

MAKING VIOLENCE ORDINARY: RADIO, MUSIC AND THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

by

JASON McCOY

Introduction

During the 1994 Rwandan genocide an estimated 800 000 people, or roughly 12 per cent of Rwanda's population, perished at the hands of both Hutu militias and ordinary citizens. The majority of victims were members of the rival Tutsi "ethnic" group,¹ though a large number of Hutu and Twa² who refused to participate in the genocide were also slain. The pro-genocide radio station, RTL, or *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (Free Radio-Television of a Thousand Hills³), played a critical role in cultivating anti-Tutsi ideology and spurring mobs of Hutu militants to commit acts of violence in the name of justice, solidarity, and self-preservation. RTL employed an informal call-in talk show format that may have been appropriated from American talk radio (Kirschke 1996:49). In addition, it played not only local popular music, particularly songs composed by beloved Rwandan musician, Simon Bikindi, but much popular music from other parts of the world, including the United States. The following paper draws upon extant material from broadcast samples, eyewitness records, and song lyrics to explore a few of the strategies by which RTL used music to enact a genocidal agenda. In conclusion, I argue that one way RTL was effective in conditioning the psychosocial climate necessary for genocide was by contextualizing itself against a symbolically "Western" cultural backdrop, merging the local with the global, so that committing mass violence was viewed not as sociopathic and extremist, but rather normative and socially acceptable.

Historical Overview

To begin, we need to have some understanding of the roots of the conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi to which RTL's announcers continually referred.⁴ Hutu historically

¹ As will be discussed below, using the term "ethnicity" to describe the distinctions between Hutu, Tutsi and Twa is, in fact, a fallacious relic of colonial racial thinking.

² Because the Twa comprise such a small minority and have suffered a great deal of discrimination throughout Rwandan history, they have unfortunately been relegated to the margins of most Rwandan historical narratives. Readers should know that, while the Twa did not figure prominently in the dominant genocidal discourse, their numbers too were also decimated during the genocide. Today, as Rwanda heals and rebuilds, the majority of Twa continue to suffer from social disenfranchisement and poverty.

³ Despite the station's name, there was never any televised component to its broadcasts.

⁴ Readers should know that the historical prelude to the genocide is exceedingly complex. Thus, the following serves only as very broad overview of this history, with many of the major events and issues excluded for the sake of space.

comprised about 85 per cent of Rwanda's population, Tutsi about 15 per cent, and a third group, the Twa, less than 1 per cent. The precise origins of the two groups are unclear and are the subject of much ongoing debate.⁵ Before more recent criticism, both Rwandan and colonial scholars argued that the Tutsi were foreign invaders from the north who had seized control of Rwandan lands about six centuries ago, a view that was adopted by the majority of Rwandans. Whatever the exact truth may be, we know that for several centuries Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa coexisted within a common society, spoke the same language, and shared the same religious ideas and social customs. The names mainly designated differences in occupation, which in turn corresponded with social class and political power. Hutu were largely associated agriculture, Tutsi with cattle breeding, and Twa with pottery and hunting. Nevertheless, because cattle were an important symbol of wealth and power, Tutsi acquired a socio-politically elite status. Though Tutsi comprised a minority of the population, political power was eventually centralized in the royal court under a sequence of Tutsi kings (*umwami*).⁶

European colonists, impressed by the cultural sophistication and political dominance exhibited by the Tutsi monarchy, exacerbated the hierarchical divide, promoting the idea of Tutsi as a racially superior people. When Germany started colonizing Rwanda in the late 19th century,⁷ they supported oppressive policies against Hutu farmers. Under some of these policies, for example, Tutsi chiefs demanded labour services and goods in exchange for protection and usage of land. As a result, many Hutu found themselves in abject poverty with little say in political matters.⁸ Following World War I, Germany ceded Rwanda to Belgium in compliance with a League of Nations mandate. The Belgians further bolstered the Tutsi regime in order to carry out their colonialist agenda. For instance, with whip in hand, they forced Hutu to work coffee and tea plantations under the supervision of Tutsi overseers. Of utmost significance is that in 1933 the Belgians issued a census and distributed ethnic identity cards, officially crystallizing the distinction between Tutsi and Hutu as separate races. In order to make the distinction, Belgian bureaucratic officials took measurements of all manner of phenotypical characteristics – height, facial proportion, cranial shape, and so forth – as it was believed that the Tutsi were generally taller and slimmer with more refined features (Malvern 2000:5–6). However, in many cases, colonial officials could not determine difference. In such cases, they inquired as to the number of cattle owned. More than ten, a person was classified as Tutsi, less than ten a Hutu.

⁵ For a thorough appraisal and critique of the various theories, see Taylor (1999:55–98).

⁶ For an incisive historical discussion of the complex development of Hutu and Tutsi as distinct social and ethnic groups, see Newbury (1993).

⁷ At the time, the territory was called Ruanda-Urundi and covered most of the lands that today comprise the nations of Rwanda and Burundi.

⁸ Much colonial scholarship decreed that *ubuhake* was, in fact, a mutually advantageous arrangement for both Hutu and Tutsi. Such a view has been heavily criticized. Again, see Newbury and Taylor.

On July 1, 1962, Rwanda formerly declared independence. By this time, many of the Belgian missionaries came from the working classes, and as such, they were sympathetic to the plight of the Hutu. Furthermore, top Tutsi political leaders had begun clamouring for more power which, in turn, had drawn a wedge between them and the colonial administration. With Belgian political and military support, Hutu forcibly took control of important political, educational, and journalistic positions. Gregoire Kayibanda, a Hutu, was elected president (Destehexhe 1995:43). The next thirty years were marked by tension between Hutu and Tutsi that occasionally erupted into outbursts of mass violence that would foreshadow the massacre to come.⁹ In the 1970s, anti-Tutsi resentment and violence led to large-scale refugee movements, with many Tutsi fleeing north to neighbouring Uganda. These Tutsi refugees no longer had a home to call their own. They had no formal rights in Uganda, for they were not recognized as citizens, and indeed, were heavily discriminated against. In order to respond to their conditions, they organized themselves into the Rwandan Patriotic Front, or RPF, with the goal of eventually returning to their homeland. In October 1990, under the leadership of General Paul Kagame, the RPF invaded Rwanda in an effort to retake the nation but were repelled by government forces.¹⁰ In response, Tutsi still in Rwanda were further harassed on suspicion of complicity; hundreds were killed. The Rwandan vice president warned his fellow Hutu that the RPF, aided by Tutsi citizens, who he called *inyenzi* – “cockroaches” – were now “infesting” Rwanda and would soon wipe out all Hutu. Hutus were exhorted to be ready to defend themselves against the coming invasion.

On 6 April 1994, the plane carrying Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana¹¹ was shot down on its return flight from Arusha, Tanzania, where, under international pressure, he had been engaged in negotiations that would end hostilities with the RPF and supposedly allow for greater Tutsi political representation. Within three hours, RTLM broadcast throughout Rwanda that the plane had been shot down by the RPF and that Rwanda was being invaded. Furthermore, all Tutsi still living in Rwanda were said to be RPF allies. Hutu were called to take up arms against their Tutsi neighbours. A list of prominent Tutsi and Hutu sympathizers, considered traitors, was also broadcast, and their systematic assassination ensued.

The Emergence and Role of RTLM

That RTLM was complicit in mobilizing, organizing and directing Hutu militants to carry out genocidal activities following the death of President Habyarimana is beyond doubt; however, nine months prior to this, the station had been delivering a

⁹ Foremost among these massacres was the killing of 10 000 Tutsi in 1963, ordered by then-President Kayibanda in response to an invasion of Tutsi militias from Burundi.

¹⁰ The RPF was armed and supported by the Ugandan government, having helped to overthrow Idi Amin in 1979 and Milton Obote in 1985.

¹¹ Habyarimana wrested power from Kayibanda on 5 July 1973.

steady stream of anti-Tutsi invective, drawing on the historical perception of Tutsi as foreign invaders whose long oppression of Hutus was the root of all Rwanda's problems. RTLTM aired its first broadcast on 8 July 1993 (Kirschke 1996:41). Developed in reaction to the government-sponsored station, Radio Rwanda, which many Rwandans considered overly formal and dull, RTLTM featured a lively call-in talk show format where listeners could comment on various social issues, request music and banter with the hosts.¹² RTLTM's personnel consisted of famous entertainers, comedians, musicians and journalists, many of whom had defected from Radio Rwanda. The content consisted of informal interviews, sensationalized news reports, impromptu comedy routines, and popular music from both home and abroad. The discourse was purposefully provocative and crude. Emblematic of this was a comment by one host, Noël Hitimana, notorious for being drunk on air, who articulated the station's intentions as: "People say... 'if you're going to [pass gas]...it should stink.' The best thing to do is to produce a really foul smell" (Kirschke 1996:50). In some ways, RTLTM might be compared to a combination of Howard Stern, Rush Limbaugh and KISS FM.¹³ It rapidly won a large and enthusiastic audience, serving as the locus of a virtual community where Rwandans throughout the land could readily connect with one another. As Jean Marie Higiroti, the director of Radio Rwanda, recalled:

These broadcasts were like a conversation among Rwandans who knew each other well and were relaxing over some banana beer or a bottle of Primus in a bar. It was a conversation without a moderator and without any requirements as to the truth of what was said. The people who were there recounted what they had seen or heard during the day. The exchanges covered everything: rumours circulating on the hills, news from the national radio, conflicts among local political bosses... It was all in fun. Some people left the bar, others came in, the conversation went on and stopped if it got too late, and the next day it took up again after work. (Des Forges 1999:70)

RTLTM was a highly charismatic endeavour, a concept that bears further theoretical elucidation. Thomas Csordas posits that charisma is not a quality inherently possessed by a person, though it may be a quality imputed to a person; rather, charisma is a quality of collective experience that arises from a mode of rhetoric and ritual that strategically draws upon communal symbolic resources. The effect of charisma on those to whom it is targeted is a shift in how they perceive and experience the world – "an attitudinal transformation and transformation of habitus". Csordas adds that the "impetus for this cultural transformation of self is... a sense of duty to a charismatic mission." This transformation, in turn, fosters a sense of communal intimacy (Csordas 1997:133–153).

¹² Officially, the station was privately owned, though President Habyarimana was, in fact, the majority shareholder. In fact, the radio station drew power from the presidential mansion's generators. See Kirschke (1996:41–45) and Gulseth (2004:53–57).

¹³ KISS FM refers to a conglomeration of American radio stations owned by Clear Channel Broadcasting, Inc. The stations broadcast upbeat "party music" from the 1980s to the present.

RTLTM's hosts masterfully harnessed over a century's worth of resentment, fear, frustration, tension, grief, shame and hatred and gave it voice through a new discursive modality that enacted, for some, a sort of massive group therapy. This allowed a wellspring of feelings and ideas to boil to the surface, be reflexively and intersubjectively examined, and thus, further intensified. Of course, one of the "communal symbolic resources" that RTLTM employed in this endeavor was music.

The Songs of Simon Bikindi

Simon Bikindi was the most popular Rwandan musician of the late 1980s and early 1990s. He composed three political songs which aired several times a day on RTLTM: "Twasezereye ngoma ya cyami" ("We Bade Farewell to the Drums of the Monarchy"); "Abyutso" ("The Awakening"), more commonly known as "Nanga abahutu" ("I Hate These Hutu"); and "Intabaza" ("The Alert"), more commonly known as "Bene sebahinzi" ("Brothers and Sisters of the Farmer").

"Twasazareye" was composed in 1987 in order to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Rwanda's independence. In the song, Bikindi begins by remarking that he is too young to know what it was like under colonial and monarchical rule (he was 32 years old at the time he composed the song). However, he sings that when the elders tell him of the harsh conditions, he praises God that he did not have to endure those times. He then goes on to praise the independent democratic nation-state and the various military leaders who fought on its behalf, all the while urging the audience to never forget their past suffering. In the audio excerpt provided (CD1), the translation is, roughly, as follows:

We have put the monarchy behind us
The evil feudal and colonial yoke have both departed,
So we now have a democracy which suits us.
Come, let us together rejoice.¹⁴

"Abyutso"/"Nanga abahutu" and "Intabaza"/"Bene sebahinzi" were composed in the summer of 1993, just as RTLTM began broadcasting. They are considered to be far more influential and inflammatory than "Twasezereye ngoma ya cyami". However, their meanings are not nearly as clear and straightforward. In fact, this may be one reason they were more influential. One of the most elegant and highly prized characteristics of Kinyarwanda poetry is its ability to obfuscate meaning such that it prods listeners to engage in a consciously rigorous process of interpretation, allowing the poetry to inhabit listeners' minds on a very deep level.

In the case of "Abyutso"/"Nanga abahutu", (CD2) Bikindi's critics have charged that he is chastising those Hutu who are disloyal to the Habyarimana regime, conspire with the RPF, and refuse to participate in genocide. Bikindi, in his defence, claims that he was singing for peace and that the song refers to those Hutu who, in their paranoia, wage

¹⁴ Translated from the original Kinyarwanda by Mbonimana and de Dieu Karangwa (2006).

violence against both Tutsi and one another. The lyrics are cast as a dialogue between Bikindi and an elder. Bikindi begins by singing about a child named Ngirengirente. The name roughly translates as, "What can I do? Where can I go?" and is employed as a symbol for someone who is indecisive. In the audio sample provided, Bikindi begins by singing, in more archaic Kinyarwanda, the following proverb:

Ngirengirente was a child who disheartened his mother
and was a concern to his father, dear comrades.

In other words, he who can not make up his mind is little more than an immature fool who brings sorrow to the community. Bikindi then switches to more common language, but continues to sing in parables:

The deaf gave birth to the deaf,
The unanointed gave birth to the madman.
The bush gave birth to the night bird, dear comrades.

It is not clear if "the deaf", "the unanointed", or "the madman" refers to anyone specifically. "The night bird", however, likely refers to the RPF, who camped in the bush and often attacked at night. Night birds are also common symbols of death and misfortune in Rwanda lore.

Following this, Bikindi sings several old proverbs:
"The truth through fire that does not burn." and, it is said,

"To say the truth does not prevent us from being good neighbors."

In other words, it may hurt to hear the truth, but it is necessary and will, in the long run, be beneficial. He then concludes this section with the proverb, "Mbwirabumva", that is, "A word to the wise is enough".

Following this, Bikindi expresses his disgust with those Hutu who renounce their Hutu identity, who claim that they are better than others, who refuse to share their food and drink with others, who "have big stomachs", and who flatter important people in order to win favour. He essentially calls them idiots, and proclaims that they participate in a war, the cause of which they do not understand. He then sings of his detestation for those who do not remember the Hutu heroes of the past and the manner in which they were killed at the hands of Tutsi rulers and colonial administrators. In doing so, he recounts a certain historical narrative, in which the Hutu are valorized, and the Tutsi monarchy and Belgian colonial administration are demonized. For example, he sings the praises of Rukara, who killed the son of a missionary and was therefore executed by hanging. Always throughout Bikindi's diatribe, he returns again and again to the proverb: "Mbwirabumva" – "A word to the wise is enough".

Like "Abyutso"/"Nanga abahutu," the full meaning of "Intabaza"/"Bene sebahinzi" is also open to interpretation. The song opens with Bikindi's choir singing (CD3):

If I could have a daring child and another with fast feet,
So that I can send them to Muhinzi, he who saved the farmers
By chasing away the cattle breeders of Mwima and Muschirarungu.

“Muhinzi” is the Kinyarwanda word for farmer. In this case, Bikindi wields the term as a proper name – the farmer as a heroic figure. Mwima and Muschirarungu are two hills that were inhabited by the Tutsi royal family.

Following this, the choir goes on to sing a vision of apocalyptic war. The lyrics relay a dream in which cows are eating all the sorghum – in other words, the RPF, and by association, the Tutsi, are stealing that which the Hutu harvest. The dream continues with the return of the royal drums; however, they are defeated by “bene sebahinzi”, that is, “the brothers and sisters of the farmer”. Bikindi then warns that “one who stirs up trouble” is in their midst, causing the people to tear themselves apart, the youngest from the eldest. “People will be killed by the spear”, the choir cries. In this case, the spear is a symbol for the Tutsi, for before independence, Hutu were not allowed to receive military training. Finally, the choir goes on to sing that mothers will cry bitterly, children will be orphaned, but meanwhile, “their brothers” are selling out Rwanda, referring to those Hutu who may be conspiring with the RPF.

Following this opening, Bikindi takes on the identity of a hero named Mutabazi, which roughly translates to “saviour” or “warrior of the country”, Mutabazi goes in search of the great diviner, Biryabayobo. Literally, the name means, “only the faithful eat of it”. According to different sources, this might mean that Biryabayobo is a special diviner who does not come into the towns and villages; one must seek him out. Another interpretation is that only those loyal to Biryabayobo will benefit from his counsel. In the audio excerpt provided, Mutabazi has met Biryabayobo and expresses his grief over the war in his country, inquiring as to what can be done. Biryabayobo sneezes, a sign that the spirits are ready to speak through him, and tells Mutabazi to spit upon special divination grains. After this, Biryabayobo goes on to boast of his powers, telling Mutabazi of all the great people for whom he performed divination. As in the previous song, this serves as a forum for recounting history. Important here is that this is as much a localized history as it is a national one. Not only does Biryabayobo mention various specific Rwandan clans, he mentions various specific regions, districts and hills, and then recounts how he predicted the fates of certain inhabitants of those areas. For example, he claims the following:

I performed divination for the old woman, Benginzage Nyagakecuru over there in the Huye range. I told her that her goat keepers were seeking her head. The next day she was murdered. Yes, it was done quickly.

I performed divination for Nzira the Hutu, son of Muramira, telling him that Ruganzu did not enter his house as a servant, but as an enemy spy who had infiltrated through his army. He did not listen to my advice and the following day all his people were exterminated by this same Ruganzu.

I performed divination for Ndungutse and I did it for Basebya, son of Nyirantwari in Ndorwa. I told them that they had been betrayed, that they would be killed and that Rukara” – the same Rukara who killed the missionary son – “would be hanged. A while later, that happened: he was hanged.

And so forth and so forth. After finally performing divination for Mutabazi, Biryabayoboke contends that the problems in Rwanda are due to ignorance and greed. He warns Mutabazi that there are those who have disguised themselves as beautiful wives, innocent maidservants, or unassuming farmers, but are, in fact, treacherous wolves. This, in fact, may be where Bikindi’s song is most dangerous. No longer is he making obvious references to the RPF as an invading military force, he is now suggesting that the RPF has many accomplices among the ordinary citizenry. He injects the question of whom to trust, stoking society’s paranoia against itself.

Following these distressing warnings, the chorus declaims in the following:

Slavery, the whip, forced labor overwhelmed the people but had disappeared long ago. You people in majority” (that is, the Hutu) “be vigilant and brothers and sisters of the farmer, you must join yourselves together that such evil stays outside the nation far from us, so that it never returns to Rwanda.

Biryabayoboke finally states that the only solution to Rwanda’s problems is fair and free democratic elections. He concludes by stating:

If a Hutu is elected, let us accept that he should rule us. If a Tutsi is elected, let us accept that he should rule us. If a Twa is elected, let us accept that he should rule us. Rwanda belongs to the three of us. No one is superior to the other.

Though Bikindi never explicitly called for violence against Tutsi, his songs were deemed sufficiently inflammatory that on 12 July 2001, he was arrested and brought to Arusha, Tanzania to be tried as a war criminal at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), a special court established by way of a United Nations mandate to bring to account the most influential and egregious perpetrators of the genocide. He is thus the first musician to face such charges since the Nazi conductor, Wilhelm Furtwängler, was tried and acquitted at Nuremberg. In a 2006 “Expert report” prepared for the prosecution, Gamaliel Mbonimana, Professor of History at the National University of Rwanda, and Jean de Dieu Karangwa, a Rwandan linguist at the National Institute of Eastern Civilizations and Languages in Paris, argued that:

[Bikindi’s] songs are a true combat weapon and the RTLM managed to make the most of this. Well composed...they could replace the lengthy and sometimes boring speeches and effectively complement the radio presenter. As a musical symbol they elicit an enthusiasm which words alone or any other declamation cannot convey. (Mbonimana and de Dieu Karangwa 2006:23)

In *The Graves Are Not Yet Full*, journalist and author Bill Berkeley, known for his coverage of the conflict and the post-war refugee situation, offers up his description of a Bikindi broadcast:

From a crackling transistor radio behind me I could hear [RTLM], the state-allied broadcasting arm. “Defend your rights and rise up!” a voice on the radio was singing. There were drums and a guitar in the background. A popular crooner named Simon Bikindi was beseeching his fellow Hutu – the *bene sebahinzi*, the sons of cultivators – to carry on the slaughter without delay. “Defend your rights and rise up against those who oppress you!” The drumming and strumming had an oddly intimate effect. Bikindi was singing in riddles, addressing *mbira abumva* – “those who can understand”. His voice was soft, gently cadenced, almost lyrical. He was warning his listeners of the malign intentions of the *bene sebatunzi*, the sons of pastoralists – the Tutsi. “The Tutsi are ferocious beasts, the most vicious hyenas, more cunning than the rhino,” he cooed. “The Tutsi *inyenzi* [cockroaches] are bloodthirsty murderers. They dissect their victims, extracting vital organs, the heart, liver, and stomach.” (Berkeley 2002:2)

While Bikindi’s prosecutors requested a life sentence, the maximum penalty imposed by the ICTR, on 2 December 2008, the court sentenced Bikindi to fifteen years incarceration. However, his punishment was due not directly to his songs, but instead to a rallying speech he gave from the back of a truck. Because the songs were composed before 1994, the judges ruled they fell outside of the court’s temporal jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the judges cited Bikindi’s celebrity status as “an aggravating factor” that warranted his trial at the ICTR rather than at local Rwandan courts.

The Role of “Western” Popular Music

Bikindi’s songs embodied a myriad of local historical and cultural tropes that RTLM’s hosts drew upon to bolster their charismatic appeal, an appeal that was used to enhance their genocidal agenda. Added to this mix of local communal symbolic material, however, was American popular music. Included in the audio excerpts is a short sample of an RTLM broadcast that aired during the genocide (CD4). The announcer’s words roughly translate as, “Soldiers, soldiers, and all who are in their positions, anywhere you are, those who are carrying out the work, those who are keeping watch, all of you, all of you – RTLM is your radio! It is our duty to support you all!” What is quite arresting, however, is the music playing in the background. The song featured is the early 90s rap hit by Heavy D and The Boyz, “Now That We Found Love, What Are We Gonna Do With It?” – a rather chillingly ironic title given the context (CD5).

For an “attitudinal transformation and transformation of habitus” to occur, as Csordas says, to the extent that extremist rhetoric translates to extremist behaviour, it is effective to infuse rhetoric with cultural material that is comfortably familiar and commonplace – idiomatic language, history, humour and music, for instance – in order to dampen the extremity of the rhetoric and make it more subversively palatable. Where a society possesses a high degree of global awareness, as most African societies do, and its cultural material takes on a transnational dimension, it is also effective to infuse rhetoric with cultural material associated with other societies that are *perceived* to be politically, economically, culturally, ideologically, and perhaps even morally dominant.

Such a tactic legitimates the rhetoric, and in turn, the behaviour for which it calls. Though the United States' stock in these arenas has slowly dwindled throughout the 21st century, in the early 90s, it enjoyed a global advantage. It could be argued that RTLTM's listeners subconsciously mapped these qualities onto the American popular songs that the station played. As the soundtrack to RTLTM's rhetoric, American popular music both mitigated and enhanced the extremity of RTLTM's content by circumscribing and pervading it with symbolic markers that suggested political, economic, cultural, ideological and moral dominance, and thus, normalcy.

Three months before the genocide, foreign dignitaries, including Senator Edward Kennedy, began warning of RTLTM's broadcasts and recommending the station be shut down, either through jamming of the radio frequency or sabotaging of the station itself. Their requests were ignored. Issues of freedom of speech and national sovereignty were cited (Chalk 1999:102–103). RTLTM's rhetoric was not taken seriously. The Canadian Ambassador, Lucie Edwards, stated, "The question of [RTLTM] propaganda is a difficult one. There were so many genuinely silly things being said on the station, so many obvious lies, that it was hard to take seriously. It was like relying on the *National Enquirer* to determine your policy in outer space" (Kirschke 1996:49).

RTLTM did not cease broadcasting until mid-July 1994 as RPF forces finally claimed victory in Rwanda, bringing a halt to the massacres. For the hundreds of thousands of victims of the radio's message, it was all too late. Just as most "Western" politicians ignored the scope of the genocide and dismissed any role they could play in halting it,¹⁵ so too did they fail to recognize the power of the radio.

¹⁵ Following the fiasco in Somalia, the U.S. government, led by the Clinton administration, wanted nothing to do with the conflict in Rwanda. See Melvern (2004).

References

Berkeley, Bill

- 2002 *The Graves Are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe, and Power in the Heart of Africa*, New York: Basic Books

Carver, Richard

- 2004 "Neutralising the Voices of Hate: Broadcasting and Genocide" [journal on-line], *Pambazuka News: Weekly Forum for Social Justice in Africa*, available from <http://www.pambazuka.org/index.php?id=21172> (accessed 18 October 2007)

Chalk, Frank

- 1999 "Hate Radio in Rwanda", in Adelman, Howard and Suhrke, Astri (eds) *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction

Csordas, Thomas J.

- 1997 *Language, Charisma, and Creativity: The Ritual Life of a Religious Movement*, Berkeley CA: University of California

Des Forges, Alison

- 1999 *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* [book on-line], New York: Human Rights Watch, available from <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/> (accessed 17 October 2007)

Destexhe, Alan

- 1995 *Rwanda, essai sur le genocide* (Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century), translated by Alison Marschner, New York: New York University

Gulseth, Hege Lovdal

- 2004 *The Use of Propaganda in the Rwandan Genocide: A Study of Radio-Télévision Libre de Mille Collines (RTLM)*, Master's Thesis, University of Oslo

Huggins, Chris and Herman Musahara

- 2005 "Land Reform, Land Scarcity and Post-conflict Reconstruction: A Case Study of Rwanda", in Huggins, Chris and Clover, Jenny (eds) *From the Ground Up: Land Rights, Conflict, and Peace in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies

Kirschke, Linda

- 1996 *Broadcasting Genocide: Censorship, Propaganda & State-sponsored Violence in Rwanda 1990–1994*, London: Article 19

Melvorn, Linda

- 2000 *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*, London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

Mbonimana, Gamaliel and Jean de Dieu Karangwa

- 2006 "Topical analysis of the songs *Twasezereye*: We bade farewell; *Nanga abahutu* or *Akabyutso*: I hate the Hutu or The Awakening; and *Bene Sebahinzi* or *Intabaza*: The descendants of Sebahinzi or The Alert by Simon Bikindi", Expert report prepared for ICTR (Arusha), 2006 (ICTR-01-72-0163/02), available at <http://trim.unictr.org/webdrawer/rec/81750/>, (accessed 17 October 2007)

Newbury, Catherine

- 1993 *The Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda 1860–1960*, New York: Columbia University Press

Radio Nederland Wereldomroep

- n.d. "Hate Radio Rwanda" [news on-line], available at <http://www2.rnw.nl/rnw/en/features/media/dossiers/rwanda-h.html>, (accessed 17 October 2007)

Taylor, Christopher C.

- 1999 *Sacrifice as Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994*, Oxford: Berg