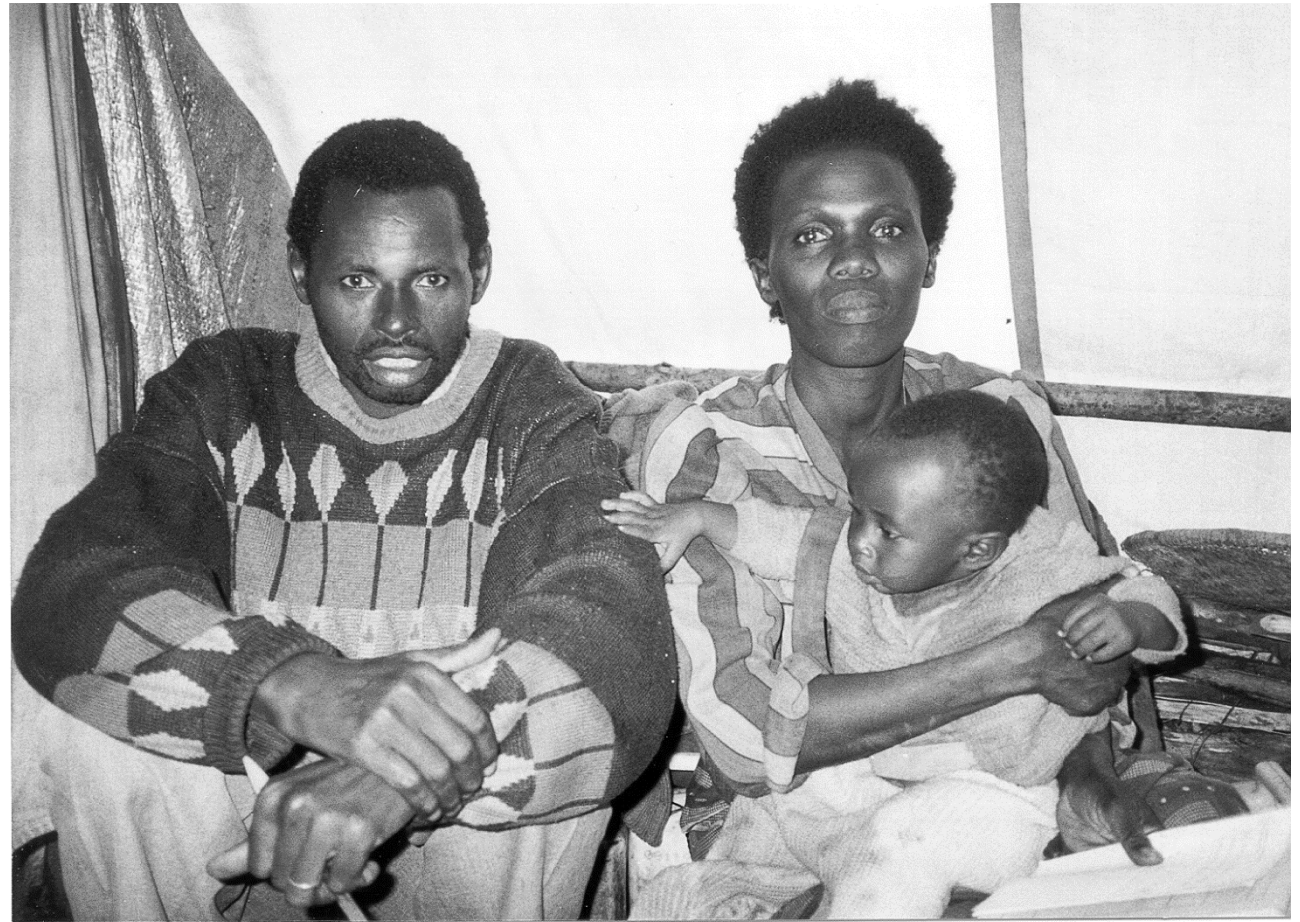


# 10. Trauma Healing in Overcoming Cycles of Revenge & Violence

Rwandan  
refugees  
in Eastern  
Congo,  
1994



# What are the anthropological questions about war trauma?

- Is a “war ethnography” possible? If so, what does it reveal?
- How does the contextual study of lives in war or violence change the resulting narrative?
- Can the study of war and post-war offer insight into how trauma healing occurs, both in traditional ways within the society and through innovative new ways?

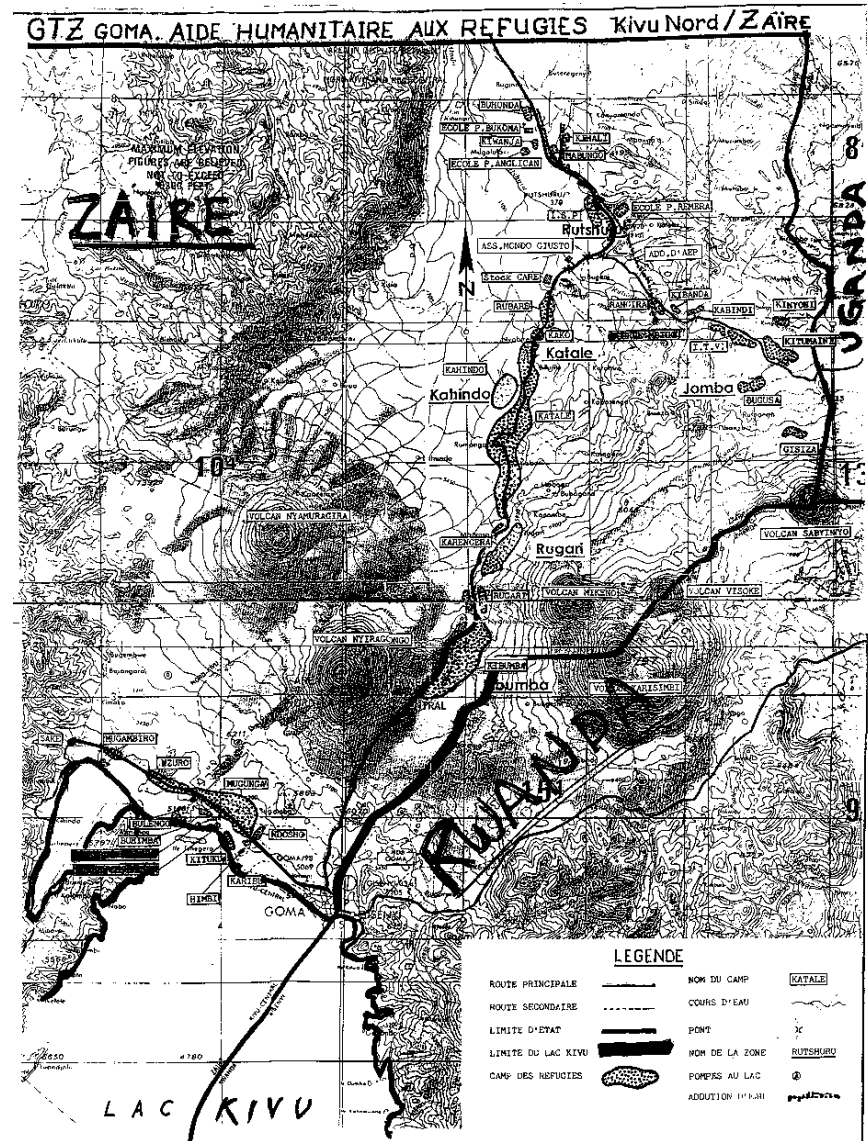
# War Map I: Rwanda & Burundi 1994

In April, 1994, the international effort to achieve a reconciliation unity government was broken by the shooting down of the aircraft that carried the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. Within hours, the massacre of Tutsi and moderate Hutu by Hutu militants began that ended with a million killed. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) simultaneously began its conquest from Uganda, resulting in the flight of up to four million-- militants, the national army, the old administration, and many of the populace.



# War Map II: North Kivu

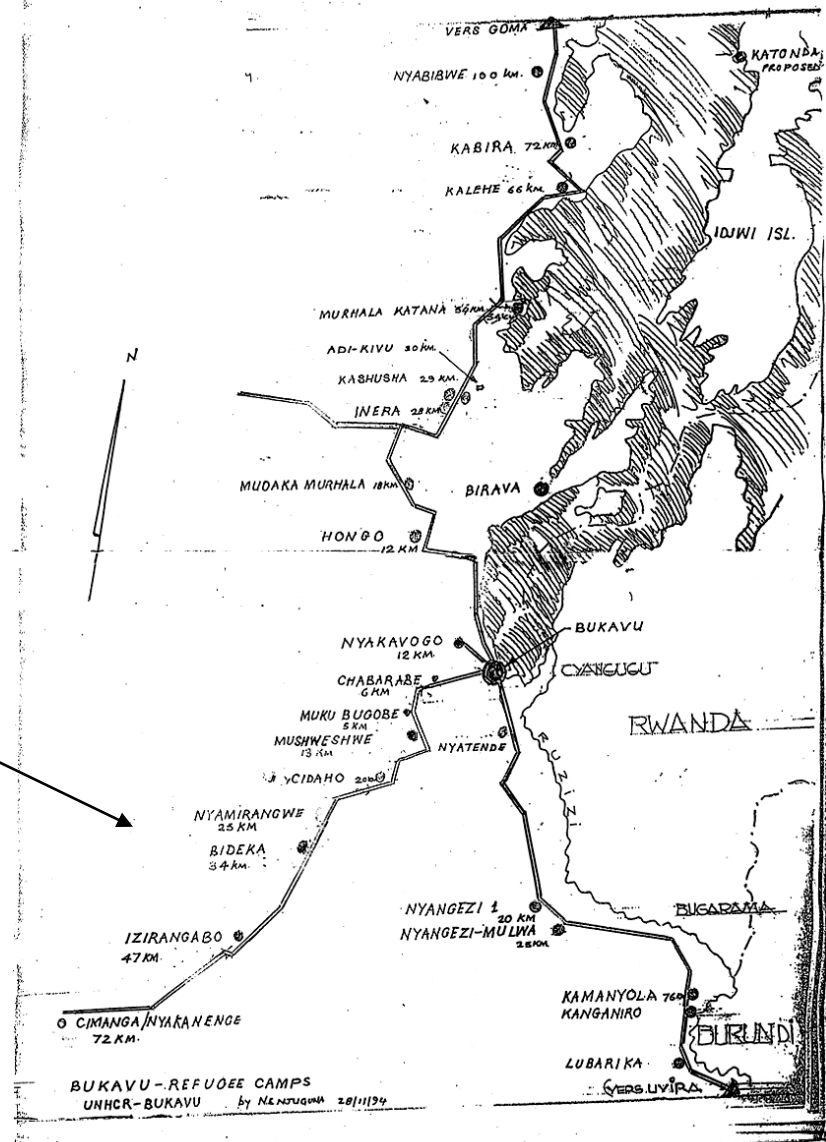
North Kivu refugee camps in Zaire along major roads leading north and west of Goma, drawn for United Nations High Commission for Refugees (courtesy R. Van der Meer). Camps of up to 250,000 persons are located along main roads in Zaire.



Major Refugee Concentrations  
Goma, Zaire

# War Map III: South Kivu

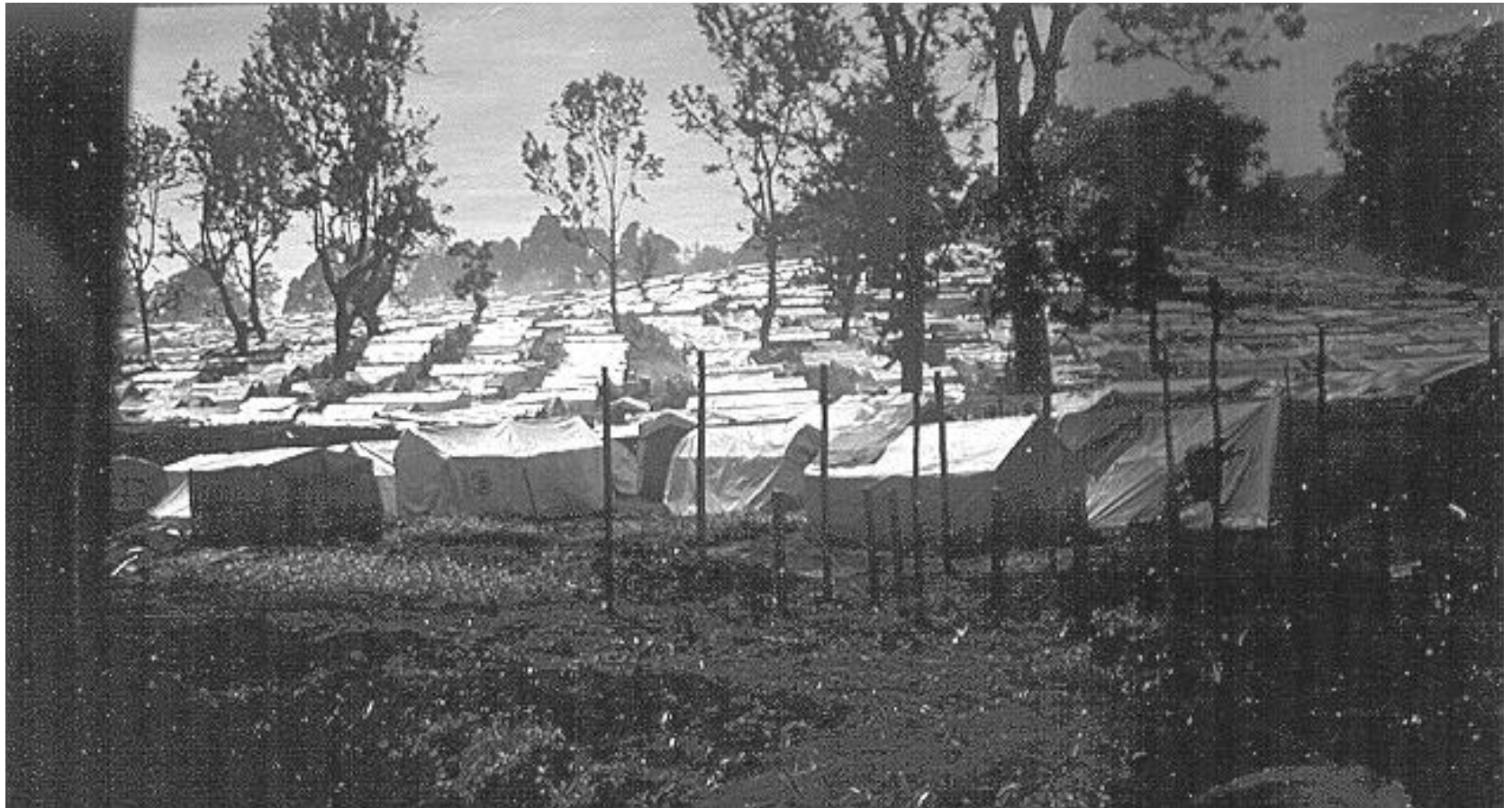
Map of refugee camps, South Kivu UNHCR - Bukavu, working map by N.E.Njuguna, November 28, 1994 (courtesy of R. Van der Meer). Note camps Muku (Bugobe) (5 kms), Mushweshwe (13 kms), Bideka (34 kms), and Izirangabo (at 47 kms) from Bukavu



# Mushweshwe Camp SW of Bukavu

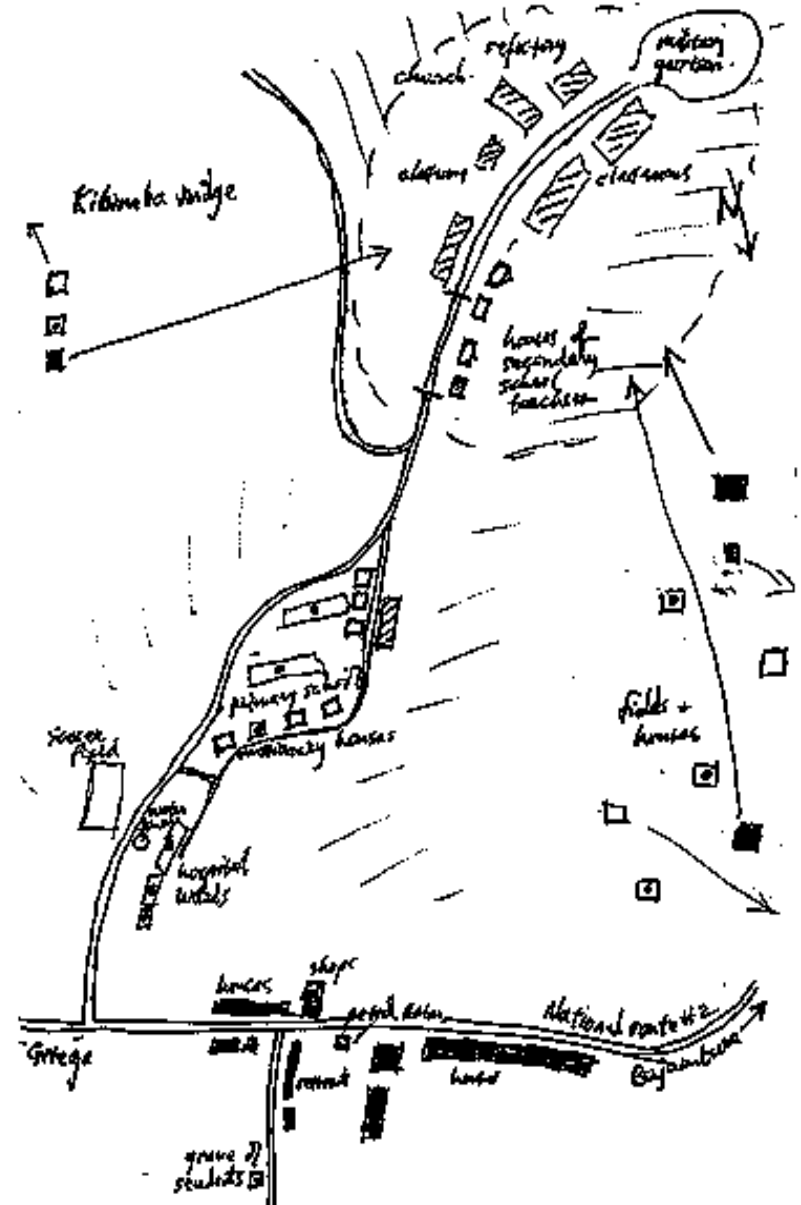


# Chabarabe Camp near Bukavu



# War Map IV: Kibimba in Burundi

This map of one community in Burundi—a Quaker mission and surrounding homesteads—shows a pattern of polarization, flight, destruction, and regrouping, the Tutsi women and children in an ad hoc fortress at the top of the ridge under the protection of the army, the Hutu hidden in the valley forests with Hutu militants. Few buildings are serving their originally intended purpose.



- Flight of occupant/owner
- ▤ Use originally intended
- Destroyed in fighting
- Standing empty
- ▨ Use other than original, e.g., refugee or military camp



# Kibimba

**Above:** Kibimba, camp of the displaced in meetinghouse and secondary school;

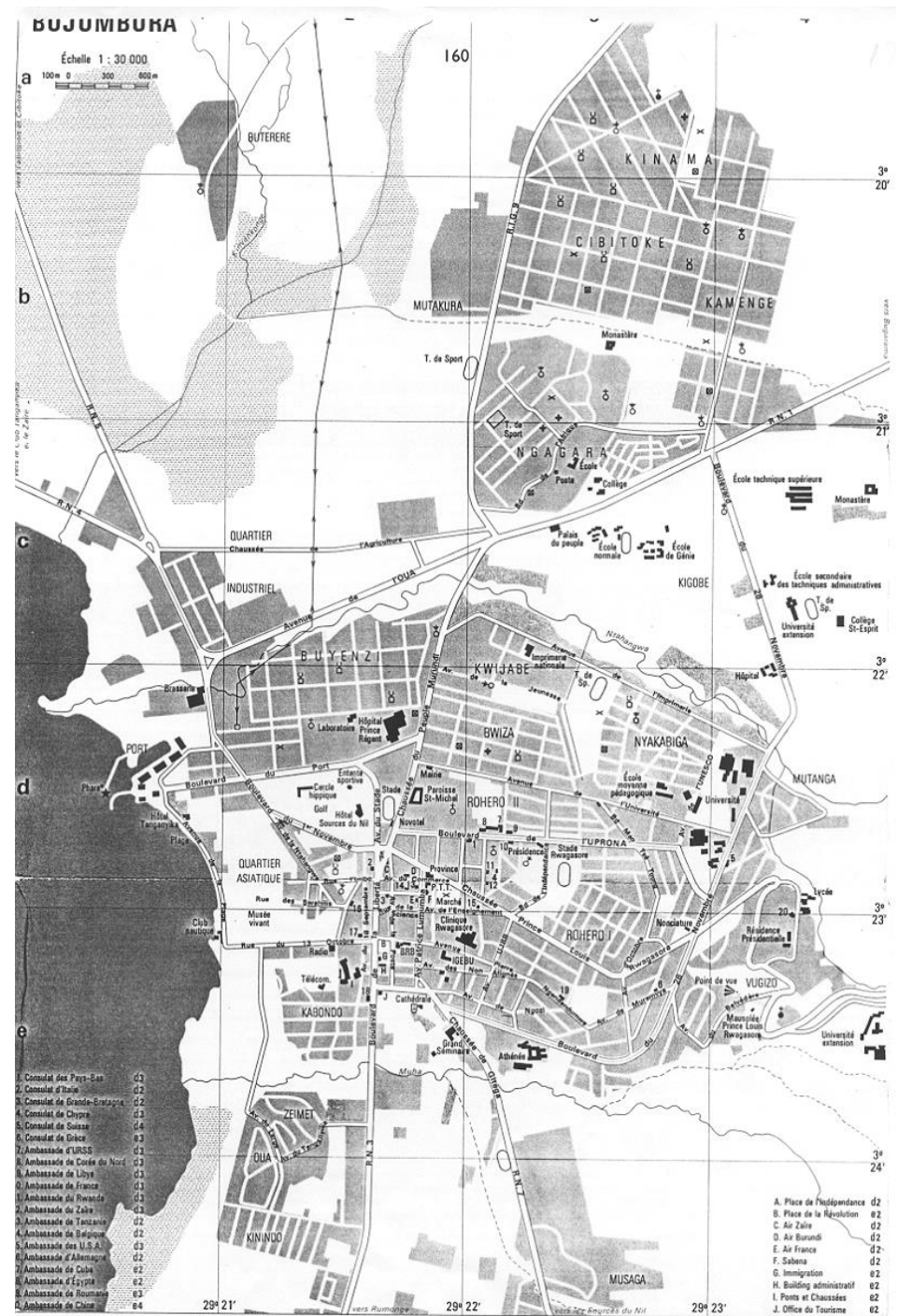


**Below:** Widows and children inside the meetinghouse where they have made their shelter

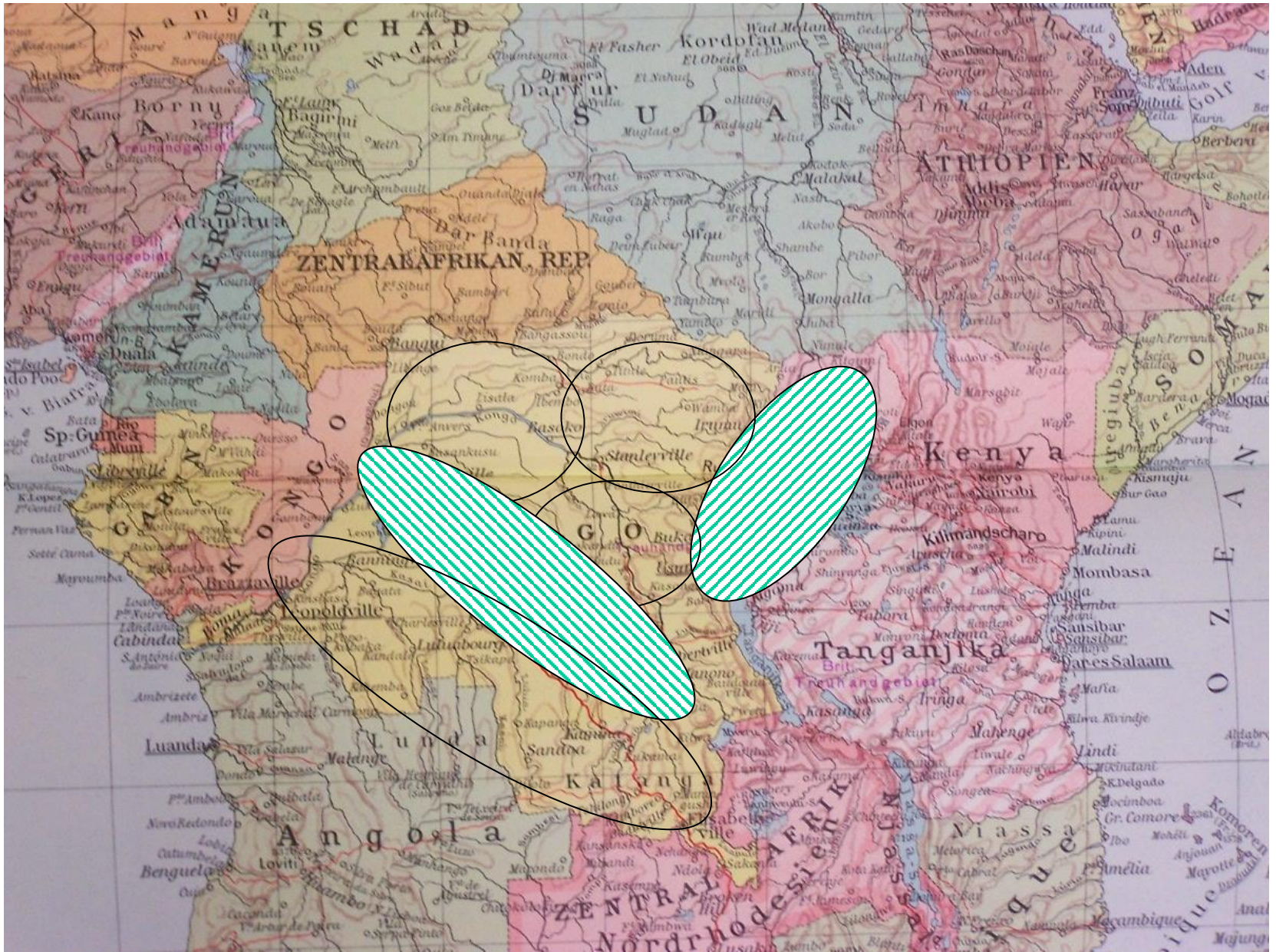


# War Map V: Bujumbura

Map of Bujumbura, capital of Burundi. Lake Tanganyika offers a major inland waterway Bujumbura an important trade hub of the entire Great Lakes region. Tutsi militia succeeded in ethnic cleansing most urban townships by 2003.

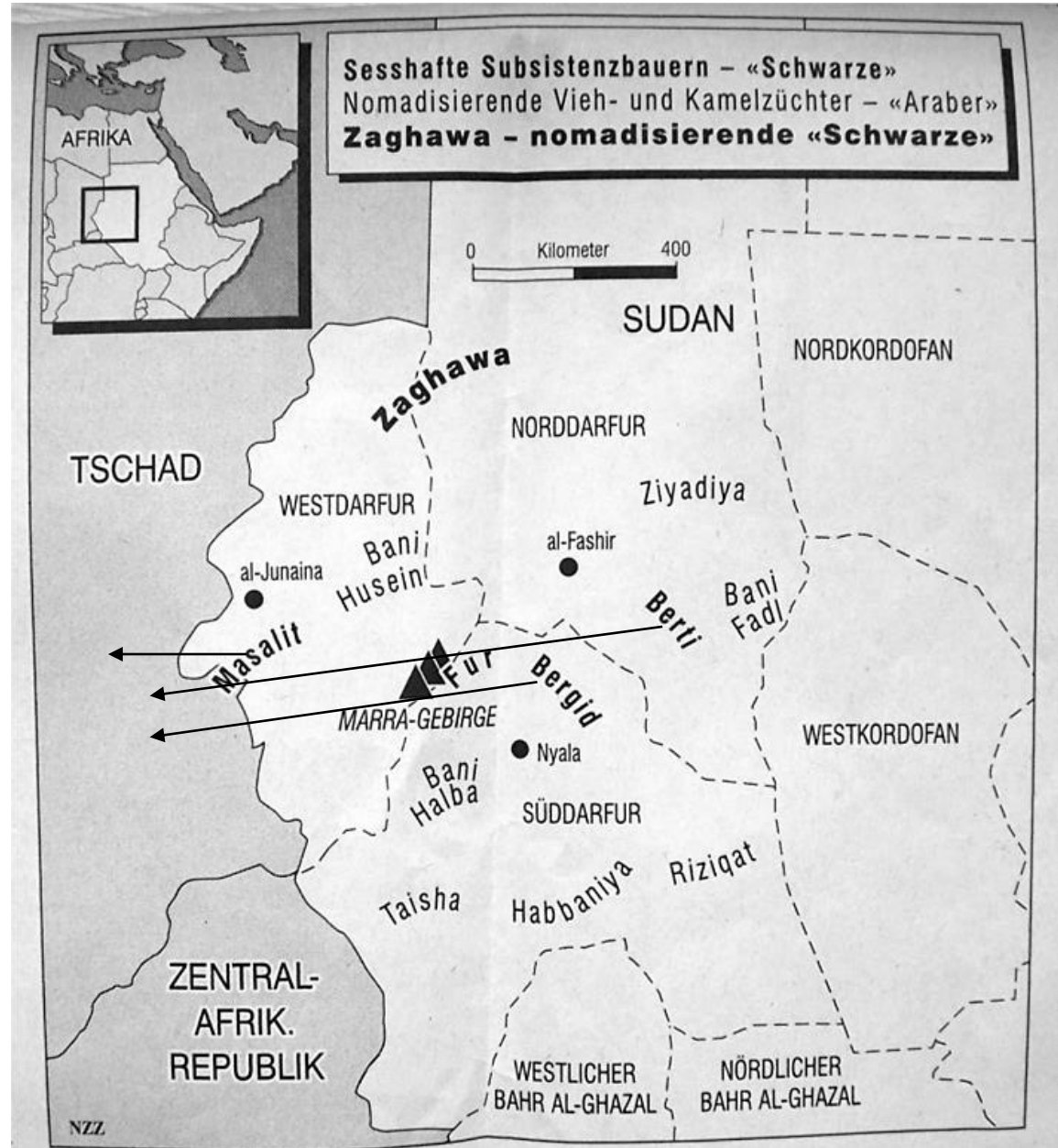


# War Map VI: Congo 1997-9



# War Map VII: Darfur in Sudan

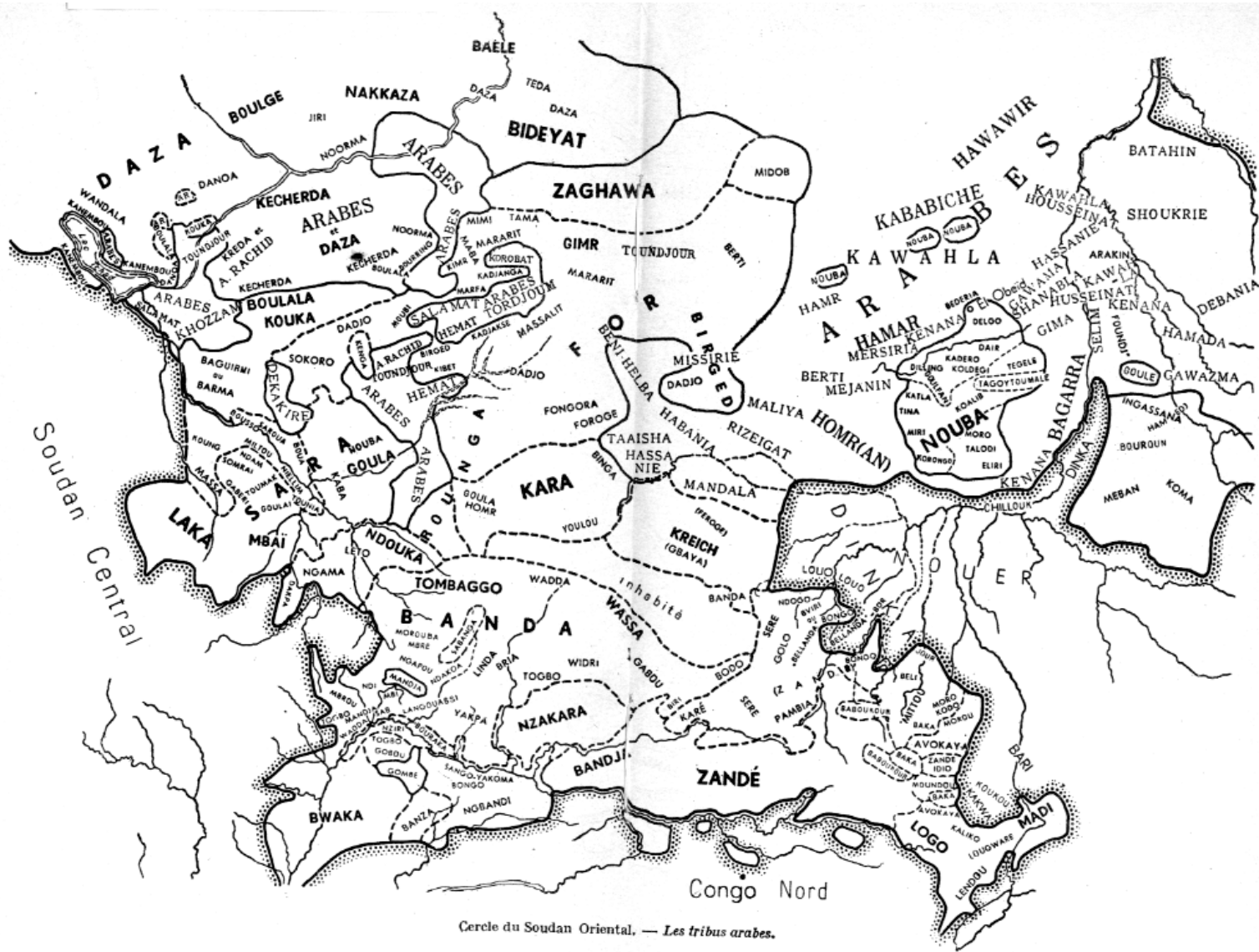
Tens of thousands of Darfur Sudanese are internally displaced and refugeed in Chad following raids on their villages by nomadic horse and camel militia with semi-automatic weapons. The Darfur region is ethnically complex. Inhabitants are sedentary cultivators, semi-nomadic “Arabs,” and semi-nomadic “blacks.” Destabilizing historical circumstances, periodic droughts, and postcolonial struggles for resource, e.g., oil in the Marra mountain region, add to the instability and violence. .



# Western Sudan



# Western Sudan region



Cercle du Soudan Oriental. — Les tribus arabes.

# Flight to Khartoum

Several million southern and western Sudanese have escaped the war conditions of the south and west for Omdurman, a vast shanty town north of the heart of Khartoum. Marketing, small shops, crafts and other occupations permit a better life free of the fear of armed conflict and air raids.

Below: A Nuba woman serves tea to a Khartoum family after their meal from Al Obeid women.



# Listening to Voices of Kayenzi, Central Rwanda

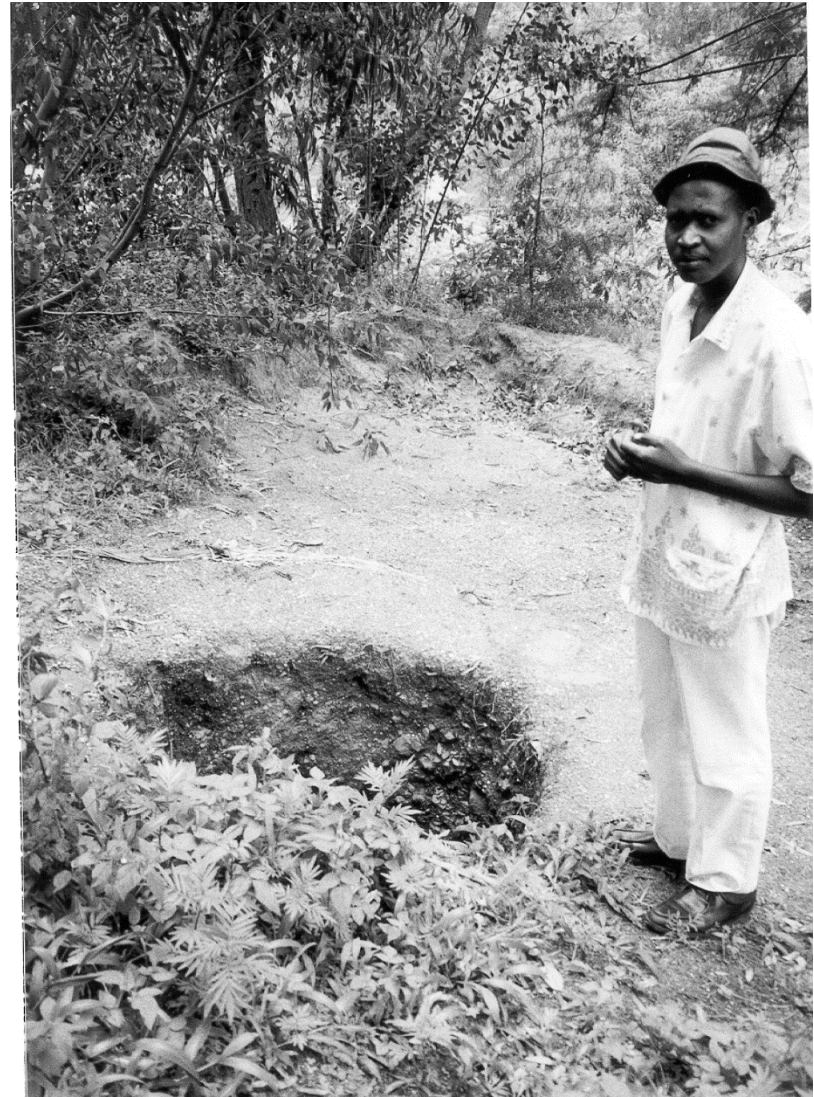
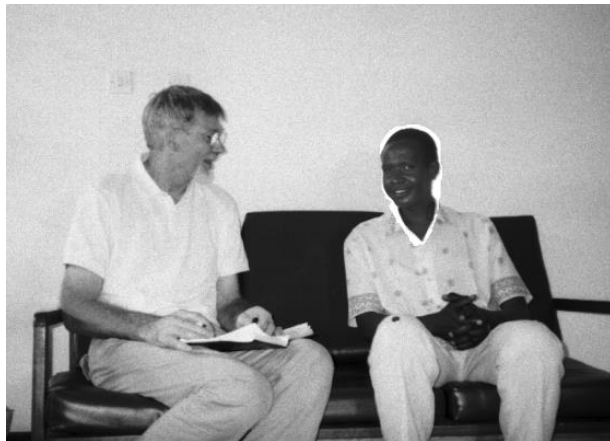
Several of the houses on this ridge near Kayenzi were destroyed in April and May 1994 during the height of the genocide.





# The Survivors of Genocide at Home: Ibrahim

*“...I encountered the enemies, who hit me, cut me, tied me with cords, and took me to the pits at the commune. Before they could cut off my head with a machete, I jumped into the pit. ...very deep, I encountered the dead... I stayed in the pit for two weeks. They threw other bodies and more rocks at me...”*



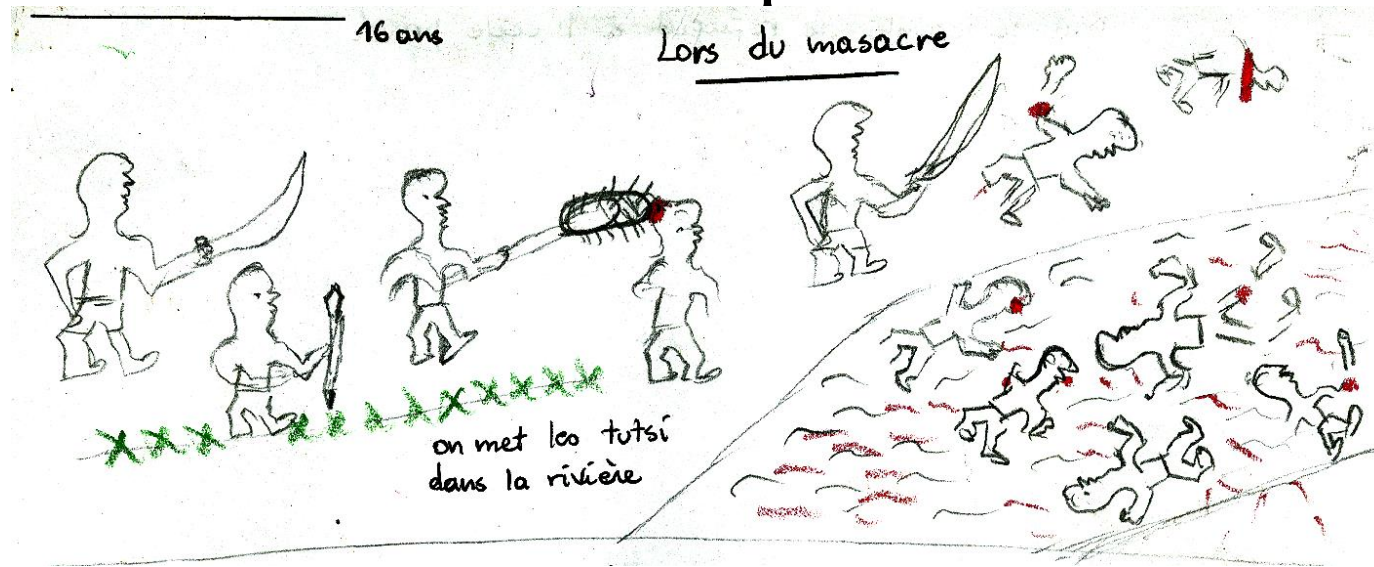
# The Survivors of Genocide at Home: the Mayor of Kayenzi



*“My mother, my father, 3 brothers and 2 sisters, 6 paternal uncles and their entire families—a total of 130 individuals—were killed. Myself, my wife and children, and one grand-niece were all who survived in our lineage. The genocide was nearly accomplished.”*

Damien, Catholic teacher who became communal mayor in new Rwandan government.

# The Survivors of Genocide at Home: Carin & Josephine



*[I rejoice] that I have saved the young girls and that I see them before me... the grace of God gives me joy, I want to sing all the time that He has wrought miracles during the war.”* Josephine, Hutu woman who rescued three daughters of Tutsi friends who were massacred. The eldest, seated on right, drew her memory of the massacre (detail above).

# Eastern Congo, Camp I: Mathieu, former mayor of Kayenzi, & family

*...la vie se complique de plus en plus. Les nouvelles de notre commune ne sont pas bonnes car beaucoup ont été emprisonnés, assassinés. Dans la prison communale il y a 400 détenus. Nos maisons sont occupées par des réfugiés et des résicapés reside dans la commune....*

Letter of 10 March 1996

Kayenzi families in Muku

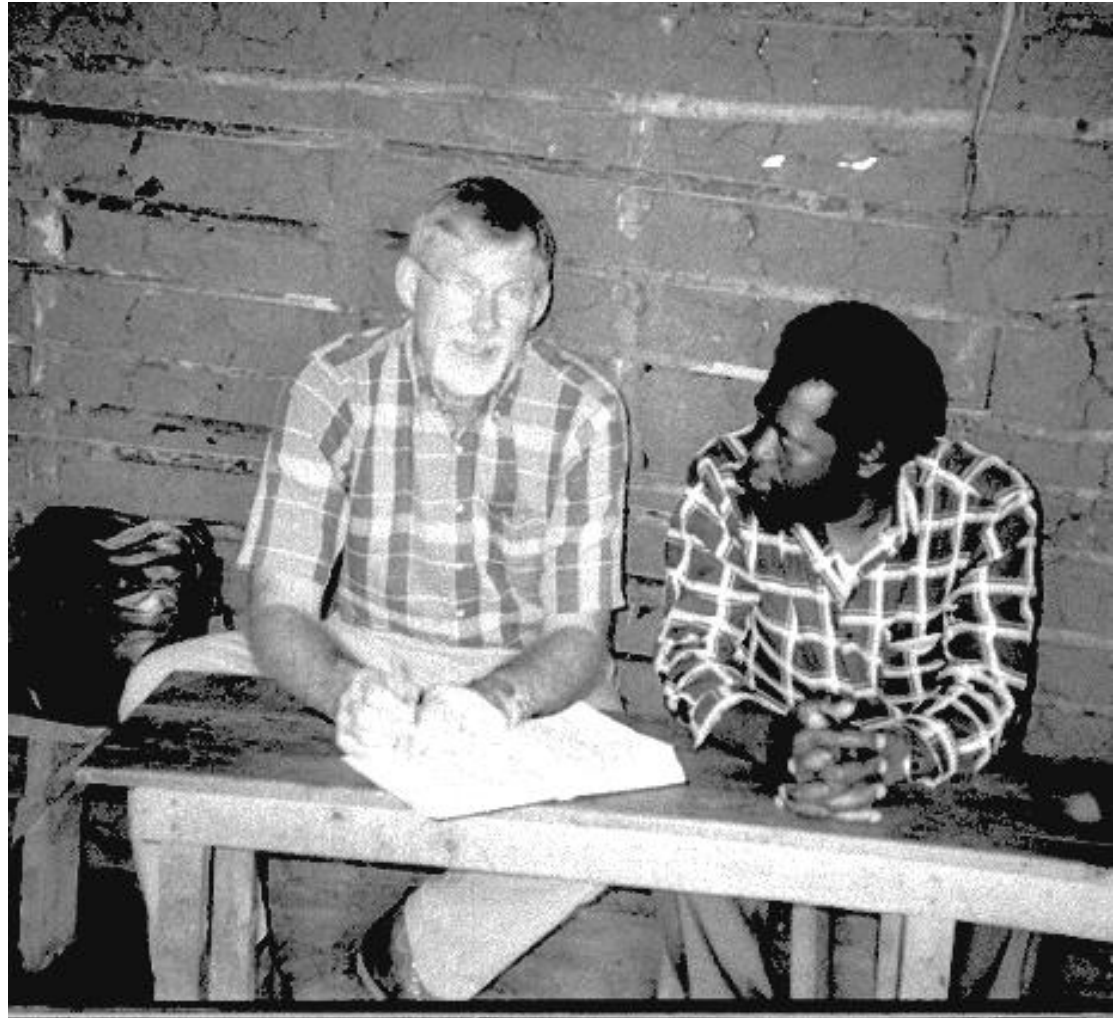
Camp, hesitant to return home, fearing reprisals, frightened by news and rumors. Most likely perished in fighting of 1997.



# Emmanuel, former Social Service Administrator

*“Now world opinion is on the side of the Tutsi. It’s going to be difficult to pardon a people that has done what is done. The wine has been poured, and we must drink it.”*

Emmanuel, Social Service administrator, coordinator of refugee camp; lost his wife in the flight; probably perished in fighting of 1997-8.



# Eastern Congo: Camp II



# Those who fled to Congo: Laurent, Governor

Bizumwami Uzziel	Commercant	Kigoma
BUCYANA (alias NGALISI)	Cultivateur	Nyaruhengeri
BUCYANA Martin	Conseiller du secteur	Gisuma
BUCYIBARUTA Laurent	Ex-Prefet	
BUDIGIRI Innocent	President des Interahamwe, secteur Kiyanza	Murambi, Mugambazi

Excerpt, internet listing of “Instigators & Perpetrators of the Genocide in Rwanda,” Category 1 offenders.

*When there would be a confrontation, the local administrators needed to defend themselves. The RPF attacked after the killing of the president. The administrators were obliged to defend themselves... One ran here and there, but there were mutual massacres between Hutu and Tutsi. [There was] a confrontation between everyone ensued...*

Laurent Bucyibaruta, Governor of Gikongoro Province during the Genocide. Fled to France, where he was arrested; is free on bail and is awaiting court appearance and repatriation to Rwanda for Category One crimes.

# Memories of One who Returned Home: Bugingo, former soldier

Very dear GANZENB,

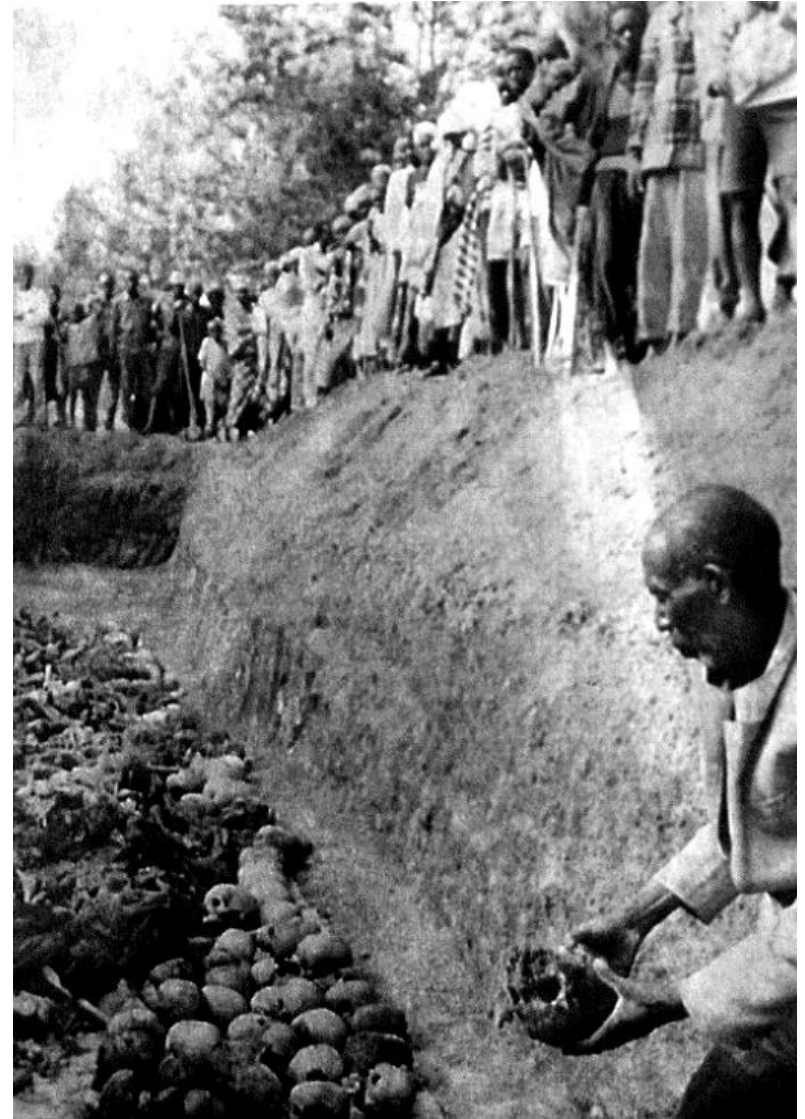
It is a boundless joy thanks to the "DO I STILL HAVE LIFE" card you sent me on JUNE 3rd 2000. On an other hand, sorry for the very long period spent without any informations and greetings exchange. It is due to the fact that any freedom from prison was not all I need, as long as my mind kept on living a somehow captivity, my body watched and I am morally broken. I spend the most of my time in physical training and medicine consumption, and so do I even nowadays. I ~~only~~ expect the Lord to perform a healing and to grant a social resettlement help.

... sorry for the very long period spent without any informations and greetings... it is due to the fact that any freedom from prison was not all I need, as long as my mind kept on living a somehow captivity, my body watched and I am morally broken. I spent the most of my time in physical training and medicine consumption... I expect the Lord to perform a healing and to grant a social resettlement help...



# Remembrance: Our Dead are not Dead

*It was twelve months ago  
[Only] one hundred days sufficed  
to cause a million of our people  
to disappear.  
Today, more than ever  
Our dead call to us.  
Dead children Dead adults  
Dead women Dead elders?  
They are here amongst us They live in  
our souls They animate our hearts.  
They remain everywhere They are in  
the wind Which, alone, carried their  
last cry.  
They are in the seas Which swallowed  
their final breaths. They are in the  
earth Which devoured them alive.  
Our dead are not dead!  
N'kuba 1995*



# Remembrance, and Vengeance?



# Remembrance, Kibimba

**Above:** Kibimba petrol station ruin in which Tutsi students from Kibimba Secondary School were doused in gasoline and burned alive following assassination of President Ndadaye in October, 1993 by enraged Hutu.

**Below:** Mass grave and memorial to "victims of genocide, 21 October 1993" for the Tutsi students of Kibimba.



# Anthropological insights?

- Political context defines identity-shaping course of events and the subsequent construction of a useable memory
- Differential trauma, may be reflected in the “emotional-moral profile” of individuals in a community
- The impulse to vengeance is widespread after violence and trauma, but it may be assuaged in a number of ritual-religious, social, and juridical ways that put the subject’s universe back together, morally or emotionally.
- A minority may polarize an entire society wreaking great havoc
- Formulaic generalizations about entire countries, ethnicities, and communities, are usually forced and wrong
- The construction of memory and commemoration of traumatic events are important in overcoming collective trauma