

# Ezomnotho zezombusazwe eNingizimu Afrika emva kweMarikana

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Uma iqembu elibusayo kunoma iliphi izwe laseAfrika selizika ekujuleni kokuvumela umbutho walo wamaphoyisa ukufeza izinhloso zezimboni ezisabalele emazweni amaningi zabamhlophe ngokubulala inqwaba yabasebenzi abamnyama ukuze baqede isiteleka esathatha isikhathi esifishane, njengoba kwenzeka eNingizimu Afrika ngoAgasti, lokhu kumele amanyala(travesties) hayi-nje kumalungelo esintu kodwa nakubudlelwane bamandla okusebenza. Lesisehlakalo lisinika ithuba lokucabanga kanzulu kabusha ngezombusazwe. Kodwa lokhu kungenzeka kuphela uma abantu bebhekana ngqo ngokuvululekile nezifundo ezishiya uhlevane ezifundwe ngenkathi umbutho wenkululeko obuxhaswa umhlaba wonke amashumishumi eminyaka uphelelwa isimilo. Uxhaso olwalavela kuzozonke izinhlobo zemibusazwe, ngoba lombutho, uKhongolose (ANC), wathembisa ukususa hayi-nje ubandlululo olwalusemthethweni kodwa yonke inhlobo yokungabikhona kulingana ngebala kanye impela nangezigaba kanye nokuxhashazwa ngobulili futhi. Kodwa manje iANC ibonakala yenza izinto eziningi ziba sesimweni esibi kakhulu.



Kunemicabango emihlanu esheshe ifike ngokwenzeka eMarikana, amakhilomitha angu100 enyakatho nentshonalanga yaseGoli, okwaqala ngezikhathi zehora lesine ntambama mhla zingu16 kuAgasti:

- Amaphoyisa aseNingizimu Afrika akhipha umyalelo wokuthi abasebenzi ababalelwa kwizinkulungwane bemayini yeplatinum ababeteleka – abalawula ukuhlelwa kwamatshe – ukuthi basuke entabeni lapho babehlanganyele khona njengokujwayelekile ezinsukwini ezine ezingaphambilini, bezungeza abasebenzi ngocingo oluhlabayo;
- Lentaba yayingangekhilomitha ukusuka endaweni yaseLonmin, abasebenzi basemayini babengavimbile ukusebenza kwemayini noma iyiphi ingxenye, noma-ke babekwisiteleka ‘esingavikelekile’ sokuzimela bona, abasebenzi babanelungelo ngokomthethosisekelo lokuhlangana;
- Sebesuka entabeni, abangu34 babulawa kwathi abangu78 babo badutshulwa ngezinhlamvu, konke lokhu ezandleni zezikhali zamaphoyisa, beshiya abanye

beyizingekle unomphela, kwathi abayishumi kwabafayo abangu34 ngenkathi behamba esikhaleni esincane socingo, kwathi laba abangamashumi amabili nane babulawa – abanye ngamaphoyisa ayedubula ehamba ngezindiza ezinophephela emhlane – ehlane kanye nasentabeni encane eyayiseduzane, ngenkathi bebaleka;

- Akukho nelilodwa iphoyisa elalimala kulesisidumo;
- Bangu270 abasebenzi basemayini ababoshwa ngalelolanga, okwalandelwa impelaviki lapho abashushisi babeka lamadoda ‘okubulala’ ozakwabo’ (besebenzisa umthetho ongacacile wesikhathi-sobandlululo wokubhekana necala ngokuhlanganyela), okwalandelwa ukuphoxeka emva kokuba umshushisi kazwelonke ngaphansi kwengcindezi eyayiqhamuka kungqongqoshe wezobulungiswa, kanye neningi labantu baseNingizimu Afrika.



Okwenzeka ngokuthi lokukubulawa kwenzeka kanjani kwaqala kwangabonakala kusaqala, ngoba abezindaba baqhamuka nomcabango ngemuva kwemigqa yamaphoyisa 9 bangakazi ngalesosikhathi ‘ngentatshana okwakubulawa kuwo) kanye nemibiko esemthethweni yamaphoyisa kokubili kwenza ‘isidididi semp’i’, kusho owayenguNgqongqoshe Wezomoya uRonnie Kasrils. Umphumela kwakunguhlaza abasebenzi basemayini. Kwaze kwabe semva kwezinsuku ezimbalwa emva kwesidumo lapho izingqapheli – kwiSeptember Imbizo Commission, umcwaningi wesikhungo semfundo ephakeme iUniversity of Johannesburg uPeter Alexander kanye nethimba lakhe, kanye nentatheli yabezindaba iDaily Maverick uGreg Marinovich – bathola iqiniso ngalokukanye ukudutshulwa. IDaily Maverick yaqhakamba phambili ngokufika kulendawo yalesisihlava sobugebengu ngezintatheli ezinokucophelela kakhulu. Izintatheli eziningi zona zazithembela emibikweni esemthethweni, ikakhulukazi yamaphoyisa kanye nePhiko Lukazwelonke Lokushushisa [National Prosecuting Authority], ngisho nngesikhathi sebetshelwa ukuthi imibiko eminingi yayingamanga.

Ukuncika ngasohlangathoni lwamaphoyisa kwabezindaba kwavumela ukuthi kube nesithombe ekuhlakapheni kwesidala sokuthi amaphosyisa 'ayehlaselwa' ngamadoda ayengenagqondo, ayedakwe izidakamizwa futhi angaba ababulali aqhamuka emaphandleni ezindaweni eMaMpondweni eMpumalanga Kapa. eLesotho kanye naseMozambique, ayesebenzisa 'umuthi' (imithi yesintu) ukuzivikela ezinhlamvini zesibhamu. Imibiko eminingi yabezindaba ngisho neqembu lamaKhomanisi aseNingizimu Afrika (iSACP) umbiko wabo osemthethweni wabiza abasebenzi ngokuba nemiqondo yangesikhathi sangaphambili songxiwankulu sezomoya, ukuzama ukuchaza ukuthi yini eyayingabenza bahlasele amaphoyisa, kusukela egebeni lamamitha ayisihlanu socingo oluhlabayo, bephethe imikhonto yasendulo kanye nezinduku/izagila.

Empeleni kubonakala sengathi ngenkathi ephuma ngentuba, baqala basondela ngasocingweni, kunokuthi babaleke babhekane ngqo namaphoyisa ayehlome kakhulu. Imibiko yokuthi umsebenzi wasemayini okunguyena owaqala wadubula aikaqinisekiswa. Amaphoyisa athi wona kunezibhamu eziyisithupha ezatholwa kwabafike, nabalimele kanye nakubasebenzi ababoshiwe, kodwa nalokhu kusalindele ukuqinisekiswa. Noma-ke ngoAgasti 17, uMongameli Gedleyihlekisa Zuma ashiya umhlangano wesifundazwe sabaholi kusasele usuku uphele, kwamthatha isonto ukuyobheka ukuthi lokhu kwakuzophetha kanjani, wasememezela ikhomishani esemthethweni yokuphenya ukuthi kulalelwe ngokwenzeka, owakqala emva kwamasonto ayisithupha ngaphandle kokuzilungiselela okwanele ukuqinisekisa ukuthi imindeni yabashonayo yayikhona.



Kukhona, vele, okungandiswa, kakhulu mayelana nalokhu, okwesikhathi esifushane kanye neside. Okulandelayo okudidayo kumayelana nokubulawa kwangaphambilini kwabasebenzi abayisithupha, amaqaphi ababili kanye namaphoyisa ayeseduzane, okwaqala ngemashi mhlazingu 11 kuAgasti kwabasebenzi ababeteleka bemelene nezikhulu zeNyunyana kaZwelonke Yabasebenzi Basezimayini (NUM) okwahlangatshezwa ngukudutshulwa, okusolwa ukuthi kwakuqhamuka kwizikhulu zeNUM. Ukudonsisana kulenadawo kwakhula masisha. Futhi lapho abaqaphi namaphoyisa sebebulewe, , okusolakala sengathi abasebenzi baseMarikana, lokhu kwagcwalisa umqondo wobulungiswa; izithombe ezinyantisayo zamaphoyisa abulawa ayekade ekhonjiswa kwamanye amaphoyisa ayesebenza ngomhlaka 16 kuAgasti. Ukusocongwa kwabamele abasebenzi (shopstewards) kaNUM kwakhula, futhi.

Kodwa kufanele kukhunjulwe ukuthi lokhu kwakungebona ubuhixihixi bokuqala, ngoba udlame oluncike nokuteleka onyakeni odlule eLonmin kanyenakwezinye izindawo zezimayini zeplatinum zabulala abanye abasebenzi abaningi, futhi ezinyangeni eziyisithupha ezingaphambili, abasebenzi basemayini abangu17 000 baxoshwa okwasikhashana eduze kwalapha embonini enkulukazi emhlabeni yesibili yeplatinum , eImplats, ngaphambi kokuvumelana ngamaholo, okwadlula nemiphefumulo engaphezulu kuka50. Kodwa, akukho okwalobuhixihixi bamandla okusebenza kanye nemali okwakungafana nesimo esishubile njengesenzeka eMarikana, abaniningi bakholelwa,

ukuthi ukuba kwakungebona lobubudlwelwane bokuhloniphana ngokweqile phakathi kombuso, neqembu elibusayo kanye nenyunyana yabasebenzi okwenzeke ngaphambi kweminyaka engamashumi amabili nezimboni ezinkulu zezimayini. Lobubudlwane obunesanayo, ngisho nezimboni ezinezimilo ezimbi futhi eziqasha okwesikhashana, emoleni kwacasula abasebenzi, kwenyusa ukuphatha kwabo kumazinga amakhulu.

### **Uphenyo olusemthethweni**

Ukusocongwa okwakunesihluku kanje kwakungukushaya imiqondo yomphakathi kangangokuthi uZuma waqhamuka esezwakalisa ukuzisola okuthile. Mhlazingu 17 kuAgasti, wamemezela imibandela okufanele ibhekwe ngekhomishani yokuhlonza. Elokhu engunaza ngokufana nokujezisa, wathi izimvume zemayini yaseLonmin yayingase iphele, uZuma akazange enze lokhu abaningi ababekulindlele ukuthi abhekane ngqo ngqo, njengesiboniso-nje, ukuthi ubani owayedubule bani ngaphansi kwemiyalelo kabani futhi ngaphansi kwemiqondo yamiphi imibandela. IMarikana iyisehlakalo esimbi kakhulu okungangokuthi uZuma ngthi ukudlula kancane kwizinkulumbo ezijwayelekile ezingenamiphumela, akhiphe isijeziso esiqinile ngeLonmin ukuze aphinde aqondise kabusha imizwa ephakeme kahulumeni wakhe. UZuma ubuze amajaji amathathu (okungekho noyedwa wawo owaziwa kakhulu emphakathini noma ngokuchema okugqamile) imibuzo embalwa abantu ababefune ngempela ukuthi iphendulwe:

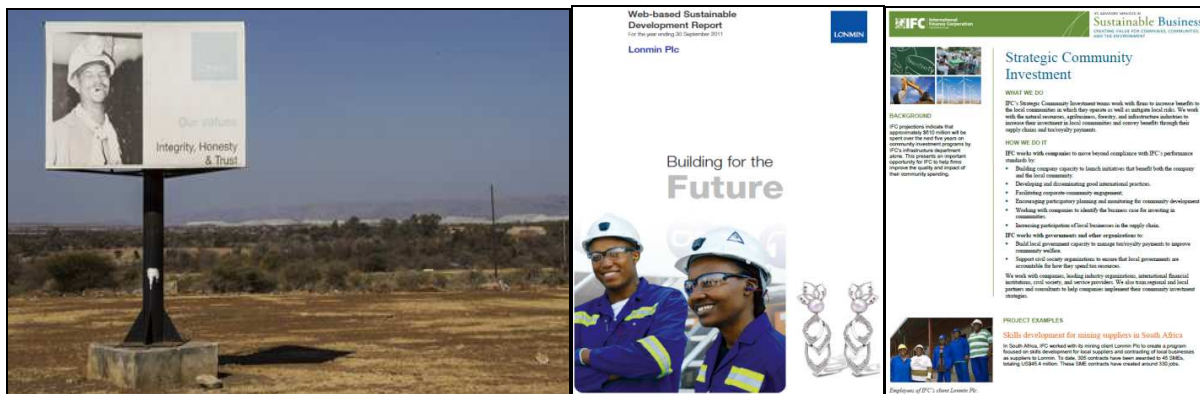
- Ngabe iLonmin yazama kanjani ukuxazulula ukuxabana phakathi kwamandla emisebenzi kanye nezinyunyana, futhi nangendlela abenza ngayo odlameni emayini ngaphambi kwesidumo sokudubula kukamhlaka 16 kuAgasti? Abakuyalelwe ukuthi bakwenze 'futhi ukuhlola imigomo yaseLonmin jikelele, okuhlanganisa inqubo, imikhuba kanye nokuziphatha mayelana nabaqashwa kanye namandla abasebenzi ahlange.' Noma kubonakala ngokucacile ukungabikhona komyalezo osemthethweni ukubuka ngokujulile umphumela weLonmin njengeResource-Cursing company – okumbandakanya ukukhokhela amphoyisa endawo ukubenzela umsebenzi wabo ongcolile-wokuqeda isiteleka – lamakhomishani amathathu kodwa-ke angasabalalisa 'ukuphenya noma ngesenzo noma ngokushiya ngaphandle, imboni ngokubhekene ngqo noma okungabhekene okwadala ukuthi kufe abantu noma ukulimala kwamantu kanye nesakhiwo.' Lokhu kungathatha isikhathi eside, uma amajaji uma ezwa ukuthi loludaba ludinga isikhathi eside (amajaji aseNingizimu Afrika awajwayele ukwenza kanjalo).
- Kungani Umbutho Wamaphoyisa aseNingizimu Afrika asebenzisa 'amandla futhi ngabe lokho kwakunesizathu noma kufanelekile'?
- Kanti futhi kwenzeka kanjani 'ngesenzo seNyunyana Yezwelonke Yabsenzi Basezimayini', ngabe kwakukhona 'ukulawula okukhona kumalunga ayo kanye neSosesheni Wabasebenzi Basezimayini neNyunyana Yezokwakha', kanti futhi ngabe kwaba khona ukulawuleka kumalunga... ukuqinisekisa ukuthi ukuziphatha kwabo kusemthethweni'?
- Ngabe uMnyango Wezinsiza Zemikhiqizo Embiwe noma omunye-nje umnyango kahulumeni wenza kahle?
- Kanti kwenzakalani mayelana 'nokuziphatha kwabantu ngabanye kanye namaqembu angahlelekile ekugqugquzeleni noma ekuqhubeleni phambili isimo sokungezwani noma sokusukelana'?

Ukuhlukana kwabantu besizwe kujulile futhi kubanzi okungangokuthi umsebenzi wekhomishani, namo ngabe izinga lezimpindulo ezinokuphenduleka ngokushesha, ngeke zikwazi ukubopha amanxeba ukwahlukana okukhulu kwemibono noma ukuqala ubumbano kwezombusazwe okuhlelekile. ICosatu yabona ukuthi izizathu ezihlelekile ezinye kwakufanele zibhekelelwe, kanti futhi Ikhomishani Yamalungelo Esintu YaseNingizimu Afrika kanye nabaphenyi abazimele abathuthukile okuhlanganisa iBench Marks Foundation, bayokhipha imibiko emikhulu emasontweni embalwa azayo.

### **Izithandwa zezimboni – umbuso – amandla emisebenzi**

ILonmin kudala yayiphethwe nguTiny Rowland, indoda eyayithanda ukuzimbandakanya nokukhwabanisa kangangokuthi Imboni yakhe yaseLandani naseRhodesia yabizwa 'ngobuso obungamukelekile bongxiwankulu' ngundunankulu waseNgilandi uEdward

Heath ngo1973 emva kwesikhathi esisodwa sokukhwanisa kanye nokusabisa kuvela obala. URowlanda washona ngo1998, emva kokulahlekelwa ukulawula kwemboni iminyaka eyisihlanu engaphambilini ngenxa yokuzibandakanya nembusi wendlovuyangena waseLibya uMuammar Gaddafi. Iziqubulo zeLonmin zaseLonmin zabue zenziwa kabusha – 'Isimilo, Iqiniso kanye noKwethembeka' okuhlabisa amabhodi amakhulu eMarikana – kanye 'neSustainable Development Report' ka2010 yalemboni wawubekwe 'njengomuhle kakhulu' ngu Ernst and Young. ILonmin ize ikhishwe kwiwebsite eholayo yeBhange Lomhlaba njengesibonelo esihamba phambili seInternational Finance Corporation (IFC) 'indlela ehlekile yokutshala emphakathini,' okwakwenza iBhange lizinikele ngo2007 ngo\$150 wezigidi ngokuthalwa kwezimali nokubolekiswa. (Emavikini amabili emva kwalesisihlaba sokubulawa kwabasebenzi, umongameli omusha weBhange uJim Yong Kim wavakashela ePitoli kanye naseGoli. Ngokujwayelekile, waziba ukubhekana nokutshala kwakhe izimali eLonmin eduzane-nje eMarikana, esikhundleni salokho wakhapha isiqinisekiso sokuxhasa okugqamile kwesivumelwano seIFC nemboni encane yokushicilela/nezamaposi ezigwilikile ngenxa yokuthola amathenda avela kumbuso.)



ILonmin kufanele futhi ibe neqholo ngokuthi ngoba ixhaswe iBhange Lomhlaba ukutshala kwabo emphakathini kobuqili, okwenza izibe isimo esibucayi sesakhiwo semijandalo esiseduzane, iNkaneng. Ukusweleka kwamanzi ahlanzekile, ezokuhlazwa, ukumpompwa kwamanzi ezimvula ezinkulu ngamapayipi, ugesi, izikole, imitholampilo kanye nezinye izindawo ezingasiza iNkaneng kungahlaleki khona kahle njengendawo ekhiqiza amandla okusebenza njengezinye izindawo eNingizimu Afrika, kodwa indlela iLonmin eyayibhekelela ngayo izinkinga zalendawo kwakuwubala-nje. Esikhundleni sokwakha indawo enhle yokuhlala abasebenzi bangaphandle, njengesiboniso-nje, yayikhokhela imali enganele 'yokuhlala ngaphandle' ukuxhasa ukukhokhela ukuqasha emijondolo, imali engu\$200 ngenyanga, okwakubuye kujike kuhlangukise nemali ethunyelwa emakhaya esifundazweni, kwenza ukuthi kucishe kungahlaleki eNkaneng.

Ukuhlaselwa kobudlelwane obunempumelelo nomphakathi baseLonmin kwanika mhlawumbe abaphathi iqholo lokuthi ukuqhubeka kweminyaka kokuxhaphaza amandla abasebenzi basezifundazweni ngamaholo aphantsi kungaqhubeka. Inyunyana yabasebenzi okwakuyiyona eyayihamba phambili isebenzela abasebenzi abamnyama, iNUM, ngokuzibandakanya [nabaqashi]okwenza abamele abasebenzi baholelwe ngaphezulu

ngokuphindwe kathathu kunoquqaba lwabasebenzi, futhi unobhala jikelele weNUM uFrans Baleni ehola u\$160 000 ngonyaka. UBaleni waze wanxusa iLonmin ukuthi ixoshe abasebenzi abangu9000 basemayini eseduzane iKaree sekuphela unyaka ka2011, ngenxa yokuthi babeye ngokuzimela bona kwisiteleka. Njengowayeyisekela likaBaleni, uArchie Palane esho, 'Kuthusa kakhulu – futhi akukaze kwenziwe ukuthi inyunyana inxuse umqashi ukuthi axoshe abasebenzi. Nomangabe ikuphi ekuphikiswanwa ngakho nomangabe benzani, lokhu akufanele nhlobo kwenzeke. Kunikeza isithombe sokuthi awunandaba nhlobo. Ungafuna kanjani-nke ukuthi labo basebenzi bakwethembe uma ubamele kunoma iziphi izingxoxo?' Kwabangu9000, abangu7000 abaqashwa kabusha kodwa bayishiya iNUM bajoyina abaqhudelana nayo uSosesheni Wabasebenzi Benyunyana Bezimayini noKwakha (AMCU). Okwaba umphumela owodwa, eduzane-nje eImplats, kubasebenzi abangu28 000, amaphesenti angu70 ayengamalunga eNUM sekuphela unyaka ka2011, kodwa ngoSeptemba ka2012 isibalo sasesehlile saba ngamaphesenti angu13.

Kwezemvelo, yonke lendawo ekhiqiza iplatinum iholela kuphoyizeni kanye nokungcolisa komoya okusho ukuthi 'iEnvironmental Performance Index' yaseNingizimu Afrika yashenxa yafinyelela kunamba5 kumazwe angu133 enza kabi kakhulu ekuhlonzweni ngabacwaningi bezikhungo zemfundo ephakeme emanyuvesi aseColombia naseYale ngalonyaka. Umthelela omkhuluweMineral Energy Complex wokungcolisa umoya iwona okufanele usolwe kakhulu, okumbandakanya ukumbiwa kwamalahle okusetshenziswa kwimisebenzi yokumbiwa kakhulu. Kulesisimo, iLonmin kwakufanele ibhekelele ukucekelela kwayo okuqhubekayo kulendawo yamanzi kwiplatinum, lapho ukungcolisa komoya kuthlakala yonke indawo.

Futhi-ke, isifundazwe sohulumeni waseNyakatho neMpumalanga (North West) kanye nomasipala waseRustenburg kugcwele inkohlakalo. Okwakufana nesiqubulo kwakungukubulawa ngo2009 kowakhipha amahlazo owaziwa kakhulu kuKhongolose, uMoss Phakoe, lapho ijaji lathola khona ukuthi kwakuhlelwe nguSobaba womkhandlu waseRustenburg uMatthew Wolmarans. Futhi, kulesisimo, iLonmin kanye nezinye izimboni ezinkulu zezimayini kulwendawo yeplatinum kungase yayibheka iNingizimu Afrika njengenye-nje indawo yamazwe Angaphansi Kwezentuthuko (Third World) okwakufanele ukuthi abe ngapahansi kweResource Cursed. Lesisisho sijwayelwe ukubizwa ngezindawo lapho kubusa khona ondlovuyangena kanye nezihlobo ukuvumela imali yezimboni ezisabalele emazweni amaningi kwizimboni zokumbiwa phansi akwazi ukucanasa. (Cishe sebefika esibalweni samashumi amabili nane ababulewe ngokukhipha amahlazo abanjengoPhakoe kuleminyaka.)

Izimboni zemindeni njengomndeni wakwaZuma, okubikwa ukuthi banezokuhweba ezibalelwa ku220. Akuthusi ukwazi ukuthi indodana kaZuma uDuduzana ingomunye wabanikazi beJIC, imboni enkulu kakhulu kulendawo yeplatinum eduma kakhulu ngokuqasha okwesikhashana (kwenye inkathi okubizwa 'ngokusebenzisa abanye ukubaqashela', noma iJIC ikuphika lokhu, futhi iNUM inesivumelwano sokuyazisa lemboni). Futhi akuyona imfihlo ukuthi umshana kamongameli uKhulubuse Zuma udlala indima ecekela phansi endaweni eseduzane lakumbiwa khona igolide njengomunye wabanikazi beAurora, kanye nomzukululu kaNelson Mandela kanye nommeli kaZuma. Lemboni yezokumbiwa phansi mhlawumbe iyona kakhulukazi edume ngokucekela phansi ezemvelo

kanye nezinxushunxushu zamandl emisebenzi emva kwesikhathi sombuso wobandlululo, bekhombisa ukuthi izindlu zezimboni zokumbiwa phansi abanikazi bazo abamhlophe babanika izimayi ezasezisebenzile ezazinokugcwala amahlazo eAcid Mine Drainage kubanikazi abasha abamnyama, abangenalo ulwazi olunzulu ukubhekana nezinxushunxushu ezingeke zigwemeke.

Lokhu kuyingxenye yonke yokususa ubandlululo kubungxiwankulu bobandlululo. Njengoba umhleli weBusiness Day uPeter Bruce wabhala ngo2003, 'Uhulumeni uhehwe kakhulu ngamahwebi abakhulu, futhi awukwazi ukubona ngale kwekubafanele basheshe bakwenze,' Lokhu okufanele bakwenze kwakungukwandia imali –'kufanele sizame ukudala futhi siqinise isigaba songxiwankulu abamnyama', kusho umholi owayebusa ngaphambi kukaZuma uThabo Mbeki, ngenkathi esathatha ubuholi kuMandela ngo1999 – ngaphakathi kwezingxenye zamandla aholayolayo ezombusazwe kuKhongolose, kuhambisana namandla okuzwana ukuqinisekisa ukuthi inqwaba yabavoti iyolokhu iqhubeka njalo unomphelo. Ukukhombisa lokhu, kwisandla sezokutshala (izimali) sikaKhongolose, iChancellor House, kwenze izivumelwano ezidume kabi ezimbandakanya ukuthenga kwiHitachi ukuthi ibalethele izincibilikisi kwizimboni zamandla omlilo wamalahle njengama-nje ezakhiwayo bude buduze neMarikana, eMedupi.

IBhange Lomhlaba lenze okuyiyona mali yembolekiso ukuxhasa lesisivumelwano, kanye nosihlalo weEskom uValli Moosa naye oyilunga Lekomidi Yezimali LikaKhongolose ngalesosikhathi, Umvikeli Womphakathi waseNingizimu Afrika wathi lenxushunxushu yokwenza lokhu "akulunganga". Kodwa uma sekubhekwa ukuzimelela kwamandla ezombusazwe kanye nokukhulunyelwa nguRobert Zoellick weBhange Lomhlaba, isivumelwano saphumelela futhi manje emva kweminyaka emibili yokulibala angasolwa, okungethusi, kwizincibilikisi ezingasebenzi kahle. (Lolusuku uJim Kim afika ngalo eGoli, abasebenzi abambalwa bokwakha eMedupi bateleka okwakuhlanganisa ukushiswa kwezinye izakhiwo, kwaholela ekukhishweni kwabasebenzi abangu17 000, inkinga engazange imeme ukuthi abe nvo emphakathi ngenkathi ekuleli noma kwi blog yakhe esebuyela emuva.)

Ngabe uKhongolose uhwehwe kangakanani abahwebi abakhulu? Emva kwesikhathi sikaAlbert Luthuli – owahlonyeliswa ngeNobel Peace Prize ngo1960 – abanye futhi abalandela ezinyathelweni zakhe kwingxenye yesithathu eminyakeni eyikhulu kunguOliver Tambo, engekho kuleli (ngesikhathi sobandlululo) kodwa iminyaka emithathu yempilo yakhe, kanye noNelson Mandela owabangumongameli kaKhongolose kwaze kwaba ngu1997 kanti futhi waba ngumongameli wombuso kwaze kwaba ngu1991 Iqembu lalingemsulwa, ukubola kusobala kulabo ababenolwazi. Njengesibonelo esisodwa sezindlela zalabo abadala, sekuphela iminyaka ka1990, ungqongqoshe wezokuvikela uJoe Modise engathi walungiselela ukuthi izingxenye ezinkulu zesivumelwano sezikhali ukucebisa yena kanye nobhululu bakhe ngokukhwabanis okwakuqondile. Umandela kanye noNgqongqoshe Wezezimali uTrevor Manuel basiziba lesisenzo.

Indoda eyodwa eyayishayela loluhlelo lokukhohlakala kuKhongolose uRowland, owayekade eyilunga Lolusha LukaHitler eHamburg, kodwa wafunda kakhulu ezikoleni zaseNgilandi. Emva kokuphela kweMpi Yomhlaba Yesibili ngenxa yobuhlobo bakhe baseJalimane, wayengumqaphi zimpahla esiteshini saseLandani eEuston kodwa ngokuza



ezweni elalaziwa ngeSouthern Rhodesia ngalesosikhathi. uRowland wenza ingcebo yakhe ngogwayi wakhulu kakhulu ekuhwebeni kwalamazwe ayebuswa ngabamhlophe baphesheya ngobandlululo. Emva kokuphatha iLonrho, kusukela kusaqala ama1960 waba isethenjwa esihamba phambil kubabusi bendlovuyangena baseAfrika kanye nebemibutho yababezabalaza, okwakumbandakanya iZimbabwe. Ikulabaholi-ke kanye nemikhiqizo yamazwe ayo eminingi yemvelo, ezokuthutha ngojantshi kanye namaphephandaba lapho azuza khona ingcebo enkulu kwimboni yakhe ayeyilawula ngokuyibhekelela kakhulu. Impumelelo kaRowland ihlanganisa ukudayisa ngeplatinum ukusiza ukuqeda ukukhishelwa ngaphandle kwezomnotho kombuso wobandlululo waseNingizimu Afrika, ngokuthi akulungise ngokundizisa uTambo ngebhanoyi eliphambili nokumthengela isithimuthimu somuzi ezindaweni ezaphambili ezihlala abelunge, eSandhurst. Wayehlolenyiswe ngeOrder of Good Hope, ukuhlonishwa okukhulu eNingizimu , ngo1996, waseshona ngo1998.

NoMandela, waphiwa isamba esincane semali yizicebi emva kokukhululwa echithe iminyaka engu27 ejele ngo1990, okwakwenele ukuthi abe nomcebo ka\$10 wezigidi zamadola, njengoba kwavela kwisehlukaniso sakhe esibi somshado noWinnie Madikizela-Mandela. Akwaziwa ukuthi ngabe lezizipho zenza kanjani ukuthi uMandela azibhekelele kanjani leziziceb, noma wasebenzisa udumo lwakhe emhlabeni wonke enzela laba ababemnikelela. Kodwa njengoba kubonakala kwisiboniso esisodwa, umnikelo ka\$25 wezigidi owaqhamuka kumbusi wendlovuyangena waseIndonesia uSuharto kumkhankaso kaKhongolose wokhetho lango1994 kungachza ukuhlomelelisa kukaMandela ngeOrder of Good Hope kulendlovuyangena, amaviki ambalwa ngaphambi kokuba izibhelu zabantu zimchithe zamphoqa ukuthi abalekele eJakarta.

Lokhu kuvuleka kokukhwabanisa ngobaba bakahulumeni wombuso wentando yeningi kubonakala kwanele ukujabhisa kanye nokuchukuluza abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ngokuba nokudangala nokungathakaseli ezombusazwe, kodwa-ke iMarikana isishintshe okuningi okukhombisa ukuthi okunye okulandelayo okudidayo kufanele kubhekwane nakho ngqo: ukwenyanya ngabasebenzi kanye nezakhamizi zemiphakathi ngoKhongolose, iNUM kanye neSACP. Lezizihlangano ezisaqhubeka zizichaza 'njengamandla enqubekela phambili' zisophe ukuyisa 'iNational Democratic Revolution' kwizinga elilandelayo', njengezobulungiswa kwezomnotho. Kodwa lokhu ngokwejwayelekile obumbaxambili 'ukukhuluma ulwimi lwabantu' ukuze 'basondelane nokuba ontamolukhuni', njengokuqhubeka kweNUM ukucela 'ukuthula' kwimboni yezimayini 'entekenteke'. Empeleni, izimboni ezihamba phambili eziyisishagalolunye zazuzwa u\$4.5 wezigidigidi wenzuzo ngo2011 eNingizimu Afrika. Bengasavumeli ukwenziwa izilima manje, abasebenzi bakhombisa izimpawu zokungalawuleki, behamba ngamashumi ezinkulungwane besuka ekubeni ngamalunga eNUM beya kwiAMCU.

Ngisho nasemva kwababulawa, abasebenzi baseMarikana banqaba ukubuyela emisebenzini yabo yokuphihliza amatshe baze bathole ukukhushulelwa kakhulu kwamaholo abo. Ngokungeneleka kweSA Council of Churches (ikakhulukazi uMbhisobhi webandla iAnglican wasePitoli uJo Seoka), abasebenzi baseLonmin baphumelela ngamaphesenti angu22 emva kwesiteleka esathatha inyanga, futhi lokhu kwasekuvunyelenwe ngenkathi sebethenjiswe iholo elikhulukazi ngonyaka ozayo. Kanti

futhi, lokhu kwaba nomthelela owanika cishe oyedwa kubasebenzi abayisihlanu bezimayini iqholo lokuthi ngokushesha nabo bangenelele iziteleka ezizimele, okuholele ezimweni eziningi ukunyuselwa ngaphezulu kwababekucabanga kwamaholo. Lobubushoshovu obufanayo buvele bagqama kwezamatrukhi, kwabezimoto, kwabamandla okusebenza kumasipala nakwezinye izingxenye zabasebenzi. Manje, ngabe, lesisihlava sokukhula kokuzethemba kwabasebenzi kuchaza okuthini kwezombusazwe, kwikusasa lezombusazwe wezomfelandawonye [weANC, Cosatu naSACP] kanye nabezimbongi?



### Izingathekiso ngomlando kanye nezifundo ngezombusazwe mayelana nesibhicongo sababulawa eMarikana

Ngabe uzothatha isikhathi esingakanani lomzabalazo okhulayo womzabalazo wamabanga eNingizimu Afrika? Sengihlale kulelizwe iminyaka engu22, angikaze ngibone isikhaehi esinomdlandla, nokudinwa kangaka, bobushoshovu babasebenzi obunhahlelekile kanye. ver witnessed such a period of vibrant, explosive, but uncoordinated worker militancy. Izindaba zokugcina engizizwile nezamandla okusebenza ukuthi abasebenzi angu12 000 baxoshwa ngombaqashwe kabusha hlaka12 Oktoba yiAngloplats ngenkanthi kunesiteleka esizimele (futhi kuyazeka bazobuye baqashwe ezinsukwini ezizayo umangabe sekufikwe esivumelwaneni esilindelekile), futhi nezinye izinkulungwane zabanye zisatshiswa yizimbongi zezimayini. Uhulumeni kaZuma uyathuka ngokulahlekelwa kokwaziswa kokubusa kwawo, wazi wamemezela ngokumiswa ngokunyuswa kwamaholo kwizimbongi ezizimele eziphezulu ngomhlaka17 kuOktoba, izimbongi eziyingxenye yombuso kanye nakubaphathi bombuso njengendlela yokuzincengela ekubhekaneni nokungabikhona kwemisebenzi.

Njengoba uKhongolose, neCosatu kanye neSACP iqhubeka ihluleka ukunqoba ukukhula komzabalazo wamandla emisebenzi futhi njengoba ukulokhu kusatshiswa kokuxoshwa kwabateleka ngokuzimela kulokhu kukhula yizimbongi zasezimayini kukhulisa lobubuhixihixi, akekho ongazi ngempela ukuthi kuzokwenzekani ngempela. Ukuzama, kodwa-ke, ukukala lokhu kunyuka kokugcineka kwezinga lokunyanya kwabasebenzi, emva kwezinyanga ezimbili Ngesibhicongo Sokubulawa Kwabasebenzi abangu34 eMarikana mhla zingq16 kaAgasti ngesikhathi beteleka ngokuzimela (kanye nabangu78 abalimala),

kudinga ukuhlaziya phakathi kwezinkolelo ezimbalwa zezmbusazwe eziqhamukile kwabanemimbono, kanjalo njengokubhekana nokusuke kwenzeka ngaphambilini. Ngabe ukusimamisa kwamandla kungakudluka uma ababusayo besebenzisa kakhulu isandla sabo – kanti ngabe izipgi izindlela zezinhlango ezidingekayo ukuvimbela ukwahlukanisa-nokunqoba kwamandla ahlango ayi aqhamuka phansi (ebantwini)?

### **Izingathekiso ngeMarikana kusukela ngezinsuku ezimbi zakudala**

Kufanele sixwaye ukuqhathanisa isibhicongo sokubulawa kokugcina kwabasebenzi basezimayini ngumbuso waseNingizimu Afrika, ngo1922 ngenkathi abasebenzi basezimayini abamhlophe betelekela ukwenyuka kwesibalo samandla emsebenzi abamnyama okwakunokuqhudelana (kumsindo wesiqubulo esesidume kabi se Qembu Lamakhomanisi AseNingizimu Afrika esithi, 'Basebenzi Bomhlaba hlango ninihlango eNingizimu eMhlophe!'). Bahlulwa kakhulu base beyahlango, isimo esenzekile abasebenzi baseMarikana kanye nabanye abangu100 000 abakade beya ezitelekeni ezizimele abekade bekugwema kuze kube manje. Labasebenzi manje bahamba bengamashumi ezinkulungwane besuka (kwimfelandawonye yezinyunyana) yeCosatu beya kwizinyunyana ezintsha, ezimele umnotho, namaholo futhi ezingazimbandakanyisi nezombusazwe – ezifana neSosesheni Wenyunyana Yezimayini kanye noKwakhiwa (iAMCU), ngokulindelekile ebizwa ngabafathuzi bomfelandawonye kaKhongolose osukhathale 'njenge-zishosho ezimelene nabo' ezintsha.

Imiphumela yezibhicongo zakamuva zezombusazwe kungasae kwenzeke ukuthi ayisifundisanga. Emva kukaMashi21, ngo1960 eSharpeville, lapho abadutshulwa babulawa abangu69 ngokushiswa amapasi ombuso obandlululo ibanga lendawo eyihora uma usuka eGoli, kwaba khona ukwehla kweombusazwe – zoquqaba kumzabalazo, okwalandelwa ukujikela okungenanhlaha kumzabalazo wezikhali kanye nokusuka kwezidingo kanye nabantu ukuya eamzweni angaphandle okungabanga namphumelela kumaqembu omzabalazo. Kwaze kwaba ngo1973 lapho ukuhlango kokuquqaba kwaqala kabusha, kusukela emachwebeni aseThekwini ngenkathi izinyunyana zabasebenzi seziqala ziba nedumela futhi.

Isibhicongo esalandela esikhulu sokubulawa kwabantu ngesikhathi sobandlululo saba ngoJuni ka1976 eSoweto ngenkathi inwqaba yezingane zesikole eziyinkulungwane ziya emgaqweni zabulawa ngamaphoyisa kanye nombutho wezempi ngokunqaba ukufundiswa ngolwimi lweBhunu. Ngeminyaka yo1980 kanye nokuqala kweminyaka ka1990, kwakunezibhicongo izinkathi nezinkathi zokubulawa kwabantu ngamadoda ayehlango abafunayo okuhambisana nobuzwe kwabasebenzi basezabelweni (ikakhulukazi abqhamuka KwaZulu) kuya kwinqembu Inkatha kanye nabachukuluzi bombuso ababaziwa nge'Third Force'. Kodwa isikhathi esingathaniwa nokwenzeke eMarikana Isibhicongo Sase sokubulawa kwabantu lapho abangu28 badutshulwa babulawa ngumbutho weBantustan uma sekuphela imashi eyayikade isesabelweni saseCiskei eMpumalanga Kapa.

Ngo1960, umphumela wolokukubulala kwaqala kwaba ukungabi nathemba kanye neshumi leminyaka yokungenzeki lutho. Ngo1976, izibhelu zaseSoweto zabeka iNingizimu Afrika kwibalazwe lokuhlanganyela komhlaba wonke kanye nokuphumelela kwezinhango

zenkululeko eMozambique, eAngola kanye naseZimbabwe, kwaholela ukuthi neminye imiphakathi, abasebenzi, abesifazane kanye nentsha ingenelele inyakazise ngama1980. Ngo 1992, ukwenyanya, mgokwenzeka eBisho kulandelwa ukusocongwa kukaChris Hani ngoApril ka1993 kwabhebhethekisa ukuthi kubekwe inyanga kaApril 1994 njengosuku lokuqala lokuvotela ngokukhetha-komuntu-ngamunye. Ngabe kukhona okunye okufana nakho emlandweni ukuba kulandelwe?

Ngamanye amazwi, umangabe umzabalazo wanamhlanje umelene nokungabizwa ngobandlululo lwezigaba, ngabe-ke lokukuvukela okwehlukile ouboniswe yiMarikana kufana nokuqala kweminyaka yama1960 futhi kungaba khona kakhulu ingcindezelu ngaphambi kokuba kuqhamuke iqembu eliphikisayo elicacisayo? Noma ngabe ukuthelelana kwezibhelu kwalokhu kanye nokwezinkulungwane kokunye kwezibhelu ezincane ezweni lonke kuqale kushintshela esimweni esiqhubekayo, njengoba kwenzeka phakathi kwesikhathi sika1976 – kuya ku1994, kumfelandawonye ofana neUnited Democratic Front (okuchaza ukhlukana okungeke kugwemeke phakathi komfelandawonye kaKhongolose-neCosaty kanye neSACP, okuyoholwa ngabasebenzi abamele ukubuswa ngabasebenzi ababekade bemele ubuzwe okuneqiniso kanye nentuthuko), kanye kokuqalwa kweQembu Labasebenzi ukubhekana ngqo nokubusa kukaKhongolose okhethweni?

Noma, kungase ngokushesha kwenzeka into engahlela kabusha ubudlelwane bamandla, njengoba kwenzeka ngo1992, njengoba sabona kwenzeka eGibhithe ngesikhathi sokuvuka kwabamandla okusebenza abazimele bemelene nezivumelwano ezaziphakathi kwezimboni-nombuso-nezinyunyana eminyakeni ngaphambi kokuhlanganiswa kwabantu kakhulu eTahrir Square mobilizations ngokuqala konyaka ka2011? 'Usuku lwaseTunisia' lungase lufike eNingizimu Afrika ngo2020, ngokusho komhlaziyi ohamba phambili uMoeletsi Mbeki (umfowabo omncane kalowo owayekade engumongameli). Kodwa umangabe lesisiqubu seziteleka siqhubeka futhi sizakha futhi abezimali bethi umbuso awushayele umthetho abasebenzi, besizwa yizithandwa zabo zezinyunyana, njenngenyunyana engumfelandawonye weCosatu iNyunyana kaZwelonke Yabasebenzi Basezimayini (iNUM) yazeka kanjalo, izinto zingavele zenzeke ngokushesha. Ngomhlaka17 kuOktoba, amazwi kaZuma mayelana nesidingo 'sokubuyela emsebenzini' kwakuzwakala sengathi kunento embi engase yenzeke, kwathu futhu ngosuku olulandelayo abasebenzi baseMarikana baya kwesinye siteleka ngokuzimela ngenxa yokuthi amaphoyisa aya emayini yaseplatinum futhi, ebopha abanye babaholi babo abahamba phambili.

### **Ukuqiniseka kwezombusazwe okusaphazekile**

Izinkulumompikiswano ezingapheli ngalezizindaba zilokhona, ikakhulukazi kwabezinyunyana abangamakhomanisi kodwa abami phakathi nendawo kanye namakhomanisi asondelene namanlda asemthethweni futhi avikela isimo esikhona sezombusazwe, ngakolunye uhllangothi, egxeka, amabimele ngokuthuthukisayo (ukuchema kwami). Okubonakala kakhulu kulenkilayitheka kanye nezinkulumompikiswano ukwehlukana ngaphakathi kukaKhongolose phakathi kwamandla amele – kanye namelene – noZuma, okwatheleleka kwiCosatu ngaphambi kwengqungquthela yayo yangoSeptemba. Ikhona lokhu okwakhubaza amandla okusebenza ayebonakala ephumela ngaphandle kumholi onedumela oyikhomanisi uZwelinzimaVavi

ayengeka akwazi ukukulawula. Futhi kwakunenkulumo yeNUM ivula ubuholi ukwenza inselelo kuVavi, ime ekutheni amalunga enyunyana ayo angu300 000 (okuyilona lunga lalomfelandawonye elikhulukazi) wayecheme-noZuma futhi igcizelela ukuxhaswa ngokusemthethweni iCosatu uVavi owayekade ekuphikisa.

Kuze kube nguSeptemba, uZuma emepeleni ubebonakala ebuthakathaka kwinsalelo yokuhola uKhongolose, kodwa ngokuqinisekisa ukuxhaswa iNUM kanye nezinye izinyunyana, kanye namalunga amaningi esifundazweni sakhe KwaZulu-Natal, ubonakala sengathi eseqina idolo ngokuphindwa akhethwe ekubeni ngumongameli kaKhongolose kwinqungquthela yaleliqembu ngoDisemba. Isekela likeMongameli uKgalema Motlanthe usabonakala emphakathini engaphumeli obala ukuthi angase aphonse uZuma inselelo, kodwa kwizehlakalo zakamuva sekuvele kwaqinisa kwenza ngenye babenza babonwa ngokwehlukene njengabaholi, njengoba zonke izingxenye zifuna ukusimama zizimbandakanya nabanamandla – esimweni esinobuhixhixi sezombusazwe.

Kodwa futhi ngesikhathi esisodwa, lokukuzihlelela kwezombusazwe kushiye iCosatu iisikhathi esiningi ithule mayelana neMarikana, ngenkathi amandla Enum kanye nokuvukelwa ngabanye abaholi kuphambana nabanye abaholi bezinyunyana kwenza kube nzima ukuthi lomfelandawonye ukwazi ngokusobala ukuxhasa abasebenzi basezimayini abazimele beplatinum, negolide kanye nemiminye imikhiqizo embiwayo. Kodwa futhi-ke, leziziteleka ezizimele ezikwenzayo ngokubona kwabaphathi bezinyunyana, kungaholela izinhlangothi eziqavile ezibakhulumelayo esidididini. Ukufuna amaholo aphezulu kakhulu kwakukukhulu kakhulu, futhi kwaphikiswa iNUM, kodwa kwagcina kuphumelele kubasebenzi baseMarikana ababenesibindi. Ukwenyuselwa amaholo ngamaphesenti angu22 - ngenkathi izinga komnotho lingamaphesenti angu6 – ukuthi baphumelela emva kwesiteleka esathatha inyanga kuyamangalisa, futhi kwangqungquzela amandla okusebenza ukubhekana nokuthi nabo babehlela ngokusola.

Ngokwehluleka ukukhipha imiyalelo masishane ngeMarikana, kuncane kakhulu okugqungquzele abasebenzi ukuhlanganyela ukumelana nemali yezimboni ezigcwele emazweni ambalwa kanye nokuhlaselwa ngumbuso, iCosatu yavele yangakwazi ukungenelela ngesikhathi lapho abaningi bekhalela ukusuka Kwimpi Yesikhundla kanye Nempi yeNhlangothi. Kwacishe kwenzeka ukuthu uVavi esikhundleni sakhe kubekwe umholi oncike kontamolukhuni, okwakunxenxwa yiNUM kodwa ngobawakhetha ukusondela kubaholi, waphinda waphumela ukuba ngunobhala jikelele akha phezu kwehlandla ebelinempumelelo emva kweminyaka engu13 esesikhundleni yena yedwa esisodwa yena yedwa kunabobonke abanye abaholi emhakathini waseNingizimu Afrika, ubenokwaziwa ngokukhulumela ubulungiswa kwezomnotho – kungakenzeki inhlekelele yaseMarikana. Empeleni ukuhamba kukaVavi ngokungacashi kuyoyonke idawo egcwele izimayini emasontweni alandelayo kwakungafani naye: kanye kanye nobuholi beNUM, esebenzisa kakhulu udumo lwakhe lokubukela phansi imizamo yabasebenzi.

Kukho konke, ukuvumelana engxenye kwenza iCosatu ibheke phezulu ngokulangazelela ubudlelwane namandla ombuso, njengoba ukuxhasa kwamandla omsebenzi uZuma ngisho nangesikhathi sakhe esinzima kakhulu kususkela ku2005-kuya ku2007 ngezinsuku zamacala enkohlakalo kanye nokudlwengula. Abaningi manje abangamakhomanisi

sebeyabona, ukuthi, ubuntamolukhuni beCosatu isona sithiyo esingumthelela omkhulu kwintuthuko. Ngifisa sengathi ngabe lokhu akunjalo, kodwa ngikuthola kunzima ukuthi akulona iqiniso.

Umphumela wesikhala mukhulu. Ikuphela komzenzisi onedumela uJulius Malema, owayekade engumholi wentsha kaKhongolose naye uqobo osolwa ngenkohlakalo 'njengomwhebi wamathenda' (izivumelwano zangaphakathi zezinkontileka zombuso) kwisifundazwe esingumakhelwane saseLimpopo, owakwazi ukuhlunganisa abantu abangu15 000 eMarikana ezinsukwini ezimbili emva kwesibhicongo sokubulawa kwabasebenzi. Lapho wakhuluma ngokuhlaziwa okunesidingo ngoZuma, iLonmin kanye nobhululu babo abamnyama abayizimbungulu abangongxiwankulu, njengomunye wabanikazi-engxenywe weLonmin uCyril Ramaphosa, owanikela ngo\$240 000 wezimali zemboni yakhe ukungcwaba abateleki ababulawa, kodwa inkampani yakhe iShanduka ikhokhelwa u\$360 000/ngonyaka iLonmin ngokubenzela ezokuchushisana 'ngokuqasha abantu abamnyama'.

Imizamo yakamuva yalesisicebi esinezigidigidi uRamaphosa sokuthenga inkunzi yenkomo yehlathi eseqophelweni eliphezulu ngo\$2.3 million kwashiwo nguMalema njengokukhombisa igebe phakathi kwephesenti labangu1 baseNingizimu Afrika entsha kanye nabasebenzi. UMalema wazuza ukuxhaswa kakhulu okwakuqhamuka kubasebenzi basezimayini zaseMarikana kabili – okuhlanganis nomcimbo wokukhumbula (abafayo) owawuhlelwe nguyena, lapho aphoxa khona ongqongqoshe abambalwa bakaZuma ababezile ukuzoduduzwa – kodwa esevakashela khona okwesithathu, amaphoyisa amnqabela amalungelo ake onthethosisekelo okukhuluma nenqwaba yabantu ababekhona. Noma ngenkathi ephikisana namacala okukhwabanisa ayebhekene nakho esifundazweni sakhe, lapho ukuxhumanisa ezamathenda nesifundazwe kwamenza wagwilika, uMalema ungamandla angavimbeki kwindawo yonke yezimayini ezifundazweni saseNyakatho neMpumalanga naseLimpopo, ngisho naseZimbabwe, ekhuluma ngokusabalaliswa kabusha. Sonke isikhathi uma enza njalo, kubonakala sengathi wenza ukukhuluma kukaZuma kube ngokuncike kumakhomanisi.

### **Ukwakha kabusha kwezombusazwe emincane**

Kodwa amandla afuna ushintsho lwangempela kufanele aqhamuke ngezansi, ngoba ukukhuluma kukaMalema kukhombisa osaphokophele ekubuyeleni kuKhongolose, lapho asande kuxoshwa kuwona ngofaka iqembu ehla. Esikhundleni, izishoshovu zamandla emsebenzi kanye nezemiphakathi lapha phansi zidinga ukuba sizinake, ngoba impilo eMarikana nakulamanye amadolobhana amancane ezimayini ukubhekana nokucendzelwa okungapheli okuncike esihlukwini. Ukungashayi ndiva kwezenzo zawo amaphoyisa kuyaqhubeka ngaphandle kokuphazamiseka ukuba yinzondo ekhulunywa ngabasebenzi kanye nokwenyanya ngabantu esizweni.

Ngokwesibonelo-nje, ukuqhamuka kwenhlangano yabesifazane yokusizana kumakhosikazi kanye nezintombi zabasebenzi basezimayini, kanye nabanye abesifazane abaqhamuka emphakathini ohlwempu waseMarikana, kukhombisa ukuqhamuka phansi-kuya phezulu kwezombusazwe. Kungcono-ke ngoba ukhona oyedwa owasocongwa oqhamuka kubona:

uPaulina Masuhlo, ikhansela likamasipala kaKhongolose elalaziwa ngokuzwelana naleliqembu (uKhongolose) eMarikana owama kanye nabasebenzi futhi wadutshulwa emhlane nasemlnzeni ngezinhlamvu zenjoloba ngesikhathi sokuhlasela kwemibutho yamaphoyisa kanye nabazimpi eNkaneng ngomhlaka 25 kuAgasti. Wagcina eshonile ebulawa amanxeba mhlazingu 30 kuAgasti. Kodwa futhi ngesonto elilandelayo nesigamu, izikhulu eziphethe zikamasipala ngobubi zanqaba imizamo yabesifazane ukwenza isikhumbuzo ngoMasuhlo ngemasho yokubhikilisha esuka eNkaneng iya esiteshini samaphoyisa aseMarikana. Ukuphikelela kanye nokuxhaswa ngabammeli kwaba namandla, ngakho aabangu800 bafuna ubulungiswa kuhambo lwabesifazane bodwa besuka eNkaneng beya esiteshini samaphoyisa eMarikana mhlazingu1 kuSeptemba, ngokuhlonipheka nangaphandle kokulima kwamuntu.



Kodwa amathuba ezombusazwe ayengahlanganisa umsebenzi, umphakathi kanye nabesifazane ekwenzeni kangcono izimo zokukhiqiza kabusha amandla okusebenza – mhlawumbe ngelinye ilanga okuyohlanganyelwa yizishosovu ezilwela amalungelo emvelo – antekenteke futhi kulula ukulahlekelwa yiwona. Abesilisa abasuka ezifundazweni abangabasebenzi ngokujwayelekile bondla imizi emibili ngakho-ke bahambisa izinsiza emuva eMpumalanga Kapa, eLesotho, eMozambique kanye nakwamanye amakhaya abo. Lendlela yokuhlanganisa abahlali besikhashana kanye nabahlali bendawo babaTswana kuhlale kunobuhixihixi bokungase kuholele ekucwasweni kwabokufika kanye nokubandlululana ngemvelaphi, futhi kuyindawo lapho amaqoqo ezidakamizwa ezingekho emthethweni, ukudayiswa kocansi (nokuphoqwa ukusebenza ngocansi), ukuphila ngokulwawulwa imithetho yabesilisa, ukusolana okungenabufakazi ngezemiphefumulo (isibonelo-nje, ukusetshenziswa kwemithi yesintu ukumelana nezinhlamvu okusolwa ukuthi kusheshe kuphele uma kukhona abantu besifazane) ukusabalala kokuqashwa okwesikhashana kanye nobunye ubudlelwane bokuxhashazwa kakhulu kuba khona kakhulu.

Njengomphumela kubiza kakhulu ukubhukuda olwandle lokuhlupheka. Isibonelo-nje, ukucabanga ngokwandiswa ngezimali komnotho waseNingizimu Afrika kusukela kuqala imiyaka ka2000, imboleko yokuxhaswa kancane ngezimali okuhambisana nenzuzo enkulu kakhulu okunikwa abasebenzi basezimayini izikhungo kusukela kumabhange aneminyaka asungulwa – elilodwa (iUbank) iNUM ebuye ibe yingxenye yabanikazi bayo kanye nabanye (iCapitec) egcwele ukuxhaswa ngamalunga anamandla kaKhongolose – kuze kube kwizigelekeqe ezisebenza ngokungemthetho ‘omashonisa’ ababolekisa ngezimali. Inzuzo enkulu abayibizayo, ikakhulukazi uma uke weqwa ukukhokha nyenyanga noma ezimbalwa, ikakhulukazi uma ukukweleta kukhula, kukholelwa ekutheni kube yiko okuyizingcindezi ezinkulu ezenza abasebenzi bafuna amaholo aphezudlwana.

Izindlela ezintsha zokusatshiswa ngokukhokhela izikweletu noma ubuqembu obuhlangene bokulanda izikweletu ‘njengokubhikishela amabond’ okwakunedumela ngokuqala kwama1990, lapho ababolekisi behlangana ndawonye ukuba namandla kubakweletu ngokubahlanganyela – kungumqondo wezombusazwe okuncane kokuphikisana eMarikana kanye nakwabanye abaningi abasesimweni esifanayo. ‘Omele ukuqoqa izikweletu’ ujwayele ukuba nokusabisa kanye nezindlela zodlame, futhi ngempela, ngakho-ke lesi akusona isinqumo sokuba sithathwe kalula (eMexico kuqala unyaka ka1995, ngenxa yokunyuka kwamanani enzuzo esuka kumaphesenti angu14 eya kwangu120 okwakholela ‘kwi El Barzon’ – umthwalo – umbuthano owahlanganisa amalunga ayisigidi ukubuyekeza izikweletu kubhekenwe nesimo sangempela sazemali, (‘Asikwazi ukukhokha, ngeke sikhokhe!’)

Ukweqa kwekuphokelelwe kuyiwa kweminye imibono ezomnotho ezixhaphaza kakhulu, kukhona nokukhuluma ngokunganaki kokwenziwa ukuthi kube ngokwesizwe, lapho uNgqongqoshe Wezezimayini uSusan Shabangu kanye nobhululu bakhe abxhasa ezohwebo abakade bezama ukuchitha uKhongolose, ikakhulukazi kusukela lapho izinkinga zikaMalema zanyuka kakhulu. Ukuxoshwa kobuholi Begatsha Lentsha likaKhongolose abakade bezenza abafuna ushintsho manje kwenza kwangabikhona buholi obuhamba phambili ngaphandle kukanobhala jikelele weNyunyana kaZwelonke Yabasebenzi Bensimbi eNingizimu Afrika, uJim Irvin, ukufuna ukuthi imikhiqizo ethile iphathwe izwe – noma kwakungumgomo owathwathwa ngamaviki amambalwa ngaphambilini kkwinqungquthela kazwelonke yemigomo kaKhongolose.

Ukuphathwa yizwe kweplatinum kungaba icebo elihlakaniphile, ngoba iNingizimu Afrika ilawula amaphesenti angu80 wemikhiqizo eplatinum kanye nenani elenziwe ubugebengu yiziteleka zeLonmin, eAngloplats kanye naseImplats – manje osekungamaphesenti angu 30 kumaviki ayisithupha – kuchaza ukuthi kungase kube khona ukuphathwa kweplatinum yiqembu okufana neqembu eliphethe amafutha aseOPEC. Umthengi ohamba phambili weplatinum imboni yezimoto yaseNyakatho (Europe), noma-ke ngabe isimo somnotho esiyinkinga siqhubeka, imfuno (yalokhiqizo) iyohlala ithambile, okungaholela ekusatshisweni kokuthi izimayini ezinkulu zeplatinum zivele zivale ukumbiwa. Ngesonto elilodwa ngesikhathi iLonmin isivuma ukunyusa kakhulu amaholo kubaqhekezi bamatshe baseMarikana, kwatholakala ukuthi ukuthi yayingaqeda izinkontileka zesikhashana zabanye abasebenzi angu1200, ukwenza-nje isibonelo.



## **Izingxoxo zekuqumba phansi umbuso, ukwenyanya kanye nokuzivikela ngemuva**

Ngabe kuzobe isikhathi eside kangakanani ngaphambi kokuba okubalulekile okwehlukile okwazuzwa iMarikana idonse abantu bomphakathi waseNingizimu Afrika? Ngebe iziphi izingxoxo eziqhamukayo zezombusazwe, futhi zangaba isizinda sokuzwana ngezenhlalakahle okuyohlanganisa amashumi ezigidi zabantu abangenakugculiseka baseNingizimu Afrika kumandla angakwazi ukuqeda ubudlelwane bokuthandanphakathi kombuso, iqembu elibusayo, abaholi bezinyunyana ababusayo, izimbungulu zongxiwankulu kanye nezimboni zezimayini zaseMelbourne naseLandani? Impendulo, kuze kube manje, ayinikezi mdladla.

Kwabanye, lokhu kungaba izenzo sokuphumelela abezenqubekela phambili abazimele abakade bekufuna, ukuze bembule ukubaluleka kwezenzo ezingenandaba nezenhlalakahle ezihambisana nomfelandawonye kaKhongolose besukela kushintsho lababusi abangamavukela mbuso/izishoshovu beba ngozakwabo bezimboni zomhlaba ezigcwele ububi kakhulu. Ukuxoxisana okunjalo kugqugquzelwa amakhomanisi aseNingizimu Afrika ahlukene, amanye amaqenjana ehlanganyela neDemocratic Left Front esabalele (kodwa engahlanganisi amandla emsebenzi) kanye neMarikana Support Campaign, okusukela eKapa naseGoli isixhase ngezimali njalo imihlangano yezombusazwe kanye neminyakazo yokubumbana kuleyandawo yeplatinum.

Ngenxa yomhlangano onjalo wokuqala esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme eNyuvesi yaseGoli ngesonto emva Kwesibhicongo SaseMarikana okwakuhlanganisa owayemele iNUM ohlelweni (noma-ke agcina esexoshiwe ehlo), elinye iqenjana lamakhomanisi eliholwa iKhanya College yaseGoli bahlubuka ukuqala umkhankaso 'Sonke siyiMarikana'. Ngokuzinqumela bemelene nokubasemthethweni komfelandawonye wobunyunyana beCosatu, lombuthano ubuye wahlanganisa abanye abasebenzi bahlanganyele ukufundisana. Kunamaqembu cishe amabili ezishoshovu eMarikana amele ukuthola amalunga kanye nokuletha ulwazi: iDemocratic Socialist Movement kanye neCommittee for a Workers' International. Ngeshwa, noma-ngabe kungabonakala 'njengesimo esingaphambi kokuqunjwa kombuso' eNingizimu Afrika lapho kunesibalo esiphezulu kakhulu emhlabeni sokubhikisha emhlabeni, ufuthi ukungabi khona ukuxhumana phakathi kwalezizikhalo kuyinkinga ekhubazayo.

Ingakho kukhathaza ukuzwa izingxoxo ezingahlukene kulaba okungenzeka basondelane babe, mhlawumbe, abakhikisi abakwazi ukukhuluma, ngingasasho-nje ukwenza iminyakazo ebahlanganisayo yezishoshovu. Okunye okungahlanganisa ukubumbana nezinhlanguano zamazwe onhlaba wonke, okwaba yisikhala esikhulu ekubhekaneni-neMarikana kumsebenzi wokuzimisela kwamaNGO ukutshela iBhange Lomhlaba ukuthi lithathe imali yalo kuLonmin usuku emva kwesibhicongo, futhi futhi uma sekubhekwana nokubhikisha okuningi okwenzekayo ezindlini zamanxusa aseNingizimu Afrika emhlabeni wonke ezinsukwini ezalandela.



*CT solidarity protest, Marikane Support Committee, We are all Marikana, Tribe of Moles*

Ukukhombisa-nje, noma ngabe kwakuhlaba umxhwele ukuvuseleka komkhuba wo Kuziqhenya Ngokubamnyama (BC) okwenzeka eshumini leminyaka edlule ngenxa yohlelo olusha lweFrank Talk, ngokwesibonelo-nje, ukungenelela komphakathi eMarikana ngeSeptember National Imbizo okwakunguvakashela ngezinsuku ezimbili emva kwesibhicongo ukuqala ukwakha ememqondweni ukuthi kwenzekani (okwaholela ekutheni emva kwalokho kube khona ukusolana, ekukopeleni ngezombusazwe), kodwa ngaphandle kokuhlaziya okulandelayo noma ngobushoshovu. Sekuphele inyanga emva kwesibhicongo, ngabona amalunga eBC kanye nemibuthano ejwayele ukuthula nemicabango behlangene kwingqungquthela yezifundiswa esikhungweni semfundo ephakeme eWits eGoli, kumcimbi owawaziwa 'ngeTribe of Moles', kuholwa izifundiswa ezintsha ezisasanda kuqhamuka eziba nokungathembi ukuqalwa kwemibuthano yamasocialists enobungane kumathuba ezibhelu. Kodwa ngokumangalisayo, usuku lonke

kunenkulumompikiswano ngebala, ukummelwa kanye nezombusazwe ezintsha ezisheshayo, igama elithi Marikana akuzange kukhulunywe ngalo kusukela kwababeyizikhulumi kanye nezethameli. Ngenkati bebuzwa ngesikhathi sekhefu ngesimo esasenzeka, ilunga eliqavile elingumgqugquzeli weBC, uAndile Mngxitama, wamemezela ukuhlangana-kwebala/ibanga/kanye nezindawo zokuhlala okuhlanganiswayo owakwenzeka (okuhlanganisa abesifazane abaphila kangcono abaqhamuka kumaNGO) isiphazamiso, ngoba empeleni izidumbu 'kwakuyimizimba emnyama' – ngakho-ke wanika umqondo lapho kubheke khona lomzimba ekuhlaleni kucatshangwa ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika yamanje kwizinkulumo zeBC kuvele kugcine kukhulunywa ngokubaluleka kwebala.

Kunethemba ukuthi abesifazane baseMarikana abazihlanganisayo kuyoyonke imikhakha yemisebenzi kanye nomphakathi bengaba isibonelo esidingeka kakhulu ukuhlanganisa izikhala noma ikephi emphakathini, okumbandakanya izigceme kusukela kumadolobhana amancane yezimayini kwimizabalazo yomhlaba ezifundazweni zaseNyakatho neMpumalanga, eLimpopo kanye naseGauteng. Kodwa labantu besifazane bahlukene (futhi nangezizwe abaqhamuka kuzona) njengomphakathi wonkana: amakhosikazi, izintombi, omama, amadodakazi, odade, onompilo, othisha, abasebenzi abadayisa ucansi, abapheki, abahlanzayo, abathengisi. Kokunye okubili okwenzekayo, kunabesifazane abangabaxhaphazi kakhulu njengabaphathi bezimboni zezimayini (uCynthia Carroll waseAnglo benoMamphela Ramphele weGoldfields: ontamolukhini bongxiwankulu abenze okuncane kakhulu njengodade, noma-ke lowo owayekade engumqondisi jikelele weBhange Lomhlaba uRamphele wavuma ukuthi amandla emisebenzi aqhamuka ezabelweni ayedinga ukucatshangelwa kabusha). Labesifazane banomunye umthwalo wokududuza izisulu zodlame ezihlukumezekile emphefumleni, kanye nokuletha usizo ngokuhlanganyela kulabo abahluphekayo, ngokuqondene nokungqondene, njengomphumela wokwehla kokungena kwemali emphakathini okudalwe igagasi leziteleka labazimele.

Sithini-nke ngabenqubekela phambili abanesikhathi bezimbandakanye neANC ngenxa yobuchwepheshe obuphambili beminyaka eyikhulu yeqembu elidala, kodwa okwathi emva kuka1994 baqhubeka nomsebenzi wabo wenkululeko ikakhulukazi emiphakathini yabantu? Lapha umuntu angahlanganisa izinhlangano ezaphuthuma ukubhekana nokuhlaselwa kwezombusazwe waseMarikana ngezenzo ezazidingeka kakhulu zokuxhasa, okumbandakanya iSocio-Economic Rights Institute, iSonke Gender Justice, iStudies in Poverty and Inequality, iStudents for Law and Social Justice, iTreatment Action Campaign kanye neSection 27 (ebizwa njengoMqulu Wamalungelo ezwe).

Ongumholi komunye walezizinhlangano eyiNGO ekhuthela kakhulu, uMark Heywood (owayekade eyisishosovu esasaziwa kakhulu ngokulwela imishanguzo yeNgculaza), wafika nokubaluleka kokubambisana, kodwa ngakolunye uhlangathi, mhlawumba waba isisulu senkolelo yakhe emithini (yesintu), lapho ekhuluma nabasebenzi nomphakathi waseMarikana sekuphela inyanga kaSeptemba: 'Umthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika uyisikhali esibalulekile esinazo. Sinamandla kakhulu kunoGedleyihlekisa Zuma, kodwa siyokunika kuphela amandla uma nihlanganyela kuMthethosisekelo, uma nihlanganyela kumalungelo ayo.' Kukhonjiswa lenkulumo, kwesinye isifundiswa esihamba phambili esiyikhomanisi samamatheka, 'Angicabangi ukuthi abasebenzi baphumelela

ngokukhushulelwa amaholo abo ngamaphesentu angu22 ngoba beke bacabanga ngoMthethosisekelo.’

Kodwa sithini mayelana ‘namakhomanisi’ asemthethweni? Lutho ngaphandle kokukhuluma ngokungancengi, komhleli wephephandaba iBusiness Day uPeter Bruce owabhala emva kwezinsuku ezine kwenzeka lesisibhicongo wathi, ‘Okusabisayo ngeMarikana ukuthi, ngokokuqala, kumina, sekuvele kwasobala bha iqiniso ukuthi iANC kanye nohulumeni wayo abasanamandla njengoba babenawo kuquqaba lwamaAfrika njengoba kwakwenzeka. Leliqembu vele selilahlekelwa abaphila kangconywana (imiddle class). Umangabe manje sebhalelelwa ilabo abanganakiwe futhi abaphuciwe abanakho, kuseleni? Oh yebo, iCosatu neSACP – abakweletwa nguZuma.’

Empeleni kusaphupho ukuthola iCosatu kanye nabaholi beSACP becabanga kakhulu ngokukhthazeka mayelana nokuthi ukubhikisha kwabasebenzi kuyasabalala. Esimweni esijule kakhulu, ubuntamolukhuni beSACP kwakusetshenziswa uRW Johnson intatheli ehlala ifuna ukukwenza inkulumompikiswano ephikisa imibono yabanye njengesithutha kwisiphetho esinokuxwayeka: ‘kulesisikhathi amaKhomanisi ayesijabulela lesisibhicongo. UDominic Tweedie Wenyuvesi Yamakhomanisi, eGoli, waphawula wathi “Lesi kwakungesona isibhicongo, kwakuyimpi. Amaphoyisa asebenzisa izikhali zawo ngendlela okwakufanele enze ngayo. Ilokhu phela abaziphathela khona. Abantu abadubula abazange babonakale njengabasebenzi kumina. Kufanele sijabule. Kuyancomeka okwenziwa ngamaphoyisa.” The police used their weapons in exactly the way they were supposed to. That’s what they have them for. The people they shot didn’t look like workers to me. We should be happy. The police were admirable.” Ingxenye yeSACP esifundazweni saseNtakatho neMpumalanga sasifuna ukuthi kuboshwe uJosephu Mathenjwa kanye nesekele lakhe, uJames Kholekile.

UJohnson, ojjwayele ukusebenzisa iblog kwi*London Review of Books*, engathi phela akanakho nhlobo ukusasela ukukhuluma namaKhomanisi, futhi wakhuluma iqiniso ukuthi wayefundisa ‘iMarxism eyinhamba’ kuZuma eminyakeni engamashumi amahlanu edlule eThekwini (okusobala ukuthi eyayisezingeni eliphansi). Kondwa umboni wakhe ngomkhuba weSACP wokudayisa ngabaphikisayo ujwayelekile.

Uma ukubukela phansi isibindi kanye nokuphikelela kwabasebenzi baseMarikana kuyinjongo, ngakho-ke abahlanganyeli kulobobugebengu nokufuna ukulawula ngendluzula okufana nokustalin kwakudala ukuthi akukho nkolelo enesizinda, njengombhali ocabanga ngokuzimela uHeinrich Bohmke kwiAfrica Report, owaziwa kakhulu eThekwini njengombulali wenjabulo yezembusazwe ngokusebenzisa ipeni njengomkhonto. Ebhala emva kwezinsuku eziyisithupha kwenzeka lesisibhicong washo okuzokwenzeka wathi, ‘inkulumo yokubhekana-njebanye abayizishosho kulabo abasebenzisa izikhundla zabo eziphezulu kukhulu kakhulu ukuvumela ukuthi kube khona okungenzeka okukhulu eMarikana –Obasi/Abaphathi bayoyonke imibala bayokubheka lokhu njengokusizakala. Esikhundleni sesicefe kanye nethemba kokukhula komzabalazo, okungagcina kushiwo ngeMarikana kungaba ukuqala komphumela onxantathu wabantu abadinelwe kakhulu uhulumeni, izinyunyana ezaziwayo kanye nabahwebi abakubize “ngokuzilawula”.

Kodwa ungaphazama kanjani. Ukutatazela kwabaphathi kanye nabakhulumeli babo – abacheme nongxiwankulu njengoBruce – kulula ukukubona, ngesikhathi lapho imibhikilisho yezenhlalakahle emalokishini yenyuka kakhulu phakathi nonyaka ka2012, lingekho ithemba lokuphumula. Abanye ababeka iibono yabo empeleni besabela ukutheleleka ngokungahlonishwa, njengoFrans Cronje weSA Institute of Race Relations, masinya wavele wakhulumela ngokumela iANC ethi maphakathi noSptemba, ‘Inkolelo eseNingizimu Afrika ukuthi ukuhanjiswa kwezidingongqangi kwakungenampumelelo.’ Ukumela kukaCronje umbuso ngokuletha amanzi, ugesi, izindlu, kanye nokunye, kwaqhubeka kwaba nedumela kahle nabahleli bephephandaba iBusiness Day kanye noMholi weSACP uBlade Nzimande, owavumelana ngokwamukela ‘lolucwaningo’.

Kodwa ngesikhathi ngimbuza uCronje ukuthi ngabe usebe nesiqinisekiso ukuthi ngabe angakanani amaphesenti ompompi bamanzi emphakathini emva kuka1994 ababesasebenza kulabo iqembu elibusayo elalithi selilethele abantu abangephezulu kwezigidi ezingamashumi nanhlanu zabantu, wavuma ukuthi wayengenalwazi. Ukubala okokugcina engikwaziyo – eshumini leminyaka edlule okwenziwa nguDavid Hemson, elayelwe ngowayengu nngqongqoshe wamanzi ngaleyonkathi uRonnie Kasrils – wathi kungaba isigamu, futhi esebenzisa incazelo ‘ngabasebenzayo’, kodwa manje ingxenye yabaphathi manje isiyehlile emazingeni okuletha (ompompi).

Abanye abanokusaba kulengxenye, njengombhali weBusiness Day uSteven Friedman, wenza isicelo ukuthi kubuyelwa ‘ekubanjisweni ngezenhlalakahle’ sekwenzeke isibhichongo saseMarikana, ngoba ukwenza njalo ‘akuzange kusehlule’ – futhi sekuke kwazanywa.’ Ababusi ngezezimboni, manje osekuhlanganisa uVavi, abazange bahlangane maphakathi kukaOktoba, behambisa imyalezo enganamiphumela mayelana neziteleka ezizimele kanye nodlame olubhekiswe kubasebenzi abasebenza ngenkani ngesikhathi sesiteleka. Abamele abahwebi abakhulu kulokhu kukhuluma okukhulu babenqika ngisho ukuzibika ukuthi bangobani emphakathini.

### **Izikhinsi zomnotho ezizayo**

Ngeshwa labo, nomangabe kuziphi izingxoxo zokuqalwa kabusha ‘kobuholo’ bezenhlalakahle, igagasi lokuteleka lingaqhubeka likhule umangabe amazinga okungabi nathemba kanye nobushoshovu kwabasebenzi kuqhubeka. Abashayeli bamatrukhi nabo bathola ukunyuselwa amaholo okungaphezulu kweisimo sezimali ngomhlaka 12 kuOktoba emva kokuphendukela ezindleleni ezinodlame ukuphazamisa abashayeli ababengafuni ukuba ingxenye yesiteleka, ngalokho kwaholeleka bedala ukusweleka kwamafutha ezimoto kanye nezimpahla zokudayisa kwizingxenye zezwe. Umangabe abasebenzi bakamasipala belandela ngokuteleka, ukugcwala kwezibi okubuye kugcwale nasemigwaqeni emikhulu – indlela ejwayelekile yokuthukuthelisa izakhamizi ezicebile kuze kuphoqeke ukuthi izikhulu zikahulumeni wendawo zikwazi ukunyusa amaholo – kuyonika isithombe sokuti iNingizimu Afrika iphumelele kongxiwankulu bomhlaba : ukubola kwezenhlalakahle-komnotho kanye nokwahluleka ukulawula abasebenzi babo abangalawuleki.

Maphakathi nenyanga kaSeptemba, iGlobal Competitiveness Report yeWorld Economic Forum yabeka iNingizimu Afrika njengezwe elihamba phambili ebutheni phakathi

kobudlelwano bomqashi nomqashwa (kucwaningo olwenziwe ngaphambi kwesibhicongo saseMarikana), kanti ngonyaka odlule kulesisikalo somzabalazo webanga, abasebenzi baseNingizimu Afrika babengunamba 7 kumazwe angu 144 ayekade ecwaningwa. Engxenywe ingoba umphumela wobushoshovu bamandla emisebenzi, amanje izinhlangano ezihamba phambili zibeka isikalo salelizwe phansi, ikakhulukazi kumazinga eBBB ngobubanga kanye nokuhlupheka. Umphumela wesibalo senzuzo ekufanele ukhokhelwe izikweletu ezinkulu ezibolekwe ilelizwe kumazwe angaphandle kukhulu ngesibalo esihlanu namhlanje kusuka kuphela umbuso wobandlululo ngo 1994 – okwakuyodala ingcindezi kwinzuzo kahulumeni kanye nokukhokhelwa kwezidingo zendlu kanye nezimboni.

Uma sebhekana nenkinga yasemazweni aseNyakatho kanye nobuthakathaka, iGDP encipher kakhulu kumazinga akhulayo kwezinye izingxenywe ezizayo kulindelekile. Futhi esikhundleni sokumelana nokungaba ukwehla kokunqunywa kwenani lenzuzo okwenziwe iSA Reserve Bank kulamsonto azayo, ukuma kwezezimali kwezwe okuxegayo kuyofaka ingcindezi kumanani ukuthi anyuke. Inani ukuthi lizonyuka into ezokwenzeka, ukunqunywa kokubaleka kwezimali okwandile, noma-ke icebo leCitigrup lakudala lokufaka izimali okuthenjelwe kuzo zaseNingizimu Afrika njengombuso emhlabeni makubikwa kwandisa amandla okuthenga ePitoli. Impendulo ekhululayo kubaphathi bamabhange okuqhamuka kungqongqoshe wezezimali, uPravin Gordhan owayekade eyiyikhomanisi, ukuqagela ekuzethembeni kwimali kahulumeni okunzima kwinkulamo yakhe yezezima ezokuba maduzane-nje.

Konke lokhu kusho ukuthi lessimo sibonakala singenasiqiniseko ukuhlola ukuthi imaphi amandla azoqhamuka kulesisidididi. Ilapho izingxox zamanje zaseNingizimu Afrika ezingaphakathi 'ngezobuzwe' nge 'ngezokuduma kakhulu', nge'ngokubusa ngobuntamolokuhi obufana nobukastalin', nge'trotskyism', 'ngokuzilawula,' nge'qholo ngokuba mnyama', nga'malungelo abesifazane', ngo'kukholelwa ukuthi akunanto enenani', nge'zezimboni', 'ngombuso wezimakethe ezivulelekile' kanye no'bungxiwankulu' kuyobonakala kunganele ukumelana nemisebenzi ekhona endaweni yaseplatinum nakwezinye izndawo zokusebenza kanye nemiphakathi. Akukho ontamolukhuni asebefike nombono wokukhipha iNingizimu otakwini lezingcindezi ezinkulu ezibonakala zikhuluma ngawowonke amasonto.

Okungenzeka ngempela, ukuthi, ukuncipha kwemicabango engekho kokuthi amandla 'enkululeko' okuholwa iANC kuyoyisa iNingizimu Afrika kwinkululeko yangempela kanye nomphakathi wabantu omusha. IMarikana iyohlala inalowo mthelela, unomphela, ngiyasola, uma-nje abatelekayo bengaqhubeka bevika izinhlamvu zamaphoyisa futhi beyela kwimibuzo emayelna nezenhlalakahle-zomnotho kanye nezombusazwe zemvelo kube okubalulekile, lapho ubungxiwankulu kwababusi bezwe iANC ingahlanganisa ukuphindisela ngokubusa ngengcindezi, noma kwenzeke ukuphatha nhlakanhlaka kukaZuma, kuqhubeke nokwehlisa ngokudideka kanye nokuzehlisa okujwayelekile.

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