



# IFILOSOFI PHEZU KOMNGCELE

UkuDilizwa KobuKoloniyalı  
NokuZanyazanyiswa KokuPhenjwa KweZwe

Edited by Leonhard Praeg



I-Thinking Africa wuphiko lwezincwadi ze-University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, olushicilelwengokubambisana noMnyango wobuNzululwazi eNyuvesi yasePitoli. Iningi lezincwadi ezishicilelwe yilolu phiko zimelela ucwaningo olukhiqizwe ngaphansi komkhankaso obizwa nge-Thinking Africa walo mnyango, nanxa wamukelwa umsebenzi ohlonzwe ngumhleli walolu phiko ukuthi uyakufanelekela ukushicilelwa ngoba uhlangabezana nezidingo nezinhloso zophiko. Uphiko lumelela ucwaningo oluxube iminxa, hhayi nje emkhakheni wezindikimba eziwumongo ezinjengokhunjulwayo, okwehlukile, ezobuntu base-Afrika, inkululeko, ukuzazi nodlame, kodwa futhi nokuphathelene nobumanjemanje baseNtshonalanga kanye nomlando wayo nezisekelo zokuqondwa kahle nokuthakaselwa kwayo. Izincwadi eziphuma ngaphansi kwalolu phiko zizobakhanga abacwaningi abakuqaphelayo ukuvuleka kwamathuba nobumqoka bokucabanga ngobu-Afrika ngeso lakho kokubili ukucwaninga okungagxili emkhakheni owodwa nokubheka ngale komunxangqo.

Imprint editor: Leonhard Praeg  
Email: [leonhard.praeg@up.ac.za](mailto:leonhard.praeg@up.ac.za)

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## **IFilosofi phezu koMngcele<sup>1</sup>**

*Leonhard Praeg*

Esikhathini esiphila kuso, uma kukhulunywa ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyalı kuvela lezi zingqikithi eziqavile: ukubulawa kolwazi (epistemicide), ukushiywa ngaphandle kolwazi (knowledge exclusion), ukungakhathaleli ulwazi (marginalisation), nokufuna ubulungiswa ngodaba lo lwazi (epistemic justice). Zonke lezi zingqikithi zinokukodwa okufanayo. Lokhu wukukhathazeka ngolwazi, ikakhulukazi ukuthola izimpendulo emibuzweni ethi: Kusho ukuthini ukuthi umuntu uyazi? Uma ethi uyazi, wazini ngempela? Ukukhathazeka kuphinda kuguquke uma sekukhulunywa ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyalı ngoba lapho kusuke sekhulunywa ipolitiki. Yiyo eyisisusa kanti iyimpendulo yale mibuzo futhi. Impendulo yalo mbuzo omayelana nokuthi yini ukwazi ayisoze yatholakala ngendlela yokuzihlolisa nje kphela (self-reflectivity). Eminye imibuzo ozimpendulo zayo zingatholakali yilena: Ngingaqiniseka kanjani ukuthi engikwaziyo kuliqiniso? Uyini umthombo wolwazi lwami? Ngaphezulu kwayo yonke le mibuzo kunokukhathazeka okukhulu ngokuthi yimaphi lawo mandla asuke esebezena uma sekufakwa uhlelo olulodwa lolwazi. IFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yamukelwa ngezindlela eziningi, yingakho nje isidlondlobele ngaphezu kwamanye amafilosofi. Ngamanye amazwi amafilosofi amanye iyawabulala (epistemicide), iyawakhipha olwazini olwamukelekile (canon), iphinde iwagwinye (assimilation). Lokhu ikwenza ngendlela engawavumeli ukuthi ayihlome imibuzo mayelana nokuthi zakhiwe kanjani izinhlelo zayo zokufunda (curriculum).

Ubukoloniyalı uma ububuka ngendlela elula uyabona ukuthi bakhelwe phezu kwestiekelo esisodwa sokuqonda. Sona siwukuthi lunye kphela ulwazi olungaphezu kwalo lonke olukhona emhlabeni. Lolo wulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga. Akusho ukuthi ezinye izinhlobo zolwazi azilungile ngandlela thize. Kodwa ubukoloniyalı buthi ulwazi olungelona

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olwaseNtshonalanga luyenqaba ukuthi lusetshenziswe emkhathini ongenamkhawulo. Lokho sekusho ukuthi lolo lwazi luba ngoluveza kuphela izinto ezithize futhi zezindawo ezithile lapho ludabuka khona. Izibonelo wukuthi lungachaza nje ukuthi kusho ukuthini ukuzibiza ngokuthi ungum-Afrika, uyiNdiya, uyiShayina, nokunye okunjalo. Ulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga lona lumphakeme ngoba lusetshenziswa ukuchaza ukuthi kusho ukuthini ukuba yisidalwa esingumuntu. Ekujuleni kwale nkulumo yokudiliza ubukoloniyalu kuhloswe ukuveza obala ipolitiki esebebenzayo ebukoloniyalini, ukuvumbulula umlando wobukoloniyalu, kanye nalokho okubangela ukuthi ubukoliyalu bube yinto evumelekile. Ubukoloniyalu buphinde bufihle indawo kanye nesikhathi lapho budabuka khona. Kamuva lolo lwazi lumphinde luvezwe njengalolo olusha olungelona olwendawo ethile, futhi olungenawo nomlando, bese luvezwa njengoludabuka emkhathini. Ukudilizwa kobukoloniyalu akuyona into engathathwa kancane. Kufanele ukuthi kube nendlela yokusebenza ngokulandela uhlelo oluthize lobuhlakani ukuze kudilizwe yonke imiKhakha kanye neziFundo zoBuhlakani baseNtshonalanga, ‘iGrid’. Yiyo le Grid evalela umhlaba wonke ejele lokucabanga ngodli.

Injula yalo mqulu wama-eseyi wukukhathazeka okukhulu okupathelene nesifundo esibizwa ngokuthi yiPolitiki yeFilosofi. Okwesibili wukushuba kwesimo osekuvelile ngenxa yezimfuno zokuthi akube khona ubulungiswa kwezolwazi. Ingxenye enkulu yokushuba kwesimo imayelana nokuqonda okwahlukene ngesifundo seFilosofi, kanye nokuzwisisa okungafani lezo zinhlobo zolwazi eziphikisana nobukoloniyalu obuvele sebudlondlobele. Lo mqulu wama eseyi uhlose ukuveza obala izinto ezishubile ezivamise ukuvela uma abantu ababekade beshiywe ngaphandle ngokomlando sebeqala ukuhloma imibuzo ephathelene nepolitiki esiFundweni.

Ngesikhathi ngiqlala ukuhlanganisa lo mqulu ngangingazi ukuthi ngiwunike siphisihihloko. Kwakufanele ngikhetha phakathi kwaleso esithi, ‘IFilosofi eMngceleni’ noma ‘IFilosofi phezu koMngcele’. Ekugcineni ngacabanga ukuthi uma ngithe ‘eMgceleni’ lokho akuwuvezi ngokuphelele umoya osenkulumeni edidiyelwe yilo mqulu. Ukuthi ‘emngceleni’ kuveza isithombe sokuthi umuntu unganeno noma ungaphesheya komngcele. Kuthiwa umuntu umi ‘emngceleni’ uma esazoweleta ngaphesheya noma esevele esewelete ngaphesheya. Lowo kuba yima ekwazi ukuguquka abuke emuva kuleliya cala alishiyile.

Ukuma ‘phezu komngcele’ ngakolunye uhlangothi kusho ukuma phezu komugqa wokwehlukanisa. Lapho umuntu akekho nganeno noma ngaphesheya. Kungathiwa ukuma ‘emngceleni’ ukuma kunanoma yikuliphi icala, kanti ‘ukuma phezu komngcele’ kusho

ukungehlukanisi phakathi kwalokhu nalokhuya. ‘Ophezu komngcele’ ubona izinto njengoba zinjalo ngempela.

Ukuba phezu komngcele kuyinto ebucayi kakhulu. Kufaka inselelo kuleyo ndlela lowo omnyama ophethwe ngokwenqubo yobukoloniyalı aqoka ukuzichaza ngayo yena siqu sakhe. Kuphinda kufake inselelo nasemaqenjini alabo abamnyama abafisa ukukhunjulwa ngandlela thize. Lokhu kuzichaza kwabantu abamnyama kuthinta imvelo yesiFundo uqobo: indlela yokusifundisa kanye nemibuzo okufanele siyiphendule noma siygweme. Okunye wukuthi abantu bazuzani ekusebenzeni kwalesi siFundo. Isingeniso salo mqulu wama-eseyi sinendawo ethunukayo. Leyo yilapho isiFundo sizifumana sihlaselwa khona yilabo ababekade beshiywe ngaphandle. Abahlaseli bembula ipolitiki yesiFundo futhi basisola ngokuthi asibafundisanga lutho esikhathini esedlule, kodwa besikade sibaqondisa izigwegwe ngokusebenzisa iMikhakha yaso ehlukene.

Ifilosofi idume ngokuthi iyisifundo esingachazeki, inombuzo oyohlala njalo usemqondweni womfilosofa othi: Iyini ifilosofi? Mhlawumbe nje uma siphindela emuva empikiswaneni eyaba khona ngeminyaka yawo-1970 kuya ko-1980, singayibona le nkinga yokungachazeki kwefilosofi. Lokhu kudinga ukuthi siphendule le mibuzo elandelayo: Ngabe ikhona yini iFilosofi yase-Afrika? Yini iFilosofi? Emuva komzukuzuku omkhulu umbuzo wokubakhona kwefilosofi yase-Afrika wawa wadicileka phansi. Lokhu kwakubangelwa wukukhathala kwengqondo. Enye yezinkinga kwaba wukuthi ukubiza umuntu omnyama ngom-Afrika kwabanga inkinga enku. Yingoba ukuziqonda komuntu omnyama wesimanjemanje kwakhelwe phezu kwezimpikiswano ezinkulu zepolitiki. Nakuba kunjalo kwakudikungekile ukuthi ichazwe ifilosofi yase-Afrika ngenxa yokuthi kwakuzanywa ukuphendula umbuzo owawubuzwe ngqo. Ekugcineni ayibanga khona incazelo ngoba kwakuthathwa okukodwa okungenancazelo kuzanywe ukuchaza okunye okufanayo. Lokho kwaholela ekutheni konke kugcine sekushiywe kulenga emoyeni.

Leli qoqo lama-eseyi liveza ukuthi isifundo sefilosofi asiqondakali kahle. Inkinga wukuthi isiFundo asikwazi ukuqapha imingcele yaso futhi sinenkinga nepolitiki. Abakhi baso bazithola sebehlonhya imibuzo esabekayo. Okungcono engibona ukuthi ngikwenze ukwakha inkulomo phakathi kwedlanzana lamafilosofa ngendlela yokuyichaza ngokuphindaphinda (tautology).

IsiFundo esethulwe lapha sifaka phakathi imisebenzi yezifundiswa eziningana ezazenza amaphrojekthi okucwaninga ehlukene. Lezi zifundiswa zanikela ngesikhathi sazo zixoxisana

nami ngokudilizwa kobukoloniyalu nangendlela imibhikisho noma izimvukelambuso zango 2015-16 ezaba yisisusa ngayo sokuhloma imibuzo yepolitiki kufilosofi. Incazelengiyinikeza lapha yesiFundo ngingathi ingeyesikhashana. Angizishayi nakancane isifuba ngayo. Angisho futhi ukuthi izophendula yonke imibuzo noma ingeyomkhathi ongenamkhawulo.

NjengesiFundo, ifilosofi ifakwa ezifundweni zeNhlalakahle neSintu, kodwa manje isizithola isendaweni yokuthi iqanjwe kabusha, ikakhulukazi mayelana nendlela ebikade icwaningwa ngayo futhi nesafundiswa ngayo emanyuvesi aseNingizimu Afrika emva kweminyaka eminingi. Ngokomlando, incazelengiyinikeza lapha yefilosofi yileyo eveza ukuthi yabe iyisithombe nje esasisemiqondweni yabaseNtshonalanga. Leso sithombe sivusa ekufeni (incarnation) ulwazi kubafundi lokuthi baphethwe eNtshonalanga (colonized). Imikhakha eminingi yefilosofi ifundiswa njengohlelo olusenovelini yokukhula komuntu waseNtshonalanga imsusa ebuntwaneni imusa ebudaleni. Le noveli ibizwa ngokuthi yi-*Bildungsroman*. Ifilosofi yaveza amasiko aseNtshonalanga ngokusebenzisa imithetho njengethuluzi lokuwenza abonakale ewulwazi olunezimpendulo zayo yonke imibuzo emayelana nesintu. Lokhu yakwenza ngokunikeza isithombe sokuthi lolu lwazi lusabalele kuwo wonke umkhathini ongenamkhawulo. Ubukoloniyalu babuyindlela ebonakalayo yokugcizelela ukuthi le filosofi ingeyomkhathi futhi kufanele yamukelwe. Uma sengicizelela, ngingathi ifilosofi yisiFundo esavusa ekufeni sabuyisa ukuphileni, saphinda sabethelala emakhanda abafundi ukuqonda kwaseNtshonalanga. Ekugcineni yase ibacindezela labo abamnyama abaphethwe ngendlela yobukoloniyalu, ngoba kamuva yasebenzisa izindlela zokubaqondisa izigwegwe abaphethwe. Ifilosofi akusiso nje isiFundo, kodwa inesimo esigxile eNtshonalanga, ngakho-ke ingeminye yemiKhakha yezifundo ezakha esikubiza ngokuthi yiGrid. Le Grid yakhelwe ukuchaza ubunzima obuphathelene nesimanjemanje saseNtshonalanga kanye nokwenza kube lula ukuphoqeleta ukuthi yamukeleke e-Afrika (Mudimbe 1996).

Ngayo le Grid kanye nokuqondisa izigwegwe okuhambisana nayo, i-Afrika yaguqulwa yaba yisiFundo sokufundiswa. Kwase kufakwa nemfundo eyenza ukuthi icabange ngendlela chambelana neGrid nokuthi konke efisa ukukwenza iqale icele imvume ku Grid ngaphambi kokukwenza. Uma sibheka ukuthi yonke eminye imiKhakha yokufunda yayibambisene nayo iphrojekthi yobukoloniyalu, singakhulumu ngalowo nalowo Mkhakha ngokuthi wabe uyindlela yokuqondisa izigwegwe. Labo ababephethre ngendlela yobukoloniyalu babaphoqeleta bonke ababephila ngaphansi kwabo ukuba baqhubeke nokusisekela isiFundo kuze kube phakade. Babaphoqeleta nokuyisekela yonke eminye imiKhakha yezifundo eqondisa

izigwegwe. Nakuba kungagculisi osekushiwo manje, lezi zento zobukoloniyal seziyavunywa namhlanje. Lokhu kufakazelwa yifilosofi eveza izingqikithi ezinjengo kubulawa kolwazi, ukukhishelwa phandle kolwazi, nokufuna ubulungiswa ngezolwazi.

Ngesikhathi ngiqongelela izinhlelo zalo mqulu, ngaqala ukucabanga ngendaba engingayibhala ukuze ngiyisebenzise njengesethulo sale ngxoxo. Leyo ndaba yangenza ngizithole sengisemngceleni womkhakha wokufunda. Lokho kwakusho ukuthi kufanele ngizigqamise zonke izimpawu ezaphumelelisa isiFundo ukucindezela abantu ngokomlando. Lo mocabango wenza kubonakale ukunquma kwesiFundo ngezindlela okufanele kukhulunywe ngazo ngaso, ukuqondisa izigwegwe kulabo abaphethwe nokuvalela imicabango yabo ngemitheshwana yephrojekthi ethize.

Ngobani laba abenza isiphakamiso sokuthi akuphele ukuqondisa izigwegwe njengoba sikhazi sonke? Ngubani lesi sidlamlilo esifuna ukukhuluma ngodlame olwasetshenziswa ukwakha iGrid yowlazi lwaseNtshonalanga? Yilo yini lolu lwazi olubethelela ekhanda lophethwe ngendlela yokuvusa ekufeni nokuphinda kubuyiselwe ekuphileni izinto ezintathu: IsiFundo, imiKhakha yeSifundo kanye nosiko lokuqondisa izigwegwe? Njengokuvamile kuphendulwa kuthiwe vele ngumuntu omnyama lowo ophonsa inselelo, yi-Afrika noma ngophethwe ongum-Afrika. Uma sekushiwo lokho bese kalandela uxhaxha lwezipendulo oluphothula ngokuthi kuthiwe: ‘Myekeleni afunde nangaphezudlwana ifilosofi yakubo okuyi-Filosofi yase-Afrika’. Kwenye inkathi kungathiwa uma ekhohliswa: ‘Ifilosofi yase-Afrika ayibe yisisekelo sohlelo lwakhe lokufunda’, bese kuqhutshewa kuthiwa: ‘Uma umbuka nje kufanele uzisholo uthi: i-African Philosophy kuye ayifane ne-Analytical Philosophy kumaNgisi, i-Idealism kumaJalimane, iPragmatism kumaMelikana, njalo-njalo’.

Kodwa, inkinga isekuphikaneni nobukoloniyal njengoba buqondwa manje, okuwukukhetha ukulwa nobubbongoza befilosofi ngokuzama ukuthi leyo efundiswayo yenziwe ibe ngeyama-Afrika noma ngeyabaphethwe e-Afrika. Akwanele lokho. Iqiniso lalokho wukuthi, le Filosofi yama-Afrika ayisoze yabudiliza ubukoloniyal. Singathi nje iwumfanekiso osaphupho elithuthuzela kamnandi uma ulele (identarian illusion). Lo mfanekiso uyahluleka ukubona ukuthi kunezinto ezishubile nezingaxazululeki phakathi kwezinto ezibonakalayo, esingathi yilokhu nalokhuya nalezo ezingabonakali eziyipolitiki yobukoloniyal, okuyizona eziyimbangela yezinkinga.

Umuntu wenza izinto zibekhona (performative action) ngalokho akushoyo nakuphimisayo ngomlomo wakhe, ngaleylo ndlela kuyiphutha ukunaka izinto ezibonakalayo

(the constative) ukhohlwe wukuthi zazensiwe ngabathize phambilini. Ukwengezelela kulento wukuveza ukuthi kuyihaba ukuthi kwake kwaba khona amasiko azimele ngawodwa efilosofi ngezinkathi ezadlula afana nefilosofi yase-Afrika, yaseNtshonalanga, yaseNdiya, neyaseShayina. Iqiniso wukuthi alikho isiko elimsulwa elingazange lixubane namanye ngaphambilini. Lapho kuthiwa isiko limsulwa njengetfilosofi yamaShayina okuthiwa yi (neo) Confusianism, akukho lokho.

Ngisho neConfusianism yesimanjemanje ayikho msulwa futhi uma kukhulunywa ngayo kuchazwa ukuphindela emuva endulo. Ayehlukile kuFilosofi yase-Afrika yesimanjemanje ngoba iyibuya. Iyinhlanganisela yamasiko ayelandelwa ngaphambi kwezikhathi zobukoloniyalu nezamanje. Ngamanye amazwi, yize ezinye izinhlobo zefilosofi ezifana ne-Afro-Radicalism zisitshela ukuthi uguquko lungenziwa kalula ngokusuka ekubeni ngophethwe omnyama ongaphansi kobukoloniyalu, i-Afro-Radicalism yona ngokwayo inezinkinga ezimangalisayo.

Okokuqala kuyacaca kimina ukuthi ifilosofi yase-Afrika ingehlukaniswe namanye ngoba ihlogene nawo (iyinxubevange) futhi ilandela umthetho wokudidiyela ulwazi (the law of hybridity). Sekuvamile-ke ukuthi ababhala ngokuthuthukiswa kolwazi bangene ogibeni axwayisa ngalo umfilosofa uJacques Derrida lapho ethi: ‘Inkolelo yokuthi impendulo iwukufundisa iFilosofi yase-Afrika ayihlukile nasekwamukeleni ukuthi umuntu ojwayelekile angahlenga isintu (secular messianism)’.

Kungasiza ukuphakamisa ukuthi amasiko efilosofi awumsebenzi wezimpikiswano okungenani ezimbili. Eyokuqala ingaba yimpendulo embuzweni ombaxambili othi: Ingabe umuntu useke wazihlolisa yini wase enquma ukuthi yena umi kuphi mayelana nohlobo lwefilosofi okuthiwa ingumlando wemibhalo (*Wirkungsgeschichte*)? Umbuzo ohambisana nalowo ngowokuthi: Ingabe ikhona yini impendulo embuzweni wokuthi izinkinga zemibhalo zilandelana kanjani (*Problemgeschichte*)?

Eyesibili ingaba yimpendulo embuzweni omagatshagatsha othi: Usiko olulodwa lapho luxoxisana nolunye luxoxa kanjani? Lokhu kufanele kubukwe ngaphansi kokuthi zimbili izindlela zokuxoxisana, okungaba ngokufihlekile (okungaqondile) noma okuqondile. Lapha sizokhumbula iqhaza elabanjwa yi-Afrika eseNyakatho ekwakhiweni kweFilosofi yamaGrikhi. Leli qhaza lamukelwa ezikhathini zangaphambilu, kodwa lagcina selesuliwe futhi lingasamukelwa, ngoba ukuxoxisana okwabakhona kwasekufihlekile ngokuhamba kwasikhathi futhi sekulula nokukuphika. Lokhu kuphika kwakuwumphumela wokuthi isimanjemanje saseNtshonalanga sase sinqume ukuziphendula ubhongoza kwezolwazi nezokuphila.

Ngicabanga ukuthi ukuze amasiko efilosofi abonakale egxile kakhulu empikiswaneni emayelana nokuzihlolisa wena kunokuthi agxile ekuxoxisaneni namanye, kuwumphumela wokungalingani kwamandla ezomnotho. Amasiko athanda ukwengamela amanye avame ukukhuluma kuperha ngokuthi adabuka kanjani wona. Awakukhombisi okuwahlaba umxhwele uma sekukhulunywa ngamanye amasiko efilosofi akhona emhlabeni. Le ndlela evalekile yokubuka izinto iwumphumela wepolitiki ekhombisa amandla nokuziqhenya. Into eyodwa isiko lobubhongoza befilosofi elingeke ngokomthetho walo lifune ukuyiqonda ukuthi yini okwasemkhathini elikufunde lapha emhlabeni.

Lokhu kuliqiniso mayelana nezikhathi ezedlule, ngoba zazibeka ulwazi lwaseNtshonalanga ezingeni eliphezulu. Inhoso enkulu ye-Afro-Radicalism wukuguqula amatafula ukuze yona ibe ngenhla kolwazi oligxile eNtshonalanga. Ulwazi lo mkhathi okuyilona lwangempela kufanele lukhombise ukukhathazeka ngokuthi isintu sihlobene kanjani nomkhathi esihlala kuwo. Lolu lwazi lutholakala ngendlela yokuxoxisana namanye amasiko efilosofi. Izinkulumompikiswano kufanele ziveze izisombululo nezithelo ezizovunwa yimiphakathi, ikakhulukazi leyo esengozini yokugwinywa ngamasiko angobhongoza.

Amasiko abukelwa phansi ayaphoqeka ukungenela izingxoxo ngolwazi lo mkhathi ngoba uma kungenjalo azulelwa ngamanqe. Ngakolunye uhlangothi isiko elibukelwa phansi lingazakhela ubudlelwano benkululeko ngokungenela izingxoxo namanye amasiko abhekene nezimo ezifanayo. Izibonelo ezimbili ezsanda kuvela ubudlelwano obakhiwa ne-Afrika noma neNingizimu okuthiwa phecelezi yiGlobal South.

Ukunikeza isithombe sale ngxoxo kungangigunyaaza ukuthi ngibe nakho ukuyiqonda kakhudlwana inhlobo yempikiswano enginayo emqondweni engenza ngikhethi ukubeka lo mqulu endaweni ephezu komngcele. Ngandlela thize kungashiwo ukuthi le mpikiswano yayilokhu ikhona kuFilosofi yase-Afrika. Ukuthi kusho ukuthini uma ngithi ‘ngandlela thize’ ngenye yezinkulumompikiswano ezinkulu engineke ngangena kuzo lapha. Okungihlabu umxhwele wukuveza ezinye zezinto ezishubile ezivame ukugqama emngceleni lapho ifilosofi edlondlobele yaseNtshonalanga ihangana khona nefilosofi yesimanjemanje yase-Afrika.

‘Isimanjemanje’ sithi ifilosofi yase-Afrika iyazazi ukuthi iyifilosofi yabantu abamnyama. Uma ngabe ukhona umehluko ozwakalayo phakathi kwefilosofi yasendulo noma yangaphambi kobukoloniyalu kanye nefilosofi yase-Afrika yesimanjemanje, wukuthi lena eyokugcina isiphenduke isiFundo. Lesi siFundo sidabuka ekutheni ophethwe omnyama aqale ukuzibona njengalowo ofakwe ngaphansi kweGrid yobuHlakani baseNtshonalanga ngodli. Lokhu

kwenziwa ngezindlela ezimbili, ngokusebenza isimanjemanje ngokungakhethi nokungenisa umshoshaphansi wezobukoloniyali. Ngokomlando nangokuqondile amafilosofa aseAfrika nabantu abamnyama babengazicabangi ukuthi bamnyama ngendlela efanayo neyamaqembu ezinhlanga ezikhona namuhla.

Izinhlanga nobukoloniyali kwavezwa yisayensi yobuhlanga yesimanjemanje yaseNtshonalanga. IFilosofi yakudala yase-Afrika yaguquka yaba yiFilosofi yaseAfrika yesimanjemanje ngaso leso sikhathi sokuvela kobuhlanga. Iphuzu lokuba ngumuntu omnyama ophila ngaphansi kobukoloniyali laqala ukulumhana nesidingo esimqoka sokukhulula incazeloykuba ngumuntu omnyama ekuqondisweni izigwegwe wubukoloniyali neGrid yobuHlakani baseNtshonalanga.

I-Afrika eyaphenduka yabuswa yiNtshonalanga kwaba yiyona nto enkulu eyayikhathaza amafilosofa ase-Afrika. Kuphezu kwawo lo mngcele lapho izinsizakufunda zenza khona ukuthi umuntu omnyama abe ngaphansi ngokwesithunzi futhi aqondiswe izigwegwe wubukoloniyali. Kukuyo lendawo lapho izinsizakufunda zigqanyiswa khona ngamandla ngulowo ophethwe omnyama ngoba esephenduke isidlamlilo. Yiyona ndlela-ke lo mqlu wama-eseyi ozibalula ngayo izinto.

Kulukhuni ukubuqonda ubuhlobo obavezwa wubudlelwano neNingizimu kanye nalobo obakheka nezinye izindawo ngenxa yemizabalazo eyaba khona. Akuyona futhi inhlosongqangi yalo mqlu ukuzama ukuveza lokho. Njengoba sekushiwo, ezinye izahluko zalo mqlu zibhalwe ngezinto eziwayelekile nangendlela ezaziwa ngayo kulezo zindawo. Lokhu kunomphumela wokuthi umzabalazo waseNingizimu Afrika uthathwe njengalowo wase-Afrika ngokokuhleleka kwezingqikithi ezinkulu emhlaben. Ukuguqula nokudiliza ubukoloniyali kwaduma ngenxa yemisebenzi yezifundiswa zaseNingizimu ezisebenza ngaphansi kwengqikithi ‘yejika lokudiliza ubukoloniyali’ (‘the decoloniality turn’).

Yize ngibamukela ubukhona bobudlelandawonye benkuleleko, ngibona singcono lesi simo somlando esikhona manje esinikeza ophethwe omnyama olwela inkululeko ithuba loku phikisana ngqo nobubhongoza befilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Lokhu kudinga isineke sokucubungula umlando wefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Kufanele kutholakale ukuthi izehlakalo zangokomlando zalandelana kanjani nokuthi kungani izinto zahamba ngaleylo ndlela. Lokhu kungaphendulwa ngombuzo othi: Kungani emva kwasikhathi eside kangaka ubukoloniyali bulokhu bumnamathele ophethwe omnyama bungafuni ukumdedela? Olwela inkululeko kufanele aqale ngokuqonda ukuthi ipolitiki yefilosofi iyinto enkulu impela nokuthi kusuke

kushiwo yona uma kukhulunywa ngeFilosofi yokuQala. Kusukela ku Aristotle ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga selokhu yadideka ngalokho okuthiwa ngumqondo olethwa yiFilosofi yokuQala. Le Filosofi yokuQala empeleni ingomunye wemikhakha yefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga nokungathiwa ingaphansi kwayo.

Ifilosofi yokuQala ihloma imibuzo eyisakhiwongqangi kuFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga ngendlela ebuka ubudlelwano phakathi kwefilosofi nalapho umhlabu wadabuka khona. Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi imicabango eyehlukene yaqhamuka ngeFilosofi yokuQala eyase iveza lezi zimpendulo ezithi le filosofi empeleni kungathiwa: iyilokho isintu esikwaziyo nesingakwethemba (epistemology), iyisizathu sokuba khona kwesintu emhlabeni ngokwendabuko (ontology) futhi iyisidingongqangi sokuphilisana ngokuhloniphana nokwethembana kwesintu (ethics).

Yize kunjalo, kwaze kwathatha izifundiswa ezisebenza ngaphansi kwesiko lokudiliza ubukoloniyalu ukuba ziveze ukuthi imibuzo eyisisekelo esingayibuza ngefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yileyo yepolitiki ebuza ukuthi: Lolu lwazi ngolukabani? Lokhu kuphila ngokukabani? Ngumcabango kabani othi abanye kufuneka baphathwe kanjani?<sup>2</sup> Akushivo ukuthi ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga yayiyibukela phansi ipolitiki. Kodwa kusekelwa umbono owaphakanyisa nguHanna Arendt embhalweni wakhe othi *Concern with Politics in Recent European Philosophical Thought* (119:430), lapho ethi: ‘Kusukela ekuqaleni amafilosofa aseNtshonalanga eyelokhu ebuka ifilosofi yepolitiki njengaleyo eyivezandlebe’.

Ifilosofi yamaGrikhi yaphenjelwa phezu komehluko okhona phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa kanye nefilosofi yepolitiki. Ifilosofi emsulwa ibonwa njengedlondlobele kuneyakamuva ngoba yona ixutshwe nezinto zemihla ngemihla. Umehluko phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa nefilosofi yepolitiki waba ngezinye zezisekelo zokuchaza ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Kwaze kwaba wukuthi izifundiswa zomkhakha wokudiliza ifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga zikuveze obala ukuthi lefilosofi okuthiwa imsulwa selokhu kwathi nhlo ibihlezi ingcoliswa yileyo engemsulwa. Ngaleylo ndlela-ke, azikho izifundo zolwazi lokuba khona kwesintu kulo mhlabu ezikhiphela ngaphandle ulwazi oseluvele lukhona.

Yize kunjalo sithola ukuthi umehluko phakathi kwalokho okumsulwa nokwepolitiki uyaphindwaphindwa, kuze kube nokushayisana phakathi kwemikhakha yefilosofi yaseNtshonalanga neFilosofi yokuQala. Lokhu kugqama lapho idiphathimenti yefilosofi

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<sup>2</sup> Ukuze uthole ingxoxo engathi ijulile, bona uPraeg 2014: 6-10.

idweba umehluko phakathi kwefilosofi emsulwa neyepolitiki, nalapho amafilosofa ase-Afrika esolwa ngokufaka ipolitiki kufilosofi noma kuthiya ehlulekile ukuvezela umhlaba ifilosofi yase-Afrika emsulwa. Lokhu kuvalise ukuphinda kwenzeke lapho kuthiya amaziko efilosofi awadilize izinhlelo afundisa ngazo ukuze kuqedwe ubukoloniyal, wona bese ephendula ngokufuna ukuba kungeniswe izifundo zeFilosofi yase-Afrika (African Philosophy).

Ukungenisa i-African Philosophy ngaphandle kokuthinta udaba lweFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga kunikeza inkinga ngoba yonke iMikhakha yokufunda yenganyelwe yifilosofi yaseNtshonalanga kanti nayo kusafanele iguqulwe. Ngakolunye uhlangothi abafundi bavame ukukhalaza ngokuthi sebenele ngepolitiki, sebefuna kwandiswe ifilosofi emsulwa. Lokhu bakusho ngoba bengazi ukuthi basuke besho iFilosofi yaseNtshonalanga. Uma sesiqasheliwi ngeqhaza elingabanjwa yiFilosofi yokuQala (iFilosofi ye-Politiki) ekuguquleni izinto, singabona ukuthi lezi zimpawu ezivezwa ngamaziko efilosofi nabafundi ziqondephi. Ziconde ukuthi labo abamnyama abaphethwe bavamile ukuvele baqoke ifilosofi yaseNtshnalanga ngaphandle kokuqondisisa ukuthi iyini imiphumela yokufundiswa ngendlela nangezikathu ezilandelanayo zobukoloniyal.

Umsebenzi walabo ababhala ‘nzejika lokudiliza ubukoloniyal’ wukukhumbuza lowo omnyama ophethwe ukuthi sekunesikhathi esemzabalazweni wokuzwakalisa ilaka lakhe ngobukoloniyal. Lokho kuwuphawu olusemqoka oluyinkomba yomzabalazo waseNingizimu Afrika olwisana nokukhishelwa ngaphandle kwabamnyama abaphethwe emsebenzini wokukhiqiza ulwazi. Yikho lokhu okwangikhuthaza ukuthi ngihlanganise lo mqulu.

Into eyaggama kwaba yimibhikiso yokuvukela umbuso yango 2015-16. Esikhathini esicishe sibe yizinyanga eziyishumi nesishiyagalombili, lokho okwakubonakala kunjengemibhikiso yesikhashana kwadlondlobala kwaba ngokungapheli, yize sekusayindwe nezivumelawano zokukuqedo.

Kamuva abanye basola abafundi ababebhikisha ngokuthi bangamambuka. Nakuba kunjalo baqhubeke abafundi bethi mazisishulwe izimpande zobukoloniyal. Enye yezinhlosongqangi zabafundi kwabe kunguphakamisa ukuthi: izimali zokufunda mazingakhushulwa, umkhuba wokudlwengula owawusudlangile emakhampasini nasemiphakathini mawuphele ngokushesha, ukudayisela izinkampani ezizimele ngemisebenzi yangaphakathi emanyuvesi makuyekwe, ukuxhashazwa kwabasebenzi akuphele nokuphepha emakhampasini nasezindaweni zokuhlala abafundi makuqiniswe.

Okwakufunwa kakhulu ngabafundi kwakuwukudilizwa kwemfundo yobukoloniyalu nokulethwa kwemfundo ephakeme yamahhala. Uma icatshangwa ngale ndlela i-#MustFall<sup>3</sup> kungathiwa yayimele zontathu ‘izigaba’ zomlando wemibhikisho yabafundi base-Afrika eseNingizimu neSahara (sub-Saharan Africa). Lezi zigaba uMahmood Mamdani uzihlukanisa ngokuthi: ‘Kuqala ngempi yenkululeko ebukoloniyalini (decolonisation), kulandele eyokwakha isizwe (nationalism), kugcine eyokuchitha umnotho ogxile ezimakethe (neo-liberalism)’. UProf Susann Booyens lapho ephawula nge neo-liberalism wathi kwakunohlobo oluthize lwabafundi ababebambe iqhaza emibhikishweni kodwa babe sebaguqukela emnothweni wezimakethe. Lokhu kwakubenza bazithole sebesesiqhingini ngoba umnotho abakholelwa kuwo ugxis kubathengi (consumers). Eqhuba wathi: ‘...ngokwalo mnotho abathengi baphoqelekile ukuba bathobele izivumelwano abazenzile, nezwe kufanele lilandele inqubo yentando yeningi evuna umnotho wezimakethe’. Wakubiza lokhu phecelezi ngokuthi: ‘Be an obedient consumer and play by the rules of a neo-liberal democracy’.

Lezi zizigaba ezishiwo nguMamdani zacindezela ndawonye lapha kuleli lizwe zaphenduka isehlakalo esisodwa ngenkathi kulwelwa inkululeko. Kodwa akufanele lokhu kufike njengento emangazzayo. INingizimu Afrika yaziwa njengezwe elakhululeka ekugcineni (last-born post-colony) (Mamdani in Hewlett et al 2016:148). Lokhu kwaholela ekutheni izinto zingalandeli umlando ojwayelekile wase-Afrika wokuya enkululekweni.

Okwamangaza kakhulu emibhikishweni yabafundi kwaba yisiphakamiso sokuthi akube khona ubumbano lwe-Afrika (Pan Africanism). IPan Africanism yabe ihlose ukulwa nezingqinamba eziningi ezase zikhungethe iNingizimu Afrika njengokwebiwa kwezimali zomphakathi (corruption), ukwehluleka ukusebenza lapho ‘uthunywe khona’ (incompetence), ukugweva nezintambo zokubusa (authoritarianism), ukugxambukela kwabangaphandle ezindabeni zombangazwe nomnotho (foreign meddling), nokwanda kwemibhikisho yokukhonondela ukungabibikho kwezinsiza (service delivery protests).

Le mibhikisho yabafundi yabaphumeleisa ukwenza okuyivela kancane ezweni, okuwukukhumbuza uhulumeni ngesidingo sokuziphatha kahle nokuzwakalisa ilaka ngokungahlonishwa kwemfundo (status incongruence). Iziphakamiso eziqavile kwakuwukudilizwa kwemfundo yobukoloniyalu (decolonisation of education) nokuvuselelwa kobuhlakani be-Afrika yaphambi kobukoloniyalu (African renaissance). Okokugcina kwabe

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<sup>3</sup> Kulomqulu kukhulunywa nge-#MustFall hhayi i-#FeesMustFall ngenxa yokuthi umbhikisho wawuthinta izinto ezechlukene.

kuwukuxazulula indida yokwanda kwabadla izambane likapondo, iningi libe lidla imbuya ngothi (proliferation of economic inequalities).

Abafundi babefuna kubhekwanu ngqo nalokho u-Anibal Ouijano akubiza ngokuthi ‘izintambo zamanethi’ ezingamandla obukoloniyalu okulawula umnotho aziwa ngalezi zinto: ukwemukwa umhlabu, ukuxhashazwa kwabasebenzi, ukugweva nemvelo; ukuqhoqhobala izintambo zokubusa, unya lwamaphoyisa, ukulawula izindaba zobulili, ukuphoqeleta ukuncishiswa kweminden, ukunciphisa amathuba okufunda, nokuvala ukuxhumana ngokulawula intengo yako (Minolo 2007:156).

Noma ngamukela ukuthi imibhikiso yokuvukela umbuso kwabafundi kwaba yisisusa, kodwa leli qoqo akulona ele-#FeesMustFall, lingelokuxoxisana ngalokho okwavela ku-#MustFall. Yingakho-nje ngabona ukuthi eqinisweni i-#MustFall iyisisusa esimqoka sokudilizwa kobukoloniyalu esake saba khona ezweni kusukela ngo1994. I-#MustFall yavula isikhala sokuthi labo abakhishelwe ngaphandle bangene babambe iqhaza empikiswaneni ekhona ngesiFundo seFilosofi oselokhu kwathi nhlo abafakwe ngaphakathi babelokhu behlomula kuyo.

Lena akuseyona indaba yalabo abacabanga ngepolitiki bodwa, kodwa isiyijoka elingasabalekeleki lanoma ngubani ongaba negalelo emfundweni ephakeme eNingizimu Afrika. Ezinye zezehluko ezikulo mqulu ziqondene ngqo ne-#MustFall njengesehlakalo esaba yisisusa semibuzo. Ezinye izahluko ziphendula ngokuvulekile umbuzo wokusungula indawo yengxoxompikiswano ngefilosofi. Lezi zingxoxo zimayelana nokufanele kufundiswe kumadiphathimenti efilosofi. Kufanele kukhulunye ngalokho okwavela kwizinkulumompikiswano ezendulela imibhikiso yabafundi, yize noma manje konke sekufanele kwenziwe ngokuphuthuma ngenxa yezehlakalo zango 2015-16.

Esigabeni esilandela lesi ngiqlala ukuphendula imibuzo emibili ehlobene ne-#MustFall okuyiyona eqondisayo ngokuthi kungani ngacabanga ukubhala lo mqulu wama-eseyi. Umbuzo wokuqala uthi: Yini eyaholela ekutheni izehlakalo zango 2015-16 zibe yisisusa sokuthi akubhekwe ipolitiki yokukhiqiza ulwazi?

Ngikholelwa ekutheni impendulo yalo mbuzo izotholakala empendulweni yombuzo wesibili othi: Empeleni saba ngofakazi bani ngo 2015-16? Ngabe loku kukhononda kwakungumbhikiso noma imvukelambuso? Yize izehlakalo zango 2015-16 zingaphendulwa ngokuthi zazi yinto entsha, zacina sezibizwa ngemibhikiso yomphakathi. Ngibona ukuthi

kungaba yinto engaba ngumsebenzi omkhulu kakhulu ukujula nencazelo yalesi ‘sehlakalo’ engisibiza ngokuthi sasiwukuvukela umbuso.

Ngokuqhelisa nje kuphela ulimi ‘embhikishweni’ wabafundi silubeke ‘ekuvukeleni umbuso’ kwabasha, singasondela ekuqondeni ukubaluleka kwalesi sehlakalo abafundi abasisebenzisa ngendlela yokuveza ‘isikhala’ sokuzwakalisa izimvo zabo (enunciative space). Phela emva kwalesi sehlakalo ifilosofi njengeSifundo yavuleka yaba yinkundla yempikiswano phakathi kwabaphethwe, abakhishelwe ngaphandle ngendlela eyimfhlo nalabo abafakwe phakathi ngendlela ebonakalayo.

Kafuphi sizithola siphezu komngcele wefilosofi, ngakolunye uhlangothi le mvukelambuso yavumbulula ukungeneliseki ngokukhiqizwa kolwazi. Okufufusayo kwadlondlobala kwazamazamisa isisekelo solwazi. Konke lokhu kudinga lowo okuvivinyayo azihlolisise yena kuqala. Engxoxweni elandelayo ngizochaza kancane ngemibhikisho yokuvukela umbuso ka 2015-16 nobunzima obukhona bokuthatha isinqumo ngayo.

Engxenyeni yesithathu neyokugcina uma sengisika elijikayo ngizonikeza izincazelo ezimfushane nezimpendulo.

## **Isisusa**

Angilisebenzisi igama elithi #FeesMustFall njengetemu elichaza le mibhikisho yango-2015-16 njengoba lasetshenziswa nguBoysen (2016) encwadini yakhe ebizwa ngokuthi yi-*Fees Must Fall: Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*. Isizathu wukuthi ekuqhubekeni kwayo le mibhikisho yayithinta izinhlobo ezahlukene zokukhathazeka njengesiphakamiso sokulethwa kwemfundo ephakeme yamahhala (free higher education) nezinye okwathi uma sezihlangene zakha umkhankaso omusha owawungahle ubizwe ngokuthi “ukuWisa” noma ‘ukuKetula’ (*Fallism*) ukube kwenzeka lokho. Esinye sezizathu esenza ukuthi ngingalisebenzisi igama elithi *Fallism* wukuthi ingxeye yesiqu salo, u-*ism*, uphakamisa ukuthi kwabe kuhkona ukuma noma ukubumbana emkhankasweni i-#MustFall. Kanti zozimbili lezi zinto zazingekho kulo mkhankaso. Ngalezi zizathu ngase nginquma ukuthi i-#MustFall yitemu elifaka phakathi zonke izinhlobo zokukhathazeka ezaziphakanyiswa ngabafundi.

I-#MustFall kwakukhulunya kakhulu ngayo, futhi kwaze kwaqokelewa imibhalo, nezingqwembe ngayo. Ngemuva kwenkathathi yonke imibhalo ye-#MustFall yahlanganiswa neyayivela ku-#RhodesMustFall kwase kwakhiwa umqulu okhethekile owashicilelw

ngaphansi kwesihloko esabizwa nge-Salon 2015.<sup>4</sup> Yabe seyigcinwa ngaphansi kwe-Johannesburg Workshop on Theory and Criticism, etholakalayo ku-website enegama elifanayo.

Incwadi kaBooysen i-#FeesMustFall (2016) iqukethe iqoqo lemibhalo yabafundi nabasebenzi bemikhakha ehlukene yezemfundo. Omunye wale mibhalo ngokaMalcom Ray obizwa ngokuthi yi-Free Fall: Why Universities Are in a Race against Time (2016). Kule ncwadi uRay uchaza lo mkhankaso wabafundi njengento okufanele kusukelwe kuyo uma kulwelwa ukudilizwa kwemfundo yobukoloniyalu ngoba sekuyisikhathi eside abantu abamnyama bekulindele lokho (*lounge durre*).

UJonathan Jansen owake waba ngumphathi wamanyuvesi embhalweni wakhe othi As by Fire: The End of the South African University (2017) uyajula ngokukhathazeka ngekusasa le mfundo ephakeme eNingizimu Afrika.

Ngokungesabi ukuthi kukhona okushiywa ngaphandle, kungathiwa le mibhalo iqondene nengqikithi enku lu okungeyemibhikisho noma imvukelambuso. Lokhu kuthinta umlando, ipolitiki, nesithunzi semikhakha yezolwazi emanyuvesi. I-#MustFall ibukwa njengokuphenjwa kweriphabhliki osekwedlulelwu yisikhathi. Iyodwa incazelo ehlanganisa zonke izincazelo ze-#MustFall, leyo yile ethi: ‘Ngo1994 kwehlulekka ukuthi kube khona ukuguqukela entandweni yeningi’.

Yikho lokhu kubhuntsha kokuphemba kabusha abantu abaningu abakuzwayo emizweni yabo uma becabanga ngeriphabhliku eyaqanjwa ngo 1994. Abaningu baze bathi ukubhikisha noma imvukelambuso eyabakhona kwakuyindlela yokuphindela emuva ukuze ‘kuphenjwe ngendlela okuyiyona-yona’.

Ngamanye amazwi ugqozi lwalo mkhankaso kwaku wukuthi i-#MustFall yayi yindlela yokungenisa izwe entandweni yeningi yangempela. Lokho kwakuzokuqedisisa ukungalingani kwezomnotho nobuhlanga bangezikhathi ezedlule. Abafundi babememeza bethi: ‘Sifuna imfundo engenabo ubukoloniyalu futhi akulethwe imfundo ephakeme yamahhala!’ Akugcini lapho, ngoba kufanele kucatshangwe kujulwe uma kubukwa ubuhlobo phakathi kuka-1994 nemibhikisho yabafundi yango 2015-16.

Lokhu kugcizelela ukuthi kufanele kube nohlaka umuntu angalusebenzisa ukuchaza imicabango ephathelene ne-#MustFall. Le micabango kufanele yongiwe futhi kujulwe nayo.

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<sup>4</sup> [http://jwtc.org.za/the-salon/volumr\\_9.htm](http://jwtc.org.za/the-salon/volumr_9.htm).

Lokhu kufaka phakathi imicabango enjengalena: ‘ukuphemba’, ukuphemba ‘osekwedlulelw yisikhathi’ nokuphemba ‘kweqiniso’.

Lolu hlaka lokuchaza lungaphinde lusetshenziselwe ukuchaza lezo zinto eziwukungabaza uma sikhuluma nge #MustFall. Lokhu kufanele ngoba izinto eziphathelene nokuphemba nokuphindela kuko azixazululeki. Lo mkhankaso wabafundi owawuthinta ukuphemba umbuso wawuzobhekana nezinkinga ezinkulu nezingazuxazululeki.

Lo mqulu akuwona owokujula ngezinkinga zokuphemba kodwa ungowokuveza lokho okusemngceleni wefilosofi okuqhakanjisa yi-#MustFall. Okusemngceleni yikho okwenza ukuthi imicabango yabafundi icacelwe yiqhaza elabanjwa yi-#MustFall okungathiwa yaba yisisusa senkulomo yokudilizwa kobukoloniyal. Le nkulomo kufuneka ibukwe ngokukhulu ukucophelela.

Ukungabaza enginakho emqondweni wami kuyaziwa yilabo ababamba iqhaza nababengofakazi bezehlakalo zango 2015-16. Ngabe i-#MustFall kwabe kuyimibhikisho noma imvukelambuso na? Ngabe udlame olwaluhambisana nayo lwalamukelekile noma lwalungamukelekile yini?

Ngabe izinkulomo zabaholi bepolitiki zokuthi: bona ‘bayimdeni yabafundi’, bango ‘yise nomama babafundi’, babuka abafundi ‘njengabantwana babo’ nokuthi bezwile ‘ngobuhlungu bomntwana womuntu omnyama’ nezinye ezifuze lezo, zaziyithuthukisa noma zaziyibulala yini intando yeningi?

Ukuze ngiphumelele ukucacisa ngizothinta kafuphi umbhalo kaDerrida othi *Admiration of Nelson Mandela or the Laws of Reflection* (2014), engiwufunda kanye nalowo owabhalwa ngu-Arendt i-*On Revolution* lapho umbhali wayejula khona ngezindaba zokuvukela umbuso nokuphemba iriphabhliki.

Bobabili ababhalu bayaqinisekisa ukuthi ukuphenjwa kwanoma yiyiphi iriphabhliki kuhambisana nodlame nezinto ezingeke zaxazululwa. U-Arendt urieveza kangcono lezi zinto uma ethi: ‘Labo abahlanganayo ukuze bakhe uhulumeni omusha abanalo ilungelo lokukwenza lokho’ (Arendt, 1963:183-4).

Eqhuba uArendt wathi, ‘Obaba nomama besikhathi sokuphemba bangahle bathi: ‘Thina baphembi bombuso sizothobelu imithetho futhi sizokwakha izivumelwano ezizokwenza ukuba sikwazi ukuyiphoqeleta leyo mithetho’. Nakuba kunjalo kuyaziwa ukuthi ngesikhathi

sokumiswa kwemibuso egameni ‘abantu’, abakhi bawo basuke bengenalo igunya lokukwenza lokho.

Iziphathimandla nabananamagunya okwenza izinto babakhona kuphela emuva kokusekelwa komthetho. Ngaleylo ndlela uDerrida uthi yonke into ephathelene nokuphenjwa kombuso yensiwa ngodlame noma ngezikhwepha esingathi phecelezi *coup de force*. Yizo lezi zikhwepha eziveza izakhiwo zepolitiki nomthetho wezwe. Lokhu kubuye kuholele ekwakhiweni kweriphabhliki esemthethweni.

Uma indaba ibekwa ngendlela elula singathi ngesikhathi sokuphemba kuthiwa ‘thina bantu’ kodwa ‘abantu’ babe bengekho ngaleso sikhathi. Ukuphemba yinto eyenziwa ngokuthi kuphinyiswe ngomlomo kuthiwe: ‘Ngiqamba iriphabhliki entsha’, okuthiwa, phecelezi yi *performative act*. Lokhu kuwumphumela wezikhwepha okuthiwa yi-*coup de force*.

Lencazelio iyaphambana namazwi athi kukhona ukuthula ekuphembeni. Akusoze-ke kube khona ukuphemba kungadlwanga ezikhathini ezinzima zokusebenza kwezikhwepha. Lokhu kuyinkomba yokuthi kuhlale kunokushuba kwesimo phakathi kwezinto ezikhona (*the constative things*) nalezo ezsazokwenziwa ngesikhathi esizayo (*the performative things*). UDerrida (1986:67) ubhala athi:

Isenzo esimqoka esenziwa ngabaphembi wukuthi baphimise ngomlomo lokho abathi bazokwenza, bayakumemezela, bayakuqinisekisa, bayakuthembisa, futhi bayakuphemba. Abaphembi kufanele basho ukuthi yini ezolandela emveni kokuphemba kwabo iriphabhliki. Kufanele bacabe nendlela yokuthi yini okufanele icatshangwe noma igcizelelwe ngengomuso le riphabhliki yabo. Lokho kufanele kube wukukhanya kwangempela futhi kubonakalise ubumbano.

Ngokuhamba kwesikhathi umbuso uyakhiwa uphinde umiswe. Udlame olwalusetshenziswe ekuphembeni kufanele abantu balukhohlwe. Ngaleyondlela uhulumeni kufanele abe ngowepolitiki nomthetho kuphela.

Uma kwenzeka ukuthi abantu basalokhu bengafuni ukukhohlwa yilezo zinto ezimbi ezabavelela ngesikhathi sokuphemba kuvuka amanxeba asethanda ukuphola. Lokho kube sekwenza ukuthi umbuso omusha ungabi nakho ukuzinza. Yikho lokho esakubona eRwanda ngenkathi uhulumeni wakhona epoqa abantu ukuba bangawalibali amanxeba abawathola odlameni olwabakhona ngenkathi yokuphembenjwa kwalelo lizwe ngo 1959.

Leso kwakuyisikhathi esibi sezivunguvungu kuvukelwa umbuso wobukoloniyal ukuze kuphenjwe umbuso omusha owawuzolandela owobukoloniyal. Uhulumeni waseRwanda wangaphambi kuka-1994 waqhubeka wadunga imiqondo yabantu ebahlukanisa ngokobuhlanga, futhi evula izilonda ezase ziphola ngokuphoqelela abantu ukuba baphindele emuva ukuyolungisa lokho okonakala ngesikhathi sokuphemba. Ngalokho kuphindela kuleso sikhathi lo hulumeni wayethi uqonde ukuba kwakhiwe uhulumeni omusha wenkululeleko yangempela (Praeg, 2008). UDerrida uthi ukuphemba kwenziwa ngendlela enje:

Ukuphenjwa komthetho yisenzo esingekho nhlobo emthethweni [...] kuba semthethweni kuphela uma umbuso ususimamisiwe, ikakhulukazi emuva kokuthi lowo mbuso wamukelwe ngamazwe omhlabo [...] (1986:69).

Kunesithombe esingelona iqiniso esivame ukuvezwa ngabezindaba sokuthi leli lizwe laba nezinguuko zombuso wentando yeningi ngaphandle kokuphalala kwegazi. Ukucacisa lokhu ngifuna ukuphakamisa amaphuzu amabili, elokuqala ngelokuthi ukuphemba noma ngabe yiypipi iriphabhliky yesimanjemanje kuyisenzo esingekho emthethweni. Ngalokho u-Arendt uthi ukuphemba kufaniswa nesenzo sikaNkulunkulu ngoba phakathi kwako kukhona okungaxazululeki okubangwa wukusetshenziswa kwezikhwepha. UDerrida yena ubiza ukuphemba ngokuthi yisikhathi sokungabi namthetho (*a-legality*). Iphuzu lesibili ngelokuqaphela ukuthi i-#MustFall yabe iyimvukelambuso, okusho ukuthi isizathu sangempela sayo (*raison d'être*), kwabe kuwuketula umbuso okhona njengamanje.

Ukuzethwesa umthwalo wokuketula umbuso kuwukuvuma ukuthi uzomelana nezikhwepha zokuphemba ngoba akusoze kwaba nokuphemba kungaphindelwanga odlameni lwako. Kwingxeneye elandelayo ngizoxoxa ngezibonelo ezintathu zokungaxazululeki okuhambisana nokuphemba okwakuhlongozwe ngumkhankaso i-#MustFall.

### **Okokuqala okungaxazululeki: imibhikisho noma imvukelambuso**

Kungabe i-#MustFall kwabe kuyimibhikisho noma imvukelambuso na? Umehluko phakathi kwalokhu kokubili ngumnyombo wokuphenjwa kwemibuso emhlaben. Imibhikisho ichazwa njengemikhankaso yokukhononda ebanjwa ngaphansi kokulawulwa wumthetho. Umthetho yiwona obeka imingcele phakathi kokuvumelekile nokungavumelekile. Imvukelambuso ayinamingcele.

Yikuphi-ke phakathi kwalokhu okubili esingathi kushaya emhlolweni uma kuchazwa i-#MustFall? Yini okudingeka siyazi ukuze sikhazi ukukhetha? Lobu ngobunye bobunzima obavezwa wumbhikisho i-#MustFall. Labo ababewungenele kwakudingeka ukuthi bazinqumele bona ngokusebenzisa imigomo yepolitiki ababekholelwa kuyo ukuphendula umbuzo wokuthi babengababhikishi noma amavukelambuso. Kukhona nababethi i-#MustFall yayi yikho kokubili.

Abafundi babehlukene amaqembu amabili, elokuqala kwakuyilabo ababesawuhlonipha umthetho wezwe, umbuso we-African National Congress noMthethosisekelo eyawungenisa ngo 1996. Elesibili kwakuyilabo ababevukela umbuso nababezimisele ukubagasela ngqo abaholi bepolitiki ababeqhoqhobele izikhundla embusweni ngendlela yokwenzelela yize bengasafunwa ngabantu. Labo-ke babethi akubuyelwe emuva ekusungulweni kombuso ukuze kuphenjwe umbuso omusha oyokwazi ukuhlonipha amalungelo entsha.

Ukuthi yomibili le mibono yayikhona ku-#MustFall kuveza isizathu sokuthi kungani la matemu emibhikisho nemvukelambuso elokhu esetshenziswa ngokushintshana. Uma echaza uBoysen ngomehluko okhona phakathi kwala matemu uthi: ‘Umehluko phakathi kwalawa matemu usenazelweni ngokuphatha umbuso. Lokhu kuthinta ubudlova obufaka inselelo kwezenhlakahle, epolitikini nasemnothweni wezwe’. Kepha okuyisimanga uBoysen akuphawulayo ngale mibhikisho wukuthi abafundi babengekho ezingqondweni zokuchitha umbuso (Boysen 2016:24). Yingakho uma esebuka ukungaxazululeki kwalawa matemu amabili wabhala wathi:

Izehlakalo ezihambisana nemibhikisho zachazwa ngabafundi ababelwela inkululeko nabahlaziyi bepolitiki ngokuthi zaziyimvukelambuso efihlekile. Okungasenani zazingabizwa ngokuthi ziyimvukelambuso encane yomphakathi. Lokhu kwase kuyindlela yokucabanga ehlukile kunaleyoyasekuqaleni kweminyaka yango 1990. Ngakolunye uhlangothi kwakungathiwa izizukulwane zakamuva zazivukela ezangaphambili. Lokhu kwakuyingoba ukuba khona kwemibhikisho kwakusho ukuthi amaborn-free noma intsha eyazalwa ngesikhathi senkululeko yaseNingizimu Afrika yayingasayamukeli inganekwane yokuthi inkululeko yalethwa ngabaholi bomzabalazo. Kuwo lowo mbhikisho kwakukukhona nalabo ababengayifuni nhlobo inqubo yomnotho ovuna izimakethe (*neo-liberal economy*) (Boysen 2016: 3-4). Inqubo yomnotho eyayifunwa ngabanye yileyo engaphansi kukahulumeni (*socialist economy*).

Indlela abafundi ababecabanga ngayo akuyona into ekhathazayo. Kepha incazeloyesizathu esasibenza bacabange ngaleyo ndlela yayifihle ingozi yokwenzeka kwezinto ezingalungile futhi abafundi ababengazihi losile ngalo mbhikisho. Leyo miphumela eyayingaqondiwe yayizokhathaza kakhulu. Inkinga enkulu kwakuwukuthi abafundi babefuna uguuko olusheshayo, ngakho-ke babona kungabasheshisela ukuthi basebenzise le mikhankaso ye-#MustFall njengesihlangu sokubavikela ekugxekweni ngokuthi babesebenzisa udlame ukuze bazuze izimfuno zabo.

Ukungaxazululeki kwenkinga yokuphemba umbuso kabusha kushiya wona kanye umbuzo wokuqoka ukusebenzisa udlame ungaphenduliwe. Okunye wukuthi abafundi abanangi babebona ukuthi ukuphemba lo mbuso okhona njengamanje akuzange kube nezithelo ezinhle kubo. Babekusola ngokuthi kwabhuntsha. Konke osekushiwo ngenhla kwakusho ukuthi udlame esalubona ngo 2015-16 lwaluzothatha indlela yokuphindela ophembeni kabusha, okuyindawo okufanele igwenywe.

Konke okuthinta impilo kulawulwa ngunxantathu oyimithetho okuyilena: thobela umthetho (obey the laws), yamukela imiphumela efanele izenzo zakho (accept the consequences of your actions) futhi philisana nabanye abantu ngokuhlonipha (live ethically). Izenzo eziphambene nalo nxantathu ziholela ekuthini umuntu azithole esephoqeleka ukuthi akhethe phakathi kobubi abhekene nako ngendlela yokuthi yibuphi ububi obuncane kunobunye.

Uma kukhulunya ngokukhetha phakathi kwezinhlobo zobubi kufanele kubukwe okwashiwo nguMogobe B. Ramose (2002, 2007) owathi: ‘Ububi bokuqala kwaba ukungabikho kobulungiswa kusukela ekuqaleni (the original injustice)’. Eqhuba wathi: ‘Lokho kwaholela odlameni olwaqotha izwe’. Lokhu wakuchaza ngokuthi udlame lwalwenzelwa ukuze kubhujiswe konke okubi bese kuqalwa phansi kwakhiwa izwe elalizoba nobulungiswa emuva kwalokho kubhubhisa.

Lapha-ke sizothinta uFrantz Fanon owavumelana noRamose futhi waze wazuza udumo njengalowo owayevikela udlame olwalwenziwa yilabo ababelwa nobukoloniyalı. Kepha kufanele kukhunjulwe ukuthi thina lapha eNingizimu Afrika saba nako ukuphemba ngo 1994. Ngaleso sizathu-ke asikwazi ukuthi sesithole intando yeningi esayivuma sonke bese senza isinqumo sokuthi akuhoxiswe ukuhlonishwa kwamalungelo abanye abantu ukuze siphindele emuva ekuphembeni. Isizathu esinikezwa ngabafundi sokuthi abahambisani nenqubo yomnotho wezimakethe (*neo-liberalism*) asenele neze. Ngalokho-ke asikwazi leso sizathu ukuqhuba izwe ukuthi liphindele emuva ekuphembeni kwango 1994.

Izinhloso zokuphemba ezaziphakanyiswa ngabafundi zazingukwakha umbuso kanye nemithetho emisha, ukungenisa inkululeko yangempela nokufaka ukuhlionishwa okusha kwamalungelo esintu. Lokhu kwakungasoze kwafezekwa ngaphandle kokuthi kube nesiqiniseko izwe elalingaba naso sokuthi into enjalo yabe izokwenzeka ngempela.

Inkinga enkululu ekuncomeni udlame lwabacindezela njengoba kwakubhale uFanon, kwabe kuwukungalubhekisisi kahle lolu dlame. Nezifundiswa eziningi zawasusa amehlo azo odlameni zatabeka ezintweni imibhikisho eyayihlose ukuzuzuza. UFanon nezifundiswa avumelana nazo behluleka ukuphawula ukuthi udlame lwalungekho emthethweni nokuthi lwaluhambisana nezikhathi zokuphemba.

Kunokuthi izimfuno zabafundi zezikhathi zodlame olukhulu ngo-Oktober-2015 noSeptember kuya kuDecember-2016 zilethe izinto ababezifuna abafundi njengokudilizwa kwemfundo yobukoloniyalu, zaletu ukungqubuzana. Kwaba khona udlame olunesihluku phakathi kwabomthetho nabafundi. Lolu dlame lwalungehlukile kwelangezikhathi zangaphambili zobukoloniyalu.

Lesi sihluku sasingafanisa nalokho uThadeus Mentz (2016) akubiza ngokuthi yisisombululo sokugcina (*final solution*). Yiso kanye okuthiwa siyafuneka uma kuliwa lezo zimpi ezibizwa ngokuthi ngezobulungiswa (*just wars*). Odlameni abafundi bajika babonwa njengezitha zombuso yilabo ababephoqelela ukugcinwa komthetho.

UMentz waqhubeka wathi: ‘Ngaleso sizathu impi yabafundi nezisebenzi zasemanyuvesi kwakufanele ibukwe ngeso elibanzi’. Okwalandela kwaba wukuthi umbuso waseNingizimu Afrika uyivale inkulumompikiswano ngondaba lobuzwe. Emehlwani alabo abasigxekayo leso senzo kwaba wukuthi umbuso wawubacindezela labo ongahambisani nabo.

Into engcono umuntu angayisho ukuthi ukuhlaziya okungenhla kuyehluleka ukubona iqhaza lomthetho enkululekweni yesizwe. Okwesibili wukuthi ukuhlaziya okwaba khona ngale mibhikisho kwehluleka ukujula ngendima ebanjwa wudlame kuyo yonke imibhikisho. Lokhu kusitha *ubunzima* obuhlala njalo bukhona ekuphembeni.

Isichazimawi i-Merriam Webster Online sithi ubunzima yileyo ngxeye engabonakali. Siqhuba sithi lobu bunzima buvezwa ukwehluleka ukwehlukanisa phakathi kokulungile nokungalungile, okuhle nokubi, kanye nokuvumelekile noma okungavumelekile.

UDerrida noNietzsche bachaza lobu bunzima ngokuthi buyisikhathi noma indawo lapho uhlelo lokuphemba umbuso lungakhoni ukuchaza ukuthi kwenzekani. Lokhu

kungaqondakala kahle uma kuchazwa kuthiwa: ‘Noma ngabe yiluphi uhlelo lunezinto eziluhlanganisayo. Lezi yizinto ezingawkazi ukususwa’. Isizathu salokho wukuthi lezi zinto zaba khona lolo hlelo lungakemkelwa ngabantu (Honing 1991:106). Singazichaza sithi: ‘Ziwubuhle nobubi balo’.

Ukuhlaziya okungenhla kuveza ukuthi ukuphenjwa kombuso kuwumisa phezu kwezinhlaka ezintathu: ipolitiki, umthetho kanye nesishaya-mthetho. Kufanele kwamukeleke ukuthi yilovo nalowo mbuso kungakhathaleki indawo okuyo, unazo izinto ezingaxazululeki. Okukhulu kunakho konke okufanele kungalibaleki wukuthi le Riphabliki yaleli lizwe yamiselwa phezu kobunzima, njengawo wonke manye akhona emhlabeni.

Lokhu kwazi ngezinkinga ezifuze lezi kuholela ekuqondakaleni kokuthi le mibhikisho yabafundi i-#MustFall yayihlose ukuvusa indaba yobunzima bokuphemba ngoba yayimayelana nokuphindisela izwe khona lapho. Okubi wukuthi yayingenayo indlela i-#MustFall eyayingabugwema ngayo lobu bunzima. Kwakungasho lutho ukuthi yabe izethula ebantwini njengomzabalazo olwa nomkhuba ogcwele ezweni wokushiya abantu abamnyama ngaphandle kwezinhlaka zomnotho. Yize noma umbhikisho wayiveza inkinga elethwa yisiFundo seFilisofi ewukunikeza izizathu zokuthi kungani abantu abamnyama kufanele ukuthi bashiywe ngaphandle komnotho wezwe, nakho lokho akwenele ukuthi kungaba yisizathu sokuphindela ekuphembeni.

### **Okwesibili okungaxazuleki: ukugidela izigubhu ezahlukene**

Ngabe aluchazeki yini udlame esalubona ngo-Okthoba 2015 nangoSeptemba kuya kuDisemba 2016? Ngabe ukulichaza kungalwenza lulahlekelwe yizimpawu zalo zepolitiki nomthetho na? Lungamenza yini olwamukelayo noma ongalwamukeli ukuba abonakale enjengongaziphathi kahle ngokobulungiswa?

Udlame olufana nalolu luyakhathaza ngoba lungaholela ekuben i umbuso uphendule ngodlame ngoba labo abalwenzayo basuke bengasenabo ubuzwe futhi sebephenduke umhlambi kazalusile obhajwe endaweni engenawo umehluko (*zone of indistinction*).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ukukhishwa ngokuphindaphindiwe okokuqala yilokho okubizwa ngokuthi ngokungahlukaniseki kwaseceleni (horizontal indistinction) okuphakathi kokuphemba nokuphindwa kokuphemba, okwesibili wukungahlukaniseki kwaphezulu (vertical indistinction) ngoba kuvamile ukuthi kube nezinto ezingaxazuleki phakathi kwababusi nababuswayo

Ngezikhathi zodlame lwe-#MustFall kwakubonakala sengathi izwe lingaphansi kwasimo esiphuthumayo ngokomthetho (*de jure*) noma ngokwezimpawu (*de facto*). Ukuze ucaciseleke kabanzi bheka incazelo ngezansi.<sup>6</sup> UDerrida wachaza kanje: ‘Emhlabeni kunemingcele futhi bonke abantu babalulekile ngoba kunendima abangayidlala uma besebenza ngaphansi komthetho’.

Ekuphembeni akukho noyedwa ongaphansi komthetho ngoba umthetho usuke ungakamiswa. Abantu baze babe ngaphansi komthetho emuva kokumenyezelwa kwawo njengozoba yingxeny ye politiki yezwe.

Okwavela kamuva-ke kwaba wukuthi abafundi basemanyuvesi bathathe isinyathelo sokuphindela emuva ekuphembeni ngokusungula umkhankaso i-#MustFall. Lesi sinyathelo sasizofaka abafundi esimweni esingaxazululeki ngoba babezophenduka babe ngabantukazana abangavikelwe yipolitiki nomthetho, izidalwa nje ezingenabo ubuzwe.

Imibhikisho yango 2015-16 yayigcwele futhi isindwa yiziphakamiso zabafundi (*it was resonating with student's demands*). Lezi ziphakamiso zazeqela ngale kwemigomo ebekiwe futhi zingaphezulu kwalokho okwakungafezwa yi-Riphabhliki yango 1994 ngaleso sikhathi.

Umzekeliso owethulwe esandulelweni salo mqulu uqhakambisa iphuzu lokuthi ngaso sonke isikhathi abantu yibona abazinqumela ukujoyina izwe bangene ngaphansi komthetho walo ukuze ubavikele. UFreud, Kafka noDerrida bathi abantu bazikhethela bona ukujoyina umthetho kaBaba. UBaba akusiye lowo ongabonwa noma ongumuntu, kodwa kushiwo obaba nomama abaphemba inqubo yombuso olandelwayo ngaleso sikhathi. Uma abantu sebethola kamuva ukuthi umthetho awulungile noma awunabo ubulungiswa, banalo ilungelo lokuwuphikisa nokuwubizela ezinkantolo ukuze bathole ubulungiswa. Umbuzo uthi: Ngobani labo bafundi okwathi ngesikhathi sokwenziwa kwesiphakamiso sokuthi umbuso awuphenjwe kabusha bona banquma ukuphikisana nomthetho nokusebenzisa ulimi lwemvukelambuso? Ngabe ukungawuthobeli umthetho nokuba ‘ngumuntu nje’ yikho okungenza kube nokuphemba kabusha? UGiorgio Agamben uthi ekuphembeni kabusha baningi abanquma ukuphikisana nomthetho nokuziphendula abantukazana abangelutho. U-Agamben wathi ukungabi semthethweni kufaka umuntu enkingeni yokuthi umphakathi umkhiphele ngaphandle ngoba usuke eseluke nomhlambi kazalusile, esehlala ngaphesheya komngcele

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<sup>6</sup> Kulabo bafundi ababengekho kumakhampasi amayuvesi aseNingizimu Afrika ngalezi zikhathi ezimbili idokumentari ka-Aryan Kaganof osihloko sayo sithi *Metalepsis in Black* iyacacisa ngalokhu. <https://vimeo.com/193233861>.

ohlukanisa abangaphakathi nabangaphandle, ngendlela engabonakali futhi okungakhulunywa ngayo. Nakuba kunjalo, lo mngcele wamukelekile futhi uyaziwa ngumphakathi, kanti nomthetho uyawuvikela. Kulesi simo ubudlelwane phakathi kwabadingisiwe nomphakathi busuke bulimele.

U-Agamben uthi abadingisiwe bawumhlatshelo ongemukelekile (*a sacrifice that cannot be sacrificed*). Lesi sithombe sibuyisa umcabango kaDerrida ngokuphemba osekwedlulelwye yisikhathi.

ULaclau (2007) uthi akukho ukudingiswa okushiwo ngu-Agamben ngenhla ngoba uma kuvunywa kuyosho ukuthi abangaphandle komthetho baphucwa ubuzwe babo futhi abakwazi ukuzivikela odlameni olungahle lwenziwe ngumphakathini kubo ngoba uthi wona uvikelwe ngumthetho. Lokhu kokubili akwenzeki emphakathini.

ULaclau uyaqhube ka uthi abafundi babesemshikashikeni womzabalazo futhi babenza udlame ngokubambisana nabanye. Umthetho wezwe awuzivikeli izenzo ezzinjalo. Wenza umzekeliso ngenhlobo yemashi eyavezwa okokuqala nguFanon. Le ndlela yokumasha ibizwa ngokuthi ngumbhikisho wabalweli benkululeko abamanikiniki (*the march of the lumpen proletariat*). Echaza lesi simo uFanon encwadini yakhe, *Wretched of the Earth* le mibhikisho uyifanisa neyalabo abadayisa ngomzimba, izigebengu, amasela, abafundi basemanyuvesi abayizephulamthetho, abadayisi bezidakamizwa nabanye abanjalo. Uthi bamasha ngaphandle kokukhazeka ngobubi abakubona. ULaclau yena uchaza abamashayo njengalabo abaphokophele ukwenza umsebenzi wabo (2007:14).

Labo abangaphandle komphakathi akusho ukuthi awukho umthetho abawuthobelayo. Nakuba ukhona kodwa wehlukile. Inkinga wukuthi kukhona ukushuba kwesimo phakathi kwalowo mthetho nomthetho wezwe. Okwesibili okuyinkinga wukuthi le mithetho emibili ayinakho ukuthobelana.

ULaclau uthi umphumela wokungathobelani kwale mithetho wukudingisana emphakathini. Umthetho obusa umphakathi usekelwa yipolitiki kahulumeni kodwa lona ongewona wezwe wawulawula imibhikisho nemvukelambuso yabafundi yango 2015-16. Izikhalo zabafundi zokuthi ayiphenjwe kabusha iRiphabhliko zazedluliselwa kuwo lo mthetho ongewona ovezwe.

Lokhu kwakuletha imibuzo ngomthetho obusayo. Abafundi babenza lokhu ngoba base befike endaweni yokungaboni mehluko ongase wenziwe ngumthetho wezwe. Base befuna

ubulungiswa obungebona bendawo kodwa bomkhathi ongenamkhawulo. Lobu bulungiswa babebona ukuthi bungavela emthethweni obizwa ngokuthi yi-*Black Lives Matter*. Yiso-ke leso sigubhu esabe sigidelwa ngabafundi ngo-Okthoba 2015 nangoSeptembha kuya kuDisemba 2016.

### **Okwesithathu okungaxazululeki: ukubulawa kwabazali nokubhuntsha kwentando yeningi**

Umzekelo osesandulelweni saleli qoqo uneqhaza kokwesithathu okungaxazululeki nokuvezwa yizinkulumo ze-#MustFall. Emzekelweni umbusi waphoqeleta umgcini wendawo ukuba abulale abazali bakhe, okuyinto ayengahambisani nhlobo nayo ngoba uyise wayehlonishwa futhi wayebazisa abazali bakhe.

Uma sisusa umgcini wendawo sifaka abafundi abayizidlamlilo endaweni yakhe siyaqaphela ukuthi kubakhona ubuhlobo obahlukile ngoba abafundi babewuphikisa umthetho wezwe. Lokho kwaholela ekutheni abafundi bangabi nayo inkinga yokubulala abazali. Bakwenza lokho ngendlela yokubakubahlahlela ngokwepolitiki. Abazali lapha ngomama nobaba bomzabalazo wenkululeko abaphemba lo mbuso esikuwo manje olandela owobandlululo.<sup>7</sup> UPatrick FitzGerald no-Oliver Seale (2016:236) babbala bathi:

Into evame ukusimamisa umbuso yizakhiwo zepolitiki ezikhombisa ukuqina nokukwazi ukugcina umthetho nokuthula ezweni. Ngesikhathi sangaphambili i-African National Congress (ANC) ne-Youth League yayo kwakunamandla futhi kwesekelwa. Emva kwalokho iqembu lafadalala. Izintambo zobudlelwano nomphakathi zagqashuka, nobudlelwano phakathi kwabafundi neqembu bashabalala. Le nhlekelele yavulela ububi obuningi, njengokwanda kwemibono ezimele emakhampasini amanyuvesi. Eminye yayo yayigqugquzelu ukusetshenziswa kodlame njengesikhali sokuzuza lokho okwakuhlosiwe.

Lezi zakhiwo ezawa, nalezi zintambo zokuxhumana ezagqashuka zaziyinhliziyo yohulumeni we-ANC, owawaziwa ngaphambilini ngokuthi yi-*Family democracy*. Emuva kwenhlekelele inkulumo eyabe isihamba phambili kwabe sekuwukuvukela umbuso kwentsha. UBooysen (2016:35) uphawula athi: ‘Esikhathini sangaphambili i-ANC yayingumzali

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<sup>7</sup> Funda u-Everett (2016).

onakekelayo nokwakwemukelwa ukuthi akazukuphumelela ukulungisa zonke izinto ngaso sonke isikhathi. Nokho kwakwaziwa ukuthi akasoze adikibala emsebenzini wakhe wokuletha ukudla njalo ntambama'. UBooysen eqhubeka wathi: 'Kodwa kulokhu i-ANC yazibona isiqheliswa endaweni entofontofo ebikade iqhiyeme kuyo. Yayigudluzwa ngabafundi ababesebenzisa lona kanye lolo limi lomndeni, olwaluyisisekelo seprojekthi yokubusa kwe-ANC'. Eqhubeka uBooysen uthi: 'Intsha eyayibhikisha yayikhala ngokuthi isifana nabantwana abayimilanjwana ye-ANC, abangasanakiwe'.

Yayihlasela i-ANC ikhala ithi: 'Ake nibheke ukuthi umntwana womuntu omnyama unjani', 'nalu usizi lomuntu omnyama', nokuthi 'nakhu ukuxhashazwa kabuhlungu kwabasebenzi abamnyama'. Abafundi babephinde bathi: 'Laba basebenzi basemanyuvesi bawuphawu lokuhlupheka komama nobaba bethu kuleli lizwe' (Booysen: 25).

Kukho lokho kukhala omunye wabafundi wezwakala ethi: 'Njengomntwana womuntu omnyama ngizokwenza noma yini ukuze ngithole ukulalewa yibo [...]. Kodwa ngubani owaziyo ukuthi abaholi bepolitiki bakhulumu bathini ngezinhlizyo?' (Booysen: 44).

Yini impendulo yombuzo othi: Ngubani owaziyo ukuthi bathini ngezinhlizyo? Impendulo iwukungabaza okuyikhona okwagqashula izintambo zobudlelwano phakathi kwababusi nabafundi nokwaqedo nobumbano olwalukhona kuhulumeni womndeni.

Abafundi baqoka ukwehluka kumgcini wendawo wasemzekelweni osesandulelwani saleliqoqo ngoba banquma ukuphikisana nomthetho. Leyo ndlela yokuziphatha kwabo yaphenduka isihlava esagcina sesibulele abazali basekuphembeni.

Yize babepumelelile abazali ukuletha inkululeko, kuncane kakhulu abakwenza ukwakha ithemba entsheni. Kwase kucacile ukuthi kwakungekho lutho abasha ababengalulindela embusweni owawakhiwe.

Uma sengiyiphetha le ngxenye kufanele ngiveze ukuthi iyiphi indlela engcono yokuchaza i-#MustFall. Kungabe yayingumbhikisho noma yayiyimvukelambuso? Udlame lwayo kungabe lwaluvumelekile noma lwalungavumelekile futhi ngabe lolu dlame lwalunobulungiswa noma qha? Yiyo kanye le mibuzo eletha ukungabaza nezinto ezingaxazululeki ekuphembeni nokuphindwa kwako.

Ebuhlotsheni obulimele bomndeni kuvamile ukuthi intsha ivukele abazali bese labo ababekade bethandwa baphenduke abazondwayo, ababekade bethenjwa baphenduke

abasolwa, nabahlonishwayo baphenduke abadelelekile. Konke lokhu kwenzeka ngesikhathi esisodwa.

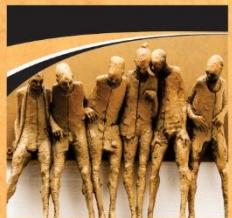
UBoysen uthi i-ANC yaba nokuzisola okukhulu ngemibhikisho, yase inquma ukubamba iqhaza lika baba ovikelayo, kodwa abe eqhelele kude nezinkinga. Yakhipa umyalelo obhekiswe emaphoyiseni othi: ‘Babambeni bame ndawonye, bavimbeni bangasondeli, kodwa ningalibali ukuthi kunezibopho zegazi phakathi kwabo nabagcini bomthetho’ (Boysen 2016:15).

Ukuqhubeka nokuphila kobandlululo luze lungeniswe nakuyo iNingizimu Afrika yentando yeningi, yikho kanye okwaholela ekuzanyazanyisweni kweRiphabhliki ekhona. Zavela lapho nezinkulumo zokuthi akuphindwe ukuphemba ngoba ukuphemba kwakuhlehlisiwe ngo 1994. Yayihlaselwa kakhulu inqubo ebusayo yepolitiki, umthetho oyisekelayo nolwazi olutholakala emanyuvesi.

Lesi sehlo se-#MustFall saba yisisusa sokuqala nesokugcina sokwesula zonke izinkolelo ezazikhona kubabusi bamanje. Lezo kwabe kungezokwakha isizwe (*nationalism*); ukungenisa inqubo yokwenza ngokwase-Afrika (*Africanisation*); nezinkulumo ezincane zokuguqula izinto ngokuhamba kwesikhathi (*transformation*). Abafundi bakuveza obala ukuthi lokhu okungenhla kwabe kuyizibonelo zenqubo yobu-*neo-liberal*. Le nqubo yayizoholela ekutheni kungaguqulwa lutho ezweni (*maintainance of the status quo*).

Zonke izahluko zalo mqulu ziyimpendulo eqondile noma engaqondile yalokho kuzanyazanyiswa kombuso okwenziwa yi-#MustFall. Ziphendula ngokuqondile ezinye zezinto ezavezwa ngumkhankaso noma zixoxa ngezinkulumompikiswano zangaphambili. Ngenxa yalo mkhankaso, konke sekuyaphuthuma.

Ukuzanyazanyiswa kombuso akuyona into elula, ngakho-ke akusoze kwaphendulwa noma kwachazwa ngokugcwele ngemibhalo yodwa. Injongo yami ngalo mqulu wukudweba ibalazwe eliqhakambisa izindawo lapho uqhekeko luhamba khona. Ngifuna nokukhomba lapho umkhondo wezimpikiswano phakathi kwesiFundu nabafundi uholela khona. Okokugcina ngifuna ukuwukhanyisa umngcele okumi kuwo umfundu ohloma imibuzo esiFundweni ngoba esephenduke isidlamlilo. Ngikwenza konke lokhu ngoba ngibona kungifanele.



## IFILOSOFI PHEZU KOMNGCELE

UkuDilizwa KobuKoloniyal NokuZanyazanyiswa  
KokuPhenjwa KweZwe

Yize izehlakalo zango 2015-16 zingaphendulwa ngokuthi zazi yinto entsha, zacgina sezibizwa ngemibhikisho yomphakathi. Ngibona ukuthi kungaba yinto engaba ngumsebenzi omkhulu kakhulu ukujula nencazelo yalesi 'sehlakalo' engisibiza ngokuthi sasiwukuvukela umbuso. Ngokuqhelisa nje kuphela ulimi 'embhikishweni' wabafundi silubeke 'ekuvukeleni umbuso' kwabasha, singasondela ekuqondeni ukabaluleka kwalesi sehlakalo abafundi abasisebenzisa ngendlela yokuveza 'isikhala' sokuzwakalisa izimvo zabo (enunciative space).

Phela emva kwalesi sehlakalo ifilosofi njengeSifundo yavuleka yaba yinkundla yempikiswano phakathi kwabaphethwe, abakhishelwe ngaphandle ngendlela eyimfihlo nalabo abafakte phakathi ngendlela ebonakalayo. Kafuphi sizithola siphezu komngcele wefilosofi, ngakolunye uhlangothi le mvukelambuso yavumbulula ukungeneliseki ngokukhiqizwa kolwazi. Okufufusayo kwadlondlobala kwazamazamisa isisekelo solwazi. Konke lokhu kudinga lowo okuvivinyayo azihlolisise yena kuqala.

**Leonhard Praeg** is head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria. He has authored and (co-)edited a number of monographs, anthologies, book chapters and articles in African political philosophy. His most recent publication is a philosophical novel, *Imitation* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2017). He is the editor of UKZN Press's Thinking Africa imprint.

**Contributors:** Anke Graneß, Bruce Janz, Lis Lange, Leonhard Praeg, Ernst Wolff.

'This rich collection presents a profound challenge from the South to Philosophy everywhere. Starting with a thoughtful response to the recent student revolt in South Africa, it fundamentally problematises the self-understanding of the discipline and opens up exciting and at the same time necessary new avenues for Philosophy as reshaped through the recognition of place and event. In the process, it moves beyond many of the tired stalemates in the current debates and presents academics and intellectuals worldwide with powerful new ways of understanding their task. A must-read for every self-critical philosopher, which to my mind means every philosopher worthy of the name.'

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