

Kagame/Museveni Rwanda genocide speeches described as: “An alchemy of militaristic threats, myths, deceptions & denials”

By Henry D Gombya, April 9, 2014

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Speeches made Monday during the 20th commemoration of the Rwanda genocide in Kigali by President Paul Kagame and his Ugandan counterpart Yoweri Museveni have been ridiculed as being an “alchemy of militaristic threats, myths, deceptions and denials”.

Speaking at the event which took place in Amahoro, the Kigali National Stadium where in 1994 thousands of Rwandans took refuge, barely escaping the murder and rape that stalked the country, President Kagame said, among other things, that the truth about the genocide “must be told in full, no matter how uncomfortable”.

In what is clearly the hardest hitting response yet to Kagame’s 20-year rulership, his former Chief of Staff and Ambassador to the United States, Dr Theogene Rudasingwa, has written a reply, a copy of which was emailed to **The London Evening Post** in which he has thoroughly discounted what both leaders said about those believed to have carried out the genocide. In a sort of language that not many Rwandans inside the country dare use against President Kagame, Dr Rudasingwa, who was among the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) leadership that planned and carried out the invasion of Rwanda from Uganda on October 1, 1990 to embark on the overthrow of the Juvenal Habyarimana regime said: “The people who carried out genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and continuing human rights abuses were, and still are, Rwandans.

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And those Rwandans include Paul Kagame who provided a trigger for the genocide (the shooting down of President Habyarimana plane) [his brackets], and his leading role in the war crimes, crimes against humanity, and even possible acts of genocide against the Hutu in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). That is the [truth to](#) be told.”

When Kagame told thousands of Rwandans and global leaders, past and present including former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, UN Secretary General Ban ki Moon, to mention but a few of the VIPs present last Sunday, said that Rwandans were remembering the tragic events on 6 April 1994 “with humility as a nation that nearly destroyed itself”, Dr Rudasingwa, who holds a medical degree from Uganda’s Makerere University, fired back that humility becomes a vital asset when credible nations turn to history to draw sufficient wisdom to avoid the mistakes of the past.

“Paul Kagame, in words and deeds, lacks the humility to see the striking similarities of his regime to the weaknesses in the pre-colonial order that exposed it to its capture by colonial powers; the vulnerabilities of the hybrid monarchy-colonial order that made the 1959 Hutu revolution inevitable and legitimate,” Rudasingwa said, warning that the current “abhorrent conditions in the Kagame regime” make a violent revolution in Rwanda almost inevitable. Rudasingwa argued that 50 years since Rwanda attained independence from Belgium, it was time the Rwandan elite stopped being “cry-babies”, conveniently denouncing foreigners every time their systems crumbled “due to their own misrule”.

When President Kagame said his country was now relying on “universal human values” to face the challenges that the 1994 genocide generated which, he said, called for justice and reconciliation, Dr Rudasingwa had this to say: “There cannot be reconciliation and healing without forgiveness.” He added: “Forgiveness presupposes the freedom to tell the truth. Kagame and the RPF have sacrificed freedom, truth and forgiveness for political expediency in order to maintain power at any price.”

When the Rwandan leader in his speech said Rwandans had made three fundamental choices that have guided them during the last 20 years; that is, choosing to stay together, to be accountable and to think big, Dr Rudasingwa, a Tutsi, doubted that these could be considered as “the distinguishing characteristics of the Kagame regime”. He reasoned: “The country is more polarized than ever before on inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic (Hutu-Tutsi and Tutsi-Hutu) communities. “In fact the rationale of the annual Remembrance Day is to remind Rwandans and the world that the Tutsi are the victims and the Hutu the perpetrators of genocide.”

The former Rwandan ambassador to the United States, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina then went on to reveal names of some of the people who he claims have lost their lives at the behest of the Kagame regime. He said: “If Kagame’s regime was accountable, it would let the whole truth be told, and the perpetrators of the crimes against Hutu in Rwanda and [in] the DRC be known and brought to justice.” He said such a move would let Rwandan know, for example, those behind the assassinations of people like Theoneste Lizinde, Col Patrick Karegeya, Andrew Rwisereka, Augustine Cyiza, Jean Leonard

Rugambagye, Charles Ingabire and the multiple assassination attempts on Gen Kayumba Nyamwasa and many others.”

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Kagame’s former chief of staff went on to argue that had accountability been the RPF’s goal, “it would explain to Rwandans and the world at large why [opposition leader] Victoire Ingabire, Bernard Ntaganda, Deo Mushayidi and many others were languishing in jail as political prisoners.”

Dr Rudasingwa went on to explain that thinking big was not simply and solely about skyscrapers, clean streets of Kigali, economic growth and doctored statistics on social indicators. He said previous Rwandan governments had registered positive developments in all the sectors, which successive regimes can build on. “On both accounts Kagame’s score is a failure,” he said.

On accountability, Dr Rudasingwa said this is about telling the RPF, the Kagame government and the Rwandan people how much money the Rwanda leader pockets from Crystal Ventures, the Horizon Group, public finances, and the plunder of natural resources from the DRC. “The greatest challenge to Rwanda is how to first, redress the dynamics of power that hitherto have been hijacked by ethnic-based elites, and second; how to build national institutions that can help foster national unity, freedom, democracy, healing and reconciliation. If you cannot keep Rwandans together, and you cannot account to them, then the claim of thinking big is simply hollow,” he wrote.

The Rwanda opposition leader then examined Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni’s speech at the commemoration. In his speech, Museveni said he was one of those ‘witnessing the economic growth of Rwanda and its stabilization’. “As a veteran patriot of this area, I would like to warn those who hobnob with the genocidaires, to know that they will have to contend with the patriotic forces that defeated the traitors with their external backers when they were still much weaker,” Museveni said. He added: “The People of Rwanda should know that they can always count on the people of Uganda. Uganda is steadfast in the support for African emancipation.”

Saying that some Rwandans including himself had for some time desisted from commenting on Ugandan matters “despite the fact that we are more schooled on Uganda than Yoweri Museveni is on Rwanda”, Dr Rudasingwa said he was not impressed at all by Museveni’s ‘ignorance of, or his insensitivity to, the plight of the Rwandan people, and the facts of contemporary Rwanda’. “His refrain of economic growth and stabilization is a familiar recital of the standard narrative of Kagame and his international supporters, who choose to ignore the fact that the majority of the population is poor,” he wrote. Ambassador Rudasingwa further said: “Museveni and Kagame have now become the Mobutus of this era, being a source of plunder, war-making and destabilization in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa. Reactionary veterans? Yes. Patriots? No.”

He said more than ever before, both Museveni and Kagame have since become isolated both in Africa and internationally, making their regimes weak politically for lack of popular support. He added that economically, both have now become dependent on Western benefactors, who are increasingly embarrassed by the association. “Socially, they run polarizing regimes that sap the social capital of their societies.”

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“Museveni, the political scientist, has probably forgotten that military strength is but one component of overall national strength. Without a strong political, economic, social and professional base, the Ugandan and Rwandan militaries are just a pack of cards, distinguished in

intimidating citizens for a while, but unable to withstand the pressure when populations mobilize, get organized and are well led,” the Rwandan dissident writes.

He mentioned how for the last 28 years of his rulership, President Museveni has been battling his foes without managing to defeat them. With the recent deployment of American Special Forces to help the Ugandan army hunt for the ever-elusive Ugandan rebel leader Joseph Kony, Dr Rudasingwa said Museveni, whom he called ‘yesterday’s Pan Africanist’, has been forced to swallow his pride and depend more on the presence of American forces.

“In 2001 he had to beg Clare Short (former British Secretary of State for International Development), to give him resources to build Uganda’s military, ironically to fight the Rwandan army whose leaders (Kagame and RPF) he described as ideologically bankrupt.” He said and added that on the other hand, Kagame has similarly fought armed Rwandans in the DRC for almost 20 years without defeating them.

He bemoaned what he saw as the progressive degrading of both the Rwandan and Ugandan military and security establishments that have left the officer corps retrenched to the extent that the remaining majority are silent while the rest owe their loyalties not to the nations and their peoples, but to Museveni and Kagame. He named Museveni’s son Brig Muhoozi Kainerugaba, Uganda’s police chief Gen Kalekeezi Kayihura and his (Kayihura’s) relative Maj Gen Jack Nziza whom he said was Kagame’s “hangman running his assassination network” as the “trio that presides over the criminalized network that abducts and kills Rwandans, and terrorizes Ugandans”.

Finally, Dr Rudasingwa had this powerful message for both Presidents: “The wind of change is blowing. You can choose to ignore it, but you cannot stop it. For both of you, the writing is on the wall. You have betrayed the nationalist, Pan-African, and democratic cause. You have been weighed on scales and found wanting. The days of your regimes are numbered.”

He added: “We are not easily intimidated by Museveni’s sabre rattling, and his threats that he will fight alongside Kagame against nationalist and democratic forces in Rwanda. When that happens, it will be their turn to be defeated together, decisively, justly, and swiftly. Their opportunistic marriage of convenience cannot stand the patriotic unity of Rwandans, Ugandans and other Africans.”