

## Uguquko Olungaphelele: Ukunqoba Ifa Lokukhishelwa Ngaphandle ENingizimu Afrika

**INingizimu Afrika seyihambe ibanga elide kusukela kwafika umbuso wentando yeningi, kodwa uguquko lwayo lusalokhu lungakapheleli.** Izigatshana ezintathu zokuqala zoMqulu Wenkululeko—umbhalo ka-1955 obalulekile emlandweni osho izinjongo ezinkulu zenhlango yobusaba ngentando yeningi—kwakuwukuthi (i) abantu kufanele babuse; (ii) onke amaqembu kazwelonke kufanele abe namalungelo alinganayo; futhi (iii) abantu kufanele babelane ngomnotho wezwe. Nakuba izinjongo ezimbili zokuqala zifezekile kakhulu kusukela ngokhetho lokuqala lokubusaba ngentando yeningi luka-1994, ububi obukhulu basemlandweni busalokhu buyinto enquma imali engenayo, umnotho kanye nethuba, nangale kwenqubekela phambili ekhona. Kanjalo, uguquko *kwezomnotho* ukusuka ohlelweni lokukhishelwa ngaphandle ngaphansi kokwehlukana kanye nobandlululo lusalokhu lungakapheleli.

**Ubumpofu sebehlele kakhulu kusukela ngonyaka ka-1994, kodwa ukungalingani kusalokhu kuphezulu ngokweqile.** Ukufinyelela okwenziwe ngcono ezinsizakalweni eziyisisekelo (ezifana nogesi, amanzi kanye nenhlazeko), ukuhlinzekwa kwezindlu ezingaphezu kwezigidi ezi-4 ngokusebenzisa izinhlelo zikahulumeni, kanye nokunwetshwa kweholo lokuphila kwenze ngcono kakhulu amazinga okuphila ezigidi zabantu baseNingizimu Afrika. Uhlelo lwezimali oluqhubekayo, ukufinyelela okwandisiwe esikweletwini, emisebenzini ezingxenyeni ezizimele zebhizinisi nezikahulumeni, kanye nezinqubomgomo zokuqashela ababencishwe amathuba ezikhundleni eziphezulu kunciphise ukungalingani phakathi kwabantu abamnyama nabamhlophe baseNingizimu Afrika, nakuba ukungalingani phakathi kwabantu abamnyama kukhulile. Sekukonke jikelele, ukungalingani kukhuphukile kusukela ngonyaka ka-1994—futhi kwezinye izimo, izinqubomgomo ezamukelwa nguhulumeni ngokungenhloso zasiza ukukuqinisa zikuqhubele phambili. Ngokolwazi oluqoqwe yi-World Bank Group, iNingizimu Afrika isalokhu iyizwe elinokungalingani okukhulu kunawo wonke emhlabeni.

**Ukwakha imisebenzi, ikakhulukazi yentsha, kubalulekile ukunqoba ifa lokukhishelwa ngaphandle Imisebenzi nayo ibalulekile ukwakha isivumelwano senhlalo yomphakathi esiqinile.** Ukwakhiwa kwemisebenzi okukhulu kunciphisa ukubekeka engozini komnotho futhi kusiza ukuguqula umnotho ukuthi umelele abantu bonke. Kodwa cishe amaphesenti angama-60 kuphela abantu baseNingizimu Afrika abaseminyakeni yobudala yokusebenza abahlanganyelayo kubasebenzi, futhi ukungabi bikho komsebenzi kuphezulu (amaphesenti angama-27), ikakhulu phakathi kwentsha (ngaphezu kwamaphesenti angama-50). Ukwakha imisebenzi eminingi, umnotho udinga ukuthi ukhule ngokushesha kunokuba kade ukhula kusukela ngonyaka ka-1994. Kodwa ifa lokukhishelwa ngaphandle kwezomhlaba, emsebenzini, emalini yokwenza imisebenzi nasezimakethe zomkhinqizo kuphazamisa ukukhula. Khona lapho, ukungalingani okuphezulu kanye nefa lokukhishelwa ngaphandle kubhebezela ukuncintisana ngezidingongqangi, kwandisa ukungabi nasiqiniseko ngenqubomgomo kanye nokuvimbela ukutshalwa kwezimali, lapho futhi kubukelwa phansi ukusimama kwezezimali kwamabhizinisi amancane okungakahulumeni kanye nokukwazi ukuhlinzeka ngezinsizakalo zomphakathi eziseqophelweni eliphezulu. Nakho lokhu, kuyasinda ekukhuleni. Uma ukusatshalaliswa kwemali engenayo kanye nezimpahla kuncintiswana ngakho kanti isibalo esikhulu sezakhamuzi sikhishelwe ngaphandle emathubeni omsebenzi ukuthi zijoyine ikilasi eliphakathi nendawo kubeka ingcindezi esivumelwaneni senhlalo yomphakathi—isivumelwano senhlalo yomphakathi esichobokayo siwuphawu loguquko olungaphelele.

**Izinhlalo ezimbili ze-World Bank Group wukusiza amazwe ukuqeda ubumpofu ngo-2030 nokukhuphula inqubekela phambili okwabelwana ngayo** (okungukuthi, nciphisa ukungalingani). Lezi zinhloso nazo zifakwe kuMbono ka-2030 weNingizimu Afrika oHlelweni Lwentuthuko Kazwelonke (National Development Plan-NDP). I-World Bank Group ilungiselela Uhlaka Lokubambisana Lwezwe luka-2019-2022 neNingizimu Afrika, futhi yenze Ukuxilongwa Kwezwe Okulandela Uhlelo (Systematic

Country Diagnostic (SDC)) ukuqinisa ukuqonda kwayo izingcindezi ezibalulekile zokufeza lezi zinhloso ezimbili. Nakuba imibono eshiwo lapha kuyileyo ye-World Bank Group, yenziwa ngokuxoxisana ngqo nabantu baseNingizimu Afrika, kubandakanya i-National Planning Commission, izisebenzi zikahulumeni, ingxenye ezimele, izifundiswa, intsha, kanye namalungu ezinyunyana zohwebo. Izinto eziphezulu ohlwini lwenqubomgomo ngokubanzi ezikhonjiwe kulindeleke ukuthi ziqinise ukwakhiwa kwemisebenzi, kanye nokunciphisa ubumpofu kanye nokungalingani. Ukuhlaziya kuhlanguyele nokucelwa kwamanje kwe-"CODESA yezomnotho" — ireferensi yezingxoxo ze-Congress for a Democratic South Africa ekuqaleni kweminyaka yo-1990, okwaholela uguqukweni lwezepolitiki lusuka ekubeni wubandlululo. Ukunqoba ifa lokukhishelwa ngaphandle kudinga isivumelwano senhlalo yomphakathi esiqinile, kanti eNkulumeni KaMongameli Yokuvula Iphalamende ka-2018, uMongameli u-Cyril Ramaphosa wamemezela ukuthi kuzoxoxiswana ngesivumelwano esisha senhlalo yomphakathi ngokuhlanguyela kakhulu nomphakathi wezamazwe ezimisebenzi, kanye nomphakathi. Lesi sivumelwano senhlalo yomphakathi siyisisekelo esibalulekile okufanele kwakhelwe phezu kwaso ikusasa lezwe. Kulesi simo, umkhakha ozimele kuyofuneka ukuthi ubambe iqhaza elisebenzayo kakhulu ekwenzeni inqubomgomo nokwakha imisebenzi.

**Le-SCD ibalula izinkinga ezinhlanu ezibalulekile.** Yilezi (i) amakhono angenele; (ii) ukwabiwa komhlaba okungaqondile kanye nezimpahla zokukhiqiza, kanye namalungelo omhlaba antekenteke; (iii) umncintiswano ophansi kanye nokuhlanganiswa okuphansi emisebenzini yokukhiqiza kwezomnotho kwamazwe omhlaba nokwesifunda; (iv) ukuxhumana kwendawo okunomkhawulo noma okubizayo kanye nezindawo zokuhlala zababencishwe amathuba ngokomlando ezingaseviswa; kanye (v) nezigameko ezimangazayo zesimo sezulu: uguquko lokuya emnothweni onekhaboni ephansi kanye nokungavikeleki kwamanzi.

**I-World Bank Group ibona amakhono angenele njengekinga ebalulekile ekunciphiseni ubumpofu kanye nokungalingani.** Amakhono abalulekile kukho kokubili ukunikezelwa kanye nokufuneka kwabasebenzi : benyusa ukukhiqiza kwabasebenzi kanye nosomabhizinisi abancane, basiza amafemu ukuthi andise umkhiqizo ngamanani ancintisanayo, okuholela ekuqasheni okwengeziwe, kukhuphula ukufuneka sekukonke, futhi kufake isandla emnothweni okhulayo. Nangale kwenqubekela phambili ehamba kancane nesimeme, imiphumela yokufunda isemibi ngokwamazinga omhlaba nawesifunda. Ifa 'lemfundo yaBantu Abamnyama' liyaqhubeka nokuncisha iNingizimu Afrika amakhono ewadingayo futhi lifaka isandla ekukhuleni okuphansi, ekukhiqizeni, nasekuncintisaneni, kuhambisana nokungabi bikho komsebenzi okuphezulu. Ukungalingani nakho kubonakaliswa ekulondolozeni kwemindeni okuphansi kanye namazinga aphezulu okuba sezikweletwini. Umbono ka-2030 ugqizelela ukuthi ukwenza ngcono izinga lemfundo kuyisithako esibalulekile sokuthuthuka kukazwelonke.

**Ukwabiwa komhlaba okungaqondile kakhulu kanye nezimpahla zokukhiqiza kuwumsuka wokungalingani kanye nobuchoboka benhlalo yomphakathi, okubhebezela umncintiswano ngezidingongqangi. Amalungelo omhlaba antekenteke noma angaphansi kwengcindezi.** Nangale kwenqubekela phambili ekhona, umcebo kanye nobunikazi bomhlaba kusagxile endaweni eyodwa. Izinhlelo zezindlu zomphakathi zihlinzeka isibalo esikhulayo semindeni empofu nezimpahla eziphathekayo. Kodwa kunokunikezwa amatayitela okuntekenteke, ikakhulukazi ezindaweni ezihlwempu nezingekho emthethweni, kubeka umkhawulo emanani, kubandakanya njengokuhambisanayo ukufinyelela emalini. Ukuvikeleka kwesikhathi ezabelweni zangaphambilini kuyinto echobokayo. Ngenxa yalokhu, ngisho nalapho abampofu benomhlaba khona, inani lalezi zimpahla linomkhawulo. Izimemezelo zokuthatha umhlaba ngaphandle kwesinxephezelo kanye nezinto zoMqulu Wezimayini wesithathu kubhebezela ukukhathazeka ngamalungelo omhlaba. Ukwenziwa kwesivumelwano esisha senhlalo yomphakathi kuzodinga ukuqiniseka okukhulu ngalokho okuzokwabiwa kabusha—nokuthi kuyokwenzeka kanjani—ngesikhathi kuqinisekisa ukuthi amalungelo omhlaba avikelekile ahlinzeka ngeplatifomu

eqhubekayo yokutshala imali. Amalungelo omhlaba abalulekile kubo bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ukulawula izimpahla zabo ukweseka ukukhula komnotho, izimali ezingenayo zomndeni, kanye nemisebenzi. Ukunikezwa amandla omnotho kubantu abamnyama kufanele kuhlolwe ukuqinisekisa ukuthi kube ngobanzi ngokweqiniso futhi kube kunciphisa imiphumela emibi ekutshalweni kwezimali.

**Amazinga aphantsi omncintiswano kanye nokuhlanganiswa nochungechunge lwamanani omhlaba nawesifunda kuvimbela ukukhula kanye nokwakhiwa kwemisebenzi.** Kugcina namanani entengo ephezulu, ikakhulukazi kwabampofu. Amabhange ezwe ahlanganiswe kahle emnothweni womhlaba, kodwa abenzi bezinto ngokwemvelo bavikelwe yizithiyo zohwebo zemvelo (isibonelo, ibanga) kanye nomlando wokufaka okunye esikhundleni sempahla engenayo kanye nokwesekwa kwenqubomgomo yezimboni. Izimakethe zomkhiqizo zezwe zinezithiyo eziphezulu ukuthi kungenwe futhi zihlanganiswe kabi emnothweni womhlaba. Ngenxa yalokhu, amabhizinisi aphuthwa amathuba okuhweba emazweni omhlaba kanye nokukhula ngokudluliswa ngobuchwepheshe okuhambisana nokuhlanganyela emisebenzini ebalulekile kwezamabhizinisi. Lokhu kuyinkinga ikakhulukazi emafemini amancane athwele kanzima ukuthola ukufuneka okusha emnothweni omi ndawonye futhi abhekane nezithiyo ezibekwe ngabaphethe. Ingcindezi yamakhono iqhubela phambili isimo, ikakhulukazi ilimaza abenzi bempahla, izinkampani ezincane, kanye nosomabhizinisi abasafufusa kanye nabalimi. Izinzuzo zomkhiqizo ezivela emncintiswaneni nasoguqukweni ziyadingeka ukukhiqiza izimpahla ngendlela eshibhile kubo bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika, ikakhulukazi abampofu, sivumele izabizomali zabo ukuthi ziqhubeke nokululeka. Ukwenza ukuthi ibhizinisi likwazi ukuncintisana ngempumelelo kuzoba nezinzuzo ezimbili zokunqoba ukukhishelwa ngaphandle kwabantu baseNingizimu Afrika ababencishwe amathuba ngokomlando, nokuqeda ukubandlululwa ngokomlando kwezwe ezimakethe zomhlaba.

**Ukukhishelwa ngaphandle kuqinise futhi wukuxhumana okunomkhawulo noma okubizayo, kanye nokungaseviswa kahle kwezindawo zokuhlala ezazincishwe amathuba ngokomlando.** Abantu abaningi baseNingizimu Afrika bayaqhubeka nokuhlala kude namathuba omsebenzi emalokishini angaseviswa kahle, emikhukhwini, nasezindaweni eziyizabelo zangaphambilini. Lokhu kwenza ukuhamba ngezithuthi ukuthi kubize. Kube nokufuduleka okukhulu kwabantu abasuka ezindaweni ezisemakhaya beza ezindaweni ezisemadolobheni beyofuna umsebenzi. Yize ukufuduleka kweseka ukunciphisa kobumpofu, kungabeka ingcindezi futhi ezinsizeni zomphakathi ezivele sezikhona futhi kukhuphule nezingxabano zomphakathi njengoba abantu abasha abafikayo bancintisana nabahlali asebevele bekhona ngemisebenzi, izinsizakalo kanye nebhizinisi. Uhulumeni wenze imizamo emikhulu yokunciphisa la maphethini ezindawo angaqondile, kodwa ngesinye isikhathi uyaziqinisa engahlosile—isibonelo, ngokwamukela izinqubomgomo zezindlu ezingakhuthazi ukuhlala endaweni esedolobheni ngendlela ezosiza umphakathi. Ukuhlela ezindaweni ezisedolobheni kukhula ngokugxila emadolobheni aqhubekayo nokuba wusizo kubantu abahlala kuzo. Eminyakeni eminingi ezayo, abantu abaningi baseNingizimu Afrika bayoqhubeka nokuhlala emalokishini akude anamathuba emisebenzi anemikhawulo. Ukufinyelela kugesi, emanzini, ekuhlanzekeni, imitholampilo nezikole okusebenza kahle, kanye nezinsizakalo zezimali kusalokhu kuntekenteke kulezo zindawo, kubeka imikhawulo kumathuba okukhula, futhi kwehlisa namazinga okuphila. Ukwenza ngcono ukuxhunywana ku-inthanethi kanye nokufinyelela ekuxhumaneni ngocingo okubiza kancane kungasiza ekuxhumaneni.

**Ukushintsha kwesimo sezulu kuzophoqa iNingizimu Afrika ukuthi ingene ezindlekweni, ethembele kakhulu emalahleni ukuqinisa umnotho wayo. Ukulawula ukuguqula ikhabhoni ephantsi kanye nokubhekana nokungavikeleki kwamanzi kuzobaluleka.** Amalahle ashibhile ngenye yezinto ezibalulekile entuthukweni yezwe, kanti umnotho uhlala uncike kakhulu emalahleni ukwenza amandla kagesi nasezimayini. Ekuguquleni emnothweni wekhabhoni ephantsi, isu lokuqeda ikhabhoni elisebenzayo liyadingeka ukuqinisekisa ukuthi izingxenye zezomnotho azithinteki kabi. Lokhu kubandakanya ukuqala ukusebenzisa intela yekhabhoni kanye nokusebenzisa ukutshalwa kwemali

ngabazimele ekongeni amandla kagesi kanye nobuchwepheshe obuhlanzekile bamandla kagesi. Nakuba ukushintsha kwesimo sezulu kubhebhezela izinselele zamanzi ezweni, akusiwona umsuka wokushoda kwamanzi okuhleliwe. Ukukhula kwesibalo sabantu, ukuthuthuleka kwabantu ezindaweni zasemadolobheni, kanye nokunwebeka komnotho wukufuneka kwamanzi okukhulayo, okweqela ngale kokunikezela okubekiwe. Ukubhekana nalokhu kushoda kudingeka izinqubomgomo ezihlose ekunikezelweni kwamanzi, ukuwabhekela kanye nokufuneka kwawo. Ezolimo ezisebenzisa izindlela ezivuna isimo sezulu zizobaluleka ukuqinisekisa ukukhiqizwa kokudla okwanele eNingizimu Afrika nasesifundeni kanye nokuvikela izidingo zokuphila kwabalimi, njengoba imikhiqizo yomshuwalense ekhava isimo sezulu izokwethusa kakhulu. INingizimu Afrika iyizwe elingenawo amanzi, kanti kuzobaluleka ukuthi kuqiniswe uhlaka lokulawula nolokutshalwa kwemali kokulethwa komsebenzi wamanzi okumelana kakhulu nesimo nokusebenza ngempumelelo, kube kukhuthazwa abathengi ukuthi basebenzise amanzi kahle.

**Izikhungo zikahulumeni ziyisebenzele kahle iNingizimu Afrika Isithunzi sokwethembeka kwazo kudingeka sigcinwe futhi siqinise.** Izwe linohlelo lokubusa ngentando yeningi olunamandla, abasebenzi bakahulumeni abanolwazi lokwenza umsebenzi, kanye neziphathimandla zamajaji eziqinile nezizimele kanye nebhange elikhulu—kanjalo nokubikwa kwezindaba okuqinile nokuphilile. Inkohlakalo, noma "ukubanjwa kukahulumeni ngobhongwane," kubukele phansi iqophelo eliphezulu lezikhungo, ikakhulukazi ama-SOE, kusukela ngonyaka ka-2009. Ukugcizelela okuvuselelwe ekwenzeleni izinto obala, izinhlelo zokuthenga impahla eziqinile, kanye nokuziphendulela (kumabhodi ezinhlangano okungezikahulumeni nangale kwazo) kuyadingeka ukuqinisekisa ukulethwa komsebenzi. Ukwenziwa ngcono kwemiphumela yemfundo kuzokwenza izakhamuzi ukuthi zikwazi ukwenza uhulumeni ukuthi aziphendulele kakhulu. Izikhungo nazo zingaqiniswa ngokwenza ngcono ukuxhunyaniswa kwezinqubomgomo, ukuqapha kanye nokuhlola. Abasebenzi bakahulumeni abancane abagxile ezintweni eziphezulu ohlwini, kuhambisana nokuhlanganiswa kweminyango kahulumeni, kungenza ngcono iqophelo lokusetshenziswa kwenqubomgomo, futhi kuyonciphisa ukuncintisana ngabasebenzi abanamakhono kanye nosomabhizinisi abancane nengxenye yamabhizinisi ezimele.

**Ukulungisa ifa lokukhishelwa ngaphandle wuhlelo lwesikhathi eside, kanti okulindelekile kudinga ukuthi kubhekwe ngokucophelela.** INingizimu Afrika isuka kude kusukela ngonyaka ka-1994, futhi inamandla angaphandle amosha uhlaka lomphakathi ongalingani kakhulu. Ukubuyiselwa esimweni komnotho womhlaba, okuhambisana nokuzimisela okuvuselelwe okwenziwa ubuholi bezepolitiki ukuqinisa izikhungo kanye nokuqinisa isivumelwano senhlalo yomphakathi, kwethula ithuba elikhulu. Kodwa inqubekela phambili yenhlalo yomphakathi ithatha isikhathi. Ukubhekela izinto ezilindelekile kuzoqinisekisa ukuthi ukuphoxeka akubukeli phansi inqubekela phambili yeNingizimu Afrika ephokophele kuMbono wayo ka-2030.

**Le SCD, encike kulo lolubili ucwaningo olusha noluvele lukhona, yenziwa ngokusebenzisa ukubonisana ngokubanzi nezinhlangano zaseNingizimu Afrika kanye nabantu abangabodwa.** Kodwa ayasala amagebe okwazi. Imikhakha yentshisekelo yesikhathi esizayo yethimba le-World Bank Group ibandakanya ukungenelela emfundweni eyisisekelo okungaphakamisa imiphumela yokufunda kwabampofu; ukwenza ngcono ukukwazi ukukhokhela imfundo esezingeni eliphezulu ngokuhlanganyela nengxenye yamabhizinisi ezimele; ukwakha iminoto yasemalokishini neyasezindaweni ezisemakhaya; ukuhlola ukuthi amafemu amancane angakweseka kanjani ukukhula kanye nokwakha imisebenzi; ukuthuthukisa ngokuqhubekayo izidingongqangi zamanzi kuzwelonke; ukwenza ukuthi abasebenzi kanye nemiphakathi balulungele uguquko lwekhabhoni ephansi; ukweseka ukuba khona kwezimbiwa zemvelo ukusiza imiphakathi eyancishwa amathuba ngokomlando; futhi kukhuthazwe ukutshalwa kwemali okuqondile okukhulu emazweni angaphandle.