

Inkingi zitatu z'urugamba ruzira ingimba:
Ubumwe, integuro hamwe n'umwanzuro wo
kudakoresha ingimba.

The Trifecta of Civil Resistance: Unity, Planning,
Discipline

Hardy Merriman

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[Hardy Merriman](#), 19 Munyonyo 2010

Ibintu bitatu bishobora gutuma urugamba ruzira ingimba rushika canke kudashika kw'ihangiro ni ubumwe, integuro hamwe n'umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba.

Kuvyerekeye umwanditsi

Hardy Merriman yigeze kuba umuyobozi wa gahunda n'ubushakashatsi wa ICNC kuva 2005 gushika 2007. Yahagarikiye igitabo "[Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential](#)" ca Gene Sharp kandi ari mu banditse "[A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle](#)".

N'igiki gituma imihari yirwanirira mu mahoro ishika kuvyo yiyemeje?

Nimba iyi mvugo ya politiki ivuga iti « ubutegetsu ntubuhabwa, burarwanirwa » tuyemera, bisigura ko imihari yirwaniriye muri kahise yashitse kw'ihangiro kubera yatahuye ko yari ifise ubushobozi busumba ubw'abo yariko irahangananabo, ica irabikorerako.

Ivyo rero birabeshuza ukwemera abantu benshi bishizemwo y'uko ubushobozi bushingiye k'ubutunzi hamwe n'inguvu zo guhasha. Ukwo kwemera kwarikuba arikwo, nta muhari uzira ingimba n'umwe woshoboye kugondoza ubutegetsu bufise inguvu zikomeye z'igisirikare hamwe n'uburyo bwishi. Dukubitije amaso muri kahise, turabona neza imihari yashoboye gushika ku mpinduka zishimishije inyuma yo hangana n'ubutegetsu butandukanye. Ubu ni bumwe mu burorero:

- Mu myaka y'1930 na 1940, abahindi bararonse ukwikukira kw'igihugu cabo bakoresheje ubuhinga bwo guhagarika imigenderanire yose (mu vy'ubutunzi, kw'ubushyamba amashuri)

amwe amwe, kutariha amakori, kugarariza ubutegets, gutanga imihoho) n'abakoloni b'abongereza, bituma bibankira kubandanya batwara igihugu, bahitamwo komoka.

- Mu myaka y'1950 na 1960, umuhari waharanira agateka k'abirabure muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika warabahimirije mu ruganda rwo kwanka gukoresha amabisi y'unguruza abantu mu gisagara ca Montgomery, hamwe no kugandagaza imbere y'uburiro butandukanye mu gisagara ca Nashville. Ivyo bikorwa vyarahungabanije intwaro y'amacakubiri bituma umuhari uronka abantu benshi muri ico gihugu bawushigikira (abazungu n'birabure). Ivyo vyatumye abirabure bagira uburenganzira nk'abandi.
- Mu myaka y'1965 n'1970, Urunani rw'Abakozi bo mu Mirima, umurwi mutoya cane i California, muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika, warakoresheje uguhagarika kurima igiterwa c'umuzabibu hamwe no kwiyonkora mu bindi bikorwa, bituma ushobora guhimiriza abandi bakozi isinzi mu mugihugu cose, bagira urunani rukomeye cane.
- Mu mwaka w'1986, muri Philipine, abaharanira impinduka hamwe n'abikuye mu gisoda baragiye hamwe n'amamiliyoni y'abiyerekana bariko biyamiriza intwaro y'igitugu ya Ferdinand Marcos yari ifashwe mu mugongo n'abanyamerika. Amaze kubura ico afata nico areka, Marcos yaciye akura meza.
- Mu mwaka w'1988, abanya Chili barashize ubwoba barakoresha uburyo butandukanye bwo kwiyamiriza intwaro mbi y'igisirikare ya Augusto Pinochet. Ivyo vyarahungabanije intwaro yiwe kugeza aho abayoboke biwe bamutana urugamba baramuva inyuma. Yaciye atanga imihoho.
- Hagati y'1980 n'1989, abanya Polonye barashoboye kwiganzura intwaro y'abarusiya mu gihugu cabo inyuma yo gushinga ishirahamwe ryigenga ry'abakozi babicishije mu muhari wo gufatana munda hagati yabo.
- Mu mwaka w'1989, imyiyerekano hamwe n'uguhagarika akazi mwisekeza ryitswe 'Ukwiganzura mu Mahoro' (Révolution Douce), vyaratumye igihugu ca Tchecoslovaquie kiva mu ntwaro y'igikominsite. Ibikorwa nk'ivyo nyene vyarahinduye mu mahoro intwaro z'umukazo mu bihugu vy'Ubudagi y'Uburengerero, Letoniya, Litiwaniya, hamwe na Esitoniya hagati mu myaka y'1990.
- Ugahagarika imirimo, kwiyonkora mu bintu bitandukanye (boycott), ukugarariza ubutegets hamwe n'ibihano vy'amakungu vyabaye mu myaka y'1980, vyatumye

intwaro ya karyanisha miryango yo muri Afrika y'Epfo isenyuka mu ntango z'imyaka y'1990.

- Mu 2000 abanya Serbie, abanya Georgie mu 2003 hamwe n'abanya Ukraine mu 2004, barasenyuye intwaro z'igikenye mukuja hamwe no guhagarika canke kwiyamiriza ubusuma bw'amatora, n'intwaro zabukomotseko.
- Mu 2005, abanya Libani bariganzuye intwaro y'umuzanano y'abanya Siriya mu gihugu cabo hakoreshejwe imyiyerekano y'ikivunga mu mahoro ntangere.
- Mu 2006, kubera ukugarariza ikivunga, abanya Nepal barashoboye gushinga intwaro y'abenegihugu inyuma yo guseniyura ubutegetsi bwa gisirikare.
- Kuva mu 2007 gushika 2009, mu gihe hariko haraba imishamirano ikomeye yo kwiyamiriza intwaro ya gisirikare muri Pakisitani, abanyamategeko, imirwi y'abaharanira impinduka hamwe n'abenegihugu batobato baragiye hamwe bituma bashobora kugarukana ubutungane bwigenga no gukuraho amategeko yo mu bihe vy'intambara yagenga igihugu ico gihe.

Iyo abenegihugu bahagurukiye rimwe, abategetsi ntiboroherwa gutwara.

Iyo mihari duhejeje kubona n'iyindi myinshi yarashoboye gushika kuvyo yipfuzza kubera yatahura neza ingene ubutegetsi bukora : inzego, amashirahamwe hamwe n'intwaro mu gihugu icarico cose, biriho kubera umwumvikano, ugukorana neza, hamwe n'ukugamburuka kw'abenegihugu. Igihe rero abantu bahisemwo kudakorana hamwe no kutumvikana n'intwaro mu buryo bukabije, ivyo biratuma leta itakaza inguvu zayo. Abenegihugu bagambaraye, abakuru b'ibihugu, abakuru b'ibisagara, abatwara amashirahamwe hamwe n'abandi bategetsi bose ntibaba bagishoboye gutwara uko bavyipfuzza.

Ubuhinga bwo kwirwanirira mu mahoro nko guhagarika akazi, kwiyonkora mu bintu bitandukanye (boycotts), imyiyerekano y'ikivunga, ukwanka gukurikiza amategeko, gushiraho inzego nsubirizi, ni bimwe mu buryo bukoreshwa kugira abantu bashike ku mpinduka bashaka. Ubwo buhinga ntibwatowe kubera gusa budashira imbere igikenye, ariko kandi kubera buzana umusaruro. Abantu benshi bahisemwo iyo mikenyuro barashoboye kwibonera ko ifise amahirwe menshi yo gushikana ku ntumbero, ugereranije n'iyindi.

Amayeri hamwe n'ukuntu akarere kifashe

Naho hariho imihari myinshi tuzi yashitse ku ntumbero yayo muri kahise hamwe no mu gihe ca none, hariho uburorero bwinshi bw'imihari yananiwe. Mu gihe intwari mbi zariko zirasenyuka muri Polonye no muri Tchecoslovaquie, amakungu yariko ararorera ataco ari bugire ubwicanyi bw'agahomerabunwa ku bantu bariko bariyerekanaga i Tiananmen, mu Bushinwa. Mu myaka cumi iheze, abantu batari bake barahisemwo imikenyuro yo kudakoresha ingimba muri Birimaniya, Zimbabwe, Egiputa hamwe no muri Irani, mugabo aho hose ntibigeze bashika ku ntumbero bari bihaye. Mugihe urugamba ruzira ingimba rwafashije kugarukana ubwigenge muri Timor y'Ubuseruko, urwo rugamba ntirurashobora gufasha abantu bo muri Palestine, Papwazi y'Uburengerero, Sahara hamwe na Tibet gushika ku kwikukira nyakuri.

N'ibihe bintu nyamukuru bituma imihari imwe ishika ku ntego, iyindi ntibikunde ?

Ibintu bituma umuhari uyu canke uriya ushobora kwererwa canke kutererwa n'ibintu n'ubu bikigoye guhurizako n'abahinga ubwabo¹. Kubera ibihe urugamba ruberamwo biba bifise icyo vyisangije, bica bigorana kubifantanya nivy'ahandi hantu. Insiguro twama twumva mu bahinga ba za kaminuza hamwe n'abamenyeshamakuru, nuko inzira imihari y'abenegihugu ifata hamwe n'umusaruro ironka biva ahanini kukuntu umuhari uba wubatse, uburyo ufise, hamwe n'ibihe wakoreyemwo urugamba rwo guharanira agateka. Nk'akarorero, bamwe baravugaga ko imihari yo kwirwanirira mu mahoro kenshi ishika ku ntumbero yayo mu bihugu bitwarwa n'abategetsi badafise umutima wo guhasha. Abandi nabo bavugaga yuko ibipimo vy'ubutunzi (ivyiyumviro mu vy'ubutunzi, urugero rw'amafaranga yinjira, ukuntu ubutunzi bushikira abenegihugu, kuba hariho ingo zibayeho ubuzima bugereranye (*classe moyenne*)) hamwe n'urugero rw'indero bifasha cane mu gutuma imihari ishika ku ntumbero yayo. Abandi bahinga bavugaga yuko uruhara rw'ibihugu vya rutura hamwe n'ingene ibihugu vyo mu karere vy'ivanga mu bibazo vy'ibindi bihugu ari vyo biza imbere mu gutuma umuhari wererwa canke utererwa. Hari ibindi bintu nyamukuru vyinshi bishobora kugira ingaruka nziza canke mbi mu rugamba, harimwo amoko, kahise ka politike hamwe n'imicokama y'igihugu, igitigiri c'abenegihugu, hamwe n'uburinganire bw'igihugu.

Ivyo biri hejuru n'ibituma bikomeye ariko bitava ku bugombe bw'umuhari. Inyuma yavyo ariko, hari ibindi bisabwa bikomeye cane bijanye n'umuhari wo nyene ku gatwe kawo, ivyo abashakashatsi bise «ubushobozi ». Amayeri n'ubushobozi n'ibintu biva indani kandi bishobora kugenzurwa n'umuhari: umukenyuro, imvugo yo gukangurira abantu kwitabira no kubandanya

urugamba, ingine umuhari wifatanya n’abandi, ingene wibasira abo uhanganye, hamwe n’izindi ngingo nyinshi zo kuremesha urugamba neza.

Ku bwanje, abantu benshi barakunda gufata minenerwe ivyo bintu bifatiye ku bushobozi bw’umuhari mu gutunganya ibikorwa. Intumbero y’uru rwete siyo gusigura ikiri inyuma yivyo, mugabo imwe mu mvo zituma babikora uko, n’uko baba batazi neza umushinge w’urugamba rudakoresha ingimba - yuko urwo rugamba rugamije guhindura ivyiyumviro rusangi kubijanye n’ugukoresha ingimba, na cane cane kwerekana ko ubushobozi nyabwo butari mu minwe y’abatwara, ariko ko buva mu banyagihugu. Kubera uko kutamenya, abo bantu baca biyumvira ko hariho ibindi bintu vyinyegeje tutazi bituma imihari ishika ku ntumbero.

Yamara, n’aho twemera ko ibihe, akarere n’izindi mvo n’imvane bifasha imihari gushika ku ntumbero, ivyo ntivyotuma dusuzugura akamaro k’amayeri n’ubushobozi bw’umuhari mu gutunganya ibikorwa vyo kwigwanirira. Mu vy’ukuri, ubushobozi n’amayeri vyaranafashije imihari y’abenegihugu gukemura, kumenyera canke guhindukiza intambamyi zikomeye cane.

Hama nimba amayeri n’ubushobozi bifise akamaro kaniniya (nimba atari aka mbere) mu bisata nk’igisoda canke ubucuruzi, kuki none twoca tubisuzugura mu rugamba rudakoresha ingimba? Ubwiye umutware mu gisirikare canke umukuru w’ihinguriro rikomeye yuko ugukoresha amayeri atakamaro bifise, yoca yitwengera. Iyaba abantu biyumvira ko inguvu z’igisirikare nizo gusa zikenewe murugamba, igitabu *“The Art of War”* (Amayeri yo Kurwana) ca Sun Tzu nticari kugira amateka akomeye nk’ayo caronse.

Tugarutse rero ku kibazo nyamukuru c’uru rwandiko – n’ibihe bintu bituma imihari y’irwanirira idakoresheje ingimba ishobora gushika kw’ihangiro ryayo ? – inyishu irashobora kuboneka turavye imikenyuro hamwe n’ubuhinga imihari yo muri kahise yagiye irakoresha. Hariho ibintu vyinshi bishobora gutuma umuhari uyu canke uriya ushika ku nstinzi, mugabo ibintu bitatu nyamukuru nivyo bigaruka kenshi : Ubumwe, integuro hamwe n’umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba.

Ubumwe, Integuro, Umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba

Biragaragara ko ivyo bintu bitatu bifise akamaro kaniniya cane. Ariko rero, ikibabaje n’uko abantu kenshi barakunda kubifata minenerwe, bakibagira uburemere hamwe n’uruhara rwavyo mu rugamba. Reka tuje mw’idonido rya kimwe kimwe ukwaco.

Ubumwe burahambaye cane kubera imihari yo kwigwanirira ikomera mu gihe ishoboye guhimiriza abantu benshi bashoboka. Mu majambo make, ibitigiri birahambaye. Uko abantu

bashigikira imihari, niko igira icizere mu banyagihugu, igakomera kandi ikaronka n’imikenyuro myinshi yo gukoresha. Nico gituma imihari ishaka gukomera itegerezwa kwegera imirwi yose y’abenegihugu, harimwo abagabo n’abakenyezi, abakiri bato hamwe n’abageze mu zabukuru, ababa mu bisagara n’ababa mu gihugu hagati, inkehwa, abarongozi mu mashengero, abarimi, abakozi batobato, abagwizatunga, abakozi bakuru bakuru, abatunzi, abantu batobato, abapolisi, abasirikare, abajejwe ubutungane, hamwe n’abandi.

Vyongeye imihari ikomeye n’iyashoboye kwiyegeze abayoboke b’uwo bari bahanganye, kubera kimwe mu bikomeza umuhari n’ubushobozi bwo gutuma abantu bose mu mpande zihanganye batahura kumwe ivyo uharanira. Ivyo bikozwe neza biratuma bamwe mu bashigikiye ubutegetsu babuva inyuma, bakinjira mu muhari bakawushigikira. NK’akarorero, umuhari w’abirabure yo kwiyamiriza ubutegetsu bw’amacakubiri muri Afrika y’Epfo, warashize imbere akamo ko kunywanisha abanya Afrika y’Epfo bose (abazungu n’abirabure), bituma ironka abanywanyi benshi b’abazungu mu bahora bashigikiye ubwo butegetsu.

Gufata ingingo zihambaye kugira umuhari utere imbere n’ikintu naco nyene gisaba kwitondera rwose. Nico gituma **ubuhinga mu nteguro** bufise akamaro kaniniya cane. Ivyarivyo vyose umuntu ashobora kuba ariko ararwanira, biragoye yuko abishikako mu gihe afise integuro idatomoye neza. Iyo imihari irangwamwo ugutunganya ibintu neza hisunzwe ivyiyumviro vy’abayigize, biratuma biyorohera mu gushika ku ntumbero yayo.

Ibi ni bimwe mu bintu bisaba kwitonderwa cane mu nteguro: - Guhitamwo imikenyuro yo gukoresha hamwe n’urukurikirane rw’ingene ishira mu ngiro; - gushiraho ivyifuzo ngenderwako bifatiye kuvyo abanyamuhari hamwe n’abenegihugu muri rusangi bipfuzwa ; guhitamwo neza mahangiro ya hafi, yo hagati canke ya kure; gutora neza abantu n’imirwi bo kwitura; hamwe no gushiraho inzira zoroshe zo gutumatumanako amakuru zotuma umuhari ushikira bitagoranye abashaka kwiungana nawo. Kugira ivyo vyose bishikweko, ni ngombwa ko hakorwa umwihwezo w’akarere muri rusangi. Ibi navyo bisaba ko umuhari wama wegeranya amakuru atandukanye mu kumviriza abanywanyi bawo n’abandi banyagihugu, mu kwisuzuma buri gihe, ugasuzuma umukeba, ugasuzuma n’abandi barorerezi ata ruhande ataho begamiye.

Icanyuma, kwirwanirira mu mahoro bigenda neza iyo bikoranywe n’agatima ko kwubaha ingingo ngenderwako z’umuhari. Ikintu ca mbere kenshi gituma imihari y’abenegihugu idashika ku ntumbero, n’ukugira mu banywanyi bayo abakoresha inguvu n’ubugizi bwa nabi. Kuba nkako, **umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba** – n’ukuvuga ubushobozi bw’abanywanyi bwo kwirinda, igihe cose, gukoresha ingima – n’ikintu bigomba kuguma cibutswe abanyamuhari uko bukeye ukwo bwije. Kubera iki bikenewe? Iyo hibonekeza abanyamuhari bakoresha ingimba, biratuma umuhari uta icizere kandi biha ubutegetsu n’icitwazo co gukoresha inguvu zirenze.

Vyongeye, iyo umuhari wirwanirira ubikoze mu mahoro ukabikora udatirigana, bituma ugira amahirwe menshi yo kuronka abawufata mu mugongo, mbere biratuma wigarurira imitima ya bamwe mu banywanyi bava mu ruhande uhanganye narwo.

Kwandika insiguro y'ibiranga urugamba ruzira ingimba vyokuzusa ibitabo n'ibitabo. Vyongeye, urwo rugamba rubandanya kugirwako ivyirwa vyinshi. Umuhari wose uvutse utanga umwihwezo mushasha, bigatuma abantu barushirizaho gutahura muri rusangi ukwo mwen'urwo rugamba rumeze. Mugabo n'ubwo bir'uko, haracariho ibintu vyinshi bijanye n'ubushakashatsi bigomba kwihwezwa.

Ukwo biri kwose, ivyo bintu bitatu – ubumwe, intenguro hamwe n'umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba – vyama bikenerwa igihe cose kandi biratanga akaryo, kubahurikiye mu muhari hamwe n'abakunzi bawo mbere n'abashakashatsi biga imihari, ko kumenya ingene umuhari uba wifashe: Mbe urashize hamwe? Urafise integuro? Urangwamwo ukwubahiriza ingingo? Ibikorwa vy'imihari yazirikanye ivyo bintu bitatu vy'uguruye inzira igana intwari y'amahoro n'ubutungane. Kazoza keza rero kazozanwa n'ababandanya bavyisunga mu guharanira agateka.

ⁱ Muri runo rwandiko, nsigura imihari «yatsinze» nk'imihari iba yarashitse kuvyo yahanira hama imihari « yananiwe » nk'imihari itashoboye gushika kw'ihangiro ryayo. Mur'iyi ndongorajambo natanze harimwo kandi n'ikintu c'umwanya. Umuhari urashobora gushika kw'ihangiro (nk'akarorero Umuhari witiriwe ibara ry'umucungwe, “Mouvement Orange” wo muri Ukraine mu 2004), mugabo kenshi inyumba y'intsinzi, niho n'ibibazo bitangura kuboneka bigatuma ibintu vyongera kononekara bukebuke. (Mushaka kumenya idonido ry'inkuru y'uko vyagenze muri Ukraine, murashobora kuraba urwandiko « [The struggle After people power wins](#) » rwanditswe itaki 17 Munyonyo 2010 an Olena Tregub na Oksana Shulya ku rubuga OpenDemocracy). Ku rundi ruhande, umuhari urashobora kutagira amahirwe yogushika kw'ihangiro yawo (nk'akarorero umuhari waharanira demokarasi mu 1989 m'Ubushinwa) ariko ugasanga washikanye ibikorwa vyawo ku mushinge ushobora gushikana abandi ku waharanira. (Mushaka kumenya amakuru arambuye ajanye n'uwo muhari wo mu Ubushinwa, soma urwandiko “ [Repression Paradox in China](#) » rwanditswe itariki 17 Munyonyo 2010 na Lester Kurtz ku rubuga Open Democracy). Tutagiye mu vyo gushira mu mirwi imihari yitwa ko “yatsinze” canke “yatsinzwe”, ibikurikira inyuma y'urugamba birahambaye cane kandi birakwiye kwigwa hakoreshejwe ubushishozi bukwiye.