

SOL MS MAKHANYA, INHLOKO NELISEKELA LASHANSELA
INYUVESI YASENINGIZIMU AFRIKA
INKHULUMO YEMMANGO NGAPHANSI KWESIHLOKO “INDLELA
LEHAMBBA EMBILI YEMPHUMELELO YEZIMBABWE”
FUNCTION HALL, KGORONG BUILDING
18 LWETI 2019

Lokwenteka ngembi kwekufihlwa kwemholi weRiphabliki yaseZimbabwe, umufi Mengameli Robert Mugabe, kukhombise kutsi kumatima kangakanani kuvuselela live kabusha lelingenalitsemba nakancane – hhayi nje kuphela bantfu balo, kodvwa livekati lonkhe.

Lapho bekubukwe kakhulu ekuphawuleni ngebudlelwano beZimbabwe nenshonalanga, kumele sibuke ngale kwaloko.

Kwetfu kube yindlela ye-Afrika Yonkhe lecondziswa tindzingo taseZimbabwe, kuhlanganiswa kwesigodzi nedzingo kabanti telivekati.

Injongo lehloniphekile yekwakha kabusha iZimbabwe kumele, kube ngiyo ledzingekako, isetjentiswe kute iletse lubumbano ebantfwini ibahlanganise ekwenteni inhloso lefanako. Loku, sikusho ngoba nome ngabe nguyiphi inkhulumo yekwakha kabusha iZimbabwe

iyaphikiswa, ingemukelwa ngito tombili tinhlangothi letitfolakala kulenkulumomphikiswano.

Kufaka ligalelo kulesifundvo sanamuhla, ngifisa kubuka emuva eZimbabwe yangalesa sikhatsi neyanyalo. Lohlolo lolunjalo lutawusita kuvula indlela leya embili.

Umlandvo wanyalo waseZimbabwe ungahlukaniswa ngetikhatsi letine, letingaphindza tihlukaniswe ngetiwombe letinyenti. Ngemva kwaloko, ngitawubuka letinye tetifundvo lesingatitfola kuletikhatsi.

IChimurenga Yesibili: 1964–1979

Simo sekwesaba ikhabinethi leyabukana naso ngesikhatsi se seRhodesia, lesiholela ekuweni kwekuphatsa kwembuso webukoloni evenikatini, lokwaholela Ekumemeteleni Lokubumbene Mazibuse ngeLweti 1965 ngaphansi kwebuholi ba-Ian Smith. Leso sento lesimangalisako, kanjalo, saholela ngalokucondzile ekucaleni kweChimurenga yesibili, nome impi yenkhululeko yelive .

Bakhutsatwe iChimurenga yekucala yanga 1896 kuya ku 1897 nebaphatsi, Mbuya Nehanda, Mlimo, Sekuru Kaguvi nalabanye labanyenti, iChimurenga yesibili leyaletfwa kwekubili iZANU (the Zimbabwe African National Union) neZAPU (the Zimbabwe African

People's Union) – nembutfo webahlokometi ngekwehlukana, ZANLA neZIPRA – baba ngemahambembili empi yenkhululeko.

Kungalapho umbono wetifundziswa utawuhlala njalo uhlukene ekhatsi ekutseni ingabe lemibutfo yebantfu yakhona yini kulwa nembuso locindzetelako kutsi ugcine uphakamise tandla, lokungeke kwaphikiswa sikhutsato lesijulile tsina, lapha eNingizimu Afrika, lesingasitfolo mayelana nekutimisela kwebantfu baseZimbabwe labalwela inkhululeko. Konkhe lokunye njengoba basho, ngumlandvo.

Ngenca yemitamo yetishosho vu teZANLA neZIPRA, umsebenti wepolitiki wetinhlango lebetisebenta ngaphansi kwato, umzabalazo webasebenti nebantfu labatayelekile nekuskelwa ngemave ngemave, umbuso waseRhodesian newaseBritain bagcina bavumelene etinkhulumiswaneni lokwaholela ekutalweni kweRiphabliki yase Zimbabwe nga 1980.

Leso kwaba sikhatsi sekucala.

Kwakha sive, intfutuko nesibhicongo : 1980–2000

Sikhatsi sesibili, sicala ngenkhululeko nga 1980 lesahamba safika ku 2000, kungatsiwa lokungenani saba netici letintsatfu. Kwekucala

imitamo yekutimisela kwakha sive lokwentiwa nguhulumende lowatsatsa emva kwembuso webukoloni.

Ibuya esikhatsini lesibuhlungu, lebesikhutsata buve, iZimbabwe lekhululekile yatitfolo yetama kutfutukisa indlela yekubukeka lehlukile kuleyo leyakhiwa bukoloni. Buhlungu bemzabalazo wenkhululeko nalobutsintsa live .

Ekuphawuleni kwakhe kwanga 2009, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni uhlola kutsi ingabe iZimbabwe yakhona yini kwakha live.¹ Loku kuphakamisa umbuto lotsi ingabe iZimbabwe ngemva kwencindzetelo yesitfolo yini sive. Uyabhala:

(Zimbabwe) isitfombe lesiyinkimbinkimbi semlandvo nenkhumbulo lechudzelanako, lokwenta bunjalo bufane nemcondvo – sakhiwo lesingakakhelwa esikhatsini sangembi kwebukoloni, sikhatsi sebukoloni nesikhatsi selabo labalwela buve kuphela kodvwa lokusekelwe eticini temhlaba wonkhe, umbuso lotimele, kutibusa nekuhlonishwa kwenzawo. Ngumcondvo lowavela ngemva kwekuhlangana kwemalunga lamanyenti, lalamene, kuhlanganiswa umlandvo wetitukulwane

¹ Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo (2009) *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*. Benn, Peter Lang AG

ngekulandzelana kwato, nekulwela buve nekucidzetela imibuso yesekhaya nayetigodzini.²

Kungako Alois Mlambo, abeka insayeya yaloko lokwenteka ngemva kwekutsi iZimbabwe itfole inkhululeko, loko bekumele ibukane nako, lokufaka ekhatsi – kungagcini lapho – ekwehlukahlukaneni kwebuve, buhlanga, simo sembuso nebudlelwano emkhatsini wepolitiki nemnotfo, yenta iZimbabwe yaba sive lesisatekwenteka.³ Ngakoke, ngekwaNdlovu-Gatsheni na Mlambo, iZimbabwe kusamele ivuke njengesive.

Imitamo yekwakha sive yaba, esandleni, setiwombe letikhungatsesekisako lokuludlame lwangekhatsi lwebuve, lomsuka wako usesengumtfoombo wemphikiswano kudzimate kube ngunamuhla.

Ukusiyo inhloso yami – akusiyo incenye yeligalelo lami lelincane lelingivumela – kuhlola kungevani emkhatsini weZANU neZAPU ngemva kwesimo sanga 1980, lasaholela, ngekwencenye, ekulahlekeni kwetimphilo eNyakatfo yeMatebeleland emkhatsini wa 1983 na 1987.

² Ibid, p. 46

³ Mlambo, Alois S (2013) Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabweans: Identity, Nationalism and State-building, *Africa Spectrum*, Volume 48, Number 1, pp. 49–70

Noma kunjalo, emave lamanyenti ase-Afrika afisa kufana neZimbabwe ngenca yemzila wayo wentfufuko, ikakhulukati encenyeni yetemfundvo.

Nakuba kungaba netinkhulumphikiswano mayelana netibalo leticondzile, kuhlangukiswa kwemitfombo leyehlukene kukhombisa kutsi iZimbabwe inelizinga leliphakeme lebantfu labadzala labafundzile evenikatini lonkhe. Nga 2014, Libhange Lemhlaba labeka tibalo ku 89%.⁴

Lesibalo lesijabulisako singumphumela wekutinikela emfundvweni lokwentiwa ngemva kwakuhlaliseka nga 1980. Empeleni, nguloko lesingakufudza, njelive. Kodvwa ngitawubuya kuleliphuzu kamuva.

Ngekuhambisana nentfufuko ezingeni lemfundvo, lokudzimate kube ngunyalo, live liye lasungula imfundvo lephakeme lehamba embili nemkhakha welucwaningo losebentako. Inyuvesi yaseZimbabwe yakhula yaba sezingeni lalamanye emanyuvesi ase-Afrika lahlonishwako, njengeDar es Salaam eTanzania neMakerere e-Uganda – nome ingenatakhiwo letinhle kangako, kodvwa mayelana

⁴ BBC (2018) Zimbabwe in 10 numbers, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42013720>. Accessed on 15 November 2019

nemfundvo iniketa tinhlelo letihamba embili. Ngetulu kwaloko kunetinhlangano letitimele teluhlathiyo netikhungo tekushicilela.⁵

Nalapha, sitfombe 'asisinhle' kangaka. Indzaba yemhlaba isese yinsayeya kubohulumende labatsatsa ngemva kwenkhululeko. Kwehluleka kusombulula indzaba yemhlaba ngendlela lelungisa umlandvo wekuncotjwa, kunciphisa kungalingani nebuphuya, kwenta ncono bunye besive nekutfolakala kwekudla lokwanele lokwaholela ekuhhohlokene kwesimo lokwenteka nga 2000.

Loku kusiletsa encenyeni yesikhatsi.

Indzaba yemhlaba, kukhishwa inyumbazane ngemave ngemave nekuhhohloka kwesimo: 2000–2017

Encwadzini yabo lenesihloko lesitsi *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, Patrick Bond naMasimba Manyanya baveta kutsi tinkinga letavela nga 2000 tihlobene ngalokucondzile nekwetfulwa kweLibhange Lemhlaba ne-IMF's Structural Adjustment Programmes nga 1991.⁶

⁵ 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

⁶ Bond, Patrick and Manyanya, Masimba (2003) *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

Empeleni, sifundziswa lesatiwako saseZimbabwe, Sam Moyo, abesevele akhulume ngeligunya kutsi insayeya lenkhulu yeluhlelo lwekubuyiswa kwemhlaba kusukela nga 1980 bekuhlala kulenta kutsi lusebenta ngendlela yekucacisa tihlelo teluhlaka lolulungisiwe.⁷

Ngakoke letifundziswa nalabanye ngekuhamba kweminyaka basinike kungavisiseki kahle kweNdzaba yaseZimbabwe ; loku kuhlukile enkhulumweni yekuphawula lokwetayelekile, lokuvele kukhombe tinkinga taseZimbabwe etinkingeni tebuholi bepolitiki umufi Mengameli Mugabe neZANU-PF.

Ngetulu kwaloluhaltiyo lolulusito, kumele sivume kutsi sikhatsi sangemva kwa 2000 sibe insayeya eZimbabwe. Lunswinyo lolubuya eNshonalnga Melika nase-Europe lwaholela ekuweni ngalokuphelele kwemnotfo kwalelive. Loku kuholele ekutseni linyenti lebantfu baseZimbabwe baye kulamanye emave kute batfole ematfuba empilo.

Tibalo letisemtsetfweni tikhomba kutsi nga 2013, bekunabantfu baseZimbabwe labangu 571 970 labahlala eNingizimu Afrika, e-

⁷ Moyo, Sam (2000) *Land Reform under Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: Land Use Change in the Mashonaland Province*. Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

United Kingdom, eMalawi, e-Australia nase Botswana –
ngekuzandzela kanjalo, mayelana netibalo.⁸

Tizatfu letintsatfu letinkhulu tekutfutsela kulamanye emave
ngematfuba emsebenzi, tizatfu tekufundza nekufuna kuphepha. Loku
kukhomba simo lesimatima setemnotfo ngenca yemphumela
yeluntswinyo ngalokukhetsekile. Kukhombisa kutsi luhlelo
lwemfundvo lengikhulume ngalo ekucaleni, futsi lobeluhamba embili,
lubukene nekucidzeteleka.

Letinsayeya taholela kulesikhatsi lesibukene naso nyalo, incenye
yesikhatsi yesine, leyandzela ngemva kwekusula kwaloyo
bekanguMengameli Mugabe nekufa kwakhe ekugcineni.

Sikhatsi ngemva kwaMugabe: Uya Kuphi Zimbabwe?

Kungevani lokudale bumatima lobubukene nelive kwaholela
ekusuleni kwaloyo bekanguMengameli Mugabe nga November 2017.
Loku nekuphangalala kwakhe ngemva kwetinyanga letimbalwa,
lokwaletsa tingucuko, kungasiko kakhulu kwelicembu
lelikuhulumende, kodvwa licembu lelibusako.

⁸ 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

Ezingeni lemfundvo, kungaba kusesekuseni kakhulu kubeka imibono yemfundvo esikhatsini sangemva kwaMugabe nelikusasa lalelive. Kodvwa lesingakwenta, kuveta kutsi tinsayeya tahulumende ngaphansi kwaMengameli Emmerson Mnangagwa kumele ticatjangelwe. Noma, kunjalo anginawo umdlandla wekwenta loko ngobe nguloko Ngcongcoshe Wetekuchumana Kwemave Ngemave Nekubambisana, Ngcongcoshe Naledi Pandor, ulapha kute abelane natsi lwati. Ngakoke, ngitawumane ngikhulume ngaloko lengikubona njengetifundvo letivela eZimbabwe, kusukela kuChimurenga Yesibili kudzimate kufike nyalo.

Letinye tetifundvo letifundziwe

Kunetifundvo lokungenani letisihlanu lengingakhuluma ngato letifundvwe emzabalazweni waseZimbabwe.

Kwekucala, lubumbano ngenhloso emkhatsini weZANU neZAPU emnyakeni YeChimurenga Yesibili lapho hulumende waseRhodesia neBrithani bavumelana kuhlala phansi bacocisane. Angisho, noko, kutsi lamacembu lamabili bekahlala angabona ngeliso linye.

Lengikhuluma ngako likhono lekubukana nemsebenti lokhona ngaleso sikhatsi, lokukushushiswa kwemzabalazo, lokufaka ekhatsi umzabalazo wetikhali, bekubalulekile. Kubunjwa kweNhlango Yetempi Yesive kudzimate kuyofika etinkhulumisaneni eLancaster

House bekubalulekile.⁹ Loku kwaholela esivumelwane setenkhumiswano tekuvela kweRiphabliki yaseZimbabwe. Lokubuhlungu kwaba luchekeko lolandzela ngemva kwesikhatsi, lengitawubuyela kulo khona nyalo.

Sifundvo sesibili lesingasifundza simayelana netinzuzo letatfolwa lapho hulumende etama kutfutukisa timphilo tetakhamuti takhe. Umtamo lojabulisako wekutinikela emfundvweni, lobekungasiwo nje imali (ecinisweni, bengakaphatselene nemali), bewuwelisu lelicatjangisiswe kahle, lelaholela ezingeni leliphakeme labantfu labadzala labafundzile lebelijajulelwa eZimbabwe.

Ngakoke sifundvo, lisu lekubeketela kute kutfutukiswe lizinga letimphilo tebantfu betfu.

Sifundvo sesitsatfu lesingasifundza eZimbabwe simayelana nemanakalo lowaba ngumphumela wekuhluleka kubukana nome kunaka tikhalo tetakhamuti, ikakhulukati talaphuyile nalasebentako. Kwenta kancane kwahulumende waseZimbabwe kulungisa indzaba yemhlaba ngembi 2000 lokwaholela ekulweni kwabomabuyemphini.

⁹ ZANU, led by Robert Mugabe, and ZAPU, led by Joshua Nkomo, formed the Patriotic Front during the prosecution of the struggle and up to the negotiations at Lancaster House, London. The Lancaster House Agreement was reached in December 1979. ZAPU contested the 1980 general elections as the Patriotic Front, whereas ZANU contested them as ZANU-Patriotic Front. After years of tensions, ZANU absorbed ZAPU and became ZANU-PF. Joshua Nkomo died in 1999

Lena akusiyo insayeya lelula lengiyiphonsa kuhulumende. Natsi iyasitsintsa, njengebuholi bemfundvo lephakeme. Kwenta kancane ekuphendvuleni lubito letingucuko emanyuvesi etfu ngekwencenye kwaholela kumbutfo we *#RhodesMustFall*, lesingazange saphendvula kahle. Kungako, encenyeni yetfu, angetsembi kahle kutsi siyakuphutfumisa kwentiwa sikhungo kweLitiko Lebuholi neTingucuko eHhovisi lami. Injongo lapha kutsi siphendvule nekuhambisana netikhalo netidzingo tekugucula lesikhungo.

Sifundvo sesine lesingasifundza emlandvweni waseZimbabwe sicondzene gco nendzaba yemhlaba ngekwayo. Siyafundza lapha kutsi indzaba yemhlaba iyimphicabadzala. Idzinga kuphatfwa ngendlela yekufuna kulingana kwetidzingo letisesimweni lesiphikisanako – tibe tivetwe ngendlela lenemandla.

Akusiyo inhloso yami kusebentisa lenkhundla kufundzisa (angikacondzi kudlala ngemagama) hulumende kutsi kumele ayisingatse njani lendzaba, lesikhuluma ngayo nyalo njengesive. Lengifuna kukusho, lokungenani, kutsi hulumende kumele, kuto tonkhe letigaba, ahambisana nesive abe ngulovulekile mayelana nematfuba netinsayeya letihambisana kusombulula loludzaba.

Sifundvo sesihlanu lesingasifundza eZimbabwe simayelana nebuhlungu lobaletfwa kuchekeka kwebunye besive. Luchekeko

emkhatsini weZANU neZAPU lobebukhona sikhatsi lesidze – lebeluhambisana nebuve ngaleso sikhatsi – kwadzimate kwaba ngulapho bahlangana kute bakhe iZANU-PF, lokube nemphumela lomubi kulelive lelikhulu leliyiZimbabwe.

Akungabateki kutsi incenye yekwelapheka kumele yenteke eZimbabwe itawucinisa kuhlanguana emkhatsini walamacembu lamabili, ngekutimisela ngete lesinye siwombe seNshonalanga yeMatabeleland saphindza senteke.

Loku, Mphatsiluhlelo, letikhatsi naletifundvo tihlobene naloko iZimbabwe ingiko namuhla.

Sitiva sihlonishwe kakhulu ngekubakhona kwaDkt Naledi Pandor, Ngcongcoshe Wetekuchumana Kwemave Ngemave Nekubambisana.

Ngcongcoshe Pandor utawabelana natsi imibono yakhe nembono wahulumende kutsi iZimbabwe ingaphindze ibuyele njani esikhatsini lesihle ngemva kweminyaka lelishumi nemfica yetinsayeya letikhulu.

Siyatsemba kutsi inkhulumo yakhe, leyetfulwa ngaphansi kwesihloko *“Indlela Lencono Kakhulu yeZimbabwe Lephumelelako”*, itasisita kuvisisa inchubomgomo yangaphandle yeNingizimu Afrika macondzana neZimbabwe.

Ngaphandle kwekutsi nguNgcogcoshe we Wetekuchumana Kwemave Ngemave Nekubambisana, Dkt Pandor ungumngani lomkhulu weNyuvesi YaseNingizimu Afrika. Linyenti lenu nitilikhumbula loluhambo lobelumangalisako lesaluhamba naye, kusekela nebulingani lesabutfole kuye, ngesikhatsi asenguNgcongcoshe Wemfundvo Lephakeme Nekucesha. Ngakoke, Dkt Pandor akasiye umuntfu longatiwa, ungumngani. Ase ngiphindze nginikhumbute kutsi inyuvesi yetfu icambe sakhiwo lesikhulu lebekwentela kuso umcimbi wekutfweswa kweticu ngekutsi iZK Mathews Hall. Kulaba labangati, Solwati ZK Mathews bekangumkhulu waNgcongcoshe Pandor.

Ngcongcoshe, egameni leMkhandlu, Sigele, buphatsi, basebenti nebafundzi baseNyuvesi yaseNingizimu Afrika, ngiyakwamukela, kwanyalo ngicela kukumema kwekutsi wetfule inkhulumo yakho.