

# Iqela lezinto ezintathu zoluntu oluchasayo: ubunye, ukuceba, ingqeqesho

The Trifecta of Civil Resistance:  
Unity, Planning, Discipline

**Hardy Merriman**

Opendemocracy.net, November 19, 2010  
Translation: November 2010

# Iqela lezinto ezintathu zoluntu oluchasayo: ubunye, ukuceba, ingqeqesho

HARDY MERRIMAN 19 November 2010

Ziimpawu ezintathu ezinokwenza umahluko phakathi kwempumelelo nokusilela kweentshukumo ezingenabundlobongela kwilizwe jikelele: ubunye, ukuceba nengqeqesho engenabundlobongela.

Yintoni eyenza iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zoluntu ezichasayo zisebenze?

Ukuba siyayamkela intetho ethi ukuba kwipolitiki “amandla awake anikiswe, asoloko ethathwa”, isigqibo ngokuyimfuneko kukuba iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zembali zibe yimpumelelo ngoba, nakanjani, bezisebenzisa amandla ebengaphezu kwalawo wabachasi bazo.

Esi sigqibo siphikisana, kwaye sivula indlela nqo yemibuzo ngokuba, nengcinga ebanjwe ngokubanzi yokuba amandla ekugqibeleni asukela kwimpatho yeemveliso zobutyebi nobuchule bobundlobongela. Ukuba lengcinga ibiyinyani ngokupheleleyo, iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela bezinokusilela ngokungathandabuzisiyo kubachasi bazo abanezixhobo nobutyebi obungcono. Into eboniswa yimbali, kanti, ngamaxesha amaninzi empumelelo eenzame ezingenabundlobongela, ezisukela kwiminyaka engaphezu kwekhulu emva, nabazintloko kunye neenjongo ezizintlobo ngeentlobo njengoluntu ubuqu. Ukudwelisa imizekelo ethile:

- *Kwiminyaka yo 1930 no 1940, Amandiya aphumelela inkululeko yawo ngokuthi azinxulumanise nokungasebenzisani okukhulu (ukwala kwezoqoqosho, ukwala ezikolweni, uqhushululu, ukungavumi ukurhafa, ukungathobeli koluntu, ukuyeka ukusebenza) okoyikisa ukwenza i-India ingalawuleki aze ekugqibeleni aqinisekisa ukuba abemi baseNgilani bayahamba;*
- *Phakathi 1950 noo 1960, Umbutho Wamalungelo Oluntu wase US waphumelela amalungelo alinganayo ngemikhankaso engenabundlobongela efana nokwala ukusebenzisa ibhasi eMontgomery nokuhlala kuchaswe isidlo sasemini eNashville eyasebenzisa ukuthambekela ezikweni elenziwe ngendlela emisiweyo yokwahlukaniswa yaze yafumana inkxaso kwizwe lonke.*
- *Ukusuka ngo 1965-1970, umbutho Wabasebenzi Basefama Abamanyeneyo wakhula esuka kumbutho omncinci, wesipahluka ongenamali ukuya kwimbonakalo yesizwe ngenxa yentsebenziso yabo ephumeleleyo yoqhushululu nokwala kwiifama zomdiliya eCalifornia;*
- *Ngo 1986 ePhilippines, amatshantliziyo aqhagamshelana nabakreji basemajonini ukufumana izigidi zabantu ukuze babonise umqhankqalazo kuzwilakhe kaFerdinand Marcos owaye xhaswe yi-US. Amacebo akhe ekhawuleza ephela ngenxa yoluqhankqalazo lungenabundlobongela, u-Marcos wasibaleka isizwe.*
- *Ngo 1988, AbaseChile boyisa ukoyika okwafakwa lulawulo lukazwilakhe olunobungonyama luka Augusto Pinochet baze bakhankasa baqhankqalaza bengafuni yena. Ezi zenzo zanciphisa inkxaso kaPinochet apho iqela labaphathi mikhosi lakhe layeka ukuthembeka kuye kwincophoyi yelixesha lobunzima, waze wasuswa emandleni;*
- *Ukuseka ngo 1980-1098, AbasePoland balungiselela umbutho ozimeleyo wokurweba njengenxalenye yentshukumo Yembumbo Yomanyano baze bathatha isizwe sabo kwimpatho yeSoviet;*
- *Ngo 1989, imiqhankqalozo noqhushululu eyaphela isaziwa ngokuba yi Velvet Revolution yakhokelela kwinguqulelo enoxolo esuka kubuKhomanisi eCzechoslovakia. Izehlo ezifana nezi zakhokelela kwinguquko enoxolo e-East Germany, nase Latvia, Lithuania, nase Estonia ngo 1991;*
- *Uqhushululu, ukwala, ukungathobeli koluntu nezohlwayo zangaphandle ezaqala ngoo 1980 zadlala indima enkulu ekupheliseni ubandlululo eMzantsi Afrika ekuqaleni koo 1990;*

- *Kwiminyaka elishumi eyalandelayo, abaseSerbia (2000), abaseGeorgia (2003), nabaseUkraine (2004) baphelisa umbuso woozwilakhe ngokuthi bahlanganise ukuze banqande okanye bachase imiphumela yolonyulo enobumenemene;*
- *Ngo 2005, AbaseLebanon baphelisa ukuthinjwa kwelizwe labo ngamajoni aseSyria ngokuthi benze imiboniso emikhulu engenabundlobongela;*
- *Ngo 2006, abaseNepal bazibandakanya nokungathobeli koluntu oluninzi base banyanzela ukuyibuyiselwa kokuphatha kwabantu abangekho semkhosini;*
- *Ukusuka ngo 2007-2009, embindini kovukelo olunobundlobongela nasebusweni bempatho yasebukhosini, amagqwetha asePakistani, amaqelo emibutho yoluntu, nabemi abaqhelekileyo batyhalela ukubuyiswa kweejaji zelizwe jikelele ezizimeleyo kunye nokurhoxiswa kwemithetho yethuba lokuxakeka eburhulumenteni.*

## **Ukuba abantu abathobeli, abalawuli abakwazi kulawula**

Ezi nezinye iintshukumo zoluntu ezichasayo ziphumelele ngenxa yokuba bezisekwe kwimbono ebalulekileyo ngamandla: ukuba malunga onke amaziko, imibutho, neenkqubo kuluntu zixhomekeke kwimvume, intsebenziswano nokuthobelana okuqhubekayo kwenani labantu abaninzi abaqhelekileyo. Ngoko ke, ukuba abantu bakhetha ukuyirhoxisa imvume nentsebenziswano yabo ngendlela elungiselelweyo nenobuchule, bangasebenzisa amandla okunyanzela. Xa abantu bengathobeli, oomongameli, oosodolophu, abaphathi, izikhulu nezinye “iziphathi mandla” abanokuba sakwazi ukulawula ngamandla angajongwanga.

Ubuchule obungenabundlobongela, obufana nemiqhankqalazo, ukwala, imiboniso yoluntu oluninzi, ukungathobeli koluntu, ukuqaliswa kwamaziko anxuseneyo, kunye nezinye iintshukumo eziyiliweyo, bube zizixhobo ezisetyenziswe okwenza oku. Bezingasenziselwa izizathu ezilungileyo ncam, kodwa ukuba ibe zezibambekayo. Abanye abamkele ukuchasa koluntu bebesele bebone ubuchule obufanayo busebenza kumanye amazwe okanye kwiimbali zabo, baye baqonda ukuba oluhlobo lokuchasa lube neyona mibono yempumelelo abanokukhetha kuyo ekhoyo kubo.

## **Ubuchule neemfuneko**

Phakathi kweempumelelo zezintshukumo zingenabundlobongela ziphembelelayo, kanti, imbali nelizwe leloxesha zinika imizekelo yeentshukumo ezisileleyo okanye ezinganelisiyo. Ilizwe libukele iinguquko ezingenabundlobongela zase Poland nase Czechoslovakia kunyaka omnye libukele ubulawo lwase Tiananmen Square. Kwishumi leminyaka egqithileyo, inani labantu elininzi lisebenzise ubuchule obungenabundlobongela eBurma, Zimbabwe, Egypt nase Iran, kodwa iinjongo zezontshukumo azikaphumeleli uzokuthi ga ngoku. Kwiinzame zokuzimela eziphumeleleyo e-East Timor, ukuchasa koluntu bekufuneka, kodwa nangona incede ukuqhuba iintshukumo ezisekwe ngabantu abangekho semkhosini abachasene nokuhlala kwezinye iindawo – ePalestine, West Papua, Western Sahara naseTibet – ezo nzame azikasonjululwa.

Yintoni eyenza umahluko phakathi kwezi zehlo nezinye?

limeko ezenza ukuba ezi ntshukumo nezinye ziphumelele okanye ziselele ngumxholo apho abantu abanengqiqo nabazi ngcono banokuphikisana khona. [1] Isimo ngasinye sintsokothile kwaye ukufumana unxulumano olululo kunzima. Iingxoxo endimana ukuziva ngabafundi, oonondaba, kunye nabanye kukuba iindlela nemiphumela yezi nezinye iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela bezimiselwe kakhulu ngokwakhiwa, ngokweemfuneko kunye neemeko ezingaqhelekanga apho iintshukumo nganye ibisebenza khona.

Umzekelo, kubekhona iingxoxo zokuba iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zisebenza kuphela kulunto apho umcinezeli engazimisela ukusebenzisa amandla abulalayo. Abanye bangabanga ukuba iintlobo ezithile zoqoqosho (ukutsho. ubunzululwazi bezoqoqosho, amaqondo omrhlo, ulwabiwo lobutyebi, ubukho boluntu lomgangatho ophakathi) namaqondo ezemfundo abalulekile kwiintshukumo eziphumelelayo. Kodwa abanye babanga ukuba indima yabanamandla amakhulu neenkokheli zemimandla ithatha indawo yokubaluleka kwezinye izinto ezitshintshayo ekufumaniseni imiphumela yentshukumo. Inani lezakhiwo ezongezelelweyo neemfuneko umntu anothi azicaphule-ukutsho, ukungafani ngokubuhlanga, imbali yepolitiki nencubeko, ubungakanani benani labemi, ubukhulu bomhlaba-zininzi, kwaye ukuqiniseka, uninzi lwezimfuneko lunganefuthe kwindlela yentshukumo ethile.

Njengokuhambelana neemeko zolwakhiwo neemfuneko ziimeko ezisekelwe kubuchule bentshukumo bokuhamba umlo, ukutsho. into izifundiswa eziyibinza "ubu-arhente". Ubuchule nobu-arhente bubhekisa kwezinguquko apho intshukumo inolawulo oluthile khona: bobuphi ibuchule besenzo esikhethayo intshukumo; isebenzisa oluphi ulwimi ukuqokelela abantu ibagcine ibaqukile; izakha njani iimbumbano; izijonga kwaye njani iintshaba zayo; kunye nezigidi zezinye izigqibo eziqkwayo kuchasano loluntu.

Ngokubona kwam, ezimeko zisekwe ngobuchule azigxininiswa kwaye aziqatshelwa ngamaxesha amaninzi ngabo badibana bahlahlele iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela. Ukuba kutheni oku kusenzenza kungaphaya komda welinqaku, kodwa isizathu esinye ingakukuba abantu bathandabuza okanye abasazi isindululo apho isenzo esingenabundlobongela sisekwe khona-ukuba kutshintsho lwezimilo eziqukeneyo, amandla angasuswa kwabo bazintshaba ezizinzileyo nezicinezelayo aye kwiintshukumo zabantu. Endaweni yoku, bacinga ukuba kufanele kubekhona iinguquko ezisuka ngaphandle okanye iimeko ezingaqhelekanga ezenze oku kwenzeke kwizehlo apho senzeke khona.

Kanti, singayihlonipha indima yezakhiwo neemfuneko ekuchaphazeleni iindlela nemiphumela yeentshukumo ezingenabundlobongela singakhange sijongele phantsi ukubaluleka kwe-arhente nobuchule. Enawi yoku, i-arhente nobuchule zenza umahluko, kwaye kwezinye izehlo sezincede iintshukumo zoyise, ziphephe okanye ziguqule iimeko ezingalunganga.

Ukubaluleka, kwaye ngamanye amaxesha ubuntloko, bobuchule ne-arhente zibonwa njengolwazi oluqhelekileyo kwezinye izifundo ezifana neengcinga zoshishino okanye ezobujoni. Kutheni iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela kufuneka zahluke ngalendlela? Isikhulu sobujoni okanye umphathi wequmrhu bangahleka ukuba bebenokuxelelwa ukuba ubuchule bunokubaluleka okungenamsebenzi kwiziphumo zenzame zabo. Umbhalo wodidi ka Sun Tzu othi *The Art of War* ngewungaziwa kangaka ukuba abantu bebecinga ukuba iziphumo zokuphikisana nentsebenziswano ephikisanayo bezisoliko zimiselwe kwiimeko zendalo.

Ukubuyela kengoku kumbuzo wesisiqendu wokuvula-yintoni eyenza iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zisebenze?-singaqalisa ngokufumana iimpendulo ngokujonga ukhetho lobuchule nezona zenzo zizizo zicholwe kwiintshukumo zembali. Kukho iintlobo ngeentlobo zeemeko nobuchule obumiselwe kwii-arhente obunokuba nefuthe kwimiphumela yentshukumo, kodwa (ngenxa yobulula) ukuba sihluza ezo kwizinto ezimbalwa ezifunekayo, iimpawu ezintathu zeentshukumo ezingenabundlobongela ziyavela: ubunye, ukuceba nengqeqesho engenabundlobongela.

## **Ubunye, ukuceba nengqeqesho**

Xa ukrwaqula kwangoku ukubaluleka kwezimpawu ezifana nezi kungabonakala kucacile. Kodwa ubunzulu bezimpawu nemiphumela yazo egqibeleleyo ngamanye amaxesha ziyaphoswa xa umntu ejonga iintshukumo ngokongamayo kwizinga lobuchule neenkozo. Inye ifanelwe ingcaciso.

*Ubunye* bubalulekile ngoba iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zifumana amandla azo ngokuthathwa kwenxaxheba ngabantu kumacandelo ohlukileyo oluntu. Ngokulula: Amanani abalulekile. Njengokuba intshukumo iba nabantu abaninzi abayixhasayo, uya umthetho, amandla nengqokelela yobuchule yayo iba nkulu. Ngoko iintshukumo eziphumelelayo ziqhubeka ngokufikelela kumaqela amatsha oluntu,

umzekelo amadoda nabafazi; ulutsha, abadala, nabadala kakhulu; abemi basedolophini nabasezilalini; amaqela amancinci; amalungu akumaziko eenkolo; abalimi; abasebenzi; osomashishini, neencutshe; izityebi, abakumgangatho ophakathi, nabakwizinga elisezantsi kwezoqoqosho; amapolisa, amajoni, namalungu eejaji jikelele, kunye namanye amaqela.

Iintshukumo eziphumeleleyo zikwaqhubeka ngokufikelela kubaxhasi babachasi bazo, ziqonda ukuba enye yamandla yoluntu oluchasayo olugciniweyo kwinkonzo yombono omanyayo kukukwazi ukucenga utshintsho lwentembeko nokukreqa kubachasi bazo. Umzekelo, ukuphazamisa okuqhubekayo kwabemi besixeko bentshukumo eyayichasene nobandlululo yaseMzantsi Afrika kunye nobizo labo loxolelwaniso lwesizwe kwakwazi ukufumana inkxaso ethe sa kwaye yenye umanyano lwenjongo zotshintsho, nakubaxhasi abamhlophe ababexhase urhulumente wobandlululo ngaphambili.

Abathathi-nxaxheba kwiintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela kufuneka benze nezigqibo ezinzima ngendlela iintshukumo zabo ekufuneka zizithathile. *Ukuceba okunobubuchule* kukubaluleka okusebindini ekwenzeni oku. Nokuba ithini imfuno yeenjongo zomntu okanye izenzo ezimbi zomchasi womntu, ingcinezelo ayifane yahlulwe ngezenzo ezizenzekelayo neziquanjweyo zokuchasa, nokuba ezo ezonzo zenziwe ngendlela eyiyo. Endaweni yoku, iintshukumo zifumana udumo xa ziceba ukuba zingakulungiselela uchasa koluntu kwaye kwamkelwe ngabantu ekuhlaleni ukuze kufumaneke iinjongo ezifunwayo nezicacayo.

Ukugqiba ukuba bobuphi ubuchule omabusetyenziswe nokuba bulandelelaniswe njani; ukuqalisa izindululo ezinika umdla zotshintsho ezisekwe kwizikhalazo nakwizinto ezifunwa ngabantu iintshukumo ejonge ukubamela; ukuceba ukuba ngabaphi abantu namaqela emakujoliswe kuwo ngobuchule nokuba zeziphi iinjongo zexesha elifutshane, eliphakathi nelide emazilandelwe; nokwakha iindlela zothungelwano ukuze iimbumbano zikwazi ukuxoxwa zakhiwe yenye yemicimbi apho iintshukumo ezingenabundlobongela kufuneka ziyile ubuchule ngayo. Ukwenza njalo kufuna uhlahlelo olupheleleyo lwesimo apho iinzame zeentshukumo ezingenabundlobongela zenzeka khona. Njengenxalenye yeenkqubo zokuceba kwazo, iintshukumo ezisebenzayo ngokusesikweni nangokungekho sesikweni ziqokelela iingcombolo, zimamela ebantwini abasezantsi, kwaye zizihlahlele ngokwazo, abachasi bazo namanye amaqela angazimiselanga ngokuqhubekayo kwisithuba sempikiswano.

Okokugqibela, ubuchule busebenza kuphela xa benziwe ngendlela enoqeqesho. Eyona ngozi inkulu yokusilela kwengqeqesho kwintshukumo engenabundlobongela kukuba amanye amalungu anganobundlobongela. Ngoko ke, *ingqeqesho engenabundlobongela*-ukukwazi ukungabi nabundlobongela kwabantu, nokuba sebexhokoxwa-kuhlala kufakwa ezingqondweni zabathathi-nxaxheba amaxesha amaninzi. Kukho izizathu ezizizo zoku. Izehlo zobundlobongela ezenziwa ngamalungu entshukumo zingayihlisa ngokubaxekileyo inkxaso ibe inika abachasi balontshukumo isizathu sokusebenzisa ingcinezelo. Ngaphezu koko, intshukumo ehlala iqhubekela ingenabundlobongela inethuba elikhulu lokuba nomtsalane kubancedisi abaninzi abanokubakhona-kukuqa kwa nabaxhasi bomchasi-kwisithuba seenzame.

Ukuhlola okupheleleyo kwezimpawu kungagcwalisa iincwadi, nesihloko sokuchasa okungenabundlobongela kufuna kwaye kuqhubekela kufumana ukufundwa okwenziwe ngendlela emisiweyo okungaphezulu. Intshukumo nganye evelayo yongeza ulwazi oluninzi kwingqokelela yokuqonda esi senzeko, kodwa kusekuninzi ngobugcisa nenzululwazi yalentshobo yesenzo sobupolitiki nesoluntu elusafuna ukumephiswa nokuveliswa.

Kodwa ezimpawu zintathu-ubunye, ukuceba nengqeqesho-azinasiphelo, kwaye kunjalo nje ziveza ubume jikelele apho amalungu nabaxhasi beentshukumo, kunye nabo baxela ngazo nabazifundayo, anokwazi khona ukuhlola ubume bentshukumo. Ingaba imanyene? Ingaba inalo icebo? Ingaba inengqeqesho? Izenzo zabo bavakalisa lemithetho-seseko kwizenzo ezingenabundlobongela seziphawule indlela eya kwilizwe elinoxolo nelinobulungisa. Ikamva liyakwakhiwa ngabo baqhubekayo ukwenza oko.

Ngokweenjongo zelinqaku, ndicacisa iintshukumo “eziphumeleleyo” njengezo sezifikelele kwiinjongo zazo ezichaziweyo neentshukumo “ezisileleyo” njengezo zingekafikeleli kwiinjongo zazo ezichaziweyo. Kukwakho nento efunekayo yexesha kulengcaciso. Intshukumo ephumeleleyo ingafikelela kwiinjongo zayo ezichaziweyo (ukutsho. I-Orange movement e Ukraine ngo 2004) kodwa imiceli mngeni konyaka abalandelayo kwimpumelelo yentshukumo ingenza ibuye umva (ngengcombolo ezithe vetshe kwisihlo sase Ukraine, jonga kwisiqendu sango Novemba 17, 2010 esithi “The struggle after people power wins” esibhalwe ngu Olena Tregub no Oksana Shuytar kwi openDemocracy).