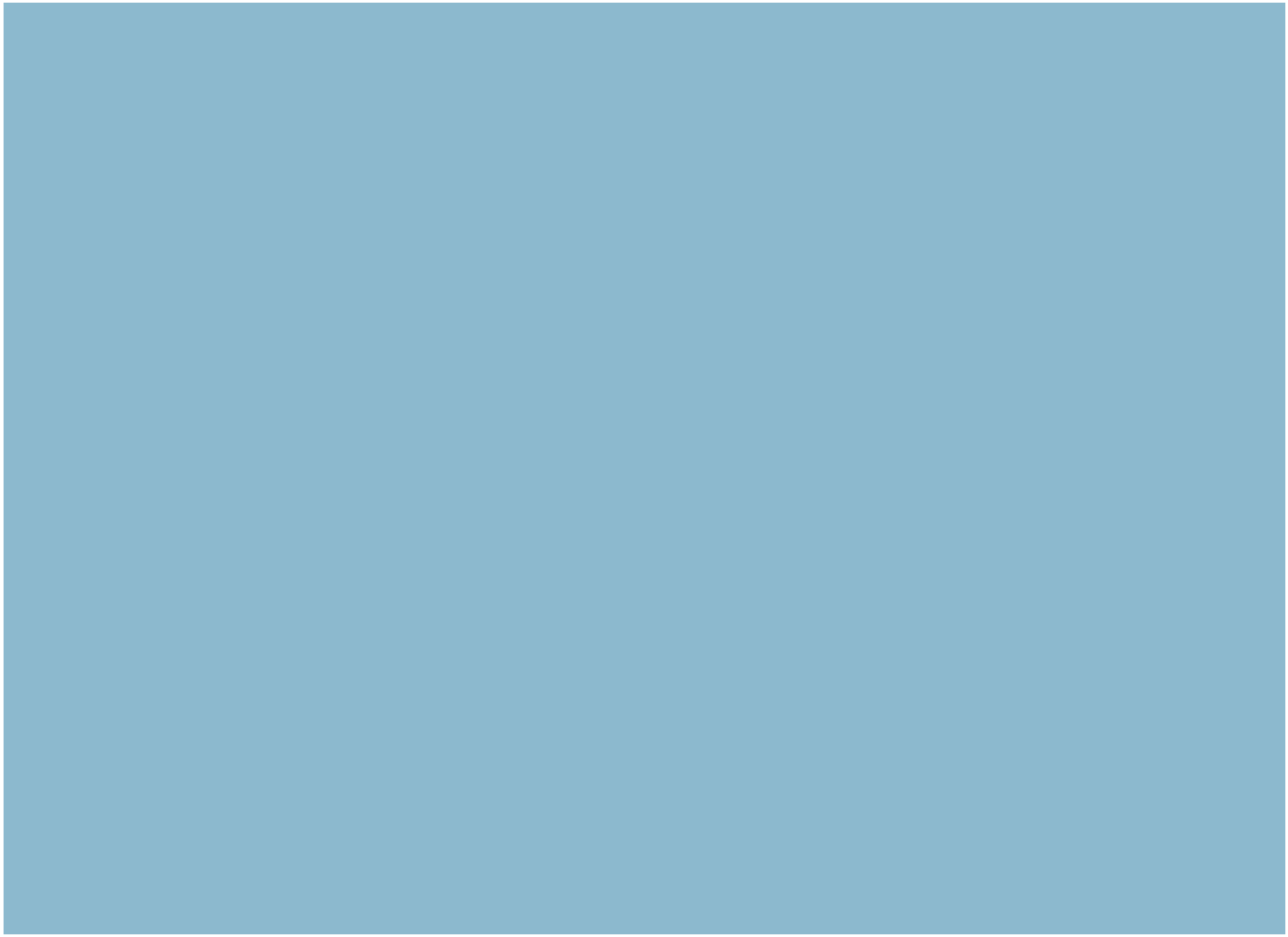
THE DINOKENG SCENARIOS

ISIFINYEZO SEBHUKWANA

AMAKUSASA ANGU-3

ngeNingizimu Afrika



DINOKENG
“indawo yemifula”,
. . . konke osekwadlula kwethu kugeleze
ndawonye ukuze kuhlangane kulendawo
ngalesi sikhathi, kanti nawo wonke
amakusasa ethu azogeleza esukela lapha.

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ISETHULO

Izwe lethu liyobukeka kanjani ngowezi-2020? Njengezakhamizi, ingabe siyoba ngcono kunakuqala? Noma siyobuyela emuva? Lona izwe liyoba kuliphi izinga emhlabeni?

Lena imibuzo ebuzwa iThimba le-Dinakeng Scenario, umbuthano wabahlukahlukene baseNingizimu Afrika abangama-35, abahlangana kane ngemihlangano yokucobelelana ukubeka izindlela eziyisa empumelelweni ekusaseni lethu.

U-Dinokeng yigama leSepedi elisho “indawo yemifula”. I-Dinokeng isendaweni ehehayo enhle ekhoneni lenyakatho-nempumalanga ye-Gauteng. Iyindawo lapho iThimba le-Dinokeng Scenario lahlangana khona emhlanganweni wokucobelelana owathatha izinsuku ezintathu phakathi kukaNcwaba (Agasti) noLwezi (Novemba) wezi-2008 ukudingida ngokwamanje nokwedlula kweNingizimu Afrika, kanye nezimo ezinokwenzeka ngekusasa. Ithimba lahlangana okwesine, ngoNhlolanja (Febhuwari) wezi-2009 eGoli, lapho izimo ezinqala zabukisiswa khona ngesikhulu isizotha.

U-Dinokeng yigama futhi eliqoqa lomoya wozwano lwezinkulumo zeThimba: ukuhambisana kwemibono kubantu baseNingizimu Afrika abehlukene yokwakha ikusasa elomqondomunye.

Ithimba lakhiwe Abantu baseNingizimu Afrika abavela ezinhlanganweni zezepolitiki ezahlukahlukene, kuhulumeni, emphakathini wezakhamizi, embuthanweni wezenkolo, kwabezemfundo ephakeme, kubasakazi, ezinyonyaneni zamabhizinisi nokuhwebelana. Lahlanganiswa wumbuthano wabahlanganisi, labo bonke osaziwayo abayizakhamizi.

Okungo Dkt Mamphela Ramphele, ongusihlalo weqoqo labasunguli, uMbhishobhu omkhulu Njongonkulu Ndungane, uMnu Bob Head, Nkz Graça Machel, Dkt Vincent Mphai noMnu Rick Menell.

Ukusebenza kwe-Dinokeng kuxhaswe ngu-Old Mutual no-Nedbank. Bakholelwa ekutheni isikhathi sasifanele sokuthi bakhe isikhala sempikiswano enempilo mayelana nekusasa lethu. Nakuba-ke, abaxhasi bengalawulanga ngisho uhlelo lomhlangano wokucobelelana, noma umphela wokuphela kwawo. Lokho kungokweThimba le-Scenario uqobo lwalo.

Ithimba liyiqoqo labantu baseNingizimu Afrika abahlukahlukene kakhulu abanemibono eyahlukahlukene kakhulu mayelana nezwe. Nakuba bengavumelani ngakho konke kunesinamathelisi esibukhali esihlanganisa iqembu ndawonye: ukuzinikela emithethweni yoMthethosisekelo, ukuqonda umunyu wezwe nobunzima befa, kanye nokukhathazeka okusenhliziyweni mayelana nokuthi bangakwazi kanjani, njengezakhamizi, ukuba nesandla ekusaseni elihle le Ningizimu Afrika.

Inhloso ye-Dinokeng wuku *“sungula isikhala nolimi olukhululekile, okungabukelwa kulo nolwezinkulumo zokuhlanganisa ngokucatshangisisiwe ngabantu base Ningizimu Afrika, mayelana nokunokwenzeka ngekusasa lezwe, kanye namathuba, ubungozi nokuzikhethela ekusaseni lanamuhla.”*

Yisikhala bonke abase Ningizimu Afrika okumele basigcwalise. Bonke abase Ningizimu Afrika – kungabi nguhulumeni kuphela noma labo abase maYunivesithi noma bamaphephandaba – kumele babandakanywe ezimpikiswaneni ezimayelana nekusasa lethu. Noma ngabe abantu bayaphikisana ne-Dinokeng Scenarios, leli yithuba lokubeka izimvo nezifiso zabo mayelana nekusasa, nokuzikhethela mayelana nokuthi yikuphi abangaba nesandla kukho ukwakha ikusasa.

Zonke izicaphuno ezigqanyisiwe zivela kumalunga eThimba le-Dinokeng Scenario.

"Thina singabase Ningizimu Afrika siyakwazi ukubona ukuthi yini izwe elingakwazi ukukwenza, uma kuphela sikwazi ukucinga ekujuleni kwethu ukuze sithole izisombululo zokwenza njalo."

"Sisezimpambanweni zomgwaqo, kodwa okungalungile eNingizimu Afrika kungalungiseka. INingizimu Afrika yizwe elinamathuba amaningi."

"Izakhamizi zidinga ukuzibambela futhi zizibuze zona: Yikuphi esikwenzayo njengezakhamizi ukuba yizithunywa zoguquko? Yikuphi esikwenzayo ukwakha ikusasa lelo esiliphuphile ekuzalweni kwentando yethu yeningi?"

UMYALEZO WE-DINOKENG

Umyalezo ovela eThimbeni le-Dinokeng Scenari kubantu baseNingizimu Afrika yilo: INingizimu Afrika njengamanje imi ezimpambanweni zomgwaqo. Sesithathe amagxathu amakhulu kusuka ngowe-1994. Kodwa futhi senze amaphutha amaningi; amaphutha angaba yingozi enkulu ngekusasa lethu uma singawalungisi.

Uma thina, njenge zakhamizi zase Ningizimu Afrika, singahlanganyeli ngokuzimisela nohulumeni owazi kakhulu futhi nosebenzayo ukubeka izwe emzileni wokuvuseleleka, singabhekana nokwahlukana nokubuna. Yonke imivuzo yethu kusuka ngowe-1994 ingaba sebungozini. Singadala umonakalo ohlelweni lwentando yeningi uma singabhekani ngempumelelo nezinselelo zethu zempilo eziphuthumayo.

Uhulumeni wethu wentando yeningi usezuze ukuthuthuka okubalulekile kwezwe. Kodwa futhi ube ntekenteke kwezinye izindawo ezinobungozi, ezifana nezemfundo kanye nezempilo. Ukunikezelwa kwemisebenzi kubantu beyingakabi yimpumelelo noma ibonakale kuzakhamizi njengoba kufanele. Eminyakeni emibalwa eyedlule, sibonile ukuthi izakhamizi bezihlale zehluleka ukuba izwi lazo lizwakale kanye nokuthi izikhalazo zazo zibhekelelwe. Kwesinye isikhathi abantu bakhetha ukubhikisha okunodlame, ngoba bebona ukuthi labo abakuhulumeni abafanelwe ukubalethela izidingo zomphakathi – ezifana nemigwaqo engcono, imfundo, kanye nezempilo – kaba balaleli.

Ngokwezi zathu eziningi, uhulumeni wethu untekenteke ezindaweni ezithile ezinobungozi. Kusobala ukuthi uhulumeni akanawo amandla wokuphendula ezinkingeni zethu eyedwa. Kodwa neminye imikhakha yomphakathi ayigxilanga ngokwenele ekwenzeni ngcono izwe jikelele. Udinga ukulekelelwa kanye nokubambisana nezinhlaka zonke kanye nazo zonke izakhamizi ukulungisa okungakalungi ezweni.

Umyalezo obaluleke kakhulu ovela ekwenzeni kwe-Dinokeng, ngakho-ke, yilo: **Singabhekana nezinselelo zethu ezinzima kuphela uma izakhamizi nabaholi bezinhlaka zonke zomphakathi zingasebenzisana nohulumeni ukuthuthukisa ukulethwa kwezidingo. Njenge zakhamizi, sidinga futhi ukugcizelela ekutheni onke amazinga kahulumeni, kusuka kuhulumeni omkhulu kuya kowezindawo, baphendule kithi ngendlela abasebenza ngayo.**

ININGIZIMU AFRIKA NAMUHLA

Ithimba le-Dinokeng likholelwa ekutheni inhlwayelo yekusasa lethu likuyizolo nemanje lethu, ngakho ababambi qhaza baqalisa izingxoxo zabo ngokucubungulisisa ukuthi izwe likanjani namuhla: Imiphumela yalo, izingqinamba zalo, ukuphumelela nokwehluleka kwalo, kanye nomthwalo elisawuthwele ngemuva lalo elahlukane phakathi nokungalingani.

Ikusasa leNingizimu Afrika futhi lihlanganisiwe nezimo ezisemhlabeni wonke kanye nezwe kazi. Ubunzima bomnotho womhlaba wonke usuvele unomthelela kuNingizimu Afrika futhi uyodala ubuhlungu obuqhubekayo emnothweni wethu nakubantu bethu. Ikusasa lethu futhi libophelwe kulelo le-Afrika yonke. Isibonelo, sibonile ukungena kwabayikhulu nezinkulungwane zabafuduki abangekho emthethweni abavela emazweni ahluphekayo, singabala i-Zimbabwe, lapho kufe kokubili uhulumeni nezomnotho.

Sidinga futhi ukubhekisisa ukuguquka kwesimo sezulu, nomthelela esiyoba nawo emkhiqizweni wezolimo kanye nokuphepha kokudla.

INingizimu Afrika ayisona isiqhingi. Angeke senza ngendlela esithanda ngayo ngenqubomgomo yethu. Uma sifuna ukuba nekusasa eliyimpumelelo, sidinga ukuqaphela ukuthi ukunotha kwezwekazi lase-Afrika kanye nowomhlaba wonke usiphazamisa kanjani.

IMPAHLA YETHU

Eminyakeni eyi-15 ukususka ngonyaka wokuqala wokhetho lwethu lwentando yeningi, izwe selithathe amagxathu amaningi abalulekile. Okukodwa kwethu okukhulu kwesikuzuzile wukuthi manje sihlala ngaphansi kwentando yeningi esebenza ngomthetho sisekelo. ***UMthethosisekelo*** wethu waziwa umhlaba wonke futhu uyahlonishwa. Uvikela amalungelo omuntu ngayedwana, kanye nalabo abangalutho, futhi uqinisekisa ukubusa kwentando yeningi ngeningi.

Ngezinye izikhathi, Inkantolo yoMthethosisekelo isivikele abantu ngabodwana namalungelo obuqotho ebusweni bokucindezelwa wukwaziwa. Kanje ngokuthi, isichaze isigwebo sentambo njengokuthi kasihambelani nomthethosisekelo kuthathelwa phezu "kwelungelo lokuphila" isigatshana eMqulwini wamaLungelo. Lokhu kungaphezu kweqiniso lokuthi, ngenxa yokunyuka kwezinga lobugebengu, iningi labantu lingafisa ukusivusa.

Okubalulekile, uMthethosisekelo uphinde unikezele nangamalungelo okuthuthukiswa komnotho womphakathi. INkantolo yoMthethosisekelo ungakwazi, futhi ukwazile, ukutshela uhulumeni ukuthi athuthukise ukunikezelwa kwezindlu kanye nokuthola ukunakekelwa ngokwezempilo.

Intando yeningi yethu futhi isekelwe ***nayizikhungo ezizimele, nezinamandla*** kubalwa nabokusakaza kanye nezinye izingxenye zophiko lwezobulungiswa. Lezi zinhlaka zingakwazi, futhi zenze, ukudlala indawo yokuba ngabaqaphi futhi ziqinisekise ukuthi uhulumeni akaxhaphazi amandla anawo.

Senze futhi ebalulekile ***inzuzo kwezomnotho***. Kusuka ekufikeni kwentando yeningi, umnotho wethu ukhule kancane kancane. Lokhu kukhula, nakuba-ke, kubuye kwahamba kancane ngenxa yomthelela wesikhathi sobungozi bomnotho womhlaba wonke.

Siphinde futhi sanciphisa kangcono izikweletu zomhlaba. Ekugcineni kwesikhathi sobandlululo, izikweletu zethu zinyuke zaba cishe wuhhafu weSamba soMkhiqizo waseKhaya (i-GDP) – ngamanye amazwi, ingxenye eyodwa yawo wonke umcebo wezwe. Lokhu kusho ukuthi iNingizimu Afrika kumele isebenzise okuthi makulingane nobuningi ekukhokheleni izinzalo ezikweletini, njengoba yenzile ezinhlelweni zomphakathi ezibalulekile ezifana nezemfundo noma ezezindlu. Ngokunciphisa isamba semali esifuna ukusiboleka, sesinciphisile izikweletu zethu sezizonke zaba kuma-23% we-GDP, kanti nenzalo esiyikhokhayo ngonyaka iphansi kakhulu.

Lokhu kuphinde kwenza uhulumeni wanciphisa kancane kancane izintela, okusizile ekukhuthaza ukwanda. Umnotho ususungule ***imisebenzi emisha yenethi ebalelwa ku-3.5 wezigidi*** kusuka ngowe-1995 kanti nokungasebenzi kwabantu kwehlile, ngokwencazelo esemthethweni, kusuka ema-31% ngowezi-2003 kwaya ema-23% ngowezi-2008.

Ukwehla kwezikweletu zethu kuphinde kwenza uhulumeni ekutheni andise ngokulandelana ***ukusetshenziswa ngokomphakathi kwezemfundo***, ezokunakekelwa ngokwezempilo, emalini yabangenani, kwezezindlu, kanye nasezinhlelweni zezobulungiswa kwezobugebengu.

Ezemfundo namhlanje zidla ingxenye enkulu kusabelomali sikahulumeni, ngaphezu kwama-20% . Ukwamukelwa kwezingane ezikoleni zamazinga aphansi njengamanje sekucishe kufane mhlabawonke, futhi nenani labantu abasebancane abaphumelelayo kumatikuletsheni lukhuphuke lusuka ema-58% ngowe-1994 laba sema-63% ngowezi-2008. Kanti ngezikhathi zobandlululo, ukusetshenziswa kwezimali kwezemfundo kwakungalingani kakhulu ngokwezinhlanga ezahlukene, namhlanje ukusetshenziswa kwezimali kuyalingana kubona bonke abase Ningizimu Afrika.

Ukusetshenziswa kwezimali ***kwezempilo*** kungokwesibili okukhulu kusabelomali sethu. Ngonyaka owedlule, bekulinganiselwa ku-R80 wezigidigidi (bhiliyoni) sekukonke. Imitholampilo yokunakekela ngokwezempilo yasemazingeni aphansi yakhiwe ezweni lonke. Imalaria yehlile ngenxa yemizamo eqinile yokuqeda omiyane ezindaweni lapho imalaria ibiphezulu kuyo, futhi nokugonywa kwezingane manje kusondele ema-90%.

Ezinye izinzuzo zokwenhlalo kube wukulethwa kwezidingo zamanzi ahlanzekile emakhaya angaphezulu kwangamamiliyoni amahlanu, ukwanda kokufakelwa ugesi, imigwaqo engcono, kanye nokunikezelwa kwemali yabangenabani kubantu abangamamiliyoni ayi-13.

IMISEBENZI ESIBEKELWE YONA YETHU

Singaba nokuziqhenya ngalemivuzo, kodwa izwe lethu lisabhekene nezinselelo ezinkulu. Ikakhulu, nangaphezu kwemali esetshenziswe kwezemfundo nakwezempilo, uhulumeni wehlulekile ukuletha ukufunda nokunakekelwa kwezempilo okusezingeni.

Kwezemfundo, izingane zethu zibalwa nezisezingeni eliphansi kwezezibalo nasezivivinyweni zokwazi ukufunda nokuloba uma ziqhathaniswa nezingane eziningi zakwezinye izingxenye zomhlaba. “Singabokugcina,” omunye weThimba le-Scenario washo.

Ilzinga lokuphumelela kukamatikuletsheni wethu likhulile kodwa abangama-20% kuphela abenze umatikuletsheni bathola ukuphumelela okubenza bakwazi ukuya eyunivesithi. Izingqalasizinda kwezinye zezikole

zethu kazizinhle: ezingama-79% kazinayo imitapo yolwazi, ezingama-60% kazinawo amagumbi ezesayenzi, futhi ezingama-68% kazinamakhompyutha. Othisha bakunqabile ukusingathwa kwendlela yokusebenza, ngakho kakulula ukuthola ukuthi ingabe banikezela ngemfundo eseqophelweni yini ezinganeni.

Ngokunjalo ***kwezempilo***, ngale kwemali esetshenzisiwe, izinkomba zethu ziyethusa. Sisezingeni lesine kwaphezulu lokutheleleka nge-HIV/Aids ne-TB emhlabeni. Kakhulu ngenxa yobhubhane lwe-HIV/Aids, ubude bempilo eNingizimu Afrika sekwehle kusuku eminyakeni engama-63 ngowe-1990 kwaba kwengama-51 ngowezi-2006. Kunanezinkinga ezinkulu kabi ngeqophelo lokunakekelwa ezibhedlela zethu zomphakathi. Lokhu kuboniswa wukuthi izibalo zokushona kutetwa (abesifazane abashona beteta) kanye nezibalo zokushona kwabantwana abasanda kuzalwa (izingane ezishona kungakafiki isikhathi sokuqala sokuzalwa zisemhlabeni) sandile.

"Abantu kabakholelwa wukuthi imithi iyoba semitholampilo."

Ubugebengu yinkinga enkulu. INingizimu Afrika inezibalo okuyizona eziphezulu kakhulu zobugebengu obunendluzula emhlabeni, kanti namaphoyisa nezinkantolo kubonakala kungakwazi ukubhekana nomthwalo womsebenzi onzima wawo. Ngokwanda, labo abakhonayo kabasenakho ukulindela emaphoyiseni ukuba abavikele. Kunalokho baqasha izinkampani zonogada ezizimele. Imiphakathi entulayo, engakwazi ukukhona onogada abazimele, bagcina beshiya phansi ukukholelwa emaphoyiseni bese bezibambela umthetho ngezandla zabo.

Kwezinye zezingqinamba zethu ***wukuntuleka kwemisebenzi nobubha***. Lokhu kokubili kuhlobene kakhulu: labo abangasebenzi bangahle babe ngabahlupheka kakhulu kwabahluphekayo. Ukungasebenzi futhi kuhlobene nokungabikho kwemfundo namakhono. Umuntu waze wangaba namakhono enele noma wangaba nomsebenzi awufundele, lokho kwehlisa amathuba akhe okuthola umsebenzi ongcono. Izibalo zalabo abangasebenzi abaneziqu zaseyunivesithi zi-3% kuphela, kuthi labo abanomatikuletsheni kubalelwa ema-28%, kodwa kulabo abangenawo umatikuletsheni kungaphezulu kwama-60%. Ngaphezu kukahhafu wabantu abaphakathi kweminyaka engama-20 nenama-24 kabasebenzi.

"Intsha ishiywa ngaphandle. Emalokishini izinga lokuntuleka kwemisebenzi nobubha entsheni yethu liyashaqisa."

Zonke lezi zici zihlanganisiwe ukukhipha ukungalingani nobubha obukhulu emphakathini wethu. Nakuba imali yabangenabani yenze umehluko ezimpilweni zabantu, imizi ebalelwa ema-40% asathathwa njengantulayo. Ukungalingani kwandile phakathi kwabantu abamnyama, kanti ukungalingani phakathi kwamaqoqo ehlukene ezinhlanga selokhu ifana njengoba yayinjalo ngaphansi kobandlululo.

ININGIZIMU AFRIKA EZIMPAMBANWENI ZOMGWAQO

Ithimba le-Dinokeng Scenario likholelwa ekutheni namuhla iNingizimu Afrika isezimpambanweni zomgwaqo.

"Ikusasa kalikaze linikezelwe. Liyakhiwa."

Uma singazilungisi izingqinamba ezisimpintshayo zezemfundo nezokunakekelwa ngokwezempilo okufayo, zamazinga obungebenu obuphezulu obungemukelekile, zokungabikho kwemisebenzi nobubha, siyoqaqa ukuphumelela esikwenzile kusuka ngowe-1994.

Emsukeni wezinkinga zethu ukwehluleka kobuholi nokungakwazi ukuphendula. Lokhu kungenxa yokuthi uhulumeni ube nokubonga abalandeli babo bezepolitiki ngemisebenzi emisebenzini yomphakathi, kunokuqasha abantu abakwaziyo ukwenza umsebenzi. Umthethosisekelo

wethu uqinisekisa izakhamizi ngemisebenzi yomphakathi engenabumfihlo, kodwa lesi siqiniseko kasigcinwa.

Sibonile futhi abaholi bezamabhizinisi, bezenkolo, bezemisebenzi kanye nabomphakathi begxila kakhulu kulokho okufunwa yibona kunalokho okufunwa yisizwe sonkana.

Abaholi abavela ezinhlakeni zonke badinga ukwamukela imisebenzi abayibekelwe yezinkinga zethu kanye nokuzisombulula. Okufanayo kuliqiniso kubona bonke abayizakhamizi.

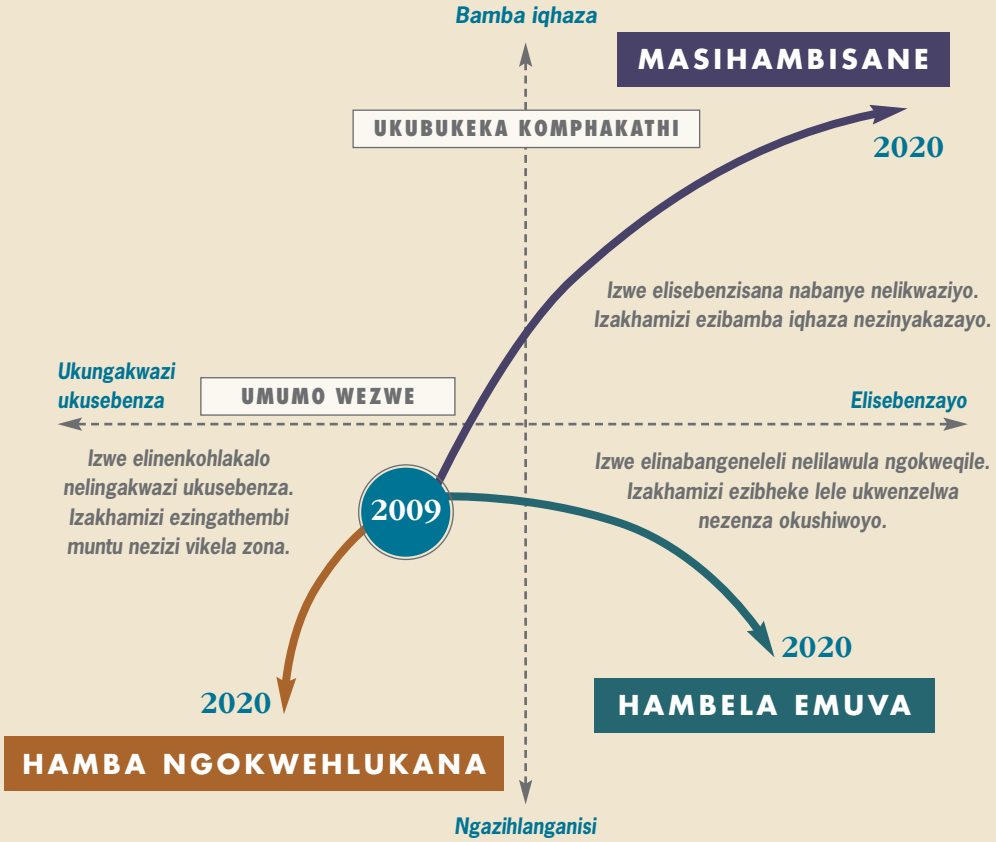
"Akumele kube khona ukuxolelwa kobuholi obungenamiphumela."

Ngaphambi kowe-1994, ukuzimisela kwezakhamizi kwakumandla eNingizimu Afrika. Namuhla izakhamuzi zigxile kakhulu futhi kuyanda ukulindela kuhulumeni ukuba anikezele ngakho konke. Lokhu kuyinkinga.

Iqophelo labaholi bethu kanye nendima edlalwa yizakhamuzi ekwakheni kabusha izwe lethu ikhona okuzokhombisa ukuthi ingabe siyazisombulula yini izinkinga zethu ngaphambi kokuthi zibe "ngamabhomu".

"Akumele kube khona ukwenzelela sicicyele ngokufihla njengabaholi."

ISITHOMBE-SIMO



Isithombe-simo kazizona izibikezelo. Zichaza umzila wekusasa ongathathwa. Zonke lezi zigameko ezicatshangwa yiThimba le-Dinokeng zingenzeka. Kunokwenzeka futhi ukuthi ikusasa libe yingxubevange yazo zontathu lezi zigameko ezichzwe ngenzansi. Yini eyenza izithombe-zimo zibe ngezisebenzisekayo wukuthi zisinika ithuba lokuzahlukanisa nezilahlekiso nezinkambizo zomhlaba obanzi ukuze sibone kangcono ubungozi namathuba esibheke nawo.

Ngalokhu emqondweni, iThimba le-Dinokeng lidwebe imigudu emithathu engasiyisa ekusaseni. Zonke ziyeme ezintweni ezimbili: okokuqala iqophelo lobuholi kuhulumeni kanye nomphakathi usuwonke; okwesibili yiqophelo lobudlelwano phakathi kwezakhamizi nohulumeni. Lobu budlelwano, phakathi kukahulumeni nezwe, buyocacisa ukuthi ingabe futhi singalakha kanjani ikusasa eliyimpumelelo leNingizimu Afrika.

ISITHOMBE-SIMO SOKU-1

HAMBA NGOKWEHLUKANA

Kusithombe-simo sokuqala, ***Hamba Ngokwehlukana***, soqhubeka nomgudu ofanayo nalona esikuwe namhlanje. Kuwuku "mculo wezihlalo" noma "ukuguquguqula izihlalo". Izinkinga zethu eziyisicindezelayo – ukungabikho kwemisebenzi. Ububha, ukuphepha nokuvikeleka, kanye nokuntuleka kokulethwa kwezidingo zezempilo nezemfundo – zibe nzima kunakuqala. Uhulumeni ukhuphula isibonelelo sezakhamizi (social grants) namaholo ezisebenzi zikahulumeni; abemukela le zibonelelo manje BANINGI KAKHULU kunabakhokhi bentela.

Uhulumeni angeke akwazi ukuletha izidingo ngezethembiso zakhe zokhetho ngoba uyehluleka ukuqasha abantu abakwazi kangcono ukusebenza emisebenzini yomphakathi. Ithemba lomphakathi ngezikhungo zomphakathi liyashabalala. Uma izakhamizi ziqala zibhikisha mayelana nokwehluleka kokulethwa kwezidingo zokuphila, uhulumeni uphendula kalula nje ngokubandisela imali yabantulayo.

Lokhu kwehlisa inkinga okwesikhashana, kodwa ngowezi-2012, kuyacaca ukuthi ngenxa yokuqasha ngobungane kuhulumeni namathenda, ukulethwa kwezidingo zempilo kobe kusengakaneli. Ezemfundo zinamaphutha; ukwentuleka kwamakhono kwenza inkinga yokungasebenzi ibe nkulu kunakuqala. Uhlaka lwezokunakekelwa ngokwezempilo nalo luyehluleka, ngoba

uhulumeni ulahlekelwa abasebenzi bezokunakekela ngokwezempilo abazinikele ohlakeni lwezempilo emphakathini.

Izakhamizi kazikhohliseki. Abaningi bayazehlukanisa nempilo yasemphakathini. Ngowezi-2017, ukulethwa kwezidingo kakulingani kakhulu ezweni lilonke futhi “izimpi ezicashile” ziqala ukugcwalisa igebe elishiwe nguhulumeni. Laba kungaba amagenge ezigebengu, aletha izidingo zempilo kuphela uma kuzoba nemali ebuyayo, noma amanye amaqoqo angabacubunguli, angaba ngaphandle kukahulumeni futhi angeke kwakwazeka ukuthi kuthiwe awaphendule.

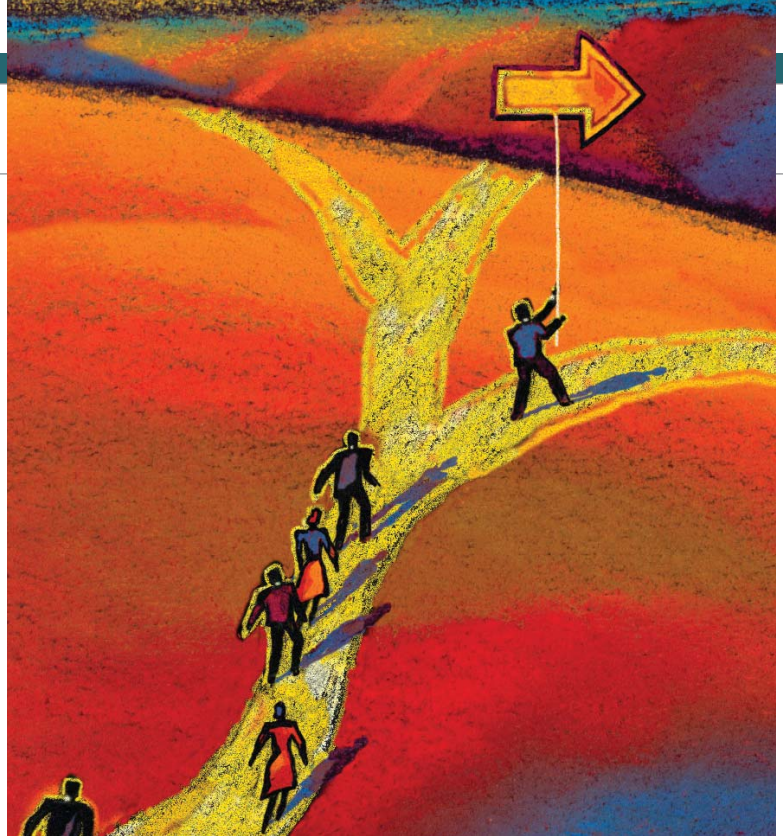
Ngowezi-2020, “izimeya” ezizibekile, izinhlangano zabamatekisi, noma amagenge anethonya kwezinye izindawo. Uhulumeni usesebenzise imali eningi ezimalini zabangentulayo, futhi akazange agxile ekuzameni ukubambisana nabatshalizimali nabezabasebenzi ukusungula imisebenzi.

Izakhamizi zibhikisha ezweni lonke. Ukungahlaliseki kuyavumbuka, ngoba uhulumeni akakwazi ukuthola izisombululo, kuvele kwehle kube yimibhikisho. Ekugcineni, umemezela Ngesimo Esiphuthumayo ukumisa imibhikisho. INingizimu Afrika isuka entandweni yeningi ethuthukile iya ezweni labanamandla.

Umyalezo walesi sithombe-simo othi uma siqhubeka ngendlela ebesilokhu senza ngayo, sizohlangabezana nokwahlukana okunzima nokuwa.

ISIFINYEZO SESITHOMBE-SIMO SOKU 1: HAMBELA NGANXANYE

IZOLO, NAMUHLA NAKUSASA KUYEFANA: 2009-2011	KUZULAZULWA KUJIKELEZWA NGASEMAWENI: 2012 – 2014	IZITHUNZI ZIYALULEKA: 2015 – 2017	UKUBUSA KWENDODA EQINILE: 2018 – 2020
• Iqembu elibusayo lisaphethe abaningi. • Inkinga ekhungethe umhlaba wonke iholela ekwehleni kokutshalwa kwezimali, ukukhula, nasezinteleni eziqoqwayo. • Inkinga enqwabelene kuhulumeni, kwezemisebenzi nasekwehlulekeni kwebhizinisi. • Uhulumeni wandisa Izinhlelo Zemisebenzi Yomphakathi ukuze asungule imisebenzi. • Izakhamizi kazihlaliseki abese uhulumeni andisa imali yabangenani.	• Ukuqasha ngobungane nenkohlakalo ekuhulumeni nakumathenda. • Ezemidlalo nezokunakekelwa kwezempilo kwehlelwa yizinga. • Ukwahlukana kuhulumeni nezakhamizi. • Uhulumeni wandisa imali yabangenani nenkokhelo yabasebenzi bomphakathi: abamukeli bemali yabangenani manje bangaphezulu kwabakhokhi bentela. • Iqembu elibusayo liphumelela okhethweni ngeningi elehlile.	• Ubugebengu buyanda: onogada bezokuphepha abazimele bangaphezulu kwamaphoyisa ngoku-3 koku-1. • Uhlelo lezobulungiswa ebugebengwini buya bunganelisi ngenxa yokuqasha ngobungane nenkohlakalo. • Izinyonyana zinxenxa uhulumeni ukuba andise amaholo angatheni. • Ukutshalwa kwezimali kuncipha kuyaphambili; ukungasebenzi kuyanda. • Ukulethwa kwezidingo kakuphumeleli; izindlela ezinye zokulethwa kwazo ziyanda kuthi namandla ezithunzi kuya kubamandla.	• Uqhekeko luyanda; isabelomali sehlisa amabhaluni; ukulethwa kwezidingo kuba kubi kakhulu. • Abakhethekile bazikhethela ukuphuma kuthi abantulayo nalahlekelwe yisineke. • Amagenge, omeya abazibekile nezinhlangano zamatekisi kuphethe ezindaweni zangaphakathi. • “Indoda eqinile” iyaphumelela okhethweni, imiphumela eqhudelene. • Kuvunguza imibhikisho abese uhulumeni ememezela isimo esiphuthumayo.



ISITHOMBE-SIMO SESI-2

HAMBELA EMUVA

Kusithombe-simo sesibili, ***Hambela Emuva***, uhulumeni uthatha isinqumo sokuhola ngendlela inqubo yentuthuko.

Uyangenelela emnothweni abhekane nawo-ngqo, anikeze uxhaso lwezezimali Ezinkampanini Eziphethwe Nguhulumeni ezinkulu futhi abheke amaphrojekthi ezingqalasizinda. Futhi wandisa Izinhlelo Zemisebenzi Yomphakathi ukusungula imisebenzi eminingi yabantu abangenamakhono.

Kodwa akabhekeleli ngokwanele kokwenzekayo ngomnotho womhlaba. Ngowezi-2012, kuyacaca ukuthi abagcini zimali abazimele bebe "valeleke ngaphandle" ngokusetshenziswa kwezimali nguhulumeni kanzima kanye nezimo zokungakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi. Kabanalo ilukuluku lokutshala imali emnothweni, kukhulisa izintela kubeke namaholo esimeni esimile kubona bonke abasebenzi basemphakathini. Lokhu kwenza abafundele imisebenzi ndawozombili ezinhlakeni zomphakathi nezizimele bengajabuli: labo abanamakhono amahle bayashiya ohlakeni lomphakathi, benze inkinga ibe nzima kakhulu yokulethwa kwezidingo. Abatshali zimali bakhathazekile ngenxa yokwenyuka kwamazinga entela.

Ngowezi-2017, amanye amaphrojekthi ezimboni lawo uhulumeni atshale kuwo imali wacabanga ukuthi "azobangaphumelelayo" aphenduka abe "ngahlulekayo". Kawakwazi ukumelana nomhlaba jikelele futhi afaka uhulumeni izindleko zemali, kunoku zuza imali. Uhulumeni usebenzisa

imali kakhulu kunaleyo anayo kulama phrojekthi. Ngakho unquma ukwethula imithetho yempahla ayisungule yena, efuna ukuthi izimali zezinhlaka ezizimele zitshalwe kumaphrojekthi athile.

Izibalo zokutshalwa kwezimali kuyehla, ngakho uhulumeni uyaphoqeleka ukuba aboleke ezimakethe zangaphandle ngamanani entengo ephezulu. Ekugcineni, ngowezi 2019, uyaphoqeleka ukuthatha imalimboleko emabhodini ezezimali ahlukahlukene, afana noXhaso Lwezimali Zangaphandle. I-IMF ibeka imigomo ethile yobolekomali. Le migomo ifaka ukunqamula mawala ekusetshenzisweni kwemali emphakathini, ngakho izimo zokuphila zezakhamizi ziba nzima kakhulu.

Lokhu kuholela ekutheni kube nokungeneliseki okusabalele. Uhulemeni uphoqa akufunayo ngenkani.

Ubungozi kulesi sithombe-simo obokuthi uhulumeni usebenzisa ngaphezu kwanakho kakhulu kusabelomali sakhe ngokungenelela kakhulu emnothweni. Uyaphoqeleka ukuba aboleke imali. Akakwazi ukweboleka ezimakethe zamabhondi angaphandle, lapho eseke waboleka khona phambilini, ngoba ababolekisi angeke baboleka izwe imali. Kumele aye ku-IMF. I-IMF ingabolekisa ngemali kuphela ngaphansi kwemigomo ethile. Lokhu kusho ukuthi izwe angeke lisaphinde lizinqumele ukuthi lizosebenzisa kanjani imali kokwalo okusemqoka. Izakhamizi kazenelisekile, uhulumeni uyahlakazeka, kanti nentando yeningi yethu ibhekwa kamuva.

Umyalezo walesi sithombe-simo othi intuthuko eholwa nguhulumeni angeke yaphumele uma amandla kahulumeni entekanteka futhi uma izinhlaka ezizimele kanye nomphakathi bephushelwa eceleni. Uhulumeni angagcina esesebenzisa izimali ngaphezu kokufanele futhi abuke muva nentando yeningi yethu. Kuzakhamizi, umyalezo uthi sidinga ukugada ukungeneliseki futhi singalindeli ukuthi uhulumeni asinikeze konke.

ISIFINYEZO SESITHOMBE-SIMO SESI 2: HAMBELA EMUVA

UGIJIMISA INTUTHUKO: 2009 – 2011	KUXOSHWA IFU ELIMNYAMA: 2012 – 2014	UHULUMENI UYAHLEHLA "ABAPHUMELELI": 2015 – 2017	UKUPHENDUKA KWEZIKHATHI: 2018 – 2020
• Iqembu elibusayo lisaligcinile iningi. • Inkinga ekhungethe umhlaba isho ukwehla kokutshalwa kwezimali ukukhula nentela eqoqwayo. • Uhulumeni uzibophezela ekutshalweni kwezimali okuqhubekayo kumaphrojekthi ezingqalasizinda amakhulu. • Uhulumeni uxhasa umumo wokusebenza ngoxhumano olukhulu nokuqeqeshwa. • Wandisa Izinhlelo Zemsebenzi Yomphakathi eyandisa imisebenzi engadingi makhono.	• Ukulahleka kwemisebenzi kuyanda njengoba inkinga yomhlaba incinza kakhulu; uhulumeni usabalalisa uxhumano kwezenhlalakahle zomphakathi. • Uhulumeni wandisa inzalo yentela, amise imiholo yabasebenzi bomphakathi. • Isamithi yeZomnotho yaPhezulu ikhipha umphumela eKwandiseni naseKutshalweni Ngokuvumelana. • Amalungiselelo okhetho yenzelwa "kwekuntuleka kakhulu" ipulatifomu. • Ukunqoba kweqembu elibusayo kuthathwa njenge gunya lezwe ukuze kungenelele izwe emnothweni.	• Uhulumeni uqhuba ngejubane izinhlelo zezingqalasizinda ezihamba ibanga elide ukuze kuthuthukiswe intuthuko. • Uhulumeni uhlangabezana nokushoda kwamakhono ngenkathi ezama ukuthuthukisa okubalulekile kwe-High-tech SOEs – "abaphumeleli". • Ukuthuthukiswa kwamakhono ngokwemfundo engcono nokuqeqeshwa kwezobuciko kubekwa phambili. • Abanye "abaphumeleli" baphenzuka "abangaphumeleli" ngezindleko ezinkulu emalini yezwe. • Imithetho yezimpahla ezichaziwe iphoqelela ukutshalwa kwezimali okuzimele kumaphrojekthi amakhulu.	• Imithetho ebekiwe yezimpahla iqhelelene namabhizinisi: izinkontileka zokuxhaswa kwezimali nokungaqashwa kuyanda kakhulu. • Izwe liboleka ngezintela zezindleko eziphezulu ukuxhasa ukushoda. • Ukhetho oluqhutshwa "Ngokukhula nokulokhu kusatshalaliswa"amathikithi. • Izwe lithola imalimboleko ku-IMF ngaphansi kwezimiso zokunqamula ukusetshenziswa kwemali nguhulumeni. • Ukungeneliseki okusabalele nemibhikisho: uhulumeni uyawa.

ISITHOMBE-SIMO SESI-3

MASIHAMBISANE

Kusithombe-simo sesithathu, ***Masihambisane***, izingqinamba zethu zibhekwa ngokubambisana kwezakhamizi, ngokwazi kukahulumeni, kanye nobuholi obuqinile kuzona zonke izinhlaka. Ubuholi obuhle, ukulethwa kwezidingo ngokwazi, kanye nokungenelela kwezakhamizi kuba ngukhiye wokulungisa izinkinga zenhlalo ezinzima kakhulu ezibeka ubungozi bokufa ezweni uma zingabhekwa.

Emuva kokuzabalaza ndawonye kuze kube ngowezi-2011, “ngezinhlekele” ezahlulekile nezivumelwano zokuzama ukuphephisa imisebenzi nokusimamisa umnotho ngokubuka inhlekelele yomnotho emhlabeni wonke, izakhamizi zizithola sezizenzela. Ngokusebenzisana namakomidi ezokunakekelwa ngokwezempilo, namakomidi okulwa nobugebengu basemgwaqeni kanye nezinhlangano zabazali, izakhamizi zizithola ziphoqelela ngentuthuko yokulethwa kwezidingo zomphakathi ezibaluleke kakhulu: ezemfundo, ezempilo kanye nezokuphepha.

Uhulumeni ulalela futhi aqonde ukukhathazeka kwezakhamizi abese eqala exhumana nazo. Ukhetho lowezi-2014 luyokwenziwa ngokwethikithi lokuhlanzeka nokwazi ukusebenza kukahulumeni.

Ngowezi-2016, uSomqulu weZakhamizi uyozalwa, kuhlanganisa amakomidi endawo ahlukahlukene ayaluze izwe lonke. Okuqaliswe nguhulumeni izehembiso zenhlalo ekuphenduleni kulamandla ngokunikwa nguhulumeni. Kusondeza izinyonyana zokuhwebelana namabhizinisi ekutheni asize ekuxazululeni inkinga yokungasebenzi, ikakhulukazi

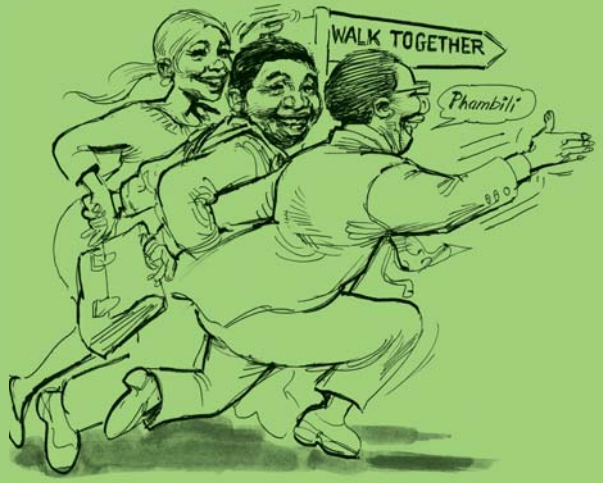
entsheni. Kuphinde kuxhumane nenzinhlangano zabazali ukuzama ukuthuthukisa ezemfundo, kuthi amakomidi ezempilo azame ukusombulula izinkinga – ezifana nokwebiwa kwemishanguzo – okuthathela phansi ukusebenza kwemitholampilo nezibhedlela zomphakathi.

Uhulumeni uqalisa ukugxila ekuletheni izidingo. Njegoba ezemfundo zithuthuka, amazinga amakhono ayathuthuka. Ithemba kubatshalizimali liyakhula. Ngowezi-2016, lapho umnotho womhlaba uqala ukuphenduka, amabhizinisi, ezemisebenzi, umphakathi osabalele uthwala okumele ukwenze okuningi ubese usebenza nohulumeni ukuletha izidingo zemfundo eseqophelweni, ezenpilo kanye nemizamo yokulwa nobugebengu esiyidingayo ukuze sithuthuke.

Izakhamizi ziqala ukuzwa ukuthi zibe nempumelelo. Manje seziqala ukunxenxa ukuthi abezepolitiki baphendule. Ngowezi-2020, abasephalamende, izakhamizi, nezinkantolo bayosiza ukuphelekezela ukuya oguqukweni oluyisa ohlelweni lokumeleleka okuhlobene. Lokhu kuvulela osopolitiki indlela yokukwazi ukuphendula kubavoti.

Manje, uma abavoti benenkinga nezokunakekelwa kwezempilo, noma kwezemfundo, noma kwezezindlu, noma ngesimo somgwaqo, kwamapaki noma kwemitapo yolwazi ezindaweni zabo, bangaya ngqo kwababamele ephalamende ukuze babasize ukulungisa izinkinga. Uma ababamele behluleka, bangabavotela ukuba bakhishwe emahhovisi.

Umyalezo walesi sithombe-simo othi kuzomele sonke sizimisele ukubhekana nezingqinamba zethu. Uma izakhamizi zingenelela, zizibambela futhi zithi uhulumeni akaphendule; uma kwakhiwa uhulumeni osebenza kahle nokwazi ukwenza; futhi uma abaholi kuzona zonke izinhlaka besukuma ngaphezu kwalokho okufunwa yibona; ngakho-ke singakwazi ukuholela izwe emzileni ofanele.



ISIFINYEZO SESITHOMBE-SIMO SESI 3: HAMBELA EMUVA

IMINYAKA ETHE BHA: 2009 – 2011	IZAKHAMIZI ZIFUNA OKUNINGI: 2012 – 2014	IZIVUMELWANO ZOKUHLALISANA ZIBAKHONA: 2015 – 2017	UKWAKHA ISIZWE: 2018 – 2020
• Iqembu elibusayo lisagcine iningi. • Inkinga ekhungethe umhlaba isho ukwehla kokutshalwa kwezimali ukukhula nentela eqoqwayo. • Izinkinga zinqwabelana ndawonye. • Ukulethwa kwezidingo kuyehla. • Amakhikhi amaqeqebana ezakhamizi athatha izinyathelo kwezempilo, kwezemfundo, nasebugebengwini.	• Ezonakekelo lwelempilo nezinyoyana zabazali ziyanda ezweni lonke. • Uhulumeni wethembisa izinyathelokulabo abangababaphathi abangakwazi ukusebenza kanye nabasebenzi bomphakathi. • Intuthuko kwezokulethwa kwezidingo. • Iqembu elibusayo lenza amalungiselelo okhetho ngokuthikitha ngohulumeni owazi ukusebenza. • Iqembu elibusayo elehle emandleni liyabuyiswa emandleni; lakhe ukusebenzisana namanye amaqembu.	• Umnotho uqalisa ukusimama kancane kodwa kakwenele ukubhekana nobuphofu obugxilile. • “Amandla ngokunikwa nguhulumeni kwezakhamizi” kuyazalwa. • Izivumelwano ezifomali zokuhlalisana ziyaqubuka: Zifaka izinhlangano zezepolitiki, ezemisebenzi, ezamabhizinisi, amaqeqeba ezakhamizi. • Amabhizinisi athwala imisebenzi emininginingi kwezemfundo, kuzingqalasizinda, ezempilo. • Izinyonyana zabahwebi ziqalisa okungasiza ekunciphiseni ukungaqashwa kwentsha. • zakhamizi zisebenza nohulumeni ukulandelela kwezemfundo, kwezempilo nasebugebengwini.	• Uhulumeni ubhekelela ekulethweni kwezimpahla ezisemqoka emphakathini. • Amabhizinisi atshala imali kakhulu, ukuqashwa kwabantu kuyanda. • Ithemba labatshali zimali bangaphandle lisimamiswa uhulumeni obambisebene nabantu. • Izakhamizi zinxenxa izimpendulo kosopolitiki; amaqembu aphikisayo aphendule. • Izakhamizi, abasephalamende nezinkantolo benza uguquko ohlelweni lokuvota ukuze osopolitiki kube yibona abaphendulayo kubavoti.

ISIPHETHO

"Isithombe-simo esihle akumele sisiphunyuke. Nginamadodana amane ngidinga ukuqinisekiswa ukuthi abazukulu bami bayohlala ezweni abayokwazi ukuhlala futhi baphephe endlini evikelekile, bahambe ezikolweni ezikahle, futhi baqhubeke nempilo."

Ngazo zontathu lezi zithombe-simo, IThimba le-Dinokeng Scenario libeka lemibuzo ebalulekile elandelayo kuzona zonke izakhamizi zaseNingizimu Afrika:

Singakwazi kanjani, njebahlali base Ningizimu Afrika, ukulungisa izinkinga zethu eziphuthumayo ngaphambi kokuthi zibe ngamabhomu ahlakaza konke esikuzuzile?

Yikuphi umuntu ngayedwa angakwenza – emakhaya, emphakathini nasezindaweni zokusebenza zethu – ukusiza ekwakheni ikusasa elihambelana nezethembiso zowe-1994?

Intando yeningi eqinile yeyeme kuhulumeni owazi ukwenza, kodwa futhi nasezakhamizini ezizinikele nezinyakazayo ezingasebenza futhi zicele uhulumeni ukuba alethe izidingo ngokwezethembiso zenkululeko.

Abahlali base Ningizimu Afrika bami ezimpambanweni zomgwaqo. Omunye ngayedwa kithi – zakhamizi, baholi kanye nohulumeni – kumele akhethe ukuthi siya kanjani phambili. Ngokulandela izinyathelo esifuna ukuzithatha, siyolakha ikusasa lethu.

ABABAMBIQHAZA

Laba bantu abalandelayo banikeze ngokucabanga kwabo okunothando nangesikhathi sabo ekusunguleni lomkhiqizo:

IThimba leSithombe-simo:

Miriam Altman
Frans Baleni
Ann Bernstein
Nkosinathi Biko
Cheryl Carolus
Angela Coetzee
Ryan Coetzee
Paul Hanratty
Bob Head
Haniff Hoosen
Moemedi Kepadisa
Reuel Khoza
Kallie Kriel
Antjie Krog
Graça Machel
Mary Malete
Vincent Maphai
Rick Menell
Daniel Mminele
Namhla Mniki
Aaron Motsoaledi
Jay Naidoo
Yogan Naidoo
Njongonkulu Ndungane
Maite Nkoana-Mashabane
Thandi Nontenja
Thami ka Plaatjie
Mamphela Ramphele
Sonja Sebotsa
Raenette Taljaard
Mathatha Tsedu
Sim Tshabalala
Musa Zondi

Qonda: Ukubamba iqhaza eThimbeni leSithombe-simo akusho ukuthi uyavumelana nokuqukethwe wumbiko weSithombe-simo, ogxile emsebenzini weThimba kodwa ikhishwe ngabaSunguli. Inhloso yeZithombe-simo ze-Dinokeng ukuthuthukisa ingxoxo evulelekile nekhululekile, "ukuhambisana" kwemibono eyahlukene mayelana nekusasa leNingizimu Afrika, ngaphakathi nangaphandle kweThimba leSithombe-simo, kunokuvumelana nemininingwane yombhalo othile.

Ihhovisi likaMabhalale:

Sarah Babb
Matt Bland
Pippa Green
Adam Kahane
Itumeleng Mahabane
Alayne Mannion
Debra Marsden
Ishmael Mkhabela
Yvonne Muthien

UKUQAQWA KWEZIFINYEZO

Aids	Ingculazi
EPWP	Uhlelo Olunwetshiwe Lwemisebenzi Yomphakathi
GDP	Umkhiqizo Ophelele Wasekhaya
IMF	Isikhwama Sezimali Samazwe Omhlaba
SOEs	Izinkampani eziphethwe wuhulumeni
TB	Isifo sofuba

IZINCAZELO

- “uMbuso” usho zonke izinhlaka zomphakathi, kubandakanya wonke amazinga neminyango kahulumeni, kanye nezinhlaka ezizimele ze'zingxenye zombuso' okuhlinzekelwe kuMthethosisekelo.
- “uHulumeni” usho ‘uphiko lokufeza’, kubandakanya imikhakha emithathu kahulumeni kazwelonke, wezifundazwe nowasekhaya, kanye nokuphatha umphakathi.
- “Iqembu elibusayo” kusho iqembu lezombusazwe eliyiningi elakha uhulumeni obusayo.

UKUBONGA

- Ukuxhaswa nokwesekelwa okuvela kwabakwa Old Mutual nabakwa Nedbank
- Isakhiwo, ukuhlelwa kokuthayishiwe, ukubukeka kwengaphandle nokulungiswa ngabe Studio 5
- Imifanekiso ngu-Len Sak

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“Uma ufuna ukuhamba usheshe, hamba wedwa
Uma ufuna ukuya kude, hamba nabanye.”

Isisho sesintu

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