

## Chapter 4

### *A Sunday at a Pool in Kigali: Rwandan Civil War and the Genocidal Rape of Tutsi Women*

#### Introduction

Rwanda is a country situated at the centre of Africa. Though presently functioning as a democracy, Rwanda had once been a colony to Germany and later to Belgium. The Rwandan Civil War (1990-1994) that is discussed in this chapter was a direct result of the colonial experience.

Rwandan land in the earliest times was occupied by the Twa people. Hutus and Tutsis entered the scenario somewhere around the emergence of agriculture in the Neolithic period. Many theories have been devised in relation to the racial differences between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes, especially after the genocide that had gained momentum based on the exaggerated appeals by the Hutus about the Tutsi population. Alternatively, many theorists have also claimed that the difference between the two tribes is not physical but a social one— the Tutsis used to manage cattle and the Hutus used to farm the lands.

By the 18th century, Rwanda became a monarchy where the dominant king Kigali Rwabugiri, a Tutsi, brought about several reforms that were unfair towards the Hutus. This led to a general feeling of animosity in the Hutus towards the more favoured Tutsis. The situation worsened when Rwanda became a colony of Germany and later of Belgium. The German colonists saw Tutsis as more refined and educated and believed them to be racially superior to the other Rwandan communities. They were, therefore, given higher administrative positions, whereas Hutus were mostly neglected.

By making the ethnic identity cards mandatory in 1932, the Belgium government worsened the situation (Jessee 48). The socio-economic segregation between the two major tribes was transformed into a more rigid and defined ethnic tension by the Belgium government's decision. This administrative instrument stalled the earlier easy movement from one tribe to another and made a system that was malleable into a constrained one. The chasm between the tribes was deepened by creating mythologised accounts about Tutsis and their great origins in Ethiopia by the colonizers which were substantiated by the biblical references. Many Tutsis that were killed during the genocide were thrown into the river Kagera, a tributary of the river Nile (which flows in Ethiopia) as a hate-fuelled message: the Hutus were sending the Tutsis back to 'their' land. In order to improve their social and professional situations during the Belgium rule, many Hutus converted to Christianity. The tides turned again, and this time the same colonists who had been responsible for the Hutu plight decided to support and favour them. The rift turned into a Hutu revolution in 1959 that became a song for their emancipation and independence from not only the colonists but also the Tutsi monarchy. This dream was to be realised through the expulsion of the Tutsis (49). Their freedom battle was founded on the grounds of ethnic hatred, which led it to permeate the very fabric of democracy. The political views of the opposition and ruling party were divided based on their sentiments towards the Tutsis.

The travesty of brutal mass murder in Rwanda did not result from a day's or month's hatred. This was being anticipated long before it started. In 1959, the Hutu Revolution, which was running on anti-Tutsi emotions, resulted in the exodus of many Tutsis from their own country and their settling in the surrounding establishments. After Rwanda became an independent nation in 1961, the Tutsi minority still suffered because of the policies of the Hutu President Kayibanda and later of Juvénal Habyarimana. In

an official report titled “Summary or Arbitrary Executions” published on August 11, 1993, the issue of the rise in the killings of Tutsis for no other reason than their belonging to a certain tribe was raised (Eltringham 1). Just a few months after the publication of this report, more than seventy percent of the Tutsi population was wiped clean by the Hutu extremists.

It was the unnatural death of President Habyarimana in a plane crash and the immediate forced invasion of the RPF (a militia group made up of refugee Tutsis) that led to the major breakout of the violent forces of Interahamwe, the youth wing associated with the ruling party of that time. Radio programs and newspapers were being used to spread anti-Tutsi propaganda. Just in a few days of the President’s death, the genocide [...] spread throughout Rwanda as Hutu power extremists mobilized Hutu civilians to kill their Tutsi neighbours. [They were killed] at roadblocks, and in the churches, schools, administrative offices, and swamps and forests where they sought refuge” (Jessee 50).

It is important to note that the victims that were majorly targeted during the Rwandan Civil War were Tutsis, but the moderate Hutus and Twas also suffered the same end when found by the extreme Hutu militias. RPF (Tutsi militia force), which had called for the “liberation war” after the president’s death, killed many Hutus in the counter attack.

*A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali* by Gil Courtemanche is a novel based on the Rwandan genocide. The writer’s preface claims the existence of all the characters depicted in the work. The dialogues merely provide the novel its form and structure, but the beliefs these characters voice are, as claimed by the writer, no different from what he observed in his companionship and cohabitation with the Rwandans. In the same preface he adds, “If I have taken the liberty of inventing a little, I have done so

the better to convey the human quality of the murdered men and women” (Courtemanche). The male protagonist of the novel voices this very thought when he tells his friend that even the dead have a right to *live*: a right for their stories to be told.

This piece of writing is different in many ways from those presented in other chapters. Most of them are based on the writings of people belonging to one or the other side of the conflicts or wars. The story of *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali* is narrated by a Canadian. Canada, along with the UN, had made attempts to resolve the situation, but itself remained unharmed during the genocide in Rwanda. The writer places his mirror image in the form of the protagonist, Bernard Valcourt, a radio producer in Rwanda. His whimsical ‘yes’ to become a director for Rwandan AIDS awareness television programme throws him into a new experience that deeply affects him. Before engaging with Rwanda at a personal level, Valcourt (protagonist) and Courtemache (writer) had been unaware and ignorant of the magnitude of the violence brewing there. Much like the writer, Valcourt knew just what the school history books had taught him: “where [Rwanda] was on the map and the fact that the two ethnic groups... were locked in an undeclared civil war” (Courtemanche 16).

By picking a ‘white’ foreign privileged man who is ignorant of the strife because of his remoteness, second-hand accounts, and lack of interest, and situating him in Rwanda where he would go on to create friendships, learn about the depth of corruption of Belgian leaders, fight for the rights of the low-tier prostitutes, and fall in love with a hybrid Tutsi-Hutu woman, Gentile, the novelist gives his foreign readers a chance to feel and see as Valcourt does during his journey. The half-fictional work is dedicated to the people who the writer had met during his time in Rwanda and formed great friendships with. He mentions that some of them are dead, some are still alive, and others are barely surviving. The humaneness that is absent in the reports of the

“nameless and faceless tragedies” can be immediately and strongly felt in Courtemanche’s writing style. The writer accepts that he has meddled with reality a little not to present a false picture, but to show the human quality of the lives lost. The writer makes it clear in his preface that this work with all its stories is an attempt on his part to show what the dead were like before they changed into statistics.

### **Ethnic Hatred: Misogyny and Propaganda**

The novel *A Sunday at a pool in Kigali* resulted from the experiences of people during the Rwandan Genocide. It covers the time period from 1994 till sometime after the civil war was over. In an interview, the writer accepted that re-creation of genocide through a fictional or non-fictional account was impossible. His only wish was to “work through people” and in some way tell the tales of their lives and deaths (Hughes). The lives of Gentille, Méthode, Cyprien, and many other minor characters help the readers understand the depravity with which the humans behaved. Lando, a Tutsi friend to Valcourt, tells him what the Rwandan war will look like:

We’re going to rape, cut throats, chop, butcher. We’re going to cut open women’s bellies before the eyes of their husbands, then mutilate the husbands before the wives die of loss of blood [...] while they’re dying, coming to their last breath, we’ll rape their daughters [...] ten times, twenty times. And the virgins will be raped by soldiers with AIDS [...] I say ‘we’ because I’m a Rwandan and because the Tutsi will do it too when they get the chance.  
(Courtemanche 62-63)

And this is what the war became. Courtemanche had put it very aptly, it was the holocaust of the poor with machetes instead of gas chambers.

The Rwandan genocide has been studied at global and local levels, but for the majority of the time, researchers fail to analyze the relation between the ideological construction of a Hutu nation and the ethnic-gender bias discourse that was at the centre of the whole movement of independence and nationalism. We already know that sexual violence becomes a part of conflicts, and throughout this study an attempt has been made to piece together the cultural and social norms that build that atmosphere, which, among other reasons, lead to what is seen as the inevitability of sexual violence. Like in any other patriarchal state, this atmosphere was there even in Rwanda, but it also had the blatant and bare anti-woman propaganda attached to it. Rwanda did not only work towards a genocide but created a narrative that built the direct possibility of ethnic femicide and mass rape. There was a propaganda generated specifically against Tutsi women. This research tries to recount such aspects of the genocide that were gender specific yet seeped in ethnic hatred. But before that, an analysis of that particular 'atmosphere' which aids such a brutal display of violence towards women is extremely necessary. The patriarchal quotidian set-up of Rwanda, the prevalence of prostitution, the rise of AIDS and lack of contraceptives, all affected and set the trajectory for the ultimate victimization of women in Rwanda during the genocide.

The over simplification of the genocide has made the female body politics and its visceral role obscure in the studies. Through the instances from the novel and its characters' engagement with different situations, this idea has been explored here. The body politics in Rwanda were not solely associated with women; the Tutsis in general were also targeted. Through the character of Kawa, the great-great-grandfather of Gentile, we come to understand how this very idea of Hutu-Tutsi anatomical differences was nothing more than a planted thought. The myth of the "Hamitic race", in regards to Tutsi people, created and propagated by Belgian civil servants, supported

the argument that this race was superior to or more advanced than other races in Africa. Tutsi were supposed to have descended from Europe, whereby it was assumed that all significant achievements in African history were the work of "Hamites" (Brakel 9). The beginning of Gentille's life as a paradoxical Hutu begins with Kawa. This story becomes the story of all those Hutus and Tutsi who have become the paradoxes of their own identities. The lives of Gentille's ancestors provide an insight into the development of relations between Hutus and Tutsis and the advent of colonial body politics.

Gentille identity is caught in the webs of power, politics and war. Her story starts even before her birth with the first major change in the way of life of the Rwandans. With Rwanda's occupation by Belgium in the First World War, Christianity was propagated. The king was elected based on his ability to ground his life in the new Christian way and giving up his own traditional beliefs. Kawa (a Hutu), understood in no time that he needed to get his son baptised to offer him a better way of living. This son was baptised as Celestine and was sent to school to learn the Belgian ways. The son quickly recognised that the Belgian-Christians considered themselves superior to the Rwandan race, which had not surprised him because every race in the past had thought the same. The writer clearly mentions that during this time, the Hutus and Tutsis, though distant, had no animosity towards each other. Their identities were not fixed, and the bifurcation of Rwandans was a forced legacy of the colonist narrative. Celestine's education had brought him closer to the western race science popular in those times. He read the book by a Belgian specialist on the cultures of the indigenous:

[Everyone had] learned everything they knew from this book, there was no greater authority than this doctor [...] [Celestine's teacher with the same volume in his hand had told him that] to become an intellectual it was time for him to

discover which were the pure races so he could model his attitude and behaviour on them. (Courtemanche 22)

Thus, Celestine's world view was challenged. The book claimed Tutsis to be not true Negroes but "whites darkened by centuries of sun" (23). Their skin tone, height and the facial features all attested to this. Tutsi were believed to be the descendants of Ethiopia, and the colonial power found them to be best suited for the powerful roles. The native Negro Hutus were not to be trusted. Kawa soon realised that as a Hutu his progeny's future was in the dark, and therefore set on a journey to right the biological wrong. Kawa's epiphany where he realises that he is a Hutu in the skin of a Tutsi leads him to take drastic steps. To any outsider who believed the coloniser's words, Kawa would never be seen as a Hutu. He did not have the essential features as described by the doctor that should have made him what he was born as, a Hutu. He was not "short and squat [...] naïve [...] and unintelligent" (23).

Kawa's insight into his looks offers the reader a clear picture of what was being propagated by the Belgians was nothing more than a myth. There was essentially no difference between the Hutus and the Tutsis. *Hotel Rwanda*, a motion picture based on the genocide, has a scene where a Rwandan man explains to an American journalist that the difference was created by the Belgians who had created superficial markers like the widths of the noses to differentiate the two tribes. The journalist later questions the two women sitting next to him about their ethnic identity. One of them tells him that she is a Hutu and the other testifies herself to be a Tutsi. He informs his aid that he could have mistaken the two for twins (George 13:09-14:10). The scene makes it clear that even if the origins of the two tribes may have been different, the physical attributes were not drastically dissimilar.



Believing the differences to be real, Kawa sought to marry the daughters of the family to Tutsis and was successful in his endeavour. He used a bribe to change his son's ethnic identity on papers, but the Belgian burgomaster refused. The last resort was to make Celestine's children appear Tutsi and not Hutu which could have only been achieved by marrying him to a perfect Tutsi woman whose looks were exactly like how the Belgian doctor had described in his book. The writer ridicules Kawa's search with over-exaggerated description of his journey: "Kawa finally found the nose he needed on the neighbouring hill. A nose so fine one would have thought it had been cut with a razor. A nose so pale that her family thought Enestine was sick" (30).

The exaggerated description by the writer is not anywhere wrong because, with these two tribes, the nose was seen as the sure tell-tale sign of ethnic identity. Kawa's wish and eventual success to suppress the Hutu gene in future progeny become the precursors to the tragedy that strikes Gentille. Gentille suffers because of the misjudgments of her forefathers. When Gentille informs Valcourt about her real identity as a Hutu, even he, an educated man, finds it hard to believe. Gentille's identity as a fake Tutsi was morphed by the patriarchs like Kawa, Celestine, and the Belgian colonists. The men had gained the highly sought positions, knowledge, and power through this biological corruption, but Gentille, as a woman, feels lost in its web as the violence against the Tutsi women escalates. Kawa's beautiful daughter Clementine, a minor, was another one who was sacrificed for the family. She was given as a payment to a "very ugly, pimply-faced Belgian [to fake the identity papers] who came and abused her from behind everytime when he was in the neighbourhood" (28). The girl died of syphilis or some other STD at the age of seventeen, paving the way for the sons of the families who were given the identities of Tutsis because of the 'sacrifice' that was forced on her.

Before the genocide, Rwanda was a patriarchal society. It had set roles and defined markers according to the 'sex' of the person. Women were the upholders of cultural values. They were the caretakers, mothers, the silent ones, homely, and docile. Their sexuality was to be disciplined for "the good of the nation" (Baines 482). Their roles were defined by their capacity to biologically reproduce and their status as free labour. Their public engagement was rare. They had been relegated to the institution of family. Women had accepted these regulations on their bodies, and men had revelled in their 'pure' status, a cultural mark of their ethnicity. The more modern Tutsi women were outside the bounds of the nation imagined by the Hutus. Tutsi women were to be regulated by the Tutsi or Hutu men of the family, but according to the extremists, the Tutsi women were 'tricky' and self-serving. They were transgressing not only the sphere of their biological making but also the public sphere by stealing jobs there. They were a threat to the patriarchal structure the Hutus wished to establish.

The deliberate and scathing insults that Gentille faces in the first few pages of the novel bring to light the depth of ethnic hatred that keeps on resurfacing throughout the work. The man who claims to be the nephew of the President calls her a "dirty slut" and a "dirty Tutsi". He believes Tutsis to be of immoral nature and corrupt disposition. He accuses Gentille of using illicit relationships with white men to land a job at the hotel. The man flings the insults and profanities at Gentille for a very trivial reason. She had not been able to fetch him a specific kind of alcohol. All the pejorative terms that are used to verbally attack the woman here originate and end with the idea of unacceptable sexual relations (based on social norms) that are associated with gender-bias and sexism. The profanities serve two ends: Gentille is attacked as a woman and as a Tutsi, thus, she becomes a 'Tutsi slut'. According to the man and all those he stands to represent, a Tutsi woman is nothing else outside of such simple callous definitions

that have been thrust on them by powerful men like him. The slurs used here are not playful or grounded in reclaiming of a negative word, rather they are over-ridden with the negative capacity to inflict harm. 'Slut' is a derogatory term used for women who are thought to be sexually very active and casual. Sometimes such judgements originate because of their use of make-up or clothing choices. Prude is the only derogatory term that comes close to being an antonym for slut. It is used in a similar manner; to provoke a change in being. The original self, whatever and however it exists, is challenged and tasked by such derogation to violently transform, and if that does not happen, then to ostracise. The aim is to humiliate and embarrass a woman which will eventually lead her towards social isolation. Valcourt observes that Gentille was still standing with her head bowed even though the man who had shamed her was no longer there (Courtemanche 15). Even after some time has passed, she still holds an embarrassed stance with a tear-strained face. This reflects that the effect of his cruel words carries and it stays. Shortly after this, the writer observes a barman who unbeknownst of Gentille watches her with lustful eyes, thereby disproving the narrative built by the man who had abused Gentille of promiscuity. This subverts the whole dynamics of the earlier incident. On one hand, a woman's promiscuity becomes a source of shame, on the other hand, a man's is a source of prowess and pleasure which goes on uncensored. Based on the conventional standards, the physical attributes associated with a Tutsi make them appear beautiful. Valcourt understands that the constant harassment that is directed Gentille's way is because of her beauty and has nothing much to do with her ethnic identity (32). The tragedy is that beauty and its conventional standards had become inextricably linked with the Tutsi identity.

The ethnic hatred was magnified by playing upon the assumed and propagated characteristics of Tutsi women. Tutsi women were different, tall, and 'lithe seductresses'

who used their body to garner powerful positions in the hierarchy, spies who sold the secrets to the RPF, arrogant to men in general, and unattainable for the Hutu men; this is how she was painted for the eyes of Hutu men and women (Baine 484). “Tutsi women were accused of ‘tricking’ employers into hiring them [...] they] were incarcerated for looking ‘too stylish’ or having European boyfriends” (484). During an instance in the book, Valcourt, Gentille, and their friends stop to buy the extremist newspaper, *Ijambo*, which gave out the names of the untrustworthy Tutsis and told of their ‘dishonourable’ deeds. It mentions Raphaël’s (a friend to Valcourt) advancement at the bank as a result of his prostituting his sister to the white men and Lando’s (another friend) payment to such white sex mongers in form of the rooms at his hotel to entertain Tutsi prostitutes. In both the cases, the women are central in projecting the depravity of targeted Tutsi men, but their involvement stems from a low-tier position where they are just objects that are used by Tutsi men to evolve and step higher on the hierarchical ladder. Both the roles are associated with her are sexual in nature. She gains a negative identity and becomes a tempestuous tempting force that must be destroyed. Her unattainable status is a challenge for the Hutu men, and for the Hutu women, she is cultivated as a threat in the form of a deviant seductress. Tutsi women turned out to be the most brutally affected victims by the power of this organically planted insidious discourse. Later in the novel, when Gentille is abducted by a Hutu commander, she has to face not only the male lust but also the scorn of his wife, who calls in her two brothers to rape her as a punishment she sees fit for ‘ensnaring’ her husband (Courtemanche 243).

The propaganda was a success. It did not only create the Tutsi Medusa (the man-hating monster that needs to be punished for her disposition) but also successfully curbed the Tutsi women’s freedom and forced them to live by confining themselves. This becomes evident in the beginning of the novel when Gentille seems hyper aware

of her surroundings. Even when she is in dire need of Valcourt's help, she is reluctant to either talk around the pool or in his room in the hotel; both these spaces can potentially damage her character and pose a threat to her social integrity. The innocuous public spaces have had a history of limiting a woman's interaction. They emerge against all our expectations as gendered spaces. Such space becomes an extension of a female's character. Her easy accessibility will render her with tags like 'slut' or 'hooker'. With the flow of propaganda politics it becomes rather difficult to remain unaffected and continue with the easy lifestyle that had been enjoyed earlier. If Gentile talks around the pool to a white elite male like Valcourt, where they will be surrounded by myriad people, she will be enacting the role of the seductress who associates with men to gain leverage, and if she chooses the seclusion of his room, she will be readily labelled as a 'hooker'. By choosing either, she will not only risk a rise in harassment but also will be concreting the image already painted by the propagandists. The power of public or private spaces is utilised by men to subject women under their normative restrictions of either a 'nice girl' or a 'whore'.

When Gentile requests Valcourt to speak for her 'truth' of originally being a Hutu to keep her job, Valcourt raises concern for her well-being as a woman more than anything else: "The danger was on all sides. A discontented Belgian, a drunk and infatuated German, a passing soldier, a love-stuck civil servant. All of them possessed her" (33). The issue here is not that she is a Hutu or a Tutsi, but that she is a woman in a world where men are like sharks waiting for the right moment to strike. During one of Valcourt and Gentile's confrontations with militia men, one of them tells them that she may be safe for now, but one day they will have her (209).

When the colonists had built the narrative of Hutu-Tutsi racial difference, they did not stop at the physical attributes. The idea that Tutsis were more brilliant and smarter than the Hutus was also propagated. The Hutus were made less cultured, more uncivilised, and their smartness was questioned. By favouring one community over the other, the colonisers made Hutus stand lower in the hierarchy. As a result, the Hutu revolution became a way to challenge this notion by creating a new language process by which the Tutsis were dehumanised.

The Hutus called them “*inkotanyi*” (cockroaches). Such dehumanization leads to more heinous violence, for those who are being killed or maimed are mere insects in the killer’s eyes. The kind of pejorative words that were used to redefine the Tutsi people (more specifically women) injure the group’s social vitality. Genocidal violence creates a cosmos of homicidal rage, and the multifarious incidents of use of derogatory terms for a particular group, and the re-identification done through this process causes the phenomena of social death. The hatred inflicted is not individualistic, rather it targets a whole group. The same case happened during the Rwandan genocide where the Tutsi had suffered. But even among the Tutsis, another sub-group belonging to the Tutsi women was picked and targeted more viciously.

When a group with its own cultural identity is destroyed, its survivors lose their cultural heritage and may even lose their inter-generational connections. To use Orlando Patterson's terminology, in that event, they may become "socially dead" and their descendants "innately alienated," no longer able to pass along and build upon the traditions, cultural developments (including languages), and projects of earlier generations. (Card 73)

This inability to emerge with fervour, to begin anew, to start with the re-education of the next generation exists not only because of the loss of identity. There are also the traumas one experiences that become ingrained in one's life. Benjamin Sehene, a prolific writer from Rwanda, in his story "Dead Girl Walking" explains that the survivors of the genocide are now known as "*bafuye bahagaze*" (the walking dead). The survivor of this story is a five-year-old little girl who is incapable of paying attention for more than a few moments: "She seemed to be unconsciously repressing her memories, both past and present, as if to protect herself" (Sehene 115). Similarly afflicted is another woman mentioned in the story who appears on the surface to be fine with all her smiles and welcoming words but cannot tolerate being touched. Later in Courtmanche's novel, when Gentille has gone through the ordeals, Bernard visits her, but his touch on her body makes her recoil in fear. These triggers will never allow her or others like her to function normally in society. After overcoming all the physical and sexual atrocities, they are still living a ghostly existence.

In such cases, memory studies become imperative. After the genocide, many people came out with their tragic tales. The testimonies, mostly by women writers (though only numbered and lost in translations to the global world in general), paved the way for the Rwandans to establish the power of words and begin anew. Annick Kayitesi-Jozan, a survivor turned author, expresses this in her powerful words: "I too must speak, write, remember. Even if it's just one last time. With the hope of another day [...] [o]ne last time, reliving the hell of the Tutsi. One last time remembering. I remember. IBUKA!" (Gilbert 153). Ibuka is the Rwandan word for remember. Her forceful exclamation is seeped with the wish to reclaim the identity through memory by piecing together the fragmented aspects of it, a way to become whole.

The novel is a third-person narrative except for chapter thirteen where Gentille's own words are used to describe her life after her abduction by the Hutus. Through her writing, in a workbook, Gentille transforms herself into a witness to her own life: "I'm writing to tell of the death of an ordinary woman", she writes (Courtemanche 241). She is talking about her own symbolic death here. The eight days of her diary entries under the title "The Story of Gentille after her Wedding" offer her a way to inscribe herself somewhere.

She claims that she has no political ideas and, therefore, does not have any enemies. The only ones she had antagonised were the men she had said 'no' to. The power of her self-determination, she realises, can turn a man into an enemy, a strong enemy who has the means to crush and demolish her human power to offer or not offer consent. Men who are particularly hypersensitive towards their manhood are easily offended by a woman's refusal. One can draw a comparison here of how Hutu men's insecurities were used to pit them against the women: "Stereotypes [...] portrayed Tutsi women as being arrogant and looking down on Hutu men whom they considered ugly and inferior" (Baines 488). The testimonies of the survivors throw a light on how such narratives were deeply ingrained in the minds of the rapists and would reflect in their outbursts and paroxysms of rage. 'We will not be accepted if it was peace time', 'you Tutsi women think you are too good for us', and other such similar confessions by the perpetrators can be found in the victims' accounts of rape incidents (488). During the trial of Jean-Paul Akayesu, the victim recalled his words after he had raped her: "Never ask me again what a Tutsi woman tastes like" (Neuffer 289).

Valcourt and Gentille's visit to the prosecutor's office to lodge a case in support of a dead prostitute turns into a power play. The official declares to Valcourt that he works for a democracy, and Valcourt is simply misled by the Tutsi "cockroaches", who



he keeps around himself. The method in which the hatred is spewed goes to show how deep the reach of such propaganda was that even the neutral spaces like police stations, that are supposedly working under a 'democratic' regime, are not left untouched. This man believes that he is working in a democracy and yet uses his position in a biased manner. He is reader of the extremist newspaper and believes its content to be true. He is blind to the war that is very much present even in his words and everywhere around Rwanda. He attributes Valcourt's decisions and choices to be a result of his "vicissitudes of loneliness" which he assuages by taking Tutsi women to bed who "are quick with laugh" and sex (Courtemanche 74). He then goes on to insinuate that Gentille, if she was alone in a hotel room with him when the incident occurred, must be in "the profession in which, [Hutu elites say], the Tutsi excel" (75). All these images directly coincide with what the extremists were propagating. In one of their cartoons in *Kangura* (another extremist magazine), two Tutsi women were shown in barely any clothes clinging to General Dallaire, the head of the UN Peace Corp. stationed in Rwanda. The subject in the cartoon read: "General Dallaire and his army have fallen into the trap of Tutsi femme fatales" (Carlyn 93). Tutsi women were hyper-sexualised. The obsession with a Tutsi woman's body is clearly visible in Cyprien's narrative in the novel. Cyprien, a Hutu man, tells Valcourt that he is not liked much by his own community as he has always had "adored [Tutsi] women's slender waists [...] their milk chocolate skin and their breasts as firm as juicy pomegranates" (Courtemanche 87). He goes on to refute both Valcourt and Gentille's claim that she is a Hutu with an elaborate sexual description: "nose [...] straight and sharp, legs as long as giraffe's [...] pointed and firm] breasts...and buns... that drive me wild" (89). He matter-of-factly tells them that when they will eventually be caught in the quagmire, the Hutus will throw away the identity proofs and only look at her 'Tutsi' like body

and they're going to bang that Tutsi and call their friends so they can bang her too [...] with your legs spread [...] machete against [her] throat, and they'll have [her] ten times, a hundred times, till your wounds and your pain will have done with your beauty (89).

Through this description, one can deduce that women are absent as a whole entity and become bodies to be consumed. In an interview, Courtemanche said that "the women in Africa are just meat" (Hughes). The writer, through his metaphorical connotations, presents the picture of women as perceived by African men, to whom they are a thing of consumption and nothing more. Just like meat, the woman's body is a source of symbolic male power that can be actualized by eating and playing with it. Before further broaching this issue, it is imperative to discuss one violent event that takes place in Sehene's story when he visits a Hutu family. The Hutu man, Kanaka

jumped on [the hen], grabbing it with astonishing agility [...he] rolled up his sleeves and asked the maid for knife [...] he gathered the two wings in a fist before crushing them with his left foot [...] he grabbed the bird's neck and began to pluck it clean [...] there was something ritualistic in his concentration [...] children had gathered in a semicircle around him, as if for a sacrifice [...] Isabelle looked away in horror when [he] cut off the animal's head with a single blow. (Sehene 119)

The event carries on with the headless hen running around the ground before collapsing. The Hutu man, we later learn, had been responsible for the deaths of his Tutsi neighbours. The juxtaposing is important to understand how insensitive humans can become towards violence and the plight of other living creatures. There is, after all, a correlation between our indifference to living things and in what degrees it exists. During the genocide, the use of machetes which function in the fields to cut crops and

bushes were given the function of killing and squashing through popular metaphorisation of Tutsis as tall trees, cockroaches, and snakes. Kanaka's violent torture of the animal coincides with how the Hutus had treated the Tutsis. Through this interaction, Sehene, without mentioning the details of the genocide, portrays the darkest picture of human depravity.

In her study, Carol J Adams draws a connection between the oppression of animals and women. She draws our attention to the degrees in which violence grows. The incidents of male violence usually start with the victimization of animals as is evident in surplus case studies of "batterers, rapists, serial killers, and child sex abusers" (Adams 71). Transformation of a woman into other oppressed classes is common, but it is through this repeated use that they become less and are severed from their ontological existence and are eventually consumed in this same representation.

Adams expresses how animals become objectified, fragmented and re-identified as something else after they are killed and cooked with spices. It is only after this elaborate scheme that people consume animals. No one likes to visit slaughter houses, maybe because it will kill their appetite, probably even transform them and lead them to vegetarianism. But during the genocidal violence, the consumption and butchering of the women was done out in the open with vigour and still had not affected the Hutus; probably because they were the butchers as well as the consumers. The Hutus, by becoming the consumers, force the Tutsi women out of their human state. Gentile realises that her status is even lower than that of an animal: "I am not a human anymore. I have no name and even less soul. I'm a thing, not even a dog that gets stroked or a goat that gets protected and then eaten with gusto. I'm a vagina. I'm a hole" (Courtemanche 244).

When exhausted by the continuous sessions of rape, Gentile (by the end of the story) lies down on the street to get to her death quickly by the hands of a Hutu extremists, a young boy rips open her shirt and “[gives] two quick strokes with his machete” and cuts off her breasts. The writer uses the same metaphorical association for the breasts as was used by Cyprien earlier in his lewd version— her “breasts opened like red pomegranate” (248). She was left alone there on the side of the street alive like that. The horrifying mixing of desire and violence is evident in this instance. The word stroke is synonymous with caress and also means a violent blow. The same way, the word of desire ‘pomegranate’ is transferred with the brutality of the violent image of Gentile’s mutilated breasts.

Gentile’s transformation keeps on happening as she suffers different forms of attack on her sexualised body: when she is raped, she becomes less than an animal; and when her breasts are cut and she has partially healed, she tells Bernard that “she is dead” and decomposing. Her words to Valcourt after she has been abducted and tortured are important to understand how she copes with what is left of her sense of being:

Bernard, I’m not a woman anymore. Don’t you smell the sickness? Bernard, I don’t have breasts anymore [...] I probably have AIDS [...] My mouth is full of sores [...] when I can eat, my stomach won’t hold anything. I’m not a woman anymore. Do you understand what they have done to me? I’m not a human any more. I’m a body that’s decomposing, an ugly thing I don’t want you to see [...] Go now and leave the country. I’m dead. (257)

She considers herself a pariah and a social untouchable. Her accidental touch on Bernard’s hand affects her to apologise to him. She believes that she has ceased “to be a woman” or a human— like all those people mentioned in the beginning of Sehene’s story, she is now “*bafuye bahagaze*, the walking dead” (Sehene 110).

Rwandan rapes were acutely and clearly genocidal in nature. The damage done to women's bodies by inflicting harm on their vaginas and breasts was done to such an extent that the reproductive capacities were damaged. The anti-Tutsi propaganda promoted that cockroaches would only breed cockroaches and not butterflies, and this belief was axiomatic to the Hutus who were high on the power of machetes and drugs. Tutsi women were aggressively pursued as a collective target. They were despicable no matter who they were –friends, wives, concubines, or working staff. The image that was created was of an unattainable siren who was out of bounds of these Hutu men. A lot of testimonies from witnesses record the rapist's words who would declare their prowess in finally having the Tutsi women, declaring to the community that now they knew what Tutsi females' insides looked like (Mullins 728). One man from the Interahamwe called rape the best way to see the difference between Hutu and Tutsi women. There are myriad accounts of extreme depravity and dehumanization of Tutsi women. In one such horrific account, a woman was first raped and then a tree branch was pushed into her vagina (732).

The powerful polarisation through words was the reason for the demise of peace in Rwanda. Foucault had described how power thrives in a society's transverse network through information production:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Chomsky and Foucault 153)

Radio played a major role in propagating the ideas in Rwanda, where illiteracy was quite high. *Kangura* was a newspaper that had started during October 1990 and was widely accepted as the true source of information by Hutus. Rwandans were mostly illiterate people, and even then *Kangura's* informations spread like fire through word of mouth and special announcement meetings (Melvern 49). It decreed ten Hutu commandments, in its sixth issue, out of which four solely focused on behaviour towards Tutsi women and their promiscuity.

The discourse that was constructed by Hutu elites was a form of power that had manipulated and enthralled the people. The power circulated in an interrupted and adaptive manner without resistance. Dehumanization of Tutsi had affected the genocidal language to such an extent that the Hutus referred to murder as “work” and “cleansing” (Sehene 113). They were not killing and raping humans but cockroaches, snakes, and tall trees. The linguistic power utilised was not only racially charged but had gendered nature too. The advent of the Hutu nationalist movement, which largely functioned on linguistic dynamics, transformed Rwanda from a horizontal society with one god, one king, and one language, where inter-marriages, co-mingling, and friendly relations were common, to a vertical one.

### **Who do you get even with?**

The antagonist in the novel is Modeste, the Hutu commander, who inflicts the most damage on Gentille's life. He keeps Gentille at his house for eight days, after which she escapes to greet her death by the hands of first militia man who will stumble upon her in her haggard state. He justifies his rapes of Gentille by telling her that if she had landed with someone else then she would have suffered far more. Eventually, he

brings in other men to rape and use her in order to prove his loyalty to the Hutu cause. She is degraded and assaulted by men with their bodies and other violent objects. Tired of men coming one after other, she writes in her workbook that she stopped counting after ten. Even after this incident, Modeste tries to make her understand that everything that he did was for her. She writes in her workbook, “He said he was sorry but I had to understand. If he hadn’t given me, worse things could have happened to me. He saved my life and he wants me to be grateful” (Courtemanche 246). The worse things that were happening to the other women were the brutal tortures by the machetes.

Modeste is one of those rapists who are conflicted by their own state and feel that they are doing something extraordinary by protecting such women (even if they form a coercive relation with them). In his novel, *Fire Under the Cassock*, Benjamin Sehene discusses through his fictional character the real-life involvement of Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka in rapes and murders of the people he had given refuge in his church. A protector turned monster. The account is presented as a confession. The character of Munyeshyaka is represented through the narrator, the fictional Father Stanislas. The character accepts that he had used his ability to protect Speciose, a Tutsi woman, to have sex with her. He is vague about the rape and refers to it in ambiguous terms. He expresses how he cannot be sure if she was consenting, recreates the scene and says how she did not fight and just lay there passively. He refuses the responsibility as he believes what he did was for the greater good of his country (Hitchcott 23). Modeste and father Stanislas fall in the same category. They both utilised the situation for their benefit and through their coercive methods of rape try to escape the reality of how monstrous their acts were.

When Valcourt visits Modeste, he refuses to acknowledge that he knew anyone by the name of Gentile. He boasted about his virility by telling him that many women

had come to him for protection and pleasure. Modeste is then confronted by Valcourt directly when he starts reading and quoting Gentile from her workbook. Valcourt blatantly lets him know that he knows everything that had happened to his wife. “He didn’t want a bleeding hole”, he repeats her words and the reaction in Modeste is instantaneous, he spits his alcohol on Valcourt and accuse Gentile in the same words that were common in the Hutu propaganda:

I don’t know if you wife’s dead, but if she is, thank heaven and the Hutus. Your wife was a whore, like all the Tutsis, the worst I ever met, the most immoral. Imagine. She never once said no, never once resisted. Nothing but a whore.  
(253)

Gentile’s unresisting body becomes a source of her ‘offense’ as a woman. For a woman must always fight rape. His justification is based in the stereotypes of what one considers “real rape”. The resisting woman is essential for a rape to be called that. The perfect script of the rape has led many women to question their own sexual assaults as something that resulted from a ‘miscommunication’ and not from the will of a perpetrator. The redirection of the blame is common in rape discourse. How rape is identified by outsiders depends on the social rhetoric created for the rape survivor as that of an innocent ‘virgin’ or that of a promiscuous and wanton ‘slut’.

Modeste defines her as a “whore”, a common way to insult a woman who the society sees as sexually deviant, synonymous to the word “slut”. Whores are always in the need of punishment, a way to make them realise the transgressions they have committed to the patriarchal lords. And what better way to punish a sexually deviant being than using sex itself. Therefore, rape is not seen as an act of force by the perpetrator but a form of punishment, and quite ironically, it also becomes an act that many men believe women enjoy. This is evident from Modeste’s answer that many



women came to him for protection and pleasure after Valcourt's initial inquiry about Gentile. In his mind he has recreated the sufferings of these women in which he is a virile saviour, and instead of recognising the double bind the women are in, he basks in his self-glorification. When he is confronted by Gentile's word from her diary that are read aloud by Valcourt his self-professed position is threatened. His only response is to lash out by declaring that she did not resist what was done to her; he washes his hands off the whole affair. Such situations where the perpetrator ends up accusing the victim of 'moral' conduct are present in the rapes that happen in normal (outside of war) circumstances too. The victim's responsibility or culpability in varying degrees based on her clothing choice, her 'provocative' behaviour, her being alone at night and so on, becomes a premise for the rape that has happened.

The concept [of victim-precipitation] also assumes that the offender rests in a passive state and is set into motion primarily by the victim's behavior, that the victim's behavior is a necessary and sufficient condition for the offense, and that the intent of the victim can be inferred from his or her resultant victimization. (Berger 9)

This continuum of victim blaming is carried on and exaggerated in war-like situations where the consequences are far worse. Gentile is afraid of being physically more hurt and that is the reason for her inaction. Modeste uses the fear of other men outside his house who could be much worse to tell her to behave and be "gentile" with him. She does not resist and accepts that she will never resist. Her acquiescence hides her from death. Though she feels ashamed about her easy acceptance of being raped, she realises that inconspicuousness is the only way to survive.

Valcourt sees Modeste as a perpetrator but he also believes that the individual atrocious wills of these men were being ignited by bigger political powers. He tells his

friend Victor that he does not believe that one single person can be accounted for what happened to Gentile, and therefore, there is no question of “getting even” with Modeste. Valcourt responds by saying that Modeste’s justice lies with the court and police (if there will be any). Modeste is just a cog in bigger machinery that led to the genocide. He not only did nothing to protect the countless innocents but utilised the situation to assuage his lust. Modeste is nothing more than an apparatus of the state. Born out of the propaganda, he is insidiously infected by his beliefs. Valcourt questions his friend about the idea of avenging his wife:

Is he the only one guilty? Get even with history? With Belgian priests who sowed the seeds of a kind of tropical Nazism here, with France, with Canada, with the United Nations who stood by and let negroes kill other negroes? They’re the real murderers, but they’re out of my reach. (252)

The character voices the writer’s beliefs. In his interview with Juliette Hughes, Courtemache appeared clearly disappointed and angry at the apathy with which the west had acted even after what had happened in Nuremberg. He believes that they haven’t learned their lesson.

The idea of accusing the colonists and the UN is right in respect to the genocide, but do they hold the blame for the rapes and the effective segregation of Tutsi women; the lethal sexual violence that came in form of butchering of the feminized body; or for the special squads that were specifically released to infect Tutsi women with AIDS? Is this discourse not common in all misogynistic patriarchal societies that we live in? It is built day by day through a continuum of different degrees of assaults and eventually develops into a form that has the capacity to haunt us for ages.

Gentile understands this continuum of sexual assaults. When she begins her diary, her only enemies are those men that she might have said ‘no’ to in some distant

past. Gentille's life had started with sexual exploitation. She explains to Valcourt that she had experienced enough to know the difference between love and sex. She tells him that her beauty and body had been a curse for her and she had to fend off not only strangers but her relatives and friends too. She also tells him that she had met men who had asked her permission to touch her but much more common were those who "just did it" (Courtemanche 71). With the imminent threat of genocide, the white men around her had also tried to secure her sexually on the pretext of "help" (70). She is the body of every woman who is teased, molested, beaten and raped.

What matters most is that we combine the new acknowledgement of rape's role in war with a further recognition: humankind's level of tolerance for sexual violence is not established by international tribunals after war. That baseline is established by societies, in times of peace. The rules of war can never really change as long as violent aggression against women is tolerated in everyday life. (Donovan 18)

### **AIDS and Prostitution**

The writer does not dwell on the historical aspect or the origination of the problem. The issues surface with the plot development and the reader is made aware of the situation in Kigali and the surrounding areas of Rwanda. The pool in the title of the novel is observed by Valcourt very minutely. Far from the stench of poor Rwandans suffering from nefarious diseases, it becomes the very centre of political decisions and holds the presence of high and mighty powers and the elites— the French paratroopers, presidential guards, Belgians, Quebecois. The writer's contrasting focus between the pool and the underbelly of Kigali in the very beginning of the work is an introduction

to the foreign readers to know the despicable condition many of the common people live in. Far from this pool, live “men and women dying of AIDS and malaria” and these people are oblivious of the history being made by these foreign men lounging on the pool side (Courtemanche 2). AIDS emerges as a theme in the work and it is not an invention on part of the writer. AIDS and HIV had spread rapidly among Rwandans during the civil conflict between Hutus and Tutsis. The rapes were deliberately done to infect women with the chronic disease and with the aim of eradicating Tutsi population.

The rampage of AIDS is not only because of the rapes but also of ignorance on the part of the general population as well. AIDS/HIV cases rank higher in Rwanda and the other neighbouring countries like Uganda and Congo. In 2019, its prevalence rate among adults was as high as 2.90 percent. In Uganda, it was 6.10 percent. This situation went completely berserk during the 1990s when the conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis was on the rise. A very detailed description of this global epidemic has been represented in the work.

When a man claims to be president’s nephew, Valcourt is quick to mention that he recognises all of them. He goes on to describe them and with each description unfolds the social situation in Rwanda. One of these nephews had AIDS and he, in the writer’s words, thinks that by “fucking young virgins” he can rid himself of the “poison” in his veins (6). This crude description of the mindset of a man of power with a proper education can effectively illustrate how the less informed will feel about AIDS. Other three nephews are the managers of Kigali Night, a club, where they offer “clean hookers” to people. The narrator sarcastically calls them the protectors of these prostitutes (6). They offer these women only to the French paratroopers to have unprotected sex. They claim them to be clean because they themselves had engaged in unprotected sex with them and have not been sick. Voracious for the bodies of Kigali women, the French

believe them. Through this grim picture of sexual recklessness, the writer does not only portray the ignorance but also a corrupt relationship between the French, who had supplied them with weapons during the conflict, and the high-power elite Hutus. Courtmache declared in his interview: “You cannot understand Africa without understanding their attitude to sex; there is an enormous amount of screwing around....African culture separates sex and feelings” (Hughes).

This writer has blatantly projected in his work too. *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali* has characters exaggeratedly portrayed in this sexual haze. Methode’s death by AIDS is marked with an elaborate sexual scene where he receives and offers oral stimulations in front of his friends and mother just before dying. Many of these characters, mostly males, suffer from AIDS and do not use protection as preventive measure to stop it from spreading. They believe that the disease cannot affect the Negroes, or the only way one can contract is by having anal sex.

Rwandan genocide was declared the bloodiest after the Second World War, which is an unbalanced comparison considering the scale of World War and the size of this African country. But it also was infamous for its strategic use of rape to not only humiliate and ‘cleanse’ but also to spread AIDs through the perpetrators. The one-third of Rwanda’s population was suffering from it by 1993. A clear indication of it is present in Courtmache’s book too where, almost half of the major characters are suffering from either AIDs or are HIV positive. A monologue from the book by Methode, a young Tutsi dying from AIDS, throws light on how ignorant the general mass was about AIDs: “We know that a condom protects, but we big strong black men go through life as though we’re immortals. My friend Elise calls that magic thinking [...] we fuck and fuck like blind men” (Courtemanche 59). He switches to the problem of genocide calling the hatred as another kind of sickness and draws an analogy between the two:

“[t]here are people who sow hate the way ignorant men sow death with their sperm in the bellies of women, who carry it away to other men, and to the children they conceive” (59). The symbolical analogy later turned into a truth when Hutu men were organised into AIDs squads to actually “sow death” by raping women. Thousands of men suffering from AIDs were released and formed into squads to rape Tutsi women. The Belgian-British microbiologist, Peter Piot made the declaration of the dangers of AIDs as a disease as well as a threat to human security in his UNAIDS speech:

AIDS and global insecurity coexist in a vicious cycle. Civil and international conflict helps spread HIV, as populations are destabilized and armies move across new territories. And AIDS contributes to national and international insecurity, from the high levels of HIV infection experienced among military and peacekeeping personnel, to the instability of societies whose future has been thrown into doubt. (Piot 2)

The sexually transmitted diseases like AIDs and HIV, when used as a weapon of the war, transform the physically violent conflict zone into a bio-war too. The only way such diseases are transferred to another is through brutal acts of sex whether done to a woman or a man. The calls were made to the Hutu AIDS patients to transmit their disease to Tutsi women. After the genocide, as many as 22 percent of the surviving women between the age of 25 and 29 were HIV positive (Smith 97).

The ideology of genocide is to eradicate the Other. Historically, many attempts have been made to destroy a particular community through violent means. Former Yugoslavia, the Holocaust, Greek genocide are just a few examples. The past is ridden with such attempts, but the desire to eradicate the Other has never been realised. In such circumstances, the deliberate AIDS warfare that was used in Rwanda brought the vicious rapists closer to their genocidal dreams. As long as there are women suffering

from this disease and there are children born to these women, the Tutsis will not live a full life. They will die a slow death succumbing to the disease just like Gentile in the novel. Courtemache in his interview said that “traditional marriage law” was one of the reasons prostitution and AIDS is spreading in Rwanda:

Traditional matrimonial law in Rwanda dictates that if a husband dies the wife doesn't inherit if his family doesn't want her to. She is often obliged to marry his brother or uncle, and if she refuses, she and her kids are thrown out. So she'll go to Kigali, but if she finds work in a kitchen or a hotel, the pay is too low to support them. So the only way to survive is by occasional prostitution. It's one of the ways AIDS is spread (Hughes).

Prostitution was and is still prevalent in Rwanda. Due to a lack of sustainable jobs, women in large numbers turn to sex work (illegal job) even today (Berry 20). In Africa, women were denied rights to property and land, a condition that many believe has been absolved by recent democratic human rights. But the ground reality is different. Women are rendered helpless by social norms. Unmarried women cannot buy contraceptives without being shamed for it, and any such woman will be seen as a sex worker. Accidental pregnancies are deeply resented. If women go for interviews to build new careers, the first question they will be asked would be about their marital status because marriage and maturity are seen in conflation in Rwanda. When they try to earn money and be self-reliant by putting up stalls on streets, the police throw them in prisons. The poor women in Rwanda are eventually left with no choice but to use their bodies as sex workers to earn money. And this profession (albeit a reluctantly chosen one), even today, has an extreme risk of “contracting HIV/AIDS” (Berry 11-22). In a study conducted in 2010, it was discovered that almost “71 percent of sex workers in Kigali were HIV-positive” (22). Valcourt calls these women outcasts. They

are “forced to be part-time prostitutes to feed their children because they’re denied access to land or property” (Courtemanche 116).

The presence of sex workers in the novel attests to the large numbers in which women, due to their conditions, are driven to this kind of work. One such woman, in the novel, eventually dies in her bid to refuse a Belgian elite. She is pushed off the balcony by the Belgian man and is not granted any medical attention in order to cover up the real cause of her death. Another sex worker, Bernadette, had a simple dream to have a man to love her and to open a boutique of children’s clothes. Even as a sex worker, she never thinks that her dream will not be fulfilled until the one man she had loved throws her to his son, who eventually rapes her of the last shred of her agency: “A hard penis pierced her in that dirty, secret, forbidden place [...] the penis was raping the last part of her body that belonged to her. Dirty perhaps, impure, forbidden as tradition maintained, but intact” (177). When her friend reveals to her that she has her medical test report and she might be infected, she disregards the report without opening it. She believes that even if she asks the men who come to her for sex to use protection, it is not going to cure her. She cannot afford the medicine that might keep her sickness at bay: “I need two or three thousand johns a year to buy me your medicine” (179). Bernadette becomes another link in this chain of the spread of AIDS. She will not utilize her knowledge to aware her customers of the disease.

Justin, a character from the novel, believes that the disease has come to him from the whites and blames them for the despicable condition of his country . He has acquired his own way to avenge himself. He targets and tempts the white women around the hotel using their “fascination with the barbarous, powerful negro” body (129). Consensual sex with these women with a fake HIV negative certificate gives him the chance to ‘get even’. The unsuspecting women find themselves later infected. The



autonomy with which women choose to have consensual sex turns into a nightmare. The intentional transmission of AIDS or the non-disclosure of HIV/AIDS is seen as a criminal offence in many countries today. This kind of behaviour which is fraudulent transforms even “consensual sex” into an aggravated sexual assault for the consent was premised on deceit. Justin’s target are only white women which is also a crime of misogynistic ethnic hatred.

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