

# SİVİL DİRENİŐ NEDEN İŐE YARAR? ŐİDDETSİZ ÇATIŐMANIN STRATEJİK MANTIĐI

Erica Chenoweth ve Maria J. Stephan

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**Sivil Direniş Neden İşe Yarar?**

**Şiddetsiz Çatışmanın Stratejik Mantığı**

**Erica Chenoweth ve Maria J. Stephan**

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Erica Chenoweth ve Maria J. Stephan

*Aileme*

*-E.C.*

*Anneme, Babama ve Erkek Kardeşime*

*-M. J. S.*

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## Teşekkür

Bu kitabın yazılması esnasında bana ilham veren ve sarsılmaz desteklerini benden esirgemeyen herkesi burada tek tek anmam ne yazık ki imkânsız. Hepsine fazlasıyla minnettar olmakla birlikte birkaç ismi burada özellikle anmak istiyorum.

Öncelikle Uluslararası Şiddetsiz Çatışmalar Araştırma Merkezi'ndeki meslektaşlarımın tamamı –Peter Ackerman, Jack DuVall, Hardy Merriman, Althea Middleton-Dezner, Maciej Bartkowski, Daryn Cambridge, and Vanessa Ortiz– bu projenin başlangıcından itibaren bana inanıp desteklerini benden esirgemediler. Beni hem Maria ile hem de bu konuyla tanıştırdılar. Bu çalışmaya verilen mali destek için minnettar olduğumu da itiraf etmeliyim. Araştırmamızla ilgili yorumları nedeniyle Stephen Zunes, Doug Bond, Cynthia Boaz ve Kurt Schock'a ayrıca teşekkür ediyorum.

Harvard Kennedy Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Akademisi'ndeki Belfer Merkezi'nde çalıştığım iki yıl içinde tanıştığım bir grup akademisyen bu projenin hayata geçmesine katkıda bulundu. Ivan Arreguín-Toft, Boaz Atzili, Kristin Bakke, Emma Belcher, Nik Bizziouras, Tom Bielefeld, Jonathan Caverley, Fotini Christia, David Cunningham, Kathleen Cunningham, Erik Dahl, Alexander Downes, Ehud Eiran, Emily Greble, Kelly Greenhill, Mike Horowitz, Matthew

Kocher, Sarah Kreps, Matthew Kroenig, Adria Lawrence, Jason Lyall, Steve Miller, Assaf Moghadam, Jonathan Monten, Harris Mylonas, Wendy Pearlman, Phil Potter, Scott Radnitz, Elizabeth Saunders, John Schuessler, Tammy Smith, Monica Toft, ve Stephen Walt: dehanız beni büyüleyip utandırıyor.

Matthew Fuhrmann, veri yapısından eşzamanlı denklemlere kadar, saç baş yolduran sorunları çözmeme yardımcı olmak için 2009 yılının Temmuz ayı içinde yıllık tatilinin dört gününden feragat etti. Kariyerimde ilerledikçe Matthew'ün diğerkâmlığına ve zihinsel berraklığına imrenmeyi ancak umut edebilirim.

Colorado Üniversitesi'ndeki meslektaşlarımın desteğini de unutmamam gerekiyor. Colin Dueck, Steve Chan, David Leblang ve Jennifer Fitzgerald kusursuz öğretmenler olduklarını kanıtladılar. Susan Clarke'a buradan özel teşekkürlerimi gönderiyorum. Susan'ın tanıma şerefine erişmiş herkes onun genç akademisyenlerin akıl hocalığına kendisini vakfettiğini ve eş zamanlı olarak bizi profesyonelce müdafaa ederken, entelektüel olarak bize meydan okumaktan haz aldığını bilir. Colorado Üniversitesi'nden eski sınıf arkadaşlarım benim en değerli meslektaşlarımdan bazıları olarak öne çıktılar. Bana yardımcı olan olgun entelektüellikleri için Jessica Teets, Orion Lewis, Michael Touchton, Helga Sverrisdóttir ve Marilyn Averill'a büyük bir borcum var. Biteviye işbirliğimizi dört gözle bekliyorum. Margaret Karns, David Ahern, Jaro Bilockowycz, Gerald Kerns ve Mark Ensalaco'nun dâhil olduğu Dayton Üniversitesi'ndeki erken dönem danışmanlarıma da ayrıca teşekkür ediyorum.

Kaliforniya Üniversitesi'nde Uluslararası Çalışmalar Enstitüsü, 2007'den 2009 yılına kadar kendi evimden uzakta bana akademik bir yuva sundu. Bilhassa projenin muhtelif aşamalarında faydalı geribildirimler sunan Ned Walker, Regine Spector ve Brent Durbin'e minnettarım.

Ayrıca Wesleyan Üniversitesi'ndeki meslektaşlarıma da teşekkür ederim. Don Moon projenin amansız savunucusu oldu. Jill Morawski başkanlığındaki Wesleyan Beşeri Bilimler Merkezi'nde bir burs imkânı yaratarak taslağı zamanında bitirmeme ve faydalı geribildirimler almama vesile oldu. Ayrıca Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü'ndeki meslektaşlarıma dostlukları ve destekleri için, bilhassa kitap taslağının çeşitli nüshaları üstüne yorumlarda bulunan Mary Alice Haddad, Peter Rutland, Mike Nelson, Erika Fowler, and Doug Foyle'a, teşekkür ederim. Olağanüstü birkaç öğrenciye özellikle de veri toplanması sırasında bize yardımcı olan Jeremy Berkowitz'e ve taslağın düzeltilmelerini yapan Nicholas Quah'a da destekleri için minnettarım. Veri toplama işleminin ilk aşamalarında Amerikan Üniversitesi'ndeki Elizabeth Wells de araştırmama yardımcı oldu.

Uluslararası Araştırmalar Birliği, Amerikan Siyaset Bilimi Topluluğu ve Uluslararası Araştırmalar Komitesi'nin toplantılarının yanı sıra Georgetown, Rutgers, Yale, Harvard, Wesleyan, Dayton Üniversitelerinde, ABD Barış Enstitüsü ve King's College'de panel ve seminer katılımcılarından da çarpıcı geribildirimler aldık.

Columbia Üniversitesi Yayınları'nda çalışan editörümüz Anne Routon, tıpkı asistanı Alison Alexanian'ın yaptığı gibi, taslağın kitaplaştırılma süresince bize ziyadesiyle yardımcı oldu. Biz hem duyarlılıkları hem de danışmanlıkları ve taslağı kitap haline getirmemizi sağlayan birinci sınıf değerlendirmeleri için onlara minnettarız. Mike Ashby'e kapak çalışması için ayrıca teşekkür ediyoruz.

Çalışmalarımı ailemin hoşgörüsü ve fedakârlıkları mümkün kıldı. Tüm yaşamım ve kariyerim boyunca Chenoweth ve Abell aileleri bana hep ilham verip beni teşvik etmiştir. Ebeveynlerim, Richard ve Marianne, taslak halindeki bölümleri okuyup yorum yaparken dahi en inatçı destekçilerim oldular. Kız kardeşim Andrea ve nişanlısı Phil olağanüstü dostlar ve

mükemmel iletişimcilerdir; destekleri ve ilhamları için onlara da müteşekkirim. Ayrıca erkek kardeşim Christopher ve eşi Miranda'ya da teşekkür ediyorum. Geçen sene Christopher ve Miranda, sadece birkaç aydır bu dünyada olan yeğenim William ile bize en güzel mutluluklardan birini yaşattı. William, şiddetli çatışmaları son erdirmek konusunda gayretlerim nedeniyle aldığı olumsuz tepkiler karşısında dirememem yardımcı oldu. Tyler, Elizabeth, Stephanie ve Adam'ın yanı sıra, Petty ailesine –Kathy, Linda, Mattie Jean ve Warren– bu projenin çeşitli evrelerinde bana verdikleri destekten ötürü teşekkür ediyorum. Kathe, Angi, Joyanna, Melody, Kathy, George, Tommy, Scott, Rachel, Vic, Marc, Nadia ve Gelong Tashi'ye borcumu asla tam olarak ödeyemeyeceğimi biliyorum. Nihayet bir de Allison var. Birlikte yaşadığımız hayat ve paylaştığımız gündelik hazlar bu ve diğer birçok girişimim boyunca beni hep ayakta tuttu. Bilgeliği, sabrı, nezaketi, nüktedanlığı ve maceracılığı ve inatçılığı için Allison'a teşekkür ederim.

**Erica Chenoweth,  
Oakland, Kaliforniya**

Regresyon analizinden haz alan yerli bir terörizm uzmanıyla halk iktidarı üstüne bir kitap yazmayı ummuyordum! Ama dört yaz önce Colorado Üniversitesi'nde şans eseri tanıştıktan sonra Erica ve ben şunu kavradık ki bu kitabı ortaya çıkarmak adına kişisel uzmanlıklarımızı bir araya getirmek zorundaydık. Öncelikle sivil direniş çalışmalarına ilk adımımı atarken bana verdikleri sınırsız destekten ötürü Richard Shultz'a, Eileen Babbitt'e ve Hurst Hannum'un da dâhil olduğu Fletcher Okulu'ndan danışmanlarıma teşekkür etmek istiyorum. Harvard Üniversitesi'ndeki Belfer Bilim ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Merkezi'nden Profesör Shultz ve Steve Miller, farklı silahlar kullanan halk mücadelelerinin uluslararası güvenlik alanına dâhil edilmesinin önemini kabul ettiler ve araştırmamın bu güzergâhı takip etmesi için beni teşvik ettiler.

Şiddetsiz stratejik eylemler konusunda dünyanın önde gelen uzmanlarından biri olan Dr. Peter Ackerman, Fletcher Okulu'ndaki bitirme tezim için bana rehber, akıl hocası ve dost oldu. Peter hepimizin büyük bir şükran borçlu olduğu ve şiddetsiz eylemler alanında bir öncü olan Gene Sharp ile 40 sene evvel kendi doktora tezini yazdığı vakit şunu anlamıştı: Son kertede akademi, dünya genelinde yaşanan şiddetsiz kitlesel mücadelelerin genellikle ihmal edilen geçmiş performanslarını kavramalıydı. Uluslararası Şiddetsiz Çatışmalar Araştırma Merkezi'nin (ICNC) kurucu başkanı Peter ve meslektaş Jack DuVall, şiddetsiz mücadele dalgasına ilişkin pratik uygulama becerisinin geliştirilmesine ve bu konuda var olan bilginin genişletilmesine öncülük etmişlerdir. ICNC'deki araştırma sürem boyunca dünyanın dört bir yanından şiddetsiz direnişe gönül vermiş birçok olağanüstü ve gözüpek eylemciyle iletişim kurma fırsatını yakaladım. Onların şiddetsiz yöntemleri kullanırkenki azimleri, cesaretleri ve kazanma istekleri benim için engin bir ilham kaynağı olmuştur.

Peter ve Jack'e teşekkür ediyorum. ICNC'de ve Rockport Capital'de Hardy Merriman, Shaazka Beyerle, Vanessa Ortiz,

Berel Rodal, Althea Middleton-Detzner, Nicola Barrach, Maciej Bartkowski, Jake Fitzpatrick, Daryn Cambridge, Suravi Bhandari, Deena Patriarca, Ciel Lagumen ve Kristen Kopko'nun dâhil olduğu insanların desteği, dostluğu ve sıkı çalışmasına müteşekkirim. Bilhassa Hardy Merriman taslağın hazırlanması konusunda günün kahramanı oldu dersem yeridir. Stephen Zunes, Kurt Schock, John Gould, Mary Elizabeth King, Larry Diamond, Doug McAdam, Les Kurtz, Cyndi Boaz, Janet Cherry, Howard Barrell, Roddy Brett, Kevin Clements, Barry Gan, Scott O'Bryan, Lee Smithey, Victoria Tin-bor Hui, Brian Martin, Senthil Ram, April Carter ve Howard Clark'ı barındıran ICNC'deki kapsamlı akademik danışmanlar kurulu hem Erica'ya hem de bana faydalı önerilerde ve kitabın önceki halleri üstüne süratle ve ayrıntılı geribildirimlerde bulundular. ICNC'den Mubarak Awad ve Michael Beer yıllar içinde en önemli destekçilerimiz oldular. Disiplinler arası kitapları sayesinde, bahsi geçen akademisyenler ve akademisyen pratisyenler sivil direniş pratiğini ve araştırmasını ilerletmek hususunda çok önemli adımlar atmışlardır.

ICNC'deki kimi keyifli ve renkli anlarımı "Sırpların" grubunda -Otpor'u kurarak 2000 yılında "Balkan Kasabı"nu şiddetsiz direnişle devirmek üzere Sırp halkını seferber eden gençler grubuyla görüşmelerim sırasında- yaşadım dersem yalan olmaz. Srdja Popovic, Ivan Marovic, Sloba Djinoic ve Andrej Milojevic, dünyanın dört bir yanında şiddetsiz direniş eylemcileri eğiten Belgrad temelli bir STK olan Şiddetsiz Eylemler ve Stratejiler Merkezi'ni kurdular. Umuyorum ki şiddetsiz direnişlerde deneyimli kadrolarla büyüme ve bilgilerini ve deneyimlerini yeni bir sivil liderler kuşağına aktarmaya devam edeceklerdir.

En önemli danışmanım büyükelçi Mark Palmer, ABD Dışişleri Bakanlığı'nın değişik bir yönünü bana gösterdi ve ABD hükümeti içinde şiddetsiz değişim aktörleriyle dost olmam için beni yüreklendirdi. Demokrasiler Topluluğu Konseyi ile

ilgili çalışması boyunca Mark, temel hakları ve özgürlükleri savunmak için her türlü olumsuzluğa rağmen mücadele eden insanlarla dünya çapında dayanışmanın kurumsallaşmasına yardım ediyor. Mark'a büyük bir hayranlık duyuyorum ve onun sonraki adımlarını takip etmeyi umuyorum.

Ayrıca Kabil'deki ABD büyükelçiliğinde görev yapan siyasetçi ve asker meslektaşlarıma, bilhassa Sivil-Askeri Planlar ve Değerlendirmeler takımına teşekkürlerimi iletmek istiyorum. Phil Kosnett, JoAnne Wagner, Melanie Anderton, Jen Munro, Emilie Lemke ve Tammy Rutledge, Afganistan'daki sivil direniş hakkında açıkça konuşup Afgan sivil toplumuna angaje olma çabalarımı desteklerken, sivil seferberliğin meziyetleri üstüne izahımı da sabırla dinlediler. Afganların öncülüğündeki örgütlü sivil eylemin savaştan zarar görmüş bu toplumun dönüşümüne katkı sağlayacağını umuyorum. Sonuç olarak, ebeveynlerim Marianne ve Phil'e ve bu kitap üzerinde çalışırken beni idare eden, bakış açımı (ve nüktedanlığımı) sürdürmemde ısrarı, teşviki ve bana olan sevgisi yüzünden erkek kardeşim Peter'a da minnettarım. Bir kız çocuğu daha destekleyici ve sempatik bir aile isteyemezdi. Ayrıca benim "duacı savaşçılarım" olarak çalışmayı sürdüren Vermont'takilere bu dostlukları için minnettarım. Onlar kim olduklarını biliyorlar.

**Maria J. Stephan,  
Kabil, Afganistan**



I. Kısım

SİVİL DİRENİŞ

NEDEN İŞE YARAR?

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