

Ikigantiro Porofeseri Gasana Anasatazi yagiranye n'umunyakuri Bamwanga wa Radio Rwanda ( Kigali, 21/10/1990)

**Ikibazo :** Profeseri Gasana ukaba n'umukuru w'umurimo yerekanye iby'ubuhanga muri Perezidansi ya Muvoma, niwaturwira mu buryo bw'impuguke bya kiriya gitero inyangarwanda zagabye mu Mutara, mbese ngo utubwire imiterere ya cyo?

**Igisubizo :** Mu gusobanurira impamvu za kiriya gitero inyangarwanda zagabye mu Mutara, zo zikunze gushyira imbere ikibazo cy'imibereho y'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda mu mahanga Impamvu z'ukuri za kiriya gitero rero ntabwo gishingiye ku mibereho y'impunzi mu mahanga Impamvu z'ukuri zishingiye kuri politiki, ku nyota y'ubutegetsi bwa cyami na gihake banwe mu mpunzi z'Abanyarwanda bashakira kugarura mu Rwanda kandi ubwo butegetsi bwarasezerewe mu rubanda nyamwinshi muri Kamarampaka yabaye tariki ya 25 z'ukwezi kwa cyenda 1961 ihagarikiwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbanye

Iyaba cyari ikibazo cy'ubuhanga n'imibereho y'Abanyarwanda bagiyeye gutembera (gukorera) amafaranga no gushakira amafaranga igihe Ubuganda bwari bumaze neza bahita Bwongerera, na bo wasanga bafatanyije na bariya bateye mu Rwanda mu gutera Rwanda serera no guteza intugunda mu Rwanda Kuba rero bo batabyivangamo, kandi na bo ni benshi cyane mu Buganda no muri Zaire nk'igatanga ho muri Shaba, biragaragara ko ikibazo cy'itambara yo mu Mutara gifite intandaro muri politiki y'abagitsimbaraye ku butegetsi bwa gihake n'abashakira kwihimura kuri Revolution ya 59 Ikibazo rero si uko babuze ibyo barya, iyo baba, si uko babuze icyo batura, si uko babuze akazi, si uko babuze uko biga n'icyo baba, ikibazo ni uko bashakira ubutegetsi nta kindi

**Ikibazo :** Porofeseri Gasana mu maze kudasobanurira ko ikibazo gifite imizi ya cyo muri politiki, niwaturwira icyo politiki icyo ari yo ?

**Igisubizo :** Impamvu ya mbere ya kiriya gitero nk'uko maze ku ikomozaho gato mu kanya, ni uko impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zitigeze na rimwe zemera revorisiyo yo muri 1959, demokarasi y'itariki 28 Mutarama 1961 n'itoro rya Kamarampaka ryo ku ya 25 z'ukwa cyenda 1961 na none ikibyerekanaga ni uko gutera mu wa 1960 Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizeho Minisitari ishinzwe impunzi, zisabwaga gutahuka ariko zo ubwabo ziranga zihutamo kugambanira mu Rwanda no kurutera kuva icyo gihe kugeza mu wa 1967.

Iyi migambi rero zari zifite icyo gihe ni yo yo kwihimura kuri revorisiyo ya 59 kugira ngo bagarure ingoma ya cyami mu Rwanda n'ibijyana na yo byose. Ibyo ariko imbona ari uguta igihe kuko ari ibintu abanyarwanda banze ku mugaragaro binyujijwe mu nzira y'amatora yahagarikiwe n'umuryango w'Abibumbanye ONU. Numva rero ko ari abaturage ari na LONI, bose ntawashubira inyuma Ubutegetsi bwa cyami na gihake abaturage 80% banze binyuze mu matora imbere y'umuryango w'ababibumbanye, nta kuntu wabugaburira mu gihugu n'icyo waba witwaga Inkotanyi ufite inkota, imbunda n'amasasu, cyangwa ufite intwari zingana zite Intandaro ya 2 ya kiriya gitero iyo umuntu yitegereje neza, ayisanga mu bihazo byo mu gihugu cya Uganda na Perezida wa cyo bafite ubwabo

Perezida wa Uganda ngo yaba yarariye umwenda w'inkuba none agashakira kuwishyura ariko asunikira mu Rwanda kugira ngo hatazavaho hagira umenya iby'uwo mwenda afitiye impunzi z'abanyarwanda ngo zamufashije gufata ubutegetsi muri Uganda, bityo hakagira n'umunye uko yawishyuye, uretse we n'abo awubereyemo.

Perezida wa Uganda na none icyo ushushoje neza ugasesengura, ashobora kuba afitiye ikibazo n'ubwoko bw'abaganda bo kwa Obote n'andi moko yo mu majyaruguru y'igihugu cyeye icyo ba General Okello na Amanzi Dada bakomoka Abwo bese bakaba bashumiyeye ko ingabo z'igihugu cyabo zigajenye kandi zikaba zitegekwe n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda. Muzi ko kuba mu ngabo z'igihugu icyo ari cyo cyose bitanga umushahara, mbese ko ari umurimo utanze abantu ukarabatungira ababo n'umuryango yabo. Birumvikana rero ko ubwo bwiganze

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abanyarwanda mu basirikare no mu mapeti y'ingabo za Uganda bitashunze abenegihugu bo bifuzaga kubona icyababeshaho bo n'imiryango yabo bakoze ako kazi. Ku nuntu wese umwenekihugu watekereza atyo, ibyo birumvikana

na rero Perezida wa Uganda afite ibibazo mu gihugu cye rwagati nk'uko umuntu ushishoje a abibona, nabishakikire muti hagati mu gihugu cye n'abaturage be. Biti hi se, nabivuge nugaragara ko afite ibibazo asabe amahanga n'ibihugu by'inshuti kumufasha aho irango ashake kubibabeshahisha asunikira ku mayeri mu Rwanda yizera ko amahanga umenya.

ucukumbuye neza ibi bitekerezo byose, usanga muby'ukuri u Rwanda rwatewe na Rwanda kuko inyanyarwanda zaruteye zigize ingabo z'igihugu cya Uganda, zikaba zihembwa ishahara wa buri kwezi n'igihugu cya Uganda, zamabaye imyenda ya gisirikare ya Rwanda, zikoresho ibikoresho bya gisirikare bya Uganda nk'imbunda, imodoka n'ibindi kandi ziba zigemurirwa n'icyo gihugu ari ibiribwa ari intwari. Nta kuntu waba uri Umugaba w'ingabo nk'uko Perezida Museveni ari umugaba w'ingabo za Uganda ngo uhamye ngo bakari bawe ibihumbi 10 baragutse. Ntibishoboka. Niyi waba umwe wazimenya barangiza kandi ntubahane ngo ubambure amapeti bafite kuko basuzuguye ngo unabasyire rukiko rwa gisirikare rubacire urubanza. Bariya bantu bateye u Rwanda umuntu wabazaho byinshi. Mu gihe bagize ingabo z'igihugu cya Uganda, umuntu yakwibaza niba ari abanyarwanda. Ubundi kandi tuzi ko kugirango umuntu ajye mu ngabo z'igihugu ka agomba kuba ari umwenekihugu. Bariya bantu rero bagize umutwe w'ingabo w'igihugu cya Uganda witwa « Inkotanyi » jye nibaza niba bakiri abanyarwanda kandi bagize bo z'igihugu cya Uganda. Ni icyo mpamvu jye nkomeza kwemeza ko u Rwanda rwatewe n'umutwe w'ingabo za Uganda ziyobowe n'abasirikare bakuru bo mu ngabo z'igihugu cya Uganda.

umutwe w'ingabo w'igihugu cya Uganda w'ubwizerane bigaruke k'umupaka w'ibihugu byombi, icyo mishyikirano leta y'u Rwanda yayigirira na leta ya Uganda, ariko icyo mishyikirano ikaba ari uko leta ya Uganda yababwirako gukura kubutaka bw'u Rwanda abasirikare bayo bose yashoye mu Mutara ho mu kugirango y'u Rwanda.

na rero igihugu cya Uganda kigomba kwisobanura imbere y'umuryango ababumbye kandi kigakura boidatsirize babasirikare bacyo cyashumuriye mu Mutara ho abanyarwanda nk'uko maze kubivuga. Nubwo eko hari n'umutwe cyangwa se imutwe w'igihugu cya Uganda b'ibihugu bigize umuryango w'ubukungu w'ibihugu by'iburya baza guhagarara hagati y'ibihugu byombi na nde se? Abo basirikare b'amahanga bo guhagarara hagati beramutse kubabwirako guhagarara hagati y'u Rwanda na Uganda, ni ukuvuga k'umupaka w'ibihugu byombi kugirango babasirikare bagize ingabo za Uganda icyo gihugu kizaba kubijije iwacyo batavaho bongera kwisuka mu Mutara kubutaka bw'u Rwanda. Batavaho kubwira « gutoroka » Perezida Museveni

izina : Umwutwe w'ingabo za Uganda witwa Inkotanyi wateye u Rwanda ufite imigambi

izina : Imigambi y'inkotanyi ni ukuvuga inkota mu Rwanda, amaraso akamenekana, umutwe w'igihugu cya Uganda ugiye mu Rwanda, kugeza igihe izo inkotanyi zigereye kubutegetsi. Mbese kubitegetsi bw'igihugu bushingiye ku nko'a, ngiye intego yabo. Umuntu rero yakwibaza niba abantu baje kuvuza inkota mu Rwanda ariwo mugambi wabo, barangiza bagashaka

ubeshya rubanda ngo babazanyeye demokarasi no kwishyira ukuzana Waza wic , wicisha inkota, imbunda, umena amaraso y'abana h'u Rwanda nyuma uti niyeye imuzero abanyarwanda ? Ibyo ni kinyoma. Nta muntu kwihandagaza ngo avuge ngo a muriye abantu lemokarasi, nibibaho, keretse umuntu udatgekereza cyangwa se utekereza nababak'inkotanyi Demokarasi ni abaturage ubwabo bayishakira. Abanyarwanda rero demokarasi barayishakirye ugiti cyabo tariki ya 28/1/1961. Bamaze imyaka 30 muri demokarasi, bamaze imyaka 30 gutorera abategetsi. Dore muri 88 bitoreye perezida wa Repuburika n'ababepite. muri uyu mwaka wa 1990 abanyarwanda bitoreye abajyanama ba makomuni n'aba resiponabure ba za elire. Imyaka 17 abanyarwanda bamaze mu nzira y'ubumwe n'amahoro yego ni myinshi cyane ariko si na nicye. Ako kantu k'ubwumvikane, k'ubufatanye mubanyarwanda no kwirinda amacakubiri karafashe muri iyi myaka 17 ya Repuburika ya 2 na 15 ya Muvoma abitoje igihugu cyose kuburyo gupfa gushaka kubameneramo bitoroshye Abanyarwanda barabigaraje kuva igihugu cyaterwa n'abanzi baturutse mu Bugande bashakaga guteranya inkoko n'uturere ngo basubiranemo, anke abanyarwanda barangiyeye kuko bazi neza ko umwanzi yateye igihugu cyose atateye ubwoko ubu n'ubu ngo areke ubundi cyangwa se akarere aka n'aka ngo areke ahandi.

Abanyarwanda rero bashyize hamwe muri demokarasi ku giti cyabo, bakababwagaze bwuma umama y'abo bitoreye ubwabo kuva kubagiz komite za selire aribo ba resiponabure ba selire bakomeze kuri Nyakubahwa Perezida wa Repuburika

Ntukizabasubiza inyuma rero muri urwo rwego cyaba inkota cyaba imbunda. Ni igamba y'inkotanyi zateye u Rwanda zishakira kugarura ingoma ya cyami na gihake mu Rwanda, abanyarwanda baba abahutu, baba abatutsi n'abatwa batereye ihuru rugikubita. Rwose icyo mu gitekerezo gishaje kandi kikdashobora gufata na rimwe mu Rwanda. Erega rero n'ugomba kwibagirwa ko ubutegetsi ari ubw'abatwage akaba ari nabo babugaba. Iyo nibwo demokarasi Nahu ubushingiye ku nkota, imbunda n'amamasu ubwo utateye n'ateze mu Rwanda mu gihe tugezemo

kibazo : Mbese ubunsi Milita porofeseri ko bariya bantu bateye u Rwanda bari nwe babita impunzi, abandi inyangarwanda, bandi inyenzi. Ayo magambo yose aturira he, atandukanira he ?

gisubizo . Ijambo impunzi rituruka ku mashinga Guhunga, ukava aho wari utuye ukajya ahandi, ukava mu gihugu cyawe ukajya mu kindi. Nigeze kukubwira ko abanyarwanda babere bahunze muri 59 igihe rubanda nyamwinshi yivumbatanyaga igaragaza ko idashakira ubutegetsi bwa cyami bushingiye kuri gihake no gukandamiza baturage. icyo gihe rero abanyarwanda bashyigikiye ubuhake n'ubuho, n'uburetwa mu gihugu banze demokarasi na repuburika ahitamo guhunga no kudahunguka, bibera batyo impunzi haba mu bihugu bitukikije haba ahandi mu mahanga. Hari n'abahunze muri 73 mu mvururu zakongejwe mu izi Burundi zo muri 72 n'abahunze amahoro n'ubumwe muri 90 none ngo nibwo bashakira kuzana amahoro demokarasi mu Rwanda bamaze gutwika inzu

Ijambo inyenzi ni umutwe w'impunzi wiyemeje gufata intwari kuva muri 63 no kurwanya u Rwanda kugirango uruvutse ubwingenge na Repuburika Mbese inyenzi zo muri 63, 64, 65, 66, 67 n'izo cyane. Ni abantu banga u Rwanda cyane bashakira kurukorera ibibi byose bibaho, kuruvutsa ubumwe, amahoro n'amajyambere rwari rumaze kugera ho muri iyi myaka 30 ashize. Wigeze kumbaza uti ese izina rikwiye bariya bantu bateye u Rwanda ni irihe ? Izina riyanyeye neza n'icyo bari cyo n'ibyo bakora ni inyangarwanda kuko nk'uko nabababonye, bariya bantu ni abasirikari bagize ingabo z'igihugu cya Uganda, bafite imyenda ya gisirikari n'izo ngabo, bagaburirwa n'icyo gihugu bakabagezaho ibyangombwa byose bakeneye byaba

Abubwa, byaba intwari, byaba umushahara w'ukwezi, byaba n'abari yamakuru b'amahanga baza mu Mutara kubareba no kubamamaza kmu Burayi n'ahandi byo byose isoko yabyo iri Kampala mu murwa mukuru wa Uganda. Uwo mutwe w'ingabo za Uganda rero witwa Inkotanyi ugizwe n'impunzi z'abanyarwanda ziri mu ngabo z'igihugu cya Uganda n'abandi basirikari bagenzi babo badafite inkomoko mu Rwanda. Abo bese icyo ubakotanyirije hamwe rero usanga ari inyangarwanda, ari abanzi b'u Rwanda, abantu batifuriza narimwe amahoro u Rwanda n'abaturage barwo, baba Abahutu, baba Abatwa, baba Abatutsi.

Ikibazo : Uko nubona umuti wa buriya bintu waba uwuhe ?

Igisubizo : Nk'uko nabivuze, u Rwanda rwatwe n'umutwe w'ingabo z'igihugu za Uganda. Uganda igomba kwisobonura imbere y'umuryango w'Afrika n'umuryango w'Abibumbiye, igasobanura impamvu yazituriye zimwe mu ngabo zayo k'ubutaka bw'u Rwanda. Birababaje rwose kumva ko Uganda ivuga ngo u Rwanda rwahohoteye ikirere cya Uganda ngo indege yacu y'intambara yavogereye ikirere cyabo kandi aribo baduteye. icyo kirego cya Uganda jye cyarambabaje cyane kubona umuntu agutera yarangiza akaba ariwe ujya kukurega ngo wamuhohoteye, ngo wamuvogereye kandi ariwe nyirabayazana.

Kuri jye rero Uganda gukura vuba bidatinze abasirikare bayo bashumuriye ku butaka bw'u Rwanda mu Mutara, Uganda yamara kubahakura nta n'umwe ukiharangiye hakajya ku mpaka w'u Rwanda na Uganda, umutwe w'abasirikari w'ibihugu byunze ubumwe mu guhahurana n'ubucuruzi by'i Burayi, noneho imishyikirano igatangira hagati y'u Rwanda, Uganda n'ibindi bihugu byose bitwe iwabyo impunzi z'abanyarwanda aribyo u Burundi, Zaire, Kenya n'ibindi. Noneho nyuma hakaba ibarura rihagarikiwe n'umuryango Mpuzamahanga witwa ku mpunzi ry'abashakira guhunguka, abashakira kwipumira icyo bari bagafata ubwengegihugu bwabo, n'abashakira kugumayo ariko banashakira gukomeza ubwengegihugu nyarwanda.

Iryo barura ryatangira, amahanga n'ibihugu by'inshuri bigafasha u Rwanda gutahura ababashakira bese, kubashakira ikigomba kubatunga ( abubwa) kubaka ibitato n'amavuriro, kuyashakira abakozi, kubaka amashuri y'abana no kuyaha abarimu badishoboye, n'ibindi n'ibindi bijyanye n'ikibazo cy'abantu benshi baziye icyarimwe mu gihugu batari basanzwe babamo. Nkaba rero nakwizera ko uburyo abanyarwanda bitabiriye kwamamaza ikibazo cy'inkotanyi ari nako bazitabira gufasha u Rwanda mu gutahura abanyarwanda b'impunzi babashakira bazaba babigaragaje mu ibarura, no kumvisha abadashakira gutaha ku bwende bwabo ko birangirirye aho batazongeta gushoza na rimwe intambara mu gihugu »

Ubwanditsi