenting viewers with limited
 imagery encourages a response called compassion fatigue (2)
 viewers from engaging actively with the information being presented.
 use of these frames means that viewers are increasingly detached.
 As Moeller states,

there is a reciprocal relationship between the media and the
 same viewer as coverage of the media themes the public's response to the
 media's perception that the crisis is not only a local event but also
 coverage, which causes the public to believe that the crisis is either an
 emergency and so on. (Moeller 12)

Certainly, this was the case during the Rwandan Genocide, as
 notably fewer inquires and funding donations reached prominent
 the news outlets. As Tom Kent, the International Editor at Associated
 response to their coverage of Rwanda, we got practically no inquiries
 although our stories certainly suggested that Rwanda was a

(qtd. in Moeller 12). Moeller argues that the distance between the viewer and the principle actor is responsible for this failed re- While the distance is not itself a cause, she observes that es foreign event, there is a tendency to fall back on hackneyed what the crisis is thought to be than what it is. This is a foreign falls neatly in line with a neocolonial construction of viewers are assured that their attention is not necessary, as prob presume to be endemic to the local cult

The consistent framing of the Rwanda as tribal warfare in Western reports, without exploring the audience's preconceptions of ethnic tensions, is based to maintain a neocolonialist space undeserving of Western intervention. The format of news reports accurate historical context and offered brief snapshots of violence with the experiences of the Rwandan people, compounded to be casually with the information provided to them. Susan Moeller information exchange fundamentally alters the role of the viewer engagement rather than a shared experience. American media particularly the Western media more generally, are politically and socially not give sufficient information to understand individual or social events. This creates a sense of the world specifically for former colonial nations, incomprehensible. This is a prior restraint on the media's formulaic coverage & ratchets up the critique of the media to move on to other stories once the range of possibilities

exhausted so that bored viewers do not see further engagements which
 creating an appetite for the stereotypical reports from all locations and
 already dominate much of the news coverage generated by the
 the twentieth century.

The use of colonialist coverage of the Rwanda Genocide re-
 imbalance that despised Rwanda's independence and the United Nations
 equality across all races. The article reflects the long history of
 Western governments and the colonialist Africa by
 Western powers. Generally, Westerners made little effort to educate
 viewers about the history of Rwanda, specifically the role of colonialism
 two distinct ethnic groups with differing. As Susan Sontag writes
 and images carry a double message. They show a suffering that
 should be repaired. They confirm that this is the sort of thing
 The power reiteration cannot be understood as the Rwandan
 Genocide painted Rwanda as a primitive, violent place, hindering
 readership. Kaplan suggests that the primary colonialist stereotyp

A certain kind of media reporting encourages viewer's sentimentalities
 newspaper readers with a daily barrage of images that are
 complex situation in a foreign culture about which the audience
 that reporters usually omit. What I call empty empathy is
 of suffering provided without any contextual knowledge. (93)

This kind of fragmented reporting was rampant throughout the 1990s. A significant factor in the West's public indifference to demand action from their governmental representatives.

Considering the general disinterest demonstrated by Western media, the details of the Rwandan genocide demonstrated little interest in some aspects of Rwanda's recovery. The recovery effort has been hindered by colonial bias. One of the first steps taken by political leaders was to ensure their inaction as a result of misinformation. While this may have been the result of citizens, as thorough coverage might have encouraged political leaders to claim a good conscience claim that the facts of the genocide were not what they

there were the lies told by both American President Bill Clinton and General Kofi Annan in later apologizing for their inaction. Both claimed that they were insufficiently informed of the situation. Their claims, on the part of both men, have been repudiated beyond doubt. (What Darfur Teaches Us)

By distancing themselves from the possibility of action, these leaders distanced themselves from culpable negligence. As a result, the limited media coverage that was provided by the United Nations Security Council was insufficient to ensure that Western governments understood what was occurring in Rwanda. However, the fact that the genocide was a larger political enterprise at which Western leaders were aware of the expectations that were placed on them is not a defense. It is essential that Western leaders be held accountable for their role in the genocide and chose not to act. To do so would be a moral obligation.

recognition of Africa. As Luke Glanville points out in his examination of the term genocide in political and public discourse, a definition that followed by action only serves to undermine the legal and political aspects of the norm against genocide (Wickham-Jones 2001). That in accordance with international agreements for order and civil rights in Rwanda demonstrates a dismissal of African history and empty rhetoric of Western equality when Africa is the political imagination.

*

The search for justice in Rwanda, both in the texts under consideration and in the public discourse more generally, offers a divide between local and international Rwandan citizens regarding modes of establishing order after public order is established. Reconciliation fundamentally divides colonial and post-colonial societies. A traditional, community-based hearing mechanism used in Rwanda and a justice system of law (Cobbin 2005) system of justice was addressed to civilian tensions for several reasons: it affirmed the value of Rwandan practices, it permitted publically to face perpetrators, provided community restoration. Recognizing that the nation could not lock up perpetrators, a Gacaca court imposed reparations at the community level in order to facilitate the reintegration of survivors and perpetrators. Restorative justice is

⁹ The Gacaca courts were in place from 2001 to 2008. At that time, approximately two million Rwandans were tried for crimes during the genocide, Rwanda 65 Gacaca: A Genocide (Courts Finish Work).

a way of responding to criminal behaviour by balancing the victims and the offenders. It is an evolving concept of the perpetrator, the victim, the offender, their social networks, justice agencies differs from traditional systems of justice because of its] individual character, personal and comprehensive stake holders and the openness to minor participants (Rohne, *Arrests and 4*) and Of course, those who planned and orchestrated the genocide were part of the Rwandan government, but there were also many who were not local Tutsis under duress or under the influence of a national people, gacaca courts offered a relatively expedient public justice place in the national recovery of Rwanda.

The international response to the Rwanda Genocide was to pursue justice and judgement. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, was established in 1994 with the goal of national reconciliation and prosecuting those responsible for the genocide (Information). This tribunal was in Arusha, Tanzania (ICTR: General Information). While a number of people in this body cannot be ¹⁰ some scholars have raised concerns about the objectives of the tribunal. It argues that the colonial era distinction between Tutsi and Hutu individuals, each with its own rhetoric of génocide (Brass). He also points to the dangers

¹⁰ There have been many excellent studies of the ICTR as well as the individual cases and the overall impact of the ICTR in Rwanda. This is a good starting point for access to the documents detailing the cases brought through the ICTR. For example, Akhavan explores the benefits brought to Rwandan citizens through the ICTR to negative outbreaks of similar violence.

implicit or international bodies simplify social complexity to make them more readily understandable, transforming complex phenomena into manageable, schematised form (12). In a society burdened by complicated the identity politics of the nation, in a city where they are challenged during the 1990s, the gacaca courts were fundamentally different from the Rwandan gacaca courts; the ICTR was concerned with identifying and punishing genocide perpetrators in isolation, while the gacaca courts prioritized reconciliation and nation building with

Despite the efforts of the ICTR to impose justice on perpetrators, investment in claiming justice has remained low in the arena of international discourse. Rwanda has avoided acknowledgement of the genocide, and has not openly accepted their failure to act. General Dallaire, one of the UN peacekeepers who witnessed the genocide in Rwanda, has been critical of the political leadership, stating that Rwandan politicians have avoided blame for refusing to act in time. He writes of the 2004 commemoration of the genocide in Rwanda, that

while the commemoration events on 7 April were attended by representatives of the international community, it was apparent that the West, the Northern, and developed world had failed to take responsibility for Rwanda and to apologize for their inaction and failure to prevent the genocide. In spite of the fact that many of the officials,

¹¹ The first judgement was passed down by the ICTR in 1998, convicting Jean-Baptiste Barthelemy, the mayor of the Taba commune in Rwanda, on fifteen counts of genocidal crimes and public incitement to genocide (Arbou). Thus far, there have been 11 cases completed through the ICTR, with ten individuals appealing their verdict. Five cases remain in progress today (Cases: Status of Cases). One case has been transferred from the ICTR to the Rwandan national court, and one case has been transferred to France (Cases: Status of Cases). Finally, the ICTR continues to be thought to have been involved in the genocide, but few cases have been brought against its officials (Cases: Status of Cases).

failed to direct responsibility to talk about a so-called failure
 accepting some vague possibility they could absolve themselves
 individual responsibility, accountability for our failure
 (Foreword)

Indeed the true place of Rwanda in the West is as in 1998, when
 President Clinton arrived in Kigali to speak on the human loss.
 His visit to the country lasted approximately two hours, and he
 lay a wreath at the genocide memorial on the grounds of the airport
 his visit (Roomer and Clinton Visits Rwanda) claims were later made
 his travel was entirely concerns, it remained a powerful demonstration
 fundamental disconnect between the recovering narrative of Rwanda and
 authority¹²

One of the failures of the genocide coverage is the dispersal of
 responsibility as public undersold Rwanda's international identity. Rwanda's
 independent national identity was never widely explored by Western
 era, and during the genocide, coverage affirmed the troops of
 during and just after the Rwandan Genocide images of the dead and dying,
 juxtaposed by the perpetrators. As the casualties blended with
 humanitarian crisis of internally and externally displaced persons.

¹²The lack of demonstrable international remorse for the collective failure to
 suggests a profound lack of interest in the responsibility of the
 genocide after July 1994, public apologies may have functioned as a means
 legitimate tool for managing social relationships with others in the public sphere
 also point out that speech act still poses a threat to the public figure's image:
 admits to failing to fulfill a task or conform to a norm. Therefore, the act itself
 may be regarded as the apologizer's ability to repair the public arena
 (2258) In the case of the genocide, genuine public apologies could open public
 nations of the Security Council were used with actions would negate the effect
 neocolonial superstructures between Western nations and former colonial spaces.

more pervasive, and a broader supranational event that genocide defined its popular Western constructions as a social and indiscriminate violence. Once public interest waned in Rwanda all but disappeared from public discourse by the next media firestorm. Coverage of the genocide was less than detailed, and as the work of the ICTR stretched out across the years, reports were consistently reframed by the media to frame Rwanda as a brutal and disordered society that was palatable particularly because it accorded with established tropes. As Africam concludes, contemporary Rwanda is understood exclusively through the interpretive lenses of globalization that this African genocide was a colonial inheritance, and audiences were permitted to elide the genocide with other neo-colonialist discourses. Coverage of the genocide in the West was preoccupied with the idea of a genocide. As collective memories act as subtle yet powerful mechanisms of social solidarity (Danczuk), colonialist interpretations of Western discourse were a byproduct of Western coverage of the genocide.

The literary engagements with the reality of genocide in Rwanda and the impact of the global response to Rwanda be underestimated; large-scale conflict is a poor predictor of the way that communities under duress respond to threats facing specific groups. As General Dallaire testified in April 2004, while the expression of the international community pledged 'Never Again' in the Kigali genocide was in full swing a few kilometres to the north of Rwanda, in the case of the genocide in

in Darfur unfold was, for me, in many ways like having a film to the Rwandan genocide designed of 1994 (xrd)

Although the failure of media outlets to adequately demand political action on a large scale has been widely discussed and continue to superficial coverage of events that take place. In Western media, the tendency to focus on local and national events, as well as international news. (Moghe, a sense of the world towards the part and locales in Western nations, consider that

since 1998 terrorism has been responsible for 20,000 fatalities. At the same time huge numbers of deaths and conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan are only sporadically into world news reports although they are claimed to be the threats facing industrialized countries. (Rohne, Arsovsen 6)

Clearly, the Rwandan genocide has affected not only citizens or government. The opportunity to engender change in the dynamics of Rwanda was missed, and the construction of Rwandan identity as a victim/perpetrator binary is likely to remain in the collective. While changes are made to the development of social, cultural and political relations between nations. However, the writing of the Rwandan genocide as Rwanda as a space of genocide. More significantly, these texts challenge our understanding of Rwandan history, citizenry, and recovery, lay out the Rwandan national identity in the Western imagination. As such,

potential to decolonize Western thinking about Rwanda, allowing cultural engagements.

Roméo Dallaire poses the question: how will we ever see Never Again if we have no intention of making effective and meaningful support of international law, fundamental human rights, and balanced will to intervene at the political level? In the wake of the Rwandan Genocide, Western society remained wildly uninformed about the actors involved in the genocide, a show of violence. Similarly, there was little political commitment to troops and funding that were not seen as important. Most of the time there was virtually no sense that concerted public interest might be at the top levels. Simplified narratives misconstrued the historical and political context of Rwanda, and did not recognize the role that neocolonial ideologies played in complicating Rwandan politics. However, the state of emergency is also always a first step in the original idea (59) is the potential to challenge the construction of Africa in the public understanding of Rwanda that is not built on colonial and neocolonial principles of equality that existed in 1994. Rwanda has a history of the genocide in response to it, Rwandan, global citizens have begun to write these texts are concerned with issues of justice and equity, these are important aspects. However, there have been a number of attempts to provide remote readers with historical and cultural context and nuance to an informed-political understanding of the genocide in Rwanda. Literature is capable of challenging social and political structures; texts about

foreground the complex causes of violence in Rwanda, the impact on Rwandan people, and the complexity of re-constructing collectively understood modern Rwandan identity and reveal the intertextual ways in which we have maintained colonial era constructions of Rwanda in the West.

Consideration of the ways in which the past has been constructed in the West, often dismissed in deference to politics, is at the heart of this project. Culture holds a central place in the history of the colonial project. The cultural and political practices of the colonial era, often dismissed as primitive and unproductive, were used to discourage colonial resistance and to produce a sense of native creativity and authority. However, forms of popular rebellion and mobilization are often most successful when they are created through a process of negotiation with the dominant. In the post-colonial spaces, the written word can, through its very production, be an empowering individuals and communities. For a nation whose history of colonial control, narrated by colonial powers, has been so central to its identity, the production of a new narrative that challenges colonial constructions of identity, politics, and culture is a powerful act. The practice of Rwanda's Genocide aids in the development of a politically informed West African imagination.

Chapter 6 Contextualizing Rwandan History and Literature

The discourses of power in our society, the discourses of t
 been certainly by this decentered cultural empowerme
 and the local

Stuart Hall, *The Local and the Global: Globalization a*

There is no historical record that does not simultaneously
 and political biases of the society it recounts. During the colo
 constructions of dominant societies were consistently imposed
 allowing the European power to the authority of local history within the
 colonial, as well as the perception of foreign nations
 As with colonial projects, dominant objects was maintained thr
 as well as through the European dominance, elaborate narra
 constructed to the advantage of culture. In Rwanda differences
 subjects exploited in order to divide the population and so all
 control the population more easily. The formalized Belgian col
 authorities wrought division among the Rwandan people, and th
 supported peaceful coexistence began to falter. This manipulation
 structure was a fundamental attack on Rwandan cultural identit
 between Rwandan citizens while for a while. The
 reminds us that to control a people is to control their
 relationship to others (16), and certainly, this was the case in
 This colonial practice of undercutting local constructions of se
 meetings definition of a bomb, which annihilate[s] a people's b
 names, in their languages, in their environment, in their herita

their capacities and ultimately in themselves (3). As a means Belgian authorities actively dismantled aspects of Rwandan social structures that resist the colonial hierarchy.

The effects of colonialism in Rwanda remained foundational to the development of the new Rwandan nation. In the post-colonial course of identity in Rwanda reflected the colonial discourse introduced by Belgium. In the newly independent nation, no united discourse of national identity remained fully articulated by a discourse of Hutu supremacy and Tutsi inferiority. This trend of narrative construction within Rwanda was matched by the constructs of Rwanda within the international community. The legacy of Africa in the colonial era remained a powerful influence in national narratives. Assumptions of African inferiority, used to validate nineteenth century European superiority on the African continent, were transferred onto emerging nations, enacting a measure of colonial influence. In Rwanda, colonial era assumptions regarding African identity remained a compelling example of the limitations placed on Africa. Fierke points out, social memory may be no less habitual than habitual behaviour. There can be a habit of remembering a unitary event that capture that event may [Emphatically] in the case of postcolonial Rwanda, that discourse was not least from part, antiquated prejudices against Africa that Rwanda must self-understand and if Rwanda is to be a modern thinking, would become the corner stone of the Western coverage of the genocide.

Postgenocide literature has challenged the dominant framing of African nations as chaotic and inherently violent, the first by exploring the external actors and cultural Rwanda's political stability. Journalists' initial writing spaces that have undergone massive violence are often the first to witness a traumatic experience for the public record. Journalists' memories underestimated as a meaningful writing of history, subjectivity, plenty to say (Whitlock 21). In the consideration of the Rwandan genocide, and writers have provided detailed contextual analyses of the development of the Genocide. We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed, by an American journalist Philip Gourevitch, was published in 1998, in Kigali. It was written by Canadian Gil Courtemanche, published in French in English in 2003. These texts take distinct approaches to the and colonial history, but they share a shared interest in education about the impact of colonial influence and neocolonialism in Rwanda.

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Gourevitch's *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed* by Philip Gourevitch perhaps one of the best English accounts of the Rwandan Africa. René Lemarchand, of *Jeune Afrique*, stated that the story of Rwanda at all known in the United States today owes much to his work *Des Forges* (88). Gourevitch is a political writer who has written and on political corruption. ¹³ *My Year in Paradise* is a travelogue of Gourevitch's journey to Rwanda and his exploration of the events

¹³ Gourevitch's interests consistently drive his writing; he has published texts on ethnic conflicts, and most recently published *We Wish To Tell You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed* in 2008. *We Wish to Tell You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed* by Philip Gourevitch.

up to the genocide in Rwanda. This text won the National Book Award, the George K. Polk Award for Foreign Reporting in 1998, and the Pulitzer Prize in 1999. Courtemanche is a journalist at the *Pittsburgh Courier* and a fiction writer, although he notes in his preface that

it is also a chronicle and a history. There are no heroes and no villains, almost every case I have researched. Their names are not in the text and words that summarize what they have done in their company. Some are attributed to certain individuals and some to an overactive imagination. This is a work of fact, they have not the severe degrees of eyewitnesses reported by the African Rights organization and published under the title *Death, Despair and Defiance* (Preface)

This narrative is completed by the choice of protagonist, a journalist, Valcourt, who is clearly a version of the author himself. As Valcourt and connects with individual Rwandans, the history of this nation is revealed but as a reality; colonial and neocolonial control over Rwanda is a perspective, providing for the distant reader. This novel was a bestseller in Canada and the United States. Both texts contextualize the Rwandan genocide, linking it to a larger discourse on the Rwanda Genocide; the lack of accurate understanding about the genocide has been a prime reason for political actions regarding Rwanda's recovery.

In the search for restorative justice during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, four different types of truth emerged: narrative truth, experiential truth, restorative truth, and deliberative truth (Manspauwen and van der Horst, 2005). These categories challenge simplistic definitions of truth and the way in which truth is constructed in collective narratives of past events. Narrative truth has long been a dominant way in which truth is constructed through discourse and debate, and restorative truth supports reparation efforts. This list highlights several interesting aspects that cannot convey lived experience and do not always reflect collective perceptions, and depends on a particular context, rather than being a universal force. What is effective in restorative efforts is that it does not depend on facts alone, but must reflect truth as a lived experience and this is often more than histories written by a few. In the use of a complex definition of truth, shifting between facts and lived experience can more accurately convey the nuanced relationship between factual events and the lived experience of the Rwandan people.

We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With You
 Sunday at the Post-Genocide Rwanda History and Culture Centre
 the post-genocide. These texts are important precisely because they connect the experience of the genocide with the eruption of violence in April, 1994. Rwanda demonstrated a tension between the Tutsis and the Hutus, and the severe strain on ethnic relations that began when colonial powers exacerbated ethnic differences. These texts put the genocide into the larger context of Rwandan development as a modern nation, and the genocide as a result of this process.

understandable product of social forces on a local, African, and
 has often been seen in the neocolonial era, this contextualization
 Firstly, it undermines colonial traditions of writing that speak for
 by providing a space for Rwandan writers to speak to
 readership. Secondly, it actively demonstrates the impact of
 genocidalence which would become a defining feature of the
 imagination located within Rwandan history allows readers to trace
 evolution of society under complex social, cultural, and political
 the desire to look beyond violence and place the genocide in a
 context, implicitly challenging the fallacious discourse that the
 Rwandan political system. Given that very little media attention
 context of the genocide, and particularly the role of colonial powers
 had in priming Rwanda for genocide, these texts offer new truth
 restorative, to the blinkered factual narratives reported during
 June, 1994.

Culture is not just through and contained within collective expression
 Far from static, all cultures exist in a state of flux and are influenced
 interact and interests intersect. Culture is as much a process of
 identity; it is the lens through which all people understand the world
 created a document to define and establish the Convention for the
 Protection of Cultural Property as movable or immovable property of
 great importance to the heritage of humanity (Convention for the
 Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, in the case of many cultures

Canada's Aboriginals, and in Rwanda, culture is not predominantly physical objects. As Rwanda has always been an oral culture, five hundred year old collaboration of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa introduced with the arrival of colonialism in Rwanda. Cultural productions that do not conform to European standards recently received protection:

The international political arena is now concerned with cultural rights over cultural property on the basis of the identity of the entities depends on their rights. This is not to say, however, that tangible property and intellectual property to folklore, ideas (David)

This shifting definition of cultural heritage reflects a growing awareness that narratives of history are not the sole mode of constructing and histories are increasingly reclaimed, the very definition of culture to become a more inclusive category of human production. This is to the way that culture is understood in human identity. In 1976, UNESCO panel formulated the principle that cultural property identity. In 1982, the then chairperson of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Committee for the Return or Restitution of Cultural Property described the loss of cultural property as a loss of being (Coleman 161, abstract). The development of new forms of cultural expression is a significant part of the process of development within a colonial space as a means of control.

The precolonial history of Rwanda is difficult to ascertain primarily because the records have not been preserved through oral records and because the Rwandan identity is so severely fragmented. Gourevitch notes that there is no precolonial state. Rwandans had no alphabet; their tradition was oral because their society is fiercely hierarchical and controlled by those who hold power, either through the state or in opposition to it. Studies of Rwanda and the countries surrounding Rwanda have shown that the arrival of Tutsi, Hutu, and Ndundu in the region was a result of the arrival of Tutsi, Hutu, and Ndundu. The war in Rwanda has demonstrated that although the Hutu and Tutsi are traditionally distinct, their identities are not rigidly defined. Precolonial Rwanda was a society in which identity was fluid and shaped by many other factors, such as region, social status, and clientage. Even individuals who were traditionally Hutu and Tutsi remained porous (Gourevitch 49). Gourevitch suggests that the boundaries between Hutu and Tutsi in the precolonial era were flexible rather than fixed. He argues that the Hutu and Tutsi in precolonial Rwanda were not distinct identities. As early as the 19th century, Hutu and Tutsi began to establish themselves in Rwanda's hills, and they shared aspects of their culture. With time, Hutus and Tutsis spoke the same language, intermarried, and lived in the same areas. They shared the same social and political structures and shared the same land. Hutus, Mwamis, and some of them were Hutus, and Tutsis fought to join the Mwami's armies; through marriage and clientage, Hutus and Tutsis, and Tutsis could become Hutus because of Hutu-Tutsi mixing.

¹⁴ The most detailed overview of Rwanda's precolonial history is provided by the study on the Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History by Gérard Prunier (1995) and Mamdani (2002) are also beneficial, although they focus both on Rwanda's

ethnographers and historians agree that Hutus and Tutsis can properly be called distinct groups.

While tensions always exist within human collectives, the records demonstrate that while Hutu and Tutsi did wear different categories that denoted fundamental flexibility refuted common narrative that tribal conflict was the basis of Rwanda's

Gourevitch's historical importance and, irrespective of ethnic identification. As in other societies, it is surprising that Rwandans of all tribes were of this collection. The power of the Mwami was in deed; the Mwami himself a divinity, absolute and infallible. He was regarded as the person (Gourevitch 49). The King's traditional palace, reconstructed structure traditional Rwandan society, markers of Rwandan history precolonial traditions, maintained even today, also provide Rwandan heritage and culture. Travelling through the hills of woman's loud cries and his guide explains that

the whooping we'd heard was a conventional distress signal obligation. You hear it, you do it, too. And you come running. You must. If you're ignoring, you would have questions how Rwandans live in the hills. The top of the hill is a peaceful responsibility. I cry, you cry. You're crying, carry the water that stays quiet, the water that stays home, must explain. Is he in league with

he a cow? what would he expect? This is simple. This
 This is community. (34)

While this may seem impractical, it demonstrates a
 Rwandan concepts of community, responsibility, and inclusion.
 protection speaks to the dangers of rural life, but more important
 early Rwandan society, communal protection speaks volumes about
 communal protection speaks volumes which have already been
 benefits of community through the careful dissection of living
 that knowledge has been reclaimed. Such reconstructions are
 because without memory we have no identity. In order to create
 cultural memories and historical understanding of our cultures.
 important in terms of our socialization into our culture (Hunt 106)
 German and Belgian colonialists worked to destabilize
 identification. As Rwanda was created by colonial forces, the
 individual identity decreased and the ethnic categories already
 weight.

While cultures are always in flux, appropriating new construction
 practices, the violence of the colonial era marked the colonial
 unilateral cultural interaction. In part, the violence of the colonial
 echoed during the genocide, forces disempowered Hutu citizens
 affirm colonial superiority, propaganda dehumanized Tutsi citizens in
 greater cultural authority within Rwanda. The colonial era of
 massive upheaval for all Rwandan citizens, and laid the foundation

discourses and a deeply flawed political system. As the genocide divisions has become a defining feature of modern Rwanda in the contribution of colonial political structures to the Rwandan genocide, both Gourevitch and Courtemanche

Rwandan history began a radical transformation when it was during the Berlin Conference of 1884. The 1884 conference, 9,000 miles from Africa, European shape Rwanda through constructions. Unlike the powers that did very little in Rwanda other than to throw their support behind the Rwanda became a spoil of war for the Belgians, who were far more involved in the maintenance of Rwandan culture and influence is particularly dangerous because it is framed within the larger control. While cultures regarded as essential to the Rwandan identity, which places local cultural organization and memory into Handler argues, cultural traits that come from the outside are polluting; by contrast, aspects that come from within the nation, authentic (66). While such distinctions can be difficult to be brought together, and notions of authenticity are a bit of a problem, the Belgian rule of Rwanda did occasion a cultural exchange in constructions were carefully mapped out of Rwanda

The Belgian administration of Rwanda played a significant role in the organization of Rwandan political distinctions between Rwandan with varying access to state power, the fluid categories which were intrinsic to precolonial Rwandan identity. To legitimize their place when Belgian forces arrived in Rwanda, the Belgians had to

and origin originally penned by John Hanning Speke, an English explorer, in 1858. The length of the Nile between Traz and 1858, planting European racial prejudice in the Belgian Rwandan colony allowed Belgians to reinforce their claims to this newly claimed colonial space. As Europeans validated their position through their whiteness, the Rwandan population was disempowered by physical similarity or dissimilarity to European standards of beauty. Gourevitch, analyzing this colonial means of control, explains to his readers that

Speke's basic anthropological theory, which held that all European culture and civilization had been introduced by the taller, more muscular, and more intelligent featured people, whom he considered to be of a Caucasian type, descended from the biblical King David, and therefore a superior race to the Negroids. (51)

Gourevitch's emphasis on colonial influence seeks to reclaim the Rwandan for Western eyes, demonstrating the colonial arrival as a moment when European narratives of Rwandans became significant within the region. Speke's work fundamentally shaped European concepts of Rwandan identity, and these constructs returned to Rwanda that European-culture began to define the Rwandans. Significantly, it was at this point that Hutus and Tutsis emerged in relationship to state power; as they did, the two groups inevitably

¹⁵ His racial assumptions about the history of the three physical types of Rwanda, the Discovery of the Source of the Nile, rather than deduce the origin of the Nile, Speke imported European ideas to explain African physicality. The physical differences between Hutus and Tutsis were used as the basis for elaborate constructions of identity and power. Hutus, who tended to be taller, thinner, and lighter-skinned, were set apart from Tutsis, who tended to be shorter, stouter, and darker-skinned, precisely because they demonstrated faintly European features, they approximated the European idea of a superior race. Speke's work was a wholesale as accurately representing native Rwandan categories of identity and racial prejudice more than any accurate understanding of precolonial Rwanda.

distinctive cultures own set of ideas about the race and religion of the respective domains (Gourevitch 50).

Making clear the Belgians were consciously manipulating Rwandan identity, Gourevitch identifies politics and religion as European ideology was conveyed to Rwandan colonial subjects: with the Hamitic myth as their template and, ruling Rwanda for the Roman Catholic Church, they set about radically re-engineering called ethnic lines (56). Courtemanche reveals how this was done through the Rwandan character Gentile in her novel. Gentile recounts the story of her great grandfather Kawa be destroyed by the colonial leaders, as well as by Kawa's colonial knowledge of the supposed superiority of the Hutu. Her son Célestin read to him the European commentary on the Tutsi.

The Hutu, a farmer, is short and squat and has the nose characteristic of the negroid races. He is good natured and unintelligent. The Hutu is deceitful and lazy, and quick to anger. The Tutsi, a cattle grazer, is tall and slender. His skin is light brown of European origins. He is intelligent and skilful at trade. He has a superior disposition. Colonial administrators used the Tutsi to obtain the assistance of the Tutsis for tasks which in their judgment were too difficult for natives. (23)

The very fact that Kawa seeks European definitions of Rwandan identity is a facet of the colonial endeavour: it shows how the European authorities were

educated in European understandings of the world. In this case, the colonial knowledge is not accurate, alienates Kawa from his local culture. His reaction to the colonial knowledge when Célestin reads the book to him, Kawa uttered a fearful cry. The fear comes from around him: his pride as a Hutu patriarch and his role in the colonial project (234). In this description, fiction powerfully illustrates the collision of two competing sets of knowledge: the Hutu patriarch is devalued at this moment precisely because his respect for the colonial authority and national politics of Rwanda. The European narrative of Hutu identity is negated. Courtemanche connects Rwanda's colonial history to the lives of his characters, as his acceptance of European knowledge and the lives of his children, grandchild and grandchild, of whom the most beautiful and most intelligent would be baptized Gentille. Courtemanche demonstrates how the introduction of European ideologies fundamentally marred Rwandan identity politics and the Rwandan Genocide of 1994.

Faced with competing views of Rwandan identity and history, Kawa chooses to side with the Tutsis. He has for colonial knowledge, Kawa views the Tutsis as privileged and demonizes Hutus. Convinced of the accuracy of these writings, Kawa finds it desirable under this new colonial order, Kawa takes advantage of the precolonial Rwanda system.

Kawa's daughters would need only marry Tutsis for their children to be chosen by the gods and admired by Whites. This ought to be a good thing for the males of the family, fate condemned them to remain

their origin and that of their children would forever be written. What a nightmare. What a tragic fate. Schools forbidden, and ambitions blocked. Kawa would not allow his sons to be and officially inferior beings forever among negroes. (27)

Kawa's concern over his children's fate under European definition speaks to the colonial influence on Rwandan Belgian colonialism, such as the hierarchical evaluation of Hutu and Tutsi and identity foreign constructions imposed on the local population. European constructions of ethnicity began to take hold in the 19th century. Rwandan authority and Rwandan belief systems had been unseparated. This final phrase, negroes among negroes (28) is evidence of European view of Rwandan identity, that he fears his status not be passed down to his children and grandchildren. As culture commonly passed through families, Courtemanche demonstrates disrupted transmission of culture as well as Rwandan identity in favour of European narrations.

Kawa tries to bargain for new identity papers for each of his children. He trades his entire earthly fortune in order to buy a Tutsi for each son and daughters. Unsurprisingly, this effort is fraught with danger. The authorities who used ethnicity as a fundamental basis of organization. The Belgian master, Kawa

offered several cows, several goats, and his most beautiful daughter. The White refused to issue him any papers.

into Tutsis. However, he would ~~take the~~ ~~challenge~~ ~~in~~ ~~exchange~~ ~~and~~ ~~keep~~ forever regarding Kawa's improper and shameful proposal. (whose buttocks and breasts nourished fantasies in the me ethnic group) became the property ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Belgian~~ ~~whop~~ ~~crap~~ ~~pley~~ and abused her from behind every time he was in the neighbour from a blood disease that came, it was whispered, from the Again, fiction demonstrates ~~with~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~colonial~~ ~~require~~ ~~Rwanda~~; K recognition of European knowledge and his willingness to conform order to improve his future ~~units~~ ~~dated~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~death~~. The language passage, with terms ~~like~~ ~~and~~ ~~kept~~ ~~property~~ (28), and the clear exto burgomaster ~~le~~ ~~main~~ ~~tsi~~ ~~to~~ from Kawa further demonstrates Kawa's Hutu in colonial Rwanda. Kawa, willing to accept his undesirable cannot ~~transform~~ himself into a desirable Tutsi, and moreover, he is reshape himself in the Tutsi image.

Religious influence allowed for a similar appropriation of a religious leaders used ~~their~~ ~~Rwandan~~ ~~to~~ ~~exert~~ more control over ethnicity introduced by the colonial powers. Gourevitch demon Monsignor Léon Classe, the first bishop of Rwanda, who stated lead the ~~country~~ ~~directly~~ ~~into~~ ~~anarchy~~ ~~and~~ ~~tribe~~ ~~man~~ ~~ism~~ & we have chiefs who are better qualified, more intelligent, more active, progress and more fully accepted by the people ~~than~~ ~~the~~ ~~Tutsi~~ that ~~perceived~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~Hutu~~ ~~state~~ is offered in European terms; the communism in colonial ~~Rwanda~~ ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~projected~~ ~~status~~ ~~of~~ a

was based on European models of progress that the attitude of appreciating progress (56) ultimately functions as a coded statement of willingness to accept European constructions so long as those constructions benefit the Tutsis under colonial rule. It is through these that the political relationship between the religions in Rwanda becomes clear.

Both Gourevitch and Courtenay were among the first to see the political implications of the Belgian colonial rule in Rwanda. Kawa, eager to understand the world that he and his people were living in, sought to understand their religious beliefs and why the children of God did not love the Tutsis as much as the Hutus, why true greatness in this country was physical and wealth was always first (28). That he was so insightful; that he was so aware of his own disempowerment. Therein lies the basis of colonial education: to teach the Tutsis to devalue themselves and accept without questions a new system of European religious and political values. It was not until fifteen years into the Belgian colonial rule in Rwanda that the Belgian colonial government began to purposefully implement its policies of governance and social control. Kawa and others recount this shift:

The Belgians did not want a mwami who believed in Imana, the spirit of Lyangombe, and who practiced ancestor worship. Monseigneur Classe, the head of the Great White Rhodes, asked the mwami, Mutara III, to become king on condition that he abandon his traditional beliefs. Mutara III was baptized on a Sunday in 1931. (20)

In this moment, the religious and political authorities in Rwanda were in a state of transition, and the traditional culture and values were being replaced by the new colonial system.

of King, Mutara III gave up his faith and became a Christian. This choice had a powerful impact on Rwanda. As King identified Monsignor Louis de Lacger, writing the history of Rwanda, has country genuinely have their freedom (p. 54) through their loyalty to the Mwami. By embracing the traditional beliefs and customs to embrace European religion, the Belgian authorities the cultural unity between Rwandan citizens. Without the cohesion provided by the Mwami, Rwandans would soon find themselves ethnic lines first formalized by colonial authorities.

The colonial forces saw the Tutsis while the Hutus were dismissed as without any redeeming features. The Tutsis were well treated in colonial negotiations, but they were colonial society, and were empowered to rule over the Hutu population. In colonial spaces, the power by the colonizer became mimetic (146). Tutsis were granted local authority in Rwanda politics and restrictions of colonial rule on Hutus. As explained to Gourevitch colonialism demanded him to whip the Hutu or we will whip you. The frustrations of the colonial powers were redirected towards Tutsis the racism of the colonial enterprise. The pseudo-similarities between Tutsi and European physicality, the categories imposed on all Rwandans, and the increasingly political ethnic discourse against the Tutsis.

Hutu citizens. The cost of Tutsi empowerment was the loss of social cohesion ensured the success of the Belgian colonial system.

As with all cultural hegemony, it is not about what public space public actions are possible. The discourse introduced a discourse of racial hierarchies which legitimized Belgian rule over Hutu as a means of resisting Tutsi colonialism and the political discourse of ethnic difference. Tracing the origins of negative colonial Rwanda, Gourevitch's research reveals that in March 1959, Hutu intellectuals attracted Hutu support for democracy, rejecting the Hamitic myth but by embracing it. If Tutsis were removed, then Rwanda was by rights a nation of the Hutu majority. European racial discourse to motivate change in Rwanda's social structure used the weapons of pseudoscience, religious pressure, and during the European conquest of Africa. -of a fraternal narrative (Gourevitch 59) between Tutsi and Hutu that underpinned most of the genocide, both authoritatively and historically. Tutsis and Hutus were largely the result of European influence on the traditional Rwandan violence. Gourevitch notes that there is no record of a politically motivated attack on a Tutsi by Hutus until 1959. In fact, during the Rwandan Revolution, Hutus which Tutsis were killed and large migrations into Uganda began. However, the one being used to validate European superiority and divide Rwandan citizens as Hutus as the Europeans determined Tutsis and Hutus by appearance.

colonial and neocolonial era were based on the physical traits of Europeans.

In the West era, the superstructure of the colonial law public political criticism, and colonized countries began to demand independence. The beginnings of this global rejection of colonial rule had a radical impact. In nearly thirty years of torment by the colonial authorities, the colonies performed a political and threw their support. As Gentile's father Jean Damascène explains to Valcourt,

until 1959, this pact with the devil brought us a [the Trustees]. Then the Belgians, who were a bit lost in an Africa that was a mould, and probably a bit tired of this unprofitable country and its virtues of democracy and the law of the shiftless Hutu, an incarnation of modern progress and self-interest, accepted legitimate democracy. (198)

This statement reflects the lived reality of the colonial shift in allegiance. Jean Damascène's sarcasm towards the Belgian desire for democracy provides an honest response and demonstrates awareness of the tensions which framed the colonial bonds. For readers with an understanding of this history, offering a Rwandan perspective on decolonization undercuts the altruism of Human Rights and declares the forefronts the very real alternative cultures and histories (many suppressed by colonial and neocolonial powers).

Gourevitch is even more precise in his discussion of the de-
of the Hutu population. Far from embracing the ideals of de-
Colonel Logiest staged a coup d'état by executive fiat, replacing
Communal elections were held at midyear, and Hutus presided
Hutus won at least ninety percent¹⁶ of the votes. Logiest saw the
empowerment of Hutus while Tutsis were rapidly dismissed from
governmental organizations. While this change was born out of
disenfranchisement for Hutus, who made up approximately 85%
simplistic inversion did nothing to undercut the colonial rhetoric
ethnic aggression across Rwanda. Hutus inherited the
political definitions of ethnicity introduced by the Belgian authorities
recognized the dangers of their manipulation of Rwandan social
as a UN committee reported that the Rwandan revolution had, in fact,
racial dictatorship of one party and simply replaced one type
another. The report also warned of the possibility that some
reactions on the part of the Tutsis (Gourevitch 61).

Rwandan independencest, began in 1962. However, the impact of colonialism
and the dramatic changes in Rwandan social and political order
peaceful life. Attacks on Tutsi citizens for their independence
escalated into legitimized acts of violence. Hutus new to authority
vacuum created by the Belgian exit were anxious to assert control
1963, the first of several Tutsi massacres occurred and drew international

¹⁶ Colonel Logiest served as the special military representative of Belgium in Rwanda from 1959 to 1962, and the highest ranking military officer throughout the extremely important period of colonial rule.

international attention. The response of the international community, as reported by Gourevitch and Russell, is that the genocide in Rwanda is the most horrific and systematic massacre we have had occasion to witness since the Nazis (65). In light of the genocide of 1994, this response by Russell, like many of the European analogies of the Holocaust, is problematic because it simplifies the conflict between the Hutus and the Tutsis into a clear victim and perpetrator, which obscures and simplifies the complex reasons for the genocide. This statement, like many that were made during the genocide, offered a clear-cut narrative of organized violence against the Tutsi population in Rwanda, which is a simplification of the lived challenges of Rwanda. This statement, like many that were made during the genocide, offered a clear-cut narrative of organized violence against the Tutsi population in Rwanda, which is a simplification of the lived challenges of Rwanda. This statement, like many that were made during the genocide, offered a clear-cut narrative of organized violence against the Tutsi population in Rwanda, which is a simplification of the lived challenges of Rwanda.

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Colonies, during and often after colonialism, tend to be constructed through the narratives of the colonizer through expressions of self. To counter this tendency, it is important to identify the values of pre-colonial cultures and identify the social, cultural, and political changes imposed, particularly if such changes cause tensions with the colonizer. This exchange undercuts the voices of the colonized, postcolonial perspectives can be seen as representative of a disenfranchised position for the population, who were excluded

governance during colonial rule, as well as Tutsis, who were b postcolonial Rwandan nation. While both groups were in power there was little disidb most who b the daround ethnicity across this t has meant that Rwandan culture, while produced by Rwandans, discourse of ethnic hierarchy introduced during the colonial er genocptroductions, literary, narrative, creative, and political, t perspectives have begun to redefine Rwandan culture. Actively difference, modern Rwandan voices have reemgmi zed thime th own neocolonial system and begun to assert local perspectives to c observing Western world.

The Belgian authorities, leaving Rwanda a local population divided the uniting force of l s b a c h s t o u l e s a This made Rwanda a likely c internal conflict as colonialism gave way to neocolonialism. S of [Alexis] Kagame, all historians, whatever their ethnic origin dresse Rwanda s history and turned it into a tool for political p politicization of identity in Rwanda fundamentally changed the public discourse, and in the neocolonial period, Rwanda n d a n h i s t o dangerous internal politics of the Rwandan Genocide. Neocolo many ways similar to colonialism, is neatly defined by Kwame N Ghana: the esse- a b e n i f i n e r o is that the s s u b j e c t w h o c i t is, in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international economic system and thus its political p o l i c y T h i s d i f f e r e n c e d i f n o m c demonstrates an early l e g i s l a t o r y o f c o l o n i a l h i s t o r y ; i n t h e n e o c o l

applies even more broadly as a special, influential, economic, and exchanges between nations.

As observed by Gourevitch and Courtemanche, it is marked by the presence of American factors, such as aid agencies, international and representatives, and Drenig is a work the variety of neocolonial helps these authors to establish that a current in Rwanda. Gourevitch describes Rwanda's relationship to other nations in a notable sense of sarcasm:

Belgium shovelled money into its own stomping grounds; France neocolonial Africa began military assistance Habyarimana in 1975; Switzerland sent more development to other country on earth; Washington, Bonn, Ottawa, and Tokyo viewed Kigali as a favorite. The hills with the young whites working, albeit unwittingly, for the greater glory of Habyarimana. (76)

Belgium and France are positioned here as actively engaged in other nations, while the US, Canada, Japan, and Germany, view underdeveloped space in need of investment in Africa.

Gourevitch recognizes the efforts in picturing the development of but he also notes their failure to understand the political environment. Courtemanche paints a similar picture of the nuanced motivations, noting particularly their refusal to work in Rwanda for their citizens:

Around the pool, Québécois and Belgian and Dutch. The and Québécois aren't friends; they don't work together, even towards the same goal: That is a grand word which dresses up the most irrelevant of intentions. The two groups are rivals, and why their kind of development is better than the others. The common is the din(3) they make.

While Western aid in Africa is a concept, efforts on the ground short of the ideal often conjured by media coverage and news reports. Québécois, despite sharing a language compete with their preferred to commit their energy to real improvement. Courtemanche uses catchphrases to validate the continued involvement of former colonial countries in Rwandan development. While offered to African nations beneficial, both authors demonstrate frustration and distrust of their efforts there to improve the perception of their own countries on the ground. transform local Rwandan

While direct commentary on the role of foreign aid workers and the enactment of neocolonial influence in Rwanda society, Courtemanche's view of the hierarchical organization of Rwanda, one which exemplifies neocolonial influence over Rwandan lives:

All around the pool and hotel lies the imperialist hierarchy, that is, that makes the decisions, that steals, kills, and lives very well. Cultural Centre, UNICEF offices, the Ministry of Information, the president's palace (recognizable by the tanks on guard), the

departing visitors where one can unload surplus black market goods at the World Bank offices, the archbishop's palace. In circling the city, one encounters obligatory symbols of decolonization: Constitution Square, Boulevard of the Republic, Justice Avenue, and an ugly, modernist monument. Almost in the underbelly of the city, stands the red brick Holy Family, disgorging the poor in their Sunday best into a courtyard of tiny, one-story houses made of the same clay as the houses from which they came. A swimming pool not to offend the nuns is the only amenity. Children, with men and women dying of AIDS and malaria, are the most important, their predictable deaths. (2)

This long but significant description of Kigali, Héloïse Mingeau's *Home* moving outward to convey the city as a whole, is compelling precisely because of its geography with political, national and local. The centre of Kigali is defined through the architecture of the neocolonial authorities, who stage a performance of power in a segment of Kigali's public space. These forces, marshalled to create a sense of authority; religious and influence demonstrate a performance, while the aid offices are a reminder of Africa's long history of international aid. The presumptions that have accompanied that aid are beyond what is possible in spaces named after the ideals of decolonization, despite the fact that they have yet to be instituted in Rwanda. Finally, decentred in this description of Rwanda, whose lives are laid out under the power wielded over

actors. Courtemanche gives half of the paragraph to their des... glimpse into their lives even as he observes their disempowerm...

Aware of the complexity of aid work in Africa, Courtemanche av... representations of neocolonial involvement in Rwanda. He is c... remote actors who do not understand the realities of daily life... demonstrate the ways in which Western solutions do not always so...

When you're discussing these things in an office in Washin... curves on a computer, it all seems logical. In a hospital, ... begin by charging admission fees. Half the patients stop c... back to the doctors that's what they call the witch doctors or ch... of medications goes up because they're imported and used in local currency. (124)

This is an important point, as many African economists have po... establishing African services based on international aid rather... funding Courtemanche's protest against the challenge of integrating... international support into current Rwandan social structures wi... and frequently faced by bureaucrats who are not the help that can be... imposed who are a Rwandan social structures. However, these bu... contrasted by the representation of several deeply devoted and... compelling of whom is Elise:

¹⁷ There are a number of texts on African aid and development, particularly... financial support has created in Africa. The following three authors are no... examinations: Alexander M. Cairns: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in A... Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis

Two years in Rwanda; hundreds of hours. The same words were tirelessly repeated, the words said a thousand times. In the end, the encouragements whose effectiveness she doubted, with this perception of the death of people she learned to love, day by day as they undermined her determination.

Her efforts are carefully focused to respond to the needs of the Rwandan people without judgement; her commitment is unwavering and apolitical. While many Western bureaucrats are often cold, calculated and politically motivated, Courtemanche's possibility for unbiased interactions between Rwandan and international actors like Elise and Valcourt, the few Westerners in Rwanda, is a stark contrast. Valcourt, and empathetic towards Rwandan citizens, the character of Elise Courtemanche is a presumption of equality between Western and Rwandan actors in cross-cultural interactions.

For Rwandan citizens, the aid and commitment of international actors presents both opportunities and challenges. Both challenges depict Rwanda as responsible for the underdevelopment of the international perception of Rwanda in the international community. In interactions between Rwandans, Courtemanche writes that Rwanda is often seen as a smile too broad that must stand up to sixteen hours of temporal impatience, a concealed mistrust and sometimes a kind of barely held wariness that they would paint his situation the blacker to please the West. Because of the pervasive construction of Africa as a continent of poverty, simple exchanges become battles between reality and perception. Her role is not expected to perform the role of a judge but to affirm external realities.

neocolonial assumptions, particularly those which deepen the
 and Africa. The long-winded hostility directed towards Rwanda and
 more generally inequitable attitude towards Rwanda demonstrates
 community. Nonetheless, it is important to note that individuals and nations who
 offer aid to Rwandan citizens. As a result of this description, Courtemanche conveys
 complexity of neocolonial prejudice and specifically the ways in which it
 embedded into the larger rhetoric of international aid.

Courtemanche also explores the Rwandan conception of what
 international aid. The Rwandan character Raphaël explains to
 of white lives outside the borders of Rwanda:

Sex with a White man is like a lifebuoy-free piece from Paris
 jewellery, a little so you can leave the Muslim quarter and move
 into a house with a hedge and a guardian. Then, God will give
 a shack in Canada or Belgium or France or Tashkent, as long as
 Hutus and Tutsis, who were killed down on Blacks. Intolerance does
 This statement demonstrates acceptance of a fundamental inequality
 individuals within Rwanda. Moreover, Raphaël elaborates on the
 of racial hierarchies within the neocolonial environment: African sexuality
 within the international community in Rwanda. Sex can be exchanged for
 experiences, all of which are a means of escaping the current
 paradise (35) is here defined as a life of freedom from the racialist
 politics of Rwanda; Raphaël accepts African prejudice as a necessary
 escaping the internal ethnic politics of Rwanda. His statement that

doesn't kill (35) puts into stark relief the real danger in that ex- the Rwandan acceptance of racial inequality with foreigners with inequality in Rwanda itself. For Raphaël, as is dangerous than the pol- of postcolonial Rwanda. Courtois makes Rwandans that understand the inequality of the neocolonial ex- but great, they do understand that it can provide access to comforts in the field, but she refutes the common perception of Rwanda as passive; here, Ra- socio-political structures that shape his life

In a scene in the dynamics between Rwanda and the world community, Valcourt takes Jean Lamarre, a novice Canadian Consul hospital in Kigali to strip him of his aura of infamy and the real lives of Rwandan children. There, Lamarre is overwhelmed by staff, and avoids contact with the children stacked three to a bed. Valcourt urges him to take, Monsieur Lamarre. be shy. They'll like it. Every time someone takes pictures or help to come is born. Anyway, they'll die before they realize that cares about them (27). The message conveyed by the children's expectations of aid and Valcourt's jaded recognition of the future practices. They understand that race determines who receives aid. That becoming visible will ensure their survival, of sick African children represents in global images of Africa and fail to muster in response a compassion that is required, these images only affirm the stereotypes which are most strong

Valcourt's cynicism about this exchange is made more acute by the fact that the aid is fundamentally beneficial to Africa, a theme which Courtemanche repeatedly in the African Frontiers, particularly those based in Africa, in this neocolonial management of Africa's resources and the exchange of commodities from the perspective, prompting the reader to see the nations critically. The children's ingrained faith in the spectre of their internalization of colonial and neocolonial rhetoric which

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While the neocolonial management of Rwanda is explained by Courtemanche, he defers to the focus carefully on the build up to the Tutsi massacres occurred in Rwanda in 1959, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1967, and violence intensified in 1990 and led to a genocide in which 1 million population. This protracted history of conflict based on ethnic media reports as a diatribe against the ruling government and a minority population. In order to counter this inaccurate representation, Courtemanche provides additional details which help readers to better understand the genocide: on October 1, 1990, a rebel army, calling itself the Rwandan Patriotic Front, invaded eastern Rwanda from Uganda, and propounding a political program that called for an end to tyranny and exclusion which generates refugees "refugees" by the thousands. The RPF was challenging the government of the nation, when in fact the

represented a challenge to the dangerous rhetoric of violence by Hutu Power officials through the national military and local Hutu Power leaders.

Courtemanche's writing demonstrates that the increasing tensions in the period of the early 1990s; he writes of Genocide on all sides. A discontented Belgian, a drunk and infatuated German, and a struck civil servant all possessed her potentially and all of them were. Increasingly, in Kigali and even more in the country side, life became a nose too fine or a leg too long (33). Gentile mentions a number of actors and no protection is available for her. While the threat of Hutu Power is expected, Courtemanche reminds the reader that neo-colonialism, fundamentally undercutting the international community's attempt to be neutral or helpful for Rwandan civilians. Regarding the international force installed in Rwanda in October 1993, Courtemanche observes, "distrust of UNAMIR was something which Hutu Power and those who were allied with it shared as deeply as their distrust of the Tutsi for another (102). This is a compelling statement, for it demonstrates that, regardless of their political beliefs, saw international involvement as a threat. Later, UNAMIR would not have the ability to effectively prevent the onslaught of violence that would commence on April 6, 1994.

Because of continuous propaganda supporting the Hutu Power ideology in the months before the genocide, many were aware of the threat of violence. Many assumed that the next rash of killings would be like the one in 1959.

¹⁸ UNAMIR was the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, which was established by the Peace Agreement signed by Habyarimana's government and the RPF leaders. The peacekeeping force were to implement the ceasefire, establish a security force, and aiding in the preparations for elections, and monitoring the ceasefire agreement. Details of this force can be found in United Nations records.

but isolated. Valcourt, as a white man, is not directly threatened. Local leaders vocalize their fears about the danger they face. L... aware of the horror he is awaiting, addresses the ability of the... the coming deaths of Rwandans:

You still don't understand. We're not here. You are, all tied up with... sentiments and noble principles, you're witnessing the beg... We're going to plunge retro-sa... We're going to rape... cut throats, chop... We butcher & the savage... poor. With... knives and club... bombs. But it be a war for... minutes of our... the lot of the poor not... parrots of CNN say after...

Land... fundamentally blind the international community to Rwandan su... response. As this... assumptions... are spoken prior to the genocide demonstrates something often... exchange: just at the international community has... more generally, Africans and Rwandans have... international... this genocide is only going to affirm... Western imagination. As an active participant in this political

by virtue of his nationality and race, Lando reminds readers to be aware of the nuances of the stereotypes, inside and beyond national boundaries.

Valcourt underlines the prejudice which will be inflicted on the Rwandan friends, and he condemns it vocally. His commentary considers the cross through which African identities are constructed in the media coverage:

An article in a report might perhaps stir public opinion and the government, which in turn would talk about it to another ten thousand dead. Even ten thousand is not enough. And they are not human beings. The media don't show dead bodies, they show pictures of dogs. They show the pitiful victims of drought, swollen limbs on TV screens, the tragic elements that moves people. Then committees get set up and humanitarian aid flows. Encouraged by the press, the piggy banks. Governments, feeling a warm wind of popular solidarity blow humanitarian aid wicket. But when it's time to kill brutally with whatever's handy, people cover their faces. men, like these in this country. (111)

This invocation of the international response, in advance of the rigid nature of the neocolonial system of relations. Regardless of what happens in Rwanda, there will not be a reaction. Rwandan and true, and Courtemanche is determined that the world should react

Rwanda predicated on the nature of the crisis facing Rwanda and the framing of Africa within the humanitarian paradigm predetermine the limits of political development and development. There will be no deus ex machina to protect Rwanda from its settler colonialism during the colonial period. Rwandans are aware of this as a neocolonial fact. These vociferous international responses are identified as politically motivated reactions in the face of threat. There is, particularly in Lando's commentary, a sense of worth as a result of colonial and neocolonial political practices.

Valcourt is present to witness the initial killings that mark the beginning of genocide but he is evacuated within four days of Habyarimana's assassination. Married, Valcourt is not permitted to leave Rwanda. He is left behind, orphaned in a chaotic killing, because Gentille has such strong militia guards at the airport knock Valcourt unconscious and put him in a car carrying citizens from a nation whose government is not their government. As Faustin Arisidy predicts, they are not coming to stay and save the country for three days, then they will be gone again (224). Certainly, this narrative demonstrates the inability of distant nations to mobilize the protection of light from violence. More importantly, it demonstrates a pervasive sense of international community that Rwanda's government is not responsible. Since the government permitted the genocide, there would be no protection permitted on the immediate frontiers of escape for foreign nationals, the international coverage of the genocide as Valcourt narrates,

in its major international bulletin CNN spent twenty seconds on the problems in Rwanda, giving us a taste of the horror. Even the perspicacious BBC said it was not clear how the international community would be able to rid themselves of the threat posed by the genocide. The international community knew enough about the threat of violence to protect the variety of political excuses to avoid action. Rwanda is a powerful demonstration of the nuances of neocolonial deterrence for its own ends.

This early political response to the genocide is mirrored by both the UN and the international community. Both understood that Dallaire, the commander of the UNAMIR mission, was an informant who warned him about the impending genocide but that the intelligence, ordering him to give his information to Habyarimana, was not clear, was quick to develop a possible military response that would protect Western citizens while avoiding a political discussion of the genocide. Rwanda is a powerful demonstration of the nuances of neocolonial deterrence for its own ends.

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on April 21, 1994, the UNAMIR commander, Major General Roméo Dallaire, was given just five thousand soldiers and a free hand to fight Hutu

declined for weeks to exercise the moral authority to challenge
of the genocidal government. They refused to declare that
exterminating its citizens would never cease. They tried to
to silence the evidence that calls for *erschauung*. It had become
indisputable that what was going on in Rwanda was a geno
shunned-*weidg* fearing that it would cause *demokratie* in
Rwanda

Gourevitch's powerful analysis of this concerted effort to ignore
writing that desertion of Rwanda by the UN force was Hutu Power
victory (150). The Hutu Power movement was united in its
international community for much of the genocide, its actions a
international desire to avoid *confrontation* in Africa is a compelling
to his readers; international powers could be in a state of support for
genocide by valuing Rwandan lives as equal to Western lives.
logic should compel critical evaluation of the political enactments
demonstrating political indifference through literature, can create
politically engaged citizenry.

It was not until June 22, 1994, that the *United Nations* Council
Turquoise, a formally impartial deployment of French military
aggressive force on the ground in Rwanda (Gourevitch 155). Had
in April and May, this late deployment was not a means of ending
to marshal social order. The *United Nations* as a matter of public
recognition as an effort seen as active in Rwanda, even this delayed

demonstrated other facts of genocide. Gourevitch writes that of the Opération Turquoise, the slaughter of Tutsis to continue for and to secure safe passage for the genocidists over a narrow, and possibly Zaire (1994). Because there was not a clear understanding of the genocide, génocidaires were able to hide in plain sight among the fleeing. In an effort to reassert local order, the French soldiers repeatedly failed, failing to recognize that there were complexities that French officials claimed to condemn (Gourevitch 158).

Reexamining Rwandan history reveals the ever-present colonial and neocolonial influences and the genocide of 1994. Discussing the history of Rwanda during the 1990s, Gourevitch notes that

Rwanda was regarded in much of the rest of the world as the epitome of chaos and anarchy associated with collapsed states. In fact, the search for order, authoritarianism, political centralism, and indoctrination were one of the most important administrative practices in

While media representations and government spokespeople have often portrayed the genocide as the product of savagery and tribal conflicts, it is clear that the genocide was a result of colonial politics in an emergent and politicized sense of Rwandan nationhood in the 1990s. The search for primitive imperialism (55) to account for the genocide in instances where individual groups have rapidly disintegrated into violence. Hate that in such cases, two possibilities exist: either one party has the information, or one party has a vested interest in the genocide. In response to the genocide in Rwanda, it is clear that the biases of the neocolonial

most powerful international actors unwilling to recognize the role played in instigating and financing the genocide. To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families Pdrawn Kigali attention to the ways that international biases blocked accurate genocide, instead of the rhetoric of the colonial era. The responds to the need for public education about the factors of genocide, and some responsibility for this genocide on international refused to admit their culpability, both in word and in deed.

Gourevitch offers, towards the end of his narrative, a complete list of factors that contributed to the Rwandan genocide in 1994, and the nature of this conflict. He makes it clear for readers to understand at a glance the interaction between local and international tensions: the precolonial inequalities; the fanatically thorough and harsh administration; the Hamitic myth and the radical polarization; the killings and expulsions that began with the Hutu revolution; the collapse of the late 1980s; Habyarimana's refusal to let the multiparty confusion; the RPF attack; the war; the extremist propaganda; the practice massacres; the massive importation of arms; the Habyarimana oligarchy posed by peace through power sharing; extreme poverty, ignorance, superstition, and fear of a cover-up; the largely alcohol-soaked society; the indifference of the outside world. The ingredients and you have such an excellent recipe for a genocide. To say that it was just waiting to happen. (180)

This list of false facts is not the Rwandan Genocide, it is a media construction inevitable, which was precisely the rhetoric of the international development community. However, this media analysis is not the result of a concerted effort to understand the influences of the international community on the complexities of internal Rwandan politics. Research on the complexity of the genocide while simultaneously undercutting the understanding of the genocide is understandable. What remains clear is that it was the prolonged neocolonialism which allowed the media to construct the ge-

Both Gourevitch and Courtemanche focus on the external international attention to Rwanda's genocide, but they do not fairly identify the role of the Rwandan government in the genocide. The Rwandan government is not the only factor in the genocide; this genocide was an international creation of colonial and neocolonial politics. Many factors contributed to the ethnic political tensions of the colonial era, and this information is not readily available to Western readers. Media representations explain how external pressures caused the genocide. The Rwandan government did not consistently deny the causes for the genocide. It is easy for foreign viewers to understand the colonial and neocolonial myth and fact. Susan Moeller writes that it is easy to run a map indicating where the genocide took place. More difficult, more time consuming, more expensive in terms of the media to show their readers and viewers why they should care (315). Gourevitch and Courtemanche describe the international media exchange. Western news media attempt to fill in the gaps for their readers. Texts

such as these explain Rwandan history in order to challenge the
 was the product of independent Rwandan civil society.

Although the genocide did not attract significant political or financial support
 of Rwanda Rwanda subsequently as a result of the genocide international
 audiences. Throughout the Rwanda genocide, the media in Rwanda
 the relative safety of the nation. Moeller reported that after the
 genocide was over, but at the height of the refugee crisis, Oxford
 in 24 hours, more than \$50,000 in one day than the past four months.
 Rwanda, clearly, the famine images touched people. The genocide
 However, these images of displacement and chaos were not clearly
 often did not understand the complexity of the refugee crisis:

All too often, television in particular, would forget to remind
 refugees were not fleeing the massacres. In fact, many of
 participated in the work were just escaping, gripped by the fear
 retribution. If the massacres had never happened, there would
 exodus (in Moeller 296)

Viewers, primed by years of media war were able to understand the
 images of victimized Africans in a way that had not been
 complexity of the Rwandan Genocide was significantly affected by the international
 community until the representation of the genocide in the media
 African Western imagination. This distinction in public reliance on stereotypical
 power of the media in enforcing neocolonial policies is what while the
 genocide garnered little global attention, the response to the nation

refugees without food, water, or shelter in appropriate numbers, rapid, and most expensive deployment by air in the twentieth century (165). This response exemplifies the practice in former colonial spaces like in Rwanda. Tropes of African suffering affirming the perception that such crises were not theirs to bear. Juxtaposing these two responses, Gourevitch urges readers to overcome preconceptions of African political incompetence, once Rwandans were framed as victims and the fault was on Rwanda's violence, a greater response was offered.

The international involvement in Rwanda was not strictly of a nature of colonialism in Rwanda. Rwanda was urged to use international channels for justice at the close of the genocide. This view was planned and organized during the genocide, the sheer scale of the perpetrators involved, and the jailing of perpetrators in Rwanda's prison system. Gourevitch revisits General Gathomba, a military officer and the Deputy Minister of Justice in Rwanda, who noted to see how to get as many as possible. It is not the justice most people would want. It is under the circumstances (250). As a massive proportion of those involved in the genocide, Gourevitch estimates ranging between tens of

¹⁹ Scott Straus offers a discussion of this number, considering the estimates from his own empirical evidence, gathered in Rwanda in 2002. His conclusion is approximately 200,000 Rwandans were killed over the course of the genocide. The specific locations where perpetrators were there in the Rwandan genocide are published in the *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2004.

three million, the practicality of using a justice system modeled on the French system of Courts simply did not exist in Rwanda.

However, neocolonial ~~influence~~ ~~in Rwanda~~ remained evident as the UN established its own means of affecting local recovery. Gourevitch, who explains that the newly ~~established~~ ~~UN~~ ~~represented~~ the UN to arrest those responsible ~~who had fled~~ to various protective countries in France, and return them to Rwanda to face justice in their own courts, affirming Rwandan justice, but anxious to appear involved in the process of having ~~ignored~~ the genocide, the UN created the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) which was essentially a subset of the tribunal that had been established in the early 1990s (ICTY). Both the ICTR and the ICTY (International Tribunal for Yugoslavia) were to share a single process for justice (Morris). The ICTR, on which much attention had been focused, was to be involved in protecting Rwandan identity in the wake of the genocide and to be involved in protecting Rwanda's role in determining the punishment of génocidaires. This UN solution did not take into account the fact that executing a just means of reasserting national control was desperately important in the early months and years of recovery.

The ICTR limited its scope to the crimes committed only during the genocide by Rwandans who had ~~been~~ ~~threatened~~ and ~~acted~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ (Morris). Furthermore, the UN refused to allow the death penalty for a convicted génocidaire, and also refused to transfer any case to the Rwandan government rescinded its use of the death penalty (Mujuzi).

penalty was permitted in Rwanda but not in the ICTR, the leader of aggressive justice than local génocidaires whom he had tried in Rwanda. Rwandan Ambassador to the United Nations during the establishment of the ICTR, Paul Kagame, expressed a deep concern about the disparity that the situation is not conducive to national reconciliation. Indeed, Rwandan justice was limited by international law, a limitation was an additional burden to the recovery of Rwanda and a demoralization of the actions and objectives of the ICTR are particularly beneficial for Rwanda to be a pan-Africanization. As UN actions throughout the genocide have demonstrated, the politics of neocolonialism encroach into all aspects of Rwandan life. However, by making this clear, Gourevitch's text lays the foundation for engaged leadership.

Rwandan efforts to assert their own justice, however challenged, were initiating recovery and reasserting the value of the legal and judicial systems that had had no power to stop the genocide. The trial of the génocidaire Froduald Karamira in Kigali, Gourevitch writes that the trial was cathartic in part, justice done is justice that is seen to be done and Rwanda's reconstruction took comfort in witnessing the public trial of those responsible for the genocide, the central Rwandan form of justice known as gacaca. The court system was reinstituted to expedite the process of justice. These courts were reliant on public accusations and the identification of the perpetrator brought before the court. Justice is served when the perpetrator face their attack.

and initiated valuable public discussions which prevented the g
 out of public dItsho ure eof these courts to individual recovery is
 addressed in Brookline Memorial apteThe over were reduced sentences
 who confessed freely and punishments reintegrated perpetrator
 community projects. While far from perfect, the Rwandan gacaca
 with prisoners, enabled victims to be a part of the process of j
 of law and order to Rwandan communities.

While the international community was interested in the ICTR, interest
 from the genocide was limited, even as the needs of the genocide
 in Rwanda took multiple forms; practically, homes, schools, pla
 public spaces required rebuilding, while survivors required em
 physical aid in order to begin recovery. Many children had esc
 protection of their parents but were now orphans and needed
 community care. Justice, while important, was only one aspect
 tellingly, the international community fixated on the hunt for ju
 weight behind the need for recovery Of the Rwandan effort to find
 international aid for internal recovery, Gourevitch writes that
 for survivors. Nobody wants to help them, Kagame's adviser,
 meant no foreign donors. We say Give us the money, we'll
 interested (315). This lack of sustained interest in realizing
 compassion fatigue. Overwhelmed by need, without a sense of
 with understanding of the conflict, international observers rem
 The international justice rather than recovery also demonstrates

forces pushed international modes of justice onto Rwanda and Africa in terms rather than on Rwandan terms.

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Educating readers about the complex history of Rwanda from the 1990s era, texts like Gourevitch's and Courtemanche's situate the genocide in its historical, social, political, and economic forces. They acknowledge the role of international forces in shaping this event, challenging the belief that the genocide was solely a result of Rwandan tribalism. These texts do not only highlight the role of neocolonial systems and the involvement of Rwanda, but clarify that the ethnic conflict was not the result of colonial prejudice or the identity politics in the independent state. Furthermore, the pervasiveness of Western nations allowed the genocide to occur without accurate representation, appropriate international recovery. Because Rwanda has never been permitted equality with other nations, the genocide occurred without drawing sufficient interest from either Western or African leaders. Rwandans tend to produce oral rather than written narratives, and the assertion of history by international audiences such as Gourevitch and Courtemanche's endeavours to bifurcate and represent Rwandan colonial history and identity as a challenge of writing for a global audience. In another, both journalists spent hundreds of hours in Rwanda in an attempt to most accurately voice Rwandan concerns. While they have imposed their own narratives on Rwandan citizens, these works allow Rwandans to speak through them, these texts offer readers insight

of history that have long been ignored, particularly by Westerners than from Africa.

Stepping away from the usual engagements in, Rwanda and its history also explore in their narratives their experience of the physical efforts typically focus on social, economic, and political recovery. Readers gain a clear vision of the Rwanda and its reconstruction which effectively conveyed Rwandan victimhood to a Western perspective. In places previously subject to colonial control, it is essential to remember bound up in, with a physical backdrop to, on a cultural process (Woods). As such, physical geographies also offer an avenue for challenging Rwandan identity in the Western writing. Goulet and Courtemanche model a powerful and engaging Rwandan text. The texts convey the experience of traveling through the culture of Rwanda. Gaylian Whitlock writes that life narrative is instrumental and dramatic about social inspire readers' imaginations to rethink communicative ethics in difference without resorting to either identification (which produces othering (which looks to the cart's wheel) (13)) if all this instance. Western authors use their own experiences of the world through the lens of their position their broader historical, social, and political commentaries.

There is a long tradition of Africa, generally with the aim of African spaces and people. However, in this case, the authors present Rwanda as a geographical space. Most notable is that their com-

not refer to the common tropes of Africa as a place of urban and rural space of rudimentary cultural practices. Gourevitch describes a landscape spectacular to behold. Throughout its center, a high winding series of terraced slopes radiates outward from a central mountainous core. Gashes of red clay and black volcanic ash work their way down the slopes against brilliant green hillsides; banana trees are everywhere. On the theme of hills, Rwanda produces a variety of jagged, rounded buttes, undulating broad swells of grassy peaks sharp as filed teeth. In the rainy season, the clouds are low and fast, mists hold in the valleys, lightning flickers through the air. By day the land is lush and green. As the skies lift, the terrain has a ragged look beneath the flat unvarying savanna season, and the savannas of the Akagera Park wildlife refuge. (20)

This description defines Rwanda as vibrant, complex, nuanced, and dynamic. This description challenges the static images of Africa as a land of savanna. Rwanda's geography is presented as a vivid and complex landscape and political construction.

Courtemanche's narrative contains a similar consideration of Rwanda; Valcourt's growing attachment to Rwanda is not solely about his connection to the land:

When the sun goes down over Kigali, the beauty of the world is revealed to the beholder. Great flocks of birds delicately embroider the sky with their colors. The streets are transformed into a colorful, bustling, and lively place. Thousands of people, like a sea of people, are walking and talking and laughing.

their hills. On all sides from the morning till night, the sun shows again
 the sky speaks of a tiny house in the distance and though the ear
 streets, kicking footballs and trees. In the evening when the sun goes down
 if you're sitting on one of the hills surrounding the city and
 soul, you cannot do anything but sit and watch. (85)

His description highlights the natural beauty of the landscape,
 and community which pervade the scene. There is a strong sense of
 this commentary, which is a compelling invitation to the reader
 to imagine Rwanda in a new way. While the political construction
 rhetoric often emphasizes lack and need, we see here a functional
 community, a community which enchants Valcourt all the more as

Drawn in by the environment, Valcourt finds a sense of connection
 revitalization of his interests: he had been deeply moved by the
 thousands of gardens, the mists caressing the valley floors, and
 handed. At last he was going to be really useful, was going to
 life is really beginning, he said to himself. (19) With the landscape
 the people of Rwanda bind him to Rwanda's fate; his relationship
 him to see Rwanda through their eyes, and in this way, he comes
 nation. This is significant because Valcourt is a war reporter; he has traveled
 war zones and lived in a number of places, but has never felt a connection
 the way that he feels connected to Rwanda: for all this time, he
 Now he had a country to defend and it was Gentile's, Méthode's
 come to the end of a long road and could say at last, Here is

Valcourt, Rwanda becomes a place he refuses to let go of in the face of an imminent and overwhelming genocide. In coming to know and understand the culture of Rwanda, Valcourt finds a value that he did not expect to find dramatically under this **change**: ism, the country of the people I love you [Gentile] more than anything in the world. My country is a developing country with complex internal and external tensions and a place of fundamental value by Valcourt. This representation demonstrates an experiential view of Rwanda which fundamentally undercuts the perception of Africa as the destination of Western aid and not Western affect.

Valcourt's return to Rwanda becomes even more outwardly directed as he meets Gentile's family and announces their engagement. It is in this Rwandan community becomes more deeply felt that he begins drawing the attention of the international community to the conflict.

I'm starting to ply my trade again. Trying to say what's his, the monsters, the caricatures, the flags, the logos, the medals, the medals that lull us to sleep with their good intentions. Trying to put notes in the offices at the presidential palace and the French embassy. The lists and give orders, and the ones who are in the top water (116)

He writes to protect Gentile, and Rwanda more generally, and to express the love and connection he feels for this physical space. His actions as an actor in the genre of the Rwandan and international actors who

genocide without consideration of the lived trauma that would be the final machete blow.

It seems at times that Valcourt's love of Bernadette, a Tutsi woman who works in the hotel Valcourt stays at and who eventually makes romantic advances. Valcourt and Gentille are separated as the genocide begins, and she dies soon after the end of the genocide. Valcourt is captured as the prisoner of a local Sergeant. Valcourt returns to Rwanda to rescue her, but is unwilling to engage with him. Valcourt's commitment to Rwanda leads to his death, and he throws himself into the recovery effort. Courtemanche writes:

Bernard Valcourt is still living in Kigali, where he works with the rights of people accused of genocide. Recently the government, the Tutsis, threatened to expel him. When ignorant foreigners brought him to explain Rwanda to them, he met the Swedish woman who had adopted him as her own daughter, a woman whose parents have been doing their part in the genocide since the death of Gentille. Valcourt is at peace with himself. (258)

These lines which conclude the novel demonstrate Valcourt's commitment to Rwanda from his love for Bernadette, and the possibility of international engagement with Rwanda on an individual level. Valcourt's adoption of a Hutu woman as an aid in recovery, as well as his rejection of the ethnic narrative and discourse in the years leading up to the genocide.

By critically examining Western and Rwandan interactions during the neocolonial period in Rwanda, Gourevitch and Courtemanche provide

understanding of the genocide shaped by colonial superstructures. Such writing offers many benefits, particularly as the superstructures of Rwandan authority on the international stage remain in place. It has not been enough to dismiss African voices through subtle and less obvious means of neocolonial indifference, these texts examine the historical and cultural systems that have been cultivated. These authors demonstrate a palpable effect that comes from their active rejection of the narrative tropes applied to the genocide, their understanding of Rwandan history, and their willingness to make space for Rwandans. As Lionel Grossman argues, evidence and only evidence is recognized as such in relation to a potential narrative, so that the evidence determines the narrative and the media coverage of the genocide can be omitted or ignored to fit particular political frames of reference. In opposition to this, Gourevitch and Andrzejewski forge a new narrative of Rwanda by including perspectives on colonial facts that have habitually been excluded from narratives of Rwanda and challenge to normative history and an enlargement of a corrective to oversights resulting from inadequate attention here on broadening historical understandings of Rwanda as a nation positions the genocide as the product of complex international evidence of an innate African violence. The Rwandan narrative applied in this emotional space further help to elaborate international imaginaries and tropes of neocolonial African representations.

Chapter Four: Exploring Rwandan and Experiences of Genocide through Literature

It was as if all the pain in the world had found a voice. You were in the next room, and had it there if you had it, you would have stood it well enough. It is when suffering finds a voice quivering at this pity comes troubling us.

H. G. Wells, *Island* Dr. Moreau

The colonial and neocolonial rule of Africa by Western nations was carried out to a large extent by using literature and public discourse as a means of creating and maintaining hierarchies which naturalize inequality. The colonial mission in Africa was to silence African voices to create the illusion of acquiescence and to naturalize European authority, both for Africans and Europeans, through representations which conveyed African inferiority through the representation of African individuals and communities. As Kirkwood (1992) emphasizes, savagery and violence; later representations of African individuals (Johnson 1939), emphasized volatility and ineptitude. What is common to these novels, and the larger colonial discourse, is the positioning of African individuals as other, a framing which has remarkable implications for African authority. Thus, early writings about Africans served a purpose by establishing a perception of African individuals. In the colonial era, these tropes are challenged by the emergence of African political discourse, but continue to frame dominant representations of Africa and Western nations.

During the Rwandan genocide, the established colonial and neocolonial representations of Africans were once again used with a political objective.

decision, made at multiple levels of government, Rwanda and West
 coverage emphasized the spectacle of destruction and reiterated
 victims or perpetrators of violence. As such, Rwandans were
 brazen and aggressive. This ~~tramp~~ ~~se~~ ~~of~~ ~~fatigue~~ rather than
 engagement with the facts of the genocide. Rwandan suffering
 impact of the genocide on Rwandan communities was not consid
 broadcast ~~its~~ ~~means~~ ~~of~~ ~~its~~ ~~may~~ ~~Western~~ ~~viewers~~ ~~who~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~
 relied ~~media~~ ~~reports~~ ~~political~~, ~~discuss~~ ~~in~~ ~~another~~ ~~African~~ ~~country~~ ~~by~~
 by internal politics and. ~~TV~~ ~~has~~ ~~an~~ ~~adverse~~ ~~impact~~ ~~on~~ ~~Rwandan~~ ~~history~~
~~in~~ ~~part~~ ~~by~~ ~~the~~ ~~arrival~~ ~~of~~ ~~colonial~~ ~~forces~~, ~~has~~ ~~become~~ ~~for~~ ~~West~~
 of ~~the~~ ~~colonial~~ ~~in~~ ~~Africa~~ ~~a~~ ~~space~~ ~~of~~ ~~chaos~~ ~~and~~ ~~disorder~~ ~~the~~ ~~media~~
 return ~~Rwanda~~ ~~in~~ ~~significant~~ ~~numbers~~ ~~to~~ ~~tourism~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~massive~~
 recovery efforts ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~nation~~ ~~conscious~~ ~~and~~ ~~subconscious~~ ~~decoloniz~~
 Western view ~~By~~ ~~ignoring~~ ~~the~~ ~~narrative~~ ~~of~~ ~~Rwandan~~ ~~recovery~~, ~~the~~
 to reaffirm ~~colonial~~ ~~and~~ ~~imperial~~ ~~stories~~ ~~of~~ ~~Africa~~ ~~and~~ ~~ensured~~ ~~that~~ ~~Rwanda~~ ~~was~~
 space synonymous with genocide rather than productive social

Many of the collaboratively produced literary texts which e
 reject the common tropes ~~of~~ ~~Rwanda~~ ~~and~~ ~~experience~~ ~~of~~ ~~genocide~~. R
 were consistently positioned in the popular presentation as the
 genocide and observers to their own recovery. Such represent
 meaningful ~~understanding~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~recovery~~.
 However, as Joan Scott observes, seeing is the origin of know
 transmission ~~of~~ ~~communication~~ ~~of~~ ~~knowledge~~ ~~gained~~ ~~through~~ ~~(visual~~

(58). Writing enables Western readers to fully understand the Rwandans during and after the genocide counter the fragmented representations of Rwandans that have been prevalent in Western media and post-colonial era. Literature, with its flexibility of form and narrative, provides a space in which to create and challenge the representations of Rwandan identity and community interaction. This chapter's examination of a young adult novel, a graphic novel, and a novel, long used to naturalize hierarchies for the colonial and post-colonial era, adds depth to representations of Rwandan identity and Western society, while also critically evaluating Western actors. This chapter seeks to reclaim the novel as a form of writing which can be used to amplify Rwandan voices.

Many of the texts written about the Rwandan Genocide demonstrate a commitment to decolonizing the representation of the genocide, a commitment that has consistently been ignored. The African diaspora, as well as the social and political, as the subject of memory is a social alienation or exclusion of any individual from social memory with the extinction and deprivation of the genocide. Denial fiction and postcolonial writing are recognized as important bearers and construction sites of culture. Colonial control over Africa resulted in a systematic distribution of African audiences and the neocolonial era has been a massive disinterest in the African violence of the genocide. This chapter examines the representation of Rwandan perspectives on the trauma and suffering of the people in Rwanda, and the role of the West.

concern over Rwandan concerns through both the direct alliance of
 representational and didactic impact on Western understandings of this
 Cvetkovich, who writes of trauma as a narrative that disrupts
 conventional forms of documentation, representation and commu-
 genres of expression, such as testimony and new forms of mon-
 that can call into being new publics (7). Certainly, the
 instigated a new interest in the representation of Rwanda for a
 factual and fictional forms. One such effort was the Fest Africain
 Mémoire (Du Memory) project set up in 1998, during which No-
 ten other African writers to Rwanda and returned to Rwanda
 write about the genocide. This was an attempt to reverse the
 Africans had too often been silent about the events of the gen-
 undertaking asked African writers to participate in the genocide
 about the Rwandan Genocide which asserted the truth of African
 have been published and made available to the reading public,
 remained a limiting factor for the wider reading public, more
 than English

The texts produced during the Devoir de Mémoire project, like
 literary texts that have been published about Rwanda since 1994,
 readers. These narratives taken written form and are intended
 those reading in English or French. However, they remain a mean-
 relationship between Africa and the world, representing a concern
 citizens and the general public, particularly in the

personal becomes political because literature depicts the joys, lives that are put under a spotlight, thus telling one's story reaching out to others (Hassid, 2001). Written with an active effort to share authentic Rwandan experience during the genocide, educate readers about identity and the lived costs of the genocide. Moving past the horror of chaos and death, readers follow the lived experiences of individuals to understand their individual responses to personal loss.

This subject has a political value: literature as social testimony. Attentive writing but attentive reading, as well. Active listening and acts of imagination and mimesis are necessary in the process of creating transformations of traumatic memory (Kupé, 6). These expressions are not only personal and political truths that they can add dimension to a broader understanding of the genocide on Rwandan soil but also resist the simplification of the Rwandan story by mass media coverage.

Jenny Edkins, who studies the interaction between politics and memory, writes about the way in which events such as wars, genocides and famines are fundamental to the production of political power. However, memory is central not only to the production of power but also to its contestation: certain types of memory, she argues, are particularly powerful in providing specific openings for resistance to centralized political power. Remembrance then are not only a site of political investment but also a site of contestation. What is at stake is the continued existence of the political relation: sovereign political authority. (101)

While Edkins here considers how memories of national trauma of national or governmental political structures, the same argument the Rwandan border as a memory of international narratives that dismiss small, poor, and by his significant) with (Sug) about the genocide and have ignored Rwanda since. Representing Rwanda as a site of a first-hand Rwandan experience is a fallacy borne of Western imperialism and the reticence of international citizens to involve themselves in this detailed and nationally cultural and social, but as Edkins suggests to be larger political and economic and decolonizing agenda possibilities are considered as a site of a first-hand Rwandan experience. In central European societies were used to disempower Africans over centuries, the dissemination can be used to supplant prejudice and introduce Rwandan experience into wider social and political

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There are three specific considerations in this chapter, all of which concern the genocide in a very direct and personal way. In line with the literature, these English texts were originally written in either French or Belgian and translated for English audiences. Moreover, the authors were Rwandans who did not experience the genocide directly, but who had personal connections to Africa. The first is *Memory: A Novel of Rwanda* by the Rwandan author G. Embré, which is a young adult novel written and published by Élisabeth Combès. The second is *Memory: A Novel of Rwanda* by G. Embré, which is a young adult novel written and published by Élisabeth Combès. The third is *Memory: A Novel of Rwanda* by G. Embré, which is a young adult novel written and published by Élisabeth Combès. Tanaka's translation was republished in English by Élisabeth Combès in Bordeaux, France, and worked as a journalist covering West Africa.

author of *Detignatias: A Tale of a Rwandan* novel written by Stassen in 2000 and published and translated by Alexis Siegel and published. Stassen is Belgian by birth but traveled extensively throughout Rwanda permanently with his family in Rwanda. The *Child of the* short novel written by Francophone Guinée in 2000 as the culmination of his participation in the *Duty to Memory* project. English by Monique Fleury Nagem and republished in 2004. It is about the Rwandan genocide and three writers chose to adopt the perspective in their work and the narrators and most major characters.

Nigel Hunt, in *War and Trauma* stating a coherent story about a traumatic event is essential to trauma recovery (117). limited to the author; readers also benefit from the access to the understanding of how individuals reform themselves in the wake of reading trauma narratives, Hunt highlights four aspects of the text attentive to in order to understand the traumatic experience: emotional details, narrative disorganization or fragmentation, internalization and the nature of the narrator's references to him or herself (117) to the way that the narrator is recovering from trauma. The texts under consideration here are rich in the authorial details that there are three different genres represented by these texts, shared approaches to this topic, there are also striking shared concerns.

All three authors chose child narrators over adult narrators. reference deliberately highlights the experience of children.

destruction of the family, local community, and larger social or persons; they are less able during genocide because they are less able. The rapid dissolution of a family is felt most deeply by children to reassert normalcy in their lives. Child narrators are potential adults, as their role in creating the narrative and the way that they guard less in. Such a representation could seem to be a simplification of the events, but authors are careful to nuance their children do not easily sympathize and at times it is difficult for an adult to organize categories of victims and perpetrators. Beyond this, the resolute response of face of horror demonstrates their personal strength and serves as a chance of recovery in Rwanda. While the range of violence described should be noted that these authors do not shy away from placing extreme violence, nor do they assume that children would be perhaps more disconcerting to hear genocide narrated by a child. Faustin certainly pushes the line in this regard, as he alternates between a dejected silence.

A second similarity across these texts is the use of complex characterization. Media coverage of the genocide relied on simplistic identification of either Tutsi or Hutu, which the subjects of these texts or perpetrators. These texts seem to deliberately push back against such texts address the fluidity of Tutsi in Rwandan culture prior to the genocide. These three texts take care to show what they have become more political terms of meaning. Perhaps the most compelling exploration of

representation of those who are both victim and perpetrator. Characterized, in two cases, it is the narrator, who exists in the nebula of fear and guilt. These representations, while developing the complex Rwandan identity politics after the genocide, that the device in children challenges the reader to understand how fragile these

As might be expected in exploratory genres, and particularly in the fragmentation of the narrative and its emotional function. Fragmentary narrative challenges the reader to make sense of information presented in incoherence. The narrative fragmentation is indicative of the narrator's suggestiveness when the narrator seems unaware or denies his or her role in the argument.

literary texts can be about trauma, in the sense that they are written against characters who are traumatized by the experience and who unsuccessfully witness their trauma. But trauma is not a linear process; they can fail to tell the story, by eliding, repeating, and omitting parts of the story. (56)

Both *The Oldest* and *The Boy* are narratives that do not clearly explain their experiences. Having to piece together the story from the drawn into the subject position of the narrator, and experience the world in which the narrator exists. This requires a greater commitment on the part of the reader, but can provide a richer, more personal understanding of narrating genocidal experience. This is largely due to the lack of social context. As these children attempt to

own lives, they are aware of the lack of order, ~~and~~ the efforts to
community. While some structures of public order exist, such as
public Gacaca courts, other more basic structures, like function
to be absent. Thus, the fragmentation of ~~the~~ ~~reconstruction~~ of the
chaos with which these narrators must grapple.

Finally, ~~the~~ ~~texts~~ look beyond experiences of genocide and
individual and social recovery in Rwanda. ~~These~~ ~~texts~~ ~~remind~~ ~~the~~ ~~reader~~ ~~that~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~only~~ ~~an~~ ~~important~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~.
These texts remind the reader that recovery ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~only~~ ~~an~~ ~~important~~ ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~.
and social. Boris ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~only~~ ~~one~~ ~~to~~ ~~have~~ ~~contributed~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Duty~~ ~~to~~ ~~Memory~~ ~~project~~, ~~he~~ ~~does~~ ~~not~~ ~~feel~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~five~~ ~~years~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ ~~end~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~beginning~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~attempt~~ ~~a~~ ~~literary~~ ~~approach~~.
needed to ~~settle~~ ~~the~~ ~~background~~ ~~of~~ ~~everyday~~ ~~life~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~reconstruct~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~before~~ ~~being~~ ~~reconstructed~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~narrative~~, ~~by~~ ~~offering~~ ~~a~~ ~~commentary~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~events~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~.
of the narrators from the ~~events~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~.
integrating the genocide into the narrative. ~~For~~ ~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~part~~, ~~the~~ ~~integration~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~successful~~.
integration is ~~not~~ ~~successful~~. ~~In~~ ~~the~~ ~~Oldest~~, ~~the~~ ~~narrators~~ ~~can~~ ~~find~~ ~~no~~ ~~place~~ ~~for~~ ~~themselves~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~recovering~~ ~~Rwanda~~, ~~highlighting~~ ~~the~~ ~~reality~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~violence~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~over~~ ~~and~~ ~~done~~ ~~and~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~must~~ ~~continue~~ ~~to~~ ~~survive~~.

Analysis of these texts as a cohesive ~~text~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~understand~~ ~~the~~ ~~complex~~ ~~issues~~ ~~at~~ ~~stake~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~.
this consideration of ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~understand~~ ~~the~~ ~~complex~~ ~~issues~~ ~~at~~ ~~stake~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~.
understandings of Rwanda. ~~The~~ ~~primary~~ ~~concern~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~nature~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~recovery~~ ~~process~~.

both during and after the genocide, the impact of violence on family and relationships, local Rwandan perceptions of Western involvement, religion, the military, and the interlocking of these elements in a social context of trauma and identity; means and limitations of re-emotional and judicial. These issues will be discussed in order to be raised and dealt with in each of these areas of consideration work collectively to refute the representative tropes that obscured the complexity of Rwandan suffering during the genocide. Individuals and communities, offer depth to Western understandings of national identity and challenge the political structures, in part the colonial/neocolonial divide, which have long limited African representation.

*

The issue of identity is a central concern in genocidal societies and becomes of great importance. During the Rwandan genocide, victims were identified by the government issued identity cards, lists generated by local Hutu militias, and broadly placed. Regardless of how Tutsis were identified, it remains a central target of violent efforts by the state and its supporters. This simple binary as an explanation for the violence is a reduction of human actors rarely fall into such simple categories. A view of good and evil may seem accurate on the surface, but it is troubled by the presence of characters who do not fit easily into these categories. In order to provide compelling stories for the reader, it is necessary to explore the positions and contexts of encounters with trauma (Kaplan 2002).

of the Rwandan genocide, as the colonial identity categories of and generally misunderstood monikers applied to the victims of from mass violence and political structures need to ensure that all experiences accepted as part of the local and national narrative of lived experience it is difficult to generate political inclusivity in collective memory the case of genocide perpetrated by citizens against citizens, collective memory that practical divisions might begin to fall apart a narration of experience in the reader to explore the world from the narrator's point of view. It is not only the narrator's words that shape their identity of themselves in relation to others: the positionings of the self in performance of identity. (Hutcheon 45) Every act of narration can serve as an interpretation of character and identity. As these narrators are shaped by their experiences, their style of narrative points to their relationship with the wider social environment. Additional characters demonstrate the impact of the genocide in Rwanda, and therefore challenge the usefulness of such fictional tools.

Combriken's *Broken Memories* explores multiple victim positions. The narrative character of Emma, who witnesses the murder of her mother and is taken to a countryside, wandering until she is taken to a village. The opening lines of the text introduce the genocide, and particularly Emma's witness to her mother's killing: they are there. Behind the door, banging, laughing. *Mwinda* with the fear. Soon she will be nothing on the ground. Cut up and bleeding. Then, finally, set free by

narrative demands that the reader engage with the ~~re-exploring~~ ~~viol~~ the introduction of the character with the character's perception of Emma within the context of her immediate reality. This moment of the genocide in the text ~~is the first response to the Rwandan~~ ~~however~~, this short chapter, set alone on the first page, also takes the form of details of the moment of her mother's murder in a way which is binary. They are dangerous, perpetrators without feeling; M's process of becoming only suffering on the ground (15) with her own identity for the reader hinges on ~~the fact~~, of a shared identity one which she labours under throughout the narrative. The preface chapter two, and it is here that Emma's character begins to take shape: serves to contextualize the present: Emma woke up with a start, from a nightmare that she had almost every night (17). Despite the passage of time, Emma remains haunted by the memory, emphasizing that in trauma, the past remains a poignant part of her experiences, or, more accurately, she isolates herself from the world and develops a quiet daily routine ~~is with Muleke~~ ~~victim~~; Emma is a Tutsi who escapes murder through her mother's protection. She is burdened by the experience, but while she is withdrawn from strangers in her slow recovery ~~by her mother~~. Her suffering, deeply painful, is that of a victim who has been victimized and must find a way to incorporate that experience into her identity.

As a novel for young readers, *Deeply* is, despite its impressive identification within the binary of victim/perpetrator. However, the character challenging the reader's understanding of genocide, remains far more traumatic than the one wearing rags spattered with mud, his head bent, his arms glued to his stomach. As if he [is] holding himself together, afraid of suffering (31) Such a description suggests that, indeed, Ndoli is a victim of physical and emotional tensions are aptly brought to the fore through parental support and his alienation from the community. The text, demonstrates that he is not yet able to form trusting relationships. His outward behaviour is shown to shift over the year, and he is more of the genocidal perpetrator. The official month of commemoration is held every year at the same time, the young boy would lose a grip on school, no longer went back home to his aunt, his only remaining wandering monster, eaten up with guilt and madness that became a year (49). In demonstrating this shifting burden, the author emphasizes being a victim of the genocide is not a static condition that can change over time and under specific circumstances. This is valuable particularly in a simplistic construction of African victimhood is so pervasive in the complexity of the Rwandan genocide requires readers to re-examine media and political simplifications.

Ndoli is a complex victim because the burden of the genocide around him changes; committed to his birth before, while at other

able to control his memories and attempt a life of normalcy. He also marks him as a complex victim in the narrative, and reveals that Ndoli's genocide experience is not one of witness so much but a self-assigned one that the character is unable to escape. Ndoli's noted location of resistance during the genocide is a place that is eventually overrun. During the battle of Bisesero, which lasted several days, Ndoli is tortured until he gave up the location of his family and members. He is badly beaten and forced to witness the violent murder of his entire family. Like Emma, eventually finds someone to care for him, but his recovery is hampered by his own sense of guilt, as well as the reproaches of the Rwandan people during the battle of Bisesero. While he is far harder on himself than other victims, he is a perpetrator rather than a victim, and so exists on the margins of society. The categorization of his experiences, seemingly as a perpetrator and so demonstrates how one can be simultaneously a perpetrator and a victim.

This precarious social position, although it improves within the post-genocide recovery of Rwanda, remains a defining feature of Ndoli's identity. Emma, upon contact, becomes interested in Ndoli and seeks out his friends. Emma can see that she and Ndoli have a shared history of suffering and loss, and so is reassuring to have Ndoli there, lurking in the background. He is also interested in her, even watching over her for an entire night. And so, Emma and Ndoli share the same friendship which develops between them. Ndoli demonstrates the power of shared understanding to bridge the gap between victims and perpetrators.

connection. By making these characters understandable as a W
groundwork for positive and honest understanding between Wes

The protagonist of the *Deogratias*, a young teenage
identified in the text as a Hutu, but who is primarily a victim of the
rhetoric of ethnicity embedded in his education. He has strong
community, specifically with Apollinaria and Benina, a school
Tutsi. The heavy use of flashback allows the reader to witness
character before the genocide. He is a good person, a good friend,
times, disobedient, but always gets himself and his family
Apollinaria, although he later sleeps with her sister Benina when
advances. Moments after their first sexual experience, Deogratias
President's plane has been shot down, and he is first shocked
is to protect Benina by hiding her in the closet. Despite her plea
away from her family, Deogratias refuses to let her leave his room
she demands to be released.

Deogratias is a complex character. He is not tortured into
with the militias who swept through Rwanda. However, he becomes
certainly against his instincts. The announcement of the genocide
over the radio is accompanied by the rhetoric of the Hutu Power
Rise up and go to work! Sharpen your tools, pick up your clubs
eliminated (58). Deogratias is driven to violence, and immediately
for Benina's safety. As the first of the Hutu militias begin org

known to Deogratias, arrives at his door with a group of men and demands Deogratias's compliance:

Julius: Take your stuff and come, we have work to do in front of the Umusambi Hotel.

Deogratias: I don't take orders from you, Julius.

Julius: Watch it, Deogratias. Let us see the true colour of your blood. (59)

This dialogue highlights two important discourses that shape the perpetrator. Julius does not ask Deogratias to join his militia; the work (59) that is about to begin. It must also be stated that the individual, but for the powerful roving militias that did the major genocide. Deogratias admirably attempts to stand on his own authority and rejecting the call to arms. What follows discourses of ethnicity and national duty are intertwined. Julius, a heavy weight in the first days of the genocide, the rhetoric of the Hutu its zenith, insisting that it was the duty of every devoted Hutu to show the true colour of your blood (59) naturally turns his resistance into a fulfilment of his national duty as a Hutu.

The implicit threat of Julius's age serve to mitigate his identity as a perpetrator, and the text is coy in its representation of his crime directly, although one can make inferences. As this is a graphic novel,

images of violence that shape the reader's understanding of what happened in Umusambi. After the genocide, Deogratias is not, at least, it is clear that he is traumatised by his experiences of genocide. He meets Bosco in the prison. After the genocide, Bosco continues to demand continued freedom: 'We're not going to let you re not all guilty, you're not all guilty, you're not suspected of anything in particular, no more room' (17). While this is a defence of his own existence, his reaction to his role in the genocide is compared to a dog (17) refers to the fact that Deogratias, in the present, and loses all ability to think rationally by memories of his sense of guilt. As contact with others tends to trigger his reaction in his society, wearing ragged clothes and sleeping in a church, he is a self-defined perpetrator, forgiven or dismissed by others, but un-

The final novel under the title 'The Boy Who Wasn't' explores the impact of the genocide on the main protagonist, Faustin. Through a mix of flashback and fragmented narrative, it is possible to see the lives of distinct characters which, in relief, reveal a great deal about the impact of the genocide.

The text opens with the following introduction:

My name is Faustin, Faustin Nsenghimana. I'm fifteen years old. I'm in Kigali central prison. I'm waiting to be executed. I was born in the village of Nyamata where I came back on those days. And each time I do, I tell myself I had just turned up. [Emphasis in the original]

This statement locates Faustin within the larger social context of the genocide, particularly his statement that he is awaiting execution. This statement also identifies the genocide as an event long over, and a clear timeline in which most of the novel's events will occur.

Pulling together the remembered thoughts of Faustin is not a simple task, particularly since he is a young boy, unreliable and deeply cynical. However, in his memories of the genocide, Faustin recounts asking his father, Father Théoneste, tell me, absolutely certain to know who you are, right? Especially in asking this question, his concern over his own identity is made clear by the custom of ethnic identity passing from the mother, which makes being a Hutu. Upon hearing this, Faustin rushes over to see his village to ask Mother Superior, since God is magnanimous, protect me when the killers come. These passages reveal a child deeply concerned with his identity and aware of the impending threat of genocide. Despite his fear for his safety, he remains unconvinced, fearful that he will be a victim.

When the Nyamata village church is attacked and he flees, the chaos has simplified identity categories and the resulting confusion that makes him afraid to return to the village is a clear sign of the genocide. In another passage, the author notes that neither of the designations are appropriate for Faustin, his concern over the

demonstrates his awareness of the fact that he is not a perpetrator, but a witness in the forests, is captured by a young RPF soldier and taken back to the camp. The initial assumption is made that because he is a young soldier, he must have killed children, priests have killed priests, women have killed women, and so on. There are no innocents left here (23). This line of thought powerfully summarizes the chaos implicit within the Rwandan civil war. The scale of the violence pushes authorities to see all individuals as potential threats from the RPF camp once it becomes clear that he is not a perpetrator. In the crimes of genocide in this text, although he is a witness to many crimes, the character's response to the genocide develops in a linear way. He is in prison and narrates his story as if he is impervious to the violence around him. He looks over Faustin at various points in the novel, but his response to the death sentence, while Faustin remains unperturbed:

I had witnessed lots of things the three years after my two years in prison. I had seen too much. It was not in her arms and cry with her. That must have been the first time I cry, openly, and sincerely this time. Only, not a single tear. I had lost that habit as I had lost the habit of swimming, trapping squirrels, or washing my hands before meals. (71)

Faustin's presence has been fundamentally changed by his efforts to survive in the face of a very real threat of violence. Far from the innocent questions of the past, he is now hardened by what he has seen and felt that he becomes a threat

own and in a larger social context. Escaping the genocide, Fa chaos, a position from which he lacks the skills to escape.

All three texts contain simple and complex identity positions. While simple victims like Emma, like simple perpetrators, are understood by the reader because they conform to standard tropes of Rwandan genocide, not as guiltless victims but as complex individuals. Even witnessing violence of the genocide is shown to be a powerful force of change, often with violent consequences. This spectrum of identity for readers is underestimated; news reports maintained a simple binary that labeled the innocent, constructing a false vision of the way that genocide unfolded in Rwanda. These texts simplify the rhetoric and ideology of the violence that affected by the genocide. These characters are nuanced responses to the genocide, and they respond to the consequences of their choices. The experiences of these characters ensures that the consequences are complex individuals rather than ethnic generalizations, as were so common in the media. By complex characters, these texts allow readers to understand the impact of genocide at the level of the individual.

Complex representations of the individual's response to genocide meaning when developed with a solid narrative. All three texts contain protagonists orphaned at some stage, and so are more reliant on communal, interweaving of the individual and the social performs another role. The media reports that ignored the impact of the genocide on the sheer scale of violence and death in Rwanda. Susan Moell

representation during the genocide, as by the end of the book the bodies bloating in the rivers. Tired of the bodies in the river decomposing in the churchyard. The permutations were endless horror, like the acts, which mounted increasingly higher (301). The genocide coverage drew attention to the Rwandan, but did not spend significant time reporting on the way that the genocide impacted the dead and suffering, nor on the regularity of the families and communities. Reports created a sense that families had been structures nonexistent in their absence, in line with colonial and neo-colonial assumptions that Africa was without order, the font of perpetual

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This issue of the visibility of functioning social supports and a genocide, both in the media and the literature. Writing on memory Hunt observes that low perceived social support is seen as a person experiences a traumatic event and they do not perceive then they are more likely to be traumatised than if they perceived (3) Media representations of the genocide consistently positioned isolated by the idea of normal. While the literature represents reality, these texts also demonstrate the protagonist's need for and begin recovery from the genocide. Emma, Ndoli, Deogratia and friends carry the burden of that loss, but they also attempt to reform a functional and supportive social network. In these narratives personal loss in the midst of widespread destruction is

familial and communal - generic Rwandan identity. These texts demonstrate the real importance of Rwandan communities as a protective shield during Rwanda's genocide. from the genocide.

Ann Kaplan states that it conflates or blurs the boundaries between the individual and the collective (19), and this is true both for those who observed the genocide and those who lived through it. The coverage of Rwanda in the spring and summer of 1994 teen had been whittled down, first by the militias and Interahamwe and then by the status of their victimhood. Individuals faded into the background and the bodies of the dead. To be a survivor of Rwanda had become a victimhood made the experiences of an individual impossible to discern amidst the chaos. However, Rwandan lives during the genocide of families and communities were separated and individual identity fell away. This loss of identity is demonstrated as they begin to understand themselves in generic ways as they are swept up into the chaos. In exploring the ways that these changes occurred, it is not possible to understand the full weight of the social chaos that they have become enacted for themselves.

In *Broken Memories*, Enrya is rendered an orphan when her mother is killed in the opening chapter. She flees, with others, into the forests of Rwanda that slowly dwindles until she is alone, walking by a stream (10) and the roads (10). (18) Very much alone, and a child of five years old, she asks a stranger for help. However, she is careful in this decision, waiting for two days from her hiding place in a chicken coop. Finally, so

woman's gentle movements made her cast caution aside and accept that a young child demonstrates such a clear understanding for. Despite a practical need for care, Emma resists forging a new safety first. Interestingly, the text also explores the larger so woman was a Hutu peasant, **g**er sh **B** ut als **n** p **t** o **t** e **c** d **a** m **g** the little girl condemning herself to death (20). Emma's request for food is understood at the time, as Mukecuru places herself in danger narrative **a** i **d** **s** e **e** r **v** e **s** to remind the reader of the real dangers under did not support the genoc **i** d **e** s **a** n **d** **i** r **g** e **d** **e** d **b** y militia attacks. Far and killers, Muke **e** a **s** **u** **r** **n** **s** **t** **a** **n** **d** **s** any Hutus who **t** h **e** **n** **d** **u** **s** **p** **o** **w** **e** **r** objectives, and were themselves trapped between binary identi

Emma's relationship with Mukecuru is one of subtlety. This with quiet concern but Emma is withdrawn **a** n **d** **a** **t** **e** **i** **s** **o** **n** **e** **h** **e** **r** **e** **m** **p** **h** **a** **n** **d** Emma is also very reticent to enter into relationships with others been there for nine years. Emma's first prolonged interaction traumatized by the genoc **i** d **e** **s** **a** **n** **d** **t** **h** **e** **r** **m** **u** **t** **u** **a** **l** **r** **e** **c** **o** **g** **n** **i** **t** **i** **o** **n** **s** fear, a powerful connection between them. Early in their relationship killed her mother being taken to Gacaca **a** **s** **p** **o** **n** **s** **t** **i** **v** **e** **a** **n** **d** **a** **f** **t** **e** **r** **h** **i** **s** **W** **h** **i** **d** **e** **a** **t** **h** **e** **r** **t** **o** **u** **s** **e** **h** **e** **r**, and fail, Ndoli watches over her throughout the c that comfort is available. This act of care is motivated by their they have very different experiences **o** **f** **u** **n** **d** **e** **r** **g** **r** **a** **m** **i** **d** **e** **n** **t** **a** **s** **y** **i** **n** **a** **b** **a** **W** **h** **a** **t** **i** **s** **c** **o** **m** **p** **e** **l** **l** **i** **n** **g** **i** **s** **t** **h** **a** **t** **a** **s** **h** **a** **r** **e** **d** **v** **u** **l** **n** **e** **r** **a** **b** **i** **l** **i** **t** **y** **b** **e** **c** **o** **m** **e** **s** **t** **h** **e** **k** **n** **e** **w** **t** **h** **a** **t** **s** **h** **e**, **t** **o**, **t** **r** **o** **u** **b** **l** **e** **d** **N** **d** **o** **l** **i** **d** **e** **e** **p** **t** **h** **a** **t** **n** **i** **g** **h** **t** **h** **e** **h** **a** **d** **s**

something up in him, but even through the fog of his existence. When she passed and she fainted, he had recognized the demons that were his own days and nights (53). These two characters, who understand differently, nonetheless forge an intimate bond on the basis of their shared part, this isolation is self imposed as a means of avoiding the wider community. At one point, Emma is approached by a stranger

They say you live with an old Hutu, she said, her voice low. What are you doing with her? She's one of them, one of the assassins, isn't she? That? And who's to say she wasn't denouncing the widows at the time? Or you? she went on, her voice raised. Behave yourself, girl, her voice low once again. Murderers should have their heads back.

This woman's commentary, shown to be evidence of the deep-seated fear felt by Rwandan citizens years after the genocide. Of particular note, the woman relies on the language of the genocide and perpetuates a sense of insecurity. Thus, she illustrates the necessity of developing new communities in order to recover from the violence, while simultaneously depicting the damage done to communities torn apart by ethnic rhetoric.

Unlike Emma, Deogratias has no one or family to return to after the genocide. He begs for food and beer from those who knew him before the destruction of his churchyard. The use of flashback demonstrates that prior to the genocide, Deogratias is shown to have a wide social network. European, old, young, Hutu and Tutsi, Deogratias is shown to be a member of the community. He attends the local school, works as a carpenter,

involved in the church, and tours the newly arrived priest Broth
 countryside. Deogratias is friendly and engaging, and most of
 Rwandan customs: this evening, take you to try Urwagwa.
 to taste banana beer if you want to understand our culture (9)
 accessed through memory, is nowhere to be found in the present
 present, and Deogratias alienates himself from nearly everyone in his con
 with others. He is traumatized by his role in the genocide, as
 and it is clear that he no longer trusts the former soldiers. He
 in Rwanda in the early days of the genocide who has returned
 after handing him a beer, warns him: Sergeant, you shouldn't
 been opened because someone poisoned it. You know, people
 poison their fellow man (6). This references a Rwandan custom
 that it is safe to drink, but in this context, it also reveals
 the open and trusting individual based on those around him.

Deogratias has never established a community because he does
 The memories of the genocide are powerful social rituals that he
 overcome with emotion and confusion. In these moments, he be
 looking than usual, and in some moments, turns into a dog com
 break with humanity and his geographic signifies a complex narrati
 throughout the text; at the onset of the genocide, Deogratias w
 dogs eating corpses left on the street in the wake of violence.
 Deogratias, and he links the barbarity of the genocide with the
 at human bodies. His transformation from a priest to a dog symbolize

lost humanity. Deogratias is a social exile, his case of penance for his crimes, which precludes any chance of a supportive social network. While few characters reach out to Deogratias, offering companionship, his relationships are mostly emotional relationships, the relationships some communities can be repaired, collective recovery is also an issue that takes place in its own time, if at all.

In *The Oldest*, Faustin witnesses his murder and loses his siblings in the chaos of his escape. However, Faustin's admiration for his father's memory in his past life, prompts him to repeatedly restate the lessons he learned as a young soldier, his father's famous words came back to him: "Lying aren't everything, you know! If that were the case, then the big lie would be the village" (21). Asked to lie about his experiences to a reporter, he remembers his father's words: "Lying and Truth are brothers. Truth is the older brother but since Lying is more gifted, well, Don't you ever forget that, like in the same case, several others in the village." Faustin turns to the lessons of his father to direct his actions, to protect his family for him in the wake of the genocide. When he is returning to Funga, the local witch doctor, who warns Faustin of the value of the face of violence. His logic, while grim, is based on the practicality of surviving the genocide: "I repeat to you, you must survive with a group; before you, they have to exterminate those around you. It's better than your statement emphasizes the practical protection afforded by a cr"

to the emotional support derived from social interactions, and stays a short life.

Faustin, while adopting the glib tone of a teenager in his repeatedly attempted to establish a family for himself. Everly while on the Faustin is discovered by an RPF soldier and taken back to RPF present at the attack on Nyamata, he is a person of great value and respect at the time. His testimony is recorded and that in my lowly person (26). Being a young boy, recently orphaned traveling alone, Faustin understandably latches onto the first place. There's nothing I'd have liked better than to end my days there protection with love, an error which is quickly corrected when once again. Faustin travels with a group of orphans who search for food and money, and who live in an abandoned building known to the children as HQ and the unofficial head of the group a school teacher or the head of a family, not like a gang leader (2) children organize themselves into roles, and provide for the community.

The girls were supposed to look pitiful enough to receive the clean enough outfits that, if the opportunity presented itself sheets of some lecher loaded with dough. And the boys, basketball players, were supposed to steal food and jewelry as they could without getting caught. At night the oldest would make the bed we'd bury our loot in a hole we'd dug under the avocado tree we'd entertain each other with jokes, the grass or sniff glue. Those

times, among the best in my life I rarely thought about my parents ordinary life, fulfilled and orderly, and it distracted us from (32).

The nature of this explanation reveals both the significant to survive, and the escapist nature of this space. Faustin says is clear that it is far from the world in which he had lived. His circumstances of survival emphasizes his strong desire for normal a stable collective unit to belong to.

When HQ is broken up, Faustin is taken by the UN to an orphanage called the City of Blue Angels. This space marks the create for himself. This orphanage frustrates Faustin, who has independence at HQ. It also holds a memory of the night, which is absolutely unbearable weeping of fear and grief, coming from the wing & the cries were so intense they scared us more than the the bowels of the time. No one could ignore them & According had seen them, there were three (three girls, or else two person's eyesight). They had been wandering through the monkeys when they had found them. They were in such a state of malnutrition that they had to be locked in a wire for fear they would break the panes, for fear they would see they would eat the children. They had been here a year and they in the halls, had never discovered the way out of the place. (39)

His response to this suffering is interesting; he does not clearly link their suffering to the genocide which he characterizes as a character is hardened by the violence he witnesses and the life order and families are completely trapped by unable to move past the first onset of horror. While Faustin is himself at the orphanage, these children are isolated from themselves.

When Faustin runs from Nyamata, he believes himself to be and brother were taken by the neighbouring Brazilian nun hours ordered to the local church, and Faustin assumes their survival when he catches a glimpse of these three isolated children, he faints before having a seizure. This moment of recognition, as trauma:

I broke the director's glasses and hurled the metal chair w and my tablets as well as the doctor's prescriptions were all I could be held away. One of them is named Es Donatienne! The little boy, that's Ambroise! They're my b and sisters, you idiots. (42)

As a boy without family or a strong social connection, there is of claiming. These connect Faustin very intimately with his before the genocide, and his desire to be near them is nearly recognize him and in their trauma, see him by the way, in position to reclaim his family if only he can recover their mem

This is a compelling moment, as Faustin can only help his siblings with their familial experience, as he failed to help himself in this same

Faustin is initially unable to calm the children, and they are soothed by a stranger. However, Faustin does not give up, racking his brains through memory:

That is when I remembered the lullaby our mother used to sing. I reacted; the others, knowingly averting their bulging and bulging eyes from their horrible wails. I threw my arms up and wept. I had not been in the fields with ripe avocados and delicious passionfruit juice. I had a kitten and began to sob, but finally let me kiss him. I walked away. The best to imitate Monty Python. These sobs became less frequent. I pressed my head against my chest and a minute later I was asleep. I had not been with the girls, now quiet, who were the whole thing with the kind of curiosity that were scenes on the TV screen at the Fraternité Bar! I started to pray to all the powers I could think of: Imana and the gods of Kagera and old Funga's charms. I hoped they would calm the storm for ever the calm now reigning. (43)

The obvious pleasure Faustin feels at having calmed his siblings suggests the value he places on family, and the kind of solace that he has found in his bravado. In adopting the role of paterfamilias in his home in the presence of his siblings, he comforts himself. His desperate prayers to Rwan suggest his acute awareness of the lack of life, and the value he places on the calm (44). This is a compelling family

reminds readers of the simple needs of recovery, and the moment practical, which makes recovery so difficult.

Faustin, pragmatic, glib, and at times, caustic, is deeply concerned for his siblings. He remains at the City of Blue Angels with more patience than he shows his siblings. He also indulges in a fantasy in which his parents return to the shores of Kagera, which Funga said was purposely unsettled by colonialists. This fantasy suggests his desire for higher authority. In this fantasy, the traditional festivals resume and the banana harvest is a challenge between his cousins and himself. He watches over the family and imagines the marriage ceremony of the ideal man, a powerful warrior and has twelve mistresses (46). Faustin is preoccupied with reestablishing social order and taking a grip on his family, a sense of communal identity he lacks in his real life. In this vision, he is in control of his community. He is powerful and loved. The recovery of his family can be seen as the beginning of a new identity. At this point he wants to recreate the family, but with his siblings recovered, he begins to build a community in which he is the man his father was.

Once the children are more generally recovered, Faustin gets to the city of Kigali, anxious to exercise his new identity as patriot. He believes that his siblings are recovered from their trauma, and the City of Blue Angels, which is filled with suffering, is rationalizing his actions, he is able to give Ambroise the ball he had been wanting. Children have survived the tragedy. Life is still a game even in times of suffering (57).

include himself in this category of children, as he is still very trauma, although he ignores it. However, by going to the city, his father had. However, he brings his own stresses; Faustin is hyp family, and particularly his two sisters, who attract the attention

The first time I learned about that was when I was with my Bookstore. I saw faces appearing in the windows, and they were abruptly put on the brakes. I heard the sound of a car horn and Donatien had become women. A gnawing anger mixed with an incomprehensible took hold of me. These fevered looks directed at their bodies caterpillars on a newborn's back. That was the day I decided

This young boy is determined to die for his father's sake. Faustin rarely acknowledges how the genocide impacted his family, but his defensiveness and the method of protection he chooses are, in my opinion, witnesses during the genocide. He lives with his family at HQ, which is filled with orphan children, and for a short time, his life is completely

Part of Faustin's identity as the patriarch of his family is so, he travels with his car at a time, leaving his siblings in the city. Upon returning home after an extended trip with Rodney, he discovered

I lit a candle and went toward the corner where my brother and I used to make sure they were there. It's strange, I had never thought of it when he said that, I knew instinctively what I would discover: a straw mattress and Musinkôro's portrait on the wall. I heard each of them until I ran out of bullets. (69)

Claudine's speech is a reminder of the heavy reality Faustin m into any functional community, but she also imdings Flaestys terna he has the potentiaed to vify othess he does for his siblings. Des which he routinely demonstrates around Claudine, she is his m broods over his behthabush,efwalfuglrow tired of his resistance an was afraid of losing her. It s like that, even when you re irred you need someone as a link to the world (52). Donsp ite this ins himself, Faustin is indeed reliant on community for his practical and need blind him to the distinction between congregation and fabricates families in order tis place uge noiside Rowamda.

All three protagonists are profoundly affected by the loss and strive, in different ways, to allay the absence of structure personal loss waik b is npt hae wider chaos of Rwanda means that the for these children to fall back on. However, Emma and Faustin reform communities, however temporary and fragi an tt haby untigh its k representation is precisely that both simple and vici m pl et h evi rctim wider social context rather than alienated and alone. These te genocide hacks at the fabric of society, lib crads of community a Genocide heightens the value of connection as a means of surv depictions emphasize both the dyna gneircosite Rwanda un dft p een communal conne at iloe efforts to recover from the g g niscide Far f victims outside a rge the social context, these impa r at g e s o i n d p individuals and commi n g t h a e s s u r e v e a l a n d m r a c e v i a s i n g l o s s

with social context. These varied representations also assert the pro-
 which existed prior to the genocide and which are under recons-
 characters.

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One of the most dominant in the media coverage of the genocide was
 from the West. The basic saviours of the Rwandan people were, out,
 juxtaposed by representations of Rwandan savagery or unfeeling. Such a
 dynamic reifies the traditional colonial and neocolonial repre-
 However, these three narrative perspectives of the genocide
 Rwandan perceptions of the West. Rwanda has throughout the genocide
 recovery (Ngũgĩ) wa Thiong'o reminds readers that what immediately under-
 language in African literature is the search for a liberating po-
 ourselves clearly into our selves and to other selves in the univer-
 the colonial era served as a means of affirming inequality betw-
 increasingly, literature has been used as a medium in which space be-
 While the media coverage of the genocide was dominated by West,
 adopts a local perspective attempts to represent Rwandan perc-
 Such representations are a valuable contribution to the discourse on
 to the attention of the West. In the 1990s, Rwandan perspectives, th-
 the hierarchical discourses which have limited representationa-
 hand in the colonial and neocolonial exchange.

Across the texts under consideration here, there are three
 aid represented: the religious, the author's own, and the political.

good and in order to make a point. Rather, these intersections between comment as much on the institutions as on the individuals. By characterising the Rwandan perception of external actors, the text speaks to the Rwandan perspective. Because these texts are written in English, they give readers a rare chance to consider Western perceptions of Africa. As a political tool, such depictions have the potential to recruit and to inspire capable and inherently heroic. Generally, the academic literature on the phrase 'Western Africa' shows that such aid is not taken without cost to the locals.

Combres's *My Mother* does not address the issue in any direct way, but the reader is shown the exodus of foreigners of various nationalities as it begins. As part of the larger exodus of the genocide to a country like Emma explains how the whites had left the country (69) to their engagement with this issue is reflected in a narrative which protects whites while ignoring Rwandan desires to escape the country. For young readers, it is likely that Combres avoided wider political implications of Emma's more personal story of loss and recovery.

The graphic novel focuses its representation on military and political. Representing the French military is a sergeant stationed in Rwanda who returns after the genocide as a privateer for the vacation of the genocide. Sergeant Deogratias is a notable callousness in his dealings with local Rwandans. When a school bus is pulled over by a local force of men, Apollinaria questions why they are held with

aggressively: don't see you fucking up in your country, do you? Shut
 You'll talk when we tell you to and everything'll be all right (2)
 heightened by the image accompanying it; the Sergeant holds A
 her. Sergeant's tone is echoed by his bitter sense that he is res
 mess created by Rwanda's. ignores the very real impact of colo
 Rwandan definitions of ethnicity; by ignoring his sense, Serg is a
 superiority over those it is his duty to protect. His demand for
 compelling because challenging his authority as a black woman.
 hours of the genocide, Sergeant's Deogratias's "It's a Good
 damn savages! Even when you're among your own you're at on
 he wants to get butchered by the other savages" (72)
 savages (72) the implication that Rwandans are inherently viol
 exposed Serg's colonial assumptions about Rwandan identity, and reflect
 discourse about Rwandan identity in Western ideology. Serg s
 recognize the ways in which the discourse of Western aid can fun
 racism; as Western involvement in Africa is typically portrayed
 reminds readers of the dangers of generalizing a narrative Western,

When Serg returns to Rwanda as a civilian, he demonstrates
 He runs into Deogratias and Deogratias's survival about state of mind, h
 comments

Holy shit! Deogratias, check out those new tubistic girls! You
 know what I mean, right, Deogratias? That's what I missed
 shame, when you think about it. All those beauties who wo

things with anyone anymore. As I told you, I have seen a lot of people with machetes & What a waste! (2)

His statement, crude and shocking, highlights the severity of the focus solely on what he has lost in the deaths of 800,000 people of the French soldiers in Rwanda, Serg's language is closely related to the rhetoric of the Hutu militias as they swept through the Rwanda genocide. That he says these things openly that he lacks of interest in Rwanda, as well as a more fundamental disrespect for the Rwandan military actors, Serg embodies the arrogance as he dehumanizes most of the Rwandan people. His conversation with Deogratias the impudence of his behavior is not to the personal and social costs of the genocide that the French had in training and supplying the Rwandan militias in the days before the genocide. It is one of the hypocrisies of the belief that France alone in practicing horrific brutality.

Stassen relies on this text through the role of Brother Prior and Brother Philip. Brother Prior is the leader of the church in Rwanda and the leader of the church, while Brother Philip is the leader of the church. Brother Prior is more completely social community because of his role, but it is made clear that he has strayed from his role as a religious leader, being scolded for a minor sin. Prior says everybody knows Venetia was your father. And everybody knows you're Apollinaria's father! (12). While it is made clear later in the text that this is true, as Prior was responsible

of the early massacres of Tutsis in the 1950s. As Prior's internal world is never revealed in the text, it is not clear whether this relationship is genuine. However, as the genocide unfolds, Petros and Apollinaria's children approach the church, which is sheltering them from the militia. Brother Prior deters the men from entering the church. However, moments later, Brother Philip and Brother Prior cross the border. In this frame, Prior rationalizes his decision, saying, "I know you love this country & I also know that the soul of its people long endures" (61). This passage suggests that Rwandans have a particular propensity for violence, a view that is an assessment of early colonial visitors to Africa, and in this situation, Prior's actions seem to be a rationalization of how easily racism can be used to justify questions of moral and political significance, and demonstrates how generalizations which enable simple excuses to complex issues.

When Petros and Apollinaria are shocked to find that their children are with Prior, they are about to escape the threat of the militia. Prior who turns back to seek them out, Prior makes excuses about why he is with Apollinaria to the militia, saying that he is decided by the waiting militias surrounding the church. As a man of God, Brother Prior is an impostor who offers promises and protection. As the history of the church shows, it is not only permitted but also encouraged for the church to be used for its own purposes. Brother Prior is more concerned for his own safety than those he would profess to protect.

He also relies on stereotypes of Africa and the continent, and suggests to
 enough time, he too will come to Rwanda and see

Acting as a foil to Prior's callous disregard for those he has
 twenty years, Brother Philip is concerned about the survival of the locals
 come to know, and he stays in the country with Prior at the onset of
 Philip marks himself as particularly interested in Rwanda even
 the garage on the plane and happy to be taken around the city
 arriving. When asked by Brother Prior about his sense of Africa
 haven't seen anything, but the air feels so light. This is a positive
 impression and his interest in learning about Rwandan culture
 from other Westerners presented in the text. When the genocide
 daughter of Venetia's friend with Augustine is kept safe rather than
 leave her with Augustine, who is murdered shortly after. Most
 returns to Rwanda after the genocide, and seeks out those he
 notable contrast to the character of Sergio or Prior, Philip demonstrates
 Deogratias' tattered clothes and strange behaviour, and also asks
 Benina, all of whom died during the genocide. Deogratias is a
 Western actors and offers criticism as well as praise in the depiction
 genocide. While the military is represented very negatively, the
 nuanced and demonstrate a less aggressive Rwandan perspective
 to seeing these figures as stabilizing forces in foreign nations
 these depictions convey the need for a more nuanced consideration
 involvement in foreign spaces. Here, Rwandan perspectives of Western

valuable opportunity for the real world of violence that in other cultures and societies.

In *The Oldest*, the whole of religious stories and the human were scrutinized. There is also a more general comment about the colonial Funga, the witch doctor who guides Faustin immediately after the chaos of this moment, if he has heard of the legend of the Rock of Kagera, to which Faustin replies, a thousand times, sacred rock of Kagera! That is why they deliberately moved it. conquered us, that is why there are catastrophes (9). In this moment is anxious to ensure that Faustin understands the history of Rwanda, promise that Faustin will put the rock of Kagera back in its place. interesting exchanges, as it emphasizes the context, which has been underrepresented to Western readers value of Rwanda and its history, Faustin that overcoming the deadly conditions by embracing Rwandan beliefs. Later in the text, Faustin's role as a Western actor in society, saying it is hard to talk with whites; our worlds were not head of the other. To the point, belgophones, or swissophones. Kinyarwanda. Hutus, Tutsis, Twas, everyone speaks Kinyarwanda. comment which evaluates the disparate cultures which have arrived in the single culture Rwanda. Faustin is critical of the fundamental communication between Rwandan individuals, and his simplistic convey the enormity of the failed discourse between Rwandan and

Faustin speaks literally, it is evident to the informed reader that there is no effective communication between these cultures, even as the

Monénembo deliberately, the only person who cares for Faustin after the genocide, and who reunites him with his first love, a young girl of Christian religion in Rwanda. Faustin is suspicious of her from the outset, and orders only to please. As time goes on, what ironically, Faustin states: she wasn't nice, Miss Human Rights. But her country was unknown to us, we were better off without her (38). He has a strong sense that he is not to be trusted, which reflects more generally on the behaviour of Westerners and the perception of religion in Rwanda. His sarcasm towards her is demonstrated by the mocking moniker Miss Human Rights (38). Faustin's country needs foreign aid to survive. After leaving the City, when Faustin tries to buy a gun, his friend Sembé assumes Faustin is the operating funds for the orphanage. When reflecting on this possibility, Sembé decides I don't like the Irish woman much, but I would never be ungrateful, I should be calling her Mama (51). While he never makes any effort on his behalf, this statement demonstrates the role that she plays. The brief suggestion of sentiment is one of the few moments in the novel where Faustin's need or dependence on her is acknowledged. Beyond Faustin, the text makes clear that the orphanage is a valuable place for orphans to recover from the genocide and be reintegrated into society. Religion, represented as a social force after the genocide more than before, is this to be generically well meaning.

Though representation of the media in this text is compelling, religion is shown to be a force of potential recovery, the media trauma. The character of Rodney is introduced in the narrative and while Faustin is living at HQ with his siblings. Rodney is self-involved. Introducing himself to Faustin, he explains his job:

There's an earthquake in Columbia and Rodney is in the media. And here comes weird Rodney and his strange gear. A massacre. Rodney. Rodney is everywhere there's trouble. Rodney is things are even worse. And as you can see, he's a real one!

Rodney is seemingly unaffected by the horrors he has witnessed. He is a producer, and his casual approach to work is summed up in his comment to Faustin: "Honey for Rodney" (59). When Faustin asks why he's here after the genocide, Rodney explains that he comes only when he's needed. And this comment is a barbed commentary; the genocide was largely ignored by the media, and only a handful of reporters were in Rwanda at any point during the genocide. Oldest Oriana is heavily critical of the way the media engaged with the genocide. Western readers are encouraged, through Rodney, to recognize the suffering that is enabled through the use of narrative.

Rodney has been hired by news services to cover the genocide. He has a prospect of three weeks of work. He hires Faustin as a local translator. He reads the impact of the genocide on the Rwandan people. This working relationship itself is a Westerner's interest in the lives of Rwandans. Having hired a whore at the local bar, Rodney dismisses Faustin.

You can't need your company anymore. Now that you want to, sniff your glue or stick a needle in your arm. just don't do it where it can most harm you at this moment so I have anything to reproach myself for in case you croak.

This callous disregard for Faustin and the prejudicial assumptions of a media bias that Monémbo develops over the course of the novel, particularly clever is that Rodney, the man sent to get images of the genocide more understandable for Western viewers, is himself suffering of those around him. He does not share, particularly, difficulties; rather, he spends his off-duty hours indulging in the attention of local prostitutes. As a representation of the moral epitomises an enterprising individual who takes what he needs and avoids responsibility for those around him.

What these representations of Western actors in Rwanda do is to use engaging tropes to understand individuals. We see ourselves as heroic and socially productive forces in Africa, while positioning ourselves as the binary opposite. Here, the depiction of Rwanda, binaries of a rejected and individual characters are used to show Western actors in Rwanda, prior to and after the genocide. Readers are encouraged to see if they are militaristic, religious, or journalistic, do not determine their identity. In adding complexity to the literary representations of actors who played a role in the Rwandan Genocide, these texts presume that social designations can accurately indicate individual

Rwandan perspectives of Western actors, these texts allow the centre, channel-political as commentary which is an asset for West to engage more knowledgeable politicians

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The role of memory in genocide is complex. To remember is to forget the world as it was before the genocide, as well as to forget as possible. As Duncan Bell reminds us, a forgotten genocide is no the it also endangers the future (23). Recovery, both individual and experiences of genocide be integrated into larger personal and nature of genocide is what the self, others, and the world trauma, Hunt states that traumatic stress is fundamentally different sense that there is a fundamental rift or breakdown of psychological (behaviour, emotion) which occurs as a result of an unbearably threatening to the self or others (7). Hunt explains that trauma mind to ensure that, if encountered again, it is not repeated through a prolonged state of trauma is also likely to cause lasting damage ways of coping with stress: withdrawal, suppression, and procedural reactions are evident in the present as discussed, even as they actively work to construct personal narratives about their experience narration is a representation of trauma as much as a reconstruction

Discussing the relationship between individual agency and narrative McCabe state that people strive to configure space and time, the identity of actors and relatedness of actions across scenes. T

In so doing, narrators make sense of themselves, social situations, and constructions in progress occur when individuals discuss with one another. This can suggest an unconscious internalized state of affairs that exists in the aftermath of violence. Memory and the construction of identity through memory also has larger social implications, the construction of a collective identity (Social recovery requires that all perspectives are heard and respected, and so the proliferation of multiple subject positions become particularly important. As a result, potentially, a mode of resistance to a language that forgets the past and its reification of state, nation and ideology (Edkins 100), individuals can take on a larger political significance.

In *Broken Memory* the title would suggest, forgetting is initial protection. Emma's mother orders Emma to forget the scene she witnesses that the crowd on the streets is helping violence: "slide behind your eyes, put your hands over your ears. Do not make the slightest sound. Tell yourself that you are not in this room, that you see nothing, that everything will soon be over. You must not breathe a word of it" (17). It is a glimpse of her mother's murder and is haunted by this memory that she cannot remember her mother's face or name. For this reason, Emma has a difficult role of memory in her life. Early on she is bitter about her identity as a survivor and cannot see the purpose of her life given by the world. She gives voice to this pessimism, saying "the ones who survived, they don't care" (36) and "not caring whether Mukecuru heard her" (36). In part, she

final words; she has not moved beyond the moment of her mother's command to survive at any cost.

As Emma's adoptive mother begins to withhold Gacaca courts in order to absolve her of guilt and innocence of those involved in the genocide, Emma is brought to the court and recognizes the violence of her life. The memory of her mother's face of the degree of reflexivity between the two is in Emma's mind. She feels a sharp pain cut through her chest. She collapses on the ground. In this moment when memory surges, she returns to her surroundings and returns to her moment of genocide:

The real world faded around her as the roar of the assassins' mother and her own terror took shape. Then, just as she had sought shelter against a nearby wall, crouching down and burying her face, the women tried to lift her up, children poked her to make her move. Little by little, life carried on around her, and then she returned to the peaceful countryside one day. (39)

This passage juxtaposes the brutal impact of these memories of the world around her in this same moment. In part, this demonstrates the impact of genocide; Emma is not immune to her experience of this moment. She is unaffected. The scene is also important, as it demonstrates how she can transform functionally on Emma can do this stage of trauma. Remembering, so deeply is she reliving her initial trauma. The return into the peaceful countryside (40), is suggestive; there is a sense

recovered, or begun to recover, and that Emma can find sa
 landscape even when she does not find it in her interactions w

As the narrative progresses and years begin to pass, Muke
 about Emma's lack of recovery. Emma wants to see the doctor to help
 nightmares. While Emma is distrustful of him, her confidence i
 no disclosures from her. Instead, he speaks of his own experie
 massacres of 1979, 1990, and 1991. It is this active narration of
 foundation to Emma's recovery, as she begins to see the histor
 of the 1994 genocide. The doctor also stands as a model of re
 traumatic memory, recovery is possible. However, Emma refus
 with anyone until she happens across a drawing done by another
 the blood running off the page and to form the edges of the pool on
 floor. That's when she grabbed a fistful of toilet paper and
 101). It is not until she engages with the trauma of others on
 able to begin to process her own experience. Her expression is not without cost; once
 begins to draw, she let the voices, the beating, the crying com
 in her head. What she saw was unbearable. Her breathing spe
 thought she was about to drown when the old man's voice broke
 what you see, Emma. Don't keep it to yourself (104). This is
 recovery begins; this act of narrating, narrating of aid and fi
 The doctor's urging to share her memories is also an encourag
 community. Through these small narratives, she shows that recovery is

possible, as shared expressions of memory that weigh on all survivors within the collective memory more generally.

In Deogratias's memory is emphasized by the effect of the narrative. The shifting between timeframes is initially effected by the transition of page frame are inspected; memories have no border while events in the present. Memory intrudes into the present tense narrative consistently, fragmentation of the narrator's timeline is a coherent story of his experiences. One of the most prominent is his anger; in post-genocide Rwanda, Deogratias fixates on those he blames for the genocide. He played a specific role in the genocide as Deogratias's anger is directed at those who propagate politically loaded discourses and blame themselves for the genocide. Bosco, a member of the RPF, is depicted as a counterforce without any ethnic tensions or divisions, which is inaccurate, but blaming the genocide entirely on Western imperialism. While the influence had a massive impact on the politicization of ethnicity, historically harmonious ethnic identity is a construction rather than a fact. Deogratias takes false comfort in this, as it allows him to believe that the genocide was not a Rwandan identity, but rather a Western invention. He is a member of the Hutu power movement during the genocide, but he is not a Hutu. He and the Tutsis and advocate the return of genocidal practices. He prescribes efforts to reinitiate public violence, and while Deogratias refuses to participate in this influence. Finally, Deogratias is not a Hutu, but he is a Rwandan.

in ethnically loaded sentiments, sexualising and denigrating Tu troubles Deogratias the most, in part because he seems unable to respond to the rhetoric or shake himself from the attention that Serg pays to him. However, the memory of Serg prompts repeated outbursts of Bastard! French!

What is notable about these three characters is that they are trapped in the rhetoric of ethnicity that engulfed Rwanda. This is a tragedy that suggests a struggle to recover from the political violence and development of the Rwandan genocide. As these three characters are the only community left to Deogratias, the political discourse traps Deogratias in the past and leaves him with personal trauma. Although recovery is dependant on coherent memory, he has no one with whom to share his memories and is left to deal with those around him. In part, these failed attempts at recovery demonstrate that an important collective recovery is to the individual, as well as how it can be to the greater collective.

Deogratias is trapped by his memories of the past, and at times the world around him. The information into a dog is intended to represent the onset of his memories of the genocide, and his response is often mocking. Remembering his pain does not advance the genocide, seems oblivious to the taunts of Arf! Arf! Hey, Deogratias, going? Still see too many signs? (14) At some point, he does understand the importance of these memories in the region, but his pre-emptive taunting seems callous, but others are unable to vocalize his thoughts. The text emphasizes the importance of collective

understanding and shared experiences that even when recovered
 under way in a community, individuals can find it difficult to society

The novel delays the Deogratias's memories of the genocide until
 the narrative, as his terror while a dog grows. As some local
 begins to panic and relive some of his memories of the genocide
 the first time: my head is spilling out into the day: the insides
 inside of my head and sharp, sharp, blades plunge into women
 statement, striking in its hair. Deogratias, a slave in this memory, but do
 begin to experience the violence that Deogratias is wrestling with. More
 declaration marks a shift in the narrative as it prompts more violent
 behaviour by Deogratias. The novel makes clear that his contact with B
 unsettle Deogratias, making it harder for him to contain his memories
 is the return of B to Deogratias to face his. At this point most
 after Venetia, Apollinaria, and Benina, Deogratias is thrown back
 the genocide to narrate his experiences: good work. Our road
 was here, in front of the hotel (70). Deogratias is seen as
 successfully persuades to join the Hutu, the first on April 6th
 genocide. The use of the word our is notable, as Deogratias rejects
 recruit him with the words I don't work for you, Julius (59), which
 between these two victims at this roadblock is August
 Deogratias. When Augustine asks Deogratias where Apollinaria
 brag of their murder:

Julius: What? The two little whores, Deogratias said already her, so he left her to us. But the mulatta, he kept her pussy
guy Deogratias is: his refined

Deogratias: Julius, stop.

Julius: Aw, c mon, Deogratias, don t be modest! You did nicely fucked. And the best part is, the little whore was a was a virgin!

Augustine: Deogratias, he saying?

Deogratias: Augustine, you don t understand

Augustine: You filthy dog!

Deogratias: They forced me, don t you see? (71)

This is a powerful confession, and a moment when Deogratias, also identifies a perpetrator character of Ndoli, Deogratias defies distinction between victim and perpetrator and becomes a perpetrator clear that there were other victims at the robbery, Deogratias the rape and murder of two close friends, particularly as he and for the first time hours before. This scene reveals the indignity of being a dog, as Augustine humiliates humanity with the expression filthy dog (71). As a young man surrounded by forces he cannot Deogratias can find no way of redeeming himself after this moment explain to Philip they would them (74), it is clear that he fundamental aspect of his life Augustine's reaction to the slaughter Venetia, Apollinaria, and Benina is one of rage and horror, and

Augustine as well. It is at this moment that the story of the trial of Deo Gratias is introduced. Deo Gratias is a man who has been accused of the murder of a man named Augustus. He is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city. Deo Gratias is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city. Deo Gratias is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city.

Deo Gratias is defined by his own guilt, precluding the possibility of a full trial. He is a man who has been accused of the murder of a man named Augustus. He is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city. Deo Gratias is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city. Deo Gratias is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city. Deo Gratias is a man of high status and is being tried in a public square. The trial is a spectacle for the people of the city.

for the sergeant, he is white, so it was easy & I just put the
 didn't worry that it was already opened & For Deo Gratias, I had
 the poison in the empty bottle I'd brought to take Urwagwa
 left I emptied out the bottle. For Julius &. (69)

What is told here is that Deo Gratias, unable to coherently narrate
 without any productive movement past the violence of the genre.
 Moreover, that violence is beginning to spill over into the present.
 Julius, Deo Gratias exacts retribution on the other side of the divide
 within Rwanda. This can be seen as an attempt to regain social harmony
 those who represent social discord. His confession, which begins

encounters Brother Philip and after struggling to explain an attempt to convey the personal coherence. However, Philip, his narration lacks sufficient context; Deogratias is not clear why he feels that needs to earn absolution through violence and his complicity in the murder of Apollinaria and Benina. For real need for personal and social coherence, the loss of the structure of personal identity when forced to perpetrate violence against lacks the support required to recover. Deogratias, similarly caught up in the genocide, only increase the fragmentation of identity. Deogratias's recovery has a detrimental impact on his lives of those around him.

The Oldest Orphan complex text because Faustin's narrative is full of trust. Faustin adopts a protective bravado in the aftermath of an unreliable narrative. The fragment that pervades the text is also a sign of negotiation. While the genocide is the chronological narrative represented until the final page of the novel. As a reader, it is before cause. This formal structure is a experience of trauma that is grappling with in the aftermath. Book of the Memory of the Oldest Orphan depicts the importance of memory as a tool of survival; early in prison you realize that memories serve a purpose, I live with my soccer games. By focusing my thoughts on them, I can overcome sleep (11). Later in the narrative, Faustin's ability to remember movements allows him to confront his presence.

His enactment of family rituals allows some to witness his emotional and Ambroise's Faustin's performance further affirms the value of ritual, especially for children.

In this genocide space, Faustin frequently shelters himself by adopting a glib and sarcastic attitude towards weakness and compellingly demonstrated in his relationship with the Rodney, the Rwandan countryside with a few of his compelling images and narratives having been saved from Nyamata church amidst a swath of bodies moved through, Faustin speaks of trauma with a dignified and firm narratives of his own suffering for the camera, and with Rodney's traumas not his own with concerning gusto:

When we left the BBC people had a doctor and a nurse used to the TV at Fraternité Bar, I wish I could have seen the bodies of all the bullets. Swiss television took UN, it was a base for Paul Rodney and my renown worldwide. The Belgians to Musha, the Australians, to Mwandiré it needed only me on Rodney would set up camera and I controlled all by myself where I had never set foot, immediately recognize the character of the church had been dragged out of; filled with white strings had been slashed at the church had been murdered in the brewery where the blood had been banana bread; where their ears and intestines had been roasted to serve as meals for the attendees for the behavior. I remove my cap to show the scars on my head, to see the

cuts on my shoulders. Some of my directors would have I'd invent some heroic deed they even describe how I had been able to jump on a bicycle and pedal through the bushes to the nearest forest. Then I'd write a report to raise this thumb show that it was good, but we'd do it again somewhere to be rich! (66)

What Monémbo emphasizes in this passage is Faustin's distance from which he describes his life without seeming to recognize that these memories in place of imagined traumas. His refusal to become a performance suggests his dispassionate attitude regarding his life. The scene occurs when he is living at HQ with his siblings, there is no comment.

After Faustin shoots Musinkôro at HQ, he disappears from the city and is arrested. However, it is clear from the shift in his narrative that he has unhinged his memory. In order to avoid facing his experiences in the communities he earlier savored and to convince himself that he is still human:

Three months went by. You know, but life is so bad. The world of refined now and clean air is in my hole. I don't need the outside world. My parents? My sisters? My memory had deserted me. I told myself nothing, I felt no blame. I didn't need any other place. Tranziar, Kigali, this green paradise

Plans that Father Maftopma made. I had blotted out the word believe that in return to do the bath with me. (77)

This withdrawal does little to help Faustin avoid the memories enter the frequently once Faustin is arrested and court proceedings he feels more threatened in the present, he has more trouble with past.

As with Deogratias, Faustin's experiences with violence are memories of the genocide. Narrating his memories instigates acts of violence, and conversely, acts or reminders of violence earlier violence witnessed at the time of the genocide traumatized the City of Blue Angels for the first time, he falls into a violent memory of Italian words: slowly the fog in my mind lifted, the images clear, evocative, queija, risotto, café com leite, ciao muito obrigada. Emphasis in the original. While this is not explained it is clear from Faustin's later memories that this violence is that Faustin witnesses while still living with his family in Nyam far more detail after he is told that he must face the court for

I was getting ready to go to school. Some were armed with others with machetes. I don't know what came over her but better to do than to go outside to look. They grabbed her on the back of the head. They hacked her. They hacked her (75)

Without identifying this woman, it is clear that he is referring to an Italian volunteer in Rwanda who was murdered by members of the Interahamwe. Faustin phoned the Belgian Embassy and the BBC to inform others of the events in Bugesera in 1992. What is significant about this is that Faustin's moral dilemma is undone by his own acts of violence; he uses his violence to escape the guilt that unsettles him and makes it harder for him to ignore his memories of his home.

It is Faustin's realization that he has been sentenced to die that marks the end of the memory of his parents. The final paragraph of the novel is the final paragraph of the text, and the horror of Faustin's experience is revealed:

Thick smoke was rising from the power lines and the houses. The small groups I had seen earlier and the militia were jumping up in the air brandishing hammers, machetes, and rifles. The militias were entering the village. It was the same scenario as before, but this time, it was for real. I understood the meaning of the red cross on the doors; those were Tutsi houses. Some of them were on fire, others were being burned. I tried to save my kids. They were quickly caught. They were made to watch as their parents and their wives were slit. Their children's heads were smashed against the walls. In this narrative, the narrator becomes a witness to the genocide in one specific community; Faustin's narrative is made instantly more understandable as the reader bears witness to the suffering of everyone he knows. The final paragraphs of the novel enter into the genocide from Faustin's point of view:

We heard some orders. The windows shattered, the
 crumbled to dust, dozens of hand grenades fell. They
 were throwing grenades. The top of the house was told
 on it resurfaced on its tattered propped up muddy water pou
 out of a pipe. I don't know whether my father or my mother. D
 from a grenade or finished off with hammers? (96)

The fact that Faustin finally speaking about the horror that he has
 throughout the novel is compelling; either his fear of his fate
 trauma anymore, or he no longer sees the point in his
 near. Regardless, his trauma finally demands a voice, and his
 suppression, becomes complete in this moment of narration. T
 is an interesting one, as Faustin's memories are directly linked; the
 is the beginning of Faustin's death sentence, protracted as it p
 initial trauma and his final trauma has occurred. The novel
 and demonstrate the role of memory in shaping the actions and
 genocide.

Exploring the role of memory in the lives of these three chi
 demonstrate how memories of genocide help
 survivors. The representations of the genocide emphasized t
 sympathetic Hutus but the struggles of survivors to process the
 horror are too complex to be briefly described. Through the
 reader gains access to the experience of the structures of th
 indicate the ways in which memory can become a part of survival.

discusses or fails to discuss his or her experiences can serve which they have processed their memories of the genocide. The into the cascading impact of the genocide is generally put tolls and physical destruction during the genocide. The challenges of integrating lived experiences as both personal and communal interactions as the invisible destruction that can occur even after it has ended. Survivors are not without deep, and at times, destructive trauma. In genocide, these texts make clear that many of the survivors

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Recovery after genocide, particularly one perpetrated within a While practical elements of recovery are a matter of organizational emotional, political, and social factors are difficult to orchestrate. The Genocide predicated a fragmented sense of national identity, and at this fracture was even more fundamental to Rwandan identity. remained understandably high and ran along ethnic lines. The simple which Tutsis were victims and Hutus were perpetrators, remain opportunity for a recovery of the social order, but the legacy of genocide, remained a risk. The process of social recovery depends of national identity that can accommodate all Rwandans, and many experiences of the genocide keep in mind that a person traumatized via the culture in which he lives, and any treatment account of that (Hunt 198); while individual recovery is personal of larger social structures help to provide a sense of direction within a social context.

memory, which can accommodate multiple perspectives, develop
 can empower the individual as well as the community. In her
 identity, Smitherman writes that testifying [is telling] the truth
 testifying, then, is not plain and simple commentary but a dramatic
 enactment of one's experience. Thus one's humanity is reaffirmed
 his or her sense of isolation is diminished. If it has been
 to construct a coherent personal identity, a positive relationship
 between people while also laying the foundation of national reconciliation.

However, in a country where Hutus are actively seeking
 Tutsis, the integration of Hutu narratives of the genocide is
 subject. It need not be said that some Hutus rejected the rhetoric
 made themselves targets while doing so. Moreover, many Hutus
 threat of death by militias and the violence that accompanies the
 process of constructing a collective narrative of the genocide
 dichotomy on which the genocide was predicated. However, in
 South Africa after the end of apartheid, Singh and Chetty agree that
 narration are denied within cultural and social spaces, one can
 particularly if that memory is of a traumatic event. Regardless of the
 tensions that existed prior to the genocide, it is important that we
 let go of binary categorizations and consider that we do not
 every experience of the genocide. One way to begin such a massive project
 experience is through literature, as writing can bring the dynamic
 fore and give voice to complex experiences of violence and

communities. Such work addresses multiple cases of trauma cultures doing the work of therapy, in a collective sense, but also in an individual sense (162).

Despite the challenges that Emma's narrative emphasizes, the possibility of personal, social, and political recovery. Emma's act of putting her experiences into words marks the beginning of her recovery. Gacaca courts, initially traumatic, assures her that there is a path to anger and particularly important for her recovery is waiting for public discussions and a trial to bring justice through the Gacaca. This social acknowledgement of loss and suffering is a means of individual and communal healing but also serves a larger purpose of legitimizing the genocide. Seeing the perpetrators on their turn at court, Emma realizes how she transformed her understanding of these perpetrators: in the morning they were laughing. Others sat on the edge of the truck, their heads bowed and think. She had been prepared to see monsters, men with faces of simple peasants (68). For Emma, the rhetoric and experience of the courts changes the way that she understands the world around her, large in her perception of those around her, making it difficult to see how and monstrosity can take the same form. However, this is an important part of genocide do not preclude possibility of remorse and contrition allows her to see perpetrators as people. Although a small detail, this establishes recovery as well as a movement away from the essentialising narrative.

In order to reclaim government aid as a victim of the genocide, Emma returns to her mother's village and the site of her experience of genocide. In this village, she is wary of strangers and of Rwanda as a place of peace in her mind, even nine years later. However, these twin concerns begin to change when she returns to her adoptive village and begins to walk to her mother's village. The village is filled with pedestrians, she is surrounded by others, and she feels free and easy, it felt to be anonymous. For the first time ever, she is surrounded by people, walking with them or past them, invisible to the crowd. With Mukecuru, this journey allows her to reclaim a place in Rwanda. It also has a profound impact on her. Because she has shared her trauma with others, she is now able to see Rwanda as a place of peace and to construct a new vision of Rwanda as a place:

Emma realized just how bad the horror of the genocide was. At the beginning of the journey, she had been so afraid, especially the work she had never imagined she would do. She had never seen the signs of the past. She saw nothing on the faces of the people that reminded her of the genocide. This journey showed her that Rwanda was not what she had thought it was. She could see the positive faces and people that had looked blacker than she had seen before. And for the first time, she felt strong and confident.

(113)

This evolving definition of Rwanda is an important element in Emma's narrative. She demonstrates the relative importance of place as a defining element once a measure of recovery has been achieved. For Emma, the genocide is not the defining feature of Rwanda, but the trauma it has caused takes precedence over the significant efforts of reconstruction. In her emerging national identity, she has explored the Rwanda she has known and engaged with other Rwandans, and this process is also a contribution towards recovery which have marked the development in Rwanda.

When Emma returns to the burnt remains of her mother's home, she initially is unable to approach this building. However, her father, who has allowed her to excise her fears, and she eventually builds up the memory of her mother's murder is a powerful force in her life. Her life is ultimately more about the surviving photograph of her mother, which suddenly overpowers her memory. The weight of this remembrance is too heavy for Emma to bear, but she fastidiously maintains a testament to the full recovery: exhausted, she lay down on the ground. She had found the ruined house where she had been born, and where her mother had failed to save her memory (126). It is in this village that she learns of her mother and her age at her death, 22. The narrative here demonstrates the order to recovery identity, and this journey is ultimately a fictional text, Combres includes an epilogue in which Emma's future is set out with hope: "four days she is dead & she is now at peace with the world and she looks to the future with confidence" (131). This is an interesting narrative

helps to emphasize the possibility of recovery and of the importance of integrating the genocide and national identity into the national narrative. This is an effort to assert, via narrative, the continued survival and success of the nation and to emphasize that as recovery occurs, Rwanda as a nation, and citizens as individuals, can recover their identities as survivors with their identities as

In the genocide, Deogratias has no family or community to draw support. He is mocked by local children for his beliefs and delusions about his experiences during the genocide. In those who are affected by the genocide may have a difficult time finding recovery. Deogratias's recovery efforts are violent; he kills the three men who attempt to end the violence during the genocide. Justice can be gained through violence and not through reconciliation. Prior to the genocide, Deogratias takes Brother Philip to a local Urwagwa exercise of sharing Urwagwa (Rwandan belief in ancestral spirits). He in this custom to murder Bosco, Julius, and Serg can be seen as a larger social customs and traditions. Deogratias's misguided actions demonstrate the danger of the political environment can become loaded with hate, bitterness, and the realities of genocide become liabilities to the nation. The reality can also be applied to observers outside of Rwanda. Deogratias's inability to recover that failure seems to perpetuate Rwanda as a nation of genocide and social chaos, with Rwanda as a hostile nation.

Brother Philip's reaction of disbelief and horror mimics the Deogratias's actions. What is compelling is that at the end of the rape and murder of Venetia, Apollinaria, and Benina, he takes a beer and slides it towards Philip, saying "Philip, I have been in this world for a long time, in the old days, and now it's your turn to drink the poison" (76). It is not Philip in the same category as the lecherous Serg, militant Julien, and the other men actively promoting the violence of the genocide. Perhaps Deogratias sees Philip as meddling and blames him for the genocide, as a reminder of the world before the genocide began, and Deogratias silences all such reminders. Either way, Philip is shocked by the confession: "oh, God of mercy!...I will pray to the Lord and ask Him to forgive me, to give me the strength to forgive you" (76). Deogratias's response is revealing: "I don't need your forgiveness! Nor the mercy of your confession!" (76). His disassociation with reality in this moment is a fundamental break with reality. He is no longer human, and seems convinced that God will exempt him from further punishment. Compellingly, he translates his trauma into demonstrating the chaos of his memories in physical form. His confession is so confused that he has lost the concepts of right and wrong, good and evil in his mind, and his need to reinstate order by executing those he deems guilty.

Moments after this confession, the Rwandan authorities are still a dog, and still violently urging Philip to return to the past, to social order, as these killings are being brought within a larger context. One of the policemen explains that he is not satisfied with Deogratias's confession, and that he is still a dog, and still violently urging Philip to return to the past, to social order, as these killings are being brought within a larger context.

French tourist, his death is termed an assassination (77) and Rwandan and international attention. There is no mention made who a Rwandan. This is a moment when the text demonstrates of neocolonialism in Rwanda; Western lives, however despicable lives are not. In the effort to recover civilizational systems, individuals are more valuable than local individuals. Deogratias leaves the final part trauma and likely never to recover. It is clear that his actions identify him as a perpetrator and that the crime of killing a Westerner is viewed heavily against him than his role in the genocide did. The intent is recognized by those arresting him, and one policeman asks Philip (77). In this moment, the person Deogratias was before the genocide is a madman (77) who is seen as a danger to himself and others.

The final words of the text belong to Philip; holding the hand of his daughter rescued from the genocide, Philip can say only that Deogratias (78). While subtle, this reminder of Deogratias's role in the genocide draws attention to complex ways that good people can be harmed by the actions of others. Personal recovery is stunted by a lack of community and the people who committed the crimes are trapped by memories which Deogratias address and are compelled to enact a form of justice. However, it is not clear whether the system of justice will take these extenuating circumstances into account. Certainly, the text encourages us to recognize that Deogratias's role in the genocide is not a larger circumstance. To the Deogratias as a perpetrator without context, his crimes is to overtake and destroy the lesson reminds readers of the

exercise similar critical thinking with the end in course of the Rwandan
 general readers are not offered the assistance of a recovery
 Deogratias's failed recovery demonstrates the responsibility of Western leaders
 individuals and their communities

As Deogratias's *The Oldest Orphan* text with a complex representation
 recovery. Faustin attempts to reconstruct the years following the
 genocide, once he shoots Musirakó's trials and is arrested, he is
 his society and advocate for a number of young men in prison, a
 yourselves go, then who'll build Rwanda? (17). His disaffected
 which he met genocide, and his struggles to reclaiming family and
 have alienated him from his nation: I don't give a damn about
 been born somewhere else (17). This complex narrative is
 is considered closely. While it is not clear until late in the text
 prison, the entire narrative is told from a jail cell and a
 pervasive death exists; in his opening introduction, Faustin defines
 death to inmate. This initial intention in the text suggests
 asserted in general, with particular regard to the role of
 during genocide. By providing text to explain this situation, the
 need to draw distinctions between genocidal and other post

The court scenes late in the text establish the importance of
 of law must be reinstated in order to escape the chaos of mass
 demonstrates a collective effort to rebuild Rwanda society but
 genocidal crimes presents a significant challenge. As

says: he is a minor even if the law isn't very clear on that. In
 There's nothing authentic left. We're on the things held soft a me
 redone: history, geography, government, we should stand by it
 (82). The text draws attention to the impact of genocide on the
 and innocence, and the fact of justice can be arbitrarily reinstated
 fundamentally by selective violence. Rather, the new Rwandan
 reflect the complex definitions of guilt and innocence produced
 the prosecutor is determined to define Faustin as an underage genocidaire
 argues that this genocide is not simply avenged his sister. Crime
 honor!...Just because there's been a genocide, it doesn't mean
 (82). These conflicting ways of understanding Faustin's crime
 understanding violence and enacting justice. From Rwanda a state
 who were encouraged by media the genocide to see Rwandans as
 perpetrators of genocide, this statement is a powerful reminder
 assumed to come head to head with actions taken by Rwandan citizens. To
 a génocidaire for a crime committed three years after the genocide
 as such, this text exhorts readers to see that allowing the genocide
 national identity is a similarly dangerous injustice

While Bukuru and Claudine urge Faustin to be respectful in
 by the judges and the presence of so many observers inspires
 bravado. Asked if he regrets his actions, Faustin says to one

You, if I slept with your sister, you'd do what I did to this
 honor isn't debatable anywhere in the world, at least not with

people were laughing, others were applauding and gesturing madly. And Claudine's face was beaded with sweat on the verge of fainting. On the other hand, Faustin himself. (82)

Faustin's insolence has protected him from the judge's questions for years in prison, but to the judge, it appears as unrepentant arrogance for his actions, and for his unshakable confidence in himself provokes the crowd. He even dares to say that he is one who knows how to defend himself and is not afraid to speak up for himself (83) and takes pride in his wit, which has been essential to his survival as a prisoner. Undaunted by the power of the court, perhaps because it had no family at the onset of the genocide, Faustin goads the three judges with little thoughts representing himself. As one of the observers says in his words, Faustin glancingly replies: all I've done these past years is to cut my head off, I'll regret only one thing, that I didn't take more (83). In this moment, Faustin mischaracterizes his own self, as not repaying the judge for having protected him from the judge's questions, the very understandable motive for his behavior at this moment in court is yet another challenge, and with consequent complexity for him to understand.

Faustin's honest replies to the judge's questions show the antagonistic nature of his relationship with the society. The system of justice in a socially enforced system of justice was destroyed for Faustin, an orphan in Kigali for three years taught him to rely on his own strength in order to stay alive, while he had learned from his wiles to protect him but the

increases his need for security. He purchases the gun to protect himself and his family. He does not believe that they are safe on the streets of Kigali. For Faustin, the Rwandan society has not recovered sufficiently for him to trust anyone. While this fear speaks more to his own sense of insecurity than to the threat that he perceives, the threat becomes very real for Faustin and his sister. At that moment, witnessing what he perceives to be a sexual attack, Faustin acts to survive the genocide. However, survival tactics such as the reasserting of the rule of law; in this instance, his actions under duress dictate right and wrong. Although arrested, jailed for two years, and genuinely unaware of the power of the law, he is not his own authority for long. So disconnected is he to these proceedings that he accepts his punishment to understand what it means. It is not until he witnesses the murder of a violent Rwandan neighbor that Faustin begins to understand the severity of his punishment. In this moment, the failure of individual recovery without national recovery of the rule of law is seen in Faustin because he does not experience the recovery of other individuals through education and religion. In his own mind, he is his own authority, and to survive the genocide, he is left to survive genocide places him outside the efforts of recovery in Rwandan civil society.

Faustin's conviction says a great deal about the recovery of Rwanda. In an effort to reassert justice and order for recovery, the law is applied aggressively. However, this aggressive work antagonizes the assertion of law in Faustin's case seems to victimize someone

gender more than a reflection of inherent violent tendencies. By his actions as a complex response to the violence and loss of the wider society of Rwanda. Ultimately, it is his survival that allows him to recognize the recovery of larger systems and laws that he can live with the reason that he commits murder. It is, in the end, the trauma of the instigation of the narration - of his death in the Nyamata Church suggests that free trauma can serve to unlock old trauma; ironically, his death sentence to the death sentence he survived in the church:

When I regained consciousness, I noticed that their bodies were in my mother's chest whose breast still dripped with blood. And an old woman was standing over me. She found the strength to lead me through swarms of flies and piles of decomposing corpses. I rescued one this morning, she whispered. Both times, I thought I was dead but I wasn't sure. But once I was back home, I couldn't stop. I came back to my mother's chest to drink from her; I certainly wouldn't think I was a child. You were my mother's newborn and you were nursing from her breasts. You're not a man like others. You were born twice. I was suckling her milk and the second time, she revived me. God, I was born seven days after the massacre! There was always a vision of a life that passed through. (96)

That this young body, a miraculous survival, is a witness to a convicted murder powerfully demonstrates the pervasive nature of the genocide not made a priority of the individual and the nation.

Far from the hope of the Oldest Opbawith the horror o
 Nyamata massacre, assuring the reader that Faustin, one of the
 of 10,000 people within that church, will not survive the recovery
 narrative presents the genocide as a horror for the reader, as every moment
 demonstrates the development towards the ultimate revelation of
 genocide in this text, efforts towards recovery lead to the retelling
 difficult can be to move past massive events like this. Much like
 own understanding investigates and personalises the horror of those
 lives. The lives of both young men and women are defined by the
 a radical change as they attempt to move within their society. What is
 Deogratias and Faustin is that violence is a means of protection for
 employed practices they perceive that the state cannot or will not
 part, this representation of the failed recovery of two protagonists
 complexity of societal recovery. As the camera selects Rwanda as
 insufficient consideration given to the war and its consequences
 era. The Oldest Opbawith suggest that the recovery of justice is
 dangerous to citizens, it does not seem how difficult to reinstitute
 overburdened and violent the genocide demonstrates an effective
 of law but finds rather the hierarchies of justice that exist in
 In both texts the recovery of the individual is at odds with the recovery

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All three texts undertake the important work of exploring individual
 genocide, the impact of violence on family and community. What is that

aid, the social context of trauma and memory, and self-making for audiences, these texts make the Rwandan experience of the genocide they do not rely on the common discourse by Western media outlets to describe Rwandan suffering. The authors provide a range of perspectives and multiple subplots in order to nuance the reader's understanding of this event. This becomes accessible in narratives that highlight the complexity of the event for greater understanding of Rwanda as a nation. Cathy Caruth defines trauma as an event that, in its unexpectedness and horror, cannot be placed in a linear knowledge, and the trauma of these narratives reveals to readers the ways in which schemes of prior knowledge (153) about Rwanda. Such an understanding of literature, would allow for a critical examination of the national identities which have defined Rwandan national identity since the 1990s. The texts explore the experience of trauma in the lives of the people who were directly involved in the genocide and assert the value of Rwandan national narratives and understandings of the genocide. Presenting the genocide with multiple perspectives establish a more rounded understanding of the impact of the genocide on individuals and international actors, undercutting the depiction of the genocide as a simple event.

While individual responses to literature can be powerful, the texts play a significant role in the international discourse on Rwanda. Written by Rwandan authors, these texts care to present the genocide within the larger context of Rwandan history. Few Rwandan writers have written about the genocide, because of the lack of a strong forum on the international stage. The texts provide understandings of the genocide as an event in Rwandan history.

productive social discourse between West and Africa in the context of peace and recovery have been a primary concern for the Rwandan government in the past few years, the international understanding of this effort has changed. New narratives, with the emphasis on memory, development and reconciliation, have emerged. The genocide within an international context is a key theme in this discourse. The representations of individual experience is pivotal to this project. The social framework in which the genocide is represented is created, i.e. the social discourse (Hunt 99). By representing survivors in literature, these texts attempt to change the Western public discourse on Rwanda. Jenny Edkins writes that a study of practice offers insight into political community, and the forms of temporality that accompany contemporary forms of political community. The texts discussed here rely on tropes and colonial narratives of Rwandan identity in contrast to a fundamental disinterest in Rwanda as a social space. These texts, among others, demonstrate a concrete and accurate representation of the genocide within an accurate context, emphasizing the human experience of the genocide. By remembering the genocide, these narratives implicitly challenge the dominant discourse on Africa and the role that Africa is accorded in global social, cultural and political discourse.

Raphael Lemkin, who coined the word genocide in 1943, argued that it is impractical to treat genocide as a national crime, committed by the state or by powerful groups which have the backing of the state. A genocide is instigated or backed by itself. By its very nature, it is a crime against humanity and is considered an international crime (Lemkin 1943). While this mandate was

ignored during the genocide in Rwanda, this emerging literature of genocide and particularly the sustained experiences of those providing productive insight into the ways of genocide and Rwanda has undertaken towards collective recovery. In this way, readers become witnesses to the importance in Rwandan history. These texts of Rwanda are also significant in recovery, an act which itself undercuts the colonial and neocolonial voices. Moreover, these texts provide the opportunity for an exploration of identities as a lived experience rather than as fleetingly depicted in media broadcasts during the genocide. For readers who have been understood by media coverage alone, these texts establish meaningful representations to contextualize the genocide within their own lives. These texts urge and encourage readers to similarly recontextualize their understandings of the Rwandan genocide and their own social constructions to the ways that African narratives have been disempowered throughout history, these texts assert the human horror of this genocide, and demonstrate to the Western reader. These are narratives of empowerment, even when recovery fails, because of the value of Rwandan experiences and perspectives. - Rwanda texts, demonstrate the colonizing discourses and complexity of Rwanda as a

Chapter Affirming Recovery Demonstrating Cultural Activism through Literature

Tragically, the emotional valency of testimony has little to do with the suffering or pain that it carries, than it does with the social and political milieu it encounters and its capacity there to act. (Gillian White, *Stock Weapons: Autobiography in Transit*)

Compassion is an unstable emotion. It needs to be translated into action or it withers.

Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*

The representation of the Rwandan genocide in literature and drama can serve as a profound form of social and political education for Western, as well as African, readers and audiences. These works explicitly and implicitly explore the complexities of restoring a society to a state of peace and stability in Rwanda since the genocide ended, and the ways in which these changes have been mobilized. The Rwandan Genocide ended with the Western media coverage of the genocide, and these productions offer the opportunity to explore the nation's practice of exploring how the genocide has been integrated into the social consciousness, the context of the interests and concerns of the citizens, and the political discharge of the nation by affirming the value of a Rwandan voice. The recovery has been dependant on the collective identity of the citizens, and these texts permit readers to engage with this emergent national identity. The genocide has been a significant stumbling block for citizens on both sides of the genocide, and literature can allow for effective communication between them. These texts emphasize the need for new modes of interaction across cultures. As Fardon comments, the development of literacy and the circulation of books [provides a] capacity to imagine identity in terms of a community.

immediate circle of fellows (177). By offering insight into the genocide recovery for a specific community, *Confessions* allows the reader to more closely engage with past identity

There is always a danger with exposure to history for education and simply reiterate antiquated or racialized perspectives on post-genocide citizenship, though not wholly objective, the promise of accurate insights within the narrative and life experience has the benefit of opening public worlds. As a means of exploring different societies and cultures, these texts to Western readers. However, autobiographies written by those often exoticized as a means of increasing book sales, even while decreasing the potential of the text. Gillian Whitlock, discussing the role of autobiography in political discourse, observes that autobiography

can personalize categories of people who frequently experience unseen or unheard. To attend to a nauseated body at risk, feminist bodybuilding to attack a refugee is to make powerful interventions in debates about social justice, sovereignty, rights. But it is a soft weapon because it is peaceful. In democratic societies propaganda is frequently violent, ideas but manipulation of opinion and emotion in the public management of information in the engineering of consent. These narratives therefore engage critically with the information and consider the local and cultural influences that shape individual

in post-genocide situations, these texts can serve as effective educational tools. The relationship between the reader and the text is a key factor in reader engagement within social and historical discourses. The role of the storyteller in his consideration of war trauma and memory, and the relationship between the storyteller and the reader should be an active one. The exercise. The storyteller needs to make some sort of response (44). Texts which educate the reader about the real world are valuable, but this education is far more productive if it is accompanied by this information rather than instructions of antiquated politics or a policy of ignoring rather than engaging in the trauma of other nations. In this chapter, cultural education is a powerful tool at the individual level.

Amongst many autobiographical narratives of individual experience, Rwandan genocide tellers: Discovering God Amidst the Rwandan Genocide by Immaculée Ilibagiza and *Survived Genocide in Rwanda: Personal Testimonies* are two texts not widely available in Western markets, but through collaboration between the Kigali Media Arts Trust, an organization that strives to aid communities recovering from genocide and other traumas like them, are important because they give voice to the experiences of survivors after the Rwandan genocide. However, these texts fixate on individual survival rather than texts which more directly explore Rwanda's recovery. Just as Courtemanche contextualized the genocide in terms of colonialism, the work of Véronique Tadjo and Sonja Linden considers the politics

neocolonial framework, it is not a Rwandan identity. The first Rwanda as well as on the international stage. The recovery process emphasizes interactions within communities, especially domestic, affirming the need for discourse in order to assure recovery. Community is never a fixed state, but a verb, not a noun, always the outcome of social interactions. It is therefore impossible to perform without the presence of other people (2). Community as a verb is what the works of Tadjo and Linden apart from focus more specifically on individual experiences.

Tadjo's *The Shadow of Imana: Travels in a New Rwanda* is a project organized by the *Duty to Memory* in 1998. It takes the travel narrative, but bears little resemblance to the travel memoir popular imagination in the early days of colonial Africa. Her narration is a revision of the trope of the male European observer in form is valuable as a didactic tool. Tadjo's responses on display for the reader. Tadjo records her own fears and discomforts. At other times, she conveys scenes without commenting. She accomplishes two distinct purposes: to invite close conversation with the reader's own emotional responses and to create a space for the reader's reactions without authorial influence. Through the address form, she encourages the reader to respond to multiple points

Tadjo's specific interest in this text is the emotional recovery within post-genocide Rwanda. Together, these subjects help to convey a sense

integrated into individual and national identity. The role of genocide remembrance is interesting to consider because Rwanda's memorials are for Rwandans as well as for international visitors. Responses to the memorials vary considerably from person to person, particularly across nationalities. Responses are shaped by the way individuals relate to the genocide; Ray observes that commemoration may take the form of mourning in which suffering may have the effect of reconciliation with the past; alternatively, it can take the form of celebrating grief and anger. Aware of the diversity of possible responses, Tadjo offers her own response to particular scenes or events, and allows the reader's response through satirical comments. She does not allow the reader to become caught up in any one narrative. She explores the horror of the genocide with a focus on the progressive literature that looks beyond the horror to acknowledge Rwanda's scars. Njauzi worries that there is a degree of sleeplessness, of rumination, of the historical suffering that is ultimately fatal to the living thing, whether this living thing be a person or a nation. And to this end, Tadjo's awareness of the need to temper the pain is invaluable to her writing.

As Tadjo's text is a travelogue, she records her interactions with the people she meets throughout the country. Tadjo's many individual voices to the complex subject of Rwanda are by the genocide and draw the reader's attention to the issues raised by the Rwandan population. Tadjo also shows how the genocide has shaped the collective national identity. This is a particularly important consideration.

become so important a presence, both for national and international citizens. In the case of the Jewish genocide of WWII, post-war identity came to define Israel's identity and politics, though the process by which a social memory is assimilated into the public sphere and the discourses around events of mass violence show they will be integrated into constructed narratives of identity. It is in fact a kind of social memory of the Holocaust, the Jewish narrative was discontinued; by individual experience Jewish people were united by enemies who had perpetrated violence that generally originated from within the community. However, in the case of the construction of national identity is challenged by the fact that Rwanda has different memories and perspectives on the genocide, and these are often laudatory. While simplistic identifications should be avoided, it is important to remember the perpetrators and the victims of this violence are drawn from the experience from very different subject positions. Human beings are often post-genocide societies, often regarding the nature of societal memory. A failure to include multiple perspectives into the narrative record can lead to renewed conflict, as identities forged out of half memories or future traumas (Krog 32). It is precisely because of the complexity of the experience in the Rwandan recovery that Tadjo's approach is so important: the recovery of the nation, and not just the victims of violence.

The text *Linda's Story: Have Before Me A Remarkable Document* by a young lady from Rwanda published in 2004. Linda's story is an interaction with a Rwandan survivor in Britain, so while not an

based on personal experience, much like Tadjó's narrative. This text explores the diasporic community of Rwanda through the character of a survivor and a refugee in Britain. While ultimately the play also addresses Juliette's challenges within a society that is at a crossroads, it also addresses her needs. There are multiple complex factors at play, and specifically economic conditions in her country amidst several very complex issues demonstrates some of the challenges faced by those who survived genocide and attempted to begin new lives abroad. It also reminds us that life does not occur in a vacuum, but rather, takes place in a complex world. This framing also allows Linden to explore the potential interaction between the global and the local, and the ways in which neocolonial influences shape our lives.

Racial inequality is an important issue addressed in the play. Racial inequality was fundamental to the Rwandan genocide in April 1994. In choosing Juliette as the protagonist of this play, Linden addresses the needs of a London audience, Linden asserts the value of this youthful, female audience. As the play is performed in a space that provides explanations for the violence, it also provides a platform for audiences such as this to stand one of the few avenues currently available for Rwandan voices to be heard. Linden's play is a political act; McKittrick and Woods note that racialized subjects and their geopolitical positions are being elsewhere (on the margin, the underside, outside the norm) and conveniently up the mythical norm and erases or obscures the

communities (4). The practices clearly have a more prominent role of self-
 black communities, there is also a larger concern. By undervaluing the
 relevance of struggles by black communities in larger social and
 communities are further denied a voice in international discussions.
 Fundamentally, dismissing individual and collective voices is the
 assumption that these people have nothing to offer the international
 asserts that for too many, Africa has not yet achieved the status
 within most global discussions of Africa that undercut its success
 potential serve the neocolonial hierarchy that validates the Western
 economic discourse established by the West. An international community observing
 genocide, however, they may have understood it as a crisis of
 an equal place in international discourse. By bringing Juliette's
 instigates an important dialogue in which Rwanda is not just a
 of genocide, but of racial politics more generally.

In discussing the use of restorative values in recovery from
 Tschudi writes that

a typical reason for the failure of negotiations may be that
 humility and respect are not present in the process. A wide
 contrary to restorative values is that we are in direct, unmediated
 see things the way they really are. This is a serious problem
 to poor communication when we encounter others who see things
 differently from us. (54)

When they first appear, it is their differences that are most evident. However, as the characters begin to confide in one another, the energy of their friendship becomes a powerful presence on the stage and engaged with the lives of the characters. *Challenges of a Diverse World* demonstrates a lesson it seeks to convey: that honest communication can unite across gender, and class divisions. Linden, aware that repeated interactions with different convictions and different cultural, ethnic or religious stances have the capacity to understand the perspective of opponents and thus work to bridge the gap between groups (Rhone 11), uses her play as a means of dialogue and the rewards of cultural interactions. As they collaborate on Juliette's play about genocide, both characters gain insight, empathy, and respect for each other's experience.

The Shadow of the Mountain: A Remarkable Document Given To a Young Lady From Rwanda is a play that is primarily focused on the experience of Rwanda in terms of social and political shifts. While the play is a drama, it is also a historical document that records the changes to Rwandan identity construction and the impact of the genocide on the lives of its citizens. Both Tadjo and Linden's plays are intended to show how Rwandans have incorporated the fact of the genocide into their lives, and how they have been negatively impacted. The research question that seems to drive both texts is: How has the genocide influenced Rwandan citizens in their social and cultural landscape and what are the implications for the future? Both authors examine how the genocide has shaped international perceptions of Rwanda and its citizens. Their texts are an effort to provide new definitions in response to dated or absent constructions of Rwanda.

stage. They privilege Rwandan voices and do not cut a clear bias in representation demonstrate conversations between Rwandans and their writers who provide readers with a model of engagement and testify to the value of a hierarchy of equality.

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Tadjo's personal interest in Rwanda is the shadow which traces her journey through Rwanda. She writes with a radicalism of vision in Rwanda, a choice which ultimately is a political motivation for writing:

It had long been by dream to go to Rwanda. No dream is long felt a need to exorcise Rwanda. To go to that place was on television in the images that had flashed across the world, an indelible horror in every heart. I did not want Rwanda to represent a primal fear. (3)

It is compelling that Tadjo admits her susceptibility to the popular frame of Western viewers, as it aligns her with her readers while identifying a question accepted in narratives about Rwanda. Her definition of Rwanda as a space of horror and a site for investigation here urges her readers to join her in this expedition. Her political motivation to challenge the representation that took place during and immediately after the genocide directly with Rwandan individuals and communities is a recognition of the genre's role in recognizing it as a geographically localized but socially and politically diffuse event. She writes

particular premise: what had happened there concerned us all personalizes the genocide and Tadjo's commitment to represent Western readers just Rwandans.

Tadjo's writing reflects her experience of traveling across Rwanda, but of her text is fragmented, a record of events and consideration narrative. Martina Kopf writes of Tadjo's narrative that the frustration of the impossibility of telling a coherent, linear story, of making a meaning encountered (10) and there is merit to this analysis. However, her purpose in writing this text, which was to offend no one in Rwanda that is not entirely dictated by its genre. Tadjo's narrative offers episodic Rwanda: the people, the geography, the history, the present in the text even present the various dimensions of Rwanda help to imaginatively recreate the experience of traveling through Rwanda, and offer the reader space for their own interpretation. Tadjo's purpose here is to provide a Rwanda and share her field notes, by authorial commentary, with the reader. This process of witnessing and education is fraught with challenges in getting readers to Tadjo's unique encounters with various Rwandans, a relatively successful debut. First and foremost, one does not have to be a Rwandan to read Tadjo's text. [Emphasis in the original] Despite not being Rwandan, or having any direct experience of the genocide, Tadjo's text begins to show Rwanda and engages with a range of individuals who speak collectively for Rwanda's citizenry.

Tadjo starts from the premise that the genocide was a global event, regardless of how many eyes can see it. That's her text

people seem to surprise the author, even as they may surprise chaos and destruction of the genocide-genocide is a part of this invites awareness of the horrific way in Rwanda, and which receives acknowledgement from the international community. Indeed, she herself when she says that a lot of time is needed to accept the sorrow she has been able to bear fruit (10). Her approach here is valid, her own presumptions and describes her own surprise to find Rwanda working towards recovery. Tadjo's admission that society is still struggling under the weight of its compelling. By admitting to her assumptions, Tadjo demonstrates the value of investigation and change.

Memorial sites, usually churches and public spaces, where people wish to understand the lived experience of mass violence in Rwanda, these spaces where communities gathered, these memorials remain a relationship that can be a source of healing. Visiting these sites, Tadjo draws attention to the affective value of these sites in the experience of genocide which defines each. By choosing these sites to be her starting point to post-genocide Rwanda, Tadjo draws attention to the existence of the genocide (Foley 11) as a recent reality in Rwanda; these sites are not just political spaces but also sites of historical significance. Tadjo's approach to Rwanda's genocide as a defining aspect of its history and identity, and how memories of past violence are put to use in the politics of the present, is a reminder that the genocide is not a distant event. In 1918, practices of remembering and the most active role in

memorial sites in Rwanda are remembered through purple fabric notes them as spaces of violence during the genocide. Educational weight they describe historical events with national significance. For international visitors, these sites permit the sites of mass killings; mass graves serve as a means to recognize the violence which occurred, these spaces also discuss as guides are employed to explain the recent history of the events which led up to the killings. Finally, these spaces bear witness to the genocide in Rwanda; all sites have visitor logs in which visitors make comments about what they have seen and learned.

Tadjo records her visit to two memorials in Bugesera, Rwanda: memorial, Nyamata, with the words: site of genocide. Plus or minus attempts to define a suffering that cannot be conveyed with words aware of this limitation of human narration to one individual among the many narratives that are contained within this tiny corner.

A woman bound hand and foot. Mukandorukundo & the other wrists are bound, and tied to her back. Her body is lying on its side. She looks like a woman whose body is dirty blanket, in front of carefully lined up skulls and bones. She has been raped. A pickaxe has been used. She died from a machete wound to the nape of her neck. You can see the groove left by the blade. Describing this image, Tadjo accomplishes two things: she invites visitors to imagine the act of violence, and she leaves a space for reflection.

to respond to this image. The image Tadjo paints of this figure death is a powerful reminder that each skull in the church also death. Scenes of death can be overwhelming, causing the reader encourages the reader to focus on a single human life stopped suffering. In the spare narration style here, Tadjo reminds the reader permits the reader to react with awe, but attempts to suppress the reader's emotions.

While Tadjo does not share her response to the body of Mu effect of the enclosed space of the church on the author. While the protected space, Tadjo experiences the church as chaotic: the chaos remains palpable. The church is not a memorial but de exposed in all its rawness (12). This is an important moment describes the factual objects and images of the church, but she palpable to her. The chaos that she discusses here is not a fact perception by her recognition of the meaning behind these bones on a single body, Tadjo is passive, but stepping back to see the whole overwhelmed by the sheer scale of violence evidenced in Nyam comprehension, and so she narrates the chaos, evoking the space sense of the church as chaotic. She has difficulty finding appropriate words to write in the book. Here she reminds the reader that it is not necessarily this moment of discomposure, narrated for the edification demonstrates the value of attempting to write when such efforts fail short or fail.

As Tadjou travels through Rwanda, visiting her friends and family, she shares her experiences in her narrative. This allows her to trace the complex history of Rwanda, and, like the other authors, she emphasizes the diversity of the population. This is one of the most important moments of interaction in the text. As a Westerner, Sreya DeBorja observes that she can become a part of the otherness of the aspects of their identity that make them complex individuals residing in Rwanda. She asserts in this text that Tadjou's concerns are not the reader's. This is particularly important as she writes about the Rwandan identity which was up in the genocide. In an effort to resist such a demonstration of subjectivity, she challenges the popular Rwandan acts of victimization and Rwandan violence. Discussing the representation of the genocide, Hall states that the attempt to snatch from the hidden history a place to speak from is extremely important. It is a moment that can be overrun and to be marginalized by the dominant forces of globalization. She stands as hidden histories brought to light, and she is a part of the Rwandan experiences and supportive of a more dynamic view of the genocide.

The text introduces a character and then jumps into the narrative of Tadjou. This discussion is a part of Tadjou's many interactions in the text. This is one of the most important issues facing the Rwandan population. The first is Nelly, whose story is entitled "Migina Suburb, Near the Amahoro". This woman owns a small bar in Kigali, at the backdoor of her home. She is wearing a hat that conceals half her face, and a long floral

almost skinny (34) ¹⁴tiawhilly keeps her distagcerialkerte setradjo an
 Tadjours named companion, she surprises them by inviting them b
 and see [her] family! (35). It is within this h ¹⁵subjeatshanelly b
 personal life is revealed:

At the ¹⁶ofthe bed, a girl is washing a child in a large white
 beautiful. She makes very slow gestures to calm the small
 my daughter. I am a ¹⁷grandmother! [a] ¹⁸sleeping sixty [ears
 of age] and murmurs: This one is my darling. He is a gift
 seizes his arm and shakes him hard. The child opens his e
 for a few seconds. Then he goes back to sleep lying on hi
 upoariously and goes to the baby, whom her daughter is no
 She slaps his bottom a few times saying: I don t want this
 What are we to do with him? As she says this, ¹⁹slapsther prep
 says something without raising her head. Nelly stops shor
 smacking ²⁰khiss mouth. (35)

This scene raises the issue of war rape in the aftermath of the
 very conflicting ²¹sethac that can shape a family s res ²²Not by, the a child
 matriarch of this family, here demonstrates her personal pride
 conflicting emotions about her two grandchildren. ²³Of the child
 she demonstrates ferocious devotion and pride; for the second

²⁰ This issue is explored in some detail by the Israeli artist Jonathan Torgov
 three year-²⁴2009,06 interviewing and photographing Rwandan women who had be
 and were left pregnant as a res ²⁵ylpethis also akgalbertu exhibit in New York un
 Intended Consequences: Rwandan Children Born of Rape in April 2009. TH
 and children together, and offer an interesting ²⁶pass for ethe as the idersation of
 complex relationships between mothers and children. One specific image fr
 National Portrait Gallery s Photographic Portrait Prize in 2007.

she has no love. This child was unwanted, conceived violently as a reminder of the genocide. Despite her, this is one of the most difficult problems suffered by families across Rwanda. Recovery from the trauma of the facts and memories of genocide into a larger, coherent life is a process where genocidal rape is integrated into individual and familial recovery. These two processes simultaneously represent the trauma of genocide. Tadjo notes that Nelly is aggressive with this child (35) without reason, aside from the fact of his birth. Why? Nelly is aggressive with this child. She also poses a compelling question: to do with him? (35). There is no answer to this question; this is the result of the genocide and must be given attention in individual and familial recovery.

An additional issue here is the exchange between Nelly and the child's mother. As Tadjo enters the house, the daughter is crying and does not speak. Nelly introduces each of the children, nor does she mention Nelly announces his lineage. However, this young mother defends herself with a more forceful attack, murmuring something which compels Nelly to retreat. While the reader is not privy to what she has said, three things are clear: the parentage of this child, the young woman is devoted to him and his well-being. Secondly, Nelly and her daughter are contradicting themselves, it is the daughter who defends the family's attitude towards this rape baby. The fact that she curtails Nelly's attack suggests that this conflict has been handled roughly and demonstrates that these children are not the property of their immediate families and their mothers as Tadjo moves through N

and domestic space demonstrates how violence can be hidden within domestic spheres. In Rwanda's public spaces, while rape has been recognized as a substantial burden, this interaction has lifetime consequences of this act. In Rwanda, rape is a mark of shame, and public rejection of their perpetrators is common. However, Nelly's daughter is a sign of a changing social norm in Rwanda, as she is required to think critically about traditional social practices and to increase freedom for some.

The second narrative under consideration here is entitled "Consolate" and offers a physical description to ground her experience. She says that

Consolate's face of astonishing sweetness. Her skin gives and ivory and her graceful body sways to the rhythm of her and her smile has the taste of mango. Sometimes, if she describes a powerful arabesque. Consolate speaks in a husk out of her mouth with a clarity that makes you shiver. Her her speech emphatic. (28)

These descriptions of Consolate's beauty before revealing that her father is dead and her perpetrator serving a life sentence remains in Rwanda. She provides emotional support but no longer recognizes her mother on the other side of the barrier, this broken, damaged woman.

nothing (128). juxtaposing Consolate's with their past instances she face emphasizes how the individual devastates people so in the genocide. cau Accepting her mother's inevitable decline in prison, Consolate's future no longer exists for her. Her days are nothing but a long for another place. The world she sees is a distant one, far from this prison, from her captive memory, fixed, frozen in time. mother's jail, Consolate loses her only connection to family; in receiving a message from her, Consolate loses her connection to her. Unable to move past this reality, Consolate is waiting to be passed down through the families of Tutsi and Hutu victims are common narrative examples. The families of perpetrators also carry a burden. Consolate, a woman of soft sentiments who cannot tear her gaze from the first litter of kittens, reminds readers that the children of perpetrators of their parents, and carry the weight of their parents' crimes, are unlikely to ever reclaim their families. As much attention is given to genocide, Tadjoo here emphasizes the pain of the families and their children.

In a brief narration entitled "The Pastor," Tadjoo depicts the pain faced by a pastor who was charged with protecting four children during the genocide. The belief that the churches were safe spaces and that the people in view of the clergy was prevalent in the early days of the genocide. The pastor's house was ransacked and the children were separated. Tadjoo depicts one of the children himself; the pastor swung the machete once

Hiding in a refugee camp until the end of the genocide, the pastor's prosecution for the murder of his children by the prosecutor what he felt punishment should be. The pastor must die (96). Scott Straus has a number of perpetrators (How Many Perpetrators Were There in the Genocide? An Essay) but there are no accurate testimonies of these perpetrators were forced to kill, either by public pressure or direct orders from readers of this complex form of participation in genocide, and difficult path to recovery actions. The pastor, convinced of his guilt, forgave himself for his actions under the threat of death. For he is deserving of punishment. The pastor thought of his future and a desire to begin recovery. Through this brief narrative about the genocide society, Tadjo encourages the reader to recognize both those identified as perpetrators and those who were not. Tadjo's interpretation of the genocide by force.

In *The Man Whose Life Was Torn Down*, Tadjo offers the story of a Frenchman who arrived in Africa and has lived his whole life in Rwanda. Of his time in Africa, he says, "I encountered with Africa, this other turned me down and that gave me birth. What we have to understand is the necessity of difference. The necessity of this difference of an adoptive origin is his. The love of Rwanda is an inversion of colonial and neocolonial practices. It is a culture and innovation. This man provides a complete picture of the genocide: I know the truth of this, I am a witness to it: France

keep her promises, she betrayed this country (26). While this is a view commonly proffered in discussion of France's role in the Rwandan Genocide, it is not a view commonly proffered in discussion of the genocide in places such as Rwanda. Tadjou is a man by birth and a man living on his dreams, on the impossible love for a land which is now reeling from the forces which won't let him just be a human being (26). Tadjou's failure of Western powers to play their full roll in the genocide has left many, such as Tadjou, who make their own sense of guilt for which he cannot atone and a sense of despair. As such, this depiction also reminds readers that the recovery does not solely involve citizens and naturalized citizens, but also the era of recovery in Rwanda, the negotiation of local and international politics.

Internal interactions in Rwanda are considered in *The Project Manager*, which details the experience of a man who was working in Rwanda on an agricultural project before the genocide began. Having fled violence, driven by physical fear, uncontrollable fear, of being caught in violence that would certainly turn against the foreigners (30), Tadjou returns to Rwanda during the recovery in order to find colleagues who survived the genocide. He has returned to pay them their wages, the money he had on hand when the Project closed its doors, amid widespread chaos.

explanation of his exit from Rwanda is a reminder to himself of the high
 days of the genocide, as expatriates were removed from Rwanda
 protection. These moments, broadcasted globally, have a racial division
 and nationality which he perceives as others. The guilt that drives
 Manager to return to Rwanda is a mixture of devotion to the re
 Rwanda, and awareness that his escape was the price paid for
 turning his back on Rwandan neighbors, and perceives himself as
 in the larger refusal to aid Rwandans facing this genocide, and
 and make amends. He believes that if the Project resumes on
 appeared (30) his recovery is dependant on aiding his recovery
 before the genocide travelling the country from end to end, look
 a few (30). This type of arduous work is intended to speak to the
 of his guilt and also his devotion to this country. Through this
 permutation of the survivor narrative, and asks readers to reco
 means embracing unhappiness in order to do so. The Project Manager
 reasons for his survival, seeks to absolve himself by committing
 agricultural work which first brought him to Rwanda. He says t
 resumes, & I copy it (30). In this moment, the act of recovery is
 personal, and demonstrates a sense of personal responsibility

The final narrative under consideration here is entitled Seth.
 the call to return to a home long abandoned. Seth is a Rwanda
 massacres that occurred in Rwanda in and after 1963, and who
 His parents were assassinated in Rwanda before the genocide that

nation Seth plans to return to Rwanda to raise his own family. into the country have convinced him that we have hit rock bottom again (77). Aware of the hegenocide, he recognizes that Rwanda is a country full of potential, and as a citizen, he feels compelled to contribute. When Tadjé expresses surprise at his willingness to leave the comfort of the States already, he explains that his wife Valentine will be there and I will set up a business (77). He sees their social and economic recovery as essential to aiding in recovery. This desire to return to Rwanda challenges the perception of Rwanda as an undesirable place, the pull of home. Tadjé describes Seth's longing for home as pulses through the veins and the heart and the soul (77). Seth is a member of the vast Rwandan diaspora, a testament to the severity of ethnic genocide. However, he also bears the marks of this diasporic existence (76) and his future in Rwanda is a conflation between Rwanda and his own stable childhood in Buffalo. Important here is the powerful draw of nationality, but his faith in Rwanda's future compels him to return and face the challenge as the genocide recedes in the memory. Tadjé emphasizes, a rare emotion in the discussions about Rwanda's future, that

The six scenes except for the one with the Rwandan citizens demonstrate the complex subject positions created by recovery. This diverse selection of Rwandan citizens may provide a more diverse picture of the genocide Rwandan communities are experiencing.

of society. Tschudi notes that during recovery, individuals level the objective to repair harm and thus foster dignity and empowerment involved. This requires participation of the local community. The objective is to promote and strengthen a viable community with text addresses both concerns. The portrait of individual citizens amongst survivors, loosely defined, by emphasizing the personal social and political crisis implicit in the genocide. By sadf record an individual level, it also considers how the nation as a whole is affected the grieving and recovery process. By discussing various attempts help Rwanda overcome a dialogue narration, historically used to exoticize spaces, is in this instance a means of renegotiating the international Rwandan identity. As literature that exposes the daily concerns by those citizens, it asks the reader to reject the simplistic construction instead see the diversity of Rwanda's citizenry, and the complex concerns.

*

Tadjo includes a section titled "The Wrath of the Gods," a narrative structure to demonstrate how the gods are recovering social order in Rwanda. The protagonist of this narrative is a traditional community guide who leads citizens to the spiritual world of their ancestors, traditional Rwandan religious beliefs and emphasizes the potential recovery of Rwandan communities. It also depicts characters who

reclaiming identity, both for the speaker and for the audience. The describing -the opposite state of Rwanda:

The dead were paying regular visits to the living and when would ds(sic) why they had been killed&The dead would have one could hear them. They would have liked to say all that all the words whose utterance they had been denied, cut from their mouths. (41)

It is a bold choice to open this long section of narrative with the living, as recovery ultimately focuses on survivors and not choice dramatises the relationship between the dead in a way that burden of survival clear to the reader. The voices of these dead citizens in the midst of grief decided for voice in death speaks to in their own lives and provocatively demonstrates how survivors down their own survival in the face of so much death.

This narrative focuses on one particular dead man whose refusing to quit the cause h(42) angry that survivors are willing genocide in order to return to a semblance of normalcy. This earth with the living, cannot initiate conversations with the living their own pain, deafened by their own tears, and their regrets. and windows, but they did not open. He cried: Why are you a corpse and you no longer recognise me. Can you? no(43) This failed exchange demonstrates how the memory of the genocide Rwandan society. The act of grieving is intimately tied up with

for survivors, it is also connected to the mourning of the dead. Thus, the grieving others is inextricably intertwined. In an effort to recover from the genocide, Tadjo suggests that some Rwandans have returned to their communities from the complexity of community engagement to remind the living of the importance of remembrance as a way to affirm loss and assert change going forward. This engagement forms the discussion of the genocide in Rwanda; the use of traditional and spiritual beliefs establishes a framework of instigating a productive recovery.

The rage of this dead man manifests in Rwanda as a striking refusal to open the gates to the other world & the rain hammered that the spirit should remain where it was (42). Within the national political disruptions the genocide are mimicked by the disruptions in the world. The questions of fate and destiny are not about individual and collective: Why in Rwanda? Why like this? What is my voice? Who will continue what I have begun (43). The deaths to consider, dwell on the past, while the survivors busy with social and personal recovery and try to avoid the past. The effects of the genocide fears of all Rwandans who survived to rebuild even as the dead force this issue forward for discussion, the struggle until everything had come to a halt (43). Here that avoidance of traumas of the past, divides individuals from their communities. What is clear is that public discourse is in itself the challenge

discussion difficult for the dead, but the means of recovery for both groups.

A soothsayer arrives from his home elsewhere in the hills and speaking to the survivors, he greet[s] the [irish, tourists] to the angered spirit. He hear[s] the story of his murder, the humiliation undergone before he was beheaded (43). His actions demonstrating an engaging in suffering, his compassion for the dead and the importance of actively acknowledging the traumas of the past before this spirit is notable, as is his respect for the suffering. Appeasing spirit, he says even as I weep, I know that my pain cannot be an outer limit of your suffering, you who have been mown down by me before you, a wretch of humanity (43). In a gesture of appeasement to the dead to allow the living another opportunity to learn how to live from the dead from the present. This emotional discourse which engaged as a powerful antidote to the trauma of the soothsayer arrived.

Suddenly, the rain began to calm so that only the regular noise could be heard, the refrain of despair. And soon, the first sounds heard: bursts of talking, the sound of engines thrumming, machinery working somewhere at the end of the street, music coming from the came out of their shelters and the sun shined out. The rolling thunder came now only from the distance. It seemed to be peaceful again. This resumption of life on the promise of a recovery based in a powerful moment in the narrative, and speaks directly to the new

the aftermath of the genocide, the spirit is not to be
 the community. The fact that as the rain diminishes, the sound
 audible is itself suggestive of recovery. The same can be said
 their homes and begin to travel and engage with others; commu-
 recovery and draws people together. By actively recognizing the
 mindful of that suffering in the present, recovery becomes implacable
 past and assuming daily life. Without intending to simplify the com-
 Rwanda, Tadjou demonstrates the role of memory and tradition in recovery
 through genocide.

This narrative demonstrates the need for the greater collective
 and national identities through collective recovery efforts. To
 the crowd gathered to bury the dead according to their customs, but
 bones growing old in the open air, so that we keep of them not
 by respect. Memory is like a sword dipped in water (45) like rain in
 This reminder of the value of collective commemorative practices
 to the need for collective engagement in the traumas of the genocide.
 memories of trauma, the soothsayer urges his audience to embrace
 valuable collective action in the future. However, this educational
 stern warning; as the diviner's voice becomes hard and sharp
 guard against a desire for vengeance and the perpetuation of the
 dead are not at peace because your hearts are still shot through
 but look in opposite directions. You live, but no one is willing to
 step (47). This shift in tone is a reminder that recovery has a cohesive and

productive nation posed by the failure to recover effectively. Violence and the division caused by the genocide have forced a reconciliatory Rwandan citizens. These variations of the recovery era in Rwanda will only increase if true recovery memorialization and effective collective mourning of the genocide to silence genocide memorialized public discourse undercuts the recovery and the development of a productive Rwandan nation.

This narrative *The Wrath of the Dead* and *Oracles* plays traditional elements from Rwandan culture. The soothsayer's arrival to face the anger of the spirit world after the genocide devalues the value of culture in the destruction of Rwanda, traditional culture can be used to challenge the devaluation of local identity of the genocide. Soothsayers criticize the constructions of a Rwandan nation, a failure some degree of unity could permit another eruption. By considering *Oracles* through this modified oral narrative, Tadjo provides the relationship between Rwandan culture might serve to aid genocide. The narrative emphasizes the Rwandan culture along with the spirit world. Ultimately, the soothsayer demonstrates confidence in the recovery of Rwanda, as he returns close of the narrative and allows the commonality to be practiced as establishes the space between and demonstrates trust that the citizen way to vocalize their experience of genocide productively.

Tadjo's narrative moves through Rwanda and the explicit text, the narrative and traditional in the efforts of the reform of the travel narrative encourages reader responsibility of the author's experiences are narrative commentary. This literary engagement with the genocide is positioned as a conversation, but is increasingly a backdrop to emerging definitions of national identity. The movement through the discourse of national identity and the horror of the genocide and the way that discourses of genocide are shaped by national government and by local Rwandan institutions. A wide range of Rwandans and expatriates are interviewed to create a diverse population, at the same time the complexity of the process is reflected in Tadjo's spare narrative. Rather than a voice of a representative, Tadjo rather speaks for themselves and determine their position. The position of the traditional narrative positions Rwandan culture as an invaluable source for working through the genocide. As a genocide text, Tadjo's work demonstrates the vibrant life in Rwanda, even as the practical recovery continues. From Rwanda, a new culture was forged during the genocide. Tadjo's text offers a very different sense of Rwanda and the identity of the nation. She also affirms the potential of the recovery process.

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This text, *Linden has a story before me: A Remarkable Document Given by a Young Lady from Rwanda* by Sonja Linden and supported by the performance company *Explored* is a dialogue between rights narratives. The use

performative at to introduce discourse about Rwanda as a compelling plays inherent opportunity for audience engagement and a disa emphasize the for inclusive social recovery, that in the face of genocide definition, genocide annihilates everything, including the myths that define a community and its people. Theatre has the potential to invite the audience to envision new imagery, new language, and to reconceptualize addressing the social divisions that prevent interaction, the use of an effective theatrical form as a public event, one in which the audience to make a response because the reception of a given work of art is part of the work itself. The whole creative process begins with the objective of this play is to understand about each Rwandan genocide and about the politics behind their interactions, the emphasis on inciting public action is merited.

This play is inherently political. In the introduction to the play, the author states that we passionately believe art has a role to play in communicating pressing issues of growing displacement of peoples from conflict zones present to British audiences stories of individuals who have been affected by these events (6). The subject of the play is based on Sonja Linden's experience with the Write to Life project through the Care of Victims of Torture Foundation. The title offers a political commentary:

Many people have commented on the play by saying it is both moving and arresting, others finding it annoyingly sympathetic and with its title seemed symptomatic of the West's indifference to a global

country, off the map, in faraway lands. The title is a deliberate challenge to our short attention span. (16)

Warned that having the word Rwanda in the title would likely offend, Linden refused to pacify her potential audience by hiding the story. An unpopular topic with global audiences during the genocide, the novel conveys the human dignity of genocide survivors and the impact of the genocide on British society.

This play is significant as the only text which steps away from the physical Rwanda to consider the diasporic Rwandan community in England. In the play, Juliette, a young female survivor of the genocide, is in London. While there, she meets Simon, a writer in his forties and it is through their characters that the social and political implications of the genocide are explored. The play's commentary is both general and specific. While she directly comments on the British system which provides refugees, it is clear that the play also addresses the relationship between Simon and Juliette and the larger tensions between Africa and Western citizens. The play's discussion of the political challenges and the role of the writer in recovery from large-scale trauma. The play affirms the value of communication after mass violence. It demonstrates that communication, either speaking or listening, can bridge otherwise divided social, cultural, and political boundaries. The play is designed to engage audiences in public discussion of the issues and to shape cross-cultural engagements between Rwanda and the world. The play's message to readers and audiences is to bridge the social and

The vast Rwandan diaspora has significant communities throughout North America. Approximately six Rwandese live outside of Rwanda (in the United Kingdom specifically, the Rwandan Community Association UK has been in operation since the late 1980s and strives to keep the ties between the Diaspora and to keep the Rwandan culture alive by organizing events for Rwandans and their friends, encouraging Rwandan children to learn their culture). The Rwandan Community Association in the UK is a proud Rwandan diaspora community but is somewhat isolated as she is heavily dependent on her members for her recovery. It is ultimately Simon's support that allows her to reclaim her identity. Hunt suggests that the social aspects of recovery, as well as authors have explicitly discussed how it affects the social aspects of recovery from a traumatic event and the role of this play, in demonstrating the value of intercultural interaction, make a strong political comment about the interaction between individuals of all races and

By setting this play in London rather than in Rwanda, Lindégenecide both intimately and at a distance. Juliette's experience of intimate representation of individual recovery while also raising the larger tensions around the issue of this play, this decision also challenges the lines often drawn around nations which have experienced mass violence. It demonstrates that recovery from the Rwandan genocide is not limited to Rwanda but must occur in all diasporic spaces. For new arrivals, and particularly for those forming an identity within a new cultural context, the experience of those excluded from belonging, Said writes

just beyond the perimeter of what nationalism constructs as separating us from where we are, is the experience of being displaced persons. One enormous difficulty in describing the experience of displaced persons, where as exile is a voluntary choice of a place. (The Mind of Winter)

Juliette, who lives in London for months before having any meaningful contact with other Londoners, experiences the unspoken hostility of British nationalism and being that she is not British. Displaced from Rwanda and unwelcome in London, her daily experiences in the city are an additional burden to a woman who has survived genocide in her home nation. Because of the hostility of the British system of governance, which provides for her physical mistreatment by the government, she demonstrates the devaluing of her life and the perception of her as less than human without entitlement to rights, as the humanly unrecognition of her population is thus not only a process through which regulatory bodies subjectify her. It is also the process of her exclusion from the British system of governance, which undermines her efforts to recover from the genocide in London. As Juliette blossoms in London, it is clear to her audience that the complexity of lived refugee experience is not captured by Linden's characterization.

Linden constructs the character as representative of the British public's lack of understanding of the Rwandan genocide. She is a woman who has watched the coverage of the genocide from a distance and with

disinterested in the genocide, Simon's lack of knowledge stems from events emphasized the distance between the two characters. As Juliette is identified from the onset of the play as Rwandan, and as a result of her personal experience of genocide, their interaction is compellingly interpreted, the playwrights Simon and Juliette offers audiences to observe the emergence of a relationship affected by the political differences, class disparity.

The value of demonstrating cultural exchange in performance is significant given the increasingly porous borders of the current world between people from different social, cultural, political, and religious backgrounds. As a result, the playwrights and the value of discussing diverse social structures, writing that

bridging social capital can be much more effective in promoting democratic values than a socializing social capital. In people from different social cleavages is more valuable than [sic] sharing same demographic characteristics. (447)

The developing friendship between Juliette and Simon is just social capital. These two characters from very different political systems share and use social capital. Importantly, they prove to be instrumental in their personal growth.

As the play begins, both characters exist in two separate rooms. Simon is seated in his office, while Juliette waits outside Juliette while considering the room and wondering casually about

other side of the ~~es~~ ~~tu~~ ~~ally~~, his contrasts: tense from the journey to the
 unsure about the impression she will make on Simon, and nervous
 writing to her chest. While Simon's dedication to ~~his~~ job is obvious
 investment in the meeting is obvious to the audience. Her first
 the value she places on this opportunity: I'm early. I'm always
 impression. It's important (18). ~~These~~ ~~basically~~ ~~con~~ ~~of~~ ~~her~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~v~~
 these characters prepare to meet one another. What is also in
 characters construct the other imaginatively before they meet.
 documents, ~~he~~ ~~sees~~ ~~Juliette~~ ~~and~~ ~~says~~ ~~to~~ ~~himself~~ ~~my~~ ~~first~~ ~~client~~
 Niy&rabeza. Juliette spelled the French way. Of course, it was
 that up (19). It is compelling that for Simon, Juliette ~~is~~ ~~an~~ ~~identifi~~
 her nationality. In particular, it is the colonial history of Rwanda
 He does not wonder about her personality or even personal circum
 imagining further suggests his ~~is~~ ~~tion~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~is~~ ~~str~~ ~~ates~~ ~~no~~ ~~con~~
 discomfort. Simon's sense that a quick scan ~~can~~ ~~now~~ ~~with~~ ~~proved~~ ~~effort~~
 with what he needs to know about ~~Juliette~~ ~~is~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~feel~~ ~~comfort~~
 imperialism which ~~is~~ ~~Simon~~ ~~is~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~recognize~~ ~~himself~~

Conversely, Juliette has already constructed ~~her~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ ~~him~~ ~~before~~ ~~they~~ ~~ate~~
 meet, based on ~~her~~ ~~own~~ ~~understanding~~ ~~of~~ ~~British~~ ~~identity~~. Because
 Juliette expects to ~~see~~ ~~him~~ ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~British~~ ~~prof~~

Glasses. For sure he will wear glasses. Probably those li
 So he will look down at me like this. And he will be dressed
 black, and a white shirt and a tie. ~~Maybe~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~university~~

educated! His English will be perfect, perfect spelling. how strict he is, I need to learn. (19)

Juliette's vision of the learned English scholar demonstrates her identity to be, and also demonstrates that the assumptions of cultural directions. Unfamiliar with English culture, as Simon is with R stereotypes to inform her vision of English will be demonstrated by this English identity is wrapped up with education and authority will be a commanding teacher rather than a simple, uneducated student.

Linden confronts the questions and expectations of the audience. Simon and Juliette meet. Their discussion is awkward and fraudulent situation is new to them both. Juliette is notably thrown by Simon and books in his office; she does not know how to evaluate this trapping situation which she expected. Simon is similarly out of his discussion of the genocide, and the system that the genocide occurred. At the end of the interview, each character speaks directly to the Juliette's disappointment is palpable:

He's no good! He can't help me. I'm not going back there in my trousers. So he can't have a wife like mine, or a wife that I thought he would be a proper writer. And a name like that, at that time, and here were no books in his room, in his room would see books on his desk, he said. Why hide a drawer? What was that scribble? I'll write down. It sounds to me like a scribbler, a scribbler, a scribbler. (22)

As she cannot understand Simon to be a proper writer, she relies on her construction to characterize him: the English bachelor. She cautions Valiñas of writing to Simon's casual presentation of himself in the *Refugee Office*, placing her trust in him, as he presents himself as a pliant and academic figure. However, Simon's sense of the meeting is very different. He speaks briefly and mistakes her disinterest in him for a lack of interest in him. Probably looking up *The Writer*. Well, I'll have to do something to make the meeting, make her more at ease. Huh! The Writer! (23). In this meeting, he sees himself through Juliette's eyes and proudly assumes that she is interested in him because Simon reveals several of his fears privately. As a writer, his publications are limited to a single book of poetry. He is a bit late, and his work at the *Refugee Center* is not as scholarly as he would like. He tries to distract himself from what he perceives as his dwindling career. He demonstrates the audience's positions of these two characters and their national political failures. The communication of dissatisfaction with the international cultural interactions are often framed by the characters in a neutral fashion. Both characters rely on the stereotypes of each other as a public exchange, and neither is able to connect to any specific group or social position.

This first meeting, which did not go as either character had hoped for, is a productive interview, as it highlights the characters' individual perspectives. From this point forward, both characters become committed to exchanging their perspectives. Valiñas and Arsovska support this as their private spheres of interaction, and their individual perspectives continue to be determined primarily by their own experiences.

political affiliation and group identity, attempts to bring individuals between them beyond ethnic lines will face extreme difficulty. When both characters appear on stage, unaware of the other and overheard, Simon is criticised at the Refugee Centre about his inability to write his first novel; Juliette caring for him in the hospital. Their shared sense of their future in London, united by their shared sense of their lives, as well as their hope that they will be able to claim it for themselves.

With only a tenuous relationship established, it is a mutual effort for these two characters to form a proper friendship. Simon visits Juliette in the midst of an awkward moment, when he asks her to read poetry. She is surprised by his own actions in asking her to do that? I just came to see you was all right, to apologise for asking her to do too much an extended exchange. Performatively, she asks him if he did I do that? I am so embarrassed to go somewhere with him. And why did he ask me. But can I tell him, that he can't use the same words and demonstrate the same emotions in shared situations. This performative moment in cross-cultural engagements are individual, regardless of cultural or political concerns. The pair travel to the poetry reading in Simon's car for her to be in a car for once. A bit of luxury (33). This effort gives light to Simon's life experience to the extent that whether these are based on Juliette's experiences in Rwanda or

Simon imagines that she will be impressed by the size of his car, but her observation with Simon's car is that his car is old. Not like her \$34,000 Honda Civic. This yet another moment wherein these two characters use stereotypes to serve their audiences that Juliette's race and nationality preclude experiences of luxury, despite Simon's assumptions to the contrary. This misperception is understandable, as they have yet to discover any shared ground, heavily shaped by the circumstances of their meeting.

On the drive to the poetry reading, Simon puts on some background music, but privately worries that Juliette will think of it as a sign of his silence, but in fact she is enchanted by this sound of art. As seen in several early scenes, they both comment to the audience that the awkwardness of their interaction belabours their efforts to establish a friendship. The poetry reading, a connection between these two characters, is a little bit awkward, but by the end of the quick introductions, she decides that as Simon is a poet, she will not relinquish her expectations about his struggles and the meaning of his expression "a sea of pain" (37) makes an impression on her. In this expression, she recognizes feelings in London. However, she also recognizes in this expression a depth of hurt which sparks her new interest in Simon's reading is visible, and her careful attention is evident: My voice is picking up. The room is electric. Here comes the climax, the jagged edge, I've got plenty from them. And Juliette

longer smiling but leaning forward, looking at me (37). Simon's enthusiasm is reciprocated by Juliette's excitement to share Simon's experiences. To wit, they both turn their eyes to the other simultaneously; the stumbling blocks of rooming are left, and they do not stop making assumptions and directly.

Linden makes this turning point in their lives more fundamental. Juliette, this night marks a break in her long social isolation. "Good night here in England" (39), and then recounts the fear she felt. While this narrative turn seems negative, it is compelling that only Juliette offer her private traumas to the audience. To this point, her extended insights into her Rwandan experience, however raw, that she has forged a connection with Simon, she is more freely able to be confident in holding the audience's attention. This previous connection is her first sense of community, and it is important if she is to find recovery from the genocide in this distant country. For Simon, having not written in months, and beginning to write again, of ever, Simon finds himself powerfully inspired by the evening. In part, his captured Juliette's attention empowers him, as their interaction is fractious. His own performance also excites him, as if he had not. As he drives away from Juliette's rooming house, he finds himself

The pockets of poets are never empty, and it is only in our last
 Mine had been for quite some time, and I was scrabbling
 scraps of paper to dash down the phrases with a towel, keeping

Then I stuffed them into my jacket pocket, and headed for crumpled ease, like a hundred times. (39)

Juliette's engagement to Simon was his attempt to reclaim his voice to the audience, it is clear that these two characters are similarly making themselves and their lives. Despite their different positions for very different reasons, it remains clear to the audience that their social, and political spheres is ultimately very productive.

The friendship that emerges from this moment of mutual in Simon to communicate more directly and with greater honesty. affirms the possibility of a direct communication, which is one of concerns of the play. As Juliette's visit to Rwanda is an opportunity to share some of the cultural differences between political hierarchies. During a picnic organized by Simon, Juliette explains that in Rwanda, women and babies eat bananas. We to see a big man eating a banana (46). This mention of a custom simultaneously preserve and circulate aspects of her culture in a provocative way. Juliette responds to Simon's question "Anything else from a detailed response that inverts the traditional gaze to represent Rwandan perspective:

Hair. On your arms and maybe, on your legs. Some whites, they have hair on their bodies. My little sister, Dominique. To us, they look like they have all that hair. Sorry, Simon. And because they are really scary. Dominique called white people (46)

This Rwandan view of Simon demonstrates a certain degree of these two, although Juliette is careful not to upset Simon with invoke the memory of his father Dominique during the genocide, suggest pleasant moments with Simon loosen the restrictions of isolation audience who is unlikely to have any detailed knowledge of Rwandan moments of cultural education demonstrate the existence of alternative paths to the value of cultural education.

Juliette throws away a manuscript on Simon because she is writing a secret text that engages more directly with the genocide. Although she struggles with representing her family through writing, Simon praises her engagement with the project demonstrates how their personal relationship sense of connection is not just to the history of her homeland as

Simon: Well then! And you must stand up for us too. That's a to bring in some of the history. Specially about the grandfather. You said that was when it was generations ago.

Juliette: After the Independence.

Simon: In 1962.

Juliette: You know a lot, Simon.

Simon: Yes, well, I know a bit more, now, than I did. (51)

Linden makes it clear that Simon is humble about his Rwandan education and politics, it is a powerful moment in the play. His relationship engage Rwandan political history, and to look past the mediated historical facts behind the Rwandan genocide. This allows him to engage more

conversation with Juliette about her book, and furthers the development of their relationship. It is clear in this moment that Juliette is confident that his knowledge will allow him to engage with her on a level that is secure enough in Simon's interest to speak freely about her work and her knowledge, as it begins to equalize the balance of power in the relationship.

Simon's growing knowledge about the genocide and his role in it effectively supports her writing; she is burdened by the need to confront her family and the public. Simon comes to understand the difficulty of her performance, Juliette learns that her brother, discovered alive in Uganda, has been denied the faith in her writing altogether. She misses several appointments without explanation, and he begins to protest his dedication to Juliette and his work motivates his emotions, but when he confronts Juliette, he expresses complex emotions:

OK, I admit I'm also hurt. Maybe I've got no right to be angry against yours. I can't compete with that, can I? Ever. And you to trust me, to trust anyone every again, or consider or thank you or please again, all those stories in my country, they now Survivors Law. If you're not in the mood to show up tough, let him suffer a bit. I mean, it's not holding you against you.
(567)

This may be an uncomfortable moment for the audience, but very real conflict for those who observe genocide without being touched or criticized for her actions as a survivor. She has a sense that Juliette

exemption from social norms, and it resents the small inconvenience that has meant to him. Interestingly, Simon's assumption is that Juliette's trauma of the genocide is an essential element of her identity. This is an internal construct that the audience to consider, as people from nations with different cultures must often work to overcome the simple differences. In this moment, Simon is brave enough to confront what he terms "victimhood" and challenges the construction of genocide survivors as victims by their behaviour without comment. While easy, it encourages the audience to consider that survival and victimhood are often intertwined in various ways.

When Simon learns that Juliette is in danger, he demonstrates his commitment to Juliette's happiness. He shares his disappointment with her and how it may impact her further recovery here in London. She refuses to reunite two survivors of a murdered family, Simon criticizes the government's policies as inadequate. This is to promote the audience's awareness of the formal complexities which, however, are in fact outweighed by this loss is also a turning point in the play; while they have discussed Juliette's experience of genocide, they have never discussed it with her. Since it is necessary for Juliette to share her experiences:

personal memories of her family's death or the trauma she suffered because he is invested in her recovery. Simon is scared of his first performative decision that suggests recovery is not necessarily found in one's home community, but rather can take place in any community with understanding and respect. This is a gain in visibility for Juliette's experiences that demonstrates cross-cultural interaction in a way that they met, both Simon and Juliette begin to challenge their own reliance on stereotypes and engage other social circles. These efforts eventually forge a relationship in which both have the freedom to speak honestly about the genocide.

In the following scene, Simon narrates his conversation with Juliette. He is so distraught with what he has heard that when he immediately tells her that it's pretty awful but I've just got to say it, get it off my chest, he minimizes the weight of the burden Juliette has borne over time in London. Confused by such an announcement, Maggie, who has been having an affair with Juliette and they fight bitterly, as in their relationship many years prior. Shocked at his wife's assumption (59) and begins screaming Juliette is so angry at her (59) moment, the audience witnesses profound solidarity between Simon and Juliette. This moment shows how Juliette's friendship has come to mean to him. Simon's moment is a mark of solidarity between himself and Juliette, as his history is as powerfully as her own experiences. In the end, Maggie comforts Simon and they begin to talk about their shared experiences.

(60), inspired by Juliette. This is like a post-structuralist approach to writing, Simon's friendship with Juliette, his emotional engagement in his global awareness have now intertwined. As they are the only change, Linders suggests that what knowledge and culture he provided something that he previously lacked. His own reward for his release from friendship, is a deep sense of personal satisfaction and confidence in cross-cultural discussion, and she offers to relinquish her hold on it while Simon's growing understanding of Juliette's experiences grows more creatively. This interaction has profound benefits for each interaction with her and with others in their lives.

After Simon falls asleep, Maggie tells him in the middle of the night he couldn't sleep she said, she'd been thinking about Juliette and she had a suggestion (60). Maggie suggests that she alter their summer plans in order to afford to send Juliette to Uganda, compelled by Simon's emotional investment in Juliette, and is compensated to a woman she has never met. With a small sacrifice, she sees how significant a change in Juliette's life. This insight and gift to the audience that awareness and a mild indignation can be a powerful basis for change. It reminds viewers that real change, collective, requires the engagement of social structures, once initiated, can sustain itself and encourage further engagement. The connection between Juliette and Simon's profound rewards for her include freedom as a burden of the genocide. Since his high profile and his powerful voice, Claude's

with his sister, and Maggie's role in maintaining emotional intimacy in the play. Ultimately, this play demonstrates the value of forging connections across cultural, and economic divides as an effort to break the profound domino effect of human connection.

The relationship between the two characters illustrates that an interaction can be fraught with frustration, and missteps. However, this relationship shows the audience individual social, cultural, and political differences are profoundly important. Both characters grow as a result of their interactions, empowered by the insights they gain. Their connection is one that transcends age, and class divide in a way that is fundamental to the production. Alternatively suggests that the limited scope of the production interactions with the other characters make a clear reminder to the audience that social connections are a building block of a relationship. In performance, this play emphasizes the importance of spoken communication and direct communication when trust is absent. By demonstrating the production and honest engagement between the characters, the production suggests the possibility of compassion fatigue (Moeller 2) through educational engagement.

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In form and content, this play explores the role of writing in reclaiming identity, which is particularly relevant to the character Juliette, as she has experienced trauma as a survivor of the Rwandan genocide. Juliette's desire to write a book which explains the genocide to a broad audience is a theme in the play.

Scene one opens with Juliette arriving at Simon's office at the book about the genocide. She has written a book in Kinyarwanda in clash between the Hutu and Tutsi population, as well as the prelude to the genocide. While unsure of her work, she is a powerful character is evinced by her actions. She picks up his phone to speak to his secretary. And he will say, Miss in London please. I have before me a document by a young lady from Rwanda. Her expectations are matched by her need for success. She has dedicated her time in London to educate the causes of the genocide, in this matter informed sense of success in this new nation. Juliette is anxious to improve as she is aware that she needs to write in English. In her third meeting with Simon, she requests additional assignments writing. This is not done at Simon's prompting; rather, Juliette feels she must meet British standards. This demonstrates the impact of neocolonialism in Juliette's confidence. Distanced from the European centre of the belief that her best efforts may still be seen as inferior to the British system demonstrates her awareness of the fragile position of British society, made worse by the fact that her confidence is marred by the horror of the genocide.

Juliette is extremely proud of her book translated from Kinyarwanda as she correctly identifies this as the first step towards sharing with a speaking public. She manages this by asking a favour of a Rwandan

Oh! It's beautiful. It's typed, like a proper book. He is a Hutu but we didn't want to approach him because he is a Hutu but we are human beings, some of them were against the killing that happened. Oh the pages are so clean. I hope it is a good one. I don't have any English friends. (23)

Buoyed by determination, Juliette is able to overcome the genocide in Rwanda. Her collaboration with this unnamed Hutu allows her to write with Simon and then find a purpose for her work. How writing can serve as a means of recovery between individuals in Rwanda makes Juliette wary of approaching this man, but her decision to trust him teaches her that she can trust all people, and that acts of trust can be powerful. Juliette rejects the ideology of the genocide and the violence of Rwanda. In this moment, this exchange demonstrates that writing activity which can help to break down the barriers erected by violence and mistrust.

As Simon is first and foremost Juliette's writing mentor, she seeks his opinion of her first draft. Written in her early days in London, her substantial efforts. However, Simon's evaluation of Juliette's work reveals a lot about her writing. Despite the fact that Juliette is a genocide survivor, her family, her work on the genocide is detached and written with a clinical eye. As you've written, there's nothing actually wrong with it, it's detailed, shocking, and factual, dates, facts. As a document of what happened, there are no feelings there, it's just a report of what actually

written by a survivor (219). As Juliette struggles to threads of her into a narrative, her history of IR was a reflection of her assumption that the ha public forum. all to be a reflection of her assumption that the ha will be more convincing to this new audience than her own stor been one effort, she may have internalized a shuffling belief that will not capture the attention of the British public, even as her strangers to speak to her. In order to improve her writing, Sim personal voice to come through his notebook about fancy long word writing makes you see what the writer wants you to see. And feeling, Juliette (24). While this advice is accurate and help professional, this advice is a complex challenge in order what she has written, channel her experience onto the page.

Linden emphasizes that a dedication to this work, the em dwelling on genocide in her homeland eventually become too much avoid her meeting Simon to discuss his work and of course what he presumes is her personal sense of failure at least producing any resist Simon's urging to continue writing and I need to do things Simon. I can't only do writing. Is no good. I need to start my a place (52). Her resistance is a convergence of two power ignore painful memories and to begin a new life in London. When she arrives in London, Juliette begins to establish a life for herself beyond what is provided for her, as a growing belief that she can establish a new identity.

new space. When she seems to remain focused and productive, she force-fully: Simon, you don't understand. I need to start my life. When I write, I'm there, I'm there! I don't want that no more. Her resistance draws attention to the challenge of memory, especially for those who are fraught with trauma. For Juliette, a young girl in a city with few opportunities for human connection, the promise of a positive future becomes untenable. For Western audiences, this commemoration and personal recovery reveals the challenges faced by communities seeking to move past violent events. The need to connect through shared expression, but alienated from her community, becomes a burden, reminding her only of what she has lost.

While the hope of her brother's discovery spurs her enthusiasm, the knowledge that his top British friend denied makes all work on the book. Juliette abandons her writing sessions with Simon and returns to London. Simon writes: "You made [your family] come alive again through writing. And now you're nearly there" (56) but Juliette's response is firmly: "I don't care!" (56). Her commitment to remembrance is not for her brother, a new hurt which she does not want to face. This suggests that the potential for recovery depends on experiencing the loss, her brother's denied entry to Britain, the promise of a future which is linked to her past. This also demonstrates how far from the project, which she needs or provide the hope that she is searching for. Writing is not what she does develop her relationship with Simon, it does not take the

The loss of the potential companionship of her brother Claude without the motivation to write, either for the edification of others

Simon shares Juliette's loss with her and Maggie. Maggie suggests that they fund a trip for Juliette to go to Uganda. The audience does not witness Simon offering this gift to Juliette. What follows is a letter from Juliette to Simon, written in Uganda:

Dear Simon, the smell of Africa is all around me now as I visit my brother, I find him on the second day. I can't describe you, you was so joyful. He is very big now, tall like our father & we sometimes. I want that he goes to university. I will send him. Maybe he will go to Orono to take him & the most important thing is that he is alive. Now I want to finish my book very soon, so when you will try to finish it with your help. Thank you for everything, I thank you a million times for sending me to Uganda. I love you.
(60)

This letter is a window into Juliette's life that has not yet taken the stage. Her memories of her family and her easy mention of her father contrasts with her firm confidence in her recovery, as well as her belief that she will be able to reclaim her family. Her enthusiasm for her brother's future and her hope and a clear sense of self. It is clear that in achieving a reclaiming, Juliette's desire to write with her pen while her writing can

serve as the sole means of emotional relief, yet it is not to a
 it possible for her to turn herself to the education of others through

Linden uses this scene in the play demonstrates the value of
 affirming personal and social trauma. Six months after Juliette's flight
 from Uganda, Juliette and Simon have completed their book and
 conference entitled *Literature and Social Exclusion* (61). Simon
 the power of (61) and invites Juliette to the stage. The very
 podium is a significant reversal in Juliette's experience as a di-
 While she arrived in Britain without identification, now known to
 her social and political status as a refugee, her efforts toward
 willingness to forge a connection with Simon have profoundly c-
 power in this moment. She is about to claim the reputation that
 story will be heard and by this crowd. As E. Proulx observes, "when
 people are enrolled in the rhetorics, the stances, and the subject
 Through these personal accounts, she is able to make a public
 discussion is a moment in which authority is made manifest through
 Although she is nervous in front of this audience, she has, then, confidence
 when her nerves overcome her, she waits, and makes the audience
 begin again. This awkward subject (62) is her claiming of social
 authority, but also marks that the audience will give her the
 herself for the publication of her experience of genocide. As a woman
 to the citizens of Britain only a few months ago, this marks a d-
 of participation in society.

In introducing the book to the crowd, she explains my book happened to me and my people. It was very hard to write, very it, I feel like I can't sleep. I can't see the park, I can't see flowers, see the sky. This statement suggests a very clear relationship between writing and the restoration of internal calm. Juliette's examples of life are simple pleasures. That she can see the flowers, see the sky (63) indicates a recovery of the world around her, a far cry from the world she lived in before. Juliette's repeated "I" statements demonstrate a renewed confidence, particularly as it comes from the gathered crowd. It is clear that the act of writing has renewed Juliette and helped her establish a community in which she has a clear perspective and voice. This narrative is a victory because it is a sign of a broader social engagement with the Rwandan genocide through public discussion and personal narrative.

Juliette hopes that the book will support a collaborative and inclusive relationship with the suffering of the Rwandan people, one that will foster global communication across political and cultural identifications:

I wrote my book to take the pain from my heart. But also I want to help people in the world who are thinking about how to live with the pain. When I finished to write this book, it helped me: my headaches and the pain which I had for five years stopped and I found an answer to the question: a meaning? That was a question I asked myself all this time. Why has all this happened? Now I think I have found the answer.

this book. So please when it is published I ask you to read and go a bit into your hearts and away from ours and do not let the people be forgotten (162)

Juliette's purpose is personal as well as political; she offers testimony that is important to achieving a goal of recovery. She positions writing as a means of cultural recovery, suggesting that political engagement and the facts and experiences of genocide can instigate education for observers. Juliette suggests that increased international awareness about the genocide will help the recovery for her nation. It is significant that Juliette has the authority to request such intellectual and emotional engagement, and that is ultimately productive that she does so. As Deleuze and Guattari points out, the difference between informing and performing a speech act (115) is that the very act of speaking is the purpose in her writing. For the audience of her play, which is a similarly didactic audience, Juliette's association with the Rwandan genocide is also observed. Juliette's audience is captivated by her words and invested in her message. Juliette's authority is not only the literal representation of the Rwandan genocide, but also the objective: to assert the historical and subsequent events of the Rwandan genocide to a broad global audience, reflecting the deep political and social consequences for the citizens of London.

The play closes not with Juliette standing atop of this crowd, but with Simon and Juliette standing together. Simon reads from Juliette's play in Kinyarwanda; together, they read Juliette's play about Rwanda:

Simon: Upon a time in the heart of Africa & there was a so beautiful country of forests and lakes and mountains & which milk and honey & and the country of a thousand hills.

Juliette: Chera & umutima wa afrika & hawijobogoo cham ijihogoo & chimisawzi ijombi. (63)

This tandem reading demonstrates a shared dedication to this collaborative writing and political engagement. Juliette has gained England, she has her Rwanda. Furthermore, the reading of Kinyarwanda is a performative choice that suggests the value of on the British stage and within British imperial and racial hierarchies imposed by Britain and the West. Her vision of Rwanda in this scene also conveys the message that the future of Rwanda, it has a right to a national identity and as a survivor of the genocide, is an advocate for a renewed definition of stage.

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Both Véronique Tadjo's *Shadow of Imana: Travels in the Heart of Rwanda* and Lindeh's *Before Me A Remarkable Document Given To Me By Rwanda* explore the pressing issues of Rwanda and are determined that readers will understand the genocide as only one facet of a larger story. The authors adopt literary approaches that encourage strong reader structure and observation that allows readers to construct their own responses without being overly influenced by author

demonstrates the ~~value of~~ ~~interaction~~ and, by representing a post-genocide survival on stage, encourages ~~public~~ ~~discussion~~ on public forums. Both narratives emphasize honest interaction to complex problems. While neither text is particularly invested in ~~representing~~ ~~their~~ ~~audiences~~. The potential strength of this approach is that, most fundamentally, it plays a role in the public sphere as it deals in and through private lives: how we imagine ourselves in relation to others (Wahlerstein and Lindner undergo just such a renegotiation, the authors assert the value of and nations).

As demonstrated by the media coverage of the genocide in Rwanda, it does not always ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~conscience~~: it can languish unremarked and unremembered in the public becomes ~~elusive~~ ~~repudiated~~ (74). The reasons for these failures in narratives can be attributed to compassion fatigue, which is often offered without any grounding in the larger cultural and political context. Action is offered to the reader ~~in~~ ~~narratives~~, which occur most often in news reports, both Tadjoo and Lindner ~~reflect~~ ~~and~~ ~~provide~~ ~~original~~ ~~tractions~~ for their audiences. Their shared interest here is in aiding individual and collective action representing Rwandan culture and Rwandan citizens with as much as possible. Action is inherently political, a hope for a more equitable world. Finn Tschudi praises Eveline Lindner's work as establishing a movement toward a more just world in our global village. It is not whether we use fear as the glue that holds hierarchies or prefer to live in creative networks held together by

dignity (Tschudi 51). Certainly these texts affirm the value of exchanges, and encourage their audiences to recognize the social hierarchies imposed by the forces of neocolonialism and racial exchanges.

Suffering contextualized by cultural, social, and political recovery with greater dignity for those involved. It is important to remember that in a globalized world, the Rwandan genocide was a trauma which to allow Rwanda to remain a space of genocide further traumatized witnesses and survivors. Just as trauma can be transmitted through cultural productions, so too can recovery be passed along the same line. An event as significant as the Rwandan genocide can occur only once in a global city, and awareness of the cultural, social, and political causes of the violence and its long-term implications for survivors and witnesses is essential among all people. Both Tadjo and Lindert demonstrate that the aspects of recovery in their plays, *The Audience* and *Juliette*, are powerfully strengthened by Simon's interest in understanding history and after the genocide. Their model of future recovery that Lindert aspires to, ultimately gives rise to a powerful and coherent culture that inspires the audience to see the productive potential of such an

Chapter: ~~SD~~ Decolonizing the West ~~West~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Eng~~ ~~agement~~

If you want to build a ship, don't hire people to collect wood and don't assign them tasks and work hours but rather let them sing for the endless immensity of the sea.

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry.

The texts which explore the Rwandan Genocide for Westerners because as one half of the imperial project, they develop awareness of remains poorly understood in Western knowledge about Rwanda prior genocide was informed by its long discourses: the nineteenth century African identity as an inversion of Western identity, the tropes undermined African colonial development, and the late twentieth Africa as untenable to sustain Western imperialism. African nation Rwanda is framed by centuries of Western public discourse which specific knowledge of Rwandan national identity in the Western prior genocide was limited to the following events: Rwanda's independence, a decade of massacres in the 1960s and 1970s, and the economic nation in 1989. These events established Rwanda as a socially turbulent nation in Western imagination.

Rwanda became independent in 1962, and ostensibly this independence permitted the Rwandan state a more active role in the political discourse of and the wider global community of nations. However, decolonization was offered - ~~me as~~ ~~in~~ ~~ad~~ ~~f~~ ~~countries~~ ~~became~~ ~~internally~~ ~~independent~~ - and retained the exclusionary politics of the colonial regime. Rwanda given the freedom to enact their own politics within their borders.

international discussions. Rwanda was a permanent member of the UN Security Council until 1994, and has not been permitted a second political involvement in global affairs since Rwanda's social or political role in an African event.

In part this lack of involvement both reflects and reinforces the system of racial and cultural inequality which emerged to fill the colonial rule in the 1960s and 1970s. The neocolonial superstructure maintains inequality by propagating the perception of difference. Moreover, the neocolonial superstructure naturalizes detachment, controlling the discourse about the world in a way that marginalizes global discussions that militaristic or economic global authority can socio-political discourse, while nations with a history and limited economic resources remain excluded from participation in the global imagination. In the global imagination, the construction of Rwanda has remained in place within Rwanda even after the destruction of the Rwandan identity remained in place in the West.

²¹ By comparison, Canada, a massive source of economic power, is a member of the Security Council six times since the formation of the council in 1946, six times each decade (UN Security Council Details, online sources). Rwanda, a small nation, has been given three opportunities to sit on the Security Council, beginning in 1962 and reoccurring approximately every twenty years. The UN recently introduced a new membership system by dividing the nations of the world into five regional groups and choosing one nation from each group according to a quota system. In this new arrangement, Africa is allotted 28% of the member nations, making it the largest group among the five. This high percentage means that African countries must sit on the council. Conversely, the European group has 12% and the Western group has 12% of the global member nations, respectively, meaning that individual countries from Africa, Europe, and the West are appointed to the council (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS).

Rwanda is such a small African nation, it may well be that constructions prior to the genocide were reflections of African identity more than anything else. What remains is that the Rwanda 1994 genocide was perhaps the first significant event between Rwandan and global history, primarily by the neocolonial superpowers. The Western coverage of the genocide constructed a narrative that painted a picture of Rwanda for Westerners. Rwanda's recovery efforts have largely been shaped by Western media, meaning that Rwandan identity in the Western imagination is not in accord with the genocide identity within Rwanda. Rwanda's recovery has involved an innovative engagement with the construction of national identity, and the potential to challenge Western constructions of Rwandan citizens, and their role in the genocide.

As the genocide has become a primary site of Western interest for Rwandan citizens, it is important to consider how knowledge of the genocide is disseminated. Evidence presented in this dissertation shows that there was significant Western interest in the humanitarian crisis of the genocide, and that Western actors valued Western recovery efforts over Rwandan recovery efforts. The ICTR is evidence of this, as Western media have reported on the genocide in the past eight years, while coverage of Rwandan judicial proceedings has been minimal. Many books have been written to clarify the facts of the genocide, to identify major sites of death, and to evaluate the justice of the Rwandan genocide. However, the texts under exploration in this dissertation represent a different way in which the Rwandan Genocide is represented to Western readers. These texts explore the nature of their exploration and the representation of the genocide to Western readers a vision of the Rwandan Genocide contextualized by Rwandan history and culture.

providing Western readers with complex representations of Rwandan interactions, and demands a re-evaluation of the nature of these interactions between Rwandan and Western citizens. Taken as the basis for new definitions of Rwandan national identity. By these texts, the nature of this literary ethnography becomes clear. These uses can be explored in greater detail.

Creating space for a new understanding of Rwanda and a national education. Colonial and neocolonial discourses rely on the perpetuation of colonial and neocolonial discourses. Across the continent, citizens of the periphery ways that are internally existing with a periphery. This discursive control prevents understandings of the world generated by citizens of the centre. Permitted representations affirm the discursive and discourage further engagement between central and peripheral. Accurate historical, cultural, and political information about a world of understandings based in fact rather than supposition and political. Gourevitch makes a particular effort to provide information to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families. This movement through Rwanda with discussions of Rwanda's long political history and travels also allow him to explore elements of Rwandan culture, establish a reader a continuum of Rwandan identity which is not wholly defined by continued neocolonialism. Gourevitch details for readers of ethnic tensions between Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda, emphasizing divisions and tracing the development of ethnic rhetoric along

constructions of personal and political identities. Significantly, Rwandan society and its representations text.

Facts about other spaces have long been proffered, with different interpretations of history is not neutral; all events are framed and are then interpreted and understood within that framework. Western readers understand how Rwandan history has shaped contemporary historical facts need to be framed by their own cultural and political contexts. Sunday at the Polo is a play that explores the interplay between historical realities and the experience of Rwandan citizens and local narrators to recount Rwandan history from a personal perspective. The play features characters who recognized the colonial manipulation of ethnic categories and political structures to escape the imposed limitations on their citizenship and political participation. Local actors when they are in the play use human experience to tell the story through four generations of a Rwandan family to illustrate the impact of Rwandan history. As the reader witnesses the decimation of this family, the play attempts to bridge the political, social, and colonial realities of Rwanda. This narrative addresses the tensions between traditional and modern Rwandan society; it also addresses the AIDS epidemic as a significant challenge for citizens of Rwanda as cultural tradition and modern perspectives on safe sexual practices. This is a stark representation of a significant medical culture in flux, an important historical and neocolonial space. Representations emphasized stagnation and the need for reform. The play offers approaches to increasing their reader's understanding of Rwanda.

organization, their emphasis is on accurate information which provides understanding of the Rwandan identity.

These educational texts also demonstrate new modes of international Rwandan and Rwandan citizens. Although the local hospital demonstrates the fallacy of international aid and undercuts the rhetoric of international engagement with Courtemanche's highly presentation of Western actions and African citizens' actions, these texts challenge international aid with the reality of global disinterest and demonstrate citizens in facing their own challenges. For example, the descriptions of the beauty of Rwanda and its decision to remain in Rwanda ends with a lingering perspective of Rwanda as a dangerous space, particularly for the encourages readers to see Rwanda as a challenging and subjects demonstrates the reality of a space which is popularly defined by the challenges there. It is not Rwanda as a dark and chaotic space, a rhetoric about Rwanda for Western citizens.

Contextualizing Rwandan history, cultural organization, and political reality provides readers with a factual basis for understanding Rwanda. However, it is not sufficient evidence from which to instigate a deeper understanding. It demonstrates depth and this reason, texts which evolve from a history of Rwandan identity also provide readers with the opportunity to help. Developing empathy and understanding requires authors to pay attention to three specific goals: making the lived experiences of citizens shared, validating difference, and encouraging shared opportunities by of

isolation and desperate to protect his family, murder with his sister. Deogratias's intermittent breaks with reality challenge the reader to see past the stereotypical representations by the genre and understand the forces that motivate these young men do. Seeing Deogratias and Faustin as victims as well as perpetrators of the complexity of post-Rwandan Africa, painful personal memories expose the complex interrelatedness of the subject's historical and political forces in which they are living (20). The individual experience in the context of the genocide allows the reader compassion for these characters by revealing the characteristics.

Literature that seeks to avoid notions of national identity demonstrate the complexities of civilian identity. Diverse representations of citizenship undercut the ethnic binary of Hutu and Tutsi, and political affiliation which these terms designate in Rwanda, these terms are being excluded from public discourse, banned in an effort to avoid continued social divisions that explore the genocide itself must necessarily employ these terms. The principle behind the genocide is a careful categorization of the experience. Representations that employ this ethnic discourse must acknowledge the diversity which these terms elide. The text which Deogratias undertakes which Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa with varying social and political allegiances. Categories of ethnicity are evident here, but no significant overlap in economic, or political status is traceable within the narrative.

is demonstrated in the text, the simple binary which Hutu Power responses of citizens to genocidal violence. Bhabha reminds us innovative, and politically crucial, is in the area of the of originary subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that cultural difference (2). While Bhabha's reference to the differences nations of itself, it can also be applied to the parsing of different populations by peopleing these texts with complex and diverse subjects and the authors demand that we celebrate diversity of gender and of any discursive differences between characters, both within national borders, as a postcolonial objective of celebrating an increased understanding of depicting ethnicity fails to account allegiances and estrangements between ethnically identified groups. These texts reveal discourses that hybridize identity categories and universalize diverse given populations.

The final task of this identity and is to provide a shared mourning. The need for international-scaled recognition and encouragement of collective remembrance and understanding has been well documented. It is that people understand the historical, social, and political contexts which can be conveyed through literature. Addressing the political Kaplan states that it is heretical that Westerners great injustices done to innocent peoples, but this may have little benefit for indigenous indulgence (114). This is a helpful reminder that we should not affirm these needs for a tacit emotional and political engagements across

However, an emotional engagement alongside productive factual Rwanda as a nation ensures the productivity of its narrative. In the first stage of comprehension in an event like the Rwandan Genocide, mourning and the sharing of mourning is a significant task. (The Duty of Memory) It is important that texts lay out the path towards a collective mourning. The book opens and closes with a statement that help with its coherence by the state. As an introduction to detail, but not one that prefaces it emotionally because this character is a stranger, notable only for his careless bravado. However, at the admission from the mouth of a young man who has witnessed the dissolution of a family, against his best efforts, compels sympathy and loss this life represents. Faustin confides in the reader that he has the same breath, his memory of the initial act of violence is fresh for the first time. This juxtaposition of effect and cause precipitates a demonstration of a human loss implicit in the Rwandan Genocide. The author of genocide who does not establish a firm foundation for the reader, this is a life that can be mourned because it can be understood by recognizing the real challenges that face the Rwandan nation to become a vibrant recovery.

While reading is a solitary practice, it can be a collective activity that fosters collective knowledge. It is a powerful source of social and political action. It can occur in two ways. The author serves as a conduit for the knowledge of distant individuals and communities. Rwanda and its people move

citizenry and offers the reader an intentionally unmediated view
 from genocide. This approach as the possibility of connection as
 of Rwanda becomes understandable. More mediated, it demonstrates the
 to see past the genocide to the genuine efforts of the Rwandan
 a new national identity. *Hyave Before Me* a Remarkable Document
 a Young Lady from Rwanda is an interaction between international
 demonstrating for audiences the tensions and difficulties of cross-
 particular, this interaction forces the preconceptions and prejudices
 revealing the neocolonialist and individual interactions
 citizen. Both of these approaches challenge our understanding and demonstrate
 productivity of interaction. Each text addresses the difficulty
 early narration avoids Rwandan citizens and international sites
 organization suggests that Tadjou and her people she can begin
 forge connections with the survivors who remain. However, the
 for Tadjou fades as she comes to know the hardships that her people
 contextual understanding of the genocide can't be an interactive
 Similarly, Simon and Juliette's early interactions are marred by
 disconnection, a fact beautifully depicted by her frustrations to
 audience in alternate. For Juliette, the burden of the genocide is
 cultural interaction. Simon powers her sense of self in her new
 act of interaction. *Burden of the Genocide* by creating community.

Texts which aspire to engage readers politically must assess
 action. Change is the product of many voices united around a

Rwandan Genocide late 1990s because of the scale of their de-
 prejudice embedded into the current system of international int-
 so. Horror and disinterest are powerful sedatives. However, a
 demonstrates, there is significant potential in the creation of p-
 coming to understand Juliette's experience, Simon is moved to
 foregoes his vacation to afford her the reassurance her emotion
 While this seems a small act, it is a significant change for Sim-
 smallest detail of the genocide at the start of the performance.
 act like Simon as much as Simon does. It is a production of a voice
 Juliette and it motivates his continued political engagement with the
 Rwandan Genocide and the treatment of refugees with his later
 interactions are not bound to follow political archetypes. Although
 Juliette's needs and desires are articulated by her voice and experi-
 show to have value in community, the crowd gathered to hear her
 suggest that there is a public political discussion concerning Rwanda
 beyond the genocide. In reading and speaking aloud, Juliette
 fundamental right of free speech. However, Juliette's decision to read in Kin-
 space within English society for the concerns of a Rwandan writer
 conclusion demonstrates the potential for productive social and
 communities.

While it is clear that each of these seven texts have individual
 share a significant social and political objective: conveying to
 Rwandan national identity. Each of these texts is a case of Rwanda

important. Exploring history and culture affirms Rwanda as a c
 Rwandan voices promotes empathetic engagement and recognition
 diversity, and demonstrating intercultural dialogue encourages Western readers
 Rwandan undertakings as valuable. As a whole, yet to be defined, these
 audiences sense of Rwandan identity which is socially and politically
 Rwanda's history and development simultaneously understanding
 Rwandan identity inherited by the colonial and neocolonial encou
 internal complexity of Rwandan identities and community organ
 citizenry have been consistently homogenized for Western audiences
 productive potential of interaction across cultures and a national
 conflict challenges the discourse of Africa as a site of conflict and
 representations of Rwandan identity demonstrate the internal a
 shaped Rwanda, knowledge which can be used to improve socio

Establishing a sense of Rwandan history and identity through
 endeavors. These texts convey Rwandan national identity as dynamic
 collective, these texts show Rwandan national identity over time
 subject positions. There is not a single, but rather, multiple f
 constructions which are shaped by the most prominent aspects
 society, and further more, these texts show character or subject with
 social collectives, each narrative interaction serves to develop t
 Rwanda's emergent national identity by using the language of Rwandan
 identity developed through its historical and reflexive national cons
 These texts produce Rwanda's identity by mapping an web of culture

local voices, and ongoing recovery efforts. This identity becomes understood in light of local, national and international. Offered to Rwandan readers, these books would accurately affirm the coming emerging Rwandan national consciousness. Offered to Western consciousness becomes reflexive, as it sets a broad perspective on Rwandan identity within local and international forums.

Reflexive national consciousness is primarily by understanding the realities which define a space. It is a practice with a risk to develop reflexive national consciousness of the history, culture, and participation in light of the colonial and neocolonial relations that exist between former subjects and former colonial authorities. While difference often shuts down communication between citizens from which facilitates understanding of historical and cultural differences between citizens of different people of different cultures combat literature to (Fanon 1973) aptly; by demonstrating the differences between citizens and nations, thus illustrating a difference which is at the heart of the neocolonial enterprise. The super difference in order to legitimate inequality, is momentarily imposed cultural difference is exposed. While education may seem free of how the superstructure functions to shape other identities towards negating the neocolonial gaze, which is a pervasive element which exert influence on other nations through cultural, political

The literature of the Rwandan Genocide offers engaged readers an opportunity to interrogate and challenge their own national consciousness. This is valuable knowledge, as the basic assumptions of Rwandan national identity, such as language, mode of communication, and opportunity for personal experiences between citizens which were shaped during the colonial era. However, this information can also be used to reinforce Western representations of Rwanda in three potentially powerful ways. First, Rwandan national consciousness is often presented in Western representations and discussions of Rwandan identity through political discourses, providing a sense of a unified national identity. Second, the complexity of Rwandan national consciousness can be obscured by media and political discourses which have shaped Western perceptions, revealing the divergences between Rwandan national identity and Western representations of Rwanda and so, the ways in which Western representations have sought to define national identity. Third, such divergences in national representation are a result of the neocolonial superstructure in action. As the neocolonial superstructure maintains its authority by naturalizing its hierarchies, enabling readers to reify the neocolonial superstructure has significant political advantages in the context of decolonization of Western readers. Using strong and accurate representations of Rwandan national consciousness to interrogate the neocolonial system which devalues the value of Rwandan identity, Western readers can challenge the neocolonial superstructure which maintains its authority. Empowered by this knowledge, these readers can challenge neocolonial politics to affirm colonial era political hierarchies.

The representation of the Rwandan Genocide has been a controversial issue. However, in asserting the potential of literature to engage with the popular framings of the genocide, some Western media discourses of the genocide are viewed: the use of tribalism to explain the genocide, the dismissal of the genocide as insignificant, and the use of the genocide to codify Rwandan identity for the West.

Analysis of the coverage of the Rwandan Genocide in the United States and other Western nations has demonstrated that it has been specifically framed as a story of violence to Western audiences. The most common narrative of the genocide was that of a socio-political tensions between Tutsis and Hutus which was explained as a result of inflated public rhetoric. In addition, the violence of the genocide was framed as a public perception of Rwanda as just a bunch of tribes going at it. (The Media Dichotomy 13). Many reports on the genocide often provided the context necessary for audiences to comprehend an accurate understanding of the issues motivating the killing. However, the familiar audience's essentialism reminiscent of colonial oppression in order to most quickly convey stories of violence. Moeller recognizes this tendency to simplify and invoke questions of crisis events, particularly in countries, as an increasingly common form of reportage: as disasters multiply and compassion runs thin, the people's minds because they are all covered. (The Rwanda Genocide 15) The Rwanda Genocide was first yet another African conflict, and with no clear

the genocide from vague Western news reports, audiences were narrative offered by the loudest media machine.

The voice of the ~~media~~ ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~agenda~~ ~~of~~ ~~public~~ ~~opinion~~ covering or avoiding specific stories. Rwanda-~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~only~~ ~~one~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~world~~ African context emphasized in ~~its~~ ~~criticisms~~ ~~make~~ ~~them~~ ~~less~~ ~~relevant~~ ~~to~~ ~~global~~ ~~audiences~~. Because the scale of the genocide was not accurately understood the first three weeks, despite reports emerging from inside the country, the media redirected onto Rwanda until ~~later~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~year~~. The ~~triangle~~ ~~of~~ ~~power~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ ~~Rwandan~~ ~~Genocide~~ ~~suggests~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~geographic~~, ~~racial~~, ~~and~~ ~~economic~~ ~~context~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~worthy~~ ~~of~~ ~~Western~~ ~~attention~~. African ~~media~~ ~~outlets~~ ~~sought~~ ~~out~~ ~~with~~ ~~any~~ ~~regularity~~ ~~to~~ ~~cover~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~, ~~and~~ ~~when~~ ~~they~~ ~~did~~ ~~speak~~, they were consistently framed as victims in need of aid and support to end the violence. John Eriksson's *The International Genocide: Lessons from Rwanda* report on the media coverage of the Rwandan Genocide states that inadequate and inaccurate reporting by international media itself contributed to international indifference and inaction (6). ~~Media~~ ~~outlets~~ ~~should~~ ~~review~~ ~~their~~ ~~coverage~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~in~~ ~~order~~ ~~to~~ ~~develop~~ ~~new~~ ~~approaches~~ ~~to~~ ~~covering~~ ~~future~~ ~~conflicts~~. What is clear in the analysis is that the genocide coverage by ~~media~~ ~~outlets~~ ~~is~~ ~~often~~ ~~reductive~~ ~~and~~ ~~reinforces~~ ~~preconceptions~~ ~~of~~ ~~Rwandan~~ ~~national~~ ~~identity~~ ~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~developing~~ ~~nuanced~~ ~~Western~~ ~~understanding~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~genocide~~ ~~and~~ ~~Hutus~~ ~~in~~ ~~Rwanda~~. The coverage of the Rwandan Genocide, ~~however~~ ~~limited~~, offered very little to compel further investigation or public

As Western interest in the ICTR far outmatched Western interest in the genocide, the representation of Rwandan perpetrators has been problematic. The post-genocide representations of Rwanda have been, however, the emphasis on Hutu perpetrators without accurate understanding of their participation in the genocide was mobilized through extreme propaganda that had negative ramifications on Hutu identity. Eltringham offers the words of an exiled Rwandan academic, first to explain this problematic reality: there is a globalisation of guilt, but we are guilty. The international community has never globalised guilt, but it has globalised the idea of personal guilt and that each person should go before the ICTR to accept responsibility (72). To have the inaccurate rhetoric of the West imposed into Western perceptions of the ethnic identities is a colonialist assessment of Rwandans with social authority. It also means that, after the genocide, Rwanda remains mired in a cycle of accusations that the West often overlooks Rwanda's efforts to become a productive, recovering nation with its potential.

Considering the impact of the Western media's interest in Rwanda, Jennifer Parmelee notes that, in her 15 minutes of interview, she confirmed the clichés in the minds of many foreigners that African ethnic violence may be consigned to oblivion (p. 223). Parmelee is circling an essential point here: the way that Rwanda was portrayed in the genocide affirmed stereotypes of Africa, and the Western media's failure in acknowledging Rwanda's substantial economic potential for

emerging Rwanda definitively to be recognized by Western citizens. While there is a substantial benefit to exploring Rwanda's record, Rwanda has never been rehabilitated in the West. Instead, the genocide is recalled in the end wrapped in pieces, not to surface again on the front page of nightly news until war crimes charges are brought or until violence erupts anew (Moller 2011). Thus, the genocide remains the defining feature of Rwanda outside of Rwanda, reinforcing the stereotype of African nations as a land of and political conflict.

It is clear that public discourse in the West has not enabled a comprehensive understanding of the causes or the actors of the genocide. These discursive trends alongside the understanding of the genocide in the literature of the Rwanda genocide demonstrate the distinctions between two representations of Rwandan identity. While the media coverage of the genocide relies on a narrative of Rwandan tribalism, the texts that discuss the genocide as a result of colonialism demonstrate that the discourse of the genocide was imposed by the colonial Belgians, creating social division in Rwanda along ethnic and class lines that became antagonistic. Western media coverage supports the narrative that the genocide there was not the concern of Western nations and that the genocide conveys how totally the ethnic divisions and the suffering of individual lives and communities, the suffering that such suffering is not worthy of Western attention. The use of essentializing discourse, specifically the generalization of Hutus as perpetrators of genocide, is a common theme in the literature of the genocide. Finally,

genocide as a key signifier of Rwandan identity is rejected by Rwanda's long history and efforts to reassert its identity as a powerful element of the literature under political domination. These comparisons will now be considered.

The literature of the Rwandan Genocide undercuts the media's representation of the genocide. This is significant because it demonstrates the way that representations can be mobilized within public discourse to legitimate courses of action. This same effort has been challenged by postcolonial theory, critical race theory, and postcolonial theory, among others. Engaging with political discourses can instigate productive change in national, spaces.

Texts which provides an alternative understanding of Rwandan identity recognize the formal social and political structures which play a role in hierarchies which exist in global interactions. Conflicting representations of the Genocide can spur readers to further examine the public discourse by recognizing the social and political objectives which may lay behind them.

The trends in Western representations of the Rwandan Genocide can be clearly mapped onto the historical actions of Western governments. The use of the word tribal to explain both the citizens and the conflict is a fundamental difference between Western and Rwandan actors. Eltringham argues that

the term tribal violence suffers from the same weakness of the phenomena of ethnic violence, suggesting identical reoccurring

context specific processes & A. S. H. (1996) p. 106. The idea of a 'tribe' is prevalent in Western thought (and live together) no one speaks of tribal societies with the same emphasis as the original]

The use of this word, and the media's supposed ethnic hatred p. Rwanda's conflict as fundamental to the construction of Rwanda the genocide was a civil war suggested to viewers that there was violence, only those who equally perpetrated violence against one another. As scholars have noted, this misrepresentation of the nature of the conflict prevented viewers from engaging on either side of the conflict. Subtly in the case of African violence, Western governments avoided action on behalf of the victims, implicitly suggesting to citizens that there was no way to end the violence.

The media discourse about the genocide was limited. Rwanda was not an important nation, and news of a violent genocide within Rwanda did not attract attention. By dismissing the genocide as an insignificant news item, the coverage offered to Western viewers, the neo-conservative paper structure of Western opinion. The information achieved two objectives. First, by focusing on the news story over the one hundred days of killing millions of people about the event; citizens were distracted from the genocide as the media similarly seemed to ignore the story. Second, avoiding circulation of the news enabled Western governments to delay their own entry into the genocide and cannot challenge the decisions of their government. More fundamentally, the genocide could so easily be overlooked amidst the O. J. Simpson trial.

elections in South Africa, marking the end of apartheid offers the impact of neocolonialism in global interactions.

The media's use of essentializing narratives to explain the attention paid to Rwandan perpetrators over Rwandan survivors into the way that public discussions about Rwanda reflected and a neocolonial superstructure. The lack of nuanced depictions of the media's disinterest in parsing the social and cultural differences Rwandan citizens to uncover the diversity of Rwandan identities genocide interest in assigning guilt and blame to Hutus generic indicative of Western prejudice, and affirms an already circulating African nations. Recognizing how fabricated or manipulated narrative reify constructs that are already in social and political circulation readers.

That the Rwandan Genocide reinforced the definition of Rwandan identity Western nations is itself a result of the neocolonial superstructure beginning of this chapter, Rwanda was given almost no specific political discourse until the genocide, this is because media attention social and political importance, and Rwanda has never been seen West. The attention given to Rwanda prior to the genocide as social and economic. Thus, the shocking images and confusing not been evolved in the minds of Western citizens. Regardless the genocide continues to define Rwanda as a war zone, as two films about the genocide for Western audiences, it serves

recovery, ten films were made about the genocide and that sort of defining, iconic Rwandan film industry (Lillian and Wehl). Maintaining discourse of Rwanda as a space of genocide negates Western post-genocide development, and so affirms the neocolonial system. It comes to recognize the political motives to shape the Western world, the potential to offer resistance to this system of subtle control.

Reflexive national literature is ultimately a concerted effort to politicize Western literary engagements educate readers about culture, and social organization of a particular nation, encourage for the citizens of the nation, and compelling increased political neocolonial superstructure, and the other hierarchies that shape in construction of national identity is reflexive because it makes Fanon's postcolonial recovery available to a wider audience. These voices are exported from postcolonial and neocolonial spaces and political discourse of nations with neocolonial authority. Traditional other illuminate the political system of control, provide reader with a new understanding of their own political system in international exchange. While reading such literature does not provide understanding and recognition of the class and ethnic divisions whose value is so easily negated within the current political environment, reflexive national consciousness.

Western readers who are critically able to identify problematic media discourses and recognize the role of the superstructure may be

objective in challenging a superstructure is to reveal its function. Homi Bhabha, writing about the way power is reified through its veil, demonstrating the construction of authority radically revalues the priority of race, writing, history (130). With this in mind, the history of unequal interactions, of which the relationship between powers is only one. While Rwanda was never ruled directly by Belgium, there are only ever the two positions in the relationship: colonial and colonial subject. While there were various participants in the interaction between subject nations, colonial interaction was a superstructure which authorities dominated through a shared hierarchy. This framework for international relations did not conclude at decolonization, but remained visible but still powerful superstructure recognized by postcolonial. Most practically observed in economic interactions, this superstructure is an aspect of political discourse. During the Rwandan Genocide, it was this hierarchy which permitted powerful nations to avoid the UN's responsibility from the responsibility of acting to prevent the deaths of 800,000. This omission was similarly enacted by Western citizens who did not act in governing bodies, ignoring the public concern through their silence, which only affirm the validity of the hierarchies which the neocolonial international interactions, regardless of scale.

It is a liberating realization to offer public testimony to these interactions on a scale, is fundamentally linked to the discourse of citizens. When anonymity, the public recognition of hierarchies has enabled di-

challenge social organization. One example is the racial prejudice with slavery as a social and economic reality within European nations. The United States throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The initial racial discourse of slavery brooked little resistance, gradually as citizens to exercise their own voices began to challenge the commonly held views. These challenges were indicative of a fundamental shift in public discourse that raised the issue for national and international debate, and as a result the racial hierarchy of the time rendered visible and ceased to seem a neutral fact, the practice became untenable. While it would suggest that public discourse was the catalyst for change, or that this discourse negated all racial inequality that existed, the voice of citizens can undercut the viability of national and public discourse. Uncovering the superstructures of current international relations empowers informed citizens to reject the constructions that maintain the authority.

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As the objective of conveying a term in order to assist the citizens who are politically aware of the superstructures that shape our literature that is intended to develop this consciousness must be to reveal the superstructure of national, and international identity. Because such human interactions, whether on the individual or international level, are perceived as a fundamental of the space of exchange rather than the space. Superstructures permit hierarchies to colour the identity of aspects of identity such as race, gender, class, and age. Such

throughout human history, always supporting a dominant group over another.

Literature which fosters reflexive national consciousness is political. Western readers who engage with the literature of the empowered to evaluate the narratives that circulate about this event, the points of disparity the efforts of the neocolonial superstructure, and the socio-political discourses concerning Rwanda's genocide, and the understanding how social media and political discourses can be is fundamentally valuable to the development of a more productive discourse. However, for Rwanda, and for other nations, alternative representations, there are even greater benefits to the education of citizens. Simply put, the neocolonial superstructure is a force maintaining a discourse which can change internally without relation to the centre. Just as the colonial mission disguised its naturalizing hierarchical discourses within subject populations of control from its own citizens. Support for the colonial endeavor constructed perception that African citizens needed governance of African identity embedded within this discourse was widely in project among Western citizens slowed.

In the literature of the Rwandan Genocide, the potential for change in educating Western citizens about Rwandan identity; and framing political events, Western readers begin to understand how pervasive mediated through Western lines of communication. In realizing

limit Western responsibility to action and to support Western national discourse, Western readers become aware of the neocolonial system that limits the potential of other nations by denying the existence of a system of control that is a pervasive and systemic force that influences how Western citizens understand the world. However, I propose that this consciousness can empower Western readers to recognize the neocolonial system that shapes Western discourse and, in turn, simultaneously empowers citizens to reject the control of neocolonial systems. This, in turn, is a change that is long overdue: the ideological decolonization of

To express this more fully, let us consider Rwanda's post-genocide recovery in greater detail and then examine the role of the Rwandan identity in the reconstruction of Rwanda on the global stage. Being largely a product of Western social and political discourse, Rwanda's recovery has been achieved through innovation; collective changes to the organization of the state have allowed Rwanda a means of escaping the colonial and neocolonial systems that have powerfully shaped Rwandan history. Rwanda's recovery efforts have focused on internal causes of the genocide. There were three issues that were central to the control in April, 1994: a culture of exclusion, a biased and distorted system of public discourse with no strong oppositional voices, and a system caused by falling global commodity prices. Each of these shifts in the Rwandan population along ethnic lines and degraded the possibility of a national discourse that transcended the categories of Tutsi and Hutu and fostered a national identity which fosters inclusivity in most national environments.

media were used to spread hate and silence public resistance; Télévision Libre des Mille Collines made violent discourse against daily social engagement. Finally, the structuralist by Xian et al. the opportunities available for education and success. The system the early 1990s made Hutus in publically blame Tutsis for tension economic and social need.

Enric Clós, discussing the practice of flags, a reference that promotes symbols (flags, anthems, national sports or images), using the socialization or establishing political institutions and executive ideological view of the unknown as nationalism (Borja). to support social, cultural, and political governance, a more positive address the tensions of national identity within the Rwandan nature of the Genocide, this emphasis on shared identity provides the basis. The first undertaken to refute the division of the genocide was colonial discourse of identity politics. Kagame has made the Tutsi and Rwandan citizens are strongly discouraged from using with the population. Instead, the population is encouraged to think of the term which asserts national identity as the primary means of pe-

²² The national motto of Rwanda, "Ubumwe bwacu" (Unity is strength), which is a motto adopted after the genocide, demonstrates a government's commitment to national reconciliation, one which can serve as a means of recovery from the genocide as well as from the genocide. The education provided in secondary schools is nationalistic, and the application of traditional systems of justice to address the crimes of the genocide, integrate the genocide into Rwandan identity.

²³ After the genocide, when current President Paul Kagame came to power, he ended the discourse of ethnicity which permitted the genocide by abolishing identity politics from Rwandan public discourse. In its place, he encouraged citizens to think

Susanne Bickel also supports this notion, writing that arguably, Rwandan citizenship assists in dissolving the hostile perceptions of the past, the weight of fear and of differences over historic development and conflict. Due to its inclusive and egalitarian nature, it has the potential to help the past (103). ZisBel also goes on to observe that Rwandan citizenship is based on horizontal comradeship or a fraternity among its citizens, expressed through the concept of *ubuhungu* (108). By removing the colonial terms of division and adopting the nation as an inclusive space, Rwandan citizens engage in a process of creating a national identity which does not determine ethnicity. While removing the politicized ethnicity from the social discourse may seem a small step, the concept of *ubuhungu* as a uniting element of identity also marks a turning point in the definition of the Rwandan nation, something that was not evident after independence in 1962.

Post-genocide education in Rwanda, in conjunction with the efforts to promote reconciliation, focused on clarifying the causes of the genocide in public discourse that prevent future violence by encouraging social cohesion. The genocide education program implemented in Rwandan secondary schools addresses the imbalance between Tutsi and Hutu instigated by colonial rule, as well as the political polarization that took place as decolonization began. The facts and consequences of the genocide are included in the curriculum, emphasizing the social, cultural, economic, environmental, and political factors that led to the genocide (Rwanda 157). Rwanda and its citizens are responsible for the recovery of Rwanda as a productive nation through education. The development of public memorials are also important tools of

government's dedication to the loss of 800,000 citizens. While memorial sites are situated in the communities most violently affected, a central memorial centre in Kigali which educates visitors and is situated within the larger context of Rwandan history. This memorial centre records the genocide, from written testimony to recorded statements about the violence of 1994. This public space is essential for the development of a valuable and productive in the redevelopment of a strong Rwandan national identity with sites commemorating mass death are especially important for national identity embodied in the pathos of remembrance (Ray). Simultaneously, such educational initiatives are part of a public discourse and recovery of the nation.

New definitions of national identity in Rwanda help citizens to move on from the genocide, as well as from the older divisions of colonial rule established by colonial rule, were at the heart of the genocide. In this discourse, genocide recovery simultaneously addresses the recovery from both events requires the development of collective national identity and unity of citizens. This collective identity, rooted in the nation's history, is a productive political discourse. As Brown

first, nationalism is particularly important in the context of the myths of ancestry, kinship, permanence and home, which promise a moral authority to individuals faced with their complex history. Second, individuals are more likely to need this form of identity

to face communities and authority structures of family and
 or disrupted. (22)

Given that both colonialism and genocide are disruptions to local social
 definition offers a helpful starting point for considering how they
 can enable Rwanda's ideological decolonization and recovery from
 that decolonization requires the development and assertion of
 consciousness, through which citizens can gain political authority
 consciousness in a decolonizing population. In the Rwandan
 discourse and an engaged citizenry. Similarly, genocide destroyed
 within a nation, and recovery requires that citizens reclaim a sense
 collective identity and discourse. While Rwanda has made
 recovery of national consciousness through public discussion and
 has not been meaningfully conveyed to Western citizens.

The relationship between the colonial and the post-colonial subject is predicated
 the acceptance of hierarchical rhetoric which naturalizes the colonial
 language. While the rhetoric imposed in colonial spaces counted
 authority, this same rhetoric is the colonial centre, affirming
 colonial subjects which is most conducive to maintaining support.
 The colonial centre asserts a hierarchy which is naturalized through
 citizens as well as for the citizens of colonial authority. When
 encounter are challenged, either in the centre or the periphery.
 This foundational principle of post-colonialism is helpful in considering the current
 neocolonial control of Rwanda. Rwanda did not properly decolonize.

claimed independence, the nation did not reject the social structure of the colonial regime. The discourse of which fractured Rwandan national identity was not recognized as a divisive colonial tool, and in fact reinforced independent Rwandan identity. Similarly, these categories of identity were not the citizens of colonial authority. Within Rwanda and within Western Africa, ethnic difference imposed on Rwandans as a means of asserting a national identity fundamental to Rwandan identity in the postcolonial period did not foster a recovery of precolonial Rwandan identity, nor the development of a new understanding of Rwandan identity reflective of Rwanda's history. After the genocide occurred, the colonial narratives of ethnicity in Rwanda, and were fundamental to the framing of the genocide.

As earlier discussions have shown, the coverage of the genocide emphasized the ethnic tensions as a central theme, but the coverage of ethnicity was a discourse cultivated as a means of colonial control. Colonial control also served to control the discussion of the genocide, enabling authorities to find a way to reconcile with international agreements and the perception of Africa as a space of social chaos, and the model of Rwanda. Rwandan citizens had always been divided along ethnic lines. Western citizens from engaging with the genocide in informed, professional scholarship has shown the Western response to have been controversial, such as the imbalance of attention to international events, and with fleeting, uncontextualized news reportage, the colonial framework fundamental to Rwandan identity further enabled Western citizens

Genocide as a reflection of Africanist history with intercolonial project, Western governments ensured public support in their aid through the rhetoric of the media and political actors, colonialism that, despite Rwanda's year of independence, Rwanda was never fully decolonized in the Western mind. It is with this knowledge that the ramifications of Rwanda's post-independence on Western understanding of national identity.

Rwanda's post-genocide recovery has of Fanon's framework for decolonization; asserting a new collective identity which is informed by cultural and social concerns enables the Rwandan people to politicize national consciousness as a means of refuting the colonial system in the construction of independent national identity. This supports the nation with its emergent political will that is by no means fundamentally representative. Rwanda has simply rejected the discourse of ethnicity as fundamental to its identity, and incorporated the genocide into the national narrative through memorialization and education as a massive stride towards practical economic, and political recovery. These efforts achieve what Fanon's independence: national consciousness. Rwandan citizens are born

²⁴Fanon's text 'Wretched of the Earth' is the psychological trauma of colonization under French rule and maps the steps necessary to escape colonial control. For colonized citizens must be empowered in order to challenge the violence of the colonial project, Fanon does not shy away from advocating violence as a means of empowerment in the battle for national autonomy. He suggests that violence is the only way to overcome the inferiority complex, of their passive and despairing attitude towards self-confidence (51). While I agree with Fanon's view of violence as a means of empowerment, the challenge of Rwanda is ultimately to challenge the neocolonial framing of Rwanda's national identity, and more about revealing the nature of the superstructure that supports the narrative of national identity and ultimately empower the neocolonial superstructure, and there is no violence which can challenge this ignorance

forces that have shaped their nation, and it is this understanding of without that enables national consciousness to begin. However, has limited acknowledgement of Rwanda's recovery by Western

Rwanda's emerging national identity breaks with the colonial identity for Western citizens. In rejecting the discourse of ethnic independence; for Western citizens, engaging with this new country requires two things: recognition that the colonial imposition of ethnic colonial control, and recognition that the same construct permitted genocide. Fanon argues that knowledge of the colonial is a powerful opportunity, and in the case of Western understanding is true. Engaging with the colonized Rwandan national identity inaccuracies of the source is a bad Rwanda which continues to shape perceptions of Rwanda. Moreover, the active role of Rwanda in its Rwandan independence and so further supports the value of this discourse about Rwanda to support Rwanda's development within in

Rwanda's recovery from the genocide has been startling, and independent nation is still in a process of self, both nationally and internally, there is tremendous value to be gained from strong stage. Rwanda's self-representation, in all its complexity, refutes the colonial era narratives to limit or deny Rwanda's role in the genocide. Accurate art Rwanda enable Rwanda to step out of the shadow caused by the media discourse frames Rwandan identity within the simplistic has been popularized for Western citizens as a reference point

understanding Rwandan identity. I believe that the literature of
 potential to convey to Western readers - and the role of the
 Rwandan identity with its people provide Rwanda as a productive emergi
 vision of Rwanda, contrasted with the construction of Rwanda b
 genocide, empowers citizens to recognize the tropes which neg
 the way that colonial hierarchies are still used to shape access
 relations.

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While this proposed system for addressing endemic inequality a
 through education, empathy, and political engagement, it does not
 compromises on Fanon's original concept of national consciousness
 limitations that should be considered when evaluating the pote
 productive Western engagement possible in the Rwandan identity: disti
 between internally and externally generated constructions of na
 collaboration rather than Rwandan authorship in creating these
 literary forms represent African identity. Each of these concerns w
 considered in light of the net gain and loss they offer to the di

The first concern centres on the use of the term national
 under the tag of the nation which these books can provide to West
 the term refers to the development of a renewed definition of s
 decolonization. Such a definition positions the national conscious
 experiences within the nation, daily experiences informed by th
 which shaped the nation. During independence, dramatic chang

cultural, economic, and political changes and the national consciousness reflect both the fact of and the nature of these changes. However, if national consciousness is constructed outside the nation, it is not based on the lived experience within the nation. Furthermore, the vision of the nation offered by authors of their efforts towards inclusivity, cannot offer the perspective of the nation and so cannot be seen to reflect the full dynamism of an emerging nation.

While authors represent a variety of subject positions in their writing, they cannot capture the constantly evolving nuance of national identity. Authors write about the diverse realities of lived experience within the nation, but only after the fact of publication; their publications can only explore the realities of the nation to them during the process of writing. There is no way to resolve this limitation other than in the word. This limitation could be overcome by the use of digital technologies, such as blogs and web pages, which can be updated in real time to developments of national identity underway within the nation. While national consciousness within the nation and of the nation are two different things, they are forged from the same raw material: the realities of life within the nation. While reflexive national consciousness is a valuable tool for representing the nation to the readers of another nation, it remains that this representation is a reflection of the national consciousness in the source nation. While reflexive national consciousness cannot fully convey local national consciousness to other readers, it does not discount the value of representing local realities to other readers.

A second concern for consideration is the fact that these texts are not written by the citizens of the nation under discussion. Far from creating inventive cultural manifestations (179) that citizens use to define themselves and claim a new identity, these texts are not the product of the writings of the nation, but rather, the collaboration of authors who represent the interests and concerns of the nation. Here, I take my cue from the work of Tadjoo, which is born out of collaboration and is inventively (179) in nature; the act of writing challenges the construction of the author as an authoritative voice, and instead affirms the value of both author and subject. In her work, Tadjoo's *Genocide* demonstrates collaboration, ranging from direct research with Rwandan citizens to lived experiences informed by the testimonies of survivors. These authors write with a clear understanding of political and historical facts of the genocide, and their work reflects the voices and concerns of Rwanda. While these voices cannot be overestimated, there is also a great value in the act of collaboration.

Informed writing that is produced through discussion with others is a valuable approach to the circulation of knowledge within an international context. In an era of engagement, it demonstrates the importance of crossing the boundaries which can limit individuals and communities. Several of these authors, like Tadjoo, are for the voices of extremely marginalized individuals; Tadjoo's *Genocide* is a story of a woman who survived the genocide and whose daughter's rape, is perhaps the most compelling exchange offered in Tadjoo's text. Without the collaboration of others, her story would likely remain her own, and the complex realities of her experience would be lost.

understanding of national identity for international readers. Further collaboration unsettles the concept that authentic knowledge is by citizens of the nation. While accuracy is paramount within their ultimate goal is to foster interactions, and so the use of collaboration affirm the interaction between the citizens of different nations and emergent global identity.

Perhaps the most obvious concern is that these texts, intended to represent specific local identity, rely on Western literary forms. Fanon was critical of these forms of production, which he saw as complicating the process of decolonial production. Certainly, his anxiety around the use of Western forms of production experience is well-founded; the colonial encounter destroyed local culture. However, in the neocolonial era, the risks here have evolved. While the concern about supporting local production in place, the audience of this production is different from the audience of local manifestations. While texts were produced for local consumption, they are now destined for an international audience. English is an increasingly dominant language, and demands mean that texts that take the novel or play form can be made highly productive as a means of circulating new understandings of identity.

There are benefits to using a range of literary forms to convey complex ideas. As discussed, the potential market penetration of these forms is every bit as important as colonial authority. As this is where the hierarchies of the neocolonial system are most pervasive and difficult to recognize, the circulation is a strength of the

reflexive national consciousness as a tool in enabling other cultural forms into international discourse, particularly as Fanon's concern is indicative of the power they possess. However, there are some who are easily reassured by distance and cultural distance. Rwanda's oral culture is rich but as this form is not common within the centres of former colonial powers, it is difficult to effectively translate local productions into a form that can be understood. In order to gain a better understanding, it is better to adopt the literary form to convey the expression. This is what Juliette Rwana does in her novel *Le jour de la mort*. She translates her native tongue to a form that can be understood. Tadjouneck offers a similar instance of this. She includes a traditional narrative in her text. While these are both examples of oral culture, they demonstrate a willingness to engage with different means of expression. In these cases, these inclusions also push the cultural expression into the public discourse.

Literature is a cultural manifestation particularly well suited to addressing the inequalities maintained by the state. It can be productive, such as when it accurately reflects and explores the daily realities of a given nation and local concerns, and it must be diverse and inclusive with its audience. However, while Fanon calls for local authors to take up the production of literature, reflexive national consciousness is not necessarily about local texts and productions between nations. This is not about the relationship within the nation, but rather, about fostering cultural understanding in the face of unequal access to social and political authority. Collaborative development of invested and critical thinking is what is needed for a

informed authorship ensures that depictions of the nation and its realities while avoiding the limitations of a single perspective are distinctly different; differences in language, differences in form, and economic factors can all impede the circulation of discourse and understanding. The choice to encourage collaboration and local added benefit of precisely demonstrating the type of invested interest intended to encourage between citizens and nations.

Fanon identified cultural manifestations as the most productive and initiating political engagement. Literature has proven to allow for diversity of perspective while encouraging unity through the displacement of external power structures by local voices. The author, considering the use of language in redressing longstanding communication is essential to the initiation and conduct of conflict prevention, resolution and colonial (and neocolonial) systems legitimated themselves, both for colonized citizens and the citizens of discourses of racial, cultural, and political inequality, it is particularly of these often discrete discourses should be offered through

To recover Rwanda in the Western imagination fundamental to the social, cultural, and political relationships between Rwanda and the community change. Although formal decolonization occurred with the decolonization of Rwanda outside of its borders has not yet been defined by colonial and neocolonial conditions. Western decolonization is a process that shapes the colonizer as much as

cross-cultural engagements. In a world connected by technology, cultural, political, and religious difference, it is important to recognize that community is conceived in language, not in blood, and that one [can] be in a community (Anderson 145) of the nation. In a world of interconnected systems of colonial and neocolonial control, this means of engagement and definitions of national identity is potentially very productive. It offers an escape from the political and economic constraints that often divide citizens from difference and allows for cultures to understand one another outside of the terms imposed by dominant superstructures. Imagined communities can support further recognition of superstructures and serve as the basis for a united political response to such structures that affirms the value of cultural differences.

Chapter Seven Conclusion

The Rwandan Genocide was a significant event. For Rwanda, the culmination of ethnic tensions which had been fragmenting nationhood since the colonial era. For African nations, particularly those surrounding Rwanda, the massive influx of Rwandan citizens, and the resulting displacement of Rwandans, settled in temporary camps with insufficient resources. For Western nations and international organizations, the genocide tested the resilience of the West to control the discourse about other nations and its own citizens. For Western citizens, whose understanding of the genocide was mitigated by an otherwise dismissive media discourse, this event served to challenge the nations that circulate Western culture and politics. While the project only the broad strokes of the event, what is clear is that the genocide has political meaning for all of the actors involved. As genocide has been in inception, as an international event, all reactions to the genocide are part of the discussions of the Rwandan Genocide.

Of particular interest in this dissertation is the literature that has been produced about Rwanda explores the genocide and some of the discourses mentioned in the project explores the emerging literature of the Rwandan Genocide for different audiences, mapping the shared concerns of the authors in representation and recovery. These areas of concern line up with the aspects of the genocide that are overlooked in Western media and political discourse, suggesting the project is attempting to educate readers about the complex response to the genocide and existing understandings of Rwanda. However, I argue that this

citizens with the tools to recognize how public discussions about mobilized to discourage citizen involvement in Rwanda's general Soc-political discourse is a powerful tool of the neocolonial super Western citizens to recognize this means of control has the potential citizens about the way that the superstructure continues to shape perceptions of other citizens and nations.

To begin this examination, chapter two offers readers a fact history, from the pre-genocide through the post-genocide, and even history have been subject to the influence of colonial external forces of change in Rwanda is productive. There are history of Rwanda available in the literature: colonial, independence-genocide. By considering the internal and external each period, Rwanda's current national identity is more easily this survey establish how colonial rule, and subsequent neocolonial Rwanda as a nation, establishing the potential for genocide. The response to the genocide; the media discourse and the political particularly problematic, and as the genocide enabled Western and citizens to stand by as 800,000 Rwandan civilians were murdered these framings must be considered.

The literature of the genocide is divided in this dissertation into considering two or three of the texts. Chapter 2 examines *Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families* at the Pool in Kigali Western readers about Rwanda's long history

in an effort to contextualize the genocide as an event with a central to both texts is the discussion of the impact of colonial Rwanda. Gourevitch and Courtemanche show how Belgian colonial rule impacted identities on Tutsis and Hutus who had formerly considered such economic identifiers rather than ethnic identifiers. The colonial ruler dismantled Rwanda's religious system and monarchy, undercutting national antagonism between Rwandan citizens. Upon exiting, the colonial power stepped back, marginalizing the Tutsi population through a rhetoric of tribalism. These texts offer both facts and personal histories in order to contextualize colonial influence on Rwanda's national unity. In *When Did We Begin?*, the author explores the tribal conflict which was a pervasive frame of the genocide. By tracking the social and political shifts which led to the genocide, and by tracking the social and political shifts which led to the genocide, these texts demand that we consider the role of the West in instigating the genocide, and in refusing to take responsibility.

In chapter four, three texts are discussed: *When Did We Begin?*, *Deogratias: A Tale of Rwanda*, and *The Rwandan Genocide: A Novel of Rwanda*. *When Did We Begin?* explores the Rwandan Genocide as an immediate reality; the reader witnesses the progression of the Rwandan Genocide. Of particular concern is the need to explore the communal experiences of the genocide for Western readers who were shown only helpless or murdered victims, or threatening perpetrators. Through the eyes of simple victims, individuals who are victims of violence, or complex victims, individuals who are victimized by

perpetrate crimes during or stemming from the genocide. This position allows the authors to convey a far more nuanced understanding to readers, and destabilizes the overly simplistic rhetoric of Rwandan Western media and political discourse by, in the process, highlighting the actions of Western military, religious, and media actors, challenge readers to recognize that the discourses that frame Western military and political actions as productive and virtuous are local perceptions of these actors. The portrait of media involvement in the genocide and condemnation of the Western media as a tool which constructs passive-perceptions of Western actors as heroic. These texts assert to Western readers the dependence of Rwandan citizens, and further emphasize the importance of community and

The texts of chapter five provide the opportunity to explore the role of Rwanda and its citizens. The first is a travel narrative by Jay Byrd, *Before Me a Remarkable Document Given to Me by a Young Lady*, which asserts Rwanda's recovery for Western readers. The second is a play, *Rwanda*, which represents the challenges of Rwanda's recovery. Demonstrating this process of recovery to distanced readers asserts the scale of the Rwandan citizens. Public and political discussion of Rwanda in the aftermath of the humanitarian crisis of Rwandan refugees ended, but the recovery enables a degree of personal growth. Similarly, both cross-cultural interactions, demonstrating that while some

daunting, these connections can have profound impact on the communities, both Western and Rwandan.

Individually, the literature of the Rwandan Genocide offers through their power, ability to inform and engage Western readers. texts emphasize the historical and cultural context of the genocide citizens and communities, and the efforts of Rwandan citizens Chapter six considers how dates are set about the Rwandan Genocide national and international event in very provocative ways. The emerging Rwandan national identity provide for Western citizens and of national Rwandan identity unmediated by the superstructure reflexive national consciousness is fundamental to the decolonization of Rwanda because it enables political and social citizens empowered by rate and knowledge of Rwandan identity recognize the discursive tools employed by the media and political actors to engagement with the Rwandan Genocide recognize the existence and of neocolonial superstructure. Section with critical response, to engage more critically with cultural, and political discourses to respond to the prevalent role of the neocolonial superstructure in shaping discourse in the offered by the literature of the Rwandan Genocide citizen engagement in all aspects of public discourse, and part representation and the Western citizens

While reflexive national consciousness is not without limitations, potential literature organize productive social and political responses

destruction and massacres. Developed as an external compliment to strategy of national consciousness, reflexive national consciousness model for the development of productive literature for writers of the spread conflicts. Its objective is simple: to empower readers of the conflict to participate in discussions about the implications of the larger superstructure on both the conflict and its reception in community. Discussions must be a forum, embodied, and contextual understanding of the citizens of the state and the application of reflexive national consciousness as a means of achieving a more invested and engaged literature of Rwanda, and could easily be applied to other regions. This literary effort towards decolonizing the various centres of neocolonial control to recognize the hierarchies which have made effective understanding, providing them the means to challenge the reification through national and international policies.

This consideration of the literature of the Rwandan Genocide scholarship which has found compelling trends in the discussion of the Rwandan Genocide for Western audiences. Melvin van der Wall and intended to undermine the efficacy of Western public discourse and pressure on Western governments to meaningfully engage with the rhetoric and public discourse has long been a productive strategy to circulate through populations, this dissertation engages with the narratives which circulate in Western nations. The seven texts range of literary forms, and complex considerations of Rwanda

and post-genocide recovery. These narratives, by their very nature, Rwandan voices and concerns have rarely been recognized as valid discourse. However, these texts also provide the basis for a more engaged engagement with Rwanda; they reveal, through comparison, the discourses surrounding the Rwandan Genocide which have shaped Rwanda for Western citizens. In demonstrating the slippage between the genocide-representations and collaboratively generated representations of genocide by Rwandan citizens, the narrative becomes more complex within a social and political context. While the genocide has been a part of African nations, this literature reveals such narratives as complex Western-political power local, national, and international interactions which makes Western citizens aware of the neocolonial superstructure and a more critically and politically engaged Western public.

Pointing to the political potential of such writings, Nigel Hunt argues that good literature is part of that tapestry of understanding, along with sociology and politics (4). In *Representing the Past*, Hunt advocates for a broader acceptance of alternate human records which, when compared, leads to a more nuanced understanding of historical events, international exchanges, and political discourses which implicitly shape cultural understandings. The literature of the Rwandan Genocide makes an attempt to demonstrate how it can be in bridging the gaps created by hierarchies of difference.

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Appendix A Chronology of Relevant Dates

- 1884 Germany assumes colonial control of Rwanda and Burundi.
- 1916 During WWI, Belgium invades Rwanda and Burundi and seizes control.
- 1918 Following WWI, the former German colonies of Rwanda and Burundi are placed under a League of Nations protectorate as part of the settlement. Belgium is granted governing power.
- 1926 Ethnic identity cards are introduced by the Belgians as a means of distinguishing Hutus from Tutsis.
- 1957 The Party for the Emancipation of the Hutus (PAEH) is founded.
- 1959 Violence erupts as Hutu rebels target the Belgians. An estimated 150,000 Tutsis flee to neighbouring countries to escape violence.
- 1960 Municipal elections are organized by Belgian colonial authorities. The Hutu majority is victorious.
- 1962 Rwanda becomes an independent country, as Belgium relinquishes colonial rule. A Hutu revolution in Rwanda is led by Gregoire Kayibanda; insurgent Tutsi guerrilla groups operate in neighbouring territories. Rwanda Hutu troops receive training from the Belgian Congo.
- 1963 Further massacres are reported in response to military attacks by the Burundi. It is estimated that at least 100,000 Tutsis were killed outside Rwanda, which has been dominated by Hutus since independence.

- 1974 General Juvenal Habyarimana empowers and formalizes the policy of ethnic quotas is entrenched in all public institutions. Tutsi doctors and professors are forced to resign and are barred from their fields. Tutsis are restricted to 10% of available jobs, which represents their proportion of the population.
- 1975 Habyarimana's political party, the National Revolutionary Front for Development (MRND) is formed.
- 1978 Presidential elections in which Habyarimana is elected on a voting ballot.
- 1987 The Tutsi refugee diaspora in Uganda forms the rebel group dominated by Tutsi veterans of the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) led by Fred Rwigyema.
- 1989 Severe economic hardship befalls Rwanda as the country's economy collapses.
- Jul. 1990 Under pressure from both the RPF and Western powers, Habyarimana concedes to a plan for a democratic transition in Rwanda.
- Oct. 1990 RPF guerrillas invade Rwanda from Uganda. France, a major foreign sponsor, committing troops, equipment, and aircraft to support the RPF advance. The Rwandan government sends a military force to Kigali in an effort designed to encourage the RPF sympathizers. More than 10,000 are arrested.

Kagame assumes control of the RPF in early in the invasion. Fighting follow, with attempts at negotiating a ceasefire.

1990 The Rwandan army begins to train and arm civil who will prove to be critically responsible for the next three years Habyarimana stalls on the system with an ineffective solution. Throughout of Tutsis are killed in separate massacres and politicians critical of the Habyarimana government

Nov. 22, 1990 Dr. Leon Mugesera, a prominent Hutu activist, discouraging Hutus to kill the Tutsis, and send to Nyarongongo river.

Feb. 1993 Following reports of massacres of Tutsi, the RPF capturing Ruhengeri, a perceived stronghold of immediately advance on Kigali. In response to stem the RPF offensive. This resultant military declare a unilateral ceasefire on February 20

Aug. 1993 Following more than a year of intermittent negotiations sign the Accords, which allowed for the return establishment of a Rwandan government. 2,500 U.N. in Kigali to oversee the establishment of the transition power on April 1994

- Sept. 1993 President Habyarimana stalls ~~an anti-Hutu~~ ~~group~~ ~~in the~~
- Mar. 1994 of Interahamwe militias intensifies. The extremist Collines, begins to beseech the Hutu population. Hutu groups warn the international community of impending
- Mar. 1994 Fearing imminent widespread massacre, many RPF evacuate their families from Kigali.
- Apr. 6, 1994 President Habyarimana ~~and~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~air~~ ~~plane~~ ~~is~~ ~~shot~~ ~~down~~ ~~near~~ ~~Kigali~~ when Habyarimana's plane is shot down near Kigali. Tensions to finally boil over, and widespread killing
- Apr. 7, 1994 Aided by Interahamwe militia ~~As~~ ~~the~~ ~~FAR~~ ~~attacks~~ (FAR) set up roadblocks and advance from house to house in Kigali, killing civilians and moderate Hutu politicians. Several hours. U.N. forces stand by while the slaughter continues as they themselves are under direct assault. Ten Interahamwe moderate Hutu Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, and her weapons, whereupon they are brutally ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~imprisoned~~ and executed. The Prime Minister, in an effort to save her husband to soldiers of the Presidential Guard, is killed at noon that day. In response to these atrocities, the U.N. deploys peacekeeping forces, leaving just 270 U.N. soldiers.
- Apr. 8, 1994 The RPF launches a major offensive to put an end to the genocide. Their troops, now encircled by enemy forces in Kigali,

- the city as part of the terms of the Arusha Accords.
- Apr. 30, 1994 The U.N. Security Council spends eight hours discussing a resolution condemning the ongoing killings in Rwanda. Simultaneously, tens of thousands of Hutus flee to Tanzania. In one day 250,000 Rwandan Hutus cross the border in retribution of the RPF advance.
- May 17, 1994 As the violence rages on, the U.N. commits to send troops to Rwanda with mandated legal power to defend civilians. The resolution says "acts of genocide may have been committed." U.N. forces are delayed by a financial dispute between the U.S. and France over the cost of providing heavily armoured vehicles for the mission.
- Jun. 22, 1994 With the U.N. troop deployment stalled, the Security Council authorizes the deployment of French troops to Rwanda. They establish a zone controlled by the French. Killings of Tutsis continue in some areas protected by the French. The United States uses the word "genocide" to describe the ongoing conflict.
- Jul. 1994 The RPF captures Kigali. The Rwandan government flees. It is followed by an enormous wave of Hutu refugees. The RPF is replaced by Ethiopian U.N. troops. The RPF declares a state of national unity in Kigali. Reports emerge that hundreds of reprisal killings in Rwanda. The killings are carried out in camps.

- Aug. 1994 The new Rwandan government agrees to criminal tribunal to be established by the U.N. Security Council.
- Nov. 1994 The Security Council establishes the international prosecution of suspects involved in committing genocide.
- Jan. 15, 1995 U.N. begins enacting plans with Zaire and Tanzania to send half million Hutus to Rwanda over the next few months. Security Council refuses to dispatch an international force.
- Feb. 19, 1995 Shamed Western governments pledge \$600 million for relief efforts.
- Feb. 27, 1995 U.N. Security Council urges all states to arrest those suspected of involvement in the Rwandan genocide.
- Mid-May 1995 The Rwandan government grows resentful of the presence of UN troops.
- Jun. 10, 1995 U.N. Security Council agrees to withdraw 50% of troops from Rwanda after a direct request from the Rwandan government.
- Jul. 1995 More than 720,000 Hutu refugees around the city of Goma, Zaire.
- Dec. 12, 1995 United Nations Tribunal for Rwanda names 10 of 18 suspects, charging them with genocide and crimes against humanity.
- Dec. 13, 1995 U.N. Security Council extends its peacekeeping mission in Rwanda and agrees to further reduce troop numbers in the field.
- Nov. 1996 Mass repatriation from Zaire begins; the Rwandan government accuses Zaire of harboring Hutu extremists.

on arrests of suspected genocide perpetrators.

Dec. 1996 Trials begin for Hutus involved in the 1994 genocide

Jan. 10, 1997 The trial of Jean Paul Akayesu (a local government official who was accused of organizing killings in his area), begins before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Tanzania.

Jan. 13, 1997 A woman who testified against Jean Paul Akayesu, the man accused of killing her husband and seven children by Hutu extremists.

Feb. 2, 1997 Venuste Niyonzima is the first man tried locally in Rwanda. A U.N. Human Rights official expresses "serious concern" over the lack of lawyers and accused of participation in the 1994 genocide.

Feb. 12, 1997 United Nations watchdog agency criticizes the genocide trials.

Feb. 26, 1997 U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan criticizes the chief administrator and deputy prosecutor Honore Rakoromoanana, for inefficiency in the Rwanda criminal trials. Agwu, the Rwandan chief minister. By this date, the U.N. has suspended its jurisdiction over the trials.