

Kungani iNingizimu Afrika ibe noQhekeko?

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Ilokishi labamnyama abaphila ngamaholo aphansi lapha eThekwini, elahlukumezeka kakhulu ukudlula amanye ngesikhathi sobandlululo, uMkhumbane (Cato Manor), ngesonto eledlule kunguLwesithathu ekuseni laba yindawo lapho kwakuhlonzwa khona ongowesizwe saseMozambique.

Ngo6:45 ekuseni, ekufudumaleni kwelanga lasebusika, abesilisa ababili abangasebenzi ababehamba kumgwaqo uBellair behlangana nowesilisa osekhulile ongowokufika kuleli. Bathi sebefike kuyena bafuna ukwazi ukuthi, ngolwimi lwesiZulu, ukuthi achaze ngalolulwimi ukuthi yini “i-elbow” (Lokhu bakusho bekukhombisa ngezandla zabo).

Lomlisa waphendula wathi “idolo”, ngeshwa okuchaza ukuthi “knee”. Impendulo eanele kwakuyi “ndololwane”. Isijeziso sakhe: ukushaya kakhulu, wasetshelwa ukuth “abuyele ekhaya”.

Ngabe yini okwakucatshangwa yilezilelesi ezimbili? Yini eyenza ukuthi abanye abnjengabo babulale abokufika baseAfrika kuleleli abangaphezulu kuka50 ezindaweni ezahlukahlukene ngesonto eleldlule, bephoqa amashumi ezinkulungwane ukuthi abaleke ashiye amakhaya awo?

UMkhumbane unezimpawu eziningi ezikwazi ukutshala ubuhixihixi baloluhlobo lapho uThando Manzi, oyisakhamuzi salendawo, akubona lokhu – futhi engenamandla okokuvimba – ngenkathi eya esikoleni sabamanga aphezulu ngoLwesithathu olwedlule. Lokhu kwenzeka izikhathi eziningi, cishe kakhulu impela-nje emalokishini aseThekwini, lapho abantu abayisigidi nesigamu behlala behlukumezeka njalo.

Empeleni, izinkulungwane zabokufika zazibuzwa imubuzo eafana nalena ngababebahlasela kulamasonto ambalwa. Izigidi eziningi zezwa ngokuhlonzwa kwalowo mlisa ngendololwane futhi babona okwashicilelwe emaphephandabeni kwabokufika bebulawa ngokushiswa ngesonto eledlule emalokishini asempulanga neGoli, lapho futhi kuhlala khona izizinda zamandla abasebenzi asondelene kakahulu nesikhumulo sezindiza esimatasatasa kakhulu ezwenikazi laseAfrika, i-O.R.Tambo, eyindlela eesuka lapha iye kulelizwekazi.

Izinkulungwane zabokufika baseZimbabwe nabaseMozambique abakade behlala eGoli naseThekwini baphindele emuva beqa imingcele. Kodwa abaningi futhi baye aziteshini zamaphoyisa

eziseduze, emaholo emiphakathi kanye nasemasontweni. Isiteshi samaphoyisa esidume kabi kakhulu ngenkohlakalo naso sinamakhulu ambalwa abakhosele kusona baseduzane, futhi itende elikhudlwana labekwa ukuhlalisa abantu.

Uma usuka eningizimu noMkhumbane uya eChatsworth kuthatha imizuzu eyishumi nesihlanu, lapho isishosho esaziwa kakhulu kulendawo kunguOrlean Naidoo. Wahlangana nathi endaweni eyikomkhulu yokuphepha yaseThekwini, i-Emmanuel Cathedral, ngoLwesine olwedlule ebusuku. Lelibandla LamaKhatholika lalifukame abokufika baseZimbabwe abangu150 ababenokwesaba okukhulu, futhi ngalobobusuku, uNaidoo wasiza wahlenga abanye abangu100 ababeqhamuka emijondolo yaseBottlebrush eChatsworth. Lesisibalo, sabokufika ngeSonto sase siphindwe kabili e-Emmanuel.

UAshwin Desai waqopha imizabalazo ehambisana nentuthuko yaseChatsworth kusukela eminyakeni eyishumi edlule (encwadini yakhe yango2002, Singabahluphekayo – phecelezi We Are the Poors). Okudabukisayo-ke, ngesonto eledlule, uquqaba lwezakhamizi kukhetho lukamasipala zavotela iqembu leMinority Front, enomqondo owodwa ogcizelela ubuzwe bamaNdiya.

Futhi eBottlebrush, amaAfrika athola amaholo aphansi babehlohiwe - futhi abokufika besatshisiwe – ngemibhalo okungaziwa ukuthi yayibhalwe ngobani itshela abokufika ukuthi abahambe.

UNaidoo wakhuluma ngokukhula kokucwasana ngebala kanye nokudonsisana ngebanga lapha. “Imijondolo yaseBottlebrush ayikaze ihlelwe kahle”. “Akulula into elula ukuyenza, lapho abantu benokuboshwa noma ingasiphi isikhathi ngenxa yokungabi nawo amaphepha asemthethweni.”

Noma ikuyiphi indawo, izingcindezi ezivelayo ezibiza ukuthi izakhamizi ezingenakho okwenama zihalalise uma kushaywa futhi kuhlazwa ngobuzwe zinezimpawu ezinamaphutha kakhulu. Udlame lwaseMkhumbane lubonakala esabalele ngezizathu ezimbalwa azizwayo njalo lapho abantu bexoxa, kuze kufike lapho ubona ukuthi sebenezinkoleloze.

Ukwenza nje isibonelo, impi yabamatekisi iyaqhubeka, ngenkathi usosesheni wabanikazi bamatekisi oyedwa imakethe yabo itengatenga izama ukusebenza endaweni yaseMkhumbane. Abanikazi bamatekisi baseduzane eChesterville – ilokishi elingamakhilomitha amabili nentshonalanga – engathi bayalela

bashayeli babo bamatekisi ukungenelela ezindleleni ezihamba uSosesheni Wamatekisi AseMkhumbane emasontweni ambalwa edlule.

Umuzi wakwaManzi ujwayele ukuzwa umsindo wokudubula kwezibhamu esikhathini sasebusuku, kanti futhi kunzima ngezinye izikhathi ukuhamba elokishini kunezinhlamvu zezibhamu ezindizayo. Omunye umninitekisi wabulawa futhi kwathi abagibeli abamsulwa kanye nababeseduzane – okumbandakanya nengane yesikole-balimala.

Empeleni, izakhamizi zaseMkhumbane ezinesikhathi zihlupheka zazi iCato Manor –ebizwa ngesibongo sokuqala somhlophe wokufika kuleli owayengusobaba womkhandlu – njengendawo ebangwa kakhulu kulandela ukufika kwamaNgisi ngo1843. Iminyaka eyikhulu edlule, abesizwe samaNdiya kanye namaAfrika bathola amalungelo okuhlala, kodwa umbuso wobandlululo owawuqhakambisa ukubusa ngendlela enobuchule yokwehlukana nokunqoba okwabhebhethekisa ukungzwani kwamabanga kanye nobuhlanga.

Ngo1949, ubudlelwane bamandla bangaphakathi obungalingani baseMkhumbane, obabusobala ekudayisweni kanye nokuqashisa ngendawo yokuhlala, kwaholela ukungezwani phakathi kwamaAfrika bamelana namaNdiya okwashiya izakhamizi ezingu137 zifile ezinsukwini ezimbili, futhi kunezinkulungwane ezazilimele.

Ngenkathi sebeqala kabusha kade bebhekene nalesisihlava, empeleni, uKhongolose waqala ukuhlanganisa okunomdlandla futhi wadala iskhala lapho izibhelu zabesifazane zimelene nombuso kanye nabesilisa baseAfrika abasebephuza kumaholo obhiya babamhlophe (lapho inzuzo yayikhokhela ubandlululo lesifundazwe), esikhundleni sokuphuza utshwala obabuvutshelwe ngabesifazane emakhaya.

Ukuhlanganyela kwezikhalo zendawo kanye nokumelana kakhulu nezombusazwe obandlululayo kwachaza ukuthi ubudlelwane bobulili eMkhumbane babuseqophelweni oluphambili kakhulu njengoba kwakunjalo ezweni lonke. Kodwa ngo1964, umbuso wobandlululo wamelana ngempumelelo enkulu ukuzabalaza kwabantu, besusa ngenkani inqwaba yabantu, beshiya umhlaba ongezansi kwesikhungo semfundo ephakeme iNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natal ingahlali muntu cishe iminyaka engamashumi amabili nanhlanu kwikhulu leminyaka edlule.

Kodwa-ke njengoba kwenzeka-ke “kwimihlaba yethu eminingi yasemijondolo” njengoba kusuke kuchaza uMike Davis lezizindawo,

isizikulwane esisha semijondolo saqhamuka ezindaweni lapho kwakhe khona imiphakathi yabasebenzi kanye nabaphila kangcono bamaNdiya kanye namaAfrika. Ukwakhiwa kwemizi emincane yemixhaso nguhulumeni wentando yeningi, eyisigamu sezindlu ezazinamakamelo amane zakhiwe nguhulumeni wombuso wobandlululo, akuzange kusize, njengoba eziningi zivele zadayiswa futhi izakhamizi zaseMkhumbane ezihola imali encane kakhulu zangakwazi ukuzikhokhela, kodwa abokufika bazithengile futhi sebehlala kuzona.

Ukuhleleka ngobuhlanga bezombusazwe zemnotho wobungxiwankulu waseMkhumbane kudala ingcindezi enkulu. Ekuluma kumbuthano wabamandla emisebenzi-imiphakathi-nabokufika ngeSonto, uTimothy Rukombo, umholi wabokufika eZimbabwe eThekwini, wachaza ukuthi ingxabano ngezomnotho omncane okugcina sekwenziwa inzondo obugcwele esizweni: Uma nifuna ukuya ekhaya [eZimbabwe], uqhathanisa amanani, futhi amabhasi amakhulu abiza kancane kunamakhumbi amatekisi. Ngakho uma uya ebhasini, umshayeli wetekisi umemeza kakhulu ukuthi 'singamakwerekwere' igama eliyinhlamba okubizwa ngalo abokufika njengoba izakhamizi zakuleli zazibizwa "ngamakhafula".

Eqhubeka uRukombo uthi, "Futhi uma sesishayiwe, futhi sesibiza amaphoyisa, awafiki."

Empeleni, uma amaphoyisa esefika-njengoba aya eCentral Methodist Church eGoli zingu30 kuJanuwari, lapho abokufika baseZimbabwe bangu1500 babekhosele khona-inhloso yawo ukuhlukumeza kuphela. Umfundisi wesonto umbhishobhi uPaul Verryn washaywa ngalobobusuku, futhi cishe bonke abaseZimbabwe baboshwa. Kodwa akukho cala elalandelwa.

UThando Manzi ehlale ezwa lezizikhalo njalo. Ngesikhathi lapho ukudla kubiza kakhulu-kufike kumaphesenti angu80 kukudla okusetshenziswa njalo kulonuaka-ubona izizathu ezihleliwe ngokucwaswa kwabokufika:

–Ukungabi khona kwemisebenzi (kwizizinda zokuqashwa ngokuphelele ukuqahselwa imisebenzi kwehla ngesigidi esisodwa emva kuka1994) kanye nokwehla kwamazinga amaholo ngenxa yokuthi abokufika bayawamukela amaholo aphansi mabeqashwe ngokwesikhashana;

–Ukuzimisela kwabokufika ekutholeni amathuba angenamvume ezomnotho, noma amanye engekho emthethweni, njengokudayisa

izithelo onqanqameni lomgwaqo, imifino, ugwayi, amathoyizi kanye neminye imikhiqizo emincane;

–Ingcindezi mayelana nezindlu okuholela abaningi bokufika bazimpitshe emalfethini angaphakathi kwedolobha, ikakhulukazi eThekwini naseGoli okwenza inani lokukhokhela ukuhlala kunyuke kakhulu okwenza ukuthi izakhamizi zingakwazi ukukhokha lawomanani;

–Ukuntshontshwa kwezibongo komazisi, okungabiza owokufika amarandi angu3,000 ngendlela yokukhwabanisa ukuze bathole umazisi kanye nencwadi yokushayela (okuhlanganisa nemishado-mbumbulu nezakhamizi zaseNingizimu Afrika eziye zithole ngalokhu uma sezishadiwe emva kwesikhathi); futhi

–Ukunyuka kobugcwelegcwele okuhlale kusolwa abokufika ngabo.

Ngemuva kwalobubihixihixi ukwandiswa kungekudala kohlelo lwamandla emisebenzi kwabaqhamuka ezabelweni, ezifundazweni kanye namazwe asondelene naleli. Sasicabanga ukuthi ngo1994 ukuthi uhulumeni kaKhongolose uyogcina eyiqedile lendlela yomnotho, futhi atshintshe amahostela obulili obubodwa bube izindawo zohlala imindeni. Kodwa amahostela asekhona, futhi eGoli, lezizakhiwo ezimbi ezigcwele abesilisa abangasebenzi kwakuyizizinda zokuhlasela okuningi.

Nomangabe izindawo ezihlelwe ngobandululo ngebalazwe sezanyamalala kwimidwebo eyayidetshwe yisizwe saseSwitzerland, umqondo wezomnotho wokuthatha amandla emisebenzi amaholo aphansi ezindaweni ezikude kubi kakhulu (nezwe lasseChina nalo seluyabenza lobubuqili), njengoba kungasadumile kabi njengokwalethwa ubandlululo.

Esikhundleni sokuqhamuka KwaZulu noma eVenda noma eBophuthatswana noma eTranskei, amandla abasebenzi abasosizini kakhulu eNingizimu Afrika abaqhamuka emadolobheni amakhulu aseZimbabwe, naseMalawi, eMozambique kanye naseZambia – amazwe ezomnotho awo ichithwe ukusabalala kwezezimboni uma unyuka kulelizwekazi.

Evuma ngeqiniso ngokuzibhekelela kwabo mayelana nalababasebenzi, umhlaziyi omkhulu wezomnotho webhange iFirst National uCees Bruggemann wathi kwiphephandaba iBusiness Report ngesonto eledlule: “Bagcina inani lokukhokhela amandla

emisebenzi iphansi... Imiholo yabo bayisebenzisa lapha ngenxa abayithumeleli amuva emazweni abo.”

Umangase abokufika abaningi bengathumeli imiholo yabo emuva (ngenxa yokuthi amaholo abo aphantsi kakhulu futhi nenani lokuphila kuleli selinyuke kakhulu), futhi, lokhu, kusikhumbuza ukuthi ubandlululo lalithatha amandla emisebenzi ngamanani aphantsi kumaBantustans: ngoba eminyakeni eminingi, abesifazane babephoqiwe ekwenzeni imisebenzi ababengakhokhelwa yona- ukukhulisa izingane, ukunakekela abagulayo kanye nokunakekela abadala asebedla impesheni-ukuze bakhiqize abesilisa abanamandla okusebenza ezimayini, amfektri kanye nasemapulazini.

Isikhathi sobandlululo sabanompumela wokwenza inzuzo enkulu njengomphumela. Manje, njengoba imingcele ingcolile kanye nesimo esijulile sezomnotho esibhekene nezakhamizi zaseZimbabwe (engxenywe ngenxa yokuthi uMongameli uThabo Mbeki utotosa umbuso wendlovuyangena kaMugabe), amaholo ezakhamizi zaseNingizimu Afrika ezisebenza emahovisi anyuka kakhulu). Emva kokuhluleka ngenxa yokukhiqiza ngokwedlulele kanye nomzabalazo wamabanga ngeminyaka yo1970 kuya kuma1980, izinga lenzuzo lapha lenyuka kusukela ngo1994 kuya ku2001 kuya kwisibalo sesishagalolunye emhlabeni wonke, ngokusho kwesifundo esenziwe iBhange laseNgilandi, ngenkathi ukuhlanganyelwa kwamaholo kwehla ngamaphesenti angu5 ngesikhathi esisodwa.

Uma-ke futhi sesibhekana namazinga angu40 wamaphesenti okungasebenzi kwabantu baseNingizimu Afrika, ukuyekiswa kwamandla emisebenzi aqhamuka esifundazweni seNingizimu Afrika (amazwe akhelene neNingizimu Afrika) kungaba inking kwezezimali, njengoba kwenzeka emayini yasePrimrose Gold eduze kwaseGoli. Abasebenzi bemayini cishe okwakungabaseMozambique bonke, abahlala bangaya emsebenzini izisukwana ngesonto eledlule ngenxa yokwesaba, kwase kuvalwa imigodi.

Emapulazini amakhulu, enyakathompumalanga yegGoli, amadoda afana noPaul van der Walt weTransvaal Agricultural Union wathi ngalobubungozi: “Kungekudala ngisho nabanikazi bamapulazi abaqashe abasebenzi ngokomthetho abaqhamuka emazweni angomakhelwane nabo bangase babhekane nokucwaswa kwabokufika ngqo lapho okube kungasekho-nje ezindaweni zasemadolobheni amakhulu.”

Ngabe yini okulandelayo? Uma usebenzela umbuso ukuba usibuse ngezimakethe zongxiwankulu ngenxa yezezimali, njengoba kwenza

umholi weBhange iReserve uTito Mboweni, uhlale uncike kwimigomo enolunya-yezezimali, “noma sinyuka noma sominza”, njengoba afunga ngesonto eledlule, futhi ukuqinisekeisa ukuthi ukulawula kukahulumeni akushintshi, njengoba ungqongqoshe wezezimali uTrevor Manuel naye athembisa.

Umangabe ungowezombusazwe leqembu elibusayo, oyizibayo inking noma ukhulume kakhulu-njengoThabo Mbeki, ongazange azikhathaze ngokuvakashela izindawo ezazinezinxushunxushu-noma athumele abombutho wezempi (intuthuko entsha enobungozi), noma-ke asenze sithiyeke ngokuthi singabhekani nalesisihlava ngokusola “iThird Force”.

Ukuchaza ukucwaswa, uNgqongqoshe kaZwelonke Wezobunhloli uRonnie Kasrils wabuyela emuva ekusabiseni okwakwenziwe ekuqaleni: Siyabona, ukuthi uma sibheka ngokungajuli, kunokuphindeka ngokwenzeka kuqala iminyaka yama90. Siyazi ukuthi kunemithelela yezemibusazwe okusemva kwalokhu. Ngabe leyomthelela kuseyiyona esebenza manje ukususa loluthuthuva manje? Singabe siyizithutha uma sithi akukho lokho.”

Futhi umangabe uyishosho vu sehlabathi lonke, njengoLindiwe Mazibuko isakhamizi saseSoweto esesadlula emhlabeni noma uOrlean Naidoo waseChatsworth, ubhekana ngqo nomsuka wenkinga ngokulwa nokuthi abantu bathole amanzi kanye nezidingo zomphakathi zazozonke izakhamizi noma ngabe ziqhamuka kuliphi izwe.

Ekanye nezinye izakhamizi, uMazibuko waphumelela kwicala lasenkantolo emelene neMboni Yamanzi YaseGoli zingu30 kuEpreli, okwenza amanzi ache amahala phinda phindwe kabili futhi kwaqedwa ukukhokhelwa kwamamitha amanzi engakasetshenziswa (noma-nke idolobha lisazosiphikisa lesisinqumo). Okubuhlungu-ke, ukuthi ushonile ngesonto eledlule ebulawa ngumdlavuzwa, kodwa ziningi izishosho vu ezaqina idolo ngenxa yesibonelo sakhe.

Futhi uma ungowokufika onesibindi, kufanele sibonge ukuthi usuvuselela kabusha ukuthi silwe nobulungiswa kwezenhlalakahle-kanyenezomnotho, simelane nokucwaswa kwabokufika okunobandlululo. Ngokubumbana, izinkulungwane ezimbalwa zamasha eGoli ngoMgqibelo.

Eminyakeni engamashumi amane adlule, mhlazingu25 kuMeyi, ngonyaka ka1963, Inhlango Yobumbano lwaseAfrika (phecelezi iOrganization of African Unity) manje osekuyiAfrican Union Yaqalwa

ngababusi bezizwe ukuxhasa ukukhululeka ekubusweni ngabokufika basemazweni amhlophe.

Kulukhuni ukukhungatha uSuku laseAfrika uma sesibhekana nokuthi, njengamanje, ubungxiwankulu kanye nobuzwe obunokuthuka obuqhamuka kubabusi kwenza umqondo wobuhlakani baseAfrika Ubuntu ube yihlaya (ukuthi umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu). Uma sisuka ohansi, izigcwelegcwele ezashaya lowamlisa waseMozambique bavele bahlanganyele nenhlangano ekhula kakhulu ebheke eceleni: kubulwane.