

**UNGCWETI UMS MAKHANYA, UTHISHANHLOKO NESEKELA-
SHANSELA**

**IMFUNDO EPHAKEME YASENINGIZIMU AFRIKA
INKULUMO YOMPHAKATHI NGENDIKIMBA “ INDLELA ENHLE
KAKHULU KUZIMBABWE EPHUMELELAYO”
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Ukwanda kancane kuya emgcwabeni wobengumholi woMbuso waseZimbabwe, uMongameli ongasekho emhlabeni uRobert Mugabe, kubonise ukuthi kunzima kangakanani ukwakha kabusha izwe elithwele ukulahlakelwa okukhulu yithemba - hhayi nje kuphela kubantu balo, kodwa kulo lonke izwekazi.

Nakuba ukugxila kokuphawula okujwayelekile bekulokhu kungobudlelwano ukuthi iZimbabwe, kumele nakanjani yakhe kabusha nabaseNtshonalanga, okwethu ukugxila kufanele kube banzi kunalokho

Okwethu kufanele kube yindlela *Pan-African* egunyazwa yizidingo zabantu baseZimbabwe, ukuhlanganiswa kwesifunda kanye nezintshisekelo ezibanzi zaleli zwekazi.

Umgomo omuhle kanjalo njengokwakha kabusha iZimbabwe kumele, ngenxa yesidingo, kubambelelwe kuwo ekubumbeni abantu nokubahlanganisa emgomeni owodwa ofanayo. Lokhu, sithi, ngoba noma iyiphi inkulumo mayelana nokwakha kabusha iZimbabwe ngokuvamile igcwala ngokuncintisana, nezimo zengqondo ezilukhuni nhlangothi zombili zempikiswano.

Ekuphonseni itshe esivivaneni enkulumeni yanamuhla, ngifisa ukubheka emuva kuZimbabwe eyayi yiyo kanye nokwenzeka kuyona. Ukubuyekeza okunjalo kungase kusize ekuphendleni indlela eya phambili.

Umlando wanamuhla waseZimbabwe ungahlukaniswa ngezinkathi ezine ezisemqoka, okungabuye zihlukaniswe ngezinqephu eziningi. Ngemva kwalokho, ngizobheke kwezinye zezifundo esingathola kuzo lezi zinkathi.

IChimurenga Yesibili: 1964–1979

Isimo sovalo esahlushekwa yiKhabhinethi yaseRhodesia ngaleso sikhathi, esasivela esasivela ekuqhekeni kombuso wamakoloni kuleli zwekazi, kwaholela ekubeni neSimemezelo Esingahlangene Sokuzimele ngoLwezi ngo-1965 ngaphansi kuka-Ian Smith. Leso senzo esibi, saholela ngqo ekuqaleni kweChimurenga Yesibili, noma impi yenkululeko kazwelonke.

Ishukunyiswa yiChimurenga Yokuqala ka-1896 kuya-1897 kanye nabaholi bayo abengenawo kahle amandla, uMbuya Nehanda, uMlimo, uSekuru Kaguvi nabanye abaningi, iChimurenga Yesibili yalethela zozimbili iZANU (iZimbabwe African National Union) neZAPU (iZimbabwe African Yabantu Union) - kanye nabashokobezi bamabutho abahlukene, iZANLA neZIPRA – phambili impi yenkululeko.

Ngokunjalo umbono wesazi uyohlala njalo uhlukaniswe ekutheni amabutho alaba bantu, eqinisweni, akwazi ukuphoqelela imibuso ecindezelayo yakudala ukuba izinikele, okungeke kwaphikiswa ugqozi olujulile ukuthi, thina eNingizimu Afrika, sazuza ekuzimiseleni kwabantu baseZimbabwe abalwa inkululeko. Konke okunye, njengoba besho, wumlando.

Ngemizamo yamasotsha eZANLA neZIPRA, umsebenzi wezombusazwe owenziwa amaqembu abo amakhulu, umzabalazo wabasebenzi nabantu phansi kanye nobumbano lomhlaba wonke, umbuso waseRhodesian nowaseBrithani ekugcineni wavumelana nezingxoxo ukutshelaka ezaholela ekuzalweni koMbuso waseZimbabwe ngo-1980.

Leso bekuyinkathi yokuqala.

Ukwakha isizwe, intuthuko nesiyaluyalu: 1980–2000

Inkathi yesibili, siqala ngokuzimela ngo-1980 kuze kuyofika ku-2000, kungashiwo ukuthi beyibonakaliswe okungenani ngezici ezintathu. Esokuqala kwakuyimizamo yokuzimisela ekwakheni isizwe esaqhamuka nombuso kahulumeni.

Ukuqhamuka esikhathini sesihluku, naso esathuthukisa ubuzwe, iZimbabwe ekhululekile yazithola izama ukuthuthukisa ukuba yiyona ngempela iphume ezinxushunxushwini azadalwa ubukholoni. Ubuhlungu bomzabalazo wenkululeko awukwazanga nokukhulula izwe.

Ekubuyekezweni kwakhe kwango-2009, uSabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni wahlola ukuthi iZimbabwe ikwazile yini ukuthuthuka njengesizwe. Ngakho, umbuzo oqhamukayo uthi ingabe isimo eZimbabwe emva kombuso wamakoloni sakwazi yini ukuthola isizwe. Uyabhala:

(iZimbabwe) eyinkimbinkimbi ehlotshiswe yimilando ephikisayo nezinkumbulo, eyenza ibe ngokwenzekayo okukhulu njengoba kuwumqondo - ukwakhiwa okungabunjiwe kuphela ngaphambi kombuso wamakoloni, umbuso wamakoloni nobuzwe besikhathi esedlule, kodwa futhi ngokwamagugu omhlaba obukhosi kokuzibusa ukuzimisela nesithunzi sendawo.

Kuwumqondo ozalelwe ngaphandle kokuqhubeka kwenhlanganisela exubile, agqagqene futhi ukweqisa impova yozalo yomlando, futhi

ukuphikisana nobuzwe, kanye nokucindezelwa kobukhosi bendawo nobesifunda.

Ngokuka Alois Mlambo, izinselela abantu baseZimbabwe emva kokuzimela abazithola sebephikisana nazo,- kodwa kungagcini - zifaka isiqu sobuhlanga babo obuningi, isimo sesimo futhi esibonakalayo phakathi kwezombusazwe nomnotho, zinikele iZimbabwe isizwe esisazoba khona. Ngakho, ngokukaNdlovu-Gatsheni noMlambo, iZimbabwe kusafanele ivuke njengesizwe.

Imizamo yokwakha isizwe ngasohlangothini, ikhungathekwe yiziqephu zodlame zangaphakathi zobuhlanga, imisuka yazo kanye nesimo kohlala kuwumthombo wokuphikisana kuze kube yilolu suku.

Akuyona inhloso yami – noma ubukhulu bomnikelo wami omfishane ukungivumela - ukuhlola ukungezwani phakathi kweZANU neZAPU emva kwesiphetho sika-1980, okwaholela, engxenyeni, yokulahlekelwa izimpilo zabantu baseMatebeleland eNtshonalanga phakathi kuka-1983 no-1987.

Noma kunjalo, iZimbabwe yahalelwa ngamazwe amaningi ase-Afrika ngentuthuko yayo, ikakhulukazi endaweni yemfundo.

Nakuba kungase kube nempikiswano ngokwezinombolo ngqo, okulinganiswayo emithonjeni ehlukehlukehene kubonisa ukuthi

iZimbabwe yiyona enezinga eliphezulu kakhulu lokufunda nokubhala labantu abadala kuleli zwekazi. Ngo-2014, i-Bhange loMhlaba libeke isibalo ku -89%.

Lesi sibalo esihlaba umxhwele sabangelwa ukutshalwa kwemali okukhulu emfundweni okwenziwa emva kokuvumelana ngo-1980. Ngokuqinisekile, lokhu kuwubufakazi esingafunda kubo ,njengesizwe. Kodwa ngizobuyela kuleli phuzu kamuva.

Ngokuvumelana ngokuphuculwa kwezinga lokufunda nokubhala, okusalayo kuze kube manje, izwe lisungulwe yimfundo ephakeme enehlonze nembali yocwaningo. Imfundo Ephakeme yaseZimbabwe yaphakama ngaphakathi kwezikhundla ekuveleni okugcinwe ngezinye izimfundo eziphakeme zase- Afrika, ezifana neDar es Salaam Tanzania neMakerere e-Uganda - hhayi kangako eminikelweni nezakhiwo ezinhle, kodwa ngokuya kwezinhlelo eziqhubekayo ezanikelwa. Ukuphelelisa lokho kwakuyizinhlangano eziningi ezizimele zocwaningo kanye nezindlu zokushicilela.

Nalapha futhi, isithombe 'asingabanga sihle kangako'. Umbuzo ngomhlaba wahlala uyinselela kuhulumeni emva kombuso wamakoloni. Ukungakwazi ukuxazulula umbuzo womhlaba ngendlela eqondiswe ukunqoba komlando, kuncishiswe ukungalingani nobumpofu, kuthuthukiswe ubumbano besizwe futhi ukulondolozwa

kokudla okuphephile kwaholela ekuwohlokeni okukhulu okwenzeka ngo-2000.

Lokhu kusiletha enkathini yesithathu.

Umbuzo ngomhlaba; ukwahlukaniswa kwamanye amazwe nokwehla: 2000–2017

Encwadini yabo esihloko sithi *Zimbabwe Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, uPatrick Bond noMasimba Manyanya baphikisa ngokuthi izinkinga ezavela ngo-2000 zingalandelwa ngqo ekwethulweni kweBhange loMhlaba kanye nezakhiwo zokulungisa zezinhlelo ze-IMF ngo-1991.

Ngempela, isazi esivelele saseZimbabwe, uSam Moyo, wayesephikise wagomela ngegunya ukuthi umnyombo wezinselela wokuhlela kabusha umhlaba kusukela ngo-1980 bewulokhu uwukuqaliswa kwalo ngokusebenzisa isibalo esiqinile esineziphetho ezimbili ezifanayo zezinhlelo zokulungiswa kwezakhiwo.

Lokhu esinikwe yilezi zazi kanye nabanye abaningi kokuhamba kweminyaka kuwukuqonda okungumgomo wombuzo wabantu baseZimbabwe; lokhu kwehlukile ekulandiseni okutholakele ekuphawuleni okwejwayelekile, okuyinto enciphise izinkinga

zaseZimbabwe emaphutheni obuholi bezombusazwe aMongameli Mugabe weZanu PF ongasekho emhlambeni.

Naphezu kwalezi zimo zocwaningo eziwusizo, kumele sivume ukuthi izikhathi zakamuva zika-2000 zaba yinselele ngempela eZimbabwe. Unswinyo yiNyakatho Melika neYurophu kwaholela cishe ekupheleni nya komnotho wezwe. Lokhu kuye kwaholela enanini elikhulu labantu baseZimbabwe bethuthela kwamanye amazwe beyofuna amathuba okuziphilisa.

Izibalo ezisemthethweni zibonisa ukuthi ngo-2013 bekunabantu abayi 571 970 baseZimbabwe abahlala eNingizimu Afrika, e-United Kingdom, eMalawi, e-Australia kanye naseBotswana – ngaleyo ndlela, ngokuya kwezinombolo.

Izizathu ezintathu ezibalulekile zokuthuthela kwelinye izwe ukuba khona kwamathuba emisebenzi, izinjongo zokufunda kanye nokufuna ukukhoseliswa. Lokhu kubonisa isimo esibucayi kwezomnotho ngenxa yesizathu sonswinyo ikakhulukazi. Kuphinde kubonisa nokuthi uhlelo lwezemfundo engikhulume ngalo phambilini, obekuyilona oluhamba phambili, lungaphansi kwengcindezi.

Lezi zinselela ziholele enkathini esibhekene nayo manje, inkathi yesine, eyalandelwa ukwesula kukaMongameli wangaphambilini uMugabe kanye nokufa kwakhe okwalandela.

Emva kukaMugabe: Iyaphi iZimbabwe?

Ukushuba kwemimoya okusukela ebunzimeni obubhekene nezwe kwaholela ekwesuleni kukaMongameli wangaphambilini uMugabe ngoLwezi 2017. Lokhu, kanye nokushiya kwakhe ezinyangeni ezimbalwa kamuva, kwaholela esikhathini sokushintsha, singazicabangeli kakhulu kunhlangano kahulumeni, kodwa kweqembu elibusayo.

Ezingeni lezemfundo, kungaba ukushesha ngakithi ukuhambisa imicabango yabafundile emva kwesikhathi sikaMugabe kanye namathemba angalindela izwe. Esingase sikwenze nokho, ukuphakamisa ezinye zezinselele zikahulumeni ngaphansi kukaMongameli u-Emmerson Munangagwa ezizodinga ukucatshangwa. Nokho, mina ngimadolonzima ukwenza kanjalo ngoba yilokho uNgqongqoshe wethu Wobudlelwano Bamazwe Omhlaba Nokuhlanganyela, uNgqongqoshe uNaledi Pandor, elapha ukwabelane nathi. Ngakho, ngingamane ngihambise lokho mina engicabanga ukuthi izifundo esingazisebenzisa ezivela eZimbabwe, kusukela kuChimurenga Yesibili kuze kube manje.

Ezinye zezifundo ezafundwa

Kunezifundo okungenani ezinhlanu engingazihambisa ezingafundwa emzabalazweni weZimbabwe.

Okokuqala, ubumbano ngenhloso phakathi kweZANU neZAPU ngeminyaka yeChimurenga Yesibili buqinisekise ukuthi uhulumeni weRhodesia noweBrithani ekugcineni wavumelana nezingxoxo zokubonisana. Kepha angiphakamisi ukuthi lawa maqembu amabili ayehlala abona ngaso linye njalo.

Ekungikuphakamisayo ukuthi ikhono lokugxila emsebenzini owenziwayo, owawungukushushisa emzabalazweni, okubalwa impi yomzabalazo, kwakubalulekile. Ukwakheka kwe-*Patriotic Front* kuze kube nezingxoxo eLancaster House nakho kwakubalulekile. Lokhu kwaholela ezingxoxweni zokuvumelana okwanika ukuphakama embusweni waseZimbabwe. Into edabukisayo kwaba uqhekeko olwalandela kamuva, okuyinto engizobuyela kuyo ngomzuzu.

Isifundo sesibili esafundwa kwakungesezinzuzo ezitholakalayo lapho uhulumeni ezimisele ekuthuthukiseni izimpilo zezakhamuzi zawo. Utshalozimali oluhlaba umxhwele emfundweni, okwakungeyona nje imali (eqinisweni, kwaba kancane mayelana nemali), kodwa kwaba ngamasu acatshangwe kahle kakhulu, ezingeni eliphezulu labadala lokufunda nokubhala iZimbabwe namanje elisakujabulela.

Isifundo kithina, ngakho-ke, ukuthuthukisa amasu okubhekana nezimo ezinzima zokwenza ngcono ikhwalithi lempilo labantu bakithi.

Isifundo sesithathu esingasifunda kubantu baseZimbabwe singemiphumela engemihle eyasukela ekungakwazini noma ukwehluleka ukubhekana noma ukuphendula izikhalo zezakhamizi, ikakhulukazi labo abahluphekayo nomphakathi wabasebenzayo. Ukuhamba kancane kukahulumeni waseZimbabwe ukubhekana nombuzo womhlaba phambi kuka-2000 kwaholela ekubuyeleni emuva okungathandeki okwakuholwa yizingqalabutho zempi.

Lena akuyona inselele elula engiyifaka kuhulumeni. Iyasithinta nathi, njengabaholi bemfundo ephakeme. Ukwenza kancane kwethu kubizo loshintsho ezimfundweni zethu eziphakeme ngokwengxenye kwaholela emnyakazweni we-*#RhodesMustFall*, lapho asikwazanga ukuphendula ngokwanele. Yingakho, engxenyeni yethu, ngiye ngazimisela ngokusheshayo-ukulandelela isikhungo soMnyango woBuholi Nezinguquko ngaphakathi eHhovisi lami. Inhloso lapho ukuzama futhi kubhekeleke nangokufanele kuzikhalazo jikelele kanye nesidingo sokushintsha lesi sikhungo.

Isifundo sesine esisifunde emlandweni waseZimbabwe simayelana nombuzo womhlaba ngokwawo. Sifundile lapha ukuthi umbuzo womhlaba ngempela uyinkimbinkimbi. Udinga ukuphathwa

ngokucophelela ekufuneni isilinganisela sokuncintisana - kodwa kuzwakalise ngokuqinile – izintshisekelo.

Akuyona inhloso yami ukusebenzisa le nkundla ukufundisa (akukho hlaya elihlosiwe) uhulumeni ukuthi angawulungisa kanjani lo mbuzo, okuyinto manje esetafuleni lethu njengesizwe. Engifisa ukukwedlulisa noma kunjalo, ukuthi uhulumeni kumele, kuzo zonke izigaba, athathe isizwe ekuzethembeni futhi avuleke mayelana namathuba nezinselela ezihambisana nokuzama ukuxazulula lolu ndaba.

Isifundo sesihlanu nesokugcina esisifunde eZimbabwe simayelana nobuhlungu obulethwe ngukuwohloka obumbanweni kazwelonke. Uqhekeko phakathi kweZANU neZAPU olwaba khona isikhathi isikhathi eside - futhi ngezinye izikhathi ngokuphathelene nobuhlanga - lwaze lwahlanganiswa ukwakha iZANU-PF, yahlala ilimaza emlandweni wezwe elikhulu laseZimbabwe.

Ngeke kube nokungabaza ukuthi ingxenye yokwelapha okumele yenzeke iZimbabwe ukuhlanganisa inhlanganiso phakathi kwalawa maqembu omabili, ngesixazululo sokuthi esinye sezigigaba sokubulawa kwaMatabeleland aseNtshonalanga asenzeki.

Lokhu Mphathi woHlelo, yizinkathi kanye nezifundo ezimayelana nalokhu okushintshe iZimbabwe yanamhlanje.

Siyahlonishwa ngokuba khona namuhla kukaDkt Naledi Pandor, uNgqongqoshe Wobudlelwano Bamazwe Omhlaba Nokuhlanganyela.

UNgqongqoshe Pandor uzokwabelana nathi imibono yakhe kanye nemibono kahulumeni ukuthi iZimbabwe iyobuyela kanjani esimeni kusukela eminyakeni eyishumi nesishiyagalolunye yezinselele ezijulile.

Kuyithemba lethu ukuthi inkulumo yakhe, ezokwethulwa ngaphansi kwendikimba ethi "Indlela enhle kakhulu yokuya kuZimbabwe ephumelelayo", izosisiza ekuqondeni inqubomgomo yangaphandle yeNingizimu Afrika maqondana futhi mayelana neZimbabwe.

Ngaphezu kokuba nguNgqongqoshe Wobudlelwano Bamazwe Omhlaba Nokuhlanganyela uDkt Pandor ungumngani omkhulu weMfundo Ephakeme yaseNingizimu Afrika. Abaningi bazokhumbula uhambo olumangalisayo esaluhamba naye, nokwesekwa kanye nobumbano esaluthola kuyena, ngesikhathi enguNgqongqoshe Wezemfundo Ephakeme Nokuqeqesha. Ngakho-ke, uDkt Pandor akuyena umuntu esingamazi kule mfundo ephakeme; ungumngane. Angiphinde nginikhumbuze ukuthi imfundo yethu ephakeme yetha isikhungo esiyinhloko esibambela khona umcimbi wethu weziqu njengeHholo iZK Mathews. Kulabo ababengazi, uNgcweti uZK Mathews kwakungumkhulu kaNgqongqoshe Pandor.

Ngqongqoshe, egameni loMkhandlu, woMbuthano, ukuphathwa, abasebenzi nabafundi beMfundo Ephakeme yaseNingizimu Afrika, ngiyakwemukela futhi manje ngikumema ukuthi ukhulume nathi.