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Music and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide

Peter Okeno Ong'are

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The Department of Music

Durham University

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Primary Supervisor: **Dr Simon Mills**

Author: **Peter Okeno Ong'are**

Secondary Supervisor: **Prof Max Paddison**

Music and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide

Abstract

Music has a long established and well acknowledged role in entertainment, education, development, therapy and other areas, but relatively little has been explored as to its role in the deeper aspects of reconciliation. The twentieth and twenty-first centuries have been marked by wars encompassing appalling atrocities, genocide, holocaust and diverse crimes against humanity Rwandan 1994 genocide being one of them; characterised by dehumanization, betrayals and annihilation leaving sore wounds of on-going antagonism between diverse social groups; motivating this research to focus on genuine reconciliation beyond the accustomed route of mere talks, discussions and prayers.

This research uses ethnographic data from fieldwork conducted between 2009 and 2013 both in and outside Rwanda, supported by various recorded materials to discover how music was used in putting an end to atrocities, restructuring relationships, establishing and sustaining new ones. This research uses a more community-engaged strategy encouraging participation of those more directly involved at grass-roots level.

The study explores Rwanda's history highlighting music's facility to bring people's past into the present, to stress unifying elements within broader society; genocide to address its causes, propagating an awareness of shared responsibility and hope for the future; Rwandan refugee camps and how music helped them cope and return to Rwanda; Rwandan 'New dawn' how it was idealised and actualized leading to the birth of a New Era; Commemoration as part of national ritual for reconciliation; National Symbols and their unifying power; and the organisations involved in perpetuating peace, healing and reconciliation. The findings strongly suggest that music has an enormous power in reconciliation resting on its ability to address multiple emotional human needs simultaneously.

Music and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide

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I am grateful to the Ruth First Educational Trust, who sponsored my Master's program and later offered financial, emotional and other support in the process of working on this research. And to St Chads College that has been my home for the past five years, with very good, friendly support staff and ample space for both academic and social support. I am grateful to the staff and students of St Chads College who have become part of my extended family and who gave me their continuous support. A particular mention to Jane Manley, St Chads College librarian, who tirelessly ensured that I had all the materials I needed for my research, ordering books and requesting them from various places.

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Last, but not least, I would like to thank my parents, the late Timotheo Ong'are and Ruth Ayako Ong'are, who inspired me to study, despite them never having the advantage of going to University.

I am for ever grateful to God who made it possible for me to see hope and light, giving me faith to face with confidence all that which He had prepared for me. I can boldly say *that God is my Ebeneser – 'The LORD is my strength and song, and is become my salvation.'* (Bible, Psalm 118:14, King James Version)

Challenges

This research never went without its share of difficulty. At the outset I had to deal with a number of medical setbacks, including severe migraines due to a damaged cornea. As a result I had to undergo a corneal transplant operation. This was followed by a period of two years of convalescence. During this time, I had to endure the slow process of removal of no less than fourteen stitches from my eye, two stitches per visit requiring a whole week of rest each time to nurse the sore eye. Inevitably, this meant that I could not expose my eyes to a computer screens or glance at bright paper. The course of this PhD research was marred by a number of significant bereavements. I experienced the loss of three close family members, all of whom died in Kenya, leaving us with the burden of financing the funeral and burial. I also lost two close friends through a road accident in Kenya (they had housed me in Kenya when I was stranded) and a close former student in a tragic road accident in South Africa. My wife was the unfortunate victim of a hit and run incident, leaving us with the burden of paying the hospital bills and various other related expenses - the case is still following its course through the Kenyan legal system. Naturally, these and other challenges have profoundly affected many aspects of both my work and my life, draining on vital financial, mental, spiritual and emotional resources. Then there was the administrative nuisance with the UK Border Agency who would only issue me with short term visa extensions. This meant not only added stress but also further strain on finances and time for each. In early 2013 I also learnt about the loss of one of my interviewees, who had become like a brother. To add to this litany of woes, my external hard drive and memory stick, both containing chapters that were ready for submission, got damaged and corrupted, causing me to redo most of it demanding more time, more stress and less rest. However all in all I am thankful to God who strengthened me and saw me through.

Dedication

To my lovely wife, Jennipher Okeno, and my beautiful daughter, Rehema Okeno, who have patiently and faithfully endured this journey with me. Although we have spent most of the past years on different continents, they have always been there for me and with me. Their words of encouragement and push for tenacity still echo in my heart. I will for ever be grateful for their understanding and continuous prayers for my safety and for the completion of the PhD.

Introduction

0.0 Research Background

Like many others, I have personally experienced and been struck by music's remarkable powers at various points in my life. It has soothed me in times of trouble and grief (especially when my brother died through a road accident). It has helped me recall information, people and places, acting as a potent symbol – a capability that I have gone on to exploit in my teaching of primary school children, where I have used music to aid their memory retention of dates, months and other things. It has been a vital force in joining me together with others in shared experience, instilling group solidarity and, sometimes, related sentiments such as patriotism. And, relating to this, musical involvement has helped bring me closer to people who I had formerly considered to be occupying an entirely different world to my own, holding contrasting cultural values and interests; and working as a choirmaster, I have personally observed individuals who were enemies develop more harmonious personal relations through mutual involvement in harmonious music-making. These and other experiences have sparked a deep awareness in me that music has a marked ability not only to bring people together, but also by extension to promote renewed harmony within and between damaged individuals, helping to reconcile their broken social relationships. But presumably there are limits to music's usefulness in this regard? Perhaps, in the direst circumstances, people turn away from music and resort to other reparative means? In 2008, my personal desire to understand the workings of music's healing efficacy led to my decision to conduct a detailed case study, in particular focusing on the various ways in which people have used music as a reparative tool in the most appalling predicament – namely in connection with the Rwanda genocide of 1994 when over 800,000 people were killed by their own countrymen in the space of just 14 weeks.

While offering drumming workshops at St Nicholas Church in Durham, during my Masters programme at Durham University, I met Dr David Gregory-Smith and his wife Liz who invited me for a meal at their home in New Brancepeth. I learnt that David works as a lecturer at the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) where he is also involved in quality assurance procedures; giving workshops to the staff. For a time, Liz had taught in the same institute before moving on to teach in the Kigali Anglican Theological College (KATC). We exchanged ideas and I elaborated upon my research interests, including my interest in music's socially reparative functions. Almost immediately, David and Liz strongly

recommended me to go to Rwanda. I was bewildered due to my preconceived ideas of continued insecurity in Rwanda but they assured me that it was now peaceful in Rwanda and, tantalisingly, they stressed that music was being widely and conspicuously used within an ongoing peace and reconciliation project. Our conversation then turned to address the flip-side of the coin – the use of music as a tool to break social relations – and, in particular, we discussed Simon Bikindi’s famously divisive songs and his court trial. I left my new friends’ house with my head buzzing with ideas and also some vital pieces of information, including contact details for both Manasseh (who went on to become a key informant, guide, facilitator and friend) and the UN-ICTR (United Nations – International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda). Over the following days, I conducted some preliminary library searches which were both frustrating and exciting: I discovered there were no extensive studies addressing music’s transformative roles prior to or following the 1994 Rwandan genocide. I already felt that I had found my research calling.

David and Liz Gregory-Smith also lent me two CDs, ‘*Turi Umwe*’ (‘We are One’) – featuring the Kiyoyi choir and produced by an organisation called ‘REACH Rwanda’ – and ‘*Mana, kiza u Rwanda*’ (‘Lord Heal Rwanda’), produced by ‘We are One’ Studios. Although the production processes, identities of producers, musical characteristics, and lyric contents of these two CDs are detailed in depth later in this thesis (in Chapter 6), it is worthwhile to focus on one track in particular at this early stage. Specifically, the title track of the former recording, ‘*Turi Umwe*’ (‘We are one’), poignantly isolates a number of central ideas, which I subsequently encountered again and again within other songs and within my discussions with Rwandans, and which are accordingly highlighted repeatedly throughout the ensuing chapters. At this point, it is pertinent to quote the text in full (as translated in the liner notes) before briefly unpacking the core ideas.

0.1 ‘*Turi Umwe*’ - ‘We are one’

Let’s get together with the same objective
If others are reconciling themselves,
Why not we, God’s new creation?

Chorus:

We are one, with the same flesh and one God
We are Rwandans

Why should we kill one another?
Yet we are of the same blood?
Let's come together and fight hatred
Because we are brothers and sisters

Verses:

1. From time immemorial we were one community
Sharing everything in mutual respect
When the colonialists came
They made us turn against one another
On so-called ethnic backgrounds bahutu, batwa, batutsi
And we killed one another
2. Fellow Rwandans, let's strive for Unity and reconciliation
And avoid those who want to lead us astray
With their selfish speeches intended for dividing Rwandans
To keep them in endless conflict
Let's say 'NO' to them and live in love and peace
- 3 We thank the Government of Unity
That instilled in us the reconciliation spirit
And eradicate discrimination and segregation
We now work together for common interest
Something that has surprised the world

The first three lines of this song clearly state the objective of the CD which is 'reconciliation', the primary focus of this research. Thereafter, the chorus emphasises the need for 'unity', which is of course the ideal consequence of reconciliation. Several of lines are indicative of explicitly religious beliefs, for example 'We are one, with the same flesh and one God', demonstrating the Christian outlook of the 'We are One' project organisers and hinting at the Rwandese majority belief in Christianity; at the same time, such lines articulate belief in a fundamental shared identity – that the different social groups within Rwanda are in fact linked by genealogical connections and common ethnicity. Developing this idea, the first line of the first verse states, 'From time immemorial we were one community', pointing to an assumed cultural cohesiveness back in the pre-colonial past and emphasising the benefits of understanding longer-term Rwandan cultural history. The next line, 'Sharing everything in

mutual respect’, then promotes the idea that Rwandans formerly adhered to social codes of behaviour resembling the East African *ujamaa* or South African *ubuntu*; in this simplified interpretation of history, these were allegedly the social relationships and interactions that were in operation before things went wrong. The third and fourth lines go on to state ‘When the colonialists came, They made us turn against one another’, alluding to the historical invasion of Rwanda’s geographical space and governance – a ‘turning point’ when identities and relationships were redefined, effectively and efficiently dividing the people and causing antagonism. Here then, it is unambiguously asserted that it was the colonialists who forced divisive ideology upon the Rwandan populace (‘They made us..’) and who, therefore, are ultimately to blame; there is no suggestion of any social schisms having existed beforehand. The lyrics then state that these divisions were made ‘on so-called ethnic grounds: Bahutu, Batwa, Batutsi’ before starkly pointing out ‘and we killed one another’, acknowledging that the Rwandan people were not guiltless but rather were the active agents of destruction.

Part one of this thesis (comprising Chapters 1 and 2) explores the historical background to the post-genocide peace and reconciliation programme. This appraisal is essential, and not only because it provides vital socio-historical contextualisation; rather than avoid their troubled past in the post-genocide era, Rwandans choose to face it head on – as a key strategy in the ongoing healing process. Of course, history is always re-interpreted in ways that further present-day agendas; and, accordingly, the officially sanctioned reading is widely disseminated not only to ‘heal’ but also to promote particular understandings regarding who are the ‘heroes’, who are the ‘villains’, and what are the ‘good and true’ Rwandan values. Accordingly, the long stretch of Rwandan history is very much alive in contemporary discourse and, crucially, also in music. ‘Turi Umwe’ is not exceptional in this regard. Paralleling the periodic divisions of Rwandan history reflected in ‘Turi Umwe’ (and also in other songs, academic studies, and spoken discourse), this study seeks to achieve a broad coverage of Rwanda and its music, addressing all of the following five periods:



Figure 1 Rwanda’s historic Time Line

The second and third verses of ‘Turi Umwe’ turn to address the contemporary predicament in Rwanda. The second verse presents a clearly-articulated resolution: it is a call for Rwandans

to pursue unity, reconciliation, love and peace and to resist ways of thinking that emphasise differences between social groups – acknowledging the existence of multiple interpretations of social history but forcefully proposing that only a unifying interpretation that highlights commonality over difference will propel Rwanda towards reconciliation. The third verse ties the latter notion to the reconciliatory efforts of Kagame’s post-genocide government, offering strong praise of its committed efforts to eradicate discrimination and segregation. So this song immediately appears to be putting forward a vision of Rwanda’s history, recent past and current direction that is sanctioned by the government; these musicians and producers (whose identities, activities, and interactions are explored in more detail in Chapter 6) seem to be playing a small role within a much larger project, overseen by the authorities. Part two of this thesis (comprising Chapters 3 to 7) explores this larger project in more detail, isolating the different ways in which musicians have been contributing to the ongoing movement towards peace and reconciliation in Rwanda.

0.2 The Focus of Research: Rwanda

Literally meaning, ‘the surface occupied by a swarm or a scattering’, “Rwanda” explicitly denotes a large geographical area; as Vansina explains, it has long been used as a territorial ethnonym amongst the peoples populating that location (Vansina, 2004). Being mountainous throughout, Rwanda is sometimes dubbed ‘the country of a thousand hills’ and, to a large extent, the country’s common terrain has helped establish a shared identity amongst its populace: Rwandans are mountain people. Meanwhile, the common terrain has served to unify the prevailing soundscape (see Titon, 1992 and Schafer 1980) of Rwanda, with similar sounds populating the everyday lives of Rwandans in all corners of the country. In particular, the mountainous terrain has enabled sound to carry over long distances (– and even more so with the aid of amplification). The time when the name Rwanda was adopted in Rwanda is not known but the boundaries were decided by the colonialists in 1885 (as discussed in Chapter 1, Section 2)

As well as alluding to Rwanda’s high altitude (averaging 1500m above sea level), Waller presents further details about Rwanda, mentioning its rather low average temperature of 19 degrees throughout the year and its rich fertile volcanic soil, which support the practice of cross and rotational farming, rendering Rwanda a successful agricultural economy, with 90% of its export being agricultural produce (in 1996). Waller (1996, pp.13-19, 27-29, 63) also alludes to the country’s rather small surface area of around 26,338 km², its correspondingly

small population was around 7.15 million in 1996 (roughly 271 people per km²) which according to world bank is currently 11.46 million (Kayihura, 2013), and its predicament of being land-locked in East Africa with Uganda in the North, Burundi in the South, Tanzania in the East and Congo in the West. Further details about the country's demographics, history, politics, economy, and so on, are presented throughout this thesis whenever pertinent. However, it is helpful to underline right from the outset the country's tiny size (small enough to facilitate tight control from central authorities and to evince a marked degree of cultural homogeneity), its ample resources (over which opposing social groups are bound to compete), and its being surrounded by oft-times volatile neighbours with whom various Rwandan social groups have shared complex relationships.



Figure 2 the Map of Rwanda¹

¹ Andaka, O. (2012) Rwanda, by Rwanda Eye [Online] Available at: <http://www.rwandaeye.com/news/1480/rwanda-northern-province-making-stedy-growth-investment/>, (Accessed: 18 November 2013)

0.3 Research Topic

Susan L. Carruthers (2000, p.1) poses the question: ‘How can we make sense of the twentieth century without war?’ In the 20th century, the ever increasing effects of industrial, scientific and technological development greatly impacted all aspects of life, benefitting those countries at the forefront of creating and implementing those developments. However, the 20th century was also marred by humanly devised destruction, unleashed on massive scales and creating wounds which are either yet to heal or have left scars that cannot be hidden or ignored. The century saw more genocides than any other, and hence has been defined as ‘century of genocides’ (Auron, 2005). There has been unprecedented destruction of people, their ways of life, socio-economic structures, resources and properties. As Carruthers points out, the long catalogue of wars, annihilations, tortures, and so on are generally attributable to conflicting ideologies that are viewed by the parties concerned as being irreconcilable (Carruthers, 2000, p.1). However, although destructive actions may be explained and rationalised in such ways, that obviously does not render the actions justified. Accordingly, some attempts at systematic destruction have been acknowledged as ‘crimes against humanity’ and have been addressed through tribunal; in the mid-20th century, surviving perpetrators of the Nazi holocaust were tried in Den Haag and, towards the end of the century, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was set-up and put into action. Besides Rwanda, various other African countries have been deeply affected by crimes against humanity including Kenya, Somalia, South Africa, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zimbabwe.

Music is widely recognised to have substantial power to influence attitudes and behaviour, especially when implemented within ritualized contexts. As a banner of identity, it plays a prominent role in many cultural activities, be they religious, political or primarily geared towards entertainment and, in addition, people frequently employ music as a means of developing and negotiating interpersonal relationships. They engage in musical activities, either as listeners or music-makers, to cement relationships and strengthen society in the process; music may offer models of culturally appropriate behaviour, which act as the basis for imitation and modelling (See, for further elaboration, Miell, 2005, p. 5, 120). Many commentators have noted how music is an integral part of life in most African cultures, used frequently and conspicuously as a social tool for enhancing people’s lives (See, for example, John Shepherd 1991, John Blacking 1973, John A. Sloboda 1985, and John Fiske 1993). This project provides further examination of music’s psycho-social efficacies within distinctly

African contexts, although focusing on rather less well documented scenarios – addressing a particularly fraught episode within a specific nation’s life, rather than concentrating on a chosen genre, instrument, or cultural institution. In short, as the thesis title clearly indicates (*‘Music and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide’*), the research seeks to pull together two strands of enquiry, fusing a historically contextualised exploration of the Rwandan genocide with a detailed study of music’s healing applications and effects (with the word ‘healing’ being used to denote both psychological and social repair).

0.4 Research Questions

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda is well documented by many authors and commentators who detail the breakdown of social relations, loss of property, mistrust, displacement, economic decline, and huge losses of life that occurred at the height of the disaster (see, for example, Prunier 1995, Melvern 2000, Mamdani 2002, and George 2005). Relatively few have written about the ensuing reconciliation process, which still continues today (rare examples being Virginia 1995 and Taylor 2001). Still fewer, if any, have concentrated on the role of the arts and of music in particular in this process, although documentaries aired by the three leading broadcasting stations in Kenya (KBC, KTN and NTV) and in Rwanda have suggested that music has served a vital role in restoring good social relations between the Rwandese. Accordingly, the questions raised and answered in this thesis are being addressed for the first time.

This thesis rests on the premise that Rwandese music recorded by Rwandans was and still is one of the pillars supporting the peace and reconciliation process in Rwanda. From this foundation, the research seeks first to isolate diverse instances wherein music has functioned as a tool for repairing broken social relationships in post-genocide Rwanda and second to reveal precisely how music has functioned in that capacity. Accordingly the following questions are central to this study: Who has used music to heal? (- and here the word ‘who’ denotes not only Rwandan musicians, but also organisations, cultural and political institutions, and the Rwandan people in general) What types of music have they employed and what messages have they communicated through their art? (- so here the word ‘what’ indicates extensive analysis of cultural products) And how have musical activities and cultural products worked in conjunction with other non-musical projects to evince psychological and social change? Given that this study exposes music’s varied healing capabilities following one of the most lamentable tragedies of the 20th century, it is hoped

that it will be of some use to future researchers; ideally, a number of lessons can be drawn from the ensuing discussion that can enhance future musical applications, not only to evince a deep and permanent transformation towards peace and harmony but also to prevent such inhuman acts from happening again within comparable contexts.

This study also seeks to explore a number of subsidiary fields of enquiry, derived from the questions listed above. These fields of enquiry are as follows:

- Music as education: How has music served as a means of instruction for Rwandans, for example with lyrics acting as a vehicle for imparting information about Rwandan history?
- Music for identity formation: How have musical projects contributed to the establishment of desired Rwandan self-images, building cohesive communities and a strong Rwandan nation?
- Music as therapy: How has music served to support emotional, mental and physical health for damaged individuals in the aftermath of genocide?
- Music as a communicative medium: How have people used music to express their ideas and convince others of those ideas' validity?
- Music as a powerful and potentially dangerous social tool: How has music been selected, vetted, censored, disseminated, controlled and marshalled with the aim of achieving specific goals?

0.5 Research Methods and Challenges

This research is largely based on findings gleaned from five fieldwork trips to Rwanda conducted between 2009 and 2013: September-October 2009, July-August 2010, March-April 2011, August-September 2012, and January-February 2013. Each fieldtrip involved meeting Rwandans in both Rwanda and Kenya, spending between 15 and 20 days in both countries on each subsequent occasion. Between the fieldwork trips (and still today), channels of communication have remained open, largely thanks to the prevalent usage of mobile phones and the internet, which are currently heavily relied upon to connect Rwandans across the wider Diaspora, and thanks also to the dedication and friendship of certain key informants. It has also been possible to retain close connections with Rwandan affairs, while accessing additional perspectives, by meeting Rwandans who are now based in the UK.

Interviews were conducted within and outside Rwanda with diverse people, including: survivors of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, soldiers both of the previous regime and the current regime, musicians involved in the ongoing peace and reconciliation project, custodians of educative memorial centres documenting various atrocities (not just relating to the Rwandan genocide), religious leaders, teachers and historians. A list of my primary interviewees is provided as Appendix A. Some interviewees preferred to remain anonymous for various reasons: some due to the sensitive nature of genocide and their personal experiences, others due to their personal involvement in the genocide, and still others due to their current positions and professions. Not surprisingly, the interviews yielded extensive valuable materials, which are utilised intermittently throughout the ensuing chapters, particularly to highlight Rwandan perspectives.

While conducting fieldwork in Rwanda, participant observation at peace and reconciliation events enabled a step-by-step appraisal of how music works in conjunction with other media and discourse to evince a powerful impact on Rwandan participants and assist the peace and reconciliation initiative. It was possible to construct detailed ethnographic reports based on personal experiences, particularly to shed light on the roles of music within the powerful transformative rituals of the annual memorial period, addressed in this thesis. While touring Rwanda cultivated a degree of familiarity with the country's physical and human geography, watching and listening to the Rwandan soundscape (including television and radio broadcasts) helped elicit a deeper understanding of stylistic and ideological norms and patterns of cultural dissemination and control. Following typical research methods (or, in other words, learning methods), findings gleaned from interviews and fieldwork observations were interpreted in the light of findings gleaned from existing academic studies – and vice versa. Connections were established between people, places, and events, eventually creating a picture.

To ensure a well-informed appraisal of music's roles in the Rwandan peace and reconciliation initiative and attain added cogency and immediacy, a highly eclectic approach to source materials has been adopted: extending beyond the use of existing studies and the above-mentioned conventional fieldwork methods for eliciting data, this study has also drawn ideas and information from a wide range of audio-visual sources (especially documentary films and recordings) and from articles found in newspapers, magazines, leaflets, booklets, organisation websites and blogs. Throughout this thesis, Rwandan perspectives are illustrated using materials from these diverse sources, re-presented in close juxtaposition together with

critical assessment. This is a type of research methodology and research presentation resembling the bricolage styles advocated and outlined by various scholars including Denzin, K. N. and Lincoln, S. Y. (eds) (2011), Deuze, A. (2008), and Tobin, K. and Kincheloe, J (eds) (2006). The approach seems particularly well-suited to the current thesis topic, considering that the Rwandan authorities themselves have consistently adopted a multi-pronged approach to communicating particular messages to the Rwandan populace, employing diverse print, audio, and audio-visual media in close conjunction. At the same time, to enable a broadly-informed reading of the selected focal musical activities and their respective socio-cultural contexts, this research has drawn from diverse studies in varied academic fields, especially anthropology, music therapy, ethnomusicology, religion, and cultural studies.

Audio-visual resources gathered for this research include documentaries, films and music relating to the Rwandan genocide, the composer and musician Simon Bikindi, RTLM (a Rwandan extremist radio station), Kangura magazine (a Rwandan extremist publication), various peace and reconciliation projects, *gacaca* proceedings, the proceedings of the trials at *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda* (ICTR) in Tanzania, and the policies and reforms overseen by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). These materials have been sourced from the United Nations (UN), *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda* (ICTR), Aegis Trust, Coventry Cathedral, *African Evangelistic Enterprise* (AEE), Youtube, and organisations such as Reach Rwanda, Reconciliation Evangelism and We are One. These audio-visual resources have proved very helpful throughout the course of the research process, providing poignant (though often distressing) evidence of what happened and showing how historical facts have been repeatedly repackaged and re-presented to fulfil particular agendas. In addition, ‘*Amandla*’, Lee Hirsch’s pivotal South African documentary film exploring the power of music in fighting against apartheid in South Africa, has proved essential, serving as a rare and exemplary model of how to achieve a thorough and incisive assessment of popular song’s reconciliatory powers; Hirsch shows how indigenous South African music created by and for South Africans played crucial roles in the struggle against apartheid, seemingly mirroring the Rwandan case in a number of respects.

I have faced a number of major challenges during both the research and write-up phases of this project, perhaps the most significant being my initial encounters with officialdom while staying in Rwanda. Introducing myself formally as a Durham University PhD candidate, researching on the genocide and its related musics, created a gap between me and the

researched thus stiffening the process of accessing information. Further obstructing the process of gathering fieldwork materials was my initial use of questionnaires, which further deepened the gulf between myself (as researcher/outsider) and Rwandans (as researched/keepers of knowledge). Following several disappointing experiences, I decided to change my approach to focus on building friendships; thereafter, I ensured that I introduced myself informally and engaged in talks that were geared towards social interactions before bring up the interests. This approach encouraged people to ‘open up’ and involve me in their discussions and activities. Although from my perspective, our interactive behaviour constituted ‘research’, to them it constituted the giving and taking of fairly conventional human socialising. What was most important to my informants was cultivating an honest friendship, this taking priority over scrutinizing my identity as a foreign researcher and assessing the agenda underlying my studies. I lived with them in their homes, and was treated as part of the family. Accordingly, most interviews were casual, featuring two-way exchange (rather than one-sided questions followed by answers); experiences, views and perspectives were shared, compared, and explored within relaxed dialogue, conducted in either Swahili or English. I spoke openly about my life in Kenya and the UK and, through a kind of reciprocal resonance, they responded by speaking openly about their lives in Rwanda and by granting me access to their personal social networks.

0.6 Literature Review

A wide variety of published written studies have been consulted to shed light on the formative processes that led up to the Rwandan genocide, the period of genocide itself, and the subsequent initiatives aimed at restoring peace. Some of these sources relate directly to Rwandan affairs while others pertain more to specific processes addressed in the course of the study. It is possible to categorise the various consulted written sources within the following themes:

Ethnicity, tribe, clan, and related anthropological designations: It is generally agreed that the 1994 Rwandan genocide derived from a deep hatred between opposing social groups in Rwandan society – specifically between Hutu and Tutsi. There are plenty of studies that explore the relationships between these social groups, scrutinizing the applicability of terms such as ‘ethnic group’, ‘tribe’, ‘clan’, and so on. Naturally, many of these studies are of an anthropological nature, with the following proving particularly useful: Newbury (1980), Billington, Strawbridge, Greenside and Fitzsimons (1991), Kertzer and Arel (2002), Fenton

(2003), Bailey and Peoples (2002), Gumperz (1982), and Eltringham (2004). These studies, together with various others, reveal much about the changing relations in the social strata, suggesting likely causes for change and demonstrating how self- and other-identification has transformed in line with particular ideologies.

Pre-colonial Rwanda: To explore the social structures and customs of pre-colonial Rwanda (Before 1897), which although distant in time and poorly documented are nevertheless referenced in the discourse and music of peace and reconciliation, this research relies heavily upon contributions by Vansina (2004), Taylor (1996) and Newbury (1988), whose work is largely based upon re-evaluation of early travellers' reports, pioneering Rwandan historical studies (such as those by Alexis Kagame), and orally transmitted myths, lore, and other cultural products.

Colonial Rwanda: Although there are no books solely focused on exploring Rwanda during the colonial period (1897- 1962), substantial coverage is provided by Kertzer and Arel (2002), Chamberlain (1999), Pakenham (1992), Brooke-Smith (1987) and Harlow and Carter (2003). These authors consider the motives for colonial occupation, the ethnic ideologies of the colonialists, and how they impacted upon Rwanda and internal inter-class relations.

Missionary history: Overlapping with the colonial period is the rise of the missionary church, regarding which major contributing authors are Gatwa (2005), Rittner, Roth and Whitworth (2004), and Kroslak (2007). These authors demonstrate how the Christian evangelical revival, initiated in Rwanda in 1940, eventually came to convert an estimated 90% of the population by the time of the genocide, exerting a profound influence upon the politics and leadership of Rwanda. They expose the paradoxical role that the church played – preaching love but enforcing divisions in society, promoting church buildings as places of refuge but also hosting a very high percentage of killings and betrayals.

The 1994 Rwandan genocide: There are a great many studies that focus specifically on the 1994 Rwandan genocide, examining how and why it started, how it was conducted, and its wider impacts nationally and internationally. The following have proved particularly useful: Mamdani (2002), Wamwere (2008), Kroslak (2008), Short and Reed (1988), Auron (2005), Destexhe (1995), Eltringham (2004), Whitworth (2006), Waller (1996) and Li (2007). Like many of the other studies mentioned above, these consider the formation, dissemination and impact of destructive ideologies; here, however, coverage tends to draw substantially from the personal testimonies of genocide survivors, serving to highlight the diverse horrors of the

genocide period. Other perspectives on the genocide have been drawn from journalism, for example articles by Arnot (in *The Guardian*, 30 November, 2010, p.9), Smith (in the *London Review of Books*, 17 March, 2011, pp. 3-8) and Pettifor (in the *Daily Mirror*, 18 May 2011, p.21).

Other crimes against humanity: To promote deeper insights into the Rwandan genocide, this research also draws from studies of other genocides, holocausts and crimes against humanity – mainly focusing on those originating in Africa. Through comparison, points of commonality and difference are effectively highlighted. The following studies are particularly notable: Polman (2010), Wamwere (2008), Peterson (2002) and Eversmann and Schilling (2005). Research also draws from journalistic articles such as those by Mahmood Mamadani (in *London Review of Books*, 20 January, 2011 pp.31-33) and Carlin (in the *Independent Magazine*, 5 March, 2011 pp.13-22).

Media, war, and propaganda techniques: Both before and after the 1994 Rwandan genocide, diverse media (including music) have been called into play as a means to promote certain ideologies. Before the genocide, songs (such as those of Simon Bikindi) were highly conspicuous components within radio broadcasts designed to promote hatred against particular groups. While many of the aforementioned sources about the Rwandan genocide allude to the strategic use of mass-media, a number of authors have placed greater focus on examining the ways in which media have been employed to mobilise listeners against a perceived enemy, for example Straus (2010), Carruthers (2000), Mpambara and Alexis (2013) and Thompson (2007). To aid the identification of propaganda techniques in Rwandan songs and jingles and shed light on how those techniques operate, this research has drawn from the work of Gulseth (2004), Conserva (no date), Magedah (2008), Yanagizawa-Drott (2010), O’Connell and Castelo-Branco (2010) and others.

In some commentaries tight control over the media is judged necessary – for example, in the *Kenyan Daily Nation Newspaper* (2010) report of Rwandan foreign minister Louise Musikiwabo’s position on media control – but in others it is considered overly restrictive and manipulative, for example by Nyange and Milmo (in *The Independent*, 2011, pp.8-9), Morris (in *The Independent*, 2011, p.21), Free Uganda Press (2009), and Herman and Peterson (2010). In drawing from diverse perspectives (not just the pro-Kagame voices), this research seeks to give a balanced and unbiased coverage of the focal topic.

Peace and reconciliation: This research has particularly drawn from Collins (1994), Sinclair (2002), Elwell (2001), and Brown (1993) to shed light on how reconciliation may be defined and what processes are typically involved. Although these authors examine diverse peace and reconciliation projects (not just in relation to Rwanda) without substantial focus on musical projects, their key observations apply well to the Rwandan musical projects addressed in this thesis. While Tutu (1999) emphasises forgiveness as being a prerequisite for reconciliation, others emphasise the implementation of justice, for example *Hauschildt (2012) and Shema (2011)*. *As detailed earlier, a number of additional audio-visual resources detailing post-genocide tribunals have also been consulted during the course of this study.*

Commemoration, memorial centres and memorial days: Commemoration has become part of Rwanda's national culture and remembrance (rather than avoidance) is embedded within most Rwandan peace and reconciliation cultural products, including song. Many authors have examined the roles played by remembrance in peace and reconciliation projects, for example Smith (2002), Brandstetter (2010), Carrier (1996), Derrida (2001), Kangas (2012), Kaplan (2009), Hodgkin and Montefiore (2005), Pegley and Fast (2012) and Saito (2006). All of these authors maintain that institutionalised collective remembrance is highly efficacious in post-catastrophe healing processes. This research also uses information from memorial centres such as the Kigali Memorial Centre, Aegis Trust, and Coventry Cathedral, all of which uncompromisingly provide hard facts in the form of testimonials, artefacts, and audio-visual evidence.

Symbols of national unity: Inevitably, the transition from genocide to peace and reconciliation has involved substantial re-creation in many domains of life. Having been tainted through association, some highly conspicuous cultural symbols representing pre-genocide Rwanda – the coat of arms, flag, and anthem – have been substituted with newly formulated replacements. Other unofficial yet still potent symbols of Rwandan identity have also been highly conspicuous in the national rebuilding programme. The following studies have been especially useful, providing helpful suggestions regarding how to interpret Rwandan national symbols and their purposes: Vesperini (2001), Cusack (2005), Neubecker (1999), Cajani and Ross (2007), Stokes (1994), Shanafelt (2008), Cerulo (1993) and Gosnell (1942).

Music as a social tool: This study combines anthropological, historical and musicological enquiries to highlight how music has been employed as a social tool within Rwandan contexts – as both a product of culture (influenced by human thoughts and behaviour) and a

means for moulding broader culture (influencing human thoughts and behaviour). As such, the general approach has been informed by diverse ethnomusicological studies, including key texts by Stokes (1994), Nettl (2005), Merriam (1980), Blacking (1973), MacDonald, Hargreaves and Miell (2002), Stone (2010) and McLeod (1981). Some studies, such as Turner (1975), Stokes (1994) and Shelemay (1989), have proved particularly helpful in highlighting music's potency within ritual contexts; in Rwanda, music saturates the commemorative rituals of reconciliation. At the same time, these (and other) authors demonstrate that music-based rituals are very much part of modern life, helping people articulate, recognise, and differentiate between identities; in Rwanda, as elsewhere, ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilised through music. Of course, music also serves vital roles amongst Diasporic communities. Before, during and after the Rwandan genocide, displaced Rwandan communities have shared sentiments about the homeland through the medium of song – and interpretation of these instances has been informed by Adeniyi (2008), Berns-McGown (2007/2008), Monson (2000), Lie (1995), Slobin (1994), Manuel (1997/1998), Safran (1991), and others. Meanwhile, somewhat surprisingly, there are very few studies that focus specifically on the music of Rwanda – only articles such as 'Voices of the hills' and Günther (1964) – but small fragments of information have been drawn mostly from a few articles by famous reporters such as Dorine Umutesi in addition to the music CDs and LPs.

Music therapy: Following the 1994 genocide, music has been widely employed as a form of therapy, albeit in non-clinical settings. To help elicit how music functions to restore wellbeing in the individual and then the community, this research has drawn from the contributions of authors such as Smith and Patey (2003), Oldfield and Flower (2008), Pavlicevic and Ansdel (2006), Aldridge (1999), Sutton (2002), Munro (1978) and Bruscia (1998). These researchers effectively demonstrate how music can be employed to restore emotional, physical, mental and social wellbeing, evincing greater self-reliance, more positive attitudes, and stable social cohesion.

0.7 Thesis Structure

Following this introduction, discussion proceeds through seven chapters and a final conclusion. The first two chapters together constitute Part 1, which serves to provide necessary socio-historical background to the 1994 genocide. The subsequent chapters – Part 2 – then explore various peace and reconciliation projects, focusing on the roles played by music in building, sustaining, healing and reconciling broken social relationships.

Chapter One: Pre-Genocide Rwanda is divided into three sections. **Section one** examines pre-colonial Rwanda (before 1884), introducing the three social groups (Hutu, Tutsi and Twa) and examining their historical inter-relationship with reference to key concepts such as clan, ethnicity, tribe and social strata. Age-old traditional Rwandan musical instruments and their social roles are also discussed. **Section two** explores Rwanda under colonial rule (from 1884 to 1962), highlighting the objectives and policies of the colonialists and examining the ideologies that they fostered amongst their Rwandan subjects, The influence of the church upon state policy is also explored in this section, as well as the various ways in which Rwandan musics were labelled and interpreted by early music researchers. **Section three** briefly addresses post-independence Rwanda (from 1962 to 1994), charting the fatal deterioration of relations between opposing social groups within Rwandan society and chronologically bringing the discussion up to the time when the Arusha peace accords were signed (on the 4th of August 1993).

Chapter Two focuses on the 1994 genocide, beginning by exploring the implications of the term ‘genocide’ and related terms. Following a brief summary of the unfolding of events, discussion turns to assess the role of the media (and music in particular) in promoting genocidal thoughts and deeds, focusing on Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTL), Kangura Magazine and the songs of Simon Bikindi.

Chapter Three: A New Dawn in Rwanda explores the formation, development, and conquests of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and examines its ideologies. It charts the end of genocide, the advent of a government of national unity, the restructuring and redefinition of social structures, and the introduction of *umuganda* and *gacaca* as tools for peace and reconciliation. Selected songs by influential musicians-in-exile are analysed to reveal the poignant messages contained within and to assess the various ways in which music-making supported the new movement towards peace.

Chapter Four explores the predicaments faced by Rwandan refugees – both Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) and Externally Displaced Persons (EDP). It focuses on three specific camps – Mbarara in Uganda; Benako, Musuhura and Lumasi in Tanzania and Goma in the Democratic Republic of Congo –, exploring the diverse applications of music to evince transformations within the individual and the community, motivating many to return to Rwanda and participate in rebuilding their country.

Chapter Five: Rwandan Old and New Symbols of National Unity assesses the various functions performed by national symbols, identifies the conspicuous Rwandese national symbols (both official and unofficial) that existed before genocide, and then explores the various substitutions and modifications that were instigated after genocide with the aid of promoting peace and reconciliation. Alongside the national flag, coats of arms and dress, various songs and musicians are shown to work as powerful national symbols, playing a vital part in restoring stability: the national anthem and specific rhythms, instruments, musicians, and songs.

Chapter Six assesses the work undertaken by peace and reconciliation organisations, focusing especially on those organisations that employ music as a central medium of communication. Special attention is given to Christian organisations, reflecting the re-emergence of the church as a powerful institution at the forefront of the movement. Some of the organisations discussed include the African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE), REACH Rwanda, 'We are one' and Kizito Mihigo for Peace.

Chapter Seven explores how and why the 1994 genocide is systematically, periodically, and institutionally remembered within Rwanda, with special attention given to assessing the ways in which music contributes to proceedings. In addition to providing detailed analysis of events held during the official national mourning time in Rwanda, this chapter discusses the approaches applied by the *Genocide Memorial Centre* in Kigali, *Aegis Trust* in Nottinghamshire and *Centre for Peace* in Coventry Cathedral.

The thesis finishes with a chapter of conclusions, summarising some of the key findings regarding how music has been used as a tool for reconciliation in Rwanda and offering suggestions for future research.

Chapter One

Pre-Genocide Rwanda

Rwanda's pre-genocide past is highly relevant to Rwandans in the present – frequently referred to in songs and other media. The distant past in particular is often conceived as a time (despite all the differences and misunderstandings) of harmonious co-existence between the different social groups of traditional society (see Gatwa, 2005, pp. 9-11; Pottier, 2002, p. 9; Vansina, 2004). In the aforementioned peace and reconciliation song '*Turi umwe*' ('We are one') and other songs like the refugee song '*Umunezero*' ('Happiness') and commemoration song '*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*' ('We refuse for our history to be dirtied'), discussed in a later chapter, this vision is of central importance. The implication is that Rwandans can draw inspiration from a partly-imagined harmonious distant past to inform their current and future relationships. Rev Antoine Lutayisere and, indeed, most other informants stressed to me that, therefore, any study of reconciliation should include substantial evaluation of Rwanda's past: only through doing so can one reveal the perceived cycle from harmonious social order to broken social relations and back to harmonious social order, and at the same time shed light on the historical themes that are alluded to in contemporary reconciliatory discourse.

This chapter therefore does not seek to concretize a particular reading of Rwandan history as incontrovertible 'fact' but rather aims to introspect Rwanda's history, highlighting those elements that are commonly cited as having been shared – elements in the anthropological, sociological, ethnic, cultural, and linguistic realms. These are the elements that stressed in the reconciliation process to propagate cohesion and collaboration. The chapter is comprised of three sections: Section one assesses pre-colonial Rwandan culture (before 1884), focusing especially on issues relating to social organisation; Section two considers the major transformations instigated during colonial rule (between 1884 and 1962), looking in particular at the introduction of ideologies relating to ethnicity, which most people (academics and non-academics alike, both within and outside of Rwanda) isolate as having been a particularly pernicious divisive factor; Section three briefly considers the period of pre-genocide Rwandan Independence (from 1962 until 1994) and the further breakdown of social stability. The chapter closes with a brief introduction to Rwandan traditional music and musical instruments, which also considers various ways in which Rwandan musical practices have been categorised and represented within published recordings, particularly in relation to the three social groupings. Crucially, I also draw from my fieldwork interview research to

assess how contemporary Rwandans respond to these traditional forms and approaches to categorisation.

1.1 Section one: Pre-colonial Rwanda (before 1884)

Authors exploring pre-colonial Rwandan history unavoidably rely on early visitors' accounts and the oral histories passed down by epic story tellers and poets. The Rwandan oral historians learned by rote about the Rwandese historical past, culture and traditions (see Vansina, 2004, pp. 3-8; Gatwa, 2005), evidently acting as repositories of local history and praise singers in a manner resembling the West African Griot (Eyre, 2000, pp. 2-4). Of course, oral history is prone to blur historical fact with myth and fiction, so the contemporary historian is faced with a very difficult task when determining what elements constitute historical truth, and what constitute modifications or additions. As Newbury explains, contradictions are rife; oral history 'has caused certain severe problems' (1980, p. 389). The aim of this section is not to scrutinize historical events but rather, through the use of various anthropological barometers relating to the concept of 'ethnicity', to explore the historical relations between the different social groups in Rwandan society; after all, it is their relations that are alluded to in contemporary discourse (invariably without mention of particular events).

Before colonialism, most African communities existed as either Kingdoms or chiefdoms. Some still exist today but within the context of a nation, prominent examples including the Zulu Kingdom (Guy, 1979), Basotho Kingdom (Thompson, 1975), and Buganda Kingdom (Kiwauka, 1971). Kenya is a good example of a country that still embraces the governance of traditional authorities like the chief and elders (Clogh, 1990), although social structures and customs are changing with time. In contrast, the constituent kingdoms of Rwanda became merged at an early point in history, sometimes willingly and sometimes through coercion, quickly being translated into a nation (see Newbury, 1988; Vansina, 2004; Mamdani, 2002; Gatwa, 2005, p.111). Accordingly, the general consensus amongst contemporary historians is that Rwandans have an enduring shared heritage that can be traced back to the distant pre-colonial past; it is generally postulated that Rwandans (be they Hutu, Tutsi or Twa) have long shared geographical space and land usage, principles of social organisation across communities, allegiance to particular authority figures, culture, language, economic systems, codes of behaviour, and ethnicity. It is worthwhile briefly reviewing these unifying factors

here, since they are commonly held as inviolable truths in the post-genocide discourse of reconciliation.

1.1.1 Shared geographical space

Prior to the scramble for Africa by the Europeans in the late 19th Century, ‘the territorial reality’ of the Rwandan ‘empire’ incorporated several kingdoms of varying longevity and size, occupying a bigger landmass than encompassed by geographical boundaries of modern Rwanda (Gatwa, 2005, p.9). As Vansina points out, a primary reason for settling on this hilly territory was the rich volcanic soil, well suited to agriculture and cattle rearing, as well as subsidiary activities like tree planting, bee keeping, goat farming, and hunting and gathering (2004, pp. 24-25 & 40; see also Waller, 1996: 19). Sharing the same type of land, similar modes of production and overlapping regional identification, while existing in close geographic proximity, the kingdoms are thought to have interacted extensively. Vansina, in particular, argues that the borders between many kingdoms were indistinct and porous, allowing much movement of population, through marriage, migration and other means (2004, p. 21). In sharing territorial affiliation and use, the kingdoms are likely to have also fostered shared or overlapping identities – as co-habiting mountain people (See Bailey and Peoples, 2002, p.17 for further discussion about the importance of territorial affiliation in identity formation).

1.1.2 Shared principles of social organisation

As elsewhere around the globe, traditional African societies were comprised of identifiable social categories, within which individuals shared tasks, practices, trades, and group identities (see, for example, Destexhe, 1995, p.37). Certain social categories were grouped together, constituting distinct social classes – wherein people occupied the same structural position in relation to the centre of power in the social system (Tylor, K. B. and Park, E. R. (ed.), 1996 p. 79). A common view is that Rwandan society was not an exception; apart from age groups and gender, there was a hierarchical formation of social strata. Formerly, these strata were often thought to be rigidly delineated, allowing little upward or downward movement. However, Pottier, Catherine Newbury, and other leading academics studying pre-colonial Rwanda are emphatic in discrediting the early colonial-period vision of Rwandan society as having been static and consistently marked by a stratified caste-like system (disseminated most influentially by Jacques Maquet 1961) (Pottier, 2002, pp.13-15; Newbury 1980, p. 390; Newbury, 1988, pp. 3 & 5; see also Maquet 1961). Newbury argues that this vision offers ‘a

valid portrait of neither colonial nor pre-colonial Rwanda’, adding that the prevalence of Tutsi domination was more recent and less extensive than the model assumed (1988, pp. 3 & 5) and emphasising that the terms ‘Hutu’, ‘Tutsi’ and ‘Twa’ were used in much more complex ways to denote permeable social categories (1988, pp. 11-16). Vansina concurs that the boundaries between strata were not clearly defined and were, in many cases (but not all), porous (2004, pp. 36 & 40).

Many academics also consider that, in 19th century Rwanda, the designations of ‘Hutu’, ‘Tutsi’, and ‘Twa’ referred less to discreet strictly segregated *ethnic* groups and more to porously boundaried *classes* within a unitary society (allowing a degree of social movement from one category to another). Hence, high class members of the community, with wealth and extensive ownership (specifically of cattle), could be labelled ‘Tutsi’, while farmers were more likely to be considered ‘Hutu’, and people involved in hunter-gathering or certain other trades might be considered ‘Twa’. It is well documented that, even within a single family (with members inter-related through blood kinship), different individuals could belong to any of the three strata, and that movement between the strata could take place through intermarriage or change in personal fortune (see Eltringham, 2004, p.5; Newbury, 1980, pp.389-403; Vansina, 2004, pp.30-36; Gatwa, 2005, p.10; and Destexhe, 1995, p.37). Of course, in times of domestic peace, the strata might not act in opposition to one another but rather could complement one another to sustain the community.

1.1.3 Shared allegiance to authority figures

The general consensus amongst current historians is that the Rwandan kingdoms shared similar leadership structures based on similar principles, in particular acknowledging the supreme rule, divine origins, and right to hereditary succession of the king (*mwami*) (see, for example, Destexhe, 1995, p.37). The supreme central authority of the king is clearly illustrated throughout the history of the Nyiginya Kingdom, as detailed by Vansina (2004). Indeed, the word ‘Nyiginya’ itself refers to the founding king and his lineage (*ibid.*, pp. 45 & 86) and Vansina documents many examples of successive kings who seemingly singlehandedly engineered major developments for their kingdom; a particularly well-known example is Ruganzu Ndori, who in the 17th century wielded supreme power over court, capital, army, and patron-client contractual relationships (discussed further below) – engendering a power structure that is thought to have typified subsequent Rwandan societies (*ibid.*, pp. 34, 44-45, 65-68). This structure, presided over by the king, signalled a broadening

acceptance of the idea of a single political community to which all belong (Fenton, 2003, p.163) – a kind of proto-nation, encompassing Rwandans (of all classes) as subjects. This is not to suggest that Rwanda existed as single kingdom in the pre-colonial times but articulates the view that, despite there being multiple kingdoms, these were intimately linked through common understandings of power-relations and through their common recognition of *mwami* being the overall authority.

1.1.4 Shared culture, beliefs and customs

Contemporary understandings of the term ‘culture’ do not differ markedly from the definition posited by Tylor (1891, p.8): ‘that complex whole encapsulating knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’. Culture is commonly understood to comprise ‘designs for living’, formed through historical processes, and learned and transmitted within societies (Billington, Strawbridge, Greensides and Fitzsimons, 1991, pp. 2-3; see also Eltringham, 2004, p.8-9; Destexhe, 1995, p. 37). Bailey and Peoples isolate five components of culture (2002, pp.20-23) and, from scrutinizing these in conjunction with historical studies, it is apparent that Rwandan social groups (here referring particularly to Tutsi, Hutu and Twa) may well have maintained shared culture – or, at least, largely ‘overlapping cultures’ – rather than have their own discreet cultures (see also Eltringham, 2004, p.8; Destexhe, 1995, p.37):

- 1) Shared norms or ideals regarding how one ought to act in certain situations. In Rwanda, the much-documented frequent social interactions between individuals for example, within patron-client contracts, trade, service provision, and inter-marriage; necessitated shared norms.
- 2) Shared values regarding goals and desirable ways of life. In Rwanda, land ownership, cattle ownership, ancestor-worship, loyalty to the king, and dying a good death were universally valued amongst social groups (For further examples and additional clarification, see Vansina, 2004, p.34; Gatwa, 2005, p.14 and others).
- 3) Shared symbols, with agreed-upon interpretations regarding their significance. In Rwanda, for example, the king himself was regarded as a symbol of unity, and associated symbols such as the dynastic drum had profound significance for his subjects (Vansina, 2004, p.38).
- 4) Shared classification of reality, with commonly-held ideas regarding what exists and what does not exist – extending beyond the tangible to encompass more abstract

concepts such as the reality of social categories (such as ‘Tutsi’ and ‘Hutu’, male and female and various other categories).

- 5) Shared world-view, regarding how reality and events are interpreted, how people view themselves, and how they relate to the world around them. In Rwanda, people are documented to have widely concurred, for example, that reality consisted of two realms (the physical and the spiritual) with the king serving a dual role as manager of the supernatural and secular leader (Vansina, 2004, p.39).

It must be acknowledged, however, that while it is logical to assume that many communities would have shared these cultural facets to a high extent (particularly amongst Hutu and Tutsi), other communities would have lived (and still do live) more isolated existences, in environments encouraging the fostering of more distinctive and independent ‘designs for living’. Most obviously, in the pre-colonial period this would surely have been the case for some of the more remote forest-dwelling communities of Twa.

1.1.5 Shared language

Gumperz argues that language is the main parameter for distinguishing between and establishing social and ethnic identities; it is a key marker of shared identity and culture (1982, pp.6-8; see also Bailey and Peoples, 2002, p.36). Significantly, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa speak the same language – Kinyarwanda. As Gumperz clarifies, shared language enhances communication amongst members of the in-group, eliminating misinterpretation and binding the group in shared common identity, while at the same time forming a cognitive boundary separating those who do not speak the language into an ‘outsider’ category (1982, p. 1-5). Accordingly, it appears that the language of Kinyarwanda has long served as a tool for unifying values amongst different groups within Rwanda (Destexhe, 1995, p.37; Gatwa, 2005, p.10; see also Lewis (2000) and Warrilow (no date)). At the same time, however, it must be acknowledged that there are many records (historic and recent) of Twa speaking their own language (Rutwa) as well as a distinctive dialect of Kinyarwanda (alluded to in, for example, Grund 1997). Clearly, in this respect too, the extent of sharing was not uniform across all sectors of society.

1.1.6 Shared economic systems

It appears that the different social groups within Rwandan society (presumably excepting the more remote communities of Twa) all subscribed to the same economic system: wealth was

mainly calculated according to cattle ownership, with cattle being used as a form of currency, alongside other items (in particular, metal goods such as hoes) (Vansina, 2004, p.47; Pottier, 2002, p.17; and Newbury, 1988, pp.202-203 and 207-208). Various types of patron-client contract, such as *ubugabire* and *ubuhake*, were maintained between individuals of different social class, typically involving the patron offering cattle (which were usually temporarily loaned rather than permanently given) and protection to the client in return for work (ibid.). Later in pre-colonial history (documented from the 19th century), the king introduced taxation in form of cattle and in the last analysis, all cattle and land belonged to him anyway (Vansina, 2004, pp.70-73). These economic systems not only served to ensure that economic, social and political hierarchies were maintained, but also to unite people in a shared culture. The economic system served the same purpose of integration as, for example, the US dollar in all US states and Euro in all European member states – while, of course, making central governance more manageable.

1.1.7 Shared codes of behaviour

Although Rwandans historically did not use terms such as '*ubuntu*' and '*ujamaa*', it is generally thought that they practiced these types of ethical code – which are particularly associated with the South African and East African regions.² *Ubuntu* is a code of ethics and philosophy adhered to in most South African cultures, encapsulated in the saying: 'A person is a person through other people' (Coplan, 1985, p.104). *Ujamaa*, meanwhile, is an East African conception centred on belief that the blood and life received from the ancestors circulates in everyone's veins uniting people in one big family (Gatwa, 2005, p.14). Gatwa points out that, in early Rwanda, community life was managed by a 'relational harmony', described by Father Tempels as 'Bantu cosmic and ontological order', a complete logical system of the universe, of people and things, of existence, life and survival (Gatwa, 2005, p.13); as with *ubuntu* and *ujamaa*, shared understanding in this 'relational harmony' would have defined people's interactions with one another and with the environment.

1.1.8 Shared Ethnicity

Nigel Eltringham stipulates eleven 'ethnic qualities' that justify a group to be defined as one ethnicity (2004, pp.9-10):

² At the same time, however, it is important to acknowledge the inevitability of regional variance; these two codes would surely have been conceptualised and actualised in subtly different ways within Rwandan contexts. A more detailed exploration of these codes of behaviour lies beyond the scope of this study.

(1) an existing 'name' for a group (an *ethnonym*); (2) members speak a different language or dialect; (3) members demonstrate a distinct religious practice; (4) live in a particular geographic territory; (5) express commitment to particular 'values' or 'norms'; (6) dress in a particular way; (7) share a sense of fictive,/metaphoric kinship, a sense of shared history, ancestors or provenance; (8) are economically specialised; (9) possess a characteristic physical appearance; (10) have particular forms of leadership; or (11) are perceived to be 'radically' or biologically different.

Other academics also elaborate upon the definition of ethnicity, highlighting additional characteristics. For example, Tylor K. B. and Park Robert E. P. (eds.) (1996, p.80) emphasise that an ethnic group must have existed with shared identity for a great many generations, associated with a particular territory. Meanwhile, Fenton (2003, p. 107) highlights that ethnic group identities are largely self-perpetuating, maintaining coherent fields of communication and interaction, and – like Gumperz – he stresses that notions of ethnicity serve not only to bind together members of the in-group but also to distinguish them from other categories of the same order; ethnicity invokes ideas of both inclusion and exclusion (Fenton, 2003, p.109; see also Gumperz, 1982, pp.5-7).

In his study of pre-colonial Rwanda, Jan Vansina details how Rwandan social identity stemmed from the fundamental traditional social unit of the *inzu* (household), from which, after three generations, the *umuryango* (extended family) developed, which in turn grew to form the *ubwoko* (clan), and so on, forming ever-larger communities and, eventually, the nation (2004, pp.30-31); in this way, Rwandans living in the same communities would have come to share a strong notion of common descent – in other words, common ethnicity. (See Fenton, 2003, pp.13, 23 & 107 for further discussion regarding how ethnic groups are commonly conceived to develop from smaller social units). Like others, Eltringham (2004) points out that these social categories did not adhere to the anthropological definitions of ethnic groupings, as is the case for other class-related groupings such as lords, aristocrats, serfs, or slaves. Wealth, power, status, and occupation are generally not used as markers of ethnicity and, as Pottier starkly explains that, it was 'wealth not race that was the basis of the... distinction between Hutu and Tutsi' (Pottier, 2002, p.13). Other researchers similarly portray the labels of 'Hutu', 'Tutsi' and 'Twa' as having been understood in distinctly economic and class-related terms (See 1.1.2; see also Newbury, 1980, pp.389-403 and Vansina, 2004, pp.30-36 for more details about the complexities surrounding 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' designation). Meanwhile, Destexhe (1995: 36) insists that it would be extremely

difficult to identify any kind of cultural custom or product that was undeniably exclusive to Hutu or Tutsi groups.

In post-genocide Rwanda, the preceding arguments about shared attributes are frequently expressed, in variously simplified forms, through different media (including songs such as the aforementioned ‘We are one’), and in diverse contexts (including conversation). The purpose of expressing these arguments is to generate a robust idealistic vision of Rwanda’s pre-colonial past – specifically, as a mono-cultural and mono-ethnic unit. This is indeed a core understanding at the heart of the entire post-genocide peace and reconciliation project, as overseen by Kagame’s government (see also Pottier, 2002; Newbury and Newbury, 2000, p. 869). Perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, counter-arguments pointing towards pre-colonial ethnic, linguistic, and cultural distinctions are seldom encountered within contemporary Rwandan discourse (within Rwanda); this is part of the post-genocide phenomenon referred to by Buckley-Zistel as ‘chosen amnesia’ (2006, pp. 131-150). For instance, the hypothesis that the Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi originally came to the region at different periods of history, from different origins, and as distinctive (and undeniably ‘ethnic’) groups is routinely avoided or rejected (see also 1.2.4). Likewise, the existence of multiple languages and dialects within Rwanda – historically and today – is commonly glossed over; for example, I was often told that there was only one language in Rwanda. Lastly, evidence suggesting pronounced pre-colonial Hutu/Tutsi tension, inequality and conflict (political, social and economic) is avoided – even though such evidence clearly exists. Pottier, for example, acknowledges that, under King Rwabugiri especially, patron-client systems such as *uburetwa* (for farmers) and *ubuhake* (for cattle keepers) were widely resented by poorer Hutu because they forcibly blocked the social flow from one class to another and enabled widespread exploitation (Pottier, 2002, p.13). Long before the Belgians arrived, there are records of hatred against the Tutsi overlords.

Nevertheless, contemporary academics agree that it was not until later in Rwandan history that the divisions between the social categories became, in Pottier’s words, ‘sharply accentuated, indeed racialised’ (2002, p. 15) through colonial interventions.

1.2 Section Two: Rwandan Colonial History (1884 to 1962)

Colonialism is generally characterised by invasion, exploitation of local economic systems and resources, subordination of inhabitants to lower class status, and absorbing existing authorities into the colonial power structure (Seymour-Smith, 1986, p.43); in essence, it

involves the application of formal political authority by more powerful peoples over weaker peoples and their territories (Collins, 2003, p. 221; and Marshall, 1998, p.92). Harlow and Carter explain that, in the late 19th Century, Africa was quickly won through David Livingstone's three 'C's – Commerce, Christianity and Civilization – together with additional fourth 'C', Conquest (2003, p.3).

As depicted by many authors, at the Berlin conference summoned in 1884 by Germany's Prince Bismarck, Africa was demarcated into territories of varying sizes, irrespective of traditional kingdom or empire spheres, which were then distributed amongst European countries, granting easy access to land, raw materials, cheap labour, and other advantages (Chamberlain, 1999; Pakenham, 1992; Brooke-Smith, 1987; Harlow and Carter, 2003). Rwanda was first governed by the Germans who, in 1897, successfully coerced the king into allowing his country to become a German protectorate and then exerted indirect rule through imposing Batutsi chiefs in the North of the country (Waller, 1996, p.5). At this point, Rwanda lost half of its territory, with the newly imposed boundaries causing shortage of land, despair and frustration; some districts that had been part of the Rwandese Kingdom in 1895 suddenly found themselves cut off from the power centre, now being relocated within Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Gatwa, 2005, pp. 34-35; Vansina, 2004, pp.11-12). In 1910, another Berlin conference resulted in the Rwandan territory being divided further into three parts – German Rwanda, Belgian Rwanda and British Rwanda – although this period of joint rule was shortlived with the Belgians taking over authority in 1916 (Gatwa, 2005, pp. 6-9). The Belgians amplified their indirect rule by actively pursuing a programme of 'divide and rule' (Gatwa, 2005, pp. 6, 35-37 & 39), promoting ideologies and myths of divided ethnicity so that Rwandan society was less cohesive and more suppliant – enforcing existing notions of social hierarchy through diverse policies, and introducing new yet seemingly corroborative social theories from abroad. The colonialist policies influenced Rwandan life and society in diverse ways, some of which are detailed below.

1.2.1 Education

Before the colonialists came, Rwandans must have had their own traditional methods for passing down skills in areas such as husbandry, performing arts, administration, medicine, blacksmithery, trade, and so on. Although there is a profound lack of written resources addressing education in pre-colonial Rwanda, several Rwandan informants, including teachers at the Kigali Music Centre, emphasised the inevitable orality of teaching and

learning in pre-colonial Rwanda and suggested that every aspect of social life would surely have integrated music making, storytelling and poetry. The teachers explained that skills transfer would mostly have occurred through ‘engagement’ – on job training, observation, listening and trying out; the school was everywhere and learning was from multiple sources. Meanwhile, certain skills would have been ‘kept in the family’ to a greater extent, with children learning from an older relative or relatives – as one of my informants, Sophie Nzayisenga, did in respect to learning the *inanga* (trough zither).³

Under colonial rule, children were obliged to learn a new language (French), reading and writing, and various other skills, employing materials manufactured by the colonial masters. The traditional concept of the learning space was changed from ‘everywhere and anywhere’ to a specific geographical location, namely the classroom. As Rittner, Roth and Whitworth clarify, many schools were run by missionary churches, which promoted a particular hierarchical vision of society in young Rwandan minds – a vision which no doubt already had its basis in pre-colonial inter-group relations (see Section 1.1.2) but which was now being confirmed, corroborated and up-dated by the powerful new presence. The schools must have played a prominent role in shaping the young people’s self-image and behaviour towards others for many years to come; the (Hutu) elites who ruled the country after independence from Belgium in 1962 trained in these schools (2004, p.230). In accordance with the ‘divide and rule’ approach, the education system before 1962 was focused on cultivating skills amongst the Tutsi, who were considered ‘born rulers’ and duly appointed as chiefs, clerks, agronomists and representatives for the colonialists; meanwhile, Hutus were blocked from higher education and removed from all positions of authority within society (Gatwa, 2005, pp.6, 84-85). There are no records of the colonialists analysing the traditional educational methods so as to develop them; rather it seems likely that they simply imposed their own system, as is the nature of colonialism.

1.2.2 Rwandan Communication Systems

Surprisingly little has been documented and analysed regarding the communication systems of both pre-colonial and colonial Rwanda. In respect to pre-colonial Rwanda, however, Vansina emphasises that communication was predominantly verbal (oral) with substantial

³ Information gathered during my 2009-2010 academic visit to Rwanda: Personal Conversation (p.c.) with teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music school, including Sophie Nzayisenga and discussion with Rev Antoine Lutayisere in Kigali, Rwanda

emphasis placed on the closely related mediums of song and poetry; at the royal courts, singers and poets served as repositories of historical information, news reporters, praise singers and other roles, with musical events in the evenings serving as forums for the exchange of information (2004: 80-83; see also further discussion in Section 1.4. below). Later, the colonialists introduced French as an additional language of communication and diverse new media for dissemination – electronic media (radio, telephone, telegraph and such like) and print media (including newspapers, magazines and letters). At the same time as enabling more effective and efficient communication across greater distances, these media also ensured that divisive ideas and values were widely disseminated, penetrating into people's lives in new ways and on a more daily basis; as will be discussed in the next chapter, the media's penetrative powers (introduced during the colonial period) eventually came to play a key role in fostering and co-ordinating genocidal behaviour after the colonialists had left.

1.2.3 Racist ideologies

Rev Antoine Lutayisere was one of many informants in Rwanda who presented me with a vision of Rwanda's pre-colonial life as having been especially harmonious. He claimed that, although people often associate 'Africa' with brutality, wars, disorder and other negative conditions, when the colonialists came to Rwanda, they found people who were 'rhythmic, orderly, strong and well organised' and suspected that they were a 'superior culture'.⁴ The same view is expressed by Françoise Grund (1997, [CD Liner notes]) who states that 'the Germans in 1894 discovered a well-organised state, financial, pastoral and military institutions offering protection from neighbouring countries'. During our conversation, Rev Lutayisere went on to articulate the widespread understanding that it was the colonialists who introduced divisive ideologies from abroad – and it is relatively easy to see why this interpretation has come into prevalence. Although there is ample evidence of hierarchical conceptions in pre-colonial Rwanda relating to the 'Tutsi' and 'Hutu' social categories, and evidence also of Tutsi/Hutu tension and conflict, it is undeniable that the colonialists played a vital role in cementing a distinctly race-related understanding of this hierarchy, propounding and acting upon their own already well-formed and scientifically 'proven' theories regarding race. When the Germans arrived in Rwanda, they were engaged in a search for ideal racial types – and they found prime examples, specifically amongst the Tutsi populace.

⁴ P.C. Rev Antoine Lutayisere (2010) at St Stiens Anglican Church in Kigali, Rwanda

The identification of race, according to Kertzer and Arel (2002, p.10), involves ‘seizing... certain physical characteristics and inventing a biological category for those people who manifest them’; collating to the definitions of ethnicity explored in the previous sections, the members of a race are thought to share a ‘separate and distinct history, culture, geographic origin or area, religion, language or colour of skin’ (2002, p.155). According to Steve Fenton, the colonialists believed that: firstly, it was possible to classify the whole of human kind into a relatively small number of races defined primarily by physical and visible difference; secondly, that races shared not just appearance but also temperament, ability and moral qualities; thirdly, there was something that could be called ‘racial inheritance’, whereby the physical and moral qualities of the race were preserved through racial descent; and, fourthly, that races of the world were hierarchically ordered with the white race or races being superior to all others – in accordance with social Darwinist theory (see also Gatwa, 2005, p.67) (Fenton, 2003, p.19).

In accordance with the above-mentioned conceptions of race, the groupings of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa were identified as hierarchically distinct racial types: in the 1920s and 30s, the colonialists classified Rwandans into racial types according to height, weight, nose width, nasal and facial index and, from 1925, all government documents included an extensive description of the races, as part of a ‘race policy’ (Gatwa, 2005, pp.35-39). Then, in 1930, following a systematic census undertaken by the Belgian authorities, each Rwandan was issued with an identity card (See Appendix C), specifying whether they were Tutsi, Hutu or Twa (Pottier, 2002, p.117; Kertzer and Arel, 2002, pp.156 &159; White, 2009, p.474). Thereafter, it was practically much easier to identify and favour Tutsi individuals over Hutu, granting them greater social, political and economic responsibility and status (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, pp.156 &159; White, 2009, pp.471-481). In this way, any opportunities for social mobility that may have existed in earlier Rwandan social structures were obliterated: categories became concretised, racialized, and polarised (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, pp.5-6, 156 &159). The pathway to higher social status, which was through higher school education and employment in government institutions, was a privilege restricted to those labelled on the identity cards as ‘Tutsi’; this essentially prevented ‘Hutus’ from achieving wealth and leadership.

The definition and concretization of racial types continued right up to the end of the colonial period: Jean Hiernaux amassed further anthropometric data from measuring height, nose size, and skull circumference among other things, while the anthropologist Jacques Maquet

conducted an ethnography-based survey of ethnic characteristics and behaviours (although exclusively interviewing Tutsis at the core of the Rwandan monarchy) (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, pp.156 & 159). And, unfortunately, even in the ensuing period of independence, the ID cards instituted by the Belgian colonialists remained in use, eventually becoming a significant facilitator for the killings during the 1994 genocide – enabling easy identification of the ‘enemy’ (Watner and McElroy, 2004, pp. 55-56).

1.2.4 Migration theories

From the very outset of the colonial period, theories of Tutsi supremacy – some already in place and others newly introduced – were allied to migration theories. According to David Waller, it was German explorers who first pronounced the Batutsi to be elite of Nilo-hamitic origin (Waller, 1996, p.5) – ‘partly white’ half-caste descendants of Noah’s youngest son Ham, who had migrated to the area from much further North (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, p.155). Meanwhile, the Bahutu and Batwa were conceived of as representing inferior races – Negroid Bantus and hunter gatherers respectively (Kertzer and Arel, 2002, p.155). Thereafter, the church consistently emphasised the Hamitic myth and migration theory to justify Tutsi domination (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth (ed.), 2004, p.149) and studies by respected anthropologists, such as Charles Gabriel Seligman, were also marshalled to the cause – Seligman famously describing the Hamites as the ‘great civilizing force of Black Africa’ in 1930 (Gatwa, 2005, pp.6 & 68; see also pp. 40, 64-65). In Europe, popular culture has also served to reinforce these conceptions; in our conversation, Rev Antoine Lutayisere, for example, alluded to a film adaptation of the 1885 Henry Rider Haggard novel *King Solomon’s Mines*, in which the kings are tall, light skinned, and polished in behaviour and mannerisms.⁵

While migration theories proposing differing origins for the three groups (Tutsi, Hutu and Twa) are notably downplayed in the post-genocide ‘We are one’ rhetoric of peace and reconciliation (for obvious reasons), they remain prevalent in scholarship (especially outside of Rwanda), albeit without the pseudo-scientific biblical references to the Old Testament and without hierarchical judgement. David Waller, for example, suggests that the Batwa pygmoid hunter gatherers migrated to Rwanda between 2000 BC and 1000 AD, the Bahutu cultivators arrived in around 1500 AD and the Batutsi arrived later between 1600 and 1700 (Waller,

⁵ P.c. Rev Antoine Lutayisere (2010) St Stiens Anglican church in Kigali, Rwanda.

1996, p.4). Gatwa, however, is careful to point out that the hypothesis of Tutsi migration from the North has not yet been scientifically demonstrated (Gatwa, 2005, p.66). Gatwa (2005) extensively discusses various immigration theories, including: the theory of Del Purgia and Mashal, which identifies Batutsis as migrants from the Plateaus of Tibet; Jean Joseph Gobineau's theory viewing Tutsis as a white superior race from Mesopotamia; Gustav Adolf Duc Von Goetzen's theory that Tutsis migrated from Galla land, South Abyssinia; and Father Delmas' theory stating that Tutsis came from the sky, while Hutus and Tutsis are hybrids. There are still other migrations theories that exist today but the exploration of these theories is beyond the scope of this study.

1.2.5 The influence of the Church

As the only religious influence in Rwanda apart from traditional belief systems (Gatwa, 2005, pp.59-60), the church and its missionaries appear to have been deeply involved in all the major events of Rwanda's 20th Century history (see Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004). According to Daniel Krosiak, the 'Church and its missionaries, in particular the white fathers, became one of the pillars of Belgian Colonial Policy' (Krosiak, 2008, p.20). The evangelization of Rwanda began in 1900 with the installation of the white fathers who arrived in Rwanda from Uganda (Gatwa, 2005, p.58).

The method of evangelism recommended by the cardinal was first to convert the ruling class who would then bring in the masses (Gatwa, 2005, p.75). To assist this process, in 1917, King Musinga was forced to sign a bill of 'liberty of conscience', which stated that for the ruling class to preserve their privileges they must join the church (Gatwa, 2005, p.87). However, King Musinga opposed Christianization and it was not until his deposition in 1931 and the subsequent church-sanctioned appointment of a sympathiser that mass conversion of the Rwandan populace was ensured. Musinga's successor, King Mutara III Ruhadigwa was more open to Western ideas and the teachings of Christianity, and was so supplicatory to the Belgian rulers that he was notoriously known as '*Mwami W'abazungu*' – 'the king of the whites' (Krosiak, 2008, p.20). Subsequent to his baptism in 1943, King Mutara III Rudahigwa sanctioned the official consecration of Rwanda and its people to the Virgin Mary and Christ the King on the 27th October 1946 (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004, p.51; Gatwa, 2005, p.93).

From the moment of their arrival in Rwanda at the beginning of the 20th century, the Catholic missionaries supported the racial theories outlined above – emphasising the Hamitic myth

that Tutsis were descendants of Noah's youngest son Ham and stressing social-Darwinist ideas of racial hierarchy (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004, pp.56, 149-150). As mentioned earlier, they encouraged the crystallisation of ethnic consciousness and the institutionalisation of racism through teaching a fabricated racialised version of history in missionary schools, blocking Hutu from higher education, selecting Tutsis to promote western civilization, and privileging Tutsis to key positions of power (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004, p.151; Gatwa, 2005, p.46). The Church's impact in these areas was profound, resting on the fact that they were the nation's second largest employers, only surpassed by the Belgian government, ensuring them a major material as well as spiritual influence on the Rwandan population (ibid.). Daniel Krosiak (2008, p.20) states that, as an instrument of socialisation, nowhere else in Africa did the Church play a more critically important role than in Rwanda (See also Gatwa, 2005, p.93).

Towards the end of the colonial period, a new generation of colonial and Catholic Church leaders, many of whom had fought against ethnic elitism in Europe in the Second World War, felt uncomfortable that their organization was sustaining similar racist policies in Rwanda and challenged the Church institutions to match their teachings with their deeds (Gatwa, 2005, pp. 6 & 95). Partly as a response, in the 1950s, the Catholic Church and the Belgians switched their allegiance from the Tutsis to Hutus (Gatwa, 2005, p.6); naturally, this did not serve to iron out social inequalities but rather set in store a raft of new problems for the Rwandan people – summarised in the ensuing section.

1.3 Section Three: Independence 1962-1994

Writing in respect to nation states, Roger Scruton defines independence as the ability of a state to exercise rights of government in its own territory without encroaching on the rights of other states. Expanding on this view, he states that its implication is that no other state has legal right to interfere in the internal affairs of the independent state, whether directly or indirectly (Scruton, 2007, p.323). Accordingly, when Rwanda received independence in 1962 and the colonialists left, it can be argued that the country was essentially being 'left on its own' – with no external presence remaining to monitor goings-on and maintain peaceful and functional (albeit tense) interaction between the Rwandan social groups. There is no evidence to suggest that the colonialists attempted to redress the deep-rooted problems prior to departure by seeking to promote social equality and harmony; on the contrary, the use of

identity cards specifying race continued into independence and so did racial stereotyping and institutionalised racism (Kertzner and Arel, 2002, p.13).

As mentioned above, in the waning days of European hegemony, the Belgians had turned against the Tutsis, inadvertently setting them up to be the objects of Hutu attacks and inciting prominent Hutu to formalise the revolutionary Bahutu Manifesto of March 1957 (White, 2009, p.475). And, inevitably, it was a Hutu, Gregoire Kayibanda, who won the presidential elections following independence in 1962 (Destexhe, 1995, p.78). According to Alain Destexhe, the two Hutu parties that existed at the time of independence, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) and Coalition for Defence of the Republic (CDR), disseminated racist ideologies and behaviour through media propaganda and militia-led 'punitive expeditions' against Tutsis. The government's lack of intervention meant that the killings went on largely unhindered (Destexhe, 1995, pp. 28-29). It is apparent that the Tutsi were collectively held responsible by the Hutu majority for past ills, viewed en masse as colonialist sympathisers and enforcers. The red stripe on the post-independence Rwandese flag (discussed further in Chapter 5 in relation to national symbols) was even interpreted as representing the bloodshed and suffering incurred during the people's liberation – specifically, the blood of Hutus and not Tutsis (Jarig Bakker, 5th June, 1999 cit. Berry, no date). According to my Rwandan informants, some of the anti-Tutsi propagandistic songs dating from this period remained popular for decades and were revived for the 1994 genocide; my informants told me that, because of the songs' racist contents, they did not want to associate with, sing or even recollect them.⁶

In accordance with the prevailing racist ideologies, President Gregoire Kayibanda only nominated Hutus to government positions. In 1973, following his deposition through bloodless coup, the head of the armed forces and new president, Juvenal Habyarimana, continued the institutionalised exclusion of Tutsis from positions of authority, imposing a 10% quota on Tutsis employed in civil service and teaching posts (Destexhe, 1995, p.79). In short then, the inception of Rwandan independence saw a dramatic reversal of privileges, redoubled persecution, and a deepening of the social schism between Hutu and Tutsi social groups – which, of course, eventually culminated in the 1994 genocide, explored in the next chapter.

⁶ P.c. Teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre and students at the University of Rwanda (2009 – 2010), Kigali, Rwanda

1.4 Introducing Rwandan traditional music: The centrality of music in Rwandan Culture

The majority of ethnomusicological studies – including the seminal texts of authors such as Merriam (1964), Nettl (1983) and Stokes (1997) – discuss and support the view that music is at the same time a product of culture and a facet of culture, carrying in itself elements that shed light on the histories, self-images, values, knowledge, and emotional states of performers, listeners, and their communities. Certain writers, meanwhile, have stressed music's transcendental qualities; at the same time as being intimately associated with specific people, times, places and ideas, it nevertheless has a status as existing beyond and above society. Martin Stokes, for example, states that 'Music is... considered a domain of a special, almost extra-social, autonomous experience'; he points out that 'music is not just a thing that happens in society... [As] Antony Seeger argues, [society] might also be usefully conceived as something which happens in music' (1997, pp.1 & 2).

Music's immense importance for humankind is, of course, very well recognised. Vikas Shah (2013) is just one of many who express this in stark terms, stating that music 'is one of the most primal and fundamental aspects of human culture'; he goes on to quote Levitin (2007) as follows: 'Whenever humans come together for any reason, music is there... Music is and was [always] part of the fabric of everyday life' (cit.2013, unpaginated). Of course, music's capacity for binding and articulating community is universally recognised and widely commented upon; as Pavlicevic and Ansdell put it: 'music creates community' (2006, p.28).

Meanwhile, music's enhanced integration in the everyday life of cultures that are less text-based and more reliant on oral tradition has often been highlighted; Nketia, for example, points out that music becomes an even more valuable 'means of transmitting culture and knowledge'; songs, in particular, are 'like little books in a culture that is based upon oral traditions' (1999, p.17). Naturally, this condition applied in traditional Rwandan society and, accordingly, it is not surprising to find that the integration of music in everyday life is especially highlighted in the few existing Rwandan music-related publications – for example in two easily Accessed and widely disseminated publications: *Voices of the Hills: Musical Instruments from Rwanda and Burundi* (Anon., 2012), which is issued by the Royal Museum for Central Africa and relates to the collections made by ethnomusicologist Jos Gansemans and Jean-Baptiste Nkulikiyinka, and *Culture and Customs of Rwanda* by Julius Adekunle (2007).

In 'Voices of the Hills', to highlight musical integration, it is simply stated that 'Music, dance and poetry have always been the most spectacular expressions of Rwandan culture. They constitute elements of identity and socialization and as such have pervaded the lives of this nation of farmers, shepherds and herdsmen, potters and other craftsmen' (Anon., 2012, p.3). Meanwhile, Julius Adekunle echoes this view: 'Since precolonial times, music and dance have played an invaluable role in the cultural practices and customs of Rwanda... Music and dance continue to be integral parts of the civil, economic and social life of the people' (2007, p.144). Not surprisingly, both sources emphasise music's centrality in rituals – such as those of courtship, harvest, and rites of passage including marriage and funerals – wherein music has served to transmit history, fundamental values, world views, and advice, while at the same time demarcating boundaries within the community between social groups of different ages and statuses (Adekunle, 2007, p.142; Anon. 2012, p.3). In interview, several informants similarly expressed this same vision of music being central in the transmission of Rwandan culture. Sophie Nzayisenga, for example, stressed that songs were important for imparting information and ideas relating to identity; she said that, when it achieves these ends, music becomes emotional, 'touching the soul of the people'.⁷

Typically, sources categorise traditional songs and instruments according to function with 'Voices of the Hills' identifying a broad classification into two main categories – music that gives rise to dance (*imbyino*) and music that is designed for listening to (*indirimbo*), often associated with storytelling, poetry and eloquence (Anon. 2012, p.3; see also Adekunle, 2007). Beyond this, songs in particular have generally been categorised according to particular themes and social activities: lullabies, love songs, hunting songs, pastoral songs, warrior songs, wrestling songs, praise songs and so on (see *Rwanda Intore Dancers*, no date). In interview, Sophie Nzayisenga and Aimable Nzabayesu expressed similar conceptions regarding the traditional classification of music – namely, that it was done according to social function. Sophie and the teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre even highlighted a category of pastoral songs that are sung to cows when they are feeding or being milked, with the intention of 'making the cows to produce more milk' (ibid.).

'Voices of the Hills' (2012) demonstrates that Rwandan traditional musical repertoire was also classified according to the musical instruments employed – the instruments themselves

⁷ P.c. Sophie Nzayisenga, at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre (2009) Kigali, Rwanda.

serving to highlight performers' identities and musical functions (with the dynastic drum perhaps typifying these roles most explicitly; see also Vansina 2004: 84 & 89).

A comprehensive organological survey of Rwandan traditional instruments lies beyond the scope of this study – especially since only a very small number of those instruments ever feature in the post-genocide songs of peace and reconciliation (addressed in later chapters). Nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging some of the more conspicuous instruments, if only because they constitute part of Rwandan musical culture. The following instruments, as explained and discussed by the teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre, all have close relatives in neighbouring countries: the *inanga* trough zither (the representative instrument of Rwanda, employed as a national symbol; see Chapter 5), diverse forms of *ingoma* (drums), *urusengo* (bamboo flute), *umwirongi* (lobelia flute), *amakondera* (trumpets), *amahembe* (antelope horn), *iningiri* (a bowed string instrument similar to Kenya's *orutu* from the Luo community and *isiriri* from the Luhya Community), *umuduri* (a one stringed musical bow similar to *uhadi* from South Africa), *ikembe/icyembe* (lamellophone with plucked metal strips similar to the Zimbabwean *mbira* and Zambian *kalimba*), *ikinyuguri* (rattle), *urutaro/intara* (shaken winnowing basket), and *amayugi* (ankle bells, akin to those found in the South Africa and similarly made of diverse materials) (see also Cooke and Gansemans, 2007-2014, Anon., 2012; *Rwanda Intore Dancers*, no date; and Appendix B & B1). Of course, subsequent to the arrival of the colonialists and missionaries, and the associated improvement in communication technologies (granting cultural flow between Rwanda and its neighbors), diverse other instruments, musical forms, and musical patterns have entered the Rwandan cultural sphere. Like other cultural facets, music is inherently dynamic, undergoing transformation and change, constantly responding to collective human needs and conditions (Sagnia, 2002, p.3), while at the same time 'modif[ying] the environment, shaping and colouring the surrounding atmosphere' (David Aldridge, 1999, p.63).

1.5 The Ethnicity-Based Classification of Rwanda's Traditional Music

Unfortunately (but unavoidably) there are no recordings of Rwandan traditional music from pre-colonial Rwanda and no documents from that period which seek to categorise Rwandan music according to the categorisation systems of the time. Rather, all existing recordings were made subsequent to the colonialists' arrival and influence.⁸ Detailed analysis of historic

⁸ Thankfully, owing to the efforts of remarkable individuals, there is now a sizeable body of recordings of Rwandan traditional music. Notable early recordings include those of Peter Cooke (1968, made available at

pre-genocide recordings of traditional Rwandan music lies outside the scope of this study; as indicated by the dissertation title, ‘Music and Reconciliation in the Aftermath of the Rwandan 1994 Genocide’, the primary focus here being on elucidating the ideology and musical products of the genocide and of the following peace and reconciliation process – and, intriguingly, while the post-genocide songs of reconciliation embrace a variety of popular music idioms, they draw only a very limited range of ingredients from traditional musical forms (discussed in Chapter 7). Nevertheless, it is pertinent to provide some brief examples of how the three different social groups – Hutu, Tutsi and Twa – and their music have been represented in earlier releases. For the purpose of this brief study, three recordings have been chosen dating from different phases in Rwandan history: 1) Denyse Hiernaux-L’hoest’s collection of Rwandan songs recorded towards the end of colonial era (UNESCO 1954-55, see Discography); 2) Jos Gansemans’ recordings of the 74-year old (approx.) court *inanga* player Rujindiri, made in 1974 during the pre-genocide independence period (Rujindiri, 1990, see Discography); and 3) Grund’s recordings of Rujindiri’s pupil Medard Ntamaganya, made after genocide in 1996 (Grund, 1997, see Discography).

In their sleeves notes, all three releases distinguish Tutsi, Hutu and Twa as three distinct ethnic groups with contrasting origins. Denyse Hiernaux-L’hoest (1954-55) states that at the time of recording the LP the groups were ‘hereditary social groups or castes of distinct origin’; his use of the term ‘caste’ is perhaps not surprising given the fact that the release involved collaboration with Jacques Maquet (author of *The Premise of Inequality in Rwanda: A Study of Political Relations in a Central African Kingdom*, 1961), who – as mentioned earlier – perceived the social groups as having always existed as ethnicities which were strictly stratified (even prior to colonial interventions). Meanwhile, both Jos Gansemans and Linda Vanden Abele (writing in Grund, 1997) define the categories through reference to the stereotypical physical descriptions – Tutsi being ‘Ethiopic’, Hutus being ‘negroid’, and Twa being ‘pygmoid’ (Gansemans, 1990, p.16; Grund, 1997). Abele (in Grund (1997, [CD Liner notes])) provides further information about the Twa’s distinctiveness, alluding to their unusual accent for speaking Kinyarwanda (incorporating traces of another archaic language), their original status as ‘neither man nor animal’, and their traditional close alliance with the Tutsi (acting as scouts, spies, executioners, buffoons and – especially – musicians). It is

British Library Sound Archive) and Hugh Tracey (1952, of the royal drummers) and other music. Nowadays, diverse recordings are readily available in different formats (LPs, video, audio cassettes, CDs, DVDs) and, of course, it is possible to observe performances live in diverse forums, including Rwandan TV programs, national celebration events, and so on.

perhaps significant, however, that Abelle makes efforts to detail commonalities linking the three social categories: common language, shared ‘overall culture’, same clan structure, and shared religious beliefs (Grund, 1997).

In the earliest of the three releases (1954-55), the individual items are broadly classified according to ethnic group affiliation – Tutsi music, Hutu music, Twa music. Denyse Hiernaux-L’hoest notes the contrasts in style, pointing out: ‘there is nothing to surprise us in the fact that the three social groups of Rwanda, so contrasting in their genetics and their culture should differ in their forms of musical expression.’ The same understanding is elaborated upon at length by Robert Günther in *Musik in Rwanda* 1964 – not surprisingly, given that Günther was another collaborator (alongside Maquet) in the compilation and presentation of the UNESCO release. In his book, through detailed musical analysis, Günther explicitly sets out to highlight the differences between Hutu, Tutsi and Twa musical traits and link these traits to migration and origins theories – for example, suggesting that a high incidence of melismatic ornamentation and parlando vocalisation points towards the Tutsi’s North-Eastern origins (see McCollester, 1966, pp. 222-224). In line with Denyse Hiernaux-L’hoest and Robert Günther’s arguments, the Hutu-, Tutsi- and Twa- related tracks on the UNESCO release certainly suggest that – at this point in history at least – the three groups associated themselves with markedly contrasting styles of musical expression (differing in all musical parameters). The ‘Twa’ tracks, in particular, are suggestive of that group’s outsider status, representing strikingly different (seemingly almost unrelated) principles of musical organisation. Unfortunately, however, it should be noted that it is hard to reach any convincing conclusions regarding the relationship between musical style and social group using this particular source, simply because crucial ethnographic details are not provided. Most obviously, for each track, one is left wondering: who are the performers, who are the patrons, and who are the audience (if there is one)? Can one assume, for example, that all the ‘Hutu’ tracks were performed by Hutu for Hutu? Or were some performed by Twa for Hutu, by Hutu for Tutsi, or perhaps by a mixed group? It may even be a false representation to catalogue the tracks according to social group; perhaps, from the performers’ perspectives, the tracks should have been catalogued according to function.

Echoing the interpretations of the earlier colonial-period researchers, Jos Gansemans similarly refers to a segregation of music-making activities and repertoire in his sleeve-notes, stating that, before 1962, musical life ran in ‘two levels’ – the music of the Tutsi class being linked to dynasty, land history and Tutsi activities and the music of the Hutu and Twa being

geared towards entertainment (1990, p.16). He acknowledges that *inanga* music, in particular, ‘was the privilege of the Tutsi’ albeit traditionally performed by invited musicians who were often of the Twa class (ibid.; see also Grund 1997). Partly owing to the nature of the two later CD releases – focusing on the repertoires of individuals rather than compiling diverse musical forms by different musical groups – not surprisingly, for those, there is no explicit ethnicity-based classification of tracks.

During my 2009, 2010 and 2011 field trips to Rwanda, I presented Apolo Makara, Emmanuel Mutangana, Joseph Uziel, Aimable Nzabayesu, Sophie Nzayisenga, Manasseh Tuyizere and other anonymous interviewees with a selection of the 1954-55 recordings, playing them audio excerpts and showing them how they were categorised and labelled. Universally, they took great exception to the ethnicity-based labelling of the items, flatly denying any historical segregation of musical repertoire and style and considering the labelling to be an ideological unsound – even racist – symptom of a bygone era. For them, the diverse musical styles and forms simply reflected different facets of the life of one community – not three ethnic groups. They argued that, as in other African communities elsewhere, music would surely have been shared cultural knowledge; to qualify as a performer, musical skill and knowledge would have been the essential requirement, not ethnic affiliation. They further argued that it is simply not possible for three discreet musical cultures to coalesce into a single unified culture (as proudly identified in today’s Rwanda), without leaving lingering traces of differentiation. My informants’ unvarying responses were highly revealing – clearly demonstrating the extent to which the ‘we are one’ ideology promoted in the post-genocide era (see also Pottier, 2002) has replaced earlier divisive ideologies within contemporary Rwandese consciousness.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly explored Rwanda’s pre-genocide past. Initially focusing on the pre-colonial period, it identified various historical facts that are used (in the officially sanctioned post-genocide reading of Rwandan history) to support the tenet that Rwanda was once a harmonious mono-ethnic and mono-cultural state – before the colonialists came. Amongst the most influential unifying elements explored in this chapter were shared geographical space and land usage, principles of social organisation across communities, allegiance to particular authority figures, culture, language, economic systems, and codes of behaviour. Links to the distant past are maintained in today’s Rwanda through a number of features, including *gacaca* (traditional court justice), *umuganda* (community service), *umudugudu* (clan-like

social units of 10 houses), shared language (Kinyarwanda), shared religious belief (with most Rwandans now being Christians), traditional dress (especially amongst women), royal court culture (now preserved in museum form in Butare), traditional musical instruments (especially *inanga* and drums) and dance (especially the *intore* dance) (See also Chapter 5, for further discussion about national symbols). These cultural features continue to serve as agents of unification, binding the vast majority of Rwandans into communities of shared identity, locally, internationally and in the diaspora.

This chapter has also identified the various colonialist interventions that are commonly pinpointed (in the officially sanctioned post-genocide reading of Rwandan history) as having been responsible – in large part – for promoting divisive racist ideologies in the Rwandan consciousness, forming deep schisms between the three social groups (Tutsi, Hutu and Twa). Unsurprisingly, simplified readings of history (such as that propounded in the song ‘We are one’) choose not to acknowledge that hierarchical conceptions of social groupings existed prior to colonialist interventions (together with tensions, conflicts and injustices). And, of course, they choose not to recognise that certain factions within Rwandan society were complicit in deepening divides. Rather, the focus remains firmly upon the colonialists’ coercion and enticement, their institutionalization of ethnic divisions, and their fostering of an upper-class composed of compliant sympathetic Tutsi – all facilitated primarily through the assigning of racial types on identity cards and the widespread use of that information in selection processes. This chapter has acknowledged that the church also had important roles to play in this process; it had direct influence upon the government and its policies and, as custodians of the schools, it could easily inculcate divisive ideologies into young Rwandan minds. It has also been shown how notions of inherent physiological and psychological difference and attached ideas of inherent superiority and inferiority were sustained well beyond the colonialists’ departure, causing the new Rwandan government not to view its nation as ultimately comprising one people. The tension and animosity between the social strata was liable to erupt into a full-scale catastrophe with just the slightest trigger.

Songs for peace and reconciliation – such as ‘We are One’ (detailed earlier) and others addressed later in this thesis – reference the distant Rwandan past, seeking to highlight that, before external colonialist influences, the Rwandan people ‘were one’; implicit also is the understanding that the Rwandan people ‘can be one’ again and, of course, that they ‘should be one’. In fact, as evidenced by my informants’ response to early ethnicity-based musical classifications (discussed in the preceding section), it is evident that, for many, oneness is

now a reality. It is arguable that music could perhaps have been a more potent force for counteracting divisive ideologies during the height of Tutsi-Hutu tensions; as Stokes points out: 'Just as musical performance enacts and embodies dominant communal values, it can also enact in a powerful, affective way, rival principles of social organisation' (1994, p.13). However, as Stokes goes on to explain, 'Control of media systems provides the state with the means by which this might be countered' (ibid.); in the run-up to genocide, state-controlled media-disseminated propaganda suppressed any unifying 'we are one' type voices and prepared the way for annihilation. These processes are explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter Two

1994 Rwandan Genocide

Music has played paradoxical roles in Rwandese national history, sometimes serving as a tool to build and strengthen social relationships and sometimes serving as a tool to destroy those relationships. The 1994 genocide was conducted with songs exhorting the Hutu majority to kill Tutsi, and as a result over 800,000 people were killed, but today much music-making is explicitly performed with the goal of promoting unity, peace and reconciliation in Rwanda (Stone, 2010, p.13). In the song '*Turi Umwe*' there is a line that starkly states 'We killed one another', encouraging Rwandans to acknowledge the true nature of the killings that took place. Kizito Mihigo goes a step further in his song '*Twanze Gutoberwa Mateka*' ('Stop/prevent others from tampering or distorting of our history'), singing '*Genocide niyitwe genocide, Tubuze abandi kuyishakira utubyiniriro*' (Mihigo, 2011): 'Genocide should be called genocide; we should stop others from calling it otherwise'. According to Whitworth ((ed.), 2006) it hurts the survivors when people give it other names that de-emphasise its impact. Having provided crucial background information regarding both the social history of pre-genocide Rwanda and the traditional musical practices of that period, and having highlighted how during colonialism class groupings were crafted into 'purported ethnicities' then entrenched in Rwanda with rigidified boundaries engendering hatred, this chapter now turns the analytic focus upon the ensuing period of genocide, seeking to face the sometimes uncomfortable subject matter head on – recognising genocide for what it was.

I watched and participated in helping some refugees from Uganda during the removal of Idi Amin's regime, and the subsequent assumption of power by Milton Obote, Tito Okello, and Museveni; this was a hard-hitting introduction to the realities of massacres and their repercussions. However, it was no preparation for the images that I later saw on Kenyan TV: bodies of Rwandans floating over from the Rwandan side of Lake Victoria during the 1994 genocide and footage of dogs in the Rwandan streets taking a share of the human carcasses (see also Whitworth, 2006; Mamdani, 2002; Anon., 'As we forgive', 2013). Thereafter, numerous books, articles, films and documentaries (for example, those of the Aegis trust and UNICTR) have been created to present the details of what happened. Often these are based upon survivors' personal testimonies of the type put forward in Whitworth (2006) – a valuable compilation of 28 testimonies presenting a multi-faceted picture of the victims' experiences. Taken in conjunction with these diverse sources, my own personal fieldwork

experiences of witnessing testimonies during the annual memorial period in Rwanda and talking to a number of witnesses and victims have made it clear that, for any project addressing processes of social reintegration in Rwanda, a firm well-contextualised grounding in the Rwandan genocide – addressing the diverse influences of the various politically active figures within media and politics – is absolutely imperative.

Destexhe (1995, p.viii) states that genocide's impact reach far beyond the time and location of killing, affecting the whole human race. And in addition, as Stephen Smith (2011, p.6) points out, the violence, discrimination and hardships underlying genocide invariably extend beyond the period of annihilation – in the Rwandan case, well beyond the critical hundred days between April and July 1994. 'Negative ethnicity' (Wamwere, 2008, p.108) and 'ethnic apartheid' (Gourevitch, 2009, p.25) stretch both before and after the actual physical acts, still resonating when peace and reconciliation have taken full charge. Professor Richard Mibei told me that most often 'the solution of the problem is in the problem'⁹ and this truth is echoed in Wamwere's work, where he states that, if an on-going problem is to be terminated effectively, it is first vital to diagnose exactly what that problem is (2008, p.108). This exploration therefore is one of the pathways to peace and reconciliation. Accordingly, this chapter homes in on the Rwandan genocide, examining definitions of 'genocide' in relation to other related terms, charting how the Rwandan genocide was planned and conducted, and, crucially, examining how music was used as an aid to achieving genocidal objectives, serving as a powerful propaganda tool within the media.

2.1 Holocaust and Genocide

When the 1994 genocide started in Rwanda it was given many different names: tribal war, power struggle or ethnic cleansing (as outlined, for example, by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania) (Krosiak, 2008, p.185). In the process of undertaking this research, I have often encountered debate regarding the application of the word 'genocide', in both academic studies and spoken discussion; according to personal semantic interpretations and preconceived (often rather uninformed) notions of what exactly happened, people suggest alternative related terminology such as 'revolution', 'uprising', 'coup d'état', 'political or civil war' (Anon, Truth Commission: Rwanda 99, 1999), 'land clash', 'scramble for resources', and 'Holocaust'. The latter term is the one that most obviously overlaps with

⁹ P.c., Prof Richard Mibei (1997-2011) Nairobi, Kenya, presenting his research on the water hyacinth that affected lake Victoria in Nairobi, 1997

genocide in meaning and usage and it is certainly the most frequently cited alternative. It is therefore necessary to clarify briefly the two terms' meanings in relation to one another.

The terms 'genocide' and 'holocaust' have been used interchangeably by many people to mean one and the same thing. However, although they are interrelated, they are distinct in their own associations and origins. As Professor Yair Auron (2005) explains, 'holocaust' is intimately associated with a specific incidence in the 20th Century – the attempted annihilation of the Jews by the Nazis in Germany. Furthermore, the term has certain religious implications, which are suggested by its derivation from the Greek words '*holos*' and '*kaustos*' meaning 'a burnt offering'; it is a decidedly biblical term, identified as a translation of the Hebrew Shoah, which appears in Isaiah 47:11, Psalms 35:8, and Proverbs 3:25 (Auron, 2005, p.154). But, like the word 'genocide', 'holocaust' also implies a deliberate choice on the part of the protagonists to undertake and legitimise the killing of targeted social groups on a huge scale (Auron, 2005).

It is because of holocaust's religious associations and its intimate ties to the Jewish experience that 'genocide' has subsequently been adopted as a more cross-culturally and cross-temporally applicable term for mass-scale extermination programmes. It was Raphael Lemkin, a Jewish-Polish legal scholar who survived the ordeal of the holocaust, who first coined the term 'genocide' in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (1944), recognising common mindsets and philosophies at work behind all racially-motivated human annihilation programmes; of course, the term simply denotes the killing ('-cide') of a species or race ('genos'). Uniting all such activities under a single clearly defined term greatly aided Lemkin's subsequent campaigns to have them collectively recognised as criminal offences under international criminal law (Auron, 2005, p.154; Winter, 2013; and Anon, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013). Subsequently, the term has come to be applied still more widely to all strategic plans that aim to forcibly eliminate the existence of a people by virtue of being or belonging to a certain defined cluster – not just those plans motivated by racial conceptions (Auron, 2005, p.154; Winter, 2013; and Anon, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2013; Krosiak, 2008, p.9; and Destexhe, 1995, pp.4 & 7).

2.2 The Pathway to Genocide

As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, most academics currently identify the Belgian colonial power's interventions as being critically responsible for racialising Hutus and Tutsis,

exacerbating antagonism between them and sowing the seeds for the later genocide (Destexhe, 1995, p.71). Under the leadership of subsequent regimes reaching beyond independence, the Rwandan populace absorbed racist mindsets (Gourevitch, 2009, p.25) developing a condition of negative ethnicity – an ‘ideology, not of sharing but scrambling for power and resources, conquering, enslaving others, and self-defense by ethnic communities’¹⁰(Wamwere, 2013). The differences between the ethnicized groups were overemphasised to justify the application of segregative practices – in other words, ethnic apartheid (Wamwere, 2008, pp.216-218). As Wamwere points out, once the mindset of negative ethnicity had become entrenched, perceived human rights became justifications for – or even the instruments of – war, leading to extreme violations of human rights (Wamwere, 2008, pp.216-218; Smith, 2011, p.3; and Gourevitch, 2009, p.27). Krosiak succinctly explains that the architects of the genocide ‘were a small circle of the most powerful people in Rwanda, some of whom held military or civilian positions, or exercised power through their personal ties to Habyarimana’ (Krosiak, 2008, p.48). Although there were massacres during Kayibanda’s rule, after his removal by Habyarimana in a coup in 1973 until around 1990 the level of animosity was low (Whitworth, 2006).

On the 1st of October 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) launched an attack from Uganda on the North-East of Rwanda. Following the RPA’s defeat and retreat back to Uganda, many Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda were accused of being RPF ‘accomplices’, imprisoned and killed (Kirschke, 1996, p.6; and Destexhe, 1995, p.79). 1991 to 1994 saw an escalation of tensions and conflicts, fuelled and legitimised by the government which provided firearms and training for the militia groups (Destexhe, 1995, pp. 28-29). Two ceasefires between the RPF and the Rwandan government were signed on 12th July 1992 and 7th March 1993 in Dar-es-Salaam, followed by a protocol signed on the 9th of June 1993 in Arusha granting the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of displaced people within Rwanda. Then, on 4th of August 1993 (8 months before the genocide took place), another peace accord was signed (Destexhe, 1995, pp.80-81). In accordance with this agreement, Habyarimana remained president, though much of his power was transferred to the council of ministers. Of the 19 ministerial seats, five went to Habyarimana’s MRND party (Republican Movement for National Development), five seats plus a newly created position

¹⁰ Wamwere (2013) elaborates further by stating that ‘ethnicity is innocent ethnic definition, positive ethnicity is ethnic self-definition in harmony with ethnic self-definition of others with whom we agree to share power and resources and negative ethnicity is ethnic self-definition at was with ethnic self-definition of others with whom we fight over power and resources’.

of deputy prime ministers went to the RPF, and the remainder were divided between the main newly created parties which also contributed the Prime Minister (Kroslak, 2008, p.41). Amongst some observers, the Arusha accord created a high expectation of national reconciliation, peace and democracy (Kroslak, 2008, p.2; and Destexhe, 1995, p.28).

As Wamwere points out, to ensure a peaceful and prosperous independence, Africans would have to unite, reject negative ethnicity and embrace multi-ethnic nationalism (Wamwere, 2008, p.134). However, the curse of negative ethnicity had become, by this point, deeply rooted in Rwandan culture (Wamwere, 2008, p.76): two leading Hutu parties, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND) and Coalition for Defence of the Republic (CDR) had long promoted racist ideology via their strong media presence and militia operations against Tutsi (Destexhe, 1995, pp.28-29; and Kroslak, 2008, p.39). Crucially, two of their main militia groups, the *Impuzamugambi* ('those with a single purpose') and *Interahamwe* ('those who work together') were absorbed into the ruling government's law-enforcement divisions, wherein they subsequently received further training, weaponry and ammunition and were granted legal authority regarding criminal expeditions and punishments (Whitworth, 2006). Meanwhile, the same ideologies that lay behind these militia groups' activities had long been disseminated amongst the Rwandan masses via a tightly controlled mass-media network (to be discussed in more depth later); the government's propaganda office was located in the heart of Kigali with Christopher Mfizi functioning as its head (Smith, 2011, p.3). As Tom Ndakiro stresses, the media played a pivotal role in brewing up extreme hatred amongst the populace; using an incisive metaphor, Ndakiro explains that, by preaching discrimination, the media was effectively soaking the country in petrol, so all that was needed was a spark to ignite an enormous fire (*Trailer of the Media Case* [DVD], 2000).

2.3 The Start of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide

The spark that triggered the genocide was the rocketing down of an aeroplane on Wednesday 6th April 1994, which was carrying President Habyarimana, President Cyprian Ntaryamina of Burundi, and their delegates towards Kigali airport (Eltringham, 2004, p.1; Destexhe, 1995, p.31; Kroslak, 2008, p.46; Gatwa, 2005, p.1; Kirschke, 1996, p.9). According to the survivors' testimonies, after this incident, the government instructed people to stay in their houses for safety – which was simply a ruse to enable the swift and systematic killing of targeted families (Whitworth, 2006; and Destexhe, 1995, p.31). Thereafter, roadblocks were

set up, manned mostly by young people with clubs, hammers or machetes, eager to demonstrate loyalty and obedience in the execution of instructions from the centre (Gourevitch, 2009, p.29; Gatwa, 2005, p.xviii; Smith, 2011, p.5; and Freyer, 2010). Identity cards were used as the chief indicator of ethnic affiliation (See Appendix C), serving as death warrants for every Tutsi alongside extensive lists of Tutsi families and their whereabouts (supplied by colleagues from work, relatives, neighbours, church members, business partners, and so on) (Smith, 2011, p.5; Krosiak, 2008, p.157; see also Gatwa, 2005 and Rittner et. al. 2004). Those without identity cards were also routinely killed (Krosiak, 2008, p.157, Whitworth, 2006; and Gourevitch, 2009). The annihilation was particularly swift because it was state co-ordinated, involving the close co-operation of various government institutions, churches, the militia, the gendarmerie and elements of the army, often with the participation of the local population (Eltringham, 2004, p.1; and Krosiak, 2008, pp.1-2; see also, *Hotel Rwanda*, 2004). It started like a communal duty to please the government (Gourevitch, 2009, pp.25-37), a form of patriotism and loyalty mostly instigated by a fear of the Tutsi invaders, of ‘kill or be killed’ (Gourevitch, 2009, p.29). In a culture based on both ‘*kibaha abategetsi*’ (‘obeying orders from superiors’) and ordinary human cowardice, people very easily became complicit (Gatwa, 2005, p.xviii). It later became like a festival for committing all conceivable crimes; according to Wamwere (2008, p.47), ‘dehumanizing and demonizing’ transformed ‘murderers, into cold, sadistic, killing machines’. As is now well known, the genocide was executed with a brutality and sadism that defies the imagination (Gourevitch, 2009; Whitworth, 2006; Wamwere, 2008; Barnett, 2002, p.1).¹¹ By the end of April, approximately 100,000 people had been killed (Destexhe, 1995, pp.31-33; and Gourevitch, 2009, p.29). In comparison with other large-scale crimes against humanity, the complexity and uniqueness of the Rwandan genocide lay in the close relational distance between the killers and the victims: many killings occurred between family members, close friends, priests and congregants, and so on.

2.4 International Responses to the Rwandan 1994 Genocide

Although ‘prevention is better than cure’ and ‘a stitch in time saves nine’, when the genocide began, the United Nation reacted slothfully with different countries concerned for the safety of their own nationals (Destexhe, 1995, pp.47-48). The West decided not to intervene

¹¹ I also listened to testimonies during the annual memorial period in Rwanda (2011) and also during discussion with informants at various times.

(Barnett, 2002, p.2), regarding the state in Rwanda as senseless tribal struggle (Destexhe, 1995, p.49), debating terms, causes and implications, rather than planning methods of intervention (Kroslak, 2008, p.191; and Barnett, 2002, p.x). According to Daniel Kroslak, genocide and other large-scale extreme atrocities can only be prevented by an increased awareness of the responsibilities towards human-kind via an extension of moral boundaries and broadening of moral conscience (Kroslak, 2008, p.15). In the early stages of the genocide, the UN force commander, Canadian General Romeo Dallaire, pleaded to be furnished with a well-equipped battalion to stop the slaughter but the UN immediately ordered its forces not to protect the civilians and there was a withdrawal of troops (Barnett, 2002, pp.1-2); a culture of non-intervention permeates UN policy even when there is clear evidence of crimes against humanity (Barnett, 2002, p.xi).

Kagame stated that the legacy of colonialism had led directly to the genocide, and that some Western powers (notably France and the Vatican) actually continued to support the *genocidaires* during the disaster (cit. Smith, 2011, p.3; Gourevitch, 2009, pp.25-37). According to Innocent (in Whitworth, 2006, p.44), the French came with a truck full of militias and lied to the victims that the war was over; when the victims came out of hiding they were killed by the *Interahamwe*. Other victims took refuge at *Ecole Technique Officielle* (ETO), controlled by the UN, for safety but on 9th April 1994, Belgian and French Paratroopers arrived in Kigali to evacuate expatriates, leaving the victims at the mercies of the killers (Whitworth, 2006, p.188; Destexhe, 1995, p.81). On 21st April 1994, Blue helmets in Rwanda were reduced to 270 and the UN soldiers were not authorised to use any force to end the massacre (Destexhe, 1995, p.50 & 81). Meanwhile, the church played a paradoxical role: although churches masqueraded as sanctuaries, they hosted some of the worst massacres (Destexhe, 1995, pp.31-33; see also Gatwa, 2005, pp.xvi-xviii). Although some priests and sisters protected their congregants from the Hutu militia, there were others those who handed them over or abetted their slaughter (Gatwa 2005, pp.xvi-xviii; and *A Friend in Deed* [DVD], 2004).

2.5 Media and Music in the 1994 Rwandan genocide: *Kangura*, RTLM and Simon Bikindi

Though the Rwandan government was the mastermind of genocide, the Rwandan media acted as the referees and orchestrators, instructing and coordinating genocidal actions en masse; the media could effectively be described as ‘the voice of genocide’. As discussed

within this chapter, the Rwandan media network was dominated by closely co-ordinated press products like the *Kangura* magazine and audio/visual media such as the RTLM station (Radio and TV), in which music (such as that of Simon Bikindi) served as a powerful tool. As will be shown below, it is apparent that all media run under the auspices of the government were involved in moulding people's attitudes and actions. However, it is arguable that the broadcast media (and particularly radio) were particularly exploited by the regime; critically, through broadcasting, the same messages could be projected out to the entire national population at precisely the same time, bonding all listeners throughout the nation in the same listening and feeling experience (Thompson, 2007, pp.129-129).

Clutterbuck's well-known comment about the television camera is equally applicable to the media, and especially to electronic media: it is 'like a weapon lying in the street, either side can pick it up and use it' (Clutterbuck, 1981, p.147; Carruthers, 2000, p.194). The media, like the television camera, are inherently innocent in the absence of the users – and it is the users who decide what vision of reality is to be captured, edited, and transformed for consumption. In the case of Rwanda, the 'user' was the Rwandan genocide regime, who employed the press and broadcast media to act as an interface between local, national and international communities, as is the case in many nations. Everything that was aired first went through the filters of a stringent censorship, where the content was appraised and duly edited or discarded in line with a code of conduct stipulated by the government. The government ensured that its media products were introspective – concerned with the representation of local matters rather than international affairs – and only projected the voices of carefully selected Rwandans. Through this type of control, the media in Rwanda became very powerful after independence (Destexhe, 1995, p.30).

Modern media communication creates a shared cognitive space that transcends distance and visibility (Thompson, 2007, pp.128-129), and in the Rwandan case, it was relatively easy to encompass every citizen within this shared space because everybody shared the same first language: Kinyarwanda. And, as Chilton points out, it was the word content of broadcast media that was to become of critical significance in the incitement of hatred:

Words, the carriers of deeds can kill or at least motivate a person to kill. It is through language that the primal impulses, the likes and dislikes, the hatred and enmities, the stereotypes and degrading and dehumanising characterisations of those who are not

desirable or are rivals for political or economic power or status, are transmitted (Eltringham, 2004, p.xii).

2.6 *Kangura*

According to David Yanagizawa-Drott (2010, pp.8-9), the number of independent newspapers and magazines at the time of the genocide, including political opposition publications, was between 30 and 60. However, the most significant of these – in terms of the extensive dissemination of hate propaganda – was undoubtedly *Kangura* (see also Alexis & Mpambara, 2003; Higiuro, 2007). All of my informants singled it out as having been particularly influential on the Rwandan people's minds and behaviours. *According to Rwanda file, Kangura was founded and edited by Hassan Ngeze in 1990 after the R.P.F.'s invasion of Rwanda. Ngeze had previously worked as a reporter for a magazine called 'Kanguka' ('Wake up'), from which he derived the new name 'Kangura', meaning approximately 'Wake it up' (Freyer, 2010). Kangura was funded by the Rwandan Government, used Government-owned printing presses, and was supported and financed by the M.R.N.D. (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development) and C.D.R. (Coalition for the Defence of the Republic), both prominent radical political parties (Freyer, 2010). As explained by Wamwere, the negative ethnicity promoted by Kangura started out as mere prejudice, cultural bias or even something as simple as telling unpleasant jokes about others, but then transformed into something more openly violent (2008, p.123; see also Dextexhe, 1995, p.30). According to Justice in Rwanda 16 ([DVD], 2004), even after his arrest, Hassan Ngeze continued to express deeply racist sentiments openly. In most cases, the print and electronic media complemented each another, with media content also being integrated in other domains of life (Destexhe, 1995, p.30). For example, in the schools, children learnt songs that described the Tutsis as monster cockroaches (*inyenzis*) with big ears and long tails (Whitworth, 2006, p.35) – just as can be seen on the cartoon on the top cover of *Kangura* issue number 48 (See figure 3)*

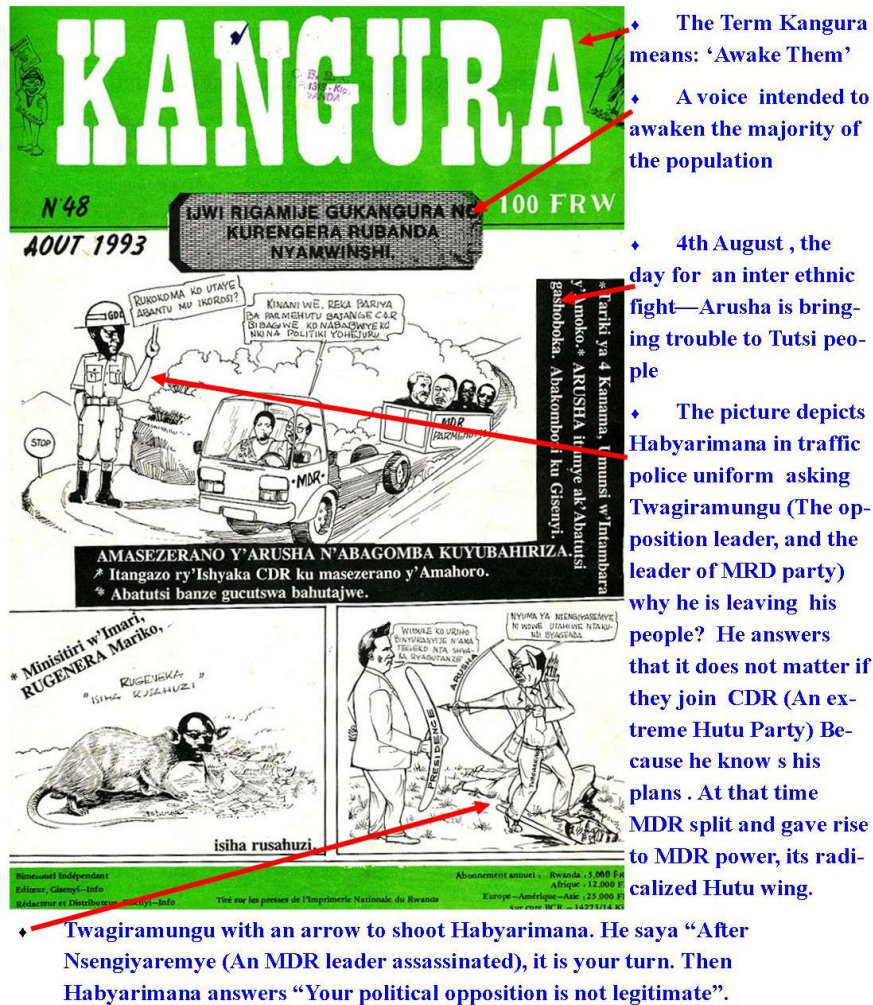


Figure 3 the Cover of Kangura Issue Number 48¹²

Through pictures, cartoons, and articles such as the 'Ten Hutu Commandments' (see Figure 3 and Appendix D), the magazine stereotyped and ridiculed the 'enemy', inciting open discrimination and violence against Tutsis (Kroslak, 2008, p.39). As was thoroughly emphasised during the media court case following the genocide, *Kangura* was intimately linked with RTLM – through shared ownership, familial links, and shared agenda. It is clear that they complemented and supplemented one another in disseminating the same propagandistic messages.

¹² Genocide Archive Rwanda (2003-08) *Kangura Issue 48*, genocidearchiverwanda.org [Online] Available at: http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kangura_Issue_48, (Accessed: 16 September 2011)

2.7 Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines – RTLM

Drawing from Chrétien et al. (1995, p.9), Darryl Li states that the Rwandan genocide was executed through the use of two tools: the radio to receive orders and the machete to carry them out (Li, 2007, p.10). R.T.L.M., standing for *Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines* or ‘Free Radio and Television of the Thousand Hills’, was probably the most successful hate radio station in the history of the world (Freyer, 2010). It was set up by President Habyarimana’s brother-in-law Alphonse Ntimavunda and Felicien Kabuga, a businessman (Kirschke, 1996, pp.40-41; Destexhe, 1995, p.30). Ferdinand Nahimana was another of the founders and also the director of the Rwanda Bureau of Information and Broadcasting (ORIN-FOR), the agency responsible for regulating mass media (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2010, p.8). It had a 100 Watt transmitter placed in the capital, Kigali, and another 1000 Watt transmitter placed on Mount Muhe, one of the country’s highest mountains, and broadcasted to the entire country from 8th July 1993 to 31st July 1994 as the basic instrument of propaganda and hate (ibid.; Straus, 2010); it was staffed exclusively by Hutus and made no secret of its extreme bias against the Tutsi minority (Freyer, 2010). At the same time, as Colette Braeckman states, it quickly became the most popular station (Braeckman, 2011), widely perceived as a reliable political barometer, a source of entertainment, and a provider of breaking news (Li, 2007, p.9). One of the prominent jingles that became like a signature tune for RTLM during broadcasts was ‘the cockroach jingle’.¹³

2.7.1 The RTLM ‘Cockroach Jingle’

According to my Rwandan informants, the song transcribed in Figure 4 was composed by and usually sung by Kantano Habimana¹⁴, the most popular presenter of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines. He sang it at various interludes during his presentations.¹⁵ The typically jingle-like brevity, melodic simplicity, and ‘hook’-based construction of this song are readily apparent from the transcription shown below. The song is eight bars long in a 6/8 metre, consisting of four phrases each of two bars; it has a straightforward rhythm devoid of anacrusis, syncopation or irregular accents. The last note of all the phrases is relatively long,

¹³ This jingle does not appear to have ever had an official title. The present author decided to name it the ‘cockroach jingle’ because the accompanying text makes a feature of the word ‘cockroaches’. The staff-notation transcription is also by the author.

¹⁴ Kantano Habimana is not a musician and there are no records concerning whether he ever had musical training or came from a musical background. His vocal quality certainly does not suggest the cultivation of a ‘trained’ singing style; rather it is the vocal style of the everyday Rwandan man. He sings the way a non-musician in Rwanda would sing.

¹⁵ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana and Manasseh Tuyizere (2008), telephone interview

acting also as a point of rest and reflection. The melodic line does not contain big leaps or zigzagging pitch movements but a smooth contour with downward pitch movements from high to low – an element of the song that makes it easily singable. The melody is in a major key, employing the first five notes of the scale, and the first five notes of the first three phrases are exactly the same, producing a riff effect.

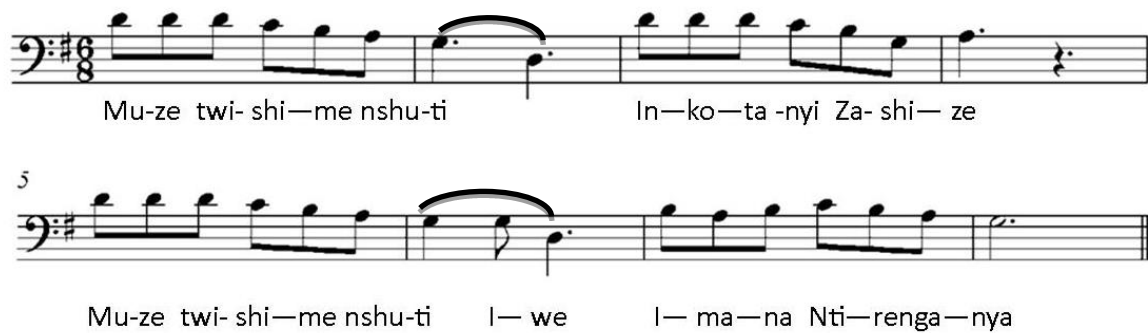


Figure 4 Cockroach Jingle¹⁶

This melodic vocal style appears to be widespread within and beyond Rwanda – such that, for example, if the words were replaced with meaningless vocables, a Kenyan Luhya might assume it was from his or her own community. A similar style of singing can also be found in Solomon Mathase’s Venda guitar songs from South Africa. The style seems to have been popularised within Rwanda before independence; for example, the same pitch material, four-square phrasal constructure, and similar melodic contours can also be noted in the old Rwandan National Anthem ‘*Rwanda Rwacu*’ (1962-2002) – significantly, another song designed to be an easily remembered and effective vehicle for articulating shared identity and values (detailed later in Chapter Five). After genocide, the style has remained prevalent in Rwanda, for example in Kizito Mihigo’s song ‘*Twanze Kutoberwa Amateka*’ (mentioned in Chapter Five).

The song has a balance between notes and syllables (equal measures) and the text is, not surprisingly, in Kinyarwanda – the language of all Rwandans, so easily understandable by everyone throughout the country. Despite the easy catchy tune, the lyrics are explicitly antisocial. The English translation of the lyrics is: ‘Let us rejoice, my friends! The ‘cockroaches’¹⁷ have been exterminated. Let us rejoice my friends, God is never wrong’

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Although the literal meaning of ‘inkotanyi’ is ‘activist, enthusiast, zealot, invincible warrior’, the contextual meaning at this time was ‘cockroach’ – a pest deserving to be eliminated or killed.

(mb243581, 2009; and *Peace Culture Staff*, 2009).¹⁸ According to one of my Rwandan informants, this song ‘used to send a chill in the spine’ – not just amongst Tutsi but also amongst moderate Hutu like himself. It is presented unaccompanied: instruments would perhaps detract from the directness of the message and melody. According to my Rwandan informants, the ‘cockroach jingle’ quickly came to be instantly recognised by all listeners as the main signature tune for the RTLM: Rwandans who heard it easily associated it with RTLM.

2.7.2 The Power of the Jingle

Scott (1990, p.225) states that ‘Studies of music in advertising have been constructed by a theory of music as an emotionally manipulative stimulus that appears as a sensual back-drop and operates without cognitive intervention to achieve affective attachment’; she elaborates by stating that ‘the tones themselves are thought to work independently and affectively, without semantic content, almost like a mood-altering drug’. This is true of Kantano Habimana’s cockroach song, which clearly displays these three characteristics: firstly, the characteristics of form and content previously identified above (in 2.7.1) identify it as being commercial tune designed to ‘sell’ the genocide ideology to the people; secondly, it crystallises the ideologies of the presenter and of the radio through simple hooks, riffs and motifs; and, thirdly, just like other jingles (be they for commercial advertising or propaganda), it also functions to catch and hold attention and, crucially, also provide a vehicle for repetition and remembrance (Scott, 1990, p.227). These three qualities make the song easy to sing, memorise, react to and retain in the brain; being repeated over and over again, it intoxicates the listeners with genocide ideologies (putting them in a type of trance) and at the same time traumatizes the victims, weakening their ability to defend.

The ability of Kantano Habimana’s Cockroach jingle to impact and influence the listeners is supported by the experiment-based studies into the effects of radio jingles, such as those of Gorn (1982) and Mitchell (1988) which show that musical jingles provide:

- 1) affect-mediated classical conditioning: musical patterns are immediately and directly associated with particular positive emotions, ideas and objects, and outcomes, thereby encouraging certain behaviour (Gorn, 1982)

¹⁸ My Rwandan informants confirmed for me that this is an accurate translation of the Kinyarwanda words.

- 2) automatic mood manipulation: musical patterns are designed with the aim of producing positive emotions, encouraging people to buy into the associated ideas that share the same context (Mitchell, 1988)

Although these experimental studies are concerned with consumer advertising, the findings surely also shed light on how propaganda jingles ‘work’: these two same processes were always undoubtedly at work whenever the cockroach jingle was broadcast to help convince listeners of the message. The nonverbal, non-rationalised element (pitch, rhythm and timbre) acts as vehicle for carrying the verbal, rationalised message (Scott 1990, p.224; See also Krugman, 1977).

Choice of musical style is critical in shaping the listeners’ response: the listener ‘interprets the stylistic choices as a sign indicative of the character or intent of the communicator’ (Scott 1990, p.227; see also Feld, 1984, p.2). Accordingly, as mentioned earlier, the cockroach jingle is delivered in an everyday singing voice – rather than a highly trained voice – and is intentionally designed as a typical popular melody: it is immediately perceived to be a song sung by and for the everyday person. The jingle also enforces a sense of specific location (Feld, 1984, pp.1-18) and time; collectively, the melody, vocal timbre, language and lyric content tie it firmly to the Rwandan predicament of 1994. And, at the same time, the cockroach jingle would immediately have been perceived, by many listeners, as somehow timeless (since tunes like that have existed probably since the time of colonialism).

2.7.3 The Propagandistic Devices within the ‘Cockroach Jingle’

This short song could usefully be defined as a ‘genocide propaganda jingle’: it is a short, emblematic signature tune that employs an extremely high concentration of propaganda techniques and elements to project messages specifically aiming to incite genocide. As Jowett and O’Donnell clarify, propaganda, in its most neutral sense, means ‘to disseminate or promote particular ideas’. However, as they continue to elaborate, the term has lost its neutrality. More specifically, propaganda is now invariably associated with ‘negative and dishonest’ representation wherein large organisations or groups try to win over the public’s interests through a massive orchestration of attractive conclusions, packaged to conceal both their persuasive purpose and lack of sound supporting reasons (Jowett and O’Donnell, 2006, pp.2-3). Analysis of the cockroach jingle text quickly reveals it be propagandistic in this latter sense: every phrase, and some words in particular, seek to promote particular beliefs and behaviours sanctioned by the government and, throughout, one can easily identify standard

propaganda techniques of the kind described and explored by authors such as Magedah (2008), Gulseth (2004), and Conserva (*Print on Demand*).

The song uses the propaganda technique of generalisation: the use of the phrase ‘let us rejoice, my friends’ assumes that everyone would be appreciative of the proposed action (that is, killing) and implies that everyone should therefore undertake it. This technique overlaps with the ‘band wagon’ technique, which exploits people’s tendency towards group mentality, exhorting them to join the majority. The jingle also employs diverse other techniques: ‘inclusion and exclusion’, creating a stark division between ‘friends’ (who will rejoice) and ‘cockroaches’ (who will die); name-calling, employing the word ‘cockroaches’ for Tutsis; assertion without argument; stereotyping to create a vivid enemy image; simplification, representing the complex and traumatic experience of killing another human being as a mere matter of extermination; employing the fallacy of biased sampling, presenting the misleading phrase ‘God is never wrong’, which is not based on unbiased evidence, as a conclusion (Conserva, no date; Mageda, 2008; and Gulseth, 2004). The latter assertion would, of course, actually be categorised by Christians as entirely incorrect since it breaks the sixth commandment: ‘Thou shalt not kill’ (Exodus 20: 13). Through its heavy reliance on these diverse techniques, the cockroach jingle clearly qualifies Habimana Kantano as a propagandist.

2.7.4 The Role of RTLM in Genocide

Although the government-owned Radio Rwanda broadcasted propaganda before genocide, RTLM overtook it and became the voice of the new government (Yanagizawa-Drott, 2010, p.8). Although RTLM preached an extremist message of Hutu supremacy, many apolitical Rwandans became listeners; according to Colette Braeckman, it was known for having the best disc jockeys in Rwanda and for its attractive mix of African music (including modern Zairean music), news programming, and political analysis (Braeckman, 2011). RTLM, also known as *Radio Sympa* (‘lovely radio’), claimed to be the radio of the people for the people. It prided itself on broadcasting announcements quickly, just like making wood fire glow (Thomas, 2007, 126-136). Through these and other means, the Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTML) became the peasant’s favourite, widely disseminating simple racist messages and thereby becoming one of the most efficient and useful tools for genocide (Krosiak, 2008, p.39). Just one week before the outbreak of genocide, RTLM announced ‘*mube maso rubanda nyamishi kuko icyumwerugitaha hazaba akantu*’ – ‘people should be

alert because in one week's time something is going to happen' (Gourevitch, 2009, p.25). On the 6th April 1994 it was very clear that the managers' and owners' minds were prepared for genocide: they had designed and created 'an infernal pulpit' from which the message to kill could be disseminated throughout Rwanda (Braeckman, 2011). It was RTLM that gave the signal to begin the massacre of Tutsis and moderate Hutus, providing encouragement to the killers and even pinpointing the locations where Tutsis could be found (ibid.; Freyer, 2010).

When genocide started in Rwanda, ordinary people were glued to their receivers since the radio was the sole source of news for most people (Braeckman, 2011; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2010, pp.8-9). Broadcasting was uninterrupted and took advantage of the fact that almost every Rwandan had a radio in his home (Freyer, 2010). Daily, many people would listen to RTLM, sometimes outdoors in groups as large as 100, to get information so as to plan the next day's activities (Li, 2004, p.20). Broadcasts were always reincarnated elsewhere as rumour, where the possibilities of exaggeration or reinterpretation could only expand (Li, 2004, p.19) especially where people did not access the radio or did not have time to listen. Even when Hutu Power government was being defeated and pushed out, people would carry portable radios with them and listen to RTLM as they left their homes and ran for Zaïre (Freyer, 2010). When the RPF defeated the Rwandan army and ended genocide, the RTLM staff took their mobile transmitter and fled to Zaire, together with Hutu refugees (Braeckman, 2011). The radio had been all too successful in inciting the genocide (Braeckman, 2011); it affected more than symbolic behavior and speech to contribute to the commission of violent actions and murder (Thompson, 2007, pp.126-136; see also Straus, no date, p.1-2). As Susan L. Carruthers explains, media enterprises such as RTLM legitimise and promote violence by suggesting the inefficacy of other options, isolating targets as threatening enemies (alluding to earlier Tutsi hegemony and the perceived threat of the Tutsi-dominated RPF), and depicting self-defence as a top priority (Carruthers, 2000, p.44; see also Keen, 1986, p.194; Thompson, 2007, pp.126-136; Straus, 2010, pp.5 & 10; Li, 2007, pp. 13-15 & 24). RTLM became the voice of authority, especially since its close working relationship with the government was universally recognised (Straus, 2010, p.5).

2.7.5 The Success of RTLM

Without the assistance of RTLM, the *genocidaires* could surely not have succeeded to the extent that they did; its broadcasts had a lethal effect. The radio messages were needed to provoke the masses into killings that they would initially not have been inclined to perform (Thompson, 2007, pp.126-136). However, it is important to note that RTLM was not the only station in Rwanda during or before the genocide. Radio Rwanda continued operating, Radio Muhabura, the Rwandan Patriotic Front station, and other international stations, including BBC and VOA, could also be heard in Rwanda at the time of the genocide (Straus, 2010, p.3). But RTLM was especially favoured not just for its up-to-date coverage but also for its music – and, as has already been discussed in reference to the ‘cockroach jingle’, songs are particularly effective vehicles for transmitting messages, especially when they are played again and again to ensure remembrance and re-contextualised use in everyday life. According to Darryl Li, the music of Simon Bikindi, with its rousing tunes and anti-Tutsi lyrics, was part of RTLM’s regular fare and provided many anthems of Hutu power (Li, 2007, p.19). Before embarking on an exploration of Simon Bikindi’s songs, it is important to explore how songs have been employed in other war zones, to highlight tendencies regarding how music is employed as a tool for disseminating ideologies and promoting action.

2.8 Music in War Zones: Some General Views

While in Oxford University at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies on Wednesday 17th November 2010 giving a talk on ‘Music and Reconciliation in Rwanda’, I gathered that the general view of the audience was that there would be distinct contrasts in tone, harmony, rhythm, melody and mood between songs used for genocide and songs used for peace. Some maintained that songs for genocide would surely consist of discordant harmonies, aggressive tones and rhythms, and unpleasant sounds creating an unpleasant mood representative of destruction; particular mention was made of ‘Threnody to the Victims of Hiroshima’ and ‘Eight songs for a Mad King’. Similar views were expressed when giving talks in Ustinov College, St Chad’s College and the Music Department at Durham University. It was difficult to comprehend how music – generally associated with positive functions – could be involved in processes of dehumanisation and destruction.

In most cases, songs selected for media dissemination within warzones are chosen precisely for their ability to evoke group solidarity, patriotism, nationalism, and defensive sentiments; of course, when the war is over, the same songs can be sung as a way of revisiting those

emotions and memories. The songs are not aimed at threatening their own citizens but protecting them and motivating them to fight against any form of opposition – generally against the actions of an enemy perceived to be attacking from outside. Two examples of such songs are ‘Long Live the People’s War’, a Russian patriotic song to resist Germany Nazi aggression in 1941 (*PacificUnityLeague*, 2010), and ‘Onwards Christian Soldiers, Marching unto War’, a song used while West Papua was resisting Indonesian colonisation (*Journeyman Pictures*, 2007).

A different type of scenario is illustrated by the historical South African song ‘De La Rey’, an army brass band-styled, rhythmic, majestic, battle cry-like song, composed and sung by Bok Van Blerk (*UpsetSheep*, 2007). In this case, the song serves to unite one socio-cultural group against another within the same geographical area – namely, the white Afrikaans minority against the black South African majority. While studying in South Africa, I noted that this song ‘De La Rey’ roused sentimental emotions among the Afrikaner community whenever it was played. That was a time when affirmative action had just been introduced in South Africa, which was misinterpreted to be a backlash by black South Africans against the white South Africans; white farmers were suddenly under threat of losing their farms, the ANC Youth League were singing song exhorting people to ‘kill the Boer, kill the farmer’, and Boers were being killed in mindless attacks. Pastor Karel Van Der Westhuizen explained to me that General Jacobus Herculaa de la Rey had been a strong and successful Boer leader who had won many battles during the Anglo-Boer war. He continued to explain that, in the current context, the song was being embraced by many right-winger white people (experiencing ‘reversed apartheid’) as a battle cry – a song to confirm identity and assert resistance against a presumed enemy, namely the ANC government.¹⁹ These same objectives are explored further by, for example, Carol Lotter in her poignantly titled article ‘More than a Song’ (Lotter, 2007).

Jonny Spielt Auf presents a different scenario regarding the use of music in crimes against humanity (Auf, no date). While in many cases, protagonists employ songs that directly refer to target victims and the specific scenario, during the holocaust, the Nazi regime actively

¹⁹ Combination of observation, interaction and personal conversation with Pastor Karel Van Der Westhuizen, (minister at PUK KANDELAR), North-West University, Potchefstroom campus, South Africa (2004 – 2007). Pastor Karel Van Der Westhuizen alludes to this song to help train young ministers about the social history of the region.

promoted music such as Handel's Messiah, Bach's Magnificat, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, Brahms's Lullaby, Wagner's Ring series, Strauss's Der Rosenkavalier, Robert Schumann's Fantasia, and Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. According to Jonny Spielt Auf, the Nazis believed that 'music had a unique significance and power to seduce and sway the masses' and therefore employed such music extensively in their operations, for publicity, rallies and public events; public music performers legally had to be members of the state sanctioned *Reichsmusikkammer* (RMK) (Auf, no date). In this case, music was evidently being employed to mould particular moods and rouse emotions – which were then tied through association to the Nazi party's ideology and its 'heroic' endeavour.

Similar to Bikindi's genocide songs discussed below are Hammami's Al-Qaeda songs. Typically, Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab and the Taliban do not use songs to transmit ideologies and promote violence but Hammami has been attempting to recruit English speakers to join jihad through the medium of song since 2009. Abu Mansoor al-Amriki Hammami was born and raised in Alabama with a Southern Baptist mother and a Syrian father. He lived briefly in Canada and then Egypt before joining Al-Shabaab (the Somali branch of Al-Qaeda) in Somalia in 2006 where he acted as a mouthpiece. Two songs in particular highlight his approach: 'Send me a cruise' displays his deep desire to cause martyrdom of the kind experienced by various listed predecessors, and he requests additional ammunition to accomplish his goals. Meanwhile, 'Blow by blow' is a simple call for all youngsters to come and join jihad so that they may wipe out all Kafirs from the globe (Ryan, 2011; *shahzadkhan007*, 2009; and *dawahmedia*, 2011). Both songs are composed of short rhythmicised phrases resembling those of rap yet executed without instrumentation. They are very repetitive in terms of both lyrical and musical content, articulating unveiled messages of hate and exhortations to violence in a low, relaxed voice. In their simplicity, directness, and extensive reliance on propagandistic devices, these songs share characteristic traits with the RTLM 'cockroach jingle' discussed earlier.

2.9 Simon Bikindi and His Genocidal Music

Genocide was conducted to the accompaniment of music and dance, and Simon Bikindi's music is invariably cited as an often-used vehicle. Many Hutu sang along with Bikindi's songs as they were being broadcast by RTLM in the bars and streets of Rwanda, enjoying



Figure 5 Photo of Simon Bikindi²⁰

them after work shifts (Li, 2004, p.19). And, at the height of genocide, according to eyewitness reports, 'many of the Hutu killers sang Bikindi's songs as they hacked or beat to death Tutsis with government-issued machetes' (Opobo, 2013). In the 1990s, musical trends in Rwanda shifted the focus from normal social issues to propaganda against Rwanda's Tutsi (Stone, 2010). Though there were other musicians at the time of genocide, Simon Bikindi was the most famous Rwandan

musician, composer, director and singer (The Hague Justice Portal, 2005-2011). According to *Trial Watch* and *New Times* magazines, Simon Bikindi, a Rwandan citizen born on 28th September 1954 in Rwerere Commune, Gisenyi prefecture was the pioneer of Rwandan genocide music (*Trailer of the media case* [DVD], 2012; and Opobo, 2013). He was also a government official at the Ministry of Youth and Sport and member of the MNRD political party (*Mouvement Républicain National pour le Développement et la Démocratie*) (The Hague Justice Portal, 2005-2011). According to the Hague Justice Portal, his songs 'were a crucial part of the genocidal plan' inciting ethnic hatred of Tutsis and motivating people to attack and to kill them. He also participated in the military training of the *Interahamwe* militias (*The Hague Portal Justice*, 2005-2011).

Simon Bikindi, according to my Rwandan informants, was something of national hero – or even a national symbol (see Chapter 6) – well in advance of the genocide. Some described

²⁰ Anon (2010) Bikindi Simon n'Itorero Irindiro, musicblog.be [Online] Available at: <http://karahanyuze.musicblog.be/r667/Bikindi-Simon-n-Itorero-IRINDIRO/> (Accessed: 20 August 2013)

him as the ‘Michael Jackson of Rwanda’, a title also identified within Tom Flannery’s article ‘A Rwandan Song Cycle: Bikindi’ (Flannery, 2004; Bouwknecht, 2010). According to Stone (2010), in the aftermath of 1994, many were arrested on the charge of inciting genocide through music (Stone, 2010). *Rwanda File: Primary sources from the Rwandan genocide* (Rwanda File, no date), contains most of the songs that he composed, but according to the press release of *The Hague Justice Portal*, three of these were particularly cited to charge him on crimes against humanity (*The Hague Justice Portal*, 2008). Three of Bikindi’s songs analysed in this chapter are in Kinyarwanda; unfortunately, while in Rwanda, I could not obtain interpretations and translations due to the nature and sensitiveness of the songs, and so had to wait until after I had left the country. Exposing the songs to six different Rwandan informants, aged between 23 – 30 years and based in different parts of the Rwandan diaspora (UK and Kenya), sparked similar reactions including: ‘Damn this is horrible: the musician should be jailed the whole of his life’, ‘Eish! Where did you get such horrible songs?’, ‘Those are such hateful songs’, ‘You shouldn’t be allowed to play such songs; they should be illegal’, ‘Why do you want to hear such terrible songs? Why not look for something nicer?’

2.10 An Analysis of Four Songs by Simon Bikindi

The four songs analysed here were acquired during my fieldwork trip in Rwanda in 2010; they were given to me by a Rwandan informant who chose to remain anonymous, in the form of a cassette recording without labels. At that time, the songs were banned from being played in Rwanda since the trial of Simon Bikindi was still fresh in people’s minds. The extensive use of Rwandese idioms, parables, sayings, and guttural vocal expressions rendered effective translation particularly challenging. However, this research has employed a combination of methods – either literal translation or gist translation of general meaning (based on summaries and explanations provided by Rwandan informers). Meanwhile, the fourth song is in English so did not require translating.

2.10.1 ‘Mutabazi’ – ‘The Messenger’

The song *Mutabazi* is rather long (20 minutes) and is in a typical Rwandan pop style of the 1990s, favoured by most Rwandan youth – incorporating western musical instruments and acculturating elements from the neighbouring countries’ popular musics (particularly Congolese musical styles),²¹ while maintaining recognisably Rwandan elements such as

²¹ A more detailed exploration of how Rwandan pop style relates to other regional styles within the broader frame of Central and East African pop music lies beyond the scope of this study.

vocal tone colour (obviously intimately tied-in with the language of Kinyarwanda), harmony, and the traditional way of incorporating story-telling within the song medium. *Mutabazi* shares some similarities with songs from the neighbouring country Democratic Republic of Congo by artists like Diblo Dibala, Auruls Mabele, Pepe Kalle and others. The song is introduced by a rolling of drums followed by a sequence of lead guitar, rhythm guitar, bass guitar, and a percussion instrument that sounds like clapping. The female voices join in much later, followed by Bikindi's own male voice. Thereafter, the male and female voices take turns in a form of call and response and, as the song proceeds, the instrumentalists improvise increasingly elaborate parts. Eventually, the vocal part of the song changes into a spoken dialogue between two people; one of the people is Mutabazi (the messenger) and the other is the seer or diviner. They converse as the instruments continue to play.

The song is rhythmical and very catchy, motivating a desire to dance. It integrates diverse vocal art forms, particularly storytelling, dramatization, oratory, and song, and it employs diverse musical characteristics including guttural vocalisations, repetition, call and response form, verse-chorus form, word interpolation, contrasting voices, improvisation, variation, and more. Musically, it could be described as rich in variety and thoroughly engaging; with so much happening within the texture, it actively encourages listening and participation. I observed that my Rwandan informants who were assisting me in translating the song text, before keenly listening to the song's text, started nodding their heads and moving to the rhythms. However, significantly, their physical responsiveness to the music was obstructed as soon as they started understanding the central message projected through the lyrics. One informant told me that the song in itself is 'very nice and groovy, and captures the listeners to dance'. Apparently, the song includes a number of idioms, riddles and old traditional sayings with hidden meanings, which demands keen listening to understand what the song is about. After taking their time to absorb the song they then reacted to the words, proclaiming the song to be highly antisocial and wondering where I had found it.

The song text (summarised in Appendix E) details an urgent and important message, imparted from a diviner to all Rwandans through *mutabazi*, his 'invincible' messenger. The diviner refers to the accuracy of his earlier predictions to prove credibility, reminding listeners of the good governance of the '1959 revolution'. He then predicts that there will be a war caused by a 'ghost' whom he then reveals to be *inkotanyi* – the RPF. He urges Hutus to unite in the spirit of *Impuzamugambi*, thinking together, fighting together and getting rid of the *inyenzi* (cockroaches). He urges the people to prepare, join the army and fight because

they are in danger of being enslaved. He urges that they should maximize their power in numbers – echoing the good governance of the 1959 revolution – and promises that, if they do so then the Tutsis will never lead. He concludes by saying that he does not charge for his divinations.

The fact that the song is in Kinyarwanda and in a Rwandan musical idiom, employing a variety of Rwandese art forms composed and sung by a popular figure associated with the government, facilitated its acceptance by the majority of Rwandans. Some of the key words and phrases in the text indicate the use of propaganda techniques:²²

- ‘Majority’ refers to the Hutus and implements the ‘band-wagon technique’.
- ‘1959 revolution’ highlights a time when there was a turn of events – namely the colonialists started to favour the Hutus against the Tutsis – and implements a ‘call for action’
- ‘History’ provides justification, alluding to how the Hutus were enslaved, colonised and mistreated by the Tutsis, and implementing two propaganda techniques, namely: ‘Condemning origins’ (stressing that all terrible things derive from a single source) and, of course, ‘scapegoating’.
- ‘Intruders’ represent the Tutsis as ‘others’, exploiting the technique of inclusion and exclusion (establishing clearly defined ‘us’ and ‘them’).
- ‘*Inyenzi*’ (cockroaches) is used to denote the Rwandan Patriotic Front and Tutsis as a whole, exploiting the techniques of ‘name-calling’, ‘Ad Hominem’, ‘enemy image’ and ‘scapegoating’.

The song also employs other propaganda techniques: simplification, generalisation, ‘post hoc’ reasoning (suggesting that if Tutsis were to lead they would reintroduce slavery and colonialism, creating a need for another revolution), creating a stark contrast between own ideas and other’s assumed intentions, and, of course, employing extensive repetition (including ‘card-stacking’ the terrible consequences of inactivity). Clearly, then, this is a highly propagandistic song, which exploits diverse musical and linguistic elements – all distinctly Rwandan – to speak to the listeners’ sense of personal and collective identity and responsibility. At the same time, it creates a strong ‘groove’ that engages both body and

²² These techniques are discussed by various authors including Conserva (print on demand), Magedah (2008), Gulseth, (2004), and Jowett and O’Donnell (2006).

mind, further ensuring that the contents (melodic and lyric) ‘stick’ in the mind, motivating quick acceptance of the message within.

2.10.2 ‘Kwitondera’ - ‘Take Heed’

This piece features solo male voice (Bikindi’s own), solo *inanga* (which is potently representative of Rwandan cultural identity – see Chapter 5) and *ikembe* (lamellophone) – and is exclusively in a purely traditional Rwandan style, specifically that of *inanga* court songs. It is mostly connected to ‘*Nanga Bahutu*’. After a short solo *inanga* introduction, the voice enters humming a single note with a raspy vocal tone. Next, the text begins, articulated via a lyrical melody using a Rwandan style of vocalisation. The instruments act as both accompaniment and interlude between stanzas, marking different ideas or messages being conveyed in the text.

A Rwandan informant who helped with the translation of the songs told me that this song very much complements ‘*Mutabazi*’ (‘The Messenger’, discussed above), simply stating that listeners should take heed of the advice and prophecies, meditate upon them, and put them into practice. Significantly, on the cassette that I had acquired, this song immediately followed the other, so its primary role clearly was that of reinforcing. Several of my Rwandan informants also confirmed that the song was sometimes played independently of the other, specifically after a newscast or after the presenter had imparted advice to the militias and hutus, as a means to enforce loyal obedience. The use of authentic Rwandan traditional instrumental and vocal style reverberates within every Rwandan as a symbol of common identity, captivating attention and encouraging an empathetic response.

2.10.3 ‘Nanga bahutu’ - ‘I Hate the Hutus’

‘*Nanga bahutu*’ is another very short repetitive song in Kinyarwanda and, in the style of ‘Take heed’, employing *inanga*, *ikembe*, and a Rwandan style of vocalisation. The singer impersonates a Tutsi in dynastic times, adopting a mocking tone of voice and using negative words that purport to show how Tutsis hate or hated Hutus. The lyrics state: ‘Hutus like being slaves and working for nothing’ and ‘If I hate them, those people who like working for nothing, then there is no problem because they are very few’. A different voice responds by stating that ‘you have well spoken, no one can disagree with you’. The song portrays Tutsis as arrogant people who hated and still hate Hutus, who mistreated them and made them slaves, and who – the implicit threat is – could do so again. Through mocking impersonation,

it would inevitably have stirred up a cocktail of emotions combining a desire for revenge with an eagerness for self-defence.

2.10.4 'Bikindi is My Name'

The lyrics of this song are exclusively in English, a language that was not spoken by the majority. Most Rwandans at the time of this composition were only conversant in Kinyarwanda and French (the colonial language). The probable reason for the use of English might be to extend communication beyond the confines of Rwanda to engage with an international audience. The song text is as follows:

What if I used this song to hate, would you still dance around the room,
sweeping away the dirt as though your feet were like a broom?

What if I used this song as a call to arms, on the airwaves here and now,
would you pick up the knife or pick up the gun, if I told you how?

What if I used this song to hide, behind the words I say,
If I said 'after all, it's just a song' would you look the other way?
What if I used this song to excuse the things that I've been told
From the day that I was born, until the day that I grew old?

Bikindi is my name,
Bikindi is my name,
Love will prevail over hatred,
only the killing will remain.

What if I used this song to burn your house down to the ground,
and where your children once looked to the sky, they now stare at the ground?
What if I used this song to kill, would you pay for my third car,
Maybe you just feel like dancing, or maybe you just wanna be a star?

Bikindi is my name,
Bikindi is my name,
Love will prevail over hatred,
only the killing will remain.

What if I used this song to hate, would you still dance around the room,
sweeping away the dirt as though, your feet were like a broom?

Bikindi is my name,
Bikindi is my name,
Love will prevail over hatred,
only the killing will remain.

(See also Flannery, 2004)

‘Bikindi is my Name’ features Bikindi’s solo voice accompanied by an acoustic guitar, employing a fairly conventional Western style, a standard verse-chorus format and four-bar phrases in 4/4 time. Although the tempo is moderate, a prevalence of quaver notes creates a feeling of haste and urgency. The guitar part relies on a two-bar harmonic and rhythmic accompaniment, which is repeated many times throughout the song, providing an ostinato backdrop to the foregrounded voice – which articulates the song text in a standard American accent. It is clearly Bikindi’s adeptness at mimicking American musical and lyrical idioms that is referenced in the aforementioned description of him as the ‘Michael Jackson of Rwanda’.

As with the aforementioned ‘cockroach jingle’, if one is seeking to understand the power of Bikindi’s songs and their relevance within the context of genocide, it is helpful to identify the propagandistic devices that lie behind their lyrics. The strategic use of some specific short phrases within the song can be viewed as key to the song’s impact. The repeated ‘What if’ is a question demanding not an answer but a practical response to the words that follow it. It can also be viewed as a device to motivate a focus of thought in the direction of the following material. Through the veiled language of simile and metaphor, Bikindi calls people to action, simplifying the complex course of action (killing) through allusion to the mundane task of sweeping away dirt. The song is presented as a form of riddle – ‘What if I used this song to hide, behind the words I say?’ – Therefore demanding thought, interpretation, and introspection on the part of the listener. It is an effect device for ensuring engagement (see also Conserva, no date; Mageda, 2008; and Gulseth, 2004).

Another personalised propaganda phrase in this song is obviously ‘Bikindi is my name’; it can be argued that it is not just alluding to him as a person but also to his personality and skills. He is presenting himself as a learned person of the world and someone who one might wish to identify with. Repetition of this phrase motivates the listener to take pride in

identifying with Bikindi and also with his ideologies. Regarding another crucially significant line in the song, ‘Love will prevail over hatred’, the ‘love’ in this context can be interpreted as love of one’s country and one’s kinsfolk, appeasing patriotic and nationalist sentiments and promoting loyalty to the Hutu brotherhood; this should be reason enough to respond to the veiled suggestions implicit in the following line: ‘Only the killing will remain’. This is a good example of the potent propaganda technique known as ‘false conversation of propositions’, wherein two contradictory statements and themes are brought into logical juxtaposition: for love to prevail over hatred there should be killing (Conserva, no date; Mageda, 2008; and Gulseth, 2004).

According to Darryl Li (2007, p.20), Simon Bikindi’s songs somehow took on a life of their own. He explains how one woman who was in hiding heard the *interahamwe* singing a Bikindi song, presumably in an upbeat lively fashion, and thought that she had been discovered; she came out of hiding trying to escape and that is when she was killed. It can be argued that Simon Bikindi, having acquired vast experience in music composition and performance in a variety of styles, had also acquired knowledge as to how to capitalize on the medium to provoke the masses towards genocidal action. Through his songs, Simon Bikindi – a national figure of great authority – convinced the people ‘to pull out the poison ivy together with its roots’ (Thompson, 2007, pp.126-136).

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter reveals the complexity of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, which affected not only social relationships but the entire Rwandan infrastructure, both governmental and private – to the extent where close relatives, neighbours and friends were exterminating one another in all corners of the country, in accordance with policies formulated and disseminated by diverse social institutions. The chapter highlights the dangers of uncritically entertaining and embracing negative ideologies.

This chapter has demonstrated how the media – and music in particular – played a key role in the genocide, employing diverse propaganda techniques extensively and effectively to identify and target an opposition group, enforce the notion that that the opposition group consists of subhumans, and legitimise the idea that they should be eradicated. The examples explored in this chapter show how songs, in particular, played an influential role in aiding and abetting genocide, both through their verbal messages and through the musical features employed. In all cases, the songs have employed musical and linguistic stylistic features that

are instantly appealing to engage the listeners' attention, speaking to a sense of common identity (especially through the use of Kinyarwanda and distinctly Rwandan instruments and features), and luring listeners into acceptance of the messages within. Significantly, these songs did not sound like dirges and did not 'sound' violent: rather, they projected their messages through the medium of vibrant, lively and entertaining textures. Arguably songs intending to cause havoc have a far greater chance of success if they are appealing and captivating, motivating a positive bodily response and encouraging the ear, heart and mind to digest the ideologies and provoke the desired responses. The malevolence within the messages can be sweetened and legitimised by alluring musical features.

Having now outlined the complex socio-historical background and divisive ideologies that led to the 1994 genocide, the magnitude of the task faced by the successive government should be fully apparent. Evidently there was a profound need to adopt multidimensional approaches to restoration and reconciliation – and just as music played a key role in fomenting genocide, it was to take a key role in healing the nation. In the ensuing chapters of Part 2, therefore, the focus turns to address the transformation towards peace and reconciliation.

Chapter 3

The New Dawn in Rwanda

The title of this chapter, ‘The New Dawn in Rwanda’, is my own formulation to describe and explore the bridge that connects the Rwandan past era of genocide and destruction to the current era characterised by relative peace and projects geared towards reconciliation and development. The previous chapter explored genocide and its damage: how it started and how it was ‘conducted in song’. This chapter changes its focus so as to explore how the process of moving towards a period of reconciliation was also conducted in song. The New Dawn was not a detached or disjointed occurrence, separated from the events that were taking place inside Rwanda, but a concurrent or parallel event in its formation, progression and crystallization, motivated by the worsening state of Rwanda’s social relations and political atmosphere leading into genocide. Since much of the initial conception and planning took place outside Rwanda there are extensive references to the condition of ‘refuge’ or Rwandan displacement. This New Dawn can be viewed as ‘conceived in refuge but realised in the motherland’ or ‘conceived internationally but realised locally’. As with many other revolutionary struggles, such as that against apartheid in South Africa, the ousting and replacement of the Rwandan genocidal powers involved sustained concerted efforts from diverse groups both outside and inside the country itself; many died in the process and many others sustained deep emotional and physical scars.

This chapter examines the different development stages, strategies, various activities and people involved in the process, with the aim of highlighting, in particular, the importance, the role and the power of music at all stages. It is in two parts: the first part looks at the activities that led to the 1990 coup attempt by the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the second part is concerned with the successful victory over the 1994 genocide. The first stage had the aim of ending animosity and allowing refugees to come back home, while the second stage was the strategic attack that ended the 1994 Rwandan genocide which in turn served as a platform for transformation, reformation and the reinstatement of some of the social structures that have helped make Rwanda what it is today.

3.1 The Formation and Development of the RPF

There are no recorded poems, poetic expressions or great speeches (like Martin Luther King’s ‘I had a dream’, for example) that are retrospectively thought to mark the onset of

transformation away from genocide within Rwanda. However, music was produced in exile that advocated such transformation. Mercedes Pavlicevic and Gary Ansdell (2006, p.28) and Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2011) support the view that ‘music creates community’, as does Miell (2002, p.1) who states that ‘music makes it possible for people to share feelings, thoughts and understanding regardless of... difference in the spoken language’. Rwanda experienced several displacements which led to the formation of a refugee population that included famous musicians and composers such as Massamba Intore, Cecile Kayirebwa and Maria Mukankuranga. Their music was used to support the formation of an organised community of refugees, attracting refugees not only from Uganda but also Burundi, Tanzania and Congo, together with non-refugees in Rwanda and Uganda who became part of the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) led by Major General Fred Rwigema. The aim of RANU was to advocate that all Rwandan refugees should be allowed to go back to Rwanda (Mamdani, 2002, pp.166-168). Fred Rwigema and Paul Kagame (his successor) had grown up together in Kahunge refugee camp and were both active members of RANU. Among the people who left the Hutu government and joined RANU were Kanyarengwe, who was head of the Rwandan secret services, and Seth Sendashonza, who is reported by Smith as having stressed that the new agenda was not revenge but true democracy (Smith, 2011, p.6). In December 1987, RANU held its seventh congress in Kampala and renamed itself the Rwanda Patriotic Front, the RPF, also referred to as the Rwandese Patriotic Front, the Patriotic Front of Rwanda or, in French, the Front Patriotique Rwandais (Mamdani, 2002, pp.164, 172-173). The former president of the RPF, Fred Rwigema, was recruited by Yoweri Museveni into the Ugandan Front for National Salvation (the UFNS, which later became the National Resistance Army, NRA). The victory of the NRA in 1986 led Yoweri Museveni to appoint Fred Rwigema as the deputy minister of defence and deputy army commander-in-chief, second only to Museveni in the military chain of command, and Paul Kagame as acting chief of military intelligence in the same Uganda government (Mamdani, 2002, pp.172-173). This was an opportunity for the two patrons to equip and develop the Rwandan Patriotic Front.

3.2 The 1990 RPF Struggle for Liberation

Rwandan musicians in exile before the 1994 genocide may be described as ‘agents of change’, using a definition previously articulated by Peterson (1978, pp.293-294); they were influential forces within an ‘innovative interaction of creators’ (ibid.). Their interactions with other refugees, through the mediums of composing and performing, redirected the refugees’

attention from looking for safety – running away from the homeland – to solidifying a resolution to return home and make it a better place to live. Their songs not only created a picture or a vision of a Rwandan rebirth but were part of the process of developing the very concept itself.

It is obviously an effective and widely-employed strategy to motivate action by presenting an idealised picture both of what the path to transformation will involve and of the type of life that will result. As Blacking points out (1977), musicians often play a role in representing the changed conditions and concerns of social groups even before they are crystallized and articulated in policies and corporate action as Hirsch says, they encourage people to ‘see with their ears’ (Hirsch [DVD], 2004) – articulating projected aspirations for the future through the medium of sound. Accordingly, Rwandan refugee musicians sang confidently with faith and assurance about Rwandan regeneration as if it was occurring or had already occurred. Through diverse songs, Rwandan refugee musicians sang about the restoration of culture in Rwanda (for example, in ‘*Umunezero*’), the victory over genocide and the genocidal government (‘*Intsinzi*’), and returning to Rwanda in multitudes (‘*Turaje*’); songs like these (which will be explored later) were composed and performed years before the events took place. They helped to prepare the refugees for action, notably the invasion of northern Rwanda by the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), the armed wing of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), in October 1990. With the assistance of Zairean and French troops, President Habyarimana overcame them, forcing them to the mountainous border region and leading to the death of Fred Rwigema (Eichensehr & Reisman, 2009, p.86). This defeat, as explained to me by a Rwandan informant who was part of the army, did not mark the end of RPF, or of the struggle. The song ‘*Arihehe*’ by Masamba Intore (- another song that will be explored later) not only commemorated Fred Rwigema’s achievements but sought to keep his ideas alive; the RPF and Radio Muhabura continued singing it.

Back in their camp in Uganda, the RPF regrouped under Paul Kagame, although plans for another coup were deferred due to peace negotiations. One of my Rwandan informants told me that the camp in Uganda had a porous boundary allowing easy flow into and out of the camp.²³ Since the Rwandan displacement problem was not new to East African countries and, in some cases, because the refugees were considered as ethnically-related kin, the refugees were frequently accorded a degree of autonomy and integration, making it possible for many

²³ P.c., Anonymous informant (2009), Kigali, Rwanda, the person was a soldier in the previous regime.

to intermingle with and be part of local community life in the countries where they went, and in some cases even become citizens of those countries.²⁴ Arguably such a camp makes dissemination of information among the refugees rather complicated, requiring a system of mass media to reach the multitudes across boundaries. The RPF wanted to communicate the vision of Rwandan restoration to as many Rwandans as possible at different locations in East Africa so as to generate support. For music to play a vital part of this communication process, an effective and efficient medium of communication was required – a platform to reach the masses. Radio Muhabura, the refugees’ radio station run by the RPF, provided this platform for the Rwandan refugee musicians: see Section 4.2 for further details.

3.3 The 1994 RPF Liberation Struggle

The RPF’s strategic plans to re-enter Rwanda resumed when the fresh wave of genocide attacks began on the orders of the interim government (Dellaire, 2005, p.386), starting after the plane carrying Presidents Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi together with their delegation was brought down by a rocket (BBC News, 2010). Kagame clarified the goals and objectives of the ‘New Dawn’ as follows (Usenga [DVD] 2010):

Swahili transcription ²⁵	English translation
<p><i>Ninacho taka kuwajulisha ni kwamba, kila mmoja ajue wazi, kwamba jeshi letu hili, Ndiye msingi wa chama, Mna elewa? Ndiye litakuwa msingi wa mabadiliko ambayo yatakuwepo kwa nchi yetu hii, na kwa hivyo, wazi wazi nii mpaka kila mmoja wenu azingatie jaambo la siasa, amalo limetufanya sisi tuchukue silaha tupigane, na kwa hivyo maana yake, mpaka sisi vitendo vyetu, maawazo yetu, lazima kila wakati, vitu tofautishe, na wale ambao tunapigana nao, kwasababu kukiwa hakuna tofauti maana yake hakuna haja ya kupigana.</i></p>	<p>What I want to inform you is that, as everyone must clearly understand, our army is the foundation of our party. Do you understand? It will be the foundation of the changes that will take place in our country. Therefore, it is clear that everyone should focus on issues around politics, what it is that has caused us to take up arms to go and fight. This means that our actions, our thoughts, must every time differentiate us from those we are fighting against, because if there is no difference then there is no need to fight.</p>

²⁴ P.c. Various Rwandan informants (2011), Kigali, Rwanda, including Emmanuel Mutangana (through telephone interview)

²⁵ Transcribed and translated by Peter Okeno Ong’are

Paul Kagame insisted that the ‘actions’ and ‘thoughts’ of the RPF and RPA should differentiate them from the government that was committing the genocide crimes – representing a paradigm shift from revenge to liberation. Thus, eliminating Tutsis should not be counteracted by eliminating Hutus but by a different mentality with a focus on the changes that needed to take place in Rwanda. The instructions given by Paul Kagame echo the songs that were composed at the time of refuge, supporting the ‘we are one’ ideology and identifying the only enemy to be negative ethnicity. On the video footage (Usenga [DVD] 2010), one can see all the soldiers including Kagame, join in singing ‘*Arihehe*’, the aforementioned song dedicated to Major General Fred Rwigema.

3.4 Paul Kagame

Paul Kagame, the last born in a Rutuganga family of four girls and two boys, was born on 23rd October 1957 in Kabugae village, South West Rwanda, at a time when hierarchical racialised conceptions of the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa groups were pronounced and deeply entrenched (Usenga [DVD], 2010). His parents fled with him to Uganda during the massacres when he was four years old (Smith, 2010, p.3). He studied in exile and did his Masters in the USA, in Kansas. Potted summaries of Kagame’s early life are included in many sources, including the videos of his 50th birthday anniversary and the RPF videos – telling a simplified narrative of ‘goodies versus baddies’, in which one man’s experiences are shown as having prepared him for a struggle against adversity. In particular, his early experiences of refugee hardships and his purportedly close relationship with Major General Fred Rwigema both in the Ugandan Army and in the RPF are routinely pinpointed as motivating factors behind his rise to power. Following the death of Fred Rwigema, he quickly succeeded as leader of the RPF (Usenga [DVD], 2010).

3.5 Towards Liberation

The advancement of the RPF into Rwanda caused many Rwandans (inclusive of Hutus, Tutsis and Twas) to flee to DRC, Tanzania, Burundi and other neighbouring countries while others were caught in the crossfire (Whitworth, 2006). A Rwandan informant²⁶ told me that, had it not been for the intervention of the RPA, musicians like him who were designated as Tutsis and who had stayed in Rwanda at the time of genocide would have been killed by the militias, irrespective of whether they were loyal to the genocide government or not. Music

²⁶ P.c., Anonymous informant (2012), Manchester, UK, due to what he went through, he did not want his name to appear in this thesis.

had placed them in a public domain that displayed their purported identity and made them prey for the genocide government. The informant explained that, being a musician, he and his family were renowned within Christian music circles and their visibility made them vulnerable. They were abducted by the militias several times but, before they were exterminated, the RPF caught up with them and rescued them. However, as they moved on, they again fell into the hands of other militias. According to him, many musicians, especially gospel musicians, did not want to get involved in singing or composing songs for genocide; this position did not act in their favour – and worse still if they were purported to be Tutsis. He told me that they had to escape on foot to Burundi where they arrived exhausted and extremely traumatised because on their way they had to hide in the swamps and bushes since it was not safe to use the roads. He told me that it was not safe in Burundi either due to the death of their president on the same plane that had carried Habyarimana. So they stayed in Burundi only for a short while before making their way on foot to another neighbouring country. They only returned when things had calmed down.²⁷ Considering these traumatic experiences, it is not surprising that this particular informant – like many others who were designated Tutsi – spoke of the RPF and RPA as “liberators”. Again, as in the biographical representations of Kagame’s career and the majority of retrospective accounts, a clear-cut opposition of ‘good versus evil’ is emphasised.

3.6 Liberation and the Declaration of a New Era

According to Robin D. Moore (2006, p.9), during the struggle for change in Cuba, music was frequently used to exhort the people to keep revolutionary ideas in mind and to continue to struggle for a better common future and this was echoed during the RPA’s struggle. Although it was not possible to sing whilst fighting, a Rwandan informant (who chose to be anonymous) told me that in the evenings the soldiers would listen to Radio Muhabura, which worked to energise and fuel activities. Broadcasts were not just to convey news; there was a lot of music in the air that the army and supporters were able to listen to – transmitting messages to boost morale, drum up support, encourage people to join the forces, console and comfort and, above all, to celebrate wherever the RPF and RPA achieved a victory.²⁸ Once again, it is apparent that contemporary representations of the struggle sought to instil a starkly ‘black and white’, ‘good versus evil’, ‘us versus them’ conception of the warring factions,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ P.c., Anonymous informant (2009), Kigali, Rwanda, he was active in the genocidal regime but then switched allegiance and went to Uganda to join the RPF.

transforming the complex and bewildering reality into an easily comprehensible and reassuring story. While this kind of conception is always foregrounded during times of conflict, it is evidently also promoted by authoritarian regimes – and thus continues to be evidenced in contemporary Rwandan discourse. Accordingly, the songs broadcast by Radio Muhabura encouraged support and sustained action by representing the leaders and followers as heroes and patriots, the embodiment of good virtue. With the support, motivation and communication of Radio Muhabura, the RPA managed to take control of Kigali on 4th July 1994 (Dextexhe, 1995, p.83) and, on 18th July, the RPF reached the Zairian border and declared ceasefire, marking the end of genocide (Krosiak, 2008, p.49). This was the fulfilment of ‘*Intsinzi*’ (‘Victory’) – much as predicted years earlier in the song bearing this title by Maria Yohana Mukankuranga (examined in more detail later).

3.7 Challenges of the New Era

In the process of flight, the escapees (including the militias, military and the government officials) vandalized, looted and destroyed properties taking with them all the valuables that they could carry including money, artilleries and machineries. As they fled into the refugee camps in the neighbouring countries, ‘they fled with the entire infrastructure’ (Ndahiro, no date). Since they had military resources and expertise, tanks and ammunition and were receiving diverse aids as refugees, they continued to pose a threat, regrouping for fresh attacks and raids (Ndahiro, no date). Therefore, the declaration that genocide was over brought mixed feelings: there was jubilation due to the end of the barbaric regime but also anxiety at the possibility of renewed conflict and, of course, sorrow and sadness when considering the damage and loss, especially of human lives.

The RPF and RPA were faced with overwhelming challenges and responsibilities. They had at their discretion a country with no social, economic or even political infrastructure, dead and decaying bodies littering forsaken buildings, roads, rivers, lakes and public places, no public and civil utilities or services like telephone, electricity and water, scattered traumatized genocide victims, and genocidal criminals considering fresh attacks and raids. According to the Aegis Trust, Rwanda had to start ‘everything anew’ (Ndahiro, no date).²⁹ With the initial priority being to swiftly stabilize the country, a new government was hastily established to

²⁹ Also, p.c. Emmanuel Mutangana, Manasseh Tuyizere, Aimable Nsabayesu (2013), through telephone interview; P.c. Rev Anoine Lutayisere (2012), Kigali, Rwanda; See also Peck [DVD] (2005), Whitworth (2006), and *As we forgive* (2013).

oversee the formulation and activation of diverse social institutions, both governmental and non-governmental (*As we forgive*, 2013).

3.8 The Reformation of the Government

‘*Turaje*’ (‘We are coming’) – a song by Cecelie Kayirebwa discussed further in the following chapter (‘Music in the Rwandan Displacement’) – describes how displaced Rwandans should return to Rwanda not to fight but to unite and rebuild their country. In the song text, the composer tells the people living in Rwanda to create room for the refugees since they will be coming to join and form one big family. This song seems to imply an intention to assemble a new government from diverse social groups and, perhaps unsurprisingly, that is what happened: on 19th July 1994, a coalition government was established, named ‘The Broad Based Government of National Unity’ (Michigan State University, 1994-2013; *As we forgive*, 2013; Ndahiro, no date). Its fundamental law was based on a combination of the June 1991 constitution, the Arusha Accords, and political declarations by the parties (Michigan State University, 1994-2013). The coalition included: the Liberal Party (PL), the Social Democratic Party (PSD), the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), and the Republican Democratic Movement (MDR). Representatives from these parties plus three more parties – the Islamic Party (PDI), the Socialist Party (PSR), and the Democratic Union for Rwandese People (UDPR) –, as well as six representatives of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA), formed a 70 member Transitional National Assembly (Republic of Rwanda, no date), sworn in with Pasteur Bizimungu as President (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2008; Murison, 2011; Rwanda High Commission, 2010). The structure of the new government – which, it should be noted, was markedly different from that of the present day – might be described as collage-like, wherein different elements are brought together within one structure to generate synergy. Though the RPF was already an amalgamation of people from different backgrounds, the government that was formed had a greater inclusivity of people from different political parties and represented people from different backgrounds. It is worth mentioning that, within the government, a ‘policy of decentralization...[was] initiated to involve people in grassroots communities in decision-making’ (*As we forgive*, 2013). This was a way of further strengthening confidence and promoting peace and reconciliation, as indeed was the repatriation and resettlements of refugees.

3.9 Resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons

Several of my Rwandan informants who had been RPF soldiers told me that their first task was more of a clean-up exercise which involved resettling people and devising methods of collecting bodies in preparation for burial. They had to go round with loud speakers, armed in case there were still militia attacks, accompanied by first aiders and medical personnel announcing that genocide was over so that those in hiding might come out from the swamps, furrows or trenches and other places to come and get medical attention (see also Peck [DVD], 2005). They told me that, during these operations, they often played songs composed in refuge through the loud speakers, while on Rwandan radio stations also, people were being told that it was safe to come out of hiding.³⁰ The victims responded and were attended to but, in addition, there were those who had been displaced to different countries due to genocide and who needed to be recalled back to Rwanda.

3.10 Resettlement of Externally Displaced Persons

The new government had to devise mechanisms to bring people back to Rwanda and convince them that it would be safe to return. Manasseh Tuyizere explained to me that the return to Rwanda for those externally displaced was not an easy task; the refugees were often unwilling to leave their camp and in some instances they had to be forcefully moved back to their country. He continued to explain that the government of Rwanda sent some guarded trucks to go and collect Rwandans from the refugee camps, ensuring that they did not escape to other parts of their country of refuge. Manasseh told me that although many were afraid of going back, they were amazed to find out that it was actually peaceful and that there was a possibility of rebuilding. Most had lost hope and even the will to go back.³¹

Aimable Nsabayesu told me that Sgt Robert Ntamukunzi, who was a soldier in Habyarimana's regime, composed and sang a song called '*Intambara Irasenya Ntiyubaka*', which called upon the soldiers who had committed genocide atrocities and fled to the DRC to come back to Rwanda with a patriotic spirit to rebuild their country³². Aimable Nsabayesu and the teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre recalled and sung the chorus to me but they

³⁰ These operations are also depicted in films directed by Peterson ('We are all Rwandans', 2008), George ('Hotel Rwanda', 2004) and Peck ('Sometimes in April', 2005).

³¹ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2011), Durham, UK

³² P.c. Aimable Nsabayesu (2009), Kigali, Rwanda

could not remember the verses³³. It had three stanzas but the summarised version of the lyrical content of the song sent to me by Manasseh is as follows:

Come back to your country,
Let us rebuild it,
There are wonderful things happening.
War is destructive not constructive.

You are hiding yourself here and there,
Hiding all over Africa,
In Europe, America, Asia.
We always invite you to come back peacefully.
If you come for war you will be challenged.

According to my Rwandan informants, Sgt Robert Ntamukunzi was among those soldiers who came back, surrendered to the new government, served their term, were rehabilitated and reconciled back into the community and are currently championing peace, reconciliation and patriotism. My informants expressed the view that the song motivated a number of refugees, especially those who fled because they had committed genocide atrocities, to return and surrender to the new government. At the same time as pointing towards the persuasive power of song,³⁴ my informants' comments again typify the widespread and enduring tendency to represent the leadership in an overwhelmingly positive light: in the 'good versus bad' reading of history, the leadership's goodness extends to exemplify the Christian principal of forgiveness.

To work towards healing the broken social relationships, the government in 1996 established a National Unity and Reconciliation Commission with the responsibility of 'sensitising all Rwandans about the need and importance of unity and reconciliation, of conducting civic education, and fostering community initiatives' (Ndahiro, no date).

³³ P.c. Teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre (2009), Kigali, Rwanda

³⁴ P.c. Teachers at Oakdale Kigali Music Centre (2009) Kigali, Rwanda. P. c., Alexis Nkuzingoma, Manasseh Tuyizere and also my anonymous informant (2009 – 2013) diverse places

3.11 Judicial Reforms and the *Gacaca*

Before and during genocide, injustice was tolerated even to the point of murder as long as the victims could be demonized and their inhuman humiliation could be justified in some way. It was considered legal and justifiable to exterminate those Rwandans who were purported not to be Rwandan or not sufficiently Rwandan. People were allowed to take the law into their own hands as an act of loyalty and obedience to the genocide government. My Rwandan informants, including Manasseh, Emmanuel Mutangana, Aimable and pastor Antoine Lutayisere, told me that the atmosphere after genocide, while full of gratitude for the victory over genocide was also full of a thirst for revenge. People wanted justice and severe punishment for the perpetrators of genocide. It was ripe ground for mob-justice. One of the key initiatives that the government therefore worked on was promoting the rule of law and respect for the law (Ndahiro, no date). Accordingly, the government established the Human Rights Commission to promote the rule of law and respect for the fundamental rights of citizens (As we forgive, 2013). Subsequently, in the Rwandan reformation the government reformed the judicial system with two key elements in operation: restorative and participatory justice programs. The civil and the common *law courts*, *gacaca*, and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) formed the three legal systems or pillars of justice empowered to run concurrently and independently in the enforcement of law and order in Rwanda (Hauschildt, 2012).

3.11.1 *Gacaca*

Although the song by Sgt Robert Ntamukunzi stated that ‘We always invite you to come back peacefully’, that did not mean that there was to be no justice. It simply implied a considerable amount of leniency in judgement, depending on the way in which the guilty individual returns. According to Shema (no date), after the genocide the number of prisoners awaiting trial ‘would clog even the world’s most developed legal system’ and it would take centuries for Rwanda to sort through them. The alternative path that Rwanda took was *gacaca*, described by Shema as ‘an old community-based approach to resolving disputes and allowing reconciliatory justice’. Shema elaborates further that *gacaca* derives its name from short clean grass known in Kinyarwanda as *umucaca*. He explains that, before colonialism, Rwandans would elect well respected elders in their community, known in Kinyarwanda as ‘*inyangamugayo*’, to sit on *umucaca*-covered ground to resolve disputes and that is how the name *gacaca* came into being. The word also implies gathering on a neutral place or ground

like a no man's land, allowing for openness (Shema, no date; Hauschildt, 2012). From observations, discussions and watching videos of *gacaca* trials relating to the genocide, there is no evidence of music ever having been employed in that context.

3.11.2 The Reformation, Achievements and Closure of *Gacaca*

In 1996, the Rwanda parliament enacted a genocide law dividing genocide suspects into four categories: Category 1 were suspects whose deeds during the genocide put them among the planners, organizers, instigators, leaders and supervisors of the genocide; Category 2 were suspects who participated in physical attacks that resulted in the death of the victim; Category 3 were suspects accused of terrible assaults that did not result in the death of someone. Category 4 cases were genocide suspects accused of looting, theft or other crimes related to property (Shema no date; Hauschildt, 2012).

In March 2001, after several drafts, the 'Gacaca Law' was adopted and published. This law allowed for an alternative system of participatory justice – a reworking of the traditional community conflict resolution system in which 'the whole of society would take part' (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004, p.16). Relating to the above-mentioned suspect categories, *gacaca* courts had jurisdiction over 2 and 4 while the ICTR was concerned with categories 1 and 3. Each *gacaca* jurisdiction was made up of a general assembly (comprised of every adult over 18 inhabiting the area of jurisdiction), a coordinating committee, a chair and a president. The *gacaca* court was expected to reconstruct what happened during the genocide and to speed up the legal proceedings. Witnesses were cautioned to speak only about what they saw with their own eyes or heard with their own ears during the weeks and months of genocide in 1994 (Rittner, Roth and Whitworth, 2004, p.117).

There have been a number of complaints over the competence of *gacaca* but some people, including President Paul Kagame, have argued that it was the best option at the time, producing results. The Aljazeera Human Rights Watch group said that the system's achievements included 'swift trials with popular participation, a reduction in the prison population, a better understanding of what happened in 1994 and... a possible easing of ethnic tensions' (Aljazeera Africa, 2012). Meanwhile, Thomas Hauschildt (2012), stresses that *gacaca* courts, by uncovering the truth, enabled victims to hear about the fate of their relatives. People acquired a better understanding of root causes, preventive measures could be designed and put in place, and it produced healing in the process of forgiveness, leading

to reconciliation. In addition the number of prisoners in cells was reduced because people were sentenced to community work instead of prison – which supported community development and the progress of the nation. Hauschildt (2012) states that the Ingando camps for prisoners set up by the National Unit and Reconciliation served as re-education camps, which taught prisoners about the political and socio-economic problems of Rwanda, the history, rights and duties of Rwandans, and which acted as a space for the transformation of thinking and attitudes. This helped in the re-integration of perpetrators into society. In essence, these efforts aimed to address basic human needs of justice, empowerment, security and recognition in order to reach the final objective of reconciliation.

According to Edouard Munyamariza (in Asiimwe, 2012), the Chairman of the Civil Society Platform, the *gacaca* system accomplished what it was meant to: it helped realize the country's vision of unity and reconciliation, one of the central goals of the new Rwandan government. In Kigali, on 18th June 2012, Rwanda had a ceremony marking the closure of the local *gacaca* courts, which had tried nearly two million people and convicted 65 per cent since being set up in 2001 (Aljazeera Africa, 2012; Gasake, 2012; and Tsalamlal, 2012). President Paul Kagame said that this event was not simply to mark the closure, 'but also to recognise the enduring value of the process' (Aljazeera Africa, 2012). Trials involving the media and music were not handled at the *gacaca* courts but at a tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania. The new government sought to clean up the media and emphasise the focus on 'never again' – a phrase used in Rwanda for peace and reconciliation during the aftermath of genocide and in some genocide museums (Hodgkin and Montefiore, 2005). The UNICTR, though in charge of dealing with genocide criminal offences, was also the tool for media and music reforms in the Rwandan renaissance.

3.12 Media Reforms

It has previously been discussed how the media and music in Rwanda at the time of genocide were used to terrorize victims and fuel the militias, the government and the extremists. The new Rwandan government had to conduct a clean-up exercise through the legal system. Acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UNICTR) by resolution 955 of 8th November 1994 for the prosecution of persons responsible for genocide. It is located in Arusha, Tanzania and consists of three elements: the Chambers and the Appeals Chamber; the Office of the Prosecutor, in charge of investigations and prosecutions; and the Registry, which is

responsible for providing overall judicial and administrative support to the Chambers and the Prosecutor. It sensitizes African nations about genocide issues with the aim of avoiding its recurrence elsewhere (ICTR, no date). According to the UNICTR, cases involving the media were complicated and required a lot of evidence, historical context and content and expert testimonies (*Trailer of the Media* [DVD], 2000).

The UNICTR proved that the media had indeed been important in the popular mobilization for genocide, calling on ordinary people to participate. Benard Muna, former prosecutor of the ICTR stated that ‘To be able to kill one Million people in 100 days – 10,000 per day – there must have been conspiracy, consultation, organisation and planning’ (*Trailer of the Media* [DVD], 2000), insisting that the involvement of the media in genocide was part of the plan. The crimes that the media owners were charged with included: direct public incitement to commit genocide; conspiracy to commit genocide; extermination and persecution crimes against humanity. Judge Navenathem Pillay, former president of the ICTR (1999-2003) clarified that that hate speech in Rwanda was criminal (*Trailer of the Media* [DVD], 2000). Judge Erick Mose, the succeeding president of ICTR (2003-2007), stated that the media trial was to determine the boundary between freedom of expression and the need to react against genocide or crimes against humanity (ibid.). He said that ‘we have a right to express contrary, disagreeable and opposed opinion but not to cross the borderline asking or encouraging people to commit an offence.’ Peter Herbert, Counsel of J.B. Barayagwiza Chair of the London Race Hate Crime Forum argues that ‘the freedom of the press is a right but not an absolute right’. He points out that when ‘acts of racism are knowingly done and lead to hate crime being committed then the freedom of the press takes second place to the right of any person to conduct business freely without any fear’(ibid.).

On 3rd December 2003, in media trials, Ferdinand Nahimana, Hassan Ngeze and Jean Bosco Baragwiza were sentenced to imprisonment for the rest of their lives. But on 28th November 2007, at the Appeals Chamber, that was revised. Ferdinand Nahimana was given a prison term of 30 years and the sentences for Ngeze and Bosco were also reduced, to 35 years each (ibid.). Some felt that the sentences were too lenient, but also felt that the ICTR had shown to the world that there are consequences for such crimes (*Justice in Rwanda 16* [DVD], 2004). Following the trial, the government of Rwanda has liberalised the radio stations and opened up the airwaves. Six private broadcasting companies have received licenses, and there is a greater choice of radio and TV stations (*Justice in Rwanda 16* [DVD], 2004). Meanwhile, the

UNICTR has also been influential in promoting music reforms by bringing to justice the leading genocide musician, Simon Bikindi.

3.13 Music Reform

Music reforms for the new Rwanda are exemplified by the trial of Simon Bikindi, the ‘star’ of genocide music. To strengthen or actualize the music reform, Simon Bikindi was apprehended and taken for trial and his songs were banned (Flannery, 2004). His trial at the UNICTR demonstrated to the judiciary the power of music and its influence on human behaviour: Simon Bikindi had participated in genocide by composing, recording and disseminating songs encouraging ethnic hatred, to sensitize and incite the public to attack and kill the Tutsi. Three specific songs can be referenced here: ‘*Twasezereye*’ (‘We said goodbye to the Feudal Regime’), the aforementioned ‘*Nanga Abahutu*’ (‘I hate the Hutu’), and ‘*Bene Sebahinzi*’ (‘The songs of the fathers of the cultivators’). In these songs, Bikindi manipulated the history of Rwanda to extol Hutu solidarity and characterised Tutsi as Hutu enslavers, enemies or enemy accomplices. He blamed the enemy for the problems in Rwanda, encouraged Hutu solidarity against a common foe, the Tutsi, and supported the Bahutu Ten Commandments published in *Kangura (The Prosecutor V Simon Bikindi, 2008)*.

Bikindi was duly charged for direct and public incitement to commit genocide, defined as ‘a crime of the most serious gravity affecting the very foundations of our society... [which] shocks the conscience of humanity’ (ibid.). He was also found to have abused his position as a well-known and popular artist, to have been an influential member of the MRND, and to have been an important figure in the *interahamwe* movement, using his influence to incite genocide. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment (with an entitlement to credit for the time spent in detention since he had been arrested in the Netherlands on 12th June 2001) (ibid.). The ICTR was expected to finish its work and cease in 2012 (Hauschildt, 2012).

As Navanethem Pillay, the media trial presiding judge, stated: ‘the role and power of media (inclusive of music) to create and destroy fundamental human values comes with great responsibility: those who control such media are accountable for their consequences’ (*Trailer of the Media* [DVD], 2000). Simon Bikindi’s trial, while revealing the great negative potentials of music, also shows the importance (and difficulty) of media regulation to uphold social values while not infringing upon the rights of the citizens.

During my field trip in 2010, several incidents served to highlight the impact that Simon Bikindi's trial had had. On one occasion, I was suspected of being a government spy as a result of simply asking to buy some Rwandan traditional music. Enquiries with various people about why I had received such a reaction revealed that this was because Simon Bikindi had used the traditional musical idiom to destroy the community and had just been on trial in Arusha. One of the shop owners explained that playing traditional music created a tense atmosphere because the idioms, proverbs and sayings used might easily be misinterpreted due to their use by Bikindi. Two years later, however, very many Rwandan traditional songs (both old and new) had become readily available on the internet, CDs and DVDs. Some, if not most, of the songs in the restored Rwanda are informative, seeking to present different readings of history that aim towards healing or building social relationships. They explore themes of forgiveness, peace, reconciliation and unity.

3.14 Renaissance Songs and Unified Identity

Rwandan renaissance songs (as depicted in this and the next chapter) do not explore the themes of genocide: atrocities, destruction, and the fragmentation of social structures. Instead, they focus on the restoration of cultural heritage, reconciliation and unity, and rebuilding Rwanda. The idea of a common identity appears in most of these songs, correcting the previous distorted, fragmented identity.

Marcia Herndon and Norma McLeod (1981, p.26) state that music 'is the most highly patterned form of human behaviour' and because of this 'whenever music occurs, some kind of behavioural alterations which are patterned and formalised occur with it'. The Rwandan songs composed in refuge insisted on a vision of a Rwanda for all Rwandans, later to be reflected in the formation of an inclusive government. Songs composed after the genocide also insisted on Rwanda being one nation. Alan P. Merriam states that 'Music is a means of communication which can be used to further world understanding' (Merriam, 1964, p.10). It can be argued that music helped Rwandans understand their pre-colonial history as 'we were one', promoted the establishment of 'we are one' in the present, and secured a resolution that, in the future, 'we should be one'. As Marcia Herndon and Norma McLeod point out (1981, p.91), music provides economic, political and religious frameworks through which people can view the world and it can indeed be argued that music influenced many of the social structures that were erected in the new era, thereafter helping to sustain them.

A highly significant example of a governmental policy aimed at bringing about unified identity was the removal of ethnic descriptions on Identity Cards. Ethnicity depicted on ID cards had been a tool for causing hatred and even determining whether someone would live or die, so the government had to address this. The removal of ethnic designation has very much strengthened the view of Banyarwanda, as opposed to three categories: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa.

3.15 *Umuganda*

All Rwandans, both in Rwanda and outside, have the same understanding of *umuganda*: they know precisely when and how it works. *Umuganda* is the dedication of the last Saturday of every month to public service by all Rwandans in Rwanda. During Habyarimana's regime, although it consisted mainly of working on farms, planting trees, ensuring cleanliness and attending to various environmental issues such as preventing soil erosion;³⁵ it was also connected to more damaging and divisive activities. After their community service, people would engage in songs³⁶ and dances in praise of political parties, the president or government; and also discuss target victims for genocide. Manasseh Tuyizere told me that, during Habyarimana's regime, if one did not get involved one could face severe punishment for not participating. He clarified that, after the 1994 genocide, *umuganda* was abandoned for some time – largely because of its negative associations – before being reintroduced with a new focus.³⁷ I observed that currently people get involved willingly, encouraged by TV and radio broadcasts outlining the different projects undertaken by Rwandans in different regions. I also observed that after *umuganda*, in the evenings, people would often celebrate in social places like pubs, clubs or churches, with music taking a prominent role in proceedings.³⁸

Ephraim Uwiragiye explained to me: '*Umuganda* helps in building and solidifying relationships; people get to know their neighbours and others while the information from the government is passed down in the simplest way possible.' He said that people get to understand their country, the government and its operations; they interact and ask questions

³⁵ P.c. Teachers at Kigali School of Music, Emmanuel Mutangana, Alexis, Janvier, Ephraim and other Rwanda friends, in face to face interview, 2009, 2010, 2011

³⁶ Many of my Rwandan informants were not keen to sing any of these songs because according to them they did not like the government and parties that existed due to their support to the inhuman acts of massacre and hatred

³⁷ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2011), Durham, UK

³⁸ I did not witness any singing during the *umuganda* work itself, except the music that sounded from some of the PA systems in town. The streets are rather calmer during work days and, except for people cleaning or gardening, there is not much trade or business going on apart from in chemists and hospitals.

on different issues, about health and other things.³⁹ Other Rwandan informants told me that participation in *umuganda* is also a means by which people can get an Identity Card or passport or access other government services, since the names of participants are noted down by appointed leaders. These records show whether a family is represented in *umuganda* and, if not, they might not be able to get access to government services. *Umuganda* assists in security, in ensuring accountability, and acts also like a ‘certificate of good conduct’ (Kenya High Commission, United Kingdom, 2010).⁴⁰ As observed and explained, it can now be considered as a tool for healing social structures – with music being very much part and parcel.

3.16 Criticisms of President Paul Kagame and the RPF

This chapter acknowledges that many accusations and criticisms have been levelled against President Paul Kagame and the RPF, which have had repercussions within Rwanda – and, to ensure a balanced coverage of this area, it is essential to present some of these perspectives. The latest accusations, broadcast by the BBC (5 November 2013 and 5 June 2014) pinpoint the Rwandan and Ugandan governments as having been supporting the M23 rebels, Congolese national defectors from the Congolese army who have purported Tutsi backgrounds.

As Stephen Smith reveals (2011, p.8), a group of four senior figures who were once part of Kagame’s inner circle but who have now fled abroad have testified that Rwanda has become a one-party authoritarian state, controlled by President Kagame through a small clique of Tutsi military officers and civilian cadres of the RPF behind the scenes. The majority Hutu community remains excluded from a meaningful share of political power, state institutions are repressive and the government relies on severe repression to maintain its hold on power. Smith says that Rwanda is less free today than it was prior to the genocide, allowing less room for political participation than there was in 1994. The media too does not allow freedom of expression.

Theogene Rudasingwa, former secretary general, Gerald Gahima, former prosecutor and Vice-president of the Rwandan supreme court, Colonel Patrick Karegeya, erstwhile chief of external security services, and General Faustine Kayumba Nyamwasa, the ex-chief of staff of

³⁹ P.c. Ephraim Uwiragiye (2010), Kigali, Rwanda

⁴⁰ I personally experienced this when my personal details were gathered and taken to the leader of the *umudugudu* in Remera, Kigali. Through this experience, I was able to gather more information.

the Rwandan army (Smith, 2011, p.8), are said to be in agreement that ‘President Kagame is a very polarising figure. His policies continue to divide Rwandan society along the lines of ethnicity and to fuel conflict’. They insist that the likelihood of a recurrence of violent conflict, including even the possibility of genocide, is very high (Smith, 2011, p.8).

An article and video by Mira Oberman (2011) depicts President Paul Kagame meeting with the Rwandans in diaspora at the Chicago Hotel in Chicago. He had an extremely warm welcome from Rwandans, cheering his arrival and applauding his work in transforming their homeland. Outside the hotel, however, there were protesters and opposition leaders who chanted that Kagame is a corrupt dictator and a war criminal. One of the protestors, Theogene Rudasingwa, Kagame's former cabinet chief and a leader of the opposition in exile, stated that Opposition leaders and journalists have been killed by Kagame and that there is ‘no freedom and democracy in Rwanda’. Theogene Rudasingwa and Paul Rusesabagina, the man who inspired the film ‘Hotel Rwanda’ insisted that the crimes are still going on in Congo and that Kagame and his government are looting blood minerals and killing Congolese. Ndajeh, one of the protestors, was out of the country when the genocide ravaged Rwanda and has been too afraid to go back, but insists that Kagame killed his relatives including his father. It is not known which side the relatives and the father were on and whether they were killed in the crossfire, or were involved in committing genocide, or were in the camps (Oberman, 2011).

Another article by Edward Herman and David Peterson (2010), entitled ‘Paul Kagame: “Our Kind of Guy”’, likens Kagame to Suharto the Indonesian president and says that he is a double-genocidist who has firmly aligned Rwanda to the West as a US client, opening the door to foreign investors. He states that Kagame and the RPF committed atrocities in DRC to the Hutus from Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire and attributes Kagame’s efforts to be in line with the policies of the US and other Western countries to open up the DRC for their investment. According to Edward Herman, although Kagame got 93% of the votes in the 2010 elections, his regime was busy slaughtering the Hutus in DRC and limiting freedom of expression. He maintains that Kagame uses the myth of him being the saviour of Rwanda to maintain his domination while he is a servant to the West and US and states that that it is the reason why his crimes are ignored or denied. He states that Kagame is behind the shooting down of the plane that carried the Hutu President of Burundi and the Hutu president of Rwanda to eliminate Habyarimana in order to seize state power before the national elections scheduled according to the Arusha Accords. He claims that since Paul Kagame was trained at Fort

Leavenworth, Kansas, he received steady material and diplomatic support from the U.S. when in command of the RPF. He also says that the killings committed by the Hutus were not systematic, unlike those committed by the RPF which were mass killings by the Tutsi force. He maintains that the West is sanctifying him as ‘the man who dreamt’ (Herman and Peterson 2010)

The Free Uganda Critical Media similarly blames the RPF and President Kagame for the genocide that took place in Rwanda, Congo and Uganda. They accuse Kagame of being behind the shooting down of the plane that killed Habyarimana and allege that more than fourteen massacres were committed by Kagame. It is claimed that the RPF and the government have prohibited international Non-Governmental Organisations from assisting orphans, widows and others, and that the families of the previous government have been targeted by the RPF. The article claims that the RPF had a group of young trained militias and that the government trained them at the parliament buildings and gave them weapons. It also belittles the *gacaca* courts as not qualified to judge cases of genocide because this is a traditional judicial system used only to judge petty issues. The article concludes that ‘Paul Kagame is the living satan of the great lakes. As long as this butcher is free, the dead will continue to demand for Justice’ (Free Uganda Critical Media, 2009).

‘Manifestation Anti-Kagame’ on the Vimeo website, is an album of 8 videos of interviews that are anti-Kagame conducted in Brussels. They are all in French, and include interviews and songs about people demonstrating in Brussels. The demonstrators carry posters showing Kagame as a wanted war criminal (Vimeo, 2010). Apparently most of the people interviewed in the videos are originally from Congo and their reason for coming to Brussels was to demonstrate against the welcome given to the President of Rwanda, claiming that he caused the death of 8 million people (Vimeo, 2010).

3.16.1 Some ‘Insider’ Reflections on the Anti-Kagame Discourse

Having been in Rwanda many times and maintained extensive contacts and social interactions with Rwandans both in Rwanda and outside Rwanda, a more complicated view of these critics emerges. Following the genocide, there was high expectation of harsh punishments by the RPF and Kagame, extreme sentencing for the criminals of genocide acts, a high level of hate speech against perpetrators of genocide, closure and banning of certain churches and German, Belgium and French Embassies – but these various parties were generally handled in more subtle ways, beyond the public and international gaze. In all public

forums, all policies and projects have been steadfastly and explicitly geared towards promoting and maintaining national unity and stability, detailed using a persuasive positivistic rhetoric of inclusivity.

During my 2010 academic visit to Rwanda I witnessed the run-up to the elections, which featured four political parties: the Rwandan Patriotic Front led by Paul Kagame; the Social Democratic Party headed by Jean Damascene Ntawukuriryayo; the Liberal Party headed by Prosper Higiyo; and the Party for Congress and Concord headed by Alvera Mukabaramba. On many occasions, I encountered different political parties criss-crossing the roads where I was, singing songs in praise of their parties – and all evidence seems to suggest that the elections were conducted with far less tension, intimidation, and irregularity than the elections of neighbouring countries like Congo, Kenya and Uganda. Meanwhile, since the trials of genocide-related media and musicians, the state control of the media has apparently slackened, with diverse channels from outside Rwanda being easily accessible within the country. During my fieldwork visits, I regularly watched Citizen, which is a Kenyan TV channel, and listened to Radio Rwanda, Radio Maria, Flash FM Rwanda and many other Radio stations – all of which independently broadcast their own programmes. Within Rwanda, then, the regime is often perceived as fostering a culture of ‘conditional openness’: one can do what one wishes so long as one takes part in the nation-building project and adheres to the ‘we are one’ ideology.

In response to some of the negative criticisms detailed in the previous section, my Rwandan informants told me that there are those who are ‘jealous’ of the progress in Rwanda and therefore wish to depict Rwanda as being unstable or oppressed. They also said that some individuals who were involved in stopping the genocide subsequently expected the President to give them positions in the government; allegedly, these individuals are now expressing anger because that did not happen. Informants also mentioned another possibility: there are those who are disappointed in Kagame’s government because it has not sufficiently punished the guilty for their part in genocide crimes.⁴¹

My pro-Kagame informants’ responses demonstrate an interesting reverse logic: the anti-Kagame voices are interpreted as being indicative not of the regime’s failings but rather of its deep-rooted goodness. The government is portrayed as embodying the highest moral

⁴¹ P.c. Five Rwandans, anonymous (2009), at a meeting at Moi Avenue in Nairobi, Kenya

qualities, thereby establishing – yet again – a clearcut, easily comprehensible ‘good versus bad’ explanation of history (and of more contemporary international relations). The contrast between what pro-Kagame Rwandans in Rwanda tend to say about their government (- the insider view) and what defectors and international commentators tend to suggest – particularly regarding the extent and nature of state control and civic freedoms (see, for example, Straus and Waldrof 2011) – becomes very stark indeed.

3.16.2 The Impacts of Criticism

Accusations against the government have led several countries, including the UK, Germany, Netherlands and the United States, to suspend or withdraw aid to Rwanda (BBC, 2012; and eNews Channel Africa, 2013). Rwanda’s response to the withdrawal of funds has been to develop a self-initiated programme known as the ‘*Agaciro* Development Fund’. According to Rwandan Government documents, this is Rwanda’s first solidarity fund, initiated at the 2011 *Umushyikirano* (National Dialogue) and intended to fast-track and own development. It is financed by voluntary contributions from Rwandan citizens both in Rwanda and abroad, together with money from private companies and Friends of Rwanda. It aims to motivate Rwandans to carry out development together and is managed by the Rwandan Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning to finance key priority projects as identified in Vision 2020 (Agaciro, 2013). Mutonyi Karasanyi defines the Rwandan word ‘*agaciro*’ as meaning ‘self-dignity’ and also, in this context, ‘self-reliance’. It is concerned with ‘renaissance’ based on three pillars of development which are: the ‘brain gain’, self-reliance, and renewed faith and optimism. It was reported that the fund ‘raised nearly \$2 million on its first day’ (Karasanyi, 2012).

3.17 Conclusion

Of course, songs do not work on their own to produce any form of revolution and this chapter has explained in considerable detail about the diverse policies and strategies that have been instigated during the immediate post-genocide period – exploring underlying motivations while also presenting different perspectives. This chapter has also exposed the various measures taken to evince justice – a crucial component of the peace and reconciliation process. Of particular relevance to the musical focus of this thesis, coverage has detailed the proceedings of the Simon Bikindi trial case and subsequent measures taken to reform the country’s media. In the process, it has been shown that the media are not above the law:

freedom comes with responsibility and media creators and disseminators are held accountable when they actively counter fundamental human rights.

This chapter has suggested that, just as music and media were very important tools for genocide (as discussed in the previous chapter), they carried the same power and importance in revolution and liberation struggle. Songs like *'Umunezero'*, *'Intsinzi'*, *'Arihehe'*, *'Turaje'* (discussed extensively in the next chapter) played a part in crafting, developing and actualizing revolutionary thoughts, ideas, and institutions. With their foresight and artistry, musicians were able to make people 'see with their ears' (Hirsch [DVD] 2004) what they would later see in actuality 'with their eyes'. Having elaborated upon what happened on the ground during this critical transitional period of Rwandan history, the stage has now been set for the next chapter, which includes more detailed analysis of song contents to show how music 'worked' to promote the country's reformation, functioning as an integral part of the Rwandan diasporic experience and motivating refugees to join forces, liberate and rebuild their country.

Chapter Four

Music in Rwandan Displacements

Before, during and after the 1994 genocide many Rwandans were forced to migrate from their dwelling in pursuit of safety. Some settled elsewhere within the country while others went across the Rwandan border. Most managed to find refuge through the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), also known as the UN Refugee Agency – two international bodies involved in the movement of persons. The former organisation offers a general broad definition of migration as ‘the movement of a person or a group of persons from one place to another’, which could be across an international border, or just within a single state (Perruchoud, 2004, p.41). The general term for such persons is migrants.

Migrants are classified into different categories according to their reasons for migrating. Migrant categories include: 1) Nomadic pastoralists who, according to Cribb (1991, pp.15-22), are people in search of greener pastures for their animals (who usually only stay in other lands temporarily); 2) Emigrants or immigrants who are non-nationals and who have moved into another country for the purpose of settlement (Perruchoud, 2004, pp.21 and 31); 3) Asylum seekers seeking refugee status in another country but being evaluated and waiting to be accepted or rejected; 4) Refugees have an officially recognised well-founded fear of persecution in their country of nationality (ibid., 2004, p.53); 5) Others who do not fall under the above categories, for example students and business-people who have moved in order to better their lives materially, economically, socially and in other ways (ibid., p.40). There have long been examples of all types within the Rwandan diaspora.

4.0.1 Diasporic Experience

The new environments that migrants encounter demand changes from their normal ways of living, so as to cope for survival or adapt to fit in. Integration within a new location involves a number of stages described by John Lie (1995) as being ‘uprooted and shorn of pre-migration networks, cultures, and belongings’, then entering the cauldron of a ‘new society’, a melting pot which ‘assimilates’ them until they become citizens of the new land. Rima Berns-McGown (2008) presents a rather different interpretation, stating that being part of a diaspora involves migrants to adopt the perception of being linked to multiple places resulting in the formation of a complex identity, one which balances the individual’s

understanding of the places themselves and the ways they fit into each of them. Berns-McGown (2008) describes living in the diaspora as being situated in a space of two-dimensional connections: there is a tension between else-where (the ‘mythic’ homeland) and here (the adoptive country) and, at the same time, there is a connection to the wider ‘mainstream’ society, which may or may not be fraught. In both dimensions music plays a key role as an important ‘cultural baggage’ containing a variety of cultural elements.

4.0.2 Music as Diasporic Cultural Baggage

Culture (concisely defined in Chapter 1) is an integral part of every community, which community members ‘carry along’ with themselves throughout their lives. Meanwhile, music, in particular, has been identified by Mark Slobin (1994, p.244) as a ‘highly portable and multi-layered’ type of ‘cultural baggage’ which people find it impossible to live without as they move from place to place; in fact, music possibly becomes of increasing importance as people do so. Slobin also considers music as ‘part of the human body’, stating that ‘even before the microchip, music has always been wired into the mobile body, forming earliest memories and later evoking deep-set emotions’ (ibid., p.244). Because musical skills, knowledge and repertoire can, to a very large extent, be preserved within the mind and body, they tend to be amongst the most important treasures to be carried by migrants – functioning as a ‘cultural shape-changer’ critical to the transformative processes that are central to the diasporic experience, linking homeland and here-land through an intricate network of sound (ibid., p.243). And so it was for the Rwandans in the diaspora.

4.0.3 Rwandan Refugee Status

Recurrent waves of Rwandan displacement resulted in two main categories of migrant groups: Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who had been forced or obliged to leave their original homes but remained within Rwanda’s territorial borders and Externally Displaced Persons (EDPs) who had fled to other countries in search of safety (sometimes also referred to as ‘*de facto* refugees’ (see Perruchoud, 2004, pp.32-33 & 23; Deng, 1998, p.5; and Biersteker, Spiro, Sriram, and Raffo, 2007, p.144). Their status as refugees was undoubtable, as clarified by Raphael Nyabala⁴², who told me that before asylum seekers are granted refugee status, they have to go through a process of verification or authentication, also referred to as refugee status determination. He explained that the process includes an

⁴² P.c. Raphael Nyabala (2011), through telephone interview

interview to verify the genuineness or authenticity of their reasons for fleeing their country. If proven not genuine, the person is denied refugee status and deported back to their country; if genuine and convincing, they are granted refugee status and accorded security and accommodation in the refugee camp, where temporary quarters made up of canvas tents, polythene, paper, canvas, wood or any other useable material could provide shelter. Most Rwandans as discussed below ended up in the refugee camps.



Figure 6 Rwandan Refugee Camps in Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo⁴³

This chapter focuses mainly on three distinctively different official Rwandan refugee camps in three different countries, namely: Mbarara in Uganda (founded before the 1994 genocide), Ngara in Tanzania and Goma in the Democratic Republic of Congo (which were founded due to the 1994 genocide). The aim of this chapter is to expose how music has acted as part and parcel of the diasporic experience, helping to build and maintain strong social relationships

⁴³ Photo by Redmond, I. (2005) *Kibumba; Rwandan Refugee Camp*

amongst Rwandan refugees and, ‘boomerang’-like, helping to reshape mind-sets and motivate a return to Rwanda.



Figure 7 the Locations of the Rwandan Refugee Camps⁴⁴

4.1 The Refugee Camp in Mbarara, Uganda

The Rwandan refugee camp in Mbarara (Uganda) is the oldest amongst the three camps discussed in this chapter, and the circumstances surrounding its foundation differ remarkably from the others. Thomas Ndahiro⁴⁵ described how, following earlier massacres in Rwanda in 1959, 1962, 1964 and 1973, the UN bought land in Uganda, where Rwandan refugees could find solace and safety. One of the unusual features of Mbarara was that refugees were not confined to the camp, but were able to integrate into local communities, some ending up studying and getting high-status jobs in Uganda, in other East African countries and further afield.⁴⁶ Other refugees even became part of the Ugandan National Army, as previously discussed in the Chapter 3 (‘New Dawn in Rwanda’). Some of the refugees settled on a more permanent basis, integrating with the host-land society and transforming from being refugees into a more rooted diasporic community – a type of transformation explored by, for example, Abiodun Gabriel Adeniyi (2008, p.16): ‘Tourists and migrants may turn into diaspora people

⁴⁴ UNHCR (2007) The Rwandan Crisis

⁴⁵ P.c. Thomas Ndahiro (2013) in the Diaspora – Durham, UK

⁴⁶ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2013), through telephone Interview

but diaspora people are not continually tourists or migrants' (See also Rima Berns-McGown, 2007, p.4-6, about migrant/diaspora definitions). Accordingly, the camp-community in Uganda came to develop a number of institutions not commonly associated with refugee camps, including: a political party – the Rwandan Patriotic Party (RPF); the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA); and the refugees' radio station, run by the RPF – Radio Muhabura, providing a stage for Rwandan refugee musicians.

4.2 Radio *Muhabura*: Liberation Radio

Thomas Ndahiro told me that Radio Muhabura was originally founded in Uganda in 1991, around one year after the death of Major General Fred Rwigema. Then, in 1992, it was relocated to new premises on the Muhabura volcano in the national park on the Rwanda-Ugandan border, at which point it acquired its name (Mpambara and Alexis, 2003, p.13; Thompson, 2007, p.130). Broadcasting on FM, it could be heard across a very large area, throughout Rwanda (but more easily in the North because the South was more tightly controlled by the government) and also in Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Burundi.⁴⁷ Emmanuel Mutangana told me that, as a refugee who left Rwanda significantly in advance of the 1994 genocide, he found Radio Muhabura to be a vital source of hope and authentic Rwandan music. He described it as 'liberation radio', airing songs aimed at transforming the mind-sets of Rwandans and especially the refugees. Emmanuel Mutangana recalled how listeners outside Rwanda were widely aware of the station's illegal status within Rwanda itself⁴⁸ (see also Thompson, 2007, p.130). Indeed, the Rwandan government called it 'the enemy's radio' because it advocated ideas and actions that contradicted their own, giving people information on the operations of the RPF (Umulisa, 1994). On the other hand, refugees in Uganda were not stopped from listening to official Rwandan radio despite it openly broadcasting race-hate messages and an openly negative appraisal of the RPF's activities.

4.3 The Musicians and Music of Radio *Muhabura*

Various Rwandan informants confirmed that Radio Muhabura stood out from other radio stations on account of its prioritisation of music by Rwandans in recognisably Rwandan styles – songs that were intimately associated with Rwandan culture, and more so refugees'

⁴⁷ P.c. Thomas Ndahiro (2013), Durham, UK

⁴⁸ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2013), through telephone interview

present lives and future expectations.⁴⁹ The musicians and songs explored in this chapter have been chosen at the suggestion of my informants. In all cases, the songs were commonly played on Radio Muhabura and would be almost universally recognised amongst the refugee populations. These musicians became such prominent cultural figures because of their resonance with displaced communities; they seem to have assisted people in various ways through their songs. Emmanuel Mutangana, Thomas Ndahiro and another Rwandan informant concurred that songs by Cécile Kayirebwa and Massamba Intore were especially prevalent on Radio Muhabura. They singled out Cécile Kayirebwa as a particularly prominent cultural icon, regarded as personally encapsulating the Rwandan refugees' situation, hopes and dreams, and voicing them out on their behalf.⁵⁰

4.3.1 Cécile Kayirebwa

According to Larkin (2013), Kayirebwa (no date) and Ntwali (2013), Cécile Kayirebwa was born in Kigali, Rwanda in 1946. Her father was a musician, and songs and dance played an important role in her family upbringing. In school, Cécile was part of numerous traditional Rwandan choirs and ballets, where she started to adapt and compose her own work, her compositions soon being broadcast on National Rwandan radio. Working later as a social worker placed Cécile Kayirebwa at an advantaged position since it meant that she regularly found herself at the heart of contexts in which people of all generations would sing, dance and recite poems (Larkin 2013; Kayirebwa, no date). In 1973, she received death threats and fled to Burundi with her husband and two children, then proceeded to seek refuge in Belgium in 1975 where she was granted immigration status, settled and flourished as a Rwandan musician in the Rwandan diaspora.

⁴⁹ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2012), through telephone interview; Thomas Ndahiro (2012), Durham, UK; Anonymous informant (2012), Kigali, Rwanda, he was in Mbarara as a refugee and joined the RPF.

⁵⁰ Ibid.,



Figure 8 Cécile Kayirebwa⁵¹

Building on her musician father's influence, Cécile focused on learning more about traditional Rwandan culture even while outside her own country. One year after her arrival in Belgium in 1975, she was able to meet other Rwandese, take part in events and 'feel part of the Rwandan community' (Kayirebwa, no date; Larkin, 2013). In 1982, during three months at the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium, Kayirebwa was able to access files and music from Rwanda, recorded by ethnologists since 1940. This led to the release of six albums (sung principally in Kinyarwanda), resulting in Cécile coming to be widely regarded as an expert on traditional Rwandan music, both in language, style and dance (African Musicians Profile, 2001).

Cécile Kayirebwa's fame came to extend beyond the boundaries of Belgium and into the international arena, including her motherland – Rwanda (Kayirebwa, no date). According to Afro London (2009), in around 1990, Kayirebwa reached the top of a specialized music chart for the UK record label 'Globestyle' and the international media ranked her as 'one of the African artists pioneering the world music movement, alongside luminaries such as Youssou Ndour, Salif Keita and Ali Farka Toure'. Emmanuel Mutangana described Cécile Kayirebwa as 'the mother' of traditional Rwandan music, long before the 1994 genocide, 'Cécile Kayirebwa was to Rwanda as Meriam Makeba was to South Africa'. Emmanuel Mutangana grew up listening to Kayirebwa's songs over the radio. Like Thomas Ndahiro, he drew attention to the fact that Cécile Kayirebwa's song '*Umunezero*' ('Happiness') became a

⁵¹ Photo by Ntwali, J. W. (2013) ireme.net

signature tune for Radio Muhabura, opening and closing the station’s broadcasting periods and being played regularly throughout the day. Three of her songs analysed in this section are ‘*Umunezero*’ (‘Happiness’), ‘*Turaje*’ (‘We are coming’) and ‘*Indege ira hinda*’ (‘The plane is ready for take-off’).

4.3.1.1 ‘*Umunezero*’ (‘Happiness’)

The first song ‘*Umunezero*’ provides a context in which the old Rwanda is recollected, perceived and conceptualised through song. It encourages reminiscence – comforting memories and recollections of what was –, consideration of what should be, and acknowledgment of what, at the time of refuge, was not. The text is provided below:⁵²

<i>Umunezero</i>	Happiness
<i>Ubwo ingango yasobetse ni umunezero Ingoma nizivugire rimwe amakondera atsikimbe</i>	Our orature was mixed with happiness. Let the drums beat together, Let the flute play.
Refrain	Refrain
<i>Ubwo ingango yasobetse ni umunezero Imyirongi, niimpanda, niibirange byiurusobe</i>	Our orature was mixed with happiness. Play traditional flutes and whistles and sound the voice.
Refrain	Refrain
<i>Ubwo ingango yasobetse ni umunezero Umva ibihogo byi abakobwa, umva imihigo ya bahungu</i>	Our orature was mixed with happiness. Let the girls sing comfort songs and young men tell of their courageous acts.
Refrain & Interlude	Refrain & Interlude
<i>Ndumva inzogera niimirindi Ndore intambwe zabobageni Dore abana biibisage dore ingazu zigasabo</i>	I can hear the sound of bells and footsteps, The footsteps of soldiers and fighters. I see children with traditional hair styles, Adults with our nice traditional hair styles.
<i>Mbega – mbega,</i>	<i>Mbega, mbega!</i> [expression of amazement]

⁵² Words transcribed and translated by Thomas Ndahiro, Durham (April 2013), and confirmed by my various Rwandan informants. To hear the song, see: juvy77220, 2011.

<p><i>mbega ibyiza niuburanga, mbega ibyiza niuburanga, mbega impano yiimana</i></p> <p>Refrain</p> <p><i>Mvuge ibihe ndeke ibihe mu byiza byuru Rwanda Mpereye hehe ngeze hehe ngo ndurate ndusingize</i></p> <p><i>Utununga niimisozi, niibirunga, Niimirambi Niimisiza, niamataba bimeze neza Niibiyanga niamashyamba</i></p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p> <p><i>Mvuge ibihe ndeke ibihe</i></p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p> <p><i>Urukundo niuruguriro niumurava Niubutwari, niubufura niby muco Niby ngo, Niby umurage wlabakuru</i></p>	<p>Wonderful natural resources and landscape. Wonderful natural resources and landscape. What a gift from God!</p> <p>Refrain</p> <p>I do not know where to start or to stop about the beauty of Rwanda. Where do I start and where do I stop in singing its praises?</p> <p>The mountains, hills and volcanoes, The plains and valleys, Very beautiful plateaus and parks, The lakes and forests and farms.</p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p> <p>I do not know where to start or to stop</p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p> <p>Patriotism, hospitality and courage, Heroism, politeness and gentleness: These are the legacy Left to us by the ancestors</p>
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The song is in a five-beat rhythm with accents on the first and third beats, universally acknowledged by Rwandan informants to be one of the most distinctly Rwandan rhythms – alongside the six-beat rhythm with accents on the first, second and fourth beats more commonly encountered in commercial Rwandan recordings (and discussed further in the following chapter exploring national symbols). This same five-beat rhythm is also found in traditional Kikuyu songs from Kenya (sometimes represented as being composed of additive two plus three sub-divisions). The recording features synthesized imitations of traditional instruments such as *umwirongi* (flute), *umuduri* (a musical bow), *ikembe* (thumb piano) (See appendix B and B1), *inanga* (Discussed in chapter 5) and various keyboard sound effects to enhance the mood.

The Rwandan identity of the song is particularly marked by the style of vocalisation, which features the instantly recognisable style of tight vibrato or melisma associated with old traditional Rwandan repertoire in the solo verse, while the chorus features more guttural expressions based on one or two vowel sounds. Kayirebwa’s singing quickly engages the

listeners' attention through its confiding, poetic, and story-telling style of delivery, marked with a distinctly oratorical style. The overall effect of this vocal delivery is to relax the listener and gain the listener's confidence. Additional instrumental rhythmic emphasis is introduced almost half way through the song; then continues through to the end, first accentuated by the string instruments and later joined by percussion instruments.

Each verse systematically addresses a different aspect of a partly imagined historical Rwanda (though some facets still existed at the time of the composition). The first and second verses provide an idealistic representation of Rwandan history and literature, tying traditional musical instruments to the emotion of happiness. The third and the fourth verses then build upon this idealistic interpretation, presenting traditional Rwandan gender roles as functioning successfully to create a harmonious community – the girls bringing 'comfort' and beauty to society through their cooking, various house chores and other related works, while the young men contribute 'courageous' acts to ensure the provision of basic needs such as safety and feeling cared for.

The distinctly Rwandan identity of all parties is marked by their 'hair styling', which is not just the physical modelling of the hair but also the impression that it conveys. Verses five, six and seven then go on to address the richness of Rwandan fauna and flora, depicting the beautiful natural features of the homeland. By this point in the song, a clear mental picture of a perfect 'lost' Rwanda has been invoked; any listener who considers him- or her-self to be first and foremost a Rwandan cannot help but wish to see such an idyllic world recreated in the near future. The final verse serves as a conclusion, emphasising that, because there is a clear unbroken link from the ancestors to the present day, Rwandans should acknowledge their social responsibility and accountability and respond accordingly. It is not stated explicitly by the text but it does not need to be: Rwandans should go back to their motherland and take care of the heritage that they should feel proud of.

Presenting the easily-recognisable sounds of traditional Rwandan instruments, Rwandan traditional vocalisation, a clearly demarcated Rwandan rhythm, and the language of Kinyarwanda (shared by all Rwandans), while referencing a variety of Rwandan land features, values, and customs, the song becomes a powerful all-embracing crystallisation of 'Rwanda' as interpreted from a refugee's perspective – someone who, during his or her absence, has reimagined life in the country into an idealised vision. I listened to this song

together with a Rwandan informant⁵³ who had left the country long ago. While listening, he placed both his hands on one of his knees, bowed his head and slowly and gently shook it from side to side. Trying to comprehend what the song was signifying to him, I asked him to elaborate on his feelings. He explained that this song regularly moved Rwandans to tears – especially refugees and also their offspring born outside of Rwanda. He remarked that ‘even soldiers’ would sometimes cry when thinking of their separation from the homeland. He pointed out that, at the same time, the song fortified listeners’ resolve to return and unite.

As one might expect, there is no mention of social division within the song, with words such as ‘Hutu’ and ‘Tutsi’ notably absent. However, in spite of there being no divisive or aggressive sentiments expressed in the song text, and not even any explicit recommendation that refugees return to Rwanda, my Rwandan informants told me that the song was particularly disliked by the genocide government. A view expressed to me by most of my Rwandan informants concerning ‘*Umunezero*’ was that it resembled South Africa’s national anthem ‘*Nkosi Sikelel*’ which was considered a de-facto anti-Anthem during the apartheid regime. Accordingly, at the time of the song’s broadcasting, listening or singing the song within the country was regarded as a subversive act, routinely punished by the security establishment (Hirsch [DVD], 2004).

My Rwandan informants identified four reasons why the song was not liked by the government in Rwanda:

- Cécile Kayirebwa was purported to be a Tutsi.
- She was considered a traitor to the country, having left Rwanda in 1983 with her husband and resettled in Belgium.
- The song was played a lot on Radio *Muhabura*, which itself had come to represent the opposition.
- The song looks backwards to the old Rwanda – assumedly to pre-1959 Rwanda – in an uncritical and idealising fashion, without acknowledging current social problems.

⁵³ P. C. Anonymous informant, (2012) Newcastle, UK – he was an RPF soldier at the time of refuge.

4.3.1.2 ‘Turaje’ (‘We are coming’)

While ‘*Umunezero*’ (‘Happiness’) focuses on the traditional and historic, ‘*Turaje*’ (‘We are coming’) focuses on the present and the future – specifically delineating how a state of happiness will come to be actualized. The text is given below:⁵⁴

<i>Turaje</i>	We are Coming
<i>turaje ibihumbi n'ibihumbi</i>	We are coming, in tens of thousands,
<i>turaje ibihumbi byabasore</i>	We are coming, with thousands of young men,
<i>turaje abakambwe ne bananiwe</i>	We are coming, both old men and tired,
<i>turaje ababyeyi ne babyiruye</i>	We are coming, mothers and their kids,
<i>turaje abagore n'bamariza</i>	We are coming, ladies and singles,
<i>turaje abakobwa n'babangavu</i>	We are coming, girls young and single,
<i>turaje abana n'bibisage na amasunzu)</i>	We are coming, children with various hair styles,
<i>turaje impinja, nincuke,</i>	We are coming, babies and infants.
<i>turaje tuje tuja iwacu.</i>	We are coming, back to our motherland,
<i>turaje wee amahanga tuyimutse</i>	We are coming, leaving foreign states for good,
<i>turaje ni musase bugari, bugali</i>	We are coming, so prepare a big and wide bed,
<i>turaje dore igihe kirageze</i>	We are coming, and the time is now,
<i>turaje gushyira hamwe twese</i>	We are coming, to put things back together,
<i>turaje muturebe mutumenye</i>	We are coming: see us and recognise us,
<i>turaje turi bene mugabo umwe</i>	We are coming, we are all from one father,
<i>turaje nta rwango mu mutima</i>	We are coming, and we do not hate you,
<i>turaje ntanzika yibyashize</i>	We are coming, not to avenge the past,
<i>turaje tubafitiye amakuru</i>	We are coming, with good news for you,
<i>turaje umurava nubupfura</i>	We are coming, with courage and politeness,
<i>turaje nago tuje gusahura</i>	We are coming, not to steal or loot,
<i>turaje tubakumbuye cyane</i>	We are coming, with the desire to meet you,
<i>turaje gukorera urwanda.</i>	We are coming, to build Rwanda,
<i>turaje ibihumbi n'ibihumbi</i>	We are coming, in tens of thousands,
<i>turaje ibihumbi byabasore</i>	We are coming, with thousands of young men.
<i>turaje, turaje...</i>	We are coming, We are coming...

⁵⁴ Transcribed and translated by Thomas Ndahiro, Durham (April 2013), and verified by my various Rwandan informants. To hear the song, see: bakamesungura, 2011.

The song has a march-like rhythmic character that evokes a feeling of military advancement, ideally suiting the repeated phrase ‘*turaje*’ (‘we are coming’). While the percussion instruments work together to present a strong, steady unremitting beat generated by keyboard, shakers, clapping and drums various other melodic instruments provide additional effects. The song is responsorial, featuring alternation between solo and chorus female voices in a style wherein the soloist starts off each line with just one word ‘*turaje*’ and the others finish off the phrase with the rest of the sentence. It employs short, repetitive musical phrases, which are easy to join in. Like the leader of a battalion or platoon, the soloist is marshalling the troops (the chorus) to acknowledge precisely who they are. It becomes apparent that the troops are comprised of all sorts of Rwandans.

The unceasing repetition of the word ‘*turaje*’ together with rhythmic, dynamic and textual accentuation on the first and third beats evokes a sense of courage, determination, insistence and supreme confidence in victory. Two of my Rwandan informants said that the song played two roles: intimidating the genocidal government by depicting a strong determination to return and motivating the refugees, giving them hope that they are definitely going to return. The song also encouraged those in Rwanda who had sent their children to the camp in Uganda that their loved ones will be returning soon.⁵⁵ The song creates a picture similar to that of the children of Israel crossing the River Jordan to the Promised Land, as depicted in Joshua 3:1-17, and the incident featuring Joshua and the walls of Jericho (Joshua 5 & 6). Although the song does not openly depict or even suggest war, it does evoke the arrival of a huge and powerful force that will melt any resistance.

4.3.1.3 ‘*Indege ira hinda*’ (‘The plane is ready for take-off’)

<i>Indege ira hinda</i> ⁵⁶	The plane is ready for take-off
[Instrumental interlude...] <i>Indege irahinda, indege irahinda, irahindira hasi, yee indege irahinda,</i> <i>Bagabo ba mama irahindira hasi, irahindira hasi kandi icyuma cya shyushye yeee indege irahinda</i>	[Instrumental interlude...] The plane is on the ground, its engine is sounding very loudly. The plane’s engine is sounding. ‘Husbands of my mum’, come and listen: the plane’s engine is sounding very loudly, getting hot and ready for take-off.

⁵⁵ P.c. Anonymous informant (2012), an RPF soldier at the time of this song’s release

⁵⁶ Words transcribed and translated by Thomas Ndahiro, Durham (April 2013), and verified by my various Rwandan informants. To hear the song, see: Ruboneka, 2008.

<p><i>bagabo ba mama, na bahungu ni muhuze, bahungu nimuhuze, muhuze umugambi yee indege irahinda</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, young men, get aboard. Young men, come on and strengthen yourselves: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama muhuze umugambi, muhuze umugambi duhurire i’Rwanda, yee indege irahinda, bagabo ba mama</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, strengthen yourselves, join forces and go and fight. Let’s meet in Rwanda: the engine of the plane is sounding, ‘Husbands of my mum’.</p>
<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>	<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>
<p><i>bakobwa ni mukeshu, bakobwa ni mukeshu, umuke urugendo yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>Hurry up, young girls. Young girls be quick and be strong for the journey: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, inzira si ndende, inzira si ndende, aho tujya turahazi, yee indege irahinda</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, the journey is not long, the road is not far/ We all know where we’re going: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, umwana ujya iwabo, umwana ujya iwabo, nago agomba kuishisha, yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, a child who is determined to return, A child who is determined to return: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, nago agomba kuishisha, nago agomba kuishisha, ntago agira umutangira, yee indege irahinda, bagabo ba mama</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, a returning child cannot be afraid, and no one can stop him from going back home: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>	<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>
<p><i>babyeyi mwabyaye, babyeyi mwabyaye, ni mwambare impunbya, yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>Mothers, come on and cry for joy. Rejoice and celebrate: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, Bari mwambari munza, ni mwambari munza, ari mundu uzibi zabo, yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, come and give your support. Come and support your children: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, babyeyi mwashimye, babyeyi mwashimye, mwashimye ubushyitsi, yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, come and provide, come and provide supplies for them: the plane’s engine is sounding.</p>
<p><i>bagabo ba mama, nimuibuke abana, nimuibuke abana, kandi mubahe impanza, yee indege irahinda, bagabo ba mama</i></p>	<p>‘Husbands of my mum’, remember your children, remember your children. Please give them food: the plane’s engine is sounding, ‘Husbands of my mum’.</p>
<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>	<p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>
<p><i>ni muze twitahire, ni muze twitahire, basangirangendo, yee indege irahinda,</i></p>	<p>Come, let’s prepare for the journey. Come, let’s prepare for the journey: the plane’s engine is</p>

<p><i>bagabo ba mama nkumbuye rya zuba, nkumbuye rya zuba rirasira kuisirabo, yee indege irahinda, bagabo ba mama b'nkumbuye iyenda, nkumbuye iyenye ibigu zinda hito, yee indege irahinda, bagabo ba mama</i></p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>	<p>sounding.</p> <p>‘Husbands of my mum’, come on let’s go back home for good. Let’s go back home for good</p> <p>‘Husbands of my mum’, I miss the sun rise. I miss the sun rise, when it shines in the morning: the plane’s engine is sounding, ‘Husbands of my mum’</p> <p>[Instrumental interlude...]</p>
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This song is in a simple 4-beat metre, with a strong sense of forward momentum achieved by the percussion instruments placing accents on the first and fourth beats. To an accompaniment provided by keyboard (playing primary chords), drums, shakers and possibly tambourine, the text is executed in call and response form, exclusively using female voices. Using a kind of cyclic interaction throughout, the call voice sings the first two or three words of each phrase and then the responding voices repeat those words and extend the phrase – before the solo voice re-enters with the next starting words, and so on. It is marked by repetitions both in the melodic phrases and the words, again suggestive of persuasion – as in the previously mentioned song. The repeated line ‘*Bagabo ba mama*’ directly translates as ‘husbands of my mother’ but does not denote ‘fathers’; Thomas Ndahiro told me that this is a phrase that is used in Rwanda as a sign of respect to people with whom one has a close relationship such as kinship, and that it is especially used when one is attempting to persuade or request something.⁵⁷ The other most repeated words are ‘*indege irahinda*’ meaning that ‘the plane is ready for take-off’ (or, literally, that ‘the plane’s engine is sounding’). The repetition of this phrase obvious indicates urgency; people must act in haste because the time is now to move from refuge to homeland. Another Rwandan informant told me that when he heard this song through the radio waves he ‘had hope and was motivated to team up and prepare to go back’.⁵⁸ The composer persuades and entices the Rwandan refugees through use of a well-suited term of address – ‘*bagabo ba mama*’ – and by presenting ‘bait’, specifically the promise of transition from refuge to liberty.

⁵⁷ P.c. Thomas Ndahiro (2013), Durham, UK

⁵⁸ P.c. Anonymous informant (2012), through telephone interview, he was a reporter for the genocide regime but ended up joining the RPF as a soldier.

The picture created by the song is of an elderly mother preparing for a journey with her children, grand-children and great-grand-children instructing them to make haste and get ready for the journey, reminding them of their tasks. From the song text there is delegation of tasks to different social groups for the journey to be successful. The song seems to organise people into platoons with responsibilities or job descriptions: the first section addresses the young men to fortify themselves and take up arms; the second section addresses the girls and children to take courage and prepare to go back; the third section addresses mothers and fathers to take food, clothing and other necessary items. The last section, with the phrase ‘missing the sunrise back in Rwanda’, has various connotations – including the promise of a ‘New Dawn’ (- and here I am alluding to the title of the previous chapter). The sunrise also stands for hope and life, appearing in the Rwandan coat of arms (as discussed in Chapter five, concerning symbols of Rwandan national unity). In the minds of the predominantly Christian refugees, biblical analogies were also very possibly an actuality: the suggested monumental journey perhaps reminded them of the children of Israel’s departure from Egypt (Exodus 12: 31-40).

4.3.2 Masamba Butera Intore

Masamba (also referred to as Massamba) Butera Intore was born in Bujumbura, Burundi, on 15th June 1969. According to Kagire (2013), Masamba Intore’s father, Athanase Sentore (who died in March 2012, aged 80), was an iconic Rwandan artist in traditional music and culture – a master of *inanga*, and well-known for composing and performing songs such as ‘*Ndabakunda*’ (‘I love you’), ‘*Ibihangange*’ (‘Heroes’), ‘*Nyirabisabo*’ (‘The owner of the Calabash’)⁵⁹, and ‘*Inkotanyi*’ (‘Invincible warrior’)⁶⁰ (Kagire, 2013). Sentore was also a ‘pioneer in teaching Rwandans in the diaspora the traditional Kinyarwanda dance’ (Mbabazi, 2009). He influenced his son Masamba Intore to follow in his footsteps and become a musician – a song writer, singer, zitherist and dancer.

⁵⁹ A name given to a female

⁶⁰ Direct translation but it is a nickname for the RPF soldiers - RPA



Figure 9 Massamba Butera Intore⁶¹

Masamba Intore has won two music awards (in Rwanda and South Africa) and so far has released five albums and four music videos (Mbambazi, 2009). However, rather than record using traditional instruments, he has adopted the standard instrumentation of keyboards, drums, and guitars for his major hits such as ‘*Arihehe*’ (‘Where is he/she’) and ‘*Nzajya inamanande*’ (‘Who will give me Counsel’). More recently, he has been recording as the leader of the group ‘Gakondo’ (Iragena, 2011).

4.3.2.1 ‘*Arihehe*’ (‘where is he/she?’)

One of my Rwandan informants reported that he went to the RPF camp in Uganda as a Rwandan journalist, and recalled that, on one occasion; he was deeply impressed by the big sound of soldiers there singing in unison in the forest.⁶² The songs that they were singing were ‘*Arihehe*’, composed by Massamba Intore and dedicated to the late General Fred Rwigema⁶³ and the aforementioned ‘*Turaje*’ by Cécile Kayirebwa. The informant told me that these songs were adopted by the Rwandan Patriotic Army as unofficial anthems and that they had first come to know them through Radio Muhabura. Both songs are well-remembered

⁶¹ Photo from Isaro Faoundation website (2013) *Volunteers; Spokes Man of Isaro Foundation*, isarofoundation.org

⁶² P.c. Anonymous informant (2012), through telephone interview; he was a reporter for the genocide regime but ended up joining the RPF as a soldier.

⁶³ Founder and president of the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), the predecessor of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

by the refugees that were in Uganda and by those in other neighbouring countries, indeed even in Rwanda itself. The text for ‘Arihehe’ is as follows.⁶⁴

Arihehe	Where is he/she?
[Kwivuga; Spoken declaration...]	[Kwivuga; spoken declaration...]
<i>Arihehe</i> [x2] <i>Ari inyange irizusha kwera</i> <i>Arihehe inyamibwa yakuzeneza</i> <i>Ngwino abi wacu baragushaka</i>	[Sung:] Where is he? [x2] Where is he, the ‘cattle egret’ better than others? Humble, refined, bold and well-groomed, You are needed here by everyone.
<i>Iyizire isine ya mwiza</i> <i>Uwo imico myiza idasanzwe</i> <i>Niwe nyabusa umaze imfura integer</i> <i>Bwiza bwange ubaruta bose</i>	Come on, you bull [i.e. very good man], With your conspicuous good rare character. The only honourable one among the nobles, You are above all of them.
<i>Ngwinose nyamuseka zigashoka</i> <i>Iyizere bibero byuruyumbu</i> <i>Arihe uwantwaye umutima</i> <i>Ngwino nyabusa nkugabire ibigaju</i>	When you smile, the cows know that it is time for them to get some water. You have strong dark thighs. Where are you who took away my heart? Come, so that I may give you some cows.
<i>Ndaje</i> [x2], <i>ndaje ngusanga</i> <i>Dore uko areshya</i> <i>Nguhoberane urukundo</i> <i>Ndoro ya beza</i> <i>Urujeni mu bakobwa</i>	I am coming [x2], coming to you, You who are so very tall. Let me hug you with love, You so handsome and pleasant, Attractive to all the girls.
<i>Arihehe</i> [x2] <i>Ari inyange irizusha kwera</i> <i>Arihehe inyamibwa yakuzeneza</i> <i>Ngwino abi wacu baragushaka</i>	Where is he? [x2] Where is he, the ‘cattle egret’ better than others? Humble, refined, bold and well-groomed, You are needed here by everyone.
<i>Iyizire se wowe kwezi</i> <i>Wowe kwezi gukina mubicu</i> <i>Wabonkwe nabakamisha</i> <i>Ngwino iwacu baragushaka</i>	You are like the moon, You are like the moon playing in the sky. You have been seen by those who milk the cows. Please come because we need you.
<i>Ngaho ngwino cyuzuzo</i> <i>Wowe cyuzuriza ababyeyi</i> <i>Kigasagurira imiryango</i> <i>Ngwino iwacu baragushaka</i>	Please come and fill the gap. You will fill the gap that our ancestors left, You will create room for us and we will have plenty for our families. Please come because we need you.
<i>Arihehe</i> [x2] <i>Ari inyange irizusha kwera</i>	Where is he? [x2] Where is he, the ‘cattle egret’ better than others?

⁶⁴ Words transcribed and translated by Thomas Ndahiro, Durham (April 2013), and verified by my various Rwandan informants. To hear the song, see: ronaldobelge, 2011.

<p><i>Arihehe inyamibwa yakuzeneza</i> <i>Ngwino abi wacu baragushaka</i></p>	<p>Humble, refined, bold and well-groomed, You are needed here by everyone.</p>
<p><i>Iyizire nzobe idahanda</i> <i>Kaze neza umuteta bikwiye</i> <i>Arihe rugabanya ababisha</i></p>	<p>Please come, one with smooth skin. Come, favoured one. Where are you who scares and scatters enemies and comforts the people?</p>
<p><i>Kwa kuguyaguya ngugusheneza</i> <i>Iyizire icyocyere mu nkuba</i> <i>Rudatezuka kurugamba</i> <i>Ubutore niwe tubukeshu</i> <i>Isibo yintore tukuririmbe</i> <i>Arihehe [x2]</i> <i>Ari inyange irizusha kwera</i> <i>Arihehe inyamibwa yakuzeneza</i> <i>Ngwino abi wacu baragushaka</i></p>	<p>You are a terror and thunder beyond all thunders, You never give up in the battle field. You gave us victory. The star of warriors, we sing about you.</p> <p>Where is he? [x2] Where is he, the ‘cattle egret’ better than others? Humble, refined, bold and well-groomed, You are needed here by everyone.</p>
<p>[Kwivuga] <i>Rwigema imbaraga rutendeza incyuma</i> <i>Yari intwari inkuba cyizigenza</i> <i>Yakunze urwanda aranarupfira</i> <i>Abawe twese turakurata</i></p>	<p>[Kwivuga: spoken declaration...] [Sung:] Rwigema was as strong as metal and very courageous, He was a hero, a thunder of thunders. He loved Rwanda and died for it. We remember you and sing praises to you</p>
<p><i>Muze shenge bana b’ruanda</i> <i>Murakangwira nkubwoya bwiinka</i> <i>Murakabyiruka nk’ubwatsi bwazo</i> <i>U rwagasabo rurabashaka</i></p>	<p>Come beloved children of Rwanda, Be productive and have generations like cow hair. Keep growing and flourishing like cow grass, We want Rwanda restored.</p>
<p><i>Arihehe [x2]</i> <i>Ari inyange irizusha kwera</i> <i>Arihehe inyamibwa yakuzeneza</i> <i>Ngwino abi wacu baragushaka</i></p>	<p>Where is he? [x2] Where is he, the ‘cattle egret’ better than others? Humble, refined, bold and well-groomed, You are needed here by everyone.</p>
<p>[Kwivuga]</p>	<p>[Kwivuga: spoken declaration]</p>

‘Arihehe’ employs the distinctly Rwandan six beat rhythm (discussed further in the following chapter exploring national symbols), with the stressed beats being emphasized by drums and shakers on the first, fourth and fifth beats. The harmonic accompaniment is mainly provided by keyboard, which plays sustained chords and also, in certain sections, melodic patterns using a sound reminiscent of steel pans – which have well-established and (not only among the Banyarwanda) widely agreed-upon connotations of happiness and celebration (through associations with carnival). The verses are sung solo by Masamba and the chorus is sung by a choir – a well-known form of interaction that motivates the listeners’ participation each time the chorus is articulated. At the same time, the song’s simple tuneful and rhythmic character

motivates dance and movement. Towards the end of some sections, the melodic instruments fade out leaving the percussion instruments playing their steady rhythms with more intensity, creating a form of climax: this evokes a sense of strong emotional appeal for people not just to join in the dance but to heed to the words and, if they consider themselves as courageous as Fred Rwigema, to boldly join the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and take part in the liberation of Rwanda.

The song opens and ends with *kwivuga* – a bold authoritative style of oratorical declaration, and the traditional way of introducing someone as a hero in the royal courts. In the latter context, the singer or speaker would recount significant heroic acts, ancestral relations or lineage, and lists of heroic nicknames, using a strident form of vocalisation.⁶⁵ As Rwandan informants explained, the song text of ‘*Arihehe*’, which is in Kinyarwanda, features many Rwandan idioms, proverbs and sayings that mark out its message as being distinctly aimed at Rwandan people; naturally, these linguistic features render it not easily translatable into English. Although the composer repeatedly asks ‘where is he?’, he does not specifically pin down Fred Rwigema himself as the object of the search; rather this song is searching for living Rwandans from far and wide who have the personal characteristics exemplified by Fred Rwigema and who can contribute to the struggle for liberation.

4.3.3 Maria Yohana Mukankuranga

According to Doreen Umutesi (2011), Maria Yohana was born on 5th December 1943 in Kibungo district (formerly Ngoma District) in Rwanda, then forced into exile to Uganda’s Mbarara district in 1961 together with her husband Deogratias Garuka and her child Jean Marie (Wendo), before later settling in Nshungerezi Refugee Camp. Maria Yohana Mukankuranga has mostly composed and sung highly patriotic songs in Kinyarwanda, one of her most famous being ‘*Icyanyereka iwacu*’ (‘I wish I could glimpse my motherland’), which she performed on World Refugee Day on 20th June 1985. Mukankuranga’s other songs include ‘*Turatashye Inkotanyi z’amarere*’ (‘We are going back home’),⁶⁶ ‘*Mureke mbabwire inzozi narose*’ (‘Let me tell you the dream I had’) and ‘*Urugamaba rurashushye*’ (‘The fight is hard’) (see also Umutesi, 2011).

⁶⁵ Analysis of the song posted by ronaldobelge, 2011

⁶⁶ It is also a military name given to RPA meaning ferocious strugglers or fighters



Figure 10 Maria Yohana Mukankuranga⁶⁷

According to my Rwandan informants, all of these were part of Radio Muhabura's repertoire. As Doreen Umutesi details in a later article (2013), Mukankuranga was also active as a teacher in Nshungerezi camp in Mbarara, telling children 'about Rwandan culture, how to sing and dance, as well as reminding them that the camp was not their home'. She helped promote the concept of the 'homeland' in their minds, telling the children that they 'would go back one day'. Umutesi also alludes to Mukankuranga's work at Kimisagara Youth Centre in 1997, where she helped street children to get back to school and lead a proper life.

Maria Yohana Mukankuranga continues to be a highly conspicuous establishment figure. In 2007, she was awarded a 'Liberation Struggle Medal' by Paul Kagame, and in 2013, a 'Mother of the Year' prize, at which point the award presenter, Senator Narcisse Musabeyezu, said of her: 'As a teacher, Mukankuranga has been a very influential person in the lives of most refugee camp children' (Umutesi, 2013). Although she has now retired from teaching, she is still a youth advisor, makes crafts for cultural ceremonies, and composes and records songs, especially for the commemoration period (detailed in the last chapter of this thesis).

4.3.3.1 '*Intsinzi*' ('Victory')

As mentioned above, Mukankuranga composed several songs that acted as morale boosters during the liberation struggle. She is the composer of the famous song '*Intsinzi bana b'uRwanda*' (Umutesi, 2013), which is even included on the Rwandan Ministry Of Defence

⁶⁷ Photo by Umutesi, D. (2011) Maria Yohana Mukankuranga reveals the deep message of '*Intsinzi bana b'u Rwanda*', newtimes.co.rw

website, although sung by a different artist (Ministry of Defence, 2008-2013). Mukankuranga composed it with her late daughter in 1992, in the belief that one day they would win the liberation struggle. Umutesi reports that, although both of her own sons died in that struggle, Mukuranga claimed: ‘they died for the right cause, patriotism, and that is why we are home now’ (Umutesi, 2011). The song is still frequently played at fundraising ceremonies for the RPF. Mukankuranga herself describes it as ‘a song for every Rwandan present at a time of celebration’ (ibid.) – and it has undoubtedly taken on more general significance for Rwandans, above and beyond its associations with the liberation struggle. The text is as follows:⁶⁸

<i>Intsinzi bana b'u Rwanda</i>	Victory to the children of Rwanda
<i>Intsinzi bana bu Rwanda instinzi, ngye ndayireba intsinzi mu bice byose instinzi.</i> [x4]	Victory to you, children of Rwanda. Victory. I can see it in every part of country. Victory. [x4]
<i>Ndatara inzuzi intsinzi, nkabona instinzi bana bu Rwanda instinzi ndaraguza umutwe nkabona intsinzi bana bu Rwanda intsinzi nabaza Imana(God) intsinzi, nkabona instinzi bana bu Rwanda intsinzi</i> <i>intsinzi [x2]</i>	I can see in every part of country victory children of Rwanda. I am hopeful now and I can see victory. For you, children of Rwanda, a victory. I am asking God, and what I can see is victory, you children of Rwanda. Victory [x2]
<i>Hamuka kadogo songa, nawe muzehe(mzee) komeza ugendane uwo muheto , musore nawe terura ico kigano, maze ugistibure icyo gicuku umubwire ko uRwanda ari urwimbaga yinyabutatu ya gihanga</i> <i>intsinzi [x2]</i>	You, kadogo [child soldier]: wake up, move and go forward, You, old man: keep on walking with your weapon. You, young man: lift up your weapon as well and walk into the night – telling them that Rwanda belongs to all three traditional ethnic groups Victory [x2]
<i>Mukaze mwendo songa chapa miguu songa iminsi ni mikeya aba bagabo ndabona bashya ubuoba ni musonge maze tubastinde</i> <i>intsinzi [x2]</i>	Be strong and keep walking, or fight if you like – Just a few days left. I can see those men starting to panic: let's defeat them. Victory [x2]
<i>Muhaguruke dutore tuiyemeje instinzi umukandida wacu</i>	Stand up, let's choose our targets and defeat them.

⁶⁸ Words transcribed and translated by Thomas Ndahiro, Durham (April 2013), and verified by my various Rwandan informants. To hear the song, see: Babyfacedblackjesus, 2011.

<i>abo mu ntara zose mwizere instinzi, instinzi yayo makombe</i>	All people, from different parts of the country, trust us: we will gain victory.
<i>intsinzi</i> [x2]	Victory [x2]
<i>Igikombe cya president cyanyereste intsinzi, morale ni full mu banyarwanda twese hakuna wasi wasi</i>	The ‘cup of the president’ ⁶⁹ has proved to me that we will be victorious. There is no doubt, for all Rwandans, that will we gain victory.
<i>intsinzi</i> [x2]	Victory [x2]

The original version of this song features a standard pop band backing (keyboard, drums, bass and electric guitars) and female voices singing in call and response form, with Mukankuranga singing the bulk of the text and the chorus singing ‘*intsinzi*’ (‘victory’) in two-part harmony response. The song engages participation not only through the captivating hooks of its lively rhythm, the strong bass line, and its simple and largely predictable structure, but also through the repeated articulation of the word ‘*intsinzi*’ (‘victory’) – sung in an excited celebratory manner. It is easy and natural to join in.

The experience of listening to this song reassures the listener of success and, indeed, the song text does not speak of possibilities, desires or hopes – but rather of the inevitable predestined certainties. War is presented as being simply part of the process rather than as a deciding factor; and, crucially, it is not presented as something fraught with danger. This song, then, was a powerful tool for encouraging people to join the Rwandan Patriotic Army and go to fight. According to one of my informants, it was also sung by the soldiers during the period of combat itself, whenever they had captured an area or were facing hardship (to persuade themselves of a change of fortune).⁷⁰ Several of my informants considered the song to be truly remarkable; recorded a full two years before the RPA’s victory, they thought that it not only aided the war effort but actually (considering it retrospect) demonstrated an uncanny ability on the part of its creator – Maria Yohana Mukankuranga – to predict the future.

4.4 Songs Ensuring Unity across the Diaspora

Exploring music within the diasporic context, John Lie (1995, p.304) states that ‘Music, not surprisingly, offers the most potent medium for transcultural crossings and breedings’

⁶⁹ It is an allegoric statement that denotes the will, acts, achievements, vision and such related terms.

⁷⁰ P.c. Anonymous informant (2012) – an RPF soldier at the time of this song’s release

implying that music helps the diasporic community in its actions, reactions and interactions with other communities. This involves elements of acculturation, enculturation and other related processes and outcomes. It would surely be possible to identify popular songs that have helped the Rwandans living in the Mbarara camp to negotiate their lives in that environment, somehow bringing homeland and hostland into a state of harmony through music and lyrics (- research that lies beyond the scope of this work). However, the particular songs that have been addressed above were evidently directed less towards ‘fitting in’ and more towards ‘fitting out’: they were designed for people who fully intended to head back to the motherland. Like other diasporic songs, they effectively ‘model the creative work of coping and contending’ (Monson, 2000, p.18), but in this case ‘coping and contending’ is synonymous with ‘leaving’.

The songs examined above are not songs expressive of passive resignation and irreparable loss; rather they are revolutionary songs, expressive of (and promoting) action and a radical change of circumstance. This is not say, however, that they do not encourage reminiscence; on the contrary, several of them allude to beautiful aspects of the remembered (and, at the same time, partially imagined) homeland. Remembrance is a key concern within much diasporic music; Mark Slobin even goes as far as to say that music in the diaspora serves the purposes of ‘entertainment, socialization, and memory’ (1994, p.244). However, it is clear that this looking back serves to promote the listeners’ consideration of their present and future circumstances and of their desires. Tina K. Ramnarine (2007, p.2) states that while ‘diaspora has something to do with “history” it is also about “newness”’ and, accordingly, the songs express both a common history and a fresh collective vision for ‘now’. The vision is one of unification, in which all Rwandans of all ethnic groups live in harmony through a realisation of shared culture, and patriotic and nationalistic sentiment. There is a marked absence of calls for revenge against an isolated enemy, for example the ‘hutu’.

Of course, songs such as these – widely disseminated by Radio Muhabura, both throughout the camp and beyond (even within Rwanda) – also served to make Rwandans aware of shared tastes; constructed using easily comprehensible simple formulae and effective hook-like devices, the songs were created to ensure instant engagement. At the same time, many ingredients would have been instantly recognisable as distinctly Rwandan. Mark Slobin (1994, p.243) explains that, in the diasporic context, people commonly identify themselves strongly, even principally, through their music. These songs were indeed ‘their’ music, in ‘their’ style, ‘their’ language and speaking of ‘their’ shared sentiments. The songs’ positive

reception by the masses was further facilitated by the singers' own identities: like other refugees, they had previously lived in Rwanda, had then left Rwanda, and now lived and worked in the host-land as members of the community. Accordingly, they were both accessible and believable: 'one of us'. However, the singers also had authority. This was not only granted through the patronage of the media network (itself connected to powerful political forces), but also through their readily apparent skills and knowledge, which explicitly pointed towards deep immersion in authentic Rwandan culture and tradition. The singers were, therefore, situated at the heart of the refugee camp in Uganda.

Peter Manuel (1997, p.17) explains that 'in many cases, musical tastes, practices, and ideas can serve as particularly salient indices of the complex multiple identities of migrant communities.' The songs discussed above, however, do not advocate or point towards 'complex multiple identities'; rather, it seems that the songs helped to inculcate a single relatively simple identity – that of the unified Banyarwanda. While striving for unification, the songs detailed above were also clearly 'freedom songs', playing crucial roles in a struggle.

4.5 Songs for Freedom: Parallels with South African Anti-apartheid Songs

'*Amandla*', directed by Lee Hirsch (2004), is a classic documentary depicting real people and their stories, and it is relevant to this chapter since it explores the power of music to help people living in conditions of displacement and exile.⁷¹ Specifically, the film explores the involvement of music in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Although apartheid is different from genocide, it stems from similar ideologies and victims share similar sentiments (and, in some cases, even similar experiences). During the time of apartheid in South Africa, many people were displaced and, according to Lee Hirsch (2004) 'it made Africans of colour aliens in their own land'; as was the case with the Rwandan refugees, many were forced to leave their homes to go to impoverished townships and were denied basic rights of African citizenship (Hirsch, 2002). Some musicians were exiled or even exterminated because they were the voice of the people, their compositions reflecting people's sentiments and conditions. The documentary mentions, for example, Vusile Mini, one of the greatest composers of freedom songs in South Africa, who was hanged and buried disrespectfully

⁷¹ During the course of this research, I also examined '*Sarafina*', a South African musical play by Mbongeni Ngema about the Soweto students' riots opposing apartheid. However, here, it is more pertinent to draw parallels with '*Amandla*' because it is a factual documentary about specific musicians and their work, presenting ample evidence in the form of footage, as opposed to reality-based dramatization.

‘worse than a dog’. There are parallels worth briefly exploring here, linking the experiences and roles of musicians and their music in the South African and Rwandese cases.

Lee Hirsch (2004) explores 29 powerful anti-apartheid songs, detailing how they came into being, their impacts and their composers – thereby exposing the power of popular song to convey messages, inspire courage, and break down boundaries. Lee Hirsch (2004) explains: ‘[The songs]... were integral to the victory of good over evil and are permanently etched in the collective memory of South Africans’; they helped to shape ‘deep emotions into brave feats that turned mere mortals into extra ordinary heroes’ and thereby ‘to bring down the walls of Jericho’. As Hirsch explains, the militarization of the struggle against apartheid brought with it a wave of influential freedom songs.

The parallels with the Rwandan case are immediately apparent, represented through the songs of Cécile Kayirebwa and Massamba Intore. Just like the ruling government in apartheid South Africa, the genocide regime was very strong. And, similarly, music generated against it and disseminated through radio (Radio Muhabura) had sufficient inspirational energy and force to promote the regime’s collapse. These songs projected strong messages, motivating people to join the liberation forces – RPF and RPA – and also to survive the harsh conditions of displacement. Hirsch (2004) uses the phrase that ‘the future generations will see with their ears’ meaning that through music the young ones will be able to capture the spirit of what happened and have a mental picture on how things were. It is clear that, already, younger generation Rwandans are viewing the 1994 through the lens of iconic songs such as those which have been explored above.

4.6 Post-Genocide Camps in Tanzania and DRC

While the Ugandan community in Mbarara comprised mainly ‘moderate hutus’ and ‘tutsis’ – generally those opposed to or victims of the ruling Rwandan regime – the camps formed during or after genocide contained both genocide protagonists and antagonists. They came into being when the Rwandese Patriotic Army’s (RPA) liberation struggle prompted a massive exodus of both genocide perpetrators and innocent civilians, resulting in over three million refugees flooding into Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Republic of Rwanda, 2011). Innocent civilians sought escape for a number of reasons: (i) to flee from the government forces and *interahamwe*⁷² causing the genocide; (ii) to avoid being

⁷² The *interahamwe* is discussed earlier, in Chapter 2 (‘Rwandan 1994 Genocide’) (See also RIC Query – Rwanda, 2001)

caught in cross fire between the government and the RPA; or (iii) to flee from the RPA and RPF⁷³, having been told that they would be killed if they remained (discussed further in chapter three ‘New Dawn’). Interviewees providing evidence for this current study suggested that the militias and army of the government wanted people to return from flight to continue committing genocide.

Due to the nature of the 1994 genocide, the displaced were obliged to make blind decisions concerning when to leave, what to take, and where to go – decisions made on the spot, without knowing whether they may lead to safety or to death (Whitworth, 2011). One of my Rwandan informants⁷⁴ explained that most of them carried only that which was available, simple, light and – critically – that which could aid survival. These treasures were often ‘lost’ along the way; victims related how some were used to buy safety (Whitworth, 2011). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, musical knowledge, skills, and appreciation are, of course, weightless treasures preserved within the human mind – and there is evidence to suggest that they became of great importance to some of the refugees once they had found refuge in a camp.

4.7 Music in the Refugee Camp in Goma, DRC

Aimable Nsabayesu told me that the refugee camp in Goma, DRC, was divided according to the needs to be met⁷⁵. Some parts were for families, others for widows, and others for unaccompanied children; there was also a section for the sick. The camp of interest in this section is the one for unaccompanied children, where Marlene Testa Lee worked. Marlene Lee – an American Church Missionary, trained music teacher and qualified pianist – had already spent a long time in Rwanda prior to the genocide, working with the Red Cross. At the time of genocide, she was deployed to Goma to work in the part of the camp designated for unaccompanied children.⁷⁶

⁷³ P.c. Anonymous informant (2010), in UK, currently working for a peace and reconciliation project in Rwanda

⁷⁴ Ibid. (see footnote above)

⁷⁵ P.c. Aimable Nsabayesu (2009 and 2010), Oakdale Kigali Music School, Rwanda

⁷⁶ Attempts to interview Marlene Lee, who is currently a piano instructor in St Paul Minnesota, were not successful. However, through email interactions with her, documents gathered from Kigali Music School (with her permission), and interviews conducted with the teachers at Kigali Oakdale Music Centre, it has been possible to reconstruct her remarkable use of music in the camp in DRC – which also led to the founding of Oakdale Kigali Music Centre in 2000.



Figure 11 Marlene Lee⁷⁷

Many of the children in the camp that Marlene had been deployed were suffering from extreme trauma and exhaustion to the extent that some were unable to talk and others were very aggressive and antisocial. It was difficult for the social workers to conduct their normal duties because the children were terrified of any people who were not members of their own family; many would not let anyone go near them unless they were too feeble to resist and any attempt to get close caused them to cry and scream. Even the efforts by the Red Cross and the social workers to try and record the children's names and other basic personal information were not proving productive. This caused a dire need for intervention.

At the time of deployment, Marlene Lee happened to have her harp with her (- a small portable variety, as opposed to a full-scale classical harp). Although she had had no formal training in music therapy, she understood music's ability to open up communication. She also had crucial musical (and associated linguistic) knowledge that could serve as a bridge, in the form of widely known Rwandan tunes and children's songs, together with their Kinyarwanda lyrics. So Marlene Lee took out her harp and played some tunes. Gradually, children started responding to the songs and some showing started showing interest to play the harp. She welcomed them to try and in this way, the children moved closer together, closer to Marlene and closer to the harp. Through a ripple-like effect, the children were drawn out of themselves, the music-making activities attracting their focus of attention outwards, and providing structure for their thoughts and behaviour. The children who had been aggressive became calm and those who had become deeply introverted from fear of outside harm began to socialise.

⁷⁷ Photo by Kazibwe, A. I. (2012) *Oakdale's Musical Works Reverberate Across Rwanda*, newtimes.co.rw

Not wanting to break the flow of interaction, Marlene Lee spontaneously composed a song in Kinyarwanda. The song was designed to help the children to identify themselves and articulate basic information about their identities. Teachers at the Kigali Music School recall that the songs combined a systematic listing of personal details with two-way interaction, the song being passed from one child to the next: ‘My name is What is your name?’, moving on to ‘My father’s name is ... What’s your father’s name?’, and then on to address mother’s name, home-place, and other details. While the children were participating and without disrupting proceedings, other volunteers took the opportunity to record the children’s personal information.



Figure 12 Unaccompanied Rwandan refugee children⁷⁸

It is evident that music was employed in other camps also as an aid to opening up communication – for example in the Chidaho Refugee Camp, near Bukavu Zaire (see photo above), where children were encouraged to sing and dance by Red Cross workers as an indispensable part of the camp’s daily schedule (Davies, 1994). It is obviously hard to ascertain exactly how much these music-centred events helped without further detailed evidence, particularly because music therapy was used in conjunction with other forms of active intervention. However, it is well-documented that, when the Rwandan children were repatriated sometime after the genocide (in certain cases, employing data evinced through

⁷⁸ Photo by Davies, H. (1994) *Chidaho refugee camp, near Bukavu, Zaire* , exileimages.co.uk

music therapy to relocate surviving relatives), they had become more able to interact socially with others – especially those who had received music therapy treatment. Indeed, it was because the orphans who had experienced Marlene Lee’s music therapy were noticed to be more socially well-adjusted than those who hadn’t – and were noticed to be having a positive effect on the other children – that the Oakdale Kigali Music Centre was established in Kigali Rwanda, in 2000.



Figure 13 Kisangani-Kigali repatriation flight in 1997⁷⁹



Figure 14 Kisangani-Kigali repatriation flight in 1997⁸⁰

Music therapy was ideally suited to the Rwandan refugee camp predicament. The refugees were in dire circumstances, there was a pressing obligation to help them, and there were people who employed that very service (see Bruscia 1998, pp.20 & 33-36, writing about the conditions necessary for therapy). But beyond this, owing to the nature of the refugees’ trauma, the medium of language was often perceived as threatening. Under the guidance of a skilled practitioner such as Marlene Lee, music was a more effective means to gain access to the inner world of traumatised individuals, converting their negative feelings (discord, displeasure and sickness) into positive benefits (Sutton, 2002, p.51).

⁷⁹ Photo by Davies, H. (1997) *Refugee Children Returning Home aboard a Plane Arranged by SCF and UNHCR*, exileimages.co.uk

⁸⁰ Photo by Davies, H. (1997) *Refugee Children Returning Home aboard a Plane Arranged by SCF and UNHCR*, exileimages.co.uk

As Thayer Gaston (cited Munro and Mount, 1978, p.1023) details, the important and unique contribution of music is that it communicates in markedly different ways from spoken language, communicating with a directness that circumvents conscious thought processes (which in the case of traumatised individuals tend to be obstructed and dysfunctional). The multidimensional qualities of music allow it to touch many levels of consciousness at the same time acting as a catalyst in mobilizing deep feelings and thereby assisting in both verbal and nonverbal communication (see Munro and Mount, 1978, p.1023). As extensive scientific research has shown, the areas of intervention accessible through music therapy are all related to or acted upon by the part of the human brain known as the amygdala, which is the very part that enables one to consciously control one's actions and thoughts (see Munro and Mount, 1978, p.1029; Thomas 2012; Sutton, 2002, pp.47-50; Kolb and Whishaw, 1985, 24). For those whose amygdala have been damaged through excessive trauma – as might have been the case for the Rwandan refugees in DRC – musical engagement serves valuable reparative functions (Sutton 2002, pp.47-50), helping them take back control of their emotions and decision-making (Moisse, 2010; Thomas 2012).

It is important to remember, then, that music does not just 'move the crowd into action'. In cases like that detailed above, another of music's facets is more clearly highlighted: it acts upon individuals therapeutically, stimulating the emotional and rational part of the brain (through the amygdala) and thereby helping to create or restore healthy responses in their social relations. Although the practices of Marlene Lee clearly did not constitute clinical music therapy, they nevertheless conformed to standard definitions of music therapy, such as that provided by Bruscia (1998, p.20): 'a systematic process of intervention wherein the therapist helps the client to promote health, using music experiences and the relationships that develop through them as dynamic forces that change.'

4.8 Music in the Refugee Camps in Tanzania

One of my Rwandan informants⁸¹ narrated to me that during the time of genocide, Tanzania saw a massive influx of refugees from Rwanda, and a camp was set up with a population of about 600,000 people. At first, a single camp was established in Benako but as more refugees came, they expanded it, 'settling people according to the districts back home'. People from the same area or *umudugudu* (clan-like social units of 10 houses) were grouped together.

⁸¹ P.c. Anonymous informant (2011 and 2012), in the UK and in Rwanda; He wished to remain anonymous due to the sensitive nature of his traumatising personal experiences.

With the swelling of the camp, they moved some groups to another place, separated by a valley and roads, to create more space to accommodate the expansion. My informant continued to explain that another camp was formed, known as Musuhura, and that this gave birth to smaller ones. The segregation of people according to *umudugudu* apparently had its advantages, in that many families were reunited, enabling them to console and comfort one another. On the other hand, an obvious disadvantage was that the problems in Rwanda were transferred into the camp: the criminals and victims were in one place. My informant explained that the mornings seemed peaceful, with activities such as compiling information, looking for food, sourcing education for the children, trying to earn money and receiving diverse forms of help; however, the afternoons were somehow nasty, because there was an absence of scheduled activities and people were rather idle. At such times, depression, insecurity, anger, blame, desire for revenge and even recruitment into criminal operations were a constant danger. There was also enticement, persuasion and, in some instances, coercion to regroup into starkly delineated ethnic groups, sometimes with the aim of continuing genocide back in Rwanda.

Despite the problems outlined above, my informant stressed that settlement according to *umudugudu* was, for many, an advantage because those who belonged to the same Archdeaconry and parish found themselves in one place and could easily re-group. Essentially, the organisation of the camp replicated the organisation of the Anglican Church in Rwanda by district, with each camp section being an arch-deaconry (except Lumasi which was considered a Diocese because it had several churches). My informant explained that, for his particular church community, the regrouping also involved recreating a choir. My informant had ended up in the camp in Benako together with his father, who was an Anglican Church minister⁸² back in Kigali, a choirmaster and a composer. Realising that animosity was increasing in the camp, largely due to the afternoon idleness, his father decided to use his talent and skill to change the environment. He started a choir which was mainly composed of people who were already close to his family, but when others asked to join in he welcomed them. My informant told me that he believes music is not designed for privacy or containment, but rather to be shared as a form of communal activity. Echoing the observations of academics such as Pavlicevic and Ansdell (2006, p.16), he acknowledged how music, in practice, can set up reverberations between people, permeating and cutting

⁸² A leading member of the lay community in the Anglican Church

through boundaries and walls, and forming community by attracting, gathering and connecting people. With this same understanding, his father was motivated to work, to see the group grow and to use the time people had available in the afternoons in a more productive way, in music-making.

My Rwandan informant told me that, in the camp, they personally experienced the power of music in reconciliation. There were people who were enemies and never wanted to see eye to eye, but they joined the music group and it was as if music making reunited them. It enabled an opening up of channels of communication – just as with the children at the DCR camp (discussed above). It rebuilt mutual trust and confidence. My Rwandan informant described that this process was encouraged through the sharing of repertoire; although his father led, contributing his own body of primarily religious songs, the other group members were also encouraged to contribute their own songs and in that way their differing worlds of experience and knowledge were connected. My informant believes that the act of shared music-making was responsible for evincing a change of heart (see David Aldridge, 1999, p.63): it made enemies become friends. Music-making also provided structure and goals to people's camp lives. Music competitions and festivals were organised from the parish level, to archdeaconry and to diocesan level, often exploring biblical themes such as peace, forgiveness, love, unity and reconciliation, although my informant stressed that, in practice, these events cut across denominations, including non-Anglicans and people who did not attend church. My informant felt that the feeling of people being reconnected with one another was particularly strong after such competitions and festivals.

My informant's recollections about music-making in the Arusha camp echoed Pavlicevic and Ansdell's observation (2006, p.16): 'the power of music to connect people has an impact which can extend far into a participant's life, like ripples in a pond'. Music making not only performed a vital role in being a constructive social past-time within a lifestyle otherwise lacking structure and goals. It was also a facilitator of negotiation, creating a space for people to communicate, forgive and live together peacefully, influencing both behaviours and relationships and ensuring the refugees' resilience and ability to cope when they went back to Rwanda.

4.9 Conclusion

The three refugee camps discussed in this chapter, though varied in nature, locality and times of formation, illustrate the importance of and transformational power of music. A common

feature is that music worked towards bringing people together in shared understanding, values and experience; the music was designed to be instantly engaging to all ears and minds in both style and content and, therefore, whether the musical experiences involved active participation or simply listening, the songs served to develop improved social relationships. Music in the Rwandan refugee camps clearly contributed extensively towards forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. And, in the case of all three camps, the music's impact evidently extended beyond the return to Rwanda – going on to play prominent roles within the continuing post-genocide initiative.

In the pre-genocide camp in Uganda, music was an important vehicle calling for people within Rwanda and across the diaspora to unite against the genocidal regime and, accordingly, most of the lyrical content was channelled towards patriotism and nationalism. In the other camps, music played a more restorative role, helping to re-enable harmonious social interaction. The research suggests that, regardless of the social situation, there is always the potential for music to make a profound positive impact on social relations; in fact, music's status as being absolutely essential to a healthy human society has been highlighted throughout this chapter. It is clear that people may lose many things in their lives, including their valuables and even loved ones, but music constitutes a truly remarkable, portable and largely indestructible vehicle that can help them move on in life, motivating them to adapt. This chapter has also stressed how music functions to transform the individual through a variety of functions, which then in turn evince broader sociological transformations, which then bring about radical change. This, then, is how music helped to bring about Rwanda's 'New Dawn'. However, the rebuilding of Rwanda also required a degree of re-definition, with old symbols being abandoned in favour of new ones – addressed extensively in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Old and New Symbols of Rwandan National Unity

Earlier chapters have discussed the use of music to create stark social divisions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ – demonstrated by the signature tunes used on RTLM (*Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*) and the ‘official’ songs of genocide. The previous chapter also explored the songs broadcast by Radio Muhabura to unify the entire Rwandan population against the genocide regime in Rwanda. This chapter turns to investigate the use of music in Rwanda as a force for establishing an all-embracing Rwandan unity, in particular focusing on how the Rwandan authorities harnessed music’s iconic and symbolic power to assist in the nation rebuilding exercise that followed in the wake of the genocide.

In his influential discourse on national symbols, Harold Gosnell (1942, p.157) places great emphasis on ‘solidarity’ and ‘loyalty’, believing that the instigation of these conditions is a critically important outcome of such symbolic usage: whether verbal or nonverbal, consisting of sounds, marks, objects, or expressions, symbolic representations of nationhood seek to produce feelings of loyalty to the nation state. This does not necessarily mean that people are in complete agreement regarding symbolic signification, that they personally identify with the symbol, or that they are united as a nation through the symbol. Rather, people submit to the symbol because they learn to do so: through law and re-enacted tradition, they become subservient so as to reap the benefits of existing within the larger nation body. This interpretation of how national symbols work upon the popular psyche is supported by ample evidence from all around the globe.

Naturally, the ultimate objectives of national symbolic usage vary from context to context and these objectives play an important part in determining choices of image and sound. In post-genocide Rwanda, the objective was to dispel forcibly all socially divisive dichotomies (which had led to the genocide) and promote a fresh new network of positive associations (but one that was still rooted in the past); hence, the Rwandan nation-rebuilding exercise was marked by a broad symbolic redefinition, modification, and rebranding, which was manifested in all fields of representation – including, of course, musical ones (Smith, 1975, p.55; Cerulo, 1993, p.250; see also Pottier, 2002).

Karen Cerulo states that national symbols are usually purposively and meticulously constructed by leaders (and those employed by them), who consciously pick and choose those

elements that will send the ‘right’ powerful messages and trigger positive associations (Cerulo, 1993, p.245). However, it can be argued that not all national symbols are the product of such creative processes; rather they are already culturally embedded and socially instilled, and it is merely a matter of identifying them as potentially profitable tools for promoting national unity. This chapter reveals that many of the new Rwandan symbols of national unity drew on all-existing potent symbols of this type, and argues that their adoption, adaptation, and usage inclined more towards identity and unity rather than solidarity and loyalty which was the inclination of the old Rwandan national symbols. This chapter explores various Rwandan symbols that are either musical or directly related to music – which Rwandans identify with, and are used to identify Rwandans internationally; and which are commonly thought to have served to encourage peace and reconciliation. The following symbols are explored: the nation of ‘Rwanda’, the Rwandan national anthem, coat of arms, national flag, and language (Kinyarwanda), Rwandan rhythms, Rwandan traditional clothing, Rwandan dance and instruments (specifically *intore* and the *inanga*), and Rwandan musicians and their songs (specifically Kizito Mihigo and his song ‘*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*’).

This chapter argues from the standpoint that the power or impact of a national symbol is directly dependent upon its interpretation, relationship and associations; national symbols do not work in isolation but rather as components of a complex. As a starting point for the consideration of this symbolic complex, it seems appropriate to begin by briefly exploring the implications of the nation itself – ‘Rwanda’ – as a symbol of unity, following on from the aforementioned study by Harold Gosnell. Naturally, the concept of ‘Rwanda’ forms the basis of the ensuing discussion and ‘Rwanda’ is represented as a concrete entity in many other symbols of national unity, such as the national anthem.

5.1 The Nation: ‘Rwanda’ as a Symbol of National Unity

Both the old Rwandan national anthem, ‘*Rwanda Rwacu*’ (‘Our Rwanda’) and the new Rwandan national anthem, ‘*Rwanda Nziza*’ (‘Rwanda our beautiful country’), sing of Rwanda as symbol of national unity. As Cajani and Ross confirm (2007, p.1), the nation is itself ‘a symbol of unity and a unifying force that causes different groups to live and work together as one collective body.’ As a symbol, Rwanda denotes a geographical landscape with boundaries, a frame for nationalist sentiments. It expresses an idea of people-hood which cuts across other divisions, especially of class, regional difference and inequalities’ (Fenton, 2003, p.162).

The unifying idea of 'Rwanda' also engenders an impression of kindred-ness – an 'extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language or history as to form a distinct race or people' (ibid., p.13). This also brings into play the notion of Rwanda as a people and a culture united by shared beliefs, customs, language and culture. For example, all the musical forms practiced in Rwanda will be deemed 'Rwandan' and may well be considered to share certain characteristics; there is a nation-wide community with its own nation-wide musical style. The combination of the nation as a symbol and as an idea evokes a sense of belonging, responsibility and accountability. Fenton (2003, p.163) insists that 'nation and nationalism emerges out of broadening acceptance of the idea of a single political community to which all belong.' It therefore connotes to an individual the status of being a *Munyarwanda* – a Rwandan, one who belongs to Rwanda, and one who embodies 'Rwandan-ness'.

As has been discussed earlier (in Chapters 1 and 2), in the period leading up to the genocide, divisive ideologies eroded any sense of national unity; the symbol of nation was severely compromised. Accordingly, for 'Rwanda' to once more become a unifying symbol, the post-genocide government was faced with the major task of redeeming, transforming and translating interpretations of what 'Rwanda' actually means.

Pastor Enoch Rubaduka, currently belonging to the Rwandan diaspora in the UK, told me that he was born as a Rwandan refugee in Democratic Republic of Congo long before the genocide.⁸³ With his family, he had visited Rwanda several times before the genocide, and although there was a degradation of social interaction and governance they were still hopeful that things would change for the better. He told me that, following the genocide, his attitude changed: 'I hated my nation, my country and the people, and I vowed never to go back to Rwanda again or be associated with it.' In essence, Rwanda as a nation was no longer a symbol of unity for him; it denied him any sense of belonging. He told me that as a Christian, God challenged him to re-visit Rwanda, and after a lot of struggle and time he went back, but he only agreed to meet all the people at the airport and talk to them there, after which he returned to Congo again, despite having been informed about the great changes that had been taking place ever since the genocide. Later, he again felt a conviction to go back to Rwanda and tour around. With a lot of internal struggle, he eventually managed to go. He told me: 'I was mesmerised by the remarkable development, the type of friendly social interaction and

⁸³P.c. Pastor Enoch Rubaduka (2013), Kent, UK

the governance of Rwanda and I felt that my country is back to normal, better than the way it was even'. Since then he frequently visits Rwanda and feels at home.⁸⁴

I encountered similar reactions during the preparations for my first academic visit to Rwanda. I was gathering information from my Rwandan neighbours who live in Kenya, brothers Patrick Suki and Alfred Kurunga.⁸⁵ When I mentioned to Patrick Suki that I was planning to go and visit his country, he replied: 'Please do not go there, those people will kill you! You will never get back here alive'. I felt bewildered and considered changing my research topic to focus on Kenya's 2007 post-election violence. Upon meeting his brother, Alfred Kurunga, however, I encountered a very different response: 'You will be very much welcomed to our nation. Come to Kigali and see the developments. The people are very nice and we have very good governance'. Due to the difference in opinions, I enquired when they were there last. I discovered that Patrick Suki has never gone back since the genocide, but Alfred Kurunga often goes to Rwanda and knows what is currently happening.

The contrasting reactions of Patrick Suki and Alfred Kurunga confirm how comprehensively the nation 'Rwanda' as a symbol has been re-established since the genocide. For Patrick Suki, 'Rwanda' still denotes a deep 'division' between natives and invaders – the inevitable product of having been exposed to a discourse resounding with labels such as 'robbers', 'squanderers', 'colonialists', and, even worse, '*inyenzis*' (cockroaches), a term that refutes even the most basic commonality of a shared species. For Alfred Kurunga, who had experienced first-hand the post-genocide cultural transformations, 'Rwanda' has come to denote unity without division. Diverse national symbols have been called into play to instigate, affirm and celebrate this interpretive transformation – one of the most obvious being the national anthem.

5.2 Rwandan National Anthems

Pavlicevic and Ansdell (2006, p.27) state that 'it is the tune which draws its followers' and, in part, this also holds true for national anthems: it is the national anthem that 'draws' the nationals. Music's remarkable ability to establish and strengthen community is exploited in the songs that function as musical symbols of Rwandan national unity, both officially, in the form of the national anthem, and unofficially, in the form of other patriotic songs, national

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ P.c. Patrick Suki and Alfred Kurunga (2009), Nairobi, Kenya

songs and ceremonial songs. According to Cerulo (1993, p.224), national anthems and flags provide perhaps the strongest, clearest statement of national identity and bear a special relationship to the nations they represent. It is therefore valid to consider a national anthem as a unifying musical representation of a nation, nationalism, and nationhood and all that defines these fields of belonging.

5.2.1 The Old Rwandan National Anthem

The first National anthem of Rwanda, used from Independence in 1962 until late 2001, was ‘*Rwanda Rwacu*’ (‘Our Rwanda’). This was based on an old folk tune, with music and words written by Michael Habarurema and ‘Abanyuramatwi’, a choral society based in Gitarama (nationalanthems.info, no date). The text is as follows:⁸⁶

<i>Rwanda Rwacu</i>	Our Rwanda
<p>1. <i>Rwanda rwacu Rwanda Gihugu cyambyaye</i> <i>Ndakuratana ishyaka n’ubutwari</i> <i>Iyo nibutse ibigwi wagize kugeza ubu</i> <i>Nshimira Abarwanashyaka</i> <i>Bazanye Repubulika idahinyuka</i> <i>Bavandimwe, b’uru Rwanda rwacu twese</i> <i>Nimuhaguruke</i> <i>Turubumbatire mu mahoro, mu kuli</i> <i>Mu bwigenge no mu bwumvikane</i></p>	<p>1. My Rwanda, land that gave me birth, Fearlessly, tirelessly, I boast of you! When I recall your achievements to this very day, I praise the pioneers who have brought in our unshakeable Republic. Brothers all, sons of this Rwanda of ours, Come, rise up all of you, Let us cherish her in peace and in truth, In freedom and in harmony!</p>
<p>2. <i>Impundu nizivuge mu Rwanda hose</i> <i>Repuburika yakuye ubuhake</i> <i>Ubukolonize bwagiye nk’ifuni iheze</i> <i>Shinga umuzi Demokarasi</i> <i>Waduhaye kwitorera Abategetsu</i> <i>Banyarwanda: abakuru namwe abato</i> <i>Mwizihiye u Rwanda</i> <i>Turubumbatire mu mahoro, mu kuli</i> <i>Mu bwigenge no mu bwumvikane</i></p>	<p>2. Let the victory drums beat throughout all Rwanda! The Republic has swept away feudal bondage. Colonialism has faded away like a worn-out shoe. Democracy, take root! Through you we have chosen our own rulers. People of Rwanda, old and young, citizens all, Let us cherish her in peace and in truth, In freedom and in harmony!</p>
<p>3. <i>Bavuka Rwanda mwese muvuze impundu</i> <i>Demokarasi yarwo iraganje</i> <i>Twayiharaniye rwose twese uko tungana</i></p>	<p>3. Home-born Rwandans all, beat the victory drums! Democracy has triumphed in our land. All of us together we have striven for it arduously.</p>

⁸⁶ Words and translation from nationalanthems.info (no date) *Rwanda: 1962-2001*

<p><i>Gatutsi, Gatwa na Gahutu</i> <i>Namwe Banyarwana bandi mwabiyemeje</i> <i>Indepandansi twatsindiye twese hamwe</i> <i>Tuyishyigikire</i> <i>Tuyibumbatire mu mahoro, mu kuli</i> <i>Mu bwigenge no mu bwumvikane</i></p>	<p>Together we have decreed it- Tutsi, Twa, Hutu, with other racial elements, This hard-won Independence of ours, Let us all join to build it up! Let us cherish it in peace and in truth, In freedom and in harmony!</p>
<p>4. Ni mucyo dusingize Ibendera ryacu <i>Arakabaho na Perezida wacu</i> <i>Barakabaho abaturage b'iki Gihugu</i> <i>Intego yacu Banyarwanda</i> <i>Twishyire kandi twizane mu Rwanda rwacu</i></p> <p><i>Twese hamwe, twunge ubumwe nta mususu</i> <i>Dutere imbere ko</i> <i>Turubumbatire mu mahoro, mu kuli</i> <i>Mu bwigenge no mu bwumvikane</i></p>	<p>4. Come let us extol our Flag! Long live our President, long live the citizens of our land! Let this be our aim, people of Rwanda: To stand on our own feet, in our own right, by our own means. Let us promote unity and banish fear. Let us go forward together in Rwanda. Let us cherish her in peace and in truth, In freedom and in harmony!</p>

Most parts of this earlier anthem are patriotic and nationalistic, and are unifying in their expression; there are certainly no explicit incitements to violence. However, three of my Rwandan informants – Mannaseh Tuyizere, Aimable Nzabayesu and Emmanuel Mutangana, who have all been deeply involved in peace and reconciliation organisations (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6) – expressed acute dissatisfaction with certain short excerpts of text,⁸⁷ and stressed that their sentiments are now shared by the majority of Rwandans. In particular, they alluded to the mentioning of ‘home-born’ in the third verse, which cuts off those Rwandans born outside of the country’s geographical boundaries. They also drew my attention to the following passage in the same verse: ‘Together we have decreed it – Tutsi, Twa, Hutu, with other racial elements’. Divisive ideologies relating to ethnicity lay at the heart of the genocidal mind-set, and the cataloguing of distinct separate groups in the old anthem superficially seems to point towards a divisive outlook – certainly in hindsight. As Helen Vesperini (2001) explains, the text has come to be interpreted as representing the views of a particular group: ‘many believe the old anthem glorifies the Hutu as they fought to throw off Tutsi oppression’.

According to a Rwandan informant who chose to remain anonymous, after the genocide, there were some people who felt that the old national anthem should be retained, with only some alterations made on the third verse.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, some felt that the melody could be

⁸⁷ P.c. Mannaseh Tuyizere, Aimable Nzabayesu and Emmanuel Mutangana (2013), through telephone interviews

⁸⁸ P.c. Anonymous informant (2013), Kigali, he worked as a soldier in both the previous and current regimes.

preserved intact, feeling that it was not overly tainted by associations with divisive ideologies. Emmanuel Mutangana, for example, liked the tune because it was traditional – (containing various elements that they identify as traditional and that it has been part of their national culture for many years) dating from long before the genocide and because it had an appealing ‘poetic’ nature.⁸⁹ However, the government insisted on discarding it all together, judging that it did have overly strong associations with the previous regime. Accordingly, it was agreed that a new National Anthem should be composed. Manasseh Tuyizere told me that a commission of parliamentarians was formed, led by the then MP Nsengimana Joseph, to work hand-in-hand with local musicians and staff from the Ministry of Sports and Culture to ensure that a suitable new national anthem was composed. This task force invited musicians to submit songs, set up selection criteria for judges, and arranged a succession of competitions beginning at the district level (called ‘commune’), then moving onto the provincial level (called ‘prefecture’), and finally the national level.⁹⁰

The process of creating a new Rwandan National anthem was rigorous. The task force advertised the competition throughout the nation using Rwandan National Radio, Rwanda TV (RTV) and various other media. My informants told me that the first phase of the competition focused exclusively on the crafting of the lyrics. Those interested were given guidelines for what should be included and were left to work on it, either individually or in groups. The second phase was the composition of a tune to match the winning words. Only those composers whose lyrics had won the preliminaries were asked to set them to music, write the music down using notation and record an interpretation on tape.⁹¹ In all, the panel of judges, in which both Manasseh Tuyizere and Emmanuel Mutangana served as judiciaries, listened to and examined 64 submissions (each combining text and melody). Of these, just three made it to the national level as finalists. These final compositions were then played by a professional band to the parliament, who then decided through voting, which would thereafter serve as the Rwandan National anthem.⁹²

⁸⁹ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2012), through telephone interview

⁹⁰ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2012), Kigali, Rwanda

⁹¹ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana, Manasseh Tuyizere and Aimable Nzabayesu (2013), through telephone interview

⁹² Ibid.

5.2.2 The New Rwandan National Anthem

The new Rwandan national anthem, ‘*Rwanda nziza*’ (‘Rwanda, Our Beautiful Country’), together with a new national flag, was unveiled on Monday 31st December 2001 (Vesperini, 2001). The words were written by Faustin Murigo and the music was composed by Jean-Bosco Hashakaimana (nationalanthems.info, no date). The text is as follows:⁹³

<i>Rwanda Nziza</i>	Rwanda Our Beautiful Country
<p>1. <i>Rwanda nziza gihugu cyacu</i> <i>Wuje imisozi, ibiyaga n’ibirunga</i> <i>Ngobyi iduhetse gahorane ishya.</i></p> <p><i>Rekatukurate tukuvuge ibigwi</i> <i>Wowe utubumbiye hamwe twese</i></p> <p><i>Abanyarwanda uko watubyaye</i> <i>Berwa, sugira, singizwa iteka.</i></p>	<p>1. Rwanda, our beautiful and dear country Adorned of hills, lakes and volcanoes Motherland, would be always filled of happiness Us all your children: Abanyarwanda Let us sing your glare and proclaim your high facts You, maternal bosom of us all Would be admired forever, prosperous and cover of praises.</p>
<p>2. <i>Horana Imana murage mwiza</i></p> <p><i>Ibyo tugukeshya ntibishyikirwa:</i> <i>Umucyo dusangiye uraturanga</i> <i>Ururimi rwacu rukaduhuza</i> <i>Ubwenge, umutima, amaboko yacu</i></p> <p><i>Nibigukungahaze bikwiye</i> <i>Nuko utere imbere ubutitsa.</i></p>	<p>2. Invaluable heritage, that God protects to you You filled us priceless goods Our common culture identifies us Our single language unifies us That our intelligence, our conscience and our forces Fill you with varied riches For an unceasingly renewed development.</p>
<p>3. <i>Abakurambere b’intwari</i> <i>Bitanze batizigama</i> <i>Baraguhanga uvamo ubukombe</i> <i>Utsinda ubukoroni na mpatsebihugu</i> <i>Byayogoje Afurika yose</i> <i>None uraganje mu bwigenge</i></p> <p><i>Tubikomeyeho uko turi twese.</i></p>	<p>3. Our valorous ancestors Gave themselves bodies and souls As far as making you a big nation You overcame the colonial-imperialistic yoke That has devastated Africa entirely And has your joy of your sovereign independence Acquired that constantly we will defend.</p>
<p>4. <i>Komeza imihigo rwanda dukunda</i> <i>Duhagurukiye kukwitangira</i> <i>Ngo amahoro asabe mu bagutuye</i> <i>Wishyire wizane muri byose</i> <i>Urangwe n’ishyaka, utere imbere</i> <i>Uhamye umubano n’amahanga yose</i></p>	<p>4. Maintain this cape, beloved Rwanda, Standing, we commit for you So that peace reigns countrywide That you are free of all hindrance That your determination hires progress That you have excellent relations with all countries</p>

⁹³ Words and translation from nationalanthems.info (no date) Rwanda: 1962-2001

<i>Maze ijabo ryawe riguhe ijambo.</i>	And that finally your pride is worth your esteem.
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The old national anthem has been replaced with another that is markedly different in most aspects, including melodic contour, rhythmic patterning, part arrangement, and tempo. The two melodies cannot be confused. In addition, divisive labels relating to ethnic and racial difference are entirely avoided and, instead, one encounters only the repeated use of the unifying ‘us’ and ‘our’: ‘We, all your children: Abanyarwanda’ (in the first verse), ‘Our common culture identifies us’ (in the second verse) and ‘Our single language unifies us’ (also in the second verse).

According to Igor Cusack (2005, p.238), national anthems tend to carry similar traits, one of which is that they are Janus-faced: they encapsulate history and establish a ‘backward look’ but, at the same time, they speak of the present and gaze into the future. This feature is clearly apparent in both the old and the new Rwandan national anthem, where lyrics explicitly mention shared history and dreams of the future. As Møller, Dickow and Harris (1999, p.249) explain, national anthems frequently employ collective memories in this kind of way to suggest that nationhood is founded on kindred experiences and values, and to mobilise people. Meanwhile, a powerful two-way referencing is established: while it is the people who sing the song, the song itself addresses the people (Cusack, 2005, pp.241-242). Accordingly, it can be argued that the New Rwandan national anthem supports and is one of the keys to building cultural bridges, re-socialization, acculturation and integration; hearing and articulating the words ‘we’ and ‘our’ within the context of this song of Rwanda helps to actualise a condition of unity. As Cusack explains, national anthems also have a tendency to address the nation like a father or a mother (2005, p.237) – as a living entity that is worth guarding and protecting. This is the case in both the old and new Rwandan national anthems, which similarly state that Rwanda gave birth to Rwandans and that Rwandans are its children, thereby further enhancing the individual’s sense of belonging to a larger and more powerful nurturing entity.

As described by Cusack (2005, p.237,240), national anthems are often performed during ceremonial events – on national holidays, at Olympic Games, and in schools – as a kind of ritualised expression of patriotism (Cusack, 2005, p.237). The communal singing of the national anthem is also a formal means of actualising the condition of togetherness; the anthem ritualises the people, transforming them from passive detached individual spectators into an active community of participants, generating feelings of nationalism and patriotism.

My Rwandan informants told me that, ever since Rwanda received its new national anthem, it has been played on national television and radio stations whenever broadcasting begins at the start of the day and closes at the end. The anthem is also sung on national holidays (including Independence Day, Labour Day, Liberation Day), at school events, at every administrative event, during football matches where Rwandan teams are represented, at the swearing-in ceremonies of government dignitaries, and after the speeches of the President of Rwanda.⁹⁴

Cusack insists that national anthems are more than symbols in that they also have clear purposes of propagating a particular national agenda and of assisting in the building of a sense of national identity (Cusack, 2005, p.238). As detailed above, while the lyrics of the old Rwandan national anthem depicted a sense of one Rwanda composed of different races, customs and cultures, the new one insists on a Rwanda composed of one people – Banyarwanda, and one culture – Kinyarwanda. The post-genocide government's agenda and vision for rebuilding Rwandan national identity could hardly be more explicitly represented. However, as mentioned earlier, for any anthem's symbolic power to be fully activated, it is necessary to use it in conjunction with other national symbols – and this is what has happened in Rwanda. Indeed, it is highly significant that the new national anthem was officially launched at the same time as a new Rwandan flag (also referred to as a 'flag of hope') and a new coat of arms, in a ceremony held on 31st December 2001 (Helen Vesperini, 2001). It is worthwhile briefly exploring how these other national symbols serve to support the national anthem, projecting the same essential messages but in the media of colour, shapes and images.

5.3 The Coat of Arms

Since the Middle Ages, European nations have utilized coats of arms, which, according to Ottfried Neubecker, constitute a very particular type of art work – a decorated mosaic in which 'cosmos, nature, the world of myths, and history combine in a picturesque network of unforgettable symbols, under whose influence, nations, states, organizations, races, and families are built up, exist and die out' (Neubecker, 1997, p.4). An army commander in Kenya once said '*Amri ni kubwa kuliko aliye ituma*'⁹⁵, meaning that the command sent by the bearer of the coat of arms is bigger, stronger and greater than the person himself; the coat of

⁹⁴ P.c. Mannaseh Tuyizere (2013), Kigali, Rwanda

⁹⁵ This statement was very well known in the National Youth Service and army training in Kenya in the 80s and 90s

arms places one in a position of authority that commands respect and obedience from everyone (ibid., pp.7 & 10).

A national coat of arms is an amalgamation of different heraldic devices representing statements that a people are committed to and which connote highly valuable, or authoritative, powerful and honourable notions which help unify the nation as symbols of national history and aspiration. It could be regarded, therefore, as a visual equivalent of the national anthem; or, vice versa, one might say that the national anthem functions as a ‘musical coat of arms’. The various linguistic and sonic motifs that permeate the anthem have, as their analogue, a collection of visual devices in the coat of arms – and it is not surprising to find the same (or closely related) symbolic representations present in both. The two forms of national symbol draw on the same repertoire to support one another and reflect the current government’s vision and agenda. From the Colonial period up to the present day, Rwanda has had various symbols serving as coats of arms, represented in figure 15 below:

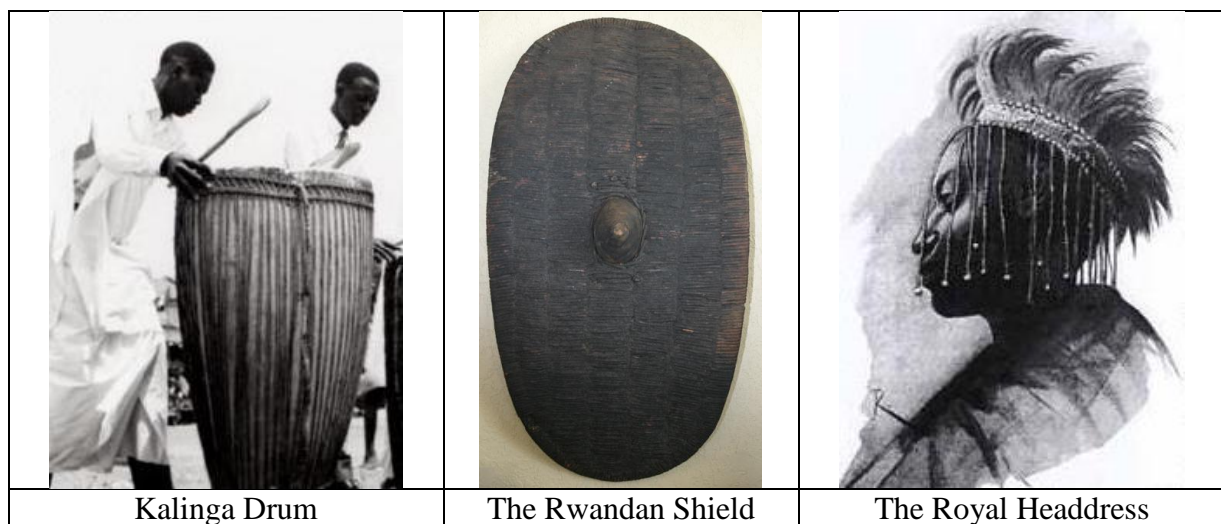


Figure 15 Rwandan Traditional symbols ⁹⁶

Although Vansina (2005, p.23) alludes to the symbolic and actual importance of the dynastic drum and cattle in the pre-colonial period, farming was so important to the Rwandans that he argues that the hoe was a practical symbol of their national unity, acting as a quasi-coat of arms. Hubert de Vries (2008) alludes to the fact that apart of the *Kalinga* (‘A token of home’) drum, the ‘Basketry shield’ consisting of a ‘diadem of beadwork in a pattern of blue and white triangles, adorned with tufts of baboons’ manes’ were also part of the traditional

⁹⁶ Photo by Hubert de Vries (2008) hubert-herald, Rwanda

Rwandan heraldry before the adoption of the ‘royal achievement’ by king Kigeli V Consisting of the *Kalinga*, the Royal headdress, the collar and cross of the order of the drum, a lion and a crested crane proper, the motto: *Imbaga Y’inyabatatu Ijambere* (‘Three Peoples United Will Prosper) and the Title: *Ingoma Y’u Rwanda* (‘Kingdom of Rwanda’) as shown in figure 16.

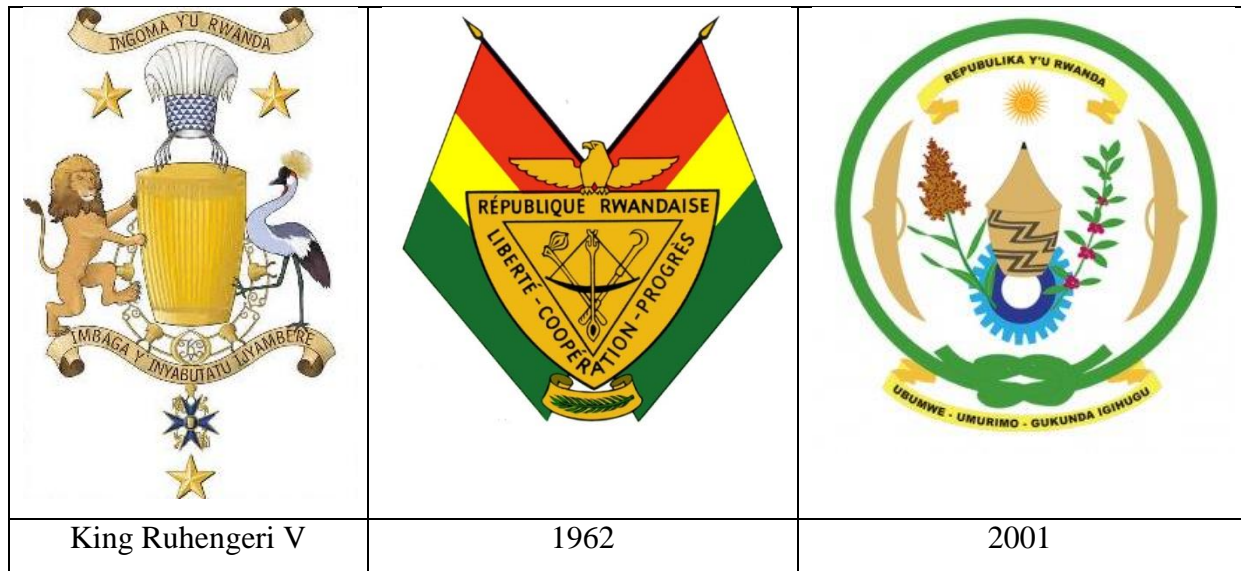


Figure 16 Rwandan symbols from King Ruhengeri V – Post Genocide⁹⁷

Figure 16 also depicts the 1962 coat of arms consisting of a triangular shield with the inscription of a dove and olive branch, a hoe and billhook, a bow and arrow, respectively which according to Hubert de Vries (2008) symbolizing peace, work, and the defence of democratic liberties, the words ‘The Republic of Rwanda’ as the heading and the motto: ‘Liberty, Corporation and Progress’ framed by two National Flags placed opposite each other crisscrossed by two spears. Notably, the coat of arms before the genocide had its wording in French, while the new one has its wording in Kinyarwanda, which is every Rwandan’s language.

The new Rwandan coat of arms bears the statement ‘*Repubulika Y’U Rwanda*’ – ‘The Republic of Rwanda’, in other words, the environment, location and concept from which all national enterprises operate. The green ring with a knot tied at the lower end symbolises industrial development through hard work, linking with the word ‘*umurimo*’ (‘work’) in the motto beneath – and forming parallels with certain lyrics from the anthem such as

⁹⁷ Photo by Hubert de Vries (2008) hubert-herald, Rwanda

‘prosperity’ and ‘renewed development’. The traditional basket which according to Bruce Berry (2011), is a symbol of close human relationships amongst the Rwandese and, within a wedding set up nested baskets are symbolic of family values and the promises kept within the house. Here, the basket links to the motto words ‘*ubumwe*’ (‘unity’ or ‘solidarity’) and ‘*gukunda Igihugu*’ (‘patriotism’) – again forming parallels with various lyrics in the anthem concerning shared culture. Lastly, the cog wheel and shields represent the sovereignty of the nation and the need to defend it – also reflected in the anthem through references to patriotism.

5.4 The National Flags – Old and New



Figure 17 Rwandan 1962 Flag⁹⁸



Figure 18 Rwandan 2001 Flag⁹⁹

National anthems and flags are representations of the exercise of power and dominance within a global system (Cerulo, 1993, p.252). They depict the existence of a government for international platforms and are usually used to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the efforts of citizens, and legitimize formal authority (Cerulo, 1993, 244). For a flag to be effective and powerful as a symbol of group solidarity, it must go through a ritual process which ‘makes the soldier who falls defending his flag not believe that he has sacrificed himself for a piece of cloth’ (Shanafelt, 2008, p.13).

The first Rwandan flag had Pan-African colours: red standing for the shedding of blood and the suffering during the people's liberation; yellow representing the rest and peace of a free people, and green meaning hope and trust. It transpired that this flag was identical with that

⁹⁸ Photo by Berry, B. (2013) Rwanda: Historical flags, crwflags.com

⁹⁹ Photo by Downing-Cantwell, S. (No date) worldatlas.com

of Guinea, so an ‘R’ was inserted to stand for ‘Ruanda, born through Revolution, confirmed by Referendum’ (Berry, no date). Several of my Rwandan informants told me that in Rwanda during the old regime, the flag was raised where there were government offices and in schools every morning and also during the national celebrations. They explained that, like the old anthem, the old flag naturally became tainted through association with Hutu power, ethnic divide and genocide.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, like the old anthem, it was discarded and replaced with a new flag, designed by an artist named Alphonse Kirimbenecyo (Tsavo Media, no date).

One army officer told me that ‘it is important to respect the flag and make sure that it does not touch the ground... even when it is lowered’¹⁰¹ affirming the statement by Raymond Firth that a national flag is imbued with the sacred character of the nation and revered by loyal citizens (cit. Cusack, 2005, p.236). Rwandans told me that, under the old regime, it was illegal to move or continue with activities while the ceremony of raising or lowering the flag was taking place; people were expected to stand still and respect the flag, and failure to do so could result in arrest or corporal punishment. He clarified that people have learnt the significance and importance of the national flag so they respect it due to the value connoted to it. On international sports platforms like the Olympics, when the flag is raised it is accompanied by the national anthem. The song in this incidence ritualises the attendees (not only the people who own the flag) into respecting the flag and the country, evoking a stronger sense of solidarity.

Nearly a third of all African anthems refer to the national flag and mention it in their lyrics, thus displaying the association of the sacred nature of the nation with the anthem (Cusack, 2005, p.236). Although the Rwandan national anthem does not reference the colours of the flag, it does allude to the same qualities that the flag’s colours and symbols are said to represent. The anthem uses the words ‘prosperous’, ‘riches’ and ‘heritage’ to depict the wealth of the nation, while this is represented on the flag by the colour green. The anthem uses the phrase ‘an unceasingly renewed development’ and the word ‘progress’, which is represented on the flag by the colour yellow, standing for potential and real economic development. The national anthem mentions that ‘peace reigns countrywide’ and identifies

¹⁰⁰ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere, Aimable Nzabayesu, Emmanuel Mutangana and various anonymous Rwandan informants in Rwanda, Kenya and UK.

¹⁰¹ P.c. Anonymous informant (2012) in Kigali, Rwanda, serving in the current Rwandan army

the nation's 'excellent relationship with all countries', with blue on the flag representing happiness and peace. The flag also depicts the sun and its rays which are said to represent enlightenment (Downing-Cantwell, no date); one could speculate that alludes more specifically to the realisation of shared identity and the 'New Dawn' that this engenders – which is, of course, also represented by certain lyrics in the anthem.

5.5 Kinyarwanda

Although Kinyarwanda was the language used during the genocide, since all Rwandans – Banyarwanda – speak Kinyarwanda, it still unifies them as a lingua franca. According to Bailey and Peoples (2002, p.28), language is defined as 'shared knowledge of sounds, sound combinations, meanings, and rules that allows people to send and receive precise spoken messages'. Furthermore, as Garrick and James point out (2002, p.28), because 'language is the main vehicle of cultural transmission from one generation to the next,' it can be argued that its unifying force transcends generational boundaries.

Cumprez explains that social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language (1982, p.7). Language marks or creates a sense of belonging for regional, cultural, and more diverse social clusters. As Bailey and Peoples state (2002, p.36), 'often – but not always – the group of people (e.g., a society, an ethnic group) who share a common culture also speak the same language,' which is the case of the Rwandan community. Bailey and Peoples elaborate further, saying that:

Language is an incredibly powerful form of communication – it is sufficient, incredibly precise, and creative. Its "power" (effectiveness in communicating messages), though allows people to use it to enhance their own "power" (influence): By controlling what is said and how it is said, individuals and groups attempt to control public opinions. Those who control the content of messages potentially control the information available to other people. And because human thought process, emotional reactions, and behavioural responses depend largely on information, language is potentially an instrument of power (Bailey and Peoples, 2002, p.44).

This view depicts Rwanda and the Rwandese – and particularly those who are skilled at wielding language – to be in a privileged position. While many countries that surround it have more than one ethnic group speaking several different languages, communication in Rwanda via language seems to have been very easy for the Rwandans. Although it is normal

for languages to develop distinct dialectical differences, my Rwandan informants told me that this hadn't happened in Rwanda; any Rwandan from any region of the country will be understood by all. To try and confirm this statement, during my various field trips and interactions with various Rwandan groups, I raised the topic of languages, giving as examples the variety of languages and dialectical differences in Kenya, East African varieties of Swahili, and linguistic examples from England – Scots, Geordie, Yorkshire dialects – but their position was maintained.¹⁰² Clearly then, for my informants, Kinyarwanda was more than just a shared language: it was a source of pride, being construed as both a symbol of national unity and an active force for promoting that unity – as evidenced by its conspicuous presence in official Rwandan documents, the aforementioned coat of arms, national anthem, and so on. According to Cumprez (1982, p.3) 'language shapes social realities'; accordingly, both Kinyarwanda and Rwandan music (which may be regarded as another form of language) shape 'Rwandan-ness'.

5.6 Rwandan Rhythms

Manasseh Tuyizere, a Rwandan composer and performer who plays guitar and keyboard, requested me to accompany him in a performance as a backing vocalist and percussionist. During our jam and practice session he sung some songs in six-eight rhythm and I accompanied using a variety of African rhythmic styles. He told me that although my rhythms were good, they weren't quite right: 'You're not producing the Rwandan authentic traditional rhythm... I cannot feel it and it's important in my songs!' I requested he demonstrate using any audible sound – whether by mouth or tapping on any surface – and, of the six beats, he tapped on the first, second and fourth. I picked it up and played a deep low tone on those beats and devised several variations while maintaining accents on those three beats. For all the variations, he nodded his head in agreement and even exclaimed: 'Now I can express myself!' Having listened to a 1952 recording by Hugh Tracey entitled 'At the court of Mwami Ruanda' (Tracey, 2000) and the UNESCO – Collection of An Anthology of African Music LP – music from Rwanda (especially tracks 2, 8, 15 and 17), I gained an impression of there being diverse metres (including a five beat metre with accents on the first and third beats), both simple and complex rhythms, and both consistent and irregular accenting. So Manasseh's reaction was rather bewildering. However, further interactions with

¹⁰² As mentioned earlier, in Chapter One, some written sources do acknowledge that certain pygmy groups have traditionally maintained their own distinctive way of speaking Kinyarwanda – in other words, a dialect – although it is clear that this has been restricted to a very small proportion of the Rwandan populace.

other musicians confirmed my suspicions – that there are indeed many diverse rhythms in Rwanda but the ones that have come to be isolated as representatives of Rwandan identity are the six beat and the five beat patterns.¹⁰³ If any song is identified as being ‘typically Rwandan’ it probably employs one of the rhythms; accordingly they can be heard not only in older traditional Rwandan repertoire such as ‘Rurambo’ track 2 (five beat pattern) of the UNESCO – Collection of An Anthology of African Music LP – music from Rwanda but also in more contemporary compositions, including political and religious songs. As well as invoking a sense of shared identity, the rhythms allow common ground for expression. In dance, body movements further punctuate the emphasised beats, generally including stamps (sometimes with leg jingles attached for further effect). These two rhythms appear to be universally identified by Rwandans as a ‘national rhythms’ – another symbol that powerfully connotes national unity.

5.7 Rwandan Traditional Clothing



Figure 19 Rwandan Traditional dress for female¹⁰⁴

In Rwanda, as in many African countries, one can see that there are three main categories of clothing: office dress, casual dress and cultural dress. According to Karin Wurst (2005, p.367), clothing is one of the many cultural practices that represent community, ethnic group, or national identity as culturally constructed. In Rwanda, during the weekends, one often sees people (mostly women) wearing traditional regalia to attend social occasions permeated by cultural expression. The type of dress that women wear is the same as worn for traditional songs and dances. Although Rwandan men’s dress is not commonly worn at social occasions, it is widely worn by male dancers for performance. Traditional clothing is viewed as carrying

¹⁰³ P.c. Aimable Nsabayesu, Joseph Uziel and Sophie Nzayisenga (2010), Oakdale Kigali Music School, Rwanda

¹⁰⁴ Photos by Peter Okeno Ong’are (2009) During a wedding ceremony in Kigali

unifying power. When I was acting as photographer at a wedding in Rwanda, several people told me about their feelings regarding traditional dress in much the same way: ‘Our dressing is very special; it is a statement of who we are and where we belong’.¹⁰⁵

5.8 Rwandan Traditional Dance – *Intore*

According to Lake Eden Arts Festival (2009), the word ‘*intore*’ refers to being transformed through a person or event from being a desperate, hopeless person into an optimistic, hopeful person. It also denotes a true hero: as Sophie, Aimable and Joseph explained to me, *intore* is a heroic dance traditionally performed for the nobles.¹⁰⁶ It is performed by men wearing either sisal or grass wigs and carrying spears in celebration of the warriors, with men and women singing, clapping and playing instruments, mainly percussion.



Figure 20 Rwandan Intore Dancers¹⁰⁷

The dancers move from side to side, combining grace and complex choreography with some aggressive gestures. At certain points, the dancers stop with arms outstretched, and make battle cries. Although the dance is still called *intore*, it has been shifted from being a dance for the elite to a Rwandan traditional dance symbolic of national unity, regardless of class or status. I have observed that, although the term *intore* is used, the dance is no longer used exclusively for warrior dances; other forms of *intore*, derived from traditional sources, are prominent amongst Rwandans, both in Rwanda and also in the diaspora. *Intore* is often performed at ritual events emphasising unification, but not during sombre events such as

¹⁰⁵ P.c. Anonymous informants (2009) during a wedding ceremony in Kigali, Rwanda, I was one of the official photographers.

¹⁰⁶ P.c. Aimable Nzabayesu, Joseph Uziel, Sophie Nzayisenga (2009) Oakdale Kigali Music School, Kigali Rwanda

¹⁰⁷ Photos by Berjaars, M. (ed.) (No date) rwandadirect.com

genocide commemoration or funerals.¹⁰⁸

5.9 Sophie Nzayisenga and the *Inanga*



Figure 21 Sophie Nzayisenga, *Inanga* Maestro¹⁰⁹



Figure 22 Rwandan *Inanga*¹¹⁰

My first encounter with the *inanga* was in Daystar University and the teacher was from Uganda. The *inangas* that he brought were eight-stringed, curved out of one log of wood, and very light. Although it is visibly an eight-stringed instrument, in essence it consists of a single string running parallel to the length of the resonator eight times around the grooves curved on the outer edges at both ends. It is decorated by slight carvings made with a special knife, then burnt to darken it and highlight the shapes. The *inangas* that we had in Daystar University were rather small. During my trip to Rwanda in 2009, at Kigali Music Centre, I met a well-known *inanga* maestro called Sophie Nzayisenga.

¹⁰⁸ This brief descriptive account is based on various performances that I have observed, but in Rwanda and on recordings given to me by Rwandan friends.

¹⁰⁹ Photo by Peter Okeno Ong'are (2009) Oakdale Kigali Music School, Kigali, Rwanda

¹¹⁰ Ibid.,

I asked her why the Ugandan instrument is used in Rwanda and in response she said, passionately: ‘The *inanga* is *our* instrument that has transcended generations. It is our identity and culture. The Ugandan one has eight strings but ours has ten to twelve strings. Our *inanga* is even bigger in size’.¹¹¹ Indeed, the *inangas* that I saw at Oakdale Kigali Music School were much bigger than the ones we used in Daystar University and most had eleven or twelve strings.

Sophie Nzayisenga sang some of her repertoire while playing the *inanga*. The song was in praise of Rwanda, but I was captivated by the combination of playing and singing. She sang passionately, expressing deep joy and occasionally swaying her head and shoulders slightly. One hand used only the index and the thumb to pluck four or five of the strings, while the fingers of the other hand plucked the strings from beneath the base of the *inanga* upwards. Her performance was fascinating, combining several performance styles. As she plucked the instrument, after several bars, she started by humming a single tone and then a melody, and later started singing. At one point it was as if she was narrating a story, but she also switched between singing, poetry recitation, and call-and-response with the *inanga* – with the *inanga* providing a very smooth blend between the sections. I was so engrossed in her performance that I did not notice that very many people had gathered to listen to the maestro. It seemed that, to be a good *inanga* player, one has to be a good orator, poet, musician, and story-teller at the same time. When watching a video recording by Gregory Barz (2009-2010), this impression was confirmed as it depicts Sophie Nzayisenga in almost exactly the same way as I saw her.

Sophie Nzayisenga told me that her grandfather, her father and her uncle were *inanga* players at the court of Mwami. I communicated to Sophie through two interpreters, Alexis Nkunzingoma whom I was connected to by a friend from Kenya, and Aimable Nsabayesu to whom Manasseh had connected me.¹¹² Sophie Nzayisenga spoke in Kinyarwanda while they translated in either English or Swahili. She expressed her concerns that, due to the influence of the colonialists and the missionaries, most traditional instruments had been pushed to the side so the majority of people now favour western instruments. She said that, although the government had not taken the initiative to make it an important aspect of education, she was

¹¹¹ P.c. Sophie Nzayisenga (2009), Oakdale Kigali Music School, Kigali, Rwanda

¹¹² Ibid.

doing her best to ‘transmit our culture to the new generation’, together with other *inanga* players.

Sophie Nzayisenga is widely known as a leading representative of Rwandan traditional music. During my fieldwork trips, in the many places that I visited, when I enquired about traditional music, people mostly mentioned the *inanga* and Sophie. While she was humble about her own contributions, Sophie was adamant that the instrument’s reputation was justly deserved. She said that the *inanga* is a family instrument, a communal instrument that has always served to gather and teach people through soothing and sometimes humorous messages and stories. She explained that, even though it is a soft instrument that motivates listening, there are also times when people join in by dancing and clapping loudly – and, significantly, some of the more rhythmicised pieces she played were set to the aforementioned six beat rhythm. Her account suggested that the *inanga* was a powerful tool for communication and the transmission of culture and myths within oral tradition (see also, Gansemans, J., 1990, [CD] sleeve notes). It is not so much her musical ability or her being descended from a well-reputed lineage that have made her a national symbol of unity: rather it is the fact that she plays the *inanga*. She told me that her live performances on the radio have played an important role in bringing the *inanga* back to the people and bringing people back together. Apart from Sophie who, through the *inanga*, has become a symbol of national unity, there are other musicians who have championed the move towards unity through their music-making and who have, in the process, themselves become symbols of national unity.

5.10 Rwandan Musicians and their Songs

Linda Kagire in the *New Times* (2013) writes extensively on the Rwandan musicians who existed before the genocide, championed peace and reconciliation, and who were, in a way, national symbols of unity before being killed during the genocide. She states that the Association of Rwandan Musicians (also known as the League of Rwandan Artists and Musicians, LIRAM) published a list of fourteen prominent musicians who were killed at that time but points out that there were others too – less prominent ‘underground’ singers; Kagire’s article depicts some of their contributions and the circumstances in which they died (Kagire, 2013). As indicated in previous chapters, many musicians did survive the tide of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. As recalled by various Rwandan informants, these included: Cecile Kayirebwa, Massamba Intore, Masabo Nyangezi, Alexandre Kagambage, Kamaliza, Jean Paul Samputu and Rodrigue Karemera. Most were displaced (see Chapter 4) but some, such

as Makanyaga¹¹³, came back to the music platform to devote themselves to rebuilding Rwanda through music. Other influential musicians were very young during the genocide but have since gone on to become national figures. Kizito Mihigo is one of those who became a symbol of peace and reconciliation. He was Manasseh's school-mate and Manasseh acknowledges and applauds Mihigo's remarkable input to peace and reconciliation projects.

5.10.1 Kizito Mihigo

Kizito Mihigo is a Catholic gospel artist who is famous as a composer and singer of peace and reconciliation songs. According to Kizito World, he was born on 25th July 1981 and was thirteen years old at the time of the genocide. By 2000, he had composed over 200 liturgical songs, and because these were performed in most Catholic churches in Rwanda, he became renowned within the Catholic fraternity (Mihigo, 2012). Manasseh told me that the local authorities noticed him and sponsored him to go and study in Europe. He pursued studies in 2003 and graduated with a post-graduate diploma from the Paris Conservatoire of Music and worked in Belgium for two years as a music teacher (Mihigo, 2012).



Figure 23 Kizito Mihigo¹¹⁴

Kizito Mihigo has produced and recorded many songs in several albums, which generally centre on his voice and keyboard. Ephraim told me that the most famous track which most Rwandans identify with is '*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*' ('We refuse for our history to be dirtied'), which was classified as the official song or anthem for the seventeenth genocide commemoration (Mihigo, 2011).

¹¹³ P.c. Anonymous informants (2010), through casual discussion at the 'Oxygen Club' in Kigali, Rwanda, where I attended a performance by Makanyaga in the lead up to the Rwandan National Elections

¹¹⁴ Photo by Igihe TV (2011) igihe.tv

In 2012, I observed that ‘*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*’ was still conspicuous during the memorial period; a day never passed without it being played on the streets, radio, TV or at a commemoration ceremony. Apparently, no other artists ever performed the song and, in his absence, Mihigo’s recording was played. The song is presented in Kinyarwanda in an oratorical, poetic style including plentiful use of idioms typical of the Rwandese traditional singing style. It is in a medium tempo, structurally simple, reflective, and calling for participation; I observed that Rwandans tend to join in, singing with deep emotional expression, some lifting their hands, others closing their eyes, and demonstrating deep attachment to the song’s contents. The lyrics of the song feature repeated use of ‘we’ instead of ‘I’, emphasising collective responsibility, accountability and ownership, and one of my Rwandan informants told me that the song does indeed ‘express the views of the people’: ‘It tells the truth’, he said¹¹⁵ It is therefore worthwhile briefly exploring the lyrics of this anthem.

5.10.2 ‘*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*’ (‘We Refuse for Our History to be Dirtied’)

<i>Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka</i>	We Refuse For Our History to be Dirtied ¹¹⁶
<i>Rwanda mubyeyi wanjye reka nkwihozeze</i>	Rwanda, my parent, let me console you.
<i>Ndetse nicyo wambyariye nicyo wandereye</i>	That’s the reason why you beget me, the reason why you raised me up.
<i>None ubwo maze gukura nkatora agatege</i>	As I am now grown up, now that I have grown wiser,
<i>Ubwo naciye akenge reka ngukorere</i>	Let me serve you,
<i>Nkoreshe ubwenge wampaye maze nkwihozeze</i>	Using the knowledge you gave me To console you.
<i>Imyaka ibaye cumi n’irindwi twibuka [x2]</i>	It’s now the seventeenth year we are remembering [x2].
<i>Twibuka jenocide yakorewe abatutsi</i>	We remember the genocide, against the Tutsi people.
<i>(nyamara) hariho benshi bakomeje gupfobya ayo mateka</i>	(But) There are many people who continue to distort our history,
<i>Bagatinyuka kuyajora bakayatokoza uko bishakiye</i>	They dare to play with it, putting dirt in it as they wish.

¹¹⁵ P.c. anonymous informant (2011) During genocide commemoration in Rwanda

¹¹⁶ The words were transcribed and translated by Manasseh Tuyizere (2011)

<i>(turanze) twanze gutoberwa amateka</i>	(We refute) We refuse to see our history dirtied.
<i>Twanze kuba insina ngufi (turanze)</i>	We refuse to be a short banana tree (We refute).
<i>Twanze kugana ahotutazi nkaho tutazi iyo tuva</i>	We refuse to move without a direction as though we don't know where we are coming from.
<i>umuntu utema imizi y'igiti aba agamije kwica imbuto zacyo</i>	A person who cuts the roots of a tree Intends to kill its fruits.
<i>umuntu upfobya amateka aba agamije kwica ejo hazaza</i>	Someone who distorts history aims to kill the future.
<i>niba dufite icyerecyezo cy'umunezero</i>	If we have a vision of joy,
<i>niba dushaka amahoro mu rwatubyaye</i>	If we want peace in our motherland.
<i>Jenoside niyitwe genocide tubuze abandi kuyishakira utubyiniriro</i>	Genocide should be called genocide; We should stop others from using other slang-names.
<i>Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi niwo musaraba w'uru Rwanda</i>	The genocide against the Tutsis is the cross Rwanda is bearing.
<i>Bavandimwe banyarwanda nidushyire hamwe</i>	Dear brethren Rwandans, Let's work in unity
<i>Dushyigikire ukuri gusa twiheshe agaciro</i>	To support only the truth to keep our worth.
<i>Amateka yacu yose ameza n'amabi</i>	All our history, Either good or bad,
<i>Tuyarinde abashinyaguzi bagamije gusenya</i>	We should protect it against scoffers who intend to destroy.
<i>Urukundo rw'igihugu nyarwo rutume tukirinde</i>	Our true love for our country, should motivate us to protect it.
<i>Kera nkiri muto ngifite ababyeyi</i>	When I was a little person, while I still had parents,
<i>Bambwiraga ko urumuri ngo rubonesha</i>	They told me that the light shines.
<i>Nanjye ubwo nkabikiriza ibyo ntawe utabizi</i>	And I would respond; 'there is no one who does not know'.
<i>Ubungubu iyo ntekereje nsanga ntabyo</i>	If I now think, I realize I was wrong.

<p><i>narinzi</i></p> <p><i>Iyo ntaza kuba mu mwijima sinarikubona urumuri</i></p> <p><i>Sinshima umwijima, sinshima ibibi byawo</i></p> <p><i>Ahubwo ndawusobanura kubera ko ariwo utuma menya ibyiza by'urumuri</i></p> <p><i>Sintaka umusaraba ubwawo njyewe ndivugira izuka wanjyejejeho</i></p> <p><i>Sinkundaurupfu ubwarwo kuko nta kiza rugira</i></p> <p><i>Ahubwo rutubera nk'umuryango (tukinjira) mubuzima buhoraho</i></p> <p><i>Imyaka ibaye cumi n'irindwi twibuka (duhora)</i></p> <p><i>Twibuka jenoside yakorewe abatutsi</i></p> <p><i>(nyamara) hariho benshi bakomeje gupfobya ayo mateka</i></p> <p><i>Bagatinyuka kuyajora bakayatokoza uko bishakiye</i></p> <p><i>(turanze) twanze gutoberwa amateka, twanze kuba insina ngufi</i></p> <p><i>(turanze) Twanze kugana aho tutazi nkaho tutazi iyo tuva</i></p> <p><i>Umuntu utema imizi y'igiti aba agamije kwica imbuto zacyo</i></p> <p><i>Umuntu upfobya amateka aba agamije kwica ejo hazaza</i></p> <p><i>Niba dufite icyerecyezo cy'umunezero</i></p> <p><i>Niba dushaka amahoro mu rwatubyaye</i></p>	<p>If I didn't live in the darkness I wouldn't see the light.</p> <p>I don't appreciate the darkness, nor its bad effect,</p> <p>But I am explaining it because it helps me know the worth of light.</p> <p>I don't praise its cross, but I am delighting in the resurrection you offered me.</p> <p>I don't like death itself because it has nothing good,</p> <p>But it appears to be like a door (to enter) eternal life.</p> <p>It's now the seventeenth year, we are remembering (repeatedly).</p> <p>We remember the genocide against the Tutsi people.</p> <p>(But) There are many people who continue to distort our history,</p> <p>They dare to play with it, Putting dirt in it as they wish.</p> <p>(We refute) We refuse to see our history dirtied, we refuse to be a short banana tree</p> <p>(We refute) we refuse to move without a direction, as though we don't know where we are coming from.</p> <p>A person who cuts the roots of a tree, Intends to kill its fruits.</p> <p>Someone who distorts history, His aim is to kill the future.</p> <p>If we have a vision of joy,</p> <p>If we want peace in our motherland,</p>
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<i>Jenoside niyitwe jenoside tubuze abandi kuyishakira utubyiniriro</i>	Genocide should be called genocide; we should stop others from finding it other names.
<i>Jenoside yakorewe abatutsi niwo musaraba w'uru Rwanda</i>	The genocide against Tutsis is the cross Rwanda is bearing.

Many key characteristics of the national anthem are also evident in this anthem. The first verse addresses issues surrounding origin, identity, and collective responsibility. It affirms the view that the Rwandans are bound to their country by birth and life itself; Rwanda is presented as a living being – the mother of all Rwandese – and the essence of life, identity, belonging and providence. The second verse addresses shared history, in particular calling on people collectively to face genocide head on and defend the country against on-going attempts to ‘distort’ Rwandan history; the distortion of history is itself presented as having been a cause of genocide in the first place. The third and fourth verse continue exploring these themes in a plea for peace, drawing attention to the roots of genocide and the ways in which people ascribe ‘nicknames’ to it.

Forming parallels with most oral African literature and verbal art, the fifth and sixth sections are based around proverbs. An example is the phrase ‘A person who cuts the roots of a tree intends to kill its fruits’, which is a metaphor for ‘When you pollute our history, you want to kill our future.’ Other proverbs and idioms are found in the dialogue concerning ‘the light and the darkness’. Ignorance about history is darkness, but by engaging head on with the uncomfortable subject of genocide one can pass through the door to enlightenment – a true vision of history and, at the same time, a united country (as represented on the new national flag by the sun and its rays). Through allusion to the cross, Mihigo compares the genocide to the crucifixion: both were disastrous but resulted in truth and reality coming to the surface. Finally, the song pleads for peace and again states that genocide, its impacts and scars are a ‘cross’ that Rwandans have to carry.

Both Kizito Mihigo himself and his songs – especially ‘*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*’ (‘We refuse for our history to be dirtied’) – have become potent national symbols of unity, with their status as such being continuously consolidated and strengthened through repeated exposure, especially during the annual commemorative period. Mihigo’s move to ‘brand’ himself by setting up a one-man organisation – Kizito Mihigo for Peace (discussed in Chapter 6) – has further contributed to making him a ‘larger than life’ national symbol.

5.11 Conclusion

Recognising that musical and music-related symbols tend to attain their power through working within a symbolic complex (rather than as solitary active agents), this chapter has adopted a broad perspective in exploring the topic of Rwandan national symbols. And it has indeed been demonstrated that the various Rwandan national symbols interact symbiotically, supplementarily and complimentarily; each symbol ultimately communicates much the same thing but all the symbols do so in rather different ways and using different media of representation. Naturally, there are significant areas of overlap, which are evidenced through shared motifs.

This chapter has demonstrated that music and music-related national symbols (both official and unofficial) play important roles in the peace and reconciliation initiative. As Frega and Niekerk explain: ‘Music occupies a place of crucial importance in the world of aesthetic communication due to its content of feelings and emotions, its social function and its possibility of existing, always in any measure, through and for others’ (1998, p.15). Of course, it is because the musical experience acts so effectively as a ‘social glue’ (Herndon and McLeod, 1981, pp.101) that it tends to feature as a centre-piece in ritual contexts explicitly geared towards nation building. This is evidently the case in Rwanda, as elsewhere around the globe. The national anthem, Kizito Mihigo’s song, the characteristic six-beat Rwandan rhythm, the *intore* dance, and the music of the *inanga* can all be regarded as effective active agents within Rwandan ritual activity (see figure 24) – Rwandans listening, singing, dancing, and thinking together.

Building upon this crucial role of establishing group cohesion, it has been shown that certain national musical symbols (most obviously the anthems) tend to function as platforms for other national symbols: the national flag, the coat of arms, national dress and more are all activated and ritualised within a musical setting – with their meanings underlined and affirmed through the contents of lyrics, the sound of singing Rwandan voices, and all-engaging melodies, rhythms and harmonies recognised to be distinctly Rwandan. In this way, music’s communicative immediacy propagates easy understanding and unified responses, even mediating for other symbols of national unity.

In addition to uniting people in shared emotions, musical national symbols also embody and express shared values and ideas. Like the other national symbols examined above, they

present strong ‘attractor cores’ that maximize the amalgamation of a variety of elements – images of the past, present and future, and unambiguous statements concerning shared responsibilities, dreams and desires. It appears to be the case that the more tightly bonded these elements and the deeper they are rooted in a people’s identity, the greater their impact will be. Accordingly, all of the Rwandan national musical symbols addressed above present a tightly formulated cluster of closely inter-related, poignant, and instantly recognisable cultural memes to communicate what ‘Rwandan-ness’ is or should be and evoke a shared psychological state of solidarity within the nation (Shanafelt, 2008, p.13). The Rwandan anthems may be regarded as particularly effective in this regard since they have what could be termed ‘double communicative power’, combining the lingua franca of Kinyarwanda (as spoken by all Rwandans) with music’s language of emotions – ensuring that the messages are transmitted deeply into people’s hearts and minds and are culturally resonant for all.

The Rwandan government has evidently fully recognised the benefits of formulating and activating a complex of national symbols that accurately reflects its vision. By discarding the previous anthem, flag, and coat of arms (which had become tainted through association with the genocide regime) and by introducing new ones (which highlight unified Rwandan identity), the government made a bold move towards actualising a radical transformation in how Rwandans view themselves, each other, and their country.

Chapter Six

Reconciliation in Rwanda through Music in Organisations

Music-making is a cultural behaviour that not only brings people together but organises them, clarifying hierarchies and articulating strategies and goals. Observation of performances by diverse music groups in different places unfailingly reveals the formative role of musicians and their responsibilities, not least that of a leader who is ultimately responsible for ensuring that the songs are appropriately performed. Songs are composed and performed according to pre-determined formulae, each instrument having its own musical line, producing a proper blending harmony with other instrumentalists. Audiences also come to know where best to position themselves, whether sitting, standing, or as participating in the music-making, itself a form of organised arrangement. Even with relatively un-fixed forms such as the *toitoi*, a South African way of peacefully demonstrating anger and disappointment through song and dance wherein repertoire and performance roles are often decided upon quite spontaneously, organisation and hierarchy are evident in the roles that people adopt.¹¹⁷ At every step, be it composition, transcription, practice or performance, music is revealed to be both the product of organisation and a force for organising and establishing social structures and inter-personal relations (see, for example, *MacDonald, R., Hargreaves, D. and Miell, D., 2002*; and *Seeger, A., 2004*). It is with such a view in mind that this chapter focuses upon musical organisations – how they were constituted and how, through their varied activities, they have sought to organise Rwanda into a peaceful, reconciled, and unified nation.

As noted earlier in this research (Chapter 3 – ‘New Dawn’), the Rwandese government that was formed, although referred to as the RPF, was rather an amalgamation of representatives of various parties that existed in Rwanda, including the religious parties. It can be argued that this formation was a deliberate move to ensure that there would be national unity and proper representation, the new government being a network with many constituencies through which policies would be formed and debated, then later channelled, instigated and monitored. Of course, genocide was catastrophic; it placed people in a precarious state, creating a vacuum of dire need for the rebuilding of independence, interdependence and cohesion in day-to-day life (Moore, 2009, p.134). This acute collective crisis motivated the government to develop a policy of ‘national unity and reconciliation’ to ‘heal and unify’ (Brandstetter, 2010, p.5). In

¹¹⁷ Personally observed on South African Broadcasting Corporation TV in South Africa between 2004-2008 and also represented on Lee Hirsch’s aforementioned film ‘Amandla’ (2002)

this policy there is ‘a commitment to a unified future: when faces in a crowd will not be divided by ethnicity and history, but simply considered Rwandan’ (Hodgkin and Sebag, 2005, p.18). Through this commitment, the government has been continuously channelling its resources into establishing a uniform ‘Rwandan’ identity (ibid.), which in turn has led to the creation of other mechanisms and institutions such as the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (Brandstetter, 2010, p.5). These institutions have become exemplars and platforms for the formation of other similar organisations aimed at accomplishing the vision. In Rwanda, the government is responsible for the registration of all organisations, businesses and societies, whether charitable or non-charitable, governmental or non-governmental; this has naturally further encouraged a unity of vision.

Some organisations already existed before genocide, subsequently staying much as they were with only relatively minor adjustments; others were adapted to conform to the new agenda; and still others were newly founded for the purpose of forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. Most of the organisations have employed music on a minimal scale – not as an intrinsic part of their operations – but others have actively employed music extensively. This chapter explores how music has been employed by a selection of the more music-focused organisations (most of which were established and managed by Rwandans) to promote peace and reconciliation and establish a unified Rwandan identity. The principal organisations studied here are:

- The Church in Rwanda
- The African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE)
- We Are One
- Prince of Peace Choir
- Reconciliation Evangelism And Christian Healing (REACH Rwanda)
- Kizito Mihigo for Peace Foundation
- The Baptist Church Prisons Ministry
- The Lake Eden Arts Festival (LEAF International Organisation)

Due to the scarcity of documentation and publications relating to these organisations, information in this chapter relies heavily upon interviews conducted with Rwandans, ethnographical data and the websites of the various the organisations.

6.1 The Church in Rwanda

The Rwandan Church may be viewed as a musical institution since church services generally involve music-making. As discussed in Chapters 1, 2 and 4, the church has long been powerful in Rwanda, ever since the establishment of the first churches in 1900. Once Christianity had become the norm amongst government officials, the church worked in close conjunction with the state, not only nurturing particular spiritual outlooks but also influencing the socio-political climate. Kubai (2007, pp.201-202) records, by the time of the genocide, almost 90% of Rwandans were Christians; pre-dominantly Roman Catholic. As was mentioned in Chapter one, the close bond between church and state meant that church authorities were complicit in spreading divisive ideology and, in fact, many church officials were either active participants in the genocide itself or else, fearing for their own safety, adopted a cautious non-committal attitude towards helping victims. Following the overthrow of the genocidal government, the church was faced with the task of re-establishing its reputation as a pillar of ethical conduct within Rwandan society, principally through being conspicuously at the forefront of the peace and reconciliation initiatives – an endeavour that has been charted by Deogratius Nzabonimpa (see Bauman, 2014), *it*. Kubai (2007, pp. 201-202) clarifies how post-genocide Rwanda became a platform for the mushrooming of ‘new churches’, which eagerly pinpointed the Roman Catholic church in particular as being a key player in supporting the genocide. As Kibanda documents (no date), the Church, unsurprisingly, adhered to the central tenet of the incoming peace and reconciliation ideology, namely that the problem in Rwanda was due to ‘unreal ethnicities’ or ‘imagined ethnicity’, which according to Kubai (2007, p.211) ‘has always been a thorn in the flesh of the Rwandan society’. Both Kubai (2007, p.210) and Kibanda (no date) point out that, because the church had long been (and still remained) such a central institution of authority in Rwandan lives, it was natural that it should play leading roles in promoting the new ideology of unified identity – rationalising it using familiar theological language and concepts. Hence, one reads of how the pastoral work was ‘rooted in basic moral values, memory purification¹¹⁸ and reconciliation with [the]... past’ (Kabanda, no date).

Kubai (2007, p. 204) argues that new churches, ‘inspired by the past and coloured by the present’ also proliferated because they adopted a distinctly personal approach towards

¹¹⁸ Adherents are keen to point out that ‘memory purification’ is distinct from brainwashing, in that subjects are allowed to exercise independent reasoning. However, the process does similarly seem to involve a comprehensive re-assessment of what memories signify.

addressing the needs of individual members, empowering their congregants into feeling a strong sense of belonging and fellowship compared to the mainstream churches. Examples of thriving new churches include: the Lutheran Church of Rwanda (established in Rwanda 1995 by refugees returned from Tanzania) (Melissa 2007), Hope Rwanda, Book of Home International, Hillsong Australia, and Joyce Meyer Ministries – although there are many others (see Kubai, 2007, p.206).

The different branches of the Rwandan church have each contributed towards the peace and reconciliation initiative in different ways, through their own projects. For example, the Quakers set up the ‘Friends Peace House’ in 2000 to care for orphans and widows, while the the Baptist Church established the ‘Prison Fellowship’, which sends ministers into prisons to guide prisoners towards admission and repentance, and which also orchestrates meetings between the accused and their victims as the first step towards reconciliation (see also section 6.7 in this thesis) (Severson, 2009). ; . Bishop John Rucyahana has explained the central philosophy that underlies the church’s peace and reconciliation initiatives as follows: ‘You need to be able to have both parties, give them time, cry with them, pray with them, engage them until you bring them to the level of confronting the reality that we are living in this country, we are going to produce together, and we are going to live together again’ (Severson, 2009). According to Bauman (2014), this reconciliation model, instituted largely through the Catholic Church, is now being examined as a possible template for other peace-building efforts, both within regions and across borders.

6.2 African Evangelistic Enterprise Rwanda

Rev. Antoine Lutayisere explained to me that African Evangelistic Enterprise Rwanda (AEE Rwanda) was founded before genocide as part of a larger entity, African Enterprise (AE). AE, envisioned by Dr Michael Cassidy in 1962, is a Christian, international, inter-racial, interdenominational and non-political organization with a mission to evangelize Africa through word and deed in partnership with the church. AEE Rwanda was established in 1984 with its operations being divisible into two major phases – pre-genocide (1984-1994) and post-genocide (1994-present). Their focus is the use of a ‘Self Help Approach’ to support churches and provide relief to those whose lives have been most affected. AEE Rwanda aims to empower the needy to improve their own lives, build relationships and provide them with life-skills. It also develops Christian leadership so as to build peace and reconciliation, believing that ‘Without a spiritual intervention and a change in people’s thinking we cannot

move on from our past into rebuilding Rwanda.’¹¹⁹ Rev. Antoine Rutayisire gave me a booklet entitled ‘*Gukira Imvune zo mu Mutiama Birashoboka*’ (‘It is possible to heal the wounds of the heart’), produced by AEE to counsel, guide and teach people on matters of peace, unity, forgiveness and reconciliation. Exploiting its far-reaching network, AEE has been able to organise and coordinate activities with many churches in Rwanda.

The AEE could be viewed as a pace-setter, being one of the first organisations to organise peace and reconciliation seminars and possibly the first to target musicians, seeking to make them highly effective agents for change at the core of its activities. Rev Rutayisire openly acknowledges the power of music in healing and transforming peoples’ hearts and minds. The aforementioned booklet produced for peace and reconciliation was distributed to targeted churches, encouraging musicians, composers, musical directors, song writers and instrumentalists to attend workshops and seminars and to contribute and compose songs for commemoration, peace and reconciliation.¹²⁰ Local church leaders had the responsibility to select and send their musicians to the seminars. Manasseh Tuyizere, Emmanuel Mutangana and various other Rwandan informants told me that it was in 1999 that they received letters inviting them to participate and attend a series of seminars. Since there was already a long-standing, good relationship between the AEE and the churches, the letters were well-received. Not knowing what to expect, musicians nonetheless wanted to be part of the peace and reconciliation process in their country, so they were well-motivated to participate. About 40 musicians ended up attending, coming from various backgrounds, and various regions and churches across the country.¹²¹

As explained to me by my Rwandan informants, the first two seminars each lasted about four days and were focused principally on the musicians and not on the music. The AEE arranged for professional doctors and nurses specialising in trauma and counselling to attend, together with pastors and teachers, all of whom listened to and ministered to the musicians, ensuring that they understood the task ahead.¹²² Manasseh Tuyizere said that the seminars also addressed the musicians’ personal responsibilities, confirming how they should use their

¹¹⁹ Personal conversation, Rev Antonie Rutayisire (2010), St Etienne Anglican Cathedral in Kigali, See also African Evangelistic Enterprise Rwanda, aerwanda.org

¹²⁰ P.c. Rev Antonie Rutayisire (August, 2010) Kigali, Rwanda

¹²¹ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere, Emmanuel Mutangana and my other informants at different forums which included repeated interviews

¹²² P.c. Rev Antoine Rutayisire (2010) Kigali Rwanda

musical gifts to promote unity, while also preparing them for the types of challenge that they might expect and suggesting how those might best be handled from a Christian perspective. Rev Antoine Rutayisire reiterated that the musicians from the churches were not engaged immediately in the process of production: time was taken not only to help them personally to work through the process of healing, forgiveness, peace and reconciliation, but also to introduce them to the necessary terms and conditions of their engagement. It was made clear to them that the end product, the music produced, would remain the property of AEE who would also handle dissemination.¹²³

Manasseh Tuyizere reported further on the three seminars, saying that the morning sessions had concentrated upon peace, reconciliation and forgiveness, with counselling sessions for the musicians. There was also time for retreat during the seminars, when musicians were asked to reflect on their own lives from the perspective of the teaching they had received and also to pray. Manasseh noted that the musicians had articulated many problems – spiritual, emotional, mental and physical. There was ‘bitterness, anger, forgiveness, feeling betrayed, and guilt – all sorts of diverse states’.¹²⁴ Then, in the afternoon sessions, the musicians had participated in song-writing workshops, specifically exploring how best to communicate messages of unity, peace, reconciliation and related themes. Here, according to Manasseh, the musicians were provided with guidelines within which they could compose the songs – the boundaries of operation – although a certain degree of artistic licence was permitted.

Evidently, the AEE recognised that music could greatly promote its activities, so sought to develop and manipulate the contributions of musicians through intensive systematic training – addressing not just approaches to musical matters but also core beliefs and attitudes – and the application of standard market strategies, as outlined by Koontz and O’Donnell (2013):

- Planning & mapping all intended operations – even publishing a booklet to guide them in accomplishing their goals.
- Organising – bringing together all the human resources needed for the operation, including linking the musicians with ‘We Are One’ (discussed further below).
- Agreeing & communicating the roles of staff and participants

¹²³ The same information was conveyed by Manasseh Tuyizere (2010) Durham

¹²⁴ P.c Manasseh Tuyizere (2010) Durham, UK

- Recruiting appropriate people for designated tasks, whilst giving due consideration to issues associated with professionalism. The AEE identified suitable musicians and recording facilities through the church, ensuring that all had the technical ability to do the job professionally, while also sharing their own cultural and philosophic values.
- Hands-on directing – conducting a virtual micro-management of the entire process, ensuring that all activities were carried out effectively, efficiently and within the time scheduled, be they musical concerts, workshops or other events.
- Reviewing – constantly checking that all was proceeding as planned, with the director of ‘We Are One’ frequently travelling back and forth to Rwanda to negotiate, collaborate, and monitor.

According to Rev Antoine Rutayisere, dissemination was always a complex issue. The AEE had the raw materials, but did not have the means to produce the results for a wider audience – ‘like having sugarcane plantations without the benefit of millers’¹²⁵. It was this factor that necessitated their collaboration with an external enterprise with recording capability, ‘We Are One’.

6.3 We Are One

‘We Are One’ is a Christian reconciliation ministry led by Dave Bankhead, dedicated to promoting peace and healing in divided nations and cultures across the world. It started as an inter-denominational UK prayer concert tour that led to the release of a worship album by the same name in 1996. Dave is a worship leader, songwriter and producer, co-writer of worship songs like ‘*Come on and celebrate*’, ‘*Heal our nation*’, ‘*I will speak out*’ and ‘*Behold the Lamb*’. ‘*We are One*’ works with Christians from different cultures, organising workshops, concerts, conferences and various peace and reconciliation events. It networks with other Christian organisations like Le Rucher, Youth With A Mission (YWAM) Rwanda, African Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE, discussed above), United Bible Society and Palestine Bible Society. They have worked in Northern Ireland, South Africa, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Israel/Palestine. In the UK, ‘We Are One’ also operates a recording studio, called Moonstone

¹²⁵ P.c. Rev Rutayisere (August, 2010)

Studios, located in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, where all music productions have taken place. The music label ‘*We Are One Music*’ acts as an umbrella for copyright and publishing¹²⁶.

Dave Bankhead told me that he first visited Rwanda in 1999, under the umbrella of ‘We Are One’, having received an invitation from the reconciliation department of AEE-Rwanda. This invitation was requesting his presence at the very same seminars outlined above – namely the worship seminars arranged for 40 talented young Rwandan worship musicians. While taking part in the aforementioned teaching of the group, Dave decided to make a reconciliation CD/cassette entitled ‘*Mana, kiza u Rwanda!*’ (‘Lord heal Rwanda!’). He committed himself to raising sufficient funds through donations to manufacture and air-freight 3,000 cassettes and a small number of CD’s out to Rwanda the following year, to be promoted and sold at an appropriate local price by the AEE, in an attempt to reach out to the nation as a whole in a spirit of forgiveness and healing.¹²⁷

Dave Bankhead firmly believes that ‘All Christians are called into the ministry of reconciliation’ according to the Bible (2 Corinthians 5: 18). The first stage of reconciliation, as described by Dave, is between man and God and the second is between man and man. As a Worship leader, he acknowledges the power of music within the Christian context to evince these two stages. He affirms that ‘each song has its work and each is tailored differently to meet different needs’ and that is why the songs vary quite dramatically in form, style, and content. He insists that ‘it is vital to consider the content and the context of music, for it to be relevant and effective in accomplishing what it has to.’ That is why, even though he is a song writer himself, he chose to motivate the Rwandese musicians to compose, arrange, record and perform their own material, ensuring that there was cultural relevance to them in terms of rhythm, language, style and experience. He understood that ‘It was easier for the Rwandese to speak for themselves to themselves in a style that they will understand and identify with, rather than another or outsider speaking on their behalf.’¹²⁸

Dave Bankhead explained that the Rwanda-related songs tackled various themes, including the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the Lamentation (the latter offering to Rwandans the hope of

¹²⁶ P.c. Dave Bankhead (2011), through telephone interview and also a letter sent to me by Dave to accompany 2CDs that he recommended that I listen to. See also *We Are One*, weareone.org.uk, these same sources are used throughout this section.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ P.c. Dave Bankhead (2010), through telephone interview

redemption through their own lamentations). Throughout the project, he relied on a support group of four people – two Rwandese and two from Britain – all of whom were Christians and worship leaders in their own capacities. Initially, they produced nine songs, using simple styles so as to facilitate wider participation and instrumentation, mixing and mastering of the music was done at the Moonstone Studios in Malmesbury. The aim was to reach the masses, reconciling them with God and helping them see each other not as enemies, but fellow brothers and sisters – the two stages of reconciliation outlined earlier.¹²⁹

The album was launched in Kigali through a number of concerts from 10th–16th July 2000, involving forty strong vocal and dance groups. The most significant moments were a concert staged at the Amahoro Football Stadium in Kigali on Sunday 16th July, and another at the Mille Collines Hotel, in front of an invited group of VIPs. More than 5,000 people attended the stadium concert, including bishops, church leaders, and government ministers. All the songs from the CD were performed, after which a banner, bearing the words '*Imana izunga u Rwanda*' ('Lord, knit together Rwanda') was formally presented to the government Minister for Reconciliation, who then gave a speech. The event concluded with the *umushayayo*, a traditional Rwandan dance of unity.

Dave noted that many Rwandans expressed warm appreciation for this initial 'We Are One' Rwanda project, mixed with sadness that it had not come earlier. Some of the songs were played on the radio – for example, '*Urukundo*' ('Love'), which he himself considered to be one of the most effective for cultivating a spirit of unity and brotherhood amongst Hutu and Tutsi social groupings. Wide dissemination was ensured through selling cassettes at a very low fee, equivalent to roughly 50p, and in some cases handing them out for free. Dave's desire was for as many people as possible to listen, receive the message, and respond accordingly. Inevitably, some people made money out of the cassettes by reproducing them and selling them without permission to the public, but it did not unduly bother 'We Are One' – the principal objective being to get the message out into the public arena. Dave also allowed AEE Rwanda to take charge of dissemination, which seemed to be a sensible way of

¹²⁹ Ibid.

utilising the resources;¹³⁰ because the Rwandans themselves appeared to consider the songs effective,¹³¹ Dave considered continued dissemination to be guaranteed.

There followed a two-location concert tour in 2001, to Ruhengeri in the North and Butare in the South of Rwanda. By 2002, focus had shifted onto the children who had grown up during the aftermath of the genocide. This gave birth to a new CD, featuring songs written specifically to involve singing by children aged between 8 and 14 years old. For Dave and others, this necessitated several more trips to Rwanda, a song-writing week, and a recording week involving 60 Rwandan children. Eventually there was a concert to launch the new CD, *'Rabagirana Rwanda'* (*'Arise, Shine Rwanda'*), which took place in January 2003.¹³²

Shortly afterwards, AEE sponsored the production of another CD entitled *'Hahirw'ishyanga'* (*'Blessed is the nation'*), which was released in Feb 2004. To launch this CD, there were another two Amahoro stadium events and a Breakfast Prayer concert for VIPs, attended also by President Kagame at the Mille Collines Hotel, where the choir and band performed several songs. After his address to the delegates, Michael Cassidy, the founder of AEE, presented President Kagame with copies of the three CDs produced by 'We Are One'. At the very end of the performance at the stadium, the band of the Rwandan National Guard appeared in full uniform, playing several well-known hymns of peace and forgiveness. In 1994, the military had been responsible for brutal attacks in that very stadium, so the performance was symbolically very powerful.¹³³

'We Are One' is still a very active organisation. In 2009, Dave Bankhead visited Rwanda again and, besides observing the great progress made in healing and reconciliation, he held a song-writing seminar in March, attended by around 25 young people from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo, in which four new songs were written; *'Tubabarire'* (*'Forgiveness'*), *'Hariramana'* (*'Lord, forgive us'*), *'Mapendo'* (*'Love'*) and *'Dore Ndaje'*, a Rwandan song of thanksgiving set to a traditional dance rhythm. The backing tracks were made in the UK in June. The songs were then presented at a conference for pastors in July 2009 called *'Rwanda*

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.. The same information was conveyed by various Rwandan informants, including Manasseh Tuyizere and Rev Antoine Rutayisere.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

mu matekamashya ('Rwanda's new history'), for which The Great Lakes Choir was formed. A brief history of Rwanda was presented followed by an act of national repentance, led by church leaders and representatives from Britain in recognition of negligence when Rwanda was in need (Dave Bankhead, no date). During the 2011 commemoration, I often heard the four above-mentioned songs being played in the streets and on the media stations. Manasseh Tuyizere, who participated in the recordings told me that he thought the songs also 'blended in very well with acts of worship'.¹³⁴ Although it is not possible to ascertain to what extent the songs have impacted the community, a number of informants told me that, owing to the strength of the messages conveyed, the wide and free distribution of the music on cassettes, and the extensive airplay on radio, the songs must inevitably have had substantial impact.

As the professional musical arm of AEE, 'We Are One' used their expertise to motivate, organise, gather, package, and deliver music to further the AEE's peace and reconciliation initiative – releasing polished musical products that are, at the same time, instantly engaging (relying on effective, easily recognisable musical hooks) and ideologically persuasive. In these CDs, the teachings and beliefs of the church on unity (as an act of the church acknowledging its fault of neglect and also participation in genocide) is repeatedly articulated through diverse simple crystalline wordings and through the vehicle of inspiring music, all within the religious framework of Christianity (as adhered to by the Rwandan majority). Appearing at the heart of skillfully orchestrated and highly ritualised productions – featuring dance, song, lights, costumes, international participants, ceremony, government ministers, and impressive major venues – this music¹³⁵ has undeniably played a crucial role in furthering the AEE's (and the government's) initiative towards national unity. At the same time, the 'We Are One' story – beginning with the initial selection and training of musicians and the sourcing of producers, and culminating in the all-embracing mass-media presentations described above – perfectly illustrates the way in which the post-genocide church has worked in conjunction with powerful religious organisations to marshal the nation's young promising musicians to unity, peace and reconciliation.

¹³⁴ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2011) United Kingdom and also telephone interview in 2012

¹³⁵ As expressed to me by my Rwandan informants including Dave Bankhead, Manasseh Tuyizere and Rev Antoine Rutayisere

Some of the musicians who graduated from the ‘We Are One’ workshops have subsequently applied the inspiration they gathered from that source to other newly-created organisations. One such organisation is The Prince of Peace Choir.

6.4 Prince of Peace Choir

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in 1999, Manasseh Tuyizere had been a participant of the aforementioned seminar series organised by the AEE. Through that involvement (and reinforced through subsequent experiences with ‘We Are One’ productions), he had received intensive systematic education about the musicians’ goals and responsibilities, the ideology of Rwandan unity, religious teachings associated with reconciliation, and effective means of projecting reconciliatory messages through the medium of song. When the seminars were over, he then took this knowledge and mindset back with him to his church community, St Etienne’s Anglican Cathedral in Kigali, where he teamed up with Emmanuel Mutangana to establish a choir, naming it the ‘Prince of Peace Choir’.¹³⁶

Emmanuel Mutangana, currently a pastor in USA, told me that they had used a biblical approach from the outset, applying the same understanding of reconciliation as that which permeated the ‘We Are One’ projects – in other words, that reconciliation must first occur between man and God with Jesus Christ as the intermediary then influence reconciliation within the community, with music as a primary vehicle. He assured me that ‘Music has the power to bring together even the greatest of enemies’ and said that, even within his own choir, there were people of contrasting backgrounds who would formerly have been incompatible in such social situations; in other words, there were both ‘Tutsi’ and ‘Hutu’ members.¹³⁷

Aiming to foster an ethos of inclusivity, the choir accepted members of diverse ages – ranging from just 4 years old up to 28 – and gladly took on people who had little previous musical experience. Indeed, one of the group’s key objectives was to make musicians out of its members, guiding total novices towards singing, playing instruments and even composing songs. Around the time of its formation, the Prince of Peace Choir ‘seized the moment’ by responding promptly to a natural disaster; certain provinces were experiencing famine and drought and the choir organised a concert to spread awareness and collect money. The choir

¹³⁶ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2009), Kigali

¹³⁷ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2012), through telephone Interview

collected quite large sums and, because their performance was deemed successful (both musically and charitably), they acquired new members and further performance opportunities.¹³⁸

Emmanuel Mutangana explained to me that although it continued to operate on a very small budget, its influence nevertheless spread ‘not by design (They had not planned to) but by serendipity (caused or forced by circumstances).’ Whenever members of the group relocated – for example, after transferring schools or finding new jobs elsewhere – they would take their experience, knowledge, and personal connections with them, expanding a social network of shared beliefs, ideas, and practices through music. I was given the example of Joy who was an early member of the Prince of Peace Choir but is now based in India, where she has started her own group and composes her own songs. Joy is the daughter of a Rwandan historian, Vicar General Fidele Mugengana of the Orthodox Anglican Church, who also works for REACH Rwanda in Kigali.¹³⁹

6.5 Reconciliation Evangelism and Christian Healing (REACH) Rwanda

Reconciliation Evangelism and Christian Healing (REACH) is a non-governmental organisation that aims to help victims towards healing and reconciliation through sustainable development (REACH Rwanda, no date). Philbert Kalisa, the founder, affirmed that their work ‘is to reach out to people in communities in conflict within Rwanda, bringing them together, educating them on... social issues, including forgiveness and healing, offering them counselling services and... an atmosphere of working together – paving the way to forgiveness’.¹⁴⁰

Rev. Philbert Kalisa was born in 1966 as a Rwandan refugee in a camp in Burundi. He converted to Christianity in 1982 and, after completing his initial theological studies, was ordained as an Anglican priest in Burundi in 1989. In 1990, he then went to Trinity College Bristol, where he studied for a diploma and BA degree in Theology. He went to Rwanda in 1995 for the very first time and claimed his citizenship. Whilst there, he became deeply perturbed by the devastation of his country, which inspired him to write a dissertation

¹³⁸ *ibid.*

¹³⁹ P.c. Manasseh Tuyizere (2009), Kigali, and Emmanuel Mutangana (2012), through telephone interview

¹⁴⁰ P.c. Philbert Kalisa (2011), REACH Rwanda office, Kigali

entitled ‘The Ministry of Reconciliation in Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide’, in which he explored the role of the Church in bringing about healing, reconciliation and unity among Rwandans. Together with his friends from different Christian denominations in Britain, he then established and registered REACH/UK as a non-governmental charitable organisation in August 1996. After completing his studies in Britain, he returned to Rwanda with his family in order to establish REACH in Rwanda. From 1998, REACH Rwanda organised seminars and workshops in Kibungo, Butare and other regions in Kigali. From that time, it has trained more than 3,680 workers and established six local committees in five districts to promote and coordinate local initiatives. It has set up 15 associations with about 200 members engaged in various social, economic and cultural activities such as sports, music and dancing, bible study, group savings and different types of income generating activities.¹⁴¹

Philbert Kalisa told me that, from early on in their operations, they had been working with more than 600 young people in Kayonza, mostly orphans and children whose parents were imprisoned because of the crimes of genocide. According to Philbert, at the beginning, the atmosphere amongst these youngsters in Kayonza was tense: there was deep animosity, mutual blaming, fierce argument, and anger. It was felt that something more was needed to strengthen social relationships, not just amongst the troubled children but also amongst the trainees working with them. As Philbert Kalisa explained to me, music was ‘the answer’. He reported that ‘in the various projects, music became of primary significance. Music... not only enabled the trainees to socialise peacefully, forgive, receive therapy and be able to work together, but also caused them to be able to handle other non-musical projects with peaceful focused minds. It acted as a catalyst for other projects’¹⁴². According to Pavlicevic and Ansdell, ‘music naturally radiates, like dropping a pebble in a pond and seeing the waves of energy spread out in concentric circles’ (2006, p.12). So it was within REACH Rwanda’s operations: the positive impacts of music that had begun with the trainees and individuals in the organisation rippled out to others beyond, causing a positive transformation of the community.

Noting that the more extensively music was included in activities, the more readily social cohesion was evidenced, the organisation decided to prioritise music making as one of their

¹⁴¹ Ibid. See also REACH Rwanda, reach-rwanda.org

¹⁴² P.c. Philbert Kalisa (2011) REACH Rwanda office, Kigali

principal objectives. They formed a choir called ‘*Urumuri Rw’Ubumwe*’ (‘The Light of Unity Choir’), comprised of 56 young people from different faiths and denominations, and they hired a professional Rwandan musician to train them and assist in composing new material. Philbert Kalisa emphasised that, although the choir and its training was founded on ‘biblical principles’, it aimed to help the whole community regardless of faith,¹⁴³ and he spoke at length about how the choir’s music went on to improve people’s lives. He noted that, prior to performances in churches, schools, hospitals and diverse other venues, there was usually an atmosphere of genuine excitement; with the audience-to-be feeling overjoyed and privileged that musicians were coming especially to perform for them. He also stressed, in no uncertain terms, that involvement in the musical events had helped people to reflect upon their lives and attitudes and forgive; he even asserted that music had helped heal stomach ulcers and other physical ailments linked to emotional problems. At the same time, the choir’s music served as a mouthpiece for REACH, articulating core messages – for example, that for Rwanda to develop and progress there must be reconciliation and forgiveness – and alerting people to other facets of the organisation’s activities.¹⁴⁴

The *Umuri Rw’Ubumwe* Choir have, collectively as a group project, composed and recorded a single CD for REACH Rwanda entitled ‘*Turi Umwe*’ (‘We are One’), the title track of which has already been discussed in the introduction to this thesis because it effectively highlights many of the central themes in the post-genocide peace and reconciliation initiative.¹⁴⁵ It is now worthwhile briefly summarising the contents of the whole CD. From personal experience, I can confirm that most (if not all) of these songs have been widely used during the annual commemorative period in Rwanda (discussed in the following chapter), and the songs crystallise the complex of unity-related messages that are propounded not only by REACH but by the broader cultural, political and religious establishment in Rwanda:

Track 1: ‘*Turi Umwe*’ (‘We are One’). As mentioned earlier, this song explores the history of Rwanda and the effects of divisive ideologies, and calls upon all Rwandas to unite as one

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ P.C. Philbert Kalisa (2011) REACH Rwanda office, Kigali; and various other musicians that I met during the memorial time in 2011 confirmed that they first became aware of REACH Rwanda’s broader range of activities through encountering its music.

¹⁴⁵ Because the songs were composed, arranged and produced through group collaboration, no individuals are identified as composer.

nation, one tribe and one culture – resisting anything that is divisive. The song also expresses appreciation for the government’s efforts towards instilling a spirit of reconciliation.

Track 2: ‘*Mana Tabara*’ (‘Help Oh Lord’). This is a prayer depicting the plight of Rwandans and asking for divine intervention from God. Rwanda is portrayed as a ship hit by a storm and needing rescue.

Track 3: ‘*Senga Uhindure U Rwandan*’ (‘Pray for Change in Rwanda’). This song thanks and states that it was through people’s prayers that Rwanda was saved. It claims that, therefore, people should continue praying and turn away from negative behaviour and ideas, so that they may experience peaceful lives.

Track 4: ‘*Ubumwe N’Ubwiyunge Niyo Ntego*’ (‘Unity and Reconciliation is Our Goal’). Again, the lyrics stress that the goal for Rwandans is unity. Although families, neighbours, leaders and relatives have misunderstandings, they should come together, be united, and set a good example to others.

Track 5: ‘*Umuryango REACH*’ (‘The REACH Organisation’). This song summarises the goals and modus operandi of REACH, expresses the organisation’s support for the community and the government, and calls upon all young people to join in.

Track 6: ‘*Ibuka Ibyo Imana Ikora*’ (‘Remember the Acts of God’). Here, the lyrics call upon Rwandans to consider what God has done for them: despite hate-fueled conflict within the country and neglect internationally, the Rwandans have become one. This realisation should motivate Rwandans to move in love and unity, ensuring peace and harmony.

Track 7: ‘*Reka Nshimire Uwiteka*’ (‘Let Me Thank the Almighty’). This song is an appreciation of God’s comfort and reconciling love. It advises the nation that, since God did not abandon them, they should be reconciled with one another and sort out their relationships as members of one family.

Track 8: ‘*Turi Bamwe*’ (‘We Are Brothers and Sisters’). This is another song that asserts the kindred unity of all Rwandans: they are brothers and sisters and should act accordingly. The lyrics stress that it was Satan who brought about issues of difference and caused people to forget their oneness. All Rwandese should now work together towards reconciliation.

Track 9: *‘Dufatane Uunana’* (‘Let’s Go Hand in Hand’). Yet again, the message here is that everyone, both young and old, should strive for unity since this constitutes the foundation for development, peace and security. People are challenged to look at the past and learn from it.

Track 10: *‘Ndashimira Abayobozi’* (‘I’m Grateful to the Leaders’). This song praises the leaders who have helped to reconcile the people of Rwanda and encourages the entire world to pursue unity. It asks people to reflect on the 1994 killings and the hatred motivating them, so as to value unity. This is also the time to question God’s existence and influence.

Although all ten of the tracks on the CD are sung acappella (with added clapping on tracks 5 and 9), there is considerable diversity in rhythm, style, harmony, and overall mood. This ensures that the central assertion of there being a single Rwandan identity is communicated in diverse ways and in conjunction with a variety of emotions; it is asserted joyfully, sorrowfully, assertively, gently, speculatively (looking forward to the future), retrospectively (looking back to the past), religiously and a-religiously. This is a highly effective strategy to ensure that, by the end of the listening experience, the message has been deeply inculcated within the listeners’ consciousness. It could be interpreted as a rather more sophisticated employment of the technique of repetition to instil messages (compared to the various other songs examined in earlier chapters). Naturally, the fact that the message is being artfully projected by a multitude of voices – reflecting the multitude of people within the nation – further encourages the listener to take the message to heart. Of course, there are several other crucial messages that are being effectively communicated here, the most apparent being: under divine authority, the Rwandan government and the various church organisations it sanctions (such as REACH) are working well towards the goal of peace and reconciliation and it would be of benefit to all Rwandans to follow them.

6.6 Kizito Mihigo for Peace (KMP) Foundation

Unlike Augustine Munyitanawe, a renowned Rwandan musician before genocide who remained a musical performer after genocide, Kizito Mihigo developed his profile from just being a musician into an organisation for reconciliation, one known as the Kizito Mihigo for Peace (KMP) Foundation (Mihigo, 2010).¹⁴⁶ According to the KMP website, the Foundation, which was legally registered on 8th April 2011, was established on the basis of ‘art, dedicated

¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, despite concerted efforts from various informants, it proved impossible to establish contact with Kizito Mihigo

to Memory Conservation, Compassion, Forgiveness, Reconciliation, Unity, Human Dignity, Non Violence and Peace'. Kizito Mihigo admits that, in the past, music was used as a tool to manipulate people towards division and killing in the name of patriotism, but he stresses that his foundation is capitalising on the undoubted ability of music to influence people towards positive results (Mihigo, 2010).

Janvier told me that there is a very thin divide between Mihigo and his 'organisation' because, during the performances, people tend to see only him and not any signs of organisational infrastructure.¹⁴⁷ On his webpage, meanwhile, there are no references to other musicians and there is no evidence of him performing or recording songs with other artists. It seems, therefore, that the adoption of an organisation title is primarily to highlight the fact that his music is not just 'art for art's sake': it has a more specific agenda, namely working towards peace and reconciliation. Accordingly, he is a conspicuous performer in peace and reconciliation events. During the annual commemoration period (discussed in the next chapter), I observed him participating in several TV programmes, not just performing but also taking part in forums about peace and reconciliation and the responsibilities of artists. In his reconciliation-oriented concerts, he not only performs compositions such as '*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*' ('we must stop others from distorting and defiling our history'), (discussed in the previous chapter) but also adopts a preaching persona – relating his own genocide experiences and calling on all Rwandese to repent, forgive and reconcile (Mihigo, 2010).

6.7 The Baptist Church: Prisons Ministry

Following the arrival of missionaries from DRC in 1940, a multiplicity of variously named Pentecostal and Free churches were established in Rwanda. Because of the difficulties in registering and identifying these churches, they were eventually all united under the umbrella The Association of Pentecostal Churches (*L'Association des Eglises de Pentecote du Rwanda*, ADEPR) in 1982. The Baptist Church was included amongst them. From 1984 until 1994 the Association's organiser, co-ordinator and representative was Pastor Joseph Nsanzurwimo. He was then succeeded by Jean Sibomana (Burgess, 2002). After the genocide, the Association of Pentecostal Churches initiated a prisons ministry, which continues today. Aimable Nsabayesu and Joseph Uziel are two musicians who have been

¹⁴⁷ P.c. Janvier Jumbe (2012), Remera, Kigali

working within this initiative in recent years, drawing on their personal involvement within both the Baptist Church and the Okdale Kigali Music School (institut français, 2012). In interview, Aimable explained to me about a particularly challenging and rewarding project that he had participated in together with other musicians, priests and organisers, seeking to provide prisoners with a therapeutic musical experience.

Since the prisons in Rwanda were obviously not designed to accommodate large meetings, conferences or concerts, there was absolutely no space within the prisons where therapeutic musical events might be held. Accordingly, letters were written to the prison wardens seeking permission for the prisoners (duly supervised by the police and with local authority consent) to be brought to stadiums nearby. Surprisingly, consent was given and the organisers then successfully solicited gifts (from the Baptist Churches and other well-wishers) of food and other necessities. The event itself principally involved groups of musicians performing songs to the prisoners, centring on themes of unity, forgiveness, peace, repentance and confession. Between the songs, there were also episodes of preaching, distributing gifts, and offering water baptism to anyone who confessed their sins. Another crucial component at the event was the presence of a crowd of victims – people, who had been injured, lost family members, or property.¹⁴⁸

According to Amiable Nsabayesu, before the various activities began, there were clear divides between the different social groupings of people present but, during the music-making activities, these social divides visibly dissolved. Aimable recalled: ‘We made several groups, comprising the prisoners and ourselves [the musicians], sing traditional tunes in Kinyarwanda and dance together... Then some of the prisoners actually recognised people who had been the victims of their crimes... Seeing that the victims were showing them friendliness and forgiveness, they were deeply moved and most of them asked for forgiveness, openly confessing the wrong they had done. They even confessed some things they had never admitted before and requested the wardens to seek a review of their cases, so that they might change their original plea and instead admit that they had lied.’¹⁴⁹

In considering how and why this musical event was successful, Aimable Nsabayesu said that ‘since most of the prisoners felt as if they were rejected members of the community [as they

¹⁴⁸ P.c. Aimable Nsabayesu (2011), Okdale Kigali Music School, followed by a telephone interview (2012)

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

were], singing and dancing with them gave them a lot of... joy and a sense of acceptance – especially since this initiative came from the community, from people outside the prison’. Of course, the music was also functioning as the emotional centre-piece of a well-orchestrated ritualised event. As in the ‘We Are One’ stadium concert (outlined above), here too, music was a crucial component within a multi-faceted psycho-dramatic programme choreographed to take the participants on an all-absorbing roller-coaster emotional journey. And, similarly, the clear objective was to evince a deep sea-change in participants’ innermost beings – to inculcate lasting realisations about Rwandan unity, forgiveness, and the authority of Rwanda’s leading socio-political and religious institutions.

According to Joseph Uziel, similar events have been held elsewhere in conjunction with other churches. He himself has worked with the choir from ADETR Muhima, neighbouring the central prison of Kigali, sometimes known as ‘1930’ because it was built in 1930. Joseph’s descriptions suggest strikingly similar performance components, experiences and results.¹⁵⁰

6.8 Lake Eden Arts Festival (LEAF) International

On the understanding that ‘music and dance are the most powerful vehicles to keeping culture alive and in connecting people’, Jennifer Pickering founded Lake Eden Arts Festival (LEAF) International, an organisation that seeks to empower youth globally through local cultural musical traditions, enhancing self-esteem, educating, transferring skills and building social networks (Lake Eden Arts Festival, 2009). Working in collaboration with schools and orphanages, LEAF helps to finance local teachers, musical instruments and costumes, promoting music-making as an aid to ‘healing, positive development, hope and creating a healthy, happier community’ (ibid.). One of their local community projects is based in Rwanda, where they work together with the ‘Playing for Change Foundation’ and ‘Ivuka Arts Kigali’ to run the Intore Culture & Music Centre, which gives hope, housing and music training to Rwandan street orphans (Lake Eden Arts Festival, 2009).

Sarah Hipp, the international coordinator of LEAF International in Rwanda in 2011, told me: ‘the street children are called “scavengers” and our work is to transform them from scavengers into performers.’ Sarah Hipp reported that they first set up the Intore Culture & Music Centre in 2006, bringing eight drums, two guitars, and several teachers from America to start the programme off. They also hired Denis, a National Rwandan Ballet drum teacher

¹⁵⁰ P.c. Joseph Uziel (2011), Okdale Kigali Music School, Kigali

and maker, whose father and grandfather had been drum makers for the King. Sarah Hipp explained that, although they now had the resources, teachers and also 25 children to teach, they did not have a suitable premises. Luckily, they soon found a local school, The Star School, which had land but not the means to build. Accordingly, they entered into a partnership with the school, the school giving them the land to set up the arts centre and, in return, Intore Arts allowing the school to use the premises, resources, and teachers during the day (preceding the scheduled workshops with the street children). Sarah terms this ‘a good partnership’.¹⁵¹

Sarah Hippat said ‘it was amazing to see them transform from street kids to performers’ and admitted that she was surprised at how many things one has to learn to be a good performer: ‘how to speak to a crowd, to act well, to have trust and to earn the trust of others so that you can interact with them...and there were also issues around the cleanliness’. She also said that she was touched to see how the children were transformed – ‘being more polite, attentive and curious about their culture, wanting to talk to elders who knew more and to other people in the street. I have noticed a big difference in them.’¹⁵² The organisation’s website provides many testimonies as to how the children’s lives have been transformed, and also details their own stated hopes for themselves and other street children (Lake Eden Arts Festival, 2009).

In this way then, although the Rwandan street children were evidently profoundly damaged – largely consequent to prolonged neglect over years (symptomatic of genocide related conflict) – this LEAF International project appears to have been largely successful in socialising them through the process of training them to become musicians and dancers. The diverse processes surrounding music making have provided them with a new focus, creative goals, special skills, and – perhaps most importantly – effective models for harmonious interaction with other people.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has exposed how, in post-genocide Rwanda, many musicians have been working within the frame of a larger socio-economic network (rather than as lone artists) – partnering and collaborating with diverse active agents from the religious, political, and social establishment within high-profile and deeply influential peace and reconciliation

¹⁵¹ P.c. Sarah Hippat (2011), Kigali

¹⁵² Ibid.

organisations. Having been comprehensively inducted into their roles and responsibilities through systematic and thorough training, they have been marshalled to the cause: they and their music have been used professionally, artistically, religiously, academically, entrepreneurially and in diverse other ways, in a concerted attempt to bring about positive changes within Rwanda.

The organisations cited in this present chapter have evidently been using music to help create ‘a distinctive image and position’ of peace, reconciliation and hope for the nation (Duncan, 1996, p.37; see also Pottier, 2002). They have been employing music not only to market this ‘image’ of peace and reconciliation but also to draw people’s attentions to the various other activities and services provided (for free) by the organisations involved. As Bruner explains, music is a useful marketing tool (Bruner, 1990, p.94), providing all five of the marketing functions outlined by Krzysztof & Robin (2004 p.581): advertising, informing, persuading, reminding, and adding value to and assisting other organisation’s projects and activities (see also Kubacki and Croft, 2004, p.580).

Beyond this, however, as discussed earlier (especially in Chapter 2), music is also a useful tool for evincing more radical transformations within people’s beings, by acting as a vehicle for the inculcation of ideas. And it is striking how closely related the visions, goals, images, and wordings projected by the organisations examined are (Duncan, 1996, p.37; see also Pottier, 2002): they are mutually supportive and near-identical. In sum, the central ‘image’ or message appears to be: Rwandans once lived harmoniously as a single unified people (though with their own social differences); they were divided by racist ideologies during the colonial period; their return to a state of harmony is assured if they personally make efforts towards social unification and also follow the proven-to-be wise council of the authorities – most obviously, the existing governmental and religious authorities (including the bible).

With the same goals, identity-related conceptions, and advice being articulated repeatedly and in diverse ways within the context of artfully constructed and massively disseminated musical products and awe-inspiring happenings (centred on music but designed to engage the recipients’ whole being), it is not surprising that music has been widely identified as a life-changing force. Especially when used in conjunction with other modes of communication, music in the post-genocide reconciliation context is even widely accredited as having the power to transform people’s core beliefs and patterns of behaviour – to the extent of prisoners experiencing sudden realisations, repenting and uniting with their victims. Music is observed

to be a potent force for motivating Rwandans to live as one big family, restoring elements of *ubuntu* and *ujamaa* (defined in Chapter 1) within the community. One of the platforms that display this music force is the Rwandan annual genocide commemoration explored at length in the next chapter.

Chapter Seven

The role of music in Rwandan commemoration

Many composers from different parts of the world and from various times have created songs that can be classified as commemoration music – addressing the death of a particular individual or group of individuals, articulating the emotions engendered by their passing, and thereby helping the living to ‘come to terms’ with their loss. Some of the examples include songs ranging from the Requiems of Amadeus Mozart and Luigi Cherubini (in the Classical tradition) to the popular East African songs of Odongo Mayaka (Jaugenya – Nyako wekelona, 2008), Remmy Ongala (Abdallah Ally, 2008) and Eric Senderi (2010).¹⁵³ Meanwhile, diverse academics have explored commemorative musical works and events, considering their contents, their significance, and how they ‘work’ to help people – for example, Kaplan, 2009, p.324; Kangas, 2012; Ritter, 2009; and Derrida, 2009 (all of whom are referred to during this chapter). This chapter adds to scholarship in this field by investigating the use of music during the annual Rwandan commemorative period. An oft-reiterated theme throughout this thesis has been the relationship between music and community; as Pavlicevic and Ansdell tersely state: ‘Overall, the connection between music and community is the simple fact that music creates community’ (2006, p.28). In this chapter, this same theme is explored further, showing how music not only creates a community (in this case, a national community) but also guides that community through shared emotional experiences to evince healing.

The annual Rwandan commemoration period is a national event officially lasting for 100 days, from 7th April until 4th July, punctuated by a variety of official and unofficial events. The main events are concentrated in the first 7 days. During this time, Kinyarwanda songs composed by Rwandan musicians dominate the soundscape, muting other types of music from other parts of the world; at this time, it is considered vitally important to bind the nation together as Rwandans rather than as East Africans or citizens of the world. These songs, although focused on commemoration, explore themes of Rwandan history, genocide, forgiveness, unity and reconciliation. These themes have been explored in depth in previous chapters so, rather than provide further analyses of musical structures, patterns and lyric

¹⁵³ Eric Senderi’s commemoration CD at the time of this research (in 2010) was only available at the Genocide Museum in Kigali and Aegis Trust in Nottinghamshire in UK.

content; the focus turns instead upon how the music works in conjunction with other activities to cultivate a state of harmony and a coming to terms with the atrocities of the past.

In the process of researching the nature of commemoration, I have visited various places of memorial both inside and outside of Rwanda. These have included: Coventry Cathedral in the UK, a place of memorial located far away from genocide; Beth-shalom in Nottinghamshire in the UK, set up by AEGIS Trust and addressing both genocide and holocaust; and various commemorative sites in Rwanda, which will be introduced in more depth later. Consequently, in addition to drawing from the extensive commemoration-related literature, this chapter incorporates many findings gleaned from fieldwork trips. However, before turning to address the sites of commemoration, the nature of commemoration, and the motivations behind commemoration, it is pertinent to highlight the fact that, in East Africa, there is a relatively extensive repertoire of mainstream popular songs that address death. Throughout East Africa (including Rwanda), certain death-related songs by Remmy Ongala, for example, are deeply rooted in people's minds, informing how they think about death.

7.1 Remmy Ongala

Exploring the music and musicians of the Great Lakes region, many authors have elaborated on the contributions of Remmy Ongala, who has long been one of the most conspicuous international stars (see, for example, Graebner, 1989, p.243; Thubauville, 2003; and Denselow, 2011). Although he was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo, most of his songs are in Swahili, a language that is widely spoken throughout the region (Coleman, 1971). In addition to his highly influential trademark 'bongo style', one of the most notable features of his output is the way in which each song has its 'own particular story, way of discussing and resolving problems' (Coleman, 1971, pp.248-252).

Rwandan informants cannot pinpoint a date when Remmy Ongala entered their lives, but they uniformly recognise that he was very famous in Rwanda from the 1980s to the 2000s, as elsewhere in the Great Lakes region. His songs are part of 'the social-cultural fabric' exploring diverse real life situations, teaching, correcting and at the same time entertaining. The general consensus is that they have had a widespread and profound impact, eliciting diverse reactions and responses (see Werner, 1989, pp.243-258; Graebner, 1989, pp.243-258; Thubauville, 2003; Denselow, 2011; Anon., *The Telegraph*, 2010).

Two of Ongala’s most famous songs are explicitly related to the topic of death, offering rather typical East-African perspectives on death and highlighting music’s usefulness as a tool for expressing and resolving death-related emotion: ‘*Siku ya kufa*’ (‘The time of death’) (Monzter, 2009; see also Kairitukega, 2009) and ‘*Kifo hakina huruma*’ (‘Death has no mercy’) (Ally, 2008). The former of these songs adopts a typically didactic stance, giving advice about how to live an honourable life and die a dignified death, reminding people that there is a time to live and a time to die. Remmy Ongala urges people to earn success by working with their own hands and respecting others. This song contains elements in common with one of Rwanda’s commemoration songs, ‘*Ndeka Rupfu*’ (‘leave me oh death’.), discussed in section 7.9.1, and with a famous Kenyan Luhya funeral song called ‘*Luwere*’ or ‘*Luweye*’ (‘It is finished’) It similarly confronts the finality of death head on: the text stresses that any title that the deceased had during life – be it ‘uncle’, ‘aunty’, ‘mother’ or ‘father’ – is no longer applicable, and that following the final farewells, the deceased has separated from this world for ever, leaving only the deceased’s various legacies. The lyrics of Ongala’s second death-related song, ‘*Kifo hakina huruma*’ (‘Death has no mercy’), are worth presenting here in full¹⁵⁴ since they are in line with the discussions in section 7.9 and especially in relationship to the aforementioned song ‘*Ndeka Rupfu*’ - ‘leave me death’.

<i>Kifo Hakina Huruma</i>	Death has no mercy
<i>kifo, kifo</i>	Death, Death,
<i>kifo wee kifo</i>	Death, you Death:
<i>kwanini haonekani</i>	Why can’t it be seen
<i>kifo amejificha wapi</i>	Where are you hiding?
<i>ungalikuwa unaonekana</i>	If you were visible,
<i>kifo ungalikuwa muungwana kifo</i>	Death, you would receive some courtesy.
<i>kifo ungalikuwa ooh kifo wee</i>	Death, if you were visible, Death,
<i>sijui la kusema kifo wee</i>	I lack the words but, you Death,
<i>kifo tungekupa rushwa</i>	We would have bribed you,
<i>kusudi tuishi milele</i>	So that we can live forever.
<i>kifo, kifo</i>	Death, Death,
<i>kifo hakina huruma</i>	Death has no mercy.

¹⁵⁴ Transcribed and translated by Peter Okeno Ong’are (2013) Durham

<i>kifo, kifo</i>	Death , Death,
<i>siku yangu ikifika eeh</i>	When my time to die comes,
<i>kifo niarifu mapema</i>	Please, Death, tell me early,
<i>niage wanangu</i>	So that I may bid farewell to my children,
<i>niage familia yangu yote</i>	Bid farewell to all my family,
<i>pesa zangu nizigawanye</i>	And divide my wealth.
<i>zimebaki nizile mwenyewe</i>	The remainder, I'll spend on my self.
<i>kifo nakusubiri kwangu</i>	Death, I am waiting at home.
<i>kifo nakwenda dukani Kariakor</i>	Death, I am going shopping at Kariokor
<i>ninunue shati jipya</i>	To buy a new shirt,
<i>tai mpya, koti jipya,</i>	A new tie and a new coat,
<i>suruali mpya, soksi mpya</i>	New trousers and socks,
<i>kiatu kipya</i>	And new shoes.
<i>kifo nitanunua sanda yangu mwenyewe</i>	Death, I will buy my own coffin.
<i>kifo nitalipa watu wanichimbie kaburi yangu</i>	Death, I will pay people so that they may dig
<i>ningali hai</i>	my grave when I am still alive.
<i>sitaki kuzikwa na mtu nitajizika mimi</i>	I do not want to be buried by others: I want
<i>mwenyewe</i>	to bury myself.
<i>kwangu hakuna matata hakuna kilio hakuna</i>	To me there is no trouble; there is no crying
<i>kulaumu</i>	and no blame.

Although these lyrics allude to extremely challenging aspects of mortality, they do so with humour and confidence and, executed in a relaxed manner within in an upbeat musical setting, they do not perturb the listener at all: in fact, even as the messages about human transience are being received, listeners may dance and sing along joyfully, as discussed by Graebner (1989, p.248). As with certain musical examples discussed earlier, this song again illustrates how engaging and uplifting music serves as an ideal vehicle for carrying serious messages into the core of people's beings.

Given Remmy Ongala's fame throughout the Great Lakes region (including Rwanda) and the artful manner in which he confronts death, I greatly anticipated his songs to be part of the repertoire played during the Rwandan commemoration period. However, I never heard a single one – and none of my informants could recall ever having heard one during that

context. I later realised that this was largely because his voice is not that of a Rwandan and he is not singing in Kinyarwanda.

7.2 The Importance of Commemoration

Many people would agree that the cultivation of happiness can be best achieved by reducing the amount of time spent dwelling on troubling memories and their associated feelings, and instead focusing on uplifting memories. However, from the very birth of psychoanalysis, researchers have realised the benefits of recollecting traumatic experiences in a constructive manner; Freud, (1917, p.243, cited in Kangas, 2012, p.64) for example, considered mourning to be a potentially healthy undertaking. More recently, Paul Ricoeur (2004, p.77, cited in Kangas, 2012, p.59) explored the benefits of remembering as being the first steps towards mourning and in turn the route towards healing; this is precisely the position that was articulated to me by Rev Antoine Rutayisire of St Etienne's Anglican Cathedral in Kigali. He told me: 'People remember and get traumatized and even wail because it is very deep; it brings to the surface the traumatic past but still it is an important process to go through.'¹⁵⁵ This idea is also reflected in the ways in which music is used during commemoration: it soothes not through avoiding uncomfortable subject matters but rather through embracing them. So, for example, Eric Senderi sings of specific people who died, detailing their names, where and how they died, and, as discussed earlier, Kizito Mihigo's song '*Twanze Kutoberwa Amateka*' ('We refuse for our history to be dirtied') insists that genocide should be called genocide and not given other milder names. The songs bring grim memories back to the surface, helping people to mourn, but at the same time offering comfort, solace and consolation.

As Kangas explains (2012, p.64), in some cases we are not able to fully comprehend the death of people and this draws us to dwell on the loss in a particularly obsessive manner, a behaviour that according to Rev Antoine is contagious. Rev Antoine Rutayisere told me that children who were not even born at the time of genocide get drawn into the contemplation of the trauma during the commemoration period, which could be psychologically harmful for them despite the process being important to the emotional healing of their older relatives. On realising this, the Rwandan government implemented a number of measures in the form of counselling and support services and also modified how some of the activities take place. Rev

¹⁵⁵ Personal Conversation, Rev Antoine Rutayisere (2010) Kigali, Rwanda.

Antoine told me that, during the commemoration period, the national broadcasting stations invariably show films like 'Hotel Rwanda' (directed by Terry George, 2004), 'Sometimes in April' (directed by Raoul Peck, 2005), 'Secrets of a thousand hills' (by Stephen D. Smith and James M. Smith, 2002) and others, which are similarly hard-hitting (- and which my informant told me were 'factual but miniature versions of what took place'). To prevent emotional disturbance for young children, such films, documentaries and other materials relating to the genocide are not shown until after 21:30pm, to ensure that people have positive images in their minds when they sleep. I was assured that the same rules extended to songs: those that are particularly explicit in their lyrics (or were accompanied by troubling video images) are only played sparingly at night.¹⁵⁶

Although Jacques Derrida claims that, when people die, they remain only 'in us' as images which might inform 'memories or monuments' (2001, pp.158-159), Rwanda's situation shows that this is not always the case. In Rwanda, loss has become part of the culture and the lost individuals remain very much 'out there' and 'around us' both as a lesson and as a reality; since most Rwandans believe in life after death, they see death as a transformation into another life. Rev. Antoine summarised the dilemma faced by the Rwandan people by saying 'We are between a hard surface and a hammer': despite the negative short-term effects, 'we must remember so as not to repeat' but, at the same time, 'we must look for means of remembering without transmitting trauma'. Using the Biblical illustration of the children of Israel, he said that the purpose of remembrance is to produce better people who will not repeat genocide or fall back into the patterns that led to genocide.

The value of the head-on approach to genocide is confirmed by Saito who claims that the trauma derived from consciously evoking deep, grievous strong emotions 'has an important role in construction of collective memory and identity' (2006, p.355). As such, in the case of Rwanda, the processes of commemoration are intimately linked to 'the constant recuperation of nationalism' (Saito, 2006, p.356). This view is supported by Kaplan's observation that during the main commemorative events 'the whole country is brought to a standstill for a moment of silent communion with the dead' (2009, p.313). Under the auspices of the all-embracing annual Rwandan genocide commemoration, collectively shared memories ensure collectively shared identity. Not surprisingly, in this domain (as in several others discussed in

¹⁵⁶ P.c. Rev Antoine Lutayisere (2010), Kigali, and Ephraim Uwirigawie (2010), Kigali

previous chapters), the songs employed feature a preponderance of ‘we’ and ‘our’ in the lyrics, aiming for total inclusivity.

7.3 Mourning in Commemoration

To mourn ‘is to feel or express sadness for... death or loss’ (Smart, 2000, p.772). Following the physical death of an individual, the period of official mourning might endure a few hours, days, weeks or even months before the burial or, depending on the culture, might extend after burial. Mourning can translate into memorial if a ceremony of recollection is performed at a later time. While the word memory denotes ‘the ability of the mind to store and recall past sensations, thoughts knowledge.’ (Collins dictionary), the word memorial denotes a process of preservation; as Smart puts it, a memorial serves ‘to preserve the memory of the dead or a past event’ (2000, p.739). Watkin elaborates further regarding the motivations underlying the act of memorial; its purpose is ‘...not only to preserve that lost... but also to lay the groundwork for our own survival beyond the grave’ (2004, p.81). This interpretation certainly appears to correlate with most Rwandans’ beliefs.

Family memorials might take place after several years or as decided by the family but most national memorials are annual – like Holocaust Memorial Day (Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, 2013), Memorial Day for Fallen Soldiers, and so on (Kaplan, 2009, p.324). Worldwide and international memorial days like World Aids Day, which remembers those who succumbed to AIDS (International AIDS Candle Light Memorial, 2013), also tend to be annual. Of course, the vast majority of such memorials include the use of music, which might be commissioned or just composed – primarily as a means to ensure shared experience.

Similar in meaning to ‘memorial’, according to The Times English Dictionary and Thesaurus, the word ‘commemoration’ means ‘to honour or keep alive the memory of...’ and is associated with formulations such as ‘remembrance, ceremony, dedicatory, in honour, in memory, and in remembrance’. Carrier defines commemoration as ‘a contrived and virtual (rather than actual) embodiment of the past, a hallmark of modern societies reliant on written records (archives, artifacts, traces, etc.), as opposed to traditional oral societies disposed to "natural" forms of cultural remembrance’ (1996, pp.439-440). Carrier’s definition of commemoration is arguably currently defied within the Rwandan context due to the fact that, there, most acts are decidedly real; the dead and their remains are tangible, the survivors are real (and do testify), most symbolic artifacts are actual and not contrived, and Rwanda is also traditionally an oral society. Within the Rwandan context, commemoration incorporates the

recollections of victims both alive and dead, inclusively bringing into play activities that relate to such directly and indirectly.

Comparing ethnographical data and literature relating to the Rwandan annual commemoration with that for other commemorations, it is clear that the Rwandan commemoration stands apart in terms of length, elaboration, national engagement, impact and geographical space (since it traverses national boundaries). Saito highlights one of the differences between the Rwandan and Hiroshima commemorations by stating that Hiroshima's is teleological in that it makes the Japanese 'bury survivors with the dead' (Saito, 2006, p.362). In Rwanda, the survivors are acknowledged and play an active, major role. Saito also explains that in Japan they try to put the incidents in the distant past, possibly trying to forget, while in Rwanda they seek to remember the atrocities as being close to the present. All of my Rwandan informants (both based within and outside of Rwanda) used the same three terms interchangeably when referring to the processes involved in genocide commemoration: '*kilio*' (wailing or crying), '*makumbusho*' (remembrance), and '*maombolezo*' (mourning).

7.4 The 1994 Genocide Memorial Centres in Rwanda

In Rwanda, some mass burial sites have been transformed into memorial centres, which people can visit at any time of the year but which become particularly important places of pilgrimage during the Rwandan memorial period, when they become key venues for hosting commemoration ceremonies (discussed in more depth later in this chapter). Caplan (2007, p.22) states that 'There is no single or "right" way of memorializing the dead of a genocide or of creating public monuments which both perform this task and also seek to prevent its recurrence.' This view acts as a defence against the inevitable criticisms presented within genocide-related discourses regarding who is to be remembered and how – criticisms which have certainly been voiced in regards to the Rwandan memorial centres. According to Caplan (2007, p.22), since the memorial places are for the living, they will always depict living individuals' desires and views and can also be interpreted in different ways by different people.

Some memorial centres put people in a state of transfixed juxtaposition, depicting two worlds at the same time: a historical one (which in most cases proves to be grievously overwhelming) and a modern one (full of hope and life). To explore this duality further, I visited Coventry in the UK where I found myself surprised by the contrasting buildings that

are joined together by a veranda. On one side stands a gigantic magnificent cathedral, very modern with huge glass walls, while on the other side lie the unpleasant ruins of the old bombarded cathedral¹⁵⁷. At first sight it seemed like a waste of space, but there were people at the ruins, individuals and groups, observing a moment of silence or listening to the explanations of a guide. In the ruins, much of the debris has been removed, leaving a shell – just a space with some seats and the altar. As I walked from the ruins to the new building, it felt like moving from one period of time to another, one era to another, one dispensation to another – from an environment that depicts hopelessness, defeat, destruction, and unfairness to one that portrays hope, future, peace, joy and development. The idea conceptualized by the juxtaposition of the two structures is that ‘the past and future live side by side through the present’.

While Coventry cathedral presents, side by side, both a catastrophic historic event and the present and future (represented through optimistic modernist architecture), in contrast, other memorials like the AEGIS Trust¹⁵⁸ in Nottinghamshire and the many memorial centres in Rwanda present a rather different vision: ‘history imbedded in the modern present and pointing to the future’. The Rwandan memorials typically house history (in the form of artefacts, stories, displays, films, books, and videos) within futuristic buildings. In this context, the impression that this painful history is somehow still ‘alive’ is augmented: at the same time as being alive, history has been transformed. Visiting such memorials, one might get the impression that the genocide – or rather the process of addressing the genocide head on and in a constructive manner – has been a key to ensuring Rwanda’s success in the present.

At the same time, the means used to stimulate realisations about mortality and responsibility can sometimes cause dispute. For example, in Murambi, Rwanda, it was decided that the bones of the deceased should be left on display. The AEGIS Trust Director James Smith explained the rationale behind this as follows: ‘by stopping them turning to dust and by keeping their memory alive, we aim to prevent this scene from recurring in Rwanda or elsewhere in the world’ (cit. Hitchcott, 2009, p.49). At the same time, Rwandan tradition

¹⁵⁷ I observed Coventry Cathedral before going to Rwanda to observe the annual commemoration period. I was given a guided tour by the Dean’s wife, who showed me around the sites and provided explanations about things that were not very clear.

¹⁵⁸ The AEGIS Trust (Beth shalom) is situated in Nottinghamshire, UK. As a major centre for holocaust and genocide studies and promoter of awareness, it contributed towards the construction of various memorial sites in Rwanda, including the largest – Kigali Memorial.

decrees that the dead deserve a decent burial – internment in the ground. The matter was resolved by validating ‘the need for the horror of the Rwandan genocide to be recounted and acknowledged’ (Hitchcott, 2009, p.53). It was concluded that, in these circumstances, the upholding of tradition was surely a less pressing concern.

It is evident that the same essential message is being projected at all memorial centres, albeit through different means: we must face up to the past (however painful it may be), acknowledge our own and other people’s actions and responsibilities, and understand the repercussions of our actions – otherwise there can be no real reconciliation in the present and no personal development into the future.¹⁵⁹ To ensure this realisation, memorial centres evidently employ varying strategies of preservation and representation, acknowledging that human beings are complicated and are stimulated towards awareness and reconciliation in different ways. Some of us are touched by words and others by artefacts, architecture, paintings or drama. And some, of course, are touched by music – giving rise to much commemorative musical creativity, including, for example, Benjamin Britten’s Requiem (commissioned for the opening of Coventry Cathedral) and Kizito Mihigo’s many performances during the Rwandan commemorative period.

7.5 The Government’s Involvement in the Rwandan Commemoration

As mentioned earlier, the 1994 Rwandan genocide commemoration period lasts for 100 days from 7th April until 4th July – which was the date when the genocide was terminated. Initially, the full 100 days were observed but the government then divided this period into two phases: during the initial 7 days all the government offices are closed, and then during the remainder the offices are opened but activities scaled down (typically to half a day’s work with the flag at half-mast). The government took centre stage of organising the commemoration, not only because of the political benefits but also because it was evidently an enormous undertaking to co-ordinate so many social institutions (see Brandstetter, 2010, p.3). Furthermore, especially in the immediate aftermath of the genocide, the commemoration was an extraordinarily sensitive undertaking and almost as complex as the genocide itself: if someone killed a family member or a friend or close neighbour, how do they commemorate? (Hodgkin and Sebag, 2004, pp. 1-24) Through controlled co-ordination from above, order could be ensured.

¹⁵⁹ Much the same interpretations were given to me by John Irvine (the Dean of Coventry Cathedral), David at the AEGIS Trust (Bethshalom) and also the officials and guides at Kigali memorial

Various academics have proffered controversial views on the government's involvement. For example, Buckley-Zistel (2006, p.133) argues that the Rwandan commemoration is marked by a form of 'chosen amnesia', with the government deliberately choosing to apply 'a mode of forgetting by which a whole society separates itself from its discreditable past record.' Although amnesia is a medical term that refers to a condition that is not voluntarily adopted by the victim, Buckley-Zistel (2006, p.134) insists on using the term for those instances where interviewees state that they do not know or remember the cause of genocide. This view is repelled by the ethnographical data gathered. During the commemorative period, afternoon media shows broadcast forums explicitly for the purpose of recalling and confronting the past for a better future. The 'Never again' network in Rwanda, initiated by Hodgkin and Sebag, was vital and active in forming and organising such forums (Brandstetter, 2010, p.3). Hodgkin and Sebag explain the intended benefits as follows:

The Rwanda Forum was not just about listening to and believing the experiences of eyewitnesses (although it did allow that), it was an attempt to create some kind of collective memory of the genocide and the world's complicity in it, a memory of those who lived through the conflict, both Rwandan and non-Rwandan, and those who did not. Not in order to induce guilt or remorse, but rather because we imagine a collective future, one that includes all humanity, and it is this that could confer ethical value on the collective past. The relevance and use of the actual collective past depends on our willingness to identify with an imagined collective future (Hodgkin and Sebag, 2004, p.14).

Hence, once again, the government's primary aim of establishing uniform 'Rwandan' identity is apparent; it can be seen to underlie all aspects of the commemoration's design (see also Hodgkin and Sebag, 2004, pp. 6 & 8, 18). Mariana and Poppy themselves identify the government's 'reconciliation-based approach' as influencing the shape of the commemoration ceremonies (Hodgkin and Sebag, 2004, p.5) – and, not surprisingly, it can also be identified in the various commemoration songs depicted later in this chapter.

Of course, the government's management of the commemoration events may be seen as a natural extension of its management of the initial clean-up operation following the end of the genocide. Mutangana told me that Rwanda immediately after genocide was in a horrific state with dead bodies in the streets and mourning and wailing as people returned back to their places of origin and discovered what had happened to their loved ones (see also Gourevitch,

2009; Lohnes, 2009, pp.23-37; Walls, 2011).¹⁶⁰ In some cases, as told to me by a Rwandan informant,¹⁶¹ families were completely wiped out leaving no one to mourn or bury the dead (see also Whitworth, 2006). The state was overwhelming: some who had the ability to give decent burial to their dead immediate family members became disoriented when they discovered that their neighbours, other relatives and friends had been killed and their bodies needed to be buried too.

At this point, the new government took over management of the clean-up operation (which it arguably is still engaged in via the commemorative activities). Bodies were collected and prepared for burial (see also Ritter, 2012, p.5), the places where mass murders took place being transformed into mass graves for burial, coffins were provided, and personnel expedited to offer aid, counselling and other services to the survivors. Mass burials served well in this situation owing to pressures of time and space, the fact that many bodies were unidentifiable and undifferentiable, and also a desire to reflect explicitly the fact that the deceased died together en masse.¹⁶² Nevertheless, measures were taken to discover the identities of the deceased persons for the purposes of engravement on burial tablets at grave sites and enabling proper burial, commemoration, and census (and also for the benefit of surviving relatives) (Brandstetter, 2010, p.8).

The government co-ordinated the first commemorative programme of events exactly a year after this initial clean-up and burial operation, in 1995 (see also Hodgkin and Sebag, 2004, p.14), thereby initiating the transformation of the genocide mourning, remembrance and burial from being an individual or family affair into being a national and communal affair. Accordingly, the Rwandan government itself is commonly identified by Rwandans as the key protagonist in the immediate post-genocide story of regeneration – the active agent that helped the people through their initial mourning period and set up commemorative mechanisms for helping people address their loss. During my fieldwork research (both in Rwanda and elsewhere in the Rwandan diaspora), various different informants articulated the same formulaic phrase in praise of the government: ‘*Serikali yetu ilifanya vizuri sana*

¹⁶⁰ P.c. Emmanuel Mutangana (2012), Telephone interview.

¹⁶¹ P.c. Anonymous Informant (2012), the informant was still trying to come to terms with what happened during genocide.

¹⁶² I encountered mass burial sites at the Kigali Memorial Centre in 2011 and at other burial sites at different times in the course of my fieldwork

kutusaidia wakati wa kilio ('Our government did us good by helping us during the time of mourning').

7.6 The Rwandan Commemoration Programme

The programme for the memorial time has been modified over the years, largely depending upon which specific agendas are at the forefront at that particular time (see Brandstetter, 2010, p.3). In former years, the period was marked by the publicised discovery and burial of dead bodies that had somehow escaped discovery before; this has served as a powerful reminder of what happened, reviving the former atrocities in a dramatic way (see Gatwa, 2005; Lohnes, 2011; Gourevitch, 2009; and *Observer magazine*, 2008). The publicisation of criminals' confessions, trial proceedings, charging, and subsequent release has also been a regular feature, although less so now that the *gacaca* courts have been terminated (see Rwagatare, 2013). The publicisation of survivors forgiving perpetrators, survivors (including orphans and widows) being helped and recovering, and criminals being rehabilitated thanks to the efforts of various organisations (such as those outlined in Chapter 6), have also long been conspicuous elements. Commemoration still goes on, however, because the work is not yet complete. My informants simply identified a change of focus: attention has turned from mourning, discovering bodies, burials and convictions to caution, teaching, revisiting, solidifying and building new social structures.¹⁶³

During the commemorative period, daily activities are divided into three phases: morning (10:00–13:00), afternoon (14:00–16:00) and evening (17:00–20:00) – although there is often also a night vigil (20:00–midnight and sometimes beyond). Ceremonies occur in different places running concurrently, with each targeting different groups or institutions. The morning and night vigil programmes have very similar natures, while the afternoon and evening ones are dominated by discussion events concerning different community groups and addressing specific aspects of peace and reconciliation. In these gatherings, a government official or representative is always present, overseeing proceedings, offering analysis of past, present and future circumstances, giving advice, defining roles (and assuring people of the government's role in propagating healthy social relationships), and – most crucially – ensuring that there is no sign of 'developing divisive ideology'. Although Buckley-Zistel states that 'local authorities instruct the community to get on with each other, without

¹⁶³ P.c. Anonymous Informants (2012) Rwanda

initiating any problem-solving procedures' (2006, p.142), I did observe government representatives in different forums challenging communities to come up with solutions. Some programmed events are repeated every year in much the same way; others are conducted in much the same way across the week either at the same venue or in different places.

7.7 The Role of the Media in Commemoration

Regarding the role of the Rwandan media in shaping people's experience of and response to commemoration, there are striking parallels to be made with the use of the media during Israeli Zionist memorial days, as discussed in depth by Kaplan (2009): 'since the early 20th century the electronic media, first the radio and later the television, has assumed a dominant role in shaping national solidarity' (p.315). As in the Zionist Memorial Days, the Rwandan media sets the mood and establishes a structure that is deemed conducive to commemoration. Rwandans tune into 'commemorative mode', where all radio stations play a restricted repertoire of songs which can be referred to as commemoration songs (Kaplan, 2009, p.323).

As in Israel, the media programs adopt the same tone revolving around themes relating to and leading towards commemoration and, in the process, they seek to promote a sense of shared identity and demonstrate nation-wide community action towards reconciliation – the rebuilding of the nation and its community services. This is why there is such a high density of material on the TV and Radio covering projects such as the army donating blood, building bridges, supporting orphanages, helping the widowed victims of genocide and so on – which I encountered regularly during my fieldwork trip. Programmes report on memorial ceremonies, reconciliation, youth forums, government initiatives and discussions, conferences and various community groups in different regions. Content that is not related in any way to the joint processes of commemoration and nation/identity building is simply eliminated from the programmes.¹⁶⁴

The song repertoire for the Rwandan commemoration period is programmed in a similar manner to that for the Israeli commemoration period as discussed by Kaplan (2005, pp.321-325): songs are used during the programmes as postludes, interludes and preludes of programs as well as a vital part of the program – to underline, affirm and celebrate shared national experience and enhance emotional response. In a similar manner, the programming

¹⁶⁴ This ethnographic data was gathered from own observations: watching the TV, listening to the radio and getting confirmation and clarification from my Rwandan informants, both in Rwanda and outside Rwanda.

is carefully formulated in advance, although there is always room for a degree of spontaneity by the commentator or as requested by the listeners or audience. Some programmes include or are even hosted by musicians. The aforementioned Kizito Mihigo's programme is a conspicuous example, in which Mihigo and other musicians combine spoken testimony about the genocide with songs that send unambiguous messages of forgiveness, unity, peace and reconciliation. In this programme, as in others, a key message is that every individual has a role to play – a responsibility to contribute towards forgiveness, healing, unity and reconciliation.

As Kaplan states, the role of music during the commemorative period can be summarised as 'accompanying the listeners wherever they go and providing a continual background for the imagined national community, with minimal explicit "flagging," or reminding of the national ideology' (2005, pp.337) and it can be classified into 3 major categories:

1. Front row – where music takes the centre stage and it seems, from the listeners' perspective, like the other content all relates to the music. Sometimes this condition is achieved even when the songs have been chosen for the programmes at a late stage in the production process. However, generally, this condition is most obviously met in programmes focusing on the contributions of well-known musicians (such as Kizito Mihigo).
2. Middle row – where the songs are part and parcel of the programme, serving to connect the different sections and complement the other content, whether the show is focusing on a particular institution working towards peace and reconciliation or on a ceremony.
3. Back row – where the music is used in the background, helping to reinforce the message but not attracting direct and concentrated attention from the listener. Music presented as part of a postlude, interlude or coda often fits into this category.

While Rwandans are experiencing commemoration-related music through the Radio and the TV, at the same time, the streets are generously bombarded with music from PA systems and diverse speakers, playing CDs and cassettes of songs by various artists. My attempts to learn whether there were any copyright rules or regulations regarding this and how they worked proved futile; it seemed that most people had no conception that there could be laws about playing music in public beyond the obvious issues of noise pollution. As people pass the time, waiting to attend the next scheduled commemorative event, they stand or sit in the street, listening to the songs that are being played. In some cases, piles of CDs are ready for

sale, positioned close by the speakers – presumably not just as a money-making venture but also to enable people to take this public music (with its strong associations with commemoration) back into their private worlds. Before discussing music's effects during the Rwandan commemoration, it is important to explore music's ritual functions within this context and how it shapes the commemorative experience.

7.8 Music and Ritual in Commemoration

For the first week of the memorial period, the day's program is the same, having four major components or events, of which people are free to attend as many as they can:

The first event is the early morning one, starting at 08:00 and officially ending at around 12:00 (although it might drag on until 14:00). This event is held where a massacre took place and might be comprised of two related parts (if the burial site is situated in a different location from the place of massacre) or one long part divided into several sections (if the place of burial is where the massacre happened).

The second event of the day takes place from 14:00 until around 17:00, and is focussed on discussions about genocide, forgiveness, peace reconciliation, messages from the government, suggestions for the future and coming up with preventive measures. Here, the focus is more on community-centred projects to foster healing and prevention of genocide.

The third event, from 17:00 until 20:00, is similar to the second in nature. Here, again, the focus upon community-centred projects – isolating particular social institutions in which betrayals and massacres took place and where progress is now being made.

The fourth event takes place at night from around 20:00 until 12:00 or even later. This is a long protracted night vigil featuring many activities (though excluding burial ceremony). If it is conducted in a church, then this fourth event takes the form of a long memorial service but including diverse activities. If it is conducted outside, it is usually centred around a ceremonial fire that is very similar in appearance and function to the Kenyan Luo *magenga* – a funeral fire consisting of a single large log that is not allowed to die out until several days of ceremony have passed (Iteyo, 2009, pp.147–159).

These four events are repeated throughout the week in different places or even in the same place with different participants. The only element that is not repeated is a burial, which, if it takes place at all, obviously only happens once. Each of the four events may be regarded as

an independent ritual, comprised of a succession of component ritual activities. But together, they guide participants through a more extended ritual process – in which music plays a very major role.

The popular understanding of a ritual is that it denotes a religious or ceremonial activity in a church, temple or otherwise revered place, but in its wider meaning, it denotes a social process of solidifying a group through joint participation in activities presenting core beliefs and values. Rituals are performed in societies at all levels of social complexity, and they become especially important in human society when individuals or groups are culturally defined as undergoing a state of transition – in the Rwandan case, a move from genocide to peace (chaos to order). To a large degree, it is rituals that have led to the formation of the current Rwandan nation (as mentioned in Chapter 5 in relation to Rwandan national symbols). According to Shelemay, a ritual is a process that engulfs both ‘reflections and repositories of a people’s sensibilities and history into forming and sustaining a community, a medium that transcends individuals and epochs (1989, pp.3, 13 & 197). Every event within the Rwandan commemorative programme (and more broadly in the whole peace and reconciliation initiative) conforms to this and other definitions of ritual. And while the commemoration itself is evidently a ritual, it is clear that music tends to act as a ritualistic element within it. As is well known, ritual aims to promote shared identity and group stability and this is precisely what music is seeking to do in the Rwandan commemorative context: it establishes realisation of shared history, tastes, and values (see, for example, McDonald, Hargreaves and Miell, 2002, p.151). One might say that music is like a tablet for writing on or a pot for cooking in: it is a medium through which a crystalline vision of ‘who we are’ can be produced, ideally suited for use throughout ritual.

Many rituals consist of three stages: separation, margin and reaggregation (Turner, 1975, pp.196 & 232). The table below is a summarised version of the ritual process. Each stage will then be discussed, as it appears within the context of the Rwandan commemoration, to clarify music’s ritualistic functions. The following sections draw extensively from ethnographic research conducted in 2011, presenting personal observations derived from participant observation in commemorative events and from discussions with participants, both during the events themselves and subsequently.

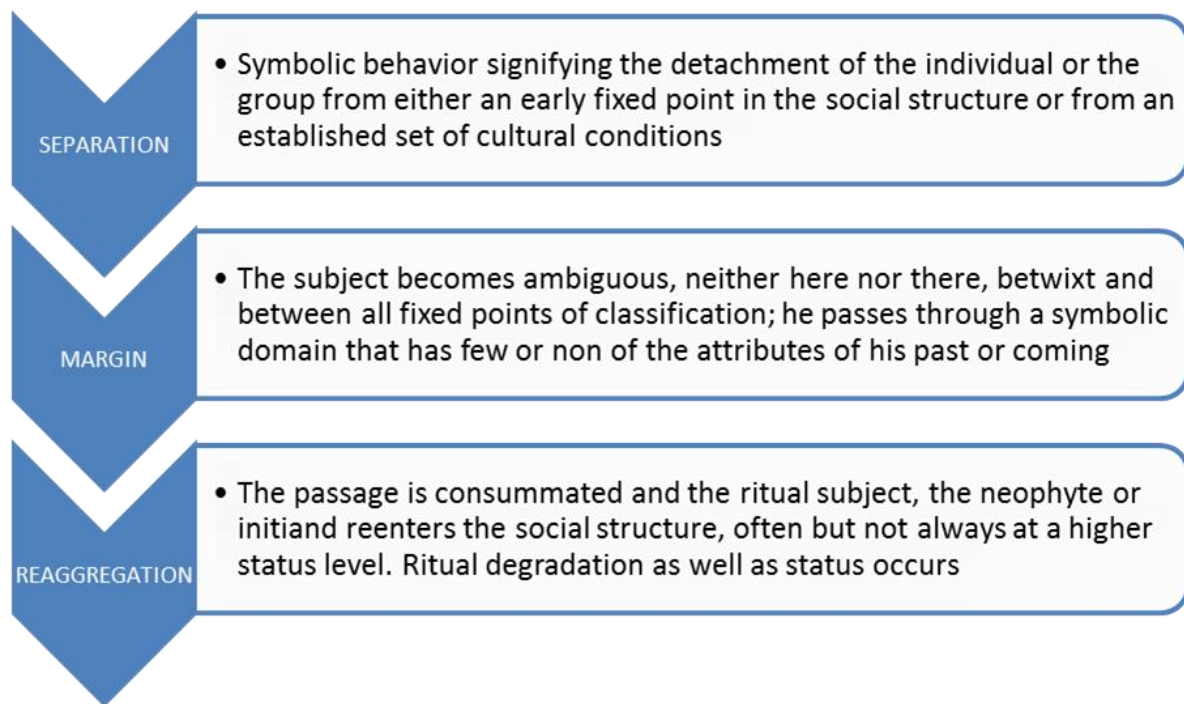


Figure 24 the Commemorative Ritual Process

7.8.1 Separation Stage

I spent several nights in Remera, Kigali before the official beginning of the commemorative period – and then, on the first day, I found that I did not need an alarm to wake up. The blast of music in the streets ushered me from my dreams and thoughts to a new day – an experience surely shared by all. The music was like a wakeup call, identifying this day as different and summoning all to attend the day’s activities and ceremonies. It signified a communal responsibility, a call to support one another in mourning. The songs directly related to matters of genocide, mourning and forgiveness.

Over the course of the following week, I attended three ceremonies, one at Rukumberi near Lake Mugesera near the border with Burundi (where roughly 40,000 people were killed and dumped into the lake), another in Kayonza (even further to the East), and the third one at the Kigali Memorial Centre. I also attended two church services, one marking the very beginning of memorial and the other marking the end – both held in St Etienne’s Anglican Cathedral, Kigali. It was not possible for me to comfortably attend more than one ceremony in a day due to distance and time constraints but I learnt that some people attended more, travelling from here to there and immersing themselves in the communal experiences. When I was not attending ceremonies, I spent my time watching TV programmes related to the commemorations, listening to the radio, and listening to people tell of their experiences – where they had just been, what had happened there, and how they felt about it all.

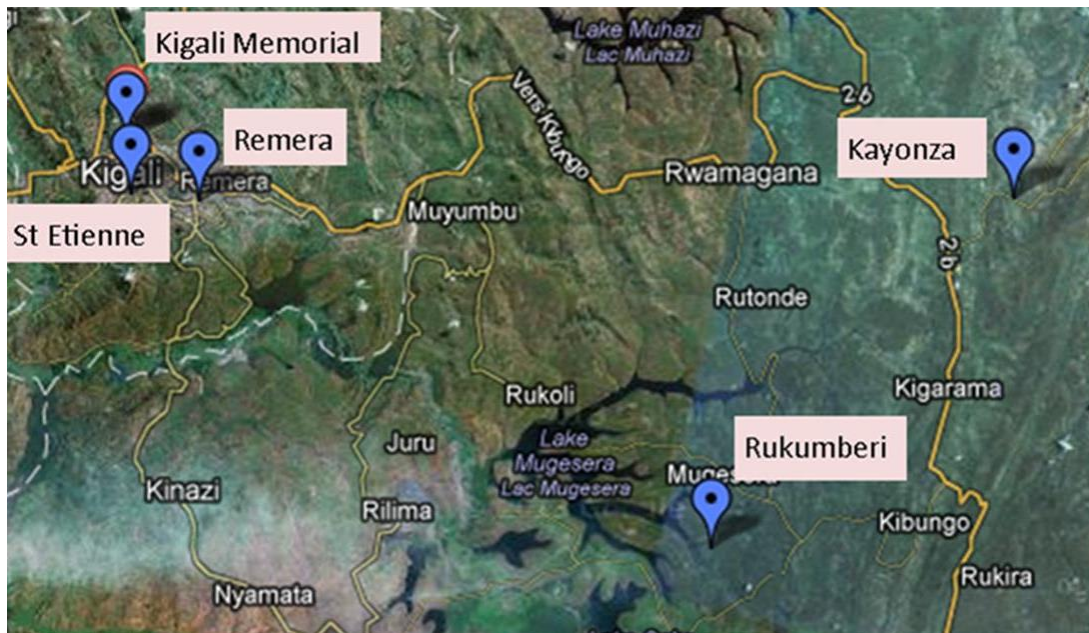


Figure 25 places visited for the memorial ceremonies in Rwanda¹⁶⁵

The following ethnographic account explores the roles played by music in the commemorative programme at Rukumberi (near the border of Rwanda and Burundi). As will be shown, music featured prominently in proceedings. The songs that I heard on the PAs while I was there – as at other commemorative events and also in the streets – were all in the popular music idiom. They sounded varied but I immediately recognised a prevalence of recordings by Kizito Mihigo, Eric Senderi, AEE and REACH Rwanda (all of whom have been discussed earlier). One of my informants, Ephraim Uwiragiye, told me that the DJs operating the PAs generally didn't switch and change between CDs for every track – rather they created compilation CDs made up of mp3 tracks. When I was in Kiyozzi in 2011 to attend another commemoration event, I went to talk with the DJ operating the PA system there and he confirmed that Ephraim was indeed right: most DJs play compilation CDs comprised of songs in mp3 format. The DJ generously gave me a copy of the particular CD he was using – made of 70 songs, which are explored in more depth later in this chapter. This was much the same repertoire of songs that permeated my experiences in Rukumberi, recounted immediately below.

Finding the exact location of the venue in Rukumberi where the event was to take place was easy. One simply had to take the main road leading to specific town or village; and, from

¹⁶⁵ The map is from google maps—satellite [Online] Available at: <https://maps.google.co.uk/>

there, music took over, functioning like a Global Positioning System (GPS) Tracker. My guides repeatedly used this same method of navigation for other events also. Travelling to Rukumberi, the car was filled beyond the normal capacity since transportation on that day was difficult to find (see also Brandstetter, 2010, p.3). As we entered the outskirts of the town, we could hear music emanating loud and clear from PAs, even though at that point the actual venue was still quite a long distance away. No doubt, the Rwandan landscape aided the sound projection; with powerful speakers mounted at the top of high stands, the hills helped to reverb their sound across a large area. Nearer to the venue, there were people on foot, bicycles motorcycles and vehicles – all moving towards the source of the music.

At this stage, then, we were all experiencing the ritual stage of separation – travelling to the event but not yet participating alongside others. We were still individuals, detached from each other and not yet integrated within a social structure (see, for example, Turner, 1975, p.232). Nevertheless, we certainly felt that we were on our way, disconnected from previous activities. To a large degree, this impression was evinced by the music emanating from the ritual venue. There was both a physical and cognitive movement, people leaving what they were doing and moving towards the music, leaving their diffuse thoughts and beginning to concentrate on the matter at hand. As we left the main road and headed down the un-tarmacked road towards the venue, there was also a visible accompanying emotional movement: people's facial expressions changed, registering curiosity and excited expectation. Apparently a burial was to take place later, so thoughts were turned towards that. We were directed where to park, and then headed down towards the lake on foot. By this point, I was very much attuned to the venue, noting the prevalence of banana plantations all around and the reddish-brown hue of the obviously very fertile soil.

The ensuing programme was then divided into two sections – the first at the river where people had been killed, drowned and dumped, and the second at the burial site nearby.¹⁶⁶

7.8.2 The Marginal or Liminal stage

Upon arrival at the venue, people were directed to the river, mostly through signs and with newcomers following the mass movement of the people in front of them. Few were speaking and it felt like a silent march towards the river. However, music saturated the whole

¹⁶⁶ Given the gravity of the situation, naturally I did not consider it appropriate to record the proceedings through photo, video or sound technology

environment, played continuously through the mounted speakers, located nearby in the adjacent burial site. I noticed that some people were humming along as they walked and it felt like the music was escorting the throng to the river. The music continued playing as people gathered at the site of the massacre in a grave pensive mood.

The activities rolled on, starting with prayers and people putting flowers in the calm river. People did not know how to react to the waters. There was stillness but, at the same time, tension. Someone read from the Bible and a few survivors and witnesses gave testimonies of their genocide experiences. Meanwhile, people were expressing their emotions through minimal gestures like nodding, sighing, sobbing. People were in a state of limbo, defined in ritual terminology as a marginal or liminal state, characterised by mixed feelings – anger, sadness, forgiveness and revengefulness. As described by Genep (in Turner, 1975; see also Turner, 1995 p.95), the subject becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification, ‘passing through a symbolic domain that has few or none of the attributes of his past or coming’ (Turner, 1975, p.232; Turner, 1995, p.95). People appeared to be deeply drawn into themselves.

Throughout all of this, music continued filling the air, in the background but still very much contributing to people’s experience. In moments of silence, it effectively filled the spaces. But beyond this, it constituted a crucial element in proceedings. While people’s internal thoughts were surely characterised by disarray, the music provided an external anchor – expressing supreme order, harmony and life (as music typically does) and forming a complementary contrast to the uncanny stillness and silence of the riverside scene. The music provided a thread of continuity. After the various readings and testimonies had drawn to a close, the music once again took on a guiding role – leading everybody in one direction, towards the burial site for the second session.

At the burial site, huge tents, a great many seats and a podium had been set up in readiness for the ceremony. Ushers and counsellors showed people where to sit – setting the stage for the final ritual process re-aggregation.

7.8.3 Re-aggregation

It is in the third stage of the ritual process, also known as the post-liminal stage, that the ritual subjects re-enter the social structure (see, for example, Turner, 1975, p.232). In the tents, the

program turns to a burial ceremony (which is a form of a complete commemoration ceremony program as discussed in 7.8) though the bodies were pre-buried. Tension is reduced and people are more relaxed, coming together with a unity of purpose. The transformation – or rather, re-integration – was visible in people’s behaviour as they started recognising the presence of one another, exchanging greetings, and engaging in chat. I also noticed that people were now listening to the music in a new way: several people were focusing on the content and reacting, for example by tapping their feet, talking about some of the songs being played, or, in some cases, singing along with the melody. These subtle details represented a profound change in attitude. As the music helped to draw them back into society, people emerged with re-affirmed senses of responsibility – seeming eager to engage with the agenda (see also Copan, 1985, p.104).

By this point then, the three-part ritual process had essentially been consummated. However, within the context of the Rwandan commemorative period, rituals tend to be succeeded by more rituals, by way of comprehensive consolidation. Accordingly, the master of ceremony swiftly led the participants into the ensuing ‘Commemoration ceremony’.

7.9 The Commemoration Ceremony

It is apparent that much the same ceremony is conducted at all different commemoration venues with only slight alterations depending on venue size, location and attendees. As mentioned earlier, small deviations also come into being if the locations of massacre and burial are one and the same (as opposed to being located separately). The following elements are common to all versions of the commemorative ceremony:¹⁶⁷

Introductions: Music is used to set the mood (- the same form of compilation of mp3 tracks heard throughout the aforementioned ritual). Then, the volume is either reduced or turned off to allow for formal welcoming and acknowledgement of the guests and people who have arrived. A few introductory words are provided by the master of ceremony.

Performances: At some point in proceedings, a small selection of local groups (most frequently choirs), poets, and solo artists perform – sometimes including stars like Simputu, Senderi or Mihigo. The performances usually explore themes around remembrance of the

¹⁶⁷My informants including Rev Philbert Kalisa, Rev Antoine Rutayisere, Emmanuel Mutangana, Manasseh Tuyizere and other anonymous informants – who have naturally attended a great many of these commemorative events – confirmed that the following elements are indeed standard components.

dead, healing, forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. A key objective of these performances is obviously to heal the community (and the nation) through engaging shared experience.

Prayers: With many people in Rwanda being active Christian worshippers, Christian teachings and religious practices are thoroughly integrated within most community events, including this ceremony. Religious involvement is also motivated by the church's acknowledgement that it was complicit in enforcing divisive ideologies and in the genocide atrocities (as discussed by Gatwa, 2005, and Rittner, 2004; see also Chapter 1). Prayers are spoken, led by a Christian minister, sometimes to a suitably soft musical background (at low volume). There are often readings and preaching from the Bible, depicting the church's commitment to the forgiveness, peace and reconciliation initiative. A typical text that I heard in the aforementioned ceremony (see 7.7) on forgiveness and reconciliation was 2 Corinthians 5:18-21:

¹⁸ And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;¹⁹ To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.²⁰ Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.²¹ For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. (King James Version)

Government representation: A representative from the government gives a speech simple language summarising the core principals underlying the forgiveness, healing, peace and reconciliation; at the same time commending the people on their various similar initiatives and the government support. The speech will sometimes evaluate past, present and future conditions.

Survivors' testimonies: Survivors relate about their experiences – what they personally witnessed and went through before, during and immediately after the 1994 genocide. Usually, speakers are chosen who avoided death at the very place where the ceremony is held. The testimonies serve to illustrate the atrocities with unparalleled immediacy and vividness, clarifying what took place and translating documented history into living fact. This deepens people's understanding of the magnitude and impact of genocide.

Acknowledgements: Honouring those who protected victims, so as to provide balance, discouraging an attitude of generalisation and at the same time emphasising personal responsibility to do good within the community.

Burial and laying wreaths: Most sites have coffins already permanently set in place, often in the form of bunkers with shelves inside. Whenever possible, community members are given an opportunity to attend to the deceaseds' place of rest, for example, by placing new coverings on the graves (putting fresh soil if it is a ground burial) or by placing fresh flowers nearby (particularly in cemented areas). This procedure helps people to feel that they have fulfilled their duties and, at the same time, promotes a sense of oneness.

Contributions and pledges: At some point during proceedings, there is a money collection. Some places where mass murders took place have been converted into memorial centres, and the contributions typically go towards maintenance of the memorial centre buildings and their contents and towards helping genocide victims (see also Hitchcott, 2009, pp.48-49, concerning the victims of Murambi). While contributions are being collected, recorded music is brought into the foreground or a visiting group performs.

Vote of thanks: Following a final vote of thanks dedicated to all parties, the people disperse again to the accompaniment of recorded music.

At this point in the discussion, having examined the various objectives underlying the Rwandan commemorative events, having detailed the various activities and processes involved, and having briefly shown how music fits into the picture, it is now time to explore the repertoire of songs that are used in more depth.

7.10 A General Survey of Commemoration Songs

According to Ritter (2009, p.8), music is a 'space' that can be used to 'talk about the terrible things happening in our lives'. Of course, music is also a space for creative world-making – a medium through which we can express how we would like things to be. Given both of these observations, one can assume that the songs used during the commemoration period will contain a lot of information about people's hopes, fears, pleasures and problems. Accordingly, in this section, a selection of commemoration songs will be surveyed to shed light on the broad spectrum of themes that are pertinent to the experiences of the participants. In addition to examining lyrics, the survey will also consider choices that have been made

regarding musical style and mood. Finally, suggestions will be made regarding why these particular types of song are employed so widely during the Rwandan commemoration period.

The songs examined below were all played through loudspeakers during the 2011 Rwandan genocide commemoration event in Kiyozzi, Ngoma District in Rwanda. The songs were all included on a compilation CD containing 70 songs in mp3 format, which was given to me by the man operating the PA system. Rather than explore all 70 songs, this survey will only address the first 26. The tracks on the CD appear to be listed entirely randomly – rather than according to genre, style, mood, date, lyric theme or any other classificatory criteria. Therefore, these 26 tracks constitute an ideal sample, broadly representative of the full range of music played at the commemorative event in Kiyozzi.

TITLE	STYLE	INSTRUMENTS	VOICE	FORM
1. Turabatashya – by Zouzou and All Stars	Rumba	Keyboard, drums, bass guitar	Male solo in verses and 3-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form, with mainly minor tonality
2. Piste- Artist: Inconnu, Album: Inconnu	Blues	Keyboard, drums and guitars	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form
3. Abanyarwanda –Album: Icyunamo , Artist: Dieudonne	Contemporary adaptation of traditional style (hereafter ‘CATS’, discussed further in following section), with gallop tempo and rhythm	Keyboard, drums and guitar	Male solo throughout	Variation form (A-A1-A2), using the same melody line with different words and phrase lengths
4. Agahinda	Like a slow Congolese lingala	Keyboard and programmed drums	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form
5. Amahoro - Album: Icyunamo,	CATS, with accentuated traditional rhythm	Keyboard, thumb piano, guitars, drums and percussions	Female solo in verses and 3-part female harmony in choruses	A-B-A form
6. Amatage ni mabi: Album: Icyunamo,	CATS, with accentuated traditional rhythm	Drums, keyboard, some percussion and guitars – rhythm and solo	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses, with traditional-style shaking vibrato delivery	A-B-A form
7. Amatage	Slower 1980s disco	Drums, keyboard and guitars	Male solo alternating with 3-part harmony	Variation form (A-A1-A-A1), with A in solo voice and A1 in 3-part harmony
8. Bagiye is a repeat of Agahinda track 4	Like a slow Congolese lingala	Keyboard and programmed drums	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form
9. Bene Gihanga,	CATS, with gallop	Keyboard, drums	Male solo	Variation form (A-

repeat of Abanyarwanda track 3	tempo and rhythm	and guitar	throughout	A1-A2), using the same melody line with different words and phrase lengths
10. Bimaze iki Kubaho - Album: Icyunamo, Artist: Icyunamo	Reggae	Keyboard, drums, guitars and harmony of wind and brass instruments	Male solo in verses and 3-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form with call and response in choruses
11. Repeat of Bimaziki track 10	Reggae	Keyboard, drums, guitars and harmony of wind and brass instruments	Male solo in verses and 3-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form with call and response in choruses
12. Ese Mbazende	Slow rumba with lingala elements	Drums, guitars, keyboard	Male solo throughout	A-B-A form
13. Gisa – Muango	CATS, with accentuated traditional rhythm	Drums, keyboard	Male solo throughout with traditional-style shaking vibrato delivery	Through-composed song, like a story being told with instrumental interludes
14. Humura – by Kamaliza	Adapted Rwandan Traditional style, with accentuated traditional rhythm	Rwandan traditional drums, shakers, gong, keyboard imitating steel pans	Female solo with traditional-style shaking vibrato delivery, plus female harmony during last part of verse and chorus	A-B-A form
15. Humura Shenge	CATS, but without accentuated rhythm and instrumental elements (- like a reduced version of 14)	Keyboard	Male solo with traditional-style shaking vibrato delivery, plus male harmony during last part of verse and chorus	A-B-A form
16. Ibuka	CATS, but with West African kora-like guitar passages	Guitars and voice	Spoken verse and 4-part choral harmony of male and female voices in choruses	A-B-A form
17. A repeat of track 16 – Ibuka	CATS, but with West African kora-like guitar passages	Guitars and voice	Spoken verse and 4-part choral harmony of male and female voices in choruses	A-B-A form
18. Ibyabaye	CATS, with accentuated traditional rhythm, in slow tempo	Drums, guitar, keyboard	Male solo in verses and harmony of male and female voices in choruses	A-B-A form with instrumental interludes
19. Mpore Rwanda – By Mugabo Justin	CATS, with accentuated traditional cross rhythms	Drums, guitar and keyboard	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form with instrumental interludes
20. Igitangaza N'Icyorezo	Like American country music with hymn-like elements	Drums, guitar and Keyboard	Male solo, with traditional-style shaking vibrato delivery, with male voice harmony in	A-A-B-A-A form

			choruses	
21. Wirira	Rumba	Keyboard, drums, bass guitar	Male solo in verses and 2-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form
22. Ihorere Shenge – Inconnu	Reggae	Keyboard, drums, guitars and harmony of wind and brass instruments	Male solo in verses and 3-part harmony in choruses	A-B-A form with instrumental interludes
23. Instrumental	Slow waltz for various instruments	Programmed music on Keyboard	No voice	Repeated musical sections
24. Intwari Igana Zaza	CATS	Keyboard	Male solo voice throughout	A-B-A form with small instrumental interlude
25. Intwari Ntahamanye-mugabo jestin	East African zilizopendwa twist style	Guitars and box guitars	Solo male voice	A-B-A form with instrumental interlude
26. Twanxe Kutoberwa Mateka – Kizito Mihigo	Rwandan contemporary (Cannot be pinned down to a specific style)	Keyboard	Male voice solo on verse and harmony on chorus	A-B-A form with instrumental interlude

From this table, it is easy to identify some major points of similarity that link the commemoration songs:

- Prominent use of keyboard. As was briefly discussed in Chapter 1, the vast majority of Rwandans converted en masse to Christianity during the colonial period, and the associated Western musical instruments and styles were introduced at the same time. Consequently, most churches in Rwanda own a keyboard instrument and the sound has become an integral part of Rwandan popular musical culture. The most commonly encountered keyboard instrument is the synthesizer. Typically with reverb added, in this context, the synthesizer promotes a meditative, dreamlike mood, and forms strong associations with church worship and belief, thereby strengthening the message conveyed by the lyrics of the song. The keyboard also provides harmonic and atmospheric backing that contrasts with yet enhances the voice – at times, emulating traditional instruments such as the drums, flute and ikembe (for example, as in song number 14 and 15 above).
- Focus on the voice: only one of the 26 songs is instrumental. The voice is obviously a particularly powerful tool of communication (and one that is especially privileged in cultures that were, until recently, primarily oral). In these songs, the voice is not only used to articulate the main melody with text; there are also many instances of humming and word interpolation. Also, the songs are linked through the style of vocalisation: most employ a type of rapid shaking tremolo (markedly different from

Western classical forms of vibrato) that is immediately associated with age-old traditional Rwandan musical practice – being a characteristic feature within the repertoires of various Rwandan traditional musicians (for example, on tracks 3, 4 and 12 of the UNESCO “Music from Rwanda” Collection) and on various albums by Rwandan musicians like Cecile Kayirebwa and Massamba Intore. Of course, vocal sonority is an extremely powerful marker of identity.

- Simple forms. Most of the songs employ A-B-A form (where A is verse and B is chorus), with continuing alternation between verse and chorus throughout. Some may repeat a verse or add an instrumental section, but they do so in entirely predictable ways. Predictability and repetition of structure allows for unimpeded focus on content (especially lyrics, melody and beat), also aiding communication and retention. People can easily remember, and sing along with, these songs. The songs continue ringing in the mind, allowing further opportunities to absorb and meditate upon their contents.
- Rwandan musicians. These songs are immediately identifiable as all-Rwandan products, instantly setting up a degree of sympathy and identification with the listener. The listener immediately assumes that the composers, singers and performers have been through similar experiences, thoughts, and feelings to them: specifically, in relation to commemoration, the musicians will share understanding, emotions, and ultimately identity – and therefore they are granted authority to act as the people’s voice. Rwandan identity is felt to be contained within the music and this stimulates feelings of ownership: people feel that the musicians are their own and the music belongs to them and, consequently, the music becomes more effective and efficient in accomplishing its goals. This, then, is why Remmy Ongala’s songs (mentioned earlier in this chapter), though very much known in the Great Lakes region, never feature in the repertoire for the commemoration: Remmy is not ‘our musician’.
- Rwandan language (Kinyarwanda). The vast majority of the songs on the CD are in Kinyarwanda, even though most Rwandans can speak French and Swahili (and English language proficiency is also growing). As mentioned earlier, Kinyarwanda is identifiable as a key marker of shared Rwandan identity, the mother-tongue medium of expression for all. In songs connected with national commemoration, use of the language is a crucial means of ensuring credibility.

At the same time, the compilation of commemoration songs offers a large variety of styles, texts, textures, timbres, instrumentations, tempi, and rhythms. No doubt, this diversity is intended to prevent boredom and monotony over the many hours of commemorative activity. However, it can be argued that, in addition to the features identified above, this diversity is similarly intended to serve as an expression of Rwandan-ness: it demonstrates Rwandan versatility and creativity – a mastery of diverse forms that Rwandans can feel proud and patriotic about.

7.10.1 Musical Style in Commemoration Songs

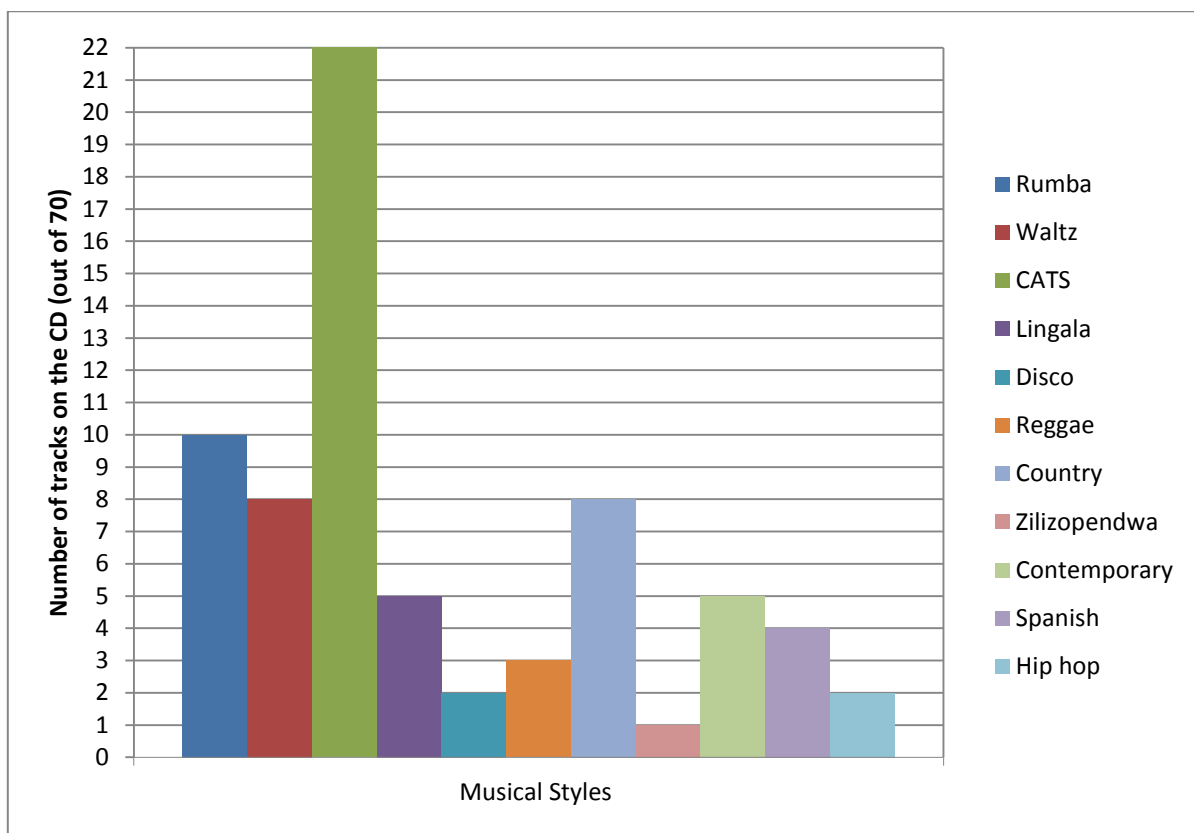


Figure 26 Graphic Representations of Music Styles

The graph above depicts the various musical styles found in the CD compilation of 70 songs used during the commemoration period – which clearly demonstrate extensive processes of acculturation, drawing from multiple sources. Nevertheless, despite the use of the term ‘style’ and the various regional associations of style categories such as ‘reggae’ and ‘rumba’, the songs still ‘feel’ Rwandan, largely for the reasons outlined in the previous section. They can be described as ‘Rwandan in the style of...’ So, for example, the reggae-styled songs still have Rwandan lyrics, contents, composer, vocalisation and, sometimes, the sounds of

Rwandan traditional instruments (emulated on synthesizer): the music is perceived as ‘Rwandan Reggae’. As can be seen from the graph above, the most common style is ‘contemporary adaptation of traditional style’ (acronymised here as ‘CATS’), which could otherwise be described as ‘modern traditional’¹⁶⁸. While Adekunle (2007, pp. 144-145) claims that ‘proliferation of western music has not affected Rwandan traditional dance styles and techniques’, he does acknowledge that selected traditional musical forms are ‘being modified to suit specific purposes’. Accordingly, the CATS tracks on the commemoration CD each focus on melodic patterns, instrument sounds and types of vocalisation, that are primarily derived from Rwandan traditional musical forms (as can be found, for example, in the UNESCO ‘Music from Rwanda’ Collection).

Rather than seek to reproduce traditional music ‘as is’, the producers have reinterpreted traditional musical expression, passing it through a filter of modernisation – presumably to ensure that the music resonates sufficiently with the tastes and musical knowledge of typical contemporary Rwandans. Significantly, rather than employ traditional instruments, the producers have tended to emulate their sounds using synthesizer; the most commonly featured emulations are of *iyugi*, *ingoma*, *inanga*, *ikembe*, *umuduri*, and *amakondera* (flute). On the commemorative CD, this CATS style is followed, in order of frequency, by Rhumba (a version found in most East African countries), Waltz and Country (both common throughout the Great Lakes region), Congolese *lingala* style and Rwandan Contemporary, Spanish style (reminiscent of flamenco-inspired popular music), reggae, disco and hip-hop, and *zilizopendwa* (mostly found in Kenya).

The variety of styles featured on the commemoration CD affirms the fact that culture is indeed dynamic (see Sheennan, 2000, pp.811 – 835). Because music is a part of culture, musical dynamicism naturally reflects a broader cultural dynamicity. Popular musical influences from beyond Rwanda’s borders have been introduced through extensive media import and also the movement of Rwandans (for example via displacement, as discussed in Chapter 4). The same eclecticism is evident on other CDs examined during the course of this research. For example, on the CD *Rabagirama* (We are one Studio, 2002) the first track

¹⁶⁸ CATS songs are immediately identifiable as being markedly different from all the other identified category types because they carry a strong sense or flavour of traditional Rwandan music – in instrumentation, lyric composition, vocal style, and rhythm. Meanwhile, the other categories are instantly recognised to draw primarily from non-Rwandan musical sources: reggae (from Jamaica), rap (from America), *lingala* (from the DRC), and so on. The category label ‘contemporary’ meanwhile denotes modern pop music that has no obvious ties to particular localities or nations.

'*Nzarama*' has the same tune as the Kenyan song 'Lunch time' by Gabriell Omolo (2009) and on the same *Rabagirama* CD the last track '*Kiza Afrika*' employs the same tune as 'Glory Glory Lord' by Bobb Fitts (2007). Elsewhere, Track 5 on the CD '*Mana, Kiza U Rwanda*' employs a Tanzanian choral style and rhythm (We are one studio, 2000) and the '*Turi Umwe*' CD by the Urumuri Rw'Ubumwe Choir (for REACH Rwanda) extensively employs Kenyan and Tanzanian features (and also Jamaican influences in '*Bimaziki*').

Meanwhile, however, as regards the songs used during the commemoration period, the far greater number of Adapted Rwandan Traditional style tracks depicts the power of the 'familiar and local' over the 'unfamiliar and foreign'. These tracks present a more extensive package of distinctly Rwandan ingredients. While making prominent use of Rwandan tremolo vocalisation and Kinyarwanda, most of the songs also emphasise one of the common Rwandan rhythms – usually, the particular pattern identified in Chapter 5 as constituting a potent symbol of national identity. To further ensure the listeners' engagement, the songs typically incorporate responsorial singing (especially in the chorus); the alternation between monophonic and polyphonic vocal textures not only creates anticipation for participation, but also makes people feel eager to follow the leader (soloist), take in his/her message, and 'join in' with the majority – perhaps even singing along. The extensive use of formulaic lyric structures, rhyme, and repetition also help to make the songs easy to become engrossed in, enhancing the message's persuasive power. It could be argued that this variability in harmonisation also encourages participation: it allows room for experimentation on the part of the listener. In other words, people can freely sing along without feeling that they are not musicians enough to perfectly match the model.

7.10.2 Lyric Content in Commemoration Songs

To gain an understanding of the lyric content of the commemoration songs on the compilation CD, I enlisted the help of Pastor Enoch Rubaduka. Pastor Rubaduka randomly selected 27 songs and generously gave his time and attention to transcribing the lyrics into English.¹⁶⁹ Below, I briefly examine the lyrics of 5 songs, chosen on account of the fact that, whilst being entirely typical, they each offer a slightly different take on the topic of peace and reconciliation.

'*Bene Gihanga*' ('Children of the Creator')

¹⁶⁹ P.c. Pastor Enoch Rubaduka (2013), Kent, UK

Rwandans: We were all as children of the creator, sharing everything. But somehow with change of power, little by little we were told that we were no longer equal, and identity cards strengthened such belief while schools were no longer for the best. Gradually democracy faded away and whenever one would want to take power, he would consider other human beings as problems... One can wonder where the nation was heading to. Thick darkness was looming...

Sung in a Rwandan traditional style (and therefore belonging to the CATS category outlined in Section 7.10.1), this song reminds people of the conditions that led to genocide. It reminds people of their history so that they may not forget. Crucially, it depicts a vision of Rwandans as having once existed in a state of unity, before being divided through ideology – a core vision underlying the peace and reconciliation and nation-building initiative (as discussed in earlier chapters). There are many obvious parallels with the Kizito Mihigo's '*Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka*' ('We refuse for our history to be dirtied') (see Chapter 5). Sung at a moderate tempo by a male solo voice to a keyboard-dominated accompaniment (with lots of reverb), this song motivates listening to the lyrics more than dancing to the beat.

'Amahoro' ('Peace')

I dreamt a good dream: a new dawn with the singing of birds, the sky above our land being so peaceful, and the Rwandans gods were smiling. There was great joy, peace, celebrations among the youth, the elderly and human kind in general, livestock and nature....

This song depicts a Rwandan paradise through the medium of traditional style Rwandan music. It is a vision of an imagined future; despite the grievous painful and shameful past, and the current state which might not be comfortable (living with scars, the challenge of forgiveness and various other uncomfortable unavoidable situations) there is hope for the future of both the individuals and the nations. It certainly motivates positive thoughts about the future of the nation. The vision of harmony is further promoted through the use of female solo and chorus, interacting in call and response and then singing together, with the voices singing in a very relaxed manner. Meanwhile, the Rwandan 'national rhythm' (see Chapter 5) is strongly articulated throughout by percussion instruments and a keyboard emulates the sounds of traditional instruments. The song captivates and motivates both listening and dancing.

***‘Ibuka: Incyunamo’* (‘Remember’)**

Remember, remember, never forget those days of tears, the nights of laments, those rivers of blood, when our people were destroyed. To all who share such a gloomy past, never forget those awful days, nor become indifferent towards orphans and widows – so that history will not repeat. Be watchful and be not overtaken by complacency and corruption, for remembrance does not mean vengeance nor hatred but strategy, to avoid history being repeated.

Like other examples addressed above, this song involves multiple voices performing in harmony, although here it is in a mixed-voice choral style and the verse text (above) is spoken. Again, the listener gets a strong impression that the message being articulated is shared by a great many. Sung in a relaxed way and in a slow tempo, this song is clearly not intended for dancing; rather it is didactic, with the speaker’s authoritative voice underpinned by sparse instrumentation (of several guitars) that evokes a contemplative mood.

***‘Ihorere Shenge’* (‘Calm Yourself Dear’)**

Calm yourself, dear, calm yourself, Rwanda. What happened? Let me comfort you. I will help those orphans and widows, telling them a message of hope for a better Rwanda, a better future. Despite the flow of tears, come together for co-operation in building our nation. Do not be tarnished by the past, calm yourself, and come let me comfort you.

This song is in the Rwandan reggae style with the verses sung by male solo and the chorus in male harmony. With a lively up-beat rhythm, it motivates dancing. Self-evidently, this is a song to promote comfort, hope, courage, and co-operation. Although the identity of the ‘I’ in this song is not made explicit, the implicit understanding is perhaps that this benevolent and comforting responsible-figure represents every Rwandan working together as one.

***‘Ndeka Rupfu’* (‘Leave me, Death’)**

Death, you who should die, leave me alone, do not touch my life. You took my dad, mum, my precious ones, and now you are seeking to take me too. No! Leave me alone. I will give you money, my car, my house but leave me alone. But no, death cannot be stopped by money. It has no mercy either. But why don’t you die yourself?

Although this is a dance song in the Congolese *lingala* style, it comes across as very much Rwandan – on account of language, themes, and context. The musical and textual similarities with the aforementioned song by Remmy Ongala ‘*Kifo Hakina Huruma*’ (‘Death has no Mercy’) are striking: it is almost as though this could be a ‘Rwandanized’ version of Ongala’s famous composition, fashioned to suit the needs and nationalist agendas of the commemoration period. The composer uses similar words but in a different language, Kinyarwanda; and similar characteristic – dialogue between the composer and death, negotiating with death; concluding just as Ongala that ‘death has no mercy’, the title of Ongala’s song. Though different they both use Congolese *lingala* style.

The five song texts offered above demonstrate how the songwriters for commemoration typically rely on presenting the same key messages repeatedly, using wholly unambiguous formulations and simple linguistic devices that ensure direct engagement with listeners. The same messages are articulated throughout all of the 27 songs translated by Pastor Enoch Rubaduka. The main message is perhaps ‘remember’ (or ‘do not forget’) in order that such atrocities never happen again. However, other core messages are also recurrently presented, including that which is core to the whole peace and reconciliation initiative: ‘we are one’ (and ‘were one’ in the past), and so we must co-operate for a successful future.

As mentioned earlier, it is apparent that Rwandan commemoration-related songs of the type presented on the CD examined above can be heard very widely throughout Rwanda during the commemoration period (- and it should be noted that the songs on the CD represent but a small fraction of the full repertoire played during commemoration). Following on from this observation, it could be argued that a key to the songs’ effectiveness and impact is their availability. During my fieldwork trip, I observed that there appeared to be widespread tolerance regarding copying and distributing recordings – a suspension of music copyright infringement laws. Indeed, I was readily handed a copy of the compilation CD examined above. Rev Antoine Rutayisere and Dave Bankhead confirmed that since the primary aim is for the songs to be heard far and wide, tapes and CDs are distributed for free and there are incidences where people are allowed to make copies for themselves. Manasseh Tuyizere told me: ‘When we composed songs for peace and reconciliation it was very clear that the songs immediately become the property of AEE and that they are communal, for everyone’s consumption.’¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ P.c. Rev Antoine, (2010); Dave Bankhead, (2011) telephone interview; and Manasseh Tuyizere (2012)

7.11 Conclusion

The 1994 Rwandan genocide commemoration has become part of Rwandan national culture and, since the commemoration events are permeated by music, the music of commemoration has also become part of national culture. Some of the commemoration songs have taken on lives outside of the official commemoration activities, being played on normal days as part of everyday lifestyle.

As demonstrated in this chapter, in the context of the Rwandan commemorative period, music is an active and explorative medium, addressing various areas of individual and social life and moulding participants' experiences. The commemoration songs provide people with a particular vision of history, offering concise summaries of how and why the genocide took place, and stressing 'never again' – a role that is often isolated as fundamental to the act of commemoration. They offer consolation, balancing bleak visions of the difficult past with optimistic outlooks for the future. They provide instruction, in the form of advice about what to do and what not to do. At the same time, in the context of the ceremonies, the songs serve therapeutic roles through establishing mood and stability; when people are experiencing inner turmoil, the music serves as a beacon of harmony and order – an external representation of who they are.

Although these songs are generally identified as 'commemoration music', it is nevertheless clear that their ultimate goal is reconciliation. As an extension of the incisive observation one could say that 'music finds its place in people and people find their place in music'. The songs of commemoration are designed to represent, collectively, through the medium of music, a vision of 'who we are' – in other words, 'we are one'. Widely disseminated through countless loudspeakers and media broadcasts, the songs bind participants together in shared experience, shared values and conceptions of history, present and future. This Rwandan music, created by Rwandans for Rwandans, surely impacts Rwanda as a whole more than any other music.

Conclusion

It is well-known and widely documented that music is a highly effective means for mapping out cultural domains – metaphorical ‘folk geographies’ – often powerfully evoking a sense of shared space and place (Shepherd, 1991). As mentioned by Howkins (1989) and Lowenthal (1993), sound (including music) tends to be inseparable from the social landscape and integral to the geographical imagination. At the same time as demarcating cultural space and reflecting the shared heritage of people inhabiting that space, however, music is also a transformative tool: music actively moulds thoughts and world views about specific places, times and nations (Titon, 1992, pp.233-234). It is hardly surprising therefore that music should be widely called upon, and employed in many different ways, in those cases when a nation requires restructuring (see, for example, Fiske, 1993). This study has attempted to illuminate how music can be employed either to accentuate divisions between social groups or to reduce those divisions – specifically through a case study exploring music’s uses in the aftermath of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

This research project has involved drawing together extensive information and ideas from a remarkably diverse array of written, audio-visual, and living sources – both academic and non-academic in nature and relating to a wide variety of fields of study, including media studies, anthropology, history, geography, sociology, politics, ethnomusicology, and music-therapy. Throughout the seven chapters of this thesis, a bricolage-type methodology has then been adopted to re-present this material – an approach that is well-suited to demonstrating the diverse range of musical activities, ideologies, media involvements, and popular and academic opinions that have played active roles within the Rwandan story. Meanwhile, analysis has sought to rationalise the ways in which music has ‘worked’ to evince transformations, highlighting ways in which musicians have explored aspects of Rwandan history, identity, and culture to inculcate specific ideologies – most specifically the ideology of oneness (crystallised in the ‘We are One’ song) that underlies the post-genocide peace and reconciliation era but also earlier more divisive ideologies. This project has intentionally pursued a broad coverage of the field, stretching back far in time and embracing diverse activities, partly because this is the first ever extended study of music’s roles in the Rwandan reconciliation project (to the author’s knowledge) and partly because substantial socio-historical contextualisation is essential: lingering perceptions regarding the identities of the distant (pre-colonial), less distant (colonial) and recent (pre-genocide) pasts have all informed

the post-genocide reconciliation project to a very high degree. The past is very much alive in the Rwandan present.

Within contemporary scholarship (particularly in Rwanda), there is commonly thought to be a historical basis underlying the ‘we are one’ ideology, and this study has shed light upon that basis by briefly examining Rwanda’s pre-colonial past. While acknowledging the historic reality of group-specific specialisms, inequalities in wealth, and tensions (implying distinctions of class rather ethnicity), it is not hard to isolate areas of commonality and patterns of behaviour that effectively served to bind the three primary social groupings together – Tutsi, Hutu and Twa – within a coherent social framework: language, belief, economic systems, geographical cohabitation, and more. In contemporary Rwandan ideology, the perceived ‘we were one’ translates to the present ‘we are one’, and also to the future: ‘we should remain one’. That this ideology has been widely accepted as factual truth by many Rwandans quickly became apparent to me during my fieldwork period. And it is an ideology that is culturally enforced not only through the arts and political policy and rhetoric; there are numerous additional ways in which the pre-colonial period, with its idealised condition of unity, is referenced and re-enacted in contemporary life, employing potent symbols of national unity as active agents of reconciliation.

This research has clarified how the hierarchical divisions within Rwandan society became accentuated, ethnicised and concretised during the colonial period, through policies such as the implementation of ID cards. Divisive ideologies positing inherent differences were institutionalised through coercion and enticement, education and policy, initially benefitting those identified as Tutsi but, in the long term, negatively impacting the nation as a whole. By the time the colonialists left, racist mindsets had become deeply-rooted – paving the way for unimpeded militia raids and an equally harmful campaign of multi-pronged media propaganda. This study has analysed how various forms of electronic media (especially Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines) and print media (especially *Kangura Magazine*) ‘worked’, fulfilling their aim to inculcate further hate-fueled thoughts and behaviour, stretching social relations to breaking point and then further. In line with the musical focus of this project, analysis has focused on exposing the propagandistic devices at the heart of RTLM’s signature jingle and four of Simon Bikindi’s most notorious songs. Here, it is evident that musical and lyrical forms were marshalled to incorporate a dense repertoire of propaganda techniques including: enticement to join the band-wagon, presenting others’

intentions without consultation, equating all problems to one cause, drawing stark lines between ‘us’ and ‘them’, repeating significant words and phrases, name-calling, and scapegoating. The medium of song was clearly an effective tool for spreading hateful sentiments against the Tutsi minority; through the vehicle of innocuous melodies and rhythms that instantly ‘spoke to’ the listeners’ sense of identity, dangerous ideologies could be projected to the heart of the listeners’ consciousness. By exploring music’s roles both in the run-up to genocide and in the aftermath, this research has effectively highlighted music’s inherent status as a double-edged sword – a force for good or a force for bad depending on the users’ intentions.

The Rwandan genocide was atypical amongst genocides in that it was Rwandans that perpetrated it, Rwandans who were the target, and Rwandans who stopped it. However, the efforts to promote Rwandan unity clearly originated beyond Rwanda’s borders, in the refugee community in Uganda, with the campaign being under way well in advance of the RPF’s successful invasion of 1994. There, too, the radio – specifically, Radio Muhabura (founded in 1991) – was vital for promoting a mindset conducive to mobilization and actualization, again relying heavily on music as an inspirational tool. Artists such as Cécile Kayirebwa, Masamba Butera Intore and Maria Yohana Mukankuranga produced powerful popular songs directly related to the campaign, and analysis of selected songs has highlighted the techniques through which they promoted the course. It is immediately apparent that some of the aforementioned propagandistic devices are paralleled in these songs, with messages being inculcated through the repetition of deeply significant phrases, exploitation of band-wagon mentality (appealing patriotic and nationalistic sentiments), presentation of clearly articulate visions for the future, and calls for action; and again, effective conveyance of the messages was guaranteed through the use of instantly engaging musical and lyrical features resonating with listeners’ Rwandan identities. However, here, the songs can hardly be described as constituting ‘propaganda’, this term now being imbued with markedly negative connotations; with the more damaging propagandistic devices – scapegoating, blaming, and so on – being entirely absent, these songs represent the ‘other edge’ of the double-edged sword. While Simon Bikindi’s songs actively sought to infringe upon fundamental human rights, these songs sought to articulate and enforce those human rights. Of course, the arts and their networks of dissemination do not operate above and beyond the law; it has been shown how the media producers, owners and managers involved in promoting genocidal thoughts and behaviours were subsequently held accountable for their operations.

This research has explored distinct categories of displaced Rwandan communities, focusing on three specific Rwandan camps, specifically in Mbarara, Uganda (founded well before the 1994 Rwandan genocide), in Ngara, Tanzania and in Goma, DRC – the latter two of which developed directly as a result of the genocide. Study of musical activities in these three camps has highlighted diverse facets of music's effectiveness, revealing it to be a multi-purpose tool. As is typically the case for musics favoured by displaced communities, some of the songs and music-making activities employed in the Rwandan camps served to express and strengthen feelings of belonging to a larger Rwandan community; by articulating shared history, experience, conditions and values, music helped enable people to transcend boundaries of time and space, thereby boosting their morale and propelling them towards rebuilding broken social relations. In the Tanzanian and DRC camps, meanwhile, music's therapeutic capabilities were brought to the fore. Concentrating on the musical activities of two remarkable individuals – an informant who worked as a choir master in the Tanzanian camp and Marlene Lee (a music teacher and red-cross worker in the DRC camp) – this study has confirmed how music is ideally suited to help profoundly damaged people re-open channels of communication with those around them.

Another way in which certain musical factors have furthered the peace and reconciliation process is through functioning as national symbols. Certain anthemic songs (not just the official anthem but also unofficial anthems such as 'Twanze Gutoberwa Amateka' by Kizito Mihigo), musical instruments (especially the *inanga*), rhythms and styles of singing, associated dances (such as *intore*), and musicians (such as Kizito Mihigo himself) have evidently come to embody and represent 'Rwanda'. It has been shown that, in common with other national symbols such as the national flag, coat of arms and traditional regalia, these music-related national symbols have a strong attractor-core; through the amalgamation of multiple elements that are deeply rooted in the collective psyche, they powerfully evoke a sense of shared identity and shared goals, communicating with a directness transcending rationalisation and, through the contexts of their application, ritualizing Rwandans into unity. And it may be argued that songs, in particular, have 'double communicative power', through combining the media of language (in this case, the national tongue of Kinyarwanda) with the rhythms and melodies of music.

Steven Feld (1984, p.1) reminds us that 'music has a fundamentally social life' and that it 'is made to be consumed practically, intellectually, individually, communally and consumed as

symbolic entity'. Accordingly, in this research, music and musicians have been represented as part of a broader socio-economic network of the kind that most professions inhabit. Diverse peace and reconciliation-oriented organisations have involved collaboration with musicians and music has been highlighted as a vibrant chord running through the activities of the six focal organisations examined: The Church in Rwanda, Reconciliation Evangelism and Christian Healing (REACH), Kizito Mihigo for Peace Foundation (KMPF), The Baptist Church Prisons Ministry, and the Lake Eden Arts Festival (LEAF). These organisations, and others, have all been shown to employ music to create 'a distinctive image and position' of peace, reconciliation and hope for the nation and 'atmospheres that are consistent with their service offerings' (Duncan, 1996, p.37). In some ways, then, music has served as a marketing tool, though not only selling products in an economic sense but also 'selling' ideas – in other words, convincing people of their truth and validity. Within all the organisations examined, music has clearly fulfilled the five major functions of marketing isolated by Krzysztof & Robin, namely advertising, informing, persuading, reminding, and adding value to the organisation's projects and activities (2004 p.581).

A great many of music's transformative capacities are called into play during commemoration, which has become an intrinsic part of Rwandan national culture, institutionalised through the annual memorial period. Once again, this research has highlighted music's active agency in proceedings, showing how, in the various commemorative contexts, 'music has the power to heal by helping people to understand and rationalise emotions' (Sutton 1988:50). In particular, music has been shown to achieve this by:

- Promoting moods and atmospheres conducive to remembrance – providing a sonic backdrop to a programme of ritualised behaviour while, at the same time, helping to demarcate structure.
- Informing people about how and why the genocide took place – providing historical and cultural contextualisation.
- Articulating patterns of sound and language that evince instant realisation of shared identity. Most musical items are Rwandan – performed by Rwandans for a Rwandan audience, featuring Rwandan musical elements and song texts in Kinyarwanda.

As in many other domains of music-making explored in this thesis, in all commemorative contexts, the collective approach is striking: 'I', 'me' and 'mine' are played down in favour

of 'we', 'us', 'our' and 'ours', enhancing the sense of collective ownership, community, patriotism and nationalism. These are clearly cultural contexts in which people feel, express, work and solve problems together.

This project has confirmed the view that music 'allows forms of togetherness not available in other ways' (Pavlicevic and Ansdell (eds.), 2006, pp.27-28), functioning as a 'social glue of some kind' (Herndon and McLeod, 1981, pp.101). It has also confirmed that, following on from this, music is 'a field of symbolic activity which is highly important to nation-states' (Stokes, 1994, p.12), musical events bringing musicians, dancers, and audiences together in specific alignments to persuasively promote particular ideas relating to cultural identity, the past, present and future.

It is hoped that further research will build upon the bases established by this work. There are many inter-related research topics that could usefully be addressed in subsequent more-focused studies, for example: the roles played by music in both the Rwandan transition from Francophone to Commonwealth (McGreal, 14 October 2008) and the Rwandan Vision 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000, pp.1-29), East African musical influences upon Rwandan music, contemporary Church musical culture in Rwanda, the interface between traditional and imported music cultures in Rwanda, Rwandan musical practices during the colonial and early independence periods, contemporary Rwandan popular culture (not explicitly relating to the genocide), and musical lives elsewhere in the Rwandan Diaspora. Of course, there is also a need to assess more fully the extensive contributions of specific highly influential iconic figures such as Kizito Mihigo, Cecile Kayirebwa, Massamba Intore and Sophie Nzayisenga. Furthermore, in the process of conducting this research, I noted various other fields of enquiry that do not pertain directly to music but which certainly require further investigation, for example: education in colonial Rwanda and the development and application of communication technologies in Rwanda.

In addition, although this research has exclusively focused on a rather unusual case – an extraordinarily brutal genocide and its aftermath – it is hoped that broader inferences will be drawn from the findings. In particular, it is hoped that, in other cases where relations between constituent social groups have become especially fraught or broken, people may revisit this study and gain constructive ideas regarding how to employ music to restore those relations. The following measures are highlighted:

- Funding and promoting music-making events and effective economically-viable channels of music distribution.
- Encouraging the use of music therapy to re-establish emotional, mental and physical health.
- Establishing an independent music and media censorship board with proper legal support to ensure that music is not used to articulate hatred against particular social groups.
- Promoting an organisational infrastructure aimed specifically at educating musicians on the importance of creating music ethically and with community development explicitly in mind.

There is a vast body of evidence clearly demonstrating the power of music to improve the human condition, influencing positive changes in thoughts, emotions and behaviours. It is imperative that governments, non-governmental institutions, and local and international bodies recognise and act upon this knowledge, investing far more resources in the promotion of extensive musical applications. Music is undeniably a multifaceted, multipurpose tool that is ideally suited to negotiating, developing and healing social relationships.

‘Music is the most highly patterned form of human behaviour and whenever it occurs, some kind of behavioural alterations which are patterned and formalised occur with it’

(Herndon and McLeod, 1981, p.26)

Appendix A

List of the interviewees

Aristide, John. (20 years old) Rwandan, Student in Kigali, instrumental in geographical tours around

Bankhead, Dave. (45 years old) UK citizen, musician, producer, worship leader sound engineer and technician, the founder of both Moonsoon Studios and 'We are one' in UK.

Hippat, Sarah. (25 years old) US national, coordinator of LEAF International in Rwanda

Irvine, John (Revd) (62 years old) dean of Coventry Cathedral in the UK, founder of the Alpha Course and director of the chapel of unity and the centre for peace and reconciliation

Kalisa, Philbert. (47 years old) Rwandan (born in Burundi) ordained minister of the Anglican Church and founder of REACH Rwanda where he works today

Karel van der Westhuizen, (44 years old) South African, ordained minister, works at Ned Geref Kerk PUK-Kandelaar and African mosaic in the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus in South Africa.

Karunga, Alfred. (28 years old) Rwandan Works in Australia.

Makara, Apolo. (26 year old) Rwandan, musician, a piano player; his father is a Rwandan historian and a pastor at Remera Anglican Church.

Mibei, Richard Kiprono. (55 year old) Kenyan, Botanist, Vice Chancellor of the Moi University in Eldoret-Kenya, and an ordained pastor at Chrisco Fellowship in Kenya.

Mutangana, Emmanuel. (35 years old) Rwandan, pastor in the Washington DC, USA, was the founder of the Prince of Peace choir and was also part of the musicians involved in choosing the new Rwandan national anthem.

Ndahiro, Thomas. (40 years old) Rwandan, business man, martial arts instructor in the UK (is currently a UK national).

Nkuzingoma, Alexis. (38 years old) Rwandan, he is a photographer and evangelist in Rwanda and Burundi.

Nsabayesu, Aimable. (42 years old) Rwandan, Musician and teacher at Oakdale Kigali Music School, he is also a choral conductor at Kigali Baptist Church.

Nyabala, Raphael. (38 years old) Kakuma Camp; Coordinator for the National Council of Churches of Kenya

Nzayisenga, Sophie. (35 years old) Rwandan, teacher and performer of traditional music and dance at Oakdale Kigali Music School, renowned female inanga player in Kigali

Rubaduka, Enoch (45 years old) Rwandan, (currently UK citizen), a lecturer and pastor at International Christian Mission in UK

Rutayisere, Antoine. (Revd.) (55 years old) Rwandan, the dean of St Stephen's Anglican Cathedral of Kigali; vice-chairman of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission of Rwanda; the President of 'As We Forgive' project and the team leader of African Enterprise.

Suki, Patrick. (22 years old) Rwandan, studying in Kenya.

Tuyizere, Manasseh. (28 years old) Rwandan, Musician, working at the youth and children's department at the Anglican Church of Rwanda, Kigali Diocese, was also part of the musicians involved in choosing the new national anthem.

Uwiragiye, Ephraim. (26 years old) Rwandan, musician and technician,

Uziel, Joseph. (43 years old) Rwandan, musician; a teacher and piano player at Oakdale Kigali music centre, also a choirmaster in the Baptist church in Rwanda

Anonymous Interviewees

This thesis includes contributions from various anonymous interviewees whose details had to be concealed as per their request. My anonymous Interviewees include:

1. Soldiers who were in the previous government that was committing genocide, they surrendered, were sentenced, served their term, taken to Ingando camps, released and grafted back into the community.
2. Soldiers who were previously members of the RPF and RPA and are in the country serving at different capacities and in different departments.
3. People serving within the Rwandan legal system both local and international

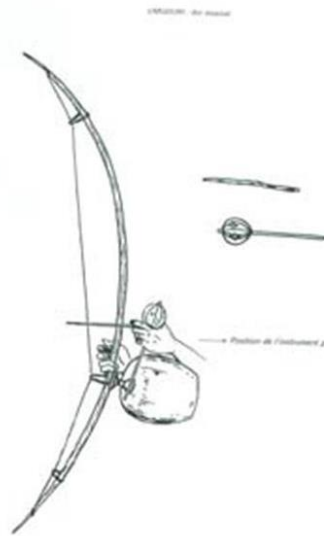
4. Other random interviewees whom I never had the opportunity to ask whether I should include their names.
5. Victims of genocide who had extreme trauma due to their personal experience during genocide, by them talking to me acted like a therapy session to them.

Appendix B:

Rwandan Traditional Musical Instruments



Umuturi—Musical Bow



Ingoma—Drum with a membrane



Umwirongi—Flute



IYUGI—Dance Bells

From: Voices of the hills (2012) Musical instruments from Rwanda and Burundi, Legal deposit: D/2012/0254/08, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central-Africa,

Appendix B.1

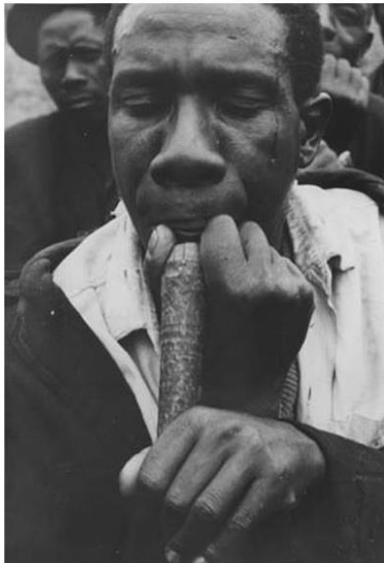
Rwandan Traditional Musical Instruments



Amakondera—Transverse Horns



Aguruma / Igahama : (pavillon)

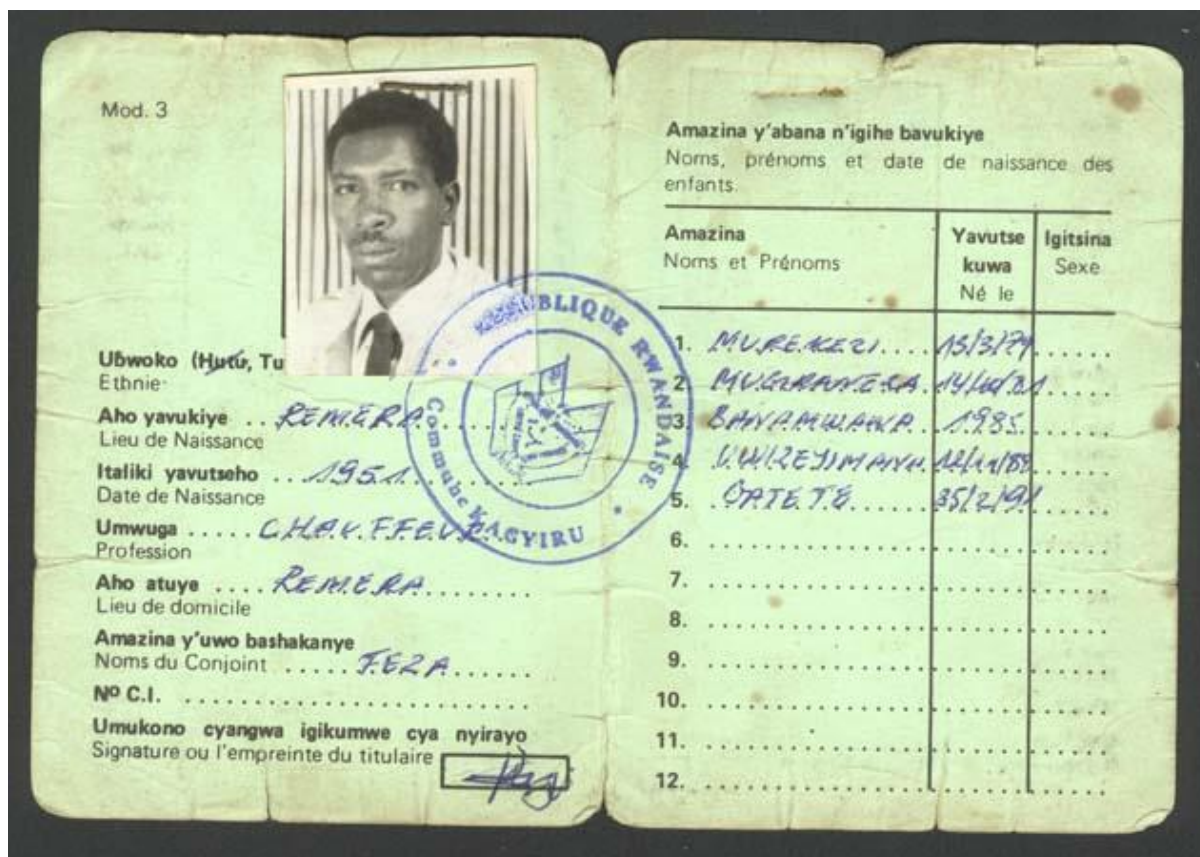


Urusengo—Whistle

From: Voices of the hills (2012) Musical instruments from Rwanda and Burundi, Legal deposit: D/2012/0254/08, Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central-Africa,

Appendix C

Old Rwandan National Identity Card



Title: Rwanda National Identity Card circa 1994 N°9902

Name: KAREKEZI

Issuing Authority: REPUBULIKA Y'U RWANDA - MINISITERI Y'UBUTEGETSI BW'IGIHUGU N'AMAJYAMBERE YA KOMINI (République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Intérieur et du Développement Communal)

Date: 1993-05-10

Description: Inside of an ethnic identity card

Repository (digital): Kigali Genocide Memorial

Rwandan Old National Identity Card –Genocide Archive Rwanda (no date) *Kgmc identity 00003 001.jpg*, [Online] Available at:

http://www.genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Image:Kgmc_identity_00003_001.jpg

Appendix D

The ‘Hutu Ten Commandments’ as published in *Kangura*, No. 6 (December 1990)

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 by experience 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 favours 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, and 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 are must stand united, in solidarity, and 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.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Kangura (1990) ‘Genocide in Rwanda: The ‘Hutu Ten Commandments’, as *Kangura*, No.6 December. trumanwebdesign.com [Online] Available at: <http://www.trumanwebdesign.com/~catalina/commandments.htm> (Accessed: 29 May 2012).

Appendix E

Mutabazi – The Messenger

In the Cassette, this song is sequentially followed by ‘Take Heed’ and ‘I hate the Hutus’ all by Simon Bikindi. The instruments used are 3 guitars and a set of drums, but the style of playing is a fusion of Congolese and Rwandese style. The song is very rhythmical, catchy and motivates dancing. My informants who were assisting in its interpretation could not resist dancing to it. The instrumentation gives it a forward thrust that demands either a sudden stop or fading at the end. It is a long song that lasts almost 20 minutes

The song opens with the drums playing some for some duration of time then and the rolling of the drums is the sign for the lead guitar to join in, followed by the rhythm guitar, the bass guitar then other percussion instruments that sound like claps. After some measures, a group of female voices join in singing later joined in by male voice in a call and response. The voices even in different sections are not in harmony.

After some measures it turns to a dialogue with an instrumental back ground. The instruments especially the guitars play a repetitive rhythmic tune which is like an ostinato. The voice is oratoric displaying a shift between telling a story and dialoguing with another male voice that joins in. The oratoric is the diviner and the other voice that joined is of Mutabazi – the messenger. The dialogue is full of vocal expressions, exclamations which are typical of Rwandan tradition. The song turns out to be a pattern of the dialogue and the singing exchanging turns. The singers sing the same works through and through while the dialogues is a continuation of the story and a narrative too

General Interpretation/ Translation of the Narration and the Song Lyrics

The singer opens by stating that he needs a very fast courageous messenger whom should be sent because there is a very important message that should be delivered as soon as possible. He says that there is war coming and the people need to be informed and be ready to support and even reinforce or support the fighters. He continues to narrate that there are many people who are dead and orphaned, and that the killings are taking place among the brothers. He says that there is need for someone to help stop the killings.

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

The diviner narrates that ‘We left the country to chaos and fate letting the evil take place’ then he is interrupted by Mutabazi - the messenger who enters the scene and explains that he is late because he saw property being burned, houses being destroyed, the roads were not good and that there were people everywhere looting and destroying property. He then asks the diviner to explain why this is happening; why brothers are fighting

The diviner looks at his paraphernalia produces some weird sounds then addresses the messenger ‘You! Mutabazi cannot be bitten by snake, you cannot be killed neither can you fall. You have helped many people and there is a goat that some of the people will bring to you as a sign of appreciation but it is to cut off your head’.

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

The diviner goes on to narrate that: I prophesied about someone that he will be killed and for sure he was killed. I said long time ago that the king will turn many people to be servants and it came to pass. My foresight is true and what I say is real. The reason why there is war is because of the ghost that is sending evil spirits to cause the brothers to fight. I will tell you how it all started and what you must do to overcome. We must look for a way to bring peace in Rwanda. There is a ghost that is bringing the misunderstandings by using ignorance, stupidity and tribalism to cause war. The ghost is very cunning and behaves like a lady...like a girl... and like a cattle herder. The charms that I have used have discovered his cunningness of the ghost. I give you this advice; to overcome, take a drum, and beat it so that when the ghost comes I will give you victory. There is a slight pause then the diviner asked ‘Did you hear the drumming? I am calling then all the singers respond in unison - ‘we can hear you’

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

He continues to narrate that: Remember history, the dynasty when you were made slaves, you worked without pay and were beaten without reason – those three things have troubled us for a long time. Be vigilant, be united – the ghost had become too strong. No one knew that they would be born a Hutu, a Tutsi or a Twa or wanted to be born as such. **The ghost** comes like a brother in law... a cattle herder... a girl and sometimes a lady.

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

He continues to narrate that: The country has many regions or parts that make it Rwanda – There are there languages in Rwanda – Hutu, Tutsi and Twa- they should accept to be equal

and what the majority agrees should go through – and that is true democracy because the country is bigger than one person. Everyone should come together and know that they are brothers and avoid party politics. The good governance is due to the 1959 revolution which took us away from colonialism and slavery. Remember and preserve that heritage and it will bring us together.

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

He continues to narrate: I will reveal the ghost, they have come together, they are inkotanyi – Inyenzi - In case they win through a gun which is impossible; the 1959 revolution will take place again because we cannot go back to slavery. If they win, all political parties will be destroyed and the party members will suffer and die the way they did before the 1959 revolution. The Hutus died by the spears and the Tutsis enjoyed seeing them die.

He then tells a riddle; Long time ago there was the death of dogs and rats and there remained drums and cows and that one we do not remember

He proceeds to narrate that: brothers should know that the majority should come together as those who think together – Umuzamugambi. If they are scattered they will be defeated so they should join forces, support the national army, give yourself selflessly and if possible everyone should join the army, be ready to die for your country, defend your motherland so that intruders do not rule; preserve your freedom.

(Chorus then the narrator carries on)

He continues to narrate that: Brothers come together so that the three languages should know that you do not take leadership or governance using weapons, no one should dream or boast that the Tutsis will lead or govern Rwanda. The Tutsis will not be in a position of leadership. Leadership should be through democracy, through elections. Let us all insist on having elections, the true heroes, real patriots can be seen, we know them, friends of Rwanda have been revealed. You know whom to elect because through elections you get the leaders and the leadership that you want. Whoever wins elections everyone should accept, we want true elections not war, guns etc. The diviner ends by saying – I will not ask for payment for the consultation and the answers or solutions that I have given you just go and do as I have said.

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