

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

The Trifecta of Civil Resistance: Unity, Planning,  
Discipline

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

[Hardy Merriman](#), 19 Munyonyo 2010

Ibi bintu 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 ntibuhabwa, burarwanirwa » tuyemera, bisigura ko imihari yirwaniriye muri kahise yashitse kw'ihangiro kubera yatahuye ko yari ifise ubushobozi busumba ubw'abo yariko barahangana, ica irabikorerako.

Ivyo rero birabeshuza ukwemera abantu benshi bishizemwo yuko ubushobozi bushingiye k'ubutunzi hamwe n'inguvu zo guhasha. Ukwo kwemera kwarikuba ari kwo, nta muhari izira 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'ubushure amwe amwe, kutariha amakori, kugarariza ubutegetsu, gutanga imihoho) bituma aba koloni b'abongereza bibankira gutwara igihugu, bahitamwo komoka.
- Mu myaka y' 1950 na 1960, umuhari w'Agateka k'Abirabure muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika warashoboye gutuma bagira uburenganzira nk'abandi, ubahimirije mu ruganda rwo kwanka gukoresha amabisi y'unguruza abantu mu gisagara ca Montgomery, hamwe no kugandagaza imbere y'uburiri butandukanye mu gisagara ca Nashville. Ivyo bikorwa vyarahungabanije intwari y'amacakubiri, kandi bituma abantu benshi muri icyo gihugu bashigikira uwo muhari.
- Mu myaka y'1965 na 1970, Urunani rw'Abakozi bo mu Mirima, umurwi mutoya cane i California, muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika, warashoboye guhimiriza abandi bakozi isinzi mu mugihugu cose, bagira urunani rukomeye cane bakoresheje uguhagarika kurima igiterwa c'umuzabibu, hamwe no kwiyonkora mu bindi bikorwa.
- Mu mwaka 1986, muri Philipine, abaharanira impinduka hamwe n'abikuye mu gisoda baragiye hamwe n'amamiliyoni y'abiyerekana bariko biyamiriza intwari y'igitugu ya Ferdinand Marcos yari ifashwe mu mugongo n'abanyamerika. Amaze kubura icyo afata nico areka, Marcos yacyiye akura meza.
- Mu mwaka 1988, abanya Chili barashize ubwoba barakoresha uburyo butandukanye bwo kwiyamiriza intwari mbi y'igisirikare ya Augusto Pinochet. Ivyo vyarahungabanije intwari yiwe kugeza aho abayoboze biwe bamutana urugamba baramuva inyuma. Yacyiye atanga imihoho.
- Hagati ya 1980 na 1989, abanya Polonye barashoboye kwiganzura intwari y'abarusiya mu gihugu cabo inyuma yo gushinga ishirahamwe ryigenga ry'abakozi babicishije mu muhari wo gufatana munda hagati yabo.

- Mu mwaka 1989, imyiyerekano hamwe n'uguhagarika akazi mwisekeza ryitswe 'Ukwiganzura mu Mahoro' (Revolution 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 ubutegetsu 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'abanyagihugu inyuma yo guseniyura ubutegetsu 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'abanyagihugu bato bato baragiye hamwe bituma bashobora kugarukana ubutungane bwigenga no gukuraho amategeko yo mu bihe vy'intambara yagenga igihugu ico gihe.

### **Iyo abanyagihugu bagambaraye, abategetsu ntiboroherwa gutwara.**

Iyo mihari duhejeje kubona n'iyindi myinshi yarashoboye gushika kuvyo yipfuzwa kubera yatahura neza ingene ubutegetsu bukora : inzego, amashirahamwe hamwe n'intwaro mu gihugu icarico cose, biriho kubera umwumvikano, ugukorana neza, hamwe n'ugamburuka kw'abanyagihugu. Igihe rero abantu bahisemwo kudakorana hamwe no kutumvikana n'intwaro mu buryo bukabije, ivyo biratuma leta itakaza inguvu zayo. Abanyagihugu bagambaraye, abakuru b'ibihugu, abakuru b'ibisagara, abatwara

amashirahamwe hamwe n'abandi bategetsu bese ntibaba bagishoboye gutwara uko bavyipfuzwa.

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

## **Amayeri hamwe n'akarere**

Naho hariho imihari myinshi tuzi yashitse ku ntumbero yayo muri kahise hamwe nomu gihe ca none, hariho uburorero bwinshi bw'imihari yananiwe. Mu gihe intwari mbi zariko zirasenyuka muri Polonya no muri Tchecoslovaquie, amakungu yararorera ataco ari bugire ubwicanyi bw'agahomerabunwa ku bantu bariko bariyerekana i Tiananmen, mu Bushinwa. Mu myaka cumi iheze, abantu batari bake barahisemwo imikenye yo kudakoresha ingimba muri Birumaniya, Zimbabwwe, Egiputa hamwe no muri Irani, mugabo aho hose ntibigeze bashikira 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 gushikira ku kwikukira nyakuri.

### **N'ibihwe bintu nyamukuru bituma imihari imwe ishikira ku ntego, icyindi ntibikunde ?**

Ibintu bituma umuhari uyu canke uriya ushobora kwemererwa canke kutererwa n'ibintu n'ubu bikigoye guhurizako n'abahinga ubwabo<sup>1</sup>. Kubera ibihwe 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'abanyagihugu ifata hamwe n'umusaruro ironka biva ahanini kukuntu umuhari uba wubatse, uburyo ufise, hamwe n'ibihwe wakoreyemwo urugamba rwo guharanira agateka. Nk'akarorero, bamwe baravugaga ko imihari yo kwirwanirira mu mahoro kenshi ishikira ku ntumbero yayo mu bihugu bitwarwa n'abategetsu badafise umutima wo guhasha. Abandi nabo bavugaga yuko ibipimo vy'ubutunzi (ingengabitekerezo, urugero rw'amafaranga yinjira, ukuntu ubutunzi bushikira abanyagihugu, kuba hariho ingo

zibayeho ubuzima bugereraniye (*classe moyenne*) hamwe n'urugero rw'indero bifasha cane mu gutuma imihari ishika ku ntumbero yayo. Abandi bahinga bavuga 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'amicokama y'igihugu, igitigiri c'abanyagihugu, 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.

Kubwanje, 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 imyitwarire 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'imvano 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'abanyagihugu gukemura, kumenyera canke guhindukiza intambanyi 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 afise, yoca yitwengera. Iyaba abantu biyumvira ko inguvu z'igisirikare nizo gusa zikenewe murugamba, gitabu "*The Art of War*" (Amayeri yo Kurwana) ca Sun Tzu nticari kugira amateka akomeye nk'ayo gifise.

Tugarutse re kukibazo nyamukuru c’uru rwandiko – n’ibihe bintu bituma imihari y’irwanirira idakoresheje ingimba ishobora gushika kw’ihangiro ryayo ? – inyishu irashobora kuboneka turavye imiken-yuro 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’ido ni do rya kimwe kimwe ukwaco.

*Ubumwe* burahambaye cane kubera imihari yo kwigwanirira ikomera mu gihe ishoboye guhimiriza abantu benshi bashoboka. Mu majambo maje, ibitigiri birahamba. Uko abantu bashigikira imihari, niko igira icizere mu banyagihugu, igakomera kandi ikaronka n’imiken-yuro myinshi yo gukoresha. Nico gituma imihari ishaka gukomera itegerezwa kwegera imirwi yose y’abanyagihugu, harimwo abagabo n’abakenyezi, abakiri bato hamwe n’abageze mu zabukuru, ababa mu bisagara n’ababa mu gihugu hagati, inkehwa, abarongozi mu mashengero, abarimyi, abakozi bato bato, abagwizatunga, abakozi bakuru bakuru, abatunzi, abantu batobato, abapolisi, abasirikare, abajewe ubutungane, hamwe n’abandi.

Vyongeye imihari ikomeye n’iyashoboye kwiyegereza 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 y’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 nte-guro** 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 hisunze 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'abanyagihugu muri rusangi bipfuzwa ; guhitamwo neza n'amahangiro ya hafi, yo hagati canke ya kure; gutora neza abantu n'imirwi bo kwitura; hamwe - gushiraho inzira zoroshe zo gutumatumanako amakuru zotuma umuhari ushikira bitagoranye abashaka kwiyungana nawo. Kugira ivyo vyose bishikweko, ni ngombwa ko hakorwa umwihwezo w'akarere muri rusangi. Ibi navyo bisaba ko umuhari wama wegeranya amakuru atandukanye mu kwumviriza abanywanyi bawo n'abandi banyagihugu, mu, iyo wisuzuma buri gihe, ugasuzuma umukeba, ugasuzuma n'abandi barorerezi ata ruhande baragira.

Icanyuma, kwirwanirira mu mahoro bigenda neza iyo bikoranywe n'agatima ko kwubaha ingingo ngenderwako z'umuhari. Ikintu ca mbere kenshi gituma imihari y'abanyagihugu 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. Kuber'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 bahanganye narwo.

Kwandika insiguro y'ibiranga urugamba ruzira ingimba vyokuzuba ibitabu n'ibitabu. 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 nubwo birikwo, haracariho ibintu vyinshi bijanye n'ubushakashatsi bigomba kwihwezwa.

Ukwo biri kwose, ivyo bintu bitatu – ubumwe, integuro hamwe n'umwanzuro wo kudakoresha ingimba - vyama bikenerwa igihe cose kandi biratanga akaryo, kubahurikiye mu muhari hamwe n'abakunzi bawo mbere nabashakashatsi biga imihari,



ko kumenya ingene umuhari uba wifashe: Mbe umuhari urashize hamwe ? Urafise integuro ? Urangwamwo ukwubahiriza ingingo ? Ibikorwa vy' imihari yazirikanye ivyo bintu bitatu vy'uguruye inzira igana intwari y'amahoro n'ubutungane. Akazoza keza kazozanwa n'ababandanya bavyisunga mu guharanira agateka.

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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 konekara bukebuke. (Mushaka kumenya ido n'ido ry'inkuru yuko 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 mu bu Shinwa) ariko ugasanga ibikorwa vyawo vyashinze kumushinge ushobora gushikana abandi kuco waharanira muri kazoza (Mushaka kumenya amakuru arambuye ajanye n'uwo muhari womu buShinwa, soma urwandiko « [Repression Paradox in China](#) » rwanditswe itariki 17 Munyonyo 2010 na Lester Kurtz ku ku rubuga Open Democracy). Tutagiye muvuye gushira mu mirwi imihari yitwa ko "yatsinze" canke "yatsinzwe", ibikurikira inyuma y'urugamba birahambaye cane kandi birakwiye kwigwa hakoreshejwe ubushishozi bukwiye.