

UMYALEZO OLUKUHLAYO EKUVUSELELENI I-AFRIKA

NGU

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Umsebenzi ofakwe njengenxal'enye yeemfuno zesidanga seMaster of Arts
kwiDyunivesithi yaseStellenbosch



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ISIQINISEKISO

Mna, osayine ngezantsi, ndiyaqinisekisa ukuba uphando olwenziwe kulo msebenzi lolwam buqu kwaye andizange ndilufake lonke okanye inxal'enye yalo ngaphambili nakuyiphi na iDyunivesithi ngeenjongo zokufumana isidanga.

Umsayino

Umhla

ABSTRACT

This study is about the persuasive message towards the Millennium African Recovery Plan, which is known today as New Partnership for African Development. It is divided into five chapters. The first chapter, which constitutes the introductory chapter, deals with the general introduction to the entire study, the scope of the study, statement of the aim and objectives of this study, also looks at the research methods. The second chapter provides a brief theoretical background to the study of persuasion, and the third chapter looks at various applications of persuasion. This forms the basis upon which the entire study will rest as it provides different theories pertaining to persuasion.

The fourth chapter concentrates on a critical evaluation of persuasion messages. The messages, which are analysed in this study, are selected from the newsletter **ANC Today**.

These 4 articles are:

1. Africa's people central to success of recovery plan. Vol. 1 no. 2, 2-8 February 2001.
2. One step to the birth of the African Union. Vol. 1 no. 7, 9-15 March 2001.
3. Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa. Vol. 1 no. 16, 11-17 May 2001.
4. Our commitment to Africa Vol. 1 no. 18, 25-31 May 2001

The fifth chapter contains general conclusions drawn from the persuasive messages in chapter 4. Translations for terminology are provided and are contained in the appendix, which is found at the end of this study, which is followed by the bibliography.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie handel oor die oordende boodskap gerig op die Millenium Afrika Hernuwingsplan, ook bekend as die 'Nuwe vennootskap vir Afrika se ontwikkeling'. Die studie is verdeel in vyf hoofstukke. Die eerste hoofstuk, wat die inleidende hoofstuk is, bied 'n algemene inleiding tot die studie as geheel, gee 'n oorsig van die omvang van die studie, bied die doelstellings van die studie, en gee 'n uiteensetting van die navorsingsmetode. Die tweede hoofstuk bied 'n kort teoretiese agtergrond tot die studie van oordening, en die derde hoofstuk handel oor 'n verskeidenheid toepassings van oordening. Hierdie hoofstuk vorm die basis waarop die navorsing berus aangesien dit 'n oorsig bied oor verskillende teorieë van oordening.

Die vierde hoofstuk konsentreer op 'n kritiese evaluering van oordendingsboodskappe. Die boodskappe wat analiseer word in hierdie studie is geselekteer uit die nuusbrieff **ANC Today**.

Die vier artikels is die volgende:

1. Africa's people central to success of recovery plan. Vol. 1 no. 2, 2-8 February 2001.
2. One step to the birth of the African Union. Vol. 1 no. 7, 9-15 March 2001.
3. Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa. Vol. 1 no. 16, 17-17 May 2001.
4. Our commitment to Africa. Vol. 1 no. 18, 25-31 May 2001.

Die vyfde hoofstuk bevat algemene gevolgtrekkings met betrekking tot die oordende boodskappe wat ontleed is in hoofstuk 4. Vertalings van terminologie word in die bylae aan die einde van die studie gegee.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Esi sifundo simalunga nomyalezo olukuhlayo ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika. Sahlulwe saba ziza hluko ezintlanu. Isahluko sokuqala, esiphawula intshayelelo yesahluko, sijongana nentshayeleyo eqhelekileyo kuso sonke isifundo, umda wesifundo, ingxelo yenjongo yesi sifundo, kwaye sijonga kwizicwangciso zophando. Isahluko sesibini sinika imvelaphi yethiyori kwisifundo solukuhlo., kwaye isahluko sesithathu sijonga kwiindlela zokusetyenziswa kolukuhlo. Oku kwenza isakhelo apho sonke esi sifundo siza kuqwalasela khona njengokuba sinika iithiyori ezahlukeneyo malunga nolukuhlo.

Isahluko sesine sizikis'ingqondo kuvavanyo olunzima lwemiyalezo yolukuhlo. Imiyalezo, eboniswayo apha kwesi sahluko, ikhethwe kumaphetshana e-"ANC Today". La maphetshana mane ngala:

1. Africa's people central to success of recovery plan. Vol. 1 no. 2, 2-8 February 2001.
2. One step to the birth of the African Union. Vol. 1 no.7, 9-15 March 2001.
3. Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa, Vol. 1 no. 16, 11-17 May 2001.
4. Our commitment to Africa. Vol.1 no.18, 25-31 May 2001.

Isahluko sesihlanu siqulathe iziqukumbelo eziqelekileyo ezisukela kwimiyalezo yolukuhlo kwisahluko se-4. Isigama esitolikiweyo sinikiwe kwaye siqulathwe kwi-apendiksi, efumaneka ekupheleni kwesi sifundo, elandelwa yi-bibliyografi.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated with great gratitude to my son: Xhantlomzi Lisa Martins, whom I live for and to my late grandfather: Hendry Tasie Martins and his late wife, Engelina Nosamana Martins and to my late dearest brother: Siyabulela Laurance "Ntakana" Martins for your Holy spiritual support to me. Your incredible spiritual protection and guidance have inspired me to engulf more academic knowledge which no one in the family has ever ever had it before. I know that you are happy and proud of me because you are spiritually witnessing my achievements in life. To you I say, rest in peace, and may God bless you!

ISINIKEZELO

Esi sifundo sinikezelwa ngombulelo omkhulu kunyana wam: uXhantlomzi Lisa Martins, endiphilela yena nakubawo omkhulu wam ongasekhoyo: uHendry Tasie Martins nonkosikazi wakhe ongasekhoyo uEngelina Nosamana Martins nakumtakwethu endimthanda kakhulu ongasekhoyo: uSiyabulela Laurance "Ntakana" Martins ngenkxaso yenu yomayo oNgcwele kum. Ukhusele lwenu lomoya olungakholelekiyo kunye nesikhokelo senu zindikhuthazile ukuba mandiginye ulwazi lwefundo ephakamileyo olungaphezulu olungazange lwafunyanwa nangomnye ngaphambili kolusapho. Ndiyazi okokuba nonwabile kwaye niyazingca ngam kuba ngokomoya niyayibona impumelelo yam. Kuni ndithi, lalani ngoxolo, kwaye kwanga uThixo anganisikelela.

UMBULELO

Ndingathanda ngokungazenzisiyo ukwenza umbulelo kuThixo ngento athe wandenzela yona kuyo yonke iminyaka yam yokufunda. Ndimbulela ngokwenene UThixo ngokutyumba ingqonyela u-J.A. du Plessis ukuba abe ngumlawuli kwaye abe yinkokheli kwizifundo zam. Kwakhona ndingathanda ngokungazenzisiyo ukubonakalisa umbulelo wam kugqirha M.Dlali obekho ngalo lonke ixesha ebendifuna ngalo uncedo kwincwadi yam. Ndakuba anditsho nto ukuba andimbuleli ungqonyela M. Visser nengqonyela u-N. Zulu ngokundikhuthaza ekubeni ndisigqibe isifundo sam. Babonise uvelweno lwabo lokwenene ngexesha ebekunzima kum. Okokugqibela, Ndingathanda ukwenza umbulelo kubo bonke abalingane bam bezemfundo bekunye nalo naliphi na ilungu lo Myango weeLwimi zase-Afrika kwiDyunivesithi yase-Stellenbosch.

Kusapho lwam, ndingathanda ukubulela umama wam uGrace Nonceba Martins kunye nolris Nomonde Martins ngokunganikezeli ngam. Uhlala ekhona ngalo lonke ixesha kwaye ekulungele ukundinceda nangaluphi na uhlobo. Nguye kuphela isizathu esabengela ukuba ekugqibeleni ndibe kulo mgangatho ndikuwo, kuba ebekade endiklhuthaza ukuba ndiqhubeke ngemfundo. Iris Nomonde Martins igama lakho walinikwa ngesizathu, ubungqina bokuba wenze konke okusemandleni akho ukuze ndiphumelele kubonisa kubonisa kanye eso sizathu. Enkosi kakhulu, wanga uThixo angakusikelela.

Kumtakwethu uEric Ayanda, uSydney Mongezi, kunye noodade bam uRita Thandiwe, uTabita, Babalwa nolnathi, ngenxa yokuba bekungekho ebonakalayo ebeninokuyenza, kodwa ndiyazi ukuba ndiyaxhasa ngokupheleleyo ngokwasemoyeni. Ndiyanibulela nonke nina bebendijongele unyana wam uXhantlomzi Lisa Martins, ngexesha lezifundo zam, ingakumbi umtshana wam uZiyanda noSiyamthanda, kuquka nosapho lwakulo mama wakhe. Andikulibala ukwenza umbulelo kumama wonyana wam omhle, uPortia Zukiswa Cingo. Ndingathanda ukwenza umbulelo ongazenzisiyo kwabaphantsi ngokundikhusela kwimikhosi engendawo kaSathana, kwaye ndithi enkosi kuni Mamfene, kooHlathi, kooLisa, kooJambase, kooSanzanza, kooZangomv'eliweni, kooMsuthu.

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ISAPHLUKO 1

INTSHAYELELO

1.1 INJONGO YESI SIFUNDO

Esi sifundo siza kuqwalasela ulukuhlo kunxibelelwano. Siza kunika inkcazelo emfutshane malunga nokuba yintoni umyalezo olukuhlayo? Olu phando luza kujonga kuphela imiyalezo elukuhlayo kunxibelelwano okanye intetho yase sidlangalaleni, ngaphakathi kulukuhlo lwezopolitiko kuphela. Amaqela ezopolitiko noorhulumente banemithetho ethile abafuna siyilandele. Ukukwenza oku kumele basilukuhle ukuze siyibone into yokuba ngenene siyawufuna lo mthetho. Olu hlobo lolukuhlo lubalulekile kuba kusetyenziswa lona amaxesha amaninzi xa kufunwa abantu balandele umthetho othile olungele ezopolitiko.

Esi sifundo siza kuzama ukubonisa uninzi lwabantu ukuba bangayivavanya njani le miyalezo ilukuhlayo, kuba abapolitiki njengaye nawuphi na umntu, badla ngokuba neyabo iminqweno kwiintliziyo zabo. Amaphetshana amane akhethiweyo abhalwe ngumongameli woMzantsi Afrika aza kuhlalutywa. Apha kula maphetshana kuza kuthathelwa ingqalelo kwimiyalezo elukuhlayo eza kufumaneka kupapasho lwe-ANC olwaziwa ngokuba yi-"ANC Today" kwi-"Internet". La maphetshana anomyalezo olukuhlayo okhokhelela ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika. La maphetshana e-"Internet" ayafumaneka kule-"website" ilandelayo; "<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/anctoday/2001.htm>".

Olu phando luza kuqwalasela ngamandla inkqubo ye-Afrika eyaziwa ngokuba yi-"Millennium Africa Recovery Plan" (MAP), kodwa ngoku sele ibizwa ngokuba yi-"New Partnership for the African Recovery Programme" okanye yi-"New Partnership for Africa's Development" (NEPAD), kuba i-ANC ngokunjalo norhulumente base phantsi kwengxaki enkulu yokuluhla abantu behlabathi ukuba bahambisane nale nkqubo njengesikhokelo sokuzama ukuphuhlisa nokumanya i-Afrika.

Esi sifundo sikhuthazwe yinkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, ekhokhelele ekubeni kwamkelwe i-"Millennium Africa Recovery Plan" (MAP). Ukuphumeza oku kufuneka kusonjululwe ingxaki kumba wokuvuselela i-Afrika. Kula maphetshana kubonakala kulungile ukusetyenziswa komyalezo olukuhlayo, ngoba abantu base-Afrika abakakuboni ukubaluleka kweli lizwekazi kunye nabo. La maphetshana anomyalezo awubhekisa

ebantwini base-Afrika, oosomashishini, kunye namazwe angaphandle. Owona myalezo ungunoqo kukuba i-Afrika ifuna ukuvuselelwa, iphuculwe khon'ukuze nayo ibe kwizinga elamkelekileyo ehlabathini. Kufuneka kuqiniseke ubudlelwane namazwe aseNtla khon'ukuze akuxhase ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Ngeli lixa bona abantu base-Afrika bedlala indima ephambili ekuguquleni i-Afrika. Kwakhona, la maphetshana anomyalezo wokukhuthaza uxolo, inzolo nedemokrasi e-Afrika.

1.2 ULWAKHIWO LWESI SIFUNDO

Esi sifundo siza kubunjwa ngokuthi sahlulwa sibe zizahluko ezintlanu. Okuzakuthi kujoliswe kuko kwisahluko ngasinye kuchaziwe apha ngezantsi.

Isahluko 1

Esi sahluko siza kuqwalasela ngamandla kwiinjongo zolu fundo kwaye sicacise ngezona ngxaki eziza kuphandwa. Ulwakhiwo lwesi sifundo nalo luza kubonakaliswa kwesi sahluko.

Isahluko 2

Uqwalaselo apha luza kuba kwithiyori yolukuhlo. Okokuqala, ingqalelo izakujoliswa kwinkcazelo yolukuhlo njengokuba ixelwa nguReardon (1991), uAdler noRodman (1997), uO'Keefe (1990). Emva koko iithiyori ezimbini zolukuhlo ezi fumaneka kuLarson (1995) ziza kufumana ingqwalasela eyodwa. Ezi thiyori zezi zilandelayo:- ithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni kunye neModeli yotyatyadulo ngokunokwenzeka. Okokugqibela, izindululo zesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ezilukuhlayo nazo ziza kuqwalaselwa

Apha kwesi sahluko inkcazelo yethiyori yolukuhlo izakuxoxwa ngokubanzi. Oku kuzakwenziwa ngokuthi sahlulwe sibe zezi zahlukwana zilandelayo:- 2.1 inkcazo yolukuhlo izakunikwa. Kwisihlukwana 2.1.1 inkcazelo yolukuhlo ngokukaReardon (1991) izakuboniswa. Isihlukwana 2.1.2 sizakunika inkcazelo yolukuhlo ngokukaO'Keefe (1990). Kwisahlukwana 2.1.3 kuzakufumaneka inkcazelo yolukuhlo ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997) inikiwe. Kwisihlukwana 2.2.1 kujongwa ukusetyenziswa kwethiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni ngokukaO'Keefe (1990). Kwisahlukwana 2.2.2 kujoliswa kwiModeli yotyatyadulo ngokunokwenzeka ngokukaO'Keefe (1990). Kwisahlukwana 2.3. kugxininiswa kwizindululo zolukuhlo. Kwisahlukwana 2.3.1 kujongwa isindululo sesiseko

senkqubo yeengxoxo ngokukaLarson (1995). Kwisahlukwana 2.3.2. kukuqwalaselwa isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo ngokukaLarson (1995) .

Isahluko 3

Siqwalasela ukusetyenziswa kolukuhlo. Kwisahlukwana 3.1 kuza kuqwalaselwa ukuba ngumlukuhli ngokukaLarson (1995). Kwisahlukwana 3.2 kuza kugxininiswa kunxibelelwano lwababini ngokukaReardon (1991). Kwisahlukwana 3.3 kuza kujongwa ukusetyenziswa kwezindululo zesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ezilukhlayo kwintengiso ngokukaLarson (1995). Kwisahlukwana 3.4.1 kuza kuqwalaselwa ulukuhlo kunye namajelo osasazo ale mihla ngokukaLarson (1995). Kwisahlukwana 3.4.2. kuza kuqwalaselwa amajelo osasazo kunye nolukuhlo ngokukaReardon (1991). Kwisahlukwana 3.5 kuza kuqwalaselwa ulukuhlo lopolitiko ngokukaReardon (1991).

Isahluko 4

Esi sahluko sihlalutya ngokubanzi imiyalezo yolukuhlo. Uhlalutyo lwemiyalezo yolukuhlo ngokubhekiselele ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika iza kuza kuqwalaselwa. Ngenxa yoku kuye kukhethwe amaphetshana amane abhalwe ngumongameli angala-(i) **Africa's people central to success of recovery plan: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2)**; (ii) **One step to the birth of the African Union: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7)**; (iii) **Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16)**; kunye (iv) **Our commitment to Africa: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18)**. Kuhlalutyo lwala maphetshana isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo kunye nesindululo sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo ngokukaLarson (1964) ziza kuthathelwa ingqalelo.

Isahluko 5

Siza kuqwalasela iziphumo zemiyalezo yolukuhlo efumaneka kwisahluko 4. Izigqibelo zala maphetshana zizakunikwa ngokusetyenziswa kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo kunye nesindululo sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Apha kwesi sahluko kuza kunikwa ushwankathelo kujongwe ukusetyenziswa kweemfuno, isimilo kunye nokungaguququki, phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Emva koko kunikwe noshwankathelo kujongwe ukusetyenziswa kwisindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Emva koko kunikwe uvavanyo logxeko.

ISAHLUKO 2

ITHIYORI YOLUKUHLO

2.1 INJONGO

Kwesi sahluko imiba emithathu iza kufumana ingqwalasela. Okokuqala, inkcazelo yolukuhlo kunye noludwe lweempawu zalo eziphambili kulukuhlo ziza kuzanywa ukunikwa. Ngenxa yoko inkcazelo kaReardon (1991), eka-O'Keefe (1990) kunye neka-Adler noRodman (1997) ziza kuqwalaselwa. Okwesibini, iithiyori zolukuhlo ezimbini ezizezi zilandelayo:- Ithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni, kunye neModeli yotyatyadulo ngokunokwenzeka, nazo ziza kuqwalaselwa. Okokugqibela, kuza kujongwa kwizindululo zesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ezilukuhlayo zikaLarson (1995), ingakumbi isi yesiza kuhlola ezinye zeembono ezingundoqo malunga nenkcazelo yolukuhlo, kwaye sibonise eyona miba iphambili ethe yaxakekisa iingqondo zabafundi ngolukuhlo. Kwicandelo 2.1.1, esi sahluko siza kuxoxa izimvo zikaReardon (1991) isahluko 1 malunga nethiyori yolukuhlo. Indlela olugcinwa ngayo ulukuhlo nayo iza kuxoxwa. Kwicandelo 2.1.2 ithiyori ka-O'Keefe (1990) malunga nenkcazelo yolukuhlo iza kunikwa. Kwakhona kwicandelo 2.1.3 ithiyori ka-Adler noRodman (1997) malunga nenkcazelo yolukuhlo iza kunikwa.

Kwicandelo 2.2. kuza kuza kuqwalaselwa iithiyori zolukuhlo. Ezi thiyori zizakuqala ukujongwa kwicandelo 2.2.1, 2.2.2 ezicatshulwe kuO'Keefe (1990), izahluko 2 kunye nese-12. Kwakhona kwicandelo 2.3. kuza kujongwa izindululo zesiseko zenkqubo yeengxoxo. Oku kuza kwenziwa kwicandelo 2.3.1 ngokuqwalasela isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo phantsi kwethiyori kaLarson (1995), isahluko 6, kunye nesindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo, isahluko 7.

2.2 INKCAZELO YOLUKUHLO

Apha kweli icandelo kuza kuqwalaselwa izimvo ezintathu ezahlukeneyo ezifumaneka kuReardon (1991); uO'Keefe (1990); kunye nakuAdler noRodman (1997), malunga nokuba ulukuhlo olu luyintoni.

2.2.1 Reardon (1991)

URearon, (1991), uqala ngokuchaza ulukuhlo ngokuthi asilulo ulawulo ngobuqhetseba. Ulukuhlo lwahlukile kulawulo ngobuqhetseba kunye nokulawula ngokunyanzelisa. Ulawulo ngobuqhetseba luquka ukuzalisekisa iinjongo zomlawuli ngobuqhetseba, ngamandla alowo ulawulwa ngobuqhetseba. Oku kwenzeka ngokuthi lowo ulawulwayo ngobuqhetseba angakhuthazwa ukuba makaqiqe, koko ulahlekiswa ngezithembiso ezingeyonyani. URearon (1991, p. 2) uthi, "Coercion is another means of influencing behavior that does not involve up-front reasoning. Coercion involves physical force or some form of threat". Ulawulo ngobuqhetseba lumhlutha ukuzikhethela lowo ulawulwayo apha kulukuhlo. Umlukuhli uye asebenzise amaqhinga okumlahlekisa umphulaphuli okanye umlukuhlwa, endaweni yokumkhokhelela ekuzikhetheleni.

Enye indlela yokuphemelela ukuziphatha ithi isebenzise isinyanzeliso. URearon (1991) uthi, le yenye indlela yokuphemelela ukuziphatha engakubandakanyiyo ukuba nengqiqo eyeyakho. Oku kuthetha ukuba ulawulo olunyanzelisayo lubandakanya ubundlobongela okanye izoyikiso. Ulawulo olunyanzelisayo alufani nolukuhlo, ngenxa yokuba ulukuhlo lubangela ukuba ubani aguquke kwinkolo okanye ekuziphatheni njengokuba ixesha lihamba.

Ulukuhlo lubandakanya ukukhokelela abo balukuhlwayo ekuthatheni inkolo, ukuziphatha, okanye isimilo esifunwa ngumlukuhli. Oku kubonakala kwindlela bathi baqiqe ngayo kwaye bavakalelwe ngayo abo balukuhlwayo. Ngako oko, ulukuhlo lusoloko luyintshukumo esezingqondweni. Kaloku oku kuluphawu lolukuhlo.

Olunye uphawu lolukuhlo luluvo loloyiko analo lowo ulukuhlayo malunga neenjongo zakhe. Nangona kunjalo, ngokukaReardon (1991), olu loyiko alufuni kucaciswa ngenxa yokuba alubalulekanga kangako kwiinzame zokuguqula ukuziphatha kwabanye.

Uphawu lolukuhlo lwesithathu lubandakanya intsongelo kwingqiqo yomlukuhlwa. Ingqiqo idlala indima enkulu kulukuhlo lonxibelelwano lwababini kunakunxibelelwano nenyambalala yabantu. Loo nto ithetha ukuba kuzo zonke iimeko, ulukuhlo luyintshukumo yokuzama ukuguqula ukuziphatha komntu, ngemiqondiso yonxibelelwano.

Ezi mpawu zolukuhlo uReardon (1991) uzichaza njengezibonakalisa ukuba unxulumano kunxibelelwano phakathi komlulukhli nomlulukhli, kukuba ulukuhlo olu aluyonto ubani ayenza yedwa komnye, koko luyinto ayenza kunye nomnye umntu. Oku kuthetha ukuba umlulukhli kufuneka asebenzisane kunye nomlulukhli khon'ukuze azifekise iinjongo zakhe. Kwelinye icala yena umlulukhli kufuneka aguquke ekuziphatheni nakwisimilo sakhe. Ukongeza kufuneka aguqule neengcinga zakhe ngokweemfuno zakhe ezibangelwa lunxibelelwano.

Kwakhona, kukwakho nolunye uphawu olubalulekileyo apha kulukuhlo. Olu phawu ludla ngukuthi libandakanye ubuchule bokuphatha umcimbi othile. NgokukaReardon (1991), ulukuhlo aluzi ngqo, koko luza ngecala. Ngapha koko zonke iindlela zolukuhlo ezisetyenziswayo ngabantu azizi ngqo. Ngexesha ekuqhubeka ngalo ulukuhlo abalulukhli baye bazifihle iinjongo zabo. Oku sele kuthathwa njengendlela eqhelekileyo neyamkelekileyo kunxibelelwano. Oku kuthi kuncede ekunqndeni ungquzulwano.

Ulukuhlo oluza ngecala luthi lusetyenziswe nasekukhuseleni imvakalelo yomntu. Le nto ithetha ukuba ubani uye angayithethi inyani ngobunjalo bayo ngenxa yokuba engafuni umntu lowo ave kabuhlungu okanye akhazeke. Thatha umzekelo womfundisi-ntsapho othi kumfundi otshone uviwo, "Kumele uqinise umqolo kwaye uzimisele kuvavanyo oluzayo" Endaweni yokuthi kumfundi "umuncu" kufuneka umyalezo wolukuhlo uwuzise ngecala, hayi ngqo.

Ukanti kwelinye icala kukwabalulekile ukumthi tshuphe okanye ukumkrobisa umntu kwinyaniso. Oku kufuneka kwenziwe ngokusebenzisa ubuchule bokukwenza oku. Xa sijonga lamzekelo wumfundisi-ntsapho kulapho aphepha ukuthi kumfundi wakhe umuncu, angathi, "Ndiphawula ukuba kokwesine usenza elibanga, loo nto ithetha ukuba awufundi". Ngale ndlela umfundisi-ntsapho uthi kumfundi wakhe, umuncu. UReardon (1991) uthi ngoCialdini (1985, 1987a, 1987b) usebenzisa kakhulu lemithetho ilandelayo yokuchukumisa impembelelo:- (i) Imbuyekezo; (ii) Ukunqabisa; kunye (iii) nomthetho wegunya.

- (i) Umthetho wembuyekezo ubhekiselele kwimfanelo yokuba ubani abuyisele uhlobo lokuziphatha alufumene komnye umntu. Ngamanye amazwi, uhlobo oluthile lokuziphatha athe ubani walufumana emntwini kufuneka aphinde alubuyisele lunjalo kwa kulo mntu alufumene kuye.

- (ii) Umthetho wokunqabisa ubhekiselele kuluvo oluthe ngqo okanye olungathanga ngqo malunga nokuba okuthile akufumaneki okanye kunqabile. Thatha umzekelo womntu ovelisa amafutha okuthambisa iinwele. Uthi ameme awona manenekazi aphambili nagqwesayo ngobuhle ukuba azokujonga imvelisoyakhe, ngexesha elinye. Oku kunika abantu uluvo lokuba la mafutha afunwa kakhulu ngabantu, kwaye akwizinga eliphezulu, akwabalulekile kanaanjalo.
- (iii) Wona umthetho wegunya ubandakanya ukusebenzisa ubuchule bokuxhasa uluvo, imveliso okanye ukuziphatha okongezelelekayo; ngokukaReardon (1991). Abalukuhli banobuchule bokusebenzisa ezi ndlela zokuchukumisa impembelelo, kwaye bazayamanise nemeko yexesha elo. Ubani angatsho ukuba ulukuhlo lwakhiwa ngendlela eyodwa yokulukuhla umphulaphuli ngomba othile ukuba awamkele ngenxa yokuba kulungile ukwenza oko.

(A) ULUKUHLO OLU LUGCINWA NJANI?

Ulukuhlo lugcinwa ngokusebenzisa inkuthazo ebantwini, intatho-nkxaxheba kunye nembuyekezo. Ukugcinwa kolukuhlo kunceda ekuphumeleleni iinguqu zexesha elide. Ugcino lolukuhlo ngokusebenzisa inkuthazo lubhekiselele ekukhuthazeni abantu ukuba bathathe ingqondo ehambelana nontshintsho. Khon'ukuze umlukuhli aphumelele ekukhuthazeni utshintsho lwengqondo yomlukuhlwa, kufuneka azi kakuhle okucingwa nokufunwa ngumlukuhlwa.

Enye indlela yokugcina ulukuhlo, kukuthatha inkxaxheba kwimeko yenkqubo yolukuhlo. Umlukuhli ofuna utshintsho ekuziphatheni kwabantu kumele ababandakanye kwinkqubo leyo, khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe. Umzekelo, umbandela wezemihlaba apha eMzantsi Afrika awusayi kudala mbambano ukuba abantu banokuthatha inkxaxheba ekuqulunqeni imithetho yoku.

Ulukuhlo lungagcinwa nangokusebenzisa imbuyekezo. Akukho lula ukutshintsha ingqondo yomntu. Kungoko kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli abe nento ambuyekeza ngayo umlukuhlwa. Nangona kunjalo, umlukuhli kumele azazi ngokuqinisekileyo izinto ezibangela umlukuhlwa azingce ngenguquko yakhe. Izinto ezifana nezipho, iimbasa, kunye namazwi nje enkuthazo zizinto athi abuyekwezwe ngazo lowo ulukuhlwayo.

2.2.2 O'Keefe (1990)

(i) Iimpawu Zolukuhlo

Indlela eqhelekileyo yokuchaza ulukuhlo yeyokuba, lunxibelelwano lwabantu olwenza ukuphemelela abanye ngokutshintsha iinkolo zabo, izimilo zabo, kunye nokuxabiseka kwabo. Ulukuhlo yimpumelelo yomntu ekuzameni ukuphemelela omnye. Kakade, oku kumele kuzinziswe kwingqiqo yolukuhlo. Ngako oko, kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli azazi iinjongo zokuba ulukuhlo omnye umntu, kwaye abe nazo nezicwangciso zokufikelela kwezo njongo. Ngeli lixa umlukuhlwa kwelinye icala kumele alukuhleke ngokukhululekileyo. Umzekelo, ukunikezela ngemali kumntu okolathe ngompu kubangelwa kukoyika, hayi intando yakho. Ukanti ukunikezela ngemali kwingxowa-mali yembedlenge ukwenza ngentando yakho nangokukhululekileyo.

Yiyo loo nto, ngokukaO'Keefe (1990), ulukuhlo luphunyelelwa ngonxibelelwano. Oku kuthetha ukuba kumele kubekho umntu othetha nomnye umntu, kubekho intsebenziswano. Umlukuhli unomsebenzi wokuguqula imo yengqondo yomlukuhlwa. Loo nto ithetha ukuba yena umlukuhlwa kufuneka asiguqule isimilo sakhe, xa kukho impembelelo yokuba akwenze oko.

(ii) Inkcazo yolukuhlo

UO'Keefe (1990) uluchaza ulukuhlo njengempumelelo yeenjongo zokuzama ukuphemelela imo yengqondo yomlukuhlwa, ngonxibelelwano kwimeko kulapho akhululekileyo. USchewe (1987, p 187), usichaza ngolu hlobo isimilo; "Attitudes are feelings that express whether a person likes or dislikes objects in his or her environment". Le nkcazelo ibonisa ukuba ayikuphelisi ukubhidanisa iindlela ekuchazwa ngazo ulukuhlo ngabantu.

(iii) Ingqiqo yesimilo

UO'Keefe (1990), uthi isimilo sibonwa njengendlela yokuqhelisa ingqondo kunomzimba njengemeko yangaphakathi ethi iphemelele isimilo. Okunye ngesimilo kukuba sithathwa okanye sibonwa njengendlela eqhelekileyo ubani athi ahlole ngayo okuthile. UO'Keefe (1990, p 18) uthi uFishbein noAjzen (1975) bathi ngoku, "The notion of an attitude as an

evaluative judgement of an object is a common theme in definitions of attitude, and is also implicit in traditional attitude assessment techniques” Ngaphaya kolu luvo kukho imiba ebalulekileyo nemangalisayo ebonisa ukuba isimilo siyafundwa, hayi into ubani azalwa nayo. Isimilo sibonisa amava anawo umntu, kwaye siyanyamezeleka. Ngenxa yoku isimilo sibonakala njengento ephembelela ukuziphatha.

(iv) Ubugcisa bokulinganisela isimilo

Ukuba ulukuhlo lubonwa njengento yokutshintsha isimilo somntu, ke ngoko ufundo ngolukuhlo lufuna iinzame zokujonga isimilo somntu. Isimilo silinganiswa ngezi ntlobo zobugcisa zilandelayo:-

(a) Ubugcisa obuthe ngqo

UO'Keefe (1990), uyibeka ngale ndlela inkcazelo yobugcisa obuthe ngqo, ubugcisa bokulinganisa isimilo obuthe ngqo bobu buthi bubuze ngqo kumphenduli ngesigwebo sokuhlola isimilo sento. Oku kuhlolwa ngokusebenzisa inkqubo yokujonga ethe ngqo, efana nokusetyenziswa kwezikali zokuhlola ngokwe Semantiki kunye nokubuza umbuzo ube mnye.

(b) Izikali zokuhlola ngokweSimantiki

Eyona ndlela iphambili yokujonga isimilo kukusebenzisa izikali zika Osgood, Suci, kunye Tannenbaum (1957), bechatshulwe kuO'Keefe (1990). Kwezi nkqubo umphenduli uthelekisa isimilo sento kumanani esikali esintlandlo-mbini. Umzekelo, kwimeko kulapho ubani enokubuzwa ukuba achaze izimvo zakhe malunga norhulumente okhokhelwa yi-African National Congress eMzantsi Afrika ngokuba athi ulungile okanye akalunganga kusini na.

(c) Umlinganiselo wesimilo sento enye

Le yenye yeenzame ezithe ngqo ekujongeni isimilo. Lilonke apha umphenduli kufuneka agcwalise uxwebhu lwemibuzo olubuza into enye, ukwenzela isigwebo esilungileyo. Umzekelo, xa ubani enokubuzwa malunga nombutho wombhoxo walapha eMzantsi Afrika

ukuba uwuthanda kangakanani na usenga phendula athi, “Andiwuthandi kakhulu” okanye “Andiwuthandi konke konke”.

(d) limpawu zobugcisa obuthe ngqo

Ubugcisa obuthe ngqo bokulinganisela isimilo buthi bunike uncedo olulula noluthe tse, nekulula ukulilawula. Obu bugcisa bakheka lula, kwaye buhlola ngeendlela ezininzi. Le ndlela ihlola isimilo somphenduli kwimpendulo yakhe.

(e) Ubugcisa obungathi buthe ngqo

Ubugcisa obungathi buthe ngqo bokulinganisela isimilo bubonakala njengendlela yokujonga isimilo, hayi ukuvelisa isigwebo esihlola isimilo somntu. Obu bugcisa buvelisa ulwazi olungqamene nesimilo kwaye bunikele ngendlela yokuhlola isimilo ethe tse. Kumele kubekho ubugcisa bokuthelekisa izinto, kwaye ubani abenakho ukudwelisa okanye abeke izinto ngokoluhlu lazo. Ubani kumele avelise ubugcisa bokubonisa indlela avakalelwa ngayo malunga nento okanye umba othile.

(f) Isikali sikaThurstone (1931) sokulinganisela isimilo

Esikali sikaThurstone (1931) esifumaneka kuO'Keefe (1990) sinika inkcazo malunga nento ethile. Oku kuthetha ukuba inkcazo inokubonisa isimilo somntu ngokubhekiselele kwinto ephantsi kophando. Oku kusenokuboniswa ngokuthi kubekho iintetho ezifana nale ilandelayo: “Amaziko emali mboleko akathembakali”. Amakhulukhulu abantu aye asebenze nje ngabagwebi kwimiba enje.Imiba enje ithi igwetywe ngokuthi ihlelwe ngokobungakanani, ukusukela kwisinye ukuya kwishumi elinanye.

Zonke iintetho ezihlelwa phantsi kwesinye ukuya kwisihlanu zibonisa uku kungavumelani nento okanye okuthile. Ngeli lixa ezihlelwa phantsi kwesixhenxe ukuya kwishumi elinanye zibonisa isivumelwano nokuthile. Khon'ukuze ezo zihlelwa phantsi kwesithandathu ibe zezo ziphakathi. Ngamanye amagama, oku akuthathi cala. Kukho nesinye isikali esenziwa yimiba emalunga namashumi amabini ethe yakhethwa kuleyo ethe yashiyekela.

(g) Isikali sikaLikert (1932) sesi similo

Ngokuka O'Keefe (1990) ubugcisa bokulinganisela isimilo obuvezwa nguLikert (1932), nabo bubonisa ukuvumelana neentetho ezithile ezimalunga nesimilo. Ngenxa yoku kubalulekile ukuba zonke iimpendulo ezingenacala okanye ezingacacanga zipheliswe. Ngale ndlela kuya kukwazeka ukuba ukweliphi na icala umphenduli.

(h) limpawu zobugcisa obungathi buthe ngqo

Kuphawuleka ukuba abantu abanezimilo ezingahambisaniyo nentetho ethi, umzekelo, "Eli ziko lemali liyabakhuthaza abantu", iba ngabo abahambisana neziko elo lemali. Ngeli lixa kwelinye icala abo bangahambisaniyo nelo ziko lemali bevumelana kakhulu nentetho ethi, "Eli ziko lemali liyabaqhatha abantu". Njengakubuchule bokujonga ngokuhlela izimilo zabantu, nalapha kubakho umahluko phakathi kwezimilo zabantu malunga nento okanye nombamba othile. Apha kubugcisa obungathi buthe ngqo kukholiswa ukubuzwa umbuzo ongqamene nesimilo. Kude kube ngeli xesha ubugcisa obungathanga ngqo bufumaneka kancinci kwiincwadi zonxibelelwano. Obona bugcisa bungathanga ngqo bunokusetyenziswa, ngokuka O'Keefe (1990) bufumaneka kuDawes noSmith (1985); uKidder noCampbell (1970). Iindlela zobugcisa obungathanga ngqo zijonga isimilo soku kulandelayo:-

(i) Umlinganiselo wesimilo ngokwamalungu omzimba

Amalungu adlala indima enkulu nebalulekileyo ekujongeni isimilo somntu malunga nokuthile. Oku kuthetha ukuba kuxhonyekeke kumalungu omzimba khon'ukuze ubani abenakho ukubona achaze isimilo somntu. Oku kubandakanya ukuvuleka nokuvaleka kweliso, ukubetha kwentliziyo njengempawu ezinokubonisa isimilo somntu.

(j) Olunye uhlobo lokujonga isimilo, luvavanyo lolwazi

Ulwazi malunga nesimilo esingathanga ngqo luvavanywa ngokuthi umphenduli abuzwe umbuzo ngento eqhelekileyo. Oku kubhekiselele kwinto yokuba isigwebo somntu singaphenjelelwa sisimilo sakhe. Ngoko ke ukuba kungaqwalaselwa isigwebo somphenduli malunga nobunyani bento, ikho into enokufundwa malunga nesimilo somphenduli.

Umphenduli uye enze impazamo xa athe wakhethiswa kwimpendulo ezininzi zombuzo ezimalunga nobunyani bento, kodwa zibe zingalunganga. Nangona kunjalo impendulo enikwa phantsi kwale meko ayiphenjelelwa sisimilo. Ngenxa yoku kusafuneka kwenziwe uphando olululo malunga nendlela yokwenza umlinganiselo wesimilo.

(k) Ubugcisa bephetshana elilahlekileyo

Le yindlela engathanga ngqo yokujonga isimilo ekuhlaleni. NgokukaO'Keefe (1990), obu bugcisa bubandakanya usasazo lwamaphetshana kumaqela ahlukeneyo ngezimilo malunga nesihloko esithile. Umzekelo, Ukuxhonywa kwabaphuli-mthetho kulungile eMzantsi Afrika. Umphandi uya kuthi ajonge awona maphetshana maninzi athe abuyiswa ukuba athini malunga nesi sihloko.

Xa kunokwenzeka abe maninzi amaphetshana athi kulungile ukubuyiswa kwentambo eMzantsi Afrika, oko kokona kuya kuthathwa nje ngoluvo lwabahlali jikelele. Malunga nobu bugcisa, kukho ingxaki eqhelekileyo. Ingxaki kukuba kukholisa ukubakho amanani athi alinganiswe ngenxa yokungavisisani, kunobugcisa ubuthe ngqo. Ngenxa yoku, lithi linciphe ifuthe lwabo bathi bawathumele amaphetshana ngokuphenjelelwa zizimilo zabo, kunabo bangawathumeliyo kwaphela ,nabo bakhetha naliphi na icala malunga nombala lowo.

(l) Iimpawu zobugcisa obungathanga ngqo

Ubugcisa obungathanga ngqo bokujonga isimilo bubandakanya ,ngokukaO'Keefe (1990), uxwebhu lwemibuzo nosiba ukugxininisa emntwini omnye. Oku akwenzeki kuzo zonke ezi ntlobo zobugcisa. Omnye angakubeka ngolu hlobo oku, iimpawu zobugcisa obungathanga ngqo azisoloko zikulandela oku kukhankanywa apha. Oku kuthetha ukuba kukho iimeko kulapho ubani angathethi into ngqo, ngenxa yokuba esoyikisela ukuvela kwesimilo somphenduli. Oku kusenokuchaphazela nesimilo sesithethi.

2.2.3 Adler NoRodman (1997)

Ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997), ulukuhlo yinkqubo yokukhuthaza umntu ukuba atshintshe kwinkolelo anayo, kwisimilo, okanye ekuziphatheni. Le nkcazo ibandakanya ezi mpawu zilandelayo:-

(i) Ulukuhlo alunyanzelisi

Ukunyanzelisa umntu ekwenzeni into ethile akufani nokumlukuhla khon'ukuze akwenze oko. Ukuba umntu uthi, "Khupha yonke imali onayo" abe ngelo xesha ekubeke imela emqaleni, uyakunyanzelisa ekwenzeni oko. Ngeli lixa ulukuhlo lona lunganyanzelisi kwaphela, kuba ulukuhlo aluyonto inye nokunyanzelisa. Kwakhona ulukuhlo lubangela umlukuhlwa acinge okanye enze ngokwahlukileyo kwinkolelo, kwisimilo nasekuziphatheni kwangaphambili. Kangangokuba uConradie (1999: p 79), uthi, "To support your appeal, you have to use logical reasoning and rely on the emotions or sentiments of the listener". Kuphela kweqhinga onokulisebenzisa xa ungumlukuhli ofuna ukuguqula isimilo somntu.

(ii) Ulukuhlo ludla ngokwandiseka

Ngenxa yokuba ulukuhlo luyinkqubo eqhubekayo, izimilo zabantu azitshintshi rhoqo okanye ngephanyazo, koko zithatha ixesha, ngokwandiswa kolukuhlo. Ngamanye amazwi ulukuhlo luphunyelelwa ngokupheleleyo, kwaye kancinci-kancinci njengokuba ixesha lihamba. Ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997), olu phawu lolukuhlo lucaciswa ziinzululwazi zonxibelelwano ngokusebenzisa ithiyori yasekuhlaleni.

Kungoko abantu baye bathelekise intetho yolukuhlo, xa bephulaphule intetho yolukuhlo, kunye nolwazi abanalo malunga nentetho leyo. UAdler noRodman (1997) ulwazi okanye uluvo abasele benalo yi-Ankile. Yona i-Ankile ithi inike ubungakanani bokwamkela, ubungakanani bokungamkeli, kunye nobungakanani bokungazibopheleli.

Inqabile into yokuba abantu abazibandakanya buqu kumba othile bangazibopheleli, xa kuthelekiswa kunye nabo bangawukhathalelanga umbawo. Ngokweenjongo zolukuhlo, akwamkelekanga ukuba umlukuhlwa angazibopheleli okanye angawamkeli umbawo kungawo. Yiyo le nto izithethi zase sidlangalaleni ezinyamekele imithetho yethiyori

yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni zifuna ukubonisa izinto njengokuba zinjalo, xa iintetho zazo zineenjongo ezilulamileyo.

(iii) Ulukuhlo luyanxulumanisa

Ulukuhlo luyinto ubani ayenza kunye nabaphulaphuli, hayi into ayenza kubaphulaphuli. Yiyo le nto kusithiwa ulukuhlo luyanxulumanisa, lubandakanya unxibelelwano. Oku kubonwa kwiingxoxo phakathi kwabantu ababini, kulapho kukho uku kungavumelani kwiingxoxo kunokukhokhelela kwisisombululo. Kwakhona kungabonakala kunxibelelwano lwasesidlangalaleni, kulapho isithethi nabaphulaphuli bathatha inkxaxheba.

(iv) Ulukuhlo lusenokuba ngumthetho osesikweni

Ulukuhlo olungumthetho osesikweni ludlala indima ebalulekileyo ebomini bomntu. Olu uhlobo lolukuhlo lolona lunconywayo ekutshintsheni izimilo nokuziphatha ebantwini. Oku kwenzeka kuphela xa olu hlobo lolukuhlo lusemgangathweni owamkelekileyo. Umzekelo, ukubonisa ngokucacileyo kulapho ufumene khona ulwazi xa usenza intetho yolukuhlo kulungile. Ungasebenzisi izimvo zomnye umntu ngokungathi zezakho.

Unxibelelwano oluxhomekeke kubuxoki nakulwazi olulahlekisayo kubaphulaphuli, aluwulandeli umthetho osesikweni wolukuhlo. UAdler noRodman (1997, p 471) bakungqina oku ngokuthi, "... consider it as communication in the best interest of the audience that does not depend on false or misleading information to change an audience's attitude or behavior".

(A) UKUHLELWA KWEENTLOBO ZOLUKUHLO

Eli candelo liza kuqwalasela ngokukodwa kwiindlela zokuhlelwa kolukuhlo. Ezi ndlela zezi zilandelayo:- (i) Ngohlobo lokuqondisa, (ii) Ngohlobo lwesiphumo esinqwenelekayo, (iii) Ngohlobo lwendlela ethe ngqo.

(i) Ngohlobo lokuqondisa

Nje ngesithethi, iintlobo zolukuhlo ungazihlela ngeendlela ezahlukileyo. Kuxhomekeka kwinto ofuna ukuyiphumeza nendlela ofuna ukukwenza ngayo oko. Ulukuhlo luhlelwa lube

zezi ndidi zilandelayo:- (a) umqondiso wenyani; (b) umqondiso wexabiso; (c) kunye nomqondiso wenkqubo.

(a) Umqondiso wenyani

Ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997) kukho imiba ethi ifune ukuba abaphulaphuli bazikhethela inyani, ngenxa yokuba le miba iye ibe namacala amaninzi akhabanayo nobungqina. Umzekelo, ingaba umbhexeshi weqela le-"African National Congress" (A.N.C) ukho okanye uyabandakanyeka, okanye akabandakanyeki kusini na kwisigqibo sorhwebelwano ngezixhobo zemfazwe. Oku kuzama ukubonisa ukuba kukho imibuzo enganakuthi iphendulwe ngokuthi ewe okanye hayi nje lula. Loo nto ithetha ukuba umqondiso wenyani ufuna kuxoxwe kuqala kwenziwe nophando oluza kuza nobungqina.

(b) Umqondiso wexabiso

Endaweni yokujonga ubunyani nokuphosisa kumba othile, oku kuhlola ixabiso lwezimvo, lo mntu, okanye lwento. Nangona kunjalo, khon'ukuze ubani amelane nomqondiso wexabiso kumele awazi umqondiso wenyani. Umzekelo, ingaba kukho ubunyani okanye ukungabi nabunyani benthetho ejolise kwiphephandaba i-"Die Burger" kunye ne-"Eikestad" xa kusithiwa anobuhlanga. Umntu ophendulayo kumele akwazi ukuxhasa ingxoxo yakhe malunga nalo mba. Ukubonakala kwexabiso lala maphepha kuxhomekeke ekubonisweni komqondiso wobunyani boku.

(c) Umqondiso wenkqubo

Lo umqondiso ujonga ngaphaya kwale miqondiso mibini sele ichaziwe ngaphambili, ngokuthi uncome intshukumo yenkqubo ethile. Umzekelo, urhulumente woMzantsi Afrika kumele okanye akumelanga anganelele kumba woxambuliswano ngomhlaba kwilizwe lase Zimbabwe. Ukanti yomithathu le miqondiso isengafumaneka kwintetho enye yolukuhlo, kuxhomekeke ekwakhiweni kwentetho leyo.

(ii) **Ngohlobo lwesiphumo esinqwenelekayo**

Ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997), ulukuhlo lungahlolwa ngokwezona ziphumo ziphambili, ezizezi:- (a) ukuqinisekisa (b) kunye nokuqhubekekisa.

(a) Ngokuqinisekisa

Xa isithethi sifuna ukutshintsha indlela abacinga ngayo abaphulaphuli siye sibaqinisekise ngokuthile. Maxa wambi abaphulaphuli basenokuba kudala becinga ngalo mba uza nawo. Kwimeko enjalo isithethi kumele sibethethelele lo ngcinga sele benayo abaphulaphuli. Umzekelo, ukuba abaphulaphuli bakho bakholelwa kwinto yokuba kufanele abafundi baxhaswe ngemali ngurhulumente, kodwa oku bengakuhoyanga, wena nje ngesithethi kumele ubethelele le nkolo sele benayo ngomba ololo hlobo.

(b) Ukuqhubekisa

Umlukuhli uye asebenzise uqhubekiso xa efuna abaphulaphuli bakhe baziphathe ngohlobo oluthile. Umlukuhli uye ancome intshukumo ethile kubaphulaphuli bakhe ngokuthi ababone besamkela okanye beyeka into kwintetho yakhe yoqhubekiso. Umzekelo, ukuba wenza intetho ekhabana noqhekezo lwezindlu uze uthi kubaphulaphuli mabatyikitye ukuba bakuyeke oku, uya ngenxa yokuba uthi mabakuyeke oku kuziphatha kungalunganga.

(iii) **Ngohlobo lwendlela etho ngqo**

UAdler noRodman (1997) bakhlela oku ngokwezindlela zilandelayo:- (a) ulukuhlo oluthe ngqo, (b) nolukuhlo olungatha ngqo.

(a) Ulukuhlo oluthe ngqo

Umlukuhli uthi angazifihli iinjongo zakhe zokulukuhla kubaphulaphuli bakhe. Ngako oko, abaphulaphuli baye babe nakho ukumbona umlukuhli kulapho ajolise khona kwintetho yakhe. Kungoko uAdler noRodman (1997, p 475), besithi ngolukuhlo oluthe ngqo, "Direct persuasion is that which does not try to disguise the speaker's persuasive purpose in any way". Ngamanye amazwi omlukuhli uye akuthethe kucace kwaye ngethuba akufunayo, xa elindele impendulo kubaphulaphuli malunga nombona. Nangona kunjalo, olu hlobo lolukuhlo lulunge kuphela xa abaphulaphuli bebonisa ububele kwisithethi.

(b) Ulukuhlo olungathanga ngqo

Olu lukuhlo luyaphikisana nolu luthe ngqo, ngenxa yokuba umlukuhli akazivezi iinjongo zakhe zokwenza ulukuhlo. Ngokuka-Adler noRodman (1997, p 475) "Indirect persuasion disguises or de-emphasizes the speaker's persuasive purpose in some way". Oku kwenzeka kakhulu xa ubume bemeko bungalunganga. Ngamanye amazwi oku kwenzeka xa abaphulaphuli bengenabubele ngakwintetho yomlukuhli. Umzekelo, ilungu leqela lwezopolitiko lingathetha nabahlali ngowona mba uphambili noyingxaki kubo. Kube oku kungabalulekanga kangako Kwiqela elo, ibe into ephambili eqeleni ikukuba okanye ikukuthi, "Ndicela nilikhumbule igama lam, kwaye nivotele mna kunyulo oluzayo".

2.3 IITHIYORI ZOLUKUHLO

Iithiyori ezimbini ziza kuqwalaselwa banzi apha kweli icandelo. Ezi thiyori zezi zilandelayo:- Iithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni kunye neModeli yotyatyadulo ngokunokwenzeka.

2.3.1 Iithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni: O'Keefe (1990)

Okona kuphambili kumele kwaziwe ngokukholelwa kwisigwebo sethiyori yasekuhlaleni, kukuba utshintsho lwesimilo lulanyulwa ngeenkqubo zokugweba nefuthe lazo. Ifuthe kunxibelelwano olulukuhlayo luxhomekeke kwindlela aluhlola ngayo umlukuhlwa. Kuthi ngenxa yokuba umlukuhlwa ethe wayihlola into emelwe ngumyalezo, isimilo sitshintshe. Ngenxa yoku kuthi kubekho iziphumo zolukuhlo eziziintlobo ngeentlobo.

(A) ISIGWEBO SOBUME OBUBOBUNYE KUMBA

Umba wolukuhlo ukholisa ukuba neembono eziliqela ezahlukeneyo. Ubani unakho ukuhlola obu bume ngeendlela ezahlukeneyo. Xa ubani ehlola ubume bomba othile usengazamkela ezinye iindawo zawo, ngeli lixa ezinye esonokungazamkeli okanye angathathi cala. Ngokwe thiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni, intshukumo yomntu ixhomekeke kwindlela agweba ngayo umyalezo wolukuhlo. UO'Keefe (1990) uqhuba athi kukho inkqubo yolukuhlo enikwa yithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni ekuthiwa luluhlu lwemibuzo ecwangcisiweyo.

(i) Uluhlu lwemibuzo ecwangcisiweyo

Olu luhlu lucwangcisiweyo lwemibuzo lunika ophendulayo iintlobo zenkcazo ezimele izimvo ezahlukeneyo malunga nombala othile. Oku kuthetha ukuba umbuzo ngamnye umele imbano eyahlukileyo, kumbala lowo. Kule mibuzo icwangcisiweyo, umphenduli kufuneka alubunise uluvo lwakhe malunga nombuzo ngamnye ngokuthi asebenzise ezimpawu zilandelayo:- (+ +); (+); (X X); (X). Olu uphawu (+ +) luthetha ukuba umphenduli uyayamkela kakhulu inkcazo. Abeke olu uphawu (+) xa eyamkela. Aze abeke olu uphawu (X X) xa echasene kakhulu nenkcazo. Agqibele ngokubeka olu (X) xa echasene nenkcazo.

Ngokusebenzisa ezi mpawu kutsho kube lula ukubona ubungakanani bokwamkela, ubungakanani bokwala kunye nobungakanani bokungazibopheleli komphenduli. NgokukaO'Keefe (1990), ithiyori yesigwebo yasekuhlaleni yenza isindululo sokuba iindlela ezimisiweyo kulwaxhiwo lokugweba obu bungakanani, kubandakanye ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu.

(B) INGQIQO YOKUBANDAKANYEKA KWAM BUQU

Ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu kubakho xa ubani ebonakalisa ukuchatshazelwa ngumba, okanye xa umbala lowo ubalulekile kuye. Kuyacaca ukuba ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu bungqala kanye kumbala othile. Oku kuthetha ukuba umntu obandakanyeka buqu kumbala othile akanakubandakanyeka nakweminye imiba. Ngako oko, kungatshiwo ukuba iindlela zokubandakanyeka komntu buqu zahlukile, kwaye oku kubangela ukuba nezigwebo ezaxhiwe ngokwahlukeneyo.

(C) UBUNGAKANANI NOKUBANDAKANYEKA KWAM BUQU

NgokukaO'Keefe (1990), ithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni ithi umgangatho wokubandakanyeka kwam buqu unakho ukuphemelela ubungakanani bokugweba ngombala othile. Ngenxa yoku, umzekelo, ukuba kuyanda ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu kumbala othile, ubungakanani bokungamkeli bona buyancipha kunye nobungakanani bokungazibopheleli.

Kukho iinkqubo eziliqela zokulinganisela ukujonga ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu. Kukwakho neenkqubo zokulinganisela ubungakanani boku. Okokuqala, ubungakanani

bokwala bungajongwa ngokwamanqanaba obulungu bomntu kwiqela elithile. Umzekelo, xa unokuhambisa amaxwebhu emibuzo ecwangcisiweyo kumafama aseZimbabwe, mibuzo leyo icebisa ukuba mawanikezele ngomhlaba. Ngokwalo mzekelo, abo bathe babandakanyeka buqu kuhlutho lweefama baya ngenxa yokuba nobungakanani obukhulu bokungakwamkeli oku, kunabo bathe ababandakanyeka. Ngako oko, kungatshiwo ukuba abantu ababandakanyeka kakhulu kumba othile, bebonakalisa ubungakanani obukhulu bokungamkeli kunabo bangabandakanyeki kakhulu.

Enye indlela yokulinganisela ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu kukwenza inkqubo yokuhlela izinto ngokwakho. Ukuhlela kwakho kuqala ukunika abantu iinkcazo ezingamashumi amathathu nagaphezulu, malunga nesihloko esithile. Abantu kufuneka bazihlengahlengise ezi nkcazo ngokweendlela abacinga ngayo ukuba zimele iindawo ezithile kumba lowo kungawo. Ngale ndlela kuphawuleka ukuba abo bathe bazibandakanya kakhulu benza uhlelo oluncinci kunabo bathe bazibandakanya kancinci.

(D) IINTSHUKUMO KUNXIBELELWANO

Kunxibelelwano lolukuhlo, khon'ukuze luphumelele, kuxhomekeka kwindlela alujonga ngayo umlukuhlwa uluvo lonxibelelwano. Oku kungaphawulwa kwintshukumo yomlukuhlwa malunga nombala lowo. Ngokufutshane, intshukumo yomlukuhlwa ixhomekeke ekubeni uwuva njani umyalezo wolukuhlo. Umlukuhlwa angazibona sele enika iziphumo ezahlukeneyo nodibaniso xa ezama ukufikelela kwisigwebo sethiyori yasekuhlaleni.

(E) IZIPHUMO EZINGUMAPHLUKO NOMANYANO

Iziphumo ezahlukeneyo nodibaniso zibakho ngenxa yomyalezo othile olukhlayo. Yena umlukuhlwa ujonga ukuba lo myalezo uyahambisana na noluvo lwakhe. Ngale ndlela umlukuhlwa uye anciphise amathuba eyantlukwano phakathi kwezimvo zomyalezo wolukuhlo kunye nezakhe. Ngeli lixa iziphumo ezahlukeneyo ziba khona xa umlukuhlwa ewuva umyalezo nje ngezimvo ezikhabanayo nezakhe. Ngenxa yoku, ubungakanani bokungamkeli bungakhokhelela kwiyantlukwano, ukanti bona ubungakanani bokwamkela bungakhokhelela kumanyano.

(F) IIZIPHUMO ZOKUTSHINTSHA KWESIMILO

Unxibelelwano lubonakala nje ngento ethi imele indawo yobungakanani bolwamkelo okanye bokungazibopheleli. Ngenxa yoku isimilo siye sitshintshe. Kwelinye icala, unxibelelwano olumele ubungakanani bokwala aluzi natshintsho. Iziphumo zokungangqinelani phakathi komlukuhlwa nomyalezo olukuhlayo kungakhokhelela ekutshintsheni kwesimilo. Ithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni isibonisa ukuba xa isanda iyantlukwano, isimilo sitshintsha side sifikelele kubugakanani bokwala.

Kwakhona, kubalulekile ukuchaza ukuba ithiyori yesigwebo sasekuhlaleni ikwathetha ngokubandakanyeka kwam buqu. Apha umgangatho wokubandakanyeka kwam buqu uthathwa nje ngophembelela ukutshintsha kwesimilo, umzekelo, ukuba umlukuhlwa ubandakanyeka kakhulu kumba othile, ubungakanani bokwala kwakhe kukhula kakhulu.

2.3.2 I modeli yotyatyadulo ngokunokwenzeka: O'Keefe (1990)

Le modeli ibonisa ukuba okubalulekileyo kunxibelelwano yimisebenzi yokunokwenzeka, xa abaphulaphuli benokuzibandakanya kulwazi olusondeleyo kumba othile wolukuhlo. Ngenxa yeentlobo ezahlukeneyo zotyatyadulo, iziphumo zolukuhlo ziyaphembeleleka.

(A) UMAHLUKO PHAKATHI KWENDLELA ENGUNDOQO NENDLELA EPHUME NGAPHANDLE: UHLOBO LOTYATYADULO

Ukuzibandakanya kwabaphulaphuli kutyatyadulo kumba ulukuhlayo kuxhomekeke kwiimeko ezahlukeneyo. Amaxesha amaninzi abaphulaphuli bazibandakanya nemiba ephathelelene nabo. Umzekelo, xa bephulaphule umyalezo onemiba ephathelelene nabo, baye bawuphicothe ngobunono umyalezo onengxoxo enokubonakala nekweminye imiba ephathelelene nabo.

Ukanti maxa wambi, xa abaphulaphuli bephawula ukuba umyalezo unemiba engaphathelenenga nabo, abazibandakanyi ekuwuphicotheni. Oku kuthetha ukuba ababi natyatyadulo lungako ngemiba leyo. Ngenxa yoku iingcali zonxibelelwano zathi zavelisa iindlela zokujonga ubungakanani botyatyadulo kwimeko ethile. Ubugcisa obubandakanya ingqiqo bubonwa nje ngeyona ndlela ithe ngqo ekujongeni ubungakanani botyatyadulo. UO'Keefe (1990) uthi, imodeli yokunokwenzeka ibonisa ukuba ulukuhlo lungena naphi na

phakathi kwendawo yotyatyadulo engu-A kunye nengu-B. Oku kuthetha ukuba inkqubo yolukuhlo ithi yahluke njengokuba ubungakanani botyatyadulo buye busohluka.

(B) INDLELA ENGUNDOQO NENDLELA EPHUME NGAPHANDLE UKUYA KULUKUHLO

Indlela engundoqo eya kulukuhlo ibonisa iinkqubo ezibandakanyekayo xa okunokwenzeka ngotyatyadulo kukwiqondo eliphezulu. Ulukuhlo oluphunyelelwa ngale ndlela lubakho xa umba uphathelene nabaphulaphguli, ulwazi olukumyalezo luvavanywe ngobunono, ukuthathelwa kwengqalelo kweminye imiba ephathelelene nabo.

Ngeli lixa indlela ephume ngaphandle imele iinkqubo ezibandakanyekayo xa okunokwenzeka ngotyatyadulo kukwiqondo eliphantsi. Ngokwale ndlela, ulukuhlo oluphunyelelwa ngokusebenzisa indlela ephume ngaphandle. Oku kwenzeka kakhulu xa umphulaphuli esebenzisa indlela yokuthatha isigqibo lula ukuhlola okumelwe ngumyalezo. Umphulaphuli uye akhokelelwe koku yinkolelo yakhe, isimilo sakhe, okanye kukungathembeki komlukuhli. Ezi ndlela zimele nje utyatyadulo oluphezulu nolusezantsi, kwaye asizizo ezona ndlela zigqibeleleyo nezikhethekileyo zolukuhlo.

(C) IIMEKO EZICHUKUMISA UBUNGAKANANI BOTYATYADULO

NgokukaO'Keefe (1990), kukho iimeko ezimbini eziphembelela ubungakanani botyatyadulo olunokwenziwa ngumphulaphuli nakwiyiphi imeko. Ezi meko zihlelwa ngokodidi lwenkathalo yomphulaphuli ekuzibandakanyeni kutyatyadulo. Olunye udidi lolwamandla omphulaphuli ekuzibandakanyeni kutyatyadulo.

(D) IIMEKO EZICHAPHAZELA INKATHAZO YOTYATYADULO

Ubungakanani bokubandakanyeka komphulaphuli kumba othile, kulapho isihloko sawo siphathelelene naye, kubonwa nje ngeyona ndlela iphambili kulukuhlo. Enye indlela ephambili ekhuthaza impembelelo yotyatyadulo, zizinto ekuvela kuzo ulwazi lonxibelelwano ezibonisa iingxoxo ezininzi.

Imfuneko yokuqiqa, ngokukaO'Keefe (1990), yimeko yesithathu ephembelela inkuthazo kutyatyadulo eya kuthi ijongwe ngokomgangatho wemfuneko yokucinga okanye ukuqiqa.

Le meko ebhekiselele kwabo bakuthandayo ukucinga nokuzibandakanya kumba lowo. Abantu abangakuthandiyo ukucinga bathi baphembeleleke lula yindlela ephume ngaphandle. Ngeli lixa aba bakuthandayo ukucinga baphenjelelwa zingxoxo zemiyalezo yokwenene.

(E) IIMEKO EZICHUKUMISA AMANDLA OTYATYADULO

Kukho iimeko ezimbini eziphambelela amandla omphulaphuli ekuzibandakanyeni kumba ophathelelene naye. UO'Keefe (1990) usixelela ngophazamiso kunye nolwazi lwangaphambili, malunga nomyalezo. Uphazamiso olu lubhekiselele kubukho bezinto ezithi zibekho ngexesha ekudluliswa ngalo myalezo. Umzekelo, ukudanyadanyaza kwezibane, ukuvakala kwezandi eziphindaphindayo ezifana nezefoni, ukumbakrazwa kweengcango, ngeli lixa isithethi sithethayo. Kwimodeli engokunokwenzeka kutyatyadul, ezi zandi kumele zibe khona kuphela xa ziluqinisa ulukuhlo, hayi ukuluphazamisa.

Imeko yesibini yeyolwazi lwangaphambili lomphulaphuli malunga nesihloko esilukuhlayo. Ulwazi oluninzi lwangaphambili lubangela umphulaphuli akwazi ukucinga ngomba ophathelelene naye. UO'Keefe (1990) uthi, izifundo ezenziwa nguWood (1982) neqela lakhe zibonisa ukuba, okuya umphulaphuli esiba nolwazi lwangaphambili, kokona esiya ezibonakalisa kwaye ezibandakanya kwimiba ephathelelene naye. Ngenxa yoku neziphumo ezilindelekileyo zolukuhlo ziyanda.

(F) IMPEMBELELO ZEZIPHUMO ZOLUKUHLO PHANTSI KWEEMEKO ZOTYATYADULO OLUPHEZULU: INDLELA ENGUNDOQO EYA KULUKUHLO

Phantsi kweemeko zotyatyadulo oluphezulu, iziphumo zolukuhlo zixhomekeka kwindlela umphulaphuli acinga ngayo malunga nokuthathela ingqalelo umba ophathelelene naye kwiingxoxo. Ukuba umphulaphuli uneengcinga ezihambelana noluvo lo myalezo khon'ukuze atshintshe isimilo, umyalezo wolukuhlo uya phumelela. Ukanti kwelinye icala, ukuba akahambelani noluvo lo myalezo, ulukuhlo aluphumeleli. Iimpembelelo kwindlela yokutyatyadula kwiingxoxo yomyalezo zingajongwa ngokomyalezo ohambelana nesimilo somphulaphuli. Umzekelo, ukuba iingcinga zokuqala zomphulaphuli zingakwicala elingqinelana nomyalezo, kuya kubizwa ngokuba sisimilo esixhasayo okanye esihambelanayo nomyalezo wolukuhlo.

Ngeli lixa enye impembelelo kwindlela yokutyatyadula kwingxoxo yomyalezo ibonwa nje ngengahambelaniyo nesimilo. Ngamanye amazwi, ukuba umba kumyalezo awuhambelani neengcinga zomphulaphuli, isimilo siya kuthambekela kwicala elingangqinelaniyo nomyalezo.

(G) AMANDLA ENGXOXO

Abaphulaphuli bakhuthazwa ukuzibandakanya kwimiba ephathelelene nabo xa utyatyadulo luphezulu. Kumele bawuvavanye, kwaye bawuphonononge umyalezo khon'ukuze Lo myalezo ube nefuthe lokutshintsha izimilo zabo. Ngenxa yoku umlukuhli kumele abe nengxoxo enamandla, ibe nengqiqo, kwaye ibonise nobungqina obulungileyo xa esenza intetho yakhe.

(H) IIMPEMBELELO ZEZIPHUMO ZOLUKUHLO KWIIMEKO ZOTYATYADULO OLUSEZANTSI: INDLELA EPHUME NGAPHANDLE EYA KULUKUHLO

Imodeli yokunokwenzeka yotyatyadulo ibonisa ukuba iziphumo zolukuhlo azinakuba njengokuba umphulaphuli ebecinga. Ngoko ke iziphumo zolukuhlo ziya kuphenjelelwa kakhulu kukusebenzisa imithetho yokuthatha okanye yokwenza isigqibo lula. Le mithetho ibangelwa zizinto eziphume ngaphandle. Umzekelo, ukuba isithethi saziwa ngokuthembeka, kulapho okunokwenzeka ngotyatyadulo kusezantsi, umphulaphuli uthi angacingi okanye aqiqe. Ngenxa yoku, umphulaphuli uye azibone engqinelana nolukuhlo olwenziwa ngendlela ephume ngaphandle.

(I) IINDIDI ZEMIGAQO YOKUFUMANISA

Mininzi imigaqo yokufumanisa, ngokukaO'Keefe (1990), kukho lemithetho ilandelayo: (a) umthetho wokukholelekayo. (b) umthetho wokuthanda. (c) kubekho nomthetho wemvumelwano.

(a) Umthetho wokukholelekayo

Wona umthetho wokukholelekayo usebenza xa umphulaphuli ethembele, kwaye ekholelwa kwisithethi. Umzekelo, ukuba ubani uthembele kwaye uyakholelwa kwilungu

elithile leqela lwezopolitiko, kulula ukuba lo mntu ahambelane nayo yonke into ethethwa lelo lungu. Akukhathaliseki nokuba sele iphume ecaleni intetho leyo.

(b) Umthetho wokuthanda

Umthetho wokuthanda wona usebenza xa umphulaphuli esithanda isithethio. Umzekelo omhle wesi sixhobo solukuhlo ubonakala kwinkqubo yoxolelwaniso kumazwe aseMaNtla Afrika nakwamanye amazwe ehlabathini. Umzekelo, phakathi kwamazwe afana neBurundi neCongo kulapho kugquba khona iimfazwe zobukhaya, kusetyenziswa uNelson Mandela. Ngenxa yokuba ethandwa phantse lihlabathi jikelele, kulula ukudala uxolo phakathi kwezizwe ezingquzulanyo. Kaloku abantu bayamphulaphula xa esenza intetho, nto ke leyo ethi ibenze bantshintshe izimilo kunye nokuziphatha kwabo.

(c) Umthetho wemvumelwano

Umthetho wemvumelwano wona usebenza kwimeko kulapho umphulaphuli evumelana nomyalezo ngenxa yokuba ebona abanye abantu bevumelana. Uthi akholelwe ekubeni umyalezo lowo ulungile kwaye kuyinyani okuthethwa sisithethi. Nalapha ubani anganaso isigqibo sokuba umphulaphuli onje akaziniki thuba lokucinga phambi kokwamkela umyalezo.

2.4 IZINDULULO ZESISEKO SENKQUBO YEENGXOXO EZILUKUHLAYO: LARSON (1995)

Eli candelo liqwalasela ukusetyenziswa kwezindululo zesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ezisetyenziswa ngumluhli ngexesha lokwenza intetho okanye umyalezo olukuhlayo, ngokukaLarson (1995).

2.4.1 Izixhobo zokukhuthaza isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo siqwalasela ekwenzekayo engqondweni yomluhli. Izibheni zolukuhlo zijolise kanye kwizinto eziphembelela iintshukumo zomluhli. NgokukaLarson (1995), kumele kuphononongwe izibheni ezidluliswa ngokusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. Oku kubangelwa sisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Kusetyenziswa kakhulu iimfuno, ukuziphatha, kunye nokungaguququki

ngabalukuhli xa besenza iintetho zabo zolukuhlo. Oku kubasebenzela ekufumaneni inkxaso kubaphulaphuli, nasekuvumelelaneni nomyalezo womlukuhli. Obu buchule bokufumana inkxaso yomphulaphuli bucaciswe apha ngezantsi, ngokokulandelelana kwazo ezi nkqubo.

IIMFUNO: ISIXHOBO SOKUQALA, NGOKUKAPACKARD (1964)

Njengokuba umntu ngamnye eneemfuno ezizezakhe, kukho ezifanayo kumntu wonke kwaye ekungenakuphilwa ngaphandle kwazo. Zikwakhona nezo kunokuphilwa ngaphandle kwazo. Ngoko ke umlukuhli okwaziyo oku, uye enze isibheni esebenzisa olu lwazi xa esenza iintetho yakhe. Ngamanye amagama, umlukuhli ozaziyo iimfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe uyaluphumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe.

Olu luvo lungqinwa nguPackard (1964) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995) ngokuthi uninzi lwemizi mveliso lusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji yona yenza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Oku kuthetha ukuba umlukuhli kufuneka abe nolwazi ngengqondo yomphulaphuli wakhe. Yiyo le nto abarhwebi bebacingela abantu nje ngabangakwaziyo abakufunayo xa bethenga. Ngenxa yokuba bengakwazi abamakuthenge, bathanda ukuxhomekeka kwizinto ezithandwayo okanye ezingathandwayo ngabanye abantu.

Kuthe xa iingcaphephe zonxibelelwano zizama ukuza nezona mfuno zibalulekileyo ebantwini, uPackard (1964) weza nezisibhozo kuphando lwakhe. Zosibhozo ziphantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Ezi mfuno ziza kushwankathelwa apha ngezantsi, ngokulandelelana kwazo. Phambi kokushwankathela ezi mfuno, kubalulekile ukuqaphela ukuba zisetyenziswa kakhulu kule mihla, kwiintengiso, kwezopolitiko, nkqu nakwipropaganda.

(1) Imfuno yokhuseleko lwemvakalelo

Abantu kwiilabathi jikelele abakhuselekanga ngenxa yokuhla kwezinga lwezoqoqosho, ungcoliseko lomoya, izifo ezibulalayo ezifana nesifo somhlaza kunye nesifo uGawulayo. Umntu ngamnye ufuna ukuva ekhuselekile. Ngenxa yoku umlukuhli onolwazi ngoku uya phumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe.

Xa kuza kuqwalaselwa kwihlabathi nje jikelele, kuphawuleka ukuba, kwicala likaGawulayo, akukho mntu ufunayo ukuba naso esi sifo sibulala izizwe njengethutyana elifutshane. Kangangokuba umlukuphi oligqirha, umzekelo, othi unalo iyeza lokunyanga esi sifo, ufumana abathengi nabaxhasi xa esenza intetho yakhe kubaphulaphuli abanesi sifo. Kaloku akukho mntu unqwenela ukufa ngenxa yesi sifo okanye nasiphi na isifo.

(2) Imfuno yokuqinisekisa uxabiseko

Ukuba ihlabathi alikhuselekanga kwizinto ezininzi ezixhalabisayo, abantu balahlekelwa lixabiso. Ngenxa yoku kukho ukhuphiswano ebantwini olumalunga nokuqinisekisa ixabiso lo mntu ngamnye. Oku kubonakala kwiintlobo ntlobo zabantu, kumacandelo entlalo, kunye nawemisebenzi.

NgokukaPackard (1964), abafazi basekhaya, abasebenzi bemizi mveliso, abasebenzi bakarhulumente, nabo bafuna ukubonwa njengabantu abanegalelo elinempumelelo. Ngenxa yoku zonke ezi ntlobo zabantu zifuna ukuziva zixabisekile kwabanye abantu. Bafuna ukwamkeleka eluntwini njengokuba kubalulekile abakwenzayo. Khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuphi, kufenaka umlukuphi alazi kakuhle elona qosha ekumele alicinezele kwingqindo yomphulaphuli.

(3) Imfuno yolwaneliseko lwam buqu

Umntu ngamnye unemfuno yokuzanelisa okanye ulwaneliseko lwakhe buqu. Isizathu kukuba abantu banomfanekiso ngqondweni ngeziqu zabo. Oku kungqinwa nguSchewe (1997, p 185), ngokuthi, "We all have a mental picture of what we really like. This view, called our real-image, direct our behavior" Abantu abaninzi, ingakumbi abathengi, abafuni nje ukuqinisekiswa kwexabiso lwabo, koko bafuna ukwaneliseka bona buqu. Abantu ekudla ngokujoliswa kubo ngumlukuphi obolekisa ngemali okanye osebenzela inkampani ebolekisa ngemali, umzekelo, ngabo bafumana imivuzo ephantsi. Aba bantu ngabantu abafana namapolisa, oonontlalontle, abefundisi ntsapho. Ezi ntlobo zabantu zinemfuno ephezulu yokwaneliseka buqu.

(4) Imfuno yokubonisa isiphiwo sokuyila

Kwimihla yangoku abantu baphila phantsi kobomi bobuxhakaxhaka bobugcisa obuyilwe ngabantu. Nangona kunjalo, ubumbo lwento aluxhomekekanga kubuxhakaxhaka bobugcisa kuphela. Umntu usenako ukubumba ngendlela eyodwa izinto ezifana nempahla, ukuzoba ukupheka ukuchaza nje ezimbalwa.

Abantu banobuchule bokubumba izinto ngezandla zabo, bengakhange basebenzise buxhakaxhaka namatshini. Apha kule mfuno kuphawuleka ukuba nakweyiphi na into ebunjwayo kufuneka izandla ezininzi. Umzekelo xa kusakhiwa indlu, omnye wenza umzobo wendlu, omnye wenza izitena, omnye wenza amacangca nezinye.

(5) Imfuno yokuthanda izinto

Xa abantwana bekhulile bekwazi ukuzimela bayabashiya abazali babo. Ngenxa yoku umzali uye ashayeke engenanto anokubonisa kuyo uthando lwakhe. Lo mzali uba neempawu ezalatha into engamanga kakuhle emzimbeni wakhe. Koku okubangela abantu bazithandele izilwanyana zasekhaya. Iintengiso zokutya kwezilwanyana zijoliswe kakhulu kubathandi bezi zilwanyana. Umzekelo, i-"Husky", ithembisa icebise ukubainja etyiswa yona ihlala isempilweni kwaye ikhaliphe, ibe krelekrele kwaye iphile ixesha elide.

(6) Imfuno yamandla

Umntu oqhuba inqwelo mafutha iMercedes Benz okanye iPajero uziva enamandla, ngokwasemalini. Maxa wambi lamandla abonakaliswa ngokuba nobutyebi obunje ngempahla emfutshane. UConradie (1999, p 117), uthi xa ethetha ngemfuno yamandla kulukuhlo, "Need for power is associated with status, physique and, according to Poynton, it is also associated with authority, force, expertise, age, gender and race". Ukanti ubani anganawo amandla omzimba, engqondo, emfundo ephakamileyo. Abalukuhli abanalo ulwazi lwale mfuno, umzekelo abenzi bezinqwelo mafutha zichaziweyo, babonisa iimpawu izimenza umniniyo azive emkhulu. Ngakwicala lwezopolitiko, iinkokheli kufuneka ibonakalise amandla omzimba nawengqondo khon'ukuze iluphumelele ulukuhlo lwayo.

(7) Imfuno yengcambu

Ziliqela izinto ezibangela ukuba abantu bafudukele kwamanye amazwe. Nokuba kungesiphi na isizathu sokushiya ilizwe lakhe umntu, iba khona ethi imkhumbuze ngemvelaphi. Kangangokuba abasebenzi abatshintshelwa kwezinye iindawo baye baziphathele izinto abathi bakhumbule ngazo iingcambu zabo. Yiyo le nto uya kufumanisa ukuba kumazwe amaninzi kuthengiselwa abandwendweli izinto eziluphawo lobuzwe babo.

(8) Imfuno yokuphila naphakade

Akukho namnye umntu okholelwayo ekufeni kwakhe. Umntu ngamnye ucinga ubomi buza kuqhubeka njengokuba buqhubeka ngoku kude kube ngunaphakade. Uthi uPackard (1964), uloyiko lokufa nokufuna ukukholelwa kubomi obuqhubekayo ngokuphemebelela kubomi bomnye umntu, kusekelelwe kwisibheni sengqodo okanye sesayikholoji.

Abalukuhli abanolwazi lwale mfuno baye bazenze iintengiso zabo bazijolise kwabo banale mfuno. Abantu, umzekelo, abakuthandi ukuzibona beguga. Koku okubangela ukuba abathengisi bemveliso ezithile besenza izithembiso zokunqanda ukuguga komntu. Umzekelo, isepha i-"Breeze" ithembisa ngokuthi oyisebenzisayo uya kuhlala ekhangeleka emncinci ngeminyaka engamashumi amabini onke. Umntu otya isonka sakwa Albany uya kuhlala ekhangeleka mncinci ngeminyaka elishumi elinesihlanu kwaye ahlale enamandla. Le mizekelo ibonisa ukuba abathengi akufuneki bathenge nje nantoni na. Koko kufuneka bathenge izinto ezichaphazela impilo yabo. Ukuba iimveliso azinakunika themba lampilo ebomini babantu, ezomveliso azinakuthengwa ngabantu.

IPHIRAMIDI YEEMFUNO, NGOKUKAMASLOW (1954)

ULarson (1995) uthi kukho iimfuno, ngokukaMaslow (1954), ezivelayo apha ebantwini, ziphinde zimke, ziphinde zivele kwakhona. Nazo ezi mfuno zikaMaslow ziza kushwankathelwa ngezantsi. Kule phiramidi kufumaniseka ukuba umgangatho ongezantsi umele iimfuno ezingamandla, ngeli lixa wona umgangatho ongentla umele iimfuno ezingenamandla. Umzekelo wemfuno ekumgangatho osezantsi ungabonakaliswa ngokuthi umntu osentlango, onxanelwe ukusela amanzi akanakwaneliseka xa enokunikwa imali endaweni yamanzi ewabona. Ngamanye amazwi, amanzi ayeyona nto ifunekayo emntwini

onxaniweyo ngaphezulu kwemali. Oku kubonisa ukuba imali ayinalo ixabiso kumntu onxanelwe amanzi khon'ukuze aphile.

(i) limfuno ezingundoqo

Umgangatho ongezantsi kwiphiramidi kaMaslow (1954), njengoko sekutshiwo, umele iimfuno ezingamandla nezingundoqo. Kukho iimfuno zengqondo ezingundoqo ezinje ngokufumana umoya, ukutya, amanzi, kwaye zifuneka rhoqo. Ngoko ke umlukuhli onolwazi ngezi mfuno angakwazi ukukhuthaza abaphulaphuli bakhe ekwenzeni izinto ezintle okanye ezimbi. Umzekelo, abantu bangakhuthazwa ukubulala abanye abantu ngenxa yokuba bathenjiswa ngesonka.

(ii) limfuno zokhuseleko

Ezi mfuno zifumaneka kumngangatho wesibini kwiphiramidi kaMaslow (1954). Olu khuseleko lusenokuba lukhuseleko lwemali, elo msebenzi, okanye ukhuseleko nje lobomi bomntu. Amaxesha amaninzi abantu baziva bengakhuselekanga ngenxa yokuphakama kwezinga lobundlobongela kwiindawo abahlala kuzo. Kwelinye icala, iimeko zezopolitiko kwihlabathi jikelele zikwanganobangela wokuba abantu bazive bengakhuselekanga. Amazwe anamandla nangawona asekuqaleni okanye aphambili ngokwezixhobo zemfazwe, aphinde abe ngawona aphambili nangobuxhakaxhaka bale mihla adla ngokuqhatha lawo asakhulayo.

Ngamanye amagama amazwe aseNtla nawaseNtshona ngawo asoloko eqhatha amanye ahluphekayo. Ngenxa yoku kuye kubekho imibutho yabanqolobi okanye abalweli benkululeko, ngokwemeko yelizwe lwabo, abathi babangele imo yezoqoqosho ingami kakuhle. Oku kungqinwa nguMaslow (1954), ngokuthi olu loyikiselo lokhuseleko luyimpendulo kwimeko yezoqoqosho. Abantu ke bafuna ukuba kuqinisekiswa ngokhuseleko ngalo lonke ixesha xa bezimanya nemiba yezopolitiko.

(iii) limfuno zothando nobumnini

Ezi iimfuno zifumaneka kumngangatho wesithathu kwiphiramidi kaMaslow (1954). Xa ubani esaneliseka lukhuseleko lwakhe, ufune uthando nobumnini. Abantu baye bazibandakanye neentsapho zabo kunye nabo basebenza nabo xa befuna ukwanelisa le mfuno. Yiyo le nto

kufumaniseka ukuba le mfundo ingazalisekiswa kuphela xa ubani enokuzifunela umntu okanye amaqela anokuthi azibandakanye nawo. Umzekelo, ubani angazibandakanya namaqela ezemidlalo, awenkonzozo, umculo namanye khon'ukuze afumane ifuthe lothando, atsho azive enguye. Kube ke ngale ndlela kwanesliseka nobumnini bakhe umntu. Xa abalukuhli besenza isibheni kule mfundo, kufuneka abalukuhlwa babe nokukubona oku, bazivavanye ezo zibheni.

(iv) limfuno zokuzingca

Akuba ubani onelisekile yimfuno ekumgangatho wesithathu, kuvela imfuno yokuzingca efumaneka kumgangatho wesine kwiphiramidi kaMaslow (1954). Ukuba ubani uyinxalenye yeqela elithile, umzekelo, usapho okanye iqela lemidlalo, kwaye uyathandwa, uye afune ukuxatyiswa njengelungu. Abalukuhli abakwaziyo oku benza intetho eyenza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, khon'ukuze baluphumelele ulukuhlo lwabo. Umzekelo, abenzi bebhulukhwe zakwa-"Soviet" bazenzela ukuba lowo uyinxibileyo makazingce abe negugu namabhongo ngesiqu sakhe. Oku bakwenza ngokubonisa iimpawu ezithile enazo le bhulukhwe nezenza umntu azive ekhululekile xa eyinxibile.

(v) limfuno zokuzazi ngokwenene

Olu hlobo lwemfuno lufumaneka kumgangatho wesihlanu nongowona uphezulu kwiphiramidi yeemfuno, ngokukaMaslow (1954). Kukho uluvo lokuba yeyona mfundo inqabileyo ukuba ivele ebantwini. Le mfundo yimfuno ekuye nawuphi na umntu. Ngamanye amagama ukuzazi ngokwenene kuyinto eqhubekayo kubomi bomntu. Nto ke leyo efunisa ukuba ubani abe namava eziganeko zokuzonwabisa, afunde ngesiqu sakhe.

IZIMILO: ISIXHOBO SESIBINI

Isimilo, ngokukaChaiken (1993) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995), yindlela ekusetyenziswa ngayo ingqondo ekuvavanyeni ubukho bento, ngokujolisa ekuxhasweni okanye ekugatyweni kwayo. Oku kuquka ukwenza izinto phandle okanye ufihlise, ukuthanda okanye ukucaphukela. Izimilo ezifumaneka kwintshukumo eziza neziphumo ezibonakalisa inkolo yomntu, ziqatshelwa kakhulu ngabalukuhli. Iintlobo zezi zimilo ziza kushwankathelwa apha ngezantsi:

(i) Izimilo kunye nezimvo

Izimilo ezi zingahlelwa zibe phantsi kweemeko ezimbini, utsho uRokeach (1968) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995), ezizezi: izimilo ngakwizinto ezibambekayo kunye nezimilo ngakwiimeko. Zombini Ezi meko zingababangela babe nentshukumo abantu, kodwa sisengababhida, ingakumbi xa kukho ukuvisisani phakathi kwabantu. Umzekelo, abafundi abaqhanqalazela ukuhlaliswa nokutyiswa nabanye abanesifo sephepha kwizikolo zemfundo ephakamileyo. Izimilo zabafundi ngakwizinto ezibonakalayo (abafundi abanesifo sephepha) kunye nesimilo ngakwimeko (ukuhlala nokutya naba bafundi) zisenokuphikisana okanye zivane.

Ukanti kwelinye icala izimvo zona kuthiwa ziguquguquka rhoqo. Njengokuba wonke umntu enezimvo ezithile malunga, umzekelo, namalungu amaqela opolitiko xa egayela ivoti. Naxa sele ezifumene izihlalo eziphezulu la malungu amaqela ezopolitiko. Ukuba izimvo zabantu bezibuxhasa ngaphambili ubunkokheli belungu elithile, ezo zimvo zisengaguquka xa eli lungu lingazifezekisi izithembiso ebelizenzile phambi konyulo. Kufana nokuba abantu bebeligxeka ilungu elithile ngaphambili, xa lizifezekisa izithembiso kwaye besanela abantu, izimvo zabo ziyaguquka zihambisane nalo. Nangona kunjalo, akumelanga abantu bakuvumele ukuguqulwa kwezimvo zabo xa kungabachaphazeli ngokupheleleyo okuthethwa ngumluhli.

(ii) Imisebenzi yezimilo

Enye indlela yokucinga ngezimilo nobudlelwane ezinabo kwinkqubo yolukuhlo, kukuqwalasela imisebenzi yezimilo, indlela ezisebenza ngayo, kunye nefuthe lazo ekufumaneni ulwazi. NgokukaLarson (1995), izimilo zinemisebenzi yokufumana ulwazi Oku kuthetha ukuba izimilo ziyafundwa, ngenxa yokuba ziba lulwazi olubangela abantu babe nentshukumo abayenzayo. Qaphela kwizifo ezibulalayo: izimilo zabantu malunga nesifo uGawulayo, ukusetyenziswa kwezithinteli zifo kunye nje nezinye izinto eziyingozi ebomini bomntu kuyinxalenye yezinto abazaziyo abantu malunga nale miba.

Izimilo zikwanayo nemisebenzi esebenzayo okanye enefuthe. Le misebenzi ichaphazela iintshukumo kunye neemvakalelo zabantu. Ngamanye amazwi, xa sijonga kulaa mzekelo wezifo ezibulalayo, izimilo ngokumalunga noku zichaphazela indlela abavakalelwa ngayo abantu. Izimilo zikwanawo nomsebenzi wokuziphatha. Okokugqibela, ngokukaLarson

(1995), umsebenzi wesimilo malunga nokuziphatha uvelisa abantu kwiintshukumo ezithile. Ngenxa yokuba abantu benesimilo ezithile malunga nezifo ezibulalayo ezifana noGawulayo, bayazisebenzisa izithinteli okanye abazibenzisi, bayadibana okanye abadibani ngesondo. Lilonke le ndlela ibonisa imisebenzi yesimilo malunga nokuziphatha ichaphazela indlela abakwenzayo abantu ngale miba.

(iii) Izimilo neminqweno

Oku kwaziwa, ngokukaFishbein noAjzen (1975) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995), ngokuba ngumnqweno wokuziphatha, onxulumene noko ubani anenjongo yokukwenza malunga nombala othile, ngokungajonganga ntshukumo ayithathayo ubani ekugqibeleni. Apha kuye kubekho iziphumo ezingagungqiyo ezithi zibe khona, ezibonisa isimilo somntu malunga nacinga ukukwenza ngezifo ezifana noGawulayo, umzekelo, ngenxa yokutshintsha kwezimilo, abantu badla ngokuthi sifuna ukusebenzisa izithinteli zifo ngexesha lendibano ngesondo. Sifuna ukujongana neqabane elinye, kwaye sifuna ukulumkisa abantu ngesi sifo.

(iv) Izimilo nonxibelelwano lwababini

Abantu basebenzisa okanye baveza izimilo zabo ngendlela ezibanceda ekudibaniseni abantu abazanayo okanye abangazaniyo, kodwa bagqibele sele besazana. Ngenxa yoku abantu bade babe nendlela ethile yokuziphatha ekhokhelela ekubeni bavane ngentetho yabo. Umzekelo, kufanele ukuba umhlobo womntu ongumpolitiki engasebenzisi nje nawaphi amagama xa encokola ngemeko yezopolitiko nomhlobo wakhe. Oku ukwenza ngenxa yokuba angafuni ukuphulukana nobuhlobo bakhe apha kumhlobo wakhe.

(v) Izimilo nokudluliswa kolwazi

Olu hlobo lunxulumene nesimilo esimalunga neminqweno yokuziphatha, xa kuza kuqwalaselwa kwindlela umntu adlulisela ngayo ulwazi komnye umntu. Kuthiwa akukwazeki ukujonga izimilo kunye nokuziphatha ngaphandle kokujonga okokuba lwazi luni oludluliswayo kumyalezo wolukuhlo olulungiswayo ngabaphulaphuli, balugcina njani, kwaye balukhupha njani. Ngamanye amagama, olu hlobo lujongana nendlela abantu abakwazi ngayo ukugcina oko bebekumamele, nendlela abakwazi ngayo ukukukuphela komnye umntu.

Ngokwengcali zonxibelelwano ulwazi lugcinwa engqondweni nje ngemitya yothungelwano, nje ngamagama aphambili, nje ngeempawu, kunye nangobudlelwane bezinto. Oku kungcinwa kolwazi kuthiwa kugcinwa kwindawo yokukhumbula ixesha elide, eyi-"long-term memory" (LTM), ngokukaLarson (1995). Oku kuyindlela ethi ibangele umntu akwazi ukukhumbula oko ebekuvile ngexesha eliyimfuneko. Kungenxa yoku okubangela ukuba izimilo zibe nento yokwenza nokuziphatha, kwaye izimilo zabantu zingatshintsha ngokusebenzisa imiyalezo yolukuhlo.

UKUNGAGUQUGUQUKI: ISIXHOBO SESITHATHU

Xa iziganeko zisenzeka kanye ngendlela ebeziqikelelwe ngayo, abantu baye bazive bonwabile, ingakumbi xa zingaguquguquki. UReardon (1991, p 59) ucaphula uZajonc (1960) esithi ngokungaguquguquki, "... humans prefer consistency over inconsistency, ...". Ukanti xa kungenzi ngendlela ebekuqikelelwe ngayo, abantu baye baguqule iindlela abaqikelela ngazo iziganeko. Ngenxa yoqikelelo kuye kubekho uku kungavumelani okanye ukuvumelana kwimiba ethile phakathi komlulukhli nomlulukhli. Oku kunika ubunzima kubalulukhli xa befuna ukuguqula izimilo zabantu.

Kukho imithombo ekufumaneka kuyo ukuvumelana kunye noku kungavumelani kwimiba ethile, phakathi komlulukhli nomlulukhli. Imithombo yesivumelwano ibalulekile ngakumbi xa umlulukhli efuna ukutshintsha isimilo. Le mithombo ikwabalulekile naxa umlulukhli efuna ukomeleza okanye abethelele izimilo esele zikho ebantwini. Umzekelo, iqela elithile eliphikisayo ePalamente maxa wambi liye lenze iintetho ezibonisa ubuqhophololo kumalungu athile eqela elilawulayo. Nto ke leyo eyenza ukuba abantu bangalithandi iqela elilawulayo.

A. IMITHOMBO YOKU KUNGAVUMELANI

Eminye yayo le mithombo inokuthi isetyenziswe ebantwini abaninzi, izicacele kwaye ayinakuthelekiswa nanto, isininzi sayo siyafana, eminye iyelelene. Abalulukhli baye bajolise kakhulu koku ngenxa yokuba besazi ukuba zikho izinto abantu abangenakukwazi ukuvumelana nazo. Umzekelo, akululanga okanye akwamkeleki kwaphela emntwini ukuphulukana nokuxatyiswa liqela lakhe. Eli qela lisenokuba lusapho, iqela lomculo, iqela lezemidlalo namanye. Ngako oko, abantu badla ngokuba ngamaxhoba abalulukhli, ngenxa yokuba besazi ukuba ubomi buyaguquguquka.

(i) Ukuphulukana nexabiso legela

Abalukuhli baye babenze abantu bazive bengakhululekanga ngokuthi babenze bacinge ukuba baphulukene nexabiso la maqela abo. Xa abalukuhli besazi ngobume bemeko yezoqoqosho, ingakumbi xa ingantlanga baye basebenzise elo thuba ekwenzeni isibheni kwizimilo zabantu. Ngexesha le mo emaxongo yoqoqosho abantu babanoloyiko, nto ke leyo ebabangela ukuba bazive bengakhuselekanga. Jonga kwindawo ezibolekisa ngengxowa mali, abalukuhli bezi ndawo bayayazi into yokuba abona bantu banokujolisa kubo ngabo bafumana intlawulo ephantsi kwiindawo abasebenza kuzo. Umzekelo, amapolisa, oonontlalontle, ootitshala ngabantu abangonelisekiyo yimivuzo abayifumanayo, kungoko besiba ngamaxhoba ezi ndawo ngenxa yokuba abafuni ukuphulukana nexabiso lwabo.

(ii) Ukuphulukana nesidima

Ngalo lonke ixesha ubani ephawula ukuba uphulukana nesidima sakhe phakathi kwabanye abantu, uye angangqinelani nabo ngezinto ezininzi. Oku kungangqinelani kuphawuleka kwiintsapho ezinabantwana abangaphumeleliyo kwiinzame zabo. Umzekelo, abantwana abafumaniseka bengenankqubela kwizifundo zabo ngenxa yezizathu ezahlukeneyo, benza abalukuhli bavelise amacwecwe anokuthi ancede ekuphuhliseni ingqondo nendlela yokucinga emntwaneni lowo usilelayo.

Maxa wambi abantu ababhinqileyo baziva belahlekelwa sisidima xa iinwele zabo zingalungiswanga ngokuthi zihonjiswe. Nalapha emadodeni kubakhona ukuzibona ulahlekelwa sisidima xa intloko le, umzekelo, igcwele inkwethu. Ngenxa yako konke oku abalukuhli abathengisa amafutha enza iinwele zibe ntle kunye nalawo aphelisa inkwethu baye benze isibheni esijoliswe kolu lwazi.

(iii) Ukungaqiniseki ngengqikelelo

Abantu baziva bengonwabanga xa befumanisa ukuba abakwazi ukuqikelela iintshukumo zomnye umntu, okanye okuza kwenzeka kwixesha elizayo. Oku kwenzeka kakhulu xa ubani etshintsha indawo yakhe yokuhlala, isikolo, umsebenzi nezinye izinto, umzekelo. Oku kungaqiniseki ngengqikelelo kusetyenziswa kakhulu ngabanqolobi ekuchongeni ixhoba abaza kulihlasela. Kaloku abanqolobi ababhungisi xa beza kuhlasela, nto ke leyo

ebangela kube nzima ukwazi ukuqikelela ixesha nexhoba abaza kulihlasela. Umzekelo iqela le-Islamic elahlasela isakhiwo sentengiso yehlabathi i-"World Trade Center" e-"New York" ngo-1993. Kusandula ukwehla olunye uhlaselo kutsha nje ngomhla we-11 kaSeptemba 2001, kwalapha kwesi sakhiwo sinye sentengiso yehlabathi.

Abalukuhli abathengisa amayeza aphelisa intsholongwane kaGawulayo okanye i-AIDS babangela abantu bawasebenzise kakhulu la mayeza ngenxa yokuba bengaqinisekenga ngexesha elizayo. Amaxesha amaninzi ukulungiselela okanye ukuxhobela okunokwenzeka ngenxa yokuba neziphumo eziphikisana nezo ubuzilindele. Abantu abaninzi abalisebenzisayo iyeza eliphelisa uGawulayo bagqibela besifa endaweni yokunyangeka. Oku kubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba into eqikelelwayo asiyonto enokuqinisekiswa. Nangona kunjalo bona abalukuhli bayazithengisa zonke izinto abathi zingamkhusela umntu khon'ukuze aqiniseke ngengqikelelo.

(iv) Uluvo lokuba netyala

Lo ngomnye umthombo woku kungavumelani obizwa ngokuba kukuba netyala. Oku kwenzeka kakhulu xa ubani enoloyiko lokuphulukana nesidima sakhe. Maxa wambi kwenzeka xa umntu efumanisa ukuba izimvo zakhe malunga nombona othile zikhohlisa ukugxekwa liqela lakhe okanye ngabahlobo okanye ngabazali. Ngexesha lasebusika umntu ozifumana sele enengqele ngenxa yokungazithengeli amayeza okunqanda oku, uye azibeke ityala. Abalukuhli baye bacele abantu ukuba bakuphephe ukuzibeka ityala ngokuthi bathenge izinto eziza kubagcina beshushu. Bathenge izinto eziza kubenza bazive besempilweni ngexesha lasebesika, nto ezo ezifana namayeza, ukutya kunye nempahla yasebusika.

Ukanti kwelinye icala ukuziva unetyala kuyenzeka nakoohulumente. NgokukaLarson (1995), umzekelo, urhulumente wase-America waziva enetyala xa kwakuboniswa imiboniso yamabanjwa ayenqinile esifa yindlala nezindlu ezazitshatyalalisiwe eYugoslavia kunye nabantu baseSomalia ababesifa yindlala. Ngenxa yoku iMelika yathumela uncedo kwezi ndawo, olufana nokutya, amayeza, oogqirha , oonesi, amajoni okubamba ucwangco. IMelika le yayingaziva inetyala ngenxa yokuba iyiyo eyabangela imfazwe kula mazwe, koko yaziva yaqonda ukuba ukungawancedi la mazwe kufana nokudala imfazwe.

B. IMITHOMBO YESIVUMELWANO

Isivumelwano eyenza isibheno isetyenziswa ekuqiniseni inkolo, imvakalelo, okanye ukuziphatha kwaye yenze abaphulaphuli babe nentshukumo. Ngenxa yoku abalukuhli bazamela ukuba abantu mabenze okufunwa ngabo.

(i) Ukuqisekisa ukhuseleko

Amaxesha amaninzi abalukuhli baphumeza iimvuno zabo zolukuhlo ngokuthi baqinisekise abaphulaphuli ngokhuseleko. Abameli bamaqela ezopolitiko bangumzekelo omhle obonisa oku, ingakumbi xa begaya ivoti. Le meko ikwafumaneka nakubameli bamvaba zakwaLizwi xa befuna amalungu amatsha. Namaziko emali afana noo-"Old Mutual" asebenzisa esi sixhobo xa elukuhla abantu ngokuthi abaqinisekise ngokhuseleko xa bethe batyala iimali zabo, ukulungiselela izinto ezifana nokufa, ingozi, imvundo, kunye nomhlala phantsi.

(ii) Ukubonisa okunokwenzeka

Isivumelwano evelisa ubuchule obunxulumene nokuqinisekiswa kokhuseleko ibonisa ukuba abantu ehlabathini basebenza ngokuqikelela okunokwenzeka. Apha kule loMzantsi Afrika ngoku kukho amarhe okuba kukho abantu abaceba ukubhukuqa uMongameli weli, umzekelo. Ukuba oku kunokwaziwa kakuhle ukuba olu bhukuqo luya kwenzeka nini, phi, njani, urhulumente anganakho ukuqulunqa umkhosi owodwa wokujongana nale meko. Xa abantu benokuphumelela ekuqikeleleni okunokwenzeka, iziganeko zohlaselo ezithi zenziwe ngabanqolobi zingaphela.

(iii) Ukusetyenziswa kwembuyekezo

Omnye umthombo wemvumelwano ngowokuthi kubekho imbuyekezo, yona ithi iqinisekise ubudlelwane ngeyona ndlela. Abalukuhli baye babe nezinto ezifana nezikipa abazinika abaphulaphuli babo, ingakumbi abamaqela ezopolitiko xa befuna ivoti. Ukanti neenkampani ezithengisa iisepha zokuhlamba, umzekelo, iOmo, iye iphe abantu ezi zikipa simahla zibonisa iintlobo ntlobo zabo zeesepha. Le yindlela abathengisa nabalukuhla ngayo abantu ukuba basebenzise ezi mveliso zabo.

2.4.2 Isindululo esisiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo yolukuhlo: Larson (1995)

Umxholo kwisindululo sesiseko seengxoxo kukwazi nokuba nobuchule bokuxoxa nokuqiqisisa kunye nokuhlahlela ngobuchule. Oku kwaziwa ngabantu ababumba iinkcazo ezizingcingane zolukuhlo njengengxoxo ekumele yamkelwe ngabaphulaphuli. Masithi mhlawumbi ubani ukulukuhlela ukuba uxhase ukubuyiswa kwesigwebo sentambo eMzantsi Afrika ngokusemthethweni.

Ukuphumelela nokungaphumeleli kweengxoxo ezinje kuxhomekeke ekukholelweni kwabaphulaphuli ekubeni intambo inokubuphelisa ubundlobongela. Bakholelwe ukuba noqoqosho lweli lizwe lungaphakama xa kungakho inzolo nocwangco. Iinkolo ezinje kwiingxoxo uLarson (1995) uzibiza ngokuba kokuqulathwe kwisindululo sesiseko seengxoxo.

Abantu abaninzi banenkolo yokuba kukho oonobangela beziganeko, kwaye xa iziganeko zisenzeka kubakho ezilandelayo kungakhange kubekho zinguqu. Neengxaki kwelinye icala zinonobangela, kwaye xa besusiwe kuye kukhangeleke ngathi ziphelile iingxaki. Le ndlela yokucinga ngengqiqo, ngokukaLarson (1995) ibizwa ngokuba kukucinga ngonobangela nesiphumo, kwaye iyeyona ndlela isetyenziswayo kulukuhlo. Umzekelo, ubungqina obunokubonisa ukuba xa kunokurhoxa uNelson Mandela noWinnie Madikizela-Mandela kumbutho i-"African National Congress", iziphumo zingaba kukulahlekelwa kwalo mbutho ngawaka-waka amalungu.

Kwiinkundla zamatyala, oosomashinini, abantu abazisa ngeentengiso, abapolitiki nabo bangamalungu karhulumente, ukugxininisa kokuqulathwe sisindululo sesiseko seengxoxo kuyindlela engcono. Nangona kunjalo oku akuxhomekekanga emandleni okukwazi ukushukumisa nokwenza okanye ukwenza isibheni kwiimfuno ezifihlakeleyo. Koko kuxhomekeke emandleni okukwazi ukuveza ubuchule bokuxoxa nokuqika komlulukuhlwa. Kwakhona oku kuxhomekeke kubungakanani kobungqina nokwanelisa kwako.

A. YINTONI UBUNGQINA?

NgokukaLarson (1995) ubungqina bahluka ngokweemeko nangokwabantu. Umzekelo, okunokungqina umba ophambili kwindibano yoomama yokugalelena ngemali akunakungqina ngohlobo olunye kwakulo mba mnye, kubadlali bombhoxo. Lilonke

ubungqina bunokwahluka nangokwamaqela. Ubungqina obububo benziwa bubungqina obaneleyo obunokuqhagamshelaniswa nendlela yokucinga ekhokhelela ekukholelweni kwabaphulaphuli komlukuhli ngokuthi bathathe amacebo omlukuhli.

Ukuqinika kunye nobungqina zizinto ezinokubangela umlukuhlwa aguqukele kwiimfuno zomlukuhli. Umzekelo, ubani ofuna ukulukuhla abantu ngokwenza intetho ethi ukusebenzisa iziyobisi kubangela ukushiwa ziingqondo uphambane. Khon'ukuze abantu bakholelwe kule ntetho, kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli abonakalise unobangela nesiphumo ngokucacileyo kwiingxoxo yakhe. Oku kuquka nokusebenzisa izinto okanye izixhobo zemiboniso ebonisa abantu abaphambanayo ngenxa yokusebenzisa iziyobisi. Amaxesha amaninzi oku kusetyenziswa kwezi yobisi kukhokhelela ekufeni kwabantu abaninzi. Le yindlela yokunika ubungqina obaneleyo nokubonakalisa ingqiqo.

B. IINTLOBO ZOBUNGQINA

Ezona ntlobo zibanzi zobungqina, ngokukaLarson (1995), bubungqina obuvusa umxhelo kunye nobungqina bengqiqo. Ezi ntlobo ziza kucaciswa ngcono apha ngezantsi:

(i) Ubungqina obuvusa umxhelo

Olu hlobo lobungqina luxhomekeke kwindlela abantu abadla ngokubumba ngayo ubomi babo kunye nasekubaliseni iziganeko ezithile abanazo. Ngenxa yoku, olu hlobo lobungqina luthi lube nala masebe alandelayo:- imbaliso, ingxelo, amabalana amafutshane, intatho-nkxaxheba kunye nemiboniso. Apha ngezantsi kuchazwa la masebe nganye.

(ii) Ubungqina bembaliso

Kudala abantu babethabatheka ngamabali, iintsomi, umculo wembali owenziwe ngohlobo lwesithethe. Kuthe ngokuhamba kwamaxesha kwavela iintlobo ezintsha zokubalisa. Sithetha ngezinto ezifana nemidlalo yeqonga, imibongo, kunye namabali amade namafutshane. Kule mihla izinto zintshintshe nangakumbi ngokuphathelelene neendlela zokunika ubungqina bembaliso. Umzekelo, kusetyenziswa ulwazi lobugcisa nobuxhakaxhaka ngezinto ezifana nonomathotholo, oomabonakude, imiboniso bhanyabhanya kunye neeKhompyutha.

Xa kuthelekiswa iintetho ezadlulayo kunye nezangoku kufumaniseka ukuba abalukuhli basebenzisa kakhulu imbaliso nentshukumo kubaphulaphuli, bade babameme ukuba bathathe inkxaxheba. Abalukuhli abalandela oku xa besenza intetho yolukuhlo, bayaphumelela kwijongo zabo. Oku kunokubonwa kakuhle kubashumayeli bezakwalizwi, abapolitiki, ngenxa yokuba abaphulaphuli baye bathabathe inkxaxheba kwaye babe nomdla.

(iii) Ubungqina obuyingxelo

Umlukuhli angenza ingxelo okanye abalise ngamava akhe kumba wokuphanda ngamalungu karhulumente enza inkohlakalo kwimali yesizwe, kunokubahexisa abaphulaphuli xa oku kuvela kumntu ongelilo ilungu likarhulumente. Kungoko kuphawuleka ukuba olu hlobo lobungqina alulunganga kwaye akunakuthembela Kulo nkqu nokuba ingqina liza nengxelo eyomeleleyo.

Amangqina akholisa ukubona kwaye eve ngendlela afuna ngayo, nto ke leyo ebangela ukuba enze ingxelo ngokwezimvo zawo. Nje ngabaphulaphuli kumele siyivavanye ingxelo eyenzelwe ukusilukuhla ngokuthi sizibuze ukuba ingaba ingqina linakho ukubona okubangwayo? Ingaba kukho okubangela ukuba linike ubungqina? Ingaba ingqina linecala elilixhasayo ngobungqina balo? Oku kungabangela ukuba sikwazi ukuwamkela okanye ukungawamkeli umyalezo wolukuhlo.

(iv) Ubungqina obungamabalana amafutshane

Amabalana amafutshane zimbaliso ezinomongo, ezikhawulezayo, ezidla ngokuba ngumgca omnye okanye emibini. La mabalana mafutshane asoloko ehlekisa kwaye athathwa nje ngenyaniso engekaqinisekiswa. Ngoko ke la mabalana ahlukile kobono bungqina bengxelo. Nawo anefuthe elikhulu apha kwintetho yolukuhlo, ngenxa yokuba umlukuhlwa angasitshintsha isimilo sakhe xa enokuwava.

(v) Ubungqina bokuthatha inkxaxheba nemiboniso

ULarson (1995) ukucacisa oku ngokunika umzekelo ngomboniso wokulwa ukutshaya ebantwini. Apha kusetyenziswa imiboniso ebonisa ngemiphunga yomntu otshayayo eyonakeleyo, enomhlaza. Abaphulaphuli, ingakumbi iintshayi ziyacelwa ukuba zikhuphele

okanye ziphefumlele ngaphandle umsi wecuba, ziwukuphela kwiphetshana elithambileyo lokosula. Apha kweli phetshana kuqaphelaka ukuba kukho amabalana ashiyekelayo abonisa iziyobisi ezifunyanwa ecubeni. Kuthi bakuba bekubonile oku abaphulaphuli, batshintshe izimilo zabo ngasekutshayeni. Abe ke yena umlukuhli kwelakhe icala ekuphumelela obekuziinjongo zakhe.

(vi) Ubungqina bengqiqo

Asibubo bonke ubungqina obuba ngumboniso. Ngamanye amazwi ubungqina abusoloko bunikwa ngokwenza imiboniso. Maxa wambi ubungqina benza isibheno kwinkqubo yeendlela ekucingwa ngayo, kubuchule bokuqiqa. Oku kusetyenziswa kakhulu ngamaphepha ndaba kunye namanye amajelo akhupha ulwazi. Umlukuhli osebenzisa esi sixhobo umdla ngokuba nolwazi lokuba abaphulaphuli banolwazi abanalo olusezingqondweni zabo malunga nesindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Ngenxa yoku, akuqulunqayo umlukuhli malunga nolukuhlo ukwenzela phezu kolu lwazi.

C. IINTLOBO ZOBUNGQINA

Apha kulukuhlo kukho ubuchule benkqubo yokuqiqa, ekukudibanisa izijunqe zobungqina nqgengqiqo. Ubungqina obaneleyo nobubengqiqo benza abaphulaphuli bakholelwe kumacebiso omlukuhli. Abaphulaphuli bakholelwa kwaye benza intshukumo kwinto abayibona njengengxoxo echuliweyo, eza nabalukuhli. Kungoko kubalulekile kubaphulaphuli ukuba bazilumkele iingxoxo ezichuliweyo ezisetyenziswa rhoqo ngabalukuhli ekuguquleni izimilo zabo.

(i) Inggqiqo ngonobangela wesiphumo

Oku kubalulekile kwinkcubeko yabantu, kwaye nolwimi lwabo luxhomekeke kwingqiqo ngonobangela wesiphumo. NgokukaLarson (1995) abalukuhli basebenzisa kakhulu ingqiqo ngonobangela wesiphumo ukubonisa iziganeko okanye ubungqina obunika iziphumo ezithile. Ukuba ke iziphumo zibi kudla ngokwenziwa into ngazo, kuzanywe ukuba zisuswe. Kule nkqubo kuphawuleka ukuba kujongwa iziphumo phambi kokujonga unobangela.

(ii) Inggqibo ngesiphumo sikanobangela

Le nkqubo yokubonakalisa ingqiqo apha kunxibelelwano isetyenziswa kakhulu ngamapolisa. Amapolisa enza kakhulu umsebenzi wokuphanda unobangela wesiganeko esele sehlile. Ngamanye amazwi oku sele kwenzekile kususiphumo. Oku kucacisa ukuba umlukuphili kwintetho yakhe enika kuqala isiphumo sento ethile eyenzekileyo, aze emva koko anike axele unobangela. Kwakhona amagosa ezendlela akusebenzisa kakhulu oku ukuzama ukunciphisa iingozi zendlela. Umzekelo, aye enze imiboniso ebonisa imifanekiso yeemoto ezityobokileyo kunye nezidumbu kunye nabantu abangxwelerhekileyo kwiingozi ezibangelwa kukusebenzisa indlela umntu esele utywala. Imifanekiso imasikizi inganyamezelekiyo iziziphumo.

(iii) Inggqibo esukela kwimiqondiso

Umlukuphili oyaziyo injongo yolukuphili lwakhe uye enze intetho ebonisa imiqondiso okanye iimpawu ezininzi athi athathele kuzo isigqibo. Umzekelo, iinkokheli zamaqela opolitiko zikholisa ukudwelisa izinto ezifana nokupheliswa kwendlala, ukulwa ubundlobongela, ukudala imisebenzi, ukwakha izindlu, ukufumana imfundo simahla, ukwandisa amaziko ezempilo, nezinye xa zisenza intetho yazo yokuqokelela amanani abavoti. Apha eMzantsi Afrika akho amaqela aphikisayo athi izinga lobundlobongela liphezulu kakhulu xa kuthelekiswa nakurhulumente wangaphambili, imisebenzi ayikho, abantu bakhelwa izindlu ezincinci kakhulu, ixabiso lemfundo liphakamile, nto ke leyo ebangela ukuhla kwenani labavoti nabaxhasi kwiqela elilawulayo eburhulumenteni.

(iv) Inggqibo yenqobo kwisicelo

Ngamanye amaxesha abalukuphili baye benze iintlobo zenqobo ekuthengeni into okanye ekuvoteni okanye ekuxhaseni into efunwa ngabo. Umzekelo, kwintengiso yenqwelo mafutha yamva nje yakwaFord, umlukuphili waziswa ngezinto eziliqela anokuzifumana kule nqwelo mafutha, nendlela anokuthi azigcine ngayo xa enokuthi abenayo. Le ndlela yolukuphili ebangela umphulaphuli angakwazi ukuliyeka lidlule eli thuba lokuzifumanela eyakhe imoto yakwaFord. Ngamanye amazwi umlukuphili wenza isicelo sokuba abantu mabathenge olu hlobo lwemoto.

(v) Inggqiqo esukela ekufaniseni

Indlela eqhelekileyo yokwenza isibheno ngobuchule bokuqqa kukusebenzisa imithetho eqhelekileyo enokuchazwa njengengqiqo ebanzi ukuya kwethe ngqo. Olu uhlobo le ngqiqo lunokubangela abaphulaphuli baphelelwe ngumdlu, ngenxa yokuguquka komlulukhli kwintetho yakhe.

(vi) Inggqiqo efikelela kwisiphumo ngokuthelekelela ngezinye izinto ezaziwayo

NgokukaLarson (1995) olu uhlobo luza nondoqo phambi kokuza nesiphumo soquko. Masithathe umzekelo wemeko yokulumkisa abantu ngobungozi bokusebenzisa iziyobizi, kulapho umlulukhli anokuthi, "Inkoliso yethu iyazi ukuba kudla urhulumente izigidi ezingamakhulu amabini ukunyanga nokulwa ukusetyenziswa kwezinyobisi apha eMzantsi Afrika. Kudla izigidi ezingamashumi amane ukuqesha iingcaphephe zabaphandi ngoku. Kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba kudla izigidi ezingamashumi amabini ukuhlawula iingcaphephe zamanye amazwe. Ngenxa yoku, singurhulumente sibone ukuba masilithobe eli nani ngesithandathu eshumini ngenxa yokuhla kwemali yeli".

D. UVAVANYO LWENGQIQO NOBUNGGQINA

Kukho uluvo lokuba ukuqqa nobungqina busengasetyenziswa ngendlela egwenxa. Oku kuphawuleka lula xa kusetyenziswa ulukuhlo kwiintengiso, kwezopolitiko kunye nezinye iimeko ekuphilwa phantsi kwazo. Ezi ntlobo zobungqina nengqiqo ezisetyenziswa ngendlela engalunganga zichazwe apha ngezantsi:

(i) Usetyenziso lwengqokelela yamanani ento ethile

Le ndlela yengqiqo isetyenziswa kakhulu kulukuhlo, kwaye abantu bayakholelwa kuyo kangokuba ababinayo nemibuzo. Nangona kunjalo abantu kumele bazibuze ukuba ingaba uvavanyo elwenziwe kwingqokelela yamanani ento ethile lumele loo nto okanye lunecala olungakulo? Ukuba ubungqina busetyenziswa kwinto enye njengobumele nezinye izinto, buyakuba busetyenziswa ngendlela egwenxa.

(ii) Ukusetyenziswa kobungqina

ULarson (1995) uthi ingxaki yokunika ubungqina kukuba, lowo ubunikayo usenokunika ingxelo engeyiyo. Ngenxa yoku, ubani kumele azibuze le mibuzo ilandelayo:- Ingaba inikwa igunya ingxelo kumba lowo, ukuba kunjalo, uthembeke kangakanani lo enika ingxelo? Ingaba lo enika ingxelo ububona ngokwaneleyo ubungqina athetha ngabo? Ingaba umntu onika ingxelo enika ingxelo ethatha icala, ukuba kunjalo ingaba oko kokuhle kusini na okanye kokungalunganga?

(iii) Usetyenziso lofaniso

Usetyenziso ngwenxa lofaniso luyinto eqhelekileyo kwintengiso nakwezopolitiko. Umzekelo, abathengisi besepa ethile yobuso bangathi isepa yabo yeyona ilungileyo kunezinye ezikhoyo. Ngokunjalo nakumaqela ezopolitiko, iqela eliphikisayo linokuthi abantu mabavotele lona khon'ukuze lilungise imeko yelizwe, ngenxa yokuba eli liphethayo alikwazanga kwaphela ukukwenza oku. Umlukuhlwa yena kwelakhe icala uya kusoloko esenza ngokweemfuno zomlukuphi ukuba akathi acinge phambi kokuthatha isigqibo sokutshintsha isimilo, inkolo, nokuziphatha ngokumayela nombala lowo kungawo.

E. IIFALASI EZIQHELEKILEYO EZISETYENZISWA KULUKUHLO

I-Falasi, ngokukaLarson (1995), luluvo olungeyonyani olusetyenziswa ezingxoxweni ezisekelwe kwinqiqo elambathayo. Apha ngezantsi kucaciswa uhlobo ngalunye lweFalasi kwesithi sidibane nazo phantse yonke imihla kwiintengiso okanye kulukuhlo lwezopolitiko.

(i) I-Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc

Inkcazelo yoku ithi, ngokukaLarson (1995), emva koku, ngako oko, kungenxa yoku. Ngamanye amazwi ngenxa yokuba isiganeko silandela emva kwesinye, esokuqala sithathwa nje ngonobangela wesesibini isiganeko okanye esilandelayo.

(ii) I-Ad Hominem

Le falasi ithetha naluphi na uhlaselo olujoliswe kwisithethi endaweni yohlaselo olujoliswe kwiingxoxo.

(iii) I-Ad Populum

Ifalasi elolu hlobo isetyenziswa kulukuhlo oluxhomekeke kuyo nantoni na eyenzekayo khon'ukuze idume, nokuba yinto ebalulekileyo, ingozi engaqhelekanga nezinye izinto nje jikelele.

(iv) Ubutyala bokuzibandakanya

I-falasi yobutyala bokuzibandakanya yenzeka amaxesha amaninzi kwimeko ebizwa ngokuba bubutyala bokuzibandakanya. Umlukuhli usebenzisa le falasi xa etsalela umdla womphulaphuli kumba othile. NgokukaLarson (1995, p 213), "... persuaders use the guilt-by-association or undistributed middle principle to sway opinion and alter behavior in significant ways". Apha ubani wabelana into nomnye okanye nabanye. Umzekelo, kwintengiso yesepha ethile ekusetyenziswe okanye ekuboniswe kuyo umdlali uphambili weqela lombhoxo loMzantsi Afrika. Oku kunika umphulaphuli uluvo lokuba xa ethe wayisebenzisa le sepha uza kufana okanye uza kukhangaleka nje ngalomdlali.

(v) Iingxoxo zeStraw Man

Apha kolu uhlobo lwefalasi, umlukuhli uye aqulunqe indlela nje eyekeyeke ayaziyo ukuba uza kuphumelela ngayo. Le ndlela ivezwa amaxesha amaninzi ngumlukuhli ekugqibeleni kwiingxoxo yakhe nje ngobungqina obuphambili.

(vi) Ezinye iifalasi eziqhelekileyo

Ingqiqo ngokwefalasi, njengokuba echaza uLarson (1995), iquka ukusetyenziswa kwenyaniso ekhethiweyo okanye ejikiweyo, nje ngaxa unokuthatha icala elinye ebalini. Ukusebenzisa uburharha okanye uhlekiso endaweni yeengxoxo, isicelo sovelwano, ukuqal'ugwebe, isicelo, isibheni kumasiko nezithethe. Ukwenza isicelo sombuzo, ukusetyenziswa kwentelekelelo okanye isigqibo esilandela emva kwisindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo, kunye nokusetyenziswa komqathango ongenguwo.

F. IMEKO YOKUSETYENZISWA KWEESILOJIMI

Isilojimi zinesindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo esiphambili kunye nesigqibo. NgokukaLarson (1995) isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo, esiphambili okanye esingundoqo sichaza imeko okanye ubudlelwane obucingela ukuba bukho ehlabathini. Umzekelo, ukuba ubani uya eDyunivesithi uthathwa nje ngoza kuphumelela ebomini bakhe. Isiqulatho okanye okona kuphambili kwiingxoxo enje kukuba kukho umntu oya eDyunivesithi. Ngeli lixa isigqibo ikukuba, uza kuphumelela. Kwangaxesha nye u-uza kuphumelela kuthiwa lulandelelwaniso. Ngako ke kusenokwenziwa isigqibo esilungileyo sokuba ubani lo uza kuya eDyunivesithi. Ngale ndlela ubani unakho ukubona inyani kunye nokulunga kwento.

(i) Isilojimi ezahlukanisayo

Phakathi kwamacala amabini u-A no-B kukho eliyinyani. Ngokwenkcazelo kaLarson (1995) oku kukhatshwa bubungqina obuthi u-A okanye u-B ukhona okanye kungabikho u-A okanye u-B. Maxa wambi ezi Silojini zokwahlukanisa zinika ingxaki ingakumbi kwimeko yobomi nokufa, ngenxa yokuba akucaci kakuhle oku kwahlukanisa.

(ii) Isilojimi ezingathandabuzekiyo

Oku kujongana namalungu athile kunye nento iphelele. Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo siye sijongane namalungu kwiingxoxo antlobo mbini. Oku kubangela isiphumo esitsha macala omabini. Umzekelo, bonke abantu bezopolitiko ngamabhedengu. Esi sisindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Khangela ifalasi ethi, uYeng ubandakanyiwe kwiqela lwenkokheli zopolitiko, oko kusiindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo, esingabalulekanga. Ngako oko, uYeng libhedengu, oku kusiisigqibo. Kuthi ngenxa yokuba ubani eli lungu leqela okanye umbutho othile acingelwe ukuba uyabandakanyeka nakwelinye ngokunjalo nakwiziganeko ezigwenxa.

G. INDLELA KATOULMIN (1964)

ULarson (1995), uthi uToulmin (1964) wavelisa indlela yokubonisa uhlobo lolukuhlo esidibana nalo kubomi bemihla ngemihla. Lo kaToulmin uyahlula kathathu ingxoxo ecetyiweyo neqiqiweyo. Uthetha ngobango, athethe ngolwazi kunye negunya. Ezi zezona

zinto zisisiseko kulukuhlo, ngoba ekugqibeleni umlukuhlwa uzakuvamelana okanye angavumelani, okanye angabinacala ngenxa yokungaqiniseki kwakhe ngento efunwa ngumlukuhli.

H. IZIXHOBO ZOKUNQINA

UToulmin (1964), ngokutsho kukaLarson (1995), unamanye amagama awasebenzisayo afana nesichazi xa ubango luguqulwa, elinye igama lugcino lwentetho enxulunyaniswa negunya elichaza imeko ephantsi kwegunya elilungileyo. Ukwasebenzisa neli gama, 'ngaphandle kokuba' kwindlela zakhe zokunika ubungqina. Umzekelo, xa ubani enokuthi, uMzantsi Afrika akanakuliphumelela idabi lokulwa ubundlobongela ekuhlaleni, ngaphandle kokuba urhulumente aqinise isohlwayo kubenzi bobubi.

ULarson (1995) uthi uToulmin (1964) uneligama lokugqibela alisebenzisayo lithi "ukuxhasa". Igunya kufuneka lixhaswe khon'ukuze lamkelwe ngabaphulaphuli. Iintetho okanye iingxoxo zabalukuhli abaninzi zamkelwa ngokupheleleyo ngaphandle kwemibuzo, xa zixhaswa. Kungenjalo zikhatywe ngokupheleleyo, okanye kubuzwe imibuzo ngabaphulaphuli, xa zingaxhaswa. Yena umlukuhlwa kwelakhe icala kumele azi ukuba alukuhleke na, kwaye nini na, ngexesha le ntetho yolukuhlo.

IS AHLUKO 3

UKUSETYENZISWA KOLUKUHLO

3.1 INJONGO

Esi sahluko siza kuqwalasela ukusetyenziswa kolukuhlo. Kwicandelo 3.1. kuboniswa iindlela zokuba ngumlukuhli onempumelelo kusetyenziswa ithiyori kaLarson (1995). Lona icandelo 3.2 liqwalasela unxibelelwano lwababini ngokuvavanywa kolwazi lukaReardon (1991). Kwakhona ithiyori kaLarson (1995) izakusetyenziswa kula macandelo alandelayo; icandelo 3.3 ligxininisa kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo elukuhlayo kwintengiso. Icandelo 3.4 liqwalasela indlela ekusetyenziswa ngayo amajelo osasazo ale mihla kunye nolukuhlo. Kwicandelo 3.4.1 kuza kunikwa amajelo okusasaza ale mihla kunye nolukuhlo. Khon'ukuze kujongwe kwithiyori kaReardon (1991) kwicandelo 3.4.2 kunikwe amajelo okusasaza kunye nolukuhlo. Okokugqibela kuza kunikwa ulukuhlo lopolitiko

3.2 UKUBA NGUMLUKUHLI: LARSON (1995)

3.2.1 Bazi abaphulaphuli bakho

Xa ubani eza ngenxa yokuba ngumlukuhli okanye efuna ukuba ngumlukuhli kufuneka kuqala abazi ngokupheleleyo abantu aza kwenza kubo intetho yolukuhlo. Oku kuxhaswa nguCoradie (1999, p 131) ngokuthi, "To be able to communicate effectively with anyone, you have to consider just who they are in terms of age, interests, etc. so that you can structure your communication in such a way that you are assured of their attention and that they will be able to understand your message". Kufuneka ubaqwalaselisise, ubamamele kwaye ukuhlahlele abakutshoyo nendlela abakutsho ngayo. Kuxa sele uqinisekile ngokubazi kwakho abaphulaphuli bakho khon'ukuze wenze intetho yakho yolukuhlo.

(i) Uhlalutya lwabaphulaphuli ngokwamanani obuni babo

Kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli abe nakho ukuhlalutya abantu ngamaqela abo okanye ngokwendlela abahlanganiswe ngayo. Ukongeza koku, kufuneka umlukuhli alazi iqela elithile ukuba lithanda ntoni na, kwaye ziintoni elingazithandiyo. Imikhwa efanayo, iinqobo

ezisemgangathweni kunye nezinye izinto elabelana ngazo elo qela labantu, zizinto ezibonisa indlela abahlangene ngayo abantu. Umzekelo, ukuzibandakanya komntu kwibandla elithile lenkonzo, umanyano lootata ekuphuhliseni imo yenkqubela ekuhlaleni, namanye amaqela asekuhlaleni. Kungoko kubalulekile komlukunguhli ukujonga imeko yeminyaka, yengeniso, yobuni, yenkolo, ubungakanani bosapho kunye nemeko yeqela lwezopolitiko, kwanazo neendawo zempangelo. Maninzi amathuba okuluphumelela ulukunguhlo xa ungomlukunguhli unalo ngokwaneleyo olu lwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakho.

(ii) Zazi iimfuno zabaphulaphuli

Bonke abaphulaphuli ababelana ngawo, asukela kwizinto ezibadibanisayo ebomini babo. Ke nje ngomlukunguhli, kuhlalelo lwabaphulaphuli bakho kumele ubonise amava abo aphambili anxulumene neenjongo zakho. Ngexesha le nkqubo yolukunguhlo, ngokukaLarson (1995) ecaphula uSchwartz (1973), intetho yomlukunguhli mayibe nemiyalezo eyakhelwe ixesha nendawo eza kumanyelelwa kuyo. Le yindlela yokuqhelana nomsebenzi. Kwakhona umlukunguhli kufuneka azibuze ngexesha lale nkqubo ukuba ingaba iimfuno zakhe ziyalungelana namandla okukwazi kwabaphulaphuli ukuba balandele icebo lakhe okanye bamkele umyalezo wentetho yakhe.

3.2.2 lintlobo zokulungiselela

Ulukunguhlo olunefuthe nekulula ukulikhumbula lungalungiselelwa ngeendlela ezininzi, ezizezi zilandelayo:- (i) ulungiselelo ngokwesihloko, (ii) ulungiselelo ngokwesithuba, (iii) ulungiselelo ngokokulandelelana kwamaxesha, (iv) ulungiselelo ngokwemiba emininzi, (v) ulungiselelo ngokukhuthazwa kolandelelwano. Ezi ntlobo ziza kucaciswa nganye apha ngezantsi:

(i) Ulungiselelo ngokwesihloko

Indlela yokulungiselela ngokwesihloko yeyona inefuthe nesebenzayo xa ufuna ukudlulisa umyalezo onezihloko okanye imiba emininzi. Le ndlela ikwalungile xa ubani ebonisa izizathu ezithile ezikhokhelela kwintshukumo ethile. Xa umlukunguhli elandela umgaqo onguwo wokulungisa intetho yakhe ngokwesihloko, uye azifezekise iimfuno zakhe ngokwezicwangciso.

(ii) Ulungiselelo ngokwesithuba

Ulungiselelo ngokwesithuba lolunye uhlobo olubalulekileyo lokulungiselela intetho yakho, ingambi xa ufuna ukuthelekisa isihloko sakho kwindawo ebanzi. Uluvo lwesithuba lunxulumana nokuthelekisa nobungakanani becebo lo mlukuhli.

(iii) Ulungiselelo ngokokulandelelana kwamaxesha

Apha kunxibelelwano, okubalulekileyo xa ubani esenza intetho okanye umyalezo wolukuhlo kukwandlalela abaphulaphuli ngokubanika imbali ngokokulandelelana kweziganeko. Umzekelo, ilungu leqela elithile lwezopolitiko kwintetho yalo, phambi konyulo, lingaxelela abaphulaphuli imbali engokusekwa kweqela, izinto esele lizenzile laziphumelela, iinkokheli zokuqala nezinye.

(iv) Ulungiselelo ngokwemiba emininzi

NgokukaLarson (1995), apha kukho amacala amabini axoxa umcimbi. Elinye icala lifuna utshintsho, kodwa elinye lifuna imeko yangaphambili. Ngamanye amazwi eli cala alifuni tshintsho. Umzekelo, kwimeko yezopolitiko eZimbabwe, kukho abathi kumele kubekho utshintsho kwinkqubo yomthetho olawulayo kwelo. Ngeli lixa abanye bengafuni nokuva ngotshintsho kumthetho weli lizwe. Phantsi kwale meko umlukuhli kufuneka abonise ngokwaneleyo imfuno yotshintsho kumthetho. Aphinde abonise icebo lentshukumo enokuthi ikhokhelele ekusombululeni ingxaki. Kwaye kumele azi ukuba eli cebo liyazizalisekisa na iimfuno zabantu. Kumele umlukuhli enze ukuba kubekho iziphumo ezilungileyo endaweni yokudala ezimbi kunemeko ekuyiyo ngoku kwelaseZimbabwe.

Xa kufukilelwa kwisigqibo sokuba kubekho iziphumo ezilungileyo, omabini la macala aye abone kulungile ukunikana ngokulinganayo macala. Ngamanye amazwi kufuneka kubekho ukunikana okanye ukuphana ngokulinganayo, kwizinto ezithile. Apha kule meko akumelanga kubekho cala lilahlekelwayo ngeli lixa elinye lizuza. Imeko enika umzekelo ocacileyo yile yeCODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) eMzantsi Afrika. Kule ntlanganiso yeCODESA urhulumente wabacinezeli wanikezela ngenkululeko ebantwini jikelele eMzantsi Afrika. Ukanti bona abacinezela bawaqinisekisa amaqela ayelawula ngokungabuyisi sixhiba. Kube Ngaloo ndlela inkululeko ixhanyulwa nguye wonke umntu waseMzantsi Afrika ngokungakhethiyo nangaluphi na uhlobo. Kwiimeko

zopolitiko ezifana nezi, umphulaphuli kumele aphawule icala elifuna utshintsho nelo lingalifuniyo emamele intetho yolukuhlo.

(v) Ulungiselelo ngokukhuthazwa kolandelelwano

ULarson (1995) uthi, le yenye indlela ejongana nemiba emininzi eyathi yavezwa nguMonroe (1982) nabanye waze wayibiza ngokuba, yinkuthazo elandelelanayo. Uqhuba athi uLarson (1995) ngoMonroe (1982), le ndlela inamanyathelo angala:- (a) inyathelo lokuthatha ingqalelo, (b) inyathelo eliyimfuneko, (c) inyathelo lokubona nelokwanelisa, kunye (d) nenyathelo lentshukumo.

(a) Inyathelo lokuthatha ingqalelo

Eli nyathelo lijolise ekuthatheni umdla wabaphulaphuli ngokubenza bakunyamekele oza kukuthetha. Umlukuhli angakwenza oku ngokuqala intetho yakhe ngokunika amanani othusayo kumba othile. Ngokuthi, umzekelo, abantwana amashumi alithoba ekhulwini lwabantwana abaphakathi konyaka neminyaka esibhozo banesifo uGawulayo. Maxa wambi angaqala ngebalana nje elihlekisayo, okanye ngesibhengezo esibalulekileyo, okanye asebenzise isixhobo sokubonisa akuthethayo i-"overhead projector".

(b) Inyathelo eliyimfuneko

Lona eli nyathelo lijolise kweyona ndlela kufanele bayithathe abantu khon'ukuze baphumelele kwiminqweno yabo. Xa sijonga imeko yaseZimbabwe, umlukuhli kungafuneka aze nawona manyathelo afanelekileyo anokubasa empumelelweni abantu beli lizwe, ngakumbi kwabo balufunayo utshintsho lwenkqubo yomthetho.

(c) Inyathelo lokubona nelokwaneliseka

Kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli asebenzise izinto okanye izixhobo ezinokubonela abaphulaphuli kwaye banele yinto athetha ngayo. Lona nyathelo lokubonisa elithi lilandelwe lelokwaneliseka kwabaphulaphuli kwinto abayibonayo.

(d) Inyathelo lentshukumo

Emva kokwaneliseka kufanele kubekho into eyenziwayo. Nangona kunjalo, umlukuhli kufuneka aqiniseke ukuba uwutsalile ngokuphelelyo umdla wabantu. Oku kumbangela ukuba akwazi ukubona ngokupheleleyo owona mqweno wabaphulaphuli. Umntu othengisa impahla yendlu, umzekelo, kumele amenze umphulaphuli ayithathele ingqalelo impahla ayithengisayo. Oku kwenzeka ngokuthi awazi umdla nomqweno womntu khon'ukuze amenze athathe inyathelo okanye intshukumo. Ekugqibeleni kufuneka intshukumo yomphulaphuli ibe kukuthenga into ethengiswa ngumlukuhli.

UNjingalwazi uRank (1982), ngokukaLarson (1995), unomfuziselo omacala mane wokwenza umntu abe nomqweno. Umlukuhli angawusebenzisa lo mfuziselo ukukhuthaza iminqweno yabaphulaphuli, umzekelo, ngokuthi abathembise ngokhuseleko, ukuphumla, ukuzuza kunye nokuthintela okubi okanye okungalunganga.

3.2.3 lindlela zobungqina

Ukuguqula izimvo zabantu akuyonto ilula, ngoba baye bafune ubungqina, nkqu sele bexelelwa ngomcimbi obalulekiyo. Kukho iindlela ezibalulekileyo zokuninka ubungqina eziza kucaciswa apha ngezantsi:

(i) Ubungqina ngengqokelela yamanani ento ethile

Obu bungqina bunokulukuhla ngokulula xa buthe bacaciswa, kwaye banxulunyaniswa. Ukuba, umzekelo, ubani uthetha ngokwanda kwenani labantu abenesifo uGawulayo makaxele okanye oko akunxulumanise nokunqongophala nokwehla kwexabiso lemali elidalwa bubundlobongela obugqubayo apha eMzantsi Afrika.

(ii) Ubungqina ngobaliso nagembalana emfutshane

Xa ubani ebalisa ngakubonileyo, nangokwenza amabalana amafutshane anoburharha wenza kube lula kubaphulaphuli ukukhumbula izinto. Oku kungabenza bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo.

(iii) Ubungqina bengxelo

Umlukuhli kufanele angapheleli nje kwinto ayithethayo, koko kumele avelise ingxelo engqinelanayo nentetho yakhe kweyenziwe ngomnye umntu. Ngamanye amazwi ukuba umlukuhli usebenzisa amazwi omnye umntu kufuneka akubonise kucape oko.

(iv) Ubungqina obubonakalayo

Izixhobo zokubonisa ubungqina zibalulekile xa ubani esenza intetho yolukuhlo. Umzekelo, umthengisi wamachiza okucutha umzimba omkhulu okanye okuphelisa ukutyeba okugqithisileyo, uye abe nomboniso womntu owayenobunzima obungamakhulu amane, kodwa ngoku unomzimba onobunzima obungamashumi asibhozo, ngenxa yokusebenzisa la mayeza. Apha kulo mzekelo abantu abanengxaki nemizimba emikhulu ngabona banokulukuhleka lula.

(v) Ubungqina ngokuthelekisa nangokwahlula

Ngenxa yokuba kunzima emntwini ukubona ingxaki kwizimvo zakhe, ingakumbi xa into eyibona ngohlobo oluthile, kubalulekile ukuzama ngako konke onako ukuthelekisa nokwahlula uluvo lwakho. Oku kunceda abaphulaphuli bawobone umahluko phakathi kwamacala oluvo lo mlukuhli.

(vi) Imfaniso

Khangela kwicandelo- 2.3.2.

3.2.4 Ukwakha intembeko yakho

Ubungqina, ukulungelelanisa intetho ngendlela ekwiqondo eliphezulu akuthethi nto kwaphela xa abaphulaphuli bekukrokrela. Ngako oko, umlukuhli kumele aqinisekise oku kulandelayo.

(i) Ukuthembeka

Amaxesha amaninzi abaphulaphuli bayabathemba abalukuhli ngenxa yokuba besaziwa njengabathembekileyo, ababajongayo abantu, kwaye benamazwi athobekileyo. Ababi sacinga nokucinga ngokuqwalasela elinye icala lo mlukuhli elinokuthi liphikisane noku.

(ii) Ingxelo yobuchule

Apha kujongwa iimpumelelo zomlukuhli kwimisebenzi yakhe yangaphambili.

(iii) Amandla

Oku kunxulunyaniswa nenkangeleko yomzimba. Lilonke indlela umntu akhangeleka ngayo khon'ukuze abukeke phakathi kwabanye abantu ibalulekile. Isithethi esinomtsalane sidla ngokuthi sithabathele kuso umdla wabaphulaphuli. Indlela esithetha ngayo, esijonga ngayo, esikhangeleka ngayo ebusweni enika umdla kuphulaphuli. Ngamandla athi awasebenzise umlukuhli kwiinzame zakhe zokutshintsha isimilo somphulaphuli.

3.2.5 Ukuhambisa umyalezo wakho

Indlela akhangeleka ngayo umlukuhli nendlela yokulusebenzisa kwakhe ulwimi xa esenza intetho yakhe zinefuthe lokumlukuhla lula umphulaphuli, ngaphezulu kwentetho tyhafileyo. Baneendlela ezithile abakwenza ngayo oku abalukuhli. Ezinye zezi ndlela zezi zilandelayo:

(1) Ukhetho lweentlobo ngeentlobo zamagama

Khon'ukuze intetho yakhe umlukuhli inike umdla, ibe nomtsalane, ibe nabo noborharha, kumele akhetho amagama alungileyo nanokukwenza oku. Ngokuka Conradie (1999, p 87), umlukuhli kumele athi, "pay attention to clarity ... if your language is unclear, it may result in misunderstandings that may be avoided if you use more specific and precise words".

(i) Izigaba zentetho

Umlukuhli makayomeleze indlela yokuhambisa umyalezo wakhe ngokuthi asebenzise izigaba zentetho ezifana namaqhalo, izaci, izifaniso, kunye nezinye.

(ii) Ngokucacileyo

Kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli asebenzise amagama acacileyo anokuthi abangele umdla kubaphulaphuli. La magama kumele abe nganika umdla kwaye abe nomtsalane endaweni yokudambisa umdla wabaphulaphuli. Kufuneka usebenzise amagama atolikeka ngeendlela ezahlukeneyo, ngenxa yokuba anika intandabuzo.

(iii) Ngokufutshane

Isithethi kumele sizame ukuthetha ngqo kwaye singatyatyaduli senze intetho entle ngomba omnye. Kufuneka sibe sifutshane sincamathele emxholweni, silandeleke.

(iv) Ulwakhiwo olufanayo

Olu lwakhiwo lwezivakalisi ngendlela efanayo, okanye ngendlela enxusene nenye. Nangona kunjalo izivakalisi xa zibhalwa kuqapheleka ukuba zakhiwe ngokwahlukeneyo ngeli lixa sisenokuthetha into enye. (a) Umzekelo, urhulumente weli loMzantsi Afrika ukhokhela iphulo lokuvuselela i-Afrika. (b) Iphulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika likhokhelwa ngurhulumente welomZantsi Afrika. (c) Ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kuliphulo elikhokhelwa ngurhulumente welomZantsi Afrika.

(v) Umfanekiso ngqondweni

Umlukuhli kufuneka enze umfanekiso ngqondweni wento athetha ngayo, phezu kolwazi lokusebenza kwezimvo.

(vi) Uburharha

Ulukuhlo oluneziphumo ezihle ngokweminqweno yomlukuhli lunokwenzeka nangokusebenzisa imizekelo ehlekisayo ngamabalana nje amafutshane. Oku kungenza umdla kubaphulaphuli bakho, batsho balukuhleke lula.

3.2.6 Ukuhambisa umyalezo

Kukho iindlela okanye izinto ezichaphazelekayo ekuhambiseni umyalezo kubaphulaphuli bakho. Nazi zicaciswa apha ngezantsi:

Umlukuhli

Izinto ekufuneka umlukuhli azilungise phambi kokuhambisa umyalezo wakhe, naxa sele eqhubeka ngokuwuhambisa zezi zilandelayo:- (a) indlela yokuma, (b) indlela yokujonga, (c) indlela yokuthetha, (d) nendlela ashukuma ngayo.

(a) Indlela yokuma

kubalulekile ukukhululeka xa uhambisa umyalezo wolukuhlo. Xa umlukuhli ekhululekile okanye esoyika uye abonakale ngendlela ame ngayo. Nkqu sele ekhululekile kumele ame ngendlela enika umdla kubaphulaphuli bakhe.

(b) Indlela yokujonga

Kukho inkolo yokuba umntu akanakho ukuthetha ubuxoki okanye into engekho xa ekuthe ntsho emehlweni, utsho uLarson (1995). Ngako oko, umlukuhli ofuna bakholelwe kuye abaphulaphuli bakhe kufuneka abajonge, angawafihli amehlo akhe khon'ukuze bakholelwe kuye.

(c) Indlela yokuthetha

Kulukuhlo kubalulekile ukwazi ukucacisa nokusebenzisa ulwimi olulungileyo. Kubakho amaxesha kulapho isithethi sithethela phantsi singavakali okanye sithethele phezulu ngokuqhithisileyo. Maxa wambi sibize amagama ngendlela engeyiyo. Oku kubangela

ukungaluphumeleli ulukuhlo, ngenxa yokuba abaphulaphuli baye bathathele ingqalelo ezi mpazamo sizenzayo isithethi endaweni yomxholo womyalezo.

(d) Indlela yokushukuma nokujekula

Iindlela ashukuma ngazo umlukuhli zivuselela intetho, ingakumbi xa zingaphazamisi. Zezi ntshukumo ezitsala umdla wabaphulaphuli, zibenze balukuhleke lula.

Ijelo lonxibelelwano

Zininzi iintlobo zamajelo onxibelelwano anokuthi asebenzise zona umlukuhli. Umzekelo woku ngamaphepha ndaba, oonomathotholo, oomabona kude, iibhodi zentengiso kunye neeKhompyutha. Alwenziwa ngokudibana nabantu kuphela ulukuhlo, koko ungalwenza ngokusebenzisa la majelo. Nangona kunjalo kuya kusoloko kubalulekile ukuba ubazi abaphulaphuli bakho neemfuno zabo ngokupheleleyo.

Abaphulaphuli

Amandla nentshukumo yabaphulaphuli anokukhuliswa ngokuthi umlukuhli abakhuthaze ekuthatheni inkxaxheba. Oku kungenziwa ngokuthi babuzwe imibuzo abaphulaphuli, abaziwayo babizwe ngamagama abo khon'ukuze bathathe inkxaxheba.

3.2.7 Ezinye iindlela zokuphumelela ulukuhlo

NgokukaLarson (1995), umlukuhli oluphumelelayo ulukuhlo lwakhe uchitha ixesha elininzi esenza uphando ngezinto abakholelwa kuzo abaphulaphuli bakhe. Aze yena akungqamanise akufumeneyo noko azakukuthetha. Nazi ezinye zezi ndlela.

(i) Ubuchule bokuvuma

Le yeyona ndlela isetyenziswayo kwiintengiso. Oku kufuna ukuba umphulaphuli aphenidule ngokuthi ewe kwizibheni eziliqela. NgokukaLarson (1995), ukuba ubani uthe ewe kwizibheni ezininzi, kulula ukuba athi ewe nakweso sokugqibela singundoqo.

(ii) Musa ukubuza, ukuba?, buza yeyiphi?

Phantsi kobu ubuchule, umlukuhli kumele azamele ukuba umphulaphuli athathe elinye icala xa eyeka elinye. Umntu othengisa impahla ofuna ukulukuhla umntu ukuba athenge angathi, phakathi kwale jezi inamaqhosha nale ingenawo yeyiphi ocinga ukuba ikulungele.

(iii) Ukuphendula umbuzo ngombuzo

Obu buchule busisixhobo sokutyhafisa obuzayo ngokuthi abuzwe umbuzo ngulomntu ebebuza kuye umbuzo. Oku kwenzeka kakhulu xa obuzwayo engenandlela yakuphendula. Uye aziphe ithuba lokucinga ngokuthi aphendule ngukubuza umbuzo.

(iv) Inxalenye yokuzibophelela

Abantu ngabantu bazibophelela kwizinto ezithile ezifana namasiko kunye nezithethe. Kwimeko yenkolo yamaMoslem, umzekelo, amadoda athandaza odwa kwaye baguqa phantsi xa bethandaza, abazinxibi nezihlangu ngexesha lale nkqubo. Yindlela abazibophelele kuyo yokunqula abamkhonzayo. Nalapha kulukuhlo umlukuhli kufuneka azibophelele kwimithetho yolukuhlo ukuze aziphumeze iinjongo zakhe.

(v) Milisela

Ukumilisela kuyenye yeendlela zokuqhagamshelanisa okanye ukunxulumanisa izimvo nentetho. Le ndlela eyenza kube lula kubaphulaphuli ukukhumbula okuthethiweyo.

3.3 ULUKUHLO KUNXIBELELWANO LWABABINI: REARDON (1991)

Ulukuhlo olwenzeka kunxibelelwano lwababini lwenzeka xa ababini bethetha, omnye ebhekisa komnye nomnye enxibelelana nomnye ngamazwi nangamalungu omzimba. Oku kuluphawu lolukuhlo lonxibelelwano lwababini. Kutsho kube lula ukungqina oku kulandelayo ngezinye iimpawu zolukuhlo kunxibelelwano lwababini. Kwangaxesha nye kungangabilula ukuxhobela okunokwenzeka ngexesha lendibano yaba babini. Lilonke ubani akakwazi ukuqiqkelela okunokwehla ngexesha lonxibelelwano.

Okunye okubalulekileyo kulukuhlo lonxibelelwano lwababini kukuphulaphulisisa xa omnye ethetha. Kufuneka aqhaphelisise neentshukumo zamalungu omzimba, ngenxa yokuba ulwazi oluninzi luye lugqithiswa ngokusebenzisa wona. Oku kuthetha ukuba abantu mabangaqwalaseli intetho yamazwi kuphela, koko neentshukumo zamalungu omzimba zibalulekile kunxibelelwano.

Unxibelelwano lwababini lunokuphawulwa nangokuba, ngokukaReardon (1991), umlukuhli usenokuba ngumlukuhlwa. Umzekelo, umphangi owaguqukayo wohlukana nalo mkhwa uzama ukulukuhla umlungane wakhe osaqhubekayo nale nkohlakalo ukuba makaguqukele enkonzweni akhonze uYesu. Suke umlukuhlwa lo aphenyule ngokulukuhla umhlobo wakhe ngokuthi, kukho izigidi zemali ezingakhuselwanga ekumele siyokuziba ngoku khon'ukuze sikholwe kuYesu sizizityebi. Kwimeko enjena kungatshiwo ukuba abalukuhli bangaphezulu kwesinye.

Ngenxa yokungakwazi ukuqikelela okunokwenzeka ngexesha lolukuhlo kunxibelelwano lwababini, abantu abaninzi abalungi. Nangona kunjalo, aba bantu bakhetha ukuthetha nokuphendula ekugqibeleni. Kwakhona ngexesha lale nkqubo umntu kufuneka akwazi ukuzibandakanya ngempumelelo kunxibelelwano lwababini. Ukwazi ukuzibandakanya ngempumelelo kunxibelelwano lwababini akuthethi ukusoloko uphumelela. Koko kuthetha ngokukaReardon (1991), ukwazi ukufunda imiyalezo yamazwi neyamalungu omzimba, ukwazi ukwenza nokudlulisa iimpendulo ezilungileyo, ukubona nokucacisa izisombululo ezamkelekileyo, kunye nokukwazi ukukhuthaza umlukuhlwa ukuba makaguquke kwisimilo nokuziphatha kwakhe.

3.3.1 Impembelelo yobudlelwane

Kukho uhlobo oluthile okanye indlela ethile ebalulekileyo ekuchongeni ubuchule bokulawula ulukuhlo. Olu hlobo lobuchule kukumazi umntu kakuhle nangokugqibeleleyo. Le ndlela ithetha ukuba umlukuhli kufuneka akhe ubuhlobo kwaye azisondeze kakhulu kumntu afuna ukumlukuhla, khon'ukuze amazi kakuhle. Oku kungqinwa nguFitzpatrik (1988); uMiller nabanye (1977); uReardon nabanye (1989), becatshulwe kuReardon (1991) ngokuthi ukwakha ubuhlobo kulolunye uhlobo lobuchule oluphembelela ubudlelwane kulukuhlo.

Xa umlukuhli enolwazi ngomphulaphuli wakhe, uye azi ukuba uza kuluphumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe, ngokumba lowo uchaphazelekayo kwiingxoxo. Umzekelo, umlukuhli angaphumelela ekulukuhleni umthandi nomdlali webhola ekhatywayo ekubeni athenge izihlangu zalomdlalo. Ngeli lixa ongawuthandiyo nongawukhathalelanga lo mdlalo enganakulukuhleka. Nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba lo mntu akanakuzithenga ezi zihlangu. Kaloku ukuya umazi umntu okanye umphulaphuli, okuya ngenxa yokuba ngcono ukwazi ukulungisa nokuchonga ubuchule onokuthi ubusebenzise.

3.3.2 Imithetho yobudlelwane kulukuhlo lonxibelelwano lwababini

Ngexesha le ntetho okanye incoko phakathi kwababini kubakho imithetho ethile abathi bayilandele. Oku kusetyenziswa kwale mithetho kuxhomekeke kulwazi abanalo lwemveli kunye nolwangaphandle ngomba othile. Owona mthetho uphambili ngulowo wemveli, ukuba nolwazi ngomntu.

Kukwabalulekile, kwelinye icala ukumazi nangaphandle umntu. Umthetho wangaphandle wangaphandle use nokusetyenziswa okanye uncede njengomgangatho wothelekiso. Ngamanye amazwi ubani usenokujonga okanye axhomekeke kwimithetho yokulindela okuthile, kunemithetho yobudlelwane, ade ayisombulule ingxaki anayo nalowo athetha naye.

3.3.3 Amacebo olukuhlo kunxibelelwano lwababini

Kukho iindlela zobungcisa zokuzuza isivumelwano eziza noReadon (1991), noMarwell noSchmitt (1967), bacatshulwe kuReardon (1991) ezilishumi elinesithandathu. Ezi ndlela okanye amacebo ajongene nokuvumelana nokungavumelani kwinto inokwahlulwa ngokuba ilungile, okanye ukuziphatha okungaguqikiyo. Ukusekela kwicebo lobungcisa lwethoba ukuya kweleshumi elinesithandathu, kwenziwa isibheno ekungaguququkukini kumbono wakho buqu. Ngeli lixa intsalela isenza isibheno kwiimfuno zomntu.

Nazi iindlela zobungcisa ekuzuzeni isivumelwano zishwankathelwe ngezantsi. Kunikwe nje uhlobo lubungcisa nomzekelo wetentho ephembelela ingqiqo yomlukuhlwa.

- (1) Isithembiso – Ukuba uyavumelana, ndiya kukuhlawula.
- (2) Ukusongela – Ukuba awuvumelani, ndiza kukohlwaya.

- (3) Ingxelo yobuchule (Eginisekileyo) – Ukuba uyavumelana uza kuhlawula ngenxa yemo yezinto.
- (4) Ingxelo yobuchule (Elandulayo) – Ukuba awuvumelani, uza kohlwaywa ngenxa yemo yezinto.
- (5) Ukucacela – Umdlali weqonga unobuhlobo kwaye uluncedo ekuboniseni lowo ajolise kuye umfanekiso ngqondweni olungileyo khon'ukuze avumelane nesicelo.
- (6) Ukunuka kuqala – Umdlali weqonga umhluwula lowo ajolise kuye phambi kokucela isivumelwano.
- (7) Uvuso lukuchasana – Umdlali umohlwaya rhoqo lowo ajolise kuye ekupheliseni isiqendu seqela labantu.
- (8) Ityala – Undityala ukuvumelana nam ngenxa yovelwano endandikwenzela lona ngaphambili.
- (9) Isibhenno sokulungileyo – Awulunganga
- (10) Ukuziva ngokuqinisekileyo – Uza kuziva ngcono ukuba uyavumelana.
- (11) Ukuziva okulandulayo – Awuzi kuziva kamnandi ukuba awuvumelani.
- (12) Iimpawu zokuqinisekileyo – Umntu oneempawu ezilungileyo angavumelana.
- (13) Iimpawu zokulandulayo – Ngumntu oneempawu ezingalunganga kuphela onoku kungavumelani.
- (14) Ukucingela abantu – Ndiyifuna kakubi kakhulu isivumelwano yakho, ngoko ke vumela nje mna.
- (15) Isidima (ukuqiniseka) – Abantu obaxabisileyo baya kucinga ngcono ngawe ukuba uyavumelana.
- (16) Isidima (okulandulayo) – Abantu obaxabisileyo baya kucinga kakubi ngakumbi ukuba awuvumelani.

URearson (1991) uthi, umsebenzi kaMarwell noSchmitt (1967) wandiswa nguMiller nabanye (1977) ngokuthi wongeze iindlela zokulawula ubuchule bokuphatha umcimbi, kulukuhlo nje nakulukuhlo lonxibelwano lwababini. Ezi ndlela zongezwe nguMiller azizi kukhankanywa apha. Nangona kunjalo ubani unakho ukuzisebenzisa ezi ndlela zobuchule bokuphatha umcimbi ekukhetheni okanye ekwaleni uhlobo oluthile lolawulo.

Kwakhona uWitteman noFitzpatrick (1977), bacatshulwe kuReardon (1991) banendlela ebubuchule bokuzuza isivumelwano. Le ndlela yesivumelwano bayibiza ngokuba yi-"Verb Interaction Compliance Gaining Scheme" (VICS). Yindlela abayisebenzisayo ekukhangeleni iyantlukwano emitshatweni. URearson (1991) uphinda athi uFitzpatrick

(1977), (1984); uFitzpatrick noBadzinski (1985), uFitzpatrick noIndvik (1982) bangqinelana ngokuthi kukho isithethe sobudlelwane, esokwahlukana, kunye nesokuzimela.

Izithethe zijolise kwixabiso lokungagungqi kwisithethe sakho. Ngeli lixa yona iyantlukwano iba nalo ungenelelo lowesithathu ukunqanda ukwahlukana. Ukanti kona ukuzimela kukholisa ukuba nabangeneleli abathile ngenxa yokuba kusoloko kubakho ingxabano phakathi kwabantu.

3.3.4 Ukuchasa isivumelwano

Kubalulekile ukuqwalasela izizathu ezibangela ukuchaswa kwemvumelwano ngabantu. NgokukaReardon (1991) izifundo ezenziwe nguHowie-Day (1977), McQuillen noHigginbotham (1986), izizathu ezphambili ezibangela abantwana bachasane nemvumelwano zibhekiselele kwiminyaka, kusini, nakwisicelo.

URearon (1991) ubuya athi uMcLaughlin, uCody, no-O'Hair (1983); uMcLaughlin, uCody, noRosenstein (1983), kunye no-Cody noMcLaughlin (1985) benza uphando ngengcaciso. Aba baluchaza uhlobo lwengcaciso njengendlela yokulawula okungaphumelela. Oku kuthetha ukuba bagxininisa kwindlela ezisebenza ngayo ezi ngcaciso, ekupheliseni iziqendwana zokoyikisa kubudlelwane. Indlela yokudambisa uloyikiso, ukucaphukisa okanye ukulandula, iphenjelelwa yindlela ekhawulelwa ngayo imeko enje.

Kukho iindlela ezithile ezinokubangela ukuba kuphunyelelwe ngazo ulukuhlo. URearon (1991), uthi amalinge olukuhlo ahlelwe aba zezi ndidi zilandelayo:- ukubhenela kokufanelekileyo, ukungaguquguquki, kunye nokusebenza kakuhle.

3.3.5 lintshukumo ezinokuba neziphumo

Iyazeka into yokuba akululanga ukufumana isivumelwano nomnye umntu xa kukho ukungaqondani phakathi kwenu. Abantu kumele basebenzise ezi ndlela zilandelayo: kwiinzame zokufumana isivumelwano.

- (1) Kumele ubonise ingqondo yakho nomlukulhwa kubango, kwindawo ezaziwa ngento ethile, kunye nesiqinisekiso.
- (2) Ukumamela nokubonisa ukufana, neyantlukwano ngokucinga.

- (3) Ukunciphisa ukuchukumiseka kwiingxaki engenakusonjululwa ngokuthi ingxoxo uyibekele elinye ixesha. Ubonise intshukumo yokuchukumiseka ngokuba novelwano ngolukuhlwa.
- (4) Beka ubuthathaka bokucinga kumlukuhlwa okanye uzame iindlela zokunye nesindululo esinokunika umdla.
- (5) Khetha ubuchule bokubonisa, umzekelo, ukubonisa into engalunganaga, ukungaguququki kunye nokuhlangabezana.
- (6) Bandakanya umlukuhlwa kwisisombululo okanye ekuzeni nesisombululo.
- (7) Khetha uhlobo okanye indlela evumelana nemeko kunye nobudlelwane.
- (8) Fumana ukuzinikezela kwinguquko.
- (9) Kwaye wenze ulandelo.

Onke la manqanaba abonisa ubudlelwane phantsi kweemeko zokufumana isivumelwano, kunye nokwala ukuvumelana ngokujonga abaziphatha ngayo abo babandakanyekayo kwiingxoxo.

3.4 UKUSETYENZISWA KWEZINDULULO ZESISEKO SENKQUBO YEENGXOXO EZILUKUHLAYO KWINTENGISO: LARSON (1995)

3.4.1 Izaziso, unyuselo lwentengiso nokubeka ngokwendawo

Amaxesha amaninzi abantu bazibona bengamaxhoba eentengiso nezaziso. Ngako oko, abantu kumele baqaphele izibheni ezijoliswe kubo malunga nokuthenga okanye ukungathengi. Apha kolu hlobo lolukuhlo izibheni ezingafane zithathelwe ngqalelo ezinje ngokuphawula ngegama, ubeko ngendawo kunye nokubopha.

(i) Ukuphawula kunye namagama ophawu

Kukho indlela yokusasaza igama likuphawula ngendlela enokukhumbuleka ngayo imveliso ethile, umzekelo, izihlangu zokubaleka zakwa-"Nike". Uphawu lwale mveliso lucacisa umahluko wayo kwezinye iimpawu zezinye iimveliso ezikwa zizihlangu zokubaleka. Igama eli apha ekuphawuleni imveliso linefuthe kakhulu ekulukuhleni abantu khon'ukuze bayithenge bayisebenzise. Xa ubani enokuqaphela kule mihla ulutsha luthanda ukunxiba iibhulukhwe ezibizwa ngokuba ngoo-"Levi's", ngenxa yokuba ilelona gama liphambili kwimpahla ethembekileyo.

(ii) Ukubotshwa kwepasile

Indlela ebotshwa nesongelwa ngayo imveliso, ukwenza ipasile etsala amehlo, idlala indima enkulu ekulukuhleni abantu. Indlela eyenziwa ngayo le pasile ikwaqinisekisa ukubethelela igama le mveliso leyo. Ngale ndlela imveliso ihlala ikhuselekile, kwaye kufuneka ibekwe kwindawo ezakubonwa lula kuyo ngabantu khon'ukuze itsale umdla wabo. Le pasile amaxesha amaninzi idla ngokuba nophawu lweleyibhile, nayo eyongeza ekuphemeleleni ukulukuhleka kwabantu.

(iii) Indawo yokuthenga nonyuselo lwentengiso

Indlela ezipakishwa ngayo iimveliso ezivenkileni inefuthe elikhulu ekulukuhleni abantu. Ngenxa yale ndlela yokupakisha, abantu bayayazi ukuba imveliso ethile abayifunayo isendaweni ethile apha ezivenkileni. Umzekelo, abantu ababhinqileyo bayazazi iimveliso zakwa-"Elida Ponds" ukuba zifumaneka ndawoni ezivenkileni ezinkulu. Nezinye iimveliso zibekwe ngokwale ndlela khon'ukuze abantu bangazisokoli xa bezifuna. Oku ngokukaLarson (1995), kuthiwa yi-"Point of Purchase" (P.O.P). Le ndlela yokubeka iimveliso inyusela intengiso yemizimveliso yezi mveliso.

(iv) Unyuselo lwentengiso

Intengiso inyuselwa ngendlela ethile ekholisa ukungabaniki thuba lokucingisisa abantu malunga nokuyithenga okanye bayithengi kusini na imveliso leyo. Ubani angakubeka ngolu hlobo oku, ukunyuswa kwentengiso kudla ngokuba yinkqubo yokukhuthaza abathengi ekuthengeni imveliso ngesiqophe bengakhange bacinge ngayo. Umzekelo, ubani uya edolophini eyokuthenga izinto azaziyo naziqingqileyo, suka abone imveliso ethile etsale umdla wakhe kuyo, aze ayithenge axolele ukuba kubekho esilelayo kwezo ebeyokuzithenga. Oku kuquka ukuthengiswa kweemveliso ezimbini ngexabiso le mveliso enye. Maxa wambi abathengisi baphisa ngamabhaso, banikezele ngeekhuponi, benze ukhuphiswano. Konke oku kuziindlela zokunyusa intengiso.

(v) Ubeko ngokwendawo

Kukho inkolo yokuba kwiingqondo zabathengi uphawu lwemveliso nganye ubani oqhele ukuyithenga lubekwe kwindawo ethile apha engqondweni yakhe. Abathengisi bakugxininisa oku ngokwenza usasazo njengesixhobo sorhwebo ekwenzeni abathengi bahlale beneenkumbulo zemveliso leyo. Umzekelo, abasebenzisi beemfonomfono zakwaVodacom, banombono nomqondo wophawu lwale nkampani, ngenxa yezinto ezithile enikela ngazo lenkampani kubathengi.

(vi) lingxaki zonxibelelwano olugqithisileyo eluntwini

NgokukaRies noTrouts (1986) becatshulwe kuLarson (1995), abantu baphila phantsi kwezona zibakala ekunxityelelwene kakhulu ngazo. Nangona kunjalo, oku kungobulumko kuluntu ukwenza indlela elula yokugcina ulwazi oluninzi engqondweni. Ukuthembela nokunyamekela uphawu lwemveliso ethile kuyenye yezi ngxaki. Umzekelo, umntu osebenzisa ukutya kwakwa-"McDonalds" kuphela, uvele angazihoyi ezinye iimveliso. Ngako oko, umthengisi unalo ulwazi ngezi ngxaki uye ajolise kanye kuzo ukuloba abathengi.

(vii) Ugqabhuko-dubulo lwemveliso

Ugqabhuko lwemveliso luyenye ingxaki apha kunxibelelwano. Oku kugqabhuka kweemveliso kubhekiselele ekwandeni kweemveliso ngeyona ndlela emangalisayo. Umzekelo, ukuba iivenkile ezinkulu zasemZantsi Afrika zinemveliso ezingamawaka asibhozo, ngeli lixa eJapani kukho iivekile ezineemveliso ezisisigidi, kungabangela ingxaki yokunyuswa kwamaxabiso emveliso ezo eMzantsi Afrika.

(viii) Ukwahlula ubhidaniso

Zininzi iindlela zokwahlula imveliso ethile kwenye. Abavelisi bakhuphisana ngokuthi ingulowo ufuna ukufika kuqala ezivenkileni ukusa imveliso yakhe. Njengokuba kulungile ukubeka imveliso ngendawo, imveliso ethile kufuneka ibonakale ngophawu lwayo olwahlukileyo kwenye, ibonakale kakuhle, kwaye igqibelele. Enye indlela yokuphelisa ubhidaniso lwemveliso kukwandisa umsebenzi wayo. Umzekelo, amafutha okuthambisa abantwana akwaJohnson & Johnson anokuthanjiswa nangabantu abadala.

Enye indlela ekunokupheliswa ngayo ukubhidanisa imveliso, kukubekwa kwexabiso kwimveliso leyo. Phakathi kweemveliso ezithile kubakho umtyhi wexabiso ukwahlula enye kwenye. Kwakhona, ubhidaniso lusenokupheliswa nangendlela yokusebenzisa intetho emfutshane yokwazisa le mveliso.

3.4.2 Ukufuna ukwazi ngento ecingwa ngumthengi

ULarson (1995) usixelela ngeendlela ezintathu ezizezi zilandalayo; idemografiki, iisayikhografiki kunye neesoshiyografiki, zokufuna ukwazi okucingwa ngumthengi. Idemografiki ijongene nokwazi inani labantu abasebenzisa imveliso ethile. Oku kwenziwa ngokujolisa kwimiba efana nokujonga ingeniso yomntu ngonyaka, ibandla akulo umntu, iminyaka yomntu, ubungakanani bosapho lwakhe, iqela akulo umntu. Indlela abaphila ngayo abantu ihlahlelwa ngokusebenzisa iisayikhografiki. Iisayikhografiki zichaza ngokubanzi indlela abathengi abathi bazibandakanye ngayo kwimisebenzi ethile.

USchewe (1987, p 222) okubonisa oku ngokuthi, **"A recent study by the Stanford research institute (SRI) blended demographic and life-style variables [called VALS (Values And Lifestyles)] to create psychographic portraits Analysis of the data resulted in four broad categories ... need-driven, outer-directed, inner-directed, and combined outer and inner-which were subdivided into nine life-style segments, each with a distinct set of values, needs beliefs, drives, dreams, and special perspectives"**. Kwindlela yokuchitha amaxesha okuphumla, iminqweno yabo nendlela abavakalisa izimvo zabo kwimiba ethile. Kuphando lwesayikhografiki kusetyenziswa igama elithi-AIO- (Activities Interest and Opinions), ngokukaLarson (1995). ULarson uphinde asebenzise olunye uhlobo ekuthiwa yi-VALS (Value And Life-Styles), apha kwintengiso.

(i) Abathengi abaqhutywa yimfuno

Aba bathengi bangabona bahluphekayo, kangangokuba nabathengisi abafane bazijolise kubo iintengiso abazenzayo. Aba bantu baligcuntswana kwaye ababi nangeniso ibhadlileyo. Apha kukho abantu abasindayo okanye abaphilela ukunika izinto eziphambili ebomini babo, kwaye zezemihla ngemihla. Ngabantu aba abadla ngokungalungi phakathi kwabanye abantu ngenxa yokuba bengabathembi.

Ngeli lixa abagcinayo bona bagxininisa kukhuseleko. Ngeli lixa bengafundanga kwaye nengeniso yabo iphantsi, bakholwa kukuya phambili. Olu lolunye uhlobo lwabantu abambalwa kakhulu kwindawo yentengiso.

(ii) Abathengi abazi-Awutha Diyirekthedi

Ngabona bathengi baninzi kwimalike, kwaye kujoliswa kubo kakhulu ngabathengisi. Aba ngabathengi abaphantsi kwezi ntlobo zintathu zilandelayo:- abalinganisi, abaphantsi kokuthile, kunye nabaphumeleli, ngokutsho kukaLarson (1995). Khon'ukuze oku kucace kakuhle kuyakulunga ukuba kushwankathelwe uhlobo ngalunye apha.

Abathengi abaphantsi kokuthile bona bakholewa zizinto eziqhelekileyo zamasiko nezithethe. Oku kukuthi, babambelela kakhulu kwizinto zamandulo okanye iimveliso zakudala. Ngabantu aba abajongene neentsapho zabo, nakwiimveliso ezenza isibheno kwimveliso zasekhaya. Aba ngabantu abanemfundo esezantsi ukuya kwephakathi, kwaye baba ngamaxhoba entshukumo ethe ngqo.

Ukanti kwelinye icala abaphumeleli bejolisa ekukhokheleni, kudumo, kwinkuthalo, nempumelelo. Ngenxa yengeniso nemfundo yabo ephakamileyo, bahlala kumahlomelo eedolophu. Amaxesha amaninzi baba ziinkokheli ekuhlaleni, kumashishini nakwipolitiki. Aba bathengi baba ngamaxhoba okuthenga iimveliso zamaxabiso aphezulu kakhulu, ezifana nee-Mercedes Benz nezinye.

(iii) Abathengi abazi-Ina Dayirekthedi

Aba ngabathengi abakwaligcuntswana kwaye bahlulwe bazezi ndidi zilandelayo; abathengi abanegugu ngeziqo zabo. Ukuba negugu kwabo kubhekiselele ekubeni aba ngabantu abangawafuniyo amasiko nezithethe kwaye elowo uziphilela ngendlela yakhe. Ukanti kwelinye icala khukho udidi lwabantu abakholelwa ekubeni namava. Ngenxa yoku bathi bathenge izinto aba zakuzisebenzisa. Umzekelo, bathenge impahla yokudada, maxa wambi bathenge namaphenyane, izithuthuthu zemidyarho, izixhobo zokunyuka intaba. NgokukaLarson (1995), olu didi lwabantu luphantsi kwabathengi abafundileyo, kwaye iminyaka yabo ikholisa ukuba ngaphantsi kwamashumi amane.

Bona abathengi abacinga ngoluntu ngaba badla ngokuzimanya nemibutho yasekuhlaleni. Ngenxa yoku baba ngamaxhoba okuthenga izinto zasesityeni, izitya zasendlini

njengezinto abazibona ziluncedo eluntwini. Okokugqibela, kukho udidi lwabathengi abayimbumba okanye abamanyeneyo. Ngabathengi aba abakholelwa kwimveliso yoqobo. NgokukaLarson (1995), aba badla ngokuba bazalwa phakathi konyaka ka-1946 ukuya ku-1955, kwaye bona ngamaxhoba okuthenga, umzekelo, izinto izixhobo zomculo, ezenkcubeko nobugcisa.

(iv) liSayikhografiki

I

Isayikhografiki isisifundo sokufuna ukwazi indlela abahlanagana okanye abadibana ngayo abantu, izizathu zokudibana kunye nendawo abadibanela kuyo. ULarson (1995) unendlela ebonisa iintlobo zabahlali ekuthiwa yi-ACORN; (A Classification of Residential Neighborhoods). Olu hlobo lubonisa nendlela abathengi abasebenzisa ngayo amajelo osasazo.

3.4.3 Iilwimi zentengeso

Phambi kokusetyenziswa kweelwimi kusasazo kubakho uphando, khon'ukuze iziphumo zolu phando zikhutshwe ngokushicilelwa. Le ndlela kufuneka ikwazi ukuthengisa imveliso. Lilonke kufuneka kukhutshelwe izinto ezinokukhumbuleka kubathengi kwaye balukuhleke. Le ndlela yanconywa nanguJohn E Kennedy ngonyaka ka-1904, ngokuthi ukusasaza bubuchule bokuthengisa, utsho uLarson (1995). Kumele ubani akhuphele ulwazi olunebesebenzi yolukuhlo. Oku kumele kumbeke embindini umthengi, nanjengoko umthengi ngamnye ezimele.

Abasasazi badla ngokukhuthaza amajelo osasazo ngokuxhasa iinkqubo ezifana neendaba, ezomculo, ezolonwabo, ngeemali ezinkulu khon'ukuze inkqubo yabo yolukuhlo iphumelele. Kwicala labathengi, bona kumele bakulumkele ukulahlekiswa lusasazo olungeyonyani.

3.4.4 Ukusetyenziswa kolwimi kusasazo ngokwendlela kaCarl Wrighter (1972), ecatsulwe kuLarson (1995)

Kukho amagama abalulekileyo athi achongwe ngabalukuhli bawasebenzise kwimiyalezo yolukuhlo kusasazo. ULarson (1995) uthi uWrighter (1972), usebenzisa amagama athile

nabalulekileyo ekutshintsheni indlela abacinga ngayo abantu malunga neemveliso ezithile. Nanga ke la magama eshwankathelwe apha ngezantsi:

(i) Amancedo

Eli gama libonwa njengelona likhulu kwaye liphilisa abantu kwiingxaki abanazo. Umzekelo, kwintengiso yesiphelisi nkwehu i-"Gill" kungathiwa, i-"Gill" inceda ekupheliseni inkwehu kwaye iinwele zakho zihlala zimanyezela zisempilweni, ngemizuzu nje emibini emva kokuyisebenzisa. Ubani owakhe umsebenzi kukuzibuza ukuba kungenzeka na oku ngexeshana elifutshane kangaka. Masithi mhlawumbi kudala uzisebenzisa iintlobo ntlobo zeziphelisi nkwehu, kodwa ingapheli. Ngoko ke esi siyi-"Gill" sesitheni sona sodwa? Ngenxa yemibuzo enjena, abantu kumele bakuthathele ingqalelo ukusetyenziswa kwala magama enza isibheni kwingqondo yomthengi.

(ii) Ukufana

Kusasazo kuthiwa eli gama likukufana lenza isibheni kubathengi ukwenzela ukuba basebenzise imveliso ethile. Oku kwenzeka kubantu abafuna ukufana nomntu obalulekileyo okanye into ebalulekileyo. Umzekelo, Kwisepha yobuso i-"Lux" kusetyenziswa okanye kuboniswa ubuso buka Naomi Campbell, ngenxa yoku abantu bayayithenga le sepha ngenxa yokuba becinga okanye befuna nabo ukufana nale nzwakazi uNaomi.

(iii) Phantse

Eli gama lidibana nokufana amaxesha amaninzi. Umzekelo, kwintengiso yepolishi yezihlangu kungathiwa, i-"Nugget" yenza izihlangu phantse zibe ngathi ziphuma ebhokisini. Kumzekelo wezopolitiko ubani angathi, phantse bonke abarhwaphiliza imali yabarhafi baza kugxuthwa ekuqaleni kwenyanga ezayo. Phofu oku ekwenza ngenxa yokuba efuna inkxaso yabantu abadala.

3.4.5 Amabango akhohlisayo kusasazo

ULarson (1995) uthi uWrighter (1972), uvelisa iindidi zamabango okutsala umdla wabantu khon'ukuze bathenge imveliso, okanye bavotele ummeli othile. Nazi ezi ndidi apha ngezantsi;

(i) Ubango olungekho mxholweni

Kukho imiyalezo yolukuhlo ethabathekisayo, kodwa xa uyiqwalasela kuqapheleka ukuba iphume emxholweni. Lilonke kukho iimveliso ezenza amabango angayonyani. Umzekelo, i-OMO yenza ubango lokuba ingowona mgubo wokuhlamba impahla ophambili ekususeni amabala amdaka empahleni, kwaye yisepha yendalo.

(ii) Ubango ngombuzo

Olu ubango aluphawuleki lula ngokukhawuleza. Oku kuxhaphake kakhulu kwiinkampani ze-inshorensi. Umzekelo, xa ungenakuthembela kwa-"Clientele" malunga neendleko zemfundo yabantwana bakho, ngubani ongathembela kuye? Lo mbuzo ubuzwa emva kokubonisa iindlela ezilula nezingenazindleko zokuba lilungu. Athi akubona la mathuba angaka umntu azibone sele ethebatheka ezifaka kwezi inshorensi.

(iii) Ubango lwenzuzo

Malunga nemveliso okanye uluvo oluthile kubakho ubango oluthembisa ngokunikezela ngoncedo. Oku kubonakala kakhulu kubathengisi bezindlu. Umzekelo, babanga ukuba ukuthenga indlu ekufutshane neevenkile, izikolo, izibhedlele, iikliniki, kunye nezithuthi zika wonke wonke kuluncedo okanye kuyinzuzo kumthengi. Ngenxa yala mabango umntu uye ayithenge indlu nokuba sele inexabiso eligqithisileyo.

(iv) Ubango olungacacanga

Olu udidi lubhidanisa ingqondo yomlukulhwa. Umzekelo, isepha iLux ibanga ukuba umntu oyisebenzisayo akabi nemibimbi, kwaye akagugi. Umlukulhwa angakuphuwula ukuba oku akucacanga. Akucacanga ngohlobo lokuba abantu abaxelelwa ukuba loluphi kanye olu

hlobo lwe-"Lux" lulodwa. Ngoba kudala abantu beyisebenzisa i-"Lux", kwaye beguga kanye ngelo xesha bayisebenzisayo.

(v) Ubango olunezithako zobugqi

Kukho iimveliso ezibanga ukuba nemfihlelo yezithako ezisebenza ngokumangalisayo. Umzekelo, isepha i-"Dove" ibanga ukuba iyeyona sepha yokuhlamba umzimba ekhusela ngokukodwa kwiimitha zelanga ezinobungozi. Le sepha ayithathi xesha lide ekubuyiseleni ulusu lo mntu ngexeshana elingephi. Kangangokuba isusa amabala amabi kwanamaqhakuva emzimbeni womntu. Ngoko ke umntu oyisebenzisayo uziva ekhululekile engenaxhala lokuzirhawuzelela, okanye abe nexhala lokuba mbi.

(vi) I-30-Second-Spot Quiz kaRank (1982)

NgokukaRank (1982), ecatshulwe kularson (1995), naluphi na usasazo ingakumbi olukamabona kude ludibanisa iintlobontlobo zophando ezintsonkothileyo, izinxibo, imibala, ukubhala nezinye ekuphawuleni izibheni zabasasazi. Abalukuhlwa okanye abathengi kumele bazibandakanye ngokuthi bazibuze ukuba ziintoni iimfuno zabo kwiimeko ezinje, kwaye izintoni abaza kuzizuzisa. NgokukaLarson (1995) uRank (1982) uthi, abantu kufanele bazibuze le mibuzo mihlanu ilandelayo apha ngezantsi:

Bobuphi ubuchule obusetyenzisiweyo bokufumana ingqalelo yobuchule? Bobuphi ubuchule bokwakha ukuzithemba obubhekiselele ekuqinisekiseni abathengi bayithembe imveliso ethile? Bobuphi ubuchule bokuchukumisa umnqweno obusetyenziswa ekukhuthazeni abathengi ekuzameni imveliso ethile? Bobuphi ubuchule bongxamiseko obusetyenziswa ekwenzeni umthengi abe nentshukumo ayenzayo malunga nemveliso ethile. Apha kule meko, iimveliso zibanamaxesha eziphelelwa ngawo, nto ke leyo efuna intshukumo ekhawulezileyo. Okokugqibela, bobuphi ubuchule bokufumana impendulo esetyenzisiweyo ukuxelela abathengi malunga nohlobo lentshukumo elungisiweyo.

Ukusukela ukuba kwaphawuleka ukuba kukho iinguquko ezenzekayo ekuhlaleni kwihlabathi jikelele, indlela abaziphatha ngayo abantu ethe yachaphazeleka. ULarson (1995) uthi, ecaphula uWilliamson (1977), Postman (1987), Diamond (1984), Klein noJhally (1986), ngokoluvo lwengqiqo kuqapheleka ukuba umabonakude sesona sixhobo

sisetyenziswayo ekusasazeni imiba ebalulekileyo nengxamisekileyo. Olu hlobo lokusasaza aba balubiza ngokuba luhlahlelo ngengqiqo, apha kusasazo.

Kwelinye icala uVestergaard noSchroeder (1985), becatshulwe kuLarson (1995), bathetha ngezi ndlela zilandelayo: zokubhala usasazo; ukutsala umdla, ukukhulisa umdla, ukuchukumisa umnqweno, ukudala uqinisekiso, kunye nokufumana intshukumo. Isini nobudala bomntu bunikwa ingqalelo kakhulu ngabalukuhli xa besenza usasazo. Umzekelo, kwiimveliso zokuthambisa ulusu kusetyenziswa amabhinqa amahle, amancinci nadumileyo. Ngeli lixa kusetyenziswa amadoda asele eqinile kusasazo lwemveliso zotywala. Ukanti kwiimveliso zezixhobo zokudlalisa kusetyenziswa abantwana.

3.4.6 Izipheno zesini kunye nolukuhlo olungaqondakaliyo kusasazo

Ukusetyenziswa kwezibheno ezicacileyo zesini kudla ngokuthembisa ngempumelelo nangolwaneliseko. Ezi zithembiso zinokuba ngamazwi okanye ngokusetyenziswa kwamalungu omzimba. Kukho iintengiso ezisebenzisa iimpawu ezithile ezinika umyalezo enze isibheno kusini.

(i) Izipheno zesini ezinobunkunkqela

Iimveliso ezicebisa ngoku, zibonisa ukwaneliseka ngokwesini ngaphezulu kwempumelelo. Loo nto ithetha ukuba abathengi bayayithenga imveliso ngenxa yokuba befuna ukwanelisa iinkanuko zabo. Oku kuyaziwa ngabalukuhli, kungoko bagxininisa kuko.

(ii) Izingxenxgezo ezingaqondakaliyo

NgokukaLarson (1995) uPhillips noGoodkin (1983), bathi sesona sihloko sinempikiswano kwizibheno ezingaqondakaliyo apha kulukuhlo. Kangangokuba buyathingazisa ubukho baso apha kulukuhlo.

(iii) Ukuxhaswa kobukho kwemiyalezo engaqondakaliyo

Abathengisi okanye abalukuhli abakholelwa ekuxhasweni kwemiyalezo engaqondakaliyo, koko bathi oku kukucingisisa kakuhle. Ngamanye amazwi le miyalezo bayicingisisile phambi kokuyidlulisa, kwaye bayenzele ukuba umntu makazibone ezenza

ebengakucinganga. Zikho iintengiso ezingaqondakaliyo, okufunekayo kukuzijonga ukuba ziyasebenza kusasazo lolukuhlo.

3.5. ULUKUHLO KUNYE NAMAJELO OSASAZO ALE MIHLA

Apha kweli candelo kuqwalaselwa ngamandla izimvo zikaLarson (1995) esebenzisa ulwazi lukaSchwartz (1973); kunye nezikaMcLuhan (1963) malunga nokusetyenziswa kwamajelo osasazo alemihla kulukuhlo. Ukuze kwicandelo (3.4.2) kunye nakwicandelo (3.5) kuqwalaselwe kulwazi lukaReardon (1991) malunga nokuseyityenziswa kwamajelo osasazo kuluhlo ngokunjalo nolukuhlo lwezopolitiko.

3.5.1 Larson (1995)

(i) linguqulelo kwizinto zokusasaza iindaba

Ukusukela ekudalweni komntu ukuzakutsho kule mihla, kuvele iintlobo ezine zonxibelelwano. Kule nkqubo yokudaleka kwenguqulelo kwizinto zokusasaza iindaba kuvele, ngokukaLarson (1995), amagama athethwayo, amagama abhaliweyo, amagama ashicilelweyo kunye namagama e-elektroni.

Ngaphambili abantu babenxibelelana ngohlobo lokusebenzisa amalungu omzimba. Ngeli xesha kwakungekabikho naluphi na uhlobo lwentetho engamagama, kwaye kwakukudala kakhulu kangangamawakawaka eminyaka eyadlulayo. Intetho sisixhobo sonxibelelwano esinamandla kakhulu, kangangokuba nkqu uMdali wathetha xa wayedala okukhoyo apha emhlabeni. Kunanamhla la mandla intetho asasetyenziswa ngabantu, umzekelo, emitshatweni abatshati babhotshelwa ngamazwi. Kwiinkundla zamatyala abantu bagwetywa ngamazwi. Ezikolweni ulwazi lufunyanwa ngokusebenzisa amazwi, kunye nezinye iindibano zabantu.

Kuthe ngokuhamba kwexesha abantu badala uhlobo olutsha lonxibelelwano. Olu hlobo lolu kuthiwa ngamagama abhaliweyo, ngenxa yokuba abantu bavelisa unobumba we-Fonetiki. Lo nobumba unxulunyaniswa nezandi zentetho. La magama abhaliweyo abangela abantu ukuba bakwazi ukwenza amabango kwizinto ezifana nemizi ngokusemthethweni. Kungenxa yoku okubangela ukuveliswa kwamagama abhaliweyo.

Ubani uyakuqaphela ukuba into okanye amagama abhaliweyo ngawona anamandla kunathethwayo nje, kule mihla. Ngoba kubakho imfuneko yokuba amagama abhaliweyo mawashicilelwe. Phaya kwiminyaka ye-1400, ngokutsho kukaLarson (1995), uGutenberg's wadala ushicilelo. Ngenxa yokuba amagama abhaliweyo enamandla, kwaye nelizwe linokulawulwa ngawo, kwanyanzeleka ukuba la magama mawagcinwe kwiindawo ezifana namathala amaphetshana. Oku kwanyanzelisa ukuba makubekho ushicilelo.

Wona amagama e-elektroni aqala ngo-1844, ngokutsho kukaLarson (1995), kwakusenziwa umboniso wonxibelelwano ngocingo. Ukusukela ngo-1876 kwavela ifoni. Kwathi ngokuhamba kwexesha kwavela izinto ezifana noomabonakude, nezinye ezifana neeKhompyutha, oonomathothollo.

A. IZIMVO ZIKA-SCHWARTZ (1973) NGOKUSETYENZISWA KWAMAJELO OKUSASAZA IINDABA, ECATSHULWE KULARSON (1995)

NgokukaLarson (1995) izimvo zikaSchwartz (1973), zibonakala kakhulu kumaziko asebenzisa izinto zokusasaza iindaba. Kukho uhlobo lokuvuselela iinkumbulo okanye ulwazi analo umlukulwa. Ngamanye amazwi kumele kufuselelwe ulwazi analo umntu ngokuthile. Nangona kunjalo, oku kuxhomekeke kumava nakwiinkumbulo anazo umlukulwa.

Amajelo osasazo akwasebenzisa uthutho okanye imfundiso ekulukuhleni abantu. Oku kudla ngokwenziwa ngokusebenzisa iSkripthi sentetho yomlomo, iSkripthi sokuva kunye neSkripthi sokubona.

B. IZIMVO ZIKA-McLUHAN (1963) NGOKUSETYENZISWA KWAMAJELO OKUSASAZA IINDABA, ECATSHULWE KULARSON (1995)

NgokukaMcLuhan (1963), ecatshulwe kuLarson(1995) abantu banxulumana nezinto okanye namajelo okusasaza iindaba ngendlela ezimbini. Uhlobo ngalunye losasazo luisandiso soluvo ngalunye kwizimvo zamalungu omzimba. Indlela abacinga ngayo abantu malunga nehlalathisi ingaguqulwa ngamajelo okusasaza iindaba. Oku kuthetha ukuba ukusukela ekubeni kwabakho indlela yokubetha ucingo ekunxibelelaneni abantu abakude kuwe, kwalandela nezinye ngokukhawuleza.

Kwavela oonomathotholo abaguqule indlela yokusasaza iindaba, banceda ekwenzeni inkcubeko edumileyo. Inkcubeko edumileyo, umzekelo, yimidlalo efana no-"Days of Our Lives", "Bold and the Beautiful", "Generations", Egoli neminye. Oku kubonisa ukuba abantu baguqukele kumabonakude. Abantu aboneli nje ekuphulaphuleni, koko bathi bakubone okudumileyo okanye isiganeko esidumileyo. Umzekelo, abantu bakubona ukubulawa ngokumasikizi kwenkokheli ephambili yakwaStaggie yeqela lemigulukudu i-"Hard Livings" e-Ntshona Kapa,.

Indlela yokucholachola nokupapasha iindaba ethe yaguqula ukubaluleka nokuthembela kwingxelo ndaba. Umzekelo, kwimeko yebali lokubandakanyeka kwelungu elingumbhexeshi we-ANC kwidinga lokuthengiswa kwezixhobo zokulwa. Nakumba wokuphiwa kwalo inqwelo mafutha yakwaMercedez Benz yala maxesha, kunye nomzi elingazange liwuchaze ukuba linawo eli lungu.

Nezemidlalo ziye zachaphazeleka ngenxa yokusetyenziswa kuka mabona kude. Nalapha ziyavezwa ziboniswe iziganeko eziquka ubuqhophololo kwezemidlalo, kunye nokusetyenziswa kweziyobisi ngabadlali. Umzekelo, kwimeko yomdlali weli loMzantsi Afrika kwiqakamba ochaphazelekayo kumkhuba wokunyoba iziphumo zomdlalo, ofana nokaCronje. Nakwimeko yomdlali webhola ekhatywayo uMaradona owafumaneka esebenzise iziyobisi.

Ukuvela kuka mabonakude kuguqule indlela ubani aphila ngayo kunye neentsapho zabantu jikelele. Ngenxa kamabonakude abantu bayakwazi ukufunda lula ngendlela abaphila ngayo abanye abantu kwamanye amazwe. Abantu batsho bakwazi ukufunda ngendlela neenkubeko zabanye abantu abakwamanye amazwe. Kwakhona umabonakude wenza ukuba kube lula ebantwini ukuqokelela ulwazi abalufunayo.

C. ISAKHELO SE-AJENDA EYENZIWA NGAMAJELO OKUSASAZA IINDABA

Esi sakhelo se-Ajenda senza umsebenzi ochaza indlela alukuhla ngayo amajelo osasazo ziindaba. La majelo aye asebenzise i-Ajenda yasesidlangalaleni yona ijongene nemiba exoxwa ngabantu. Into abayicingayo iye ilawulwe yindlela ezipapashwa ngayo iindaba.

(a) Ukugxininisa kwiindaba emazikhethelwe upapasho

Umzuzu ngamnye uba nesiganeko esenzekayo, nto ke leyo ebangela iintatheli zibeneendaba ezizicholacholayo zizise kumaziko eendaba. Ezi ndaba ziba ninzi kakhulu kangangokuba azipapashwa zonke. Umhleli uyazihlela khon'ukuze kushiyeke ezo kucingwa ukuba ziza kukholisa abaphulaphuli. Oku kuhlela kwenziwa ngokuthi kujoliswe kwiimfuno zabaphulaphuli.

Ukupapashwa nokukhethwa kweendaba emazipapashwe akupheleli nje ekwaneliseni abantu, koko kukhokhelela kwindlela ethile yokucinga nokuqiqa komphulaphuli. Umzekelo, xa kupapashwa iindaba ezimalunga nokudlwengulwa kwabantwana kwenza abantu batsho bacinge, kwaye bathethe ngodlwengulo.

(b) Abagcini masango

Oku kunxulunyaniswa nesakhelo se-Ajenda, ngenxa yokuba naso zisenziwa ngokweemfuno zabagcini masango. Aba bagcini masango ngabo abalawula ukupapashwa kweendaba. Baye bakhetha ezona kumele zipapashwe kumajelo osasazo. Okubalulekileyo ngale nkqubo yokukhethwa kweendaba emazipapashwe kukuba maxa wambi kubakho iindaba ezinokuthi zichukumise umntu okanye abantu abathile. Ngamanye amazwi akufuneki iindaba eziza kudungadunga amalungelo omntu okanye abantu.

Indlela yokwenza inkqubo isoloko ibukelwa, ngokukaMeyrowitz (1985), yi-L.O.P. (Least Objectionable Programming). Le ndlela ebangela abantu bazibophelele ekubukeleni iintengiso. Abalawuli bosasazo baye bakhangele ubude bexesha elithathwa yintengiso kumabonakude nakunomathotholo. Ngokwabalawuli bala majelo, kumele kuthathe nje imizuzwana engamashumi amabini ukuya kwamathathu.

(c) Ufundo ngomzekelo

Abantu baye bafunde ukwenza izinto ngokuzibona zisenziwa ngabanye. NgokukaLarson (1995), oku kwenzeka ngeendlela ezimbini, ezizezi,ngokuthatha inkxaxheba kunye nokujonga iindawo ezimiselweyo azidlalayo umntu. Umzekelo, ikumkani okanye iinkokheli akumelanga iyibonise indlela evakalelwa ngayo esidlangalaleni ngesha lonxunguphalo.

Kwelinye icala kufumaneka indima yokuthatha into njengendlela ethile engenasiqinisekiso sayo. Oku kuthetha ukuba ubani kumele ajonge lo mntu amthatha nje ngomzekelo omhle okanye ombi ebomini bakhe, khon'ukuze angakucingeli qha ukuphenjelelwa yinkxaxheba yalo mntu. Oku kunokuvela kwinkqubo zamajelo osasazo afana noomabonakude kunye noonomathotholo.

D. ULUKUHLO NOKULAWULWA KWEENDABA NGOBUCHULE

Oku kukhokhelela kwinkqubo yeendaba, hayi kusasazo lweendaba. Iindaba ziyakhethwa, zihlelwe zimiliswe ngendlela ethile. Kulawulwe iindlela imiyalezo emayitsale ngayo umdla kubaphulaphuli nokwanelisa isininzi. Kulawulo lweendaba kubalulekile ukuzenza zinike umdla ngakumbi, zibe mnandi kwaye zonwabise.

Ukanti kwelinye icala abalawuli baye bazijike iindaba ngokusuka bangazinaki. Umzekelo, isenzo somphathiswa wezokhuseleko weli loMzantsi Afrika sokubiza amagama abantu abakrokrelayo ukuba bafuna ukubhukuqa uMongameli weli loMzantsi Afrika. Esi siganeko sasuka sathi shwaka, sangahoywa kangako, abantu bahlala bengangakwazi okuqhubekayo malunga noku. Kangangokuba bambalwa abantu okanye abaphulaphuli abayaziyo ukuba saphelaphi esi siganeko. Ukukhetha umxhasi kuyenye indlela ethi iphembelele kukhetho lweendaba. Kubaxhasi bamajelo osasazo kumnandi ngenxa yokuba kupapashwe iindaba ezimbi ngabo. Loo nto ebangela kubenzima ukwazi ngezinto ezimbi ezenziwa ngaba baxhasi.

(i) Iindaba ezicetyiweyo

indlela intatheli ezithi zivelise ngayo iindaba ezintsha nezizodwa okanye ezingaqhelekanga, kukuziceba iindaba. Uthi uReardon (1991) ngokukaBoorstin (1961), le ndlela ibizwa ngokuba, yi-"Pseudoevent". Phambi kokuba intatheli yenze iindaba ngesiganeko esithile kufuneka iqinisekise ukuba zintsha, kwaye izicebile kakuhle.

E. UKUTHABATHA ICALA NGETHETHO YOMLOMO NEYAMALUNGU OMZIMBA

Ukuhlelwa kweendaba kungathetha ukuba maxa wambi abalawuli baba necala elithile abahambisana nalo. Umzekelo, ukuba umhleli uyabona ukuba ezi ndaba ziza kuthetha

kakubi ngorhulumente amthandayo, ezo ndaba azisayi kupapashwa okanye kupapashwe nje indawana encinci ethe yathetha kamnandi ngorhulumente lowo.

Maxa wambi ukuba urhulumente akahambisani naloo majelo osasazo, abahleli baye baqaphele nayiphi na intshukumo ayenzayo. Umzekelo, kwimeko yelizwe laseZimbabwe kulapho urhulumente etyatyekwa amabalabala ngamajelo osasazo, agahambisani nenkqubo yala lizwe. Konke oku kukhokhelela ekubeni amalungu aseburhulumenteni acatshulwe ngendlela engeyiyo. Ngeli lixa amajelo osasazo ahambisana norhulumente ethetha kamnandi ngorhulumente, kwaye norhulumente uyawaxhasa ngandlela zonke la majelo alolu hlobo.

3.5.2 Amajelo osasazo kunye nolukuhlo: Readon (1991)

Kuphawuleka ukuba iintlobo zonxibelelwano zinempembelelo ebomini babantu. Nangona kunjalo, ikwazezona ziwenza lula ngokukhawuleza umsebenzi wokunxibelelana kwabantu. Zikho zona izigxeko ezithi la majelo okusasaza iindaba akhuthaza ukwenziwa kwezinto ezingacingangwa ngabantu. Aphande angayibonisi ngendlela eyiyo imo yentlalo okanye ubomi babantu.

Kuthi ke ngenxa yezi zigxeko abantu okanye abaphulaphuli baphelelwe ngumonde nentlonipho, umzekelo, kumabonakude. Ngenxa yoku abaphulaphuli abanakugxekwa ngokukhetha amaphetshana. Nangona kunjalo, uReardon (1991) uthi ngoNewcomb (1971), kufumaniseka ukuba aba bantu bazibandakanya noomabonakude ixesha elide nelilelona lininzi kunelezinye iintlobo zonxibelelwano.

(a) Abaphulaphuli abayinyambalala

Abaphulaphuli bakhetha ukunxibelelana ngendlela yentetho yababini, nje ngeyona iyimfuno ekhawulezayo kunamajelo osasazo. Oku kuthetha ukuba abaphulaphuli, kwimeko enje banakho ukukhetha uhlobo abakholwa lulo kwiintlobo zosasazo. Ukanti kwinyambalala yabaphulaphuli kunzima kwaye kunqabile ukwenza oku. Basekho abo basenobudlelwane namajelo osasazo, kwaye abaphulaphuli bakhetha ukuhlala nabo. Abaphulaphuli bakwenza oku ngenxa yokuba befuna ukwanelisa iimfuno zabo. NgokukaNovak (1977) ecatshulwe kuReardon (1991) impembelelo yamajelo osasazo isengafana nentetho yababini nangona iziphumo zingacaci kwakamsinyanyane.

(b) Ucelo-mngeni kunxibelelwano lwenyambalala yabaphulaphuli

Amajelo osasazo lweendaba angahlangabezana kwaye aziphucule iindlela zokuphendula kwiimfuno zabaphulaphuli. Ngenxa yokuba eshishina ngokuthengisa okufunwa ngabaphulaphuli, oku kunzima kuwo. Kaloku amajelo osasazo, ngokukaReardon (1991), akangonobangela ungako weengxaki njengokuba kukhangeleka. Oku kucaciswa kukuba abo bathengayo kunye nabo bawabukelayo la majelo benza isiqingatha sezi ngxaki kucingwa ukuba zenziwa ngamajelo osasazo.

(c) Imifuziselo yembembelelo zikamabona kude

UMcQuail (1979), ecatshulwe kuReardon (1991), ugxininisa kwindima yamandla phakathi kobudlelwane besithethi nomphulaphuli. La mandla ngawokukwazi ukuguqula indlela acinga ngayo ubani malunga nombala othile. Kukho iinkqubo ezintathu, ngokukaKelman (1961), ecatshulwe kuReardon (1991) zokuphemelela, ubani anokuthi azilandele. Ezi nkqubo zezi zilandelayo; inkqubo yesivumelwano, inkqubo yokufanisa, kunye nenkqubo yokungaphakathi.

Inkqubo yesivumelwano ibakho xa ubani esamkela impembelelo komnye umntu okanye kwiqela labantu, ngenxa yokuba enethemba lokufumana intshukumo eyamkelekileyo kubo. Ngeli lixa kwinkqubo yokufanisa ubani uye aziphathe ngendlela ethile, ngenxa yokuba oku kunxulunyaniswa nokuchaza ubudlelwane bakhe nabanye abantu. Oku kuthetha ukuba ubani uyichaza inkxaxheba yakhe kubudlelwane ngokujonga inkxaxheba ethathwa ngabanye abantu.

Yona inkqubo yokungaphakathi ibakho xa ubani esamkela ukuziphatha okulungelana nexabiso lakhe. Kungoko amajelo osasazo enza iindlela zokuphunyezwa kweminqwano neemfuno zabantu. Omnye umfuziselo wempembelelo yamajelo osasazo, ngokukaDefleur noBall-Rokeach (1982), becatshulwe kuReardon (1991) yindlela yokuxhomekeka. Indlela yokuxhomekeka ebangela abantu ukuba babe ngabasombululi ziingxaki xa kukho abafuna ukukuphumeza kwiminqwano yabo. Basengafuna ulwazi olunokubanceda ekusombululeni iingxaki zabo zemihla ngemihla. Ngenxa yoku abantu baxhomekeka kumajelo osasazo ukucholachola ulwazi ulohambelana neenjongo zabo.

(d) Ukwazisa: Ulukuhlo olucacileyo

Abalukuhli benza imiyalezo eqinisekisa ukuba iinjongo zabo bayaziphumeza, ngokuthi baqinisekise ukuba iminqweno yabaphulaphuli ingafezekiseka xa benokuthi bathenge imveliso abazithengisayo. Oku kuthetha ukuba abalukuhli banokubaqinisekisa abantu okanye abaphulaphuli ekuthengeni imveliso ethile, ngenxa yokuba bayiboniswa rhoqo kumajelo osasazo.

Njengokuba abaphulaphuli besoloko becinga ngokuthenga loo mveliso bayiboniswayo kumajelo osasazo, kungalula ukuqala ishishini lwemveliso leyo nalapho lungazange lubekho khona. Umzekelo, umlukuhli angabaqinisekisa abantu basemaphandleni ukuba ukuthenga ifoni engenamnxeba kulungele kanye iimeko zasezilalini kulapho kungakwazekiyo ukufakelwa kweepali zeengcingo zomnxeba. Nto ke leyo enokuthi yenze kube lula ukunxibelelana namaziko okhuseleko, amaziko empilo ngexesha likaxakeka. Ifoni engenamnxeba ikhangeleka nje ngesona sixhobo sinokuthengiseka lula emaphandleni, ingakumbi xa bebenokuba nemali eyaneleyo abantu basemaphandleni. Uthi uReardon (1991) oku uCox (1962) ukubiza ngokuba yinqubo yeempembelelo okanye umfuziselo weziphumo zolukuhlo lwemigangatho yokuthile.

(e) Ukwazisa nokuzotywa kwabantu abambalwa

UReardon (1991) uthi ngokukaGantz, Gartenberg kunye noRainbow (1980), abantu abadala bajongelwa phantsi kwaye abaxatyiswanga, bengamelwanga kwiintengiso ezininzi. Amaxesha amaninzi iintengiso zijolisa kusini esithile malunga nemveliso ethile. Umzekelo, xa kuboniswa intengiso yezitya kusetyenziswa umntu obhinqileyo. Ngeli lixa kusetyenziswa umntu oyindoda kwintengiso yotywala. Enye into ababhinqileyo ababoniswa kakhulu kwiintengiso ngokungathi ababalulekanga. Oku kungamelwa kwamaqela amancinci kwenzeka nkqu nangokobuhlanga, kwiintengiso ezithile.

(f) Ukujingana namajelo osasazo

Oku kujongana namajelo okusasaza iindaba kwenzeka kakhulu kwimeko kulapho ubani kufuneka aphenjule imibuzo enzima kwiintatheli. Amaxesha amaninzi aba bantu bamela iqumrhu lwezoshishino kwiinkampani ezithile okanye babe ngabezopolitiko. Ubani kumele azilungiselele ngokupheleleyo phambi kokuphendula imibuzo yentatheli. Nayo ke phofu

intatheli eza kuthi ibuze imibuzo kufuneka ibe nobuchule ekubuzeni imibuzo. Yena lowo ubuzwa imibuzo kufuneka azi ukuba uza kuphendula athini na. Kukho la macebiso alandelayo, ngokukaReardon (1991), anokunceda lowo ubuzwayo ngexesha lodliwano ndlebe.

(1) Imibuzo yokunokwenziwa kuqala

Phambi kwayo nantoni na , ubani makazithathe ngokuba ungumphulaphuli ngoko ke makabuze imibuzo anokuyibuza xa engumphulaphuli. Ngelo xesha ubani makajonge ukuphikisana, ukungabikho kobungqina obaneleyo kwiingxoxo, nokungalandelelani kwemiba yeengxoxo. Ubani makaqaphele eyona ndlela inamandla anokuyisebenzisa kwezo anazo. Kwaye iimpendulo zomphenduli mazibe mfutshane, kwaye makangajikelezi.

(2) Zola, uphole, nkqu sele ungaqinisekanga ukuba uyayazi impendulo

Nje ngomphenduli, ungaze ukhangeleke udidekile kwaye uphaphazela, koko bukeka kakuhle kwaye ukhululekile. Kulungile ukuthi awazi xa ungazi, ntonje ungatsho rhoqo. Bonisa okanye xela ukuba uza kukhe uyijonge loo nto inxulumene naloo mba. Qaphela ukuba umbuzo obuzwayo ngumbuzo olunge kakhulu na. Oku kubangela ukwazi ukumkhumbuzwa umbuzi ukuba nindawoni na malunga nentetho yenu. Ukuba awuqinisekanga malunga nentsingiselo yombuzo, wuphinde, nkqu nangamanye amazwi okanye ucele lowo ubuzayo ukuba awuphinde. Musa ukuphendula imibuzo emininzi ngombuzo omnye

(3) Rhoqo phendula umbuzo, hayi lowo ubuzayo

Musa ukubonakalissa uvakalelo lwakho okanye uya kuphulukana nokuthembeka kwakho. Xa ungawaqondi amagama, ubunyani, ulwazi embuzweni, zama ukuxoxa ngoko.

(4) Wazi umbuzo ukuba usekelwe entwenini na

Mamela ngobuchule nangobunono khon'ukuze uyayazi injongo yombuzo. Qaphela ulwazi oluxhasa ubango lo mntu obuzayo. Xa unolwazi ngoko, ungakwazi ukuluphikisa olo bango alwenzayo lowo ubuzayo.

3.6 ULUKUHLO LOPOLITIKO: REARDON (1991)

Ulukuhlo lopolitiko lugxininisa kuphemebelelo ekuthatheni isigqibo sokuxhasa okanye ugxeke kwimeko yezopolitiko. Esi sigqibo sifumaneka kakhulu kumvoti. Akulunganga ukuthabatha esi sigqibo ngenxa yokuba, ngokukaConover noFeldman (1986), becatshulwe kuReardon (1991), amaxesha amaninzi ukhetho lwezopolitiko luba nolwazi olungacacanga, ukuphikisana, lube ntsingiselo-mbini kwaye lutolikeke ngeendlela ezininzi. Kungenxa yoku okwabangela ukumiliselwa kweendlela ezichaza ngesigqibo somvoti.

Isigqibo somvoti siye sajongwa ngezi ndlela zilandelayo;; inkqubo yengqiqo kunye nombono wokuqiqa ngokuqonda, ukuqonda okungaguququkiyo. Ukunika intsingiselo yezi ndlela, ziza kucaciswa apha ngezantsi:

(i) Ithiyori yokugonda okungaguququkiyo

Le thiyori ibonisa ukuba abantu bazama ukuqonda iyantlukwano yabo ekujongeni abantu neziganeko. Ngexesha lokuvota, abantu ababi nasikhundla malunga nokukhetha okanye ukuvotela umgqatswa kwezopolitiko. Ngamanye amagama, xa ukuqonda kubavoti kuguququka, bagqibela ngokungakwazi amabakwenze. Kungoko le thiyori engokuqonda okungaguququkiyo isixelela ukuba kutheni kunzima kubavoti ukuguquka kwintembeko yabo. Abavoti abaguquki kwintembeko yabo malunga nombutho othile wezopolitiko kuphela xa lo mbutho unembali entle nenenkqubela ekuguquleni ubomi nemo yentlalo yabantu. Oku kokona kubalulekileyo nokuphambili kubavoti.

Ukanti kwelinye icala, ukuba iingqondo zabantu ziyatshintsha ngokokuhamba kwamaxesha, le mbali inde yalo mbutho, nangona intle kwaye kukho inkqubela ingabangela ukuguquka kwabavoti. Amaxesha amaninzi oku kwenzeka xa lo mbutho okhokhelwa ngabantu abangabathandiyo. Umzekelo, i-"African National Congress", nangona inembali entle, ende, kwaye yenze utshintsho ebomini babantu, abanye babavoti batshintshe iingqondo zabo ngenxa yokuba lo mbutho ukhokhelwa ngumntu abangamthandiyo.

(ii) Ukhetho lwendlela yokuqiga

Olu uhlobo lokukhethwa kwendlela yokuqiga luchaza indlela abantu abenza ngazo izigqibo ngobuchule. Abantu abaninzi baye balukuhle abaphulaphuli xa befuna ukufezekisa ezabo iinjongo ngokubathembisa ngezinto ezifana nemisebenzi kunye nezinto ezifana nezindlu. Ukuba oku akwenzekanga, iziphumo zidla ngokungabancumisi abalukuhlwa. Umzekelo kukhetho lwezopolitiko, ukuba umgqatswa uthe akazifezekisa izithembiso zakhe zaphambi konyulo, uye angathandwa kwaye angaxhaswa okanye angavotelwa kwixesha elizayo.

(iii) Imbono ngoyilo kuqonda

Izigqibo abazithathayo abantu malunga nayo nayiphi na imeko yezopolitiko ixhomekeke kwimbono yokuyila kwabo ukuqonda. UReardon (1991), uthi ngokukaLau (1986), uyilo kuqonda lulwakhiwo lolwazi olusukela kumava ubani aliqonda ngawo ihlabathi. Ubani uya kuphawula ukuba kwezopolitiko oku kusetyenziswa kakhulu, ngoba kunxulunyaniswa kakhulu okuqhubekayo ngoku neziganeke zangaphambili. Maxa wambi oku kunceda ekulungiseni iimpazamo zangaphambili.

**(1) UKUSETYENZISWA KOMFUZISELO OYINTSHATSHELI KUYILO
LWEZOPOLITIKO**

Ngokwale indlela kuphawuleka ukuba abantu bakuqokelela ukucinga ngeendlela ezahlukeneyo. NgokukaReardon (1991), abantu bakwenza oku ngokusebenzisa okufanelekileyo, ukungaguquguquki, nangokusebenzayo. Lo mfuziselo unakho ukusetyenziswa ekuhlени iindlela ezithile zokuyila.

Ngeli lixa ukungaguquguquki kwiingxoxo kubonisa ukuthembeka komntu. Ngoko ke kufanele kubekho iziphumo ezincomekayo nezihle zengxoxo leyo. Ukuba oku kwenzeka ngempumelelo, kuya ngenxa yokuba kubonisa ukusebenza kwalo mfuziselo, kwimeko yezopolitiko.

(a) Ukukholeleka

Abavoti Baneendlela abajonga ngazo umgqatswa emabamonyule, kwimeko efunisa ulonyulo. Eyona nto iphambili kukuthembeka komgqatswa khon'ukuze abantu bakholelwe

kuye. Nangona liye lihle izinga lukothembeka xa umgqatswa sele esifumene isihlalo esiphezulu ebezigqatsele sona. Amaxesha amaninzi kubangelwa kukungazifizekisi izithembiso ebezenzile ebantwini phambi konyulo.

Okuya umgqatswa engaziphumezi izithembiso zakhe ebantwini, kukhona abantu bengalindeli nto kuye anokuze ayiphumeze. Kungenxa yoku okubangela ukuba amajelo osasazo esoloko ebonisa ingxabano phakathi kwenkokheli nabo bachasene nayo. Ngoba ngaphambili aba bebevana belala ngengub'anye, qha nje ngenxa yokuba zingafezekiswanga izithembiso, kubakho lentiwano phakathi kwabo.

Ngexesha lokuzigqatsela ukongamela okanye ukuphatha isizwe, abagqatswa baye basebenzise uhlobo oluthile lolukuhlo lwezopolitiko. Oku bakwenzela ukuchonga abaphulaphuli khon'ukuze babavotele, ngokwendlela ababava ngayo. Umzekelo, ukuba umgqatswa uyibeka icace indlela namaqhinga anokuthi awasebenzise ukuphucula ubomi babantu angaluphumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe. Kakade, oku kufuneka abe ukwenza ngokujonga imiba yezopolitiko, imo yentlalo yabantu, imo yezoqoqosho lelizwe.

Maxa wambi nendlela abonisa ngayo imiba yezopolitiko ngokusebenzisa amajelo osasazo iba negalelo lokulukuhla abavoti. Amajelo osasazo abangela abantu bacinge kwaye baqike malunga nemiba yezopolitiko.

(b) Isakhelo se-Ajenda yopolitiko

Njengokuba abantu befumana inkoliso yolwazi lwabo kumabonakude malunga neendaba zehlabathi, baye baqwalasele ezona ndaba abacinga ukuba zibalulekile kubo. Ezona ngxaki zifumana ingqwalasela ebalulekileyo kwiindaba zelizwe, ziba zezona abaphulaphuli abazibona njengezibalulekileyo esizweni. Ezi ndaba ziba nefuthe kwindlela abantu abalubona ngayo upolitiko. Maxa wambi umyalezo uyantsonkotha kangangokuba baye badideke abaphulaphuli. Yiyo le nto amajelo osasazo edla ngokumilisela ulwazi oluthile malunga nemiba yopolitiko, xa bantu befuna ukuboniswa ukuba okuthile akuyonyani.

(c) IPrayimingi

Njengoyilo lwe-Ajenda, ngokukaReardon (1991), i-prayimingi ibakho xa iindaba zigxininisa kwimiba ethile, zishiye ezinye okanye eminye imiba. Umgqatswa kwezopolitiko, umzekelo, uye athandwe ngabantu ngenxa yokuba amajelo eendaba ebonisa okulungileyo kuphela

ngesi sakhe. Oku kulungisa iingcinga neengqondo zabantu ekuthatheni isigqibo malunga nomgqatswa. Iziphumo zonyulo iba zizo ezibonisa izimilo zabantu ngakumgqatswa.

(d) Imikhwa esesikweni kulukuhlo lopolitiko

Abagqatswa abanenkqubela badla ngokuba nabacebisi abaza kubabonisa okanye babenzele umfanekiso ofanelekileyo. Okunye kukuba, abagqatswa abanemali baye bahlawulele ixesha elide lokuboniswa okanye lokusasazwa kwenkqubo yokuzazisa ebantwini. Umzekelo, ngokukaRothenberg (1990), ecatshulwe kuReardon (1991), ngonyaka ka-1990 iqumrhu leengwevu laphumeza isicelo sesikhululo ngasinye sikamabonakude ukuba sisasaze iinkqubo zama-"Republican" nama-"Democratic" kangangeeyure ezine. Oku kusesikweni kwaye kwamkelekile nje kuphela xa ubani enokukwazi ukuhlawula isikhululo asisebenzisayo.

IS AHLUKO 4

UHLALUTYO LWEMIYALEZO YOLUKUHLO

4.1 INJONGO

Injongo yesi sahluko kukuhlalutya lamaphetshana mane alandelayo abhalwe nguMongameli woMzantsi Afrika:- (i) **Africa's people central to success of recovery plan: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2)**; (ii) **One step to the birth of the African Union: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7)**; (iii) **Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16)**; , kunye (iv) **Our commitment to Africa: (ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18)**. Lamaphetshana akhethwe ngenxa yokuba ngawona azibonisa ngokucacileyo izixhobo zolukuhlo eziye zisetyenziswe ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli ekubeni bamkele uluvo oluthile. Ngokwesifundo olu luvo lelokuba kuvuselelwa i-Afrika.

Ngamanye amazwi kuza kuhlalutywa imiyalezo elukuhlayo yala maphetshana mane. Olu hlalutyo luza kwenziwa ngokuthi kujongwe ukusetyenziswa kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, ingakumbi iimfuno, izimilo, ukungaguququki. Kwakhona le miyalezo iza kuthi ihlalutywe nangokujonga ukusetyenziswa kwisindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Oku kuza kuhlanganiswa ngokuthi kucalulwe iphetshana ngalinye libe ngamasuntswana eentonye zediskhosi. Yintoni idiskhosi? Idiskhosi yintetho, unxibelelwano okanye ingxoxo. Apha kwesifundo idiskhosi ibhekiselele ekwahlulweni kwephetshana ngalinye libe yimihlathi ekhethwe ngobuchule ekuza kuxoxelwa kuyo.

Idiskhosi nganye iza kuhlalutywa ngokweentlobo ezimbini zesindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo kunye nesokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Kushwankathelwe isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ngasinye, ngokunjalo nesindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo ezisetyenzisiweyo kwiphetshana ngalinye. Nangokugxeka ukusetyenziswa kwesindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ngasinye kunye nesindululo sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo ngasinye. Emva koku kuza kunikwa ugxeko lwephetshana lonke ekugqibeleni kwalo.

4.2 IPHETSHANA LOKUQALA: AFRICA'S PEOPLE CENTRAL TO SUCCESS OF RECOVERY PLAN

(ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2)

4.2.1 Umyalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana

Okona kuphambili nokubalulekileyo kweli phetshana kukuba umbhali unika ingxelo ngamanyathelo asele ethathiwe ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika. Urhulumente weli loMzantsi Afrika udlala indima ebalulekileyo kwezi phulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Eli phulo lakuphumelela kuphela xa abantu nje jikelele ekuhlaleni bebandakanywa khon'ukuze nabo bathathe inkxaxheba.

La manyathelo ngala okugaya inkxaso kwizizwe zamanye amazwe kuquka nalawo aseNtla. Kudityenwe nenxalenye yala mazwe ngeenzame zokuba axhase ngemali, ngezopolitiko, ngezoqoqosho khon'ukuze liphumelele ilinge le-MAP. La mazwe aya kuthi khon'ukuze akwamkele ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kubekwe izizathu eziqinileyo nezamkelekayo kwizizwe zangaphandle kwe-Afrika. Kungenxa yoku kubonakala ukuba eli phulo lifuna wonke umntu abandakanywe.

Ngako oko, umbhali uchaza iindibano abathe beziinkokheli zaseAfrika baba nazo neenkokheli zamazwe aseNtla. Umbhali uthetha ngentlanganiso ye-"World Economic Forum" (WEF) eyabanjelwa kwelaseSwitzerland. Athethe ngendibano abebenayo nomlawuli oyintloko ye-IMF. Aphinde akhankanye iindibano yase-Togo. Kwakhona kukwakhankanywa nezizayo iindibano, umzekelo, inkomfa ejongene nocalucalulo ngokwebala phantsi kombutho wezizwe ezimanyeneyo, (UN Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and other Related Intolerances).

Kube khona nentlanganiso eza kuqwalasela imeko yobume bendalo kwihlabathi, (Global Conference on the Environment). Ezi ntlanganiso ziza kubanjelwa kwezi lizwe loMzantsi Afrika. Kubalulekile ke xa kuza kubakho iziganeko ezinje abantu baziswe khon'ukuze kungabikho kuphazamiseka. Kungoko umbhali kweli phetshana ebandakanya abantu, kwaye ebandakanya ukuba bathathe inkxaxheba ekuphuculeni izinga le meko yelizwe loMzantsi Afrika nele-Afrika iphela.

4.2.2 Iintonye zediskhosi

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 1, IMIGCA 1 - 8

(1) Ushwankathelo

Kulo mhlathi wokuqala umbhali unika intshayelelo yentetho yakhe. Oku ukwenza ngokubalula intlanganiso ebebekuyo kwiintsuku ezimbini ezidlulileyo. Le ntlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe ibibanjelwe eDavos kwilizwe laseSwitzerland. Le ntlanganiso ibe yeyemibutho yoqoqosho lwehlabathi. Yintlanganiso ebanjwa rhoqo ngonyaka. Ngokweli phetshana, njengesiqhelo uMzantsi Afrika ubumelwe ngabameli abomeleleyo. Aba bameli benziwa ngamalungu karhulumente, awoosomashishini, awasekuhlaleni, kunye nabamajelo eendaba.

Kwakhona, umbhali usixelela ukuba aba bameli bebhathshwa liqela elikhethekileyo lomculo womngqungqo eMzantsi Afrika. Eli qela belikhokelwa yindumasi yemvumi uCaiphus Semenya. Konke oku kulungiselelwe ligqala lomculo womngqungqo uQuincy Jones. Oku bekuyinto edumileyo nekuthethwa ngayo ugabantu.

UMongameli woMzantsi Afrika ulibhale Eli phetshana ngeenjongo zokuguqula izimilo zabantu nge-Afrika. Ezona njongo zeli phetshana kukulukuhla abantu, khon'ukuze bathathe inkxaxheba ngokuzibandakanya kwi-"Millennium Afrika Recovery Plan" (MAP). Ngamanye amagama, isicwangciso sokuvuselela i-Afrika kwesi sigaba sexesha sewaka leminyaka.

Esi sicwangciso sijolise ekuphuculeni imeko ye-Afrika. Oku kuquka ukumiselwa kwenzolo, uxolo, inkqubela nedemokrasi, apha e-Afrika. Umbhali uwudlulisela kubantu base-Afrika lo myalezo wolukuhlo, ngoba ngabo abanakho abanokuluphumelelisa uvuselelo lwe-Afrika. Ngaphandle kwabo, i-Afrika ayingeke ibe nakho ukuvuseleleka. Ukanti lubalulekile kwaye luyafuneka ubandakanyeko negalelo lamanye amazwe. I-Afrika iyinxalenye yamazwe ehlabathini, kwaye inegalelo ekuziseni inguqu kwamanye amazwe ehlabathini jikelele. Oku kubonakalisa ukuba i-Afrika ayinakuba yinkomo edla yodwa. Lilonke, ayinakuzimela ingasebenzisani namanye amazwe.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli ophumelelayo kulukuhlo lwakhe ngumlukuhli onesakhono sokukwazi ukusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. Kubalulekile, nangona kunjalo ukubazi ngokupheleleyo abaphulaphuli bakho. Oku kukuthi kufuneka ubazi ngokweemfuno zabo. Xa ujonge ezi mfuno kuphawuleka ukuba zilawulwa okanye zixhomekeke ngokweengingqi zokuhlala zendalo. Umzekelo, kufuneka ukwazi ukwahlula iimfuno zabaphulaphuli basemaphandleni kwezabo basezidolophini. Kuloko kubalulekile ukuba nobuchule bokwenza intetho eza kwanelisa abaphulaphuli ngokwahlukana kwabo.

IimfunoIimfuno yokhuseleko

NgokukaPackard (1964) noMaslow (1954), becatshulwe kuLarson (1995), ilizwe ekuphilwa kulo alikhuselekanga kwizinto ezininzi. Abalukuhli baye bachonge kanye ezo zinto ukunika ukhuseleko ebantwini. Bona abalukuhli bezopolitiko bathembisa abaphulaphuli babo ngokhuseleko loqoqosho, nolwentlalo.

Xa siqwalasela eli phetshana kumgca we-3-4, umbhali uchaze la mazwi "a strong delegation comprising the government", ngenxa yokuba efuna lamkelwe ixabiso leli phetshana ngabaphulaphuli. Kwalapha kule migca ye-3-4, ugqibezela ngokubandakanya la alandelayo "business, civil society and the media". Yimiba efana nale kanye ethi ibangele abantu bazive bengakhuselekanga. Ingakumbi umba wezoqoqosho, kwihlabathi liphela.

Kwakhona, umbhali usebenzisa igama elithi "strong delegation" ukunika ithemba ebantwini, lokuba imfuno yabo yokhuseleko iza kuphunyezwa. Oku kuthetha ukuba abantu baseMzantsi Afrika bangaziva bekhuselekile kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe. Aba bameli bakarhulumente bomeleleyo baya kuthi bawumele uMzantsi Afrika ngentembeko. Umbhali ukusebenzisa oku ngenxa yokuba esazi ukuba abantu babathembile abameli benkalo ngeenkalo zaseburhulumenteni.

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Le mfuno, NgokukaLarson (1995), ichazwa nguPackard (1964) ngokuthi abantu bafuna ukuba kuqinisekiswa ixabiso lwabo kwihlabathi. Ngokunjalo uMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995) imfuno yokuzingca uyichaza njengendlela abantu abafuna ukuba kuqinisekiswa ixabiso lwabo. Lilonke bazive bemkelekile phakathi kwezinye izizwe. Ngenxa yoku umbhali kweli phetshana ugxininisa kule mfuno yokuzingca ngokuthi abalule iqela lomculo elibalaseleyo kwezomculo. Qela elo lithe lathandwa kakhulu yile ntlanganiso. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi athi “the talk of the town”, kumgca we-7-8, ukubalaselela nokuduma kwezi qela lomculo.

Kuyacaca ukuba umbhali uyiqaphele into yokuba, abantu baseMzantsi Afrika bayawuthanda umculo womngqungqo. Lo mculo uthandwa nangamazwe ehlabathini jikelele. Ngale ndlela, umbhali ufuna ukwanelisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngemfuno yokuzingca. Xa umbhali enakho uwabonisa abantu ukuba baxatyisiwe, kwaye bayafuneka ekwenzeni iinguqu kwihlabathi, bangalukuhleka lula ekwenzeni igalelo kwisicwangciso sokuvuselela i-Afrika.

Isimilo

Kumgca wokuqala ukuya kowesibhozo akufumaneki hlobo lwasimilo. Nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba asikho isimilo kwezi migca.

Ukungaguququki

Umlukuhli ofuna impumelelo kulukuhlo lwakhe kufuneka asebenzise ukungaguququki. Ngale ndlela umlukuhlwa uyakuwamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Apha kweli phetshana umbhali ubalula ubukho bezi ntlanganiso rhoqo ngonyaka. Oku ukuchaza kumgca wokuqala ngala mazwi, “Annual Summit Meeting”. La mazwi ebonisa ukuba akumangalisi ukubakho koMzantsi Afrika kule ntlanganiso. Le nto ithetha ukuba uMzantsi Afrika wenza into oqhele ukuyenza.

Umbhali uqhuba abalule amazwi athi, “as usual” kumgca wesithathu. Ngala mazwi uphemelela abaphulaphuli ekusamkeleni ubukho boMzantsi Afrika kwezi ntlanganiso. Enye into kwalapha kumgca wesithathu, uMzantsi Afrika umelwa ngabameli abomeleleyo rhoqo kwintlanganiso zamazwe. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi athi, “strong delegation.”

Nakwintlanganiso ezayo uMzantsi Afrika uza kumelwa ngabameli abomeleleyo. Oku kubonisa ukungaguquguquki. Umphulaphuli azibone evumelana nesithethi. Isithethi masikwenze oku ngokugxininisa kwiinkolo nezimilo anazo umphulaphuli ngomba othile.

Ezi ndlela zemvumelwano zifumaneka ngeentlobo-ntlobo. Apha kweli phetshana, umbhali ugxininisa kwisiqinisekiso sokhuseleko. Umbhali ufuna ukuqinisekisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngokhuseleko. Olu hlobo lwesivumelwano lubonakala kumazwi athi, “a strong delegation” nathi “as usual” afumaneka kumgca we-3. Ngako oko, abantu bangaziva bekhuselekile, kwaye baqiniseke.

Umbhali usebenzisa nolunye uhlobo lwesivumelwano lokubonakalisa ngentelekelelo. Njengokuba imo yelizwe ingenasigxina, umbhali ugxininisa kwizinto ezingenakutshintsha. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ujongwa kwizinto ezinokuthelekelelwa. Umzekelo, uthi asebenzise amagama afana no, “annually”. Le ndlela ithetha ukuthi, abaphulaphuli bangakwamkela ukuba le ntlanganiso iza kubakho minyaka le. Kungoko kumele bazive bekhuselekile abalukuhlwa.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwa kusingxoxo

Noku akubonakali kule migca ikhankanywe kwesi sihloko sokuqala. Ngamanye amazwi isiqulatho asikho kumhlathi wokuqala weli phetshana libhalwe nguMongameli woMzantsi Afrika.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 2, IMIGCA 9 – 16

(1) Ushwankathelo

Okona kuphambili nokubalulekileyo apha kulo mhlathi kuvezwe ngumbhali ngeenjongo zokuphumeza ulukuhlo lwakhe. Umbhali usebenzisa iinkqubo zeSayikholoji ukuzama ukuba lwamkeleke ulukuhlo lwakhe. Kukho izinto ezingundoqo nezibonisa umxholo waLo mhlathi. Okokuqala Lo mhlathi uchaza ngowona msebenzi uphambili owenziwa ziinkokheli

zase-Afrika. Ezi nkokheli zibonise ngengqiqo ekhokhelela ekwamkelweni kwe-"Millennium Africa Recovery Plan" (MAP), kumazwe akhokhela phambili kurhwebo. Ukuphumeza oku, uMongameli ekunye namanye amalungu aseburhulumenteni eMzantsi Afrika, kufuneka bencedisiwe nangabanye oorhulumente base-Afrika. Kweli phetshana kubalulwa uMongameli waseNigeria uOlusegun Obasanjo, uMongameli wase Tanzania uBen Mkapa, kunye noMongameli waseSenegal uAbdoulaye Wade, njengabantu ababenoncedo kulo msebenzi. Yena uMongameli waseAlgeria uAbdelaziz Bouteflika ebengekho ngenxa yokuba ebekutyelelo olusemthethweni e-Indiya.

(2) Isindululo esisiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umbhali ubonakalisa ubuchule bokukwazi ukusebenzisa amagama enza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Ngamanye amazwi, ubonakala enalo ulwazi ngokusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. Kungoko kuphawuleka ukuba unalo ulwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe. Kubalulekile ukubazi ngokwaneleyo abantu oza kwenza kubo intetho yakho yolukuhlo. Xa ubazi ngokupheleleyo abaphulaphuli bakho kulula ukuluphumelela ulukuhlo lwakho. Oku kukuthi abantu bangawamkela ngokungathandabuziyo umyalezo wentetho yakho.

limfuno

Imfuno yamandla

Umbhali ubonisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngamandla anawo uMzantsi Afrika. NgokukaPackard (1964), ummeli waseburhulumenteni kufanele abonise amandla anawo emzimbeni nasengqondweni. Oku kungqinwa ngala mazwi, "carry out this task" kumgca-12. Ngale ndlela abaphulaphuli baqinisekiswa ngamandla anawo uMzantsi Afrika ekisingatheni imicimbi ye-Afrika. Kuthi ke abaphulaphuli batshintshe isimilo, ukuziphatha kunye neenkolo zabo kwimiba ethile. Apha umbhali ubiza amagama eenkokheli zamazwe abambisene noMzantsi Afrika, ukungqina ukuba ngokwenene banawo amandla okufezekisa inkqubo ye-MAP.

Umbhali usebenzisa izixhobo zokukhuthaza umlukuhlwa ukuba atshintshe kwisimilo, inkolo kunye nasekuziphatheni. Kumgca wethoba kunye noweshumi elinesibini, umbhali usebenzise u-"our" kunye no-"we" ngenxa yokuba uyayazi ukuba ujolise kwinkqubo yeSayikholoji esebenza engqondweni yomntu ngamnye.

Ngokusebenzisa la mazwi, umbhali uzama ukuxelela abantu baseMzantsi Afrika ukuba bangathembela kwaye baqiniseke ngamandla anowo uMzantsi Afrika. Oku kungqinwa ngala magama, "presentation to the world corporate leadership". Kwimigca we-9-10 umbhali ukubethelela oku ngala mazwi, "adoption of a Millennium Afrika Recovery Plan (MAP)". Ukuba uMzantsi Afrika ubungenawo amandla ngekungakhange kubekho kwa isiqalo sale MAP.

Kwakhona umbhali unolwazi lokuba ngokukhankanya amagama eenkokheli zamanye amazwe, abantu bakhe bakuziva bebakhulu kwaye benamandla. Kwimigca we-12-15, kungqinwa oku ngala magama, "President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, with the active assistance of Presidents Ben Mkapa of Tanzania and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria".

Isimilo

Apha kumhlathi wesibini oqala kumgca we-9-16 akukho nto ibonakalisa isimilo.

Ukungaguquguquki

Kumgca we-9-16, ukungaguquguquki akubonakaliswanga.

(3) Isindululo esisiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Isindululo esisiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo siboniswa ngokuthi ubani abe nobuchule bokuxoxa nokuqisisa. Khona khon'ukuze aphumelele kulukuhlo lwakhe umntu. NgokukaLarson (1995), okuqulathwe kwiingxoxo yolukuhlo kuxhomekeke kwingqiqo kanobangela ukuya kwisiphumo, khon'ukuze luphuncilele ulukuhlo.

Unobangela ubonakala kumgca we-9-10, "Our principal task at the Summit Meeting was the presentation to the world corporate leadership of the concept". Isiphumo sona sibonakaliswe kumgca we-10-11, "the process leading to the adoption of a Millenium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP)".

Xa umlukuhli ezisebenzisa ngempumelelo iindlela zokunika ubungqina kwintetho yakhe, uya kuphumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe. Umzekelo, kumgca we-9-12, "the presentation to the

world corporate leadership”, kunye “we had to carry out this task together”. Oku kubangela ukuba abaphulaphuli baqiniseke ngokuwamkela lo myalezo.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 3, IMIGCA 17 – 48

(1) Ushwankathelo

Apha kulo mhlathi wesithathu, umbhali weli phetshana ulibhalele abaphulaphuli bakhe, ebanika ulwazi olunxulumene ne-MAP. Olu lwazi lumalunga neentlanganiso ezibalulekileyo, kulapho umbhali negqiza lakhe bebebonisa ukubaluleka kwe-MAP.

Okokuqala, ngomnyaka ka-2000 kuchithwe isixa sexesha kudityanwa neenkokheli zopolitiko zamazwe aseNtla anenkqubela. Eli xesha, umbhali ubanika okona kuthe kwenzeka kanye ngexesha elithile. Kwakhona uchaza neenkokheli abadibene nje nazo kunye nezo bathe bakwazi ukuxoxa nazo.

Umbhali uqala ukuwakhankanya la maxesha apha kumgca wama-20 ukuya kowama-40. Kula maxesha ukhankanya nezi nkokheli zala mazawe aseNtla. Umzekelo, ngoMeyi kudityenwe nenkulumbuso uBlair noMongameli uClinton eLondon naseWashington D.C., ngokulandelelana. Kwaza kwadityanwa eTexas nerhuluneli uGeorge W. Bush.

Kwinyanga elandelayo, uJuni, eli gqiza laba yinxalenye yentlanganiso yeBerlin engolawulo olunenkqubela Ngokombhali le ntlanganiso yayizinyaswe ngumongameli waseMelike uClinton; owaseBrazil uCardoso, uLagos waseChile kunye De la Rúa waseArgentina. Abanye ababekhona yayingaba balandelayo:-inkulumbuso yase-France uJospin, uGutteres wasePortugal, uChretien waseCanada, uAmato waseItaly, uSimitis waseGreece, uClark waseNew Zealand, uKok waseNetherlands, uPersson waseSweden, kunye nengqonyela yaseGermany uShroeder.

KwangoJuni njalo, bathathe inkxaxheba kwintlanganiso yenkumbuso zeNordic eDenmark. Benza intetho ePortugal kwintlanganiso yeKhansile yaseYurophu, eyayizinyaswe ziintloko zoorhulumente bemanjano yaseYurophu.

NgoJulayi, igqiza lombhali lidibene noMongameli uObasanjo kunye noBouteflika, badibene neentloko zoorhulumente be-G7 eTokyo. Apha bathe baba nalo nethuba lokubamba

ingxoxo nenkulumbuso yaseJapan uYoshiro Mori. Badibene naye noJim Wolfenschn ongumongameli webhanka yehlabathi. Emva koko babamba ezinye iingxoxo ePitoli nomlawuli we-IMG uHorst Kohler. Badibene kwakhona noMongameli waseRussia uPutin, xa babesenza intetho kwintlanganiso yesigaba sexesha lewaka leminyaka yamazwe amanyeneyo aseYurophu. Oku kwenzeka ngenyanga kaSeptemba. Ukanti phambi koko, banxulumene nonobhala jikelele wamazwe amanyeneyo uKofi Annan. Ubaqinisekise ukuba la mazwe azibophelele ekusebenzisaneni ne-Afrika kwi-MAP. Zonke ezi ntlanganiso zibangele ukwazi ukubonisa ngemiba ejongene ne-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli onolwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe uya phumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe. Khon'ukuze akwazi ukubachaza abaphulaphuli, kufuneka azihlalutye kakuhle iimfuno zabo. Iinkqubo zeSayikholoji zithi zisetyenziswe kakhulu ngumlukuhli onolwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe. Apha kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzisa kakhulu la magama, "I" kunye no "we". La magama afumaneka phantse kuwo wonke lo mhlathi.

limfuno

Imfuno yokhuseleko

NgokukaPackard (1964) noMaslow (1954), abantu baphila kwixesha abangakhuselekanga Kulo. Abantu kule mihla bafuna ukhuseleko kwizinto ezininzi ezifana nezi:- ukungcola komoya nokusingqongileyo, uqoqosho, izifo ezinje ngoGawulayo, ukuphakama kwezinga lobundlobongela, ezopolitiko kwihlabathi, kunye nokhuseleko lo msebenzi womntu. Kuphawuleka ukuba imfuno yokhuseleko iyafuneka eluntwini jikelele.

Ngako oko,, ubani angatsho ukuba eli phetshana lifuna ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli ukuba bayamkele. Ikakhulu eli phetshana ifuna kwamkelwe ixabiso layo, ngenxa yokuba sekukhankanyiwe kungca we-17, "I write this letter to give some information relevant to the MAP". Ukanti ukuxabiseka kweli phetshana kungqinwa kwimigca we-18-19, ngala mazwi athi, "we spent some time meeting the political leadership of the developed world – the North".

Umbhali ukwanelisa oku ngokukhankanya acalule iintlanganiso nabantu adibene nabo. Kwintlanganiso yokuqala eyayingoMeyi kunyaka ka-2000, umbhali uthi, "in May we met

Prime Minister Blair and President Clinton in London and Washington D.C., respectively, ... the then Governor George W. Bush in Austin, Texas”.

Kwintlanganiso eyayiseBerlin ngoJuni kwakukho iinkokheli zamazwe anenkqubela. Umgca wama-23 ukuya kowama-28, umbhali uzikhankanya ngamagama ezi nkokheli namazwe azo. Nangona intloko mphathiswa uBlair ethumele isibheni zokungabikho kwakhe, naye ukhankanyiwe. Ngokukhankanya ezi nkokheli namazwe azo, umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli baqiniseke ngokhuseleko lwabo. Nkqu nokukhankanya ukuthabatha koMzantsi Afrika inkxaxheba ekwenzeni intetho kwintlanganiso yeNordic Prime Ministers, kumgca 29-30.

NgoJuni, uMzantsi Afrika wenza enye intetho kwintlanganiso yeEuropean Council, yona yayisePortugal. Apha kwakukho zonke iintloko zoorhulumente bemanjano yaseUrophu (EU). Kumgca 31-32, amazwi athi, “we addressed the meeting of the European Council held in Portugal”. aqinisekise ukwazi koMzantsi Afrika ukusingatha imicimbi edibanisa amazwe ehlabathini.

Ukusuka kwintlanganiso eyayingoMeyi eLondon ukuza kwezi ye-European Council ePortugal ngoJuni, ikho into eqaphelekayo. Kufumaniseka ukuba umbhali uzikhankanya nje ezi nkokheli engabanga nangxoxo nazo. Iinjongo zombhali ngokwenza oku, kukubethelela inkolo yokuba umcimbi we-Afrika usingathwe ngendlela ethembekileyo. Ngaloo ndlela abantu baya kuziva bekhuselekile.

Kwelinye icala umbhali uyibethelela le nkolo banayo ngokhuseleko ngokuxela abo athe waxoxa nabo. Kumgca wama-33-35; umbhali uchaza ekwabonisa abaphulaphuli ngendlela anakho ukubanika ukhuseleko ngayo. Amazwi angqina oku ngala, “we met the heads of state and government of the G7 in Tokyo, and had the opportunity to hold bilateral discussions with Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshiro Mori; ... discussions with the Managing Director of the IMF, Horst Kohler; ... interacted with UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan”. Oku kufumaneka kule migca, yama 33, 34, 35, 38, 40.

Imfuno yamandla

Umntu othe wanethamsanga lokuphawulwa ngendumasi yakhe athe wayibonakalisa ngokusebenzisa amandla engqondo nawomzimba ekuphumezeni iminqweno yakhe, uziva enamandla. Umzekelo, xa ubani eqhuba eyona moto yodidi oluphezulu, yala maxesha.

Maxa wambi eselulawulweni, emisebenzini, endlwini yakhe, kwiqela lakhe, okanye kwibandla lakhe. Ngamanye amazwi ukuziva unamandla kuyinkuthazo yokwenza izinto ngempumelelo.

Abantu baye basebenzise iintlobo zemiqondiso ukwanelisa imfuno yabo yamandla. Umbhali kweli phetshana, ngokukhankanya iingxoxo abathe bazibamba neenkokheli zamawe ehlabathini, ubonisa amandla abanawo. Kwaye oku kuyakhuthaza ukuba ezi nkokheli ziqhubekeke ngokubambisana ngephulo lokuvuselela i-Afrika.

Ngenxa yokuba umbhali enolwazi lokuba abantu banemfuno yamandla, usebenzisa kakhulu iinkqubo zeSayikholoji. Kumgca wama-47; 48 kulapho zisetyenziswe khona ezi nkqubo zeSayikholoji. Yona imfuno yamandla iboniswe ngala magama alandelayo, "as the current Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement". Oku kufumaneka kumgca wama-47.

Isimilo

Umhlathi wesithathu oqala kumgca-17 ukuya kuma-48 awunaso isindululo sesibini sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, ekuthiwa sisimilo.

Ukungaguquququki

Kwakhona, kwakulo mhlathi asifumaneki isindululo sesithathu sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo esibizwa ngokuba kukungaguquququki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Kulo mhlathi, okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kuxhomekeke kwindlela yokuqiqa. Eyona ndlela yokuqiqa efumaneka kulo mhlathi yeyokuqiqa ngokubonisa ngeempawu. Amaxesha amaninzi abalukuhli babonisa iintlobo zeempawu abathi bathathele izigqibo ngazo. Umzekelo, unobangela woku ufumaneka kumgca-40-43, "in September, we addressed the UN Millenium Summit and the opportunity to meet President Putin of Russia ... we had also interacted with UN secretary General Kofi Annan, who had committed the UN to co-operate with us as we worked on the MAP".

Kumgca wama-44-46, "We mention all these meetings because they enable us to present to these political leaders the imperative of addressing especially the challenges of African development", kulapho kuboniswa isiphumo solu hlobo lokuqiqa.

Awona magama angqina ingqiqo yokubonisa ngeempawu ngala, "the challenges of African development." Umbhali ukhankanya obu bungqina abuqiqileyo ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli khon'ukuze balamkele eli phetshana. Bamkele nezi zicwangciso zikhokhelela ekuphuhlisweni kwe-Afrika. Oku kuphuhliswa kwe-Afrika kuziimpawu zokuba zikho iingxaki ejongene nazo i-Afrika. Lilonke ayikaphuhli ifikelele kumgangatho wamazwe aseNtla natyebileyo.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 4, IMIGCA 49 – 55

(1) Ushwankathelo

Okona kuphambili kulo mhlathi kukuvumelana ngamxhel'omnye kweenkokheli zopolitiko kumazwe aseNtla, ekusombululeni iingxaki zendlala nokungabi nankqubela phambili kwe-Afrika. La mazwe avakalise ukuzibophelela okungagungqiyo koku, nto ke leyo ethe yayinkuthazo kwiinkokheli zase-Afrika.

Kwintlanganiso yombutho wemanyane ye-Afrika kuthathwe isigqibo sokuba uMongameli waseAlgeria, Nigeria kunye nowaseMzantsi Afrika balungizelele ukuyila i-MAP. Emva kokuba bekugqibile oko, bayijikelezise kwezintloko zala mazawe. Isigqibo esinje sithathwe kwintlanganiso ebiseLome, kwelaseTogo.

Bona abaphulaphuli banethemba elikhulu lokuba ifuthe le-MAP lakuzisa ulonwabo. Olu lonwabo lakuziswa ziziphumo ezintle ze-MAP. Ngako oko,, lo mhlathi enika ithemba ebantwini base-Afrika. Yiyo le nto nabo bevumelana kwaye beyixhasa i-MAP.

(2) Isindululo esisiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Luya phumelela ulukuhlo olwenziwa ngumntu ozaziyo iimfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Akubalulekanga nje ukuzazi ezo mfuno, koko umlukuhli kumele akwazi ukuzihlalutya iimfuno zabaphulaphuli. Apha kulo mhlathi wesine, kuninzi okubonakalisa ukuba umlukuhli unalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli. Yiyo loo nto umbhali asebenzise kakhulu iinkqubo zeSayikholoji ukutshintsha inkolo, isimilo nokuziphatha kwabaphulaphuli ngoluvo le-MAP.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekiswa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

ULarson (1995), uthi uPackard (1964) uthetha ngale mfuno yokuqinisekiswa ukuxabiseka, ngokuthi abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa ngento abayenzayo. Nto ke leyo ebonisa ukuba benza umahluko. Kwelinye icala uMaslow (1954) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995), uthetha ngemfuno yokuzingca esithi, abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa njengabantu. Phakathi kwamaqela abakuwo, kosapho, nasebantwini nje jikelele.

Eli phetshana, ingakumbi lo mhlathi ugxininisa kakhulu kwimfuno yokuqinisekiswa ukuxabiseka. Oku kwenzeka ngokukhankanya la mazwi akumgca wama-53-55, “the African heads of state and government agreed that the Presidents of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP and circulate it among these heads”. Umbhali ufuna ukubonisa abaphulaphuli baseMzantsi Afrika ukuba ilizwe lwabo lixabisekile. Ngoko ke kumele bazingce ngelizwe lwabo.

Umbhali uwakhankanya ngeenjongo zokufuna kwamkelwe umyalezo weli phetshana, amagama akumgca wama-53-54. La magama ngala, “at the OAU Summit in Lome, Togo, the African heads of state and government”. Xa iintloko zoorhulumente base-Afrika, kwintlanganiso yemanyano yombutho we-Afrika, zikwazi ukwanyula uMzantsi Afrika ukuba uyile i-MAP, oko kubonisa ukuxabiseka kwawo uMzantsi Afrika. Kwaye la mazwe awonyule ngokuwuthemba uMzantsi Afrika ukuba ibe nguwo osingatha lo msebenzi.

Ngokukhankanya oku, umbhali wanelisa imfuno yokuzingca kubantu baseMzantsi Afrika. Ngoba isigqibo sokuba uMzantsi Afrika mawuyile i-MAP sibonisa ukuxabiseka kwano

nabantu bawo. Xa umlukuhli ebonisa abaphulaphuli ukuxabiseka kwabo, kungenza ukuba balukuhleke lula ekwamkeleni lo myalezo unge-MAP. Ngenxa yokuba baya ngenxa yokuba beziva bexabisekile, kwaye bazingce bangathandabuzi ukwenza izinto ngokwabo, bangenzelwa ngomnye umntu.

Isimilo

Kulo mhlathi wesine umlukuhli ubonisa abantu ukuba, amazwe aseNtla athe avumelana nokuxhasa i-MAP. Oku kubonisa ukutshintsha kwesimilo kula mazwe. Kumgca wama-49-50, “countries of the North express him commitment”. Xa abaphulaphuli besiva oku kutshintsha kwesimilo kwiinkokheli zamazwe aseNtla, nezabo izimilo zingatshintsha. Loo nto ikhokhelele ekubeni bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana.

Ngamanye amazwi, ubani angatsho ukuba umbhali, ngokusebenzisa la mazwi akumgca wama-49-50, wenza isicelo kwintshukumo zokuxhaswa kwe-MAP ngabantu base-Afrika. Ezi ntshukumo kufuneka zibonise ukutshintsha kwezimvo neenkolelo zabantu ngokuphathelele kwi-MAP. Kaloku isimilo sele sibonwa ngendlela ekunokubonwa ngayo ukuba ubani uyavumelana okanye akavumelani nombala othile kusini na. Iingcali zeSayikholoji uEagley kunye noChaiken (1993) becatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 176), basichaza ngolu hlobo isimilo; “it is a psychological tendency that expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor”.

Ukungaguquguquki

Ukungaguquguquki kuyeyona nto ibanelisayo abantu xa bemamele umyalezo. Umlukuhli osebenzisa amazwi abonisa ukungaguquguquki uye aphumelele kulukuhlo lwakhe. Apha kulo mhlathi amazwi athi, “firm commitment,” kumgca-53 kubonisa ukungaguquguquki.

Eli phetshana liwakhankanya ngabomu la mazwi akumgca wama-50. Umbhali nzama ukubonisa abaphulaphuli ukuba, oku kuzibophelela kwala mazwe kuza kuba sisithethe. Kaloku oku kusisiqinisekiso kumphulaphuli sokuba, la mazwe akanakujika nakwiminyaka ezayo, ekusombululeni iingxaki ze-Afrika.

Xa abaphulaphuli bekholelwa koku, oku kuthetha ukuba olu hlobo lo myalezo lwenzelwe ukunika abaphulaphuli ingqondo yesivumelwano. Kulapho iinkolo zabo ngorhulumente

waseMzantsi Afrika zisomelezwa. Kule meko, ibanzi yesivumelwano kukuqinisekisa ukhuseleko. Oku kuthetha ukuba urhulumente woMzantsi Afrika ufuna ukuqinisekisa abantu ukuba bakhuselekile. Okunye, urhulumente edibene nabase-Afrika, kunye nabamazwe aseNtla, bafuna ukuqinisekisa ukuba ukusukela ngoku, ukuya kwiminyaka ezayo, baya kubambisana ekwakheni i-Afrika. Babaxelele abantu ngako konke okwenzekayo. Ukuvumelana ngamxhel'omnye kwamazwe aseNtla, ekuzibopheleleni kuvuselelo lwe-Afrika kuyimpumelelo ye-Afrika. Oku kuthetha ukuba i-Afrika iza kuphuhliswa kupheliswe nendlala. Umbhali uzama ukubonisa abantu ukuba i-Afrika ilufumene uncedo.

Ngamanye amazwi, umbhali uqinisekisa abantu ukuba kukho inkxaso engagungqiyo evela kwizizwe ezingaphandle e-Afrika. Kungca wama-49-50, kusetyenziswe la mazwi, "the entire political leadership of the countries of the North", ngeenjongo zokuba kwamkelwe lo myalezo wolukuhlo. Oku kuthetha ukuba akukho nalinye ilizwe elichasene noluvo le-MAP.

Njengokuba iinjongo zolukuhlo ikukuphemelela imvakalelo yabaphulaphuli, ezithi zikhokelele ekubeni bavumelane nomyalezo, neli phetshana linezonjongo. Oku kwenziwa ngokubethelela iinkolelo nezimilo abanazo abaphulaphuli kumba othile. Kulo mhlathi, umbhali ugxininisa kwimfuno yokuqinisekiswa kokhuseleko. Oku kusukela kwimbangi yesivumelwano. Lilonke, umbhali uzama ukuqinisekisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ukuba bakhuselekile. Le ndlela yokufumana isivumelwano iyabonakala kumazwi athi, "ensure Africa's social and economic recovery". Ngenxa yokuba sele umkhulu umsebenzi awenzileyo urhulumente, abantu bakhuselekile.

Abantu baphila kwihlabathi kulapho kungaqikelelekiyo okuzayo. Umbhali ke usebenzise uhlobo lwesivumelwano exela okuzayo, ngokubonisa ngezinto ezithile. Kwelinye icala, abantu bafuna ukujongana nezinto abanokuziqikelela. Kungoko umbhali efuna bazi abaphulaphuli ukuba isigqibo sokufaka isandla kwi-MAP, asijiki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Umhlathi wesine unolukuhlo olunesiqulatho esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwingqiqo yesiphumo. Unobangela apha kukuyilwa kwe-MAP, kumgca wama-54-55, “the Presidents of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP”.

Ngeli lixa isiphumo siya kuba kukupheliswa kwendlala e-Afrika. Umbhali ubonakalisa ubuchule ekukwazini ukunxulumanisa intetho yakhe. Umbhali uphindile wabonisa ubungqina bentetho yakhe ngokunika esi siphumo sisukela kunobangela. Oku uukwenza ngeenjongo zokufuna kwamkelwe umyalezo wakhe. Ngenxa yokuba ethe wabusebenzisa ngobuchule nangempumelelo ubungqina bakhe umbhali, ulukuhlo lwakhe luyazifezekisa iinjongo zakhe.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 5, IMIGCA 56 – 67

(1) Ushwankathelo

- a) Apha kumhlathi wesihlanu kufumaneka into yokuba umxholo usukela kumhlathi wesine. Oko kukuthi okufumaneka kumhlathi wesine kusaqhubeka. Ngokombhali, iintloko zoorhulumente ezanyuliweyo ukuba ziyile i-MAP. zinciphile yikhomishoni yezoqoqosho yemanyano yaseYurophu babonise ngenkqubela phambili yomsebenzi abawenzileyo kwintlanganiso yeDavos. Oku kusenzelwa ukuba amazwe ehlabathini akhokhelayo kushishino akubone ekusele kwenziwe, ukuzeancedise ukuqinisekisa imo yentlalo neyoqoqosho lwe-Afrika.
- b) Ukubandakanyeka kwamashishini abucala angaphakathi nawangaphandle kwe-Afrika kuya kunceda ukuphunyezwa kweengcamango ze-MAP. Yiyo loo nto kungenakwenzeka oku ngaphandle kwale ntsebenziswano nehlabathi. Ukubandakanywa kwehlabathi nala mashishini abucala akunakulinda unyaka ka-2002. Kaloku ngalo nyaka kuza kuba kukho intlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe eDavos.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

NgokukaLarson (1995), phambi kokugqithisa umyalezo wolukuhlo, kubalulekile ukubazi abaphulaphuli bakho, neemfuno zabo. Ulukuhlo olwenziwa ngaphandle kolu lwazi aluziphumezi iinjongo zalo. Yiyo loo nto Kulo mhlathi umbhali ethe wachaphazela enye yeemfuno zabaphulaphuli, khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe. Khon'ukuze zitshintshe izimilo, iinkolo nokuziphatha kwabaphulaphuli, umbhali nalapha uzisebenzisile iinkqubo zeSayikholoji.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Abantu bafuna ukuziva bexabisekile, kwaye bazive besenza umahluko ebomini. Kungoko abantu befuna ukuziva befunwa kwaye bamkelekile. NgokukaLarson (1995,p. 163), uPackard waqaphela ukuba, "people need to feel that they valued for what they do". La mazwi angqinwa namguMaslow (1954) ecatsulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173) ngokuthi, "We are happy when our families (groups) understand and admire the things we do".

Lo mhlathi wesihlanu ugxininisa kakhulu kwimfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka. Oku kubonakala kumgca wama-53-55, "..., the African heads of state and government agreed that the President of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP". Umbhali uzama ukubonisa abantu indlela abaxabiseke ngayo, ngenxa yokuba kufuneka kubekho isikhokelo esibhaliweyo nesiza kulandelwa ekuphuculeni i-Afrika. Kungoko nabo bezintloko zoorhulumente kumele baxatyiswe ngomsebenzi ongaka abawenzayo.

Kwakhona, Umbhali ubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu noosomashishini ngokuthi, kumgca wama-65-66, "we should bring the private sector on board now". Ngala mazwi, umbhali uzama ukubonisa ukuxabiseka kwamashishini abucala, khon'ukuze liqhubele phambili iphulo le-Map. Umbhali ukujonge ngeliso elibukhali ukubaluleka ngeyona ndlela ubukho bamashishini abucala. Xa iphulo le-MAP lifumana inkxaso ngemali, liyakhula lide liphumeze iinjongo zalo. Ngoko ke abantu base-Afrika baya kuziva bemkelekile kwizizwe zangaphandle, kwaye bexabisekile.

Isimilo

Umbhali, apha kulo mhlathi, uzama ukutshintsha izimilo zoongxowankulu. Ngale ndlela lo mhlathi ugxininisa kwiinjongo zokuphunyezwa kwe-MAP. Ezi njongo zingaphunyezwa kuphela xa oosomashishini bethe batshintsha izimilo zabo ngokuthi bayixhase i-MAP. Oku kungqinwa ngala mazwi, kumgca wama-62-64, “whatever plans we produce in the end, these will not succeed without the involvement and support of the domestic and global private sector.”

Le yenye yeendlela umbhali uzama ngayo ukuba amashishini abucala ayixhase i-MAP. Oku kuya kubonisa amandla nezinga le-Afrika ekuphuhliseni kwe-Afrika. Njengokuba abantu jikele e-Afrika beyixhase i-MAP, nabezoshishino kumele benze njalo. Yiyo loo nto umbhali egxininisa kutshintsho lwesimilo esinokubakho, kulapho impendulo kumele ukuba ibe yeyamkelekileyo.

Ukungaguququki

Apha kumhlathi wesihlanu, oqala kumgca wama-56-67, akukho ukungaguququki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi unesiqulatho, okanye ulukuhlo olunesiqulatho esixhomekeke kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela uya ngenxa yokuba kumgca wama-59-60, “ensure that the global leadership of the corporate world is also sensitised”. Ngeli lixa isiphumo siya kuba kumgca wama-60-61, “ensure Africa’s social and economic recovery”.

Umbhali apha usebenzise uhlobo lobungqina olunengqiqo. Oku ukwenze ngeenjongo zokulukuhla abezoshishino ekwamkeleni amacebo eenkokheli ze-Afrika ekwakheni i-Afrika ngokutsha.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 6, IMIGCA 68 – 79**(1) Ushwankathelo**

- a) Umbhali uzama ukucacisa ukuba beziinkokheli basesekuqaleni kwenkqubo yenkqubela phambili ye-MAP. Oku kubonisa ukuba usemninzi umsebenzi ekumele ziwenze iinkokheli ze-Afrika.
- b) Iinkokheli zase-Afrika ngokwenene ukuyilwa kwe-MAP zikuxhoma emagxeni azo. Le yindlela ezifuna ukuqinisekisa ngayo ukuba i-Afrika iyohlukana nendlala nokungabi nankqubela phambili. Nkqu iinkokheli zezopolitiko e-Afrika zinegalelo ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika.
- c) Khon'ukuze kuphumelele konke oku, ngaphandle kwamagingxigingxi, kumele kubekho imithetho eza kulawula le nkqubo. I-Afrika nje ngelizwekazi kufuneka liqinisekise ukuba ililizwekazi loxolo, uzinzo nedemokrasi. Yiyo loo nto kufuneka i-MAP inike iindlela zokuphumeza ezi njongo.
- d) Kwakhona i-Afrika kufuneka iphumelele ekwakheni imithetho ebalulekileyo yentlalo kunye noqoqosho. Ngokwenza oko, ubomi nemo yomgangatho wokuphila kweenkulungwane zabantu base-Afrika bungaphucuka.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Njenge nxalenye yemihlathi yeli phetshana, nawo lo mhlathi wenzelwe ukulukuhla abantu base-Afrika. Iinjongo zolukuhlo lwalo mhlathi kukuba abantu base-Afrika mabathathe inkxaxheba kwi-"Millennium Africa Recovery Plan" (MAP).

Umbhali, apha kulo mhlathi, ubonakalisa isakhono sokuzazi iimfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Akwaneli ukwazi nje iimfuno kuphela, koko kufuneka umlukuhli abazi abaphulaphuli bakhe xa efuna luphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe. Xa umlukuhli enolwazi ngako konke oku, ngokukaPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995), uye asebenzise iinkqubo zeSayikholoji.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Kwihlabathi jikelele, phakathi kweemfuno ezibalulekileyo neziphambili, ukuxatyiswa nje ngomntu, kubalulekile ebantwini. Akakho umntu ongakufuniyo ukuxatyiswa, nokuba ngowaliphi na iqela labantu. Oku kungqinwa nguPackard (1964) ecatsulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 163) ngokuthi, "Housewives, factory workers, and public service workers need to feel that they are accomplishing something of value, are needed by their families and organizations, and are appreciated by others". Kwelinye icala, uLarson (1995, p. 173) uthi uMaslow (1954) wongeza ngokuthi, "We are happy when our families understand and admire the things we do". Ngamanye amazwi ukuzingca nokuxatyiswa phakathi kwabantu umntu aphila nabo, kufunwa kakhulu ngabantu.

Umbhali apha kulo mhlathi usebenzisa kakhulu imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka, echazwa nguPackard (1964). Kungca wama-71-72, "Africa's political leadership was taking the responsibility". Umbhali ufuna abantu babaxabise oorhulumente babo base-Afrika. Le yindlela umbhali afuna ukuqinisekisa ngayo ukuxabiseka kweenkokheli ze-Afrika. Kwangaxesha nye, abantu bangathembela kwezi nkokheli, njengabantu abanesakhono sokuzimisela kwi-MAP.

Isimilo

Xa ubani eqwalasela kule migca iqala kuma-68-79, apha kulo mhlathi uya kufumanisa ukuba asikho isimilo.

Ukungaguququki

Kwalapha phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, akufumaneki ukungaguququki. Oku kuthetha ukuba lo mhlathi wesithandathu awunako ukungaguququki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi wesithandathu unesiqulatho solukuhlo esisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-68-69, “we were at the beginning of the process of the development of the MAP”. Ngeli lixa usiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-75-76, “Continent of peace, stability and democracy.”

Kwakhona, umbhali usebenzisa okuqulathwe kulukuhlo ngendlela esukela kwiimpawu. Kumgca wama-73, “breaks out of its condition of poverty and underdevelopment”. Umlukuhli kufuneka abonise ngolu hlobo uludwe lweempawu athathela kuzo isigqibo.

Ngale ndlela, umbhali uyayazi ukuba zininzi izinto abafuna ukuzibona zibaphucula abantu. Oku kuyindlela umbhali enza ngayo isibheni ezingqondweni zabantu, khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo. Ngako oko, abantu bangawamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 7, IMIGCA 80 – 108

(1) Ushwankathelo

- a) Umbhali uthi kumele oorhulumente be-Afrika baqinisekise le ukuba nkqubo ye-MAP ibandakanya abantu. Kungabi yinkqubo eyenziwa ngoorhulumente kuphela. Okunye kukuba ekugqibeleni abantu base-Afrika kumele bamele impumelelo yabo kwilinge lokuphucula i-Afrika.
- b) Njengokuba kukho imfuneko yokuphumelela ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Khon'ukuze oku kwenzekwe, kufuneka kubandakanywe ubutyebi bendalo obukhoyo, abantu, umhlaba, ubume bemeko yeendawo kunye nelifa. Yiyo loo nto kumele abantu base-Afrika bohlukane nokuba ngabavelisi nabathumeli bemveliso ekrwada kwamanye amazwe.
- c) Kumele kujoliswe ekuphuhliseni kobutyebi babantu ukuqinisekisa ukuba baphila ubomi obuphucukileyo. Ubomi babantu kufuneka buphuculwe kwizinto ezifana nezempilo.

- d) I-MAP kumele ivale umsantsa phakathi kwe-Afrika namazwe ehlabathi kubuchule nolwazi lobuxhakaxhaka. Oku kuya kwenza ukuba i-Afrika ingabekelwa ecaleni kwakhona.
- e) Oorhulumente base-Afrika kumele bakhuphe iimfanelo zabo ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwe-Afrika. Khon'ukuze badlale indima kwinkqubo yelizwe jikelele. Kwelinye icala i-MAP iza kuqwalasela iinkqubo ezikhoyo kwintlalo yelizwe jikelele.

I-MAP iza kujonga nezigqibo ezikhoyo malunga nemibuzo yamatyala, nayo yonke into enxulumene nobudlelwane be-Afrika kwihlabathi jikelele. Nanga amaphepha anxulumene nomsebenzi woorhulumente bamazwe:

- “the Skagen Declaration of the Nordic Prime Ministers;
- the Santa Maria da Feira European Council resolution;
- the Okunawa Communique of the G8;
- the Declaration of the UN Millennium Summit;
- the (Tokyo) Tacad II Declaration;
- the Beijing Declaration; and,
- the OAU Lome decisions”.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

NgokukaLarson (1995), iingcali zolukuhlo zenza umahluko phakathi kwezibheno zengqondo okanye zengqiqo kunye nezemvakalelo. Abalukuhli abaphumelelayo ngabajonga iimfuno zabantu. Apha kweli phetshana, umbhali ubonakala enalo ulwazi lweemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe.

Apha kulukuhlo kuyimfuneko ukuba umlukuhli azazi ngokupheleleyo iimfuno eziphambili kubaphulaphuli bakhe. NgokukaMaslow (1954), abantu baneemfuno ezibalulekileyo kakhulu kunezinye. Ngenxa yoku umlukuhli kumele aqwalasele ezi mfuno ziphambili. Xa ethe wakwenza oku, umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo uya kwamkelwa ngabantu.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka; ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca; ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Kule mihla yangoku, abantu baphila kwilizwe lokhuphiswano oluphezulu, nalapho ubani ekhathalele isiqu sakhe kuphela. Nangona kunjalo, ngokukaPackard (1964), abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa ngento abayenzayo. Kwakhona bafuna ukuziva besenza umahluke phakathi kwabantu abaphila nabo.

Xa kujongwa apha kumhlathi wesixhenxe, umbhali usebenzisa imfuno yokuxabiseka. Amazwi angqina oku afumaneka kumgca wama-80-81, "the process of renewal represented by the MAP is genuinely based among the people". Umbhali ukukhankanya oku ngenxa yokuba efuna ukubonisa ukubaluleka kwabantu nendima abanokuyidlala kwi-MAP. Nabo ke abantu baya kuziva bexabisekile, kwaye baya kuwamkela umyalezo weli phetshana. Umbhali ukubethelela oku kwakhona kumgca wama-86, "This must include the people". Xa abantu bebandakanywa kwezi nkqubo zokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, oko kubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabo. Ngenxa yeso sizathu abaphulaphuli bayakuwamkeka lo myalezo.

Isimilo

Kulo mhlathi wesixhenxe asifumaneki isimilo. Lilonke ukusuka kumgca wama 80-108, asikho isimilo.

Ukungaguququki

Umbhali ukukhankanye ngenjongo oku, kumgca-83-84, "we will have to take advantage of all the comparative advantages we enjoy as African countries", zokuba aqonde umphulaphuli ukuba izinto ziza kuba nje ngakudala zingatshintsi. Oku kuya kwenza umphulaphuli azive ekhululekile. Olu luhlobo lolukuhlo lwesivumelwano. Umbhali ulusebenzise ngenxa yokuba efuna ukunika umphulaphuli imvakalelo yesivumelwano. Le yindlela umbhali omeleza kwaye abethelela ngayo iinkolo zabaphulaphuli bakhe malunga norhulumente.

Imvelaphi yesivumelwano apha kulo mhlathi kukubonisa ngokuqikelela. Umzekelo, urhulumente uza kwenza konke ekusemandleni ukuqinisekisa ukuba i-Afrika ixhamla ubomi bakudala. Lilonke ubukho be-MAP buza nobomi abantu abamele ukuba babuphile kwaye babuvuyele. Umbhali apha kulo mhlathi uthi oku kuza kubandakanya abantu, umhlaba, ubutyebi bendalo obukhoyo, ubume bemeko yendawo nelifa. Bona abaphulaphuli kwelabo icala baqinisekiswe ngobomi obungazi kuguquka.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Umbhali usebenzise ulukuhlo elunesiqulatho esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwingqiqo yesiphumo. Apha kulo mhlathi unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-89, "focus on bridging the digital divide"; Ngeli lixa isiphumo, sifumaneka kumgca wama-89-90, "to make sure our Continent is not condemned to further marginalisation".

Umbhali usinika obunye ubungqina obenziwa ngengqiqo ekulukuhleni abantu. Kumgca wama-91, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, "concentrate on human resource development". Ngeli lixa isiphumo, sifumaneka kumgca wama 91-92, isesi, "to ensure that our peoples have the requisite modern skills and the necessary life." Kumgca wama 94-95, kufumaneka omnye unobangela, "to discharge their national and international obligations". Ngeli lixa isiphumo isesi kumgca wama 95-96, "to play their role in the context of the process of globalisation".

Ukanti ukusuka kumgca wama-97-100 kufumaneka unobangela, "The MAP will also have to take into account existing programmes of international community, existing decisions such as those relating to the debt question, and all other relevant matters that impinge on Africa's relations with the rest of the world". Ngeli lixa yonke le ilandelayo imigca isukela kuma-101-108, "Some of the documents immediately relevant to our work include:

- the Skagen Declaration of the Nordic Prime Minister;
- the SAnta Maria da Feira European Council resolution;
- the Okinawa Communique of the G8
- the Declaration of the UN Millenium Summit;
- the (Tokyo) Ticad II Declaration;
- the Beijing Declaration; and,

- the OAU Lome decisions". isisiphumo esisukela kwi-MAP. Apha umbhali uzisebenzise kakhulu iziqukatho ezisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Injongo zoku kukufuna abantu bakholelwe kurhulumente, kwaye bawamkele lo myalezo weli phetshana.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 8, IMIGCA 109 – 134

(1) Ushwankathelo

- a) Apha kule migca yekhulu elinethoba ukuya kowe-111, umbhali uxelela abantu ngokubaluleka kwenkulungwane ye-Afrika. Ngokombhali i-ANC nabanye beli lizwekazi i-Afrika bazisa ihlabathi liphela ngokuphakamisela phezulu ibhanile yokuvuselela i-Afrika.
- b) I-ANC, ngokutsho kombhali, inoxanduva lokuzidibanisa nabanye oongqondo-ngqondo beli lizwekazi i-Afrika nabe hlabathi liphela. Injongo yoku, kukukhuthaza i-ajenda yoxolo, uzinzo, idemokrasi, inkqubela kunye nempumelelo kwi-Afrika.
- c) Umbhali uthi kumele bazame ukuqinisekisa ukuba abantu bayawamkela le-ajenda njengeyabo. Xa abantu beyithatha njengeyabo le-ajenda baya kutsho bakuqhele ukubamba iindibano zesininzi, ngenxa yokuba befuna ukuphumeza iinjongo zale-ajenda. Oku kubonisa mhlophe ukuba abantu bakulungele ukuwenza lo msebenzi.
- d) Kwakhona asingobantu nje abaqhelekileyo kuphela ababonisa ukulamkela le-ajenda. Kuyacaca nje mhlophe ukuba umkhankaso wokuvuselela i-Afrika uxhaswa nangabasebenzi, isininzi sabantu basemaphandleni, abezoshishino, iinkokheli zakwaLizwi, abezenkcubeko nobugcisa.
- e) Njengokuba uxanduva lweenkokheli ze-Afrika lujoliswe ebantwini, kunyanzelekile ukuba ezikwenzayo apha ngaphakathi eMzantsi Afrika kuhambelane nokwenziwa kwamanye amazwe. Ukunika amandla nenkuthazo kula maqela ancedisayo kule-ajenda, kumele lo nyaka bawubize ngokuba ngunyaka wenkulungwane ye-Afrika. Lo nyaka athetha ngawo umbhali kweli phetshana ngowama-2001.

Onke la maqela kufuneka azisebenzele ngokuzimeleyo nabo ebeqhele ekusebenzisaneni nabo kwihlabathi. Abantu bakwixesha lokudibana njengabantu behlabathi, kubandakanywa oorhulumente noosomashishini ekulweni intlupheko e-Afrika. Kaloku abantu base-Afrika babe ngamaxhoba entlupheko nendlala iinkulungwane ezininzi.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Nalapha kulo mhlathi wesibhozo, umbhali usaqhubeka ebethelela intembeko yakhe khon'ukuze kwamkelwe umyalezo weli phetshana. Ubani xa esenza intetho yolukuhlo usebenzisa izixhobo ezithile ezisetyenziswa kunxibelelwano. Zezi zixhobo ke ekufuneka zaziwe ngumlukuhli. Umlukuhli akapheleli nje ekwazini ezi zixhobo, koko kufuneka abazi abaphulaphuli bakhe. Kufuneka azazi neemfuno zabo.

Ngaloo ndlela ke umlukuhli uba namathuba amakhulu okuphumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe. Xa siqwalasela Kulo mhlathi, umbhali unalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Ngenxa yoku, uthi asebenzise ezona zixhobo zilungele ukuhambisa umyalezo wakhe. NgokukaPackard (1964), inkqubo yeSayikholoji yeyona ithi isetyenziswe kakhulu kulukuhlo, kwaye iyazifezekisa iinjongo zomlukuhli.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), imfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

NgokukaMaslow (1954), abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa kwaye bazive befunwa ngabanye. Yiyo loo nto befuna ukuziva nje ngabenza umahluko phakathi kwabantu. Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali ugxininisa kule mfuno ngenxa yokuba efuna i-ANC ixatyiswe. La mazwi akumgca wama-109, "As a movement, we have to declare this the African Century". Uphinde akungqine oku umbhali ngokuthi, kumgca we-110-111, "we, as the ANC, have raised high the banner of the African Renaissance". Umbhali uwasebenzisa la mazwi ngeenjongo zokuba umbutho wakhe uhlale uxatyiswa ngabantu, kwaye bazingce ngawo.

Kwelinye icala, umbhali uyayazi ukuba nabantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa. Yiyo loo nto ekhankanya la mazwi, kumgca we-111, athi "African Renaissance". Apha ngoku ujolise kwixabiso labantu base-Afrika. Xa i-Afrika inokuvuselelwa kuphele indlela nentlupheko,

izizwe zehlabathi zingabaxabisa abantu bayo. Ngaloo ndlela nabo abantu base-Afrika bakuzingca nge-Afrika yabo.

Uphindile umbhali wayisebenzisa le mfuno ukuzalisekisa iinjongo zakhe. Oku kubonakala kwimigca ye-115-118, "We must strive to ensure that the ordinary people of Africa adopt this agenda as their own, and conduct mass campaigns for its success. It is clear that the African masses are ready and willing to assume these positions". Abantu baya kuziva bebandakanywa kwi-ajenda yenkqubo yokuvuselela i-Afrika. Kwaye oku kuya kubenza bathathe amanyathelo abonakalayo ngokuzibandakanya kwiphulo le-MAP. Ngokwenza njalo baya ngenxa yokuba bebonakalisa ukuwamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Isimilo

Umbhali kulo mhlathi uchaza, okanye ucebisa okumele kwenziwe ukuguqula izimilo zamaqela ngamaqela. Oku kutshintsha kwezimilo zala maqela khon'ukuze akuxhase ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, kumele kubandakanye oku, abantu namashishini abucala. Amazwe abonisa isimilo afumaneka kumgca we-128-130, "We must also encourage all the sectors we have identified, to interact independently with their counterparts in the rest of Africa and elsewhere in the world." La mazwi abonisa kanye ezona njongo nezinto abafuna zenzeke abantu noorhulumente base-Afrika.

Ngale ndlela izimilo zoosomashishini base-Afrika nabamanye amazwe kufuneka ziguquke zingqinelane nezimvo ze-MAP. Kufuneka nokuziphatha kutshintshe xa isimilo somntu sintshintsha. Kubonakala ngathi umbhali unolwazi lokuba, ngokukaEiser (1987), ecatsulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 179), "attitudes have something to do with behaviour and that attitudes can be altered via persuasive messages." Utshintsho lwesimilo olunokuba khona kula maqela, oluxhasa lo myalezo lunokufumaneka nangezimvo. Nangona kunjalo, oko kuluphawu lokuba olu lukuhlo luziphumelele iinjongo zalo.

Ukungaguququki

Phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, apha kulo mhlathi, umbhali usisebenzisile esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Kulapho kufumaneka esi sixhobo, sifumaneka kumgca we-119-122, "It is clear that various sectors throughout the Continent, including the organized workers, rural masses, business people, intellectuals, religious leaders and

workers in arts and culture are ready to participate in the campaign for an African Renaissance”.

Umbhali uzicalula, okanye uwacalula oku la maqela kwintetho yakhe, kumgca we-119-122. Ukwenza oku ngenxa yokuba efuna ukwazisa abantu ukuba onke la maqela akulungele ukuxhasa imvuselelo ye-Afrika. Kwaye akaguquki kwisigqibo sawo. Nkqu ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kuyinto engasoze iguquke.

Abantu bafuna into engaguqukiyo ebomini babo, kungenxa yoku umbhali egxininisa kwesi sixhobo. Umbhali ufuna abantu bazive bonwabile ngokukhankanya oku kukumgca we-119-122. Olu hlobo lolukuhlo lwenzelwe ukuphelisa uluvo loku kungavumelani phakathi kwala maqela novuselelo lwe-Afrika.

Apha kulo mhlathi imvelaphi yokungavumelani isukela ekubeni la maqela alahlekelwa isidima. Yiyo loo nto umbhali ethe wakukhankanya oku kumgca we-119-122. Ngenxa yokuba ufuna ukuba bonke baziguqule izimilo zabo. Bazi ukuba isidima nodumo lwe-Afrika luxhomekeke kubo. Nabo baya kuthi bafumane isidima nodumo lwabo kwakhona.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Isiqulatho solukuhlo kulo mhlathi sixhomekeke kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kwakhona, esi siqulatho solukuhlo siwaxhomekeke nakwisiphumo ukuya kunobangela. Kumgca we-112-113, unobangela ongulo, “link up with other, like-minded forces on our Continent and the rest of the world”. Isiphumo ibe sesi, kumgca we-113-114, “to promote the agenda for peace, stability, democracy, progress and prosperity in Africa”. La mazwi abubungqina obunokubangela abantu bawamkele lo myalezo.

Ngeli lixa kumgca we-123, kufumaneka isiphumo esi sesi, “Year of the African Century”. Emva koko kulandele unobangela, kumgca we-123-124, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, “to energise these sectors and masses into action”. Umbhali ubonisa ingqiqo nolwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe.

Kwakhona umbhali uphindile wasebenzisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo, kwalapha kulo mhlathi. Kumgca we-133 unobangela ongulo, “act together with us”. Ngeli lixa isiphumo

isesi kwalapha kumgca-133, “to end the suffering”. Konke oku kusetyenziselwa ukutshintsha iinkolo, izimilo zabantu ngokunxulumene ne-MAP.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 9, IMIGCA 135 – 148

(1) Ushwankathelo

a) Kumgca we-135-139, abahlobo be-Afrika, bamanye amazwe, bathi abantu base-Afrika mabakuthathele kubo ukumiselwe kweli lizwekazi lwabo. Oku akuthethi ukuba bazibekela kude ekuncediseni kwemvuselelo ye-Afrika.

Njengokuba umbhali ebetshilo kumhlathi wesibhozo ukuba lo nyaka ngowenkulungwane ye-Afrika. Oku ukongeza ngenxa yokuba efuna nokukhankanya isikhumbuzo somnyaka wama-90, se-ANC ngonyaka ka-2002.

b) UMzantsi Afrika ulungiselela ukubamba inkomfa yamazwe amanyeneyo. Le nkomfa iza kugxininisa kakhulu kucalucalulo ngokobuhlanga, uloyiko olungenasizathu sivakalayo lokudibana nabantu basemzini. Kuza kuxoxwa neminye imiba enganyamezelekiyo enxulumeneyo koku.

c) Ukanti kunyaka ka-2002, kwalapha eMzantsi Afrika kuza kubanjelwa ezinye iintlanganiso. Umzekelo, intlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe beqela okanye umbutho i-OAU. Kwakunye nenkomfa yehlabathi engobume bemeko yendalo.

d) Ezi ziganeko ziyimbali engumthwalo nemfanelo ye-ANC namanye amaqela akhokhelayo ekuziseni inguqu yentlalo eMzantsi Afrika.

e) Kumele komelezwe inkqubo yophuhliso nokwakhiwa eMzantsi Afrika. Oku makwenziwe ngamandlakazi nokubandakanyeka komntu wonke weli, uMzantsi Afrika ukutsho.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Nalapha kulo mhlathi umbhali wenza ulukuhlo. Umbhali ubonakalisa ukuba nalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Lolu lwazi olubangela umlukuhli aphumelele kulukuhlo

Iwakhe. Zikhona ezona mfuno ziphambili nezingundoqo ezifunwa ngumntu wonke. Zikho iimfuno zomzimba nezemvakalelo. Kodwa zonke zisekelwe kwiSayikholoji. Oku kubizwa ngokuba yinkqubo yeSayikholoji ngenxa yokuba intetho yolukuhlo isenza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo sisebenza kakhulu kwiimeko ezifana nale iza nombhali kweli phetshana.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokhuseleko

Lo mhlathi uzama ukubonisa abantu ukuba imfuno yokhuseleko nayo ibalulekile. Nangona zikhona iimfuno eziphambili ezinje ngokutya, amanzi, ukulala, nezinye, xa lungekho ukhuseleko azinakonwatyelwa ezinye iimfuno. Yiyo le nto ethe wayifaka umbhali, esenzela ukuba kwamkelwe umyalezo wakhe.

Amazwi akumgca we-144-148, athi, "These historic events impose an obligation on the ANC and the rest of our country's democratic movement to discharge their historic responsibility as the leader of the process of social transformation in our country. We have to advance the programme for the reconstruction and development of our country with the greatest vigour and popular involvement".

Le mfuno yokhuselo lwemvakalelo, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokhuseleko ngokukaMaslow (1954), isetyenzisiwe ngumbhali. Oku ukwenza kuba ephawula ukuba abantu baziva bengakhuselekanga kwimiba yokuphuhliswa nokwakhiwa ngokutsha koMzantsi Afrika. Ngako oko, uza kuyiphumeza imfuno yabo yokhuseleko.

Abantu bangaziva bekhuselekile ngenxa yokuba i-ANC iza kuzisa ulwakhiwo nophuhliso kwintlalo yabantu baseMzantsi Afrika. Ngenxa yoku umsebenzi osezandleni ze-ANC makwaziwe ukuba uphethwe liqela elithembekileyo, kwaye uza kuphathwa kakuhle.

Imfuno yokuzingca, ngokukaMaslow (1954), nemfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964)

Abantu, ngokukaMaslow (1954), bafuna ukuziva befunwa kwaye besamkelwa ngabanye. Yiyo loo nto abantu befuna ukuziva bexabisekile kwaye besenza umahluko kwiindawo abahlala kuzo. Apha le mfuno ifumaneka kumgca we-135-140.

Umbhali uyigxininise le mfuno ngokusebenzisa amagama amaninzi angqina ukuzingca nokuqinisekisa uxabiseko lwe-Afrika nabantu bayo. Okokuqala kumgca we-135-136, "take charge of our destiny". Okwesibini kumgca we-137, "African Century". Okwesithathu kumgca we-138, "90th Anniversary of the ANC". Okwesine kumgca we-140, "host the UN Conference on Racism".

La ngamazwi akhuthaza naphembelela imvakalelo zabaphulaphuli. Njengokuba wonke umntu wase-Afrika elufuna uphuhliso lwe-Afrika kungalula ukuwamkela lo myalezo. Umbhali ukukhankanye oku konke oku, ngenxa yokuba esazi ukuba wonke umntu uyazidla ngelizwe, ngesiqu nangenkokheli yakhe.

Isimilo

Nangona umbhali ewakhankanya la mazwi kweli phetshana lakhe, abonisa isimilo wona akafumaneki. Lilonke apha kulo mhlathi asikho isimilo.

Ukungaguquguquki

Nawo amazwi abonisa ukungaguquguquki awafumaneki kulo mhlathi wethoba.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Naso isiqulatho asifumaneki kulo mhlathi. Zininzi izixhobo eziqhelekileyo ukuba zisetyenziswe kulukuhlo, ezingekhoyo apha kulo mhlathi. Nangona kunjalo nawo wenzelwe ukulukuhla abantu, khon'ukuze bamkele umyalezo weli phetshana.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 10, IMIGCA 149 – 158**(1) Ushwankathelo**

- a) Kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe eDavos kulindeleke ukuba amazwe ase-Afrika angabadanisi abathathi nkxaxheba ababalulekileyo. Kaloku abazange babadanise ekulweni ubandlulule eMzantsi Afrika. Nto ke leyo eyenza ukuba kudalwe uxolo, ukupheliswa kobuhlanga, idemokrasi, ukungacalulani ngokwesini, nempumelelo yoluntu.
- b) Aba bathathi nkxaxheba babalulekileyo bakulungele ukusixhasa ukuba thina bantu base-Afrika sikulungele kwaye sizimisele kwi-ajenda esiyenzileyo.
- c) Bakumlinganiselo olungileyo oqhutywa kukubona ukuba bonke abantu ngaboluntu olufanayo. Ngako oko, kumele i-Afrika izame ukukhuphisana neeyantlakwano zentlalo elizweni jikelele. Ngamanye amazwi i-Afrika kufuneka ibe sezingeni lokukhuphisana namanye amazwe kwezoqoqosho, ezentlalo, ezopolitiko nakwezinye izinto.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo**Iimfuno**

Njengokuba umlukuhli kufuneka abonise ulwazi analo ngabaphulaphuli bakhe khon'ukuze aphumelele kwintetho yolukuhlo, nalapha kulo mhlathi umbhali ukwenzile oko. Kwakhona kufuneka abe nolwazi lweemfuno zabantu afuna ukubalukuhla. Zezona zinto zibalulekileyo ekufuneka abe nazo umntu phambi kokwenza intetho yolukuhlo lwakhe.

Xa siqwalasela lo mhlathi weshumi, apha umbhali akazisebenzisanga iimfuno nje ngezixhobo zolukuhlo lwakhe. Nangona kunjalo, umbhali uthe wasebenzisa ezinye izixhobo zolukuhlo Kulo mhlathi. Ukungasebenzisi kwakhe "iimfuno" apha kulo mhlathi akuthethi ukuba akanazo iinjongo zokulukuhla. Kwaye akuthethi ukuba akanakho ukuluphumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe. Kananjalo, kungathethi ukuba aluzukwamkelwa ulukuhlo lwakhe.

Isimilo

Apha kumgca we-149-151, umbhali uzama ukubonisa abantu ngento abamele ukuba bayayenza. Oku kwenza okokuba batshintshe izimilo zabo ngakurhulumente. Nkqu amalungu abalulekileyo kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe kumele atshintshe isimilo sawo ngoorhulumente base-Afrika.

Njengokuba oorhulumente base-Afrika neenkokheli ze-Afrika zakulwa ukucinezelwa, kumele nalapha kwiphulo le-Map kubekho impumelelo. La mazwi, “The distinguished participants at the Davos Summit expect that we will not fail them, as we have not failed them in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid legacy”. Oku kufumaneka kumgca we-149-151.

Umbhali usebenzisa la mazwi ngenxa yokuba efuna abantu bazive bekhululekile. Olu hlobo lolukuhlo lwenzelwe ukunika abaphulaphuli uluvo lwesivumelwano, kulapho iinkolo zabo ngoorhulumente zibethelelwa.

Kule meko, imvelaphi yesivumelwano luqinisekiso lokhuseleko. Lilonke urhulumente ufuna ukuqinisekisa abantu ukuba mabazive bekhuselekile. Ngokuthembela kurhulumente akusoze kuphinde kubekhe ngcinezelo, nokuba yayaluphi na uhlobo.

Ukungaguququki

Lo mhlathi awunaso isixhobo solukuhlo esibhekiselele ekungaguqukini.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Umbhali apha kulo mhlathi usebenzise ulukuhlo olunesiqulatho esixhomekeke kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kumgca we-155-156, “all of us belong to a common human society”. Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-156-158, “a new internationalism, or read itself to contend with enormous globalised social conflicts”. Le ndlela awasebenzise ngayo la mazwi umbhali, yindlela anika ngayo ubungqina obuqiqiweyo. Bobu bungqina obuza kubangela abaphulaphuli bawamkele lo myalezo. Kwaye bamkele nawo onke amacebo karhulumente akhokelela ekupheliseni indlela nasekuphuhliseni i-Afrika.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 11, IMIGCA 159 – 164**(1) Ushwankathelo**

- a) Kwintlanganiso yokugqibela eyayi ngomhla wama-29 kulo nyaka, kwathiwa i-Afrika mayinikwe ithuba. Oku kwathethwa yingqonyela uKlaus Schwab. Inggonyela le ingumongameli we-WEF, kwaye yenze esi sibheni kubathathi nkxaxheba kwezi ntlanganiso ibise Davos.
- b) Umbhali uthi abantu base-Afrika mabasuke bazibuze ukuba bangakwazi ukwenza abamele ukukwenza na? Ukwenzela ukuba abantu behlabathi babanike eli thuba lokwenza izinto ngokwabo. Konke oku kuxhomekeke emagxeni ama-Afrika. Lilonke icekwa lilele kuma-Afrika.

Ngabantu base-Afrika abamele babonise umdla kulwaxhiwo lwe-Afrika. Kumele bazibandakanye kwiintshukumo nezenzo ezibonisa ukulamkela kwabo eli phetshana. Oku kunokukhokhelela ukubeni namanye amazwe, oosomeshishini babucala balixhase ngokupheleleyo iphulo le-MAP. Kwaye izimvo zayo zingayimpumelelo.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo**Iimfuno**

Apha kulo mhlathi weshumi elinanye umbhali akasisebenzisanga isixhobo ekuthiwa, ziimfuno. Kodwa oku akuthethi ukuba umbhali akazazi iimfuno zabantu. Okanye abantu abanazo izinto abathi babe bayazifuna.

Kwakhona, oku akuthethi ukuba umbhali akanalwazi lwabaphulaphuli. Umbhali uthe wasebenzisa ezinye izixhobo ezikwa fumaneka phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Nto ke leyo ebonisayo ukuba umbhali uneenjongo zokulukuhla abantu ukuba bawamkele lo myalezo. Njengokuba iimfuno zingafumaneki apha kulo mhlathi, umbhali ekayekanga ukusebenzisa iinkqubo zeSayikholoji. Amagama afana no-“we”, “us”, namanye athe asetyenziswa ukwenza isibheni ezingqondweni zabantu.

Isimilo

Umbhali apha kulo mhlathi weshumi elinanye uzama ukukhuthaza abantu bamazwe ehlabathini bayifumane ilungile into ye-MAP. Ngamanye amazwi okwenziwa yi-Afrika kufuneka kuvunywe ngamazwe ehlabathini. Kungca we-159-161, “During our last night at Davos, on Monday 29th, the President of the WEF, Professor Klaus Schwab, appealed to the assembled world press – give Africa a chance! give Africa’s leaders a chance!”.

Yindlela umbhali afuna ngayo ukuba abantu bazive bekhululekile kwaye bonwabile. Apha umbhali usebenzisa uhlobo lolukuhlo olunika abaphulaphuli uluvo lwesivumelwano. Umbhali ubethelela iinkolo zabantu kurhulumente. Kwangaxesha nye, ubethelela iinkolo zabantu bamazwe angaphandle ngoorhulumente be-Afrika.

Xa kuza kuqwalaselwa lo mhlathi, kusetyenziswe imvelaphi yesivumelwano eqinisekisa ukuzingca, okanye ukuxabiseka. Amazwi athi, “give Africa a chance! give Africa’s leaders a chance!, kungca we-150-151, ebonisa ukuba ama-Afrika anakho ukuzenzela izinto. Ngako oko,, kumele abantu behlabathi bathembele kwintshukumo namandla eenkokheli zase-Afrika.

Ukungaguquguquki

Umbhali akasisebenzisanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo apha kulo mhlathi.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Apha kulo mhlathi weshumi elinanye umbhali usebenzise ulukuhlo olunesiqulatho esixhomekeke kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Oku kufumaneka kungca we-152-153, kukho unobangela ongulo, “we will do the things we have to do”. Ukanti isiphumo soku sifumaneka kungca we-153, “to enable the peoples of the world to give us that chance”.

Umbhali unika ubungqina bakhe ngokuthi asebenzise la mazwi aseNtla. Ngokwenza ngolu hlobo, umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo lwakhe. Kwakhona, abantu bayayazi ukuba umsebenzi usemagxeni abo beneedisana noorhulumente.

4.2.3 Uhlalutyo

Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umbhali weli phetshana ubonakalisa isakhono sokukwazi ukulukuhla. Kuyabonakala ukuba uyabazi abaphulaphuli bakhe, kwaye uyazazi neemfuno zabo. Ngenxa yolwazi analo ngabaphulaphuli bakhe, uthe wachonga izixhobo ezithile zolukuhlo. Ezi zixhobo uzisebenzisele ukwenza isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Umbhali ukwabonakalisa ingqiqo nobuchule ekwenzeni oku, ngokusebenzisa iinkqubo zeSayikholoji, kwintetho yakhe.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokhuseleko

A. Ushwankathelo

Phantse wonke umntu uyayazi imo yentlalo kwihlabathi liphela. Le ntlalo ayintlanga ngenxa yokuba abantu baziva bengakhuselekanga. Oku kungqinwa nguPackard (1964) xa ethetha ngemfuno yokhuseleko lwemvakalelo, “We are living in one of the most insecure eras in human history”. Oku kuthetha ukuba kukho imfuno enkulu yokhuseleko ebantwini.

Zininzi izinto ezibangela uloyiko ebantwini nezibabangela ukuba balufune ukhuseleko. NgokukaMaslow (1954), “the need for security emerges and reemerges as various threats to our security become evident and must be met”. Umbhali ubabonile abantu baseMzantsi Afrika nabe-Afrika jikelele ukuba bafuna ukhuseleko kwezopolitiko, kwezentlalo, kushishino, nakwezoqoqosho.

Olu hlobo lwesixhobo solukuhlo umbhali usebenzisa kathathu kweli phetshana lakhe. Okokuqala usebenzisa kumhlathi wokuqala, kumgca-3-4, ngala mazwi, “a strong delegation comprising the government, business, civil society and the media”. Umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba efuna abantu bazive bekhuselekile, khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana.

Okwesibini, umbhali usebenzisa kumhlathi wesithathu kumgca-18–19, “we spent some time meeting the political leadership of the developed world – the North”. Umbhali uthe

wawakhankanya amagama ezi nkokheli kweli phetshana lakhe. Oku ukwenze ngeenjonge zokuba abantu baqiniseke ngokhuseleko lwabo. Kaloku xa kukho iinkokheli zamazwe aseNtla naphucukileyo, oku kuthetha ukuba abantu base-Afrika nabo baya kuphucuka. Apha kulo mhlathi sisetyenziswe kakhulu esi sixhobo solukuhlo.

Okwesithathu, umbhali uyakubethelela ukunika ithemba lokhuseleko ebantwini. Kumhlathi we-9, kumgca we-144-148, kukho la mazwi abonisa ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo solukuhlo. "These historic events impose an obligation on the ANC and the rest of our country's democratic movements to discharge their historic responsibility as the leader of the process of social transformation in our country". Umbhali uzama ukufezekisa imfuno yokhuseleko ebantwini. Kaloku amaqela athile kwezopolitiko naseburhulumenteni athi angabaqinisekisi abantu ngokhuseleko, aye aphulukane nenkxaso.

B. Ugxeko

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe ngempumelelo. Le mpumelelo ibonakala kwiintshukumo zabantu base-Afrika eziwuxhasayo umyalezo weli phetshana. Phantse bonke abantu base-Afrika bayakufuna ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, khon'ukuze kuphele ezinto ezifana neemfazwe, indlala, intlupheko kunye nokungafundi kwabantu. Iinkokheli zopolitiko nezoorhulumente kunye nabantu base-Afrika babonisa ukuzibophelela kuvuselelo lwe-Afrika.

Ukanti namazwe aseNtla ayayibethelela, eyiqinisekisa imfuno yokhuseleko, ngokuthi alixhase ngemali nangezinye izinto iphulo lokuvuselela i-Afrika. Ngaphandle kwale nkxaso, ilizwekazi le-Afrika beliza kuba semngciphekweni wokulahlekelwa yimali, ngoba liyahlupheka.

Nangona ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo kube nempumelelo. Ubani angatsho ukuba umbhali akasisebenzisanga ngokwaneleyo kweli phetshana. Bekufanele ukuba yeyona mfuno ayisebenzise nagxininise kuyo ngamandla. Abantu bayayazi ukuba i-Afrika ineengxaki zeemfazwe zekhaya nezobuhlanga. Kungeso sizathu kumele, ubani wenza intetho yolukuhlo, abaqinisekise ngokhuseleko, ngokuthi alubandakanye phantse kuyo yonke imihlathi yentetho okanye yeli phetshana lakhe. Umbhali usilele ekwenzeni oko. Yiyo le nto icotha inkqubo yeli phulo.

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno kaMaslow (1954)

A. Ushwankathelo

Kwihlabathi liphela abantu baziva bengenaxabiso xa bejongelwe phantsi. Naxa kunganconywa abakwenzayo ngabantu abahlala nabo, baziva bengaxabisekanga. Yiyo loo nto imfuno yokuxabiseka ibalulekile ebantwini.

Xa sijonga imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, uLarson (1995, p. 163) uthi, ngokukaPackard (1964), "people need to feel valued for what they do". Nokuba umntu uphantsi kwawuphi na umgangatho wentlalo. Nokuba usisityebi okanye ulihlwempu, nokuba usebenza kumsebenzi okwizinga eliphezulu okanye akasebenzi. Bonke aba bantu bakufuna ngokulinganayo ukuxabiseka. Xa beziva bexabisekile, batsho bazingce. NgokukaMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173), "We want to feel wanted and valued as human beings".

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca, ngokukaMaslow (1954), zithe zasetyenziswa ngumbhali kweli phetshana. Umbhali ukusebenzise oku njengesixhobo esibalulekileyo kuluhuhlo khon'ukuze afezekise iinjongo zakhe.

Apha kweli phetshana esi sixhobo sifumaneka amaxesha asixhenxe. Oku kuthetha ukuba umbhali usebenzisa kasixhenxe esi sixhobo apha kweli phetshana. Uqale kumhlathi wokuqala, kumgca we-5-6, "led by one of our outstanding musicians". Oku kubonisa ukuba uMzantsi Afrika uneqela lomculo elithandekayo nelixabisekileyo. Ukubethelela ukuzingca ebantwini, umbhali usebenzisa la mazwi, kumgca-7-8, "became truly the talk of the town".

Okwesibini, umbhali athe wasisebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo kumhlathi wesine. Kulo mhlathi umbhali uzama ukubonisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngokuxatyiswa koMzantsi Afrika ngamanye amazwe. Amazwi asetyenzisiweyo ukungqina oku ngala, kumgca wama-53-55, "the African heads of State and government agreed that the Presidents of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP and circulate it". Ukubandakanywa koMzantsi Afrika kolu yilo le-MAP kuthetha ukuba abantu mabazingce ngokuxatyiswa kwabo nelizwe lwabo.

Okwesithathu, le mfuno isetyenzisiwe kumhlathi wesihlanu. Kungca-56-57, "Together with our colleagues, as well as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), we have been working on the first drafts of the MAP". Le yindlela umbhali afuna ngayo ukuba nabo beziinkokheli, mabaxatyiswe ngako konke abakwenzayo.

Kwelinye icala eyona ngxaki enokuba phambili yimali enokuqhubekisa eliphulo khon'ukuze libe nempumelelo. Yiyo le nto kufuneka baxatyiswe nabo abo baxhasa eli phulo ngemali. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi athi, kungca-65-66, "we should bring the private sector on board now". La mazwi enza isibheni ezingqondweni zoosomashishini babucala.

Okwesine, umbhali apha kumhlathi wesithandathu ugxininisa ebekhe wakutsho kumhlathi wesithathu. Kulapho ebesenza indlela yokuba baxatyiswe nabo beziinkokheli. Kulo mhlathi usebenzisa esi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba efuna abantu bazingce ngoorhulumente babo. Kungca wama-71-72, "Africa's political leadership was taking the responsibility". Ngale ndlela abantu bangathembela koorhulumente neenkokheli ngenxa yokuba zibonisa ukwazi ukuqulunqa i-MAP.

Okwesihlanu, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe ngeyona ndlela eyenza isibheni ezingqondweni zabantu. Kungca wama-80-81, "the process of renewal represented by the MAP is genuinely based among the people". Oku kusetyenziselwe ukubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu. Ngako oko,, xa besiva la mazwi baya kuthi bazive benexabiso kwaye bazingce ngegalelo lwabo.

Okwesithandathu, kungca we-110-111, "we, as the ANC, have raised high the banner of the African Renaissance;" kukho la mazwi abonisa le mfuno. La mazwi umbhali uwasebenzisela umbutho wakhe. Oku kuthetha ukuba umbhali ufuna i-ANC ihlale ingumbutho oxatyisiweyo ngabantu, nabanokuthi bazingce ngawo.

Kwelinye icala umbhali uyakugxininisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu jikelele. Oku kungqinwa kungca we-115-118, "We must strive to ensure that the ordinary people of Africa adopt this agenda as their own, and conduct mass campaigns for its success. It is clear that the African masses are ready and willing to assume these positions". Xa abantu bebandakanywa kwaye bethatha inkxaxheba kwi-ajenda, baya kuzingca ngenxa yokuba bebona ukuxatyiswa kwabo.

Okwesixhenxe, kwesi isihlandlo le mfuno ethe yasetyenziswa kaninzi, khon'ukuze ibetheleleke kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Kwakhona umbhali usisebenzisele ukuphemelela imvakalelo zabantu. Kule migca ye-135-136, "take charge of our destiny; kumgca we-137 "African Century"; okwesithathu kumgca we-138 "90th Anniversary of the ANC"; okokugqibela kumgca we-140 "host the Conference on Racism". Umbhali uzama ukubonisa ukuba wonke umntu kufuneka azingce nge-Afrika. Kwaye khon'ukuze ixatyiswe zezinye izizwe kufuneka wonke umntu athathe inkxaxheba.

B. Ugxeko

Umbhali uthe wenza uphando phambi kokuba enze umkhankaso wokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Uphando lwakhe, kukhangeleka ngathi limxelela ukuba ama-Afrika ayephila intlalo engcono phambi kobuKholoniyali. Emva koko abantu bacinezela, balahlekelwa ngamasiko nezithethe. Ngoku abantu bafuna ukubuyela kwe-Afrika endala. Ngako oko, esi sixhobo senza kanye le nto ifunwa sisithethi. Kaloku apha esi sixhobo sisetyenziselwe ukuba abantu mabamkele lo myalezo weli phetshana. Ngenxa yokuba abantu base-Afrika bekufuna ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, iinjongo zolu lukuhlo ziya kuthi zifezekiseke.

limfazwe, indlala, intlupheko, ukungafundi, ukungaphangeli zizinto ezingafunwayo ngabantu base-Afrika. Yiyo le nto beza kuyixhasa i-MAP, ngokuthatha inkxaxheba nangokuzibandakanya kumaphule angokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Xa abantu benconywa ngento abayenzayo batsho bakhuthazeke. Ngoko ke indlela athe wasisebenzisa ngayo esi sixhobo iyancomeka. Kwaye ibonisa ukuba, ngokukaPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 163), "people need to feel that they are accomplishing something of value, ... and are appreciated by others". Oku kube yimpumelelo.

Imfuno yamandla

A. Ushwankathelo

Le yimfuno ethi isetyenziswe ngumlukuhli xa ebona ukuba kukho imfuneko yoko. Umzekelo, ukuba umlukuhli ubonisa amandla anawo kubaphulaphuli, okanye ubonisa amandla abanawo abaphulaphuli. NgokukaPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson 91995, p. 168), "every major candidate ... has to demonstrate physical and psychological strength or power". Oku kuthetha ukuba iinkokheli engabonakalisi mandla iye ingonyulwa.

Kwangaxesha nye nabapulaphuli abangabonakalisi mandla okusingatha umba othile, bangazibona bengenankxaso kulo mba.

Olu hlobo lwesixhobo solukuhlo kweli phetshana sisetyenziswe amaxesha amabini kuphela. Okokuqala, kumgca we-12, “we had to carry out this task”. Umbhali uwasebenzisa la mazwi ngenxa yokuba efuna ukubonisa amandla anawo uMzantsi Afrika ngokuthwala imicimbi ye-Afrika. Iinjongo zombhali kukufuna abantu bawamkele lo myalezo.

Kwakhona amazwi athi, kumgca-9-10, “presentation to the world corporate leadership” angqinwa ngamazwi akumgca-10-11, “adoption of a Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP);” abonisa ubungqina bamandla oMzantsi Afrika nabantu bawo. Abantu baziva bebakhulu kwaye benamandla xa besiva amagama eenkokheli zase-Afrika ezinegalelo.

Okwesibini, le mfuno yamandla isetyenziswe kumhlathi wesithathu, kumgca wama-47. La ngamazwi angqina oku, “as the current Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement”. Umbhali ukhankanya nezinye iziganeko, ezifana neengxoxo abathe banazo neenkokheli zamanye amazwe. Wonke ubani xa ekwindawo efana nolawulo, nokuba kuphi na, ufuna ukuziva enamandla. Ngako oko,, umbhali ufuna abantu bathembele kumandla karhulumente naweenkokheli zabo. Le yindlela afuna ngayo ulwamkelo lwalo myalezo ngabantu.

B. Ugxeko

Umbhali akayisebenzisanga kakhulu le mfuno ngenxa yokuba engafuni kube ngathi ziinkokheli okanye oorhulumente kuphela abanamandla. Kwelinye icala, akafuni kunika abantu amandla amakhulu. Ngale ndlela abantu akululanga ukuba bawabone amandla enkokheli engaphaya kwawabo. Nawabo atsho alingane naweenkokheli zabo.

Oku kubonisa ukuba inkxaso yabantu isetyenziselwa nje ukwanelisa nokufezekisa iimfuno zeenkokheli kuphela. Umzekelo, xa kuza kuvotwa, abantu baye baqinisekise ngemfuno yamandla. Emva kokusebenzisa amandla abo ekwanyuleni nasekuvoteleni umntu othile, bayalithyalwa nguloo mntu. Kwanga ukuphumelela kwe-MAP kungazisa ubuntu e-Afrika.

Isimilo

A. Ushwankathelo

Esi sesinye isixhobo solukuhlo esithetha lukhulu ngokutshintshwa kwesimilo nokuziphatha ebantwini. Nangona kunjalo, oku kuxhomekeka kwiinjongo zomntu ngokuziphatha. Yiyo le nto ukutshintsha kwesimilo kubonwa ngeentshukumo zomntu ezincomayo okanye ezichaseneyo nezomnye. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 176) oku kungqinwa nguEagley noChaiken (1993), "... attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor of disfavor".

Umbhali athe wasisebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo ngenxa yokuba efuna abantu batshintshe izimila zabo ezigxekayo, bancome umyalezo weli phetshana. Oku kutshintsha kwesimilo kujoliswe nakwiinkokheli zamanye amazwe, kananjalo koosomashishini khon'ukuze bafake isandla kwimvuselele ye-Afrika.

Umbhali uzizalisekisa iinjongo zakhe ngokuthi asisebenzise amaxesha amahlanu esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Uqale ngokusisebenzisa kumhlathi wesine, kumgca wama-49-50, "countries of the North express firm commitment". La mazwe aseNtla ayenesimilo esibi ngakwi-Afrika, kodwa aguquka ngoku bonisa ukutshintsha kwesimile sawo ngokuthi azibophelele ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika. Ngako oko, nabantu base-Afrika mababe nezimilo ezivumelana nokwakhiwa ngokutsha kwe-Afrika. Kulula ukwamkelwa kweli phetshana ngabantu xa encedisa amazwe asele etyebile.

Okwesibini, kumhlathi wesihlanu apha umbhali uzama ukutshintsha izimilo zoosomashishini babucala. Kumgca-62-64, "whatever plans we produce in the end, these will not succeed without the involvement and support of the domestic and global private sector". Abantu bonke e-Afrika bayakuxhasa ukwakhiwa kwe-Afrika ngokutsha. Oku kungaphumelela kuphela xa izimilo zoongxowankulu zinokuhambelana ne-MAP.

Okwesithathu, umbhali usebenzisa kumhlathi wesibhozo, kumgca-128-130, "We must also encourage all the sectors we have identified, to interact independently with their counterparts". Umbhali ufuna izimilo zoosomashishini zingqinelane nokwakhiwa kwe-Afrika ngokutsha. Esi sixhobo sibonakala sisebenza ngokweminqweno yombhali.

Okwesine, Esi sixhobo solukuhlo siyafumaneka kumhlathi weshumi, kimgca-149-151, "The distinguished participants at the Davos Summit expect that we will not fail them, as we have not failed them in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid legacy". Umbhali ukusebenzisa oku ngenxa yokuba efuna uluvo lwesivumelwano kwezi nkokheli zamazwe ehlabathini zithatha inkxaxheba kulwakhiwo lwe-Afrika, noluvo lwesivumelwano ebantwini jikelele khon'ukuze bayixhase i-MAP.

Okwesihlanu, kusetyenziswa amazwi okubethelela utshintsho kwizimilo zabantu, nokuba ngabantu nje abaqhelekileyo okanye abahloniphekileyo. Apha kumhlathi weshumi elinanye, kumgca we-159-161, "During our last night at Davos, on Monday 29th , the President of the WEF, Professor Klaus Schwab, appealed to the assembled world press- give Africa a chance! give Africa's leaders a chance". Yindlela le umbhali abethelela ugayo iinkolo zabantu ngokwezimvo nezimilo zabo ngorhulumente. Umbhali ukwatshintsha izimilo zamazwe angaphandle, efuna zivumelane nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

B. Ugxeko

Nokuba umntu angenza intetho entle, ukuba izimilo zabaphulaphuli azitshintshi zibe ngendlela afuna ngayo umlukuhli, olo lukuhlo luyafa. Kuyancomeka okwenziwa ngumbhali, ngenxa yokuba abantu, oorhulumente bamanye amazwe, kunye nabezoshishino baye batshintsha izimilo. Ngenxa yoku kutshintsha kwezimilo, iphulo le-MAP libonakalisa inkqubela emangalisayo. Umbhali uye wajolisa ngqo kwezi ntlobo zabantu, nto ethe yenza inkqubela.

Ukungaguququki

A. Ushwankathelo

Abantu bafuna ukuva intetho engaguqukiyo kulwazi abanalo ngomba othile. Ngoko ke umlukuhli obonisa ukungaguququki uye awubone umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo sele usamkelwa ngabaphulaphuli. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 182), "... human beings feel comfortable when the world lives up to or operates consistently with their perceptions of or predictions about events".

Apha kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo amaxesha amane. Uqale kumhlathi wokuqala kumgca wokuqala, “annual Summit Meeting”. Ubukho bale ntlanganiso busisiqhelo kulapho uMzantsi Afrika uqhele ukuthabatha inkxaxheba. Ngoko ke abaphulaphuli mabaqiniseke ukuba oku akusoze kuguququke. Kwakho oku kugxininiswa ngala mazwi akumgca we-3, “As usual”.

Okwesibini, kumhlathi wesine, kumgca wama-49-50, “the entire political leadership of the countries of the North express firm commitment”. La mazwi ebonisa ukuba oku kuzibophelela kwala mazwe akusoze kuguququke. Ngoko ke abantu bangathembela babeke uloyiko ecaleni, kumazwe aseNtla. Esi sixhobo sisebenze ngempumelelo ngenxa yokuba abantu abaninzi e-Afrika baziva bekhuselekile yinkxaso yamazwe aseNtla. Yiyo le nto bewamkela lo myalezo weli phetshana.

Okwesithathu, ukungaguququki kusetyenziswe kumhlathi wesixhenxe, kumgca wama-83-84, “we will have to take advantage of all the comparative advantages we enjoy as African countries”. Le yindlela umbhali anika ngayo umphulaphuli indlela yesivumelwano. Ngenxa yokuba abantu base-Afrika baza kubuyela kwizinto nendlela ababephila ngazo ngaphambili.

Okwesine, umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo kumhlathi wesibhozo, kumgca we-119-122 “It is clear that various sectors throughout the Continent, ... are ready to participate in the campaign for an African Renaissance”. Isigqibo esingaguqukiyo esithathwe ngalamaqela ekuxhaseni iphulo le-MAP, sibonisa intembeko ebantwini. Ngenxa yoku, abantu babonisa ulwamkelo lwabo kweli phetshana ngokuthi baxhase i-MAP.

B. Ugxeko

Kule mihla abantu base-Afrika bazibona bengamakhoba ezinto ezininzi izebangelwa kukuguququka. Umzekelo, iinkokheli zopolitiko zithembisa abantu ngemisebenzi, izindlu, ezempilo, imfundo yasimahla, xa sukube zifuna isihlalo. Emva koko ziguquke zenze okuchasene nezo zithembiso zazo.

Apha kweli phetshana le mfuno yokungaguququki ayisetyenziswanga ngendlela ecacileyo enokuthi ibaqinisekise abantu ukuba ngokwenene akukho nto iza kuguquka

kwixesha elizayo. Kaloku awona mazwe anamandla kwezoqoqosho ngala abangela le mo ikuyo i-Afrika. Ngamanye amazwi xa enokurhoxa ekuxhaseni i-MAP la mazwe, iindibano zarhoqo ukuphela konyaka zingaguqulwa. Zingakho nanini na iinkokheli zase-Afrika ziziva zisemandleni okudibana, ngenxa yokuba konke oku kuxhomekeka kubukho bemali eyaneleyo.

Nangona kunjalo, ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo kube yimpumelelo. Kaloku umbhali uzama ukubonisa wonke umntu ngokungaguququki kwe-Afrika kwiphulo layo. Le nto ithi ibangele nezinye izizwe zibe nomdla wokuncedisa. Kwintetho yakhe elandelayo umbhali kufuneka abe nokugxininisa kule ndawo yokungaguququki, khon'ukuze abantu bangabi namathandabuze ngekamva lwabo ekuxhaseni imvuselelo ye-Afrika.

Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

A. Ushwankathelo

Apha kweli phetshana isiqulatho sesona sixhobo solukuhlo sithe sasetyenziswa xa kuthlekiswa nezinye. Umbhale ukwenze oku ngokufuna ukuba abantu bayayazi eyona nto athetha ngayo, neenjongo zayo. Esi sixhobo sixhomekeke kubuchule bokukwazi ukuxoxa nokuqiqa. Kaloku ayinakuzifizekisa iinjongo zayo imiyalezo yolukuhlo xa isithethi singenabo ubuchule nendlela yokuqiqa. Olu hlobo lolukuhlo, NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 194), "... frequently operates in enthymemes is based on people's ability to think logically or rationally". Obu buchule bokuxoxa ngengqiqo kubonakaliswe amaxesha alithoba apha kweli phetshana.

Oku kuqale kwabonakaliswa kumhlathi wesibini kumgca we-9-10, "Our principal task at the Summit Meeting was the presentation to the world corporate leadership of the concept". Oku kungunobangela, ngenxa yokuba kusetyenziswe unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Ukuze ke isiphumo sifumaneke kumgca we-10-11, "the process leading to the adoption of a Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP)".

Umbhali ukungqina oku ngala mazwi akumgca we-9-12, "the presentation to the world corporate leadership"; "we had to carry out this task together". Lo myalezo uthi wamkeleke ngenxa yesiqulatho neenjongo zawo ezicacileyo ebantwini.

Okwesibini, kumhlathi wesithathu kusetyenziswe isiqulatho esixhomekeke kwingqiqo ngeempawu. Umlukuhli ulusebenzisa olu hlobo khon'ukuze athathele Kulo izigqibo. Kungca wama-44-46, "present to these political leaders the imperative of addressing especially the challenges of African development". Oku kuzi mpawu zokuba zikhona iingxaki ezifana nendlala, izifo, iimfazwe, ubuhlwempu, nezinye ezambethe i-Afrika. Le yenye yeendlela zokwenza abaphulaphuli bazibone beguquka kwiinkolo zabo bazibandakanye nomyalezo wolukuhlo.

Okwesithathu, kungca wama-54-55, "the Presidents of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP". Esi sisiqulatho esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwingqiqo yesiphumo. Zona iindlela athe wabonakalisa ngazo iindlela zobuchule ekukwazini ukunxulumanisa intetho yakhe. Uthe wabonakalisa ngokuthi asibonakalise isiphumo ngokuthi isiphumo, kukupheliswa kwendlala. Oku kufumaneka kumhlathi wesine. Kwakhona umbhali ukugxininise oku ngokunika ubungqina obukhokhelela nobuthi buphemebelele iingqondo zabantu. Le ndlela ebangela abantu ukuba bangqinelane nentetho yesithethi.

Okwesine, kumhlathi wesihlanu, umbhali uphinde wasibonakalisa isiqulatho. Oku ukwenza ngeenjongo zokulukuhla abantu ajolise kubo. Kungca-59-60, "to ensure that the global leadership of the corporate world is also sensitised". Apha kusetyenziswe unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. La mazwi akule migca abonisa unobangela.

Isiphumo sikanobangela sifumaneka kungca wama-60-61, "to ensure Africa's social and Economic Recovery". Kuthe kwasetyenziswa ubungqina obunengqiqo. Kaloku abona bantu ajolise kubo kakhulu Kulo mhlathi ngosomashishini. Umbhali ufuna bamkele kwaye balixhase ilinge lokuvuselela i-Afrika.

Okwesihlanu, kumhlathi wesithandathu isiqulatho sisetyenziswe ngeendlela ezimbini. Okokuqala kusetyenziswe isiqulatho esisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kungca 68-69, "we were at the beginning of the process of the development of the MAP". La mazwi abonisa unobangela.

Sona isiphumo sibonakala kungca wama-75-76, "Continent of peace, stability and democracy". Abantu bayakutsho bathembele kurhulumente nakuzo iinkokheli zabo.

Ngenxa yokuba bangazibona sele bohlukeno neemfazwe, indlala nezinye iingxaki azambethe ilizwekazi i-Afrika.

Okwesibini umbhali usebenzise isiqulatho solukuhlo esisukela kwiimpawu. Kungca wama 73, “breaks out of it condition of poverty and underdevelopment”. Le ndlela yokubonisa iimpawu umlukuhli athathela kuzo izigqibo. Umbhali unolwazi lokuba, abantu zininzi izinto abafuna ukuba ziphuculwe. Ngoko ke kulula ukuba bawamkele lo myalezo.

Okwesithandathu, nalapha kumhlathi wesixhenxe kusetyenziswe isiqulatho esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwingqiqo yesiphumo. Unobangela ukungca wama-89, “focus on bridging the digital divide”. Sona isiphumo sikungca wama-89-90, “to make sure our Continent is not condemned to further marginalisation”.

Kwakhona kungca-91, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, “concentrate on human resource development”. Ukanti isiphumo sesi, kungca-91-92, “to ensure that our peoples have the requisite modern skills and the necessary life”. Konke oku bubungqina obenziwe ngengqiqo khon'ukuze balukuhleke abaphulaphuli ekujoliswe kubo.

Apha kulo mhlathi sisetyenziswe kakhulu isiqulatho. Omnye unobangela ufumaneka kungca-94-95, “to discharge their national and international obligations”. Sona isiphumo sikungca-95-96, “to play their role in the context of the process of globalisation”. Kubonakala kakuhle ukuba ilizwekazi i-Afrika lingalungenela ukhuphiswano namazwe ehlabathini. Oku kunika ithemba kubantu base-Afrika. Yiyo loo nto abantu bewamkela lo myalezo.

Kwimigca-97-100 kufumaneka unobangela. Isiphumo sifumaneka kwimigca-101-108. Sisiphumo esi esisukela kwi-MAP. Konke oku kwenzelwa ukulukuhla abantu bamkele umyalezo.

Okwesixhenxe, isiqulatho solukuhlo esifumaneka kumhlathi wesibhozo sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Omnye umntu angatsho athi esi siqulatho solukuhlo sithembele kwisiphumo ukuya kunobangela. Kungca-112-113, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, “link up with other, like-minded forces on our Continent and the rest of the world”. Khon'ukuze isiphumo ibe sesi, kungca-113-114, “to promote the agenda for peace

stability, democracy, progress and prosperity in Afrika". La mazwi angqina kwaye abangela iingqondo zabaphulaphuli zintshintshe nge-MAP.

Kwelinye icala, kumgca-123, kufumaneka isiphumo ukuya kunobangela. Isiphumo sesi, "year of the African Century". Ukanti yena unobangela ongulo, kumgca-123-124, "to energise these sectors and masses into action". La mazwi asetyenziswe ngengqiqo. Kwaye oku kubonisa ukuba umbhali unalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Nabo ke baya kuthi balukuhleke lula.

Okwesibhozo, umbhali usebenzisa kakhulu isiqulatho solukuhlo esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kumgca-155-156, "all of us belong to a common human society," Sona isiphumo sikumgca-156-158, "a new internationalism, or read itself to contend with enormous globalised social conflicts". Bubungqina obu obuqiqiweyo bokuphemelela iingqondo zabantu khon'ukuze bazibandakanye nephulo le-MAP.

Okwesithoba, apha kulo mhlathi weshumi elinanye, isiqulatho solukuhlo sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca-152-153, "we will do the things we have to do". Sona isiphumo sikumgca-153, "to enable the peoples of the world to give us that chance". Umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli ajolise kube baphakame benze izinto ezinokubaphilisa. Akufunekanga baxhomekeke kakhulu ekuzenzeleni ikamfa eliqaqambileyo. Yiyo le nto afuna balamkele eli phetshana.

4.2.4 Ugxeko lwalo lonke eli phetshana

Ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kunokuphumelela kuphela xa iimfuno zabantu zinokuhlangatyezwa. Ezona mfuno ziphambili ebomini bomntu kukutya namanzi, ukulala nomoya ococekileyo. Xa kujongwa i-Afrika ngeliso elibukhali, zonke ezi mfuno akukho lula ukuzizalisekisa ngaphandle kwentsebenziswano nabantu jikelele.

Lilonke umbhali akakuchazi ngendlela ecacileyo ukuphunyezwa kwezi mfuno. Nangona kunjalo iimfuno ezo athe wazichaphazela kweli phetshana lakhe ziyaneliswa. Ngenxa yokuba nazo zikwabalulekile ebomini bomntu. Umbhali uthe wasebenzisa iimfuno ezifana nemfuno yokhuseleko, eyamandla, kunye nemfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso okanye imfuno yokuzingca.

Ngeli lixa umbhali ahambisa lo myalezo kumazwe afana noomaBurundi, Angola, namanye kwalapha e-Afrika, abantu bayafa ziimfazwe zobukhaya. Oku kuthetha ukuba usemkhulu umsebenzi wombhali. Kufuneka abantu banele ngokupheleleyo ngokhuseleko lwabo.

Ukuzingca kona akululanga xa abantu base-Afrika bebulalana bodwa. Nto ke leyo ebangela indlala, intlupheko, ukunqongophala kwemisebenzi, izifo ezibulalayo njengoGawulayo. Xa abantu belambile, begula, besifa abasoze bawamkele ngomxhelo omnye umyalezo ofana nalo. Oku kuthetha ukuba bambalwa kakhulu abanolwazi nabawamkelayo umyalezo onje phantsi kwezi meko zingentla.

Ngoko ke umphulaphuli okwaziyo ukucinga angakuqaphela oku. Kodwa ke, kwelinye icala umbhali ububonisile ubuchule nengqiqo yakhe ekudluliseni lo myalezo. Ikakhulu amazwe aseNtla noosomashishini babucala behlabathi jikelele bathe balukuhleka. Nto leyo ebabangele ukuba bayixhase imvuselelo ye-Afrika. Nabo ke abantu abathe badibana nalo myalezo bathe bawuxhasa umbono kaMongameli.

Sona isininzi sabantu baseMzantsi Afrika nabe-Afrika iphela abakwazi ukufikelela kulo myalezo. Kaloku le ntetho ifumaneka kwiKhompyutha kuphela. Kwaye abantu abaninzi abakwazi ukufikelela kwiiKhompuyutha. Oku kuthetha ukuba ayanelisi indlela osasazwe ngayo lo myalezo.

Kude kwaba lixesha langoku kulapho wonke ubani bekumele ukuba unalo ulwazi ngeeKhompyutha. Kodwa ke xa kuza kuqwalaselwa okuqulathwe kweli phetshana. Yiyo le nto ethe umbhali wasisebenzisa kakhulu isixhobo solukuhlo elisisiqulatho. Umbhali ungxininisile kwesi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba efuna icace kwaye yaziwe eyona nto inokuza nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

Ngale ndlela kungatshiwo ukuba abo bathe badibana nalo myalezo baya kuwuxhasa. Ingakumbi abanalo ulwazi oluphangaleleyo ngemo yezopolitiko nezentlalo jikelele. Abantu abanje ngabo ke aba kunokuthiwa lo myalezo ujoliswa kubo ngqo. Bona abo baphantsi bangafundanga bangenalo nethuba nolwazi lokusetyenziswa ngendlela kobuxhakaxhaka beeKhompyutha, abangeze balukuhleke kwaphela. Yiyo le nto kuyimfuneko ukuba umbhali azame nezinye iindlela zokwenza umyalezo onje ufikelele lula kumntu wonke ngokungacalucaluliyiyo.

4.3 IPHETSHANA LESIBINI: ONE STEP CLOSER TO THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION

(ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7)

4.3.1 Umyalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana

Nalo eli phetshana libhalwe nguMongameli waseMzantsi Afrika. Kwaye owona mongo nenjongo yeli phetshana kukulukuhla abantu baseMzantsi Afrika ekubeni bazibandakanye ekumanyeni i-Afrika. Ngeli lixa kwelinye icala bengayekanga ukuzibandekanya kwiphulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

Oku kumanywa kwe-Afrika kuza kwenziwa ngokuthi kutshintshwe umbutho oyimbumba ye-Afrika (OAU), ube yimanyano ye-Afrika (AU). Abantu base-Afrika banezinto ezininzi abanazo ezifanayo nabohlulelana ngazo. Kungesi sizathu amazwe e-Afrika exhomekeke elinye kwelinye. Kwaye oku kumiselwa kwemanyano ye-Afrika (AU) ngokusesikweni kuza kwenzeka eMzantsi Afrika.

Eli nyathelo lokwakha umanyano ye-Afrika lifuna kuthathwe imilinganiselo ethile ekhokhelela kwimpumelelelo yoku. Imilinganiselo efana nale ibonakala ifuna abantu base-Afrika jikelele. Intshukumo eyakhiwe nelungiswe ngendlela emisiweyo ethathwa ziinkokheli zamazwe e-Afrika zizonke ibonisa ukuzimisela kwezi phulo.

Iinkokheli zamazwe e-Afrika, imibutho efana neSADC, kunye nabantu jikelele kufuneka babambisane ekumiseleni uxolo, inzolo, nedemokrasi. Kwakhona intsebenziswano yala maqela ibalulekile ekwakheni ulawulo olulungileyo, ukuhlonitshwa kwamalungelo abantu, ukupheliswa kwendlala, ukuvuselelwa kwenkcubeko, uphuhliso nokukhuliswa koqoqosho e-Afrika. Kungenxa yezi zizathu kubalulekile ukumiselwa kwePalamente ye-Afrika. Le Palamente iya kuthi ijongane nazo zonke iingxaki ze-Afrika iphela, ngokunika iingcebiso.

Ngako oko, konke oku akunakuphumelela xa abantu baseMzantsi Afrika nje ngelinye ilizwe le-Afrika, bengazibandakanyi ekuguquleni isimo seli lizwekazi i-Afrika. Nangona oku kulufuna uncede nakwamanye amazwe angaphandle koMzantsi Afrika. La mazwe ngamazwe afana namazwe asele eme kakuhle kwicala lezoqoqosho, kwaye aqhuba ngenkqubo yedemokrasi.

4.3.2 lintonye zediskhosi

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 1, IMIGCA 1-6

(1) Ushwankathelo

Apha kumhlathi wokuqala, umbhali unika inkcazelo emfutshane ngentlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe ebibanjelwe eSirte, kwilizwe laseLibya. Le ntlanganiso ibiyeyombutho wemanyano ye-Afrika i-OAU, kwaye ibikhokelwa züntloko zoorhulumente bamazwe e-Afrika.

Le ntlanganiso ibiyeyesihlanu apho bekuhlanganiswe imiba ethile ethe yaxoxwa. Kule miba bekukho enxulumene nokumanyana kwe-Afrika. Isigqibo sokutshintshwa kwe-OAU ibe yi-AU sibonisa inkqubela nempumelelo yale ntlanganiso.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

NgokukaLarson (1995), isindululo sesiseko seengxoxo sisebenza kwiimeko ezifana nokuphulaphula iintetho zopolitiko, okanye kwizibheni ezivela kwiintshukumo zemibutho yasekuhlaleni. Nangona kunjalo, umlukuhli kumele abazi kakuhle abaphulaphuli bakhe, phambi kokwenza intetho.

Umbhali apha kulo mhlathi ubonakalisa iimpawu zokuba nolwazi ngabaphulaphuli bkhe. Umbhali wakubonakalisa oku ngokusebenzisa izixhobo zolukuhlo. Kwakhona, wenza isibheni kwiingqondo zabantu ngokusebenzisa iinkqubo zeSayikholoji.

limfuno

Imfuno yokhuseleko

Nangona esazi umbhali ngezona mfuno ziphambili nezibalulekileyo ezifane nokutya, amanzi, nezinye, ukwabonakalisa ulwazi lokuba xa ubani engakhuselekanga, akanakuzonwabela ezi mfuno. Kungenxa yoku le nto ethe wayikhankanya kumhlathi wokuqala weli phetshana.

Le yindlela umbhali afuna lamkeleke ngayo eli phetshana ebantwini. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi akumgca we-3, “delegations were led by Heads of State and Government”. Ngenxa yokuba abantu bengasathembananga, baziva bengakhuselekanga. Umbhali ukukhankanya oku nangeenjongo zokunika ukhuseleko ebantwini, oku kukumgca wesithathu.

Xa ukumanyana kwe-Afrika kukhokhelwa kwaye kuququzelelwe ziintloko zoorhulumente, kuya kuba lula kubaphulaphuli ukuziva bekhuselekile. Ngale ndlela kuya kuba lula nokuwamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

Kaloku abantu bathembele kwiinkokheli zabo nezaseburhulumenteni njengabantu abanesakhono ekwenzeni izinto. Yiyo le nto xa izizo ezikhokhelayo kwiimeko ezifana nokuvuselelwa nokumanyanisa i-Afrika, abantu bethatha inkxaxheba ngokungoyikiyo.

Isimilo

Umlukuhli apha kweli phetshana ubonisa impumelelo yamanyathelo asele ethatyathiwe ekumanyeni i-Afrika. Kumgca we-5-6, “Without hesitation, I am happy to say that the meeting was very successful”. Ngale ndlela eli phetshana lingqale kwimisebenzi eyenziwa ngurhulumente. Lilonke, yintoni indima edlalwa ngurhulumente waseMzantsi Afrika, ekumanyeni i-Afrika?.

Oku umbhali ukuphendula kumgca wama-4-5, “Extraordinary Summit Meeting had convened to discuss and take decisions on issues relating to the African Union (AU)”. La mazwi asetyenziselwe ukulukuhla umphulaphuli ukuba ahambisane kwaye avume umsebenzi karhulumente.

Ngako oko,, abantu baya kutshintsha izimilo zabo ngakwicala lokumanyana kwe-Afrika. Kaloku urhulumente wenza konke ekusemandleni ukwenza abantu bayayazi indlela namacebo okumanya i-Afrika. Kungenxa yoku abaphulaphuli kumele balukuhleke khon'ukuze balixhase eli nyathelo. Umbhali uwasebenzisa la mazwi egxininise kutshintsho lwesimilo olunokuba khona, kulapho impendulo inokuthandeka kakhulu.

Ukungaguquguquki

Kulo mhlathi wokuqala weli phetshana, akukho ukungaguquguquki. Oku kuthetha ukuba, umgca wo-1-6 awusisebenzisanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sesiqulatho seengxoxo

Naso esi sixhobo umbhali akasisebenzisanga kulo mhlathi wokuqala.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 2, IMIGCA 7-19

(1) Ushwankathelo

Lo mhlathi enika abaphulaphuli owona nobangela wokufikelela kwizigqibo zokwenziwa kwemanyano ye-Afrika i-AU. Okona kuphambili kukuqhubela phambili nokunyusela umanyano lwe-Afrika kumgangatho ongentla. Kaloku umbutho wemanyano ye-Afrika owasekwa ngo-1963 oyi-OAU, wawusekelwe ukumanya amazwe azimeleyo e-Afrika.

linkokheli zase-Afrika zithe zaphawula ukuba ilizwekazi i-Afrika lineengxaki ezifanayo. Ziingxaki ezi ezicela umngeni kwiinkokheli ze-Afrika ukuba zisebenzisane kunye. Oku kusenziwa ngendlela eyakhiwe yalungiswa ngobuchule khon'ukuze bazoyise ezi ngxaki. Zezi zizathu ezibangela ukuba itshintshwe i-OAU ibe yi-AU.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Intetho yolukuhlo eyenziwa ngumntu obaziyo abaphulaphuli bakhe iyazifezekisa iinjongo zayo. Ngokunjalo, kufuneka umlukuhli akwazi ukusebenzisa izixhobo zolukuhlo ngempumelelo. Amaxesha amaninzi kulukuhlo kusetyenziswa izindululo ezisisiseko seengxoxo zenkqubo yeSayikholoji. Oku kubizwa ngokuba kuyinkqubo yeSayikholoji ngenxa yokuba kujolise kokwenzeka engqondweni yomntu. Oku kungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 160), "We call these appeals process premises because they target psychological processes that seem to operate in most people." Umbhali ubonisa ukuba nolwazi loku, ngenxa yokuba usebenzise amagama afana no "we", "act together" enza isibhenno kwiingqondo zabantu.

limfuno

Apha kulo mhlathi wesibini umbhali akasebenzisanga nasinye isixhobo solukuhlo esiphantsi kweemfuno. Ngamanye amazwi kumgca we-17-19 akukho naluphi na uhlobo lwemfuno.

Isimilo

Naso esi sixhobo solukuhlo asisetyenziswanga kulo mhlathi wesibini uqala kumgca we-7-19.

Ukungaguququki

Abantu nje jikelele bafuna okungaguququkiyo ebomini babo. Ngako oko, ukuba abalukuhli bagangqala koku, kungalula ukwamkelwa lo myalezo wabo wolukuhlo. Apha kweli phetshana umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli bazive bengohlukanga kwamanye amazwe, kwaye bazive bekhululekile. Oku umbhali ukwenza ngokukhankanya ukuba amazwe e-Afrika nabantu bayo banezinto abafana ngazo.

Umbhali ukungqina oku ngalamazwi akumgca we-10-12, "Those decisions were based on the recognition of the interdependence of the countries of Africa and the reality that the peoples of our continent share a common destiny". Olu luhlobo lokungaguququki olusekelwe kwimbangi yoku kungavumelani. Le mbangi iboniswe kumgca we-12, "destiny". Umbhali ukukhankanye oku oku, ngenxa yokuba ufuna ukutshintsha izimilo zabantu.

Kwakhona umbhali usisebenzisile esi sixhobo kumgca we-15-17, "these leaders were and are convinced that the successful future of our continent lies in its unity". Olu uhlobo lokungaguququki lusekelwe kwimbangi yesivumelwano. Apha kulo mhlathi, le mbangi iboniswa ngala mazwi akumgca we-16-17, "convinced that the successful future of our continent lies in its unity".

Le yindlela umbhali anika ngayo abaphulaphuli uluvo lwesivumelwano ukuqinisa iinkolo nezimilo abanazo. Njengokuba zininzi iimbangi zokuvumelana, apha umbhali ungqale kwimfuno yokuzingca. Lilonke umbhali ufuna abantu bazingce ngelizwekazi lwabo i-Afrika

kwa neenkokheli zabo. Ngako oko, abantu bangaziva bekhuselekile ngenxa yokuba ukumanyana kwe-Afrika kuya yokuba yinto engenakuze iphinda iphele.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sesiqulatho seengxoxo

Apha kulo mhlathi wesibini okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kuxhomekeke kwingqiqo yesiphumo ukuya kunobangela. Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-13-14, "achieve sustained progress in meeting our common continental challenges". Ngeli lixa yena unobangela eboniswa kumgca we-14-15, "if we act together in an organised, structured and systematic manner".

Le yindlela anika ngayo ubungqina umbhali obusukela kwingqiqo. Ngokwenza oku umbhali ufuna abantu bawamkele umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo. Ngenxa yokuba kubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba i-Afrika ayifuni nje nayiphi indlela yokukhawulelana neyantlukwano ekhoyo phakathi kwezizwe namazwe ase-Afrika. Koko kufuneka kuyilwe ngobuchule amacebo anokufezekisa iinjongo zobukho be-AU.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 3, IMIGCA 20-52:

(1) Ushwankathelo

- (a) Umbhali uqala ngokuchaza ukuba le ntlanganiso yabameli bamazwe ibe yimpumelelo. Le mpumelelo ingqinwa kukutyikitywa kwe-"Constitutive Act" ye-AU, ngamazwe angama-52 kwangama-53. Ngurhulumente womkhosi waseComoros kuphela ongatyikityanga ngenxa yokuba wahlulekile ekuthatheni inkxaxheba kumbutho wemanyano ye-Afrika. Le ntlanganiso iphele ibeka phambili ukufuna kwabantu umanyano ye-Afrika (AU).
- (b) Le ntlanganiso igqibe kwelokuba isibini kwisithathu samazwe siso esiza kuqinisekisa i-"Constitutive Act". Kwakhona lentlanganiso inike umkhombandlela kunobhala jikelele ukuba alungiselele izindululo ezikhokhelela ekwenziweni kwamaziko olawulo kwi-Afrika iphela. Ezi zindululo ziza kuqwalaselwa kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe eza kuba ngoJulayi eLusaka.

- (c) Ngokwesivumelwano sokumiselwa kwamaxesha, ethathwe eSirte, umanyano ye-Afrika (AU) iya kubakho kunyaka ka-2002. Isigqibo nomsitho wokugqibela we-OAU, kulapho i-OAU iya kube inikezela kwi-AU, siyakuthatyathelwa eMzantsi Afrika.
- (d) Ekuqaleni kwalonyaka, ezi nkokheli ziqulunqe imithetho yokuziphatha. Le mithetho yaqulunqwa ngamalungu eePalamente zase-Afrika, yaqulunqelwa ePretoria. Yile mithetho ke le ethe yamkelwa kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe ezakubangela kwenziwe iPalamente yamacebiso ye-Afrika (Consultative African Parliament). Ezinye izigqibo malunga nobukho bale Palamente ziza kuthathwa kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe e-Lusaka ngoJulayi.
- (e) Le ntlanganiso ikwafumene nengxelo yoxwebhu lobume benkqubo nentshukumo yokubambisana ngokwakhiwa kwe-MAP. Kwakhona, le ntlanganiso yamkele necebo lokuyila inkqubo ekhokhelela kwinqanaba lesibini. Eli xwebhu lityikitywe ngamxhel'omnye yile ntlanganiso.

Urhulumente woMzantsi Afrika, uMongameli waseAlgeria uBonteflika, kunye noMongameli waseNigeria uObasanjo bayalelwe ukuba baqhubekeke nomsebenzi we-MAP. Oku kuya kubangela amathuba obukho bentlanganiso yamazwe e-Afrika asibhozo (Africa-G8) eltaly ngoJulayi, bukwazi ukuqwalasela inkqubo yentshukumo esukela kwintlanganiso yawo yokuqala ebise Tokyo kunyaka ophelileyo.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli wenza intetho yolukuhlo ethi ibe nempumelelo, ngumlukuhli unalo ulwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe. Kwakhona lo mlukuhli uba nalo nolwazi lweemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe.

Lo mlukuhli uye achonge ngobuchule nangengqiqo amagama athile athi enze isibheni apha kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Eli petshana libonisa ukuba umbhali unalo olu lwazi lweemfuno zabaphulaphuli. Ngoba apha kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzise amagama afana no-“we”, ngokwenkqubo yeSayikholoji, ngokukaPackard (1964).

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964) nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

NgokukaPackard (1964), abantu bafuna ukuziva bexabisekile kwaye besenza umahluko phakathi kwabantu abaphila nabo. Oku kungqinwa nguMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, 173), ngokuthi, "We want to feel wanted and valued as human being". La mazwi ebonisa ukuba wonke umntu nokuba unalo iwonga okanye akanalo, nokuba ukoluphi na udidi, uyafuna ukuxatyiswa kwayo uyazingca ngesiqu sakhe. Lo mhlathi ungqale kule mfundo yokuzingca ngokukhankanya la mazwi akumgca wama-34, "South Africa has the honour to host". Kuyacaca ukuba umbhali ukuqaphele ukuba abantu baseMzantsi Afrika bayakuthakazelela ukubanjwa kwezintlanganiso elizweni lwabo. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi akumgca wama 39-40, "meeting in Pretoria earlier this year, hosted by our national parliament and its presiding officers."

Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna ukwanelisa imfuno yokuzingca ebantwini. Ukuba nje angakwazi ngempumelelo uwabonisa abantu umbhali ukuba ngokwenene baxabisekile, kungalula nkubalukuhla abantu. Xa umbhali ebonisa ukuxabiseka koMzantsi Afrika, abantu nabo baziva bexabisekile kwaye bayazingca xa besiva iintetho ezinje ngale kamongameli.

Ngale ndlela oku kubonisa ukuba abantu bayawuva umyalezo ongundoqo weli phetshana ophathelene nokutshintshwa kwe-OAU ibe yi-AU. Kube oku kuthetha ukuba luya phumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe umbhali, ngenxa yokuba abaphulaphuli bayawamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

Imfuno yamandla

Umbhali kwakhona ufuna abantu bazi ukuba i-Afrika inakho ukuzenzela izinto. Akunyanzelekanga ukuba i-Afrika ifune uncedo okanye ukwenzelwa ngamazwe angase Ntla, nkqu nakwizinto enokuzenzela zona. Ngako oko, abantu mabayeke ukucinga ukuba khon'ukuze ibe nenkqubela i-Afrika kufuneka yenzelwe ngamazwe aseYurophu izinto.

Oorhulumente base-Afrika baneenkoxheli ezinakho ukusebenzisa amandla engqondo khon'ukuze i-Afrika iphucuke. Kumgca wama-38-39, umbhali unika ubungqina obubonisa

amandla eenkokheli zase-Afrika, “protocol was drawn up by African parliamentarians”. Yiyo le nto uLarson (1995, p. 168) athi, “... every major candidate for the presidency has to demonstrate physical and psychological strength or power”. Xa umcimbi usezandleni zeenkokheli zoMzantsi Afrika abantu bakuziva bekhululekile. Kaloku bayayazi ukuba iinkokheli zinamadla okwenza izinto, yiyo le nto uMzantsi Afrika ulilizwe lokubambela iintlanganiso zabaphathi bamazwe ezibalulekileyo.

Isimilo

Kulo mhlathi wesithathu umbhali uvume impumelelo yentlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe. Kungca wama-20, “Summit was successful”. Oku kukhankanywe ngeenjongo zokuba abantu mabatshintshe izimilo zabo ngoorhulumente base-Afrika. Oku kungqale kwiinjongo zezi ntlanganiso. Lilonke abantu bayakhanyiselwa ngezizathu zokuba kubekho ezi ntlanganiso.

Kungca wama-22-23, “52 out of the 53 member states of the OAU has signed the Constitutive Act of the African Union”. Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli babavume oorhulumente base-Afrika. Oku kuthetha ukuba abantu batshintshe izimilo zabo, kwaye babone okwenziwa ngurhulumente wabo.

Kubonakala ngathi abantu baqatshelwe ngumbhali ukuba zitshintshile izimilo zabo. Ngoba uthi intlanganiso iphele ngokuchaza ukuba abantu bayakuxhasa ukuguqulwa kwe-OAU ibe yi-AU. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi akungca wama-24-26, “The summit was correct to conclude that our governments had firmly expressed the will of the people of Afrika in favour of the AU”. Le yindlela umbhali afuna ngayo ukuba kwamkelwe lo myalezo wolukuhlo lwakhe.

Ukungaguququki

Umbhali akasisebenzisanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo kulo mhlathi.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sesiqulatho seengxoxo

Okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kulo mhlathi kuxhomekeke kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kungca wama-27-28, “the required two-thirds of OAU members-36 states,” kufumaneka

unobangela. Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama 28, “ratify the Constitutive Act”. Umbhali ubonisa ingqiqo ngokunika ubungqina khon'ukuze aphumelele ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli. Oku ukwenza ngokukhankanya omnye unobangela kumgca wama 29-30, “to prepare proposals leading to the creation of the all-Africa institutions visualized in the Act”. Okwesibini kumgca wama-38, “establishment of the consultative African Parliament.” Isiphumo sako konke oku iya kuba kukumanyana kwe-Afrika. Umbhali usebenzisa kakhulu esi sixhobo kulo mhlathi, ngenxa yokuba efuna ukuqinisekisa abantu ngeenjongo zabantu base-Afrika. Ezi njongo kukumanya amazwe ase-Afrika kwanokuyivuselela khon'ukuze kuliwe nendlala nentlupheko e-Afrika.

Kumgca wama-43-44, kufumaneka lo nobangela, “a report on the framework document.” Ukanti sona isiphumo siqala kumgca wama-44-46, “guide the detailed programme of action of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), as well as the plan of action for the second phase of the drafting process of this programme.” Konke oku umbhali ukukhankanye ngeenjongo zokuba abaphulaphuli bawamkele lo myalezo. Oku kwenziwe ngokunika ubungqina obuqiqiweyo khon'ukuze abaphulaphuli bamthande urhulumente namalinge awenzayo ekudibaniseni izizwe zase-Afrika.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 4, IMIGCA 53 – 85

(1) Ushwankathelo

- (a) Ukusukela kwizigqibo ekwavunyelwana ngazo malunga ne-AU kunye ne-MAP, ilizwekazi i-Afrika lizakukwazi ukomeleza amandla okucinga nokwenza. Oku kubhekiselele ekwenzeni izinto ezifana noxolo, inzolo, ukukhuliswa koqoqosho nezinye izinto zibonakale e-Afrika.
- (b) Esi sigqibo sithe sathathwa eSirte sokuba wonke umntu welizwekazi i-Afrika kufuneka aqinisekise umanyano khon'ukuze zoyiswe iingxaki ze-Afrika. Kwaye ukumanyana kwe-Afrika kumilile, kwaye kuza kubangela ukuba kwakhiwe iingingqi ezifana nezamazwe ehlabathini ezinje ngooma EU, NAFTA, Mercosur, APEC kunye ne-ASEAN. Oku kuya kubangela ukuba kube lula ukumiliselela idemokrasi nokumiliselela i-AU ne-MAP.

- (c) Ngako oko, abantu baseMzantsi Afrika bajongene noxanduva olulodwa. Olu xanduva lolufana nokubanjelwa kwendibano yokutshintshwe kwe-OAU ibe yi-AU. Kwakho, uMzantsi Afrika uza kufuneka wenze okanyeancedise ekwenzeni indlela anokuphuhlisa ngayo i-Afrika.
- (d) Ngako oko, oorhulumente be-Afrika abazimisela ekungcatsheni abantu base-Afrika. Kuloko kumele benze konke abanakho ekudibaniseni i-Afrika namazwe ehlabathi. Kungenxa yoku amazwe ehlabathi elindele okukhulu kwimvuselelo ye-Afrika, ekunokukhokhelela kwintsebenziswano namazwe ehlabathini. Oku kuthetha ukuba isizukulwana se-Afrika nesehlabathi jikelele sinethuba lokuyichaza i-Afrika njengendwawo yethemba, indawo enobuntu nengenabuhlwempu.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Ngexesha lwentetho yolukuhlo, kuphawuleka ukuba izibhenozengqiqo zingcono kunezozemvakalelo. Yiyo le nto kubalulekile ukwenza izibhenozengqiqo ezininzi, xa umlukuhli ethe wasebenzisa isibhenozemvakalelo. Oku kumgqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 160) ngokuthi, "One emotional appeal might accomplish a slight change in persuadees that is then reinforced by a series of logical arguments". La mazwi abonisa kakuhle ukuba ulukuhlo olwenziwa ngengqiqo luya phumelela.

Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali wenze intetho yakhe eyenza isibhenozengqiqo. Oku ukwenza nangokusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. Kaloku, NgokukaLarson (1995), inkqubo yeSayikholoji isebenza kwiingqondo zabantu. Kulula ukwenza intetho yolukuhlo eyenza isibhenozengqiqo zabantu xa umlukuhli ebazi abaphulaphuli bakhe. Apha umbhali ubonakalisa ukubazi kakuhle abaphulaphuli bakhe. Kwaye ukwabonakalisa ukuzazi iimfunozabo.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Nokuba umntu uphantsi kowuphi na umgangatho wasekuhlaleni, uyakufuna ukuxatyiswa. Kwaye uyazingca ngegalelo lakhe ebomini. ULarson (1995, p. 163), ukubeka ngolu hlobo oku, "Housewives, factory workers, and public service workers need to feel that they are

accomplishing something of value, ..., and are appreciated by others". Oku kubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba abantu bafuna ukuziva besenza umahluko.

Lo mhlathi ujolise kwimfuno yokuzingca, ngokukaMaslow (1954), ngokukhankanya impumelelo emalunga nentlanganiso ephathelelene ne-AU kunye ne-MAP. Kuqala umbhali uyibonisa le mfuno kumgca wama-55, "success that was achieved at Sirte". Uyiqinisa le mfuno ngala mazwi akumgca wama-59, "our continent will enhance its capacity to think, plan and act together on a whole range of matters". Kuyacaca ukuba abantu base-Afrika kukhulu abakwenzayo, ngako oko, kumele unconywe uwsebenzi wabo. Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna kunconywe iinkokheli zase-Afrika, nabantu bazingce ngazo.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sibonakala sisetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-60-64, "Contrary to what some have written that ours is a 'hopeless continent', the decisions taken at Sirte cannot but give hope to the millions of Africans from the confluence of the Indian and Atlantic in the south, to the Mediterranean in the north, that the enhancement of African unity will enable all of us to overcome the problems that have confronted us for centuries". Umbhali ukhuthaza abantu be-Afrika ukuba bathembele kwizandla zabo, nakwiingqondo zabo ekumanyeni i-Afrika, ngawo umsebenzi wenkqubela osele wenziwe ekumanyeni eli lizwekazi, ama-Afrika ayazingca.

Okwesithathu, umbhali usisebenzisile esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Kumgca wama-71-72, "our government, country and people face some special responsibilities". Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna abantu bazingce ngorhulumente wabo. Bazingce ngelizwe lwabo, kwaye bazingce bona buqu, ngenxa yokuba benento abakwaziyo ukuyenza ekusombululeni iingxaki zelizwe lwabo nezamanye amazwe ase-Afrika. Le yindlela ekubethelelwa ngayo lo myalezo wolukuhlo kwiingqondo zabantu khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezowale phetshana.

Okwesine umbhali ukugxininisa oku ngokuthi anike ubungqina besi sixhobo ngala mazwi akumgca wama-74-76, "our country has been mandated, ..., to participate in the process of helping to define the African road map to development and prosperity". Oku kubonisa ukuba uMzantsi Afrika nabantu bawo baxatyisiwe kwaye uyanconywa umsebenzi negalelo olenzayo kwi-AU ne-MAP.

Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe okwesihlanu kumgca wama-77-78, “confidence that the peoples of our continent have demonstrated towards us as a country and people”. La mazwi ajoliswe kubo bonke abantu base-Afrika. Lilonke umbhali ufuna bonke abantu base-Afrika bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana. Oku kubonisa ukuba umbhali unolwazi lokuba abantu bafuna ukunconywa nokuxatyiswa ngento abayenzayo.

Imfuno yamandla

Le yimfuno ebaluleke kakhulu, kwaye ifumaneka kakhulu kwiintengiso. Isetyenziselwa ukunika umlukuhlwa uluvo lokuba namandla. Abantu bagxininisa kwesi sixhobo xa bejongene nonyulo lwelungulu kuloo mbutho. Lilonke lowo uza kuthi onyulwe kufuneka abonakalise amandla okumelana nesihlalo nomsebenzi anyulelwa wona. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 168), “..., every major candidate ... has to demonstrate physical and psychological strength or power”.

Umbhali ubonakalisa ngokucacileyo ukuba isizukulwana sase-Afrika sinamandla omzimba nawengqondo. Oku kubonakaliswa ngala mazwi akumgca wama-83, “redefine Africa”. Xa abantu bezazi ukuba banamandla, baya kuwamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

Isimilo

Apha kulo mhlathi asisetyenziswanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo.

Ukungaguquguquki

Umlukuhli obonisa ukungaguquguquki kwintetho yakhe akafumani bunzima ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli bakhe. Kaloku abantu jikelele bafuna ukungaguquguquki ebomini babo. Ngalo myalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana, umbhali ufuna bazive bekhululekile abantu ngokuchaza ukuba umanyano ye-Afrika ibambene ngokungagungqiyo namazwe ehlabathini ekwahlulweni ngokweengingqi.

Kumgca wama-65, “consistent”, umbhali ungqina oku kungaguquguquki. Ngale ndlela umbhali unika umphulaphuli uluvo lwesivumelwano. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ufuna ukubonisa abantu ukuba i-Afrika kudala kwaye ayitshintshi kwilinge layo lokwakha

umanyano olunokwenza ngcono ubomi babantu. Oku kubangela ukuba abantu bazithembe iinkokheli zabo kwaye bawamkele lo myalezo.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Esi sesinye isixhobo solukuhlo esisekelwe ekukwazini komlukuhli ukucinga ngengqiqo. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 194), "content premises are premises that rely on logical and analytical abilities". Kubonakala ngathi umlukuhli unakho ukwenza ulukuhlo olusekelwe kwiingqiqo. Oku kubonakala kubuchule bakhe ekwenzeni intetho yolukuhlo.

Apha kulo mhlathi okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kuboniswa ngeempawu. Kuqala okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kuboniswa ngonobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kumgca wama-80-81, "will contribute to the new Africa and global initiative and partnership". Sona isiphumo sikumgca wama-81-82, "for an African renaissance".

Xa umlukuhli esenza intetho yolukuhlo, ubonisa isiqulatho ngendlela yengqiqo esukela kwiimpawu. Kule meko umlukuhli ubonisa uludwe lweempawu athi athathele kuzo isigqibo. Kumgca wama-82-85, "The contemporary African generations, of which we are an integral part, are blessed that they have the opportunity to redefine Africa, and therefore the world, as a place of hope and joy, without poor and dehumanised people". Oku kubonisa ukuba umbhali uyayazi ukuba zininzi izinto abantu abafuna ukuzibona ziphuculwa. Umzekelo, izinto ezinje ngokuphelistwa kwendlala, ukubakho kolonwabo novuyo phakathi kwabantu base-Afrika.

La mazwi asetyenziselwe ukwenza isibheno kwiingqondo zabantu, khon'ukuze bawamkele lo myalezo weli phetshana. Ukubonisile umbhali ukukwazi kwakhe ukusebenzisa indlela yokuqiza enokwenza abaphulaphuli bawamkele umyalezo wakhe. Ngako ke abaphulaphuli bangawamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 5, IMIGCA 86 – 100

(1) Ushwankathelo

Ngalo mhla wethoba kuMatshi urhulumente woMzantsi Afrika uzakuba ngusihlalo kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe e-SADC. Le ntlanganiso iza kubanjelwa eWindhoek

kwelaseNamibia. Umba ophambili, kukuguqulwa kwe-SADC ibe sosona sixhobo sihlanganisa imimandla ye-Afrika kwaye iyenze ibenenkqube ngokulinganayo.

Isixhobo esi, i-SADC ukutsho, siza kufuneka sidlale eyona ndima ebalulekileyo kwinkqubo yobumba umanyano ye-Afrika. Le ntlanganiso ye-SADC iza kuhlola iinkqubo zamaziko ayo, nto leyo eza kunceda ukuba yaziwe kwimbali njengombutho wengingqi ophambili ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika.

Abantu boMzantsi Afrika, uMzantsi Afrika wona buqu kunye nommandla lo uphantsi kwe-SADC kufuneka benze intshukumo ebonisa ukuxhasa kwabo idemokrasi, uxolo nenkqubela yentsebenziswano kulo mmandla, ekanye ingingqi. Ngokwenza ngale ndlela bayakubonisa ukuba ngokwenene eli lixesha le-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Lo mhlathi wesihlanu weli phetshana ubonakala usebenzisa izixhobo ezithile zolukuhlo. Oku kuthetha ukuba nawo wenzelwe ukulukuhla abantu baseMzantsi Afrika nabengingqi okanye ummandla wamaZantsi e-Afrika, khon'ukuze bakuxhase ukwenziwa kwemanyano ye-Afrika. Umyalezo weli phetshana ungamkelwa ngabaphulaphuli ukuba umbhali ujolise kwezona mfuno ziphambili zifunwa ngabantu. Xa ubani eqwalasela apha kulo mhlathi, angatsho ukuba umbhali unalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. NgokukaPackard (1964), kwinkqubo yolukuhlo kusetyenziswa kakhulu inkqubo yeSayikholoji ekwenzeni isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzisa amagama afane noo-“we”, “our”, ayinkqubo yeSayikholoji.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Bonke abantu bafuna ukuziva benexabiso kwaye bexabisekile kwabanye. Bafuna ukuziva besenza umahluko kwinto abayenzayo. Yiyo ke le nto abantu besithi, NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 164), “We need to feel assured of our worth in the world”. La mazwi abonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba nokuba umntu ngowaluphi na udidi, uyakufuna ukuxatyiswa. Oku kungqinwa nguMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173), ngokuthi, “We want to feel wanted and valued as human beings”.

Lo mhlathi ujolise kule mfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka. Oku kuboniswe ngokuchaza intlanganiso ye-SADC engenzame zokuvuselela i-Afrika. Kungqinwa oku kumgca wama-94-96, "the SADC meets in its own Extraordinary Summit to review the operations of SADC institutions, which will help to place it at the centre of the historic drive for African renewal". Umbhali ufuna abantu bayixabise i-SADC ngamalinge ayo alungileyo kule ngingqi nakwi-Afrika iphela.

Kuyaca ukuba umbhali ukubonile ukuba abantu boMzantsi Afrika nabale ngingqi iphantsi kwe-SADC bangazizixhobo eziphambili ekwakheni umanyano ye-Afrika. Umbhali uqaphele ukuba abantu beli lizwekazi bafuna idemokrasi, uxolo, inzolo nentlutha ebomini babo. Kumgca wama-97-100, "Our own actions as a country, a people and a region in favour of democracy, peace, progress and regional cooperation, will answer the question practically whether we are correct when we say that Africa's time has come". Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna ukwanelisa imfuno yokuzingca ebantwini. Xa ebonisa abantu ukuba baxabisekile kwaye bayafunwa, kuya kuba lula ukubalukuhla abantu khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana.

Isimilo

Apha kulo mhlathi wesihlanu umbhali akasisebenzisanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo.

Ukungaguququki

Phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, nako ukungaguququki akusetyenziswanga kulo mhlathi.

(3) Isindululo sesiko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi wesihlanu ubonisa okuqulathwe kulukuhlo ngengqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-87, "SADC Summit Meeting called". Sona isiphumo sibekungca wama-87-90, "to discuss the further transformation of our regional organisation into a more effective instrument in our common striving for regional intergration and balanced regional development". Apha umbhali ubonakalisa ingqiqo, kwintetho yakhe.

Kwakhona, ukungqina oku, kumgca wama-92, unobangela ubonakaliswa ngala mazwi, “the most important building blocs in the process”. Ngeli lixa isiphumo sibonakala kumgca wama-92–93, “the construction of the African Union”. Yindlela le abethelela ngayo umbhali isibheni kwiingqondo zabantu khon'ukuze bawamkele lo myalezo.

4.3.3 Uhlalutyo

Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Kweli phetshana umbhali ugxininisa kakhulu ekusebenziseni isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Oku ukwenzela ukwenza isibheni kwiingqondo yomntu. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 161), “Process premisses also operate in more serious situations, such as listening to political speeches or appeals from social movements”. Kwaye umlukuhli kufuneka abazi kakuhle abaphulaphuli, azazi neemfuno zabo khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe.

Kulo lonke eli phetshana umbhali ubonakalisa ukubazi abaphulaphuli, kwaye ezazi neemfuno zabo. Oku kubonakala kwizixhobo zolukuhlo athe wazisebenzisa ekwenzeni isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Akalibali ukwenza isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli ngokuthi asebenzise, ngokukaPackard (1964), iinkqubo zeSayikholoji. Umzekelo, ngokusebenzisa oo-“we”, “our”, “us”, khon'ukuze abantu bazive beyinxalenye yenkqubo.

Iimfuno

Iimfuno yokhuseleko

A. Ushwankathelo

Kwiintetho solukuhlo ezifana nale, umlukuhli uye angazichaphazeli iimfuno ezingundoqo neziphambili. Ezi mfuno zimfuno ezifana nokusela amanzi, ukutya nezinye. Nangona kunjalo, umbhali kwelinye icala ubonakalisa ukuba ezi mfuno azinakonwatyelwa xa umntu engakhuselekanga.

Ngenxa yoku, umbhali ubone kuyimfuneko ekusebenziseni esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe kwakanye kweli phetshana. Sisetyenziswe kumhlathi wokuqala

kuphela. Sisetyenziselwe ukuba abantu bazive bekhuselekile, khon'ukuze bamkele umyalezo weli phetshana. Kumgca wezi-3, "delegations were led by Heads of State and Government". Umbhali uphawule ukuba abantu abakhuselekanga kwizinto eziliqela. Ngako oko, ubanika ithemba lokhuseleko.

Xa iinkokheli neentloko zoorhulumente izizo ezikhankasela ukumanyana kwe-Afrika, nabantu baya kuziva bekhuselekile. Kaloku abantu bathembele kakhulu kwiinkokheli zabo. Nokhuseleko oluvela kuzo baluthemba kakhulu. Ngenxa yoku, bathi bathathe inkxaxheba abantu ngokukhululeka bengenalolo yoyiko. Oku kuthetha ukuba abaphulaphuli baya kuwamkela ngokukhululekileyo umyalezo weli phetshana.

B. Ugxeko

Imfuno yokhuseleko ibonakala isesinye isixhobo esibalulekileyo esiza emva kwezingundoqo ezifana namanzi nokutya, nezinye. Ukusetyenziswa kwaso ixesha elinye kweli phetshana, akubonakalisi futhe lokulukuhla. Ngoba kaloku bekumele ukuba umbhali usebenzisa kakhulu esi sixhobo ukubonisa ngokupheleleyo ukhuseleko lwabantu. NgokukaPackard (1964, p. 163), "Ours is a very insecure and unpredictable world". Nto ke leyo ebonisa ukuba kufuneka umlukuhli agxininise kule mfuno xa esenza intetho yolukuhlo.

Oku kungqinwa nguMalsow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 171), "we still may feel insecure about world politics; or a person may have social insecurity". Yiyo le nto abantu bexhathisa ekuwamkeleni lo myalezo, abaqinisekiswa ngokhuseleko.

Ukuba kukho uloyiko nokungakhuseleki ebantwini, umlukuhli makaqinisekise ukuba ugxininisa kule mfuno. Ngamanye amazwi, NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 171), "the need for security emerges and reemerges as various threats to our security become evident and must be met". Lo myalezo weli phetshana awugxininisanga kule mfuno, ngenxa yokuba ifumaneka kumhlathi wokuqala kuphela. Umgca wesi-3, "delegations were led by Heads of State and Government", ungqina oku. Ngamanye amazwi ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo akwanelanga, ngenxa yoku, akunafuthe lokulukuhla abantu.

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

A. Ushwankathelo

Okona kubalulekileyo kumbhali, ngokwenkangeleko, kukwanelisa imfuno yokuxabiseka okanye yokuzingca. Apha kweli phetshana, le mfuno isetyenziswe amaxesha amaninzi. Ngenxa yokuba ifumaneka kumhlathi wesithathu, owesine, kunye nowesihlanu. Kumhlathi wesithathu esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kumgca wama 34, "South Africa has the honour to host". Sisetyenziselwe ukwanelisa imfuno yokuzingce kubantu baseMzantsi Afrika.

Okwesibini, umbhali uphindile wasisebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Kumhlathi wesine kumgca wama-55, "success that was achieved at Sirte". Kwakhona kumgca wama-55-59, "our continent will enhance its capacity to think, plan and act together". Ngala mazwi.

kunconywa umsebenzi wenkqubela nentsebenziswano ekuphuhliseni umgangatho wama-Afrika. Ngokufutshane, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amahlanu apha kulo mhlathi wesine. Kuwo onke la maxesha, umbhali wanelisa imfuno yokuxatyiswa nokuzingca. Oku kwenziwa ngokuncoma iinkokheli zoorhulumente base-Afrika, iinkokheli zoMzantsi Afrika, ilizwekazi i-Afrika noMzantsi Afrika njengelizwe. Ukunconywa kwabantu ngenkxaso yabo kwinkqubela phambili yeli lizwekazi liphela, kwanelisa le mfuno.

Kwakhona kumhlathi wesihlanu, kusetyenziswe imfuno yokuzingca okanye yokuqinisekisa ixabiso. Nalapha oku kusetyenzisiwe ukwanelisa le mfuno ebantwini. Kumgca wama 94-96, "the SADC meets in its own institutions, which will help to place it at the centre of the historic drive for African renewal". Apha kufunwa abantu bangayijongeli phantsi i-SADC, koko, kufumele bazingce ngayo, kwaye bayixabise.

Apha kulo mhlathi esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kabini. Kumgca wama-97-100, "Our own actions as a country, a people and a region in favour of democracy, peace, progress and regional cooperation, will answer the question practically whether we are correct when we say that Africa's time has come". Apha kongezwa ukwaneliseka kwimfuno yokuzingca.

B. Ugxeko

Le mfuno yeyona isetyenziswe kakhulu kweli phetshana. Ngokwenkangeleko, ithe yaba nefuthe, ngenxa yokuba yanelisa bonke abantu, ukusukela kwiinkokheli ukuya ebantwini nje jikelele. Oku kuthetha ukuba lo myalezo weli phetshana ungamkelwa ngabaphulaphuli. Kuyacaca ukuba umbhali uqaphele ukuba eyona nto iphambili ebantwini kukuzingca nokuxatyiswa. Kwelinye icala, ukugxininisa kwimfuno efana nale, uze ulibale ngezinye ezibalulekileyo nazo kungenza ukuba ulukuhlo lo mntu lungaphumeleli. Kufuneka zonke iimfuno ezibalulekileyo ebantwini zibandakanywe phantse ngokulinganaye khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuhlo. Kodwa kweli phetshana akunjalo. Zikho iimfuno ezingasetyenziswanga kwaphela. Oku kuya kuboniswa kakuhle kugxeko lweli phetshana lilonke, ekugqibeleni.

Imfuno yamandla

A. Ushwankathelo

Ukubanisa amandla omzimba nawengqondo kubalulekile ekwenzeni izinto ezibalulekileyo ebantwini jikelele. Yiyo le nto umbhali ebonisa ukuba abantu base-Afrika bayakwazi ukucinga, nokwenza izinto ngokwabo. Oku kubonakala kumhlathi wesithathu kumgca wama-38-39, "protocol was drawn up by African parliamentarians". Ngeli lixa kumhlathi wesine, kuboniswa oku kumgca wama-83, "redefine Africa". Oku kubonisa ukuba, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amabini apha kweli phetshana. Njengesixhobo solukuhlo, sisetyenziswe ukwenza isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli.

B. Ugxeko

Kweli phetshana, lemfuno ayisetyenziswanga ngendlela eyanelisayo, ngenxa yokuba ayibaqinisekisi abaphulaphuli. Ngamanye amazwi, abaphulaphuli abacacelwa kakuhle ukuba, ingaba banalo igalelo elibonakalisa amandla eengqondo zabo, ekumanyeni i-Afrika. Ukuba umbhali uneenjongo zokuba abaphulaphuli mabazive benamandla ngokusebenzisa la mazwi awasebenzisileyo, kuya kuthetha ukuba uwasebenzisa kakubi amandla abo.

Kusiimeko ezinje, kumele umbhali afune izimvo zabantu nje jikelele malunga nemiba efana nokumanyana, nokuvuselela i-Afrika. Umzekelo, kukho uluvo lokuba imithetho yenkululeko eyathi yaqulunqwa eKliptown ngo-1955, i-"Freedom Charter", isukela kwizimvo zabantu boMzantsi Afrika wonke. Kulapho kungatshiwo khona ukuba imfuno yamandla yaneliswa.

Xa sibuyela kweli phetshana, kuphawuleka ukuba umbhali akayisebenzisanga ngenxa yokuba ecinga ukuba abantu abenzamga nto. Ngako oko, akukho mfuno yamandla abanokwaneliswa ngayo. Apha kweli phetshana, le mfuno ijolise kwiinkokheli zase-Afrika. Ngokombhali, zizo ekumele zizive zinamandla.

Oku kuyimpazamo, ngenxa yokuba kungenza ukuba ezona njongo zombhali zingaphumeleli. Kaloku inkxaso esuka ebantwini ibalulekile. Nkqu zona iinkokheli ziziinkokheli ngenxa yenkxaso esuka ibantwini. Kungoko kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli angakulibali ukwanelisa iimfuno zabantu bonke phantse ngokulinganayo.

Isimilo

A. Ushwankathelo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amabini kuphela kweli phetshana. Sifumaneka kumhlathi wokuqala kunye nomhlathi wesithathu.

Kumhlathi wokuqala sifumaneka kumgca we-5-6, "without hesitation, I am happy to say that the meeting was very successful". Umbhali uyavuma ukuba intlanganiso ibe lulutho kumba wokumanywa kwe-Afrika. Oku kuya kwenza ukuba zitshintshe izimilo zabantu ngokumanywa kwe-Afrika.

Kumhlathi wesithathu, umbhali ukungqina oku ngokuvuma ukuba intlanganiso ibe yimpumelelo. Kumgca wama 20, "5th Extraordinary Summit was successful". Xa abaphulaphuli bewamkela lo myalezo, kuya kuthetha ukuba izimilo zabo zintshintshile. Lona ulukuhlo lube luya phumelela.

B. Ugxeko

Nalapha eli phetshana liyasilela ekuzameni ukulukuhla abantu. Uthi uLarson (1995, p. 177), "..., attitude objects are usually in the persuader's request for actions or offer of products, ideas, beliefs, and so on". Awukwazi ekusebenziseni esi sixhobo solukuhlo amaxesha amabini kuphela xa ufuna ukutshintsha izimilo zabaphulaphuli. Ukuba kwintetho yakho usebenzisa kakhulu le mfuno ukuqinisekisa abantu, umyalezo wakho uya kwamkelwa. Oku akuthethi ukuba mayibe sesona sixhobo esisetyenziswa kakhulu kunezinye.

Ukungaguququki**A. Ushwankathelo**

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amabini kweli phetshana. Okokuqala sisetyenziswe kumhlathi wesibini, kumgca we-10-12, "decisions were based on the recognition of the interdependence of the countries of Africa and the reality that the peoples of our continent share a common destiny". Esi sixhobo sisukela ku kungavumelani kwamazwe ehlabathini ukuba ama-Afrika angancedana, kwaye azimele kwiingxaki anazo. Kwakhona kumgca we-15-17, "leaders were and are convinced that the successful future of our continent lies in its unity". Oku kubonisa intsusa yesivumelwano.

Ngeli lixa kumhlathi wesine sibonakala kumgca wama-65, "consistent". Umphulaphuli unikwa uluvo lwesivumelwano. Abantu mabayazi ukuba i-Afrika ayiguquki kwinto okanye isimo eyayikuso, nemo eza kuba kuyo kwixesha elizayo. Kaloku nabantu bafuna ukungaguququki kubomi babo.

B. Ugxeko

Kuqapheleka ukuba ezona zixhobo zolukuhlo bekumele zisetyenziswe ngokwaneleyo, zithe azasetyenziswa ngokwaneleyo. Loo nto yenza nzima umsebenzi wolukuhlo. Kaloku ulukuhlo kufuneka lusoloko luphumelela. Oku kwenzeka xa abaphulaphuli bewamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo kabini kuphela apha kweli phetshana akubaqinisekisi abaphulaphuli. Ngako oko,, abantu abakwazi ukuziva bekhululekile. Ngamanye amazwi, xa umbhali ethe wasilela ngale ndlela ekwaneliseni abaphulaphuli bakhe kwiiimfuno zabo, iintshukumo, iinkolo nezimilo zabo azinakutshintsha. Loo nto yenza ukuba lungaphumeleli ulukuhlo.

Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

A. Ushwankathelo

Sesona sixhobo sisetyenziswe ngokwanelisayo kweli phetshana. Sisetyenziswe kumhlathi wesibini ukuya kumhlathi wesihlanu. Oku kuthetha ukuba ngumhlathi wokuqala kuphela ongasisebenzisanga esi sixhobo.

Kumhlathi wesibini sifumaneka kumgca we-13-14, “achieve sustained progress in meeting our common continental challenges”. Oku kususiphumo sikanobangela ofumaneka kumgca we-14-15, “if we act together in an organised, structured and systematic manner”.

Kumhlathi wesithathu unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-27-28, “the required two-thirds of OAU members–36 states”. Isiphumo soku ibe sesi sikumgca wama 28, “ratify the Constitutive Act”.

Kwalapha kulo mhlathi omnye unobangela ukhona kumgca wama-29-30, “to prepare proposals leading to the creation of the all-Africa institutions visualized in the Act”. Kumgca wama-38, “establishment of the consultative African Parliament”. Ngeli lixa isiphumo soku sikumgca wama-44-46, “guide the detailed programme of action of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), as well as the plan of action for the second phase of the drafting process of this programme”.

Ukanti kumhlathi wesine, unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-80-81, “will contribute to the new Africa and global initiative and partnership”. Isiphumo sibe kumgca wama-81-82, “for an African renaissance”. Kwalapha kulo mhlathi, isiqulatho sikwaboniswa ngengqiqo esukela kwiimpawu. Kumgca wama-82-85, “the contemporary African generations, of which we are an integral part, are blessed that they have the opportunity to redefine Africa,

and therefore the world, as a place of hope and joy, without poor and dehumanised people”.

Ingqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo isetyenzisiwe kwakhona kumhlathi wesihlanu. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-87, “SADC Summit Meeting called”. Isiphumo ibe sesi, kumgca wama-87-90, “to discuss the further transformation of our regional organisation into a more effective instrument in our common striving for regional integration and balanced regional development”.

Omnye unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-92, “the most important building blocs in the process”. Nasi isiphumo soku, kumgca wama-92-93, “the construction of the African Union”. Konke oku kubonisa ukukwazi ukwenza ulukuhlo ngengqiqo.

B. Ugxeko

Ukwenza ulukuhlo ngengqiqo kubonisa ukuba umlukuhli usenokwenza umyalezo wakhe wamkeleke kubaphulaphuli. Umyalezo weli phetshana wenzelwe ifuthe ngokusetyenziswa kwesiqulatho. Umbhali ubonisile ukuba abantu bafuna ukwazi ngeyona nto iza nomyalezo. Kungenxa yoku le nto ethe wagxininisa ekusebenziseni esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Umbhali ububonisile ubungqina nolwazi olwaneleyo kwiingxoxo yakhe.

I-SADC nje ngombutho omele amazantsi e-Afrika, kumele iqinisekise ekusebenzisaneni neminye imibutho yemimandla ye-Afrika. Kungesi sizathu okubangela ezi ngxoxo ze-SADC zibe malunga nokumanyana kwe-Afrika. Ngale ndlela, i-Afrika ingavuseleleka. Nangona oku kungumsebenzi ongelula kwaphela. Into ethetha ukuba, oku kufuna ixesha lokuhlenganisa abantu base-Afrika jikelele.

4.3.4 Ugxeko lwalo lonke eli phetshana

Indlela ekusetyenziswe ngayo izixhobo zolukuhlo ibonisa ukuba, abona bantu kubhekiswa kubo Lo myalezo ziinkokheli zoorhulumente base-Afrika. Isizathu sokuthetha ngolu hlobo sesokuba iimfuno zabantu nje azifezekiswanga ngokwaneleyo. Umzekelo, imfuno yokhuseleko. Abantu bafuna ukhuseleko kwimiba efana nempilo, iimfazwe, iziqhushumbisi, izifo ezifana noGawulayo nokunye. Olu khuseleko banikwa lona abantu, kumhlathi wokuqala, alufikeleli okanye alubachaphazeli ngqo abantu. Zikhona nezinye

iimfuno ezingasetyenziswanga ngokwanelisayo. Ukanti ezinye ezibalulekileyo azisetyenziswanga kwaphela.

Ewe kona okuqulathwe ngulo myalezo kuzingqi kwaye kusengamkelwa ngabaphulaphuli. Umbuzo ngowokuba, lungaphumelela njani ulukuhlo olwenziwa kubaphulaphuli abangoneliswanga ngeemfuno zabo. Ingakumbi ngeemfuno ezingundoqo. Umbhali ukhangeleka ethengisa nje i-MAP kunye ne-AU ngaphezu kokutsala ajike uluvo lwabaphulaphuli nge-Afrika jikelele.

Likhona ifuthe elenziwe zezi zixhobo zithe zasetyenziswa ngumbhali. Amazwe aliqela neenkokheli zawo, abonakala elithakazelela eli linge lokumanywa nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

4.4. IPHETSHANA LESITHATHU: IMPORTANT STEPS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA:

(ANC Today, Volume 1 No.16)

4.4.1 Umyalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana

Kubonakala amanyathelo abalulekileyo athe athathwa ziinkokheli ze-Afrika ekumiseleni inkqubo yedemokrasi kwezi lizwekazi. Kule nkulungwane yamashumi amabini amazwe amaninzi abonise ukuzimisela kwinkululeko yama-Afrika. Akho amazwe amaninzi ayesele ekhululekile, kodwa ngonyaka ka-1990 kukhululeke ilizwe laseNamibia. Zakhululwa iinkokheli zopolitiko, kwavulwa imilomo yemibutho eMzantsi Afrika.

Oku kukhokelele kwiingxoxo ezikhokelele kulonyulo olukhululekileyo ngo-1994. wakhululeka noMzantsi Afrika. Koku oku kukhuthaza inkqubo yedemokrasi kwi-Afrika iphela. Iinkokheli ezilawula ngegqudu kubonakala zingasafuneki kwezi lizwekazi. Iinkokheli ezifana noMobutu Sese Seko eZaire, kangangokuba akazange amkelwe ngumbutho i-SADC ukuba abe lilungu, xa weyesenza isicelo sobulungu. Nokufuna ukulilawula nje ngomongameli ubomi akavumelekanga, ngenxa yokuba kujongela phantsi amalungelo abantu. Umzekelo, kwimeko yalowo wayesakuba ngumongameli eMalawi uKamuzu Banda.

Kungoko la manyathelo ekhuthaza intetho-ngxoxo phakathi kwamaqela aphikisanayo kwingingqi yase-DRC, phantsi kweCongolese Dialogue. Ukumiselwa koxolo phantsi kwe-"Lusaka Agreement", kumazwe afana neZanzibar, Tanzania neMozambique. Ukungenelela kwimeko yaseLesotho ngo-1994 nango-1999, kunye neendibano zoorhulumente bamazwe ase-Afrika kubonisa indlela efuneka ngayo idemokrasi e-Afrika.

Xa ubani eqwalasela konke uyaphawula ukuba okona kuphambili kweli phetshana kukumiselwa koxolo, idemokrasi, nokuhlonitshwa kwamalungelo abantu. Ngako oko, umbhali uzama ukufundisa abantu ngeziphumo zokujongela phantsi amalungelo abantu. Ekwabonisa nentlalo ephantsi kwenkqubo yolawulo ngegqudu. Okulungileyo kukumisela inkqubo yolawulo lwedemokrasi. Umbhali ufuna abantu bakuvume oku khon'ukuze bayixhase inkqubo yedemokrasi.

4.4.2 Iintonye zediskhosi

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 1, IMIGCA 1-17

(1) Ushwankathelo

Eminyakeni yokugqibela elishumi kwinkulungwane yamashumi amabini, kwabonakala ithemba lokuba ummandla wamaZantsi e-Afrika unganegalelo elikhulu ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika. Ngonyaka ka-1990 iNamibia iye yafumana inkululeko. Oku kwanika ithemba ngakumbi kubantu baseMzantsi Afrika ababeselucinezelweni. Eli themba laba yimpumelelo emva kwexesha elide, ngenxa yokuba imibutho yezopolitiko kunye neenkokheli ezazivalwe umlomo, zavulwa umlomo zakhululwa nase luvalwelweni.

Emva koko kwabakho iingxoxo phakathi kwezi nkokheli norhulumente wase-Pitoli, okanye owabamhlophe. Ngxoxo ezo zathi zakhokhelela kwinkululeko yoMzantsi Afrika ngo-1994. Ilizwe loMzantsi Afrika lilandele inkqubo yedemokrasi lakuba likhululekile. Yindlela ebonisa ukulangazelela uxolo phakathi komntu omnyama nomhlophe, khon'ukuze kubekho impucuko nenkqubela eMzantsi Afrika. Xa impucuko nenkqubela ziphumelela kwezi ilizwe, namanye amazwe alapha e-Afrika angazeka mzekweni khon'ukuze kubekho uxolo nenzolo e-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Njengokuba kumele umlukuhli ajolise kwezona mfuno ziphambili kubaphulaphuli bakhe, apha kulo mhlathi kusetyenziswe iimfuno ukubonisa oku. Oku kuthetha ukuba umbhali ayazazi iimfuno zabantu. Kungenxa yoku umbhali ebone ukuba makasebenzise ezi zixhobo zolukuhlo eziphantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Ngoba zikulungele ukusebenza kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Kungoko, NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 160), "these appeals are called process premises because they target psychological process that seem operate in most people".

Kwakhona, lo mhlathi ubonakalisa ukusetyenziswa kweenkqubo zeSayikholoji, umzekelo, amagama afana no-"our" no-"we", asebenza kanye engqondweni yomphulaphuli. Oku kubonakala kwimpendulo okanye kwintshukumo yomphulaphuli. Indlela ezisetyenziswa ngayo ezi zixhobo ikwabonisa impumelelo okanye ukungaphumeleli kolukuhlo. Kungoko kubalulekile ukuzisebenzisa ngempumelelo ezi zixhobo khon'ukuze iminqweno okanye iinjongo zakho ziphumeleleke.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Kwihlabathi jikelele abantu zizilwanyana ezithanda ukuxabiseka kuyo nayiphi na into eziyenzayo. Abantu aba bathanda ukuziva besenza umahluko ngokuthi babenezinto abaziphumezayo. La mazwi angqinwa, ngokukaLarson (1995, p. 173), nguMaslow (1954), ngokuthi, "we want to feel wanted and valued". Ngako oko, kufuneka umncome kwaye umkhuthaze umntu xa esenza into entle nenenzuzo. Oku kungakwenza uluphumelele ulukuhlo, njengomlukuhli ofuna ukufezekisa iinjongo zakhe.

Eli phetshana lijolise kwimfuno yokuzingca, ngokuthi likhankanye ukukhululeka koMzantsi Afrika. Kumgca we-12, "we gained our own freedom in 1994". Oku kwenzeka ngoxolo, akuzange kubekho mpalalo yagazi okanye ngquzulwano. Kwahlalwa phantsi kwaxoxwa.

Kubonakala ngathi umbhali uyabazi abantu ukuba bayaluthanda uxolo, kwaye bafuna lube yinto ephambili kwiingxoxo zokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Nangona kunjalo, abantu

baseMzantsi Afrika banoluvo lokuba kusekho abantu abadla ngendeb'endala. Ngamanye amagama basekho abo bafuna ukuba bacalulwe abamhlophe, kwelinye icala basekho abamhlophe abasabacalulayo abantu abamnyama. Nangona kunjalo abantu baseMzantsi-Afrika abaluthandi ubandlululo ingcinezelo. Inkululeko ephantsi kwedemokrasi ilungele ukumanyanisa izizwe ezahlukeneyo.

Ngale ndlela, umbhali ufuna ukwanelisa abantu beli lizwekazi kwimfuno yabo yokuzingca. Ukuba umbhali angakwazi ukubonisa abaphulaphuli bakhe baxabisekile xa benento abayanze ngempumelelo, umzekelo, ukulwela inkululeko, kungalula ukubalukuhla abaphulaphuli. Baya kubonakala bezingca xa kuthethwa ngegalelo lwabo ekuziseni inkululeko eMzantsi Afrika, nto ke leyo enokubenza bawamkele lula umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Isimilo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sinento yokwenza nokuziphatha, uLarson (1995, p. 176), uthi, uAlice, Eagley noChaiken (1993), basichaza ngolu hlobo esi sixhobo solukuhlo, "attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour". Ngamanye amazwi, ukuthandwa nokungathandwa komba othile kubonwa kwisimilo somntu.

Umgca wo-1-3, ubonisa isimilo. Esi similo sibonakala ngala mazwi, "many in the world entertained the hope that Southern Africa would play a leading role in the recovery and renewal of the African continent as a whole". Yindlela abonisa ngayo umbhali ukwamkela kwakhe intembeko yehlabathi. Oku kwenzeka ngokuhlola impendulo yamazwe ehlabathini.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sikwasetyenzisiwe kumgca we-4-9. Ukusuka kumgca wesibini, kugxininisa kwiindlela zolukuhlo impendulo ngokuthi kukhankanywe oku, kumgca we-2, "Southern Africa would play a leading role in the recovery and rebnewal of the African continent". Kumgca we-4, "The decade opened with the independence of Namibia in 1990". Kunye nomgca we-6, "freedom for our own people was not far away". Umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli batshintshe izimilo zabo. Kaloku nazo iinkokheli bezikade zingaboni ngasonye.

Ukungaguquguki

Abantu baziva bekhululekile bakufumanisa ukuba izinto zenzeka ngokwendlela abaqonda ngayo. Kungoko abantu befuna okungaguquguqukiyo kubomi babo. Umlukuhli kufuneka akubonise ukungaguquguquki ngokusebenzisa ubungqina obomeleleyo, khon'ukuze abantu bavumelane nomyalezo okanye bawamkele. Ukungqina oku, uLarson (1995, p. 182) uthi, "... human beings feel comfortable when the world lives up to or operates consistently with their perception of or predictions about events".

Kweli phetshana ukungaguquguquki kusetyenziswe nje ngesixhobo solukuhlo ekwenzeni isivumelwano. Intsusa yesivumelwano ibonakaliswa ngoqikelelo apha kulo mhlathi. Kungca we-15-17, "the maturity of our people that, as Africans, both black and white, we were perfectly capable of successfully managing the complex social and human relations that characterise our society". Awona magama abonisa intsusa ngala mabini, "maturity" kunye no-"complex". Kukhankanywe ngeenjongo zokwenza isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli khon'ukuze balukuhleke lula.

Umbhali uzama ukuthi abantu mabayeke ukuziva becinelezelekile ngenxa yokuba inkululeko iza kuba yinto entsha kwezi lizwe, ngoko ke mhlawumbi kuza kuba nzima ukuyilawula. Hayi akunjalo, abantu beli lizwe baza kukwazi ukuyilawula nokuyisingatha inkululeko. Olu luqikelelo olwenziwa ngumbhali lokuba siza kukwazi ukulilawula ilizwe lethu. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi akungca we-16-17, "perfectly capable of successfully managing the complex social and human relations". Apha kusetyenziswe isivumelwano njengendlela yokungaguquguquki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Isiqulatho seengxoxo kulo mhlathi wokuqala sixhomekeke kwiingqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kungca we-12, "negotiations with the Pretoria regime". Kwalapha kulo mgca we-12 kufumaneka isiphumo esi sesi, "end the system of apartheid". Le ndlela yeyokunika ubungqina obusukela kwiingqiqo.

Ubungqina besibini obubonisa ingqiqo bunikwe khon'ukuze abantu bakwamkele ukumiselwa kwedemokrasi kwiingqiqo yamazantsi e-Afrika. Obu bungqina buboniswa

ngokusebenzisa ingqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kungca we12, kulapho oku kubonakala khona.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 2, IMIGCA 18-40

(1) Ushwankathelo

- (a) Kumazwe amaninzi ale ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika kubekho unyulo olukhululekileyo nolwanelisayo. Oku kwenzeka emva kwexesha elide lengcinezelo kwizizwe ngezizwe kwezi laseAfrika. Kwaqala inkqubo yokuvuselelwa koqoqosho, ngenxa yokuba ibiyeyona nto ethe yabethakala kakhulu ngexesha lokulwela inkululeko. Le nkqubo yaqala kwilizwe laseMozambique, kwaye imeko yobomi babemi baseMozambique iye yangcono kakhulu. Oku kwathakazelelwa nangamanye amazwe ehlabathini jikelele.
- (b) Kwalandela intshukumo eyaphelela ekususweni kukaMobutu Sese Seko elulawulweni, kwilizwe laseZaire. Okwakungalunganga okwathi kwenzeka e-Afrika kwiminyaka engamashumi amane eyadlulayo, uMobutu Sese Seko wakwenza okwakhe. Ngamanye amagama, le nkokheli yayiyithathela kuyo yonke into, inguzwi lakhe. Oku kubonakala ngokuthi athimbe iZaire ngomkhosi, aze abe nguzwilakhe ajongele phantsi amalungelo abantu. Lo mfo wayebuphanga ubutyebi bukawonke-wonke ekunye nabo wayelawula nabo nabakumgangatho ophezulu. Walutshabalalisa uqoqosho waze olwalukho walenza lwanqongophala eluntwini.
- (c) I-Democratic Republic of Congo ethe yamkelwa nje ngelungu ngumbutho we-SADC, ngenxa yokuzinikela kwayo kwinkqubo yedemokrasi. Ngeli lixa iZaire, phantsi kukaMobutu, ikhatywe amaxesha aliqela kwisicelo sayo sokuba lilungu le-SADC. Kaloku i-SADC ayiwamkeli amazwe alawula ngobuzwilakhe okanye ngegqudu. Kungoko amazwe ale ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika ezimisele ukuqinisekisa ukuba le ngingqi yeyedemokrasi, uxolo, inzolo, ukhuliso loqoqosho, inkqubela nempumelelo.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Lo mhlathi wesibini uyinxalenye yemihlathi yeli phetshana ebhalwe nguMongameli. Nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba nawo wenzelwe ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli, khon'ukuze babe nenkxaxheba ekumiseleni idemokrasi kumazantsi e-Afrika. Khon'ukuze luphumelele olu lukuhlo, umlukuhli kufuneka achaphazele iimfuno zabaphulaphuli kwintetho yakhe.

Kubalulekile ukusebenzisa amagama enza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Loo magama khon'ukuze enze isibheno kufuneka abe asetyenziswa ngengqiqo nangobuchule. ULarson (1995, p. 160) ukungqina oku ngokuthi, "... the better appeals are the logical ones". Nangona zingachatshazelwanga iimfuno eziliqela nezikhangeleka zingundoqo Kulo mhlathi, umbhali ubonakalisa ukwazi ukusebenzisa isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo ngempumelelo. Usebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji, ngokukaPackard (1964). Amagama afana no-"our", "free", "better-life", athi asebenze kwingqondo yomphulaphuli nto ke leyo ethi imbangele ukuba ahambelane okanye avumelane nolukuhlo.

Imfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Umbhali ubone kuyimfuneko ukubonisa abaphulaphuli ukuba baxabisekile. Njengokuba isazeka into yokuba abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa nokuba umntu sele ekowupha na umgangatho wasekuhlaleni. UPackard (1964, p. 163) ukubeka ngale ndlela oku, "people need to feel valued, they need to feel that make a difference". Ngeli lixa yena uMaslow (1954),ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173), ekungqina oku ngala mazwi, "We want to feel wanted and valued". Lo mhlathi ungqale kanye kule mfuno ngokusebenzisa isenzi u-"ensure" kumgca wama-33.

Imigca-37-40 ibonisa ngokupheleleyo le mfuno yokuzingca. La mazwi, "what was happening in Southern Africa sent out a firm signal that our region was determined to overcome this past to ensure that ouers become an area of democracy, peace, stability, economic growth, development and prosperity", ngawo abonisa ubungqina kwintetho yombhali.

Kwakhona, la mazwi angqina ukuba umbhali uyaqonda okokuba abantu bengingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika bayaluthanda uxolo nenkqubela ekuphuculeni imeko yentlalo yabo. Amagama afana noxolo, inzolo, ukhuliso loqoqosho akhankanywe oku, khon'ukuze abantu bazive bekhulekile. Ngaloo ndlela baya kuthi bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana. Ngamanye amazwi ulukuhlo lombhali luya kuphumelela.

Isimilo

Esi sixhobo kulo mhlathi sisetyenziselwe ukunika abaphulaphuli umbono womlukuhli, malunga nokuba uyathanda na okanye akakuthandi okuthile ngomba othile, umzekelo. Kaloku isimilo sichaphazela imvakalelo yomntu, ethi ikhokhelele ekuziphatheni ngendlela ethile. Oku kubekwa ngolu hlobo nguDoob (1947), ecatshulwe kuRardon (1991, p. 30), "An attitude has cue value in the sense that it acts as a stimulus to produce another response, but it also is a drive in the sense that tension is reduced through subsequent behavior leading to a reward".

Ngako oko,, nangona umbhali ebonisa ukungathandi kwakhe inkqubo yolawulo luka-Mobutu Sese Seko, ukwangqale ekuguquleni izimilo zabantu ngeendlela zokulawula isizwe. Kungca wama-24-30, umbhali unika isimilo soku kungavumelani. Enika izizathu ezisixhenxe ezibangela oku kungavumelani noMobutu. Oku kuboniswe ngale ndlela ilandelayo:- (1) "... who personified much of what had gone wrong in Africa"; (2) "the seizure of power by the military"; (3) "the imposition of military dictatorship"; (4) "the denial of the rights of the people"; (5) "the looting of public resources"; (6) "the destruction of the already fragile African economics"; (7) "the entrenchment of instability within and among the African countries". Apha kubonakala isimilo sombhali sona esithi sinike abaphulaphuli uluvo lokuba uMobutu lo ebe yinkokheli engalunganga, ngoko ke izimilo zabantu ziza kubonakalisa ukungamthandi.

Ukanti umbhali uyasitshintsha isimilo sakhe kungca wama-31-36, ngenxa yokuba ebonisa ukuthanda kwakhe i-DRC ne-SADC. Apha isimilo sibonakalisa ukuvuma kombhali imisebenzi elungileyo eyenziwa ngala maqela. La mazwi abonisa oku ngala, "In recognition of the commitment of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to democracy and other values shared by the members of SADC, the Community accepted the DRC as one of its members. The Mobutu regime had applied for Zaire to join the Community a

number of years earlier. This had been turned down because the member states did not want a military dictatorship to join the regional grouping".

Ngale ndlela lo mhlathi ufuna ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli ukuba babe nezimilo ezibonakalisa ukuyithanda i-SADC. Kwaye bayazi khon'ukuze bayivume nemisebenzi yayo eyenzayo naleyo sele iyenzile. Kwakhona namazwe afana ne-DRC athe azibophelela kwinkqubo yedemokrasi kumelwe athandwe. Ngako oko, abaphulaphuli kumele bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo ngokulula. Nto leyo ethi ibakhokhelele ekubeni baqhubekeke ngokuxhasa ukumiselwa kwedemokrasi kule ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika.

Ukungaguququki

Kulo mhlathi asisetyenziswanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Ngamanye amazwi ukusukela kumgca we-18-40, ukufumaneki ukungaguququki.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi enika ulukuhlo olunesiqulatho esithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Apha kunikwe oonobangela ababini. Unobangela wokuqala ufumaneka kumgca we-18, "free and fair democratic elections". Aze unobangela wesibini afumaneke kumgca wama-20, "economic recovery". Ngeli lixa sona isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-22, "better life for the people". Le yindlela umbhali anika ngayo ubungqina obubonisa ingqiqo. Oku kuya kuba nefuthe ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli khon'ukuze bahambisane nenkqubo sokumiselwa kwedemokrasi kwezi lizwe nakwi Afrika iphela.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 3, IMIGCA 41-78

(1) Ushwankathelo

(a) Ngonyaka ka-1994 nangonyaka ka-1999 amazwe ale ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika ayikhusela ngempumelelo idemokrasi eLesotho. Ngeli xesha kwakhukho amanye amalungu omkhosi wokhuseleko ayezama ukubhukuqa kwelo lizwe. Ngeli lixa amazwe ayencedisa ekukhuseleni urhulumente eLesotho ayesazi kakuhle ukuba ilizwe lase-Angola alikabi nalo uxolo nenzolo ngenxa yombutho kaSavimbi i-UNITA.

Nangona kunjalo la mazwe akayiyekanga kwaphela i-UNITA, koko ayayinyanzela i-UNITA ukuba iyeke ukulwa. Amazwe e-SADC athi kuSavimbi neqela lakhe makabambebele kwisivumelwano saseLusaka, ngenxa yokuba isesoxolo, hayi izikhali. Iminqweno yabemi baseAngola nabamanye amazwe apha e-Afrika ayinakuphunyezwa kusekho iimvazwe zobukhaya.

- (b) Oku kubonisa ukuba le ngingqi iya kuhlala iqinisekisa ukuba iyingingqi esebenzisa idemokrasi kuphela. Ewe, ubani angatsho ukuba kusekho imingeni esajongene namanye amazwana kwingingqi, umzekelo, iLesotho. Le mingeni zizinto ezifana nokubanjwa kwabantu kwiziphithiphithi eziqhubekayo kwelo. Kufuneka amaqela ezopolitiko aphikisanayo eLesotho azisombulule iingxaki zawo ngoxolo nenzolo phantsi kolawulo lwethutyana lwezopolitiko (Interim Political Authority) avumelene ngalo.

Phantsi kolawulo lwethutyana, kuvunyelwane ukuba izimvo zamaqela epolitiki zimelwe ePalamente. Nomthetho wonyulo utshintshwe kuveliswe umthetho womelo lolwalamano wesihlalo sesithathu ePalamente. Xa umlukuhli ekubonisa ngendlela elandelekayo oku kubaphulaphuli bakhe abalulangazelelayo uxolo, kulula ukubalukuhla.

- (c) Kule nkqubo yokulungisa iingxaki zalapha eLesotho, kubekho isivumelwano ngokumisela inkundla eyikhomishoni yemibuzo. Yona kwakufuneka iphande ngonobangela wezi ziphithiphithi zenzekayo ngo-1994, nango-1999. Sekulixesha yawuqalisayo lo msebenzi le khomishoni, kwaye ikho into eza kuza nayo ebantwini. Ekuqinisekiseni ukuba ulwanyulo oluzayo lolukhululekileyo nolunobulungisa, kuvunyelwene ukuba mayibe ngoobani abenza ikhomishoni yolunyulo.
- (d) Zidibene iinkokheli eLesotho kwinyanga ephelileyo kulapho zixelele intlanganiso yamaqela epolitiki alapho ukuba into abayenzayo eLesotho ukusombulula iingxaki zabo intle kakhulu. Kwaye isenokuba ngumzekelo wokunceda namanye amazwe ase-Afrika asengxakini ezinje.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Ezona njongo ziphambili zombhali kukulukuhla abaphulaphuli khon'ukuze bamkele umyalezo weli phetshana. Lo myalezo ungokumiselwa kwenkqubo yedemokrasi kwingingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika. Khon'ukuze zifezekiseke ezi njongo kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli ayenze intetho yakhe ngobuchule nangengqiqo. Ngamanye amazwi umlukuhli makasebenzise amagama enza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Umlukuhli ulwenza ngempumelelo ulukuhlo xa ethe wajonga okanye wafunda ukuba abaphulaphuli bakhe baluhlobo luni na. Kaloku kufuneka ubazi abantu oza kwenza kubo intetho, nje ngomlukuhli. Xa ubazi abaphulaphuli bakho kulula ukuzazi nezinto abazifunayo. Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzisa amagama enza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, nto leyo ebonisa ukubazi abaphulaphuli bakhe. Ngako oko, kusengatshiwo ukuba umlukuhli uyazazi neemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Nangona kunjalo apha umhlukuhli ujolise kwimfuno yokuzingca okanye imfuno yokuxabiseka.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Uthi uPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 163), "people need to feel valued and they need feel that they make a difference". Abantu bakufuna oku ngenxa yokuba ilizwe ekuphilwa Kulo kule mihla lunokhuphiswano oluphakamileyo. Umntu ngamnye ujonge isiqu sakhe, kodwa engafuni kujongelwa phantsi ngomnye umntu. Oku kubonakala ngokuba kwalo mntu ukwafuna ukuxatyiswa njengomntu naye. Akukhathaliseki nokuba umntu ukweliphi izinga nenqanaba okanye umgangatho wasekuhlaleni, naye uyafuna ukuxatyiswa.

ULarson (1995, p. 173) uthi uMaslow (1954), kwakhona uyakungqina oku ngokuthi, "we want to feel wanted and valued as human beings". Lo mhlathi ke ungqale kwimfuno yokuxabiseka. Oku kwenziwe ngokukhankanya impumelelo kuvavanyo lokuqinisekisa idemokrasi kule ngingqi. Ubungqina boku bufumaneka kumgca wama-55-56, "we can say, firmly, that the region passed the test of acting to ensure that Southern Africa remains a region of democracy". Ngako oko, le ngingqi nabantu bayo kumele ixatyiswe

ngukuzimisela kwayo kulawulo lwedemokrasi. Umbhali uwasebenzisa la mazwi ngenxa yokuba efuna abantu bazive bekhululekile.

Kwakhona umbhali ubonisa imfuno yokuxabiseka kwilizwe laseLesotho. Kungca wama-74-76, "when we were in Lesotho last month, we told the assembled leaders of the political parties that what were doing to resolve the problems of their country might very well serve as an example to all of us in Africa". Oku kukhankanywa ngabom khon'ukuze abantu baseLesotho bakwazi ukuzingca kwaye bayayazi ukuba baxatyisiwe zezinye izizwe zase-Afrika. Koku okukhokhelela ekulukuhlekeni lula kwabaphulaphuli ekubeni babambebele kwinkqubo yedemokrasi.

Isimilo

Isimilo sesinye sezixhobo ezithi zisetyenziswe kulukuhlo khon'ukuze inkolo nesimilo, kunye nokuziphatha komphulaphuli kutshintshe. Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali ubonisa isimilo sakhe sokungathandi kwakhe iinzame zokususa okanye ukubhukuqa urhulumente wedemokrasi eLesotho. Olu bhukuqo lwenziwa yimikhosi engamfuniyo urhulumente olawulayo kwelo. Kungca wama-41-42, "When some members of the security forces in Lesotho tried remove the democratically elected government of that country in 1994 and again in 1999".

Kwakhona umbhali ubonisa ukungathandi kwakhe iintshukumo neenkqubo zombutho i-UNITA kwelase-Angola. Kungca wama-46-47, "put pressure especially on UNITA to bring the war to an end". Ngale ndlela lo mhlathi unqale kwiinjongo zale ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika. Ngamanye amazwi le ngingqi iphantsi kwe-SADC izimisele ekumiseleni idemokrasi apha nakuyo yonke nje i-Afrika.

Xa kujongwa iziganeko ezibalekisa umzimba nezinganyamezelekiyo ezenzekayo apha e-Afrika, ezifana nokubulawa kwabantu. Abaphulaphuli baya kuwamkela lo myalezo uzisa uxolo nenzolo, ngenxa yokuba nezimilo zabo ziya kuba zintshintshile. Kaloku wonke umntu akakuthandi ukufa okanye ukubukela abantu besifa. Yiyo le nto zonke iinkokheli zase-Afrika nabantu nje jikelele bezimisele ekumiseleni idemokrasi.

Ukungaguquguquki

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo asifumaneki apha kulo mhlathi.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sekuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Isiqulatho kulo mhlathi sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-48-49, "acting together through SADC". Isiphumo sona sifumaneka kumgca wama-49-50, "would succeed to make of our region what the masses of our people wanted it to be". Ngenxa yentsebenziswano kwi-SADC, isiphumo sesibini sifumaneka kumgca wama-53-54, "democratic rule was successfully protected". La ngamazwi ekuboniswa ngawo ubungqina bokuba nefuthe kwe-SADC.

Umbhali ububethelela obu bungqina ngokuthi asinike omnye unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kumgca wama-60, unobangela kukusebenza kunye, "acting together". Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-61-62, "Interim Political authority to thrash out their differences peacefully". Ukanti isiphumo esilandelayo sifumaneka kumgca wama-64-65, "proportional representative for a third of the seats in the next parliament". Kwakhona esinye isiphumo siyafumaneka kumgca wama-66, "Judicial Commission of Inquiry". Esokugqibela, nesinika ubungqina obupheleleyo ngokukhankanya esi siphumo kumgca wama-71-72, "Independent Electoral Commission". Konke oku kusetyenziselwa ukubonisa ubungqina obuqulunqwe ngengqiqo khon'ukuze abantu balukuhleke.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 4, IMIGCA 79-133

(1) Ushwankathelo

- (a) Indlela abayisingatha ngayo ingxaki yabo abantu baseLesotho, ibonisa ukuba basabambelele kwisivumelwano sase-DRC sango-1999 esiyi-"Lusaka Agreement". Kwa esi sivumelwano sikwavumela namaqela ase-Congo ukuba nawo azame ukusombulula iingxaki zawo, phantsi kwe-"Inter-Congolese Dialogue". Kufuneka kubekho amaqela afana nawezopolitiko, urhulumente kunye nemibutho nje yasekuhlaleni. Kwaye abantu baseCongo bavumelene ukuba uMongameli Sir Ketumile Masire ibe nguye ojongene nezi ngxoxo.

Oku kuya kunika ithuba iinkokheli zaseCongo lokuba zikwazi ukuthabatha isigqibo ngomgaqo-siseko. Imiba enokuthi ichaphazalwe kwezi ngxoxo yefana nemo yepolitiki, eyoqoqosho ukulungiselela ikamva lelizwe laseCongo. Lilonke abantu baseCongo balibale ngeyantlukwano yabo, koko baqwalasele kumiliselelo loxolo, uzinzo, kunye nedemokrasi. Xa oku kunokwenzeka namazwe engingqi yamachibi amakhulu angazeka mzekweni.

- (b) Kwintlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe ommandla we-SADC eNamibia, kwangqitywa ekubeni kwakhiwe ngokutsha lo mbutho wale ngingqi. Ulwakhiwo ngokutsha lwalo mbutho luya kusebenza nje ngesixhobo esiza kuba nefuthe eliphezulu ekukhuliseni uqoqosho, ekumiseleni idemokrasi, uxolo nozinzo kule ngingqi. Nangona oku kuyimfuneko nomqweno womntu ngamnye e-Afrika, kusekho imfazwe engathothiyo eAngola ebangela ukufa nentsokolo kubantu beli lizwe. Ukanti naseTanzania naseMozambique kukhe kwabakho ungquzulwano kumaqela achasaneyo, nkqu naseZimbabwe. Konke oku kuyichaphazele imeko yoqoqosho yala mazwe.
- (c) kwelinye icala inkqubo yokumiliselela isivumelwano eyi-"Lusaka Agreement" e-DRC nayo iyacotha. Iqela elilawulayo eZambia kumele iliqela elilawulayo lilungise umgaqo-siseko, khon'ukuze aluwule ityeli lesithathu uMongameli Frederick Chiluba. Le yindlela enqanda ukubuyiselwa kolawulo lokongamela ubomi, umzekelo uMongameli Kamuzu Banda waseMalawi. Nkqu abantu baseZambia bafuna kumiselwe umgaqo-siseko wedemokrasi. Kuvuyisenwe noMongameli Chiluba ngokuzimisela kwakhe kwinguqu yelizwe lakhe. Oku kwenzeka kwisidlo sase burhulumenteni. Oku kuphinde kwaxoxwa kwindibano ye-SADC eyayise Namibia.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Nawo lo mhlathi wesine uyinxalenye yeli phetshana libhalwe ngumongameli. Nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba nawo wenzelwe ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli. Abaphulaphuli aba kufunwa bathathe inkxaxheba ekumiseleni kwedemokrasi kwingingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika.

Okona kuphambili kulukuhlo kukuba umlukuhli kufuneka abazi abantu kwaye azazi neemfuno zabo. Xa kujongwa lo mhlathi, kungatshiwo ukuba umbhali uyayazi ukuba zikhona izinto ezifunwa ngabaphulaphuli. Ngenxa yoku usebenzisa amagama athile

phantsi kwenkqubo yeSayikholoji. Phantsi kwale nkqubo ingqondo yomphulaphuli iye ilukuhlwe ngamagama athile athi awasebenzise umlukuhli.

limfuno

Imfuno yokhuseleko

Umbhali unalo ulwazi ngeemfuno eziphambili zabantu, umzekelo, ukutya, amanzi nokunye. Nangona kunjalo umbhali usebenzisa imfuno yokhuseleko ngenxa yokuba ebona kuyimfuneko emandla phantsi kwale meko. Ngale ndlela ufuna ukwanelisa abantu kule mfuno. Kumgca wama-84-87, "The Dialogue will afford the Congolese leadership with the opportunity together to decide the constitutional, political and economic future of their country. Whatever the differences..., these will have to be resolved through peaceful debate rather than the clash of arms". Imeko yezopolitiko eCongo ikwimeko ebangela inkxalabo kukhuseleko lwabantu.

Kungoko umbhali ebone ukuba makabaqinisekise abantu ngokhuseleko olunokuba khona kuphela phantsi kwedemokrasi. La mazwi akumgca-84-87, akhankanyelwa ukunika ithemba ebantwini khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo lweli phetshana. Kwakhona abantu baya kuthembela kuMgaqo-siseko wedemokrasi ukuba uza kuphelisa ungquzulwano. Oku kubonisa ukhuseleko lwabantu ukuba luyinto ephambili kule ngingqi yamazatsi e-Afrika.

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Lo mhlathi ungqale kanye kwimfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka. Umbhali unolwazi lokuba abantu bafuna ukuxatyiswa nakwizinto abazenzayo. Ngokuka Larson (1995, p. 163), uPackard (1964) uthi, "people need to feel valued, they need to feel that they make a difference". Oku kungqinwa nguMaslow (1954), NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 173), ngokuthi, "we want to feel wanted and valued".

Apha umbhali uyibonisa le mfuno ngamazwi akumgca we-122-127, "Quite correctly, the people of Zambia responded to this threat, demanding that the Constitution had to be respected and the democratic system in that country protected. We had ourselves discussed this matter with President Chiluba when we paid a state visit to Zambia last

year. We had agreed that he would not run for a third term". UMongameli Chiluba ukwamkele oku, nto leyo ebonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu baseZambia. Ukuzibophelela kwidemokrasi kuyeyona nto imenza urhulumente nabantu bakhe baxatyiswe lihlabathi jikelele.

Ngale ndlela umbhali ufuna ukwanelisa imfuno yokuqinesekisa ukuxabiseka. Kwakhona umbhali uyazingca ngomsebenzi abawenzayo bengoorhulumente beli lizwekazi ekumiseleni idemokrasi. Ngale ndlela umbhali uyayazi ukuba kuzakubalula ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli bakhe xa esebenzisa esi sixhobo.

Isimilo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sesona asisebenzisileyo umbhali kulo mhlathi. Iinjongo zakhe kukubonisa uku kungavumelani kwakhe nemiba ethile kwimeko ye-Afrika. Nangona zikho ezo angqinelana nazo, kodwa zona zimbilwa kunezo angazithandiyo. Kungoko angathandayo ukubona abaphulaphuli nabo bengakuye okanye bengqinelana nomyalezo. Oku kubonakala kumgca wama-24-30, phaya kula mhlathi wesibini.

Oku kubonisa ukuba le mhlathi ufuna ukutshintsha indlela yolawulo lo mntu omnye okanye ulawulo ngobuzwilakhe, umzekelo, uMobutu Sese Seko wase Zaire. Lilonke umbhali ufuna ukutshintsha izimilo zabantu ngakulawulo lo mntu omnye, khon'ukuze lupheliswe ulawulo ngobuzwi lakhe. Oku kubonisa isimilo semvumelwano okanye sokuthanda amazwe athile phantsi kwe-SADC. Kumgca wama-98-121, "positive developments, which define the direction in which our region will continue to evolve, in recent years there have also been worrying developments in the region". Kukho amazwe abonisa ukungakuthandi kwakhe umbhali okuqhubekayo kuwo afana neTanzania, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe kunye neZambia. Ngeli lixa onke amanye amazwe engasebenzisi nkqubo yademokrasi, koko eyobuzwi lakhe. Olu hlobo lwesimilo lulindeleke ukuba luthathwe nangabaphulaphuli, ukubonisa ukuba bawamkele umyalezo.

Kwakhona lo mhlathi usigxininisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo kumgca we-128-133, "we publicly congratulated President Chiluba for his stand, to the acclaim of the Zambians who were present at this Banquet. We had occasion to discuss this matter again with President Chiluba when we met in Namibia during the SADC Summit meeting earlier this year, reiterating positions with which many among the political leaders in our region agreed".

Yindlela abonisa ngayo abantu baseZambia ukuba uyakuthanda abakwenzayo, ngako oko, kulindeleke ukuba bawamkele umyalezo weli phetshana.

Ukungaguquguki

Esi sixhobo solokuhlo asifumeneki apha kulo mhlathi, ngenxa yokuba umbhali akasisebenzisanga.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Okuqulathwe kulukuhlo kulomhklathi kuthembele kunabangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakaliswe kumgca wama-81, "Inter-Congolese Dialogue". Isiphumo sona sibe kumgca wama-85, "political and economic future of their country". Konke oku kungqinwa ngokubonisa isiphumo sesibini esikumgca wama-87, "peaceful debate".

Kwakhona omnye unobangela uboniswa kumgca wama-93, "restructure this important regional body". Ngeli lixa isiphumo sona, ikukuba kumgca wama-95-97, "promotion of balanced and sustained regional economic growth and development as well as an institution for the promotion of democracy, peace and stability in our region". Obu bungqina bunefuthe lokwenza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, ngenxa yokuba benziwe ngengqiqo.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 5, IMIGCA 134-159

(1) Ushwankathelo

Lo mhlathi ubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba ukunqongophala kwedemokrasi e-Afrika kuko okubangela le ndlala nokungaphucuki. Akukho lizwe linokuze liphumelele phantsi kwenkqubo yokulawula ngegqudu, okanye ngobuzwi lakhe. Kungenxa yoku okubangele abantu bazibandakanye kwiintshukumo zokulwa ingcinezelo khon'ukuze bamilisele idemokrasi e-Afrika.

Ngenxa yoku kubonakala kunempumelelo ukuthatyathwa kwamanyathelo okuqinisekisa ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Abantu bazibandakanya ngokuthatha inxaxheba ekuqinisekiseni ukuba i-Afrika iba lilizwekazi loxolo nocwangco. Umzekelo, kwimeko yaseZambia kulapho

uMongameli wakhona efikelele kwisivumelwano nabantu beli lizwe ekumiseleni uxolo, endaweni yokungquzulana ngezigalo. Oku kubaluleke kwi-Afrika iphela ngenxa yokuba kumele namanye amazwe afunde indlela ezinjena, khon'ukuze kubekho isisombululo esanelisa wonke umntu ochaphazelekayo endaweni yokulwa.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli ofuna ukuphumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe kufuneka abazi abaphulaphulli bakhe. Kwakhona, kufuneka anganeli nje kukubazi, koko kufuneka azi neemfuno zabo. Xa sijonga apha kulo mhlathi kuphawuleka ukuba isixhobo solukuhlo esizimfuno asisetyenziswanga kakhulu. Phofu oku kuyinto ebisoloko ikho nakweminye imihlathi yangaphambili. Okubalulekileyo kukuba imfuno nokuba inye ethe yasetyenziswa inefuthe elisebenzayo ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli.

Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali usisebenzisile isixhobo solukuhlo esiza kuthi senze isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 160), "these appeals are called process that seem to operate in most people". Phantsi kolu lwazi nabani na ongumlukuhli angaphumelela kulukuhlo lwakhe xa ekwazi ukuzisebenzisa izixhobo zolukuhlo. Ngenxa yokuba zonke izixhobo zolukuhlo zibaluleke ngokulinganayo.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinesekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

NgokukaPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 163), "people need to feel valued, they need to feel that they make a difference". Ukanti yena UMaslow (1954), NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 173), uthi ukusekela le ntetho, "we want to feel wanted and valued". Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali ungqala kwimfuno yokuzingca. Oku kubonakala kumgca we-140-144, "to participate"; "contribute to the struggle to pull"; respect their democratic institutions"; "responsibility to use". La mazwi ebonisa ukuba umbhali ufuna abantu bazingce ngendima abayidlalayo ekwakheni idemokrasi.

Kwakhona umbhali uyakuqonda kakuhle ukuba abantu bafuna uxolo e-Afrika. Olu xolo nenzolo kumele zimiselwe ngabantu beengingqi ze-Afrika, khon'ukuze ibe ngumsebenzi

olula. Ukuba umlukuhli angakwazi ukubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu noorhulumente babo, ulukuhlo lwakhe lungaphumelela.

Isimilo

Kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzisa isimilo ekuboniseni ukungavumi kwakhe kwimiba ethile. Umbhali akavumi ukungabikho kwedemokrasi kumazwe angakhulanga ngokwaneleyo. Oku kukhula kubhekiselele kuqoqosho, kupolitiko, kulawulo olululo nakubugcisa nobuxhakaxhaka bale mihla. Kungca wama-134-139, "African experience during the last few decades has demonstrated that the absence of democracy in our countries is both a cause of instability and a catalyst encouraging the further underdevelopment of our countries. Dictatorship and autocracy serve to suppress the creative energies of the people and to divert them to activities directed against social development, including corruption". Ngako oko, umbhali uyalukhaba ulawulo lobuzwi lakhe, nokungazimiseli ekuziseni inguqu yenkqubela ebantwini. Yiyo le nto umbhali ebona kuyimfuneko yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, khon'ukuze abantu bahlalisane ngoxolo phantsi kwedemokrasi.

Amazwi afumaneka kungca wama-147-155, athi, "Whenever we have spoken these peoples of our Continent about the challenges of the African Renaissance, they have responded with the greatest enthusiasm, convinced that if we can address the fundamental issues of democracy and peace, ours will become a Continent of hope. As the political leaders of these masses, we dare not disappoint their expectations. It is in this context that we must congratulate President Chiluba and the people of Zambia for the firm action they have taken not to tamper with quest for democracy in Zambia and Southern Africa", angqina oku kungentla. Oku kulicebo lokubonisa indlela enokuthi ikhokhelele ekuhlangabezeni iingxaki ze-Afrika.

Umbhali ufuna ukuba abantu bayazi into yokuba oorhulumente base-Afrika bazimisele ekwakheni intlalo engcono kwezi lizwekazi i-Afrika. Ngako oko, kufuneka abantu bazibandakanye kwiinkqubo ezikhokhelela kumiliselu lwedemokrasi. Ngale ndlela lo mhlathi ufuna ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli khon'ukuze batshintshe izimilo zabo ngoorhulumente base-Afrika. Oku kubonakala kungca wama-152-155, "we must congratulate President Chiluba and the people of Zambia for firm action they have taken not to tamper with their Constitution to the detriment of the quest for democracy in Zambia

and Southern Africa. Ngala mazwi athi enze isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, nto ke leyo ekhokhelela ekubeni umphulaphuli makatshintshe isimilo.

Ukungaguquguki

Esi sona isixhobo sisetyenziswe ukunika abaphulaphuli ithemba le mpumelelo kwiinjongo zabo. Ingakumbi eso sokunqwenela idemokrasi, uxolo, inzolo, ukuphela kwendlala, nemo yoqoqosho engagungqiyo. Ngenxa yoku abaphulaphuli bangaziva bekhululekile. Intsusa yokungaguquguki isukela kwingqikelelo apha kulo mhlathi. Umbhali uqikelela ukuba ziza kufezekiseka iinjongo zabantu base-Afrika, xa bezimisele kwimpumelelo. Kungca we-156-159, "This important decision must serve to confirm that, whatever our current problems, Southern Africa remains a region truly committed to the fundamental values and practices that constitute the foundation on which is based Africa's effort to achieve its renewal". Olu hlobo lolukuhlo lwenzele ukunika umphulaphuli uluvo lwesivumelwano. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ubethelela iinkolo abanazo abantu ngorhulumente wamaZantsi e-Afrika.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi wesihlanu awusisebenzisanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Oku kuthetha ukuba asikho isiqulatho kulo mhlathi.

4.4.3 Uhlalutyo

Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Apha kweli phetshana umbhali ubonakalisa ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba unalo ulwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe. Iingcali zonxibelelwano zingqinelana ngokuba intetho yolukuhlo eyenziwe ngengqiqo iyaphumelela, ngoba kusetyenziswa amagama athile enze isibheni kwingqondo nakwimvakalelo yomphulaphuli. Umlukuhli yena kufuneka wongeze izibheni eziqingqiweyo kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, khon'ukuze aluphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe.

Kungoko kubalulekile ukuba umlukuhli oneenjongo ngolukuhlo lwakhe kumele angqale kwezona zixhobo zilungele intetho yakhe. Xa oku kungenziwanga ngendlela elungele abo

abaphulaphuli phantsi komba othile, kuye kufumaneka iziphumo ezingonelisiyo. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 160), "One emotional appeal might accomplish a slight change in persuadees that is then reinforced by a series of logical arguments that lead to the final behavior that proves the persuasion was successful".

Kuyimfuneko ukuba umlukuhli makasebenzise izixhobo ngobuchule obuza kwenza abaphulaphuli bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo. Amaxesha amaninzi kusetyenziswa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. ULarson (1995, p. 160), uthi ngalenkqubo, "... process premises ... target psychological process that seem to operate in most people". Oku apha kweli phetshana kwenziwe ngobuchule bonxibelelwano.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka

A. Ushwankathelo

Kweli phetshana esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amathandathu. Kubonakala ngathi wonke ubani uyakufuna ukuxatyiswa, nokuba kusentweni ayenzayo okanye kwindlela ayiyo. Le mfuno ayikhethi nokuba ubani usisityebi okanye ulihlwempu kusini na, nokuba usebenza kumsebenzi wezinga eliphantsi okanye eliphezulu. Wonke ubani ukufuna ngokulinganayo ukuxatyiswa. Kungoko UMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173) esithi, "we want to feel wanted and valued as human beings".

Ukuba uyabanelisa abaphulaphuli kwiiimfuno zabo, uye uluphumelele ulukuhlo lwakho. Umbhali ke uthe wakuqwalasela abaphulaphuli bakhe wafumanisa ukuba bakuthanda kakhulu ukuziva bexabisekile, kwaye bayazingca ngobuzwe babo nangemisebenzi abayenzela ilizwe lwabo. Oku, NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 163), kuboniswa kumazwi kaPackard (1964) athi, "... people need to feel valued for what they do". Le mfuno iza kuchazwa ngokwaneleyo kwixesha ngalinye ethe yasetyenziswa ngalo kumhlathi ngamnye.

Esi sixhobo siqale sasetyenziswa kumhlathi wokuqala kumgca we-13, "We gained our own freedom in 1994". Ngale ndlela umbhali ubonisa abantu ukuba kufanele bazingce ngenkxaxheba yabo ekulweni ingcinezelo de bafumane inkululeko. Ngako uko abantu

baseMzantsi-Afrika babalulekile kwaye baxabisekile. Xa, nje ngumbhali uyababonisa oku abaphulaphuli bakho, kulula ukuba bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo lwakho.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumgca we-38-40, kumhlathi wesibini ngala mazwi, "... determined to overcome this past to ensure that ours become an area of democracy, peace, stability, economic growth, development and prosperity". Yenye yeendlela abonisa ngayo abaphulaphuli bakhe ukuba bona bengurhulumente bebambisene nabantu bayazingca ngenguqu abayenzayo khon'ukuze abantu baphile ubomi obungcono.

Okwesithathu, imfuno yoxabiseko okanye imfuno yokuzingca ibonaka kumhlathi wesithathu kumgca wama-55-56, "... we can say, firmly, that the region passed the test of acting to ensure that Southern Africa remains a region of democracy". Apha kuboniswa ukuxabiseka kwabantu bale ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika ekuqinisekiseni ukuba ilawulwa yinkqubo yedemokrasi. Yona ingenakho ukuphumelela ngaphandle kwentsebenziswano nokubambisana kwabantu bale ngingqi.

Okwesine, esi sixhobo siphinda sifumaneke kwalapha kulo mhlathi kumgca wama-74-78, "... we told the assembled leaders of the political parties that what they were doing to resolve the problems of their country might very serve as an example to all of us in Africa as to how, ..., we should approach situations of conflict that occasionally arise in all our countries". Umbhali ubonisa indlela alithanda ngayo ilizwe laseLesotho. Ngale ndlela ufuna abantu beli lizwe bedibene nabamanye amazwe akule ngingqi ukuba bazingce kwaye bazive bexatyisiwe. Kungale ndlela kulapho baya kuthi bahambisane nomyalezo weli phetshana.

Okwesihlanu, kumhlathi wesine kumgca we-122-123, esi sixhobo sibonakaliswa ngala mazwi, "..., the people of Zambia responded to this threat, demanding that the Constitution had to be respected". Nalapha la mazwi abonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu belizwe lase-Zambia ekuzimiseleni nasekuzibopheleleni kwinkqubo yedemokrasi. Xa amazwe ale ngingqi ezimisele ekunikezeleni ngobomi obungcono kubemi bawo phantsi kwenkqubo yedemokrasi, izinto ezifana noxolo zingaphunyezwa.

Okwesithandathu, kumhlathi wesihlanu kumgca we-140-146, "The masses of the people of our Continent are very interested to participate in the process of the development of our various countries and thus contribute to the struggle to pull themselves out of the painful

and demeaning situation of poverty and underdevelopment. They value their freedom, respect their democratic institutions and understand their responsibility to use such freedoms and democratic space as they may enjoy, to act as patriots to change their countries for the better". La mazwi abethelela ixabiso ebantwini bamazwe eli lizwekazi i-Afrika. Ngamazwi lana abanika ukuzithemba nokuqiniseka kwizakhono namandla abanawo ekwenzeni i-Afrika ifane namazwe aseYurophu.

B. Ugxeko

Umbhali usebenzisa kakhulu okanye amaxesha amaninzi esi sixhobo ngeenjongo zokunika abaphulaphuli ilunda. Umbhali unika abaphulaphuli bakhe ukuzithemba kwinto yonke abayenzayo. Nje ngenkokheli yesizwe, abantu kulula ukuba bamphulaphule kwaye amaxesha amaninzi benze njengoko enqwena. Nangona kwelinye icala, umzekelo kwicala lokunika okanye ukudala amathuba emisebenzi khon'ukuze baphangele abantu, kusenzima kakhulu.

Asingomsebenzi kuphela into efunwa ngabantu, koko bafuna ukuzingca ngobuzwe babo nangelizwe lwabo kwizinto ezifana nokwakhelwa izindlu, kuliwe indlala nentlupheko. Ezi zinto zizinto ezingakhankanywayo ngumbhali kweli phetshana. Ukuba abantu banokuqinisekiswa ngokufumana konke ababecinga ukuba baza kukufumana emva kwenkululeko yelizwe loMzantsi Afrika, bekungasoze kubekho ukuthandabuza kwabanye abantu.

Zininzi izinto ezibangela ukuba abantu bafune ukuba mabanikwe uluvo lokuzithemba, ukuzingca okanye bazive bexabisekile nkqu nakumalungu karhumente. Xa ibonakala iyimfuneko ebantwini le mfuno, yena umlukuhli uyafumana kwelakhe icala. Into ezuzwa ngumlukuhli ebantwini kukubabona bengqinelana okanye bevumelana nomyalezo wolukuhlo lwakhe.

Iinjongo zolu lukuhlo ziya kufezekiswa ngenxa yokuba abantu bayalulangazelela uvuselelo lwe-Afrika. Oku kungqinwa yindlela abantu abathatha ngayo inkxaxheba kwiphulo le-MAP, elingokupheliswa kweemfazwe, indlala, ubuhlwempu, ukungafundi, nokumiliselwa koxolo kwi-Afrika iphela.

Imfuno yokhuseleko

Kwihlabathi jikelele abantu baziva bengakhuselekanga kwizinto ezininzi ezifana nezozoqosho, ezopolitiko, iimfazwe nezinye nje izinto ezichaphazela ubomi babo. Olu hlobo lwentlalo alulunganga kwaye luyabangcungcuthekisa abantu. Nje ngomluhli onolwazi loku, kufuneka ubaqinisekise abaphulaphuli bakho ngokhuseleko khon'ukuze bahambisane nomyalezo wakho olukhlayo.

ULarson (1995, p. 163), oku kungaqiniseki ngokhuseleko ebantwini kungqinwa nguPackard (1964), xa echaza ngemvakalelo yemfuno yokhuseleko, "We are living in one of the most insecure eras in human history". Ngokucacileyo abantu bayalufuna ukhuseleko kuyo yonke imiba abazifumana bengakhuselekanga phantsi kwayo. Umbhali uqinisekisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngale mfuno ngokuthi asebenzise amazwi abonisa ukhuseleko, nakubeni sisetyenziswe ixesha nje elinye esi sixhobo kulo mhlathi.

Apha kweli phetshana esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe kumhlathi wesine kumgca wama-84-87, "The Dialogue will afford the Congolese leadership with the opportunity together to decide the constitutional, political and economic future of their country. Whatever differences among themselves, these will have to be resolved through peaceful debate rather than the clash of arms". Abantu bakhetha intetho okanye ingxoxo ekusombululeni ingxaki abadibana nayo. Nto ke leyo ebonisa phandle ukuba bakhusele ubomi babo kunye nobutyebi bamazwe abo ekutshatyalalisweni zizixhobo zemfazwe.

Umbhali unolwazi lokuba ukuziva ukhuselekile kuyinto ebalulekileyo ebantwini. Apha kulo mhlathi kuboniswa ukhuselo analo urhulumente ekwenzeni izinto ezilungileyo ukuphucula isiswe sakhe. Kwakhona olu khuseleko urhulumente ukwalusebenzisela ukuphembelela imvisiswano phakathi kwezizwe ezingaboni ngasonye. Ngale ndlela kufunwa abantu bathembele kurhulumentente. Ngenxa yokhuseleko abanalo aabantu bedibene norhulumente, iminqweno yabo iyaphunyezwa.

B. Ugxeko

Nangona eyona minqweno neenjongo zombhali ikukulukuhla abaphulaphuli ukuba mabamkele umyalezo weli phetshana, indlela ethe sasetyenziswa ngayo esi sixhobo ayanelisi. Ayanelisi ngenxa yokuba sisetyenziswe nje kwakanye kulo lonke eli phetshana.

Ngokungathi abantu abakukhathalelanga kakhulu ukuziva bekhuselekile, ingakumbi engqondweni, emzimbeni, kupolitiko kuqoqosho, kwiimfazwe, kwindlala, nasekwakheni uxolo.

Imfuno yokhuseleko isetyenziswe njengebonisa inkathalo karhukumente ngakubaphulaphuli, ingakumbi abaseCongo nawo wonke ummandla weDRC. Ewe oku kusenokuba nalo ifuthe ekulukuhleni abantu, kodwa oko akwanelisi ngenxa yokuba asingobantu baseCongo kuphele ekumele bakhuselwe, koko ngabantu base-Afrika iphela. Oku kulungaba luncedo kwiimeko ezifana nokwakhiwa kwesizwe. Apha kweli phetshana intetho yombhali incedwa zezinye izixhobo zolukuhlo. Ngaphandle kwazo umyalezo weli phetshana ubungasoze wamkelwe ngabantu.

Ngamanye amazwi, ubani angatsho ukuba esi sixhobo sisetyenziselwe nje ukuqhatha abantu, khon'ukuze kufezekiseke iinjongo zomlukuphela. limeko ezinje zibonakala kakhulu ngamaxesho okuvota, xa iinkokheli zifuna abalandeli nabavoti. Umzekelo, abaphulaphuli baye baqinisekise ngemfuno yokhuseleko kunye nezinye iimfuno eziphambili nezibalulekileyo ebantwini. Emva kwenkqubo yovoto, abantu abasiwaso ngamaqela ebenze izithembiso ebantwini nkqu nalawo athe aphumelela.

Kwanga kweli ilixa le-MAP oku akunakwenzeka, ngoba abantu base-Afrika bafuna ukubona ngokwenene iphela indlala, iimfazwe, ubuhlwempu, ukungafundi, nokubona imo yopolitiko ekhululekileyo. Abantu base-Afrika bafuna ukubona i-Afrika ikhuphisana namazwe aphambili ehlabathini. Bafuna ukukubona oku kusenzeka phantsi kwefuthe lenzolo nokhuseleko. Akho amazwe axhasa ngemali ukuqinisekisa ukuba ukhuseleko luyamiliselwa.

Xa sijonga i-Afrika kule mihla kufumaniseka ukuba esi sixhobo sifumaneka ngamandla ebantwini nkqu nakoohulumente, ngenxa yemo emaxongo yezopolitiko. Umzekelo, njengokuba kukho ezi ngxoxo zingaka zokuzama ukumilisele uxolo e-Afrika, apha kufutshane noMzantsi Afrika eZimbabwe kukho ukruthakruthwano ngomhlaba. Abantu bayafa, abanye baba ziingxwelerha, kwaye oku kuza kukhokhelela kwindlela njengokuba ixesha lonyulo lukamongameli lisiya lisondela.

Kungoko ke kuyimfuneko emandla ukuqinisekisa abantu ngokhuseleko kuzo zonke iingingqi ze-Afrika. Lilonke indlela esisetyenziswe ngayo apha esi sixhobo ayanelisi

ngokwenene. Mhlawumbi umbhali akayazi indlela anokuthi aqinisekise ngayo ukuba akungeke kuphinde kubekho dushe lwezopolitiko kulo naliphi na ilizwe apha e-Afrika. Ngenxa yokungabonakaliswa ngokwanelisayo ukuba kuqinisekise kwabantu ngale mfuno yokhuseleko, kungatshiwo ukuba inkqubo yokumiliselwa kwe-MAP iyacotha. Ngoko ke umlukuhli kufuneka enze intetho ebonisa imfuno yokhuseleko ngokwanelisayo kwiimeko ezichaphazela isizwe.

Isimilo

A. Ushwankathelo

Isimilo ikwasisixhobo esithi sityenziswe ngumlukuhli xa esenza intetho yakhe yolukuhlo. Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswa kakhulu ekuguquleni inkolo, ukuziphatha, nesimilo somntu malunga nombala othile. ULarson (1995, p. 176) uthi uChaiken (1993) uthi xa ethetha ngesi sixhobo solukuhlo, " ... attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour". Kungoko ke naye umbhali athe wasisebenzisa esi sixhobo, nanje ngomntu ofuna kwamkelwe umyalezo wakhe ulindele ukuba bahambisane nawo abantu xa zithe zatshintsha izimilo zabo.

Oku kutshintsha kwesimilo akujolisanga nje kubaphulaphuli, koko ujolise nakwiiinkokheli zopolitiko. Kubonakala ngathi sisetyenziwe amaxesha asithoba kweli phetshana. Nangona kula maxesha umbhali ebonisa izimvo zokwamkela nokungamkeli kwakhe izinto ezithile, kubalulekile ukuba abantu batshintshe izimilo zabo ngokombhali.

Kuqala, esi sixhobo kuvulwa ngaso ukubonisa imfuneko yokuguqula isimilo somphulaphuli kwimfuneko yokwakhiwa okanye ukumiselwa kwedemokrasi kwingingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika. Kungca-1-3, "A few years ago, during the last decade of the 20th Century, many in the world entertained the hope that Southern Africa would play a leading role in the recovery and renewal of the African continent as a whole". Le yindlela yokuvavanya impendulo okanye intshukumo yezizwe eziphantsi kweSADC. Kukho inkolo yokuba la mazwe ngawona anamandla ekuphemeleleni imo yoxolo, uphuhliso, ukupheliswa kwendlala kunye nokuphelizwe kwengcinezelo kwezi lizwekazi.

Okwesibini oku umbhali ukungqina ngokuthi asebenzise la mazwi abonisa isimilo kwalapha kulo mhlathi wokuqala. Kungca we-4-9, "The decade opened with the

independence of Namibia in 1990. Not only did this bring about the long-delayed liberty of the sister people of that country, but it also signalled that freedom for our own people was not far away. Of great symbolic significance, Nelson Mandela attended Namibia's independence celebrations, joining Namibians who had also served time together with him on Robben Island as political prisoners". Ngokubonisa ngenkululeko ethe yafunyanwa ngabantu ebekade becinezelwe, umbhali ufuna kutshintshwe izimilo ngabantu malunga nala mazwe.

Ngako oko, abantu mababonise izimilo ezingqinelana nokumiselwa kwedemokrasi kule ngingqi. Kwakhona la mazwi asetyenziswa ngumbhali ebonisa ukuba ingcinezelo ayamkelekanga nokuba ivela kwesiphi na isizwe. Akukhathaliseki nokuba sisizwe esimhlophe kwesimnyama okanye esimnyama kwesimhlophe. Maxa wambi esimhlophe kwesinye esikwamhlophe okanye esimnyama kwesinye esikwamnyama.

Okwesithathu, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumhlathi wesibini kumgca wama-24-30, apha umbhali ubonisa uku kungavumelani nenkqubo yolawulo olwaluphantsi koMobutu Sese Seko kwilizwe elalibizwa ngokuba yiZaire. Amazwi abonisa oku ngala, "This forward movement culminated in the removal from power of Mobutu Sese Seko of the then Zaire, who personified much of what had gone wrong in Africa during the previous thirty to forty years. This included the seizure of power by the military, the imposition of military dictatorship, the denial of the rights of the people, the looting of public resources by the dominant elite, the destruction of the already fragile economies and the entrenchment of instability within and among the African countries".

Iliqela imiba ethi ikhankanywe ngumbhali apha ukubonisa uku kungavumelani kwakhe nolawulo olungalunganga. Nangona kunjalo apha ayisayi kucalula ngenxa yokuba iyafumaneka kumgca wama-24-30, iza kucalulwa kuphela kugxeko. Into ebalulekileyo kukuba abantu bale ngingqi kufuneka babe ngumzekelo ekwakheni i-Afrika, endaweni yokuba ngoolawula ngendlovu nokuba ngoohlohlesakhe abenza ubuqhetseba njengo-Mobutu.

Okwesine, apha kweli phetshana isimilo sifumeneka kumgca wama-31-33, "In recognition of the commitment of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to democracy and other values shared by the members of SADC, the community accepted the DRC as one of its members". Ngamazwi la abonisa indlela umbhali akwamkela ngayo ukuvisisana kwezi

ngingqi zimbini. Oku kubonisa ukuba xa zonke iingingqi ezikhoyo apha e-Afrika zinokuthi zilandeke ekhondweni, idemokrasi, inokuba yinto ephilayo nesebenzayo. Kungoko umbhali ebonisa ukuzithanda ezi ngingqi zibonisa ukuzimisela ekomelezeni inyathelo lokwakha i-Afrika jikele.

Okwesihlanu, umlukuhli osebenzisa amazwi olukuhlo ngengqiqo, nangobuchule uya phumelela kwiinjongo zakhe. Ingakumbi xa ebazi ngokwaneleyo abaphulaphuli bakhe. Iinjongo zokutshintsha izimvo zabantu malunga nokuba bazimisele ekuthatheni amanyathelo okumisela idemokrasi, zibethelelwa ngokusebenzisa la mazwi akumhlathi wesithathu kumgca wama-41-47, "When some members of the security forces in Lesotho tried to remove the democratically elected government of that country in 1994 and again in 1999, the countries of the region acted firmly to defend democracy in that country". Umbhali ubonisa ukungakuthandi okwenziwa ngalamalungu athile omkhosi ayezama ukubhukuqa ukurhumente weseLesotho.

Oku kugxininiswa ngokufakela amazwi ukubonisa iinzame zamazwe ale ngingqi ekumiseleni idemokrasi, ngokuthi kukhankanywe izezo zobunqolobi ezenziwa ngumbutho okhokhelwa nguSavimbi eAngola. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi afumaneka kumgca wama-44-47, "Even as all these positive things were hapening, the region was very conscious of the fact that peace and stability had not returned to sister country of Angola. It sought to put pressure especially on UNITA to bring the war to an end and to ensure the implementation of Lusaka Accords". Yindlela le ekubethelelwa ngayo inkolo yokuba ubhukuqo lombuso nobunqolobi, ziintshukumo ezingamkelekanga.

Okwesithandathu, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kumgca wama-98-125, kumhlathi wesine, kulapho umbhali abonisa uku kungavumelani okanye ukungathandi kwakhe amazwe amahlanu angala, iAngola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, kunye Zambia. Okona kungathandwayo ngumbhali kula mazwe kukuba aneziganeko ezingapheliyo zemfazwe, udushe lwezopolitiko, ukujongelwa phantsi kwamalungelo abantu. Konke oku kuchaphazela imo yezoqoqosho

Nangona kusenzeka konke oku, amazwe ale ngingqi enza konke okusemandleni awo ekuziseni isisombululo, ngenxa yokuba okufunekayo luxolo nedemokrasi. Lilonke, kufuneka kubanjwe unyulo kuvotwe xa kutshintshwa uMongameli, hayi kubekho uMongameli wanaphakade onje ngowasekuba ngumongameli waseMalawi uKamuzu

Banda. Inkqubo yedemokrasi eyiyo ayikuvumeli ukulilawula ngegqudu, ukucinezela abantu okanye ukucalula abantu.

Okwesixhenxe, kwalapha kulo mhlathi wesine esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziselwe ukubethelela imvakalelo yabaphulaphuli malunga nenkolo yabo ngokumiselwa kwedemokrasi. Kweli ilixa umbhali ufuna abantu bavumelane nenkqubo karhulumente waseZambia ekunye nabantu bakhona. Abantu baseZambia bebonakalisa ukuzimisela kwinkqubo yedemokrasi.

Oku kubonakala kumgca we-128-133, "When we spoke at the State Banquet during this visit, we publicly congratulated President Chiluba for this stand, to the acclaim of the Zambians who were present at this Banquet. We had occasion to discuss this matter again with President Chiluba when we met in Namibia during the SADC Summit meeting earlier this year, reiterating position which many among the political leaders in our region agreed".

Okwesibhozo, kumhlathi wesihlanu kumgca we-134-139, umbhali uyakugxininisa ukungathandi kwakhe ukungabikho kwedemokrasi kumazwe amaninzi ase-Afrika. La mazwi abonisa oku, "african experience during the last few decades has demonstrated that the absence of democracy in our countries is both a cause of instability and a catalyst encouraging the further underdevelopment of our countries. Dictatorship and autocracy serve to suppress the creative energies of the people and divert them to activities directed against social development, including corruption".

Ngoko ke abantu kumele bakuxhase ngako konke abanakho ukumiselwa kwenkqubo yedemokrasi Kulo naliphi na ilizwe, ingakumbi kwilizwekazi i-Afrika, ngenxa yokuba linembali embi equka ucinezelo lwabantu, ukulilawula ngegqudu, ukujongelwa phantsi kwamalungelo abantu. Izimilo zabaphulaphuli zingabonisa ukuvumelana nawo lo myalezo, ngenxa yokuba abantu sele bediniwe ngoku luphalalo gazi, ukujongelwa phantsi kwamalungelo abantu, ukucinezelwa kunye nokulawula ngegqudu. Xa bubonakala ubukho bokutshintsha kwesi milo ebantwini, oko kuya kuthetha ukuba bangqinelana nomyalezo weli phetshana.

Okwethoba, kwalapha kulo mhlathi esi sixhobo sikwafumaneka kumgca we-147-151, kulapho isingqi sombhali sitshintsha khona ngokuthi avumelane okanye abonise ukuthanda kwakhe inkxaxheba ethathwa yingingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika kunye nelizwe

iZambia kuvuselelo lwe-Afrika. Oku kungqinwa ngala mazwi alandelayo, "Whenever we have spoken to these peoples of our Continent about the Challenges of the African Renaissance, they have responded with the greatest enthusiasm, convinced that if we can address the fundamental issues of democracy and peace, ours will become a Continent of hope. As the political leaders of these masses, we dare not disappoint their expectations".

Oku kuthanda kwakhe eli lizwe laseZambia kubonakala kakuhle ngokuthi akugxininise oku umbhali ngala mazwi xa eqhubekeka kwintetho yakhe kumgca we-152-155, "It is in this context that we must congratulate President Chiluba and the people of Zambia for the firm action they have taken not to tamper with their Constitution to the detriment of the quest for democracy in Zambia and Southern Africa". La mazwi akhankanywa ngeenjongo zokuba abantu mabamthande u-Chiluba, ilizwe lakhe kunye nabantu belizwe lakhe ngenxa yokuba banegalelo elibonakalayo kumiliselweni lwedemokrasi kule ngingqi.

B. Ugxeko

Apha kweli phetshana umbhali uzamile kangangoko anakho ukuguqula izimilo zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Nto leyo ebonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba le ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika ne-Afrika ngokubanzi iyayifuna inkqubo yedemokrasi. Indlela ekusetyenziswe ngayo esi sixhobo solukuhlo, engamaxesha alithoba inakho ukuguqula izimilo zabaphulaphuli. Okukhona usisebenzisa kakhulu isixhobo sokulukuhla, kokukhona esiba maninzi amathuba okwenza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Kwelinye icala kubalulekile ukuncoma le ndlela sisetyenziswe ngayo apha esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Yindlela apha ebonisa ukuba umbhali unalo ulwazi ngezona mfuno zabantu bamazwe alapha e-Afrika. Mfuno ezo athe wazikhankanya kwintetho yakhe ngeenjongo zokuguqula izimilo zabantu. Indlela ethatyathelwa ngayo phezulu inkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kunye nokumiselwa kwedemokrasi e-Afrika ibonisa ukuba ikho impumelelo kulomyalezo wolukuhlo. Oku kubonakala kwiintshukumo zamazwe angaphesheya kweelwandle awayengafuni ukuza kutyala iimali zawo e-Afrika ngaphambili, ngenxa yokuba enoluvo lokuba abantu base-Afrika banobugebenga.

Nawo ngoku la mazwe ayakuxhasa ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kunye nokumiselwa kwedemokrasi kwezi lizwekazi. La mazwe ngazwe afana noomaCanada, Sweden,

Netherlands namanye. Kungoko ubani enokutsho lula ukuba ngokwenene lo myalezo wolukuhlo, ubujolise ngqo kubantu base-Afrika, uzifezekisile iinjongo zombhali.

Inkxaso yamanye amazwe ifumaneka ngenxa yeendlela abonisa ngayo umbhali ukungahambisani kwakhe nolawulo ngegqudu. Oku ukubonisa ngokugatya kwakhe ulawulo luka Mobutu e-Zaire, kunye nolawulo lwabantu abafuna ukulilawula ubomi babo ngaphandle kokuphikiswa. Abantu abanje ngabo umbhali ubafanisa nowayesakuba ngumlawuli welizwe lase Malawi u-Kamazu Banda.

Kumgca wama-25-30 umbhali usinika izizathu ezisixhenxe zokungahambisani okanye zokungayithandi kwakhe inkqubo engeyiyo eyedemokrasi. Ezi zizathu zezi zilandelayo:-

- (1) "... who personified much of what had gone wrong in Africa during the previous thirty to forty years,
- (2) This include the seizure of power by the military,
- (3) the imposition of military dictatorship,
- (4) the denial of the rights of the people,
- (5) the looting of public resources by the dominant elite,
- (6) the destruction of the fragile African economies,
- (7) and the entrenchment of instability within and among the African countries". Oku kubonisa ngokuphandle ukuba i-Afrika ngoku ikulungele ukwenza inguqu kwiintlobo zolawulo olugwenxa kumiliselwe ulawulo lwesininzi nolwedemokrasi. Kungoko kunokutshiwo ukuba lo myalezo usengamkelwa ngenxa yokuba izimilo zabaphulaphuli ziyakuba zitshintshe kakhulu ngakuhlobo lolawulo lwaseburhulumenteni.

Ukungaguququki

A. Ushwankathelo

Umlukuhli oyicwangcisileyo intetho yolukuhlo aza kulenza ubonakala ngokwenza intetho ebonisa ukungaguququki kwimiba ethile. Iinjongo zoku kukuba kufunwa abantu bangqinelane nomyalezo lowo wolukuhlo. Abantu baziva bekhululekile xa befumanisa ukuba izinto zihamba ngokwendlela abacinga ngayo okanye ngokwentelekelelo yabo, zingaguquki. Xa umlukuhli ekubonisa ukungaguququki kwintetho yakhe, iinjongo zakhe

zolukuhlo ziyafezekiseka. Yiyo le nto oka Larson (1995, p. 182) esithi, "... human beings feel comfortable when the world lives up to or operates consistently with their perceptions of or predictions about events".

Umbhali ubonakalisa ukuba unalo ulwazi ngoku. Nangona kunjalo esi sixhobo umbhali usebenzisa nje amaxesha amabini kuphela kweli phetshana. Okokuqala, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumhlathi wokuqala kumgca we-15-17, "... the maturity of our people that, as Africans, both black and white, we were perfectly capable of successfully managing the complex social and human relations that characterise our society". Olu nxulumano phakathi kwabantu beentlanga ngeentlanga kwilizwekazi kubalulekile ukuba lungabisaguquka. Nanjengokuba umanyano lubalulekile ngaphezulu kunocalucalulo ngokubuhlanga, umbhali uwasebenzisa la mazwi ezama ukubonisa ukuba umanyano yeentlanga ngeentlanga ibalulekile ekwakheni isizwe. Kungoko kumele ukuba oku kumanyana kungaguquki.

Ngako oko, umbhali uqinisekisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngemanyano yokwakha isizwe engasoze ibuye iguquke. Apha umbhali usebenzisa uhlobo lokungaguquki ngemvumelwano. Intsusa yale mvumelwano kukubonisa okanye ukwenza uqikelelo ngezenzo. Oku kuthetha ukuthi, ukuba ukusukela kwinkululeko yoMzantsi Afrika ngonyaka ka-1994, kubonakele mhlophe ukuba iintlanga ezahlukeneyo zingabambisana naphakade ekuziseni uxolo.

Ngoko ke ukusukela ngalo nyaka wenkululeko abantu baseMzantsi Afrika bedibene baza kubambisana ekumiliseni inkqubo yedemokrasi kwezi, kwaye babambisane ekuyikhuthazeni le nkqubo nakwamanye amazwe ase-Afrika. Abaphulaphuli baya kulukuhleka lula ngulo myalezo ubonisa ukuphela kokucalucalulana ngokobuhlanga.

Okwesibini, esixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kumhlathi wesihlanu nongowokuqqqibela kweli phetshana. Umgca we-156-159, "This important decision must serve to confirm that, whatever our current problems, Southern africa remains a region truly committed to the fundamental values and practices that constitute the foundation on which based Africa's effort to achieve its renewal". Apha umbhali ugxininisa uhlobo lokungaguquki ngemvumelwano. Nalapha intsusa yesivumelwano kukubonisa ngezenzo.

Umbhali ubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba abantu bedibene noorhulumente babo kule ngingqi bazimisele ukuzibophelela ekuthobeleni imigaqo siseko yabo equlunqwe phantsi kwenkqubo yedemokrasi. Bakwenza ngenxa yokuba bebonakalisa ukuzibophelela ngokupheleleyo ekuphumeleleni kweminqweno neenjongo zokwakha eli lizwekazi le-Afrika. Ngenxa yoku, ulwamkelo lo myalezo weli phetshana ngabaphulaphuli lubonisa impumelelo yomlukunghli kwiinjongo zakhe.

B. Ugxeko

Umlukunghli osebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo ukongeza kwezo azisebenzisayo kumbeka ethubeni elihle lokuphumelela ulukuhlo lwakhe. Ngamanye amazwi abantu baye bawamkele umyalezo lowo wolukuhlo. Kungenxa yoku kubalulekile ukwenza intetho ebonisa ukungaguququki, okukuko. Hayi ukusebenzisa amazwi abonisa ukungaguququki, kanti ekugqibeleni konke oko kuza kuguquka. Umzekelo, amaqela athile ezopolitiko adla ngokuqinisekisa abantu ngezinto abaza kuzifumana emva kolonyulo ukuba bawavotele aphumelela, endaweni yoko suke izinto ziguququke. Maxa wambi kungenzeki nokuba ibe nye into, okanye inkqubo yokwenza ezo zinto icotho okwelovane.

Mhlawumbi kungenxa yokungaqiniseki ukuba oku kungaguququki kokwanaphakade na, okanye kuyinto nje yexeshana elithile, okubangele ukuba umbhali asisebenzise nje amaxesha amabini esi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba engafuni ukuzibophelela. Kungoko ubani usengatsho ukuba esi sixhobo solukuhlo asisetyenziswanga ngokwanelisayo.

Lilonke abaphulaphuli besengaziva bengakwazi ukwenza isigqibo malunga nokwamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo, ngenxa yokuba bephewula ukuba izinto zisengaguquka. Ngamanye amazwi oorhulumente base-Afrika, abale ngingqi bedibene nabasemZantsi-Afrika kufuneka benze konke okusemandleni ukuqinisekisa abantu ukuba ucalucalulo nokuba lunjani na alusokuze lubuye lwamkeleke.

Kwelinye icala okusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo kunayo indima okuyidlalileyo kwiingqondo zabantu. Abantu bathi nje ngokuqinisekiswa ngokungaguququki nokuba lixesha elinye entethweni, bazive bethembele kumyalezo lowo. Yindlela le umbhali abonisa ngayo abaphulaphuli bakhe ukuba abantu base-Afrika abajiki ekumiseleni inkqubo yedemokrasi kulapho wonke ubani eziva ekhululekile.

Yiyo le nto apha kumhlathi wesihlanu kumgca-156-159, umbhali ebonisa abantu ukuba babambisene bonke abantu base-Afrika ekwakheni i-Afrika. Kwaye oku kubambisana kubonakele kwizinto ezifana nokuphumelela kwengingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika ekuzibopheleleni ekuxabiseni abantu nokwakha umoya wemanyano phakathi kwezizwe ezahlukeneyo. Kubonakala ukho lo moya wemanyano, nto ke leyo ethetha ukuba esi sixhobo sibe nalo ifuthe lokuphemelela iingqondo zabaphulaphuli.

Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

A. Ushwankathelo

Esi sixhobo naso kubonakala ukuba sisetyenziswe kakhulu. Oku kukuthi umbhali usebenzisa amaxesha amahlanu esi sixhobo kweli phetshana. Yindlela athe wabona ukuba makaqinisekise ukuba abantu banolwazi ngeyona nto athetha ngayo neenjongo zoko. Nangona kunjalo kubalulekile ukwazi ukusisebenzisa esi sixhobo ngempumelelo, ngenxa yokuba sinendima ebalulekileyo esithi siyidlale ekulukhuleni abaphulaphuli. Ngamanye amazwi umlukuhli kufuneka akwazi ukuxoxa nokuqiqa xa esenza intetho yolukhulo.

Umlukuhli akakwazi ukuziphumeza iinjongo zakhe zolukuhlo xa engenabo ubuchule nendlela yokuqiqa. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 194), "... frequently operates in enthymemes is based on people's ability to think logically or rationally". Ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo amaxesha amahlanu kubonakalisa ukuba umbhali unakho ukuqiqa.

Okokuqala oku kuqiqa kubonakala ngathi sisetyenziwe esi sixhobo kumhlathi wokuqala kumgca we-10-12, "The decade also opened with the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the release of Nelson Mandela and beginning of formal negotiations with the Pretoria regime to end the system of apartheid".

Maxa wambi kuqale isiphumo esinonobangela. Nalapha kula mazwi afumaneka kumgca we-10-12, kufumaneka unobangela nesiphumo. Unobangela ongulo ufumaneka kumgca we-12, "negotiations with Pretoria regime". Ukanti sona isiphumo sibonakaliswa ngala mazwi ukumgca we-12, "to end the system of apartheid". Lo myalezo kufuneka ube nefuthe ekuphemeleleni iingqondo zabaphulaphuli, khon'ukuze bawamkele. Kungoko umbhali esebenzisa esi sixhobo kwintetho yakhe.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo siphinda sifuneke kumhlathi wesibini kumgca we-18-23, "In various countries of our region, free and fair democratic elections took place, in a number of instances ending the system of one-party states. The process of economic recovery began, with a country such as Mozambique receiving international create conditions for the creation of a better life for the people of that country". Apha kusetyenziswe isiqulatho esisukela kwingqiqo ngeempawu. Umbhali ukusebenzise oku khon'ukuze azokukwazi ukuthathela khona isigqibo. Unobangela wokuqala ufumaneka ngala mazwi akumgca we-18-19, "free and fair democratic elections took place". Oku kuluphawu olubonisa ukuba abantu base-Afrika banakho ukuphumelela ekumiliseni uxolo nenkqubo yedemokrasi kwezi lizwekazi xa bengabambisana ngomoya omnye wemvisiswano.

Kumgca wama-20, kubonakala unobangela wesibini okwaliphawu olubonisa ukwazi kwabantu base-Afrika ukwenza izinto eziphathelelene nokupheliswa kwendlala, ukumiselwa koxolo kunye nedemokrasi. Oku kungqinwa ngala mazwi, "process of economic recovery began". Enye into, ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kuthetha ukuba izinto ezifana nendlala, ubuhlwempu, iimfazwe kunye nezinye ezikhangeleka ziyingxaki kwinkqubela phambili kumele ziqatshelwe ziinkokheli ze-Afrika.

Okwesithathu, umbhali uphinde asisebenzise esi sixhobo solukuhlo ekuqiniseni iinjongo zakhe zokuluhla abaphulaphuli. Kumgca wama-59-66, kumhlathi wesithathu kufumaneka isiqulatho ngala mazwi, "Proceeding from the position that the political leaders of that country needed to act together to solve the outstanding problems, this leadership agreed to sit together in a body called the Interim Political Authority to trash out their differences peacefully. They further that to ensure that all significant political opinion was represented in parliament, electoral system would be changed, introducing an element of proportional representetion for a third of the seats in the next parliament". Esi siqulatho sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo.

Lo mhlathi ubonakalisa ubuchule bombhali ekukwazini kwakhe ukunxulumanisa intetho Oku kubanakala ngokusetyenziswa kukanobangela ofumaneka kumgca wama-60, "act together". Ngale ndlela abaphualaphuli baye bakubone okona kuphambili kwintetho yomlukuhli xa kucaca okona kuqulathwe yiyo. Ngako oko, unobangela apha ubonakalisa phandle ukuba ukusebenza kunye kuza nempumelelo.

Kangangokuba oku kungqinwa ngamazwi abonakalisa unobangela. Kwalapha kulo mhlathi wesithathu kumgca wama-61, kufumaneka isiphumo esi sesi silandelayo, "the Interim Political Authority to trash out their differences peacefully". Umbhali ubonakalisa ukuqiqa kwakhe ngendlela ethi yenze isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli ngokuthi abonise esinye isiphumo sesibini.

Oku ukwenza ekubonakaliseni ubungqina bentetho yakhe ekuzameni ukubonisa ngeyona nto iqulathwe ngulo mhlathi. La mazwi ngawo abonisa obu buchule bokuqiqa, ngokuthi anike obunye ubungqina. Obu bungqina bufumaneka kumgca wama-64-65, "proportional representation for a third of the seats in the next parliament". Le yindlela ekugxininiswa ngayo isiqulatho ekuphemeleleni ingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Okwesine, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kabini. Okokuqala sifumaneka kumhlathi wesine, kumgca wama 79-91, "The 1999 "Lusaka Agreement" on the DRC is consistent with the approach adopted by the people of Lesotho. That Agreement provides for the holding of an "Inter-Congolese Dialogue", involving the government, political parties and organisations of civil society. As was agreed by the the Congolese themselves, President Sir Keitumire Masire is the fasilitator of this process".

"The Dialogue will afford the Congolese leadership with the opportunity together to decide the consitutional, political and economic future of their country. Whatever the differences among themselves, these will have to be resolved through peaceful debate rather than the clash of arms. Democracy, peace and stability in the DRC will also have a major positive impact on other countries in Great Lakes regions, expanding the possibilities for the resolution of various challenges facing the nine countries that share borders with the DRC". Abaphulaphuli kulula ukuba balukuhleke xa umlukuhli enobuchule bokuqiqa obunje.

Nalapha kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzisa uhlobo lwesiqulatho esisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-81, "Inter-Congolese Dialogue". Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-85-86, "political and economic future of their country". Akaphelelanga nje ekunikeneni esi siphumo kuphela umbhali, ekomelezeni intetho yolukuhlo lwakhe. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ukubonisa ukuqiqa kwakhe ngokuthi abonise esinye isiphumo kumgca wama-87, "peaceful debate".

Okwesithathu isiphumo sisetyenziswa kumgca wama-90-91, "share borders with the DR". Omathathu la maxesha kusetyenziswe ngawo esiphumo abubungqina ekubalulekileyo ukuba umlukuphi akubonise khon'ukuze zifezekiseke iinjongo zakhe.

Okwesibini, uphinde wasebenzisa isiqulatho sesibini nje ngesixhobo solukuphi. Esi siqulatho sesibini sikwafumaneka kwalapha kulo mhlathi wesine. Kumgca wama-92-97, "at the Extraordinary SADC Summit held in Windhoek, Namibia, earlier this year, decisions were taken to restructure this important regional body. The restructuring process will increase its effectiveness as an instrument for promotion of balanced and sustained regional economic growth and development as well as an institution for the promotion of democracy, peace and stability in our region". La mazwi anika ngokucacileyo oyena ndoqo womxholo weli phetshana.

Nakweli lixa lesibini lokusetyenziswa kwesi siqulatho kuphawuleka ukuba kusetyenziswe isiqulatho esisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-93, "restructure this important regional body". Ukanti yena unobangela woku ufumaneka kumgca wama-95-97, "promotion of balanced and sustained regional economic growth and development as well as an institution for the promotion of democracy, peace and stability in our region". Konke oku kububungqina obubonisa igqiqo yokuphemelela ingqondo zabaphulaphuli khon'ukuze bawamkele lo myalezo wolukuphi.

B. Ugxeko

Umbhali usebenzise ngempumelelo esi sixhobo solukuphi apha kweli phetshana. Oku kubonakala kuthakazelelo oluthathwa ziinkokheli zase-Afrika jikelele ekuzameni ukuphelisa iimfazwe zobukhaya ezigqubayo kwezi lizwekazi. Ukumiliselwa kwankqubo yedemokrasi, uxolo, inzolo, nocwangco kuyinto efunwa ngabo bonke abemi beli lizwekazi.

Yiyo le nto esi sixhobo sityenziswe amaxesha amahlanu ukunika wonke umphulaphuli ithuba lokuba azithathele isigqibo malunga noluvo lwalo myalezo weli phetshana. Xa umlukuphi ekubonakalisa ngokuphandle okuqulathwe ngumyalezo wakhe, uye aluphumelele ulukuphi lwakhe. Nalapha kweli phetshana, umbhali usibonisa kwakumhlathi wokuqala esi siqulatho. Oku ukwenza ngeenjongo zokuba abantu bawubambe kwasekuqaleni umxholo, bangalahlekani nawo.

Ukuvulwa umlomo kwemibutho yezopolitiko efanane-ANC neminye eMzantsi Afrika kubonisa inguquko kwiinkolelo zeenkokheli zopolitiko ebezisoloko ziselulawulweni. Nto ke leyo ethe yakhokhelela kwinkululeko yeli lizwe. nangona ebesele ekhona amazwe ebekhululekile, bekunzima ukuquka neli loMzantsi Afrika ngenxa yokuba lalilikheswa, lingafunwa ngamanye amazwe ngenxa yokujongela phantsi amalugelo abantu. Ngokusebenzisa esi sixhobo umbhali ufuna kucace ngokuphandle ukuba ukucinezela nokujongela phantsi amalungelo abantu akulunganga. Kungoko uMongameli weli ethabatha inkxaxheba kwiphulo lokumisela idemokrasi kule ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika nakwi-Afrika iphela. Umbhali ugxeke iinkokheli ezilawula ngegqudu, endaweni yokukhuthaza ulwanyulo olukhululekileyo nolungenacala.

4.4.4 Ugxeke lwalo lonke eli phetshana

Ukumiselwa kwenkqubo yedemokrasi kule ngingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika kuxhomekeke kwintsebenziswano yabo bonke abantu bale ngingqi. Nanjengokuba isazeka into yokuba urhulumente akakwazi ukwenza nto ngaphandle kwintsebenziswano yabantu nje jikelele ekuhlaleni, ngako oko, abantu kufuneka baneliswe kuzo zonke iimfuno zabo. Kaloku abantu bacinga ukuba ngurhulumente omele ukubenzela izinto, yiyo le nto rhoqo bexhomekeke kuye.

Kwangaxesha nye naye urhulumente uxhomekeke kwintsebenziswano phakathi kwakhe nabantu jikelele. Kungoko kubalulekile kuye ukuba azame ngako konke anakho ukuzizalisekisa iimfuno zabantu. Ngokungazalisekiswa kweemfuno zabantu, amaphulo karhulumente enkqubela phambili angangaphumeli.

Xa siqwalasela kweli phetshana kuphawuleka ukuba umbhali ukuzama kangangoko anakho ukwanelisa iimfuno zabantu. Apha kweli phetshana uqonde kuphela kwimfuno yokuzigca okanye imfuno yokuxabiseka. Esi sixhobo sibalulekile ukuba sisetyenziswe ngenxa yefuthe esinalo ekuphemeleleni ingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Nangona kunjalo, abantu xa bethenjiswa ngeemfuno eziphambili, ezifana namanzi, ukutya, umsebenzi, indawo yokulala, umzekelo, kulula ukuba bawamkele umyalezo ngaphandle kwamathandabuzo. Ngamanye amazwi ukugxininisa kwimfuno yokuzingca kungabi nafuthe ekulukuhleni abantu abangenandawo yokulala, abangenakutya namanzi.

Yiyo le nto kufuneka umlukuphi aqinisekise abaphulaphuli bakhe ngokubanika ezi mfundo khon'ukuze balukuphleke. Oku akakwenzanga umbhali kweli phetshana.

Lilonke umbhali akakwazanga ukuqinisekisa abaphulaphuli ngendlela ethi ibenze bazive bekhululekile ekwamkeleni umyalezo weli phetshana. Ukungasetyenziswa kweemfuno ezingundoqo kungabangela ukuba licothe iphulo lokumiselwa kwedemokrasi kule ngingqi, nkqu nakwi-Afrika iphela. I-Afrika ibe nelishwa lokuba lixhoba lengcinezelo nobuKholoniyali, nto ke leyo ebangele le ndlala nentlupheko ikhoyo namhlanje.

Kwelinye icala ubani angatsho ukuba umbhali ukubonile oku kufuneka kungaka kokwanelisa abantu ngeemfuno zabo ezingundoqo. Oku kubonala kwindlela athe wasisebenzisa ngayo isimilo. Ekusebenziseni esi sixhobo kusesona sisombululo kwimeko enje. Kaloku izimilo neenkolelo zabantu malunga noorhulumente zezokuba iinkokheli zilungiselele iziqu zazo.

Abantu abalifuni naluphi na uhlobo lengcinezelo nokuba livela kuhlanga olumhlophe okanye olumnyama, ngenxa yokuba bakholelwa ekubeni ukulilawula ngegqudu kuisixhobo sokwakha indlala, intlupheko nokushiyekela ngasemva kwinkqubela yophuhliso. Ngamanye amazwi basenakho ukuwamkela lo myalezo nangona bengonelisekanga ngeemfuno zabo. Oku bakwenza kuphela ngenxa yokuba befuna inguqu eza kuphelisa ubuhlwempu e-Afrika.

Ngako oko, abantu bazibona nje ngezixhobo ezisetyenziselwa ukufezekisa iinjongo neemfuno zeenkokheli zaseburhulumenteni. Lolu luvo olubangela ukuba umbhali azame ngako konke anakho ukuguqula ezi nkolelo nezimilo zabantu ngoorhulumente babo. Esi sixhobo sibonakala ngathi sesona siguqule imo ebhekiselele ekwamkelweni nasekukhatyweni lo myalezo weli phetshana. Ngako oko, ubani angatsho ukuba lo myalezo wamkelwa ngenxa yokusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo solukuphle. Ukungaguquguquki kubonakala kungenafuthe lingako kweli phetshana, ngenxa yokuba kusetyenziswe nje kabini. Esi sixhobo sibonakala nje kumhlathi wokuqala nakumhlathi wokugqibela.

Umpfulaphuli onayo ingqwalasela angakubona oku, nto ke leyo enokumbangela ukuba anagalukuphleki. Ukungaguquguquki kunika abantu ingqiniseko yokuba okuthile okwenziwayo ekuzameni ukumisela idemokrasi akusayi kuze kutshintshe. Xa izinto

zihamba ngale ndlela namhlanje ze ngomso zitshintshe abantu abasayi kuzithemba. Ngenxa yokungabi nalo ithemba baye bangawamkeli umyalezo wolukuhlo. Umbhali ubonakalisa ulwazi lokuba xa enokuthi akucacise okona kuqulathwe ngulo myalezo, ingakho inguqu kwizimvo zabantu malunga nokomelezwa kwedemokrasi kwingingqi yamazantsi e-Afrika, nakwi-Afrika iphela.

4.5. IPHETSHANA LESINE: OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA

(ANC Today, Volume 1 No. 18)

4.5.1 Umyalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana

Eli phetshana libongoza abantu base-Afrika ukuba baqwalasele iintshukumo ezikhokhelela kuvuselelo lwe-Afrika. Umbhali uqala ngokuthi akhumbuze abantu kuquka neenkokheli zoorhulumente ukuba kubekho into eyenziwayo ngosuku lomhla wama-25 kuMeyi. Olu suku lusuku okwamiselwa ngalo umbutho wemanyano yezizwe ze-Afrika ngo-1963. Njengabantu abafuna ukuvuselela i-Afrika khon'ukuze kuhliswe izinga leemfazwe, indlala, ukungafundi, ukunqongophala kobuchule kubuxhaxhaka kunye nekumiliselwa kwedemokrasi, kumele sibambisane ngamxhel'omnye.

Ukuqinisekisa ukuguqulwa kwe-Afrika, amazwe eli akwinkqubo yokuguqulwa kwe-OAU, ibe yi-AU. Akhukho nto ingakho eza kutshintsha kulo mbutho umtsha uza kumiselwa. Kwakhona kufuneka i-Afrika ibe nePalamente yayo. Oku kukhangeleka kuza kuba yimpumelelo ngenxa yokuba kukho oorhulumente abalungiselela ukuqulunqa amaxwebhu enzebenziswano ekwakhweni kwe-MAP. Kwaye kufuneka abantu bafundiswe nge-Afrika, hayi ngezifundo eziqhelekileyo kuphela. Amajelo osasazo ngawona kufanele adlale indima kulo mba, ngenxa yokuba afikelela lula ebantwini. Oku kubaluleke kakhulu ukwenzela abo basakhulayo bazazi ukuba bangama-Afrika phambi kokuba ngabemi behlabathi.

Eli phetshana ikhuthaza abantu ekubeni bazibophelele ekwakheni i-Afrika ngokuthi bathathe inkxaxheba kwiintshukumo zokufundisana ngokubaluleka kwezi lizwekazi, kukhuthazwe ukuqiniswa kwemeko yezoqoqosho noshishino phakathi kwamazwana e-Afrika. Abantu bafundiswe ngenkcubeko namasiko abo khon'ukuze kungabikho calulo phakathi kwabo. Kubalulekile ukuba abantu balibale ngokwenzekayo, okwakubulala isidima se-Afrika, koko bajonge phambili.

4.5.2 lintonye zediskhosi

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 1, IMIGCA 1-18

(1) Ushwankathelo

Lo mhlathi wokuqala ubonisa ngokubaluleka kosuku lomhla wama-25 kuMeyi, kwi-Afrika iphela, kangangokuba amazwe amaninzi ayalubhiyozela olu suku. Nangona uMzantsi Afrika ubukade ungalubhiyozeli olu suku ngenxa yeempembelelo karhulumente wobandlululo, bezikho eziliqela iziganeko zokubhiyoza kwezi. Ngokwenene abantu basafuna ukufundiswa nge-Afrika, ngenxa yokuba ukusukela ngo-1994 abantu abaninzi eMzantsi Afrika abalwazi olu suku. Imfundiso nge-Afrika inokukhokhelela kwimanyano yama-Afrika.

(2) Isindulolo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Ulukuhlo olwenziwa ngumlukuhli unalo ulwazi ngabaphulaphuli bakhe luya phumelela. Yena umlukuhli kufuneka asebenzise amagama enza isibheni kwiingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Zizibheni ezenziwa ngengqiqo eziba nefuthe kwaye zisebenze ekuguquleni iinkolo zabaphulaphuli. Oku kungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 160), ngala mazwi "The better appeals are the logicals ones". Olu hlubo lokubhena luchonga ingqondo yomphulaphuli. Yiyo le nto uLarson (1995), eyibiza inkqubo yokwenza isibheni kwiingqondo yomntu ngokuba yinkqubo yeSayikholoji. Apha kulo mhlathi kusetyenziswe amagama enza isibheni kwiingqondo yomphulaphuli, magama lawo afana no-"we".

Imfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ixabiso, ngokukaPackard (1964), nemfuno yokuzingca, ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswa kakhulu xa umlukuhli efuna ukwanelisa imfuno yokuxabiseka nokuzingca kwabaphulaphuli. Kule mihla abantu baphila ubomi obukhokhelwa lukhuphiswano olukumgangatho ophezulu. Ingulowo umntu ufuna ukuxatyiswa ngabantu aphila nabo, kwaye uyazingca ngobunguye bakhe. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 163), uPackard (1964), ukungqina oku ngokuthi, "people need to feel valued for what they do;

and appreciated by others". Naye uMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173), wongeza kula mazwi ngokuthi, "We want to feel wanted and valued as human beings".

Lo mhlathi ungqala kanye kwimfuno yokuxabiseka ngokuthi akhankanye la mazwi akumgca we-16-18, "This corrective action takes place during the year when our Continent has taken the critical step to build on what the OAU has achieved, further to promote the advance towards African unity". Apha umbhali uzama ukubonisa abantu base-Afrika ngokusele kuphunyelelwe ngumbutho wembumba ye-Afrika. Yindlela le umbhali abonisa ngayo abantu ukubaluleka kwabo. Nto ke leyo ebatsho bazive bexabisekile kwaye batsho bazingce ngobuzwe babo. Kwaye oku kuqinisekisa into yokuba kungalula kubaphulaphuli ukuwamkela lo myalezo.

Imfuno yamandla

Umbhali ubona kukho imfuneko yokubonisa amandla kubaphulaphuli bakhe. Abantu base-Afrika ngabantu abakholwa kukwaneliseka ngamandla abo omzimba nawengqondo. Yiyo le nto abantu bekwimeko, ngokukaPackard (1964), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 166-168), "seem to be programmed to chase potency and power and to gratify our need". Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali ubonisa abaphulaphuli amandla ezinawo iinkokheli zoMzantsi Afrika, zidibene nabantu beli lizwekazi.

La mandla engqondo nawomzimba zinawo iinkokheli zoMzantsi Afrika anika ithemba le mpumelelo kwimvuselelo ye-Afrika. Oku kuboniswa ligama elikumgca we-13, elithi "host". Nkqu into yokuba uMzantsi Afrika ukwazi ukusingatha imicimbi ebandakanya i-Afrika iphela, kubonisa amandla elinawo eli lizwe ngenxa yeenkokheli zalo. Abaphulaphuli abaqinisekiswa ukuba ayikho nto enokubongamela ngenxa yokuba banamandla, baya kuziva bekhululekile. Ngako oko, umlukuhli owanelisa imfuno yamandla kubaphulaphuli bakhe uye aphumelele kwiinjongo zakhe zolukuhlo. Impumelelo yeenjongo zomlukuhli ibonisa ukuba abaphulaphuli bayawamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Isimilo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswa ukujonga ukuziphatha ngengqikelelo, ukuziphatha ukubonisa iintsukumo zokuthanda okanye ukungathandi into ethile. ULarson (1995, p. 176), uEagley noChaiken (1993) basichaza ngolu hlobo isimilo, "... a psychological

tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor". Ngamanye amazwi esi sixhobo singqala kwindlela umphulaphuli aphenhula ngayo.

Esi sixhobo sikwasetyenziselwe ukwenza isibheni ekugqukeni iintshukumo zomntu malunga nezimvo, nenkolo yakhe ngomba othile. Umzekelo, apha kweli phetshana owona mba uphambili kukuzibophelela kwabantu base-Afrika ekuphuculeni i-Afrika. Kungca we-6-7, "ignore Africa Day". Ngale ndlela umbhali ubonisa ukuzimisela kukarhulumente ekubuyiseleni imibhuyozo yosuku lwe-Afrika.

Oku kubonisa ukuba urhulumente akakuthandi ukunganakwa kosuku lwe-Afrika. Ngamanye amazwi, urhulumente uzimisele ukwenza into eza kwenza abantu balwazi olu suku kwaye balubhiyozele. Yindlela le lo mhlathi ofuna ngayo ukulukuhla abantu, khon'ukuze batshintshe izimilo ngakusuku lwe-Afrika. Kwaye bamncome urhulumente ngokubonakalisa inkathalo ngembali yobu-Afrika.

Kwakhona izimilo zabantu ziye zintshintshe, bamthande urhulumente ngenxa yamalinge akhe okuvuselela i-Afrika. Xa izimilo zabaphulaphuli zithe zahamba okanye zangqinelana neenjongo zomlukuphili, oko kuya kubonisa impumelelelo yolukuphlo. Ngamanye amazwi oku kungebonisa ukuba abaphulaphuli bayawamkelela umyalezo wolukuphlo.

Ukungaguququki

Apha kweli phetshana, phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo esi sixhobo solukuphlo asisetyenziswanga kulo mhlathi.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Lo mhlathi wokuqala ubonisa isiqulatho ngendlela yengqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Yeyona ndlela inamandla nephambili ekudluliseni umyalezo wolukuphlo. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 195), " The power of the content premises lies not in its ability to stir the emotions, to create psychic or to appeal to hidden needs. Rather its power lies in eliciting a rational or logical response from or conclusion in the persuadee".

Apha kulo mhlathi unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wokuqala, "celebrate Africa Day". Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka kule migca ilandelayo, owokuqala kunye nomgca wesibini. Amazwi angqina oku ngala, "the Organisation of African Unity in 1963". Esesibini isiphumo sesi sokuzibophelela kwabantu base-Afrika ekumanyeni i-Afrika, "commitment of the Continent to its unity. Sisiphumo esibonisa kakuhle ukuba i-Afrika ifuna umanyano endaweni yokulwa, kubekho umoya wemvisiswano. Sona esi isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-4.

Kwakhona kumgca we-9-12 kufumaneka omnye unobangela. La mazwi alandelayo abonisa lo nobangela, "initiative of Tribute"; "Department of Foreign Affairs"; "African diplomatic corps". Sona isiphumo sako konke oku sifumaneka kumgca we-13-15, "these activities express our collective determination to correct the virtual omission of Africa Day festivities from our national calendar, since 1994". Ngale ndlela umbhali unika ubungqina khon'ukuze abantu bangqinelane neenjongo zolukuhlo lwakhe. Ubani angatsho ukuba iinjongo zombhali zezokuba abantu mabazibophelele ekuphuculeni i-Afrika, ngokuthi babhiyozele usuku lwe-Afrika.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 2, IMIGCA 19-33

(1) Ushwankathelo

Kulo nyaka umthetho womgaqo-siseko osemthethweni wemanyano ye-Afrika i-AU uza kuqalisa ukusebenza endaweni yalowo we-OAU. Olu tshintsho luya kuthi lukhokhelele ekumiselweni kwe-Palamente ye-Afrika. Yile Palamente eza kuthi inike abantu ithuba lokuba bamanyane khon'ukuze bakwazi ukulwa indlala, iimfazwe nezinye iingxaki eziphambili kwe-Afrika. Ukubandakanywa kwabantu kuya kukhuthaza lenkqubo ekubeni ikhawulezise.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Khon'ukuze abaphulaphuli bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo kufuneka ulukuhlo lube lwenziwa ngumntu obaziyo abaphulaphuli bakhe. Akululanga komlukuhli ukuzifezekisa iinjongo zakhe xa engabazi abaphulaphuli bakhe. Umlukuhli kufuneka azazi neemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. Ngokwalapha kulo mhlathi, kubonakala ukuba umbhali uyayazi ukuba bafuna ntoni abaphulaphuli bakhe.

Nangona kunjalo, umlukuhli kufuneka ajollise kwezona mfuno ziphambili kubaphulaphuli bakhe. Oku umlukuhli ukwenza ngokusebenzisa inkqubo yeSayikholoji. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 161), "Process permits also operate in more serious situations such as listening to political speeches or appeals from social movements". Umlukuhli kufuneka azilungise izibhenso ngokwemfuno nganye yabaphulaphuli.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuginisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali ungqala ngenjongo kumba wokupheliswa kwendlala, kwentlupheko, nakowokumisela uzinzo kwezi lizwekazi. Umbhali uzama ukubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabameli base-Afrika kumsebenzi wokulwa nendlela e-Afrika. Kungca wama-25-28, "This parliament will, for the time, give the possibility to popularly elected representatives of the peoples of Africa to come together to set indicative objectives, the signposts that should help our Continent as it fights to overcome the problems of poverty, underdevelopment and stability". Urhulumente ufuna abantu base-Afrika bazive bexabisekile kwaye befuneka ekumiliseleni okanye ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika.

Ukanti kungca wama-29-33, "The adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union is itself something we should celebrate. It is right that we honour Africa Day, as will happen today, and thereby restate our determination as a country and a people to participate in the process of speeding up the movement towards the greater unity of our Continent". Apha la mazwi angqina into yokuba umbhali uyayazi ukuba abantu base Mzantsi nabe-Afrika iphela bafuna ukuxatyiswa. Ukwamkeleka kokubhiyozelwa komhla we-Afrika ngabantu kuluphawo lokuzingca, kwaye nokuziva bexabisekile abantu beli lizwekazi.

Isimilo

Kumhlathi wesibini weli phetshana isixhobo solukuhlo esi sisimilo asisetyenziswanga.

Ukungaguquguquki

Nalapha kulo mhlathi esi sixhobo asisetyenziswanga.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Okuqulathwe kulukuhlo apha kulo mhlathi kuthembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-19, "the Constitutive Act of the African Union". Sona isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-21, "to phase out the OAU and phase in the African Union". Umbhali unika ubungqina ebonakalisa ingqiqo ngokunika esinye isiphumo. Esi siphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-23-24, "the African Parliament will be established". Ngako konke oku, umbhali uzama ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli ukuba bamkele ukumiselwa kolawulo olunye lwe-Afrika, phantsi kwendlu okanye iPalamente enye.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 3, IMIGCA 34-58(1) Ushwankathelo

Kuluvuyo kurhulumente woMzantsi Afrika ngokubandakanyeka kwiphulo lokumiselwa Kwe-"Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme" (MAP). Okona izakugxininisa kuko i-MAP kukuphumeza inkqubo yokukhuthaza intsebenziswano kwezopolitiko nakuqoqosho. Ukuzinikezela nokuzimisela kwinkqubo yomisela i-MAP kulindeleke ukuba kusombulule iingxaki ezininzi ze-Afrika.

Sele kukho izindululo esele zenziwe zokomeleza nokukhuthaza idemokrasi, uxolo, nokuhlonitshwa kwamalungelo oluntu. Ukongeza, kufanele kugxininiswe ekuqapheleni izifo ezosulelayo, umzekelo, uGawulayo, isifo sephepha nezinye. Kwakhona abantu base-Afrika kufuneka basebenzele ukuphelisa indlala, baphuhlise iqondo le-Afrika kwicala lezolimo, lobuxhakaxhaka nobugcisa. Ngale ndlela luya kukhula uqoqosho ukwenzela ukuba kube yimpumelelo ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Nalapha kulo mhlathi wesithathu weli phetshana kusetyenziswe izixhobo ezithile zolukuhlo. Umbhali, njengomlukhuli ubonakalisa ukuba nalo ulwazi ngeemfuno zabaphulaphuli bakhe. oku kubonakaliswa ngokusetyenziswa kwenkqubo yeSayikholoji. Ngamanye amazwi, umbhali ulenza ngengqiqo ulukuhlo lwakhe. Uthi uLarson (1995, p. 160), "The better appeals are the logical ones". Kungenxa yoku umbhali esebenzisa izibhenzo ezenza izibhenzo kwingqondo zabaphulaphuli. Kwakhona umbhali usebenzisa

amagama afana noo-"we", "our" namanye ekwenzeni isibheno kwingqondo zabaphulaphuli.

limfuno

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka, ngokukaPackard (19164). nemfuno yokuzingca, ngokukaMaslow (1954)

Kubonakala kukho imfuno yokuzingca ebantwini, apha kulo mhlathi. Ngalo lonke ixesha abantu xa benento abathe bayiphumeza okanye bayenza ngempumelelo baye bazingce. Ingakumbi ukuba yinto entle leyo bayenzayo okanye bayenzileyo. Ngenxa yokuxatyiswa kwabo abantu, baye bazingce ngento ebaxatyiswa ngayo. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 173), uMaslow (1954) uthi, "we want to feel wanted and valued". Aze la mazwi omelezwe nguPackard (1964) ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 163) ngokuthi, "people need to feel valued, they need to feel that they make a difference". Xa umlukuhli ekwazi oku, uye azame ukubanelisa abaphulaphuli bakhe ngale mfuno. Ngale ndlela kutsho kube lula ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli.

Apha kulo mhlathi le mfuno ibonaka kumgca wama-47-51, "The critical and unique feature of MAP is that it will be a product of the efforts of the peoples of Africa. Africans conceived it of Africans are elaborating it. Africans are leading the process of discussion with the developed countries and the multilateral institutions to secure their support for and involvement in the Programme" Umbhali ufuna boneliseke abantu base-Afrika bubuntu babo. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali wanelisa abantu base-Afrika ngemfuno yokuxabiseka.

Umbhali uwasebenzisa oku la mazwi akumgca wama-47-51. Injongo zakhe kukuba ufuna abantu bayayazi ukuba i-Afrika iyabafuna. Oku kukuthi, i-Afrika iya kuthi khon'ukuze iguquke kwimo ekuyo ngoku, ibe ngabantu bayo abathi benze inguqu kuyo. Ngale ndlela umbhali uyababonisa abantu ukuba babalulekile, kwaye baxabisekile. Ukuba oku kungabaonakala ngenxa yokubaphulaphuli, kungalula ukubalukuhla, okanye bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Isimilo

Olu hlobo lwesixhobo solukuhlo lusetyenziswa ekutshintsheni inkolo, ukuziphatha, nesimilo kumphulaphuli malunga nombala othile, umzekelo, kwimeko yesimilo malunga

nokutshaywa kwentsangu esidlangaleni. Abantu abankolo ibubuRasta badla ngokuyithethelela ngokuthi iphelisa isifo sephepha kunye nesifuba. Oku kuyindlela yokujonga impendulo malunga nesimilo kwiinkolo ezifana nobuRasta. UChaiken (1993), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 176) uthi ngolu luvo, "... attitude as a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor".

Kweli phetshana libhalwe ngumongameli, esi sixhobo sibonisa ukuhambisana kuka rhulumente nokwakhiwa kwe-Afrika phantsi kwedemokrasi. Umgca wama-39-40, "ensure that ours becomes a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its peoples", ubonisa indlela urhulumente afuna bazibophelele ngayo ekumiliseleni idemokrasi kwezi lizwe. Ugxininiso lusekubeni abantu babatshintshe isimilo sabo ngeenkqubo zoqoqosho nopolitiko ezingundoqo ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika.

Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi avuma ukuba inkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika izakuba nesiphumo esiyimpumelelo ekuphuhliseni eli lizwekazi liyi-Afrika. La mazwi afumaneka kumgca wama-53-54, "We say all not to assert African pride but to make the point that it is this feature of MAP tha gives it the greatest possibility to succeed". Abantu baya kutsho bakwamkele okucetywa ngurhulumente, ngenxa yokuba yena urhulumente uzama ngako konke ukukhokelelela abantu kwindlela yemanyano kunye nedemokrasi e-Afrika.

Ukungaguququki

Apha kulo mhlathi asisetyenziswanga esi sixhobo solukuhlo.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Indlela esisebenzayo ngayo esi sixhobo kumyalezo wolukuhlo sisekelwe ekukwazini ukucinga ngengqiqo komlukuhli. Yiyo le nto esithi uLarson (1995, p. 194), "... this kind of persuasion utilizes the central processing route and involves considerable analysis and the ability to use our intellectual abilities". Kubalulekile ngalo lonke ixesha ukuba umlukuhli awomeleze umyalezo wakhe olukuhlayo ngokuthi abonise ubungqina.

Ngako oko, kumelwe kujongwe ukuba kulo mhlathi umlukuhli uwenze ngengqiqo nangokunika ubungqina na, umyalezo wakhe. Isiqulatho solukuhlo apha kulo mhlathi

sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ukungca wama-35-36, "the documents for the Millennium Partnership".

Sona isiphumo sifumaneka amaxesha aliqela. Okokuqala, kungca wama-38, "African unity and progress". Kwakhona kungca wama-39-40, "to ensure that ours becomes a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its peoples". Ngokunjalo nakungca wama-42, "strengthening of the institutions to promote democracy". Okokugqibela, isiphumo siyafumaneka kungca wama-43-46, "plans and such issues as infectious diseases...".Konke oku kubonisa ubungqina obunikwe ngengqiqo ukulukuhla abaphulaphuli, khon'ukuze bakwamkele ukuzibophelela kuvuselelo lwe-Afrika.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 4, IMIGCA 59-87

(1) Ushwankathelo

Onke la malinge okumisela i-MAP abonakalisa impumelelo, nto ke leyo ithetha ukuba ikho inkxaso evela koorhulumente base-Afrika ngokubanzi, nakwabo bamazwe aseNtla. Eli phulo lixhaswe nkqu nangoosomashishini kwezi ngenxa yokuba bezama ukukhuthaza ushishino olukhululekileyo. Kwaye bezama ukuhlangabezana nemeko yendlala. Kangangokuba oosomashishini abaninzi batyala iimali zabo ngokuvula amaziko oshishino kwezi. Ingakumbi kwicala lobugcisa nobuxhakaxhaka.

Ukuzimisela kwabantu ekwakheni i-Afrika ngokutsha kubonakala nakwimibutho yemanyano yabasebenzi ngokuxhasa ukukhuselwa kwamalungelo abantu kwi-Afrika jikelele. Ama-Afrika anxulunyani swa zizinto ezininzi ezifana namabandla ezakwaLizwi, ezemidlalo, inkcubeko, imfundo, ubugcisa nezinye. Zonke ezi zinto zizixhobo zokwakha ubuhlobo phakathi kwama-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Njengeminye imihlathi yeli phetshana, nawo lo umhlathi usetyenziswa ngumbhali njengesixhobo sokukhuthaza ulukuhlo, nanjengokuba umbhali esebenzisa izixhobo ezingqalileyo khon'ukuze ziphumelele iinjongo zakhe. Oku ukwenza ngengqiqo, ngenxa yokuba okuphambili kuye kukuba kwamkelwe umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo.

Ngako oko,, umbhali xa esenza intetho yolukuhlo usebenzisa amagama enza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Oku kubizwa zingcali zolukuhlo ngokuba sisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. ULarson (1995, p. 160), uthi malunga nalenkqubo, "We call these process premises because they target psychological processes that seem to operate in most people". Le yindlela umlukuhli anokwenza ngayo ngempumelelo ulukuhlo lwakhe.

limfuno

Apha kulo mhlathi isixhobo sokukhuthaza ulukuhlo esibizwa ngokuba ziimfuno asifumaneki okanye asisetyenziswanga.

Isimilo

Umlukuhli kulo mhlathi weli phetshana ubonisa ukubaluleka kweziko lokuvuselela i-Afrika ebantwini base-Afrika. Kungca wama-80-87, "The African Renaissance Institute is yet another important initiative that seeks to mobilise the peoples of Africa behind a common programme for the success of the African Renaissance. It is a matter of pride that the South African chapter of the Institute is one of the strongest on the Continent. Work is also going on among other communities, the youth and students, women, arts and culture, science and technology and sport to strengthen our relations with the rest of our Continent".

Ngale ndlela, lo mhlathi unqale kwiinjongo zokumiselwa kweziko lokuvuselela i-Afrika. Lilonke ubukho beli ziko buya kusondeza zonke iintlanga zase-Afrika, zibambane, zimanyane ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika. Kwakhona lo mhlathi ufuna abantu base-Afrika bantshintshe isimilo sabo malunga nokucalucalulana ngokobuhlanga. Oku kube kukhokhelela kubunye babantu base-Afrika bebonke, ngokungacalucaluliyo nokuba kungaluphi na uhlobo. Xa oku kuphumelela, kuya kuthetha ukuba umbhali uya kuphumelela ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli.

Ukungaguququki

ULarson (1995, p. 182) uthetha ngolu hlobo ngesi sixhobo, "... human beings feel comfortable when the world lives up to or operates consistently with their perceptions of or predictions about events". Imigca yama-59-64, ibonisa ukungaguququki ngemvumelwano, "All these developments, including the African Union and MAP, emphasise the point that

the issue of our relations with the rest of our Continent is central to the future of our own country. Accordingly, it requires that all our people in all their organised formations should work out their own programmes further to strengthen our links with sister African countries and to encourage our Continent's progressive social transformation". Oku kusiqinisekiso sokuba ikamva le meko ye-Afrika liya kuhlala liphucukile, ingakumbi xa thina bantu bayo besebenzisana, simanyene ngale ndlela sibambene ngayo ngoku. Le yindlela yokubenza bazive bekhululekile abaphulaphuli.

Koku kukhululeka kwabo abaphulaphuli okubanika uluvo lwesivumelwano, kulapho umlukuhli athe wabethelela iinkolo zabo ezimalunga nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Intsusa okanye umthombo wemvumelwano apha kulo mhlathi kukubonakalisa ngengqikelelo. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ukwaqinisekisa abantu ngemfuno yokhuseleko. Nanjengokuba esitsho uLarson (1995, p. 189), "A consonance producing tactic related to reassurance of security is to demonstrate that the world operates in predictable ways", xa ethetha ngokubonisa ngengqikelelo. Xa oku kubonakala kwintetho yolukuhlo, abaphulaphuli bayawamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Kulo mhlathi, isiqulatho solukuhlo sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-70-71. Umbhali umsebenzise okanye umbonise amaxesha amathathu apha unobangela. Okokuqala umzekelo, "for our investment". Okwesibini, "trade". Ngeli lixa okwesithathu kusetyenziswe oku, "and technology transfers". Ukanti okona kuphambili koku kukuvuselelwa nokwenziwa ntsha kweli lizwekazi i-Afrika.

Oku kwenziwa ntsha kwe-Afrika kusisiphumo. Isiphumo ke sona sifumaneka amaxesha amathathu, ngokulinganayo nonobangela. Khangela kwimigca yama-66, 68-69, 72 ngokulandelelana kwayo, "government is very actively involved with the rest of our Continent". "Our business community has also been very active in expanding cooperation". Kunye noku, "trade relations between ourselves and many African countries". Yenye indlela umlukuhli abonisa ngayo ubungqina obuqingqiweyo khon'ukuze abaphulaphuli bazibone bawamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 5, IMIGCA 88-116**(1) Ushwankathelo**

Intsebenziswano phakathi kwama-Afrika yinto esanda kwenzeka kwiminyakana nje embalwa eyadlulayo. Ingakumbi kwilizwe loMzantsi Afrika. Ixesha elininzi eli lizwe beliphantsi kwengcinezelo, nto ke leyo ebangele ukuba lenziwe ikheswa ngumbutho wezizwe ezimanyeneyo. Oku kuthetha ukuba alikhange likwazi ukuthabatha inkxaxheba kwiintshukumo zase-Afrika. Loo nto ikhokhelele ekubeni inkoliso yabantu ingazinto nge-Afrika.

Abantu abakhange bafundiswe nge-Afrika, nkqu namajelo osasazo ebesasaza izinto ezingeyonyani. Ngamanye amazwi ebelahlekisa abantu ngenxa yokuba kwakungafunekanga bayayazi into eqhubekayo e-Afrika. Izinto ebezipapashwa kakhulu zizinto zaseYurophu. Kungenxa yoku kubalulekile ukuba abantu bafundiswe nge-Afrika. Bangafundiswa nje ngezifundo ezifana nezolimo, ezembali, koko bafundiswe ngeenkubeko zabo. Bafundiswe ngokuthatha inkxaxheba ekwakheni uqoqoqsho, ngemo yopolitiko nezinye abangazaziyo ezichaphazela i-Afrika.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli angangazisebenzisi iimfuno nje ngesixhobo solukuhlo kwintetho yakhe. Kodwa inqabile into yokuba zingasetyenziswa ezinye izixhobo zolukuhlo ezifumaneka phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Okuphawulekayo kukuba xa zingasetyenziswanga izixhobo zolukuhlo ekwenzeni intetho elukuhlayo, aluphumelelli ulukuhlo.

Kungenxa yoku umbhali enazo izixhobo ezithile zolukuhlo athe wazisebenzisa kulo mhlathi. Izixhobo ezisetyenzisiweyo kulo mhlathi zenza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, ngenxa yokuba zenziwe ngengqiqo. ULarson (1995, p. 160) uthi, "... the better appeals are the logical ones". Ingakumbi kwimeko kulapho abantu baphulaphule iintetho zopolitiko nakwamanye amaqela asekuhlaleni afana namaqela eenkonzo zakwaLizwi kunye nawezemidlalo.

limfuno

Phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo apha kulo mhlathi, umbhali akazikhankanyanga iimfuno. Ngamanye amagama iimfuno azikho kulo mhlathi.

Isimilo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sibalulekile kakhulu kwintetho okanye kumyalezo wolukuhlo. Owona msebenzi wesi sixhobo solukuhlo kukutshintsha iinkolo, izimilo, kunye nokuziphatha kwabantu malunga nombala othile. Le ntetho ingqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 177) ngokuthi, "... attitude objects are usually found in the persuader's request for action or offer of products, ideas, beliefs, ...".

Umbhali kweli phetshana ubonisa owona mba ubalulekileyo wokungaziswa kwabantu ngelizwekazi lwabo, i-Afrika. Oku kubonakala kumgca wama-88-92, "It is a matter of concern that our level of knowledge about our own Continent is not as high as it should be. This is partly the result of the many years of the international isolation of South Africa and fact that, historically, a significant part of our international relation has focused on interaction with the countries of the North, especially Europe". Ngale ndlela umbhali ubonisa ukungakuthandi kwakhe ukuba abantu bangabinalwazi ngelizwekazi lwabo.

Kwakhona, umbhali uphinda angakuvumi okwenziwa ngamajelo osasazo. Oku kukuthi umbhali akahambisani nendima nenkxaxheba edlalwa ngamajelo osasazo ekufundiseni nasekwaziseni abantu, ingakumbi aboMzantsi Afrika, nge-Afrika. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi akumgca wama-93-96, "Our mass media has also done very little to inform our population in general about the Continent in a balanced way. As happens with news in general, what to get reported are the negative things that do, indeed, occur on our Continent". Ngoku kumele kungabikho lizwe lenziwa ikheswa, kwaye namajelo osasazo abe nobulungisa khon'ukuze kwaneliseke wonke umntu.

Ukanti kwelinye icala okona kuyinyani nokuhle ngeli lizwekazi kukuba lityebile, lihle kwaye neentlobo zamasiko neenkubeko zenza umtsalane kwizizwe zamanye amazwe. Nto ke leyo enokuthi ilibangele eli lizwekazi liphucuke kwaye wonke umntu anqwenele ukuhlala Kulo. Kumgca wama-87-101, "But the Continent also has a very rich culture to which we are not exposed, except, perhaps, in the area of popular music. Nevertheless, a better

understanding of these cultures would help us greatly to understand both ourselves and the sister peoples of Africa, with whom we are bound by a common destiny", umbhali ubonisa indlela athanda ngayo umculo. Le yindlela umbhali afuna kwamkeleke ngayo umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo.

Ukungaguquguquki

Ukungaguquguquki akufumaneki apha kulo mhlathi wesihlanu. Ngamanye amagama esi sixhobo solukuhlo asisetyenziswanga.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisekelwe ekukwazini komlulukhli ukuqiga. Oku kubizwa nguLarson (1995, 194), ngokuba, "Premises relying on logical and analytical abilities are called content premises". Isiqulatho solukuhlo kulo mhlathi sithembele kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-102, "difficult work". Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka amaxesha amane. Oku kubonakala okokuqala, nokwesibini kumgca we-103, "democracy and human rights". Ukanti okwesithathu nokwesine kufumaneka kumgca we-104, "poverty eradication and social upliftment".

Umbhali unika ubungqina obuqiqiweyo ngokuthi abonise esinye isiqulatho kulo mhlathi. Kumgca we-108, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, "teaching about Africa". Omnye unobangela olandela lo ufumaneka kumgca we-109, "subjects such as history and geography". Kwakhona noku "culture and current political and socio-economic activity, as well as languages". Obu bungqina bubethelela kubaphulaphuli amathuba olwamkelo lo myalezo wolukuhlo.

Ukanti sona isiphumo sako konke oku sifumaneka kumgca we-112, kunye nomgca we-116, "Africans first before they become citizens of the world". Amanye amazwi ngala, "cooperation and solidarity with the peoples of our Continent", kunye nala athi, "achievement of the objects of the African Renaissance". Abaphulaphuli bangawamkela lo myalezo xa beziva bekhululekile, kwaye basanela lulwazi oluza nomlulukhli.

INTONYE YEDISKHOSI - 6, IMIGCA 117-144**(1) Ushwankathelo**

Kwezi xesha le nkqubo yedemokrasi kufanele amajelo osasazo, umzekelo, iSABC, adlale indima ephambili ekufundiseni abantu nge-Afrika. Ngenxa yokuba abantu baseMzantsi Afrika banolwazi olukhulu ngamazwe aseYurophu ukodlula i-Afrika. Yiyo le nto bengakwazi ukwabamkela abantu abasuka kwamanye amazwe e-Afrika. Into abangayiqwalaseliyo kukuba abanye baba bantu banobuchule, ubugcisa abanokuthi bakhulise ngabo uqoqosho lweli loMzantsi Afrika.

Kungoko kubalulekile ukuba kuliwe ukucalulwa kwabantu ngokobuzwe babo. Ngenxa yokuba phambi kokuba ukhululeke uMzantsi Afrika, abantu beli babebhacele emazweni aba bantu. Kwaye bona abazange bakwenze oku. Ngako oko, akubalulekanga ukucalulana nangoluphi na uhlobo, yiyo le nto uMzantsi wazikhethela ukuba mawube lilizwe ledemokrasi.

(2) Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Umlukuhli enze intetho yakhe yolukuhlo esebenzisa izixhobo ezifanelekileyo zolukuhlo, uya phumelela kwiinjongo zakhe. Nangona kunjalo, maxa wambi azinakusetyenziswa zonke izixhobo zolukuhlo eziphantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo. Umzekelo, iimfuno, isimilo, ukungaguququki, enye yazo ingangasetyenziswa kwintetho yolukuhlo.

Ezo athe wazisebenzisa umlukuhli kumele aqiniseke ukuba usebenzisa izibheno ezingcono ekusebenziseni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Amagama enza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli afumaneka kwiimeko ezahlukeneyo zolukuhlo. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 161), "Psychological appeals are seen in business, marketing, advertizing, sales promotion, and ideological advocacy on behalf of emotionally loaded issues". Le yeyona ndlela iphambi ekwenzeni ulukuhlo.

limfuno

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo asisetyenziswanga nalapha kulo mhlathi.

Isimilo

Isimilo sisixhobo solukuhlo esisetyenziswa ekugquleni okanye ekutshintsheni inkolo, nokuziphatha komphulaphuli. Nangona kunjalo, akuthi wakusebenzisa esi sixhobo kube sele kuzenzekela nje ukutshintsha kwesimilo somphulaphuli. Kufuneka wena mlukuhli ube nobuchule bokusisebenzisa esi sixhobo khon'ukuze sisebenze. UChaiken (1993), ecatsulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 176), uthetha athi ngesimilo, "attitude as a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor". Lo mhlathi ubonisa indlela akuvuma ahambisane ngayo umbhali nobukho beentlanga zamanye amazwe eMzantsi Afrika.

Ukusukela kumgca we-122-125, lo mhlathi ubonisa ukwamkeleka kwentsebenziswano phakathi kwama-Afrika. Kumele kufundiswane ngobuchule, kwandiswe ubuhlobo kubantu beli lizwekazi. Apha kule migca sele ikhankanyiwe, oku kuboniswa ngala mazwi, "... our intimate relationship with the rest of our Continent is illustrated by the significant numbers of fellow Africans who have sought to settle in South Africa since 1994. ...this trend will continue, adding a new richness to our own society".

Ngokwalapha kulo mhlathi kukhangeleka ngathi umbhali uveza into yokuba urhulumente uyayivuma eyamkela kananjalo into yobukho bezinye iintlanga apha eMzantsi Afrika. Ngako oko, kumele nabantu beli lizwe loMzantsi Afrika babamkele ngobubele abantu bamanye amazwe khon'ukuze kubekho inkqubela endaweni yemfazwe.

Eyona nto ebalulekileyo kwinkqubela kukufunda ubuchwepheshe, ukuchwela, nobuchule kuyekwe ukubacalula ngokobuzwe babo. Ukusukela kumgca we-126-129, "Many of these new immigrants bring with them important skills that our country needs. Many of them are also people who are creative, full of initiative and driven by an enterprising spirit. The more they impart these characteristics to us, the better we will be as a people and a society". Izimilo zabantu ziya kuguquka, abantu bacinge ngendlela eyakhayo kunaleyo ichithayo.

Ukungaguquguki

Kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo ngeenjongo zokubonisa abantu ukuba bayeke ukufuna ukuzenza ezinye izizwe. Umzekelo, amaMelika, ngenxa yokuba akusokuze buguquke ubuhlanga nobuzwe babo. Apha kulo mhlathi umbhali

ukukhankanya oku kuba ngum-Afrika qwaba, okanye ukungabi yinto, kumgca we-37. Oku ukukhankanya ngenxa yokuba efuna ukwazisa abaphulaphuli ngobuzwe babo obungaguqukiyo.

Umphulaphuli uya kuziva ekhululekile xa esaziswa ngobu-Afrika bakhe obungenakuguququka. Oku kungaguququqi kunemvumelwano, kwaye kufumenaka kwimigca ye-136-138, "To express the critical importance of Africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing. We can only succeed in the objectives we pursue if the rest of our Continent also succeeds".

Intsusa yesivumelwano ibe luqikelelo. Oku kuuboniswa kumgca we-140-144, "It is for this reason that we too must celebrate Africa Day and thereby xommit ourselves to for African unity and African renewal..., on this day, we extend our colours, cultures and races, convinced that the African Renaissance will succeed". Nanjengokuba umphulaphuli enikiwe uluvo lwesivumelwano, umbhali yena kwelinye icala uqikelela impumelelo yokumanyana kwe-Afrika, khon'ukuze ibe nokuvuseleleka. Nabo abaphulaphuli njengabantu abayifunayo imvuselelo ye-Afrika, baya kuwamkela lo myalezo.

(3) Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

Kulo mhlathi kufumaneka nje indawana kanobangela ngenxa yokuba usaqhubekela esukela kulowa ukumhlathi wesihlanu. Oku kukuthi, kulo mhlathi wesithandathu kufumaneka nje unobangela ongenaso isiphumo. Unobangela nesiphumo, esipheleleyo njengokuba sele kutshiwo, bafumaneka kumhlathi wesihlanu. Oku kubonakala kwimigca ye-117-118, "The public broadcaster, the SABC, while continuing to report African news objectively," Yiyo le nto kusenokuthiwa asisetyenziswanga ngokupheleleyo esi sixhobo kulo mhlathi. Ngokomthetho wolukuhlo unobangela kufuneka abe naso isiphumo, okanye isiphumo kufuneka sibe naye unobangela.

4.5.3. Uhlalutyo

Isindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo

Okubalulekileyo komlukuphi ofuna impumelelo kulukuhlo lwakhe kukuba abe nesakhono nobuchule bokusebenzisa amagama kwintetho yakhe. Oku kukuthi, ukuba umlukuphi

akakwazi ukulandelelanisa amagama athile enza isibhenso kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, ulukuhlo lungangaphumeleli. Le ndlela ibonakalalisa mhlophe ukuba ubuchule bokuthetha bukwasisixhobo sokukhuthaza umphulaphuli khon'ukuze abe nomdla wokuphulaphula.

Ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo ngendlela, kwenza isibhenso kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswa kuzo zonke iimeko zolukuhlo. Oku kungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 161), ngokuthi, "Process premises also operate in more serious situations, such listening to political speeches and appeals from social movements". Yiyo le nto kweli phetshana kubonakala ukuba umbhali unalo ulwazi ngesi sixhobo. Kungoko ethe wasebenzisa ubuchule bokuqqa ekusebenziseni inkqubo yeSayikholoji.

limfuno

Imfuno Yamandla

A. Ushwankathelo

Nanjengokuba kubalulekile komlulukhli ukuba abazi abaphulaphuli bakhe, kubalulekile ukuba akwazi ukuqwalasela ezona mfuno zabo. Umbhali ubonile ukuba abantu base-Afrika banemfuno yamandla. La mandla ngabonisa amazwe aphenesheya kweelwandle ukuba i-Afrika inakho ukusingatha imicimbi yayo.

Umbhali ubone kuyimfuneko yokubonisa amandla elinawo eli lizwe kunye neli lizwekazi i-Afrika liphela. Nangona kunjalo umbhali usisebenzise ixesha elinye kuphela esi sixhobo kweli phetshana. Kulapha kulo mhlathi wokuqala kuphela kulapho sifumaneka khona esi sixhobo kweli phetshana. Kumgca we-13, "host different events to commemorate Africa Day".

Nje ngenkokheli, umbhali ubonile ukuba makabonise ngamandla anawo omzimba nawengqondo khon'ukuze luphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe. Kungoko uLarson (1995, p. 168), "In fact, every major candidate ... has to demonstrate physical and psychological strength or power". Umlulukhli ongakwaziyo ukwanelisa le mfuno akabinabo abantu bokuphulaphula intetho yakhe. Abo bakhoyo baye bangabinamdla, nto ke leyo ethi ikhokhelele ekubeni lungaphumeleli ulukuhlo.

La mazwi abonisa amandla kumgca we-13, asetyenziselwe ukubonisa amazwe ehlabathini ngokunekwenziwa yi-Afrika. Xa abantu bamazwe ngamazwe ase-Afrika benokuthi babambisane kuyo yonke into abayenzayo bangaphumelela. Mpumelelo leyo ibonisa amandla abanawo ekusombululeni iingxaki zabo. Oku kukhankanywe ngumbhali ngenxa yokuba efuna ukuba abantu bawamkelele umyalezo wakhe wolukuhlo.

B. Ugxeko

Eli phetshana linesihloko esibonisa ukuzimisela nokuzibophelela kwabantu base-Afrika ekwakheni eli lizwekazi, libe kumgangatho wale mihla. Ngamanye amazwi kufuneka kupheliswe indlala, kuguqulwe indlela zolawulo olugwenxa eburhulumenteni kumiliselwe idemokrasi. Kuphuculwe ezoqoqosho, kuphuculwe imfundo, kufundwe ubuchule bokusebenzisa ubuxhakaxhaka nobuchwephesha bale mihla. Kupheliswe iimfazwe ezigqubayo kwezi lizwekazi, kumiliselwe uxolo nenzolo.

Khon'ukuze abaphulaphuli bavumelane nomyalezo ololu hlobo, ojonge phambili ukubeni ukhuthaze abantu, kufuneka iimfuno zabo zaneliswe. Nangona kunjalo umlukhuli uye ajonge ezona zinto zifunwayo ngabaphulaphuli bakhe. Yiyo le nto kubalulekile ukubazi abaphulaphuli bakho phambi kokwenza intetho yolukuhlo. Umbhali kweli phetshana ubone kungeyomfuneko ingakho ukusebenzisa kwakhe esi sixhobo kakhulu. Ngenxa yokuba esi sixhobo sityenziswe nje kwakanye kweli phetshana.

Eli xesha libonakalisa ukuba umbhali akanamandla wokwanelisa abaphulaphuli ngale mfuno. Bekumele ukuba sisetyenziswe kakhulu esi sixhobo kweli phetshana khon'ukuze abantu bazive bekhululekile. Nto ke leyo ethi ikhokhelele ekubeni wamkelwe umyalezo wolukuhlo. Lilonke esi sixhobo sibonakalisa ukungabi nafuthe ngenxa yokusetyenziswa kwaso ixesha elinye nje kuphela kweli phetshana.

Ubani angatsho ukuba iinkokheli zaseburhulumenteni zikholisa ukuqhatha nje abantu xa zifuna inkxaso yabo. Qhaphela kwimeko yenkqubo yokufuna ivoti, emva koko kungafezekiswa nesinye isithembiso. Ukuba zikho ezithi zifezekiswe, oko kuye kuthathe ixesha elide kangokuba abantu baba sele bephelelwe nangumonde.

Abantu bangakuthanda ukuyibona inkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Kaloku abantu banengcinga yokuba imeko egqubayo kwezi lizwekazi i-Afrika, imbi. Le meko yimeko

equka indlala, iimfazwe, intswelo ngqesho, ubugebenga, isifo uGawulayo. Yiyo le nto kungumnqweno ukuba iphulo lokumiselwa kwe-MAP luphumelele. Inkqubo ye-MAP iza kukhokhelela ekubeni zibhiyozelwe iintsuku ezithile kwezi lizwekazi. Ntsuku ezo ezifana nomhla wama-25 kuMeyi ezibonisa ukuzibophelela kwembumba yemanyano ye-Afrika.

Imfuno yokuginisekisa ukuxabiseka ngokukaPackard (1964), kunye nemfuno yokuzingca ngokukaMaslow (1954)

A. Ushwankathelo

Umntu nganye uzibona engaxatyiswanga xa engakhathalalelwanga ngabanye. Nangona kunjalo yena wenza ngako konke anakho ukubonisa imfuno yokuxabiseka phakathi kwabanye. Oku kuphenjelelwa luluvo lwendalo lokuxabiseka olungaphakathi kuye wonke umntu.

Le mfuno ibonakala isisixhobo esisebenzayo sokulukuhla. Xa umlukuhli esisebenzisa ngokwaneleyo, uye afumane iziphumo ezihle kulukhulo lwakhe. Kububuchule ukusebenzisa ngokuthi ubenze abaphulaphuli bakho bazive bebalulekile kwaye bexabisekile. Oku kuya kubangela ukuba bazingce, nto ke leyo eya kuthi yenze kube lula ukuba bawamkele umyalezo wolukuhlo. Ngenxa yokuba kakade oku kuziinjongo zakho nje ngomlukuhli ofuna impumelelo kulukuhlo lwakhe.

Nokuba ubani akamboni omnye umntu nje ngobalulekileyo ekuhlaleni, emsebenzini, eqeleni, naphi na, kuye yena umntu lo kubalulekile ukuba nguye. Yiyo le nto umntu ngamnye ezingca ngobunguye bakhe, nto ke leyo embangela ukuba afune ukuxatyiswa nangabanye phakathi kwakhe. NgokukaMaslow (1954), ecatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 173), "we want to feel wanted and valued as human beings". Ubani angayiqwalasela le mfuno yokuxabiseka ngokwenza ubungqina ngokusebenzisa iingcali zonxibelelwano. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 163) uPackard (1964) yena uthi, "... people need to feel valued for what they do".

Imfuno yokuxabiseka okanye imfuno yokuzingca isetyenziswe amaxesha amane kweli phetshana. Umbhali ukwenze oku ngeenjongo zokubethelela ukungazijongeli phantsi kwabantu base-Afrika. Kumaxesha angaphambili abantu base-Afrika bebengazithembanga ukuba kukhona abanokukwenza. Oku kwababangela ukuba

baxhomekeke kwezinye iintlanga zamazwe angaphandle. Kungenxa yoku umbhali ebebonisa ukuba baxabisekile kwaye mabazingce ngobuzwe babo nangezinto abazenzayo.

Kula maxesha mane okusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo, kuqala, sifumaneka kumhlathi wokuqala. Kungca we-16-18, "This corrective actin takes place during the year when our Continent has taken the critical step to build on what the OAU has achieved, further to promote the advance towards African unity". Oku kuthetha ukuba sekukho into esele iphunyelelwe ngabantu base-Afrika, ingakumbi ekhokhelela kwimanyano khon'ukuze kubekho uxolo nenzolo.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kumhlathi wesibini. Apha sisetyenziselwe ukuqinisekisa ukuba abantu bayawamkela lo myalezo, kungca wama-25-28, "This parliament will, for the first time, give the possibility to popularly elected representatives of the peoples of Africa to come together to set indicative objectives, the signposts that should help our Continent as it fights to overcome the problems of poverty, underdevelopment and instability". Umbhali ufumana inkxaso yabaphulaphuli ngenxa yokuba kungumnqweno womntu wonke e-Afrika ukuba kubekho uxolo, inzolo, kwaye kuphele nendlala.

Okwesithathu, kwalapha kulo mhlathi umbhali ukugxininisa oku ngokuthi akhankanye umgaqo-siseko wokumanyana kwe-Afrika. Ubukho balo mgaqo-siseko buyimpumelelo yemvisiswano nemanano phakathi kwezizwe zeli lizwekazi. Kungca wama- 29-33, "The adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union is itself something we should celebrate. It is right that we honour African Day, as will happen today and thereby restate our determination as a country and a people to participate in the process of speeding up the movement towards the greater unity of our Continent".

Kungoko kufanelekile ukuba abaphulaphuli bazive bexabisekile kwaye bazingce, ngenxa yokuba ngaphandle kwabo oku bekungasayi kuphumelela. Oku kubonisa ukuba abaphulaphuli baya kuwamkela lula lo myalezo. Ngamanye amagama ubani angatsho ukuba esi sixhobo kweli phetshana sibonakalisa impumelelo ngenxa yefuthe esinalo.

Okwesine, umbhali uphinde wasisebenzisa esi sixhobo solukuhlo kumhlathi wesithathu. Kungca wama- 47-51, "The critical and unique feature of MAP is that it will be a product of

the efforts of the people of Africa. African conceived it of. Africans are elaborating it. Africans are leading the process of discussion with the developed countries and the multilateral institutions to secure their support for involvement in the Programme". Le yindlela umbhali afuna ngayo ukuba namazwe angaphandle ababone abantu base-Afrika njengabantu, hayi izilwanyana. Kwaye ngabantu abaxabisekileyo nabanesakhono sokuzenzela izinto zabo.

B. Ugxeko

Kubonakala ngathi umbhali unalo ulwazi lwabaphulaphuli bakhe, kwaye uyayazi kakuhle into yokuba bafuna ukuxatyiswa. Yiyo le nto esisebenzise amaxesha amane esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Nangona kunjalo, ubani angatsho ukuba awanelanga la maxesha kweli phetshana. Isenokwenzeka into yokuba ingabi ngabo bonke abaphulaphuli abawamkelayo lo myalezo. Oku bekwenza ngenxa yokuba becinga ukuba igalelo lwabo alibalulekanga, kwaye alixatyiswanga.

Ngoko ke umbhali bekumele ukuba usebenzisa kakhulu esi sixhobo. Asisebenzise kuyo yonke le mihlathi yeli phetshana, khon'ukuze sisebenze ngokupheleleyo ekuphemeleleni ingqondo yomphulaphuli. Ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo amaxesha amane kuphela kuyakubangunobangela woku kungavumelani kwabaphulaphuli nomyalezo.

Ngenxa yokuba iinyaniso eziliqela ezikhankanywa ngumbhali zibangala umphulaphuli ukuba acinge ngolunye uhlobo xa esiva ezi nyaniso. Ezi nyaniso ziquka ukuhlupheka, iimvazwe, ekufuneka zipheliswe. kwaye oku kuyakwenzeka kuphela ngokubambisana kwabantu base-Afrika. Nto ke leyo ethi ifunise ukuxatyiswa kwelo qela labantu lithi lizimisele, lizibophelele ekwakhiweni kwe-Afrika ngokutsha. ULarson (1995, p. 163) uthi ngoPackard (1964), "... people need to feel that they are accomplishing something of value, ... and are appreciated by others". La mazwi angqina into yokuba bekumele mfundo yokuzingca okanye yokuxabiseka ibe isetyenziswe kuyo yonke le mihlathi, khon'ukuze kungabikho mathandabuzo malunga nokwamkelwa okanye ukungamkelwa komyalezo wombhali.

Isimilo

A. Ushwankathelo

Umlukuhli oluphumelelayo ulukuhlo lwakhe ngokusebenzisa isixhobo sokuguqula indlela acinga ngayo umphulaphuli malunga nombaba othile. Ukuncoma okanye ukuchasana nombaba othile kubonakala kwisimilo somntu. Ngokuka Eagley noChaiken (1993), becatshulwe kuLarson (1995, p. 176), inkcazelo yesimilo ihamba ngolu hlobo, "attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour".

Ngoko ke kumele umlukuhli aqwalasele, kwaye ajolise kwisimilo xa esenza intetho yakhe yolukuhlo. Nangona kunjalo esi sixhobo siya kusebenza kuphela xa umlukuhli ethe wasisebenzisa ngokwaneleyo. Ngamanye amazwi kufuneka sibe nefuthe lokuphemelela isimilo somphulaphuli. Ngaphandle koku ulukuhlo lusemngciphekweni wokungaphumeleli.

Kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo amaxesha asibhozo. Ngamaxesha noko aneleyo ekuguquleni isimilo somphulaphuli. Oku kwenziwa ngeenjongo zokufumana isivumelwano ngombaba othile phakathi komphulaphuli nomlukuhli. Okokuqala, esi sixhobo solokuhlo sisetyenziswe kumhlathi wokuqala kumgca we-6-7, "... we tended to ignore Africa Day". La mazwi abonisa isimilo soku kungavumelani kombhali nokungaluhoyi okanye ukungalukhathaleli usuku lwe-Afrika. Unobangela woku ubangelwa sisimilo abantu abanaso malunga norhulumente woMzantsi Afrika wangaphambili. Urhulumente wocalucalulo ingcinezelo. Sesi similo afuna siguquke ebantwini sibe sisimilo sokuqwalasela usuku lwe-Afrika. Abantu baseMzantsi-Afrika kumele bajonge phambili ekuphuculeni nokuphakamisa uqoqosho lwabo nolwe-Afrika iphela.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sifumaneka okwesithathu kumgca wama-29-30, " to ensure that ours become a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its people". La mazwi aqinisekise umphulaphuli ukuba ngokuguqula kwakhe isimilo ebenaso malunga noorhulumente base-Afrika. Ingakumbi izizwe zangaphandle ezisoloko ziyijongele phantsi i-Afrika neenkokheli zayo. Oku kuyakwenza umphulaphuli angqinelane nalo myalezo ngokupheleleyo, ngenxa yokuba efuna inzolo, uxolo nedemokrasi.

Okwesithathu, kwakhona esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ngumbhali kwalapha kulo mhlathi ukubethelela utshintsho lwesimilo kumphulaphuli. Kungca wama-54, "... feature of MAP that gives it the greatest possibility to succeed". Kweli ilixa umbhali ubonisa isivumelwano. Umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo eneenjongo zokufumana uluvo lwesivumelwano nabantu kunye neenkokheli zase-Afrika. Xa sibonakala siguquka isimilo sabaphulaphuli malunga nolu luvo, kuya kuthetha ukuba bayawamkela umyalezo weli phetshana.

Okwesine, umbhali usebenzisa esi sixhobo kumhlathi wesine, kwaye usisebenzisa amaxesha amathathu. Oku kubonakalisa inkathalo yakhe ekulukuhleni abaphulaphuli. Umbhali ubonisa isimilo sesivumelwano ngala mazwi akungca wama- 80-87, " The African Renaissance Institute is yet another imported initiative that seeks to mobilise the people of Africa behind a common programme for the success of the African Renaissance. It is a matter of pride that the South African chapter of the Institute is a strongest on the Continent. Work is also going on among other sectors of our society, including the religious communities, the youth and students, women, arts and culture, science and technology and sport to strengthen our relations with the rest of our Continent". Kulindeleke ukuba balukuhleke abaphulaphuli emva kokuphulaphula lo myalezo.

Okwesihlanu, ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo solukuhlo kumenza umphulaphuli azive ekhululekile. Ukuba umlukuhli usebenzisa ngokufanelekileyo nangokwaneleyo, uba namathuba okufezekisa iminqweno yakhe. Yiyo le nto umbhali abone ukuba makasisebenzise kwakhona kumhlathi wesihlanu. Apha kulo mhlathi ubonakalisa ukungayithandi kwakhe into yokuba abantu base-Afrika bangabinalwazi luphangaleleyo nge-Afrika yabo.

Amazwi abonisa uku kungavumelani kombhali nale meko afumaneka kungca wama 88-92, "It is a matter of concern that our level knowledge about our own Continent is not as high as it should be. This is partly the result of the many years of the international isolation of South Africa and the fact that, historically, a significant part of our international relations has focused on interaction with the countries of the North, especially Europe". Umbhali ufuna bayazi abantu ukuba ayamkelekanga into yokwenziwa ikheswa koMzantsi Afrika, nkqu ne-Afrika iphela ngamazwe aseNtla. Kungoko kubalulekekile ukwakhe ubuhlobo namanye amazwe, khon'ukuze kubekho impumelelo yako konke okufunwa yi-Afrika.

Ukanti oku ukugxininisa ngokuthi asebenzise la mazwi akumgca wama-93-96, 'Our mass media has also done in a balanced way. As happens with news in general, what tends to get reported are negative things that do, indeed, occur on our Continent'. Ngaphandle nje kokwenziwa ikheswa ngamazwe aseNtla, amajelo osasazo nawo athathe inkxaxheba ekubeni abantu bangabinalwazi lwaneleyo nge-Afrika yabo. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ufuna abantu bakugatye okwenziwa ngamajelo osasazo.

Okwesithandathu, kwalapha kulo mhlathi umbhali usebenzisa kwa esi sixhobo, kodwa kweli ilixa ebonisa isivumelwano. Uluvo lwesivumelwano apha lubonisa ukuthanda kombhali umculo. Kumgca wama-97-101, "... the Continent also has a very rich culture to which we are not exposed, except, perhaps, in the area of popular music. Nevertheless, a better understanding of these cultures would help us greatly to understand both ourselves and the sister people of Africa, with whom we are bound by a common destiny". Le yindlela athe wobona ngayo ukuba iya kuba lukuhla abantu, ngenxa yokuba esazi ukuba abantu base-Afrika bayawuthanda umculo, kwaye bayixabisile inkcubeko namasiko abo.

Okwesixhenxe, esi sixhobo siphinda sifumaneke kumhlathi wesithandathu, kwaye sisetyenziswa amaxesha amabini. Okokuqala umbhali ubonisa isimilo esibonisa uluvo lwesivumelwano. Kumgca we-122-125, "... our intimate relationship with the rest of our Continent is illustrated by the significant numbers of fellow Africans who have continued, adding a new richness to our own society". Kuluvuyo kombhali ukubona ukuba kwelinye icala abantu base-Afrika bakha ubuhlobo phakathi kwabo.

Xa abantu banokuqwalasela kuphela ubuchule nobugcisa obuza nabantu bamanye amazwe, wonke umntu angasilahla isimilo socalucalulo. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi afumaneka kumgca we-126-129, "Many of these immigrants bring with them important skills that our country needs. Many of them are also people who are creative, full of initiative and driven by an enterprising spirit. The more they impart these characteristics to us as well, the better we will be as a people and a society". La mazwi akhuthaza imvisiswano phakathi kwama-Afrika, kodwa oku akuzibekeli ecaleni ezinye izizwe ezisuka kumazwe angaphandle kwe-Afrika. Ngenxa yoku kulindeleke ukuba lo myalezo wenze inguqu kwiingqondo zabantu. Ingakumbi kwindlela abazijonga ngayo ezinye iintlanga.

B. Ugxeko

Umlukuhli ongenabo ubuchule bokuchonga isimilo somphulaphuli khon'ukuze siguqukele kwindlela ayifunayo, akaphumeleli. Kungesi sizathu apho umbhali abone ukuba mayibe sesona sixhobo agxininisa kuso kweli phetshana. Umbhali usebenzisa amaxesha asibhozo esi sixhobo ngeenjongo zokuba senze isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Inkolo, isimilo kunye nokuziphatha komphulaphuli kuye kuguquke kuhambisane nomyalezo lowo wolukuhlo. Oku kwenzeka kuphela xa umlukuhli esisebenzisa ngobuchule esi sixhobo. Apha ke kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzisa ngokuncomekayo esi sixhobo, ngenxa yokuba abantu base-Afrika bebonakalisa ukuzimisela nokuzibophelela ekwakheni i-Afrika. Bazimisele ekupheliseni ucalucalulo phakathi kwabo, nangona zisekho iziganeko zongquzulwano eziphenjelelwa bubuhlanga okanye ucalucalulo.

Iindibano ezimalunga neengxoxo zokumisela uxolo, inzolo phakathi kwamazwe ase-Afrika zikhuthazwe phantse nguye wonke umntu. Umbhali ubonakalisa ukuluthanda uxolo, ngoko ke uzama ukuphemelela wonke umntu ukuba akuxhase ukumiselwa kwenkqubo yedemokrasi e-Afrika, apho wonke umntu eza kuziva ekhuselekile kwaye ekhululekile. Ubani angatsho ukuba umbhali uluphumelele ulukuhlo lwakhe ngenxa yenkxaso ayifumanayo ekhuthaza ukuzibophelela ekwakheni i-Afrika.

Ukungaguququki

A. Ushwankathelo

Umbhali ubonakalisa ukubazi abaphulaphuli bakhe, ngenxa yokuba ubaqinisekisa ngokungaguququki. Umbhali unolwazi lokuba abantu baziva bekhululekile xa bebona izinto zisenzaka ngendlela ebebeziqikelela ngayo. Oku kungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 182) ngokuthi, "... human beings feel comfortable when the world lives up to or operates consistency with their perceptions of or predictions about events". Kodwa xa kungekho bungqina bokuba izinto azisayi kuguquka, azidli ngakutshintsha izimvo zabaphulaphuli malunga nombala othile. Ngamanye amazwi, abantu abayi kulukuhleka.

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amabini kuphela kweli phetshana. Okokuqala, umbhali usebenzisa kumhlathi wesine. Kumgca wama-59-64, "All these

developments, including the African Union and MAP, emphasise the point that the issue of our relations with the rest of our Continent is central to the future of our own country. Accordingly, it requires that all our people in all their organised formations should work out their own programmes further to strengthen our links with another sister African countries and encourages our Continent's progressive social transformation". Oku kungaguquki kubonisa isivumelwano.

Intsusa yokungaguququki ibonisa uqikelelo. Oku kubonisa ukuba intsebenziswano phakathi kwama-Afrika ekutshintsheni i-Afrika ibe lilizwekazi loxolo, inzolo kunye nedemokrasi. Oku kubonisa ngokucacileyo ukuba abantu base-Afrika baza kuziva bekhuselekile kwaye bekhululekile. ULarson (1995, p. 189) uthi xa ethetha ngokubonisa okunokwenzeka ngoqikelelo, "A consonance producing tactic related to reassurance of security is to demonstrate that the world operates in predictable ways". Xa umlukuhli ebonisa ngobuchule nangempumelelo abaphulaphuli esi sixhobo, kuba lula kubaphulaphuli ukuwamkela umyalezo wolukuhlo.

Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sityenziswe okwesithandathu kumgca we-136-144, "To express the critical importance of africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing. We can only succeed in the objectives we pursue if the rest of our continent also succeeds. We sink or swim together". La mazwi abonisa ukungaguququki ukubonisa isivumelwano ethi ikhuthaze ukwakha isimilo esilungileyo kumphulaphuli.

Intsusa yale mvumelwano kukubonisa ngoqikelelo. Apha kulo mhlathi amazwi abonisa oku ngala akumgca we-140-144, "It is for thsi reason that we too must celebrate Africa Day and thereby commit ourselves to work for African unity and African renewal. Accordingly, on this day, we extend our best wishes to all the people of Africa, of all colours, cultures and races, convinced that the African renaissance will succeed". Ukumiliselwa kwemanyano ye-Afrika phantsi kwe-MAP kuya kubangela ukuba usuku lwe-Afrika lubhiyozelwe yi-Afrika iphela. Oku kuya kukhuthazwa kukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, kulapho wonke umntu eza kuziva ekhululekile. Konke oku kulindeleke ukuba kungaguququki, khon'ukuze abaphulaphuli bakwazi ukuwamkela lo myalezo wolukuhlo.

B. Ugxeko

Kwihlabathi jikelele abantu abasakholwa yinkqubo yolawulo ejongela phantsi amalungelo nesidima somntu. Kungenxa yoku okubangela ukuba bangavumelani nezinto esiguquguqukayo. Umzekelo, ukuguqulwa kwenkqubo yedemokrasi ibe yinkqubo yobuzwilakhe. Yiyo le nto abantu base-Afrika bengasayifuni inkqubo engeyiyo eyedemokrasi.

Khangela kumazwe afana nooma-DRC, Zimbabwe apho abantu bakhona bebona inkqubo elawulayo ingeyiyo eyedemokrasi. Khon'ukuze kubekho uxolo kula mazwe kufuneka kumiliselwe inkqubo engasayi kuguquka yedemokrasi. Kulapho wonke umntu ezakwaneliseka, kwaye azive ekhululukile.

Umbhali apha kweli phetshana uzama ukumanya i-Afrika, kwaye ufuna ibe ngabantu abathatha inkxaxheba ekuzalisekiseni oku. Kungoko ethe wabona ukuba makasebenzise isixhobo solukuhlo esikukungaguququki. Esi sixhobo sibalulekile kakhulu kwintetho yolukuhlo. Kangangokuba nokuba athe wasisebenzisa nje ixesha elinye, uya kuwubona umahluko.

Nangona.kunjalo ubani angathi i-Afrika isasilela ngemali kwaye kusafuneka ihlawule amatyala enawo kwibhanka yehlabathi nakwi-IMF (International Monetary Fund). Kwelinye icala ukusetyenziswa kwesi sixhobo kweli phetshana kukhuthaza namazwe angasetla. Xa kungenakubakho nkxaso yezemali iphulo le-Map alinakuphumelela. Kwaye ukukhuthazwa koxolo nemanyano phakathi kwezizwe zase-Afrika kungaba liphupha nje. Ngenxa yoku abantu baya kuwamkela lo myalezo ngenxa yokuba ubonisa ukuzibophelela kweenkokheli nabantu jikelele base-Afrika ekuyakheni ngokutsha.

Isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo

A. Ushwankathelo

Kweli phetshana umbhali uzama ngako konke anakho ukubonisa abantu eyona nto athetha ngayo. Kwaye ufuna bayiqonde bayilandele khon'ukuze bavumelane nento abayaziyo. Sesi sizathu esibangele umbhali asisebenzise kakhulu esi sixhobo kweli phetshana. Ukuba yimpumelelo kokusetyenziswa kwaso, kuxhomekeke kubuchule

bomlukunghli bokukwazi ukuxoxa nokuqiqa. Umlukunghli ongenayo indlela yokubonakalisa ubuchule bokuxoxa nokuqiqa akaluphumeleli ulukunghlo lwakhe.

Kubalulekile ukuba umlukunghli akwazi ukuqiqa khon'ukuze afumane umvuzo kulukunghlo lwakhe. Umlukunghli kumele akwazi ukubenza abaphulaphuli bakhe bazibonakalise ngokuphandle kuye. Oku kuya kumenza ukuba akwazi ukuqonda nezinye iimfuno zabo ebezingavelanga ngaphambili. Obu buchule bungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 195), "The power of the content premise lies not in its ability to stir the emotions, to create psychic "dis-ease", or to appeal to hidden needs. Rather, its power lies in eliciting a rational or logical response from or conclusion in the persuadee".

Kuqala, obu buchule bokukwazi ukuxoxa bufumaneka kumhlathi wokuqala. Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ngendlela ebonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo kuyo yonke le mihlathi yeli phetshana. Kumgca wokuqala kufumaneka unobangela. Ongulo ulandelayo, "celebrate Africa Day". Umbhali unolwazi lokuba olu uhlobo lwengqiqo lunefuthe ekwenzeni isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. NgokukaLarson (1995, p. 195), "cause to effect reasoning is a powerful first premise often used in persuasion".

Sona isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca we-2, "commemorate the establishment of the Organisation of the African Unity in 1963". Umbhali ukugxininisa oku ngokunika esinye isiphumo kumgca we-4, "commitment of the Continent to its unity". Iinjongo zalomyalezo zicacile, kwaye ziyalandeleka. Ngenxa yoku, kulula kumphulaphuli ukuwamkela umyalezo ololu hlobo.

Kwakhona, kwalapha kulo mhlathi wokuqala kufumaneka omnye unobangela obonakaliswa ngamazwi akule mgca ngokulandelelana, 9,10 kunye nowe-12. "initiative of Tribute", "Department of Foreign Affairs", kunye nala alandelayo amazwi, "African diplomatic corps". Lo myalezo uya kuthi ube nakho ukulukhula abantu ngenxa yokucaca kwesiqulatho sawo.

Ngeli lixa isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-13-15, "these activities express our collective determination to correct the virtual omission of African Day festivities from our national calendar, since 1994". Oku kuluphawo lokuba intsebenziswano yama-Afrika ekuvuseleleni eli lizwekazi yiyo kuphela enokuqinisekisa uxolo, inzolo nedemokrasi. Kuloko kubalulekile

ukufumana inkxaso kumntu wonke weli, ngokuthi azibandakanye nephulo lokwakha i-Afrika.

Okwesibini, kumhlathi wesibini kufumaneka esi sixhobo solukuhlo esisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kungca we-19, kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, "Constitutive Act of the African Union". Ukanti sona isiphumo sifumaneka amaxesha amabini. Kungca wama-21, kufumaneka "to phase out the OAU and phase in the African Union". Ubungqina boku bubonakaliswa sisiphumo sesibini esikumgca wama-23, "the African Parliament will be established". Umbhali ukwenza oku ngeenjongo zokubethelela uluvo lokuzimisela ebantwini.

Okwesithathu, kumhlathi wesithathu esi sixhobo sibonakaliswa ngamazwi abonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kungca wama-35-36, "the documents for the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP)". Umbhali ububonakalisa ubuchule bokukwazi ukunxulumanisa intetho yakhe ngokunika isiphumo amaxesha amathathu. Kula maxesha omathathu kubonakala ngokucacileyo ukuba inkqubo yokumanyana kwe-Afrika iyaqhubeka.

Isiphumo sokuqala ukuya kwesokugqibela sifumaneka ukusukela kungca wama-38 ukuya kowama-43, ngokulandelelana, "African unity in progress". Ubungqina obubonakalisa ingqiqo yomluhli bufumaneka kungca wama-39, "united African action to ensure that ours becomes a Continent of democracy". Isiphumo sesithathu sibonakalisa sigxininisa ubungqina bombhali, khon'ukuze balukuhleke lula abaphulaphuli.

Ukunika ubungqina kwintstho yakho njengomluhli kwenza umsebenzi wolukuhlo ubelula, ngenxa yokuba kuba lula kubaphulaphuli ukuwamkela umyalezo. Oku kungqinwa nguLarson (1995, p. 195), "... proof consists of enough evidence that can be connected through reasoning to lead audience members to take the persuader's advice or to believe in what he or she says". Kulo mhlathi umbhali unike ubungqina obuphemelela ingqondo yomphulaphuli. Le ndlela ebangela umphulaphuli aguqule nenkolo yakhe angqinelane nomyalezo womluhli.

Okwesine, kumhlathi wesine kufumaneka isiqulatho. Oku kwenziwa ngeenjongo zokuguqula iinkolo zomphulaphuli, khon'ukuze avumelane nomyalezo wolukuhlo. Umbhali usebenzise amagama amathathu anefuthe lokulukuhla ukubonakalisa unobangela.

Kumgca wama-70-71, "for our investment, trade and technology transfers". La mazwi abonakalisa indlela azimisele ngayo umbhali ekuguquleni i-Afrika ibe lilizwekazi elityebileyo.

Ngamanye amazwi umbhali ufuna i-Afrika itshintshwe kwisimo sayo sentlupheko nokubaneemfazwe zobukhaya ezingapheliyo. Ufuna ibe yi-Afrika ekwizinga eliphezulu lokhuphiswano namazwe atyebileyo aseNtla. Kungoko ebonisa ingqiqo ngokunika ubungqina amaxesha amathathu. Kumgca wama-66, "government is very actively involved with the rest of our Continent". Kwakhona kumgca wama-68-69, "Our business community has also been active in expanding cooperation", kubonakaliswa isiphumo. Isiphumo sokugqibela sifumaneka kumgca wama-72, "trade relations between ourselves and many African countries". Apha umbhali ufuna abantu balixhase ngokupheleleyo iphulo le-MAP. Kwakhona ufuna abantu bayithembe i-ANC ikunye norhulumente woMzantsi Afrika.

Okwesihlanu, isiqukatho sibonakaliswa ngokusebenzisa ingqiqo esukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-102, "difficult work is being carried out". Umbhali usibonakalisa isiphumo soku ngokusebenzisa amagama enza isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Kumgca we-103-104, "democracy and human rights, poverty eradication and social upliftment", kubonakaliswa isiphumo.

Kwalapha kulo mhlathi kusetyenziswe olunye uhlobo lwengqiqo elisukela kunobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Umbhali akafuni ukushiya abantu bengenalwazi lwaneleyo ngeyona nto athetha ngayo. Kwaye ufuna abantu base-Afrika bazingce ngobu-Afrika babo. Unobangela ukumgca we-108, "teaching about Africa". Lo nobangela wongezelelwa ngala mazwi akule migca-109,110 kunye nowe-111 ngokulandelelana. Kuqala kumgca we-109, "not only to such subjects as history and geography". Kumgca we-110-111, "of culture and current political and socio-economic activities, as well as languages".

Sona isiphumo sifumaneka amaxesha amabini apha kulo mhlathi. Okokuqala isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-112-113, "youth should grow up knowing that they are African first before they become citizens of the world". Ukanti umbhali unika ubungqina agxininisa ngabo le ntetho yakhe. Obu bungqina bubonakala ngokuthi asebenzise isiphumo sesibini kumgca we-115-116, "cooperation and solidarity with the peoples of our Continent and the achievement of the objectives of the African Renaissance". Ngamazwi la akhuthaza

umphulaphuli ukuba azingce kwaye athembele kwisiswe sakhe, hayi kubantu bamazwe aseNtla. Nangona ibalulekile intsebenziswano nala mazwe aseNtla.

Okwesithandathu nokokugqibela kumhlathi wesithandathu. Kulo mhlathi kufumaneka nje indawana kanobangela kuphela. Le ndawana ixomezeleleka kunobangela okumhlathi wesihlanu. Ngamanye amazwi isiphumo esibonakala kumhlathi wesihlanu kumgca we-112 kunye nowe-115-116, sisukela kunobangela okumgca we-108 ekunye nowe-117-119. Lo nobangela ngulo ukumgca we-117-118, 'The public broadcaster, the SABC, while continuing to report African news objectively, should also make a special effort to educate our broad population about the Continent'.

B. Ugxeko

Kweli phetshana kuphawuleka ukuba esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amaninzi. Kwaye sifumaneka phantse kuyo yonke imihlathi yeli phetshana. Iinjongo zoku kukunika abaphulaphuli olona luvo lucacileyo ekuxhaseni ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Umbhali unika izizathu esivakalayo ekukhuthazeni abaphulaphuli ekubeni bazibophelele ekuxhaseni ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

Okona kubalulekileyo kule mvuselelo ye-Afrika kukulwa nendlala, ukupheliswa kweemfazwe, ukumiliselwa kwenzolo, nokukhuthazwa kokuxhotyiswa kwabantu ngemfundo enefuthe enokuthi isetyenziswe ekunyuseni iqondo lezoqoqosho. Ukuvalwa kwesithuba esishiya i-Afrika ingasemva kwicala lobuxhakaxhaka nobugcisa.

Apha kulo mhlathi kuyancomeka ukufumanisa ukuba umbhali uyakuqonda okona kubalulekileyo kubantu base-Afrika. Nangona kusekho iziphoso pha naphaya, kodwa oko akuzukwenza nkqubela ukuba kubanjelelwa kuko. Kungoko kunokutshiwo ukuba umbhali ubusebenzisile ubchule nengqiqo yakhe ekuguquleni iinkolo zabantu, apha kulo mhlathi.

4.5.4 Ugxeko lwalo lonke eli phetshana

Ukuzibophelela nokuzimisela ekwakheni i-Afrika phantsi kwenkqubo ye-MAP kubonakala kuthakazelelwa sisininzi sabantu base-Afrika. Abantu bakuxhasa oku ngenxa yokuba badiniwe yimeko engekho mgangathweni malunga neli lizwekazi. Bafuna kuphele iimfazwe, indlala, ukungathobelani kwezopolitiko, imo emaxongo yezoqoqosho.

Ukunqongophala kweengcali kumacandelo afana nobuxhakaxhaka nobuchule kwizixhobo zonxibelelwano. Ukufumana imfundo ekwizinga eliphantsi xa ithelekiswa namazwe aseNtla.

Zonke ezi zinto zinokuphunyezwa kuphela xa umlukuhli enokuthi abonelise abaphulaphuli ngeemfuno zabo. Ewe ngokwendalo ezona mfuno ziphambili emntwini kukutya, amanzi nokulala. Nangona kunjalo zikho ezo kufuneka zoneliswe ngumlukuhli xa esenza intetho yakhe kubaphulaphuli. Xa abaphulaphuli besaneliseka ziimfuno zabo, kuba lula ukuba balukuhleke.

Apha kweli phetshana umbhali usebenzise kakhulu imfuno yokuzingca, waza wesebenzisa nemfuno yamandla ixesha elinye kuphela. Le mfuno yokuzingca akayisebenzisanga ngokwaneleyo, ngenxa yokuba ifumaneka kwimihlathi emithathu kuphela. Nangona kunjalo liyabonakala ifuthe loku, ngenxa yokuba eyona nto ajolise kuyo umbhali kukuba abantu base-Afrika bazingce ngobu-Afrika. Kwangaxesha nye umbhali ubonisa abantu ukuba banawo amandla okuphumeza iminqweno yabo.

Ubani angatsho ukuba umbhali uqaphele ukuba abantu bayalahleka, balandela amasiko nezithethe zaseNtshona. Yiyo le nto ethe kwizimilo zabo khon'ukuze zitshintshe, bayeke ukuzenza, okanye ukuziphatha oku kwabantu baseNtshona. Esi sixhobo solukuhlo usebenzisa kakhulu apha, umbhali. Injongo zoku kukubaguqula ngokupheleleyo bantu kwinkolo yabo nge-Afrika. Le nkolo kukujongela phantsi i-Afrika endaweni yokuyiphakamisa. Ngenxa yokuba sisetyenziswe kuyo yonke imihlathi yeli phetshana esi sixhobo, kubonakala zitshintsha iingqondo zabantu. Abantu ngoku bacinga okulungileyo kuphela nge-Afrika ngenxa yokuba bazimisele ukuyiphuhlisa kwaye bayibeke kwizinga lehlabathi.

Eli phetshana liyakuqinisekisa ukuba ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika kumele kuthakazelelwe ngumntu wonke khon'ukuze kungaze kuphinde kubekho ndlala, incinezelo, imfazwe, ukungathobelani kwezopolitiko nokucalulana. Umbhali usebenzisa isixhobo solukuhlo esikukungaguququki. Esi sixhobo usebenzisa ekuboniseni uku kungavumelani kwakhe nenkqubo yengcinezelo nezinye ezingalunganga eluntwini. Kwelinye icala uyavuma ukumiselwa kwe-MAP. Oku kwenza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Umphulaphuli uye azibone evumelana nomyalezo wolukuhlo.

Esi sixhobo sikwasetyenziswa njengokubonisa isivumelwano ngoqikelelo. Uvuselelo lwe-Afrika luza kuguqula imo ye-Afrika jikelele. Kuqikeleleka ukuba ukuzibophelela nokuzimisela kwiphulo le-MAP kuza kuphelisa indlala, imfazwe, kumilisele idemokrasi. Umlukuhli uyenza le ntetho ngobuchule nangengqiqo, nto ke leyo ebangela kube lula ukusebenza kwingqondo yomphulaphuli.

Umbhali ukucacisa ngokuphandle okona afuna kwenzeke nge-Afrika. Ngamanye amazwi okuqulathwe ngulo myalezo ukubeka ngokuphandle, kwaye kuyalandeleka. Phantse yonke le mihlathi yeli phetshana isisebenzisile esi sixhobo solukuhlo. Intetho engacaciyo eyona nto ingayo okanye umxholo wayo ayiniki mdla. Ngako oko, kuba nzima ukufane alukuhleke umphulaphuli. Umbhali uqinisekisile ukuba abantu mabayazi eyona nto athetha ngayo.

Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswa ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Umbhali ubonisa abantu iziphumo ezisukela kwiintshukumo ezininzi. Ezi ntshukumo zezifana, umzekelo, nokubhiyozelwa kosuku lwe-Afrika, ukusukela ekwakhiweni kwe-OAU ngo-1963. Sisetyenziswa phantse yonke le mihlathi yeli phetshana, ngeenjongo zokuba abantu bayilandele intetho yombhali. Oku ukwenze ngempumelelo, ngoba abantu base-Afrika bazibandakanya nokwakha i-Afrika ngokutsha.

IS AHLUKO 5

IS IQUKUMBELO

5.1 INJONGO

Esi sahluko siza kuqukumbela ngokunika iziphumo zemiyalezo elukuhlayo efumaneka kwisahluko 4. Lilonke kuza kujongwa ukusetyenziswa kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo kunye novavanyo logxeko malunga nalo msebenzi, kula maphetshana alandelayo:- (A) **Africa's people central to success of recovery plan: ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2.** (B) **One step closer to the birth of the African Union: ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7.** (C) **important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern African: ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16.** (D) **Our commitment to Africa: ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18.** Emva koku, kuza kuqunjelwa ngokongezwa kweTafile 5.2.1 yena iza amanani amaxesha akusetyenziswa kwesixhobo solukuhlo ngasinye phantsi kwesindululo sesiko senkqubo yeengxoxo.

5.2 ISINDULULO SESISEKO SENKQUBO YEENGXOXO

Kuza kuthathelwa ingqalelo imiba emithathu phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo akuzukujongwa iimfuno kuphela, koko kuza kujongwa isimilo kunye nokungaguquguquki, njengokuba izixhobo zolukuhlo. Ekugqibeleni kuza kuqwalaselwa isindululo sesiseko sokuqulathwe kwiingxoxo. Ezi zixhobo zolukuhlo ziza kujongwa nganye kwiphetshana ngalinye. Apha kuza kusetyenziswa iimfuno zikaPackard (1964). Oku akuthethi ukuba zikaMaslow (1954) azibalulekanga, koko iimfuno azisebenzisayo uMaslow zikwafumaneka kuPackard. Unobangela wokwenza ngolu hlobo kukuba uPackard uneemfuno ezisibhozo, ngeli lixa uMaslow enezintlanu kuphela. Nazi ezi mfuno:- (1) Imfuno yokhuseleko; (2) imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka; (3) imfuno yokwaneliseka kwam buqu; (4) imfuno yokubonisa isiphiwo sokuyila; (5) imfuno yokuthanda izinto; (6) imfuno yamandla; (7) imfuno yengcambu; kunye (8) imfuno yokuphila naphakade.

AFRICA'S PEOPLE CENTRAL TO SUCCESS OF RECOVERY PLAN**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2****Imfuno****(1) Imfuno yokhuseleko**

Kwindawo yokuqala, imfuno yokhuseleko isetyenziswe amaxesha amathathu.

- (i) Oku kukuthi imfuno yokhuseleko lwemvakalelo ifumaneka kumgca we-3-4, "a strong delegation comprising government".
- (ii) Le mfuno yokhuseleko iphinda ifumaneka kumgca we-17, "I write this letter to give information relevant to the MAP".
- (iii) Okwesithathu, le mfuno iyafumaneka kumgca we-144-148, "These historic events impose an obligation on the ANC and the rest of our country's democratic movement to discharge their historical responsibility as the leader of the process of social transformation in our country. We have to advance the programme for the reconstruction and development of our country with the greatest vigour and popular involvement". Umbhali wanelisa abaphulaphuli ngokhuseleko, khon'ukuze wamkeleke umyalezo wolukuhlo weli phetshana.

ONE STEP CLOSER TO THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7**

Kweli phetshana le mfuno yokhuseleko isetyenziswe nje ixesha elinye. Imfuno yokhuseleko ibonakala ngala mazwi akumgca we-3, "delegations were led by Heads of State and Government".

IMPORTANT STEPS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16**

Nalapha kweli iphetshana imfuno yokhuseleko isetyenziswe nje ixesha lalanye.

- (i) Le mfuno ibonakala kumgca wama-84-87, "The Dialogue will afford the Congolese leadership with the opportunity together to decide the constitutional, political and economic future of their country".

OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18**

Kweli phetshana le mfuno yokhuseleko ayisetyenziswanga kwaphela.

AFRICA'S PEOPLE CENTRAL TO SUCCESS OF RECOVERY PLAN**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2**Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka

Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka isetyenzisiwe amaxesha asixhenxe apha kweli phetshana. Le mfuno iza kubonakaliswa kula maxesha ngokwale miba ilandelayo.

- (i) Le mfuno isetyenzisiwe kumgca we-7-8, "the talk of the town".
- (ii) Okwesibini, le mfuno isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-53-55, "the African heads of state and government agreed that the President of Algeria, Nigeria and South Afrika should prepare the draft of the MAP and circulate it among these heads".
- (iii) Okwesithathu, imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-53-55, "..., the african heads of state and government agreed that the President of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP". Kwakhona le mfuno iphinda isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-65-66, "we should bring the private sector on board now".
- (iv) Okwesine, le mfuno ifumaneka kumgca wama-71-72, "africa's political leadership was taking the responsibility".
- (v) Okwesihlanu, le mfuno isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-80-81, "the process of renewal represented by the MAP is genuinely based among the people". Le mfuno ibethelelwa ngokusebenzisa la mazwi akumgca wama-86, "This must include people".
- (vi) Okwesithandathu, le mfuno isetyenzisiwe kumgca we-109, "As a movement, we declare this the African Century". Apha umbhali wanelisa ixabiso lo mbutho i-ANC, ngenxa yokuba esithi izisa inguqu nempucuko ebantwini baseMzantsi Afrika. Kwaye idlala indima ebaluleileyo ekuziseni inguqu kwi-Afrika jikelele. Oku kungqinwa ngamazwi afumaneka kumgca we-110-111, "we, as the ANC, have reaised high the banner of African Renaissance". Nangona kunjalo umbhali

ukwanelisa abantu kule mfundo yokuxabiseka ngokusebenzisa la mazwi alndelayo, "African Renaissance".

Kwakhona le mfundo ethe yasetyenziswa ngeenjongo zokubonisa ukuxabiseka kwabantu negalelo lwabo kwinkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Kulapho ifumaneka khona kumgca we-115-118, "We must strive to ensure that the ordinary people of Africa adopt this agenda as their own, and conduct mass campaigns for its success. It is clear that the African masses are ready and willing to assume these positions".

- (vii) Okokugqibela, le mfundo ifumaneka kuqala kumgca we-135-136, "take charge of our destiny". Umbhali uphinde ayisebenzisa okwesibini le mfundo kumgca we-137, „African Century“. Uphindile umbhali okwesithathu wayisebenzisa le mfundo kumgca we-138, "90th Anniversary of the ANC". Ngenxa yokuba umbhali efuna bayayazi ukuba baxabisekile, uyibethelela le mfundo ngokuthi aphinde ayisebenzise okokugqibela kumgca we-140, "host the UN Conference on Racism".

ONE STEP CLOSER TO THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION

ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7

Le yimfuno yesibini, eqinisekisa ukuxabiseka, phantsi kweemfuno zikaMaslow (1964), ifumaneka amaxesha amathathu.

- (i) Le mfundo isetyenziswe kuqala kumgca wama-39-40, "meeting in Pretoria earlier this year, hosted by our national parliament and its presiding officers". La mazwi angqinwa ngala akumgca wama-34, "South Africa has the honour to host".
- (ii) Okwesibini, le mfundo ifumaneka kumgca wama-55, "success that was achieved at Sirte". La mazwi aqiniswa kukusetyenziswa kwalamazwi akumgca wama-55-57, "our continent will enhance its capacity to think, plan and act together on a whole range of matters". Kwakhona, esi sixhobo sibonakala kumgca wama-63-64, "that the enhancement of african unity will enable all of us to overcome the problems that have confronted us for centuries".

Le mfundo iphinda ifumaneke kumgca wama-71-72, "our government, country and people face some special responsibilities". Nakumgca wama-74-74, "our country has been mandated, ... , to participate in the process of helping to define the African road map to development and prosperity". Okokugqibela, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-77-78, "confidence that the people of our continent have demonstrated towards us as a country and people".

- (iii) Okwesithathu, imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-94-96, “the SADC meets in its own Extraordinary Summit to review the operations of SADC institutions, which will help to place it at the centre of historic drive for African renewal”. Kwakhona kumgca wama-97-100, “Our own actions as a country, a people and a region in favour of democracy, peace, progress and regional cooperation, will answer the question practically whether we are correct when we say that Africa’s time has come”.

IMPORTANT STEPS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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Le mfundo isetyenziswe amaxesha amahlanu apha kweli phetshana.

- (i) Ifumaneka kumgca we-12, “we gained our own freedom in 1994”.
- (ii) Okwesibini, le mfundo ibonakala isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-33, “ensure”. Kwakhona kumgca wama-38-40, “determined to overcome this past to ensure that ours become an area of democracy, peace, stability, economic growth, development and prosperity”.
- (iii). Okwesithathu, le mfundo ifumaneka kumgca wama-55-56, “the region has passed the test of acting to ensure that Southern Africa remains a region of democracy”. Amazwi angqina le mfundo afumaneka kumgca wama-74-76, “we told the assembled leaders of the political parties that what they were doing to resolve the problems of their country might very well serve as an example to all of us in Africa”.
- (iv) Okwesine, imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka ifumaneka kumgca we-122-127, “Quite correctly, the people of Zambia responded to this threat, demanding that the Constitution had to be respected and the democratic system in that country protected. We had ourselves discussed this matter with President Chiluba when we paid a state visit to Zambia last year. We had agreed that he would not run for a third term”.
- (v) Okwesihlanu, le mfundo ifumaneka kumgca we-140-144, “to participate”; “contribute to the struggle to pull”; “respect their democratic institutions”; kunye “responsibility to use”.

OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18**

Kweli phetshana imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka isetyenziswe amaxesha amathathu.

- (i) Iqale yasetyenziswa kumgca we-16-18, "This corrective action takes place during the year when our Continent has taken the critical step to build on what the OAU has achieved, further to promote the advance towards African unity".
- (ii) Okwesibini, ifumaneka kumgca wama-25-28, "This parliament will, for the time, give the possibility to popularly elected representatives of the peoples of Africa to become together to set indicative objectives, the signposts that should help our Continent as it fights to overcome the problems of poverty, underdevelopment and stability".

Kwakhona iphinde yasetyenziswa kumgca wama-29-33, "The adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union is itself something we should celebrate. It is right that we honour Africa Day, as will happen today, and thereby restate our determination as a country and a people to participate in the process of speeding up the movement towards the greater unity of our Continent".

- (iii) Okwesithathu, isetyenzisiwe kumgca wama-47-51, "The critical and unique feature of MAP is that it will be a product of the efforts of the people of Africa. Africans conceived it of. Africans are elaborating it. Africans are leading the process of discussion with the developed in the programme".

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Imfuno yolwaneliseko lwam buqu

Le mfundo ayisetyenziswanga apha kweli phetshana.

ONE STEP CLOSER TO THE REBIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7**

Nalapha kweli phetshana umbhali akayisebenzisanga le mfundo.

IMPORTANT STEPS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16

Nakweli phetshana le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga.

OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA
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Ngokunjalo nakweli phetshana ayikho le mfuno yokwaneliseka kwam buqu.

AFRICA'S PEOPLE CENTRAL TO SUCCESS OF RECOVERY PLAN
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Imfuno yokubonisa isiphiwo sokuyila

Nayo le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga ngumbhali kweli phetshana.

ONE STEP TO THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION
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Le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga nalapha kweli phetshana.

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Le mfuno yesine kwiimfuno zika Packard (1964) ayisetyenziswanga ngumbali kweli phetshana.

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Nalapha kweli phetshana le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga.

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Imfuno yokuthanda izinto

Imfuno yesihlanu kwezikaPackard (1964) akayisebenzisanga umbhali kweli phetshana.

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Nalapha kweli phetshana le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga.

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Kweli phetshana le mfuno yokuthanda izinto ayisetyenziswanga.

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Ngokunjalo nalapha kweli phetshana umbhali akayisebenzisanga le mfuno.

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Imfuno yamandla

Le mfuno isetyenziswe kweli phetshana amaxesha amabini kuphela, yaye iza kuboniswa indawo esetyenziswe kuyo kwixesha ngalinye kula akhankanyiweyo. Oku kuza kwenziwa apha ngezantsi:

- (i) Iqale yasetyenziswa kumgca we-12, "carry out this task". Le mfuno umbhali uyigxininisa ngokusebenzisa la mazwi asukela kumgca we-12-15, "President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, with the active assistance of President Ben Mkapa of Tanzania and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of

Algeria". Ukanti ukwaneliswa kwale mfuno kuqale kwabonakaliswa kumgca we-10-11, "adoption of a Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP)".

- (ii) Okwesibini le mfuno yamandla ifumeneka kumgca wama-47, "as the current Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement".

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Apha kweli phetshana le mfuno isetyenziswe amaxesha amabini.

- (i) Isetyenzisiwe kumgca we-38-39, "protocol was drawn up by African parliamentarians".
- (ii) Okwesibini, ifumaneka kumgca wama-83, "redifine Africa".

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Apha kweli phetshana ayisetyenziswanga le mfuno.

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Apha kweli phetshana le mfuno yamandla isetyenziswe ixesha lalinye kuphela.

- (i) Le mfuno ibonaklaiswa ligama elifumaneka kumgca we-13, "host".

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Imfuno yengcambu

Kweli phetshana nayo le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga.

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Nalapha kweli phetshana ayisetyenziswanga le mfuno.

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Imfuno yengcambu ayisetyenziswanga nalapha kweli phetshana.

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Nkqu kweli phetshana ayisetyenziswanga le mfuno.

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Imfuno yokuphila naphakade

Nayo le mfuno yokuphila naphakade ayisetyenziswanga ngumbhali apha kweli phetshana.

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Nayo le mfuno ayisetyenziswanga apha kweli phetshana.

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Ngokunjalo nakweli phetshana imfuno yokuphila naphakade ayifumaneki.

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Imfuno yokuphila naphakade ayisetyenziswanga nalapha kweli phetshana.

AFRICA'S PEOPLE CENTRAL TO SUCCESS OF RECOVERY PLAN**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 2**Isimilo

Isimilo sisetyenzisiwe nje ngesixhobo sesibini solukuhlo phantsi kwisindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo apha kweli phetshana. Sisixhobo esi esithi sisetyenzisiwe ngumlukuhli xa esenza isibheno kwingqondo yomphulaphuli. Oku kumbangela umphulaphuli atshintshe inkolo, ukuziphatha kunye nesimilo sakhe malunga nombala othile. Esi sixhobo sisetyenzisiwe amaxesha amahlanu apha.

- (i) Okokuqala, isimilo sifumaneka kumgca wama-49-50, "countries of the North express firm commitment". Ngako oko, inkolo nesimilo somphulaphuli malunga namazwe aseNtla, kulindeleke ukuba siguquke.
- (ii) Isimilo sikwasetyenzisiwe kwakhona kumgca wama-62-64, "whatever plans we produce in the end, these will not succeed without the involvement and support of the domestic and global private sector", sisetyenzisiwe khon'ukuze siguqule isimilo soosomashishini babaucala, khon'ukuze nabo bazibandakanye, kwaye bazibophelele kwimvuselelo ye-Afrika. Kwelinye icala nabantu nje jikelele kumele basebenzisane noosomashishini, bangababoni njengabantu abafuna inzuzo kuphelela.
- (iii) Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenzisiwe okwesithathu kweli phetshana kumgca we-128-130, "we must also encourage all the sectors we have identified, to interact independently with their counterparts in the rest of Africa and elsewhere in the world". Umbhali apha usazama ukutshintsha isimilo koosomashishini khon'ukuze bayixhase i-MAP. Kufuneka beze apha e-Afrika bazokutyala iimali zabo kukuthi badale amathuba engqesho.
- (iv) Okwesine, isimilo sifumaneka kumgca we-149-151, "The distinguished participants at the Davos summit expect that we will not fail. They, as have not failed them in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid legacy". Abantu base-Afrika bedibene noorhulumente babo bajongene noxanduva lokuqinisekisa ukuba akhuko mntu usalandela inkqubo yengcinezelo. Ngako oko, amazwe ayixhasayo imvuselelo ye-Afrika kumele aqiniseke ukuba ama-Afrika azimisele kwinkqubo yedemokrasi.
- (v) Okwesihlanu nokokugqibela, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenzisiwe kweli phetshana kumgca we-159-161, "during our last night at Davos, on Monday 29th, the President of the WEF, Professor Klaus Schwab, appealed to the assembled world press-give

Africa a chance! Give Africa's leaders a chance!". Apha isimilo sisetyenziselwe ukubonisa isivumelwano. Eli phetshana liyibonakalisa imvelaphi yale mvumelwano kumgca we-150-151, "give Africa a chance! Give Africa's leaders a chance!". Umbhali ufuna abaphulaphuli bayeke ukucinga ukuba akukho nto inokuveliswa ngabantu base-Afrika.

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Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kweli phetshana amaxesha amabini.

- (i) Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kuqala kumgca we-5-6, "Without hesitation, I am happy to say that the meeting was very successful".
- (ii) Okwesibini, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kumgca wama-22-23, "52 out of the 53 member states of the OAU has signed the Constitutive Act of the African Union". Kwakhona kumgca wama-24-26, "the summit was correct to conclude that our governments had firmly the will of the people of Africa in favour of the AU".

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Apha kweli phetshana esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amahlanu.

- (i) Okokuqala, isimilo sisetyenziswe kumgca wo-1-3, "many in the entertained the hope that Southern Africa would play a leading role in the recovery and renewal of the African continent as a whole". Kwakhona kumgca we-2, "southern Africa would play a leading role in the renewal of the African continent". Isimilo sibethelelwa kumgca we-4 "the decade opened with the independence of Namibia in 1990". Nakumgca we-6, "freedom for our own people was not far away".
- (ii) Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumgca wama-24-30, " ... who personified much of what had gone wrong in Africa"; "the suizer of power by the military"; "the imposition of military dictatorship"; "the denial of the rights of the people"; "the looting of public resources"; "the destruction of the already fragile African economics"; "the entrenchment of stability within and among the African countries", .sisetyenziswe ukubonisa imo yoku kungavumelani nolawulo ngegqudu.

Isimilo sisetyenzisiswe ukubonisa ukuvumelana nokuthanda okulungileyo kumgca wama-31-36, "In recognition of the commitment of the democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to democracy and other values shared by the members of SADC, the community has accepted the DRC as one of its members. The Mobutu regime had applied for Zaire to join the community a number of years earlier. This had been turned down because the member states did not want a military dictatorship to join regional grouping".

(iii) Isimilo sisetyenzisiswe kumgca wama-41-42, "When some members of the security forces in Lesotho tried to remove the democratically elected government of that country in 1994 and again in 1994", ukubonisa ukungakuthandi okwenziwa ngamanye amalungu omkhosi eLesotho. Esi similo siphinda sibonakale kumgca wama-46-47, "put pressure especially on UNITA to bring the war to an end".

(iv) Okwesine, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumgca wama-98-100, "positive developments, which define the direction in which our region will continue to evolve, in recent years there have also been worrying developments in the region", ukubonisa ukungakuthandi okwenzeka kumazwe amahlanu angala; Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, kunye Zambia. Esi sixhobo sifumaneka ukusukela kumgca wama-98-121.

Kwakhona esi sixhobo sibonakalisa isivumelwano kumgca we-128-133, "we publicly congratulated President Chiluba For his stand, to the acclaim of the Zambians who were present at this Banquet. We had occasion to discuss this matter again with President Chiluba when we met in Namibia during the SADC Summit meeting earlier this year, reiterating positions with which many among the political leaders in our region agreed".

(v) Okwesihlanu, isimilo esingavumelaniyo nokungabikho kwedemokrasi e-Afrika sifumaneka kumgca we-134-139, "african experience during the last few decades has demonstrated that the absence of democracy in our countries is both a cause of instability and a catalyst encouraging the further underdevelopment of our countries. Dictatorship and autocracy serve to suppress the creative energies of the people and to divert them to activities directed against social development, including corruption".

Kwakhona sona isimilo esibonisa isivumelwano sifumaneka kumgca we-152-155, "we must congratulate President Chiluba and the people of Zambia for firm action they have taken not to tamper with their Constitution to the detriment of the quest for democracy in Zambia and Southern Africa".

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Apha kweli phetshana isixhobo solukuhlo esisisimilo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amahlanu.

- (i) Isimilo esibonisa uku kungavumelani sifumaneka kumgca we-6-7, "ignore Africa Day".
- (ii) Okwesibini, isimilo sisetyenziswe kumgca wama-39-40, "ensure that ours become a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its peoples". Kwakhona kumgca wama-53-54, "We say all not to assert African pride but to make the point it is this feature of MAP that gives it the greatest possibility to succeed".
- (iii) Okwesithathu, isimilo esibonisa isivumelwano sisetyenziswe kumgca wama-80-87, "The African Renaissance Institute is yet another important initiative that seeks to mobilise the peoples of Africa behind a common programme for the success of the African Renaissance. It is a matter of pride that the South African chapter of the Institute is one of the strongest on the Continent. Work is also going on among other communities, the youth and students, women, arts and culture, science and technology and sport to strengthen our relations with the rest of our Continent".
- (iv) Okwesine, apha isimilo sibonisa uku kungavumelani kumgca wama-88-96, "It is a matter of concern that our level of knowledge about our own Continent is not as high as it should be. It is partly the result of many years of the international isolation of South Africa and the fact that, historically, a significant part of our international realtions has focussed on interaction with the countries of the North, especially Europe". Our mass media has also done very little to inform our population in general about the Continent in a balanced way. As happens with news in general, what tends to get reported are the negative things that do, indeed, occur on our Continent".

Kwelinye icala isimilo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa isivumelwano kumgca wama-97-101, "But the Continent has a very rich culture to which we are not exposed, except, perhaps, in the area of population music. Nevertheless, a better understanding of these cultures would help us greatly to understanding both ourselves and the sister peoeples of Africa, with whom we are bound by acommon destiny".

- (v) Okwesihlanu, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kumgca we-122-129, "our intimate realtionship with the rest our Continent is illustrated by the significant numbers of fellow Africans wha have sought to settle in South Africa since 1994. Undoubtedly,

this trend will continue, adding a new richness to our own society. Many of these immigrants bring with them important skills that our country needs. Many of them are also people who are creative, full of initiative and driven by an enterprising spirit. The more they impart these characteristics to us as well, the better we will be as a people and society".

Ngeli lixa isimilo sikwasetyenziswe ukubonisa uku kungavumelani kumgca we-130-135, "Necessarily, we must continue to be vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia against the African immigrants. It is fundamentally wrong and unaccepted that the we should treat people who came to us as friends as though they are our enemies. We should also never forget that the same peoples welcomed us to their own countries when many of us had to go into exile as the result of the brutality of the apartheid system".

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Ukungaguquguquki

Esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amane apha kweli phetshana.

- (i) Okokuqala umbhali usebenzise ukungaguquguquki kumgca-1, "annual Summit Meeting". Ngeli lixa kumgca we-3, "as usual" kunikwa ubungqina bezi ntlanganiso zinamaxesha angaguqukiyo.
- (ii) Okwesibini, sibonakala kumgca wwama-83-84, "we will have to take advantage of all the comparative advantages we enjoy as African countries". Abaphulaphuli banikwa uluvo lokuba baqhubekeke nokusebenzisa amathuba abanawo okumisela impucuko kwi-Afrika.
- (iii) Okwesithathu, sisetyenziswe kumgca wama-50, "firm commitment". Ukuzibophelela kwama-Afrika ngokupheleleyo ngendlela engagungqiyo ekuvuselelweni kwe-Afrika, khon'ukuze nayo ifikelele kwizinga la mazwe ehlabathini.
- (iv) Okwesine nokokugqibela apha kweli phetshana, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kumgca we-119-122, "It is clear that various sectors throughout the Continent, including the organised workers, rural masses, business people, intellectual, religious leaders and workes in arts and culture are ready to participate in the campaign for an African Renaissance".

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Ukungaguququki njengesisixhobo solukuhlo kusasetyenziswe amaxesha amabini.

- (i) Okokuqala, esi sixhobo sifumaneka kumgca we-10-12, "Those decisions were based on the recognition of the interdependence of the countries of Africa and the reality that the peoples of our continent share a common destiny".
- (ii) Ukungaguququki kusetyenziswe njengesisixhobo solukuhlo kumgca wama-65, "consistent".

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Kweli phetshana ukungaguququki kusetyenziswe amaxesha amabini.

- (i) Okokuqala, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa okunokwenzeka kumgca we-15-17, "the maturity of our people that, as Africans, both black and white, we were perfectly capable of successfully managing the complex social and human relations that characterise our society".
- (ii) Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe kumgca we-156-159, " This important decision must serve to confirm that, whatever our current problems, Southern Africa remains a region truly committed to the fundamental values and practices that constitute the foundation on which is based Africa's effort to achieve its renewal".

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Kweli phetshana esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka amaxesha amabini.

- (i) Kuqala, sisetyenziselwe ukubonisa okunokwenzeka kumgca wama-59-64, "All these developments, including the African Union and MAP, emphasise the point that the issue of our relations with the rest of our Continent is central to the future of our own country. Accordingly, it requires that the all our people in all their organised formations should work out their own programmes further to strengthen our links

with other sister African countries and to encourage our Continent's progressive social transformation".

- (ii) Esi sixhobo siphinda sibonakale sibonisa okunokwenzeka kumgca we-136-144, "To express the critical importance of Africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing. We can only succeed in the objectives we pursue if the rest of our Continent also succeeds. We sink or swim together. It is for this reason that we too must celebrate Day and thereby commit ourselves to work for African unity and African renewal. Accordingly, on this day, we extend our best wishes to all peoples of Africa, of all colours, cultures and races, convinced that the African Renaissance will succeed".

Phantsi kwesindululo sesiseko senkqubo yeengxoxo, umbhali usebenzisa iintlobo zezixhobo zolukuhlo ngendlela ethi yenze isibheni kwingqondo yomphulaphuli, kuba efuna avumelane nomyalezo wolukuhlo. Kwiphetshana ngalinye ezi zixhobo zolukuhlo zisetyenziselwe ukuzalisekisa iinjongo zomxholo womyalezo walo. Apha ngezantsi kufumaneka iTafile ebonisa ushwankathelo lwamaxasha ekusetyenziswe ngawo ezi zixhobo zolukuhlo.

Tafile 5.4.1

<u>Esenkqubo yengxoxo</u>	Iphetshana 1	Iphetshana 2	Iphetshana 3	Iphetshana 4	I-Totali
Iimfuno					
Eyokukhuseleka	3	1	1	–	5
Eyokuqinisekisa	7	3	5	3	18
Eyokwaneliseko	–	–	–	–	–
Eyokubonisa isiphiwo	–	–	–	–	–
Eyokuthanda izinto	–	–	–	–	–
Eyamandla	2	2	–	1	5
Eyengcambu	–	–	–	–	–
Eyokuphila naphakade	–	–	–	–	–
I-Totali	12	6	6	4	28
Izimilo					
I-Totali	5	2	5	5	17
Ukungaguququki					
I-Totali	4	2	2	2	10
I-Totali yazo zonke ezi zixhobo zolukuhlo	21	10	13	11	55

5.3 ISINDULULO SESISEKO SOKUQULATHWE KWIINGXOXO

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Esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe kweli phetshana amaxesha alithoba. Sibonakalisa amandla omlukuhli ekukwazini ukucinga nokuqqa ngokuqwalasela unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo, okanye isiphumo nonobangela waso.

- (i) Kuqala, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe kwimigca ye-9-10. Kule migca kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, "Our principal task at the Summit Meeting was the presentation to the world corporate leadership of the concern". Ukanti yena unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-10-11, "the process leading to the adoption of a Millenium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP)".
- (ii) Okwesibini, okuqulathwe leli phetshana kuboniswa ngengqiqo yokubonisa ngeempawu. Unobangela woku ufumaneka kumgca wama-40-43, "in September, we addressed the UN Millinium Summit and had the opportunity to meet President Putin of Russia ... we also had interacted with UN Secretary Kofi Annan, who had committed the UN to co-operate with us as we worked on the MAP". Sona isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-44-46, "We mention all these meetings because they enable us to present these political leaders the imperative of addressing especially the challenges of African development". Awona magama abonisa le ngqiqo ngeempawu afumaneka kumgca wama-45-46, "the challenges of African development".
- (iii) Ingqiqo ebonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo ibonisiwe okwesithathu apha kweli phetshana. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama wama-55, "prepare the draft of the MAP". Sona isiphumo sikwafumaneka kwalapha kulo mgca wama-55, "circulate it among these heads".
- (iv) Okwesine, esi sixhobo sikwasetyenziswa ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-59-60, "ensure that the global leadership of the corporate world is also sensitised". Isiphumo soku sibonakala kumgca 60-61, "ensure Africa's social and economic recovery".
- (v) Kwakhona okwesihlanu, eli phetshana libonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-68-69, "we were at the beginning of the

process of the development of the MAP". Isiphumo soku sona sifumaneka kumgca wama-75-76, "Continent of peace, stability and democracy". Umbhali uphinda abonisa ingqiqo ebonisa ngeempawu apha kwisi siqulatho, kumgca wama-73, "breaks out of its condition of poverty and underdevelopment".

- (vi) Esi sixhobo sifumaneka okwesithandathu, kwaye sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-89, "focus on bridging the digital divide". Isiphumo sona sifumaneka kumgca wama-89-90, "to make sure our Continent is not condemned to further marginalisation"

Omnye unobangela obonakaliswanje ngobungqina ufumaneka kumgca wama-91, "concentrate on human resource development". Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-91-92, "to ensure that our peoples have the requisite modern skills and the necessary life".

Kwakhona kumgca wama-94-95, "to discharge their national and international obligations", kufumaneka la mazwi abonisa unobangela. Sona isiphumo sikumgca wama-95-96, "to play their role in the context of the process of globalisation".

- (vii) Okwesixhenxe, eli phetshana libonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca we-112-113, "link up with other, like-minded forces on our Continent and the rest of the world". Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-113-114, "to promote the agenda for peace, stability, democracy, progress and prosperity in Africa".

Kumgca we-123, "Year of the African Century", kuboniswa isiphumo esisukela kunobangela. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-123-124, "to enegise these sectors and masses into action".

Omnye unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo ufumaneka kumgca we-133, act together with us". Sona isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-133, "to end the suffering".

- (viii) Okwesibhozo, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sifumaneka kwakhona sibonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-155-156, "all of us belong to a common human society". Isiphumo sibonakaliswa kumgca we-156-158, "a new internationalism, or read its to contend with enormous globalised social conflicts".

- (ix) Okwesithoba nokokugqibela, esi sixhobo sikwasetyenziswa ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca we-152-153, "we will do the things we have to do". Sona isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-153, "to enable the peoples of the world to give us that chance".

ONE STEP CLOSER TO THE BIRTH OF THE AFRICAN UNION
ANC Today, Volume 1 No 7

Kweli phetshana, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amane.

- (i) Kuqala isiqulatho sibonisa isiphumo nonobangela waso. Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca we-13-14, "achieve sustained progress in meeting our common continental challenges". Yena unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-14-15, "if we act together in an organised, structured and systematic manner".
- (ii) Isiqulatho apha sibonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-27-28, "the required two-thirds of OAU members-36 states". Sona isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca wama-28, "ratify the Constitutive Act". Omnye unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-29-30, "to prepare proposals leading to the creation of the all-Africa institutions visualized in the Act". Ngokunjalo nakumgca wama-38 kufumaneka unobangela ongulo, "establishment of the consultative African Parliament". Isiphumo soku kukumanyana kwe-Afrika. Kwakhona unobangela uyafumaneka kumgca wama-43-44, "a report on the framework document". Isiphumo sikumgca wama-44-46, "guide the detailed programme of action of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), as well as the plan of action for the second phase of the drafting process of this programme".
- (iii) Okwesithathu, esi sixhobo sibonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-80-81, "we will contribute to the new Africa and global initiative and partnership". Sona isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca wama-81-82, "for an African renaissance". Kwakhona, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa ingqiqo yokubonisa ngeempawu, kumgca wama-82-85, "The contemporary African generations, of which we are an integral part, are blessed that they have the opportunity to redefine Africa, and therefore the world, as a place of hope and joy, without poor and dehumanised people".
- (iv) Okwesine, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-87, "SADC Summit Meeting called" Isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca wama-87-90, "to discuss the further transformation of our regional organisation into a more effective instrument in our common striving for regional intergration and balanced regional development". Omnye unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-92, "the most important building

blocs in the process". Isiphumo sona sikumgca wama-92-93, "the construction of the African Union".

IMPORTANT STEPS TO DEEPEN DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ANC Today, Volume 1 No 16

Kweli phetshana esi sixhobo sifumaneka amaxesha amane.

- (i) Siqala ngokubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-12, "negotiations with Pretoria regime". Isiphumo ibe sesi, kumgca we-12, "end the system of apartheid".
- (ii) Apha esi sixhobo sibonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ubonakala kumgca we-18, "free and fair democratic elections". Kwakhona, omnye unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-20, "economic recovery". Sona isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca wama-22, "better life for the people".
- (iii) Isixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe okwesithathu ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-48-49, "acting together through SADC". Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-49-50, "would succeed to make our region what the masses of our people wanted it to be". Esinye isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca wama-53-54, "democratic rule was successfully protected".
Omnye unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-60, "acting together". Sona isiphumo sikumgca wama-61-62, "Interim Political authority to thrash out their differences peacefully". Esinye isiphumo soku sikumgca wama-64-65, "proportional representative for a third of the seats in next parliament". Kumgca wama-71-72 kufumaneka esinye isiphumo, "Independent Electoral Commission".
- (iv) Okwesine, isiqulatho sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca wama-81, "Inter-Congolese Dialogue". Sona isiphumo sikumgca wama-85, "political and economic future of their country". Omnye unobangela ubonakala kumgca wama-93, "restructure this important regional body". Isiphumo soku sikumgca wama-95-97, "promotion of balanced and sustained regional economic growth and development as well as an institution for the promotion of democracy, peace and stability in our region".

OUR COMMITMENT TO AFRICA**ANC Today, Volume 1 No 18**

Apha kweli phetshana esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe amaxesha amahlanu.

- (i) Okokuqala, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kungca-1 kufumaneka unobangela, "celebrate Africa Day". Sona isiphumo sikumgca we-2, "the Organisation of African Unity in 1963". Esinye isiphumo sikumgca-4, "commitment of the Continent to its unity".
Omnye unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-9-12, "initiative of Tribute"; Department of Foreign Affairs"; "African diplomatic corps". Isiphumo sikumgca we-13-15, "these activities from our national calender, since 1994".
- (ii) Okwesibini, esi sixhobo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ufumaneka kumgca we-19, "the Constitutive Act of the African Union". Isiphumo sikumgca wama-21, "to phase out the OAU and phase in the African Union". Esinye isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-23-24, "the African Parliament will be established".
- (iii) Okwesithathu, esi sixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ukumgca wama-35-36, "the documents for the Millennium Partnership". Isiphumo sikumgca-38, African unity and progress. Esinye isiphumo sikumgca wama-39-40, "to ensure that ours become a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its peoples". Kwakhona, isiphumo siyafumaneka kumgca wama-42, "strengthening of the institutions to promote democracy". Nakumgca wama-43-46, plans on such issues as infectious diseases ... ".
- (iv) Okwesine, isiqulatho sisetyenziswe ukubonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Unobangela ukumgca wama-70-71, "destination for our investment, trade and technology transfers". Isiphumo sifumaneka kumgca wama-66, "government is very actively involved with the rest of our Continent". Kumgca wama-68-69 kufumaneka isiphumo kwakhona, "Our business community has also been very active in expanding cooperation". Kwakhona kumgca wama-72 kufumaneka isiphumo, "trade relations".
- (v) Okwesihlanu, kufumaneka isiqulatho esibonisa unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo. Kumgca we-102, "difficult work is being carried". Isiphumo sibonakala kumgca we-103-104, "democracy and human rights, poverty eradication and social upliftment".

Omnye unobangela ubonakala kumgca we-108-111, “teaching about Africa”; “history and geography”; “culture and current political and socio-economic activity, as well as languages”. Kwakhona kumgca we-117-119 kufumaneka omnye unobangela, “The public broadcaster, the SABC, while continuing to report African news objectively, should also make a special effort to educate our broad population about the Continent”. Isiphumo soku sifumaneka kumgca we-112-116, “African first before they become citizens of the world”; “cooperation and solidarity with the peoples of our Continent and achievement of the objectives of the African Renaissance”.

5.4 USHWANKATHELO

Kufumaniseka ukuba indlala, imfazwe, ukungafundi, ukungabi nalwazi lokusebenzisa ubuxhakaxhaka nobugcisa, ukulilawula ngegqudu kusezizinto ezigqubayo e-Afrika. Oku kubonisa ukuba ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika akukabi yimpumelelo. Ngoko ke kumele kusetyenzwe, ngenxa yokuba kusekuninzi ekufuneka kwenziwe khon'ukuze kufikelelwe kwinqanaba lokunyamezelana kulawule idemokrasi kuphela. Ngako oko, kululutho ukusetyenziswa kwemithombo yolwazi khon'ukuze kufundiswe abantu nge-Afrika nokubaluleka kwemfuneko yokuvuselelwa kwayo.

Umbhali kula maphetshana akhethiweyo athe asetyenziswa khon'ukuze esi sifundo sibe yimpumelelo, uye wasebenzisa ubuchule bokulukuhla abantu khon'ukuze bangqinelane nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Kusetyenziswe iimfuno, izimilo, ukungaguquguquki kunye nesiqulatho ukubonisa abaphulaphuli ngokubaluleka kwemvuselelo ye-Afrika.

Yona imfuno yokhuseleko isetyenziselwe ukubonisa ukomolela kwabameli babantu, nto ke leyo ethi iqinisekise ukhuseleko lwabo. Ngale ndlela, abantu bangqinelana nomyalezo weli phetshana ngenxa yokuba besaneliseka ngemfuno yokhuseleko. Kubonakala sisebenza esi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba abantu bebonakalisa ukuxhasa iphulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

Nangona kunjalo eyona mfuno ayisebenzise kakhulu umbhali yimfuno yokuxabiseka. Imfuno yokuqinisekisa ukuxabiseka okanye imfuno yokuzingca isetyenziselwe ukwanelisa imfuno yokuzingca kubaphulaphuli. Abantu abaninzi e-Afrika abaziboni njengabantu abaxabisekileyo, ngenxa yokuba baqhathwa ziintlanga zaseNtshona ezafika zabahlutha

isidima sabo nexabiso lwabo. Umbhali uzama ukubuyisela esidima samaAfrika ngokwanelisa abantu ngale mfuno ngokusebenzisa umculo wase-Afrika. Oku kungqinwa kukuba abantu bebengawuvali umlomo ngomculo weemvumi ezaziwayo nezikhethekileyo ebezikho.

Le mfuno isetyenziselwe ukwanelisa abaphulaphuli ngokuxabiseka, khon'ukuze bazive bengabantu nabo phakathi kwezinye iintlanga. Xa urhulumente ebonisa ukuzimisela ekwenzeleni abantu izinto ezizisa inguqu nempucuko kubomi babo, kuba lula ukuba balukuhleke ngumyalezo olukuhlayo wesithethi. Abantu baziva bexabisekile xa iinkokheli zabo zaseburhulumenteni zilithathela Kulo uxanduva lokuqinisekisa ukuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Kwangaxesha nye nabo abantu kufuneka bazixabise iinkokheli zabo, ngenxa yemisebenzi yazo eziyenzela abantu beli lizwekazi.

Umbhali wanelisa imfuno yemvakalelo yokuxabiseka ebantwini. Apha umbhali ufuna abantu benze intshukumo ebonakalayo ekuvuseleleni i-Afrika. Abantu baya kuwamkela lula lo myalezo wolukuhlo xa besiva amazwi abonakalisa ukuxabiseka kwabo. Ingakumbi njengokuba umbhali engababekeli caleni, kwaye engabajongeli phantsi. Kuyabonakala ukuba umbhali uyalazi ixabiso legalelo abanokulenza abantu kwimvuselelo ye-Afrika. Amazwi asetyenziswe kula maphetshana enza isibheno kwimvakalelo yomphulaphuli, ngenxa yoku, kulula kumphulaphuli ukuvumelana nomyalezo wala maphetshana.

Enye imfuno ethe yasetyenziswa ngempumelelo yimfuno yamandla. Umbhali unolwazi lokuba xa abaphulaphuli benganeliseki kwicala lokuziva benamandla, bangangawamkeli ngokupheleleyo umyalezo wala maphetshana. Ukusetyenziswa kwale mfuno kubonakala bunefuthe ngenxa yokuba imvuselelo ye-Afrika ibonakala ithakazelelwa phantse ngumntu wonke. Yiyo le nto kukho inkqubela phambili kangangokuba namhlanje i-MAP sele iphuculwe yabizwa ngokuba yi-New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Ezinye iimfuno azisetyenziswanga ngenxa yokuba umbhali ubonile ukuba zona azinakuba nefuthe kulo mba.

Ukusetyenziswa kwesimilo kube nefuthe eliphezulu. Nkqu into yokuba inkqubo yemvuselelo ye-Afrika ibe ihambela phambili kangaka namhlanje. Ubani angathi le nkqubo iyacotha, kodwa okona kubalulekileyo kukuba ikho inkqubela kwaye yonke into ixhomekeke kwinkxaso epheleleyo nengagungqiyo yabantu, oorhulumente abachaphazelekayo kunye noosomashishini. Ngako oko, xa ubani enokuthi aqwalasele

ngononophelo angaphawula ukuba i-Afrika ibonakalisa umdla kule nkqubo yokuvuselelwa kwayo. Phantse yonke imihlathi yala maphetshana, isimilo nje ngesixhobo solukuhlo sisetyenzisiwe. Iinjongo zoku kukuzama ukuba abantu bakubone ukubaluleka kwenguqu e-Afrika. Ingakumbi ukupheliswa kwendlala neemfazwe, khon'ukuze kumiliselwe uxolo, inzolo kunye nedemokrasi. Namhlanje lo msebenzi sele uphethwe yi-NEPAD.

Kungenxa yoku kuye kwasetyenziswa ukungaguququki nje ngesixhobo solukuhlo apha kula maphetshana. Abantu bafuna ukuba kuqinisekise ngento engaguqukiyo phambi kokuba bayamkele. Kungabi yilena namhlanje ngomso kube yenye into, ngenxa yokuba oku kubekho ikamva lwabo esichengeni. Umbhali usisebenzisa ngempumelelo esi sixhobo ngenxa yokuba ukusukela ekuqaleni kokumiselwa kwenkqubo ye-MAP, akukabikho nto sele iguqukile ebonisa ukuchasana nokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika. Kangangokuba ukumiselwa kwemanyano ye-Afrika i-"African Union" (AU) endaweni ye-"Organisation of African Unity" (OAU) kuza kuqhubela phambili ngenxa yenkxaso nenkuthazo evela kuma-Afrika jikelele.

Yiyo le nto umbhali ebonile ukuba kubalulekile ukuba abantu bayayazi eyona nto iqulathwe ngala maphetshana. Ngamanye amazwi umbhali usebenzise isiqukatho nje ngesixhobo solukuhlo khon'ukuze abantu bangafuniseli ngoyena mxholo uqulathwe kula maphetshana. Ngaphandle koku bekungasoze kubekho ndlela yokubalukuhla abantu khon'ukuze bawamkele umyalezo afuna ufikelele ebantwini. Iphulo likamongameli lokukhuthaza abantu ukuba babe nomdla nenkuthalo yokusebenzisana bemoya mnye libonakala liphumelela.

Indlala neemfazwe ezisagqubayo kwezi lizwekazi i-Afrika kulindeleke ukuba zinciphe kude ekugqibeleni ziphele, kubekho uxolo, inzolo, ubulungisa, nedemokrasi. Nangona besekho abathi kufuneka kujongwe ngeliso elibukhali ukubandakanywa kwamazwe aseNtshona kwiphulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika, abanye bathi ukumiselwa kwe-NEPAD kunye nokumiselwa kwe-AU kungasetyenziswa ngendlela egwenxa yokucinezelwa kwakhona amazwe ase-Afrika ngamazwe atyebileyo aseNtshona.

Nokuba oku kunjalo okanye akunjalo, okona kubalulekileyo kukuba ama-Afrika azame indlela elungileyo enokuthi iza nesisombululo sokuqinisekisa ukuba oku akwenzeki. Esona sisombululo sisafumanekayo okwangoku kukumanyana nokusebenzisana ngomoya omnye. Yiyo le nto umbhali ebone ukuba makasebenzise ezi zixhobo zokulukuhla khon'ukuze abantu baguquke kwiimbono neengcinga zabo ezingalunganga ngeli

lizwekazi. Zenzekile izinto ezininzi ukusukela ukuqala kwezi phulo lokuvuselelwa kwe-Afrika.

Ezi zinto zizinto ezilungileyo ezizisa inguqu kubomi babantu base-Afrika jikelele. Phakathi nonyaka kunyaka ozayo ka-2002 uMzantsi Afrika uzakusingatha intlanganiso yabaphathi bamazwe ehlabathini malunga nongcino lophuhliso, kulapho i-Afrika iza kuthi ixhamle koluphuhliso ukucutha iqondo lwendlala.

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I-APENDIKSI: 1**ISIGAMA****PERSUASION**

academic	- imfundo ephakamileyo
acceptance	- ulwamkelo
accomplish	phumeza
accounts	- ingcaciso
ACE model	- imodeli ye-ACE
actuating	- qhubekisa
Ad Hominem	- iAd Hominem
Ad Populum	- iAd Populum
adoption	- ukwamkela
advantage claim	- ubango loncedo
advertising explosion	- udubulo lokuthengisa
advertising	- thengisa/intengiso
agenda-setting function	- umsebenzi wokulungisa i-ajenda
aggravating	- phembelela
AIDS	- uGawulayo
AIDA approach	- indlela ye AIDA
alternative	- ahlukeneyo
analogy	- imfaniso
analysis	- uhlalutyo
antagonistic	- chasene
anticipate	- cingela
appeal	- isibheni
application	- ukusebenzisa
approach	- indlela
appropriateness	- imfaneleko
argument	- ingxoxo
article	- lphetshana
assessment	- ukujonga
assigned role	- indima ebekiweyo
assimilation	- udibaniso
association	- ubudlelane
assumed role	- indima ecingelwayo

attitude objects	- izinto zesimilo
attitude	- isimilo
audience	- abaphulaphuli
auditory	- -viwa
authority	- igunya
behavioral function	- umsebenzi othile wokuziphatha
behaviour	- ukuziphatha
belongingness	- ubumnini
bewildered	- dedikile
bias	- ukuthatha icala
blatant	- ngokucacileyo
brand loyalty	- itembeko yophawu
brand name	- igama lophawu
brand	- uphawu
broadcast	- sasaza
candidate	- umgqatswa
capacity	- amandla
categorize	- hlela
cause-to-effect	- unobangela ukuya kwisiphumo
central route	- indlela engundoqo
challenge	ukucela umngeni
change	- utshintsho
chapter	- isahluko
characteristics	- iimpawu
chronology	- ukulandelelana ngokwamaxesha
climate	- imozulu
clutter	- ukubhidisa
coercion	- isinyanzeliso
coercion	- ukunyanzeliswa
coercive	- nyanzeliswa
cognitive consistency theory	- ithiyori kungaguquki komqondo
colonially	- kholoniyali / ukuma isithanga
commentary	- ukcazo
commercial	- ngorhwebo
communication	- unxibelelwano
compliance	- ukuthobela
concept	- ingqiqo
conciseness	- ubufutshane
conference	- ingqungquthela / inkomfa

conform	- hambisana
congruent	- vumelelana
consensus Heuristic (rule of consensus)	- umthetho wemvumelwano
consistency	- ukungaguququki
consonance	- imvumelwano
consumer	- umthengi
contemplative	- cingwa
content	- isiqulatho
content	- isiqulatho
contention	- imbambano
contrast	- umahluko
co-operate	- ukusebenzisana
counterargument	- ingxoxo echaseneyo
counterattitudinal message	- umyalezo wokungavumelani nesimilo
create	- bumba
credibility heuristic (rule of credibility)	- umthetho wokukholelekayo
credibility	- ukukholeleka
criteria-to-application	- izicwangciso ukuya ekusebenziseni
criticism	- ugxeke
debunking	- ukutyhila inyani
deceptive	- khohlisa
declaration	- isibhengezo
deductive	- ukusebenzisa imithetho eqhelekileyo
degree	- ubungakanani
demand	- ubango
demographics	- iidemografiki
demography	- idemografi
demonstration	- ukubonakalisa
dependency	- ukuxhomekeka umxhomekeko
develop	- qhubela phambili
development	- inkqubela
differential	- ukwahlukana
direct techniques	- ubugcisa obuthe ngqo
discourse	- idiskhosi
disguising	- ukufihla
dissect	- qhaqha
dissonance	- ukungavumelani nokuthile
dramatic	- -nomdlalo
direct persuasion	- ulukuhlo oluthe ngqo

dynamism	- intshukumo
effect to cause reasoning	- ingqiqo yesiphumo ukuya kunobangela
effectiveness	- ifuthe
effects of the change of attitude	- ifuthe lokutshintsha koluvo
effects	- iziphumo
ego	- umna buqu
ego-involvement	- ukubandakanyeka kwam buqu
elaboration	- utyatyadulo
emotional security	- ukhuseleko lwemvakalelo
emotional	- uvakalelo
emphasis	- ugxininiso
eradicate	- phelisa
esteem needs	- imfuno yokuzingca
esteem	- ukuzingca
ethics	- imithetho ngokusesikweni
evaluate	- hlola
evaluative response	- impendulo zokuhlola
evidence	- ubungqina
evolution	- ukwanda
extensive issue-relevant	- umcimbi obanzi yengcinga
extrinsic rule	- umgaqo wangaphandle
face work	- umsebenzi wobuso
fact	- inyani
Fallacy	- impazamo / ifalasi
favour	- thanda
features	- iimpawu
format	- indlela
gaining scheme	- isicwangciso sokuzuza
gatekeeper	- umgcini-sango
gauche	- ukungakwazi ukuziphatha phakathi kwabantu
general things	- izinto ezijikelele
generate	- enza
gratification	- ukwaneliseka
gratification	- ulwaneliseko
hazy claim	- ubango olungacacanga
heuristic principles	- imigaqo yokufumanisa
hierarchy	- uluhlu lwemigangatho
idea	- uluvo
identification	- ukuchonga

ignoring, ignore	- ukungahoyi
immortality	- ukuphila naphakade
impasses	- imgxaki engenakusonjululwa
impression	- uluvo
improvement	- impucuko / ukuphucuka
incremental	- andisa
incremental	- ukwandiseka
indices	- izalathiso
indirect persuasion	- ulukuhlo olungathanga ngqo
inductive	- ukuqiqa ngaphakathi
inference	- intelekelelo
influence	- impembelelo
information	- ulwazi
informed	- azisa
inner-directed	- ina dayirekthedi
innovations	- izinto ezintsha
inoculation	- ukutofwa
intention	- injongo
interactive	- ukunxulumanisa
internalization	- izinto ezenzeka ngaphakathi
interpersonal persuasion	- unxibelelwano lwababini kulukuhlo
intrinsic rule	- umgaqo wangaphakathi
intruder	- umphazamisi
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AMAPHETSHANA

I-APENDIKSI: 2**AMAPHETSHANA**

ANC TODAY

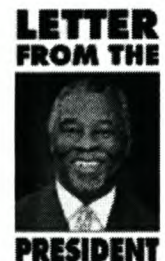
ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Volume 1 No 2 • 2 - 8 February 2001

THIS WEEK:

- Letter from the President: [Africa's people central to success of recovery plan](#)
- From the desk of the SG: [One more nail in the coffin of apartheid social engineering](#)
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Africa's people central to success of recovery plan



TWO DAYS AGO, we returned from the annual Summit Meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF) at Davos, Switzerland.

As usual, our country was represented by a strong delegation comprising the government, business, civil society and the media.

This year, we also had a musical group led by one of our outstanding musicians, Caiphus Semenya, whose performances, arranged by the American jazz legend and friend of South Africa, Quincy Jones, became truly the 'talk of the town.'

Our principal task at the Summit Meeting was the presentation to the world corporate leadership of the concept of and the process leading to the adoption of a Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP).

We had to carry out this task together with President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, with the active assistance of Presidents Ben Mkapa of Tanzania and Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal.

President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria could not attend as he was paying an official visit to India.

I write this Letter to give some information relevant to the MAP.

During the year 2000, we spent some time meeting the political leadership of the developed world - the North.

Accordingly, in May we met Prime Minister Blair and President Clinton in London and Washington D.C., respectively.

We also met the then Governor George W. Bush in Austin, Texas.

In June, we were part of the Berlin meeting on progressive governance.

It was also attended by Presidents Clinton of the US, Cardoso of Brazil, Lagos of Chile and De la Rúa of Argentina and Prime Ministers Jospin of France, Guterres of Portugal, Chretien of Canada, Amato of Italy, Simitis of Greece, Clark of New Zealand, Kok of the Netherlands, Persson of Sweden and Chancellor Schroeder of Germany. Prime Minister Blair sent his apologies.

In the same month, we visited Denmark to participate in and address the meeting of Nordic Prime Ministers.

Again in June, we addressed the meeting of the European Council held in Portugal, which was attended by all the heads of government of the EU.

In July, together with Presidents Obasanjo and Bouteflika, we met the heads of state and government of the G7 in Tokyo, and had the opportunity to hold bilateral discussions with Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshiro Mori.

While in Tokyo, we also met the President of the World Bank, Jim Wolfensohn.

Later, in Pretoria, we also held discussions with the Managing Director of the IMF, Horst Kohler.

In September, we addressed the UN Millennium Summit and had the opportunity to meet President Putin of Russia, among others.

Before this, we had also interacted with UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, who had committed the UN to co-operate with us as we worked on the MAP.

We mention all of these meetings because they enabled us to present to these political leaders the imperative of addressing especially the challenges of African development.

Necessarily, as the current Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, we also presented the agenda of the countries of the South as a whole.

It was very inspiring to hear the entire political leadership of the countries of the North express firm commitment to the idea of a new and concerted effort to address, among others, the challenge of African poverty and underdevelopment.

At the OAU Summit in Lome, Togo, the African heads of state and government agreed that the Presidents of Algeria, Nigeria and South Africa should prepare the draft of the MAP and circulate it among these heads.

Together with our colleagues, as well as the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), we have been working on the first drafts of the MAP.

We thought it appropriate that we should present the "work in progress" to the Davos Summit Meeting, to ensure that the global leadership of the corporate world is also sensitised to the work that is being done to ensure Africa's social and economic recovery.

This is especially important because whatever plans we produce in the end, these will not succeed without the involvement and support of the domestic and global private sector.

We also felt it important that, however preliminary our report, we should bring the private sector on board now, rather than wait for the 2002 Davos Summit Meeting.

However, we made the point clear that we were only at the beginning of the process of the development of the MAP.

Of critical importance also was the point that what was qualitatively different about the MAP, was the fact the Africa's political leadership was taking the responsibility onto its own shoulders to ensure that our Continent actually breaks out of its condition of poverty and underdevelopment.

To achieve this, it is clear that we must ensure that ours becomes a Continent of peace, stability and democracy. The MAP must provide for the measures to achieve these objectives.

As a Continent, we must also pursue the necessary social and economic policies that must lead to a sustained improvement in the standard of living and quality of life of the millions of all our peoples.

At the same time, we have to work to guarantee that the process of renewal represented by the MAP is genuinely based among the people and is not merely a programme of action for governments only.

Among other things, we will have to take advantage of all the comparative advantages we enjoy as African countries, to underwrite the success of our development efforts.

This must include the people, the availability of natural resources, land, environment and heritage. In this regard, critically, we must break out of the mould of being producers and exporters of raw materials.

The MAP will also have to focus on bridging the digital divide, to ensure that our Continent is not condemned to further marginalisation.

We also have to concentrate on human resource development to ensure that our peoples have the requisite modern skills and the necessary life conditions, such as health, to enable them to be fully productive.

The capacity of our governments to discharge their national and international obligations will also have to be addressed so that they are able to play their role in the context of the process of globalisation.

The MAP will also have to take into account existing programmes of international community, existing decisions such as those relating to the debt question, and all other relevant matters that impinge on Africa's relations with the rest of the world.

Some of the documents immediately relevant to our work include:

- the Skagen Declaration of the Nordic Prime Ministers;
- the Santa Maria da Feira European Council resolution;
- the Okinawa Communique of the G8;
- the Declaration of the UN Millennium Summit;
- the (Tokyo) Tacad II Declaration;
- the Beijing Declaration; and,
- the OAU Lome decisions.

As a movement, we have declared this the African Century.

Together with others on our Continent, we, as the ANC, have raised high the banner of the African Renaissance.

These positions impose particular responsibilities on the ANC to link up with other, like-minded forces on our Continent and the rest of the world, to promote the agenda for peace, stability, democracy, progress and prosperity in Africa.

We must strive to ensure that the ordinary people of Africa adopt this agenda as their own, and conduct mass campaigns for its success.

It is clear that the African masses are ready and willing to assume these positions.

It is also clear that various sectors throughout the Continent, including the organised workers, the rural masses, business people, intellectuals, religious leaders and workers in arts and culture are ready to participate in the campaign for an African Renaissance.

We must use our call for this to be the Year of the African Century to energise these sectors and masses into action.

Our first responsibility is to our own people. We must therefore act accordingly, bearing in mind that what we do locally is directly linked to what happens in the rest of our Continent.

We must also encourage all the sectors we have identified, to interact independently with their counterparts in the rest of Africa and elsewhere in the world.

We are at a particular moment in human evolution when the bulk of the world community, including governments and corporations, understand that they have to act together with us to end the suffering to which the peoples of Africa have been victim for many centuries.

What our global partners ask of us is that, as Africans, we should take charge of our destiny.

We are in the Year of the African Century.

We are preparing to celebrate the 90th Anniversary of the ANC during the year 2002.

As a country, we are preparing to host the UN Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and other Related Intolerances this year.

Next year, we will also host the OAU Summit and the Global Conference on the Environment.

These historic events impose an obligation on the ANC and the rest of our country's democratic movement to discharge their historic responsibility as the leader of the process of social transformation in our country.

We have to advance the programme for the reconstruction and development of our country with the greatest vigour and popular involvement.

The distinguished participants at the Davos Summit expect that we will not fail them, as we have not failed them in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid legacy, and therefore create a peaceful, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, open and prosperous society.

They are ready to support us if we ourselves are serious about the agenda we have set ourselves.

They are, in good measure, driven by the recognition that all of us belong to a common human society that, sooner or later, must respond to a new internationalism, or ready itself to contend with enormous globalised social conflicts that know no fortresses.

During our last night at Davos, on Monday 29th, the President of the WEF, Professor Klaus Schwab, appealed to the assembled world press - give Africa a chance! give Africa's leaders a chance!

The question we have to answer practically is whether we will do the things we have to do, to enable the peoples of the world to give us that chance!

In that sense, the ball is in our court.

Thabo Mbeki.



ANC TODAY

ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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THIS WEEK:

- Letter from the President: [One step closer to the birth of the African Union](#)
- Education: [New deal for institutions of higher learning](#)
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One step closer to the birth of the African Union

LAST WEEK an important extraordinary summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was held in Sirte, Libya. Apart from very few instances, the delegations were led by Heads of State and Government. This 5th Extraordinary Summit Meeting had convened to discuss and take decisions on issues relating to the African Union (AU). Without hesitation, I am happy to say that the meeting was very successful.

Before commenting on the elements of that success, we should say something about the AU. The AU represents a serious effort to build on the decisions taken in the aftermath of the independence of many African countries leading to the birth of the OAU in 1963. Those decisions were based on the recognition of the interdependence of the countries of Africa and the reality that the peoples of our continent share a common destiny.

Then, as now, Africa's leadership felt that we could only achieve sustained progress in meeting our common continental challenges if we act together in an organised, structured and systematic manner. Furthermore, these leaders were and are convinced that the successful future of our continent lies in its unity. It was for these reasons that the OAU was formed. It is for the same reasons that the decision has been taken to move our advance towards unity to a higher level, by transforming the OAU into the AU.

We have said that the 5th Extraordinary Summit was successful for a number of reasons. One of these was that by the time the summit closed, 52 out of the 53 member states of the OAU had signed the Constitutive Act of the African Union. The military government of the Comoros could not sign as it is barred from participating in OAU activities. The summit was therefore correct to conclude that our governments had firmly expressed the will of the people of Africa in favour of the AU.

LETTER FROM THE



PRESIDENT

Proceeding from the position that in the near future the required two-thirds of OAU members - 36 states - will ratify the Constitutive Act, the Summit gave the necessary directives to the Secretary General to prepare proposals leading to the creation of the all-Africa institutions visualised in the Act. These proposals will be considered by the Lusaka Summit of the OAU in July this year.

According to the timetable agreed at Sirte, the AU will come into being at the 2002 OAU Summit, which South Africa has the honour to host. This would therefore be the last summit of the OAU and the moment when the latter hands over to the African Union.

The Extraordinary Summit also adopted the protocol enabling the establishment of the consultative African Parliament. This protocol was drawn up by African parliamentarians during their meeting in Pretoria earlier this year, hosted by our national parliament and its presiding officers. Further decisions to bring this new continental parliament into being will be taken at the Lusaka Summit in July.

The Extraordinary Summit also received a report on the framework document that will guide the detailed programme of action of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), as well as the plan of action for the second phase of the drafting process of this programme. The summit unanimously endorsed both the framework document and the plan of action. It also mandated Presidents Bouteflika of Algeria, Obasanjo of Nigeria and ourselves to continue the work on MAP.

Among other things, this will allow the possibility for the second Africa-G8 summit meeting in Italy in July to consider a practical programme of action, building on the first Africa-G8 Summit held in Tokyo last year.

It is these practical decisions about the AU and MAP, agreed unanimously and affecting the political and economic future of Africa, that define the success that was achieved at Sirte. What this means is that our continent will enhance its capacity to think, plan and act together on a whole range of matters relating to such issues as peace and stability, democracy and human rights, good governance, economic growth, development and poverty eradication, cultural revival and environmental protection.

Contrary to what some have written that ours is a 'hopeless Continent', the decisions taken at Sirte cannot but give hope to the millions of Africans from the confluence of the Indian and Atlantic oceans in the south, to the Mediterranean in the north, that the enhancement of African unity will enable all of us to overcome the problems that have confronted us for centuries.

That strengthened African unity is also consistent with a global trend towards the formation of regional blocs, such as the EU, NAFTA, Mercosur, APEC and ASEAN, all of which are driven by a resolve to achieve democratically agreed practical results, focused on securing a better life for the people within and across national boundaries. It is precisely this result that the AU and MAP must achieve.

In this regard, our government, country and people face some special responsibilities. As we have said, the dissolution of the OAU and the formation of the AU will take place in South Africa, a little more than a year from now. Furthermore, our country has been mandated, together with Algeria and Nigeria, to participate in the process of helping to define the African road map to development and prosperity.

We dare not betray the confidence that the peoples of our continent have demonstrated towards us as a country and a people, that we will use all means at our disposal to advance the cause of the peoples of Africa. Additionally, the developed world shares this expectation about what we can and will contribute to the new African and global initiative and partnership for an African renaissance. The contemporary African generations, of which we are an integral part, are blessed that they have the opportunity to redefine Africa, and therefore the world, as a place of hope and joy, without poor and dehumanised people.

As this edition of ANC Today is published, on 9 March, we will be in Windhoek, Namibia, participating in a SADC Summit Meeting called to discuss the further transformation of our regional organisation into a more effective instrument in our common striving for regional integration and balanced regional development.

At the same time, SADC will have to position itself to play its role as one of the most important building blocs in the process of the construction of the African Union. It is a good portent that so soon after the 5th Extraordinary Summit of the OAU, the SADC meets in its own Extraordinary Summit to review the operations of SADC institutions, which will help to place it at the centre of the historic drive for African renewal.

Our own actions as a country, a people and a region in favour of democracy, peace, progress and regional cooperation, will answer the question practically whether we are correct when we say that Africa's time has come.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Thabo Mbeki". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Click here for an *ANC Today* [briefing document on the African Union'](#)



ANC TODAY

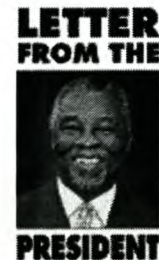
ONLINE VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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THIS WEEK:

- Letter from the President: [Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa](#)
- Democratic Republic of Congo: [ANC shares experiences of transition with DRC organisations](#)
- [Previous issues](#)

Important steps to deepen democratic practice in Southern Africa



A FEW YEARS AGO, during the last decade of the 20th Century, many in the world entertained the hope that Southern Africa would play a leading role in the recovery and renewal of the African continent as a whole.

The decade opened with the independence of Namibia in 1990. Not only did this bring about the long-delayed liberty of the sister people of that country, but it also signalled that freedom for our own people was not far away. Of great symbolic significance, Nelson Mandela attended Namibia's independence celebrations, joining Namibians who had also served time together with him on Robben Island as political prisoners.

The decade also opened with the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations, the release of Nelson Mandela and the beginning of formal negotiations with the Pretoria regime to end the system of apartheid.

We gained our own freedom in 1994. The relative peace of the transition from apartheid to a democratic society communicated the message that such was the maturity of our people that, as Africans, both black and white, we were perfectly capable of successfully managing the complex social and human relations that characterise our society.

In various countries of our region, free and fair democratic elections took place, in a number of instances ending the system of one-party states. The process of economic recovery began, with a country such as Mozambique receiving international acclaim for its efforts to develop its economy and therefore create conditions for the creation of a better life for the people of that country.

This forward movement culminated in the removal from power of Mobutu Sese Seko of the then Zaire, who personified much of what had gone wrong in Africa during the previous thirty to forty years. This included the seizure of power

by the military, the imposition of military dictatorship, the denial of the rights of the people, the looting of public resources by the dominant elite, the destruction of the already fragile African economies and the entrenchment of instability within and among the African countries.

In recognition of the commitment of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to democracy and other values shared by the members of SADC, the Community accepted the DRC as one of its members. The Mobutu regime had applied for Zaire to join the Community a number of years earlier. This had been turned down because the member states did not want a military dictatorship to join the regional grouping.

What was happening in Southern Africa sent out a firm signal that our region was determined to overcome this past to ensure that ours became an area of democracy, peace, stability, economic growth, development and prosperity.

When some members of the security forces in Lesotho tried to remove the democratically elected government of that country in 1994 and again in 1999, the countries of the region acted firmly to defend democracy in that country.

Even as all these positive things were happening, the region was very conscious of the fact that peace and stability had not yet returned to the sister country of Angola. It sought to put pressure especially on UNITA to bring the war to an end and to ensure the implementation of the Lusaka Accords.

Nevertheless, the conviction remained firm that, acting together through SADC, we would succeed to make of our region what the masses of our people wanted it to be. The 1999 events in Lesotho put this conviction to the test. The SADC intervention ended the rebellion, costing us the valuable lives of some of our soldiers who had gone to Lesotho as peacemakers, at the request of the government of that country. However, democratic rule was successfully protected.

Thus we can say, firmly, that the region passed the test of acting to ensure that Southern Africa remains a region of democracy. However the challenge still faced the people of Lesotho to address all the matters that had led to the unrest. This they have done in a commendable manner.

Proceeding from the position that the political leadership of that country needed to act together to solve the outstanding problems, this leadership agreed to sit together in a body called the Interim Political Authority to thrash out their differences peacefully. They further agreed that to ensure that all significant political opinion was represented in parliament, the electoral system would be changed, introducing an element of proportional representation for a third of the seats in the next parliament.

They also agreed that a Judicial Commission of Inquiry should be constituted to investigate the matter of the causes of the unrest that had occurred in 1994 and 1999 to enable the people of Lesotho to avoid the danger of seizure of power in the future. The Commission has already been sitting for some time, hearing evidence from the citizens of Lesotho. The political leaders of Lesotho further agreed on who should constitute the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as other matters related to ensuring that the next elections are indeed free and fair.

When we were in Lesotho last month, we told the assembled leaders of the political parties that what they were doing to resolve the problems of their country might very well serve as an example to all of us in Africa as to how, as political leaders, we should approach situations of conflict that occasionally arise in all our countries.

The 1999 Lusaka Agreement on the DRC is consistent with the approach adopted by the people of Lesotho. That Agreement provides for the holding of an Inter-Congolese Dialogue, involving the government, political parties and organisations of civil society. As was agreed by the Congolese themselves, President Sir Ketumile Masire is the facilitator of this process.

The Dialogue will afford the Congolese leadership with the opportunity together to decide the constitutional, political and economic future of their country. Whatever the differences among themselves, these will have to be resolved through peaceful debate rather than the clash of arms. Democracy, peace and stability in the DRC will also have a major positive impact on other countries in the Great Lakes region, expanding the possibilities for the resolution

of various challenges facing the nine countries that share borders with the DRC.

At the Extraordinary SADC Summit held in Windhoek, Namibia, earlier this year, decisions were taken to restructure this important regional body. The restructuring process will increase its effectiveness as an instrument for the promotion of balanced and sustained regional economic growth and development as well as an institution for the promotion of democracy, peace and stability in our region.

Despite all these positive developments, which define the direction in which our region will continue to evolve, in recent years there have also been worrying developments in the region. The war in Angola has continued unabated, resulting in yet more deaths and dislocations of and immense suffering for many people.

In both Zanzibar in Tanzania and Mozambique, there have been violent clashes with opposition forces when, according to the authorities in these countries, these have tried forcibly to take over government institutions. Certain levels of instability, controversy and various activities which nobody can approve of, have also affected Zimbabwe, in a situation also characterised by serious economic problems.

The process of the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement on the DRC is also still in its initial stages, raising fears and concerns among some people that the peace process in that country has not yet reached the stage when it can be described as irreversible.

It was with all these negative developments in the background, that the story burst into the open that the ruling party in Zambia would amend the country's Constitution to enable President Frederick Chiluba to serve a third term as Head of State. This was a most disturbing development indeed. Such proceeding in Zambia would communicate the message that, despite protestations of commitment to democracy, our region was, in fact, intent on acting in unconstitutional ways and was regressing to the situation when there were Presidents-for-life, as was the case under the late President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

Quite correctly, the people of Zambia responded to this threat, demanding that the Constitution had to be respected and the democratic system in that country protected. We had ourselves discussed this matter with President Chiluba when we paid a state visit to Zambia last year. We had agreed that he would not seek to have the Constitution amended and would not run for a third term.

When we spoke at the State Banquet during this visit, we publicly congratulated President Chiluba for this stand, to the acclaim of the Zambians who were present at this Banquet. We had occasion to discuss this matter again with President Chiluba when we met in Namibia during the SADC Summit meeting earlier this year, reiterating positions with which many among the political leaders in our region agreed.

African experience during the last few decades has demonstrated that the absence of democracy in our countries is both a cause of instability and a catalyst encouraging the further underdevelopment of our countries. Dictatorship and autocracy serve to suppress the creative energies of the people and to divert them to activities directed against social development, including corruption.

The masses of the people of our Continent are very interested to participate in the process of the development of our various countries and thus contribute to the struggle to pull themselves out of the painful and demeaning situation of poverty and underdevelopment. They value their freedom, respect their democratic institutions and understand their responsibility to use such freedoms and democratic space as they may enjoy, to act as patriots to change their countries for the better.

Whenever we have spoken to these peoples of our Continent about the challenges of the African Renaissance, they have responded with the greatest enthusiasm, convinced that if we can address the fundamental issues of democracy and peace, ours will become a Continent of hope. As the political leaders of these masses, we dare not disappoint their expectations.

It is in this context that we must congratulate President Chiluba and the people of Zambia for the firm action they have taken not to tamper with their Constitution to the detriment of the quest for democracy in Zambia and Southern

Africa.

This important decision must serve to confirm that, whatever our current problems, Southern Africa remains a region truly committed to the fundamental values and practices that constitute the foundation on which is based Africa's effort to achieve its renewal.

Thabo Mbeki.



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Our commitment to Africa

TODAY, May 25, we celebrate Africa Day, proclaimed as such to commemorate the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963.

In many African countries, May 25 is celebrated as a public holiday, reflecting the commitment of the Continent to its unity. Unfortunately, in our own country, preoccupied as we have been with the challenges of transition from apartheid to democracy and non-racism, we have tended to ignore Africa Day.

Happily, this is now being corrected more vigorously. Today, an important celebration of Africa Day will take place, thanks to the initiative of *Tribute* magazine, which initiative enjoys the support of our Department of Foreign Affairs.

The Department as well as the African diplomatic corps in our country will themselves also host different events to commemorate Africa Day. All these activities express our collective determination to correct the virtual omission of Africa Day festivities from our national calendar, since 1994.

This corrective action takes place during the year when our Continent has taken the critical step to build on what the OAU has achieved, further to promote the advance towards African unity.

With the Constitutive Act of the African Union coming into force as a result of its ratification by the requisite number of African countries, the process will begin this year to phase out the OAU and phase in the African Union.

Undoubtedly, much effort will have to go into the process of effecting this transition, as a result of which, among other things, the African Parliament will be established.

This parliament will, for the first time, give the possibility to popularly elected representatives of the peoples of Africa to come together to set indicative objectives, the signposts that should help our Continent as it fights to overcome the problems of poverty, underdevelopment and instability.

The adoption of the Constitutive Act of the African Union is itself something

LETTER FROM THE



PRESIDENT

we should celebrate. It is right that we honour Africa Day, as will happen today, and thereby restate our determination as a country and a people to participate in the process of speeding up the movement towards the greater unity of our Continent.

We are also proud of the fact that during this same year, our government is involved with other African governments in preparing the documents for the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP).

This critically important political and socio-economic programme is central to the achievement of the goal of African unity and progress. It visualises united African action to ensure that ours becomes a Continent of democracy, peace, prosperity and friendship among its peoples.

It will encompass specific proposals about these matters, including the strengthening of the institutions to promote democracy, human rights and peace, as well as specific plans on such issues as infectious diseases, poverty eradication, infrastructure development, information and communication technology, agricultural and industrial development and the urgent debt question.

The critical and unique feature of MAP is that it will be a product of the efforts of the peoples of Africa. Africans conceived it of. Africans are elaborating it. Africans are leading the process of discussion with the developed countries and the multilateral institutions to secure their support for and involvement in the Programme.

This is the very first time that this is happening.

We say all this not to assert African pride but to make the point that it is this feature of MAP that gives it the greatest possibility to succeed. Because we own it, as Africans, we have the responsibility to ensure that it succeeds. It is Africa's commitment to act in unity to solve the problems confronting the Continent that has inspired the developed countries and the international organisations warmly to welcome MAP and pledge their support.

All these developments, including the African Union and MAP, emphasise the point that the issue of our relations with the rest of our Continent is central to the future of our own country. Accordingly, it requires that all our people in all their organised formations should work out their own programmes further to strengthen our links with other sister African countries and to encourage our Continent's progressive social transformation.

As we have reported in earlier issues of ANC Today, naturally our government is very actively involved with the rest of our Continent, acting in partnership with other African countries to promote the renewal of Africa.

Our business community has also been very active in expanding cooperation with many African countries in the economic field. Accordingly, the Continent is becoming an ever-growing destination for our investment, trade and technology transfers. It is also clear that we must attend continuously to the issue of balanced trade relations between ourselves and many African countries.

Our trade unions are also active members of the continental Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, working in this organisation to promote workers' rights and the general advancement of our Continent. Undoubtedly, the possibility exists further to expand united action among the African organised workers, who are an important component part of the social forces committed to the progressive social transformation of Africa.

The African Renaissance Institute is yet another important initiative that seeks to mobilise the peoples of Africa behind a common programme for the success of the African Renaissance. It is a matter of pride that the South African chapter of the Institute is one of the strongest on the Continent.

Work is also going on among other sectors of our society, including the religious communities, the youth and students, women, arts and culture, science and technology and sport to strengthen our relations with the rest of our Continent.

It is a matter of concern that our level of knowledge about our own Continent is not as high as it should be. This is partly the result of the many years of the international isolation of South Africa and the fact that, historically, a significant part of our international relations has focused on interaction with the countries of the North, especially Europe.

Our mass media has also done very little to inform our population in general

about the Continent in a balanced way. As happens with news in general, what tends to get reported are the negative things that do, indeed, occur on our Continent.

But the Continent also has a very rich culture to which we are not exposed, except, perhaps, in the area of popular music. Nevertheless, a better understanding of these cultures would help us greatly to understand both ourselves and the sister peoples of Africa, with whom we are bound by a common destiny.

At the same time, difficult work is being carried out in many African countries to address the important challenges of democracy and human rights, poverty eradication and social upliftment. Indeed, we would find that we ourselves could learn many things from these experiences as we grapple with the same challenges in our own country.

It would therefore seem necessary that we pay some attention to improving teaching about Africa in our schools and institutions of higher learning. This should relate not only to such subjects as history and geography, but also to the matters to which we have referred, of culture and current political and socio-economic activity, as well as languages.

Our youth should grow up knowing that they are African first before they become citizens of the world. This should help further to strengthen the commitment of the new generations to active involvement in the promotion of friendly relations of cooperation and solidarity with the peoples of our Continent and the achievement of the objectives of the African Renaissance.

The public broadcaster, the SABC, while continuing to report African news objectively, should also make a special effort to educate our broad population about the Continent, to address the historical bias according to which our population in general would be more familiar with countries of Europe and North America than with their own Continent.

Apart from anything else, our intimate relationship with the rest of our Continent is illustrated by the significant numbers of fellow Africans who have sought to settle in South Africa since 1994. Undoubtedly, this trend will continue, adding a new richness to our own society.

Many of these new immigrants bring with them important skills that our country needs. Many of them are also people who are creative, full of initiative and driven by an enterprising spirit. The more they impart these characteristics to us as well, the better we will be as a people and a society.

Necessarily, we must continue to be vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia against the African immigrants. It is fundamentally wrong and unacceptable that we should treat people who come to us as friends as though they are our enemies. We should also never forget that the same peoples welcomed us to their own countries when many of our citizens had to go into exile as a result of the brutality of the apartheid system.

To express the critical importance of Africa to ourselves, both black and white, we should say that we are either African or we are nothing. We can only succeed in the objectives we pursue if the rest of our Continent also succeeds. We sink or swim together.

It is for this reason that we too must celebrate Africa Day and thereby commit ourselves to work for African unity and African renewal. Accordingly, on this day, we extend our best wishes to all the peoples of Africa, of all colours, cultures and races, convinced that the African Renaissance will succeed.

Thabo Mbeki.