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South Africa's suspended revolution in isiZulu translation - a critical reflection

Selepe, Bongeka Buhle

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Umphumela oqotho nomuhle kakhulu ngokufunda incwadi ka-Adam Habib ngukuthi ayiphoqi izimfundiso-nkolo ezingenabuqiniso ... UHabib uthi 'izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe' kumele zihlelembe ngokulinganayo lokho okulindelwe yidlanzana elisemandleni nokulindelwe nguwonkuwonke, njengoba nje izinhlangano zomphakathi kumele zikhule (ziqine zibe namandla) ukuze zikwazi ukubophezela idlanzana elisemandleni; kulokhu ubona uhlelo olusha lwezombusazwe olunomdlandla noluhambisana nesikhathi.

Ngu-Shaun de Waal, wakwa-Mail and Guardian, 28 Agasti 2013

U-Adam Habib usesha adlulele ngale kwezigameko zezombusazwe ezimangazayo ... uhlinzeka nohlaziyo oluvutha bhe lwezinhlobo zezinqubomgomo ezakhethwa yidlanzana elalisemandleni ngenkathi kutholakala inkululeko yombuso wentando yeningi ngo-1994. Noma ngubani ofuna ukuqonda kahle ngamaphutha amakhulu abonakala kuleli lizwe elilokhu liqhubeka nokusimangaza elibizwa ngeNingizimu Afrika uzosizakala kakhulu ngale ncwadi.

Ngu-Karima Brown, intatheli yezindaba kanye nomsakazi wakwa-CNBC Africa's Political Exchange

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INGUQUKOMBUSO YENINGIZIMU AFRIKA EYABONDWA YASHIYWA:

AMATHEMBA NAMATHUBA

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Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa:

Amathemba Namathuba

NGU-ADAM HABIB

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Ku-Irfan noZidaan,
ngokuphila impilo engingabhala ngayo kuphela,
nakuFatima,
ngokubambisana nami ekwakheni
okuzoba yigalelolifa lethu elibalulekile –
abantwana bethu.

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Isandulelo

Le ncwadi ingovuthondaba lwezinkulumompikiswano zamashuminyaka amabili okungenani, futhi imayelana nokubuyisa imicabango emayelana nemibuso eNingizimu Afrika, ukuvela kwezinto ezintsha kwezombusazwe nakwezenhlalo yezomnotho kanye nezingqinamba nezimo ezingongqingetshe ezihambisana nokwakhiwa kwalo mphakathi. Le ncwadi imayelana nokuthi sifike kanjani la sikhona manje, nokuthi kungani isikhathi samanje sethu singeyona le nto esasicabanga ukuthi sizoba yiyo, kanye nokuthi yini okufanele siyenze ngalokho.

Mina ngizibona ngiyikho kokubili lokhu: isazi semfundo ephakeme kanye nesishoshovu. Yize abanye bengakubona kuyizinto ezimbili ezahlukene lokhu, selokhu kwathi nhlo, ngikubona kuyizinto ezihambisanayo. Isinqumo sami sokuthatha isayensi yezombusazwe njengesifundo ngisawumfundi wasenyuvesi owayengakazitholi iziqu sasikhuthazwe inkolelo yokuthi lokhu kuzokwenza ukuba njengesishoshovu ngikwazi ukulungisa izinkinga abantu besizwe sami nami ababhekene nazo. Yebo, akuzange kwenzeke njengoba ngangifisa noma ngendlela engangifanekise ngayo emqondweni wami, kodwa ukuhlala ngibe yingxenye yemfundo ephakeme engakuthola ngenkathi ngifunda ngingakazitholi iziqu nalokho engakuthola kamuva sengiqhuba izifundo zami ngemva kokuthola iziqu ikakhulukazi, kwakubalulekile ekuthuthukiseni ukuqonda kwami izwe lami kanye nomhlaba wonke.

Le ncwadi iwaveza womabili la macala empilo yami. Izinkulumompikiswano engikhuluma ngazo encwadini ziphakathi kwenhlanganisela yezazi ezihloniphekile kanti futhi ziyenzeka nasemphakathini wonkana. Ngokubona kwami, amaphephandaba

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namabhuku kanye nemibhalo yabemfundo ephakeme kuyimibhalo yezinto ezinengqondo, ngakhoke ngiphonsa inselele, ngisekela ngibuye ngikhulume ngabaholi bezombusazwe nezishoshovu kanye nezazi zemfundo ephakeme kulo mbhalo. Kodwa futhi ngibhekana nezinto ngokucabanga kahle ngokwanele ukuqonda ukuthi indlela izazi zemfundo ephakeme ezibhala ngayo kanye nemigomo yabafundi yokubhala eziyilandelayo uma zibhala, kwenza ukuba imibhalo yazo ingahehi kulabo abangaphandle kwenhlanganisela yezazi.

Ngenxa yalokhu, ngibhale izincwadi ezimbili ezisuselwa emsebenzini owodwa osekelwe kwinjulalwazi: eyokuqala ibhalelwe izazi zemfundo ephakeme kanye nezinye izazi ezinentshisekelo nakulokho okuncane okuvela kwinkulumompikiswano kanye nezichasiselo zakhona, iphelele kanti iqukethe nohlu lwezincwadi ezifundiwe; bese kuthi kule yesibili yona uhlu lwezincwadi kanye nezichasiselo kukhishiwe kuyo, kodwa isagxile kwizinkulumompikiswano kanye nasekukhetheni okumele sikwenze njengomphakathi. Le yokuqala ibhalwe ngesiNgisi kuphela, kwazise phela ukuthi isiNgisi sesaba wulimi lokuxhumana kwiningi lenhlanganisela yezazi. Le yesibili yona ishicilelwe ngesiBhunu, ngesiZulu nangeSesotho, ngenhloso yokuqala ingxoxo phakathi kwezakhamuzi zomphakathi wethu mayelana nezingqinamba esibhekene nazo kanye nokukhetha okumele kwenziwe.

Kusobala ukuthi bengifisa ukuyishicilela ngazo zonke izilimi ezisemthethweni eNingizimu Afrika, kodwa amanani okubiza kanye nezinsizakwenza ezinganele kwenze lokhu kwangaba yinto elula. Ukushicilela le ncwadi ngezinye izilimi ezintathu ngaphezulu kukhombisa ukuthi ngiyaqonda ukuthi ukusetshenziswa kwezilimi eziningi kumayelana nokuthuthukisa. Injongo yami ngokushicilela umqingo omfushane ngezinye izilimi ezintathu ngaphezulu ngukuthuthukisa abantu ngokuzama ukwenza ukuba kube khona ukuxoxisana emphakathini wethu mayelana nezingqinamba esibhekene nazo nokuthi kungenziwa njani ngazo. Labo abangafisa

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eminye imininingwane eyengeziwe, nalokhu okuncane okwahlukile kanye nohlu lwezincwadi ezihambisana nalokhu, ngicela baye kule enye incwadi ende ebhalwe ngendlela elandela imigomo yabafundi eshicilelwe ngesiNgisi.

Izazi zemfundo ephakeme ezihambisana noshintsho kanye nabafundi zivame ukucaphuna isaga esidumile sika-Edward Said esithi: 'speak truth to power' ('tshela abaphethe iqiniso') njengenhloso yemisebenzi yazo. Ngithemba ukuthi le ncwadi izokwenza njalo ngeqiniso nangendlela ecacile. Nakuba kunjalo, inhloso yami akusikho ukukhuluma kuphela nabasemandleni ombuso njengoba kwakuhlose uSaid. Ngihlose ukukhuluna nanalabo abasemandleni emiphakathini. Ngalokhu ngichaza ukuthi ngihlose ukukhuluma nalabo abasesiqongweni ezinkampanini; nabaholi kanye nezishoshovu embuthwaneni wezinyunyana; namalungu enhlangano ebusayo nawezinhlangano eziphikisayo; nalabo abayingxenye yemibutho yenhlalo nezinye izinhlangano zomphakathi; kanye nabahlanganisa imiqondo kwinhlanganisela yezazi ezihloniphekileyo. Abafundi abahambisana noshintsho bajwayele ukushaya indiva amandla abantu abakula maqoqo.

Le ncwadi iqondiswe nakumengameli wezwe lethu kanye nakulabo abasondelene naye, kodwa futhi ingeyeziphathimandla ezinkulu ezinkampanini, onobhala jikelele bezinyunyana nezinhlangano zomphakathi kanye nabaholi bemikhakha eyejwayelekile kanye nezifundiswa ezibukhali ezingayesabi inkulumompikiswano ngaphakathi kwinhlanganisela yezazi ezihloniphekile. Ngihlose ukukhuluma ngokucacile ngakho konke okwenzakalayo nokudalwa ngukuba semandleni: ukuphonsela inselele konke ukuqhuba ngendlela ehambisana nomthetho ngokwesayensi yemicabango, ngokwezombusazwe, nangokwamasu; nokunxenxa wonke umuntu ukuba ahlolisise ubuhlakani balokhu okwenziwayo noma okukholelwa kukona ngenhloso yokuqhamuka nezixazululo ezizokwenza

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ukuba sikwazi ukudlulela ngale kwezingqinamba zomlando wethu ngokuhlanganyela.

Yebo ngikweleta abantu abaningi ngemiqondo yabo kanti kungaphela amaphepha uma ngingababala bonke lapha. Abanye babo kodwa-ke, bafake ngqo esivivaneni kulo mbhalo. U-Imraan Valodia, uFiona Tregenna, u-Elke Zuern, kanye neqoqo laseNingizimu Afrika labafundi eCentre for African Studies, e-St Antony College, eNyuvesi yase-Oxford – uWilliam Beinart, uColin Bundy, uJonny Steinberg noNoor Nieftagodien – bafunde baphinde babeka imibono ezingxenyeni ezithize zombhalo owawungakashicilelwa. Ngiyababonga bonke. U-Ashley Coates ungumsizi kwezocwaningo osebenza ngokonga nangempumelelo, kumnandi kakhulu ukusebenza naye kanti usize kakhulu ekuphothuleni umbhalo owawungakashicilelwa. UMary Ralphs, nguthanazana womhleli – usebenza ngokonga nangempumelelo, uhlale ejabule, kanti futhi ube nekhono elimangalisayo lokuguqula umbhalo wami osekelwe kwinjulalwazi wawenza umbhalo ofundeka kalula. UVeronica Klipp noRoshan Cader base-Wits University Press bangabashicileli abamangalisayo kanti bebehlale befeza ngobumnene zonke izicelo nezimfuno zami ezingapheli. UHelen Moffet wenze umsebenzi ongakholakali wokunciphisa umbhalo obungakashicilelwa wawenza umqingo omufushane ngaphandle kokukhipha ingqikithi yenkulumo. UKaren Bruns, umngani wami wangesikhathi sisaseHuman Science Research Council, udlale indima enkulu ekuhlanganiseni inkulumo nasekuxoxisaneni nabashicileli ngenkathi uhlaka lombhalo owawungakashicilelwa luphothulwa. Kubalulekile ukuba ngiqophe ukubonga kwami kwiNyuvesi YaseJohannesburg kanye ne-Oppenheimer Foundation ngokubhekelela amanye amanani okubiza ngenkathi ngisathe shelele kodwa ngibe ngikhokhelwa. Okubaluleke kakhulu, ngikweleta uFatima, no-Irfan noZidaan kakhulu ngokushiya ikhaya labo izinyanga eziyisithupha bengiphelezela ngenkathi ngisaye e-Oxford ukuyoqedela le ncwadi. Ngiyinikela kubo.

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Amakhasi alandelayo kanye nemicabango equkethwe kuwo angokuncane engikufaka esivivaneni kubo bonke labo abazinikele ekwenzeni iNingizimu Afrika kanye nomhlaba wethu ukuba kube yindawo engcono yokuhlala.

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1

Isingeniso

INingizimu Afrika iphakathi shi kokusamdlalo weshashalazi omayelana nezehlakalo ezithinta ubuholi nosekuqhubeke iminyaka eminingi. Inkundla yalo mdlalo weshashalazi ngumbuso waseNingizimu Afrika kanye neminyango yawo kazwelonke namahhovisi ongqongqoshe, ohulumeni bezifundazwe kanye nomasipala. Wuhlobo lomdlalo weshashalazi osuxabanise idlelandawonye nelinye idlelandawonye, kanti udweshu oselusukile lona seluphendule abangani baba yizitha, nalabo ababeyizitha kuqala baba ngabangani. Umklomelo otholakalayo ekugcineni ngukuba ngumengameli nokuba namandla kwezombusazwe kanye nokunikezwa kwamathuba nembuyiselo kulabo abahambisana nababusayo.

Okuningi osekwenzekile kulo mdlalo weshashalazi kugqanyiswe kakhulu yizigameko ezinkulu ezenzeka. Okokuqala okwenzeka kwaba ngukuxoshwa kwephini likamengameli, uJacob Zuma, exoshwa ngumengameli wangaleso sikhathi uThabo Mbeki ngo-2005. Lokhu kwalandelwa ngukuziphindiselela kukaZuma navunana nabo, okwabonakala ngoDisemba ka-2007, ngenkathi uZuma eqokwa njengomengameli we-African National Congress (i-ANC) ngengqungquthela yenhlangano yokhetho lukazwelonke ePolokwane. Ngemva kwezinyanga eziyisishiyagalolunye, ngoSepthemba ka-2008, uMbeki wakhishwa kabuhlungu esikhundleni sakhe sokuba ngumengameli waseNingizimu Afrika, kwathi ngemva kokubamba isikhathi esifushane njengomengameli wesikhashana kwephini

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likamengameli uKgalema Motlanthe, uZuma wenyukela esicongweni sobungameli ngo-Ephreli ka-2009. Izikhundla ezimqoka nezisezingeni eliphezulu kwezombusazwe nasekuphathweni kombuso zathathwa ngabavunana noZuma.

Kwavela kahle ukushayisana kwemibono okwakukhona kwase kuqala izigigaba ezintsha. Ngalesi sikhathi-ke, njengoba uZuma kwakunguye owayehleli esihlalweni sikamengameli, imizamo yokukhishwa esikhundleni yayibhekiswe kuyena. Ababefuna ukumdicilela phansi kwakuyilabo abake bavunana naye, okungoJulius Malema, uFikile Mbalula, uMathews Phosa, uTokyo Sexwale kanye noMotlanthe imbala. UMalema waxoshwa ngempumelelo esikhundleni sobungameli boPhiko Lwentsha Ye-ANC kusetshenziswa ikomidi le-ANC lokuqondiswa kwezigwegwe. NgoDisemba ka-2012, uMotlanthe, owayeyiphini likamengameli enhlanganweni ebusayo kanye nasezweni ngaleso sikhathi, wayebanga noZuma isihlalo sobungameli be-ANC engqungqutheleni kazwelonke yenhlangano eMangaung. Wehlulwa-ke, kanti njengoba wayehoxile ekungeneleni ukhetho lwesikhundla sokuba yiphini likamengameli ngoba ethi udedela uSexwale noPhosa, uMotlanthe wazithola esedwanguza ehlane engasenandawo kwezombusazwe. Iqhaza lakhe kwi-ANC sekungukuhola ezokufundisa abenhlangano ngezombusazwe kuphela. UCyril Ramaphosa, onezigidigidi, nophethe indawo yesibili ekubeni ngusomabhizinisi ocebe ukudlula bonke ezweni, nomklami woMthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika othandwa kakhulu, waqokwa njengephini likamengameli elisha eMangaung. Kodwa-ke, phezu kokuthwalwa ngeqoma kukaZuma engqungqutheleni yaseMangaung – njengoba athola amavoti angu-75% esikhundla sikamengameli – amalungu enhlangano ahamba kule ngqungquthela esaqhekeke ngendlela ayeqhekeke ngayo ngenkathi efika.

Nakuba athola amavoti amaningi kangako, akulula ukuba uZuma ahlale ekhululekile. Lokhu kudalwa wukuthi labo abaphikisana naye, yize beyingcosana, basesifundazweni saseGauteng – lapho ezomnotho

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zezwe zizinze khona. IGauteng, njengethatha indawo yesine kulezo ezifaka ingxenye enkulu esambeni esiphelele sempahla kanye nemisebenzi ehlinzekiwe (iGDP) e-Afrika, lesi sifundazwe esiqavile kwezomnotho kumele sibambe iqhaza elikhulu kunoma yiluphi uhlelo oluthinta ukusimamiswa kwezomnotho noguquko. Ukuhlanganyela kwayo nomfelandawonye walabo 'abalwela ushintsho' kufanele kungamuphathi kahle uZuma. Phezu kwalokho, labo abaphikisana naye abangaphakathi enhlanganweni akusibo abantu ongabathatha kancane. USexwale noPhosa ngosozimali abakhulu. UPaul Mashatile, ongusihlalo we-ANC eGauteng kanye noFikile Mbalula (owake waba ngumeseki kaZuma ovuthayo) bona banamandla amakhulu enhlanganweni. Bonke babamba iqhaza elikhulu ekulweleni inkululeko bengaphakathi kwi-ANC. Kodwa-ke mhlawumbe okudala ukuba kube noqhekeko olubonakala enhlanganweni wukuba khona kohlelo lwesiledi, lapho izithunywa zivotela umuntu zingayi ngokwephusa kwakhe, kunalokho ziye ngokuthi ungakuluphi uhlangothi lwesiledi. Konke lokhu kulwisana ngobuholi okwenzekayo kuzoqhubeka nokwenzeka ku-ANC, oPhikweni Lwentsha Yayo, kwabavunana nayo kuMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu – iNhlangano Yezinyunyana ZaseNingizimu Afrika (iCOSATU) neNhlangano YamaKhomanisi YaseNingizimu Afrika (iSACP) – kanye naseminyangweni kahulumeni eyahlukahlukene, efaka kuyo ezobunhloli ukuphepha nokuvikela, kanye nakohulumeni bezifundazwe.

Lo mdlalo weshashalazi besilokhu siwethulelwa bukhoma. Abezindaba baseNingizimu Afrika balokhu befune njalo ukuqinisekisa ukuthi izwe likubona kahle lokhu okwenzekayo, lihlaliswe phambili njengezihlwele enkundleni. Njengoba kwenzeka konke lokhu, i-ANC, eyikhaya lezombusazwe lalabo abathola imiklomelo yoxolo yeNobel, okungo-Albert Luthuli noNelson Mandela, isiqala ukuba yinto eyahlukile: okungukuba yithuluzi elisetshenziswa kakhulu eligcwele ukungcola kokuzicebisa kodwa elikhuluma ulimi lokuthuthukisa nolwentando yabantu, ngenkathi abaholi balo abasezikhundleni

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bedlala ngezinsizakwenza zezwe futhi bethatha kancane umsebenzi wamajaji nowabezindaba – umsebenzi wamajaji ungasetshenziswa ukulandelela abantu ukuba baphendule kuwo ngezenzo zabo, kanti abezindaba bona bangasebenza ngokukhululeka nangesibindi ukusakaza lo mdlalo weshashalazi.

Kwenye indawo ngichaze lo mdlalo weshashalazi wezombusazwe njengokuncintisana okuvezelwe umphakathi 'okuphakathi kwezinhlobo ezahlukene zamaqhawe namahathanga, avela kulo mdlalo njengoMbeki noZuma'. Okufike kucace kulokhu kuncintisana ngukuthi amaqhawe namahathanga ayashintshashintsha, kuya ngokuthi ubani oxoxa indaba. Imiphumela yalokhu ngukuthi imibiko yezindaba igcwala ipolitiki elijulile idale noqhekeko, bese kuthi bonke laba ababambe iqhaza kulokhu kuncintisana bazibone sebedlulele phambili kwezombusazwe futhi sebephumelele kuze kufike esikhathini lapho iqhawe labo linyukela ehhovisi eliphezulu kunawo wonke ezweni. Ngamanye amazwi, abaholi kanye nabanye abadlalindima bathathwa njengezicashalala ezingabophekile ezenza ezikwenzayo ngokobuhlakani noma ngokobuthutha bazo. Ngakho-ke, ikusasa elingaba khona eNingizimu Afrika lizibonakalisa kubalingiswa okungabaholi bayo. Uma ubheka izinto ngale ndlela, ikusasa lezwe libonakala lingelihle kahle.

Kule ncwadi, ngihlose ukuhlinzeka ikhubalo lalezi zibonakaliso. Ngiyachaza ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika ithuthuke kanjani kusukela ngasekuqaleni kombuso wentando yeningi ngokubeka abadlalindima engqikithini efanele. Ngiyazama ukuhlaziya izingqinamba ezikhungweni abasebenza kuzo, nokuthi lokhu kube namthelela muni kulokho abakhethe ukukwenza, kanye nokuthi iyini imiphumela yalokho abakukhethile. Ngiphinde ngihlole ukungaphumeleli kwemizamo yabaholi kwezombusazwe, kwezomnotho, kwezokuphathwa kwamadolobha nokunye, bese ngibheka nokuthi yiziphi izinqubomgomo kanye nendlela yokuziphatha obekungasebenza, kanye nokuthi kungani lokhu kwashaywa indiva

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kwasekuqaleni? Enye injongo yami ngukuveza ukuthi kungani bekufinyeleleka kulokho obekungenziwa ngesinye isikhathi, kodwa kungafinyeleleki kukho kwesinye isikhathi. Imiphakathi iyaguquka kanti futhi namathuba okuqhubekela phambili kwezombusazwe kanye nakwinhlalo yezomnotho nawo ayashintsha. Ngihlaziya ubudlelwano obukhona phakathi kwabadlalindima nengqikithi, nokuthi ingqikithi ingabathikameza/ingabalibazisa okanye ingabakha/ingabalolonga kanjani abadlalindima kanye nakho ukuthi abantu nezikhungo kungasebenza kanjani ngokuphambana nendalo yangaleso sikhathi somlando, okungashintsha izinhlobo zamathuba akhona, nokungathi uma kwenzeka kudale ushintsho nasemphakathini.

Umdlalo weshashalazi wobuholi nokungena kwabanye ezikhundleni uma kuphela ihlandla labanye sekwenzele phansi isimo izwe laseNingizimu Afrika ebelibukeka lishintshela ngakuso kwezenhlalo. Ukuqonda lesi simo sokubukeka kwezwe kubalulekile ekucaciseni kahle ukuthi izwe lifike kanjani kulesi simo elikuso manje, nokuthi kumele kwenziwe njani ukuze lifinyelele lapho elifuna ukuba khona. Ngakho-ke, kungubuhlakani ukuqala ngokuhlola isimo sezwe kulesi sikhathi.

Isimo sezwe

UMbeki wethula izinkulumo zakhe ezihlabahlosile ngasekuqaleni nangasekupheleni kokubusa kwakhe njengomengameli wezwe. Eyokuqala, yile eyaziwa ngokuthi 'I am an African' ('Ngingum-Afrika') ayethula kumbuthwano wokwemukela umthethosisekelo owawubizwa ngeConstituent Assembly wango-1996 njengephini likamengameli weRiphabhlikhi. Kwakuwuhlobo lwenkulumo olwachaza isizwe saseNingizimu Afrika njengesizwe esinezimvelaphi ezahlukahlukene – khona kukhona omnyama nomhlophe, inkosi nomuntukazana, isakhamuzi nesifiki, iBhunu nomNgisi, isisebenzi nomlimi, ocebile nompofu. Kwakuwuhlobo lwenkulumo

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olwaluphinde lubungaze ukwambuka kwamaBhunu embusweni wamazwe amaningi owawuphethwe ngamaNgisi (i-Anglo Boer war) kanye nokumelana nokududana ngokobuzwe ngenkathi kufika abavela kwamanye amazwe, kanye nokumelana nobandlululo okube ngokokugcina ukwenzeka. Inkulumo yayifanekisa izwe elikhululekile ukuqonda ngezinye izizwe namasiko azo, umbuso wentando yeningi ongenakucwasana ngokobuhlanga, onothile nokhululekile mayelana neqhaza olibambile emhlabeni wonke. Yayikhuluma ngamaphupho aBantu BaseNingizimu Afrika bazo zonke izigaba, kanti futhi yayikhuthaza abantu abamnyama ababenyukela ezikhundleni zemisebenzi abayifundele.

Inkulumo yesibili kaMbeki eyahlaba isizwe umxhwele yileyo ayethula ngemva kokushiya njengomengameli ngo-2008 ngenkathi ephoqwa yi-ANC. Kwaba ngukuphuma esikhundleni okunobuqhawe nesithunzi kumengameli obengasathenjwa ngabenhlangano yakhe. UMbeki wagcizelela ukwethembeka kwakhe ku-ANC kanye nokuzimisela kwakhe ukuhlala enhlanganweni. Wakhuluma ngokuzimisela kwenhlangano ebusayo ukuqinisekisa izwe elinothile futhi elingenakucwasana ngokobuhlanga, wagcizelela indlela aphatha ngempumelelo ngayo ngokufeza ukukhula komnotho isikhathi eside kunazo zonke eNingizimu Afrika. Nokho, waphinde wavuma ukuthi inzalo yemali yokwabelana yalo mnotho owawukhulile ayizange yabiwe ngokulingana kanti baningi abasaphila nobuphofu nokuhlala ezindaweni ezingcolile ngenxa yenhlupheko. Okokugcina, uMbeki waphinde wagcizelela ukuhlonipha kwakhe uMthethosisekelo kanye nokubusa ngokulandela umthetho, waphinde wacacisa ukuthi akazange nakancane azame ukufaka umoya ekuthathweni kwezinqumo ophikweni lokushushisa lukazwelonke, iNational Prosecuting Authority (iNPA) maqondana necala likaZuma nelanoma ubani owake wavela ngaphambi kwezinkantolo. Wagoqa inkulumo yakhe ngokukhumbuza abantu BaseNingizimu Afrika ukuthi indlela okuyiyonayona yokubona ubunjalo bohlobo oluthize lwabantu

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wukubheka ukuthi benzanjani uma bebhekene nokuhlupheka, wabe esefisela abaphathi bezwe ababezongena ukuba baphathe kahle izindaba zaseNingizimu Afrika.

Kwenzakalani njengoba isimo sagcina sesinjena? UMbeki wayeqinisile uma ebeka kwinkulumo yakhe yokushiya ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika ngo-2008 yayehluke kakhulu kulokho eyayiyikona ngo-1994. Izikhungo zayo zikahulumeni zabe zingasenakho ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga, kanti uhulumeni wangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo wayesephasise imithetho eminingi eyalungisa ukungalingani kwabantu emlandweni wezwe. UMthethosisekelo wezwe wahlela kahle amalungelo ezenhlalo yezomnotho kanye nawezombusazwe azo zonke izakhamuzi, kanti uSomqulu Wamalungelo wawo wahlinzeka izakhamuzi ngamandla amakhulu okwenza ngcono izimo zazo. Umbuso nawo wabe ususebenze kakhulu ukwenza ngcono isimo senhlalo yabantu abaningi. Ukuhlaziywa kwendlela uhulumeni asebenze ngayo okwenziwa njalo ngemva kweminyaka eyishumi ngosuku lwesikhumbuzo okwangenwa ngalo kumbuso wentando yeningi kwaveza ukuthi kwavunyelwa ukuba kukhishwe imali yokwelekelela ekwakhiweni kwezindlu ezingu-1 985 545 nokwakuzobiza imali engango-R24.22 wezigidigidi, ukuxhunywa kwamanzi okwakuzohlomulisa abantu abayizigidi eziyisishiyagalolunye, izindlu ezingamaphesenti angu-70 zase zixhunyelwe ugesi ngo-2001, amahektha omhlaba angu-1.8 ezigidi abe esabiwe kabusha kusukela ngo-1994, kanti kwakhiwa nemisebenzi emisha engu-1 600 633. Lolu hlaziyo lwaveza ukuthi ukube lokhu kuhlinzekwa komphakathi ngezenhlalo kwakubhekwa nakho, ngabe amazinga obuphofu abonakala njengehle kakhulu emphakathini waseNingizimu Afrika.

Ngeshwa-ke kodwa, lolu uhlangothi olulodwa lwendaba. Njengoba ngizonibonisa, kunohlangothi olungeluhle empumelweleni yeNingizimu Afrika kwezomnotho. Esikhathini sokubusa sangemva kobandlululo, ikakhulukazi ngemva kuka-1996, kwahlanganiswa

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uhlelo lokonga lwezomnotho ohlanganisa izibalo zezwe – iSu Likahulumeni Lokuthuthukiswa Nokwabiwa Kabusha Komnotho Namathuba Kubantu (iGEAR) – olwalunohlelo lokuthuthukisa abamnyama olwaluhambisana nalo. Umphumela walokhu kwaba ngukuqina kwezinhlaka zomphakathi ezashiywa wubandlululo, yize kwaphela ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga emazingeni aphezulu ezikhundla. Kanjalo-ke, njengoba kwakukhuliswa ingqalasizinda yamanzi, ugesi nezokuxhumana, ukwethulwa kohlelo lokubuyisa imali esetshenzisiwe kwakusho ukuthi izigidi zabantu zazingenalo ithuba lokuba namanzi nogesi ngenxa yokuthi zazingeke zikwazi ukukukhokhela lokhu. Phezu kwalokho, iGEAR yashiya abantu abaningi bengenamisebenzi. Izinga labantu abami kahle landa kakhulu, njengoba kwase kukhona abasebenzi abenza imisebenzi abayifundele abaningi kanye nokuqashwa kwabantu abamnyama njengabasebenzi bakwahulumeni. Kwavela nedlanzana losomabhizinisi abamnyama abazana nosopolitiki, elalingabanikazi bezinkampani ezihlelelwe ngokwepolitiki nezazisizwa nguhulumeni ngezimali. Umphumela walokhu ngukuthi amazinga okungalingani kwabantu asenyuke kakhulu kulesi sikhathi sangemva kobandlululo. Ngokwami ukubona, lesi simo sokuguqukela kokusha yiso esaba nomthelela ekuweni kukaMbeki ePolokwane.

Yebo, zikhona ezinye izimbangela zalokhu. Abalandeli bakaMbeki kwakuvame ukuba kube yiqoqo lezifundiswa kanye nabasemadolobheni bezinga labami kahle nabadla izambane likapondo, ikakhulukazi abasemiphakathini yabantu abamnyama kwesinye isikhathi babe khona nabamhlophe. Leli qoqo, ikakhulukazi elabamnyama, laligcwele ingxenye enkulu yezishoshovu nabaholi be-ANC, kanti laselibe ngabalandeli bakaMbeki iminyaka eminingi. Nakuba babephikisana nezinye zezinqubomgomo zikaMbeki, kubona wayelokhu eyisihlakaniphi sikamengameli owayesebenzisana ngisho nabanye osopolitiki eLondon naseNew York. Wayemele ubu-Afrika besimanjemanje: eziqhenya ngemvelaphi yakhe, kodwa ekhululekile

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ukuqonda ngezinye izizwe namasiko azo, engusopolitiki wezinga lezwe nesazi sokuphathwa kwezwe sezinga lomhlaba wonke, efuna ukufeza uhlelo olukhululekile kwezomnotho, enobugagu obuyimpumelelo kwezombusazwe – uhlobo lom-Afrika oyiphupho lalabo abami kahle emhlabeni wonke.

Nokho eminyakeni eyalandela ngesikhathi sakhe sobungameli, leli qoqo lamlaxaza kanjalo uMbeki, lalikholelwa ekutheni walenzela phansi emaphushweni nasemibonweni ebelinayo. Ngokwalo, iNingizimu Afrika kwakufanele ibe ngeyombuso wentando yeningi onakekelayo, wesimanjemanje nokhululekile ukuqonda ngemiphakathi yonke namasiko ayo. Yebo lo mbono wawungaphusile, okuyibona bantu ababekwazi ukuwemukela yilabo abami kahle nabadla izambane likapondo. Eningini ayikho into eyayinokunakekela kumbuso wentando yeningi waseNingizimu Afrika. Nakuba kunjalo, leli phupho alizange ligqugquzele imiqondo yokufanekisa kulabo ababesemathubeni angcono nababengumgogodla wabalandeli bakaMbeki.

Kuthathu okwadicilela phansi umbono wabo. Okokuqala, eminyakeni yakamuva yesikhathi sakhe sobungameli, kwakunombono owawulokhu ukhula kubantu wokuthi uMbeki akakwazi ukuzwelana nezakhamuzi ezingekho ezingeni lakhe. Isibonelo, igama likamengameli kanye nongqongqoshe wakhe wezempilo, uManto Tshabalala-Msimang loneka ngenxa yokuphika kwabo ukuthi ingculazi (i-AIDS) ikhona. Ngenkathi kuvumbuka ezinye izikandali maqondana nonakekelo oluseqophelweni kanye nokushona kwabantwana ababesanda kuzalwa esibhedlela iMount Frere esiseMpumalanga Kapa, uhulumeni kaMbeki wazama ukuwemboza lawo mahlazo. Labo abaveza le ndaba, nabaholi abazama ukulungisa izinto bakhuzwa futhi baphathwa kabi. Kanjalo-ke futhi ngenkathi iphini likangqongqoshe wezempilo, uNozizwe Madlala-Routledge evakashela lesi sibhedlela, eqinisekisa ukuthi ngempela isimo sasibucayi, wakhuzwa kwathi ngemva kwalokho waxoshwa. Esikhundleni sokuba bazwelane nezisulu ngenxa yokungenziwa kahle komsebenzi kanye nomama

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abashonelwa yizingane zabo, uMbeki noTshabalala-Msimang baqhubeka nokuphika ukuthi kunenkinga ohlelweni lwezempilo.

Ngokufanayo, ngenkathi ebuzwa ngobugebengu ohlelweni lukamabonakude lukazwelonke ngoJanuwari ka-2007, uMbeki waphendula ngokuthi le nkinga yenziwe yaba ihaba kakhulu. Wabeka iphuzu lokuthi umuntu angahamba azikhululekele nje e-Auckland Park, lapho kwakuqoshwa khona lolu hlelo lwenkulumosivivinyo, ngaphandle kokusaba ukukhuthuzwa noma ukuhlaselwa. Lokhu akuzange nje kuphela kubonakalise ukungazi ngamazinga obugebengu eGoli kanye nasezindaweni eziningi ezweni lonke, kodwa kwabonakalisa nokubukela phansi ubucayi besimo sobugebengu obuhambisana nendluzula. Esikhundleni sokuba azwelane nezisulu zokubulawa, ukudlwengulwa nokuphangwa, uMbeki akafunanga kuxoxwe naye mayelana nokwesaba kwezakhamuzi, kunalokho wazibiza ngabantu abahluleka ukubekezelela ukuhlukana ngokobuhlanga. Ukuphika kwakhe nokungakwazi kwakhe ukuzwelana nabantu kwakhombisa ukuthi ungumholi ohambela kude kakhulu nezakhamuzi zakuleli zwe.

Okwesibili, kwakunombono owawulokhu wanda wokuthi izikhungo zikahulumeni zazisetshenziselwa ukuba abantu bazihlomulise bona uqobo nangokwezombusazwe. UZuma nguye owasho lokhu mayelana noMbeki, kwathi iCOSATU neSACP yavumelana naye, ukuthi iNPA kanye nezinye izikhungo zajutshwa ukuba zilwisane nabaphikisana noMbeki kwezombusazwe. Yize kwakukhona ukukungabaza lokhu ngasekuqaleni, ukuziphatha kukaMbeki kanye nalabo ababesondelene naye, kwakhombisa ukuthi kungenzeka ukuthi lokhu asolwa ngakho kube yiqiniso. Indlela eyalandelwa ekuqokweni kwamalungu ebhodi leSikhungo Sokusakaza Ngomoya SaseNingizimu Afrika (iSABC), ukwenza nje isibonelo, yayingahambisani nemithetho yombuso wentando yeningi ngoba amalungu ephalamende ayetshelwa ukuthi aqoke baphi abantu ngokuyalelwa ubuholi be-ANC. Ngokufanayo, ukumiswa kukaVusi Pikoli emsebenzini njengenhloko yeNPA, emiswa nguMbeki,

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kwasusa omkhulu umsindo kwezombusazwe, kanti kwabonakala njengendlela yokuvikela ukhomishana wamaphoyisa uJackie Selebi ngeziphansi ukuba angashushiswa (uSelebi wagcina eboshelwe inkohlakalo). Kokubili lokhu kwabonakala njengezibonelo zokuthi uMbeki wayekwazi ukwenza noma yini ayithandayo ezikhungweni zikahulumeni ukufeza ezakhe izinhloso kwezombusazwe.

Okwesithathu, okuhambisanayo namaphuzu angenhla, kwaba nombono owawusabalele wokuthi ukuvikelwa kwalabo abasondelene noMbeki bevikelwa nguye, ngenkathi elwisana nalabo abaphikisanayo naye, kwahlakaza indlela izinto ebezijwayele ukwenzeka ngayo kwezombusazwe. Ubufakazi balokhu baphinde bavela ngasekugcineni kweminyaka yokubusa kukaMbeki. UMbeki waxosha uZuma kodwa wenqaba ukuxosha uSelebi, nakuba izinsolo ababebhekene nazo zazibucayi ngokulinganayo. Ngokufanayo, uMbeki wenza konke okwakusemandleni akhe ukuvikela ungqongqoshe wezempilo owayengawazi umsebenzi nowafaka i-ANC kanye nezwe lonke ehlazweni, kodwa waxosha iphini lakhe ungqongqoshe elalithandwa ngabantu futhi elalizwelana nabampofu nabavaleleke ngaphandle, okubalwa kubo nalabo ababephila neHIV ne-AIDS. Lezi zigameko zenza ukuba kukholakale imibono yabaningi kuCOSATU, kuSACP ngisho naku-ANC, yokuthi uMbeki wayengayisebenzisi ngendlela efanayo imithetho kubantu, nokuthi wayesebenzisa isikhundla sakhe ukungahloniphi indlela okwenziwa ngayo embusweni wentando yeningi.

Ngokubona ukuthi ngathi badayisekile, abalandeli bakaMbeki abami kahle nabadla izambane likapondo bamjikela. Isithombe wonke umuntu abenaso ngoMbeki ngasekupheleni kuka-2007 kwakuyileso sikasopolitiki ogcwele unya lokuziphindiselea nosejikele labo ayesondelene nabo, wazibangela yena futhi amashwa. Njengoba alahlekelwa yilaba balandeli, uMbeki wasala ebhekene nenani elandayo lezitha kwezombusazwe nelandiswa nguye ngenkathi enyukela esikhundleni sokuphatha.

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Okwenzeka engqungqutheleni yenhlangano yokhetho lukazwelonke ePolokwane sekwaba yindaba endala kodwa eyaziwa kakhulu. Ngaphambi kwengqungquthela, kwaba khona ukukhankasa okwakudala uqhekeko okwakuholwa uZuma, wayehamba izwe lonke enxenxa amagatsha e-ANC ukuba amvotele. Ekugcineni, iqembu likaMbeki neqembu likaZuma aya ePolokwane ngemva kokuthola amavoti ezithunywa angamaphesenti angu-40 iqembu ngalinye. Amaphesenti angu-20 ayesele wona ayefuna kube ngomunye umuntu ongenela ukhetho. Yileli qembu elalizimele-ke elajika lasingatha uZuma. Njengoba lalibhekene nenkinga yokukhetha phakathi kukaMbeki noZuma, lagcina likhethe uZuma ngethemba lokuthi uzoza noshintsho. Ukhetho lwalugcwele isiphithiphithi. UZuma akazange athole amavoti angamaphesenti angu-60 kuphela, kodwa zonke izikhundla okwakuncintiswana ngazo zatholwa abantu ababengasohlangothini lwakhe.

Kubalulekile ukusho ukuthi umfelandawonye wezombusazwe owafaka uZuma esikhundleni sokuphatha ePolokwane wawungahambisani ngokwemiqondo. UZuma nje wagqugquzela iningi lamalungu nabaholi be-ANC ababengasanelisekile ngobuholi obabukhona. Kulawo malungu kubalwa nalawo ayehambisana nohlobo lokubusa olugqugquzela inqubomgomo yenhlalakahle yabantu bonke (abandakanya iCOSATU kanye neSACP), nalabo abasaqhuba ngesindulo abase bemangazwa yindlela uMbeki ayesethanda ngayo izinto zesimanjemanje nezasemazweni aphesheya, osomabhizinisi abamnyama ababengasanelisekile wukuphathwa nguye abasebefuna ithuba labo lokufunza izisu zabo baphinde bakhwabanisele izisebenzi zomnyango wezobunhloli. Ngakho-ke akumangazi ukuthi uhulumeni kaZuma ubonakalisa ingxubevange yokuncintisana kwalabo abafuna ushintsho oluhambisa phambili ezomnotho kanye nalabo abasaqhuba ngendlela endala yokugcina nokulandela inqubo ejwayelekile.

Njengoba kukhulunywa kabanzi ngakho eSahlukweni Sesithathu, sekuphikiswane kakhulu ngokuthi uhulumeni waseNingizimu

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Afrika ususondelene kakhulu nabantu maqondana nenqubomgomo yezomnotho. Ngakolunye uhlangothi, uhulumeni kaZuma sewethule ngokusemthethweni izinqubomgomo zezomnotho, ezifana noMgudu Omusha Wokukhulisa Umnotho (iNew Growth Path), waphinde wavusa nezinye ezindala ezifana naMasu Ezwe Azolandelwa Ukuthuthukisa Imboni Yezokukhiqiza (i-Industrial Policy Action Plan) ezimayelana nokuvuselelwa kwezimboni zaseNingizimu Afrika. Zombili lezi zinhlelo zigxile ekukhuliseni ezezimboni nezomnotho ngendlela engathatha abasebenzi abanamakhonywana kanye nalabo abangenawo nhlobo amakhono babe yingxenye yazo, kukhuliswe ububanzi bokuthuthukiswa kwabamnyama kwezomnotho bese kuncishiswa ukungalingani kwezomnotho. Kanti futhi-ke umsindo mayelana nokungasebenziseki koMgudu Omusha Wokukhulisa Umnotho kanye nesidingo sokugcina isimo esihle kunazo zonke kwezezimali ulokhu ukhula enhlanganweni ebusayo kanye naseminyangweni yombuso eyahlukahlukene okubalwa kuyo nehhovisi likangqongoshe wezezimali. Amambuka angaphakathi enhlanganweni aholwa ngamalungu ekomidi eliphezulu likazwelonke le-ANC, ngokusingathwa izikhondlakhondla zosomabhizinisi, asegxeke kakhulu izinga iCOSATU neSACP asebefake umoya ngalo kuhulumeni kaZuma ukuba uzihole kanjani ezomnotho.

I-ANC yayethemba ukuthi izoxazulula lokhu kungezwani engqungqutheleni yenhlangano yokhetho lukazwelonke eyayibanjelwe eMangaung ngoDisemba ka-2012. Esikhundleni salokho, yadala ukudideka ngokwemukela iziphakamiso zezomnotho ezazingenayo imininingwane eyanele noma ukucacisa okufanele, nangokushintsha izinqumo ezase zithathiwe. Phezu kwalokho, yize inkulumo kaZuma ayethula engqungqutheleni yaseMangaung yabeka kabanzi ukuzimisela ekuqinisekiseni ukulingana kwezenhlalo yezomnotho, ngqungquthela yaqhubeka nokuqoka usomabhizinisi onezigidigidi uCyril Ramaphosa njengephini likamengameli. Konke lokhu kukhombisa ukuthi i-ANC

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yinhlangano eqhekeke kakhulu nesafuna injongo yayo ezothakaselwa yibo bonke kwezomnotho.

Ukulandela inqubo yokugcina isimo esihle kunazo zonke kwezenhlalo nakho kudala uqhekeko enhlanganweni ebusayo. Lokhu kubonakala endleleni enobudlova esetshenzisiwe ukubhekana nobugebengu obuhambisana nendluzula, lokhu kuqhuba ngendlela endala yokugcina nokulandela inqubo eyejwayelekile kubonakala ngokulinganayo ekuhlaselweni okukhona kwinkululeko yabantu uma besebenzisa amalungelo abo. Isibonelo ngukuthi uhlelo lwezobulungiswa alusenamandla kangako ngenxa yokuqokwa kwabasebenzi abangabazekayo kanye namajaji asaqhuba ngoludala kanye nokuphasiswa kweqoqomithetho okuphikiswana ngalo kakhulu, elifana noMthethosivivinywa Wokuvikelwa Kwemininingwane Yombuso kanye noMthethosivivinywa Wezinkantolo Zendabuko. Lo Wokuvikelwa Kwemininingwane Yombuso wona uvimba ukudalulwa kwemininingwane kahulumeni kanti futhi wenza uphiko lwezobunhloli lukwazi ukufihla olukwenzayo bese licasha ngokuthi luvikela izwe, bese kuthi lo Wezinkantolo Zendabuko wona unikeza abaholi bendabuko igunya lokwazi izindaba zangasese zabantu basemaphandleni nokuyinto engahambisani nentando yabantu.

Lezi zinto ezenzekile zibangele ukuba kube nokuphikiswa yizinhlangano zomphakathi kanti futhi zidale uqhekeko enhlanganweni ebusayo kanye nababambisene nayo kumfelandawonye. Ukwenza nje isibonelo, iCOSATU iyaphikisana nokuphasiswa koMthethosivivinywa Wokuvikelwa Kwemininingwane Yombuso. I-COSATU ingelinye lamalungu asungula umfelandawonye ohlanganise amazinga amaningi ezinhlangano zomphakathi, iRight2Know Campaign, nokuyinhlangano esabise ngokuthi izolwisana nokuphasiswa kwalo Mthethosivivinywa enkantolo. Lokhu osekwenzekile, kanye nokuqhubeka kweCOSATU ukugxeka imisebenzi yenkohlakalo kulabo abasezikhundleni eziphezulu kuhulumeni naku-ANC, kuveza isithombe senhlangano ebusayo edidwe wuqhekeko

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nokubangisana. Ukuxoshwa kukaMalema enhlanganweni kanye nokuqina kokungezwani phakathi koPhiko Lwentsha Ye-ANC kanye nenhlangano eyengamele nakho sekwakhe isithombe senhlangano ebusayo ekhubazwe wuqhekeko lwangaphakathi.

Uqhekeko olufanayo seluzibonakalise esizweni sonkana. Yize uhulumeni kaZuma ususebenze kakhulu ukusondeza ezomnotho kubantu, lokhu bekungakahlomulisi ngokwanele abantu abampofu abasemazingeni aphansi. Ezomnotho zaseNingizimu Afrika ziqhubekile nokukhula kodwa zikhula ngokucothoza uma uziqhathanisa nezomnotho zabancintisana nayo emazweni angomakhelwane. Ukungatholakali kwemisebenzi, ubuphofu kanye nokungalingani kwabantu kuyaqhubeka nokukhathaza izwe. Inkohlakalo, ukuzicebisa kanye nokudliwa kwemali ngokungacabangeli abanye kuchaza indlela abaningi abaziphatha ngayo kulabo abasemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho. Iziteleka nemibhikisho yokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi kuyaqhubeka nokwanda. Yize izikhungo zikahulumeni zingasenakho ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga, abaholi abazama ukulungisa izinkinga ngezinkulumo zabo bajwayele ukubisha ekucwasaneni ngokobuhlanga, nokuvame ukwenziwa yibo osopolitiki benhlangano ebusayo kuqala. Isibonelo salokhu esisanda kwenzeka yilesi sokuculwa kweculo elithi 'Dubula iBhunu' liculwa nguJulius Malema, owayengumholi woPhiko Lwentsha Ye-ANC kumarali nasemihlanganweni ngoMashi ka-2010. Lokhu kwaholela ekutheni i-AfriForum – inhlangano emele amadlanzana, ikakhulukazi abamhlophe – iphumelele ekutheni leli culo limenyezelwe njengeligqugquzela inzondo nasekutheni lingaculwa. Ngakho-ke, ngazo zonke izindlela iNingizimu Afrika isalokhu imi ndawonye kusukela ngasekupheleni kwesikhathi sokubusa kukaMbeki, kanti futhi ayikho neze seduzane nombono uMbeki ayenawo wezwe elikhulukekile ukuqonda ngezinye izizwe namasiko azo nelinothile, akuveza enkulumweni yakhe ayethula kumbuthwano wokwemukela umthethosisekelo ngo-1996.

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Miningi imizamo eseyenziwe ukuchaza lesi simo. Emininginigxila ikakhulukazi kubadlalindima nakuMbeki. Nakuba kunjalo, le mibono iyehluleka ukubona ukuthi abantu ngabanye, noma bangaba namandla angakanani, bathikanyezwa yizingqinamba zezikhundla abakuzo ezikhungweni abazisebenzelayo kanye nengcindezi abazithola bengaphansi kwayo. Ngokwamazwi ajwayelekile kaKarl Marx, abantu 'bazenzela umlando wabo, kodwa abawenzi ngendlela abathanda ukuwenza ngayo, abawenzi ngaphansi kwezimo abazikhethela zona, kodwa bawenza ngaphansi kwezimo ezisungulwe ngqo, zanikezwa futhi zadluliswa kususelwa kokwakudala.'

Ukuze kuqondakale ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika ifike kanjani kulesi simo ekuso manje, kubalulekile ukuqaphela ukuthi izinto ezimbili okuyizona ezichaza isimo sezwe njengamanje ngukuqhubeka nokuhlukanisa abantu ngokobuhlanga, kanye nokukhula kokungalingani kwabantu kokuphathelene nenhlalo yezomnotho nokudalwe kakhulu wukuceba kwabo bobabili abamnyama nabamhlophe abaphezulu esiqongweni ngokwamazinga. Yini ndaba lesi simo siqhubeka nokuba njena eNingizimu Afrika? Izisombululo ngeke zitholakale kuze kube khona ukuqonda ngokugcwele ukuthi yini iNingizimu Afrika ishintshe yaba ngale ndlela eyiyo nokuthi lokhu kwenzeke kanjani. Phezu kwalokho, impendulo egcwele kulo mbuzo idinga ukuba kuphenywe ngepolitiki lokuguquka kwezimo.

Ukuchaza ngokuguquka kwezimo

Ukuhlaziya kwami lokhu kugxile ekulinganisweni kwamandla njengayona nto eba nomthelela kulokho okukhethwa noma okunqunywa ngabadlalindima kwisimo soguquko eNingizimu Afrika. Ngibona ukulinganiswa kwamandla njengento eyashintsha ngenkathi kuguquka izinto. Lokhu kuhleleke ngezindlela ezimbili ezahlukahlukene ezisabonakala oguqukweni namanje. Indlela yokuqala yabeka izilinganiso zesivumelwano ngasekuqaleni koguquko,

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kanye nezinqubomgomo zikahulumeni kaMandela nezeminyaka yangasekuqaleni kukahulumeni kaMbeki. Eyesibili kwaba ngukuvela kwezinto ezintsha okwabonakala engqungqutheleni yasePolokwane, nokuyikho okwagcina kwenze lokho okwakukhethiwe ukuba kube yimpumelelo futhi kwavimbela amanye amathuba ngesikhathi sokubusa kukaZuma.

Isimo soguquko eNingizimu Afrika asichazwa kuphela ngokubonakala kokumelana noma ukulungisa izimo zangesikhathi sangasekugcineni kobandlululo kanye nangasekuqaleni kokuxoxisana, kepha sichazwa nawushintsho olwadalwa wukuphela kwezwe elalihlanganise izwe laseRussia namanye amariphabhlikhi angu-14 elalibizwa ngeSoviet Union, okubalwa kukho ukukhula kwezinto zibe sezingeni lomhlaba wonke kanye nokuhlanganiswa kwezokukhiqiza emhlabeni wonke. Ukuhleleka kwamandla ngalesi sikhathi esibalulekile kwezomlando waseNingizimu Afrika kwakunezinhlangothi ezimbili. Ngakulolu hlangothi, kwakunokungahlulani phakathi kwenhlangano eyayibusa ngesikhathi sobandlululo, iNational Party (iNP) kanye ne-ANC. Amandla eNP ayesekhonweni layo elalibukhali kwezempi. I-ANC, ngakulolu olunye uhlangothi, yayinokuvumeleka okusemthethweni ngenxa yosingatho eyayinalo olwaluvela kwiningi labantu. Lokhu kuncintisana ngezikhwepha kanye nokuhluleka kwalezi zinhlangano zombili ukuthenana amandla (njengoba zake zazama ukukwenza ngeminyaka yo-1980 nangasekuqaleni kweminyaka yo-1990) kwadala ukuba kube khona lokhu kungahlulani.

Ngakolunye uhlangothi, izinkampani zona zazinamandla kakhulu kwezomnotho kunezinyunyana. Ukuphela kweSoviet Union kwenza ukuba kuvumeleke imithetho yenqubomgomo yezimakethe. Uguquko kwezomnotho olwenzeka ngenxa yokuhlanganiswa kwezemikhiqizo kwakhulisa amandla ezinkampani maqondana nezinyunyana kanye nabanye abadlalindima kwezenhlalo. Izinsizakwenza okuyizo ezazitholakala kwizinyunyana kwakungamakhono azo okuteleka

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nokufaka amalungu ayo umoya wokuthi avotele yiphi inhlangano. Njengoba ukuhlanganyela kwazo ne-ANC kwaziwa emlandweni kanye nokungabi nalutho olunye ezazingakwenza kwezombusazwe, awekho amakhono azo ayengasebenza ukwenza lolu shintsho ezazingafisa ukulubona. Lokhu-ke, kwabe kungukulinganiswa kwamandla okwakucacisa isivumelwano okwakuxoxiswane ngaso kanye nezilinganiso zenqubomgomo okwethulwa ngesikhathi sokubusa sikaMandela nesikaMbeki.

Lokhu kuhleleka kwamandla kwaba wuhlobo loshintsho olukhulu kodwa olwenzeka ngendlela eyayingabonakali engqungqutheleni yasePolokwane yango-2007. Lapha uJacob Zuma waphonsela uThabo Mbeki inselele yokuhola inhlangano ebusayo nesizwe. Isisekelo sokukhankasela uZuma sasihlanganiswe wuPhiko Lwentsha Ye-ANC, iCOSATU neSACP. Inhlangano yezinyunyana kanye neSACP kwakuvalelwe uMbeki ngaphandle kusukela ngenkathi kwemukelwa iGEAR ngo-1996. Base beziphindiselele ngezindlela eziningi, okubalwa kuzo ukulwela izimo okwakusetshenzwa ngaphansi kwazo, ukukhankasela ukuhlinzekwa kwemishanguzo yesandulelangculazi kubantu abaphila negciwane leHIV ne-AIDS, ukuphonsa inselele kwinqubomgomo yaseNingizimu Afrika mayelana neZimbabwe, nokubhikisha ngokungahlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi. Kusukela ngo-2005, le mpi yazishaya sampi yokulwela ukuthi ubani ozothatha isikhundla ekupheleni kwehlandla lomunye nokwacaca mhla kuhlulwa uMbeki engqungqutheleni yasePolokwane yango-2007.

Ukunqoba kukaZuma kwakungukunqoba kweCOSATU neSACP. Yize-ke lokhu kwakhulisa amandla alezi zinhlangano ngesikhathi sikahulumeni kaZuma, kusanemibuzo eminingi mayelana nazo. Izinkampani zona ziyaqhubeka nokuba nomthelela omkhulu, ikakhulukazi ngoba ukulawula kwazo kokuphathelene nokulondoloza kubonakala njengayona nto okudingeka ihambe phambili ekukhuleni komnotho. Futhi-ke, baningi abangaphakathi ku-ANC okubacasulayo ukubona abampofu nabasemazingeni aphansi beba nomthelela

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ongaka, bona bancamela ukuqhuba ngendlela endala encike kwizimakethe eyayisetshenziswa ngesikhathi sokubusa sikaMbeki. Nokho izwi leCOSATU neSACP elibe nokukhula ndlela thize, kanye nokuguqukela kwamazwe ohlelweni lwenkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho okwaba khona ngenxa yokungenelela ukuze kulungiswe isimo sokuwohloka komnotho sango-2008, selenze kwaba khona ukulingana ekulinganisweni kwamandla phakathi kwemboni yezemisebenzi kanye nomphakathi wosomabhizinisi. Lokhu kulingana okusengozini yokuphela sekuvule amathuba ezinye izinqubomgomo kuhulumeni kaZuma nokuzokhulunywa ngawo kabanzi ezahlukweni ezilandelayo.

Indlela engihlaziya ngayo emakhasini alandelayo ichaza ukuthuthuka kwezombusazwe kanye nokuvela kwezinto ezintsha ngesikhathi sokuguqukela kumbuso wentando yeningi eNingizimu Afrika njengomphumela walokho okwakhethwa ngabadlalindima bephoqwa isimo sokulinganiswa kwamandla abasebenza ngaphansi kwaso. Nakuba kunjalo, laba badlalindima kabanqunyiwe amandla ngendlela yokuthi ngeke bakwazi ukulwisana nokwenzekayo kwingqikithi kanye nasesikhathini esikuso. Kanjalo-ke, njengoba ngizama ukuchaza ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika ifike kanjani kulesi sikhathi sasemlandweni okunganyakazeki kuso – u-Achille Mbembe asichaza kamnandi ngokuthi 'sibambeke phakathi kwesikhathi samanje okungadluleki kuso kanye nengemuva okungasabuyeleki kulo; phakathi kwezinto ezingasekho nezinto ezingakafiki' – ngihlongoza nolunye uhlelo lwezombusazwe olwehlukile eNingizimu Afrika, ngibuye ngibale okufanele kwenziwe ukusondeza izwe eduze nombono wenhlalo eyintando yabantu okukhulunywa ngawo kuMthethosisekelo.

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Ukubusa, izibophezelo zabaphethe izwe kanye nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo

Kuncane okwakuhlanganisa aBantu BaseNingizimu Afrika ngenkathi kufika isikhathi sokuguqukela kumbuso wentando yeningi, uma kwakukhona – ngaphandle kwenhloso yokugwema impi yombango – kwakungukulangazelela izibophezelo zabaphethe izwe nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi. ABantu BaseNingizimu Afrika kungenzeka ukuthi babeqonde izinto ezahlukahlukene ngala matemu, kodwa-ke sasikhona isifiso sokuthi babe nedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe kanye nohulumeni okubhekelela izidingo zezakhamuzi. Nokho, ngo-2013, imibono yabantu emikhakheni yonke yezombusazwe yayivumelana ngokuthi kwakungekho ukuzibophezela kanti futhi izidingo zomphakathi zazingahlinzekwa ngokuphelele. Kwenzeka kanjani lokhu?

Ingxenye enkulu yenkulumompikiswano mayelana nalezi zindaba igxile kakhulu kwindlela okuhleleke ngayo izikhungo kanye nezinga lobunjalo lwezinsizakwenza ezingabantu ezweni. Ngakho-ke, kusukela ngo-1994, abasebenzi bakwahulumeni bebelokhu behlela kabusha izikhungo zikahulumeni kanye nobudlelwano phakathi kwazo, ngenhloso yokwenza ngcono ukusebenza kwazo. Abasebenzi bakwahulumeni abangaqeqeshekile kahle bebesolwa

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ngokungasebenzi ngendlela egculisayo kwase kwethulwa izinhlelo zokuqeqesha nokuthuthukisa. Abahloli bemisebenzi kahulumeni baye basola izinqubomgomo zenhlangano ebusayo, zokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni kanye nohlelo lokuqasha labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni, njengayona nto eyadala ukuqokwa kwabasebenzi abangaqeqeshiwe ngokufanele kanye nokukhinyabezeka kwezinhlelo zokuphatha.

Kodwa-ke nakuba ukuhleleka kwezikhungo kubalulekile, akusikho kona kodwa okudala ubundikindiki obunomthelela ekuphathweni kwezwe laseNingizimu Afrika kanye nakwezombusazwe zakhona. Eqinisweni, imiphakathi enezinhlaka ezifanayo ezikhungweni nasekwengameleni inemiphumela eyahluke kakhulu ekuhlinzekweni kwezidingo zomphakathi kanye nasekuzibophezeleni. Ngakho-ke kubalulekile ukubheka nezinye izinto ngaphandle kokuhleleka kwezikhungo, ukuze kuqondakale kahle imiphumela enhlobonhlobo kwezokwengamela nakwezombusazwe emiphakathini eyahlukahlukene. Ukuqhathanisa kungasiza kakhulu, kodwa ngeke kungene esikhundleni sokuqonda kahle isimo senhlalo yomphakathi othize, kanye nokubhekisisa ukuthi lokhu kunamthelela muni ekusebenzeni kwezikhungo, kwabantu ngabanye kanye nakubasebenzi bakwahulumeni.

Uma kuhlolwa ukunwabuluka kwezikhungo zikahulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika kumele kubukwe ngale kwenkulumopikiswano emayelana nokuhleleka kwezikhungo ukuze kubonakale ubungqingetshe obudalwa yisimo sethu senhlalo (okufaka kukho izinqubomgomo nendlela yokuziphatha ekhethwa yidlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe kanye nabanye abadlalindima), bese kuyabhekwa ukuthi lokhu kudlale yiphi indima esimweni izwe eselizithole likuso. Okokuqala, nokho, kubalulekile ukucacisa kafushane ukwakheka kwezikhungo kanye nemikhakha yokwengamela eyakhiwa ngabasemandleni kwezombusazwe, ikakhulukazi ku-ANC, ezweni laseNingizimu Afrika.

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Ukwakhiwa kwezwe langemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo

Ukwakheka kwezikhungo zaseNingizimu Afrika zesikhathi samanje kanye nokuhleleka kwemikhakha yokwengamela kwadaleka ngezikhathi eziyizigaba ezintathu ezahlukene, okukhulunywa ngakho kabanzi lapha ngezansi. Isigaba sokuqala senzeka ngenkathi kunokuxoxisana, okwakhiqiza uMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana wango-1993. Isigaba sesibili senzeka ngenkathi kunezingxoxo zomkhandlu wamalungu akhethiwe, okwakhiqiza uMthethosisekelo wango-1996. Isigaba sesithathu sasihlanganise uguquko ezikhungweni nasekuphatheni, okwethulwa nguThabo Mbeki ngasekuqaleni kwehlandla lakhe lokuba ngumengameli ngo-1999. Nakuba uJacob Zuma athula ezinye izinguquko – ngokwakha amahhovisi amasha obungqongqoshe kanye nokwandisa ongqongqoshe abaqokiwe basuke kwabangu-28 baye kwabangu-34 – lokhu kwenzeke kakhulukazi kwezokuphatha, kanti kube nomthelela emumweni kahulumeni kunokuba kushintshe kakhulu ukusebenza kwawo ngaphakathi. Ngakho-ke iNingizimu Afrika ngaphansi kwaZuma, yize kunokuzishaya isifuba ekuphatheni kwakhe, ingenxa yemisebenzi yesikhathi sokubusa kukaMbeki.

Isigaba sokuqala: ukuxoxisana

Ukuxoxisana kwaqala ngokuqedwa komyalelo wokunqatshelwa ukuba khona kwe-ANC mhla zingu-2 kuFebhruwari 1990 kanye nokudedelwa kukaNelson Mandela mhla zingu-11 kuFebhruwari 1990. Imihlangano emithathu eyabanjwa yinhlangano eyayibusa, iNP kanye ne-ANC ngalowo nyaka yakhiqiza izivumelwano ezadala ukuba kudedelwe iziboshwa zezombusazwe, kuvinjelwe ukuba abenze amacala ezombusazwe baboshwe, kuhoxiswe isimemezelo sikahulumeni esasimisa konke ukuze kulungiselelwe isimo

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esiphuthumayo kuphinde kumiswe ukulwa ngezikhali kwe-ANC. Nakuba ukuxoxisana okusemthethweni kwaqala mhla zingu-20 kuDisemba 1991, inqubekelaphambili ebambekayo yayilokhu ibaphunyuka abadlalindima ezingxoxweni kwaze kwaba ngu-1993.

Imibono emibili yomthethosisekelo eyayehluke kakhulu yabangisana ngamandla obukhulu ngesikhathi sokuxoxisana. Eyokuqala, eyayiqhutshwa phambili yiNP, yayigqugquzelwa yimihlahlandlela yezinzululwazi emayelana nokubambisana kwezinhlangano ezahlukene, ikakhulukazi leyo yenzuluwazi yomDashi u-Arend Lijphart. Imihlahlandlela yezinzululwazi emayelana nokubambisana kwezinhlangano ezahlukene kuhulumeni ifaka kuyo ukwabelana ngamandla kwezinhlangano ezinesiqiniseko sokuthola amavoti okuba zimelwe ephalamende, ikakhulukazi lezo ezitholakala emiphakathini engahlangene kahle neyehlukile. Umbhalo kaLijphart owejwayelekile uthi ngenxa yokwehlukana ngokobuhlanga nangamazinga kuleyo miphakathi enjalo, kuba khona ukuqophisana kwezombusazwe okuzibonakalisa emaqoqweni. Izinhlangano zezombusazwe zihambisa phambili lokho okuthinta amaqoqo athize, kanti okuncanyelwa ngabavoti kona kunqunywa wukwethembeka kwabantu kulawo maqoqo. Iqoqo okuyilo elikhulu kakhulu kunamanye emiphakathini exubaxubene kuba yilona elithola indawo enkulu ekuncintisaneni kwangesikhathi sokhetho, bese inhlangano yalo kube yiyo ethatha indawo ehhovisi lezombusazwe, iba nomkhuba wokuthatha wonke amandla kwizinsizakwenza zikahulumeni, okuvame ukuba kudale umbango kwizakhamuzi.

Ukugwema lokhu, uLijphart uphakamisa isincomo sokuba amaqoqo ayingcosana anikezwe isabelo kwizinsizakwenza aphinde abe novo kulokho okudalelwe imiphakathi yawo kwezombusazwe. Maphakathi neminyaka yo-1980, wasebenzisa umbono wakhe eNingizimu Afrika, nayichaza njengezwe elinemiphakathi exubaxubene kanye nokwahlukana kaningi ngokobuhlanga. Wayefunga egomela ukuthi ilungelo lokuvota kulabo abafanelekile kanye nokhetho

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olunokuncintisana eNingizimu Afrika yangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo kungenza kube lula ukuqinisekisa ukuqoqelana ndawonye ngokududana ngokobuhlanga, okuyinto engaba yisibhicongo esikhulu ezweni. Ukubusa ngokweningi kwakungagqugquzela umbango kwizakhamuzi futhi kucekele phansi ukuzinza kweNingizimu Afrika yangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo.

Umbono kaLijphart waba yiwona mthethosisekelo iNP eyayime ngawo. Le nhlangano yahlongoza uhlobo lukahulumeni onezinhla ezintathu nonamandla okushaya imithetho namandla okwenza kuwona wonke amazinga.Yayigcizelela ukuba kusungulwe izwe elilandela umthethosisekelo nelibuswa ngokulandela incwadi yemvume yakwahulumeni enikeza amalungelo eyayizoqinisekisa ukuzimela kwamajaji, kuka-ombudisimani, komcwaningimabhuku omkhulu, kukakhomishana wemisebenzi kahulumeni kanye nokweBhangengodla. Yayifuna nokuba kuvikelwe abasebenzi bakwahulumeni ngesikhathi besasebenzela uhulumeni. NgokweNP, ukwabelana ngamandla kwakufanele kubonakale ngokuthi kube khona imikhandlu emibili ephalamende, owokuqala kube ngokhethwe yilabo abanelungelo lokuvota abafanelekile nokwakufanele kuncike ohlelweni lokumeleleka ngokwenani lamavoti, bese kuthi owesibili kube yilowo owakhiwa izihlalo zephalamende ezilinganayo kuzo zonke izifunda. Phezu kwalokho, le nhlangano yahlongoza ukuba kube khona ikhabhinethi eyakhiwe izinhlangano eziningi ezisebenza ngomgomo wokuvumelana; nokuba nomengameli abathathu abashintshana njalo ngonyaka ngokuba ngosihlalo. Uhulumeni wezifunda wawubonwa njengonamandla okushaya imithetho namandla okwenza, nowawusebenza ngemigomo yokuvumelana. Le nhlangano yaphinde yahlongoza uhlelo lukahulumeni wasekhaya owawuzogunyaza ukuthi abanini bemizi, abaqashile, nabakhokhintela yemizi bavote kabili, bese kuthi abahlali abejwayelekile bona bavote kanye.

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Izihlongozo ze-ANC zona zazihambisana nezinqubo zentando yeningi okuyinto ebilandelwa emazweni amaningi aseNtshonalanga. Ngokwalezi zinqubo, ezazihambisana nombono wangasekuqaleni we-ANC wentando yeningi ezweni, le nhlangano yalwisana nohlelo lokwabelana ngamandla yavuna elokubusa ngokweningi. I-ANC yayiwakhathalela amalungelo engcosana, kodwa yayingajiki ekutheni lokhu kwakuzobhekeleleka ngaphansi kosomqulu wamalungelo kanye nangohlelo lokumeleleka ephalamende ngokwenani lamavoti. Le nhlangano yayigcizelela ukuthi ukuzibandakanya nokumeleleka komuntu ngamunye kwezombusazwe, akumele kunqunywe yimikhakha yobuzwe, yobuhlanga neyanoma iluphi olunye uhlobo lokuzihlela ngokobuqembu. Intando yeningi, ngokwe-ANC, yayisho ukuthi izinqumo zeningi kumele kube yizo ezihamba phambili. Babefunga begomela ukuthi izinhlangano eziyingcosana kumele zikwamukele lokhu bese zizama ukuheha amavoti amasha ngezinhlelo zawo ezinamandla okuphikisana nenhlangano ebusayo.

NjengeNP, i-ANC yayifuna kube nohlobo lukahulumeni onezinhla ezintathu, kodwa usebenze ngokubumbana kunokulandela uhlobo lwezinhlangano ezizimele.Yize kwakuzoba nesishayamthetho esinemikhandlu emibili, iSigungu SikaZwelonke esikhethwe ngabakufanele ukuvota kwakuyiso esasizoba namandla amakhulu ekumisweni kweqoqomithetho. Amandla amakhulu kwakuzoba ngakamengameli oyedwa osebenza njengenhloko yezwe. Izihlongozo ze-ANC zazigcizelela 'uhulumeni onamandla nosebenza ngempumelelo', onesibopho sokuba nobudlelwano namazwe angaphandle, esokuvikela izwe nesokuvikeleka kwangaphakathi kanye nesezinqubomgomo zezomnotho, zesikhwama sombuso nezentela. Babefuna futhi ukuba kubekhona 'ukwakhiwa kohlaka lwenqubomgomo yezwe kanye nokuhlinzekwa kwezinsizakwenza ukuze kuqedwe ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga nemikhuba ehambisana nobuhlanga futhi kulwiswane nezinkinga eziningi kakhulu kwezemfundo, kwezempilo, kwezezindlu,

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kwezokondliwa komzimba, kwezokuqashwa kwabantu emisebenzini kanye nakwezenhlalakahle.'

Izihlongozo ze-ANC ezimayelana nohulumeni wesifundazwe nowasekhaya nazo zazingena ngaphansi kohlaka lweningi nobumbano. Izifundazwe zazingakhiwe ngendlela yokuba ngozimelegeqe, kodwa zazakhiwe njengezindawo ezisebenza 'ngokuhambisana nohulumeni omkhulu ngokwamandla'. Yize i-ANC yayethembe ukuthi izohlanganisa amandla okubusa ezifundazweni nalawo kahulumeni omkhulu, yayigcizelela ukuthi uma kunokuphikisana, iqoqomithetho elisezingeni likazwelonke yilo elalizohamba phambili. Ngokufanayo, amandla kahulumeni wasekhaya ayezosebenza ngaphansi kohlaka lweqoqomithetho lukazwelonke nolwezifunda. Ngokwe-ANC, injongo yalokhu 'kwakungukusondeza uhulumeni kubantu' ngaphandle kokunikeza izikhulu zikahulumeni wasekhaya amandla ayezokwenza ukuba zikwazi ukuphinde zakhe izinqubomgomo zobandlululo.

Amaqoqo amabili ezihlongozo ayebonakalisa ukuthi kunegebe elikhona phakathi kwe-ANC neNP. Ngenkathi i-ANC yona ifuna ukusungula umbuso wentando yeningi, i-NP yona yayigcizelela ukubambisana kwezinhlangano ezahlukene noma ukwabelana ngamandla. Yomibili le mibono yayihambisana nezintshisekelo zabantu abayilwelayo ukuze kuvikeleke futhi kuqhutshwe phambili izintshisekelo zezinhlangano abazimele. Ngokwe-ANC, umbuso wentando yeningi wawuzokwenza ukuba ikwazi ukusebenzisa amandla kahulumeni ukuqhuba izintshisekelo zomphakathi wabantu abansundu. NgokweNP, umbuso wokubambisana kwezinhlangano ezihlukene wawuzokwazi ukuyihlinzeka ngenqubo yomthethosisekelo eyayizovikela umphakathi wabantu abamhlophe. I-ANC yayethembe ukuthi izosebenzisa uhlelo lukahulumeni weningi ukuqhuba phambili izinqubomgomo ezazizocekela phansi ukungalingani kwangesikhathi sobandlululo, iNP yona yayethembe ukuthi izosebenzisa uhlelo lukahulumeni lokubambisana kwezinhlangano ezahlukene ukuze iqhubeke nalezo zinqubomgomo ezifanayo, ukuze ikwazi ukugcina

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lokho ebeyinakho okwakuyisebenzela nokwakutholakale ngenxa yokungalingani kwangesikhathi sobandlululo.

Njengoba kwakulindelekile, izinto zavele zama nse kwezombusazwe kwingxenye enkulu ka-1992. Lokho kuma kwezinto kwaphela ngemva kwezigameko ezimbili. Esokuqala yisibhicongo saseBisho, esenzeka mhla zingu-7 kuSepthemba 1992 kuzimelegeqe wombuso wabantu abamnyama owawakhiwe ngaphansi kwenqubomgomo yobandlululo owawaziwa ngokuthi yibantustan nowawubizwa ngeCiskei. Lesi sibhicongo saqeda umkhankaso kakhukhulelangoqo owethulwa yi-ANC ngenkathi ihoxa ezingxoxweni ngemva kwesibhicongo saseBoipatong ngoJuni ka-1992. Isibhicongo saseBisho kanye nomkhankaso kakhukhulelangoqo owenzeka ngaphambi kwaso wahlinzeka ubufakazi obuqinile bokuthi i-ANC inabalandeli abaningi (izigidi ezine zabasebenzi zabamba iqhaza kumduvo owawuhlelwe yinhlangano kanye nababekanye nayo iCOSATU). Nakuba kunjalo, saphinde sacacisa ukuthi yize nayo i-ANC kwakungathi inawo amandla kwezezimpi, uhulumeni wobandlululo yena wayenamandla amakhulu.

Ngemva nje kwamasonto amabili senzekile lesi sibhicongo saseBisho, okwenzakala kwagcizelelwa eMqoshweni Wokuqondisisana owasayinwa mhla zingu-26 kuSepthemba 1992, lapho zonke izinhlangano zazinikela emsebenzini womgwamanda wamalungu aqokiwe azokwakha umthethosisekelo, zizibekela nezikhathi zokuphothulwa kwawo, ziqhamuka namasu okuvimba ukuba izinto zime. Phezu kwalokho, isethembiso esenziwa yiNP sokukhulula iziboshwa zezombusazwe ezingu-400 ezazisele, nokumisa iNkatha Freedom Party (i-IFP) ukuba iyeke ukuphatha izikhali zendabuko kumamashi ayo, sasiza nasekutheni i-ANC ithibe izingxenye zayo ezithanda impi kakhulu.

Kodwa izimvumelwano ezenziwa yiNP zazingeyamile neze ohlangothini olulodwa. Ukuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana nakho kwakudingeka kumfelandawonye wezinhlangano

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ezazilwisana nobandlululo nezazaziwa ngeCongress Alliance, kanti lokho kwakubaliwe kulokho i-ANC eyayizimisele ngakho kwezombusazwe okwemukelwa ngoNovemba ka-1992. Lena-ke kwakuyiyona nto yesibili eyaqeda isimo sokuma kwezinto ezase zimi nse ngesikhathi sokuxoxisana. Isethenjwa sazombili izinhlangano okuyi-ANC neSACP, uJoe Slovo, wethula inkulumompikiswano yenqubomgomo ngo-Agasti ka-1992 kulokho akubhala kwi-*African Communist* okwakunesihloko esithi 'Ukuxoxisana: Yikuphi esingahlangabezana kukho ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana?' ('Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?') Yize uSlovo wayegcizelela ukuthi lo mbhalo wawumayelana nalokho okucatshangwa nguyena kuphela, wonke umuntu wayazi ukuthi iningi lalabo okwakuxoxiswana nabo ku-ANC kanye nababesemhlanganweni wokuxoxisana owawubizwa ngeCODESA, babecabanga njengaye. USlovo wayelwela ukuthi kube khona uchungechunge lwezimvumelwano ukuze kutholakale isisombululo ezingxoxweni. Lezi zimvumelwano zazibandakanya: (i) 'umushwana obekelwe isikhathi' owawuzohlinzekela ukuphoqwa kokwabiwa kwamandla iminyaka emihlanu; (ii) izivumelwano zezinhlangothi ezimbili ezazizokwenziwa neNP mayelana namandla ezifunda; (iii) ushwele wabantu bonke; kanye (iv) nokuzinikela ekuhlonipheni izivumelwano zemisebenzi kanye nokukhokhelwa kwabathatha umhlalaphansi kunoma yikuphi ukuhlela kabusha okungenziwa emisebenzini kahulumeni.

USlovo wabambelela ekutheni lezi zimvumelwano ayezihlongoza zazamukelekile ngokwezombusazwe njengoba zazingeke zivimbele umbuso ukuba uqhubekele kumbuso wentando yeningi ongenakucwasana ngokobuhlanga esikhathini esizayo. Waphinde wazama ukubonisa ukuthi zinhle kanjani ngokubeka umbono wakhe mayelana nokulinganiswa kwamandla ngaleso sikhathi nayebona njengayona nto eyayibanga ukuthi kube khona ukungahlulani phakathi kwe-ANC njengembangi enkulu ekuxoxisaneni kanye nombuso wobandlululo njengesitha esingahlulwa. Njengoba

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ukuvumeleka kwe-ANC okusemthethweni kwakuyinto eyaziwayo, kanti nokulawula kombuso wobandlululo izinhlaka zezokuvikela nezokuphathwa kwezwe nakho okwakwaziwa, uSlovo wahlongoza ukuba i-ANC ikuqondisise ukuthi 'imiphumela esheshayo yokuxoxisana inengozi yokuthi kutholakale imihlomulo engaphelele kahle uma kuqhathaniswa nezinjongo zenkululeko zasesikhathini esikude esizayo'.

Umbhalo kaSlovo 'womushwana obekelwe isikhathi' wasusa inkulumompikiswano eshubile kwiCongress Alliance. Amalungu ekhomishana ye-ANC yezingxoxo avumelana nokuhlaziya kwakhe kanye nezihlongozo zakhe, kanti ezinye izishoshovu eziqavile ze-ANC okubalwa kuzo oPallo Jordan, noBlade Nzimande kanye noHarry Gwala zona zaphikisana kabanzi nalezi zimvumelwano ayezihlongoza. Ababephikisana nakho kakhulu ngukudela injongo ye-ANC yokuqeda nya ngohulumeni wobandlululo nokubhidliza umbuso wobandlululo. NgoNovemba ka-1992, le nkulumompikiswano yasuka emakhasini e-*African Communist* yadlulela kwikomidi eliphezulu le-ANC. Ngemva kwezinsuku ezintathu kudingidwa lolu daba kabanzi, ikomidi eliphezulu likazwelonke lashona ngasohlangothini lukaSlovo kanye namalungu ekhomishana yezingxoxo, base bemukela umqingo wekhomishana njengenqubomgomo yenhlangano. Kulesi sigaba izinga lezingxoxo lakhula ngesivinini. Ngisho ukubulawa kabuhlungu kukaChris Hani, owayengunobhala jikelele weSACP nomholi owayelandela uMandela ngokuthandwa yibo bonke abantu, akuzange kukuthikameze lokhu. Esikhundleni salokho, kwenzeka okuphambana nakho – kwanyuka ingcindezi ku-ANC yokuba kuphothulwe lokhu kuxoxisana. Izithiyo ezingxoxweni ezaziphakathi kwezinhlangano eziningi zalungiswa ngokuxoxisana kwe-ANC neNP. Okwavunyelwana ngakho ezingxoxweni zezinhlangothi ezimbili kwadluliselwa ezingxoxweni ezaziphakathi kwezinhlangano eziningi ngokulandela umgomo 'wokuvimba ukuba inhlangano eyodwa ikwazi ukumisa izingxoxo'. Ngasekupheleni kuka-1993,

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kwasungulwa uMkhandlu Ophezulu Wezoguquko ngokulandela uMthetho Womkhandlu Ophezulu Woguquko ka-1993. Yize isijubo somkhandlu kwakungukubhekana nezindaba ezithinta ukhetho kuphela, eqinisweni wawusebenza njengohulumeni obusa ngesikhathi esisodwa nalo omunye uhulumeni. Amandla awo ayechazwe kabanzi, kanti lokhu kwakwenza ukuba umkhandlu ukwazi ukungenelela kunoma iyiphi into owawuyibona njengethikameza inhloso yokuba nokhetho olukhululekile nolunokulunga.

Imininingwane yesivumelwano somthethosisekelo iqukethwe ngokugcwele nguMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana, owemukelwa yiphalamende laseNingizimu Afrika ngoNovemba ka-1993, kanye nasezichibiyelweni ezimbili ezafakwa kwigazethi mhla zingu-3 kuMashi namhla zingu-26 ku-Ephreli 1994. Lezi zichibiyelo ezimbili zaba khona ngenxa yemizamo yabo bobabili oFW de Klerk (njengomholi weNP) kanye noMandela (njengenhloko ye-ANC) yokudonsela i-IFP eyayiholwa nguMangosuthu Buthelezi okhethweni.

UMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana wasungula izilinganiso zokwakheka kwezikhungo nokuphathwa kweNingizimu Afrika. Phezu kwalokho, wawuqukethe izinhlobo zezihlongozo ezihlongozwe yizona zombili lezi zinhlangano, iNP ne-ANC. Njengoba izihlongozo eziningi zeNP (ezifana nokwengamela ngokuhlanganyela, ilungelo lokwenqaba isinqumo esithathwe abashaya imithetho, kanye nombuso ohlanganise imibuso ezimele) zenqatshwa, uMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana wasitusa isifiso senhlangano sokwabelana ngamandla ngokusungula uhulumeni wobumbano wezinhlangano eziningi ezingeni likazwelonke nelezifunda, waqoka uDe Klerk njengephini likamengameli eliphezulu, kanti futhi wawunxusa inhlangano enabalandeli abaningi ukuba iphathe ngomoya wokuvumelana. Phezu kwalokho, ngokuhambisana nezihlongozo zeNP zangasekuqaleni, umbuso wangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo waphoqeka ukuba uhloniphe ilungelo lezisebenzi zikahulumeni ezikhona ukuba ziqhubeke zihlale, nokuba uqinisekise ukuzimela kwamajaji, kuka-

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ombudisimani, kukakhomishana wezemisebenzi kahulumeni kanye nokweBhangengodla. Ngokufanayo, yize uMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana watusa izincomo eziningi ze-ANC, izibopho eziningi ezazisezihlongozweni zayo zanciphiswa ngukusungulwa kukahulumeni wobumbano, ukwanda kokumeleleka kwezinhlanga eziyingcosana emazingeni ohulumeni basekhaya (okuwuhlobo lohlelo lokhetho oluxubile nomiphumela yalo kuba ukumeleleka ngokwezifunda nangokwenani lamavoti atholakele kanye nokucazwa kwamandla kubaphathi bezifunda nabemiphakathi kunokuba nohulumeni owodwa ohlangene.

Isigaba sesibili: ukuphothulwa koMthethosisekelo

Esikhundleni soMthethosisekelo Wesikhashana kwangena uMthethosisekelo weRiphabhlikhi yaseNingizimu Afrika (UMthetho 108 ka-1996), owahlanganiswa kumbuthwano wokubhala noma wokwemukela umthethosisekelo (owawuhlanganise yomibili imikhandlu yephalamende) nowavunyelwa yiNkantolo YoMthethosisekelo, wasayinwa ukuba ube ngumthetho nguMengameli uMandela mhla zingu-18 kuDisemba 1996. Umbuso wangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo owasungulwa ngumbuthwano wokubhala noma wokwemukela umthethosisekelo ubandakanya ukwakheka kwezikhungo nokuphathwa kwezwe okuzigabantathu ngaphansi komthetho woMthethosisekelo.

Iphalamende likazwelonke liyisishayamthetho esinemikhandlu emibili, okuyiSigungu Sikazwelonke kanye noMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe. ISigungu Sikazwelonke sinamalungu angu-400, okungamalungu alingana nalawo asohlwini lwezinhlangano lukazwelonke nolwezifunda, kanye nalawo avotelwe ngokohlelo lwenani lwamavoti atholakele. UMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe wona unamalungu angu-90, kunayishumi esifundazweni ngasinye, kanti amagama awo aphakanyiswa yizinhlangano, kodwa aqokwa

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yizishayamthetho zezifundazwe ngokuhambisanayo nenani lalabo abamele izifunda ezinhlanganweni. Iqoqomithetho, ngaphandle kwemithethosivivinywa emayelana nezemali, lingethulwa kowodwa wale mikhandlu bese uphasiswa ngokuvotelwa yiningi ngokujwayelekile. Uma-ke kuba khona ukushayisana phakathi kweMithethosivivinywa ephasiswe yiSigungu Sikazwelonke naleyo ephasiswe nguMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe, lelo qoqomithetho elisahlongozwa lidluliselwa ekomidini lokucebisana elifaka kulo amalungu ephalamende azo zonke izinhlangano, bese kuthi ngemva kwalokho lidluliselwe emhlanganweni ohlanganise imikhandlu yomibili, nalapho linokuphasiswa khona yiningi lamalungu esishayamthetho. Isigungu sikazwelonke yiso esiqavile makufikwa kwiqoqomithetho lwezezimali, kanti futhi sinelungelo lokwemukela lelo qoqomithetho njengelisebenzayo (ngemva kokubukezwa kwalo okwesibili) ngisho ngabe uMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe ungalinqaba. Imithetho eba nomthelela emandleni nasekusebenzeni kwezifundazwe kumele iphasiswe yiyo yomibili imikhandlu, kanti futhi idinga ukuvunyelwa yiningi lamalungu aphuma kwizifundazwe ezithintekayo.

Amandla amakhulu okuphatha abekwe kumengameli, oqokwa ngokuhlala kwephalamende elihlanganise yomibili imikhandlu. Umengameli uphatha ngokusebenzisa iKhabhinethi yakhe ayiqoka yena. Ongqongqoshe beKhabhinethi baziphendulela kwiphalamende mayelana nezinqumo abazithathile kanye nangendlela iminyango yabo esebenza ngayo – kumakomidi aqondene neminyango yawo esigungwini sikazwelonke kuqala, bese okwesibili kuba kumakomidi esikhashana omkhandlu kazwelonke wezifundazwe. Phezu kokuqoka iKhabhinethi nokuba ngumphathisihlalo wayo, umengameli uphinde abe nesibopho sokuqoka abantu kwizikhungo ezahlukene ezizimele, okubalwa kuzo ijaji elikhulu, umcwaningimabhuku omkhulu, umvikeli womphakathi, u-ombudisimani, kanye nokhomishana weKhomishana

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Yamalungelo Abantu, oweKhomishana Yokulingana Ngokobulili, oweKhomishana Yokhetho kanye noweBhodi Kazwelonke Yezilimi.

Ngokwesichasiselo semicabango, kubhekwa kakhulu abaphathi abaphezulu, kanti ababhekwa kuphela yisishayamthetho sikazwelonke nezikhungo zikahulumeni ezizimele, kodwa babhekwa nayinhlangano yamajaji evunyelwe ngumthethosisekelo, ezimele, ehleleke ngokukazwelonke nangokwezifunda nehlanganisa inkantolo enkulu, inkantolo okudluliselwa kuyo amacala ukuze kubukezwe izinqumo nenkantolo yomthethosisekelo kanye nohulumeni bezifundazwe zozisishiyagalolunye. Njengohulumeni kazwelonke, ohulumeni bezifundazwe nabo banesishayamthetho kanye nondunankulu osingethwe yisigungu esiphezulu. Izifundazwe zinamandla ahambisanayo nakahulumeni kazwelonke cishe kuzona zonke izigaba kwezenhlalo okubalwa kuzo ezemfundo, ezempilo kanye nezenhlalakahle. Inani elikhulu lemali yombuso ephumayo liya kuhulumeni wezifundazwe obonakala njengonomsebenzi wokuthuthukisa nowezombusazwe ngokulingana. Ngesabelomali sango-2012/2013, ukwabiwa kwemali ezifundazweni, ngaphandle kokwabiwa kwemali okubekelwe imibandela, kwafinyeleka ku-R309 057 382, nokungamaphesenti angu-32 emali engenayo. Ingxenye elinganayo yabelwa izifundazwe ngonyaka owandulela lowo.

Izifundazwe zinamandla akhawuliwe kwezezimali njengoba isabelomali sawo siyimali esuka kuzwelonke. Izinqumo zalokhu kudluliselwa kwemali zithathwa ngumkhandlu wezabelomali, omalungu awo kungabasebenzi bomnyango wezezimali zezwe kanye nongqongqoshe beminyango yezezimali ezifundazweni. Ngamaphesenti angu-20 kuphela esabelomali sezifundazwe esetshenziswa kuleyo misebenzi ekhethekile – usizo lwama-ambulensi, izilaha, amalayisensi otshwala nokunye. Ngakho-ke izifundazwe zisebenzisa ingxenye eningi yesabelomali sazo ezintweni ezingaphansi kwamandla kazwelonke nawezifundazwe. Konke lokhu, njengokusho

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kwabahloli bemisebenzi, kuqinisekisa ukuthi ukuhleleka kokuphatha kuyafana nohlelo lukahulumeni owodwa ohlangene.

Isigaba sesithathu sikahulumeni ngesomasipala, nokuyilapho izimo ezixakile zezentuthuko ezashiywa wubandlululo zicace bha khona. Kunomasipala abangu-282 abehlukene izigaba ezintathu. ISigaba A sifaka omasipala abakhulu – iJohannesburg, iCape Town, i-EThekwini (iDurban), iNelson Mandela (iPort Elizabeth), iTshwane (iPretoria), i-Ekurhuleni (i-East Rand), iBuffalo City (i-East London), iMangaung (iBloemfontein) noMsunduzi (iPietermaritzburg). Ekwenzeni umsebenzi wabo wokushaya imithetho nokuphatha, nangokunikezwa kwawo amandla okukoleka izimali ngokohlelo lokuthelela impahla emizini, labo masipala abakhulu kwesinye isikhathi baba nemali enkulu edlula izifundazwe abakuzo. Babonakala njengamalunga entuthuko, abhekene nengxenye yabantu bezwe nabenza okubili kokuthathu kwi-GDP. Lokhu kuchuma kwezomnotho sekudale ukungezwani phakathi kwezifundazwe kanye namadolobhakazi azo, nokwenza uhlelo loku'phatha ngokuhlanganyela' phakathi kwamazinga kazwelonke, ezifundazwe nawohulumeni basekhaya lube lukhuni.

IZigaba B no C zomasipala zimele imikhandlu yohulumeni basekhaya nemikhandlu yohulumeni bezigodi ngokulandelana. Zingu-230 iZigaba B zemikhandlu yohulumeni basekhaya noma omasipala abasemadolobheni amancane nabakumadolobhakazi. Lezi zigaba zingena ngaphansi kwemikhandlu yezigodi zesiSigaba C ezingu-46 kanti zabelana amandla nazo. Lolu hlelo lokuthatha izinqumo ngokuhlanganyela lwenzelwe ukuqinisekisa ukuthi izinsizakwenza ezitholakala ezindaweni ezingamadolobha anezinto zokusebenza zidluliselwa ezindaweni ezingenazo izinto zokusebenza, ngalokho kulungiseka izinkinga zakudala zokungalingani. Yize sekudlule amashuminyaka amabili ngemva kokuphela kobandlululo, lokhu kungalingani kuyaqhubeka nokuvusa ukusolana nokukhombakhombana kuphikiswana macala onke.

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Bonke omasipala baqoka imikhandlu njalo emva kweminyaka emihlanu. Le mikhandlu ibe seyiqoka usomlomo, usodolobha kanye nomkhandlu ophezulu wabaphathi. Labo abaqokelwe kulezo zikhundla basebenzisana nohulumeni kazwelonke kanye nowezifundazwe, babheke ukusebenza kwabaphathi bomasipala kanye nabasebenzi. Umphathi kamasipala uqokelwa ukusebenza njengesikhulu esiphezulu esibhekene nezibophezelo zikamasipala ngamunye. Isibopho esikhulu somasipala ngukuhlinzeka izidingo zomphakathi, okubalwa kuzo ukuhlinzekwa nokuthelelwa kwamanzi nogesi kanye nokuchithwa kukadoti. Phezu kwalokho, kumele bagqugquzele ukuthuthukiswa kwezomnotho ezingeni lohulumeni basekhaya ukuze bakwazi ukuma kahle kwezezimali. Lesi sibopho sokumisa kahle ezezimali yiso esidale ukuba babhekane nentukuthelo yezakhamuzi. Ngenxa yenkinga yokungami kahle kwezezimali, abasezikhundleni zohulumeni basekhaya sebehambise phambili uhlelo lokuqoqa imali ukuze kubuye ehambile ngenkathi behlinzeka izidingo zomphakathi. Lokhu okuyinkinga ngayo yonke indlela, sekubonakale njengento enokungayicabangeli imiphakathi enabantu abaningi abangasebenzi nabaphila ngaphansi kwezimo ezingezinhle. Ukumelana nalokhu ngokuphikisana sekuphenduke kwaba yiyona ndlela yokwala ukukhokha, kanti sekukaningana kujika kuba yimibhikisho ehambisana nodlame. Lokhu kushayisana sekukhubaze ukuphathwa komasipala kanti sekudale ukuba abaningi babo babe nenkinga engaxazululeki kwezezimali nakwezemisebenzi.

Isigaba sesithathu: ukuhlanganiswa ndawonye kombuso ngaphansi kukaThabo Mbeki

Ibanga lokugcina lesikhathi sokuvela kwezinto ezintsha ekwakhekeni kwezikhungo ngemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo kwenzeka ngo-1999, ngasekuqaleni kwesikhathi sokubusa sikaMbeki. Ngemva kwezincomo ezaphakanyiswa yiKhomishana Yehhovisi LikaMengameli Elibheka

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Ukwenzeka Kwezinto Kuhulumeni, elahlonza ukungasebenzi ngokuhlanganyela kuhulumeni njengayona nto evimbela ukusebenza kahle embusweni, kwabhekwa izinhlobo eziningi zezinguquko ezingenziwa ukubeka ihhovisi likamengameli phakathi nendawo ekuphatheni nasekulawuleni imisebenzi kahulumeni. Lokho-ke kwabandakanya ukusungulwa kwezinhlelo ezintathu ezintsha.

Olokuqala kwabe kuwuhlelo lwekomidi elizolawulwa yihhovisi elisehhovisini likamengameli elifaka kulo amalungu ekhabhinethi nelihlanganisa ndawonye iminyango kahulumeni kazwelonke nowezifundazwe ukuze kuhlelwe izinto kahle. Olwesibili kwabe kuwuhlelo loPhiko Olubheka Izinqubomgomo Nokweluleka olwalakhelwe ukubheka iqoqomithetho elihlongoziwe ngaphambi kokuba libhekwe yiKhabhinethi, nokuba lubheke ukusetshenziswa kwalo. Olwesithathu kwaba ngukwakha isikhundla esisha kuKhabhinethi, esikaNgqongqoshe Wehhovisi Likamengameli obheka ukuphathwa komsebenzi okuyiwona omkhulu ehhovisi likamengameli. Umphumela wale mizamo yokuguqukela kwizinto ezintsha kwaba ngukuhlanganiswa kwamandla abe sendaweni eyodwa ngaphansi kwesiqongo sohlelo lwezombusazwe kanye nokudunga ukubhekwa kwabaphethe ukuthi basebenza ngokulandela umthethosisekelo na.

Ngenkathi eba ngumengameli, uZuma wenyusa inani longqongqoshe beKhabhinethi waliyisa ku-34 wase efaka abanye ongqongqoshe ababili ehhovisi likamengameli, oyedwa wayezobhekana nokuhlela ezingeni likazwelonke, omunye abhekane nokuqapha nokuhluza. Kodwa lokhu kushintsha izinto akuzange kushintshe kangako ukwakheka kwezikhungo, kanti ukusetshenziswa kwamandla nezindawo asebenza kuzo embusweni kuqhubeka njengakuqala.

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Ukuguguleka kwezibophezelo zabaphethe izwe

Phezu kokuthuthukiswa kokwakhekha kwezikhungo embusweni wamanje waseNingizimu Afrika nokungenzeka ukuthi kwakuyikho okufanelene nezimo zesikhathi sangemva kobandlululo – okungafaniswa nokwenhlangano yamazwe ngokomumo, kodwa nokombuso owodwa ozimele ngokwenza – uhulumeni we-ANC usugxekwe kakhulu ngokungasebenzi ngendlela nangokungafuni ukubophezeleka. Kwenzeke kanjani lokhu?

Umbuso wentando yeningi umayelana nokuzibophezela kwabaphethe izwe. Kufanele kwenze idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe likwazi ukubhekana nalokho okufunwa yizakhamuzi ngokuhlanganyela. Abahambisana nombuso wentando yeningi ababoni umbuso wentando yeningi njengekhambi labo bonke ababi. Umlando ugcwele izibonelo eziningi zeningi labantu elalihambisana nezimpoqamandla bese lihlanganyela nazo ekucindezelekeni noma ekucindezeleni abanye. Nakuba kunjalo, uma izakhamuzi zifisa ukushintsha isimo sazo kwezombusazwe, okungenani umbuso wentando yeningi ungazihlinzeka izindlela ezenza ukuba lokho kwenzeke – ukugqugquzela idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ukuba libhekane nezidingo zezakhamuzi noma izakhamuzi zifake esikhundleni salelo dlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe abaholi abazozisingatha.

Yize kuke kwaba nenkulumompikiswano enkulu mayelana nezinhloso zombuso wentando yeningi, kunokuvuma okukhona kubantu ukuthi imibuso yentando yeningi, ngokwesichasiselo semicabango, kumele isungule izindlela eziqinile zokuzibophezela phakathi kwababusayo nezakhamuzi kunezinye izindlela zezombusazwe.

Kodwa izibophezelo kwabaphethe izwe akumele zishaywe indiva, kanti futhi kumele zigqugquzelwe kwimibuso yentando yeningi esanda kuba khona nokukudala yaba khona.

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Indima edlalwa isimo sezombusazwe esingaqondakali

Izincwadi eziningi ezibhaliwe zikhuluma kabanzi ngalolu daba. Izifundiswa ezahlukahlukene zicacisa isidingo sohlelo lwezombusazwe oluncintisanayo ukuqinisekisa ukuthi idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe libophezekile kwizakhamuzi.

Kodwa-ke yini le eyenza kube khona lesi simo esingaqondakali esigqugquzela ukuncintisana kwezombusazwe? Kunezindlela nezimbangela ezimbalwa okuzokhulunywa ngazo ezahlukweni ezilandelayo. Okwamanje sizogxila kwizimbangela ezimbili: (i) ukuhlukaniswa kwamandla, ikakhulukazi emsebenzini wephalamende wokubheka ukusebenza kwabaphathi; kanye (ii) nokushintshana ngezikhundla zokuphatha okudalwa wukuba neqembu eliphikisayo elisebenza kahle. Kokubili lokhu kuyinto entulekayo eNingizimu Afrika.

Uhlelo lokhetho oluvuna abaholi bezinhlangano nokuntuleka kweqembu eliphikisayo eliqinile

INingizimu Afrika inohlelo olubukhali lokuvota okuhambisana nokumeleleka ngokwesilinganiso samavoti atholakele kuwona womabili amazinga, elikazwelonke nelezifundazwe. Lolu hlobo lwaluthandwa yiwona wonke umuntu ngasekuqaleni kokushintshela kumbuso wentando yeningi eNingizimu Afrika ngoba kwakwenza ukuthi iningi elanele lezinhlangano limeleleke kwisishayamthetho. Le nto enhle kangaka kodwa, ibuyiselwa emuva amandla anikezwa ubuholi benhlangano ngaphezu kwalabo abangamalungu esishayamthetho. Ukuthi uma kuvotwa kusuke kuvotelwa inhlangano, hhayi abantu ngabanye, nokuthi ubuholi benhlangano yibo obudweba uhlu lwabazoya ephalamende kwenza ukuba izifunda zingabi namandla okubophezela amalungu esishayamthetho. Esikhundleni salokho, ukubophezeleka kusebaholini benhlangano,

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kanti lokhu kugqugquzela ukuba amalungu esishayamthetho angenzi njengokuyalelwa onembeza babo kodwa enzele ukuba ahambisane nenhlangano yawo. Lokhu kubonakale kabuhlungu, uma ngingenza isibonelo nje, kwisikandali sokuhlinzekana ngezikhali zempi, lapho amalungu esishayamthetho ngokungahambisani nezijubo zawo zomthethisisekelo, ahlanganyela nabaphathi abakhulu ukumboza abakwenza okwakuphambene nokulunga nenkohlakalo.

Ukubangisana ngokuthi ubani ozongena esikhundleni ngehlandla elilandelayo phakathi kukaMbeki noZuma kwaba nomthelela ekuxegiseni ukulawula kwenhlangano ebusayo. Amalungu ephalamende enhlangano ebusayo aqala ukuqondisisa imisebenzi yawo ayesebonakalisa ukuzethemba ekuzimeleni kwawo kwisishayamthetho. Ngasezinsukwini ezingasekugcineni zokubusa kukaMbeki njengomengameli, kanye nangasekuqaleni kokubusa kukaZuma, ongqongqoshe bazithola kumele baphendule emakomidini ephalamende abheke ukusebenza kweminyango kahulumeni. Lokhu kwaholela ezingxabanweni ezingaphezu kweyodwa phakathi kosihlalo nongqongqoshe. Kodwa-ke, njengoba kubonakalile kumshikashika wokuphikisana obukhona mayelana noMthethosivivinywa Wokuvikelwa Kwemininingwane, inhlangano ebusayo ibe isibuyela ekuzethembeni ekulawuleni. Kwaba nemibono eyahlukene ku-ANC kanti amalungu ephalamende ayethathwa njengamahlubuka ayebizelwa emihlanganweni yokuqondiswa kwezigwegwe. Umphumela walokhu kwaba ngukuchokoloza isishayamthetho nokungahloniphi umsebenzi otuswa ngumthethosisekelo wokubheka ukusebenza kwabaphathi abakhulu.

Ithemba ngeqembu eliphikisayo eliqinile nalo alibonakali kahle. Okwamanje, iNingizimu Afrika inayo yonke imimo yokwakheka kohlelo oluhlabahlosile lombuso wentando yeningi kwezombusazwe. Yize uhlelo lwayo lwezombusazwe lungeke luthathwe njengolunokuncintisana. I-ANC inamandla amaningi ngokwehlulayo ekubeni nabalandeli okhethweni. Le nhlangano

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ibilokhu inyusa izinga ewina ngalo njalo okhethweni lwangasekuqaleni olube khona nokwenzeke izihlandla ezintathu ezilandelanayo, ithole amavoti angamaphesenti angu-62.65 ngo-1994, yathola angu-66.36 ngo-1999, nacishe abe ngu-70 ngo-2004. Ngokhetho lwango-2009, amavoti e-ANC ehla afinyelela emaphesentini angu-66. Inhlangano ebusayo yalahlekelwa ngabalandeli kuzona zonke izifundazwe ngaphandle kwaKwaZulu-Natali, nokuyilapho amavoti ayo anyuka asuka emaphesentini angu-46 aya kwangu-63. Ukuvela kwenhlangano yezombusazwe iCongress of the People (iCOPE) kwaletha ithemba lesikhashana lokuthi izinto zingashintsha emavotini atholwa yizinhlangano. Kodwa umbango wezikhundla wadala ukukhubazeka kule nhlangano entsha nokwaholela ekutheni izinga layo lokuhlaba umxhwele lehle kakhulu. I-Agang South Africa, nokuyinhlangano eyethulwe nguMaphela Ramphele ngoJuni ka-2013, iyona eseza nethemba kulokhu, kodwa-ke ayikaziwa ukuthi izosebenza kanjani njengoba ingakahlolwa, ima isazoqala ukusebenza kumagwingcigwingci akhubayo epolitiki lokhetho eNingizimu Afrika. Phezu kwalokho, yize inhlangano ephikisayo esemthethweni, iDemocratic Alliance (iDA) yenyusa izinga layo lamavoti yasuka kumaphesenti angu-12 yaya kwangu-16, yawina nokulawula iNtshonalanga Kapa, isabuthakathaka kakhulu ukuthi ingaphonsela i-ANC inselele.

Singakuchaza kanjani lokhu kwentuleka kweqembu eliphikisayo eliqinile ephalamende? Abanye ososayensi bezombusazwe bathi ukuzihlonza ngokobuhlanga yikho okwenza ukuba abantu baziphathe ngendlela abaziphatha ngayo uma kuyiwa okhethweni, lapho izakhamuzi zingafuni ukuvotela inhlangano enomholi omhlophe. Le ndlela yokubheka izinto isike yagxekwa kakhulu yizifundiswa ezihlaziya imiphumela yokhetho. Okunye okushiwoyo wukuthi imifanekiso abavoti abazakhela yona emiqondweni yabo yiyo esho ukuthi babona leyo nhlangano njengezobakhathalela na, bese beyacabanga ngokuyivotela.

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Ukufanekiswa kweDA, okungukumela ingcosana nalabo abacebile nabasemathubeni emphakathini, bekungakwazi ukuhlanganisa abalandeli ezifundeni ezihambisana namasiko ayo, bese ngalokho iwine iNtshonalanga Kapa futhi iqhubeke nokuba inhlangano ephikisayo esemthethweni, kodwa lo mfanekiso kungaphinde kube yiwo oyenzela phansi emizamweni yayo yasesikhathini esizayo yokuthola amavoti amaningi. Nokho, imizamo yomholi weDA uHelen Zille yokushintsha isithombe senhlangano ngokuveza izimpawu zenkululeko, nokudweba isithombe sobuholi obunezinhlanga ezinhlobonhlobo, obugcwele abesifazane, nangokusebenzisa isiXhosa nesiBhunu kanye nesiNgisi emaralini enhlangano kanye nakwabezindaba, iyasiza ekuboneni izizathu zokuthi kungani ibanga lakhe kwezokhetho linyuke laya emaphesentini angu-24 ngo-2011.

Imizamo kaZille yokuguqula iDA iqhubeke ngesivinini esikhulu ngemva kokhetho lohulumeni basekhaya lwango-2011, lokhu kubonakale kakhulu ngenkathi eqoka uPatricia de Lille njengosodolobha waseCape Town kanye noLindiwe Mazibuko njengomholi weqembu eliphikisayo kwisishayamthetho sikazwelonke. Yize le mizamo kungeke kwaphikwa ukuthi inenqubekelaphambili, inesidingo futhi igqamile ezweni lonke, amathuba okuthi iDA iqumbe phansi i-ANC okhethweni esikhathini esifushane esizayo mancane. Kodwa-ke, uma ubheka lokhu esikhathini esimaphakathi noma eside esizayo, lolu shintsho lungenza ukuba iDA ithandeke emehlweni abavoti.

Elinye ithemba elikhona mayelana neqembu eliphikisayo ephalamende – ukuhlakazeka koMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu okungaholela ekutheni iCOSATU neSACP kuzimele – yinto ekude kakhulu, izinhlolovo zikhombisa ukuthi isibalo esingaphezulu kokubili kokuthathu sabeCOSATU siyahambisana nobukhona bomfelandawonye.

Kanjalo-ke, amathuba okuba khona kweqembu eliphikisayo eliqinile ngokwakhiwa yizinhlangano eziphikisayo zamanje noma

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ukushiya kweCOSATU/iSACP kuMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu mancane. Le nto yezibophezelo phakathi kwedlanzana elisemandleni nezakhamuzi izolokhu iyinto engenamandla, enemiphumela eyejwayelekile – inkohlakalo eqhubekayo, inhlangano ebusayo eyahlukene, abavoti abangenasiqiniseko sokuthi kukhona ukulunga kanye nokuhlubuka okulokhu kuqhamuka njalo emva kwesikhathi.

Okusithakele ngale kwengozi yokungahlinzekwa kwezidingo

INingizimu Afrika isichazwa njengekomkhulu lomhlaba wonke lemibhikisho. UPeter Alexander ubuyisela lesi sigaba sokuzabalaza emuva ku-2004, lapho kwaqoshwa khona isibalo semibhikisho engu-8004. Isibalo sanyuka saya ku-10 437 ngo-2005, yize sathi ukwehla kancane phakathi kuka-2006 no-2009, sanyuka saya phezulu kakhulu kusukela ngesikhathi uZuma aqala ngaso ukubusa. Ezinyangeni eziyisikhombisa uZuma eqale ukusebenza njengomengameli, inani lemibhikisho esuswa wudaba lokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi nezibophezelo kwabaphethe ladlula inani lemibhikisho yasemiphakathini eyaba khona eminyakeni emithathu yokubusa kukaMbeki. Lokhu okumangalisayo okwenzekayo eNingizimu Afrika sekuchazwe njengo'kwambuka kwabampofu'.

Umbono owejwayelekile wengxenye enkulu yezakhamuzi, okubalwa kuyo nosomabhizinisi, ngowokuthi iminyango kahulumeni iyahluleka ukufeza izibopho zayo ngenxa yokuthi abasebenzi bakwahulumeni abakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi – lokhu kungumphumela wokuqasha ngokulandela inqubomgomo yokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni noma yokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni okudukisayo. Kuthiwa ezimweni ezinjengalezo, kuvame ukugcwala inkohlakalo kanti akuliwa nayo ngendlela eqinile ngenxa yokufuna ukwethembeka enhlanganweni noma ngenxa yezinhlelo

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ezingasebenzi kahle. Umphumela walokhu ngukuthi izakhamuzi azizitholi izidingongqangi, bese zingabe zisakhuthazeka, nokuthi umbuso wentando yeningi wangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo uphelelwa wukuvumeleka okusemthethweni kubantu.

Kodwa-ke ingabe lokhu kuxilongwa kwezinto ezenzekayo nokubikezela ngezizokwenzeka kushaya emhloleni na? Kunokucabanga ukuthi uphiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni ngaphansi kobandlululo lwalunezinsizakwenza ezanele kanti futhi lwalukwazi ukuhlinzeka izakhamuzi ngezidingo zomphakathi. Eqinisweni akunjalo – umbuso wobandlululo wawuhlelelwe ukuba uhlinzeke ingcosana ngezidingo zomphakathi bese ucindezela iningi, kanti futhi wawungeke ukwazi ukuhlinzeka izidingo zomphakathi ngokwezifiso zesikhathi sokubusa esingemva kobandlululo. Ukuguqula uphiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni ukuba lumeleleke ngokwemiphakathi kubaluleke kakhulu ukuze uhlelo luvumeleke ngokusemthethweni. Yingakho-ke kulukhuni ukuthi sithi iNingizimu Afrika ibingaphila kangcono ukuba uphiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni lwayekwa lunjalo.

Nokho kukhona ukusweleka kokuthize ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, kanti enye ingxenye yalokhu idalwa yizinqubomgomo kanye nalokho okwakhethwa nguhulumeni wangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo. Ngizothi zine izinto ezahlukene ezidala ukungenzeki kahle kwezinto ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, ezimbili zazo zihlonziwe 'oHlelweni Lokuthuthukisa Lwekhomishana Yokuhlela Kuzwelonke: Umbono ka-2030'.

Imingcele engacacile kahle kanye nokungacaciseleki kahle kwemikhakha kahulumeni

Okokuqala, njengoba iKhomishana nayo ibona, imingcele engacacile kahle phakathi kwemikhakha kahulumeni kanye nokungacaci kokuthi ubani ophethe kuphi kuyona, kuyisikhubazo ekusebenzeni kahle kophiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni. Kubalulekile ukusho

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ukuthi ukuntuleka kwezindlu yiyona nto enkulu edala imibhikisho yasemiphakathini. Ezezindlu kodwa-ke zingumsebenzi wezifundazwe nozwelonke, kepha kuvame ukuthi abaphathi bomasipala kube yibo okubhekiswe kubo imibhikisho yezezindlu. Lokhu, kanye nezinye izibonelo zokuhlela ngamancozuncozu (njengokuthi ingqalasizinda yezezindlu ihlelwe uhulumeni wesifundazwe ngaphandle kokuba ubhekisise ingqalasizinda yamanzi, kagesi, yokuthuthwa kokungcola kanye neyokulahlwa kukadoti, konke okuphethwe ngomasipala) kutshengisa ukuthi kunesidingo esikhulu sokucacisa imisebenzi nezibopho zezinhlaka ezahlukene nezemikhakha kahulumeni.

Inkohlakalo

Inkohlakalo yimbangela yesibili eyabonwa yiKhomishana Yokuhlela Kuzwelonke, evuma ngesibindi ukuthi esinye sezithiyo ezinkulu kule nkinga ngukwentuleka kokuzinikela ngenhliziyo yonke kwezombusazwe. Ikubeka kucace bha ukuthi ngaphandle uma labo abenze ukukhohlakala bengajeziswa ngokufanele nangendlela esobala, ngisho ngabe kuthiwa bazana nobani kwezombusazwe, imizamo yombuso yokulwisana nenkohlakalo ayisoze yavumeleka ngokusemthethweni okudingakalayo ukuze iphumelele. Kuyoba lukhuni nokwakha usiko olubhekana ngqo futhi ludalule inkohlakalo ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni.

Ukuqasha ngokubhekelela ababevaleleke ngaphandle nokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni

Imbangela yesithathu ngumthelela oba khona kwiqophelo labasebenzi ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni ngenxa yohlelo lokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni nokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni. IKhomishana Ehlelayo iyayazi le nkinga, kodwa ayiyilungisi ngokugcwele inkinga edalwa

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wukushayisana phakathi kwendlela yokuqoka uphiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni ngokufanele nendlela yokulandela ukumeleleka kwemiphakathi. Lezi akusizo izinjongo ezikhethekile ngokufanayo kepha ziyashayisana, okungokwesikhashana nokho, emphakathini lapho izinhlobo zamakhono akhona zihambisana nobuhlanga ngenxa yohlobo lwakuqala lwemfundo olwalungafani kubantu.

Umsebenzi oyingqalizivele kaSosayensi wesayensi ephathelene nokuhlalisana kwabantu uKarl von Holdt, owenziwa ezibhedlela zikahulumeni eNingizimu Afrika uyasiza ekucaciseni ukushayisana phakathi kwesibopho 'sokusungula uhlobo lokuphathwa kwezisebenzi zikahulumeni lwesimanjemanje nolusebenza kahle', kanye nentshisekelo encintisana nalo 'yokuhlanekezela ukuba namandla kwabamhlophe kanye nohlelo lombuso wobandlululo... nasekugqugquzeleni ukwakheka kwedlanzana elisha elisemandleni ngokushesha'. Ukwakheka ngokushesha kwedlanzana elisha elisemandleni kwenzeka ngezindlela ezahlukene. Lokhu kubandakanya: ukugxila ekuthuthukeni kwabasebenzi ezikhundleni nokwakheka kwamaqoqo amazinga ngezindlela zokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni nokuthuthukiswa kwabamnyama kwezomnotho; ukuba nemizwa exubene ngamakhono, njengoba lokhu kuhambisana namandla obuhlanga nokushiyelwa izikhundla; isidingo esilokhu siqhubeka sokugcina isithunzi nokuvimba ukuqondisisa ngokweqiniso ukuthi kwenzakalani emazingeni aphansi; ukulawula ngokushiyana kwamazinga ezikhundla okuhluke kakhulu kwizibophezelo zezikhungo; ukuba nemizwa exubene ngemithetho; kanye nemithetho yokwabiwa kwezimali elawulwa endaweni eyodwa okungasebenzelani kahle nezidingo zokufanele kwenziwe. Konke lokhu kwenzela phansi ukusebenza ngendlela nakahle kwabasebenzi bakwahulumeni wangesikhathi esingemva kobandlululo, okufaka ebucayini kokubili ukuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi kanye namathuba okukhula kwezentuthuko.

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Kungukuthatha izinto kalula ukusola uhlelo lokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni ngesimo sophiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni. Kunalokho, ngukuhlanganisa uhlelo lokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni nezinqubomgomo zezomnotho ezibandakanya izibalo zezwe ezijwayelekile kanye nokungena kwemigomo yezinkampani ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni okwadala lesi simo. Noma uluphi uhlobo lokudlulisela amakhono noma amandla okwenza lufaka kulo izinhlobo ezimbili zenqubo: ukuqeqesha nokufundisa ngokwaluleka. Ukwemukelwa kweSu Likahulumeni Lokuthuthukiswa Nokwabiwa Kabusha Komnotho Namathuba Kubantu (iGEAR) kwayinqoba le nqubo. I-GEAR yayidinga ukuba kuncishiswe ukusetshenziswa kwemali kwehliswe nesibalo sabasebenzi ngesikhathi lapho umbuso kwakufanele uguqukele ohlelweni oluhambisana nokwahlukana kwemiphakathi. Ngenkathi abantu abamnyama beqashwa ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, abamhlophe bona babevunyelwa futhi begqugquzelwa ukuba bashiye izikhundla zabo. Lokhu kwacekela phansi inqubo yokudluliselwa kwamakhono. Bona la bantu ababezobamba iqhaza ekufundiseni ngokweluleka babengasekho ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, bese kuthi laba abamnyama ababeqashiwe bona, nokwakuyintsha esanda kuthola iziqu, babebhekene nento engaphezu kwabo ayayizobahlula nakanjani ngenkathi bengena ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni.

Le ndlela yokwenza yenza izinto zazimbi kakhulu ikakhulukazi kwezemfundo. Ngenxa yokufuna ukunciphisa izindleko, umnyango wezemfundo waqala ukudiliza othisha engxenyeni yesibili kahhafu weminyaka yo-1990, wanikeza labo thisha abafunayo isigaxa semali nemihlomulo. Njengoba kwakulindelekile, othisha okwakuyibo abahamba phambili bavuma ukuthatha lokho, beshiya othisha abangenazo iziqu ezilingana nezalabo abashiya. Amandla okwenza ohlelo lukahulumeni kwezemfundo ehla kakhulu kanti imiphumela

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yalokho isabonakala nanamhlanje. Kwaba khona ukuwa okufanayo kweminye neminye iminyango embusweni wangemva kobandlululo.

Ukujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni nakho kwenze isimo sabucayi kakhulu, nokwenzeka ngenkathi i-ANC isungula ikomidi elalizobhekana nokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni. Ukujutshwa kuyenziwa kuwo wonke amazwe, okufaka kuwo nalawo entando yeningi, kanti kwamukelekile uma kugcina ekuqokelweni ezikhundleni zezombusazwe (ongqongqoshe, amaphini ongqongqoshe) kanye nasezikhundleni ezisezingeni eliphezulu kakhulu (njengesomqondisi jikelele). Kodwa ukujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni okwenziwa yi-ANC sekudlulele kuzo zonke izingxenye zombuso.

Ngemva kwesikhathi sasePolokwane, le nkinga yenziwa bucayi kakhulu ngukuqhekeka phakathi kunokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni. Eqinisweni, ezikhundleni zabasebenzi bezikhungo zikahulumeni akuzange kungene amalungu e-ANC kuphela, kodwa kungene amalungu asohlangothini oluthize loqhezu oluqhekekile ngaphakathi enhlanganweni ebusayo okuyilo elilawula leso sikhungo. Ukwethembeka enhlanganweni noma ohlangothini oluthize oluqhekekile sekube iyona ndlela yokunquma ukuthi umuntu uyawuthola na umsebenzi kuhulumeni kunokubheka amakhono, nokuyinto eholela ezingeni elikhulu lokushiya kwabasebenzi emsebenzini nokulahleka kwemithombo yolwazi yesikhungo.

Okufike kwengeze kulokhu ngukusetshenziswa kwendlela yokuphathwa kwezinkampani kwizikhungo zikahulumeni. Uma sikhuluma iqiniso, le migomo yokuphathwa kwemisebenzi kahulumeni yafika ngaphambi kokuba kuphathe i-ANC. Lokhu kungokunye kokumangalisayo okwenzekile emhlabeni wonke okuqhamuka ezikoleni zokuphathwa kwemisebenzi kahulumeni eMelika naseBhrithani, le migomo isidlulele ezindaweni eziningi zophiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni emhlabeni wonke jikelele. Ukufika kwalokhu eNingizimu Afrika kubandakanya nokwanda

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kwezigaba zezikhundla zokuphatha embusweni, ukwanda ekungalinganini kwamaholo phakathi kwabaphathi abasebenza kwahulumeni kanye nabasebenzi kanye nokusetshenziswa kwezinhlelo zokubheka ukuthi abasebenzi basebenza kanjani ezigxile emananini okwathathwa ezinkampanini okungasizo ezikahulumeni ngaphandle kokubhekisiswa. Lokhu kusho ukuthi izinhlelo zokuqhathanisa nezinye izinkampani kokuphathelene namanani – nokwakuncike kuzo amabhonasi – zazisungulelwe ukubheka amanani alokhu okuhlosiwe okuhambisana noguquko. Omunye wemiphumela eyayibheke eceleni yilowo wokuthi umphathi osebenza ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni wayethola umvuzo ngokungaqashi umuntu omhlophe uma kunesikhala, ngisho ngabe kuthiwa ubengekho umuntu omnyama kwabafake izicelo, njengoba ukuqasha umuntu omhlophe kwakuzokhinyabeza amanani alokho okuhlosiwe okuhambisana noguquko kanye nebhonasi yakhe yonyaka. Phezu kokuthi leyo ndlela yokwenza ayihambisani nomoya woMthethosisekelo WaseNingizimu Afrika, ukuhambisana nemali kohlelo lokubheka ukuthi abasebenzi basebenza kanjani, kwakwenza umqondo kubaphathi ukuba bangaqashi muntu, izikhala zihlale zivulekile, kunokuqokela umuntu omhlophe oneziqu zalowo msebenzi kuleso sikhundla.

Manje uPhiko Lwemisebenzi Kahulumeni alusele kuphela nabasebenzi abangenawo amakhono adingekayo, kepha kunabaningi abanye abasebenzela umbuso ukufeza ezabo izinhloso, okubalwa kuzo ukuhlomula kumathenda ombuso. Lokhu kuyahambisana nenkohlakalo okukhulunywe ngayo ngenhla, nokuyinto eqhubekayo nokucekela phansi amandla ombuso okusebenza, nokwenzela phansi ukuvumeleka okusemthethweni kwawo, ikakhulukazi ezingeni lohulumeni basekhaya.

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Izinsizakusebenza ezingenele

Kodwa-ke inkinga yokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi ayidalwa yinkohlakalo nokwentuleka kwamakhono kuphela. Imbangela yesine ehambisana nokungasebenzi kahle kwezikhungo zikahulumeni, wukushoda kwezinsizakwenza kanye nezingqinamba izikhungo ezizithola zibhekene nazo ngenxa yalokhu. Lokhu kungabonakala njengento emangazayo, njengoba abantu bekholelwa ukutheni izinsizakwenza akusiyo into engaba yinkinga. Vele iminyango eminingi ivame ukuhluleka ukusebenzisa izinsizakwenza enikezwe zona, futhi umbuso ubulokhu usala nensalela iminyaka eminingi. Kodwa-ke ukuhluleka kweminyango ukusebenzisa isabelomali sayo akusho ukuthi kunezinsizakwenza ezanele, ikakhulukazi kwizikhungo ezinenkinga yabasebenzi abambalwa kakhulu kunabadingekayo. Kunalokho, insalela eyasalela umbuso eminyakeni yangaphambili, noma ukushoda abacabanga ukuthi kungaba khona eminyakeni ezayo, kuyizimpawu zokungakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi eqinisweni. Ngikholwa ukuthi ukuqondisisa kanye nokubhekana nenkinga yokungakwazi ukusebenza kwabasebenzi ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, kumele kubhekwe kudlulelwe ngale kombono wakudala wokuthi kungumphumela wokujutshwa kwamalungu enhlangano ezikhundleni nowokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni okufike kwabulala kwasani. Kuyacaca ukuthi iziphithiphithi eziningi eziyimbangela yale nkinga. Iziphakamiso nezisombululo ezingaba khona kumele zitikitane nazo zonke lezi zimbangela. Okubaluleke kunakho konke kulokhu yile mingcele engacacile kanye nokungacaci kokuthi ubani ophethe ini phakathi kwemikhakha nezikhungo zikahulumeni, inkohlakalo, amakhono abasebenzi bakwahulumeni angahambisani nomsebenzi owenziwayo kanye nokwabiwa kwezinsizakwenza ezingenele. Umphumela osalayo kuso sonke lesi siphithiphithi sezingqinamba yinkinga yokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi okungacekeli phansi kuphela isithombe

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ngombuso, kepha okuphinde kwenzele phansi izifiso zawo ezifaka konke okumayelana nentuthuko.

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Singasebenza isivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe?

Izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe – izivumelwano ezichazwa ngumbono ofanayo phakathi kombuso kanye namaqoqo athile emphakathini – seziphenduke zaba ngumthemelezo woguquko kwezombusazwe eNingizimu Afrika. Akulukhuni ukubona ukuthi kungani lokhu kwenzeka. Vele isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sithembisa amathuba oxolo phakathi kwemiphakathi elwayo, lapho kunomphumela wokuthi zonke izinhlangothi kube khona okungenani okuthile ezikutholayo kulokho ezikufisayo. Kumuntu osesikhundleni samandla ezombusazwe, owayedinga ukubhekana namathemba amakhulu abantu nababambiqhaza nokukhulisa umnotho, isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sasiyisixazululo esihehayo. Kodwa lawa mathemba asanganekwane kanye nokwenamela ukusungulwa koMkhandlu KaZwelonke Wokuthuthukiswa Kwezomnotho Nezemboni Yezemisebenzi (iNEDLAC) ngo-1996 ashabalaliswa wukuvela kobunjalo bansuku zonke bezomnotho nezombusazwe. Ungakapheli unyaka owodwa noma emibili, abezamabhizinisi, abemboni yezemisebenzi kanye nombuso babexabana mayelana nesu leGEAR, cishe nangazo zonke ezinye izinqubomgomo zikahulumeni. Isimo sokungathembani kwezombusazwe sabhebhetheka ezweni ngesikhathi sokubusa kukamengameli uMbeki, nokwathikamezwa yimizanywana

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ye-ANC neCOSATU yokuxoxisana ngokuhlanganisa izivumelwano kulokho kungezwani – ikakhulukazi ngezikhathi zokhetho.

Yize amathemba esivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ashabalala, lo mbono wahlala njalo emiqondweni yezifundiswa kanye nabaholi kwezamabhizinisi, abemboni yezemisebenzi kanye nombuso. Mihla namalanga, lo mbono uyabuya futhi, ikakhulukazi uma ubudlelwano phakathi kombuso nezakhamuzi buba muncu. Kodwa-ke ingabe ukwakhiwa kwesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe kuyinto engenzeka na eNingizimu Afrika? Kanti yini eyenza ukuba imizamo yalokhu yangasekuqaleni yahluleke?

Ukuze le mibuzo iphenduleke, kubalulekile ukuqonda izimo zezombusazwe, zezomnotho, nezenhlalo ezenza ukuba izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe zenzeke futhi ziphumelele. Nakuba kunjalo, ngaphambi kokubhekana nombuzo omkhulu wokuthi ingabe isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe esilungileyo esigqugquzela intuthuko efaka konke siyinto engenzeka na eNingizimu Afrika, kungakuhle ukuhlaziya kafushane umbono wesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe eNingizimu Afrika, ukwenziwa kwaso yiNEDLAC ukuba samukeleke futhi sisebenze, kanye nokuphumelela nokwahluleka kwaso.

Izinyunyana ezilwela amalungelo abantu nawemisebenzi, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi kanye nesivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe

Ukuguqukela kwintando yeningi eNingizimu Afrika kwabonakala ngezinto ezimbili ezenzeka: ukuvuleleka kwezombusazwe zingenwe yibo bonke abantu nokukhululwa kwezomnotho. Injongo yalokhu kokuqala ngukuba nohulumeni omelelekile. Inhloso yalokhu kwesibili ngukufakwa kweNingizimu Afrika kwezomnotho zomhlaba wonke. Kusukela ngasekuqaleni kweminyaka yo-1990, ubuholi beCOSATU

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babuzibona izinkinga ezazikhuliswa yilolu guquko olwalunobumbulu, kanti ngasekuqaleni kweminyaka emibalwa yesikhathi sokuxoxisana, baphumputha indlela eya ngasembonweni oyisu elisha.

Ukusiza kulokhu, iCOSATU yasungula iKhomishana kaSepthemba eyayizodala ukuba kulungiseke kabusha inhlangano futhi isho ukuthi umfelandawonye umi kuphi namasu awo okubalwa kuwo nobudlelwano onabo kwezombusazwe. IKhomishana yabeka ngokusobala imicabango yayo ngokufanekisa izimo ezintathu ezingenzeka kwikusasa laseNingizimu Afrika. Isimo sokuqala esifanekisiwe, esasibizwa ngokuthi yi-'The Desert' ('Ugwadule'), sasichazwa njengaleso esingenakho ukukhula komnotho, ukulaxazwa koHlelo Lokubhekana Nezinkinga Zenhlalo Nomnotho Ezadalwa Ubandlululo (iRDP), amazinga aphezulu okungazinzi kwezombusazwe, kanye nokwanda kwezingxabano kwezezimboni. Isimo sesibili esifanekisiwe, esasibizwa ngokuthi yi'Skorokoro' (okuyisitsotsi esisho imoto endala egugile), sasibonakala ngokukhula komnotho kanye nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi okulingeneyo. Kulesi simo, ukuhlukana ngokobuhlanga kwakucatshangwa njengento eyayizoqhubeka kodwa abantu abamnyama abami kahle babezothuthukiswa. Isimo sesithathu esifanekisiwe, esasaziwa ngokuthi yi-'Pap, vleis and gravy' ('Ipapa, inyama nesobho'), sasichazwa njengokukhula kakhulu komnotho nentuthuko, okuhambisana nokwakhiwa kwemisebenzi okubonakalayo, kanye nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi ngumbuso njengoba kubaluliwe ohlelweni lweRDP. Kulesi simo, izinyunyana zazicatshangwa njengezibambisene nabezamabhizinisi ekuthathweni kwezinqumo.

IKhomishana KaSepthemba yabona isimo sesibili esifanekisiwe esihlanganiswe nesesithathu esifanekisiwe njengayona miphumela engase ibe khona eNingizimu Afrika, kanti futhi yayikhulumela uhlelo olwaluzokwandisa igalelo umbutho wezinyunyana onalo kwimiphumela yoguquko kwezombusazwe kanye nakwinhlalo

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yezomnotho. Lokhu kwakubonakala njengento eyayenzeka ngenxa yeqhaza elalibanjwe yiCOSATU ku-ANC nakuMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu, ezikhungweni zikahulumeni (okubalwa kuzo nephalamende kanye nokuphathwa kweminyango yezifundazwe nomasipala), ezinkundleni ezifana noNEDLAC, ezimbonini ngokusebenzisa imikhandlu yokuxoxisana kanye nokuviviswa kwabantu, bese kuthi ekugcineni kube yiqhaza elibambe emphakathini ngenxa yokuhlanganyela kwayo nezinhlangano zomphakathi. Kwakunethemba lokugqugquzela kakhulu abasebenzi basezimbonini ukuze abemboni yezemisebenzi badlulele ngasekubeni ngabanini ababambisene nabanye kumaphrojekthi oguquko.

Itemu elakhethwa ukuba lisetshenziswe ukuchaza lokhu kuhambisana naleli su kwakuyileli elithi 'social unionism' ('uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi'. Leli temu lathathelwa kwimibhalo yabanokuzwana okuthize nomfelandawonye wezinyunyana, nokwathi ngasekupheleni kweminyaka yo-1980 baqala ukudlala ngamatemu afana no-'strategic' no 'social' noma 'social movement' unionism ukuchaza umgudu omusha iCOSATU eyayisiqala ukuwuthatha.

IKhomishana KaSepthemba yayichaza ubunyunyana benhlangano njengento ephathelene 'nenhlalo ngendlela yokuthi bukhathazekile ngezindaba ezithinta yonke inhlalo nezombusazwe, kanye nezindaba ezithinta amalungu ayo. Buhlose ukuba yinto ezoletha uguquko emphakathini. Injongo yabo yintando yeningi kanye nokuba ngumphakathi wamasoshiyali.'

Uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi eNingizimu Afrika zingachazwa ngezinto ezintathu. Okokuqala, kuphathelene nesu lokulawulwa kombuso ngamaqoqo athize omphakathi lapho umbutho wabasebenzi ubamba iqhaza ezithangamini noma kwizivumelwano nombuso kanye

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nabezamabhizinisi. Okwesibili, kuphathelene nokucabanga ukuthi ukuhlanganyela nezomnotho zomhlaba wonke yinto engagwemeki, ukubona ukuthi imiphumela yalabo abanemibono emikhulu abangehleli ngezansi ayifezeki nokuthi ukuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana okuyisu elihle phakathi kwabaphezulu nabemboni yezabasebenzi kuyadingeka. Lokhu kuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana bekungafaka kuko 'ukuxoxisana ngemigomo nemibandela yokuxegiswa kwemithetho', okwaziwa nge'bargained liberalisation': ngamazwi ososayensi besayensi yemboni yezemisebenzi oWebster no-Adler, 'ukuxegiswa kwemithetho, ngoba ushintsho lubandakanya ukuvuleleka kwezomnotho zomhlaba wonke; ukuxoxisana ngemigomo nemibandela, ngoba izivumelwano zeyame endleleni yalapho okukhathalelwe ngumphakathi kume ngakhona.' Okwesithathu, uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi ludinga ukuba iCOSATU izihlanganise kahle ne-ANC kokuphathelene nezombusazwe. Lokhu kwenziwa kube semthethweni ngokuphakamisa umbono wohlobo lomphakathi wamaneshinali wokujika izinto, nokusho ukuthi umphumela wamasinyane ngumbuso wentando yeningi ochazwa ngokucacisa ukuhlangana kohlelo lwezombusazwe olumeleleke ngokwamalungu nohlobo lwesu lwezomnotho oluyinkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho.

Uvuthondaba lohlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi lwaba, ngaphandle kokungabaza, ngesikhathi esasiphakathi kuka-1994 no-1996, lapho umbutho wabasebenzi waqopha impumelelo eyayibonakala kakhulu kule minyaka. I-NEDLAC yasungulwa ngoFebhruwari ka-1995, kwase kwathi uMthetho Wobudlelwano Emsebenzini, nowathuthukisa kakhulu amandla abasebenzi ekuxoxisaneni, kwavunyelwana ngawo yilabo okuhlanganyelwe nabo emphakathini,

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wabe usuphasiswa ephalamende likazwelonke, wamenyezelwa ngumengameli ngokusemthethweni ngoDisemba ka-1995. Elinye iqoqomithetho, elifaka kulo uMthetho Wokuthuthukiswa Kwamakhono, nelahlomulisa abasebenzi ngezindlela eziningi, nalo lasungulwa ngalesi sikhathi. Kanti umbhalo ongakapheleli kahle woMthethosisekelo WaseNingizimu Afrika, owamenyezelwa ngokusemthethweni ngo-1996, wabhekana nezinto eziningi abemboni yezemisebenzi ababeziveze njengabakhathazeke kakhulu ngazo, watusa amalungelo ezenhlalo yomnotho, yize ayebekelwe umkhawulo womushwana omayelana namandla okwenza.

Kwathi okwesikhashana nje, kwabonakala sengathi iNingizimu Afrika izophikelela iphumelele kukubi kunjalo, nokuthi uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi luzophumelela. Kodwa leli kwaba yithemba elasheshe lashabalala.

Into eyajika konke lokhu nokwenzeka ngendlela eyacaca bha kwaba ngukwemukelwa kohlelo lweGEAR, okwenzeka ngaphambi kokuba iKhomishana KaSepthemba ishicilele izenzeko zayo ezifanekisiwe. I-GEAR yephula yonke imithetho yohlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi. Okokuqala, yashaya indiva izinhlaka zamaqoqo emiphakathi kanti yafunzwa kubantu yiKhabhinethi ngaphandle kokuxoxisana nokuhlanganyelwe nabo emphakathini. Ngisho uMengameli uMandela wakuvuma lokhu kwinkulumo yakhe yombuthwano kazwelonke wesithupha weCOSATU, wathi 'Kwaba yishwa ukuthi la kwiGEAR asizange sibe nokuxoxisana okwanele namalungu omfelandawonye. Eqinisweni ngisho yona i-ANC, yazi ngeGEAR cishe ngasekuphothulweni kwayo ... Sabashaya indiva labo abasibeka ezikhundleni zamandla'. Okwesibili, isu lezomnotho leGEAR laphula izinkolelomgomo zokuhlangabezana okwakukhona ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana, nezaziluphawu

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lokuqinisekisa uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi. Okwesithathu, ukuphasiswa kwayo kwakhombisa ukuthi uMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu wawungasebenzi kahle njengendlela yokuqinisekisa ukuthi iCOSATU iba nomthelela kokwenziwa yi-ANC. Kunalokho, ukuphasiswa kweGEAR kwasho ukuthi amandla iCOSATU eyayinawo ekubeni nomthelela ku-ANC ayephunguka.

Uma kwakusakhona ukungabaza okuthize okwakukhona mayelana nalokhu, lokho kungabaza kwanqotshwa wukushicilelwa komqingo kaMbeki obizwa ngokuthi 'Uguquko KuMbuso NakwiNhlalo' ('State and Social Transformation'). Lo mqingo wawukhuluma ngemikhawulo i-ANC eyabhekana nayo emizamweni yayo yokulandela uhlelo loguquko loqobo phezu kwesikweletu sikahulumeni, ukuphuma nokungena nokulondolozwa kwemali kanye nesimo somhlaba wonke. Waphinde wanxusa ukuba kube nokubambisana okuqinile nophiko lwezinkampani okungesizo ezikahulumeni njengento ezokwenza ukuba kube nentuthuko. Lokhu kuhlongozwa kokuhlanganyela kombuso kanye nohlelo lwemali kwakuyigxathu elikhulu elihanjiwe. Waphawula ngokujika kwe-ANC endleleni yayo yokuhlanganyela nemifelandawonye, kuze kube yimanje, ibisinokuhambisa phambili abemboni yezemisebenzi kanye nezinye izimpiko ezivalelwe ngaphandle emiphakathini yabantu.

Imiphumela yalokhu kugudluka emaswini amadala kanye nokwemukelwa kweGEAR kwaba ngeyisibhicongo kubasebenzi. Phakathi kuka-1985 no-2002, isabelo sezinkokhelo zabasebenzi kwiGDP sehla kakhulu sasuka kumaphesenti angu-5.7 ngo-1985 saya kwangu-51.4 ngo-2002. Ngesikhathi esifanayo, isabelo senzalo senyuka sasuka kumaphesenti angu-42.9 saya kwangu-51.4. Ngakho-ke, phezu kokuba khona koguquko lombuso wentando yeningi, abasebenzi babethola ingxenye encane yesabelo semali engenayo kuzwelonke. Nokho, njengoba umcwaningi wezentuthuko uDick Forslund eke

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washo, yingesikhathi imali yenkokhelo isidlula kakhulu ukukhiqiza kwemboni yezabasebenzi, nangenkathi inkokhelo-sabelo yemali engenayo kuzwelonke yanda lapho kungabhekwana kahle khona nenkinga yokungalingani. Kuyacaca ukuthi abasebenzi bahlomule kancane kakhulu kunophiko lwezinkampani ekukhuleni komnotho waseNingizimu Afrika ngemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo.

Imiphumela yalokhu kwezombusazwe beyisusa amadlingozi njengoba kushiwo eSahlukweni Sesithathu, ubudlelwano beCOSATU ne-ANC behla ngemva kuka-1996, kwathi inhlangano yezinyunyana zabasebenzi yona yenza iziteleka ezisezingeni eliphezulu eziphikisana nengxenye ethize yenqubomgomo kahulumeni. Izinsuku zokusebenza kwabasebenzi ezalahleka kulesi sikhathi zenyuka zasuka ku-650 000 ngo-1997 zaya ku-1.25 wezigidi ngo-2001. Le mibhikisho yacasula ubuholi be-ANC, nobaphonsela iCOSATU inselele yokuba ishiye umfelandawonye. Umoya kwezombusazwe zangaphakathi kwi-ANC waqhubeka nokufuthelana, ikakhulukazi ngakulolu hlangothi lalabo abazwelana nabampofu ngaphakathi kwi-ANC nababa kwingcindezi yokuba benze lokhu okwakulindelwe ngubuholi. Lokhu kwabonakala ngo-2002 kanti kwakuhambisana nokuhlukunyezwa kabuhlungu emehlweni omphakathi kukaJeremy Cronin, ehlukunyezwa nguDumisane Makhaye, owayeyilungu lekomidi eliphezulu likazwelonke le-ANC kanye noSmuts Ngonyama owayengumkhulumeli we-ANC osemthethweni wangaleso sikhathi, ehlukunyezelwa ukuthi wathi inhlangano ebusayo ibonisa okuthize okucishe kufane ne'Zanufication' – okungukulingisa okwenziwa nguMugabe weZANU-PF eZimbabwe okungukulawula ngokuba kulalelwe okushiwo wuyena kuphela.

Lokhu kuba nethemba lokuhle okungathi kunokudakwa phakathi okwakukulabo ababetusa uhlelo lwezinyunyana zamanje ezingalweli amalungelo asemisebenzini kuphela kodwa ezilwela namalungelo abantu, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi nako kwahlaphazeka ngenkathi imithelela iGEAR eyaba nayo iqala ibonakala. Indlela abahlaziya

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ngayo amathemba abhekiweyo ezinyunyana nabasebenzi yaba ngesangulukileyo neyangempela ngenkathi isikhathi sokubusa sikaMandela siya ngasemaphethelweni.

Kodwa kwenzeka kanjani ukuthi abaholi bemboni yezemisebenzi abakhaliphe kangaka kwezombusazwe kanye nososayensi besayensi ephathelene nokuhlala kwabantu asebesebenze isikhathi eside badukiseke kangaka ngasekuqaleni kwesikhathi soguquko? Yini eyadala ukuba isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ababesitusa sivele sithukululeke kanjalo nje, kwenzeka kanjani futhi ukuthi izifunda zasemiphakathini emelwe yiCOSATU ziphelelwe indawo esikhathini sombuso wentando yeningi? Impendulo kule mibuzo ikulokho okukhuthaza ukwakhiwa kwezivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe.

Abaholi bemboni yezabasebenzi bagcina bewuqondile umcabango wesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ngasekuqaleni kweminyaka yo-1990 njengendlela yokwenza ukuhlanganyela kwabo ne-ANC kube semthethweni, neyayibudebuduze nokuba ngabaholi bombuso wesizwe. Ososayensi besayensi ephathelene nokuhlala kwabantu babegqugquzelwa yintshisekelo efanayo yokwenza kube semthethweni izinqumo zombutho wabasebenzi. Ngenxa yalokho, kwenziwa uphenyo olwalungekho bucayi kakhulu olwaluphenya ngezimo ezidala lezo zinhlobo zezivumelwano nolwaluzosiza ukuba zibe yimpumelelo. Lapho kwahlolisiswa khona izibonelo eziqhathanisekayo, lokhu kwenziwa ngendlela eyayikha phezulu nje – eyayichaza imiphumela etholakale kwezinye izindawo isho sengathi leyo miphumela ingaba khona naseNingizimu Afrika, ngaphandle kokuphenya ngezimo ezithize ezichachisiwe ezadala le miphumela. Lokho kubhekisisa okwexwayisa ngezingozi zezivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe kwingqikithi yesimo sezomnotho nesezombusazwe kwangeminyaka yo-1990 kwavele kwangashawa mkhuba nje kwathathwa njengo'kuba sohlangothini lwalabo abazwelana nabampofu kodwa abenza

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lokho ngokweqile futhi bangafuni ukuhlanganyela nabanye abazwelana nabampofu' kanye 'nangokwemfundo ephakeme' yize lokhu kubhekisisa kwakungagxiliswa kwingqikithi. Okwagcina kwenzekile-ke ngukuthi izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe zathukululeka, umthelela izinyunyana ezazinawo kwezombusazwe waphelelwa amandla, kwase kuthi ukungalingani kwabantu kona kwanda. Uma lo mphumela ungabuyiselwa emuva, bese kwenziwa imizamo emisha yokwethula isivumelwano esisha phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe, kuyaphoqa ukuqonda izimo ezidala ukuvela kwezivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe nokuthi ziphumelela kanjani.

Ukuqonda ngokuvela kwezivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe

Idlanzana elisha elisemandleni ombuso elisanda kuvela nelixhumene ne-ANC lalikholwa ukuthi ukuphathwa ngobuhlakani komnotho waseNingizimu Afrika ngesikhathi sangemva kokungezwani kwamazwe (iCold War) kwakuyinto eyayidingeka ukwakha nokugcina ukuzethemba kwabezamabhizinisi, ukuze kwenziwe ngcono ukuncintisana ezinkampanini zaseNingizimu Afrika, futhi kwaneliseke imiphakathi yezamabhizinisi emazweni angaphandle nangaphakathi ukuze yandise amazinga ayo okulondoloza ohlangothini lwezemikhiqizo kwezomnotho zangaphakathi. Laphinde labona ukuthi ukubeka phambili lezi zibopho zezomnotho ngeke kuze kubhekane masisha nezikhalo zezifunda zabo ezinqala, kanti futhi ngeke likwazi ukufeza izithembiso elazenza ngesikhathi sokhetho kubavoti. Ngenkathi libona ukuthi iCOSATU, okuyinyunyana enkulu kunazo zonke, inamandla okushukumisa lolu hlelo ngokuguqukela kokhukhulelangoqo beziteleka nemibhikisho, lazama ukuthena lokhu kwesatshiswa amandla ngokuba lihambisane nesihlongozo seCOSATU

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sesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe kanye nesu lalo lokulawulwa kombuso ngamaqoqo athize emphakathini.

Ngokwayo, iCOSATU ayibange isaba nawo amandla emigomweni yayo masishane emva kokuphela kweSoviet Union, nokwaphoqa ukuba kucatshangwe kabusha ngohlelo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali. I-COSATU yaphetha ngokucabanga ukuthi ukwehluleka komzamo wokusebenzisa ubukhomanisi kwabonakalisa 'ukuthi izimakethe kanye nezamabhizinisi okungasiwo akahulumeni kumele kunikezwe indawo okuzoyidlala emphakathini wasesikhathini esizayo wamasoshiyali'. Ngakho-ke, izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe zabonakala njengeziza nokuhlangabezana phakathi okuzwakalayo ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana ezweni okungalindelekile ukuthi kungaba khona kulo izinto zoqobo ezinjengalezo. Phezu kwalokho, umbono wesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe wavele wathi khaxa osikweni loMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu. Isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sabe sesibonakala njengegxathu elinomqondo kuMfelandawonye ngaphansi kwemibandela yamandla onawo embusweni.

Ukusetshenziswa kwezivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe phansi kwesimo senqubo yezomnotho egqugquzela inkululeko nokuzimela kwabantu kwezohwebo eNingizimu Afrika maphakathi neminyaka yo-1990 akuzange kuze kuholele kwimiphumela eyayilindelekile. Esikhundleni salokho, zaba yizindlela zokunxenxa usingatho, zavulela izinqubomgomo zezomnotho ezinamandla okulondoloza indlela, zandisa ukungezwani kwezombsazwe, kwathi ekugcineni zanciphisa izinga lokuba semthethweni kwezikhathi zombuso wentando yeningi nezikhungo zawo.

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Ithuba lesivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe emva kwasePolokwane

Ingabe isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe siyinto engenzeka na esikhathini sangemva kwasePolokwane? Vele izinhlangano iCOSATU neSACP sezisezikhundleni ezinamandla kakhulu manje. Ukugcizelela futhi kafushane: ukulinganiswa kwamandla kwezombusazwe zaseNingizimu Afrika kwashintsha kakhulu ngenxa yalokhu okwenzeka kumbuthwano we-ANC wokhetho lukazwelonke owawubanjelwe ePolokwane ngo-2007. Ukwehlulwa kukaMbeki nokunqoba kukaZuma kwabeka umfelandawonye omusha obusayo esicongweni kwezokuhola i-ANC nombuso. Izinhlangano iCOSATU neSACP kanye nalabo abazwelana nabampofu kwi-ANC kuhlanganise enye yezinto ezibaluleke kakhulu ekwakhekeni komfelandawonye wezombusazwe kanti namandla akho embusweni kanye nasezikhungweni zezomnotho asekhule kakhulu.

Lokhu akusho ukuthi amaqoqo athize asemiphakathini akhathalele izindaba ezithize kanye nabadlalindima emiphakathini babedlela ogageni ngesikhathi sokubusa sikaMbeki – ikakhulukazi uphiko lwezinkampani kanye nomphakathi wosomabhizinisi abamnyama – akusabalulekile. Impela, njengoba kuke kwashiwo ekuqaleni, uphiko lwezinkampani lwaba nomthelela kakhulu ekuqokweni kukaManuel, uGordhan kanye noMarcus, kanye nakuhulumeni kaZuma owaqhubeka nokuthembisa ukusongoza ukukhuphuka kwamanani entengo kanye nokushoda okuncane kwisabelomali. Umthelela wosomabhizinisi abamnyama wona wabonakala ekuzilweleni kwamaneshinali ngaphakathi kwi-ANC mayelana nokugcina indawo yeCOSATU neSACP kwezombusazwe nasebuholini.

Isikhathi sangemva kwasePolokwane sesikhombise ukuba khona kokungahlulani phakathi kwezinyunyana kanye nophiko lwezinkampani, lapho lokho ezikukhathalele lezi zinhlangothi zombili

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kungakwazi ukuqhubekela phambili kumbuso ngaphandle kokuba kuthikanyezwe yilolu olunye uhlangothi.

Nakuba kunjalo, njengoba kuveziwe eSahlukweni Sesithathu, lolu shintsho ekulinganisweni kwamandla lwaziveza oguqukweni olwandayo oluya ngasohlangothini lwabampofu kwezomnotho. Lokhu kubonakala kakhulu ekwandeni kwemali eyasetshenziswa nguhulumeni kokuphathelene nenhlalo, nokwafezwa (okungenani eminyakeni emithathu yokuqala kahulumeni kaZuma) ngokushodiswa kakhulu kwemali kwisabelomali. Lokhu kuguquka kubonakala kumbuso ozibambela wona mathupha kwezomnotho. Ngokusebenzisa amandla awo okulawula, umbuso usubhale phansi inqubomgomo esebenzayo yezezimboni kanye nezinye izinqubomgomo zokungenelela kwezomnotho, ngenkathi zigxila nasohlelweni lwengqalasizinda olulawulwa ngokusebenzisa izikhungo ezincike kuhulumeni zibe zizilawula noluthola ingxenye yemali kwizikhungo ezixhasa intuthuko. Umbuso usuke waxoxisana kabanzi nophiko lwezinkampani ikakhulukazi abalondolozimali basemazweni angaphandle. Lokhu kwabonakala, ukwenza isibonelo nje, ngokugcizelela kweminyango yezolimo, amahlathi nezindawo zokudoba, owohwebo nezezimboni kanye nowokuthuthukiswa kwezomnotho ukuthi ukuthatha kukaWalmart izintambo kuMassmart ngo-2011 kuphelekezelwe ngukuqinisekisa ukuthi kuzoba khona ukudluliswa kwamakhono nokuthi abekho abazolahlekelwa yimisebenzi.

Kanti futhi, lokhu kuguquka akuzange kwenzeke nje ngaphandle kokuphikisana, njengoba kwabonakala ekuthembiseni kukangqongqoshe wezezimali uPravin Gordhan ukuthi kuyoba khona ukushodiswa ngamaphesenti amathathu kwisabelomali kanye namaphesenti angu-38 kwiGDP ungakashayi u-2014. Kodwa 'ukuphumputha indlela eya ekubuseni ngokwentando yeningi' kombuso kusanokuthize okusahlelo lwenkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho kanti futhi kubonisa ukuguqukela okukhulu

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kwezomnotho ngakubantu abampofu basesikhathini esingemva kobandlululo.

Ukuguqukela kwesizwe ohlelweni lwenkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho kuphelekezelwa yizinto ezifanayo ezingeni lomhlaba wonke. Isimo esibucayi sango-2008 kwezomnotho saphoqa ukuba kube khona ukungenelela okukhulu kwiminotho yaseNorth America, yaseWestern Europe nase-Asia (efaka kuyo neChina), ukuze kugwenywe ukuba isimo somhlaba wonke kwezomnotho sishelelele kwinto ecishe ifane nokuwohloka komnotho kwangeminyaka yo-1930. Lokhu sekukhulise izinga lokuhlabeka umxhwele kuwona womabili amazwe athuthukile nasathuthuka mayelana nezimiso zezinqubomgomo zenkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho. Ukuguqukela kwinkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho okwenzeke ngesikhathi esifanayo ezweni kanye nasemhlabeni wonke kusize ekunciphiseni izingcindezi ezivela ngaphandle kuhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika mayelana nokuguquka kwezomnotho ziye ngasohlotsheni lwentuthuko olufaka konke.

Lokhu kulinganiswa kwamandla kwangasekuqaleni kuka-2013, okuhlanganiswe nezimo zokwakheka ezifaka okuningi kanye nokuthuthukiswa komnotho, kungenzeka kuvumele ukuba kube khona izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ezilungile ezizosebenza kahle manje kunangesikhathi seminyaka yo-1990. Kodwa lezi zimo zokwakheka zizodwa azikwazi ukwenza izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe. Izivumelwano ezinjengalezo zidinga ukuzinikela ngenhliziyo yonke kwezombusazwe kanye nobuholi. Ayikho enye indlela yokugcizelela ukubaluleka kokukwazi ukuzimela kwabantu ngabanye nokuzithathela izinqumo mayelana nalokho abakukhethayo. Njengoba ngishilo eSahlukweni Sokuqala, umlando awenziwa ngokuthi kube khona abadlalindima abangenazingqinamba; kanti futhi awunqunywa yizimo zokwakheka noma zokwenzeke esikhathini esingaphambili. Okwenzekayo emlandweni nakwezombusazwe kungachazwa

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kahle kuphela ngokusebenzisana kwabadlalindima ezinhlakeni zokuphatha. Lezo zinhlaka zokuphatha zivimba ukuziphatha kwabantu ngabodwana, kanti kudingeka ukuba kufanekiswe emqondweni, kube nokuzinikela ngenhliziyo yonke kwezombusazwe kanye nesibindi ukuze abadlalindima baqonde lokho okungabavimba futhi basungule uhlelo olumayelana nezinto ezenzekayo ngempela kulesi sikhathi samanje, kube kuvula namathuba okupha amandla nokuthuthukisa nokuzothi ngokwenza lokho kuguqule nokulinganiswa kwamandla.

Ngeshwa lobo buholi obunjalo besingakabuboni kuhulumeni kaZuma, kanti futhi nezinkulumo zeSimo Sezwe zaminyaka yonke zikaMengameli uZuma aziluvusi ugqozi kulokhu. Ebhekene neziteleka ezigingqika ngapha nangapha zemboni yezemisebenzi kanye nemibhikisho yokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi, uZuma usephendule ngokuthembisa bonke ababambiqhaza – abezamabhizinisi, abemboni yezemisebenzi, abafundi, izakhamuzi ezimi kahle nezidla izambane likapondo – abakufunayo. Kodwa kukho konke lokhu asekushilo, kahle kahle akakasho lutho. Akukho asakukhethile kanti akukho futhi akuyekile ukuze kwenziwe okunye, walahlekelwa amathuba amaningi okucacisa kabanzi ukuphatha kwakhe kwezombusazwe bese esungula imibandela efunekayo kuqala ukuze kube khona isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe.

Kumele kuqondwe kahle ukuthi izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe zisungulwa idlanzana elisemandleni embusweni ngokubambisana nezinhlangano ezithandayo ukubamba iqhaza kulokhu nezixhumene namaqoqo asemiphakathini kanye nabadlalindima basemiphakathini. Zimayelana nokubhekelela okulindelwe yizakhamuzi, abasebenzi kanye nomphakathi wezamabhizinisi. Kuze kube yinamhlanje, uZuma nongqongqoshe bakhe kanye nobuholi be-ANC bahlulekile kulokhu. Uhulumeni uphendule ngendlela engakaze icatshangwe. Ukuthatha nje uhlobo lokuphendula kukaMantashe njengesibonelo, kuba ngukushaya abasebenzi ngokufaka ebucayini indlela abantu ababona ngayo

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uhulumeni kaZuma. UManuel yena wasola uphiko lwezinkampani ngobugwala wathi alusukume lubhekane ngqo nezinyunyana. UMengameli uZuma usalokhu ethule engasho lutho noma athembise yonke into kuwo wonke umuntu njengoba sekuke kwashiwo. Akukho kulezi zimpendulo osekusizile ekubhekeleleni okulindelwe yizakhamuzi.

Ubuholi obukhaliphile kwezombusazwe budinga ukuba umengameli, ongqongqoshe bakhe kanye nabanye abaholi bafake isizwe ugqozi. UMengameli uZuma bekumele ngabe usebenzise izinkulumo zakhe zeSimo Sezwe ukuhlonza izimo ezibucayi abhekene nazo, asho kuqopheke ukuthi akusiyena ozidalile. Bekumele abubone ubuzenzisi benkulumompikiswano eyenzekayo emphakathini, lapho abasebenzi besolwa ngokucela ukunyuselwa imiholo ngemali encane uma sikubeka mbaba, ngenkathi ama-CEO wona kanye neziphathimandla ezinkulu ophikweni lwezinkampani zona zigixabezwa ngemishuqulu yemiholo ebhensayo. Kwakumele achaze ukuthi, yize esibona isidingo sokuba kukhushulwe imiholo futhi ezwelana nesimo sezomnotho sabasebenzi nezakhamuzi ezingebani, uhulumeni wakhe akanayo imali yokubhekana nezimfuno zabo. Ngalokho ngabe wacela kahle isikhathi ngokusemthethweni, wahlinzeka lokho okwakungenzeka masinyane, wasungula uhlelo olunamalungu amele zonke izinhlangothi – okungukuqalisa isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ngokomthetho – oluzothola izisombululo eminyakeni emithathu kuya kwemihlanu ezayo.

Ukwenza lolu hlelo lube semthethweni ngokuphelele, uMengameli uZuma wayengahola ngendlela eyisibonelo. Ubengayeka amanye amalungelo ihhovisi lakhe elimnika wona abonise umphakathi ukuthi uwayekile bese ecela nongqongqoshe bakhe ukuba benze okufanayo. Ngalokho ubengakwazi-ke ukusola iziphathimandla zezinkampani ngemishuqulu yazo yemali enkulu azicele ukuba ziyeke ukuthola amabhonasi azo zemukele nokunyuselwa kancane imiholo. Akusizo

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zonke izikhulu ebezizolalela, kodwa leso senzo sokucela besingenza isitatimende esibalulekile. UMengameli ubengasho ukuthi, njengoba kwakunesimo sokuwohloka komnotho, kumele ukudela okuthize kungenziwa abasebenzi, abampofu, abavalelwe ngaphandle kanye nezakhamuzi ezingebani kuphela, kodwa kumele kwenziwe nayilabo abacebileyo nabadla izambane likapondo.

Yebo bekuyoba khona labo ababezoxwayisa ngokuthi lokhu ngukuziqhelanisa nomphakathi wezamabhizinisi nokwandisa amathuba okuba abalondolozimali babaleke ezweni lethu. Kodwa ingabe isicelo sokuba kuqashelwe ngemishuqulu yamaholo ezikhulu kuphela nje singaba yingozi engako ekulondolozweni kwemali? Uphiko lwezinkampani lulondoloza imali ukuze lenze inzuzo, kanti inqobo nje uma isimo sisakuvumela ukuba kwenziwe inzuzo, umphakathi wezamabhizinisi uzolokhu ukhona kanti uzoqhubeka nokulondoloza imali. UMengameli uBarak Obama usesole iziphathimandla zamabhizinisi aseMelika ngamabhonasi azo emali enkulu, imishuqulu yemiholo kanye namabhuku ezindleko. UMphathimbuso Omkhulu uDavid Cameron, uMengameli uNicolas Sarkozy kanye noShansela u-Angela Merkel nabo benza into efanayo. Nokho uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika, onamakhomanisi azinikele kanye nalabo abeseka umqondo womphakathi wamasoshiyali kwiKhabhinethi yakhe, awushongo lutho mayelana nodaba lwemiholo yeziphathimandla eyeqe ngokwedlulele kwaze kwaba ngu-2010, iminyaka emithathu ngemva kokuwohloka komnotho kwango-2008.

Emva kwalokho, ngenkathi lesi sicelo senziwa ekugcineni, abaholi bezombusazwe nabezamabhizinisi bobabili baziphatha ngendlela eyasusa ulaka kwizakhamuzi kwabuyisela emuva kakhulu nokubhekelelwa kwamathemba abantu ahamba phambili. Masishane nje ngemva kokungena ehhovisi lokusebenza, ongqongqoshe bakahulumeni kaZuma bachitha izigidi eziningi ngokuzithengela izimoto ezintsha. Abezindaba balokhu beqhubekile nokubika isikandali ngemva kwesinye isikandali mayelana nokuvakasha

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okwadla imali enkulu kanye nemali eyachithwa ezindaweni zokulala yizikhulu kanye nosopolitiki, baphinde baveza obala izindaba ezithinta inkohlakalo kanye nokuphulwa kwenkambo yokulunga okufaka osopolitiki abakhulu nezikhulu zezinga eliphezulu kuhulumeni kaZuma. (Ezinye zalezi zigameko zezinga eliphezulu zifaka kuzo lezo ezithinta ukhomishana wamaphoyisa uBheki Cele, ungqongqoshe wezemisebenzi kahulumeni uGwen Mahlangu Nkabinde, kanye nongqongqoshe wokulawula ngokubambisana kanye nezomdabu uSicelo Shiceka, zaphenywa ngempumelelo futhi zaphothulwa nguMmeli uThulisile Madonsela ehhovisi lomvikeli womphakathi).

Okubi kakhulu kunakho konke ngukuthi igama likahulumeni kaZuma liphinde langcoliswa ngamalungu omndeni wakhe aseduze okubalwa kuwo nendodana yakhe uDuduzane Zuma kanye nomshana wakhe uKhulubuse Zuma. Isigameko esasidume kabi kakhulu yilesi esasihlanganisa uDuduzane Zuma nomndeni wakwaGupta, enkampanini yokuthuthukiswa kwabantu abamnyama kwezomnotho, i-Imperial Crown Trading, eyathola ngendlela engenabo ubulungiswa izimvume zeSishen Mine, ephethe enye yezindawo lapho kubekwa khona izinsimbi ezinkulu kunazo zonke emhlabeni. Ngokungafuni ukusala emuva, uKhulubuse Zuma kanye nomzukulu kaMandela uZondwa Mandela basebenzisa ukuxhumana kwabo nabezombusazwe ukuthola amandla okulawula imayini i-Aurora Empowerment Systems. Emva kwalokho basina bazibethela kwimpahla yayo, bahluleka ukukhokhela abasebenzi, bafaka emakhukhwini abo izigidi zamarandi ngaphambi kokuba inkampani ichithwe ngo-2011. Lezi zigameko zokuphatha umsebenzi ngendlela engahambisani nenkambo yokulunga kanye nokutholana kafushane nabomthetho sekwakhe isithombe sokuthi abantu basemshikashikeni wokuzicebisa bona ngokwabo ngendlela enokungabacabangeli abanye kanti lokhu kwenzeka ezingeni eliphezulu kunawo wonke embusweni.

Abaholi bezamabhizinisi sebephawule ngokungagculiseki ngalesi simo kodwa nabo kungenzeka ukuthi bayathinteka kweyabo

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imishikashika yokuzicebisa. Imiholo yeziphathimandla zezinkampani ezisohlwini lweJohannesburg Stock Exchange noma kwi-Aly-X Exchange yenyuke ngamaphesenti angu-23 ngo-2008. Ukunyuswa ngamaphesenti angu-23.3 kwemiholo yeziphathimandla kwaphinde kwabikwa ezinkampanini ezingu-40 eziphezulu ohlwini lweJSE ngo-2010. Lokhu kwenyuka kwamaholo kwaqoshwa ngenkathi eziningi zazo ziphonsela izinyunyana inselelele yokuba zingafuni inkokheko eyeqe ngokwedlulele. Phezu kwalokho, inqwaba yezigameko zama-CEO ayethola amabhonasi enyuswe kakhulu nakho kwandisa izikandali. Ukwenza isibonelo nje, uWhitey Basson, isiphathimandla esikhulu sezitolokazi zakwaShoprite-Checkers, wathola umholo ongu-R627.6 wezigidi ngo-2010. Namanye ama-CEO athola amabhonasi anyuswe kakhulu ngisho ngabe kuthiwa izinkampani zabo azisebenzanga kahle ngokwedlulele kulowo nyaka. Indlela abavame ukuziphendulela ngayo wukuthi amazinga emiholo anomthelela omncane kwizimali ezihlangene zenkampani noma zesikhungo ngoba zisebenza kwisamba esincane sabantu. Lokhu kuchaza akushayi emhloleni. Ukubhekelelwa kwamathemba abantu abanawo kudinga uphawu lokudelwa kokuthize yidlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho. Uma idlanzana elisemandleni libonakala njengelihlomulayo kulokhu kusetshenziswa kwemali ngendlela eyeqe ngokwedlulele, lokho akuphazamisi kuphela ukubhekelelwa kwamathemba abantu abanawo, kodwa kudala nokuthi izakhamuzi zifune ngenkani okunye okuningi.

Lena yiyona nto eyenzekile kusukela ngo-2009. Njengoba sekuke kwashiwo, imibhikiso yabemboni yezemisebenzi yenyuka kakhulu, kanti kwaba nezinsuku ezingasetshenzwanga ngabasebenzi okwaqopha umlando ngo-2010. Izivumelwano zezinkokhelo zaba ngaphezulu kakhulu kokukhuphuka kwamanani entengo. Izivumelwano zezinkokhelo zophiko lwemisebenzi kahulumeni zona bezilokhu ziphezulu kusukela ngo-2008, nokwadala ukuba uGordhan enkulumweni yakhe yeSabelomali athi imali yezinkokhelo zabasebenzi

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okubalwa kuyo nokuhlelwa kabusha kwemiholo yalabo abayifundele imisebenzi yabo, kwaphindaphindeka kabili eminyakeni emihlanu. Esikhathini esifanayo, imibhikisho yokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi, eyayibhekiswe ikakhulukazi kwizikhulu zohulumeni basekhaya yabhebhetheka izwe lonke ngenkathi izakhamuzi zilokhu zandisa ukuphoqa ukuba i-ANC ifeze izithembiso zayo zangokhetho.

Ngenkathi kwenzeka isibhicongo saseMarikana ngo-Agasti ka-2012, kwabonakala sengathi uZuma, uhulumeni wakhe kanye nomphakathi wezamabhizinisi bayawuthola umyalezo. Ngemva kokubonisana okwakungokunye okwakusezingeni eliphezulu okwakufaka umengameli kanye nabanye bongqongqoshe beKhabhinethi yakhe, kanjalo nabaholi bezamabhizinisi nabezinyunyana, uZuma wamemezela ukunqunywa kwemiholo amalungu eKhabhinethi kanye neziphathimandla zezinkampani ababezokhethela ngokwabo ukukwenza. Kodwa-ke, kwathi kusenjalo nokwenzeka ngesikhathi esifanayo kwavela udaba kwabezindaba mayelana nokulungiswa komuzi kaZuma eNkandla eKwaZulu-Natali okwadla imali yabakhokhintela engango-R240 wezigidi. Ukuvezwa obala kwalolu daba kwaba yisikandali esagcwala izwe lonke. Ukusebenzisa imali ngokweqile kosopolitiki kwaphinde kwacekela phansi ukubhekelelwa kwamathemba abantu abanawo. Ngokuqavile, lokhu kuhluleka kwabezombusazwe ukubhekelela amathemba abanawo abantu – ayidlanzana kanye nalawo ahamba phambili kubantu – kulokhu kuqhubeka masisha kuya phambili kudala inkinga emalini esetshenziswa nguhulumeni kwintuthuko esikhathini esingemva kobandlululo.

Ukuphetha, isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe esazanywa ngesikhathi sango-1990, ozinsalela zakhona zisakhona nanamhlanje, sahluleka ngenxa yokuthi izimo zokwakheka zangaleso sikhathi azikwazanga ukwenza kube lula ukuba nemiphumela emihle kubona bonke okuhlanganyelwe nabo emphakathini. Ngokuqavile, isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sabe sesiba yindlela

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yokunxenxa usingatho bese ithena amandla izimfuno zabemboni yezemisebenzi. Kodwa-ke, esikhathini sangemva kwePolokwane, lezi zimo zokwakheka seziqale ukuguquka – amandla eCOSATU embusweni asekhulile, idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho alisenaso isiqiniseko ekubambeleleni embusweni kanti ezomnotho ezibandakanya izibalo zezwe kanye nezomhlaba wonke zona ziguqukela ngakwinkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho – nokwakha ithuba lokuba isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe siphumelele. Nokho ukuze lokhu kwenzeke, kudingeka ubuholi bezombusazwe obunesibindi – ubuholi obuzokwazi ukubhekelela amathemba ezakhamuzi nabasebenzi, kanye nalabo abakwidlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho.

I-ANC kanye nabaholi abakuhulumeni sebezamile ukubhekelela amathemba alabo esikhulume ngabo kuqala kodwa bebengakabhekani kahle nawalabo esikhulume ngabo kamuva. Ukwengeza nje, abaholi bezombusazwe sebebonise ukungabaza ekudeleni amaholo abo, kwasekuthi kusukela ngo-2011 kuphela, uGordhan (okunguyena kuphela ilungu elisesikhundleni esiphezulu elenze lokho kwiKhabhinethi) waqala ukwenza into ake akhulume ngayo kwizinto azishoyo emphakathini. Phezu kwalokho, ngokukhutshazwa ukwesaba ukuthi izimakethe zizoma kanjani, abaholi abakuhulumeni bayangabaza ukubambelela ngisho nangokukhophoza nje, emathembeni eziphathimandla zamabhizinisi kanye nabadla izambane likapondo. Futhi, uGordhan uyaqhubeka nokuphakamisa ngogqozi lolu daba njengodaba okumele kukhathazekwe ngalo. Lokhu kubalulekile ngoba inqobo nje uma uhulumeni ehluleka ukuhola kulokhu, uzohluleka ukubambelela emathembeni ahamba phambili kubantu. Amathemba ahamba phambili kubantu aboshwe ngomzanyana kanti azophunyuka uma kukhona okushodayo kulokhu okubalulwe ngenhla. Kuze kwenzeke lokhu, akukho sivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe esiyophumelela. Isibhinqo

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kulokhu ngukuthi njengoba isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sangeminyaka yo-1990 sahluleka ngenxa yezimo zokwakheka, lesi sangenkathi yangemva kuka-Ephreli ka-2009 singathi sifika sibe sesifile ngenxa yokwehluleka kwabombusazwe ekubeni nesibindi nokufanekisa emqondweni yabo.

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7

Yini engenziwa?

Ngiboleke isihloko se-eseyi edumile kaLenin ukubuza ukuthi yini engenziwa ukuze kwakheke umphakathi ongcono. Lesi sahluko sihlinzeka olunye uhlelo lwezombusazwe olungasebenza oluhambisana noshintsho olwazisa ukuqondwa kokulinganiswa kwamandla, ngaphandle kokufaka ebucayini izinjongo zokushintshela kumbuso wentando yeningi, ukuthuthukisa kanye nentuthuko efaka konke. Lokhu kubandakanya okubili okwahlukile okumele kwenziwe:

(i) ukusiza ekujwayezeni idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ukuba libophezeleke futhi likwazi ukubhekana nezidingo zezakhamuzi.
(ii) ukufeza zonke izinjongo zoMthethosisekelo uma okuhlinzekwe yimisho eyahlukahlukene kushayisana.

Ukungakwazi ukuzibophezela kwizakhamuzi kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe (noma ukubhekana kakhulu nezidingo zababambiqhaza abanamandla kunabavoti abajwayelekile) kuhlonzwe njengenkinga ezahlukweni ezimbalwa zale ncwadi. ESahlukweni Sesibili, ngizamile ukuchaza hhayi kuphela ukungazihlanganisi kombuso nabantu kodwa ngibale nezinkinga zokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo zomphakathi eziqhubekayo nokuhaqa yonke imikhakha kahulumeni. Esahlukweni Sesithathu, ngithe inqubomgomo yezomnotho obandakanya izibalo zezwe namandla okulondoloza yangesikhathi sikaMandela nesikaMbeki yaba khona

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ngenxa yamandla ezamabhizinisi angaphakathi nawangaphandle. ESahlukweni Sesine, ngibonise ukuthi ukulinganiswa kwamandla okwakuvuna umphakathi wezamabhizinisi yiko okwaholela ekutheni isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sangeminyaka yo-1990 singaphumeleli. Bese kuthi eSahlukweni Sesihlanu ngachaza ukuthi ukuvela kwezinto ezintsha ezinhlanganweni zomphakathi zangemva kobandlululo kungabonakala njengempendulo ekwemukeleni kombuso izinqubomgomo ezibonisa ukungalingani ekulinganisweni kwamandla.

Izahluko ezingaphambili nazo zihlonze izinqubomgomo kanye nokukhethiweyo okuyikho okwacekela phansi ukufezeka okwanele koMthethosisekelo ngenxa yokuyekwa kokuthize ukuze kwenziwe okunye okwenziwa ngenkathi kushayisana lokho okubekwe phambili nguMthethosisekelo. Kuhlonzwe kwaphinde kwaxoxwa ngezinto ezintathu ezayekwa ukuze kwenziwe ezinye. Eyokuqala ibandakanya ukuqaliswa kokusebenza kwenqubomgomo yokulingana kanye neqoqomithetho elihambisana nakho okubonisa ukuyekwa kokuthize ukuze kwenziwe okunye okwenziwa yinhlangano ebusayo ukubhekana nokushayisana kwezinjongo zokulungisa izinkinga zomlando kanye nokubumbana kwesizwe. Eyesibili eyayekwa ukuze kwenziwe enye ibonakala kwizinqubomgomo zenkathi yangemva kobandlululo eziveza ukushayisana phakathi kwezinjongo zomthethosisekelo zokukhula komnotho nokuchuma kanye nentuthuko efaka konke. Okokugcina, okuphathelene nokombusazwe okwakhethwa ngenkathi kuqaliswa ukusebenza inqubomgomo yezangaphandle kwakuvame ukubeka phambili ukuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile nokulungisa izinkinga zomlando kunamalungelo ezakhamuzi.

Ukuzama ukuhlonza lokho okuveza uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelunokusetshenziswa kulesi sahluko sokugcina, ngihlele ukufeza izinto ezimbili. Eyokuqala ngukubuza ukuthi singenza njani ngokulinganiswa kwamandla okungekuhle nokungalingani, ngenhloso yokwenza ukuba idlanzana elisemandleni

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kwezombusazwe lizithole libophezekile kwizakhamuzi nokuzokwenza ukuba imiphumela ehambisana noshintsho ifezeke. Eyesibili ngukuphenya ukuthi yiziphi izinqubomgomo nokwezombusazwe okwakhethwa okungenza ukuba kulandelwe kanyekanye izinjongo zomthethosisekelo ezibangisanayo kunokuba kube khona eziyekwayo ukuze kufezwe ezinye.

Maqondana nokulinganiswa okungebalekelwe phakathi kokuguqukela kwizinto ezintsha noguquko okuzobandakanyeka kulezi zinjongo zombili, izihlakaniphi eziningi ezihambisana noshintsho eNingizimu Afrika zizovuma ukuthi ukuguqukela kokusha kumele kube yingxenye yalezi zinto ezihambisanayo ovuthondaba lwazo luba khona uma sekunoguquko kwinhlalo. Nakuba kunjalo, izishoshovu ezihambisana noshintsho kudala zehlukana phakathi mayelana nokuthi yiziphi izenzo, izinqubomgomo kanye namasu okuqukethe lokho kuguqukela kokusha okuhambisana noguquko. Ngaphakathi kuMfelandawonye Ongunxantahtu, kwesinye isikhathi ngisho nangaphandle kwawo, kuvame ukuba kugxilwe kakhulu kwiqhaza lokukwazi ukuzimela kwabantu ngabanye nokuzithathela izinqumo mayelana nalokho abakukhethayo bese kuthi esiningi isikhathi sichithwe ekuqinisekiseni ukuthi 'abantu okuyibo' bangena ezikhundleni zamandla enhlanganweni ebusayo nasezikhungweni zombuso. Ngenxa yalokho, akuzange kusanakwa kakhulu ukuhleleka kwamandla futhi akubange kusenziwa ukuhlolisisa izinto okudingekayo ukuze idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe liziphathe kahle futhi lithathe izinqumo ezifanele. Olunye uhlelo lwezombusazwe olunokusetshenziswa oluhambisana noshintsho kumele lubeke phambili ukusebenzisana nokulinganiswa kwamandla kwesikhathi samanje. Lokhu kuzokwenza ngcono indlela idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe eliphendula ngayo kulokho okukhathaza izakhamuzi ngokuhlangene kuphinde kuvuselele amandla okubophezeleka komphakathi waseNingizimu Afrika.

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Ukwakha kabusha ukubophezeleka kwabezombusazwe kwizakhamuzi

Ukubophezeleka kwabezombusazwe akuyona nje into eyenziwa abaholi abahle nezikhungo ezakheke kahle. Lokhu kuyizinto ezibaluleke kakhulu kodwa zenza kube khona ukubophezeleka phakathi kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nezakhamuzi kuphela uma izakhamuzi zinamandla anele ezingawasebenzisa phezu kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ukuze kube khona lokho engikhulume ngakho kwiSahluko Sesibili engikubize 'ngesimo esingaqondakali kakhulu'. Lesi simo esingaqondakali sivame ukuba ngumphumela wokuviva kwabantu kanye nokhukhulelangoqo ngakulolu hlangothi noma kube ukuncintisana phakathi kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ngakulolu olunye uhlangothi. Zombili lezi zinqubo zezombusazwe zinomphumela wokugcina wokusabalalisa amandla emphakathini, kanti lokhu yikho okukhulisa amandla ezakhamuzi abe ngaphezu kwawedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ezingeni likazwelonke. Kuphinde kube nethuba lokukhulisa amandla abaholi bezombusazwe ezingeni likazwelonke abe ngaphezu kwawozakwabo ezingeni lomhlaba wonke.

Njengoba uguquko kwezokhetho lungasebenza kakhulu ukwenyusa izinga lamandla abe ngaphezu kwawedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe, iningi labadlalindima emphakathini kanye nezinhlangano zezombusazwe selimemezele ukuthi lifuna kube khona ukuhlolwa nokulungiswa kohlelo lokhetho. Iningi lalabo abaqokelwa kwiKhomishana kaSlabbert, eyayiqokelwe ukuba iphenye lolu daba ngo-2002, lancoma ukuba uhlelo lokhetho lushintshwe lube uhlelo oluxube amalungu ameleleke ngokwengxenye yesilinganiso, lapho amaphesenti angu-75 amalungu esishayamthetho ezokhethwa yizifunda ezingu-69 zamalungu axubile, bese kuthi la maphesenti angu-25 asele wona athathwe ohlwini lwenhlangano ukuze kuqinisekiswe ukulingana yonke indawo njengoba kusho isijubo

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soMthethosisekelo. Lesi sincomo saveza umbono owawuhamba phambili kubantu wokuthi yize uhlelo lobuneshinali nolokumeleleka ngokwengxenye yesilinganiso lungolulungileyo nolumelelekile, alubophezeli amalungu ephalamende kubavoti. Injongo eyayihamba phambili kwisihlongozo seKhomishana kaSlabbert kwakungukwandisa amandla izakhamuzi ezinawo kumalungu azimele. Ukuqalisa ukusebenza izincomo zayo kwakuzoletha ithuba lokufaka esivivaneni sohlelo lwezombusazwe oluletha isimo esingaqondakali kwidlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe. Ngeshwa, umbono weningi lamalungu ekhomishana kwaqophiswana ngawo kumbiko wedlanzana owakhetha ukuhambisana nesimo esikhona manje. Izincomo zombiko wedlanzana zagcina zemukelwe nguhulumeni we-ANC.

Osekwenziwe okuhlobene nalokhu kodwa okwehluke kakhulu okunethuba lokwenyusa izinga lokubophezeleka kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ngukusungulwa kohlelo lwezombusazwe oluncintisana kakhudlwana. Lokhu kudinga ukuba kube khona inhlangano ephikisayo eqinile ebalulekele lokhu okulandelayo:

- ukuhlinzeka isizinda lapho abahlolimisebenzi bengahlangana khona bazihlele kahle;
- ukwenza kube khona ukudluliselwa ngokuthula kwehlandla ehhovisini lezombusazwe;
- ukuvikela umthetho wokuphatha wombuso wentando yeningi ophelelwa ubuqotho uma izakhamuzi zingathokozile;
- ukwenza imisebenzi eyahlukahlukene ebalulekile kubantu, okubalwa kuyo ukuqapha ukusebenza kukahulumeni nenkohlakalo.

Okubalulekele iNingizimu Afrika ngukuthi inhlangano ephikisayo eqinile izokwenza ukuba amavoti ezakhamuzi alinganise ngokwesisindo amandla abanye ababambiqhaza okubalwa kubo

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nabalondolozimali basemazweni angaphandle. Inhlangano ephikisayo eqinile eNingizimu Afrika ingenza ukuba kube khona ukuhleleka kabusha kobudlelwano bamandla okubonakalayo, nokungagqugquzela idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ukuba libhekane nezimfuno zezakhamuzi zalo kwezenhlalo yomnotho okubalwa kuzo nabampofu kanye nabavaleleke ngaphandle.

Njengamanje iNingizimu Afrika inazo zonke izimpawu zezikhungo ezinamandla zohlelo lombuso wentando yeningi kwezombusazwe, kodwa uhlelo lwayo lwezombusazwe alinakho ukuncintisana. I-ANC inabalandeli abaningi kakhulu abayivotelayo. Okubaluleke kakhulu wukuthi izinhlangano zezepolitiki ezinkulu zonke azikwazi ukuqophisana nenhlangano ebusayo ngoba abalandeli bazo basemaqoqweni ayidlanzana kuphela omphakathi waseNingizimu Afrika. Kungaphikiswana ngokuthi uhlelo lwezombusazwe olusebenza kahle alukabi khona eNingizimu Afrika, nokuthi akunamathemba okuthi lungaqhamuka kuleli qoqo lezinhlangano ezimelelekile ephalamende likazwelonke.

Okuyiyona nto eyodwa engikholwa ukuthi ingasebenza uma ingenziwa ngukuba inhlangano ephikisayo iqubuke ngaphakathi kuMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu. Ngo-2001, mina noRupert Taylor sathi, njengekhaya lezombusazwe labasebenzi abahlelekile, nelabasezingeni elingezansi labami kahle nabangasebenzi, izinhlangano iCOSATU neSACP zingaba yithemba elihle kakhulu lenhlangano yasephalamende ephikisayo nengasebenza kahle. Saphinde sathi zombili lezi zinhlangano zithandwa ngabantu kakhulu ngenxa yeqhaza ezalibamba ekukhululeni abantu, sasho nokuthi iCOSATU yiyona kuphela engumdlalindima ongaphandle kophiko lwezamabhizinisi onamandla okuhlela kahle nonemali, ongakwazi ukwengamela ukusungulwa kwenhlangano ephikisayo ephalamende.

Kodwa siyavuma ukuthi kukhona okungavimba lokho kuqhekeka koMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu – okuyikona okuhamba phambili yilokhu kokuthi kwenqatshwa yibo bobubili ubuholi

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namalungu eCOSATU naweSACP. Abaholi babesaba ukuthi ukushiya umfelandawonye kungase kunike amazinga angamadlanzana abamnyama nawabamhlophe amandla okunquma inqubomgomo ye-ANC. UJeremy Cronin, iphini likanobhala jikelele weSACP noseqokwe njengephini likangqongqoshe wemisebenzi kahulumeni washo lokhu kwinkulumosivivinyo yango-2004. Waphika ukuthi ukuhlala kuMfelandawonye kwakuvimbela izimo zenqubo egqugquzela inkululeko nokuzimela kwabantu kwezohwebo ukuba zigcwale ku-ANC nokuthi futhi kwenza ukuba kube namathuba okunqoba, ikakhulukazi njengoba ezomnotho zezwe zilokhu zihaqwa yizinkinga. Okwenza lo mbono ungabi namandla ngukuthi uthatha ngokuthi ukukhuthazeka kwenqubomgomo kwenzeka kuphela ngokubamba iqhaza ezithangamini zangaphakathi. Nokho inqubomgomo ingakhuthazwa okunye ukungenelela kwabangaphandle kanye/noma ngokujutshwa kwezinye izinhlobo zamandla abanye abadlalindima emphakathini. Vele abohlelo lwemali bona bakwazile ukukhuthaza kakhulu inqubomgomo ye-ANC ngendlela ebonakalayo kusukela ngo-1996 ngaphandle kokuba babe ngaphakathi enhlanganweni. Phezu kwalokho, njengoba zombili izinhlangano, iCOSATU neSACP zivumile, ukuhlanganyela kwazo nenhlangano ebusayo akwenzanga lutho okungako ukuvimbeka ukuba kungenwe kwinqubo yezomnotho egqugquzela inkululeko nokuzimela kwabantu kwezohwebo kwishuminyaka lokuqala loguquko eNingizimu Afrika.

Enye into evimbela ukuqhekeka koMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu ngukusingathwa okukhulu komfelandawonye ngabasebenzi kanye nabaholi babasebenzi. Iningi lamalungu eCOSATU lesekela ukuqhubeka komfelandawonye. Nakuba kunjalo, lokhu akusho ukuthi ukuhlukana phakathi kungaqhubela phambili ngesu uhlelo lwabantu abampofu abasebenzayo nabangasebenzi. Vele iningi lijwayele ukwesekela imibono yamasu engafanele nengalungile.

Nokho, yize ukuhlukana phakathi koMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu kungaba yinto enomqondo, bekungakenzeki

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kanti futhi okwenzeka eNgqungqutheleni ye-ANC yasePolokwane ngoDisemba ka-2007 kwavele kwenza lokhu kwaba into esakude ukuba yenzeke. I-COSATU yayiyingxenye ebalulekile yoMfelandawonye owawungamfuni uMbeki, kanti ukunqoba kukaZuma engqungqutheleni yenhlangano yokhetho lukazwelonke kwakuphinde kube ngukunqoba kweCOSATU neSACP ngokulinganayo nokukaZuma. Zozimbili izinhlangano iCOSATU neSACP zabuyiselwa ngokunikezwa izindawo emisebenzini yeKhabhinethi okubalwa kuzo ukuthuthukiswa kwezomnotho, ezohwebo nezezimboni kanye nezemfundo yamazinga aphakeme. Yize amalungu eCOSATU engathokozile namanje mayelana nezinye zezinqubomgomo, nangezikandali zenkohlakalo ezizungeze uhulumeni kaZuma, lo mbutho unamandla kakhulu kunakuqala manje. Kuleli kusasa esingaqagela ngalo, sengathi ngeke iCOSATU icabange ngokuzimisela ukushiya umfelandawonye noma iqale ukucabanga ngokuthatha enye indlela.

Kule ngqikithi, kubalulekile ukuba iCOSATU igcine ibanga elisemqoka kanye namandla anele nazimele ukuze ikwazi ukufaka ozakwabo kumfelandawonye ingcindezi yokuba izikhathaze ngezimfuno zayo. Unobhala jikelele weCOSATU uVavi uyakubona lokhu futhi uhola iCOSATU ngombono wokukhulisa amandla ayo ngokusungula eminye imifelandawonye nezinhlangano zomphakathi. Akuyijabulisanga lokhu i-ANC, kanti isiyenze imizamo yokunqanda lokhu ekubona sengathi yinjabulo eyeqile kuVavi. UNobhala-jikelele we-ANC, uGwede Mantashe yena useke wakugxeka kwacaca ukukhululeka kakhulu kukaVavi uma ekhuluma kanye nokugxeka kwakhe i-ANC emphakathini, nakuveza kumbiko wakhe wasengqungqutheleni yenhlangano ebusayo eyayiseMangaung ngasekupheleni kuka-2012. Kanti i-ANC isike yafaka isikhalazo ngoVavi ngokusemthethweni kuCOSATU. Umbutho nawo usuqhekekile ngenxa yalolu daba, uMengameli weCOSATU uSdumo Dlamini kanye nezinye izinyunyana ezifana neNUM neNEHAWU

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bafuna ukuba uVavi axoshwe. Kodwa kubalulekile ukubalula ukuthi iCOSATU ezimele nehlolisisayo, enganqeni ukubhekana ngqo nombuso, ingaletha isimo esibalulekile sezombusazwe ukwenza kube nokubophezeleka kwidlanzana eliphethe kwezombusazwe. Yize kungeke kwenzeka mhlawumbe ukuthi kube khona inhlangano ephikisayo esebenza kahle, okungenani ingaba nawo amandla okumisa iqembu elibusayo ngamazonzwane.

Kodwa-ke, esikhathini eside esizayo, ukungqubuzana kolawulo ngaphansi kwesikhathi sokubusa sokusetshenziswa kwemali kahulumeni kungenzeka kube ngaphezu kwamandla oMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu bese uphoqa laba ababambisene ukuba bahlukane phakathi. Uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho olunokusetshenziswa kumele lukuqaphele lokhu, bese luyazimisela ngokucabanga ngezinqumo ezibukhuni okungadingeka ukuba zithathwe ukuze kuhleleke kabusha amandla. Lokhu kubandakanya ukwenza lula ukuvela kwenhlangano ephikisayo eqinile nokuqinisekisa, okungenani okwesikhashana, ukuthi umbutho wezinyunyana ugcina ukuzimela kwawo okusemqoka ngaphakathi kuMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu.

Okokugcina, ukuba khona kwesimo esingaqondakali kakhulu kanye nokwenyuka kwezinga lokubophezeleka kwabezombusazwe okuhambisana nakho, kwenza ukuba kube nesidingo sezinhlangano zomphakathi ezizimele ezinamandla nezibhekana nezinto eziningi. Kuningi osekwenziwe kulokhu, kanti futhi mhlawumbe yilapho ithemba leNingizimu Afrika lilele khona, yize izingqinamba zikhona ziningi. Njengoba kuke kwashiwo, izinhlangano zomphakathi azizange ziguquke kuphela ngokuqavile ngemva kwenkathi yango-2004 kodwa izigaba ezithize zezinhlangano zomphakathi ziphinde zaba nomthelela omkhulu embusweni, okwadlala indima esimweni esingaqondakali nokwenza ukuba idlanzana elisemandleni, okungenani kancanyana nje, lithi ukubhekana nalokho okwakukhathaza izakhamuzi ezimpofu nezivaleleke ngaphandle.

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Lokhu kwenzeka ngenxa yezizathu ezimbili ezisemqoka. Okokuqala, ukuvuleleka kwezombusazwe zingenwe yibo bonke abantu kanye nokuxegiswa kwemithetho yezomnotho kwaholela ekuguqukeni kwezinhlangano zomphakathi zohlobo lunye, ezihambisana noshintsho, neziphikisana nobandlululo ngendlela ebonakalayo zaba ngeyodwa ehlukaniseke kathathu – amaNGO, izikhungo ezizamela abantu bomphakathi kanye nemibutho yezenhlalo – zonke ezinobudlelwano obahlukile nombuso. Amaqhaza, imisebenzi kanye nobudlelwano okuhlukile kwalezi zigaba ezahlukahlukene zezinhlangano zomphakathi kunethuba lokwenza imisebenzi yokuhlolisisa engaphoqa umbuso waseNingizimu Afrika ukuba ubophezeleke kwizakhamuzi zawo noma-ke okungenani wenziwe wazi ukuthi awunamsebenzi nezimfuno zabantu.

Okwesibili, umhlaziyi uRichard Ballard wathi imibutho yezenhlalo equbuke ngenkathi yangemva kobandlululo 'idlala indima ekuvuselelweni kobuninginingi ohlelweni lwezombusazwe', yenza lula 'ukubophezeleka kwedlanzana elisemandleni embusweni kwizakhamuzi zethu', kanti futhi 'zidlale indima ekwakhekeni kwesimo sezombusazwe esenza ukuba uhulumeni ashintshele kwinqubomgomo yezomnotho angenelelayo kuyo, ebanzi kakhulu nemayelana nokusiza abantu'. Lokhu osekwenzekile, kanye nemibhikisho yasemiphakathini uPeter Alexander akubiza ngo'kwambuka kwabampofu' sekuqale ukwakha inqubo 'ehamba phambili kubantu eyenza ukuba abantu bakwazi ukuzimela nokuzithathela izinqumo mayelana nalokho abakukhethayo'. Ukuvela kwenqubo eyenza ukuba abantu bakwazi ukuzimela nokuzithathela izinqumo mayelana nalokho abakukhethayo ibalulekile ukuze kusatshalaliswe amandla kanti lokhu kuphoqa idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe ukuba libophezeleke kwizakhamuzi, kwakha amathuba okuba kube khona indlela yentuthuko eyintando yabantu. Uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelungasetshenziswa lugqugquzela

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ukuzwakala kahle nokwenzantoziningi kwezinhlangano zomphakathi zesikhathi samanje.

Lawa masu amathathu-ke – ukufuna uguqukela kokusha kwezokhetho, ukwenza ukuba kube khona iqembu lasephalamende eliphikisayo nelisebenza kahle kanye nokuzimela kombutho wezinyunyana kanye nokugqugquzela ukuvela kwezinhlangamo zomphakathi ezenza izinto eziningi – aqukethe okungumongo wohlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho olunokusetshenziswa. Abantu ngabanye nangokuhlanganyela banamandla okusabalalisa amandla ezombusazwe aqoqelene ndawonye. Lokhu kunganyusa izinga lamandla izakhamuzi ezinawo kwidlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe, nokuzokwenza ukuba lingabi nesiqiniseko ngekusasa lalo kwezombusazwe bese liyabhekana nezimfuno zabantu abalivotele. Umphumela walokhu kungaba ukuba khona komphakathi ophathelwe ingcebo nguhulumeni (wamasoshiyali) ohlanganisa inqubo yentando yeningi kanye nemiphumela yentuthuko efaka zonke izakhamuzi.

Lo mphumela kodwa udinga uhlelo lwezinqubomgomo ezikwaziyo ukubhekana nokungqubuzana luphinde lubuyisele esimweni izimfuno ezincintisanayo zababambiqhaza abahlukahlukene emiphakathini – ukungqubuzana okubalulwe kuMthethosisekelo ngasekuqaleni kwesikhathi sokuguqukela kweNingizimu Afrika kumbuso wentando yeningi.

Ukulungiswa kwamalungelo omthethosisekelo ashayisanayo

Kunamaqoqo amathathu amalungelo omthethosisekelo ashayisanayo ngenxa yezinqumo nezinqubomgomo zababusi bangesikhathi sangemva kobandlululo. Okuyilawa:

- ukuqaliswa kokusetshenziswa kohlelo lokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni

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oluluhlaza futhi olungenalwazi kucekela phansi ukuhlinzekwa kwezidingo kwizakhamuzi kanye nokuba khona komuzwa wokuba munye nabezwe, kokubili okuyizinjongo nezibopho zomthethosisekelo.
- izingqinamba zokukhula komnotho zishayisana nezinjongo zentuthuko efaka konke, okubonakaka kwinkulumompikiswano evuthayo mayelana nokungalingani, ubumpofu nokungabi khona kwemisebenzi.
- ukusebenza kwenqubomgomo yezangaphandle yaseNingizimu Afrika kubonakalisa ukushayisana phakathi kokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile kanye nokuqhubela phambili amalungelo abantu.

Iphrojekthi yezombusazwe ehambisana noshintsho engasetshenziswa esikhundleni sekhona kumele ibhekane nokungqubuzana kwalezi zibopho zomthethosisekelo ithole izindlela zokuba zifezwe kanyekanye. Lokhu kungenziwa ngokukufanekisa emqondweni nangokuxoxisana okweyame kwingqikithi.

Ukuqasha ngokubhekelela ababevaleleke ngaphandle nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo nomuzwa wokuba munye nabezwe

Uhlelo lokuqasha ngokubhekelela labo ababevaleleke ngaphandle ekuqaleni alusiyo inkinga uma lulodwa, kodwa ukuqaliswa ukusebenza kwalo ophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni, ngaphansi kohlaka lwezomnotho ezibandakanya izibalo zezwe ezinamandla okulondoloza olwalukhona, ngokuhambisana nokwemukelwa kwenqubo yokuphatha engabalulekile eyasungulwa uphiko lwezamabhizinisi, kwaba nomthelela omubi emandleni okwenza ombuso wangesikhathi sangemva kobandlululo. Kungalungiswa kanjani lokhu kushayisana kokubhekana nezinkinga zomlando

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ngakulolu hlangothi nomuzwa wokuba munye nabezwe kanye namandla ombuso okusebenza ngakulolu olunye uhlangothi? Uhlelo lokulungisa oluncike emazingeni abantu okuphila olugcizelela ukungabi semathubeni kwezomnotho (okuhambisana nokuguquguqukayo kokuphathelene nobulili nokukhubazeka), olwesekwe yimishikashika encike kokuphathelene nobuhlanga lungavumela ukuba kulandelwe izinto ezimbili ezibalulekile kumthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika kanyekanye. Yize uhlelo olunjengalolu lokubhekana nezinkinga zomlando oluncike emazingeni abantu okuphila lungaqeda ubuhlanga lulungise nenkinga yobuphofu emphakathini, imishikashika encike ekuhlukaneni ngokobuhlanga iyogcina kuphela ezindaweni lapho kwakungekho khona kangako imithelela yokucwasana ngokobuhlanga. Ukwenza nje isibonelo, ezingeni eliphezulu ophikweni lwezinkampani, imishikashika encike ekuhlukaneni ngobuhlanga (efana nemiyalelo yobudlelwano bokusebenza yemikhakha eyahlukahlukene) ingasungula izinjongo zokuqeda ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga ibekelwe izikhathi kanye nemigomo ezonikeza izinkampani igunya lokuthola imisebenzi yombuso kanye nokwenza izivumelwano nohulumeni.

Iningi lemihlomulo liqhamuka ekwemukelweni kohlelo lokulungisa olubandakanya kokubili okuphathelene nezinga lokuphila kanye nokuhlukana ngokobuhlanga. Okokuqala, lungavimbela idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho elingabantu abamnyama ekuthatheni yonke imihlomulo yemishikashika yokulungisa. Okwesibili, njengoba ngike ngasho kwenye indawo, uhlelo olunjengalolo lungenza ukuba umbuso 'usebenzise izinsizakwenza zawo ezincane emiphakathini ehluphekayo' ube usebenzisa amandla awo okulawula ukugqugquzela 'uphiko lwezinkampani ukuba lusebenzise izinsizakwenza zalo ukuqeda ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga kwezimakethe'. Okokugcina, lolu hlobo lokulungisa lungaba nokuvumeleka kuzo zombili izakhamuzi ezingabamnyama nabamhlophe ngoba ngisho nabo abamhlophe

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bazimisele ukuba yingxenye yokulungisa kokuqondene nokunciphisa ubuphofu. Ukuba nesimo sokungabi nakucwasa ngokobuhlanga nakho kungagqugquzela ukuba khona komuzwa wokuba munye nabezwe – okudingekayo ekufezeni umbono okhulukekile ukuqonda ngezinye izizwe namasiko azo otholakala kuMthethosisekelo WaseNingizimu Afrika.

Ukukhula komnotho nentuthuko efaka konke

Njengoba kushiwo eSahlukweni Sesithathu, umnotho wezombusazwe wohlobo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali uyinto edingeka kuqala uma iNingizimu Afrika ifuna ukubhekana ngokugcwele nezinkinga zokungalingani, ubuphofu nokungabi khona kwemisebenzi. Yize lokhu kwavunywa ezingqungqutheleni zikazwelonke ze-ANC ngo-2007 nango-2012, kwathi okuthize okumayelana nohlobo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali kwemukelwa kancane kancane, lo mbono wezomnotho usalokhu uphonselwe inselele njalo ngaphakathi enhlanganweni ebusayo kanye nakumaqembu atusa ukugcinwa kwesimo esihle kunazo zonke ekusetshenzisweni kwemali nguhulumeni ngokusebenzisa imali ngobuhlakani. Umzabalazo wokufuna umphefumulo we-ANC kwezomnotho kumele uxazululwe, amagebe kwezomnotho avalwe, bese kuba nokuvumelana mayelana nomnotho wezombusazwe wohlobo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali.

Okuhlobene nalokhu yisidingo sokuba isivumelwano esisha phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe sihlanganiswe phakathi kwabezamabhizinisi, abemboni yezemisebenzi nombuso. Isikhubazo esingavimba ukuba khona kwesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe – ukungalingani ngamandla phakathi kwabezamabhizinisi nabemboni yezemisebenzi – sekunqotshiwe ngenxa yamandla eCOSATU enkathini yangemva kwasePolokwane. Nakuba kunjalo, uhulumeni kaZuma uhlulekile ukubhekana kahle nalokho obekulindelwe yidlanzana elisemandleni kwezomnotho

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kanye nabantukazana, nosekudale ukuthi lokhu okunye okubalulekile kwisivumelwano esiyimpumelelo – ukuzinikela kwawo wonke umuntu ukulibazisa kancane lokho abakufisayo ekufezweni masishane – kube wukuthi akukafezwa. Lokhu ngukwehluleka kakhulu kokuphathwa kwezombusazwe.

Kwelinye izinga, abaholi bezombusazwe bakubonile lokhu, ikakhulukazi ungqongqoshe wezezimali uPravin Gordhan, oseke wakhuluma waphimisela ngokuphikisana namaholo aphezulu ngokwedlulele ezikhulu kanye nokuzicebisa ophikweni lwezamabhizinisi azimele nasophikweni lwemisebenzi kahulumeni. Bese kuthi kwelinye izinga, lesi sifundo besingakangeni kahle engqondweni. Lokhu kubonakala kahle kakhulu embhalweni osekhasini lemibhalo elitholakala kwi*Sunday Times* kusukela ngoFebhruwari ka-2012 obizwa ngokuthi 'Each one, Hire One' ('Umuntu Oyedwa, Akaqashe Oyedwa'). Lo mbhalo uhlose ukugqugquzela inkulumompikiswano kubantu mayelana nokuthi kungabhekwana kanjani nenkinga yokungatholakali kwemisebenzi eNingizimu Afrika, kanti usuhehe osopolitiki abaningi, izikhulu ezithize zamabhizinisi, ngisho nabaholi bemboni yezemisebenzi abafana noVavi ukuba baphonse esivivaneni. Okuxakayo kodwa ngabakushoyo ngukuthi yize bonke besibona isidingo sesivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe kanye nesidingo esihleleke ngokusemthethweni sokuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana, akekho kubo (ngaphandle kukaVavi) owayefisa ukuzwa ubuqiniso bezikhalo zabasebenzi mayelana nenqubo yokuhwebelana ngabasebenzi kanye nomgudu waseNingizimu Afrika wokukhula komnotho ngamaholo amancane. Impela, cishe bonke abasho okuthize kuleli khasi basola izinyunyana ngokugxila kuphela kwizimfuno zamalungu azo, zibe zishaya indiva izidingo zabangenawo umsebenzi futhi zibukela phansi ukukhula komnotho nokusebenza ngokonga nangempumelelo. Phezu kwazo zonke izinkulumo ezingaqukethe lutho olusha maqondana nokusebenzisana, abaningi

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abasho okuthize kuleli khasi (abaningi babo abamele amadlanzana asemandleni kwezombusazwe nakwezomnotho) kubonakala sengathi bacabanga ukuthi noma isiphi isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe kumele sihlanganiswe ngokwemigomo efunwa wuphiko lwezinkampani.

Kuyinto okufanele isihluphe ukuthi leli qoqo labaholi abahlukile abadume ngezinto abazenzile ezihlaba umxhwele kubonakala sengathi abasiqondi isisekelo sezivumelwano esiyimpumelelo phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe. Izivumelwano zidinga ukuba kube nokuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana. Zisungulelwa ukubhekana nezimo ezibucayi ezidalwa yizinto ezincintisanayo. Isimo esibucayi esikhulu iNingizimu Afrika okufanele ibhekane naso ngukuthi kungenziwa kanjani ukuba kube nokuncintisana kwezomnotho futhi kuhlanganiswe isipiliyoni kwabasanda kungena kwimboni yezemisebenzi ngaphandle kokulahlekelwa yilokho osekuhlonyulwe ngumbutho wabasebenzi njengoba kubaluliwe kuMthetho Wobudlelwano Emsebenzini wango-1995.

Izinyunyana zisaba ukuthi ukuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana kunganciphisa amandla oMthetho Wobudlelwano Emsebenzini wango-1995 nokuthi lokhu kungavumela ukuthi abaqashi babuyisele emuva imihlomulo ebisinqotshwe ngabasebenzi ophikweni oluhleleke ngokusemthethweni. Kuke kwenzeka okunje enkathini engemva kobandlululo, kanti ukuthi lokhu kuyinto ebukhuni nengeke yenzeka ngukungazi lutho mayelana nezomnotho zangeminyaka engu-20 eyedlule. Isibonelo nje, maphakathi neminyaka yo-1990, abasebenzi babezenzela imisebenzi yokuhlanza ezinkampanini eziningi nakwizikhungo zikahulumeni. Kusukela ngaleso sikhathi, izinkampani eziningi ezizimele kanye nezikhungo zikahulumeni seziqashe izinkampani zokuhlanza zangaphandle eziqasha abasebenzi zibanike iholo elincane futhi zibahlinzeke ngemihlomulo embalwa. Ngokufanayo, uhlaziyo loguquko ezimayini zaseNingizimu Afrika luveze ukuthi ubunini bezimayini sebushintshile

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maqondana nobuhlanga ngakhokhe izimo zokusebenza sezimane zazimbi kakhulu. Ngokusempeleni, izimayini eziningi zaseNingizimu Afrika ezincane sezadayiselwa osomabhizinisi abamnyama abathola inzuzo yabo ngokwehlisa amaholo nokunciphisa imihlomulo. Lokhu kufezwe kakhulu ngokusebenzisa izinkampani ezihwebelana ngabasebenzi, osekusebenza njenge'sivimbo sokuzivikela' kubanini mabhizinisi okubasiza ekugwemeni izibopho eziyimpoqo ngenxa yoMthetho Wobudlelwano Emsebenzini.

Lokhu akusikho ukuphika ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika inezinkinga ezinkulu. Izimpiko eziningi zezomnotho azinakho ukuncintisana ezingeni lomhlaba wonke, kanti kunemithetho evimbelayo kakhulu nokuyinto efaka ebucayini ithuba lokuba amabhizinisi amancane akwazi ukusebenza. Phezu kwalokho, uma ubheka izinga elimangazayo lokungatholakali kwemisebenzi entsheni, kunesidingo esiphuthumayo sokuba kwakhiwe isimo lapho abaqashi bengenankinga nokuqasha abantu abasha embonini yezabasebenzi ukuze bakwazi ukuqoqa isipiliyoni esizobenza abasebenzi abaziswayo nabakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi. Lezi zingqinamba kumele zikhathaze abemboni yezemisebenzi njengoba zikhathaza abaqashi nombuso. Vele, ukulungisa le nkinga kubalulekile ukuze kufezeke umbono wentuthuko efaka konke umbutho wezinyunyana ozimisele ngakho. Ingqinamba yalabo okungabanjiswana nabo kwisivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ngukuhlanganisa imibandela yokubhekana nalezi zinkinga ngaphandle kokunikezela noma ukunciphisa amandla okuvikeleka okuhlinzekwe abasebenzi bophiko oluhleleke ngokusemthethweni.

Lokhu kungenzeka ngokukufanekisa emqondweni. Ukwenza nje isibonelo, izivumelwano okwangenwa kuzo nabaqashi ophikweni lwezindwangu zokuthunga eNewcastle ngo-Okthoba ka-2011 zazibandakanya izimvumelwano zamaholo nabasebenzi abasha. Lokhu kubonisa ukuthi izinyunyana ziyakwazi ukubhekana nezinto ngokucabanga uma kuyiwa ekuqinisekiseni ukuncintisana

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nokuphumelela kwenkampani. Izinyunyana kungenzeka ziphoqeke ukuba zivumele ukuba kube khona ukuhlangabezana nokuvumelana maqondana nokugcwaliselwa kwemali yomholo kubasebenzi abasha nabasebancane ukuze kube khona ukukhokheleka kwamaholo okukhethekile kanye nokuhlinzekwa kokuthize ezimpikweni ezithize zezomnotho noma ezindaweni ezithize. Ngokufanayo, abaqashi kungenzeka baphoqeke ukuba bazinikele kokuthize okuhlosiwe mayelana nokuqasha kulezi zimpiko, bese behlinzeka iziqiniseko zokuthi ngeke bazame ukusebenzisa le mihlomulo ekhethekile kuyona yonke imboni yezabasebenzi ngobubanzi bayo. Ngamanye amazwi, ukwesaba kwabo bonke abathintekayo kumele nakho kulungiswe, bese kuthi ngenkathi kwenzeka lokhu, ukuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana kanye nokukhokhelwa kwalokho okumele kukhokhelwe kumele kwenziwe yibo bobabili abezamabhizinisi nabemboni yezemisebenzi.

Kodwa-ke lo myalezo wawungekho kule mibhalo yekhasi elithi 'Each One, Hire One' okukhulunywe ngalo la ngenhla. Akekho noyedwa kulabo ababephonse esivivaneni owacabanga ngokuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana okudingekayo ukuze kusungulwe isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe. Kodwa uma lokhu kungenziwa, sizofezwa kanjani isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe? Phezu kwalokho, inqobo nje uma isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe esilungileyo sizohlale siyinto eyiphupho, iNingizimu Afrika ngeke iphumelele ekuvaleni igebe phakathi kokukhula komnotho nentuthuko efaka konke, kanti futhi ngeke ikwazi ukulungisa ukungezwani emphakathini kanye nezicubu zezinkinga zenhlalo ezihambisana nakho – inkinga engapheli yokungabi khona kwemisebenzi, ukuhlukunyezwa kwabesifazane nabantwana, ukusetshenziswa kwezidakamizwa, ubugebengu obunodlame – okuyizimpawu ezichaza umphakathi wethu.

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Ngakho-ke uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho olunokusetshenziswa kumele luzame ukuhlanganisa isivumelwano esilungileyo phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe ngokucabanga ngamasu okuhlangabezana ukuze kube khona ukuvumelana okungakhulisa ukuncintisana kwezomnotho kanye nokuhlanganiswa kwesipiliyoni kulabo abasanda kungena embonini yabasebenzi – ngaphandle kokubuyisela emuva imihlomulo ebisitholwe ngabasebenzi ophikweni oluhleleke ngokusemthethweni kwezomnotho.

Ukuqhuba phambili amalungelo ezakhamuzi nawabantu kanye nokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile

Lapho kuba khona ukushayisana phakathi kwamalungelo abantu nokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile njengoba kwenzeka eZimbawe, eLibya, eSudan, eBurma nakwezinye izizinda ezishisayo emhlabeni jikelele, uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika ukhethe ngaphandle kokungabaza ukuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile wanikezela ngamalungelo abantu ngenkathi enza lokho. Izishoshovu zezakhamuzi zona zivame ukubeka phambili amalungelo abantu kanti sezisole uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika ngokushaya indiva isimo sezakhamuzi. Uhulumeni useziphendulele kulokhu ngokuthi athi lezo zishoshovu zisetshenziswa njengezisebenzeli ezingazelele zababusi bamazwe ombuso wobukhosi bamazwe amaningi abangemva kwezinhlelo zabo zombusazwe ezihambisana nokuhleleka kwabantu ngokwenhlalo. Akukho okuliqiniso kulokhu kokubili. Ukuqinisa umbuso wentando yeningi nokwandisa ukungena kwayo yonke into kwezentuthuko kudinga ukuba kulandelwe kokubili lokhu, amalungelo abantu nokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile. Uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelungasetshenziswa kumele luvale igebe eselivulekile kulokhu, kukona kokubili ukuqaliswa kokusebenza kwenqubomgomo yezangaphandle yaseNingizimu Afrika kanye nokuziphatha kwabahlolimisebenzi bayo.

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Ukwenza isibonelo nje, njengoba kuxoxiwe ngalokhu eSahlukweni Sesithupha, imizamo yeNingizimu Afrika enkingeni yaseLibya yokuhlanganisa ukusingatha kwayo iSiphakamiso 1973 nokuzama ukuthola isixazululo sezombusazwe yayikahle futhi inobuhlakani kanti yayihlangene kahle kunalokho okushiwo ngabahlolimisebenzi. Ukungenelela kweNingizimu Afrika kwazama ukulinganisa imigomo yokuhlonipha ubukhosi bezwe kanye nemigomo yesibopho sokuvikela izimpilo zezakhamuzi ezisatshiswa idlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe langaphakathi ezweni, okuyimigomo ebalulekile ukuze kwakheke ukuphathwa kombuso womhlaba wonke okulungileyo. Ngeshwa, iNingizimu Afrika yehluleka, okunye okwaba yisizathu salokhu ngukuthi ayiphumelelanga ekuboniseni ababevunene nayo eSithangamini Senkulumompendulwano Ye-IBSA kumbe amazwe eBRICS ukuba babambisane nayo kulo mshikashika.

Nginikeze izibonelo zokuthi lingavalwa kanjani igebe phakathi kwamalungelo abantu nokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile ezindaweni eziningi. Maqondana nesiphakamiso soMkhandlu Wezokuvikela Wenhlangano Yamazwe Omhlaba mayelana neBurma, ngithe iNingizimu Afrika yayingaphikisana nalolu daba ngenkathi lubekwa ezithebeni eMkhandlwini Wezokuvikela, bese ihola ekulwisaneni nabaphathi bawo ngokubika kuMkhandlu Wamalungelo Abantu. Maqondana nokubekwa icala komholi waseSudan, u-Omar al-Bashir yiNkantolo Yobugebengu Yezinga Lomhlaba Wonke, ngithe iNingizimu Afrika yayingasebenzisa la mandla ekulwisaneni nabaphathi baseSudan ibe ngaleso sikhathi inxenxa uMkhandlu Wezokuvikela Wenhlangano Yamazwe Omhlaba ukuba usebenzise uMbhalo 16 woMthetho WaseRome – owawukhulula u-Al-Bashir ekubulaweni okwesikhashana uma yena wayezovuma uhlelo olunqunyelwe isikhathi lokwenza ukuba kube khona uxolo eDarfur. Maqondana neZimbabwe, ngithe inselele ekhona ngukuba kutholakale amandla okunqoba uMugabe ukuze kube khona isixazululo sezombusazwe. Indlela eyodwa yokufeza lokhu ngukuba kube

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khona ukuvumelana phakathi kwamazwe ahamba phambili kulawo aseNingizimu ne-Afrika maqondana nokuthi kungaqhutshekelwa kanjani phambili kanye nangezijeziso ezingasetshenziswa okubalwa kuzo ukuvalwa kwezindawo zezindiza eziseduzane uma inhlangano ebusayo eZimbabwe iphula uhlelo okuvunyelwene ngalo loxolo. Maqondana nokuvimbela ukukhula ngesivinini kwenyukliyasi ngithe iNingizimu Afrika yayingahola inhlanganisela yamazwe omhlaba osasathuthuka ukugcizelela ukuthi ukuvuselelwa kweSivumelwano Sokuvimbela Ukukhula Ngesivinini Kwenyukliyasi kwakuyovunywa kuphela uma amazwe anenyukliyasi ayezovuma ukusayina uhlelo lokwephucwa izikhali olubekelwe isikhathi.

Zonke lezi zihlongozo zazisuselwa kanti futhi zisasuselwa kwizinto ezimbili ezihambisana nalokhu. Eyokuqala ngukuvuma ukuthi ukufezwa kobulungiswa noxolo kuyangqubuzana kwesinye isikhathi. Kulesi simo, kungaba yinto ekahle ukuyeka ubulungiswa, inqobo nje uma kuzotholakala uxolo. Eyesibili ngukuqaphela ukuthi akukho phakathi kwamalungelo abantu nokuguqukela kokusha okuhlelekile okumele kuyekwe. Kokubili kumele kwenziwe kanyekanye uma sizimisele ngokufeza umthetho wokuphatha onokulunga. Uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelungasetshenziswa kumele lwazi futhi lutuse le migomo.

Kodwa lokhu kumele kuphelekezelwe ngeminye imishikashika yenqubomgomo yezangaphandle enamasu angubuhlakani. Okokuqala kwalokhu kubandakanya ukuba iNingizimu Afrika ihambe phambili ekuholeni izwekazi. Kumele idlale indima yokuba '(ngumholi) izwe eliphethe amanye amazwe elinezinhloso ezinhle' elibeka phambili ukuzinza kwesimo, intando yeningi, ukuthuthukiswa kwezomnotho, kanye nokwandiswa kwezimakethe ezifanayo ezingeni lesifunda nelezwekazi. Ukwanda kwezimakethe e-Afrika kungenyusa kakhulu izinga lamandla osopolitiki baseNingizimu Afrika nabase-Afrika ebudlelwaneni babo nabanye abadlalindima emnothweni wezinga

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lomhlaba wonke, kanti leso simo kuyoba ngesikahle ekuheheni ukulondolozwa kwemali ngamazwe angaphandle.

Okwesibili kuhambisana nalo msebenzi wokuhola izwekazi, iNingizimu Afrika kumele ivuselele ukuhlanganyela ndawonye kwayo neNigeria. Kumele kukhunjulwe ukuthi ukuhlanganyela ndawonye ngokwezifunda noma ngokwezwekazi – ngisho ngabe kuhlangenwe ngezomnotho noma ngezombusazwe – kuhlale kugqugquzelwa umbuso owodwa onamandla noma emibili. Uhlelo lwase-Afrika kanye neNhlangano Yamazwe Ase-Afrika ehlangene kahle incike emifuthweni yokuhlanganyela ndawonye phakathi kwamazwe amabili noma ngaphezulu naqondiswe kule njongo. Impela, lokho kuhlanganyela ndawonye okwakuyisivumelwano phakathi kweNingizimu Afrika neNigeria kwake kwaba khona kwishuminyaka lokuqala lwenkulungwaneminyaka entsha, osekuqale ukuvithika nokho. Kunesidingo esiphuthumayo sokuba kuvuselelwe lesi sivumelwano noma mhlawumbe sandiswe ukuze sibe yisizimeleli seNhlangano Yamazwe Ase-Afrika.

Okwesithathu, iNingizimu Afrika kumele iqhubeke nokubeka phambili ukubandakanyeka kwayo kwizikhungo ezihlanganisa amazwe amaningi, imizamo kanye nemifelandawonye enobuhlakani, emazweni aseNingizimu kanye naphakathi kwamazwe aseNyakatho nawaseNingizimu ukuze kugcineke ubunye be-United States kanye nobamanye amazwe amakhulu kwezomnotho ezingxoxiswaneni zohwebo lwezinga lomhlaba.

Akukho okuyoba impumelelo kukho konke lokhu ngaphandle uma ubuthakathaka bokusebenza kwenqubomgomo yezangaphandle yaseNingizimu Afrika buyonqotshwa. INingizimu Afrika kumele ibeke phambili imifelandawonye enobuhlakani ehlanganisa iNingizimu neNyakatho (phezu kwaleyo ehlanganisa iNingizimu neNingizimu) uma amandla ezosatshalaliswa ezingeni lomhlaba wonke nanoma sifuna ukuba amathuba okuthuthuka kweNingizimu ikhule ifike ezingeni lokugcina. Isibonelo nje, phezu kokubambisana okukhona

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okufana nokwe-IBSA kanye neBRICS, ingafuna ukucabanga ngokuhlanganyela ndawonye namazwe afana neGermany ngisho naneNhlangano Yamazwe Ase-Europe. Vele iGermany kanye namazwe amaningi eNhlangano Yamazwe Ase-Europe asungule iminotho ehlukile neyohlobo lweminotho yamazwe akhuluma isiNgisi olunemithethonqubo nentela ephansi nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo ezimbalwa nolubizwa nge-Anglo-Saxon. Phezu kwalokho, kwezinye izindaba – indawo nokushintsha kwesimo sezulu, ukuguquka kwe-UN kanye 'nempi yokulwisana nokwesaba okukhulu' – imicabango yamazwe ase-Europe ivame ukuhluka kuleyo yase-United States naseBhrithani.

Osopolitiki baseNingizimu Afrika kumele badlulele phambili ngale kwemithetho eqinile maqondana nezimakethe necace bha kweminye yemiqingo yeNEPAD, ekwenqabeni kwayo ukulawula ukulondoloza kweNingizimu Afrika kwizwekazi kanye nasezinguqukweni ezingathenjwa kahle ezaqaliswa ukusebenza yi-IMF neBhange Lomhlaba. Ngenxa yengcindezi nangokuziphendulela ekugxekweni yiNingizimu Afrika namanye amazwe, zozimbili lezi zikhungo zaqalisa uguquko olukhawuliwe, ukwenza nje isibonelo, zenza lolo guquko kwingxenye yokumeleleka kumabhodi azo. Sekunesidingo sokuba kube khona inkulumosivivinyo evulelekile nazo zombili izinhloko zalezi zinhlangano. Kodwa amazwe i-United States ne-Europe asaqhubeka nokulawula ngokusebenzisa isisindo esinikezwe amavoti awo. Lokhu kwenza ukuba akwazi ukududula izinqumo zawo futhi aqoke awabo abantu. Ngakho-ke, ukuguqukela kokusha okududulwa yiNingizimu Afrika kumele kube ngokoqobo futhi kube nesisindo, uma kungabi njalo kuzoba sengcupheni yokudlulisela ukuthembakala kulezi zinhlangano ngaphandle kokufeza isimiso sokuphatha sezinga lomhlaba wonke esinokulunga.

Abasebenza ngenqubomgomo yezangaphandle eNingizimu Afrika kanye nalabo abaxoxisana ngezindaba zohwebo nabo kumele babe nesibindi bazibandakanye kwezombusazwe zokududula

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izinqubomgomo noma kungasaphephile, kanye nasekusebenzisaneni nezinhlangano zomphakathi zezinga lomhlaba ukuqhuba phambili uhlelo lokuthuthukisa olugxile kubantu. Izinhlangano zomphakathi zingajula kakhulu ekusebenzeni kunendlela eziyiyona njengamanje. Abasebenzi baseNingizimu Afrika ababhekene nokuzwana kwezizwe, ukwenza nje isibonelo, bangabamba izingxoxo zangasese nemibutho ethize yabantu emazweni omhlaba bese bema kwimicabango efanayo ngaphambi kokuba kufinyelelwe ezingxoxweni zezinga lomhlaba. Emva kwalokho bangabe sebeviva ngaphandle emigwaqweni ukuzandisela amandla ezingxoxweni kwizithangami zezinga lomhlaba.

Kodwa akukho okuyokwenzeka kulokhu ngaphandle kokwakha amandla okwenza ezingeni lamakhono emisebenzi ethile ezikhungweni zikahulumeni kanye nangokufakwa engqondweni kwale mibono engamasu ngabasebenzi bombuso ngaphezu kwabantu abasezikhundleni ezelekelela ihhovisi likamengameli nenqubomgomo yezangaphandle. Konke lokhu kubalulekile, hhayi ngoba ukwakha ukuphathwa kombuso womhlaba wonke kwezinga lomhlaba okulungileyo nokusimeme kuyisibopho esiphoqayo ngokwemigomo yokulunga kodwa nangenxa yokuthi kuyisu elidingakalayo uma iNingizimu Afrika ifuna ukuphumelela ekwakheni umnotho wayo ofaka konke nohlinzekela lokho okukhathalelwe yizakhamuzi zayo kanye nezidingo zazo. Ukuphetha, izincomo ezikulesi sahluko zimele imidwa yohlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho olunokusetshenziswa. Impela lokhu akubali zonke izinhlelo ezikhona, amasu kanye namaqhinga okumele asetshenziswe ukwenza lula enye indlela engathathwa kwezombusazwe. Lokhu kumele kunqunywe kuwo amahhadlahhadla ezombusazwe. Kodwa amasu abalulwe lapha ekuhlanganiseni lokho okushayisanayo phakathi kwamalungelo athize omthethosisekelo kanye nakwinqubomgomo namasu akhethiwe adingekayo ukusabalalisa amandla, enze nokuba kubekhona ukubophezeleka phakathi kwedlanzana elisemandleni kwezombusazwe nezakhamuzi, kumele akwazi ukwakha imihlahlandlela enqala

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yezinqumo okumele zithathwe nokuthi zingaqaliswa kanjani ukuba zisebenze.

Ukwenza nje isibonelo, uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelungasetshenziswa kumele lukhulume luzwakalale luphikisane noMthethosivivinywa 'Wokuvikelwa Kwemininingwane Yombuso' ngenxa yemikhawulo ozoyiletha ekubekweni kwemininingwane obala kanye nomthelela lokhu okungaba nawo ezinhlanganweni zomphakathi. Ngokufanayo, kumele luphikisane no'Mthethosivivinyo Wezinkantolo Zendabuko', ngenxa yokuthi injongo yawo esobala ngukunikeza amakhosi amandla ngaphezu kwezakhamuzi zasezindaweni ezisemaphandleni. Amasu ahlinzekiwe ahlose ukusebenza njengebalazwe elingasetshenziswa ukuhlonza izinqumo ezingubuhlakani kanye nenqubomgomo engakhethwa okudingekayo ekwenzeni ngcono umbuso wentando yeningi nokwenza lula intuthuko efaka konke eNingizimu Afrika yangemva kwesikhathi sobandlululo.

Ukubaluleka kobuholi

Impela akukho kulokhu okungafezeka ngaphandle kobuholi obukhaliphile – hhayi kuphela olwazini lokusebenza, yize amakhono okwenza imisebenzi nawo ebalulekile kulabo abasezikhundleni zemisebenzi efundelwayo ezinhlakeni zombuso. Ubuholi okukhulunywa ngabo lapha kumele bube ngobohlobo lwezombusazwe, kanti bubandakanya izinto ezimbili ezingefani: ukuqonda kabanzi isimo somphakathi, ukuthi kumele uyephi, izithiyo ezisendleleni yawo, izindlela ezingasetshenziswa ukudlulela ngale kwezingqinamba; kanye nokukwazi ukusebenzisana nababambiqhaza abaningi, ukuqonda lokho abakukhathalele nokuhlanganisa ukuvumelana okwanele phakathi kwabo ngaphandle kokucekela phansi injongo enkulu yomphakathi. Lokhu ngamakhono asiza abaholi ukuba bavivise amandla okwakheka ahlangene – ngaphakathi enhlanganweni ebusayo,

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ngaphakathi kumbuso, kanye nasemphakathini – okudingekayo ukufuna nokufeza uhlobo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali oguqukile nolandela inqubo yentando yeningi.

Lobo buholi obunjalo bebungakabonakali ehhovisi likamengameli. Kodwa lolo hlobo lobuholi lungahlinzekwa nangabanye abaholi ngaphakathi enhlanganweni ebusayo. Okwamanje, basanokungabaza ukudlala le ndima, mhlawumbe kudalwa ukusaba ukuthi uMengameli uZuma obhekene nenkinga ye-ANC emaqembuqembu angase ahumushe lolu hlobo lokungenelela njengomzamo wokugabadela esikhundleni sakhe. Uma sibheka ngalowo mqondo, ubuqembuqembu be-ANC kanye nokubanga ukuthi ubani ozothatha isikhundla somunye ngehlandla elilandelayo okungaphakathi enhlanganweni sekucekele phansi amathuba abanye abaholi abaphezulu okudlala le ndima.

Kodwa ukuhluleka kwabaholi bezombusazwe akukho kuphela ezingeni lobungameli nelikahulumeni. Kukhona nakwamanye amazinga omphakathi waseNingizimu Afrika. Bambalwa kakhulu abaholi abasemikhakheni eshiyanayo yezombusazwe, yezinkampani neyasemiphakathini abazi nabafaka emqondweni imiphumela yokulinganiswa kwamandla kumbe izidingo zokuguqula lokhu, ukuqinisekisa ukuthi kuba khona okunye okungenziwa okuhambisana noshintsho kwezombusazwe nakwezenhlalo yomnotho. Esikhundleni salokho, njengoba ngike ngasho, indlela okusetshenziswa ngayo amasu egcwele ngaphakathi nangaphandle koMfelandawonye Ongunxantathu igxile ezingeni lokukwazi ukuzimela kwabantu ngabanye nokuzithathela izinqumo mayelana nalokho abakukhethayo. Ngakhoke abantu abathize babekelwa izikhundla ezithize ngethemba lokuthi bazofeza lokho okufunwa yizinqubomgomo ezithandwa yilelo qembu elihambisana nemigomo ethile. Ngenkathi kwenzeka lokho, intando yeningi kanye nentuthuko efaka konke akube kusanakwa kuphela kubhekwa ukuthi umsebenzi utholwa ngumuntu ofunakalayo na.

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Kanti, njengoba sekuke kwashiwo kaningana, ubuholi bezombusazwe obukhaliphile akumele bubone kuphela imiphumela yokulinganiswa kwamandla kodwa kumele buphinde bakhe izinguquko ekwakhekeni, ezizokwazi ukuguqula ukusatshalaliswa kwamandla ezombusazwe nawezomnotho nokuzosiza ukuletha imiphumela ehambisana noshintsho. Uhlelo lwezombusazwe oluhambisana noshintsho obelungasetshenziswa kumele lwenze ukuba kube khona ubuholi obunjalo futhi luholwe yibo lobo buholi. Mhla kwenzeka konke lokhu, emazingeni ahlukahlukene emikhakheni eshiyanayo yezombusazwe, yezinkampani neyasemiphakathini, okubalwa kuyo ngisho nezikhundla eziphezulu kakhulu enhlanganweni ebusayo, iNingizimu Afrika iyoqala umsebenzi omude nobukhuni wokuguqula izilinganiso zamandla emphakathini wethu bese yakha uhlobo lomphakathi wamasoshiyali wentando yeningi nobophezekile futhi obhekanayo nalokho okukhathalelwe yizakhamuzi zayo.

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