Reconciling Memories: A Theology from a Place of Wounds

No Authentic Theology with my Back Turned to Nyamata

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RECONCILING MEMORIES: A THEOLOGY FROM A PLACE OF WOUNDS
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"Every wound leaves a scar and speaks of a hi-story; it reminds you that you are alive." The wisdom of this Rwandan proverb is so vivid if we consider the Rwandan tragic history that led to the genocide perpetrated against the Tutsi and its aftermath, the scars it has left to the whole country and the need for a systematic theology that assesses "the labor of memory." Since a family which does not remember vanishes, I argue that memory is a theological imperative and at the same time any discourse on God in post-genocide Rwanda must start from the wounds of denial of self and of the other, validating the inextricable link between theological discourse and people's context. Furthermore, the need for renewal of ecclesial imagination in post-genocide Rwanda cannot be overemphasized. The church as a wounded human story must be committed to memory and new evangelization rooted in self-criticisms and our common and God-shared humanity. If theology is to assist the Church in reconciling Rwandans, it must free itself from captivity to a church that has been shaped, almost from its Rwandan beginnings, by bourgeois and class sensibilities and is marked by concern for respectability, material success, authoritarianism, mere orthodoxy, a weak or facile understanding of the God of Jesus Christ, and lip-service to his Gospel. If theology is to assist the Church in reconciling Rwandans, it must rethink itself in the current broken and scarred Rwandan bodies. Theology must reimagine humanity, Church, and society in light of the memory of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. It must take up a critical perspective rooted in "the way" of Jesus—a way of making room for God, a way of making room for all others. This dissertation opines that the wounds of the body of Christ must be a challenge to us. In resurrecting Thomas' faith by letting him *touch the wounds*, "Jesus was telling him precisely [this]: it is where you *touch human suffering*, and maybe only there, that you will realize that *I am alive*, that 'it's me.' You will meet me wherever people suffer." In this project, I argue that despite Rwanda's past tragedies, Rwanda is a mirror to the world and its salvation will only be found in memory.

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Dedication

In memory of

my parents

Chrysostome Hitayezu and Louise Nyinawingeli

Iri ni ijambo mbavugiye kuko iryanyu ryagiye nkiri muto.

Acknowledgments

In my application statement for the doctoral program in theology at Boston College, I wrote: “After some reflection on the atrocities the people of Rwanda have known in the last half of the last century, and particularly the 1994 genocide, what does it mean to say Reconciliation is at the heart of the gospel? … Granted a chance to pursue doctoral studies at Boston College … I hope to carry out research leading to a better understanding of the role of the Church in human relationships … and develop my voice on how to shape a credible ecclesiology that speaks of justice, peace, and reconciliation within the same church that participated in Rwanda’s division.” This dissertation is a theological argument and testimony for a promise kept. Thanks be to God.

This fulfilled promise would not have matured without the support of my director Prof. M. Shawn Copeland. She encouraged me to pursue my passion all the way. After one particular conference, she wrote, “Marcel, your work is opening minds and hearts to the suffering of God's people in Rwanda; and, at the same time, you have a graced opportunity to call attention to the suffering and oppression of people around the world. You are a gift to us all.” I owe my largest debt of thanks to her enduring guidance and rigorous scholarship.

I also take this opportunity to express my thanks to Professors Richard Lennan and J. J. Carney. Lennan’s thorough reading of my work always left me with an even greater desire to read more, to write better, and to express myself concisely. Carney’s expertise on the Catholic church in Rwanda remains unparalleled. In 2014, he sent me the gift of his book *Rwanda before the Genocide* and its conclusion provoked the writing of this dissertation. His consistent invitation to develop my distinctive scholarly voice will remain

an encouragement for years to come. This work would not have been what it is without Lennan's and Carney's laborious analysis and helpful suggestions for its improvement.

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I dedicate this work to my parents, Chrysostome Hitayezu and Louise Nyinawingeli as a voice for them because I miss theirs. Though they left me too soon, they taught me to care for things that matter and to remember that there are few books with one page. Painful as our past in Rwanda has been, my mother and father are hopefully pleased with the new pages we have written and these doctoral pages—a pained-love letter—dedicated to them.

Schematic Outline of the History of Rwanda[1]

Dates and Facts

1885 The Berlin Conference and the decision for Rwanda to be under the responsibility of the German Empire.
1900 First Catholic Missionaries – The White Fathers.
1908 A German military command is installed in Kigali but power continues to be exercised through the Mwami, the head of a Tutsi dynasty.
After the First World War
1924 Belgium accepts the mandate of the League of Nations to administer Rwanda and Burundi.
1931 Mwami Musinga is deposed by the Belgians.
After the Second War: The UN confers the mandate for Rwanda and Burundi onto Belgium with a commitment to 'emancipation.
1933 Installation of National Identity Cards with ethnic inscription.
1957 Publication of the Hutu Manifesto calling for Hutu independence from the Belgians and the Tutsi Monarchy.
1959 A bloody Hutu revolt leads to Rwanda being placed under military government. The massacre of thousands of Tutsi results in a first exodus to Uganda.
1961 Abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic, confirmed in a referendum.
1962 Independence is declared and Election of a Hutu President, Grégoire Kayibanda who nominated only Hutus to his government.
1963 and 1967: Unsuccessful attempts by the Tutsis of the diaspora to return by force and this resulted in anti-Tutsi pogroms.
1988 Creation of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in Uganda grouping together exiled Tutsis and dissident Hutus.
1990
October 1 The RPF launches an attack on Rwanda from Uganda. This led to the arrest of thousands of Tutsis, accused of being RPF 'accomplices.'
October 4: Belgium and France send in troops to protect and evacuate their nationals.
October 8 The Rwandan army massacres between 500 and 1000 Hima in Mutura (a Tutsi sub-group).
October 11-13: Massacres of Tutsi in the commune Kibilira.
End of October: The RPF is pushed back into Uganda. Start of a guerrilla war.
1991
End January- Massacre of Bagogwe (a Tutsi sub-group) in the northwest.
Mid-March
End of March: National Charter and Proposals for a constitution and a law in regard to political parties.

[1] I have used mostly facts and dates broadly outlined in Alain Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century,* trans. Alison Marshner (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

June 10	Promulgation of a new constitution recognizing Rwanda as a multiparty state.
July	Assent is given to the creation of the first opposition parties: social democrats, liberals and Christian-democrats.

1992

March	Massacres of Tutsi in the Bugesera region with at least 300 deaths.
12 July	Ceasefire is signed between the RPF and the Rwandan Government.

1993

7-21 January:	Visit by an international team investigating human rights violation in Rwanda since 1 October 1990.
9 June	A protocol is signed in Arusha, Tanzania in regard to the repatriation of refugees and the reinstallation of displaced people.
4 August	Peace accords signed in Arusha between the government and the RPF.
October 5	UN Security Council Resolution 872 authorizes the creation of UNAMIR with 2500 soldiers and military observers to be provided from among 23 countries.
1 November	UNAMIR starts to deploy.
28 December	The RPF arrives in Kigali.

1994

5 April	Security Council Resolution 909 extends the UNAMIR mandate till 29 July.
6 April	President Habyarimana and his colleage, Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi are killed in a plane crash. The killings start in Kigali.
9 April	Belgian and French paratroopers arrive in Kigali to evacuate expatriates.
12 April	Beginning of the battle for Kigali between the government forces and the RPF. Tutsis are killed throughout the country.
21 April	Security Council Resolution 912 reduces the number of Blue Helmets in Rwanda to 270 and redefines the mandate of the UNAMIR force.
17 June	Boutros Boutros-Ghali gives his support to the French initiative for a humanitarian intervention.
1 July	Security Council Resolution 935 calls for the formation of an impartial committee of experts to investigate the evidence for "possible acts of genocide."
18 July	The RPF declares the end of the war and installs a new government.
21 July	Cholera is confirmed among the refugees in Goma (Zaire, now D.R. Congo).
21 August:	Departure of the last French soldiers.
End of August:	Deterioration of refugee situation in Zaire.
1997	*Abacengezi* (armed groups infiltrated the country from D.R. Congo).
2001	Official introduction of *gacaca* courts to deal with genocide cases.

That the Rwandan person can still believe in life and a future is a paschal mystery of world importance.[1]

General Introduction

0.1 The Rationale of the Dissertation

Memory remains the womb of history, and theology in a violent world must start from places of wounds. This dissertation aims to contribute to re-visioning the relationship of humanity and of the church to God in the context of Rwanda—a place not only of wounds, but also of people and of a church struggling with unreconciled memories.[2]

The phrase unreconciled memories is a loaded expression encompassing and referring to the many different wounds of Rwanda. I name a few: (1) The expression refers to the many Tutsis who survived the genocide and who must live with this difficult ongoing journey as the only ones left to tell the story in the midst of denials of genocide and assassins of memory. (2) It refers to the memories of children born of mixed parentage (e.g., Tutsi father and Hutu mother, or vice versa). These children must navigate strained relationships with their maternal and paternal relatives who may ignore or dismiss them because of animosity or hatred toward a different ethnic identity or who must admit accountability for participation in the genocide. (3) It also denotes the Tutsis or Hutus who returned to Rwanda after many years of exile only to find that their entire families were killed by the genocide regime. (4) Unreconciled memories are also held by some genocide perpetrators and those who have been released from jail. These people have to find a way to coexist with the survivors of the genocide and to grapple with the mental burden of knowing that if they had not killed, the magnitude of 1994 genocide would not be so great. (5) These memories are

[1] Octave Ugirashebuja, "The Duty to Remember," in *Promotio Iustitiae*, no. 83-84 (2004/2-3), 18-20 at 19.

[2] In this dissertation, I use the word "Church" (upper case) to refer to the Roman Catholic Church or Church in general, while "church" (small case) refers to all local Christian churches—national churches or dioceses, Protestant and Catholic. The biblical quotations are taken from the *New Revised Standard Version* and all the translations from French are mine.

often held by those who lost relatives during the war between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF); these women and men need psychological and spiritual space in order to remember lost loved ones. (6) Many Rwandans have yet to come to terms with the Rwandan Catholic Church and the social sin of its institutional complicity in Rwanda's tragic history. (7) Finally, Rwanda's unreconciled memories concern the place of God in the sea of suffering generated by genocide and war. It will become clear in this dissertation that what Elaine Scarry says of torture is appropriate; for genocide's atrocities reduce the victim and transgressor in different ways to a state where "in the most literal way possible, the created world of thought and feeling, all the psychological and mental content that constitutes both one's self and one's world, and that gives rise to and in turn is made possible by language, ceases to exist. To be reduced to 'cries and whispers,' to be denied even the mark of Cain's humanity, this is the 'unmaking' of the victims' world, the effacing of memory."[3]

Few Rwandan systematic theologians have analyzed and reflected upon our nation's terror-filled memories of the sinful choices that wounded our humanity and sundered the body of Christ. This dissertation seeks to contribute to this theological re-visioning. My project formulates a theology that addresses both the reconciliation of memory in a country where "genocide lives in us"[4] and re-imagines the weight of salvation in a post-war context. J. J. Carney in his *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era* acknowledges that too often theological discourses on Rwanda are simplistic, riddled with biased assumptions, and "full of unexamined mythologies."[5] There is a need for an in-depth analysis of

[3] Eileen Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 30.

[4] Jennie E. Burnet, *Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory, and Silence in Rwanda* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 2012).

[5] J. J. Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 208.

what it means to do theology after the 1994 Genocide—an analysis that acknowledges "the necessity of perspectival pluralism … the inadequacy of words, the necessity of lament, and the importance of silence."[6]

The goal of this dissertation, then, is to show that a theology brewed from Rwanda's wounds ought to grapple with the idea that to "re-member" is to undertake a work of memory with respect of God, ourselves, and our societies. It is to bring all torn pieces together. It is to wrestle with the theological, anthropological, ecclesial, and moral "labor of memory,"[7] – that is, to assess the ambivalence of guilt and the challenge of dealing with unreconciled memories and the vital significance of forgiveness. In *La Généalogie de la Morale*, Fredrick Nietzsche mentions a certain Mirabau who did not have any memory of the insults and disparagement that he had endured. Therefore, he could not forgive for the simple reason that he had forgotten. "Remembering, in the end, is being aware of the object of pardon."[8] The work of memory in Rwanda "consists in studying, deciphering, thematizing … history, our history, in order to dwell upon its meaning. Tragedy has left behind a deep wound on the Rwandan people which is difficult to heal."[9] In order to treat this wound, one must begin first by cleaning it and disinfecting it. If that is overlooked, the wound develops into an infection or a gangrene often camouflaged as a healing process. This dissertation will seek to clean and disinfect the Rwandan wound from a theological perspective. This work intersects with Tomas Halik's apt words in his post-communism theological reflections: "*all painful wounds and all the human misery in the world are 'Christ's wounds.'* I can only believe in Christ and have the right to exclaim 'my Lord and my God' if I touch His wounds, of which our

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[6] Ibid.

[7] René Lemarchand, "The Politics of Memory in Post-Genocide Rwanda" in Clark and Kaufman, *After Genocide: Transitional Justice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 69.

[8] Frederic Nietzsche, *La Généalogie de la Morale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971) p. 38. For an English edition, Samuel Horace Barnett, ed. F. Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals* (New York: Dover Publications, 2003).

[9] Yves Djofang, "Never Again," in in *Promotio Iustitiae*, no. 83-84 (2004/2-3), 25.

world is still full. Otherwise I say "Lord, Lord!" simply in vain and to no effect."[10]

What is the place of memory in theology? Christian theology recognizes that in the human person's orientation toward God, humans are essentially memory-persons.[11] Christians remember what God has done in and through Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. They remember the living presence of God's Spirit in the Church. And they celebrate Jesus' invitation to break bread and share a cup of wine in memory of him (Lk 22:19; 1 Cor 11: 24). Christian theology holds a crucial role in dealing with memory and in shaping the identity of believers. "The intelligibility of Christianity cannot be conveyed [only] in a purely speculative way, but narratively."[12] Thus, in this way it creates a critical correlation between people's faith in God and their contemporary situation.

Memory is instrumental in the formation of human identity. I concur with thinkers who have argued for its imperative. For Paul Ricoeur, memory arises in the manner of affection: we remember partly because there is a particular love or hate [disgust] associated with the thing remembered.[13] Similarly, Elie Wiesel states that memory brings together the past and the present. "It is because I remember our common beginning that I move closer to my fellow human beings. It is because I refuse to forget that their future is as important as my own… What would the future of man be if it were devoid of memory?"[14] Given the heartbreaking unreconciled memories of

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[10] Tomáš Halík, "The Gate of the Wounded," in Lecture at Boston University (2017), 7. [Unpublished]. The same idea is available in Halík's Portuguese book, *O Meu Deus é um Deus Ferido. Ao tocar as feridas do mundo, tocamos em Deus* [My God is a Wounded God: Touching the Wounds of the World, We Touch God] (Prior Velho: Paulinas, 2015).

[11] Doron Mendels's book on *Memory in Jewish, Pagan, and Christian Societies of the Graeco-Roman World: Fragmented Memory, Comprehensive Memory, Collective Memory* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2004) will be a key resource.

[12] Johann Baptist Metz, *Faith in History and Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology,* trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Crossroad, 2013), 155.

[13] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 17.

[14] Elie Wiesel, *From the Kingdom of Memory – Reminiscences* (New York: Schocken Books, 1990), 10.

Rwandans, the central goal of this dissertation is to explore the "labor of memory"[15] and to clarify how theology might participate in the liberation of both the wounded person and the church.

0.2 Reconciling Memories and the Task of Theology

The task of transforming and (re)forming people's memories and their identity cannot be ignored by systematic or constructive theological reflections, particularly as theology considers the nature of sin and suffering, the role of witnesses and bystanders, in light of the memory of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus.[16] (Rwandan) Systematic theologians have not fully undertaken this task. We stand judged, not only by God, but also by our solidarity in sin and in silence in the face of those who suffer. While "there may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, there must never be a time when we fail to protest."[17] Theologians reflect on the implications of human sin, but also bear witness to the testimony of the past and present, while offering hope for the future, and do justice to the dead and the living. We must offer a credible account of the distinctiveness of Christian hope,[18] to help people realize that memory has an impact on what they might become. This is feasible when constructive remembrance shapes how we look to the past, so as not to have an unending destructive impact on the present. The task of reconciling memories is rooted in the idea that we have a shared and graced humanity. It is an affirmation that

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[15] Lemarchand, "The Politics of Memory in Post-Genocide Rwanda," 69

[16] Flora A. Keshgegian's *Redeeming Memories: A Theology of Healing and Transformation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2000) reminds us that the crucial point is not to point out what theology can do after so much suffering or to offer a reflection on history and memory, but also "the status of Christianity which has repeatedly jeopardized itself by its complicity in the regimes of domination that has perpetrated abuse, persecution, and violence,"17.

[17] Elie Wiesel, "Nobel Lecture: Hope, Despair and Memory," (December 11, 1986), accessed April 1, 2016. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/wiesel-lecture.html. In his *Night*, Wiesel also writes: "We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant. Wherever men and women are persecuted because of their race, religion, or political views, that place must - at that moment - become the center of the universe." (Elie Wiesel, "Remember: Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech Delivered by Elie Wiesel in Oslo on December 10, 1986), accessed March 9, 2018, http://eliewieselfoundation.org/elie-wiesel/nobelprizespeech/.

[18] Marcel Uwineza, "On Christian Hope: What makes it distinctive and credible?" *America,* vol. 214 no. 11, whole no. 5124 (April 4-11, 2016), 24.

upholds that "unless it is accepted that belonging to an ethnic community constitutes a punishment deserving capital punishment, nothing justifies the extermination of so many human beings who are victims simply because of being who they were."[19]

What might it mean to reconcile memory? Such reconciliation, in part, requires the undoing of the lies of genocidaires, genocide deniers, and their allies. Primo Levi observed of the *Shoah*, "the simple fact is that it has happened once, and it could happen again."[20] At the reconciliation of memories, there is an imperative that we name atrocity, that we remember morally and rightly in order to redeem the cry, "never again." Such redemption is a process of becoming free from the power of the past, while working through the memories of its wounds. Both the victim and the transgressor are caught up in a relationship of suspicion;[21] once they constructively learn from the past, they are able to unbind one another, and the one who forgives does the inconceivable. A crucial observation by Jacques Derrida substantiates this argument:

> If there is something to forgive, it would be what in religious language is called mortal sin, the worst, the unforgivable crime or harm. From which comes the *aporia*, which can be described in its dry and implacable formality, without mercy: forgiveness forgives only the unforgivable … there is only forgiveness, if there is any, where there is the unforgivable. That is to say that forgiveness must announce itself as impossibility itself. It can only be possible in doing the impossible.[22]

Transformation of memory may entail a process of walking alongside the victims in an effort to understand what happened, as Christ did with the disciples journey to Emmaus (Lk 24:13-35). He helped them to understand that while they were going somewhere, in fact, they were running away from something – the terrible crucifixion of their friend, Jesus. To purify memory is

[19] Théoneste Nkeramihigo, "Genocide as a Challenge to Ethics," in *Promotio Iustitiae*, no. 83-84 (2004/2-3), 16-18 at 16.

[20] Levi Primo, *Se questo è un uomo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1958), 5. Translation is mine.

[21] Recall the earlier reference on "unreconciled memories," *supra* p. 1. See also p. 95.

[22] Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness,* trans. M. Dooley and M. Des Forges (London: Routledge, 2001), 32-33.

to say "No" empathically to those who want to run from, to close history.[23] To purify memory affirms that the future is in the journey and in the struggle for liberation anchored in creating space for reconciliation and in offering to "the unforgivable" the divine gift of forgiveness. It is a ritual act that proclaims the freedom of the survivor and gifts the wrongdoer with the possibility of a new and different future.

This dissertation contends that reconciling memories is a duty toward the living-dead, the wounded, survivors, and perpetrators, etc. To fulfil this duty, this work assesses how the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist can be theological, ethical, and ecclesial resources for the encounter between both the wounded and their transgressors.

The complexity of Rwanda's history includes vital questions for theology: "the importance of humility, … the necessity of perspectival pluralism … the necessity for lament"[24] and the depth of Christian discipleship, etc. Central to this work will be an in-depth analysis of what it means to be human in relationship to God, *to hear* the Word of God and to hear one another. Learning from and in agreement with Rahner, I contend that "when we have said everything which can be expressed about ourselves … we have not yet said anything about ourselves unless ... we have also included that we are beings who are oriented toward the God who is incomprehensible."[25] Since Rwanda's past has rendered so many lives as disposable, we must rediscover the implications of what Rahner calls "supernatural existential" and "obediential potency" -- two expressions that capture the theological intent of this paragraph.[26]

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[23] This was the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil right activists as they sought to learn from the horrors of slavery and to seek liberty for all in America.

[24] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 208.

[25] Karl Rahner, "Theology and Anthropology," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 9, trans. G. Harrison (New York: Seabury, 1972), 216; see also "On the Theology of the Incarnation," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 4, trans. K. Smith (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 108.

[26] First, "supernatural existential" refers to the fact that we are a graced humanity; all of who we are is linked to our relationship with God. "Nothing about who we are as human beings is outside our relationship with God… with a capacity to transcend anything which we ourselves can control … we are defined by an openness which ultimately

0.3 General Overview of the Chapters

How was the genocide against the Tutsi possible? Deeper reflections reveal Rwanda as a country of complexities, but all things considered, division among Rwandans' was entrenched mainly in the abuse of political and economic power, deprecation of ethnic identities, and greed for resources. The First Chapter provides a succinct history of Rwanda in order to set the context for theological analysis and reflection. It will identify and assess the factors that made the genocide possible and will investigate the involvement and impact of Catholic Church leaders, particularly their use of a discourse of ethnicity during the late Rwandan colonial era.

The genocide and its aftermath have left bitter memories. Yet, the suffering of Rwandans may be a *καιρος*–a graced opportunity to consider what a redemptive systematic theology might contribute to healing and consoling the Rwandan people and the Rwandan church. The Second Chapter contends that there is no (authentic or adequate) theology possible with our backs turned to Nyamata.[27] Thus, it will examine the enduring impact of the genocide and the unreconciled identities resulting from Rwanda's wounds. This chapter also will discuss the relevance of theological discourse and the imperative of memory, with a central focus on Rwanda's dry bones.

The Third Chapter will consider the necessity of renewal of ecclesial imagination. It will examine some of the factors that caused the Church to be both a wounding and a self-wounding institution. This chapter will consider the character of the church Rwanda needs for a future full of hope. This entails pinpointing some of the lessons that the Church in post-Nazi Germany learned from its own history of entanglement in genocide. This project contends that post-genocide

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only God can fulfill… there is no human nature without God." Second, "obediential potential" refers to our capacity to hear the word of God, "not just what we do with our ears … but to be open with the whole of our humanity to the word of God, to be open to the presence of God in the whole of the created universe." (See Richard Lennan, *Karl Rahner: Theologian of Grace, 12 Lectures on 5 CDs* (North Bethesda, MD: NYKM, 2015), CD 1, track 23-25. See also Karl Rahner, *Karl Rahner's Hearer of the Word,* trans. Joseph Donceel (New York: Continuum, 1994).

[27] Nyamata is a genocide memorial site church where more than 20,000 Tutsi were killed and are buried inside and around the church. It illustrates the horrors of Rwanda, which happened even in sacred places.

Rwanda needs a self-critical church that takes *its sin and memory seriously*. In other words, in order to speak about God credibly and to reimagine humanity authentically in Rwanda, the church must recognize, acknowledge, and confess its sin and purify its memory. Theology, then, must take *the Rwandan church's failure* as a *kairos*. "The Church, embracing sinners in its bosom, at the same time holy and always in need of being purified, always follows the way of penance and renewal."[28] In Rwanda, the church is called to help people to live with hope and to die with dignity. The church will be able to fulfill this mission in realizing that it is an unfinished or an ongoing project, entirely dependent upon the presence of the Holy Spirit who still calls wounded Rwandans to surrender to the mystery of God and to the realization that "faith is an irreducible element of our humanity."[29]

Rwanda's appalling past is a blasphemy against God. The war, the genocide, and their aftermath question our understanding of what human beings are and of that of which human beings are capable. Understood within the context of Rwanda's tragedies, these words of Shirley du Boulay are apropos, "If society is organized in such a way that one part of the community denies its membership in humanity, with all the obligations and responsibilities which that implies, the other part is equally enslaved... [Because it is harassed] by fear and anguish."[30] Drawing on the work of Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner (one medieval and another contemporary) in a *ressourcement* framework, the Fourth Chapter will thus assess the Christian doctrine of the *Imago Dei* in order to argue that we have no reason whatsoever to belittle ourselves, much less any reason

[28] Vatican II, *Lumen Gentium,* n. 8.

[29] Richard Lennan, *Risking the Church: The Challenges of Catholic Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 65.

[30] Du Boulay, Shirley, *Desmond Tutu: La voix de ceux qui n'ont pas la parole* (Paris: Centurion, 1989), 133.

to be belittled, because in doing so, we belittle God. For Rahner, "Man is forever the articulate mystery of God."[31] The human person is the addressee of God's love.

Given the significance of Aquinas' and Rahner's theologies of the human person as one who is oriented toward God with the capacity to hear the Word of God, this chapter contends that keeping alive those created in *Imago Dei*—alive or living-dead—is a communion with their Creator because to be oriented toward God is to remember that even after death we do not fall into a meaningless void. God is our absolute future. The Fourth Chapter, thus, will discuss the centrality of humanity's graced nature in the effort to reimagine the restoration of those wounded by Rwanda's tragic history. Further, the chapter will explore how deeper reflection on the Incarnation affirms God's love for God's creation and God's affirmation that human dignity is inalienable. This substantiates the inseparable connection between theology and anthropology and demonstrates how this link is a vehicle for theologizing the dangerous-liberating memories of Christ within the context of Rwanda.[32]

The unimaginable happened in Rwanda: both the human person and Eucharistic species were desecrated in churches. Places of Eucharistic celebration became places of slaughter. Objects of religious worship were vandalized. Jean Hatzfeld could not be more right, "genocide is an inhuman enterprise imagined by humans, too foolish and too methodical to be understood."[33] The final chapter will propose the "God-Question" as a hermeneutical key to reimagine the way of Jesus that reveals God who makes room for us all. This chapter highlights how the scriptural and sacramental understanding of Baptism and Eucharist have a crucial function in remaking

[31] Karl Rahner, "On the Theology of the Incarnation," 116-17.

[32] I take what Metz calls "dangerous memories" – Jesus' crucifixion, death and resurrection – as a paradigm of how love, narrative, solidarity, and reconciliation can re-shape Christian memory and identity in history. See Metz, *Faith in History and Society*, 105-07.

[33] Jean Hatzfeld, *Dans le nu de la vie, récit du marais rwandais* (Paris, Seuil, 2000), 9.

humanity: The "I" and the "Thou" become immersed in the dialectic of love. Through Jesus' dialectic relationship with his disciples, they became friends: "No longer do I call you servants … but I have called you friends..." (Jn 15:15). Both baptism and the Eucharist are sacraments of "making-room," renewal, sacrificial love, memory, and forgiveness through which wounded memories are reconciled.

0.4 Method

This dissertation attempts to understand how God acts in history and to affirm the idea that "the questions upon which a theology must be built rise out of our human life together confronting the challenge of human destiny."[34] To paraphrase Jesuit philosopher-theologian Bernard Lonergan, theologies are produced by theologians who use their minds creatively and rigorously in the faith-filled attempt to disclose the incomprehensible mystery of God's presence and action in a given context.[35] The role of narrative plays a pivotal role in this dissertation along with methods (the hermeneutical circle) characteristic of liberation theology. At the same time, the dissertation methodologically makes use of what Lonergan names functional specialties—research, history, interpretation, and foundations.[36]

As a way of thinking about God, this dissertation can be categorized as a fundamental-political-ecclesiology: It takes as its starting-point oppression, human suffering, and genocide, and evaluates the role and response of the church in Rwanda to oppression, human suffering, and

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[34] Monica Hellwig, *Whose Experience Counts in Theological Reflection?* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1982), 15.

[35] Bernard Lonergan, "Theology and Man's Future," in *A Second Collection* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), ed. William F. J. Ryan and Bernard J. Tyrrell, 138.

[36] My research seeks to foster the foundation and the constant need of conversion. We need a religious, moral, and intellectual conversion. "Normally, it is the intellectual conversion as the fruit of both religious and moral conversion; it is moral conversion as the fruit of religious conversion; and it is religious conversion as the fruit of God's Gift." This conversion "is operative, not only in the functional specialty, foundations, but also in the phase of mediating theology, in research, in interpretation, history and dialectic." See Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 268-69.

genocide. God is always mediated, and God is found in and through complex relationships as individuals and institutions (church) experience their dependence on God. In Rwanda, as in many places, we humans failed to honor other *persons* and thus sinned against God their Creator, we denied ourselves. To reimagine the human and the church, reconciliation of memories is absolutely essential.

0.5 Contribution

The theology that springs from this dissertation is born out of the writer's attentiveness to the suffering of his people. This project is an effort to question intelligently, research comprehensively, analyze critically, reflect and interpret judiciously in order to understand adequately and accurately the (mis)constructions of Rwandan anthropologies, the misuse and abuse of power by government and church, the abandonment of those deprecated and despised because of their ethnic identity. One original contribution of this project is its analogical formulation of reconciliation of memories as osmosis and molting phenomenon. One long-term goal is the establishment of a theological institute that will conduct sustained and serious research and analysis for the sake of reimagining theology in post-genocide Rwanda.

This project also stands in the line of theological inquiry inaugurated by Johann Baptist Metz who asks, "whether in the present political, social, and economic situation of the human race [Rwanda as a case], the gospel has any further meaning at all and is indeed good news."[37] The remembrance of the suffering of others forms a basic category of Christian discourse about God. The remembrance and interrogation of tragic historical events demands that we lay foundations through which the memory of the suffering of others moves us to solidarity, hospitality, and friendship. Moreover, the remembrance and interrogation of that suffering invites believers, all

[37]Metz, *Faith in History and Society*, 105.

people of good will, to realize that despite sin in the Church, any loving relationship is, in the words of Richard Lennan, built upon “surrender to the self-revelation of the other.”[38] Since the other goes beyond one’s control, this surrendering love involves risk. Yet, this writer offers a message of resistance and hope, a theology of open-eyes. Thus, this work seeks to foster ethical, intellectual, and religious conversions rooted in the search for the meaning of what God desires to communicate, especially to those who suffer. This dissertation contends that any expression of Christianity that fails to challenge any and all forms or expressions of idolatry, is not Christianity at all. This project is a fundamental, political, and practical theology as it looks forward to the praxis of hope, maintaining that “the content of Christian hope is [Godself] as end and purpose, reward and fulfillment of human lives.”[39] Finally, while this dissertation focuses on Rwanda’s problematic history, wounds, and unreconciled memories, it offers opportunities and questions, not only for Rwanda, but for all who look at the suffering of the world with open eyes and grasp these opportunities and questions as worthy of consideration.

[38] Lennan, *Risking the Church: The Challenges of Catholic Faith*, 65.
[39] Hellwig, *Whose Experience Counts in Theological Reflection?* 23.

1.0 Chapter 1: The Problematic History of Rwanda and the Complicity of the Catholic Church

1.0 Abstract

If you do not know where you are going, at least know where you are coming from (Niba utazi aho ugana, byibura ujye umenya aho uturuka). *This Rwandan proverb speaks volumes when it refers to Rwanda. Its past is deep and has an impact on how people live the present and the future. As the country commemorates twenty-five years after the civil war and the genocide, how does it come to terms with its past? How could genocide occur in one of the most Christianized countries in Africa? How could it be perpetrated even in churches and homes among family members? How could a priest kill his parishioners, a doctor his patients, a teacher his students and vice versa? In this chapter, I discuss the problematic history of Rwanda and examine the responsibility of the Catholic Church in Rwanda's tragic past.* Ingoma itica, ntihore ni igicuma *(Power that does not kill, that does not seek vengeance, is, like a gourd, a fragile power). This proverb again captures the tragic events that befell Rwanda in the sense that different political regimes have stamped their abuse of power on it. Fear, greed, unreconciled and complex identities, and the failure of ethical standards are among the factors that moved Rwanda from vengeance to genocide.*

1.1 Introduction

What really made the genocide in Rwanda possible? Why did so many Hutu kill so many Tutsi in 1994? What are the meanings of these socio-ethnic categories that have marked Rwandan fractured identities? Who and what are the major players? In addressing these questions, I follow Yves Ternon's contention in his article, "*Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire*," (Rwanda 1994: Analysis of a Genocide Process), that "in the 20th century societies, genocide does not occur only because leaders have given orders to their subordinates: assassins do not submit only to authority. They are convinced that they have to kill not only because propaganda distilled fear and hatred, but also because their society has long been plunged into violence and is beyond any moral obligation."[1] In Rwanda, the genocide resulted from a variety of factors with multiple origins in Rwanda's problematic history. Theologically, at the heart of the genocide was a perverse inversion of Emmanuel Levinas' dictum, "neighbor refused to see the neighbor's face upon which

[1] Yves Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," in *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 2009/1 (No. 190), 15-57 at 15. Of special note is his book *Guerres et Génocides au XXe Siècle: Architectures de la Violence de Masse* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2009).

was inscribed the command: 'Thou shall not kill.'"[2] This study shall assess the origins in order to delineate the facts behind the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and moderate Hutu. The purpose of this chapter is primarily historical as a foundation for the rest of the dissertation. The intended goal is to journey with the reader to discover the challenge of reconciling memories, fractured identities and the imperative of the theology from a place of wounds, all of which are the themes of this dissertation. A pivotal section of this chapter will also help the reader understand the place and the role of the church in Rwanda's past.

The fundamental respect due to any human person created in the *image of God* and the imperative of memory urge that this research review history in order to discover what led Rwanda to the agony of the 1994 genocide, prior to any theological approach of reconciling Rwandan memories. The method employed in this chapter relies heavily on the Bernard Lonergan functional specialty of "History." For Lonergan, the task of history is "to seek *a* view of the actual functioning of the whole or of a notable part over a significant period of time …it recounts who did what, when, where, under what circumstances, from what motives, with what results. Its function is practical: a group can function only by possessing an identity, knowing itself and devoting itself to the cause, at worst, of its survival, at best, of its betterment."[3] As this study unfolds, the task of history is made manifest.

This chapter operates on four levels of consciousness: experience, understanding, judging, and deciding.[4] One will be led to some reasonable understanding, account or evidence of what really happened, i.e. what led to the genocide. I owe it to the reader that I keep in mind the limits

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[2] Emmanuel Levinas, *Ethics and Infinity,* trans. Richard A. Cohen (Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1985), 89. "The first word of the face is the 'Thou shall not kill. It is an order. There is a commandment in the appearance of the face…"

[3] Bernard J. F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 184-85.

[4] Ibid.

of all attempts and efforts to know the past. Though he was speaking on the history of modern exegesis and its limits, Pope Benedict XVI's words are apt here: "we can never go beyond the domain of hypothesis, because we simply cannot bring the past into the present. To be sure, some hypotheses enjoy a high degree of certainty, but overall we need to remain conscious of the limit of our certainties."[5]

Acknowledging that this project is one perspective among others, the reader will discover that history is an ongoing process that has effects on the present and the future. He or she will learn that "the context within which events are to be understood keeps enlarging. As the context enlarges, perspectives also shift."[6] Such is the case for Rwanda in its problematic history. Let us now turn to "a" historical study of what made the genocide possible.

1.2 Genocide in Rwanda: How Was It Possible?

There are multilayered factors as remote roots of the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda where problematic history convinced some citizens that they were beyond any moral obligation to be each other's keepers. I join Yves Ternon in his contention that "fear, hatred, vengeance, ignorance, stupidity, lies, complacency, scorn, all kinds of feelings, have caused the death of 800,0000 to 1,000,000 Tutsi and several thousand moderate Hutu."[7] Other central factors are the abuse of power, misguided and uncritical loyalties, and greed for resources. One thing not to be ignored in Rwanda's tragic killings is that "the victims of Hutu Power were all innocent. Men or women, adults or children, these people stalked like 'hunted meat' had neither the power nor the intention to harm."[8]

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[5] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2007), xvii.

[6] Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 192.

[7] Yves Ternon, "Rwanda 1994. Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 16.

[8] Ibid. "Hutu Power" refers to a coalition of Hutu extremists from different Rwandan political parties who planned and executed the genocide.

The genocide was made possible through a process of dehumanizing a perceived enemy, "the Tutsi." It involved neighbors and, sometimes, relatives within intermarriages between Hutu and Tutsi. The killings took place in religious and public spaces such as churches, schools, and administrative buildings. Places of solace and prayer became slaughterhouses. Philip Gourevitch uses the striking phrase "an intimate genocide"[9] to describe the social and psychological proximity among perpetrators, victims, and bystanders.

But what could be the remotest origins of the conflicts in Rwanda? The racialization and ethnicization of Rwanda come first on the list. To again quote Yves Ternon: "The genocide of the Tutsi is the direct consequence of an ethnic vision of the history of Rwanda. The myth of three races - Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi - installed successively in this territory and the fight between Hamite invaders - the Tutsi - and Bantu - the Hutu - is an absurdity invented in the 19th century by Europeans and conveyed by the Belgian administration in the 1930s."[10] As this chapter unfolds, I will argue that human relations in Rwanda have had ethnic lenses both prior to and after Rwanda's independence in 1962. Racialized identities became costly for the small, densely populated, and hilly country – Rwanda.

Historians contend that this ancient centralized kingdom gradually evolved surrounded by a cluster of lineages and clans. In his book *Le Défi de l'Ethnisme. Rwanda et Burundi: 1990-1996* (*The Challenge of Ethnicity. Rwanda and Burundi: 1990-1996*), Jean-Pierre Chrétien observes that the dividing line between Tutsi and Hutu precedes the arrival of Europeans in the late nineteenth century. But the racial conflict to which people often reduce Rwandan society is in fact the result of social and power inequality built in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in this kingdom.[11]

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[9] Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with our Families* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1998), 115.

[10] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 16.

[11] Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *Le Défi de l'Ethnisme. Rwanda et Burundi : 1990-1996* (Paris : Karthala, 1997), 17.

His argument is that "racial" divisions are strictly a product of the last two centuries. This dissertation does not record all the details and the antecedences of the words "Hutu" or "Tutsi;" to do so would constitute an entire book of its own. But I agree with Chrétien that one must be able "to account for [some] processes that led the people of Rwanda to kill each other in the twentieth century in the name of these affinities."[12] To do so, this chapter follows a trajectory: It discusses succinctly pre-colonial Rwanda, colonial Rwanda, and post-colonial Rwanda, and concludes with a section that assesses the role of the Catholic Church leaders in Rwanda's history.

1.3 Pre-colonial Rwanda

Oral sources were the primary means available to access the history of Rwanda prior to the arrival of German administrators after the Berlin Conference in 1885 assigned the country to Germany as part of German East Africa. Oral resources have their limitations. How much could be remembered? How much was transmitted and omitted? Who remembered what? Who was told what and who said what and for what purpose? Historians Alexis Kagame and Jan Vansina are key interpreters of this period. Kagame wrote the history of the *Nyiginya* kingdom founded in the 17th century,[13] while Vansina focused more on "central Rwanda from which the present Rwanda was constructed."[14] Vansina's study aids in understanding the context in which the categories of Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi emerged prior to the arrival of Europeans and how the latter instrumentalized them in order to construct ethnicism. For Vansina, "the official traditions of Rwanda were standardized after 1917 [...] and ended in a fixed and definitive version around 1936."[15] This version of history must be scrutinized in order to understand the complexities of the past.

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Alexis Kagame, *Un Abrégé de l'Histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972* (Butare : Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975).

[14] Jan Vansina, *Le Rwanda Ancien: Le Royaume Nyiginya* (Paris: Karthala, 2001), 251.

[15] Ibid.

Historical research seems to agree that *Bantu*-speaking people, some farmers, others pastoralists, and others as hunters cohabited in Rwanda for centuries. They organized their society "in small groups based on lineage or on loyalty to an outstanding leader; they joined in building the complex nation of Rwanda. They developed a single and highly sophisticated language, Kinyarwanda, crafted a common set of religious and philosophical beliefs, and created a culture which valued song, dance, poetry, and rhetoric."[16] Despite this account, ethnic categories of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa still elude researchers, remain contested, and often "reflect deep ideological presuppositions."[17] David Newbury explains how these categories are complex or slippery and have carried variations over one place and time:

> The categories Hutu, Tutsi, Twa existed in part as markers of status, wealth, and power within those areas administered by the pre-colonial dynastic court structures. But the implications of being Hutu or Tutsi varied significantly over place and time – among regions and at different periods in development of the Rwandan state. In short, these were not internally homogeneous categories; in fact, in many contexts of local social interaction, lineage and locale were more important bases for personal identity than such gross categories as "Hutu" or "Tutsi."[18]

Newbury contends that the categories of "Hutu," "Tutsi," and "Twa" functioned as identity markers, but other social interactions were more important. What seems certain, however, is the fact that most Rwandan groups have been farmers with small stock and intermittently a few cattle. There was also a smaller category of people who disdained cultivation and lived largely on cattle

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[16] Human Rights Watch, "History." https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno1-3-09.htm#P196_82927 accessed November 7, 2018.

[17] J. J. Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 10. See also Justin Kalibwami, *Le Catholicisme et la Société Rwandaise 1900-1962* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1991), 47-60; Filip Ryntjens, *Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda: Droit Public et Évolution Politique, 1916-1973* (Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Central, 1985), 26-30; John Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 106-109; and Alison Des Forges, *Defeat is the only bad news: Rwanda under Musinga 1896-1931*, Dissertation Yale University, 1972, 1-4.

[18] David Newbury, "The Invention of Rwanda: The Alchemy of Ethnicity," in Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (Orlando, 3-6 November, 1995). See also Catherine Newbury and David Newbury, "A Catholic Mass in Kigali: Contested Views of the Genocide and Ethnicity in Rwanda," in *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 2/3 (1999): 292-328, [footnote no. 4].

for their livelihood. In extensive research on Rwanda, Human Rights Watch remarks that "cultivators and pastoralists lived interspersed in most areas, although the cool, wet highlands of the north had few pastoralists and the drier, hotter east had more. With fertile soil and regular rainfall, the region was productive..."[19] As Rwanda rose as a major regional kingdom in the eighteenth century, "its rulers measured their power in the number of their subjects and counted their wealth in the number of their cattle. The two were usually related. Giving or temporarily granting cattle was a way of winning supporters."[20] It is important to note that not all Rwandan elites were born rich in cattle. Some historians argue that some wealthy pastoralists ordinarily gained cattle along with power. Alison L. Des Forges thus writes:

> Cultivators skilled in making war and able to mobilize large groups of followers rose to importance through the military system, particularly under the late nineteenth century ruler Rwabugiri, who brought Rwanda to the height of its power. In its drive to expand, Rwanda attacked neighboring peoples regardless of whether they were pastoralists or cultivators and regardless of whether they were organized in lineages or in states.[21]

Two pre-colonial Rwandan economies, agricultural and pastoral, lived side-by-side and carried within them potential for conflicts. Ternon notes that these economies required rules and punishment whenever people's rights were infringed.[22] Some disputes resulted from internal migration, generally when pastoralist communities moved from one region to the other in search of green pastures for their cattle or because of climatic and economic factors. My study accentuates this point because it does not altogether embrace some migration theories constructed by historiographers in the 1930s. In a country with one common language and culture, I believe it is

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[19] Human Rights Watch, "History."

[20] Ibid.

[21] Alison L. Des Forges, "When a Foreign Country Rebels: The Ideology and Practice of War in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Rwanda," in *Symposium on Warfare and Society in Africa*, Yale University, 1990, quoted by Human Rights Watch, https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno1-3-09.htm accessed July 3, 2018

[22] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 18.

difficult to find conclusive arguments in favor of massive migration to Rwanda. Rather, Rwandans lived together notwithstanding their socio-economic diversity under the leadership of a king (*umwami*). I concur with Ternon who contends: "there were never any successive migrations of Twa, hunters and gatherers; Hutu farmers; and Tutsi pastoralists."[23] The difference among Rwandans was mostly based on their economic status, which depended on the size of their farm, the number of cows, and whatever else they had in their reserve. A number of homesteads (*imiryango*) formed "a larger structure, the clan (*ubwoko*), a system of alliances and not of descendants, therefore a politically variable entity."[24]

The Twa were forest dwellers, hunters and gatherers; but over time, some of them started to work as potters, laborers, or servants. These people were designated as "Twa" around the 17th century. The social class of pastoralists formed an elite and desire to be named "Tutsi." The majority of farmers formed the class of Hutu. The etymology of these names remains unknown, but historians seem to agree that these social classes formed three distinct and identifiable groups partly because of their different professions under the authority of *umwami* (king). The authority of the *umwami* was supernaturally based, representing God (*Imana*) and he "acquired his power during the ritual succession by the delivery of insignia, the most important of which was the drum (*karinga*)."[25]

At the end of the 17th century, Ruganzu Ndori founded the *Nyiginya* kingdom. "Ndori united two spheres of power, ritual and temporal, powers exercised before him by bodies of different specialists, and created a new political system."[26] Ndori formed a government with institutions: a royal court and districts, effected pastoral contracts with subjects (*ubuhake*), and

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid., 19.

established an army (*ingabo*) whose recruitment was hereditary, by lineage. Ndori created an elite society around him to help him govern— this group included custodians of tradition and counselors (*abiru*)—what today would be called a "think-tank" —who helped him expand his kingdom considerably.[27] The king ruled central and southern Rwanda, but was often in conflict with the peoples of the north, who had their own leadership style.

Toward the end of the 18th century, social divisions became less fluid and more rigid when two newly created institutions intensified conflicts of interest between the pastoralists and the farmers. The first institution entailed "a land concession granted by the king to the most powerful pastoralists guaranteeing the control of the public pastures available outside the royal domain."[28] Power was granted to the elite pastoralists, but increased the poverty of farmers and small pastoralists who lost their herds. Toward the end of the 19th century, the second institution established was a labor-tax levied against farmers by land chiefs, known as *uburetwa*.[29] These institutions increased animosity and inequality among pastoralists, land chiefs, and many poor farmers. Much later these institutions would intensify conflict among the people.

From the foregoing, what seems certain is that pastoralists and farmers had a hand in shaping Rwanda's institutions. The power of pre-colonial elites was derived from their hold over the military and over cattle, and that power also was strengthened by some agriculturally based religious rituals.[30] Toward the end of the 19th century, *umwami* ruled the central territories "through multiple hierarchies of competing officials who administered men, cattle, pasturage, and agricultural land. He exercised a looser kind of suzerainty over other areas, particularly on the

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 21.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Marcel d'Hertefelt and A. Coupez, *La Royauté Sacrée de l'Ancien Rwanda* (Tervuren: Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, 1964), 32-35.

periphery, which were dominated by powerful lineage groups, some of them pastoralists, some cultivators."[31] Though he had absolute power, the *umwami* accepted the presence of small states within the boundaries of his kingdom, because "their rulers were thought to control rainfall, crop pests, or some other aspect of agricultural productivity important for Rwanda as a whole."[32]

At the end of the 19th century, the Rwandan society was divided into two hierarchical and antagonistic categories of people, who came to be known formally as Hutu and Tutsi. The term "Hutu" referred to the peasant farmers in a demeaning or condescending way. According to Vansina, the first differentiation between Hutu and Tutsi occurred within the army. Warriors were called Tutsi, while non-combatant servants were Hutu.[33] In the middle of the 19th century, the distinctions between Tutsi chiefs (*chefs de hautes herbes*), those in charge of cattle, and Hutu chiefs (*chefs des terres*), those in charge of land, underlined a distinct inequality, and the small pastoralists without any influence also became Hutu. Vansina explains: "From then on, the terms 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' no longer meant above all a situation of class or dependency or occupation, but an absolute status."[34] An identity was from then on acquired not inherited. One can imagine what happened to those born from the same parents, but who shared different "identity" labels. Within the same family, one could thus find both "Hutu" and "Tutsi."

There are some nuanced perspectives to be added to this "absolute status" argument. Most spouses came from an individual's occupational class. The practice of marrying someone from one's clan generated a shared identity within each group to the extent that as generations passed, "pastoralists came to look more like other pastoralists—tall, thin, and narrow-featured—and

[31] Human Rights Watch, "History."
[32] Ibid.
[33] Jan Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom,* (Madison, WI, The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 135.
[34] Ibid., 174.

cultivators like other cultivators—shorter, stronger, and with broader features. Within each group there were also sub-groups, the result of some distant common ancestry or of more recent patterns of marriage."[35] It is not unreasonable to think that this practice of intra-clan marriage addresses the difference in physiognomy, often exaggerated by partisan researchers or both Tutsi and Hutu partisans. Yet, intermarriage between Hutu and Tutsi was not also uncommon, although "the practice declined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the gap widened between Tutsi elite and Hutu commoners, but rose again after Tutsi lost power in the 1959 revolution."[36] There were nearly no intermarriages between Tutsi and Twa or Hutu and Twa.

In his work on the physical characteristics of the population of Ruanda and Urundi, Jean Hiernaux observes that the issue of genetic isolation of the Batwa is more controversial. Hiernaux "asserts that Batutsi and Bahutu reluctance toward the Batwa is such that they cannot envisage sexual relations with them."[37] However, he hints that in his anthropological field research, some of the "natives I interviewed, on the other hand, admitted the existence of casual sex between Bahutu and Batwa, and even between Batutsi and Batwa."[38]

An increase in mixed marriages makes it difficult to distinguish an individual's group affiliation simply by physical appearance. There are people who can fit either category as Hutu or Tutsi. Additionally, "some people who exhibit the traits characteristic of one group might in fact belong to the other because children of mixed marriages took the category of their fathers, but

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[35] Human Rights Watch, "History."

[36] Ibid. During the uprising of November 1959, known as the Hutu Revolution, "pitched battles broke out between Hutu mobs, militias associated with Mwami Kigali Ndahindurwa, and Belgium's Colonial army, the *Force Publique.* Hundreds died in the violence, and Hutu arsonists forced thousands of Tutsi to flee the country. The events of November 1959 also precipitated changes on the part of Belgium's colonial authorities." See Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide*, 7. The Hutu Revolution was almost similar to *Kristallnacht.* See p. 112.

[37] Jean Hiernaux, *Les Caractères Physiques des Populations du Ruanda et de l'Urundi* (Bruxelles : Institut Royal des Sciences Naturelles de Belgique, 1954), 14.

[38] Ibid. The prefix "*Ba*" is the plural for the singular "*Mu*" that accompanies the human person in Kinyarwanda, Rwanda's national language. Before colonialism, Ruanda and Urundi were the names for Rwanda and Burundi, respectively.

might actually look like their mothers."[39] The conclusion from this is that social identities in Rwanda are more complex and elusive than they are often conceived. In fact, the difficulty of distinguishing an individual's affiliation meant that during the genocide, some people classified as Hutu were killed because they looked "Tutsi" in physical appearance. This was the fate of some Hutu relatives of Colonel Tharcisse Renzaho, the prefect of the city of Kigali, who "were killed at a barrier after having been mistaken for Tutsi."[40] What bitterly might be called "mistaken identity" contributes to the complexity of Rwanda's wounds: the profound challenge of reconciling troubling memories—the memories of those Tutsi whose family members, relatives, neighbors, and friends were killed in the genocide and the memories of the *génocidaires* whose family members or relatives were "mistakenly" killed as Tutsi. For Rwanda to have an authentic future, the significance of the complexity of identity in Rwanda requires reconciliation. This element is key to this dissertation.

The question of identity grew in intensity and became more demarcated at the end of the 19th century, as Rwanda's few leading clans, *Abanyiginya* and *Abega,* occupied the central leadership of southern and central Rwanda. The ruling elites conceived of themselves as superior to other ordinary Rwandans. "The word 'Tutsi' … became the term that referred to the elite group as a whole and the word "Hutu" … came to refer to the mass of the ordinary people."[41] When Europeans first stepped into Rwanda at the end of the nineteenth century, group identification of Tutsi as pastoralists who held power and Hutu cultivators as subjects "was becoming general …

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[39] Ibid. If a child were born out of wedlock, he or she was identified with her mother's classification and one can imagine that such a child might have stronger features from her "unknown" father.

[40] Renzaho "was found guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity and serious violations of Article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II (war crimes) but acquitted of complicity to commit genocide." United Nations International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals, "Tharcisse Renzaho Given Life Sentence," updated July 14, 2009, http://unictr.unmict.org/en/news/tharcisse-renzaho-given-life-sentence, accessed June 5, 2018.

[41] Jean Hiernaux, *Les Caractères Physiques des Populations du Ruanda et de l'Urundi*, 14.

but it was not yet completely fixed throughout the country."[42] The grave error of the leading clans was their embrace of the hypothesis of their superiority over other social groups of Rwanda and their exploitation of this premise to their advantage. In the words of Ian Linden, "a particular account of the past shaped in the Tutsi court and promulgated by the Catholic clergy, influenced the political consciousness of Rwandans and Europeans alike."[43]

Research leads this study to contend that when the first Europeans landed in Rwanda, Rwandans were conscious of their own identity labels and divisions. Hutu farmers however rejected the contemptuous identity given them. This resulted in some uprisings against the Tutsi elites and authorities in both the center and the south of the country. Of note is that inequality between the two groups varied depending on regions. In the north, "lineages of powerful farmers and pastoralists escaped the royal dependence and a large number of them were proud to be Hutu. … [t]he vast majority of Tutsi were simple pastoralists or farmers. Other factors than lineage determined rank and identity in Northern part of Rwanda: region, clientelism, and individual qualities."[44]

Historians and anthropologists seem to have a common perception of the Twa, who were seen to be different from Hutu and Tutsi. The Twa formed a nominal constituent of the Rwandan population, about one percent of the total before the tragic events of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.[45] Regarding the Twa, Human Rights Watch remarks:

> Physically distinguishable by such features as their smaller size, Twa also used to speak a distinctive form of Kinyarwanda. While the boundary between Hutu and Tutsi was flexible and permeable before the colonial era, that separating the Twa from both groups was far more rigid. Hutu and Tutsi shunned marriage with Twa

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[42] Human Rights Watch, "History."

[43] Ian Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977), 2. Another important resource is Alexis Kagame, *Un Abrégé de l'Ethno-histoire du Rwanda* (Butare: Éditions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972-75), 2 volumes.

[44] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 31-33.

[45] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide*, 10.

> and used to refuse even to share food or drink with them. During the genocide, some Twa were killed and others became killers.[46]

All these markers of identity became an important ingredient to Rwandan ethnic rivalry that was officially engraved on people's minds during Rwanda's colonial era to which this study now turns.

1.4 Colonial Rwanda

On the eve of Rwanda's colonization, there existed identity categorization. What is distinctive of the first explorer of the Africa's Great Lakes Region, John Hanning Speke who landed at Lake Victoria in 1863, is his turning of Rwandan identity status into "races" based on people's physical appearances and invented migration theories:

> [Speke] developed a theory on the domination of higher races on the lower races in Africa. Without any evidence, relying solely on the finding that in the Great Lakes region, individuals are taller, slimmer, have lighter skin, he decides that Africans who most resemble Europeans come from Southern Ethiopia, a Hamitic breed of conquering surrogate of a higher civilization, and he linked the arrival of this race to the monarchical institutions observed in the region.[47]

Some anthropologists and Christian missionaries shared Speke's theories of racialization and migration. R. E. Sanders writes, "Hamites were seen to be 'born rulers' and were granted, at least in theory, a right to a history and future almost as noble as their European 'cousins.'"[48] From then on, the first Europeans who came to Rwanda identified the Tutsi with a "race of lords," different from that of Negroes.[49] One could argue that northern Rwanda became really "racialized" with the arrival of Europeans.

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[46] Human Rights Watch, "History." As data concerning the Twa is so limited, this dissertation does not examine their role. This is a subject for another work.

[47] John Hanning Speke, *Journal de la Découverte de la Source du Nil* (London 1863), chapter 10. Quoted in Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 24.

[48] R. E. Sanders, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," in *Journal of African History,* vol. X, no. 4 (1969), 524-26.

[49] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 24.

Rwanda's colonial era begins in 1885 with the Berlin conference that established the colonization and sharing of Africa among European powers. Rwanda and Burundi became a German protectorate. The first German to set foot in Rwanda was Gustav Adolf von Götzen in 1894. Other German explorers arrived in 1897, and were followed in 1900 by Catholic missionaries (White Fathers).[50] The German settlers and Tutsi aristocracy worked hand in hand with the White Fathers in search of land and labor. However, during the First World War, Belgian troops attacked Rwanda, conquered the small German contingent, and in 1922, Rwanda became a Belgian colony. Belgian settlers also collaborated closely with the White Fathers, most of whom were French nationals. In the same year, Bishop Léon Classe was named Apostolic Vicar of Rwanda. Classe had a tremendous influence on the history of Rwanda, as this chapter will demonstrate. In the 1920s an elite school *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* was erected by the church to educate Tutsi children for administrative leadership in the colonial system. This marks the beginning of what will become the central role played by the church in the complex history of Rwanda.

The Belgian settlers reduced the power of the king by creating new administrative entities almost exclusively led by Tutsi. The Colonialists had a misunderstanding with King Yuhi Musinga. Musinga struggled to accept the interference of Belgian settlers in the choice of Rwandan leaders. He was also frustrated by the abolishment of former contracts. The latter were "replaced by a one-day working-day tax (*uburetwa*) and the requisition of adult men for unpaid public works (*akazi*), a reform that entailed massive emigration to Congo, Uganda and Tanganyika."[51] From 1931 after the death of Musinga, succeeded by his son Mutara III Rudahigwa, Rwanda experienced

[50] I will use White Fathers and Catholic missionaries interchangeably.

[51] Human Rights Watch, "History." See also Philip Reyjtens, *Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda, Droit Public et Evolution Politique 1916-1973* (Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1985), 95-100.

massive conversions to Catholicism, what some scholars have called a "Tornado of the Holy Spirit."[52] It is during this period that the Catholic Church established itself as a significant influence in Rwandan society.

1.4.1 The Initial Influence and the Apparent Failure of Ecclesial Institutional Leadership in Rwanda's Colonial History

Christian Churches have played an important role in the evangelization and development of Africa. Because missionaries made Western education available, many Africans gained access to literacy; at the same time, missionaries also made an impact in other domains. Timothy Longman writes:

> With their extensive resources, myriad programs, and wide geographic reach, churches play a major role in many African societies in determining the distribution of wealth and opportunities, the structure of class divisions, and the nature of ethnic power relations. Individuals and groups use churches to promote their interests, and the results of political competitions within churches can have wide-ranging implication for the broader society.[53]

Granted the missionaries' impact on Africa, when it comes to Rwanda particularly, it could be argued that perhaps in no other African state has the church played a more critical (albeit controversial) role in shaping the political destinies of Africans than in Rwanda. Peter Celestine Safari observes: "the political history of Rwanda prior to and after independence is intimately connected to the growth and influence of the Christian churches, especially the Catholic Church."[54] The church acted in concert with the Belgian authorities between 1931 and 1959 and influenced many colonial decisions.[55] On the one hand, one could argue that the church led the civil

[52] Jean-Paul Kimonyo, *Rwanda: Un Génocide Populaire* (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 30.

[53] Timothy Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," in *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol. 31, (May 2001), pp. 163-186 at 183.

[54] Peter Celestine Safari, "Church, State, and the Rwandan Genocide," in *Political Theology* (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd, 2010), 875.

[55] Justin Kalibwami, *Le Catholicisme et La Société Rwandaise 1900-1962* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1991), 17.

authorities. It was Bishop Classe who helped engineer the *mwami* Musinga coup because the latter was partly an obstacle to Classe's project of evangelization.[56] On the other hand, there was a deep tradition of "Hutu uplift" that went back to the earliest missionaries who saw the marginalization of the Hutu and wanted to do something. This leads one to question the accuracy of the binary historical narrative that dominates some scholarly treatments that claim Christian missionaries favored the Tutsi until the 1950s, then, after that time, turned to favor the Hutu.[57]

This dissertation argues that the origin of Rwanda's woundedness as a society may be traced to the gradual deepening of societal and hierarchical divisions and the support given by a missionary-led church for the racial myth, which reduced a complex society to two distinct races––based on somatic criteria and depicted as sharing little, if anything, in common. Jean Hiernaux's research at *L'Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* on the physical characteristics and nutrition of the populations of Rwanda and Burundi provides an example.[58] Hiernaux observed a number of people from a few localities and concluded that the Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa were physiologically different based on their physical appearances. Of note is the fact that the word "ethnicity" does not yet appear in his discussion. Rather, he argues that "Belgians and missionaries contributed to the writing of an imaginative ethnic history of Rwanda based on fantasy of a Hima feudal empire. This story is made from the Hamitic theory, popular since Speke."[59]

Official racialization of the Rwandan conscience may be located in ecclesial support of racialist mythology and in social and political failure. "By repeating to the Tutsi that they belonged

[56] Kimonyo, *Rwanda: Un génocide populaire*, 30.

[57] One such binary narrative is found in Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998).

[58] Hiernaux, *Les Caractères Physiques des Populations du Ruanda et de l'Urundi*, 13.

[59] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 27.

to an elite and to the Hutu that they were inferior, every member of the Rwandan society ended up forging an ethnic identity, and two groups that once coexisted with accepted differences come to be wary of each other."[60] Here, I argue, the virus entered the Rwandan social body; it will take years for it to leave, if it ever will. Belgian colonialists cooperated with church officials to strengthen Rwanda's existing social and/or "racial" categorizations. During the colonial era, perceived status inequality among Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa became most marked. Colonial ideology rendered this status indispensable and sanctioned the idea of rulers and the ruled in rigid categories.

Christian missionaries played a major role in defining Rwanda's contested identities. For example, Classe, the highly-influential Catholic vicar apostolic of Rwanda between 1922 and 1945, wrote that the "Tutsi were not Bantu, they are, if one wants, *Negroids* – they are an African people which possesses the strongest Hamitic indices."[61] Classe was convinced that the Tutsi were of a superior status and could not be treated on the same level as Hutu. The role played by church leaders in Rwanda is comparable to that played by the Church in the time of American chattel slavery and during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s general critique of the American Church is applicable to the Rwandan case. King wrote: "[The Church] has blessed a status quo that needed to be blasted, and reassured a social order that needed to be reformed. So, the Church must acknowledge its guilt, its weak and vacillating witness, its all too frequent failure to obey the call to servanthood … If the Church does not recapture its prophetic zeal, it will become an irrelevant social club without moral or spiritual authority."[62] Blessing a *status quo* that needed reform was the failure of the Rwandan ecclesial leaders in their social and *theopraxis*.

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Classe quoted in Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide*, 11.

[62] Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We God from Here: Chaos or Community* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 96.

Given the diversity of opinions and sentiments in the country during the 1920s, particularly in the northern regions which had often rebelled against *umwami* and also questioned the policies of the Belgian settlers and missionaries, the Belgian administration in collusion with the missionaries sought to ratify their racial policy. In the 1930s, they decided:

> Under the pretext of registering taxpayers, to record on an identity book the membership of every adult person in Rwanda. Everyone had to indicate the group to which they belonged. About 15% became Tutsi, 84% Hutu, 1% Twa. The Tutsi elite, which was supported by the Belgian administration and missionaries, represented only 50,000 people, while the other 250,000 Tutsi were poor peasants, like the majority of Hutu.[63]

This census imprinted Rwandans with racialization and from then on Rwandans officially perceived themselves either as Hutu or Tutsi or Twa. In the pre-colonial era, one's identity was hereditary—passed from fathers to their children; at the same time, one's identity was fluid and Rwandans could move between or identify themselves with either group. Colonial Rwanda made these identity statuses or categories unchangeable. They ceased to be fluid and became fixed. The change of a lineage identity into an ethnic identity destroyed Rwandan social fabric, and it is a creation of colonialism in collusion with the missionaries. "The late nineteenth century saw Hutu-Tutsi labels develop ideological overtones that were missing in earlier periods of Rwanda's history."[64] The pre-colonial era was far from being perfect, but Rwanda's colonial era worsened the personal negotiation of group identity and reinforced societal divisions.

The remote causes of Rwanda's ethnic antagonisms that led to genocide in 1994 are rooted in the racialization of Rwanda's identity markers. In his detailed analyses of the history that led to the genocide, Gérard Prunier remarks that "As a last resort, we can say that Tutsi and Hutu massacred each other more in order to match a certain vision they had of themselves, of others and

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[63] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide*, 11.

[64] Ibid., 13. See also Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda,* 16-20 and Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda,* 134-39.

their place in the world than for material interests."[65] Ideological fear of the other and reactive social fracture are the fundamental root causes of the killings and the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. Fear, abuse of power, acquisitive materialism and scarcity of material resources were intensified in the years immediately prior to and after Rwanda's independence.

1.5 Pre-independent Rwanda and the Church's Place in It

The years before Rwanda's independence from Belgium in 1962 were marked by shifting power dynamics and violent killings as the departing colonial authorities who previously favored the Tutsi (especially two Tutsi-led clans) reversed their position and transferred power to the Hutu. This resulted from a variety of factors: (1) United Nations' reports were critical of Belgian colonial policies that marginalized Rwanda's population. (2) Discrimination against Hutu remained particularly in education and the colonial administration. (3) There was an intense desire for emancipation among the Hutu; but, "to emancipate [themselves] from colonial oppression, the Hutu elite only attacked Tutsi identity, which it judged responsible for its misery."[66] The desire for emancipation did not question the biased roles of colonial masters and church missionaries in all of Rwanda's tragedies. (4) The missionary personnel changed and so did their political assessment of Rwandan group relations. "French conservative priests [had] gradually been replaced by young Flemish priests of the Catholic left, who felt closer to Hutu peasants than Tutsi pastoralists and who willingly transposed their own regionalist Belgian struggle to Rwanda: they defended the cause of the 'majority Hutu.'"[67] (5) The new missionaries led by the Swiss bishop André Perraudin championed the cause of social justice and together with the Belgian administration feared that the Tutsi elite, who formed UNAR, might side more with the Soviets in

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[65] Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda: Le Génocide* (France: Editions Dagorno, 1999), 56.
[66] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 28.
[67] Ibid.

terms of foreign policy.[68] (6) There were also worries about the Tutsi monopoly over Rwandan clergy.[69] (7) "In 1957, seven Hutu intellectuals published a *Bahutu* Manifesto.[70] This text denounced the Tutsi domination, called for democracy, and relied on the Hamitic myth to denounce the ascendancy of the Hutu majority. In a letter of February 1959, *Super Omnia Caritas* (Above all Charity), preceding Lent, Monsignor Perraudin condemned racial inequality in Rwanda."[71] (8) Violence erupted in November 1959 in central Rwanda and spread across the country. Many Tutsi were killed, their houses set ablaze and their properties confiscated. Fear, abuse of power, and the lack of ecclesial impartiality set the country on the cycle of violence as more than a quarter of a million Tutsi and many Hutu fled the country on the eve of Rwanda's independence.[72]

1.6 The First Republic (1962-1973)

Rwanda achieved its independence on July 1, 1962. One would have hoped that things would be better. But from its beginning, the ruling party, Parmehutu, with a majority of votes did not hide its anti-Tutsi ethnic ideology. The ruling party portrayed the Tutsis as strangers who, for centuries, had oppressed the Hutu. National identity cards, which from the 1930s had become a means of Tutsi privileges, became a reinforced instrument of discrimination. The Tutsi began to be treated as cockroaches (*inyenzi*).[73] Tutsis were marginalized for the sole reason that they were

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[68] UNAR meant *Union Nationale Rwandaise* (Rwandan National Union). It was a leading monarchist party that demanded Rwanda's independence from Belgium and sought a hereditary Tutsi constitutional monarchy.

[69] For some details on statistics, see page 38 below.

[70] The prefix "*Ba*" is the plural for the singular "*Mu,*" *supra* footnote 38 (p. 24). For details on the content of the Bahutu Manifesto, see Chapter Two, p. 81.

[71] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 29.

[72] Ibid., 30.

[73] Note also that UNAR commandos adopted this label in the early 1960s in part to sew fear. The word *inyenzi* originated among the Tutsi themselves. *Inyenzi* designated the armed movement in exile formed by Tutsi youth whose families had been thrown out of the country fleeing persecution during the decades that followed the 1959 pogrom. The armed wing would attack at night and were known for their exemplary discipline and courage." See Kennedy Ndahiro, "Dehumanization: How Tutsis were reduced to cockroaches, snakes to be killed," in *The New Times* (March 13, 2013), accessed December 27, 2019,

Tutsi. Although from 1961 to 1967, Tutsi exiles in neighboring countries launched some unsuccessful military incursions, "[w]ithin seven years, 20,000 Tutsi were massacred and more than 300,000 fled Rwanda.… [T]he cycle of violence had a twofold effect on the population: it developed the consciousness of ethnicity and triggered a cycle of revenge."[74]

In addition, regional nepotism was rampant within the administration through the influence of leaders from central Rwanda led by Grégoire Kayibanda. This provoked animosity among the people of the north in Ruhengeri and Gisenyi. The government of the First Republic also expropriated the land of murdered or exiled Tutsi.[75] In July of 1973, a group of northern leaders under the command of Hutu Colonel Juvenal Habyarimana overthrew Kayibanda in a coup. This ended the First Republic.

1.7 The Second Republic (1973-1994)

Difficulties pervaded the two decades of the Second Republic. Crucial among these were the economy, the invasion from an external Tutsi-dominated militia, civil war, multipartyism, ethnic segregation, nepotism, regionalism, and the close alignment of the church with President Habyarimana's government. Worth particular mention is the national army: "The Rwandan armed forces (FAR) at that time were 7,000 soldiers, 1,500 of whom formed the presidential guard, mostly men from the North."[76]

The nepotism that characterized the southern leadership during the first republic was replaced by nepotism from northerners, particularly *Akazu* (literally, "little hut") from Gisenyi, the region of Habyarimana and his wife, Agatha Kanziga. *Akazu* was a regional particular group of

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https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/73836

[74] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 31.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., 32. MRND stands for *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement* (the National Revolutionary Movement for Development), Rwanda's sole ruling party up to 1991 when a multiparty system of governance was introduced.

people who mostly took the central government of the country. In his book *From War to Genocide* (2015), André Guichaoua observes that "*Akazu* can best be seen as an incubator for the country's civil and military elite, coming from Karago and Giciye communes in Gisenyi prefecture … over the course of years, [*Akazu*] not only became a parallel network of power within the army, the party, and the administration but metastasized as a parasitic outgrowth in the economic and financial system of the country."[77] For the record, for the first twelve years (1974-1986) of President Habyarimana's term, the country enjoyed economic success due to the rapidly rising price of coffee and the international aid that followed Rwanda's economic growth. During this period, Kimonyo observes, "Rwanda was a showcase for international cooperation."[78]

In terms of ethnic division and segregation, the official discourse of the Habyarimana regime sought to initiate a process of national reconciliation. However, in reality, the Tutsi continued to be excluded from places of employment and from education. The question of Rwandan refugees also grew intense. Habyarimana's government agreed to take only a few returning refugees on the pretext that the country was overpopulated. The country was surely overpopulated and still is; "demographic growth was [then] dense, the highest in Africa: 3.8% per year. The number of inhabitants doubled almost every twenty years: 2,400,000 inhabitants in 1962, 7,148,000 in 1991."[79] The near refusal of the refugees' return to their homeland and the expropriation of their property by governors and mayors "contradicted the discourse of ethnic reconciliation expressed from the beginning of the Second Republic."[80]

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[77] André Guichaoua, *From War to Genocide: Criminal Politics in Rwanda 1990-1994,* trans. Don E. Webster (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 49.

[78] Kimonyo, *Rwanda : Un génocide populaire*, 93.

[79] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 35.

[80] Ibid., 33-34.

At the same time, there were other factors that dominated Habyarimana's era and these, arguably, led to the genocide.

First, the last five years of the 1980s were marked by extreme poverty that affected different spheres of Rwanda's societal fabric. This was caused partly by a sharp decline in coffee prices and by the end of structural adjustment, the declining aid to Rwanda from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Second, criminality arose among many unemployed youth, who had no vision of a future. Local militias were created from these youth, the national army developed, and Hutu population "weaponized" against the Tutsi. There were many armed youth groups. Here I highlight four. The *Interahamwe*, an MRND youth group founded in 1991. It was trained by the national army. It had different levels of administration decentralized to the tiniest local administrative entity (local cell). It leaders had to be members of MRND. During the genocide, the Interahamwe were killing champions of Tutsi in collaboration with the national army and the local population. Another group was a youth militia of CDR (*Coalition pour la Défense de la République*). It was led by Martin Bucyana and its main agenda was to mobilize the Hutu to kill the Tutsi and any other Hutu who did not support their killing frenzy. There was another armed group called *Turihose* (we are everywhere), made up of Hutus from Gisenyi prefecture under the leadership of Hassan Ngeze. *Turuhose* was given special training to kill many people and in a short time. Finally, there was *Amahindure* group from Ruhengeri prefecture founded in 1993 and its goal was to increase the number of youth militia to prepare them to kill the Tutsi. It was made up of 300 youths. They killed

many people at Busogo parish and religious convent in Mukingo commune and killed many displaced Tutsis at the Court of Appel in Ruhengeri.[81]

Third, ethnic ideology, thus far constrained, gained public space and sanctioned the near total exclusion of Tutsi and accorded preference to the mainly northern Hutu. Ethnic segregation was manipulated as an alibi for Rwanda's economic crisis.

Fourth, the international community pressured many African countries, Rwanda included, to begin the process of the multiparty system of governance. Rwanda became a simmering pot of competing political parties, ideologies, and loyalties that used ethnicity as an incentive to attract members to their camps.

Fifth, refugees who had lived for years in exile also formed a political party in 1987, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and a rebel army, the Rwandan Patriotic Army, commonly known as *Inkotanyi* (invincible). The *Inkotanyi* invaded the country from Uganda on October 1, 1990. Not surprisingly, tensions rose within the country, and Tutsi living in the country became the scapegoat. Many were incarcerated, tortured, and killed, their houses were burnt and property sequestered.

Sixth, media such as the *Kangura* newspaper sowed the venom of fear and hatred.[82] In 1990, *Kangura* published the racist charter, "The Ten Commandments of *Bahutu*," that was a program of action to prepare to exterminate the Tutsi.[83] Of the forty-two journals existing in 1991,

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[81] See National Commission for the Fight against Genocide, "Amateka y'Itegurwa n'Ishyirwa mu Bikorwa rya Jenocide Yakorewe Abatutsi" [The History of the Planning and the Execution of the Genocide against the Tutsi], April 4, 2019.

[82] *Kangura* meant to wake the Hutu up to fight for their "rights" and to kill Tutsi. It was an influential newspaper leading up to the genocide. It was the first to republish the ten commandments of Bahutu. See African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994), 70-75. In one of *Kangura*'s March article, entitled, "Who Will survive the War of March," Hassan Ngeze wrote a piece that gives many clues as to the extremists' thinking" and the plot to kill President Habyarimana, see African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, 72-75.

[83] The text of *Kangura* is reprinted in Chrétien, *Rwanda: Les Médias du Génocide*, 141-42. I will come back to this text in the third chapter.

eleven were controlled by *Akazu*.[84] These journals prepared the ground for the genocide. Ternon gives an example of the incendiary propaganda that these journals promulgated: “The Tutsi stole Rwanda from their rightful owners: they do not have the right to live in the Great Lakes Region of Africa … and if RPF takes power, the Hutu will become slaves of Tutsi again.”[85]

Seventh, meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, the Habyarimana regime and the RPF entered into negotiations in 1991-93 in an attempt to craft some lasting solutions to the Rwandan crisis. But for various political and military reasons, the dialogues were delayed, and their results were never implemented before the 1994 genocide. Members of *Akazu* and of some political parties did not want to share power and resources. In their voluminous research on the circumstances surrounding Rwanda’s civil war and genocide, Human Rights Watch & *Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l' Homme* remark that “during the negotiations, Hutu extremists undertook a series of measures designed to make them fail. The army defined the enemy from the outside as the RPF and its supporters, and the inside as Tutsi and their allies.”[86] The fear of losing political posts within the government was perceptible. *Akazu*’s confidence in Habyarimana had waned, even though the latter claimed that the Arusha accords were just a scrap of paper, and he had started drawing lists of Hutu whom he accused of high treason. Crimes multiplied. Every day, four or five people were killed in Kigali.[87]

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[84] Chrétien, *Rwanda : Les Médias du Génocide,* 45. The *akazu*, or “little house,” was “a special circle within the larger network of personal connections that worked to support Habyarimana. It was composed mostly of the people of Habyarimana’s home region, with Madame Habyarimana and her relatives playing a major role. … When necessary, this group drew on military officers, like Col. Théoneste Bagosora, Major Leonard Nkundiye, and Captain Pascal Simbikangwa, to ensure their continued hold on power.” See Human Rights Watch, “History,” last modified December 17, 2019, accessed December 26, 2019, https://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno1-3-09.htm

[85] Ternon, “Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d’un Processus Génocidaire,” 42.

[86] Human Rights Watch & Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme, *Aucun Témoin ne Doit Survivre. Le Génocide au Rwanda* (Paris **:** Karthala, 1999), 750.

[87] Ternon, “Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d’un Processus Génocidaire,” 50.

Eighth, the international community demonstrated a critical lack of interest in Rwanda. While the country was almost burning, President Mitterrand and the government of France continued to back President Habyarimana with military and financial support and provided training for the Rwandan army and *Interahamwe* militia.[88] "A "Chimère" operation, led by Colonel Didier Tauzin with about twenty officers and specialists, was launched from February 22nd to March 28th 1992 to form, supervise, and indirectly control the 20,000 men of the *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (Armed Forces of Rwanda -FAR)."[89]

Ninth, in April 1993, a United Nations Special *Rapporteur* visited Rwanda. The subsequent report presented in August confirmed to the International Commission that massacres that had occurred in Bugesera and the killing of Bagogwe of Gisenyi constituted genocide under the terms of the 1948 Convention.[90]

Tenth, given the tensions within Rwanda, the RPF did not respect the Arusha accords of August 4, 1993 as it recruited many young people to its army and at the same time its fighting with the FAR caused many unaccounted deaths and internally displaced people within Rwanda.

Eleventh, in October 1993, another media station was created, *La Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (The Free Radio and Television of the Thousand Hills). While the station accused the Tutsi of plotting to kill Habyarimana, it also expressed a lack of confidence in Habyarimana, calling him weak and complacent toward the Tutsi.[91]

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[88] *Interahamwe* means those who fight together.

[89] Patrick de Saint-Exupéry, *L'inavouable : la France au Rwanda* (Paris : Les Arènes, 2004), 250-51. See also Assemblée Nationale, "L'opération Chimère (22 février-28 mars 1993)," accessed January 28, 2019, https://www.voltairenet.org/article8115.html. The "Chimere" mission took its name from the French military station.

[90] Human Rights Watch, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre : le génocide au Rwanda* (Paris : Karthala, 1999), 115.

[91] Chrétien, *Rwanda : Les médias du génocide,* 267-89.

Twelfth, extremist groups such as *Réseau Zéro* and *Inkuba* (Lightning, Youth movement from MDR) stoked hatred against the Tutsi and sought to gain unconditional support from many Hutu, particularly from political parties that had their own internal conflicts and divisions.[92] In October of the same year, there was "the creation of the planning committee that strategized and executed the genocide: Hutu Power."[93] Its main objective was openly to wipe the Tutsi from the face of the earth. In the same month of October 1993, the assassination of Burundi's President Melchior Ndadaye, a Hutu, left that nation in an explosive situation as many Tutsi and Hutu were killed. The killing of Ndadaye was used by *Akazu* and other extremist radicals to convince the population, as they had done previously, that the Tutsi wanted to dominate the whole region by force.[94] It is remarkable to note that in the slaying of two Hutu Presidents, Ndadaye and Habyarimana, '"a popular rage' assiduously nursed and mobilized by real pro-Hutu extremists, was unleashed with impunity."[95]

Finally, between January and March 1994, "five hundred and eighty-one tons of machetes, each weighing 1000 kilograms [581 cartons] were bought in China and delivered to Rwanda by a businessman close to Habyarimana, Félicien Kabuga—who also financed RTLM and the *Interahamwe*."[96] Rwanda had 146 *communes* (districts), and in each of them 200 to 300 men were ready to eliminate "the interior enemy," namely the Tutsi. It is not unreasonable to surmise that Hutu extremists, including members of *Akazu* who planned to install a totalitarian government

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[92] MDR stands for Mouvement Démocratique Rwanda (Rwanda Democratic Movement). It was a popular political party in both central and southern Rwanda.

[93] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 35-36. See also O. Otonnu, "An Historical Analysis of the Invasion by the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA)," in Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 31-49.

[94] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'un processus génocidaire," 52.

[95] Guichaoua, *From War to Genocide,* 215.

[96] Laure Coret and François-Xavier Verschave, eds. *L'horreur qui nous prend au visage : L'état Français et le génocide au Rwanda* (Paris : Karthala, 2005), 482. RTLM stands for Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines. See also African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994), 78-84.

without Habyarimana, ordered these machetes. The lists of people "to be removed were ready, especially in Kigali where the tracking had been carefully done. On the hills, the drawing of lists was not necessary; everyone knew each other, and the Tutsi had been targeted for a long time."[97]

In the first months of 1994, many observers forecast an imminent bloodshed. Diplomats in Kigali heard evidence of a planned genocide announced by the media to kill Tutsi and their Hutu sympathizers. Carney writes that "By February 1994 large shipments of machetes, machine guns, and artillery were arriving in Rwanda, causing Dallaire to send alarmed cables to New York that were effectively ignored by his U.N. superiors."[98] The international community thus overlooked the threat. The commander of UNAMIR, General Romeo Dallaire informed the UN Secretary General. But, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan together with the UN Security Council decided not to intervene and asked the few remaining UN peacekeepers to restrain from any military intervention.[99] The Tutsi and many moderate Hutu were abandoned as the international superpowers refused to pay attention to any evidence of the imminence of the genocide and declined to fund any serious military intervention to stop it. "On April 4, 1994 [two days before the genocide began] at an official reception, Bagosora declared 'the only possible solution would be the extermination of Tutsi.'"[100] In the night of April 6, 1994, as President Habyarimana's plane was preparing to land in Kigali, it was shot down. The enigmatic attack of this jet sparked the explosion.[101] The genocide against the Tutsi began. Members of the Security Council refused to

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[97] Vénuste Kayimane, *France-Rwanda : les coulisses du génocide* (Paris : Éditions Dagorno, 2002), 129 and 133.

[98] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 195.

[99] UNAMIR stands for the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, established by United Nations Security Council on October 5,1993 to oversee the implementation of the Arusha Accords, signed on 4 August 1993.

[100] Human Rights Watch, *Aucun Témoin ne Doit Survivre : Le Génocide au Rwanda*, 200. This announcement was made at a reception organized to celebrate the National Day of Senegal. Théoneste Bagosora was the chief of staff in Rwanda's defense ministry within the interim government that executed the genocide (April-July 1994). See also African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994), 76-77.

[101] The truth behind who shot down Habyarimana's plane remains unclear and is beyond the scope of this chapter.

acknowledge the killings in Rwanda as genocide so that they do not incur "legal obligations under the Genocide Convention to which they were signatories."[102]

It is not unreasonable to conclude this brief, but detailed historical section by arguing that favoring intensely one group over another has been Rwanda's internal structural injustice. The repercussions of decades of favoritism created a climate for genocide. "The ethnic qualification for political office reinforced the ruling class' sense of superiority and tribal exclusiveness."[103] Human Rights Watch notes:

> The Belgians enabled the officials [the king and his overseers] to demand more from the people, they decreed that Tutsi alone should be officials. They systematically removed Hutu from positions of power and they excluded them from higher education, which was meant mostly as preparation for careers in the administration. Thus, they imposed a Tutsi monopoly of public life not just for the 1920s and 1930s, but for the next generation as well. The only Hutu to escape relegation to the laboring masses were those few permitted to study in religious seminaries.[104]

Unjust exclusion from belonging, from participating, and from contributing to one's nation became an accepted norm and spawned a culture of impunity and corruption. As this chapter has demonstrated, even after political independence, the new Rwandan leadership did not carry out thorough-going change. They did not do better. The problematic history of Rwanda leads one to conclude that perpetrators of atrocities felt they were beyond any moral obligation to protect their vulnerable neighbors. And, in all that occurred, the church was complicit. To its overall role in Rwanda's history, I now turn.

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[102] Read Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (New York: Farrar Strauss and Giroux, 1998), 168-69.

[103] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 4.

[104] Human Rights Watch, "History."

1.8 The Responsibility of Church Leaders in Rwanda's Troubled Past

1.8.1 The Colonial Church

The church started on shaky foundations, struggling to find its place with an uncompromising King Musinga whose authority was sacrosanct and unchallengeable. Musinga was not open to Christianity. Despite his antagonism, the choices made by Christian missionaries have tainted the church in a way that has marked it for years. Furthermore, the inability of church leaders to take structural injustice seriously worsened as the hierarchy "from Classe and Richard Kandt poured a fresh stream of injunctions to respect Tutsi authority."[105] Bishop Classe, with his predilection for Tutsi, "made every effort to suppress pro-Hutu tendencies among the clergy."[106] His preference for the Tutsi-leading clans, the *Abega* and the *Abagayinga*, and his negative perception of Hutus laid the groundwork for the pastoral and structural failure of the church. Rather than break with this history of insistence upon Tutsi privilege, the church continued it. The following words substantiate Classe's establishment of structural injustice: "I take advantage of these circumstances to exhort you [his missionary collaborators], again very urgently, to religious instruction, the catechumenate, the conversion of the *mututsi* youth: chiefs and other young *Batutsi* men, without forgetting to procure and favor also the conversion and the religious instruction of profane young *Batutsi* girls. This point is of absolute necessity..."[107] This quote shows the preference of Tutsi by Bishop Classe. Tutsi seminarians dominated the major seminary, angering Hutu seminarians such as Joseph Gitera Habyarimana, Anastase Makuza, Aloys Munyangaju, Joseph Ndwaniye, and Grégoire Kayibanda, many of whom later entered politics. These men "felt

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[105] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 97. It is possible to argue that the Belgian administrators were "men of Classe" got on board with his agenda. Richard Kandt was the first German resident in Rwanda. He arrived in 1907.

[106] Ibid., 86.

[107] Quoted in André Perraudin, *Un Evêque au Rwanda: Témoignage* (Saint-Maurice, Switzeland: Editions Saint-Augustin, 2003), 192-93. The translation is mine.

Tutsi disdain in a purely Christian setting" because "they were treated as inferior, contemptible, and stupid."[108] Classe's attitude and that of his subordinate priests fueled Hutu resentment towards the Tutsi, and many Hutu seminarians left their studies for the priesthood to train as teachers or medical assistants. The case of Balthazar Bicamumpaka, who was training to become a Josephite (a Rwandan local congregation started by Msgr. Joseph Hirth), is telling. "He became *économe* [bursar] at the Josephine's house in Kansi, but he was treated by the Tutsi Brothers as a roughneck and an inferior. Though an individual Tutsi might invite him to share a meal, if several were present he was not welcome at table… he left the Order to train fully as a teacher."[109]

In the 1920s, Classe entered into an educational contract with the monarchy, thereby phasing out government schools as early as the 1930s, and focusing on educating the elite Tutsi. Ian Linden identifies Classe's prominent role in Rwanda's policies in the following lines:

> The key to the happy marriage between church and administration was Monsignor Classe. He was what the Rwandans would call 'the man of the Belgians.' It was largely his definition of Rwandan politics and social structure, which guided Belgian policy and initiatives in the early years. Or, to state the case less strongly, he gave the church's imprimatur to policies that seemed to all right-thinking colonials self-evident … If the Catholic Church in Rwanda grew so quickly into a State church it was largely because this was the part Classe was determined it should play, a part which few of his contemporaries would have found inappropriate.[110]

Rwanda's early Christian missionaries maintained social and political structures in order to have access to the elite. "If, after 1932, it became a Tutsi Church, in the sense that its life increasingly served the interests of the ruling class, it was because the nobility … needed a new 'tradition' to legitimate their role as custodians of Rwandan culture and owners of its material

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[108] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda,* 210.

[109] Ibid. Bicamumpaka entered Parmehutu politics in the late 1950s as a strong ally of Gregoire Kayibanda who would later suck him together with some other Parmehutu members on charges of conspiring against President Kayibanda. See Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 135 and 185.

[110] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 174.

wealth."[111] The remote ingredient of Rwanda's division finds its roots in the maintenance of Rwanda's unequal social stratification and the fact that "what had once been a fluid ethnic boundary which aspiring Hutu could cross … became under Belgian rule an insurmountable caste barrier defining access to positions of political power."[112]

Catholicism took *la couleur locale* without seeking to confront its unjust structures. Linden writes: "Catholicism, with its hierarchical structures, elite of priests and religious, and emphasis on liturgy, was put on by the Tutsi ruling class in the late 1930s like a bespoke suit on a penniless gentleman."[113] As the subsequent paragraphs argue, one question arises about the understanding of an evangelization, which accepted that some human beings were more human than others—that Tutsis were to be preferred to Hutus.

Missionaries exhibited considerable optimism at the possibilities of a Catholic kingdom at the heart of Africa. They hoped that ecclesial membership would serve to make "Catholic chiefs accountable and just." Yet, Rwanda's initial and subsequent ecclesial leadership did not set up any strategies to address prevalent injustices. Instead, for some missionaries, their pastoral approach was "to each according to his position in society."[114] Others justified the existing inequality in the words of Fr. Pagès: "no social system was perfect but all were subject to the passions which are common to all mortals."[115]

Up to the end of his episcopacy in 1945, Léon Classe fought battles to obtain and maintain power, prestige, and privilege for those holding high ecclesial offices.[116] Classe entered into a

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[111] Ibid., 174-75.
[112] Ibid., 186.
[113] Ibid., 201.
[114] Ibid., 194.
[115] Quoted in Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 191. Fr. Pagès was a missionary of Africa whose book *Un royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique* (Bruxelles: Librairie Falk Fils, 1933) remains a resource for some understanding of what he called "Races of Rwanda, problem of their origins, objectives, and division of labor (*Les races au Rwanda; problème de leurs origines. But and division de l'ouvrage*), 3-93.
[116] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 208.

serious disagreement with Belgian Governor Alfred Marzorati (1926-1929) who had asked him to abandon some of his missions of evangelization. Marzorati asserted that Classe had not fulfilled some requirements, such as the construction of adequate churches and schools in which Rwandans could safely pray and study, and most importantly to leave room, space, and land for Protestant churches. Classe engaged Marzorati in additional dialogue, and he obtained what he wanted. As fruit of the dialogue, the governor's response to Classe gave more space and authority to Classe to expand schools and churches.[117] Classe and his missionaries expanded vigorously and formed indigenous catechists, new churches and schools in order to spread over the whole country in competition with the Protestant confessions.

Despite his initial success in Christianizing Rwanda, it is clear that Classe wanted Rwanda only to be a "missionary play field" reserved to the White Fathers.[118] It was difficult for him to accept other religious congregations. In his book *La Christianisation du Rwanda* (1900-1945), Paul Rutayisire contends, "Classe accepted "*Les Frères de la Charité* and *Les Dames Bernardines* out of pressure from the government. Any other congregation that made a request to Classe to come to Rwanda was asked to wait."[119] Given Classe's political choices, it is rather evident that "by the end of the Second World War, there was far more than a Tutsi-dominated church in Rwanda; there was a State church."[120] By giving political offices exclusively to Tutsi, "the Belgians and their missionary counterparts created a caste among even the poorest Tutsi, who often

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[117] Paul Rutayisire, *La Christianisation du Rwanda (1900-1945) : Méthode missionnaire et politique selon Mgr Léon Classe* (Fribourg : Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1987), 206-235.

[118] Ibid., 241. "*L'objectif de Mgr Classe était de faire du Rwanda un terrain d'évangélisation réservé au Pères Blancs. C'est par attachement à sa Société et par un Esprit de conquête dont l'évangélisation, à l'instar de la colonisation, n'était pas exempte, qu'il a montré une grande détermination pour atteindre cet objectif. Mais, en tenant compte des problèmes auxquels il devait faire face (la pénurie du personnel et les faibles revenus financiers du vicariat), on peut dire qu'il a été victime de ses préoccupations de l'époque, étrangères au travail pastoral proprement dit.*"

[119] Ibid., 241.

[120] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 211.

felt themselves members of a privileged club from which the Hutu were forever excluded."[121] The implications of this marriage of church and state have been costly, to say the least.

1.8.2 The Church in the Immediate Years before and after Independence

The wave of new missionaries (still led by White Fathers) in the mid-1950s brought a strong awareness of the church's teaching on social justice and turned Rwandan churches in a new direction. "The days when Classe could put the church's authority squarely behind the ruling class and enjoy the esteem of one 'above politics' were past.'"[122] In his *Super Omnia Caritas,* called the "charter of my Episcopate," Bishop André Perraudin (from 1955 to 1989) exhorted priests to insist in their homilies and confessions on the grave obligations of social justice.[123] It is important to emphasize that during his episcopal ministry, Bishop Perraudin together with other bishops of the country such as Bishops Aloys Bigirumwami of Nyundo and Joseph Sibomana of Ruhengeri condemned the killings of the innocent and called for mutual love among Rwandans:

> Nobody has the right to destroy the habitation of the neighbor or to plunder his property: those who do it are bound in conscience to repair the injustice committed. No one has the right to chase anyone from the lands that are rightfully theirs, nor can they occupy or distribute them to others ... We also condemn with the utmost energy all those who, without being immediate implementers, would give orders of murder, destruction, or fire. These are the first and the greatest culprits.[124]

This was a much-needed message, given the killings and property confiscation committed after the Hutu Revolution in 1959. Yet, this message did not address the problems of Rwandan refugees, and the crimes committed by the 'so-called' champions of independence. Perraudin writes, "[I]n the name of the Lord, we send a solemn and pathetic appeal to all its inhabitants so that on this day of national joy [Independence Day] they will forgive each other and truly unite in a sincere

[121] Ibid., 228.
[122] Ibid., 261.
[123] Ibid., 238.
[124] Quoted in André Perraudin, *Un Evêque au Rwanda: Témoignage*, 257.

obedience to the laws and the established authorities, in the practice of truth, justice and charity without which no human society can live and prosper."[125] This message for forgiveness and unity is fine, but it ignores justice. It is fair to say that Perraudin does not give enough attention to the importance of memory.

As the next paragraphs will show, Perraudin exhibited shifts in his thinking. Initially, he was in line with the monarchy's agenda and more or less in agreement with the formation of the Tutsi elite. Carney argues that the Perraudin of the early 1950s was a man of "Catholic Action, more concerned with forming strong Catholic elites (e.g. chiefs, teachers, *évolués*) than in demanding any kind of preference for the poor (Hutu or otherwise)"[126] He also instituted and organized recollection days for local clergy to address spiritually the Hutu-Tutsi problem. He encouraged seminarians to form their conscience and have adequate knowledge on the question of justice. Unlike Classe, Perraudin "steered clear of the ethnic issues in the early years of the decade [1950]. ... This would change as the decade progressed" toward independence.[127]

In the late years of the decade and soon after Rwanda's independence in 1962, Perraudin shifted his position and began to frame political questions in terms of the Hutu-Tutsi ethnic dynamic. Contemplating the marginalization of many Hutu, Perraudin was rightly moved by questions of social justice "in distributive terms as 'that virtue which disposes man to render to each his due.'"[128] Together with other Catholic leaders of Burundi, he wanted to follow the tradition of Catholic social teaching, with its roots in *Rerum Novarum*. But the problems came with implementation and application. In Carney's words, "Catholic Hutu and Tutsi elites agreed

[125] Ibid., 271.
[126] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 65. *Évolué* was a pejorative (not sure if was necessarily pejorative, but maybe paternalistic?) name for educated Hutu and Tutsi.
[127] Ibid., 69.
[128] Ibid., 83.

with their bishops that Rwandan society should be unified, charitable, and just, but episcopal pronouncements on these matters had little transformative effect since lay leaders interpreted the church's teachings in whatever way suited their own group's interests."[129]

Another side of Perraudin is his divergence from his episcopal Rwandan colleague, Aloys Bigirumwami. The former focused on justice while the latter understood the problems of Rwanda from a socioeconomic perspective rather than "ethnic" or "racial." Bigirumwami was at the same time sympathetic with Tutsi nationalists, those who did not want to give up the monarchy. This is evidenced by his request to the editors of *Temps Nouveau d'Afrique* "to moderate their critiques of the *Mwami*, chiefs, and sub-chiefs."[130]

Perraudin's perspective centered rather on a sympathetic social analysis of the situation of the Hutu, particularly in his "Letter on Charity." He argued "without qualification that (1) Hutu and Tutsi were racial groups, (2) Rwandan social, economic, and political inequalities fell along a Hutu-Tutsi axis, and (3) Christian charity entailed a duty to oppose this structural sin."[131] Here Perraudin opposes structural sin. However, what I find missing is his recognition of the role played by "European colonialists and Catholic missionaries … in establishing an exclusive Tutsi aristocracy." [132] This is the church's capital sin. It is an undeniable fact that the Hutu had been marginalized for decades, and this had to change. The principal failure of ecclesial office holders by the late 1950s is their inattention to the fact that many Tutsi were as equally poor as Hutu peasants. "Only 6,000 to 10,000 Rwandan Tutsi benefited from the spoils of public office; the other 140,000 Tutsi were no wealthier than their fellow Hutu peasants."[133] As this chapter has

[129] Ibid., 84.
[130] Ibid., 93.
[131] Ibid., 99.
[132] Ibid., 99.
[133] Ibid., 103. Other scholars give different figures. See Jean-Paul Harroy, *Souvenir d'un compagnon de la marche du Rwanda vers la démocratie et l'independence* (Brussels : Hayez, 1984). Harroy noted that only 12,000 of Rwanda's 300,000 Tutsi were directly involved in Rwanda's hierarchical political system (p. 234). Paul Rutayisire

demonstrated, the question of Hutu-Tutsi predated colonialism, yet this chapter's charge against missionaries and their Belgian counterparts is that they helped and intensified Rwandans' attitude toward the problem. This work also acknowledges, as Carney does, that "Perraudin erred grievously in framing social justice questions in exclusively ethnic terms and failing to nuance the complex categories of 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi.'"[134] The problem was more slippery than the supposed binary racial categories. This complexity is best captured by the study of an anonymous Hutu contributor to a 1958 issue of *Temps Nouveau d'Afrique:*

> The majority of high dignitaries respond to certain bodily characteristics that immediately classify them among the Tutsi … yet we know well that the problem is more social than racial. It is not because they have other characteristics that Bahutu and Batutsi are posing a problem: it is because one has in practice … the power and that the others do not have it. If one says "Batutsi-Bahutu," the problem takes a racial cast, and it is too easy then to remark that there are many poor and miserable Tutsi and rich and fat Bahutu who are very successful in their affairs.[135]

This critique is right on point. Rwanda's structural injustice went beyond Hutu-Tutsi "races." It had to do with power inequalities. Another critique against ecclesial office holders soon after Rwanda's independence stems from Perraudin's blaming of Rwandan refugees who sought to return to their country without engaging them to learn their miseries and challenges. His accusation came after the refugees tried to re-enter the country by force. He remarks: "the repeated incursions ... testify to their will to retake power, which they finally made in July 1994 with the complicity of Uganda."[136] While one may not reject Perraudin's claim on the human longing for power, which often may be excessive, the problem implicit in his discourse is the refusal to accept that Rwandan exiles had the right to be part of their country and to participate in its governance.

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gives even a lower figure of 1,000 (in *Cahiers lumière et société : Dialogue, IV : 40th anniversaires des événements de 1959*, no. 16 (1999), 49.

[134] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 117.

[135] "La féodalité n'est pas éternelle," in *Temps Nouveau d'Afrique* (12 October 1958), 3.

[136] André Perraudin, *Un Evêque au Rwanda : Témoignage*, 273.

His error and that of those who share his ideas is that it seemed normal for Tutsi and Hutu exiles who wanted to return to their homeland to remain perpetual refugees, and for Tutsi who remained in Rwanda to be perpetual sacrifices and victims of some Hutu power ideology. Philip Gourevitch put it astutely: "Nobody in Rwanda in the late 1950s had offered an alternative to a tribal construction of politics. The colonial state and the colonial church had made that almost inconceivable."[137] It is puzzling that neither the independence speeches of President Kayibanda nor that of Perraudin sought to reform Rwanda's culture of impunity. Those who killed Tutsi or confiscated their property went unpunished and, to take a cue from Carney, they did not pursue "the necessity of nonviolence to forestall abuses committed in the names of social justice and collective security."[138] To the list, one adds the abuses previously committed in the name of Tutsi superiority, which too cried for justice.

One source of the internal ecclesial and societal problems in the 1950s was the fact that many Tutsi elites, including Tutsi clergy, became increasingly distrustful of Belgian colonialists, but also failed to be self-critical as they "ignored the internal stratification of Rwanda's society in their critiques."[139] While both colonialists and Catholic missionaries saw the existing inequality, they were comfortable with the idea that "social differences and inequality are linked to racial differences in the sense that riches, political, and juridical power were in reality in the hands of the same race."[140] This is an ecclesial and moral failure complacency, of passively "see[ing people] victimized … when we have the means to help them."[141]

Post-independence Rwandan churches could also be blamed for their failure to learn from

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[137] Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*, 61.
[138] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 174.
[139] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 228.
[140] Ibid., 259.
[141] King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here,* 180.

the fact that some educated Hutu who were initially favored by missionaries in the late 1950s turned against them when their political interests were not met. In colonial and post-colonial Rwanda, to quote Carney, the inability to be impartial "cost the church its independence and prophetic voice, leaving it impotent in the face of the growing violence committed by its state partner."[142] It is here that one can speak of the church's complicity.

Additionally, not only did the need for land, labor, and cattle draw the missionaries into Rwanda's existing unequal and structural master-client relationship, their ecclesiology also failed to offer an alternative. The point here is that politically, culturally, and socially, the church "bore the impress of the society around it"[143] with no theological or ecclesiological creativity to rise above Rwanda's structures of sin. "The feudal nuclei that had grown around Tutsi households in the nineteenth century … seeded the young church and no amount of weeding by a vicar apostolic [was able] to remove the overgrowth."[144] This comment suggests that in some cases, religious institutions are not change-agents, but reinforcers-of-custom, they validate existing structures.

By the time Rwanda gained independence, my study contends, the Christian churches had harvested the fruit of inauthenticity from their ecclesial office holders and ordinary Christians. This inauthenticity was a product of unaddressed injustice of a church and society that needed transformation of its social structures. "The personal preferences of missionaries based on class and social attitudes … determined reactions to Rwanda's social problems as much as pastorals and directives."[145] Church leaders were largely unable to offer an alternative and a hopeful future to Rwanda's problematic history.

From the foregoing, this study emphasizes that Bishop Classe's ecclesial and preferential

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[142] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 172.
[143] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 62.
[144] Ibid., 62-63.
[145] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda,* 261.

option for the Tutsi was plain and clear from 1922 to 1945. Perraudin and other missionaries also failed to "name the link between ethnicism and political violence."[146] Missionaries blamed Tutsi victims for their intransigence and refusal to accept the new political leadership. Carney states that Perraudin failed "to explore how Catholic politics could transcend the alternatives offered by democratization and the new modern nation-state."[147] The idea of the "common good" was confused with the rights and interests of the majority to the near exclusion of minorities. The idea of rights seemed to ignore its other side—the duties of both majority and minorities. Bigirumwami's analysis is, therefore, on point: pre-independence and post-independence violence was "a deeper sign of the failure of Christian evangelization itself and the deepest failure lies in those souls killed and scandalized by those who should console and love them."[148]

It could be argued that few lessons seemingly were learned from the pre-independence Rwandan churches. In *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, Ian Linden explains that "whereas missionaries had been instrumental during the colonial period in the consolidation of Tutsi power … after independence the churches played an important part in the consolidation of Hutu power … the church changed its dominant loyalty from Tutsi to Hutu, but it continued to engage overtly in ethnic politics."[149] Instead of seeking to address inequality among ecclesial ministers, "Hutu quickly occupied most of church leadership posts until the 1994 genocide."[150] The new leadership of the church generally failed to voice concern for the marginalized Tutsi who had been "removed from nearly all government and military posts."[151] The silence of the ecclesial leadership at this injustice was complicity and a failure to learn from pre-colonial and colonial past.

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[146] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 173.
[147] Ibid.
[148] A.G.M.Afr., "Bigirumwami to Volker," No. 74070, December 6, 1960.
[149] Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda,* 261.
[150] Ibid. In fact, there was only one Tutsi bishop on the eve of independence, and it took more than thirty years to have another Tutsi appointed bishop.
[151] Ibid.

A closer look at the Second Republic also uncovers the church's complicity. As previously stated, upon consolidation of power President Habyarimana pursued a policy of ethnic détente and reconciliation, blaming Kayibanda for stoking ethnic tensions in the 1973 skirmishes. Habyarimana sold himself as the "father of all Rwandans" until 1990. However, there was no fundamental change in how Tutsi were treated. Ethnic rapprochement and reconciliation remained on paper. Habyarimana imposed "a policy of 'equilibrium' that officially limited Tutsi enrollment in schools and public employment to their proportion of the population."[152] The complicity of the church leadership on this issue is again surprising. Consider that until the Vatican Curia in 1985 forced him to resign his membership in the state's ruling party (MRND), the Archbishop of Kigali, Vincent Nsengiyumva did little to remedy ethnic division or to halt the policy of equilibrium that deprived many Tutsi and Hutu in the south from attaining education. This policy went back to April 3, 1972, when a group of priests met at the minor seminary of Rwesero (Kigali diocese) and sent a letter to the bishops suggesting that the latter should limit Tutsi access to education in seminaries. The priests wrote: "the vocations of the children of the majority Hutu should be systematically *favored* in order to diminish the predominance of the sons, grandsons, and relatives of the minority Tutsi in the Church. This is only simple social justice and distributive justice from which the church must set the example whatever the cost."[153] It is fair to note that Tutsi disproportionately dominated the Catholic priesthood, and there was a need for a "Hutu Affirmative Action" plan not only in the seminaries but in education in general. A simple statistical snap-shot of priests from 1951 to 1963 shows that out of sixty-two ordinations, only fifteen were

[152] Ibid.

[153] « La Lettre de Rwesero du 3 avril 1972, » quoted in Privat Rutazibwa, *Rwanda contre l'ethnisme* (Kigali : Éditions du CRID, 2017), 120-22. Emphasis mine.

Hutu.[154] Carney reports Perraudin's claim that he "realized the extent of Tutsi clerical domination after being named Vicar Apostolic in 1956. Namely, of the 100 priests that Perraudin ordained between 1951 and 1962, 75 were classified as Tutsi."[155] It is a fact that the Hutu faced serious social and political discrimination up to and throughout the 1950s. The question is whether the education quota was the best form of redress of this situation.

Twenty years after the Rwesero letter, in 1992 the Catholic bishops of Rwanda wrote a pastoral letter in which they declared "that the objective of the ethnic balance policy in employment and schools is to correct this ethnic segregation which privileged one group at the expense of the others."[156] While there was a need for a Hutu empowerment plan as early as 1960, it is startling that the ecclesial hierarchy maintained the same "equilibrium policy" thirty years after independence, given the discrimination Tutsi had undergone within the first two republics and mindful of the fact that many other Tutsis lived in exile.

The priests' 1972 request for change in seminary education policy defies the very meaning of religious and priestly vocation. It challenges one's understanding of God's grace active in a person's vocation, and raises the question of whether some might have become priests in order to raise their status and career, and to enrich themselves on both sides of the Hutu-Tutsi divide. In many societies, climbing one rung in a ladder of achievement comes with some benefits. While the following judgment also may apply to the actions of ecclesial leaders in other countries, within Rwandan society with meager resources, Timothy Longman writes that some ecclesiastical leaders had the power to decide who "was hired as teachers, secretaries, night watchmen, gardeners, and custodians . . . In an economy where salaried employment was extremely difficult to obtain, the

[154] André Perraudin, *Un Evêque au Rwanda*, 132-34. On these pages, Perraudin gives the names of priests ordained for each year from 1951 to 1963 and their ethnic identification.

[155] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 66. See also, Perraudin, *Un Évêque au Rwanda,* 19, 34.

[156] Bizimana, *L'Eglise et le Génocide au Rwanda,* 24.

ability to hire and fire was an important source of power."[157] Given that the church operated various institutions, such as schools and hospitals, it is not unreasonable to reproach ecclesial office holders for their failure to use their power to bring an end to injustice.

Corruption within ecclesial structures led some few leaders to seek reform. Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva (then bishop of Kabgayi, and no relation to Vincent) "issued a pastoral letter in January 1991 that accused the Catholic Church of being a 'giant with feet of clay,' unwilling to use its power for good, and called upon the church to reform its own structures."[158] Nsengiyumva, a Hutu, took exception to the complacency of the Catholic hierarchy in the time of violence. In a pastoral letter, he made a frank analysis of the religious and political situation in Rwanda in December 1991. Here are some salient points from that document: (1) Even though the majority of people in Rwanda have over decades converted to Christianity, most people have failed to live Christian values. (2) Rwanda's rituals in church do not reflect people's internal convictions. (3) The relationship of church and state has compromised the former's moral standing in society. (4) Some political parties have been formed on the basis of opportunism. (5) The government is half-hearted in the peace negotiations with the rebel army. (6) Both church and state have been complacent with respect to social sin in the country; ethnic discrimination in schools has been practiced for decades and the plight of the poor has generally been neglected. Finally, the church must take the side of the disadvantaged in society and end its alliance with the state. Nsengiyumva unambiguously criticized the Catholic Church for being passive and complicit in the face of rising violence.[159] With Nsengiyumva's words, one cannot deny the Rwandan church's institutional

[157] Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 173-74.

[158] Thaddée Nsengiyumva, *Twivugurure Tubane mu Mahoro* (Kabgayi: Diocese of Kabgayi, December 1, 1991). See also Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 179.

[159] Thaddée Nsengiyumva, *Convertissons-nous pour vivre ensemble dans la paix* (Kabgayi : Imprimerie Kabgayi, décembre 1991), 5. Same letter as above Kinyarwanda doc.

failure as well as the complicity.

Despite the need for ecclesial reform, as remarkably illustrated by Bishop Nsengiyumva, the ethnic reality on the ground remained unchanged for a number of reasons. Longman remarks that some ecclesial leaders "were sympathetic to the genocide because it could help to bolster their power and preserve their hold on office against this movement for reform."[160] This should not surprise since some leaders may have owed their positions and power, at least partially, to ethnic politics. And, some of them "perceived the threats to their power partially in ethnic terms. With Tutsi and moderate Hutus apparently trying to wrest control of church structures, national and local church leaders were easily convinced of a grand conspiracy to revive the 1959 revolution – which would include reversing their own control of the churches."[161] Fear of the unknown and attachment to power and prestige arguably dissuaded the church leadership from taking risks on behalf of marginalized Tutsi. And, some leaders rather preferred to stay within their comfort zones with the Hutu government in power.

By the early 1990s, church leaders were issuing mixed public statements and taking ambivalent positions that seemed to normalize the killings. Some leaders recognized the need for reform and "respect for civil rights in the country," yet some others "made clear their strong support for Habyarimana and their opposition to the RPF."[162] Few, if any, ecclesial leaders "specifically denounced the ethnic massacres that took place periodically between 1990 and January 1993"[163] which, as mentioned earlier, the United Nations special rapporteur had qualified as genocide. If Rwanda counts no high-ranking bishop threatened or martyred in the 1990s because of a prophetic stance, this substantiates part of this chapter's argument that in many ways, most of

[160] Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 175.
[161] Ibid., 179.
[162] Ibid., 180.
[163] Ibid.

the church leadership was complicit. Bishops Aloys Bigirumwami and Thaddée Nsengiyumva present conspicuous exceptions. The former boldly analyzed the problems of the Rwandan Church; the latter, despite threats to his life, raised a prophetic voice during the chaotic years between 1959 and 1961. The latter strongly criticized the superficiality of Rwandan Christianity and the divisions fostered by leaders. In essence, I agree with Carney who maintains that many "Catholic leaders took a strong rhetorical stand against political and ethnic violence, but they also betrayed a pro-Hutu analytical partisanship that offered uncritical support for the state and tended to blame Rwanda's increasing violence on Tutsi unwilling to accept the [new Hutu government.]"[164]

This brings us to the problem of silence in times of crisis such as those experienced in Rwanda. Certainly, silence may be interpreted in various ways. It can refer to a period of reflection before taking an action, and this may imply some degree of impasse. Silence also can mean some level of complicity or endorsement of a particular ideology. The excerpt below, taken from a study of the Rwandan genocide by Alison des Forges, seems to support the idea of endorsement in the case of the Rwandan church:

> Because they [church leaders] did not speak out [in unison] against the anti-Tutsi violence and the growing propaganda being broadcast throughout the country, but on the contrary displayed their own anti-Tutsi prejudices, church leaders' continued call for support of the regime in a time of war was interpreted by the public as an endorsement of the anti-Tutsi message. With the long history of church alliance with the government and the continuing practice of ethnic discrimination within the churches, many Rwandan Christians came to believe that organizing to defend against potential Tutsi treachery was consistent with well-established church practice. As a result, at the local level, many church employees and lay leaders became members of the militias that were organizing to defend the country from the supposed Tutsi menace.[165]

[164] Carney, *Rwanda Before the Genocide*, 7.

[165] See Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), 87; see also Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 180.

For Des Forges, the inability of ecclesial leadership to take a prophetic stance functioned as implicit motivation for the killers. In the absence of a bold and well-coordinated message from their moral leaders, the *génocidaires* assumed license to do what they did.

In an effort to examine Rwanda's problems and their own leadership, in 1993 the Rwandan Catholic Bishops wrote a pastoral letter in which they undertook an examination of consciousness.

> The present difficulties are the consequence of past negligence and carelessness, greed and selfishness ... the lack of love in our relationships… All of us have become prisoners of our personal interests even as far as blindness of the heart. Thus, we tear each other apart and what should bring us together for the same action divides us.[166]

The message of the bishops diagnoses the injustices that have deeply wounded Rwanda. Their letter goes further and calls for equal treatment of all Rwandans: "In three constitutive ethnic groups, *we are equal in law*. This must be reflected in all social life, especially in education, both in the national and private sector, in the Armed Forces and in the management of the country."[167] The bishops later encouraged Christians not to listen to divisive politicians whose sole interest is to stigmatize ethnicity in order to obtain they want.[168]

At the same time, the bishops' message lacked some realism. As this chapter has discussed, all three ethnic identities, historically, never were equal. Their use of the phrase "we are equal in law" is difficult to accept, when in reality systemic segregation in education, military, and job opportunities were institutionalized. Additionally, during the genocide the bishops neither unanimously condemned the killing of innocent lives, nor acknowledged that what was happening was genocide. Longman writes, "a month into the violence, after most of the major massacres were

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[166] Lettre Pastorale des évêques Catholiques du Rwanda pour le Carême 1993, « La paix et La réconciliation des Rwandais. » Éditée par le secrétariat de la Conférence Épiscopale du Rwanda (March 1993), 7.

[167] Ibid., no. 9 and see also Message des Evêques Catholiques du Rwanda pour le Carême 1992, no. 16-17. The italics mark my emphasis.

[168] Lettre Pastorale des Évêques Catholiques du Rwanda pour le Carême 1993, no. 22.

already finished, the Catholic bishops and leaders of Protestant churches did issue a joint call for the restoration of peace and security, but they treated the violence as a mere product of the war, accusing each side equally, without ever using the term genocide or alluding to the systematic slaughter of Tutsi civilians."[169] Who knows what a persuasive letter, indicating potential punitive measures such as excommunication, sent to and read at all parishes nationwide for an entire month could have done?[170] Guichaoua remarks that the bishops tried to put out a statement drafted by Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva, then President of the Episcopal conference. The statement was intended to have been read on the radio on April 10, 1994, but the Interim Government known as *Abatabazi* (liberators or saviors) that took power soon after the death of Habyarimana refused to publicize it.[171] Granted their privileged status, the bishops could have used other media and means. Nowhere does one find the bishops taking on the *Abatabazi* exhorting them to formulate a policy to initiate peace in the country, to halt the Tutsi genocide.[172]

Is there any substantial argument for one to blame the church for the massive participation in the 1994 genocide? To be fair, high-ranking ecclesial office holders did not send any one to kill. Nevertheless, there are some priests who are being charged for participation in the killings. The most well-known cases are those of Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, in charge of the Holy Family Parish in the archdiocese of Kigali, and Athanase Seromba, in charge of Nyange parish in Nyundo diocese.[173] These two priests were put on trial by the French Supreme Court and the International Criminal Court at the Hague (Netherlands), respectively.

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[169] Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 181. See also Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, 25-248 and *African Rights, Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (1995), 862-930.

[170] It is good to note the Chilean case where the threat of excommunication contributed to some accountability for the government and the military (see William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).

[171] Guichaoua, *From War to Genocide,* 221.

[172] Ibid., 197.

[173] For details on Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, see African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, 917-18 and Trial International, "Wenceslas Munyeshyaka," last updated August 21, 2018,

The massive participation in the 1994 genocide was not only the result of political propaganda. It was also linked to social and economic factors that produced paranoia within Rwanda's overwhelmingly poor population. This led to a gradual rise in violence and "insidiously undermined family and neighborhood ties."[174] What role did the church play then in this? The church's share of blame for the genocide against the Tutsi goes back as early as the 1920s and particularly in 1959 when it failed to challenge the hardening social relations between Hutu and Tutsi. The church seemed unable to strengthen the traditional institutions between lineages and clans; once these traditions were emptied of their meaning, a climate of hate and greed developed between the two communities.

The church, therefore, may be blamed for the inadequacy of its teaching on obedience and respect for authorities. That violent killings occurred at different period of history indicates that obedience meant an uncritical following of orders given by those in power. Longman argues that "missionaries emphasized obedience and respect for authorities …. Even after independence, Christianity in Rwanda remained predominantly a legalistic religion that emphasized authority and obedience and continued to practice political maneuvering and discrimination."[175] Uncritical obedience and respect for power structures abdicated love of neighbor and love of other human beings. Adherence to orders of civil authorities took precedence over the unassailable dignity of each person created in the image of God. Legalism took priority over Christianity as primarily a religion of an inseparable relationship between the love of God and the love of neighbor.

Having said this, still I argue that factors more complex than a peasant's obedience to state

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https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/wenceslas-munyeshyaka/ For Athanase Seromba, see Trial International, "Athanase Seromba," last modified June 13, 2016, https://trialinternational.org/latest-post/athanase-seromba/ both articles were accessed on November 13, 2018.

[174] Kimonyo, *Rwanda : Un génocide populaire,* 474.

[175] Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," 182.

authority explain the participation of the masses in the genocide. Rather, the failure of ecclesial and societal institutions to reclaim and assert moral authority to fight against the feeling of anomie, the collapse of social norms, the absence of ethical standards among individuals or groups—these factors coalesced to become a source of predatory violence.[176] Here is where I find the church's share of complicity, and it is this complicity with which this dissertation takes issue. Commenting on Christian mission in Rwanda, in its extensive research, Africa Rights put it astutely, "[t]he genocide in Rwanda has dramatically shown up the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the hierarchies of all the major churches. Through sins of omission and sins of commission, the church has forfeited the trust that millions of Rwandese had placed in it."[177] While there were some courageous actions and virtues carried out by some priests and nuns to rescue the lives of the Tutsi, "these virtues are strikingly absent in the churches as institutions."[178]

This chapter has demonstrated the complexity and problematic history of Rwanda. So one cannot fail to be surprised by Perraudin's obstinacy in some of his later writings. Perraudin died still convinced that the 1994 genocide was solely the result of the RPF excessive longing for power: "This fierce determination to regain power is the key to all the events that have bloodied Rwanda, including that of President Habyarimana, on April 6, 1994 ... the massacre of Tutsi from the inside was secondary; in the eyes of the RPF, the main thing was the conquest of power, even if the price to pay for it was to be the murder of the thousands of Tutsi living in the country."[179] Not only does Perraudin ignore the long yet unheeded call of Rwandan refugees to return to their homeland, but he also seems to get some facts wrong. Here is a clear example. On January 11, 1994 in a coded cable to the United Nations, Romeo Dallaire, the U.N. force commander in

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[176] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994 : Analyse d'Un Processus Génocidaire," 57.
[177] African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, 928.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Perraudin, *Un Évêque au Rwanda*, 277-78.

Rwanda, warned the U.N. headquarters that the government of Rwanda was preparing to slaughter the Tutsi. Dallaire "urgently requested protection for an informant who outlined to him Hutu plans being made to exterminate Tutsi; to provoke and kill Belgian troops so as to guarantee Belgium's withdrawal from Rwanda; and the location of *interahamwe*[180] arms caches. Everything Dallaire's informant told him came true three months later."[181] Gerard Prunier has put it strongly, "the symbolic impact of the UN withdrawal was … disastrous. The message to the killers was that the international community did not care and that they could go on with their deadly business without fear of intervention or even disapproval."[182]

André Perraudin's denial of the planning to exterminate the Tutsi goes too far because it ignores some other facts such as the extremist *Akazu* group that surrounded President Habyarimana and its difficulty in envisioning the possibility of power sharing. Additionally, Perraudin's claim is also contradicted by Catherine and David Newbury who write: "the genocide in Rwanda was not spontaneous; it resulted from an organized program of violence that was planned, calculated, orchestrated, and encouraged by political authorities. And the fears that it drew on — for fears

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[180] *Interahamwe* were a youth militia trained to kill during the genocide. *Interahamwe* literally means those who fight together.

[181] Romeo Dallaire, "The Warning That Was Ignored." https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning and https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning/cable.html accessed June 21, 2018.

[182] Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis,* 275-76. In the words of Paul Kagame, "all these powerful nations regarded 1 million lives as valueless, as another statistic and could be dispensed with." Paul Kagame, cited in Emily Wax and Nancy Trejos, "Ten Years Later: Rwanda Mourns," in *Washington Post* (April 8, 2004), A1, 22. I am aware that Guichaoua makes a well-documented argument that the genocide was not in fact "pre-planned." It was one contingency option among others, and it was especially propagated by a clique of Hutu power activists under the leadership of Augustin Bizimungu and Théoneste Bagasora. These activists undermined and sidelined the civilian leadership and moderate military leaders who opposed the genocide, such as Agathe Uwilingiyimana, Faustin Twagiramungu, and Gratien Kabirigi. In my view, there were radical voices who envisioned and prepared the genocide long before it happened; they ultimately sidelined their opponents and carried the day in April 1994. This goes further to affirm Frank Chalk's and Kurt Jonassohn's remark that "Genocides are always performed by a state or other authority. In the 20th century, the perpetrator is almost the state because all authority and power are highly centralized and the modern means of communication are so efficient that such centralization can be effectively composed." See Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, "Introduction," in *The History and Sociology of Genocide: Analyses and Case Studies,* edited by Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1990), 20.

there were — were much more complex than 'ethnic fears' alone."[183] Nor does Perraudin acknowledge the destructive and incendiary words of Léon Mugesera at Kabaya, who in 1992 called upon the Hutus to prepare to kill Tutsis. Mugesera's speech is set in the context of reaffirming Hutu supremacy and right to own Rwanda.

> Listen to this, we urge that we make a list of everyone [Tutsi]. If it is not done, we'll take care of killing this bunch of bastards ourselves. (...) You know very well that there are accomplices in this country. They send their children to the ranks of the RPF (...) What are you waiting for to decimate these families and the people who recruit them (...) the fatal mistake we made in 1959 is that we let the Tutsi go out of the country. Their home is in Ethiopia; we will look for a shortcut, namely the Nyabarongo River.[184]

No credible authority can remain neutral or silent after hearing Mugesera's words, which are not in concert with ideas advanced by Perraudin.

The historical, social, cultural/ethnic, and religious complexity of the Rwandan situation leaves us with questions: What is the political dimension of faith? Doesn't the church have the mission to defend the truth, especially when truth is a rare commodity? Shouldn't church leaders have been champions of human rights in partnership with lawyers to defend the rights of the abused and the disappeared, regardless of their contested ethnic status? The measuring rod must be the Gospel, the good news of salvation, especially to the marginalized, the oppressed, and the fight against anything that is an obstacle to God's reign. Elie Wiesel is right: "We must take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the

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[183] Catherine Newbury and David Newbury, "A Catholic Mass in Kigali: Contested Views of the Genocide and Ethnicity in Rwanda," in *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 2/3 (1999): 292-328 at 318.

[184] Jean Damascène Bizimana, *L'Église et le Génocide au Rwanda : Les Pères Blancs et le Négationnisme* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001), 42. See also African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994), 76-77. Froduald Karamira, man claimed to be directly responsible for the genocide, makes the same speech as Mugesera in African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994), 85. Nyabarongo River is the largest river in Rwanda. For further details, see https://faculty.polisci.wisc.edu/sstraus/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/22-Nov-1992-Rwanda.pdf accessed June 21, 2018. Léon Mugesera was a member of the MRND, dominated by Hutu, and he was the party's vice-chairman for Gisenyi prefecture. To understand more his inflammatory speech, see https://rwanda94.pagesperso-orange.fr/sitepers/dosrwand/kabaya.html, accessed August 24, 2019.

tormented. Sometimes we must interfere. When human lives are endangered, when human dignity is in jeopardy, national borders and sensitivities become irrelevant …"[185]

Given the imposing spiritual, cultural, social, and financial influence of the Rwandan church, its share of the blame for the genocide against the Tutsi lies in its inability to use universal, regional, and local influence as a force for good to challenge and enlighten the broader society. As this chapter has argued, from pre-colonial to colonial to independent Rwanda, the struggle over who gets what, when, and how has shaped the politics of Rwanda. It has excluded a portion of Rwanda's population as undeserving a share in governance of their institutions both in secular and ecclesial domains. This injustice was often left un-admitted. This is substantiated by Naomi Chazan's general assessment of African politics that can be applied to the Rwandan case. Chazan comments: "politics, the competition for access and control over resources, takes place well beyond the narrow public domain in African countries. Power – the capacity to control resources – and authority – the right to do so – may legitimately be vested in local social structures as well."[186] In the case of Rwanda, these social structures include institutions like churches. The root causes of Rwanda's history of suffering were intensified by the failures of institutions respectively to address greed, allocation of resources, and manipulation of unreconciled collective identities. The latter were reactivated and abused for political and ecclesiastical advantage. Unreconciled identities have led to unreconciled memories from the civil war and post-genocide Rwanda. To these memories, the next chapter turns.

[185] Elie Wiesel, "Nobel Prize Speech: Remember," in Oslo December 10, 1986, http://eliewieselfoundation.org/elie-wiesel/nobelprizespeech accessed June 21, 2018.

[186] Naomi Chazan, "Patterns of State-Society Incorporation and Disengagement in Africa," in Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, eds. *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988): 121-148 at 123.

2.0 Chapter 2: Reconciling Memories from a Place of Wounds

2.0 Abstract

If you really knew me and knew yourself, you wouldn't have killed me *(Iyo umenya nawe ukimenya ntuba waranyishe). These Rwandan words are found at the Ntarama Catholic Church where many people were killed inside the church building. They speak for the reality of post-genocide Rwanda. The mass murder of millions was a denial of our shared humanity and a confirmation of the fact that the misrecognition of the other is ipso facto misrecognition of self. Any discourse on God in post-genocide Rwanda must start from the wounds of denial of self and of the other, validating the inextricable link between theological discourse and people's context. Following the previous chapter on the problematic history of Rwanda and the place of the church in it, the present chapter sets out to discuss the Rwandan complex and entangled memories in need of reconciliation. It explores Rwanda's contemporary challenges and finally assesses the vocation of theologians from and in places of wounds.*

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the problematic history of Rwanda and the role of some church leaders in that history. It sought to explain the short and long term provocations that led to the genocide against the Tutsi. The present chapter seeks to analyze the lasting impacts of the genocide and most importantly the central role of theological discourse in contemporary Rwanda.

The term "genocide," itself of modern coinage, invokes the intentional effort to destroy a national or racial or ethnic or religious group, to intentionally impede their natural right to exist. Raphael Lemkin coined the word genocide in 1943/4 from the Greek word *genos* (tribe or race) and the Latin -*cide* (killing). The objectives of a genocide are the "disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups."[1] The definition of "genocide" that this dissertation uses also follows Frank Chalk's and Kurt Jonassohn's analysis and case studies in *The History and Sociology of Genocide.* "Genocide is a form of *one-sided* mass killing in which a state

[1]Raphaël Lemkin coined the term "genocide" in *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), 79.

or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrator."[2] This study deals with the genocide that took place from April to July 1994 in Rwanda against the Tutsi, who were killed for no other reason that being Tutsi. Those killed were innocent victims who had no plans to exterminate their executioners; even Tutsi babies and the mentally challenged people were not spared. The above definition of genocide excludes "casualties of war, whether military or civilian;"[3] both the aftermath of the genocide and the killings in the months before April and after July 1994 do not meet the criteria of this definition. In considering the genocide, I therefore exclude cases of "mass murder killing, massacres, riots, and so forth that had a lesser aim, no matter how objectionable such cases are."[4] This does not mean that those who died in these atrocities do not deserve honor, respect, and memory, but in this study's definition of genocide the reader is made aware that I am not dealing with casualties of war. I am looking at the killing of an entire group of human beings on the basis of who they are, a group without military strategy to defend itself. Additionally, this definition excludes victims of aerial bombing because "in this age of total war belligerent states make all enemy-occupied territory part of the theater of operations regardless of the presence of civilians. Civilians are regarded as combatants so long as their governments control the cities in which they reside."[5] Consequently, in defining the use of the word genocide, I am also identifying the boundaries of this study.

The genocide in Rwanda occurred over the course of about three months, beginning on the evening of April 6, 1994, after President Habyarimana's jet was shot down, and lasting until July 4 of the same year. During these months close to one million Tutsi and moderate Hutus were killed.

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[2] Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, *The History and Sociology of Analyses and Case Studies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 23. Italics mark my emphasis.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 24.

Millions of Hutu refugees flooded into the Democratic Republic of Congo, and hundreds of thousands died there. Every Rwandan was wounded, regardless of "ethnic" category, even if the wounds varied only by degree.[6] This chapter will discuss how the genocide has left Rwanda with enduring unreconciled memories.

After the genocide, the country was in ruins: dead bodies were everywhere, leaving innumerable widows and orphans. Prisons were filled with alleged genocide perpetrators. More than 120,000 people were arrested on charges of genocide. They were put in prisons that had been built to hold only 45,000 inmates.[7] Needless to say, "the genocide and the war in Rwanda have left in their wake a fractured and severely polarized society, one in which different, contested histories, complicate what was already a complex political landscape."[8]

What can the reader then expect from this chapter? This chapter focuses on the role theology has in responding to Rwanda's unreconciled and multi-layered memories. To do so, this study *first* delineates the meaning of theological discourse and its essential link to the historical, religious, cultural, and social (i.e., political, economic, technological) context of God's people. *Second*, it explores what this writer understands by "unreconciled memories" within the post-genocide Rwandan milieu. *Third*, the study surveys the lasting impact of the genocide. *Fourth*, the chapter offers a theological analysis of Rwanda's "dry bones." *Finally*, this chapter concludes with the place and vocation of theologians in and from places of wounds.

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[6] On the situation of Rwanda during and after the genocide, see "Rwanda: A Hilly Dilemma," in *The Economist* (March 12, 2016), 47. And André Guichaoua's most recent book, *From War to Genocide: Criminal Politics in Rwanda, 1990-1994* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015).

[7] Paul Christoph Bornhamm, *Rwanda's Gacaca Courts: Between Retribution and Reparation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 163.

[8] Catherine Newbury and David Newbury, "A Catholic Mass in Kigali: Contested Views of the Genocide and Ethnicity in Rwanda," in *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 2/3 (1999): 292-328 at 293.

2.2 Theological Discourse and Its Indispensable Link to People's Context

Theology literally means a word about God: "It is the way people think, express, and discuss the greater reality that humans encounter in faith. Like other '-ology' terms (biology, psychology, etc.) it can mean the critical exploration of an object of study and the cumulative history of that exploration over time. Thus, theology is the study of God, of people's experience of the divine, and the history of that study."[9] This study includes the lived reality of God's people. And in the twenty-first century that is so marked by violent conflicts, refugees, racism, terrorism, climate change, and unequal distribution of resources, theology must start from the places of wounds, to speak to people's experiences. In the words of Tomáš Halík, "if we ignore the wounds of Christ, we have no reason to say, 'my Lord and my God.'"[10]

Within the discourse on God, one is confronted with mystery before which the human person stands and often falls into silence. Mystery here refers to "something" greater than ourselves, something "sacred," to which the human person is oriented. The human person is the inconceivable subject who is open upwards to the Mystery of God, i.e. to one who is not confined to human reality and thought, because God is always greater than both.[11] God remains a mystery because God is inexhaustible, that is, there is always more to discover about God. When one thinks one has discovered who or what God is, one realizes that it is only a beginning. The silence before God is not therefore an expression of incomprehension; rather, it is a sign of reverence. This silence is not to be understood as a red light inviting us to stop; instead, it is like a "continuous blinking yellow traffic light" where one is invited to proceed with caution, reverence, and awe.[12] In the

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[9] Michael Lee, *An Introduction to Liberation Theology* (North Bethesda, MD: Now You Know Media, 2016), 2.

[10] Tomáš Halík, "The Afternoon of Christianity," in Lecture at Boston College (February 4, 2020).

[11] Karl Rahner, "Man as a Transcendent Being," in *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity,* trans. William V. Dych (New York: The Seabury Press, 1978), 33-35.

[12] Notice here "blinking yellow traffic light," not just "yellow traffic light." When there is a blinking yellow light, a driver prepares to stop, but he or she can also proceed with caution.

presence of the ineffable God, we realize we are not God, yet theology is moved to say something about that reality which is beyond us. Put differently, God is, by analogy, like someone or something before whom (which) one has no words and is invited to keep silent; yet one is still compelled to say something. For instance, many would agree that it is sometimes difficult to put into words the love of a mother or a father, yet one is still moved to say something about this love. One can psychologically and analogically say the same thing about God.[13] Theologically and anthropologically, this is because there are no limits to God's love, and human beings must not put any bounds to theirs either. The word "God" is a symbol of "an eternal outpouring of self, a continual giving which is accepted and returned in continual giving, and the Spirit, which unites the Lover and the Beloved, is agape… God [is] the ultimate mystery least wrong approached as the relationship of perfect self-gift."[14] Human beings are moved to seek to know more about this God.

Theology is a discipline that seeks to understand the revealed truth of what created reality is in relation to its Creator. For Thomas Aquinas, theology is a sacred discipline "accepted by faith on the authority of God who reveals himself."[15] It is a discipline of a different order in the sense that it is not built primarily on scientifically-provable evidence, but it is based on the fact that the propositions of faith are held to be conveying the truth of who God is because Godself primarily reveals them. The point is that God comes to us before we go to God. We do not invent God; rather we come to some knowledge of who God is because God has come to us. This was the discovery of Augustine of Hippo. He realized that God was transcendent, yet immanent. God was above

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[13] Michael Himes, *Doing the Truth in Love: Conversations about God, Relationships, and Service* (Mahwah, NY: Paulist Press, 1995), 11.

[14] Ibid., 17.

[15] Rudi Te Verde, *Aquinas on God: The 'Divine Science' of the Summa Theologiae* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006), 24.

everything Augustine could conceive, yet with and within him all along. It took a journey for Augustine to discover the God-within and once Augustine did, he became restless in search of who God is until he rested in God. Augustine writes: '"You are great, Lord, and highly to be praised (Ps. 47:2): great is your power and your wisdom is immeasurable' (Ps. 146:5). Man, a little piece of your creation, desires to praise you … You stir man to take pleasure in praising you, because you have made us for yourself, and our heart is restless until it rests in you."[16] Here Augustine acknowledges God's transcendence, speaking of God's greatness and immeasurableness. In this, Augustine acknowledges that we are not God. We are only a piece of God's creation. Augustine acknowledges that the desire we have for God originates from God: "you stir man to take pleasure in praising you." This guards against any self-righteousness in case one thinks that one's idea of God is a personal invention. The point is that that idea itself comes from God, thus one can speak of the discourse on God (theology) founded on faith that responds to God's self-revelation.

There is a theological and an anthropological perspective that comes from this understanding of what theology is. The human person finds joy in praising God and finds only restlessness without God. Not only does God love the human person, but there is also a dynamic element in us in the sense that we are subjects, not objects or property, and we are moved to seek God. At the heart of theological discourse is that we are God's lovers because God has come to us first.

A crucial aspect of this dissertation is to show how humanity failed to love in Rwanda, even though God continues to love and invite us to divine love and to neighbor love. God "is not only our origin and our owner, He is also our end, our purpose, our destiny, our identity, our

[16] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Book 1, no. 1.1.

meaning, our peace, our joy, our home."[17] There is therefore an *exitus et reditus* movement, coming from and going back to God. "The story of Augustine's life is the story of a homeless person's journey to his true home. And when he arrives, he finds both his own identity and God's. The two always go together."[18] God calls us and reaches out to us constantly and humanity's search for God is a function of God's call for humanity, not vice versa.[19] This is expressed in a hymn that says:

I sought the Lord, and afterward I knew
he moved my soul to seek him, seeking me.
It was not I that found, O Savior true;
no; I was found of thee.[20]

Theology is a restless response to God who first rests in us. This response, rooted in faith, helps us understand something about the world, about human life with its orientation toward God, about God who is absolute transcendence, yet immanent reality, and about ourselves. For Aquinas, while theological discourse includes human reasoning, it transcends it, because "it accepts its principles – the articles of faith – immediately from God through revelation."[21] This does not dissuade us from recognizing the importance of reason. The use of philosophical reasoning "is needed due to the imperfection of the human intellect, which is more easily led (*manuducitur*) by what is known through natural reason to that which is above reason."[22] However, theology is not limited to factual and rationally tangible aspects of life. Rather, it includes the whole of reality seen in the light of the revelation of God. The whole of God's created order has something to say about God. Indeed, the human person can come to the knowledge of God from the created order.

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[17] Peter Kreeft, *I burned for Your Peace: Augustine's Confessions Unpacked* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2016), 21-23.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] "I sought the Lord, and afterward I knew," accessed November 20, 2018, https://hymnary.org/text/i_sought_the_lord_and_afterward_i_knew
[21] Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* I, q.1., a.5, ad 2.
[22] Ibid.

In his analysis of Aquinas' idea of God, Rudi Te Verde remarks: "[T]he world depends for its being on a First Cause [and] the perfect goodness of the human being consists in the union with [God]."[23] There is nothing about who we are that is outside our relationship with God. One can then hardly do theology if it has no substantial bearing on people, i.e., if one does not take into account their context and relationship with God.

Theology is not done in a vacuum. It is contextual. This is confirmed by Johann Baptist Metz who contends that upon "looking" at Auschwitz,[24] it is "clear that an adequate separation between systematic theology and historical theology, between truth and history, is not possible."[25] In other words, theology is rooted in history and in the political and economic realities of our world, which are often marked with joy, but also with the suffering of God's people. There is a universal import from contextual theologies. They have something to teach the rest of humanity. We begin to conceptualize the universal from the particular. Robert Goizueta thus remarks, "Theologies that stress social location do reach toward the universal, but always in and through particular expressions in relation to other particular expressions."[26] Explaining the relevance of contextual ecclesiology, Joseph A. Komonchak similarly notes, "a recognition that an ecclesiology remains merely formal and abstract as long as it remains at the level of the merely theological and the universal, ignoring the human subjects and local communities in and out of which the Church exists and realizes itself in mission."[27] Rethinking theology within the context of Rwanda has some universal significance, but theology in Rwanda's context will be "wanting" if it does not take

[23] Te Verde, *Aquinas on God*, 28.

[24] In this dissertation, Auschwitz is a symbol used to name places of atrocities and death.

[25] Johann Baptist Metz, "Facing the Jews: Christian Theology and Auschwitz," in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza and David Tracy, eds., *The Holocaust as Interruption* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1984), 28.

[26] Robert Goizueta, *Caminemos Con Jesús: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), 11; 97; 151-62.

[27] Joseph A. Komonchak, "Conception of Communion, Past and Present," in *Cristianesimo nella storia* 16 (1995), 337-78.

seriously our historical wounds and memories and seek to reconcile them. In the context of Rwandan wounds, which this dissertation shall soon explore, it suffices to say with Metz that "there is no truth for me which I could defend with my back turned toward Auschwitz … I no longer can engage in theology with my back turned to the invisible, or forcefully made-invisible, sufferings in the world … the speechless sufferings of the poor and oppressed in the world."[28] In other words, in Rwanda, I cannot do theology with my back turned to Nyamata.[29] For those of us who are theologians in and from places of wounds, we have no choice but to do theology in history. Remembering genocide is never mere "factual" re-presentation of the pastness of the past. Hannah Arendt gives a fitting analogy: to "describe the concentration camps *sine ira* [without outrage], is not to be 'objective' but to condone them."[30] But whence our *ira*, our outrage?

Doing theology in history is to experience the reality of the Incarnation as an exclusive offer of God's self-giving love, that is the experience of God who comes to us as we are, even in the midst of genocide memories. Because of this, theological reflections must also begin with who we are—people grounded in history. Christ himself chose to become one of us in order to save humanity. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, became one of us in order to reveal to humanity what it ought to be, God's children (Jn 1:12), and to save us from the dominion of sin. Jesus Christ revealed God who is the answer to human longings. In Christ, we have come to understand, that notwithstanding all human limitations, the least wrong definition of God is that God is love. Christian theology has no alternative but to do the same in every context, every time, every place, and every culture: to study and deepen our understanding of Christ who has fully embraced human contexts. To do so, "the theologian takes part not just in a contemporary conversation, but a

[28] Metz, "Facing the Jews: Christian Theology and Auschwitz," 28.

[29] The reader recalls that the expression "I cannot do theology with my back turned to Nyamata" is part of this dissertation title.

[30] Hannah Arendt, "A Reply," in *The Review of Politics* 15 (January 1953), 79.

conversation with figures from the past."[31] This conversation exercise demonstrates that the theologian does not stand alone. He or she stands in a tradition out of which he or she seeks to develop a certain degree of creative fidelity. Undeniably, human beings exist in history, which means that the flow of past, present, and future. We cannot isolate our present as saying all that needs to be said about humanity. This dissertation later enters into conversation with others, especially Thomas Aquinas, Karl Rahner, Johann Baptist Metz, and Emmanuel Katongole.

While the object of the study of theology is God, theology is inescapably about human experience, language, ideas, and action. These serve as *media* through which we attempt to engage in a relationship with God. There is, therefore, an intellectual and experiential horizon which is constitutive of theology as a human enterprise. In the context of Rwanda, in the aftermath of the genocide, as we shall discuss later, both are filled with unreconciled wounds and memories.

Additionally, theology has an inescapable relational dimension. Modern theology is done with "Bible in one hand and newspaper in the other."[32] The point is that in doing theology, one has to be immersed in the lives of God's people and see how Jesus' message of the reign of God can give orientation to their lives. Any theological endeavor involves a mutual and critical "correlation between tradition and the contemporary situation,"[33] because Christian faith has a bearing on the historical, political, economic, and cultural lives of a society. Similarly, the Second Vatican Council's *Gaudium et Spes* invites us to know and give orientation to our contemporary challenges:

> In every age, the church carries the responsibility of reading the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel, if it is to carry out its task. In language intelligible to every generation, it should be able to answer the ever-recurring questions which people ask about the meaning of this present life and of the life to come, and how

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[31] Lee, *An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 3.

[32] "Barth in Retirement," in *Time,* Friday, May 31, 1963, accessed June 18, 2018, http://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,896838,00.html

[33] Lee, *An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, 3.

> one is related to the other. We must be aware of and understand the aspirations, the yearnings, and the often-dramatic features of the world in which we live.[34]

Reading the signs of the times is a demanding task. It requires one *not* to take a people's history lightly, as it is marked by personal, social, economic, and political injustice and sin. It also means theology cannot be content to offer answers to questions that people are no longer asking. Instead, one has to know the questions of God's people, interpret the signs of God's presence in our time, acknowledge that some questions may not have immediate or simple answers, and some questions must remain unanswered or are answered in silence.

The discourse on God also has the task to address the root causes of the wounds of God's people in order to reflect on their experiences and praxis. Theology's task is to uphold that "every human life is a reflection of divinity, and every act of injustice mars and defaces the image of God in [the human person]."[35] If theology does not foster the indissoluble link between the love of God and the love of neighbor, perhaps, we may need to give theology a different name.

Doing theology is an undertaking that requires theologians to be attentive listeners. The faculty of listening comes from human openness toward the absolute being which in turn affirms their existence. In his *Hearer of the Word,* Karl Rahner argues that we stand before God listening and awaiting "of a possible revelation, there always occurs something like a revelation, namely, the speaking or the silence of God. And we always and naturally hear the word or the silence of the free absolute God."[36] The opening of ears and hearts allows humanity to perceive the workings of God, to lament when things are not as they should, and to work towards a better world. This is

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[34] *Gaudium et Spes,* no. 4. http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html accessed July 4, 2018.

[35] Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 99.

[36] Karl Rahner, *Hearer of the Word: Laying the Foundation for a Philosophy of Religion,* trans. Joseph Donceel (New York: Continuum, 1994), 72.

why indifference is nearly impossible for those who are attuned to the revelation of the living God. Indifference to the sufferings of God's people implies an indifference to God. Proclamation of God's transcendence is preceded by the application of senses, and active listening is a central part of it. The Second Vatican Council's "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation," *Dei Verbum,* urges us to be listeners: "Hearing the Word of God reverently and proclaiming it confidently, this holy synod makes its own the words of St. John: 'we proclaim to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was made manifest to us. What we have seen and heard we announce to you, so that you may have fellowship with us and our common fellowship be with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ'" (1 John 1:2-3).[37] For Richard Gaillardetz, this demands "attentiveness to the signs of God's grace evident in our own lives and the lives of those around us [and] obedience to the call to work for justice on behalf of the poor and marginalized of our world."[38] Gaillardetz further argues:

> The council's teaching … does call us to become a community of discernment, a community committed to the hard work of spiritual listening. Such communal listening will require humility and openness to conversion, and it will lay claim on all of us, pope, bishops, theologians, the laity, to be a church that, as the opening lines of *Dei Verbum* put it, hears the Word of God reverently, and proclaims it with confidence.[39]

I consider the task of this second chapter and largely of this dissertation to be one of a *theo-listening* -- developing large theological ears to discern the competing voices within Rwanda's polygonal memories. Following the lead of the Nigerian theologian Elochukwu Uzukwu, "the metaphor of listening … is drawn from the experience of the Manja of Central African Republic.

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[37] Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, no. 1, accessed July 4, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html

[38] Richard R. Gaillardetz, *Vatican II and the Church of the Third Millennium* (North Bethesda, MD: Now You Know Media, 2014), 36.

[39] Ibid., 37.

The totem of the Manja chief is the rabbit because it has 'large ears.' The idea of listening … should inform and transform ministry in the church community …"[40] The wounds of Rwanda which will form part of this chapter unquestionably resulted from deaf ears. While the first chapter has given an array of causes that led to the genocide, one could also say many Rwandan leaders had their ears closed. They did not work to find solutions that would promote the dignity of all; solutions that would move Rwandans from hostility to hospitality, from ethnicity as a lie, and from exclusion to embrace.[41] Obviously, the root causes of Rwandan wounds are deeper than blocked ears, but the question remains which should constantly undergird political theologies: since there are always competing voices, and God does not speak with one univocal voice, how do leaders discern and recognize God's voice and do what is right? What is evident from the first chapter is that Rwandan leaders were "deafened by the noise of their propaganda."[42] Therefore, "it must be repeated over and over again, in the political community as well as in the church, that the chief, as the Manja tell us, begins by listening; he speaks only after having recorded the discussions going on in the community, so that his speech releases the healing Word of which he is the principal custodian, a Word which makes the community stand erect."[43]

A theology that appropriates societal and ecclesial structures listens to what God's people have to say. In *Novo Millennio Ineunte* (January 6, 2001), Pope John Paul II invites the Church's hierarchy to be listeners: "Let us listen to what all the faithful say, because in every one of them

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[40] Elochukwu E. Uzukwu, *A Listening Church: Autonomy and Communion in African Churches* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), 11.

[41] These words "exclusion and embrace" are taken from the title of Miroslav Volf's book, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996).

[42] Uzukwu, *A Listening Church*, 129.

[43] Ibid., 129-30.

the Spirit of God breathes."[44] The point here is that the Holy Spirit is not an exclusive gift to a few privileged classes of people. God's Spirit blows wherever it wills (Jn 3:8). Additionally, Pope Francis invites Catholics to be members of a church that takes risks and is ready to make mistakes as we engage the world, while fostering a culture of encounter with the desire to promote honest dialogue, listening, and with readiness to confront challenges and disagreements.[45] In his words, Pope Francis says that we are invited "to work for 'the culture of encounter,' in a simple way, 'as Jesus did': not just seeing, but looking; not just hearing, but listening; not just passing people by, but stopping with them; not just saying 'what a shame, poor people!,' but allowing yourself to be moved with compassion; 'and then to draw near, to touch and to say: 'Do not weep' and to give at least a drop of life.'"[46] In other words, it is less of a theology and less of a church, if it does not engage and transform the world around it.

A theology of the church in Rwanda, if it is to have impact, it must analyze and challenge some theoretical schools that have had lasting wounds and scars on Rwandans. John F. Stack Jr., David Lake, and Donald Rothchild outline three schools: primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism.[47] First, "the primordialist school sees identity as a set of fixed characteristics of individuals or a group that is rooted in biology and an extensive history of practices and traditions that make one's identity inalterable."[48] That means that some fundamental human characteristics

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[44] John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *Novo Millennio Ineunte*, no. 45, accessed July 4, 2018, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/2001/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20010106_novo-millennio-ineunte.pdf

[45] Gaillardetz, *Vatican II and the Church of the Third Millennium,* 50.

[46] Pope Francis, "For a Culture of Encounter" (September 13, 2016), accessed August 7, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/cotidie/2016/documents/papa-francesco-cotidie_20160913_for-a-culture-of-encounter.html

[47] For more see David Lake and Donald Rothchild, *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation,* eds., David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 5 and John F. Stack Jr. "Ethnic Mobilization in World Politics: The Primordial Perspective" in John F. Stack Jr., ed., *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World,* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986): 1-2.

[48] Lake and Rothchild, *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, 5. See also E. Shils who coined the concept "Primordial attachment" in his article "Basic Group Identity: The Idols of the Tribe" in *Ethnicity* (1974), 29-52.

are handed down from one generation to the next. The Hamitic and migration theories of John Hanning Speke and other European anthropologists with their essentializing descriptions of Africans fall into this primordialist approach to ethnic identity.[49] It is not unreasonable to state that the Hutu and Tutsi labels, particularly during and after colonialism, fell into this primordialist approach and the church in Rwanda reinforced it in the teachings of Bishop Léon Classe.

Second, the instrumentalist school emphasizes that political process define ethnic identities and political and ethnic elites manipulate for their selfish gains. Lake and Rothchild remark that the instrumentalist model is a means to collective ends used "defensively to thwart the ambitions of others or offensively to achieve an end of one's own… ethnicity is primarily a label or set of symbolic ties that is used for political advantage – much like group membership or political party affiliation."[50] As discussed in Chapter One, the instrumentalist model was influential in Rwanda's ethnic labels. Rwandan elites manipulated ethnic identities to achieve their political and economic gains. It is fair to say that one of Rwanda's ecclesial leader, Bishop André Perraudin fell into the trap of this instrumentalist approach without impartially challenging both Tutsi and Hutu elites. Both *Abega* and *Abanyiginya* elites needed to be challenged. The elite group behind the 1957 Bahutu manifesto needed as much, and the Hutu radicals, known as *Akazu*, *Interahamwe*, and other politicized and militarized groups crucial for the planning of the genocide should not have been left off the hook.[51] Either of these groups instilled fear of assimilation or annihilation and made it clear that the survival of Tutsis or Hutus in Rwanda essentially depended on ethnic leadership.[52]

Third, the constructivist approach stands in between the primordialist and instrumentalist

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[49] See John Hanning Speke in Chapter One, *supra* p. 27. See also Bishop Classe, *supra* pp. 28-48.
[50] Lake and Rothchild, *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, 6.
[51] For *Abega* and *Abanyiginya*, Bahutu Manifesto and *Akazu*, see *supra* pp. 25, 34, and 35 respectively.
[52] Lake and Rothchild, *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, 8 and see also Paul R. Bass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (New Dehli: Sage Publication, 1991), 21.

models. It flourishes in fluid identities as opposed to fixed ones. It allows for social and structural change. Donald L. Horowitz states, "a group may become more or less ascriptive in its criteria for membership, more or less acculturated to the norms of some other group, more or less internally cohesive, and more or less ethnocentric or hostile towards other groups."[53] Historically, the socio-economic differences among Twas, Hutus, poor Tutsis, and Tutsis (elites) had far-reaching implications on the way Rwandans lived and their hunger for political status. In fact, it is fair to argue, as Alana Tiemessen does, that "[t]he genocide can be contextualized as a conflict by new Hutu elites motivated by the fearful collective memory of a dominating Tutsi class from the pre-colonial and colonial era."[54] This may explain why at the beginning of the 1994, Tutsi elites: politicians, priests, including three Jesuits, lawyers, etc. were the first to be targeted, together with Hutu moderates (elites) such as Rwanda's Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana who refused the policies of *Akazu* and the rest of the genocidal regime.

Granted the foregoing approaches to identity, a self-critical ecclesiology must challenge their essentializing ability in order to develop a politico-theology from the experiences of Rwandans. That is why the goal of this study is to support the emergence of a community that is a place of liberation and redemption where people's brokenness, social marginalization, and social sin manifested through ethnic chauvinism or tribalism are transformed into places of forgiveness and love; in short, places of redemption and encounter. Ecclesiology fostered by critical evaluation of ethnic identity will have lasting impact in Rwanda, as elsewhere, if it fosters cultural norms and values and if "it addresses the most profound existential issues of human life (e.g. freedom and

[53] Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Identity" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (eds), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 114.

[54] Alana Tiemessen, "From Genocide to Jihad: Islam and Ethnicity in Post-Genocide Rwanda," in A Paper for Presentation at the Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA) in London, Ontario, (2-5 June, 2005), 1-22 at 8.

inevitability, fear and faith, security and insecurity, right and wrong, sacred and profane).[55] This requires, honest, selfless, and impartial leaders whose goal is to promote integral human flourishing. It is not unreasoning to note that the mission of the church in places of conflicts tormented by ethnic identity politics, as has been the case in Rwanda, is to foster deep religious conversion as a social tool and boundary change "that can make ethnic differences seem less immutable and polarizing."[56] Christian communities have a lot to learn from their Rwandan Muslim brothers and sisters whose religious convictions and identity minimized or prevented them entirely from participation in the genocide. In different localities, neighbors targeted the Tutsi, but Muslim families rescued and saved them. African Rights narrates the testimony of a Tutsi who survived because of Muslims. She said, "If a Hutu Muslim tried to kill someone hidden in our neighborhood, he would first be asked to take the holy Quran and tear it apart to renounce his faith…. No Muslim dared to violate the holy book, and that saved a lot of us."[57]

Since the first chapter laid out the historical grounding for subsequent chapters, with its focus on what made the genocide against the Tutsi and moderate Hutu possible, it seemed crucial to offer the rationale of the theology undergirding this work. I have done this in these last pages to underline the indispensable link between theological and historical discourses and the vital place of theology in search of meaning. The next section will assess the nature of Rwandan wounds and how the latter have fostered unreconciled memories and identities. This will offer the rationale

[55] Abdul Aziz Said and Nathan C. Funk, "The Role of Faith in Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution," in *Peace and Conflict Studies,* vol. 9 Issue 1 (May 2002), 37.

[56] Anthony H. Richmond, "Ethnic Nationalism: Social Science Paradigms," in *International Social Science Journal* (February 1987), 4. See Richmond's rich discussion on ethnic nationalism, terminological confusion when it comes to ethnicity, nation, state, the influence of colonialism on ethnic discourse and his discussion of ethnic pluralism. See Chapter nine of 9 his book *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 139-65.

[57] Alana Tiemessen, "From Genocide to Jihad: Islam and Ethnicity in Post-Genocide Rwanda," 13. See also "Islam in Rwanda" accessed January 6, 2020, http://www.muslimpopulation.com/africa/Rwanda/Islam%20in%20Rwanda.php.The role of Muslims in Rwanda's troubled past goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. I hope to explore it further for a future publication project.

behind Mary McClintock Fulkerson's claim that in our violent world, theology ought to start from wounds.[58]

2.3 The multi-layered nature of Rwanda's wounds

This section illustrates the manifold elements of Rwandan wounds, their lasting impact, and why theology in post-genocide Rwanda must take them seriously. They are multi-layered in the sense that they have many sides to them, hence not univocal. Part of what this section offers is an explanation of what some of these wounds are in order to acquaint the reader with some lasting impacts of Rwanda's tragic past and to offer grounds for theological reflection. The different wounds illustrated will hopefully prove that Rwanda's memories are material of a theological laboratory for many years to come.[59] Each of the wounds can be a chapter of its own.

A wound is "an injury, especially one in which the skin or another external surface is torn, pieced, cut, or otherwise broken. [It can also be] an injury to the feelings"[60] and to one's being as a whole. A wound can also be experienced when the values that hold people together are torn apart. As noted in the first chapter, the fabric of the Rwandan society was torn by those who were committed to kill, not only because of fear, abuse of power and resources, negative ethnicity and hatred of the other, but also because the Rwandan society had sunk into violence, and some Rwandans felt no moral obligation to be each other's keeper, and to care for the most vulnerable. The tragedy of the war, the killing of nearly one million Tutsi, and the massive flow of Rwandan refugees into the Democratic Republic of Congo have left countless people suffering.

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[58] Mary McClinctock Fulkerson, *Places of Redemption: Theology for a Worldly Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7.

[59] Heartbreaking accounts of how killings were planned and carried out in each prefecture of Rwanda and the wounds of survivors—both Hutus and Tutsis—is well documented in the thick volume of African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance* (London: African Rights, 1994).

[60] The word "wound" in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,* Fourth Edition (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000).

To illustrate this tragic past, I use the analogy of the bronze statues at Prague, and I invite the reader to look at them keenly.

[61]

These statues of the Memorial to the Victims of Communism in Prague take us beyond their appearances and beyond what communism did to the Czech people. They symbolize the ongoing wounds, scars, and cracks in God's people, the wounds of the crucified of our world, the wounds of slavery, racism, sexism, and able-ism, the wounds caused by the Jewish holocaust, the Armenian genocide, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and Hutu who opposed Rwanda's genocidal regime. These "seven bronze men are stood on a set of concrete stairs, and only the first figure is intact, the statues decaying with each step up, symbolizing the effects of communism on the Czech people."[62] As one climbs the stairs of the memorial and sees the progressive decay of

[61] Photo by Christian Beier at The Memorial to the Victims of Communism at Petrin hill in Mala Strana. The Memorial is "dedicated to those who were arrested, shot, exiled, and otherwise brutalized during the Communist era of 1948 to 1989." This masterpiece was made by sculptor Olbram Zoubek and architects Jan Kerel and Zdenek Holzel. See Memorial to the Victims of Communism in Prague, "Photos 4, Symbols of a Dark Time," accessed June 18, 2018, https://www.afar.com/places/memorial-to-the-victims-of-communism-prague

[62] Ibid.

the statues, one is led to think of the dead. While the first figure may look intact, it is not hard to conceptualize its invisible wounds.

One of the lasting wounds of Rwanda's history is that Rwanda has been a landscape of bodies treated as disposable for years. Prior to independence, many Hutus and poor *Tutsis* lived under forced labor. After independence, many Tutsis were killed, exiled and denied their basic rights. During the genocide, Tutsis and moderate Hutus became sub-humans. Because of this, Rwandan wounds are not only physical, but they are also deeply interior. As the first chapter demonstrated, they stem from a failure to take structural, personal, and social injustice seriously; injustice embodied in abuse of power, greed for resources, politicized ethnic labels, Christian failure of prophetic witness and debased Christian discipleship.

Theology from a place of wounds engages with the desecration of bodies. This dissertation takes to heart the wounds of body, mind and spirit, anxieties and griefs, and scars of the Rwandan people. It echoes the opening lines of Vatican II's *Gaudium et Spes*: "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts."[63] Theology in Rwanda finds its vital ground in these words of Vatican II. Many Rwandans are poor, afflicted, and traumatized. Theologians in or of Rwanda cannot do otherwise but face this reality and still speak about God from the manifold Rwandan wounds.

Many bodies were objectified, reduced to objects of property and sexual violence. Although the exact number of raped women remains unknown, rape was a genocidal instrument. Human Rights Watch observes:

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[63] *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 1.

> Testimonies from survivors confirm that rape was extremely widespread and that thousands of women were individually raped, gang-raped, raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels, held in sexual slavery (either collectively or through forced "marriage") or sexually mutilated. These crimes were frequently part of a pattern in which Tutsi women were raped after they had witnessed the torture and killings of their relatives and the destruction and looting of their homes. According to witnesses, many women were killed immediately after being raped.[64]

Women who survived have had to deal with the trauma of rape and/or the torment of living with the HIV virus, with which they were infected due to rape. Some women gave birth to children already infected with HIV, and some of their children refuse to accept the circumstances of their birth. Some women's sexual organs were exposed to young Hutu men so that they could see what a Tutsi vagina looked like. "Often women were subjected to sexual slavery and held collectively by a militia group or were singled out by one militia man, at checkpoints or other sites where people were being maimed or slaughtered, and held for personal sexual service."[65] What happened in Rwanda is a reminder of how Hortense Spillers describes the criminal treatment of the human bodies during slavery:

> The captive body is reduced to a thing, to a being for the captor; in the distance from a subject position the captured sexualities provide a physical and biological expression of "otherness"; as a category of "otherness" the captive body translates into a potential for pornotroping and embodies sheer physical powerlessness that slides into a more general "powerlessness," resonating through various centers of human and social meaning.[66]

Such dreadful abuse illustrates wounds inflicted on the Body of Christ during the genocide in Rwanda. The Church has HIV and AIDS. Babies were snatched from their mothers' breasts. Some pregnant Hutu women were forced to abort if they were married to Tutsi men. Siblings were

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[64] Human Rights Watch, "Shuttered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath," Last updated September 1996 (two years after the genocide), accessed November 26, 2018, https://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Rwanda.htm

[65] Ibid.

[66] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," in her *Black, White, and in Color: Essays on American Literature and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 206.

separated from one another, and some of them never saw each other again. Women, grandmothers, and children were thrown into lakes and rivers, others into pit latrines. In some families, no one was left to tell the story. As discussed in the First Chapter, "Tutsis were now called *inyenzi* (cockroach). The term became ingrained in the public sphere as almost every single *Kangura* edition, hate radio RTLM, and outspoken politicians claiming to defend Hutu power referred to human beings as cockroaches."[67] Some media outlets played the role of escalating Rwandan wounds. A medical doctor asked a patient what he was suffering from? The patient replied: "Tutsi." The picture below, on the front page of *Kangura,* speaks volumes:

[68]

The reader is invited to pay attention to the remarks in French in the three small headers: "*Je suis malade, Docteur!!*" (Doctor, I am sick!!). "*Ta maladie?!*" (Your sickness?!) "*Les Tutsi …Tutsi … Tutsi!!!!*" (The Tutsi … Tutsi …Tutsi!!!!!).

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[67] Kennedy Ndahiro, "Dehumanization: How Tutsis Were Reduced to Cockroaches, Snakes to Be Killed," in *The New York Times* (March 14, 2014), accessed October 30, 2018. https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/73836/ On *Kangura* and RTLM, see footnotes 78 and 92 respectively of chapter one.

[68] "Kangura vu par les Tutsi de Rwanda-Rushya: Le Syndrome Kangura," in *Kangura Magazine Version Internationale* (December 1991), No. 5, p. 1.

In part, the devastating and festering wounds of Rwanda stem from a long, deeply rooted anti-Tutsi ideology that was institutionalized and expressed in the Ten Commandments of Bahutu. These commandments charted the way of institutional idolatry of ethnic loyalties. They confirm that what wounded Rwandans was not an external enemy. Rather, the enemy was from within, fueled by the radical and negative perception of the other and ethnic idolatry. The ten commandments merit now to be mentioned:

> 1. Every Hutu must know that the Tutsi woman, wherever she may be, is working for the Tutsi ethnic cause. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who: acquires a Tutsi wife; acquires a Tutsi concubine; acquires a Tutsi secretary or protégée.
>
> 2. Every Hutu must know that our Hutu daughters are more worthy and more conscientious as women, as wives and as mothers. Aren't they lovely, excellent secretaries, and more honest!
>
> 3. Hutu women, be vigilant and make sure that your husbands, brothers and sons see reason.
>
> 4. All Hutus must know that all Tutsis are dishonest in business. Their only goal is ethnic superiority. We have learned this from experience. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who forms a business alliance with a Tutsi; invests his own funds or public funds in a Tutsi enterprise; borrows money from or loans money to a Tutsi; grants favors to Tutsis (import licenses, bank loans, land for construction, public markets...).
>
> 5. Strategic positions such as politics, administration, economics, the military and security must be restricted to the Hutu.
>
> 6. A Hutu majority must prevail throughout the educational system (pupils, scholars, teachers).
>
> 7. The Rwandan Army must be exclusively Hutu. The war of October 1990 has taught us that. No soldier may marry a Tutsi woman.
>
> 8. Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi.
>
> 9. Hutu wherever they be must stand united, in solidarity, and be concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers. Hutu within and without Rwanda must constantly search for friends and allies to the Hutu Cause, beginning with their Bantu brothers. Hutu must constantly counter Tutsi propaganda. Hutu must stand firm and vigilant against their common enemy, the Tutsi.

> 10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961 and the Hutu Ideology must be taught to Hutu of every age. Every Hutu must spread the word wherever he goes. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for spreading and teaching this ideology is a traitor.[69]

These "commandments" epitomize institutionalized bigotry, the illegal elimination of the Tutsi in certain jobs, and the institutionalization of injustice through the actions, orders, and propaganda of politicians and media outlets. Consequently, any reasoned religious discourse in Rwanda cannot ignore this wounded reality.

Sin as failure to love and as obstacle to the reign of God led many Rwandans to benefit from and to live in and out of the praise of blood, to live lives of lies. Their egocentrism failed to appreciate the being of the other. The egoistic self became the place of negation of the other. As Emmanuel Levinas notes, the logic of self that thinks only of self falls into egoism and egocentrism. This is what Levinas calls *ontologie instinctive*, which points to self-enclosure, forgetting, and negating the other with the movement of exploitation of the other.[70] Levinas urges us to realize that the other invites us to think of human dignity in a social and communal perspective as opposed to a form of solipsism.

Egocentrism and failure to accept the alterity of the other meant that the other, the Tutsi, was conceived as a cockroach, non-human beyond imagination, and "something" to be crushed. Many Rwandans failed to recognize that our being is rooted in a shared and graced humanity. This failure left little or no space for the life of the other, and denied responsibility for the life of the other. To apply the apt words of M. Shawn Copeland to the Rwandan context:

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[69]The 'Hutu Ten Commandments' in *Kangura*, No. 6, (December 1990), accessed June 5, 2018, http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/henson/188/rwanda_kangura_ten.html (See Propaganda, https://hutututsi.weebly.com/propaganda.html). *Kangura* and RTLM spread hatred and objectified Tutsi bodies in order to stamp the superiority and ideology of Hutu power. See pp. 23 and 27 respectively.

[70] Emmanuel Levinas, "Useless Suffering," in *The Provocation of Levinas: Rethinking the Other,* ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood, trans. Richard Cohen (New York: Routledge, 1988), 157-58. See also Simonne Ploudre, *Emmanuel Lévinas: Altérité et Responsabilité* (Paris: Cerf, 1996), 104-05.

> Rethinking theological anthropology from the experience of [genocide] holds substantial social and cultural, moral and ethical, psychological and intellectual consequences for us all. Such work promises not only recovery of repressed religious and social history but releases of those 'dangerous memories, memories which made demands on us,' memories which protest our forgetfulness of human 'other,' our forgetfulness of what enfleshing freedom means.[71]

Post-genocide theology therefore starts from the failure to transform Rwanda's unjust structures, abuse of power and resources, ethnic segregation, and an underdeveloped theology of sin, which deepened the wounds of Rwandans.

Certainly, doing theology in Rwanda must acknowledge that not every Hutu embraced the Hutu manifesto. Here an analogy is helpful. Not all Jews were abandoned during the Holocaust and over half a million Jews survived the Holocaust in Europe. It is important to emphasize, however, that "by 1945, most European Jews—two out of every three—had been killed."[72] For certain, the Jews "were abandoned by governments, social structures, church hierarchies, but not by ordinary men and women."[73] Among those ordinary men and women, we count "fifteen Jesuits who have been formally recognized as 'Righteous among the Nations,'"[74] including Jean-Baptiste Janssens (1889–1964), who was later to become General of the Society of Jesus.

Analogously, it is inaccurate to impute all the wounds of Rwanda to all Hutus. There are some outstanding Hutus who sacrificed themselves for the lives of the Tutsi or even died with them. Their heroic deaths remain a living lesson for generations to come. Among the first Hutu to

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[71] M. Shawn Copeland, *Enfleshing Freedom: Body, Race, and Being* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2010), 28-29.

[72] "According to the *American Jewish Yearbook*, the Jewish population of Europe was about 9.5 million in 1933. In 1950, the Jewish population of Europe was about 3.5 million. … The Jewish communities in eastern Europe were devasted. In 1933, Poland had the largest Jewish population in Europe, numbering over three million. By 1950, the Jewish population of Poland was reduced to about 45,000 …" See United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, "Remaining Jewish Population of Europe in 1945," accessed January 5, 2020, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/remaining-jewish-population-of-europe-in-1945.

[73] "The Mission that Failed: A Polish Courier Who Tried to Help Jews" (An interview with Jan Karski conducted by Maciej Kozłowski), in *Dissent* (Summer 1987), 326–34 at 334.

[74] James Bernauer, "Introduction: Jesuit Righteous among the Nations," in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018) 193-198 at 194.

be killed at the beginning of the genocide was Agathe Uwilingiyimana, then Rwanda's Prime Minister, because she had strongly opposed *Akazu,* Hutu power, and the planners of the genocide and their ethnic segregation in education. Another striking example is Sister Félicitas Niyitegeka who offered her life because she did not want to abandon her Tutsi brothers and sisters. About her, J.J. Carney writes, "Despite her [Hutu] brother's entreaties, Sr. Félicitas refused to abandon her fellow Tutsi sisters or the forty-three Tutsi who had taken refuge in her community. She was killed along with her Tutsi sisters ... To echo the German Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonheoffer, Sr. Felicitas' martyrdom reminds us of the 'cost of discipleship.'"[75] If there is a proof that God is with the crucified of our world, Niyitegeka is that symbol of God's presence with the crucified. André Guichaoua put it well:

> Her brother, a Rwandan army colonel in Ruhengeri, asked her by phone to leave. She simply said that she preferred to die with the 43 people she is in charge of rather than flee alone. On April 21, the militia came to pick them up and drive them to the cemetery by truck. At that moment Felicitas told her sisters, "It's time to testify. Come …" Arrived at the cemetery where the mass graves were already dug, the killers feared the colonel wanted to save her. One of them said to her: "you, you are not afraid to die, but you will see that it is serious! You'll be the last one, … they were shot dead. Thirty of them. Once again, they wanted to save her. "No, I have no reason to live because you have killed all my sisters." Félicitas thus made the thirty-first. This testimony was reported by one of the sisters who pretended to be dead among the dead.[76]

Like many others, Niyitegeka is a "righteous of Rwanda" who challenges our contemporary understanding of humanity. She is the embodiment of *The courage to Care*.[77] She demonstrates that despite living within the context of socio-political injustice, which has the capacity to influence behavior and actions, she refused to comply. Niyitegeka reminds us of the

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[75] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide*, 208.

[76] See *"Le massacre des religieux au Rwanda,"* in André Guichaoua, *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda* (Paris: Karthala, 1995), 704. The translation is mine.

[77] This is the title of a book edited by Carol Rittner and Sandra Myers, *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 1986). It documents the courage of the Righteous (those who rescued or gave their lives to save persecuted Jews).

authentic cost of Christian discipleship. Hers is a testimony that love is stronger than death. In his "Foreword" to Jean Bosco Rutagengwa's 2019 book *Love Prevails: One Couple's Story of Faith and Survival in the Rwandan Genocide*, Daniel G. Groody's words, regarding those who saved lives, capture the argument here: their love "goes beyond romance and self-preservation to laying down one's life and risking all for love of your friends …[and] the last word of [Rwanda's] tragedy was not death but life, not revenge but forgiveness, and not hatred but a love that prevails."[78] It is better to risk one's life, even when one is surrounded by the horrors of death, because then that heroism proves that life is better when risked for others, and the price of life is better than death or complicity. Niyitegeka, among others, is a long-lasting lesson that despite the multi-layered historical wounds of Rwanda, there were people whose sacrifice prove that in the end love prevails. Their love symbolizes the idea that those whose integrity is not up for sales are ready to give up their lives to protect it.

Within the wounds of Rwanda's past, "the righteous" symbolizes the best in us. They are the antidotes of the denial of self and of God. They point to what humanity ought to be in contrast to the matrix of unjust structures in which we find ourselves. This was the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr.: to see that humanity can transcend its structural injustice and promote the dignity of all, if people pay heed to the will of God for the salvation of all (1Tim 2:4). In his final speech in Memphis on April 3, 1968, King expresses this conviction in exquisite terms:

> We've got some difficult days ahead … But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop … I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you … like anybody, I would like to live a long life—longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will …

[78] Daniel G. Groody, "Foreword," in Jean Bosco Rutagengwa with Daniel G. Groody, *Love Prevails: One Couple's Story of Faith and Survival in the Rwandan Genocide* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2019), xii.

> I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.[79]

Acknowledging the best and the hope that dwells within us, does not, however, obliterate the fact that humanity also failed in Rwanda. Long-standing structural injustice influenced many Rwandans. Many men and women performed heinous acts and many killed; in doing so, they denied their own humanity. This is confirmed by the quote at the beginning of this chapter: *Iyo umenya nawe ukimenya ntuba waranyishe* (If you really knew me, and knew yourself, you wouldn't have killed me.). The mass murder was a denial of shared humanity; misrecognition of the other is *ipso facto* misrecognition of self. The genocide against the Tutsi was a denial of our shared humanity. Thus John S. Mbiti notes, "Only in terms of other people does the individual become conscious of his own being, his own duties, his privileges and responsibilities towards himself and towards other people. When he suffers, he does not suffer alone but with the corporate group; when he rejoices, he rejoices not alone but with his kinsmen, his neighbors and his relatives whether dead or living."[80] Any genocide contradicts Mbiti's words. Genocide destroys the shared human fabric and shared human values. It blasphemes against the origin of all that is, God. The genocide in Rwanda as elsewhere destroyed the "cardinal point in the understanding of" the Rwandan and African view of humanity through which the individual can only say: "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am."[81] This understanding is echoed by Karl Rahner who writes, "We are aware today in a quite new and inescapable way that man is a social being, a being who can exist only within such intercommunications with others throughout all of the dimension

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[79] Martin Luther King, "I have Been," in *A Call to Conscience*: *The Landmark Speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* ed. Carson and Shepard (New York: IPM Intellectual Properties Management, in association with Warner Books, 2001), 222–23.

[80] John S. Mbiti, *Africans Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd rev. and enl. ed. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1990). 106.

[81] Ibid.

of human existence."[82]

Given the atrocities committed in Rwanda, in the years immediately following the genocide, the prisons were overcrowded with detainees suspected of having been involved in the killings of Tutsi and moderate Hutu.[83] These prisoners constituted fifteen percent of Rwanda's population. Some detainees believed they were prisoners of war and that they had done nothing wrong except lose the war. Their actions and the memory of those who survived the ordeal of genocide have left all Rwandans with unreconciled memories and unreconciled identities. This adds to the multi-layered wounds of Rwanda. To these difficulties, the present study turns in a rather illustrative manner to prepare for later theological reflection.

2.4 Unreconciled Memories in Post-genocide Rwanda

"Unreconciled memories" is a loaded expression in Rwanda's wounded cultural and social context and plays a fraught role in the development of contemporary Rwandan identity. The phrase "unreconciled memories" takes on different meanings with regard to different persons. First, the phrase refers to the Tutsis who survived the genocide and now live with the arduous task of being the only ones left to tell the story in the midst of genocide denials or assassins of memory.[84] Second, it denotes the memory of children born of mixed parents (Tutsi father and Hutu mother, or *vice versa*). These children walk a grueling path as they navigate relationships with relatives who may no longer speak with one another either because of the ordeal of survival or their responsibility for the killings.

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[82] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 323.

[83] Bornhamm, *Rwanda's Gacaca Courts: Between Retribution and Reparation*, 163.

[84] "Assassins of memory" refers to contemporary genocide revisionists who deny that there was such a thing as the genocide against the Tutsi and/or genocides in other places, even after the official acknowledgement of their occurrence by the United Nations. For more on this concept of "Assassins of Memory," see Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust,* trans. and foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

Third, the Tutsi or Hutu who returned to Rwanda after many years of exile experience "unreconciled memories." These youth, women, and men find that their family members have died at the hands of *genocidaires* or were killed during the war. What are they to make of such loss? Some returnees often express their doubts, asking *why* and *how* some Tutsi survived the genocide when every Tutsi within the country was supposed to die. Some even question whether those who survived were *real* Tutsi or were they took part in killing squads. Survivors who listen to this suspicious judgment of history feel diminished.

Fourth, *génocidaires* and those released from prisons are also entangled by unreconciled memories. These men and women not only have to find a way to coexist with survivors of the genocide, but also with the burden of conscience. They wrestle with the knowledge that if they had not participated in the killing, the 1994 genocide may not have reached its heinous extent.[85] They have the further burden of explaining to and dealing with their children who had to fend for themselves while their parents were in detention. They also have to confront the memory of being called *ibipinga* – those who did not support the cause of the Rwandan Patriotic Front from its initial attack on Rwanda on October 1, 1990.[86] Studies need to be conducted in order to learn sufficiently the process perpetrators must undertake in order to disengage from doing harm and to reintegrate into their communities. Some of them, when they return to their villages, feel unwelcome, not only by their neighbors, but also by some members of their own families. The story of Bonnie, a female ex-prisoner in her late 50s, captures this well:

> You see, it was like being tall in the women's facility there, in prison. You got harassed as a spy of the Tutsi. But what my daughter is doing to me now is worse.

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[85] The following YouTube videos by Valerie Bemeriki who worked at the Radio Television des Milles Collines and called for the killing of Tutsi is but one chilling example, accessed July 16, 2019,
Listen to the testimonies from Bemeriki: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwBDKZr15gs and https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=156&v=g_-H4BOWW8M

[86] For more details on the wounds of those who killed during the genocide, see Jean Hatzfeld, *Une Saison de Machettes* and *la Stratégie des Antilopes* (Paris: Seuil, 2003) and Benoit Guillou, *Le Pardon Est-il Durable?* (Paris: Éditions François Bourrin, 2014).

> She never listens! She was first kicked out of school when she became pregnant. Then, she started leaving her newborn baby with me at home and not offering any help. As you know, I do not have outside work and have no money to pay someone to help me on the farm. I have to do it all by myself. Then, she comes home and starts abusing me, stealing and selling things from the house, I cannot say all the things she does to me, she is my daughter. [87]

Bonnie was jailed alongside her husband who was also accused of genocide crimes. He died in prison before he could be tried. Upon her release, Bonnie's attempt to parent was challenged by her youngest daughter. Some ex-prisoners experience similar problems. They often do not have "anywhere to seek support because the communities in which they resettled perceive them to be killers, whether they have been proven innocent or discharged during the [modern] *gacaca* proceedings."[88] It is also possible that Bonnie's daughter felt betrayed by her parents when they left her and her siblings to fend for themselves in an environment that despised them for being children of *génocidaires*. Bonnie's gender might have contributed to her stigma. Women perpetrators have been perceived as "monsters" and "nonwomen," a striking contrast to "the traditional perception of women as mothers and nurturers in the Rwandan culture."[89]

Fifth, those who lost their relatives during the war between the Rwandan (Hutu-controlled) Government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front also hold unreconciled memories. Justice ought to continue pursuing those who committed crimes prior to, during, and after the genocide. Samuel Cyuma rightly notes: "Even though numerous factors fueled the crisis, this does not deny the fact

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[87] T. Rutayisire & A. Richters, "Everyday Suffering Outside Prison Walls: A Legacy of Community Justice in Post-genocide Rwanda," in *Social Science & Medicine,* 120, (2014): 413– 420, accessed June 2, 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2014.06.009

[88] Rutayisire & A. Richters, "Everyday Suffering Outside Prison Walls." The word *gacaca* means tall grass. In the past, a village sat on the grass to settle community disputes. Village elders heard the disputes and resolved them according to local customs. "Modern gacaca" is a contemporary Rwandan traditional and legal structure that tried many genocide cases. For further exploration, see Paul Christoph Bornhamm, *Rwanda's Gacaca Courts: Between Retribution and Reparation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[89] N. Hogg, "Women' s participation in the Rwandan genocide: Mothers or monsters?" in *International Review of the Red Cross,* 92, (2010), 69–102, accessed June 4, 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1816383110000019

that the former Hutu state is liable for the genocide. Likewise, the RPF is liable for the killings that occurred in its controlled zone, and as a whole, since it took power after July 1994."[90]

Sixth, there are also parents who hold unreconciled memories of their children who joined the RPF and its army as the rising violence deepened in Rwanda in early 1990. Some of these parents never saw their children again. They do not know if their children died on the battlefield or if they were killed by genocide perpetrators.

Seventh, there is the poignant memory of betrayal whenever Rwandans think of the multiple bystanders who saw the genocide unfolding and either kept quiet or abandoned Rwandans altogether. This group includes Rwandans and the international community. "Rwandans were abandoned by a watching world. It did not make any difference whether Western agents in Africa were embassy officials, NGO staff, businesspeople, or missionaries. They all followed the same logic ... Western missionaries and church agencies with only one or two exceptions, quickly abandoned Rwanda and left its people to sort out their problems."[91] It is hard to excuse the international community for its passivity prior to and during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Bystanders or those who abandon others when crises hit would do better to listen to Frantz Fanon's prophetic and prescient words: "[T]he future will have no pity for those who, possessing the exceptional privilege of being able to speak words of truth to their oppressors, have taken refuge in an attitude of passivity, of mute indifference, and of cold complicity."[92]

The haunting memory of betrayal and of being abandoned challenges everything the ethics of the responsibility stands for. This ethics carries within it the duty to protect the life and dignity

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[90] Samuel Cyuma, *Picking Up Pieces: The Church and Conflict in South Africa and Rwanda* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012), 181.

[91] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 42.

[92] Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays,* trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 102.

of people and to denounce grave abuses inflicted on any race or group of people. However, the blessing in disguise that has come out the abuses of genocide in Rwanda and other places of conflict such as Bosnia have led the Canadian government to summon an International Commission to determine the legitimacy of intervention across national borders to stop grave human rights violations. The Commission issued a report in 2001 entitled *The Responsibility to Protect*.[93] The report's underlying ideas were endorsed by the leaders of most of the world's countries at the 2005 World Summit meeting of the United Nations General Assembly. The resulting document stated: "each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity."[94] Further, if states fail to protect their people from these grave crimes, the international community has a responsibility to do so, first through peaceful means, and if necessary as a last resort by armed force. The memory of the genocide in Rwanda has thus offered an opportunity to the international community to reflect on its ethics and responsibility for the protection of world citizens. Unfortunately, there is more to be done when one examines other crises such as those in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, in Southern Sudan, Syria, and among the Rohingya people in Myanmar.

Finally, the genocide and its aftermath have left Rwandans with an identity in flux. Post-genocide Rwanda exemplifies the complexity of overlapping identities and roles in which people find themselves prior to, in times of, or after violent killings. For instance, some militia members hid some Tutsi while engaging in the killing of many others. Others who killed argue that they merely obeyed the commands of their superiors, ignoring the issue of following one's conscience

[93] International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa, ON, Canada: International Development Research Center, 2001), accessed August 7, 2019, https://www.idrc.ca/en/book/responsibility-protect-report-international-commission-intervention-and-state-sovereignty

[94] United Nations General Assembly, *2005 World Summit Outcome Document* (16 September 2005), nos. 138-139.

or one’s values or the duty to respect life.[95] In his article, “Why Does Fear Override Hope in Societies Engulfed by Intractable Conflicts,” D. Bar-Tal argues that social identities resulting from the Tutsi genocide were complicated by the dual roles of Hutu individuals who committed murder and hid some Tutsi, and Tutsis who disguised themselves and participated in the killings and later claimed to be the victims. “Persons caught in these intertwined situations often compete for victimhood as people who suffered. Unfortunately, placing them in the strict legal categories of victims, perpetrators, or bystanders minimizes the complexities of genocide.”[96]

Identities were forged and reconstructed by the genocide against the Tutsi. Among Rwandans it is common to hear the word *umucikacumu*, those who escaped the spear (survivors). These survivors may include Tutsi and, in some cases, Hutu women who were married to Tutsi men, and their children. The term “nonsurvivor” identifies different categories of people, but generally those who were not targeted by the genocide. These include Tutsi women married to Hutu men, although in other cases these women were also killed. This group includes perpetrators and bystanders. But one realizes this term “nonsurvivor” is broad. It also includes those who returned to the country after the genocide. The point here is that in the aftermath of the genocide, Rwandans acquired new identities that have pinned new labels on them.

Among other negative impacts of the genocide is that some people developed attitudes of *nyamwigendaho* (minding one’s own business). Both members of the survivor and nonsurvivor groups use this term to indicate the mutual indifference that came out of the genocide. Some refuse to talk to “nonsurvivors” because they view them as killers. Others became *nyamwigendaho* because they realize that members of their community talk behind their backs or do not take them

[95] T. A. Borer, “A Taxonomy of Victims and Perpetrators: Human Rights and Reconciliation in South Africa” in *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25, 1088-1116.

[96] D. Bar-Tal, “Why Does Fear Override Hope in Societies Engulfed by Intractable Conflict?” in *Political Psychology,* 22, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), 601-627.

seriously because of the trauma (*guhahamuka*) associated with the genocide. This construction of distance from other people's pain is still a barrier to the ongoing journey of reconciliation. This challenge is often intensified by Rwanda's "valley of dry bones" which have their impact on how Rwanda portrays itself to its people and to the world.

2.4.1 Rwanda's Dry Bones[97]

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One of the most lasting impacts of Rwanda's wounds has to do with Rwanda's dry bones. An adequate reflection on the presence of bones has the capacity to unleash the reconciliation of memory from Rwanda's places of wounds. These bones are the enduring scarred remains of those who were killed; and, the country cannot attach names to these bones. This is a double death. The first death comes from being killed because of one's identity; the second is constituted through erasure—the inability of connecting personal names with the remains. Part of the "success" of the genocide is that it made it possible for dead bodies and bones to remain nameless because bodies were scattered throughout the countryside, far from relatives. In some cases, not a single relative

[97] The Prophet Ezekiel speaks of dry bones in his chapter 37. These words are also borrowed from my article "Memory: A Theological Imperative in Post-genocide Rwanda," in *Hekima Review*, no. 54 (May, 2016), 51-65.

[98] Photo taken by the author in 2011in one of his visits to Nyamata Catholic Church, now turned into a national genocide memorial. This photo was taken before the administration of the Memorial forbid people from taking pictures.

survived to tell the story. Rwanda's dry bones help us to remember the structures that allowed people to become *incognito*. "In visiting Rwanda, one is struck by the horrifying nature of the genocide as one encounters thousands and thousands of dry bones."[99] This situation is unbearable for those, in our modern society, who are unaccustomed to viewing bones of dead people, let alone dealing with death daily. Some Rwandans have sorrowfully gotten used to living with the dead. We still find them when digging in farms where some people were killed, their unburied bodies simply left as they fell. We trace them in pit latrines where many were thrown, including my two brothers and sister. Some bones also come up from the rivers, washed ashore on the banks, including those of my grandmother and family members.[100] As recently as October 14, 2019, bones of more than a hundred and four people were discovered not far from Cyanika Catholic parish in the southern province of Rwanda. They were exhumed from a former dump.[101]

Rwandan dry bones are reminders of the horrific memory of the genocide. They close the mouths of the assassins of memory. These bones belong to people with whom we shared meals, exchanged firewood and fire, with whom we sealed pacts through *Guhana inka,*[102] and people with whom we shared the Eucharistic table. They are not the bones of strangers, but of loved ones and neighbors. These are the bones of scientists, teachers, mothers and children, university students, and professors butchered by soldiers and militias loyal to a genocidal regime that systematically planned and executed genocide in order to exterminate part of Rwanda's population. Rwanda's dry bones recall where we came from. They confirm the Ghanaian proverb: *if you do not know where you are going, at least know where you are coming from.* Bones mark the imperative of

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[99] Uwineza, "Memory: A Theological Imperative in Post-genocide Rwanda," 56.

[100] There are bodies that were washed ashore in Uganda too and memorial have been erected at three burial sites: https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1474992/rwandans-raise-sh37m-genocide-museum, accessed August 26, 2019.

[101] Information received from my brother Boniface Muvara who works with genocide survivors.

[102] In Rwanda, when someone gives you a gift of a cow (*inka*), one is saying that one is even ready to die for you. *Guhana inka* was a symbol of one's ultimate love for another. The genocide challenged the depth of this practice.

memory.

The Senegalese novelist Boubacar Boris Diop describes the daily practices of Rwandans who visit the remains of their still unburied relatives as follows:

> Loneliness was also the young woman in black who came almost every day to the Polytechnic. She knew exactly which of all the tangled skeletons lying on the cold concrete were those of her little girl and her husband. She would go straight to one of the sixty-four doors of Murambi and stand in the middle of the room before the intertwined corpses: a man clutching a decapitated child against him. The young woman prayed in silence, and then left.[103]

The woman described in this narrative is not alone. She represents thousands of Rwandans who share her situation. She represents many Rwandans who desire a space to mourn their own. She questions us: in the midst of thousands of dry bones, how does one take the "remembrance of the suffering of others as a basic category of Christian discourse about God?"[104] How is resurrection to be understood in the context of Rwanda's valleys of bones?

Rwandans must not allow themselves to be talked out of unreconciled memories, but rather they "must have faith with them and with them speak about God."[105] What is meant here is the idea that to have faith after mass murder is first to realize that Rwanda's darkness of genocide degraded the country into hell. Yet as Sr. Teya Kakuze observed after surviving the genocide ordeal: "God has journeyed with me through it and [there is] this conviction that God [is] calling me to be a messenger of light and hope and to put goodness back on its throne."[106] This means finding hope where there is little hope, hope born from descent into hell to bring Light to those in darkness.

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[103] Boubacar Boris Diop, *Murambi*, *The Book of Bones: A Novel,* trans. Fiona McLaughlin (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 176-77.

[104] Johann Baptist Metz, *A Passion for God: The Mystical-Political Dimensions of Christianity,* trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 5.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Groody, "Forward," in *Love Prevails,* xi.

Rwanda's dry bones serve as reminders of a haunting silence of many bystanders who remained indifferent to those who were taken to slaughterhouses. As Martin Luther King, Jr. remarked, "in the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends."[107] When friends and neighbors are silent, especially when one most needs to hear their voices, when one most needs someone to take a stand and to speak up in support, the memory of such silence hurts and haunts. The failure to respond on the part of a "supposed" friend cannot be easily forgotten. Apathy, lethargy, busyness, and outright indifference kept many Rwandans and the international community from speaking out, from taking a stand, from acting against the genocide. Rwanda's multitude of bones bear witness to this.

Rwanda's dry bones attest to a love that does not die. With every visit, survivors by way of love and memory continue to communicate with their deceased loved ones. For some visitors, all bones look the same, but relatives, who come to visit the sacred remains, reconnect with their loved ones. Some kiss them while others speak to them, saying: "We have been given a chance to live more days, we will live them well." Regarding her visits to the graves of her relatives and friends, the Burundian Maggy Barankitse writes, "the reason I must return to the gravesite is not to relive the trauma but that I may see the future more clearly."[108] This memory informs and shapes survivors' attitudes toward life and, at the same time, aids them in "the realization that one can only see the future clearly by remembering the past."[109] One's attitude toward this memory prepares one to affirm that death does not have the last word. Yet, it also leads to a degree of

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[107] Martin Luther King, Jr. "I Have a Dream," in *American Rhetoric top 100 Speeches,* accessed March 13, 2015, http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/m/martin_luther_king_jr.html.

[108] Quoted in Emmanuel Katongole, *Born from Lament: The Theology and Politics of Hope in Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2017), 260.

[109] Emmanuel Katongole, "*Memoria Passionis* as Social Reconciliation in Eastern Africa: Remembering the Future at Maison Shalon," in J. J. Carney and Laurie Johnston, eds., *The Surprise of Reconciliation in the Catholic Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018), 277.

freedom as one realizes that people's commitments and failures in this world have decisive significance.

Rwanda's dry bones also point to an unbroken relationship between the living and those who have died. Laurenti Magesa, one of the pioneers in African theology, writes: "What happens to the living humanity and the universe in general flows through the ancestors from God and back to God – in both its positive and negative aspects – and cannot therefore be conceived apart from the ancestors."[110] Similarly, Elizabeth A. Johnson argues that "remembering the dead … honors the mystery of divine grace that pervades the lives of people living today… the grace that brings people to fulfillment in God is already operative here and now …[and] a community that remembers … begins to act with ethical responsibility for all creatures who share in the communion of the holy."[111] This does not only to affirm why memory has a theological imperative to it, but also insist on the influential role of the living-dead on the living and the ethical responsibilities born from memory.

Rwanda faces the mystery of the human person and of God before its broken bones, once embodied in human flesh. For Mario Aguilar, "bones have a materiality that makes them texts of social reality but also theological texts in which the same image of the crucified can be found."[112] The crucified Jesus is found too in the unidentifiable bones of Rwanda. These bones illustrate what Jon Sobrino calls "crucified people."[113] They point to "the mystery of God who accompanies the victims and later embraces the guilt, pardon, forgiveness, and reconciliation of victims and

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[110] Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation: Transforming the Church in Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004), 112.

[111] Elizabeth A. Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 252.

[112] Mario Aguilar, *Theology, Liberation and Genocide: A Theology of the Periphery* (London: SCM Press, 2009), 12.

[113] Jon Sobrino, *The Principle of Mercy: Taking the Crucified People from the Cross* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994). "The crucified people" refer to all those in Latin America whose rights have been oppressed.

killers."[114] They signify a defenseless and vulnerable God who, according to Edward Schillebeeckx, "[b]y creating human beings with their finite and free will, God voluntarily renounces power. That makes God to a high degree 'dependent' on human beings and thus vulnerable." [115] Yet it is exactly in this that God's love is revealed in what appears to be powerlessness. God's transforming power of love is revealed in what appears as weakness from the human side of the mirror, not on God's.

Rwanda's dry bones are a reminder of the abiding presence of God encountered in silence and in lamentation. The prophet Habakkuk laments to God and asks why evil has overtaken his country. His prayer expresses the yearning of many people in places of violence and conflict. "How long, Lord, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge [our relatives?]" How long? "How long, Lord, must I call for help, but you do not listen? Or cry out to you, 'Violence!' but you do not save?" (Hab 1:2) God's answer to Habakkuk is that the righteous will live because of their fidelity: "See, the enemy is puffed up; his desires are not upright— but the righteous person will live by his faithfulness." (Hab 2:4) In the end, victory does not come because of fighting for supremacy, it comes to those who are just. God's justice will have the last word.

Rwanda's dry bones must be accompanied by lament, conversion, and fidelity. These bones offer every pilgrim who comes to Nyamata, Ntarama, Nyanza, or Nyange the opportunity to pause for silent reflection, prayer, and examination of conscience. If in the past, the Latin American context of poverty and oppression, theology's commitment to "solidarity with the poor and the marginalized expressed the presence of God, the context of Rwanda remains a mystery encircled in the silence of bones and the possibility of understanding God's presence remains with those

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[114] Aguilar, *Theology, Liberation and Genocide*, 12.
[115] Edward Schilleebeckx, *Church: The Human Story of God* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 90.

who are close in spirit to the reality of thousands of unburied bones in Rwanda today."[116] Keeping alive the memory of these bones ought to lead to action for justice and love. These bones leave us an unfinished agenda.

Theologically, Rwandan dry bones point us to the dangerous memory of the life, passion, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. After visiting the genocide memorial at Nyange in the Summer of 2007, Emmanuel Katongole wrote: "On April 12, 1994, many people took refuge in the church. Soon the militia surrounded the church and started throwing grenades and shooting through the windows …"[117] Later that same day, Father Seromba and a businessman had a meeting and ordered some workers to use two bulldozers to bring down the church at Nyange. "One of the drivers asked Father Seromba whether he really wanted him to destroy the Church. Father Seromba gave him permission to go ahead, saying that the Hutus were many. 'We should be able to build another Church,' he told the man."[118] They demolished the church, killing nearly all the people inside. As Katongole visited this genocide site, he was told how the bodies were buried. Some were buried under what used to be the altar of the church. "I knelt there in prayer on what was holy ground that became a place of slaughter. I lamented, 'How long, Lord, until you judge the inhabitants of the earth and avenge our relatives? How long? How long, Lord, must I call for help, but you do not listen? Or cry out to you, 'Violence!' but you do not save?"' (Hab 1:2). He prayed that those below the altar might join him in this lament. "How long will we go with a mockery of Christianity that takes the tribalism of our world for granted?"[119] The longer he cried out to God on top of broken bodies and bones, the more it became certain that Jesus is our only hope. For

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[116] Aguilar, *Theology, Liberation and Genocide*, 39.

[117] Emmanuel Katongole, *Mirror to the Church: Resurrecting the Faith after Genocide in Rwanda* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan: 2009),160-61.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid, 163.

Katongole, these discomforting memories led him to remember the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus. He was kneeling where the passion and resurrection of Jesus had been celebrated during liturgy. In these lines, Katongole takes us to the crucial significance of memory and its theological and liturgical imperative. He also dares us ask: "what was it about the church in Rwanda that made this possible."[120]

The reader will recall that the First Chapter of this study interrogated the complicity of some church leaders in Rwanda's troubled history. To link the historic complicity of church leaders with the brutal murder of people seeking sanctuary in the church building at Nyange is to realize that evil reached its climax in a consecrated place. Again, Katongole: "The space that Christians had named as holy was not a space that ultimately questioned the logic of *interahamwe*. Instead, it became a place where they fully obeyed a myth that said that Tutsis had to die."[121] Ethnic affinities and hatred became so powerful that some Rwandans forgot "their baptisms in the very places where they happened."[122] These events present a sobering truth, difficult to take in, but they also present a failure and holds up a mirror to many other churches. "A Catholic identity in Rwanda was built on the identities of Hutu and Tutsi. But the fact that baptism, church membership, and the sacraments—including Eucharist—could do nothing to alter these so called 'natural' identities simply meant that Catholicism in Rwanda was built on the tacit but heretical acknowledgement that the blood of 'tribalism' runs deeper than the waters of baptism."[123]

Rwandan churches ought to rethink or better reinvent their understanding and depth of baptism and whether it has claims on their cultural or social identities and bodies. The church of

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[120] Ibid., 35.
[121] Ibid., 35-36.
[122] Ibid., 34.
[123] Emmanuel Katongole, "A Blood Thicker than the Blood of Tribalism: Eucharist and Identity in African Politics," in *Modern Theology* 30, no. 2 (April 2014), 319-25 at 322. J.J. Carney cites Roger Cardinal Etchegaray saying the same in *Rwanda Before the Genocide,* 2.

Rwanda remains a mirror to the world, in every place where churches have been silent and complicit when the body of Christ is broken. Consequently, Rwanda's dry bones put the reality in our face that Christian mission is not primarily about development services, good as these may be, but essentially about transforming people's identities. St. Paul put it, "Do not conform to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind. Then you will be able to test and approve what God's will is" (Rm 12:2). The third chapter on ecclesial imagination shall elaborate this necessity further. For now, I emphasize the authority of the memory of wounds, the memory of dry bones, and the memory of "crucified people." The next section explores why it is a theological imperative.

2.5 The Theological Imperative of Memory

Christian theology recognizes that in the human person's orientation toward God, humans are essentially memory-persons.[124] Christians remember what God has done in and through Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. They remember the living presence of God's Spirit in the Church. And they celebrate Jesus' invitation to break bread and share a cup of wine in memory of him (Lk 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24). Christian theology holds a crucial role in dealing with memory and in shaping people's identity. It creates a critical correlation between people's faith in God and their contemporary situation. Granted the first chapter of this study on the problematic history of Rwanda, the complicity of the church, and the complexity of Rwanda's memories as explained in this chapter, it is fair to say, following Katongole, that "memory is so important. We can never begin to imagine a new future for ourselves until we find ways to remember ourselves

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[124] Doron Mendels's book on *Memory in Jewish, Pagan, and Christian Societies of the Graeco-Roman World: Fragmented Memory, Comprehensive Memory, Collective Memory* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2004) is a key resource.

differently."[125]

The concept of memory has its origin from the Hebraic term *Zakhor,* and it means not only "you will remember" but "you will continue to tell," to recount, to testify."[126] The importance of remembering crimes like genocide is simple. It is "because such past events do not belong to the past … Past occurrences of genocide do not belong to the past but are, on the contrary, extremely current. They have shaped our societies into post-genocidal societies in which the trauma of these genocides is very much present."[127] I recognize that these lines may be overly generalizing; but they still convey an idea of impact of the past on people's lives and nations. The call to remembrance is not just about turning toward the past. It is also an injunction to the present and to the future. It is a reminder that for many people the present hurts. "To remember is to be present. But it is also to act and to act, today and tomorrow, to build a society in which this monstrous and criminal enterprise will simply be unthinkable."[128] Remembering the victims of terrorists' attack in New York, Nairobi, Paris, and Brussels has this goal. In this light, we cannot afford to forget. Forgetting is not an option.

Memory is instrumental in the formation of human identity, and a number of scholars have argued for its significance. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle notes: "we are indebted to those who have gone before us as part of what we are"[129] and we keep their memories. Aristotle emphasizes that memory allows us to respect others, to pay them their due. This is a fundamental

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[125] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 25.

[126] Caroline Fournet, *The Crime of Destruction and the Law of Genocide: Their Impact on Collective Memory* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), xxx.

[127] Ibid.

[128] The French version is as follows: "Se souvenir, c'est être là. Mais c'est aussi agir … Agir, aujourd'hui et demain, c'est construire une société dans laquelle cette entreprise, monstrueuse et criminelle sera simplement impensable." See Jacques Chirac, "Discours Prononcé lors de l'Inauguration de la Nouvelle Exposition du Pavillon d'Auschwitz" in *Libération*, January 27, 2005.

[129] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics,* Book V, trans. Terence Irwin (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1985), 140.

principle of justice. For Paul Ricoeur, memory arises in the manner of affection: we remember partly because there is a particular love or hate associated with the thing remembered.[130] The point of these thinkers is that to be human is to be marked by our capacity to remember. For instance, through Yad Vashem (Israel Memorial Monument), the State of Israel keeps the memory of the six million vanquished Jews to make it clear that the Shoah did not happen in darkness but in broad daylight and to understand that each victim reveals the extent of the loss.[131] Israel safeguards the memory of crushed Jews to show the world that they mattered. Yad Vashem warns any assassin of memory that each of the exterminated Jews deserves to be remembered.[132] Memory arises in the manner of affection: we partly remember because there is a particular love or hate associated with the thing remembered.[133] Elizabeth A. Johnson notes that "remembering the great crowd of female friends of God and prophets opens up possibility for the future; their lives bespeak an unfinished agenda that is now in our hands; their memory is a challenge to action; their companionship points the way."[134] The point here is that to minimize the importance of memory is tantamount to a denial of people's dignity which is not erased by death, but also a denial of the future that unfolds into human hands.

The duty of remembrance can function as an attempted exorcism, that is a healing process, in an historical situation marked by conflict and abuse. Elie Wiesel notes that "memory creates bonds rather than destroying them, bonds between present and past, between individuals and

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[130] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 17.

[131] "The biblical word Shoah has been used since the Middle Ages to mean 'destruction.'" It has been used as a "standard Hebrew term for the murder of European Jews as early the 1940s." The word Holocaust originally referred "to a sacrifice burnt entirely on the altar," but it is now generally taken as "a term for the crimes and horrors perpetrated by the Nazis." For further details, see The Holocaust Research Center, "The Holocaust: Definition and Preliminary Discussion," accessed May 6, 2016, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/holocaust/resource_center/the_holocaust.asp#!prettyPhoto/

[132] Marcel Uwineza, "Memory: A Theological Imperative in Post-genocide Rwanda," in *Hekima Review,* no. 54 (May 2016), 51-64, at 52.

[133] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 17.

[134] Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 169.

groups … it is because I refuse to forget that their [other people's] future is as important as my own."[135] Even Yahweh commanded the Israelites to remember. Their memory was to be a reason for celebration of what Yahweh had done for them, and at the same time, a responsibility not to be held back by the bonds of slavery (Exodus 15:1-21).

Memory plays various functions. In this study, I highlight six. First, memory challenges us to move forward and establish strong connections between memory and truth because selective or false memories can become oppressive ideologies in the future. The drive for memory helps recover the narratives of those who have suffered unjustly. To remember entails living in more than one world, "to be tolerant and understanding with one another. Without memory, people's image of themselves would be impoverished."[136] Through memory, we understand that Auschwitz and the genocide in Rwanda were not accidents in history; they were conceived, planned, and executed by people. In his book on *The Banality of Evil,* Bernard J. Bergen, however, observes strongly: "The murder of the Tutsis and moderate Hutus was an event in Rwanda's history in which the entire world was, at best, an observer secretly deriving pleasure from a pornography of death, or, at worst, a Hutu government bringing to culmination the long history of negative ethnicity."[137] The memory of such indifference is imperative in that it demonstrates what happens when people and communities keep silent in the face of evil.

Second, a critical appropriation of memory allows humanity not to lose what most people hold as foundational: the intrinsic dignity of the human person, fostered by the love of one's neighbors, even if they prove to be enemies. From a theological anthropology perspective,

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[135] Elie Wiesel, *From the Kingdom of Memory: Reminiscences* (New York: Summit, 1990), 201.

[136] Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 195.

[137] Bernard J. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil: Hannah Arendt and "the Final Solution"* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), x.

Irenaeus' best-known insight affirms the worth of the human person: *Gloria Dei, vivens homo. Vita autem hominis, visio Dei* (the glory of God is a living human person; the life of the human person is the vision of God.)[138] God receives glory when humans are truly alive. "God's honor lies in [humanity's] happiness and the raising up of the lowly and the oppressed: but in the last resort the honor and the happiness of [humanity] lies in God."[139] This is well substantiated in the fourth chapter.

Third, memory strengthens people's faith to go the extra mile despite the futility of suffering. Miroslav Volf's faith helped him overcome the horror of abuse and interrogations inflicted on him in Croatia. Instead of returning evil for evil, Volf heeded the apostle Paul and tried to overcome evil with good. "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good." (Rom 12:21) This was a realization that after all, the God who is in Christ, who died for the redemption of the ungodly, redeemed us all. The sunshine from God's creation does not have favorites.

Fourth, memory functions as a reminder of how we all fail and how we all stand in need of forgiveness. The writer of Ecclesiastes is right: "there is not a righteous [person] on earth who continually does good and who never sins." (Eccl 7:20) Because of the memory of our failings, we can be compassionate to others and develop alternative attitudes and perspectives to overcome the horrors of those who have abused us. "A victim who remembers the wrongs suffered at the foot of the cross does not do so as a righteous person but as a person who has been embraced by God, his own unrighteousness notwithstanding."[140] We all stand judged by our solidarity in sin or solidarity in silence in front of those who suffer.

Fifth, memory is central to human identity. The rejection of the memories of what we have

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[138] Quoted in Edward Schilleebeckx, *Interim Report on the Books Jesus and Christ* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 62.

[139] Ibid., 63.

[140] Ibid., 122.

done or what has been done to us means partly the rejection of our true identity. It means living in self-denial. Yet, humans are not shaped just by memories; they also shape the memories that shape them, otherwise they become slaves of the past.[141] The point is that people's experiences have impact on how they perceive themselves, but these experiences and memories carry some promises of what people can become. People have the capacity to challenge or improve their lived experiences at varying degrees. One good example is that of Nelson Mandela—South African anti-apartheid revolutionary who after being in prison for twenty-seven years (1962-1989). After his release from prison with all the hard labor he endured, Mandela shaped his and the nations' memories and turned them into opportunities for South Africa.[142] The argument is that since we can react to our memories and shape them, we are larger than memories because the power of memory embodies different faculties of the human person, beyond one's ability to remember or the act of remembering.

Beyond military, economic, and political prowess, nations are shaped by the memory of their stories. As instantiated in the First Chapter, "the interweaving of European colonialism and the Hamitic myth helped to created modern Rwanda."[143] And no one can now have an objective understanding of Rwanda without this story and the social history that it took. Similarly, "one cannot understand any nation and its politics without getting to the heart of the story that shapes that people."[144] Memory "re-members" us. It remakes us for better or for worse. As discussed in the previous chapter, Rwanda's history is a reminder of how stories can kill.

Lastly, memory ideally leads to solidarity. It awakens us from the slumber of indifference

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[141] Ibid., 25.

[142] For more on Nelson Mandela, see Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Randburg, South Africa: Macdonald Purnell), 1994.

[143] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 66.

[144] Ibid.

and goads us to fight against the suffering and oppression around us; in Volf's words, "to struggle against evil, we must empathize with its victims."[145] Solidarity has its origin in the love of neighbor and is informed by the memories of suffering of those who have gone before us. It is also solidarity with the dead, the forgotten; "love of neighbor is not something different from the love of God; it is merely the earthly side of the same coin,"[146] says Metz. It is a concrete solidarity with the least of our society and solidarity with Christ who redeems us and did so even for those who have died before him which explains his descent among the dead.

To extend the argument further, one may ask whether there is any difference between human memory and that of other animals? To answer this question, I will lean on two theologians: Augustine and Aquinas.

For Augustine, the distinguishing factor between the human mind and that of animals is that humanity is open to transcendence in its search for the knowledge of God. He writes: "In recalling you I rose above those parts of the memory which animals also share, because I did not find you among the images of physical objects."[147]Animals are unable to make rational judgments.[148] However, Augustine holds that beasts and birds also have memory. If they did not, how would they "rediscover their dens and nests, and [further] habit could have no influence on them in any respect except by memory."[149] The major difference between human beings and other animals is that for animals, their knowledge is natural and instinctual, while for humans, we have both of these plus the capacity for transcendence.

Thomas Aquinas developed Augustine's distinction between humans and other animals

[145] Volf, *The End of Memory*, 31.
[146] Johann Baptist Metz, *Poverty of Spirit (*New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 32-33.
[147] Augustine, *Confessions*, 10.25.36.
[148] Ibid., 10.6.10.
[149] Ibid., 10.7.26.

from the perspective of *Imago Dei*. Aquinas first asks: How does the image of God make humanity distinct from other creatures? His answer is that humans have an understanding and a mind. "While all creatures bear some resemblance to God … only in a rational creature do you find resemblance to God in the manner of an image …[and] … what puts the rational creature in a higher class than others is precisely intellect or mind."[150] This does not mean that God is like us. Aquinas "holds that we resemble God, and do so more than anything else in the material world, insofar as we are able to understand and to act on the basis of our understanding."[151] The difference between rational and other creatures is that rational creatures are able to imitate God both in God's being, living, and understanding. Humanity is like God by means of "analogy." This is an important analogical likeness between creator and creature, and despite human sinfulness, "likeness to God is our true identity and so fuller participation in this reality is our true calling."[152] Our true existence is discovered through participation in the life of God in whom the human person finds the perfection of existence.[153] The fourth chapter shall explore further this argument.

What is at the center of human memory, unlike other animals, is that the human person is created for God and his/her activities aim at loving union with God, although the resemblance to God is not complete except in the beatific vision, where the person will know and love his/her Exemplar, as he is known and loved by him (1 Cor 13:12; 1 Jn 3:2). Additionally, the memory of knowing that when God decides to become something else, God becomes one of us in Jesus Christ is of immense magnitude. The Incarnation of the *Logos* is an unambiguous abiding confirmation that God loves what God has created, and that God became like us is not a diminishment, but a

[150] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia.93.1, 3, 6.
[151] Ibid., Ia.93. 6.
[152] Dominic Robinson, *Understanding the "Imago Dei": The Thought of Barth, von Balthazar and Moltmann* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), 15.
[153] See Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia.4 on God's perfection. God is pure perfection and desires to share it with God's creatures.

sign of divine freedom. The memory born from knowing and understanding that humanity and the rest of God's creation is loved thus carries enormous ethical responsibility. We must be willing to share the love we have received with others. Michael Himes expresses this responsibility in these words, "we cannot experience God unless we love our brothers and sisters, and we cannot love our brothers and sisters without experiencing God … in this sense, the Christian demonstration of God is 'I love you, therefore God exists.'"[154] Put differently, he or she who loves, knows God.

I have so far discussed this dissertation's understanding of theology and its essential link to people's contexts as an exercise in *theo-listening*. I have also examined the complexity of Rwanda's unreconciled memories and their lasting impact on Rwandan identity, intensified by Rwanda's dry bones, and the theological imperative of memory. The next section assesses the vocation of theologians in and from places of wounds. Let us now address this chapter's final question.

2.6 The Role of Theologians from and in Places of Wounds

Concern for institutional interests and the preservation of church's standing and reputation have broadly circumscribed the Church's freedom and mission of proclaiming the Kingdom of God and of being the advocate of human rights. The histories of slavery and colonization are good examples. The complicity of some church leaders in Rwanda, as discussed in the first chapter, is an illustration *par excellence*. John S. Conway notes that churches often fail to be prophetic because they are "unprepared institutionally or theologically to mobilize their following in any

[154] Himes, *Doing the Truth in Love,* 55.

campaign beyond the defense of the immediate interests of their own community."[155] How should then the task of theologians from and in places of wounds be envisioned today?

The work of theologians is a call from God to contribute to the life of the Church and the society. This vocation is expressed through different creative ways of undertaking theology in new perspectives. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith understands the vocation of the theologian to be the pursuit "in a particular way of an ever deeper understanding of the Word of God found in the inspired Scriptures and handed on by the living tradition of the Church [and to do so] in communion with the magisterium, which has been charged with the responsibility of preserving the deposit of faith."[156] The magisterium is however urged not to extinguish the Spirit, but rather "to test all things and hold fast to what is good" (1 Thes. 5:12, 19-21). Those charged with the responsibility of preserving the faith are tasked to encourage people's charisms and to journey with them in the discernment of gifts. It is important for bishops and theologians to work under the presumption that each desires the good of the Church and "presumes the good will of the other. Difficult as it may be, each must learn to recognize the one God who is acting in the other."[157] *Lumen Gentium* asserts that the vocation of the theologian is to seek theological depth using "right judgment" and applying his or her reflection "more fully in daily life."[158] This task is done through research, teaching, writing, and ministering. Theological reflection on Rwanda must grapple with what René Lemarchand has described as the "'labor of memory.'"[159] The latter

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[155] John S. Conway, "Coming to Terms with the Past," in *German History* 16 (1998): 337-96, at 386. Conway (1929-2017) was a professor of history at the University of British Columbia with specialization in the role of German churches and the Vatican during the Nazi era.

[156] Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Instruction on the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian," in *Origins* 20 (July 5, 1990), 117-20 at no. 6, p. 119.

[157] Mary Ann Donovan, "The Vocation of the Theologian," in *Theological Studies* 65 (2004), 3-22 at 20.

[158] *Lumen Gentium*, no. 12.

[159] René Lemarchand, "The Politics of Memory in Post-Genocide Rwanda," In Philip Clark, Zachary D. Kaufman, and Zachary Daniel, eds., *After Genocide: Transitional Justice: Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 69.

recognizes the plurality of memories, identities, and guilt that have resulted from the genocide, as discussed above. It challenges any attempt to have a univocal memory, but seeks to entangle the ambivalence and complexities of Rwanda's memories. Theologians from wounded places like Rwanda have a field of "historical complexity" which in itself "contains theological lessons" [160] from the brokenness of their people (and themselves), awakening the Spirit of God and the hope that arises from the fact that God's love is at work in history, even when people do not seem to perceive it.

Theologians have the mission to listen and distinguish the variety of voices of our times, "and to interpret them in the light of God's word, in order that the revealed truth may be more deeply penetrated, better understood, more suitably presented."[161] This means that theologians are entrusted with the task of bringing the Christian faith to dialogue with culture in a way that stimulates and deepens that faith.[162] People's cultures, histories, and experiences carry within them new challenges to which theologians must offer scrutiny and reflection in dialogue with the findings of other sciences and in "collaboration with experts in many fields."[163] In partnership with others, theologians will thus be able to present the Word of God in a way that is comprehensible to their contemporaries. Robert A. Krieg confirms this point, "theologians in every age have the task of helping the believing community to articulate the truths of Christian faith in relation to the intellectual, cultural, social, and political situations in which the church finds itself."[164] However, this task of articulating the truth of the Christian faith is to go hand in hand with theologians'

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[160] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 208. Catherine Newbury remarks that in Rwanda, "with an intensity that surpasses normal clichés, there is no single history; rather there are competing 'histories' (Catherine Newbury, "Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda," in *Africa Today* 45:1 (1998), 9.

[161] *Gaudium et Spes,* no. 44. Congar, Yves. "The Role of the Church in the Modern World." In Herbert Vorgrimler, ed., *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II,* vol. 5 (New York: Herder, 1969) Part I, Chapter IV, 202-21 at 219-21 also substantiates this point on the role of the Church and the vocation of the theologian.

[162] *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 62.

[163] Donovan, "The Vocation of the Theologian," 11.

[164] Robert A. Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 171.

lament or inability to act when it matters most and to make a resolution from the lessons learnt. After the Jewish Holocaust, Karl Rahner bemoaned the sin of omission and lack of ecclesial boldness in these words: "At the time, we priests already had enough to do to protect our own skins. But we should have done much more to protect also the skins of other people, of non-Christians, than we in fact did."[165] Given what the two previous section on the polygonal nature of Rwandan wounds and Rwanda's "dry bones," I follow Emmanuel Katongole, Rwandan and Ugandan theologian who argues that our experience of Rwanda as theologians born from wounds makes it plain and clear that "Christianity made little difference in Rwanda. Christianity seemed little more than an add-on--an inconsequential relish that did not radically affect people's so-called natural identities nor the goals or purposes they pursued. Purposes and goals were dictated to Christians and non-Christians alike by radio personalities and political figures."[166] This failure calls for a transformation of mind. Such renewal begins by offering a fresh lens through which to "see ourselves, others, and the world.[167] In the process, Christianity is meant to shape a new identity within us by creating a new sense of we – a new community that defies our usual categories of anthropology."[168] It is a renewal that theologians seek to foster as we make Christians aware or recognize "the ways in which politics shapes not only our view of the world and ourselves, but also the tribal patterns that we so often overlook."[169]

The wounds inflicted by wars and genocides have led theologians to redefine and deepen the mission and self-understanding of the Church in the contemporary world. The failure of

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[165] Karl Rahner, *Bilder eines Lebens* (Freiburg: Herder, 1985), 37. It is fair to say that some scholars mention that Karl Rahner said and wrote things like this only after hearing the more trenchant criticism of his student and colleague, Johann Baptist Metz.

[166] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 68.

[167] The reader may look forward to the discussion of moral, religious and intellectual conversions in the fourth chapter.

[168] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 69.

[169] Ibid., 47-48.

Christians and church leaders in Rwanda has thus pushed this researcher to consider the problematic history of Rwanda, the complicity of some church leaders, Rwandan unreconciled memories, and the role of memory in places of wounds. Similarly, the experience of the Second World War and the Jewish Holocaust led the Second Vatican Council to engage in a dialogue with modernity. The painful experience of the First and Second World Wars led some theologians to move away from scholastic theology (which seemed to have answers to questions which people were no longer asking) to critical, liberation, and political theologies that seek to respond to contemporary questions. For instance, "the German-speaking delegates at the council promoted the view that the Church should be an advocate of the rights and dignity of every human being."[170] Theologians who spoke at the Second Vatican Council shared one clear conviction: "theology must be explicitly engaged in the issues and ideas of the day" so that the church is less at a loss amid political tyranny and social injustice.[171] *Gaudium et Spes* puts it this way*:* "the Council yearns to explain to everyone how it conceives of the presence and activity of the Church in the world of today,"[172]—the world where humanity finds its energies, but also a world where humanity faces tragedies and wounds as well as triumphs. And, it is with this world that theologians must engage. Theologians helped the Council Fathers to grasp that Christian faith does not cut us off from the world, but requires our openness and engagement. To guide the followers of Jesus in living such openness and engagement, the Church has come to understand itself as a pilgrim community in need of constant renewal. The image of a pilgrim Church finds its foundation in *Lumen Gentium*

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[170] Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany*, 174.

[171] Ibid., 29-30.

[172] *Gaudium et Spes,* "the world which the Christian sees as created and sustained by its Maker's love, fallen indeed into the bondage of sin, yet emancipated now by Christ, Who was crucified and rose again to break the strangle hold of personified evil, so that the world might be fashioned anew according to God's design and reach its fulfillment." no. 2, accessed September 14, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

which states: "The Church, embracing in its bosom sinners, at the same time holy and always in need of being purified, always follows the way of penance and renewal."[173] *Gaudium et Spes* also affirms this teaching:

> To carry out such a task [of engaging the world], the Church has … the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions which men ask about this present life and the life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other. We must therefore recognize and understand the world in which we live, its explanations, its longings, and its often dramatic characteristics.[174]

With these words, *Gaudium et Spes* departs from the image of the Church as *societas perfecta* to the image of a pilgrim people in need of purification and renewal.[175] Further, emphasizing the centrality of the human being, *Gaudium et Spes* reiterates that the human person bears the *Imago Dei* and urges humanity "to see [the] neighbor as another self" and [declares that] "offenses such as murder and genocide are violations of the integrity of the human person."[176]

The vocation of Christian theologians involves more than safeguarding and accurately communicating the Jesus story, and keeping alive the memories of believers who came before us. "*Donum Veritatis*," the Instruction "On the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian," states that the role of the theologian "is to pursue in a particular way an ever deeper understanding of the Word of God found in the inspired Scriptures and handed on by the living Tradition of the Church. He does this in communion with the Magisterium which has been charged with the responsibility of

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[173] *Lumen Gentium*, no. 8, accessed August 19, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html

[174] *Gaudium et Spes,* no. 4, accessed October 15, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

[175] This image of a pilgrim Church will be elucidated further in chapter three.

[176] *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 27 and see also Grosse, "An Analysis of *Mit Brennender Sorge Canonical Significance,"* http://www.lifeissues.net/writers/gro/gro_10mitbrennender.html. The concept of Imago Dei constitutes the central argument of chapter four.

preserving the deposit of faith."[177] Arguably, the vocation of the theologian goes beyond this description. Theologians ought to assist present generations to remember past suffering and to interpret this suffering in light of the *memoria passionis* of the crucified Lord as "dangerous memories" within particular cultures and social systems.[178] Theologians are to help people to remember God's fidelity in the midst of past and present suffering; thus, their role is partly to help people to not be overwhelmed by suffering and to find hope in the God of Jesus Christ.

Theologians should take special note of this exhortation in the First Epistle of Peter: "Always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have. But do this with gentleness and respect." (1 Peter 3:15) Theologians are accountable for the faith. But, faith can be challenged, particularly by seemingly relentless structural injustices that surround the believer; hence, theologians have the task of sustaining believers in clarifying the reasons for their resilience in the midst of their suffering. As *Donum Veritatis* asserts, the theologian "seeks the 'reasons of faith' and offers these reasons as a response to those seeking them, thus constitutes an integral part of obedience to the command of Christ, for [people] cannot become disciples if the truth found in the word of faith is not presented to them" (cf. *Rom* 10:14 ff.).[179] Moreover, since theologians are accountable for the faith, these men and women ought to be ready to dialogue respectfully with *all* people of good will, with *all* world cultures, and with other religions.

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[177] Joseph Ratzinger, "*Donum Veritatis*," Instruction On the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian," (May 24, 1990), accessed August 9, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19900524_theologian-vocation_en.html, no. 6.

[178] Uwineza, "Reimagining the Human, Suffering and Memory: Fostering Discipleship and Reconciliation for a 'Church of the People" in Post-Genocide Rwanda," STL Thesis, Boston College (April 2015), 25; Metz, *Faith in History and Society*, 105.

[179] Joseph Ratzinger in his "*Instruction Donum Veritatis*, On the Ecclesial Vocation of the Theologian," no. 7.

Pondering life, the mystery of human existence, and people's historical, cultural, and social contexts in relation to ultimate reality is a task of theologians. When a person raises questions about death, about what they can hope for, about evil and injustice, about human fulfilment and happiness, about the challenges of suffering—that person is asking questions that point to God. The earlier sections on Rwandan bones, polygonal wounds and memories have done exactly this. Sandra Schneider remarks that a theologian has "a vocation to tending the truth about the most important issues in human experience."[180] To accomplish this task, armchair reflection is inadequate. One must have some deeper knowledge of people's lived reality. The search for the depth of human reality joins Pope Francis' exhortation to theologians:

> Do not settle for a theology of the desk. Your places for reflection are the boundaries. And do not fall into the temptation to paint over them, to perfume them, to adjust them a bit and tame them. The good theologians, like the good shepherds, smell of the people and of the road and, with their reflection, pour oil and wine on the wounds of humanity."[181]

The task of theologians goes beyond the academic exercise of studying, at their desks, revealed truth. It also involves taking their work to the marginalized and those who are being crucified today in order to assess critically the reasons of their marginalization and to find ways of setting them free. This is the meaning of pouring "oil and wine" over people's wounds (Luke 10:34). Theologians, therefore, are to guard themselves against a theology exhausted in academic disputes, a theology that watches humanity from inside a glass castle. Within the context of Rwanda with its complex wounds, theologians must know what these wounds are and avoid simplistic theological assumptions. Instead, their reflections must be in touch with reality and be developed

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[180] Sandra Schneiders, "The Vocation of the Theologian begins with an Invitation," in *America* (August 20, 2018), accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2018/08/20/vocation-theologian-begins-invitation

[181] Pope Francis, "Francis: Theologians Should Smell Like the Sheep, Too," in J. J. McElwee, editor, in *National Catholic Reporter*, accessed March 9, 2015, http://ncronline.org/blogs/ncr-today/francis-theologians-should-smell-sheep-too#

from the experience of God's people. The desire of such theology is to bring about unity among all God's people and in the Church. Thus, the life of a theologian transcends the pursuit of a career. "It is always, in a very fundamental way, about helping others seek life-giving answers to the really important questions of human existence."[182]

Within the context of Rwanda, theologians ought to do theology facing the aftermath of the genocide and at the same time find a way of engaging that which can positively be retrieved from the leaders of the Rwandan church, despite their past failures. A theologian is one who must always engage in order to find rays of truth and hope even within contexts of apparent failure. As evidenced from some episcopal letters, there was some theological and prophetic boldness. Consider the Rwandan Bishops' Pastoral Letter of February 1993 in which they expressed their discontent and sought to uncover the origins of Rwanda's wounds. Their words describe the task of political theology in Rwanda:

> The present difficulties [the war and ethnic rivalry] are the consequence of past neglect. They are the consequence of carelessness. They are the result of greed and selfishness. They are the result of many impatiences that prevented us from deepening anything. They are the consequence of our evasions from the truth and the worship of lies. They are the consequence of the lack of love in our relationships imprinted with so much distrust and selfishness. All of us did not know how to free ourselves from our bad tendencies. We became prisoners of our personal interests even to the point of blindness of the heart. Thus, we tear each other apart and what should bring us together for the same action opposes us ... we have put chaos in place of harmony, in place of fraternity jealousy, in place of sharing and mutual aid rivalries, and in place of unity discord. Our misfortunes are the result of the ill-will of everyone: our community relations have been bad, we have ruled out others, preventing them from getting what they were just entitled as we were.[183]

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[182] Sandra Schneiders, "The Vocation of the Theologian begins with an Invitation," in *America* (August 20, 2018), accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2018/08/20/vocation-theologian-begins-invitation

[183] Lettre Pastorale des Évêques Catholiques du Rwanda, "La Paix et la Réconciliation des Rwandais, (Carême 1993), nos. 12-13.

In this letter, Rwandan bishops joined the earlier analysis made by Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva and his presbyterate when they diagnosed the institutional failures and wounds of the church in December 1991. Nsengiyumva acknowledged the institutional power and visible works of the church in Rwanda. However, despite its prominence, Nsengiyumva thought the church was a sick institution. It did not find it urgent to study the problems that the country faced in order to find solutions and strategies based on the Gospel. Nsengiyumva declared that ethnocentrism and greed had continued to wound the church. He even criticized the letters of bishops that had not led to any tangible change in the different organs of the local church. The letters only talked, but there was no action plan.

The task of theologians who reflect on the impact of politics on church and society is, therefore, to make it clear that fear and lies prevent people from speaking truth. Theologians must be a critic of the society, making it clear to all that any refusal to engage on issues affecting God's people and any refusal to enter tough conversations regarding reality "leads to theological and ministerial irrelevance."[184] As the First Chapter has demonstrated, some in Rwanda did not speak truth to power on behalf of those who were unjustly treated; rather they sought to guard their reputations. Katongole remarks that church leaders saw their role as one of advancing the Rwandan "civilization project" and helping it to succeed, but they often failed to be critical of themselves and the society.[185] But Katongole's comments must be nuanced: Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva was critical of the church and of journalists, as was the bishops' pastoral letter mentioned above. Nsengiyumva's letter to Rwandans and in particular to the Christians of Kabgayi Diocese speaks volumes: "The leaders of the church fear sincere and critical self-examination in order to study the

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[184] Sandra Schneiders, "The Vocation of the Theologian begins with an Invitation," in *America* (August 20, 2018), accessed August 9, 2019, https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2018/08/20/vocation-theologian-begins-invitation

[185] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 61.

problems tearing at the church. They are more concerned with works that show forth the church's glory and strength, in order to prove that it must be honored."[186] Finally, he criticized the journalists who "ignore the laws that legislate their profession and hide the truth through gossip and giving unwarranted information."[187] The Church needs to be self-critical for the integrity of its evangelical mission and for the common good of Rwandan society. In carrying out such a critique, it becomes a leaven for justice, peace, reconciliation, and a home where everyone has a place with dignity. The church does this knowing that her pilgrim mission transcends earthly activities, and brings people to a deeper relationship with God. In his article, "The Function of Church as Critic of Society," Karl Rahner opines that the Church is only able to be a critic of society if "we can demonstrate to it that the actual concrete form it has come to assume is, at least in part, in contradiction to that which it recognizes as its own true nature."[188] The nature of the church comprises the mission of justice, respect for the dignity of each person, and love so that the reign of God may find a home in people's lives and transform their society. Unfortunately, as we have seen, some in the Rwandan church sought to support Rwanda's existing structures of ethnic, political, and economic inequality without being critical of them, with the exception of few leaders like Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyuma, André Sibomana, and Antonia Locatelli, etc.[189]

[186] Bishop Thaddée Nsengiyumva, « Twivugurure Tubane mu Mahoro » (December 1, 1991), 12-13.

[187] Ibid., 17.

[188] Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations,* trans. David Bourke, vol. 12 (New York: The Seabury Press, 1974), 232.

[189]André Sibomana was a priest of the diocese of Kabgayi and an editor at the influential Catholic newspaper *Kinyamateka* who became critical of President Juvenal Habyarimana's regime. His life was threatened because of his prophetic stands and human rights advocacy against Habyarimana's diversionists policies. After the genocide, he also became critical of the post-genocide regime, and his death was hastened by the government's refusal to grant him a visa to seek medical treatment abroad (see André Sibomana, *Hope for Rwanda: Conversations with Laure Guilbert and Hervé Deguine,* trans. Carine Tertsakian (London: Pluto Press, 1997). Antonia Locatelli was an Italian citizen who lived in Rwanda since 1972 as a lay volunteer attached to the Sisters of Hospitality of St. Martha. She was involved in charity work in Nyamata through education of young girls. On March 9, 1992, she denounced, on Radio France Internationale (RFI) and BBC, the role of the Government in the killings targeting the Tutsi in Bugesera region, which claimed more than 500 victims in a week. The same evening of March 9, she was shot by a gendarme officer in front of her premises (These words are paraphrased from an epitaph at the tomb of Antonia Locatelli behind the Nyamata Genocide Memorial Church, written on June 22, 2019).

Part of the challenge of reconciling memories from Rwanda's wounds is the realization that church leaders were not completely complicit and silent. Rwanda's Catholic bishops did actually speak out in 1993. Their analysis was on target, though it lacked strategic planning and action. They produced disapproving words, but what effect did they have? Who among them put himself on the line for the sake of the marginalized? Were there no Tutsi bishops in Rwanda's episcopate? Did no one take up Bigirumwami's mantle? In Rwanda, we did not have any "Oscar Romero" bishop, ready to offer themselves for others to live. In a country where more than a million people lost their lives during the genocide and the war, it is extraordinary that we do not have any prelate martyred because of fighting for their right to life. This is in contrast to the local church of Bukavu across the border in the Democratic Republic of Congo where archbishops Christophe Munzihirwa Mwene Ngabo (killed in 1996) and Emmanuel Kataliko (died in 2000). The former spoke out and was effectively martyred for doing so. The latter challenged different armed forces that had invaded the city of Bukavu, exploiting its inhabitants. His message consisted on God's excess of love and a vocation of giving love that outdo violence.[190] These two inspiring leaders prove the need for the church to be constantly purified and a symbol self-criticism. For this to happen, the recovery of ecclesial imagination is imperative.

This ecclesial imagination must deal with the complexities and vulnerabilities that characterize the Rwandan society. It must include all sectors of Rwandan fabric. It must deal with the different ways the Christian mission accompanied and legitimized different political and

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[190] Archbishop Munzihirwa was an advocate for human rights in Bukavu (DRC). With the arrival of so many refugees in June 1994 from Rwanda, Bukavu experienced a humanitarian crisis. Munzihirwa did all in his power to speak on behalf of the refugees. He brought together different stakeholders to find a solution to the crisis. He spoke at the Vatican Radio and on the pulpit to raise the international awareness. See "chapter 8, Christopher Munzihirwa and the Politics of Nonviolent Love," in Katongole, *Born from Lament,* 164-78 and John Allen, *The Global War on Christians: Dispatches from the Front Lines of Anti-Christian Persecution* (New York: Image, 2013), 49. On archbishop Emmanuel Katariko, see "chapter 6, The Saving Power of 'Christ Crucified" in Katongole, *Born from Lament,* 122-34 and John Kiess, "When War is Our Daily Bread: Congo, Theology and the Ethics of Contemporary Conflict," (PhD diss.: Duke University, 2011).

governing entities, from colonial to postcolonial powers. Ecclesial imagination would do better to deal with structures of exclusion and therefore include different perspectives of the survivors, released prisoners, the Twa, the disabled or the politically excluded. In short, ecclesial imagination starts from Rwanda's wounds or what other theologians call "doing theology from the margins."[191] The latter makes it clear that there is no one way of doing theology and that different theologies are important to deal with either the genocide, human rights violations or different forms of exclusion. Ecclesial imagination is the subject matter of the next chapter.

[191]See Postkoloniale Theologien: bibelhermeneutische und kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge, ReligionsKulturen Band 11, Hrsg. v. Andreas Nehring/ Simon Tielesch, Stuttgart, 2013.

3.0 Chapter 3: The Renewal of Ecclesial Imagination

3.0 Abstract

The past is deep and, if taken with appropriate evaluation, it is filled with lessons for the present and the future. In Rwanda, a country with countless "dry bones" due to the war, the genocide, and their aftermath, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the renewal of ecclesial imagination is of decisive importance. Since a family that does not remember vanishes (umuryango utibuka urazima), *I hereby argue that coming to terms with the past with critical ecclesial imagination cannot be overemphasized. After the Jewish Holocaust, the Church acknowledged how some of its teachings laid the ground for anti-Semitism and how even today it still has the task of continuing to rethink its theology and theopraxis. This chapter shall discuss how the experience of the Church in Nazi Germany became a* kairos *for its ecclesial imagination. This will serve as an example of how the Rwandan church can move from a wounded human story to one whose mission is a deep commitment to memory and new evangelization. The Rwandan ecclesial communities need to understand what it means to come to terms with the past and the theological implications of memory rooted in self-criticism.*

3.1 Introduction

Every wound leaves a scar and every scar reflects a complex memory, as the previous chapters have discussed. The present chapter seeks to examine how the Church as an institution has learned from its past mistakes, and how in turn the latter became a *kairos* for new ecclesial imagination, creativity, and renewal. In this work, ecclesial imagination is defined as the Church's and particularly its theologians' ability to creatively learn from and use a painful past and present, its people and their context. The intended goal is to reignite a hope-filled future rooted in an *ecclesia-praxis.* Ecclesial imagination seeks to imitate Jesus' vision for humanity which has its basis in God and Jesus' mission of leading people to live dignified lives: "I came that they may have life and have it abundantly" (Jn 10:10b).

Imagination does not refer to some distinct part of the human mind. Exploring how the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus have the capacity to lead people to transformation, Robert P. Imbelli states that imagination has "the capacity of the thinking, feeling, yearning person to see the outer surface of things. [It proves man's and woman's] ability to see reality as whole, discover patterns, make connections to envisage new possibilities. It has the capacity to sense a mysterious

and gracious presence that resonates and reverberates through our everyday experience."[1] Poets, artists, and novelists express this imagination in their different works. One can think of the artistic imagination and impact of Michelangelo. Other poets or artists write or paint and in so doing they enlarge our imagination or provoke our affections and intellectual pursuit for truth and beauty. In this chapter, the sphere of our imagination is within the Church. The experiences of the wounding and wounded Church will hopefully provoke or liberate our imagination to appreciate the possibilities that arose from the wounds of the past and to envision new possibilities of ecclesial life and relations.

The following lived experience serves as a preface to what this chapter seeks to discuss in terms of ecclesial imagination. It is an experience of a wounded community in New Orleans, Louisiana, whose story of racial division offers a creative imagination of how to build a community where God's presence is felt despite the wounds of slavery.

> When I was a young Jesuit I lived and worked in New Orleans, Louisiana from June of 1981 to July of 1983. I had been missioned by my Provincial to work as a Supervising Attorney at the Loyola University Law Clinic. Within a few months, I heard about a great parish to visit for Sunday Mass to get an authentic experience of African-American liturgy. My first visit to St. Francis de Sales Parish on Second Street in New Orleans began a string of very happy visits for me. Liturgy lasted for 2 hours but it seemed like 45 minutes. There was a full Gospel Choir that sang with passion and spirit. The preaching was heartfelt. The community was welcoming.
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> Of all the Sundays that I attended liturgy at St. Francis de Sales, there is one Sunday that stood out above all of the others. It was the day that the parish dedicated a new altar in the church. After Vatican II, the parish had brought in a new altar so that the priest who was presiding could face the people in the congregation. But that altar was temporary and the parishioners wanted something more permanent. The story of that new permanent altar is one of the most poignant stories I have ever heard.
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> In the days of segregation there was a wooden barricade about half way down the church. The white parishioners sat in front of the barricade. The black parishioners sat behind it. When the Archdiocese of New Orleans desegregated its churches

[1] Robert P. Imbelli, *Christic Imagination: How Christ Transforms Us* (Now You Know Media, 2018), Disc # 1, track 6.

> during the civil rights movement of the 1960's that barricade was removed from the church and placed in storage. When it was time to choose a new permanent altar in the 1980's some of the black parishioners who had carpentry skills found that discarded barricade and they refashioned that wood into an altar that would be the focal point for Eucharistic celebrations in the church.
>
> I was there for Mass on the Sunday that the new altar was dedicated. I will never forget the words of the pastor as he blessed it and prayed over it. "The wood which once divided us along racial lines is now the wood that calls us together to be brothers and sisters in the Lord Jesus." I was so moved. I sometimes tear up when I tell people the story. I have never seen such a magnificent act of reconciliation and forgiveness as I did on that Sunday at St. Francis de Sales Church on Second Street in New Orleans, Louisiana. Jesus made the wood of the Cross holy with his blood. The parishioners of St. Francis de Sales made the wood of the altar holy with their prayer and forgiveness.[2]

This story portrays a racially divided people with a creative ecclesial imagination, which creates a new world and reveals new possibilities for those transformed by Christ. The community turned its test into a testimony by demonstrating that wounds of division and racism and self-inflicted wounds do not ultimately have the last word. The people of St. Francis de Sales reimagined creatively a new liturgical way of being church and discovered that every generation has a chance for peace and that wounds can be redemptive paths to healing. The reign of God and God's gift of healing, peace, and reconciliation are always a possibility, if people collaborate with God's gift of re-membering us, of making us whole and of rebuilding trust. A *καιρος* (divine opportunity) and a new ecclesial imagination are captured in these words: "The wood which once divided us along racial lines is now the wood that calls us together to be brothers and sisters in the Lord Jesus."[3] This is Christology, liturgy, and ecclesiology at work.

This chapter's subsequent sections will offer different ways through which theologians have drawn lessons from the wounds caused by the Holocaust and its surrounding ecclesial

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[2] Rev. Fred M. Enman, S.J., Boston College Jesuit Community, September 5, 2018. This is a story I received in person from Enman himself. It captures the spirit and the argument of this chapter.

[3] Ibid.

context. These lessons will show the relevance of doing theology in and from the places of wounds. This chapter also discusses the identity of the Church as the human story of God, and some of its wounds in history. This is followed by an evaluation of what the Church has learned from the Jewish Holocaust and how post-Shoah theology remains a lesson for churches wherever people have been wounded, with particular application to the Rwandan church.[4] As this study unfolds, it will become evident—hopefully—that as a pilgrim church, Rwandan Christian communities need to hear and practice once more the words of *Lumen Gentium:* "The Church, embracing sinners in its bosom, at the same time holy and always in need of being purified, always follows the way of penance and renewal."[5]

Building on this dissertation's two previous chapters about the problematic history of Rwanda, the complicity of some church leaders, and the complexity of reconciling Rwandan memories, the present chapter first explores how the Church has often contributed to the wounds of God's people. The chapter will offer theological reflections on what it means to recover an ecclesial imagination. It will do so in conversation with two German thinkers: Theodor Adorno and Johann Baptist Metz who, respectively, have reflected on what it means to come to terms with the past and the theological implications of memory. Finally, this chapter offers an ecclesial vision for the church in need of healing, that is, a church of sinners whose mission is to be a place of hope and a church committed to memory. Before we get there, this chapter begins first by assessing some ways through which the Church as an institution has often inflicted wounds on God's people.

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[4] The word Holocaust originally referred "to a sacrifice burnt entirely on the altar," but it is now taken as "a term for the crimes and horrors perpetrated by the Nazis" against the Jews. The biblical word Shoah has been used since "the Middle Ages to mean 'destruction.'" It has been used as a "standard Hebrew term for the murder of European Jews as early the 1940s." See The Holocaust Research Center, "The Holocaust: Definition and Preliminary Discussion," accessed October 1, 2018, http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/Holocaust/resource_center/the_Holocaust.asp#!prettyPhoto

[5] Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *Lumen Gentium* (November 21, 1964), no. 8, accessed October 11, 2019. http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html

3.2 The Wounding Church and Its Self-inflicted Wounds

The Church is a community called by God who has revealed Godself in Jesus Christ and the Spirit, and was sent to announce the Kingdom of God that has begun in Christ, and looks forward to its fulfillment. The Church exists through God's initiative. It is a community of Christ's disciples who understand that their story with God extends to all creation. Membership in the Church is made concrete through an individual's baptismal mission. The Church is a communion of communities, that is "a people called to communion,"[6] sustained by the memory of Jesus Christ inherited from the apostolic tradition. It embodies the stories and Christian *theopraxis* of pilgrims in need of redemption. My understanding of the Church is rooted in the theological conviction and belief that "this body of people, this nation of pilgrims, in and for the world, is a fundamental part of God's plan in history, guided by the Holy Spirit."[7] It is not therefore a community of mere well-wishers or a syndicate of the like-minded.

God calls us as the limited people we are and inseparable from our fellowship and encounter with God. The Church is also a broken community and history is filled with many examples of the Church's wounds. For example, in 1988, on the fiftieth anniversary of the "Night of Broken Glass,"[8] the Catholic Bishops of Germany and Austria wrote, "the Church, which we profess to be holy and revere as a mystery, is also a sinful Church in need of repentance."[9] It is a

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[6] This is an expression used by Richard R. Gaillardetz in his *Ecclesiology for a Global Church: A People Called and Sent* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008), 91.

[7] Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Towards a Networked Church,* 2nd Edition (London: Hurst & Company, 2012), 1.

[8] *Kristallnacht*, literally, "Night of Crystal," is referred to as the "Night of Broken Glass." The name refers to the wave of "November Pogroms, the night of November 9–10, 1938, when German Nazis attacked Jewish persons and property. *Kristallnacht* refers ironically to the litter of broken glass left in the streets after these pogroms." Michael Berenbaum, "*Kristallnacht*: German History," accessed September 5, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/event/Kristallnacht/.

[9] Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., "Reflections on the Shoah: The Catholic Church's Share of the Blame and Responsibility," in *Coming Together for the Sake of God: Contributions to Jewish-Christian Dialogue from Post-Holocaust Germany* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007), 70. See also "Accepting The Burden Of History: Common Declaration of the Bishops' Conferences of the German Federal Republic, of Austria and of Berlin, on the Fiftieth anniversary of the pogroms against the Jewish Community on the night of 9/10

Church that has let down many people—a story of wounded humanity. In his *Re-Visioning the Church*, the Australian theologian Neil Ormerod says that the history of the Church is intelligible when it takes not only "the praxis of the Church but also the history of ecclesiology itself and the ways they have shaped that praxis. The story of the Church includes the story of the stories of the Church … it must include an ecclesiology of Ecclesiologies."[10] While Ormerod criticizes flawed ecclesiologies, it is not unreasonable to say that the story of the church is one with many components, and parts of the latter include the wounds it has often caused as an institution and the wounds of its members.

The study of the story of the Church (Ecclesiology), if it is systematic, must be comprehensive to embrace the voices of different Christian communities. This means that the voices of God's people such as Christian communities in India or Nigeria, are as important as those of the diocese of Mainz in Germany or Sydney in Australia. Ecclesiology's task is not just to spell out how the Church is, "but how it should be, at least in the mind of the theologian."[11] It draws "on multiple disciplines in theology: biblical studies, history and beyond … [and indeed] modern theology has become 'largely empirical.' Now we may conclude that ecclesiology must become largely historical."[12] The idea is that the study of the Church would be disenfranchised if it is not grounded in history. As this chapter unfolds, the inseparable link between ecclesiology and history will become evident.

November 1938, accessed October 18, 2019, https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/documents/catholic/burden_of_history.html

[10] Neil Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church: An Experiment in Systematic-Historical Ecclesiology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014), 5.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Bernard J. F. Lonergan, "Theology in Its New Context," in *A Second Collection,* ed. William Ryan and Bernard Tyrrell (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1974), 58.

An important factor in ecclesiology is a call for the Church to constantly take context and reality seriously. In so doing, the Church is the symbolic "continuance, the contemporary presence, of that real, eschatologically triumphant and irrevocably established presence in the world, of God's salvific will. The Church is the abiding presence of that primal sacramental word of definitive grace, which Christ is in the world."[13] And Jesus is the human self-expression of the God who has come to heal our wounded humanity. Richard Lennan captures the Rahnerian description of the church in these words:

> Through Jesus, especially through his death and resurrection, [God's] mercy had become irrevocable, irreversible, and indomitable. In addition, God's self-communication in Jesus meant that God's mercy had a historical shape; it was always more than prime matter in the interior life of individuals. Rahner's conclusion from those two facts was that human history must always have a symbol of God's definitive mercy in Jesus Christ. If it were to symbolize Christ, however, such a symbol would need also to be an "event" to effect what it signified. In Rahner's theology, that symbol was the Church.[14]

The point of this quotation from Professor Lennan underpins one of the key points of this section: Our human history is also a story of God, seen from the mercy revealed in Christ Jesus. The Church is *the* symbol of Christ in whom God has revealed God's mercy to the whole of creation. It is a sacramental symbol of God's mercy.

Sadly, at times throughout history, the Church moved from mercy to wounding others. The schism caused by the Reformation movements is a good example. Ormerod notes that because of the Protestant Reformation, "where once the Church played an integral role across the whole of European society and culture, now its activities were restricted to those countries that were identifiably 'Catholic' … [and] denominational conflicts extended to the whole globe."[15] Some of

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[13] Karl Rahner, *The Church and the Sacraments*, trans. W. J. O'Hara (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1986), 18; see also Karl Rahner, "The Church as the Subject of the Sending of the Spirit," in *Theological Investigations,* VII, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1971), 188-89.

[14] Richard Lennan, "Ecclesiology and Ecumenism" in *The Cambridge Companion to Karl Rahner*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130-31.

[15] Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church*, 313.

the Church's teaching led some of God's people to seek reform, but in the process, wounds caused by division erupted.

There have been self-inflicted ecclesial wounds due to the Church's concern with its identity and uniformity. For instance, "the imposition of a uniform Catholic experience and universal language across a large variety of cultures, languages, and where some experiments of rites were carried out, they were often met with official resistance and rejection, such as the missionary work of the Jesuits with indigenous populations in Paraguay and the rites controversy in China."[16] This had little of the liberating effect that the proclamation of the Gospel ought to foster. Instead, it discouraged the liberative dimension of inculturation. It contradicted the theology of Pentecost, which celebrates diversity illustrated in the diversity of languages (Acts 2:1-11).

There have been other wounds caused by the Church's attitudes to modernity. The Church alienated itself from the Western world under Pius IX (1846-1878). In his encyclical *Quanta Cura, Condemning Current Errors* (December 8, 1864), Pius issued strong condemnations of all the evils of the world and blamed them on modernity. He condemned the view that "the Church is not a true and perfect society, entirely free; nor is she endowed with proper and perpetual rights of her own, conferred upon her by her Divine Founder."[17] He censured the promotion of liberty of conscience and worship as a personal human right. Pius IX found the claim to an individual right to follow one's conscience hard to conceive, because it challenged in part the supposedly divinely

[16] Ibid., 329. Infighting between Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans was an ecclesial wound for the Chinese church. One of the questions was: How should both Confucius and the ancestors be honored? Jesuits proposed an accommodation style to converts, but Franciscans opposed, and some Jesuits from Japan also opposed their Jesuit brothers. For details on this, see Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church*, 323.

[17] Pius IX, *The Syllabus of Errors* (1864), art. 19. accessed September 13, 2019, https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9syll.htm. See also Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei* (November 1885), art. 10, accessed September 13, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_01111885_immortale-dei.html. Pius X, successor of Leo XIII also condemned the modernists for reducing the Church to a human institution. See *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (September 8, 1907), art. 23, accessed September 13, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis.html

instituted authority of bishops and popes. Pius IX described the above right as insanity, prone to licentiousness.[18] Pius's *Syllabus of Errors* "undermined the possibility of dialogue with and mission toward the world."[19] Instead of appreciating the merits of the modern world, the latter was conceived as a sin to be overcome. Church hierarchy became more defensive. Bernard Lonergan remarks, "so far were churchmen from acknowledging the distinctive character of modern culture that they regarded it as an aberration to be resisted and overcome. When they were confronted with a heresy, which they considered to be the sum and substance of all heresy, they named it modernism."[20] This was a self-inflicted wound, which had impact on the life of the Church until the Second Vatican Council. This wound is what John O'Malley, the premier anglophone Church historian, has called "the long nineteenth century."[21] In this period, the inward-looking Church in its great missionary expansion failed to listen to or dialogue with the surrounding cultures. In many respects, it failed to "allow the practical insights to arise that were needed for the flourishing of its life and mission, nor the cultural engagement that would allow it to communicate with the world."[22]

To be fair, the ecclesial self-understanding that influenced Pius IX and others began in the early 1800s as a reaction to modernity and the anti-clericalism of the French Revolution. Pius was a product of his time. Under the influence of neo-scholastic theology, he was not fully open to those ideas stemming from the European enlightenment that "shattered the symbiosis of church, state, and society."[23] The conception of the Church as a perfect society, an idea that ran through

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[18] Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church*, 313.

[19] Ibid., 333.

[20] Lonergan, "The Absence of God in Modern Culture," 112.

[21] John O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2008), 4. For O'Malley, "the long nineteenth century stretches from the French Revolution until the end of the Pontificate of Pius XII in 1958," (Ibid).

[22] Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church*, 351.

[23] Robert A. Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany* (New York: Continuum, 2004), 13.

post-Reformation period until the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), deepened the divide between the Church and the modern world. The wounds were thus heightened by Church leadership for many years. The process of healing, however, was underway before the Second Vatican Council and is not finished. It is crucial to note that the Second Vatican Council's "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," *Gaudium et Spes*, reaffirmed the ultimate right to an individual's conscience:

> In the depths of his conscience, man detects a law which he does not impose upon himself, but which holds him to obedience. Always summoning him to love good and avoid evil, the voice of conscience when necessary speaks to his heart: do this, shun that. For man has in his heart a law written by God; to obey it is the very dignity of man; according to it he will be judged. Conscience is the most secret core and sanctuary of a man. There he is alone with God, Whose voice echoes in his depths. In a wonderful manner conscience reveals that law which is fulfilled by love of God and neighbor. In fidelity to conscience, Christians are joined with the rest of men in the search for truth, and for the genuine solution to the numerous problems which arise in the life of individuals from social relationships. Hence the more right conscience holds sway, the more persons and groups turn aside from blind choice and strive to be guided by the objective norms of morality…[24]

The Second Vatican Council sought to heal the self-inflicted wound that had caused the Church to be self-absorbed in its outlook to the world. Karl Rahner—one of the *periti* at the Council—reimagined or reignited the Church as an open sacred space, a place where people are free to meet God and to confront the challenges of this world, in order to transform and leave it better than they found it. On Rahner's account, the Church is a "spacious house with large windows from which one looks out on all spheres of humanity, all of which are encompassed by the creative power of God."[25] In my view, a spacious house with large windows allows outsiders looking in to learn something, as the human person oriented toward the transcendent discovers that God has

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[24] Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes,* (December 7, 1965), no. 16, accessed September 4, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

[25] Karl Rahner, "The Christian in this World" in *Theological Investigations,* VII, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1971), 96.

been part of our wounded history. For Lennan, "living as an ecclesial Christian [is] an invitation to be part of the world in a particular way, a way that witnessed not simply to humanity's orientation to God, but to the social implications of God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ."[26]

This section has laid out my broad definition of ecclesiology and also offered a reflection on how the Church's official positions have often inflicted wounds on itself and the world. In the following part, I examine some wounds of the German church and their lasting lessons to local churches.

3.3 Lessons from a Wounded Church

The following section is not a comprehensive study of Nazi Germany and the response of the Catholic Church during the period up to and including the Second World War. To do so would take me well beyond the scope of this dissertation. Rather, what follows is an overview of some distinctive ways the church in Germany, the Catholic Church in particular, responded theologically to the challenges of the Holocaust. However, I first discuss the different ways theologians interpret historical wounds in order to offer hope and reimagine a better future. Then, I discuss how the church in Germany learned from and uses a painful past and how it offers an opportunity for ecclesial imagination.

The Holocaust, the killing of nearly six million Jews, along with millions of Gypsies (Romani), homosexuals, Poles, and other so-called "sub-humans" (*Untermenschen*) during the Second World War, left unquantifiable wounds.[27] For Johann Baptist Metz—German political theologian—there are some questions one needs to ask after the Holocaust: "Do we really know what happened as a result of Auschwitz? … What happened to us, to our Spirit of Christianity and

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[26] Lennan, "Ecclesiology and Ecumenism," 128.

[27] United States Catholic Conference, *Catholic Teaching on the Shoah: Implementing the Holy See's We Remember* (Washington, DC: United Sates Catholic Conference, Inc., 2001), 2.

our often so forgetful, so clever talk about God and the world?"[28] Can one trust that Christian theology has learned its lessons? "Has the memory of Auschwitz transformed us in our existence as Christians? … As Christian theologians do we speak the same way today we spoke yesterday, before Auschwitz?"[29] The fundamental question here is this: What have we learned after the crime of the Jewish Holocaust? This interrogation provokes our anthropological, Christological, and ecclesial imagination. Metz writes, "whoever hears the message of the resurrection of Christ in such a way that in it the cry of the crucified [of our times] has become inaudible, hears not the Gospel but a myth of the victors."[30]

In the attempt to draw lessons from a tragic past, asking whether that past provokes our imagination, one immediate question surfaces: Do genocide studies matter theologically? They do matter. They matter because these studies are not aimed toward Jews and Germans, Armenians and Turks, or Tutsis and Hutus. These studies are aimed at any morally thinking people who care about "human behavior [and action], human nature, and the future of human society… [For] from mass death in gas chambers … from bullets in the brains of children to beards of old rabbis pulled out at the roots, we are left with stories that make us wonder how human beings could have been so cold and so brutal.[31] Genocide studies and other studies of past atrocities matter because theologically they affirm our shared humanity and ratify condemnations of any attempt to kill another person or to exterminate an entire people. Theology in a world of conflict avows that, when one community or nation is under assault, the idea of human solidarity and God's solidarity with humanity are also assaulted.

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[28] Johann Baptist Metz, *A Passion for God: Mystical-Political Dimension of Christianity,* trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 121-22.

[29] Ibid., 124.

[30] Ibid., 126.

[31] Robert P. Ericksen, *Complicity in the Holocaust: Churches and Universities in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

Post-Holocaust experience teaches Christian communities that "the traditions to which theology is accountable know a universal responsibility born of the memory of suffering …[and] there is one authority recognized by all great cultures and religions: the authority of those who suffer … [and] articulating other's suffering is the presupposition of all claims to truth. Even those made by theology."[32] In other words, no suffering in the world is irrelevant because all persons, created in God's image and likeness, have inalienable dignity. The human person is not created to suffer, but to find fulfillment that comes from their God-given right to live life to the full (Jn 10:10). Therefore, the dignity of persons remains a universal value that calls for protection.

Theological imagination confronts theologians with the need to ask the lessons they have learned from the centers of death: Auschwitz, genocide memorial centers in Rwanda, and the Memorial to the Victims of Communism in Prague.[33] These places call for self-examination.[34] The Church and its theologians ought to question themselves. Metz is an example: "Today, I am appalled that during my studies, I never visited the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp, where Dietrich Bonhoeffer was murdered, for having, among other things, dared to protest against the extermination of the Jews. And this camp was only fifty kilometers from my hometown."[35] By way of a parallel, given the horrific nature of the slave trade, it is shocking to meet people who do not see the value of the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, DC. A visit to these places has the capacity to change a person forever.[36] In the previous chapter,

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[32] Ibid., 134.

[33] Recall the wounded symbolic statues highlighted in the Second Chapter, *supra* p. 85.

[34] Recall the lessons learned from the dry bones of Rwanda in the second chapter, see p. 29ff.

[35] Johann Baptist Metz and Elie Wiesel, *Espérer envers et contre Tout: Un Juif et Un Chrétien après Auschwitz* (Paris: Salvator, 2012), 34. "On March 24, 1938, SS authorities determined a site near the small town of Flossenbürg to be suitable for the establishment of a concentration camp, due to its potential for extracting granite for construction purposes. The site lay in northeastern Bavaria near the Czech border, less than ten miles northeast of Waiden." see Holocaust Encyclopedia, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/flossenbuerg, accessed May 9, 2019.

[36] See Yad Vashem in Chapter Two, *supra* p. 111.

I mentioned Yad Vashem, especially its site dedicated to the memory of children killed during the Holocaust. A visit to such a place followed by self-examination is not meant primarily to provoke guilt, even though some guilt may be a good thing. Rather, it is a reminder that we are not there yet. We are pilgrims, always in need of conversion. On the one hand, we must ask ourselves whether we have taken history seriously; on the other hand, we must go beyond theological questions. We must move from: "Where was God at Auschwitz?" to "Where was humanity at Auschwitz?"[37] Speaking of Auschwitz, which functions in this dissertation as a symbol of all places of atrocity and death. Elie Wiesel, Holocaust survivor and scholar, comments that humanity often does not hear the tears of God, because humanity has not cried enough.[38] He remarks further, "death is never a gift, the most that can be said is that it is a lesson for humanity."[39] Reflections on death should lead communities to prevent undesirable deaths.

In his article "*Memoria Passionis* as Social Reconciliation in Eastern Africa: Remembering the Future at *Maison Shalom*," Katongole captures what it means to cry out, to resist, to innovate, that is to invent something new even from a situation that appears hopeless, and to remember the past as a forward-looking memory that anticipates a future as a future of those who are oppressed.[40] Katongole gives an example of someone who embodies the meaning of innovation; one who embodies the recovery of anthropological and ecclesial imagination against all odds. This is Maggy Barankitse, a Burundian woman who lost many members of her community during the 1993 Burundi massacres, yet refused to lose hope. Instead she founded *Maison Shalom* to care for orphaned children. She resisted then and keeps resisting—calling ethnicity a lie used by those in

[37] Metz and Wiesel, *Espérer envers et contre Tout*, 36. The translation is mine.
[38] Ibid., 173-74.
[39] Ibid., 180.
[40] Emmanuel Katongole, "*Memoria Passionis* as Social Reconciliation in Eastern Africa: Remembering the Future at *Maison Shalom,"* in J. J. Carney and Laurie Johnston, *The Surprise of Reconciliation in the Catholic Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018), 277.

power to exploit the poor and to gain and maintain power. *Maison Shalom* came about partly as a result of keeping alive the memory of the massacre in the Ruyigi bishop's compound.[41]

Ecclesial imagination is rooted in *memoria passionis et resurrectionis* of Jesus as a form of resistance and a ground for innovation. According to Metz, *memoria passionis et resurrectionis* is a category rooted in the "dangerous memories" of the oppressed that refuse to be anesthetized, but rather seek to resist "premature and easy reconciliation with the 'given' and are thus able to interrupt the logic of the way things are. [Dangerous memories] illuminate for a few moments and with a harsh and steady light the questionable nature of things we have apparently come to terms with."[42]

This is evident in Barankitse's experience. She started *Maison Shalom* to make it clear that hatred does not have the last word, but love wins out. She notes, "It was the needs of those children that drove and inspired me. I had these children in the beginning, and I had nothing to offer them. They needed love, they needed safety, and they needed food and clothing. I simply had to invent ways to help them. Love … made me an inventor."[43] This love born from wounds proves that a forward-looking memory is ultimately an expression and symbol of love as a trademark for Christian theology and orthopraxis, a praxis that leads to innovation, turning one's test into a testimony by transforming one's wounds into a womb of life in service of others. *Memoria passionis,* if used imaginatively, challenges theological discourses to realize that they neither have

[41] "In 1993, following the assassinations of Melchior Ndadaye, Burundi's first democratically elected Hutu president, the country erupted in Hutu-Tutsi ethnic massacres and countermassacres. Although herself Tutsi, Maggy adopted seven children, three Tutsi and four Hutu. Together with her children and other families, she sought refuge in the bishop's residence at Ruyigi, where Tutsi militias found her, set the place on fire, and killed seventy-two people. She was spared but was forced to watch the massacre of the seventy-two." See Katongole, "*Memoria Passionis*," 272.

[42] Metz, *Faith in History and Society,* 105-06.

[43] See Maggy Barankitse, quoted in Norman Wirzba, *Way of Love: Rediscovering the Heart of Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper One, 2017), 186 and Emmanuel Katongole, *The Sacrifice of Africa, A Political Theology for Africa* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2011), 17.

the privilege nor the luxury of proposing their explanations to the world, independent of any concrete reality. This is what Metz named "post-idealist theology."[44]

In our recovery of ecclesial imagination, there is a close link between socio-historical analysis and the existential reality of the Church. Ormerod remarks, "to fail to introduce social and historical analysis [of concrete situations] is to fail to understand the one reality that is the Church."[45] The contention here is that theology can never be divorced from the living context of God's people. In other words, theology has no right to be studied the same way as was done before the slave trade, before Auschwitz, or before the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. What occurred during and after these horrendous atrocities does not merely invite us to revise historical relations between Jews and Christians, between Hutus and Tutsis, or between whites and blacks. Even more, they urge us to reconsider our theological imagination and our epistemic attitudes, incompetencies, and indifferences. The task of theology is to examine how God still speaks to people's context and propose some ways of articulating the message of the Christian faith within the cultural, social, political, and intellectual challenges where Christian communities find themselves. Elie Wiesel hints of the need for reimagination in these words:

> I will tell you what has always touched and worried me about the situation "after Auschwitz." This is the misfortune, the despair of those who survived the disaster. So much silent distress, so many suicides! How many have died in despair of man. How can one believe in man or even, to use this big word, how can one believe in humanity, after having seen with his own eyes what man is capable of doing? How can one continue to live among men? What do we know about the threat these tragedies pose to humanity, we who have lived by turning our backs on this disaster or who were born after it?[46]

Wiesel's questions push humanity not to be satisfied with the *status quo*. He later makes it clear that survivors of the wounds of history are among the best authorities we have in dealing

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[44] Metz, *Faith in History and Society*, 27.
[45] Ormerod, *Re-Visioning the Church*, 23.
[46] Metz and Wiesel, *Espérer envers et contre Tout*, 36-37. The translation is mine.

with the above questions. Jürgen Moltmann (born April 8, 1926—) and Johann Baptist Metz (born August 5, 1928—December 2, 2019) were conscripted in the German army in 1944 when they were young men. They were captured and interned as prisoners of war.[47] Their experience of defeat, of facing up to what their country had done, shaped profoundly their theology and contributed to a very different kind of theology from that of their mentors and contemporaries such as Karl Rahner and Karl Barth. While Karl Barth was involved in the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt of October 19, 1945, it is not clear how he and others were as personally affected by the horrors of Nazism as were Metz and Moltmann.[48] Rahner and Barth surely had other lifelong theological developments that concerned them. But many still wonder how the worst event of their lives seems to have had little impact on their overall theological reflection.

Theological reflection from places of wounds often expresses itself in narrative—narrative theology. The method of narrative theology uncovers the story(ies) of people and examines how God speaks through their experience. Narratives of the lives of those on the margin may not always qualify as systematized theological reflections, but probing their experiences in light of the Gospel does carry lessons for the future. Attention to these stories also may help professional theologians to creatively thematize them. Writing on the importance of keeping the memory of women saints and prophets, women who have often been marginalized and forgotten, Johnson remarks,

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[47] Johann Baptist Metz, *A Passion for God: The Mystical-Political Dimension of Christianity,* trans. Matthew Ashley (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 1-2. For Moltmann, "As a prisoner of war in a British camp during World War II, Moltmann observed that his fellow prisoners who had hope fared the best. After the war, it seemed to him Christianity was ignoring the hope offered in its promise of a future life." Read "Jürgen Moltmann" accessed September 13, 2019, üttps://www.theopedia.com/jurgen-moltmann.

[48] "Leaders of the Confessing Church found themselves in prominent positions in German society under Allied occupation. With the help of Karl Barth, a few of them issued statements affirming Germans' collective guilt for the Third Reich. The 1945 Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt (*Stuttgarter Schulderklärung*) … placed Germans in a "solidarity of guilt" but remained vague as to what that guilt entailed. The 1947 Darmstadt Statement (*Darmstädter Wort*) provided greater clarity and specificity: the guilt was both political and social … Neither document made direct reference to the Holocaust ... Only a few of their signers, such as Martin Niemöller and Hans Asmussen, actually agreed with the documents." For more, see Chapter Two, "Public Confessions of German National Guilt, 1945-1947" in Faithful George, *Mothering the Fatherland: A Protestant Sisterhood Repents for the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 40-56.

"Remembering the great crowd of female friends of God and prophets opens up possibility for the future; their lives bespeak an unfinished agenda that is now in our hands; their memory is a challenge to action; their companionship points the way."[49] Thus, we are *rememberers* and custodians of a future yet unknown; moreover, theologically, we also have the duty to carry on with the mission left behind by those crucified by the often-unjust world.

This mission is carried out partly by those born of survivors of the wounds of history (or their descendants), whether the wound come from slavery or genocides or sexual abuse. Some of these descendants are often carriers of shattered identities. For instance, some children feel they are taking the place of other children who have died tragically. Some of them may think that they have replaced a brother, sister, parent or grandparent who was killed, some family member whom they never knew. Professor Wiesel gives a chilling example that invites us to see the humanity of children anew:

> I was teaching at City College, and most of my students at that time happened to be children of survivors. In the beginning I did not know … why they registered for my courses. Then I understood. They couldn't speak to their parents, their parents couldn't speak, were afraid of speaking, would be embarrassed … Therefore, they came to me … one day a student wished to see me. He was one of my best. He came to my office … he looked disturbed; he was pained. He said, "Listen to me, sir. My father was married before the war. His wife and his children died. My mother was married before the war. Her husband and her children perished during the war. They met after the war in a deportation camp. They got married, and they had a son – me. But I know that whenever they look at me, it is not me they see." And he cried and cried bitterly.[50]

These painful experiences reinforce the contention of this work that theologies that matter in a world of conflict must start from places of wounds. We must ask continually what we have done and continue to do to generations that come after us. In asking this, we affirm that a theology

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[49] Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 169.

[50] Elie Wiesel, "Some Words for Children of Survivors: A Message to the Second Generation," in Marcia Littell, Richard Libowitz, and Evelyn Bodek Rosen, *The Holocaust Forty Years After* (Lewiston, NJ: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 11.

of memory is imperative. The experience of Wiesel's students joins that of many women, who were raped during the war and genocide in Rwanda. Alongside the traumatic experiences of rape, they deal daily with the reality of children born from rape, and some children "came in place" of those who were killed. Hence, ecclesial imagination leaves us with great responsibility to care for future generations so that they do not undergo the tragedies others have lived through. Ecclesial imagination fosters a restorative political theology.

The foregoing section has distilled some ways theologians are involved in ecclesial imagination, often impacted by their lived experiences. Now given the Church's attitude toward the Jews for centuries, what lessons can we draw from the German ecclesial imagination in the years that followed the Jewish Holocaust up to the opening of the Second Vatican Council in 1962? The next section provides some answers.

3.3.1 How Did the Experience of the Church in Nazi Germany Shape the Renewal of Ecclesial Imagination?

The goal of this section is to show how some European anti-Semitic policies and teaching facilitated dehumanization of the Jews. It explores the danger of collective victimization and the relationship between guilt and liability. It then evaluates Pope Pius XI's Encyclical letter *Mit Brennender Sorge* ("With Burning Concern" on the Church and the German Reich) in 1937 and its fight against German racial superiority and idolatry. This section also explores the danger of uncritical embrace of political ideologies. Finally, it discusses the imperative of ecclesial discernment when loyalty to Christian values conflicts with national agendas and loyalties. Each of these points will seek to assess how the Church as an institution has learned from its past mistakes, and how in turn the latter became a *kairos* for new ecclesial imagination.

It is important to first give a brief account on the origins of anti-Semitism, before embarking on the lessons learned. As was the case in Rwanda where colonial Catholicism colluded

in constructing and intensifying Hutu and Tutsi identities, it is unarguably the case that New Testament writers and their interpreters constructed Jewish identity in order to serve first the purpose of the development of Jesus' movement and later of Christianity. According to Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz, leading scholars in Christian-Jewish studies, Christianity from its earliest foundation as the Jesus' movement developed itself in sharp opposition to Judaism, constructing and putting forward demeaning views of Jews and Judaism. '"The Jews as a theological abstraction became the Christian antitype. [This] way of thinking about the Jews dominated the orthodox Christian interpretation of Scriptures, both Old Testament and New. This idea [of Jews as Christian antitype] then developed the church's view of its own origins, conceived as having developed, beginning from Jesus' own mission, in contrast and even in opposition to Judaism."[51] This interpretation of the origins of Jesus' movement incriminates Christianity in seeking to supersede Judaism, by identifying itself as an independent religion with full access to the divine.

Within the New Testament, some interpretations of the person of Christ and his message generate anti-Judaist attitudes. The Synoptic Gospels—Mark, Matthew, and Luke—often condemn Pharisees as deviants and outsiders, presenting Jesus as a serious critic of these so-called false insiders.[52] This is particularly the case in Matthew's Jesus: In his Sermon on the Mount, Jesus warns his followers to be aware of some supposed prophets "who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves" (Mt 7:15). The Matthean Jesus says, "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you are like whitewashed tombs which on the outside appear beautiful,

[51] Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz, "Introduction," in Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz, *Jesus, Judaism and Christian Anti-Judaism: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 2002), 2.

[52] It is reasonable to note that all of these key protagonists were of course Jewish (Paul/Saul, Matthew, Jesus, etc.) One deals therefore with an intra-Jewish polemic that then gets extrapolated to be "anti-Jewish" by a later Gentile-dominated religion.

but inside they are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." (Mt 23:27) Other interpretations of statements attributed to Jesus emphasize his condemnation of "Jewish observance of the Sabbath, the food laws, and blood sacrifices, while Paul renounces circumcision, and associates Jewish law with the evil power of the flesh and death."[53] It is reasonable to note that Paula Frederiksen's quotation above is overstated. Paul renounces Jewish Law for Gentiles, not for the Jews like himself. He does not associate the Law with evil power of the flesh. However, some later interpretations inappropriately identified Jews.

Jews, specifically the opponents of Jesus, were identified with the power of evil: "You are of your father the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father. He was a murderer from the beginning, and does not stand in the truth because there is no truth in him." (Jn 8:44) For centuries after the death of Jesus, Jews were made to live and carry collective responsibility for his crucifixion and were charged with Deicide: "And all the people said, "His blood shall be on us and on our children!" (Mt 27:25) Interpretations of these and similar biblical passages are among the earliest roots of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism.[54] Brendan Byrne remarks, "there is no denying the climactic nature of this cry that has echoed down the ages with such terrible consequences for Christian attitudes to Jews and Judaism."[55] The problem for subsequent Christian generations is that the author of Matthew's Gospel was interpreted as though by "on us and on our children," he extended "beyond the hundreds or so present in Pilate's court to encompass, at least symbolically,

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[53] Paula Fredriksen, "The Birth of Christianity and the Origins of Christian Anti-Judaism," in Paula Fredriksen and Adele Reinhartz, *Jesus, Judaism and Christian Anti-Judaism: Reading the New Testament after the Holocaust* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 2002), 9.

[54] Anti-Judaism is a theological position against the theological positions of Judaism as a religion. Anti-Semitism is a racist ideology against all Jews. "The term *anti-Semitism* was coined in 1879 by the German agitator Wilhelm Marr to designate the anti-Jewish campaigns under way in central Europe at that time." See Michael Berenbaum, "Anti-Semitism," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* accessed October 4, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/anti-Semitism/Nazi-anti-Semitism-and-the-Holocaust.

[55] Brendan Byrne, *Lifting the Burden: Reading Matthew's Gospel in the Church Today* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2004), 213.

the entire people."[56] Additionally, the issue remains complex in that it is arguable that "the Evangelist seems to make the cry of 'the whole people' here as a symbolic anticipation of that sustained 'No' to Messiah Jesus and, with Luke (23:27-31) and the author of the Fourth Gospel (Jn 11:47-48), sees the destruction of 70 C.E. as a divine punishment for that rejection."[57] Consequently, it is fair to say that Mt 27:25 is a text that carries dangerous historical implications and it should be treated with caution in preaching and research, calling Christians to repentance and systematic study of the Gospel in its entirety.

Christian biblical interpretations erected religious categories in order to serve the development of the Jesus' movement and Christianity. Some scholars were indifferent as to whether these interpretations were accurate or inaccurate; their literary construction served to prejudice Jewish identity, rendering many Jews susceptible to physical harm. Early Church Fathers, including Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Hippolytus—in varying ways—made it clear that the Jews had been divinely rejected. "Not only did the Jews (not Rome!) kill Jesus; they repeatedly rejected the opportunity to repent of this crime held out to them for another forty years, until at last God definitely, publicly, and permanently rejected them. How so, by destroying their Temple, driving them into exile, and forbidding them access, forever, to Jerusalem."[58] Origen, a third century Alexandrian scholar, wrote, "… the blood of Jesus falls not only on the Jews of that time, but on all generations of Jews up to the end of the world.'"[59] By the fourth century, Constantine—the Roman emperor—fostered hostility to diversity. All those who were not part of

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Fredriksen, "The Birth of Christianity and the Origins of Christian Anti-Judaism," 27.

[59] Anthony Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators 1922-1945* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973), 338. See also N.R.M. de Range, Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1976). For Origen, "The Jews had rejected Jesus, had indeed condemned him to death, and by way of punishment they had lost their capital city, their autonomy, their rulers, their rights, their temple and altar, and, expelled from their land, were condemned to be scattered all over the world." (p. 63)

the officially sanctioned Christian religion were persecuted or harassed. Although Jews were allowed to conduct their own worship, they were "universally condemned as enemies of the prophets and murderers of Christ."[60]

The crusades marked another fateful stage in Christian-Jewish relations. During the Middle Ages, the effort to dislodge Muslims from the Holy Land also unleashed violent attacks on Jewish communities across Europe.[61] What distinguishes the anti-Semitism of the period of the Crusades from modern anti-Semitism is that in the former Jews were given the "choice" to convert to Christianity or to be killed.

During the Middle Ages, Jews were charged with murdering Christian children in order to use their blood to bake matzah during Passover. One such allegation was the Simon of Trent blood libel in 1475 that led to the extermination of the Jewish community in the Italian town of Trent.[62] The blood libel charge developed further throughout the Middle Ages. The Nazis recovered this vicious charge and used it to advance its anti-Semitic agenda. The Catholic Church acknowledged its historical and wounding sin against the Jewish people by repudiating the blood libel and removing "Simon of Trent from the list of saints in 1965."[63] Hillel J. Kieval contends that the blood libel "had important historical and thematic connections to the accusation that Jews bought

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[60] Ibid., 8

[61] Joshua Levy, "How the Crusades Affected Medieval Jews in Europe and Palestine: Jews Got Entangled in the Christian Quest to Recapture the Holy Land from Muslims," in *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History,* accessed October 4, 2019, https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/the-crusades/ See also Robert Chazan, *From Anti-Judaism to Anti-Semitism: Ancient and Medieval Christian Constructions of Jewish History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[62] "Historically, blood libels often took place close to Passover, when Jews were charged with using the blood of Christian children to bake matzahs. The proximity of such charges to Easter was often associated with the continuing belief that Jews were responsible for the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus. Blood libels, together with allegations of well poisoning, were a major theme in Jewish persecution in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and into the modern period." See "Blood Libel" in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, accessed October 4, 2019, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/blood-libel

[63] Ibid. See also how Julius Streicher (1885-1945), a German politician who used the blood libel to advance the Nazi agenda from 1925 onwards. "Julius Streicher: A Biography," in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, accessed October 4, 2019, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/julius-streicher-biography

or stole consecrated Eucharist wafers (Hosts) in order to pierce them with sharp objects, thereby both desecrating them and subjecting them to torture. Both forms of anti-Jewish discourse derived ultimately from medieval Christian convictions that salvation could be obtained only through the blood of Christ."[64] These examples of violence and animus against the Jewish people, including the Spanish Inquisition,[65] set the remote stage for the justification of the genocide against the Jews. These actions generated and reinforced biased attitudes and sanctioned violence against the Jews. The Jewish people, like the Tutsi, lived in a world where they continually were made to feel as if they had no right to live.

There is another backdrop to the genocide of the Jews developed for the purpose of forging the "purity" of German *spirit*. As was the case in Rwanda, there was a shift from fluid to fixed racial categories within Nazi Germany. "While being Jewish had been a religious category that had some degree of choice, under the Nazis, being Jewish became a racial category that was a matter of blood."[66] Jews were given identity cards with a "J" for "Juden" –Jewish. It became a policy that anyone with three Jewish grandparents was automatically a Jew. We have the famous example of Edith Stein, a Carmelite nun, who had converted to Roman Catholicism and lived in the Netherlands, and yet the Nazis had her arrested together with 243 baptized Jews; they all were sent to the gas chambers in Auschwitz.[67] Theories were developed that asserted, "Jews, by their very nature, could not embody the true German spirit, known as the German '*Volk*.' Being a Jew

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[64] Hillel J. Kieval, "Blood Libels and Host Desecration Accusations," in *The Yiva Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* (Yiva Institute for Jewish Research, 2010), accessed October 4, 2019, https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Blood_Libels_and_Host_Desecration_Accusations

[65] See Joseph Telushkin, "Modern Jewish History: The Spanish Expulsion (1492)" in Jewish Literacy, (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1991). See also "Modern Jewish History: The Spanish Expulsion (1492)," In *Jewish Virtual Library,* accessed October 4, 2019, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-spanish-expulsion-1492

[66] Shelly Tenenbaum, "Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Jews in Europe," in a Paper Prepared for a Conference on "Reinventing Theology in Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes" (Kigali, June 20-22, 2019), 6.

[67] On Edith Stein, read from the Vatican Archives, "Teresa Benedict of the Cross Edith Stein (1891-1942), Nun, Discalced Carmelite, Martyr," accessed September 7, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_19981011_edith_stein_en.html.

ceased to be a religious identity but a fixed racial category that was immutable."[68] Similar to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that promulgated a canon prohibiting intermarriage between Jews and Christians, the Nuremburg laws that passed on September 15, 1935 also forbade intermarriage or extramarital sexual relations between Jews and Germans, and denied Jews their German citizenship, etc.[69] Two categories became fixed: Jews and Germans. The former was the inferior Semitic race and the latter was the superior Aryan race. The Nuremberg Laws could not have been more explicit:

> Moved by the understanding that purity of German blood is the essential condition for the continued existence of the German people, and inspired by the inflexible determination of the German nation for all time, the Reichstag unanimously adopted the following law… Marriages between Jews and citizens of German or related blood are forbidden… Extramarital relations between Jews and citizens of Germany or related blood are forbidden…Jews may not employ in their households female citizens of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.[70]

The Hutu Ten Commandments, referenced in the previous chapter, are similar to these laws, and in fact were modeled on them.

Another important ingredient in the promotion of anti-Semitism was the humiliation triggered by the German defeat in World War I. Jews were blamed for Germany's defeat. Arguably, national humiliation triggered the excessive nationalism of the Nazi regime, which found a scapegoat for German misfortune in the Jews. Hitler declared: "As regards economic life, things were even worse. Here the Jewish people had become really indispensable… in the year 1916-17 nearly the whole of production was under the control of the Jewish finance … the Jew

[68] Tenenbaum, "Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Jews in Europe," 7. Paul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews, Third Edition,* Vol. I (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), its second chapter on the "Antecedents" to the Holocaust is another important resource. 29-48.

[69] On the Nuremberg Laws, see "Nuremberg Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor" signed by Adolf Hitler, (September 15, 1935), accessed September 23, 2019, http://www.owlnet.rice.edu/~rar4619/blood.html. On the Fourth Lateran Council, see Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., "Reflections on the Shoah: The Catholic Church's Share of the Blame and Responsibility," 73.

[70] Tenenbaum, "Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and the Jews in Europe," 8.

robbed the whole nation and pressed it beneath his domination …"[71] Later, Hitler made it even clearer: "… the National Socialist Movement has its mightiest tasks to fulfil: … it must condemn to general wrath the evil enemy of humanity [Jews] as the true creator of all suffering."[72] This form of scapegoat created resentment against the Jews; many Germans became willing to rally behind Hitler with renewed unity and embraced his Jewish extermination policies.

This background, albeit brief, leads one to ask: What did the Church do? What were the circumstances that guided German church leaders in their decisions? What role did theological imagination play? The next paragraphs offer some responses.

Ecclesial imagination must face and admit the fact that churches have often been on the wrong side of history. A case could be made that Nazi anti-Semitism would not have been possible and successful "if some Christians and their anti-Judaism attitudes had not laid the foundations … [and] not only individual Christians have been guilty … but also ecumenical councils, in particular the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) … [which] made a general accusation that the Jews are guilty of faithlessness (*perfidia*)."[73] The Lateran Council promulgated binding regulations: (1) the Jews were to wear identifying marks; (2) they were to be restricted in movement and curfews were imposed; (3) they were banned from holding public office;[74] and (4) the Jews were to be given compulsory sermons and "at least five times a year they had to listen to sermons given for the purpose of proselytizing them."[75] Because of these imposed disciplines and the negative attitude of the Church toward the Jews, accusations leveled against them could not be examined seriously.

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[71] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), 193.

[72] Ibid., 931.

[73] Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., "Reflections on the Shoah: The Catholic Church's Share of the Blame and Responsibility," 73.

[74] See *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta,* especially no. 578.

[75] Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., "Reflections on the Shoah: The Catholic Church's Share of the Blame and Responsibility," 73-74.

Jews were scapegoated as murderers, poisoners of wells, and desecraters of hosts.[76] Church teaching dehumanized the Jewish people, and, in their regard the hierarchy took neither moral obligation, nor blame. The Church assumed an un-deserved authority to strip away God's grace from the Jews whom it thought "no longer enjoyed God's favor … [because as some Church leaders taught] Israel's covenant with God had come to an end."[77]

Well into the nineteenth century, Christians continued to accuse the Jewish people with responsibility for the death of Jesus. This charge was maintained and reinforced in the theological work of prominent thinkers and priests such as Karl Adam and Romano Guardini. Both theologians stressed the singularity of Jesus Christ as the absolute Savior, and blamed the Jews for being closed to God's revelation, and thus "responsible for Jesus' crucifixion."[78] The absolute and uniqueness of Jesus as Savior is still Catholic teaching and is not a problem in itself. Karl Rahner writes,

> 'God' as the mystery that is most real and sublime over every reality of the world, the mystery that as ultimate ground, as innermost dynamism and as final goal gives itself to its world in immediacy; 'Jesus' [is] God's promise of himself to the world and to its history, a self-promise that is definitive, irrevocable, and establishes itself by the power of God himself. … This entire Christology, however, is always subject to the belief that this Jesus and his salvific work gave witness to and made available nothing other than the really effective possibility of arriving at immediacy to the true God.[79]

Jesus is God's self-communication and God's absolute unconditional love. The problem is not the singularity of Jesus as the absolute Savior, affirmed by Rahner. The real issue springs from those who have threatened or negated other people's lives because of the misinterpretation

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[76] Ibid., 73.

[77] Robert A. Krieg, "German Catholic Views of Jesus and Judaism, 1918-1945," in *Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence, and the Holocaust,* ed. Kevin P. Spicer (Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis University Press, 2007), 50-75, at 58.

[78] Ibid., 68.

[79] Karl Rahner, "Christianity's Absolute Claim," in *Theological Investigations,* XXI, trans. Hugh M. Riley (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 177 & 180. See also Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "Declaration *'Dominus Iesus'* On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church," (August 6, 2000), Holy See, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20000806_dominus-iesus_en.html

of the event surrounding Jesus' life, passion, death, and resurrection. In his monograph *The Son of God*, reflecting on the interior life and self-revelation of Jesus, Adam observes that the Jewish refusal to be open to God's revelation in Jesus led Jewish leaders to crucify him; they took Jesus to be a blasphemer.[80] Guardini, writing on the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus in his monograph *The Lord*, comments that Jews remained a stumbling-block for Jesus. "No matter what he did—heal, help, pardon, shower gifts—his thanks were hardness of heart, calumny, misinterpretation of his motives, blasphemy against the Spirit."[81] It is fair to say that Guardini overstates the issue. This is because without a specific anti-Jewish context, this is not necessarily anti-Semitic, but a reading of the gospels.

The theologies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries contributed in laying the ground for hatred against Jews and Judaism. Four theological perspectives were at play. First, there was the notion of supersessionism, that is, the idea that "God's covenant in Jesus Christ has superseded God's earlier covenant with the Jews—the covenant with Abraham, Moses, and David."[82] Second, a precritical approach to the reading of the Bible influenced Catholic theologians to read biblical texts "with no regard for a text's time, place of composition, origins, literary genre, underlying intentions, and later phases of editing."[83] Third, the Church had rejected the "historical-critical reconstructions of Jesus' ministry and Jewish world."[84] This meant that theologians did not question their understanding of Jesus and his Jewish context. Finally, the Catholic Church's aversion to religious freedom "influenced how Catholic theologians of the

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[80] Karl Adam, *The Son of God,* trans. Philip Hereford (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1934), 188.

[81] Romano Guardini, *The Lord,* trans. Elinor Castendyk Briefs (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954), 314.

[82] Ibid. In his book *The Christian Imagination,* the American theologian Willie James Jennings reminds us how Christian theologies and humanity at large have also been blind to the problem of white supersessionism. See Willie James Jennings, *The Christian Imagination: Theology and the Origins of Race* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 277.

[83] Krieg, "German Catholic Views of Jesus and Judaism, 1918-1945," 69.

[84] Ibid., 70.

1920s and 1930s viewed first-century Jewish expectations for a political Messiah."[85] Theologians such as Adam and Gurardini seem to reinforce the idea that Judaism should cease any desire to regain some autonomy. Despite their theological positions, it should be stated that theologians Romano Guardini and Engelbert Krebs—Guardini's dissertation mentor— "were eventually dismissed from their professorships by the [Nazi's]minister of education."[86]

It would, however, be unfair to ignore the complex ecclesial efforts and diplomatic maneuvers that Pope Pius XI and some members of the Germany Catholic hierarchy made in order to save Jewish lives. Pius XI's Encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge,* published in 1937, is probably the most formal and public document from the head of the Catholic Church that condemned the Nazi regime.[87] It came four years after the Holy See and the German Chancellor had signed the *Reichskonkordat* that outlined a memorandum of understanding between the Catholic Church and the German government. Unfortunately, the National Socialist Party broke this memorandum many times. Damian Paul O'Shea remarks that from the onset Pope Pius XI ordered the Papal Nuncio in Berlin, Cesare Orsenigo from 1930 to 1945, to "look into whether and how it may be possible to become involved" in the aid of Jews. However, Orsenigo was an inadequate "instrument in this regard, [as he was] concerned more with the anti-church policies of the Nazis and how these might affect German Catholics, than with taking action to help German Jews."[88] Despite this failure, the previous nuncio to Germany, Eugenio Pacelli, who later became Pope Pius XII, had described Hitler as "a notorious political agitator,"[89] and he later made it clear to Cardinal

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[85] Ibid., 71.
[86] Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany,* 29.
[87] Pius XI, *Mit Brennender Sorge* Encyclical on the Church and the German Reich (March 14, 1937), accessed August 30, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_14031937_mit-brennender-sorge.html.
[88] Damian Paul O'Shea, *A Cross Too Heavy: Pius XII and The Jews of Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 232.
[89] Ibid., 106.

Gasparri, then-Secretary of State for the Holy See, that "nationalism of the type promoted by Hitler could prove to be the greatest heresy of the age."[90] The difficulty, however, is that neither nuncio to Germany nor the German Catholic leaders were bold enough or early enough to condemn forcefully the public anti-Semitism of the 1920s and early 1930s. For instance, German bishops were silent when Hitler decreed that Jews would be excluded from all government employments. And, they were silent "when on April 1, [1933] the Nazi party called for a national boycott of Jewish businesses. … [The episcopacy] said nothing on April 7, when Hitler decreed the reorganization of the civil service with its 'Aryan Clause' excluding Jews from all employment related to government."[91]

How did theologians react to or deal with Nazi ideology? Theologians who spoke out for or against Hitler had a common conviction that theology "must somehow be explicitly engaged in the issues and ideas of the day … they were relatively progressive theologians in a day when 'Catholic theology understood itself … not in terms of modern science, the Enlightenment, historical consciousness, and democratic revolutions, but in terms of the defense against modernity.'"[92] However, a few renowned theologians at the time turned out later in support of Nazism. These include Karl Eschweiler from the University of Bonn who became Hitler's sympathizer because the latter had won "the respect of the German people with [his economic] accomplishments."[93] Eschweiler went further to posit that "the Protestant and Catholic Churches must respect the nation's body, which includes 'the ethical and moral sentiments of the German race.'"[94]

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany,* 5-6.
[92] Ibid., 29-30.
[93] Ibid., 46.
[94] Ibid., 47.

In contrast, Conrad Gröber, theologian and archbishop of Freiburg together with other Freiburg theologians, did not support the Nazi regime during its twelve years. In December 1940, Gröber criticized Hitler's regime and its abuse of power. Gröber urged the National Socialist government "to respect all German citizens. Beginning in 1941, he supported Gertrud Luckner of the Caritas Association in her efforts to help Jews escape from Germany."[95] Another strong opponent of Hitler's regime was Engelbert Krebs, theology professor at the University of Freiburg, who, in 1935, made it clear that "Catholicism could not become a nationalized church without betraying its very essence [and] stressed the importance of the church's autonomy in relation to the state."[96] Krebs' ideas found their resonance in Pius XI's 1937 Encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge.*[97]

The theological objectives of *Mit Brennender Sorge* were multilayered. Its strongest objective was to express "the grievances of the church with the German government's violation of the [1933] *Reichskonkordat* as well as to decry the National Socialist ideology that undermined Catholic doctrine."[98] The document challenged the substitution and abuse of the worship of God with the worship of the state and Adolf Hitler: "Beware … of that growing abuse, in speech and in writing, of the name of God as though it were a meaningless label, to be fixed to any creation, more or less arbitrary, of human speculation."[99] Pius XI urged different sections of the German faithful: youth, laity, and priests to avoid apostasy and to reject and oppose any form of racial discrimination based on blood and nationalism. Pius XI writes:

> Whoever exalts race, or the people, or the State, or a particular form of State, or the depositories of power, or any other fundamental value of the human community -

[95] Ibid., 142-43.

[96] Ibid., 146.

[97] To this list of theologians who fought against Nazi, one may also add Karl Barth and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who were involved of the Confessing Church.

[98] Alexandra Valdez, "*Mit Brennender Sorge*: An Exegesis on the Encyclical to the Third Reich," in *Elements* (Spring, 2010), 12.

[99] Pius XI, *Mit Brennender Sorge*, no. 9.

> however necessary and honorable be their function in worldly things - whoever raises these notions above their standard value and divinizes them to an idolatrous level, distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God. He is far from the true faith in God and from the concept of life which that faith upholds.[100]

Clearly, there is a serious ecclesial omission. The encyclical neither mentions the word "Jew" nor offers any strategic Jewish support. However, the racial ideology championed by the Nazi party was not backed by the Catholic Church. The encyclical made it clear that natural law is broken when one single race is glorified or divinized. It was a bold document articulating, albeit diplomatically, what the Church teaches and believes to be true, and at the same time condemning any form of idolatry. Ecclesiologically, the creation of a national church belittles the universal Church as faith in God is turned into a cult of the Führer.[101] Faith in God is turned into confidence in national destiny and survival of a group. For subsequent centuries, *Mit Brennender Sorge* will remain a reference document against all those who seek to use theological language and turn it into an instrument of persecution.

From the foregoing, we may glean that theological imagination in time of crisis may be caught up between the discernment of *what is necessary* and *what is opportune*. While something may be essential and critical to the lives and the faith of the people, one must ask whether the time and environment are favorable, and what are the implications of decisions taken, postponed, or not taken all. Here one may imagine how the defense of the Jews became difficult because political demagogues could tactfully block ecclesial good will. Some German bishops struggled to make their fight "publicly known, for in view of the brutality and ruthlessness of the adversary [the Nazi regime] it was already a risky game … the least intensification of this fight would have been welcomed by the adversary as an opportunity to liquidate the mortally hated church leaders on the

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[100] Ibid., no. 8.
[101] Ibid., no. 15.

charge of treason."[102] The point is that in a time of genocide, while silence may be interpreted as complicity, a less extremist condemnation allows one to consider diplomacy and prudence as utilitarian tools that tolerate a lesser evil to save more lives. Albert Stohr, then bishop of Mainz stated, "Not many concentration camp inmates have knowingly challenged their fate by a public protest or by a public action, [this would infallibly mean] the mental and physical anguish of the concentration camp. Only few of them have faced such an alternative and readily chose death. Most of them were thrown in concentration camps against their will as a result of indirect utterances and secret actions."[103]

In the face of extreme danger, prudence may be vital. Sometimes activists become victims of their imprudence and rashness—and this has nothing in common with courage. Inaction or silence may not mean complicity.[104] According to Cardinal Josef Richard Frings, considered as an outspoken critic of Hitler, "the German bishops had to be more careful as the political split had affected the entire German people. And besides, many members who had been blinded and misled by a deceitful propaganda would all the more have been driven into the arms of the National Socialists by too sharp a language."[105] Frings notes that this is not an act of cowardice. For the record, "in 1943 and 1944, [Frings] mounted the pulpit of … Cologne Cathedral to condemn Nazi persecution of the Jews as 'an injustice that cries to the heavens.' After the war, he denounced the concept of collective German guilt and was widely hailed for his defense of hungry and homeless

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[102] Richard G. Akselrad, "The Catholic Bishops and Dr. Eugen Kogon," in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018), 278-283 at 279.

[103] Ibid. And "in the Netherlands when the Dutch bishops condemned Nazi measures against the Jews, converts [such as Edith Stein] and their descendants were exposed to the horrible penalties as other Jews." Guy Stair Sainty, "Why the Vatican Kept Silent on Nazi Atrocities," in *The New York Times* (October 7, 1989), Section 1, p. 22.

[104] An objection could be raised as to whether Rwandan bishops deserve less opprobrium for their silence early in the genocide. During the genocide, they all remained bystanders.

[105] Akselrad, "The Catholic Bishops and Dr. Eugen Kogon," 280.

people."[106] Other bishops such as Konrad von Preysing August, Bishop of Berlin in 1935, and August von Galen, Bishop of Münster, also "formed a persistent and systematic critique of the policies of Nazism."[107]

It is critical to avoid collective blame in a post-conflict context. Societal and ecclesial methods must be strategically created to uncover the truth of what happened, who was involved, and the forces behind the evil that was committed. This has been done in Germany. Some scholars such as Richard G. Akselrad and Robert A. Krieg, both of whom have conducted extensive research on the Holocaust, and some ecclesial leaders affirm that not all the German people committed the Jewish Holocaust; but rather, "a numerically small group" of outright Nazi Christians did so.[108] Then bishop Stohr of Mainz remarks:

> One of the most flagrant violations of the law committed by National Socialism was the proclamation of collective guilt of the Jews. Only because of its race the Jewish people were exterminated down to the youngest child. This ideology … is now dangerously revived through the thesis of the collective guilt of the German people. Without distinction each German is declared guilty and responsible only because he is a German.[109]

It is wrong to impute the Jewish Holocaust to the entire German population, just as not all Hutus participated in the genocide against the Tutsi. Privileges of a small group within a country do not always amount to guilt of the whole group. Some people are born in a society that is ethnicized or racialized, and this should neither make all guilty nor determine the course of their lives. However, they incur guilt when they do nothing to make a difference and benefit from their "privileged" status with no regard for the less fortunate. In such a situation, theological ethics

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[106] Robert D. McFadden, *Joseph Cardinal Frings Dies at 91; Defied Nazis as Prelate of Cologne* (December 18, 1978), 17, accessed October 3, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/1978/12/18/archives/joseph-cardinal-frings-dies-at-91-defied-nazis-as-prelate-of.html

[107] Theodore S. Hamerow, *On the Road to the Wolf's Lair: German Resistance to Hitler* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 133.

[108] Akselrad, "The Catholic Bishops and Dr. Eugen Kogon," 281.

[109] Ibid.

becomes imperative in that it upholds that the terrible actions of wrongdoers do not capture their whole lives. They may repent. Professor Eleonore Stump, a specialist on the ethics of Thomas Aquinas, remarks:

> When one is wronged, one can focus exclusively on that wrong, or one can choose to remember that there is more to the other person than the specifics of that circumstance. Choosing to react by taking into account the wrongdoing of a situation, but also the fact that the other individual is more than this specific action and indeed may be with you in heaven one day, is an example of mildness.[110]

This study contends that people should thoughtfully be helped to understand the bad things in themselves or others for what they are. At the same time, individuals and communities should remember that actions are better understood in their context and that particular actions do not determine all the experiences and stories of a person's life. The human person remains larger than one or, even, a few wrong choices and acts in their lives. Ethical reflections and considerations are therefore crucial in theological and ecclesial imagination.

The unethical inflicting of wounds on the Jewish people has led the Church to review and renew its theological reflections. Some theological intuitions born from reflecting on these wounds may be summarized: First, "God is faithful to his covenant with the church, but equally to his covenant with the Jewish people. Therefore, Christians and Jews are both called to understand themselves as 'people of the covenant' and to be a 'light to the nations.'"[111] (Isa 49:6; Matt 5:14) Second, there cannot be authentic catechesis of the Christian faith without teaching the living tradition of Judaism.[112] This means "the turning away from the anti-Jewish interpretation of the

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[110] Eleonore Stump, *Thomas Aquinas: 12 Lectures on 5 CDs* (Now You Know Media CD, 2016), 12.

[111] Wolfgang Gerlach, "Have German Protestants Learned their Lessons from History?" in Marcia Littell, Richard Libowitz, and Evelyn Bodek Rosen, *The Holocaust Forty Years After* (Lewiston, NJ: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 95-96.

[112] "On March 6th, 1982, Pope John Paul II told delegates of episcopal conferences and other experts, meeting in Rome to study relations between the Church and Judaism." For more on this important study and instruction on how Catholics must educated themselves on Christian Jewish heritage, see Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, "*On the Correct Way to Present the Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church,"* Papal Archive, the Holy See, accessed January 22, 2020,

New Testament, and a turning toward a common witnessing of faith by Jews and Christians, with the aim of accepting a common responsibility for the world."[113] Third, there is no reconciliation with God without acknowledging the history of the church's sin against the Jewish people. This requires conversion of mind and heart. Understanding reconciliation as a Christian mission, Robert Schreiter points out that "the reconciliation between peoples or groups burdened by past hostilities demands that … they learn to acknowledge their past, recognize the wounds received and the wounds inflicted, retell their stories that define their identity, and discover themselves as participants in the same history jointly responsible for their common future."[114] Finally, from anthropological and theological ethics, it is crucial to void political ideologies that make some people believe that they are of a race superior to others. Regrettably, "brainwashing people into believing that certain individuals or groups threaten them or society and therefore must be incarcerated or eliminated is a tactic still widely used today."[115]

The Jewish Holocaust remains the worst modern lesson of what racism, idolatry, scapegoating, dehumanization, and discrimination do to humanity. But sadly, it is not unique. These tactics were used in the United States during the many centuries of slavery. They were used by the Ottoman Empire against the Armenians.[116] In Rwanda, they worked as nearly a million Rwandans were killed during the genocide. They have been effective in Sudan in its tribal conflicts, and in Kenya during the 2007 post-election violence.

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http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/relations-jews-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_19820306_jews-judaism_en.html

[113] Wolfgang Gerlach, "Have German Protestants Learned their Lessons from History?", 95-96.

[114] Robert Schreiter, *Reconciliation: Mission and Ministry in a Changing Social Order* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), 36-37.

[115] Jutta Bendremer, "Surveying Holocaust Attitudes: Forty Years After," in Marcia Littell, Richard Libowitz, and Evelyn Bodek Rosen, *The Holocaust Forty Years After* (Lewiston, NJ: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 85.

[116] Rouben Paul Adalian, "Ottoman Empire and the Armenian Genocide," in Encyclopedia Entries on the Armenian Genocide, accessed September 24, 2018, http://www.armenian-genocide.org/ottoman.html

Granted all the above, the recovery of ecclesial imagination finds its place in the distinction between guilt and liability. Past atrocities often lead individuals and groups to deny responsibility for past wrongdoing. For example, to what extent are Germans and Rwandans born after the Jewish Holocaust and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and its aftermath, respectively, accountable for the crimes and damage done by their countrymen and women? I agree with Gregory Baum—German-born Canadian theologian—who contends that generations born after war crimes are not guilty of any crimes of their fathers and mothers, but "they are liable for the damage done by their country, meaning obliged in justice to assume responsibility for this damage and make appropriate reparations."[117] The point is that guilt cannot be inherited from parents to children, but the latter often suffer the consequences of their parents' choices to which they are called to offer some repair. The crisis caused by priestly sexual abuse in the Church is a case in point. Many priests who abused minors are long dead, but the present Church must continually assume liability in the way it cares for the victims, how it handles the abuse and is responsible for reparation and the needed structural ecclesial reform.[118]

Ecclesial imagination has the capacity to unearth the motives of politicians when they induce people to enroll in some questionable political ideologies. For instance, Adolf Hitler disingenuously promised to support Christian values and successfully persuaded some Christian leaders in Germany. The political ideologies of the Nazi party pledged "the right to give religious instruction in the schools [and], financial support for the churches continued throughout the era of

[117] Gregory Baum, "The Role of the Churches in Polish-German Reconciliation," in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Churches,* eds. Gregory Baum and Harold Wells (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 129-143, at 142.

[118] See Pope Francis' Apostolic Letter *Vos estis lux mundi* (May 7, 2019), detailing procedures on how the Church is to handle priestly sexual abuse, Accessed May 14, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio-20190507_vos-estis-lux-mundi.html

the Third Reich. When the final wording was signed on July 20, 1933, it appeared that peace between Nazism and Catholicism had been established."[119]

Theological discernment is imperative when churches seal pacts with political parties and/or governments. Some ideologies are often presented in a deceptive manner, dressed in golden garments, yet beneath them may be "hidden and rotten" agendas. Churches must avoid being coopted by temporal authorities. The question is: are we able to pierce beneath the outer image people exhibit for themselves to decipher their interior motives? It is here that discernment becomes imperative. Discernment urges individuals to weigh the pros and the cons of any human affiliation to pursue only that which makes the reign of God present. The reign of God is a measure of discernment. That means pursuing that which fulfils people's longings for God by walking together at all levels, led by the Holy Spirit. Johnson notes that the reign of God means the pursuit of "what the state of affairs will be when God is recognized as the One on whom everyone sets their hearts, when God finally reigns. The Kingdom of God is God getting the divine way unopposed by human sinfulness and the powers of darkness … God wants wholeness, the healing, and the salvation of every creature and of all of us taken together."[120] The centrality of the reign of God is the criterion for discerning that which advances the mission of Church, that which advances the reign of justice, rooted in faith, hope, and charity.

Local churches living in zones with conflicts can positively learn from some German bishops in their fidelity to ecclesial teaching and in some of their prophetic stands. In his article, "Memorandum on French Bishops during the Occupation of France (1940-44)," Henri de Lubac praises some German bishops:

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[119] Robert P. Ericksen, *Complicity in the Holocaust: Churches and Universities in Nazi Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 57.

[120] Elizabeth Johnson, *Consider Jesus: Waves of Renewal in Christology* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 51-52.

> They never thought that submission owed to the state could keep them from raising their voice on any topic. They never used the concordat and the material advantages they had (despite many breaches) as an excuse to turn a blind eye to so many doctrines and acts that were contrary to their faith or simply to natural moral law! They never believed that they could remain silent, because their faithful would not suffer directly. They did not consider themselves merely as leaders and defenders of the faith, but as witnesses in God's realm and in that of God's justice.[121]

This chapter has certainly given examples of some bishops and theologians who stood the test of Hitler and refused to be silent. Yet, in *Hitler's Priests: Catholic Clergy and National Socialism,* Kevin P. Spicer, a specialist on the relationship of Jews and Catholics in Germany between 1918-1945, also details the ambivalent positions of German Catholic Bishops. Naturally not all the bishops were in favor of Hitler's policies. While overall the German Catholic episcopate later condemned Hitler's aggressive antisemitism, within the German ecclesial leaders one finds other Hitler supporters. Two examples are Johannes Baptiste, bishop of Rottenburg and Conrad Gröber, bishop of Freiburg. The former declared emphatically, "We take a positive view of the new state. We are gladly ready to recognize what the new state strives for and has achieved in various areas."[122] The latter equally had great hopes in the church-state relations and in April 1933, "he became the first German bishop to stand publicly behind the government."[123] The following illustrate the point further:

> On June 28, 1933, on the eve of the signing of the Reich-Vatican Concordat, Gröber strengthened his stance by exhorting his priests 'to avoid anything in sermons, Christian teaching and religious instruction, as well as in association activity and private discussions,' which could be interpreted as criticisms of the leading personalities in the state and community or of the state-political views that they advocate.[124]

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[121] Henri de Lubac, "Memorandum on French Bishops during the Occupation of France (1940-44)," in *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 5 (2018), 266-277 at 269.

[122] Kevin P. Spicer, *Hitler's Priests: Catholic Clergy and National Socialism* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), 16.

[123] Ibid., 17.

[124] Conrard Gröbers, June 28, 1933, in Müller, *Katholische Kirche und Nationalsozialismus*, 167. See also Spicer, *Hitler's Priests: Catholic Clergy and National Socialism,* 17. There were others such as the famous Dominican Marianus Vetter whose sermons "served as an entreaty to Catholics to accommodate themselves to National Socialism and the German state" (p. 20).

This quote showed the partisan inclination of archbishop Gröber. Assuming he really said it, he left little room or little impetus or encouragement to any fellow bishops, priests and lay persons who could resist the government. However, it is important to note the contradicting sources and information on Gröber. Earlier (on p. 172), I highlighted how Gröber opposed the National Socialism regime and its policies. Robert A. Krieg illustrated Gröber's refusal to promote Nazism, his request upon the state to respect all German citizens, his defense and support to those who worked hard to help the Jews, and his call to witness to God's Kingdom.[125] In contrast, Kevin P. Spicer notes that Gröber "became the first German bishop to stand publicly behind the government."[126] It is significant to point out these conflicting views on Gröber, to highlight the often-conflicting limits of research, the non-negligible biases of researchers, the limits of historical and scientific hypothesis. As earlier mentioned, Pope Benedict XVI remains a good resource when it comes to any hypothesis. He writes, "To be sure, some hypotheses enjoy a high degree of certainty, but overall we need to remain conscious of the limit of our certainties."[127] Upon further research, however, I find Conrad Gröber blameworthy and complicit not least for his partial public stands toward Hitler's regime. The *Kölnische Volkszeitung* criticizes Gröber who "did not allow the least doubt that Catholics should not reject the new state, but have a positive outlook toward it and must single-mindedly work with it, but with dignity and with seriousness and without provocation and useless martyrdom."[128] In another public support in October 1933, Gröber spoke in Karlsruhe, and declared that he stood "completely behind the new government and the new

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[125] Krieg, *Catholic Theologians in Nazi Germany,* 142-43.

[126] Spicer, *Hitler's Priests,* 17.

[127] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration*, xvii.

[128] *Kölnische Volkszeitung,* April 27, 1933; quoted in Burno Schwalbach, *Erzbischof Conrad Gröber und die nationalsozialistische Diktatur: Eine Studie zum Episkopat des Metropoliten der Oberrheinischen Kirchenprovinz während des Dritten Reiches* (Karlsruhe: Badenia, 1985), 38.

Reich… Why should I not do this? … We know that the well-being and the *Volk*'s greatness are only achievable from the roots that are the same as the roots of the cross."[129] Later in 1937, he allowed his priests teaching in state schools "to offer the newly required oath of allegiance to Hitler… [Gröber did this] despite the resistance to this measure in other German dioceses and among his own clergymen."[130]

One significant lesson to draw from the foregoing is nevertheless that it is crucial not to give uncritical allegiance to leaders without examining their agendas. It is also crucial to note that some ecclesial leaders fall short of societal expectations to rise above partisan politics. The ecclesial lesson that springs from German episcopal ambivalence is that church leaders must beware of planting seeds of confusions that dissuade Christians from following their conscience. In his book, *Complicity in the Holocaust: Churches and Universities in Nazi Germany,* Robert P. Ericksen contends, "[w]hen no major Christian institution, from the Confessing Church to the German Catholic bishops to the Vatican, could find itself willing to condemn Nazi mistreatment of Jews, why would Christians be held back in their participation? … I am not certain ordinary Germans would have participated so willingly and ruthlessly in the killing without what appeared to be religious sanction to do so."[131] Whenever ecclesial leaders approvingly embrace political ideologies and become partisans, because of their moral influence, they discourage other Christians from acting differently. It is fair to note that Ericksen overgeneralizes as the preceding paragraphs have shown some different ways Church leaders did actually disapprove of Hitler. Nonetheless, De Lubac is probably right to say that the medicine against falling into the hands of

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[129] Rede Gröbers, October 10, 1933, in Hans Müller*, Katholische Kirche und National-sozialismus: Dokumente 1930-1935* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1963), 207.

[130] Roland Weis, *Würden und Bürden: Katholische Kirche im Nationalsozialismus* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1994), 113-14, See also Spicer, *Hitler's Priests,* 18.

[131] Ericksen, *Complicity in the Holocaust,* 138.

demagogues is “the duty to be charitable towards the persecuted.”[132] This duty is made concrete whenever the Church puts the interests of the coming of the Kingdom of God ahead of its self-preservation. The latter is often at the root of ecclesial failure and the failure of being open to new ways of being Church. Oscar Romero captures this point, “the church … would betray its own love for God and its fidelity to the Gospel if it stopped being the ‘voice of the voiceless,’ a defender of the rights of the poor, a promoter of every just aspiration for liberation, a guide, … a humanizer of every legitimate struggle to achieve a more just society, a society that prepares the way for the true kingdom of God in history.”[133]

One of the theological documents that illustrates the recovery of ecclesial imagination after many historical wounds caused by church teaching is Vatican II’s *Nostra Aetate*. This document decisively “broke with the previous tradition for the first time and risked taking a new approach to Christianity’s relationship with Judaism. With this development all that had gone before was *de facto* revoked.”[134] The words of *Nostra Aetate* in its recognition of Christianity’s indebtedness to Judaism speak volumes:

> The Church keeps ever in mind the words of the Apostle [Paul] about his kinsmen: “theirs is the sonship and the glory and the covenants and the law and the worship and the promises; theirs are the fathers and from them is the Christ according to the flesh” (Rom. 9:4-5), the Son of the Virgin Mary. She also recalls that the Apostles, the Church’s mainstay and pillars, as well as most of the early disciples who proclaimed Christ’s Gospel to the world, sprang from the Jewish people.[135]

Given some past Church teaching and its animosity toward the Jews, *Nostra Aetate* marks an ecclesial revolution. It reignited and expanded theological horizons; it altered longstanding

[132] De Lubac, “Memorandum on French Bishops during the Occupation of France,” 276.

[133] Oscar Romero, “The Political Dimension of the Faith from the Perspective of the Option for the Poor,” in *Voice of the Voiceless: The Four Pastoral Letters and Statements* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1985), 184.

[134] Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., “Reflections on the Shoah: The Catholic Church’s Share of the Blame and Responsibility,” 74.

[135] Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate* (October 28, 1965), no. 4, accessed October 15, 2018, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html

Church teaching. One of its major theological revisions was repudiation of the charge of deicide against the Jewish people. *Nostra Aetate* reads:

> the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today … the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures.[136]

Nostra Aetate constitutes a paradigm shift in the way in which Catholic Christians are to relate to the Jewish people. Although further theological, scriptural, and liturgical debates must be nurtured constantly so that there is mutual understanding and respect in order to grasp the wealth of each faith tradition, *Nostra Aetate* calls for deeper and friendly dialogue between Jews and Catholics. It makes the critical study of the Hebrew Scriptures imperative in the sense that there is no understanding of biblical revelation without the Old Testament and consideration of Jewish interpretation.[137] From *Nostra Aetate* onward, the Church condemns any form of hatred, persecution of people, and any displays of anti-Semitism.

Another significant renewal comes from the adoption on December 7, 1965 of *Dignitatis Humanae,* the Declaration on Religious Liberty. This document primarily promotes the freedom to exercise religion in society and states that no human person may be coerced to embrace a religious tradition contrary to his or her conscience.[138] The document reads:

> This Vatican Council declares that the human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether

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[136] Ibid.

[137] Hanspeter Heinz and Michael A. Signer, eds., "Jews and Christians in Germany: Responsibility in Today's Pluralistic Society," 116. See also *Mit Brennender Sorge,* no. 15.

[138] Declaration on Religious Freedom *Dignitatis Humanae* on the Right of the Person and of Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Matters Religious (December 7, 1965), no. 1, accessed September 6, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html

> privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits.[139]

Vatican II thus reversed Pope Pius IX's "Syllabus of Errors" (1864). Later, Pope John Paul II apologized for the errors of the Church, acknowledging the failure of Christians during the Shoah and calling for new commitment. John Paul II writes:

> At the end of this millennium the Catholic Church desires to express her deep sorrow for the failures of her sons and daughters in every age. This is an act of repentance (*teshuvah*), since as members of the Church we are linked to the sins as well as the merits of all her children. The Church approaches with deep respect and great compassion the experience of extermination, the Shoah suffered by the Jewish people during World War II. It is not a matter of mere words, but indeed a binding commitment…[140]

Individual and collective repentance are vital as exemplified by Pope John Paul II, but ecclesial imagination must learn further from the Jewish understanding of what it means to live a life of loyalty to tradition and faith in an antagonistic world. In places where Christians have been let down by leaders, the Jews teach us that loyalty and faith have the capacity to remain even when tested with the risk of losing one's life. It cannot be emphasized enough that this imagination is to be founded on the idea that every human life is unique and irreplaceable. Further, it affirms the idea that remaining neutral when people are wounded and killed does not help the victim, but helps the executioner. Wiesel contends, "if the world had been less complacent in the 1930s, less neutral with regard to evil as it reigned already in Germany, the "Final Solution" would not have taken place."[141] Sixty years later, the same can be said about Rwanda during the genocide.

The most important lesson for the Church and society, such as that of Rwanda, is that evil must be exposed immediately. Jesus Christ was clear on this. For Christians, neutrality is not an

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[139] Ibid., no. 2.

[140] "We Remember," Part 5. In *Catholics Remember the Holocaust* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1998), 54.

[141] Elie Wiesel, "Some Words for Children of Survivors: A Message to the Second Generation," 13.

option: "He who is not with Me is against Me; and he who does not gather with Me scatters (Mt 12:30)." He or she who gathers with Christ respects life. Dietrich Bonhoeffer opined in his late defense of the Jews, and his point must be inferred for the rest of humanity: "only he who cries out for the Jews may sing Gregorian chant."[142] To this, I add that only he or she who cries out for the marginalized of our wounded societies might appropriately approach the Eucharistic banquet.

For the Church to heal God's people, it must question power and be a beacon of hope for the wounded of our world "who struggle for dignity in spite of structures and policies that continue to oppress them."[143] For example, it must collaborate with media specialists to bring the attention of the wounded to help the world understand their situation and invite them to solidarity. Media outlets that give false information and/or divisive messages must be challenged. In doing so, the Church becomes a prophetic symbol and a beacon of solidarity entrenched in an ecclesial determination rooted in the idea that the place of God's revelation is not necessarily quantified in the numbers of Christians who come to Mass and/or material buildings. God's revelation is symbolized by the baptism given to us by the poor and the wounded of our history. Dean Brackley notes that the victims of our broken world "help us discover our vocation to solidarity."[144]

The recovery of ecclesial imagination also depends on what Ignatius of Loyola calls "The Discernment of Spirits" in his meditation of "The Two Standards."[145] Ignatius offers a means of finding God's will and how people can come to make informed decisions:

> Ignatius has us imagine two great armies: the army of Christ and the army of Satan… Satan entices us to possessions, to great honor, and ultimately to pride. In

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[142] Jutta Bendremer, "Dietrich Bonheoffer and the Jews: An Agenda for Exploitation and Contemporary Dialogue," in Marcia Littell, Richard Libowitz, and Evelyn Bodek Rosen, eds., *The Holocaust Forty Years After* (Lewiston, NJ: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 88.

[143] Marie Dennis, Renny Golden, and Scott Wright, *Oscar Romero: Reflections on his Life and Writings* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000), 9 &14.

[144] Dean Brackley, *The Call to Discernment in Troubled Times: New Perspectives on the Transformative Wisdom of Ignatius of Loyola* (New York: Crossroad, 2004), 3.

[145] Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius,* trans. Thomas Corbishley (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), no. 36.

> striking contrast, Christ is sitting in a lowly place … he invites us to poverty, rejection, and humility, which leads to freedom. … [These two standards] point to two contrasting sets of values. Jesus stands for the values of the Gospel, the Beatitudes … poverty of spirit, selflessness, sharing … concern for others, community, inclusion, and solidarity with the poor. In contrast, Satan calls us to consumerism, competition, narcissism, individualism, exclusion, and suspicion of others.[146]

The theological goal of these "Two Standards" is to invite us to make a fundamental option for God. According to Brackley, the Two Standards show the contrast between "the Babylon Project and the Jerusalem Project."[147] On the one hand, the characteristics of those who work for the Babylon Project are that they are sometimes covert and other times they are open about their ambition and careers. They induce people to believe that they are sincere while they are not. For the Babylon Project to succeed, domination, fear, and mistrust become very instrumental. In retrospect, this was the mark of Hitler and his regime. The Nazi government signed the Concordat with the Church, knowing that it was deceiving Church leaders. Later, it used fear, domination, intimidation, and death camps to implement its plans. This too was the characteristic of the masterminds of the genocide in Rwanda. It is still the mark of tyrants today who think they are above any laws. On the other hand, the characteristics of the Jerusalem Project are equality, option for the poor, solidarity, and building a society that fosters the common good, protecting biodiversity, in short, a state of affairs where God is recognized.

What destroyed many lives during the Second World War and during the genocide and its aftermath in Rwanda is not primarily the suffering which people endured, but rather the Babylon project, the deception of holding people behind the walls and lies of ethnocentrism, nationalism, political greed, and abuse of power and resources to the point of disregarding any moral obligations

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[146] Gerald M. Fagin, *Putting on the Heart of Christ: How the Spiritual Exercises Invite Us to a Virtuous Life* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2010), 102-03.

[147] Brackley, *The Call to Discernment in Troubled Times*, 89.

to care for others. Resources used to build walls of division could have been allocated to empower people. In Rwanda, resources were spent building walls of division. In a poor country like Rwanda, millions of dollars were spent blatantly to buy machetes used during the genocide, instead of building bridges of encounter, unity, peaceful coexistence, and human flourishing.

Human flourishing is never achieved when evil thrives. Silence and lack of prophetic boldness have failed Christian communities in their ecclesial response to evil. For instance, Pius XI had been warned by Edith Stein about the plight of the Jews in her 1933 letter that asked him to condemn antisemitism in Germany. Edith Stein received no response from Pius XI or Pius XII.[148] As one learns from and uses this painful past, some epistemological questions must be objectively asked: what do we do with what we know? And how do people react given the knowledge they may have? The question remains about Pius XII's apparent indecisiveness with regard to the German Jews. Of the ninety-three Papal communications to German Bishops in the Second World War, there is a 1943 Christmas letter that proves that Pius XII chose not to act publicly:

> In our Christmas message, we said a word concerning the Jews in the territories under German control. The reference was short ... It is superfluous to say that our love and paternal solicitude for all non-Aryan Catholics, children of the Church like all others, are greater today when their exterior existence is collapsing, and they know such moral distress. Unhappily in the present state of affairs, we can bring them no help other than our Prayers.[149]

Prayers are good, but they are not enough. They must lead to responsible action. It is fair to say though that a possible explanation for Pius XII's inaction was his fear to make things worse.

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[148] See Edith Stein's plea in a letter to Pius XI calling him to speak out on behalf of the Jews. And all her predictions happened step by step. Stein, "Letter of Saint Edith Stein to Pius XI in 1933," Carmelite Nuns of Baltimore (February 23, 2003), accessed September 16, 2019, https://www.ccjr.us/dialogika-resources/primary-texts-from-the-history-of-the-relationship/stein1939april See also Mary Catherine Baseheart, *Person in the World: Introduction to the Philosophy of Edith Stein.* Contributions to Phenomenology (Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2010), 25.

[149] From *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège,* Vol. 2, No. 105, quoted in Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators*, 348-49.

"He believed that quiet diplomacy and private action would save more lives than public protest."[150] Pius XII's ecclesial imagination was caught up in a discernment dilemma. He was not sure of the repercussions of any public condemnatory action against the Nazis. He writes:

> I have often considered excommunication, to castigate in the eyes of the entire world the fearful crime of genocide. But after much praying and many tears, I realize that my condemnation would not only fail to help the Jews, it might even worsen their situation … No doubt a protest would have gained me the praise and respect of the civilized world, but it would have submitted the poor Jews to an even worse persecution.[151]

The contention of these lines is that ecclesiologies from places of wounds often ruined by dictatorship and moral decadence are to be aware of the complexity of issues, considering what is necessary and what is opportune, but also of the resources at hand. Sometimes, it is not just black and white. Having said this, in his writings on decolonizing the mind, Frantz Fanon's prophetic stance challenges those who have the means to speak truth to power, regardless of the cost, and do not do so because of fear, among other things. For him, they must be judged harshly.[152] The future rather upholds those who put human dignity before their own interests or personal allegiances. This is what the Church celebrates in Oscar Romero, the martyr of El Salvador. Even Pope Pius XII himself applauded the sacrifice of Mgr. Lichtenberg, "who asked to share the lot of the Jews in the concentration camps, and who spoke up against their persecution in the pulpit."[153] This may be why Henry Morgenthau seems immortal in the memoirs of humanity. He is known for his opposition against the Armenian genocide by confronting the Turkish authorities about the

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[150] José M. Sánchez, *Pius XII and the Holocaust: Understanding the Controversy* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002), 177.

[151] Quoted in Patrick Gallo, *For Love and Country: The Italian Resistance* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 148. Unfortunately, since the Holocaust could not have been any worse, I have not found where Pius XII explains how it could have been worse than it already was.

[152] Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays,* trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 102.

[153] Mgr. Lichtenberg was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his defense of the Jews and he died in Dachau. See Rhodes, *The Vatican in the Age of the Dictators*, 347. In fact, Pope Pius praises the effort of Mgr. Lichtenberg in his private letter to Bishop Preysing dated April 30, 1943.

Armenian killings. One official asked Morgenthau the following: "Why are you interested in the Armenians anyway, you are a Jew and these people are Christians?" Morgenthau responded: "You do not seem to realize that I am not here as a Jew ... I do not appeal to you in the name of any race or religion, but merely as a human being."[154] Although Morgenthau was not a theologian, here he touches on the vocation of theologians in a world of conflict. Their vocation is to foster renewal and to help the church come to terms with its past, while fostering and reigniting new ways of being human and being Church.

In what follows, I offer some theological reflections on what this chapter further helps us conceptualize. I do this in conversation with two German thinkers: Theodore Adorno and Johann Baptist Metz who, respectively, have reflected on what it means to come to terms with the past and the theological implications of memory.[155]

3.4 Coming to Terms with the Past: Memory Rooted in Self-criticism

The past lives with us in the present and in the future. It affects different domains of human lives. For many people wounded by tragedies, it simply is not possible 'to move on' or to continue as if nothing had happened. The insufficient responses of ecclesial leaders to the attempt to destroy the Jewish people during the Nazi occupation of Germany remain a stain on humanity's conscience. Writing on the Holocaust, German philosopher Theodor Adorno observes, "there can be no one, whose organ of experience has not entirely atrophied, from whom the world *after* Auschwitz, that is, the world in which Auschwitz was possible, is the same world as it was

[154] Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1918), 333-34.

[155] Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) was a German philosopher whose central concern was human suffering. See Andrew Fagan, "Theodor Adorno," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (A Peer-Reviewed Academic Resource), accessed December 4, 2018, https://www.iep.utm.edu/adorno

before."[156] The idea is that the world must be viewed differently after the horrific tragedies of Auschwitz and Nyamata. These tragedies represent humanity's relapse into barbarism.

Historical wounds within the Church and society urge us to realize that we continue to face the past in the present. Black people in the United States re-experience the impact of slavery in the numerous continuing forms of racial inequality. In his exploration of the impact of past suffering in Ireland, Jeremy D. Fackenthal states, "we must not close the doors of the past, but must realize that we continue to encounter the past in the present."[157] The past remains the womb of history. In Faulkner's iconic words, "the past is never dead – it not even past."[158] As long as the painful experiences and memories of the war and the genocide remain unreconciled in Rwanda, neither the church, nor society can consider them to be resolved or settled. The memories of these experiences and their impacts remain with us as individuals and as a nation; hence the need to reconcile memories. Fackenthal confirms this point:

> The past cannot, must not, be effaced, but rather the past continues to live in the present, providing the necessary remembrance that enables thoughtful philosophers and theologians to critique harmful aspects of the past and reflect upon ways in which the present and the future might provide alternative options to those that engendered such rampant [barbarism] in the past.[159]

This chapter has engaged in critical theological reflection in order to help the church toward a theological, moral, and spiritual renewal of imagination. In trying to uncover some complex limitations and moral failure of the Church, the goal is to warn against the tendency 'to move on'

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[156] Theodor W. Adorno, *Metaphysics: Concepts and Problems,* ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 104.

[157] Jeremy D. Fackenthal, *The Problem of Coming to Terms with the Past: A Post-Holocaust Theology of Remembrance* (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC, 2012), 182.

[158] William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (New York: Random House, 1951), Act One, Scene III.

[159] Fackenthal, *The Problem of Coming to Terms with the Past*, 42.

quickly as usual; but rather to linger in lament, prayer, sorrow, and reflection in order to accept responsibility to concretely nurture hope for the future.[160]

Different experiences may serve as materials to stimulate ecclesial imagination. Some of these materials include an understanding of the history of anti-Semitic thoughts and actions, the absence of ecclesial leadership and courage, the intricacies of ecclesiastical diplomacy when faced with political manipulators, and the passivity of bystanders in the face of evil. If these experiences are taken seriously, then, they just may serve to summon theologians to the recognition that theology cannot engage a people's past without the realization that "after Auschwitz, there is no word tinged from on high, not even a theological one, that has any right unless it underwent a transformation."[161] Such transformation comes as a result of critical reflection to identify and assess the factors that generated the possibilities for the barbarism that the world experienced during the Shoah and during the genocide in Rwanda. Such transformation demands that thinkers beware of all those people who deny or minimize what happened in an attempt to exempt themselves from self-reflection, liability, reparation, or guilt.

Reflecting on what it means to come to terms with the past, Adorno contends that humanity ought not be cheated by simplistic reflections on the evils of the past. There must be systematic attempt to discover their root causes. In any attempt to find what is the human good, "[t]he judgment of value presupposes knowledge of human life, of human possibilities proximate and remote, of the probable consequences of projected courses of action. When knowledge is deficient, then fine feelings are apt to be expressed in what is called moral idealism, i.e. lovely proposals that don't work out and often do more harm than good."[162] What this implies for ecclesial imagination

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[160] I say "*some complex failures*" because this chapter did not pretend to discuss all of them; doing so goes beyond the scope of this dissertation and I leave it for another time.

[161] Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics,* trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 2007), 367.

[162] Bernard F. Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 38.

in places like Rwanda where some people tend to minimize the horrors of the genocide is that coming to terms with the past urges thinkers to be careful of people with "lax consciousness which consoles itself with the thought that such a thing surely could not have happened unless the victims had in some way or another furnished some kind of instigation."[163] While in some cases, victims may have a part to play in their fate, critical assessment of events must be done with due care so that no one is treated unjustly. For Adorno, priority must be given to each person and community. He notes, "working through the past understood as enlightenment is essentially a turn toward the subject, the reinforcement of a person's self-consciousness and hence also of his self."[164] This means that self-reflection and thinking about the other are key to coming to terms with the past. Self-consciousness and respectful regard of the other have the task of restoring the smeared personhood and identity of others. Self-consciousness must lead to mutual respect. It is not primarily meant to produce guilt feelings, but it is rooted in the desire to do justice to those who have been crushed by human barbarity, thus preserving the possibility of developing a theology of remembrance and of re-membering. Keeping alive the memory of failures is not an exercise in self-pity, but a necessary stop in the pilgrimage of personal and ecclesial imagination.

In a post-conflict context, theological studies become a means of anthropological reimagination. Adorno observes, "one must come to know the mechanisms that render people capable of such deeds [of criminality], must reveal these mechanisms to them, and strive, by awakening a general awareness of those mechanisms, to prevent people from becoming [criminal] again."[165] One of the essential means to uncover these mechanisms is authentic education. The

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[163] Theodor W. Adorno, "The Meaning of Working Through the Past," *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, trans. Henry W. Pickford (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005) 89-103, at 100.

[164] Theodor Adorno, "The Meaning of Working through the Past," in *Can One Live after Auschwitz? A Philosopher Reader, ed.* Rolf Tiedemann and trans. Henry W. Pickford (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 17.

[165] Theodor W. Adorno, "Education after Auschwitz," in *Can One Live after Auschwitz? A Philosopher Reader,* ed. Rolf Tiedemann and trans. Henry W. Pickford (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 21.

latter is a central tool to help people become open-minded in order to prevent a relapse into barbarism, and it gives a chance to each person to reflect on his or her past. Education also offers opportunity to expose the motives that led those who were supposedly educated, yet became masterminds of atrocities. Individual and collective education provides ideally "an intellectual, cultural, and social climate in which a recurrence would no longer be possible, a climate, therefore, in which the motives that led to the horror become relatively conscious."[166] To work through the past implies working through the causes of what happened and eliminating them by setting just structures of accountability. It involves the ability to give people categories and forms of consciousness, "by means of which they can approach self-reflection."[167]

Ecclesial memory rooted in self-criticism in the context of war, genocide, and their aftermath is an essential factor for a face-to-face encounter with the other: survivor, perpetrator, raped woman, child born out of rape, refugee, and prisoner, etc. An encounter with the other is rooted in the ultimate alterity of the other, with acceptance even to suffer "in response to the suffering of the other" and an awakening of "one's feeling of one's responsibility for and to the other."[168] This is what the Church remembers in the life of Félicitas Niyitegeka who gave her life selflessly, as mentioned earlier.[169]

In the course of this chapter, I have shown how the events surrounding the Jewish Holocaust kindled ecclesial reimagination because they were debilitating for theology. In *The Emergent Church,* Johann Baptist Metz writes, "ask yourself if the theology you are learning [and constructing] is such that it could remain unchanged before and after Auschwitz. If this is the case,

[166] Ibid., 22

[167] Adorno, "The Meaning of Working through the Past," 18.

[168] Emmanuel Levinas, "Useless Suffering," in *The Provocation of Levinas: Rethinking the Other,* ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood, trans. Richard Cohen (New York: Routledge, 1988), 157-58.

[169] For the legacy of Félicitas Niyitegeka, see the Second Chapter, *supra* pp. 92-93.

be on your guard."[170] This chapter has thus far discussed how the failure of some ecclesial leaders during the Holocaust became an opportunity for the ongoing ecclesial reexamination. The twentieth-century acts of barbarism have presented an historical and theological rupture and have called for theology to be interruptive. Metz opines that "in view of Auschwitz we need to examine not only our Christian theologizing about Judaism, but also examine Christian theology – our Christian discourse about God – as a whole."[171] Theologians must ask how one could still speak about God "in the face of the abysmal histories of suffering, in [God's] world.[172] This is a question, one for which theology cannot provide simplistic answers.

Within the context of Rwanda, many people are still affected by the tragic events of the war, the genocide, and their aftermath. These define our theological reflections, which explains why memory is a categorical imperative because it prevents the church and its theologians from doing theology in a vacuum without considering the horrors and wounds of history. Metz contends that theology that does not remember ultimately appears "empty and blind."[173] This theology must reject any human satisfaction that says that, given the enormity of human suffering during the genocide, the remaining thing that human powerlessness offers those who have been murdered is: remembrance.

Turning now to the next section, what are some intuitions of ecclesial imagination the church of Rwanda should follow, twenty-five years after the war, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, and the aftermath?

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[170] Johann Baptist Metz, *The Emergent Church,* trans. Peter Mann (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 29. See also Clark M. Williamson, *A Guest in the House of Israel: Post-Holocaust Church Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 4.

[171] Johann Baptist Metz, "Theology as Theodicy?" in *A Passion for God: The Mystical-Political Dimension of Christianity,* ed. and trans. J. Matthew Ashley (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 55.

[172] Ibid., 56.

[173] Metz, "Theology as Theodicy," 54.

3.5 The Church Rwandans Need for a Brighter Future

It is already a generation since the war and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. As we look to the future, what kind of society should Rwandans imagine and desire to have for a brighter future? What kind of Christians should they be to bring it about? Can theology offer constructive approaches to reignite ecclesial imagination? How can one use the suffering Rwandans endured in order to grow? Just as the Church has gradually learned lessons from its limitations and failures during the Holocaust, one can say that for the Rwandan ecclesial communities, it is not primarily what happened in their past that should alone determine their current existence; but it is how they choose to learn from their past and the choices, commitments, and sacrifices they make. In his book *The Power of Your Past,* John P. Schuster challenges individuals and societies ridden by conflicts to use their suffering in order to grow. He writes, "[e]ventually, we go beyond copying and enduring the suffering: we make meaning out of it and use it as a spiritual resource. The suffering that started off challenging our being and our ideas of what life is and should end up opening our heart, expanding our identity, and connecting us forever to the human family and life."[174]

Ecclesial imagination looks forward to envision a new future, despite the burden of Rwanda's memory and injustice. This new vision is rooted in a theology of symbols and of encounter and listening.

The Church is the symbol of Christ's presence and an offer of grace to every individual and the world. Symbols are necessary for self-disclosure and self-realization. In his discussion of the theology of symbol, Rahner explains how "the heart of Jesus is a symbol of his love."[175] And

[174] John P. Schuster, *The Power of Your Past: The Art of Recalling, Reclaiming, and Recasting,* (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2011), 184.

[175] Karl Rahner, "The Theological Meaning of the Veneration of the Sacred Heart," in *Theological Investigations*, VIII, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1974), 217-18.

the life of Jesus and deeds have symbolic significance. Rahner writes:

> If a person really believes with regard to Jesus, his cross and his death that there the living God has spoken to him the final, decisive, comprehensive and irrevocable word, and if with regard to Jesus a person realizes that he is thereby redeemed from all the imprisonment and tyranny of the existentials of a closed and guilty existence which is doomed to death, he believes something which is true and real only if Jesus is the person whom Christian faith professes him to be. Whether he knows it reflexively or not, he believes in the Incarnation of God's Word.[176]

There are many theological and symbolic elements in this quotation. There is a redemptive quality born from an encounter with Jesus. The *Logos* sets us free from sin and death. The death of Jesus on the Cross carries meaning continually and impacts on the attitude and actions of Christians of all ages. Eschatologically, Jesus's death and resurrection marked the death of death. The Incarnation, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus thus disclose symbolically a reality beyond themselves.

In addition, the Church and the Sacraments are symbols. On the one hand, the Church is "the persisting presence of the incarnate Word in space and time [and] continues the symbolic function of the Logos in the World."[177] On the other hand, the Sacraments "make concrete and actual, for the life of the individual, the symbolic reality of the Church."[178] The contention is threefold. First, the Church and the Sacraments are inseparable from each other. Second, symbols are the realization of the communion of people with one another. When one says, "I love you," one does so by expressing oneself in the other. Rahner contends that the human person "is insofar as he gives himself up," or '"letting one's self go' is the essence of [humanity]."[179] Third, symbols mediate meaning and point to something other than themselves. Lennan remarks that "[symbols]

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[176] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 227.

[177] Ibid., 224.

[178] Ibid., 241.

[179] Karl Rahner, "On the Theology of Incarnation," in *Theological Investigations*, IV, trans. Kevin Smyth (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd Ltd, 1966), 110 and "On the Theology of Hope," in *Theological Investigations,* X, trans. David Bourke (New York: The Seabury Press, 1977), 250.

are means by which one being could come to know another, to know what was not accessible in an immediate way. As such, symbols not only reveal the mystery of being and indicate its depth, they also do so without reducing that mystery to manageable dimensions."[180]

Symbols carry important functions. Christologically, liturgically, ecclesiologically, and sacramentally, symbols mediate the ineffable mystery of God and have the capacity to make it real in the ordinary lives of God's people. Discussing "The theology of Symbols," Karl Rahner notes, "all beings are by their nature symbolic, because they necessarily 'express' themselves in order to attain their own nature."[181] One of the primary functions of a symbol is to serve as a means by which the other is presented. "A symbol is the representation which allows the other 'to be there' – supreme and primal representation, one reality renders another (primarily 'for itself' and only secondarily for others.)"[182] In this line of thinking, the Church functions as the symbolic representation of the abiding presence of the risen Jesus within the community of believers. It is the symbolic means of God's salvation in the world. The theology of the Church is a theology of symbols, mediating the ineffable God in a spatio-temporal visible form. The Church is a means by which God's grace is embodied and symbolized, and is thus present.[183] The theology of the *Logos* and the theology of the Trinity function as symbols of God's self-expression in the world. Likewise, the theology of sacraments functions as a symbol of God's work of grace in creation. Rahner writes, "the grace of God constitutes itself actively present in the sacraments by creating their expression, their historical tangibility in space and time, which is its own symbol."[184]

How does this reflection on symbols connect then with the need for ecclesial imagination,

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[180] Lennan, "Ecclesiology and Ecumenism," 130.
[181] Rahner, "The Theology of Symbols," in *Theological Investigations,* IV, 224
[182] Ibid., 225.
[183] Rahner, *The Church and the Sacraments,* 34.
[184] Ibid., 242.

so central to this chapter? How does it fit in the discussion? Granted that symbols carry meanings beyond what they are or signify, with the exception of the Divine Mercy Centre at Kabuga catholic parish in the outskirt of Kigali, in the many Rwandan churches one does not yet find symbols that have marked Rwanda's tragedy: machetes, spears, guns, "cockroaches," flags, farmers, tall trees, traitors, "cockroach" friends, clubs, drums, radio, identification cards, exodus, and "work."[185] Nor does one also find symbols of rescuers, yet these symbols mediate meaning. Just as the Cross in any church reminds us of the anguish, suffering, and death of Jesus, yet it has become a symbol of selfless love for Christians, so too the above symbols, or at least some of them, need to be found in our churches, particularly as one recalls that more than one third of those who lost their lives during the genocide were killed in churches. Christian churches became Rwanda's killing fields.[186] The reader will remember the story of Saint Francis de Sales church in New Orleans.[187] That story can be appropriated to the Rwandan context.

Rwanda's symbols that became means of separation and sin should be used liturgically to bring us together or at least to symbolically own our past. Schuster contends, "[w]ithout knowledge of our past, we do not have a primary guiding light to help us walk creatively and bravely into our future. We won't make the changes we need to propel us into new and more enriching lifework."[188] What would happen if parts of machetes, clubs, guns, spears, etc. were used to make altars and lecterns in some churches in Rwanda, as has happened at a few parishes like Gikondo in Kigali?[189] It took some years before the early Christians came to use the Cross – let alone the Cross with a

[185] This was the word used by the *Interahamwe* militia when they went to kill the Tutsi.

[186] African Rights, *Rwanda, Death, Despair, and Defiance,* Revised Edition (London: African Rights, 1995), 865.

[187] Recall the experience of Fred Enman at St Francis in New Orleans, Louisiana, *supra* pp. 131-32.

[188] Schuster, *The Power of Your Past*, 25.

[189] This is an initiative of the Pallotine Fathers; they have constructed a genocide memorial of the burial tomb of Christ out of the violent instruments of genocide. Yet this remains an isolated parish-based example in Rwanda; much more could be done.

Corpus – as their central symbol, because the cross was the symbol of rejection and torture in the ancient world.[190] My hope is that the symbols that have marked the Rwandan scandal will be one day used to foster people's ecclesial imagination. In the words of the renowned African theologian A.E. Orobator, symbols open "the way to an experience of reality in a much deeper and personal way."[191] Consequently, the reader will find some images below and imagine their symbolic meaning:

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[190] For more details, read Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion: In the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1977).

[191] A.E. Orobator, *Theology Brewed in an African Pot*: *An Introduction to Christian Doctrine from an African Perspective* (Nairobi, Kenya: Pauline Publications Africa, 2008), 35.

[192] These images are taken from Romeo Dallaire Productions; Dallaire—a United Nation peacekeeper—decided to remain in Rwanda, when the international community abandoned Rwanda. Accessed October 15, 2018https://www.google.com/search?q=images+of+interahamwe&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=zXGZ27co86wRLM%253A%252CiECVIUGzOt1nDM%252C_&usg=AI4_-kQ6oZ5O_r6roNsGf4Z715Cy4k62sQ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwij2JyVjvjdAhWDmeAKHZBmBRAQ9QEwCnoECAYQGA#imgrc=_3QbBe_khq2MOM

[193]https://www.google.com/search?q=images+of+killings+and+skulls+in+rwanda&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=Qpu3OD5Zqwdh_M%253A%252CUNETLCkp18e8EM%252C_&usg=AI4_-

[194]

The images in these photos illustrate some of the instruments used during the genocide. The first image highlights symbols used during the genocide: machetes, clubs, and guns, etc. The second represents the skulls of unidentifiable victims of the genocide. The third image reminds us of the catastrophic flow of refugees at the end of the war and the genocide against the Tutsi. One notices how people are going in different directions.

Rwandan churches must be creative in finding ways that excruciating symbols might be refashioned in local parishes. Rwandan Christians must look to the symbols of torture that crucified our people, the symbols of death and aberration of their humanity, and transform them, not only into instruments of memory, but also symbols of what they have rejected. Just as the wood that

kQ3FB_OmrWXN_YAdmnOCVPMtyoKvw&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiwiaLS48ndAhWmneAKHTSeDI4Q9QEwCHoECAUQFA#imgdii=ihhyBF38PfmZGM:&imgrc=hbMUKCsCiVoywM accessed September 20, 2018.

[194]https://www.google.com/search?q=images+of+interahamwe&tbm=isch&tbs=rimg:CYuGAJ7UY6UrIjhdFrMde1zpjgt6BBENxmxCogyqU_1rDyUBArky7lhFRFZ8WP4A5Ggn2lLnMrNakOslanMXQ0YW1-ioSCV0Wsx17XOmOEYOy46Rx4-GVKhIJC3oEEQ3GbEIRPZiRHC4JqEgqEgmiDKpT-sPJQBGSm5tcv0UDaSoSCUCuTLuWEVEVETCZn_1JHhPvGKhIJnxY_1gDkaCfYReqj2AX3JnZcqEgmUucys1qQ6yRGg0Ioy8HCxHyoSCVqcxdDRhbX6EY_1kXL1wTAgs&tbo=u&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi8ovaS28ndAhVRh-AKHXIgByUQ9C96BAgBEBs&biw=1280&bih=603&dpr=1#imgrc=FQQl_Aatn0yoGM accessed September 20, 2018.

had divided the parishioners of St. Francis de Sales along racial lines became the wood that brought them together as brothers and sisters in the Lord, Rwandan liturgical imagination must go beyond cosmetics to deeper meaning. Some symbols may be difficult for those traumatized by Rwanda's appalling past, but future generations will hopefully realize how the church owned part of its messy history. Schuster says that "with roots not anchored in the deep and fertile soil of our true identity, we don't know who we are, why we think the way we do, what gives us joy and repels us, how to sow the seeds and harvest the fruit of our talents and dreams."[195]

In the following, I propose two pillars the church in Rwanda could nurture for its renewal of ecclesial imagination: church of sinners with hope and a church committed to memory.

3.5.1 A Church of Sinners Marked with Hope

The Church is the visible sign of Christ's love in the world. It continues to manifest God's grace to all creation. In and through Christ, God made us a new people, reconciled us to Godself (2 Cor 5:17-21) and called us to be sharers of the Son's divinity, humanity, and a community of disciples. Christ made us his own family, brothers and sisters, breaking down the walls that separated us (Ephesians 2:14). In his exposition "On the necessity of the Church," Rahner writes, "[t]he necessity of the Church is the necessity of Christ himself … for the Church is the presence of the saving grace in the world."[196] This is because God's self-giving love is mediated historically. The climax of this mediation has ultimately unfolded in Christ, who is the symbol of God's self-giving love. The Church makes this Christ-centred mediation concrete. For Rahner, "this means that the church has to exist."[197] The Church is not just a society that happens to be well structured to satisfy religious needs. It has its origins and necessity in Christ.

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[195] Schuster, *The Power of Your Past*, 20.
[196] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith,* 347 and McCool, *A Rahner Reader,* 280.
[197] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith,* 348.

The Church is a mystery that carries its origins and something of transcendence rooted in God's offer made tangible in Christ. Debating whether Christ founded the church, Karl Rahner observes, "[t]he church was founded in the first place by the fact that Jesus is the person whom believers professed to be the absolute saviour and to be God's historically irreversible and historically tangible offer of himself, and by the fact that he would not be who he is if the offer of himself which God made in him did not continue to remain present in the world in an historically tangible profession of faith in Jesus."[198] This understanding of the Church explains why it transcends ordinary associations of men and women of good will. It is more than a community regulated by laws endowed with the Spirit of God who leads her "toward that ultimate day to which all her truth, her law, and her sacraments are ordered, toward that day when God himself will appear unveiled in his world."[199] Therefore, there is a transcendental, Trinitarian, soteriological, and eschatological dimension of the Church.

Sin exists in the Church, despite its being a community called and sent by God. Sin refers to deliberate individual and institutional choices to seek selfish interests at the expense of that which promotes the reign of God. The crisis of priestly sexual abuse cover-ups, plus the lack of accountability and visionary leadership on the part of some bishops, illustrate the painful reality of sin in the Church. The Church has an article of faith that sinners belong to the Church. It has had historical debates with groups that refuted this idea, such as Novatianism and Donatism in patristic times or Jansenists in the early modern era.[200] It neither has nor lays claims to any power to condemn anyone to total perdition. The sins of the Church are "a blot and a blemish on the holy mystical Body of Christ itself. The Church is a sinful Church: this is a truth of faith, not [just] an

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[198] Ibid*.,* 329-30.

[199] Karl Rahner, "The Church of Sinners," in *Theological Investigations,* Vol. VI, trans. Karl – H. and Boniface Kruger (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 265.

[200] Ibid., 301.

elementary fact of experience. And it is a shattering truth."[201]

Sin in the Church does not belong to the private domain or abstract realm. It has social, cultural, and political dimensions that have often led some people astray. It influences people's actions and behavior toward one another. Karl Rahner contends:

> The sins of ecclesiastics are not in the realm of the "private life," but they may also influence very substantially their concrete mode of action as official representatives of the Church. When the Church acts, gives a lead, makes decisions (or fails to make decisions when they ought to be made), when she proclaims her message, and when she is obliged to proclaim it in accordance with the times and historical situations, then this activity of the Church is not carried out by some abstract principle and not by the Holy Spirit alone, but rather this whole activity of the Church is at the same time the activity of concrete men. And since they can in fact commit sin, since they can be culpably narrow, culpably egoistic, self-satisfied, obstinate, sensual or indolent, this sinful attitude of theirs will naturally affect also those actions which they initiate precisely as ecclesiastics and in the name of the Church as acts of the concrete Church.[202]

Decisions made by church leaders have far-reaching consequences on people's lives, and the possible limitations and actions of ecclesiastics have practical and public impacts. It is important, however, to acknowledge with humility that Church leaders come from our communities, and they can be fellow wrongdoers.

There is an attitude of personal and ecclesial humility imbedded in the above words. We live in societies that expect accountability and transparency from leaders. And the same societies are less likely to acknowledge that all are imperfect people. One inviting and humbling truth is to stand in front of a reflective glass (mirror) whenever the word "church" is mentioned and ask: what is "church?" If a Christian is honest enough, he or she will say: "I am part of it with all my weaknesses and those of others." This attitude is needed in Rwanda as those who criticize the Catholic Church for its failures prior, during, and after the 1994 genocide often forget that they

[201] Ibid., 302.
[202] Ibid., 302-03.

too are or were part of the same Church. In no way, does this condone personal and institutional sins and all the wounds they have caused to God's people. But acknowledging that we all fall short of the glory of God (Rom 3:23) is an anthropological virtue and a way of putting the sins of church members in proper perspective. Rahner substantiates this:

> If sin in the Church serves first of all to call to mind our own sinfulness, if it shocks us into remembering that our sins are the sins of the Church – whether we are priests or laymen, powerful or lowly people in the Kingdom of God – that we contribute our share in the Church's penury and want, and that this is the case even though our sins may not figure in any chronicle of the Church's scandals, then we have taken up the proper, that is the Christian, position to see the sins of the Church in their true light.[203]

Not only does this reference contradict anyone who says that Rahner does not pay serious attention to sin, but it is also important to note that it is not all about sin in the Church. There is first of all the love of God, which is foundational for Christian hope. This hope is an acknowledgement of the limitations of human planning. Hope empowers humans "to have trust enough to undertake anew an exodus out of the present into the future."[204] Within Rwanda, hope is rooted in the fact that God has neither rejected those who survived the war or the genocide nor its perpetrators or bystanders. God's mercy offers a second chance to all. The stories of Jesus' encounter with the Samaritan woman (Jn 4: 1-24); the prodigal son and the merciful father (Lk 15:11-32); the good shepherd who goes out to seek one lost sheep and leaves behind ninety-nine (Jn 10:1-21); and Jesus' restoration of the dignity of the woman caught committing adultery (Jn 8:1-11) are concrete illustrations of God in love with, accompanying, listening, and offering hope to humanity. In and through Jesus Christ, humanity discovers that *mercy* is *the* name of God,[205]

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[203] Rahner, "The Church of Sinners," 305.

[204] Rahner, "On the Theology of Hope," 257.

[205] For more, see Pope Francis' Apostolic Letter *Misericordia et Misera* (November 20, 2016), accessed May 13, 2019, https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_letters/documents/papa-francesco-lettera-ap_20161120_misericordia-et-misera.html

illustrated for example in Luke's "Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful" (Lk 6:36). This "way of Jesus" is fundamental for renewing our wounded humanity and the church of Rwanda. It challenges the church to listen and accompany survivors, former perpetrators, raped women, those with perplexed identities, those in power, and their children. Twenty-five years after the horrific tragedy of the genocide and its aftermath, the church still needs to be *comitante de ecclesia et ecclesia audire.*

Theology born from places of wounds marked by personal, social, and ecclesial sin seeks to break down the barriers between them and us (Hutus and Tutsis), allowing each individual to realize that she is loved by God, not because of what anyone has done, but because of God's self-giving love revealed in Christ Jesus. God's love leaves us the responsibility to reciprocate it to others. This responsibility goes beyond human-to-human relations (horizontal dimension). It includes the vertical dimension, that is, individuals and their community must be attuned to the whispering of the Holy Spirit, discerning the voice of God who desires the wholeness of all, but also having critical analyses of where we miss the mark. In Rwanda, both the horizontal and the vertical, individual and ecclesial responsibilities must "uncover the colonial power structures that have formed Rwanda and [must] bring out marginalized perspectives. It is important to remember that the Christian mission accompanied and legitimized the colonial [and post-colonial] rule over Rwanda. It is also important to be vigilant today and to analyze where power structures of today exclude and marginalize people."[206] Theological imagination has therefore the challenge to seek human flourishing, which means doing theology from the margins, "from the perspective of survivors, released prisoners, the Twa [who have often been forgotten], the disabled or the

[206] Katharina Peetz, "Listening to Ordinary Rwandans Searching for a New Theology after Genocide," In a Paper Prepared for the Conference on "Reinventing Theology in Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes" (Kigali, June 20-22, 2019), 11.

politically excluded."[207]

Theology from the margins cannot last if it is not committed to memory. This memory is rooted in a fearless effort to dialogue, to think, and to journey together. By its critical attention to the past, memory "gives birth to our present, revisiting it thoughtfully is a way to recapture lost parts of us, to rediscover other parts we under-deploy, and to recommit to the values and focal points that make our efforts lasting."[208] Breaking barriers of past divisions engrained in a balanced commitment to memory unleashes new horizons for the church to be compassionate, to journey with its members, and to understand their multifaceted circumstances. To this commitment to memory, our second pillar explores.

3.5.2 Committed to Memory

After the horrific killings that occurred twenty-five years ago in Rwanda, commitment to memory is imperative, constantly reviewing Rwanda's past in order to forge a future in which God's action in the world summons us to widen people's reception of and care for one another. The widening of hearts confronts ethnic biases, which are a block to charity. Bernard Lonergan states that a bias is "a distortion to intellectual development."[209] People are fixed in immovable categories because of biases. The latter may result from "unconscious motivation," rooted in the way people have been brought up to look down upon others, like the way some Hutus and Tutsis have done in Rwanda. Biases can further be rooted in "individual egoism, and there is the more powerful and blinder bias of group egoism."[210] Egoism seeks personal or group or ethnic advantage at the expense of others. Hutus or Tutsis have felt superior to each other depending on who is in

[207] See "Postkoloniale Theologien: bibelhermeneutische und kulturwissenschaftlicheBeiträge," ReligionsKulturen, Band 11, Hrsg. v. Andreas Nehring/ Simon Tielesch, Stuttgart, 2013. The translation is mine.

[208] Schuster, *The Power of Your Past*, 120.

[209] Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* 231.

[210] Ibid., 231.

power. One may recall the Ten Commandments of Bahutu, earlier mentioned in Chapter Two. Such biases have repercussions on present generations who have internalized Rwanda's ethnological model.[211] Additionally, there is "the general bias of common sense, which is a specialization of intelligence in the particular and concrete, but usually considers itself omni-competent."[212] Within Rwanda, this bias was encouraged by Christian missionaries and colonialists who thought that the Tutsi had a specialized intelligence and exceptional leadership capacity.

Biases are a blot to our shared and graced humanity. This is evidenced by the demeaning prejudices leveled against the Jews, as discussed earlier and for which Pope John Paul II had to apologize. If the Rwandan church is to foster an ecclesial imagination rooted in the commitment to memory, biases must be challenged in order to follow the way of Jesus. While blind spots and biases often form some part of the psyche, the "way" of Jesus includes the rich and the poor, the persecuted and the despised, the elite and the low class, the Hutu, the Tutsi, and the Twa. The "way" of Jesus allows no significance to biases. In his meeting with sinners, lepers, or the woman at the well in Samaria (Jn 4:1-42), Jesus affirms that the "way" he teaches accords no significance to a person's race or ethnicity or culture or country. The "way" Jesus teaches announces God's exclusive power and desire to create and name us all as God's own sons and daughters. If theology in Rwanda is committed to memory and it is to assist the Church in preaching this message of inclusive love. Theologians must therefore reinvent this way in post-genocide Rwanda. They will do so by promoting activities that bring people together through interreligious or grassroots activities. In the final chapter, I will give discuss extensively the "way" of Jesus.

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[211] Alain Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century,* trans. Alison Marschner (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 47.

[212] Ibid. and see also Bernard Lonergan, *Insight*, 191-206.

Rwanda's tragic past must serve as "side mirrors," but the focus should be on the expansive horizons ushered in by the wide "windshield" of hope. When one drives, one does not spend one's entire ride looking at the side mirrors. Instead, one looks ahead through the windshield that offers hope that the destination may be near. Yet, side mirrors allow the driver to recall the distance covered and to prevent dangers as one drives along with other busy drivers. Brackley remarks, "working through the past loosens its grip on us. Recent experiences of societies emerging from civil atrocity confirm this. By bringing past horrors to light in South Africa, Central and South America, and Eastern Europe, truth commissions have helped war-torn countries to move toward healing and reconciliation."[213] These countries cannot, however, remain nailed to the past; rather they learn from it in order to forge societies filled with faith, hope, and charity.

Commitment to memory takes the form of interruption. The latter takes up the agenda left behind by those who have died. This commitment disrupts any sense of complacency that comes when "a church [has] grown fat and fixated on its own works, its successes, and its securities, risks becoming more worldly and forgetting its true purpose: through whom and for whom it exists."[214] In other words, commitment to memory fosters constant self-criticism. For Metz, dangerous memories "illuminate, harshly and piercingly, the problematic character of things we made our peace with a long time ago and the banality of what we take to be 'realism.'"[215] Commitment to memory challenges theologians in or of Rwanda to re-assess theological assumptions that were unable to interrupt Rwanda's historical divisions. This does not mean mere revision of Christian teaching, but also revising triumphalistic ecclesiologies and pastoral approaches altogether in order to be more effective in deepening the faith. I concur with Katharina Peetz who remarks that

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[213] Brackley, *The Call to Discernment in Troubled Times*, 39.

[214] Yves Congar, *True and False Reform in the Church,* trans. Paul Philibert (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 145.

[215] Metz, *Faith in History and Society,* 105.

commitment to memory "should be resistive. Theological resistance is needed where only one way of telling the Rwandan history and one way of remembering it is allowed. Resistance is needed where there are no spaces to publicly mourn all victims."[216] Commitment to memory warns future generations that the "history of victors" defaces its victims through "the destruction of memory … to prevent people from being subjects."[217] Indeed, people's defacement begins when their memories are wiped away.

Ecclesial memory links the pilgrim and the heavenly church together, particularly in seeking to fulfill the thwarted dreams of the crucified of our world. Remembering the great crowd of all Rwandans who died is central to the realization that "their memory is a challenge to action; their companionship points the way."[218] To heal and reconcile Rwandan wounds, each defaced Rwandan (Twa, Tutsi, and Hutu) should count in the search for truth, justice, peace, and lasting reconciliation. This search fosters solidarity of memory. Remembrance is thus not optional. Providentially, genocide commemoration in Rwanda often happens liturgically during the Easter Season, a period of Christian solidarity, *par excellence*. Reflections on how to bring together genocide commemorations and the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus are thus examples of this commitment to ecclesial imagination. We must, said Jacobo Timmerman, be "loyal to [our] tragedies' and such remembrance bids us adopt a perspective neither thin nor thick."[219] This means that the history of suffering and mass atrocity must bring us together in a solidarity of remembrance. The latter recalls the words of Emmanuel Levinas, "The first word of the face is the

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[216] Peetz, "Listening to Ordinary Rwandans Searching for a New Theology after Genocide," 12.
[217] Metz, *Faith in History and Society*, 75.
[218] Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 169.
[219] Jacob Timmerman, *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 164.

‘Thou shall not kill. It is an order. There is a commandment in the appearance of the face…”[220] Solidaristic memory cannot be restrictive. It must be extended to all the victims of history.

The task of reconciling memory is anchored in truth. It is hard to envision a sustainable and peaceful future if it is not founded on truth. This search for truth is a process that must confront creatively the mistakes, complicities, omissions, and inactions of the past. This process expands people’s creativity and contributes to their capacity to find meaning even in a horrible past. There is no lasting peace if the search for truth is impeded. Writing on the power of truth, Augustine notes, “[t]he truth must be told … especially when a problem makes it more urgent to tell the truth. Those who can understand, do so. By refraining from telling the truth for fear of harming those who cannot understand, not only do we obscure the truth, but we deliver into error those who might grasp the truth and who could avoid error in that way.”[221] The task of theologians and other thinkers includes the challenge to those who want to hear only their own version of reality. Theology has thus the task of fostering this truth, based on authenticity and ever ready to face facts and the constant need for self-criticism. In his exposition on the nature of reform in the Church, Yves Congar opines that self-criticism must arise from frank courage, justice, exactitude, and passion for authenticity, avoiding loose generalizations or careless judgments, and fostering the place of the laity, etc.[222]

In Germany, Rwanda, and other places of wounds where ecclesial leaders could have done better, the renewal of ecclesial imagination is a theme that still challenges us, but the words of Congar also transcend time and space: “People are more scandalized today by the Church's lack

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[220] Emmanuel Levinas, *Ethics and Infinity,* trans. Richard A. Cohen (Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1985), 89.

[221] Augustine, *De Dono Perseverantiae*, ed. and tr., Mary Alphonsine Lesousky, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press. 1956, chapter 15, no. 40.

[222] Congar, *True and False Reform in the Church* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 36.

of understanding, its narrowness, and by its slowness to act, than by the sins and faults of its individual members."[223] For a theology that seeks to be creative and relevant, the objective of ecclesial imagination that this chapter has sought to recover from the lessons of a wounded and wounding Church hopefully remake the human face of the Church and help us seek to be more like the Church of Christ. While this may be easier said than done, there must be constant self-criticism in order to come to terms with the past. This self-criticism exhorts theologians to be loudspeakers, that is, to make audible those "cries that faded away so long ago"[224] and those places of forgetting in order to recover that humanity is *the* question to which God is *the* answer.[225] This is elaborated in depth in my next chapter.

[223] Ibid., 59.
[224] Ibid., 71.
[225] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 225.

4.0 Chapter 4: Rediscovering Humanity: A Theology that Makes Sense of the Wounds of History

The past is not dead, it is not even past.[1]

4.0 Abstract

If you knew who you are and sought to know me, you wouldn't have killed me (Iyo umenya uwo uri we, ndetse ugashaka no kumenya uwo ndiwe, ntabwo uba waranyishe*). These Rwandan words are at the heart of this fourth chapter. Who do we say that we are? And how does what and who we are find its grounding in God, and how does it offer theological reflection on how to relate with others and to reconcile the wounds of history? These Rwandan words express the idea that if killers and the planners of the genocide had weighed our common and God-shared humanity, they could have acted differently. Hence the need for a reimagination of humanity and a theology that makes sense of the wounds of a troubled past. The present chapter will explore possible ways of reimagining humanity using Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner as conversation partners, and finally it will offer a theology of the reconciliation of memories grounded in analogical language.*

4.1 Introduction

Theological writing on Rwanda's land of "dry bones" (Ezekiel 37:1-14) is a scholarly project that may not leave one's intellectual and affective faculties unmoved.[2] It is as personal as it is a scholarly journey. Theology in a place like Rwanda calls for a rediscovery of what it means to be human, and it must be grounded in history. This is why this chapter contends that there is no God to whom one can pray with one's being and back turned to the genocide against the Tutsi and the Hutu who died during and/or in the aftermath of the war. Like Johann-Baptist Metz, there is no adequate theology possible "with my back turned to the invisible, or forcefully made-invisible, sufferings in the world."[3] Theology makes no sense if my back is turned to the speechless "dry bones" of Rwandans and "the suffering of the power and oppressed in the world."[4] This accentuates the relevance of political theology. As I turn to Nyamata, I consent to Metz's point that, "looking at Auschwitz made it clear to me that an adequate separation between systematic

[1] These words come from William Faulkner's 1950 drama "Requiem for a Nun," in William Faulkner, *Sanctuary and Requiem for a Nun* (New York: Signet Books, 1961), 229.
[2] In Chapter Two of this dissertation, I have given a detailed analysis of a theology of dry bones in Rwanda.
[3] Johann-Baptist Metz and Jürgen Moltmann, *Faith and the Future: Essays on Theology, Solidarity, and Modernity with an Introduction by Francis Schüssler Fiorenza* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1995), 41.
[4] Ibid.

theology and historical theology, between truth and history, is not possible –even with the best of wills."[5]

As the first chapter noted, prejudices among Rwanda's contested ethnic labels have been deep. They have often turned into conflict-ridden, political, economic, and power tools. Against Rwanda's biases, the central thesis of this chapter argues that the human person is defined by his or her orientation toward God, and we are beings of infinite metaphysical value. This infinite worth carries imperatives of memory and the need to reconcile wounded memories. In his struggle against racism in the United States, Martin Luther King, Jr. noted that the human person has an unassailable dignity that can never be erased, even by masterminds of slavery and other atrocities.[6] Theologically, while everything that exists is the self-expression of God, the human person is *the only* creature which is able to explicitly receive God and to enter into a relationship with God. For Rahner, "When we have said everything which can be expressed about ourselves which is definable and calculable, we have not yet said anything about ourselves unless in all that is said we have also included that we are beings who are oriented towards God."[7]

Using Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner, this chapter will further hold that human beings find lasting meaning when they turn to God and are defined by their orientation toward God, not because it is of their making, but because of God's grace. This grace was made explicit in Jesus Christ who is the exemplar of humanity. The Church as a family of God's people also continues to reveal God's grace to humanity and to enlighten pilgrims journeying toward God. It announces that God believes in us, and no one is excluded from God's love. Building from the three previous

[5] Ibid., 40.

[6] Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 180.

[7] Karl Rahner, "Theology and Anthropology," in *Theological Investigations* IX, trans. Graham Harrison (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1972), 216.

chapters on the problematic history of Rwanda, the role of church leaders in it, the challenge of reconciling memories, and the need for a renewed ecclesial imagination, this Fourth Chapter contends that we are created for God, and Rwandan memories carry within them risks of compromising our human-divine potential and our desire for human flourishing. Since God defines who we are, theology's main imperative in post-genocide Rwanda with its woundedness is to restore the core of our humanity. It also has the task of "re-membering," that is, making whole again, because many have been dis-membered, and "re-membering" affirms humanity's need for mending broken relationships, its orientation toward God and its creation in the image of God.

Before Rwanda's dry bones, we must rediscover the unassailable dignity of each person created in the image of God. Let us begin, then, with the Genesis account of humanity's creation in the image and likeness of God.

4.2 An Assessment of the Genesis Account of the Image of God

The biblical account of creation helps one appreciate the human person as God's project. We human beings are a mystery and a puzzle to ourselves. Experience shows that we are rational and irrational, civilized and savage, capable of deep friendship and murderous hostility, free and in bondage, the pinnacle of creation and its greatest danger.

In the biblical account of Genesis 1, the creation of human beings is the final work of creation. The priestly source reads, "God said: 'Let us make man in our own image, in the likeness of ourselves.' God created man in the image of God, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them" (Genesis 1:26-27).[8] Theologians and exegetes have different interpretations of these two verses. Their common agreement is that creation in the image of God is a *metaphor.* The human being has an incredible dignity, created in the image and likeness of

[8] In Genesis 2:7, the Yahwist account, the human being is created from the dust of the ground.

God, not as a slave or a plaything, but to have responsibility over the earth, that is to care for God's creation. Human beings are neither created to be slaves to anyone, nor to the gods, but to civilize the earth.

The creation of humanity is apparently not in the same category as anything that has gone before. The Hebrew verb *bārā'* (to create) is used three times in the two verses of Gn. 1:26-27 to stress the fact that the highest goal of creation may have been reached that toward which all God's activity from Gen 1:1 is directed. More impressively, God seems to engage in counsel, "*Let us make man.*" For the first time, God deliberates before God creates. The human person comes into being, not through God's creative word, but out of God's special resolve. The biblical scholar Richard Clifford notes, "God was consulting with his court and this is the majority of opinion today. Human beings are made both in the image of heavenly beings (v. 26, "Let *us* make human beings in *our* image") and in the image of God (v. 27, "God created humankind in his own image") … human beings resemble God because they resemble heavenly beings who resemble God."[9] Humanity has a distinctive place in God's creative work. For Clifford, "Genesis's application to humans of 'image' and the description of human's task as dominion over other creatures seem deliberately to critique cosmogonies depicting humans as slaves of the gods."[10] Instead, humanity is in the image of God; human beings resemble God through their intelligence, their mobility, and their participation in the assembly; and humans are messengers for God.[11]

Genesis 1 offers a portrait of God who desires to impart life through God's creation. Probably written during the Babylonian exile around 597/587-539 BCE, the priestly writer(s) of the creation account may have wanted to stress historically the fact that the Jews and indeed the

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[9] Richard Clifford, "Genesis," in *The Paulist Biblical Commentary,* eds. José Enrique Aguilar Chiu, Richard J. Clifford, *et al* (New York: Paulist Press, 2018), 16.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 17.

whole of creation owes its life from God. The Old Testament biblical scholar, Bernhard W. Anderson opines, "[b]y placing this act [creation of the human person] last, the Priestly account indicates that human beings are the crown of God's creation, and, as such, are commissioned with a special role just as the image of a king, set up in various provinces of an empire, was a visible token of his dominion, so human beings are to be living representatives of God's rule on earth."[12] Historically, the priestly writer(s) reflected on how the people of Judah managed to survive the exile in Babylon and how some of them observed the Law and kept their relationship with God, though they were deprived of the heart of this relationship: the Temple. The writer (s) of Genesis 1-2 thus sought to reinforce the idea that those who kept the precepts of the Law amidst the trials in Exile in Babylon are "to be God's representatives on earth, administering God's earthly estate wisely and benevolently."[13]

Genesis 1:26-28 has a close affinity with Psalm 8 where its writer falls in wonder because of the care that God has given to God's creation, especially the special care for human beings: "when I survey your heavens, the works of your fingers, the moon and the stars that you have established, what are human beings that you consider them, human beings that you care for them. You have placed them slightly below heavenly beings and with honor and majesty have crowned them …" (Ps 8:3-8). In his analysis of Genesis 1, Gerhard von Rad argues that what distinguishes the human person from the rest of creation is that God "participates more intimately in this [creation of the human person] than in the earlier works of creation."[14] What is remarkable about the human person is that he or she is invited to function in the non-human world, to have a

[12] Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament,* Fifth Edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 415. See also Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, Revised Edition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1972), 60.

[13] Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament,* 415.

[14] Von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 57.

relationship with God. Since the creation of human beings is distinct from the rest of creation, Zvi Adar says, "God infused a divine element into man, and He established a special relationship with him."[15] Even the Fall, the flood, the Egyptian and Babylonian Exiles did not diminish the love God had and still has for God's people. Likewise, in the context of Rwanda where people experienced horrible deaths prior, during and after the genocide, and many still live in exile, one can reaffirm that these tragic events have not weakened God's love. The responsibility falls on humanity to realize how often it fails God's unconditional love and to find ways of mending its relationship with God and neighbor. Needless to say, this is relevant for Rwanda. For von Rad, "man's creation has a retroactive significance … it gives them a new relation to God. The creature, in addition to having been created by God, receives through man a responsibility to God [and to neighbor]; in any case, because of man's dominion it receives once again the dignity of belonging to a special domain of God's sovereignty."[16] Consequently, creation in the image of God carries great mission and responsibility on humanity's part. This mission and responsibility demand that the image of God always be prized in the human person. This is illustrated in the command, albeit limited, to set free every servant from bondage once a week, on the Sabbath day, in order to demonstrate the human person's "concern for the image of God invested in him or her at creation."[17]

For the priestly writer, life is nurtured through the removal of inertia and emptiness. God's creation rather affirms the idea that diversity is loved by God: vast bodies of water, fish, birds, and land animals constantly move, and human beings "range freely over" what God has created and

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[15] Zvi Adar, *The Book of Genesis: An Introduction to the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: The Magness Press, 1990), 18.

[16] von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 60.

[17] Ibid., 20.

"are authorized to make it flourish."[18] Sexual distinction is also created: "Male and female, he created them" (Gen 1:27). The human person is not created alone, but created for communion, and in the words of von Rad, "for the 'thou' of the other sex. The idea of man, according to the [Priestly writer], finds its full meaning not in the male alone but in man and woman."[19] The human person must love others and respect others as persons. It is arguable that the biblical idea of human relations, rights and duties is rooted in this text. Additionally, after God creates man and woman, God gives them blessing that "enables [them] to propagate and increase."[20] Beyond the point of human reproduction, everything about who we are, is oriented toward God. Furthermore, the denial of anyone's life, as it happened in Rwanda, is *ipso facto* the denial of this orientation toward God. "With regard to the origin of both [the human person] nature and his [her] destiny, [he or she] is completely referred to and understood from God."[21] The removal of diversity and sexual differences is an aberration in God's sight, because they are desired by God. The theology of creation underpins the fact that God endorses the dignity of difference. Consequently, the denial of the latter is against God's creation.

Genesis 1 does not say anything about sin or the human misuse of freedom. For Clifford,

> Genesis 1 depicts the ultimate future of the universe; that is, as it will be at its consummation what it was in the beginning—wholly defined by God's intent. This is not to deny that history will unfold and be marked by ambiguity and sin, or that humans with God's help will contribute mightily to the world enhancement and perfection. But at its end, it will again be a universe that God will look on and declare it very, very good. Genesis 1 is as profoundly eschatological as it is protological.[22]

[18] Clifford, "Genesis,"17.

[19] von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 60. The distinction of sexes has become problematic in the era of gender fluidity. But this exposition of this fluidity will take us far afield from the goals of this dissertation.

[20] von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 60.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Clifford, "Genesis," 18.

The understanding of humanity as created in the image of God as presented in *Genesis* 1 is expansive enough to include the idea that to be in God's image is to participate in God's creative mission. On this understanding, the ultimate attribute of God is to give life (a protology); this is a God; who also restores life when it is wounded by human rebellion (eschatology).[23]

The next two sections move off from biblical exploration of what it means to be in the image of God and review how two major theologians, Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner (one medieval, one contemporary), have plumbed the notion of the image of God. Their analyses corroborate my argument that assaulting or belittling the human person—and creation at large—is akin to mocking God. At the heart of the next two section is the idea that the denial of anyone's humanity, as happened in Rwanda, is *ipso facto* the denial of humanity's orientation's toward God and shared humanity. In the background of the theological arguments of Aquinas and Rahner, I will be answering the following questions: who are we? To whom do we belong? Whose responsibility is it to remember? And what can we hope for? The clarification of these issues is foundational for healing and reconciling memories in Rwanda and it reveals how these theologians are significant for this dissertation.

4.3 The Image of God in the Theology of Thomas Aquinas

From the beginning of his *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) makes it clear that the *Summa*'s goal is God—as God exists in Godself and as the beginning and end of all things, particularly, the rational creature.[24] Reflecting on the development of Aquinas' understanding of the Trinity, D. Juvenal Merriell notes, "the main subject of the exposition of *sacra doctrina* that

[23] This biblical section on the image of God limits itself to Genesis 1. More could be said from Genesis 2, but that will be for another time.

[24] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae, Questions on God,* ed. Brian Davies and Brian Leftow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Ia. 2.

follows after God is man, because the holy teaching that comes primarily from God is concerned mainly with the relation of man to God."[25] This implies that when anthropological studies are conducted for their own sake, they may not be fully adequate because theology and anthropology are mutually inclusive. In the subsequent section, we will see that Karl Rahner's theology confirms this. In the *Summa,* Aquinas' position is clear—the human person is ordered to God as our beginning and end, or, the human person comes from God and returns to God at the end.[26] There is a dynamic movement on the part of the human person from and to God.

Aquinas investigates the notion of the image of God extensively in Question 93 of *prima pars* in the article dealing with the creation of the human person (Ia. 90-102). This section of the dissertation focuses only on Ia. 93, which treats the human person as directed to God as a free and autonomous moral agent. The *secunda pars* takes up the concept of the image of God. This theme provides an organic connection between the three parts of the *Summa*, and in the *tertia pars* Aquinas argues that Christ is the prototype of the Image of what humanity ought to and hopes to become.[27] The human person is created for God, and his/her activities aim at union with God, but the resemblance to God not complete only in enjoyment of the Beatific Vision. Then the person will know and love his/her Exemplar, as he is known and loved by him (1 Cor 13:12; 1 Jn 3:2). Jean-Pierre Torrell argues that the human person finds his/her completion in striving to imitate God more and more. It is around the notion of the image of God that the *prima pars*, *seconda pars, et tertia pars* of the *Summa* are joined together.[28] We now turn to the heart of Aquinas' idea of the image of God in Ia. 93.

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[25] D. Juvenal Merriell, "Trinitarian Anthropology," in *The Theology of Thomas Aquinas,* eds. Rik Van Nieuwenhove and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 23.

[26] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 1. 7.

[27] Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas d'Aquin, Maître Spirituel : Initiation 2* (Paris : Cerf, 1996), 105-109.

[28] Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Aquinas' Summa: Background, Structure, and Reception,* trans. Benedict M. Guevin (Washington, DC: The Catholic University Press, 2005), 26.

4.3.1 Image of God in Ia. 93

While question 93 of the *Summa*'s *prima pars* treats the purpose of humanity's creation insofar as humans are made in God's image and likeness, Aquinas' concern is to understand what this means and to discover how the image of God in humans relates to their ultimate purpose.

How does the image of God make humanity distinctive from other creatures? For Aquinas, human beings possess understanding and a mind. "While all creatures bear some resemblance to God … only in a rational creature do you find resemblance to God in the manner of an image …[and] … what puts the rational creature in a higher class than others is precisely intellect or mind."[29] This does not mean that God is like us. Rather, it implies that "we resemble God, and do so more than anything else in the material world, insofar as we are able to understand and to act on the basis of our understanding."[30] Humanity is like God by means of analogy, that is, there is an important analogical likeness between creator and creature and, despite human sinfulness, "likeness to God is our true identity and so fuller participation in this reality is our true calling."[31] Our existence is fully discovered through participation in the life of God in whom the human person finds the perfection of existence.

What of those other aspects of human creatureliness that make up human life—emotions, sensitivities, physical, bodily, and social existence? Are these integral to being made in the image of God? These various aspects of the human creatureliness are pertinent to the image of God in us because the human rational faculty is not detached from the human person; the interrelatedness of all human faculties and various aspects of the human creatureliness constitute us beings

[29] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 93. 1, 3, 6.

[30] Brian, *Thomas Aquinas' Summa,* 149.

[31] Dominic Robinson, *Understanding the "Imago Dei": The Thought of Barth, von Balthazar and Moltmann* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), 15. For more on "analogical imagination," see chapter 10: "A Christian Systematic Analogical Imagination" in David Tracy, *The Analogical Imagination: Christian Theology and the Culture of Pluralism* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 405-445.

responsible toward God and requires that we care for the rest of God's creation. In *Human Rights and the Image of God*, Roger Ruston comments on Aquinas' notion of the image of God: "*Rationality* makes us *moral* beings, capable of self-direction, and of responsibilities towards ourselves, towards God, and towards one another, capable of understanding what is good for us in the ultimate sense and not merely for the moment. It is a passionate reason, ordered to our ultimate end in the presence of God."[32] In other words, rational creatures, because of their being made in the image of God, can deduce the essence of God.

Each of the nine articles of Question 93 refers to the image of God. In articles one and two in particular, Aquinas agrees with Augustine that there is an imperfect likeness of God in human beings. "Since the perfect likeness to God cannot be except in an identical nature, the image of God exists in His first-born Son … whereas it exists in man as in an alien nature, as the image of the king is in a silver coin."[33] Humanity is not God. With the exception of Jesus who is fully human, humanity bears the image of God in an imperfect manner. Yet, "man's excellence consists in the fact that God made him in His own image by giving him an intellectual soul which raises him above the beasts of the field."[34] Therefore, articles one and two show the distinction between the human person and God, but also between human beings and the rest of creation.

What, then, is the *locus* of the image of God? While God's creation bears some likeness to God, what Aquinas calls a "trace" to mean that everything comes from God, Aquinas posits that only humans represent God by way of image. What makes us the image of God is what other creatures do not possess: mind.[35] Humanity's intellectual orientation toward God is key to

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[32] Roger Ruston, *Human Rights and the Image of God* (London: SCM Press, 2004), 56. Emphasis is in the source.

[33] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 93. 1&2.

[34] Ibid., Ia. 93. 2.

[35] Ibid., Ia. 93. 6.

understanding the content of the image of God. "Image and likeness" consist in the spiritual powers of the soul: memory, intellect, and love – for remembering, understanding, and loving correspond to the divine Trinity. From Aquinas onward rationality is singled out as the element on which the image and likeness rested. Human intellect reflects the divine reality.

I do have some reservations regarding the above argument in that it seems to restrict the image of God only to the intellectual faculty, and appears to give less value to the human body. Moreover, this may be construed to imply that Jesus could have saved us only in the mind! Yet Scripture affirms that the *logos* dwelt among us, not just in the mind, but took on human flesh (Jn 1:14). Like Benedict XVI, I am aware of what historical-critical method or modern exegesis "tell us about literary genres, about authorial intention, and about the fact that the Gospels were written in the context, and speak within the living milieu, of communities."[36] Yet, I still hold that there must have been something beyond the ordinary that happened—the Incarnation, that God became man. And unless "the person and the words of Jesus radically surpassed the hopes and expectations of the time, there is no way to explain why he was crucified or why he made such an impact."[37] I trust that the Jesus of the Gospels is the "historical Jesus," with flesh and blood, not just the Jesus one can conceptualize in one's mind.[38] The Philippian Christological hymn states that Jesus was

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[36] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth,* xxi. See also Pius XII, Encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (September 30, 1943). This encyclical was an important contribution for Catholic Exegesis. Accessed October 30, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu.html

[37] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth,* xxii.

[38] There are many resources on the discussion about "the historical Jesus." It suffices to highlight two that are prominent. First, James D.G. Dunn and Scot McKnight, eds., *The Historical Jesus in Recent Research* **(**Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005). In this edited volume, Dun and McKnight offer wide-raging essays from some key figures the likes of Rudolf Bultmann, Henry J. Cadbury, and Albert Schweitzer to the most recent investigations of Amy-Jill Levine and N. T. Wright. These scholars draw together in one volume a variety of perspectives and approaches to the topic of the historical Jesus. Second, Benjamin I. Simpson, *Recent Research on the Historical Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2014). Simpson analyzes the issue of method in historical Jesus research with a particular focus on John Meier and James Dunn. Another key source, on Christological controversies that bring together different questions and answers on the understanding of Jesus is edited by Richard A. Norris, *The Christological Controversy (*Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), of particular interest is the tenth chapter that deals with the Alexandrian school of Christology prior to the Council of Chalcedon where Nestorius lays out his understanding of Christ and Cyril offers a response.

equal to God, but emptied himself, "became man and humbled himself to die on the Cross, and to him now belongs the worship of all creation, the adoration that God said was due to God alone."[39] Jesus is a historical and convincing embodied figure.

Similarly, human persons are to be understood comprehensively, not as defined by the mind alone, but by organic unity of the human whole. One of the theological justifications of slavery and the slave trade was the teaching that slaves were not fully human beings, with little or no soul or mind. What further distinguishes human creatures from other creatures is what humans share with God, that is, human dignity is their "Godlikeness." This does not mean that human beings' external form or stature is God's image and likeness. God is pure simplicity; God is neither made nor composed of matter or material parts, except in Jesus Christ.[40] It is this dignity that makes human beings to be of infinite metaphysical value. It gives value to human bodies to the extent that Christianity teaches that no one has claim on bodies, but God. The centrality of Aquinas' teaching could not therefore be clearer when one thinks of the disposal of bodies during the genocide against the Tutsi and moderate Hutus in Rwanda. Peter Uvin remarks, "By 1994, Tutsi in Rwanda, much like Jews in Nazi Germany, were 'socially dead' people, whose murder was as acceptable as it became common."[41] Theologically, any form of the destruction of life violates human dignity. Whoever and whatever opposes life dishonors its Creator.

A Trinitarian God created the human person after God's image, which is the image of the Trinity. Aquinas argues, "we must say that God's image is in man with reference to both the divine nature and the Trinity of persons; for after all, that is what God actually is, one nature in three

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[39] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth,* xxii.

[40] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 3. 1.

[41] Peter Uvin, "Prejudice, Crisis and Genocide in Rwanda," in *African Studies Review* 40, 2 (1997), 91-115 at 113.

persons."[42] Human beings can be thought to resemble the Trinitarian God so long as they know and love God and live in loving relationship with the rest of creation.[43] Our capacity to know and love God symbolize our capacity for human transcendence and our desire for communion and relationship with God, with one another, and with the rest of creation.

For Aquinas, the image of God is found "equally in both man and woman as regards that point in which the idea of 'image' is principally realized, namely an intelligent nature."[44] However, Aquinas accords men a privileged position over women based on his literal reading of *Genesis* 2:21. In this passage, Eve is said to come from the rib of Adam. Following Augustine, Aquinas opines, "the man is the image and glory of God, while the woman is the glory of the man. … Man is the beginning and end of woman, just as God is the beginning and end of all creation."[45] This is problematic and has often been a cause for so much patriarchal and domestic abuse of women.[46] What might be a better interpretation of the passage above?

Simply put, man and woman are created for mutuality, and neither is superior to the other. Richard Clifford provides a more nuanced explanation of what it means to say that the woman came from the rib of man.

> In Genesis 2:18-25: The Lord observes that the man should not be alone and makes animals from the soil and brings them to him for naming. Observing further that no animal was a suitable helper; God makes a woman from the man's ribs. Delighted, the man calls the new creature *íššāh*, "woman," from *îs*, "man," recognizing the deep affinity between them. The couple is naked and not ashamed. Like

[42] Ibid., Ia. 93. 5. The two key Christian dogmas are hard to reconcile and they take us to the mystery of God. On the one hand, the Trinity has one nature, and three persons. On the other hand, the Second Person has two natures (divine and human), and is one Person. If the Second Person has two natures, then it would appear that the Second Person introduces an additional nature to the Trinity, namely, the human nature.

[43] Ibid., Ia. 93. 7.

[44] Ibid., Ia. 93. 4.

[45] Ibid.

[46] It is important to note that, in the first account of creation, God creates man and woman at the same time. A patriarchal mindset is likely to prefer the second account and downplay or ignore the first.

prepubescent children, their sexuality is dormant. In verse 24, "they become one flesh," refers not to sexual union but to the kinship established by marriage.[47]

The idea that a woman came from the rib of man is a metaphorical way of saying that the relationship between man and woman is not one of superior versus inferior; rather, theirs is to be a relationship of consanguinity, a relationship that establishes deep mutuality and equality.

Aquinas further argues that the image of God passes through three states. First, the *imago creationis* (*naturae*) refers to the image of God in the human person with his or her intellectual nature that allows him/her to know and to love God. Second, the *imago recreationis* (*gratiae*) refers to the justified human because of the grace of Jesus Christ. This image corresponds to *re-creation* in which human beings have a habitual but imperfect understanding and love of God. Finally, the *similitudo* (*gloriae*) refers to the glorified in heaven who have a perfect understanding and love of God and an image of likeness of glory.[48] What transpires in these three states is that the image of God is the basis for participation in the divine life, but it is important to add that the image of God is also principally realized in an act of love (*amor creationis*) toward the other.

Aquinas distinguishes between likeness and image. For him, "likeness may be considered in the light of a preamble to image, inasmuch as it is something more general than image."[49] A likeness can be considered as an image if it is sufficiently close to represent the actual species of the prototype in some sense. Through particular acts of understanding and loving, especially those whose object is God, our image *becomes* like God.

The preceding paragraphs have argued that "the image of God" is the distinctive mark of humanity in its relationship to God. To understand human persons, one needs to go beyond their

[47] Richard Clifford, "Genesis," 19. I am aware that not everyone will agree with this interpretation. St. Augustine in his *City of God*, book 14 or St. John Paul II in his *Theology of the Body* would contest this interpretation. However, what is rather fundamental is the equal dignity between man and woman.

[48] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 93. 4 & 7.

[49] Ibid., Ia. 93. 9.

intellectual faculty and take them comprehensively. This holistic perspective is confirmed by the Incarnation of the *Logos*. The *Imago Dei* invites humanity to orthodoxy, that is, to right praise rooted in humanity's relationship to the Triune God. Right praise exhorts man and woman to realize that they are both created for mutuality and for participation in the divine life. It is an invitation to realize that only God can satisfy the longings of humanity and the divine life in us is made concrete in the love of the other and the care of God's creation. Put concisely, "the image of God" is more than an identity, but also a mission and a responsibility.

Having thus far given an assessment of the image of God in question 93, it is fair to say that the image of God as presented in the *prima pars* finds its fulfillment in the *tertia pars.* Christ is the only perfect image of God. "The Firstborn of all creation (Col 1:1-16) is God's perfect image, perfectly realizing that of which he is image, and so he is to be the image quite simply, and never to be 'after the image.'"[50] Aquinas' Christological note is that only one who is like us could save us, but at the same time, Christ ought to possess something better than what we possess in order to save us—and that is the perfection he shares with God the Father.

Since the Fall, God's image in us is "alien;" we are alienated from God. The image of God is perfect in Christ, but imperfect in us because of sin. "Alien" here does not denote substantial change in nature; if this were the case, it would not make sense for Christ to be one of us (Jn 1:14). A clarification may be found in the *prima secundae* where Aquinas argues that because of the Fall, we have lost the original justice by which we turned promptly to God's will. But, with God's grace, we still can and should turn to God.[51] God's image is imperfect in us because of sin, not because of its alien nature. Christ has brought us back to union with God. The life, ministry, passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ accomplished this reunion; still, the human person remains free to

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[50] Ibid., Ia. 93. 1.

[51] Ibid., Ib.8 5. 1. (*Prima Secundae*)

accept God's offer of salvation. Kenneth Himes explains that our human fragility is made from dust, yet is renewed by God:

> In Jesus, God embraced human imperfection in a whole new way—God took on our flesh and dwelt among us. In ancient Palestine, Jesus walked on dust, washed it from his disciples' feet, stumbled and fell on it, sweated and bled into it. And in doing all that, God once again made dust from nothing into something; from inconsequential dirt into the stuff of which the children of God are made, once again destined to share eternal glory.[52]

The human person is endowed with an interior orientation - an "*institutus Dei,"* which is foundational for our "natural aptitude of knowing and loving God."[53] This interior orientation is an innate ability to know God by our faculty of reason. As I will soon discuss, Karl Rahner calls this "*potentia obedientialis*," this capacity refers to the human conscience, but more precisely to the capacity to hear God's voice and act on it, that is, to be both hearer and doer of the word (James 1:22). This capacity is grounded in God's self-gift. Additionally, Aquinas follows Aristotle who argues for the human person's natural desire for happiness, but changes the end or fulfillment of that natural desire. For Aquinas, the human person's natural desire for happiness reaches fulfillment as the person strives ever more to imitate God. "God has crafted man [sic] with this capacity, and in the *Summa*, Aquinas connects this capacity to the image of God in man."[54] Yet, this capacity or desire often fails when it is not aided by grace. The capacity to think and reason makes us moral human beings. Sin has tainted this capacity, yet, we still have the potential to do what is good.

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[52] Kenneth Himes, "Ash Wednesday Reflection," March 7, 2019 https://www.bc.edu/content/bc-web/offices/alumni/connect/spirituality/reflections/Lenten-reflections/2019/ash-wednesday.html, accessed March 7, 2019.

[53] Aquinas, *Summa*, Ia. 93. 4.

[54] Merriell, "Trinitarian Anthropology," 125.

4.3.2 The Implications of the Image of God

While the previous section (3.1) made it clear that the image of God is fulfilled in the human person's rational contemplation of God, it has also argued that the *imago Dei* in us is an expression of God's creative love and may also function as a social metaphor. The roots of human dignity are embedded in human-to-human relations. God gratuitously shares with humanity the power of God's love and invites us to go beyond ourselves, to be open to others, and to care for God's creation.

This understanding has been carried forward by theologians after Aquinas, and they too have been alert to its ethical implications. German theologian Wolfhart Pannenberg "sees the meaning of the image of God as being 'open' to the world as God is open to the world."[55] Following Aquinas' appreciation of the human person's capacity for self-transcendence, Pannenberg notes that Aquinas allows us to go beyond ourselves in some ways as "our openness to the world transforms us … and every human being, in one way or the other, embodies this capacity."[56] This means that the image of God has a dynamic quality. Our rational capacity makes us act morally and with a goal to become "persons of virtues – we manifest the image of God, not as a static portrait, but a living imitation."[57] Expressed differently, humans' dignity is found in their "Godlikeness."

"The image of God" is a social metaphor. It describes human beings as relational. The human person is not created alone but in fellowship. "The image of God is the 'open space' where members of the human species encounter one another as human person to human person."[58] This

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[55]Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Anthropology in Theological Perspective,* trans. Matthew J. O' Connell (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985), 43.

[56] Quoted in Jane Kopas, *Sacred Identity: Exploring a Theology of the Person* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1994), 137.

[57] Ruston, *Human Rights and the Image of God*, 57.

[58] Ibid., 138.

becomes foundational for human rights, human solidarity and compassion, which is fundamental for communities where minorities, ethnic groups, or people of color are marginalized. The interweaving significance of Aquinas' exposition of "the Image of God" could not therefore be clearer when one thinks of Rwanda where human persons were made disposables during the 1994 genocide. Aquinas tasks humanity to ask ourselves: who do we say that we are? Since God defines who we are, theology's main task in post-genocide Rwanda with its woundedness ought to restore the core of our humanity. It has the task of "re-membering," that is, making whole again, because many people have been dismembered and "re-membering" affirms humanity's orientation toward God and its need for healing and mending broken relationships. Commenting on the relevance of the metaphor of *imago Dei*, Karl Barth observes that "To be human is to exist for another, an 'I-Thou' or 'Thou-I' relationship."[59] The image of God is realized through interaction. Barth further adds, "the image of God is not some individually possessed quality, such as reason, which likens a human being to God; rather, our likeness to God is our co-humanity."[60] Our humanity makes sense in social interaction with others. The genocide in Rwanda sought to remove this interaction.

There are other ethical responsibilities associated with the image of God. Whenever we fail to respond to the needs of the "least of these who are members of [Jesus'] family" (Mt 25:31-46) or the needs of all of our brothers and sisters for whom Christ died (1 Cor 8:11), we fail to respond to God whose image we all bear. "We look in the wrong places if we look to the gifted or the holy to reveal the image of God. The image derives its meaning from the simple belief that we [all] exist as a species capable of responding to God and one another. When we expect to find the image in something special, something that makes us great like God, we may only be looking for a false

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[59] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics,* Vol. 3, trans. G.W. Bromily and T.F. Terrance (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), 245.

[60] Clifford Green, ed. "Introduction" in *Karl Barth: Theologian of Freedom* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), 33.

image we have created for ourselves."[61] The social metaphor of the image of God thus holds in tension our value as individuals and our human responsibility for one another. The influence of the metaphor urges us to confront the "creaturely existence of others with the same reverence as we desire in confronting our own."[62]

Theology in Rwanda and other places of conflicts has to rediscover the centrality of the theology of the image of God. Rwandan stories of stereotypes and other disparaging prejudices have disfigured our shared graced humanity. Inhuman stories have led to deaths. Demeaning labels were assigned to Rwanda's contested ethnic categories, and these became engraved on people's minds. As the First Chapter of this dissertation stated, ideologies fomented by the Rwandan government absolved some citizens of any moral obligation to act as each other's keepers. And in 1994, the Rwandan government declared that one ethnic group—the Tutsi—must be exterminated, and any person who disagreed with this policy was equally a target and a threat. The misrecognition of our shared humanity was institutionalized in education, employment, and social life; it became difficult for many Rwandans to understand that our shared humanity transcends any putative institutionalized division.

Rediscovering the social significance of the *Imago Dei* and reconciling Rwandan memories can begin only with acknowledgment of how abusive and destructive power, fear, and biased narratives became. This may explain the relevance of critical narratives in political theology. There is need for *ressourcement* to rediscover Rwandans' common roots. In his meeting with the woman at the well in Samaria (Jn 4:1-42), Jesus affirms that the "way" he teaches accords no significance to a person's race or ethnicity or culture or country. The "way" Jesus teaches announces God's exclusive power and desire to create and name us all as God's own sons and daughters. If theology

[61] Kopas, *Sacred Identity*, 139.
[62] Ibid., 140.

is to assist the Church in preaching this message of inclusive love, so central to the inbreaking of the reign of God revealed in Jesus Christ, it must therefore reinvent itself in post-genocide Rwanda.[63] One starting point for such reinvention is the rediscovery of the *Imago Dei*. The idea of the human persons made in the image of God has the ability to activate human imagination to create a new reality—if commitment accompanies it. It is this capacity to be oriented toward the transcendent and the neighbor that links Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner.

4.4 Humanity in the Theology of Karl Rahner

4.4.1 Uncreated Grace

The whole of creation—living creatures, ecosystems, and the whole natural world—receive something from God. There is communication and interrelations of all created things with one another, and each communicates in its own way. However, I am yet to understand how animals communicate with God. With this limitation, I posit that humanity has the capacity to intelligently receive and enter into communion with God.[64] This capacity is captured in what Karl Rahner (1904-1984) calls *potentia obedientialis,* the human potential to hear the Word of God, which is grounded in God's uncreated grace, that is, God's self-gift.[65] What affords humanity the possibility of hearing and participating in God's revelation is the human creature's basic orientation towards God, the Absolute, the Ultimate; this is the case, even if human beings humbly admit and know

[63] From a conversation with the dissertation director, M. Shawn Copeland (June 1, 2019). The idea of "the way of Jesus" will constitute the substance of the final chapter of this dissertation.

[64] With permission from the editor, some parts of this section are borrowed from my article on "The Human Person Is the Question to Which God Is the Answer: Humanity in the Theology of Karl Rahner," in *The Way,* 57/2 (April 2018), 75-89.

[65] See Karl Rahner, "Nature and Grace," in *Theological Investigations,* Vol. 4, trans. Kevin Smyth (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1966), 186. On "Created and Uncreated grace," see Declan Marmion, *A Spirituality of Everyday Faith: A Theological Investigation of the Notion of Spirituality in Karl Rahner* (Louvain: Peeters, 1998), 164: "Since Aquinas, the term grace denoted primarily what has been called 'created grace,' that is, the habit or quality of the human soul infused by God. This sanctifying, created, grace focused on the effects in an individual of God's self-communication. Alongside this, there was the concept of 'Uncreated Grace,' which referred to God himself present to, and indwelling in a person."

that whatever they say about God is less than God. This orientation is itself God-given. Harvey Egan, a Jesuit who specializes in Rahner's thought on mysticism, writes: "To Rahner, God's self-offer as holy mystery, revelation, and love actually constitutes human identity. To be human in its most radical sense means to be the addressee of God's offer of self."[66] Thus, Rahner connects the human intellect with human experience. That marks one of the differences between Rahner and Martin Heidegger, who "divorced" being from experience. For Rahner, God is not to be learned as a concept or object, but to be experienced as the horizon (*Vorgriff*) toward which humanity is oriented. *Vorgriff* is about the human experience of God and points to our experience of Mystery in whom Christianity roots its faith, hope, and charity. Mystery refers to that which is more than "me," that which goes beyond human grasp, yet it is indissoluble from human experience. Mystery "demonstrates the limits of who we are as human beings—we do not grasp reality in its fullness—but, simultaneously, it highlights our orientation, and openness to receive what transcends those limits: this is indicative of our 'graced nature.'"[67]

Rahner's conception of uncreated grace is fundamental for understanding our own graced creation. There is nothing in existence that is not the self-expression of God. The whole of God is present in what God creates. Uncreated grace—another way of speaking of God's self-communication—is not a matter of God giving some information about God, as in created grace, but God given as Godself. Uncreated grace does not depend on human response. It is the free gift of God's self-revelation to human beings. It is constitutive of humanity. But the human person can accept or reject it through the exercise of freedom, and the rejection of God's offer of Godself is an aberration of our humanity—the real meaning of sin.

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[66] Harvey D. Egan, "Introduction," in Karl Rahner, *The Need and Blessing of Prayer,* trans. Bruce W. Gillette (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997), xi.

[67] Richard Lennan, "Seminar Notes on Karl Rahner: Graced Humanity," Boston College (Spring 2017).

4.4.2 Theology and Anthropology

Theology and anthropology are closely connected since the human person is the only creature created in the image of God, capable intelligibly to receive God, to enter into a relationship with God. Theology and anthropology are mutually inclusive because even if creation remains an act of God's love, only the human person has the capacity to hear God's Word. Created in the image and likeness of God, the human subject is the only gateway through which we can even start to talk and think about God in an analogical sense. In addition, the human person is a "being of transcendence towards the holy and absolutely real mystery."[68] Therefore, theology deals with questions of human existence. It is at the same time anthropocentric and theocentric. In Rahner's words, "As soon as man is understood as the being who is absolutely transcendent in respect of God, 'anthropocentricity' and 'theocentricity' in theology are not opposites but strictly one and the same thing, seen from two sides. Neither of the two aspects can be comprehended at all without the other."[69]

How does one conceive of human nature? To speak of the nature of humanity is first and foremost to begin and end with obediential potency and the capacity to hear and commune with God's blissful love. Rahner writes, "when we have said everything which can be expressed about ourselves which is definable and calculable, we have not yet said anything about ourselves unless in all that is said we have also included that we are beings who are oriented towards the God who is incomprehensible."[70] This implies that humanity's orientation toward God is its distinctive natural attribute, and at the same time God remains wholly other, ineffable, and inexhaustible.

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[68] Karl Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity,* trans. William V. Dych (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 217.

[69] Karl Rahner, "Theology and Anthropology," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 9, trans. Graham Harrison (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1972), 28.

[70] Ibid., 216; see also "On the Theology of the Incarnation," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 4, 108.

What makes us human is that we are able to enter into a relationship with God. As Aquinas earlier noted, it is the realization that only God and nothing else can be our fulfillment. For Rahner, nothing about who we are is outside our relationship with God; this is what Rahner calls the "supernatural existential." Supernatural existential explains why humanity is graced and defined by openness to God.

While God remains our ultimate fulfillment, the human person concretely finds himself or herself in his/her relationship with other human beings. "Man experiences himself by experiencing the other person and not the other thing."[71] The human person is not one thing among others at the material level, as one might think of one lobster among other lobsters. The human person is rather the inconceivable being who is open upwards to the Mystery of God, made concrete through the experience of and the love of neighbor. And this love has ultimately been revealed in Jesus Christ. The fact that the human person is not like one lobster among other lobsters does not in any sense justify humanity's exploitation of God's creation. Rather, it calls humanity to be stewards and caretakers of what God has entrusted to their care. However, in Jesus Christ, human persons find the complete meaning of their existence.

4.4.3 Christology and Anthropology

Humanity is defined by its orientation and encounter with God, as this encounter is revealed in Jesus Christ. God graced humanity in such a way that God became one of us. "And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as the father's only Son, full of grace, and truth" (Jn 1:14). God's grace is the grace of Jesus Christ, and humanity is graced

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[71] Karl Rahner, "Experience of Self and Experience of God," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 13, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975), 126.

in Jesus Christ. Here Rahner joins Aquinas' *Summa*'s *tertia pars* as both look at the mutual inclusivity between Christology and anthropology.

The incarnation of the *Logos* grounds the idea that God is the answer to the questions we ask about the human person. When the Word became flesh, the human and the divine became one in a unique way. Therefore, there is a mutual alliance between Christology and anthropology. "The Incarnation of God is the unique and highest instance of the actualization of the essence of human reality, which consists in this: that man is insofar as he abandons himself to the absolute mystery whom we call God."[72] The incarnation of the *Logos* is God's affirmation of what God intends for humanity. It affirms God's infinite love. Jesus is the perfect human being that humanity aspires to be, with a perfection that is possible only through God's action, not ours. Jesus is the plan and goal of all creation. He is not a "Plan B" to remedy God's failed "Plan A"—the Fall and original sin.[73] He is not a quick fix for a broken humanity, but the climax of God's self-communication to the world. The Incarnation is essentially an expression of God's love, rather than some form of payment for the sin of humanity. "The *Logos* became man ... the changing history of his human reality is his own history: our time became the time of the eternal, our death the death of the immortal God himself."[74]

Christ is the exemplar of a graced humanity that all humans share. Further still, Christ more than an exemplar, for he is the ground for grace in us. In Christ, God's self-communication takes place fundamentally in all humanity. "The incarnation of God is therefore the unique, supreme case of the total actualization of human reality, which consists of the fact that man is in so far as

[72] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith,* 218.

[73] This perspective is similar to that of Bonaventure, Scotus, or Franciscan broadly speaking. There are other possible alternative or perspectives such those that envision the incarnation as a remedy to a plan A that failed, but this chapter follows Rahner and the Franciscan tradition.

[74] Rahner, "On the Theology of the Incarnation," 113.

he gives up himself."[75] This does not make us sharers of Jesus' hypostatic union—the unity of his two natures as God and man—but "the hypostatic union takes place insofar as God wishes to communicate himself to all men in grace and glory."[76] God proclaims Godself as love as God decides to empty Godself to manifest Godself in the ordinary way of humanity. The phrase "hypostatic union" means that the complete human reality of Jesus, which includes his subjectivity, freedom, uncertainty, being surprised or sick, etc. is God's very own. The *Logos* does not disguise himself as a man.

In Jesus Christ, God fulfills God's promise unconditionally and demonstrates irreversibly that God loves and desires salvation for all. Jesus is the human reality which belongs absolutely to God, and he is the offer of God's grace to us, and we are the recipients of that offer. This means that Christology is the center of all theology. "Each individual stands before an offer of God which transcends an ambivalent situation of freedom on God's part."[77] In Christ, humanity benefits from the "decision of God's will to impart himself to that which is other than himself and not divine."[78] In Christ, we experience "the ultimate possibility of human existence."[79] Because of the Incarnation of the *Logos*, it is clear that God's immutability is not the only thing that characterizes God because every self-expression of God takes place through finite reality. One may say that God would be less if God could not become less than what God is by remaining immutable.[80] However,

[75] Ibid., 110.

[76] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith,* 201-02.

[77] Ibid., 299.

[78] Karl Rahner," Christology in the Setting of Modern Man's Understanding of Himself and His World," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 11, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1974), 219.

[79] Karl Rahner, "'I Believe in Jesus Christ': Interpreting an Article of Faith," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 9 (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972), 167 and see also *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 308.

[80] On the one hand, the theology of God's immutability when contravened with the theology of the Incarnation remains unresolved, safe when one grasps God's self-giving love. On the other hand, one can argue that humanity was always contained in the Trinity (Godhead), perhaps as a potentiality or a form, and was actualized in the Incarnation. In a sense, humanity precedes the existence of actual human beings, and one could say the something for creation. This seems like a tidy solution to the question of immutability, albeit highly metaphysical. However, Thomas Aquinas, I think, would not have agreed with this point of view, since for him God is pure act, without potentiality.

one cannot say that God can become more because that would mean God lacks something. Rather, God is the answer to the question of the human person because we ultimately find meaning in and through God revealed in Christ. "[The human person] exists all the time as one who comes from somewhere and as one who is spoken to; as one who answers Yes and No and who comes from and returns to the mystery we call God."[81] This joins the earlier *exitus et reditus* of Aquinas in this chapter. Further, when God wants to be what God is not, the human being comes to be. As a result, we have no reason whatsoever to belittle ourselves and others because in doing so we belittle God. "[The human person] is forever the articulate mystery of God. He is a mystery which partakes forever of the mystery on which it is founded, and must always be accepted in a blissful love as the undecipherable mystery."[82] This mystery has its root in a God who is close to the human person because where we are God is and can be found.

To accept our own humanity and that of others is to accept that we are accepted by God, who is near to us because God has accepted the human person in the Son of God. In him, God has made Godself a neighbor to humanity. Because Christ became human (Jn 1:14), there is therefore an unbreakable bond between God and the human person. No one, therefore, has any right to objectify, exterminate or trivialize the human person, because doing so means objectifying God. Theology and anthropology therefore forever go together. This implies that one cannot say anything about God without also saying something about human beings. The same applies to Christology: we cannot understand what it meant for Jesus to be fully God and fully human without understanding what it means to be human and what it means to be God. Objections to this assertion is possible in the sense that the Incarnation does not fully give us liberty to say everything about

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[81] Rahner, '"I Believe in Jesus Christ': Interpreting an Article of Faith," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 9, 167.

[82] Rahner, "On the Theology of the Incarnation," 116–17.

humans whenever we speak about God, because God and humans are not equal. For example, God is almighty and omniscient, but humans are none of these. Humans are sinful, weak and make mistakes. God is none of these. In this theological complexity, what is then the point? The contention of this paragraph is to highlight that the idea that accepting our own humanity is acknowledging that we are accepted by God, who is near to us because God has accepted the human person in the Son of God. To deny our humanity and that of others is to deny God, because in Christ, God has made Godself neighbor to humanity. God is thus the answer to humanity's question because in God's self-giving love (*agape*), humanity discovers itself and its vocation to love, as God loves humanity in Christ.[83]

4.4.4 The Task of Christology

What, then, is the task of Christology? It is to underscore God's free, abiding, and loving initiative, rather than any need for God to "correct" creation. In Jesus Christ, God's *kenosis* is bestowed, and God's acceptance by the world is manifested historically. The Christ-event is "the point to which the becoming of the world in its history is from the outset striving to attain."[84] Christ is the *telos* of what creation aspires to be. Saint Paul put it well, "For in him, the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily, and you have come to fullness in him, who is the head of every ruler and authority" (Colossians 2:9–10). There is here a link between Christology, anthropology, soteriology, and eschatology. Humanity's ultimate hope is to be like Christ and see him as he is (1 John 3:2). Christology fulfills this task knowing that God remains for all eternity the Mystery, yet God has come to meet us in a radical way, even in death, surrendering Godself in love and as love.[85] Humanity could not attain salvation by its own efforts; God alone can accomplish this and

[83] Ibid., 120.
[84] Rahner, "Christology in the Setting of Modern Man," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 11, 227.
[85] Rahner, *Foundations of Christian Faith*, 305.

has done so in the incarnation. "Revelation has progressed to the express awareness that the perfect gift of salvation is not only a gift from God, but is God himself."[86]

What, then, is the difference between Christ and ourselves, since God graces us all? Although nothing of who we are is outside our relationship with God—uncreated grace—and our contact with the supernatural is the defining feature of our humanity; our grace is the grace of Jesus Christ. The difference between our humanity and Christ is that the latter's response to God's self-communication is the perfect and complete expression of our incomplete and imperfect expression. Any realistic person who knows his or her weaknesses and limitations knows how often we accept and reject the offer of God's grace, but Christ was always in complete and perfect accord with God. The question then is how one can make sense of Jesus' suffering, death, and resurrection. How do they respond to our human quest and to who we are?

4.4.5 The Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ

4.4.5.1 The Defeat of Death

Do the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus offer any answer to the questions of the human person? Certainly, the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus have given meaning to the meaninglessness of human death. In Jesus' death, humanity contemplates God's hospitality *par excellence*. The crucifixion and death of Jesus disclose God's embrace of the unspeakable suffering of the victims of human cruelty. God accepted death to break the power of injustice and death. Rahner notes, "When the vessel of his body was shattered in death, Christ was poured out over all the cosmos; he became actually, in his very humanity, what he had always been by his dignity, the heart of the universe, the innermost center of creation."[87] Christ's death transformed

[86] Rahner, "Theology and Anthropology," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 9, 32–33.
[87] Karl Rahner, *On the Theology of Death* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), 66.

the human condition in order to divinize us and, through his descent into hell, he established an open relationship to the world allowing all things in the universe to communicate with each other.

The whole of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection form a unity in their redemptive significance. We cannot focus only on the cross and forget that Jesus' whole life was a self-offering in obedience to God, obtaining new life for all. "Those who have died in faith are not 'dead in Christ' only because they lived in Christ, but also because their dying itself was in Christ."[88] The death of a Christian can be understood as a dying with Christ as it gathers the whole personal act of a human life into one fulfillment. It is an entry into life. The distinction between Christ's death and ours is that his death transformed the emptiness of humanity to welcome God's plenitude. "Death became life; visible condemnation became the visible advent of the Kingdom of God."[89] While it is a fact that we have no knowledge of what awaits us when we rest in our mothers' wombs; rather because of Christ we have assurance of what awaits us beyond the birth that is death. We shall see God. The resurrection of Christ defeated death. It is also the overthrow of those whose power depends on the ability to deal in death – namely the principalities and powers of darkness in this world, like those that planned and executed the genocide in Rwanda.

4.4.5.2 Hope Born from Jesus' Resurrection

Christ's resurrection grounds human hope. Hope is trust in the promise of God as our absolute future. It is an act of surrendering ourselves to that which lies beyond us, but it is also an acknowledgment of the limitations of human planning. This may explain why placing any limit on hope dismisses or denies hope. Hope is not a soothing drug amidst earthly trials. Rather, it empowers humans "to have trust enough to undertake anew an exodus out of the present into the

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[88] Ibid., 69.
[89] Ibid., 70.

future."[90] This requires humility, because we recognize that we do not know, much less own, the future. This does not necessarily have to make us unhappy or complacent, but we have to accept our limits and live with them in freedom.[91] Hope thus urges us to commit ourselves in thought and deed to the incomprehensible mystery of God. Rahner says this well, "Christians have no right to be satisfied with a fulfillment that would be less than God."[92]

Hope is a theological virtue founded on the premise that God is our ultimate future; thus, our daily commitments and decisions are of ultimate significance. We can say that we have an idea of who God is and who man is only when we hope in our commitment to God as our absolute future. This requires self-surrender to the Holy Mystery, and we have to beware that despair comes partly because someone has refused to abandon oneself to the incalculable and the uncontrollable. The person who has hope, by contrast, is able creatively to make his or her contribution to the transformation of this world, to plan for the future, however provisional, knowing that this planning is instrumental for his or her well-being, with the knowledge that his or her definitive consummation is God.[93]

The resurrection of Christ grounds human hope because it means that death is not the end. Suffering, hate, and death do not have the last word. At Jesus' death, he was excluded and abandoned. He was even crucified outside the gate, as a sign that he was excluded from his people.[94] Because God treated Jesus as we deserved, our faith in the risen Christ makes us hope

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[90] Rahner, "On the Theology of Hope," 257; and Karl Rahner, "Utopia and Reality: The Shape of Christian Existence Caught between the Ideal and the Real" in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 22, trans. Joseph Donceels (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1991), 34.

[91] Karl Rahner, "The Question of the Future," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 12, trans. David Bourke (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1974), 198.

[92] Rahner, "Utopia and Reality," 33.

[93] Rahner, "On the Theology of Hope," 255, 259.

[94] The words of this paragraphs are borrowed with permission from Marcel Uwineza, "On Christian Hope: What makes it distinctive and credible?" *America* (April 4-11, 2016), http://americamagazine.org/issue/christian-hope, accessed March 6, 2019.

that God will also treat us as he treated his risen Son. This opens a space of commitment in the present, knowing and believing that at the end life shall prevail. Consequently, this eschatological hope implies and does not preclude temporal commitment. Christian hope in the resurrection, in life after death, in the new heavens and new earth, and in the fulfillment of God's promises, should make us live our earthly life in a distinctively Christian way. It should make us commit ourselves to justice and compassion and the peace in living the reality of God's kingdom within that specific Christian tension of the already and the not yet. Christian hope is based on the love of God for everyone: rich and poor, black and white, gay and straight, Jew and Arab, Palestinian and Israeli, Serb and Albanian, Hutu and Tutsi, Pakistani and Indian—none are outside the purview of God's love. Remember what Jesus said, "I, if I am lifted up, will draw all to me" (Jn 12:32). *Not some, but all*.

At this juncture, where are we now in this chapter? My arguments have sought to rediscover the centrality of the concept of the Image of God as a way of rediscovering what it means to be human in the context of Rwanda's wounded humanity in need of reconciliation. To do so, I have assessed the biblical roots of the concept of the Image of God and sought to offer compatible grounding for an appropriate theological anthropology drawing on the perspectives of Aquinas and Rahner. The work of these theologians helps to underscore the idea that whoever belittles the human person, belittles the Divine Creator from whom we come and to whom we are oriented and return (*exitus et reditus*).

Since we have a Creator –God who has taken humanity as God's treasure and has fallen in love with humanity, forgetfulness or refusal to remember human persons is *ipso facto* a denigration of the Creator who remembers and reimages us in Christ. The refusal of individuals to make space to remember their loved ones equally denies their Creator, and such action debases God's image

in those whom we profess to love. In this line of thought, the above sections are indispensable for the next and for the dissertation as a whole. One cannot engage in the reconciliation of memories without re-affirming solidly the unassailable dignity of each human person, created in the image of God. Despite the limited framework of a dissertation, the previous sections of this chapter have carried out some *ressourcement* as a theological rediscovery of who human persons are in confrontation with the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and its cruel aftermath, when human beings became disposable.

The reconciliation of memories seeks to make people whole again, but it can do so only after re-ascertaining their origin in and orientation toward God. As von Rad notes, "with regard to the origin of both his nature and his destiny, [the human person] is completely referred to and understood from God."[95] This origin, destiny, and orientation have been the object of the above sections, without which the next would be disconnected and theologically unfounded and unsound. Therefore, the following part deepens the idea that the duty of memory is grounded in God, and it is a revolution of love for those who suffer. The reconciliation of memories from a theological perspective is a necessary condition in the rediscovery of our graced humanity. Let us now consider the imperative of reconciling memories, using illustrative metaphors.

4.5 Reconciling Memory is Like Osmosis

In many societies, items of great value are kept in memory over long periods of time. Museums, monuments, memorials plaques, and so on, are erected to testify and to remember an individual's worth or major contribution or a country's story. Many people take photos because they desire to memorialize the different events of their lives. This may explain why family photograph albums are treasured. The Church canonizes saints partly in order to remember their

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[95] Von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary,* 60.

heroic lives and virtues, and to offer them as models of Christian faith for generations to come.

Memory permeates different layers of people's individual and collective past. "In presenting themselves to outsiders, [individuals and] members of the group may reasonably develop expectations about the way [their] past should best be presented, and make tacit commitments to play their part in doing so."[96] Those with faith in God do this because they believe that they possess an unassailable dignity offered by God, to whom they are oriented; this dignity cannot be erased by anyone or anything, not even death. However, memories can be selective and, in turn, influence a person's self-concept, decision-making, choices, and identities. It is important to acknowledge that "the attributions of significance are driven in part by the content of those ongoing activities of remembering that have themselves been sculpted by their working selves with their goals and their motivations."[97] The question is this: What happens when individual and collective memories are not in congruence with the idea that all persons are created in the image of God and, thus, equal before God? In contexts of conflict and violence, the memory of the oppressed group differs from that of dominant groups, because the latter feel entitled to more life than the former. As discussed in the first chapter, the idea of a dominant group's entitlement has played an outsized role in Rwanda's tragedy and structural sin; for many decades some lives were more equal than others. Some policies in education, employment, and welfare in general favored one group over the others. To bring about any reconciliation of such memories, some Rwandans must accept "responsibility for past actions of one's community. [They must seek and grant] inter-ethnic group forgiveness. [They must appropriate and appreciate] the history of the other

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[96] John Sutton, "Between Individual and Collective Memory: Coordination, Interaction, Distribution," in *Social Research: An International Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 23-48, at 30.

97 Ibid., 35.

community to learn from its experiences."[98] This is what I call memory as osmosis, and this process has the capacity to lead to the reconciliation of memories.

Osmosis is a process or a movement of "a solvent (such as water) through a semipermeable membrane (as of a living cell) into a solution of higher solute concentration that tends to equalize the concentrations of solute on the two sides of the membrane."[99] Osmosis is a process which may take time. Osmosis is not a one-time event. The advantage of the process is that it enables an equal concentration of the solvent on either side of the membrane. What is important is that the process makes both sides equal in substance.

The genocide and its aftermath remain a failure of all Rwandans and for the whole of humanity. Albeit at different levels and in varying degree, the genocide and its impact have affected all dimensions of Rwanda's social, religious, cultural, economic, and political fabric. The genocide and its aftermath mark the failure to concretely live out equality in human dignity. These events express the lack of the fear of God—fear as awesome respect owed to God who has made creation what it is. In order to heal Rwanda's wounded humanity, its past wounds must undergo a process of osmosis to heal and repair people's dignity; regardless of anyone's "questionable" group affiliation, all Rwandans share the same "divine solvent"—each and all are created in the image and likeness of God. Each and all possess the same "graced-DNA" in Christ. Furthermore, nothing but God can fulfill the human person and Christ is the *telos* of what creation aspires to be.

The analogical language of osmosis can be compared to what James Sweeney and his

[98] Mícheál D. Roe and Ed. Cairns, "Memories in Conflict: Review and a Look to the Future," in Ed Cairns and M. Roe, eds., *The Role of Memory in Ethnic Conflict,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 180.

[99] "Definition of Osmosis," See https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/osmosis accessed February 25, 2019.

colleagues have called "Receptive Ecumenism."[100] The latter is an ecumenical model that seeks to learn from other churches and a process that aims at transcending "self-imposed institutional impregnability."[101] The idea is to move beyond "tribal church" mentality, prejudice or what some consider to be irreducible differences in order to learn from what other churches have to offer. For instance, "[p]rejudices, myths, and ingrained views of Catholics about Anglicans and Anglicans about Catholics abound … and there are historical resentments, sometimes unacknowledged, sometimes repressed."[102] Despite what may seem to be irreconcilable differences, "receptive ecumenism" starts from what people share in common such as the common quest for justice, the fight against poverty, or the care for the environment. Ecclesial communities learn to accept that the willingness to learn from the other may be an easy exercise of the mind, but difficult in daily life. From there, "receptive ecumenism" allows churches to acknowledge that unity is indeed a gift from God.[103] Rwandans, by analogy, with all their tragic past and unreconciled memories, have something to learn from this process of "receptive ecumenism" which is somewhat parallel to the proposed osmosis perspective. The ultimate goal of both "receptive ecumenism" or "osmosis in the context of Rwanda" is to make "a new beginning and an orientation to the future. Dealing with the past is necessary, but for the sake of the future."[104]

Reconciling wounded memories may be compared to a process of osmosis rooted in acknowledgment of the extent to which the past influences and informs Rwandan identity and

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[100] James Sweeney, "Receptive Ecumenism, Ecclesial Learning, and the 'Tribe,'" in Paul D. Murray, ed., *Receptive Ecumenism and the Call to Catholic Learning: Exploring a Way for Contemporary Ecumenism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 333-56 at 334.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., 337.

[103] For more on "Receptive Ecumenism," see reflections in dialogue with Yves Congar and Daniel W. Hardy in Part V of Paul D. Murray, ed., *Receptive Ecumenism and the Call to Catholic Learning: Exploring a Way for Contemporary Ecumenism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[104] Sweeney, "Receptive Ecumenism, Ecclesial Learning, and the 'Tribe,'" 340.

of the need to learn from each other's hi/story in order to prepare for a peaceful future. Reflecting on the impact of history, Bernard Lonergan writes: "[O]ur past has made us whatever we are, and on that capital, we have to live or else we must begin afresh. Not only is the individual an historical entity, living off his past, but the same holds for [each] group."[105] In other words, history contains a "solvent" that affects all sides of a community's social fabric.[106] Lonergan's functional specialty of "History," to which I alluded to the First Chapter, contributes to the reimagination of humanity. For Lonergan, the task of history is "to seek *a* view of the actual functioning of the whole or of a notable part over a significant period of time … it recounts who did what, when, where, under what circumstances, from what motives, with what results. Its function is practical: a group can function only by possessing an identity, knowing itself and devoting itself to the cause, at worst, of its survival, at best, of its betterment."[107] In the context of Rwanda, the study of history and its complexities is vital and necessary. Only by honestly searching to attain the truth of rationales behind the wounds of Rwanda, can Rwanda hope for sustainable peace, justice, and reconciliation.

The study of history, however, is not enough. In the face of so many still-fresh wounds and so many deaths in Rwanda's past, it is clear that history never has either the first or the final word. Historical imperative may have little relevance for theology, unless its results aim at telling people just what they imply for them: that God who loves humanity is revealed in human history, no matter how messy that history might be.[108] Asked by the Czech philosopher Milan Machoveć whether '"after Auschwitz, there could still be prayers on the part of Christians,' Johann Baptist

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[105] Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 181.

[106] Rwanda's past needs to continue undergoing a process of purification (or osmosis) to affirm that everyone matters, despite the various degrees of individual and group wounds. For this to happen, Rwanda ought to have well-trained historians whose scholarship digs deeper into the facts behind Rwanda's problematic past.

[107] Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 184-85.

[108] I am not minimizing the importance of history. Grounding theology in actual historical reality is also vital.

Metz responded, 'We can pray after Auschwitz, because there were prayers in Auschwitz.' We Christians can no longer go back behind Auschwitz, but neither can we go beyond Auschwitz except together with the victims of Auschwitz."[109]

Metz's rejoinder, first, is an acknowledgment that the credibility of any talk about God, in the contexts of Auschwitz or Nyamata, depends above all on the truth that there were countless people who had the courage to care for the humanity of those to be exterminated. In the hell of Auschwitz [and of Rwanda], they "again and again called on God and prayed to Him."[110] They nurtured hope in something larger than themselves and toward whom they are oriented. The example of Sr. Félicitas Niyitegeka, mentioned in Chapter Two, is pertinent here.

Theology is not the same when it is done in light of the wounds of history. Theology must be "an apology for narrative;" theology "is inconceivable apart from the stories that inform the basic Christian identity of persons and groups."[111] Theology is in history and in society and, as such, takes narratives seriously. Theology in places of wounds undergoes an osmosis process because it must function as a bridge between the victims of history and their victimizers. After the International Criminal Court in 2005 issued an arrest warrant for Ugandan child kidnapper and war criminal Joseph Kony, Ugandan Archbishop John Baptist Odama insisted that there were questions that must preoccupy theology. The question for theology is not only whether suspected or convicted criminals should face justice, but "whether [they] can be saved. Salvation here means 'understanding'; salvation is justice; salvation is 'welcome back'; salvation is feeling accepted … the worst offense is to feel rejected; to feel that 'nobody is with me.'"[112] In this vein, theology

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[109] Metz and Moltmann, *Faith and the Future: Essays on Theology, Solidarity, and Modernity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books. 1995), 42.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., 45.

[112] Quoted in Emmnauel Katongole, *The Journey of Reconciliation: Groaning for a New Creation in Africa* (New York: Orbis, 2017), 33.

seeks the restoration of each person, including the perpetrator, because he/ she bears the image of God. This is why history may be inadequate—it does not seek transformation of both victims and their victimizers. Theology must and does. It is true that evil acts cannot be undone, but the divine example of self-sacrificing love continues to invite human persons to go beyond the harm inflicted and to recognize that the killing of criminals also diminishes those whom they victimized. Theology presses beyond, in Katongole's words, to "'the love of justice' toward the 'justice of love.'"[113] For theology, giving each person their due is not enough; sometimes what someone is due may mean retribution, not restoration. Instead, theology requires sacrifice and seeks the salvation of the wrongdoer as well, because his/her punishment does not have the last word. Christian Theology's grand goal is that all may be redeemed. The final word is the divine transformation of all wounded parties; should and when this happens, osmosis has occurred.

As illustrated in Chapter Two, theology born from the wounds of history must be critical of any *bourgeois* religion, that is, a religion that is unmoved by the tragedies of history.[114] With Metz, I contend that "looking carefully at [past tragedies] it is clear to me that an adequate separation between systematic theology and historical theology, between truth and history, is not possible –even with the best of wills."[115] The interdisciplinary function of history and theology is therefore part of the process of osmosis and central to individual and societal transformation. Theology born from the wounds of history seeks to uncover various historical, political, intellectual, moral, and religious influences on human behavior. Such theology aims to foster acknowledgment and responsibility for past individual and communal actions, to seek and encourage inter-tribal or inter-group reconciliation, and to assist different communities learning

[113] Ibid., 59.
[114] Metz and Moltmann, *Faith and the Future*, 41.
[115] Ibid., 40. The bracketed insertions on Rwanda are my own.

and appreciating the experiences of other groups.

Rwanda offers a rich laboratory for such theological experiments. Many Tutsis need to learn from the Hutus' experience, and *vice versa.* In *The Rwanda Genocide and the Call to Deepen Christianity in Africa,* Mario I. Aguilar points out:

> To understand a social phenomenon, it is necessary to have background information [on it] … For to re-construct the future, it is important to know and understand the past. This will help one to realize why mistakes were committed, why they should be forgiven and how they could be avoided in the future. Ignorance of such facts causes more tension for the future till past events come to the surface and are discussed.[116]

For Aguilar, history must be taken seriously if a better future is to be envisioned. In Rwanda, for example, Hutus cannot pretend that they are the only ones who suffered, and Tutsi cannot make the same mistake.

The intersection of history and theology equips a world immersed in conflict to understand that any discrimination is immoral. As Tanzanian theologian Laurenti Magesa remarks:

> Discrimination is sinful. Not only in educational systems but in everything else. What bias essentially says is that some individual person or group does not measure up to the essential worth of humanity. But as understood in the Christian faith, all human beings share a basic human equality and dignity. The many forms of tribal bigotry and exclusion at the political, economic, social, and even religious level experienced in African societies (and elsewhere) must be recognized and acknowledged as such in Christian evangelization: they are evils and indicate the absence of God and the imperative for their elimination.[117]

Discrimination against or denial of the other for what they can achieve or what they can contribute based on their group affiliation or gender, for instance, is a Christian moral error, regardless of the different attempts to defend it theologically. It is a refusal to put into practice what it means to live in the image of God. Theology done from the perspective of history (theology

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[116] Mario I. Aguilar, *The Rwanda Genocide and the Call to Deepen Christianity in Africa* (Eldoret, Kenya: AMECEA Gaba Publications, 1998), 5.

[117] Laurenti Magesa, "Twenty-Five Years after the Rwandan Genocide: Lessons for a New Evangelization in Africa" (Kigali: Conference Paper, 2019), 8. Unpublished.

with an osmosis perspective) must foster the idea that there is no room for discrimination.

Discrimination contradicts this chapter's fundamental theological proposition—all human beings are created in and share in the Image of God. To fight against discrimination, human persons must be open to transformation, to conversion which requires a turn-around from "exclusion to embrace," to echo Miroslav Volf.[118] The elimination of discrimination calls for new imagination and appreciation of the humanity of the other. Katongole and Rice assert that this imagination implies some risks that carry within them a new vision, a new way of life, and a new way of acting that seeks to fashion new structures that might foster the needed conversion.[119] The new vision, new way of life, and new way of acting are born from a deep epistemological realization that things are not as they should be and that there is a need to turn around or to go beyond external appearances to find what holistically gives meaning to people's lives. Perhaps, it is important to qualify the notion of conversion. Conversion, primarily, is not self-mastery, but rather an ardent desire to change oneself, not merely by one's own effort, but by God's always-offered grace. Kenneth Himes writes that conversion concerns "our self-surrender, our self-abandonment. Changes in our self-perception take place slowly, as we learn to look to God and trust that what was done for Jesus will be done for us, his disciples."[120] In Rwanda, indoctrinated discrimination, coupled with abuse of power, and fear, partly led to the genocide. To fight these ills, people's attitudes toward one another need constant conversion.

In *Method in Theology,* Lonergan distinguishes three types of conversion: moral, religious, and intellectual. What they share and signify is a "new beginning, a fresh start. ... [First,] moral

[118] Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abington Press, 1996).
[119] Ibid., 149-51.
[120] Himes, "Ash Wednesday Reflection."

conversion changes the criterion of one's decisions and choices from satisfactions to values."[121] In Rwanda as elsewhere, moral conversion means that the standard for one's status in society ought to derive, not from one's ethnic or cultural or group affiliation, but from the inalienable dignity of each human person created in the image and likeness of God. Moral conversion means that human relatedness or *Ubuntu* functions as the criteria for one's choices, rather than the drive for material acquisition. Moral conversion confirms the eschatological idea that at the end of our lives, when we go to meet the Lord, we will leave behind everything we have and take with us everything we are and have become. Moral conversion is thus instrumental in what we can become. Moreover, it is an ongoing process: One has to "uncover and root out one's individual, group, and general bias. One [has to keep] developing one's knowledge of human reality and potentiality as they are in the existing situation … one has to keep scrutinizing one's intentional responses to values and their implicit scales of preferences… one has to listen to criticism and to protest. One has to remain ready to learn from others."[122]

How does moral conversion relate to the phenomenon of osmosis? During osmosis, solvents from one particular container mix with those from another, and the contents of both containers are changed. Moral conversion challenges and roots out deep-seated ethnic biases on either side of the Rwandan equation. Moral conversion supports us in reinventing former visions, imaginations, and stories in order to move beyond ethnic, biological, class, tribal, and political boundaries; moral conversion sustains efforts to include everyone. If the killings in Rwanda happened partly because some individuals felt they were beyond any moral obligation to care for their neighbor, then moral conversion is a theological imperative.

Second, religious conversion fosters the reimagination or revisioning of a new humanity.

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[121] Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* 240.
[122] Ibid.

Despite its complexity, part of what religion offers to humanity is a new and distinctive horizon of meaning of life, reality, and transcendence. These meanings are understood and interpreted differently in "different religious traditions. For Christians, it is God's love flooding our hearts through the Holy Spirit given to us."[123] The ultimate gift to humanity is God's love revealed in Jesus Christ who is the *telos* of what humanity ought to be. Religious conversion "is being grasped by ultimate concern. It is otherworldly falling in love. It is total and permanent self-surrender without conditions, qualifications and reservations."[124]

From both theological and anthropological perspectives, the ultimate reality on which humanity's concern is grounded is God. This ultimate reality defines who we are, because nothing but God can satisfy human longings fully. As I argued earlier, God is the answer to the questions that the human person is and asks. Christian conversion to God is understood as a "gradual movement toward a full and complete transformation of the whole of one's living and feeling, one's thoughts, words, deeds, and omissions."[125] This conversion denotes a turn-around of one's being to live a life founded on love—on God. Love is the least wrong description one can give of God, all other definitions are limited, but love seems most accurate. For Michael Himes, "the love which is offered as the least wrong way to think and speak about God is of a very peculiar sort: *agape*. [It means] love which is purely other-directed, love which seeks no return, love which does not want anything back … we might translate *agape* as pure-self-gift."[126] It is a love that is not just an idea or a feeling, but *the* love that *wills* the good of the other. For Christians, it is the love we find in Jesus Christ as revealed in the law of the cross. Religious conversion is a gift from God, but it also demands personal commitment which requires one to take risks or make painful options

[123] Ibid., 241.
[124] Ibid., 240.
[125] Ibid., 241.
[126] Himes, *Doing the Truth in Love*, 10.

to move from one's old ways of life to embrace a new one, rooted in the love of God who has loved us first.

Finally, there is intellectual conversion. Human beings may be wrong and, oftentimes, need and want to make amends when they have been misinformed. We have noted earlier how Aquinas was misinformed in his conception of man vis-à-vis woman. For Lonergan, "intellectual conversion is an ongoing process in search of truth rooted in "cognitional self-transcendence."[127] Both individuals and communities seek to know more about themselves. Within the context of Rwanda, the search for truth is vital for all parties entangled in a tragic past. The desire to seek and live by the truth is a theological one, since Jesus is the truth that sets free (Jn 14:6); but truth is also the object of history despite its limitations. Therefore, intellectual conversion seeks to understand the whole or a significant part of reality, taking into account the contexts, the intentions, and the actions-in-themselves.

What is common to these three conversions– moral, religious, and intellectual–is the idea of transcendence, which is linked to human creation in the image of God. "Moral conversion is to values apprehended, affirmed, and realized by self-transcendence. Religious conversion is to a total being-in-love as the efficacious ground of all self-transcendence."[128] Intellectual conversion is in search of the ultimate reality rooted in the desire to live a truthful life. These three conversions are instrumental for the reimagination or rediscovery of humanity in areas laden with conflicts. They are but a necessity in the sense that they have the capacity to nurture our shared and graced humanity, shared meaning, and orientation toward transcendence and because of their potential to turn minds around (*μετα-νοια*) with the hope of a transformed future which requires constant molting. Since these conversions seek to envision humanity holistically, they, by analogy, have an

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[127] Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* 241.
[128] Ibid.

osmosis element within them because, if taken seriously, their solvent leaves no one unaffected. They lead to the needed molting of memories.

4.6 Reconciling Memories as a Molting Phenomenon

Alongside the analogical language of osmosis, another image that could well illustrate the reconciliation of memories in view of a renewed humanity is that of molting. What does this mean? Rabbi Abraham Twerski's anecdote of lobsters is helpful. For lobsters to grow, they must molt:

> Because of the shell of a lobster is hard and inelastic it must shed its shell in order to grow. Ecdysis, commonly called shedding, occurs when a lobster extrudes itself from its old shell. The overall process of preparing for, performing, and recovering from ecdysis is known as molting. Unlike animals that are soft-bodied and have skin, a lobster's shell, once hard, will not grow much more. Lobsters show intermediate growth; that is, they grow throughout their lives and therefore spend much of that time preparing for or undergoing ecdysis… Many factors control when a lobster will molt; water temperature, food supply, salinity, type of bottom, depth of water and availability of shelter are some examples. Although lobsters molt quite frequently at first, five or six times in the first season, as they grow the length of time between molts increases. An adult lobster will molt only once or twice a year.[129]

The growth of a lobster has evidently many components to it and by analogy, it is the same growth needed in the reconciliation of Rwandan memories. First, for a lobster to grow, it must shed its shell –Ecdysis. It does this by extrusion of the old shell. The overall process of preparing, performing, and recovering from Ecdysis is called molting. Second, there is no growth if the lobster does not shed its old shell. Third, the old shell and the new shell lay beside each other as the new shell is laid down inside the old. Fourth, the lobster has to absorb lots of water to provoke the new shell to expand so that it shoves away the old one. Fifth, one observes the vulnerability of the lobster with its new shell. It has to be careful. Finally, nothing goes to waste; the newly molted

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[129] Abraham Twerski, "What Lobsters Teach Us About Stress and Change," accessed February 25, 2019 https://www.improvisedlife.com/2015/12/23/what-lobsters-teach-us-about-stress-change.

lobster feeds on "the old shell and other materials high in calcium in order to strengthen its new shell."[130]

Growth comes about when and where there is a vision and a desire to leave the old self to embrace the new one. That vision is comprised however of the fact that humanity is made by both old and new, but for it to materialize and make progress, it cannot remain obsessed with the old, just as the lobster cannot. This vision is of a reimagined humanity cognizant of the discomfort of past memories, yet with an expansive awareness that we are part of a generation that has the capacity to grow and to change. The motivation for lobsters to grow is that they are uncomfortable in their old shells. By analogy, Rwanda's tragic memories are uncomfortable and "dangerous," as we discussed in our analysis of Metz in Chapter Three. If Rwandans with their wounds allow themselves to molt, they will grow; they will build a better nation, learning from the past, just as the lobster's old shell does not go to waste.

It is possible to level a criticism against my argument in the sense that it appears to interpret the process of violence and recuperation like a process of life cycles. This could be certainly understood as minimalizing the intensity of Rwandan horrors or as being pessimistic from the view of a victim of the genocide and the war. However, this analogy of molting may clarify that both victims and perpetrators require renewal of mind and heart. This renewal will be painful, but it must begin. It requires formation of postures and skills that enable one to renegotiate one's identity in the shadow of a painful past, but in search of a new future; and, this renewal requires the shedding of age-old Hutu and Tutsi prejudices. In other words, for there to be healing in Rwanda, a process of "interruption" is vital. This interruption is what St. Paul calls the renewal of mind. "Do not conform to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind.

[130] Ibid.

Then you will be able to test and approve what God's will is—his good, pleasing and perfect will." (Rom 12:1-2) Katongole has paraphrased St. Paul: "Brothers and sisters, do not be naive about the politics of your nations; do not just fit within the forms of belonging as defined by your race, ethnicity, nationality or class, but be transformed by the renewing of your minds, so that you learn to negotiate what is perfect, true, and good."[131] To be human and Christian carries great responsibilities. It is to behave like Abraham who, unlike Adam, trusted God's power and promises, and in turn grew in faith and became fruitful (Romans 4). It is to die to old identities, ethnicities or Rwandan contested labels, prejudices, divisions, etc. It is to *be* a new creation. Addressing the divisions within the Corinthian community, Paul writes, "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, the new creation has come: The old has gone, the new is here!" (1Cor 5:17)

In his book *Paul in a Fresh Perspective,* N. T. Wright notes that Paul treated and encouraged his communities to see themselves as "God's redeemed humanity, the new model of what it meant to be human."[132] We who live in the twenty-first century have witnessed the renewed rise of bigotry, racism, clergy sex abuse, not to mention the impacts of terrorism and the challenges of the aftermath of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. We have much to learn from the Apostle Paul and his theology of redeemed humanity. He invites us to orthopraxis in bringing together estranged communities, just as he did in "his practical fight to get Jewish Christians and (uncircumcised) Gentiles sitting at the same table in Antioch."[133] Just as Paul's missionary activity helped them to reconcile their estranged memories, he invites us to do the same in Rwandan Christian communities. In his letter to Colossians, Paul writes, "Put to death, therefore, whatever belongs to your earthly nature: sexual immorality, impurity, lust, evil desires and greed, which is idolatry."

[131] Katongole, *The Journey of Reconciliation*, 73.
[132] N. T. Wright, *Paul in Fresh Perspective* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 165.
[133] Ibid.

(Col 3: 5) Putting to death here symbolizes the journey of renewal and reconciliation with self, creation, and ultimately with God. It is a molting journey. It is another form of reconciling memories, putting "on the new self, which is being renewed in knowledge in the image of its Creator" (Col 3:10).

From a theological perspective, how is this renewal possible? In this renewal, differences are not abolished, but require a paradigm shift. In the synoptic gospels, to be part of the reign of God requires a paradigm shift from the old way of life to the new life brought by God-incarnate. Jesus tells the parable of the wedding feast where the invited guests cannot fast while the bridegroom is in their midst. Jesus then exhorts his hearers to a new level of understanding: it is unthinkable to put new wines into old wineskins (see Mark 2:21–22, Matthew 9:14–17, and Luke 5:33–39). Welcoming Jesus in one's life requires the move from fast to feast (or also from feast to fast, depending on the lifestyle!); that is a discontinuity from lifestyles that are not life giving because the "way" of Jesus calls us all God's sons and daughters. The molting process needed in Rwanda, even twenty-five years after the genocide, must be rooted in this "way" of inclusive love.

The theological dimension of the in-breaking of the Kingdom of God invites Jesus' disciples to expand their horizons, as another form of molting. Unlike other teachers of his time, Jesus shares meals with both tax collectors and sinners. This provokes anger in other self-acclaimed righteous teachers. Simply put, Jesus brings a revolution of love. He points to a God who breaks old barriers. In his book *A Costly Freedom: A Theological Reading of Mark's Gospel,* the Australian Jesuit Brendan Byrne discusses why the question of fasting was rather a question of discontinuity from old habits. He writes, "while fasting may be the 'presenting issue,' [it developed] into a sustained insistence on Jesus' part that there [was] a radical discontinuity

between the old and the new."[134] The question was no longer when to fast, but when to feast. For Jesus, it is outrageous to fast while the bridegroom is present. "In Palestine at the time of Jesus, as in rural areas of many countries today, weddings were significant occasions of celebration involving the entire local community; to fast at a wedding would be so gravely insulting to the families as to be unthinkable."[135] Jesus' disciples are like guests at a wedding where Jesus is the bridegroom, and his new agenda of the reign of God calls for a radical change of heart. "The time has come," he said. "The kingdom of God has come near. Repent and believe the good news!" (Mk 1:15) Byrne explains that "For Jesus the Kingdom has already dawned, creating a whole new reality with respect to divine-human relations. By continuing to fast, John's disciples and the Pharisees relegate themselves to an era already overtaken by the "good news of God" (Mk 1:14).[136]

The coming of Jesus expands horizons of meanings thereby providing a molting environment. Using the analogical language of molting, the reign of God calls for the shedding of old shells to allow a new way of being to emerge. Like the painful process of Ecdysis that involves pain on the part of the lobster, welcoming the message of the reign of God also entails parting with unhelpful and unconstructive memories so that other ways of seeing humanity and the world can develop. That is the cost of freedom rooted in gospel values. The Kingdom of God has the dynamism and vitality of an unshrunken piece of cloth or of new wineskins (Mk 2:22). The violence of the images (the torn cloth, the burst skins) reflects the violence that [Jesus'] 'new' teaching (Mk 1:27) and liberating action have inflicted on the prevailing order."[137] In its molting

[134] Brendan Byrne, *A Costly Freedom: A Theological Reading of Mark's Gospel,* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), 60.
[135] Ibid., 60-61.
[136] Ibid., 61.
[137] Ibid.

process to acquire a new shell, the lobster is exposed to predators and the pain of getting used to the new shell.

Similarly, the coming and the reception of the reign of God make it clear that "a complete 'change of heart' ('repentance' [*μετανοειν*]) is required (Mk 1:15)."[138] This is close to how Jesus tells his disciples that to follow him - one has to leave behind all that enslaves him or her and embrace Jesus' way of life: "If anyone comes to me, and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple" (Lk 14:26). This new horizon comprises a molting process which includes the cross. What this implies within the context of Rwanda with its historical wounds is that though painful, Hutu and Tutsi "shells" must molt to reimagine a new way of being in the world, an *Ubuntu* that prizes the dignity of each Rwandan and their interconnectedness beyond ethnic labels. This does not mean getting rid of all ethnic labels, as this may be a lifetime work, but it means relativizing them so that they cease to enslave the Rwandan psyche, politics, church, etc. Within the larger context of Africa with its poverty and struggle for power, the molting process, in the words of Emmanuel Katongole, envisions "politics in Africa not as the politics that assumes fighting and the pursuit of power as inevitable but politics as participation in the self-sacrificing and reconciling righteousness of God."[139]

A change of heart is unquestionably a gradual process. As I argued earlier, drawing from Lonergan, conversion has many components: moral, religious, and intellectual. Sometimes we live between the old and the new shells. We are *corpus mixtum,* a mixture of both wheat and weeds that often grow together in hope that the weeds will be uprooted (Matthew 13:24-30). In Rwanda, those who have been wounded by the country's troubled history and the church's complicity may

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Katongole, *The Journey of Reconciliation,* 33.

never completely acquire a new shell; their dignity has been shattered by evil acts that can never be undone.[140] Should they then lose hope? There is no reason to lose hope. Some post-genocide Christian initiatives of reconciliation, discussed in the second chapter, illustrate that change of heart, living in hope, and accepting the ongoing phenomenon of molting are furthering change of heart among some Rwandans.[141] A theology of "making room" that I will discuss in the final chapter will further highlight that desired change.

The death of loved ones during the genocide and its aftermath and the violated dignity have plunged many Rwandans into an interim period in which many still need resurrection. Some Rwandans continue to live in-between the periods of passion and resurrection. For these women and men, Holy Saturday is far too long or seems to last their lifelong, and resurrection is not in sight. This is what Rahner calls "Hidden Victory," that is, "the inconceivable future becomes the centre of our existence, and so becomes present to us as a mystery which we do not yet understand. This situation of hope becomes manifest on Holy Saturday. It is the situation of one who stands between a present that is already vanishing, and a future which is so far present only in hope."[142] Theologically, this situation make death and life interpenetrate one another, but with hope born from the resurrection of Christ because he has taken death upon himself. Rahner notes, "Our Holy Saturday, taken in isolation from his, would be a state of living death. Since he has endured it and redeemed it, it is the day which carries eternal life concealed within its expectant silence."[143] This in-between time is comparable to the lobster's recovery from Ecdysis, before the lobster becomes

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[140] If evil acts could be undone, then the word revenge would not exist in the lexicon. (Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition: A Study of the Central Dilemmas Facing Modern Man* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), 212f.

[141] The recently published book of Ubald Rugirangoga, *Forgiveness Makes You Free: A Dramatic Story of Healing and Reconciliation from the Heart of Rwanda* (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 2019) is an example of some of the molting and renewal going on in Rwanda, even though the journey is ongoing.

[142] Karl Rahner, "Hidden Victory," in *Theological Investigations,* vol. 7, trans. David Bourke (New York: The Seabury Press, 1977), 153

[143] Ibid., 144.

accustomed to its new shell. This is the cross that some Rwandans carry as they follow Jesus Christ. The cross of their "dangerous memories" is therefore a reason to "fast"—to keep mourning—as they wait the day of interior liberation to experience the joy of the resurrection. It is also an in-between time not devoid of the risk of being "separated from the Bridegroom rather than in union with him."[144]

The memory of Christ's suffering and death teaches Christians that through him God liberated us from exclusive and narcissistic concerns.[145] It empowers us through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit to extend ourselves in grace and forgiveness toward others whose Image of God we share, even those who have wronged us. For Miroslav Volf, "It is a lesson to extend unconditional grace to (fellow!) wrongdoers irrespective of any and all offenses committed."[146] This does not mean that we ignore what happened to those who perished, those of whose death we still lack details or those whose deaths have been concealed. Neither does it mean that suffering must be accepted without question or resistance. Any theology on forgiveness in Rwanda ought to remember Nyamata and Ntarama, two of the six churches that are now memorial sites for the thousands killed and buried there. And, extending one's forgiveness demands that wrongdoers "acknowledge their mistakes, distance themselves from their misdeeds, and when possible restore to their victims what the original violation took away."[147]

This quest for forgiveness looks forward to the repair of broken trust and friendship, to the

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[144] Byrne, *A Costly Freedom*, 62. It suffices to add that the in-between time is a double-edged sword in which some people can come out with consolation or desolation, according to St. Ignatius of Loyola. For him, "… it belongs to the evil spirit to cause anxiety and sadness, and to place obstacles in the way, disquieting the soul by false reasons, so that it makes no further progress; and it belongs to the good spirit to inspire it with courage and strength, to give it consolations, tears, inspirations, and peace, making things easy, and removing every impediment, that it make progress in good works" ("Rules for the Discernment of Spirits," in Ignatius Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. Thomas Corbishley (London: Burns & Oates, 1963), § 315.

[145] Some lines of this paragraph are borrowed from my article, "Memory: A Theological Imperative in Post-genocide Rwanda," 59.

[146] Volf, *The End of Memory,* 121.

[147] Ibid.

moral repair of memory, thus to reconciliation. While it seeks to repair broken relationship, "forgiveness must have a meaning. And this meaning must determine itself on the ground of salvation, of reconciliation, redemption, atonement, I would say even sacrifice."[148] The reconciliation of memories must have this mission of forgiveness as a cornerstone and the reason to hope.

4.7 Christian Hope

Christian theology makes it clear that there is something distinctive about Christian hope. The coming of Christ has broken the old self. Wounded people will not live in between "Good Friday and Easter" forever, because humanity is made for more and is destined for better things. We are made for something different. Despite poverty, discrimination, racism, and genocides, history shows that this is not the end of the story. If *all* humankind agreed that all these evils were acceptable, then we should be seriously worried. But in fact, it seems unbearable that anyone, in good conscience, could stand up publicly and say, "I support the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda," or "I support slavery."[149] Instead, there is something in us that thirsts for knowledge and for the discovery of the truth and that gives us hope. The human person desires the truth and no matter the degrees of truth we attend, we are never satisfied. There is also desire for the good and the beautiful. The more one reflects on one's insatiable desires, one comes to some profound acknowledgement that humanity desires something that transcends things beyond this world. This realization makes us perceive and appreciate that the Ultimate Being—whom we call God—is not one of the truths in the world; God is the truth itself. God is not one of the good things in the world, but goodness itself. This thirst for truth in the ongoing battle against any form of idolatry. This

[148] Fournet, *The Crime of Destruction and the Law of Genocide*, 145-46.

[149] Though some people today are trying to do so in a different way, especially in the rising movement of white nationalism in parts of the Western world. But there are many more who stand up to condemn their bigotry.

battle takes us back to the earlier part of this chapter to Karl Rahner's idea that the human is open to something greater than himself or herself; we are oriented toward God, who is the answer to the question that we are. And if we belittle humanity, we belittle its Creator.

During the genocide in Rwanda, people were tortured, burned, and cut with machetes. Dogs were turned on them. People were shot. Women were raped. Babies were smashed on walls. People were thrown into pit latrines (including my brothers and sister), and mothers were thrown into rivers. In his moving novel, *Say You're One of Them*, Uwem Akpan illustrates the horrific events of killings within the same family, a Hutu husband killing his Tutsi wife because he was ordered to do so by members of his family:

> As the mob closes in on our house, chanting, the ceiling people begin to pray. I recognize their voices as those of our Tutsi neighbors and fellow parishioners. They are silent as Papa opens the front door to the crowd, which is bigger than last night's and pushes into our home like floodwater. … their weapons and hands and shoes and clothes are covered with blood … Maman runs into her bedroom. Four men are restraining Tonton André, who still wants to kill us all. I run to Maman and sit with her on the bed. Soon, the mob enters the room too, bringing Papa. They give Papa a big machete. He begins to tremble, his eyes blinking. A man tears me away from Maman and pushes me toward Jean, who's in the corner. Papa standing before Maman, his fingers on the knife's handle. "My people," he mumbles, "let another do it please." "No, you do it, traitor!" Tonton André shouts, struggling with those holding him. "You were with us when I killed Annette yesterday. My pregnant wife. You can't keep yours. Where did you disappear to when we came last night? You love your family more than I love mine? Yes?" "My husband, be a man," Maman interrupts, looking down… "My husband, you promised me." Papa lands the machete on Maman's head. Her voice chokes and she falls off the bed and onto her back on the wooden floor. It is like a dream. The knife tumbles out of Papa's hand. His eyes are closed, his face calm, though he's shaking… Papa opens his eyes slowly. His breaths are long and slow. He bends down and closes Maman's eyes with trembling hands.[150]

This is not fiction. It is the reality of some Rwandans, and this reality offers a basis for political theology rooted in narratives. Narratives are carried through the vehicle of language with all its limitations. Toni Morrison, the late African American Nobel Laureate in Literature, in her

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[150] Uwem Akpan, *Say You're One of Them* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008), 349-50.

1993 Nobel Acceptance Speech acknowledges “that language can never live up to life once and for all. Nor should it. Language can never “pin down” slavery, genocide, war. Nor should it yearn for the arrogance to be able to do so. Its force, its felicity is in its reach toward the ineffable.”[151] Morrison admits the limits of language and narratives, yet they are means we have to express human transcendence. Hence, they must be taken seriously in theology too. Morrison opines, “we do language. That may be the measure of our lives.”[152] Narratives and language are equally vehicles of theological knowledge.

In the rediscovery of Rwandan humanity, literature and theology have reasons to interconnect. Theology in Rwanda must begin from language and narratives. It cannot turn its back on the wounds of Nyamata, our own Auschwitz. These wounds include the children who experienced their fathers or uncles killing their mothers. Rwanda’s history proves that stories indeed can kill. But stories, too, can save and offer hope. Despite the wounds articulated in the quotation from Akpan’s novel, this dissertation project refuses to prophesy doom. There is hope because freedom shall ultimately win out. Adolf Hitler in Germany thought he held supreme power. Where is he today? Benito Mussolini of Italy thought he held supreme power. Where is he today? Idi Amin of Uganda and Mobutu Sese Seku of former Zaïre (current Democratic Republic of Congo) thought they held supreme power, but where are they today? Robert Mugabe, despite his rhetoric and political muscle, in 2017 finally resigned under pressure, after thirty-seven years as Zimbabwe’s President. The most recent examples of tyrants who ended their political careers dishonorably include President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria and President Omar al-Bashir of Sudan, ousted in March and April 2019 respectively, by their own people and their militaries after

[151] Toni Morrison, “Nobel Lecture,” (December 7, 1993), accessed August 6, 2019, https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1993/morrison/lecture/

[152] Ibid.

decades of dictatorial rule. Bashir was confined in Kobar maximum-security prison, a few days after being deposed in a military coup. These are tangible examples that evil and its friends shall not have the final word, even in the contentious context of politics. The tyrant dies, and his rule comes to an end. In contrast, "the martyr dies and his rule begins" because many people will treasure the memory for the rest of their lives.[153]

At first, this may sound inconsequential and somewhat cynical in the eyes of victims who have first been made to think that they are less human than others and whose dignity has been wounded because of these dictators. However, the cause of victims, their claims, and their memories have often survived the lives of dictators. I am aware of the fact that history tells that too often this may not be the case, since the victors and the monsters dominate the accounts of history. While it is not always the stories of victims that make front page news and oftentimes, justice is not done during their life time, this is where eschatological hope, post-mortem hope remains important. Ultimately, Christ will reign; eventually the just will rise to new life, if not always within the vicissitudes of history.

Having said this, in the end the days of evil and its allies are numbered. There is no reason to prophesy gloom because experience, the teacher of life, shows that evil does not have the last word. Such is the hope that inspires this work. The same hope that inspired John XXIII when he convoked the Second Vatican Council against all odds. His opening remarks at the Council are relevant to any society that ceases to see human potential in the search for what is good:

> [W]e sometimes have to listen, much to our regret, to voices of persons who, though burning with zeal, are not endowed with too much sense of discretion or measure. In these modern times they can see nothing but prevarication and ruin. They say that our era, in comparison with past eras, is getting worse and they behave as

[153] Søren Kierkegaard, *Kierkegaard's Journals and Notebooks,* Volume 5, ed., Vanessa Rumble, trans. Bruce H. Kirmmse (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1dr369t.5, p. 115. For the original manuscript, see Journal NB71848 (68–69).

> though they had learned nothing from history, which is, none the less, the teacher of life. They behave as though at the time of former councils everything was a full triumph for the Christian idea and life and for proper religious liberty….We feel we must disagree with those prophets of gloom, who are always forecasting disaster, as though the end of the world was at hand…In the present order of things, Divine Providence is leading us to a new order of human relations which, by men's own efforts and even beyond their very expectations, are directed toward the fulfillment of God's superior and inscrutable designs. … Nowadays, however, the spouse of Christ prefers to make use of the medicine of mercy rather than that of severity. She considers that she meets the needs of the present day by demonstrating the validity of her teaching rather than by condemnations.[154]

For John XXIII, recognizing the truth about human goodness matters more than forecasting gloom. As I have argued in the first section of this chapter, we are made for more, we are made not only like God but for God. Planted in the center of our being is the longing for the transcendent. Despite historical tragedies, being made for God means that anything less than God will not suffice for us. It is rather an invitation to sow seeds of hope, that is, to use the medicine of audacity that things could be better, "the medicine of mercy."

The mission of the Church is to open the world to the difference that the coming of Christ brings to people's lives, the difference rooted in a revolution of love and hope, mindful of the fact that Christ did not come to offer condemnations, but he came so that we have life and life to the full (Jn 10:10).[155] Christ came to offer hope. "In the end, our hope is, God will make right even with those who have died." That is a distinction and gift of Christian hope. This hope is not only for me but is hope for the salvation of others.[156] This hope is at the heart of the reconciliation of memories.

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[154] Pope John XXIII, "*Gaudet Mater Ecclesia* Pope John's Opening Speech to the Council," (October 11, 1962), accessed April 1, 2019, § 8, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19621011_opening-council.html. [Translated from Latin]

[155] Pope Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Africae Munus,* accessed April 1, 2019, §. 23, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_ben-xvi_exh_20111119_africae-munus.html.

[156] Uwineza, "Christian Hope: What Makes It Distinctive and Credible," 25-26.

4.8 The Reconciliation of Memories

What does it then mean to reconcile memories? The reconciliation of memories, particularly after conflicts, means rediscovering the Image of God in each human being, despite the burden of history. The image of God in us makes us remember that no one must be treated as disposable, because God defines who we are. Reconciling memories implies the search for a better future informed by the wounds of the past. It is an invitation to realize how much "the actions, postures, and identities of one community have shaped the identity of the other communities."[157] Examining what it means to reconcile memory in Ireland, Alan D. Falconer remarks, "To explore the theme 'the reconciliation of memories' involves not only 'reckoning with the other's memories,' but also examining the nature of 'reconciliation,' and being prepared to bear the cost of such a costly reconciliation."[158]

What does the cost of reconciling memories mean? In his novel *Resurrection*, Leo Tolstoy surveys how the breakdown in relationships leads to the need of reconciliation if people are to live meaningful lives again. He explores how the behavior of one person affects the identity of others. The storyline of the novel, as discussed by Koni, Tolstoy's friend, is about a nobleman who served in a jury at a trial of a prostitute for murder. As the trial went on, the nobleman remembered that he had seduced the prostitute when she was still a girl. The challenge within the novel then becomes how the nobleman and the prostitute could be reconciled. How can they reconcile their memories? The novel captures that reconciliation of memories:

> The prince finds it necessary to transform his life by taking responsibility for his actions through the appropriating of the prostitute's story. Initially, of course, his action is governed by his desire to be freed from his own sense of guilt. The prostitute, equally, is hesitant about accepting the seriousness of the Prince's desire for forgiveness until she sees the way he seeks to offer reparation … Forgiveness

[157] Alan D. Falconer, "Introduction," in Alan D. Falconer, ed. *Reconciling Memories* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 1988), 4.

[158] Ibid., 5.

> emerges when each eventually is empowered to be free. Resurrection occurs. Out of the despair and alienation of fractured relationship, hope, new life, and new creation are born through the acceptance of responsibility and the appropriation of the history of the other.[159]

The reconciliation of memories is a journey that begins with the recognition of one's guilt, the desire to repair the damage done inasmuch as that is possible, and the power of forgiveness that springs forth from the desire to mend broken relationships. We see this in the prince's ownership of his mistakes, his desire for forgiveness, and his attempt to repair the damage caused by his sexual misconduct. We see it when both the prince and the former prostitute are finally set free, which makes it clear that memory need not imprison.[160]

To remember rightly is to be free. Theologically, memory is a liberating event, initiated by God's activity in history through God's offer of freedom. For the Israelites, the call to remember embodied in the Passover celebration and other ceremonies linked to the harvest, "involved the appropriation of God's liberating activity when he brought the people out of Egypt. The Passover was an appropriating of the event of liberation recalling God's promise, his Word which was made effective by Him with regard to the people."[161] The Passover celebration also stipulated the healing of the memory of slavery in Egypt. God spoke to God's people as their God and they are God's people, no longer slaves (Ex.15:1-21). The message of many prophets later invited the people to remember always that God loves them, and when they fall into idolatry, to recognize their sins and come back to Yahweh who has the power to set them free (Jer. 30:22; 31:31-33; Is. 40-45; Ez. 36:36; 37:12). "Remember … No other Biblical Commandment is as persistent. Jews live and grow under the sign of memory … To be Jewish is to remember –to claim [the] right to memory

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[159] Ibid. For the full story on this renewal and responsibility for the past, see Leo Tolstoy, *Resurrection*, trans. Louise Maude (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1899).

[160] To quote Louise Maude, "Tolstoy in his writings has managed to recapture … the biblical concept of memory, where memory does not captivate, but liberates." Ibid.

[161] Ibid., 5-6.

as well our [the] duty to keep it alive."[162] The Jews are continuously invited to search for a responsible theology of memory. Although the contexts of Israel and Rwanda are different, a responsible theology of memory is what this dissertation as a whole envisions.

Given its Jewish background, it is no surprise that memory occupies center stage in Christianity. We read that Jesus shared a meal with his disciples in the context of the Passover before he was betrayed. He broke the bread and shared it with his disciples and said, "This is my body given for you. Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19 and 1 Cor 11:24). For centuries, Christians have celebrated the Lord's Supper to commemorate the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ, the living and present Lord. The Letter to Hebrews also takes up the activity of memory (*anamnesis*) and "is paralleled with God's remission of sins. God is seen in Jesus Christ to have taken upon himself the history of humankind. God has appropriated our story … the celebration of the Lord's Supper is a … re-appropriation of God's activity in Jesus Christ liberating humankind so that human beings might be free to respond to God and to each other."[163] Consequently, to remember is to celebrate the God of and in history. To remember is to hail God who has made room for us.

To reconcile one's memories is a process that requires not only acceptance of responsibility for the harm or injury done to others, but also an acknowledgment of humanity's interrelatedness–*Ubuntu*, to borrow the South African concept. In the Gospel, the prodigal son recognized that he was wrong and took responsibility for his past actions (Lk 15:1-11). Only then was he able to have a new beginning. Both the merciful father and his repentant son appropriated the wounds caused by the son's departure; together they began a journey of freedom. Moreover, the father also wished

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[162] Elie Wiesel, *From the Kingdom of Memory: Reminiscences* (New York: Summit Books, 1990), 9-10.
[163] Falconer, "Introduction," in *Reconciling Memories*, 6.

to bring the elder son into the same freedom, to celebrate their *Ubuntu* together. The reconciliation of memories seeks to bring everyone together, to include everyone together.

The task of reconciling memories requires an honest acknowledgment of the potentiality of abusing memory. The use of memory is as subject to misuse as the human condition. To quote Mark Santer, "we abuse this gift of memory when we employ it for keeping ourselves in the right and others in the wrong, for keeping grievances alive and for perpetuating stereotypes which justify us in treating other groups in demeaning, or oppressive ways."[164] As this dissertation's first chapter discussed, Rwanda's problematic past was intensified by the abuse of memory. Belittling stereotypes were given to different contested ethnic groups. The abuse of memory was institutionalized and became difficult for many to understand that they do not justify division. Reconciling Rwandan memories must begin with this acknowledgment of how abusive and destructive memory became.[165]

The dynamism of the reconciliation of memories challenges the static idea of being stuck in the past. Ordinarily, wounded factions tend to fixate the opponents in the past. Their opinions of each other can be fixed in immovable past categories. For instance, "a Protestant will imagine that, in dealing with the Roman Catholic Church, he must still be dealing with the abuse which outraged Luther. He will feel disoriented and upset if he is told that indulgences are hardly the issue today which they were 450 years ago."[166] Opposing parties can be nailed to the past, yet some may have moved on, and they are often reluctant to allow the other party to speak for itself.

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[164] Santer, "The Reconciliation of Memories," in Alan D. Falconer, ed., *Reconciling Memories*, (Dublin: The Columba Press, 1988), 128-32 at 129.

[165] In his work on *Memory, History, Forgetting,* Paul Ricoeur remarks: "I continued to be troubled by the unsettling spectacle offered by an excess of memory here, and an excess of forgetting elsewhere, to say nothing of the abuses of memory – and of forgetting. The idea of a policy of the just allotment of memory is in this respect one of my avowed civic themes." Ricoeur is aware of the dangers attached to "forgetting the past, but he is also aware of the abuses that go hand in hand with remembering and commemorations." See Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), xv, and more details on "the uses and abuses of memory," 68-92.

[166] Santer, "The Reconciliation of Memories," 130.

In Rwanda, survivors of the genocide and its consequences can easily remain fixed in the past and refuse to see any positive change or repentance of those who killed their relatives, even when some may have repented. Likewise, those who participated in the killings may think the victims will never change their perceptions of them. Each party can remain a captive of the past. Miroslav Volf in *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World* captures how the protective power of memory can be problematic:

> As victims seek to protect themselves they are not immune to becoming perpetrators ... The memory of their own persecution makes them see dangers lurking even where there are none; it leads them to exaggerate dangers that do exist and overreact with excessive violence or inappropriate preventive measures so as to ensure their own safety. Victims will often *become* perpetrators *on account of* their memories. It is *because they remember* past victimization that they feel justified in committing present violence ... So easily does the protective shield of memory morph into the sword of violence.[167]

The reconciliation of memories restores friendship and trust only when former opponents have the will and the desire to face their differences. Instead of using memory as an instrument of mistrusting one another, they are willing to strike out in new directions, "to experiment and improvise, even if it means making every instance a point of origin or finding constructive ways of drawing lessons from past wounds."[168] This requires commitment to heal broken relationships. At the center of this commitment is the task of challenging the human natural tendency to resent that we all have. Without confronting this tendency, we extrapolate feelings of victimization, even if they are not justified. In his remarks on the needed reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, Mark Santer notes, "if we do not desire reconciliation, we shall never have it, and it will be a comparatively easy matter to think of reasons of high principle for not being

[167] Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World,* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans: 2006), 32-33.
[168] D. Gross, *Lost Time: Remembering and Forgetting in Late Modern Culture* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000), 54.

reconciled yet. We shall never get anywhere if we always demand change from others, and never face up to the fact that repentance and change are also required of us."[169] Needless to say that the argument put forward in these paragraphs joins the earlier metaphors of reconciling memories as akin to the processes of molting and osmosis.

To build trust based on healing broken relationships means that there are no winners. And given Rwanda's troubled past, Rwandans are rather invited to listen to one another, accepting to mourn and celebrate with each other and "to purge our own of those elements which depend on the denigration or misperception of our rivals."[170] This dissertation has mentioned the wounds caused by the genocide against the Tutsi. But for this reconciliation of memories to totally happen, the offences committed by some elements within the Rwanda Patriotic Front prior, during, and after the genocide must be disavowed, and those who committed them who have not faced or owned their past to be held accountable.

Christian theology holds that there is no reconciliation without the Cross. It invites humanity to be partakers in the mission of reconciliation, accepting "the memory of their responsibility and injury, for the diminution of self and others."[171] Reconciliation is not a cheap process that forgets the sins, which put Christ "on the Cross—the sins by which we still crucify ourselves and each other. It is as we acknowledge our past—by bringing into conscious memory those things whose consciousness we have repressed – that the cross becomes the means of our healing."[172] What the cross reveals is that through it, Christ's gift of reconciliation with the whole of creation meant that we are created for communion, not to tear each other apart, but "to share a common life, whose image is both the simple table of the Last Supper, and the city of God whose

[169] Santer, "The Reconciliation of Memories," 131.
[170] Ibid., 132.
[171] Rowan Williams, *Resurrection* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982), 29.
[172] Santer, "The Reconciliation of Memories," 160.

gates are open to all the nations."[173] I shall come back to this point in the final chapter in the section on friendship. Ultimately, the reconciliation of memories means transgression—that is not the repression of what makes us different, but instead going beyond or even relativizing what tears us apart, "the boundaries that have solidified into our precious 'differences.'"[174]

Forgiveness is also an important category in the reconciliation and healing of memories. Although, it is a personal decision that individuals or communities have to make, when it happens, it empowers both the wronged and the wrongdoer to be responsible for their actions. Hannah Arendt writes, "only through [the] constant release from what they can do, men (and women) remain free agents, only by constant willingness to change their minds and start again can they be trusted with so great a power as that to begin anew."[175] Within Arendt's point is that forgiveness is a decision that has positive effects. It is not a destination, but it offers a new beginning. When former enemies forgive one another, it does not mean that they become friends necessarily, but their horizons become broader. They begin to notice that their former enemies are made in the image of God, too.

In Scripture, one example is found in the encounter of Zacchaeus and Jesus. After Zacchaeus experiences Jesus's love, Zacchaeus takes responsibility for his past by a deep desire to restitute the damage he has caused on others (Lk 19:1-10). Jesus enables Zacchaeus to become an ambassador of reconciliation and freedom. "The forgiveness of sins, which is quite undeserved and unexpected, enables relationships to be free from the burden of the past and to grow in a more wholesome way."[176] It is undeserved because it is a work of God, though it requires our

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[173] Ibid.

[174] Joe Harris, "Reconciliation as Remembrance: 'It Takes Two to Know One," in *Reconciling Memories*, pp. 37-51 at 39.

[175] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1958), 240.

[176] Falconer, "The Reconciling Power of Forgiveness," 92. See also Charles Williams, *The Forgiveness of Sins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 50.

participation for humanity to be renewed. It unleashes the phenomenon of osmosis and molting in human relationships. Emmanuel Katongole notes, "forgiveness is a gift we receive and we invite others into. … It is an ongoing journey."[177] What one discovers as one accepts the forgiveness offered by Jesus is that Jesus shares in the pain of a broken relationship with the desire to restore it. That is how he reconciles the memories of past sins. "Through forgiveness, both estranged parties "are empowered to be and to enter a new relationship which is able to embrace the memories of the hurt and alienation."[178] This embrace allows each party to appropriate and learn from the history of the other whose actions have shaped one's identity.

At the heart of this chapter is the idea that when and where wounded people seek reconciliation, there is God. Reconciliation of memories has its root in a God whose Image humanity bears, as elucidated in the foundational sections of this chapter, but also because where we are, there God can be found. Rahner opines, "The God whom we confess in Christ we must say that he is precisely where we are, and can only be found there."[179] This is so because God's very nature does not exclude anyone. In Jesus Christ, God has entered into the messiness of history, including the messiness of those whose experience is different from one's own. "God's deity includes all humanity in Jesus Christ."[180] God's sun shines on both the good and the bad. As I have argued earlier, with Aquinas and Rahner as conversation partners, we are created in the image of God, mystery and question to ourselves, yet we find ultimate answers in God. It is this theological imagination that we need to make sense of Rwanda's history and memories. Reflecting on what it means to remember with the future in mind, Bernard Lategan remarks that the reconciliation of

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[177] Emmanuel Katongole, *The Journey of Reconciliation: Groaning for a New Creation in Africa* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2017), 44.

[178] Falconer, "The Reconciling Power of Forgiveness," 95.

[179] Rahner, "On the Theology of the Incarnation," 116–17.

[180] Karl Barth, *The Humanity of God* (London: Collins, 1967), 46.

individual and collective memories opens up the capacity to perceive the presence of God and "the ability to include in the process of remembering a future dimension. ... Being serious about the past implies being even more serious about the future."[181] Here one remembers the words of the prophet Jeremiah—words that inspire a new theology for a renewed church: "The Lord says: 'I know the plans I have for you, plans for your welfare and not for harm, to give you a future with hope.'" (Jer. 29:11) This future dimension is rooted in "the way of Jesus" as a mirror of God's friendship with humanity.

"The way" of Jesus in Rwanda must be grounded "in truthful memory, including the honest admission of failure."[182] This "way" knows no other hope, but the hope Christ offers in his broken and shared body—the Eucharist. This "way" also entails lament and sacrifice, perhaps, even martyrdom. Hence, to imagine a new future for Rwanda, we must remember ourselves differently. That means that our reconciliation of memories and ecclesial mission must reexamine how we retell and live the story of Jesus. Rwanda's wounded past questions humanity as a whole: "Who has a claim on our bodies? … if our kings drew a line in the sand and asked whether we were going to follow them or follow Christ, what would we say? After we have finished talking, which side of the line would our bodies be on?"[183] The final chapter of this dissertation turns to "the way of Jesus" as a mirror of God's friendship with humanity and how Rwandans might tell the story of Jesus to embody the hope for a renewed creation.

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[181] Bernard Lategan, "Remembering with the Future in Mind," in *Historical Memory in Africa: Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future in an Intercultural Context,* eds. Mamadou Diawara, Bernard Lategan, and Jörn Rüsen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 145-164 at 159.

[182] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 164.

[183] Ibid., 18.

5.0 Chapter 5: The God-Question: A Matter of Making Room

5.0 Abstract

God stays elsewhere but spends the night in Rwanda (Imana yirirwa ahandi igataha i Rwanda). *This Rwandan proverb portrays the cultural pride Rwandans took whenever they succeeded over other nations.*[1] *It was used to affirm that the Rwandan 'god' is superior to other gods. Christian missionaries inculturated this proverb to argue that to be chosen by God is an honor beyond anything else. They wanted Rwandans to take the God of Jesus Christ seriously. Yet bearing in mind Rwanda's troubled past, wounds, ecclesial role and failure, one wonders: what might theology say about taking God seriously? In this final chapter, I discuss the "God-Question" rooted in "the way" of Jesus, "the way" that makes room for others to live; "the way" that tells Rwandans that they still have the possibility to dream.*

5.1 Introduction

Reflection on Rwanda's wounded past and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi ought not to be restricted to a national inquiry. In November 2016 and in March 2017, the bishops of Rwanda and Pope Francis respectively acknowledged and apologized for the "sins and failings of the church" that had so "disfigured the face" of Catholicism, and pled for "purification of memory."[2] Such signs that members of the Rwandan hierarchy and the pope himself assumed responsibility for ecclesial indifference, passivity, complicity, and *génocidaires* among Catholic clergy and laity makes it patently clear that the church in Rwanda ought to take up such reflection in order to envisage a broader perspective for its renewal. While grappling with Rwanda's tragic past, the church must first preserve, protect, and honor the memory of Rwanda's "dry bones" —the victims of the genocide. Their memory provokes questions not only about the Church's mission, ministries, and theologies, but also about the place of human dignity in Christian faith and the very meaning of the Church itself. The church in Rwanda must minister to young people, to survivors

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[1] Nyirishema Célestin, "Imana Yirirwa Ahandi Igataha i Rwanda," in Rwandan Council of Language and Culture (June 17, 2017), accessed November 11, 2019, (http://igicumbi.com/index.php/inkere-nyarwanda/insingamigani/item/228-imana-yirirwa-ahandi-igataha-i-rwanda

[2] Cindy Wooden, "Pope Asks for Forgiveness for Catholic Church's Role in Rwanda Genocide," in *America* (March 20, 2017), accessed January 7, 2020, https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2017/03/20/pope-asks-forgiveness-catholic-churchs-role-rwanda-genocide

and perpetrators—all scarred physically, psychologically, and spiritually by the genocide and civil war. Finally, the church must assist political and societal leaders in clarifying and fulfilling their roles in light of an authentic common good for all.

If theology is to assist the Church in reconciling Rwandans, it must begin by reimagining itself in post-genocide Rwanda.[3] In order to do so, theology must free itself from captivity to a church that has been shaped, almost from its Rwandan beginnings, by bourgeois and class sensibilities and is marked by concern for respectability, material success, authoritarianism, mere orthodoxy, a weak or facile understanding of the God of Jesus Christ, and lip-service to his Gospel. If theology is to assist the Church in reconciling Rwandans, it must rethink itself in the current broken and scarred Rwandan context: Theology must reimagine humanity, Church, and society in light of the memory of the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Theology must take up a critical perspective rooted in "the way" of Jesus—a way of making room for God, a way of making room for all others.

This chapter uses the idea of "making room" as hermeneutical key that fundamentally explains what God has done for humanity in Christ. Although whatever we say about God, God is always greater, Christian theology contends that God's self-communication in Christ is God's unconditional love for what God has created. The idea of "making room" is my way of probing what God has done for creation in Jesus Christ. God has made room for us to lead abundant life. Christ came so that creation may have life and have it abundantly (Jn 10:10). Christine D. Pohl has used this expression "Making Room" in her book *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition.* She underlines the idea that "making room" or hospitality is central to

[3] I used the above lines to introduce an international conference on "Reinventing Theology in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes" (Kigali, June 20-22, 2019), accessed November 8, 2019. http://jesuitsrwtheology25postgen.org/about-us

Christian identity, dignity, and recognition.[4] However, this idea of "making room" did not come from Christine D. Pohl. I conceived it to express that Rwanda's tragic history, war, and genocide can theologically be explained as failure to make room for God and particularly for those whose dignity has been denied. Making room refers to an invitation for persons to open their hearts and doors to each other, especially the stranger, the misconceived other, the poor, the weak and to welcome the beauty and dignity of those who are different, as God has done in Christ.

The central thesis of this chapter is to explain why "making room," as a hermeneutical key to Rwanda's unreconciled memories, is imperative. Amid the different factors that led to the genocide and its aftermath, as discussed in the First Chapter, one needs to go beyond socio-economic and political factors to reimagine what "making room" means theologically within the context of Rwanda. This final chapter thus probes the *agapic* way of Jesus—a way that requires making room for God, making room for all others. The chapter, first, advances an argument that goes beyond Yves Ternon's notion of "moral obligation" to "the God-Question" which is the theological foundation of any moral living and, like the *agapic* way of Jesus, goes beyond any commonsense notion of equal partnership.[5] The "God-Question" consolidates the human community according to the divine law of love. Second, the chapter examines the meaning of Jesus' baptism and its capacity for renewal of Christian discipleship. Finally, the chapter discusses the central place of Eucharistic fellowship for the healing and reconciliation of memories.

This chapter elaborates explicitly and unequivocally that there can be no (authentic or adequate) Christian theology if we turn our backs to Nyamata; to dare to do so represents the failure to make room. The killers at Nyamata, as elsewhere in Rwanda, often tormented their victims in these and other similar words: "No one will hear your cry." Yet in the memory of

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[4] Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition*, 61.
[5] On "Moral Obligation," see Chapter One, *supra* p. 14.

Christ's Passion, remembered in each celebration of the Eucharist, the cries of Rwanda's victims are heard. Just as there is no Eucharist that does not remember the Passion of Jesus Christ, there is no forgiveness that does not remember Nyamata and Ntarama, two signature genocide memorial churches where thousands of victims were killed and lay buried. Just as the wounds of his crucifixion remained on the glorified body of Jesus, the wounds of Rwanda also remain. Rwanda's wounds are a leaven for the reinvention of theology.

The next three sections identify and explore theology's renewed commitment to steep itself in "the way" of Jesus and to rethink two key sacramental practices of the Church–Baptism and the Eucharist. In the background of this final chapter, one will discover my *pained-love letter* to Rwanda and my desire to offer an *inspirational spirituality* rooted in "a theology of making room."

5.2 Beyond Equal Partnership and Christianity without Consequence

Jesus spent his entire life making room for others. "The way" he taught clashed with the many ill-conceived ideas about who he was. I contend that Jesus' "way" is not rooted in the "clash of civilizations," but the "clash of ignorance."[6] Within a theological framework, the latter refers to the lack of deep understanding of the role God plays in human affairs. This may be illustrated by reflecting on the story of Adam and Eve. Their temptation in Genesis 3 was essentially their desire to be "God," or better to replace God: "For God knows that in the day you eat from it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil" (Gen 3:5). The root of their disobedience is their refusal to accept that they were creatures. The tempter made them think that

[6] I borrow the expression "clash of ignorance" from Adama Dieng, United Nations Secretary General's Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide. Dieng used it in a lecture on "1994 Genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda: 25 Years Later" (Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA, November 6, 2019). The expression "Clash of Civilizations" was used by the American political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, when he argued that after the Cold War, future wars will be fought along cultural lines. For more, see Samuel P. Huntington, "Chapter 9: The Global Politics of Civilizations" in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1997), 207ff.

they were not worthy enough as they were. This refusal of self-acceptance as a creature made in the image and likeness of God is the crime of Cain who murdered his brother (Gen 4:1-16) and defiance of the builders of the Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1-9). It is not unreasonable to suggest that this temptation to refuse to accept oneself and others as God's creature may be found in Rwanda, as some Rwandans decided that some other Rwandans—Tutsis and moderate Hutus—did not deserve to live. In yielding to temptation, some Rwandans decided to lay claim to human bodies, to objectify them, to dehumanize and crash them.

The masterminds of such human horrors as genocide and slavery appropriate to themselves the role that belongs only to God—*only* God defines us. As I argued in Chapter Four, the human person is *the* question to which God is the answer: "[The human person] exists all the time as one who comes from somewhere and as one who is spoken to; as one who answers 'Yes' and 'No' and who comes from and returns to the mystery we call God."[7] In that same chapter, I demonstrated that whatever or whoever belittles humanity, belittles humanity's Creator.[8] This is a form of ignorance that disregards the origins of all that is—God; it is an abrogation of humanity's divine origins. Mahmood Mamdani remarks that the genocide diminished "Rwandans' sense of themselves since ultimately some Rwandans carried out and planned selective killings on a huge scale."[9] I contend that the genocide did not only diminish human identity; it questions our understanding of God. The genocide exposed the failure of a Christian nation to take God seriously. Arguably, at the center of any genocide is the double denial of God and of humanity. Referring to Rwanda, Peter Uvin noted this aberration: "By 1994, Tutsi in Rwanda, much like

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[7] Rahner, "'I Believe in Jesus Christ': Interpreting an Article of Faith," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 9, 167.

[8] On what it means to belittle humanity, see *supra* pp. 9-10, 227, 232, 254.

[9] Mahmood Mamdani, "From Conquest to Consent as the Basis of State Formation: Reflections on Rwanda," in *New Left Review* 216 (1996), 3-36 at 19-23.

Jews in Nazi Germany, were 'socially dead' people, whose murder was as acceptable as it became common."[10] Theologically, any form of the destruction of life violates human dignity. Whoever and whatever opposes life dishonors its Creator. The words of *Gaudium et Spes* thus retain their relevance today:

> Whatever is opposed to life itself, such as any type of murder, genocide, abortion, euthanasia, or willful self-destruction, … mutilation, torments inflicted on body or mind, attempts to coerce the will itself; whatever insults human dignity, …[and] where people are treated as mere instruments of gain rather than as free and responsible persons; all these things and others like them are infamies indeed. They poison human society, and they do more harm to those who practice them than to those who suffer from the injury. Moreover, they are *a supreme dishonor to the Creator*.[11]

At the beginning of this dissertation, I traced the root causes of Rwanda's troubled past and wounds. I concur with Ternon who writes,

> [I]n 20th century societies, genocide does not occur only because leaders have given orders to their subordinates: assassins do not submit only to authority. They are convinced that they have to kill not only because propaganda distilled fear and hatred, but also because their society has long been plunged into violence and is beyond any moral obligation."[12]

Yet, I propose something beyond this apt assessment. One has to go beyond the notion of "moral obligation" to "the God-Question" which is the theological foundation of any moral living.

When the "God-Question" or the question of the transcendence of God is ridiculed and detached from any link to human conscience, or when the "God-Question" is relegated to the realm of the private or of individual subjective judgment, the human person runs the risk of idolatry, the risk of worship of self. This refusal to accept one's nature as a creature, as a created being too often leads to the worst—genocide, mutilation, arbitrary incarceration, enslavement, human trafficking,

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[10] Peter Uvin, "Prejudice, Crisis and Genocide in Rwanda," in *African Studies Review* 40, 2 (1997), 91-115 at 113.

[11] Vatican II, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes,* no. 27. Emphasis is mine.

[12] Ternon, "Rwanda 1994: Analyse d'un Processus Génocidaire," 15.

coerced prostitution, and so on. Indeed, history is replete with examples of men and women who abused the true meaning freedom and made themselves into gods, laying absolute claim to human bodies, to human life. In rejection of God and neighbor, this idolatry disparages the cost and possibility of true freedom. Theologically, freedom as an exercise of such a "dark" choice is "unintelligible,"[13] for it is an exercise of freedom that says 'no' to the very transcendence which we call God. Moreover, true freedom urges us to realize that for any responsible person who takes life seriously, there are objective moral laws and values that govern humanity living together. Perhaps, with the exception of Judaism, there is no other religion that takes the human person as seriously as does Christianity. In Christian doctrine, human beings are created in the image and likeness of God (Gen 1:27), and God became flesh and came to live among us (Jn 1:14). Christianity insistently and persistently teaches that all human life is sacred. Consequently, Christianity affirms that human dignity is a non-negotiable and inalienable attribute.

Outside the religious sphere, the Universal Declaration for Human Rights vigorously affirms and advocates for the primacy of life and rights as aspirations common to all humanity. The Preamble of the Declaration states:

> Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people. [14]

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[13] Brian O. McDermott, "The Bonds of Freedom," in *A World of Grace: An Introduction to the Themes and Foundations of Karl Rahner's Theology,* ed., Leo J. O'Donovan (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1995), 50-63 at 55, accessed 14 January, 2020, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt4cg8tf.7

[14] United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," accessed January 8, 2020, https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/.

Reflecting on the Nazis' rise to power, German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote to his brother asking: "How can one close one's eyes at the fact that the demons themselves have taken over the world, that it is the powers of darkness who have made an awful conspiracy."[15] This dissertation makes a similar claim with regard to the genocide against the Tutsi and its consequences. It is impossible to close one's eyes to the horrors that occurred in Rwanda twenty-five years ago and the repercussions that continue to affect our lives. Theology in post-genocide Rwanda can be neither authentic nor adequate if it turns its back to Nyamata.

Taking inspiration from Bonhoeffer, this dissertation is a pained-love letter with concerns about "the way" of Jesus in post-genocide Rwanda, about how sacramental practices like Baptism and Eucharist challenge the fictive world of ethnicity in order to make room for the other, and about how these practices sustain Christian discipleship. "The way" of Jesus is a way of hospitality and friendship, as opposed to hostility and enmity. His way calls us to reflect on and live the political dimensions of faith, even if at times it may require martyrdom.

Reflecting on the "God-Question" with the reality of Rwanda's wounds in mind, how should theology bring to bear its critical analysis and witness? The Rwandan tragedy exposed the lies behind the rhetoric of those who adhere to the ideals of human rights. At the beginning of the genocide, the international community, with a few exceptions, withdrew its citizens from Rwanda, and most of the United Nations Peacekeepers were pulled out, abandoning the Tutsis and moderate Hutus to be killed within the worst one hundred days of the last century. Ugandan theologian Emmanuel Katongole avers, "[d]espite the rhetoric of all people being equal and deserving the same protection, it seems the lives of a few Westerners were worth more than those of 800,000

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[15] Dietrich Bonhoeffer, as quoted in Marva J. Dawn, *Powers, Weakness, and the Tabernacling of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 5.

Rwandans."[16] And, he adds: "US interests in Rwanda simply did not seem worth the risk of American soldiers' lives."[17] Regrettably even Madeleine Albright, then US ambassador to the United Nations, whose family was forced to flee the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, was unable to do anything for others suffering a fate she escaped fifty years earlier. The purpose here is not to point fingers, but first to strongly underscore the non-assistance to innocent people in danger of extermination, regardless of the positions of the genocidal regime and the Rwandan Patriotic Front, and second to explain why we need to go back to reexamine the "God-Question" utilizing "the way" of Jesus—the way of inclusive love, which names us all as daughters and sons of God. "The way" of Jesus helps us to challenge shallow commitments. "The way" of Jesus teaches us to make room so that others may live. It calls for sacrifice. Katongole further remarks, "When Western countries can make themselves feel good about their virtue by offering 'relief' to others, they will do it. But when help calls for sacrifice, as it did in 1994, the West seems to prefer sacrificing Africa to putting any of its own resources or people at risk."[18] What does this, then, mean for Christians?

Following in the footsteps of Christ entails having a heart as large as the world.[19] A follower of Christ is not one who pretends to understand reality from a globalized, Christianized, or civilized spirit. A follower of Christ ought not to be lost in abstraction. He or she must ask what is lost when one concentrates on abstraction, ignoring what is concrete. In a dramatization of John Drinkwater's work, *Lincoln: A Play*, we find this moving example, which illustrates the concrete person I hope Rwandans desire to be today:

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[16] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 44.

[17] Ibid., 40.

[18] Ibid., 44.

[19] This statement is also found in the fifth chapter of STL Thesis entitled, "Reimagining the Human: The Eucharist as Symbol for a New Humanity in Rwanda," in Marcel Uwineza, "Reimagining the Human; Suffering and Memory: Fostering Discipleship and Reconciliation for a "Church of the People" in Post-Genocide Rwanda (Boston College, April 2010), 77f. (The lines of this paragraph and the next are borrowed from this unpublished thesis).

> Mrs. Blow asked President Abraham Lincoln if there was any good news regarding the Civil War. Lincoln replied: 'Yes, they lost twenty-seven hundred men and we lost eight hundred.' Mrs. Blow was ecstatic, saying: 'How splendid!' Registering a deep dismay, Lincoln retorted: 'Thirty-five hundred human lives lost.' But Mrs. Blow interrupted: 'Oh, you must not talk like that, Mr. President. There were only eight hundred that mattered.' With sadness, Lincoln spoke to Mrs. Blow with measured emphasis: "Madam, the world is larger than your heart."[20]

Learning from the pot of suffering that Rwanda has plumbed and from listening to the dangerous memories that keep us ill at ease, our hearts cannot be today as small as that of Mrs. Blow. The politics of negative ethnicity shrunk most Rwandan hearts. As Mrs. Blow shows, obsessive identification with her group restrained her love. Commenting on John Drinkwater's *Play*, Eleazar S. Fernandez notes, "she [Mrs Blow] could not imagine being concerned with the plight and the pain of the other group. In her fervent identification with her group, she constructed a wall of separation that prevented her from connecting with the other."[21] To enlarge our hearts, we need to grasp the interconnectedness of our lives, wherever we are located; we all share common vulnerabilities. No one sheds green blood, and no Rwandan has a DNA with a Hutu or Tutsi or Twa chromosome. The Rwandan heart must experience the pain of the other, especially those who have suffered most: those who have been raped, those who are the only ones of a family left to tell the story. Indeed as Fernandez notes, "only those who have experienced acute disconnection from the human community can dance at the tragedy of others."[22]

"The way" of Jesus makes room for us all and urges us to take human (and Christian) obligations seriously, notwithstanding the risks involved. These risks were not a stumbling block for the Good Samaritan in the parable Jesus offers (Lk 10:25-37). Instead, they place the man at

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[20] John Drinkwater quoted in Donald Messer, *Contemporary Images of Christian Ministry* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1999), 175.

[21] Eleazar S. Fernandez, *Reimagining the Human: Theological Anthropology in Response to Systemic Evil* (Saint Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2004), 192.

[22] Ibid., 193.

the center of a story of (potentially) genuine friendship that goes beyond what one might get out of equal partnership. Pope Benedict XVI offers a theological analysis of what one discovers in this parable:

> The Samaritan does not ask how far his obligations of solidarity extend. Nor does he ask about the merits required for eternal life. Something else happens: His heart is wrenched open. … Seeing this man in such a state is a blow that strikes him 'viscerally,' touching his soul. 'He had compassion.' … Struck in his soul by the lightning flash of mercy, he himself now becomes a neighbor, heedless of any question or danger. … The issue is no longer which other person is a neighbor to me or not. The question is about me. I have to become the neighbor, and when I do, the other person counts for me, 'as myself.'[23]

The Samaritan does not present a theological exposé of neighborliness; rather, he acts. He demonstrates what, theologically, is named graced and shared humanity. The man becomes a neighbor because he understands that the other person counts as "himself." It is not unreasonable to assert that recognition of our shared humanity must push us to reimagine how we might "learn to be a neighbor deep within … to become like someone in love, someone whose heart is open to being shaken up by another's need."[24] Nor is it difficult to imagine that this is what Sr. Felicitas did, even to the shedding of her blood.[25] Yet, while it is good to be the Samaritan in the parable, it is just as vital to ask and to work so that conditions on the road to Jericho can be improved so that "the next person who comes along won't be jumped by a band of robbers."[26] Improving the "conditions on Rwanda's roads" was, by analogy, what was and is still needed.

When pressed further and applied to Rwanda, the parable of the Good Samaritan raises deep theo-political issues. As discussed earlier, Rwandans have hardly taken each other as equals; rather, history highlights their calculated relationships of inequality. On the one hand, many Tutsis

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[23] Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius, 2007), 197.

[24] Ibid.

[25] For details on sister Félicitas Niyitegeka, see *supra* pp. 93-94.

[26] Words of Martin Luther King Jr., quoted in Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 107.

came to perceive or were coaxed to perceive themselves as a race "superior" to other groups in pre-independent Rwanda. On the other hand, many Hutus were determined to prove *their* superiority before and after independence in 1962, culminating in publication of the "Ten Commandments" of *Bahutu* in *Kangura* in 1990.[27] Each group participated in the marginalization of the Twa. In Rwanda's troubled past, each contested "class" or "category" or "ethnic group" has had to confront those who conceived as radical 'other.' Yet it is crucial to remember that at the height of the 1994 genocide, when faced with the helplessness and dehumanization of Tutsi and moderate Hutu 'others,' there were Hutus who risked their lives to rescue and protect those targeted by the *génocidaires*. These women and men must be hailed as "the just of our nation" and honored at Rwanda's memorial sites. On the journey toward reconciliation of memories, Rwandans would do well to pay heed to William O'Neil's point: "the memory born of testimony must account for the systemic distortions of supremacist ideology, yet refuse to 'essentialize' victim and perpetrator. Victims can become executioners. In the Rwandan genocide, they did: the myth of Hutu supremacy in Rwanda rested on a cult of victimization, a memory that congeals ethnic identity and divides."[28]

The parable of the Good Samaritan carries further theological lessons. Ecclesiologically, it teaches us, most fundamentally, that the aim of Christian mission is neither to provide social services nor to maximize ecclesial interests. And that mission is not about statistics: Neither the number of people who turn out for Sunday liturgical services nor the number of pilgrims who travel to the Marian shrine at Kibeho is of paramount importance.[29] The Christian mission

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[27] On *Kangura*, see *supra* pp. 38 and 88.

[28] William O'Neill, "Saying 'never again' again: Theology after the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda," in a forthcoming *America* article (more details to follow).

[29] Kibeho is in the southern part of Rwanda and the Virgin Mary is reported to have appeared to three visionaries from 1981-1983 and told them that if Rwandans do not convert, there will be rivers of blood. Her prophecy was regrettably fulfilled a decade later during the genocide. Hundreds of thousands were killed at Kibeho itself. "The church of Kibeho was burned down after a massacre in which thousands were killed and wounded. The

essentially concerns the "inner transformation of identity." Sincerity and passion for the Gospel are paramount, but even these attributes are not enough. The early missionaries to Rwanda had passion and surely wanted very much to transform Rwandan identities, making them like civilized Europeans, yet nearly a hundred years of Christianity ended with a genocide. What was needed was an identity framework rooted in being a "genuine neighbor." Theologically, we are called "to have the eye and the heart of a neighbor, and to have the courage to love our neighbor too. … the risk of goodness is something we must relearn from within, but we can do that only if we ourselves become good from within, if we ourselves are 'neighbors' from within."[30] What matters is the openness of Rwandans to religious, intellectual, and moral conversion in order to be transformed interiorly, to learn from tragedies of the past that resulted in genocide. These forms of conversions invite Rwandans to realize personal and collective transformation through Christian identity and discipleship. For, "Christian faith is fundamentally about identity—who we are as embodied people."[31] Identity in Christ opposes anthropological ignorance and the exclusivity of socially constructed categories that make some human persons feel that they are more entitled to life than others. Katongole captures the need for renewal of the heart and mind:

> While visiting a genocide site in Rwanda, I remember seeing a young woman who was scattering lime on the dead bodies to preserve them for viewing at the memorial… I made a point to talk with her. 'Does this job give you nightmares?' … 'No,' she replied without further comment. She just kept spreading the lime. 'Where were you during the genocide?' I asked. 'I was here.' Were you afraid?' 'No,' she said without emotion. 'I was not one of the ones to be killed."[32]

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church was burned with the wounded and other survivors still inside" (African Rights, *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*, 888). Kibeho has since then become an international religious site for pilgrims. For more details, see Faustina Olson, "Our Lady of Kibeho: A Message for the World," (June 16, 2017), accessed January 7, 2020, https://missiomagazine.com/our-lady-of-kibeho-message-for-the-world/. See also Immaculée Ilibagiza, *Our Lady of Kibaho: Mary Speaks to the World from the Heart of Africa* (Carlsbad, CA: Hay House Inc., 2010).

[30] On "conversion," see Chapter One, footnote 36 (p. 11) and Chapter Four, *supra* pp. 241-44 and Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* 240. St. Paul urges this conversion in these words: "do not be conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind" (Rom 12:2).

[31] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 17.

[32] Ibid., 65-77.

The inability of this woman to question her identity, accompanied by anthropological ignorance and failure of solidarity, happens because some people are oblivious or choose to ignore or have not understood the fact that we are God's—we belong to the God of life. At the time of the genocide, many Rwandans "were unable to question the authority of Hutu Power [the genocidal regime] when it commanded them to kill. Well versed in the posture of obedience, they simply did as they were told."[33] Though critical obedience is central to the formation of conscience and integral to the formation of personal identity, it has often been subdued by Rwandans' respect for authority and trepidation at stepping out of line. However, this respect and fear are not unique to Rwandans. These "dis-values" often are fostered by government machinery, conspiracy theories, and effective propaganda techniques in many countries. Yet, Rwanda is unique because of its "extremely hierarchical social structure" which has shaped Rwanda and the Rwandan character for centuries.[34] Due to the strict discipline enforced by those in power prior, during, and after colonialism, it is not unreasonable to argue, as A.G. Miller does, that "respect for authority [led] ordinary people to inflict pain and even kill others without feeling responsibility for their actions."[35] During the genocide, many killed out of a sense of duty. For most of them obeying government authority overrode God's commandment not to kill one's fellow human beings. As Erich Fromm puts it, "my obedience makes me part of the power I worship … I can make no error, since it decides for me."[36] Rwanda's genocide is a mirror of what monstrous governmental control and cultural conformism can do to people's lives.

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[33] Ibid., 99.

[34] Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," 271.

[35] A.G. Miller, *The Obedience Experiments: A Case Study of Controversy in Social Science (*Westport, CT: Praeger, 1986), 179f.

[36] Eric Fromm, *On Disobedience and Other Essays* (London: Routledge, 1984), 6.

Engrained socio-cultural conformism and uncritical esteem for hierarchy often result in an inability to question government orders. It also occurs when some people pursue their own interests at the expense of others (hence the lack of moral obligation). More pertinently, some other people refuse to accept the *One* who has ultimate claim on all life, all bodies—God; hence the need to reexamine the "God-Question."[37] Perhaps, some observers and scholars blame the genocide on the Rwandan penchant for conformism; uncritical respect for hierarchy and authority; and centuries of class, tribal, and putative racial differences. But doing so does not take history seriously.

> [T]he first genocide in the modern world was the almost complete eradication of Native Americans by European settlers … From 1904 to 1908, German colonialists wiped out the Herero tribe in present-day Namibia, killing some 65,000 people. From 1915 to 1918, the Ottoman empire killed or deported all Armenians from their territories; as many as 1.5 million people were killed. … From 1938 to 1945, at least six million Jews were killed …"[38]

The point here is neither to point fingers at others (that would be an *ad hominem* fallacy), nor to make exculpatory justification for what happened in Rwanda. Rather, these tragedies underscore just how "Christianity without consequence is a problem that Rwandans and westerners [and others] share."[39] In other words, any expression of Christianity that fails to challenge any and all forms or expressions of idolatry, is not Christianity at all.

Politically and economically, Rwanda's history offers a terrain to understand why "the love of friendship in political terms rests upon the equality of partners."[40] In political and economic

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[37] Some people may co-opt God for their own interests. The question is how to ensure that humanity is open to the "right" God. The criterion is a particular kind of love. "What the Christian tradition maintains is the least inadequate expression for God finds its clearest, sharpest, simplest statement in … the first letter of John. There we read that 'God is love'" (1 Jn 4:8 and 16). This love is *agapē*, that is "other-directed, love which seeks no return, love which does not want anything back." Ultimately, it is love which is pure self-gift. This love reveals God as incomprehensible mystery, revealing that God's love has no bounds and so urges humanity not to put bounds on love. See Himes, *Doing the Truth in Love*, 9-12.

[38] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 38. Another book on the Armenian genocide just came out recently, see Benny Marris and Dror Ze'evi, *The Thirty-Year Genocide: Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities 1894-1924* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).

[39] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 84-88 at 88.

[40] Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 198.

partnerships, one helps the other because there are benefits attached or because one thinks the other partner will reciprocate in some other way. It is a *quid pro quo* relationship. This may explain why Western nations pulled out of Rwanda. Rwanda offered no equal partnership. Theologically, however, Rwanda's past is a laboratory of failed *agapē*. For Pope Benedict XVI, *agapē* goes beyond "all political alignments governed as they are by the principle *do ut des* [I give so that you will give], and thus displays its supernatural character."[41] It links us to a new way of being and acting rooted in God who acts without seeking God's own interests. It "rests on the fact that deep within I am already becoming a brother [or a sister] to all those I meet who are in need of my help."[42] Relationships based on political and economic alliances are unlikely to be moved by another's need, while those founded on theological *agapē* are shaken and shaped by another's need. One does not only find a neighbor. One is also found by the neighbor or one becomes the neighbor.

Unlike Rwanda's history of exclusion, "the way" of Jesus is a way of inclusion and hospitality, central to the meaning of the Gospel. New Testament exegete Krister Stendahl writes that "wherever, whenever, however the kingdom manifests itself, it is welcome."[43] Here welcome goes beyond its simplistic conception of "tea parties, bland conversation, and a general atmosphere of coziness"[44] to the welcome of a brother or a sister for whom Christ died (1 Cor 8:11). For Jean Vanier, "a community which embodies hospitality to strangers is 'a sign of contradiction,' a place where joy and pain, crises and peace are closely interwoven."[45] The idea of hospitality defies any

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid. Pope Benedicts expands this "equal partner" relationship to explain how nations of Africa keep being "robbed and plundered" and how the symbolic parable of the Good Samaritan remains a challenge (ibid., 198-99).

[43] Krister Stendahl, '"When you pray, pray in this manner ...' a Bible Study," in *The Kingdom on Its Way: Meditations and Music for Mission* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1980), 40-41, quoted in Letty Russell, *Household of Freedom* (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1987), 76.

[44] Henri Nouwen, *Reaching Out: The Three Movements of the Spiritual Life* (New York: Image Books, 1975), 66.

[45] Jean Vanier, *An Ark for the Poor* (New York: Crossroad, 1995), 10.

understanding of who is valuable and who is worthy to be with. Jesus' way "challenges narrow definitions and dimensions of hospitality and presses them outward to include those with whom one least desires to have connections."[46] The theological character of hospitality establishes fitting human behavior because hospitality is a way of being the sacrament of God's love in the world.

What is compelling about Christianity is the self-sacrificing love of God. At the end of his chapter on "The Temptations of Jesus," Benedict XVI asks this question:

> What did Jesus really bring, if not world peace, universal prosperity, and a better world? What has he brought? The answer is very simple: God. He has brought God. He has brought God who formerly unveiled his countenance gradually, first to Abraham, then to Moses and the prophets, …the true God, whom he has brought to the nations of the earth.[47]

But, is Benedict's answer actually that so simple as he suggests? I argue that it requires further expansion and carries enduring implications. The genocides referred to above, particularly the genocide in Rwanda, provoke us to examine the implications of Christian hospitality and to probe Benedict's answer in order to understand how we should live.

The following sections analyze the implications of what Jesus brought from the perspective of his baptism and Last Supper and how these challenge humanity to a deeper understanding of God as one who has "made room" for us all and invites us to do the same for our neighbor. The purpose of the following sections is not to give a complete theological exposition of each of the sacraments under discussion—doing so goes beyond the scope of this work. Rather, the following section particularly focuses on Jesus' baptism and the Eucharist, two sacraments commonly held by different Christian denominations, and that carry within them some foundational ideas of what it means to reinvent theology in post-genocide Rwanda.

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[46] For more on the biblical and theological development of hospitality, see Christine D. Pohl, *Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 4-35 at 22.

[47] Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 44.

5.3 Baptism: A Love Affair

Each of the synoptic Gospels records the appearance of John the Baptist, clothed in camel's hair and subsisting on locusts and honey (Mk 1:4-6; Matt 3: 1-4). In the countryside of Judea, John preaches repentance for sin and baptizes all who come to him (Lk 3: 1-15). The baptism that John carries out is something new; it is markedly different from other ritual observances. "It cannot be repeated and it is meant to be the concrete enactment of a conversion that gives the whole of life a new direction forever. It is connected to an ardent call to a new way of thinking and acting, but above all with the proclamation of God's judgment and with the announcement that one greater than John is to come."[48] Through John's preaching, the people of Israel understood that God's hand was acting in history again. Yet John expected "One" through whom God would act definitely in history, because this "One" would take away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29-34).

Something new happens and it springs from John's baptizing. As Jesus arrived at the Jordan River, the Gospel writers suggest that up to that moment only people from Judea and Jerusalem had made the journey to be baptized by John. But "Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan" (Mk 1:9). The newness of this event is not that Jesus is from a different territory. What is new is that Jesus, too, joins the mass of sinners to be baptized. The one without sin does not avoid to approach sinners. Jesus descends into the waters to "make room" for a new beginning. Luke tells us that Jesus prays as he receives baptism (Lk 3:21), then descends into the water in order to tell the new Israel that God in him loads:

> the burden of all mankind's guilt upon his shoulders: he bore it down into the depths of the Jordan. He inaugurated his public activity by stepping into the place of sinners. His inaugural gesture is an anticipation of the Cross … The Baptism is an acceptance of death for the sins of humanity.[49]

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[48] Ibid., 14.
[49] Ibid., 17.

The significance of Jesus' baptism is that He who bears "all righteousness"—as Saint Paul tells us, "God made him who had no sin to be sin for us, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor 5:21)—accepts death, signified by the descent into water and later by his crucifixion, so that humanity may live. To quote Benedict again:

> [Jesus'] entering into the sin of others is a descent into the 'inferno.' .... he goes down in the role of one whose suffering-with-others is a transforming suffering that turns the underworld around. … Looked at from this angle, the Sacrament of Baptism appears as the gift of participation in Jesus' world-transforming struggle in the conversion of life that took place in his descent and ascent.[50]

Elizabeth Johnson clarifies the theological link between the descent into the waters of baptism and the descent into hell as professed in the Creed. She contends that for Jesus,

> even those who die victimized, those who disappear, those who are no longer part of the living history of the earth, those no longer remembered—all these people are not beyond the reach of the living God. [Jesus] has joined them, identifying with them, and brought the power of the reign of God even there."[51]

Thus, through linking Jesus' descent into the waters of baptism with his descent into hell, a theology of making-room emerges. Jesus' hospitality makes new room for humanity so that whatever enslaves us has no final word. Jesus does so because of his equality with God and with us.

Jesus stands before creation as "the Beloved Son" (Mk 1:11, 9:7; Mt 3:17, 17:5; Lk 3:22, 9:35; Eph 1:6; Col 1:13; Heb 5:5; 2 Pt 1:17) through whom those who believe in his name become sons and daughters of God (Jn 1:12): "To accept the invitation to be baptized now means to go to the place of Jesus' baptism. It is to go where he identifies himself with us and so receive there our identification with him."[52] Jesus stands before creation as "the Beloved Son" (Mk 1:11, 9:7; Mt 3:17, 17:5; Lk 3:22, 9:35; Eph 1:6; Col 1:13; Heb 5:5; 2 Pt 1:17) through whom those who believe

[50] Ibid., 20.
[51] Johnson, *Consider Jesus*, 59.
[52] Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth,* 18.

in his name become sons and daughters of God (Jn 1:12). "To accept the invitation to be baptized now means to go to the place of Jesus' baptism. It is to go where he identifies himself with us and so receive there our identification with him."[53] Jesus made room for rebirth, thus for new identity, for new mission.

The Johannine Gospel treats this question of rebirth or new identity in narrating the encounter between Jesus and Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrin and a Pharisee, who comes secretly to Jesus at night (Jn 3:1-21). Nicodemus desires to understand what it means to be "born again" in order to have a place in the Kingdom of God. Jesus offers him a rather surprising response. As Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator notes, "Jesus veers off on an elaborate monologue on the flesh and the spirit, earthly and heavenly things, the Son of Man, God's gift of the Son to the world, light and darkness, and so on."[54] How Nicodemus took this discourse, one can hardly tell. He probably left more confused. Yet, the story of Nicodemus and Jesus does not end that night. Later in the Gospel, we find Nicodemus defending Jesus during the day. "Nicodemus, who had gone to Jesus earlier and who was one of their own number, asked, 'Does our law condemn a man without first hearing him to find out what he has been doing?' They replied, 'Are you from Galilee, too? Look into it, and you will find that a prophet does not come out of Galilee'" (Jn 7:50-52). It seems that Nicodemus goes from being a silent observer of Jesus to a vocal advocate for him; arguably, then, this encounter with Jesus made a deep impression on him. Nicodemus ceased to "walk in fear"—symbolized by his encounter with Jesus at night—and embraced the light of the day—symbolized by his defense of Jesus during the day. At Jesus' death his closest associates abandon him, but who appears in the Passion narrative? Nicodemus, the one who brings the

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[53] Ibid., 18.

[54] Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator, *Theology Brewed in an African Pot* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2008), 15.

mixture of myrrh and aloes for anointing Jesus' body for burial (Jn 19:39-42). Orobator concludes, "Nicodemus is the model of a believer seeking a deeper understanding of his or her faith."[55] Nicodemus represents any person who finds that Jesus offers something unique and decides to make room in her or his life for this new and transforming discovery. A new spirituality springs from encounter with Jesus. In the New Testament, no person who encounters Jesus goes back the same way. For better or for worse, a new way of life is born; serious encounter with Christ seriously changes the person.[56]

How does this brief exposition of baptism apply to the renovated theology that this final chapter proposes for post-genocide Rwanda? On the one hand, Rwanda needs many "Nicodemuses," not only because he exemplifies faith seeking understanding, love, and hope, but also because he defended one whose rights had been infringed upon and offered decent burial to one in need. On the other hand, only a reimagined theology can assist Rwandans in rethinking what it means to make room for others as Jesus does after his baptism. Only such a theology can take on the crucial tasks of assisting Rwandans, both clergy and laity, in critically reconsidering what it means to be a member of the Church through baptism, in concretely restoring the significance of their shared Christian identity, and in re-examining how practically to live out the universal call to holiness rooted in baptism. This demands squarely facing the charge leveled by Muslim political scientist Mahmood Mamdani that the church in Rwanda became an "epicenter that radiated violence."[57] In other words, the church, clergy and laity, failed to live out the meaning

[55] Ibid.

[56] It is not overstretching to say that throughout the Gospels no one who comes to Christ returns as he or she came! Examples abound. Recall that the magi, after paying homage to the child Jesus, were warned in a dream not to approach King Herod again, but to return to their countries by way of different route (Mt 2:12). Or think of Jesus' encounters with Levi or Zacchaeus or the Samaritan woman or the rich young man (who went away sad), the woman caught in adultery, and the thief on the cross, etc. Each woman and man left Jesus changed in some fashion. The greater part of the New Testament is dominated by Paul (Saul of Tarsus) whose encounter with the risen Christ on the road to Damascus changed him and missioned him as the apostle to the Gentiles.

[57] Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 226.

of baptism. If after nearly a hundred years of evangelization, what one of the most Christianized nations on the continent of Africa showed to humanity was a genocide, then we must question what difference, if any, has faith in Jesus brought? Can Rwandans, like Jesus, make room in their hearts to enter into the mess of sinners, into the dilemmas of women and men gripped by dangerous memories? Depending on how these questions are answered, the analogical language of osmosis and molting, discussed earlier in Chapter Four, will or will not help Rwandans make room for one another. If answered positively, then Rwandans draw comfort and courage from the proverb at the beginning of this chapter: God may visit or stay elsewhere, but God spends the night in Rwanda.

Given the complicit role of past church leaders in Rwanda's history, "making room" also means that church leaders must take seriously the necessity and invitation to religious, intellectual, and moral conversion. The change of heart and mind and living that conversion represents requires acknowledgement and confession of the church's role in Rwanda's wounded past. This means, like the prodigal son, making a pilgrimage back home to God (Luke 15:11-32). The Church's pilgrim journey entails inner purification; this calls for serious scrutiny of conscience, lament, confession, repentance, and amendment of life. Just as the older son was alienated from his father, although he never physically left home, it is possible for people to be alienated from God even though they may not have renounced the Church. The Church, particularly through clerical and lay leaders, has the mandate of acting like the father in the story of the two sons—to manifest God's goodness toward sinners. The prophet Hosea gives a beautiful picture of the heart of God: "My heart turns itself against me, my compassion grows warm and tender. I will no longer execute my fierce anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim; for I am God and not man, the Holy One in your midst" (Hos 11:8f.). Since, through a misguided sense of freedom, some Rwandans alienated

themselves from their Christian identity through innumerable killings, the Church has the mandate to proclaim "God's heart that transforms wrath and turns punishment into forgiveness."[58]

Baptism symbolizes humanity's equality before God. In Christ, all are sons and daughters—the people whom God has chosen in Christ as God's own: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free man, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28, see also Jn 15:15 and Col 3:12). In *Gaudete et Exsultate*, Pope Francis makes it clear that sanctity born of baptism does not demand class distinction, but requires commitment to goodness: "To be holy does not require being a bishop, a priest or a religious. We are frequently tempted to think that holiness is only for those who can withdraw from ordinary affairs to spend much time in prayer. That is not the case. We are all called to be holy by living our lives with love and by bearing witness in everything we do, wherever we find ourselves."[59] Yet, beyond the life of witness, there is something theologically profound about holiness, which takes us back to the "God-Question." Rowan Williams explains it this way:

> A human being is holy not because he or she triumphs by will-power over chaos and guilt and leads a flawless life, but because that life shows the victory of God's faithfulness *in the midst of* disorder and imperfection. The Church is holy … not because it is a gathering of the good and the well-behaved, but because it speaks of the triumph of grace in the coming together of strangers and sinners who, miraculously, trust one another enough to join in common repentance and common praise – to express a deep and elusive unity in Jesus Christ, who is our righteousness and sanctification. Humanly speaking holiness is always like this: God's endurance in the middle of our refusal of him, his capacity to meet our very refusal with the gift of himself."[60]

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[58] Pope Benedict XVI, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 207.

[59] Pope Francis, Apostolic Exhortation *Gaudete et Exsultate* on the Call to Holiness in Today's World," [*Rejoice and Be Glad*], (March 19, 2018), no. 14, accessed November 25, 2019. For full text, see http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20180319_gaudete-et-exsultate.html

[60] Rowan Williams, *Open to Judgement: Sermons and Addresses* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2014), 136.

Holiness is God's generosity and unbroken fidelity for what God loves. It is not a preserve of the few. This implies that the laity and the clergy must work together. In post-genocide Rwanda, this means standing with and among the broken-hearted as "one who serves" (Lk 22:27). This standing with and among involves making room for the most vulnerable—those overwhelmed by complex and dangerous memories. It means working together toward the restoration (redemption) of *génocidaires*. It entails the promotion of a culture of love and mutual respect.

A theology of baptism challenges any power or person who seeks to define humanity exclusively and absolutely through ethnicity, nationality, skin color, culture, or history. When a priest baptizes a person, there is an affirmation that God is claiming the newly baptized body, and God's claim is made without bias or preference. It is the same claim that God makes to the gathered people of God during any Eucharistic celebration. Katongole notes that because of baptism "we become (or at least ought to become) confused and confusing to others."[61] Since many people were killed in churches in which they had been baptized and often by those with whom they had been baptized, Rwanda's problematic past makes one to ask whether the baptism which some people received ever transformed their ethnic stereotypes.

Within a larger perspective, the failure to live out baptism promises—though not a Rwandan issue only—leaves room for the church to revisit its catechetical program, to reimagine inculturated formulas of faith, to promote ecclesiology of proximity or encounter, and to rethink the role of theology in the healing of wounds. To do so, there is a crucial need to invest in serious theological disciplines. Rwandan ecclesial leaders and theologians ought to envision strong and critical theological faculties or religious departments that rigorously help the church to develop "theology brewed in a Rwandan pot." This will require strategic—short-term and long-term—

[61] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 17.

planning and investment in human and financial resources. Given the wounds born from Rwanda's history, it is lamentable that Rwandans who have done advanced studies in theology have all studied outside the country. This is because there is no school or university that offers an equivalent of a masters or a doctorate in theology in Rwanda. The absence of an advanced school of theology also means that those who are able to study abroad are few. It is extremely shocking that Rwanda as a whole does not have any woman with an advanced degree in theology. All this calls for strong theological and visionary leadership in order to serve the needs of the local church, to give a systematic account of the faith people have received, but also to look back in order to discover who we are, and to contextualize theology in order to bear meaning to the Rwandan reality. Given Rwanda's contested history, a serious study of historical theology will help to offer "*a* view of the actual functioning of the whole or of a notable part over a significant period of time ... it [will recount] who did what, when, where, under what circumstances, from what motives, with what results. Its function is practical: a group can function only by possessing an identity, knowing itself and devoting itself to the cause, at worst, of its survival, at best, of its betterment."[62] Ultimately, the goal is to see the workings of God in history.

As part of the reimagination of what theology ought to be in Rwanda, this dissertation proposes the creation of an advanced theological program that will form both lay and ordained ministers in order to deepen their understanding and their service to the local church.[63] It is fair to say that the following question ought to be at the heart of theology in Rwanda: "If our kings drew a line in the sand and asked whether we were going to follow them or follow Christ, what would we say? After we were finished talking, which side of the line would our bodies be on?"[64] The

[62] Lonergan, *Method in Theology,* 184-85.
[63] Details of what an advanced school of theology in Rwanda will be like are content for another project.
[64] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church*, 18.

point is to ask: is the church in Rwanda as elsewhere able to form Christians whose identities do not depend upon the advances of exclusively personal or group interests whether these are Hutu or Tutsi? Through baptism, we are neither Hutu nor Tutsi. In Christ, we become a new creation (2 Cor 5:17). We are entrusted with a new heart of flesh and a new spirit (Ez 36:26-28). Katongole relates the story of a boy who, during the killings in Rwanda,

> fled to the bush with Tutsis. After two or three weeks they pointed out to him that he was Hutu and did not have to die. He left the marshes and was not attacked. But he had spent so much time with Tutsis that he was mixed up. *He was confused.* He no longer knew how to draw the 'proper line' between the two ethnic groups. That boy is what Christian mission is about.[65]

Though stories have their limitations, the meaning of the story could not be clearer when it comes to baptism. The latter must create "confusion" rooted in solidarity, which is "the proper and authentic line" that makes "Christian DNA" thicker than "ethnic DNA."

Theologically, Christian solidarity is possible only through the primacy of love. The first commandment to love God makes

> our dependency on God, the very foundation of human happiness. … [And] the love of God precedes whatever else we discuss in theology, whether we speak temporarily or metaphysically. … love is our understanding of God, creation, redemption, sanctification, and eschatological promise: inasmuch as theology is the study of God, then love is the beginning of theology, for God is love.[66]

The love of God precedes everything else. Given the consequences of Rwanda's wounds, it is imperative to go back to the foundation of all. The *Love* that made Jesus descend into the waters of Baptism and go out into the desert *also* made him ascend the Cross. This *Love* is the foundation on which Pope Benedict XVI dedicated his first encyclical, *Deus Caritas Est.* In his opening paragraph, Benedict contends, "In a world where the name of God is sometimes associated with

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[65] Ibid., 156. Emphasis is mine.

[66] James F. Keenan, *Moral Wisdom: Lessons and Texts from the Catholic Tradition,* Third Edition (Lehman, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 12.

vengeance or even a duty of hatred and violence, this message is both timely and significant. For this reason, I wish my first Encyclical to speak of the love which God lavishes upon us and which we in turn must share with others."[67] *Love* is an act of willing of the good of the other and doing something concrete about it.[68] It is the least wrong description of the nature of God. In his First Letter, John offers a comprehensive picture of this love: "God is love. Whoever lives in love lives in God, and God in them. ... Whoever loves God must also love their brother and sister" (1 John 4:7–11, 16–17, 19–21).

Love is not a sentiment. It is *the* mission, and it is hard to contend with this. We will be judged by love or lack thereof: "When did we feed you? And the king answers, 'Whenever you fed the hungry, you fed me'" (Mt 25:31f.) James F. Keenan opines that not only is love the foundation of moral living, but "the greatness of the Christian tradition is that love of God is not simply the beginning of the Christian's life, but the whole continuum of it."[69] God's love is not predicated by our response, "for He causes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous" (Mt 5:45). This conception of love contests any and all ethnic labels, whether in Rwanda or India or China or Turkey or the United States. It helps prevent Christians from developing an exclusivist identity that might discriminate against the unbaptized. It also affirms that those who participated in the killings in Rwanda and in many other places are equally loved by God. Keenan remarks that one has to come to the realization that "God does not love us in our goodness; God loves us in our entirety."[70] The point is to understand God's love of creatures, even those who least deserve it. Yet, God who moves the human heart invites us to

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[67] Pope Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Deus Caritas Est* (December 25, 2005), accessed November 13, 2019, http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20051225_deus-caritas-est.html

[68] This expression comes Bishop Robert Barron. He uses it many times in his reflections and lectures.

[69] James F. Keenan, *Moral Wisdom: Lessons and Texts from the Catholic Tradition,* Second Edition (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), 14.

[70] Ibid., 16.

reciprocate that love and to make room for others. This invitation tasks us to imitate "the way" of Jesus, whose way finds its utmost expression in self-giving. Eucharist is self-giving *par excellence*. Eucharist symbolizes and effects the encounter of God's self-giving friendship with humanity.

5.4 The Eucharist: God's Friendship with Humanity

Christian symbols encompass and mediate to believers the power to reimagine, to restore, and to realize a new communal and personal identity in Christ. These symbols enable those who participate in them to come closer to God and to take on the role of change-agents who seek to make the world a better place. Is this also the case when it comes to sacramental fellowship made possible in the celebration of the Eucharist?

Through the Eucharist, God establishes intimate fellowship with God's people. God and God's people enter into conversation in a special way during Eucharistic communion. *Lumen Gentium* affirms that "the eucharistic sacrifice is the source and the summit of the whole of the Church's worship and of the Christian life."[71] The Eucharist is the adoration of the Triune God, *par excellence*. Through it, God's people are nourished, strengthened, and sent on mission. Henri de Lubac opined that "the Eucharist makes the Church. It makes of it an inner reality. By its hidden power, the members of the body come to unite themselves by becoming more fully members of Christ, and their unity with one another is part and parcel of their unity with one single head."[72] A community is formed around the Word of God and the Sacrament. The Eucharist forms a communion between God and God's people, and between people themselves. At the heart of

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[71] *Lumen Gentium,* no. 11.

[72] Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: The Eucharist and the Church in the Middle Ages, Historical Survey,* trans. Gemma Simmonds, ed. Laurence Hemming and Susan Frank Parsons (London: SCM, 2006), 88. This expression "The Eucharist Makes the Church" is used as title by Paul McPartlan in his book *The Eucharist Makes the Church: Henry de Lubac and John Zizoulas in Dialogue* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993).

Sacrosanctum Concilium, one thus reads, "The celebration of the Mass … is the center of the whole Christian life for the universal Church, the local Church and for each and every one of the faithful."[73] The Eucharist brings God's people to encounter God's presence and deeds in history. The people do not gather for the Eucharist as mere well-wishers, but as God's pilgrim in search of that which fully satisfies: God. The Eucharist forms a Christian ontology. For John Zizioulas, true being is found in communion with God and neighbor. "A human being left to himself cannot be a person."[74] We discover who we are in the presence of God and that of others.

Jesus' ministry was a ministry of communion. Many discovered the presence of God in his presence and many understood who they were as they communed with him. "Throughout his public ministry, Jesus gathered people around a table of fellowship. In the Palestine of his time, the table was a place where the divisions and stratifications of the society were particularly on display, but at Jesus' table, all were welcome: saints and sinners, the just and the unjust, the healthy and the sick, men and women."[75] When Jesus meets Levi (or Matthew), he says to him: "Follow me." Levi's immediate action is sit down at table with Jesus. While Jesus "was at table in his [Levi's] house, many tax collectors and sinners came and ate with him and his disciples" (Mk 2:13-17; Lk 5:27-32; Mt 9:9-13). From these few examples, it is clear that "otherness and communion are not in contradiction but coincide."[76] What is striking is how Jesus makes room for sinners and gives them priority, but he also shows that the first thing—before one is missioned—is to be with Jesus.

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[73] *Sacrosanctum Concilium,* chapter 1, n. 1. See also *Presbyterorum Ordinis,* nn. 2, 5, 6; *Christus Dominus,* n. 30.

[74] John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 107.

[75] Robert Barron, *Eucharist* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2012), 38.

[76] Brannon Hancock, *The Scandal of Sacramentality: The Eucharist in Literary and Theological Perspectives* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 24.

The first act of Christian mission is to be with and to know Jesus or, at least, to have the desire and to act on it. "The former tax-collector [Matthew] listens to the Word, laughs with him, breaks bread with him, and in this finds his true identity. Adam was the friend of Yahweh before becoming, through his own fear and pride, Yahweh's enemy. Now Jesus, Yahweh made flesh, seeks to reestablish this lost friendship with Adam's descendants."[77] Certainly, it is not unreasonable to think that other sinners were inspired by this encounter between Jesus and Levi and yearned to enjoy table fellowship with Jesus. Or consider the story of Zacchaeus who also experiences table fellowship with Jesus (Lk 19:1-10). If we place these encounters alongside the multiplication of bread and fish (Mt 13:14-21) in which a great crowd is fed, we understand that in Jesus, God makes room for "the hungry human race, starving from the time of Adam and Eve for what will satisfy."[78] Table fellowship reveals Jesus' motive to renew God's friendship with humanity. "God sanctifies the world in Christ and men [and women] worship the Father as they adore him through Christ the Son of God."[79] Jesus makes God's friendship clearer in his words to his friends and disciples during the Johannine Gospel's farewell discourse: "No longer do I call you slaves, for the slave does not know what his master is doing; but I have called you friends, for all things that I have heard from My Father I have made known to you" (Jn 15:15).

The last meal, the Passover meal that Jesus shares with his disciples is a love affair through which God again makes room for humanity (1 Cor 11:17-34; Mt 26:17-3; Mk 14:22-25; Lk 22:7-23; Jn 13:1-5). It is fair both to connect and to contrast the events of that supper to the account of the fall of Adam and Eve. Barron writes: "If our trouble began with a bad meal (seizing a godliness on our own terms), then our salvation commences with a rightly structured meal (God offering us

[77] Barron, *Eucharist*, 41.
[78] Ibid., 43.
[79] *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, no. 10.

his life as a free gift)."[80] The history of God's dealing with humanity shows that humanity has consistently preferred ungodly (or idolatrous) paths that have often tainted or ruined our relationship with God. The story of Adam and Eve, the idolatry of the people of Israel in the desert, the condemnations of the prophets to correct sin against God and neighbor, and John the Baptist's call for repentance are all too plain examples. With this in mind, it is not surprising that, "as the sacred meal comes to its richest possible expression, evil accompanies it. Judas the betrayer expresses the *mysterium iniquitatis* with symbolic power, for he had spent years in intimacy with Jesus … sharing the table fellowship with him."[81] Yet, despite human inclination to what is ungodly, Jesus still desired to share his meal with his disciples, Judas Iscariot included. Luke places these tender words in the mouth of Jesus: "I have eagerly desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (Lk 22:15). Although Jesus knew that he would be betrayed and abandoned (Mt 26:21; Mk 14:40), he still affirmed the Father's love that "makes his sun to shine on the good and the bad alike" (Mt 4:45). Jesus not only contests the status quo; he reveals the nature of God who makes room for all. In Rwanda, the few times some Hutus and some Tutsis shared a meal and physical space during the genocide was when they found themselves in table fellowship celebrating the Eucharist. The Eucharist offered space for and challenged some disenchanted Rwandans to make room for each other.

Theologically, the community gathered at the Eucharist symbolizes God's desire to make all things new (Rev 21:5). At Eucharist they are invited and fortified to live together, according no significance to social stratification, systems of domination, divisions based on skin color, skills, ethnic, or political affiliation.[82] At the same time, it is fair to posit, as Barron does, that those of us

[80] Barron, *Eucharist*, 46.
[81] Ibid., 46-47.
[82] It is fair to note Paul's struggle with these tensions in Eucharistic fellowship in 1 Cor 11-13.

who gather around the table of fellowship with Christ, "and yet engage consistently in the works of darkness are meant to see ourselves in the betrayer."[83]

The Eucharist entails sacrifice. At the beginning of God's creation, the attitude of self-surrender to God is replaced by the desire for self-aggrandizement or self-deification. This is evident in the words of the tempter: "For God knows that in the day you eat from [this tree] your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil" (Gen 3:5). The accounts of Adam and Eve desiring to compete with God or to make God unnecessary (thus disobeying God's command), of Cain murdering Abel, and of confusion that results from the tower of Babel are examples of what happens when humanity refuses to acknowledge its limitations as part of creation and breaks its relationship with God. Yet, God never gives up. God restores the friendship with humanity broken in the disobedience of Adam through the obedience of Abram (Gen 12; 22). Since "the basic problem began with self-assertion to the point of self-deification, then the solution must come through the most radical kind of self-surrender to God."[84] This surrender entails having a clean heart, ceasing to do evil, seeking justice for the marginalized, and walking humbly with God (Isaiah 1:16-17; Micah 6:8).

Each Eucharistic liturgy proclaims the transforming mystery of divine love. Each Eucharistic liturgy invites God's people to become what they receive: the body of Christ. During the procession for the reception of the Eucharist, the Hutu is not called first and the Tutsi called last, or vice versa. We are all made one and equal in Christ Jesus.[85] The American journalist, social activist, and Catholic convert Dorothy Day once commented that "what impressed her most about

[83] Barron, *Eucharist*, 47.
[84] Ibid., 70.
[85] The reader may recall the beautiful story of reconciliation of St. Francis de Sales Parish, see Chapter Three, *supra* pp. 131-32.

the Mass was that the rich and the poor knelt side by side in prayer."[86] The body of Christ is not only in the species of bread and wine that a communicant receives, but in the gathered assembly as well.[87] God's presence who makes Godself known in "a body of the faithful gathered in his name (cf. Mt. 18:20). He is present, too, in his Word, for it is he who speaks when the Scriptures are read in the Church."[88]

The Eucharist is also a sacrament of anticipation of the fulfilment of God's promises. The liturgical assembly does not only prefigure the new earth and the new heaven of those who will eschatologically gather around the banquet table of the Lord, but it also heralds a community that manifests the presence of God in history. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* remarks that participation in the Eucharist ought to have a transforming impact on the faithful. It captures this exquisitely:

> What the faithful have received by faith and sacrament in the celebration of the Eucharist should have its effect on their way of life. They should seek to live joyfully and gratefully by the strength of this heavenly food, sharing in the death and resurrection of the Lord. And so everyone who has participated in the Mass should be "eager to do good works, to please God, and to live honestly, devoted to the Church, putting into practice what he has learnt, and growing in piety.[89]

The idea is that as a Eucharistic community, we are transformed. Jesus' self-offering challenges the church to answer "Amen" as an expression of new identity and commitment.[90] Ultimately, the way of living or the conduct of each Christian "makes true the Amen, not what the Amen affirms."[91] Indeed *lex vivendi est lex credendi* (the law of life is the law of faith), and *vice*

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[86] Day quoted in Barron, *Eucharist*, 53.

[87] This idea of ecclesia, "the gathered assembly" or *corpus verum* is well developed by Henri de Lubac in *Catholicism: Christ and the Common Destiny of Man* (London: Burns & Oates. 1962), chapter two on "The Church," pp. 14-31.

[88] *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, n. 9.

[89] Ibid., no. 13; see also *Lumen Gentium*, nn. 9 & 10 and *Apostolicam actuositatem,* n. 3.

[90] The Mass is not a form of entertainment or a place to be entertained. Liturgies where dance is incorporated are not some form of distraction. Appropriate dance is equally a form of worship. It invites a different way of imagining existence and agency – ritual characterizes a member of the body of Christ as one who is able to be grateful and begins to give glory to God (doxology) with his or her whole being.

[91] William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics and the Body of Christ (*Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 223.

versa. This is the challenge Jesus gives us in his Sermon on the Mount: “Not everyone who says to Me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the kingdom of heaven, but he who does the will of My Father who is in heaven will enter” (Mt 7:21).

The Eucharist as a sacrament that renews God’s friendship with humanity is prefigured by Jesus’ symbolic gesture of washing the feet of his disciples (Jn 13:1-17). This action resembles that of his baptism. “He, who is Lord, comes down to us, he lays aside the garments of glory and becomes a slave, one who stands at the door and who does for us the slave’s service of washing the feet. This is the meaning of his whole life and Passion: that he bends down to our dirty feet, to the dirt of humanity and that in his greater love he wash us clean.”[92] Just as the slave washed the feet of the master to prepare him to sit down for a meal, Jesus does the same for his disciples to prepare them to be in God’s presence and in the company of one another. The symbolic meaning could not be clearer. “We, who repeatedly find we cannot stand one another, who are quite unfit to be with God, are welcomed and accepted by him … We are washed through our willingness to yield to his love … God accepts us without preconditions, even if we are unworthy of his love, incapable of relating to him, because he, Jesus Christ, transforms us and becomes a brother to us.”[93] The washing of the feet is an emblematic symbol of God in Christ making room, reclaiming humanity as God’s own.

What does this exposition on the Eucharist mean for places ridden with conflict and wounds? Jesus’ washing of feet contradicts everything that racial segregation, human trafficking, genocide or any other form of dehumanization stand for. The washing of the disciples’ feet affirmed God’s unconditional love for all, but also the love that enters into human messiness,

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[92]Joseph Ratzinger, *God Is Near Us: The Eucharist, the Heart of Life* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2003), 30-31.

[93] Ibid., 31.

represented by the dirty feet. For Jesus, there is no "them versus us." In his book *Racism: A Short History,* George M. Fredrickson remarks that racism "originates from a mindset that regards 'them' as different from 'us' in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable. This sense of difference provides a motive or rationale of using power advantage to treat the ethno-racial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group."[94] The potential consequences of racism range from "unofficial but pervasive social discrimination at one end of the spectrum to genocide at the other, with government-sanctioned segregation, colonial subjugation, forced deportation (or "ethnic cleansing") and enslavement among the other variations on the theme."[95] These are negations of humanity's graced and shared nature; they contradict the deeper meaning of Jesus' baptism and table fellowship with all and they deny the possibility of human coexistence founded on equality. It is fair to say that the genocide in Rwanda represented the denial of Eucharistic fellowship, because it was, among other reasons, based on the extreme desire to defeat the dehumanized enemy—the Tutsi and moderate Hutu. The torture that made the genocide possible marked the failure of the church in the sense that, to use William T. Cavanaugh's words, it had "for so long neglected its true ecclesial character, constructing itself more as 'soul of society' than as the true body of Christ."[96] As a soul of society, the church generally aligned itself with government policies instead of challenging them in the light of the Gospel.

In his first encyclical, *Redemptoris Missio,* Pope John Paul II notes the importance of individuals and the Church as an institution "taking courageous and prophetic stands in the face of

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[94] George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 9.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 16.

corruption of political or economic power" in order to "serve the poorest of the poor."[97] This is a mission that is central to the proclamation of the reign of God. The Church's prophetic calling was not fully realized in Rwanda. The failure to condemn the genocide "from the very beginning on the one hand, and the fact that many indigenous church leaders – both clergy and religious, as well as lay pastoral agents – were actively involved or otherwise complicit in numerous incidents of murder during the genocide and directly or indirectly abetted them on the other was, and remains, perhaps, the greatest shame to the church in Rwanda."[98] One may then understand the challenge posed by Vatican II to Rwanda's context and other places of wounds. Vatican II reaffirms the explicit mission of the Church which gives it "a function, a light, and an energy which can serve to structure and consolidate the human community according to divine law. As a matter of fact, when circumstances of time and place create the need, it can and indeed should initiate activities on behalf of all people."[99] In Chapter Two, I illustrated the various circumstances that still require the Rwandan church to develop a new ecclesial imagination.

The Rwandan church in its celebration of the Eucharist ought to lament that the genocide was an ecclesiological problem in the sense the genocide sought the extinction of members of God's people. It victimized the body of Christ, creating victims and perpetrators. The masterminds of the genocide destroyed the diversity fostered by Jesus' example of sharing table fellowship with

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[97] John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio, On the Permanent Validity of the Church's Missionary Mandate* (Rome, December 7, 1990), n. 43, accessed November 30, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_07121990_redemptoris-missio.html

[98] Laurenti Magesa, "Learning from a Tragedy: Toward a New Evangelization in Africa after the Rwandan Genocide," 10.

[99] *Gaudium et Spes,* no. 45. This is also echoed by Paul VI in his call to local Christian communities to establish a just social order. It is up to the Christian communities to analyze with objectivity the situation which is proper to their own country, to shed on it the light of the Gospel's unalterable words and to draw principles of reflection, norms of judgment and directives for action from the social teaching of the church (see Paul VI, Apostolic Letter *Octagessima Adveniensis,* May 14, 1971), n. 4, accessed November 28, 2019, http://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniens.html

people of different backgrounds. Katongole observes, "Never before have Christians killed one another in the very places where they had worshipped together for generations. … What story is powerful enough to make people forget their baptisms in the very places where they happened."[100] The real challenge here is not baptism itself, but the separation of this sacrament from questions of identity, conversion, repentance, and solidarity. At Nyarubuye, close to the Rwandan border with Tanzania, "small children were pounded to death by hammers. Adults were dismembered with machetes" in a convent church.[101] One town official pleaded with killers not "to fire any shot or throw grenades that might damage the beautiful church building."[102] His request was granted, but the killers entered the church and butchered the members of the body of Christ. This sympathy for a stone building instead of the enfleshed body of Christ is reprehensible and incomprehensible. Most dead bodies in churches were eaten by dogs and vultures. Some survivors are still looking for the remains of their relatives in order to bury them. Though he wrote in the context of dictatorship in Chile, Cavanaugh gives a chilling story that could apply to Rwanda: "When my son turned seventeen, he felt so much that he had to know where his father was that I said to him, 'Son, go down to the cemetery and look for the most abandoned grave. Take care of it and visit it as though it were your father's."[103] That is the pain facing many Rwandans who have not yet found the remains of their relatives. Yet, it is worth noting that some animals rescued "the crucified of Rwanda." Sister Teya Kakuze—a Rwandan Little Sister of Jesus—relates a moving story:

> One day the killers came and murdered a number of people in front of the Sisters and then buried their bodies in their front yard. After they left, the Sisters were still traumatized, yet the dog kept trying to get their attention by barking and growling, as if wanting to call their attention to something going on outside. Eventually they found out he was trying to bring their attention to the place where the bodies were buried because one of the women in the graves was still alive. Though she suffered

[100] Katongole, *Mirror to the Church,* 34.
[101] Ibid., 35.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 69.

> life-altering injuries, she eventually survived and lived to tell her story. … 'As mean as this animal was, he showed more humanity than the killers.'[104]

If the church is to resist the disappearance of God's people, it must not only "bark," that is, act like the heroic dog in the above story, but most importantly it must prevent the killings before they happen. "It must realize its true nature as a locus of social practices, the true body of Christ capable of resisting the discipline of the state."[105]

As noted in Chapter One, the failure of the church in Rwanda consisted partly in the fact that it hardly resisted divisive government policies. In November 2016, the bishops of Rwanda acknowledged this failure and issued a public apology read in all the churches.

> We apologize on behalf of all Christians for all forms of wrongs we committed. We regret that Church members violated (their) oath of allegiance to God's commandments … Forgive us for the crime of hate in the country to the extent of also hating our colleagues because of their ethnicity. We didn't show that we are one family, but instead killed each other.[106]

This plea for forgiveness must be accompanied with a purification of memory that remains a long and arduous endeavor. As different genocides in history attest, the mere remembrance of suffering, of atrocity, is no guarantee against further barbarism. That is why purification is at the heart of this dissertation. As noted by William O'Neill, "this purification of memory is not a task for Rwandans, but for all citizens of the household of faith. For crimes against humanity are just that; the face disfigured is our own."[107]

As we look to the future, Eucharistic resistance begins with lament and apology. As O'Neill writes, "lament is always a remembering into the future; there can be no cheap forgetting. Neither

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[104] Quoted in Daniel G. Groody, "Foreword," in Jean Bosco Rutagengwa with Daniel G. Groody, *Love Prevails: One Couple's Story of Faith and Survival in the Rwandan Genocide* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2019), xi-xii.

[105] Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*, 206.

[106] "Bishops Apologise for Church's Role in Rwandan Genocide" in *Catholic Herald*, November 21, 2016, accessed November 22, 2019, https://catholicherald.co.uk/news/2016/11/21/bishops-apologise-for-churchs-role-in-rwandan-genocide/

[107] William O'Neill, "Saying 'never again' again: Theology after the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda," in a forthcoming *America* article (publications details still to come).

can there be prophecy in the Church if there is not first repentance."[108] Lament and apology carry within them the themes of witness, remembrance, and hope, which this dissertation has discussed. Lament and apology must also be accompanied by the refusal to draw a strict line between the temporal and the spiritual spheres, leaving the latter entirely to the state and the former to the church. The ministry of Jesus involved both the transformation of the spiritual and the temporal. Jesus was not afraid to challenge political authorities when an occasion demanded it. For Jesus, there is no "dichotomy between the earthly and the heavenly, the material and the spiritual, or the body and the soul."[109] The celebration of the Eucharist unites all these realities for each person who participates in it, so that he or she, in turn, becomes, what is offered to the altar. Cavanaugh notes, "the unfaithfulness of the church in the present age is based to some extent precisely on its failure to take itself seriously as the continuation of Christ's body in the world and to conform itself, body and soul, not to the world but to Christ (Rom 12:2)."[110]

Table fellowship with the Lord requires unity and reconciliation. St. Paul made it clear to the Christians of Corinth that if they were to participate in the Eucharist, they had to change their conduct, specifically the division between the rich and the poor. "Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be answerable for the body and blood of the Lord. Examine yourselves, and only then eat the bread and drink the cup ..." (1 Cor 11:27-32). As they did for the church of Corinth, Paul's words speak to the Rwandan church too. Before participating in the Eucharist, there is a need to challenge the Rwandan labels of "Hutu-Tutsi" and to reject the conduct that results from these. These labels need not be inscribed on a piece of paper – namely on national identity cards. Even if they are taken off identity cards, they

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[108] Ibid.
[109] Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 29-42, 47-51.
[110] Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist,* 233.

remain often engraved in people's hearts. The Rwandan church thus needs to hear again the words of the early church. The *Didache* instructed the early Christian community in the following words: "On the Lord's own day gather together and break bread and give thanks, having first confessed your sins so that your sacrifice may be pure. But let no one who has a quarrel with a companion join you until they have been reconciled, so that your sacrifice may not be defiled."[111] This desire for reconciliation and forgiveness is expressed in the liturgy by the kiss of peace before the Eucharist that goes back to the earliest Christian times.[112] There may be times when an individual or a group is excluded from the Eucharist in order to help offenders change their conduct. This exclusion is painful, but its goal ought to offer help to the individual and the community at large. It also has its eschatological inspiration in the sense that it helps the community to anticipate the final judgment with the Lord.

In post-genocide Rwanda, there are some examples of ongoing reconciliation efforts. In an article in *Theological Studies*, J.J. Carney singles out four important grassroots Catholic pastoral initiatives: 1) the *Gacaca Nkirisitu* (Christian Gacaca) program of Mushaka parish in southewesten Rwanda; 2) the prison ministry of the Good Samaritans; 3) the justice and peace commissions of the episcopal conference; and 4) interpersonal reconciliation ministry at Ruhango in central Rwanda.[113] Each of these initiatives has been instrumental in healing and reconciliation. For the purpose of this section on the Eucharist, the Mushaka ministry is apt. Fr. Ubald Rugirangoga and his parishioners have innovatively reintegrated former genocide convicts after a probation period. This is the plan they made:

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[111] See "The Didache, Concerning the Lord's Day," in Michael W. Holmes, ed. and trans. *The Apostolic Fathers in English,* 3rd Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), no. 14, p. 170. See also *Didache 4*, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7, eds. Roberts and Donaldson, 381.

[112] Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Diacre Press, 1964), 106-07.

[113] J. J. Carney, "A Generation after Genocide: Catholic Reconciliation in Rwanda," in *Theological Studies* 2015, Vol. 76 (4) 785–812 at 787.

> Leaders of each of Mushaka Parish's 250 *Communautes Vivantes du Base* (CEVBs, or "living ecclesial base communities") gathered to discuss the appropriate pastoral response to the looming reintegration of hundreds of released prisoners. They reached three major conclusions. First, perpetrators of genocide had committed the gravest of sins [*amahano*], and this required a public process of repentance and reconciliation within the local church. Second, the parish would establish a formal method to enable perpetrators and victims to express remorse and/or forgiveness. Third, both victims and perpetrators would be enrolled in a long-term catechetical teaching and learning program facilitated by a small group of local mediators.[114]

The Mushaka reconciliation initiative is reminiscent of the Church's earliest forms of penance.[115] It was conceived that salvation began with one's baptism through which "one entered into a rebirth with Christ as a new creation."[116] However, some people postponed their baptism for fear that they might sin again and be denied by Christ in the afterlife. There were also questions of how to deal with postbaptismal sin, how to deal with it effectively, "what sins qualified for forgiveness, and how often once could be forgiven."[117] Some early church theologians such as Clement of Alexandria postulated that there was a need to distinguish between two types of repentance: the one obtained in baptism and that of living in the fear of the Lord:

> He, then, who from among the Gentiles and from that old life has betaken himself to faith has obtained forgiveness of sins once. But he who has sinned after this, on his repentance, though he obtain pardon, ought to fear; for there is no more remaining sacrifice for sins left, only a certain fearful looking for judgment and fiery indignation.[118]

There was an argument that minor postbaptismal sins could be repented quickly but for major sins, as Origen remarked that members were to be excommunicated.[119] However, there was a gradual shift. From the fifth century, Christians who had committed grave sins such as "idolatry,

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[114] Ibid., 798.

[115] The history of penance is long and indeed beyond the scope of this chapter. Here I give only its essential patterns.

[116] Annemarie S. Kidder, *Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010), 12.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Clement of Alexandria, Stromata ("Miscellanies"), in *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* vol. 2, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 360-61.

[119] Origen, *De Principiis,* in *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* vol. 4, eds. Roberts and Donaldson, 256.

adultery, murder, and apostasy were no longer excommunicated, but were allowed to make public confession."[120] Christians could confess their sins in unlimited number of times. Later with the rise of monasticism and "the subsequent activity of the Irish monks and the Celtic church, the practice of public confession in the West was eventually transformed into private confession and gave rise to the accompanying practice of spiritual direction and counsel."[121]

The example of reconciliation practice of Mushaka parish thus follows the earliest forms of public penance. The latter required a penitent "to enroll in the order of penitents, to keep separate from the other members in worship, and undergo a course of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving."[122] Penance could last for several years, but after penance a penitent was restored to the community and welcomed back to the Eucharist.

The Mushaka pastoral initiative is theologically an illustration of what repentance means, that is, a decision to turn away from evil and returning to God. It is an example of what it means to take up the cross of the past, to make peace with the past, and how forgiveness makes one free, as illustrated in his most recent book: *Forgiveness Makes You Free*.[123] It is also a sound pastoral model of what it means to *make room*, albeit with appropriate strategies to ensure that making room is not based on some form of "cheap grace" or cheap reconciliation. The call for conversion before one participates in the Eucharist, helping the Christian community to appreciate that "no relationship is without its chaos and that every relationship requires the merciful practice of reconciliation."[124] This initiative puts flesh on John Zizioulas's idea that the Eucharist is "the

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[120] Kidder, *Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls*, 13.
[121] Ibid., 17.
[122] Ibid., 13.
[123] Ubald Rugirangoga, *Forgiveness Makes You Free: A Dramatic Story of Healing and Reconciliation from the Heart of Rwanda* (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 2019); see chapters three and four.
[124] Keenan, *Moral Wisdom,* 117.

reality which makes it possible to exist at all" as a Christian community.[125] The desire to reintegrate those who have wronged others challenges the community rethink its own identity. It is supported by the people's call to overcome alienation from each other, to care for one another, especially the weak. "The Church … thus becomes a present foretaste of the future eschatological feast. The poor [those wounded by the genocide on either side of the aisle] can wait no longer."[126] In the example of Mushaka, one notes the anticipation of the future realization of a new reconciled society. And, M. Shawn Copeland remarks, that "sacraments form and orient us to creation, to human persons, and, above all, to the Three Divine Persons. Sacraments pose an order, a counter-imagination, not only to society but also to any ecclesial instantiation that would substitute itself for the body of Christ."[127]

While Jesus' table fellowship *made room* for the other, it was also founded on mercy which completes and transcends justice. Jesus breaks the bread with the disciples at Emmaus (Lk 24:13-35) and in so doing, he dispels their fears. Upon his resurrection, Jesus gave a second chance to his apostles to go and announce the Gospel to the whole world. Further, the Risen Christ chose one of the strongest persecutors of his movement—Saul—and made him the strongest defender of that faith to the Gentiles. In short, Jesus kept his unbroken fidelity, and today he still uses weak instruments to announce the reign of God. God is mercy *par excellence*. He chooses to enter our chaos in order to redeem it and use it for the good. Therefore, mercy *makes room* and must be at the center of Christian theology. To use James Keenan's definition, mercy means:

> The willingness to enter into the chaos of another so as to respond to the other … Mercy does not temper justice… It prompts us to see that justice applies to all, especially those most frequently without justice, those abandoned to the chaos of

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[125] Quoted in Paul McPartland, *The Eucharist Makes the Church: Henry de Lubac and John Zizoulas in Dialogue* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 270.

[126] Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist,* 268.

[127] M. Shawn Copeland, *Enfleshing Freedom: Body, Race, and Being* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2010), 125.

> margins … Mercy prompts justice to find the neglected, the persecuted, the oppressed, and to bring them into the solidarity of humanity by assisting them in the pursuit of their rights.[128]

Mercy goes beyond the idea of punishment and reparation to pay for past wrongdoing. From a Rwandan stance, mercy implies the restoration of those who participated in the genocide. Copeland remarks that mercy entails Christian solidarity "oriented to meet the social consequences of Eucharist. We women and men strive to become what we have received and to do what we are being made."[129] To be a member of Christ's body, one has to welcome with love and hope, "those who, in their bodies, are despised and marginalized, even as [one] embraces with love and forgiveness those whose sins spawn the conditions for the suffering and oppression of others."[130]

The Eucharist draws us to present our hopes and dreams, our fears and anxieties, our wounds and scars, calling us to approach God as God knows us, not based primarily on how we "know" God. The Eucharist has thus the power to make us new. It invites and strengthens the community of faith, of those who know that they still have a journey to make. As Copeland notes, "the Son of Man gathers up the remnants of our memories, the broken fragments of our histories, and judges, blesses, and transforms them. His Eucharistic banquet re-orders us, re-members us, restores us, and makes us one."[131] For countries, nations, or people recovering from traumatic wounds of genocide or war, the Eucharist re-affirms God's plans for healing and welfare, plans for a future with hope (Jer 29:11).

In conclusion, it is hard to contend that in spite of human sinfulness, God has made room for humanity. Because of God's action in history, the incomprehensible mystery of God's love invites Christian communities "to risk" their faith in God and in the Church. God's love,

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[128] Keenan, *Moral Wisdom,* 117.
[129] Copeland, *Enfleshing Freedom: Body, Race, and Being*, 127.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid., 128.

symbolized, in this chapter, by the sacraments of baptism, reconciliation, and the Eucharist urges Christians to live with hope, but also to understand that despite sin, as Richard Lennan notes, the church is worth the "risk of belief" and that "faith is an irreducible element of our humanity."[132] God who has revealed Godself in Jesus Christ presents the fulness of love celebrated in each sacrament and it is this love that the Church witnesses to and attempts to imitate. Since God has "made room" for sinners and the rest of creation, any loving relationship [ought to be] built upon "surrender to the self-revelation of the other."[133] Within the context of Rwanda, there is need to develop a theology of sacramental praxis. The latter ought to envision what is authentic ecclesial reform. Since the Church is utterly dependent upon the activity of the Holy Spirit, developing a theology of the Spirit "brewed in a Rwandan pot" will respond to the questions of why sacramental practices did not transform the church in pre-genocide Rwanda, whether they have the capacity to do so in post-genocide Rwanda, and why the Church is an unfinished project in constant need of reform. A theology of making room, discussed in this final chapter, thus offers prospects and questions that will always demand our consideration. This faith seeking love, hope, and understanding (theology) cries out, "Our Father who is in Heaven! Let us not fall into temptation but deliver us from evil" (Mt. 6:9&13). A theology of making room starts from this invocation that leaves room for God and neighbor, for we realize that we are accepted, though we are often unacceptable.

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[132] Lennan, *Risking the Church: The Challenges of Catholic Faith*, 62.
[133] Ibid., 65.

Conclusion

I have known rivers … my soul has grown deep like the rivers.[1]

In his poem "*The Negro Speaks of Rivers*," Langston Hughes describes the painful and wounded memories of his enslaved African brothers and sisters. Snatched from their homes, their human dignity trampled into mud, often sold by their own people, many died painful deaths crossing the Atlantic Ocean caged like animals. Others met cruel deaths on farms, sugarcane, and cotton plantations. Children, women, and men were stripped of their humanity simply because they were considered an inferior race, good only as cheap, disposable labor. Hughes summons to mind life near the Congo River, near the Nile, and doleful singing near Mississippi. Peoples of African descent have, indeed, known rivers and their "soul has grown deep like the rivers."

Hughes' poem is analogically one that Rwandans with their appalling past are writing today. Researching and writing this dissertation helped me to understand that many have seen deep rivers and have grown deep like them. Pondering the experiences of the wounds and scars that Rwanda has borne, it became clear that we are, all of us, products of our cultures, our natural and social surroundings, our histories, our education, our familial and societal experiences, and ultimately our orientation toward God. These help to define, although do not determine who we are and who we may become. My exposition of the depth of Rwanda's wounds and proposal of a theology that might spring from them are not meant to engender pity for that small, hilly country in central Africa. Rather, this work seeks to assist the reader, indeed, humanity to understand, at least in part, why we are who we are and how various conditions and circumstances influence the choices we make. Rwanda is a mirror to humanity.

[1] Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," in John Hollander, ed. *Committed to Memory* (New York: The Academy of American Poets, 1996), 53.

At the conclusion of his book on *Rwanda before the Genocide: Catholic Politics and Ethnic Discourse in the Late Colonial Era,* J. J. Carney writes: "Theological reflection on Rwanda is full of unexamined mythologies, trite assumptions, and simplistic analysis."[2] Many reasons, my personal experience included, and Carney's apt critique prompted the writing of this dissertation. It is my hope that this work has put forward a fitting response to his assessment.

The first chapter offered a succinct interpretation of the origins of Rwanda's wounds, explaining the multiple factors that led to the genocide against the Tutsi. "These include: the colonial ideology of racial division; the economic and political crises of the 1980s and 1990s; the previously very highly organized nature of Rwandan society; and the fragile regional and class base of a political faction determined to hold on to state power at any cost."[3] Other crucial contributing factors include the sensitivities and perceptions of relations between Hutu and Tutsi in both Rwanda and Burundi, "the use of sophisticated propaganda techniques, and the escalation of violence within Rwanda and Burundi … and the politics of ethnic identification which was central to implementing genocide plans."[4] This chapter also examined the complicity of church leaders in Rwanda's divisions. With all the above factors in place, when the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and all who opposed the murderous regime erupted, the contagion of violence caused too many people to behave as if they were beyond any moral obligation and allowed a government that should have protected its citizens not only to endorse genocide but to systematically collude in it.[5]

[2] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 208.

[3] Hellen M. Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," in *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 37, 2 (1999), 241-286 at 280.

[4] Ibid., 280-81.

[5] Republic of Rwanda, "Recommendations of the Conference Held in Kigali from November 1st to 5th 1995 on 'Genocide, Impunity, and Accountability: Dialogue for a National and International Response.'" (Office of the President, December 1995), 3, accessed December 12, 2019, https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/5933/3186.pdf?sequence=1

The genocide against the Tutsi is an undeniable fact. To question it is criminally and theologically reprehensible because it further dehumanizes those who were murdered and those who survived the ordeal. While any and every genocide blasphemes against God, in no way does this exculpate other killings that occurred in Rwanda that deserve exposure. Still, these killings cannot dismiss the question of whether or not there was genocide of Tutsi Rwandans in 1994. Hintjens' analogy is apt and clarifies my point. "If the present racialist and militaristic policies of Israel towards its neighbors and Palestinian people were taken as evidence that there was no genocide of Jews during the Second World War, there would be outrage. The same rejection of false logic should also be maintained in the Rwandan case."[6] The search for truth is therefore of ultimate significance. I agree with Gerard Prunier who writes,

> Understanding why they [Tutsi] died is the best and most fitting memorial we can raise for the victims. Letting their death go unrecorded, or distorted by propaganda, or misunderstood through simple clichés, would in fact bring the last touch of the killers' work in completing the victims' dehumanisation.[7]

This dissertation is one way of paying homage—*a pained-love letter*—to those who died and giving a voice to those who were silenced for no reason other than being Tutsi or opposing a genocidal regime. Just as historians, journalists, filmmakers, political scientists, and sociologists (among others) continue to assess the brutal legacy of the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jewish people and the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda in order to offer lessons for future generations, theologians must critically analyze these events offering a perspective rooted in "the way" of Jesus—a way of making room for God, a way of making room for all others.

Without the history presented in the first chapter, the rest of the dissertation would lack contextual grounding. The <u>second chapter</u> discussed the multi-layered nature of Rwanda's

[6] Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," 282.
[7] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide* (London: Hurst, 1995), xii.

unreconciled memories, the place of theological discourse and its indispensable link to a people's cultural and social context, and the imperative of memory—why we remember what we do remember and the wider purposes that our memories serve. A theological exposé of Rwanda's dry bones lies at the heart of this chapter. Central here is interrogation of how and why memory should be preserved and transmitted, the reciprocal relationship between memory and identity, and the moral responsibilities associated with memory. In its analysis, this chapter sought to offer three perspectives. First, it retrospectively constructed conceptions of meaning and identity resulting from Rwanda's problematic history; second, it appropriated or claimed ownership of this ambiguous and difficult history; and, finally, acknowledged the necessity of responsibility. The failure to assess the past, to own up to it, and to situate Rwanda's history in proper perspective has led to the failure of forgiveness, which is so needed in order to move forward into a new and different future. In the same way that a responsible individual person remembers, acknowledges, and confesses the difficulties or tragedies in one's past, a responsible social community can and should do the same. Such a community too is obliged to remember, acknowledge, and confess the grave injustices committed as a community against those individual persons or groups who whom they have strong (*thick*) relations.

The third chapter considered the necessary renewal of ecclesial imagination. Here I examined some of the factors that have made the Church not only a wounding institution, but, at the same time, a self-wounding institution. I sought to make clear that coming to terms with the past cannot be overemphasized; such coming to terms is key to developing and shaping a critical ecclesial imagination.

With the Second Vatican Council, the Church confessed that some of its teachings had laid the ground for anti-Semitism and, thus, the Jewish Holocaust; and the Church acknowledged that

it still has the task of continuing to rethink its theology and *theopraxis*. Hence, in this chapter I considered how the experience of the Church in Nazi Germany became a *kairos* and shaped its ecclesial imagination. The German ecclesial experience serves as an example of how the Rwandan church can face up to its self-inflicted wounds and re-consecrate itself through authentic commitment to history, to collective memory, and to new evangelization. Finally, I offered an ecclesial vision for the church in need of healing, that is, a church of sinners whose mission is to be a people and place of hope, a church committed to memory rooted in self-criticism.

The presence and work of a renovated theology in Rwanda is vital. And such a theology must free itself from captivity to a church that, almost from its Rwandan beginnings, has been shaped by bourgeois and class sensitivities and is marked by concern for respectability, material success, authoritarianism, mere orthodoxy, a weak or facile understanding of the God of Jesus Christ, and lip-service to his Gospel. The words of Theodor Adorno are still apt, "there can be no one, whose organ of experience has not entirely atrophied, from whom the world *after* Auschwitz, that is, the world in which Auschwitz was possible, is the same world as it was before."[8] Within the context of Rwanda, the world must be viewed differently after the horrific tragedy of Nyamata. Nyamata represents humanity's relapse into barbarism. There can be no (authentic or adequate) Christian theology if we turn our backs to Nyamata; to dare to do so represents the failure of taking the past seriously.

The central thesis of the <u>fourth chapter</u> argues that the human person is defined by his or her orientation toward God, that humans are beings of infinite metaphysical value. The human person is *the* question to which God is *the* answer. Humanity has a distinctive place in God's creative work. The denial of anyone's life, as happened in Rwanda, is *ipso facto* the denial of this

[8] Adorno, *Metaphysics: Concepts and Problems*, 104.

orientation toward God. This chapter drew on the biblically derived doctrine of the *Imago Dei* and reflections on the human person by two theologians: Thomas Aquinas and Karl Rahner—one medieval, the other contemporary—in order to examine what it means to restore fraternal identity, that is, how to re-imagine shared and graced humanity in post-genocide Rwanda. Both Aquinas and Rahner offered a *ressourcement* for a theological anthropology that underscores an essential feature of who we are as God's creation. In a country like Rwanda, where human bodies were made disposable, Aquinas' and Rahner's anthropology could not be clearer: human beings find lasting meaning when they return to God and are defined by their orientation toward God, not because it is of their making, but because of God's grace. Since God defines who we are, the restoration of a sense of human beings as made in the image and likeness of God forms theology's main imperative in wounded post-genocide Rwanda. Thus, the chapter proposed the reconciliation of memories, by means of analogical language, as an osmosis and a molting phenomenon, but importantly as a move toward sustainable hope. These metaphors—osmosis and molting—emphasize that theology has the task of "re-membering," that is, making Rwanda whole. Because the 1994 genocide decisively dis-membered Rwanda, to re-member affirms mending broken relationships and openness to the suffering of others in order to move forward with them.

Given the historical, social, intellectual, moral, religious, and ecclesial breakdowns in Rwanda that led to the genocide against the Tutsi, the final and fifth chapter proposed "the God-Question" as a framework for a re-invented (or renovated) theology in Rwanda. This re-invented (or renovated) theology roots itself in Jesus' self-giving, in Jesus' making room for all to live a fulfilled (an abundant) life. I have argued that when the ultimate reality that the Christian tradition calls God is taken lightly, the human person collapses into idolatry. If the mystery of God is not upheld with the seriousness it deserves, misguided rationalism and profit-making have the capacity

to unleash forces which threaten the very existence of created reality. This is why the question of God and God's place in human affairs are of ultimate significance. Rwanda's tragic past exposes the lies and risks of a superficial Christian life.

In arguing for the profound and practical import of the "God-Question" and the *agapic* way of Jesus, this final chapter has gone beyond the notion of "moral obligation" and any commonsense idea of equal partnership. In probing the *agapic* way of Jesus—a way that requires making room for God, making room for all others—the chapter examined the meaning of Jesus' baptism and its capacity for the renewal of Christian discipleship. It offered an applied sacramental and biblical theology. Finally, it considered the central place of Eucharistic fellowship for the healing and reconciliation of memories and, to borrow Carney's words, the offered hope "that a deeply Eucharistic Christian identity can transcend the divisions of nation, ethnicity, and race that have wreaked such havoc in the modern world."[9] Indeed, the transforming power of the Eucharist is made evident in the *Gacaca Nkirisitu* (Christian Gacaca) program of Mushaka parish in Southwestern Rwanda.

Each of the five chapters began with a Rwandan proverb that captures its overall intent and all five chapters examined the implications of the genocide in Rwanda in order to offer theological lessons to humanity from *a* place of wounds. This dissertation is primarily a theological work; it has also been a "labor of memory"[10] and a labor pained-love. What I hope this work has achieved is a demonstration of the intensity, the challenge, the intellectual, and the moral grappling with Rwanda's unreconciled memories. Despite the need for silence and the inadequacy of words when facing the despicable genocide that occurred twenty-five years ago, this "labor of memory" urges us to grapple strenuously with the complexity of Rwanda's wounds. Yet, while grappling with

[9] Carney, *Rwanda before the Genocide,* 208.
[10] Lemarchand, "The Politics of Memory in Post-Genocide Rwanda,"69.

those wounds, this labor of pained-love urges us still to talk about God. This explains the choice of this project's title: "Reconciling Memories: A Theology from a Place of Wounds: No Authentic Theology with My Back Turned to Nyamata."

The labors of memory and love have prompted many questions that lie at the heart of this work: Who are we? To whom do we belong? Whose responsibility is it to remember? How does one who forgives the transgressor remember the transgression? And what can we hope for?

Rwanda may serve as a mirror or a cautionary lesson to the world. When a community's memory passes over the grave historical injustices it committed, it insults the descendants of those injured by injustice. "Remembrance is owed to the living descendants of the victims of injustice on the grounds that the current group is entitled to have its own understanding of the past validated by society and properly reflected in the historical record."[11] To be an effective and moral agent means not only to remember, but also to take responsibility for one's past. This entails acknowledging one's agency and a certain readiness to answer for or to give an account of one's failures.[12] We are shaped not merely by our past, being responsible agents means that our current and future actions must take the past into account.

For far too long, human life was disposable in Rwanda. This dissertation reasserts that human life is sacred and inviolable. But, the sacredness and inviolability of human life is possible in Rwandan society only if its foundations are truth, justice, tolerance, and solidarity. Theologically, it requires intellectual, religious, and moral conversions.

At an international conference in Rwanda in June 2019 on "Reinventing Theology in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes," Bishop Smaradge Mbonyintenge told a poignant story that adds to the rationale behind my dissertation:

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[11] Bluestein, *The Moral Demands of Memory,* 164.
[12] Ibid., 65.

> I would like to start from a request made not to me alone, but to all those concerned. It is August 1994 [one month after the end of the genocide], we had just finished celebrating Mass at the Cathedral of Butare; a nervous woman raised her voice and said: "*Bishoboka bite ko bakomeza kuvuga misa nk'uko yavugwaga mbere ya jenoside?*" (How can we continue to celebrate Mass as we did before the genocide?) I asked her the question: "how do you want it to be celebrated?" She said, "I don't know." We separated on the two questions, but for me the disappointment of the woman and her request always haunted me as a serious questioning. But as I thought about it, I found that the answer was going to be a process of concurrent and long-term change.[13]

This woman's question explains the need to reinvent theology in post-genocide Rwanda. Shaken by Rwanda's *existential "landscape of cries"*—the cries of victims and perpetrators—one is reminded that there are no Rwandan theological and liturgical textbooks that explain how a minister in the wounding and wounded church may console and reconcile a woman who lost her husband to the genocide, who was infected with HIV, who deals with the reality of a child born of genocidal rape, and, simultaneously, to help restore a husband who killed his Tutsi wife, is recently released from prison, asks forgiveness from his children, wants to be reintegrated into society and to receive the sacraments. In the words of Emmanuel Nsengiyumva, a priest serving at the newly constructed Nyamata parish, "there are no specific liturgical books adapted to the Rwandan context that give orientation on how to bury in dignity 'the dry bones' that are transferred from one place to another for decency or other reasons."[14] At the same time, theological reflection with young people born after the genocide are long overdue. These pressing issues are content for another project. However, they highlight the significance and relevance of this dissertation and the need for serious and concrete theological, ecclesiological, ethical, and pastoral strategies for new ways

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[13] Smaradge Mbonyintenge, "La Formation du Clergé dans le Contexte Actuelle de l'Église au Rwanda: Hommage à la 25e Commémoration du Génocide Perpétré contre les Tutsis en 1994," in a Paper presented at the Conference "Reinventing Theology in Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes," (Kigali, Rwanda, June 20-22, 2019), 5. The translation is mine.

[14] Emmanuel Nsengiyumva, "Reinventing Theology: A Witness of the Pastoral Practices in the Context of the after Genocide," in a Paper presented at the Conference "Reinventing Theology in Rwanda: Challenges and Hopes," (Kigali, Rwanda, June 20-22, 2019), 1-2.

of proclaiming the reign of God in Rwanda. Yet, if this dissertation offers any enduring lesson it is this: "[T]here are things that can be seen only with eyes that have cried."[15] Perhaps, one may heal because one understands what others may be going through since one has also passed through them. Life is not so much determined by what has happened, as by the attitude one takes. For those who believe in the future, this attitude must be rooted in truth, not as a luxury but as an imperative that requires an arduous work. Theology in Rwanda ought to start from the imperative of truth, one that must continue to visit all regions of Rwanda's histories. These must include those wounds that are still uncovered. This dissertation has plumbed history, memory, doctrine, and theology in order to pose perspectives and questions that shall always demand attention and reflection: What is it about humanity that leads people to objectify others? How does one keep and deepen faith in God in a post-genocide era? How are we to make room for our neighbors in post-genocide Rwanda?

[15] Words of Christopher Munzihirwa, quoted by Emmanuel Katongole in "Christopher Munzihirwa and the Politics of Nonviolent Love," in *Born from Lament*, 164.

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