

**Imyaka 50 y'Ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda : Uko Padiri Stanislas Bushayija yahanuye  
Revolution n'intzinzi yatanze!**

<http://bit.ly/1cUI9oZ>



« Hakwiye kubaho politiki ishingiyeye kuri compromis, bitabaye ibyo revolusiyo nta wuzayisubiza inyuma ! ».

***Uko niko twashyira mu ncamake impanuro za Padiri Stanislas Bushayija, mbere gato y'uko revolusiyo yo muri 59 ibaho. Usomye inyandiko ya Padiri Bushayija, ntiwatekereza ko ari Umututsi wandikaga, nyamara ariko umuhanuzi nyawe burya ntagira ubwoko. Padiri Bushayija yari Umututsi w'umwimerere, ariko kwiha Imana nta kindi abibangikanyije byamuhaye kugira ururimi ruvuga ukuri.***

***Ibyo Padiri Bushayija yanditse mu mwaka w'1958, hashobora kubonekamo imyumvire imwe n'imwe itari yagasobanutse neza muri icyo gihe, ariko ntibibuza ko inyandiko ye yarimo Ubuhanuzi. Mu mwaka wa 1959, Umwami Kigeli V Ndahindurwa yimye ingoma, afata icyemezo cyo gushyira mu ngiro inama zose Padiri Bushayija yari yatanze kugira ngo hirindwe ko habaho revolusiyo. Kigeli V yiyemeje kuba umwami ugendera ku itegekonshinga. Bityo yari aciye burundu ibibi dushobora gusanga mu muco gakondo bidahwitse, hanyuma kandi yiyemeza kufata ingamba zituma u Rwanda rutaranduranwa n'imizi yose. Ibyiza byari mu muco gakondo byagombaga nabyo kutibagirana.***

***Impande zose icyo kibazo cyarebaga ntizoroheye Umwami. Hari abatutsi bamwe (n'abahutu birumvikana) bakaniye bemeza ko ibya kera bigomba gukurikizwa uko byakabaye. Abo nibo bananije Umwami Kigeli V bikomeye. Ababakomokaho, aribo biyise FPR Inkotanyi, nta somo ry'amateka bigeze bamenya. Ubuhanuzi bwa Padiri Bushayija babuteye ishoti, ubu bimitse mu Rwanda ibyavugwaga byose ku bishobora guteza revolusiyo. Abandi batoroheye Umwami Kigeli mu ivugurura yari yatekereje ni abahutu n'abarwanashyaka babo. Babonye ko hari igice cy'abatutsi bakomeye ku bya kera, maze nabo ntibatindiganya batangira revolusiyo ya 1959.***

***Ese ntihari hakiriho umwanya wo gushyira ubwenge ku gihe no gukurikira gahunda z'Umwami Kigeli ngo zishyirwe mu bikorwa ? Umwanya wari ukiriho, ariko Igihugu cyari gikolonije u Rwanda cyahise kibiyivangamo, chance yo kwirinda ko habaho***

**amakimbirane irayoyoka, Umwami ahambirizwa n'Ababiligi ku bw'impamvu bwite zari zizwi nabo icyo gihe. Ese ubungubu haba hakiriho chance yo kwirinda ko habaho indi nkundura yasenyi byinshi mu Rwanda ? Iyo chance iracyariho kuko Umwami Kigeli nawe akiriho, kandi ibyo yari yariyemeje yima kugira ngo abungabunge amahoro mu Rwanda na n'ubu akaba akibifite ku mutima. Ese aho abagize FPR birunduriye mu bya kera bambitse umwambaro wa repubulika bazemera ko Umwami Kigeli ashyira mu ngiro imigambi yo kuzahura igihugu yari yateguye ? Haba aha Mana, ariko ukurikije imikorere ya FPR muri iki gihe ntizemera ko Umwami atabara u Rwanda. Ese abahangaye ne FPR bazakira kudakoresheya n'umujinya maze bemere ko Umwami abafasha kuvuguta umuti wo kwirinda ko igihugu cyoramba ? Haba ha Mana ko abari muri « Opposition » bakwakira igitekerezo cy'umwami cyo kubafasha gushaka uburyo ibibazo biri mu gihugu birangira imbaga itagombye korama.**

**Ariko ngo nta kidashoboka, nta n'uvuma iritararenga. Reka rero turebere hamwe ibyo Padri Bushayija yahanuriye u Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1958, maze tunabonereho kureba niba ibyo yavugaga muri iki gihe bitaba byaragarutse kandi bikaba bisurira akabi u Rwanda n'abaturage barwo ! Inyandiko ya Padri Bushayija yitwaga « Aux origines du Probleme Bahutu au Rwanda » yasohotse mu kinyamakuru La revue Nouvelle mu 1958, twayihinduye mu kinyarwanda tugerageza kuvuga ku buryo buhuye bishoboka n'uko ibitekerezo by'umwanditsi byatanze.**

**Inkomoko y'ikibazo gikomereye Abahutu mu Rwanda. (Stanislas Bushayija)**

Igihe Umututsi aje agashinga ihema rye ku nkiko z'u Rwanda, ubu hashize imyaka myinshi cyane, nta kigaragaza ko umuhutu wari wararangije gushinga ibirindiro mu gihugu yaba yarigeze agira umugambi wo kumusubiza iyo yaturutse. Umusuhuke w'umuhamiti (nomade hamite) yaje nawe mu byukuri atagamije kwigarurira igihugu yitwaje intwari, nta n'ubwo rwose yaje agamije gukoloniza igihugu yitwaje ko cyaba gitwawe n'abasigaye inyuma cyangwa se abatazi amajyambere ; ahubwo yari umushumba w'amatungo wishakira urwuri rw'amashyamba ye, ndetse yabaga yituguye kwemera guhara bimwe mubyo atunze kugira ngo yemererwe gutura ku butaka bw'abo yaje asanze.

Umututsi yashoboye kwinjira mu gihugu, agicengeramo buhoro buhoro kugeza ku mutima rwagati, ndetse ageza aho ruto ruto yaje guhinduka umutware wacyo.

Amaze gufata ubutegetsu, kuva icyo gihe ntiyongeye kuburekura.

Ni gute mbese yageze kuri ubwo butegetsu bw'ikirenga, hakaba hashize imyaka magana inani kugeza na bugingo ubu ? Nicyo tugiyeye kugerageza kurebera hamwe muri iyi nyandiko.

Ukwigarurira igihugu mu rwego rwa politiki k'Umututsi mu gihugu cy'abahutu gushobora kugabanywamo ibyiciro bine, ibyo byiciro ariko igihe byamaze ntikireshya.

1° Umututsi, akaba umwimukira uciye bugufi yabanje gushaka uko yaboneka neza kandi agahabwa icumbi n'umuhutu wabaga akomeye, uwo akaba yari umutware w'ubutaka.

2° Umututsi kugira ngo agere ku byo agamije, yadukanye amasezerano y'ubufatanye (alliance) n'igihango gishingiye ku kunywa amaraso, n'ubwo ibyo bitamugwaga neza, ariko yaremeraga akanywama n'umuhutu.

3° Umututsi yageze ku butegetsu buke buke atagombye gukoresha intwari.

4° Umututsi ku gihe cya gikolonize yari akiri ku butegezi, haba ku gihe cy'Abadage ndetse no ku gihe cy'Ababiligi.

Icyiciro cya mbere twavuzeho nticyamaze igihe kirekire. Umututsi yageze mu gihugu atitwaje intwari ; nta n'igitekerezo na gito yari afite cyo kurwana. N'iyi yari kuba kandi ashaka kurwana, ubuke bwe ntibwari gutuma abitekereza. Nta kindi yagombye gukora uretse guhitamo uburyo bw'amahoro. Yashatse uko yagirana ubucuti n'Umuhutu. Akamuha serivisi, akamuha impano hatu na hatu, akamwerekana ubugwaneza (gentillesse), ikinyabupfura, mbese akamenya kumuguyaguya nk'uko azi kubigenza ku buryo ntawe babihwanye, ni uko Umututsi yageze aho akundwakazwa ku buryo bwihuse n'Umuhutu ukomeye w'icyo gihe. Umututsi amaze gusomya ku buntu Umuhutu ku kinyobwa kidasanze kandi kiryo cyane, icyo kikaba ikivuguto cy'inka we ubwe yari afite ibanga ry'uko kiboneka, umuhutu yaranuriwe ubundi ubucuti buba burakomeye bidasubirwaho.

Umututsi yamenye kubyaza umusaruro ubwo bwumvikane maze akora ku buryo umubano n'umuhutu ushingira imizi, ariko abikorana ubwenge bukomeme. Ashaka abagore mu bakobwa b'abahutukazi basanzwe bazwiho kuba abanyangufu (costaude) nawe kandi yihatira gushyingira abakobwa be na bashiki be ku bahutu. Iryo shyiringanwa ryafashije Umututsi kwiyongera ku bw'umubare. Umututsi ageraho asaba Umuhutu ko bagirana igihango cyo guca ku nda, kuva ubwo umubano wabo uhinduka indengakamere (sacré). Gutatira igihango, niko Umututsi yavugaga, byashoboraga gutera ibyago bikomeye ndetse bikaba byakururira umuvumo uwarenga ku masezerano yagiriye mu kunywa amaraso.

Ni muri ubwo buryo Umututsi yafashe ubutegezi atajijanyije. Kwitwaga abavantara, abashyitsi, abimukira byagiye nk'ifuni iheze, **bisimburwa n'amasano** ya ba nyirarume, abishywa, ababyara, sogokuru, nyirabukwe, abakwe, n'ibindi n'ibindi. Hasigaye hariho umuryango umwe (communauté) ugizwe n'imiryango n'amoko ashingiye ku buvandimwe (clans) agiye afitanye amasano. icyari gisigaye, kwari ugushyira kuri gahunda (organiser) uwo muriyango mugari. Ibyo umututsi abigira inshingano ze. Umurongo we w'ibitekerezo wari uyu : Hagomba kubaho umusifuzi (arbitre) w'ikirenga wo gukiza amakimbirane, akabungabunga amahoro, akaba nk'umubyeyi wa bose ubungabunga ubumwe bw'imiryango kimwe n'amoko (clans) : akaba umurinzi w'ubusugire n'umutekano w'igihugu, mu yandi magambo akaba ari **Umwami**. Iyo nama yabwiwe abo bireba bose. Bahisemo batyo Umwami, nk'uko kandi byabonekaga, **umwami yaje kuba Umututsi**. Indangagaciro z'abatutsi, zirimo kugira ubwenge (sagesse), kumenya ibijyanye na politiki kimwe no gushirika ubwoba, iza ndangagaciro zose nizo zatumye Umututsi ahitwamo nk'Umwami.

### **Umwami yari afite burenganzira ki ?**

Umwami amaze kujyaho yahawe kugira uburenganzira, ubushoboka kimwe n'uburenze imyumvire : Yari afite uburenganzira ku matungo yose, ku butaka, ku nzuri, kimwe no ku bana n'abagore b'umunyarwanda aho ari hose, muri make yari afite uburenganzira ku kiriho cyose mu gihugu, kugeza ndetse no ku burenganzira bwo kwica no gukiza. Umwami w'u Rwanda rw'icyo gihe rwari rukiri mu mipaka ifunganye, yabaye nk'aho akomoka ku Mana kandi buri wese yemeraga ko afite ubushobozi ndengakamere. Systeme y'Ubuhanu yagenaga umubano ushingira ku nka y'indagizo yahabwaga umugaragu, ibyo bikaba n'impamvu ituma uwo umubano ushingira ku buhanu wemerwa.

Kuva icyo gihe Abatutsi batangiyemo umuco wo kujya gukiza umwe muri bo wagizwe Umwami, ku bw'uko yari Umuyobozi ufite ububasha ndengakamere. Bamushyiraga impano, bakamukorera (offres de services), mbese bagakora byose kugira ngo bashimishe nyamugiributanga bityo babashe no kumugiraho ubutoni. Ibyo byatumye hatangira kubaho

umuco ushingiyeye akenshi mashyari, inzika, kuregana no kubeshyerana, ibyo byose bikaba byaragiye bituma habaho n'umwuka mubi cyane mu byegera by'Umwami. Ibyo bintu byabereye urujijo Abahutu, bigezaho baharira Umututsi ubutegetsi, nabo ubwabo batangira gukora ibishoboka kugira ngo babe abatoni kuri nyamugirubutangwa, ndetse biba ngombwa ko bashakira « **ubuhake** » ku Mututsi bari basanzwe bashesya, kugira ngo babashe kurengerwa. Ni uko Umwami yatangiye kujya yegurira ubutegets i uko abyifuza bamwe muri bene wabo b'abatutsi. Ibintu byose byagizwe **ingarigari (fief)** : Amashyo, inzuri, imisozi, uturere umwami yagiye hagati aho yigarurira akoresheje intwari, akagenda yagura atyo u Rwanda atitaye ko ibyo bihugu by'ibituranyi bibitekererazaho. Kubera ko Umwami yabaga afite uburenganzira butagira umupaka, by'umwihariko akagira uburenganzira bwo kwica no gukiza, nta muntu washoboraga kwitambika imbere mu migambi yabaga yatekereje. Nta muntu washoboraga kujurira, haba ku bikorwa by'Umwami ku giti cye cyangwa ku byifuzo bye, kandi nta guhangana (opposition) byari byemewe. Ni uko abahutu bambuwe uburenganzira bahoranye kera, bateshwa agaciro ndetse bahinduka imbata z'abahoze ari abashyitsi babo bakaba n'inshuti ; ni uko kandi habayeho ubutegets i bushya bushingiyeye ku busumbane n'akarengane.

Ku gihe cy'umwaduko w'abazungu mu gihugu, Umututsi yahise abona neza ko Umuzungu afite ingufu zitagereranywa mu rwego rwa gisirikari. Igitero cya mbere cyagabwe ku bazungu i Cyangugu cyahise gikwira imishwari kubera gusa urusaku rw'amasasu yarashwe n'umuzamu, bityo umututsi yiyumvisha neza ko kugaba ikindi gitero ku umuzungu nta kindi byamugezaho uretse gutsindwa, kandi ko aramutse yiyemeje guhangana byaba ari ugukora ubusa. Yahisemo rero gushakira ubucuti ku butegets i bushya, ahitamo kugwa neza bya mbuze uko ngira, yemera kuyoborwa. Binyuze muri politiki iziguye (politique indirecte) yakoreshwe na leta y'ababiligi yaje izunguye abadage bamaze kugenda, Umututsi yabashije kuguma ku butegets i ; none se si uko nyine Umuzungu yishingikirije ku butegets i gakondo byamubashije kuyobora igihugu ? Mu by'ukuri, intego y'uburinganire Umubiligi yashakaga gushyira imbere mu rwego rw'ubutabera, umutungo kimwe n'ukwishyira ukizana n'uburenganzira bwa muntu, byashobeye Umututsi bituma ashidikanya ku bupfura bw'umuzungu. Mu maso ye, umuzungu yagaragaye nk'umutekinisiye, mbese aboneka nk'umumagisiye kurusha uko yaba umudiplomate, nk'uko tubisanga mu magambo akunze gukoreshwa mu kinyarwanda : Abazungu ntibazi ubwenge (ntabwo bazi uburyarya), Ubwenge bw'abazungu (ubwenge bwa kizungu). N'ubwo umututsi yemeraga ko umuzungu ashoboye mu rwego rwa tekini ; -amashanyarazi, Ubugenge, Imibare, n'ibindi,- n'ubwo yemeraga ko umuzungu azi ubwenge bwo mu bitabo, yagayaga cyane ko umuzungu atari inyaryenge. Kumenya kugoreka ukuri, kumenya gucurika no gucuranura umuntu ntarabukwe, ibyo byose ni ubuhanga umuzungu atari azi ariko umututsi yishimiraga ko we abuhejemo : ubuhanga bwo kumenya gutikura (le genie de l'intrigue), ubugeni bw'ikinyoma ibyo byose mu maso y'Umututsi byinjira mu bukorikori we ubwe yiyemeraho ko ashoboye kandi bikamutera ishema : Ibyo nibyo biranga Umututsi, kandi bikaranga na buri munyarwanda wese kubera kubandura, akabyitabaza iyo ashakira kwirengera.

Imihindagurikire muri iki gihe mu gihugu irasaba ko iyo mitekerezeho ya politiki ihinduka. Kuvukana imbuto ntibigitanga muri iki kinyejana cya 20 uburenganzira bwo gutegeka. Kuri iki gihe ni ubushobozi bwonyine (competence) bushobora gutanga umwanya w'ubuyobozi. Hagomba kubaho abayobozi babishoboye kandi b'inyangamugayo : gushyira imbere ubwoko bigomba gusimburwa no gushyira imbere ubushobozi (aptitudes). Igihe kirageze ngo inzego z'ubutegets i zihinduke. Zizahinduka rero zite ? Birahagije ngo witegereze ibyabaye mu bindi bihugu mu bindi bihe kugirango abantu bagire igitekerezo cy'uko ibintu bigomba kugenda ku buryo bukwiye. Imihindagurikire mu batuye ibihugu isa nk'aho ari imwe hose : Ku ntangiriro, habaho agatsiko k'abantu (classe) kari hejuru y'abandi, kakaba agatsiko kigwijeho byose kandi gafite ingufu zikomeye kakayobora igice gisigaye kigizwe n'abakene, bagasuzugurwa kandi bagashyirwa ku gitugu ; ubwo abantu bamwe mu bagize igice cy'abari hasi batangira guharanira kwibohora maze bahereye byaba ku mbaraga bifitemo, cyangwa se ku bumenyi bafite, bagera aho bihesha icyubahiro (respect), n'ubwo hari abatangira kubita ngo ni

abanyamurengwe (parvenus) kugira ngo babacishe bugufi ; muri rubanda nyamwinshi rusigaye batangira kubona buhoro buhoro ko barenganye kandi ko ibyo bintu bifutanye, maze bakagira icyifuzo kidasubirwaho cyo kwirenganura. Abaturage kwiyumvisha ko bariho mu karengane bisa no ku gihe cy'Abaromani ubwo abaplebiya (les plébéiens romains) biyumvishaga ko barenganywa n'abapatrisiya (les patriciens), cyangwa se igihe abagararagu (les serfs) biyumvishaga ko barenganywa n'abashebuja (les seigneurs) ku gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa kera mu Bufransa (ancien régime). Abo bese bashaka uko bibohoza, baharanira ko hababo isi yo kwishyira ukizana n'uburinganire kuri bese.

Niyo mpamvu ari ngombwa gutega amatwi impaka zigibwa, za manifestes zandikwa, inyangiko zisimburana muri iki gihe ku buryo bwihuta cyane. Amateka atwerekako ko iyo ibisabwa (revendications) bigeze ku rwego rukomeye nk'uru, zarangirira byanze bikunze kuri revolusiyo n'intambara mu baturage (guerre civile), iyo abayobozi batamenye hakiri kare gutanga ibisubizo bishimishije. Mbese iyo midugararo yaba izaba no mu Rwanda ? Sinatinyuka kwemeza ko izabaho, cyangwa se ngo mbe nabihakana. Ariko rero njye ndabona neza ko igihe cyageze ngo hashakwe politiki y'ubwumvikane (compromis), yatuma inyungu za bamwe n'abandi zibungabungwa, ituma habaho amahoro mu mibereho myiza y'umuryango nyarwanda kandi ikabasha kurinda igihugu inkundura yo guhangana mu basangiragihugu. Ntabwo se ari inshingano z'umuryango w'abibumbye kimwe n'igihugu cyaragijwe u Rwanda muri iki gihe gushakako uko habaho ubwo bwumvikane ?

(S. Bushayija, Article paru dans La Revue Nouvelle.

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### **Umwanzuro**

***Nta kintu na kimwe kijya kubaho mu gihugu Imana itakerekanye ikoresheje ibimenyetso cyangwa Abahanuzi. Ibibazo by'akarengane kariho mu Rwanda rwa FPR muri iki gihe ntibisura ikintu kiza, kuko birahamagaza indi revolusiyo. Amatwi arimo urupfu ntiyumva. Muri 59 impande zose zari zihanganye, zibitijwemo umurindi n'abazungu zanze kwemera ukuvugurura (réformes) kwari kumaze gukorwa n'Umwami Kigeli V. Na n'ubu impande zihanganye ntizirumva ko hakwiye politiki ishingiyeye ku bwumvikane (compromis) nk'uko Padri Bushayija yari yarayitanzeho intsinzi. Twakwizera ko amateka abasha gutanga isomo, bityo ibitarashobotse mu myaka yashize ubu bikaba byashoboka. Ngo nta kinanira Imana !***

***Mike Nkusi***