

NKUNDA UKULI, NKOPESHA UKULI, KANDI NIZEYE
KO UKULI KUTAPFUKIRANWA NO KUBESHYERANA, GUSEBANYA,
BIGEZE AHO GUHIMBA AMAROZI; NI YO MPAMVU NSANZE ALI
NGOMBWA KUMULIKIRA ABASHAKA UKULI BOSE, ABALIHO N'A-
BAZAZA.-

Najyaga numva bavuga ngo Mulindahabi na Rwasibo ntibumvikana. Iteka nkibaza impamvu ikanyobera. Ntekereza ko ahali ali ukutagenderana cyane, ali ukutabona umwanya uhagije wo kuganira ngo dukuranywe impaka ku bitekerezo. Ubwo nkajya ndushaho kumugenderera, ngira ngo ndeme iteme ry'umubano urenze uwaliho, nkamugisha n'inama. Bukeye nkumva ngo buliya ntibabanye na busa, ngo umubano wabo ushingiye ku bupolitike bw'udupapuro. Nkomeje kubyumva ntyo ndifata, nanjye mpina akarenge.

Biba aho, bukeye nza guhulira na Burgmestre Rwagahilima, murumuna wa Rwasibo, ahantu yagombye kuvuga ati: urwango rwa Rwasibo na Mulindahabi. Mubaza icyo rushingiyeho. Ati: ndabizi, nzabibabwira. Musaba kuzaduhuzwa twembi Rwasibo na Mulindahabi, ali Burgmestre, naho twe tuli abajyanama ba komine ayobora, cyanga se turi abaturage basanzwe b'iyo komine, ishobobora kutumvikana kubera urwango azi neza rw'abo baturage bombi. Arabinyemerera rwose. Bukeye nkajya mubaza umunsi yazaduhuzwa, tukawumvikanaho, nkirirwa imuhira, nkagera no ku biro bya komine ntegereje igisubizo cye, iteka akabyigizayo, aho bigeze nsanga asa n'ubihunga, nako atabishaka rwose.

Mu kwezi kwa munani mu wa 1965 ushize, umugabo Pascal Rucamumakuba ahamagara iwe bamwe mu barwanashyaka bakuru ba Parmehutu ali bo: Gregori Kayibanda, Max Niyonzina, Joseph Sibomana, Claver Ndahayo, Calliope Mulindahabi, Jean-Baptiste Rwasibo, Gaspard Rwagahilima.

Twifungira mu nzu iwe, kuva saa munani kugeza saa moya y'ijoro. Dutangira kwigira hamwe iby'urwango rwa Mulindahabi na Rwasibo. Twese twemeranywa kuvugisha ukuli, kandi tugatahana umuti ukiranura abavandimwe mu buryo bwa kivandimwe.

Babanza kubaza Mulindahabi ngo: vuga icyo upfa na Rwasibo. Abatekerereza uko ubwo bwumvikane buke abwumvise kera, akakora uko ashoboye ngo buvaho bikanga, bukeye nkumva ko ahubwo ali urwango, abyumvanye Burgmestre murumuna we; akamusaba ko yazabibumenyesha bakabyikiranuramo, bikabura, none akaba yishimiye kubona umwanya wo kumenya nibura icyo upfa; ashimira Pascal uwo mutima yagize wo kubahuliza kuli icyo kibazo kibabaje abavandimwe.

Bati: wowe uko ubitekereza mupfa iki? Ababwira ko yumvise ko muli programe ya Rwasibo n'abo bafatanyije, bavugaga ngo uwabaha uburyo bwo kumwambura umugabo Chrystophe Bizimana, mugenzi we babanye kuva bakili bato, ngo batandukanye akibanira nabo bonyine, byaba bibaye intambwe mu byifuzo byabo byo kumutandukanya n'abaturage.

Rwasibo, Mulindahabi, Rwagahilima, n'abandi, bahulira kwa Bizimana kumwifuriza umunsi mwiza muli Yuli y'uwa 1965. Bizimana aza gukora diskuru avuga ko Rwasibo ali we kubaho kwe, ali we buzima bwe. Ubwo bigaterwa n'uko amaze kumuha uburyo bwo kugura imodoka ya kanyo. Mulindahabi ahawe ijamba, atekereje na ya programu bafite, aza kuvuga ati: ibyo Rwasibo yakugiliye ni byiza, turabishima twese, aliko ahanini icyo dushima n'uko yabigiliraga umugabo nkawe, tuzi twese ho ubugabo n'ubwitonzi, uzi kwihambira ku mulimo we, n'undi wundi yabikugilira. Arakomeza ati: iyo modoka yaje uyicyura iwawe, mu rugo rwawe, n'umugore wawe n'abana bawe, uyicyura imbere y'inyumba yawe, ubwo rero wali uliho mbere yo kubona iyo modoka.

Arangiza agira ati: ahali uwo munsi haba hali ijamba libi naba naravuze, kuko iteka nigengeseraga kugira icyo navugaho Rwasibo.

Ubwo Rwasibo ati: shwi da. Nta n'ijambo libi na limwe twigeze tuvuga; kuli ibyo wishyikilize umutima mu nda. Rwagahilima na we abyungamo ati: rwose icyo gihe twariganiriraga nta jambo libi na limwe twavuze, ndetse nta n'uwali akibiyibuka.

Mulindahabi aravuga ati: ndumva umutima wanjye wururutse, ni aho hajyaga hantera akoba, naho ubundi ntacyo mpfa na Rwasibo.

Noheho ijambo lihabwa Rwasibo. Ati: ndabivuga neza. Mulindahabi na Rwasibo, mu mubano w'ingo zacu, mu byo dutunze, turabanye neza, nta kintu na busa mpfa na we. Aliko Mulindahabi muli politike, ntabwo nshobora kwumvikana nawe na busa. Kuba yarabaye Sekreteri Jenerali wa Parmehutu kuva mu ntangiliro yayo kugeza ubu, igikozwe muli Parti cyose, n'iyi yaba yacyumvikanyeho n'abandi, kigomba kugira uruhare rwe bwite kimusigira, akaba ari we cyandikwaho. Yigeze kuvugira muli Kongre ya Parmehutu ibya Nkundabera, avuga amazina y'abantu batatu bavugwaho ibya Nkundabera. Icyo gihe nali i Burayi, aho ntahukiye umuntu arambwira ngo nagize Imana sinahaba, naho ubundi nanjye aba yaramvuzwe nkaba uwa kane kuli icyo liste. Ibyo byarandiye, birambabaza cyane, nshaka guhamagaza Kongre ngo ibisuzume birambulira, bintera kuzenga no kutumvikana na Mulindahabi kugeza na n'ubu. Rwasibo arongerera ati: bukeye nanone avugira muli Kongre ibya Nzeru. Numva abantu banyongolera ngo nanjye nyilimo, nanone birushaho kumbabaza. Bukeye haza ibya Nangabanshura, aliko ibyo byo ntibabimvugaho, kuko nanjye ndi mu bacura abandi. None numva bambwira ngo sinaba ndi mu murongo wa Parti. Hali n'igrupe y'abantu bumvikana na Prezida, bakamwishyikiraho kundusha.

Dutangira kubisuzuma. Babaza Mulindahabi ko hali icyo yigeze kumva kuli ibyo Rwasibo amaze kuvuga. Asubiza ko ibyo kuba Nkundabera ari ibyo yigeze kumvana umuntu, akabihakana, akamutwama, abona ko birangiliye aho. Rwasibo abaza Mulindahabi icyatumye adahamagaza Kongre ngo abihakaniremo. Amusubiza ko kuli we, Mulindahabi, Sekreteri Jenerali wa Parmehutu, areba abaparmehutu bose ku rugero runwe: umuparmehutu w'i Mushubati cyanga uw'i Gitarama, amufata kimwe n'uw'i Cyangugu cyangwa uw'i Kibungo, cyangwa uwo mu yindi Prefecture iyo ari yo yose. Ati iyo mushaka kubisuzumira mu nama ya Parti, mwajyaga kubishyira muli Sekretariya y'Akarere ya Gitarama, umuyobozi wayo icyo gihe kandi yari Sentama, inshuti yawe y'amagara, ngira ngo aho gukora uwo mulimo wo kubakira Parti n'abayo, ni we ahubwo wagiye abyandurukana abikwiza mu Rwanda hose.

Rwasibo abaza Mulindahabi ati: kuki utambwiye ko babimvugaho? Amusubiza ko Mulindahabi atabunza amazimwe. Ati: iyaba ari jye wabivuze, ni ho nali kuza nkakongolera nti: aho urabizi, barakuvugaho ibi n'ibi, ngira ngo nibikugeraho utazakoka ko ari jye wabivuze. Naho ubundi jye, sinjya kuvuga ibyo ntazi, ntemera. Mulindahabi abaza Rwasibo igituma we ntacyo yabimumenyeshejeho, alicecokera ntiyamusubiza.

Burgmestre Rwagahilima ati nanjye ndabivuga ntacyo mpishe, ati: icyakora, icyo nzi numvise, ni uko Mulindahabi yambwiye ko icyo bali mu nama Rwasibo akunda kubarushya agafatanya n'abazungu.

Mulindahabi amubaza niba ari icyo cyonyine yamwumviseho. Rwagahilima ati: ni icyo nta kindi. Mulindahabi amusubiriza hamwe n'abali bho bose, ati: naho Kaliopé nali amabuye, niba ari icyo jambo ryonyine wanyumviseho kuli mukuru wawe?

Ubwo ikiganiro twakirekeshejwe n'ijoro. Indunduro yacyo iba iy'uko duteranywa n'abaza kutwongolera ngo baduteranye, ko noneho uzagira icyo yumva ku wundi, aho kukibika mu mutima ngo bimare imyaka ine yose, yazaduteranyiliza hamwe tukabisuzuma, tukareba ufudikiye undi, tukavura amazimwe hakili kare, ntazagombe guhindukamo inzangano.

Ubwo Mulindahabi aravuga ati: ubwo twumvikanye neza ko uzafudikira undi, tuzabimenyeshya hakili kare, reka dukureho ibyo abantu bagenderaho kugira ngo baduteranye. Dore Komine ya Nyamabuye n'iya Mushubati zumvikanye guhuza umuhanda, Komine zombi zitungany ahazo, bigeze ku kiraro kili munsi y'iwanyije, Komine ya Nyamabuye itinda uruhande rwayo, urwo ku ya Mushubati rurasigara, dore imyaka igiye kuba ine. Nabibwiye Burgmestre Rwagahilima wa Mushubati, ambwira ko urutindo rwubatse muli Nyamabuye ari Mushubati yarwubatse, naho Nyamabuye ikazubaka urw'i Mushubati.

Abaza Burgmestre Sibomana wa Nyamabuye, aramubwira ati : nimutunganyo iby'iwanyu, naho iby'i Nyamabuye narabitunganyije. Hanyuma abaza aba Burgmestre bombi hamwe, uw'i Mushubati avuga ko atali abizi neza, ngo noncho agiye kubikora. Ubwo yabibwiraga Burgmestre Rwagahilima na Burgmestre Sibomana, hanyuma bombi hamwe, ali uko abaturage bamubwiye bati : ngo ntabwo liriya teme lizatindwa na limwe, ngo kuko Rwasibo na murumuna we Rwagahilima bagomba kumenya igihe uviriye iwawe n'igihe uhasubiliye, bakamenya uje iwawe n'igihe ahaviliye, yaba adatahukanye kwa Rwasibo ngo amenyereho ibyo mwavuganye, bakamushyiraho magigili ngo bazamenye ibyo mwavuganye.

Kutubaka iryo teme si amafanga komine yabuze, kuko byemerewe mu nama ya komine, kandi nyuma y'aho tugakomeza ahubwo guhanga indi nihanda.

Burgmestre Rwagahilima asubizako ibyo bizaba bitunganywa, kuko ngo ntaho bihuriye n'ibyaturanye.

Mulindahabi yongera kumenyeshya abali aho ibyerekeye isambu ye, ati: Aho ntuye nahagiye muri 1960, mpataha kuli 19 Yuni 1961. Ni ahantu hitwa "ikidaturwa", haheruka umuntu mbere ya Rumanura. Aho twahaherewe limwe, tugeze nko ku ngo munani, bese bahawe pla y'isambu yabo, abaturage bakamenyeshya ko ari jye usigaye. Naha icyo pla Burgmestre, akambwira ko ari ukubera umwanya muto gusa mu milimo ashinzwe. Abaturage bakambwira ko Burgmestre atazayimpa, ngo ndetse azayikwambura. Nabimubwira, ati: ba uretse? None nkifuza ko icyo kibazo nacyo cyarangiye, ntihasigaye akantu hagati yacu.

- Burgmestre asubiza ko abaturage bese ba komine nibamara kubona pla y'amasambu yabo, Mulindahabi agasanga ari we wenyine usigaye, aho ariho azazana icyo kibazo. Rwasibo yungamo ati : Sinemeye ko Mulindahabi avanga ikibazo cyanyije n'icy'ubutegetsu bwa komine, niyo murumuna wanyije yaba ari we uyitegeka. Ubwo ga baba baramucyashyeye, arabihorera, none hatangiye gukorwa propagande yo kumuteza bamwe mu baturage ngo nibasabe kuli icyo sambu.

Abali aho mu kanama k'ubuvandimwe bati : nimutaha, uzongera kwumva ko mugenzi we hali icyo yamukoshereje, azabitumenyeshye hakiri kare, bitagombye kwihemberamo akazika mu mutima.

Ubwo dutaha bwije, Mulindahabi atahana umutima ukeye, amenye icyo ari na Rwasibo, asanze bishingiye gusa ku mazingira, yizeye ko ntawe uzongera kubika amazingira mu mutima, ngo bigomba kubanza inzira. Arataha, araryama, arasinzira, yilinda kugira uwo yavugaga, ati : hato ejo hatazagira n'ibyo bamubwira.

X X

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Reka itora lize rero ikibyinbye kimeneke?

1) Itora ry'abapropagandiste ba Parti : Kugira ngo mbunvishe iby'i-tora ry'abapropagandiste, n'ibikorwa muri komine ya Mushubati, keretse mperereye ku itora ry'abapropagandiste. Mu kwezi kwa gatatu ku mwaka ushize, niho Parti yavuguruye amategekako yayo, yongera n'umubare w'abarwanashyamba. Ubwo muri komine ya Mushubati, abaturage bari bahagaraliye n'abantu batarenze ijana, cyangwa balisagaho gato. Komine ya Mushubati ifite abagabo basora barenze ibihumbi bine magana atanu (4.500). Uwayoboye iryo tora ni Bwana Depite Matiyasi Mpiranya wo mu Ruhengeri, muzamubaze niba hali icyo mbeshyaho. Mulindahabi yaraje asanze abantu bangana batyo, bahagaraliye ibihumbi by'abaturage ba komine, kandi n'abahali asanga ari abaturuka ku murenge umwe wa komine, n'abandi b'intarurutsi cyangwa se baralitswe gusa baturutse ku yindi mirengi imwe n'imwe, asaba ijamba umuyobozi w'icyo nama Bwana Depite Matiyasi Mpiranya, aramutsa abaturage bari aho, ababwira ko biteje isoni kubona ubuke bwabo mu bintu birebera Parti n'igihugu, ababwira ko ibintu bipfuyitse bityo Mulindahabi atabyinjiramo. Abazazagira aligendera, asiga intumwa yabigenewe ngo ikore uko ibyumva. Ubwo Burgmestre Rwagahilima avugaga ko abaturage, cyane ab'inyuma ya Mushubati, b'i Mwaka na Gishweru, batari inama icyo ari cyo, badashimishijwe no kuza mu nama n'ibiyikorereye, ko ahubwo umutima wabo wahugiye mu bisimu bya gasegereti. Ubwo Rwasibo abisigaramo, afatanyije n'umuyobozi, amwumvisha ko ari ngombwa gutora, ubwo nibwo itora libaye, abajyanama ba komine bonyerwaho abarwanashyamba baturuka mu karere kamwe, aho cyane cyane ku murenge umwe, ndetse nyuma Rwasibo asanga ngo hatwemo abarunali baturanye. Itora ry'abapropagandiste lirangiye, batora responsible aba Matiyasi

Rwagahilima, Bourgmestre wa komine Mushubati, murumuna wa Rwasibo, yandikisha udupapuro tuliho amazina atandatu, atwandikishiliza mu biro bya komine, maze mu cyumweru cya nyuma mbere y'itora, azenguruka komine, we na Mathias Habyalimana, propagandiste, ngo barajya kujijura abaturage mu nama z'imirenge. Babaha twa dupapuro tw'abo bazatora, buli muntu akajyana ake. Abakozi ba komine bakora ako kazi, abapolisi ba komine bajya kubyemeza uwaramuka ashatse kubyangana. Abaturage bababazwa no kubona Bourgmestre ubwe, abakozi ba komine, abapolisi, na bamwe mu barwanashyaka ba Parti, bapfunda ku ngufu utwo tuliste abaturage, kandi barababwiye ko bazihitiramo ubwabo mu bakandida 24. Abaturage basanga Mulindahabi atalimo bakabibaza. Bakabasubiza ko bene kiliya kitagomba gutorwa, ko na Leta itakimwemera. Abaturage bagataha bibabaje, aliko bagapfukiranwa.

Umunsi w'itora Mulindahabi areba umwuka uhahumekwa, areba uko bashyizeho abahagararira itora n'abagomba kwandikira abatabizi, aratora arataha. Rwasibo we yirirwa ubwe ku biro by'itora, avugira muli mikro, yitwaje ngo arashyira abantu ku mirongo, abereka n'aho bajya gutorera, kandi abakandida twaragombaga kubirekera prezida w'ibiro n'abafasha be babigenewe. Yewe, nta kitabaye uwo munsi, ngira ngo nta yindi komine yali ifite umuntu uhagaze ku isanduku batoreramo, uzanye urupapuro rwe, akabanza kuruzingura ngo arebe abo yatoye, akabona kurushyira mu isanduku.

Ibarura ry'amajwi ridukurikiranya litya:

1. Kayibanda	agira amajwi	II.675
2. Rwasibo	" "	II.307
3. Mukandamage	" "	6.291
4. Sentama	" "	6.246
5. Utumabahutu	" "	6.019
6. Niyonzima	" "	5.708
7. Mulindahabi	" "	5.553

Bityo ibarura ry'amajwi riha Mulindahabi umwanya wa kalindwi muli komine ya Mushubati, aliko agira umwanya wa gatatu muli prefecture yose. Arashimira abaturage ba komine ya Mushubati kuko bashakaga kumuha amajwi aruse ayo, aliko iterabwoba rya Bourgmestre, n'irya propagandiste, barwana ishya-ka rya Rwasibo babeshyera kandi basebya abandi, ntiribakundire, agashimira n'abaturage bose ba Prefecture ya Gitarama bakulikiye ukuli n'ubwizere bafitiye abarwanashyaka bababoneye izuba rya Demokarasi, batitaye ku mahari n'umururumba w'abamaze gusinda ubutegetsu bavir'ind'imwe ku batabakuye.

X X X - Itora lirangiye, Mulindahabi ariruhutsa yibwira ko inkeke yaliho X X X irangiye. Aliko arebye asanga bamushyizeho abantu b'ingenza baza kumwumva amagambo. Kuva ku itora aliko umunwa we arawufunga. Nibwo umwe muli izo ngenza witwa Izaki Rukeramihigo amuraje ku ijoro, kugeza mu gicuku hagati. Aho bigeze aramubwira ati: ngeza haliya, ni ho Rwasibo asanzwe anzeze. Arahamugeza. Bukeye Rukeramihigo ajya kwa Rwasibo gutanga raporo. Mulindahabi avuye i Kigali saa sita y'ijoro, abona Rwasibo amuli imbere ajyanye uwo Izaki. Berekeza mu nzira irwe n'igana kwa Mulindahabi, na we arabakurikira, abasanga hahandi yaraye amugejeje. Arabasuhuka baramwihorera, agira gatatu. Noneho aritahira. Bukeye uwo mugabo Izaki yandikira Mulindahabi urwandiko, ku italiki ya 5 novembri 65, agira ati: "Uzi ukuntu twaruhanye turara amajoro ngaho za Bukavu, ngaho za Ruhengeri, n'ahandi... Aliko nyuma ingororano yawe umwanya wanjye uwushyiramo Balikage, ... nyuma n'uko wagiye unsebya ndabizi, gusa n'uko iyeze itirabura... Ikindi nkwiyamye ni uguhora ungenzura ngo ntwawe na nde mu modoka. Ntiba ari iyawe... Mbese ye, emera unyerurire nanjye ngusebye nk'uko wagiye unsebya." Kuva ubwo Izaki uwo akomeza programe yo gusebya Mulindahabi, aliko ntiyongera kugaruka kumutesha igihe. Balikage uwo avuga yabaye sushefu w'agateganyo muli 1959-1960. Mulindahabi nta busashefu yigeze atanga kandi ntiyigeze aba shefu mu Marangara.

Ubwo Mulindahabi alichecekeramurumuna ntiyamusubiza. Urwo rwandiko rumwibutsa urwo mugabo Izaki yamwandikiye ku italiki ya 9/12/1963 ruteye rutya: "Ndagusaba ngo unsobanulire ibintu bibili maze iminsi nibaza: a) Muzi ko twarwanyije lunari kandi nubu tutararuhuka, ubwo si ukugira ngo na twe tubeho neza? Mubona kandi, ali jye uzaguma mu bukene abandi mugumya kubazamura?

b) Kuki njya kumva nkumva kanaka yabonye umulimo umuzamura, nkabo kare kose babaga he mu gihe twararaga mu bigunda? Kuki batagaragaraga? None bamaze kubona twararwanyije inkundura, barigaragaza. Nshima wa mugabo wise umwana we "Mbonabaryi". Ni koko, usibye mu bafite amashuri yisumbuye, aho abandi hali undusha kwandika cyangwa undusha igifransa? Ntegereje igisubizo. Ndibaza undusha ishyamba muli Parti aho nde?"

Reka ibyo by'amahari tubyihorere, nubwo aho byo ntangiliro ya byose, ku byerekeye uwo mwalimu utalize n'umwaka wa mbere w'amashuri abanza (ni ko bili), dukomereze aho twari tugereye mu by'umwaka ushize.

Ku italiki ya 4/12/1965 burgmestre Rwagahilima, murumuna wa Rwasibo, yandikira Kaliyope Mulindahabi, Sekreteri Jenerali wa Parmehutu agira ati: "... Abandi ni abababajwe n'amajwi baguhaye, bataramenya ko wataye umurongo wa Parti... Ubu rero ngo ugiye gutunganya Parti yawe, ngo uvane ku mulimo abatagutuye... Rero ngo uzahere ku bayobozi ba komine bataguhaye umuhanda munsu y'iwawe, bakaba bataguhaye n'isambu y'umuntu muturanye, bakaba kandi ngo bazazira ko bavugiyemo mu ruhame uko wahiye mbye UBUKUNDABERA n'icyo wabuhimbiye... Ko ushaka guteranya komine ya Mushubati na Parmehutu, niba udashakira kuhatura ngo n'uko utahabonye amajwi y'abaturage bese, ukaba wenda wifuza gutura aho wayabonye, nuhagera ntuyahabone uzajya gutura mu kirere, ko baba umugani ngo "ugaya impfura z'iwabo bucuza yimuka"? ... Bwana Sekreteri Jenerali, niba ukomeje gutera impagarara mu baturage, ibyawe tuzabishyira ahagaragara... Kuko bikomeje uko bili, mu gihe gito byatwicirira komine... Rero ngo numara gushinga Sekretariya ya Parti i Gitarama n'i Kigali, umaze kubona abasilikare bakurinda, ngo akazavugira uzagakandagira."

Tuzi neza ko Mulindahabi ntawe yigeze akandagiza umusilikare mu myaka ine yose yayoboye Ingabo z'Igihugu, none ngo abo azatira ni bo azakandagiza abantu?

X X
X

Burgmestre amaze gutegeza Mulindahabi ko ibye bagiye kubishyira ahagaragara, ntihashira ibyumweru bibili atarangije intego yabo. Nibwo ku italiki ya 16/12/1965 hadutse inkuru y'uburozi kwa Rwasibo no mu biro bya komine ya Mushubati.

Dore uko benebyo babivugaga: ngo Rwasibo yarabyutse, agiye gufata icyayi, umugore aramubuza. Rwasibo amubajije impamvu yamubuza kunywa icyo cyayi, undi aramusubiza ati umuboyi ni we wabigutekerereza. Umuboyi ati dore ibyo nahawe na Banzubaze ngo nzabishyire mu byo kurya, none byanteye ubwoba. Ambwira kandi ko nindamuka murangiliye ubwo butumwaza azangulira igare ry'ibihembo, akanangerekeraho n'amafuranga, kandi ko ngo na Mulindahabi yazampemba.

Ubwo Rwasibo yumvise iby'umuboyi we amaze kuvugaga, yihutira kubishyikiriza umutegetsi wa komine ya Mushubati murumuna wa burgmestre Rwagahilima. Nibwo rero burgmestre afashe Banzubaze amufungira muli komine, amwiharerana iminsi amukoresha anketi amubwira ko atari we bashakira, ko yemeza gusa ko ari Mulindahabi wamutumye. Nuko Banzubaze, uretse agahinda ko kubeshyerwa no gufungirwa ubusa, ahakanira burgmestre ko atashobora guhimbira umuntu ibyo atakoze.

Nuko iby'uburozi babifindafindira muli icyo anketi yabereye hagati y'umuryango wa Rwasibo na murumuna wa Rwagahilima. Murabyumva aliko ko na Sentama atashoboraga kwihanganira kubiburamo. Nyuma bageze aho batabaza abategetsi ba Prefecture n'abagenzacyaha. Nuko Banzubaze avanwaga mu buroko bwa komine, we na wa muboyi wo kwa Rwasibo bashyikirizwa Parke, nayo irabikurikirana.

Iby'igare ryavuzwe, ni igare umugabo yaguzwe n'umuboyi wo kwa Rwasibo. Nuko bihererana uwo mugabo baramubwira ngo nahakane ko iryogare atali umuboyi wabo waliguzwe, ko ahubwo ryaguzwe na Banzubaze. Undi ati sinjya kubeshyera umunyarwanda, igare nali guze n'umuboyi wanyu.

Ku italiki ya 17/3/1966 niko Parke yatangaje irangizwa ry'umulimo wayo. Kuli iyo taliki nyine, niko Bwana Ministre w'Ubutegetsi n'Ubucama-nza yaje gukoresha inama muli komine ya Mushubati ngo asobanulire abaturage icyo ankete y'uburozi yagezeho. icyakora rero, nk'uko bisanzwe muli iyo komine, abali baje muli iyo nama ni abaturage b'umurenge umwe gusa, aho aho Remera, bali baralitswe babwiliywe n'ibyo baza kubaza muli iyo nama. Naho abapolisi ba komine bali bashyizwe mu mayira ngo babuze abaturage bo mu zindi mpande za komine kuza kumva ibivugirwa muli iyo nama. Nuko Bwana Ministre abwira abaturage bali aho ku mugaragaro ko ankete zasanze ntacyerekeye kuli Mulindahabi ku byo bamuvugaho byose; ko nta n'igihanywa Banzubaze. Nuko infungwa zirarekurwa.

Banzubaze uwo yali inshuti ikomeye ya Rwasibo, ndetse akaba yarabyawe mu batisimu na Rwagahilima murumuna wa Rwasibo, bagashaka ko yakomezaza kubana nabo bonyine ndetse akanga Mulindahabi, bibananiye ni ko kumucira uburozi, baramufungisha. Banzubaze ntiyatunguwe n'ayo makubayamubayeho kuko burgumestre yali amaze iminsi amubwira ko natanga Mulindahabi azabona ibyago bikomeye, kandi akamubwira ngo ibyo byago bigiye kumugwira arabishakira iki? Banzubaze akibaza ibyo ari byo bikamuyobera. Ahakanira burgumestre ko atashobora kwangira umuntu ubusa. Banzubaze uwo ni umugabo wanga amafuti, adetse no ku ngoma ntutsi yemeye gufungirwa kwanga guhunikira ibishyamba muli 1958, atoterezwa ko yaharaniraga ukwishyira ukizana Gahutu yali abuze muli icyo gihe. Mulindahabi rero ntiyigeze agira ubwoba bw'uko Banzubaze yamubeshyera, kuko ubugiranabi yali amaze kugirirwa na se wa batisimu n'umuryango we birenze urugero: nta bugome burenze gucira undi uburozi no kumufungisha azira ubusa?

X X X

Uwo mukino wa sene y'uburozi wabereye kwa Rwasibo n'ab'awe. Uko byaje kwototera Mulindahabi ni byo umuntu yakwibaza. Iyo nkuru y'uburozi yahereyeko iba propagande ya politike. Abayamamaza banyohereye na kuyi-kwiza mu Gihugu cyose, bazenguruka za prefecture. Ntaliwe mvuga bamwe mu bashinzwe roho zacu babyiroshyemo, bahumishwa n'ubucuti bafitanye na Rwasibo, bibagirwa Ivanjili ibategeka gutarura intama yazimiye, bateshuka ku mulimo w'ububuyeyi badufiteho, babogamira mu gipande kimwe, bakwirakwiza inzangano n'amazimwe, bigeza aho batinye kwivugira mu izina, bumviye mu ntebe ya penetensiya. Imana ishimwe kuko abo bapagani ari bake kandi idufashe umubare wabo ntuziyongere. Igazeti yacu Kinyamateka yarikwiliye kutumenyeshya ukuli, kuko ari imwe itagira indi iyivuguruza mu Gihugu cyacu gikeneye cyane n'amagazeti, kandi akaba ari igazeti gatolika, ikiyivuzwemo cyose umuturage apfa kumirango padri ucyandika ni umubuyeyi kandi roho Matagatifu amulinda kuyoba, nayo bayikoreramwo politike ya Munyangire, bayihindura igikoresheye cya propagande y'uburozi cyo gukwirakwiza ku mugaragaro ibisebyo, inzangano, amahali, n'andi zizageraho, ishoka ishuhuzwaga ibaza igihe Kongre ya Parti izabera, ikorwa n'isoni zo kubona abantu b'ibikomere b'ibikomere bajya muli ankete, aho yashimishijwe no kubona ko abantu bose bareshya imbere y'amategeko.

Ibyo byose byahimbiwe gusa gusebya Mulindahabi na bamwe mu barwanashyaka, kumusenya, kumurangaza mu milimo ashinzwe no kumutesha agaciro mu baturage. Kandi ababilimo babityayemo, icyo bahuliyeho, kibahuje gusa, ni ukwanga Mulindahabi.

X X X

Mu kwezi kwa mbere k'uyu mwaka 1966 Mulindahabi yandikirwa amabaruwa ageze nko kuli atanu y'abantu kufatanyije ubushenzi n'ubupagani batakwiye gutangwaho urugero mu bandi, nka Krizostome Hitimana, Frodualidi Nyamwigema, Matiyasi Nkerabigwi. Awe avuga ngo : " Urubaka amagorofa nkibera mu ivundi, uko uhindura costume niko uhindura imodoka. Niko ye, urinda kungambanira ngo mpfe, wanyirasiye ubwawe ko bitakunaniye ? Rero n'uko haliho abagenewe ako kazi, bakagahemberwa, nk'uko haliho abatangiye kukwirahira. Batabayeho kandi haliho ibyaba bitagikora akazi kabyo: nk'inzoga zaborera mu bibindi, n'amafanga ntiyaba akibona aho abikwa."

Ayo mabaruwa asuzumwa mu nama y'abarwanashyaka muli komine yabaye ku wa 6/2/1966. Amabaruwa arasomwa, barangije babwira Mulindahabi ngo nasubize. Ababwira ko yishimiye ko bumvise nabo ibyo yajyaga asoma wenyine, ko yifuza ko byumvwa na benshi kugira ngo barebe nabo ibinyoma no gusebanya bili muli izo nzandiko; kandi ko nibimara kumenyekana, ali abandika ali n'ababoshya, bose biza bhinduka: ubugiranabi ntibuherezayo. Ababwira ko haliho inkiko, uhaba kurega akazagenda akarega nk'uko nawe nibakomeza kumushotora uwo azashaka kurega azamurega; hakabaho mbutegets bakabushyikiriza ibibwerekeye; hakabaho na Parti, bajonjora muli ayo mabaruwa ibireba Parti bakabimwerekaga, akazabasubiza uko bashaka ali mu magambo cyangwa mu nyandiko. Abamenyesha ko adashobora gusubiriza mu nama ya Parti ibaruwa y'uwiga kwandika wese, keretse Parti yemeye ikayagira ayayo, abarwanashyaka bakamubaza akabasubiza, aliko abaturage bakaguka. Atugira inama y'uko akanana k'abatatu bayobora ibiro by'ishingiro muli komine katwigira ibili muli ayo mabaruwa bireba Parti, umwe udahali agasimburwa na Rwasibo, maze bakadushakira ibibazo azasubiza. Rwasibo nibwo bimurakaje, avuga ko Mulindahabi adakwiye gusubiza inama atyo, yemeza ko inzandiko ali iza Parti, ngo ziravuga ikibazo rusange, ngo icyo abo bantu bashaka ni amahoro, Mulindahabi nayatange.

Mulindahabi amubiza asubiza n'inama ko nta muturage uha undi amahoro, keretse atanze aye yali afite, akisigarira aho. Naho ubundi hali abategets bagomba kubahiliza amahoro kuli buli muturage wese, kandi bafite ingufu za Leta za ngombwa ngo bubahilize amahoro y'abaturage; naho Mulindahabi nta amahoro afite yo gutanga.

Ayo mabaruwa yali agereye gusa gusebya Mulindahabi.

X X
X

Ku wa 7/4/1966, ku munsu wa Mutagatifu Kaliyope, bazina wa Mulindahabi, kwa Rwasibo bakwiza inkuru ngo Mulindahabi araza kubatera. Batabaza Prefe, Komiseri n'abapolisi barara ironde. Baza guhura n'igitero ry'abantu, bahonye abapolisi barikanga, bahunga bashaka kwihisha. Ijoro ryali rigeze hagati. Abapolisi barasa mu kirere. Umuyobozi w'abo bantu abwira abapolisi ati: ntimutwagure, si twe babahamagarije, twe turajya gutabara Rwasibo.

Tuza kumenya ko kwa Rwasibo batabaje abapolisi n'abasivili, bagira ngo nibasakirana, abapolisi baze gukeka ko ali abantu boherejwe na Mulindahabi gutera Rwasibo, baze kugira uhakomerekeraga, ako kanya bakwize hose ko ali Mulindahabi wamwicishije; abapolisi ntibali bazi ko hali abantu bandi bararitswe gutabara Rwasibo, abo bantu nabo ntibali bazi ko hali abapolisi bali buhure. Mana ikinga ukuboko; ubwitonzi bw'abo bapolisi buturinda ayo mahane.

X X
X

Nk'uko natangiye mbivuga kare kwose, nkunda ukuli, nkoresha ukuli, kandi nizeye ko ukuli kutapfukiranywa no kubeshyerana, gusebanya, bigeze aho guhimba amarozi, niyo mpamvu nsanze ali ngombwa kumulikira abashaka ukuli bose, abaliho n'abazaza.

Ikinteye kwandika si ukwiregura kubyo bambeshyeho byose, kandi n'ubu bagikomeza gukora. Nandika ibi, nsanze ali nko kwishyura umwenda nali mbereyemo abashaka kumenya ukulibose, no kuba ali ko biyoboresha, nsanga iyi nyandiko yagorora amateka y'u Rwanda ku bashaka ukuli bose, ikabumvisha propagande ziliho muli iki gihe, zatangiranye n'ili tora lishize ry'Abadepite, kandi zitazabura gukomeza igihe cyose haliho abashaka kulirira kuli Parti ngo bigerere ku byabo.

Nkili Ministre w'Ingabo z'Igihugu numvaga bavuga ngo uwabaha ngo bankure ku Buminstre gusa, naho ibyo kunkura kuba Sekreteri Jenerali wa Parti ntibiruhije. Uwo mulimo w'ubuyobozi bwa Parti narawutorewe, nywongezwa ntabisabye, ahubwo nsaba kubireka ngasimburwa mu neza, ntibyemerwa. Ubwo buyobozi bwa Parti mbukorana ishyaka n'umutima mwiza nsanganywe. Sinali nyobewe imiruhu nsanzwe nyukorana, n'imitego yindi iwuntegerejemo. Byose nakomeje kubyitondamo, ndeba igitunganiye Parti n'Imana Rulema. Sinemeye gukulikira abashakaga gushyira muli Parti amazimwe n'amarozi, kandi twese tuzi icyo programe yayo itwigisha. Sinakurikiye abashatse kwiga amazimwe n'amarozi mu Ntek, ishingira amategeko, nk'aho ali itegeko lishya twigaga ngo tulishyikilize igihugu.

Hali propagande zivuga ngo uwakuraho ali Mulindahabi ali na Rwasibo, ngo byatungana. Ibyo byaba ali ugukulikira neza umurongo w'abahimbye amarozi, no gukinishiliza Parti mu murengwe w'abayikiliyemo, kuko ngo umugabo wifitiye inzu mu mug, akigilira amangazini n'imodoka, ngo ashobora kwiyicalira aho adakora, abuzabandi uburyo, ategereje kureba uko Mulindahabi azagenda ibirenge igihe yazaba atakili Sekreteri Jenerali wa Parmehutu. Ikindi rero ni ugushyirirwaho iruhanda rw'ikibazo, kandi n'uwanzi mbura ntabwo yaba afite inzira yo gutunganya imilimo ye. Ikibazo ni iki:

Mwemeye muli Parmehutu gukoresha uburyo bwose bwo kwiyamamaza, mukoresha ibinyuranyije na programe yayo, nka imali, urwango, gusebanya, gucirana amarozi, ali ugushyirirwaho gusa kuvugwa no kurushaho kumenyekana, ngo ubone uko ukomeza gukora propagande yawe muli Parti n'inyuma yayo ?

X

X

X

Baparmehutu, Barwanashyaka ba Parmehutu, mbashimiye uko mwifashe muli iki gihe gisa n'icyagenewe kubapima ngo barebe uko uburwanashyaka bwanyu bushingiye kuli Parti bungana. Umuparmehutu w'ukuli wese ntiyahungabanyijwe na muyaga. Usibye n'umunyarwanda usanzwe azi ko uwo wanga umucira uburozi, na benshi mu banyamahanga bumva ukuli ntibabyemeye, bareyeko bumva umudeli mushya wa politike y'amarozi, basigara bibaza gusa amaherezo byabyo. Abacumbagira muli Parti babyohotseho, aliko benshi muli bo babiseka, kuko nta muntu ushyira mu gaciro wabyemera. Inyenzi zirabishima, kuko zibonye icyuho cyo gutera igihugu. Abasabosi bose barasusurukirwa.

Baparmehutu mutatezutse mwese, ndabashimiye, mbashimiye ishyaka ryanyu. Sinarangiza ntabwo bukiye ingingo zimwe zabafasha mu milimo yanyu.

Umurwanashyaka wa M.D.R. Parmehutu agomba kuba urumuli rwa Demokrasi.

Umurwanashyaka wa M.D.R. Parmehutu ntarangwaho imico ya gihake n'udusigisigi twayo, ali ku giti cye, ali no mu milimo akora. Ntasopanya abo bali kumwe n'abo bakorana, yaciye ukubili n'ingeso mbi y'ubugigili, no gusebya abandi mu cyayenge.

Umurwanashyaka agomba kuba inkingi y'amahoro mu rwego alimo, akalinda Parti icyakurura urugomo cyose, icyo abonye cyakwicira Parti akacyereka ubutegetsu. Ubugigili n'ubusopanishye bikanga amahoro mu batwara kurusha ubunyoni bweruye.

Umurwanashyaka agomba kumenya ko uburadere, uburundi n'ubunyenzi ntabwo byagiye, byiyorobetse gusa, bigafata umudeli mushya wo gusopanya abaparmehutu mu gisilimu cya kizungu, babifashijwemo na Gashakafayida ushaka kuzungura Gashakabuhake.

Umurwanashyaka azirana d'ubuho politike dushingiye ku turere, ku nzu, ku miryango n'amoko. Ushaka kumunga Demokrasi, intwari ye ya mbere ni bene icyo. icyiza mu by'aturere tw'Igihugu, n'uko umurwanashyaka wese yakwerekana abandi icyo abona mu karere atuyemo ari neza cyakungura abaturage n'izindi mpande z'Igihugu.

Umurwanashyaka ntahumishwa n'ubuvandimwe n'ubucuti, ngo ahinduke umuhangajambo, yivuguruzwe mubyo yari asanzwe yigisha abaturage, acishe ukubili n'inyigisho za Parti, ari ku kuli kandi akubona.

Umurwanashyaka yubaha ubutegetsi, akabwubahisha, akabushyigikira, niyo ubutegetsi bwaba bufitwe n'umuntu utamuyuze ku mutima. Kubaha ubutegetsi ntibinyuranyije no kwerekana amakasa yabaho; gusebya umutegetsi ni ukuyobya abaturage no guhemukira Demokrasi.

Umurwanashyaka ntagomba kurwanira umwanya mu butegetsi bw'Igihugu, kuko kwirukira igitinyiro no gutwara ari agasigisigi ka gihake. Kwitwara shereza akamara ubona ko wagilirira abaturage byo ni byiza, Parti irabishyiririra: bikore mu mategeko ya Parti, udasopanya abandi barwanashyaka, utabanza guteranya abo ejo uzagomba kungira kuzuzwa programe ya Parti izaba yakutwara.

Umurwanashyaka ashimishwa n'uko abaturage baza mu nama ari benshi. Umubare muke w'abaza ni ikimenyetso cyo gusigara inyuma mu majyambere ya Demokrasi. Kubacamo ibice ni ikimenyetso ko hali ingingo ubeshyaho udashyiririra ko yumvwa na bese, bikaba rero kudindiza abaturage no kubagumisha mu bujiji.

Umurwanashyaka ntazanwa mu nama za Parti n'uko yikoreye mugenzi we, ahubwo atwara icyo ari kugira ikintu yunguraho bagenzi be gifitiye akamara abaturage na rusange rw'Igihugu.

Umurwanashyaka yigisha abaturage ko ari bo bazitwara bihitiramo mu itora, ariko ntacya inyuma ngo abangishe abo bifuzaga kwihitiramo. Kwiyamamaza usebya undi ni ubuswa buvanze n'ubugome.

Amatangazo, inzandiko, n'igazeti bya Parti, kutabisoma ni ukwigumisha mu bujiji mu bya Parti; kubisomeshwa n'amatsiko ni ukwitwara igihe, na bamagigiri barabigira. Bisomere kubyumva, kubona icyo wakoreraga Igihugu, kurebamo icyo wagilirira abandi inama, kubirebamo inzira Parti iyoboramo abayo bese, no kubibonera igitekerezo cyakungura bagenzi bawe musangiye uburwanashyaka.

Umurwanashyaka agomba guhora ari inyangamugayo, akilinda ingeso y'umurengwe; nko guheranwa n'ubudabagizi n'ubwiyandariko, gushukwa n'abanyamahanga bashakira ubudiligi bwabo inkingi mu Banyafrika ndetse no mu Baparmehutu. Yanga ruswa na bitugukwaha, ari iya kinyarwanda ari n'iya kizungu.

Umurengwe ukunda guturuka mu kutamenya cyangwa kwibagirwa amatwara ya Gahutu muri 1959, aho gukomeza kurega ingufu ngo Demokrasi igere mu macyi w'abaturage bese no mu mibereho yabo yose. Umurwanashyaka ntakwiliye kurangara ngo adabagizwe n'umurengwe w'ibyo Parmehutu imaze kumugezaho, ngo yiyibagize ko amatwara ya Gahutu muri 1959 ataragerwaho byuzuye mu ngingo zose z'amajyambere y'abaturage. Gashakabuhake na Gashakafayida ntibaratezuka, baracyari babandi.

Umurwanashyaka avugisha ukuli, ntaryaryana mu mpaka ngo asuzura nire bagenzi be ibyo ari neza ko azakora ibinyuranyije nabyo. Ahorana ubupfura bw'umutima bumulinda kuba umuhangajambo.

Igihe mutumvikanye, hali uwabateranyije nk'uko bigwiliye kuli ubu, cyangwa hali ingingo mwapfuye, Murwanashyaka, ilinde kuvanga imilimo ya Parti n'umubano wawe usanzwe. Witangira gusesera ushaka abantu bawe, kuko kenshi aho kugufasha kwiyunga, banakwanganira. Wamara kugira abawe na we abe, bagasigara bahoroba no mu milimo. Iby'imiryango n'amoko bikaziraho, intega yali ibahuje yo guharanira Demokrazi igatakara kure. icyo gihe Umurwanashyaka w'ukuli amenya ko abatali muli Parti babishyuhamo kurusha abandi, akagomba gusigara areba Manifeste ya Parti y'Igihugu, ikanubera umunzani mu milimo ashinzwe.

Umurwanashyaka agomba guhora ari imbere mu bibazo by'amajyambere, tukamenya twese ko ikibazo cy'ubu ari amajyambere ku mutungo w'imali, aliko ntitwibagirwe ko Gashakafayida w'umudiligi ahadutegeye n'umufuka w'imali yashukidha uwemoye kumubera icyitso cyo kugura Igihugu. Amajyambere y'ingo azazamurwa no gufasha no kubwiliza abaturage inzira ya za koperative zo gukora bashyize hamwe, bakishingira amasanduku bafatanyije, azabafasha mu milimo yabo: ni cyo kizakiza Igihugu umurengwe ushingiyeye ku bukapitaliste.

Umulimo w'umurwanashyaka ntuhagaralira kuli mitingi na propagande gusa. Uko asobanulira abaturage, ri nako afatanyana na bo, abatabarana ingufu ze zose, z'ubwenge, z'uburwari, z'umubili, n'iz'ubushobozi afite, kugira ngo igikorwa cyiza cy'ingirakamari kijye mbere.

Baparmehutu, Barwanashyaka ba Parmehutu, nongeye kubashimira imyifatire yanyu itahindagajwe na muyaga. Siniriwe mvuga byinshi kuko namwe mwabonye ubwanyu ababazengurutse bakwiza inzangano. Nimufatane urunana, muteze imbere programe ya M.D.R. Parmehutu, mwamamaza amahoro ya Demokrazi, ni cyo Manifeste-Programe ya Parti itwigisha, kandi ni byo bizadufasha kudacogera no gukomeza gutsura amajyambere y'Igihugu mu mugo nyawo wa Demokrazi.

Mbashimiye umutima mwiza n'ubwitonzi bizabayobora iteka aho mbona ukuli?

Kitarana, kuwa 19 Yuli 1966

C. MULINDAHABI

Mulindahabi