

PROF M S MAKHANYA, OYIHLOKO NESANDLA SIKATJHANSELA
EYUNIVESITHI YESEWULA AFRIKA
UKWETHULWA KWEKULUMO YOMPHAKATHI, YESIHLOKO ESITHI
“THE BEST PATH TO A PROSPEROUS ZIMBABWE”
E-FUNCTION HALL, KGORONG BUILDING
MHLA ZILI-18 KUSINYIKHABA 2019

Isendlalelo somngcwabo womrholi walokha weRephabliki yeZimbabwe, osele ayihloko leya uMongameli President Robert Mugabe, sikhombisile ukobana kubudisi kangangani ukwakha ngobutjha inarha engasenathemba lokuthuthukela phambili – hahy ukuthuthukiswa kwabantu kwaphela, kodwana ituthuko yenarhakazi yoke.

Njengombana ikulumo ekulu beyidzimelele phezu kwetjhebiswano leZimbabwe ekufanele ibenalo namaphasi weTjingalanga, umnqopho wethu kufanele ube banzi kunalokho. .

Kwethu nje sifanele sibambebele endleleni ye-*Pan-African* edzimelele phezu kweendingo zabantu zabanye abantu beZimbabwe, ukuhlangana kweenarha zesiyingi Kanye neenkareko ezinabileko zenarhakazi..

Irhuluphelo elihle njalo elinjengokwakhiwa ngobutjha kweZimbabwe kufanele, libe ngelifaneleko, elidzimelele phezu kokuhlanganisa abantu Kanye nokuhlanganisa ngerhuluphelo elilodwa. Sithi, lokhu, kungenca yananyana ngiziphi iinkulumiswano ezimalungana nokwakhiwa ngobutjha kweZimbabwe kanengi zimotjhwa ziimpikiswano, ezinemikghwa eqinileko eengcenyeni zombili zekulumopikiswano.

Nangiphosela ilitje esivivaneni kwikulumo yesifundo yanamhlanjesi, ngithanda ukuthi khengiqale emuva kuZimbabwe leyo eyayingiyo ekuthomeni nokuthi seyinjani namhlanjesi. Ibuyekezo elinjalo lingasisiza ukobana sirhule indlela eya phambili.

Umlando wesimanje weZimbabwe ungahlukaniseka iinkghedlhu zeenkhati ezine, ezingabuye zihlukaniswe godu iinkgedlhwana ezima-ephisowudu amanengi. Yeke-ke, ngizakuqala ezinye zeemfundo esingazithola eenkhathini lezi.

Ijima lesiBili le-*Chimurenga*: 1964–1979

Ukuphila ngaphasi kobujamo bokusaba obathagisa iKhabinede yeRhodesia yalokha, babangelwa kubhidlika kombuso wobukolonyali, lokho okwarholela ekutheni kube nesiMemezelo seNarha sikamaZibuse (*Unilateral Declaration of Independence*) ngoSinyikhaba ka 1965 ngaphasi kombuso ka Ian Smith. Lowo mthetho owahlela

ikusasa le narha, ngakelinye ihlangothi, warholela bunqopha ekuthomeni kweJima lepi lesiBili le-*Chimurenga*, nanyana ipi yenarha yekululeko.

Ngokukhuthazwa lijima lokuThoma le-*Chimurenga* lika 1896 ukufikela ku 1897 kanye nabarholi balo abanjengabo: Mbuya Nehanda, Mlimo, Sekuru Kaguvi Kanye nabanye abanengi, ijima lesiBili le-*Chimurenga* laletha zombili iinhlangoi-ZANU (*the Zimbabwe African National Union*) kanye ne-ZAPU (*the Zimbabwe African People's Union*) – Kanye namasotja wazo wesiqhema samatjhotjhaphasi (*guerrilla armies*), i-ZANLA Kanye ne-ZIPRA – bekarhola phambili ipi yekululeko.

Kanti ngakelinye ihlangothi umbono wabosolwazi uzakuhlala njalo uhlukahluka ekutheni mhlambe lamajoni wabantu, mbala, akghona ukukatelela imibuso yegandelelo yaminyaka eyadlulako ukobana ivume ukuthi iyehluleka, okuyinto engekhe yaphikiswa kumumoya odephileko, thina eSewula Afrika, esawuzuza ekuzimiseleni kwethu kwamasotja wekululeko weZimbabwe. Koke okhunye okulandelako ngemva kwalokho kumlando opheleleko.

Ngemizamo yamasotja we--ZANLA Kanye ne-ZIPRA, ngomsebenzi wepolotiki owenziwa ziinhlango ezikulu, imizabalazo yabasebenzi Kanye nabantu abaphasi Kanye neenhlango zeentjhabatjhaba ezisekelako, umbuso weRhodesia Kanye neBritheni ekugcineni

zavumelana ekutheni kube neenkulumiswano ezarholela kusungulwe iRephabliki yeZimbabwe ngomnyaka ka 1980.

Le bekuyingcenywe yokuthoma yesikhathi.

Ukwakha isitjhaba, ituthuko Kanye nehlangahlango: 1980–2000

Ingcenywe yesibili yesikhathi, yathoma ngekululeko yangomnyaka ka 1980 begodu yaraga kufikela ngomnyaka ka 2000, kungatjhiwo ukuthi ibonakala ngamatshwayo amathathu. Itshwayo lokuthoma kwakumizamo yokukulwela ukwakha isitjhaba, eyaragwako ngemva korhulumende wobukoloni.

Njengombana inarha le yayiphuma embusweni omumbi wesikhathi esidlulileko, umbuso owawuphakamisa umukghwa wokukhethululana ngokwemihlotjana yabantu, iZimbabwe ekhululekileko yazithola ikalukana nokwakha isithombe esihle ngaphasi kobujamo obadalwa lihlelo lobukoloni. Ubuhlungu bomzabalazo wekululeko akhange buphathe inarha kuhle.

emtolweni wakhe wango-2009, uSabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni wahlola ukuthi ngabe iZimbabwe yakghona ukwakha inarha. Yeke-ke, umbuzo ovelako kukuthi ngabe umbuso weZimbabwe yangemuva kombuso wobukoloni yakghona ukwakha isitjhaba na. Umloli utlola ngalendlela:

(Zimbabwe) is a complex mosaic of contending histories and memories, making it as much a reality as it is an idea – a construction not only moulded out of precolonial, colonial and nationalist pasts, but also out of global values of sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity. It is an idea born out of continuing synthesis of multilayered, overlapping and cross-pollinating historical genealogies, and contending nationalisms, as well as suppressed local and regional sovereignties.¹

Ngokuka Alois Mlambo, iintjhihilo iZimbabwe yangemva kwekululeko eyayifanele iqalane nazo, zazingafaki kwaphela – ubunjalo bayo bemihlotjana yabantu eminengi, ubuhlanga, ubunjalo bobujamo Kanye netjhebiswano eliphakathi kwezepolotiki Kanye nezomnotho, zenza iZimbabwe bonyana ibe sitjhabaesizokwakheka. Yeke-ke, ngokukaNdlovu-Gatsheni Kanye noMlambo, iZimbabwe nanyana kunjalo kufanele ikhule njengesitjhaba.

Ngakelinye ihlangothi, imizamo yokwakha isitjhaba, yayihlangahlanganiswe ziinkhathi zomguruguru wangaphakathi kwenarha, umlando wesisusa sawo Kanye nobujamo bayo kusese yinto ebangwako nanamhlanjesi.

¹ Ibid, p. 46

Akusiyo ihloso yami – nanyana ubukhulu begalelo lami elifitj hazana elingivumela – bonyana ngihlole ukutjhayisana okuphakathi kwe-ZANU Kanye ne-ZAPU ngemva kwesivumelwano somnyaka ka 1980, okwakusivumelwano esarholela, ngenye ingcenywe, ekubulaweni kwabantu beMatebeleland eseTlhagwini phakathi komnyaka ka 1983 kanye no 1987.

Nanyana kunjalo, iZimbabwe yaba yinarha erhalelwa ziinarha ezinengi e-Afrika ngenca yetuthuko yayo, ikakhulukazi kezefundo.

Ngakelinye ihlangothi kwakungaba neenkulumopikiswano malungana neembalobalo ezinemba khona, iimbalo zemithombo eyahlukahlukeneko ziveza ukobana iZimbabwe inezinga eliphezulu labantu abafundileko enarhakazini. Ngomnyaka ka 2014, iBhanga yePhasi yanikela isibalo esingaphasi kwe-89%.²

Lesi sibalo esikarisako sadalwa kutjalwa kweemali kezefundo, okuyinto eyenziwa ngemva kwesivumelwano sika 1980. Mbala, lokhu ngikho esingakufunda, njengenarha. Kodwana ngizakubuyela kuleliphuzu ngemva kwesikhathi.

² BBC (2018) Zimbabwe in 10 numbers, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42013720>. Accessed on 15 November 2019

Malungana nokukhambisana netuthuko yezinga lefundo eliphezulu, elahlala likhona ngitjho nanamhlanjesi, inarha yahloma umkhakha wefundo ephakemeko Kanye nomkhakha wezerhubhululo. IYunivesithi yeZimbabwe (*University of Zimbabwe*) yakhula yaba sezingeni eliphezulu elihlonitjwa ngamanye amayunivesithi we-Afrika, anjenge-Dar es Salaam eTanzania kanyene-Makerere e-Uganda – ayisiyihle kangako ngokuhlonitjwa nangemakhiwo emihle kodwana yihle ngokwamaphrogremu wepumelelo ayethulwa njengeemfundo. Okukhambisana nalokho kwakuyimbalo yeenhlangano ezizijameleko Kanye nezindlu zazo ezikhipha iincwadi. ³

Kanti godu, isithombe salokhu besingasisihle “rosy”. Indaba yenarha yahlala isitjhijilo sikarhulumende sikarhulumende wangemva kombuso wobukoloni. Ukubhalelwa kurarulula indaba yenarha ngendlela enzinzisa umlando wokuthathelwa inarha ngokuhlulwa, yaphungula izinga lokulingana nomtlhago, laqinisa ibumbano lesitjhaba belavikela ihlelo lokubonelelwa ngokudla okwarholela ekutjhiphikeni kwezinto okwenzeka ngomnyaka ka 2000.

Lokhu kusiletha esikhathini sesithathu.

³ Some of these include the prestigious African Institute for Agrarian Studies, led by the respected Prof Sam Moyo; The Southern Africa Political Economy Series (SAPES), led by equally respected Ibbo Mandaza; Zimbabwe Publishing House; Mambo Press; and many others

Indaba yenarha, ukuninwa ziintjhaba zephasi Kanye nokuwa kwentarha: 2000–2017

Encwadini yabo yesihloko esithi: *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, uPatrick Bond banoMasimba Manyanya bayatjho bona imiraro eyavela ngomnyaka ka 2000 yayingalandelelwa bunqopha ekwethulweni kwamaPhrogremu wokuTjhugululwa kweSakhiwo weBhanga yePhasi Kanye ne-IMF ngomnyaka ka 1991..⁴

Eqinisweni, usolwazi odumileko weZimbabwe uSam Moyo, besele akhulume ngendlela enesithunzi ukobana isitjhijilo esimnyombo sehlelo lokuhlelwa ngobutjha kwentarha solo kwangomnyaka ka 1980 kade lisetjenziswa ngaphasi kwesakhiwo samahlelo wezokutjhugululwa kwesakhiwo..⁵

Abosolwazi laba Kanye nabanye abanengi abasinikela khona eminyakeni edlulileko lilwazi eliqakathekileko lokuzwisisa indana yenarha eZimbabwe; lokhu kuhluka khulu eendabeni ezikhulunywa mithombo emikhulu yezeendaba, yona ehlathulula bulula imiraro yeZimbabwe njengento edalwa mitjhapho yoburholi bezepolotiki

⁴ Bond, Patrick and Manyanya, Masimba (2003) *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

⁵ Moyo, Sam (2000) *Land Reform under Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: Land Use Change in the Mashonaland Province*. Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

bakaMongameli walokhu osele ahlongakele uMongameli Robert Mugabe Kanye ne-ZANU-PF..

Naphezu kweenkulumo lezi ezihlathululako, sifanele bona samukele ukobana isikhathi sangemuva komnyaka ka 2000 saba sitjhijilo esikhulu eZimbabwe. Ukutswinywa kwezomnotho yi-Amerikha eseThagwini Kanye neYurophu kwarholela ebujameni lapho inarha yapheze yawa ngokupheleleko ngokomnotho. Lokhu kwarholela ekutheni inani elithile lezakhamuzi zeZimbabwe lafudukela kezinye iinarha zifuna amathuba wepilo..

limbalobalo ezisemthethweni ziyaveza bonyana ngomnyaka ka 2013, kwakunama--571 970 wezakhamuzi zeZimbabwe ezihlala eSewula Afrika, e-United Kingdom, eMalawi, e-Australia Kanye neBotswana – ngokulandelana ngaleyo ndlela, malungana neembalobalo.⁶

linzathu ezikulu zokufuduka kwabantu kumathuba wemisebenzi, iminqopho yokufunda Kanye nokufuna iindawo zokuphalalela (*seeking asylum*). Lokhu kukhombisaubujamo obuqokemeko bezomnotho obudalwa khulukhulu kutswinywa kwezomnotho. Lokhu godu kukhombisa ukobana isistimu yefundo ebengikhuluma ngayo ekuthomeni, okwakungiyi engcono khulu, ingaphasi kwegandelelo.

⁶ UN Migration and ZimStat (2018) *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile, 2010–2016*, http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Prices/MP_Zimbabwe_2018.pdf. Accessed on 15 November 2019

Leziintjijilo zarholela esikhathini esiqalene naso gadesi, okusikhathi sesine, esasilandela ukuthokoza umsebenzi kukaMongameli Mugabe Kanye nokulandela lokho okukuhlongakala kwakhe.

Isikhathi esingemva kombuso kaMugabe: *Qua Vadis Zimbabwe?*

Ihlangahlango edalwa budisi eqalene nenarha yarholela ekutheni uMongameli Mugabe athokoze iintambo zomsebenzi ngoSinyikhaba ka 2017. Lokhu, Kanye nokuhlongakala kwakhe ngeemva kweenyanga ezimbalwa, kwarholela esikhathini samatjhuguluko wombuso, hayi amatjhuguluko athinta ihlangano kurhulumende, kodwana wehlangano ebusako..

Ezingeni lezefundo, kubonakala kungabonakala kumsinyana kithi ukubeka imibono efundekileko ngesikhathi esingemva kombuso kaMugabe Kanye namathuba amahle esikhathini esizakonenarheni. Yeke-ke, esingakwenza, kutjhukumisa ezinye zeentjijilo urhulumende kaMongameli Emmerson Mnangagwa azakufanela bona azitjheje. Yeke-ke, angithandi ukukwenza lokho ngombana lokho ngikho uNgqongqotjhe wekhetu woMnyango wokuTjhebisana kweenTjhabatjhaba Kanye nokuSebenzisana, uNgqongqotjhe Naledi Pandor, ulapha ukuzokuphakelana ngelwazi nathi. Yeke-ke, bengingathanda ukwamukela lokho engikuthatha njengesifundo kithi

esivela eZimbabwe, ukusukela ngeJima lesiBili le-Chimurenga ukufikela namhlanjesi..

Ezinye zeemfundo ezifundiweko

Okunganani kuneemfundo ezihlanu engamukela bona zifundiwe emzabalazweni weZimbabwe.

Kokuthoma, ukubumbano ngokomnqopho okuphakathi kwe--ZANU ne-ZAPU eminyakeni eyedlulileko yeJima lesiBili le-*Chimurenga* laqinisekisa ukobana urhulumende weRhodesia Kanye noweBrithani ekugcineni bazakuvumelana ukuthi kube neenkulumiswano etafuleni. Nanyana-kunjalo, angitjho ukobana iinhlango ezimbilezi kade zingazwani..

Engikutjhukumisako kukuthi ikghono lokuqala umsebenzi okhona, okwakumsebenzi wokuraga umzabalazo, okufaka umzabalazo weenkhali, wawuqakathekile. Ukusungulwa kwe-*Patriotic Front* ukufikela eenkulumiswaneni zeLancaster House kwakuyinto eqakathekileko. Lokhu kwarholela esivumelwaneni seenkulumiswano esarholela ekuhlonyweni kweRephabliki yeZimbabwe. Into ebuhlungu kwakukungazwani okwalandela ngemva kwesikhathi, okuyindaba engizokubuyela kiyo, esikhathini esingangomzuzu.

Isifundo sesibili esifundiweko sasimalungana neenzuzo ezitholakele lokha urhulumende nakanqophe ukuthuthukisa amaphilo wezakhamuzi. Ihlelo elikarisako lokuttjala iimali kezefundo, okwakungasilo ihlelo elalinqophe ukwenza imali, kodwana (eqinisweni, kwakulihlelonelingakatjheji khulu indaba yokwenza imali), kodwana kwakulihlelo elalimalungana namano ahlelwe kuhle, arholela ekutheni kube nezinga eliphezulu lokufunda, okuyinto esathatjelwe babantu beZimbabwe ngitjho nanamhlanjesi. enjoys.

Ngalokho, isifundo esisitholako thina, kukwakha amano aqinileko wokuthuthukisa izinga lamaphilo wabantu bekhethu.

Isifundo sesithathu esingasifunda kuZimbabwe simalungana nemiphumela emimbi evela phezu kokubhalela nanyana phezu kokungakghoni ukulungisa nanyana ukuphendula iinghonyayo zezakhamuzi, ikakhulukazi izakhamuzi ezitlhagako nanyana ezisesigabeni esiphasi sezomnotho. Ukuba buthaka bukarhulumende weZimbabwe ekulungiseni indaba yenarha ngaphambi komnyaka ka 2000 kwarholela ekutheni kube nomphumela omumbi wepi eyayirholwa bomakekere bepi.

Lokhu akusisitjhijilo esilula engisiphosela urhulumende. Lokhu begodu nathi kuyasithinta, njengoburholi bezefundo ephakemeko. Ukuba buthaka kwethu ukuphendula iimbawo zokutjhugululwa

kwamayunivesithi wethu kancani kwasirholela ejimeni le-
#RhodesMustFall, lapho bengekhe sakwazi ukuphendula iindingo
ngokwaneleko. Kungakho, ngokwengcenywe yethu ngikade ngingafundi
ukuthi sirhabise ihlelo lokuhlonywa koMnyango wobuRholi kanye
namaTjhuguluko e-Ofisini lami. Umnqopho lapho kuzama
nokuphendula iinlilo nokuphendula ngendlela efaneleko iinlilo zoke
kanye nesidingo sokutjhugulula leli ziko..

Isifundo sesine esisifunde emlandweni weZimbabwe simalungana
nendaba yenarha ngokwayo. Lapha sifunda ukobana indaba yenarha
ibudisana. Indaba le ifuna ukuphathwa ngendlela enetjhejo elikhulu
elifuna ukuphalisana ngendlela elinganako – begodu ngendlela
ezwakalako – efaka iinkareko.

Akusiwo umnqopho wami ukusebenzisa le kundla yokufundisa (*no
pun intended*) urhulumente ukuthi indaba yenarha yenarha
ingalungiswa bunjani, okuyindaba yesitjhaba sikhuluma nje
esetafuleni. . Engifisa ukukuveza, nanyana kunjalo, kukuthi
urhulumente kufanele, kizo zoke iingaba, avuselele ithemba
lesitjhaba begodu angafihli amathuba kanye neentjhijilo lezo
ezikhambisana nokuzama ukurzrulula indaba le..

Isifundo sesihlanu nesokugcina esingasifunda kuZimbabwe
simalungana nobuhlungu obulethwa ngokuphulaphula ibumbano

lesitjhaba. Ukungabumbani okuphakathi kweZANU kanye neZAPU ekukade zikhona esikhathini eside – kanti kesinye isikhathi lokhu kumalungana nokwehlukana ngokwemihlotjana – bekufike lapho zibumbana khona ukobana kusungulwe i--ZANU-PF, lokhu kuhlala kuligugu emlandweni wenarha edumileko eZimbabwe. .

Akunakuzaza ukuthi ingcenywe yokuthoba amanceba wesitjhaba lawo okuyinto efanele yenzeke eZimbabwe izokuqinisa ibumbano eliphakathi kweenhlangano ezimbili, ngomnqopho wokuthi esinye isikhathi sesehlakalo sokurhayilwa kwabantu be Matabeleland abaseTlhagwini angekhe kusenzeka godu.

MPhathihlelo, lokhu, kuziinkhathi kanye neemfundo ezikhambelanako ezakhe iZimbabwe namhlanjisi.

Sihlonipheke khulu kukuba khona namhlanjisi kukaDr Naledi Pandor, onguNggongqotjhe woMnyango wezokuTjhebisana neenTjhabatjhaba kanye nokuSebenzisana.

UNggongqotjhe uPandor uzasivezela imibono yakhe kanye nemibono karhulumende malungana nendlela iZimbabwe ingavuseleleka ngayo eminyakeni elisumi nethoba yeentjhijilo ezidephileko.

Kulithemba lethu ukuthi ikulumo yakhe, eyethulwa ngaphasi kwesihloko esithi “*The Best Path to a Prosperous Zimbabwe*”, izosisiza

ekutheni sizwisisse umthethomgomo wangaphandle weSewula Afrika malungana neZimbabwe..

Ngaphezu kokuba nguNgqongqotjhe woMnyango wezokuTjhebisana kweenTjhabatjhaba kanye nokuSebenzisana,uDr Pandor kumngani omkhulu weYunivesithi yeSewula Afrika. Inengi lenu lizakukhumbula ikhambo elihle khulu esilikhambe naye, kanye nesekele kanye netjhebiswano esilithole kuye, lokha nabekanguNgqongqotjhe woMnyango weFundo ePhakemeko kanye nokuBandula. Yeke-ke, uDr Pandor akusimumuntu omutjha kule yunivesithi, umngani. Akhe nginikhumbuze ukuthi iyunivesithi yethu ithethwe njengesikhungo esikhulu esibamba umnyanya wethu wokuqedwa kwemfundo e-Z K Mathews Hall. Kulabo ebebangazi, uPhrofesa Z K Mathews wabe ngubamkhulwakhe likaNgqongqotjhe uPandor..

Ngqongqotjhe, ehlangothini loMkhandlu, leSineyithi, laabaphathi, labasebenzi kanye nabafundi beYunivesithi yeSewula Afrika, ngiyanemukela begodu ngiyanimema ukobana nethule ikulumo yenu..