

MARIKANA

Jack Shenker

Ngomhla we-16 Agasti 2012, ushicilelo lwevidiyo eyimizuzwana engamashumi amathandathu anethoba yatyatyadula kwii-laptop, izikrini zikamabona-kude nakwiiselula mbombo-zone zomhlaba. Olu shicilelo lwevidiyo, olufotwe kwikamera enye, lwalubonisa amagosa angamapolisa oMzantsi Afrika axhobileyo kumazantsi enduli ethile, edubula iqela lamadoda abalekela ngakuwo. La madoda yayingabasebenzi basezimayini abaqhankqalazayo, futhi ukuphela kosuku, amashumi amathathu anesine kubo ayeza kusweleka. Phakathi kweengqimba zothuli oluvunjululwa kukudutyulwa kweembumbulu, inkcazelo yokwenzekayo yavela ngokukhawuleza. Aba basebenzi-mgodini babegabadele ngobundlobongela, bekwanoxanduva lokubulala amalungu amaninzi angamagosa okhuselo kwakunye nabanye abaninzi abasebenza nabo kwiintsuku ezimbalwa ezilandelayo. Uqhankqalazo lwabo lwalungekho mthethweni, futhi luchaswa nayi yunyoni yabo kwaye oku kwakutsalela uqoqosho loMzantsi Afrika eludakeni. Bedle iziyobisi futhi bekwakhuthazwa ligqirha labo lasekuhlaleni ekubeni abadubuleki, uninzi lwabasebenzi-mgodini babefunzela ngqo emapoliseni ngokungakhathali, bephephezelisa izixhobo zabo zesintu. Besoyikela ubomi babo, amagosa ayengenako okungokunye anokwenza koko nawo abadubule.

Le nkcazelo yakholelwa njengoko yayiphindwa-phiindwa ngalo lonke ixesha ngabaphathi bamapolisa, iinkokeli zamashishini, abaphathiswa bakarhulumente kwakunye neentatheli ezininzi. 'Bekukho imeko apho abasebenzi bebexhobe befe amacala, bebulala abo basebenza nabo', watsho njalo umkhomishinala wamapolisa woMzantsi Afrika kuzwelonke, nowathi kamva wancoma amagosa akhe ngokubonisa 'olona xanduva lungcono ebupoliseni' ngexesha lale ntlekele. 'Amapolisa arhoxa ngendlela emisiweyo kwaye ayenyanzeliswa ekubeni asebenzise awona mandla makhulu anawo ekhuzikhuseleni'.

Ngoku siyazi ukuba phantse yonke le ngxelo yayingamampunge. Ukuba utshintsha ikhamera uze ujongisise ezi ziganeko kwi-engile eyohlukileyo, kuvela ibali elichasana noku ngokupheleleyo: le ibonisa ukuba abasebenzi-mgodini abazange bangqole emapoliseni, koko babekhokelelwa ngabom kuwo; enye ebonisa ukuba amapolisa awazange adubule kuba efuna ukuzikhusela, koko aleqa abasebenzi abangaxhobanga, ababalekayo aze abadubula kufutshane nabo; enye ebonisa ukuba intlekele yaseMarikana yayingeyiyo intlekele yenene konke-konke, koko yayiyindyikityha yangabom ebangelwe

yyiyelenge elinobuzaza phakathi kwamaqumrhu ezizwe ngezizwe kunye norhulumente.

Ukubhala malunga nolunye uqhankqalazo oludumileyo lwabasebenzi basezimayini ngaphezulu kwesiqingatha senkulungwane edlulileyo, ongasekhoyo owayesilwela incinezelo uRuth First wabanga wathi, 'yayisesinye sezo ziganeko zibalaseleyo kwimbali ekubeni ngephanyazo, safundisa isizwe, savelisa okwakufihliwe, saphinda satshabalalisa ubuxoki nenkohliso'. Okwenzekayo eMarikana kwanyanzelisa uninzi lwabemi boMzantsi Afrika kunye nangaphaya kwemida yelizwe ekubeni bazibuze ukuba ngawaphi amanye amabali asekiweyo athe aqulunqwa phantsi kobuxoki nenkohliso, kwaye nangendlela esiyisebenzisayo ekwenzeni ingqiqo efanelekileyo ngolwalamano phakathi kwamandla okuphatha, imali kwakunye namaqela abasebenzi asetyenziselwa indyebo yelizwe. Iimpendulo azihlali njalo zisonelisa. Ibali laseMzantsi Afrika — 'lokumanyana kweentlanga ngeentlanga ezohlukeneyo' nezazikhululayo ngokwazo kumakhamandela engcinezelo—belinempembelelo entle kakhulu kuluntu lulonke kwihlabathi jikelele. Kodwa ukuba utshintsha i-engile yekhamera kancinane, inkululeko ibonakala njani?

Unkwantyo ngezantsi

Qhuba ngasentshona ukusuka ePitoli kwindlela u-N4, ecaleni kwekhaphethi ethambileyo emhlophe we, ithafa elimthubi-bukuluhlaza okwengca, nokwakheka okungaqhelekanga ngokukhawuleza kwaqalisa ukudibana elundini. Izilenge ezikhulu kakhulu zime zilindile phezu kwezigezwe ezikhulukazi emhlabeni. Iintaba ezingeyondalo —kwimaleko yamatye angaphantsi komhlaba nomhlaba obekwe wayinkochoyi ukuya esibhakabhakeni—ubonisa inkangeleko yomhlaba ophendulelweyo, umphezulu ontywiliselweyo. Okuphuma phakathi kwayo luludwe leendawo zokuhlala abantu, uninzi lwazo ngamatyotyombe amazinki, kunye nobiyo oluphezulu olwenziwe ngamatye amancinci nokufikelela kwiindlela ezinqamlezileyo. Ngamanye amaxesha kuvakala ngathi yimida esixeko esikhulu sesinyithi esigalelwa amatye saphinda sasazwa konke jikelele emaphandleni.

'Abanye abantu emva emakhaya bacinga ukuba kukho imali ethiwe saa kwindawo yonke apha,' utshilo uThembisa Nkuzo, usisi othungayo nowafuduka kangangeemayile ezimakhulu-khulu ukuza kufika

kwindawo akuyo. 'Ininzi yona imali,' wancuma esitsho. 'Kodwa imali ayoyethu. Lihlabathi elothusayo.'

Kwixesha elininzi ngexesha lengcinezelo, ummandla ojikeleze iMarikana wawuqulathe iifama ezingephi. Namhlanje, usembindini woshishino ngeplatinam kwiimayini zoMzantsi Afrika, nophosa igalelo elikhulu kwi-GDP yesizwe, ukogqitha igolide nedayimani zidibene—akukho zenzo zobuganga kwilizwe elilikhaya kwezona zinkulu nezona zityebileyo iindawo zezombiwa emhlabeni. Iplatinam noko ihambelana nako, ixinenene ngokukodwa futhi ikwasetyenziswa njengesidibanisi kuluhlu olubanzi lokwenzeka kumachiza, kwakunye nokuba sisibonelelo esibalulekileyo phantse kwisixhobo ngasinye sombane esikhoyo. Umntu ngamnye kuthi usebenzisa iplatinam ngalo lonke ixesha sivula ikhompuyutha, siqhuba imoto okanye sibukele i-TV. Ukuba uneselula, kungenzeka ukuba uneplatinam epokothweni yakho ngawo lo mzuzu. Kuqikelelwa ukuba ikota enye yezibonelelo zizonke eziveliswa kwihlabathi ziqulathe isinyithi seqela leplatinam okanye zixhomekeke kuyo ngexesha lenkqubo yemveliso. Njengohlobo oluthile, sixhomekeke kwezi zinyithi ngokupheleleyo. Kodwa amashumi alithoba eepesenti zogcino kwihlabathi jikelele zihlala kwilitye elinye, elingumxinwa omde kuqweqwe lomhlaba elaziwa njenge-Bushveld Igneous Complex, kwaye ingaphezulu kwela litye elide enze ngalo ikhaya lakhe uThembisa oneminyaka engamashumi amabini anesibhozo.

UThembisa yinkosikazi enentloni, ethethela phantsi ekwaneenwele ezinkulu netalente emculweni. Ngamanye amaxesha ekufuneka ecule ngako kufika emaphupheni akhe aze azame ukujika oko kube ziingoma ngentsasa elandelayo. Uthetha kakhulu ngamehlo akhe kunomlomo. Ngamanye amaxesha, xa kanye ungalindelanga, isiqhazolo sakhe sentsini sivakala emoyeni ngathi zindudumo. Ukuphuma kwakho eMarikana kunye nedolophu yakhe yokuzalwa iFlagstaff, akukho namnye umntu owakhe weva ngoThembisa. Kunye nezigidigidi zabanye abemi, uhlala ngaphantsi kwenguqulelo edumileyo yedemokrasi eMzantsi Afrika, isikhumbuzo sayo seminyaka engamashumi amabini ebibhiyozelwa kulo nyaka uphelileyo. Kodwa ibali lakhe liphithaniswa kalukhuni kushishino lweplatinam, izahluko ezigcwele ukukhula okunesizunguzane, ukuncoma koluntu jikelele nempumelelo kushishino.

EFlagstaff, apho uThembisa wazalelwa khona, yidolophana encinci ekude obungaphezulu kwamakhulu amahlanu eemayile kumzantsi-mpuma waseMarikana, kufutshane nonxweme lwe-

Indian Ocean. Ikomnye wemimandla ethwaxwa yindlala kweli lizwe, futhi, ngenxa yezizathu ezihambelana noku, wawungomnye ongunobangela wemisebenzi kushishino lwasezimayini kwiminyaka engaphezulu kwekhulu. Umakazi kaThembisa, owaziwa ngumntu wonke njengoMazula, waluthatha uhambo lwakhe olude lokuqala ukusuka eFlagstaff ukuya kummandla weplatinam ngo-1994, unyaka wokuphela kwengcinezelo. Wafikela eNkaneng, enye yeendawo ezingamatyotyombe kufutshane nemigodi yeemayini zaseMarikana, wazifumana engenamanzi, engenambane futhi engenamsebenzi ezimayini. Ufikelelo emsebenzini lwalulawulwa ngoonozakuzaku abathile nabarhwebi kwezemisebenzi kwingingqi, uMazula akazange akwazi ukunyoba abhatale nemirhumo. Wasuka waziqalela ishibhini engekho mthethweni, wazenzela utywala basekhaya umqombothi wawuthengisa, enomntwana waze walinda ngomonde inguqulelo awayithenjiswa. Kwisizukulwana esilandelayo, usaqhuba ishibhini yakhe, usahlala kwela tyotyombe lakhe eNkaneng futhi usathembele kweza zindlu zangasese zingaphandle kunye netephu yamanzi abayisebenzisa bebaninzi. Ixesha apho le tephu iba namanzi awoneleyo kusekuseni ngentsimbi yokuqala xa usapho lulonke luvuka luzogcwalisa amabhakethi alo osuku.

'Sasivuya sisonke ngexesha uMadiba [Nelson Mandela] esiba nguprezidanti,' wakhumbula watsho uThembisa, owayeneminyaka esibhozo ubudala ngelo xesha ngoku uhlala nomakazi wakhe eNkaneng, uthengisela abantu eshibhini aze amane efumana izingxungxwana zomsebenzi wokuthunga xa zithe zafika. 'Ubomi babuyintsokolo. Sasicinga ukuba yonke into iza kutshintsha.'

Kwabanye abemi boMzantsi Afrika, yonke into yatshintsha. Ukuvumbuluka nokukhula kweplatinam yoMzantsi Afrika yinxenye ebangwa liqela elilawulayo i-ANC 'njengebali elilungileyo emalibaliswe'—isilogani sokhankaso lweqela esaveliswa ngo-2014 ngexa ilizwe lisiya kuvoto. Ukhetho jikelele lwaphawula uluhlu lwezinto zokuqala: ukuphela kweminyaka yokuqala yedemokrasi engamashumi amabini eMzantsi Afrika, ukusekwa kovoto lokuqala kuzwelonke emva kokusweleka kukaMandela, nolonyulo, kwityeli lokuqala, olubandakanya isizukulwana esaziwa njenge-'born free' —abo baphila ubomi babo bubonke phantsi kwenkqubo engenalubandlululo ngokwesiseko sebala lakho. Ngaphandle kokuba oku kumbatshiswa ngamahlazo orhwiphilizo, i-ANC—njengoko kulo lonke ulonyulo jikelele emva kokuba uMandela

ephumile ejele—yaphumelela ngokulula. UPrezidanti Jacob Zuma wazisa iqela lakhe 'njengelinikezelwe nguThixo ('God-given'), waxela kwangaphambili ukuba iya kuhlala ilawula ubomi bonke.

Kodwa ngasemva kumanani azingongoma, iziphumo zovoto zabanisa umfanekiso ontsokothileyo: ukususela ngo-1994, inkxaso ye-ANC kubavoti abasemthethweni yehle ngesithathu, futhi nenani labemi boMzantsi Afrika abakhetha ukuzihlalela ekhaya ngosuku lokuvota lande kangangezigi ezilishumi. UThembisa ungomnye wabaninzi abangasafuni kudityaniswa neqela lakhe lezopolitiko elidityaniswa kakhulu nenkululeko yobuhlanga eMzantsi Afrika. Emva eFlagstaff, wayengomnye wabazigqatsayo abanomdla nge-ANC. Ngo-2014, akavotanga nje ngokuchasene norhulumente koko wakhankasela ngamandla i-Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), iqela elitsha elikhokelwa ngusihlalo wangaphambili we-ANC Youth League uJulius Malema, nowathembisa ngokunikezela kurhulumente iimayini zeplatinam waze watyhola oogxa bakhe bangaphambili ngokuba 'bangaphaya korhulumente wengcinezelo'. Ngexesha lokhankaso lonyulo, i-EFF yasebenzisa enye yeengoma zikaThembisa njengengoma kwiphulo lokukhankasa kummandla. UThembisa zange azikholelwe iindlebe zakhe xa esiva amawakawaka eyicula kwenye yeerali zikaMalema zaseMarikana ngorhatya lolonyulo. Kusuku olulandelayo, wanxiba ibharethi yakhe ebomvu ye-EFF ngeqhayiya elikhulu ukuya kwisikhululo sokuvota. Endleleni eya khona, wadlula kwintsalela erhawukileyo ye-ofisi ye-ANC eNkaneng, neyatshiswa ngabahaseli abangaziwayo kwiiveki ezimbalwa ngaphambili. UThembisa wandixelela ukuba emva kokusasazeka kweendaba zotshiso, wayevuya kakhulu. Uninzi lwezizalwane zakhe nabamelwane baziva njalo. I-EFF yayithwixa kakhulu i-ANC kunyulo olubini kwizithili zaseMarikana, isiphumo esaphindaphindwa kaninzi kwimimandla yasezimayini kummandla uwonke weplatinam.

'Ibali elilungileyo emalibaliswe' le-ANC aliphumelelanga ekucaciseni ukuphoxeka kwabantu baseMarikana kwiqela ebelikade linamandla amakhulu kangaka kwixesha langoku ekubeni ngenene liyafana nqwa norhulumente. Ukuyichaza kufuna ibali elingelinye, amasuntswana angafunyanwa kwingqokelela yamanani abalulekileyo aseMzantsi Afrika: kwiminyaka engamashumi amabini edlulileyo, ukutyeba okukhulu kuzwelonke kukhule ngokuphinda-phindwe

kathathu kodwa kwangelixesha lifana neli, inani labantu abaphila endlaleni yokungabinayo nesenti emdaka iphinda-phindwe kabini, ngexa i-avareji yokuphila ebomini yehle ngeminyaka esibhozo. Kukho nokuqhekeka kumqulu womsi omnyama tsiki owenza amachokoza esibhakabhakeni kusuku ngalunye, omagosogoso ukusuka kwiidolophana neelokishi kwimimandla iyonke yelizwe. UMzantsi Afrika ngoku lelona lizwe lethu elingenako ukulingana kwiplanethi yethu iyonke, nekomkhulu lokuqhankqalaza. Le miqulu yomsi isuka kwiindulana zamavili athe atshiswa ngabahlali abavuthayo ngumsindo ekufaneni okungenalusizi kweemeko ezimaxongo abaphila phantsi kwazo, futhi bekwadinwe lizinga eliphezulu lokungabikho kwemisebenzi nemivuzo ephantsi kuqoqosho oluzise ubutyebi obungabaliswayo kwiqelana elincinci ngexa lishiya uninzi lwabantu abamnyama besohlukaniswa neziqhamo zokukhula kwezemali. Amajelo oonondaba basekhaya alubiza olu qhankqalazo lwasekuhlaleni 'uqhushululu lonikezelo lweenkonzo'. Abanye abaphononongi bakholelwa ekubeni ngabacaciswa ngokubanzi njengezinga elibanzi lokuqhankqalaza kwabahlwempuzekileyo.

UThembisa neMarikana basembindini weli bali lingelinye kuba ushishino lwasezimayini, njengoko luhlala lusenza njalo, ludlala indima ebalulekileyo ekwalukeni imisonto yabo bajongelwe phantsi kunye nabanamalungelo kwisakhiwo sentlalo yaseMzantsi Afrika. Phantsi kwenkqubo yokuba nezithanga kunye nexesha lengcinezelo, yayingumdla wasezimayini oqhagamshelweyo karhulumente nezidwangube zamashishini abantu abamhlophe kuphela ezazixhobisa yonke into ukususela kwimithetho eyayicatshukelwa yamapasi (nalapho ucalucalulo ngokwebala lwalunyanzeliswa khona) kwinkqubo yemisebenzi kubantu abasuka kwezinye iindawo, neyatyhala ibubu labemi abamnyama ngaphandle komhlaba wabo labasa kumsebenzi wezorhwebo. Uninzi kwimbali yayo, i-ANC ibone lomtshato mkhulu owenza ingeniso phakathi kwabezopolitiko basekhaya abakumgangatho ophezulu (elite) nabaxhasi ngezemali bamazwe angaphandle njengezona ntshaba zinkulu kwinkululeko yabamnyama. I-Freedom Charter yeli qela neyayilwa ngabazigqatsileyo abangaphezulu kwamawaka angamashumi amahlanu besuka kwezona lokishi zihlwempuzekileyo zeli lizwe ngonyaka ka-1955 bezokuthelekisa amaphupha exesha elidlulileyo lengcinezelo kunye nexesha elizayo,

baqala ngommiselo ocacileyo wokuba ubutyebi kwizombiwa ezingaphantsi komhlaba woMzantsi Afrika kufuneka zibuyiselwe ebantwini bazo.

Kodwa emva kokukhululwa kukaMandela ejele ngonyaka ka-1990, okuninzi kwatshintsha. Impembelelo enkulu esuka kumaziko ezizwe ngezizwe phesheya kweelwandle, abazakuzi baseNtshona nabacebisi kwezobuchwepheshe bazala kwisithethe soqoqosho oluphangaleleyo saqononondisa urhulumente ozayo we-ANC ekubeni izicwangciso zabo zokunikezela esizweni (nationalisation) nokwabiwa ngokutsha kobutyebi kuya kuba yimpazamo. Endaweni yoko, uMzantsi Afrika kufuneka uhambele kwelinye icala, unikezele amashishini abucala uninzi lwee-aseti zawo kangangoko unako kwaye uvule imida yawo iyonke kungenelelo lwekapitali yehlabathi. Njengoko kusenzeka njalo kwezinye iziphaluka zelizwekazi lase-Afrika, abo bahleli phezulu kulwakhiwo lolawulo olutsha ngexesha lenguqulelo bakhawulezisile ukuqulatha nokunciphisa iimbono ezininzi zenguqulelo yolawulo olwaziwayo oluneenkani ngezantsi lukwasengqondweni kuphela. Ekupheleni, imigaqo-nkqubo yezoqoqosho ye-ANC ishiye ulwakhiwo kushishino lwasezimayini eneneni lungachukunyiswanga, ngaphandle kokunyukela phezulu kwegcuntswana labamnyama ukuya kumagumbi eengxoxo zesigqeba esilawulayo. Namhlanje, imisebenzi yasezimayini jikelele ingakumbi iplatinam seyiyindlela apho uninzi lwamalungu oMzantsi Afrika akumanqanaba amatsha anemali athe azenzela ubutyebi obukhulu. Ikwangumhlaba onzima kakhulu apho isangqa esitsha sisilwa inkcaso echasene nemeko yelo xesha.

Kutshanje, i-NGO yasekuhlaleni inikezele iikhamera ezisebenza okwethutyana kwiqelana elincinci lamakhosikazi eMarikana ukuze zenze ushicilelo lwale mbonakalo emehlweni abo. UThembisa wayengomnye wabo, iifoto zakhe—zezidibi zamanzi amdaka neetephu ezingaphumi manzi, ezabantu abafuna iinkuni ematyholweni namatyotyombe asebumnyameni emva kokutshona kwelanga— abubungqina obubonakalayo kumsantsa ophakathi kokulindelweyo kunye neziphumo ezihamba nokufika kwedemokrasi. ‘Abantwana apha badlala emgqomeni, bahamba ngeenyawo ukuya esikolweni ezindleleni ezinobungozi, basebenzisa izindlu zangasese ezingaphandle futhi ngamanye amaxesha bawela ngaphakathi kuzo,’ utshilo uThembisa. Ngexesha lokuqala lakhe ebaleka indlala eMpuma Koloni, wayecwangcisele ukuhamba nentombi yakhe encinci. Ngoku uyayazi

iMarikana, lo mbono nje ayicingeki. ‘Andiqondi ukuba abantu kumazwe aphelela kweelwandle bayayiqonda ukuba iphuma phina iplatinam,’ undixelele njalo, ‘neemeko thina—bantu esenza ukuba kubelula ukuba nayo—ukuba bahlala njani.’

Ngexesha avuka ngalo uThembisa kwintsasa nganye ahambe ekhubeka ukwehla ebhedini yakhe kwithaveni kamakazi wakhe. Nephindaphindwe kabini njenjeyadi yabantu abaninzi, amatyotyombe ambalwa sele endumzela ngomculo othile, okanye umaskandi (umculo wohlanga lamaZulu). Ukuhlamba iibhekile ebezigalele utywala bobusuku obudlulileyo ngumsebenzi onzima kakhulu. Kukhona imilambo ekufutshane kodwa ubumdaka obucacileyo buye bufakwe kuyo kwaye eminye ingcoliswe zincukuthu ezikwizichenene zegazi. UThembisa angathanda ukuba ngexa angathungiyi iiyure ezininzi ekude nomatshini wakhe wokuthunga kodwa iindlela ezinodaka ezidibanisa amatyotyombe aseNkaneng needolophu ezikufutshane zenza ukuba kubenzima ukufumana izithuthi futhi ezo zikhoyo zibeduru, kengoko kunzima ukufumana amalaphu okuthunga. Endaweni yoko, uchitha imini yakhe encedisa umakazi wakhe ekudidiyeleni umbona esenza utywala. Akukho nokuqokelelwa kwenkunkuma ngumasipala, inkunkuma kengoko iyaphindaphindana okwamafutha.

Kungekudalanga kusile, abathengi bokuqala bayafika. Uninzi lwabo ngabasebenzi basezimayini. Intswelo eninzi ibaqhubele kwiplatinam noloyiko lokungabinamsebenzi lubagcine apho. Abanye bazele ukunxila, kodwa uninzi lufuna nje into yokuqoshelisa indlala. ‘Yindlela etshiphu yokugcwalisa isisu,’ ucacise njalo uMazula. Ngokumane kurhabuliswana, abasebenzi basezimayini abaya rhoqo eshibhini bathetha into enye noThembisa yokuba asoze bavumele abantwana babo bayibone iMarikana, okanye bavaleleke kwizinto eziqhelekileyo zalapha. ‘Utata wam wayesebenza ezimayini, ndisebenza ezimayini, iphelela apho,’ ugxininise watsho omnye. ‘Indlela endisokole ngayo ezandleni zezi mayini, andifuni abantwana bam bafumane endikufumeneyo.’

Phantsi komhlaba, iintsuku zinzima futhi zinobungozi. ‘Ngumsebenzi onzima, umsebenzi owenza umzimba wakho uhlale ubuhlungu,’ utshilo uBob Ndude, umkhandi wamatye nokwangummeli weyunyoni kwingingqi. ‘Ungaphantsi komhlaba kwindawo emxinwa, uphethe umatshini wentsimbi onobunzima obungamashumi amahlanu eekhilo. Ungqongwe ngamatye macala onke. Zininzi izidubuli, maninzi amachiza nengozi eninzi. Ndibone abantu abaninzi besonzakala

ezimayini, abantu abangasenawo amehlo, abantu abaneentsimbi emilenzeni yabo.’ Bonke abasebenzi-mgodini endibambe udliwano-ndlebe nabo eMarikana bazichaze iimeko abasebenza phantsi kwazo njengelapho imimiselo esemthethweni ibithi rhoqo ichaswe nangona kukho uxinzelelo olukhulu lokufikelela kwiithagethi ezimisiweyo zemveliso, noko okubangela ukudinwa okukhulu kunye neengozi. Ingxaki yenziwa nkulu nakukukhula kokusetyenziswa kwabasebenzi abakwikhontrakthi, nalapho inkcaso isithi oko kudla ukhuseleko emsebenzini kwaye kunempembelelo enkulu kukhuseleko emsebenzini. ‘Bekufanele ukuba sisebenza iiyure ezisibhozo ngosuku, kodwa asikwazi ukushiya umsebenzi singawugqibanga, kengoko kumaxesha amaninzi kuphela iiyure ezilishumi elinambini,’ utshilo uBhele Dlunga, ongomye wabo bagrumba amatye. ‘Andinamagama okukuxelela ukuba kunzima kangakanani. Nokuba uphelelwa ngamandla, uyanyanzeliswa ukuba uqhubekeke ngomsebenzi. Akukho okunye onokukwenza ngaphandle kokugqiba umsebenzi wakho.’ Iishafti esithetha ngazo zezenkampani yaseBritani, i-Lonmin. Amaqela azimeleyo abeke iliso alichaze inani labantu ababhubhayo nabonzakeleyo kubasebenzi base-Lonmin ‘njengelphezulu kakhulu’ futhi ‘elingamkelekanga’. I-Lonmin ayizamkelanga izimemo ezininzi ekubeni inike impendulo kula mabango, okanye inikezele izimvo zalo kweli bali.

Ubunzima ngokwasemzimbeni asiyonto ekuphela kwayo eqhubekakayo ekudibaniseni ushishino lwasezimayini phantsi korhulumente wengcinezelo nobomi eMarikana namhlanje. Okunye bubukhulukazi bokungalingani kwemivuzo phakathi kwabaphathi kunye nabasebenzi. Uninzi lwabasebenzi base-Lonmin kuya kufuneka ukuba bahlale bephantsi komhlaba ngaphezulu kweenkulungwane ezintathu zeminyaka ukuze barhole imivuzo eyamkelwa sisigqeba esilawulayo kundlunkulu wenkampani e-Belgravia kunyaka omnye. Oko kwaqala ixesha elimnandi lemileniyam, izindlu ezinkulu zeemayini yeplatinam ziphumeze iinzuzo yokusebenza eyodlula amashishini angamanye amakhulu kwi-Johannesburg Stock Exchange ngama-200%. Ngonyaka ka-2011, unyaka ongaphambi kwendyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana, awona mashishini amakhulu eplatinam alithoba enze i- \$4.5 billion yenzala. I-Anglo Platinum, owona mvelisi mkhulu, ukuchaze oku njengonyaka ombi. Kwiifem ezingezinye ezinkulu zeplatinam kule minyaka elishumi elinesiqingatha, imali eninzi isasazwe njengenzala kubanini bezabelo kunokuba ihlawulwe njengemivuzo kubasebenzi

bebonke, nabangamakhulukhulu amawaka abantu. Amaxesha athile ezopolitiko ayafika aphinde ahambe; ngexa abasebenzi basezimayini eMzantsi Afrika bahlala rhoqo besenza owona msebenzi unzima nonengozi enkulu, kodwa baphume kule ngxubakaxaka neyona mali encinci kunazo zonke.

Oku kungalingani kwezoqoqosho kuqalise indlela enzima kwiplatinam nokwanda kwababolekisi ngemali kunye nee-ofisi zoomashonisa abafuna indawo kuyo yonke indawo enamashishini. Umlinganiselo omkhulu wemivuzo yabasebenzi basezimayini ithunyelwa kwiintsapho ezisemva emakhaya kwiidolophu ezinjengeFlagstaff. Okushiyekileyo kuhlala njalo kungonelanga ekuhlangabezeni amaxabiso ezinto ezisisiseko empilweni. Abanikezeli bamatyala abanikezela imalimboleko, ezinye zazo ezinenzala engaphezulu kwama-80%, nabo sebengene kwesi sithuba. EMarikana, uninzi lubopheleleke kwisangqa esikhohlakeleyo: basebenzela ukuzama ukuba bafumane umvuzo wokuphila, baze bathathe ityala ekuvaleni oko kungekhoyo, baphinde basebenze ekuzameni ukuvala ela tyala ukutyhoboza kwaba babolekisi ngemali, baphinde bathathe elinye ityala ekunqandeni le ntsilelo, njalo-njalo, konke ekuqinisekiseni ukuba umsebenzi uyaqhubeka—kwakunye namanye amatyala angafumaneka kwixesha elizayo. Kufutshane nesinye kwisixhenxe sabasebenzi basezimayini kwilizwe ngokubanzi abathe bafumana ukuganiswa okusemthethweni nokubangela ukuba abanikezeli bamatyala batsale isixa esithile somvuzo womsebenzi ngqo kumqeshi futhi oko kunciphise ngaphezulu umvuzo oya ekhaya ngokubanzi.

Abasebenzi basezimayini kufuneka bahlale kufutshane neishafti zabo, kodwa ligcuntswana labasebenzi kwiifem ezinjenge-Lonmin abanikezelwa izindlu kwiindawo ezisemgangathweni ezizindawo zokuhlala ezakhiwe yinkampani. Abanye banikezelwa ‘imali yokuhlala ngaphandle’—imali ethi ibuyiselwe emva kwiintsapho—ize ishiyelwe ukufumana amakhaya phakathi kobugxidolo bamatyotyombe njengaseNkaneng, nethene nca nemida yeengcingo zeeshafti zasezimayini njengehlokondiba elikhula ngokungalungelelananga lonookrwece enqanaweni. Ubume bale mimandla - indawo ezikuyo eyodwa nendlala, imigangatho ephantsi yemfundo kubemi bayo, ukuxhomekeka ngokupheleleyo kumashishini amakhulu ezizwe zizonke nakwaziyo ukutshintsha ikapitali nemisebenzi ngaphakathi nangaphandle kommandla ngengqwalaselo engephi - kugxininisa

usasazeko olungalungelelananga lwempatho nokhuseleko kwiplatina. UThembisa kufuneka ecwangcise kwiintsuku ezingaphambili ukuba ufuna ukukhwela ibhasi encinci ukuya kwisixeko esikufutshane; imisebenzi yase-Lonmin iquka ukuhamba kwamashumi ngamashumi amawaka eedola ngeyure nobude bemida yamazwe ngamazwe phesheya kweelwandle.

Njengoko inzala yamashishini ixelwa ngobukho bemimandla yoluntu olusuka kwezinye iindawo luzokusebenza, ikakhulu nangobuthathaka balo, abenzi bamaphulo athile kudala baxovula umba wokuba izindlu zasezimayini zinomsebenzi wokukhathalela abantu abahlala kuzo. Kuncinci okwenziweyo zizindlu zasezimayini ekuboniseni ukuba ziyavumelana noku. 'Ukunqongophala kwamanzi ahambayo acocekileyo, ugutyulo, ukuhanjiswa kwamanzi ezikhukhula, umbane, izikolo, iiklinikhi nezinye izibonelelo zoluntu ezininzi kwenza iNkaneng ibe yindawo engenasisa, indawo yokuhlala yokuvelisa abasebenzi njengayo nayiphina enye indawo eMzantsi Afrika,' utsho njalo u-Patrick Bond, umntu omele uqoqosho nezopolitiko kwiYunivesithi yakwaZulu-Natal, 'kodwa ubuchule be-Lonmin kwiingxaki zoluntu kummandla zinjengomqondiso.' I-Lonmin ibanga ukuba iqhuba inkqubo yoshishino noxanduva lwasekuhlaleni, futhi le nkampani ivelisa uhlaziyo olugcinekileyo olumenyezelayo ngamaxesho athile. Kodwa i-Bench Marks Foundation, umbutho ongowecawe ebeka iliso kwiinkampani ezinkulu ezisekelwe eMzantsi Afrika iye yaziphonononga ezi ngxelo, ithi amabango asesikweni e-Lonmin awanasiseko, futhi izichaza iimeko abaphila phantsi kwazo abasebenzi bayo 'njengezikhwankqisayo'. Kuluhlu lophando olupapashwe phakathi konyaka ka-2008 no-2013, i-Bench Marks yenza uluhlu lweentlungu zasentlalweni ezibangelwa yi-Lonmin kwiindawo zokuhlala ezinjengeNkaneng. Uluhlu lwabo lwaluquka iindawo zokuhlala abasebenzi ezingonelanga, uthuli nokukhutshwa kongcoliseko, ungcoliseko lwamanzi, nengqokelela yamanani eyenziwa ngabom ngeenzame zokubonisa inkampani njengeyenza izinto ezintle. "Ugcino" luphulukana nentsingiselo xa ishishini lisenza ngokuthanda kwalo futhi kungeko ziphumo zoko,' laququmbela njalo elinye lamaphepha e-Bench Marks. 'Esikufumana kusenzeka yinjongo yenkampani yokugrumba izombiwa ngexabiso lempilo nentlalo-ntle yoluntu kwimimandla'. I-Lonmin yaphendula ngokufaka imicel'imngeni kwiziphumo ze-Bench Mark, futhi yagxininisa ekubeni imisebenzi yenkampani 'inempembelelo entle kubasebenzi bethu'.

Amatyotyombe aseNkaneng akwecana neshafthi i-Lonmin's Rowland, ethiywe ngegosa elaziwa kakhulu eliyintloko kwisigqeba esilawulayo, isinhanha samashishini saseBritani u-'Tiny' Rowland. U-Rowland, owayiqhuba le nkampani ukususela ngonyaka ka-1962 kwade kwayiminyaka yokuqala yoo-1990, wafumana ulawulo kurhwebo oluninzi lwama-Afrika ngexesha lenkulungwane yeminyaka engamashumi amabini. Ubukhulu beshishini lakhe bakhe bachazwa yinkulumbuso esisilumko yaseBrithani u-Edward Heathi 'njengobuso borhwebo ngemali obungathandwayo nobungamkelekanga'. U-Rowland uhlala rhoqo efaniswa nowamlandelayo kwinkulungwane yeshumi elishumi elinethoba u-Cecil John Rhodes, umlungu e-Afrika nowafumana ubutyebi kwindibano yokutshatyalaliswa kwamathanga, ukutsalwa kwezombiwa nomnqweno okhohlakeleyo. Kwibala lengca apho ishafthi ka-Rowland ehlangana khona neNkaneng kaThembisa, kume khona isibhengezo esimfiliba esibiyelwe ngamaplanga sase-Lonmin. 'Our Values: Respect for Each Other', itsho njalo.

Kungexesha apho ndandihleli phantsi kwesi sibhengezo esibiyelwe ngamaplanga ngentsasa eqhakazileyo yenyanga kaMeyi ndityhila imiqulu yoncwadi olunxulumene ne-Lonmin apho ndidibene khona nesi sicutshulwa silandelayo esisuka kwincoko ephakathi komanejala wasemayini kwiplatina kunye nelungu lengingqi kummandla jikelele, libaliswe kwakhona kufutshane nesiphelo sengxelo ye-Bench Marks. Esi sibini sasixoxa ngesimo sezindlu zasemayini eziphelelwe zade zafikelela kwinqanaba elidinga ungenelelo lukarhulumente. Umanejala wasemayini, ngokungothusiyo, wankuntuza. "Ulwalamano lwethu noluntu kummandla lunjengomtshato, akufunekanga sifune abanye abangeneleli bamoshe olu lwalamano lwethu, waxoxa watsho, esongeza esithi, 'Xa kukho iingxaki kulwalamano, kufuneka sizame sisisombulule.' Ilungu lasekuhlaleni lawuthatha lo mba nemfaniso. 'Lo mtshato uthetha ngawo uyingxaki, kuba sivuka apha ngenye intsasa... sifumanisa le nkampani yemayini isebhedini yethu, uphendule watsho. 'Zange ahlonitshwe amalungelo ethu ngoba zange kuthethathethwane nathi, yayikukudibana ngesondo ngaphandle kwemvume - yayikukudlwengulwa.' Umanejala wasemayini wahleka. 'Akukho nto enjengodlwengulo kwimithshato yesintu okanye umtshato,' waqhula watsho. 'Inkosikazi kufuneka yenze oko umyeni akufunayo.'

Ezantsi kwale ncoko, umbhali wengxelo ufakele, ngaphandle koluvo, ikowuti esuka kwileta eyayibhalwe ngu-Cecil John Rhodes ngo-

1877. 'I-Afrika ilele ilungele thina,' kwakubhalwe njalo. 'Ngumsebenzi wethu ukuba siyithathe.

“Siza kubulawa namhlanje?”

Le yayiyiMarikana apho uqhankqalazo lwaqala khona ngehlobo lonyaka ka-2012 ngabasebenzi-mgodini bebanga umvuzo obhetele. Futhi kwakukufutshane neli bala lengca apho uThembisa wayehamba khona ngomhla we-16 Agasti ngexesha aqale ngalo ukuva izithonga zembumbulu. 'Ndabona abasebenzi bebaleka kwiinkalo zonke,' wakhumbula ethe cwaka. “Ndikhumbula elo xesha ngokuthe gca. Ndalila kakhulu.’

Kunye nesininzi samakhosikazi eNkaneng, uThembisa wayesiya kwilitye elivela phezu komhlaba emazantsi eshafti i-Rowland ebonisa imbumba yamanyama okanye inkxaso kubasebenzi abaqhankqalazayo, abebehleli ngaphandle kule ndawo iintsukwana ezimbalwa. Le nduli, okanye i-‘koppie’ yakhethwa njengendawo ekunokuhlalwa kuyo kuba yayiyenye yendawo ezingumhlaba woluntu jikelele kummandla. Kuyo yonke indawo engenye, ukuquka ibala lezemidlalo elikufutshane apho abasebenzi ekuqaleni babezame ukuhlangana khona ngaphambi kokuba basuswe ngoonogada babucala base-Lonmin, wawuphantsi kwala mashishini. Phakathi kwabasebenzi basezimayini ababesentabeni kwakukho noLungisile Madwantasi, omnye umsebenzi ogrumba amatye wase-Lonmin, owayelujonge lulonke ulwakhiwo olumangazayo lokwanda koonogada kummandla kwiintsuku ezimbalwa ezidlulileyo.

‘Sasingajonganga kulwa kunye nabanina, kodwa kule ndawo sasicinga ukuba siza kukwazi ukuzikhusela,’ undixelele njalo uLungisile. Kwiminyaka emibini emva koko, sobabini sime kwindawo enemithana emincinci emantla ‘eNtaba iMarikana’, njengoko yayisaziwa njalo ikoppie, kwindawo kanye apho uLungisile wawela kuyo.

ULungisile ngoku uhamba ngeentonga, kancinci futhi usezintlungwini. Akakwazi ukukujonga ngqo ebusweni. Ungaphezulu komgama weenyawo ezintandathu ubude futhi ubukeka esisigantsontso sendoda. Izithinteli ezikhusela ukuhamba kwakhe zibonakala zingunobangela wokuxhathisa okukhulu ngaphakathi, ngokwasemzimbeni nasengqondweni. Naxa ethetha nabanye abantu, kuvakala ngathi lo mntu ominyaka engamashumi amathathu ananye ususwe yiglasu engabonakaliyo. Eli lityeli lokuqala ethe wabuyela

kwindawo awayedutyulelwe kuyo okokoko kwenzekayo oko, kwaye kwixesha elide, siye sema singagungqi nokugungqa xa ejonga yonke le ndawo engenamazwi. Namhlanje le ndawo ivakala ithe cwaka ngokuhlathuzelisa amanwele, ukugungqa okuvakalayo kokonoondlwana (iintaka) abazidlalelayo kufutshane ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwala matye makhulu aseziyaweni zethu. Emazantsi ethu kukho imayini yase-Lonmin. Kwintshona yethu yidolophu yaseMarika. Kwimpuma yethu yiNkaneng, amatyotyombe ayo axubene neziseko zephondo lwentsimbi yombane nenikezela umbane imini nobusuku kwizisu ezihlala njalo zilambile zeeshafti zeplatinam, ngexa amakhaya aseziyaweni zayo ehleli engadityaniswa kwezi ntambo zentsimbi ezizisa umbane kummandla uwonke.

Ngentsasa yale ndykityha yokufa, ekwisikhundla sakhe esiphakamileyo entabeni, uLungisile wayebukele ngexa ii-‘hippos’—iiiveni ezixhobileyo zamapolisa—zangena zilibubu lamanani adidekiso emazantsi, aze amagosa aqalisa ukwakha umgca wocingo olubajikelezileyo emazantsi enduli. Abasebenzi basezimayini babedidekile. Zithe iinkokheli zoqhankqalazo zokuya kumagosa ziwacela ukuba ashiye indawana kolu cingo ukuze abasebenzi baye kumakhaya abo ngoxolo, azizange zihoywe. ‘Ndabona amagosa enxiba izinto zabo ezikhusela iimbumbulu emzimbeni engathi alungiselela imfazwe,’ wakhumbula njalo uLungisile. ‘Okwafika engqondweni yam yayingumbuzo othi: “ingaba siza kubulawa namhlanje?”’

Besoyika, abasebenzi basezimayini bazohlula bangamaqela amancinci baze baqalisa ukwehla ukusuka kwinduli yabo bekhuselela ukuba bangavaleleki kuyo. Ushicilelo lwevidiyo olwavela kwiinyanga ezininzi emva koko lwalubonisa behamba ngokungenazisongelo kude koonogada bokhuselo, besiya ngaseNkaneng. Kanye ngelo xesha, amapolisa aqalisa ukudubula. Abasebenzi abadidekileyo koku bathi saa macala onke, ukuquka nabo ababalekela ngasemva besiya emapoliseni, kumazantsi enduli apho amagosa axhobe afohlela kunye nekhamera yeendaba – le yafota elo lishwa lamashumi amathandathu anethoba evidiyo – ayelinde khona. Abanye, baqalisa ukuphaphazela, baze babalekela kwelinye icala kufutshane nenye indulana yesibini ekufutshane, indlela yabo ejikelezwe ziimoto zamapolisa zikwalandelwa nguphephela wamapolisa. ULungisile wayengomnye wabo. ‘Sasibaninzi, kodwa njengoba sibaleka, ndabona abanye abasebenzi bedutyulwa kufutshane nam. Yayininzi kakhulu ingxushungxushu eyayisenzeka,

wawusiva izithonga zompu macala onke, kunye nenkanunu enkulu yamanzi eyayisohlula sisonke. Ndaqhubeka ndabaleka, kodwa njengoko ndibaleka, ndandibabona abantu abafileyo kuyo yonke indawo.’

Uthe uLungisile xa esiva into imbetha entloko okokuqala, wayecinga ukuba lilitye waze waqhubeka wabaleka. Yaze imilenze yakhe yanikezela. ‘Ndawela phantsi apho, ngengalo yam yasekhohlo,’ waqhubeka ekhomba ngasemazantsi etyholo. ‘Ndithe ndakuqaphela ukuba ndidutyulwe, ndandicinga ukuba ndifile. Ndandingayiva ingalo yam futhi ndisopha igazi eliphuma ezimpumlweni nasemlonyeni. Ubuso bam babujonge phantsi, ndiphefumla uthuli, ndikwazi ukuphefumla kakuhle.’ Okwalandelayo yayiyinarhumane yemizuzu engamashumi amathathu njengoko uLungisile elele bhaxa emhlabeni, engakwazi ukuphakama futhi ebambeke kwezo zithonga zemipu ezoyikisayo, ukulila ngebhaqo nokugquma kophephela esibhakabhakeni phezu kwethu. ‘Ndandibeva abantu bekhala njengoko babebethwa, futhi ndiziva izithonga zemipu, kwakuyintuthumbo kwindawo iyonke,’ utshilo uLungisile. ‘[Amapolisa] ayewalayita ebusweni, ebhanyazisa izibane emehlweni abo efuna ukuqonda ukuba bafile na okanye abafanga. Ndibone abantu abaninzi abafileyo ecaleni kwam, babebaninzi abantu abafayo kule ndawo.’

ULungisile wachitha iinyanga ezimbalwa ezilandelayo esibhedlele, waphoswa yimingcwabo yabahlobo bakhe kunye nabo awayesebenza nabo. Oogqirha bamxelela ukuba kuyingozi enkulu ukukhupha imbumbulu esekukhakhayi lwakhe entloko. Isenokuhlala kule ndawo ikuyo ubomi bakhe bubonke.

Namhlanje, sibulela ukuvela kweefowuni ezibalulekileyo nee-imeyile nokufunyanwa koshicilelo olutsha kwiikhamera, ngoku siyazi ukuba kude kakhulu phambi kokuba amapolisa aqalise ukudubula ngala mvakwemini *njengendlela yokuzikhusela*, isigqibo sokuphelisa uqhankqalazo lwabasebenzi basezimayini ngenkani kwakukudala sithatyathiwe kwiintsuku ezingaphambili. Ngoku siyazi ukuba ngentsasa yendyikityha yokufa, amawakawaka eembumbulu neebhombu zanikezelwa kumapolisa awayengaphambili eMarikana, nokuba iiveni zasemoshwari ezine zathunyelwa ukuba zihlale zikhona kule ndawo ukulungiselela oko kwakuzakwenzeka. Ngoku siyazi ukuba emva kokuba ukudubula kuqalisiwe, amapolisa aleqa abasebenzi basezimayini abangaxhobanga, arhoxayo, awasa kwindulana yesibini kufutshane nalapho uLungisile wadutyulelwa khona. Ngoku siyazi ukuba izidumbu

ezilishumi elinesixhenxe zabasebenzi basezimayini zafunyanwa kule ndawo yesibini, kwaye ubungqina bubonisa ukuba uninzi lwaba lwabulawa ngexa bezama ukubalekela kude namapolisa okanye benikezela emapoliseni. Abanye kubonakala ukuba badutyulwa entloko bekufutshane kakhulu nabo babadubulileyo. Ngoku siyazi ukuba abanye boonogada baya kufaka izixhobo kwimizimba yabo bangasekhoyo ngeenzame zokufihla oko bakwenzileyo nokuba abanye babehleka bekwancomana kulo mibono. ‘You fucked him up!’ latsho elinye ipolisa kwelinye elisebenza naye. Elinye igosa lalihlekisa ngomsebenzi wasezimayini ofileyo okanye owonzakeleyo limbiza i-‘pussy’.

‘Lo yayingengomsebenzi wamapolisa omiselwe uluntu jikelele,’ yaququmbela njalo enye ingxelo emalunga nokwenzekayo ngalo mvakwemini. ‘Le ibiyimfazwe’.

Kodwa okuphazamisa kakhulu, ngoku sazi okungokunye malunga nale ‘mfazwe’, into enceda ekucaciseni ukuba kutheni iziganeko zomhla we-16 Agasti 2012 zivele ngolu hlobo zivele ngalo nangendlela ekwakufanele ukuba zenzeke ngayo. Ngoku siyazi ukubulawa kwenyambalala yabantu eMarikana kwakungunobangela othile ophakathi kolwalamano lwekapitali kuzwelonke ewonke, iziphatha-mandla zikarhulumente kunye namaqela asemthethweni amele abasebenzi ezimayini. Ngoku siyazi ukuba umdla wala maqela ujike waphazamiseka wamfiliba kwiplatinam ngokuncama abantu abanjengoThembisa noLungisile, njengoko nabo benziwe mfiliba kuMzantsi Afrika uwonke. Futhi oku sikwaziyo ngoku kuvelisa imibuzo enzima kuthi sisonke.

Kwimimandla yedemokrasi, amapolisa acingelwa njengabantu abasebenzela urhulumente omele iminqweno yabantu bakhe, futhi noxhomekeke kubo. Akukho baphathiswa okanye oonogada abanokusebenza njengabaphembeleli babucala okanye umkhosi oxhobileyo egameni lamaqela athile okanye amashishini. EMarikana, amampunge ezo zizindlo (assumptions) abekwa elubala. Iingxoxo zabucala ezazibanjwe nesigqeba esilawulayo sase-Lonmin neentloko eziphezulu zamapolisa ngexesha lokusekwa kwale ndyikityha yokufa zibonisa imeko apho imida ephakathi kwezinto ezinomdla kwezoshishino nomsebenzi wamapolisa onoxanduva wawunako konke kodwa wapheliswa: kude kakhulu kumapolisa angakhethecala kulo mboniso, i-Lonmin ivele rhoqo inikezela imiyalelo kwabo bayimikhomishinala yamapolisa, nokwenziwa kwezigqibo

zobuchule bokulwa malunga nempendulo yokhuselo lukarhulumente kuqhankqalazo ngokwabo. Ngelinye ixesha, inkampani yade yaziqqatsa ngokubolekisa ngabasebenzi bayo nophephela emapoliseni – unikezelo olwamkelwayo. UCyril Ramaphosa, inkokheli yangaphambili yabasebenzi basezimayini nongomnye wezidwangube ezibaluleke kakhulu kushishino nelungu eliphezulu le-ANC, wayekwibhodi yesigqeba esilawulayo sase-Lonmin ngexesha lendyikityha yokufa. Iikopi zee-imeyile zakhe zabucala zibonakalisa ukuba wayesebenzisa unxulumano lwakhe oluphezulu kwezopolitiko ekuboniseni ukuba abasebenzi basezimayini abaqhankqalazayo abanjengoLungisile ‘njengezaphuli-mthetho ezingamagwala’ futhi efuna ‘inyathelo elihamba nokunye ekuqwalaseleni le meko’. Ngaphantsi kweeyure ezingamashumi amabini anane emva kokuba uRamaphosa egqithise umyalezo, amashumi amathathu anane abasebenzi basezimayini babulawa.

Ukuze uqonde ukuba kutheni na abantu abanjengoRamaphosa, owangxabalaza kobona bukumkani obuphakamileyo kwezoshishino nakurhulumente, babeloyika kangaka uqhankqalazo lwabasebenzi basezimayini eMarikana ngonyaka ka-2012 – nokuzimisela okungaka ekupheliseni oku – kufuneka uqonde imeko yezopolitiko nechasene nokuqaliswa kolu qhankqalazo. Umba ophambili yayiyindawo ekuyo iYunyonini yaBasebenzi baseziMayini kuZwelonke eMzantsi Afrika neyaziwa njenge-South Africa’s National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), neyathi, oko yasekwayo ekuqaleni koo-1980, yangowona mbutho wezabasebenzi obaluleke kakhulu kwezorhwebo. Ubukhulu be-NUM, izithintelo kumsebenzi olungelelanisiweyo, ekhokhelwa nguRamaphosa, igalela ipepile kwiminyaka efayo yokuphatha kwabamhlophe neyanceda ukuba urhulumente wengcinezelo aphele. Kodwa ngala nyanga ka-Agasti 2012, isitokhwe se-NUM kubasebenzi abakwiplatina silinganisa ukwehla kwamaxesha onke. Uninzi lwabasebenzi basezimayini bazibona iinkokheli zeyunyonini ezirholiswa kakhulu zingezizo incutshe kumalungelo ezemisebenzi, koko njengenxenye yesiseko esifanayo njengabaphathi bazo – abamela abasebenzi kwiyunyonini ii-shop stewards kwishafti yemayini bezirhola ngokuphindwe kathathu ngaphezulu kwimivuzo yabo basebenza nabo, unobhala jikelele uFrans Baleni efumana umvuzo ongama-\$160,000 ngonyaka. Indima yeyunyonini, bekubonakala ukuba ayiseyiyo leyo yokuma uzinze uxhasa amalungu akho ngexesha leempikiswano nabaphathi, koko endaweni yoku ikukuthulisa nokuphatha amalungu nangayiphina indlela umdla

wezindlu zasemayini bezisongeleka kuzo. Ngonyaka ka-2011, ngexa abasebenzi basezimayini babeka phantsi izixhobo zabo zomsebenzi ngexesha le-‘wildcat strike’ e-Karee, enye ishafti yasemayini eLonmin kummandla waseMarikana, uBaleni wacebisa isigqeba esilawulayo sase-Lonmin ukuba sigxotho bonke abasebenzi abangama-9,000 ababethatha inxaxheba. Oku kwakungaqali ukwenzeka apho inyathelo elenziwa ngabasebenzi lithi lichaswe ngabaphezulu kwiyunyonini, kwaye abasebenzi babeqalisa ukuphelisa le ndlela. I-NUM ngokusesikweni oko yaba nobulungu obuphezulu kumanyano lweyunyonini yorhwebo i-COSATU, nequlathe isinye kwisithathu seemanyano ezintathu (tripartite alliance) elawulayo eMzantsi Afrika (kunye ne-South African Communist Party ne-ANC).¹ Iyunyonini kengoko oko yasebenzisana norhulumente kaZuma ikwamnikezela inkxaso enkulu kwezopolitiko. Kwalo rhulumente mnye ukwathungelana nabantu abanjengoRamaphosa, owenze imali eninzi kurhwebo lwasezimayini. Kunye nabo abakwizikhundla eziphezulu ze-NUM nekubonakalayo ukuba bakwangamalungu kule mibutho abanikezwe umsebenzi ngokumfamekisayo wokumelana, emva kweempikiswano e-Karee, abanye abasebenzi basezimayini eMarikana babesele benikezele kwiyunyonini, baze bazilungiselela ngokunokwabo, abanye ngokuyimfihlo, abanye ngokubonakalayo.

Ngenyanga kaJulayi 2012, umsindo ngenxa yemivuzo wawusonyuka kwakhona kwaye kwiishafti ezininzi, iikomiti zoqhankqalazo lwedemokrasi zamaxhwitha-ntamo zaqulunqwa, neenkokheli zikhethiwe ukuze zithethathethane ne-Lomnin egameni labasebenzi. Kodwa kwiiveki ezilandelayo, ngalo naliphina ixesha ezi nkokheli zezikomiti zizama ukuthetha nabaphathi base-Lonmin, zazingahoywa: abaphathi babebaxelela ukuba i-NUM kuphela kwayo esemthethweni yokugqithisa izikhalazo, kwaye nawaphina amabango ezomsebenzi kufuneka agqithe kwiyunyonini esesikweni. Kodwa xa abasebenzi basezimayini bezama ukuhlangana ukuze baxoxe inyewe leyo kunye ne-NUM, babengathathelwa ngqalelo nayiyo. Ngomhla we-11 Agasti, kwiintsuku ezintlanu phambi kwendyikityha yokufa, malunga namawaka amathathu abasebenzi-mgodini abamatshela kwi-ofisi ye-NUM ekwizingqi bezocela abameli babo kwezemisebenzi ukuba bathathele kubo ibango lemivuzo, bathethathethane ne-Lonmini ukuze bafumane imivuzo engcono. Ekuphenduleni oku, oonogada be-NUM baqalisa ukudubula le nginginya yabasebenzi basezimayini. Xa imatshi

efana nale yayizanywa kusuku olulandelayo, oonogada babucala base-Lonmin abazange babavumele abasebenzi ukuba bafikelele kwii-ofisi zeyunyoni yabo. Ukungavisani okwavela kwiintsuku ezilandelayo, abantu abasibhozo ubuncinane babulawa, ukuquka uluhlu lwabasebenzi basezimayini, amapolisa amabini kunye noonogada ababini.

Indima ye-NUM ekuxhathiseni kwiphulo labasebenzi-zimayini baseMarikana ekunyweni kwemivuzo yabo yaba ngaphaya kokuphazamisana nothethathethwano kunye nabaphathi base-Lonmin. Okubalaseleyo, xa abasebenzi benikezele isicelo soqhankqalazo baze baseka indawo yokudibana entabeni eMarikana, iyunyoni yathumela iibhasi zayo ukuba zikhwelise abanye abasebenzi ukuya kwiishafti zasemayini ngeenzame zokuphelisa uqhankqalazo. Emva koko, uprezidanti we-NUM, uSenzeni Zokwana, wathetha nabaqhankqalazi endulini ebacela ukuba bayeke uqhankqalazo, wafika nge-hippo exhobileyo yamapolisa. Yayiyinxelo ebonakalayo yokuba ngumgama ongakanani phakathi kwabasebenzi baseMarikana nequmrhu lezabasebenzi ukuba libhatalwe kangakanani ukuba libamele, kwaye endulini phezulu, abasebenzi babekhwankqisiwe. Ngenxa yesikhundla esikrokrisayo se-NUM, umbutho ochasene noku futhi ogqibeleleyo wabasebenzi-mgodini, i-Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), yaqalisa ukudala umtsalane wabanye abaxhasi kummandla. I-AMCU ayizange iququzelele uqhankqalazo—inkokheli yayo, uJoseph Mathunjwa, naye wabacela abasebenzi ukuba bemke entabeni yaseMarikana kwiintsuku ezisondeleyo kwindyikityha yokufa – okanye iyunyoni esakhulayo yayinobutshaba kuyo njenge-NUM. Ngokungafaniyo ne-NUM, i-AMCU yayingamanyananga ne-COSATU futhi ingazimanyanisanga ne-ANC. Kokubini, izindlu zasemayini nabaphathiswa bakarhulumente, imbono yako nakuphina ukutshintsha okukhulu ekunyanisekeni kwabasebenzi kwiiplatinam ukususela kwi-NUM ukuya kwi-AMCU yayingunobangela wokufa okumangalisayo. Nanjengokuba ukuthembela kwabasebenzi-zimayini kwi-NUM kwakuphela, kwakunjalo nokuthemba urhulumente, ingakumbi i-ANC, neyayibonakala, emehlweni abasebenzi-zimayini ubuncinane, ixhalabe kakhulu ngentlalo-ntle yamaqela achaphazelekayo ase-Lonmin kunabasebenzi benkampani. Kwiiveki ezikhokelela kwindyikityha yokufa, uJulius Malema, owayegxothwe kwi-ANC emva kwedabi lakhe noPrezidanti uZuma kunye neenkokheli zeqela, naye wayesenza ikapitali yezopolitiko kwesi siphithiphithi kulo mmandla afuna

ngokuphandle ukuba iimayini zinikezelwe ezandleni zabasebenzi. Imeko embi eyandileyo eMarikana ngehlobo lika-2012 yavuselela isibumbelo samandla kwezopolitiko nesakha ubomi kwiiplatinam, nobubophelela i-Lonmin, urhulumente ne-NUM kwaze kwandla ukwanda okunentsingiselo obunokwenzeka kubasebenzi. Ikwazise ngaphambili okungokunye kwiziko. I-'NUM, urhulumente, Lonmin ... Bonke bakwicala elinye,' watsho uBob Ndude, umsebenzi ogrundaba amatye e-Lonmin. 'Yinto leyo esayiqaphelayo. Bayafana, bangumntu omnye.'

Ngoku siyazi ukuba izimvo ezinjalo, kwakunye nembono ye-AMCU noMalema ezazifumana udumo kwiiplatinam – intsingiselo ekuqinisekileyo ukuba iyakwanda ukuba uqhankqalazo lwabasebenzi basezimayini lwaluyimpumelelo – babephambili kwisiseko sale ngcinga njengoko iimpendulo zokhuselo zazivavanywa. Kwincoko ngefowuni – intetho ngoku efulumanekayo kuluntu jikelele – phakathi komkhomishinala wamapolisa kummandla, u- Lieutenant General Zukiswa Mbombo, nesigqeba esilawulayo sase-Lonmin, u-Bernard Mokoena, kwiintsuku ezimbini phambi kwendyikityha yokufa, uMokoena wathetha ngokubanzi malunga neengozi ze-AMCU waze wagxininisa esithi 'sifuna abantu babanjwe'. UMbombo wenza isalathisi kwiincoko athe wanazo nabaphathiswa bakarhulumente noxinzelelo olusemagxeni kubantu 'abaphezulu kwezopolitiko', ebalula ngakumbi u-Cyril Ramaphosa. Uqhubekekile echaza ubukho bukaJulius Malema kwiiplatinam nezikhalo zakhe ngonikezelo lweemayini ebantwini, egxininisa ukuba uqhankqalazo 'lunentsingiselo-zwi engenye enkulu kakhulu kwezopolitiko nekufuneka siyithathele ingqalelo, kodwa kufuneka siyifunele indlela yokuyiphelisa. Njengoko ndixelele aba bantu ukuba kufuneka sithathe inyathelo ukuze sibulale lento'. UMokoena waphendula, 'Ngokukhawuleza, ewe', ngaphambi kokuba siqhubekeke sigxininisa ngemfuneko ye-'D-Day'. Olo lwimi lwaphindaphindwa kwigumbi lolawulo lwamapolisa iiyure nje ezimbalwa ngaphambi kwendyikityha yokufa. UMbombo wamisa ukuba, 'Namhlanje, siyawuphelisa lo mba'. Ummeli wamaPolisa uCaptain Dennis Adriaio wangqina, 'Namhlanje, ngelishwa, yi-D-Day'.

Ngexa uLungisile egqibe ekubeni ajoyine uqhankqalazo lwaseMarikana anyukele endulini, wayecinga ukuba wayecela umvuzo wokuphila. Eneneni, wayesongelisa umda ohleli kamnandi noxhomekeke kumalungelo ezoqoqosho nathe ayinzuzo kwigcuntswana loMzantsi Afrika omtsha, lakhuphela ngaphandle uninzi. Kunokuba

lithethathethane noLungisile kunye nabo asebenza nabo, nokukhuthaza imiba eyingozi eme ngaphandle kwesiseko esikhoyo kwiplatina, i-Lonmin kunye ne-NUM bakhetha ukungabahoyi. Endaweni yokuthatha uqhankqalazo njengempikiswano eqhelekileyo nengqiqo kubasebenzi bebonke, amapolisa, abonakala ephantsi koxinzelelo olukhulu olusuka kubantu abathile abaphezulu kurhulumente, akhetha ukukhulula uhlaselo lomkhosi kubo. Indikityha yokufa yayizakwenzeka kuphela ngenxa yenkqubo-sikhokelo yezopolitiko eyenzekayo kwakunye nendlela lo nkqubo-sikhokelo eyanikezela ngayo ibango lemivuzo ephezulu ibeyinto elandelayo enkulu. Kuyathandabuzeka ukuba uZukiswa Mbombo, Bernard Mokoena okanye u-Cyril Ramaphosa babefuna abasebenzi-zimayini bafe. Kodwa ukufa yayisisiphelo esicacileyo sesicwangciso-qhinga esamkelwe ngenjongo ethile kupolitiko oluphezulu lokubeka phambili umdla wamashishini ngaphambi kwezikhhalazo zabasebenzi nokubonisa abasebenzi-zimayini base-Lonmin njengeentshaba zikarhulumente. 'Aba bantu babengekho nakwindawo yesicwangciso-qhinga, indawo ephezulu ebalulekileyo, isikwere esiphezulu sesixeko,' waxoxa watsho u-Ronnie Kasrils, omnye we-ANC ngaphambili owalelwa inkululeko nomphathiswa wekhabhinethi nojike wachasa ngamandla urhulumente wangoku. 'Babengaphethanga zibambiso (hostages) zabantu. Babengekho ngaphakathi kwipropati yasemayini. Kutheni uza kubeka engozini ubuqhetseba obunjalo endaweni yokuqhuba abaqhankqalazi ubabuyisele emsebenzini ngazo zonke iindlela egameni labaphathi ababengxamele ukuqalisa imisebenzi engenisa inzala? Baqhubele aba bantu emgceeni wokufa apho amapolisa ayelindele ukubatsabalalisa njengemivundla. Olu luyilo lwangaphambili, lokubulala ngenkohlakalo engcole kakhulu...kwaye yiyo lento kufuneka sihlale sinomsindo.'

Emva kokubulawa kwabantu, njengoko amapolisa ayejikeleza eNkaneng aze abamba amakhulukhulu abasebenzi basezimayini, bekwafaka isityholo kuma-270 sokubulala ogxa babo phantsi komthetho ontsokothileyo wexesha lengcinezelo 'wenjongo efanayo' (izityholo ezaphinda azathathelwa ngqalelo), ibali elikhohlakeleyo, abasebenzi baphambi kweloxesha abanyanzelisa amapolisa ukuba baqongqothe izixhobo zabo ngokuzikhusela batyhutyha kwiikhoro zikarhulumente nakwiphepha lokuqala lamaphephandaba ngokufanayo. 'Emva kothethathethwano olubanzi nolungaphumelelanga le-SAPS [iNkonzo yamaPolisa oMzantsi Afrika] lamalungu ukuba abeke phantsi

izixhobo nokusasaza iqela elixhobe lafohlela labantu abadibene ngokungekho mthethweni phezulu entabeni ekufutshane ne-Lonmin Mine, kufutshane naseRustenburg kwiPhondo loMntla-Ntshona, iNkonzo yamaPolisa oMzantsi Afrika ihlaselwe ngokukhohlakeleyo liqela, lisebenzisa iindidi ngeendidi zezixhobo, ukuquka nemipu. Amapolisa, ekukhuseleni ubomi bawo aye anyanzeleka ukuba alwe neli qela. Oku kubangele ukuba abantu abaninzi bonzakalele ukufa, abanye bonzakele,' yayifundeka njalo ingxelo, nangoku isekhona kwisikhundla sonxibelelwano ngekompuyutha sikarhulumente sengcaciso. lingongoma kumajelo eendaba asekhaya kwiintsuku ezilandelayo zaziquka, 'Marikana strikers may have been "in a muti-induced trance"' (*Business Day*); 'Magic, potions, blood, death ...' (*Sunday World*); kunye ne-"Police had to use force"' (*The Citizen*).

Emva koko, kukho ividiyo. Lo mizuzwana engamashumi amathandathu anethoba yoshicilelo lwevidiyo eyatyatyadula ihlabathi lilonke jikelele, nalapho, emva kokuba inkcazelo esesikweni yokudutyulwa kwabantu sele yakhiwe nendlela ethile ebonisa iziganeko ezincanyathiselwe kwingqwalaselo yoluntu jikelele, yavela, ifreyim ngefreyim, ibonakalisa ezo ngongoma. Ingxelo karhulumente yayiza kusibonisa ukuba ushicilelo luqala ngamapolisa eme bhuxe emgceeni, ezolile futhi eprofeshinali. Lithe ityholwana eliphambi kwabo lakubonakala lishukuma, abuthuma ngendlela ezikhuselayo aze akhomba imipu yawo kulo. Asikwazi ukubona ubuso bomntu ngamnye kwabo baye ngqo ngakwilensi yekhamera - bayakhawuleza kakhulu futhi baninzi - kodwa siyalikrokrela iqhinga awayephezu kwalo. Amapolisa aqala abuya umva, kude kwinto eyayiboyisa kodwa xa iphinda ibuya, babamba iitriga zabo. Emva koluhlu lweembumbulu, igosa liphakamisa isandla salo likhwaze lithi, 'yekani ukudubula'. Abanye ngokukhawuleza bayayeka, isithintelo naso siyanyamalala. Emva kwemizuzwana embalwa, ikhamera iya kwimfumba yemizimba engasaphiliyo, engashukumiyi nethe cwaka njengemithi eyingqongileyo. Indoda enye, enxibe ibhatyi eluhlaza isaphefumla. Ngaphambi kokuba sibone enye inkcukacha, ividiyo iba mnyama.

Enye i-engile yekhamera, efotwe kwisishicileli sevidiyo engekho emva kwemigca yamapolisa, ithe - yavelisa ibali elohlukeneyo. Mhlawumbi ukuba oonondaba abaninzi babethethe nabasebenzi basezimayini ngokwabo malunga nokwenzekayo ngala mvakwemini, lo mashumi amathandathu anethoba emizuzwana ngeyifundwe ngenye

indlela neengongoma ezatyatyadula kumaphephandaba ewonke ngengazange asikho hlise kakhulu. Eneneni, kubo bonke oovimba abaphawuliweyo kumajelo oonondaba okuqala malunga nale ndiyikityha yokufa, ama-61% ayevela kushishino loluntu, iinkampani zeemayini, amapolisa, urhulumente okanye i-NUM. Kuphela i-3% yabasebenzi.

Kodwa iilensi eziqhelekileyo zilula kubabukeli abanamalungelo – kwabo bangabambekanga kwicala elingalunganga 'leballi lempumelelo' yoMzantsi Afrika emva korhulumente wengcinezelo, abo banomdla namazwi alawulayo kuluntu jikelele – ukuba bamkele. Emva koko, amanye amabali amaninzi – kulo mba ingcinga yokuba amadoda amnyama ahlwempuzekileyo awanankubeko, anobundlobongela futhi ayoyikeka, nokuba abo bagunyazisa umthetho nocwangco banobulungisa nengqiqo – babonakala benqamlezana bekomelezana. Amabali achazwe kwiikamera ezizinziswe emva kwabantu bomgangatho ophezulu, ngalawo abantu abafumana inzuzo kuwo, ogqunywe ngengqiqo efanayo; nabonakala enobuchule bokuqqa, nokuba achazwe phantsi kobuxoki nokubona izinto ezingekhoyo.

Indiyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana yeyona iyeyamva kumgca omde wokubulawa kwabantu ngurhulumente ochaza uMzantsi Afrika, ukusuka eMampondweni ukuya eBisho ukuya eSharpeville naseSoweto. Yayiyintlekele yoluntu. Kodwa kuba isinyanzelisa ekubeni sigocagoce ukuzimela kwethu, ingekuko xa kukho ingxubakaxaka kuphela nentlekele koko imihla ngemihla, kwiilensi eziqhelekileyo ezichaza ulwakhiwo lwezopolitiko noqoqosho nalapho iintlekele ezinjalo zinokwenzeka khona, ikwalithuba. 'Njengohlobo oluthile, siyazi ukuba yonke into inesizathu nenjongo ethile—sizenzela ingqiqo engeyethu, kunye nehlabathi elisingqongileyo ngokubalisa amabali,' utshilo u-Catherine Kennedy, umlawuli we-South African History Archive. Iballi loMzantsi Afrika kwiminyaka engamashumi amabini edlulileyo lelinye lamabali awodwa kwinguqulelo, njengoko urhulumente wengcinezelo wanikezela inkululeko nenkululeko kwidemokrasi. IMarikana iyasinyanzelisa ekubeni sibuze ukuba ngubani obhale eli balli, kwaye ubunyani balo bungakanani.

Abantu baza kulawula

Ngenyanga kaJanuwari 1990, inyanga enye phambi kokukhululwa kwakhe ejele, uNelson Mandela wabhala inqaku ebhalela abaxhasi

bakhe ecacisa ngefilosofi yoqoqosho kwi-ANC. 'Ukunikezelwa kweemayini eluntwini, iibhanki noxhamlo-wedwa kurhwebo ngumgaqo-nkqubo we-ANC,' wangqinisisa njalo, 'kwakunye notshintsho kunye nolungiso lweembono zethu malunga noku alutshintsheki.' Kwiminyaka emine, inguqulelo enjalo yenzeka.

Njengakwezinye iziphaluka zehlabathi, amandla e-neoliberalism (oko kukuthi ngesiXhosa, ukuthintela iimpazamo ezenzeka kwixesha elidlulileyo) eMzantsi Afrika athathwe kumsebenzi wayo onxa-mbini, njengethiyori yezozoqosho neprojekthi yezopolitiko. Kwelinye icala, isebenza njengengcingane yokuba uluntu kwimimandla noqoqosho lungcono xa lusetyenziswa xa ikapitali ingazinziswanga kulo naluphina ulawulo lukarhulumente okanye ulawulo olwaziwayo apho kungekho mida kokufunyanwa bucala nalapho zonke iimpahla, iinkonzo nentsebenziswano yoluntu inokudityaniswa kuze kwenziwe urhwebo ngayo – xa ulawulo, xa oku kubekwa ngenye indlela, luxhomekeke lulonke kwezorhwebo. Kodwa ngaxeshanye, i-neoliberalism eMzantsi Afrika ibiyinkqubo eyilelwe ukuqwalaselwa koovimba bezemali ezandleni zabambalwa, ngokuvula iindawo ezintsha zemali namathuba okukhulisa ubutyebi pha phezulu. Nangona ichaswa i-neoliberalism yethiyori ekuthatheni inxaxheba kukarhulumente kwezoqoqosho, lo msebenzi wesibini uxhomekeke kwintsebenziswano edlamkileyo phakathi kukarhulumente nabantu bomgangatho ophezulu kuqoqosho lwentlalo nalapho lo ungasentla unceda ekuyileni amashishini amatsha kurhulumente kulo ungaphaya, ukwakhusela imisebenzi yabo kuxinzelelo oludumileyo nokululeka abemi abaqhabalakayo.

Oko yavavanywa endleleni e-General Pinochet's Chile yaza yazalisekiswa kwizinga elibanzi ngu-Margaret Thatcher eBrithani aze u-Ronald Reagan e-US kwii-1980s, i-neoliberalism yaqala inkqubo yengqinisekiso yedemokrasi neyafikelela encotsheni eMzantsi Afrika. Inxenye yale nkqubo iquka ukucacisa kwakhona i-neoliberalism ingeyiyo ithiyori yezozoqosho ekuphikiswana ngayo okanye izimvo eziyinyani, koko njengento ekhoyo ekungaphikiswanayo ngayo, engaphawulekiyo kwizinto zala maxesha, inkululeko nengqiqo. Nawuphina umntu ocela umngeni ekubekeni esikweni kengoko ubonwa njengomntu onezimvo ezigqithileyo. 'Akukho okungokunye,' isilogeni sika-Thatcher xa eqhuba intonga yakhe enkulu enentloko yentsimbi phakathi kwengqokelela eninzi yeempahla zasekuhlaleni e-UK. Enye inxenye yenkqubo kukomba ulawulo lukarhulumente koorhulumente

aba-neoliberal, ukuze amabango awaziwayo obulungisa ekuhlaleni kungakwazeki ukuwazalisekisa. Kwiminyaka engamashumi amathathu edlulileyo, kumantla nakumazantsi eglowubhu, imimandla emininzi kwimisebenzi karhulumente yahlukanisiwe kwizandla zee- 'technocrats', mhlawumbi iincutshe kwezopolitiko ezikhululwe kumakhamandela oxinzelelo luluntu jikelele olucinga luphinde lusebenze ngokupheleleyo ngaphakathi kulwakhiwo lwe-neoliberal. Oku kuncitshiswa kwendawo apho oorhulumente banokuthatha inyathelo namacandelo onyulo enokufaka nayiphina impembelelo kushiye urhulumente exhomekeke kakhulu 'kukuzithemba korhwebo' ekugcineni indlela yokuphila kwezoqoqosho. Ekubeni benikezele uninzi lwezixhobo ezenza umgaqo-nkqubo, oorhulumente bazifumana bebuthathaka kululeko lorhwebo ukuze nakuphina ukushiya okusesikweni kwe-neoliberal kushiye ilizwe libuthathaka ekubalekeni ikapitali netshabalalisa imisebenzi, imivuzo norhwebo. Isiphumo kukuba kwihlabathi lonke jikelele, ukwenziwa kwe-neoliberal nokonyuka kokungalingani kwande kakhulu. Kwasekupheleni koo-1970, ulwabelwano ngomvuzo kazwelonke obanjwe ngabaphezulu ngo-1% kubemi kuphindwe kathathu kumazwe amaninzi, ukuquka iBrithani ne-USA. Ulwabelwano lwabaphezulu ngo-0.1% luphindwe kane. Ngoku sihlala kwihlabathi apho amakhulu asibhozo abantu abazizityebi ezikhulu belawula ubutyebi obuninzi kunesiqingatha esisemazantsi sidibene – abo ngabantu abayi-3.5 billion. Kulo nyaka uzayo, i-1% yabona bantu bazizityebi kakhulu kwihlabathi baya kuba nezinto ezininzi kunama-99% edityanisiwe.

Ekugqaleni koo-1990, uFrancis Fukuyama, isifundiswa saseMerika esi-neoconservative wapapasha izifundo zakhe zophando (thesis) oludumileyo echaza inkululeko kwezoqoqosho 'njengesiphelo sembali'. Kwangaxeshanye, eMzantsi Afrika – ngokunqabileyo kwi-neoliberals – wawusenza imbali eyeyayo. Kumzabalazo omde wexesha lengcinezelo, izigidi-gidi zabemi abanjengoMazula, Thembisa noLungisile balindele okuninzi kwinkululeko neyaqhubekela ngaphaya kwisiphelo sokwahlukanisa okusesikweni nethuba lokubeka unxa kwiphepha levoti rhoqo kwiminyaka emihlanu. Emva kwezizukulwana ngezizukulwana zolwandlelwano nokuphatha gadalala ngokobuhlanga, abantu abamnyama baseMzantsi Afrika bafuna ukhuseleko kwezoqoqosho, isidima somntu nelungelo lokulungisa ikamva labo ngokusebenzisa umnqweno odityanelweyo wedemokrasi. Inkululeko abayinikwayo ibonise umahluko omkhulu. Amalungelo asesikweni ezopolitiko

ayekhona, kodwa mancinci kokunye. Namhlanje ukwazi kukaMazula, Thembisa noLungisile ukujongana nokungalingani nokukhutshelwa ngaphandle kwezoqoqosho kungaphakathi kuthungelwano olusesikweni, olungekho ngaphezulu kwelo lexesha lengcinezelo. Njengakwamanye amazwe e-Afrika, kwakunye nehlabathi lilonke jikelele, ukwandiswa kombuso kwamanye amazwe (imperialism) nolawulo ngokobuhlanga kungene endaweni yalo ubukumkani bekapitali eyakha iphinde iminye ubomi bethu bubonke, nalapho, njengoko iMarikana ikungqinile oku, iya kuyakude kakhulu ekukhuseleni ubunkokheli bayo.

Ngexesha uMandela ephuma ejele, obu bukumkani bekapitali bekwande kakhulu. Ukuwa kwe-Soviet Union, inkululeko kwezoqoqosho e-China nokusasazeka kokungamiswa ngokusemthethweni kwezemali entshona kwandise ukuzithemba kwe-neoliberal ukuya kwinqondo apho, kumgangatho wehlabathi, iifilosofi ezingezinye kwezoqoqosho zaziduka ngokukhawuleza kumagama aphezulu kwezopolitiko. UMzantsi Afrika, ngethutyana waphambili nasesizikithini senqanaba lehlabathi, ubunalo ithuba lokwahluka. Okuhlwayelwe ngaphakathi kwidabi lenzondelelo neliyintlungu yenkululeko yayizimbono ezigqibeleleyo zokusasazwa ngokutsha kobutyebi obunentsingiselo, nemveliso yezoqoqosho noovimba kwizombiwa okuthe kwabekwa phantsi kolawulo loluntu. Kodwa abantu bomgangatho ophezulu, kwingingqi naphesheya kweelwandle, babengena mnqweno wokubona ngoku eli lizwe linempembelelo kwintsingiselo ebanzi. Kwinkqubo iyonke yenguqulelo, njengoko i-ANC yabekwa ngokusemthethweni kwaze kwaqaliswa uthethathethwano kuyilo lwenkqubo yonyulo lwedemokrasi, i-National Party eyayiphuma esihlalweni nabacebisi abasuka kumaziko ezemali phesheya kweelwandle bagqiba ekubeni bathintele urhulumente ozayo igumbi lolawulo lwezoqoqosho ngokubophelela ilizwe kwizivumelwano zorhwebo kwihlabathi, 'depoliticising' iindawo ezibalulekileyo kulwenziwo lomgaqo-nkqubo nokubophelela i-Rainbow Nation kulungiso lolwakhiwo olulungelelanisiweyo nolushiye impilo yezoqoqosho ithembele kwiingcinga ezithi gqi ngelo xesha zabaqikeleli bezemali nabazalisi-mali babucala. I-Freedom Charter yonyaka ka-1955 yazisa ukuba 'The People Shall Govern'. Kodwa lathi iqela likaMandela lakungena kulawulo, ummandla ongaphaya kolawulo wancipha wade wangaphaya kokuqondakala. Ngo-1996, inkululeko kwezoqoqosho, engaquki ugcino lobunini ezimayini nje

kuphela kwizandla zabucala koko nakunikezelo elizweni lwamashishini amaninzi kunye nokukhulula izithintelo zokhuselo entlalweni zabhalwa ngokusemthethweni njengenkqubo eyaziwa njenge-‘Growth, Employment and Redistribution’ (GEAR), neyabophelela urhulumente ekunciphiseni inkcitho, ukuthengisa ii-aseti noyekelo kulawulo lwekapitali. Inkululeko njengokuxhotyiswa kwezopolitiko, intlalo noqoqosho ebantwini luguqukele kwinkululeko kwezorhwebo kuphela ukuya kokuhamba ngokulula ngenene. Ngexesha lesigaba sewaka leminyaka (millennium), imbono yokuqala ye-ANC ngoqoqosho yayisele ibuyele umva kangangokuba uMandela yena uqobo wabhengeza eneqhayiya, ‘Ndiqinisekile ukuba u-Cecil John Rhodes ngenikezele ulwamkelo lwakhe kule nzame yokwenza uqoqosho loMzantsi Afrika lwenkulungwane yamashumi amabini ananye lulunge futhi lufaneleke kwixesha lalo.’

Nangona iimeko zehlabathi jikelele zadlala indima enkulu ekugquleni i-ANC ukusuka kumbutho wabalwi benkululeko ukuya kwisixhobo esisiseko kwezorhwebo, ukudaleka kwegela akuzange kubengumba nje wabathethathethani abaneenjongo ezintle bakaMandela nabathe boyiswa ngamanye amalungu akwelinye icala etafileni. I-ANC iqulathe amaqela amaninzi awohlukeneyo kwaye elinye iphiko leqela elilumkileyo, oko lahlala lijongile ngokugxeleshileyo iindlela ezininzi ezivukelayo eziboniswa ngabanye abasebenza nabo. Ngexesha loo-1980, ii-neoliberal ezinethuku lemvelo ngaphakathi kwiqela ezinjengoThabo Mbeki —inkulumbuso yexesha elizayo neyathi, ngexa kusaziswa inkqubo ye-GEAR, wazibiza njenge-Thatcherite— wafumana ulawulo ngokuchasene nabo basekhohlo abanjengo-Chris Hani, ukuze kuthi ngexesha apho i-ANC iqalisa ukuphatha, uninzi lweenkokheli zayo zibe sele zintywilile kwisithethe sezooqoqosho. Eneneni olu tshintsho, ukusuka kwipolitiki exhasa iinguquko ezigqibeleleyo (radicalism) phantsi kukarhulumente ovukelayo ukuya kubulumko xa sele urhulumente ethinjiwe, yinkqubo engelulanga kwi-ANC. Kwimbali iyonke, amaqela avelayo ezopolitiko aziqhuboshela kwithemba lenguqulelo enzulu ebantwini ababaxhasayo ekuziqhubeni kurhulumente, nathe lo mathemba avalwa futhi adangala xa sele kufezekiswe amandla okuphatha ilizwe. Xa sele iinkokheli zeqela zingaphakathi kurhulumente futhi zibekwe kwiindawo akwaziyo ukusebenzisa amathuba kwezoqoqosho, iindlela ezikhoyo zokudala ubutyebi nokubusasaza ziqalisa ukubonakala zinomtsalane omkhulu.

Kuhlalelo lwakhe lodidi lwemimandla emva kokusekwa kwezithanga (postcolonial), u-Frantz Fanon uwuchaze umqathango wembali yabantu bomgangatho ophakathi (bourgeoisie) njengabo ‘bangenanto yokwenza nokuguqula isizwe: iqulathe ngokungenamdlu, ukuba ngumgca wogqithiso phakathi kwesizwe nenkqubo yelizwe elawulwa yimali eyande kakhulu nangona ingaqondakali.’ Akuthandabuzeki ukuba abanye ngaphakathi kwiinkokheli ze-ANC bazichaza ngala magama, nokuba bakwazi ukuphumelela kwabo, njengesininzi sabaxhasi bayo, abachaza inkululeko kurhulumente wengcinezelo njengento enobunzulu obukhulu kunohambo oluya kwisikhululo sovoto rhoqo kwiminyaka emihlanu. ‘Ukukhupha amandla awaziwayo nadlamkileyo, akwaziyo ukuzenzela izinto nagcinekileyo asuka ngezantsi, nasuka kubemi abagunyazisiweyo ngokwandayo yayinto yokugqibela inkokheli, i-ANC enobulumko obandileyo yayinomdla ikakhulu kuyo,’ saququmbela njalo isifundiswa saseCanada nengcaphephe yaseMzantsi Afrika u-John Saul. ‘Ngoku kumashumi amaninzi eminyaka emva kokuphelelwa kweendlela ezazicace gca zangaphandle nobuhlanga, kuphinde kwacaca kakhulu ukuba mxinwa kwenkcazelo “yenkululeko” ethe yavunyelwa ukuba ibe njalo.’

Iziphumo zokutshintsha koMzantsi Afrika ube-neoliberal yayikukuba inkululeko yedemokrasi, nokuba ibidume kangakanani kwihlabathi lilonke jikelele, ifike namakhamandela awoneleyo ekuvaleleni naliphina ithuba elinentsingiselo ebantwini jikelele, ukuquka abasebenzi basezimayini eMarikana, ekusebenziseni idemokrasi okanye inkululeko konke-konke. Umqulu wetyala elingama-\$850m elisuka kwi-IMF layekisa urhulumente ekubekeni naluphina ulawulo kwimali yelizwe elithile, nokwenza lula ekubeni izigqeba ezilawulayo zamashishini amakhulu zikwazi ukuhambisa imisebenzi yazo ngaphandle kwelizwe ukuba imigaqo-nkqubo yeemali ezinkulu kwezoqoqosho (macroeconomic) azibasebenzelanga (inkampani enkulukazi i-De Beers yenza ngqo oko emva kokukhululwa kukaMandela). Amalungiselelo amanzi koomasipala abathile yenye yeenkonzo ezininzi urhulumente ezanikezelwa abazalisi-zimali, isiqingatha sazo sinikezelwe ekuhlawuleni ityala elafunyanwa ngurhulumente wengcinezelo. Ubuhlakani babucala noboluntu (public-private partnerships), uluhlu lwamalungiselelo avumela iinkampani zabucala ekubeni ziqhube iinkonzo zikarhulumente ngenzala ethile noko okushiya urhulumente egcine yonke ingozi enokubakho yandile. Inxaso-mali karhulumente kurhwebo oluphambili

olunjengezithuthi, iimoto, iveni, njlnjl kunye neempahla zenziwa ukuba zivalwe, nokubangele ukulahlekelwa yimisebenzi okukhulu, nolungiso kubunini bomhlaba – inqwawqwa eliphambili labaphathi abamhlophe ngexesha likarhulumente wengcinezelo – kwaqwalaselwa kakhulu ngumgaqo-siseko omtsha. Ukusasazwa kwamayeza angahlawulelwayo ekuncedeni ekupheliseni isifo i-AIDS kwilizwe lilonke kwathintelwa ngenxa yemiqathango yokhuselo lwepropati yeengqondi eziqinisekiswa yi-World Trade Organisation. Bavakalisa iindaba ngokubanzi kwi-Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC), benza ukuba kuvele ubuhange nenkohlakalo karhulumente wengcinezelo eMzantsi Afrika, alwahoywa ulwakhiwo lokungalingani kwezoqoqosho olwabangelwa ngurhulumente wengcinezelo, endaweni yoko, kwaqwalaselwa abantu abathile abaququzelela ukuthuthumbisa (torture) abanye abantu. Icebiso elibalulekileyo elaveliswa yi-TRC lerhafu engu-1% ‘yembumba yamanyama’ kumashishini akwizizwe ngezizwe, ekuncedeni ekuxhaseni ngezimali ulwakhiwo lwesize esinobulungisa, kwakhutshelwa ngaphandle yi-ANC ‘njengencaso kushishino’.

Ngoonyaka boo-2000, bonke kodwa izityebi zaseMzantsi Afrika zabona ukwehla kwemivuzo yenene. Kwabona bahlwempuzekileyo abangu-10%, umrhulo umntu agoduka nawo waba sisiqingatha. Ngexa abona bazizityebi babona izabelo zabo kumvuzo kazwelonke zisenyuka ngaphezulu kwama-50%. Abaphumeleleyo kwinkululeko yoMzantsi Afrika ngabona badlala indima enkulu kwikapitali yezizwe ngezizwe, amashishini asekhaya abamhlophe kunye nabambalwa kodwa besaziwa kakhulu abakudidi oluphezulu noluphakathi lwabantu abamnyama abathe bajoyina abantu bomgangatho ophezulu (elite) kumagumbi amakhulu eentlanganiso. Le nkqubo ingasentla iququzelelwe ikakhulu yinkqubo kaRhulumente yoGunyaziso lwamashishini abantu abaNyama neyaziwa njenge-Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), nebangele izikhulu ze-ANC ezinjengo-Cyril Ramaphosa zivelise obona butyebi bukhulu kolu dityaniso lungacacanga phakathi kwamashishini abucala norhulumente. Abangazange baphumelele bangafunyanwa kwizixeko, ezilokishini nasemaphandleni kwilizwe lilonke, kwelinye icala elingalunganga leengcingo ezigadwe kakhulu ngoonogada, ekupheleni kwezipoonana ze-teargas yamapolisa, naphakathi kwamatyotyombe neendlela ezimdaka luthuli lwaseNkaneng kwakunye namakhulukhulu eendawo zokuhlala zasezimayini zinjalo nazo. Phakathi kwamabali amaninzi orhwaphilizo—ekheshi eyabelwe impembelelo yezopolitiko

nephinda isetyenziselwe ekufumaneni ikheshi, okuphembelela kwamagosa karhulumente kumdlawabucala nafuna amasuntswana karhulumente anikezelwe ithenda, kunye namagosa asezi-ofisini zikarhulumente agcina ezo thenda ezigcinela abahlobo babo, iintsapho zabo kunye nobuqu babo—uMzantsi Afrika o-neoliberal ulandele ulwazelelo (destiny) lwengqiqo kwimithetho-siseko yorhwebo. Ufikelele apho urhulumente wedemokrasi kunye nenkxaso nenkuthazo ebanzi ofikelelayo kuyo wade wangaphantsi kwemali yempahla yorhwebo ekufuneka kukhwelwe kuyo, kwenziwe urhwebo ngayo ize ifakwe kwimiqulu ukuze kufunyanwe ubutyebi babucala, urhulumente ombejembeje ongumqeshi othatha izishumi (tithes) okanye imali eligalelo elithile kwabo baqangqulula (evisceration) ngaphakathi. Ayikho into emela lenyaniso necace ngaphezu kwendawo emangalisayo engenabulungisa yezombiwa-namandla kwakunye neplatinam, apho impumelelo nomdlawabantu bomgangatho ophezulu kwintlalo-ntle edityanelweyo yabemi boMzantsi Afrika ime ngxi futhi nengene nzulu emhlabeni uqobo.

Kumzantsi-mpuma waseMarikana kukho i-Hartbeespoort Dam, amanzi awayenkenceshela umhlaba omkhulu notyebileyo wamafama kummandla kodwa ngoku lingcoliseke yi-e-coli ebangelwa ngamanzi amdaka asuka kumatyotyombe akufutshane angenalo ugutyulo olusemgangathweni kwiinduli ezikufutshane. Kunxweme leli dami kukho i-Kosmos village, enye yeendawo zoluntu kummandla enamasango awodwa kweli lizwe. Izindlu zayo zabucala zokuphumla, amaqula okudada ashushutyeyiweyo nenkqubo zangoku zokuhambisa amanzi amdaka konke oku kusebenza kuzo abantu abahlala kula matyotyombe sithetha ngawo. Kumntla-mpuma waseMarikana kukwandlunkulu kamasipala wommandla, apho amagosa aphantwayo ngokuba imali karhulumente ngokusebenzisa iithenda. Entshona kukho isixeko sase-Rustenberg, apho uceba wengingqi waba ngusompempe ochaza lonke urhwaphilizo ethe wabulawa ngokomyalelo kasibonda wedolophu we-ANC ngo-2009. Esizikithini sedolophu yaseMarikana, kufumaneka imiqondiso ye-JIC Mining Services, ifem ethumela abasebenzi bethutyana abathi bancede iinkampani ezinjenge-Lonmin ukuba babenabasebenzi-mgodini abahlala bekhona kodwa benganikwanga ukhuseleko lomsebenzi wexesha elide okanye imiqulu yokufumana inzuzo. Sele iyeyona ndawo enkulu yomvuzo womrhwebi kwiplatinam kwaye omnye wabanini bayo ngunyana kaprezidanti, uDuduzane

Zuma, nothanda kakhulu iimoto ezinjenge-Porsches, Chryslers nezithuthuthu ezikhulu futhi oku kubhalwe kakhulu ngako kumajelo eendaba. Kufutshane nale ndawo ziivenkile ezibolekisa ngemali encinci nemali-mboleko enceda ekunikezeleni abasebenzi-zimayini abadinga imali netyala elinexabiso eliphezulu. Enye yazo yi-Ubank, enabanini abayi-National Union of Mineworkers kunye ne-South African Chamber of Mines. Abanye abazalisi-mali abaphambili, i-Capitec, iqela labenzi bengxowa-mali abanxulumene kakhulu ne-ANC. Iindlela ezingenayo neziphumayo apha zikhokhelela kwiishafti zasemayini nee-ofisi ze-Lonmin, inkampani apho i-World Bank, enye yabaqhubi abaphambili bolungiso lwe-neoliberal eMzantsi Afrika, neyanconywa kakhulu kumsebenzi wayo 'wokunceda ekuphuculeni ubomi babantu' ngonyaka ka-2007, yaze yavuzwa ngama-\$150m 'kwiqhinga lobuchule benzaliso-mali kummandla woluntu'. Ngokwengxelo yamajelo eendaba eyanikezelwa liphiko lenzaliso-mali lale bhanki, i-Lonmin 'iphambili kushishino lwayo lokusebenza noluntu lwengingqi kwimimandla ekwandiseni ixabiso lexesha elide kwimisebenzi yalo yoshishino kwakunye nokuqinisekisa usasazo olubanzi lwenzuzo esuka ezimayini.' Kwelinye icala lomzila kaloliwe, phakathi kwendlela emdaka nenodaka kunye neNkangeng, yindulana (koppie) apho kubekwe khona iminqamlezwana emincinci emhlophe engamashumi amathathu anane ngomhla we-16 Agasti rhoqo ngonyaka.

'Lo nguMzantsi Afrika omtsha, uMzantsi Afrika wedemokrasi,' utshilo uLungisile, ephithizelisa izandla zakhe emva kokuba ekhumbule unkwantyo lokudutyulwa kwakhe. 'Nabantu abenza oku abazange babanjwe.' Akatshongo ukuba aba bantu abhekisa kubo ngamapolisa na, osomashishini, amalungu ezopolitiko okanye amaziko ezemali aphesheya kweelwandle athe ancedisa.

Xa idemokrasi ihluzelwa macala onke e-neoliberalism, kokuphi okungokunye okushiyekelelo? Ngenyanga ka-Meyi 2014, iintsukwana ezimbalwa phambi konyulo jikelele, ndaya kwiphulo le-ANC lokugqibela iSiyanoqoba kwibala lemidlalo laseSoweto i-Soccer City Stadium, nalapho uprezidanti wathi wathetha noluntu. Yayiluhushululu lombala, amaphetshana asasazwayo nezithuthuthu ezitsala amehlo. Ngexesha lentetho kaZuma erhoqozayo engenavakalelo, noxa, amawakawaka abaxhasi be-ANC ambejembeje ziiflegi, athe aphuma ngokuthe cwaka esitediyam. Ngexa kwiibhokisi zoshishino, iinkokheli zamashishini zazixhawulana, ziqhubekela nokutya okumnandi kodidi oluphezulu.

'Ngamanye amaxesha ndiye ndizibuze ukuba oku ingaba luhlobo oluthile olungaqhelekanga oluza kuqhubekela,' utshilo u-Catherine Kennedy. 'Yonke into emalunga norhulumente wengcinezelo yayikukuzenza nto yimbi (masquerage). Ngoku sisuke kwimbonakalo efanayo karhulumente wentando yesininzi ukuya kwenye efanayo karhulumente wesininzi. Amagama anjengokwenza izinto ezibonakalayo, intatho-xanduva, konke akusenantsingiselo... Kuyafana: sirhwebe ngeballi elihle kakhulu ngelinye, kodwa asikayigocagoci ifreyim.'

Kuninzi lwemimandla enezimayini, abantu baseMzantsi Afrika badiniwe bubuchule bokulungiselela umdlalo. EBekkersdal, kwintshona yeGoli, oyena mqeshi mkhulu kwingingqi ye-Gold Fields, eyenye yezona zindlu zinkulu zokumayina kumazwe ngamazwe kwihlabathi lilonke jikelele. Limeko apha ziyafana nezo zaseNkaneng: amanzi amdaka ngobunjalo bawo ahamba phakathi kwamatyotyombe amaninzi, neyona nzaliso-mali ipapashwa kakhulu karhulumente kule ndawo, nehlawulwe ngemali karhulumente, ayinikezelanga nto ngaphandle kweepali ezinerusi kunye nefektri yezitena nengazange yayivula iminyango yayo. Ngexa abasebenzi base-Gold Fields babebanga imivuzo yokuphila, i-CEO yenkampani u-Nick Holland wazichaza izikhalazo zabo 'njengeziphambeneyo', esongeza esithi, 'Asikwazi ukuqhubekela sinikezela iidijithi ezimbini ngexa imveliso isehla, oko akululo ugcino.' Kunyaka odlulileyo wamkela unyuso lomvuzo wakhe we-\$1.1m. Ngexesha lephulo lokhetho ngo-2014, amagosa e-ANC agxothwa eBekkersdal ngabahlali. Intloko yeqela kwiphondo, uNomvula Mokonyane, waphendula wathi abazifuni iivoti 'ezimdaka' zala matyotyombe.

NaseMarikana, i-ANC yanyanzeliswa ukuba ithule tu ngexesha lokukhankasela iivoti. Iphulo elalicwangcisiwe lokugqitha kukaZuma eNkaneng larhoxiswa ngetyeli lokugqibela. Isizathu, ngokwentloko ye-ANC kwiphondo yayikukuthintela ukunikezela 'abagrogrisi ithuba lokwandisa i-ajenda yabo.' Kodwa kokuphi okungokunye kwiqela elilawulayo okwakuzakunikezelwa kwiphapha lokuvota? Elona qela likhulu eliphikisayo elisesikweni, i-Democratic Alliance, bona ba-neoliberal kakhulu kune-ANC. I-EFFno-Julius Malema balwamkele ulwimi lovukelo kwezoqoqosho, kodwa kunokugxeka isimo sesakhiwo se-neoliberalism, imbono yabo ithethwe ngamagama obuhlanga nokuthanda isizwe, nokugxeka okuhamba namayelenqe kwizigwili

zamazwe angaphandle. Iqela, elixhaswa ngezimali ngabanini bamashishini amakhulu angasamthandiyo uZuma, ilungelelaniswe ngesiseko esingqingqwa. UMalema ubambe isikhundla sobu-commander-in-chief, kwaye nokuba i-EFF inelizwi elaziwayo, ingqiqo incinci kakhulu kulo naluphina udidi lwamaxhwitha-ntamo emibutho yasekuhlaleni, nto leyo enganyusa iqela libe ngaphaya kwepolitiki yokutshabalalisana kwabantu bomgangatho ophezulu, apho ubuso obunye obudala buya kungqinibelana ngaphandle ngexa lileqa isabelo senzuzo kwipayi karhulumente.

Ngaphandle nje kweziphene enazo, i-EFF ayizinxulumanisanga ne-ANC ngokwaneleyo, nokwenza umtsalane kuThembisa, Lungilise nabanye abaninzi kwiplatinam. 'Ukuze uphumelele kulo Mzantsi Afrika kufuneka ube ngumcinezeli wabantu abamnyama, kwaye abantu esasicinga ukuba baza kusinika inkululeko benze oko,' uThembisa wandixelela ngenye imvakwemini sisidla isidlo sasemini kwindawo yokoja inyama eMarikana. 'UMalema wayengowokuqala ukuza apha emva kwendyikityha yokufa, wema kunye nathi futhi ufuna ukuzisa inguqulelo.' Ubukho bukaMalema eMarikana, xa buthelekiswa ne-ANC engakhange ivele nakanye - okanye indawo yabo ekwelinye icala locingo lokhuseleko lwasemayini, kufutshane ne-Lonmin ne-NUM—kucacile ukuba sisixhobo esinamandla sephulo le-EFF.

E-Freedom Park, komnye ummandla weemayini okwiimayile ezimbalwa kumntla-ntshona waseNkaneng, ndime ngasemva kwiqonga lam elihambayo ndaze ndaqwalasela uMalema, esaziswa ngumququzeleli onxibe ivelvethe ebomvu ukusuka entloko ukuya ezinzwaneni, ukudanduluka nokukhwaza okusuka kwisihlewe samakhulukhulu abantu abaphambi kwethu abadanisayo bekwazifota ngexa iiveni zamapolisa axhobileyo zibukele ngononophelo kumgamana ongephi. 'Amaqhawwe omzabalazo olwela urhulumente wengcinezelo awafelanga ukuba nihlale kwikhaya eliyibhokisana yematshisi kungekho nezindlu zangasese ezigungxulwayo', uMalema wakhwaza watsho embokweni, engqonga-ngqonga xa isihlewe simqhwabela izandla. 'Amashumi amabini kwidemokrasi yethu, abantwana abanakutya nangoku, balala ebusuku izisu zithe nca emqolo. Abantwana babasebenzi-mgodini abangasekhoyo basabuza nangoku ukuba ooyise babuyela nini ekhaya!'

Emva eNkaneng, umyalezo kaMalema wabangela uvakalelo. 'Iphelile ngoku, idemokrasi,' uPrimrose Sonti, ilungu le-ANC

lasekuhlaleni nelajika lalwela amalungelo amakhosikazi kummandla kodwa ngoku lilungu lasepalamente elimele i-EFF, wandixelela ngaphandle kwetyotyombe lakhe ngomhla wonyulo. 'Ndazi nje igama, idemokrasi asiyonto endiyibonayo'. Mhlawumbi abanye bayayibona, andazi. Kodwa apha eMarikana, ayikho. Juju [Malema] uyayibuyisa kwakhona.' USonti ngomnye wabameli abangamashumi amabini anesihlanu e-EFF abakwaziyo ukufikelela kwi-National Assembly emva kokubalwa kweevoti. Ukuthandabuzeka kwakhe bekukhwankqisile kwaye ukhutshwe amatyeli amaninzi epalamente ngenxa yokuphazamisana nokuqhutywa komsebenzi wasepalamente wosuku nokucula izinto ezicukuceza abantu abathile kurhulumente. Ingaba i-EFF Ibiza kuzalisekisa ulawulo lwenene, zeziphi iinguqulelo abaza kuziqalisa kuthungelwano olusesikweni kwilizwe ngoku elixhomekeke kangaka kurhwebo? Futhi leliphithuba abanalo lokugcina ulawulo apho iingxoxo ezininzi ngepolitiki zibonakaliswa ngamajelo eendaba ngokuba nangemiboniso emikhulu nabanina othetha izimvo zakhe ngaphandle kwe-neoliberal paradigm njengomntu ozinikezele gqitha entweni ethile okanye isidenge? Njengakwiindawo zonke kwihlabathi, idemokrasi e-neoliberal eMzantsi Afrika iqinisekisa ukuba yidemokrasi ongenakuyikhetha: luhlu lweengxoxo ezisemthethweni ezingenaxabiso, okungokunye kumgaqo-nkqubo onikezelwa kubantu bayo ulula kangako. Umbutho omnye, Abahlali baseMjondolo, umbutho kazwelonke wabantu abahlala ematyotyombeni, bawubiza umhla wama-27 Epreli, isikhumbuzo sonyulo lokuqala eMzantsi Afrika njenge-'Unfreedom Day'. Umzabalazo wokuqinisekisa ukuba abantu abamnyama boMzantsi Afrika balivuyela ilungelo lokuvota lufezekiso lwesikhumbuzo - oko ngokuqinisekileyo, akunakuphikiswa. Kodwa olu fezekiso lunikeze uninzi lwabantu abamnyama baseMzantsi Afrika impembelelo kwezopolitiko kwimbonakalo engenakuphikiswa yonyulo, nenikezela intetho yomnqweno ofanayo, ubuncinane kuthungelwano olusesikweni, ikakhulu ngokungento. Ngokuqinisekileyo, oko akuphikiswa.

Ngexesha kungena iziphumo kwizixeko ezikhulu zoMzantsi Afrika kusuku emva kwevoti, ukonyulwa ngokutsha kukaZuma njengoprezidanti kwakusele kukudala kungqiniwe. Kwiiveki ezimbalwa ezilandelayo, uCyril Ramaphosa, owathi, emva kwendyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana, waqeshwa njengosekela prezidanti we-ANC, wangenela ilizwe lilonke kule ofisi. UBaleka Mbete, usihlalo we-ANC owayetyholwa

ngokuthatha isinyobo sama-\$2.2 million kwi-Gold Fields ekubhexesheni unikezelo lwelayisensi yeemayini (ingxelo ezimeleyo egunyaziswe yinkampani efikelele ekubeni wayenetyala lorhwaphilizo, nangona uMbethe wakukhanyela ukwenza izinto ezingalunganga), waqeshwa njengoSomlomo weNational Assembly. Ngexesha lakhe lobusomlomo, wenze konke anako ukukwenza ekukhuseleni uZuma kuyo nayiphina into enxulume nokusetyenziswa kwezemali ngendlela engekho mthethweni kwiindleko ezingaphezulu kwama-\$20 million yemali karhulumente, ukongeza iqula lokudada, i-amphitheatre ne-chicken coop kwindlu yabucala kaprezidanti.

Ihamba njalo ke idemokrasi yaseMzantsi Afrika. EMarikana, abahlali bafumene ezinye iindlela zokusebenzisa okungokunye kwipolitiki yenene engeyabo.

Ukuphakama kweMarikanas

Kwibala lemidlalo lase-Wonderkop, ibala elikufutshane neNkaneng apho abasebenzi basemgodini baseMarikana bazama kodwa abaphumelela ukudibana kwiintsuku ezikhokelela kwindyikityha yokufa yonyaka ka-2012, amawakawaka abasebenzi balithathele kubo ibala. Abanye babambe izambuleni ukuzikhusela kwilanga eloyikekayo lasebusika. Abanye bangqonge isizikithi sebala bengamaqelana amancinci alawulekayo ezopolitiko, bayatoyitoya bephakamisele phezulu amagqudu neepanga. Abanye banxibe iijezi zebhola ekhatywayo, abanye banxibe ii-ovaroli zasemayini, abanye banxibe izikhipha ezibhalwe 'United We Stand, Divided We Fall' and 'Phantsi ["Down with"] Capitalism!' U-Jim Nichol, igqwethwa laseBrithani ongomnye wabo abamele abasebenzi basezimayini kuphando lwenkundla karhulumente kudutyulo lwase-Lonmin, ume kunye noprrezidanti we-AMCU u-Joseph Mathunjwa kwiqonga elixengaxengayo waze wathetha nesihlwele sabantu. 'Amandla! ["Power!"],' wagxwala embokweni. 'Awethu! ["To us!"],' saxokozela isihlwele sabantu.

Yinyanga ka-Meyi 2014, kwaye phakathi kwawo onke amalungiselelo onyulo, iplatinam yaseMzantsi Afrika iyaqhankqalaza kwakhona. Kweli tyeli phantsi kwebhanile ye-AMCU, abasebenzi basezimayini e-Lonmin bahlangene nabasebenzi bezinye iinkampani ezinkulu kummandla, i-Implats ne-Anglo American, bebanga

umvuzo osisiseko warhoqo ngenyanga ongama-R12,500 (malunga ne-\$1000), kwaye imveliso kwiplatinam ime ngx. I-NUM enobukho obusemthethweni eMarikana ('Singamaxhoba empumelelo yethu kwakunye nokungafuni ukuba sisininzi,' uFrans Baleni undixelele njalo eGoli), ayihambisani noqhankqalazo, njengoko kunjalo nakubahleli bezamashishini, isigqeba esilawulayo sasemayini kunye namalungu karhulumente, ukuquka noprrezidanti uqobo, owalibona eli nyathelo 'njengolungenaxanduva'. Iinkampani ezichaphazelekayo zimanyene zizonke ekuqaliseni iphulo elisemgangathweni ophezulu neliya kufumana usasazo kumajelo ewonke eendaba. Kumaphephandaba ewonke nakwimibonoso koonomathotholo, ukungafikeleleki kumabango abasebenzi-mayini kwakunye nobundlobongela obuhamba noku obuchazwe ngabameli beyunyoni i-AMCU - uninzi lwabasebenzi basezimayini babulelwe kwiziganeko ezinxulumene noqhankqalazo, nangona ubandakanyo lwabenzi bobubi lungacacanga - luphakanyiselwa phezulu rhoqo futhi kuxoxwe ngalo. Ukungakwazi ukufikelela kwimbuyekezo yezemali ebangwe ngoomanejala bamashishini anjenge-CEO ye-Lonmin u-Ben Megara, ohlawulwe malunga nezi-\$2 million ngekheshi nangezabelo ngonyaka ka-2013, akuxoxwa ngoko. Okanye ulwakhiwo lobundlobongela bendlala kubasebenzi borhwebo lwasezimayini. Kwakunye nokuba bubundlobongela obuqalwa ngamapolisa ebantwini abaqhankqalazayo apha kokwenzeke kutshanje nabanikwe ixesha elininzi lokupapasha oku. Kwakhona ngokuchasene nolungiselelo olupheleleyo (panoply) lwemikhosi enobutshaba, abasebenzi-mgodini banyamezele. Olu thintelo lomsebenzi ngoku luhleli ngaphezulu nakolona qhankqalazo lukhulu lwasezimayini lonyaka ka-1987 nolwanceda ekubekeni urhulumente wengcinezelo emadolweni akhe. Ngale mvakwemini, ibe lolona qhankqalazo lukhulu nolona lude kwimbali yaseMzantsi Afrika.

'Inkumbulo zonyaka ka-2012 yinto esigcina sikwazi ukuqhubeka nobomi,' utshilo uBob Ndude. '[Abaphathi ezimayini] bacinga ukuba ngenxa yokuba simnyama, simuncu futhi sizizidenge. Mhlawumi abasebenzi basezimayini babemuncu futhi bezizidenge kudala ngexa utata wam wayelapha, kodwa hayi ngoku. Kuleyithi ngoku. Singazenza izibalo, futhi singakubala okungenabulungisa. Usebenza nzima iminyaka engamashumi amabini ukubenza babe zizityebi, wena esiphelweni awunanto onokuyibonisa. Ngoku, oku kuyaphela. Olu qhankqalazo luza kuphelisa oku.'

Namhlanje, iinkampani zeplatinam zibhengeze ukuba ziza kuluphelisa uqhankqalazo. Ngonyaka ka-2012, ngexa i-NUM yayingabona bameli abamele abasebenzi kule dolophu, abaphathi babengafuni ukuthetha nabasebenzi ngokuthe ngqo baze bagxininisa ukuba ukuba zonke iingxoxo kufuneka zigqithe kwiyunyoni. Ngoku xa i-NUM ingenelelwe yi-AMCU, iinkampani zitshintshe iingqondo zazo kwaye zizama ukuzitsiba iyunyoni ngokupheleleyo. Izicwangciso zokukalela emva imveliso yexesha elide nokuvalwa kweeshafti ezithile sele kubhengeziwe ngecal'elinye ngeenzame zokunikezela uxinzelelo olukhulu kubasebenzi. Imiyalezo ebhaliweyo ithunyelwe kuninzi lwabasebenzi ezimayini ibaxelela ukuba xa bengabuyeli kwiindawo zabo zokusebenzela ngale ntsasa, baza kugxothwa. Ii-hippo ezixhobe zafohlela zathi chu ngaphakathi eNkaneng futhi zikwajikeleza ibala lezemidlalo. Esangweni leshafti yakwa-Rowland, amagosa amapolisa ayengqunga ekwathethathethana namagosa abucala okhuselo ezimayini ekwavula nocingo oluhlabayo. Emva kwemiqolo yezingxobo zevolovolo ezifanayo nezithunzi ezimnyama, kunzima ukubaqaphela kakuhle.

Ngaphandle kokulamba nobunzima ababephila phantsi kwabo, nomoya owoyikisayo abafikelele kuyo, abasebenzi baseMarikana bazixelela ukuba baya kuqhubekeka noqhankqalazo lwabo ngala mvakwemini eyayitshisa yenyanga kaMeyi. Ngenyanga kaJuni, xa isithintelo singena kwinyanga elandelayo yesihlanu, abasebenzi sebelahlekelwe yimali engaphezulu kwe-billion dollars kwimivuzo. Umonakalo kwezemali kubaqeshi wawuli-phinda-phinda ela nani. Kodwa amacala omabini ayesabanjiwe. Ingqiqo yokuba oku yayiyinto engaphezulu kokuxabana nje ngomvuzo, nokuba iguquke yayimfazwe ye-proxy ekubeni okanye abo bakwicala elingachanekanga loMzantsi Afrika omtsha nomboniso wedemokrasi onokomeleza indlela yabo eqongeni, evela kakhulu kwiveki nganye egqithayo. Ishibhini kaMazula yayigcwele kakhulu kunangaphambili inabasebenzi basezimayini abathembele kutywala bakhe ekugcwaliseni izisu ezilambileyo. UThembisa wayezibuza malunga neendlela eNkaneng waze wasela ngendlela engalindelekanga, ukogqitha abantu abangaziyo ukuba mabathini, okodlula abantu abazama kangangoko ukufihla iminqweno yabo. 'Abantu banqwenela ubutyebi obubobabo nesidima, u-Jim Nichol, igqwetha laseBrithani, landixelela xa sasidibene siza kuthetha ngoqhankqalazo. 'Kubasebenzi, ukuqalisa uqhankqalazo ixesha elide

kangaka kukuzibulala kwezoqoqosho. Kodwa kumalunga nokuthi, "Eneneni ndinexabiso". EMzantsi Afrika namhlanje, le yingxelo ebaluleke kakhulu.' UNichol ngunyana womsebenzi-mgodini wase-Tyneside, futhi ukhumbula iindawo zokuhlala apho abahlali kummandla babehlala khona besoyika ihooter yenkampani engxola amatyeli amane, uphawu lwenkedama yokufa. Abantu banomdla ekuzityebiseni nesidima, uJim Nichol, igqwetha laseBrithani, lindixelele ukuba xa sidibene sithetha ngoqhankqalazo. 'Kubasebenzi, ukuqhankqalaza ixesha elide kangaka kukubulala uqoqosho. Kodwa kumalunga nokuthi, 'Eneneni ndinexabiso elithile'. Kwaye eMzantsi Afrika namhlanje, le yingxelo ebaluleke kakhulu.' Ukusuka kumntla-mpuma waseNgilane ukuya kwi-Bushveld Igneous Complex ngaseMarikana, ubona umgca ongophukanga odibanisa iziphene ezinye zengcinezelo akhule kunye nayo, neyokuchasana. 'Akunandaba ukuba uphuma phi, nokuba kuse-Brazil, China, England okanye e-Africa,' ucacisile. 'Xa ungena ngaphakathi emgodini e-Brazil uphinde uphume ekupheleni kwexesha lomsebenzi wakho, umnyama. Xa ungena ngaphakathi emgodini e-China, uphuma umnyama. Xa ungena ngaphakathi emgodini e-England, uphuma umnyama. E-Afrika, ungena emgodini umnyama uphinde ubuye umnyama. Siyafana sonke futhi sitshatyalaliswa ngabantu abanye.'

Ngonyaka ka-2014, njengoko benza njalo ngo-2012, nangona ngexabiso elibuhlungu lomntu, abasebenzi-mgodini banikezela baze ngempumelelo balubona uqhankqalazo lwabo luba yinto ebonakala iyimpumelelo. Ngasekupheleni kwenyanga kaJuni, iinkampani zeplatinam zafikelela esigqibeni ne-AMCU esafikelela kuma-R12,500 sebango lomvuzo kwiindidi ezininzi zabasebenzi, unyuso lwemivuzo ngama-40% koyena msebenzi urhola kancinci kwiplatinam. Abahleli bezimali nabozoqoqosho bawasika bawabumba la manani ngeendlela ezohlukeneyo bafikelela kwizigqibo ezohlukeneyo zokuba ngubani 'ophumeleleyo'. Kodwa abaninzi baliphosa inqaku. Ngaphaya kwamanani kwi-spreadsheet, uqhankqalazo lonyaka ka-2014 lwabathelekisa abasebenzi basezimayini kubunzima babona badlali banamandla ingelilo nje ishishini koko ilizwe ngokubanzi kwaze kwathathela abasebenzi emngciphekweni. Kodwa baphuma kula mava bengonzakalanga baze banyanzelisa iimvume ezibalulekileyo ezisuka kubaqeshi ababangayo ukuba kuko konke oku, ezo mvume azisoze zenzeke. Okunokwenzeka, ukuzimisela kwabo kungakhuthaza izigididi ezininzi. 'Kubasebenzi, ukoyisa umanyano phakathi kwamashishini

norhulumente luthetha ukuba impumelelo yayilufezekiso olukhulu kakhulu,' waqwalasela njalo u-Peter Alexander, uprofesa we-sociology kwiYunivesithi yase-Johannesburg, emva kokuba kufikelelwe esigqibeni. 'Ngaphandle kokuqonda lo mfanekiso upheleleyo, kunzima ukuncoma ukuba kutheni abasebenzi babenemincili. Ngexa i-AMCU ingabanga impumelelo (nangona benza njalo ngentlonipho), abaqeshi abenzanga njalo, bebengakwazi ukwenza njalo. Kutheni lo mba wempumelelo ubalulekile? Kuba uya kuchaphazela ekubeni abanye abasebenzi babenokuzithemba ekucezeni umngeni apho kungekho kulingana nobulungisa eMzantsi AFrika.' U-Stephen Grootes, umbalisi wezopolitiko, wasibiza isiphumo soqhankqalazo njenge-'game-changer' waze wacebisa ukuba singamela isiqalo sesiphelo se-ANC. 'Olu qhankqalazo luneengcambu zalo kwezopolitiko, ukungalingani, indlala, kurhulumente wengcinezelo, nakwindyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana,' waxoxa esitsho. 'Kumalunga nokunqongophala kwenguquko, ukunqongophala kokuthembana, nokunqongophala kwento oza kuphulukana nayo. Abasebenzi kunye neentsapho zabo bahlala ngaphandle kwemali, bekholelwa ekubeni lo yayingumlo ekufuneka bewuphumelele wexesha elizayo. Wawuxhaswa, ukuba uyathanda, lithemba labo, ithemba lenguquko.'

I-ANC yakhe yabanga ukuthwala amathemba abantu abamnyama baseMzantsi Afrika emagxeni ayo. Ngoku, abantu abamnyama baseMzantsi Afrika bayiqaphele inguquko, hayi ngaphandle kweqela, koko ngendlela echaseneyo. Oku kungathetha ukuba kwikamva loMzantsi Afrika kusengumbuzo ovulekileyo. 'Eli linyathelo lokuqala elikhulu elithathwe ngabantu abangekho phantsi kwe-ANC nalapho abantu abamnyama bebesevenini ekhokhelele kolona qobo lwenguquko,' wongeze watsho u-Grootes. 'Lo ngumboniso wenene wolawulo kwezopolitiko ngumbutho omnyama, ongeyoxenye ye-ANC.' Izinto ezintsha sele ziqalisa ukuvela kwindlela yazo eya kwimephu esesikweni yezopolitiko: ngaphambi nje konyulo, i-National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) yarhoxa kumanyano lwe-ANC-allied COSATU yaze yazisa ukuba ihlola ukuseka umanyano lwamaziko olutsha, olo luya kubeka abasebenzi entliziyweni yokwenziwa kwezigqibo. Ezinye iinyunyoni nazo zakulandela oku. Kushiyeye ukuba sibone ukuba eli nyathelo litsha lingathi ngenye imini libe liqela lenene lezopolitiko elingelinye kwiqela elilawulayo i-EFF ethe yohluleka ukuba lilo.

Amagela ezopolitiko, nokuba aqhubela-phambili kanjani, angayinxenye enye yedabi lenguquko elisekelwe ukuphazamisa nokuvuselela uMzantsi Afrika kwiminyaka ezayo. Oku kuyinene nakubasebenzi abakwiinyunyoni. Kukhulu kakhulu ukwazi kwabo ukwenza izinto. Ukususela kwindyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana, kwityeli ngalinye abasebenzi basezimayini bebeke phantsi izixhobo, uqhankqalazo luqalile nakwezinye iindawo nakwamanye amashishini neendawo zokusebenzela kwilizwe lilonke. Kodwa nabanina onomsebenzi osisigxina akabalelwa phantsi kwabo bahlwempuzeke kakhulu elizweni. Ngokwengqokelela yamanani, uninzi lwabombi bamatye kwiplatinam bakumgangatho wesixhenxe okanye wesibhozo, nokubenza oko babengcono kunesinye isibini kwisithathu sabemi. Kwintswelo yezinto ezifunekayo eNkaneng nakwamanye amatyotyombe atsala nzima njengayo, lo mba uthetha imiqulu malunga nokwahlukana okukhulu okuthe abemi boMzantsi Afrika bakuko. Kodwa kuya kuhlala kunjalo kwinqanaba elikhulu labemi abamnyama, umsebenzi osisigxina wasezimayini nobulungu kwiinyunyoni kuya kumela ukwanda okukhulu kwesimo sabo; endaweni yoko bangamalungu aqhelekileyo ame ngomlenze omnye, ahlala engakhuselekanga, ubomi bungazinzanga kufikelelo ekutyeni okungephi, umsebenzi wethutyana okanye ukungabinawo umsebenzi. Phantsi kwe-neoliberalism, olu didi labemi luyakhula kumazwe amaninzi aphuhlileyo, apho amalungelo ayekeyeke asentlalweni neekhontrakthi ezingenaziyure zisanda futhi ziqheleka.

Kwabo banethamsanqa ngokwaneleyo lokuba nemisebenzi ezinzileyo kwiplatinam, kungalula ukuphelisa uqhankqalazo eMarikana njengoko ingadibenanga nokruthakruthwano lweli lizwe; umzabalazo obalulekileyo kubasebenzi basezimayini uqobo, akukho mathandabuzo, koko akuso siphumo kwizigidigidi zabemi baseMzantsi Afrika abangasebenziyo, okanye abangenamakhaya, okanye abalwela ukususwa kwiindawo abakuzo, okanye abakhoyo nje kumda wokungaqiniseki apho kusuku ngalunye bexhathalaza kumpetho omnye wokuphila. Kodwa nakuphina ukungahoyi okunjalo ingakungaboni okuyingozi kakhulu. Ukuncoma ukuba kutheni isiphithiphithi apha sibalulekile, kufuneka ukhe uhlale kancinci eMarikana kurhatya olulandela irali yabasebenzi kwibala lemidlalo e-Wonderkop, xa sele kungekho mntu futhi kurhatyele. Ngasemva kwethinzi likamatshini weshafti wakwa-Rowland, imililo iye ivele ngephanyazo ngaphaya

kwindlela enkulu edibanisa iMarikana eya kwindlela enkulu u-N4. Abahlali basematyotyombeni abizwa ngokuba yiMmaditlokwe abasuswe ngetshova bayokubekwa kufutshane nemayini yeplatinam kunyaka ophelileyo bebeqhankqalaza bekhazela ukungabikho kweenkonzo nokungakwazi kwabo ukufumana inkampani yasemayini okanye amagosa karhulumente ekubeni ajongane neengxaki zabo. Ukuqhekeka kwezinto kwavakala kufutshane nalo mhlaba njengoko abaqhankqalazi baberhuqa amavili atshayo etheni baze oonogada badubula ngeembumbulu zerabha emoyeni bezama ukwahlula esi sihlwele. Kwangaxeshanye, amapolisa ayajikeleza iimayile ezimbalwa ukuya empuma, kwiidolophana ezincinci zaseBapong neMajakeneng, apho kuqhamke uqhushululu olungamandla kwingingqi oluchasene nokohluthwa koqoqosho kumaxesha amaninzi kutshanje kwezi veki. Abahlali bathi usana oluneenyanga ezintathu lusweleke kolu qhushululu emva kokuphefumla i-tear-gas karhulumente. 'Isizukulwana esidalana senziwe salala ubuthongo obunzulu (hypnosis) yi-ANC,' ulutsha oluneminyaka elishumi elinesibhozo eMajakeneng lundixelele njalo endleleni. Esethu isizukulwana siyakwazi ukuzicingela.'

Ekuqaleni kunyaka ka-2011, udushe oluchasene norhulumente lwaqaliswa ngumthengisi wasesitratweni owazenza idini (self-immolation) e-Tunisia, kothusa ihlabathi lilonke lama-Arab, uMoeletsi Mbeki, umfo wakuloprezidanti wangaphambili, wabona kwangaphambili ukuba xa izinto ziqhubekela ngale ndlela ziyiyo eMzantsi Afrika, ilizwe liza kujongana neyalo i-'Tunisia Day' apha koo-2020. Mhlawumbi akasayi kulinda ixesha elide kangako. Kude kakhulu kwiplatinam, eKapa ukuya e-Potchefstroom ukuya eThekwini, kukho imimandla eyathi, emva kwendyikityha ka-2012, yazithiya ngokutsha njengeMarikana; ukwaliwa ngokolwimi koMzantsi Afrika omtsha, o-neoliberal, futhi ukwabonisa ngokuphandle, ukuchasana kwakhe nemivuzo. Abo bahlala kule mimandla yoluntu ayingabo abasebenzi basezimayini futhi abananto yokwenza neplatinam, koko oko kwenziwe ngabasebenzi beplatinam kubavuselele ekulweni ngokwezoqoqosho nezopolitiko oko kubonakala kusabelwana ngako. EMarikana, Philippi East, abahlali bazakhele ngokutsha amakhaya abo amatyeli amathathu oko zatshatyalaliswa ngumasipala wengingqi. EMarikana, Cato Crest, abahlali bavale iindlela kuba bebanga ubulungisa kulwakhiwo-zindlu. Ukubulawa kwabaqhankqalazi abaphambili ababini nokuchazwa

ngamaqela ephulo 'njengokugwintwa', akwenzanga nto enkulu ekunciphiseni isisombululo. 'Bathi kungcono ukufa Kanye kunokufa ngokuthe chu,' utsho njalo omnye umzabalazi. Incwadi yeemephu zaseMzantsi Afrika yovukelo iyakuhlala iqhekekile. Oku kwakuyinyaniso nako, kuqhankqalazo oluchasene norhulumente wengcinezelo ekuqaleni koo-1980, kancinci phambi kokuba babeyinqumba baze bayinikezela inkqubo ngaphakathi. Nokuba kuvela isiseko esichasa oku kwiminyaka ezayo, baya kuthembela kubantu abaninzi abohlukeneyo kunye nezicwangciso-qhinga ezohlukeneyo. Iballi laseMarikana lona, ngokuqinisekileyo liya kuphingelwa kwizinto zabo ezingundoqo.

Ukungakwazi ukuzikhethela kwedemokrasi yaseMzantsi Afrika kuphinda ukungakwazi ukuzikhethela kweedemokrasi ze-neoliberal kwihlabathi lilonke, njengobundlobongela obusuka phezulu ukuya ezantsi baseMarikana obuyimfuziselo yelizwe lilonke lobundlobongela bukarhulumente nangaliphina ixesha ikapitali isisoyikiso kwinkcaso. Nokuphikisana kwabasebenzi basezimayini namatyotyombe aseNkaneng, umqondiso wento ebanzi. Ukungavumi kwabantu abanjengoThembisa, okanye uBob, okanye uLungisile ekubeni boyikiswe ukuze bavume inkcazelo yomnye umntu ngedemokrasi engumqondiso womlo kwakhona ogqithela ngaphandle kweNkaneng. Njengoko lisitsho ibali likaThembisa, ngaphandle kokungabonakali kwabo kwimiba emininzi yezidubedube kwiplatinam, amakhosikazi aphambili apha. Awaseki nje kuphela umqobo wemimandla yoluntu apho kukho khona olu rhwebo lwasezimayini, nokuvukela koMzantsi Afrika ngokuchasene noku, koko bakwakhokhele indlela ekuveliseni iindlela ezintsha zokuqhankqalaza kwezopolitiko. UThembisa ngoku ulilungu le-Sikhala Sonke ('we cry together'), umbutho wamakhosikazi eMarikana noqokelele iminikelo yabasebenzi-mgodini abaqhankqalazayo, baqhuba iimatshi eziya kwisikhululo samapolisa futhi bekwabamba imibhiyozo yenkcubeko ekunyuseni ukuqonda ngezopolitiko kummandla. Ngaphandle koMzantsi Afrika, umbuzo kukuba ingaba abo bethu abaphethe iplatinam ezipokothweni zethu, egrunjwa emhlabeni ongezantsi kwekhaya likaThembisa, siya kufuna ezethu i-engile zekhamera sibone inkangeleko yalamlo ukuba ubonakala njengethemba, kancinci kunokungabaluleki okanye uloyiko.

Njengoko egxininisa u-Rehad Desai, umenzi wemifanekiso bhanya-bhanya waseMzantsi Afrika owenza amaxwebhu abonisa ubuxoki beballi

elisesikweni lendyikityha yokufa yaseMarikana njengoko ibonakele kulo mizuzwana engamashumi amathandathu anethoba evidiyo: 'IMarikana isesizikithini soburhalarhume ngoku, uburhalarhume obuqhutywa kukukhutshelwa ngaphandle nendelelo eziswa koko kukhutshwa.' Amazwi akhe angasebenza kwimimandla kwiikona ezininzi kumhlaba wonke jikelele. Mhlawumbi uMzantsi Afrika, ngendlela igcuntswana eliwubone ngayo emva kokupheliswa kukarhulumente wengcinezelo ngaphezu kweminyaka engamashumi amabini edlulileyo, ungafunyanwa ulukhanyiselo kude ngaphaya kwemida kwakhona.



Uphondo lwentsimbi yombane olujikeleze imayini yeplatinam yase-Lonmin, eMarikana.



Abahlali baseMarikana bafotele ukuvota kunyulo lukazwelonke.



Uphondo lwentsimbi yombane olujikeleze imayini yeplatinam yase-Lonmin, eMarikana.



Abasebenzi abaqhankqalazayo basezimayini zeplatinam bafotele izithuthi ezibagodusayo emva kwerali eMarikana.



Abasebenzi abaqhankqalazayo basezimayini zeplatinam ngexesha lerali eMarikana.



Uphondo lwentsimbi yombane olujikeleze imayini yeplatinam yase-Lonmin, eMarikana.



Abaxhasi be-EFF bamamele inkokheli u-Julius Malema, e-Freedom Park.



Uphondo lwentsimbi yombane olujikeleze imayini yeplatinam yase-Lonmin, eMarikana.

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