

**GO YA KWA  
TLHATLHOBONG  
YA NGWAGA  
WA BO**

**25**

**1994-2019**



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA





E Phasaladitswe Lantlha ke Lefapha la Togamaano, Tekolo le Tshekatsheko ka 2019, Pretoria, AFORIKA BORWA © DPME 2019

Ditshwanelo tsolhe di beetswe ba ba dumelletseng. Ga go na karola ya kgatiso eno e e ka ihagisivang gape, ya bolokwa mo bobolokelong jwa tsamaiso e e sa tshwanelang, kgotsa ya fetisiwa ka mofuta ope fela kgotsa ka tsela epe, ya eleketeroniki, mešhine, ka fothokophhi, ka go gatisiwa ga lentswe, kgotsa ka mokgwa ope, kwa ntle ga go letlelewa pele ka mokwalo ke Baphasalatsi.

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# KHUTSHWAFATSO LE KEMEDI YA LEINA LE LE LEELE YA DITLHAKA TSA NTLHA

<b>4IR</b>	Phetogo ya Bone ya Madirelo	<b>ICASA</b>	Bolaodi jo bo Ikemetseng Jwa Dipuisano
<b>ACSA</b>	Khampani ya Difofane ya Aforika Borwa	<b>JWA</b>	Jwa Aforika Borwa
<b>AfCFTA</b>	Lefelo la Kgwebisano ya Mahala mo Kontinenteng ya Aforika	<b>ICT</b>	Thekenoloji ya Tshedimosetso le Dipuisano
<b>AGSA</b>	Morunikakaretso wa Aforika Borwa	<b>IEC</b>	Khomishine e e Ikemetseng ya Ditlhopho
<b>AGOA</b>	Molawana wa Kgolo le go Bona Ditshono mo Aforika	<b>IFFs</b>	Tsamaiso ya Ditshelete e se Kafa Molaong
<b>APIs</b>	metswako e e dirang ya melemo	<b>IGF</b>	Foramo ya Tirisan Magareng ga Dipuso Tsa Dinaga
<b>ART</b>	Kalafi ya Dipilisi Tse di Ritibatsang Mogare	<b>ILO</b>	Mokgatlo wa Badiri wa Dišhabatšaba
<b>ARV</b>	dipilisi tse di ritibatsang mogare	<b>IPAP</b>	Thulaganyo ya Tiro ya Pholisi ya Madirelo
<b>AsgISA</b>	Maithlomo a a Potlakisitsweng le a Kgolo	<b>IRDP</b>	Porogerama ya Tlhabololo ya Kopano ya Baagi
<b>ASIDI</b>	e e Arolelanwang a Aforika Borwa	<b>LBPL</b>	Palo ya Batho ba ba Humanegileng
<b>AU</b>	Maithlomo a a Potlakisitsweng a Tlhabololo	<b>LGBTIQA+</b>	dilesbian, digay, ba ba nang le dirwe tsa tsalo tse pedi, batho ba ba ratang batho ba bong jo bo tshwanang, queer, batho ba ba nang le boikutlo jwa go ratana le batho ba bong jo bo faroganeng le ba ba senang boikutlo jwa thobalano
<b>B-BBEE</b>	ya Ditirelo Tsa Dikolo	<b>LRAD</b>	Phatthalatsosesa ya Lefatshe Malebana le Tlhabololo
<b>BEE</b>	Mokgatlo wa Dinaga Tsa Aforika	<b>ya Temothou</b>	ya Temothou
<b>BNG</b>	Matlafatso ya Ikonomi e e Godisiwang ke Bantscho	<b>M&amp;E</b>	Tekolo le Tshekatsheko
<b>BRICS</b>	Matlafatso ya Ikonomi ya Bantscho	<b>MDDA</b>	Tlhabololo ya Tlhaeletsano le Eijensi ya Phapaano
<b>CAADP</b>	Go Simolola Lefelo le Lesha	<b>MDG</b>	Mokgele wa Tlhabololo ya Meleniamo
<b>CAGR</b>	Brazil, Russia, India, China le Aforika Borwa	<b>MGE</b>	Ikonomi e e Kganyang ya Mzansi
<b>CAPS</b>	Porogerama e e Tlhaloganyegang ya Tlhabololo	<b>MPRDA</b>	Molawana wa Meepo ya Peteroliamo Tlhabololo
<b>CBO</b>	ya Temothou ya Aforika	<b>MRC</b>	ya Didiriswa
<b>CDA</b>	Seelo sa Kgolo e e Kopantsweng Ngwaga le Ngwaga	<b>MTSF</b>	Khansele ya Patlisiso ya Kalafi
<b>CJS</b>	Diseteitemente Tsa Pholisi ya Thuto le Tlhatlhobo	<b>NARYSEC</b>	Thulaganyo ya Leano la Paka ya Magareng
<b>CODESA</b>	Mokgatlo o o Theilweng ke Morafe	<b>NCCEMD</b>	Setlhophoa sa Tirelo ya Setšhaba ya Basha ba Magae
<b>COIDA</b>	Bolaodi Jwa Magareng Jwa Diritibatsi	<b>NCPS</b>	Komiti ya Setšhaba ya Patlisiso ya Khupamarama mo
<b>CSG</b>	Tsamaiso ya Bosiamisi Jwa Bosinyi	<b>NDA</b>	Dintshong Tsa Ban aba ba Tsholwang
<b>CWP</b>	Tumalano Mabapi le Aforika Borwa wa Temokerasi	<b>NDMP</b>	Leano la Naga la go Thibela Bosenyi
<b>DBE</b>	Molawana wa Tuelo ya go Gobala le go Lwalela	<b>NDP</b>	Eijensi ya Tlhabololo ya Setšhaba
<b>DDR</b>	Kwa Tirong	<b>NEDLAC</b>	Thulaganyo ya Setšhaba ya go Laola Diritibatsi
<b>DHET</b>	Thusotole ya Tlamele ya Bana	<b>NEET</b>	Thulaganyo ya Tlhabololo ya Setšhaba
<b>DPME</b>	Lenaneo la Tiro ya Baagi	<b>NEPAD</b>	Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi ya Setšhaba le Khansele
<b>DRDLR</b>	Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo	<b>NERSA</b>	ya Badiri
<b>DSD</b>	Lenaneo la Tlhabololo ya Doha	<b>NGO</b>	E seng mo Thutong, Tiro Kgotsa Katiso
<b>ECD</b>	Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso	<b>NGP</b>	Tirisan e Ntšha Malebana le Tlhabololo ya Aforika
<b>EPA</b>	Lefapha la Togamaano Tekolo le Tshekatsheko	<b>NIP</b>	Molaodi wa Eneji ya Setšhaba wa Aforika Borwa
<b>EPWP</b>	Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Magae le Thebolelo ya Lefatshe	<b>NLTP</b>	Mokgatlo o o Seng wa Puso
<b>ETI</b>	Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Loago	<b>NMW</b>	Tselana e Ntšha ya Kgolo
<b>FBO</b>	Nonofiso ya Kwa Tshimologong ya Bongwana	<b>NPC</b>	Thulaganyo ya Ditshelete Tsa Setšhaba
<b>FBS</b>	Tumalano ya Tirisan ya Ikonomi	<b>NPO</b>	Pholisi ya Setšhaba ya Sepalangwa sa Baithuti
<b>FOSAD</b>	Lenaneokatoloso la Ditiro Tsa Setšhaba	<b>NQF</b>	Tuelo e e Kwa Tlase ya Setšhaba
<b>FPSU</b>	Thothoeto ya Lekgetho la go Thapiwa	<b>NSC</b>	Khomishine ya Borulaganyi ya Setšhaba
<b>GBV</b>	Mokgatlo wa Tsa Bodumedi	<b>NSFAS</b>	Mokgatlo O o Sa Direng Poelo
<b>GDP</b>	ditirelo tsa motheo tsa mahala	<b>NSNP</b>	Thulaganyo ya Ditshwanelego ya Setšhaba
<b>GEAR</b>	Foramo ya Balaodikakaretso ba Aforika Borwa	<b>NYC</b>	Setifikeite se Segolwane sa Setšhaba
<b>GFIP</b>	Yuniti ya go Tshegetsa Dithlagiswa Tsa Balemirui	<b>NYDA</b>	Sekema sa Bosetšhaba sa Thuso ya Ditshelete ya Baithuti
<b>GHS</b>	Tshotlakalo Go ya Ka Bong	<b>NYP</b>	Lenaneo la Bosetšhaba la Kotlo ya Dikolo
<b>GNU</b>	Kakaretso ya Dithlagiswa Tsa mo Gae	<b>NYS</b>	Komishine ya Basha ya Setšhaba
<b>HAI</b>	Kgolo, Tiro le Phatthalatsosesa	<b>OAU</b>	Eijensi ya Tlhabololo ya Basha
<b>HDI</b>	Porojeke ya go Tokafatsa Tselafefo ya Gauteng	<b>OBE</b>	Pholisi ya Setšhaba ya Basha
<b>HEI</b>	Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kakaretso	<b>ODA</b>	Tirelo ya Setšhaba ya Basha
<b>HMI</b>	Puso ya Kopano ya Setšhaba	<b>OECD</b>	Mokgatlo wa Kopano ya Dinaga Tsa Aforika
<b>HR</b>	Ditheo Tse di Neng Di Kgona mo Nakong e e Fetileng		Thuto e e Theilweng mo Phithelelong
<b>HRD</b>	Ditheo Tse di Neng di sa Kgone mo Nakong e e Fetileng		Thuso ya Tlhabololo ya Semolao
<b>HSRC</b>	setheo sa thuto e e kgolwane		Mokgatlo wa Tirisan Ikonomi le Tlhabololo
	Patlisiso ya Mmaraka wa Boitekanelo		
	Tirisan le Badiri		
	Tlhabololo ya Tirisan le Badiri		
	Khansele ya Patlisiso ya Saense ya Batho		

## LENAANE LA DIPALO

<b>PEPUDA</b>	Molawana wa Keteleto ya Tekatekano le Thibelo ya go Tlhaola Go go Sa Tshwanelang
<b>PFMA</b>	Molawana wa Tsamaiso ya Ditšelete Tsa Setšaba Tlhokomelo ya kalafi ya nthla
<b>PHC</b>	Tlhabololo ya Ditirelo ya Poresidente ya mo Aforika Kgatelopele mo Thutong ya go Bala le go Kwala
<b>PIDA</b>	Leano la go Bona Lefatshe le le ka Dirisiwang
<b>PIRLS</b>	Einjensi ya Bapalami ba Diterena ya Aforika Borwa
<b>PLAS</b>	Khomishine ya Ditirelo Tsa Setšaba
<b>PRASA</b>	Thuto le Katiso ya Morago ga go Fetsa Sekolo
<b>PSC</b>	Patlisiso le Tlhabololo
<b>PSET</b>	Letlolo la Kabo ya Thuso ya Batswasetlhabelo ba Dikotsi Tsa Mebilis
<b>R&amp;D</b>	Lenaneo la Kagosesho le Tlhabololo
<b>RAF</b>	Go Bona Theko ya Maatlal a Motlakase o o Ntšhafadiwang o o Ikemetseng
<b>RDP</b>	Sethopho se se Dirisanang sa Dinaga Tsa Borwa le Bothhaba Jwa Aforika Malebana le go Lepa Boleng Jwa Thuto
<b>REIPPP</b>	Mokgatho wa Dithoto Tsa Dinaga tsa Borwa Jwa Aforika Sesole sa Aforika Borwa
<b>SACMEQ</b>	Patlisiso ya Baagi ba Aforika Borwa le Boitekanelo Eijensi ya Tirisanu ya Tlhabololo ya Aforika Borwa
<b>SACU</b>	Sesole sa Setšaba sa Aforika Borwa
<b>SADF</b>	Eijensi e e Lekanyeditsweng ya Ditsela Tsa Setšaba sa Aforika Borwa
<b>SADHS</b>	Ofisi ya Poso ya Aforika Borwa
<b>SADPA</b>	Tirelo ya Mapodise ya Aforika Borwa
<b>SANDF</b>	Mekgele ya go Tlamela ka Dithlabololo
<b>SANRAL</b>	Saense, Boenjinere le Thekenoloji Bolaodi Jwa Lephata la Thuto le Katiso Karolo e e Kgethegileng ya Ikonomi Lenaneo la Matlo a Loago
<b>SAPO</b>	Thulaganyo ya Disekwere Tsa Dikilomitara Bonno le Madi a Thuso ya go Bona Lefatshe ditheo tse di laolwang ke setšaba
<b>SAPS</b>	Puo ya Boemo Jwa Setšaba
<b>SDG</b>	Legato la Tshireleto ya Loago
<b>SET</b>	Molawana wa go Rulaganya Lefelo la Bonno le Tsamaiso ya go Dirisa Lefatshe
<b>SETA</b>	Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa
<b>SEZ</b>	Saense Thekenoloji Boenjinere Dipalo Letsholo ya Tiriso ya Kalafai bolwetsi jwa mafatlha
<b>SHP</b>	Tumalano ya Kgwebisano, Tlhabololo le Tirisanu Tiro ya Palogothe ya Bogwebi jo bo Simololang Phetogo mo Thutong ya Boditšhabatšhaba ya Dipalo le Saense Khomishene ya Boammaaruri le Poelano
<b>SKA</b>	Thuto le Katiso ya Botegeniki le Bokgoni jo bo Kgethegileng Madi a Thuso ya Batho Ba sa Ba Tlhoheng ba Bereka
<b>SLAG</b>	Ditšhaba Kopano
<b>SOE</b>	Thuso ya Madi go Basha ya Umsobomvu
<b>SoNA</b>	Lekgetho le le Okeditsweng Boleng
<b>SPF</b>	Mokgatilo wa Lefatshe wa Boitekanelo Neteweke e e Bulegileng ya go Bona Marekelomagolo Kopano ya Lefatshe Malebana le Tlhabololo e e Tlamelwang
<b>SPLUMA</b>	Tirelo ya go Thapa Basha
<b>Stats SA</b>	Go Direla Metsi
<b>STEM</b>	
<b>TAC</b>	
<b>TB</b>	
<b>TDCA</b>	
<b>TEA</b>	
<b>TIMSS</b>	
<b>TRC</b>	
<b>TVET</b>	
<b>UIF</b>	
<b>UN</b>	
<b>UYF</b>	
<b>VAT</b>	
<b>WHO</b>	
<b>WOAN</b>	
<b>WSSD</b>	
<b>YES</b>	
<b>WfW</b>	

- 1.1. Bothokatiro e sa ntse e le bothata jo bogolo jo bo bakang khumanego
- 1.2. Rashio ya Khumanego go ya ka Motlo ka Mongwe 2005 – 2015
- 1.3. Letseno la Ntlo e le Ngwe ka Ngwaga 2006 – 2019
- 1.4. Letseno la Ntlo e le Ngwe ka Ngwaga 2017
- 1.5. Seelo sa Bothokatiro mo Aforika Borwa 1994 – 2018
- 2.1. Metswedzi e kgaoaganyana loago
- 2.2. Bokamoso bo arolelanwang
- 2.3. Go ipelela go nna moAforika Borwa
- 2.4. Ditsupetso tse dikgolo tsa thebolo ya ditirelo ka ngwaga (2004 – 2018)
- 2.5. Phokotsego ya go ikanya setheo
- 3.1. Palo ya bahumanegi go ya ka baagi le bong
- 3.2. Mofuta wa thuso phokotsa ya khumanego ka bong le palo ya ba amegang 2009 le 2017
- 3.3. Tlhabthabo ya kgatelopele mo tekatekanong ya bong le basadi
- 4.1. Go bona ditirelo tsa mmasepala ka lotso
- 5.1. NSC le legato la bachelors di oketsigeli go tloga ka 1994
- 5.2. Palo ya baitutu ba ka iwkadisiting mo setheong sa puso sa morago ga go fetsa sekolo ka mofuta wa tlamelo ka 1994, 1999 le 2016
- 5.3. Kgolo mo iwkadisong ya CET, TVET le ditheo tsa thuto e kgolwane go tloga ka 2005 go ya go 2016
- 5.4. Palo ya baolagi ba yunibisithi go tloga ka 1994 go ya go 2016
- 5.5. Palogothe ya phitthelelo ya thuto ka 1994 le 2016
- 5.6. Batho ba ba tlogetseng sekolo go ya lotso le mofuta wa ditshwanelelo go tloga ka 2000 go ya go 2015
- 5.7. Karolo ya baolagi ba maramatlu ba ba boneng dikirri ya bachelor
- 5.8. Karolo ya baagi ba magareng ga dingwaga tsa 25 le 64 ba ba nang le thuto e kgolwane ka 2015
- 5.9. Baagi ya Aforika Borwa se sethopho sa dingwaga le bong ka diperesente
- 5.10. Seelo sa bothokatiro magareng ga basha se kwa godimo go sa kgathalesege gore ba na le boleng jo bo kana kang jwa thuto
- 5.11. Ditshono tsa EPWP di ile tsu tlhamiwa mo profofenseng nngwe le nngwe magareng ga 2013 le 2018
- 6.1. Tsholofelo ya botshelo ka tsalo mo Aforika Borwa 2002 – 2018
- 6.2. Palo ya bwetse ba ba tsyang dipilis tsa go ritibata mogare, Aforika Borwa 2004 – 2015
- 6.3. Palo e abelsetseng wa MMR go tswa mo metswedzieng e e farolonganeng ya tschedimosetso 1995 – 2016
- 6.4. USMR le IMR go tswa mo VR/RMS le seelo sa go swa ga masea a sa tswang go tsholwa (NMRR) go tswa mo VR/DHIS 2000 – 2017
- 7.1. Palogothe ya karolelano ya letseno ya baamogedi ba ba kwa godimo ka 10% ka 2012 – 2016
- 7.2. Lephata le phetolo mo madrelong a a farolonganeng
- 7.3. Ikwadiseto lekgetho le kokoonyo ya ditihoto 1993/94 – 2017/18
- 7.4. GST/VAT
- 7.5. Sekoloto sa setšaba e karolo ya GDP, 2002, 2008, 2011, 2017 le dirisitsweng ka 2020
- 7.6. Madi a a slang a tekanyetsobako ya Aforika Borwa e le karolo GDP 1990 – 2018
- 7.7. Seelo sa tlhathogo ya ditlhathwla sa ngwaga le ngwaga 1994 – 2018
- 7.8. Palogothe ya thulaganyo ya Madi a a Beilweng (ditlhathwla tse di thomameng tsa 2010)
- 7.9. Palogothe ya Thulaganyo ya Madi a a Beilweng go ya ka mafuta
- 7.10. Go romewla ga ditihoto tsa dinageng tse dingwe le ditirelo ka dibilione tse di thomameng (2017) tsa diranta le didolara tsa US 1994 – 2017
- 7.11. Kgolo ya GDP, kotara ka kotara ka ditlhathwla tse di thomameng tsa 2010 (di fetolwa go ya ka setha)
- 7.12. GDP go ya ka motho ka mongwe
- 7.13. Thuso ya madrelilo mo GDP 1980 le 2016
- 7.14. Kaelo ya ranta mo bojanaleng le karolo ya thuso ya karolo mo ditiror
- 7.15. Kaelo ya palogothe ya bojanala le thuso ya karolo mo ditiror
- 7.16. Thuso ya Ikonomi ya matwae ya Aforika Borwa mo setsong le ikonomi ka 2017
- 7.17. Palogothe ya Bothokatiro
- 7.18. Bothokatiro jwa basha ba Aforika Borwa;
- 7.19. Dinaga tse di nang le bothokatiro jo bo kwa godimo jwa basha
- 7.20. Ditshenyegolo mo patshisong le tlhabololo
- 8.1. Aforika Borwa: Go fetola malelo go nna metsesetoropo go tloga ka 2007 go ya go 2017
- 8.2. Palo ya diyuniti tse di thusitweng ka madi e weditswe go tloga ka 1994 go ya go 2014
- 8.3. Mefuta ma a baagi 1996 le 2017
- 8.4. Go kanoka dikgwetho
- 9.1. Dipalopalo tsa phatlathosetshe – lefatshe – dihetekara (1994 – Mopitwe 2018)
- 9.2. Dihetekara tse di bonweng ka molao wa go busetswa lefatshe le go le rebolasesha
- 9.3. Go nna mo kotsing ya tlala le go bona dijo 2002 – 2017
- 10.1. Madi a a dirisiediwang ditirelo tsa loago le tsa ikonomi le palogothe ya madi a a dirisiwang e le karolo ya GDP 1993 – 2018
- 10.2. Peeletso ya ditirelo ka setheo sa puso mo ka mmatatso
- 10.3. Go dirisira ga tota mo ikonoming ya setheo sa puso le ditirelo tsa loago, 1993 – 2018, Dibilonne tsa Diranta tse di thomameng ka 2010
- 10.4. Kakaretso ya ngwaga le ngwaga ya ditshenyegolo tsa ditirelo tsa ikonomi e le karolo ya GDP lefatshe lothe go tloga ka 2010 go ya go 2015
- 10.5. Motlakone o montsi mo Aforika Borwa fa o bapsiwa le kakaretso ya diikonomi tsa letseno le le mo magareng
- 12.1. Phetogo mo kemeding ya basadi mo Tirelong ya Botsmaisi jo bo Golwane mo ditirelo tsa setšaba
- 12.2. Maithlomo a puso ya naga malebana le karolwana 152 ya Molaotheo wa Repaboliki ya Aforika Borwa wa 1996
- 12.3. Tshobokanyo ya sekema sa puso ya naga
- 13.1. Kemedi ya basadi mo boathoding go tloga ka 2014 – 2018
- 13.2. Dipalo tsa bosenyi jwa setšaba (bosenyi jo bo dirwang ka tlhamalalo) 1994/95 le 2017/18
- 13.3. Phetogo ya bosenyi jwa setšaba
- 13.4. Dikgetsi tsa polao mo Aforika Borwa
- 13.5. Peresente ya dikakanyana tsa baagi malebana le bogolo jwa bosenyi jwa dikgoka mo lefelong le ba onang mo go lone
- 14.1. Kgwebisano ya madi ka dimilione tsa diRanta (Seetebosigo 1992 go ya go Moranang 2019)
- 14.2. Kgwebisano ya Aforika Borwa le dinaga tsa Aforika le porofaele ya tuediso 2018

**K a ngwana wa 1994 ele  
santilha, mo Aforika  
Borwa batlhopi ba  
tshimolola go ya  
ditlhopong ka puso e  
ntshwa, go tswa mo dingwageng  
tse fetileng tsa kgololosego, ba sa  
diri le letso le tekano ya merafe.  
E tlisitse bokhutlo jwaa kgatelelo,  
go tsenya matlho, kutlobotlhoko le  
kgaogano, gape se sene sa dira tsela  
e ntsha mme ga nna le bokhutlo jwa  
bakgetololo le ba gateledi.**

Ditiragalo tsa segolo di tlisitse ditshono tsa go aga batho mo merafeng b aba lwetseng go oketsa kgololosego ya batho le go atlega.

Mo ngwageng tsa go feta tse 25, ka jaaka go tlisa seriti sa motho, puso e dirika ka natla go naya baagi ba Aforika Borwa ka go ba tlamela ka ditiriso, metsi le tshireletso, matlo, motlakase, le go tshegetsa ka matseno, thuto, le tlhokomelo ya boitekanelo. E lwe-tse go aga ekonomi ya go tlisa diphatlatiro le ditshono tsa tekeletso tsa ditoro ke dintsha le tekano ya se morafe. Go na le pharologano e e tlileng mo ngwageng tsa go feta tse 25 mo naking ele ya tlhaolele.

Tlhatlhobo e ya ngwaga wa 25 tsa go feta e bontsha tsela e tsamailweng, e tlhagisa thata tse di botlhokwa tse di fitlheletseng mo nageng e ya rona se kgololosego e se fitlheletseng.

Tlhatlhobo e e tlhagisa maatla le bokutswana jo puso ya rona e bo fitlheletseng mo merafeng le mo ekonoming. Se se bontsha ele sediriswa se se tla tswalelang go dirisiwa go aga le oketsa ga tekano ya merafe le go ntsha tshotlego le tlala. Bokoteng jwa tlhokego ya semorafe le ekonomi-tshotlhego, botlhokathulo le kgetololo e sale teng o go rona. Mo tekanong tlhatlhobo e boka katlego e re e fitlheletseng ka bophara mo pele, jaaka re kgona go fiketsa ba Iwantshi ba rona le ka kgolagano ya bo rona go ka atlega tse re batlang go di fitlheleta le dikgotlhang. Se se bothokwa moo ke go lemoga se Aforika e se batlang, ele kagiso, katlego le go ikemela mo dinageng tse dikwantle ka go ikopanya le ba bantsi ba ka ga ditlamelo tsa lefatshe

Mo tekanong tlhatlhobo e boka katlego e re e fitlheletseng ka bophara mo pele, jaaka re kgona go

fiketsa ba Iwantshi ba rona le ka kgolagano ya bo rona go ka atlega tse re batlang go di fitlheleta le dikgotlhang. Se se bothokwa moo ke go lemoga se Aforika e se batlang, ele kagiso, katlego le go ikemela mo dinageng tse dikwantle ka go ikopanya le ba bantsi ba ka ga ditlamelo tsa lefatshe.

Goya ka dipalo tsa tlhatlhobo e ka maatla a rona a mantsha a atolotse naga le bokontle jwaa kganggolo. Go ya ka mabaka a rileng go ka tlisa kakanyo tse dintshwa go ka diriwa puisano mme go lekiwe go rarabolola dikgotlhang tse morafe o konang le tsone. Se se akaretsa go san ne le tekatekano ya semorafe, kopano ya magareng ga bong le tshotlhego, bong gareng ga batho le tekano ya batho, go sa nne ditshono tsa di tekatekano ya ekonomi, le pulego ya go tlhaola. Kgotslhang ya rona ke diteko gareng ga batho ba mmala o sa tswaneng, bo phatlhatiromo basweng, osa nne le ditekano mopholong le dithutong le mo semorafe.

Mo ditlhatlhobong tse di tseile megopoloo e e rileng ya go fenya dikgotlhang le go godisa ekonomi ya rona, ka bonako jwa porojeke ya rona, go atlisa morafe le go tlisa kakanyo tse di kwa pele tsa National Development Plan.

Re tlhoka go ka bolelelwka ka ga go gatisa ga ditsompelo tsa se ekonomi ya rona le diphetogo tse ditla fetolang matshelo a batho. Se se bothokwa, retla beeletsa mo bathong ba rona, segolo bana, baswa le basadi, gore tsela ya rona ya goya ko ngwageng w abo 50 ya kgololosegoe fitlhelelwka botlalo.

Re tswanetse go ikgantsa ka tlhatlhobolo e ka jaaka e na le bohumjwa se se diragetseng pele, go ikamanya le tse di moteng, le go dirisa se e go ka fitlheleta se re se batlang sa go nna le ditekano le katlego mo merafeng. Loeto lo a tswelala. A re berekeng rotlhe go aga le go godisa Aforika Borwa!

**Moeteledipele  
Matamela Cyril  
Ramaphosa**





MAETELEDEPELE LE KETETSOPELE

**K**gang e e bontsha lesedi ka dingwaga dile 25 tsa puso ya batho ka batho mo Aforika Borwa, e bontsha bo ko godimo le bokotlase jwa leeto lee. Kgang e ke bonnate jwa puso ya batho ya bofelo ya dingwaga tse 25, gape e bontsha tse re di fitlheletseng le tse re sa dikgonang mo nageng e ya rona rele semorafe ka ditlhabololo tsa ekonomi.  
**Pegelo ya kgang e ka bottalo,e tlisitswe go bontsha dipalo tse di kereilweng sentle mo tlhatlhobong e ya dingwaga tse 25,e ikopantshe le pegelo ya sepolotiki.**

Ka dingwaga tsa 25 tsa go feta,Aforika Borwa e ne ele nnyee ka puso. Mme, se se tla tlhagisa popego ya nag aka jaaka e rweieng le go fenza ka teng mo dintweng. Aforika borwa e ne ena le kagiso,go akaretsa go tsaya ga molao motheo[Act tsebe 108 ya 1996],ka melao ya ditetlelo di ne di ketikiwa. Aforika Borwa o montswa o ntshitse melawana e ya puso ya batho .go akaretsa kgaogano e maatla magareng ga melao motheo, tona le melao ya kgothla. Puso ya Aforika Borwa e na le dinaga tse thataro le dithlopo ka bophara mme le ditlhopo tsa mmasepala tse tlhano gotswa mo ngwageng tse 25. Dipolotiki tsa ditlhopo tse tsotlhe di amogela dipholo tsotlhe tse di tswang tsa ditlhopo ka boteng goya mo bathong. Go ya ka tsela ya Aforika Borwa katlego ya mashole ale supa, masule la pele la ko Transkei,Bophuthatswana,Venda le Ciskei[TBVC] le motsamao kgololosego. Se se tlisa kagiso le kemiso mo nageng ya rona.

Go fola ga ditiragalo tsa go feta tsa go ama pusa e ne e tlhopolola. Tshimololo ya Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC] e tsene go tswa mo Promotion of National Unity le Reconciliation Act[Tsebe 34 ya 1995] mo sitilo sa ten gene ele Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu,o tseile karolo e botlhokwa thata mo tsamaisong e. Molao motheo le megolopololo ya melawana e ne e beilwe gore e berekisiwe le go diriswa mo seemo sa merafe,go oketsa botsamaiso jwa basadi le tekatekano yay a bong,le go dira gore ditshono di bonwe ka bonako mo baagi bottlhe ba naga. Go nna le seabe sa ditshono se ne sa okediwa mo maAforika Borwa.TSe se akeretsa dithuto tse di ka

lekanang le sedikadike sa 10 mo baithuting ba 20,000 go sa patele matlole a dikolo. Dinaga ka bophara di ne di sirelediswe mo go bafinyeng. Go tsena go ne go okeditswe ka 97,8% mo ngwageng wa 2005 go ya ko 99% ka 2015.Melawana ya megopololo e e kotlase ya ene e tlisitswe go akaretsa National School Nutrition Programme, se se ne sa dira ore baithuti ba ikgapele kaba ne bale sedikadike sa 9 [gotswa mo go ba ba 12 milione]. Go nna le tetla mo Primary Health Care [PHC] go dirile ditiro di nne dints, ka tlhogo ya PHC e oketsegile go tswa mo sedikadike sa 68 ka 1998 goya ko sedikadikeng sa 120 ka 2019.Tetla ya matlo ene ya okediwa ka sedikadike sa 4 sa batswara matlo-go ntsha batlhoka matlo. Aforika Borwa e ne ya amogela thuso ya kamogelo ya semorafe.go akaretsa go fiwa motlakase,metsi,thulaganyo ya go gopa leswe le go ntsha matlakala.Tetla ya go thusa merafe e ne ya okediwa mo moabelwa goya ko dimilione tse 17.4.

Mo patlego ya lefatsheng lotlhe, puso ya Aforika Borwa e ne ya gatelela ka go simolola Africa Union [AU] ka go fa matla a Southern Africa Development Community [SADC]. Naga e ne ya ikgapela mo go United Nation [UN] le go direla mo go UN Security Council. Aforika Borwa e kile ya tswara tiragalo ya lefatshe ka bophara go tswana le phutego kgolo ya boraro mo lefatsheng ka tlhotlhobolo ka ngwaga wa 2001, ko Durban ba dirile kitsiso ya phatlhalatsa le lenaneo la tiro go fedisa kgetololo ya ba dira letso go simolola le go tsaya UN.

Ntswa go le jalo naga ka bophara a ekonomi,go beeletsa ga Aforika Borwa e fitlheletse kgolo ya go lekana le 6,2% ya ngwana mo ngwageng tsa go feta tsa 25. IDingwaga tse di lesome tsa go feta,se ntse se gateletswe ke di dikadike tsa diranta mo lekaleng la phatlhalatsa la dikago tso kontle,go akaretsa go beeletsa mo lebala la metshameko,dipalangwa dipalo tsa dikago go netefatsa gore ba fitlhelela FIFA World Cup ya 2010.Se se akaretsa ditlhabololo tsa boemelo jwa difofane,tsela e tona le tshimolo ya di palangwa tsa Bus Rapid Transit system mme le dikagotsa gontsa matla,Kusile le Medupi,le metsi ka bontsi ba dirile dikago tsa teg tsa dipojek. Ka ngwaga wa 1994 go nnele le ditshono tse dints, tsa diphatlatiro go tswa mo 8,9 milione ya batho,goya go sedikadike sa 16.5 sa batho ka 2018. Mme go ntse jalo,bo tlhotiro bo sale ko godimo ka diporesetente tse 29 mo kwatareng ya bobedi ya 2019. Naga ya lefatshe ke yone e ile ko godimo ka go phatlhalatsa ka 8,3 milione ka go tlhagisa gape mo pusong. Mme se, ga se lekalekane,go fiwa lefatshe mme se se dirile gore go nne le ditlhokego tsa lefatshe mo bathong bantsho mo Aforika Borwa.

Aforika Borwa e na le tekese e ko godimo,mme e ikemetse k abo yone go tloga ka ngwaga wa 1994-e fitlhele ko ranteng tsa I tirilione ka 2017.

Mme go ne go na le kgolagano,e e ne ya dira di tekano tsa go fitlhelela le go ama ga ditiriso tsa puso. Seemo sa go lekantsha dilo mo ditshwanelo tsa ekonomi ya bogologolo e nneile bokowa le poelo morago ya maloba ya tlhaolele. Seemo se na le dilo tse di le teng go tswana le molao motheo,melao,dikakanyo tsa setlhophapha,tsela ya melao e botlhokwa,le ditlhophapha tsa tsamaiso.Aforika Borwa e setse e le naga e e nang le ditshwanelo tse di sa lekalekaneng mo merafeng,thata mo matsenong le dithuto tsa mong,ka tirisano yay a Gini ya 0.68 Go feta ga dingwaga tsa 25, thulagano ya kgatelelo ga se e tsamaye e boele ko morago mo modikagong tse tlisitsweng le go fiwa lefatshes la bo rona. Bontsi jwa batho bantsho ba santse ba dula mo metsing e mennye le ditoropo ko ba dirang teng, se ba patela ditsamaiso tsa bone tsa dikoloi gotswa mo letseng la bone ga boraro.

Kgotlhlang e nngwe ee ke ditliso tsa di tirelo tsa bone: ntle le go beeletsa, seemo sa puso se santse se palelwae ke go fitlhelela ditiro tsa bone tsa batho, thata puso ya rona ya mogae. Mo phalhalatseng ya lekala e bereka ka boimana,le fa go na le Dikago tse di ka tsayang maekarabelo mo go tsone. Go na le go sa lekaneng ga ditlamorago tsa tsamaiso ya go tswa mo tseleng le bokowa jwa tiro.Molao wa State Owned Companies [SOCs] e santse ele bokowa, ka ditiro tsa bogwenegwene, le ka tiriso ya madi. Tshenyetso setshaba, nnete le maikaelelo, di tseile naga ya rona ka go tlisa ditirile tsa batho, ntle le dikago tsa go ntsha le go sireletsa tsone. Bo ko tlase jwa ditirelo tsa batho, ga dina boikego, botho le ditshenyego tsa setshaba di teng, le bokowa jwa go nna le dikago tsa gago mo pusong di dirile go utlwala mo phatlhalatseng ya batho ka go fitlha le bo nnete jwa naga.

Go dira puisano ka se, ka jaaka go sireletsa puso e e siameng, tsela ya tekese le tshepo ya morafe mo tlhoko-kgobelo, puso e dirile le go tlisa go ikopantsa. Se se akaretsa diphetogo tsa boetsapele jwa South Africa Revenue Services le National Prosecuting Authority,tse di tla tlhabololang le go atisa ga melao ya tlhoko-kgobelo. Mo Judicial Commission wa Enquiry o na le melato mo seemong ka botlalo, tshenyetso setshaba le bosinye mo lekaleng la phatlhalatsa go akaretsa boteng jwa seemo,mo setilong sa motlatsa tonakgolo ele Justice Raymond Zondo, o ne a simolotse. Bontsintsi jwa ditlhokego, bo lakaneditswe ka go bontsha tsa diphoolo,thuto, kemo ya botshelo le

tiro ya ekonomi,e kwatlase. Mme se,fa se lekangwa le matlole a madi, bothhoki di ile ko godimo.

Boteng jwa kagego ya ekonomi ga bo mo tseleng,mme bo sale teng, le tsone di poelo marago. Thotleetsso ya basadi e e fitileng ya dingwaga tse 25, mo Aforika Borwa e nna le dipela morago tsa kgatelelo ya bong le bosadi.Se e nnele dikgwetlo mme ditla fenyiwa. Mo di thulaganyong tsa puso e tswanetse go netefatsha gore bothhoki a bo tswe tseleng le go fokotsa kgolo ya ekonomi ka go ela tlhoko tse di bothhoka pele. Ekonomi ya rona e tswanetse go bona di poelo morago tse di dirang gore go sa nna le kgolo. Puso, dikgwebo, setheo sa ba boaledi le tse dingwe tsa merafe go bona le go tlisa tse di tla tlhabololang ekonomi ya rona ka go godisa le go dira ditiro tse dintsi ka se setla fokotsa bontsi jwa tshotlhego,go sa lekalekane lebotlhokatiro.

Dipuisano tsa ditirisano tsa bothhokatiro,naga ya rona e tswanetse go dira gore go nne le di phathla tiro jaaka go dira bokgoni jwa bo kwatlese le ditlamelwana tsa go tsena gore o ka nna le tiro. Gape naga ya rona e tswanetse go tlisa bokgoni jo bot la dirang gore bot la tlhoka ekonomi,ka go godisa ekonomi mo nako e tlang.Aforika Borwa e tswana go ela tlhoko dilo tse tharo tse: (ab)o tshimololo jwa go aga bokwantele jwa ekonomi; (b)tsela ya go nna le dipuisano tsa bothhoka tiro le go sa lekalekane,jaaka go dira bokgoni le matla a batho mme le boetsapele jwa Fourth Industrial Revolution le (c)dithuto tsa bokgoni, go akaretsa go thusana, le megopoloy ya setlhophapha le dira ka thata.

Sa bofelo, se se bontsha moporesidente Cyril Ramaphosa ka lefoko la gagwe, tlhatlhobo e e tlisa ditshono gore ma Aforika Borwa a ikopntshe le puso ka kwataraya bofelo ya go feta.Tlhatalhobo e e tlisa pulego mo baaging mo ngwageng tse 25 go aga, go eteleditswe pele ke 2044. Ke eletsa fa maetemogelo aka a ka fitlhelelela ko go motlapele waka, Tonakgolo NC Dlamini-Zuma, ka ga bono ya gagwe ka ga tlhatlhobo e ya ngwaga tse 25.

**Mr. Jackson Mthembu,  
MP**

Tona ya setilo sa botonakgolo



**T shelo morago e ya ngwaga tse 300 tsa go laolwa ke basweu, mo ngwageng tsele tse 84 tsa kgatelelo mo lekala la Aforika Borwa le 46 ya dingwaga tsa tlhopololo, motlase ga kgatelelo, ka nako ele ya go tlhokega ga matseno ale a kgololosego kgatlhanong le go nna le go tsaya, naga ya rona e nnele le kgololose ka ngwaga wa 1994. Go ne gwa nna le ditlhopo tsa peletse di tsverweng ka kgwedi ya Moranang a tlhola matsatsi ale 27 ka ngwaga wa 1994 mego nnele le kagiso mo dipuisano tse tsa ditlhopo,goya ka lefatshe ka e ne e sale morago se e ne ya wela mofatshe ka lekala la Soviet Union, e ikwadisetsa la molao o “montsha wa lefatshe” goya ka lefatshe.**

Ka bokhutlo jwa kgatalelo e ne ele ko Namibia le Aforika Borwa,maAforika ka bophara ba ne ba kgoina go ka lebelela ka go aga,go tlisa kagiso le go ikopantsha. MaAforika Borwa a nneile le kagiso e e bolegile go keteka le godira disedikadike tsa batho ba bangwe ba ne ba Patelwe ka madi a ko godimo-ka nako ele ya kgatelelo, tlhaolele ya batho basweu le batho bantsho.

Bafinye ba dintwa le dikgothang tsa naga ya rona ya kgololosego ya matseno a ne a gateletswe mo ngwageng tse fitileng. Se se akaretsa Bulhoek, Sharpeville, Soweto, Maseru le Maputo goya ko Massacres[gareng ga ba bantsi] go tswana le Freedom Charter,se se thusitse baithuti le basha,ba bareki le basadi. Kanete Aforika Borwa tiragalo ya teng e tseile matsapa ka go sireletsa disedikadike sa batho le seemo sa ba bapatetsweng go thusa kgatlhanong le kgatelelo.

Ko bofelelong jwa ngwaga ya 1980,dilo tsa ko gae le dikamano tsa lefatshe di tlisitse di puisano,se se bone ka 1994.

Ma Aforika Borwa ba keteka kgololosego le puso e ka kgwedi ya Moranang Aa tlhola matsatsi a le 27 ka ngwaga wa 2019,puso le batho e bona le go tsamaya

go tlaga ka 1994.

Se ke dipholo tse ene dile mo dipuisanong tse di tlisitseng diphitlhelelo le dikgwetlo tse di bonweng le go buisanwa. Go sena pelaelo epe,dikatlego le dikgwetlo tse ne ba dirwele le dintlha kgotsa dipolelo tsa bone. Mme go ntse jalo,ke loeto la dingwaga dile 25 tse di rweleng diphethlelelo tse di fetotseng matshelo a batho ka disedikadike tsa baagi ba Aforika Borwa.

Dipapatso tsa puso ya ngwaga wa 1994 ne di sa kaye motho a le mongwe,dithopa tse nngwe,mme e similotse tshupamolao ya ditshwanelo ka 1996,se se dirile le go bontsha ditshwanelo tsa batho-go akaretsa ga banni,dipolotiki,merafe,ekonomi le ditshwanelo tsa tikologo Se se tsamaya le tsamaiso ya puso ka go tlhola le go tenefatsa go akaretsa Kgaolo Robongwe ya ditheo. Ka nako ele ya ngwaga tsa bo 25 Aforika Borwa e similotse letseno la setshaba, e tswa mo molatheo wa maAforika Borwa wa 1996,go ka ikgapela boikgantsa jwa batho le go nna le ditirilo tse digaufi,go ela tlhoko bokowa le botemeko. Morago ga dingwaga tsa go feta tsa dithuto tsa go sa agiwe sentle,tsa ngwaga wa 25 di boneboitswaro jwa thuto ya Bantu,le ka lefatshe bophara go ka nna e tetla go dirisa thuto,ka dipesentse tse 99,le go oketsega ga dithuto.

Mme go ntse jalo puso ya rona, e na le dithoto tsa go tswana le matlo,mabalelo-matlo,dikolo,ntlo ya bongaka le ditsela di dirilwe ka bontsi. Ditswanelo tsa mmereko di atolesitswe go ka oketsa matshelo a rona le matseno a batho, go akaretsa National Minimum Wages [NMW]. Tiro ya NMW,[ Act 9 ya ngwaga wa 2018,e nnele le seabe ka kgwedi ya Ferekong a tlhola malatsi a le nngwe ka ngwaga wa 2019,le tse dingwe,matseno a kotlase ene ele ranta tse 20 ka Ura nngwe le nngwe kgotsa ranta tse 3 500 ka kgwedi nngwe le nngwe,goya ka tiro e o e dirileng. Bo kotlase jwa letseno joo boa ma matseno a a gaufi a ba bareki ba ka nna 6 milione.

Morago ga dingwaga tsa go feta tlhaloganyo ele ya 1994, ekonomi e ne ya gola thata,mo dipholong tse e tlisitse ditiro le dikago tse dikgolo tsa ekonomi mo ditlamelong tsa lefatshe Mme le se,Aforika Borwa ga se e fetole mokgwa wa go nna le dithoto,go laola le go tsamaisa ga ekonomi. Dipholo tsa se,botlhoka tiro le go sa lekalekane,e leng kgotlheng ya botlhoki,le go gapeletsa bong le boemo bo santse bo eme bo ama basadi ba Aforika Borwa ba ba



ikemetseng ka di 10% gantsi ba bakotlase ke banna ba tlhogo ya lelapa.

Phulego ya Aforika Borwa ya kgatelelo e santse e ikemetse,mo ngwageng tse 25 morago ga kgololosego. Bontsi jwa ditlhabololo,bo kotlase jwa go simolola le go iketha ga lefatshe go dirile gore go nne le pharologanobo batho bantsho le basweu,se se tlisitse puleo ya bohumi le bohumanegi.

Dipalo tsa batho mo dingwageng tsa go feta tsa 25 di nnile le katlego,Aforika Borwa e fitilwe ke ditshono tse dintsi. Gantsi,go na le seabe mo goamegeng ga kgetololo ya semorafe,maAforika Borwa a magwe ga a bontsi ele ma Aforika Borwa.

Ditiro tse di siameng di santse di le kotlase ka ga botlhoki le go sa lekalekane tsa matshelo a batho. Mo dingwageng tse 25 tsa batho di dirile gore di oketsege ka palo ya batho b aba berekang ga bedi ka 9.8 milione [1994] goya ko di dikadike tsa 16.5 [2018] tsa batho, mme go ntse jalo ekonomi e fitlheletse 2,8% tsa GDP go feta ngwaga tse 25, ga se e ntshe ditiro mme e ikaeletse go ntsha botlhoka tiro le ba bantsha.

Magare a kgolo ga se a tsamaye a ame ekonomi,se se tlisa bptlhoki,botlhaka tiro le go sa nne le teketeckano.

Botlhoka tiro bo ile ko godile a diporesente tse 36,4 ka 1999,goya kotlase ka diporesente tse 25,

ma gareng ga 2006 le 2015,go ya kotlase ka 21,5 ka 2008,ka jaaka lefatshe le nneile mo mathateng a matseno. Morago ga moo ene yaya ko godimo morago ga sebaka, go yako diporesente 27,1 mo Q4 ya 2018. Mo seemong sa ngwaga tse 25 tsa go feta go nnele le teketeckano ya diporesente tse 25.Tshothego ya baswa le bothhoka tiro, e kwa godimo,go supa go tswanetse go okediwa ka bokgoni ga Fourth Industrial Revolution[4IR], ka jaaka ele kwa godimo ga Aforika Borwa le lefatshe ka bophara.

Ditshenolo tsee di bitsa rona go ela tlhoko ka ga mefuta ya thuto,bokgoni le dithamelwana tsa thuto go naya batho ba banyenyane. Go tshwana le go beeletsa ga ditlhabololo tsa go ela tlhoko pholo ntse o etse tlhoko go simolola gareng ga thuto e kotlase,lelekala la Post-School Education and Training,gore go nne le ditiro mo lefatsheng le botshimilolo jwa ditiro. Go nna kelo tlhoko go dira gore lekala la Aforika Borwa ka 80/20 go kgaogana ka Science,Technology,Engineering le Mathematics[STEM] le Humanities mo tseleng. Ba fetsa dikolo dikgolo ba tlhoka ditiro le go simolola di kgwebo le go atisa. Ba fetsa dikolo dikgolo ba tlhoka ditiro le go simolola di kgwebo le go atisa. Go tswantse go ela tlhoka ka kgang e ya go beeletsa, ka go bona ka dipalo tsa ban aba ba ikwadisitse ko unibesiting go na le ba ba ko dikolong tse kotlase. Se setla dira gore Aforika Borwa e gole,e agege le go nna le ditshono. Ditshono tse tse di tswanetse go ka thusa melao ya di kgwebo ka gotla ka dikakanyo gore Aforika Borwa e gole thata mo magaeng le ko ditoropong mo ekonoming,ko baagi ba Aforika ba tletseng teng.

Metse magae le toropo ekonomi ya teng e gola ka dipalo le dikago tsa teng. Merafe ya Engineering le ya go simolola di porojeke tsa puso ya kgatelelo e nagatse ka tlhaloganyo ya g kgaogana le a kgetololo,se se santse se ama matshelo a rona thata,thata moekonoming,go tlhoka ga lefatshe le pula ya melao.

Se se bone diphetogo tse bulegileng, mme ga se a fitlhelelwka ngwaga tsele tsa 25. Puso ya kgololoseo e budile metse setoropo, thata mo ditoropong. Di tumalatsano tse dintsha tse di simolotsweng tsa puso ya matshegediwa le melawana go tswana le Aforika le ngwao ya setso sa rona. Go nna le tetla go bodulo jwa ko toropong jwa 'basweu fela' le maEuropean. E na le go sa lekalekane le mo Aforika Borwa e dula e sa lekalekane mo nageng ya lefatshe Itlhe, ka Gini ya go lekana le 0,68.

**Goya ko pele,  
Aforika Borwa  
ene ya dira gore  
go nne le dikago  
le ditlhabololo  
tse di tla tsayang  
karolo e kgolo  
mo metsesegae le  
metse setoropo ka  
kakaretso.**

Aforika Borwa.

# KGOLOLOSEGO YA DINGWAGA TSE 25 TSA

**27/4/19**

25 ngwaga

**2019**

DITLHOPO

**2013**Agenda  
2063**2013**50 ngwaga  
OAE / AU**2018**70TH ngwaga  
wa UN**2015**SDG's  
UN**2012**setulo sa  
Aforika Bor-  
wa sa AU sa  
bokomesina**2014**

DITLHOPO

**2012**

NDP

**2009**

DITLHOPO

**2005**2005ASGISA Bok-  
goni jwa botho le  
kgolo ya diphetogo**2001**Mathata  
a madi a  
lefatshe**2002**lefatshe ke tille ka tsh-  
wanelo ya ditlhabololo  
le 1st Aforika Union  
Summit**2006**DITLHOPO TSA  
TIKOLOGO**2004**

DITLHOPO

**1999**

DITLHOPO

**1998**Mathata a  
madi a Asian**1996**Adoption  
of the  
Constitution**1995**Aforika Borwa e  
ne e tsware Rugby  
World Cup**1995-96**Ditlhopo tsa  
puso ya selegae**1996**GEAR ditiro  
bokgoni mae-  
koro-ekonomi**1996-98**TRC ke dikopano  
tsa ngatana  
ya dikgathako  
tsa ditshwanelo  
tsa botho**1994**RDP  
diphetogo tsa  
boteng jwa  
ekonomi**1994**

DITLHOPO

**'91-'93**CODESA  
ditiro tsa teng tsa  
kgapeletso ya boraro  
ntwa**1990**Nelson Mandela le batswariwa  
ba polotiki ba tlogetswle, le mak-  
gotla a polotiki a dirisiwa

Bokgoni jwa seemo sa go botsa dipotso, mo mengwegeng le mo dikgwetlong tsa ekonomi. Seemo sa bokgoni se kotlase le ditheo tsa teng ga dina kelo tlhoko le boetapele jwa teng. Go botlhokwa thata,ka gore e ikagile kamaitswaro a morafe le setheo se se ikemetseng. Lekala le nnele le dikgotsang ka ga diphetogo tsa lefatshe ka bophara le mo tikologo,le melao ya tiriso ya batho le merafe yotlhe. Bosinyi,le batswa kwantle b aba sa lettelelwang,tshenyetso setshaba, le kgolo ya gotswa ya ekonomi etla tswelela ka go tlhagisa kgwetlo mo molao motheo le tshireletso ya maagi. Setheo sa puisano,kgotlhlang,le bonnye jwa go itsi le go tsaya nako go tsaya ditsweetso ga e se e thusi puso gore a go tlisa di porojeke le diphetogo mo merafeng.

Ditheo,thata tsa sekolo le dikolo tse dikgolo tsa boithuti,ga se di fetoge,le ka go san ne le tekatekano mo dithutong. Sa bofelo,batho b aba tlhokang ga bana tetla e kalo ya go nna le tshegetso ya matse-no mo dithutong,mo ekonoming le mo ditshono tsa dikgwebong.

Go sobokanya gotlhe,ditheo tsa puso ya kgololosego di na le kalego,di dirile phetogo e tona ka go bulega le go tlisa ga ditirelo tsa batho,go nna le tetla ya go dirisa dikago,tshireletso ya semorafe le yone e nnele kwa tlase morago ga tshotlego. Tshotlhego ya pele le megopolis di tlie le ditshono tse di rileng mo tshireletsong ya morafe mo Aforika Borwa mo ngwageng tse tsa 25 tsa go feta. Tlholtlhobolo le bong e na le diphetogo tse rileng mme ga se e tlise seemo seo. Melao ya ekonomi ga se e tlise diphetogo mo nageng ya rona mo e tla ikgapelang teng thata go tswa mo hisitoring ya kgatelelo. Tlhoko-kgobelelo le tetla ya lefatshe la bantsho ga e se e nne le dipuisano le ga se nneng le tekatekano e kwa godimo,le go sa amogele tlhotlhobolo le bong gareng ga bahumi.

Goya ko pele, mo Aforika Borwa e tlisitse le go simolola ga dikago le ditlamelo tsa lefatshe le go ela tlhoko ga magae le metse setoropo. Ditiro tse tswanetse di neeletsane ka go tlisa bontsi jwa ekonomi ya ditlamelo tsa lefatshe,that aka matla a teng,go eteletsa pele ka go phephafatsa le go nna ga metsi,go oketsa ditlamelo tsa merafe,le go ikopantsa le baagi ka ga ditlhabololo le go nna le tetla ya dipalangwa. Se se tlhoka Information and Communications Technology [ICTs] mo ditlamelang, ka bophara le go nna le tetla ya go

tsena mo mafarathatlha le go isa madi ko tlase. Ditheo tsotlhe tsa go ithuta di tswanetse go nna le tetla ya go tsena mahala go dirisa mafarathatlha. Se setla godisa Aforika Borwa ka 4IR.

Ka jaaka re ipeela goya ko ngwageng tsa gotla tse tsa 25 tsa puso yakgololosego,re tla aga le goikgapele gotswa mo ngwageng tsele tsa ntla tsa 25 ya puso ya kgololosego mo Aforika Borwa mo phatlheng tsotlhe tsa puso mo morago ga merafe ya go tlisa,le go ela tlhoko fa Aforika Borwa e gola botlhe. Kago le go tlisa diphetogo tsa dikago tsa naga ya rona tsa go dira le itsholelo re tla bona mosola o motona thata,gore re kgone goaga le go gola ga Aforika Borwa e e leng ya rona gore re nne mo go yone. Go ka atlega se e re tswanetse go ikaelela le go sireletsa naga ya rona le dijalo tsa teng ga mmogo le dilo tsa tikologo.

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**Ngaka NC  
Dlamini Zuma**  
Tonakgolo ya  
Cooperative  
Governace and  
Traditional Affairs



KGAOLO 1

# Matseno



**N**gwaga wa 2019 o emetse phetogo le ditiragalo tse di botlhokwa mo Aforika Borwa, e leng ngwaga wabo 25 wa puso ya batho ka batho ka di 27 Moranang ka ngwaga wa 1994 wa tlhabololo mo Aforika Borwa, go lebana le mengwaga e 300 ya puso yase koloni, megwaga ele 84 ya kgethololo ya puso yase koloni, mengwaga ele 84 ya puso ya kgethololo ya letso le mmala le mengwaga ele 46 ya molao wa tlhaolele kai 27 moranang 1994 molao o begile ke ditlhophpha tsedi farologaneng mo sepolotiking, ba bega bokhutlong jwa kgatelelo.

## MMUSO WA TEMOKERASI O TSHOTSE MAEMO AFE KA 1994

Bokoloni e ne ele tsamaiso e setlhogo e dirisitsweng kantla ya dintwa, e tlhotlheleditswe ke dipolisi, ditiriso le melao yago tseela bantsho lefatshe la bona. Batho bantsho bane ba tlhotlhelediwa go nna boleng jo bo kwa tlase ka ntlha ya barui basweu le dimmaene.

Lekgotla la Aforika Borwa la 1910 le tswakantse tsamaiso ya melao ya bonyenyane jwa sethophpha sa basweu, ba tlisa tlhopololo yam mala, semorafe le bong. Palamente ya basweu fela e dumetse melao e e thusang ebole e tlol lang basweu, fela e sekaseke tlhabololo ya batho bantsho le basadi. Polotiki ya kgethololo ya letso la mmala e simolotse pele ga mmuso wa setshaba oka bus aka 1948 e bontshiwa ke land Acts ya 1913 le ka 1926. Boemedi jwa natives Acts ya 1926 e e ntshitseng batlhophi ba banna ba bantsho kwa kapa, ba ntshitswe mo rolong e etlwaelegileng ya batlhophi ba ba baya mo rorlong e farologaneng. Ba tswelela pele group Areas Act ya 1950, job Reservation Act ya 1951 le promotion of Bantu self-Government Act ya 1959

ke tsedingwe tsa tsona. "kgao gano ya tlhabololo" ene e tlwaeditswe mo melaong e farologaneng, tse dingwe ele matlo a farologaneng a palamente, tlhophololo yam mala, thuto, tloso ya boagedi le manyalo.

Bokoloni jwa kgethololo bo dirisitse mothale go Iwantsha kgatelelo ya basadi ka melao ya go tshwana le native Administration Act ya 1927 e e esitseng kwa tlase, go fitlhela temokerasi ka 1994. Le bana ba baling mo molaong bane basa kgone ikemela go sena motlhokomedi wa monna. Le basadi ba basweu bane baletleletswe go tlhphha ka 1930, morago ga koloni ya ma borithane ya new Zealand e naya basadi botlhe tswanelo ya go tlhophha.

Native Land Acts ya 1913 le 1926 e thibetse bantsho go reka le go hira mafelo a a leng kwanatile le mo bane ba dula, ka mokgwa o bane ba lekanyetsa bantsho barui ka 13% ya felo mo Aforika Borwa. Mo mafelong a bantsho go ne go sena tirelo setshaba go tswana le metse setoropo, mo dikago le ditirelo di fitlhelela botlhoki, le ekonomi le go dira ditshono di sa nna potlana.

Mafelo a rileng a ne a diriwa thata, se se ne se tlisa bo kotlase ga bokgoni jwa tiro mo basweung baba ne ban ale dimaene, dikago le diteng. Melao e ene e ama basadi le bana a khumanego e tseneletseng, se se amaile le mafatshe a Borwa ba tswere babereki bantsho bosula le go senya malapa a bone.

Morago ga dingwaga dile lesome Group Areas Act ya 1950 le tlhomamiso ya Bantustats ba tlhotse mo Aforika. MalIndia le makhalate ba tlositswe kwa metse setoropong ba setse ba dula kwa dikhempeng di leng kgakala le tirong le metseng. Le kwa magaeng batho ba ne ba tlosiwa baya mafelong a maswa.

Reservation ya Separate Amenities Act ya ngwaga wa 1953 e tlhomamisitswe melao ya di palangwa tsa mmuso. Go sa lekalekaneng ga ditiro mo mafapheng a farologaneng a tswanang le dikolo, di unibesithi, di kholeje, di petlele, di palangwa le kwa ditirong tse di farologaneng.

Tlhaolele ya mafapha a mmuso a ne a dirisiwa mo mmusong a leng some le bogwe ka ntlha ya go se lekalekane le tlhabololo le tirelo ya mmuso kwa Bontustans.

## Tlhaolele ya tsamaiso ya boitekanelo e ko godimo, ka kgaogano ya dikwalo tse di farologaneng tsa tetla ya boitekanelo.



Setheo sa dikwalo se bereka ka go tsaya ditsweetso tse di ko godimo ka go tlhoka tiragatso le maekemelo. Tirelo ya mmuso ene elekanyaditswe mo bantshongle khumanego ya thuto, se ne se dira batho bantsho ba se ke ba rutega.

Tlhaolele ya tsamaiso ya boitekanelo e ko godimo, ka kgaogano ya dikwalo tse di farologaneng tsa tetla ya boitekanelo. Ene e le ko tlase gape e sa lekalekane thata mo diphekong le mo dipetlele [boitekanelo ene e tshwana fela le tsedingwe la 11% ya mmuso wa boitekanelo].<sup>1</sup> Bane basa ele tlhoko malwetsi a bahumanegi tsa go tshwana le malwetsie a mafatlha, malwetsi ane a tshwara batho bantsho ka bontsi ka 1980 World Health Organisation E buile gore go swa ga masea a batho bantsho mo Aforika Borwa ene ele 120 ka dipelego didle 1000, ka jalo basweu ne ele mongwe le mongwe ka 110<sup>2</sup>

Polane ya tlhaolele ya modulo ya bontsi jwa batho mo Aforika Borwa b aba dulang mo metseng e e sa itekanelang, matlo a a leng kgakala le tiro kgotsa kwa motsesetoropong, se ne se dira gore ba dirisa madi a mantsia go tsamay sekgala. Menyeta ya gore batho bantsho bareke mafelo le dikwebo dine dile dinyenyane, basa dumelwelwa menyeta le mo kgwebong ya matlo. Matlo a metsesetoropo a dirilwe ka 1994 ka di uniti dile 1.3 milione le dihosetele le metse ya gae e ne e balelwaa mo dipalo tseo tsa 3 milione uniti<sup>3</sup>.

Sisitemo ya bojammogo ene e dirisiwa ka letso la mmala bong, le tulo. Gone go sena matsogo a polisi ya mmuso le mafapha a farologaneng ledi polisi tsa matsogo a mmala e e amanang le ma Aforika. Tlhawatlhwa ya tshwariso ene e farologane ka ntlha ya letso le mmala. Batho ba khumanego bane bas a e fitlhele gole gantsi.

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- 1 Wadee, H; Gilson, L; Thiede, M; Okorafor, O; en McIntyre, D. 2003. Health Care Inequity mo Aforika Borwa le Phatlalatsa/ Sekemelo sa go tlhakana:Dipakano tsa pampiri tsa go bakanya ga RUIG/UNRSID pojeke ya Globalisation, go sa lekalekane le boitekanelo.p.5.
- 2 Chimere-Dan, O. 1992. Kgatelo le kaelo ya kerafa mo Aforika Borwa, African Population Studies, 7. p.28-38.
- 3 African National Congress. 1994. Lenaneo la go Agasesha le la Tlhabatlo, Johannesburg: Dikgatiso tsa Umanyano tsa African National Congress.

Mafapha a bosinyi le tshiamiso,maphodisa, masole le ditoronko ene ele mafapha a a dirisiwang go gatelela tlhaolele. Mafapha a ke ona a aneng a tshegetswang ke mafapha a kgethololo. Batho bantsho bane ba laolwa ke mokgatlho o kwantle le moteng mo dikagong tsa Basweu. Setheo sa mashole sa banna ba basweu sa South African Defense Force [SADF] se ne se nale le tatelo ya letsatsi ya go fiwa dilo tse ko godimo thata mo tshireletsong e e leng teng ka nako ya seemo sa kgatelelo. Go diragatsa se le go tsamaisa dilo tsa setoropo mo Aforika Borwa ya madula e ne e simolotse ka go tlisa baeteledipele ba batho bantsho mo dipolotiking le ekonoming.

Basadi botlhe ba mmala o farologaneng, o farologaneng segolobo ba humanegi ba batho bantsho bane ba ganediwa gore baikopantshe le polotiki. Bane ba ganediwa le gonna le madulo, matlo, ditirelo tsa setshaba, thuto ya ditshono tse dingwe le ditiro.

Aforika Borwa e rekisetse,di diriswa tsa teng le ekonomi ya carbon intensive e ne e sa lekane goya ka tshireletso ya tikologo le ditlhabololo. Go fitisa see, mowa, metsi, le tshenyo ya tikologo e ne e dirilwe mme se se ne se dira batlhoki le metse ya bantsho, gore e nne kotlase ka dipolotiki le ekonomi ka go ka ikemela.

Mo kgolosego,puso e ntsha e tseile ekonomi ka matsatseleko a kotsi,ka se se dirirle polising ya goromente e bope, mme se se tseile karolo ya go ama ekonomi le tsone dithekisho tsa mmaene. Boswa jwa ekonomi bo ne bo etsamaile fela,ka kgolo e ka fetsang dingwaga tse some ka 1.2%. Seemo sa ekonomi se ne se rulagantswe ka maemo a ko godimo a dimakete, go ntse jalo go dirile tikologo le maitsholo a teng.

Go nna le setheo sa thuto ya Bantu,se ne se dira go sa lekalekane ga thuto le bokgoni jwa go tlisa dilo mo dikolong tsa batho bantsho le ditirelo tse dinnyee,se se dirile gore go nne le kgethololo e

tona mo bantshong go tswa mo ekonoming.Ditiro le paakanyo ya tiro e ne ele tsa basweu fela mme ntse banstho ba le teng.

## Tshimologong Ya Temokerasi:

Lethoko la ditiro le ne le le kwa godimo mo Aforika. Ka ngwaga wa 1994 le tlhoko la ditiro le ne le eme kwago 20% e ama di peresente dile masome a mabedi le bone (24%) ya bantsho fa re e tshwantsha le ya basweu e eleng 3%.<sup>4</sup> Teknikale le Higher education institutions [HEIs] e ne ya rarabolola kgotsa ya sekaseka kgang e. Gone gosena bokgoni jwa kwa godimo mo mafapheng a farologaneng<sup>5</sup>.

Ka 1994 batho ba fetang dimilione dile some a mabedi le bobedi bane ba sena bodiredi bo bo botlhokwa tsa go tshwana le metsi a phepha a go nwawa le 21 milione ya batho ba ne ba sena tekano ya bophepha. Magare a bontsi jwa batho mo magaeng ba ne ban a le poloego le go neiwa ga metsi, go le o mongwe mo go ba ba sup aba ne ba nna le teng ya bophepha.36% fela ya maAforika Borwa ba matlo ba ne ba nna le tetla ya motlakase. Fa ele di RDP,“botlhoki le bonnye jwa go nna gaufi le ditoropo le ditlhabololo tsa dimmaene, le dikago tsa madi”.<sup>6</sup>

Ka 1996, di peresente dile masome a supa (71%) ya dimilione dile masome a mabedi le bone ene ele barui. Mme go ntse jalo,bogare jwa batho ba matlo ba ne ba dira ttlebo ka dijalo tse dinnye,tsa go lekana le (93%) ya bantsho ene e amana le go rua le bonnyee jwa letseno<sup>7</sup>.

Bokhutlho jwa tlhaolele mo Aforika Borwa le Namibia le ntwa e tshididi e tlisistse ditshono tse dintsha le go bopa kemo ya rona.Pan-Africanists e dirile gore Aforika e nne le ditharabololo tsa mathata a a ne a lebagane le bokotlase jwa ditlhabololo.

4

Lekala la tshireletso tsa bodirelo. National Skills Development Strategy.

5

Khansele ya Patlisiso ya Saense ya Batho. 2019. Tirisanommogo magareng ga DHET le HSRC. Webosaete: <http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/departments/education-and-skills-development/lmip>.

6

Lekwalodikgang Iwa Puso. 1994. Kitsiso No. 1954 ya 1994. Lenaneo la go Agasesha le la Tlhabololo Pampiri e Tshweu.

7

Stats SA. 1999.



PICTURE: JOHNNY MILLER / UNEQUAL SCENES

## GO SEKASEKA TSHOKOLO LEGO SELEKANE

Aforika Borwa e bone go selekalekane, letlhoko la ditiro, tshokolo mo ntlheng ya bong le letso la mmala. Batlhodi ba temokerasi ba bantshitswe gore mathata a rona a matonna, ba bua le gore re kase tswelele pele fa go santse gona le batho ba ba dulang mo tshokolong, rena sena matshelo a botokwa.go sekaseka ga tshokolo gotla pele mo mmusong.

### Tshokolo le maloko a ona

Jaaka ka diRDP tsee,botlhoki bo aperetse batho ba Aforika Borwa,se ke dipholo tsa kgethololo le tlholego ya dikgwebo le ditlhabololo tse tlileng ka tsone.

RDP le mmuso o tlide ka diprograma mo dingwageng dele 25, bane ba sekaseka mabaka a tshokolo ledi tshono tse batshwanetseng gotla a tsona mo maemo a,go ela tlhoko ditlhokego, matseno, dikago, bokgoni jwa batho, dithoto le ditshono. Bontsi jwa dilo tse di nang le thotloetsa ene ele matlo, metsi, motlakase le tse dingwe (go tloga ka 2.6 milione ka ngwaga wa 1996 goya kwa go dimilione dile 17.7 milione ka ngwaga wa 2018) tsedingwetsa tsona eleng thuto le boitekanelo le dipalangwa.

Tlholego ya tiro e nayang dituelo ka ntlha ya pele ya go sekaseka tshokolo katamelo e agile kae mmuso le mafapha a fa pele, batlha ka maano a dingwaga dile masome a mabedi le botlhano (25) a ditiro eleng expanded public works programmes (EPWP), working for water (WFW), community work programme (CWP) le ditiro tsedi poraefete. Go nnile le ditiro tse dimilione dile 10.3 ka ngwaga wa diketse tse pedi le bone (2004). EPWP e labile bosha baba senang tiro bale di sedikadike sa 4.8. Morago ga kgolagano kwa EPWP dipatlisiso di bontsha batseni b aba lekanang la 12.4% ba fitlhetsi tiro, 4.8% ba butse di kwebo, 47.8% yon aba fitlhetsi tiro ya nakwana, 14% engwe yona e tsena mo mafapheng a thuto. Ka kokeletso ya 66%

ya EPWP ene e le basadi, 47% ele basha, 1% ya batho ba digole.

Koketso ya matsapa go rotloetsa basha bago sokola la ba letlhoko la ditiro ene ele tlholego ya umsubomvu youth fund (UYF) le National Youth Development Agency (NYDA) e na le mekgatlo e mentsi e e dumalanang le Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) le matseno a Youth Wages Subsidy le Youth Employment Service(YES) ga mananeo.

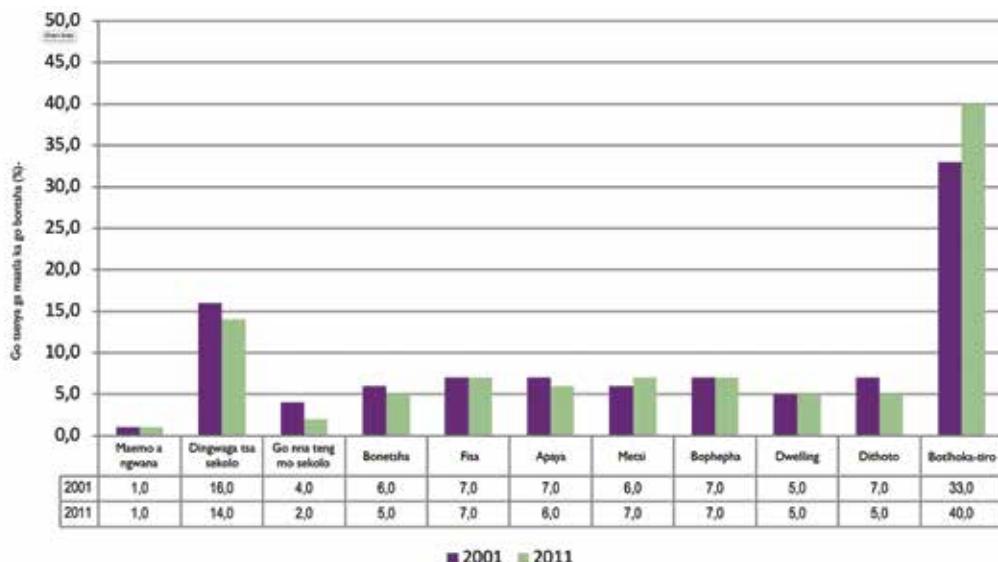
Tekano e feleletse ga go lebelela ga dilo tse potlana le tse mo magareng tsa ditlhabololo le ditirisano,le tsone tse tsa go sireletsi le go godisa ditshwanelo tsa ba bereike,go tswana le maemo a koketso a go sa bereke [le mesola e mengwe], boitekanelo le tshireletso ko ditirong le go itsisi ga matseno a a kotlase.

Aforika Borwa mo nakong e e beeletse ya bokgini jwa batho e dira le thuto,ba tsenya Early Childhood Development(EDC), dipalangwa tsa sekolo le kokeletso ya National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) le thuto ya mahala ya baithuti ba ba tswang malapeng a tshokolo.

Dilo tse tsotlhe di fokoditse tshokolo ya ngwaga wa 1993 go yak o ngwageng wa 2013 (e ile kwa tlase go tloga ka 33% go ya go 25%). Fela go nnile le tlhwatlhwa ya e ko godimo ya tshotlhego. Go ya ka Stats sa Aforika Borwa “*itsholelo e amegile that aka ngwaga wa 2011 goya ko go ya 2015*” ka gonno batho ga ban a bokgoni le botlhoka tiro boyo ko godimo gapetsa gapetsa, le dilo tsa go ama ekonomi go akaretsa kgolo ya ekonomi, go bayo botlhokatiro jwa batho b aba nang le matlo mo dikolotong le ditlhwatlhwa tse ko godimo.<sup>8</sup>

Go lekanya go raraana ga khumanego, Stats SA e dirile Tlhaloso ya Khumanego e e Dikarolodintsi mo Aforika Borwa ka 2001.Tlhaloso e bontsha go tlhoka mo go tseneletseng go go lebanweng ke motho mongwe le mongwe kgotsa baagi mo dikarong di le nne, tse e leng boitekanelo, thuto, botshelo jo bo nang le boleng le ditiro tsa ikonomi. **Setshwantsho 1.1** se tlhomamisa

<sup>8</sup> Stats SA. 2017. Phetogo ya Khumanego mo Aforika Borwa. Tlhatlhobo ya Khumanego e e Feletseng magareng ga 2006 le 2015.



**Setshwano sa 1.1:** Bothhoka-tiro bo dula bo ntse bole ko godimo ka go oketsa botlhoki.  
Motswedi: Dipalo tsa batho moAforika Borwa. 2015.Millennium Development Goals Country e tswaletse dipholo tsa Aforika Borwa.

...bogolo jwa khumanego bo sa ntse bo le kwa godimo e bile ga bo a sa tlhomama ka pono e e bontshitsweng ke puso le mekgele ya go tlisa ditlhabololo.

gore bothhokatiro e santse e le bothata jo bogolo jo bo bakang khumanego. Gape se bontsha palo ya mafelo a go nang le kgonagalo ya tokafatso, ka sekai dingwaga tsa go tsena sekolo (le fa gone go tsena sekolo e leng mo go bakang khumanego go fokoditswe), metsi, le e leng tota, go lwantsha botlhokatiro.

Nngwe ya dikgang tsa katlego ya dingwaga tse 25 ke go fokotsa go swa ga bana, segolobogolo ka tokafatso ya kotlo ya dijo, go atolosiwa ga kalafi ya melemo, go bona thuso ya kalafi mahala mo go bommè le bana, bommè ba ba rutiwang thuto e e botoka, ga mmogo le thibelo ya mogare wa HIV go tswa go mmè go ya leseeng. Mo godimo ga moo, ka ntlha ya katoloso ya lenaneo la dipilisi tse di ritibatsang mogare (ARV), bana ga ba ka itemogela go nna masiela thata.

Botlhoki jwa Aforika Borwa, ntle le kgaogano ya bontsi, e ama ditlhophpha tse di farologaneng ka tsela e nngwe.

Malapa a selegae a nale dotshokolo go feta malapa a motsesetoropo le fa go nale ditshokolo tsa 60% go tloga ka 62% ya goya k 1996 go ya go 56% ka 2001 ya selegae<sup>9</sup>. Palo ya batho ba ba nnang ko toropong ke 13% goya ko godimo ga 16% ka nako e le nngwe<sup>10</sup>. Malapa a o nnang basadi fela ke a 10% b aka nna mo tshokolong<sup>11</sup>. Letso la mmala le sa nale matla e sale bothata a go tswana le tshokolo mo Aforika Borwa, maAforika ba amanang le se. Bontsi jwa malapa le bana, gabedi mo metse setoropo le metse magae a mo kotsing e kgolo thata a bothhoki.

Magareng ga dingwaga tsa 2006 le 2015 ka kakanyo ya tshokolo e wets emo bathong ba ikgonang le bas a ikgoneng. Batho b aba ikgonang ba tlogile mo dikakanyo tsa tshokolo go tswa go 27,3% go ya go 20,5%, ka jalo batho b aba sa ikgoneng mo kakanyo ya tshokolo go tswa go 57,7% ka ngwaga wa 2006 go ya go 46,3% ka 2015<sup>12</sup>. Setshwantsho sa 1.2 se bontsha tshokolo e e bontshang bo kotlase jwa tshokolo go tswa go 28,4%. Ka ngwaga wa 2006 go ya go 21,4% le ka ngwaga wa 2011 e oketsegile ka 25% go fitilha ka 2015. Ka tlhwatlhwa e ko godimo ba fokotsegile go tswa ko 66% ka 2006 go ya go 53,2% le ka 2011 fela ba oketsegile gape ka 55,5% ka 2015. Fa maemo a tshokolo a ile kwa tlase magareng ga 2006 go ya go 2011, di oketsegile ka 2011 goya ka 2015.

Dithulaganyo tsa mmuso mo di ngwageng di le 25 di sireleditse dimilione tsa batho ba Aforika Borwa. Maemo a tshokolo a sale kwa godimo le fa mmuso o nale maano ga go farologane. Tebelopele ya NDP ya 2030 e batla gore tshokolo e tloge kgotsa e fokotsege, ba direla batho ba ba 39% bam o tlase ga tshokolo ya diranta tse 419 (tlhwatlhwa ya 2009) go ya go go noto ka 2030. Fela batho ba nnang mo Lower Band Poverty Line (LBPL) e oketsigile go tloaga go 36,4% ka 2011 (Batho ba ba 18,7 milione) go ya go 40.0% ka 2015 (Batho ba ba 21,9 milione).

9 Boharat, H, le Kanbur, R. 2005. Khumanego le Boitekane-lo mo Aforika Borwa wa morago ga apartheid: Kakaretso ya Tshedimosetso. ts. 4-5.

10 ibid.  
11 Banka ya lefatshe. 2018. Go fenza bothhoki le go sena tekatekano mo Aforika Borwa: Dithloua tsa bakgweitsi:Dipeo le ditshono, p. 14.

12 Banka ya lefatshe. 2018. : Go fenza bothhoki le go sena tekatekano mo Aforika Borwa: Dithloua tsa bakgweitsi:Dipeo le ditshono, p.xxvi.

Go sekaseka  
matseno a go  
selekalekane,mo  
go boning,ga puso  
ka ga bong le  
matseno a bong  
le goikgapela  
dikgatelelo tsa  
setheo se se rileng.

## GO SA NNE LE TEKATEKANO

Go sa nne le tekatekano ka mmala le bong e sale kgang e kgolo ya tlhaolele, mo koloni le melao ya banna. Hisitori ya tshimololo e e bontshang go se lekalekane mo mafapheng a farologaneng. "Lekala la RDP ke gore Aforika Borwa e nale go sa lekalekaneng ga megolo le khumo."<sup>13</sup>

Gompieno Aforika Borwa e nale go selekalekane mo lefatsheng lotlhe. Bolekatshi jo bo dirisiwang go bontsha go selekalekane ba e bitsa kofishiente ya Gin e bontsha gore magareng ga 1996 go ya go 2001 go selekalekane go oketsegile gotswa go 0.68% go ya go 0.73% ya oketsega ka 0.72% go ya go 0.68% ka 2006 go ya go 2015<sup>14</sup>. Se se bontsha koketso ya go selekalekane, mo nakong e yotlhe e ya kwa godimo.

DiRDP di biditse kopano ya "integration of growth, go tlhabolola, go aga le go dira ga diporokereme" Mo mengwageng e me 25, Aforika Borwa e dirile maano

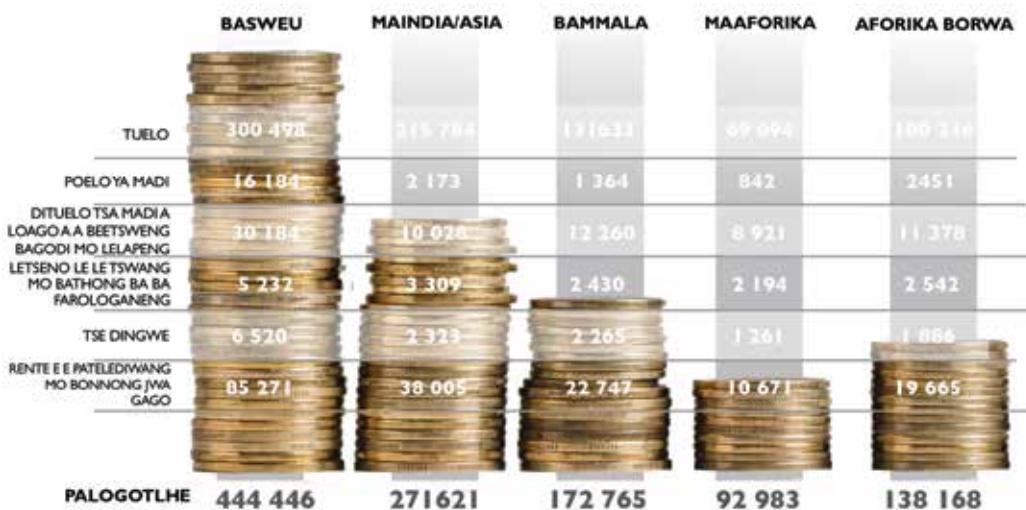
a latelang a go selekalekane:

- Pampiri e sweu ya RDP e boleletse mmuso wa ditshwanelo ka ntlha ya go fana ka tirelo mo setshabeng. Se se tlisitse tokafatso ya ditirelo. Mo dilo tse, go tsenya letseno mo bodirelo loago, ntle le go lekantsa ga GEAR. Se se dirilwe go ka tokofatsa ga go tsaya le go oketsa ga dilo.
- Go lebagana le matseno a go se lekalekane, mo tekanong e, ya puso ya rona e tsamaile ka mmala le matseno a bong le go ikgapela ga kgethololo mophatlhalatseng ya diemo. Go sekaseka ga go sa lekalekane ga dituelo le tse dingwe tsa mmuso e dirile bong le letso la mma e ke kgangkgolo. Polisi ya kgato e ne e diretswe basadi le batho bantsho gore ba fitlhele tiro le mo maemong a kwa godimo.
- Ngwaga mongwe le mongwe tuelo ya malapa e kwa godimo ka 273, 9% mo dingwageng di e 25 ka pontsho ya **setshwantsho sa 1.3**.
- Fela go selekalekane ga letso la mmala le bong di tswetse pele ka pontsho ya **setshwantsho sa 1.4**, e bontsha tuelo go ya ka mmala. Malapa a basweu a

<sup>13</sup> African National Congress. 1994. Lenaneo la go Agasesha le la Tlhabololo. Johannesburg: Dikgatiso tsa Umanyano tsa African National Congress.  
<sup>14</sup> Van der Berg, S. 2011. Khumanego ya ga Jaana le Thebolelo ya Letseno mo Dikgannyaeng Tsa Hisitori ya Aforika Bonwa. Hisitori ya Ikonomi ya Dikgaolo Tse di Tlhabologgang, 26(1), ts.120-140.



**Setshwantsho 1.3: Letseno la Legae ka Ngwaga**  
*Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: tradingeconomics.com Statistics South Africa*



**Setshwantsho 1.4:** Letseno la Legae ka Ngwaga

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Statistics South Africa. 2017. Patlisiso ya Boemo Jwa Bonno 2014 -15.

berekisa 5,1 go feta 4,7 malapeng a batho bantsho.<sup>15</sup> Lefapha la lekgetho la tuelo le Value Added Tax (VAT) e neile batho ba di tuelo tse dinnyee tsa ditshono ya go se duele lekgetho. E tlhagisitswe ka 1991 ka 10% e okeditswe ka 14% ka 1993 fela e oketsegile ka 15% ka nako eo. Go ntse jalo, VAT e ama ba bereki ba bantsho ba batlhoki, ba ba nnang kgala le ditiro tsa bone. Ka jalo e ama batho bantsho ba ba sokolang ba ba dulang kgakala le ditiro. Ba ba naleng tuelo ya ko godimo mo dingwageng tse 30 tsa tlhabololo ba duetse kanayo ya 50% ka di 60s, 60% ka di 70% le 55% ka di ngwaga tsa bo 80s. Lekgetlo la kananyo e ile kwa tlase ka 41% ka 2015/2016<sup>16</sup>. Lekgetlo la kananyo ya dikampani e fikitsegile go tswa go 50% ka 1990 go ya mo bogareng ba 2014/2015<sup>17</sup>.

Go sita se batho bam o tlase ga 60% ya pholo ya bahumi e nna fela ko 8.3%<sup>18</sup>. Tomagano ya Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) e nale dipolisi tsa

bohum. Koketso ya batho bantsho ba magareng e tshotshe ditlamelwana fela Aforika Borwa e dutse mo dikolotong ka dikoloto tse lekanang le diranta tse 1.7 trilione ka 2018, e batlile e lekana le sekoloto sa mmuso sa diranta tsa 2 trilione<sup>19</sup>.

Go lekalekana ga makgetlo a thuto, tiro le makgetlo a ekonomi. Morago ga dingwaga di le 25 tsa temokerasi. Aforika Borwa e fentse lebopo la thuto se se bala le bana ba base Di unibesithi le di Technical le Vocational Education le Training [TVET] di kwadisitse bana ba ba lekanang le 495 356 ka ngwaga wa 1994, ya kwadisa bana ba lekanang 975 837 ka 2016, le baalogi ba diunibesithi ba korotlogane ka 92 874 ka 2000 go ya go go 203 076 ka 2016. Ba ba sa fetsang sekolo ba kwa tlase ga palo kgotlhellele mo Aforika. Go ya ka Stats SA Aforika “Borwa 47% ya batsha ba mengwaga ya 20 /24 ba nang le di Bachelors degree ba lekana le ba ba naleng National Qualification Framework (NQF) lebele 7 batswa matlong a bahumi. Ka jalo 36% ya

15 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Patlisiso ya Boemo Jwa Bonno 2014/15. p.12.

16 Banka ya Resefye a Aforika Borwa. 2015. Pego ya Lekgetho la Aforika Borwa: 1979-2015: Pego ya Ntla ya Kotara ya Banka ya Resefye a Aforika Borwa, ts. 1.

17 Ibid, p.8.

18 Khomishene ya Burulaganyi Jwa Setshaba. 2011. Thulaganyo ya Tlhabololo ya Setshaba: Pono 2030.

19 Banka ya Lefatshe. 2017. Polokelotshedimosetso ya Lefatshe Lotlhe ya Findex: Go Lekanya Kgolo ya Ditšelete le Phetogo, Kgaolo 2, ts. 35.

batsha ba ba tswelelang pele ka dithuto tsa bona ba tswa malapeng a a senang sepe".<sup>20</sup> Baalogi ba tlhoka tiro fela eseng go tshwana le bas a tsenang sekolo. Ka jalo thuto e santse e le bottlhokwa.

Se se kwa godimo se bontsha go selekalekane mo letsong la mmala e oketsegile mo dingwageng dile 25. Go selekalekane ke kgang e thata ya tlhaolele. Batho basa ikgonang kgotsa bahumi ba ke bona ba ba kgonang go tshela mo go selekalekane ba se na bothata. Se se ko godimo se tlisa kgaogano mo bathing ka ditlhopo tsa go itsi gore o 'wela kae' se se dira gore dilo di nne kotlase, le puo e e siameng mo phatlhalatseng. Borukhuthi bo tlhwatlhwa kwa mafatsheng a nang le go se lekalekane. Borukhuthi bo kwa godimo bo fokoditse kamano ya letso la mmala e tlisa boitshepo bo bo leng kwa tlase.

## BOTLHOKA-TIRO

Selotlololo sa RDP ne e le go dira tiro e e tshelang le koko-to ya bokgoni jwa ekonomi go ama batho ba ba batlang tiro mo mafapheng a tlhabologileng le ba basa tlhabologgang. Go ya ka Stats sa Aforika Borwa nomore ya batho ba dirang ka 1994 e ne ele 8.9 milione ka tlhokego ya tiro e le 20%. Tlholego ya tiro e ne e sa ame Bantustants le bontsi jwa batho bantsho.

Ka 1994, go ne go nale batho ba ba 41 milione mo Aforika Borwa, ka jalo batho ba ba dirang ba ne bale mop along ya 21%. Ka mafelo a 2018, palo ya batho ba ba dirang ka korotlogane ka 16.5 milione ya batho, e emetse 28.5% ya palo ya Aforika Borwa. Go sita kgathalesego ya koketso ya palo e e gateletseng koketso ya ekonomi, kananyo ya tlholego ya tiro e oketsegile ka 27.1%. **Setshwantsho sa 1.5** se bontsha tlhokego ya tiro mo Aforika Borwa magareng ga 1994-2018.

Thetelo ya ekonomi gore tlhokego tiro e tlang le matse-no a kwa godimo ga tiro, le bokgoni bo bo sa tshwaneng le tiro ke mabaka a a dirang gore go nne le tlholego ya tiro. Le fa ekonomi e okeditswe ka 2.8% ka 1994 go ya ko 2018, gaise e tseye palo ya batho ba ba tlhokang tiro<sup>21</sup>.

Tlholego ya tiro e sa le ka letso la mmala e bile e korotlogane ebile go le go nne mo bathong basweu

<sup>20</sup>

Dipalopalo tsa batho mo Aforika Borwa. 2017. Thuto e ko godimo le bokgo-ni mo Aforika Borwa. weposaete: [http://W \\* w.statsa.gov.za](http://W * w.statsa.gov.za)? P = 120 0.

<sup>21</sup>

Dipalopalo tsa batho mo SA. 2018. Gross Domestic Product, Kwatarra 4.

Morago ga  
dingwaga tse 25 tsa  
temokerasi,Aforika  
Borwa e nnile le  
ditetla tsa thuto,go  
akaretsa ban aba  
basetsana.



**Setshwantsho 1.5: Seelo sa Botlhokatiro mo Aforika Borwa (1994 – 2018)**

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Statistics South Africa. 2018. Patlisiso ya Badiri ya Kotara.

ba ba senang tiro.Tlholego ya tiro ya batsha le basadi ke yona ntlha e tona.Mo mengwageng e 10 e fitileng (2008 le 2018),kananyo ya tlholego ya tiro ya batsha e oketsegile gotswa go 44. 9% go ya go 54.7%.<sup>22</sup>

Mo mengwageng e 25, mmuso o tlie ka maaano a dipolisi le dipolane tsa go fedisa tlhokego ya tiro,e labile batsha le basadi. Maano a ama Employment Tax Incentive (ETI), e e batlang gore batsha ba bereke le EPWP e e thusang batsha le basadi. Ka koketso ya polising ya Indusitiri ya Aforika Borwa e baya mmereko mo magareng ga mafapha a otlhe a mmuso. 30% ya bonye e beyetswe kwa thoko key a dikgwebo tsa batsha.

Ka jalo dilo tse dingwe gaise di ame kgang kgolo e,ke ka moo tlhokego ya tiro e oketsega e fitile kwa 27.1% ka kotare ya bone ya 2018.<sup>23</sup>

Ka kgato ya NDP ya go fokotsa tlhaelo ya tiro go ya go 6%,ga se ka tlwaelo gore b aka e fitlhela, ke fela fa b aka tseyalikotso dikgato tse ditona.Gore ba fitlhela tiro,batho ba ba dirang janong ba tshwanetse go nna 11 milione go tswa ka 2010 mo ne e leng setshwantsho sa 13.6 milione.

22

Dipalopalo tsa batho mo Aforika Borwa. Quartely Labour Force Surveys, 2008-2018.

23

Dipalopalo tsa batho mo Aforika Borwa. 2018.Quartely Labour Force Survey, Kwatara 4.

KGAOLO 2

# Kago ya Bosetshaba, Tirego tsa Morafe le Boitshupo



KAGO YA BOSETSHABA, TIREGO TSA MORAFE LE BOITSHUPO

**K**olone le diporojeke tsa puso ya kgethololo di tshimolotse mo boitshupong le kago ya bosetshaba tse ele gore di tsetse setso sa maAforika, ngwao, ditumelo le ditshuoi tsa moteng kwa tlase. Mo tseleng ya go nna mo godimo, ne go le bothokwa, mo letlhakoreng le lengwe, go itlhokomolosa ditlhobololo tsa mewa ya maAforika, maitshupo, ditumelo le setso, mm emo Ihakoreng le lengwe, ditlhobololo le bogolo jwa go beeletsa ga bonnyee le matshegediwa a Bophirima a ntlhatebo, tsa setso le boitshupo.

Bo porojeke jwa bokolone ne bo tlhaloganya gore fa botshwaro le bokgetololo jwa Aforika, tsikinyego ya setso le thuo ya ngwao ya Aforika e nne teng. Gantsi, tiriso ya bokolone le ya kgetololo le kgatelelo ya setso sa batho bantsho di faphegile le setso sa maAforika, ka bottlalo le foromogo godisa seemo le go bapanisa maemo a botlhokwa a ditso tse dingwe.

Go tswa mo merafeng yotlhе le go aga setshaba sentle, porojeke ya tlhaoolele e tlisitse bo temeko mo merafeng jwa setlhabelwa ba bam o letlhakoreng le lengwe la fense.

Gotswa mo boitshupong ka bottlalo, puso ya batho ka batho e tshotse boswa jwa "naga" gantsi mo boitshupong ka dilo tse pedi tse di bonalang, mo tlhakoreng le lengwe, dilo tsa pele tsa diforenchaise tse dinnyee tsa ba European le ba bangwe ba ba sa tsayang boswa le batho bantshoba tlase ka palo e e kwa godimo mo dinageng tsa Aforika ka go faphaana. Mme ntle le dilo tse farologaneng, go tswana le go nale ba Bantustas ba ba lesome le ba ba tsamaileng ba pseudo ba bantsho ba bam o magareng. Mme go feta moo, di setoropo di tseele kgato ya go supa gantsi mo baitshupo jwa Aforika Borwa, le go gatelela ga go nna le kgololosego ya go tsamaya le bokotlase ga kgatelelo ka fa morago. Mme ntle le se go tsamaya ga dinaga tse di humileng, hisitori le ngwao.

Thulaganyo le dipuseletso tsa TRC ditla dula di sa buisane ka ditshono tse ditlisang ka go dira ga tswalelo ya go sa lekalekaneng.



A WAITSI  
Aforika Borwa e kopane fa gotla  
mo bathong ba go ikgapela  
diawade tsa mmereko wa bone:

Sydney Brenner  
J. M. Coetzee  
Allan MacLeod Cormack  
F. W. de Klerk  
Nadine Gordimer  
Aaron Klug  
iNkosi Albert Luthuli  
Nelson Mandela  
Max Theiler  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Go ithuta gitswa mo selo sa go feta le go ruta dithuto go tswana mo pusong ga batho go ka ntswa “phoolo gareng ga dilo tsa go feta le go simolola matshegediwa a semorafe mo pusong ya batho, semorafe sa ditsamaiso ya molao le ditshwanelo tsa botho ka botlalo.”<sup>24</sup>

Go sireletsa ditswanelo ka kelo tlhoko go patelwa pele, tlhamo ya bobedi ya boraro ya ditshwanelo ne di tlisiwa mo morafeng, ekonomi le mo tikologo ka bophara. Gape go na le tiriso gareng ga boitshupo, merafe ka bophara, kago ya naga, le puisano e e tlisang dikgwegetlo tsa go go tlhoka diphatlhatiro, botlhoki, go sena tekatekano, kgethololo ya semorafe. Aforika Borwa e sa palelwa ke go amogelesega ga go tlisa go sa lekane ga kgole ya ekonomi, tlaotlalo ya botlhoka tiro, tliso ya tekatekano, ngotlo ya pheeo ya go beeletsa le palo ya kapitale ya merafe.<sup>25</sup>

#### MOLAO MOTHEO, MEGOPOLO LE DIKAKANYO TSA MONGWE LE MANANEO AATLISITSWENG KA 1994

Ka ngwaga wa 1994, puso ya batho e dirile ka go tlisa semorafe sa kgololosego ya batho ba ba gaufi e dirileng gore re e tekeletso tsa maikaelelo a kgololo ya patlo, kgololo ya go humanega, kgololo ya letlhoko, kgololo ya go ikgetolosa, kgololo ya khutliso le kgololo ya letshogo.<sup>26</sup>

#### Go aga ngatana ya naga

Convention for Democratic South Africa [CODESA] e tlisa kopano kgolo e e riling go dira dilo, dipalo palo tsa foramo tsa dipuisano tsa puso ka go tlisa dikgaogano tsa maAforika Borwa ka go ba dira naga e le nngwe ka jaaka ba le batho ba le bangwe, moetapele le tshepo, tekeletso ya gothe, kgololo, tekatekano le tshireletso ya bong ya batho, mmala, bong kgotsa tumelo, kgololosego ya naga ya rona go tswa pusong ya tlhaolele kgotsa kgatelelo e e neng ele teng.<sup>27</sup>

Kontle ga go senyaga ya melawana e e neng bas a dumalatsana ka yone go senya tsamao ya kgololo

ya e e maatla, karolo ya kgaso ya phatlhalatsa le mo molao motheo, maAforika Borwa ba ne ba kgona go ya ditlhopong ka ngwaga wa 1994 le fa di ne di seo ditlhopo tse le teng. CODESA e ne ya dira sesupo sa maikaelelo a go ikamantsha ga botlhokwa jwa bosenetshaba jo bo kopaneng ka go rerisa mongwe le mongwe ka kgang tse di amang Aforika Borwa go tswana le kamano ya ekonomi, go simolola melao e etla busang makgotlha a go tswana le National Economic Development le Labour Council [NEDLAC]. Dipoisano tsee, di ikaeela go tlisa kagiso ya ditharabololo mo Aforika Borwa ka dikgotlheng tse di tlhalosa tekano e kwa godimo ya ntwa ya sepolotiki, le fa ntse go le jalo, di pholo tsa tiriso ya moteng ya molao motheo wa 1993, molao kotlha le setheo sa ntla sa puso ya ditlhopo tsa ngwaga wa 1994 e tlhola malatsi a 27 ka Moranang.

White Paper ya RDP ya ngwaga wa 1994, e dirilwe ka dilo tsa ntla tsa go agiwa naga e le nngwe, ka ekonomi e le nngwe, e bereka ntle le molaotheo o o simolotseng mo kgaolong tse kgakala le tse di bapileng tse di maatla, tlotlo le tshireletso ya tse dinnyee, go dira gore ba ba akaretsang go lakaletsa go tlisa setso sa boitshupo mo go bone. Ke selo sa seoposengwe sa nefutafuta se re tla e tlisang mo setshabeng ka ga mmusi<sup>28</sup>.

Diphatlagano tsa makgotla a go tswana le bo se sireletsi thuto, itekanelo, kopano ya tshireletso ya lephata, makgotla a ne a budiwa ka go tswa ka makgotlha. Molaotheo wa pele wa Aforika Borwa e tlisa ka go simolola kgotlha ya Government of National Unity [GNU]. Go tsenya ga molaotheo le melawana e motseleng le foreimi e e tshegeditseng ka megopoloy a setlhophya, e beilwe fa fatshe ke meyetlo ya go sa diri le letso le ba kgetolotlo bong e e mo pusong ya matshegediwa, le tsamaiso ya molao wa setshaba le tlwaelo ya boitshupo.

Mo tekeletso ya maikaelelo a go tlamela tebego ditshwanelo tsa botho tsa go gatelela le tsa go gatakiwa le tsela ya pholo ya go farologana le tsa go feta tsa Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995 [kgato ya 34 ya

24 Aforika Borwa. 1996. Molaotheo wa naga ya Aforika Borwa.

25 Indulamithi Trust. 2018. Indulamithi South Africa Scenarios 2030. Johannesburg: Indulamithi South Africa Scenarios Trust.

26 Mandela, N. R. 1994. Seemo sa dipuisano tsa Naga, 24 Motsheganong.

27 Convention ya temokerasi ya Aforika Borwa(CODESA) 1.1991. Molao wa go beewa wa teng, 21 Sedimonthole.

28 Puso ya Gazette. 1994. Nomore ya 1954 ya 1994. Ditirelo-dikago le dithhabologo tsa porokereme ya White Paper, tsebe.1.



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PLAY OF THE  
RUGBY

1995], tshimololo ya Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC], se se simolotse matshwao a bophara a go amagana a dintsha le go tsamaisa dikago tse dintswa, sentle le go aga naga,<sup>29</sup> TRC e emela go tlisa ttlelebo ya ngwaga wa 1998 ka ga boikopedi ba ba 849 go tswa mo baikopaneng ba ba 7 112.<sup>30</sup> Se se rotloetswa ga ekonomi palo ya teng [go akaretsa Tax e ko godimo ya bahumi le tse di ikemetseng] se se dira gore batho ba tshegetse batho b aba nneile ditlhabelwa tsa kgatelolo le ba ba kgonneng go tshela nakong tseo k aba ne ba gatelela ditshwanelo tsa botho le go latlhegelwa ke ditshwanelo tsa bone.

Go baakanya ga TRC e dula e sena dipuisano tsa ditshono tsa go sa lekalekane gag a teng ka go tswalela. Mme go ntse jalo se se simolotse boitshupo jwa naga le go itsi ko o tswang teng le go itsi ko oyang teng, se moetledipele wa naga wa ntlha mo nageng ya rona o buile jalo ele moetapele Nelson Mandela, ka tsatsi la gagwe la bo 100: "Go tswa mo, puso ya National Unity ka bo bone tiro ya teng ele:go aga le go baakanya, go aga naga ya rona le go tlisa diphetogo. Se ke se Aforika Borwa e tswaraganeng le sone gompieno, e tla dula ele kgwetlo go ya ko dingwageng tse ditlang".<sup>31</sup>

Go ikgapela mmuso wa molaetheo wa 1996 wa go tlisa Aforika Borwa mo hisitiring ya go nna le boitshupo le bokamoso jo bo tlisang tsholofelo le tshepo. Go aga ga Freedom Charter le Universal Declaration ya ditshwanelo tsa botho, le molaetheo wa pono ya Aforika Borwa go aga le setso sa matshelo a rona, go ditshwanelo tsa botho le boitshupo jwa naga mo batho ba go sa dire le letso le tekatekano. Se se tlisa boikemelo le molaetheo o o beilweng go oketsa ditshwanelo tsa botho, ka jaaka go simolola seemo sa bo robongwe sa temokerasi.

Melao e e nenge sa wela mo molaetheong di ne di latlhewa. Dikgato le dipolising tsa puso, ba dira le letso le basa dumeleng mo bong ba merafe di ne di ekemetse, melawana ya boikgantso jwa batho, tekatekano le kgololosego. Se se ne se ikemetse ntle le molaetheo, go tloga faa e fokoditse puisanong tsa mafatshe a a riling, le khepitale le ditlhabololo tse dithoto tse dingwe.

Molaetheo o rerisa ga go oketsa ga matshwao a naga go tswana le folaga ya Aforika Borwa, maina ma mantsha a matlo, le matsatsi a mahala a boikhuto le dilo tsa go ikgapela tsa naga. Matshwao a naga a tlhagisa kemelo ya naga le go kokoanya ga ngatana ya naga le bo itlotlomatso jwa teng<sup>32</sup>.

Aforika Borwa e tsaya maemo a matshwao a naga, a a tlisitsweng ka 1994. Matshwao a a go tswana le National Coat of Arms e e nang le molaetheo wa gore: !Ke e:lxarra //ke, e kwetswe ka mokwalo wa puo ya maKhoisan ya batho ba lXam, e kaya 'kopano ya batho'. "Ke maAforika Borwa le maAforika, e bontsha botshelo jwa pele le bo kamo jo bo tlatlang pele ga rona, e tsaya karolo e kgolo mo lefatsheng la rona, kopano e phatlhalatsa ya batho, e tlisa tlollo le phulego ya botshelo le setso sa go gatelela ga kgatelelo. go sa dire le letso, le boikgetololo".<sup>33</sup>

Go kgaogana ga se se diragetseng sa go feta, se dira gore matshwao a kgale a puso a nne le maatla le dipalo palo tsa batho mo nageng. Matshwao a kwantle ga naga ga se a tlhagisi sepe se se kalo. Mme pina ya bosetshaba e etseetse Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika [puna e e sa ikgatoloseng] le Die Stem [pina ya tlhaolele], gape re na le e ntsha ya folaga ya rona ya pele ya Aforika Borwa le e ya Die Stem e santse e lela mo ditlhologanyong tsa rona. Go fetola ga maina a mafelo a thata gore o ka itsi, se se bontsha tlhaolele ya hisitiri ya Aforika Borwa.

Se se botlhokwa ke puisano, le fa se e nnele thata gore se ka nnna teng le mo metshemekong le ka go fokotsa ga teng. Ka 1996 ka Rugby World Cup e ne ya tswarelwa mo Aforika Borwa ya be ya fenya ka go ikgapela ka fat lase ga "One Team, One Nation". Naga ya rona gape ya tswara le go ikgapela ka ngwaga wa 1996 Africa Cup of Nation le ka 1999 All Africa Games. Se sa go tswara le go ikgapela ga metshameko e metona go tswana le 2010 FIFA World Cup ka go ne go le ngatana ele nngwe, mo mogae le nag aka bophara e ne e emana nokeng ka yone nako ela ya metshameko.

Lefa go ntse jalo, kwantle ga dinako tseno, go lwena go fetola metshameko go nna e e sa tlhaoleng go ya

29 National Planning commision.2011. Dipholo tsa tlhatlhobo ya diteng.

30 3 Mattes le Brattton. 2007. Gotswa mo tlhatlhobo ya dingwaga dile 20. 2014. tsebe15-tsebe16.

31 Mandela, N. R. 2004. Puo ya Letsatsi la bo100 kwa Palamenteng, 18 Phatwe.

32 Mattes le Brattton. 2007. E nopotswe mo Tlhatlhobong ya Ngwaga wa bo20. 2014. ts15-ts16

33 Mbeki, T. 2000. Puo ya letsatsi la Kgololesego, Moranang, 27.

ka lotso le bong go tsweletse. Go palelwa ga Aforika Borwa go laola le go tlhabolola metshameko ya sekolo e santse e le kgwetlho, jaaka e le karolo ya go tshegetsa metshameko ya basadi. Go ka dirwa mo go oketsegileng go tshegetsa phetogo ya loago, go aga setshaba le go kopanya naga, ka thuso ya motshameko.

Leano la Mzansi Golden Economy (MGE) le ne la dirisiwa ka 2011, ka boikaelelo jwa go etleetsa “botaki le setso mo godimo ga go kopana ga setshaba le go godisa mowa wa naga” e bile gape go dira gore go nne le “matlafalo ya ikonomi le tlhabololo ya bokgoni jwa tiro”<sup>34</sup>. Malebana le seno go ne ga tlhagelela dikakanyo tsa bothokwa tse pedi, e leng go ‘dira gore setso e nne karolo ya tlhagiso ya dikuno le ‘go tsenya setso mo ikonoming’. Ya ntlha e kaya gore go lebiwa ga setso gore e nne kuno e e ka rekwang, ya rekisiwa le go gwebisanwa, mo kgannyeng eno dikgang tse di amanang le kgwebisano e e tekatekano le e siameng di santse e le matsapa. Ya bofelo e kaya go akanyetsa go laola le go tsenyeletsa setso sa mo gae le tlhagiso mo kgannyeng ya go godisa ikonomi.

Ka jalo, MGE e bonwe e le tshetledi ya lephata mo thusong ya yone mo maikaelelong a NDP a ditiro tse disha tse di dimilione di le tlhano le go tlhama madirelo a masha. Ka go ikaelela kgolo mo maphateng a setso le a a setseng a dirilwe jaaka go roka, difilimi le mmino ga mmogo le mafelo a masha a kgolo e e sololetsang jaaka go e ntsha jaaka difilimi tsa dipopae, go tlhama, go tlhagisa, le go tlhabololwa ga mafelo a setso lephata le ka arabela ka gangwe le go gatelela dikgwetlho tsa loago le ikonomi, tse gape di leng thata mo dikarolong tsa go diragatsa bokitsiso, go kopanya morafe le go aga naga.

Mo godimo ga moo, mo go rulaganyetseng Phetogo ya Madirelo ya Bone (4IR) lephata le bone leano la go thusa mo go tsenyeng ditiro tsa bothhami mo tsamaisong ya thuto e e atologileng le katiso. Lephata la botlhami le setso golo gongwe, segolobogolo mo dikarolong dingwe tsa Aforika le Asia le ile la dirisiwa ka katlego jaaka ledi le le tshegetsang lenaneo la kgolo le tlhabololo, boleng le go ntshetsa dithoto kwa ntle. United States ke sekao se sentle sa ga jaana.

Go kopana le lelapa la boditshabatshaba. Tirisan le dinaga tse dingwe ya Ubuntu Jaaka dinaga tse dingwe tse di gateletsweng, melewane ya Aforika Borwa ga e na tekatekano,

e e neng e diretswe go kgaoganya metse, lotso, malapa, dikgosi le ditsamaiso tsa ikonomi. Lefa go ntse jalo Cecil John Rhodes o ne a na le ponelopele ya go tswa Cape go ya Cairo, puso ya kgatelelo ya apartheid e ne ya kgaoganya le go tlhaola Aforika Borwa mo baagisaning ba yone, e dirisa baagisani ba yone jaaka sediba sa batho ba ba berekang mo mo meepong ya yone. Aforika Borwa wa apartheid o ne a bonwa e le “mosireletsi wa bophirima” mo Aforika, mme seo se ne se gatelela kgolagano le Yuropa e e ntsha mo e neng e le teng ka bonno.

Gape Aforika Borwa wa apartheid o ne a sa kgathalele MaAforika le Kontinente yotlhe ya Aforika.

Fa e sale ka dingwaga tsa bo 1960, Aforika Borwa e godisitse Ikonomi ya Loago, sesole le ntwa ya sepolotiki kgatlhanong le baagisanyi ba yone ba ba neng ba tshegetsa go kgarathela kgololesego, segolobogolo kgatlhanong le dinaga tse di tlhageletseng. Sesole sa Aforika Borwa (SADF) sa nako eo se ne se di goga kwa pele mo ntweng eno le bagaka ba ntwa ba balemirui le melewane e e sireditsweng ka pateletso le go tlhokomelwa ke Aforika Borwa ya apartheid ka boikaelelo jo bo tiiseditsweng go kganelo balwela kgololesego le batho ba ba tswang kwa dinageng tsa boagisani kwa ntle.

Mo masimologong a dingwaga tsa bo 1990, jaaka fa dipuisano tsa Aforika Borwa di ne di tsweletse le tirisan le dinaga tse dingwe tsa Aforika e ne e siama, Aforika Borwa e ne ya simolola go itemogela koketsego ya batho ba ba tswang mo dinageng tsa Aforika ba fudugela mo Aforika Borwa.

Morago ga masome a dingwaga a go tlhaolwa jaaka naga e e sa rategeng, Aforika Borwa e ne ya tsaya lefelo la yone le le tshwanetseng mo lelapeng la dinaga tsotlhe morago ga 1994. Ka jalo Aforika Borwa e ne ya nna leloko la bo 53 la Mokgatlho wa Kopano ya Dinaga tsa Aforika (OAU), le go boela le kopana le Ditshaba Kopano (UN), Commonwealth le ditheo tse dintse tse dintsi jaaka Non Aligned Movement le G77+China. E ne ya tsenela mo ditumalano tse dintsi tsa boditshabatshaba le dikopano.

Karolo ya konokono ya RDP ke gore Aforika Borwa e ka se gole e itlaotse mo baagisaning ba yone, e tshwanetse go batla tirisan e e kopanetsweng gore di bone katlego e e tshwanang le tlhabololo. Kqabagare, Aforika Borwa e ne ya tsaya tirisan, go nna seoposengwe le ditshwanelo tsa batho ga



## DIKGAOGANO TSA MO METSHAMEKONG



PICTURE: FilmContact.com

Aforika Borwa, e atologile thata mo go farologaneng ga hisitori ya metshameko, jaaaka go tswana le kgang yaga Papwa Segulum, ngwana wa molemi, o berekile ka go rekisa ka go ithuta go tshameka golf. Hisitori ya Aforika Borwa ya mafaratlhatlha e kaya kgang ya gagwe:

Mo kgatelelo e, tetla ya ga Sewgolum ya go tshameka ya pulo ya Natal ya 1963 e e thumileng ya Durban Country Club, morago ga go bona gore molao wa tlhaolele ga wa robega. Ditiro tse di seameng di ne di diriwa go Sewgolum go dirisiwa mo dijanageng tse potlana ka go aperela mo teng, le goja dijo le dimonamone tse dintsho. Sewgolum o diril osakgonegi ka go ikgapela gotswa moo, ka go ikgantsa le maswabi a bobedi a basweu ba golf le badiredi puso, Sewgolum o ne a sa lettelelwga go tsenala Durban Country Club go tsaya madi a gagwe.

Setshwantso saga Sewgolum mo a emeng teng pula e naa fa a ne a fiwa torofi ya gagwe-mme go ntse jalo bagolf le ba bereki ne ba ntse ba dutse mo ntlog ya Club ba itumetse morago ga metshameko, ntle le lefatshe le tsamao ya kgathelelo ysa metshameko Le fa a ne a tsamaile go tla go ikgapela ka pulo ya Durban ngwaga tse pedi tsa go feta, Segwolum o ne a ntshiwa mo go tshamekeng ga golf, go elediwa tlhoko le go tseelwa pasepoto.

mmogo le tsela tse di farologaneng tsa go rarabolola tlhabololo le tirisano ya boditshabatshaba. Aforika Borwa e tsere karolo e kgolo mo go eteleleng pele diforamo tse dintsi, tse gantsi e keteng di dikgolwane mo go yone. Gape Aforika Borwa e bone tlhabololo ya ditirelo (go tlhokomela bajanala, go tshwara dikokoano, dipalangwa, jljl.) le kgolo e e itsetsepetseng ya dipalo tsa bajanala ba ba etelang Aforika Borwa mo dingwageng tse di fetang tse 25.

## KGATELOPELE MO DINGWAGENG TSE DI FETANG TSE 25

Go etleetsha botaki le setso ke karolo ya botlhokwa e e ka thusang go fenza **Kgaogano ya baagi**. Ka bobedi di na le bokgoni jwa go tlhotlheletsa diphetogo ka mekgwa le boitshwaro mo go tlhameng mafelo a baagi a a kopaneng, mo go ka thusang go godisa tlhabololo. RDP e bueletse gore Kantoro ya Tona ya Botaki le Setso e tlhamiwe le gore Kantoro e tshwanetse go tlhomamisa gore mmogo le puso ya selegae le ya porofense, dilaeborari, dimusiamo, mabeelo, difikantswe le mafelo a dilo tsa kgale di tlhamiwe. Dilaeborari di le mmalwa tsa mafelo a baagi, disenthara tsa mafelo a baagi le mafelo a dilo tsa kgale/segopotsa di ile tsa agiwa. Mo e ka nnang mafelo a bodiragatsi a e kileng a bo a dirisiwa ke basweu a ile a fetolwa mme a bontsha ditiro tsa botaki go tswa mo go a a neng a sa kgone mo nakong e e fetileng. Botaki, ditheo tsa botaki le dimusiamo ga mmogo le madi a a abelwang botaki le tsone di a fetoga<sup>35</sup>.

Go nnile le kgolo mo karolong ya setso le botlhampi malebana le mmino, dibuka, le go diragatsa botaki ka kgolo le go tlhagelela ga mmino o mosha jaaka Kwaito le kgolo ya bakwadi ba bantsho. Tepo ya Setso ya Aforika Borwa (SACO) e tlhalosa gore madirelo a setso, ngwao le botlhampi a thusitse ka madi a a fetang R90.5bn mo ikonoming ya naga kgotsa ka 2.9% ya GDP ka 2014<sup>36</sup>. Seno se fetile, ka sekai, thuso ya temothuo mo GDP (2.2%). Malebana le go tlhamiwa ga ditiro, ditiro tsa setso ka tlhamalalo le e seng ka tlhamalalo di thusitse ka mo e ka nnang 6.72% ya ditiro tsotlhe tsa Aforika Borwa.

Gape go ile ga nna le kgolo mo karolong ya tlhaeletsano le kgaso mo dingwageng tse di fetang tse 25. Go simololwa ga Tlhabololo ya Tlhaeletsano

35 Lefapha la Botaki le Setso. 2017. Pampiri e Tshweu e e Boaleditsweng Tlhathobo ya Botaki, Setso le Ngwao. ts.6-7.

36 Statistics South Africa. 2013. Dipalo tsa Kakaretsa ya Kunoo ya Legae (GDP) di ntshitswe, Seetebosig 28. Webosaete: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=903>.

le Eijensi ya Phapaano (MDDA) go ne ga batla go aga phapaano e kgolo ka thuso ya lephata la puisano. Lefa go ntse jalo, go sa ntse go ka dirwa mo go oketsegileng mo go fetoleng ketapele, taolo le mefuta ya botsamaisi ga mmogo le phapaano ya lefelo la thaeletsano. Bagasi ba puso le ba poraefete ba ile ba oketsa dikgang tsa legae, mo gantsi dikgang tsa legae di fetang dikgang tsa boditshabatshaba ka dipalo tsa babogedi le bareetsi. Go ka bo go dirilwe mo go ntsi go tlhabolola dikgang tsa legae ka borulaganyi jo bo botoka le gore di tsenngwe tirisong, go matlafatsa batlhagisi ba bantsho le ba basadi.

Mo bogatising bo godile jwa go bone le tse di sa bonweng tsa bantsho le basadi ba bakwadi mo ngwageng tse 25, go na le mo o ka ithutang teng go bala gotswa mo dinageng tse dingwe. Dikgang tsa Aforika Borwa go na le ka moo di gatisiwang ka teng mme ba setsa Pan South African Language Board go tlhabolola le go tlisa dilo le go dirisa dipuo tsotlhе tse di mo molaong, ka go di gatisa ka lenaneo, tse dingwe ba gatisa ka Seesemane le Seburu.

Go aga ga naga ya rona ke go tlisa le go netefatsa melao e naga ya rona e tswanetse go nna ka teng. Molaotheo wa Aforika Borwa o subokantse ka jaaka di puo tsotlhе di tshwanetseng ka teng le gore di wele ka fo tlase ga molao le gore di fetolwajwang mo dipuong tse dingwe mo mafapheng a dithuto le mafapha a phatlhalatsa. Ka 2011 ka boikopantsa jwa LeadSA le go tshegatsa ga South African Interfaith Council, le lekala la go rekisa ditswanelo tsa go nna maikarabelo-setlamelwana sa pampiri ne se gatisitswe mo baneng ba dikolo le mo baagi ba naga.

Ditswanelo tsa maikarabelo e akaretsa tlhomamiso ya barutabana ba nne teng le buka ya Life Orientation gore e rekise ditswanelo le maikarabelo. Molaotheo o dira gore batho ba itsi ka sa seemo sa go nna le dilo [*AmaRightza* le *#InspiredByMy Constitution*].

Aforika Borwa e na le khumo e tona mo hisitori ya maitshwaro ya morafe le baagi ka botla ba dingwaga ngwaga. Ngwaga wa go feta wa 1994 e bone seemo sa maitshwaro a morafe ka a amanang le dipolotiki. Mo Makala ake go rekisa ga go oketsa makoko a rileng, morago ga temokerasi e ne ya tsamaile kgakala le go kgetolola, go na le Makala a rileng a a ikemetseng a a ka thusang le go rotloetsa ga ditiro tsa makoko. Go

na le dilo tse dintsi tsa South African Unions le South Afrcan Federation of Trade Unions.

Aforika Borwa e bone tsamaiso ya merafe ya go tswana le Treatment Action Campaign [TAC], Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee, Abahlali baseMjondolo, #FeesMustFall movement le tse dingwe. se se oketsa ga maitsholo a merafe a dikala tsa baithuti le tsamaiso ya maitshwaro.

Ka maemo a go aga magareng ga seemo le maitsholo a merafe, Non-Profit Organisation [NPO] Act, 1997 [Act 71 ya 1997], go beya ga NPO ga dokotorati ya gore kwadisa le go thusa ga NPOs. Lekala le le thusiwa ke matseno go tswa go National Development Agency [NDA] le National Lotteries Funding Distribution Agency. Ko bofelong jwa 2018, go ne go na le makala a kana ka 145 152 ba baikwadisitseng mo NPOs, go bontsha botshikenyego le go thusa ga lekala la NPO<sup>37</sup>.

Go ntse jalo, Makala a a mo gae a fokola ka bo bereki thata fa gotla mo matloleng a madi a go a rulaganya, go dira gore bas a ikwadisa. NPO e na le boetapele jo bo dirang ka natla go thusa le go dira boikanyego go dira ka thata mo ditirong tsa NPOs [sekao Makala a go dira ditiro le tiriso ya batsha], go le botlhokwa thata mo maemong a Makala a NPOs.

Ntse go bontsha go le kgakala se se dira gore go agiwe sentle mo merafeng le go ikopantsa, maAforika Borwa ba ipona ba dirile ka natla go dira kagiso mo di porojeke. Batho ba le bantsi ba batla go ikamaya le Makala tse di tla tlisa ditshono, go thusa, le go itsenya le go ikopantsa le batho ba mmala e sa tshwaneng<sup>38</sup>. Bong le go sa lekalekane g o batlile go tswana, mme ntle le se se bontsha kgaogano gareng ga merafe, jaaka go bontsha mo setshwantsong sa 2.1. Mananeo a Makala a farologantswe ka go sa lekalekane, makoko a dipolotiki, mmala, pobolo le puo.

Go tloga ka 1994 ne go na le ditlhabololo tsa go tsena mo ditirong le go fokotsegga ga go sa lekalekane mo ditshonong tsa go tswana le motlakase o tlhabologing ka 36% ka 1994 go ya go 90% ka 2018<sup>39</sup>. Se se bontsha gore basadi mo go tsamaiseng mo ditirong ka 2018 Sedimonthole e ile ko godimo ka 41.3% go tswa ko 3% ya teng ya

37

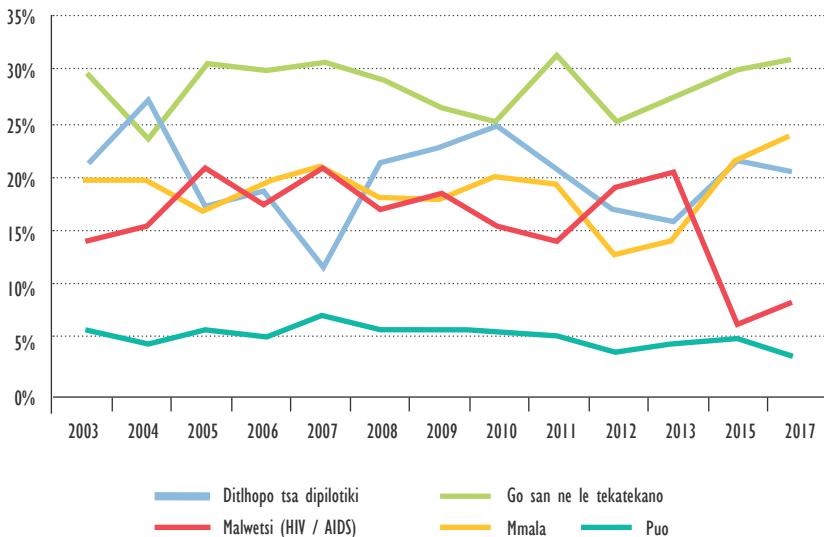
Lefapha la Dithlabololo tsa bosetshaba. 2017. Dipholo tsa ngwaga 2016-2017, tsebe. 11.

38

Setho sa tlhoko-kgobelelo. 2017. Dipoleano tsa Aforika Borwa Baometer Survey.

39

Eskom. 2012. Esekomo e motlotlo ka go keteka ga go tlolomaka ga maatla a Aforika Borwa, 28 Nwetse..

**Setshwantsho 2.1:** Sources ya kgaolo kopano.

Motswed: Setheo sa tlhoko-kgobelelo. 2017. Dipolelano tsa Afrika Borwa Baometer Survey.



## KGAOGANO YAMO AFRIKA BORWA

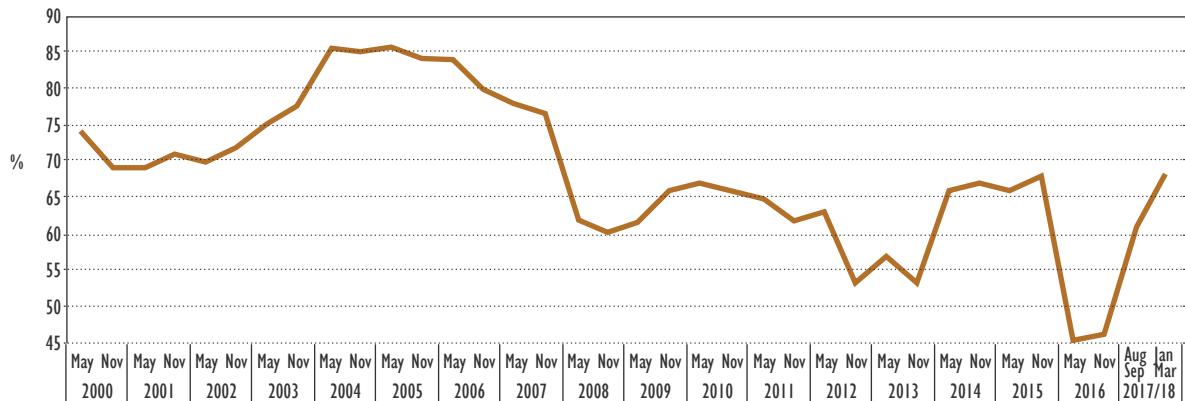
Afrika Borwa e tsere molao wa plethora wa lefatshe la bantsho. Molao o o diritswe go diragatswa ke bontsi ,ka go nna le bokgoni jwa batho basweu.Se se kaya gore ga re a felela,Land Act ya 1913 le 1926,Group Areas Act ya 1950,Job Reservation Act ya 1951,Act ya thuto ya Bantu ya 1953, Reservation of Separate Amenities Act ya 1953, le Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970.Molao o dira gore go sa nna le dikgaogano mo Afrika Borwa thata mom mala le dikamano magareng ga bontsi jwa basweu le bontsi jwa bantsho.Se se bothhokwa sa molao se se diriwang ke tshimololo ya go san ne le ditekatekano tsa ditshono,le dipholo tsa teng di a bonwe le gompieno.

ka 1994, se se tlhagisa phatla e tshesane<sup>40</sup>. Basadi ba emetse puso ka bophara ka go tlhatlhosa ka 19% go kgetiwa ga dithlopo tsa 1995 go ya go 41%. Go sela morago ke Phatwe a tlhola malatsi a le mararo ka 2016 mo ditlhopong. Mme mo makaleng a rileng a a ikemetseng a a lebagane le bothhoka tiro, bothhoki, ga senang tekatekano, le kgetelolo ya merafe.

Go na le dikago tse rileng tsa go nna le ditlhawatlhwra tse ko godimo tsa dingwaga tsa go feta 25 tsa kgololosego go tswana le National Identity Passport of Patriotism, le National Orders tsa naga yotlhe. Ntle le Brand SA le Government Communication and Information System e na le seabe sa go godisa sa National Pride Index Se se fetola ekonomi.

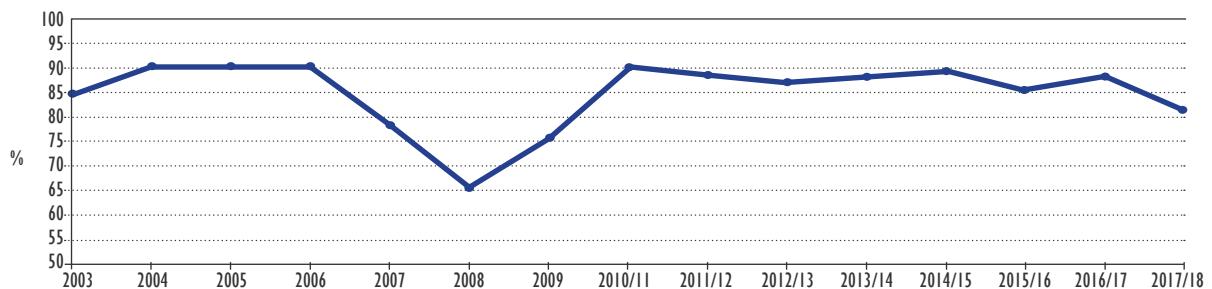
40

Department of Public Service and Administration. 2018. Monitoring Report on Employment Equity: Presentation to Parliament, Tlhakole 2018; Parliamentary Monitor Group. 2016. Maemo a Basadi a go Tsaya Ditshweetso: Department of Public Service & Administration and Public Service Commission Briefings, 15 Mophitlw. Website: <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/22211/>.



**Setshwantsho 2.2: Go fiwa bokamoso.**

Motswedi: Lefapha la Gobaakanya Kelotlhoko le Kemelo. 2018. Ditshupetso tsa Dithhabologo.



**Setshwantsho 2.3: Boikgantso jwa go nna mo Aforika Borwa.**

Motswedi: Lefapha la Gobaakanya Kelotlhoko le Kemelo. 2018. Ditshupetso tsa Dithhabologo.

Go tswana le national pride index e ne ele ko godimo ka 2004 le 2006, godimo ga 90% e ne e dumalatsa ka aka ele ya tlhaolele. Aforika Borwa e ne e tsamaya mo kgodisong e kotlase ka nako ya kotsi ya ekonomi ka 2008, e ne ele kotlase ga ebb ya 65% ka 2008. Maikutlo a go tsamaisa ekonomi ka go sa lekalekaneng, thuto e kotlase, botlhoka tiro le kgogelo, bosenyi le borukhuthi le go san ne teng.<sup>41</sup> Boikgantso jwa Aforika Borwa e tlhabologile ka 81% ka 2018.<sup>42</sup> E tlagisiwa mo lenaneong la 2.3.

Boitshupo jwa bokamoso jo, mo lenaneong la 2.2 le tlhagisa 68% ya maAforika Borwa ya bokamoso jwa bone. Se se kotla ka 85% le go kwadiwa magareng ga 2004 le 2005, fa ne kgolo e le ko godimo.<sup>43</sup> Ntlha tse dikotlase ke ka 2016 ke mo batho ba ne ba tlhopa ka nako ya 2016 ka puso ya tikologo go nna le ditlhopo ya bokamoso jwa Aforika Borwa.

## GO LWANTSHA GA DIKGETLO

Go batlana le boitshupo jwa gago le ngwao ka go gdisa le go dira se se ka go dira gore o latlhegellewe ke ditshono. Gongwe le gongwe ko o ka ithutang teng go ka dira gore kago ya naga le boitshupo bo tseye karolo e kgolo ka go gola mo ekonoming, le go fana ka dikitso. Puso e tseile tsweetso ya gore etla godisa naga ya rona. Mme se se tla kopantsha naga ya rona le ngwao ka go tsaya ekonomi le tikologo ya rona ko godimo sentle. Boitshupo jwa Aforika Borwa, setso le hisitori e tswanetse ka tlisa diphetogo tse di tla fetolang le go godisa naga ya rona, ka go tswana le naga tsa East Asian le tse dingwe. Mo nageng tse ba dirisa tikologo ya bona go godisa le go beeletsa mo di kgwebong tsa bona, go gaisa naga ya rona Aforika Borwa.

Aforika Borwa morafe o tsamaya ka dipelo tse di utlweleng botlhoko ka ga se sediragetseng bologolo, ka go bontsha maswabi tsa TRCs ka go ka kereiya pholo. Ka naga ya rona e sa fane le go lekalekana TRC re buisane le go busa engwe le sengwe. Go ka keteka naga ya rona le

seoposengwe sa naga ya rona ka jaaka re nale tumelo e ya bokeresete mo go rona.

Phoso e santse e tswelela mo go farologantseng ga merafe, se se bontsha botlhoki le go sa lekalekane ka 61.4% ya bontsi, go ka boela bo banala go tla tsaya nako. Bong e santse e le mathata ka go kgetolola le go ka tsaya nako mo ma Aforika le makhalate.<sup>44</sup> Go nna ga kgololosego go tla tlisa ditshono tse dintsi.

**Gender-based violence [GBV]:** Gogatelwela ga thobalanogo ketikiwa le go sa tsewe sentle, go bontsha ka jaaka bana le basadi ba tswerweng ka teng ele bokgwakgwa. Setso le ditumelo sa rona le tsone di tsaya karolo mo mathateng a. Tshimololo ya go aga, se se akaretsa se ngwao le diteng, mo basadi ba tswewe ka dilo tse di rileng. Batho botlhe ban a le ditshwanelo tsa pharologano ya bong le boitshupo jwa bone, Aforika Borwa e bontshitse ele kotsi fa gotliwa mo kgatelelong ya go nna lesbian, gay, baesetshuale, go fetola ga bong, queer, le go rata bong tse pedi ka nako e le nngwe, le asexual [LGBTIQA+].

Bo ko godimo ga bogodu go na le malaise mo semorafe le mo maAforika Borwa, ga go sana tlotlo, bosinyi bo gotlhe fela le mo makaleng a puso le criminal justice system [CJS].

**Tshireletso ya ditirelo tsa baagi:** Diphetogo di kgona go tlisa puso le morafe, go ka rarabolola ka go sa lekalekanaeng ga dilo. Se se la dira gore go nne le nako ya ditiro tsa morafe ka nako, go bontsha le go gola ga teng. Mo setshwantsong sa 2.4 makala a a bontsha kgolo e naga ya rona e dirang ka teng lw ka dikago di diriwang ka teng mo matlo a go balela le dikolo.

Magare ga batho b aba kwa godimo le kwa tlase, se se kaya ditirelo tsa merafe tse ko dikemeleng tsa dikago di kemetseng go tsana le thuto, pholo laeberari, dikago tsa go dirisiwa le gore di godile. Magareng ga bahumanegi le bahumi. Se se ka fokotsa seemo sa Makala a a nang le NPOs, le temokerasi ya pele le e ne e tlisa diphetogo.

41

Khansele ya Diphatlisiso tsa Saense ya Botho. 2014. Pride and Prejudice: Trends in South African National Pride.

42

Lefapha la Gobaakanya Kelothhoko le Kemelo. 2018. Ditshupetso tsa Dithabologo.

43

Lefapha la Gobaakanya Kelothhoko le Kemelo. 2018. Ditshupetso tsa Dithabologo.

44

Banka ya Lefatshe. 2018. Go fenya Bothhiko le go sa lekalekane mo Aforika Borwa: Ditshekatsheko tsa Bakgwetsi, dikgotlang le ditshono.

**Bonnye jwa lefatshe le phetogo ya ekonomi:** Ntle le go amana ga lefatshe ka go tsenya le go tlisa ga 935 490 ga lefatshe e ne e filwe ba batlhokang. Magareng ga 2014 le Lwetse 2018. Se se tlisa palogotlhe ya dihekетара dile di poresente dile lesome mo dingwageng dile masomeamabedi tse dileng kgakala le go tshwara di RDP tse di soloфetweng tsa dihekетара dile dimilione dile 24.6 diporesente dile masome a mararotsa dihekетара dile dimilione dile masome a robedi le bobedi diporesente dile masome a robedi tsa lefatshe la temothuo mo letsogong la basweu. Palogotlhe ya boleng jwa lefatshe la Aforika Borwa ke dimilione dile lekgolo le some a mabedi le bobedi dihekетара, dimilione dile somethataro tsa karolo lefatshe leo lene le itsiwe ka leina le gotwe ke Bantustans.<sup>45</sup>

Aforika Borwa e bone katlego e ntle ya kgolo mo go tlholweng ga ditiro mo magareng ga dingwaga tse 1994 le 2014. Go ntse jalo, ka 2007-2008 go nneile le bothata jwa madi le kemo ya tsela ya ekonomi ka kgolo, go tswana le ditlhabololo tsa ekonomi tse dingwe, ekonomi e tsene mo nakong ya goya kotlase, ka kgolo e e ko godimo thata le bontsi jwa botlhoka-tiro.

**Bosakgoni jwa go direla bosetshaba le seemo sa diphetogo:** DiRDP, le molaotheo le NDP ya bosetshaba e nnele teng ka diphetogo. Go nneile le menagano e mentsi e kile ba leka go tlhabolola setshaba. Se se akaretsa molaotheo k abo one, Botshabelo Housing Accord ya 1994, Job Summit ya 1998; Growth le Development Summit ya 2003 e ne e tswerwe mo nageng ya rona, le NGP ya 2010 le dilo tsa teng, le Youth Employment Accord ya 2013 le Skill Accord ya 2011, Framework Agreement e buile ka kotsi ya Ekonomi ya 2009; le ya 2018, le Presidential Job Summit le South Africa Investment Summit.<sup>46</sup>

Gontse jalo, dikamogelo tse di tseile karolo mo diporokeremeng tsa go tswana le matlo a RDP, EPWP, le National Skills Development Framework le UYF. Mo ditlhokegong tsa ditheo tse di ikemetseng phetogo e le bodiri jwa diphetogo tsa seemo. Ditshepo gareng ga dikgwebo, dikemelo,

metse le pharologano yam mala mo Aforika Borwa e kotlase. Se se bonwa mo setshwantshong sa 2.5, Puso e dula e le mo seeming se se kotlase go tloga mo go 15% goya ko 14%; media ka 39% goya ko 35%, dikgwebo go 56% goya ko 53%; le NGOs ka 58% goya ko 50%, bo gotlhe jwa Trust Index ya Aforika Borwa e kotlase ka dipointe tse 4 magare ga 2017 le 2018.<sup>47</sup>

**Bosenyi le seemo sa go sireletsa:** Puso ya temkerasi e bone ka go tlisa dikemo sa go bona le go rulaganya, bontshiwa le go emelana ka go sireletsa le go ntsha bosinye. Se se mo setheong sa Kgaolo 9 go akaretsa Office ya Auditor-General ya Aforika Borwa (AGSA) le Public Service Commission (PSC) le Mosireletsi Setshaba. Se se tsamaya le kgaogano ya matla ya matsogo ale mararo a seemo le tikologo ya puso. Se ke tsela ya go tsikinya media le go ntsha bosinye mo molaong le mo ditheong, se se tseele karolo ka go sireletsa le go ela tlhoko bosinye.

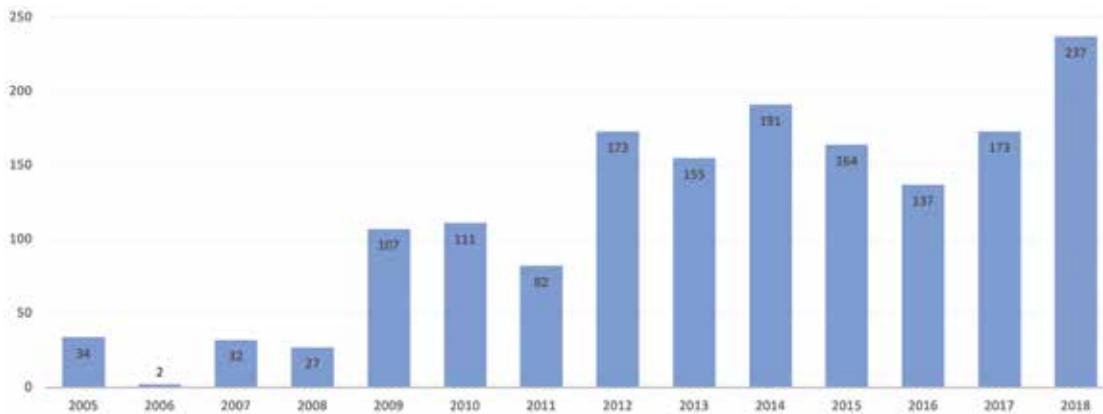
Goya dingwaga tse kgolo tse pedi tsa go feta, se se bone ka go bontsha ga kgolo ya bogagapa le bosinye mo ditheong tsa go ikemela le tsa poraefete, se se dira go tshepo e nne kotlase. Mo mafapheng a puso go na le dirile tse di tsweleng mo tseleng tse di amang puso. Sengwe sa go diragala maloba, mo nageng ya rona se bone ka go tswana ga dilo tse di ikemetseng. Moemedi wa go tsengwa wa Commissions ya Enquiry go fetotse nnete le go bona mosinye wa dilo tsotlhe o o tseileng maikarabelo gape le go kaya ka go emela puo ya se se builweng ka go lebagana le dikgwetlo tsee ka jaaka di gola.

Go sireletsa se le go ntsha bosinye joo mo ditheong tse di ikemetseng gotswana le uniti ya borukhuthi mo South African Police Service (SAPS), Financial Intelligence Centre, Asset Forfeiture Unit le Competition Commission di tlisitswe le go tiisiwa. Go ntse jalo, borukhuthi jo bosweu ke kgale ntse bo le teng, dikaiso tsa dipatlisiso mo dingwageng tsa go feta tsa go batlisisa ka bosinye le dikgato tsa ditheo tse di ikementse go tloga ka orukhuthi jwa 2010 FIFA World Cup stadium, le mananeo

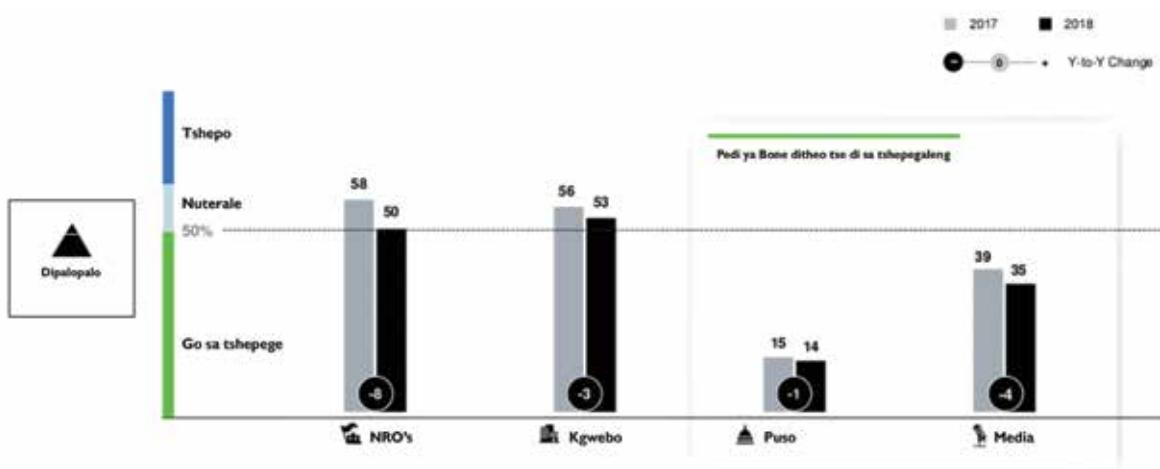
45 Department of Rural Developmentand Land Reform, 2018. Itseela 15 Motsheganong 2019. [https://www.poa.gov.za/Pages/Impact-Indicators.aspx?Paged=TRUE&p\\_\\_Target = & p\\_\\_Outcome\\_x0020\\_No = 70000000000000Sub\\_x002d\\_outcome\\_x0020\\_No = & p\\_ID = 30085 & PageFirstRow = 31 & SortField2509 = 9 & SortField250 % 7D](https://www.poa.gov.za/Pages/Impact-Indicators.aspx?Paged=TRUE&p__Target = & p__Outcome_x0020_No = 70000000000000Sub_x002d_outcome_x0020_No = & p_ID = 30085 & PageFirstRow = 31 & SortField2509 = 9 & SortField250 % 7D).

46 Mapungubwe Institute for Strategie Reflection (MISRA). 2014. Kago ya Naga le bosetshaba ka bottalo: Go tsenya tletlebo ya Tsholofelo le Thotlotso ya maAforika Borwa.

47 Edelman. 2019. Edelman Trust Barometer. Webwerf: [www.edelman.com/trust-barometer](http://www.edelman.com/trust-barometer).



**Setshwantsho 2.4:** Bontsi jwa ditirelo tsa batho jwa ditshireletso, ka ngwaga (2004-2018).  
Motswedi: Municipal IQ. 2018.2018 Ditirelo tsa Batho di sireleditswe ke All-Time I rekote ya Kwataragone nako eo ya gotswa, Putwe2018.



**Setshwantsho 2.5:** Ditheo tsa botshepegi dikotlase.  
Motswedi: 2018 Edel man Trust Barometer

le madia matlole a go siamesiwa kgatlanong le ranta ya naga e kotlase thata mo bareking. Se se bontsha tsela ya tsamaiso ya madi a naga, mo ditheong, le dipatlo tsa Steinhoff di nale le bosenyi, gore ke phatlhalatsa kgotsa ikemelo tsa ditheo, ka ntlha ya dikago tsa bosetshaba, tshepo le go tlisa ga maikutlo a tsweleng.



## REKOMENTEEHINE

- Go tshegatsana ga Makala a otlhe a a dirilweng jaaka Proudly South African, Brand SA, le MGE.
- Go tlisa dithekiso tsotlhe ka go di kopantsha tse di ikemetseng le tse di sa ikemelang.
- TRC e ka dira gore go nne le tekatekano mo dilong tse ditshimolotsweng go ka godisa le go thusa matseno.
- Le go tiisa ka go tlisa National Action Plan kgatlanong le kgethololo mmala, bong, xenophobia le tse dingwe tse di sa letlelewang.
- Go godisa le go dira ga ditlhopo le go buisana ga **GBV**.
- Go godisa setshaba le ekonomi ka go tlisa diphetogo tse dintsha sa go tswana le dithuo le go bona diphoso tsa bosetshaba.
- Go tlisa basha le bong ka tiriso, kelotlhoko, go lebelela le go bona ditiro tsa puso, ka go tlisa le go gatisa ka ngwaga ka dikatlego tse di fetlheletsweng mo dikgotlheng tse.
- Go rotloetsa setshaba le go tsaya molaomotheo, le go aga diphetogo tsa seemo ka go tsamaisa le go nna seoposengwe sa ditheo tsotlhe tsa bosetshaba tse di tsweleng.
- Go aga le go go tlisa diphetogo mosemorate ka tsamao ya molatheo mo makaleng a otlhe ka botlalo, le go tsenya morafe o tseye karolo e rileng.
- Go baya dipono le melao e rileng ya dilo le Pan Africanism ya go ithuta le go ruta ditheo tsotlhe tsa thuto.
- Go tlisa le go aga dilo tse nsha ka go tlisa diphetogo le go fokotsa ga go sa lekalekaneng ga batho le go bontsha ga bas a dire lo loago, le b aba kgatlanong le bong le kemo ya bosetshaba botlhe.

# Bong le go aga Aforika Borwa e Senang Mokgwethololo bong



**M**ekopanelo ya puso ya bokolone le puso kgethololo ya letso le mmala, ga mmogo le tsamaiso kakaretso ya setshaba,e e fang banna moropo le maatla a go busa le go gatlaka basadi e nnile le bokete jwa tiragalo mo maemong a basadi le basetsana ba Aforika Borwa. Jaaka tsamaiso kakaretso ya setshaba,e letletse bontlha bongwe le bongwe jwa botshelo jwa motho, ekonomi,mokgwa wa polotiki, setso,bodumedi, gote o mong, boswa, thuto le boitekanelo ka mabaka a banna go laola basadi le bana.

Puso ya batho ka batho e gotsitse molgwa wa puso ya kgethololo ya letso le mmala e ebeileng kgatelelong ya go dira le letso, kgetololo ya melao le melawana. Basadi ka kakaretso, le basadi ba Aforika ka bo bona, baditilwe go senne le bothokwa go tsaya ditshwetso tsa maemo a polotiki tsa setshaba. Gape bane ba ganediwa tekatekano ya tsa boitekanelo,ditshono tse dilekanang tsa thuto le ditshono go tsaya karolo mo go tsa ekonomi.

Ka ntlha ya dipholo tsa puso ya kgethololo ya bosedhaba ka dingwaga tsa puso ya kgethololo, Aforika Borwa e ne e ntshitswe go tsaya karolo mo

dipuisanong tsa UN le Aforika tse di sireletsang di tshwanelo tsa basadi. Ekonomi ya Aforika Borwa e agilwe ka dingwaga di le le kgolo tsa go aroganya le gontsha di polisi tse di ntshang basadi ba bantsi mo gotseyeng karolo mo batho kweng jwa ekonomi. Se segolo se puso ya kgethololo ya se tlogetseng ko morago ke tshotlhego ya basadi le go sa lekalekaneng ga bong se se tswelang go nna le bokete mo matshelong a mantsi a basadi ba Aforika Borwa.

## TEKATEKANO YA BONG LE THOTLOETSO YA BASADI, DINGWAGA DILE 25

Dingwaga tsa 1994 bupilwe ke puso go ntsha ditlamorago tsa polotiki, ekonomi le phetogo tsa semorafe le go fenza ga thibelo tekatekano ya bong le go aga basadi ka maikaelelo a a kopaneng go fetola hisitori ya gosalekaneng ga bong.

Puso ya batho e fentse ka go ya katlego e e tlhwathlwya le ditsala tsa go godisa le go aga basadi go kgabaganya lefatshe. Gape le go tsenya tsamaiso tsa tekatekano ya bong mo molao motheong. Diphithlelelo tsa ditlamelo le ditshupo molao tsa ditshwanelo mo molaotheo disupa ditokelo tsa basadi mo Aforika Borwa. Dingwaga dile 25 ka 1994, naga e dirile mo go tonatona mo miekonoming ya bosedhaba le polotiki. Lefa go ka nna jang gona le matshwenyego gore diphetogo tsa manaae a ditheo tsa basadi a kanna a fokotsegile mo dingwageng tse difitileng. Aforika Borwa e tshotse loeto le lo leelee gaesale ngwaga wa 1994! le bone matsapa go sireletsa, go tlhatlhosa le go tsepamisa tekatekano ya bong le go aga basadi.

Go tswa ka mananeo,goromento e ikemiseditse go dira le go aga puso e e senang boeseng bong le bosedhaba go agiwa ka maemo a RDP. Go tlaleletsa white paper mo RDP ka 1994, kgaolo 3.2.7 enopola gore tekatekano ya bong ke katlego e tonna ya polising ya ekonomi jaaka mmarako o palelwa gantsi ke go oketsa kgetololo mo setshabeng mo pusong ka bophara. Se seitsitse kgetololo ya basadi e e sa laolegeng goya go mmereko wa banna le wa basadi, ga patelweng ga mmateko wa basadi,bonnye jwa sekolo sa basadi, tlhaelo ya thuto ya ko tlase ya bana gotswa mo go tse dingwe. Go tlaleletsa white paper e supile gore basadi ba sokola ditlamorago tsa bosemorafe jaaka kgethololo ya bong mo molao motheo le gotshwarwa ga ba ba dirileng diphoso, maitshwarwa a

?

AOA  
ITSI

30% ya banna ke bahumi mo lefatsheng ka bophara go na le basadi, le gore banna ba laola 86% ya dikgwebo.

Source:Oxfam

BOTLHOFU JWA TEKATEKANO YA BONG LE BASADI GO ROTLOETSA GA TABA E YA TLHATLHOBO YA NGWAGA TSE 25	TSWELELOPELE E RILENG	TSWELELOPELE E SIAMENG	TSWELELOPELE E LEKANTSWENG	TSWELELOPELE NYENYANE	TSWELELOPELE SEONG
Go godisa pono ya Aforika Borwa le tlhaloganyo ya tekano ya bong					
Go dira dipolising le melao metheo ya bong ka tatele					
Go tlisa ga dipolising le melao metheo ya tekano ya bong					
Go fenza ga dikgothang tsa bothhoki jwa basadi					
Kemelo ya basadi ko dipolotiking,boetapele le puso ya gae					
Kemelo ya basadi mo ditheong tsa phatlhalatsa					
Kemelo ya basadi mo ditheong tsa go ikemela					
Tshireletso ya ekonomi ya basadi ka bottlalo					
Diphetogo tsa setshaba le maemo a setshaba: Tetla ya basadi ya tshireletso					
Diphetogo tsa setshaba le maemo a setshaba: Tshireletso ya basadi le setshaba					
Diphetogo tsa setshaba le maemo a setshaba: Boitekanelo le pholo ya basadi					
Diphetogo tsa setshaba le maemo a setshaba: Diphetogo tsa thuto ya basadi le bokgoni					
Kgololosego ya basadi le bana modikgatelelong					
Go oketsa ga maemo a basadi mo tikologong/ekonoming					
Bong bo tsaya karolo mo dipolising, lenaneo, go batla, baakanya matole, go sirelets, go lebelela le go thathoba mo pusong					
Go dira dipuisano ka see, ga go nna tlhogo that aka bong le dikarolo tsa bong le dikgaogano tsa ditiro					
Dipuisano ka go sa lekalekane ga basadi ga go sa patelwe madi a go lekana mo ditirong le maikarabelo a matlo ko GDP					

**Setshwantsho 3.3:** Go thathoba tsela ya ngwaga tse 25 tsa tekatekano ya bong le thotloetso ya basadi.  
 Motswedi: Lefapha la Basadi le batho ba ba bokowa. 2019. Pampiri yago baakanyediwa ga thathoba ya dingwaga dile 25 ya basadi Thotloetso le tekatekano ya basadimo Aforika Borwa 1994-2019.

kgethololo mo maemong a lenyolo kgotsa boimana, thaelo ya osa boitekanelo tsa bo semorafe, Bonnye jwa boitekanelo jwa bosenetshaba<sup>48</sup>.

Ke ka moo maikaelelo a polisi ya RDP e etshegetsat botlhokwa puisano, le tshupo ya bontla bongwe mo kelotlhokong ya bong le go tsamaisa ekonomi ya goromente. E faphegile, go oketsa ditiragatso le ditshono tsa basadi, go simolola ditshwanelo tsa basadi, tofatso ketleetletso ya sekoloto le goitshimolola setlamo sa dikoloto go netefatsa ga tlameloa ya tlhokomelo ya bana ba setshaba le go tokafatsa ditshono tse di tla tswelang basadi mosola. Se se bereka jaaka tshimololo ya phetogo goya go kago ya basadi le tekatekano ya bong monageng.

Kgwetlho ya jaanong e e tshwetsweng ke puso ya batho ka batho e ka 1994. Jaanong go simolola go bereka thata. Pонелопея ya oseng bong le kago ya basadi. Mo dingwageng tsa 1994 Aforika Borwa e ne e goga kopele molao motheo wa tekatekano ya bong mo lefsheng, ga mmogo le melao jaaka ya go gontsha ga mpa (sexual orientation) le di tshwanelo tsa basadi ba ba nyetswang ka setso.

### **Basadi, kemedi le go tsaya karolo**

E sale ngwaga wa 1994 goromente e lwetse ka thata go fetola seemo sa lekala le go netefatsa gore mekgwa e e dirisiwang e beilwe mo seemong se se kopele le tswelelopele ya basadi mo makala otlhe a botshelo jwa phatlhalatsa.

Go a bonagala gore gotswa motshedimosetsong yotlhe e e nnileng teng basadi ba dirile tswelelopele e tonna mo di karolong tsa ditirelo tsa setshaba gotswa mo dipalong tsa basadi ba ba dirang jaaka maloko a palamente le molao motheo ba ba tshweteng maemo a bo rra torop (majoro) le go direla kgaolo khanele, basadi ba ba direlang di maemo a boeteledipele jwa khabinete mo maemong a seshole le goromente.

Tshwalelopele e nnile bonya mo ditheong tsa di poraefete mo komanong ya maitsholo a tlwaelo le katiso ditswanelo go tokafatso dikamano tsiboso mo botlhokweng tekatekano ya bong e e ganeditshwengBomme ga ba emeilwe sentle mo boemeding jwa ditheo le maemo a a kwa godimo, ka kakaretso le ditheo tse di ruilweng mo Johannesburg stock exchange.

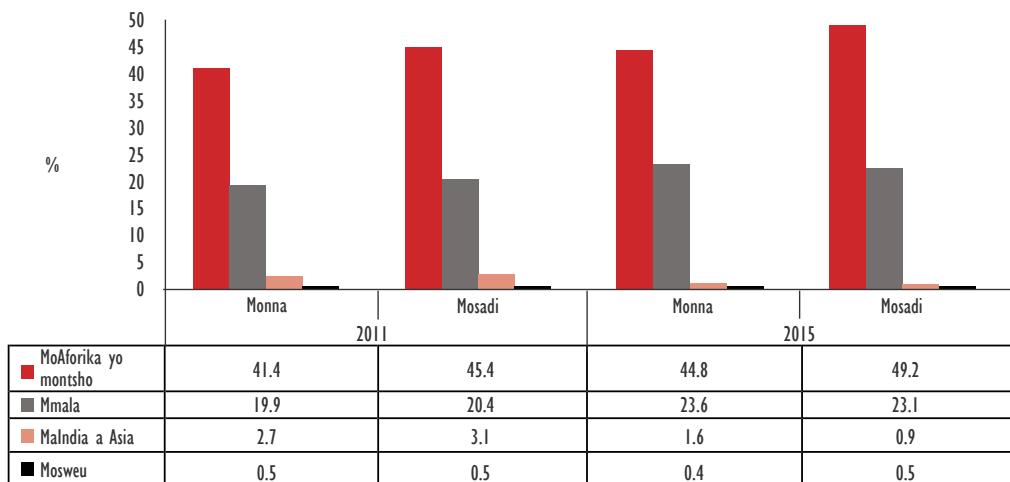


## **TEKANO YA BONG LE GOROTLOETSA**

### **Kgang key a tekatekano ya bong le go rotloetsa ga basadi le go dira mo Aforika Borwa:**

- Ditiro tsa go ntsha dilo tsotlhe tsa kgatelelo kgatlhanong le basadi, 1972. E tshotswe ka 1995
- Unifesale ya ditlereshine tsa ditshwanelo tsa Botho, 1948.
- Vienna Declaration ya go Rekisa le go Sireletsat Ditshwanelo tsa Botho, 1993.
- Beijing ditlareshine le Tetla ya go Diragatsa, 1995.
- UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), 2000.
- UNSDG's, 2015.
- Porotokolo ya boikgetolo ya Aforika chatara ya Ditshwanelo tsa Botho le Batho ya Ditshwanelo tsa Basadi mo Aforika, 2004 (e itsegele ka Maputo Protocol).
- AU Solemn Ditlareshine ya Tekatekano ya Bong mo Aforika, 2004.
- Porotokoloya SADC ya Bong le Diphetogo, 2008.





**Setshwantsho 3.I:** Palo ya Khumanego go ya ka baagi le bong.

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa. Phetogo ya Khumanego mo Aforika Borwa (2017).

Basadi mo palamenteng ya bosetshaba ba oketsegile gotswa go 27.8%. Mo ngwageng wa 1994 le 41.7% mo ngwageng wa 2018 ka 45% ka 2019. Kabinet ya ntlha ka 1994 ene e nale basadi ba babedi gotswa mo go ba ba some tharo ba maloko a palamente, jaanong mo ngwageng wa 25 mo pusong ya batho ba Aforika Borwa e fitlheletse maikaelelo a bong mo tshimologong khabinete a nnile le basadi bale 14 le banna bale 14 kemedi ya basadi ko pusi potlana e oketsegile gotswa mo go 19% ya di khanselara tse ditlhophilweng ka ngwaga 1995 ka 41% ka 2015. Basadi badigile fela 5% tsa badiredi bosetshaba fela ka ngwaga wa 2019 basadi ba fentse banna mo setheong. Go tlaleletsa mo go se basadi ba dira 41% ya batsamaisi jo bo golo jwa ditirelo tsa maemo a ditirelo tsa setshaba ka 2018. Ka 2019 Aforika Borwa e nnile fea le 35% tsa botsamaisi jwa kakaretso le ditlhogo tsa dikompi tsa goromente tse eleng basadi maemong kgakala le go fitlhela maikaelelo a a 50% tsa bong. Go nneile koketsego diperesente tsa baatlhudibasi basadi mo 2019 ga puso ya batho ka batho gotswa go mosadi a le mongwe wa moatlhodi.

Mo ditheong tse di ikemetseng ,basadi ba dula ba oketsegile go emela ba bangwe ka go nna baeteledipele le balaodi mo dikgwebong tsa ditsamaiso. Go nneile le dikoketso tsa basadi ba baatlhudibasi go feta tsa 25 go tloga ka

Mo legatong la  
 lephata la poraefete,  
 basadi ba ba  
 oketsega ka lebelo  
 mo kemeding ya  
 diCEO le balaodi  
 mo dibotong le mo  
 dikgwebong.

puso ya temokerasi ka ngwaga wa 1994 mo mosadi ale mongwe ka 38.8% ka 2018. Go na le selekano sa 47.4% sa basadi ba diagente ka 2018.

Go tsengwa ga basadi mo go tseyeng karolo mo go ditshwantsho ke ditshwanelo tsa batho,fela hisitor ya mo Aforika Borwa e ne e itsiwe ka kgethololo ya letso le mmala. Bagolo ba bomme ba basweu ba ne ba newa totla ya go tlhopha ka ngwaga wa 1930, fa bomme ba Aforika ba filwe tshono ya go tlhopha ka ngwaga wa 1994. Esale ngwaga wa 1994 basadi ba Aforika Borwa ba tseneletswe ka matlhagatlha go dirisa di tlropho tsa bona go tlhopa baemedi ba bona kwa pusong e potlana, ya porofense le ya naga.

Ka ngwaga wa 1999 gone gona le batlhopi bale 18 172 751 ba ba ikwadisitseng e oketsegile ka ngwaga wa 2004 goya go 20 674 926. Dipalopalo di oketsegile mo go makatseng goya go dimilione dile 25 ba ba ikwadisitseng go tlhopha ka ngwaga wa 2005 go fitlha ka sedimonthole wa 2008 e nnile dipalo di ka nna 26 071 154 ba ba ikwadisitseng go tlhopha. Ka ngwaga wa 2008 basadi ba ba ikwadisitseng go tlhopa ba nnile 14 362 94, banna ba banne baikwadisitse go tlhopa bane bale 11 709 060. Mo ditlhopong tsotlhe tsa dingwaga, basadi ba tswelela go feta banna

### Go tsaya karolo ga ekonomi

Phetolo ya Ikonomi le go matlafatsa basadi mo ikonoming go ile ga bontshiwa ka maitlhomo a puso fa e sale ka 1994. Kafa tlase ga puso ya apartheid bontsi jwa basadi mo Aforika Borwa ba ne ba tlogelwa kwa magaeng, ka diikonomi tsa go itschedisa le ditshono tse di lekanyeditsweng mo kgwebong. Fa dipholisi tse di kgaoganyang tsa motlha wa apartheid di ntse di fela, basadi ba le bantsi ba ile ba fudugela kwa metsesetoropong ba ya go senka mebereko le ditshono tse dingwe. Kgwtlho ya puso mo dingwageng tse di fetileng e ne le go tlhomamisa gore basadi ga ba tsenyelediwe fela mo ikonoming e e rulaganeng, mme gape le go ba tlthathelela ka thuto le bokgoni jo bo tlhogekang go tsaya karolo mo ikonoming ya segompieno.

Puso e tlisitse melawana le ditiro tsa go dirisiwang mo ekonoming ya basadi go ka ba rotloetsa.go tlisa

ditshono tsa dikgwebo,kitsi le ditshono tsa basadi sa Aforika Borwa ba go dira ka dikgwebo le yone e diretswe go ka rotloetsa basadi le bong jwa go sa lekalekane mo setheong sa themothuo. Katlego ke e nnyee,go tloga ka kotsi ele ya ekonomi ka ngwagawa 2007 le kgatelelo ya bong ya go tsena mo ditheong tse di siameng ka dipholo tse,basadi ba emelwe ke ditiro tse di sa emang sentle.

Basadi ba ba feditseng go na le banna mo saenseng, tekenoloji, enjenering le dipalo dikeri ga ya ema sentle,mo basadi ba sa emelwa sentle mo dipalong le palong tsa batho,ICT le tekonoloji le yone ejenering, go diragatla go dira. Banna ba kotlaza ga dinomore tseo gi gaisa basadi ba ba berekang ba ba gantsi ga sedikadike sa bobedi go na le banna ba ba batlang mmereko. Dipholo tse, basadi ba teng bale 51% ba ba sa berekeng.<sup>49</sup>

Basadi ba santse ba le bantsi ba ba patelwang ko tlase mo di diriswa tsa seemo sa ditiro le mmereko wa mo gae le se se dirile gore banna ba nne ba bantsi mo ditirong tsee.Dipalo tsa kgwedi le kgwedi tsa go amogela ga matseno mo ditheong tsa enjenering, mmaene le dipetlong.Dipalo tse matseno a kgwedi le kgwedi di bontsha bonnye jwa basadi ba dikamogelo tsa bone di tshwanang le tsa banna.Matseno gareng ga banna le basadi,thatata mo ditirong ka tekateka,go tswelelo ga seemo se se ikemetseng le bogare jwa matseno go se bontshe sepe se se tlang se se lekanang.

Dipalo tsa mongwe le mongwe o o nang le lefatshe ka gagwe le go bontsha 34% ya basadi le banna ba ba nnang le dithemothuo tse ditona tsee.Basadi bone ba na le 13% tsa lefatshe mo nageng ya rona ka ngwaga wa 2018.<sup>50</sup>

### Tshotlhego ya basadi

Kgatalelo e tlogetse baswa jwa tshotlhego le bokotlase ka fa mathakoreng otlhe mo ditoropong a a agang maemo a, industrial le commercial ya tlhatlhobolo, kgaogano ya mo thutong,ntlo pholo,matseno a semorafe, dipalangwa le diphatlhatiro. Basadi e sarotse ba bua ka bone ka ga kgatelelo le tlhopololo le ya batho ba ko gae le baswa ka bophara.

49

Lefapha la Basadi le Bath aba ba Bokowa. 2019. Paakanyo ya pampiri ya Tlhatlhobo ya basadi ya ngwaga tse 25 ka Thotloetslo le Tekano ya Bong mo Aforika Borwa 1994-2019, tsebe. 49.

50

Lefapha la Basadi le Bath aba ba Bokowa . 2019. Paakanyo ya pampiri ya Tlhatlhobo ya basadi ya ngwaga tse 25 ka Thotloetslo le Tekano ya Bong mo Aforika Borwa 1994 1994 - 2019, tsebe.49.

MOFUTA WA KABO YA MADI	2009				2017					
	Monna		Mosadi		Palogotlhe	Monna		Mosadi		Total
	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	N ('000)	%	N ('000)	%	N ('000)
Kabo ya Madi a a Tlamelang Bana	4591	50	4586	50	9177	6463	49.6	6561	50.4	13024
Kabo ya Madi a Bagodi	1023	35.8	1834	64.2	2858	1098	35.1	2030	64.9	3128
Kabo ya Madi a ba ba Nang le Bokoa	67.2	47.7	736	52.3	1408	511	51.5	481	48.5	992
Kabo ya Madi a Tlhokomelo ya Boikemelo	126	51.8	117	48.2	243	23	49.3	24	50.7	47
Kabo ya Madi a Tlhokomelo ya Bana ba e Seng ba gago	325	47.7	356	52.3	681	148	51.1	142	48.9	289

**Setshwantsho 3.2:** Mofuta wa kabo ya madi a thuso ya khumanego tseneletseng go ya ka bong le palo ya ba ba a amogelang, 2009 le 2017.

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa. 2017. Lenaane la Bong Bolumu IV:

Matlafatso ya lkonomi 2001- 2017. ts.52

Nngwe ya dikago tsa kgotlhong ya Aforika Borwa morago ga 1994 e ne e se lekalekane mo gonneng le ditirile tse bodiri mo baaging ka dilo tse difaphganeng tsa puso ya batho kabotsi,basadi ba itshoketse ka go tsena kotlase kgotsa go fiwa di tuelo. Ka jaaka go bontshitswe mo mananeo a 3.1 a a kwatlase a basadi ba Aforika, le basweu ba banna ba kotlase go ka nna bahumanegi. Puso e lwetse go rekisa ditshwanelo tsa basadi mo dikopanong, ka go dira dipuisano tsa gore mongwea nne le ditlamelo tsa semorafe, se se akaretsa metsi, motlakase, bophepha, matlo le ditshireletso tsa dijо, le tlhwatlhwа e kotlase ya dipalangwa le tetla ya kitso.<sup>51</sup>

Matseno a morafe a mo Aforika Borwa e akaretsa ditlamelo tse PHC, go tswa mo moimaneng le mmewa go nyisa lesea le bana ba ba dingwaga tse kotlase ga thataro le go oketsa morago go botlhe, ntle le go patela, dikolo, mogolo wa bana, ntlo tsa diRDP ditlamelo tsa mahala tsa go ntsha metsi, motlakase le bophepha le matlakala a gotswa ko matlong ka ditatelano.

Ka jaaka bo bontshitswe mo lenaneong la 3.2 bontsi jwa baamogedi ba madi a bana, ntle ba ba bokowa le ba dikhutsana mo bana ba 51% tsa mefuta ya megolo.

### Tirego ya tiro ya basadi go ya rekisa mafatshe ka bophara

Aforika Borwa e ekwadisetse le go sela melawana morago ya ditshwanelo tsa basadi,go rotloetsa le go dira gore ba fitlhelele tekatekano ya bong ko UN, African Union (AU) le Southern African Development Community (SADC). Naga gape e kwadisitse bo gothe jwa 27 mo gotsweng ga 189 UN International Labour Organisation (ILO). Go tswe mo dipuisanong tse 27 mo Aforika Borwa ba ba 24 ba ikwadisitse.

### DIKGAPELETSO TSA DIKHOTLHANG

Go tloga ka 1994 puso e simolotse molao go tlisa dipolising le go dira diporokereme tsa go tlhagisa ga ditshwanelo tse molaotheo tsa basadi le basetsana ka tekatekano, boikgantso jwa botho, kgolo le tshireletso ya motho. Go ntse jalo, kgatelelo e kwa godimo le borukhuthi jwa bong bo tseilwe gareng ga basadi le basetsana. Ka se se le botlhokwa. DiRDP di kaela gore ditshwanelo go ka lebelela mo go ageng ga malapa le batho ba metse ka go tlisa pele le go ela tlhoko ditlhokego tsa basadi le bana ba ba neng batswa ditlhabelo tsa go gatelelwа le go gatakiwa. Se e nnele katlego ka 1994 ka puso ya pele go ba puisano ka ga dikgatelelo tsa go gatelelwа kgatlhanong le basadi go lebeletswe mo ditshwanelong tsa molaotheo le ditshireletso.

51

UNDP. 2014. Tshireletso ya bosedhaba mo Aforika: Tlhathhobo ya bokgoni jwa go tsena le go tsaya karolo mo go fokotseng ga Botlhoki. Webwerf: <http://www.za.undp.org/>

Ka 2002/03, go nnele le dipetelelo tse 38 896 tse di gatisitsweng mo SAPS fa go lebelela le tse 40 035 tsa 2017/18 matlole a teng. Go ya ka SAPS. 98.9% ya bastwa ditlhabelo ba petelelo ya go beegiwa ka 2016/17 mo ngwageng wa matlole a basadi le banna ka 1.1%.

Puso e tlisitse 16 Days ya No Violence kgatlhanong le Basadi le Bana Campaign ka 1998, kampeine e kgatlhanong le GBV e nnele e nngwe e e bonweng ka dikampeine tse dingwe mo nageng. Dikgatelelo kgatlhanong le basadi le basetsana e tsweletse, go ntse jalo, dipholo tse tsa go tswelela ga go sa atlege go diretswe pele ke molao, dipolising le bodiredi ba batswa ditlhabelo le ba bafentseng.

Dintwa tse tsa tsamaiso ya go gatelelwa le go kgetolola ga basadi go dirile gore banna ban ne kwa godimo, bodirelo jwa ditumelo tsa setso, seemo sa motshegediwa ga mmogo mo bong go dula bo nna le dipolising le ditshimololo.

Bomadimabe, bokete jwa molaotheo le molao, tirelo-tiro, dipolising tse di siameng le diporokereme mo madulo, go gotlhe jwa ditlhahobo jwa dingwaga dile 25 bo fetotse kgang ya basadi ya naga ya rona e latlhelweng. Ditshwanelo tsa basadi di gatakiwa tsatsi le letsatsi mo nageng. Ditlhaloganyo tsa ditobalano le tiro ya basadi, dikarolo le ditiro tsa bona di tswelela ka go dira gore kgololo le ditshwanelo tsa bone e nne kgotlhang.

Morwalo wa go sa Patelwe ka tiro le boimane jwa basetsana bo ko godimo le go fokotsa bokgoni jwa basadi mo dithutong. Basadi bam o maketeng ka boemo jo bo kotlase jwa go kgona, go sa lekalekane ka go tlisa dilo.

Basadi bam o gae ba boboye thata go gaisa ba metse setoropo, go sa lekalekane gam mala le ditemokerafa, bantsho ba Aforika le makhilate a kotlase go na le malndian le basweu basadi ba teng. Basadi le ba babokowa le ba go sa itsagale bam o kotsing e ko godimo ka GBV. Se se tsaya karolo mo Phamokate, e tlogela basetsana ba banny le basadi mo kotsing.

**Boitekanelo le taolo ya mmele wa basadi** Tsamaiso ya boitekanelo jwa setshaba, go tlisa thata mo unifesaleng le go nna le tetla ya tlhokomelo, tiriso le go nna ga bong le ditshwanelo tsa

boitekanelo, dipuisano tse di tseele karolo e kgolo ka go ka tlhabololang ga maemo a boitekanelo jo bo kotlase.

Ka 1994 mo Aforika Borwa e tlisitswe ke pilising ya Unifesale ya go nna teng mo boitekanelong gwa ntlha, se se bopilwe ka go tlisa diporokereme tsa pholo le boitekanelo. Basadi ba baimane le bana ba kotlase ga thataro ba newa pholo ya mahala. Boitekanelo bo tshwanetse go nna teng ka nako tsotlhe tsa diporokereme tsa boteng le tsa go atlega tsa boitekanelo jwa seemo.

## LGBTIA + Ditshwanelo

Kgatelelo, le Badumedi ba Calvinisi ya mathomo, e dirilwe ka bong jwa borukhuthi ka 1948, kotlhao e nnele dingwaga tse supa tsa kgolegelo, ntse go na le dipharologano tsa bong mo Aforika Borwa le ka hisitori ya teng. Mo molao oo le dikgetololo, thata mo LGBTQIA+ batho ba ne ba leka go tswara see ka sephiri. Ka nako ya tlhaolele, matshelo a digaye le setso di tseele nako di shubilwe. Batho ba tiriso ya bong ga bedi ba ne ba tsamaya menate le mo meeting ko malapeng a bone. LGBTQIA+ e dirilwe mo setshabeng mo ditulong tsa go tshwana le District 6 ko Kapa Borwa le Sophiatown ko Johannesburg.

Mo ditulong tsa setoropo tse bantsho ba bong gabedi ba ne ba lokolosegile, go tswa mo katholong ya batsadi le batho, ba dula le batho ba ba tsamayang tsela ele nngwe le bone ba amogeselegile. Ba lwela digaye le dilesebiene go tswana le Simon Nkoli, Palesa Ditsie le Linda Ngcobo ba ne ba le teng mo mokgatlhong o, ba nnele bathome ba see go tswana le Gay le Lesbian Organisations yak o Witwatersrand (GLOW), le National Coalition ya Gay le Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) le Organisation ya Lesbian and Gay Activists (OLGA). Ka nako ya dipuisano tsa pele tsa 1990s, go ne go na le ditlhopo tsa ikemela ga kgololosego ya bong ka jaaka e le nngwe ya ditshwanelo mo molaotheo, mo tseleng le see go ne go tsamaiwa ka tekatekano.<sup>52</sup>

Aforika Borwa e nnele naga ya ntlha mo mafatsheng ka go rekisa ga dikgetolo tsa boikgetolo jwa bong le go itsi gore o molao ofe le Ditswanelo tsa 1993. Se se ne sa tsweletswe pele ke molaotheo wa bofela ka 1996 mo seashineng ya robongwe ya Tekatekano,

melao ene e sa gatakiwe. Dipalo tsa dikgetsi ko kgotla tshekelo di setse se morago. Botirel jwa Tekatekano Act, 1998 (Act 55 ya 1998), e ne e dira bo nneta go tiriso ya bong ga e kgatakakiwe; Civil Union Act ya 2006 e ne ya gatisiwa mo bong ba go tswana mo nyalong. Le kgotla tshekelo ya molao e dumetse ga molao wa bong jo bo tswanang mo nyalong go ka iponela bana mo Child Care Act, Tshireletso e dirilwe ko pele le go amogela botlhe, seemo sa setshaba le ditirelo, mo go Rental Housing Act ya 1999 le Promotion ya Equality le Prevention ya Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA), 2000 (Act 4 of 2000). Le PEPUDA ya 2000 ga e letlelele puiso ya letlhoo le dikgatelelo tsa bong, mmala le tiriso ya bong.

Morago ga dingwaga tse 25 mo Aforika Borwa e bone kgolo ya digaye le dilesebiene di tsaya karolo ya go eteletsa pele mo di pusong, mme e

sale nomore e kotlase. Ntle le molao motheo, maikaelelo a setshaba ga se a fetoge, mme a kotlase. Go na le thuto nngwe e bidiwa Life Orientation mo dikolong e ruta ka dikgang tsee ka go di tswara ka botlalo, go tswana le dipharologano tsa tiriso ya bong mo media.

Aforika Borwa, e nne karolo mo tsamaegong ya mafatshe, ka go godisa see le go rotloetsa ga boikitso jwa bong go fitisa digaye le ba ba seng digaye, go senola ga setso sa go itsi ditswhanelo sa LGBTQIA+.

Dintwa tsa kgolo e, ka botla ya GBV ke kgang e e bosisi tota ya dikgwtlo, go lebeletswe ga dipetelelo le dimatlhoo, go akaretsa setshaba, dikolo, ko ditirong le dikago sa botekanelo.



## DIREKOMENTESHINE

Dipolising di tseile karolo ka go buisana ga dikgetho tse mo dingwageng tsa gotla tse tlhano le magare a matelele a go buisana ka go sa lekalekane ga bong le go tlisa bong mo nageng ya rona ka polising ya setshaba. Se se raya gore gotla tseiwa maikarabelo a tletseng le a a dirisiwang mo molaong le dipolising tsa naga.

Se segolo ke go gatisa ga ekonomi ya basadi, le go dula ga ditlhokego tsa go fetola ga go sa lekane ga kamano mo bong.

Go dira dipolising tsa bong, go diragatsa, leano, go tlhokomelwa, le go tlhodiwa ka seemo sa basadi go ka tlisa diphetogo tsa ditshwanelo tsa go rotloetsa. Tekano ya dilo tse ditletse ka go tsamaisa kgang ya basadi le go fetola ga ditshwanelo tsa basadi gore ba dule monate.

Se se bottlhoka thata mo katlegong ya naga ya rona ka go nna seoposengwe, goatlega, le ba basa diri le loago mo sethabeng sa molaotheo wa rona, tlhogo ua setso, ditshenyego, go latlhgelwa, tsela ya go kopana le dipuo tsa go goga ga mewa e maswe mo sethabeng sa rona, go akaretsa tirelo setshaba.

Setshaba sa rona se na le ttlelebo ya seemo sa go Rotloetsa Basadi ka Diphetogo tse di shwanetseng go gatisiwa. Se se tshwanetse go dirisiwa mo dilo tse ditlang. Go ka thusa le go tlhokomelo ya gore basadi ba fitlhelela ka 50% yak o godimo le boetapele mo pusong, ditheo tsa go ikemela, go akaretsa dikgwebo tse di ikemetseng-state-owned enterprises (SOEs), le thuto ya dikolo le go rutiwa ga dikemo, le diphetogo tsa ditlhopa, thata ditheo tsa madi.

KGAOLO 4

# Letseno la bosemorafe



TSHIRELETSEGO YA LOAGO

**M**oloaotheo o fetotse merafe go ya ka boleng jwa botho, teketekekanyo le kgololesogo go botlhe. Ka ga seo tshupamolao ya ditshwanelo e neelana ka tshwanelo ya go tlhabolola/ tlhablooga. Moloaotheo gape o netefatsa gore ekonomi yotlhe ka bophara go nna sentle mo ditshwanelong tse di jaaka tshwanelo ya go lettelelw a bona ditirelo tsa boitekanelo, tlamelo ya tekanyo ya dijo le metsi, go nna le botsalano jo bo sirelegileng, matlo, thuto potlana e kopaneng le thutopotlana ya ba bagolo, go lettelelw a bona tshedimosetso, tetla go bona tsamaiso ya tsa bosiamiseleteketekano, gotlalelets a mo ditshwanelong sa polotiki le rsa bosemorafe. Go nna le kgololesego jaaka go gololesega mo go tsa bosemorafe mo ditumelong, go tsa bodumedi, menagano, tumelo le dikakanyo tsa gago. Tshwanelo ya go gololesega go bontsha/ntsha maikutlo a gago, go inyalana/ ikopanya le batho le go dirisa puo ya gago le e o e batlang, go tsaya karolo mo go tsa meletlo ya boikgethelo jwa gago.

## GORENG LETSENO LA BOSEMORAFE

RDP – [ lenaane la ditlhabololo tsa kago ya matlo] Lenaane la ditlhabololo tsa kago ya matlo ka ngawaga wa kete kgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le bone go tlalelets a mo ditshwanelong tse di fa godimo ene e akaretsa ditshono tsa ditiro le letseno la tshireletsego mo ditshwanelong tse dipotlana/ simololang. Mo go ntsheng maikutlo ka ponelopele ya moloaotheo, Aforika Borwa mo dingwageng tse some a mabedi le botlhano ya puso ya batho ka batho ene ya tlhagelela mo letsenong la bosemorafe ka go beeletsa mo bathong ba yona le go tlhatlhosa ditlhabololo tse di tsepameng mo bokamosong. Moloaotheo o tsweletse ka go gapeletsa goromente go sireletsa, tlhatlhosa le go diragatsa ditshwanelo tse. Ka go tsaya maikano a go dira melao le mekgwa e mengwe mo

ditlameleng tse dileng gona ka go fitlhelela temogo mo tsweletsong ya ditshwanelo tse.

Letseno la bosemorafe la Aforika Borwa bo fetogile le pono ka go aga morafe o motho mangew le mongwe a nang le tetla ya dtshono tse di tokafatsang seriti sa botho.

Botlhokwa jwa karolo e ngwe e potlana e e fetogileng mo dingwageng tse some a mabedi le botlhano a stenyelletsa thuto, boitekanelo, matlo, metsi, motlakase le tikologo e e phepa mo dintlwaneng boithusetso le tsa tshedimosetso. Letseno la bosemorafe ke go tlhagisa maikutlo mo go beeletseng mo bokamosong, ditshwanelo tsa seriti sa botho le bokopano/ boseoposengwe. Go ya ka ponelopele ya moloaotheo, letseno la bosemorafe le tlhoka tshelelso ka go phatlhalatsa letseno le ditshono go ralala ekonomi ka go atisa go tsaya dikarolo le go fedisa botlhoki le go sa lekalekaneng. Jaanong e botlhokwa thata ka go kopanya kgotsa go aga bosemorafe jo bo kitlaneng le go tsamaisa bosemorafe mo morago ga lenaanetema la ditlhabololo go tlhama katlego mo go direng letso, bo seng bong, puso ya batho ka batho le tekano ya morafe.

Pele ga ngawaga wa kete kgolo ya robongwe some a robongwe le bone, gone go nale tlhabololo e siameng ya letso la bosemorafe go dipalopaloo tse dinnye tsa batho basweu, ma India le batho ba mmala o tlhakaneng [coloured]. Sekao: matlole a bogodi mo morafeng e ne e itsisiwe pele ka ngwaga wa kete kgolo a robongwe some a mabedi le borobedi a ne a newa basweu le bam mala o tlhakaneneg, e sa balwa mo desikiming tsa matlole a bogodi e e neng ya itsisiwe ka ngwaga wa kete kgolo ya robongwe le masome a mabedi go ya ka karolo ya molao wa letseno la bosemorafe ya ngwaga wa kete kgolo a robongwe some a mabedi le botlhano. Kgethololo le bo go sa lekalekane mo thutong, boitekanelo, dipalangwa, tirelo bosetshaba, tshirelelso ya morafe, morwalo wa malwetsi le go sa tsengwe ga go dira ka tsa madi / go itsholela.

Go oketsega ga letseno la bosemorafe le le fetogileng morago ga ngwaga wa kete kgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le bone ka jalo e ne ya tshwanelwa ke go itsise tsela e selo se dirilweng / kopntsweng ka teng mo ditlhabololong tse di kwa tlase le tshotlego thata jang mo batho bantsho [morafe wa batho bantsho] le bo mme, bana, bagodi le batho ba ba nang le bokoa/makoa.

Kgaolo e e lebisitse mo tshireletsegong ya morafe jaaka letseno la bosemorafe. Bontla bongwe jwa dikgaolo tse ga bo tlhagise dintlha ka botlalo, dintlha dingwe tsa leteno la bosemorafe tse e leng thuto, boitekanelo, matlo le ditirelo tse dipotlana.

**Go tsenyeletsal/ go dira ka sengwe le**

## sengwe sa tsamaiso ya tshireletsego ya morafe le karolo ya letseno la bosemorate.

Goromente ya puso ya batho ka batho, e batla go netefatsa gore “motho mongwe le mongwe o nale tshwanelo ya go nna le tetla mo tshireleteng ya morafego tsenya/kopanya le fa bas a kgone go ithusa k abo bona, se se tshwanetseng ka thuso ya morafe”.<sup>53</sup> Go tsenyeletsa/ go dira ka sengwe le sengwe sa tsamaiso ya tshireletso ya morafe, ka jalo a peeletso e tsepameng go ya ka katlego ya botshelo jo bo nang le boleng go botlhe.

E batla go fitlhelela bana, ka go ba tlamela ka boitekanelo le thuto, gore bana botlhe ba fitlhelele bokgoni botlhe mo go itlhabololeng. E tsepamisitse maikaelelo mo bathong b aba nang le bogole go ba kgontsha gore ba tseye karolo mo go direng mo morafeng. E busetsa seriti le kgomotso mo bagoding. Gape e ikaelela go thusa batho ba ba sa diring ka go ba kgontsha le go thusa gore ba bone ditshono tsa ditiro le go godisa ekonomi. E tsenyeletsa le thuso e e kgethegileng le tshireletso ya mo ditiragalong tse dirilweng[ sekao: ditsela, dikotsi tse di amanang le ditiro, maemo a botshabelo]. Tsamaiso ya tshireletso ya morafe e e neng e tlhageletse mo Aforika Borwa e neelana ka netefatsa ya tsenyeletsa mo bosemorate.

Lenaaneng la dtlhabololo tsa kago ya matlo [RDP] le

**mosola wa go oketsa  
palootlhe ya letseno  
la bosemorate mo  
baamogedi go tswa  
go dimilione dile 2.4  
ka ngwaga wa kete  
kgolo a robongwe  
some a robongwe  
le borataro go  
ya go dimilione  
dile somesupa  
poente thataro. Mo  
ngwageng wa dikete  
tse pedi le borobedi**

neelane ka lebaka la o dumela gore kgolo le tlhabologo ka bophara mo go neelaneng ka ditlhoko potlana le letseno la bosemorate. Lenaane la dtlhabololo la kago ya matlo e kopantse kgolo, tlhabologo, kagosha, phatlalatsosesa le poelano go nna lenaane le le kopaneng.

Botlhokwa mo kopanong e ke lenaane la dikago le le tla neelang tetla go dilo tse di diragalang go ne jaana le ditirelo tse di ntshang mabaka a ikaletseng jaaka motlakase le metsi, mekgwa ya tlhaletsano - megalà, dipalangwa, boitekanelo, thuto le katiso ya batho bottlhe. Lenaane le le ne le tshwanetse go fitlhelela ditlhokego potlana le go bula ekonomile bokgoni jwa batho jo bo fedisitweng mo nakong e e fitileng mo mafelong a metse setoropo le metse selegaae.

Lenaane la tlhabololo ya matlo RDP e dirile dikeletso tse di kgolo mo tsalanong/ kgolagano go letseno la bosemorate, e e leng metsi a phepa dilitara dile some a mabedi le some a mararo letsatsi le letsatsi go motho mongwe le mongwe mo dingageng dile pedi. Batho gotswa ka tulon e ba nna ko go yona ga ba tshwanela go fitlhelela metsi dimetara di ka feta makgolo a mabedi, ba bone dilitara dile masome a mathlano go masome a marataro ka letsatsi mo dingwageng dile tlhano. Matlo otlhe a tshwanetse go nna le matlwanaboithusetso, le go phuthelwa/ tseelwa matlakala go nna mo tikologong e e phepa mo dingwageng dile pedi. Phepelotlase le tlala mo lenaaneng la dingwaga dile tharo go sena VAT mo dijong, go thusa lefapha la thuto ka dijo le mo dikganyeng tsa boitekanelo, go tokafatsa tsamaiso mo tshireletsong ya bosemorate, go laola maatla a bolaodi jwa dithekiso bo bo tlhotlheletsang ditlhawatlha tsa dijо le taolo ya tlhwatlha ya borotho le dithuso tsa dijо. Mo go tsweletseng se, le go sa kgathalesege gore maemo a dichelete tsa goromente gore di eme jang mo diporesenteng dile some a marataro le borobedi ya go matlafatsa dituelo stotlhe tse di ileng go maitlamong a bosemorate o tsenyeletsa thuto, boitekanelo, madi a a neelwang bana [ matlole a dithuso tsa bana] le ditirele tse di botlhokwa.

Puso ya batho e fetile / e tlhotse dipholisi dile mmalwa le molaoteo i. White paper [tokomane] mo dipalopalang ngwaga wa ketekgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le borobedi ii. White paper mo tsamaisong tsa bosemorate ngwaga wa ketekgolo a robongwe some a robongewe le bosupa e e tlhalosang melao, ditsamaiso, dipholisi tse di tsitsintsweng le manaane a tlhabololo ya tshireletso ya bosemorate mo Aforika Borwa. iii. White paper mo malapeng ka ngwaga wa dikete dile pedi le sometharo. iv. White paper mo ditshwanelong tsa batho b aba nang le bokoa ka ngwaga wa dikete tse pedi le somethataro v. [Social Assistance Act] Molao wa thuso ya bosemorate le SASSA Act ngwaga wa dikete tse pedi le bone o neelana ka thuso ya bosemorate go moagi o tshwanetseng, baagi ba boleburui le baagi ba boeng ba maemo a botshabelo. vi. Molao wa botlhokatiro mo ngwageng wa dikete dile pedi le bongwe e e neng ya fetoga go akaretsa mefuta e e farologaneng ya bareki ba ba tlhasetsweng jaaka badiri

# Letseno le le kwa tlase la malapa le ne la bontsha maemo a kwa tlase ga ditiro ka bogolo.

bat emo le leruo, bathusi bam o malapeng le bakgweetsi ba di tekesi. vii. Dituelo tsa fa o tswile dikotsi mo tirong [COIDA tsamaiso ya lekgolo le masome a mararo ya ngwaga wa ketekgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le boraro] e neelana ka tuelo fa o tswile dikotsi mo tirong, o tlhasetswe ke bolwetsi o le mo tirong bo tlhodilwe ke tiro e o e dirang kgotsa o ka tlhokafalela mo tirong kgotsa o santse o dira. viii. [RAF] Matlole a kotsi tsa tsela RAF ACT ngwaga wa ketekgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le borataro] e duela dituelo tsa fa o gobetse, o tswile kotsi e dirlweng ke go kgweetsa dikoloi, go latlhegelwa ke tshegetso, dikotsi ka kakaretso, dituelo tsa kwa maokelong le loso, batswa setlhabelo ba dikotsi tsa tsela di dirilwe ke bakgeetsi b aba senang maiarabelo/ maitemogelo kgotsa go kgweetsa go go fosagetseng ga sejanaga.

Nngwe mekgwa e e tlhodilweng go tlisa bong le go dira le letso, mo mekgweng ya tshireletso ya bosemorafe, ene ya tlogela go tsweledisa tuelo ya dipaakanyo tsa Goromente e e neng e tsaya letlhakori go tse dinnye ka ngwaga wa ketekgolo a robongwe some a robongwe le borataro go ne ga itsisiwe thuso ya bana ya matlole e ntshwa. Ko tshimologong bokgoni jwa go duela dituelo tsa go tlamelala bana ene e kgonega, ya ne ya tshwanelwa ke go isiwa ko tlase go tswa go diranta dile makgolo ale mane le diranta dile lesome, go ya go diranta dile lekgolo masome a mabedile bosupa tsa diranta go ngwaga a le mongwe, mme ene e ganelala fela go ban aba dingwaga tse di kwa tlase gat se supa. Ene ya isiwa go ban aba dingwaga dile somerobedi.

Dipatlisiso tsotlhe dine tsa bontsha botlhokwa mo bathong ba ba amogelang thuso ya matlole a bosemorafe e e oketsegileng thata go tswa go dimilione dile 2.4 mo ngwageng wa 1996 go ya go dimilione dile 17.6 mo ngwageng wa 2018. Batho bale dimilione dile somengwe ke ba amogedi ba CSG. Go ya dithuto tse di farologaneng go bontsha dithuso tsa dituelo di tokafaditse matshelo a batho ba ka nna dimilione tsa ma Aforika Borwa. Se se netefatsa gore dituelo tsa bosemorafe [matlole a dithuso] a fokoditse tlala/ tshotlego le:

- CSG e bontsha botlhokwa jwa mo go tokafatseng bomme le go laola boitekanelo jwa bana gape le go bontsha botlhokwa jwa basadi go ka tsaya ditshwetsi mo cheleteng ya legae le go diriseng chelete mo ntlong ka kakaretso.
- CSG e nale tsholofetsi e tletseng mo go Iwantsheng tshotlego le go bontsha botlhokwa jwa go tsena sekollo le tlhokomelo ya boitekanelo;

- Dithuso tsa matlole di thusa dipeeletso tsa tiriso ya chelete ka go dira dipatlisiso tsa ditiro le maemo a sa emang sentle a malapa;
- Dithuso tsa matlole e thusa dipeeletso ka go tsaya karolo mo go beeng madi [boloka madi] mo disetokofeleng go boloka chelate le dipeeletso tsa ditlhopa.

Ka ngwaga wa 1999 setheo sa katlaatleelo loago le ne la tsaya dintilha dile lesome mo go tse di ikanneng go aga sesha malapa, morafe, botsalano ja bosemorafe ka go dira thulagano e le ngwe ya go fedisa botlhoki mme gape e netefatsa go thus aka ditirelo tsa boitekanelo, boitumelo le go nna sentle go neelang ka tetla le go fitlhelela batho ba metseselegae, metse setoropo le baipei.

Ka ga jalo, mo ngwageng wa 2013 go ne ga nna le tlhatlhobo sesha ka ngwaga 1997 ya White Paper ya boitekanelong le boitumelo ja bosemorafe e e bonwe ka gore go ne go setse go nale go sa dirisiwe sentle ga madi a lefatshe mo nakong e fitileng. Phatlha mo gare ga godireng sentle – go se diring sentle ka go neelaneng dilo tse di setseng mo porofenseng. Pharologano gape e teng mo go kopanyeng ditlhokego tsa botsalo tsa ditirelo go ralala di ntla tsotlhe.

Tsamaiso ya setheo sa go sa dire ya ngwaga 2001 e thusa [UIF] matlola a setheo sa go sa dire go fetola go tlamelwa ga batho b aba sa ikgoneng jaaka badire ba balemi. Bathusi bam o malapeng le bakgweetsi ba ditekesi.

UIF gape e tokafetse go tswa mo setheo se se neng se ikaegile ka ditshepiso tsa goromente mo tshimologong ya magare a dingwaga tsa 1990 go ngwe ya dithoto tse di balelwang go dibilione tsa diranta dile 150. UIF e baakantse dikopo ka ngwaga mongwe le mongwe tse di balelwang go 700 000 go fitlha go 800 000 le fa se se emela diporesente dile tlhano tsa b aba sa direng. Batho ba ba neelanang ka ditiro – le badire ba jaanong ka go ya dipatlisiso tse di dirlweng tsa tshedimosetso UIF ga jaana e nale badire ba balelwang go dimilione dile lesome ke batho b aba neelanang ka ditiro bale dimilione dile 1.5. le fa se se bontsha go fitlhelelwang ga bogolo, botlhokwa, badire ka bontsi ba netefaleditswe gore ba mo tlase ga tshireletso fa go ka nna le go latlhegelwa ke tiro, botshelo kgotsa kotsi ngwe.

Mo ngwageng wa 1993 go ne ga tsengwa molao wa go duela badiri b aba tswileng dikotsi mo tirong le go tlhaselwa ke malwetsi mo tirong (COIDA). (Molao No. 130 wa 1993) o neelana ka dituelo tsa dikotsi, malwetsi kgotsa leso le le tlhodilweng ke tiro e a e dirang. E sale jalo matlole a thusitse badiri ba ba tswileng dikotsi le b aba amegileng. Mogare ga



ngwaga wa dikete tse pedi le borobedi Moranang a tlhola letsatsi le ngwaga dikete tse pedi le somerobedi Mopithwe a tlhola malatsi a le some a mararo le bongwe. Palogotlhe ya dikopo tse di amogetsweng tsa boipelaetsi di balelwa go I 962 481. Go nale dikopo tsa boipelaetsi tse di saletseng ko morago ka go patelwa di balelwa go 4.411, go tse di patetsweng di balelwa go I 785 694 (s.k 91%). Palogotlhe ya madi a duetsweng mo go thuseng a baletswe go diranta dile R 13 238 939 649 mo ngwageng 2014 le 2018. Diporesente dile 69% e dueletse dithlare/ melemo. Diporesente dile 4% e nnile tsa dituelo tsa dithuso le diporesente dile 27% mo dithusong dipenshele. Mme mo go seo go nnile le makoa a a amanang le go tsengwa tirisong ga COIDA jaaka go sa nneng sentle ga tiro; botlhoka tiro jo bo kwa godimo; go diriweng sesha ga mafelo a tiro le mekgwa e maswe/ bokoa ya badire, palo e e kwa godimo ya batho ba ba tswang kwa ntle [merafe e sele] mo go tsa indasitire ya dihotole le go itsholeng sentle mo tsamaisong ya mo tirong.<sup>54</sup>

RAF - Matlo a dikotsi tsa tsela e simolotswe ke RAF Act (molao 56 wa 1996) jaaka e baakantswe, e tsweleditse tsamaiso ya yona ka di I Mopithwe 1997 (Molao 93 wa 1989) e latelwa ke go tswalelwga MMVAF Matlole a dikotsi tsa dikoloi tse di farologaneng e simolotswe mo Molao wa matlole a dikotsi tsa tsela [molao 93 wa 1989]. Maikaelelo a matlole a dikotsi tsa tsela RAF ke go patella dituelo mo go latlheglweng ke bo wena kgotsa o tswile kotsi e e bakilweng ke go sa kgweetseng sentle ga bakgweetsi – go duelela go latlheglweng ke letsono, go latlheglweng ke go engwa nokeng, dikotsi ka kakaretso, go batswa setlhabelo ba dikotsi tsa tsela di bakilwele ko go tlhoka maikarabelo kgotsa maitemogelo ga bakgweetsi ba dikoloi. RAF e lebagane le dikgwetlo tse dikgolo.

AGSA e bone madi a a beilweng a fitilwe ke a a dirisitsweng dibilione tsa diranta dile R26.3 mo go dibilione tsa

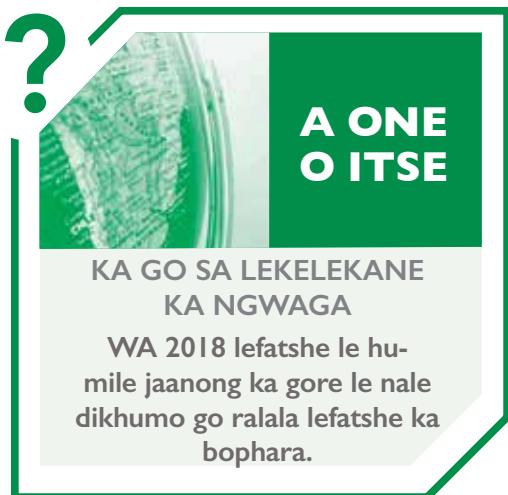
diranta dile R206. Dituelo tsa semolao tsa go fedisa dikgang tsa boipelaetsi si kwa godimo le go tswelela go phatlhalala. Bonnyane ja dituelo tsa semolao bo balelwa godimo ga R100 000 kgetsi e le ngwe, le matlole a kwadisitsweng kgotsa kamogelo ya boipelaetsi mo ngwageng ya matlole ya 2017/18 e balelwa go 271 933. Go ya koketsegoo ya dipalo tsa boipelaetsi e ka supa fela go yeng ko godimo ga tiriso ya matlole mo go botlhlaswa.

Goromente, jaaka e itsitswe ke Lenaane la ditlhabololo tsa kago ya matlo RDP, e itsitsitse porogarama ya ditiro go batho ka ngwaga wa 2004 e neelanang ka seriti sa tiro le ditlhabololo tsa bokgoni. Ka ngawaga 2004 poro gerama ya koketso ditiro tsa baagi e tlhodile ditshono tsa ditiro di balelwa go dimilione dile 10,3 go fitlha ga jaana, mme diporesente dile 12,4% tsa ba tsaya karolo ba bone ditiro tsa leruri. Morago, godirammogo le setheo se se ikemetseng go tshwanetse sa matlafadiwa mo dipeeletsong le katisong, go ya ka tlhago ya tsamaiso ya botlhokatiro porogarama ya ditiro tsa botlhe e tshwanetse go bewa ko godimo ka koketso ya CWP go baakanya bolwetsi jo bo leng teng jwa tshotlego le go sa dire. Mo go direng porogarama ya go neelana ka ditiro go batho e tshwanetse go neelana ka tetla ya go dira kgapetsakgapsa le go neelana ka letseno le go dira le EPWP. CWP le tsamaiso ya lekgotla la basha la tiro e tsenya le porogarama ya YES le go ntsha bokgoni mo katisong mo badireng ba EPWP. Botlhokwa jo bogolo, ke bothhokwa jwa go baakanya go sa bewe sentle ga tsamaiso ya Porogarama ya ditiro go batho jaaka dikgotlang mogare ga pitso ya tiro le bothhokwa jwa go tsaya karolo mo 4IR.

NPD e tsitsintse gore go ya palo e ko godimo malwetsi a bosemorafe, palo baitse dikwalo ba ditirelo tsa bosemorafe bo lekanyeditswe go palo e 55 000. Baitse dikwalo ba ditirelo tsa bosemorafe ba rupeletswe ga gona ditlamelo tsa didiriswa go ka ba tsaya.

Go ya ka karolo ya matsapa a tshotsweng go kgontsha ti-kologo ya setheo sa NPO go fetola morafe ka ngwaga wa 1997 morago ga dipoledisano le go batla thuso ka goromente mo ditheong tse di sa diring letseno NPO molao wa 1997. Molao wag a jaana e baakantswe go tokafatsa tirisanommogo magareng ga ditheo tse di sa diring letseno mo goromenteng.

Ka ngwaga wa 1998 [NDA] setheo se se neelanang ka ditirelo tsa ditlhabololo tsa naga se ne sa tlholwa ke molao wa Palamente go kgontsha tirisanommogo e e tshwanetseng magareng ga goremente le setheo sa morafe se ikemiseditse go fedisa tshotlego le tse di e tlholang. Mo dingwageng tse di fetang somethataro e le gona, NDA e neelane ka go thus aka matlole a a fetang dimilione tsa diranta dile R1.3 go setlamo sa morafe mo bathing b aba thusiwang [baamogedi ba dithuso tsa matlole] b aba balelwang go dimilione di feta 2.2. Go tsepamisa megopoloo ya tsamaiso e ne ele go ntsha ditshono tsa ekonomi, go



neelana ka letseno mo malapeng, tshireletso ya dijo le go thusa ka go opulola dithhabologo tse di nnelang ruri go tswa ko tshimologong ya se se simolotsweng.

### Go kopanya ditlhwatlhw a tsa go tshela le tshireletso ya bosemorafe le botshelo jo bo kwa godimo

Ka nako le tiriso ya madi mo go tsa dipalangwa go setse dilo tse digolo tse di isang botshelo jwa maemo a a kwa godimo ko tlase go malapa a a sa itsholelang. Badiri b aba sa itsholelang ba itshetlegile ka go kopanya go tsamaya ka dinao, diterena, ditekesi le dibese go yak o ditirong tsa bona, ba dirisa madi a lekaneng mo di ureng. Dithhwatlhw a tsa dipalangwa tsa botlhe e ekemiseditse go itepatepana le ditlhwatlhw a tsa lookwane, go sa kgathalesege dithuso tse di dirwang. Ditsela tse dingwe tsa go fokotsa dithhwatlhw a tsa lookwane mo dipalangweng ke go neelana ka matlo go badiri gaufi le mpa ya ekonomi le dithuso tsa matlole a dipalangwa.

Dituelo tse di dirlweng tsa dithuto tse dikgolwana tsa Yunibesiti di baletswe ka segopa mo letsenong lotlhe. Go inyalana le seo, bana gotswa ka magaeng a nang le letseno le le kwatlase ga ba patele kgotsa duele thuto ka kakaretso, mme maemo a dikolo tsa bona gole gantsi di ne di sotlegile thata.

Mo boitekanelong, jaaka le thuto malapa ka bontsi bo ikaegile mo ditirelong tsa morafe tsa mahala, gonnie dituelo tsa bona di nne kotlase. Badiri ba ditheo tse di ikemetseng go le gantsi ba nale ditumalano tsa go ka duelelwa dituelo tsa boitekanelo [maokelo le ditlhare]. Ka ga seno dituelo tsa boitekanelo jwa bakgweetsi ba ba nang le bokgoni le bakgweetsi b aba nang le bokgoni jo bo lekaneng ka go farologana.

Madi a a lekaneditsweng go diranta R1 500 ka kgwedi e thusa malapa ka letseno le go bogodi le batho ba babokoa. Mo go se lelapa le le nang batho ba dingwaga tse di lekaneng go ka dira, bagolo ba bakgonang ga ba tshwanelwa ke go neelwa letseno go tswa go Goromente.

Malapa a sotlegileng a beetswe mo mafelong a a neng a le mo didikeng tsa kgale, tse dineng di tlhopolotswe ka nako ya puso ya tlhaolele. Ka ngwaga wa 2015 mafelo ao a ne a tshwere malapa a balelwa go diporesente 28% mme malapa a ka nna diporesente 40% e ne ele a a sotlegileng thata le malapa a ka balelwa go diporesente di le 9% mo mafeleong a batlang a tokafala khonthaele. Malapa a a kwa metsesetoropong e baletswe go diporesente 70% go malapa a otlhe b aba kwa mafelong a bahumi ene ele diporesente dile 90% dikhonthaele tsa bahumi<sup>55</sup>.

NPD e tsitsintse gore go ya palo e ko godimo malwetsi a bosemorafe, palo baitse dikwalo ba ditirelo tsa bosemorafe bo lekanyeditswe go palo e 55 000.



Malapa a letseno le le kwa tlase le tswa mo maemo a kwa tlase a ditiro. E batlile e nna diporesente dile 40% a botlhoki mo malapeng a nang le batho ba ba sa diring gotlhelele, a ke mo dituelong tsa tiro kgotsa baiperek. Go kopanya le se maemo a itheletseng ka go dira ke malapa a ka balelwa go diporesente dile 40% a nale letseno la batho b aba fetang nngwe. Ka se bahumanegi ba balelwa go 40% ya malapa go batho batlhe ba ba dirang ke bale 22% le 45% ya khointhaele ya bobedi e latelang. Malapa a adirang sentle a balelwa go 20% le ditiro tse ba ditshwereng di balelwa go 33% ya ditiro<sup>56</sup>.

Malapa a humanegileng ke 20%, e nale fela batho ba ba ka nnang nne ba bagolo ba naleng mmereko/tiro, go tshwantshiwa le pedi – tharo mo bahuming 20%<sup>57</sup>.

Bonnyane jwa 40% ya malapa a mo mafelong a bahumanegi ba bona letseno go tswa ko ba dirang gona kgotsa mogolo. Fa letseno go tswa go kgwebo e tsenyeditswe 70% ba nna le tsela engwe ya go bona letseno mme o kotlase kgotsa e nnye. Malapa a ka nna 60%ba nale mongwe yo o

55

Dipalopalo mo Aforika Borwa 2016. Dipotsolotso tsa dipalo tsa malapa ka kakaretso.

56

Ibid.

57

Dipalopalo mo Aforika Borwa 2014. Tsela e kwa godimo e bontshang tshotlego mo Aforika Borwa.

amogela letseno la bosemorafe. Ko malapeng a balelwa go 20% ke a ba ba itsheletseng kgotsa humileng thata go feta 95% key a ba ba boning letseno ka go dira kgotsa go tswa mo go iperekeng [s.k kgweebopotlana].

Lenaaneng la dtlhabololo tsa kago ya matlo [RDP] le neelane ka lebaka la o dumela gore kgolo le tlhabologo ka bophara mo go neelaneng ka ditlhoko potlana le letseno la bosemorafe. Lenaane la dithhabololo la kago ya matlo e kopantse kgolo, tlhabologo, kagosesa, phatlalatsosesa le poelano go nna lenaane le le kopaneng. Botlhokwa mo kopanong e ke lenaane la dikago le le tla neelang tetla go dilo tse di diraglang go ne jaana le ditirelo tse di ntshang mabaka a ikaletsweng jaaka motlakase le metsi, mekgwa ya tlhaletsano - megala, dipalangwa, boitekanelo, thuto le katiso ya batho botlhe. Lenaane le le ne le tshwanetse go fitlhelela ditlhokego potlana le go bula ekonomile bokgoni jwa batho jo bo fedisitweng mo nakong e e fitileng mo mafelong a metse setoropo le metse selegae.

enaane la tlhabololo ya matlo RDP e dirile dikelsetso tse di kgolo mo tsalanong/ kgolagan go letseno la bosemorafe, e e leng metsi a phepa dilitara dile some a mabedi le some a mararo letsatsi le letsatsi go motho mongwe le mongwe mo dingageng dile pedi. Batho gotswa ka tulong e ba nna ko go yona ga ba tshwanela go fitlhelela metsi dimetara di ka feta makgolo a mabedi, ba bone dilitara dile masome a mathlano go masome a marataro ka letsatsi mo dingwageng dile tlhano. Matlo otthe a tshwanetse go nna le matlwanaboithusetso, le go phuthelwa/ tseelwa matlakala go nna mo tikologong e e phepa mo dingwageng dile pedi. Phepelotlase le tlala mo lenaaneng la dingwaga dile tharo go sena VAT mo dijong, go thusa lefapha la thuto ka dijо le mo dikganyeng tsa boitekanelo, go tokafatsa tsamaiso mo tshireletsong ya bosemorafe, go laola maatla a bolaodi jwa dithekiso bo bo tlhotlheletsang ditlhawatlwa tsa dijо le taolo ya tlhwatlwa ya borotho le dithuso tsa dijо.

## DIKGOTLHANG TSE DI TSWELETSENG

Ga jaana batho b aba sa itshelelang ba setse bas a kgone go fitlhelela letseno la bosemorafe. Ba ba neng ba sa kgone mo nakong e e fetileng ba santse ba le mo legatong la go sa kgone ga nako e e fetileng.

Ka ntlha ya karowlana ya tlhabololo ya pholisi le taolo, pholisi ga e ise e dire le e leng dingwaga di le 25 morago ga 1994 – go tlhokega gore go simololwe tlhomamiso ya pholisi, tirisano ya pholisi le go tiisetwa mo tikologong ya tlhabololo ya dituelo tsa morafe.

Go nale tlhokego ya go sutu mo tseneng ga tlhokomelo. go nngwe ditsela tsa dipolisi go sutisa go tsenyeletsa: (i) go netefatsa fa di diriswa tse di tlhogekang go ka lekanya ditirelo le go thibela mathata (ii) Gotserenganya ka bonako

bo neetswe le ditirelo tsa goroment (iii) Go netefatsa tirisano mmogo mo boitekanelong jwa bosemorafe e e tsenyeletsang ditheo tsa Goromente. Karolo ya go tlisa ditirelo tsa bosemorafe ka kakaretso le go ntsha poeletso ya ditirelo tsa segompieno.

Lenaane la ditlhabololo tsa matlo le rulagantse go thibela le go tlhokomela malwetsi jaaka malwetsi a MAFATLHA le LEBOLELAMADING. Manaane a ne a fitlheletse seo mme tswelelo ya bolwetsi jo jwa LEBOLELAMADING e nnile bolwetsi jo bo kotsi kgotsa botlhoko – tlhokego ya ditirelo jaaka go baakangwa mo maikutlo le tlhaloganyong mo ban aba dikhutsana le malapa a batho ba ba setseng.

RDP e bontsha gore tsamaiso ya madi a bagodi e tla baakanngwa gape go kgathanyetsa ditlhoko tsa badiri mo maphateng a a rulaganeng le a a sa rulaganeng, ga mmogo le batho ba ba sa berekeng, le go kopanya le madi a bagodi a e seng a puso le madi a a beelwang babereki le dikema tse dingwe. Lefa go ntse jalo, jaaka ka 2019, tsamaiso ya inshorensense ya loago ga e ise e atclo sediwe mo babereking ba ba seng maleba le setheo se se sa rulaganngwang. Batho ba ba sa berekeng ba ba leng mo dingwageng tsa go bera ka ba tsenengwa mo inshorenseng ya loago le thuso ya loago.

Kgang ya diphetogo tsa setshaba ba boikago jo bokotlase bo a tlhaloganyesega le go tlisa matlole a kotlase. Tshireletso ya setshaba mogo thuseng le kamogelo ya setshaba. Go fitisa ga moo, botlhoki bo ko godimo, botlhoka tiro le go sa lekalekane go tsweletse pele.

Go sa lekalekaneng ga boleng jwa setshaba go tswana le tshireletso ya ngwana, go tibela kgatelelo, kgetololo, le tlhakatlhakano ya tlhaloganyo le boitekanelo go tswana le bagodi. Go na le diphatla tse rileng tsa setshaba=se di akaretsang bana.basha ba ba leng mo kotsing le molao, bagodi, batho ba bokowa le ba ba kgatelelo ya di ritibatsi le kgathelelo. Mo gotlhe go akaretsa seemo se rileng-NPOs go tlisa diphetogo tsa setshaba le go ikamanya le matlole a rileng.

**Kgatelelo:** Go ya ka SAPS ka dipalo tsa bosinye jwa ditletlobo tsa 2018, basadi di ko godimo ka 11% magare ga 2016/17 le 2018/19. Se se ko godimo ga dipalo tsa mafatshe, petelelo dikgetsi tsa teng di kwadilwe ebile di ko godimo ka 39 828 mo 2016/17 goya 40 035 ka 2017/18, se se bontsha 138 ya basadi ba go betelelwmo basading ba 100 00, se se dira gore se nne ko godimo mo mafatsheng<sup>58</sup>. Gape se ka beelwa gaufi le 43% le 56% ya basadi ba aforika borwa e tsamaileng mo go sone le ka kamano ya borukhuthi ka 42% ya banna ba ba dirile see<sup>59</sup>. Ditharabololo tsa see go tswa mo godimo le botelele go baling bana le basha ba ba potlana mo diphetogong tse difitlhelwang mo Aforika ka 99% ya bana ba ba nneleng ditlhabelwa kgotsa ba go bona tiragalo e ka dikgatelelo tsa 40% ke tse dintsintsi tsa go amana le dikgatelelo mo malapeng, dikolo le mo

58

Dipalopalo tsa Aforika Borwa. 2018. Dipalopalo tsa bosenyi: bosenyi kgathanhong le bomme mo Aforika Borwa, p. 8.

59

Lefapha la dithulaganyo, go Lekola le Tilatlhobo. 2014. Pholisi e khutswane, p. 1.

# 21% ya bana botlhe, ba tlhokafeletsweng ke batsadi botlhe, le fa 24% ya bana botlhe ba tlhokafaletswe ke bomme.

setshabeng. Se segolo mo go see mo basimaneng (44%) ba nnele ditlhabelwa mo go see, go na le basetsana ka (30%).

**Tiriso e botlhaswa ya diritibatsi:** Tiriso e botlhaswa e tsenelela bosemorafe, boitekanelo le ditlhawatlha tsa ekonomi mo mothong ka nosi, malapa le ekonomi ka bogolo. E golagangwa le go oketsa bogodu jwa kopore dilo tse di seng mo molao go rekisa ditshipi tse di latlhilweng, go kgatelelo ya maikutlo le maitshwaro a maswe go kopanya le dikotsi le dikgobalo tse di ntseng di naganwa. Go thibela le go neelana ka thuso mo bolwetsing le dituelo tse di amaganang le tiriso ya diritibatsi e bokoa e phopholediwang. Dituelo tsa ngwaga mo nageng tsa tiriso e botlhaswa ya bojalwa fela, mo go sa nneng teng, bosenyi jo bo amanang le bojalwa bo phopholeditswe go fitlha go 10% ya GDP. Kgotsa dimilione tsa diranta go R37.9 ka ngwaga, go ya ka dithuto/ dipatlisiso tsa ngwaga wa 2014 Aforik Borwa dijenale tsa melemo.

Dipatlisiso ka Reddy et al ka 2010 boletse gore l2% baithuti ba naga Aforika Borwa ba dirisitse bonnye ba diritibatsi tse di se mo molaong jaaka heroine, manterekese le khokhaine<sup>60</sup> gebruiik het. Dipalopalo tse di ntshitsweng ke ba UN WDR 2014 e bontshitse gore a le mongwe wa batho go tswa go ba ba somenne o di dirisa gale.

Go utlwa botlhoko le go sa dire sentle ga malapa: 21% ke bana ba ba tlhokafeletsweng ke batsadi botlhe, le fa 24% ke bana botlhe ba ba tlhokafaletswe ke bomme. Palo ka tshedimosetso ya dingwaga e tsitsintse gore 28% ke bana ba dingwaga tse di magareng ga tse 12 le 17 ba tlhokafaletswe ke batsadi botlhe le fa ba 32% ba latlhegetswe ke bomme fela.

## Mechino e mengwe mo go neelaneng le go tsenya pholisi mot se di latelang:

- Dithuso tse di bokoa tsa bosemorafe go batho ba bas a direng ba ddingwaga dile 19 go fitlha 59.
- Go sa tsenyeletse mebereko le dithuso tsa di sekema.

- Ditiro tse di bokoa tsa ditheo tse di ikemetseng mo dipensheleng [letseno le le kotlase, dituelo tse di kwa godimo le tse dikgolo].
- Maso le bogole di tsenyeleditswe mo dithusong.
- Go sa lekaneng ga dituelo tsa lekgeto-tax.
- Go sa nneng sentle magareng ga tshireletso ya bosemorafe Badiri mo marakeng.
- Go sa tsenyletseng ga diphoso go tsweletsa dikgwetlho, di tlhodilwe ke maemo a dikopo a kwa tlase mo CSG mo dikgweding tse thataro e bonwe.
- Go nale tsamaiso e bokoa ya go tsenya bana ba dikhutsana mo malapeng mo nakong e telele go ya kwa palo e kwa tlase ya badiredi loago le dikgetsi tse di saletseng ko morago tsa kgotlatshekelo .
- Bokoa jwa tetla le boleng jwa ECD: Morago ga dingwaga dile 25 go nale 49% dingwaga dile tharo le 29% ya dingwaga dile nne b aba santseng bas a tseye karolo mo lenaaneng la go ithuta mo ECD le 13% dingwaga dile tlhano go thataro e e iseng e tsenele thupelelo kgotsa go tsaya karolo mo dikamanong tsa thuto mo ECD.
- Mekgwa ya gotswa mo tseleng ya tsa mebereko e sentse maemo a bosemorafe le go kopana ga malapa e e baying morwalo mo basading.
- Gonale dikgang tsa lefatshe tse di neelanang ka ditirelo tsa boitekanelo le dithlabogo, metse setoropo le diporofense le mafelo a a nang le dikago tse di botoka le bokgoni.
- Setheo sa boitekanelo jwa bosemorafe bo motlase ga didiriswa. Di ka nna 88% tsa dituelo tse di dirlweng mo go tse di amanang le dithuso tsa tshireletso ya bosemorafe, kabelo ya matlole e e lekanyeditsweng gore e neetsweng ditirelo tsa dithlabololo tsa bosemorafe, thatathata boitekanelo jwa bosemorafe, sekao go simolola ka ngwaga 1997 go nnile le diphetogo mo go neyeng ditirelo go bagodi le bana maemo a ntlha. – Molao wa bana. 2005 (Molao 38 wa 2005) e ne ya bontsha kgolo mo didirisweng le go tlhaloganyeng ditshwanelo tsa bana le dithlako tsa bona, mme maemo a ditirelo a setse a sa lekane le bokgakala le se se neelwang ke molao.
- NPO e tlisitse ditirelo tsa dithlabologo tsa boemrafe mme le fa bonyalani ga tsenyeletswa mabapi le mabaka a tsa dicelete.
- Go ya ka didiriswa tsa dicelete tse di lekanyeditsweng, go palo gotlhe ya badiredi loago bale 4 000 ba ba neetsweng matlole a go kaya go ithuta o duelela nako yotlhe ya dithuto ke DSD e setse e sa tsaya/thapa badiri mo setheong ka ngwaga wa 2019. Se se amile bokgoni jwa Goromento go arabela mo tsa mathata a tsa boitekanelo jwa tlhalogano ya bosemorafe e e lebetseng morafe jaaka tshotlo mo go bomme le bana, tiriso e botlhaswa ya diritibatsi le boteng jwa maikutlo a bosemorafe.



# DIREKOMENTESHINE

Le fa maemo a tshotlego asa maemo le go sa fithelela ga maemo a 1996, go tloga ka 2011 tshotlego ntse e yak o godimo mo dipholo tsa magare ga mogae le mafatshe a kontle. Go ntse jalo, setshaba se dirile gore diporokereme di nne teng ka go tlisa le go thusa ga tshireletso ya setshaba. Mme tiro e e kaya go lekantsha, elatlhoko le go tlisa ga ditiro tsa matseno a setshaba, go akaretsa Free Basic Services (FBS) (metsi, motlakase le bophepha), thuto, boitekanelo, madi a bana, bokotlase jwa matseno, matlo, dipalangwa, ditirelo tsa setshaba-se se bonwe ke South Africa's Social Protection Floor (SPF). SPF e tshwanetse go ka dira ka go sela morago ga go ikopantsha le molao theo wa Aforika Borwa. Go sala morago direkomenteshine tse:

- Go nna le boitemogelo jwa maikano a molao motheo go tswelela pele go ditshwanelo tsotlhgo tsa letseno la bosemorafe. Aforika Borwa e tla tlhoka go tsenya pholisi ya letseno la bosemorafe go ralala, go teisa botsamaise ka go baakanya diboloko dile thataro tsa meago tsa letseno la bosemorafe: boetapele le go
- dira ka molao, go tlisa ditirelo Bokete jwa tiro, mekgwa ya tshedimosetso, dichelete le tetla.
- E tshwanetse go tlhalosa bonnyane jwa ditshepiso tsa go bona dithuso tsa bosemorafe tse di tsenyeletsang letseno, dithuso, boitekanelo le ditirelo tsa FBS le VAT e ntshiwe mo dijong.
- E tshwanetse go tlisa phathhalatso, netefatso le dithuso tse di tsepameng.
- E tshwanetse go netefatsa dithuso tse dirileng di nnele bokao jo bo tletseng le go tsenya mo nakong e beetsweng (magare ga 2015 le 2025).
- E tshwanetse e bontshe mekgwa le tsamaiso ya maemo ya mekgwa ya ditirelo tsa bosemorafe tse di neetsweng le go totomatsa gore ke mang yo o tshwanetseng go amogela dithuso.
- Mo bofelong, e tshwanetse e bontshe ditirelo tsa SPF, mefuta ya dikago tsa bosemorafe, ditlhokego tsa HR le dithulaganyo tsa ditheo tsa go tlisa mekgwa ya SPF.
- Go dira gaufi mo go kopanyeng morafe le go netefatsa bokgoni jwa **NPO**.

Potlako e e batlega mo go nneng ga lefelo la bosemorafe go kopanya dithuso tsa lenaane bosemorafe tsa ga jaana.

KGAOLO 5

# Go Godisa HR le Tiro ya Batho



**R DP e ne ya kopa gore  
thuto le katiso “di  
tshwanetse go nna  
teng go tloga kwa  
tshimologong go ya  
bokhutlong.” Molaotheo o ne  
wa isa kgang eno kwa pele, ka  
Molaothomo wa Ditshwanelo o  
ne wa totobatsa gore, “Mongwe  
le mongwe o na le tshwanelo ya  
thuto ya motheo, go akaretsa  
le thuto ya motheo ya bagolo;  
le go tsweletsa thuto, e puso ka  
ditekanyetsotsedinangletekatekano,  
e tshwanetseng go dira gore e  
tswelele le go bonwa ke mongwe  
le mongwe.”<sup>61</sup> Fa temokerasi ya  
Aforika Borwa e simolola, thuto  
e ne ya totobadiwa e le karolo ya  
botlhokwa mo go diragadiweng  
ditshwanelo tse dingwe tsa batho.  
NDP e ne ya e tlhalosa e le “...  
Aforika Borwa mo mongwe le  
mongwe a ikutlwang a gololesegile  
mme a sa tswe mo taolong; mo  
mongwe le mongwe a etleetsang  
bokgoni jwa bone ka botlalo, naga  
e tshono e bonwang e seng ka tsalo,  
mme ka bokgoni, thuto le go dira  
ka natla.”<sup>62</sup> Tsamaiso ya go godisa  
HR le tiro ya batho e akaretsa  
ECD, thuto ya motheo, ga mmogo  
le thuto le katiso ya morago  
ga sekolo le thuto ya motheo ya  
bagolo le katiso.**

## TSAMAIISO YA THUTO LE KATISO KA 1994

Puso ya temokerasi e tsweledisitse tsamaiso ya thuto e e kgaoganeng ka lotso le bomorafe. Kgaogano e ne ya

61 Aforika Borwa. 1996. Molaotheo wa Repaboliki ya Aforika Borwa.

62 Komishini ya go Rulaganya ya Naga. 2011. Thulaganya ya go Godisa ya Naga: Pono ya 2030, ts. 24.

63 Pampiri e Tshweu mo Thutong le Katiso, 1995 tsebe 18.

64 Mokgathlo wa Go Dirisana le Go Godisa Ikonomi, 2008. Tlhatlhobo ya Dipholisi tsa Naga Malebana le Thuto: Aforika Borwa, OECD.

65 Franklin, S, le McLaren, D. 2015. Go Lemoga Tshwanelo ya go Nna le Thuto ya Motheo mo Aforika Borwa: Tshekatsheko ya Diteng, Matsapa a Pholisi, Go Rebolwa ga Didiriswa le go Ipelela Tshwanelo ya Molaotheo ya go Nna le Thuto ya Motheo. Go Ithutela mo Lehumeng le Ditheong Tse di sa Lekalekaneng. ts.129.

66 Motheo wa Basupetsi ba Patisiso ya Kgodiso, 1993 e nopenswe mo Khanseleng ya Patisiso ya Saense ya Batho. 2013. Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo20, ts. 36.

67 Lefapha la Thuto. 2001. Thuto mo Aforika Borwa: Phitlhelelo go simolola ka 1994.

oketsegao go nneng gone ga mafapha a le 19 a thuto,<sup>63</sup> a neng a itsoge ka go se lekalekane ga thebolo ya didiriswa, mo basweu ba tsayang karolo e kgolo, ba latelwe ke ma-India le bammala fa bontsi jwa ma-Aforika ba newa go le gonye. Ka fa tlase ga taolo ya apartheid, puso e ne e direla moithuti wa mosweu makgethlo a le robongwe go feta ka fa e neng e direla moithuti wa montsho ka teng.<sup>64</sup>

Malebana le dithebolelo tsa ECD, puso ya apartheid e ne e dira gore bana ba basweu ba newe ditirelo, mo baneng ba ma-Aforika ditirelo di ne di lekanyediwa mme ga tlogelwa ditirelo tseo mo malapeng, di-NGO, di-CBO le di-FBO, ba sa newe tshegetso kgotsa tlhokomelo.

Boleng jwa tuelo, dirutwa le ditsamaiso tsa ditlhathlubo di ne di sa tshwane. Barutabana ba bantsho ba ne ba sa newe katiso e tseneletseng e bile ba sa rutega fa ba bapisiwa le barutabana ba basweu. Ka 1994, ditshwanelego tsa go nna morutabana di ne di bontsha go tlhaola ka mmala tse di tlhomololang dipholisi tsa apartheid. Fa 99% ya basweu, 93% ya ma-India, 71% ya bammala e ne e tshwanelega, ke fela 54% ya barutabana ba ba ntsho e e neng e tshwanelega.<sup>65</sup> Pharologano magareng ga barutabana ba baswe le ba bantsho e ne ya bontshiwa thata ka tshegetso ya ditirelo e e sa tshwaneng go tswa kwa pusong, dituelo le maemo a tirelo. Mo dikarolong tseno tsotlhe, barutabana ba bantsho e ne e le bone ba ba sotlegang thata. Dirutwa tse di tswang mo tsamaisong eno di ne di tlhomololwa ka go tlhaolwa ka lotso, go tlhaolwa ka bong, go itseela kwa godimo le mofuta wa go ruta wa bogologolo. Dikolo tse di kgethegileng tsa baithuti tse di nang le tlhokoko tsa thuto e e kgethegileng di ne di diretswe basweu segolobogolo.

Ditlamorago e ne ya nna gore, ka sekai, ka 1990, e nne fela 24% ya baithuti ba marematlou ba ma-Aforika ba ba neng ba ithuta serutwa sa Dipalo fa e bapisiwa le 64% ya basweu le 70% ya baithuti ba ma-India. Mo godimo ga moo, seelo sa phalolo ya serutwa sa Dipalo se ne sa nna go 97% mo basweung le 15% mo ma-Aforikeng.<sup>66</sup> Ka 1996, mo e ka nnang 57% ya dikolo tsa Aforika Borwa di ne di sena motlakase, 72% e ne e sena kokoanyo ya dibuka tsa laeborari le 69% e ne e sena dibuka tse di ithutiwang LTSM<sup>67</sup>.

Kafa tlase ga apartheid, thebolelo ya PSET e ne e sa tsamaisane le boemo jwa tsamaiso. Tsamaiso ya thuto e kgolwane e ne e farologantswe go ya ka lotso, maemo, bong, le dipholisi tse di maleba tsa thutego, di na le

tsamaiso ya taolo e e farologaneng le ya diunibesithi le dithekinikono. Morutabana, mooki, dikholfiji tsa temothuo le tsa setegeniki nngwe le nngwe e ne e na le bolaodi jo bo farologaneng le ditsela tsa thebolelo tse e leng tsa tsone. Di ne di tsamaisiwa ke mafapha a a maleba a naga le a porofense, e bile di ne di sa tsenngwa mo thulaganyong e e tshwanang ya ditshwanelego. Le fa gone go ikwadisa kwa kholiding ya setegeniki go ile ga oketsegka 70% mo lobakeng lwa go tloga ka 1987 go ya go 1994, dikonteraka tsa go katisediwa tiro ya diatla di ne tsa koafala le go wela tlase ka 42% mo lobakeng lwa go tloga ka 1984 go ya go 1993.<sup>68</sup> Mo e ka nnang 80% ya katiso ya tiro ya diatla e ne ya tsewa ke mekgatlho e e neng e tsaya katiso eo e le tiro ya konokono. Katiso eno e ne ya dumelwelwa ka go dira gore di-SOE di dire letseno mo masimologong a dingwaga tsa bo 1980. Morago ga moo, go tlhoma mogopolo mo go tseneletseng ga go dira letseno go ne ga dira gore bontsi jwa ditheo tsa katiso di phutlhame.

Ditheo tsa kgale tse di sa tlhokomelweng di ne di sena didirisiwa tse di feletseng e bile le moago wa tsone o ne o sa felela (Historically disadvantaged institutions [HDIs]), di sa laolwe e bile di sena tsamaiso ya mokgatlho. Dithuso tsa go tlhabolola tse di thusang go rarabolola dikgwetlho tse di itemogelwang ke di-HDI di ne di akaretsa go kopa thuso ya madi e go neng e dira gore go nne thata go simolola dikgwebo tse di nang le bokgoni jo bo tlhomologileng; mafelo loago a a kgakala; le moago o o sa felelang. Mo godimo ga dikoreletso tsa go aga, go ntse go ngangisanwa gore “ditheo tse di thusang”, tse

bontsi di sa laolweng le go tsamaisiwa sentle, di etegeditse dikoreletso tsa go aga go lebanweng le tsone<sup>69</sup>.

Go dumela seemo sa go dirisana ga ditheo tsa kago le tse di thusang go botlhokwa mo go tsamaiseng sentle ga go dirisiwa madi a a rebolelweng go thusa.

Paakanyetso ya tiro ya apartheid e ne e sa thubele ditiro fela, mme gape e ne thibela go go gola ga katiso le tiro ya diatla mo lotsong, mo basweu ba tseelwang kwa godimo mme ma-Aforika ba tlhaolwa (e bile ba le kwa tlase). Badiri ba ma-Aforika ba ne ba newa tiro ya go nna ‘barwaledi ba dikgong le bagi ba metsi’. Bantsho ba ne ba sa tlhaolwe fela mo go tsa thuto, gape go sa rutege ga badiri go ne go ithlakomolosiwa. Khomishini ya Eybert mo Thutong ya Bagolo ya 1945 e abelela gore mo e ka nnang 80% ya bagolo ba ma-Aforika le mo e ka nnang 70-75% ya ma-India a kopane le bamballa ba ne ba sa rutega.

Mo masomeng a dingwaga tsa puso ya apartheid, go rutiwa go bala le go kwala go ne go dirwa mo dikolong tsa bosigo di tsamaisiwa ke mekgatlho ya badiri, dikereke le ditheo tse dingwe tsa mekgatlho ya baagi ka dingwaga tsa bo 1980. Patlisiso ya Pholisi ya Thuto ya Naga e bega mo thutong ya motheo ya bagolo, e dirisa “tshedimosetso e e leng teng e e tswang kwa Bankeng ya Dithabololo ya Borwa jwa Aforika le dipalopalo tsa 1985 tse go abelelweng gore mo e ka nnang dimilione di le 15 go tswa mo palogotheng ya bagolo ba le dimilione di le 23 ba tsene sekolo ka dingwaga di le kwa tlase ga tse tlhano.”<sup>70</sup>

## KGODISO YA NGWANA A SALE MONNYE (EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT[ECD])

Fa puso we araba kopo ya RDP ya go dira ka potlako mo go oketsegileng, e ile ya tsenya tirisong dipholisi tse di farologaneng le dithulaganyo tse di dirileng gore go nne le tokafalo ya ka pele mo go direng sentle ga baithuti mo dingwageng tse di fetileng. Ka sekai, seelo sa go falola Marematlou se ile sa tlhatloga go tswa go 58% ka 1994 go ya go 78.2% ka 2018.<sup>71</sup> Go tloga kwa tshimologong go ne ga lemogiwa, ke RDP, gore dingwaga tse di botlhokwa thata tsa go ipaakanyetsa Marematlou, thuto ya botshelo jotlhe, le tiro ke dingwaga tse di simololang tsa ECD.

Go fitlha moo, Pampiri e Tshweu ya Thuto ya 2001, e ne ya tlhoma mogopolo mo go godiseng thebolelo ya ECD, ya baakanya go sa lekalekane mo dithebolelong, ya tlhomamisa e bonwa ka go lekalekana le go tokafatsa boleng le go romelwa ga diporogerama tsa ECD.

Palo ya bana ba ba  
kwadisitsweng mo  
sekolong sa botlh  
ba dingwaga tse  
supa go ya go  
tse 15, e ile ya  
oketsegka go tswa  
go 51% ka 1994 go  
ya go 99% ka 2018,  
e leng phitlhelelo e  
kgolo thata

68

Setho se Aforika Borwa sa Kamano ya Lotso. 1995. Patlisiso ya Aforika Borwa 1994/95..

69

Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso. 2014. Pego ya Komiti ya go Tlhankela ya Tlhatlho ya Madi a Diyunibesithi. ts.20.

70

Behr and Macmillan, ts346 e noppotswe mo Prinsloo, M. 1999. Thuto mo Aforika Borwa. Kgaolo mo Thutong: An International Handbook. Wagner, Street and Venezky (Ed). 1999, ser 418-423.

71

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Setifikasietsa Segolwane sa Naga: 2018 Pego ya Tlhatlho.

Grade R e ne ya simololwa e le karolo ya tsamaiso ya semolao ka 1998, mme ka dipeelesto le go fokodiwa ga dikgoreletsi tsa go tsena, ka 2017, palo ya baithuti ba Grade R ba ba kwa tlase ga dingwaga tse 6 e ne ya ema mo go 839 515, go tloga mo palong ya 156 292 ka 1999. Ka 2017 96.6% ya bana ba dingwaga di thataro e ne e setse e le kwa sekolong, e tthatlogile go tswa go 69.3% ka 2002. Karolo ya baithuti ba Grade 1, ba ba neng ba tsena Grade R, e ile ya fokotsegka bonya mo dingwageng tse di fetileng go tloga go 97% ka 2009 go ya go 94.1% ka 2018<sup>72</sup>.

Go sa kgathalesege koketsegka le dipeelesto mo Grade R, go santse go boifisa ka ntlha ya dikgwethlo tse di tshwanang le barutabana ba ba sa rutegang, ka ntlha ya tshegetso ya dituelelo tse di mo lephateng tse di lebaneng le ditirelo, tse di senang tshegetso e feletseng ya go katisa barutabana ba bantsi ba ECD.

Tlhatlhobo ya ECD, e gateletse botlhokwa jwa go tsenya tirisong Leano la Malatsi a Ntlha a le 1 000 go tshegetsa kgodiso ya ngwana ka go dira gore ba kgone go bona go bona ditirelo tsa loago tse di tlhaloganyesegang segolobogolo mo baneng ba ba tswang mo malapeng a a humanigileng.<sup>73</sup> Seno se botlhokwa go tlame-la bana botlhe gore ba fitlhelele bokgoni jwa bone ka botlalo. Kwantle ga leano leno, baithuti ba le bantsi ba ka palelwa ke go ipaakanyetsa go simolola sekolo, mme naga e tlie go palelwa ke go lebana le go gola ga bone le dikgwethlo tse di amanang le thuto.

Pholisi ya Momagano ya Naga e e malebana le ECD, e e letleletsweng ka December 2015, e batla go tlhalosa dikgwethlo tseno ka tsela e e tlhaloganyesegang, e akaretsa “boitekanelo jwa bana go tloga fela kwa tshimologong le go tlhagisa ditirelo tsa botlhokwa di le robedi: thuto ya ngwana a santse a le monnye, dijo, tshireletsego, puisano, go tshela sentle, go tshameka metshameko le go tsaya karolo mo ditirong tsa setso, tshireletsego mo morafeng, tshegetso ya batsadi, botsogo le pheponle”. Dingwe tsa dikarolo tseno di ileng tsa tlhomololwa gore di elwe tlhoko ka pele fa tse dingwe di rulaganyetswa go tsenngwa tirisong gore di lemotshege. Pholisi e lemoga gore tshono ya go ithuta o santse o

le monnye ga jaana ga e ise e nne teng mo lefatsheng lotlhe mme e tlhoka go tsenngwa tirisong ka 2030 go fithelela ngwana mongwe le mongwe mo Aforika Borwa, segolobogolo ba ba nnang mo mafelong a sa bolong go tlhaolwa, bana ba ba nnang mo metseselegaeng le metsesetoropong e e senang ditirelo, bana ba ba sotlegang le bana ba ba nang le bokoa mo mmeleng.<sup>74</sup>

## BOLENG JWA THUTO YA MOTHEO

Puso ya temokerasi e ne ya simolola dipholisi le dikarolwana tsa theomolao, e ikaegile ka Molaotheo le RDP. Di ne di dirwa ka boikaelelo jwa (a) go tokafatsa go bonwa ga dikarolo tsotlhe tsa thuto; (b) go tlamelala ka thuto ya boleng jo bo kwa godimo, le (c) go tlamelala ka tekatekano e e oketsegileng le go potlakisiwa ga ditirelo. Dilo tseno tsa konokono di ne tsa bonwa go le botlhokwa gore di tlhagisiwe ka tsamaiso ya momagano le ya diphetogo; Go Bona Thuto le Diphitlhelelo; le Moago wa Sekolo, mo kgannyeng e e dikologileng thuto ya motheo.

Go fitlha ga jaana, Pampiri e Tshweu mo Thutong le Katiso ya 1995 e ne ya fedisa dikarolwana tsa mafapha<sup>75</sup> a a farologaneng a le 19 mme ya simolola tsamaiso ya momagano ya thuto e e tlamelang ka ditshono tse di lekanang goo ma-Aforika Borwa otlhe. Pampiri e Tshweu e ne ya fitlha kwa setlheng mo go itsisiweng ga Molawana wa Dikolo Tsa Aforika Borwa, (Molawana 84 wa 1996), o o fetotseng ponagalo ya dikolo tsa puso le tsa poraefete mo nageng ka go fetola tsela e thuto e laolwang ka teng. Seno se ne sa tlaleletsa Molawana wa Pholisi ya Thuto ya Naga, 1996 (Molawana 27 wa 1996) o o neng o tlamelala ka go rotloetsa pholisi ya naga malebana le thuto le dituelo le maemo a go thapiwa ga barutabana.

Ditlwaelo le Boleng Jwa Naga Jwa go Naya Sekolo Madi, Ntlha 2362 ya 1998 e ne ya dirwa e le nngwe ya dipholisi tsa ntlha tse di lebaneng bahumanegi mo thutong. Seno se tlhabolotse go newa ga sekolo madi ka go tlamelala dikolo tsa puso ka madi; go thusa batsadi ba ba sa kgoneng go due-la madi a sekolo; le go tlamelala ka madi a thuso mo dikolong tse di ikemetseng. Le fa gone pholisi eno e fokoditse bothatha jwa go duela madi a duelwang sekolo gore o bone thuto,

72

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Setegeniki ya Setifikeiti se Segolwane sa Naga.

73

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo, General Household Survey (GHS): E Malebana le go Tsena Sekolo, 2018.

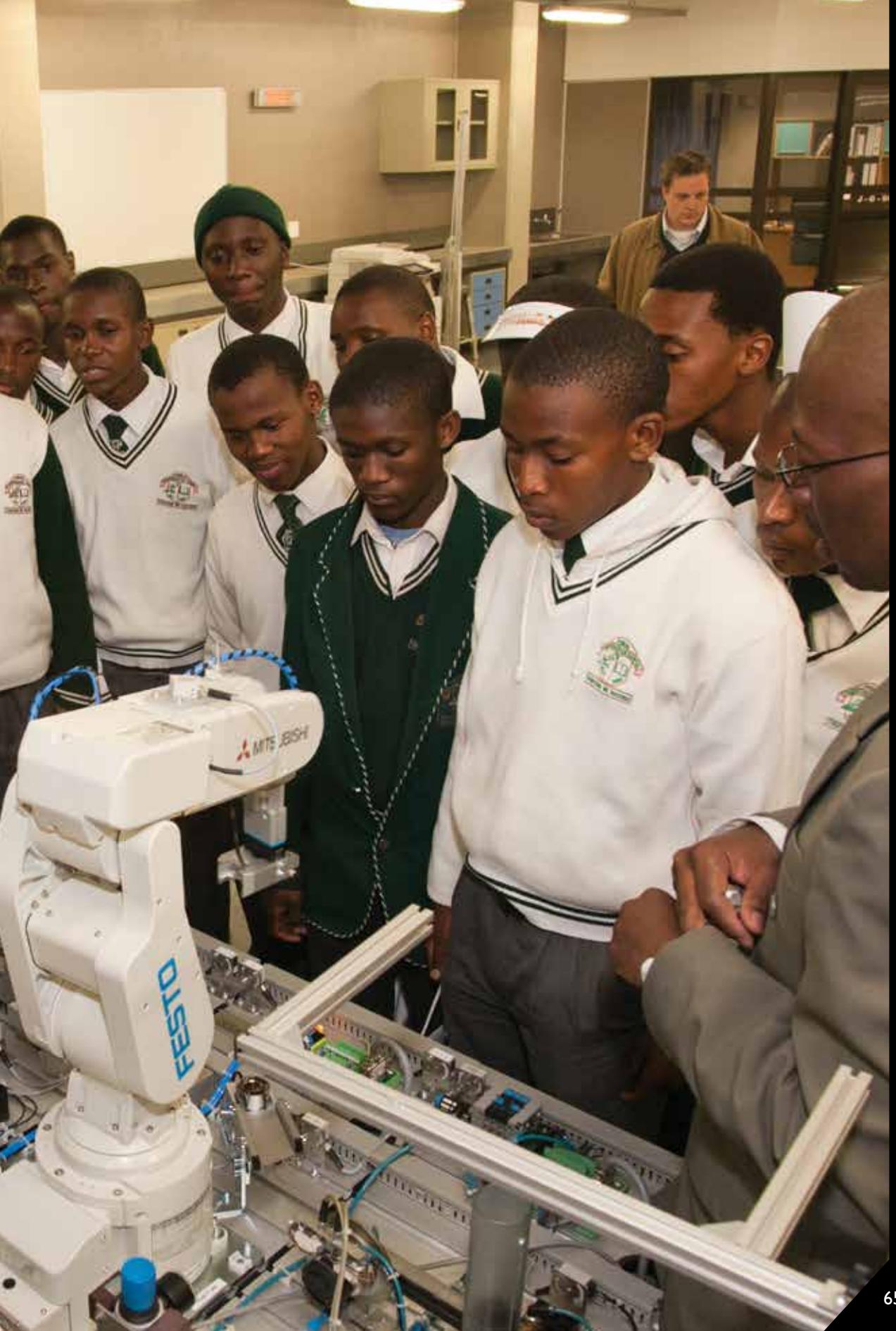
74

Statistics South Africa. 2017. Tatelano ya Thuto Bolumu ya III: Go Ikwadisetra Thuto le Diphitlhelelo, 2016. ts.4.

75

Pampiri e Tshweu mo Thutong le Katiso, 1995. Tsebe 18.

/ Porogerama  
ya Basari ya  
Funza Lushaka  
e e diretsweng  
baithuti ba ba  
maleba gore ba  
kgone go fetsa  
ditshwanelego  
tsa go ruta mo  
lefelong le le  
tlhophilweng  
ke naga e ne ya  
simololwa /



BOLENG JWA BADIRI

e ne e sa ikaelela go tlisa ditlamorago tsa gore dikolo di dirise bokgoni jwa go duela e le tsela ya go thibela go tsena kwa dikolong tse e neng e le tsa basweu.

Diporogerama tse dingwe tse di neng tsa simololwa e ne e le National Learner Transport Policy (NLTP) le National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP). Go fitlha ga jaana, mo e ka nnang bobedi-tharong jwa bana ga ba duele dituelo tsa sekolo, e bile bana ba ba fetang dimilione di le robongwe, ka thuso ya NSNP, ba fepiwa ka malatsi otlhe a sekolo.<sup>76</sup> Tlhatlhobo ya DPME ya NSNP e ne ya fitlhelela gore le fa bana ba newa dijo ka metlha; go tshwanetse ga elwa tlhoko gore dijo tse di abiwang di na le dikotla le kgokagano le ditlhabololo tsa ikonomi tsa mo gae.<sup>77</sup>

**Palo ya ikwadiso** ya bana mo dikolong tsa puso ba dingwaga tsa 7 go ya go 15, e ne ya oketsegga go tswa go 51% ka 1994 go ya go 99% ka 2018, phitlhelelo e kgolo tota. Go fitlhelela diphitlhelelo tse di nang le boleng tsa tsamaiso ya thuto, thuto ya Outcome-Based Education (OBE) le thuto ya ga jaana ya naga e leng Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) di ne tsa simololwa go tokafatsa go ruta le go ithuta. OBE, le fa e le ya maemo a kwa godimo, e ne ya se ka ya tsamaisana le bokgoni le ditlhoko tsa naga. Go simololwa ga CAPS ka 2012 go ne ga aga diteng tsa botlhokwa tsa serutwa, dintlha tsa boikaelelo jwa go ruta le go ithuta, itlhathobo e e maleba le mophato le karolo ya serutwa, ya fokotsa morwalo wa taolo ya barutabana, mo kgannyeng e e phepafetseng ya kaelo le go tsepama mo go ruteng; le go dira gore thuto e tswelele e tsepame.

Go dira gore leano le lesa la HR le dire go bontsha tlhokego ya bokgoni mo barutabaneng. Tsamaiso ya Laola Momagano e e Nang le Boleng ya 2003 le Karolo ya Leano la Thulaganyo ya Momagano ya Thuto le Kgolo ya Barutabana mo Aforika Borwa, 2011-2025 e ne ya simololwa. Fa go lemogiwa ga ditlhoko tsa katiso ya barutabana le go godisiva ga barutabana go tsweletse, go diragatsa ga sekolo ga go a ka ga fitlhelela dikarolo tse di neng di lebeletswe.

**Porogerama ya Basari ya Funza Lushaka** ya baithuti ba ba maleba go fetsa ditshwanelego tsa go ruta mo lefelong le le tlhophilweng ke naga e ne ya simololwa. Mo magareng ga 2007 le 2017, porogerama e ne ya neelana ka dikabo tsa dibasari di le 120 511, ka boleng jwa R7.21 billion go barutabana ba nang le maikaelelo. Palo ya barutabana ba ba tshwanelegang e ne ya tokafala go tswa go 53% ka 1990 go ya go 94.4% ya barutabana ba ba neng ba thapilwe ka 2008<sup>78</sup>.

Gape puso ya temokerasi e ne ya tshwanelwa ke go lebana le mathata a go tlhoka dikago tse di siameng tsa sekolo. Ka 1994, mo dikolong di le 26 734, ke fela tse 11 000 di neng tsa begwa di le mo boemong jo bo siameng le jo bo kgathisang. Mo e ka nnang 55% ya baithuti (dimilione di le 6.6) ba ne ba tsena mo dikolong tse di senang matlwana a boithusetso. Mo nageng yotlhe, ke fela 42% ya dikolo tse di neng di na le motlakase; 40% di ne di na le difouno e bile ke 9% fela (dikolo di le 2 330) di neng di na le dikhomputara tsa go ithuta le go ruta.<sup>79</sup> Puso e ntse e dira ka natla go lwantshana le bothata jono, ka thuso ya didirisiwa tse di tshwanang le Madi a Dikago Tsa Thuso.

Le fa go ntse jalo, go tlosiwa ga moago o o seng matshwanedi jaaka dikolo tse di agilweng ka mmu, dikolo tse di nang le matlwana a boithusetso a dikhuti, go sa nne le motlakase, matlwana a boithusetso kgotsa metsi, diphapsi tsa borutelo tse di makgasa go ile ga dirwa ka bonya jo bo sa amogelesegeng.

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo (The Department of Basic Education [DBE]) Tsamaiso ya Naga ya go Laola Dikago tsa Thuto ka 2011 e ne ya tlhomolola dkgwetlho, tsa dikolo tsa puso tse di tlwaelegileng tse 24 793:

- Dikolo di le 3 544 ga di na motlakase, mme dikolo tse di oketsegileng tse 804 ga di na motswedi o o ikan-yegang wa motlakase;
- Dikolo di le 2 402 ga di na metsi, mme dikolo tse di oketsegileng di le 2 611 ga di na motswedi o o ikan-yegang wa metsi;
- Di le 913 ga di na dintlwana tsa boithusetso e bile dikolo di 11 450 di santse di dirisa dintlwana boithusetso tsa dikhuti;



76

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga 2017-18. Pretoria.

77

Lefapha la Borulaganyi, Go Lebelela le go Thlathhoba. 2017. Go Tsennngwa Tirisong ga Tlhatlhobo ya Porogerama ya Naga ya go Tlamela Dikolo ka Dijo..

78

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga 2017/18, ts. 10.

79

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Tlhatlhobo ya Dingwaga di le 25 ya Tswelopele mo Karolong ya Thuto ya Motheo, Diphalane 2018.

Naga e tlhoka  
 leano la bong jo bo  
 farologaneng go  
 dira gore basha ba  
 tswelele ba tsena  
 sekolo le go ikatisa.

- Dikolo di le **22 938** ga di na dibuka tsa dilaeborari, e bile di le **19 541** ga di na lefelo le lefelo la go dira laeborari;
- Dikolo di le **21 021** ga di na didiriswa tsa laborathori, mme dikolo di le **1 231** di na le dilaborathori tse di feletseng;
- Dikolo di le **2 703** ga di a tsenngwa terata e e thekeletsang gotlhelele; e bile
- Dikolo di le **19 037** ga di na senthara ya dikhomputara, mme tse di oketsegileng tse **3 267** di na le phaposi e e diretsweng senthara ya dikhomputara mme e sena dikhomputara.

**Go na le ponagalo ya tswelopele malebana le porogerama yotlhe ya dikago tsa sekolo mo pegong ya NIEMS ya 2013 e begang jaana:**

- Dikolo di le **1 772** tse di senang metsi, ka 2018 dikolo tsotlhe di ne di kgona go bona metsi;
- Dikolo tse **2 925** di ne di sena motlakase, fa di bapsiwa le tse **269** ka 2018; le
- Dikolo tse **822** di ne di sena matlwana a boithusetsofa di bapsiwa le tse **37** ka 2018.

Ka 2013, Ditiwaelo le Seelo se se Kwa Tlase sa Dikago Tsa Dikolo Tsa Puso e ne ya simololwa, e tlhoma seelo mo nageng gore sekolo sengwe le sengwe se nne le metsi, motlakase, inthanete, matlwana a boithusetsofa a berekang, diphaposi tsa borutelo tse di babalesegileng tse di tsenyang baithuti ba bogolo jwa 40, tshireletsego, dilaeborari, dilaborathori le mafelo a metshameko,

e tshegediwa ke Accelerated School Infrastructure Development Initiative (ASIDI). Ka 2019, palogotlhe ya dikolo tsa botaki tsa naga di le 215 di ne tsa agiwa ka thuso ya porogerama ya ASIDI.

Ka 1996, mo e ka nnang 53% ya dikolo e ne e na le dibuka tse di ithutang tse di lekaneng. Tlamelo ya dibuka tse di ithutang e ne ya tokafadiwa, ya fitlha go 93% mo ngwageng wa ditšelete wa 2016/17.<sup>80</sup> Peresente ya baithuti ba Grade 6 ba ba nang le dibuka tsa go ithuta e ne ya oketsega go tloga go 36% ka 2007 go ya go 66% ka 2013 go ya ka SACMEQ.<sup>81</sup> Tlamelo ya dibuka tsa tiro tsa DBE e dirwa ka bottlalo go tlhomamisa gore go na le dibuka tse go kwalelwang mo go tsone. Dibuka tsa tiro tse di fetang dimilione di le 56 tsa Volume I le 2 ya Grade 1-9 di ile tsa porintiwa le go romelwa ka nako kwa dikolong tsa puso di le 23 543 mo dipuong tsotlhe ka go Ithuta/Dipuo le go Bala/Dipalo ngwaga le ngwaga.<sup>82</sup>

Gape DBE e ile ya bontsha kafa go nna le setheo se se ikemetseng sa dibuka tsa tiro go ka fokotsang ditshenyegelo tsa ditirelo tse di rebolwang. General Household Survey (GHS) ya Stats SA e bontsha kwelotlase e tsepameng ya diperesente tsa baithuti ba ba bontshang gore go tlhoka dibuka tsa go ithuta ke bothata, e fokotsega go tswa go 20% ka 2002 go ya go 4% ka 2017.<sup>83</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo, go bona dibuka tsa go ithuta ga baithuti ba Grade 10 go ya go 12 go sa le go eme go dikologa 78% magareng ga 2013 le 2017 go ya ka General Household Survey.<sup>84</sup> Patlisiso ya go Tlhokomela Dikolo ya 2017 ka tsela e e tshwanang e bontsha gore 86% ya Grade 9 le 83% ya Grade 12 di na le dibuka tsa go ithuta.

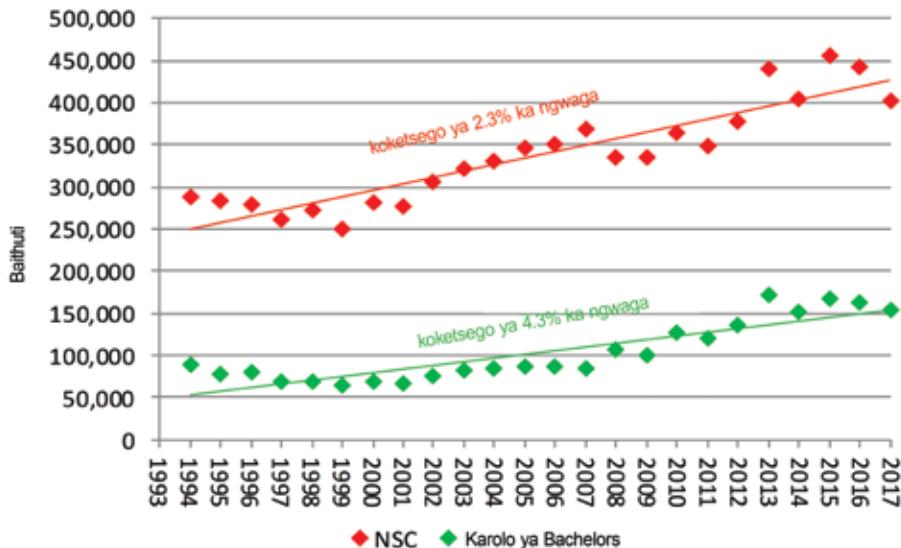
<sup>80</sup> Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga 2017/18. Pretoria.

<sup>81</sup> Sethophsa Borwa le Bothhaba Jwa Aforika sa go Thathhabo Boleng Jwa Thuto (Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality). 2017. Porojekya SACMEQ IV mo Aforika Borwa: Patlisiso ya Boemo Jwa go Tsena Sekolo le Boleng Jwa Thuto, ts. 19.

<sup>82</sup> Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Thathhabo ya Tswelopele ya Dingwaga Tse 25 mo Karolong ya Thuto ya Motheo, Diphalane 2018.

<sup>83</sup> Stats SA. 2017. General Household Survey. DBE e itiretsese dipalopalo.

<sup>84</sup> Stats SA. 2017. General Household Survey. DBE e itiretsese dipalopalo.



**Setshwantsho 5.1:** NSC le karolo ya Bachelors e gola go tloga ka 1994.

Motswed: DBE. 2019. Draft Sector Plan

RDP e batla gore **ditlhoko tsa thuto le katiso mo baneng ba ba nang le bokoa mo mmeleng** le ditlhoko tse dingwe tse di kgethegileng di rarabolw e le gore ba kgone go gola, go ikemela le go tsaya karolo mo setšhabeng le mo ikonoming. Puso e okeditse palo ya dikolo tse di kgethegileng go tloga ka tse 270 ka 1996 go ya go tse 464 ka 2015. Seno se dirile gore go nne le kgolo mo baithuting ba ba tsenang dikolo tse di kgethegileng go ralala diporofense tsotlhe go tloga go ba le 64 000 ka 2002 go ya go ba le 119 259 ka 2015.<sup>85</sup> Mo godimo ga moo, *Pampiri e Tshweu mo Thutong ya Kakaretso* e lebile go amogela baithuti ba ba nang bokoa jo bo magareng jwa go ithuta mo dikolong tsa botlhe. Palogotlhe ya bana ba ba nang le bokoa mo mmeleng, go ya ka UN Children's Fund, e gaufi le go tshwara dimilione di le 2.1 (11.3% ya bana botlhe), go akaretsa le bana ba le 474 000 ba ba tshelang ka bogole jo bo masisi.<sup>86</sup>

Gape RDP e lemogile gore **basesana le basadi** ba ne ba sa newe tshono ya go ithuta le go katisiwa ka boomo ka ntla ya bong jwa bone. Ka jalo e ne ya laela gore go akarediwe bong mo go rulaganyeng le go tsenngwa tirisong ga maano le dipholisi tsa HR development (HRD). Mo dingwageng tse di fetang tse tlhano tse di fetileng, baithuti ba basesana ba ba neng ba ithuta serutwa sa Dipalo le Saense ba ne ba tswelela ba gaisa baithuti ba basimane. Mo serutweng sa Dipalo,

palo ya basesana e ne ya oketseggo go tloga go 123 045 ka 2014 go ya go 133 175 ka 2018 fa ya basimane e ne ya wela tlase go tloga go 102 413 ka 2014 go ya go 100 683 ka 2018.<sup>87</sup> Ka fa go tshwanang le mo Saenseng basimane ba le bantsi ba ne ba ikgogela morago, e bile ba le bantsi ga ba dire dirutwa tsa saense le dipalo.

Tirisanommogo magareng ga lephata la thuto, kgwebo, mekgatlho ya barutabana, le di-NGO e ile ya gola. Le fa go ntse jalo, go santse go tlhokega go dira mo go oketsegileng gore go fitlhelelwe tumalano mo mafelong a a tlhomologileng magareng ga tiro e e rulagantsweng mo lephateng la thuto le puso. Peeletso e e golang le ditshenyegelo mo thutong ya motheo ka batsayakarolo ba bangwe go tlamelka didiriswa tse di oketsegileng mo diporogerameng tsa konokono tse di jaaka go tokafatsa go ruta le go tlamelka dilaeborari. Tsenelelo ya pholisi le dipeelesto mo thutong ya motheo fa e sale temokerasi e simolola e nnile le **diphitlhelo** tse di latelang:

- Go dira bontle ga moithuti mo Setifikeiting se Segolwane sa Naga (National Senior Certificate [NSC]) sa Grade 12 go ile ga tlhatloga, go tswa go 58% ka 1994 go ya go 78.2% ka 2018.<sup>88</sup> Palo ya baithuti ba ba falolang grade 12 e gola sentle le fa e ntse e ya kwa godimo le tlase mo dingwageng tse di

85

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. Dipalopalo Tsa Thuto mo Afrika Borwa 2016, Phukwi 2018.

86

UNICEF. 2012. Bana ba ba Nang le Bokoa mo Mmeleng mo Afrika Borwa: Tshekatsheko ya Seemo 2001-2011, ts. 10.

87

Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018, Pego ya Tlhatlhobo ya Setifikeiti se Segolwane sa Naga.

88

Ibid.

fetileng. Setshwantsho 5.I e bontsha gore diphalolo tsa Bachelor di santse di le kwa tlase le fa gone di ntse di gola ka nako, ga di a lekana go ka tshegetsas ditlhoko tsa bokgoni jwa naga.

- Baithuti ba ba nang le ditlhoko tse di kgethegileng ba ba falotseng ka Bachelor ba ne ba oketsegae go tswa go 443 ka 2015 go ya go 1 669 ka 2018.<sup>89</sup> Palo ya baithuti ba ba nang le ditlhoko tse di kgethegileng ba ba kwalang ditlhatlhobong tsa Grade 12 e oketsegile go tswa go 1 691 go ya go 3 591<sup>90</sup>.
- Diperesente tsa baithuti ba bogolo jwa dingwaga tse 20 le go feta ba ba dirang Grade 12 di oketsegile go ya go 45.7% ka 2018 go tswa go 30.7% ka 2002<sup>91</sup>.
- Palo ya baithuti ba ma-Aforika ba ba tshwarang bobotlana jwa 60% mo serutweng sa Dipalo e oketsegile gabedi magareng ga 2008 le 2018<sup>92</sup>.

Baithuti ba le bantsi ba ba tswang mo dikolong tsa maemo a kwa tlase ba falola passing NSC e bile ba bontshitse diphetogo mo ditlhatlhobong tsa lefatshe lotlhe.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI NNANG DI LETENG

Kgang ka kakaretso, morago ga dingwaga di le 25, ke gore le fa go na le kgatelopele mo tsamaisong ya thuto ya motheo, masaledi a apartheid a nnela ruri fa kopana le dikgwetlho tse disha le tse di nnang di tlhagelela. Dikgwetlho tseno di akaretsa:

Tiragatso e e utlwisang botlhoko mo go baleng, ka diphelelo tsa **Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)** 2016, tse di bontshang gore 78% ya baithuti ba Grade 4 ga ba kgone go fithelela boleng jo bo kwa tlase jwa go bala, fa ba bapsiwa le 4% ya baithuti ba lefatshe lotlhe. Ka motheo o bokoa wa go bala, go dira gore go nne thata go baakanya bothata joo mo dingwageng tse di tleng. Go tlhoma mogopolo mo Grade 12 go ile ga ntsha tlhokomelo mo botlhokweng jwa go thaya motheo o o matshwanedi mo dingwageng tse di simololang, segolobogolo ECD le go ruta thuto ya motheo sentle.

Basha “**ba ba seng mo thutong, ba ba sa berekeng kgotsa ba sa ikatisi**” (**not in education, employment or training [NEET]**), gantsi ba tlogela sekolo morago ga Grade 9, morago ga dingwaga tsa sekolo. Mabaka a go tlogela sekolo a akaretsa go tlhoka madi, go batla mmereko, boimana, le go palelwa ke go falola mophato. Fa ba sena go tlogela sekolo, basha bano ba

lebana khumanego ya botshelo, go lwalla, le/ kgotsa go isiwa kgolegelong. E re ka basimane ba bantsi ba tlogela sekolo, go na le dikgonagalo tse dintsia gore ba tshelele go senya. Basha ba basimane gantsi ba bontsha go sa dire sentle mo dithutong e le lebaka la go bo ba se mo ditheong tsa thuto, go latelwe ke pono ya gore thuto ga e na mosola. Boimana le go tlhokomela maloko a lelapa ke mabaka a a dirisiwang thata ke basha ba basetsana gore ba tlogela sekolo. Ka maswabi, naga e tlhoka maano a bong jo bo farologaneng go boloka basha ba le mo sekolong le mo ikatisong.

**Boleng jwa diphitlhelelo tsa thuto** ke nngwe ya dikgwetlho tse di nnang di le teng. Ke baithuti fela ba le 172 043 (33.6%) ba grade 12 ba ba kgonneng go falola ka karolo ya Bachelor ka 2018<sup>93</sup> kgatlhonong le peelo ya 255 000 ya Karolo ya Leano la Setlha sa Magareng (Medium Term Strategic Frame work [MTSF]) ya 2018. Le fa gone e tlhatlhogile go tswa go 18% ka 1994, ke fela 21.7% le 29.9% ya baithuti ba ba falotseng serutwa sa Dipalo le Saense ka 50% le go feta ka tatelano ka 2018. Palo ya baithuti ba ba kwalang Saense le Dipalo e ile ya wela tlase go tswa go 192 618 le 265 810 ka 2016 go ya go 172 319 le 233 858 ka 2018, go ya ka tatelano ya tsone.<sup>94</sup> Seemo se se bakilweng ke thuto ya Bantu sa gore bana ba bantsho le basadi ga ba tshwanelo go rutiwa Dipalo le Saense e santse e baka bothata mo tsamaisong ya thuto.

**Ga se dikolo tsotlhe tse di gokaganeng le inthanete**, seo se dira gore tsamaiso e palelwe ke go

Phetogo ya bokgoni  
e a tlhokega go  
busetsa morago  
katlego e basha ba  
nang le yone, mme  
e ka se direge kwa  
ntle ga diphetoto  
mo thulaganyong ya  
ikonomi.

<sup>89</sup> Reddy et al. 2018. Skills Supply and Demand in South Africa. ts.31.

<sup>90</sup> labour market intelligence partnership skills supply and demand in South Africa 2016, ts 31.

<sup>91</sup> Stats SA. 2017. Demographic Dividend and Stats SA 2018. General Household Survey

<sup>92</sup> Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2019. Thulaganyo ya Leano la go Dira go 2024: Go ya Kwa go Lemogeng go Tsena Sekolo 2030.

<sup>93</sup> Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Tlhatlhobong ya Setifikeiti se Segolwane sa Naga, Pretoria.

<sup>94</sup> Lefapha la Thuto ya Motheo. 2018. Pego ya Tlhatlhobong ya Setifikeiti se Segolwane sa Naga, Pretoria.

dirisa thekenoloji gore e kgone go tlisa barutabana ba tlhwatlhwma mo phaposing nngwe le nngwe ya borutelo go sa kgathalesege ba kwa kgaolong e feng. Dikolo tse di utlwang manokonoko a go tlhoka kgokagano ke dikolo tse di kwa metseselegaeng le tsa makeishene. Ka nako e tshwanang, go tura ga data go raya gore le dikolo tse di gokaganeng di dirisa inthanete e lekanetseng ka ntlha ya ditlhwatlhwma tsa data. Go palelwa ga puso go tsenya inthanete mo dikolong tsotlhe go raya gore bontsi jwa baithuti bo thibetswe go dirisa thekenoloji go ithuta kgotsa gore ba tlhomelele go tsaya karolo mo 4IR. Diphetogo tse di mo dirutiweng tse di diretsweng go baakanyetsa baithuti 4IR ga di tle go kgona go dira ka bottalo fa naga e sa tlhomamise gjore dikolo tsotlhe di na le inthanete le gore ditlhwatlhwma tsa data di a fokodiwa.

Go bona phitlhelelo e e kwa tlase go bonala thata mo dikolong tsa quintile I le fa gone go na le kgatelopele e e bonalang. Ka sekai, fa e le gore mo quintile nngwe le nngwe go ne go na le baithuti ba le 1000 ba ba ikwadiseditseng Grade I, ke fela 239 ya baithuti ba quintile I ba ba ka falololang marematlou, fa baithuti ba le 732 ba quintile 5 ba ka falola marematlou. Dipholo tsa TIMSS 2015 di bontsha gore 79% ya baithuti ba grade 9 ba ba tsenang sekolo se se sa duelweng madi a go tsena sekolo ga ba ka ba fitlhelela kitso e potlana<sup>95</sup> le bokgoni jo bo tlhwatlhwma jwa dintlha di le 400 fa ba bapiswa le 38% ya dikolo tse di duelwang madi a go tsena sekolo. Mangwe a mabaka a go bo go na le tiragatso e e bokoa a akaretsa go sa newe dijo sentle le maitshwaro a a sa siamang mo dikolong ka ntlha ya ketapele e e bokoa ya sekolo, botsamaisi, tshegetso e e bokoa le go palelwa ke go tsaya maikarabelo di kopane tsotlhe. Ga jaana naga e na le tsamaiso ya ditselana tse pedi ya dikolo tsa puso mo karolo e nngwe e dirang sentle fa karolo e nngwe e e direlang bontsi jwa baithuti e dira bokoa, e bile e retelelwa ke go thusa baithuti ba le bantsi. Ka jalo naga e latlhegelwa ke tselana e e botlhokwa ya go aga tshono e e lekalekaneng le go dirisana ga baagi.

**Bontsi jwa dikago tse di iseng di agiwe** go baka kgwetlho e kgolo tota. Go na le kgatelopele e e bonya ya go fitlhelela mokgele o o beileng wa sekolo sengwe le sengwe mo Diltlwaelo Tse di Potlana le Boleng Malebana le Dikago Tsa Sekolo (2013). Go tlhoka matlwana a boithusetso a a siameng go dirile gore bana ba latlhegelwe ke matshelo kwa Limpopo le Kapa Botlhaba, le gore baagi ba Iwantshane le puso. Le fa gone thebolo ya madi e le bothata mo go ageng le go tlhabolola dikolo, mabaka a mangwe a a bakang gore kgatelopele e nne bonya a akaretsa: go palelwa ke go dirisa le go laola madi a a rebotsweng, go palelwa ke go tlhomelola batho ba ba tlhomilweng mo go felelang ka gore go agiwa ga dikolo go diege, badiri ba ba sa itseng tiro le go dia tiro ga bone. Boleng mo diporofenseng tse dingwe bo

bokoa, go akaretsa go ngoka le go tshola badiri, mo go dirang gore tlhomelola e se ka ya lekalekana. RDP e ne ya tlhomamisa gore go senya moago ka boomo le go tlthatlhamolola ga go tshwanela go letlelelwa, mme dikolo di a senngwa le didirisiwa di utswiwa ke magodu, le ka dinako tse dingwe fa go dirwa ditshupetso tsa go tlhoka ditirelo, go busetsa matsapa a a dirilweng a go tlisa tekatekano le go potlakisa ditirelo morago.

**Karolo ya baithuti ba Grade I ba ba neng ba tsena Grade R e fokotsegile** go se kae mo dingwageng tse di fetileng go tloga go 97% ka 2009 go ya go 94% ka 2017. Phokotseglo eno e ka amanngwa le lebaka la gore Grade R ga e ise e dirwe gore e bonwe ke bana bottlo. Moporesidente fa a ne a neela Puo ya Maemo a Setshaba (State of the Nation Address [SoNA]) ka Tlhakole 2019, o ne a itsise maikaelelo a puso a go simolola dingwaga tse pedi tsa go simolola ithuta pele a sekolo mo baneng bottlo.

**Kamego ya itsholelo ya baagi** e sa ntse e amago diragatsa sentle ga baituti mo tsamaisong ya sekolo, e bile tsamaiso ya thuto e palelwa ke go lekalekanya dikgonagalo ya go atlega. Tshedimosetso ya Community Survey (2016) ya StatsSA e bontsha gore fa thutego ya batsadi e le kwa godimo, le bana ba tla kgona go bona thutego e kwa godimo mo Aforika Borwa. Fa bontsi jwa bana ba basweu ba ba nang le ditshwanelego tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo sa magareng le bone ba ne ba na le batsadi ba ba nang le ditshwanelego tse di tshwanang (56%), e e amang go fitisetswa ga ditshwanelego tse di tshwanang e ne ya bonwa ke 28% ya mammala, 27% ya Ma-India le 24% ka Ma-Aforika.

Aforika Borwa e na le **basha ba ba kgonang go tlhama** le itshimololela dilo ga mmogo le bokgoni jwa botaki le jwa setso le kitso. Bokgoni jono bo bontsha tsholofelo ya go godisa tirisano ya baagi le go aga naga, ga mmogo le go tsaya karolo mo go godiseng ikonomi. Le fa gone go na le Leano la Ikonomi e e Kgatlhisang ya Mzantsi le le sololetsang, go fitlha ga jaana, kgolo ya bokgoni jo bo sololetsang jwa botaki le setso le kitso gore di thuso go godisiwa ga ikonomi, ga le ise le di dirisiwe ka bottlo.

## AFORIKA BORWA FA E BAPISIWA LE DINAGA TSE DINGWE

Malebana le diphithelelo tsa thuto Aforika Borwa e dira bontle fa e bapisiwa le dinaga di le dints tse di nang le GDP e e tshwanang kgotsa e e kwa tlase. Ntle le ntlha ya gore Aforika Borwa e bontshitse go tokafatsa go gogolo mo serutweng sa Dipalo le Saense mo seraleng sa



**DINGWE TSA DILO TSE  
DI ITLHAMETSWENG MO  
AFORIKA BORWA**

- Kreepy Crawley
- Karo ya Leitlho  
(Retinal Cryosurgery)
- Quadro Engine
- Catscan
- Karo ya go tsenngwa pelo  
(Heart transplant)
- Oli ya Q20 e e dirilwengka  
malatlha (Sasol)
- Dolosse
- Pratley's Patty
- Digaugau tsa Niknaks tse di dir-  
ileng ka mmidi
- Lomao le le sireletsegileng  
Rooivalk
- Thulaganyo ya go Dira  
Dithekete ka Khomputara
- Computicket
- Karo ya tsenngwa serwe sa  
bonna Mageu a a phuthets-  
weng (Seno sa mmidi o o  
bodisitsweng)
- Speed gun
- APS Therapy
- Shark Shield
- Cyber Tracker
- Hippo Water Roller

Iefatshe lotlhe, naga e santse e gaisa dinaga di le dintsii. Ka sekai, mo 2015 Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), Aforika Borwa e nnile ya bobedi mo go ya bofelo mo serutweng sa Dipalo (372) e le kwa godimo ga Saudi Arabia fela. Gape Aforika Borwa e ne ya etwa pele ke dinaga tsotlhe di le 38 mo Saenseng (358).

Le mo Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Aforika Borwa (320) e dirile bokoa mo dinageng tsotlhe tse di neng di tsaya karolo, go akaretsa le dinaga tsa go tshwana le Oman (418), Kuwait (393), Morocco (358), le Egypt (330).

Pego ya TIMSS e tlhomolola lebaka la go bo baithuti ba ba nnang mo malapeng a go nang le batho ba thuto e kgolwane ba tshwarang dintlha di le 57 tse di kwa godimo mo serutweng sa Dipalo go na le ba ba nnang mo malapeng a batho ba ba nang le thuto ya sekolo se se potlana fela. Go nna le batho ba thuto ya boleng jo bo kwa tlase mo malapeng a Aforika Borwa ke gone go bakang go dira bokoa mo seraleng sa lefatshe lotlhe.

Mo godimo ga moo, TIMSS e tlhomolola mabaka a go bo baithuti ba ba sa kgokgontshieng ba bona dintlha tse 68 go feta ba ba kgokgontshwang le gore tshireletsego ya kwa sekolong e bothokwa gore motho a itshepe le go rotloetsa go ithuta. Seemo sa dikolo tsa Aforika Borwa mabapi le go kgokgontshiwa le tshireletsego ke nngwe ya mabaka a paledisang bana go dira sentle.

TIMSS e bontsha gore baithuti ba ba tsenang dikolo tse di gatelelang go dira sentle ba bone dintlha di 34 tse di kwa godimo mo serutweng sa dipalo. Baithuti ba ba sa nkeng ba lofa ba bone dintlha di le 60 tse di oketsegileng go feta ba ba lofang thata. TIMSS e tswelela go bontsha gore Aforika Borwa e tokafaditse go dira bontle ga yone mo serutweng sa Dipalo le Saense, go tloga ka dintlha di le 285 le 268 go ya go di le 372 le 358, ka tatelano ya tsone magareng ga 2002 le 2015. Tokafatso e e kwa godimo e ne e le kwa logatong le le kwa tlase mo tlhomaganong ya diphitlhelo, e leng ya ditlhophia tse di sa lgoneng thata. Go dira sentle go santse go le kwa tlase fa go bapsiwa le dinaga di le dintsii le fa gone dingwe tsa dinaga tseo di dirisa madi a mannye, mo karolong ya tekanyetsokabo ya naga, malebana le thuto. Seno se raya gore Aforika Borwa e tlhoka go kgothaletsa mokgwa wa go ithuta ka maatla, le wa go ruta le go ya sekolong ka metlha.

Go dira sentle ga Aforika Borwa mo dipholong tsa SAC-MEQ tsa Grade 6 mo serutweng sa Puo le sa Dipalo, go tlhatlhogetse go 538 le 552 ka tatelano ka 2013 go tswa go 492 le 486 ka 2000.<sup>96</sup> Naga e begile tokafatso e e kwa godimo mo go direng sentle fa e bapsiwa le dinaga tse dingwe tse di tsayang karolo mo ditlhathlhbong tseno.

Mo godimo ga moo, Karolo ya Naga ya go Tlhathlhoa Thuto le Tlhabololo, e tlhomolola botlhokwa jwa boetapele jwa sekolo, kgodiso ya thutego le tirisanommogo, boleng jwa go ruta, tshegetso ya tsamaiso le go thusana, lefelo le le tshwanelang moithuti, tikologo e kgontshang, ga mmogo le go nna gone ga barutabana, e leng mabaka a botlhokwa mo katlegong ya sekolo sengwe le sengwe.

## TLHABOLOLO YA BOKGONI MO TSENEYELETSONG YA KGOLO YA ITSHIDISONG YA BAAGI, PHETOGO LE TLHABOLOGO.

Aforika Borwa ka 1994 e ne e na le batho ba ba nang le thuto le bokgoni jo bo potlana, karolwana ya tsamaiso ya thuto le katiso e diretsweng go tsweletsa apartheid le dipholisi tse di tlisang banna pele. Tsamaiso e ne e sa lekane gotlhelele e bile karolo e kgolo ya yone e sa dire kafa go tshwanetseng. Thulaganyo le boleng jwa tsamaiso ya thuto e kgolwane le katiso e ne ya fetolwa ke apartheid, ka tsamaiso taolo ya kgale, le dithulaganyo tsa madi a a ntshiwang ke puso tse di neng di baka mathata a magolo mo baithuting, ditheo le mo morafeng.

Go bulwa ga mmapraka wa Aforika Borwa go tsenela kgaisano ya lefatshe lotlhe go ne ga tsamaisana le go oketsegga phetogo ya maphata go tswa mo temothuong le meepo e go neng go itsiwe gore ke yone e thapang badiri ba bokgoni jo bo kwa tlase. Gape nako eo e ne ya bontsha go phutlhama ga lephata la madirelo le le neng la amiwa ka ntlha ya go gaisana le dinaga tse dingwe. Ka nako e e tshwanang, ikonomi e ne ya tlhoka batho gore ba dire ka natla, ka ditlhoko tse disha tsa bokgoni jwa kitso ya ikonomi. Go ne go tlhokega bokgoni ka kakaretso, segolobogolo mo go tse di tseelwang kwa godimo, karolo e nngwe e ne ya dirwa ka gangwe ka go tabogisa diphetogo mo go tsa thekenoloji, segolobogolo mo ICT. Magareng ga 1970 le 1998, ditiro tsa bokgoni jo bo kwa godimo di ne tsa oketsegga ka mo e ka nnang 20%, fa palo ya ditiro tsa batho ba ba senang bokgoni e ne ya wa ka selekanyo se se tshwanang, le fa gone e ne e le palo e kgolwane.

Bokgoni jwa kago ga bo tsamaisane le tiro ya go batla le ya go phasalatsa, go ratilwe thata batho ba ba nang le bokgoni jo bo kwa godimo, fa bontsi jwa batho ba ba sa thapiwang ba se na bokgoni.<sup>97</sup> Ka jalo, go palelwa ke go godisa ditheo tsa themothuo le tsa madirelo, go feletse ka gore ikonomi e palelwe ke go tlhagisa ditiro tsa bokgoni jo bo kwa tlase. Seno se bakile kamego e kgolo mo basheng e re ka ba sa le basha mo karolong ya go



Morutabana wa TV wa Dipalo le Saense William Smith o ne a amogela Kabo ya Tolamo ya Naga, Baobob ka Silver ka 2019 ka ntlha ya thuso ya gagwe e e matsetseleko mo go ruteng

Phetolo ya bokgoni  
e a tlhokega  
gore e bontshe  
maikatlapelo a  
basha, mme e ka  
se direge kwa ntle  
ga gore go dirwe  
diphetogo mo  
thulaganyong ya  
ikonomi.

dira, go akaretsa le batho ba bantsi ba ba nang le bokgoni jo bo lekaneng.<sup>98</sup> Mo godimo ga moo, Aforika Borwa e lebane le go se tsamaisane ga go rebolwa ga thuto le go se tsamaisane ga ditshwanelego tsa tiro. Ka jalo phetolo ya bokgoni e a tlhokega gore e bontshe maikatlapelo a basha, mme e ka se direge kwa ntle ga gore go dirwe diphetogo mo thulaganyong ya ikonomi.

## PHETOLO MO PUSONG GO TLOGA KA 1994

Dingwaga di le 25 tse di fetileng fa e sale ka 1994, puso ya temokerasi e simolotse dipholisi di le dintsi le diporogerama tsa go aga sesha tsamaiso ya PSET e e matshwanedi le go e bopa gore e bontshe pono le boleng jwa temokerasi.

RDP e ne ya bonelapele kgolo ya, “*tsamaiso e e momaganeng ya thuto le katiso e e tlamelang ka ditshono tse di lekanang go sa kgathalesege gore o wa lotso lofe, mmala, bong, maemo, puo, dingwaga, bodumedi, lefelo, polotiki kgotsa gore o na le maikutlo a fe. E tshwanetse go bontsha kgolo ya kitso le bokgoni tse di ka dirisiwang go ntsha dithoto le ditirelo tsa maemo a kwa godimo ka tsela e ka re kgontshang go godisa ditso tsa rona, setshaba sa rona le ikonomi ya rona.*”

Dipholisi, diporogerama le dikgato tse di tserweng go di dira di ne tsa simololwa ka boikaelelo jwa go fitlhelela pono eno, ka go ntsha dikgoreletsi tsa go bona thulaganyo eno, go rarabolola go sa lekalekane ga batho, go tokafatsa botsamaisi jwa tsamaiso, go arabela ditlhoko tsa mmapaka wa tiro le go tlamela ka bokgoni jo bo tlhokegang mo ikonoming le mo setshabeng.

**NQF e e tlhaloganyegang** e e tlhamilweng ka 1996 e ne ya tlhagisa tiro ya batho e ntsha e golang. NQF e ne e le lefelo le le rulaganyang batho go gola gore e kaele go bona tlhatlhogo ya dintlha tsa thuto, ka ditsela tse dintsi tsa go tsena le dintlha tsa go tswa. E kopanya ditshwanelego tse di farologaneng le go letla gore di nne mothlo le go tlhaloganyesega. Maikaelelo a NQF ke go dira gore kgatelopele e bonale magareng le mo teng ga dikarolo tse tharo tsa thuto le katiso – ya kakaretso, e e oketsegileng le e kgolwane – ga mmogo le go tlamela ka tlhaloso magareng ga thuto ya dibuka le katiso ya bokgoni. Karolo e ntsha ya molaetheo le madi e ne tlhangwa e le karolo ya NQF, e e neng e akaretsa Bolaodi Jwa Bokgoni Jwa Naga, Madi a a Ntshediwang Bokgoni Jwa Naga (National Skills Fund [NSF]), diSETA le ditheo tse di mo Lefapheng la Badiri. Fa go sa ntse go na le pholisi e e tlhalosang e e mo boemong jwa go etleetsa kgatelopele eno e e tlhamaletseng, go santse go na le dikgwetlo tse di dikologileng tsenyeletso eno.

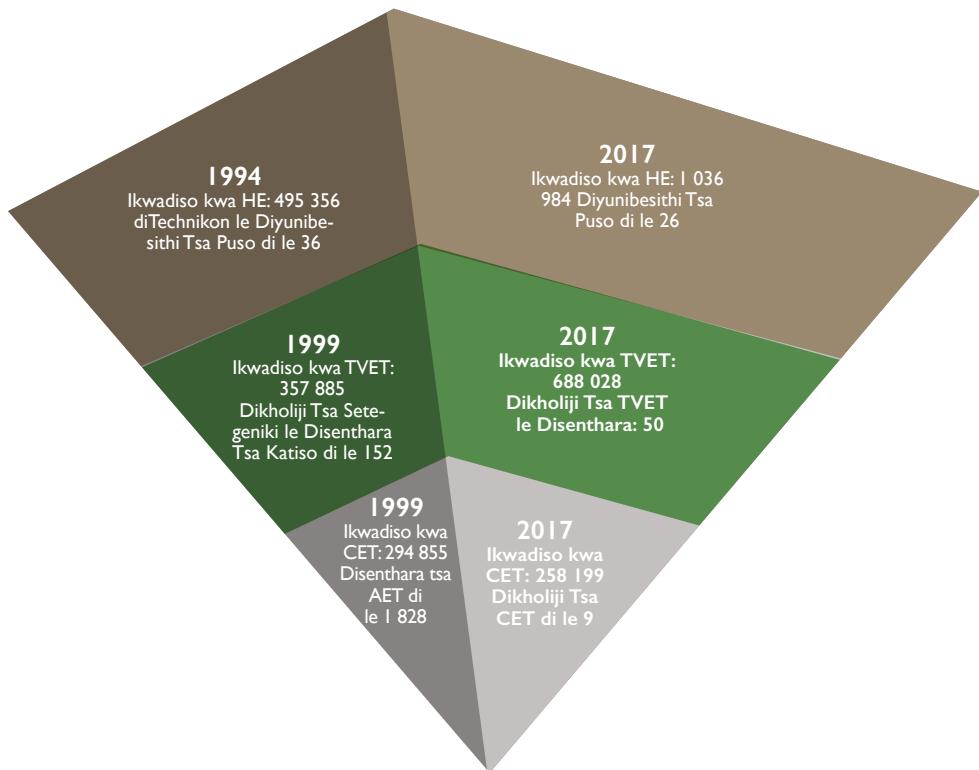
Molawana wa go Godisa Bokgoni o ne wa itsisiwa semmuso ka 1998, ka boikaelelo jwa go atolosa kitso

le botlhale jwa badiri e le gore tiro e tokafale le go thapiwa go nne teng. Ka 2013, *Pampiri e Tshweu ya PSET* e ne ya phasaladiwa e tlhalosa kaelo ya pholisi e ntsha. Maikaelelo magolo a pholisi e ne le go aga Aforika Borwa o o tekatekano, o o sa tseyeng lethakore, o sa tlhaole ka lotso, o sa tlhaole ka bong e bile o busa go ya ka temokerasi; **tsamaiso e le nngwe, e e rulaganeng ya PSET**; le go e bona mo go atolositsweng, go tokafatsa boleng le go oketsa tlamelo e e fitlhelela botlhe. Gape e batla kamono e e nonofileng le e nang le tirisanommogo e e oketsegileng magareng ga ditheo tsa thuto le katiso le mafelo a tiro le tsibogo ya tsamaiso mo ditlhokong tsa moagi mongwe le mongwe.

Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso (Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET]) le ne la kwala Articulation Policy ya tsamaiso ya PSET mo Aforika Borwa ka 2017, e batlang go tlhama tikologo e e kgontshang go tlhaloganya mo teng le mo go nngwe le nngwe ya dikarolwana tse tharo tsa NQF. NQF e ne e ikaeletse go kaela kgatelopele magareng ga karolo ya kakaretso, e e oketsegileng le e kgolwane le go tlamela ka thebolelopele magareng ga thuto ya dibuka le thapiso ya bokgoni. Gape e neelana ka tetla ya katiso ya ko lefelong la tiro, e bulu mafelo a masha a go katisa bokgoni le ditshwanelego tsa thuto. Le fa go ntse jalo, maikaelelo a pholisi ga a ka a tsamaisana le tiro ya yone, ka ntsha ya dikgwetlo tsa go tlhofofadiwa ga ditshwanelego. Dikholfi dingwe tsa TVET di tsaya kgato, ga jaana di setse di simolotse diporogerama tsa go thusa baithuti go gatelapele go tswa mo dikholfiing go ya go ithuta le go ikatisa kwa yunibesithing. Ka sekai, Kholiji ya Waterberg TVET, e dirisana le Yunibesithi ya Limpopo, e dirile gore go kgonege gore baithuti ba ba ithutelang temothuo kwa kholfiing ya TVET ba ye go ithuta mo go oketsegileng kwa Yunibesithing ya Limpopo. Fela fa ba sena go fetsa disetifikeiti tsa bone tsa kwa kholfiing, ba kwadisetswa Diploma mo Temothuong e bile ba ka kgona go tswelapele gore ba kgone go nna le dikirii. Kholiji ya TVET gape e na le lefelo la temothuo mo baithuti ba kgonang go ithuta ka go dira.

Fa e sale apartheid e fedisiwa semolao, karolo e e tlhalosang tsamaiso ya PSET e ile ya fetola thulaganyo. Digokaganyi tse di gokaganyang mokoloko wa ditheo tse di kopakopaneng mo tsamaisong e e amogelesegang ya PSET di ne tsa dirwa ka boikaelelo jwa go aga dikago tsa botsamaisi tse di kgolo le tse di thata. Le fa go ntse jalo, kgolo ya palo ya basha ba ba NEET e bontsha gore tsamaiso ya PSET e santse e le bonya mo go rarabololeng ditlhoko tsa bokgoni jwa basha, mo godimo ga ikonomi e e santse e gola.

Go tlhoka go potlaka thulaganyo le go ipoletsa ga ditirelo mo tsamaisong ya thuto e kgolwane ya Aforika Borwa go ile ga baakanngwa ka tsela e maleba ka go rulaganngwa



**Setshwantsho 5.2:** Palo ya baithuti ba ba ikwadisitseng mo ditheong tsa puso morago ga go fetsa sekolo ka mofuta wa tlamelo ka 1994, 1999 le 2016.

Motswed: DHET 2013, 2016, 2018.

sesha le go kopanngwa ga ditheo. Mo magareng a 2003 le 2005, di-HEI di le tsa mmatota di ne tsa kopanngwa go di-HEI tse 23. Tseno di ne di akaretsa diyunibesithi tsa setso, diyunibesithi tsa thekenoloji le diyunibesithi tsa thuto.

Dikholiji dingwe tsa thuto di ne tsa tswalwa fa tse dingwe di ne tsa tsenngwa mo diyunibesithing go fitlhelela thuto ya maemo a kwa godimo. Ka 2014, diyunibesithi tse pedi tse disha di ne tsa bulwa, e leng Yunibesithi ya Mpumalanga le Yunibesithi ya Sol Plaatjie kwa Kapa Bokone. Yunibesithi ya boraro, Yunibesithi ya Saense ya Boitekanelo ya Sefako Makgatho e ne ya bulwa ka 2015.

Dikholiji tsa setegeniki tsa ntlhantla di le 152 le disenthara tsa katiso di ne tsa kopanngwa mo dikholijing tse 50 tsa go Tsweletsa Thuto le Katiso (e ga jaana e itsegeng jaaka dikholiji tsa TVET). Seno e ne e le go dira ditheo tse di thata, go aga bokgoni jwa tsone le go di naya lenaane le legolo la dirutwa tse di kgethegileng. Mo kgannyeng nngwe le nngwe, dikholiji tse di neng di sa kgone mo nakong e e fetileng di ne di kopanngwa le dikholiji tse di neng di kgona mo nakong e e fetileng gore dira gore di kgone go dirisa didirisiva botoka. Ka 2016, go ne go na le ditheo tsa puso tsa Thuto e Kgolwane di le 26, Ditheo Tsa Thuto e

Kgolwane tse di kwadisitsweng tsa poraefete di le 123, 50 ya Technical and Vocational Education and Training (dikholiji tsa TVET), dikholiji tsa poraefete tse di kwadisitsweng di le 279 le dikholiji tsa Thuto le Katiso ya Morafe (Community Education and Training (CET)) di le 9.

Tsamaiso ya PSET ya Aforika Borwa e sale le itsiwe ka phiramiti e e tseneng mo teng, e bile seno e tswelela go nna kgwetlo e kgolo ya go fetoga. Palo ya go ikwadisa kwa diyunibesithing e kwa godimo ga palo ya baithuti ba ba ikwadisetsang dikarolong tse di latelang mo tsamaisong ya morago ga go fetsa sekolo (**Setshwantsho 5.2**). Kgwetlo ya Aforika Borwa ke go fetola phiramiti e e tseneng mo teng e e bontshang tlamelo ya thuto ya morago ga go fetsa sekolo ka tlhamalalo, gore palo e ntsi ya go ikwadisa e nne mo legatong le le latelang go na le gore e nne mo legatong la thuto e kgolwane.

Palo ya baithuti ba tiro ya diatla e e ntshitsweng ngwaga le ngwaga e ne ya wela tlase go tloga go 33 000 go ya go 22 000 mo magareng ga 1985 le 1995, mme morago e ne ya fologeleta go 4 500 ka 2005.<sup>99</sup> Le fa go le jalo palo ya baithuti ba tiro ya diatla ba ba tlhagisitsweng e ne ya oketsegga go feta 20 000 fa e sale ka 2016 go ya go 2017, mme naga ga

e ise e ko e tlhagise palo e e kwa godimo ya baithuti ba tiro ya diatla ba le 30 000 ka ngwaga ka nako ya puso ya apartheid. Ka 2005, go ne go na le palogothe ya baithuti ba tiro ya diatla ba ba tshwanelegang ba le 63 483 ba ba neng ba dira tiro ya bokgoni jwa bone. Mo nakong e e fetileng, bontsi jwa katiso ya tiro ya diatla (80%) e ne e dirwa ke ditheo tsa kgwebo (mo Eskom e neng e tsaya ba le bantsi) mme seno se ne se tsewa e le tiro ya konokono.<sup>100</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo, ga go sa tlhole go ntse jalo e bile go dirile gore katiso e tlhokomologiwe, mo go neng ga dira gore bontsi jwa disenthara tsa katiso di phutlhame. Jaaka fa go tlhogega gore go tlhagisiwe baithuti ba tiro ya diatla ba le 30 000 ka ngwaga ka 2030 (maitlhomo a NDP), tsamaiso ga e ise e ipaakanyetse maithlomo ano. A lgaogane sebedi ka gonne go na le mafelo a ditiro a a lekanetseng go ka amogela baithuti go tla go ikatisa le bakatisi ba ba tshwanelegang ba ba lekanetseng.

Nngwe ya dikatlego tsa go godisa bokgoni e nnile go tokafatsa palo ya ma-Aforika ba ba tseleng diporogerama tsa go ithutela tiro ya diatla fa go bapsiwa le seemo sa pele ga 1994 mo bontsi e neng e le basweu. Le fa go ntse jalo, tsamaiso yotlhe e gatetsepele ka bonya mo go diriseng di-learnership le di-internship, mo bontsi jwa diSETA di ntshang madi a go duelela diporogerama tsa bokgoni tse e leng tsa dithuto tse di khutswane tse bontsi jwa tsone di sa direng gore batho ba ba sa berekeng ba thapiwe. Tseno ke dingwe tsa go palelwa go go dirileng gore tsamaiso ya SETA e tsewe e sena mosola.

**Go ikwadisetsa yunibesithi** kwa ditheong tsa puso go ile ga oketsegga go tloga go 495 356 ka 1994 go ya go 1 036 984 ka 2017, mo go bontshang gore go oketsegga dipalopolo tsa go ikwadisa go ntse go tsamaela gaufi le mokgele wa NDP wa go ikwadisa ga baithuti ba le dimilione di le 1.6 ka ngwaga wa 2030.<sup>101</sup> Palo e e bontshitsweng ya ikwadiso kwa di-HEI tsa puso le tsa poraefete e ne ya fitlha go dimilione di le 1.1 ka 2016, mo di-HEI tsa poraefete di kwadisetseng baithuti ba le 167, mokgele wa 2017 NDP wa dimilione di le 1.07 o ne wa fithelelwka ka noko.<sup>102</sup> Go ya ka palo e kwa godimonyana e e utlwlang ya di-HEI tsa poraefete le palo ya ikwadiso e e kwa tlase seno se raya gore dikhemphase tseo ke baithuti: badiri kgotsa rashio ya mothuti- go- morutabana. Go ikwadisa kwa diyunibesithing tsa puso go ile ga oketsegga ka 3.1% ka ngwaga ka kakaretso go tloga ka 1994 go ya go 2016, fa kgolo ya baithuti ba ba falolang ka bachelor mo maramatloung e ne le 4.3%. Go ikwadisa kwa yunibesithing ga go gole jaaka seelo sa go falola ka bachelor mo maramatloung.

100 Ibid.

101 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Education Series Volume III: Educational Enrolment and Achievement, 2016, ts. 56; The Presidency. 2014. Twenty Year Review, 1994-2014, ts. 52.

102 [http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6\\_DHET%20Stats%20Report\\_04%20April%202018.pdf](http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6_DHET%20Stats%20Report_04%20April%202018.pdf). ts.3.

103 [http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6\\_DHET%20Stats%20Report\\_04%20April%202018.pdf](http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6_DHET%20Stats%20Report_04%20April%202018.pdf). ts.13.

104 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Education Series Volume III: Educational Enrolment and Achievement, 2016, ts. 56; Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso, Leano la Ngwaga la Dira Sente 2019/20 ts 7; ts 8.

105 [http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6\\_DHET%20Stats%20Report\\_04%20April%202018.pdf](http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6_DHET%20Stats%20Report_04%20April%202018.pdf). ts.3.

Bontsi jwa baithuti ba ba ikwadisetseng mo di-HEI tsa puso e ne e le ma-Aforika (71.9%), ba latelwe ke baithuti ba basweu (15.6%), baithuti ba mammala (6.3%) le baithuti ba ma-India/Asia (5.2%). Pharologanyo ya bong e ne e le kwa godimo mo baithuting ba ma-Aforika, fa bontsi jwa baithuti ba basetsana ba le 114 942 ba ne ba ikwadisa go feta ba basimane. Pharologanyo ya bong e e neng e le kwa tlase e ne e le ya ma-Indian/Asian, mammala le baithuti ba basweu<sup>103</sup>

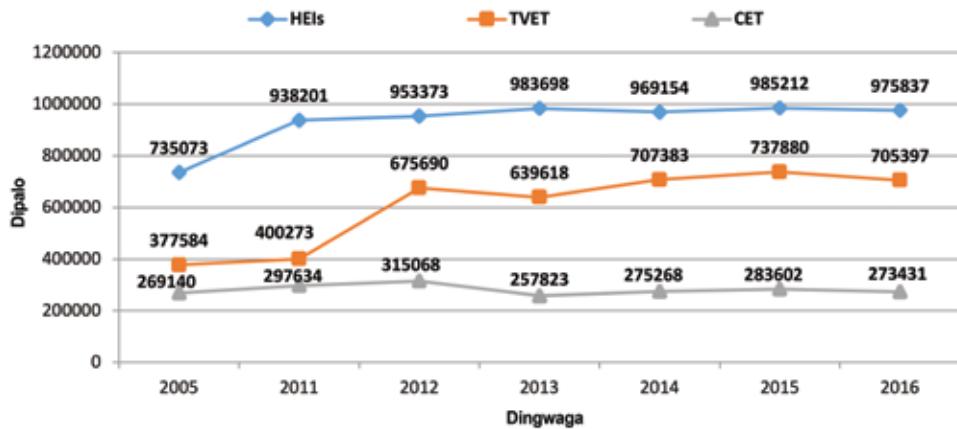
Phetogo ya lebelo mo bontsing jwa baithuti ba yunibesithi e ne ya tla ka dikgwethlo tsa go fetoga ga tsamaiso ya puso. Seno se ne se akaretsa kafa setso se amang yunibesithi ka teng, go tlhogega ga madi a go duelela ditlhoko tse di golang tsa baithuti le dithuto tse di iseng di fetolwe.

Fa kgatelopele mo go fetoleng seemo sa baithuti ba PSET e ntse e tsweletse, diperesente tsa batho ba Aforika Borwa ba ba nang le didikirii di sa ntse di le kwa tlase, fa di bapsiwa le dinaga tse Aforika Borwa e gaisanang le tsone ka ikonomi.

Gape go nnile le kgolo ya setheo sa katiso ya bokgoni jwa tiro e e rileng fa e sale ka 1994, mo ikwadiso ya baithuti ba kholiji ya TVET e ileng ya oketsegga go tswa go 357 885 ka 1999<sup>104</sup> go ya go 705 397 ka 2016<sup>105</sup>, mme ka tshoganyetsa e ne ya fologela go 688 028 ka 2017. Thuto ya Katiso ya Bokgoni jo bo Rileng ya Naga e ne ya simololwa gore e thusa go tokafatsa boleng jwa ditlhagiswa tsa kholiji ya TVET mo godimo ga dirutwa tsa Diploma Tsa Naga mo Dintlheng tsa Thuto ya Setegeniki.

Le fa go ntse jalo, lephata la kholiji ya TVET ga le bonwe jaaka tlhopho ya bothhokwa ke basha ba le bantsi ba ba

/ Go ikwadisetsa  
yunibesithi kwa  
ditheong tsa puso go  
ile ga oketsegga go  
tloga go 495 356 ka  
1994 go ya go 975  
837 ka 2016 /



**Setshwantsho 5.3:** Kgolo ya ikwadiso mo CET, TVET le maphata a thuto e kgolwane go tswa go 2005 go ya go 2016.

Motswedzi: Statistics South Africa. 2019. Education Series Volume V: Higher Education and Skills in South Africa, 2017.

batlang go tsenya kwa yunibesithi. Go lebega pono ya bone e tshegediwa ke ntlha ya gore lantla puso e ne e duelela diyunibesithi go na le dikholiji tsa TVET, e leng selo se se ngokelang batho kwa diyunibesithing. Dikholiji tsa TVET di santse di bonwa e le tsa maemo a kwa tlase mo diyunibesithing le ponalo ya go amanngwa le go tsewa ga bahumanegi le baithuti ba ba sa direng sentle mo dithutong.

Go ikwadisa kwa diyunibesithing le dikholiji tsa TVET go godile ka lebelo mo dingwageng tse di fetileng, fa go ikwadisa kwa yunibesithi go ile ga ema felo go le gongwe ka kakaretso (**Setshwantsho 5.3**). Ka 2000, gone go na le baithuti ba ba neng ba ikwadisitse ba le 578 134, mme ka 2016 palo eo e ne ya rata go ikoketsa gabedi. Diperesente tsa baithuti ba ba ikwadisitseng di ne tsa oketsegka 38.2% magareng ga 2000 le 2008 le ka 22% magareng ga 2008 le 2016.<sup>106</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo, go tshwanetse ga elwa tlhoko mo go tseneletseng, gore **Setshwantsho 5.3** e bontsha gore kgolo mo ikwadisong go ralala tsamaiso ya PSET e ile ya fokotsegka magareng ga 2012 le 2016, kwa ntle ga kgolo ya mmatota. Ikwadiso ya kwa dikholijing tsa morafe e ile ya fokotsegka go tloga go ikwadiso tse 294 855 (kwa ditheong di le 1 828 tsa) ka 1999 go ya go 273 431 ka 2016 (mo Dikholijing Tsa Morafe de le robongwe) mme ya ya kwa tlase go se kae go 258 199 ka 2017.<sup>107</sup> Setlhophpha sa Tiro sa Naga mo Thutong le Katiso ya Morafe (DHET, 2012) se ne sa akantsha gore go nne le Kholiji ya Morafe go ya ka tshwanelo mo porofenseng nngwe le nngwe tota ebile e le nngwe mo masepaleng mongwe le mongwe.

RDP e laola gore **basesana le basadi** ba tshwanetse go rotloediwa go latelela dirutwa tse e seng tsa setso jaaka dipalo le saense. Mo dingwageng tse di fetileng fa palo ya batho ba ba kgonang go bona thuto e oketsegka, le palo ya basadi e ntse e oketsegka. Ka 2016, palo ya batho ba ba neng ba feditse sekolo sa magareng e le ntsi mo basading ba dingwaga tsa bo 17-40 fa e bapisiwa le ya banna ba dingwaga tse di tshwanang (15.1% le 12.8%, ka tatelano)<sup>108</sup>. Gape basadi ba na le go tsenela thuto ya morago ga sekolo sa magareng mo dingwageng tse di kwa tlase ga tsa banna. Le fa ka 1996, lephata la yunibesithi le ne le na le banna ba bantsi, ka ngwaga wa 2000 ikwadiso ya basadi e ne ya feta ya banna, ka 2016 basadi ba ne ba dira 58.1% ya ikwadiso, e leng mokgwa o tla tswelelang, go lebilwe koketsegko ya palo ya basadi ba ba falolang marematlou fa ba bapisiwa le banna.<sup>109</sup> Seelo sa go tsaya karolo ga basadi gape go gogolo go feta sa banna mo ditlhopheng tsotlhe tsa lotso. Le fa gone palogotlhе ya dikarolo tsa baithuti ba banna le basadi ba ba ikwadisitseng kwa dikholijing tsa TVET e bontsha kakaretso ya pharologanyo e potlana, go ne go na le banna ba le bantsi ba ba ikwadisitseng go feta basadi mo karolong ya N1 go ya go ya N3, fa kgabagare basadi ba le bantsi ba ne ba ikwadisitse go feta banna mo dikarolong tse di kwa godimonyana tsa N4 go ya go N6 ka 2016.<sup>110</sup> Ka fa letlhakoreng le lengwe, banna ba le bantsi (76.9%) go feta basadi (23.1%) ba ne ba ikwadisa mo diporogerameng tsa go ithutela tiro ya diatla ka 2016/17, e leng tokafatso go tloga ka 2005 go ya go 2009, fa fela 16.8% ya basadi e ne e ikwadiseditse go ithuta tiro ya diatla<sup>111</sup>.

106 Statistics South Africa. 2019. Education Series Volume V: Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso mo Aforika Borwa, 2017, ts. 32.

107 Statistics South Africa. 2019. Education Series Volume V: Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso mo Aforika Borwa, 2017, ts. 24; le Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso. 2013. *Tsебе e Tshweu ya PSET*.

108 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Education Series Volume III: Ikwadiso ya Thuto le Phitlhelelo, 2016, ts. 53.

109 [http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6\\_DHET%20Stats%20Report\\_04%20April%202018.pdf](http://www.dhet.gov.za/Research%20Coordination%20Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/6_DHET%20Stats%20Report_04%20April%202018.pdf). ts. 12.

110 Statistics South Africa. 2019. Motsleletsetseletse wa Thuto Bolumu ya V: Thuto e Kgolwane le Bokgoni mo Aforika Borwa, 2017, ts. 46.

111 JIPSA 2009 le DHET 2016.

RDP e ne ya akantsa gore boleng jwa thekenoloji bo okediwe; gore maiteko a saense a ranolelwé mo go oketsegileng mo tirisong ya thekenoloji; gore thekenoloji e diragadiwe le go atoloswa; le gore saense e e dirwang kwa yunibesithing e dire ka natla mo ditlhokong tsa bontsi jwa batho ba rona. Fa e sale ka 1995 **ikwadiso ya go ithuta saense, boenjinere le thekenoloji (science, engineering and technology [SET]) e ile ya oketsega** ka seelo sa kgolo ya ngwaga ka kakaretso sa 4.3%. Ka 2017 go ne go na le le baithuti ba ba ikwadisit-seng ba le 310 115 mo SET fa e bapisiwa le ba le 252 826 mo go tsa Humanities.<sup>112</sup>

Koketsego e e amogelesegang mo SET le karolwana e e wang mo dirutweng tsa humanities e bontsha tlhoko ya go sekaseka thuto sesha jaaka dikarolo tsa dirutwa tsa humanities di gokagane mo tirong ya diSET, gore go tle go rulaganyetswe ditlhoko tsa baithuti botoka gore ba ipaakanyetse ikonomi ya segompieno le 4IR. Botaki bo tshwanetse go kopanngwa ka tlhomamo le dirutwa tsa thuto ya naga gore e etleetse bothhami le khumo le go tlhagisa bogolo jwa setso sa Aforika Borwa. Seno gape se ka tokafatsa go tlhagisa botaki le setso ga mmogo le metshameko le boitapoloso.

**Rashio ya palo ya go ikwadisa** mo dingwageng tse 20 tse di fetileng go tloga ka 1997 go ya go 2016 mo di-HEI e ile ya oketsega go tswa go 12.9% ka 1997 go ya go 18.5% ka 2013, e bile e ne ya nna e me jalo go dikologa yone rashio eno ka 2014, mme ya oketsega go 19.1% ka 2016.<sup>113</sup> Go se tshikinyega mo seelong sa go tsaya karolo ke letshwao la tsamaiso e e kafa tlase ga boleng jwa dikgoreletsi, mo dikagong, mading a aabiwang le mo go thapeng badiri. Seno se baka dikgwetlho mo ikonoming e e ikaegileng ka kitso, e e tlhokang go tsaya karolo mo go oketsegileng go oketsa kgolo ya yone. Go sa kgathalesege dikgwetlho tse di leng teng, fa e sale ka 1996, go tsena mo ditheong tsa morago ga sekolo sa magareng go ya ka batho ba le 100 000 go ile ga gola go fitlha gaufi le 445.5% kgotsa ka seelo sa 22.3% ngwaga le ngwaga.<sup>114</sup>

Baithuti ba le bantsi ba gaellwa ba ise ba fetse thuto, mo Grade 11 e leng yone e go emiwang ka yone mo go tsweletseng dithuto, seno se tlhoka go tseelwa dikgato ka pele.<sup>115</sup> Seelo sa go fetsa mephato e e kwa godimo ya sekolo sa magareng (Grade 10 go ya go Grade 12) ke baithuti ba dingwaga tse 15 le go feta se bontsha gore setlhophsa sa baithuti ba ma-India/Asia ke sone se gantsi se fetsang ditshwanelego tsa mephato e e kwa godimo ya sekolo sa magareng (61.2%) fa ba bapisiwa le basweu (57.1%), ma-Afrika (55%) le mammala (52.7%). Ka jalo batho ba mammala ga se gantsi ba fetsa legato leno la thuto fa ba bapisiwa le ditlhophsa tse dingwe tsa baithuti



A ONE  
O ITSE

Rocket Scientist,  
Siyabulela Xuza, 23, go na le  
polanete e e teeletsweng ka  
leina la gagwe, SiyaXuza.

112 Khansele ya Saense ya Batho, 1995-2001 Tshobokanyo, 2003.

113 Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso Thuto le Katiso ya Morago go ga Fetsa Sekolo Phetogo ya Tshupiso e Kgolwane Mopitlwé 2019 (ser 50)

114 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Motseletse wa Thuto Bolumu III: Go Ikwadisetsa Thuto le Diphitthelelo, 2016, ts. 9.

115 Statistics South Africa. 2019. Education Series Volume V: Higher Education and Skills in South Africa, 2017, ts. 32.

e bile go bonala ditshono tsa gore ba thapiwe di le kwa tlase kgotsa tsa go oketsa dithuto tsa bone.<sup>116</sup>

Go na le mabaka a a farologaneng a go bo baithuti ba sa tsweletse thuto ya morago ga go fetsa sekolo go akaretsa le dikgoreletsi tse di bakwang ke madi.<sup>117</sup> Go na le tlhaelo ya tshedimosetso malebana le go tlhophya se o ka se dirang morago ga go fetsa sekolo, jaaka ditselana tsa thuto, tsa setegeniki, go ithutela bokgoni jo bo rileng le kgwebo, segolobogolo kwa dikolong tsa quintile I go ya go 4; mafelo a a lekaneng kwa diyunibesithing le dikholiji tsa TVET; le tsamaiso e e bokoa ya tshegetso. Baithuti ba ma-Aforika ba ba nnang mo metseselegaeng ga ba tsweletse dithuto tsa bone kwa yunibesithi mme lebaka le akaretsa gore boleng jo bo kwa tlase jwa thuto bo ba dira gore ba palelwae e bile gantsi ba feleletsa ba tlogetse sekolo, ke fela 12% ya baithuti ba bantsho ba ba ikwadisedtseng dikirii ya dingwaga di le tharo ba ba ileng ba aloga mo dingwageng tse tharo.<sup>118</sup> Pele ga kitsiso ya Sedimonthole 2017 ya thuto ya mahala mo baithuting ba ba humanegileng kwa diyunibesithing le dikholiji tsa TVET, dikgoreletsi tse di bakwang ke madi di ne di oketsa seelo sa go tlogela sekolo. Bontsi jwa baithuti ba ba falolang thuto ya motheo le go tsenela lephata la yunibesithi ke baithuti ba ba bothlale ba ba tswang kwa malapeng a humanegileng ba ba fetileng mo dipharagobeng gore ba fitlhe kwa yunibesithing, mme tsamaiso ya PSET e retelelwa ke go ba tshegetsa.

Bantsho ba ba tlogelang sekolo ba ba tswang kwa dikolong tsa quintile e kwa tlase ga se ba bantsi ba ba kgonang go dira dikirii ya tlhophya ya ntlha, segolobologo mo SET. Basadi ba ba tswang mo dikolong tsa quintile e kwa tlase gantsi ba ne ba lebana le bothlakatiro, se se bontshang dikgwetlho tse dialogane di lebaneng le tsone, le fa ba na le ditshwanelego<sup>119</sup>.

Le fa gone go bona tshono ya go ithuta e le tshwanelo ya motho, ga e a lekana go rarabolola khumanego, ka gonane baithuti ba ba humanegileng ba na le bokgoni jo bo farologaneng le maikatlapelo a go itshokela ditshono, e bile ba lebana le dikgwetlho tsa itsholelo ya setshaba tse di amang maitemogelo a bone a go ithuta.<sup>120</sup> Go bulela ditshono kwantle ga tshegetso ga go kitla go dira gore bontsi jwa baithuti ba nne le ditshwanelego tsa PSET.

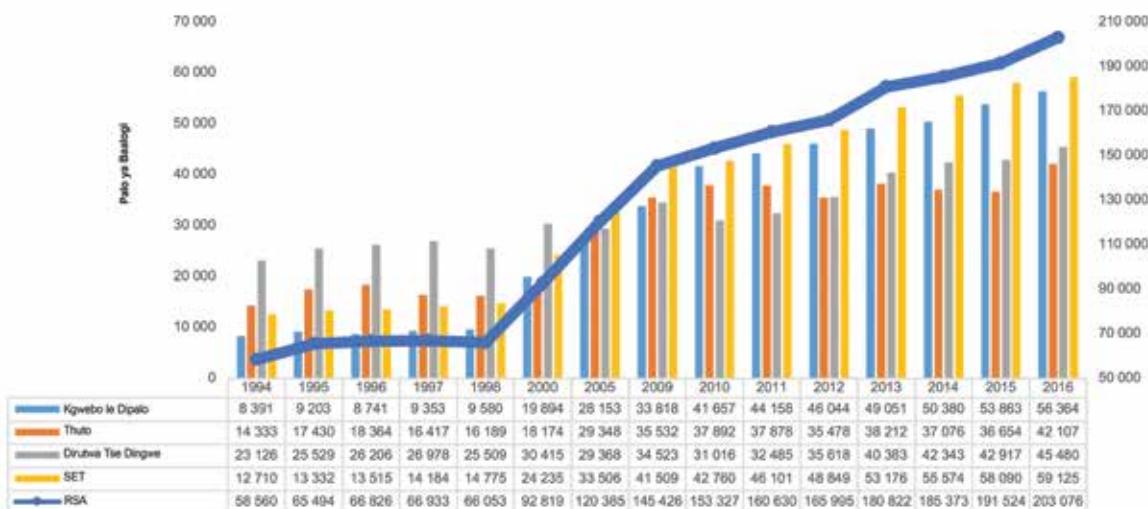
Le fa seelo sa go dira mo go oketsegileng ga puso go tokafetse le seelo sa go tlogela sekolo se fokotsegile kwa

diHEI, baithuti ba le bantsi ba tlhoka go fetsa didikirii tsa bone ka nako e e lebeletsweng. Gape go nnile le katlego mo koketsengya ditshono tsa go tsena mo lephateng la TVET, le fa go ntse jalo, go patlakisiwa ga go ntshiwa ga ditshwanelego le boleng jwa ditshwalego ke tlhobaboroko.

Mo godimo ga moo, setshwantsho sa ditheo tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo se ama ditlhophya tse baithuti ba di dirang tsa go tsweletse dithuto tsa bone. Jaaka go bontshitse pelenyana dikholiji tsa TVET di bonwa e le tse di kwa tlase go na le diyunibesithi e bile di amanngwa le bahumanegi le baithuti ba ba sa direng sentle. Ditshwanelego tsa lephata la TVET le etleediwa thata ke mmarakwa badirile ditsamaiso tse di bokoa jaaka tsamaiso ya data e e felelang ka gore go ntsha disetifikeiti go nna le mathata a go baakanya panalo ya yone. Go sa kgathalesege maiteko a go dira gore baithuti ba itlhophelle ditheo tsa dikholiji tsa TVET, ke bontsi jwa baithuti ba ba sa amogelwang ke diyunibesithi, ba ba ikwadisang mo dikholijeng tsa TVET. Seno ke sone se se tokafatsang baalogi ba ka gangwe ba kholiji ya TVET ba ba kgonang go thapiwa kgotsa ba ba itirelang mmerekogotsa ba ba amogelang madi a a kgatlhisang.<sup>121</sup> Seno se ka se nne gone kwa ntle ga maiteko a a tseneletseng a go tokafatsa boleng jwa ditshwanelego le go tshwanelita ditshono tsa ditirelo le ikonomi.

Ka mo go tshwanang, Ditheo Tse di Neng di Thokometswe mo Malobeng (Historically Advantaged Institutions [HAI]) di kgora go ngoka baithuti ba ba nang le dintlha tsa kakaretso tse di kwa godimo tsa marematlou fa di bapiswa le Ditheo Tse di Neng di sa Thokomelwa mo Malobeng. Le fa go ntse jalo, mo e ka nnang 60% ya palo e potlana ya baithuti ba ba kgonang ba ba tsenang yunibesithi ga ba kgone go fetsa dithuto tsa bone, ka gonane ba ka tswa ba palelwae, ba tlogela sekolo kgotsa ba sa dire sentle. Seno se akarediwa ke ntlha ya gore baithuti ba ba alogang mo HDI ga ba thapiwe mothofa ka ntlha ya pono ya gore ba tswa mo thutong ya maemo a kwa tlase.<sup>122</sup> Ka sekai, papiso magareng ga baalogi ba Rhodes le Fort Hare e bontsha seelo sa 7% sa batho ba ba sa thapiwang ba pele le 20% ya ba morago.<sup>123</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo go tsena mo ditheong tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo ga go reye gore o tla thapiwang ba pele le 20% ya ba morago. Le fa go ntse jalo go tsena mo ditheong tsa morago ga go getsa dithuto, ditshwanelego tse o di boneng mmogo le setheo se o tseneng kwa go sone morago ga go fetsa sekolo di tshameka karolo ya bothhokwa mo go bopeng tiro nngwe le nngwe ya isagwe ya gago. Dikakanyo

- 116 Statistics South Africa. 2017. Education Series Volume III: Educational Enrolment and Achievement, 2016, ts. xiii.
- 117 Isdale, K., Reddy, V., Winnaar, L. and Zuze, T.L. (2018) *Exploring Youth Transitions: Five years of the South African Youth Panel Survey*. Pretoria: LMIP.
- 118 Department of Higher Education and Training. 2017. Statistics on Post-School Education and Training in South Africa.
- 119 Rogan, M. and Reynolds, J. 2016. Schooling Inequality, Higher Education and the Labour Market: Evidence from a Graduate Tracer Study in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 33(3), ts. 343-360.
- 120 Reddy, V., Bhorat, H., Powell, M., Visser, M.M. and Arends, F. 2016. Skills Supply and Demand in South Africa. Labour Market Intelligence Partnership, ts. 9
- 121 Fisher, R. and Simmons, R. (2012) *Liberal conservatism, vocationalism and further education in England. Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 10(1). ts. 31-51
- 122 Maringe, F. and Osman, R. (2016) Transforming the post-school sector in South Africa: Limits of a skills-driven agenda. South African Journal of Higher Education, Volume 30, number 5: ts.120:140. Online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20853/30-5-616> [E bonwe ka 6 Thakole 2019]
- 123 Van Broekhuizen, H., Van der Berg, S. and Hofmeyr, H. (2017) Higher education access and outcomes for the 2008 national matric cohort. Available from: <http://www.lmip.org.za/document/higher-education-access-and-outcomes-2008-national-matric-cohort>

**Setshwantsho 5.4:** Palo ya baalogi ba yunibesithi go tloga ka 1994 go ya go 2016.

Motswedi: Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane. Tsamaiso ya Tshedimosetso ya Thuto e Kgolwane le Botsamaisi Jwa Katiso.

Website: <https://webapps.dhet.gov.za>

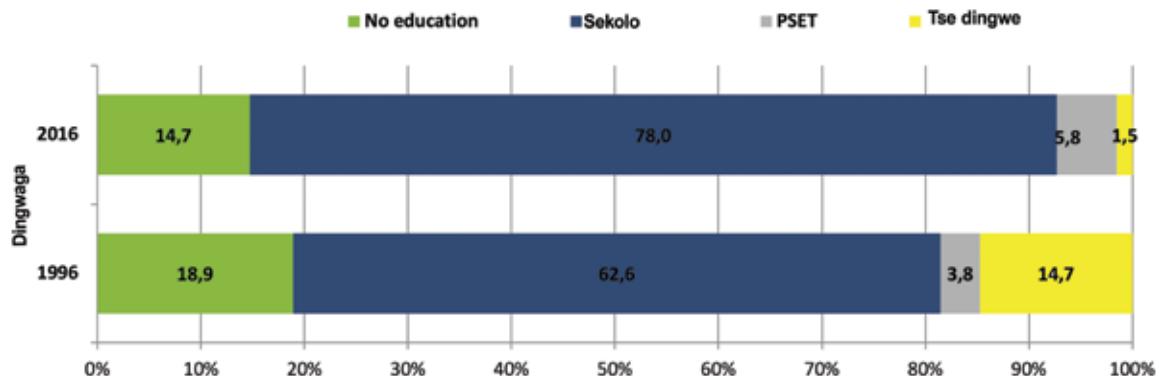
di tlhohleletsa go se nne le tekatekano ya maemo le lotso. Malebana le seno, go na le tlhokagalo ya go tokafatsa botsamaisi le go dira sentle mo diHDI gore di kgone go ntsha ditshwanelego tsa dithhwathlwa tse di kwa godimo le baalogi ba ba tlotlegang mo mmarakeng wa badiri.

Palo ya baithuti ba ba alogang e ntse e gola mo dingwageng tse di fetileng. Palogotlhе ya baithuti ba le 58 560 e ne ya aloga ka 1994, ya o ketsegela go 210 931 ka 2017.<sup>124</sup> Basadi ba le bantsi go feta banna ba alogile mo dingwageng tse di fetileng. Ka kakaretso, tsamaiso e simolola go tlhagisa baalogi ba le bantsi, e bontsha katlego dipholisi tsa ikwadiso jaaka go bontshitswe mo Setshwantsho 5.4. Baalogi ba SET gape ba ile ba oketsega fa ba bapsiwa le ba dirutwa tsa humanities, ka baithuti ba bantsi ba basadi le ba banna ba alogileng mo SET.

NDP e tlhomile mokgele wa go oketsa seelo sa go fetsa kwa dikholijing tsa TVET go ya go 75% ka 2030. Seelo sa go fetsa kwa dikholijing tsa TVET go tloga go 2011 go ya go 2016 go ntse go le go na le koketsego e potlana go tloga go 60.2% go ya go 62.2%, ka seelo seno go tlhotlhomisa go go tseneletseng go a tlhokega gore go fitlhelelwе mokgele wa NDP. Le fa go ntse jalo, seelo sa palogotlhе ya go fetsa kwa Dikholijing tsa Morafe (37.6%) se kwa tlase thata, fela kwa godimo ga nngwe tharong ya baithuti ba ba fetsang dithuto tsa bone.<sup>125</sup>

Seno se kopane le sa ga jaana (e bile se le kwa tlase) baithuti ba ba neilweng disetifikasi ba le 180 998 ba bontsha tlhoko ya go potlakisa le nonotsha go phasaladiwa ga diSETA gore

## Phetolo ya bokgoni e a tlhokega gore e bontshe maikatlapelo a basha, mme e ka se direge kwa ntle ga gore go dirwe diphetogo mo thulaganyong ya ikonomi



**Setshwantsho 5.5: Gross educational achievement rates in 1996 and 2016.**  
*Motswed: Statistics South Africa. 1996. Census; Statistics South Africa. 2001. Census; Statistics South Africa. 2011. Census; Statistics South Africa. 2016. Household Community Survey.*

ditlhoko tsa diNEET tse di dimilione di le 8.5 di fitlhelelw. Ka tsela e tshwanang, go fetsa diporogerama tsa go ithutela tiro ya diatla go tshwanetse go atolosiwa ka tsela e kgolwane, go tloga go 21 151 (2017).<sup>126</sup>

Ka kakaretso, palo ya seelo sa diphitlhelelo tsa thuto e tokafetse mo Aforika Borwa morago ga 1996 (Setshwantsho 5.5). Ka 2016, karolo ya batho ba ba sa tsenang sekolo e ne ya ema mo 14.7%, fa e bapisiwa le 18.9% ka 1996. Mo e ka nnang 78% ba tsene sekolo fa ba bapisiwa le 62.6%, dingwaga di le 20 tse di fetileng, fa karolo ya ba ba nang le ditshwanelego tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo e ne ya oketsegia go tloga mo e ka nnang 3.8% ka 1996 go ya go 5.8% ka 2016. Palogotha ya dimilione di le 14.8 tsa ma-Aforika di ile tsa ikwadisetsa ditheo tsa thuto ka 2016, fa e bapisiwa le dimilione di le 10.5 ka 1996.<sup>127</sup> Seelo se se tokafetseng sa diphitlhelelo tsa thuto se botlhokwa go fitlhelela mokgele wa NDP wa go thapa badiri ba ba oketsegileng.

Dipholisi tse di tobileng bahumanegi tsa go tokafatsa tselo ya go bona thuto di feletse ka go okegega ga palo ya baithuti ba ba amogelang madi a thuso go tswa kwa Pusong. Palo ya baithuti ba yunibesithi ba ba tshegeditsweng e oketsegile go tloga go 40 002 ka 1994 go ya go 601 078 ya thuso ya madi a baithuti e letleletseng ka November 2018.<sup>128</sup> Mo e ka nnang 359 000 ya bao e neng e le lantla ba ikwadisa<sup>129</sup>, 12% ya bao e neng e le ya ba ba ikwadiseditseng TVET.<sup>130</sup> Nomoro eno e ntse e gola mo

Diyunibesithi di tlhoka go dira ka natla go tshegetsa baithuti gore ba fetse ditshwanelego tsa bone ka nako e e tshwanetseng.

<sup>126</sup> DHET Post- School Education and Training Monitor Macro –Indicator Trends pg Mopitwe 2019 ser 76.

<sup>127</sup> Ditirelo Tsa Puso Tsa Tshedimoseto ya Dipuisano. 2017. South Africa Yearbook 2016/17. Education. ts.1.

<sup>128</sup> NSFAS. 2018. Go Itsise Portfolio Committee ka Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso malebana le kgatelopele ya dituelo tsa 2018 le ikwadiso ya 2019, 27 Ngwanatsele 2018. Cape Town. E bonwe ka 12 Motsheganong 2019. <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/27645/>.

<sup>129</sup> Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso. 2018. Dipalopalo tsa Thuto le Katiso ya Morago ga go Fetsa Sekolo mo Aforika Borwa 2016. ts.iii.

<sup>130</sup> NSFAS. 2018. Go Itsise Portfolio Committee ka Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso malebana le kgatelopele ya dituelo tsa 2018 le ikwadiso ya 2019, 27 Ngwanatsele 2018. Cape Town. E bonwe ka 12 Motsheganong 2019. <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/27645/>.

dingwageng tse di fetileng e bile go bonala e tla golela go ya pele morago ga kitsiso ya thuto ya mahala mo baithuting ba ba humanegileng (Sekema se Sesha sa Basari) se se tobileng baithuti ba ba tswang mo malapeng a a amogelang kwa tlase ga R350 000 ka ngwaga, e leng phithelelo ya mokgathlo wa #FeesMustFall. Palogothe ya baithuti ba TVET ba ba tshegiditsweng ke puso e ntse e golela pele go tloga go 12 283 ka 2007 go ya go 225 557 ka 2018.<sup>131</sup> Karolwana e e abetsweng NSFAS ya tekanyetsokabo ya Naga e neilweng diyunibesithi e ne ya oketsega go tloga go 3.7% ka 1997/98 go ya go 27.9% (R14.9 billion) ka 2018/19. Dipalo tseno ga di tsenyeletse letseno la NSFAS go tswa mo mading a a busitsweng go tswa mo baemeding ba NSFAS le baabi ba poraefete.

Tekanyetsokabo ya naga ya Aforika Borwa e e diretsweng diyunibesithi, go akaretsa le go duela madi a a thusag NSFAS, e le peresente ya GDP e ne e le 0.65% ka 2004/05, mo e neng ya gola ka bonako go ya go 0.85% ka 2017/18, le go tswelela e gola go ya go 1.06% ka 2018/19. Mo Karolong ya Setlha sa Magareng sa Ditshenyegelo (Medium Term Expenditure Framework MTEF) sa 2017/2018 sa tikologo ya tekanyetsokabo, koketsegoo ya bothhokwa mo go dueleng diyunibesithi e ne ya sirediwa morago ga ditshupetso tsa #FeesMustFall le kgololo ya pego ya Ngwanatsele 2017 ya Dipatlisiso Tsa Khomishine ya Moporesidente mo Kgonagalong ya go Dira Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso Mahala-hala mo Aforika Borwa – Khomishine ya Heher.

DiSETA di ne tsa simololwa go tlhomamisa gore bo na le tirisanommogo magareng ga ditheo tsa puso le tsa poraefete mo go godiseng bokgoni. Ga di a kgona go diragatsa maikaelelo a tsone ka botlalo a go godisa ka bonako mafelo a tiro a katiso, segolobogolo mo bathong ba pele ba neng ba sa kgone, go akaretsa bantsho, basadi le batho ba ba nang le bokoa mo mmeleng. Tse dingwe di nnile le dikgwetlho tsa botsamaisi mo go neng ga dira gore DHET e tseye botsamaisi jwa tsone e le tsela ya go baakanya tsamaiso e e bokoa.

Go ya ka Times Higher Education (2017), diyunibesithi tse robedi tse di kwa setlhoeng ke tsa Aforika Borwa. Mo godimo ga moo, diyunibesithi tse pedi tsa Aforika Borwa le tsone di tsenyeleditswe mo diyunibesithing tse 10 tse di kwa setlhoeng tsa Brazil, Russia, India, China le South Africa (BRICS).<sup>132</sup>

Tekatekano e santse e le tlhobaboroko mo tsamaisong. Tshedimosetso e bontsha gore baithuti ba ma-India le ba basweu ba gaisa dithaka tsa bone mo ditshwanelegong tsotlhe; didiploma tsa ngwaga tse tharo, didikirii tsa ngwaga tse tharo le ngwaga tse nne (kgotsa go feta).

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI GANANG GO FELA

Kgwetlho e kgolo ya lephata la PSET ke go oketsa go tsaya karolo ga baithuti ba ma-Aforika mo ditheong tsotlhe, ka nako e tshwanang e fokotsa seelo sa go tlogela sekolo le go tokafatsa seelo sa bontsi jwa dilo tse di amegang.

Go tsenya tirisong mokgwa go thapa ba ba farologaneng ke selo sa bothhokwa mo **go busetseng morago ‘phiramiti e e tsenetseng mo teng’** e tlhalosang lephata. Seno se raya go tokafatsa bothhokwa jwa dirutwa tsa TVET le go gokagana le ikonomi, le go fetola maikutlo a batsayakarolo a gore thuto ya TVET le ya go katisetswa tiro ya diatla ke pusetso morago.

Tsamaiso ya PSET e sa ntse e tlhoka go kgotsofadiwa ke go dirisana le ikonomi go go tlhokang palo e e lekanyeditsweng ya badiri mo madirelong a tiro e ntsi le lephata la tsa madi. **Ikonomi e e tlisang pele bokgoni jwa maemo a ntlha le go sa dirise badiri ba ba nang le bokgoni jo bo kwa tlase** seno se raya go gola ga bothhoka tiro. Gape seno se tlhoka dipotso, gore a Aforika Borwa e tshwanelwa ke go tlhophap tselana ya go godisa ikonomi e e tshwanelang bokgoni jo e nang le jone, le go tlhabolola bokgoni jwa batho ba ntse ba bereka.

Phetogo ya tsamaiso ya thuto mo dikarolong tsotlhe e santse e tsweletse e le selo se segolo se se batlegang. Tse di bontshitsweng mo *Education White Paper* di santse di dira le gompieno.<sup>133</sup> Tlhokego ya go kgothaletsa go **itshimololela thuto le go e dirisa** jaaka go bontshitswe mo *Education White Paper* e bothhokwa thata, go feta le fa e le leng pele, ka tiriso ya 4IR. NQF e e tlhamaladitsweng e e tlamelang ka tsela e e sa raraanang ya go bona thuto le tirisano magareng ga diporogerama/ditshwanelego e santse e le tlhokafalo ya go tsenngwa tirisong ga 4IR. Nngwe ya maano a konokono a go tlhomamisa go fitisetsa Aforika Borwa sentle go 4IR ke go godisa bokgoni ka boikaelelo jwa go baakanyetsa kokomane e ntsha ditiro tsa mo isagweng.

**PSET Thulaganyo ya PSET e santse e dira ka katlego**, ka tshenyo ya kafa dithutego di dirwang ka gone. **Dipalo tse di kwa tlase tsa ba ba tsenang le ba tlogelang** di bontsha fa thulaganyo e ka kwadisa baithuti ba ba oketsegileng fa tshenyo e fokodiwa. Le fa ba ba tsenang ba tokafaditse kwa yunibesithing, ke fela 22% ya baithuti e weditseng dikirii ya bone ya dingwaga tse tharo mo dingwageng di le tharo ba dirisa setlhophsa sa 2010, seno se santse se le kwa tlase. Ke 39% fela e weditseng dikirii ya bone ka ngwaga wa bone. Ka ngwaga wa thataro, ke 56% fela ya baithuti ba ba ikwadisitseng ka 2010, ba weditseng

131 Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso. 2018. Dipalopalo tsa Thuto le Katiso ya Morago ga go Fetso Sekolo mo Aforika Borwa 2016.

132 <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2017/world-ranking#survey-answer>

133 Lefapha la Thuto. 1997. Pampiri e Tshweu ya Thuto 3 Porogerama ya Phetogo ya Thuto e Kgolwane. E teng mo inthanete mo: [www.gov.za](http://www.gov.za).

dikirii ya bone ya dingwaga tse tharo.<sup>134</sup> Seno se kaya gore diphatlha mo setheong sa yunibesithi di ka oketsegala go ya pele fa baithuti ba ba oketsegileng ba wetsa dikirii ya bone mo nakong e e lebeletsweng. Go tsena mo go kwa tlase go ja madi a mantsi mo kgannyeng ya nako le didirisawa.

Diyunibesithi di tlhoka go dira boiteko jo bo oketsegileng mo go thuseng baithuti go wetsa dithutego tsa bone mo nakong e e batlegang. Go sa lekalekane go bonala sentle fa go sekasekwa ka lotso palo ya ba ba tlogelang. Palo ya ba ba tlogelang ka ngwaga wa ntlha e fokotsegile go tswa palong e e kwa godimo ya 42% ka 2000, go ya go 25% mo baithuting ba Maaforika ba ba kwadisitseng dithuto tsa diploma, jaaka go bontshitswe ke **Setshwantsho 5.6**. Go baithuti ba Maaforika ba ba kwadisitseng dikirii ya dingwaga tse tharo, 22% ya bone e tlogetse mo ngwageng wa ntlha fa go bapisiwa le basweu ka 2011. Boikemisetso jo bo nnileng mo baithuting bano ba Iwantsha mathata ape go wetsa ngwaga wa ntlha, bo bontsha talente e e fitlhegileng le boitsetsepelo, tse naga e ka se kgoneng go di latlhegelwa. Ka jalo, ditekanyo di a batlega go tlhomamisa gore ba a atlega fa ba fitlha yunibesithing.

Ba ba tlogetse kwa yunibesithing le kholetshe ya TVET ba fokotsa kgonagalo ya basha ba bantsi go tshabela bohuma. Thulaganyo e tlhoka go tokafatsa go dira ga yone ka katlego e le gore e ntshe baalogi ba bantsi ba ba oketsegileng. Ditheo tse di oketsegileng le tsone di tlhoka go fitlhelela diphitlhelelo tsa go kwadisa tse di tlhalositsweng mo NDP. Dikgwethlo tsa dipalo tse di kwa godimo tsa ba ba tlogelang ka ngwaga wa ntlha kwa yunibesithing le ba ba tsenang ba ba kwa tlase di tshwanetse go rarabololwa, ka nako e e khutshwane. Go sa dire sentle go maswe fa go sekasekwa ba ba tlogelang go ya ka bong.

Gape go na le tlhotlheletso ya tlelase mo go tseneng diyunibesithi, ka baithuti ba ba oketsegileng ba ba tswang dikolong tse di duesang ba ba kgonang go bona thuto ya yunibesithi fa go bapisiwa le baithuti ba dikolo tse di sa duesang. Baithuti mo dikolong tse di duesang ba na le kgonagalo e kgolwane ya go tswelela ka thuto e kgolwane fa go bapisiwa le ba ba tswang go dikolo

tse di sa duesang le fa ba falola sentle. Mo kgannyeng ya Aforika Borwa, tlelase le lotso di a tsamaisana. **Setshwantsho 5.7** se bontsha peresente ya baithuti go ya ka setlhophsa sa lotso ba ba falolang materiki ba bo ba tswelela go batla Bachelors Degree. Baithuti ba basweu go ya ka peresente ya setlhophsa sa lotso ba bopa peresente e e kwa godimo go gaisa ya baithuti ba ba nnang le di-Bachelor Degree. Dintlhla tsa konokono di akaretsa kgonagalo ya go duelela thuto e e kwa godimo,

ke ka moo peresente e e kwa godimo ya baithuti ba basweu ba nna le di-Bachelors Degree fa ba fetsa materiki, fa mo e ka nnang 25% ya baithuti ba basweu ba nna le Bachelors Degree morago ga materiki, Maindia/Ma-Asia ba mo e ka nnang 15% le Makhalate le Maaforika a Mantsho a ka nna 5% ya baithuti ba ba nnang le Bachelors Degree morago ga materiki. Segolobogolo selekanyo sa Maaforika a a alogang materiki ba ba tswelelang go nna le bachelors se ile tlase fa e sale 1990 le fa e sale 1983 go Makhalate, fa go Maindia/Ma-Asia le Basweu e tlhatlogile fa e sale ka 1983.

Ka nako e e tshwanang, setheo sa yunibesithi se tlhoka go simolola dithulaganyo go thusa baithuti ba ba tswang mo khumanegong go atlega go na le go letela thulaganyo ya sekolo go tokafala. Di-HAI ba kgona go ngoka baithuti ba ba nang le palogare e e kwa godimo mo go

dirang boima gore diHDI e gaisane le HAI mo kgannyeng ya go dira ga baithuti ba bone. Seno se tsweletsa tshimologo ya dipalo tse pedi tsa setheo sa yunibesithi. Fa go tsena go ntse go oketsegala dingwaga di ya, thulaganyo ya thuto ga e ise e kgone go thusa batho botlhe ba basha. Seno se bontshitswe ke phesente ya batho ba basha ba dingwaga tse 15-24 ba ba neng ba NEET. Seno se oketsegala tswa 29.7% mo Q4: 2017 go ya go 31.1% go Kotara 4 ya 2018.<sup>135</sup> Batho ba basha mo setlhopheng sa NEET ba tlogetse gongwe thuto ya motheo kgotsa thulaganyo ya thuto ya morago ga sekolo le thapiso. Ka lebaka la seo thulaganyo ga ya kgona go ba ruta bokgoni ka katlego go ba letlelela go ipereka, Palo e e oketsegang ya NEET e bontsha gore dipholisi le ditheo tsa ga jaana ga

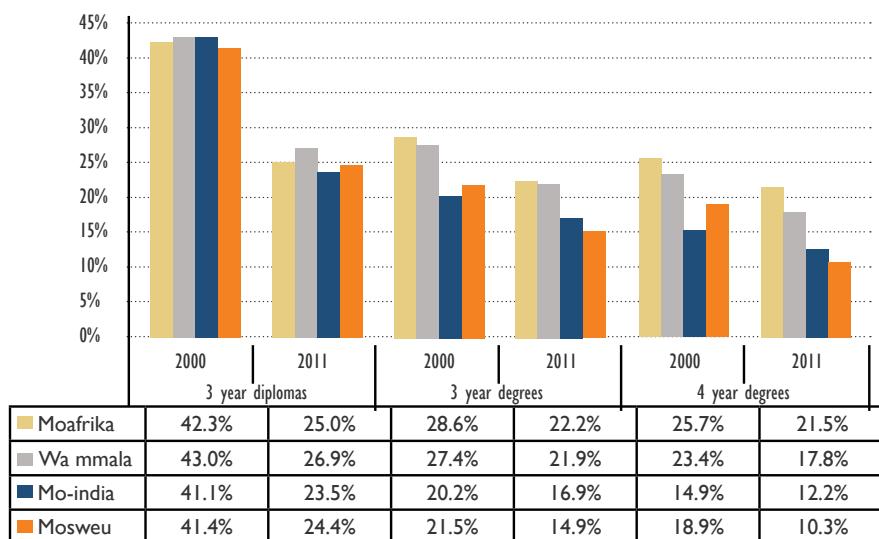
## Lephata la kholiji ya TVET le tlhoka go tlhomamisa gore e nna tlhophya motho mabapi le go godisa bokgoni ka tlhomamisa tlhokafalo ya baalogi ba yone le go ipaakanya gore e tlamele ka bokgoni jo bo tlhokegang malebana le 4IR.

134

Lefapha la Thuto e Kgolwane le Thapiso, 2000 go ya go 2016 Lekgetlo la ntlha go tsena setlhopheng sa ba ba sa alogang ba Ditheo Tsa Thuto e Kgolwane ya bathobothle, Mopitiwe 2019.

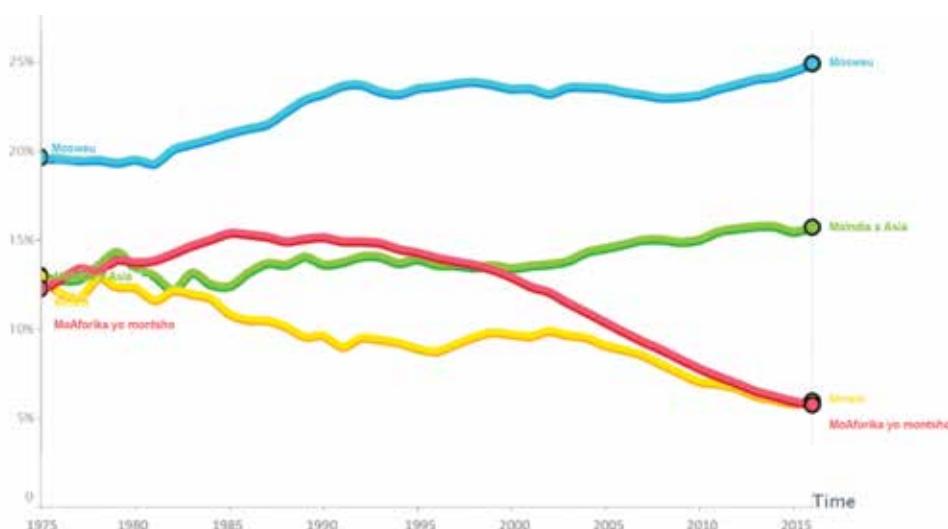
135

Statistics South Africa. 2018. Tshekatsheko ya Kotara le Kotara ya Badiri: Kotara 4, ts. 8.



**Setshwantsho 5.6:** Batho ba ba tlogetseng sekolo go ya ka lotso le mofuta wa ditshwanelego go tloga ka 2000 go ya go 2015

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: DHET Stats on Post School Education and Training



**Setshwantsho 5.7:** Kabelo ya dialogane tsa marematlou ba ba boneng dikerii tsa bachelor

Motswedi: Stats SA through <https://www.southafricanmi.com/education-statistics.html>

di kgone go thusa basha ba bantsi ba ba tlhokang bokgoni jwa go kgona go tsaya karolo mo ikonoming.

Ga jaana, dikholiji tsa TVET ga se ditheo tse di ratwang thata mme di tlhoka go dira ka maemo a tsone a a kwa tlase. Kwantle ga go tokafatsa thulaganyo ya thuto le boleng jwa batlhatheledi ba bone ba tlhoka go tokafatsa bokgoni jwa itsimololelo kgwebo mo mothuting mongwe le mongwe. Ka jalo kgwethlo ke go tlhama ditshono tsa morago ga sekolo tse di atologileng le tse di lekalekaneng tse di farologaneng, tse nang le thuto e kgolwane le tlhamo, dikholiji tsa TVET, dikholiji tsa baagi, le thapiso ya lefelo la tiro e e rotloetsang badiri ba ga jaana le ba isagwe. Diphetogo tse dikgolo mo ditseleleng tsa tlhabololo di a batlega go tlwaela segolobogolo palo e e oketsegang ya basha ba ba tlhokang go tsena mo lefatsheng la tiro. Setheo sa kholiji ya TVET se tlhoka go tlhomamisa gore se nna tlhopho e e dirwang ya go tsweletsa pele bokgoni jo bo tlhogegang ka go tlhomamisa tlhoko ya baalogi ba yone le maemo ka Boone go neelana ka bokgoni jo bo tlhogegang go 4IR.

**Dithulaganyo tse di bokoa tsa tshedimosetso** di dira go nne boima go tlhomamisa go nepagala ga dipalo segolobogolo mo kholijing ya setheo-potlana ya TVET le Baagi.

Bathapi bangwe ba fitlhela go le thata go dirisa ka katlego **keranta ya SETA**, ka ntla ya maemo a a bokoa a lefelo la thapiso ya tiro le go rulaganya le melao e mentsintsi ya SETA.

Mo godimo ga moo, le fa **thulaganyo ya setheo ya go tsweletsa pele bokgoni** e baakantswe, SETA e palelwa ke go tlamela ka tshedimosetso ya mmapaka wa thapiso le tiro go batho ba ba sa direng kaga ditshono mo

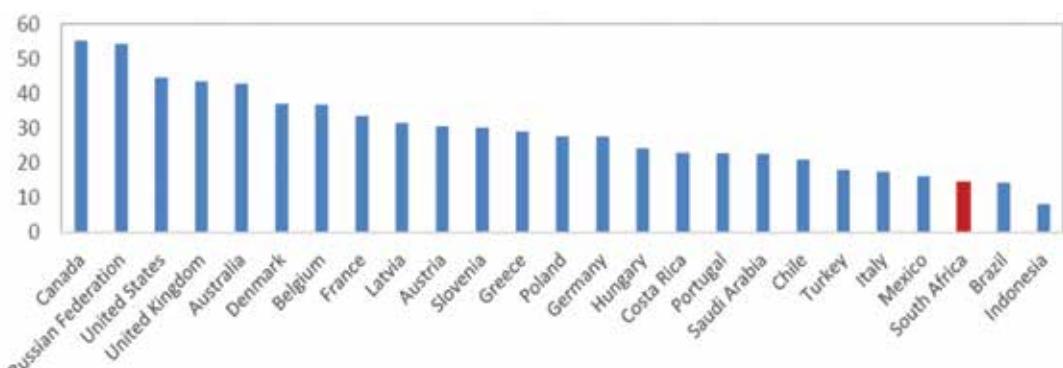
setheong sa yone, kgotsa go thusa dikgolagano magareng ga thapiso go ba ba sa thapiwang le intaseteri. Go na le **dithulaganyo di le mmalwa tsa go betla** thata, ka go wetsa mo go kwa tlase le dipalo tsa ba ba tsenang, mmogo le dikgolagano tse di kwa tlase le intaseteri go tlamela ka bokgoni jwa go dira ka bobone gore ba wetse go betla mo dithutegong tsa bone.

Le fa go fitlhelela thuto morago ga sekolo go oketsegga go ya le dingwaga, **ikgwadiso e kgolo** e santse e le kwa tlase fa go bapsiwa le dinaga tse Aforika Borwa e gaisanang le tsone mo ikonoming (*Setshwantsho 5.8*). Bobotlana mo e ka nnang 50% ya baithuti ba basweu ba ikwadisitse mo thutong ya morago ga sekolo, palo ya baithuti ba Maaforika ke 15%.<sup>136</sup>

**Go fetolwa ga setheo ga go a wediwa**, mme go dira ka nepo ga ditheo tsa tsone ga go mo go tshwanetseng go nna gone. Ga se ditheo tsotlhe tse di kgonneng go tswa mo tlhamong ya tsone ya apartheid le se e se tlogetseng. Ga se HDIs tsotlhe tse di fetotsweng go gaisana le tse di tshwanang le tsone tse di gatetseng pele ka ntla ya hisitor. Ka bokhutshwane, go tlhogega tokafatso mo ditheong tseno mo tsamaisong le palo ya ba ba tlogelang. Mo nakong e khutshwane ditheo tseno di tlhoka go ngoka batlhatheledi ba ba gaisang mme di etelele pele mo go rarabololeng mathata a kgaolo a ikonomi. Mo godimo ga moo, dithulaganyo le dipholisi tse di rarabololang mathata a diphetogo mo ditheong di tlhoka go dirisiva ka maatla gore go tokafatswe go tsena le go atlega mo ditheong.

## DIPAPISO TSA LEFATSHE LOTLHE

Ka dipeeletso tsotlhe, mo thulaganyong ya PSET, naga ga e ise e fitlhelele maemo a go kgona go gaisana le dinaga tse



**Setshwantsho 5.8:** Selekanyo sa palo ya batho ba dingwaga magareng ga 25 le 65 ba thuto e e kwa godimo.

Motswed: OECD. 2016. <https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/population-with-tertiary-education.htm>.

di itseng ikonomi jaaka go bontshitswe mo **Setshwantsho 5.8**. Naga e ka se nne mo maemong a go gaisana mo 4IR fa batho ba ba kwa tlase ba nna le dithutego tsa morago ga sekolo. Naga e mo mathateng a go salela morago fa matlotlo a batho a sa tokafadiwe ka bonako. Seno se tla tlhoka go dirisiwa ga bokgoni jwa go tlhama.

Ka go dirisa ditsela tse di jetsweng tlhaloganyo, dinaga tse di jaaka Morocco e tlhokomedisitse gape dikholiji tsa baagi ba yone go Iwantsha maemo a a kwa tlase a bala mo bagolong. Ka 2017, palo ya mafelo a thuto a baagi e oketsegile go mo e ka nnang 200, go anama diporofenseng tse di far Loganeng. Tlhathlho boya mafelo, e bontshitse gore a tlamela ka ditshono tse di far Loganeng tsa thapiso, go akaretsha go bala le thapiso ya morago ga go bala, thapiso ya porofeshenale (sekai, go roka, go dira moriri) le di-workshop le dikopano tsa metlotlo ya tlhokomediso. Mo godimo ga moo, bontsi jwa mafelo a tlamela ka thuso mo diporojekeng tse dinnye tsa ikonomi le go tlhoma mafelo a go tlhokomabana gore ba tseye karolo le bommabone.<sup>137</sup> Seno se bontsha seabe sa botlhokwa se se ka tshamekiwang ke ditheo tseno.

Dinaga tse di jaaka Germany, Austria le Poland ka sekai di na le dithulaganyo tse di tsamaisanang ya thulaganyo tse pedi mo go nang le kgolagano e e nonofileng magareng ga dikholiji le mafelo a tiro. Kwa Germany, baithuti ba fetsa nakwana kwa kholijing ba dira thuto mme nako e e setseng kwa lefelong la tiro ba bona thapiso e e leng ya lefelo la tiro. Selekanjo sa go boloka baithuti bano ka kgwebisano ke 60%. E le go fithelela selekanjo sa go thapisa babetli ba le 30 000, Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go aga kgwebisano e e nonofileng ya tiro le bathapi

le mmapaka wa badiri le go tlhoma gape kgolagano magareng ga dikholiji tsa TVET le bathapi.

Sekolo sa thuto sa go ithutela tiro sa Kenya se tlhagis bothhokwa jwa di-TVET, se remeletse mo go tokafatseng bothhokwa jwa diikonomi tsa kgaolo. Tiro ya kholiji le baagi ba lefelo go rarabolola mathata a a kgoreletsang kgatelopele ya tsone ka go fetola diikonomi tseno tse di godisang. Kgolaganyo magareng ga intaseteri, baagi le ditheo e nonofile. Ka jalo, seno se na le kgonagalo ya go dira diikonomi tsa kgaolo go gola le go gaisana ka go tlamela ka bokgoni jwa tiro jo bo tlhokegang le dilekanyo tsa dipatlisiso. Ditheo tsa TVET di tshwanetse go tlhoma mogopoloo diikonoming tsa semmuso le tse e seng tsa semmuso e le tsela ya go fokotsa setlhophsa sa NEET ka go tsweletsa pele bokgoni.

## TLHABOLOLO YA BASHA LE MATLAFAATSO

Aforika Borwa e tlhalosa basha ba yone ba le dingwaga tse 15 go ya go 35. Palo eno ya basha e oketsegile ka palo e kgolo, go tswa go milione tse 15 ka 1996 go ya go 21 milione ka 2018. Palo ya batho ba basha e nnile e sa fetoge magareng ga 38% le 40% ya palogotlhe ya baagi. **Setshwantsho 5.9** se bontsha difopholesto tsa dingwabong tsa thulaganyo ya palo ya baagi ba Aforika Borwa ka 2017 mme se e bapisa le palo ya batho ya 2011' dingwabong thulaganyo ya palo ya batho.

Go ema nokeng tlhabololo ya basha ba Aforika Borwa e e sobokantsweng, e e kopantsweng le e e nnelang ruri, e puso e nang le yone fa e sale April 1994, e simolola le go tlhama **kgotlhathoemolao, dipholisi, diporogerama le dithulaganyo** di le mmalwa.

Molaotheo wa Repaboleki ya Aforika Borwa wa 1996, o tshegetsa ditshwanelo, maikarabelo le dintlhatho, o Maaforika Borwa otlhe a tshwanetseng go o dirisa. Gape o thaya motheo wa go matlafatsa basha. Ka jalo tsosoloso ya basha e gatetse pele mme e tsentswe mo dipholising tse di far Loganeng, jaaka – RDP (1994); Probation Services Act (1994); White Paper for Social Welfare (1997); National Youth Commission (NYC) Act, (Act 19 of 1996); NDP (2012); National Youth Policy (NYP) 2009- 2014 and the current NYP 2015-2020; African Youth Charter; NYDA Act, (Act 54 of 2008); NGP Framework (2010); Youth Employment Accord (2013); Employment Services Act (2014); National Youth Service (NYS) Framework (2017); Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Framework for the NYP (2018); le Integrated Youth Development Strategy (2019). Tlhabololo ya basha gape e bona tlhaloso mo maemong a a farologaneng a porofense le puso ya rona.

Reggie Walker e ne e le  
motho yo monnye go gaisa,  
dingwaga tse 19 le malatsi  
a le 128, go gapa gauta kwa  
Diolimpiking 100m ya Banna.  
O e gapile ka Metshameko  
ya Diolimpiki ya Selemo e e  
neng e tshwerwe ke London.

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Direction de la Lutte Contre l'Analphabétisme (2012[11]), Setheo sa UNESCO sa Thuto ya Leruri (2013[12]), le Avramovska, Hirsch and Schmidt-Behlau (2017[13]).



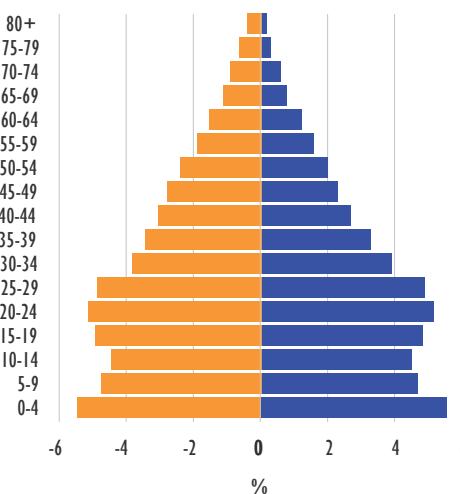
# DIKAKANTSHO

- Go tokafatsa diphelelo tsa go bala ga Aforika Borwa go tlhoka Tsogologelopuso ka go Bala.
- Go fedisa kgaogano ya digitale, dikolo tsotlhe di tshwanetse go nna le inthanete le data ya mahala.
- Go rarabolola palo ya go tlogela thuto morago ga Grade 9, itsise ka bonako Three Stream Model (thuto, botegeniki le sekolo sa go ithutela tiro), e e tshwanetseng go tsamaelana le katoloso ya thuto e e tshwanang go ya grade 12 kgotsa e e tsamaelanang le yone, e le go tlhokomela go tlogela sekolo le go tokafatsa go tswelela ka sone.
- Tokafatso ya kharikhilamo ya thuto, mme bobotlana gape go rotloetswa le go oketsa bokgoni le kitso ya tlhamo, botaki le setso.
- Tokafatso ya selekanyo sa diphelelo tsa thuto, go fokotsa ba ba tlogelang le go tokafatsa palo ya ba ba tsenang go ralala thulaganyo ya PSET.
- Wetsa Thulaganyo ya Tlhabololo ya Ditirelos- etšhaba Tsa Dikolo Tse di Kopantsweng, e le gore dikolo di ka fitlhelela dilo tse di tlwaele-gileng le maemo.
- Go tsenya tirisong ka bonako ECD e e gotlhe ya dingwaga tse pedi, ka go e isa go DBE, tlamelotja dijotla tse di lekalekaneng le thapiso ya barutisi ba ECD.
- Go tokafatsa tirisano sentle ya bookamedi le dikamano tsa badiri mo thutong.
- Tokafatso e e potlakileng ya Skills Master Plan ya setšhaba.
- Dira motheo wa go tlhama borragwebo ba ka moso ka go naya baithuti bokgoni jwa kgwebo jo bo tsamaelanang le se naga e nang le sone, ka sekai ikonomi ya lewatle, dimineral, dikumo tsa temothuo, le kitso ya setso le botaki.
- Tokafatsa kholiji ya temothuo, go isiwa thutong e kgolwane, mme e golaganye dikholiji tsa temothuo le diyunibesithi, dikholiji tsa lefelo la baagi le dikholiji tsa TVET.
- Go tsenya mokgwa wa go itshepa mo baithuting go dirisiwa bokgoni jwa go nna rrakgwebo le tirisano ya dikolo le ditheo tsa poraefete.

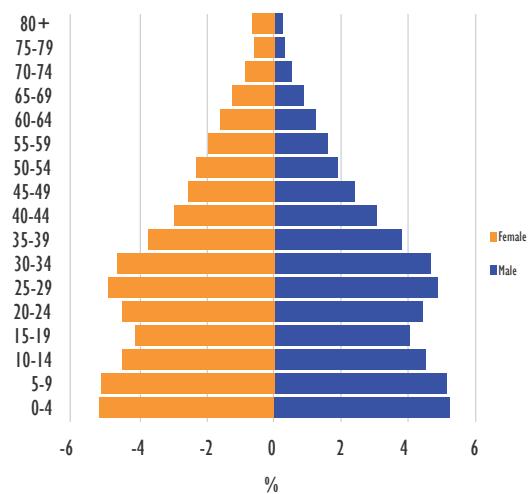
Ditshimololo tsa basha le kgodiso di lebeletse thata **dikarolo tsa botlhokwa tse tlhano tsa maano:** botsogo le boitekanelo; thuto, bokgoni le ditshono tsa go newa maiteko a bobedi; go tsaya karalo mo ikonoming le phetogo; go kopana ga setshaba le go aga naga; le motshine o o dirang gore dilo di potlake le go tsibogela kgolo ya basha.

Gone go na le maikaeleo a le supa a a lebileng thata mo go tokafatseng botsogo le boitekanelo jwa basha, go akaretsa go itsisiwe ga phatlalatsa: (i) Boithopheloa Jwa go Boloya Mpa wa 1996 le (ii) Molawana wa Thibelo le Kalafo ya go Tshwakgolwa ke Diritibatsi, 2008 (Molawana 70 wa 2008). Melawana eno e ne ya tshegediwa ke dipholisi

2011



2017



### Setshwantsho 5.9: Palo ya Aforika Borwa ka setlhophpha sa dingwaga le bong ka diperesente.

(2011 Palo ya Batho le Difopholetso tsa Palo ya mo Gare ga Ngwaga, 2017).

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Statistics South Africa 2011. Palo ya Batho; Statistics South Africa. 2017. Difopholetso tsa mo gare ga ngwaga tsa palo ya batho.

tse di farologaneng go akaretsa (a) Pholisi ya Sekolo se se Kopaneng sa Boitekanelo; (b) CSG; (c) 'Letsholo La o A (d) matsholo a naga a jaaka 'Love Life' le 'Khomanani'; (e) Leano la Naga la go Lwantsha Diokobatsi (National Drug Master Plan [NDMP]) 2013 – 2017; (f) letshola la 'Ke Moja' (ke siame kwantle ga diritibatsi); le (g) Disenthara Tsa Thuthuzela Care. Pholisi ya Naga ya Botsogo Jwa Basha 2016-2020.

**Thuto, bokgoni le go newa tshono ya go iteka gape:** e batla go tokafatsa tsela ya go bona thuto ya boleng jo bo kwa godimo e bile e ntse e bula bokgoni jwa basha ka go aga se ba nang le bokgoni jwa go se dira. Aforika Borwa e dirile dipolo mo go etleetseng tsela ya go bona thuto le katiso. Go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2016, palo ya basha ba ba nang le ditshwanelego tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo e ile ya oketsegga go tloga go dimilione di le 1.7 go ya go dimilione di le 3.6. Koketseggo ya tsasaka karolo ga ditlhophpha tsa basha ba ba

neng ba sa dire sentle mo go tsa thuto mo malobeng mo dikarolong tsotlhe e ne ya lebelelwaa mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, segolobogolo mo thutong e e potlana le mephato e e kwa tlase ya thuto ya magareng.

Phitlhelelo ya thuto e bontsha basha ba le bantsi ba ba falolang Marematlou ka bachelor, go akaretsa mo serutweng sa Dipalo le Saense, ba thusiwa ke tshegetso ya tsa madi, thatathata ka dikolo tse di sa duelelweng le NSFAS. Gantsi moragong jaana, ka ntlha ya mokgatlo o o neng o eteletswe pele ke baithuti le basha o o itsegeng ka #FeesMustFall movement, o o neng o batla gore thuto e e sa gateleleng le ya mahala e kgone go bonwa mahala ke baithuti botlh, kgabagare, puso e ne ya dira kitsiso ya gore go tla abiwa R57 billion mo dingwageng tse tharo tse di tlhang (2018/19-2020/21). Madi ano a tlide go duelela thuto ya mahala mo baithuting ba ba tswang kwa malapeng a a humanegileng kgotsa a a welang mo karolong ya badiri, ba lotseno lwa bone fa lo kopanngwa le dirang madi a a fitlhlang

go R350 000. Seno se tshwanetse go oketsa ikwadiso kwa ditheong tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo, go tlamela basha ba le bantsi ka tsela ya go bona ditshono tsa PSET.

Tsamaiso ya thuto ke karolo ya konokono le ya botlhokwa mo mmarekeng wa badiri ba basha, ka jalo dipuisano di tsweletse tsa kafa basha ba ka rulaganngwang ka tsela e e siameng le e e potlakileng ka gone ba na le bokgoni jo bo maleba, maitemogelo le go gokagana le ditshono tsa setshaba le ikonomi.

Diphetogo tsa thuto le katiso mo dingwageng tse 25, segolobogolo mo tsamaisong ya PSET di batla go rarabolola sekgala seno, ka go atolosa thuto ya setegeniki le ya bokgoni jo bo rileng. Malebana le botsogo, mo dingwageng di le lesome tsa ntlha tsa temokerasi, matsholo a go thibela HIV a jaaka Khomanani le LoveLife, a thusitse go oketsa tsibogo ya basha, ka diporogerama tse di fitlhelelang bobotlana basha ba le dimilione di le 1.5 ka ngwaga.<sup>138</sup> Go simololwa ga kalafo le go e atolosa go go simolotseng ka 2004, go tloga ka thibelo ya mogare go tswa go mmè go ya leseeng, go ile ga dira gore palo ya dintsho tse di amanang le AIDS mo basheng di fokotsege go fitlha ga jaana.

Le fa go ntse jalo, go santse go tshosa gore kokwanatlhoko ya HIV mo basheng ba basetsana e santse e le kwa godimo ga makgetlho a le mane go feta basha ba basimane. Gape go a ama gore basha ba basetsana ba dingwaga tsa magareng ga 15 le 24, ka 2016, ba santse ba balelwa go 37% ka ditshwaetsego tse disha.<sup>139</sup> Mabaka a seemo seno a akaretsa GBV le go robalana ga basha ba basetsana le banna ba bagolo.<sup>139</sup>

Diporogerama tse dingwe tse di tsamaisiwang sentle le tse di tlisang diphetogo mo kgolong ya basha le tsone di ne tsa simololwa gore di etleetse temogo ya botsogo jwa tlhaloganyo, tsalo le thubalano ga mmogo le boitekanelo. Tseno di akaretsa lephata la botsogo la B-wise mobisite le le neng la thankgololwa ka 2017, e leng lefelo la dipuisano mo inthanete le le tlamelang basha ka tshedimosetso mo dikgannyeng tse di farologaneng tsa botsogo.

Go simololwa ga learnership ga mmogo le go potlakisiwa ga ditshimololo tsa katiso le porogerama ya go ithutela tiro ya diatla go dira gore go atologa gono go gole thata. Le fa go ntse go na le diphetogo tseno, palo ya baithuti ba ba tlogelang sekolo ba tenegile, segolobogolo baithuti ba Grade 9 le 10, e santse e le kwa godimo ka tsela e e sa amogeleseng. Ke ka moo go ikuelwang gore go nne le potlako mabapi le go simololwa ga tsamaiso e e farologaneng le e nang le dikarolo tse tharo tse di matlafaditsweng (thuto ya dibuka, thuto ya bokgoni jo bo rileng le ya setegeniki).

Tshimololo ya 4IR e batla gore basha ba tlhomelele ka bokgoni jo bo matshwanedi gore ba kgone go lepalepana le lefatshe le le fetogang la tiro le ditshono. Go tsenngwa ga maranyane mo basheng ba Aforika Borwa ke nngwe ya dikgang tsa katlego, ka go simololwa ga Leano la Pholisi ya Tiro ya Madirelo (Industrial Policy Action Plan [IPAP]). IPAP e etleeditse kgolo ya maranyane le go tlhama setshaba sa 'maranyane', ka go tlhama karolo e e kgontshang ya tiro, le go tlhokomela dikago, tsela e e dirisiwang ke lefatshe lotlhe ya go bona dirwethata le dirweboleta tsa maranyane fa gape e rotloetsa go itshimololela maranyane. Go sololetswe gore National E-Strategy e e simolotsweng ka 2017 e tla aga go ya pele dikatlego tsa IPAP.

Go tlhomamisa **Phetogo le Go Tsaya Karolo mo Ikonoming**, mokgele o mogolo wa RDP e ne e le go tlhama ikonomi e e thata, e e dirang e bile e le tekatekano gore e rarabolole go sa lekalekaneng ga ikonomi ya setshaba, go lebilwe thata basha.

Go tlhoka tiro ga basha ke nngwe ya dikgwethlo tse di ganang go fela e bile di lebega di le thata go rarabololwa mo Aforika Borwa wa morago ga apartheid. Patlisiso ya Batho ba ba Dirang ya kotara ya ntlha ya 2019 e bontsha gore go sa kgathalesege thuto e e fitlheletsweng, basha ke bone batswasetlhabelo malebana le botlhokatiro, jaaka go bontshitswe mo **Setshwantsho 5.10**.

Ele gore kgwethlo ya botlhokatiro jwa basha e rarabololwe, puso e ile ya simolola diporogerama di le mmalwa tsa go thapiwa ga morafe, tse di neng di lebeletse thata go basha, go akaretsa Porogerama ya Ditiro tsa Morafe (Community Works Programme [CWP]); EPWP; Setlhophsa sa Tirelo ya Naga ya Basha ba Kwa Magaeng (National Rural Youth Service Corps [NARYSEC]); tirisanommogo ya basha le thapiro ya bokgoni jwa nna basha ba bagwebi, di-learnership le YES. Kwa tshimologong, UYF e ne le kwa pele go etleetsa tirisanommogo le go duelela maitlhomo ao e bile NYC e ne e eteletse pele ditiro tsa puso tsotlhe mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa bolaodi. Go tlhamiwa ga Jobs Fund le ETI go ne ga tlaleletsa maitlhomo ao ka diSETA le gore lephata la porafete le e tshegetse, segolobogolo jaaka e amana le di-learnership. NYDA, e e emetseng UYF le NYC ka bobedi, e tswelela go duela le go etelela pele malebana le dikgang tse di amanang le go godisa basha le go ba rotloetsa.

Fa EPWP e ne e simololwa ka 2004 palogotlhe ya dimilone di le 10.3 tsa ditiro di ne tsa tlhangwa, go fitlha ka Mopitlwae 2019, mo e leng gore tse di dimilone di le 4.8 e ne e le tsa basha.<sup>140</sup> Bontsi jwa

<sup>138</sup> Lefapha la Borulaganyi, Tsamaiso le Tlhatlhobo. 2019. Tshobokanyo ya Pego ya Basha e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

<sup>139</sup> Avert. 2019. HIV le AIDS mo Aforika Borwa, 18 Ferikgong. Webosaete: <https://www.avert.org/professionals/hiv-around-world/sub-saharan-africa/south-africa>.

<sup>140</sup> Lefapha la Ditiro tsa Morafe. 2019. Pego ya EPWP e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

Ie go tlhokomela dikago, tsela e e dirisiwang ke lefatshe lotlhe ya go bona dirwethata le dirweboleta tsa maranyane fa gape e rotloetsa go itshimololela maranyane. Go sololetswe gore National E-Strategy e e simolotsweng ka 2017 e tla aga go ya pele dikatlego tsa IPAP.

### Go tlhomamisa **Phetogo le Go Tsaya Karolo mo Ikonoming**, mokgele o mogolo wa RDP e ne e le go tlhama ikonomi e e thata, e e dirang e bile e le tekatekano gore e rarabolole go sa lekalekaneng ga ikonomi ya setshaba, go lebilwe thata basha.

Go tlhoka tiro ga basha ke nngwe ya dikgwethlo tse di ganang go fela e bile di lebega di le thata go rarabololwa mo Aforika Borwa wa morago ga apartheid. Patlisiso ya Batho ba ba Dirang ya kotara ya ntsha ya 2019 e bontsha gore go sa kgathalesege thuto e fitheletsweng, basha ke bone batswasetlhabelo malebana le botlhokatiro, jaaka go bontshitswe mo **Setshwantsho 5.10**.

Tekanyo ea ho hlota mosebetsi ke seholpha sa thuto le seholpha sa lilemo, Q1: 2019

Phetoho: Lintitha tsa peresente  
Q4: 2018 ho ea Q1: 2019



**Setshwantsho 5.10:** Seelo sa botlhokatiro mo basheng se kwa godimo go sa kgathalesege gore ba rutegile go le kae.

Motswed: Stats SA. 2019. Quarterly Labour Force Survey: Q1 2019.

Ele gore kgwethlo ya bothhokatiro jwa basha e rarabololwe, puso e ile ya simolola diporogerama di le mmalwa tsa go thapiwa ga morafe, tse di neng di lebeletse thata go basha, go akaretsa Porogerama ya Ditiro tsa Morafe (Community Works Programme [CWP]); EPWP; Setlhophsa sa Tirelo ya Naga ya Basha ba Kwa Magaeng (National Rural Youth Service Corps [NARYSEC]); tirisanommogo ya basha le thapiso ya bokgoni jwa nna basha ba bagwebi, di-learnership le YES. Kwa tshimologong, UYF e ne le kwa pele go etleetsta tirisanommogo le go duelela maitlhomo ao e bile NYC e ne e eteletse pele ditiro tsa puso tsotlhe mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa bolaodi. Go tlhamiwa ga Jobs Fund le ETI go ne ga tlaletsa maitlhomo ao ka diSETA

le gore lephata la poraefete le e tshegetse, segolobogolo jaaka e amana le di-learnership. NYDA, e e emetseng UYF le NYC ka bobedi, e tswelela go duela le go eteleta pele malebana le dikgang tse di amanang le go godisa basha le go ba rotloetsa.

Fa EPWP e ne e simololwa ka 2004 palogothya dimilone di le 10.3 tsa ditiro di ne tsa tlhangwa, go fitlha ka Mopitlw 2019, mo e leng gore tse di dimilione di le 4.8 e ne e le tsa basha.<sup>1</sup> Bontsi jwa ditshono tsa EPWP tse di malebana le basha kwa KwaZulu-Natal le Kapa Botlhaba and Eastern Cape di ne tsa tlhangwa ka porogerama ya Go Direla Metsi, fa Gauteng le diporofense tse dingwe di ne di ikaegile thata ka dikago. Setshwantsho 5.11 e bontsha ditshono tse EPWP e di tlhamileng mo porofenseng nngwe le nngwe magareng ga 2013 le 2018.

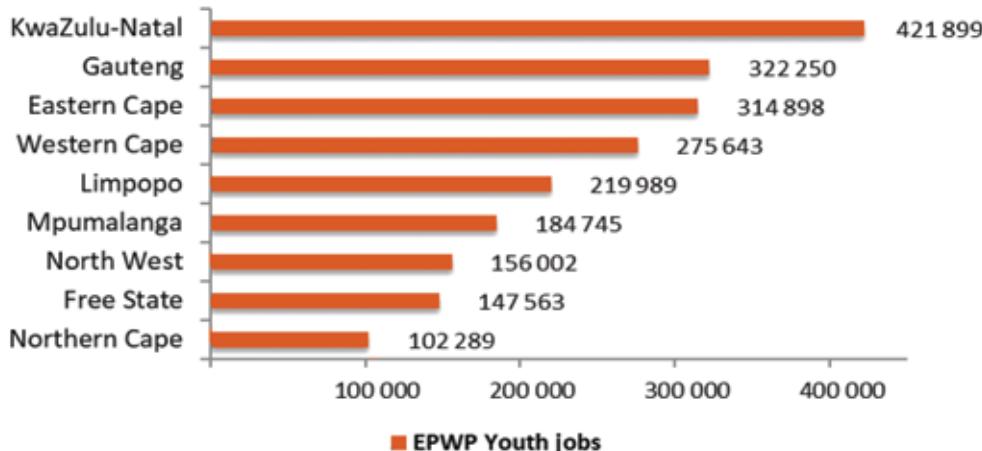
Morago ga go tsaya karalo mo EPWP, patlisiso ya go tlhatlhoba batsayakarolo e bontsha gore ke fela 12.4% ya bone e e boneng tiro ya leruri, 4.8% e itshimololete

kgwebo ya bone, mme 47.8% e bone tiro nngwe ya nakwana e bile 14% e nngwe ba ne ba le mo tsweletsong ya thuto le katiso.<sup>2</sup>

Tirelo ya go Thapiwa ga Basha (Youth Employment Service [YES]) e tlhomile mokgele wa ngwaga le ngwaga wa ditshono di le 330,000 tsa go bona tiro ga basha mo lephateng la poraefete, go ba tlamela ka tselana e e ba kgontshang go nna le seabe mo ikonoming. Mo ngwageng wa ntsha wa porogerama (2018/2019), porogerama ya YES e ne ya bega ditshono tsa tiro di le 4 600, e dirisana le dikgwebo di le 191 tse di ikwadisitseng mo porogerameng.

<sup>1</sup> Lefapha la Ditiro tsa Morafe. 2019. Pego ya EPWP e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

<sup>2</sup> Lefapha la Ditiro tsa Morafe. 2019. Pego ya EPWP e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.



**Setshwantsho 5.11:** Ditshono tsa EPWP tse di tlhamilweng go ya ka porofense nngwe le nngwe magareng ga 2013 le 2018.  
Motswedi – Lefapha la Thabololo ya Ikonomi, 2018.

ke fela 12.4% ya batsayakarolo ba EPWP e e boneng tiro ya leruri, 4.8% e itshimololetse dikgwebo tsa bone, mme 47.8% e bone tiro nngwe ya nakwana e bile 14% e nngwe ba ne ba le mo tsweletsong ya thuto le katiso

ditshono tsa EPWP tse di malebana le basha kwa KwaZulu-Natal le Kapa Botlhaba and Eastern Cape di ne tsa tlhangwa ka poroferama ya Go Direla Metsi, fa Gauteng le diporofense tse dingwe di ne di ikaagile thata ka dikago. Setshwantsho 5.11 e bontsha ditshono tse EPWP e di tlhamileng mo porofenseng nngwe le nngwe magareng ga 2013 le 2018.

Morago ga go tsaya karalo mo EPWP, patlisiso ya go tlhatlhoba batsayakarolo e bontsha gore ke fela 12.4% ya bone e e boneng tiro ya leruri, 4.8% e itshimololetse kgwebo ya bone, mme 47.8% e bone tiro nngwe ya nakwana e bile 14% e nngwe ba ne ba le mo tsweletsong ya thuto le katiso.<sup>141</sup> Tirelo ya go Thapiwa ga Basha (Youth Employment Service [YES]) e tlhomile mokgele wa ngwaga le ngwaga wa ditshono di le 330,000 tsa go bona tiro ga basha mo lephateng la poraefete, go ba tlamelka tselana e e ba kgontshang go nna le seabe mo ikonoming. Mo ngwageng wa ntla wa poroferama (2018/2019), poroferama ya YES e ne ya bega ditshono tsa tiro di le 4

600, e dirisana le dikgwebo di le 191 tse di ikwadisitseng mo poroferameng.<sup>142</sup> Sekema se tlamelka boleng jo bo kwa godimo, maitemogelo a tiro a ngwaga o le mongwe, e e tleng le katiso (bokgoni jwa setegeniki le jwa botshelo ka bobedi jwa tsone), go tlhomelela mosha gore a atlego. Maitlhomo a ne a atlenegisiwa ke Employment Tax Incentive (ETI), e e neng ya tshegetsa ditshono tsa ditiro tsa basha di le 645 973 magareng ga Ferikong 2014 le Mopitlwé 2015.<sup>143</sup>

Karolo e botlhokwa thata ya go thusa basha go ikemela ke go dira tsela ya go bona ditshono tsa kgwebo le go nna le dithoto tse di ka ba thusang go kaela kgolo ya bone. Go nnile le kgolo mo dikgwebong tse di tshwerweng ke basha, go tloga go tse 595 000 ka 2015 go ya go tse 641 000 ka 2016.<sup>144</sup> Ka kakaretso, dikgwebo tse e leng tsa basha, di oketsegile ka 7.7%, mo Gauteng e balang e ka nnang kotara (26%) ya dikgwebo tsotlhe tsa basha mo Aforika Borwa. Kgolo e e malebana le go phasaladiwa ga dikgwebopotlana go ya ka dingwaga le

<sup>141</sup> Lefapha la Ditiro Tsa Morafe. 2019. Pego ya EPWP e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobya Ngwaga wa bo25.  
<sup>142</sup> Pego ya Kgwebo. 2019. Maano a maithoma a ka kwadlweng a YES a 2019, 16 Ferikong. Website: <https://www.iol.co.za/business-report/economy/yes-initiative-outlines-plans-for-2019-18825603>.  
<sup>143</sup> Matlololo a Naga. 2016. Employment Tax Incentive Descriptive Report, ts. 2.  
<sup>144</sup> Agency ya Naga ya Kgodiso ya Basha.2018

yone e a lemotshega mo ditlhopheng tsa dingwaga tsa 20-24 (15.9%) le 30-34 (7.6%). Malebana le go nna le dithoto, dipalopalo di bontsha gore ke 11% fela ya go abiwa ga lefatshe e e thusitseng basha.<sup>145</sup>

Go kgatlhanyetsa maitlhomo a go **Dirisana ga Setšhaba le go Aga Naga** mo gare ga basha, puso e ile ya simolola Porogerama ya NYS e dirisana le mekgatilho ya baagi ba setšhaba. Maitlhomo a porogerama ke go akantsha mokgwa wa tirelo, go ruta baagi go rata naga, le go etleetsa thuto ya go direla morafe. Gape porogerama e etleetsa go thapiwa le go tlhabolola bokgoni jwa basha ba ba sa berekeng. Mo magareng a 2016/17 le 2018/19, porogerama ya NYS kafa tlase ga taolo ya NYDA e fitlheletse basha ba feta 127 000.<sup>146</sup> Seno se ne sa atlenegisiwa ka go abiwa ga dibuka tsa go ithutela le dibukana tsa Makarabelo a Molao; Difolaga Tsa African Union le Aforika Borwa; le matshwao a naga mo dikolong.

Go nnile le koketsegoo mo go ikwadisetseng ditlhopho go ralala ditlhophpha tsotlhe tsa dingwaga tsa basha mo ditlhophong tsa mmasepala tse di neng di tshwerwe mo magareng a 2006 le 2016, ga mmogo le ditlhopho kakaretso tse di neng di tshwerwe mo magareng a 2009 le 2014.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Palo e ntsi e e ntseng e gola ya basha ba **NEET** e baka bothata jwa naga, mo ditsereganyo tsa moragong di sa kgoneng go bo rarabolola ka tsela e e batlegang. Le fa go na le go sa tshwane go go rileng ga mmarakwa wa badiri ba basha mo maitlhomo ano a a rarabololang (go godisa bokgoni le ditshono tsa go iteka gape, maitemogelo, bokgoni jwa go batla tiro le go ikgolaganya, tshedimasetso ya mmarakwa wa badiri), bothata jo bogolo jwa diNEET ke ikonomi ya Aforika Borwae e sa tlhameng ditiro tse dintsitse di ditshono tsa ikonomi go lepalepana le masomosomo a ba ba sa berekeng, kgotsa go tsenya bosetlabosheng mo mmarakeng wa badiri.

Go ne go na le mo e ka nnang batho ba le dimilione di le 10.3 ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bo 15-24 mo kotareng ya ntlha ya 2019. Mo magareng ga kotara ya boné ya 2018 le kotara ya ntlha ya 2019, diperesente tsa basha ba ba mo dingwageng tsa 15-24 ba ba neng ba le NEET e oketsegile ka dintlha tsa diperesente di le 2.1 go ya go 33,2% (dimilione di le 3,4). Mo basheng ba le dimilione di le 20.3 ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bo 15-34, 40.7% e ne e le NEET – e leng koketsegoo ya dilntlha tsa diperesente di

le 1,8 fa di bapsiwa le kotara ya bone ya 2018.<sup>147</sup>

Seelo se se kwa godimo sa NEET se raya gore dimilione tsa basha ba ma-Aforika Borwa di kgapetswe kwa thoko mo go tseyeng karolo mo ditirong tsa ikonomi. Kwa bokhutlong, ba itemogela bothokatiro jo bogolo, go kgobega marapo, go phutlhama ga ikonomi le go palelwaa ke go bona bokgoni jo bo maleba kgotsa maitemogelo a a tlhokegang go isa ikonomi kwa pele. Go tlhoka bokgoni gono le go go tsamaelaneng mo ikonoming go nna le ditlamorago tse bothhoko mo ikonoming ka lobaka looleele.

Go ya ka tshedimasetso ya ILO mabapi le bothokatiro, Aforika Borwa e wela kwa tlase ga dinaga di le 10 mo lefatsheng.<sup>148</sup> Mo Aforika Borwa mosha a le mongwe mo go ba le bararo mo lephateng la badiri ga a bereke. Bothokatiro jwa basha bo bogolo, ke tlhobaboroko e bile bo na le dilo di le dintsitse di bo bakang jaaka kgolo e potlana ya ikonomi; go batliwa ga badiri go go kwa tlase; le go sa nne le bo bokgoni jo bo tsamaisanang le tiro mo go ba bangwe. Le go go nnile le maikatlapelo a a jaaka go thapiwa ga morafe le diporogerama tsa go ipaakanyetsa tiro tse maitlhomo a tsone e neng e le go rarabolola bothokatiro jwa basha, go dira ga tsone go nnile

/ Botlhokatiro jwa  
basha bo bogolo,  
ke tlhobaboroko  
e bile bo na le dilo  
di le dintsitse di  
bo bakang jaaka  
kgolo e potlana ya  
ikonomi; go batliwa  
ga badiri go go kwa  
tlase; le go sa nne  
le bo bokgoni jo  
bo tsamaisanang  
le tiro mo go ba  
bangwe. /

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Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Metseselegae le go Fetola Lefatshe. Annual Reports 1996-2017.

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Lefapha la Borulaganyi, Tsamaiso le Go Tlhatlhoba. 2019. Pego ya Tshobokanyo ya Basha e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhoba ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

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Lefapha la Borulaganyi, Tsamaiso le Go Tlhatlhoba. 2019. Pego ya Tshobokanyo ya Basha e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhoba ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

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<https://geopoliticalfutures.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/south-africa-youth-unemployment.png>

# TSAMAISO YA GO GODISA BASHA BA AFORIKA BORWA (2019)

BAAGI BA SETSHABA

PUSO

## KHANSELE YA BASHA BA AFORIKA BORWA

(tsamaiso ya naga e e akaretsang ya mekgatlho ya basha, e emela lephata la theomolao ya morafe ya NEDLAC, le basha ba Aforika Borwa mo Mokgathong wa Basha wa kontinento yothle ya Aforika le UN ECOSOC)

## SETLHOPHA SE SE DIRANG SA BASHA BA MOPORESIDENTE (SEMOLAO)

## NATIONAL YOUTH DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (NYDA)

Modhatshani wa National Youth Commission (1994-2007) le Umsobumv Youth Fund (1998-2007), maitlomo a yone a tswa mo National Youth Development Agency Act (No. 54 of 2008). NYDA e theilwe mo Ofising ya ga Moporesidente

## MEKGATLHO YA BAITHUTI BA AFORIKA BORWA E

tlphophiwa ke diSRC go tswa mo diyunibesithing

## DINTLHA TSE DI LEBILWENG THATA TSA BASHA MO DIOFISING TSA TONAKGOLO LE MAFAPHA

Gauteng:  
Johannesburg,  
Soweto, Tshwane  
N Cape: Kimberley,  
Mpumalanga,  
Nelspruit, Secunda  
Limpopo: Polokwane,  
Thulamela North  
West: Rustenburg

## MEKGATLHO E E IKAEGILENG KA TUMELO

## DI-NGO, DI-CBO LE DITLHOPHA TSA BASHA

## MAKALA A TIRELO E TLETSENG YA NYDA

E Cape: Port Elizabeth,  
East London Free State:  
Bloemfontein, V.W  
Cape: Cape Town  
KZN: Durban,  
Empangeni,  
Newcastle.

## BADIRI BA KGOLI YA BASHA

## MEKGATLHO YA BAITHUTI

## MEKGATLHO YA BASHA YA SEPOLOTIKI

## DINTLHA TSE DI LEBILWENG THATA TSA BASHA MO DIOFISING DINGWE TSA MMEYARA

Sedibeng  
(Boipatong),  
Ekurhuleni  
(Boksburg), OR  
Tambo (Mthatha),  
Sarah Baartman  
(Kirkwood), Xhariep  
(Trompsburg),  
Lejweleputswa

## MAFARAT- LHATLHA A BASHA

## MEDIA WA BASHA LE BAITHUTI: RADIO, INTHANE, TE DIMAKASINE

## DISENTHARA TSA KGAOLO YA NYDA

Uthukela  
(Lady smith), Fezile  
Dabi (Tweeling),  
Umkhanyakude  
(Mbabwana), Thusong  
Centre, Sekhukhune  
(Groblersdal),  
Mopani  
(Tzaneen)

Thabazimbi,  
Ngaka Modiri  
(Molemme Mahikeng),  
Dr. Ruth Segomotsi  
Moppati  
(Vryburg), John Taolo  
Gaetsewe (Kuruman),  
Eden (George),  
Central

bokoa thata. Ka sekai, mokgele wa milione e le nngwe (ka sebaka sa dingwaga di le tharo) o ne wa tlhomiya mabapi le NYS, mme o ne wa fitlhelela fela basha ba ka nna 127 000 mo ngwageng tse tharo. Mo Ditirelong tsa Morafe, mo magareng ga 2000 le 2018, go nnile le pego ya kwelotlase mo palong ya basha ba ba thapilweng ke puso, e leng selo se se bontshang tlhobaboroko ya go palelwa ga tirelo ya morafe, mo magatong ka bobedi a naga le a porofense. Bothata bo bakwa ke go palelwa ke go rulaganya dilo sentle mabapi le Tirelo ya Setshaba.

Le fa gone go itshimololela kgwebo go beilwe kwa pele jaaka tharabololo ya botlhokatiro, seelo sa **Palogotlhe ya Tiro ya Tshimologo ya Bogwebi (Total Early-Stage Entrepreneurial Activity [TEA])** go tswa mo pegong ya moragong ya Go Lepa Bogwebi mo Lefatsheng Lotlhe mo Aforika Borwa e begile dipalo tse di kwa tlase thata go feta kakaretso ya Aforika (e leng makgetlho a le 2.4 go feta Aforika Borwa) mo basheng ba ba mo dingwageng tse di fa gare ga 18 le 24.<sup>149</sup> Gape seno se kwa tlase ga kakaretso ya diikonomi tse di tsweletseng sentle, tse fa di tshwere 12% go tshwanang le fa di kopantse palo ya Aforika Borwa gabedi. Go na le kamano magareng ga legato la thuto le legato la TEA – ka seelo sa TEA sa 67,4% mo go ba ba feditseng thuto ya magareng le go feta, fa legato la TEA mo go ba ba senang thuto e le 4,4%.

Le fa gone dikgwebopotlana di tshegetsa bontsi jwa diikonomi, go tsaya karalo ga basha ba Aforika Borwa mo go tsa kgwebo go kwa tlase fela thata, mo basha ba makeishene ba sa tsibogeleng go dirisa ditshono tse di sololetsang tsa kgwebo mo mafelong a bone. Ka sekai kwa Delft, Cape Town, go begiwa fa basha ba na le mafelo a go dira meriri a le 4 mo go a le 10. Mo e ka nnang 70% ya mafelo a go dira meriri a a tsamaisiwang ke basha ke a basha ba bagwebi ba ba tswang kwa dinageng tse di kwantle. Mangwe a mabaka a a bakang seelo se se kwa tlase sa dira kgwebo a akaretsa go thatafalelwaa ke go dira letseno le tsela e e bokoa ya tsena mo dimmarakeng. E re ka thuto ya kgwebo e sa dirwe ke botlhe mo thutong ya sekolo, basha ba ma-Aforika Borwa go bonala ba sa ipaakanyetsa ka botlalo go nna bagwebi.

Basha ba dira karolo e e bonalang ya **batho ba ba itlhobogileng go batlang tiro**, ba karolo e ntsi ya bone e leng basha ba bantsho ba ba mo dingwageng tsa go bereka. Basha ba basetsana gantsi ba rata go itlhoboga go feta dithaka tsa bone tsa basimane. Mokgwa wa go thapa babereki ka nakwana le one o baka ketsatsego, e re ka basha ba le bantsi ba thapiwa ka nakwana. Ka dinako tse dintsi, go thapa ka nakwana gape go raya go duelwa madi a mannye le go se nne le madi a a thusa bathapi jaaka a bogodi le a thuso tsa kalafi. Gape go

botlhokwa go tlhagisa tsela e mo go yone dilo tse di diregang mo Aforika Borwa di tlisang go sa tsamaisane magareng ga lefelo la ba ba batlang tiro ba Aforika Borwa le ditiro tse di leng teng.

**Go fuduga** ke kgwetlho e nngwe e bile dipalopalo di bontsha gore go fudugela kwa diporofenseng tse dingwe ga basha ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bo 15 go ya go tse 29 ba ya kwa Gauteng ba tswa kwa diporofenseng tse di sa tlhabologang thata; fa KwaZulu-Natal le Kapa Bophirima di itemogela koketsegoo e kgolo mo palong ya basha ba tsone. Go batla ditshono tsa ikonomi e e botoka, ditiro le botshelo jo bo botoka ke nngwe ya mabaka a a ngokang basha ba ba fudugelang mo dikarolong tse di mo nageng. Dtlamorago tsa mofuta wa go fudugela mo mafelong a mangwe a naga go akaretsa go diga kgolo ya diporofense tse ba tswang kwa go tsone; dikgwtelhlo tsa go bona bonno, go latlhelgwla ke dipeelsetso tsa bokgoni le tsa thuto, thulaganyo ya ditirelo e e sa felelang le go tlala mo diporofenseng tse di ba amogelang, le go tlhoka ditiro ga basha ba le bantsi ba ba feletsang ba iphitlhela ba le khumanegong ya metsesetoropo ka ntlha go tlhoka tshegetso ya tsamaiso ya setshaba. Community Survey 2016 ya Stats SA's e bontshitse gore ma-Aforika Borwa a le 97 460 ba ile ba fudugela kwa moseja fa e sale ka 2006, bontsi jwa bone ba mo dingwageng tsa magareng ga 25 le 44..

Mabapi le **thuto, bokgoni le tshono ya go iteka gape**, go botlhokwa go ela tlhoko gore, seelo se segolo se se bakang khumanego e kana kana, go tlhoka tekatekano le botlhokatiro mo basheng ba Aforika Borwa ke bo kwa tlase jwa go bona kgolo ya thuto le bokgoni. Malebana le seno, dipalopalo di bontsha kwelotlase mo karolong ya baithuti ba ba fitlheng go Grade 11 le 12. Seno se raya go tlogela sekolo ka seelo se se kwa godimo kgotsa go tswa mo tsamaisong ya sekolo go sale gale. Dipalopalo tsa semolao tsa puso di bontsha gore seelo sa baithuti ba ba tlogelang sekolo e oketsegile go simolola ka Grade 9 go ya kwa pele, e fitlha mo e ka nnang 12% ya baithuti ba grade 10 ga mmogo le 11 ka bobedi.

Go phepafetse gore fa basha ba itekanetse e bile ba le matlhagatlhaga, ba ka kgona go tla ka Ditharabololo tse di maleba tse di tla thusang mo kgolong ya tlhabololo le ikonomi ya naga. Metswedi ya tshedimosetso e e farologaneng e bontsha ntlha ya gore seelo sa **go imaga basha** e ntse e tlhatloga. South Africa Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) ya 2016 e e tlhagisitsweng ke Stats SA ka 2017, e ne ya fitlhela gore 16% ya basadi ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bo 15-19 mo Aforika Borwa e setse e simolotse go tshola bana, e mo go bone 12% e setse e belege bana e bile 3% e ne e imile ka bana ba

ntlha ka nako ya fa go ne go dirwa patlisiso.<sup>150</sup>

Tsamaiso ya Tshedimosetso ya Kgaolo ya Botsogo e e dirwang ka metlha ke lephata la botsogo e ne ya fitlhela 13.8% ya go romelwa go go diregang mo lephateng la dikago tsa puso ka 2018/19 e ne e le basetsana le basha ba basadi ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bo 10-19. Mokgwa ono o ne o direga le fa mokgele wa naga wa go fokotsa boimana jwa basha ba bannye go ya kwa tlase ga 5% ka 2019. Thatathata diporofense tse di humanegileng jaaka, KwaZulu-Natal (18.3%); Kapa Botlhaba (16.9%) le Mpumalanga (15.4%), tse di nang le tshokolo e e kwa godimo ya itsholelo ya setshaba, di ne tsa itemogela seelo se se kwa godimo sa go ima ga bana ba ba mo dingwageng tsa bolesome. Demographic and Health Survey 2016 ya Aforika Borwa e ne ya fitlhela gore 18% ya basadi ba ne ba sa bone dithibela pelegi.

#### Ka 2016, Patlisiso ya Boitshwaro jo bo Kotsi

**Jwa Basha ba Aforika Borwa** e ne ya fitlhela gore 15% ya baithuti e dumetse gore phatlalatsa gore e dirisa diritibatsi gore ba tsewe ke sididi le 11.5% ya baithuti ba kile ba lekeletsa bobotlana seritibatsi se le sengwe, jaaka heroin, mandrax, sugars kgotsa tilk.<sup>151</sup> Go na le kgolo e e akaretsang mo go tshwakgolweng ke didisiwa tse di dirang gore motho a ikutlwae a itshepa, jaaka: diritibatsi, nnotagi le motsoko mo basheng, mo nnotagi e leng sediriswi se segolo se se tshwakgol Lang mo Aforika Borwa. Go tshwakgolwa ke didiriswi tse di okobatsang ga go tlisetse botsogo mathata fela, mme gape go bakela le setshaba ka kakaretso mathata. Go baya botsogo jwa basha mo kotsing e bile go ka feleletsa go ama setshaba e seng sentle jaaka go rata dikgoka le go thuba lelapa.

Go tlwaelega ga go tshwakgolwa ke didiriswi tse di okobatsang go etegeditswe ke go thokega ga dikago tsa kalafo, mo e leng gore ke disenthra tsa go alafa morafe tse supa fela (7) mo nageng. Gape go na le tiriso e e bokoa ya molawana wa Go Thibela le go Alafa go Tshwakgolwa ke Didiriswi Tse di Okobatsang wa 2008, segolobogolo malebana le tlameloo ya go laola bothata jwa dikago tsa kalafi ya go tshwakgolwa ke diokobatsi tse di seng mo molaong. Go thata go bala ditlamorago tsa dikgatlhanyetso, ka gonne ga go na tlhokomelo le tlhatlhobo ka kakaretso.

**Go rata dikgoka ga basha** (go lwa ka diatla, digongwana, boitshwaro jo bo rotloetsang thobalano, dikotsi tsa tsela, le kgokgontsho kgatlhanong le basadi) ke selo se se golang ka tsela e e sa amogelesegeng. Mo godimo ga moo, go begilwe dikgwethlo tse disha le tse di runyang tse di tlhatlogang jaaka monono o o feteletseng; go oketsegga bosenyi; go oketsegga kgokgontsho ya mo



Michelle Nkamankeng  
(o tshotswe ka 2008) ke mokwadi wa padi wa mo-Aforika Borwa yo mmotlana thata mo bakwading ba Aforika Borwa,  
a le dingwaga di le 7, le mo Aforika e bile gape mo palong e e kwa setlhoeng ya bakwadi  
ba babotlana thata ba le 10  
mo lefatsheng lotlhe

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Statistics South Africa. 2016. South Africa Demographic and Health Survey: Key Indicator Report, ts. 12.

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Mokgatho wa Kalafi wa Aforika Borwa. 2017. Letsatsila Boditshabatshaba la go Lwantsha go Tshwakgolwa ke Diritibatsi le go Phasalatsa Didiriswi Tse di Seng mo Molaong 2017, 23 Seetebosigo. Website: [https://samedical.org/cms\\_uploader/viewArticle/481](https://samedical.org/cms_uploader/viewArticle/481).

inhanete le go senyediwa ke dirukhutli tsa mo inhanete tse koketsegó ya tsone mo inhanete e leng ditiro tsa basha; seelo se se kwa godimo sa bolwetse jwa tlhaloganyo jaaka go gatelelwa mo go tseneletseng ga maikutlo; le mokgwa o o kwa godimo wa go ipolaya.

### **Malebana le go Dirisana ga Setšaba le go Aga**

**Naga**, patlisiso e akantsa gore go tlhoka go kopana ga setšaba le go dirisana (jaaka “dikokoano” tsa batho ba morafe) mo basheng ba Aforika Borwa go ama kgang ya go ipaakanyetsa go dira e seng sentle. Kgang e e tshwentseng ke ya go ikgogela morago mo go tlhopheng, le ikwadiso e e kwa tlase le palo ya basha ba ba tlhophang mo Aforika Borwa, ba ba mo dingwageng tse di mo gare ga 18 go ya go 34 mo dithlhophong tsa mmasepala le tsa kakaretso. Mo godimo ga moo, basha ba le bantsi ba sa ntse ba bontsha bopelotshetla jwa mekgatlho ya sepolotiki le go se tshepe boiketeetso jwa baeteledipele ba naga gore ba reetse mantswe a bone. Go na le momagano e e bokoa jo bo tshwenyang ya setšaba le go tsenela metshameko, mo tshedimosetso e leng teng e bontshang go tsaya karolo ga basha mo dikgannyeng tse di amang morafe go leng kwa tlase go feta dithlopha tse dingwe tsa dingwaga.

Basha ba tshwanetse  
go ipelela kemedi mo  
dithulaganyong tsa  
go dira ditshwetso  
jaaka Palamente,  
Kabinete le makgotla  
a botsamaisi jwa  
dikhampani.

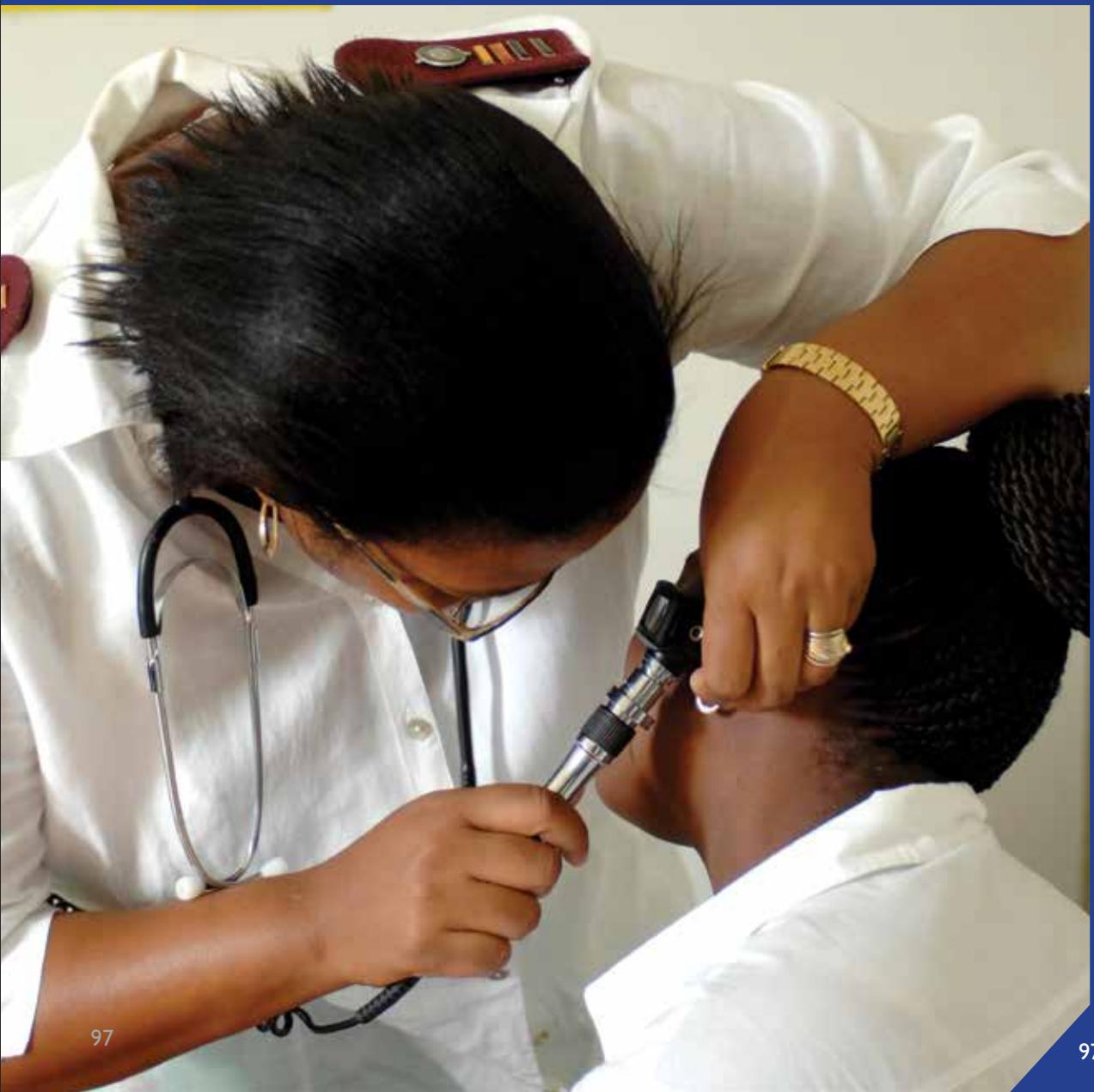


# DIKAKANTSHO

- Tokafatsa tirisanommogo le go dirisiwa ga kgodiso ya basha le go ba thusa gore ba ikemele go tlhomamisa gore mafapha otlhe a puso, ditheo le dikemedi ba laola le go tsamaisa kgodiso ya basha ka leano la tsibogo ya basha, tekanyetsokabo, tlhokomelo le tlhatlhobo, le go bega.
- Kgothaletsa basha ba bantsi go tsena dikholidi tsa temothuo le saense le go naya ba ba nang le kgatlhego mo temong lefatshe le go dira temothuo, ka diporogerama tse di ba tshegetsang tse di jaaka go dirisanammogo le go ba ruta.
- Tlhomamisa gore lephata la morafe (EPWP, NYS, jalo le jalo) le lephata la poraefete (YES; ETI) di kgatlhanyetsa maitlhomo a ngwaga le ngwaga a bobotlana jwa 30% ya basha ba ba tsayang karolo malebana le go tiisa le Iwantsha ditlamorago tsa botlhokatiro jwa basha.
- Nonotsha Tirelo ya Naga ya Basha ka go e gokaganya ka tlhamalalo le Sesole sa Aforika Borwa (South African National Defence Force [SANDF]), ka mabaka a go godisa bokgoni, go dirisana ga setshaba le go aga naga.
- diSETA go tswa mo tekanyetsokabong ya tsone di tshwanetse go tlamela ka ditshono tsa go iteka gape mo go ba ba nang le marematlou, ka thuso ya madi a katiso le go tsenngwa mo tirong.
- Tsamaisanya thuto ya morago ga sekolo le ya katiso le ditlhoko tsa ikonomi le tsa naga, go ikaegilwe ka Leano la go Itse Bokgoni la naga go tokafatsa boleng le go oketsa botlhokwa jwa teng le mmaraka wa badiri le bagwebi.
- Tsamaisanya thuto ya dikholidi tsa TVET, CET le tsa temothuo go tlamela ka diporogerama tse di oketsegileng tsa lefelo la tiro malebana le Maano a Kontinent.
- Tlamela katiso mo setlhotsawaneng sa basha ka lephata la poraefete le ditheo tsa morago ga go fetsa sekolo malebana le 4IR jaaka go dirolola boenjenere jwa dikolotsana tsa motlakase; kgatiso ya 3D; botlhale jwa boitirelo; tiro ya diroboto; dikoloi tse di itsamaisang; nanotechnology; biotechnology; inthanete ya dilo; quantum computing; maranyane a pono ya boitlhophelo; ditirelo tsa kgaso ya pono; media le maranyane a pono. Fa gape go ntse go nonotshiwa thuto ya dilo tse di farologaneng mo lephateng la motheo le la morago ga go fetsa sekolo ga mmogo le go tlamela ditsela tse dintsia tsa go tswa mo tsamaisong ya thuto.
- Nonotsha le go gagatsa tshegetso ya bolwetse jwa tlhaloganyo mo metseng le ditheo tsa thuto tse di nang le tshegetso e e kgethegileng malebana le malapa go rarabolola mathata a basha a a jaaka go gatelelwaa maikutlo mo go tseneletseng le go tshwakgolwa ke diritibatsi. Seno se tshwanetse go tsenngwa tirisong ka kgopoloo ya tiro ya basha jaaka tiro ya mmatota le go thapiwa ga badiri ba basha ba ba rutegileng ka palo e kgolwane go ralala maphata jaaka bagakolodi, baemedi ba go fetoga ga tlelaemete, batsamaisi ba ditlhophaa tsa basha mo metseng, le bakatisi ba metshameko fa re ka umaka di le mmalwa.
- Tsamaisa go tsaya karolo go go botlhokwa ga basha le go tsiboswa mo metshamekong, boitapoloso, botaki le setso, gore o kgone go aga go tshwanelega go go nonofileng ga go direla morafe le go dirisana ga setshaba.
- Tshegetsa tshedimosetso le go tsenngwa ga basha ba ma-Aforika Borwa mo ditirong tse di farologaneng jaaka porogerama ya Baithaopi ba Basha ya AU, porogerama ya Go Ithaopa ya UN, le mekgatlh e mengwe e e tshwanang mo BRICS le G20, gore ba lemoge bokgoni jwa bone e le karolo ya ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe. Batsayakarolo ba gokaganngwe le ditshono tsa go tswa fa ba boa.
- Basha ba tshwanetse go ipelela kemedi mo dithulaganyong tsa go dira ditshwetso jaaka Palamente, Kabinete le makgotla a botsamaisi jwa dikhampani.
- Patlisiso le itshimololelo di tshwanetse go tshegediwa, go akaretsa go tlamela basha ka dibasari/ di-scholarship tsa mo gae le tsa dinaga tse dingwe mo mafelong a bokgoni bo seng bontsi le tiro e e tshegetsang go ananya kitsi ya dithagiswa tse di botlhokwa le ditsamaiso tsa teng.

KAROLO 6

# Boitekanelo Jwa Bosiameng Jwa Botlhe



BOITEKANELO

**P**ono ya diRDP tsa 1994 tsa go tshimolola ga National Health System goya ko boitekanelong jwa bo siameng jwa maAforika Borwa botlhe, go kwala ga magareng ga makala a a sa ikemelang le tse di ikemetseng, ka go dirisa Primary Health Care (PHC) ka go tla ga tiriso ya naga, dikgaolo, maemedi le se morafe. Se se atlegile ka go lekantsha, go rulaganya le go baakanya ga ditlamelo tsa boitekanelo. Go godisa se ka go nna le tetla ya PHC ya ditlamelo, diRDP di biditse ga mafapha a boitekanelo a bana ba ba motlase ga ngwaga tse thataro, le bana ba ba senang magae le baimane le basadi ba ba anyisang. Se se ne se diretswe go ka tlhabolola ga dikago tsa ditlileniki le go oketsa ga diporokereme tse di mo magaeng le ditulo tsa teng.

Go fokotsa bokotlase ba go sa je sentle, diRDP di batlide ditlhabololo tsa go ka dira le go oketsa dikarolo tsa diporokereme tsa dijо, go akaretsa mo dikolong tse di potlana tsa go faa bana dijо le diporokereme tsa gore baithuti ba ikgapele, mo diporokereme tsee. Go ka tlhabolola ga boitekanelo jwa bana mo go see, se bontsha boteng le diporokereme tsa bana tsa boitekanelo di tlhabololwe le go diriwa. Go itsi ka dikgang tse le dithuto di ne ditla fiwa baagi le bana ko sekolong kgatlanong le malwetsi a go tselana moteng, lebolelamading, lhabololo ya TB le yone diporokereme tsa teng diya tlhogega. Go sobokanya se, diRDP e beilwe gore batho ba batlisise, ka ga ditlhabololo le matla a baagi le go rotloetsa lekala la maemo a semorafe.

Dipolising tse dingwe le melao theo di akaretsa polising ya mahala ya PHC ya 1996. White Paper mo Dithhabololong tsa Seemo sa Boitekanelo sa 1997,

National Health Act, (Act 61 ya 2003) le Green Paper le White Paper mo National Health Insurance (NHI) ka 2011 le 2017, ka botlalo. Tiriso ya polising ya NHI e ne e dira ka botlalo gore batho botlhe banne le tetla ya boitekanelo jwa maAforika Borwa ka botlalo le gore ba kgone ba patele.

Maikemisetso a dithhabololo tsa diRDP tsa puso le go tlisa ga kitso ya tlhokomelo ya Comprehensive ya Lebolelamading, Management le Treatment (CCMT) Tsamaiso ya Maano.go akaretsa dipholo tsa naga ka Lebolelamading le TB, go akaretsa le tiritemente ya teng. Dithlropa tsa semorafe tse di botlhokwa tsa go tsaya karolo e kgolo ya Aforika Borwa e tshamikileng mo dingwageng tse 25 ka dikgotlheng tsa go kereiya ga ditlhari mo gotlhе, le yone mantswe a tswang ko WHO le World Trade Organisations (WTO) mo ditlharing go nna teng.

## TSWALELOPELE YA DINGWAGA TSA GO FETA TSA 25 TSA TEMOKERASI

Ka mabaka a rileng, maemo a boitekanelo jwa maAforika Borwa a tlhabologile mo dingwageng tse fitileng tse 25, ka dipholo tse go ikamanya le se go dira matla a go oketsa ga lekala la boitekanelo, le dipookereme tsa puso ka di buisana le merafe ka bokotlase jwa boitekanelo, go akaretsa go ntsha matlo, metsi a phepha le phefotso. Se se akaretsa koketso ya di ARV tiritemente ya teng le yone ka go ikamatxa ka go sela morago bothhoki le go sa lekalekane. Bolekanyo jwa botshelo jwa go bonwa bo kotlase mo dingwageng tsa go feta tsa temokerasi, le bontsi jwa go angwa ke lebolelamadi ka bophara, go fitlha bokotlase jwa dingwa tse 54 ka 2005. Go tloga ka nako eo, go tlhabologile thata, go tloga ka ngwaga tse 64.6 tsa go feta ka 2019.<sup>152</sup> Se se bontshiwa mo setshwantsong sa 6.1.

Dinomore tsa batho ba ba nang le Lebolelamading ka kereiya Antiretroviral Therapy (ART) di lekaleng la phatlhalatsa la boitekanelo ka kgolo ya go tloga ka 45 500 ka 2004 morago ga 3 389 000 milione ya batho ka 2015<sup>153</sup> se bontshiwa mo setshwantsong sa 6.2. Dinomore ka botlalo bo ko godimo ga 4.7 milione ya batho b aba kereiyang ART ka 2019. Ka 2015, magare a 48. 6% ya botlhe b aba nang le Lebolelamading

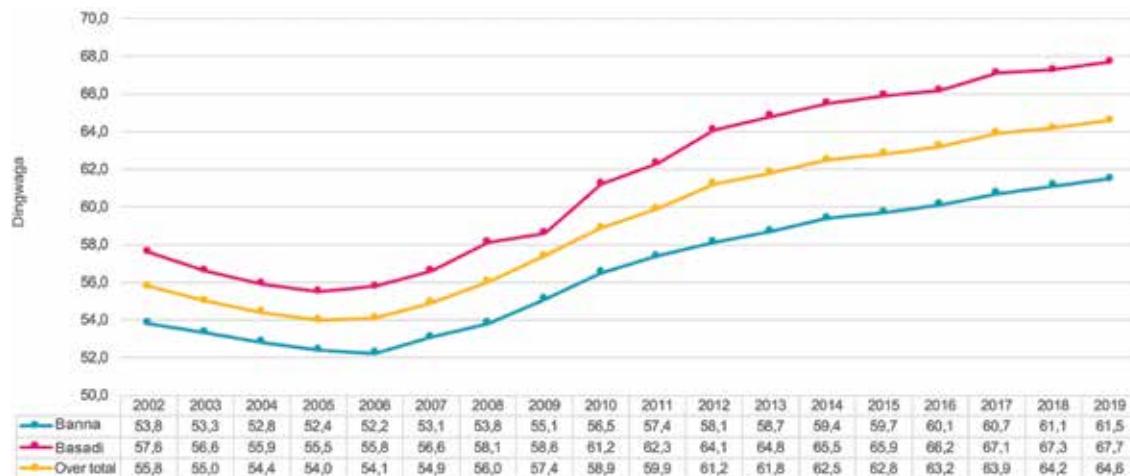
152

Puso ya Gazette. White Paper ya Dikago le Dithhabololo tsa Diporokereme.

153

Johnson, L. F., Dorrington, R. E. le Moola, H., 2017. Tswalelopele ya goya ko 2020 Maano a Lebolelamading a kalafi le tirememente ya Antiretroviral ya Afrika Borwa. Southern African journal of HIV medicine, 18 (1).

ba ne ba fiwa ARV, ke dipalo tse pedi mo godimo ga ba ba balelwang ka ngwaga wa 2010<sup>154</sup>. Tiriso ya ART mo Aforika Borwa e nnele botlhofu thata mo basading ka go rwala ga go Lebolelamading<sup>155</sup>. Ka 2015, AVT e nnele ko godimo ka go akaretsa basadi ba 50% ba nang le lebolelamading la ba banao go na le banna ba 43%. ART e akaretsa palo ya bana ene le 47.4% ka 2015. Ba bobodi ba ne ba tiritiwa ka 2015, gotlhe mogo basadi ba 2 134 000, banna ba 1 081 000 le bana ba 174 000 ba dingwaga tse kotlase ga 15, setshwantso sa 6. 2 se na le batho ba 4,744, 368 ba ba dulang ka Lebolelamading ba ba kereiya ART mo matloboitekanelo ka 2019, gotle ba 3,138, 460 (kgotsa 66,1%) ele basadi le 1,449,354 (30,5%)



### Setshwantso 6. I: Botshelo jwa pelego ya maAforika Borwa, 2002-2019.

Source: Etseilwe mo StatsSA, magare a ngwaga a dipalopalo tse teng, 2019.

Katekori le diteng	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<i>tsa bongrimngwaga</i>												
Banna	17 700	34 900	63 000	113 000	178 000	265 000	383 000	533 000	681 000	837 000	965 000	1 081 000
Basadi	24 400	59 200	117 000	218 000	350 000	522 000	745 000	1 044 000	1 349 000	1 651 000	1 968 000	2 134 000
Bana (<15)	3 400	9 100	18 000	35 000	55 000	82 000	119 000	140 000	160 000	173 000	177 000	174 000

### Setshwantso 6. 2: Nomore ya babobodi ba leng mo antiretroviral tiritemente, Aforika Borwa, 2004-2015.

Motswed: Johnson L, F, Dorrington R, E, le Moolla, H. 2017. Tswelelopole ya pele ya 2020 balebagani ba go tlhatlhobiwa ga HIV Antiretrovirale tiritemente mo Aforika Borwa, Jenale ya Aforika Borwa ya HIV, 18 (1).

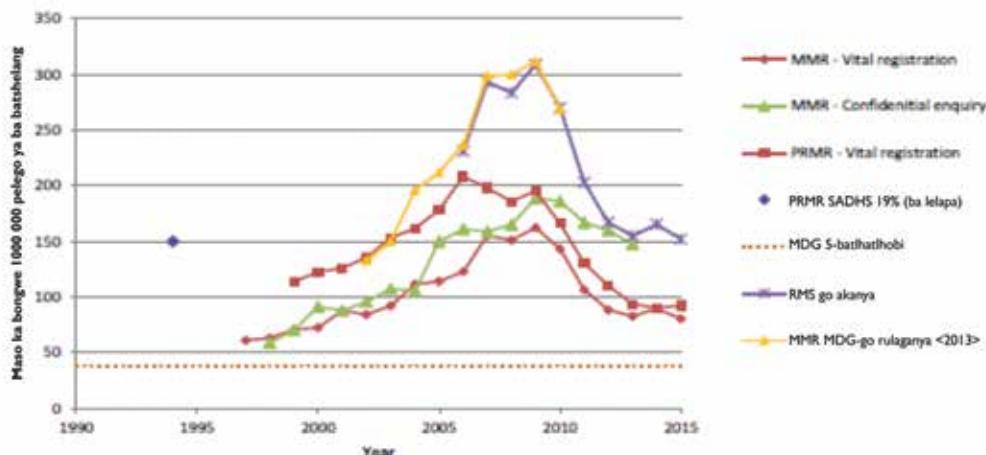
<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Lefapha la Boitekanelo, TIER. net data, 23 Nwetse 2019.

<sup>157</sup> Medical Research Council (MRC) le Demographic le Health Surveys Macro International Inc. 1998. South Africa Demographic le Health Survey. Dorrington, R. E., Bradshaw, D., Laubscher, R. le Nannan, N. 2014.

Rapid mortality surveillance report 2013. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council. Health le Related Indicators.



**Setshwantso 6. 3: Go akanya ga MMR gotswa go mefuta ya disource, 1995-2016.**

Motswedi: Dorrington, R. E., Bradshaw, D., Laubscher, R. le Nannan, N.A.D. I. N. E. 2014.

Rapid mortality surveillance report 2012. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

## Ka dipholo tsa mefuta ya seemo sa boitekanelo ka go tsena ka moteng ga boitekanelo jo bo tlhabologileng.

bontshi jwa karolo ya boteng jwa boitekanelo jo go tlhabologileng.

National Committee ya Confidential Equiry ya Meternal Deaths (NCCEMD) e simolotse ka 1997 ka go batlisisa ga dikamo tsa tlhokafalo le go tlhatlhosa ga go bereka ka go itsenya. NCCEMD diripoto tsa Triennial di bontsha ditheo tsa MMR tse kotlase gotswa 176. 22 ya maso mo go 100 000 pelogo ka 2008-2010 triennium<sup>159</sup> ka 138 ka 2014-2016 triennium.<sup>160</sup> Medical Research Council's (MRC) dipotso tsa diripoto tsa go bontsha ga Pelegi ya dipalotsa go oketsegga go tswa mo 302 ya 100, 000 ka 2009<sup>161</sup> goya go 134 ya 100, 000 ka 2016<sup>162</sup>. Go farologana ga MMR e ikemeseditse ka gontsha Maternal Mortality Estimation Inter-Agency Group (MMEIG) WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank

Group le United Nations Population Division, e bontsha MMR ya Aforika Borwa jaaka 119 go 100, 000 ya go ba ba tsholwang ka ngwaga wa 2017<sup>163</sup>, eo tleng sengwe se se botlhokwa. Tokafalo e e bothlwokwa e e tswelela go tsereganyo ya go lwantsha tlhotlheletso ya HIV le AIDS go bomme le basadi ba baleng mmeleng le go oketsa maemo a tirelo ya botsogo ba bomme. Se se bontsha go fokotsegga ga pheletsetso ya MMR go bomme ba ba seng mmeleng gotswa mo obstetric haemorrhage. Se se dula ele matshwenyego ka dipharologano tsa MMR, se se bontsha mo maemong a lewapi ka tsele e sa tswaneng a go ntsha boitekanelo jo bo siameng.

Boitekanelo jwa Aforika Borwa jwa ban abo tlhabologile, Temokerapha ya Aforika Borwa le Dipotso tsa Boitekanelo (SADHS) e tshimolotse

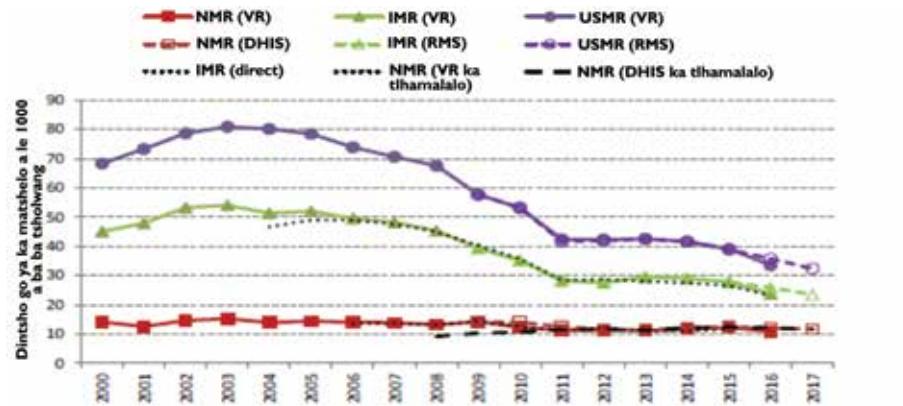
159 National Committee ya Confidential Enquiries mo go Maternal Deaths, Fifth Triennial Report ya Confidential Enquiries mo go Maternal Deaths ya South Africa, 2008- 2019 Short Report.

160 National Committee ya Confidential Enquiries mo go Maternal Deaths: Saving Mothers 2014-2016:Maso a supa a ripoto ya triennial e bothhofu ya go batlisisa ka Maternal Deaths mo Aforika Borwa: Short Report.

161 Dorrington RE, Bradshaw D, Laubscher R, Nannan N (2015). Tletlebo ya ripoto ya maso a mantsi ya 2014. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

162 Dorrington RE, Bradshaw D, Laubscher R, Nannan N (2019). Tletlebo ya ripoto ya maso a mantsi ya 2017. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.

163 Inter-Agency Group (MMEIG) WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank Group le United Nations Population Division, 2019.



**Setshwantsho 6.4:** U5MR le IMR go tswa mo VR/RMS le seelo sa dintsho tsa masea a a tsang go tsholwa (NMR) go tswa mo VR/DHIS, 2000-2017.

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Dorrington RE, Bradshaw D, Laubscher R, Nannan N (2019).

Pego ya patlisiso ya dintsho tsa ka pele 2017.

Cape Town: Khansele ya Patlisiso ya Kalafji ya Aforika Borwa.

ka 1998 Dipalo tsa masea mo nageng (IMR) ke 45 mo 1000 pelogo leba bakafotlase ga 5 (U5MR) ka 59 ya 1000 ya belego.<sup>164</sup> Bonnye jwa SADHS e tsere ka 2003 go lekantsha se, IMR yone e itekaneditse ka 43 mo 1000 ya pelegi le ba baka fotlase ga 5 mo 58 ya 1000 ya go bonwa. SADHS e ne e sa balwa ka 2016. SADHS 2016 e ripotile se mo nageng ka IMR ka 35 ya 2016 ya go bonwa, le U5MR ka 42 ya 1000 ya batshedi ba go bonwa<sup>165</sup>. Ditshwantso tse pedi tse di bontsha bokotlase jwa go akanyetsa ka go ripota ka SADHS ka 1998. MRC ya Rapid Mortality Surveillance System e bonsha mo setshwantsong sa 6. 4, se tlhabologile, thata mo dingwageng tsa go feta tsa temokerasi. Se se bontsha bokotlase ka 39 ya 1000 ya pelegi ka 2009 goya ko 32 ya 1000 go bonwa ka 2017, go ntse U5MR e ya kotlase ka 56 ya 1000 pelegi ka 2009 goya ko 32 ya batshedi ba go bonwa ka 2017.<sup>166 167</sup>

Dipholo tsa tiritimente ya TB e tlhabologile. Babobodi ba TB ba gatile katlego ya palo e kana ka 84. 4% ka 2017, go tloga ka bokotlase jwa 54% ka 2000. Nomore ya batho ba ba tlhotsweng ke

tiritimente ya TB e kotlase go tloga ka 9% ka 2006 goya ko 6. 5% ka 2017.<sup>168</sup>

Go nna le tetla ya go tsena mo tirisong ya PHC ya maAforika Borwa ka botlalo, e lekantsha palo ya botshaki ka ngwaga, e ko godimo ka 67 milione ka 1998 goya go 120 milione ka ngwaga ka Mopitlwé 2019.<sup>169</sup> Palo ya matswaramatlo a ripotile mo makaleng a ditiliniki ko godimo ka 44. 7% ka 2004 goya ko 71. 5% ka 2018.<sup>170</sup>

Go netefatsa se go tshwanetse go nna le tekano ya bokgoni, go nna le dipampiri tse di maleba le go itsi ditlhokego tsa boitekanelo, polising ya puso e akaretsa ditirelo tsa semorafe le dingaka tsa ditlhari, se morago se ne se diriwa gore go nne le dipharologano tsa boitekanelo ya teng, ga mmogo le dipono tsa se magae le bonnye jwa bokgoni jwa teng le go ntsha matlole a rileng. Se ke go dira gore go nne le kglo ya ditirelo tsa batho mo setshabeng le mo maemo a rileng. Aforika Borwa e tsene mo ditumalanong le dinaga tse dingwe go tswana le Cuba, Tunisia le Iran ka ditiro tsa dingaka tsa gotswa dinageng tse dingwe ka go beiwa, thatathata mo metse magae le ditulo tse di kotlase.

- 164 Medical Research Council (MRC) le Demographic le Health Surveys Macro International Inc. 1998. Aforika Borwa Temokerafa le dipotso tsa boitekanelo..  
 165 Dipalopalo tsa maAforika Borwa(2017): Aforika Borwa Temokerafa le dipotso tsa boitekanelo 2016: Key Indicator Report., Dipalopalo tsa maAforika Borwa  
 166 Dorrington, R. E. , Bradshaw, DE. , Laubscher, R. le Nannan, N (2015): Rapid mortality surveillance report 2014. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.  
 167 Dorrington, R. E. , Bradshaw, DE. , Laubschen R. le Nannan, N (2019): Rapid mortality surveillance report 2017. Cape Town: South African Medical Research Council.  
 168 Nasionale DoH (2018): Tswelelopele ya go tlisa ga tiriso le go bona taolo ya go dira ga Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) 2014 goya go 2019.  
 169 National DoH (2019): District Health Information Systems (DHIS).  
 170 Dipalopalo tsa maAforika Borwa. 2019. Bo gothle jwa matswaramatlo 2018.



Go fitisa moo, go tloga ka 1996, Aforika Borwa-Cuba e bereka le setheo sa boitekanelo ka dipholo tse kana ka 634 tsa Aforika Borwa ka dingaka tse di rutilweng ko Cuba. Ka 2018, baithuti ba barileng baa 666 ba ne ba le mo dithutong tsa bongaka. Dithuto tsa ko Cuba le 700 ya maAforika a go rutiwa ke ma Cuban a boitse gae ke ngwaga wa bofelo. Bo gotlhe jwa palo e ke bothano jwa mafapa a boitekanelo [dinese, difamasiti, ngaka tsa meno le dingaka ka botlalo]mo ditheo tsa phatlhalatsa di ko godimo, go ntse jalo ga go tlhokege maemo, go tswa mo 14 765 ka 1996<sup>1</sup> go yak o 128 963 ka 2016<sup>2</sup>. Go ntse jalo ka dipalo tse go fapanie ka boitekanelo jwa go tlisa mo Aforika Borwa go oketseg, ke palo e ko godimo ya mo tirong tse di ikemetseng.

Aforika Borwa e fetogile go eteletsa pele mafatshe ka go netefatsa ga tshireletso le go kereiya ga ditlhari mo baagi ba teng, Medicines le Related Substances Control Amendment Act e fitile, e ikaelsetse go fokotsa ga madi a ditlhari le go oketsa boteng jwa teng. Ka 2013, go nnele le dipalo tsa ekonomi le makete wa teng, Lefapha la Boitekanelo go bolokile 1 bilione ya diranta tsa tiro ya ARV. Go sireletsa ga se go dira thata gore Aforika Borwa e bonwe ele nngwe ya mafatshe a matona mo difamasing tsa dimakete tsa HIV le AIDS le TB le go gola ga makete ka bonako mo boitekanelo jwa tlhaloganyo, go tswa kontle ka 22 bilione e dira Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients. Sengwe sa tsela ke go tlisa ga ditlhari tse dintsha tsa HIV go akaretsa efavirenz e diriwang ka go tlhabiba le go kopantsha le dolutegravir-based fixed ya go tlhakanan.<sup>3</sup> Naga gape ya rona e kopele ka go dira difamasi, go tswana le NTP Radioisotopes, seemo sa dikgwebo, se se dira gore setle sa bobedi ka go rekisa ga ditlhari tse tsa isotopes tse di dirisiwang go alaha kankere.

Dimafasi tsa Aforika Borwa tsa makete dikopele ka kgolo ya CAGR ka 6.6% ( $\pm$  1.5%), eya ko 54.1 bilione ya diranta ka 2021. Mo tseleng e go ditlhabologo tsa seemo se, baetapele ba difamasi tse tsa dikgwebo (Ketlapela Pharmaceutical SOC Ltd) e ikopantshe le dkgwebo tse diikemetseng tsa go ntsha le go dira ditlhari ka puiso ya HIV le AIDS, TB, bolwetsi jwa tlhaloganyo le diabetes.<sup>4</sup>

Bopaki jwa dintlha tse bo kaya dikemo ba babobodi ba ba kgotsofetseng setheo sa boitekanelo jwa phatlhalatsa ka go tlhabologa. Patient Experience ya Care (PEC) e dirile dipotsa ka NGO, Health Systems Trust ka 2017, e dirile 76.5% ya balwetsi ba nneile le tlhokomelo e siameng le 74.8% le bone ba kgotsofetsese ka tiriso e mo ditheo tse.<sup>5</sup> Stats SA's 2018 GHS ya batswaramatlo ba dirisa ditheo tsa phatlhalatsa le bone ba kgotsofetsese le thuso e ba e kereiyang.<sup>6</sup>

## KGOTLHELELO YA DIKGWETLHO

Ntle le RDP ya boitekanelo jwa Aforika Bowa, go santse go na le pulego mo makaleng a phatlhalatsa le a ikemetseng. Makala a ikemetseng, a lebelela thata mo ditirisong le badiriso, ditiriso tse di kana nna 16% tsa go nna le tetla ya medikale. Health Market Inquiry (HMI), e dira melawana ka fotlase ga Copetition Commission, go sa bontshe dikamo tse ko godimo tsa go tura tsa ditheo tsa goikemela. HMI ke kereile senotlolo sa mathata a ko godimo le go godisa matlole a go tlhokomela le go ntsha ga ditlhari tse di ko godimo thata le tsa tekenologi, tiritimente e e turang, se se ne se sa gatisiwang go ka diriwa.

Go ntse jalo medikale o a bidiwa, o akaretsa tlhokomelo e botlhofu, ga di a lettelelwab bo makaleng a phatlhalatsa, se se kgatlhanong le seemo sa go ntsha sa dingwaga tsa go feta go tswana le go Iwantsha ka go fokotsa ga go nna le boitekanelo jwa tlhokomelo, matlole a go tsamaisa ditheo tse le go kereiya madi go tswa moo. Naga ya matlotlo e tlhatlhobile ka matlole a a go ya kopele go tloga ka 265 milione ya diranta ka 2012/13 goya ko 1.2 bilione ka 2016/17. Go bonwe e atimela ko 80 bilione ya diranta tsa go batliwa ka 2018. Maano a medico-legal e tseilwe Setheo sa boitekanelo Setheo sa boitekanelo, se akaretsa go buisana ga dikwadi jwa teng, tlilinikale le melao ya go ama se sa dikgwtlo tse. Ka 2018, Moporesitente Cyril Ramaphosa o dirile molao wa Special Investigating Unit (SIU) ka go batlisisa ga dilo tse di sa siamang tsa medico-legal tsa go tsaya ko mafapheng.

<sup>1</sup> Health Systems Trust le Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation (1996): South African Health Review 1996, Durban.

<sup>2</sup> Health Systems Trust (2017): South African Health Review 2016, Durban.

<sup>3</sup> Pelchem (2018): KET-PCM-MNG – Tlhatlhobo ya dingwaga tse 25 Ketlapela Presidency, Moranang 2019.

<sup>4</sup> Pelchem (2018): KET-PCM-MNG – Tlhatlhobo ya dingwaga tse 25 Ketlapela Presidency, Moranang 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Seemo sa Boitekanelo Trust. 2017. Go tlhatlhoba ga tsamaiso ya balwetsi ba boitekanelo jo bo kotlase mo Aforika Borwa.

<sup>6</sup> Statistics South Africa (2019): Matswaramatlo a dipotsa, 2018, Pretoria.

Ka semoya ka RDP, dikemo tsa semorafe ka go tsamaisa ga boitekanelo ko padile. Dipotso tsa PEC mo Lefapha la Boitekanelo ka 2017bo bonwe gotswa mo ditliliniki tse 168, fela 17. 9% ya ditheo tse di bereka sentle mo makaleng a.<sup>1</sup> Bokowa jwa seemo le pus obo kotlase ka go buisana ka ditiro le makoko a go tsamaisa go tswana le Life Esidimeni saga, mo 144 ya babobodi bathhaloganyo ba tlhokofetse ka ntlhe ya go romelwe ko Lefapheng la Boitekanelo jwa Gauteng ka nomore e e semolaong le e sa dirisiweng ke NGOs.<sup>2</sup> Nomore e key a batho ba itsing tiro go tswana le Aforika Borwa Society ya Psychiatrists le Kgatlelo ya monagano ya Aforika Borwa le Anxiety, go akaretsa maloko a lelapa ba popodi ya tlhaloganyo, ba kgatlhanong le tsela e.

Mo selo se puso e dirile boiteko jo dirileng gore semorafe bo tsikinyege, molaetheo o sireleditse ditshwanelo tsa boitekanelo. Go ya kopele, puso e dula e tlisa pulego le go dira m merafeng, ditlhopa le baitsi tiro mo nageng. Ko Presidential Health Summit e tswere ka October 2018, le ba imanokeng go tswa moteng mo pusong, boitekanelo jwa phatlhalatsa ya setheo se bo bonwe bole mo kotsing. Difapagano tsa ditheo tse di akaretsa Office ya Health Standards Compliance le NCCEMD ena le dintlha tsa go fokotsa ga boleng jwa setheo sa phatlhalatsa ya boitekanelo.

Dipaki tsa Empirical gotswa ko Human Science's research Council (HSRC)'s South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, Behaviour le Communication Survey 2017 e bontsha nomore e ntsha ya HIV ele kotlase ka 270 000 ka 2016 goya ka 231 000 ka 2018. Gontse jalo di tshwantso tse ko godimo di bontsha 44% ya kotlase ya baangwa ba bantsha ba HIV, go tloga ka 2012. Go ya ka bong, nomore e tona e kotlase ka 56% ya go direga mo basadi. Mo banning e kotlase ka 18%. Go ya ka matswenyego a bashwa ba basadi ba mokotsing e.

Palo ya nomore ya batho ba ba nang le HIV ba lekwangwa le 7. 97 milione ka 2019<sup>3</sup>. Ka go oketsa ga se tshireletso le diriso ya dithhari, Aforika Borwa e ikemeseditse go ntsha 6 milione ya baagi ka tiritimente ya di ARV ka 2020, kgolo e godile thata ka 4. 7 milione. Ntle le dipalo tsa Aforika Borwa e dira se mo ditheo tse rileng, Active Pharmaceutical

Ingredients (APIs) ya ARV, se se dira 70% ka boleng, ga se diriwe mo Aforika Borwa, mme di tlisiwa go tswa ko India. Mme e le kotlase mo dilo tsa kontle tsa APIs, naga e latlhelgolwa le ditshono tsa ditiro, go ruta le go tlhabolola, go netefatsa batlhakori otle a lekana, go boeletsa direkiswa tsa ditshono, le ditshireletso tsa teng.

Maemo a go sa je sentle a ko godimo, go ama 27% ya ban aba kotlase ga dingwaga tse tlhano ka 2016, ka jaaka go bontshiwa mo temokerifi ya Aforika Borwa le dipotso tsa boitekanelo 2016, go sale forogo ka 1999, se se fokotsegile ka 21. 6%.

1 Health System Trust. 2017. Dipatisiso tsa tsamaiso ya babobodi mo setheo sa boitekanelo mo Aforika Borwa.

2 Office ya Health Standards Compliance. 2017. Final Report into the Circumstances Surrounding the Deaths of Mentally Ill Patients: Gauteng Province, 01 Tlhakole. Website: <http://ohsc.org.za/final-report-into-the-circumstances-surrounding-the-deaths-of-mentally-ill-patients-gauteng-province/>. 01 February. Website: <http://ohsc.org.za/final-report-into-the-circumstances-surrounding-the-deaths-of-mentally-ill-patients-gauteng-province/>.

3 StatsSA (2019): Midyear Population Estimates 2018, Pretoria.



# REKOMENTASHIONE

- Go tlisa ga NHI ka go naya tetla ka boitekanelo jo bo siameng jwa maAforika Borwa
  - Go dira, go rekisa le go tlisa ga National Framework ya Quality Improvement mo ditheong tsa phatlhalatsa.
  - Go fa matla le go oketsa ga dikantoro tsa boitekanelo jwa kemelo ya teng.
  - Die Nasionale Gesondheidskommissie stig om groter samewerking tussen departemente soos Gesondheid te bevorder; Basiese onderwys; Maatskaplike ontwikkeling; landbou, bosbou en visserye; Landelike ontwikkeling en grondhervorming, sowel as tussen die regering, die privaatgesondheidsektor en ander maatskaplike vennote om uitdagings wat intersektorale optrede, soos wanvoeding, vereis, aan te spreek in die verskillende manifestasies, insluitend stunting.
  - Bo gotlhe jwa boitekanelo jwa Information Systems le ICT ya boitekanelo jwa 2024.
  - Go oketsa le go tlhatlhoba ga bontsintsi jwa ditheo tsa boitekanelo ya Anti-Fraud Forum le go ikopanya le SIU.
  - Go aga sesha, go tsosolosa le go matlafatsa thulaganyo ya go tsaya karolo ga baagi, segolobogolo mo dibotong
- tsa dikokelo, dikomiti tsa ditliliniki le dikomiti tsa boitekanelo jwa diphasopi tsa kokelo.
- Go tlisa se, tlhatlhobo le ripoto ya ditliso tsa setheo sa boitekanelo ka boraro jwa medico-legal ya dintlha tsa go ka rekisa ka tiro e ya boetapele, go tsenya ga ditlhabololo tsa bokwadi, boleng jwa tlhokomelo le melao e rileng. Go simolola se go dira ikemelo ya mmele wa go batlisisa ka matlo boitekanelo ka go gatisa ga di rekomenteshione ka ngwaga, go tswana le Committee mo Confidential Maternal Deaths
  - Ko bofelo le go tlisa ga HR ka Health Strategic Plan ka 2019/20 - 2024/25. Maano a puisano a ditiriso tsa ditiro tsa diporojeke, tlhakano ya bokgoni le matlole a dithuto, go rutiwa le go tlisa ditlhabololo le tsa go ithuta; go tsamaya, go dira le maikarabelo; tulo ya tiro le tikogolo; puso, boetapele le go tsamaisa ga tiro le kitso ya HR.
  - Ditlhabololo le go tlisa ga dikakanyo tsa go fokotsa palo ya basha ba go angwa ke HIV le dipalo tsa boimane jwa bashwa, go tlhabolola ga boitekanelo le bonnye jwa tiriso ya go tlhokomela, Se se ka kopantsha ditheo tsa boitekanelo le go kopantsha ga Lefapha la Social Development, le thuto, le thuto e ko godimo le go rutiwa.

KGAOLO 7

# Phetolo ya Ikonomi



**K**a 1994, fa puso ya temokerasi e tsaya bobusi mo pusong ya tlhaolele maemo a ikonomi a ne a le maswe thata, kgolo ya GDP e ne e na le dingwaga di le lesoeme e tsamaela mo go 1.2%, mme go ne go nnile le kwelotlase e e seng kana ka sepe gareng ga 1990 le 1992.<sup>171</sup> Kwa bofelong jwa 1993, Aforika Borwa e ne e kolota dinaga tse dingwe madi a a kana ka didolara tsa Amerika di le dibilione di le 25 mme didolara di le dibilione di le 15 tsa madi ao di ile tsa dirisediwa ke Banka ya Resefe le dikgwebo.<sup>172</sup> Go adima madi mo dinageng tse dingwe go ne ga tswelela, fa IMF e ne dumelela gore Aforika Borwa e adimiwe madi a a kana ka didolara di le dimilione di le 850, ka Sedimonthole wa 1993, dikgwedi di le tharo pele ga dithopho tsa ntlha tsa puso ya temokerasi.<sup>173</sup>

Seo se ne sa fetola histori ya Aforika Borwa ka gonnes Transition Executive Committee [e kopanya Aforika Borwa] go tlisa pholisi ya bula mebaraka mahala, le ikonomi ya go romela dithoto mo go rulagnetweng le thebolosesha ka leano la kgolo.<sup>174</sup> Seno se ne se akaretsa maitlhomo a a sa beilweng lantlha a go sireletska kgolo ka thebolosesha.

Ka 1993 bajete ya naga e ne e tlhaela ka 7.7% mme fa go akarediwa Bantustans, e ne e tlhaela ka 9.5%. Dipeeletso le tsone ga di a ka tsa thusa ka gonnes palogotlhe ya tsone e ne ya wa go tswa go 27% ka 1981 go ya go 15% ka 1993 mo GDP. Ka yone nako eo, dipeeletso mo dikarolong dingwe tsa mafapha a puso di ne tsa ya kwa tlase go tswa go 12% go ya go 4% mo GDP mme dikgwebo tse di sa laolweng ke puso di ne tsa ya kwa tlase go tswa go 10% go ya go 5% mo GDP<sup>175</sup>.

Puso eno e ntsha ya temokerasi e ne yamekamekana le makonokono a komelelo e nnileng gone ka 1992, go wa ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe, mathata a dipolotiki tsa selegae le go sa ikobelwe ga dipholisi tsa ikonomi, go lekanyedwa ga thefosano le mafatshe a mangwe ka dithoto (kakaretso go amogela dithoto kafa tlase ga beke), go tlhagisa morokotsa o montsi ga ditheo tsa poraefete, tlhatlogo ya ikonomi ka 15% le go dirisiwa ga madi a mantsi. Gape naga ne e dira bokoa tota mo go tsa kgwebo go tloga ka 1945, mo go tsereng sebaka go tloga ka Mopitlw 1989 go ya go Motsheganong 1993<sup>176</sup>.

Mo godimo ga moo, go dira kgwebo le dinaga tse dingwe go ne ga dira gore go tlhabololwe dipholisi tsa tiriso ya madi le tekanyetso kabo, gape go ne ga dira gore dinaga di nne le dipholisi tse di tshwanang tsa dikoloto tsa naga, go duela lekgetho le go tlhabololwa ga ditirelo le dikgwebo.

Ka kakaretso fela, dipholisi tsa puso ya tlhaolele di dirile gore go se ka g anna le kgolo ya ikonomi le gore go se ka ga atlegiwa mo go direng dikgwebo le dinaga tse dingwe. Naga e ne e na le dipholisi tse di thibelang gore go e se ka ya ikamanya le dimaketse tsa lefatshe, naga e ne e dirisa madi a mantsi gore e bone dithoto tse e di rekang kwa dinageng tse dingwe.<sup>177</sup>

Puso ya tlhaolele e ne gana go neela MaAforika Borwa ditshono tsa go nna le seabe mo go godiseng ikonomi. Bontsi jwa batho bantshe le MaAforika ba ne se na tshwanelo ya go nna le lefatshe, kgwebo, bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng kgotsa go dula mo mafelong a ikonomi e e ko godimo.

Mo pusong ya tlhaolele, ikonomi e ne e ikaegile thata ka dimmaene gore e gole, 69% ya dilo tse e neng e di rekisetra dinaga tse dingwe e ne e le diminirale kgotsa dilo tse di diriwang ka diminirale. Difeme tse dikgolo di ne di ikarabelela ka dikarolo tse dintsia tsa ikonomi. Gape ikonomi e ne e thusiwa ke mekgalho ya sepolotiki e e thomilweng ke basweu go godisa ekonomi ka go thapa basweu le go ba ruta go bereka ka diatla.

Mathata a madirelo a oli a tlhagileng ka bo 1970, go beela diporojeke tse di kgolo madi ko thoko le go se dire kgwebo le dinaga tse dingwe go ile ga dira

171 The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlubo ya Ngwaga Tse di Lesome, Aforika Borwa 1994-2014. ts.84.

172 <https://www.pambazuka.org/governance/south-africa-apartheid-debt-and-reparations>

173 Prof Sampie Terreblanche; o noppetswe mo Mbowneni T. 2004. Go Theilwe Motheo, Puo ka Mmusisi wa Banka ya Resefe ya SA, kwa Foramong ya Botsamaisi jwa Bantsho, 18 Seetebosigo 2004. E noppetswe Prof Sampie Terreblanche wa University of Stellenbosch

174 Ibid

175 The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlubo ya Ngwaga wa bo20. ts. 84.

176 DPME. 2014. 20 Year Review Background Paper: Economy and Employment. p.15.

177 Kantoro ya Moporesidente.2003.Go ya Kwa Tlhatlhobong ya Ngwaga wa Bolesome wa Temokerasi.

gore ikonomi e fetse dingwaga di le 20 e ntse e goga bokete.

Ditlamorago tsa seno e nnile koketsegó ya botlhokatiro, khumanego, go sa lekalekane ka lotseno, go sa rutege le go tlhoka madi a mantsi go ipulela kgwebo.<sup>178</sup>

Dilo tseno tsotlhe di amile kgolo ya ikonomi le botlhokatiro ka tsela e e sa siamang mme go feletse ka gore dikoloto tsa naga di oketsege, seno se ile sa gobatsa madi a a neng a beetswe go tlhabolola dilo tse di jaaaka ditsela, diporo, boemakepe le tsamaiso ya tlamelo ya motlakase.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng puso ya temokerasi e ntse e leka go rarabolola mathata ano a ikonomi ka go “go dira ditshono tsa ditiro, go fokotsa khumanego, go fokotsa go sa lekalekane ka lotseno le go tokafatsa itsholelo ya naga.”<sup>179</sup>

Mathata ano a sa feleleng a botlhokatiro, khumanego le go se lekalekane ka lotseno a tlhoka gore Aforika Borwa borwa e dire sengwe ka ikonomi ya yone, gore e kgone go tsibogela tlhagiso e la ntlha e umakilweng mo pegong ya go sekasekiwa ga dingwaga di le lesome tse di fetileng, pego eo ya re “le fa go ne go nnile le kgatelopele, go wa ga ikonomi go bakile kgwethlo e e leng gore fa e ka tlodisiwa matlho e ka ama dikarolo tse di godisang ikonomi ya gaga.”

### **Go Tsereganya ga Dipholisi fa e sa le ka 1994 le kgatelopele**

Mo dingwageng tse di fetileng puso e ile ya dirisa dipholisi dingwe e le go Iwantsha mathata a digang ikonomi ya naga. Tsone di akaretsa pholisi ya RDP ya 1994, Gear ya 1996, AsgiSA ya 2005, NGP ya 2010 le NDP ya 2012. Fa re boa fela re sapotapote, dipholisi tseno di tshwanetse go Iwantsha khumanego le go sa lekalekane ka lotseno le go oketsa ditshono tsa ditiro ka (1) go fetola taolo ya ikonomi le (2) go tokafatsa botsamaisi jwa ikonomi ka dipholisi tsa lekgetho, madi le madirelo.

### **Dipholisi tsa go Fetola Taolo ya Ikonomi**

Ka 2003, puso e ne ya dira thulaganyo ya go godisa ikonomi ya batho ba bantsho kgotsa Black Economic Empowerment(BEE) e le gore batho bantsho ba kgone go tsaya marapo a go godisa ikonomi le gore basadi ba nne le seabe se se lekanang le sa banna mo go godiseng ikonomi. Fa e sa le go nna le thulaganyo

<sup>178</sup> The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo20. ts.86.

<sup>179</sup> The Presidency. 2003. Go ya Kwa Tlhatlhobong ya Ngwaga wa bo Lesome.ts.32.

ya BEE, puso e ile ya atolosa thulaganyo eno gore e akaretse go tokafatsa bokgone le dikgwebo tsa batho bantsho, pholisi eno e ne ya feleletsa e bidiwa Broad-Based BEE(B-BBEE). Puso e tlhomile dipholisi di le dintsi go leka go batho ba sa bolong go tlodisiwa matlho, dipholisi tseo di akaretsha National Empowerment Fund(NEF) Act ya 1998 le BEE Act ya 2003, e e neng ya latelwa ke B-BBEE Code of Good Practice. Dipholisi tseno di ne tsa tlhomika ka maekaelelo a go tshegetsa le go thusa batho bantsho ka go oketsa seabe se ba nang le sone mo go kgolong ya ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa.

E le go tsenya tirisong Section 217 ya Constitution e e buelelang “go sireletsa kgotsa go tokafatsa matshelo a batho, batho ba maemo a a farologaneng, le ba ba sa itsholelang ka ntla ya tlhaolele,” go akaretsha bantsho, basadi le batho ba ba nang le bogole, Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act e ne ya tsenng-wa tirosong ka 2000, e ne ya tshegediwa ke ditaelo le ditlankana di le mmalwa tsa matlotlo. Puso e ne e ikemiseditse go dirisa dilo tseno go thusa bantsho, basad, batho ba ba nang le bogole, le dikgwebopotlana tsa bantsho. Go ne ga diriwa maitlamo a gore 30% ya dilo tse di fitlhelelwang ke batho bano e tla beelwa ko thoko.

Mo godimo ga moo, puso e e ne ya dirisa Basic Condition and Employment Equity Acts, e e neng e tshwanetse go tlhomamisa gore go berekelwa mo mafelong a a siameng, batho ba maemo a a kwa tlase ba tsewa sentle mo tirong le go fedisa tlhaolele mo tirong. Gape puso e ne ya tlhoma ditheo tse di buelelang badiri tse di jaaka Labour Courts, Collective Bargaining Forums le Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration(CCMA) e le go thusa batho ba re buileng ka bone fa godimo.

Kgang ya gore meago ya puso e newe batho bantsho e sa ntse e le kgwetlh. Go ya ka dipatlisiso tsa B-BBEE(2018) dikhamphani tsa batho bantsho di nnile le kwelotlase mo JSE go tloga go 33% ka 2015 go ya 27% ka 2017.<sup>180</sup> Go ya ka pego eno, dikhamphani tsa batho ba bantsho go oketsegile 113% go tloga ka

2006 go ya go 2016. Dipalopalotseno di akaretsha ba ba eteletseng pele ka tlhamalalo le ba ba sa etelelang pele ka tlhamalalo.<sup>181</sup> Dikhamphani tsa batho ba bantsho di ne tsa oketsegia ka 3% ka 2015.<sup>182</sup> Mo lobakeng loo, go ne ga nna le kwelotlase ya basadi ba bantsho ba ba nang le dikhamphani go tloga go 11% go ya 9%.<sup>183</sup>

Mo godimo ga moo, 25% ya batho bantsho ke yone fela e leng mo maemong a a kwa godimo mo dikgwebong mme ke 22% ya basadi e e leng maemong a a kwa godimo fa re tlhakanya mafapha a puso le dikgwebo.<sup>184</sup>

Dipalopalo tseno di ne tsa tlhagelela gape mo pegong ya World Bank, e neng ya konela ka go re:“ka kakaretso, go nna mongwe wa lotso lo lo sa imiwang ke puso ya tlhaolele go le kalo, eleng go nna mosweu kgotsa Molndia, go sa ntse go na le seabe mo go itsholeleng.”<sup>185</sup> Gape World Inequality Report e ne ya konela ka go re:“fa e sa le go khutla ga puso ya tlhaolele ka 1994, lotseno lwa bangwe lo ile lwa tlhotloganyana. Le fa go dirilwe maiteko a le mansi a go lwantsha khumanego, go tlhaolwa go ya ka mmala e sa ntse e le selo sa konokono se se dira gore go nne le go se lekalekane ka lotseno, go sa nne tshono ya thutego e e kwa godimo, botlhokatiro le maemo a thata a itsholelo.”<sup>186</sup> Aforika Borwa ke yone naga e e di gaisang tsotlhe ka se lekalekane ka itsholelo mo loagong, with the wealth share of “the top 10% received 2/3 of national income, while the top 1% received 20% of national income” in 2014<sup>187</sup>.

Setshwantsho 7.1 e babisa batho ba le lesomo mo Aforika Borwa ba ba humileng thata le batho ba le lesome ba ba humileng thata mo dinageng tse dingwe.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, go ntse go sa ntshiwe ga tshwene mo dikarolong tse di godisang ikonomi, dikarolo tse di jaaka botsamaisi, dikgwebo le go tokafatsa thapiso mo nageng.<sup>188</sup>

Go tloga ka 2016 go ya go 2017, ikonomi ya dikgwebo tsa bantsho e ne e wa (seno se se direga mo dikgwebopong tsa dipalangwa, jaaka setshwantsho 7.2 e bontsha). Ka kakaretso, dik-

<sup>180</sup> Khomishine ya B-BBEE. 2018. Seemo sa Naga le Mokgwa wa go Matlafatsa Ikonomi ya Bantsho.ts.33. E teng mo: <https://bbbeecommission.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/National-Status-and-Trends-on-Black-Economic-Empowerment-Report-31-March-2018-FINAL.pdf> (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. p.38.

<sup>182</sup> <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/guide-much-sas-stock-exchange-black-owned-know/>

<sup>183</sup> Khomishine ya B-BBEE. 2018. Seemo sa Naga le Mokgwa wa go Matlafatsa Ikonomi ya Bantsho.ts.33. E teng mo: <https://bbbeecommission.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/National-Status-and-Trends-on-Black-Economic-Empowerment-Report-31-March-2018-FINAL.pdf> (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).

<sup>184</sup> Ibid

<sup>185</sup> Banka ya Lefatshe. 2018. Republic of South Africa Systematic Country Diagnostic An Incomplete Transition Overcoming the Legacy of Exclusion in South Africa.p.18. E teng mo: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/815401525706928690/pdf/WBG-South-Africa-Systematic-Country-Diagnostic-FINAL-for-board-SECPO-Edit-05032018.pdf> (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).

<sup>186</sup> Lab. ya go Tlhoka Tekatekano ga Lefatshe 2018. Pego ya go Tlhoka Tekatekano ga Lefatshe ya 2018. ts.145. <https://wir2018.wid.world/files/download/wir2018-full-report-english.pdf>.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid

<sup>188</sup> Op Ibid. p.33.

gwebo tsa go adimisana ka madi, go aga, dipalangwa le tsa go rekisa le go hirisa meago, e ne e le tsone thata tse di laolwang ke batho bantsho (Bona tshed-imosetso e e mo **setshwantsho 7.2**).

Pholisi ya gore batho ba ba nyatsegang ba tshwariwe sentle kwa tirong ga e bolo go nna teng, e nnile teng ka Employment Equity Act ya 1998. Go ntse go diriwa maiteko ka iketlo a go oketsa bathapiwa mo dikgwebong le mo mafapheng a puso.

Fa e sa le ka 2001, go nnile le diphetogo tse di amang merafe e e farologaneng kwa ditirong. Ka 2017 MaAforika a ne a tshwere 14.3% ya botsamaisi mme ka 6% ka 2001, Bakhilate 51% ka 2017 mme 4% ka 2001 fa Balndia bone e nnile 9.4% ka 2017 mme 4% ka 2001.<sup>189</sup> Koketsego eno e ntse e diraga ka iketlo segolo jang mo dikgwebong, ka go nne basweu ba tshwere 71% ya botsamaisi mme mo mafapheng a puso bantsho ba tshwere 72.2%<sup>190</sup> ya botsamaisi. Basweu ba tsweletse ka go feta bantsho ba ba nang le maemo a a kwa godimo mo dikgwebong le mo pusong ka 67% ka 2017, go tloga go 87% ka 2001. Fa re bua ka kgang ya bong, banna ba sa ntse ba feta basadi ba ba nang le maemo a a kwa godimo ka 77.1% ka 2017, go tswa go 87% ka 2001. Ka fa letlhakoreng le lengwe, basadi ba ne ba na le 13% fela mo botsamaising ka 2001 mme 22.9% ka 2017.

### Dipholisi Tsa Ikonomi le Tsa Lekgetho

E le go tlhalosa gore lekgetho le la dirisiwa jang mo thulaganyong ya go aga sesha le go tlhabolola kgotsa RDP, puso e ne ya tla ka leano le le sobokanyiwang mo setlankaneng sa GEAR. Leano leno le ne le diretswe go fokotsa go dirisa madi a a fetileng bajete, go fokotsa go imetsa batho ka go ba batla lekgetho le le kwa godimo, go fokotsa ditshenyegelo tsa puso tse di amanang le GDP, le go fokotsa dikoloto tsa puso tse di amanang le GDP.

Puso e ne ya dira gore lekgetho le nne le tsepame gore e kgone go emelana le go tlhatloga ga ditlhawatlha le go fokotsa dikoloto. Seno se ne se diretswe gore puso kgone go tiisa seabe sa yone mo go beeletseng madi go thusa naga.

Gape go ne ga akantshiwa go go tlhatlhobiwe tsela a batho ba newang ditirelo ka yone, e le gore ditirelo di se ka tse newa fela batho ba lotso lo lo rileng le ba bong jo bo rileng. Gore puso e kgone go fokotsa ditshenyegelo tsa yone e ne e tshwanetse gokotsa ditiro dingwe tse di diriwang mo mafapheng a puso.

Go nna le tekanyetso kabo ya nako e e rileng go ne ga thusa gore go nne le tekanyetsobo ya dingwaga.

Ka ntlha ya seno, Aforika Borwa e ne ya kgona go thusa batho ba ba sa itsholelang mo loagong. Go ne ga felela ka gore “mo e ka nnang 68% ya madi a a neng bajetilwe a dirisedive go thusa mo loagong, mo dilong tse di jaaka thutu, boitekanelo, madi a disusa le ditirelo tse di bothhokwathata.”<sup>191</sup>

Go wa ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe mo go diragetseng ka 2008-2009 go ile ga gobatsa Aforika Borwa fela thata. Ntho eno e ntse e fola ka iketlo mme seno se bonala sentle mo madi a ditirelo tsa loago. Go phutha lekgetho e ne ya nna kgwetlho fa merokotso ya dikgwebo e ne e ya kwa tlase, batho ba latlhelgwla ke ditiro le go bo batho ba sa tlhole reka thata go ne ga gobatsa VAT.<sup>192</sup> Batho ba sa ntse ba duela lekgetho le le kwa godimo jaaka go bontshitswe mo setshwantsho 7.3. E le go rarabolola seno, puso e ne ya tla ka ditsela tsa go thusa batho ba maemo a a kwa tlase gore ba se ka ba duela lekgetho le le kwa godimo.

Go tloga ka 1994, go duelwa ga lekgetho go ile ga tokafala go tloga go dibilione tsa diranta di le 113 go ya go dithirilione tsa diranta di le 1.3 ka 2018. Palo ya batho ba ba kwadiseditse go duela lekgetho e ntse e oketsega go tloga ka 2009 go fitlha ka 2017/18.

Le fa go ntse jalo, makgetho a dikhamphani a ne a fokodiwa ka 50% ka 1990/1991, a fokolediwa mo go 25% ka 2014/2015 ka maikaeleo a go oketsa dipeelestso le go tlhama ditiro.<sup>193</sup> Madi a Value Added Tax a ne a dirisiwa go thusa batho ba ba amogelang madi a mannye. VAT e ne ya simololwa ka 1991 e le 10%, ya okediwa ka 1993 e dirwa 14% mme bosheng jaana ke 15% jaaka go bontshiwa mo dipalong tsa 7.4.

Ka 1994, dikoloto tsa Aforika Borwa di ne di dira 48.3% ya GDP. Ka 2008, di ne di setse di fokoleditswe go 22.4%. Morago ga masetlapelo a ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe ka 2008, dikoloto tsa naga di ne di oketsega ya nna 53% ya GDP. Mo godimo ga moo, go ne go tlhokega gore go adimiwe madi a a oketsegileng gore go kgone go fitlhelelwla ditirelo tse di bothhokwa tsa puso ka gonne madi a lekgetho a ne a s akgone go fitlhelela dilo tseo, mme ka nako eo go ne go le tlhokega thata gore go dirwe dilo tse di tla tokafatsang ikonomi.

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Khomishine ya Bothapi jo bo Lekalekanang. 2018. Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga ya bo18 2017 – 2018. ts.18..

190

Ibid. p.20.

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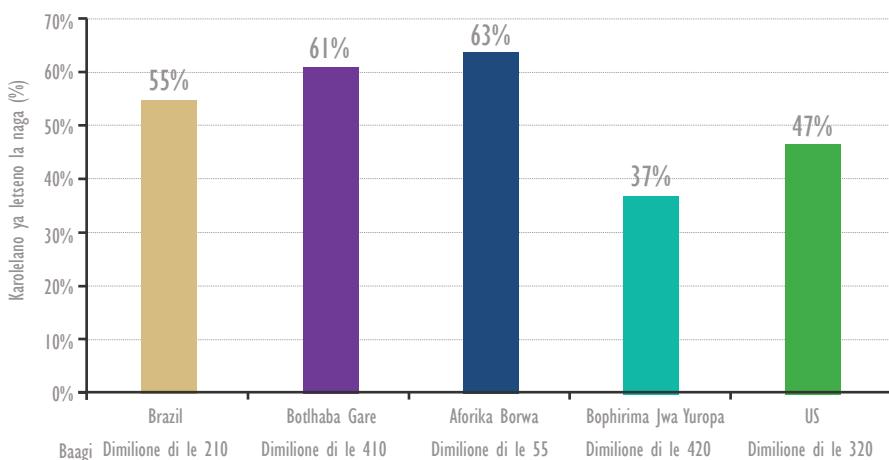
Matlotlo a Setshaba. 2019. Tlhatlhobo ya Tekanyetsokabo 2019.

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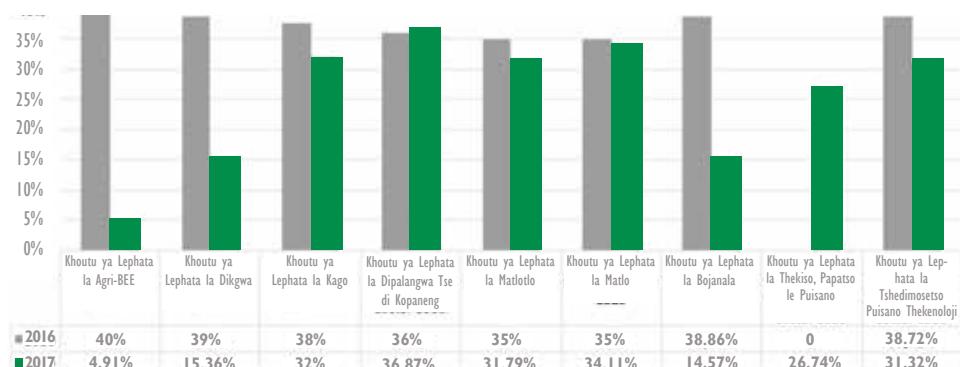
The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo20. ts.15.

193

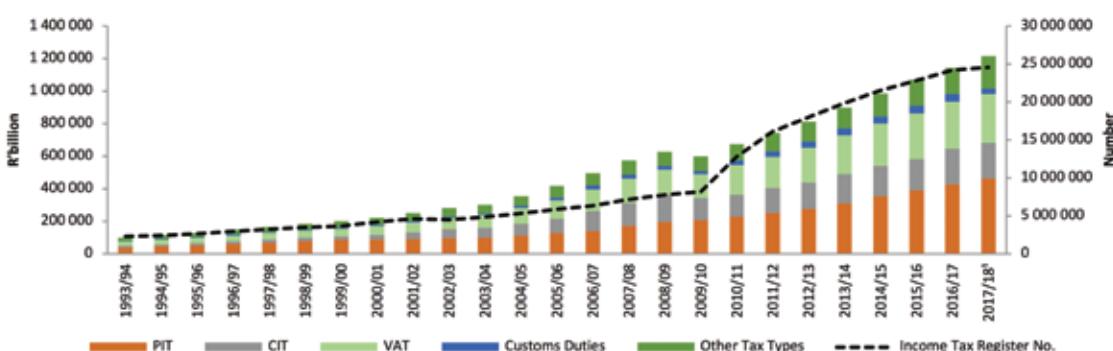
Ibid, p.8.



**Setshwantsho 7.1:** Palogotlhe ya karolelano ya letseno  
la 10% e e kwa godimo ya batho ba ba amogelang ka 2012-2016  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Alvaredo, Assouad le Piketty (2017)



**Setshwantsho 7.2:** Lephata la phetolo mo madirelong a farologaneng  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Pego ya Khomishene ya B-BBEE, 2018



**Setshwantsho 7.3:** Ikwadisetso Lekgetho le Kokoanyo ya Dithoto 1993/94-2017/18  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Ditirole Tsa Lekgetho Tsa Aforika Borwa/South African Revenue Services

# Go ile ga nna le koketsego ya makgetho e ile ya oketsega go tswa go dibilione di le 113 tsa diranta ka 1994 go ya go diranta di le 1.3 tirilione ka 2018.

Jaaka dipalo tsa 7.5 di bontsha, dikoloto tsa Aforika Borwa tsa GDP di sa ntse di le kwa tlase ga tsa India le Brazil, e bile go lebega di tla nna kwa tlasenyana ga tsa China ka 2020. Naga ya Turkey le Argentina (tse di welang mo dinageng tsa ikonomi e e kwa godimo mo lefatsheng), di na le mathata a magolo a dikoloto; di kolota GDP thata. Le fa go ntse jalo, di kolota dinaga tse dingwe thata go gaisa Aforika Borwa. Madi a Aforika Borwa e a kolotang dinaga tse dingwe, ga a mantsi jaaka a dinaga tse dingwe tse di itsholetseng di a kolotang, e bile a kwa tlase thata ga a Turkey, Brazil le Argentina, a a tlhobaetsang lefatshe lotlhe ka kgolo ya ikonomi. Le fa go ntse jalo, e ne ya golanyana go tloga ka 2011 gore e lekane le ikonomi ya dinaga tse dingwe. Dipalo tsa 7.6 di bontsha gore bajete ya naga e ntse e tsamaisana jang le madi a naga e neng e a dira. Bajete ya naga e ne ya fokotsega go se kae ka 5.3% ya GDP ka 2013. E ne ya oketsega gape go tloga mo go 4% ka 2016/17 go ya go 4.5% ka 2017/18.

## Dipholisi Tsa Madi

Dipholisi tsa madi di ikaegile ka dintlha di le pedi: go tlhomamisa gore go nna go na le madi a a lekaneng le go fokotsa ditlhwtlhwa le merokotso ga di tlhatloge thata. Gape dipholisi tseno di diretswe go dira gore go nne le dipeeletso tse di botoka thata e le go kgothaletsa batho go boloka madi le go beeletsa. Gape go leka go fokotsa melao ya go fetolela madi kwa dinageng tse dingwe le go fetola melao ya tsamaiso ya madi ya naga, go ne go direlwaa gore go ngoke babeletsi ba dinaga tse dingwe.

Dipholisi tsa madi tse di neng di diretswe gore di fokotsa tlhatlogo ya ditlhwtlhwa le dipeeletso di ne di thusa gore ranta e nne maatla, ka gonne fa nako e ntse e ya, go laola ditlhwtlhwa le dipeeletso tseo go ne ga matlafatsa ledi la Aforika Borwa fa e dira kgwebo le dinaga tse dingwe.

Ka jalo, dipholisi tsa madi tse di neng di diretswe go fokotsa tlhatlogo le morokotso ke tsone tse di neng di thusa go laola mokgwa wa go fetolela ranta kwa dinageng tse dingwe, mme di ne di thusa gore a se ka a fetofetoga. Ka 1999, puso e ne ya dira gore dipholisi tsa madi di ikaege ka melao ya go laola ditlhwtlhwa le morokotso, ka go dira kaelo ya morokotso gore e se ka ya nna kwa tlase ga 3% le gore e se ka ya feta 6%.

Ditlhwtlhwa le dipeeletso tse di kwa tlase di ne di thusa go kgothaletsa ditsela tse dinnye tsa go matlafatsa ikonomi, go dira gore go nne le kgolo mo dipeeletsong, go thusa dikgwebo tse dinnye ka dilo tse ba di tlhokang ka sekoloto le go kgothaletsa batho go nna le matlo.

Dipalo tsa 7.7 di bontsha gore mo magareng ga 1994 le 1998 ditlhwtlhwa di ne di le kwa godimo thata ka ngwaga, di feta 6%; mme maiteko a Reserve Bank a go sireletsa boleng jwa ranta go ya kwa bowelong kwa bo 1990, a ne a itaya sefololetse mme seo sa ama merokotso ka tsela e e sa siamang. Mokgele wa gore ditlhwtlhwa di nne fa gare ga 3% le 6% o ne wa kgona go fithelelwa fela go tloga ka 1999 go fitlha ka 2006, mme e seng ka 2002. Fa maemo a tsa madi a nna maswe ka thata ka 2007/08, ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe e ne ya phutlhama ka 2009, ditlhwtlhwa tsa dikungo di ne tsa ya kwa godimo thata mme tlhwtlhwa ya leokwane e ne ya tlhatloga thata mo barele e le nngwe e neng e tloga e ja didolara tsa Amerika di le 150 mo magareng a 2008.

Ditlhwtlhwa tse di kwa godimo tsa leokwane, go koafala ga ranta le go tlhatloga ga ditlhwtlhwa tsa dijо le dilo tse dingwe go ne go imetsa itsholelo ya malapa<sup>194</sup>.

Ka 2008, morago ga go fithelela 11% ka dingwaga di le 20, boleng jwa madi bo ne bo koafetse mo dingwageng tseo. Go ne ga nna botoka gape morago ga 2008 “fa ka dingwaga tsa 2009 go ya go 2012 go ne go nna le palogare ya 5.5% ngwaga le ngwaga”.<sup>195</sup> Go ne ga tswelela go ntse jalo ka 2012 go fitlha ka 2015 jaaka dipalo tsa 7.7 di bontsha. Ikonomi e ne ya tokafala gale mo magareng ga 1994 le 2015 ka 6.3%.<sup>196</sup> Le fa gone maemo a nnile botoka mo dingwageng tse di

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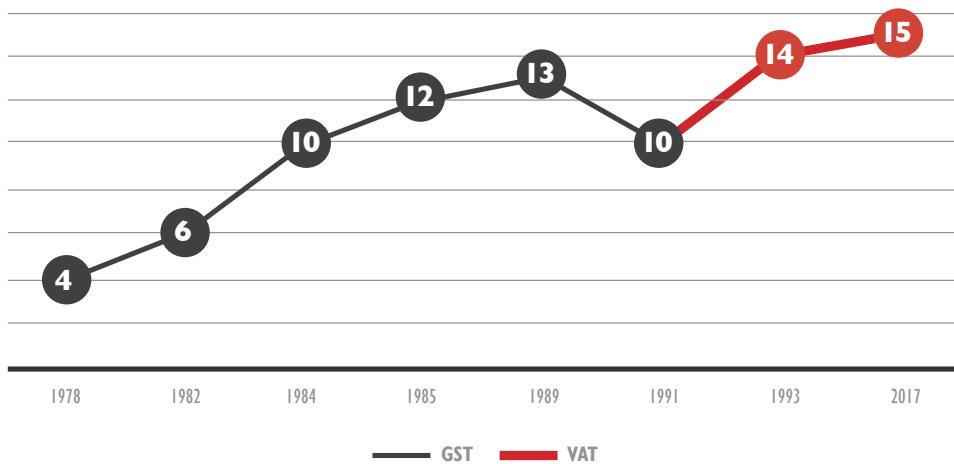
DPME. 2014. 20 Year Review Background Paper: Ikonomi le Bothapi. ts.17.

195

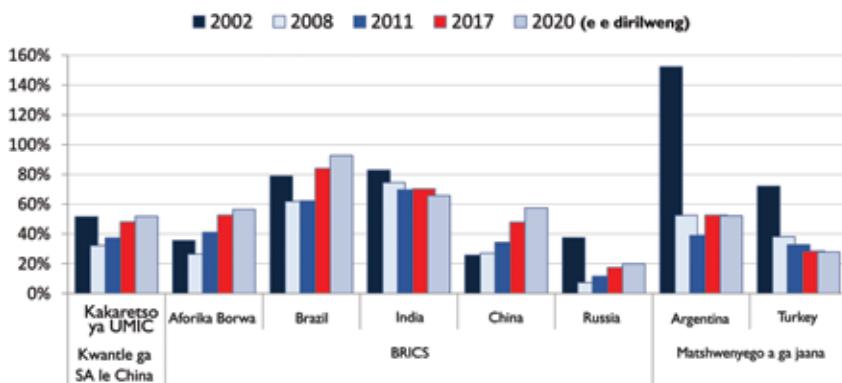
The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa Bomosomeabedi, Aforika Borwa 1994 – 2014.ts.95.

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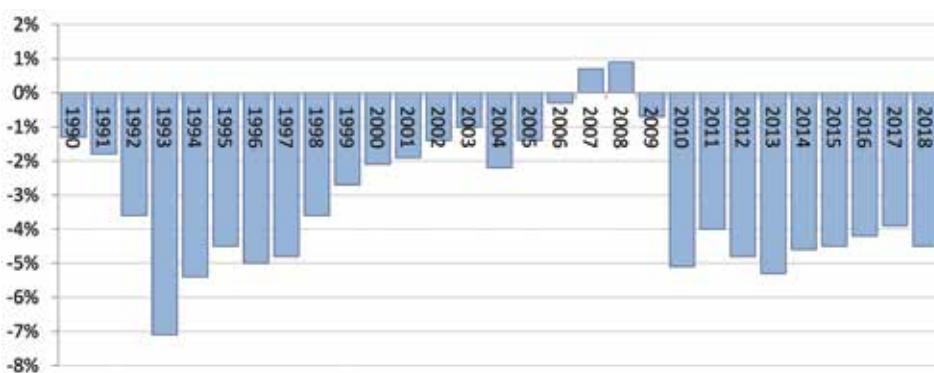
Lefapha la Togamaano, Tekolo le Tshekatsheko. 2016. Ditshupiso Tsa Tlhabololo Tsa 2016. E teng mo: <https://www.dpme.gov.za/publications/Reports%20and%20Other%20Information%20Products/Development%20Indicators%202016.pdf> (Accessed 29 February 2019).



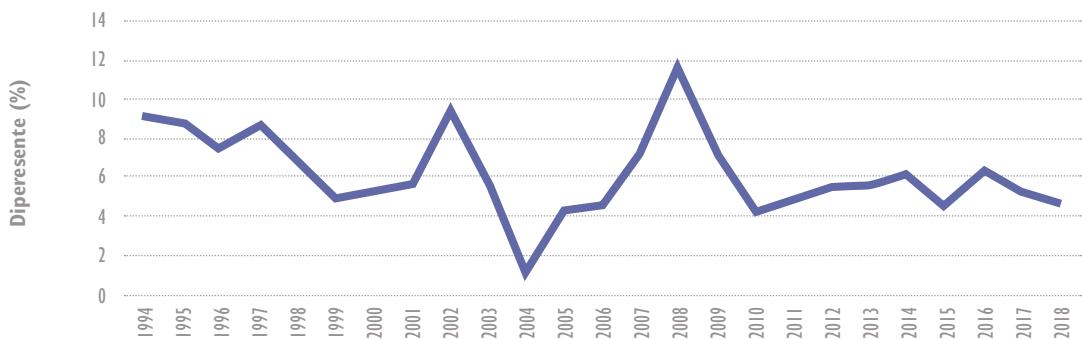
**Setshwantsho 7.4: GST/VAT.**  
Motswedi: South African Revenue Services.



**Setshwantsho 7.5: Sekoloto sa setshaba e le karolo ya GDP, 2002, 2008, 2011, 2017 le e e diretsweng 2020**  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetsa: IMF World Economic Outlook



**Setshwantsho 7.6: South Africa's budget deficit as a percentage of GDP, 1990-2018.**  
Motswedi: South African Reserve Bank.



**Setshwantsho 7.7: Tlhatlhogo ya ngwaga le tsa go dithlwatlha, 1994-2018.**

Motswed: Statistics South Africa, Consumer Price Index (CPI), Ferikgong 2019.

fetileng, go sa ntse go tlhoka go tokafadiwa thata mo kgannyeng ya gore puso e dire dilo tse dinnye tse di tla tokafatsang ikonomi.

Maiteko a puso a a iteileng sefololetse a go tlhama ditiro le go tokafatsa maemo a ikonomi go tloga ka 1994, a dirile gore go nne le dipuisano tsa botlhokwa jwa go tokafatsa dipholisi di le mmalwa tsa puso, go akaretsa le tsa dithlwatlha. Le fa gone dithlwatlha tsa dilwana di ntse di tsamaya sentle mo Aforika Borwa, go sa ntse go tlhokega thata gore go tlhamiwe ditiro ka gonnes le fa go na le kgolo ya ikonomi, palo ya batho ba ba tlhokang tiro e sa ntse e le kwa godimo thata. Go tlhoma mogopololo thata mo go reng dithlwatlha di se ka tsa tlhatloga ka maikaelelo a go rotloetsa mefuta e mengwe ya go tokafatsa ikonomi, go matlafaditswe ke mekgatlhoe e farologaneng ya dipeeletso, segoloboglo e e amang le lephata la ditiro. Go ne ga kgothalediwa gore go tlhomiwe mogopololo mo go tlhameng ditiro e le karolo ya pholisi ya tsa madi. Seno se ka akaretsa go dira dipeeletso/merokotso e batho ba le bantsi ba kgonang go e fitlhelela mo ditheong tsa go rekietsa dilwana kwa ntle e le maikaelelo a go tlhama ditiro le go dira gore di se ka tsa latlhegela ba bangwe.<sup>197</sup>

### Go Boloka Madi le go a Beeletsa

Dipoelo tse di kwa godimo tsa go boloka le go beeletsa madi di thusa thata gore go nne le kgolo ya ikonomi e e dirang gore go se ka ga nna le bothokatiro jo bontsi le lehuma. Go ya ka pego ya SARB's 2019 Quartely Bulletin 291, dipoelo tsa go boloka madi tsa Aforika Borwa tsa 2018 e ne e le 14.4% mme ka 2017 e ne e le 16.3%, fa dipeeletso tsa malapa le tsa

puso di ne tsa tswa go 1.6% go ya go 1.4% le go tswa go 0.2% go ya go 0% ka nako e le nngwe. Go boloka madi go botlhokwa thata ka gonnes go thusa ikonomi go gola Seo se dirile gore lefapha la tsa madi la puso ya Aforika Borwa le simolole mokgwa wa go boloka madi mme go se na morokotso (Tax-Free Savings Accounts) ka 2016 go kgonthaletsa batho go boloka madi.

Go ya ka South African Reserve Bank, palogotlhya lotseno lo lo mo GDP e ne ya oketsetsa go tswa go 15.2% ka 1994 go ya go 23.1% ka 2008 mme e ne ya fokotsega ka 19.2% ka 2012. Ka kakaretso fela, dipeeletso tse di tlhomameng di ne di le maatla ka gore di dirile gore go nne le kgolo ya 6.2% ka ngwaga. Mo magareng ka 2003 le 2008, go nnile le kgolo e e makatsang ya dipeeletso ka palogotlhya 12.2% ka ngwaga (bona dipalo tsa 7.8). Setheo sa motlakase se ne sa dira madi a a gaisang ditheo tse dingwe tsotlh, ka kgolo ya 20.7% ka ngwaga, go bo go tla setheo sa dipalangwa, sa bobolokelo le sa dipuisano. (10.9%)<sup>198</sup>.

Kgolo ya dipeeletso e ne e tshegediwa ke dithlabololo tsa ditsela le dikago tse go neng go dirisiwa dibilione tsa diranta mo go tsone. Dikgwebo tse di laolwang ke puso, e leng Eskom le Transnet, di nnile le seabe se segolo thata mo dipeeletsong jaaka go bonala mo koketsegong ya mekgatlhoe e palogotlhya ya dipeeletso tsa yone e neng e le 10% ka 2001 go ya go mo e ka nnang 22% ka 2012<sup>199</sup>.

**Dipalo tsa 7.9** di bontsha gore dikgwebo tse di sa laolweng ke puso di thusitse batho ba le bantsi mo Aforika Borwa go beeletsa, ka gonnes dipeeletso fa

197

Trade Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS). 2015. Pholisi ya ikonomi tse dikgolo ka dinako tsa kgolo e e bonya le mathata.

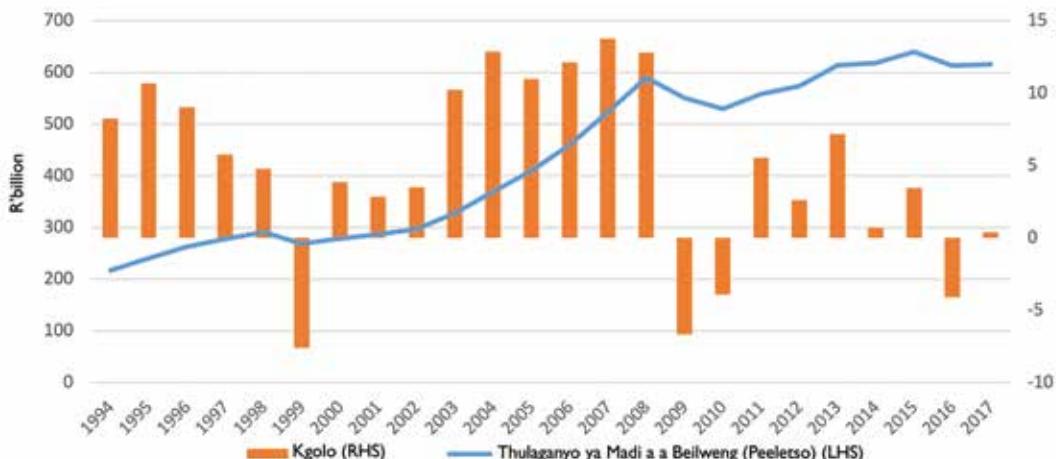
198

DPME. 2014. Pampiri ya Lemorago ya Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa Bomasomeamabedi. Ikonomi le Bothapi. ts. 20.

199

DPME. 2014. Pampiri ya Lemorago ya Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa Bomasomeamabedi. Ikonomi le Bothapi. ts. 20.





**Setshwantsho 7.8: Palogothe ya Thulaganyo ya Madi a a Beilweng**

(ditlhwantlhwa tse di tlhomameng tsa 2010)

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Data-SARB

di simolola e ne e le dibilione di le 155.9 tsa diranta ka 1994 mme ka 2014 e ne e le dibilione di le 409.1, ka ngwaga. Seo se raya gore dipeeletso tsotlhe tsa batho fela di ne di dira 68.8%. Fa e sa le go tloga ka 2014, palogothe ya madi a a dirwang ke dikgwebo tse di sa laolweng ke puso e ne ya fokotseggo go tswa go dibilione di le 405.8 tsa diranta ka 2014 go ya go dibilione di le 389 ka 2017. Kwelotlase eno e ka tswa e bakilwe ke go sa itshepe sentle mo go tsa kgwebo, go tlhoka babeleetsi mo kgwebong, badiri ba bantsi thata le dikopo tse dintsi tse di dirwang ke babereki.

### Dipholisi tsa Madirelo le Dikgwebo

Maitlhommagolo a pholisi ya madirelo le dikgwebo e ne e le go tlhama ditiro le dikgaisano. E ne e remeletse thata mo go rekitsetseng dikgwebo dilo tse di tlhogegang gore go se ka ga nna le ditlhawatlha tse di kwa godimo thata le go leka go anamisetsa dilo tse ba di dirang kwa ditheong tse dintsi.

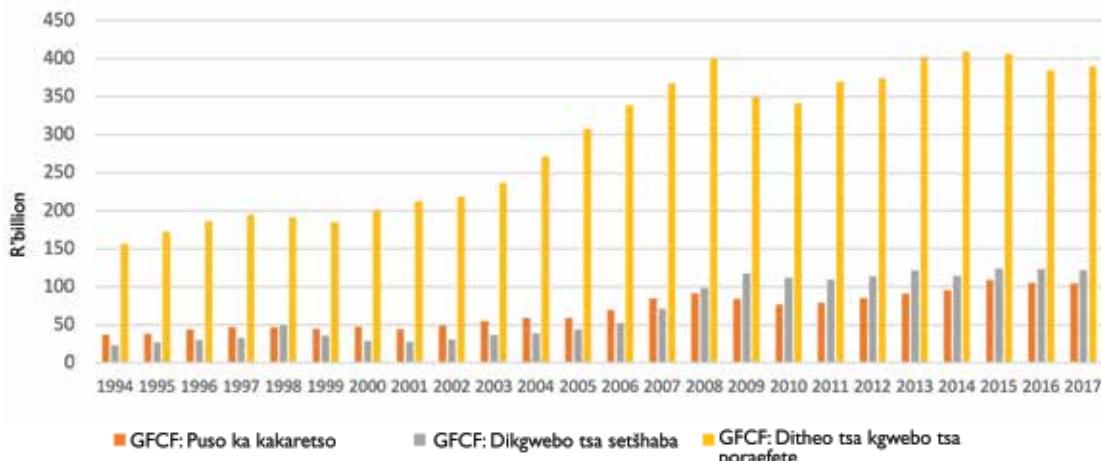
Maitlhomo a puso a ne a akaretsa go thusa ka tlhamalalo ka madi a madirelo, go ema nokeng thapiso ya badiri le go thusa batho go bona dilwana le ditirelo le go fokotsa madi a kadimo mo Development Finance Institutions (DFIs). Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, go ne ga tlhamiwa Small Enterprise Finance Agency (SEFA) le National Empowerment Fund (NEF) e bile Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) e ne ya tokafatsa melao ya yone gore e kgone go tsosolosa ditlhopa tsa dikgwebo tse di neng di le gone.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, e ne ya dumelela go adimisana ka dibilione di le 212 tsa

diranta go tshegetsa madirelo e le go matlafatsa ikonomi ya naga (go a dirisetsa dilo tse di amanang le ditshipi le ditsela kgotsa ditlhabolo), ditheo tsa tiro ya diatla (tsa bolemi le diaparo/ditlhako) go akaretsa le madirelo a masha (jaaka a dijalo, go dira difilimi le botegeniki jo bosh).

Maiteko ao a go atolosa ikonomi a ne a dira gore batho bantsho ba simolole dikhamphani mme di ne tsa dira madi a a kana ka dibilione di le 97 tsa diranta. Gape go ne ga tshegediwa dikgwebo tsa basha le tsa basadi. IDC e ne e akantse gore madi a a adimilweng dikgwebo a tla dira gore go tlhamiwa kgotsa go bolokiwe ditiro di le 500 000. Dipholisi tsa go dira kgwebo di ne tsa tshwanelwa go dira gore di tsamaitsane le GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) le WTO (World Trade Union) gore Aforika Borwa e kgone go boa e akarediwa mo ikonoming ya lefatshe lotlhe, morago ga dingwaga di le dintsi e sa newe tetla eo e bile e kgaphetswe kwa thoko. Mme kafa letlhakoreng le lengwe, Aforika Borwa e ne ya tshwanelwa ke go itirela botsala jwa kgwebo le dinaga tse di mabapi le tse di mo kontinenteng ya Aforika.

Ano e ne e le maitlhommagolo: go fetola tsela e ditlhawatlha di bewang ka yone; go leka go diragat-sa dithulaganyo tsa go rekitsetsa dinaga tse dingwe; go fokotsa ditlhawatlha gore dikgwebo di le dintsi tse dinnye di kgone go thusiwa ka madi ke IDC le mekgatlhoo mengwe ya tsa madi; go tlhomolola mafelo Industrial Policy Action Plans (IPAP) e ka kgonang go a thusa mo lobakeng lo lonnye (lobaka lwa dingwaga di le 5); le go dira gore tsa kgwebo di tsamaitsane le tsa kontinente yotlhe ya Aforika.



**Setshwantsho 7.9:** Thulagano ya Palogotlhe ya Madi a a Beilweng ka Dikarolo.  
Motswedi: Data-SARB

Maikaelelo e ne e le go leka thata gore dipholisi tsa kgwebo di tswele batho ba bantsi mo nageng mosola. Go fokotsa ditlhwtlhwa tsa ditirelo jalo go ne ga thusa thata mo go rekisetseng dinaga tse dingwe, ga dira gore go nne le dikgaisano tse di siameng mo madirelong a selegae go bo go nna le seabe mo go fokotseng ditlhwtlhwa tsa dilo tse di amang ikonomi.

Dithibelo tsa kgwebisano di ile tsa nna le seabe se segolo mo go lekalekanyeng kgwebisano ga naga. Dithoto tse di romelwang kwantle di oketsegile magareng ga 1994 le 2008. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo setshwantsho 7.10 dithoto tse di romelwang kwantle ga naga ka dipalo tsa teng go ntse go gola fa e sale ka 1994. Boleng jwa palogotlhe ya kgwebisano ya Aforika Borwa (tse di tswelang kwantle le tse di tsenang mo teng) e ne ya tlhatlhoga go tloga go R137 billion ka 1994 go fitlha go R2.2 trillion ka 2017<sup>200</sup>. Seno se lekana le kakaretso ya kgolo ya diperesente di le 13 ka ngwaga ka boleng jwa ranta. Ka 2009 ka ntlha ya mathata a madi mo lefatsheng lotlhe, boleng jwa dithoto tse di tswelang kwa ntle le tse di tsenang ka bobedi jwa tsone bo ne jwa wela tlase mme kgwebisano ya lefatshe lotlhe ka 2016 le 2017 e ne ya thusa ikonomi e e bokoa ya Aforika Borwa. Ikonomi ya selegae e ne ya bega palogotlhe ya madi a a salang a kgwebisano a bokana ka R53 billion ka ntlha tokafalo ya dilo tse di batlegang mo lefatsheng le go tsogologa ga ditlhwtlhwa tsa dikuno tse di neng tsa etleetsa go romelwa ga ditlhagiswa tsa meepo kwa ntle ka diperesente di le 23.5<sup>201</sup>.

Aforika e ne ya tlhagelela e le mmaraka o o golang ka lebelo mo kgwebisanong ya Aforika Borwa, mme bontsi jwa kgwebisano eo ke dithagiswa tsa madirelo. SADC e bonala e le kgaolo e kgolo ya kgwebisano le Aforika Borwa mo dithotong tse

JSE

**JSE ke lefelo le legolo mo kontinenteng la go rekisa dikungo le le simolotsweng ke Benjamin Minors Wollen ka di 8 tsa Ngwanaatsele 1887 kwa Sauer le Commissioner Streets, morago ga go lemoga gore go na le gauta ka 1886.**

<sup>200</sup>  
Ibid

Lefapha la Kgwebisano le Madirelo. 2018. Pego mo DPME ka Phithhelelo 4 malebana le Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

di tsenang le tse di tswang. Kgaolo ka boyone e ikarabelela ka diperesente tse di fetang di le 70 tsa dithoto tse di tswang mo Aforika Borwa di ya kwa Aforika. Mebaraka e megolo mo SADC ke Botswana, Namibia (thatathata ka ntlha ya Tumalano ya SACU), Mozambique, Zambia le Zimbabwe. Mo maitekong a go lekalekanya gape kgwebisano le dinaga tse dingwe tsa Aforika, Aforika Borwa e dirile gore tlhabololo ya kgwebisano ya madirelo e nne ya botlhokwa le go tlhabolola ditirelo e selotlolo sa go bulela bokgoni jwa dinaga tsa Aforika mo ditshonong tsa go gwebisana le go beeletsa mo Aforika Borwa.

Malebana le go elela ga kgwebisano, dithoto tse di Aforika Borwa e di romelang kwa EU di oketsegile go tloga go R20 billion ka 1994 go fitlha go R262 billion ka 2017.<sup>202</sup> Ka nako e e tshwanang dithoto tse di tswang kwa EU di oketsegile gabedi go tloga go R37 ka 1994 go fitlha go R337 billion ka 2017. Go sa kgathalesege koketsego mo dithotong tse di romelwang kwa EU fa e sale ka 1994, go gola ga madi a a tlhaelang a kgwebisano segolobogolo fa e sale ka 2003 go a tshwenya. Go gola ga madi a a tlhaelang a kgwebisano ya Aforika Borwa le EU ke go bontsha go sa phatlhallang ga lephata la madirelo. Thulaganyo ya kgwebisano magare ga Aforika Borwa le EU e tlhomame thata e bile e dira thata ka ditlhagiswa tse di tala le dikuno tsa dimenerale mme seno se godisa go koafala ga ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa mo thomelong ya dithoto kwa ntle le go di amogela.

Fa China e simolola go nna naga ya ikonomi e e humileng thata le fa go tlhamiwa tirisanommogo e e maatla ya kwa Borwa e e eteletsweng pele ke China, India, Brazil le Russia, seo se ne sa fetola ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe le tsamaiso ya dipolotiki mo dingwageng di le 20 tse di fetileng. Maemo ano a ikonomi a wela mo go a ntlha a le lesome a magolo mo lefatsheng lotlhe, a batho ba ba mo magareng ba kgonang go reka dilwana tsa one. Ka 2010, Aforika Borwa e ne ya nna karolo ya setlhophya seo se ka nako eo se neng se bidiwa BRICS. Tirisanommogo eno ke yone e dirileng gore go nne le phetogo ya ikonomi mo go tsa kgwebo le dipeeletso.

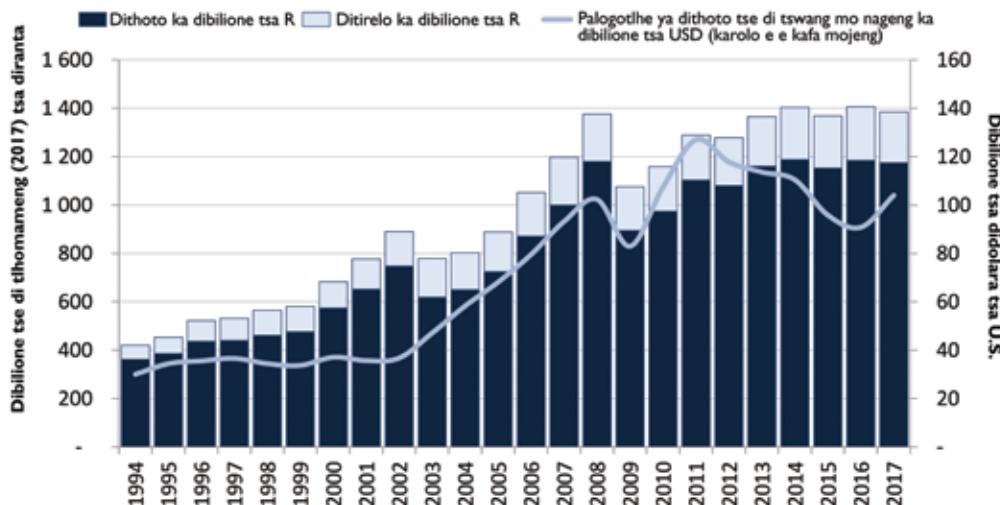
Mokgatlho wa National Development Plan o ne wa baya mokgele wa gore go fitlha ka 2030 go bo go na le kgolo ya 6% ya dilo tse di rekisediwang dinaga tse dingwe. Dipalo/Dinomoro/Dipalopalo tsa 7.10 di bontsha gore Aforika Borwa e nnile le kgolo e e makatsang mo go rekisetseg dinaga tse dingwe dilwana tsa yone ka dingwaga di le 25 tse di fetileng. E re ka Aforika Borwa e ikaega thata ka dikungo tsa lefatshe, segolobogolo tsa mmaene le go le gonye mo go tsa temo le dikgwa, go ne ga nna le kgolo mo kgwebong ya go rekisa maje a a tlhwatlhwakgolo, diminirale le malatlha go tloga



## TEKANYETSOKABO YA AFORIKA BORWA

**Go ya ka Diteng Tsa Tekanyetsokabo e e Butsweng ya 2017, Aforika Borwa e ne e le mo legatong la go dirisana le New Zealand ka go nna le tekanyetsokabo e e mo phatlatseng mo lefatsheng, mo dinaga ka bobedi di neng tsa iponela dintlha di le 89 mo go tse 100**

Aforika e ne ya tlhagelela e le mmaraka o o golang ka lebelo mo kgwebisanong ya Aforika Borwa, mme bontsi jwa kgwebisano eo ke ditlhagiswa tsa madirelo. SADC e bonala e le kgaolo e kgolo ya kgwebisano le Aforika Borwa mo dithotong tse di tsenang le tse di tswang.



**Setshwantsho 7.10:** Go romelwa ga dithoto kwa ntle le ditirelo ka dibilione tsa ranta e e tlhomameng (2017) le didolara tsa U.S., 1994 go ya go 2017.

Motswed: Banka ya Resefe ya Afrika Borwa.

ka 2002 go fitlha ka 2011. Gape e ne ya dira gore China e reke thata, segolobogolo aene le dilwana tse dingwe. Fa ikonomi e sena go gola thata go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2008, go ne ga nna le kwelotlase ya go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe dikungo fa dithlwatlha tsa dimetale/dimenerale di ne di tlhatloga thata ka 2011 jaaka go bontshitswe mo Dipalo/Dinomoro/ Dipalopalo tsa 7.10.

Go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe dilwana le ditirelo go ile ga oketsegka palogotlhe ya 0.4% ngwaga le ngwaga go tloga ka 2014 go ya go 2017. Thekiso ya dilwana e ne ya oketsegka 0.3% ngwaga le ngwaga mme ya ditirelo e ne ya oketsegka 0.7%. Fa ranta e ne e koafala thata fa dithlwatlha tsa dimetale/dimenerale di ne di tlhatloga ka 2011, go ne ga nna le kwelotlase ya 2.2% ka didolara ka ngwaga, mo kgwebong ya go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe dilwana le ditirelo. Kwelotlase ya kgolo ya go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe e ne e bakwa ke maemo a bokoa thata a ikonomi a lefatshe lotlhe a nnileng gone ka 2008/9 le dithlwatlha tse di ko godimo thata tsa dimetale/dimenerale ka 2011. Seno se ne se bontsha gore go potlakile thata go batla mekgwa e mengwe ya go tokafatsa ikonomi.

O rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe go ne ga matlafatsa ranta ka mo e batlang e nna 10% ngwaga le ngwaga go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2008, seo se bakwa ke tlelaemete ya lefatshe lotlhe e neng e itumedisa le gore go ne go simolola go busa puso ya kgololesego. Go dira kgwebo ka inthanete ka 2002/3, go ne ga thusa ka nakwana fela. Mme seo se ne sa fetoga ka gonne maemo a ikonomi a a thata a 2008/9 a ne a fetsa madi otlhe a neng a dirilwe ka go rekisa

dimetale/dimenerale ka dithlwatlha tse di kwa godimo go tloga ka 2002. Dithlwatlha tsa dimetale/dimenerale mo lefatsheng lotlhe di ne tsa fokotsetsa thata ka 2011 mme go tokafala ga ikonomi ka 2008/9 le gone go ne ga phuthama moragonyana.

### Competition policy

Puso ya temokerasi e ne e na le ikonomi e e kgolo e neng e dirwa ke kgwebo e kgolo e nang le dikhamphani di le dints tse di neng di laola dikarolo di le dints tsa ikonomi le some protected parastals tse di neng di na le tshwanelo ya tlholego ya go dira kgwebo. Go tokafatsa ikonomi le go fedisa mokgwa wa go tshaba kgaisano, go kopanya dikgwebo, go nna le dilo tsa gago, go tsosa dikgwebo tse dinnye le go thusa batho gore ba kgone go itirela dipeelsetso kwa dinageng tse dingwe, puso e ne ya tlhama Competition Act ka 1998 e neng ya thusa gore go kgone go tlhamiwa Competition Commission le Competition Tribunal.

Mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng, pholisi ya dikgaisano/ melawana ya dikgaisano e ne ya thusa thata mme go sa ntse go na le dikgwethlo tse dikgolo. Ka 2009, pholisi/melao ya Puso e ne ya tlhalosa sentle gore go na le dikgwethlo dife ka go kopanya dikgwebo le go lathegelwa ke ditiro. Mokgatlhwa wa New Growth Path o o neng wa simolola go dirisiwa ka 2010 o ne wa kopa gore go sekasekiwe Competition Act gore go rarabololwe dikgwethlo tse dikgolo le go tlhoma mogopolo thata mo go batleng ditsela tsa go tokafatsa. Go tloga ka I Motsheganang 2016, go ile ga dirwa molao o mosha malebana le bokebekwa o

neng o samagana le baeteledipele ba dikgwebo ba ba nang le bonweenwee.

### **Dilo tse di fitlheletsweng go tla go fitlha gompieno di akaretsa:**

- Go dirilwe melao e e gagametseng malebana le go dumelwelwa go kopanya dikgwebo e bile Aforika Borwa ke yone e etelelang pele mo dinageng tse e dirileng ditumalano le yone. Go kopanya dikgwebo gono go akaretsa dikhamphani tse di jaaka Wal-Mart, Coca-Cola, Anheuser-Busch InBev, Kansai, Edcon, Clicks, Chevron, Old Mutual le tse dingwe.
- Melao e e sireletsang ditumalano tsa badiri, e e thusang badiri ba feta 65 000 (go tloga ka 2014) le go tlama ditiro (ditiro di le 7 400).
- Go thusa balemi ba basha gore ba kgone go dira dikgwebo ka didiriswa tsa bone.
- Go tokafatsa ditshwanelo tsa batho ba ba nang le dishopo tse dinnye gore ba kgone go reka dilwana tsa dikhamphani tse dikgolo (Coca-Cola, SA Breweries).
- Go beela dibilione di le 4.5 tsa diranta kwa thoko (ka 2010) e le madi a a kgethegileng go simolola ditiro, go bula ditshono tsa go matlafatsa ikonomi le go thusa/simolola dikgwebo tse dinnye.
- Maitlamo a go beeletsa madi (dibilione di le 6 tsa diranta).

Go ne ga batlisisa dikhamphani dingwe tse di dirisanang gape go ne ga lemogiwa gore go na le dikgwebo dingwe tse di sotlang badiri ba tsone, jaaka tse di dirang dikhemikhale tse di nontshang mmu, tsa leruo la dikoko, borotho, tsa kago, tsa ditshipi, dibanka, tsa dilwana tsa dikoloi, tsa go ikgolaganya le batho ba ba kgakala le tse dingwe, mme di ne tsa otlhaiwa madi a a fetang dibilione di le 7 tsa diranta (fa e sa le ka 2010).

- Go ne ga beelwa dibilione di le 4.8 tsa diranta gore e dirisediwe go reka dilwana.
- Go ne ga emisiwa ditiro tsa dikhamphani dingwe (Madirelo a SASOL a go dira dira dikhemikhale).
- Go ne ga fokodiwa ditlhwalhwia tsa dilo tse di rekisiwang (Ditlhwalhwia tsa borotho kwa Pioneer Foods).
- Go ne ga dirwa gore ditlhwalhwia tsa dikhamphani tse di nang le ditshwanelo tse di feletseng tsa go rekisa di se ka tsa nna kwa godimo thata (Jaaka tsa khamphani ya ditshipi ya Arcelor Mittal).
- Go ile ga fetolwa boeteledipele jwa dikhamphani dingwe le go rotloetsa batho bantsho go nna le dikgwebo (Arcelor Mittal, Murray & Roberts, WBHO, Raubex, Staffanutti le tse dingwe).

Fa dikatlego tseno di ile tsa thusa go fokotsa digongwana le boitshwaro jo bo kgoreletsang ikonomi, di ile tsa bona katlego e e kwa tlase mo

go rarabololeng kelo e kwa godimo ya go tlhoma mogopolo le kgokgontsho e e tsweletseng mo madirelong a magolo.

Patlisiso nngwe e e dirilweng ke Competition Commission ya re go nnile le dipego di le 2150 tsa go kopanya dikhamphani, tse dingwe tsa tsone e neng e le madirelo a magolo go tloga ka 2009 go fitlha ka 2016, mme go lemogilwe seo go dirisiwa molao o o gagametseng wa puso o o neng o re dikhamphani tseo di neye tse dingwe 45% ya tiro. Patlisiso eo ya re go ne go na le makgetlo a le 294 a mo go one madirelo ao a magolo a neng a na le seabe mo go one e bile e le mo dikhamphaning le mafapha a puso a le 31. Diperesente di le 70 tsa dikhamphani tseo di na le madirelo a magolo a dilwana tsa one tse di rekwang thata. Fa go ne go dirisiwa lenaane le le tlwaelegileng la Heirfindahl-Hirschmann Index (HHI), go ne ga lemogiwa gore go na le dikgwebo di le robongwe tsa tsone tse di di gogang kwa pele.

### **Matswela a dipholosi di nnileng le one mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng**

Fa e sa le ka 1994, ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e godele ka 2.8% morago ga dingwaga di le lesome e gola ka bonya ka 1.2%. Le fa go ntse jalo, palo ya batho ba ba dirang/berekang e ne ya oketsega gabedi go tswa go dimilione di le 8 go ya go dimilione di le 16 mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng. Palo ya bagolo ba ba berekang e ne ya gola ka diperesente di feta 40 morago ga gore go fete lobaka e le kwa tlase fa e sa le ka bol 1970 go fitlha ka 1994. Le fa go ntse jalo, se se tlwaelegileng mo lefatsheng lotlhe ke gore go nne le 60% ya batho ba ba berekang, e bile ga go ise go nne le tshono e e lekaneng ya go fokotsa botlhokatiro jo bo nnileng gone pele ga 1994.

Dipeeletso di ne tsa gola go tswa go 13 ya GDP ka 1994 go ya go 23.5% ka 2008 mme di ne tsa wela kwa tlase ga 20% ka 2017.

Le fa gone maemo a ile a tokafala jalo, go sa ntse go na le go sa lekalekane ga lotseno, lehuma le botlhokatiro.

Seno se dira gore go nne le dikgotlheng kwa ditirong, go sa ikobelwe ga dipholisi, bosinyi, bonweenwee le dikhuduego. Gape naga e paletswe ke go dira gore basha ba le bantsi ba bone tiro.

Le fa gone go le botlhokwa go fitlhelela kgolo e e kwa godimo mo go tsa ikonomi, ga e a lekana go thusa batho botlhe ba ba sa itsholelang.

Go leka go kgaoganya dilo mo bathong go go neng go simololwa ke RDP go ne ga tlisa motho o o neng o bidiwa 'kgolo e e bakwang ke go kgaoganya dilo' o

o neng o kgothalediwa ke Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) ka 1996. GEAR e ne e tla leka go dira gore go nne le kgolo ya 6%, go se ka ga dirwa bajete e e fetang madi a a tsenang ka 4% le gore ditlhawatlhwana tsa dilo tse di rekisiwang di se ka tsa nna kwa godimo thata. Madi a puso e neng e a dira le ditlhawatlhwana tsa dilwana di ne tsa fokotse ka 2.2% le ka 5.4% kwa bowelong jwa ngwaga wa 2000. Ikonomi e ne ya gola ka 4.2% le 5.3% ka 2002-2005 le fa e ne e le kwa tlase ga mokgele o o neng o beilwe wa 6%. Gape ikonomi ya e a ka ya dira gore go tlhamiwe palo ditiro tse go neng go rulagantswe gore e tla di tlhama.

Seo se ile sa dira gore go tlhamiwe AsgiSA ka 2005. AsgiSA e ne e diretswe gore ka 2010 e bo e fokoditse lehuma le gore e bo e fokoditse bothokatiro go tswa go 28% ka 2004 go ya go 14% ka 2014. Fa AsgiSA e simolola go dira, GDP e ne e ntse e gola sentle. Ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e ne e gola thata ka dingwaga tseo tsa 2003 go ya go 2008 mme go ne go sa ntse go na le batho ba bantsi ba ba tlhokang tiro.

Go thusa ASGISA, ka 2007 National Industrial Policy Framework (NIPF), e ne ya kwala leano le le ka dirisiwang, e leng Industrial Policy Action Plan (IPAP), le le neng le tokafatsa dipholisi tsa madirelo gore a dirise mokgwa wa puso wa go tokafatsa ikonomi. Nngwe ya dikgwetlho tse dikgolo mo ikonoming ya Aforika Borwa ke go dirisa dipholisi tse disha go ise go bonale gore a tse gone di a thusa, ka gonno seo se dira gore go lebege e kete ga go na neeletsano e e siameng ya dipholisi tsa ikonomi le dithulaganyo tsa yone. Seno se ka tswa se dirile gore go nne le ketsaetsegoo ya dipholisi e e dirileng gore babeleetsi ba se ka ba batla go beeletsa mo ikonoming ya Aforika Borwa.

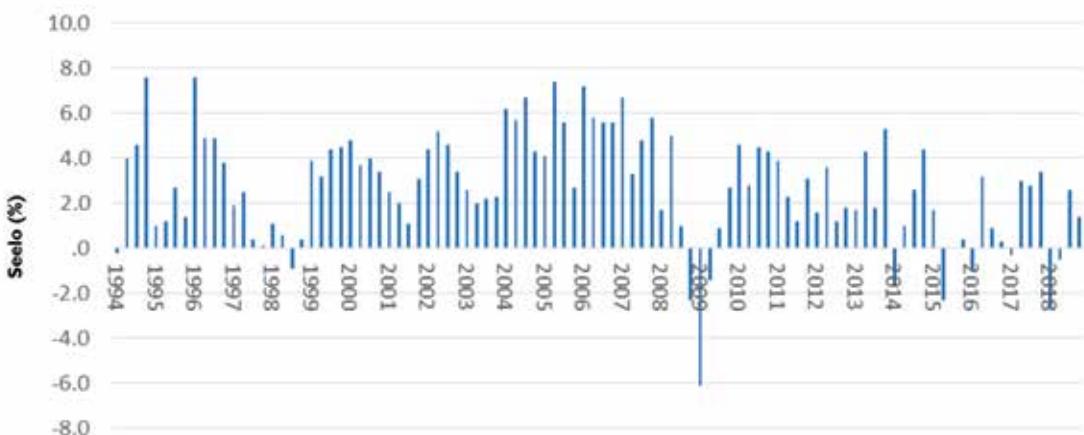
Gore dipholisi tseno di kgona go dirisiwa, Aforika Borwa e ne ya fetola ditheo dingwe tse di neng di ntse di le gone le go tlhama tse disha tse di akaret-sang South African Revenue Service (SARS), South African Reserve Bank (SARB), Competition Authorities, JSE Securities Exchange Limited le National Economic Development and Labour Council (Nedlac). Ditheo le dipholisi tseno di ne tsa dirwa gore di dum-alane le gore di tsamaisane le tsa naga/boeteledipele jwa naga. Dikai tse di maleba ke ofisi ya RDP le Policy Coordination and Advisory Services (PCAS).

## Kgolo ya Ikonomi

### Kgolo ya GDP

Dipalo tsa 7.11 di bontsha gore fa gare ga 1994 le 2012, ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e ne e gola sentle ka kwtara nngwe le nngwe, mme ke dikwtara di le 3 fela mo go di le 74 tse e neng le le bokoa ka tsone. Mo makgetlong otthe a mabedi a ikonomi ya naga e neng e koafala ka one, mathata a Aforika Borwa le one a ne a dira gore ikonomi e koafale.

Ka 1998, mathata a madi a kwa Asia Botlhaba a ne a dira gore ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe e koafale, mme ka 2008, Global Financial Crisis (GFC) e ne ya dira gore ikonomi ya lefatshe e phuthame mme Aforika Borwa e ne ya amiwa ke maemo ao ka gonno ikonomi ya yone gape e ne e ikaegile ka ka go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe dilwana. Dipalo tsa 7.11 di bontsha gore GDP ya Aforika Borwa e ne e tsamaya jang mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng. Ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e ne e gola thata ka dingwaga tseo tsa 2003 go ya go 2008. Palo ya batho ba ba berekang e ne ya oketsega, botlhokatiro bo ne jwa fokotsega, dipeleletso di ne



**Setshwantsho 7.11:** Kgolo ya GDP, kotara ka kotara mo dithlwatlhweng tse di tlhomameng tsa 2010 (tse di fetolwang ka setlha) Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Statistics South Africa, Dipalo tsa Kotara ya GDP, 2019.

tsa oketsega mme ditlhwatlhw a le morokotso di ne tsa fokotsega. Le fa go ntse jalo, go phutlhama ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlh e go ne ga dira gore dipolo tseo tsotlh e tsa go tlhama ditiro le dipeelseto di ne tsa fokotsega.

Kgolo ya ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e dirile gore e kgone go tsamaisana le dinaga tse dingwe tse ikonomi ya tsone e botoka thata kwa ntle ga China. Kgolo ya ikonomi ya Africa Borwa e ne e sa tsepama e bile e le bonya ka 2018 ka gonne go ne go na le maemo a a bokoa thata mo nageng e bile go nnile le kgolo ya 0.8% ngwaga otlhe. Go ne go sena kgolo e e tsepameng go tloga ka 2014, jaaka Dipalo tsa 7.11 di bontsha. Go nnile le kwelotlase e kgolo ka dikwatara tse pedi tsa 2018 morago ga gore go nne le kgolo e e itumedisang ka 2017.

Dipalo tsa 7.12 di bontsha gore kgolo ya GDP ya motho ka kakaretso e ne ya fokotsega go lebilwe lotseno lwa mongwe le mogwe fa e sale go tloga ka 2011, mme go ne ga nna le kwelotlase go tloga ka 2016. Seno se bontsha gore palo ya banni ba Aforika Borwa e gola ka lobelo lo lo kwa godimo go gaisa kgolo ya GDP e bile go tla nna le go sa lekalekane ga itsholelo.

### **Go na le mabaka a le mathlano a a dirileng gore ikonomi e koafale go tloga ka 2015:**

- Kwelotlase ya go reka le go rekisa e e nnileng gone ka 2011, e e neng e matlafatsa mmarakwa wa dimmaene go tloga ka 2002-2012.
- Matswela a ditlhwatlhw a tse di kwa godimo tsa motlakase, a a bakilweng ke gore go ne go fetile lobaka lo lololele go dirisiwa motlakase wa malatlh a o o neng o sa ture mme e bile gone jaanong go sa tlhole go kgonega go dira jalo.
- Go fokotsa go dirisa madi ga puso le go beeletsa, e re ka puso e ne e leka go dira gore bajete e sekya feta madi a a tsenang le go leka go dirisa mekgwa ya 2009 ya go tokafatsa maemo a ikonomi a a bakilweng ke go phutlhama ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlh. Bajete e ne e feta madi a puso e a dirileng mo GDP ka 5.3% ka 2013; e ne ya fokotsega ka iketlo go fitlha e nna fa tlase ga 4% ka 2016/7; mme e ne ya oketsega gape ka 2017/8 go ya go 4.5% ka gonne madi a lekgetho (VAT).
- Go koafala ga ditheo tsa puso, tse di neng di ngokela babeeletsi ba mo nageng le ba kwa dinageng tse dingwe. Dipego tsa gore go na le bonweenwee jo bo dirwang di ile tsa fokotsa kgatlhego ya babeeletsi.

### **Dilo Tse di Godisang Ikonomi/**

#### **Tokafatsang Ikonomi**

Jaaka go bontshitswe mo dipalo tsa 7.13, go ile ga fokodiwa/okediwa madirelo a le mantsi mo Aforika Borwa mme seo se ne sa dira gore karolo e e neng e dirwa ke one mo GDP e fokotsege go tswa go 22% ka 1980 go ya go 13% ka 2016.

Mo magareng ga 1980 I e 2016, seabe se dimmaene di neng di na le sone mo kgolong ya GDP se ne sa fokotsega mme sa dira gore e fokotsege go tswa go 21% go ya go 8%. Go nna le leina le le seng le ntle mo go tsa dikoloto ka 2016 le go sa tlhomama ga dipholisi go ne ga ama dimmaene ka tsela e e sa siamang. Le fa go ntse jalo, ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e ne ya tswelela e ikaega thata ka meepo ka gonne go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2018, diminerale ke tsone di neng di rekisediwa dinaga tse dingwe thata.

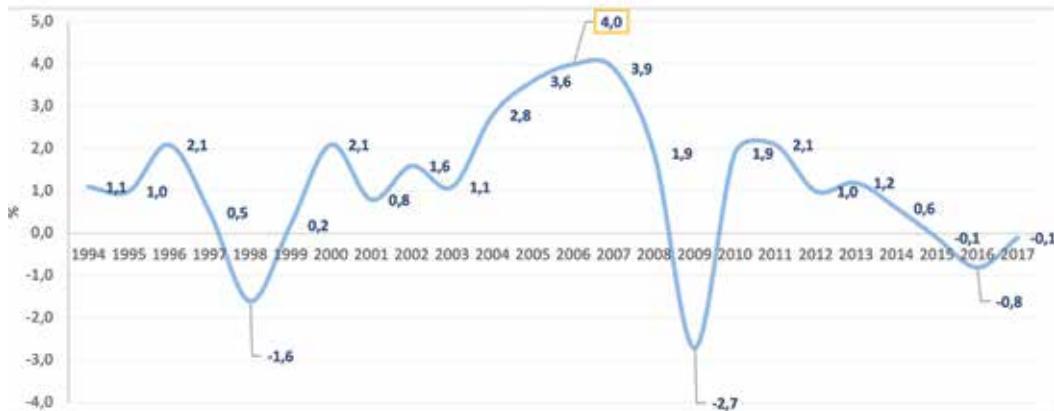
Ka tsela e e tshwanang, seabe se temo e neng e na le sone mo kgolong ya ikonomi se ne sa fokotsega go tswa go 6% ka 1980 go ya go 2% ka 2016. Ka kakaretso fela, go ile ga nna le kwelotlase ya ditlhwatlhw a madi a neng a tshwanetse go dirisiwa mo go tsa temo. Go ile ga nna le dipholisi tse di buang ka go tlhabolola lefatshe tse di amanang le bolemi mme balemi ba bantsho ba sena kemonokeng e bile ba sena dilo tse ba di tlhokang jaaka dipeo, dinontsha mmu, metsi, didiriswa le madi a go simolola temo go akaretsa le kitsa ya go tsamaisa kgwebo ya temo.

Go farologana le tseo, ditirelo tsa madi le seabe sa ditheo tsa puso sa go tokafatsa GDP, se ile sa dira gore e oketsega thata go tswa go 11% go ya go 20% le go tswa go 10% go ya go 17% go tloga ka 1980 go ya go 2016.

Le fa go ntse jalo, go rekisa le go reka dilwana ka bontsi le dikgwebo tsa diaparo, tsa dijо le tsa bonno, di ne di gola ka iketlo go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2017. Go atolosa ditheo tseo go ne go letleletswe ke maloko a kabinete ya Tourism Transformation Strategy ka 2001, go simololwa ga African Union kwa Durban ka 2002, madi a puso e neng e a abela Tourism Enterprise Programme ka 2004 le tse dingwe.

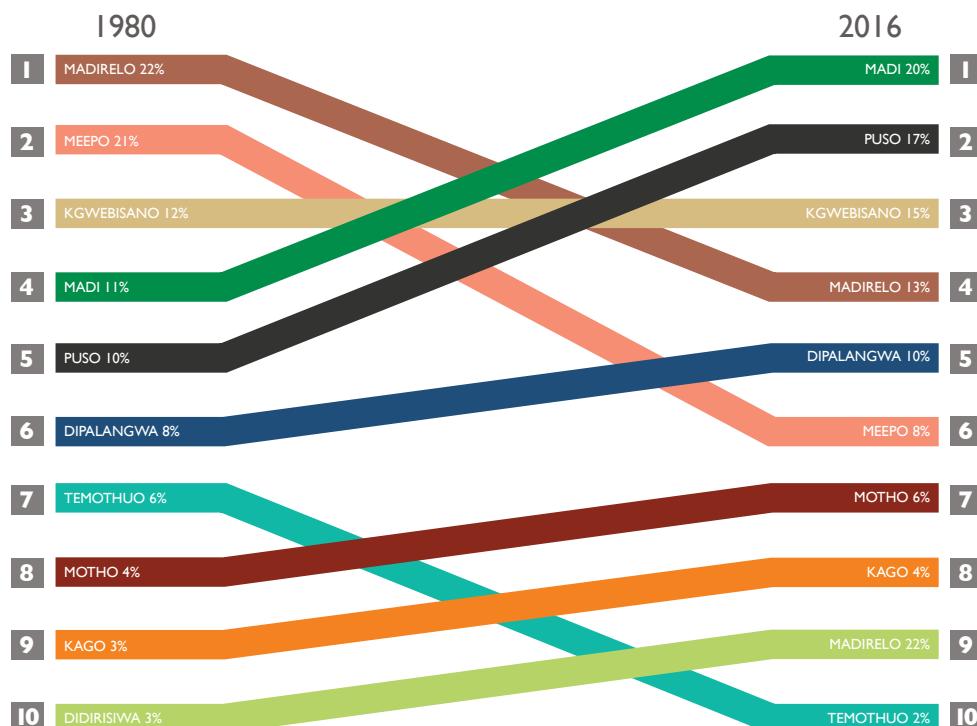
Mo dingwageng di le mmalwa tse di fetileng, go etela mafelo a mangwe e nnile nngwe ya dikgwebo tse dikgolo tse di tokafatsang ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlh. Fa e sale puso ya temokerasi e simolola go busa, go nnile le koketsego e e makatsang ya batho ba ba neng ba tswa kwa dinageng tse dingwe ba etela Aforika Borwa, mme go ne go na le maeto a le kafa tlase ga milione ka masimologo a bo 1980 go ya go a le dimilione di le 2 ka 1991 mme a bo

Nngwe ya dikgwethlo tse dikgolo mo ikonoming ya Aforika Borwa ke go dirisa dipholisi tse disha go ise go bonale gore a tse gone di a thusa



**Setshwantsho 7.12:** GDP go ya ka motho a le mongwe.

Motswedi: South African Reserve Bank



**Setshwantsho 7.13:** Thuso ya Madirelo go GDP, 1980 le 2016.

Motswedi: Statistics South Africa 2017.

a nna dimilione di le 13.5 ka 2012.<sup>203</sup> Ka 2018, go ne go na le baeti ba le dimilione di le 10.472 ba ba tswang kwa dinageng tse dingwe mme ba feta 74% mo go bone ba ne ba tswa kwa dinageng tsa kontinente Aforika. Seno se bontsha gore ka ngwaga wa 2017 go nnile le kwelotlase ya -1.6% ya baeti ba ba tswang kwa motsheo ga mawatle mme go nnile le koketseglo ya 3.1% ya baeti ba ba tswang mo dinageng tsa Aforika.<sup>204</sup> Go sekasekiwa gape ga melao ya visa malebana le maeto a a seng bothhokwa thata, go nnile le seabe mo go direng gore e se ka ya lettelelwya ka 2012. Le fa go ntse jalo, phetogo e dirilweng mo molaong oo, go sekasekiwa ga dinaga tse di tlhokang visa gore di tsene mo Aforika Borwa le go dira gore go nne le mokgweetsa sefofane wa e-Visas/ e-Visas e e dirisiwang ke mokgweetsi wa sefofane, di tla laola maeto a batho ba ba etelang Aforika Borwa.

Gape setheo sa South African Tourism se nnile le seabe mo go tlhameng ditiro, mme seo se ne se bontsha gore maitlhomo a Department of Tourism a a atlega.

Se World Travel le Tourism Council di neng di se fopholetsa se bontsha gore setheo seno se ntse se tsweletse go nna le seabe mo go tokafatseng GDP ya naga. Seabe se setheo seno sa boeti se mniling le sone mo GDP ya naga se ne sa dira gore e oketsege go tswa go dibilione di le 10.2 tsa diranta (palogotlhe ya 1.8% mo GDP) ka 1995 go ya go dibilione di ka nna 136. I tsa diranta (2.9% ya GDP) ka 2017 (dipalo tsa **7.14**).

Seabe se setheo sa go etela mafelo a mangwe se nnang le one mo ikonoming se bothhokwa fela jaaka fa baeti ba dirisa ditiro tse di farologaneng le go reka dilwana tse di farologaneng fa ba etetse lefelo lengwe le lengwe, tota le fa dilo tse di sa amane ka tlhamalalo le setheo sa boeti. WTTC e fopholetsa gore palogotlhe ya madi a boeti bo a dirileng ka ditsela tse di farologaneng go tokafatsa GDP, a ne a oketsego tswa go dibilione di le 31.9 tsa diranta (e leng palogotlhe ya 5.7% mo GDP) ka 1995 go ya go dibilione di le 412.5 (8.9% mo GDP) ka 2017. Gape setheo se na le seabe se segolo mo go rotloetseng gore go simololwe dikgwebo tse dinnye, e leng se se dirang gore go nne le kgolonyana ya ikonomi le go thusa gore go nne le ditiro. Puso ya Aforika Borwa ya re setheo seno sa boeti se na le seabe se segolo mo go tokafatseng ikonomi ya naga.

Jaaka go bontshitswe mo dipalo tsa **7.15**, palo ya batho ba ba boneng ditiro mo setheong seno sa boeti

e ile ya oketsega go tswa go 480 000 ka 1995 go ya go 726 000 ka 2017. Ka 2014, puso e ne e beile mokgele wa gore ka setheo seno se tlhame ditiro di le 461 000 le gore ka 2020 se bo se tlhamile ditiro di le milione. Fa 2017 e fela, setheo seno se ne se tlhamile ditiro tse di farologaneng di feta 1.5 milione. Gape go ne go fopholediwa gore lefapha leno le nnile le seabe mo go tlhagiseng ditiro di le dintsi, mme dipalo tsa tsone e ne le 694 633 (5.3% ya ditiro tsotlhe) ka 1995 go ya go di ka nna I 530 320 (9.5% ya ditiro tsotlhe) ka 2017..

Mokgatlho wa Mzansi Golden Economy o ne wa swetsa ka gore ditheo tsa bothhami le setso le tsone di akarediwa a botlalo mo dilong tsa naga ya Aforika Borwa. Mokgatlho ono wa MGE o ne wa dira gore go bulwe ditheo tsa botaki, setso le ngwao gore di nne le seabe mo go direng gore ikonomi ya naga e gole le gore go nne le ditiro. Seabe se ditheo tsa botaki, setso le ngwao di nnang le sone mo go tokafatseng ikonomi di nna karolo e e bothhokwa thata mo dipalopalong tsa lefatshe lotlhe le tsa naga le mo go tokafatseng maemo a itshorelo a batho. Go ya ka pego ya 2015 ya Ernst and Young, The First Global Map of Cultural and Creative Industries, madi a a dirwang ke Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) mo lefatsheng lotlhe, a dira 3% ya GDP ya lefatshe lotlhe, e leng dibilione di le 2 250 tsa didolara tsa Amerika. Gape pego eo e bontsha gore ditheo tseo sa CCI di tlhama ditiro di le dimilione di le 29.5 mo lefatsheng lotlhe, kgotsa 1% ya batho ba ba berekang.

Mokgatlho wa South African Cultural Observatory (SACO) wa re Aforika Borwa le yone e na le ditheo tseo. Ka 2014, botaki/bothhami bo ne jwa nna le seabe mo kgolong ya ikonomi ka go dira dibilione di le 90.5 tsa diranta kgotsa 2.9% ya GDP ka 2013 le 2014. Dipalo tseno di feta tse di dirilweng ke temothuo mo GDP (2.2%). Go ya ka pego ya 2017 ya Employment in South Africa's CCI le Creative Economy, setheo sa setso se tlhamile ditiro tse di ka dirang 2.52% ya ditiro tsotlhe tse di neng di le gone mo Aforika Borwa ka 2015. Fa go akarediwa ditheo tse dingwe, 4.2% ya badiri ka 2015 e ne e le ba ditheo tsa CCI. Ka jalo, "Setheo sa Bothhami/Botaki" ke sone se dirileng gore diperesente di ka nna 6.72 tsa batho mo Aforika Borwa ba bo ba na le ditiro.

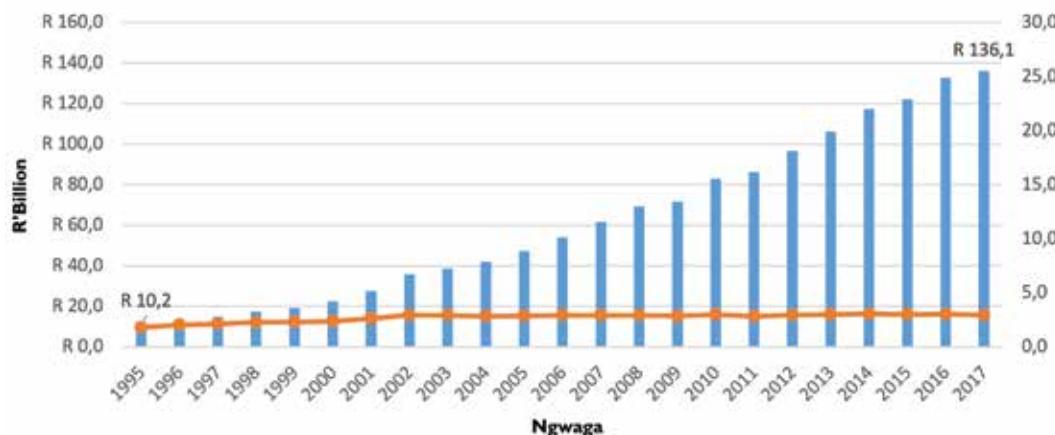
Lewatle la Aforika Borwa le legolo go feta lefatshe la yone. Go sololetswe gore lewatle la Aforika Borwa le tla oketsega fa maiteko a kontinente a go oketsa lefatshe a atlega. a heavy sentence on page 124. Lewatle le legolo leo le dira gore go nne le kgonagalo

203

The Presidency. 2014. Tlathobolo ya Ngwaga wa Bomosomeabedi, Aforika Borwa:1994 – 2014.p90-91.

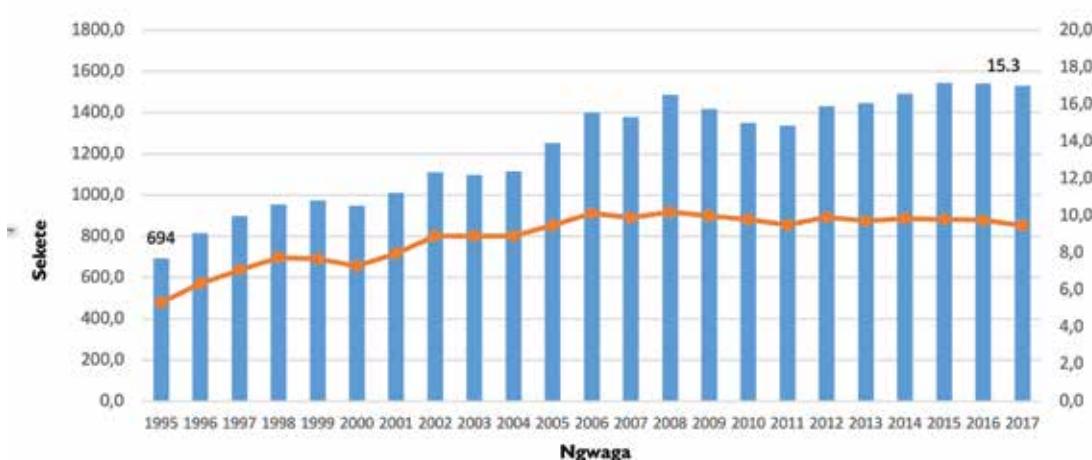
204

[https://live.southafrica.net/media/247559/tourists-table-b-december\\_final.pdf?downloadId=278159](https://live.southafrica.net/media/247559/tourists-table-b-december_final.pdf?downloadId=278159)



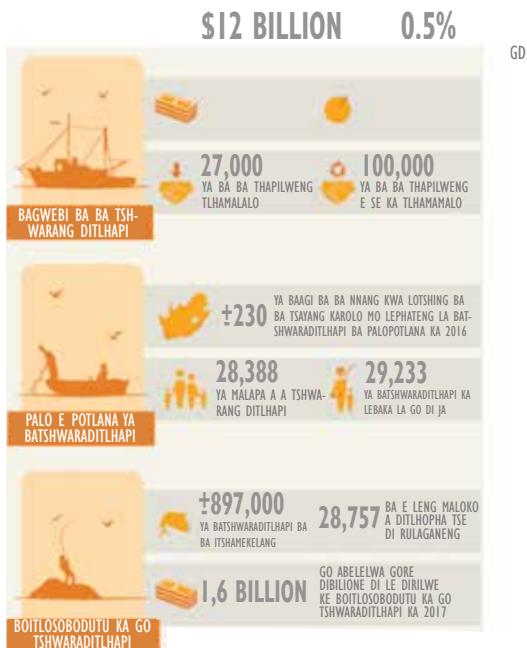
**Setshwantsho 7.14:** Ranta e e tobile bojanala le diperesente tse di thusitseng GDP.

Motswedie: Tshedimosetso ya GDP ya Bojanala: Khansele ya Lefatshe ya Maeto le Bojanala (2017 Tshedimosetso eno e e abeletsweng).



**Setshwantsho 7.15:** Palogotlhe e e tobileng bojanala le diperesente tse di thusitseng go thapiwa ga badiri.

Motswedie: Khansele ya Lefatshe ya Maeto le Bojanala (2017 Tshedimosetso eno e e abeletsweng).



**Setshwantsho 7.16:** Thuso e Aforika Borwa e e bontshitseng ikonomi ya Mawatle mo Setsong le ikonomi ka 2017.

Motswed: Walker,T., 2018. Go sireletsikonomi e e golang ya mawatle: Tsela ya go rarabolola ya Aforika Borwa. Pego ya ISS ya Borwa jwa Aforika, 2018 (14), dir.1-24.

ya gore ikonomi ya naga e gole le gore go nne le ditiro.<sup>205</sup>

Go akanngwa gore ka ngwaga go na le dikhontheina di feta 30 000 tse di tlhang mo Aforika Borwa ka dikepe. Mafelo a dikepe di emang mo go one mo Aforika Borwa a tsewa e le mangwe a mafelo a magolo a boemakepe mo Aforika. A magolo mo go one a akaretsa: Saldanha Bay kwa Cape Town le Mossel Bay kwa Western Cape; Port Elizabeth, Ngqura le East London a a kwa Eastern Cape; le Durban le Richards Bay kwa KwaZulu-Natal. Boemakepe jo bo kwa Durban ke jone bo bogolo go a gaisa otlhe e bile bo tsenya dilwana tsa bokete jwa dimilione di ka nna 87 tsa ditone ka ngwaga. Mafelo ano a botlhokwa thata ka gore a dirisiwa go reka le go rekisetsa dinaga tse dingwe dilwana e bile batho ba a dirisa go etela mafelo a mangwe. Dinaga tse di gaufi le Aforika Borwa tse di senang lewatle Zimbabwe, Botswana le Lesotho, di dirisa mafelo ano a dikepe di emang mo go one<sup>206</sup>.

Gore Aforika Borwa e kgone go laola ikonomi ya lewatle le le pududu sentle le gore e ungwele, go

tlhomilwe mafapha le ditheo di le 20 tsa tikologo ya metsi, tse di dirang ditiro tse di botlhokwa tse di farologaneng le dipholisi tsa lewatle, go na le melao e le 50 ya naga e malebana le laola metsamao ya mo lewatleng, gape diporofense di le nne tse di gaufi le lewatle di na le kafa tiriso ya lewatle e tswelang batho ba tsone mosola ka tsone le go ba tlisetsa ditlhabololo<sup>207</sup>.

Mawatle a Aforika Borwa a botlhokwa thata mo setsong le mo maemong a itsholelo a bontsi jwa MaAforika Borwa. Mokgatlho wa World Wildlife Fund o fopholetsa gore ka 2016 go ne go na le malapa a le 23 388 a a neng a tshwara ditlhapi gore ba di je le a le 29 233 a a neng a tshwara ditlhapi gore a di rekise, e bile mo godimo ga moo, kgwebo ya go rekisa ditlhapi e ne ya tlhama ditiro di le 127 000 tse di farologaneng, e bo e nna le seabe ka 5% mo GDP.<sup>208</sup> Dipalo tsa 7.16 di bontsha gore ikonomi ya lewatle e thusitse batho le ikonomi ya naga go le kae.

Ka 2013, puso e ne ya thoma mokgatlho wa Operation Phakisa (phakisa ke lefoko la Sesotho le le rayang itlhaganele") o o neng o na le dithulaganyo

205 Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo. 2019. Operation Phakisa – Ikonomi ya Mawatle. Website: <https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/operationphakisa/oceanseconomy>.

206 Walker, T., 2018. Go sireletsikonomi ya mawatle e e golang: Tsela ya go rarabolola ya Aforika Borwa. Pego ya ISS ya Borwa jwa Aforika, 2018(14), dir.1-24.

207 Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo. 2019. Operation Phakisa – Ikonomi ya Mawatle. Website: <https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/operationphakisa/oceanseconomy>.

208 Walker, T., 2018. Go sireletsikonomi ya mawatle e e golang: Tsela ya go rarabolola ya Aforika Borwa. Pego ya ISS ya Borwa jwa Aforika, 2018(14), dir.1-24.

le mekgele e e siameng e bile o ela tlhoko gore go na le kgatelopele. Mokgatlho oo o ne o etsa se se dirwang ke thulaganyo ya Malaysia's Big Fast Results. Thulaganyo eno e ne e kopanya mafapha a puso, a badiri, a kgwebo, a thuto le a mangwe gore a dirisane mmogo go tokafatsa ikonomi ka nako e nnye, jaaka dikgwedi le 12 go ya go di le 15<sup>209</sup>.

Ka 2014, Lefapha la Bolemi, Ditlhapi le Dikgwa le ne la dira gore go nne le Oceans Economy Aquaculture Laboratory. Maitlhommagolo a yone e ne e le go oketsa dijalo tse di tlhogang mo metsing tse di jewang gore kgwebo ya ditlhapi e gole, le go tlhama ditiro le go dira go tokafatsa ikonomi ya naga. Mokgele o ba neng ba o ipeetse wa dingwaga di le tlhano e ne e le go dira gore lotseno lo lo dirwang ke setheo seo lo oketsego tswa go dibilione di le 0.67 tsa diranta go ya go dibilione di le 3 tsa diranta; go oketsa dijо tse di dirwang ka ditlhapi ka ditone di 20 000; go oketsa ditiro go tswa go di le 2 227 go ya go di le 15 000 le go tlhomamisa gore setheo se nnile le seabe se mo kgolong ya naga. Ka 2018, go ne go setse go tlhamilwe ditiro di le 6 517 e bile go dirisitswe dibilione di le 24.6 tsa diranta go tlhabolola le go aga ditsela le dikago (dibilione di le 15 di tswa mo pusong)<sup>210</sup>.

Ikonomi ya lewatle e na le bokgoni jwa gore mo nakong e e tlang, e matlafatse GDP ka dibilione di le 177 tsa diranta le gore e bo e tlhamile ditiro di feta milione ka 2033. Operation Phakisa e ikemiseditse go dira gore dilo tseno tsotlhe di fithelelwе.<sup>211</sup>

### a) Go Bereka le Botlhokatiro

Pele ga 1994, puso ya tlhaolele e ne e dira gore go nne thata gore batho bantsho ba bone tiro, ba tsene sekolo sentle e bile ba ne ba sa bulegelwa ke ditshono di le dintsi. Ka kakaretso fela, go ne go na le 20% ya batho ba ba tlhokang tiro ka 1994 mme dipalopalo di bontsha gore go tlhaolwa ga batho ba ba neng ba hirilwe semolao go ne go feta diperesente tseo. Fa e sale puso ya temokerasi e simolola go busa ka 1994, palo ya badiri e ne ya oketsego tswa go dimilione di le 8.9 ka 1994 go ya go dimilione di le 16.5 ka 2018. Dipalo tsa 7.17 di bontsha palo ya babereki go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2018.

RDP e ne e ikaeletse go tlhama ditiro di le 300 000 ka ngwaga. Morago ga gore naga e dire bokoa thata

magareng ga bo 1970 le 1994, maeno a ne a tokafala mme ga nna le ditiro go tloga ka 1995 go fitlha ka 2002. Mo godimo ga moo, palo ya babereki e ne ya oketsego ka 21% go tswa go dimilione di le 13.6 ka 2010 go ya go dimilione di le 16.5 ka 2018. Palo ya botlhokatiro e ne ya fokotsego mo magareng ga 2013 le 2017 ka gore go ile ga tlhamiwa ditiro di le 280 000 ka 2013 mme mo magareng ga 2014 le 2016 go ne ga tlhamiwa di le 470 000.

Palo ya botlhokatiro e ne e le kwa godimo thata ka 27.7% kwa bowelong jwa Mopitlwе 2019. Kgang e e tshwenyang ke gore lefapha le le tlhamang ditiro mo Aforika Borwa le nna le seabe ka 54.8% mme le gaisiwa ke mafapha a dinaga tse dingwe a a nnang le seabe ka 65%. Dipalopalo tsa lefapha leo di bakiwa ke batho ba ba berekang kgotsa ba ba batlang ditiro.

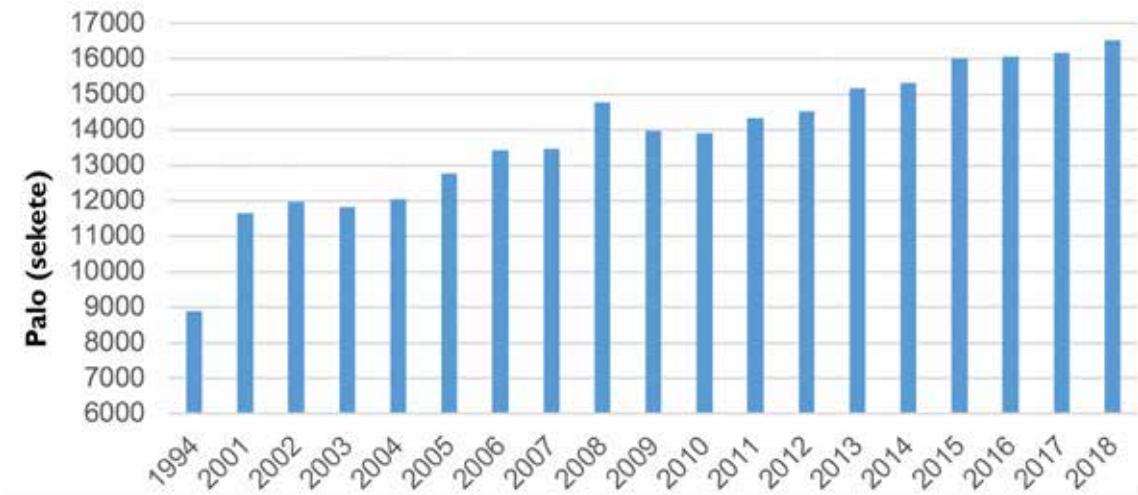
Go sa ntse go na le go sa lekalekane mo mafelong a tiro go go bakwang ke go tlhaolanwa ka mmala e bile dipalopalo tseo ga di ise di fetoge fa e sa le ka 1998 e bile seo se dira gore merafe mengwe e se ka ya gatela pele ka gonno e gatelelwа ke e mengwe. Kafa letlhakoreng le lengwe, le fa gone go sa ntse go ntshiwa ditiro go ya ka tlhaolo ya merafe e bile batho ba bantsho ba ba tlhokang tiro ga feta palo ya balndia ba ba tlhokang tiro gabedi, ba feta basweu makgetlo a le mane, e bile ba feta bakhilate ka 5.5%, palo ya batho ba bantsho ba ba tlhokang tiro e fokotsegile ka 3.2% mme ya balndia e fokotsegile ka 2.4%. Le fa go ntse jalo, kgang e e tshwenyang ke gore palo ya bakhilate le basweu ba ba tlhokang tiro e oketsegile thata ka nako e le nngwe (bakhilate ka 15.8% go ya go 23.3% mme basweu ka 4.4% go ya go 7.2%).

Mo kwatareng ya bo4 ya 2018, palo ya batho ba ba tlhokang tiro mo Aforika Borwa e ne e le kwa godimo thata ka 27.1% go gaisa ya 20% ka 1994. Mo bathong ba le dimilione di le 6.1 ba ba neng ba sena tiro, mo e ka nnang 57.1% mo go bone ba ne ba se na marematlou mme 34.2% ya bone e ne e na le marematlou. Ke 1.7% fela mo go bone e e alogileng kwa ditheong tse dikgolo tsa thuto mme 6.3% ke ba ba nang le makwalo mangwe a thutego e e kwa godimo. Seno se bontsha gore palo e e kwa godimo ya botlhokatiro e ama kgolo ya ikonomi. Mme fela jaaka Ten Year Review e bontshitse, e palo ya batho ba ba tlhokang tiro e oketsegile, segolobogolo

<sup>209</sup> Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo. 2019. Operation Phakisa – Ikonomi ya Mawatle. Website <https://www.environment.gov.za/projectsprogrammes/operationphakisa/oceanseconomy>; Dipuisano Tsa Naga le Tsamaiso ya Tshedimosetso. 2019. Operation Phakisa malebana le Ikonomi ya Mawatle, Insight 1 (24). Website: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/insight-newsletter-issue-24>.

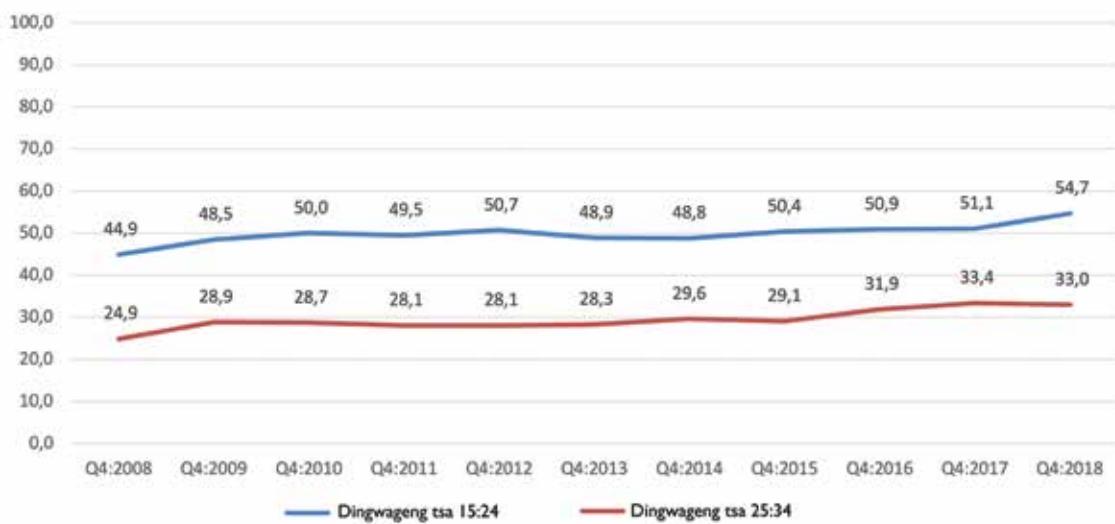
<sup>210</sup> Lefapha la Temothuo, Dithapi le Dikgwa. Imbizo: Ikonomi ya Mawatle, Pamitshana; Walker, T., 2018. Go sireletsa ikonomi ya mawatle e e golang: Tsela ya go rababolola ya Aforika Borwa. Pego ya ISS ya Borwa jwa Aforika, 2018(14), dir.1-24..

<sup>211</sup> Dipuisano tsa Puso le Tsamaiso ya Tshedimosetso. 2019. Operation Phakisa malebana le Ikonomi ya Mawatle, Insight 1 (24). Website: <https://www.gcis.gov.za/insight-newsletter-issue-24>.

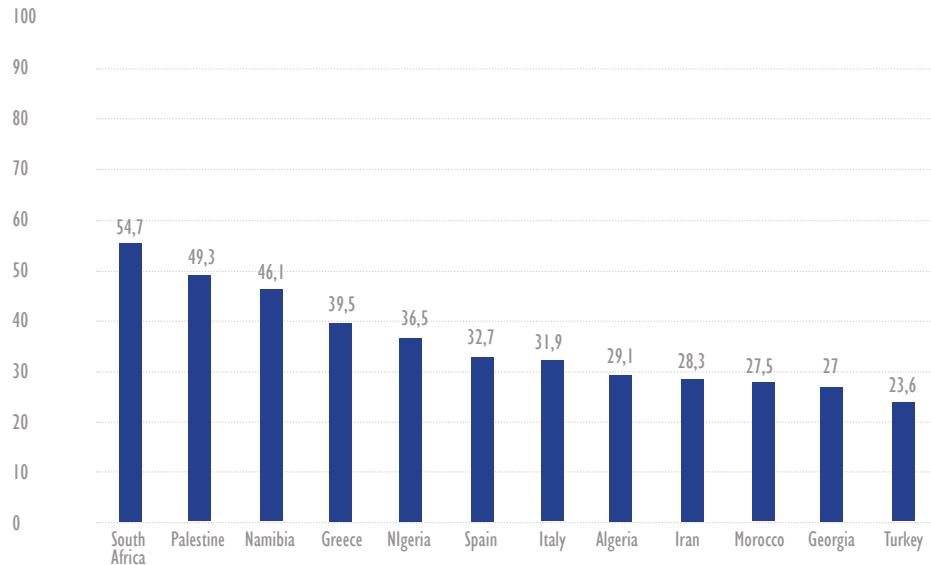


**Setshwantsho 7.17:** Palogotlhe ya go Thapiwa.

Motswedi: DPME 2019, e e theilweng mo tshedimosetsong ya Stats SA ya go thapiwa ga Basha, bothhokatiro, bokgoni le kgolo ya ikonomi, 1994–2014<sup>1</sup> Stats SA Labour Force Surveys Tlhakole 2001–Lwetse 2007<sup>2</sup>, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 4: 2018.<sup>3</sup>



**Setshwantsho 7.18:** Botlhokatiro jwa basha ba Aforika Borwa  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Statistics SA, 2018



**Setshwantsho 7.19:** Dinaga tse di nang le palo e kwa godimo ya basha ba ba sa berekeng.

Motswedi: *Spectator Index, 2019*

basadi ba ba nnang kwa magaeng ba ba neng ba se na ditiro ka nako ya puso ya tlhaolele. Gone jaanong go na le botlhokatiro le tlhaelo ya bokgoni jwa go bereka, mme di dira gore go nne thata gore ikonomi e gole. Gore naga e kgone go fitlhelela mokgele wa NDP wa 2030 wa gore go bo go na le batho ba le dimilione di le 24 ba ba berekang, go tshwanetse gore palo ya badiri e oketse ka dimilione di le 11, mo godimo ga di le 13.6 tsa go tloga ka 2010.

Go sa ntse go ntshiwa ditiro go ya ka tlhaolo ya merafe e bile batho ba bantscho ba ba tlhokang tiro ga feta palo ya balndia ba ba tlhokang tiro gabedi, ba feta basweu makgetlo a le mane, e bile ba feta bakhalate ka 5.5%, palo ya batho ba bantscho ba ba tlhokang tiro. Dipalopalo di bontsha gore botlhokatiro e sa ntse e le tlhobaboroko mo basheng le basadi le fa gone puso ya tlhaolele e sa tlhole e busa.

Botlhokatiro jwa basha e santse e le nngwe ya dikgwetlho tse dikgolo mo Aforika Borwa gompieno e leng jone bo nang le palo e e kwa godimo ya botlhokatiro. Setshwantsho 7.18 se bontsha palo ya botlhokatiro jwa basha mo dingwageng tse di lesome tse di fetileng, e lebile thata dithlopha tsa dingwaga 15-24 le 25-34.

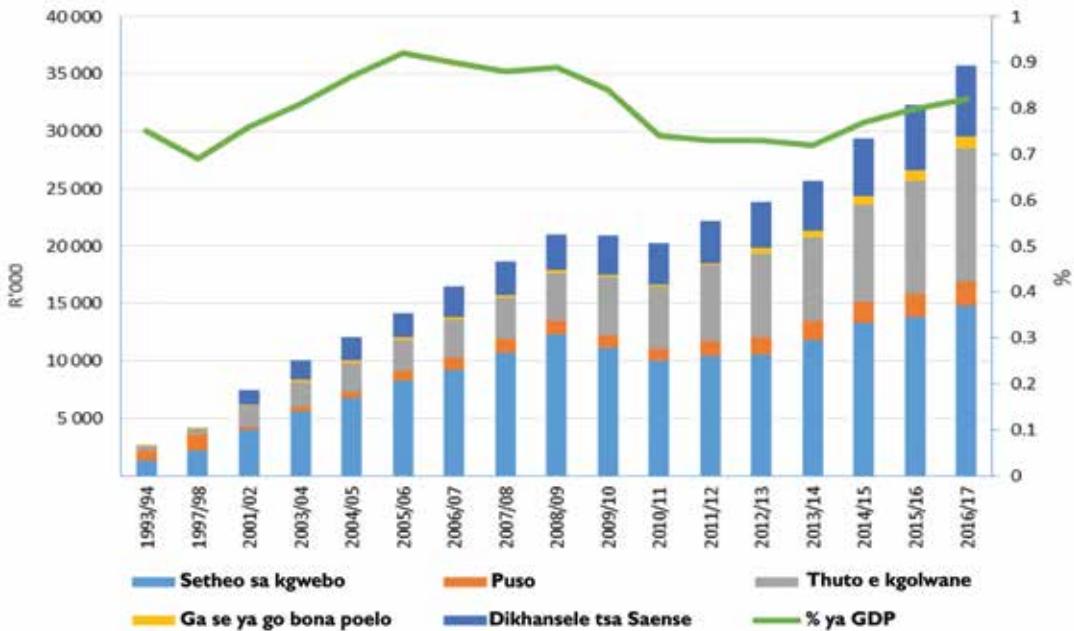
Go a bonala gore botlhokatiro jwa basha e ntse e le bothata jo bo golang magareng ga 2008 le 2018, bo oketsegga go tswa go 44.9% le 24.9% go ya go 54.7% le 33% ka ditlhophha tsa dingwaga tsa 15-34 le 25-34, ka tatelano. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go setshwantsho 7.19 palo ya botlhokatiro jwa basha



**A ONE  
O ITSE**

WINE

**Aforika Borwa ke naga ya bosupa mo dinageng tse dikgolo mo lefatsheng tse di tlhagisang wine, ka go tlhagisa 3.9% ya wine ya lefatshe. Seno se ngoka barati ba wine e bile se tlhama thologelo e e kgotsafatsang ya bajanala gore o ka itshimololela kgwebo ya go amogela baeng.**



### Setshwantsho 17.20: Ditshenyegelo mo Patlisisong le Ditlhabololo.

Motswedî: Lefapha la Saense le Thekenoloji.

mo Aforika Borwa ya 54.7% e kwa godimo ga ya dinaga di le 11 tsa balekane ba yone, tse le tsone di nang le dikgwethlo tse di tshwanang.

#### b) Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET)

Dipholisi le dithulaganyo le dithapiso tse di lekeledits-weng mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng ga di ise thusê ka botlalo ba ba sa berekeng, ba ba sa tseneng sekoklo le ba ba seng mo thapisong. Go ya ka South Afria 2018 Q4 Labour Force Survey, palo ya basha ba ba nang le dingwaga di le 15-24 ba ba welang mo NEET e ne ya oketsegga go tloga go 29.7% mo Q4 ya 2017 go ya go 31.1% mo Q4 ya 2018. Palo ya basha ba ba mo dingwageng tseno ba ba mo NEET e ne e tlhatlogile ka 2.6%. Mo dingwageng tseo tse pedi, palo ya basadi ba ba mo NEET e ne e feta ya banna. Fa re leba Q4 ya 2018 re e bapisa le Q4 ya 2017, palo ya basha nang dingwaga di le 14-34 ba ba mo NEET e ne ya oketsegga ka 0.5%, e oketsegga go tswa go 38.4% go ya go 38.9%. Palo ya banna ba ba mo NEET e ne ya tlhatloga ka 1.4% mme ya basadi yone e ne ya fokotsegga ka 0.4% mo Q4 ya 2018. Mo Q4 ya 2017 le ya 2018, basha ba basetsana ba feta ba le nnê mo go ba le lesome ba ne ba sa bereke, ba sa tsene sekolo kgotsa ba se mo thapisong epe.

Mo Aforika Borwa bontsi jwa batho ba ba mo NEET ba rutegile, bangwe ba feleeditse dithuto tsa bone kwa

Apartheid e tlogetse Aforika Borwa e na le karolelano e e kwa tlase mo go sa tlwaelgang ya batho ba ba iperekang mo ditirong tse di tlhokang maatla fa go bapisiwa le diikonomi tse dingwe tsa letseno le le magareng.

sekolong se segolwane mme bangwe ba bone ga ba a fetsa mophato wa maramatlou.

Mo Aforika Borwa, palo e e kwa godimo ya NEET e dira gore go nne le bosenyi jo bontsi ka go nne go lemogilwe gore dinokwane tse di thubang mo matlong gantsi ke batho ba nang le dingwaga di le 19 go ya go 25, mme 90% ya batho bao ga ba a fetsa mophato wa maramatlou kgotsa ga ba bereke. Seno se bontsha gore fa go tlhagotloga ga NEET go ka rwalelwaa ditlhako, seo se tla dira gore go nne le kagiso le maemo a ikonomi a ka tokafala mo loagong. Tshedimosetso e e ka ga NEET e ka dirisediwa go tla ka ditsela tse disha tsa go tokafatsa ditheo tsa thutego e e kwa godimo le dithulaganyo tsa thapiso ya morago ga sekolo.

### c) Khumanego le go se Lekalekane ka Lotseno

Go humanega le go se lekalekane ka lotseno le dithoto go ne ga lemogiwa mo thulaganyong ya RDP gore ruri dilo tseo ke tlhobaboroko, go ne ga bonala gore go tlhokega gore go direwe sengwe gore mongwe le mongwe mo Aforika Borwa a tshele sentle le gore a nne le madi a a mo lekaneng.

Go ya ka Banka ya Lefatshe Lotlhe le United Nations Development Programme(UNDP), Aforika Borwa ke yone naga e e di gogagang kwa pele mo lefatsheng fa go tliwa mo go se lekalekane ka lotseno. Go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2006, go se lekalekane mono go ne ga tlhatloga thata, go ne ga tlhatloga go tloga go 0.5 go ya go 0.72 ka 2006 mme ga wela go 0.68 ka 2015. Mo go yone ngwaga eo, 40% ya batho ba le dimillione di le 22 e ne e humagile(motho a le mongwe o ne a nna le R758 ka kgwedi), seno se ka dira gore leano NDP la gore ka 2030 go se ka ga nna le ope o humenegileng le retelelwé.

Mme gone ga re a tshwanela go itlhokomolosa gore puso e thusitse thata ka go dira gore go nne le madi a didusa, dikolo tsa mahala, go duelelwé dikoloto tsa matlo le ditirelo tsa mahala. Tota fa go buiwa ka dipholisi tsa ditirelo tsa loago, Aforika Borwa e gaisa dinaga di le dintsí. Le fa gone go tloga ka 1998 go fitlha go 2008 puso ya temokerasi e ile ya tokafaditsa kgang ya botlhokatiro, khumanego le kgolo ya ikonomi, Aforika Borwa ga e ise e fole lebadi la go wa ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe mo go diragatseng ka 2008/09. Mo godimo ga moo, go fetolela puso mo go ya temokerasi ga go a ka ga thusa bontsi jwa dikgwebo le fa go dirilwe thulaganyo ya go tokafatsa maemo a ikonomi a batho ba bantsho kgotsa BBBEE.

Gore Aforika Borwa e fedise malwetse a no, go botlhokwa gore naga e tiise go dirisiwa ga dipholisi

tse di farologaneng tsa ikonomi, dithulaganyo le diporogerama tse di kopantsweng.

### d) Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo

Fa e sa le ka 1994, ditlankana tse dipholisi di ntseng di theiwa mo go tsone e ne e le *White Paper on Science and Technology* ya 1996, National Research and Development Strategy (NRDS) ya 2002 le Ten-year Innovation Plan for South Africa (TYIP) ya 2008. Setlankana sa white paper se ne sa tla ka kgopolo ya gore go nne National System of Innovation kgotsa thulaganyo setshaba ya go tlhama e e neng ya thusa Aforika Borwa mo dilong tsa saense le thekenoloji. Setlankana sa NRDS se ne sa lemotsa gore saense le thekenoloji di ka thusa kae thata, se ne se gatelela gore NSI e dirisediwe go godisa ikonomi le go tokafatsa ditirelo tsa setshaba. Setlankana sa TYIP se ne sa bontsha gore go tlhokega gore go diriwe eng gore ekonomi ya Aforika Borwa e se ka ya ikaega ka dikungo tsa naga mme e ikaege ka go nna le kitso.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, go ile ga tokafala dilo tse dintsí, go akaretsa kgolo ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo, kgolo ya ikonomi mo bathong ba maemo (go akaretsa le banna le basadi ba bantsho), le kgolo mo dikgatisong tse di nnile teng ka ntla ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo le dilo tse disha tse di neng di tlhamiwa.

Le fa gone thulaganyo ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo e thusitse thata mo dingwageng tse 25 tsa temokerasi, Aforika Borwa e sa ntse e saletse morago ka 1.5% mo GDP ya thulaganyo ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo. Setshwantsho 7.20 le yone e bontsha gore dikgwebo le mafapha a puso di dirisitse madi a mantsi ka 2011 le fa kgolo ya GDP e ne e le ko tlase.

Le fa go ntse jalo, thulaganyo ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo e ntse e tsamaya ka iketlo fa e bapsiwa le dinaga tse di magareng ka itsholelo, gape go nnile le kwelotlase ya seabe se Aforika Borwa e nang le sone mo thulaganyong ya lefatshe lotlhe ya Dipatlisiso le Tlhabololo. NSI ya Aforika Borwa e nnye fa e bapsiwa le ya dinaga tse dingwe tse di mo magareng ka itsholelo, mme gonno e dira tiro e e duleng diatla go na le dinaga tseo. Le fa go ntse jalo, Aforika Borwa e sa ntse e na le palo e e kwa tlase ya ba ba leng mo thutegong e e kwa godimo, gape go tlhokega gore go tlhomiwe mogopoloo thata mo ditirong tsa di jaaka tsa boenjenere.

Mo godimo ga moo, naga e batla go oketsa dilo tsa thekenoloji ya maemo a a kwa godimo tse di rekisediwang dinaga tse dingwe. Seno se raya gore Aforika Borwa e tla tlhoka go gagamatsa melawana le dipeelo ya dilo tse ba di rekisetsang dinaga tse

dingwe. Thulaganyo ya go tsenya letseno e ikaegile mo gogolo ka go nneng gone ga molao o o kgontshang le dithulaganyo tsa pholisi tse di tshegetsang go itlhahosa go go dirang, tshireletsego, le botsamaisi jwa intellectual property (IP) nngwe le ngnwe e e amanngwang le dipholo tsa R&D. Go ya ka National Intellectual Property management Office (NIPMO), fa e sa le ka Diphalane 2010, 2% ya melawana le dipeelo mo dilong tse di rekisediwang dinaga tse dingwe e kgonne go atlega mo go tsa kgwebo ka 2018, ka koketsego ya 5% e e mo laesenseng.

Nngwe ya diporojeke tse di kgolo tse naga e neng ya tshwaragana le tsone morago ga puso ya tlhaolele, e ne e le go dira thelesekoupo ya Square Kilometre Array (SKA). Porojeke eno ya thelesekoupo ya SKA e tla godisa ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa ka ntlha ya go agiwa ga meago e megolo e go tla dirisediwang SKA mo go yone, gape go tla nna le batho ba ba thapiswang go dirisa SKA.

#### e) Go Godisa Dikgwebo Tse di Potlana

Ka 1994, puso e ne e itse sentle gore dikgwebo tse di potlana di na le dikgwethlo le gore dikgwebo tseno di ka nna le seabe sefe mo go tlhabololeng naga. Puso ya tlhaolele e tlogetse Aforika Borwa ka palo e e ko tlase ya batho ba ba iperekang ba ba nnang le seabe mo go godiseng ikonomi. Leno ke lebaka la konokono la go bo botlhokatiro bo ile magoletsa. Puso ya tlhaolele e ne gatelela bontsi jwa dikgwebo tsa batho bantsho, e ne sa lettelele dikgwebo tsa bantsho mo toropong, go na le moo, e ne e ba lelekela kwa dipolasing. Seno se dirile gore beng ba dikgwebo tse di potlana ba se ka ba fitlhelela dilo tse dintsi jaaka dithaka tsa bone ko dinageng tse di itsheletseng, ba tota dikgwebo tseo ba di neileng e le boswa go tswa mo go ba malapa a bone. Beng ba dikgwebo tse dipotlana bothle fela mo Aforika Borwa, gantsi ga ba na kemonokeng ya ditheo tsa go bapatsa, mafelo a siametseng go tsamaisa kgwebo le bokgoni jwa go tsamaisa kgwebo eo.

Tota le go fetoga ga dipholisi mo go diragetseng ka 1995 go ile ga tlhothelediwa gore dikgwebo potlana di ne di na le ditlhoko, mekgele le dikgwethlo. Go ne ga tliwa ka leano la gore go tlhomiwe mekgathlo e le mmalwa, e e akararetsang National Small Business Council, mokgathlo o o thusang dikgwebo tse di potlana o o bidiwa Ntsika le lefapha la selegae la go thusa dikgwebo tse di potlana. Dipholisi di gatelela botlhokwa jw gore puso e thusa dikgwebo tse di potlana.

#### Dipalopalo tse di tserweng mo Statistics South Africa Labour Market Dynamics(2008 – 2015) di eme jaana:

- Dikgwebo tse di potlana tse di mo molaong ka 2015 di ne di le 670 000, mme ka 2008 di ne di le 707 000;
- Dikgwebo tse di potlana tse di seng mo molaong di ne di le dimilione di le 1.5 ka 2008;
- Ga jaana go na le dikgwebo tse di potlana di le dimilion di le 2.2;
- Dikgwebo tse di potlana tse di mo molaong di ne di thapile batho ba le dimilione di le 5.8 ka 2015, mme dikgwebo tse di kgolo tsone di na le bathapiwa ba le dimilione di le 3.6;
- Ditheo tse di thusang dikgwebo tse di potlana tse di dirang ka go rekisa le go aga, di ile tsa tlhomma mogopolo thata mo go thuseng dikgwebopotlana tsa ko Gauteng, Western Cape le KZN;
- Lotseno lwa badiri ba dikgwebo tse di mo molaong le lwa batho ba ba iperekang le ne le tshamekela fa go R8000-R12 000, mme lotseno lwa badiri ba dikgwebo tse di seng mo molaong le ba ba iperekang lo ne lo tshamekela fa go R2000-R4000
- Diperesente di le 51 tsa dikgwebopotlana tse di mo molaong ke tsa basweu, mme ka 2002 basweu ba ne ba tshwere 62% ya dikgwebopotlana, 24% ya basadi ba teng e ne e tshwere tse di mo molaong fa 40% e tshwere tse di seng mo molaong.

#### f) Dimmaene Tsa Maatla

Dimmaene tsa Aforika Borwa tsa maatla di nnile le seabe mo ikonoming ya naga. Seno se tlhalosiwa sentle mo setlankaneng sa Minirals Energy Complex (MEC).<sup>212</sup> Go ya ka Sustain Labour (2013), “go tlhaela ga tlameloi ya maatla mo Aforika Borwa ke kgwethlo e e tlhokang go rwalelwaa ditlhako. Ikonomi e agilwe mo karolong e kgolo, meepe e e dirisang motlakase o montsi le madirelo a a sologelwang molemo ke dimerale tse dikgolo, go kgoromeletsa motlakase wa yone o montsi kwa godimo, le dinaga tse dingwe di le 10 fela tse di nang le motlakase o o dirisiwang o montsi”<sup>213</sup>. Maatla ano a a ntsha khabone e ntsi a ama thata tlelaemete le dilo tsotlhe tse di tshelang mo lefatsheng.

Puso ya temokerasi e ne ya lemoga gore go godisa ikonomi ka khabone ga go maleba mo ditshedding le mo bathapiweng(e re ka e bile ditheo tsa dimmaene tsa maatla di sa thuse go le kalo mo kgangnnyeng ya botlhokatiro). Fa naga e ne e fetogela ko go diriseng mekgwa e e ntshang khabone e nnye, go ne ga nna le dipholisi dingwe go tshegetsa phetogo eo: Integrated

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Fine, B. le Rustomjee, Z. 1996. Ikonomi ya Sepolotiki mo Aforika Borwa: Go Tswa mo Marareng a Maatla a Dimenerale go ya mo Madirelong. London:C. Hurts & Co.

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Go Tlabela Badiri. 2013. Ditiro le dithulaganyo tse di amanang le pholisi: Kakaretso ya Aforika Borwa. E teng mo: <https://www.sagreenfund.org.za/word-press/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Green-Jobs-and-Related-Policy-Frameworks.pdf> (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).



Resource Plan(IPR) le Integrated Energy Plan(IEP), National Climate Change Response Policy(NCCRP), Intended National Determined Contribution(INDC) le Green Accord le National Climate Change Bill.

Mo godimo ga moo, puso e ne ya kokoanya dipholisi di le dintsi tse di malebala le gore go nne khabone e nnye e le go leka go tokafatsa ikonomi. New Growth Path (NFP) le National Development Plan(NDP) di ne tsa bayo mekgele mengwe e e neng e tshwanetse go fitlhelewa fa go fetogelwa kwa mokgweng wa gore dimmaene tsa maatla di se ka tsa ntsha khabone e ntsi. Seno se amana le botlhokatiro, go fokotsa kgotleloapi, go tokafadiwa ga madirelo, go tokafadiwa ga ditirelo tsa maatla le go godisa ikonomi<sup>214</sup>.

Maano a a lekilweng a go dira gore go fetogelwe kwa mokgweng wa go se ntshe khabone e ntsi a atlegile go sekae. Go ya ka Global Carbon Atlas, ka 2017 Aforika Borwa e nngwe ya dinaga tse 20 tse di gogang pele mo go direng Green House Gases(GHG) mo lefatsheng.<sup>215</sup> Seno se bakilwe ke gore go tlhokega 50% ya maatla gore go fetlhiwe motlakase le 40% ya GHG.<sup>216</sup> Mme magala e sa ntse e le one selo sa botlhokwa mo go fetlhiweng ga motlakase, 90% ya motlakase e diriwa ka minirale ono.<sup>217</sup> Ka kakaretso, seabe sa dimmaene tsa maatla mo GHG se oketsegile go tloga go 78% ka 2000 go ya go 82% ka 2012.<sup>218</sup> Pego ya bosheng ya National Climate Change Report ya re go nnile le koketsego ya GHG gape “tsela e dimmaene tsa maatla di dirang khabone ka yone e ne ya se ka ya fetogo go tloga ka 2000 go fitlha ka 2012”.<sup>219</sup>

Aforika Borwa e ne ya atolosa dipeeletso tsa yone le ditshono tsa tiro ka go tlhama Rewewale Independent Power Producer procurement Programme ka 2011. Dipalopalo tsa ditshono tse di neng di bulegile ka 2018 e ne e le 35 000 mme go fopholediwa gore R195 000 000 000 e ile ya beelediwa fa e sa le pholisi eno e diriwa.<sup>220</sup> Mme dipalopalo tseno ga di a lekana go lwantsha kgang ya go kgotlelwa ga loapi ka ntla ka

dimmaene tsa maatla.<sup>221</sup>

Mo godimo ga moo, mo nageng yotlhe dingongorego di ntse di oketsega malebana le tsamaiso ya motlakase, boleng jwa motlakase, le go kgaoga ga motlakase. Go tlhokega go tlhatlhahololwe sengwe le sengwe e le gore Aforika Borwa e fetole tsamaiso ya tlamelio ya motlakase, go a go tlhoka gore go akanyediwe ditshenyegelo tsa dimmaene tsa maatla le go fokodiwa ga badiri. Ntlha eno e e tsamaisana le molaomotheo wa tshiamiso o o mo NDP.<sup>222</sup>

### g) Go Tlhofofatsa Ditsela Tsa go Dira Dikgwebo

Ka 2019, mokgatlho wa Ease of Doing Business Report e ne ya re mo diikonoming di le 190 Aforika Borwa e mo maemong a bo 82 mme e mo maemong a bo robongwe mo Aforika.<sup>223</sup> Aforika Borwa e kgonne go fitlhelela ditsela di le tharo fela mo go di le lesome tsa go tlhofofatsa ditsela tsa go gweba, ditsela tseo ke go dirwa dikgwebo kwa ntle ga naga(143), go simolola kgwebo(134), le go gagamatsa dikonteraka(115). Naga eno e dirile bontle mo dipeeletsong(23), go dueleng lekgetho(46) le mo go rarabololeng mathata a dikoloto(66).<sup>224</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo, ka 66.03% Aforika Borwa e mo legatong le le kwa godimo ga Dinaga Tse di mo Borwa jwa Aforika ka 51.1%.

E re ka Aforika Borwa e tshwere maemo a bobedi a go nna le ikonomi e e kgolo mo kontinenteng, e tshwanetse go ipeela mokgele wa gore ga e kitla wela ka fa tlase ga maemo a boraro mo Aforika le mo maemong a bolesome mo lefatsheng. E le gore Aforika Borwa e fitlhelele seno, go tshwanenetse ga tsenngwa tirisong kgang e e sa bolong go tlodisiwa matlho ya gore go nne le mabenkele a motho a ka rekang sengwe le sengwe mo go one, mabenkele ao a tla tlhofofatsa le go gagamatsa kgang ya gore ditlamo di kwadisiwe gape di tla tlosa dithibelo tse dikgwebo tse di potlana di nang le tsone mo go direng dikgwebo kwa ntle ga naga.

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- 216 Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo. 2011. Karabelo ya Setshaba ya Phetogo ya Tlaelaemetu Pampiri e Tshweu. E teng mo: [https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/legislations/national\\_climatechange\\_response\\_whitepaper.pdf](https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/legislations/national_climatechange_response_whitepaper.pdf) (Accessed 26 February 2019).
- 217 Eskom. 2019. <http://www.eskom.co.za/Pages/Landing.aspx> (E bongwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).
- 218 Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo. 2017. Pego ya Aforika Borwa ya Bobedi ya Ngwaga ka Phetogo ya Tlaelaemetu. E teng mo: [https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/reports/southafrica\\_secondnational\\_climatechnage\\_report2017.pdf](https://www.environment.gov.za/sites/default/files/reports/southafrica_secondnational_climatechnage_report2017.pdf) (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019)
- 219 Ibid.ts108.
- 220 IRENA. 2018. Maatla a a Ntshafadiwang le Ditiro – Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga 2018. E teng mo: [https://irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2018/May/IRENA\\_RE\\_Jobs\\_Annual\\_Review\\_2018.pdf](https://irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2018/May/IRENA_RE_Jobs_Annual_Review_2018.pdf) (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019). LE WWF. 2017. Maatla a a Ntshafadiwang: Dintlha le Bokamoso. E teng mo: [www.wwf.org.za/renewable-energy-facts-and-futures](http://www.wwf.org.za/renewable-energy-facts-and-futures) (E bonwe ka 26 Tlhakole 2019).
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# REKOMENTASHIONE

Fa puso ya temokerasi e ne e tsaya bobusi mo pusong ya tlhaolele, go ne ga ga lemogiwa dilo tse di dirang gore ikonomi ya naga e se ka ya gola, dilo tse di akaretsa go ikaega thata ka dimmaene le temothuo, go se lekalekane ka lotseno, dithoto le ditshono tsa ditiro, go sa beeble madi a mantsi ko thoko gore a dirisediwe diplatlisiso le tlhabologo, go tlhaela ga thapiso le bokgoni, go tlhoma mogopolo thata mo dikgwebong le mo mafapheng a puso, go imelwa ga lefapha la tsa madi mo go bakiwang ke ditheo tse di kgolo, dibanka, botlhokatiro le go se thapiwe go ya ka dithutego tsa motho. E le go lwantsha mathata ano, go dirilwe dilo tse di latelang:

- Go tlhomilwe komiti ya **Presidential Industrial Policy Council** go netefatsa gore go nna le tirisanommogo mo go tokafatseng madirelo mo loagong lotlhe. Komiti eno e tshwanetse go ikarabelela ka dipholisi tsa ikonomi. President Economic Advisory Council e tshwanetse go tlhoma mogopolo thata mo Indusatrial Policy Council. Go tla go fitlha jaana:
  - **Komiti ya Industrial Policy** e tshwanetse lemoga National Priority Sectors kgotsa dikgwebo tsa naga tse di botlhokwa thata, dikgwebo tse di akaretsa tse di dirang ka ditshipi, fanitshara, temo, diaparo, dipilisi le gase.
  - **National Priority Sectors** di lemogilwe ka gonie di ne di na le seabe se segolo mo go fokotseng botlhokatiro, go beeletsa madi, go gola ga tsone, go dira dikgwebo le dinaga tse dingwe, le go godisa ikonomi.
  - **Go sekasekilwe dipholisi tsa go godisa ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa** go tlhomamisa go e kcona go tshegetsa maiteko a go fokotsa botlhokatiro, go anamisa dithoto le go godisa ikonomi. Seno se akaretsa go sekaseka pholisi ya ya go tlthatloga ga ikonomi.
- **Go tokafadiwe dipolane tsa meago mme go agiwe toropo e le nngwe fela ka tsela e go agiwang ka yone gompieno mo dingwageng tse tlhano tse di latelang, e e tla dirang gore go nne le ditlhabologo tse dintsi kwa magaeng le kwa ditoropong.**
- **Go beelediwe madi go thusa go tokafatsa ditirelo tsa naga le tsa selegae, ditirelo tse di jaaka motlakase, boemakepe, diporo le ditsela e le gore tikologo e nne mo maemong a siametseng go godisa ikonomi.**
- **Ka bonako go sekasekiwe ditlhawatlhwat tsa motlhakase**, metsi, boemakepe, diporo le mafapha a tsa tlhaeletsano gore ditlhawatlhwat di ye kwa tlase e le go thusa gore madirelo tokafadiwe.
- **Go okeditswe madi a thusang madirelo** e le go tlhatlosa dipeeletso go tloga go 20% go ya go 25%. Seno se tshwanetse go fitlhelelw ntle le go tswa mo bajeteng.
- **Go okediwe dithulaganyo tsa go tokafatsa tsela e puso e bonang ditlhokego tsa yone tsa go dira dithoto tse di rekisediwang dinaga tse dingwe le dilo tse di rekisiwang mo nageng. Ka sekai, thulaganyo ya Finalisation of the Public Procurement Bill.**
- **Go fokodiwe khabone e e kgotlelang loapi** go bo go diriwa gore Aforika Borwa e fetogele kwa mokgweng wa nna le ikonomi e e sa direng khabone e e ntsi le go dirisa dipholisi tsa tsamaiso ya madirelo, dipholisi tse di ka ga gore puso e duelele ditirelo dingwe, gape go tlhabololve madirelo go bo go thusiwe madirelo a potlana.
- **Go tlhofofadiwe ditsela tsa go gweba** ka go dira mabenkele a ba beeletsa ba kgonang go reka sengwe le sengwe mo go one le go kwadisa dikgwebo semolao.

# Thulaganyo ya Bonno le mo Batho ba Nnang Teng



**R DP e bona go dirisa  
maano a go tlhabolola  
ditulo tsa magae le  
toropo ka tsela e e  
tshwanang e dirisago  
abiwa ga lefatshe la ditiro tsa  
ikonomi le tiriso ya lefatshe e e  
nnelang ruri. Dithulaganyo tsa  
bonno tsa 1994 di bontshitse  
kafa dikoloni di amileng ka  
makgolokgolo a dingwaga le  
masomesome a dingwaga a  
go busa ga apartheid, ka go sa  
lekalekane go go kwa godimo ga  
mekgwa ya tlhabololo, le go nna  
le ditirelosetshaba, ditirelo tsa  
loago le ditshono tsa ikonomi mo  
lotsong.**

RDP bone gore “mathata a tlogetsweng ke apartheid a ka se rarabololwe ka iketlo le dipholisi tse di sa laolweng.” Gape e bona tlhoko ya go “senya mokgwa wa bonno wa apartheid ka go busa lefatshe, ditoropo tse dinnye tse di oketsegileng, dipalangwa tsa botlhe tse di seriti, le tlhabololo ya diintaseteri le ditirelo tse di dirisang didirisiwang tsa mo tikolong le/kgotsa di fithelelang ditlhoko tsa tikologo”.

Ditlamorago tsa dikolone le apartheid ke diphelelo tsa makgolokgolo a dingwaga a kgotlhateomolao le pholisi e e tsenyang bontsi jwa batho bantsho selekanyo se sennye sa lefatshe, e leng lefatshe le le neng le sa ungwe. Kgotlhateomolao eno e ne e akaretsa makgetho a mokhukhu (go simolola 1870) le Molao wa Lefatshe wa Bantsho wa ka 1913 le 1926. Tseno tsotlhe di ne di diretswe go tlama batho ba bantsho ka kakaretso le MaAfrika mo tirong e e senang mosola ya go romela ditanka tsa metsi. Tseno di ne di thibela batho bantsho go reke le go hira lefatshe kwantle ga ‘mafelo a a rulagantsweng a ba tlholegang go one’, kwa lefelo la tiro la bathobothe le le tsentsweng tirisong ke baeteledipele ba setso ba e seng ba temokerasi e ne e le mokgwa o o tlwaetsweng.

Seno se lekanyeditse mafatshe a e leng ba batho bantsho go 13% ya lefatshe la Aforika Borwa. Go sa ungwe ga bontsi jwa lefatshe mo go a a beetsweng temothuo le mekgwa epe e mengwe ya kungo. Melawana e e kwa tlase ya ditiro tsa tikologo le tsa naga tsa dikhamphane, di tlaleleditse mo kwelotlaseng ya didirisiweng tsa tikologo, go akaretsa mmu, metsi le temo. Di ne di tshwailwe ka go sa tshwane mo

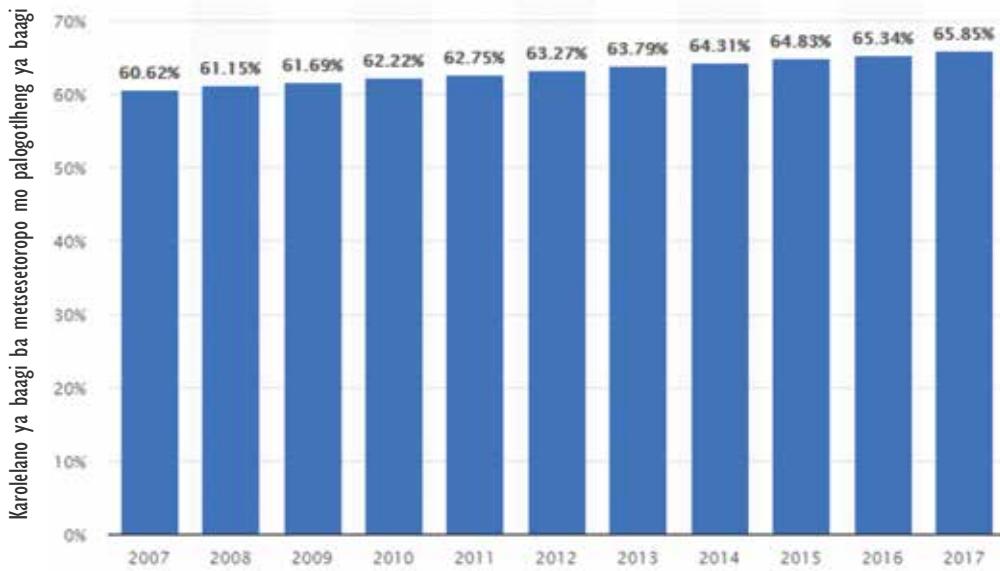
ikonoming ka lebaka la dipholisi tse di diretsweng go tlhomamisa phasalatso e e tsamaisiwang ya tiro kwa meepong le diintaseteri tse dingwe. Thulaganyo ya tiro e e tsamaisiwang, e e atoloseditsweng go dinaga tsa boagelani mo Borweng jwa Afrika, gape e dirisitse go tshwarwe sentle mo feteletseng ga badiri ba bantsho le go aroganya malapa.

Diphaposi tsa borobalo tsa ditoropo tse di tletseng thata le manno a batho bantsi a ne a sena ditirelo tse di seriti le ditirelosetshaba tse di nang le ditshono tse di lekanyeditsweng tsa thekiso le kgwebo. Mekgwa ya bookamedi e e neng e dirisiwa mo toropong le mo bantsho ba nnang e ne e sena mokgwa ope wa mmatota wa bookamedi le/ kgotsa tsamaiso ya puso, mme go badiragatsi ba tikologo le puso ya apartheid ‘e tlhomile’ bathati, go tlhomamisa gore go nna le selekanyo se se kwa tlase sa ditirelo tsa motheo le ditirelo. Bathati bano ba ne ba sa nnele ruri mme ba sena didirisiwa tsa go rulaganya kgotsa go laola dilo tse di batliwang ke baagi.

Go tswa go anameng ga bonno jo bobotlana le dithulaganyo tsa bonno, le koloni le diphelelo tsa apartheid tsotlhe di nnile le ditoropo tse dikgowlane le ditoropo go botlhabeng jwa Bloemfontein, kwantle ga Cape Town, Kimberley le Upington. Mo godimo ga moo, RDP 1994 e tlhalositse dithulaganyo tsa ditulo tse dinnye mo ditulong tsa batho ba bantsho mo hisitoring ya Afrika Borwa e le tse di tletseng thata le tletseng bohuma, magae le makeishene, ka palo e nnye e e kgonang go nna le lefatshe mo mmarakeng wa mahala. Batho ba ba humanegileng ba ne ba nna kgakala le ditshono tsa mmareko le go nna le didirisiwa e ne e le kwa tlase mme badiri ba ne ba imelwa ke leeto le le telele la tirong ya bone le ditheo tsa kgwebo. Gape go ne go sa kgonege go bona mo go lekaneng ditirelo tsa tshoganyetse le sepalangwa mo metse ya magae.

Kafa lethakoreng le lengwe, bonno jwa basweu bo ne bo na le tlhabololo e e tshwanang le ya Europa ka matlo a boleng jo bo kwa godimo le ditirelo tsa motheo go akaretsa sepalangwa le ditirelo. Taolo ya go tsaya le go dirisa matseno go dilo tse di batlwang ke baagi go ikaegile ka bathati ba tikologo le kgaolo ba ba neng ba dira thata mo mading a tshalelo. Tseno e ne e le manno a maemo a a kwa godimo a boemo bongwe le bongwe.

Tota puso ya demokerasi e feleditse e le naga ya mefuta ya batho ba babedi ba ba bangwe ba leng botoka thata mo go ba bangwe. Ka jalo puso ya demokerasi e ne e emisitswe ke go dirolola tshenyu ya dikolone le apartheid ka go fetola



**Setshwantsho 8.I: Aforika Borwa: Phudugelo ya mo metsesetoropong go tloga 2007 go ya go 2017**  
Motswed: Banka ya le Lefatshe le Statista 2019.

gape dithulaganyo tsa bonno go thusa ka dilo tse di batlang go fitlhelelwya ke magae le ditoropo mo nageng, go dumalana le dilo tse di batlang go fitlhelelwya ke Freedom Charter ya “matlo, pabalesego le kgotsofalo go bothle.”

Ka 1994, Afrika Borwa e ne e na le kgolagano ya metsesetoropo ya ditoropokgolo, ditoropokgolo tsa bobedi, ditoropo tse dikgolo le tirelo tse dinnye tse di neng di golagantswe ka tsela le seporo. Le fa go ntse jalo, seno se tshwaile mefuta ya bonno e e tlisang mekgatlho ya loago e e feteletseng le go sa tsena mo ikonoming mo go sa tshwaneng, ka bantsho Afrika Borwa ba ba nnang mo mafelong a toropo a a tletseng thata le metse ya magae. Thulaganyo ya bonno e bontshitse, dilo tse di diregang tse di sa tlwaelegang tsa melao ya dikoloni le apartheid, tse di bonalang di sa siama, di tura, le matlo a a tletseng a batho bantsho a a mo mafelong a a mo morathong a sena didirisiwa, ditshono tsa tlhabololo le dilo tsa go itlosa bodutu.

Mmaraka wa matlo le porophathi o ne o se gone mo bontsing jwa MaAfrika Borwa, ba go tsamaya ga bone le sepalangwa e neng e le kgwethlo ya ka boomo.

Ka 1994, RDP, e tsaya matlo e le tshwanelo ya bothhokwa ya motho e e leng ya bothhokwa go thuseng go busa seriti sa batho. RDP e fopholeditse tshalelomorago ya matlo e le 1.3 milione go ya go

3 milione fa e akaretsa dihosetele le metse ya magae. Puso ya temokerasi go tswa tshimologong e lebane le tshalelomorago e kgolo e e tlhokang go rulaganya dilo go ya bothhokwa jwa tsone.

Puso gape e ile ya tshwanelo go akanyetsa gore “go sa lekalekana ka mafelo a bonno go na le mefuta e e farologaneng, ikonomi, loago, tikologo, setheo le maikutlo a pholo – le gore tseno di bontsha ditharabololo tse di motlhoho. [Ka jalo] go dirilola tshenyo ya apartheid go rulaganya sesha mafelo a bonno [ke] maikaelo a nako e e telele a a tlhokang bogolo jwa tlhamo, tirisanommogo le maitlamo a a nnelang ruri gotthe. [seno se tlhoka] ... dikgwebisno... mo go tlhokang go dirwa dithopho tse di boima...”<sup>225</sup>

Kwa bofelong, RDP e batlide maano a tlhabololo ya toropo le metse ya magae e e kopaneng e le go tlhomamisa gore dithoko tsa batho bothle ba rona di a fitlhelelwya ka tsela e e lekalekaneng e e lekanang. Gape RDP e batlide dipholisi tsa ikonomi e kgolo go akanyetsa kafa di amang kabo ya bonno ya ditiro tsa ikonomi, mo maanong a a rileng go rarabolola kgolo e e kwa godimo ya mafelo a magolo a ditoropo, go aba go go sokameng ga batho mo mafelong a metse ya magae, seabe sa ditoropo tse dikgolo le tse dinnye, le bokamoso jwa ditoropo tse di welang tlase le dikgaolo, le “kafa apartheid e tlogetseng dilo ka gone.”

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Turok, Scheba & Visagie, 2017. Go Fokotsa go sa Lekalekane ga Mafelo a Bonno go dirisiwa Molawana o o Botoka. Begela Phanele ya Maemo a a Kwa Godimo mo tshekatshekong ya Molawana wa konokono le ithagandiso ya phetogo ya bothhokwa. HSRC.

## KGATELOPELE MO DINGWAGENG TSE 25

RDP e lemogile go sa lekalekane ga mafelo a bonn, ya batla tsela e e momaganeng ya tlhabololo ya toropo le ditulo tsa magae. Fa Afrika Borwa e ne e tlhophya ka temokerasi la ntlha puso e ne ya busa ka 1994 e ne ya busa mo kgasakgasamong, mokgwa wa thulaganyo o o sa lekaneng le go tsamaelane.<sup>226</sup> Palo ya batho ya 1996 e tlhomamisitse gore dipalo tsa pelenyana tsa RDP, tse di bontshang gore go ne go na le 1.5 milione ya malapa mo mekhukhung mo mafelong a toropo fela. Go ya ka Setheo sa Afrika Borwa sa Dikgang Tsa Lotso selekanyo sa batho ba ba nnang mo mafelong a toropo e ne e le 52% ka 1990. Ka 2017, phudugelo ya mo metsesetoropong e ne e le kwa godimo ga 65% jaaka go bontshiwa mo **setshwantsho 8.I.**

Ka jalo, RDP e ne ya dirisa melawana ya Botshabelo Accord gore “*Batho botlhe ba tla nna le tshwanelo ya go nna mo ba batlang, go nna le matlo a a seriti, le go godisa malapa a bone mo go kgotsofatsang le mo papalesegong*”<sup>227</sup>

Accord e ne e lebeletse tirisanommogo e e nnelang ruri magareng ga puso le ditheo tsa poraefete (go akaretsa ditheo tsa ditsherele le kago) tse di tla tlisang matlo a a sa jeng madi a mantsi le a a kgonang go rekwa go bahumanegi, MaAfrika Borwa a lotseno lo lo kwa tlase le ba pele ba kgapetsweng thoko. Seno se ne se dumalana le Freedom Charter mo “*mafelo a a sa dirisiwang a matlo [a tla] newang batho [le] rente le ditlhwathlwa [di tla] fokotswang*”. Mangwe a maikaelelo ano a rotloeditse RDP go itlama mo pusong go

beela thoko bobotlana 5% ya bajete ya setshaba go aba matlo go aga bobotlana matlo a million e I mo dingwageng tse tlhano tsa ntlha tsa kgololesego.

Maitlhomo ano e ne e le go itsise Pegelo ya Semmuso ya Matlo ya 1994, le Development Facilitation Act (DFA) ya 1995, e e neelaneng ka momagano ya tlhabololo le thulaganyo ya lefatshe. White Paper e batlile go nonotsa tirisano magareng ga batlhabolodi ba poraefete le puso le DFA go tsamaisa matlo ka bonako le dithulaganyo tsa tlhabololo ya lefatshe. Tseno di thusitswe ke 1997 Rural Development and Urban Development Frameworks e e neng e dirilwe go rarabolola go sa lekalekane mo melawaneng ya lefatshe.

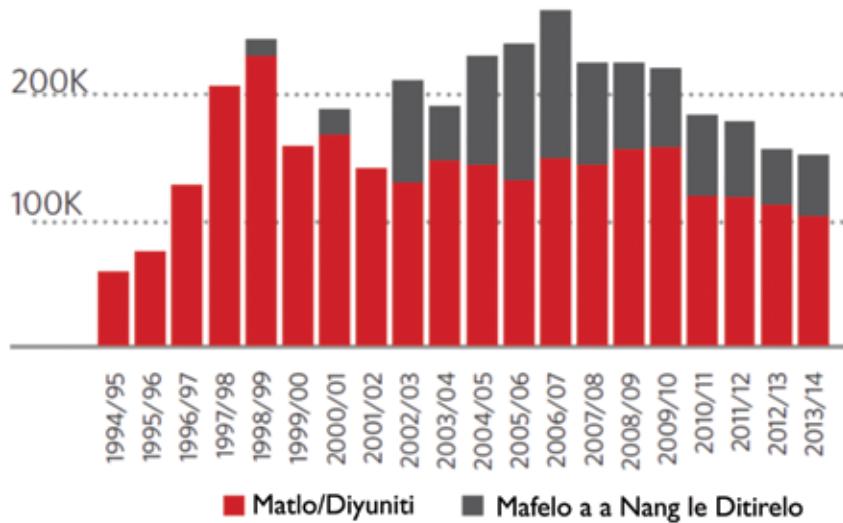
The Rural Development Framework (RDF) e ne e diretswe go tlhama baagi ba metse ya magae e e atologgileng le e e nnelang ruri. Urban Development Framework (UDF) e ne e na le tebelelo ya go dira ditoropokgolo le ditoropo tse di kopaneng ka bonno le ikonomi ya loago, tikologo e e nnelang ruri le go tlamelka matlo a boleng jo bo kwa godimo. Tseno morago di ile tsa thusiwa ke White Paper mo go diriseng ka botlhale lefatshe ka 2001. Ka maswabi, ga go epe ya dithulaganyo tseno e nnileng le tatediso ya mmatota mme ga e ise e tlhotlheletse kgatelepele ka tsela epe e e neng e lebeletswe.

Kwa tshimologong (le go ya pele) dikgatelelo go itlhaganedisa dithulaganyo di ne di seyo mo bathong ba ko tshimologong ba RDP le maitlhomo ka kakaretso a White Paper on Housing ya 1994, e e sa kgothaletseng go ologela ditoropong le go baakanya dithulaganyo tse di sentsweng ke hisitori tsa bonno, e rotloetse bonno jo bo kopaneng, ditshono tsa tiro le papalesego ya lefelo la tiro. Gongwe dipholisi tse di setseng tsa dingwaga tsa pele tsa temokerasi e nnile thuso ya ka madi mo kabong ya matlo, kafa lethakoreng le lengwe e itlhaganedisitse kabon ya matlo, le fa boleng bo belaetswe mme diyuniti tsa kwa tshimologong e ne e le 15m<sup>2</sup> (jaanong di magareng ga 40 le 50m<sup>2</sup>). Ditlwaelo le maemo a ne a beilwe go letla tlhokomelo e e oketsigileng ya intaseteri ya kago ke National Home Builders Registration Council. Ditsereganyo tseno le go oketsa go ela tlhoko, go dirile tokafatso e e bonya mme e sa fetoge mo boleng jwa matlo a puso e a thusang ka madi (Stats SA,2017). Kafa lethakoreng le lengwe, dithuso tseno tsa madi di bakile tirisano ka botlalo go baagi le/kgotsa malapa go tsaya karolo mo go abiweng ga matlo. Le fa go le jalo, tshekatsheko ya baamogeladitshiamelo e e dirlweng ke Public Service Commission ka 2003 e fitlhetseng gore 79% ya malapa

**A ONE  
O ITSE**

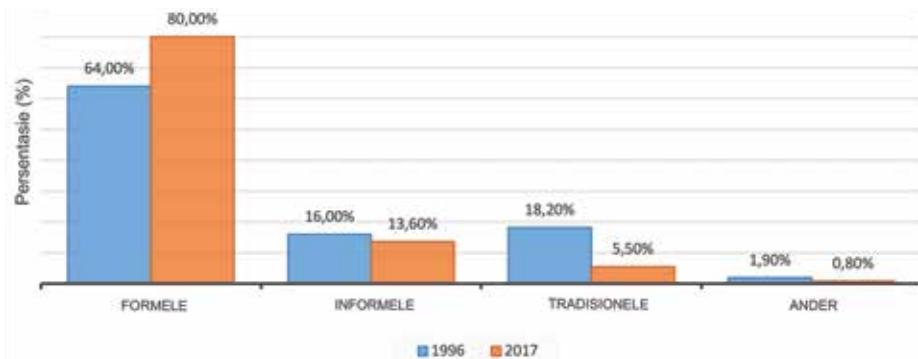
**DIPALANGWA**

80% ya Maafrika Borwa  
e dirisa ditekesi go ya  
sekolong le tirong.



**Setshwantsho 8.2:** Palo ya diyuniti tse di thusitsweng ka madi di feditswe go tloga 1994 go ya go 2014.

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Gardner, 2018



**Setshwantsho 8.3:** Mefuta ya matlo ya malapa, 1996 le 2017.

Motswedzi wa tshedimosetso: Dipalo tsa CRA tse di theilweng go tshedimosetso ya Stats SA.

Ka IRDP, mafelo a lotseno le le kopaneng ka mefuta ya matlo a a tlhakaneng a similotswe mo mafelong a a jaaka Cosmo City, Olievenhoutbosch, N2 Gateway le Cornubia.

otlhe a ne a ikutlw a le a maemo a kwa godimo ya botshelo e tokafaditswe ka lebaka la sekema sa thuso thuso ya madi ya matlo.<sup>228</sup>

Phelelo e nngwe ya go latlhelogwa ke maikaelelo a kwa tshimologong ke go fela ga moyo wa Private-Public Partnership (PPP) go Botshabelo Accord, fa dingwaga di ntse di ya setheo sa tsa ditšelete ga se a tsaya karolo thata mo go tlameleng matlong a a kgonang go duelelwa ka tlhwatlhwa e e kwa tlase le ke malapa a lotseno lo lo magareng le kamano le diintaseteri tsa kago e ile ya 'nna ya konteraka' mme ga se nne le kgwebisano e e kalo.

Go sa kgathalesege kgatelelo e e sa tlhonegeng mo go itlhaganediseng 'tiragatso ya ditirelo' le mekgwatsamaiso, ka go tsaya karolo ga baagi le kgwebisano, selekanyo sa kwa tshimologong sa 1 milione ya matlo mo dingwageng tse tlhano se fitheletswe dingwaga tse pedi morago. 2002 State of the Nation Address e bontsha gore "fa palo ya matlo a a agilweng kgotsa a santse a agiwa e ne e le 514 000 kwa bowelong jwa ngwaga wa tsa ditšelete ka 1998, ga jaana palo e go 1.2 milione".

Le fa go ntse jalo dingwaga tse 25 morago ga temokerasi mo e ka nnang 14 milione ya batho e thusitswe ke thulaganyo ya puso ya tlameloka matlo ka phesente ya malapa a amogetseng mofuta mongwe wa thuso ya tlameloka matlo ya thuso ya puso ka madi go tswa go 5.6% ka 2002 go ya 13.6% ka 2017.<sup>229</sup> **Setshwantsho 8.2** se bontsha tlameloka matlo ka thuso ya madi go tswa 1994 go ya go 2014. Go ya ka CRA, 3,18 milione ya matlo/ diyuniti di tlametswe ka thulaganyo ya puso ya thuso ka madi le 1,09 milione ya mafelo a dirilweng go tswa 1994 go ya 2018. Le fa go ntse jalo, go ya ka Department of Human Settlements ke fela 49% ya thuso ka madi e neilweng malapa a ditlhogo e leng basadi, seno se direga le fa e le karolo ya bontsi jwa malapa a a humanegileng mo Aforika Borwa.

Mo godimo ga moo, fa e sale 1994 setheo sa poraefete se tlametse fela mo e ka nnang 1 179 356 ya diyuniti tsa matlo a masha ka 2015. Mo e ka nnang 73% ya diyuniti tseno di agilwe mo setheong sa matseno sa matlo a mannye (kwa tlase ga 80m<sup>2</sup>), difolete le ditownhouse. Mo godimo ga moo, go tloga 1994 go ya 2017, 360 815 ya diyuniti e tlametse go ya ka melawana

ya Enhanced Extended Benefit Discount Scheme<sup>230</sup> e e dirileng gore batho e nne beng ba matlo tumalano ya dingwaga tse 99. Bobotlana 127 407 diyuniti tsa Loago/Rente/ Setheo di agilwe le 71 260 dihosetele/ Community Residential Units (CRU's)<sup>231</sup>.

Kwa bofelong, palo ya batho ba ba nnang mo mafelong a tshwanetseng e oketsegile go tswa go 64% ka 1996 go ya go 80% ka 2017 mme phesente ya manno a tlwaelo a fokotsegile go tswa go 18.2% ka 1996 go ya go 5.5% ka 2017 jaaka go bontshitswe go setshwantsho 8.3.

Phesente ya malapa a a nnang mo mekhukhung le yone e fokotsegile, go tswa go 16% ka 1996 go ya go 13.6% ka 2017. Go ya ka Department of Human Settlements palogotlhe ya malapa a le 1 131 633 a tokafaditswe mo mafelong a mekhukhu e le karolo ya Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) fa e sale 1994. Boikaelelo jwa konokono jwa thulaganyo ke go tlhomamisa pabalesego ya lefelo la tiro, pholo le tshireletsego, le thotloetso ya baagi mo mekhukhung, molaetheo e le go "go baakanya kgopoloya boagi, go tsenya ditshwanelo le maikarabelo, ka go lemoga le tsenya molaong ditshwanelo tsa badiri ba lefelo mo mafelong a mekhukhu."<sup>232</sup> Go tloga 31 December 2018, palogotlhe ya tshalelomorago ya lekwalo la go bontsha mong go 818 262.<sup>233</sup> Lekwalo la go bontsha mong le le dirilweng go tswa April 2014 go ya go 31 March 2019 a feletse go 101 180 (kwa tlase thata ga palo ya matlo a a neilweng baamogela ditshiamelo).

Mo godimo ga moo, dithulaganyo tsa mafelo a bonno tse di kgaoganeng le mafelo a bonno a agilweng tsamaong ya nako ka dinako tse dingwe a ne a sa tsamaelane le Karolo 26 ya Bill of Rights e tsayang matlo a lekaneng e le tshwanelo ya motheo ya batho, e MaAfrika Borwa otlhe ba tshwanetseng go nna le:

- Go nna le tshireletso go dilo, tshireletso ya mo mmeleng le lefelo la go itumela go lone, go godisa bana, go iketla le go ithuta; le
- Bonno jo bo lefelong le le siameng le go tlamelwa ka didiriswi tse di tlhonegeng tse yuniti nngwe le nngwe ya ntlo e ka dirang dilo tsotlhe tsa ntlo, go tsalana le ditiro tsa pabalesego tse ba kgonang go di dira, le go nna sediriswi le go gola ka boleng, fa e ka nna le mong.<sup>234</sup>

228 Repaboliki ya Aforika Borwa. 2003. Pego mo go Tlhatlhobeng Sekema sa Thuso ya Matlo ya Setshaba, Khomishene ya Tirelo ya Setshaba. E teng mo:[http://www.psc.gov.za/documents/2003/eval\\_housingsubsidy.pdf](http://www.psc.gov.za/documents/2003/eval_housingsubsidy.pdf)

229 Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa. 2018. Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kakaretso 2017.

230 Senthara ya Kanoko ya Kotsi, 2019

231 Lefapha la Bonno Jwa Batho Pego ya Tlhatlhobya Ngwaga wa bo25

232 Lefapha la Bonno Jwa Batho. 2009. Khoutu ya Setshaba ya Matlo: Kaelo e e Tlhofofaditsweng ya Khoutu ya Setshaba ya Matlo.

233 Lefapha la Bonno Jwa Batho. 2018. Thulaganyo ya Leano la Bogareng Jwa Paka 2014 -2019 Lenaneo la Tiro (PoA).

234 Kellett, P. le Moore, J. 2003. Ditselana tse di yang gae: go tlhoka legae le go dira legae go farologana le ditshaba. Baagi ba Boditshabatshaba, 27, 123-141.

# Go sa tshwane ga bonno, le go sa tsamaelane magareng ga batho, bokgoni, ditiro le peeletso, ke selo se se tswelelang sa apartheid le pholisi e e sa fetolwang ya thulaganyo.

Mo go batleng go tsweletsa maikaelelo ano pele leano la matlo la 2004 la Breaking New Ground (BNG), le batla go tlisa togamaano ya go ntshiwa ga matlo ka go tlhama bodulo jwa batho jo bo kopantsweng jo bo nnelang ruri. Leano le bona itlhaganediso ya go tlisa matlo e le leano la botlhokwa la go fokotsa lehuma, le go rekwa ga porophathi e le tsela la go dira khumo le katlego. BNG e tlisitse tsela e e akaretsang ya go duelela go rekwa ga lefatshe, go tsenngwa ga ditirelosetshaba le kago ka kakaretso ya matlo a puso e a duelelang, ka Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP). Pheleletsong, sekema sa matlo a a duelelwang ke puso se dirile phetogo e e tshwanang le thulaganyo ya Chilean ya go thusa ka madi, e e lebang go feta lotsone le le lengwe le thuso ya madi go moreki wa lekgetlo la ntla wa ntlo, sekema sa go renta o bo o reka mme se tlamele thuso ya madi kwa thoko.<sup>235</sup>

BNG gape e ne e na le 2004 Enhanced People's Housing Process e e okedseng thuso, e tokafatsa madi a loago le go tlamela dituelelo go baagi le malapa a a tlhophang go ikagela matlo a bone le baagi. Mo ngwageng oo, Housing Assistance Programme for Emergency Circumstances (2004) e ne ya simololwa go tsibogela katlholo e e di gogang kwa pele ya Grootboom (2000) e mo go yone Kgotsatshekelo ya Molaotheo e atlhotseng gore Naga ga e ikanabele fela go tlamela ditsibogo tse di bogareng go ya tsa nakong e e telele tsa tshireletso mme gape le go tlamela ka tshireletso ya tshoganyetso, Seno e ne e le go tlamela bonno go batswasetlhabelo ba masetlapelo le ba ba tlosing.

Ka IRDP, mafelo a lotseno le le kopaneng ka mefuta ya matlo a a tlakaneng a similotswe mo mafelong a a jaaka Cosmo City, Olievenhoutbosch, N2 Gateway

le Cornubia. Go tlhoka go dirwa mo go oketsegileng go kopanya ditlhabololo tseno mo ditoropong tse dikgolwane.

Social Housing Programme (SHP) e e tlaleletsang e e tlhomilweng ka 2008, e dirile diyuniti tse di fopholetswang tse disha di le 45 623 go malapa a lotseno lo lo kwa tlase go ya go a a lekaneng. Thulaganyo e ne e tshwanetse go dira e le go thusa go rotloetsa ntshwafatso ya mo gare ga toropo. Ka kakaretso, setheo sa rente sotlhe se nnile le mo e ka nnang 4.2 milione ya malapa mo bonnong jo bo rentilweng ka 2017.<sup>236</sup>

Ga jaanong, R2.5 bilione e e fopholeditsweng ya peeletso e tsentswe mo loagong lwa matlo, e bobotlana 30% ya yone e dirisitsweng ke setheo sa poraefete. Le fa Matlo a Loago a na le kgonagalo ya ama thata go rulagangwa sesha le go fetola ajenda ya lefelo la bonno, go boa ga yone mo peeletsong le go rulaganya dilo go ya ka botlhokwa jwa tsone ga e ise e akanyetse. Mabapi le phatlha ya mmarakha, ke fela 12 937 ya diyuniti e tlametsweng go dirisiwa Finance-Linked Subsidy Programme magareng ga 1994 le 2018.<sup>237</sup> Go simololwa ga SHP go ne ga tlaleletswa ke go kopanngwa ga Housing Development Agency go dirisiwa Act of Parliament ka 2008 le Social Housing Regulatory Authority.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Go aba matlo go ne ga busetswa mannong e le selo sa botlhokwa go tlisa thuso mo bahumanegi mmogo le go leba go nna le ntlo e le tshwanelo. Seno se ile sa emela letshwao la botlhokwa la konteraka ya loago. Mekgwa e bontsha go tsaya karolo ka matlhagatlha-ga ke baagi go supa lefatshe le le mo lefelong le le

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Smit, W., 2006: International Trends le mekgwa e mentle ya go aba Matlo: Dithuto dingwe tsa Afrika Borwa, Di gone go: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/d48a/66ca745f7678d760bd9b1b560814b47b358b.pdf>

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Dipalopalo Tsa Afrika Borwa. 2018. Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kakaretso 2017.

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Lefapha la Bonno Jwa Batho. 2019. Tlhatlhobo ya Mokwalo wa Ngwaga ya bo25.



siameng le go nna mo lefatsheng kafa molaong. Se se gakgamatsang ke gore, lefelo leno le le nniwang gantsi le fitlhelela thulaganyo ya bonno le ikonomi tse di mo dipatlaflong. Mo godimo ga moo, selekanyo se se kwa godimo sa ditshenyegelo tsa lefatshe le go sa kgone ga puso go gwetlha mmaraka ka botlalo go kaile gore bontsi jwa ditserganyo tsa puso di nna gone mo matlhakoreng a ditiropong. Ka jalo kgwetlho e e sa feleng e nnile tshiamololo ya mafelo a bonno. Go sa tshwane ga lefelo la bonno, ka go kgaoganngwa ga batho, bokgoni, ditiro le peeletso, ke selo se se sa feleng sa apartheid le dipholisi tse di sa fetolwang tsa thulaganyo, mo go felelang ka go tlhaela ga sepalangwa, go tsaya maeto a maleele le ditshenyegelo tse di kwa godimo tsa go tsaya leeto go bahumanegi.

*“Ikonomi e kopane go feta mo bonnong go na le palo ya batho, go mo felelang ka go oketsegala ga botlhokatiro le bohuma mo bathong ba ba nnang kwa thoko, mme e baka ditshenyegelo tse di oketsegileng mo go tsamayeng ga bone (“lekgetho la apart-heid tax”). Go sa tshwane gono ga bonno go dira mo selekanyong sa kgaolo le sa toropo (magareng ga dikgaolo tsa kgwebo ya konokono le ditheo tsa intaseteri le makeisene a magolo thata). Ikonomi le ditheo di ikaeleta go tlhagisa mokgwa ono e le katlego e tlisang katlego le go dira maatla a a dirang didiriswa tse di oketsegileng tse di kgonang go beeletswa gape mo tikologong.”<sup>238</sup>*

Mo bonnong, ga go ise go fitlhelelw go le gontsi mo go tlhomamiseng go akarediweng ga loago le ikonomi. Ditiego mo thulaganyong ya phetolo ya lefatshe gape e amile ka tsela e e sa siamang bonno jo bo kopantsweng jwa batho le go sutisiwa ga bonno, Mokgwa wa bonno gone jaanong o bontsha phattha ya ikonomi e e santseng e sa lekane. Seno se dirile bonno jwa batho go sa dire sentle le tlosa bonno jo bo lekalekang. Go sa tshwane ga bonno mo dimmasepaleng tsotlhe tsa ditoropokgolo mo maemong a a sa tshwaneng.

Boleng jwa bonno jwa batho bo na le dilo tsa boleng jwa botlhokwa jaaka lefatshe, tiro, didiriso, ditirelosetshaba le ditshetele. Kgolagano ya boleng, gantsi e bonwa mo kgannyeng ya lefatshe, e tlhoka go sekasekwa ka nepo go ama phetolo mo intasetering, e le go kgonia go tsibogela go sa lekalekane ga bonno, lehuma le botlhokatiro.

Tatelo ya go rulaganya thulaganyo ya bonno e e si-ameng, go busa ditiro/go sa tshwane ga matlo, go na le tlhogego ya go tokafatsa tirisan magareng le mo teng ga dikarolo tse tharo tsa puso ka tebelelo ya go tlisa matlo mo bogareng le go dira ga dipalangwa kwa ditoropong le ditoropo tse dingwe tse dikgolo kwa go kgobotlelanweng, mo nakong e telele.

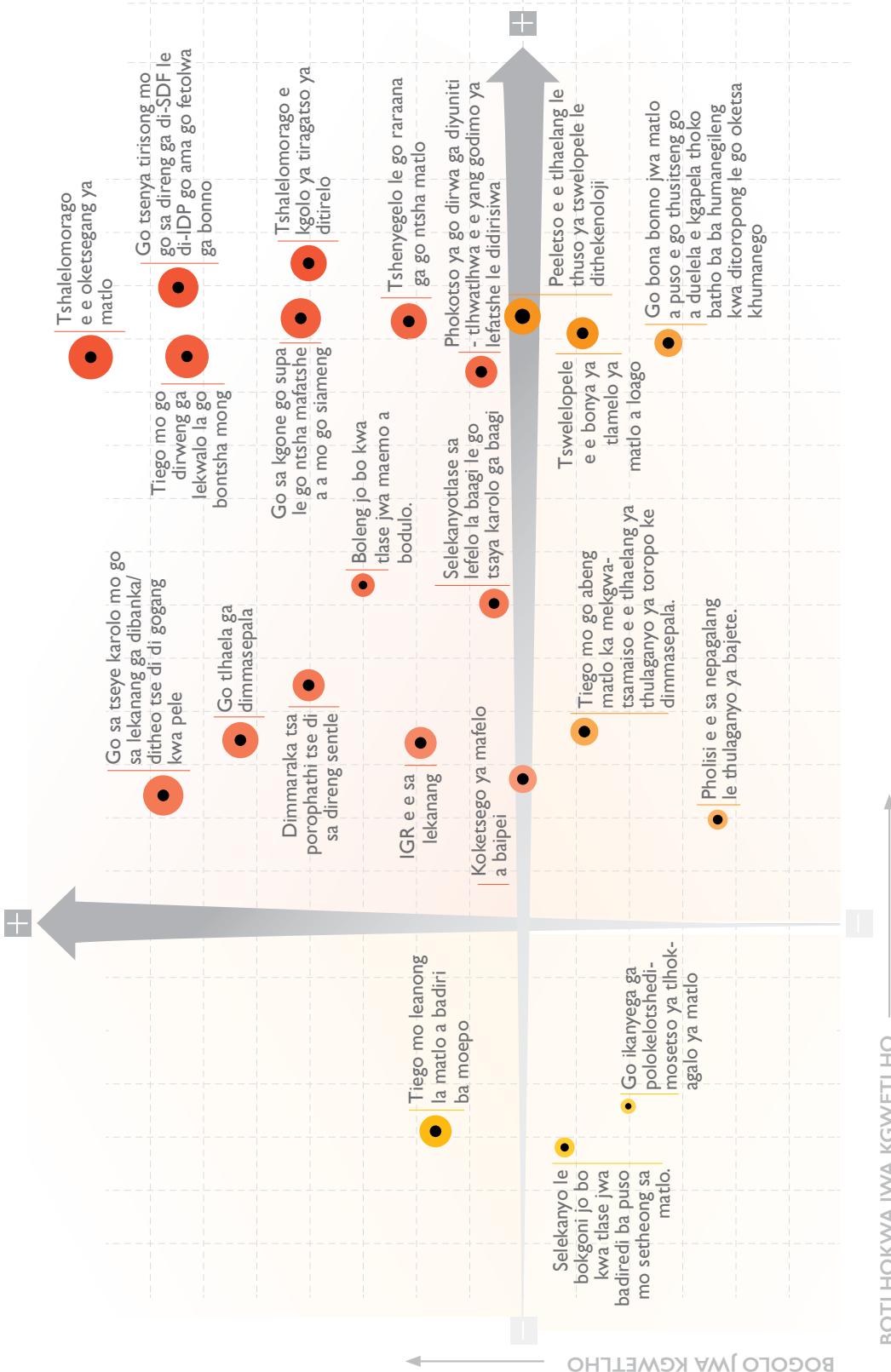
E re ka go se sepe se se pateletsang, dintlha tse di feletseng le thulaganyo ya bonno e e akanyeditsweng sentle ya naga, go dumalana ga Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) tse di farologaneng go botlhokwa. Go dumalana go go ntseng jalo go tla bula le go leba ditshono tsa ikonomi mo diikonoming tsa lekeisene le metse ya magae, mme gape e dirisa mmasepala le e e kgethegileng. Thulaganyo e tlhoka go laolwa ke puso, e e ka isang ditheo tsa ditirelo le diofisi kwa diikonoming tsa metse ya magae le lekeisene. Dithulaganyo tseno di tshwanetse go tsamaelana le thuso ya dikgwebo tsa mo tikologong le dithulaganyo le ditirelosetshaba tse di maleba, tse di mo lekeiseneng di ka felela mo ‘mobileng e megolo’ kgotsa dikgoro tsa ditshono.

Go tswa mo ponalong e e utlwang ya kabo ya matlo le go tlhoma dikgwetlho tse di botlhokwa go di rarabolola, motswako o bontshitswe mo setshwantsho 8.4, o o ntshang mefuta e mebedi ya Bogolo jwa kgwetlho, jaaka go lekantshtswe ke phattha magareng boemo jwa ga jaana le boemo jo bo batliwang; Bogolo jwa kgwetlho, jaaka bo lekantshtswe ka bogolo jwa go dira ga maitlamoa a kgwetlho mo go lemogeng maikarabelo-magolo a setheo sa bonno jwa batho.



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Human Sciences Research Council. 2017. Begela Phanele ya Boemo jo bo Kwa Godimo mo tshekatshekong ya molaetheo wa konokono le ithaganediso ya phetogo ya botlhokwa. E gone mo: [https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High\\_Level\\_Panel/Commissioned\\_reports\\_for\\_triple\\_challenges\\_of\\_poverty\\_unemployment\\_and\\_inequality/Diagnostic\\_Report\\_on\\_Spatial\\_Inequality.pdf](https://www.parliament.gov.za/storage/app/media/Pages/2017/october/High_Level_Panel/Commissioned_reports_for_triple_challenges_of_poverty_unemployment_and_inequality/Diagnostic_Report_on_Spatial_Inequality.pdf)



Ka kakaretso, Aforika Borwa e itemogela phokotsegoo mo go dirweng ga matlo ka ditshenyegelo tse di oketsegang, mo go tsosang dipotso kaga go tsamaisiwa sentle le go oketsegaa ditshenyegelo tsa lefatshe le didirisiwa jaaka go senotswe ke thathlhobo ya madi a a dirisitsweng ke National Treasury.

Maano a kgolagano le go reka dilo a a dirisitsweng go rarabolola tshalelomorago ya kaboo ya matlo ka dinako dingwe go fitlhetswe a batla tsamaiso e e bonya, mo go bakang boleng jo bo belaetsang jwa matlo, tse tsotlhе di laolwang ke mmaraka wa thuso ya madi ya matlo.

Go palelwa ke go dirisa ka katlego mokgwa wa thulaganyo go ile ga kaya gore go kopanya lefatshe go a tswelela go tshwanela dithhabololo tse di yang godimo, mo go bakang tshubutlelano le go akarediwa. Ka kgolo e e bogareng ya mafelo a le 98 a baipei go tswa 1996 go ya 2017,<sup>239</sup> go botlhokwa go rarabolola bothata jwa matlo jo bo aparetseng ditoropo tse dintsi segolobogolo mo palong e e golang ya ba ba tlosiwang, ditshupetso, go ipaya mo go tswelelang.

Mmaraka wa Aforika Borwa wa lefatshe o kgapetse thoko bontsi jwa batho ba naga ba ba bahumanegileng, ka lebaka la tlhwatlhwa e e kwa godimo ya lefatshe le porophathi le gore batho ba ba humanegileng ga ba kgone go bona madi a ba kgonang go a duelela a kadimo. Kwa bofelong, bontsi jwa batho ba ba humanegileng ba feleeditse ba nna mo mafelong a baipei. Go sa rulaganye sentle mo maemong a mmasepala go bakile tswelelopele e e bonya mo kgannyeng ya tlhabololo ya mafelo a bonno a baipei go a tokafatsa, go tlogela malapa a a gaeletseng mo khumanegong. Go ya ka CRA, mafelo a baipei a ka nna l 185 a santse a le gone fa e sale ka 2018.

Le fa go dirilwe maiteko a magolo mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng go rarabolola dithhoko tsa matlo, boamaruri ke gore 1.89 milione ya malapa e santse e tlhoka matlo a a seriti.<sup>240</sup> Tshalelomorago e e oketsegang ya matlo e bakwa ke go fokotsegaa bogolo jwa malapa, mo go felelang ka koketsegoo ya go dirwa ga malapa, le phudugelo e e bonako kwa metsesetoropong segolobolo kwa Gauteng kwa palo ya batho e oketsegileng ka 25.5% ka 2018.<sup>241</sup>

Kgatelopele e e bonya mo go tlameleng diyuni tsa matlo a loago ke ka ntlha ya go sa rate go beeletsa mo matlong a a hirisiwang ka lebaka la



thulaganyetsoruri ya khiro le ditshenyegelo tsa tlhokomelo. Seno gape se bontsha go thaela ga go tsamaisana le tirisanommogo mo ponong e le nngwe, e re ka tlamelo ya thulaganyo e e lekaneng ya mafelo a bonno le mafelong a a nniwang a tlhoka go dirisana gantsi mo loagong le ikonomi le peeletso ke dikarolo tsotlhе tsa puso, setheo sa poraefete le badiri ba e seng ba puso. Go rarabolola go tlala mo loagong go a tlhogega mo go tshwanetseng go akaretsa diriso ya didirisiwa tsa tlholego le lefatshe. Seno se ka rarabolola se e ka lebegang e le dikgathego tse di gaisanang ntle le mekgwa ya go dira gore dilo tse di tlhang pele di tle pele mo tirisong ya lefatshe le didirisiwa tsa tlholego mo tlhabololong ya ikonomi e e nnelang ruri mo ikonoming le baagi. Ka sekai, bontsi jwa mafelo a metswedi ya botlhokwa ya metsi mo nageng a fitlhelwa mo lefelong le le lengwe e le dimineral tsa botlhokwa, mme go epa mo mafelong ao go senya pabalesego ya nako e e telele ya metsi a naga.

Agenda ya Spatial Transformation e tlhoka boineele go mo dikarolo tsotlhе tsa puso, e le go tlhomamisa go laola ga lefelo la bonno, bosupi jwa go dira tshwetso le go okaoka, le go sa kgaotse mo dilong tse di tlhang pele. Go rulaganya bonno le lefatshe go dirisa taolo ga go thusiwe ka madi mo go lekaneng le dikgwebo, segolobogolo mo dimmasepaleng tse dinnye. Go rulaganya diporofeshenale le batsayakarolo ba bangwe ba kago ya tikologo mo teng le go feti thapiso e e tlhokwang ke puso le dithhabololo tsa bogolo.

<sup>239</sup> CRA, 2019  
<sup>240</sup> CRA, 2019  
<sup>241</sup> Ibid



# DIKAKANTSHO

Aforika Borwa e tlhoka thulaganyo e e kgethegileng ya bonno e e oketsang dithono le boleng mo makeišeneng le magae a mo nakong e e fetileng a neng a kgapetswe thoko, go nna le tlhabololo e e nnelang ruri mo go rarabololeng botlhokatiro, lehuma le go sa lekalekane fa e ntse e rarabolola go kgapelwa thoko. Go fitlha jaanong:

- Mo go tlhameng le go tsenye tirisong thulaganyo ya bonno e e pateletsang le e e nang le dintlha, le go rarabolola palo ya batho le ditshono tse di sa tshwaneng, selo se se tlang pele e tshwane go dikologa go ditshono tsa ikonomi mo mafelong le mo tikologong kwa bontsi jwa batho ba ba humanegileng ba nnang gone, go akaretsha makeišene le mafelo a metse ya magae. Mo puso jaaka beng ba porophathi, barenti, le balaodi ba ka akanyetsang go sutisa mafelo a one a tiro go a isa koo.
  - Mo go tokafatseng tirisanommogo le mekgwa ya tlhaloso ya lefelo mo teng le magareng ga maemo a puso, setho sa
- poraeftete le mo baaging National Spatial Development Framework e tshwanetse go ranolelwaa mo thulaganyong e e utlwaland sentle, e le karolo ya motheo le tiragatso, e le go tlhomamisa gore baamegi botlhe ba ba tshwanelang ba nna le seabe mmo thulaganyong ya bonno le thulaganyo ya bonno jwa batho. Lefelo le lesa la batho bonno le tshwanetse go nna gone, ntle le fa e le karolo ya thulaganyo ya bonno jo bo kopantsweng.
- Go dirisa setheo sa poraeftete go tlhomamisa gore se solegela molemo tlhabololo ya mafelo a bonno le malapa a lotseno lo lo kopantsweng.
  - Sekaseka thulaganyo ya kabo ya matlo ka thuso ya madi mmogo le go ntshiwa ga one le dikao tsa leano go tlhomamisa go tsaya karolo mo go golwane le go aba ka katlego mo go agang ikonomi ya mo tikologong le baagi.
  - Go simolola kopano ya ditlhophelwa tsa kabo ya matlo mo dithulaganyong tsa rona tsa mafelo a bonno.

Mmaraka wa Aforika Borwa wa lefatshe o kgapetse thoko bontsi jwa batho ba naga ba ba bahumanegileng, ka lebaka la tlhwatlhwa e e kwa godimo ya lefatshe le porophathi le gore batho ba ba humanegileng ga ba kgone go bona madi a ba kgonang go a duelela a kadimo.

KGAOLO 9

# Phetolo ya Lefatshe le Tlhabololo ya Ditulo Tsa Magae



**R DP e tlhokometse gore  
Lefatshe ke tlhokego  
ya motheo go baagi ba  
magae, le thulaganyo ya  
bosetšhaba ya phetolo  
ya lefatshe e tshwanetse go laola  
tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae ka  
go rarabolola ditshiamololo tsa  
nako e e fetileng, e tlhomamise  
pabalesego ya sebaka sa tiro,  
e tlamele ditirelo tsa thuso,  
e tlhame ditiro le go oketsa  
lotseno. RDP le dipholisi tsa  
puso tse di latelang di gateletse,  
tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e  
le thulaganyo e e botlhokwa le  
maitlhomo a go tokafatsa boleng  
jwa botshelo le go tsamaya  
sentle ga ikonomi ya batho,  
segolobogolo ba ba nnang kwa  
metseng ya magae.**

Le fa magae Afrika Borwa a beetswe kwa thoko mme a sa tlala thata, ikonomi ya kwa magaeng e na le kgonagalo ya tlhama ditiro tse di seriti le tse di ungwang. Ikonomi ya kwa magaeng gape e ka tlaleletsa mo tlhabololong e e nneng ruri le go tokafatsa kgolo ya ikonomi e tlosa phudugo ya magaeng go ya ditoropong. Thotloetsa ya ditiro tse di seriti mo ikonoming ya magae ke selo sa botlhokwa go fedisa bohuma le go tlhomamisa gore kgolo ya ditlhoko tsa koketsego ya batho di a fitlhelelw. Seno se dumelletswe go Agenda 2063. Afrika E re e Batlang le 2030 Agenda ya Tlhabololo e e Nnelang Ruri, tsotlhe tse di tlhagisang botlhokwa jwa tlhabololo ya magae ka kakaretso ga mmogo le temothuo le tshireletso ya dijo ka go kgethega.

## PHETOLO YA LEFATSHE

Go gokagana le lefatshe ke lebaka la botlhokwa mo go ageng boikitsiso jwa setšhaba sa Afrika, le mokgatlho wa botshelo jwa semoya le setso. Lefatshe ke la bontsi, thoto ya boleng jo bogolo jo bo farolaganeng—motswedi wa khumo le boikaelelo, le sediriwa sa tlhago se se botlhokwa thata se se kgontshang kgolo ya ditlhagiswa le go tsalwa ga ikonomi.

Ka jalo Freedom Charter e bontsha gore “lefatshe le tshwanetse go arolelanwa go bao ba e dirang” le tseo “dithibelo tsa go nna mong wa lefatshe ka ntla ya lotso di tla fedisiwa, mme lefatshe lotlhe [le tla] arolwa gape go ba ba le dirang [go] fedisa leuba le tlala.”

Ka jalo phetolo ya lefatshe, ke ‘dilo tse dintsi’ go Afrika Borwa ya demokerasi. Ke phodiso ya dintho tsa hisitori, go tlosa sentle go sa lekalekane le diphatlha tsa bong, mmogo le matlotlo a madi a a tlhogegang mo dikgatong tse dintsi tse di diretsweng go fedisa bohuma jwa mafelo a magaeng. Ke lesedi la tsholofello. Mo kgannyeng eno, phetolo ya lefatshe ka metlha ga e bolo go nna maitlhomo a pele a kgaratlhelo ya kgololesego le puso ya demokerasi. Puso e itlamile go fetola lefatshe go siamisa ditshiamololo tse di fetileng, le phetolo ya temothuo. Le fa go ntse jalo, kgatelopele mo phetolong ya lefatshe e ntse e le bonya thata, mo go tlhokileng tshekatsheko ya bosetšhaba e e telets-weng pele ke Palamente ka 2017, diphitlhelelo tse di batlileng, gareng ga tse dingwe, pholisi ya botlhokwa ya phetolo go akofisiwe.

Dikaelo tsa AU mo Phetolong<sup>242</sup> ya Lefatshe di tlhlosa phetolo ya lefatshe e le thulaganyo e e amang thulaganyo sesha kgotsa go dira sesha thulaganyo ya lefatshe segolobogolo jaaka e le malebana le beng ba porophathi; tiriso le kungo; le ditirelo tsa thuso. Go abiwa sesha ga lefatshe, phetolo le go phatlalatswa gape ke dipholisi tse dikgolo tse di dirisiwang go fedisa lehuma la matlotlo fa e sale 1994.

## TLHABOLOLO YA DITULO TSA MAGAE

Fa e sale morago ga temokerasi, tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e tsentswe mogareng ga dilo tse tlhano tse di tlang pele mo pusong. Ekonomi ya magae e na le kgonagalo ya botlhokwa mo go fokotseng go sa lekalekane, go tlhoka tiro le lehuma, ka jalo e nna le seabe mo tlhabololong e e nnelang ruri le kgolo ya ikonomi. Le fa go ntse jalo, histori e e sa tlwaelegalng ya mafelo a magae a Afrika Borwa e baka ditlhaelo tse di masisi mo bokgoning jwa mafelo a magae. Mafelo a naga ya rona a magae “a ne a rulagantswe ke bokolone le apartheid, mme a sa ntse a na le masalela ao a dilo tse pedi – ka dinako tse dingwe go boima go leba lefelo le le lengwe la magae mo nageng eno ka lebaka la pharogganao e kgolo magareng ga mafelo a temothuo ya gwebo le mafelo a ‘baagi’”.<sup>243</sup> Tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e dira karolo ya phetolo ya lefatshe ka

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AU (2010) thulaganyo le dikaelo mo pholising ya afrika mo pholising ya lefatshe mo afrika: thulaganyo ya go nonotsha ditshwanelo tsa lefatshe, go tokafatsa kungo le go sireletsu boiphidiso. Auc-eca-afdb consortium (2010).

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Tregurtha, N, Vink, N and Kirsten, J. 2010: Porojeke ya Presidente ya Tshekatsheko ya Dingwaga tse Masemothano: Review of Agricultural Policies and Support Instruments in South Africa, 1994-2009..

**Setshwantsho 9.1:** Dipalopalo tsa Phasalatso ya Lefatshe Gape - Dihekетара (1994-March 2018).  
 Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: DRDLR 25-Pegelo ya Tshekatsheko ya Dingwaga tse 25 – ya Bofelo 2019, e dirilwe ka dipegelo tsa ngwaga le POA.

POROFENSE POLASI	DIHEKETHARA TSE DI BONWENG LE TSE DI ABILWENG SESHA							
	BONNO/TSHIRELETSO YA GO NINA MO LEFELONG KA MOLAO		MMASEPALA	TEMOTHUO		LOHOLO TSE BONOLO LI BONOLO	BOLENG JWA RANTA-TLHWATLHWA YA GO REKA	
	SLAG	SPLAG	CNOG	LRAD	PLAS			
EC	883	44 179	1 021	57 319	193 069	255 777	552 336	2 214 586 248
FS	896	44 544	0	32 344	126 864	217 391	422 039	1 921 182 703
GP	412	4 586	293	1 756	7 262	47 194	61 603	826 493 327
KZN	938	145 373	60 916	1 637	187 772	184 557	581 193	3 376 142 236
LP	416	33 797	0	0	45 327	102 680	182 220	1 591 247 007
MP	632	113 984	0	5 389	91 620	255 220	466 845	2 692 939 995
NC	383	57 203	0	730 846	120 656	635 417	1 544 505	1 484 080 466
NW	547	24 477	800	17 946	164 861	297 572	506 203	2 242 977 023
WC	329	251 306	8	3 105	230 119	69 619	554 486	1 330 747 801
TOTALS	5 436	719 449	63 038	850 429	1 167 551	2 065 427	4 871 330	17 680 396 806

PSSC	KABO KA SETLHOPHA SA BAAMOGELADITSIAMELO							
	Basadi	Lelapa	Bahiti ba basebetsi	Banni ba mo dipolasing	Baganka ba sesole	Dialogane Tsa Temothuo	Basha	Ba ba nang le bokoa mo mmeleng
EC	3 871	1 509	15	1 470	4	-	2 529	29
FS	2 318	2 222	-	990	-	-	1 036	1
GP	1 052	6 004	13	959	1	-	465	2
KZN	22 026	42 961	5 138	51 868	1	28	14 543	133
LP	1 487	6 114	195	284	51	8	872	37
MP	5 379	18 182	5 501	14 342	288	-	2 543	21
NC	1 182	6 160	75	114	1	1	711	35
NW	22 838	37 038	-	4 170	3	35	3 559	385
WC	10 732	9 641	-	11 577	2	-	9 357	132
TOTALS	70 885	129 831	10 937	85 774	351	72	35 615	775

**“Phetolo ya lefatshe e a tlhonega mme ga se boemo jo bo lekaneng mo tlhabololong ya setšhaba ... Ka gonu phetolo ya lefatshe ke maemo a konokono a kgang ya temothuo, fa kgang ya temothuo e le maemo a konokono a dikgang tsa setšhaba...”**

kakaretse le dithulaganyo tse di tlhamang dikgolagano le diphetogo magareng ka ditoropo le mafelo a magae.

Pele to 1994, puso ya apartheid e dirisitse makgetho le thulaganyo ya bonno go tlhama ditiro tse dintsi tsa tlhwatlhwla tlase le tlhabololo ya ditirelosetšhaba tse di sokameng. Fa masome a dimilione tsa MaAfrika Borwa kafa tlase ga apartheid ba ne ba sena didiriswa tsa motheo, maemo a ne a le maswe le go feta mo bathong ba kwa magaeng, ba mo go bone kwa tlase ga halofo ba neng ba na le metsi a a babalesegileng mme a le mongwe mo go ba le supa a ne a na le thulaganyo ya kgelelo ya leswe e e lekaneng. Go ya ka RDP, go palo ya batho ba le 41.22 milione, ke 36% fela ya palo ya batho, go akaretsa 12% ya batho ba mafelo a magae, ba neng ba na le motlakase. UN Agenda 2030 go Tlhabololo e e Nnelang Ruri e tsaya tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e le botlhokwa mo ikonoming, le go atlega ga setšhaba mo tsa loago le tikologo.

NDP: Tebelelo 2030 e bolela gore go diragatsa boikaelelo jwa yone jwa go ‘ikonomi ya Magae e e Kopaneng le e e Akaretsang’ go tlhoka ‘go tsaya karolo ga badiri le ditiro’, mme tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e tlhoka tirisan ya dipuso di le mmalwa le baagi ba ba matlhagatlha.

Go godisa tiro e e seriti mo ikonoming ya magae ke ga botlhokwa go fedisa lehuma le go tlhomamisa gore ditlhoko tsa dikotla tsa palo e e oketsegang ya batho di a fitlhelelwa. Seno se lemogiwa ke 2030 Agenda ya Tlhabololo e e Nnelang ruri, e e tlisang tlhokomelo e e oketsegileng go tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae le temothuo ka tlhokomediso mo tshireletsong ya dijo<sup>244</sup>.

## KGATELOPELE MO DINGWAGENG TSE 25

Tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae le tlhatlhobolo ya lefatshe di akaretsa karolo ya dilo tse di dirisiwang ke puso ya bokolone le apartheid go baka go sa lekalekane, bohumu le go ikaega ka batho bantsho ka ya go ile.

Le fa go ntse jalo, ka maswabi go fetolwa ga lefashe gantsi go kgaogantswe le dikgang tse di amanang le phetolo ya temothuo, diintaseteri, thotloetso ya pholisi le kgatelopele e e atologileng ya ikonomi le fa go ntse jalo tseno ka botsone di golagane e re ka, “phetolo ya lefatshe e a tlhonega mme e se maemo a a lekaneng tlhabololo ya setšhaba... Phetolo ya lefatshe ke maemo a konokono a kgang ya temothuo, fa kgang ya temothuo e le maemo a konokono a dikgang tsa setšhaba...”<sup>245</sup>

Mo go tsweletseng pele kgang e e tshwanang le go lemoga hisetori ya Afrika Borwa e e kgaogantsweng le e e sa itumediseng e e nang le dikoloni, kgethololo ya lotso, apartheid, le dipholisi tsa tiro tse di tlhaolang ka bong le tse di gatelelang White Paper on RDP ya 1994, e bone gore go ne go na le batho ba feta 12 milione ya batho ba ba neng ba sena metsi a a phepa le 21 milione ya batho ba ba neng ba sena kgelelo ya leswe e e lekaneng. Gape go lemogilwe gore kwa tlase ga halofo ya baagi ba mafelo a magae ba ne ba na le tlamelo ya metsi a a babalesegileng le a ba kgonang go a bona le gore ke motho a le mongwe fela a neng a na le kgelelo ya leswe e e lekaneng.

Ka jalo, Pego ya Semmuso ya Western Cape e tlamile puso go tlhama “pholisi e e kopantsweng le

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Ilo, April 2019): Go Tokafatsa Bosiamisi Jwa Loago, Go Eteleetsa Tiro e e Siameng Kgatisokhopi © 1996-2018.

Prof. Sam Moyo, Phetolo ya Lefatshe, Temothuo e potlana le go Fedisa Khumanego: Dithuto tsa Aforika, mo Pholising ya AISA Karolo No. 21, Seetebosigo 2010.

e e nnelang ruri ya magae ka go ikgolaganya le batho ba kwa magaeng, mekgatlo le baamegi... go oketsa go bona ga bone ditirelo le thuso mo selekanyong se senny sa batlhagisi ka go tlhomamisa go nna le lefatshe, dimmaraka tse di siameng, dilo tsa go adimisa madi, thapiso le thuso".<sup>246</sup>

Go fitlhelela seno Karolo 25 ya Molaotheo mo karolong ya porophathi e dira thulaganyo ya go dirisiwa ga phetolo ya lefatshe, thulaganyo e e akaretsang go tsewa ga lefatshe, tuelo, lefelo la tiro le motheo wa tiriso ya kgotlhathemolao. Go dirisa phetolo ya lefatshe le go abiwa sesha ga lefatshe Restitution of Land Rights Act le Land Reform (Badiri ba Lefatshe) Molao o ne wa fetolwa ka 1994 le 1996. Restitution of Land Rights Act, No.22 ya 1994 e dira dithulaganyo tsa ditshwanelo tsa kabelo ya lefatshe go batho kgotsa baagi ba ba nang le ditshwanelo tseo morago ga 19 June 1913 ka lebaka la melao le mekgwa ya nako e e fetileng ya tlhaola ka lotso.

Go dira tiro eno, Molao o tlhomile khomisene ya Ditshwanelo tsa Go Abiwa Sesha ga Lefatshe le Kgотlhatshekelo ya Phetolo ya Lefatshe. Tona e e ikarabelaang mo phetolong ya lefatshe e letleletswe go reka, go batla ka mokgwa ope o mmongwe kgotsa go tsaya lefatshe kgotsa tshwanelo mo lefatsheng ka boikaelo jwa go aba lefatshe sesha. Land Reform (Badiri ba Lefatshe) Act, (Act 3 wa 1996) e neelana ka tshireletso mo lefelong la tiro go badiri ba lefelo le batho ba ba nnang kgotsa ba dirisa lefatshe ka ntla ya go dirisana le badiri ba lefatshe. Gape e tlamela ka patlo ya lefatshe le ditshwanelo mo lefatsheng go badiri ba lefatshe.

Tseno di tlaleletswa ke Communal Land Rights (Act 11 of 2004), Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62, (Act 62 wa 1997 le go baakangwa ga one; ;le Communal Land Rights Act (ClarA) tse sotlhe di batlang go baakanya go batho "ba lefelo la bone la tiro le sa babalesegang go ya ka molao ka ntla ya melao le ditiro tsa nako e e fetileng tsa kgethololo ya loso", jaaka go boleletswe go Karolo 25 (6) ya Molaotheo wa Repaboleki ya Afrika Borwa wa 1996.

Go thusa tseno le ditlhabololo tsa magae le maikaelelo a phetolo ya lefatshe dithulaganyo di le mmalwa di ne tsa dirwa le go dirisiwa go akaretsa Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP), Settlement and Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG); Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD); Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy (PLAS); le Thulaganyo ya Tlhabololo e e Tseneletseng ya Ditulo Tsa Magae, (2009). Tuelo, kago ya setheo le dithulaganyo tse di tokafatsang bogolo le dithulaganyo

di akaretsa Agrarian Transformation Strategy ya 2012; Rural Development Policy Framework ya 2013; Intergovernmental Relations and Stakeholder Management Strategy; Rural Enterprise and Industry Development Programme; NARYSEC; Comprehensive Agriculture Support Programme (2004); Micro-Agricultural Finance Scheme of South Africa (2005); Ilima/letsema; Recapitalisation and Development Programme, (2010); Agricultural Policy Action Plan; Agri-parks Programme, le Animal and Veld Management Programme.

Go tlaleletsa ditumelo le maitlhomo ano a boditshhabatshaba le kontinente a re a tsenetseng, go akaretsa Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) ka go dirisa 2003 Maputo and Malabo Declarations on Agriculture and Food Security in Africa. Maputo Declaration go CAADP e emela thulaganyo e e kopaneng ya tlhabololo ya temothuo ya Afrika mo boemong jwa naga, e e kgobokantsweng mo dikarong tse robedi a thematic.

Go dumalana le CAADP, dipholo tsa Afrika Borwa ka kakaretso e ne e le 4.1 ka 2017, go ya ka Malabo Molanako wa Kgoeletso. Selekanyotlase sa kakaretso ya dipholo tsa 3.94 mo go 10 e a batlega go nna mo tseleang go dirisia maitlamo a Malabo Declaration ka 2025, mo go kayang gore Afrika Borwa e na le diragatso e e bogareng. Maitlamo

?

**A ONE  
O ITSE**

**BOGOLO JWA LEFATSHE**

Bogolo jwa lefatshe la Afrika Borwa ke 1.2 milione km<sup>2</sup> le 3000km ya losi Iwa lewatle. Re naga ya bo25 e e kgolo go gaisa tsotlhe mo lefatsheng le ya bo9 e e kgolo go gaisa mo Afrika.



ano a tlaleletswa ke maikaelelo a boditshabatshaba jaaka a a mo go di-SDG, go akaretsa SDG2 mo go fitlheleleng tshireletso ya dijo, go tokafatsa dikotla le go rotloetsa temothuo e e nnelang ruri.

Kwa tshimologong, mo dikgannyeng mmogo le go tsenya tirisong ga RDP, katoloso ya ditirelo tsa temothuo e dirisitswe go ralala diporofense tsotlh, go lekeleditswe dithulaganyo tse di kopantsweng tse di nnelang ruri tsa tlhabololo ya magae, le thuso ya kabosha ya lefatshe e ne ya ntshiwa go baagi ba le mmalwa. Jaaka go bontshitswe ke setshwantsho 9.2 go tloga 1994/95 go ya 2017/2018, mo palogotlheng ya diheketara tse 82 milione tsa lefatshe le temothuo le e leng la basweu le le gone mo Afrika Borwa, 4.8 milione ya diheketara e ne e batlw ka puso kafa tlase ga thulaganyo ya go Go Abiwa Sesha Ga Lefatshe le 3.5 milione ya diheketara e batlilwe kafa tlase ga kafa tlase ga thulaganyo ya Go Abiwa Sesha Ga Lefatshe. Seno se kaya gore go feta dingwaga tse 25 tse di fetileng palogotlheng ya 8.3 milione ya diheketara, kgotsa 10.2% ya lefatshe le le gone la temothuo, le rometswe go baamogelatshiamelo.<sup>247</sup> Milione ya diheketara e e batletseng Go Abiwa Sesha ga Lefatshe e kaile konelo ya ditopo tse 62 475, e e ammileng batho ba le 300 000 ba pele ba neng ba ilediwa dilo go akaretsa basadi ba ka nna 70 000, 36 000 ya basha le mo e ka nnang 800 ya batho ba ba golafetseng.<sup>248</sup>

Palogotlheng ya 4.8 milione ya diheketara tsa kabosha ya lefatshe, go feta milione tse tharo tsa diheketara segolobogolo e ne e le tsa temothuo, ka dipholisi tsa LRAD le PLAS; le 850 429 ya diheketara di ne tsa romelwa go dimmasepala e le lefatshe la baagi. Go feta 2.8 milione ya diheketara jaanong e tshwerwe ke baagi le batho, palogotlheng ya 10 937 ya dikopo tsa beng di rarabolotswe mme 85 774 ya baagi ba mapolassi ba tlhomamiseditswe tshireletso ya tshwanelo ya bone ya lefatshe.<sup>249</sup>

**Setshwantsho 9.3** se bontsha gore magareng ga 2002 le 2017, phesente ya batho ba ba bolawang ke tlala e fokotsegile go tswa go 29.3% go ya go 12.1%. Phesente ya malapa a a bolawang ke tlala e fokotsegile go tswa go 24.2% go ya go 10.4% mo nakong e le nngwe, ka nako e e tshwanang, phesente ya malapa a a sa kgoneng go bona dijo sentle e fokotsegile go tswa go 23.6% ka 2010 go ya go 21.3% ka 2017, fa phesente ya batho ba ba nang le tlhaelo e e jalo ya go bona dijo e fokotsegile go tswa go 29.1% ka 2010 go ya go 24.7% ka 2017.<sup>250</sup>

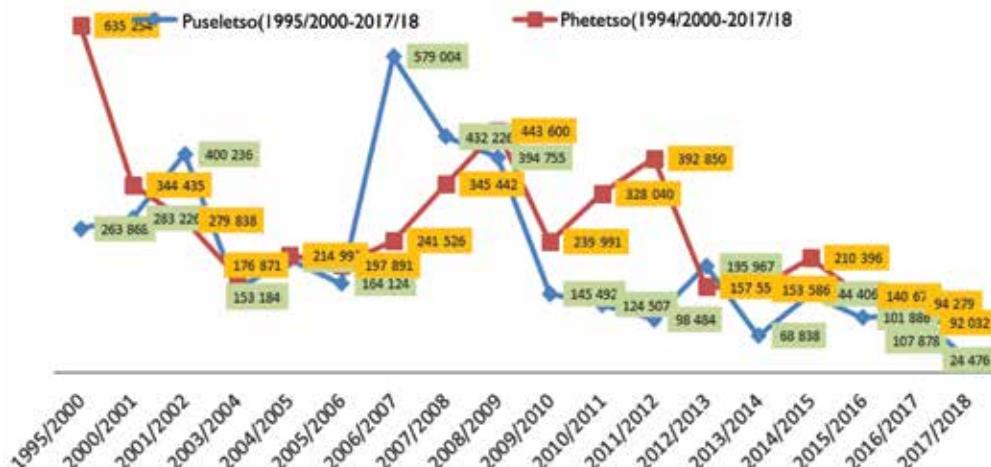
Phesente ya malapa a magaeng a a nang le metsi a a nowang a a tokafaditsweng e oketsegile go tswa go 70.2% ka 2002 go ya go 70.2% ka 2002 go ya go 79.4% ka 2015, mo e leng gore mo e ka nnang nne tlhanong ya malapa a magaeng a nnile le metsi a a nowang a a tokafaditsweng ka 2015. Palogotlheng

247 DRDLR. 2018. ts.3. Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Magae le Phetolo ya Lefatshe. 2018. Dipeco Tsa Ngwaga le Ngwaga. ts3

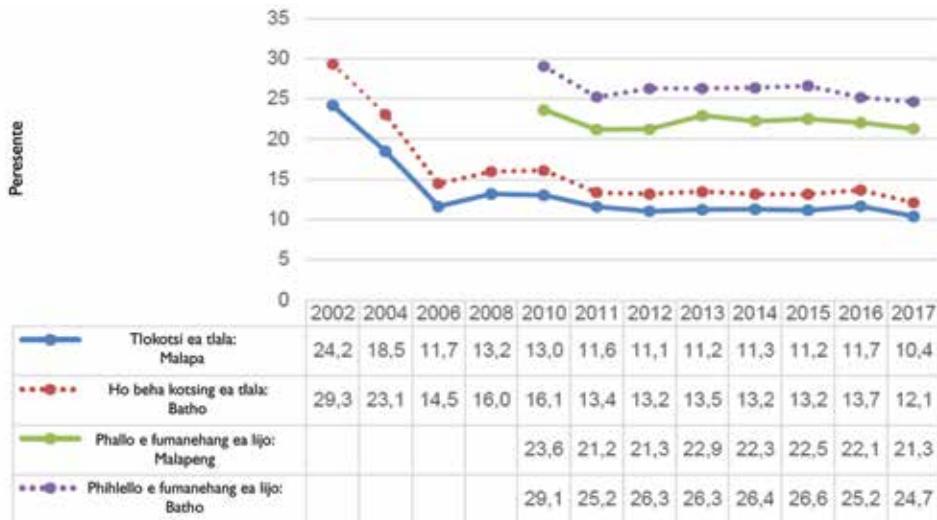
248 Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Magae le Phetolo ya Lefatshe. 2019. Thuso mo Pegong ya Thathlobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

249 *Ibid*

250 Dipalopalo Tsa Afrika Borwa. 2017. Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kakaretso.



**Setshwantsho 9.2:** Diheketara tse di batlegang mo go buseng le go phasalatsa gape.  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: DRDLR. 2019. Pegolo ya Tshekatsheko ya Ngwaga wa bo25.



**Setshwantsho 9.3:** Go lebana le tlala le go kgona go bona dijo, 2002 – 2017.

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Stats SA GHS 2017, 2018.

ya 91.1% ya malapa naga yotlhе e na le motlakase  
(immogo mo keriti le e seng go yone) ka 2016.<sup>251</sup>

Mo kgannyeng ya tlhabololong ya magae, tlhabololo ya mafelo a baagi e kaya go tlamelwa ka ditirelosetshaba tse di tshwanetseng - tse di kgontshang ikonomi ya magae. Go tsaya karolo ga puso morago ga 1994 mo kgannyeng eno e ne e remeletse mo go fokotseng dikolo le ditirelosetshaba tsa pholo, e tlhomamisa go nna le ICT mo malapeng le dikolo, le go tlamela ka ditirelo tsa motheo go akaretsa kgelelo ya leswe e e siameng, metsi a phepe a nowang, motlakase le ditirelosetshaba tsa sepalangwa. Go latela go dirisiwa ga Comprehensive Rural Development Programme, go fitlhelela metsi, kgelelo ya leswe le motlakase mo mafelong a magae di tokafetse fela thata. Le fa go ntse jalo, "malapa a a folopholeditsweng a le 46.7% of a nnile le metsi a phaepe mo ba nnang gone ka 2017. Ba bangwe ba e leng 27.5% ba nnile le metsi mo lefelong fa 12.2% e ikaegile ka ditepe tsa baagi le 2.1% e ikaegile ka ditebe tsa baagelani." Le fa ka kakaretso go bana metsi ga malapa go tokafetse, 3.0% ya malapa e santse e tshwanela go ga metsi kwa melapong, metswedding, megobe ya metsi, matamo le didiba ka 2017."<sup>252</sup> Mme "seno ke phokotsegoo ya diperesente tsa dintha tse di fetang thataro go tswa 9.5% ya malapa a a tshwanetseng go nna le metsi go tswa metswedding eno ka 2002." Malapa a a nang le kgelelo ya leswe e e tokafaditsweng a oketsegile go tswa go 61.7% ka 2002 go ya go 82.2% ka 2017.<sup>253</sup>

/ Phesente ya  
bamalapa a kwa  
magaeng a a nang  
le metsi a a nowang  
a a tokafaditsweng  
e oketsegile go  
tswa go 70.2%  
ka 2002 go ya go  
79.4% ka 2015

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Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa. 2016. Patlisiso ya Morafe.

252

Dipalopalo Tsa Aforika Borwa. 2018. Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kaketso. ts.36.

253

Ibid. ts.41.

Le fa dipalopalo tse di amanang le ditirelo tsa motheo di ne di sa tlhakanngwa le tsa ditoropo le tse e seng ditoropo, tshedimosetso go tswa General Household Surveys e bontshitse gore palo ya malapa a a nang le ditirelo tsa motheo, mo diporofenseng tse bontsi e leng magae, di oketsegile sebedi fa e sale 1994. Tseno gape e ne e le diporofense tse di nang le tlamelo e e kwa tlase ka 1996 go ya ka tshedimosetso e e sa tlhakanngwang.<sup>254</sup>

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Tsela ya gone jaanong ya go tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae e dirilwe ka tlamelo ya ditirelo, ntle le go tlhoma mogopoloo mo go lekaneng mo dithulaganyong, karolo, sepalangwa sa baagi, le tsereganyo ya tlhabololo. Ikonomi ya magae e santse e bontsha thata nako e

e fetileng ya Afrika Borwa, go arogana mo dilo tse mmalwa tse dikgolo tsa kgwebisano dikgwebo tsa temothuo, di laolwa thata ke basweu, le bontsi jwa baagi ba bannyne kgotsa lefatshe le ka tlwaelo e leng la batho ba bantsho.

Maiteko a Phetolo ya lefatshe a puso go fitlha jaanong a nnile bonya, le go sa laolege. Kwa phetolo ya lefatshe e (e dirilwe go ya ka kabo ya lefatshe kgatlhanong le Native Land Act of 1913 le go tlhoswa go go dirlweng ka pateletso tlase ga apartheid) e amogetswe, baamogedi gantsi ga ba na bokgoni kgotsa thuso e e tlhokegang go tlhabololo lefatshe go nna kgwebo e e golang e e atlegileng. Go nna le metsi go botlhokwa go tshwana le go nna le tshelete. Mo godimo ga moo, balemi ba le bantsi ba bannyne ga ba na momagano mme ba na le bothata jwa go adima madi.



# DIKAKANTSHO

Kgang ya lefatshe lotlhe ya go aba lefatshe sesha le go fetola lefatshe mo dinageng tse di jaaka Brazil, Philippines, Zimbabwe, Chiapas, Honduras, Guatemala, India, Bangladesh, Indonesia le East Timor, e bontsha tlhokagalo ya go remelela segolobogolo go thusa mafelo a magae a a humanegileng le ba ba senang lefatshe. Seno se tlhoka pholisi e e tshwanelang le diphetolo tsa setheo. Ka jalo, Afrika Borwa e tlhoka:

- Go dirisiwa ga lefatshe le le tlhaloganngwang le go fetola thulaganyo ya temothuo go akaretsaditirelosetšhaba tsa mafelo a magae, thuso ya loago (le go rotloetsa) bokgoni, didirisiwa, thuto le pholo le tlhabololo epe fela ya ikonomi ya lefelo la magae le thulaganyo, bobotlana kemo ya phetolo ya lefatshe le tlhabololo ya lefatshe mo tlhabololong ya ikonoming, phetolo ya temothuo le tlhabololo ya ditirelosetšhaba.
- Go fetolwa gape ga dithulaganyo tsa phetolo ya lefatshe go thusa tlhabololo ya mafelo a magae le ditirelo tse di tshwanang le tsa mafelo a toropo, le tlhabololo ya boleng jwa kgolagano go setlamo se le

sengwe go dira setlamo se se tletseng sa phetolo ya lefatshe sa dikumo le ditirelo (toropo le magae, temothuo le tse e seng temothuo) pele le morago ga go nna go fitlha baagi le batho ba tlwaela gentle, mo go tshwanetseng go tlaleletswa ke ketelo ya go dira ga dikarolo tsotlhe tse pedi tsa Agri-parks Programme e leng go tsena mmarakeng wa FPSU, le mafelo a Marakanelo a temothuo ka mmaraka wa mafelo a magae le toropo.

- Go thusa tlhabololo ya ikonomi ya magae mmogo le ditshono tse di rileng tsa tlhabololo ya ikonomi ka go rulaganya temothuo le tlhabololo ya marakanelo a temothuo go bula ditshono tsa ikonomi le kgwebo tsa metse ya magae, le tlhabololo ya tse dinnye ka ditirelosetšhaba tsa metse ya magae le ditirelo tse dingwe le didirisiwa.
- Go baakanya go runwa ga lefatshe go kgapela thoko beng ba lefatshe le kgonagalo ya lefatshe/bokgoni jwa dintshetsontle tse di farologaneng tsa ikonomi. Tshedimosetso e e tlhakantsweng ya lefatshe la naga ya theko ya diphetolo tsa lefatshe tse di farologaneng bokgoni le tiriso.

Go sa tlhomamisege mabapi le isagwe ya jaana le ya mo isagweng ya lefatshe pholisi e amang pabalesego ya dijo. Nngwe ya naga e e gone ga e dirisiwe ka tsela e e siameng e e kgonegang, kgotsa ga e dirisiwe sentle. Baeteledipele ba setso ba tswelela go dirisa maatla e se ka tshwanelo mo dikgannyeng tsa lefatshe le phetolo, mo maemong a mangwe ba gatelela taolo ya bone go mafelo a baagi; le ntwa e e magareng le mo teng ga Communal Property Associations e tlhakathlhanya dilo le go feta, tsotlhe di sa tshwane, mo basading ba bontsi jwa bone e leng karolo ya metse ya magae e e humanegileng. Fa RDP e lebisa ka nepo go tlhoko ya phetolo ya lefatshe go laola tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae, ga go buiwe go le kalo mo kgannyeng ya “*tiriso sentle ya lefatshe la metsesetoropo*.”

Kopano, laolwa ke baagi le bonno jo bo rulaganngwang, tsamaiso le thulaganyo ya tsa ditšelete ya mafatshe

a a tlhokang tlhabololo, ka go utlwala sentle ga dithulaganyo, thuso le dithulaganyo tsa laesense. Mo maemong mangwe, segolobogolo mafelo a a dikologileng ditoropo, lefatshe le le laolwang ke puso le di-SOE a ka gololwa kgotsa a abelwa baagi mo mabakeng a tlhabololo. Development finance institutions (di-DFI) jaaka Industrial Development Corporation le Land Bank di tlhoka go lebisa tlhokomelo e e oketsegileng go ditirelosetšhaba tsa mafelo a magae le thotloetsa ya baagi. Go tshwanetse ga akanyetswa mo go oketsegileng ntla ya gore balemi le dikgwebo tse dingwe tsa ditulo tsa magae di, mmogo le baagi ba bangwe ba magae le segolobogolo bahumanegi, segolo ba ba lebaneng le phetogo ya tlaemetek a mokgwa wa merwalela le komelelo. Dithlwathlwa tse di yang godimo tsa bonno le kelo ya madi mo dithlwathlweng tsa metshini, menontsha le sepalangwa di tlaleletsa mo go sa tlhomamiseng.

- Go rulaganya sesha dithulaganyo tsa Taolo ya Phetolo ya Lefatshe go tlhomamisa tekatekano go dirisiwa dilo tse di maleba tsa tshwanelo ya porophathi go rarabolola go sa lekalekane le go rotloetsa tlhabololo ya ikonomi.
- Go tlhoma letlole la naga go duelela phetolo ya lefatshe, tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae le dithulaganyo tsa temothuo mo makgethong a lefatshe.
- Kopano le phetolo ya lefatshe ka phetolo ya temothuo, ka thulaganyo e e kopantsweng.
- Go rulaganya sesha le go kgontsha tsamaiso ya boleng jwa kgolagano ya go dira ga lefatshe (tokumente ya tumalano, tshekatsheko ya lefatshe, tlhatlhobo ya lefatshe, tiriso ya lefatshe le tlhabololo ya lefatshe) kafa tlase ga setlamo se le sengwe, go fitlhelela tekano le go rarabolola ba ba dirang ba le nosi le go ntsha tirelo ya bone mo pusong, di-SOE, ditheo tsa poraefete le bathobotlhe.
- Go tokafatsa bookamedi jwa Phetolo ya Lefatshe le Tlhabololo ya Ditulo Tsa Magae go tlhomamisa go dira ka katlego ga kgotlhateomolao le dithulaganyo go rarabolola beng ba ba farologaneng ba lefatshe le thulaganyo ya tlhabololo ya balemi go akaretsa polasi e nnye. Seno se tla lebisa go tlhabololo ya dipolasi tse dinnye le kgolagano ya di-SMME mo kgolaganong ya boleng ya lefatsheng lotlhe le dimmaraka.
- Go dirisa kgolagano ya boleng le moamogeladitshiamelo/go tsenya boleng go didirisiwa tsa mafelo a magae le koketsegoo ya kungo, bokgoni le go dira thekenoloiji go tla pele, go kgomarela le boikemisetso pele le morago ga thuso ya go nna le bonno go phetolo ya lefatshe e e nnelang ruri ya magae.
- Go tlhomamisa gore 4IR le go tlwaela phetogo ya tlaemetek e nna karolo ya phetolo ya lefatshe le maitlhomo a magolo a tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae.
- Go dira gore go agiwe metswedi e e oketsegileng ya metsi a matamo, phefafatso ya matamo a a tletseng mmu le go baakanya didiriswang tse di gone tsa metsi; le go isa metsi kwa baleming ba ba neng ba sena one.
- Dithulaganyo tsa go rarabolola tsa ditšelete ka go busa banka ya lefatshe mo phetolong ya lefatshe, tlhabololo ya ditulo tsa magae le tlhabololo ya temothuo. Thulaganyo ya tsamaiso ya lefatshe e tshwanetse go fitlhelelwa le go tlwaelwa go dirisiwa motlhofo ke bontsi jwa batho ba ditoropo le magae.
- Go baakanya, go tlhabolola le go boeletsa kgotlhateomolao, mo go ka dirang tlameloa ya lefatshe e e siameng e e lekalekaneng, segolobogolo go magae a a humanegileng.

# Ditirelo Tsa Setšhaba



**Pampiri e Tshweu ya RDP (1994) e bontsha gore “ditlhoko tse dikgolo tsa batho di ne tsa atolosiwa go tswa go tlhamiweng ga ditiro, lefatshe le go rebolwa sesha ga mafatshe a temothuo go ya go thebolo ya matlo, metsi le kgelelo ya leswe, tlamelo ya motlakase, dipalangwa, dijo, tlhokomelo ya botsogo, tikologo, tlhokomelo ya ditlhoko tsa morafe le tshireletsegoo.** [Le gore] **Fa go tlhamiwa ditirelo tsa setshaba go kgatlhanyetsa ditlhoko tseno RDP e tla etleetsa le go tshegetsa go tsaya karolo ga batho ba ba dirang ditshwetso tsa botlhokwa ka gore diporojeke di tshwanetse go nna kae le gore di tshwanetse go tsamaisiwa jang. Ditlhabololo tseno tsa segalo se segolwane go sololetswe gore di godise ikonomi ka go okediwa ga patlafalo ya dithoto le ditirelo mo batlhagising le bareki.”**

Ka jalo RDP e tlhomile go baakanya dilo tse di amanang le ditirelo tsa kgale tsa setshaba tse di neng di rebolwa ka go tlhaolvwa. Boswa jono bo nnile teng ka ntla ya go tlhamiwa ga madirelo go sa le gale le go a atolosa mo Aforika Borwa, mo go neng ga thusiwa ke kokotsego ya dipeeletso mo bowelong jwa lekgolo la bo19 la dingwaga mo dikarolong tsa meepo ya taemane le gauta. Go tlhamiwa ga madirelo go sale gale, go na le karolo e kgolo e e tsereng mo go sa lekalekaneng ga ditlhabololo tse di mo nageng le go tshwana ga go rulaganngwa ga ditirelo tse dikgolo tsa go tsamaisa dithoto (seporo, ditsela le dipeipi) tse di tswang kwa madirelong a magolo a Gauteng go ya kwa boemelakepe jo bo farologaneng jo bo kwa lotshitshing lwa lewatle.

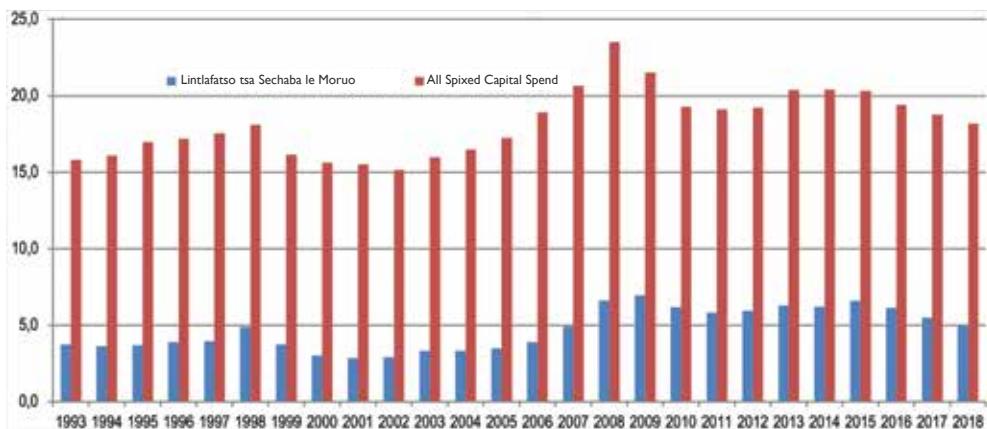
Mefuta ya bonno le yone e na le seabe sa gore fa meepo e e boteng mo Aforika Borwa e ne e tlhoka tiro e ntsi, le yone e ne e ya oketsa badiri ba bantsi. Seno se ne se tlhoka palo e kgolo ya badiri ba ba sa senang kitso le ba ba nang le kitso e mo magareng, ba ba neng ba beilwe kwa dikagong tse di kgakajana e bile e le tse di kgotlhaganeng tse go nnang batho ba le mmalwa mo go tsone. Ditirelo tsa setshaba le tsa itsholelo ya naga tsa mafelo ano a bonno a a neng a tlala ka batho ba le bantsintsi di ne di sa tlhokomelwe e bile di okediwa kwa ntle ga go tlhokomelwa.

Mo pusong ya apartheid, makeishene a mannye le a a sa tlhabologgan thata a ma-Aforika fa a ntse a oketsega, e ne ya nna one mafelo a magolo a go tlhaolela koketsego ya tiro e e duelelwang madi a kwase ya bantsho, ka thuso ya Molawana wa Mafelo a Dithophoa o o neng o dumellela go ntsha bantsho ka dikgoka kwa mafelong a mantsi a a leng mo gare ga toropo. Makeishene a a sukaganeng le a a kgakgabetseng ga mmogo le metsesetoropo e tala le ditoropo dingwe le dingwe di le ka mofuta wa tsone, dipopego le ditirelo di tsweletse di ntse di oketsega go anama le Aforika Borwa. Mo pusong ya apartheid, ditirelo di ne di dirisiwa ka maikaelelo a go kgaoganya, a na le ditselafefo tsa mela e mentsi le diporo tse di kgabaganyang mo makeisheneng le dikgoro (tse di tswalegang) tsa go tswa le tsena di le mmalwa.

Ka nako ya masome a dingwaga a puso ya palo e nnye ya basweu, kgokaganyo ya ditirelo mo karolong yotlhya ya Borwa ja Aforika di ne tsa nna di sa tlhabololwa ka ntla ya go bo ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e ne e tshwaragane le go dirisana ka dithoto le dinaga tse di tlhabologileng tsa kwa Bophirima. Kwa sethoeng sa dikgotlhang tsa ntwa tsa kgaolo mo dingwageng tsa bo1970 le bo80, go agiwa ga tsela e e tswang kwa borwa go ya bokone gantsi e ne e amanngwa le maikaelelomagolo a masole a apartheid. Go dira ka maikaelelo ga puso ya apartheid gore go se ka ga dirwa seporo se se tswang kwa botlhaba go ya bophirima se se gokaganyang dinaga tsa Aforika tse di ikemetseng tse di mo gare ga dinaga tse dingwe gore di fitlhelele boemelakepe le yone e ne e le karolo ya go rotloetsa dinaga tseo gore di ikaege ka puso ya Aforika Borwa ya apartheid. Masaledi ano a bogologolo ya ditirelo e santse e le kgwetlhmo go ikemeleng le go lekalekana ga tlhabologo ya kgaolo eno.

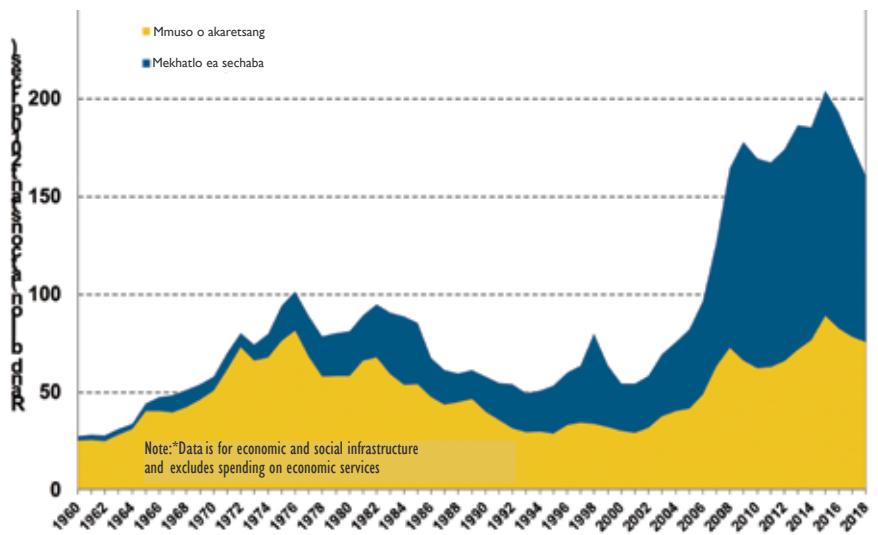
Mo nakong e e fetileng, madi a a neng a dirisiwa mo ditirelong e le peresente ya GDP a ne a le kwa godimo, mo a tlhatlhogileng mo bogareng jwa dingwaga tsa bo1970. Boleng jwa peeletso mo ditirelong bo ne bo sa tlhomama go ya ka mekgwa ya ditirelo tse di neng di dirwa; mme mo magareng a dingwaga tsa bo1980, go dirisiwa ga madi e le karolo ya GDP go ne ga wa ka bonako. Ka ntla ya go fokotsega ga peeletso mo go ageng ditirelo le go di tlhokomela, Aforika Borwa e ne ya itemogela go salela morago go gogolo (e bile go etegela pele) mo dingwageng tsa bofelo tsa puso ya apartheid. Ka sekai, patlisiso ya 1996 e e neng ya dirwa mo masimologong a puso ya temokerasi mo dikolong di le 26 736 e ne ya fitlhela mo e ka nnang 59% ya dikolo di sena motlakase, 34% di sena metsi, 12% di sena matlwana a boithusetso, 61% di sena dithelefouno e bile 82% di sena dilaeborari<sup>255</sup>.

Dilo tse di neng di dirwa bogologolo, ditshwetso tse di dirilweng mo dipholising le maemo a a neng a tsewa ke puso ya apartheid a nnile le seabe se segolo mo go

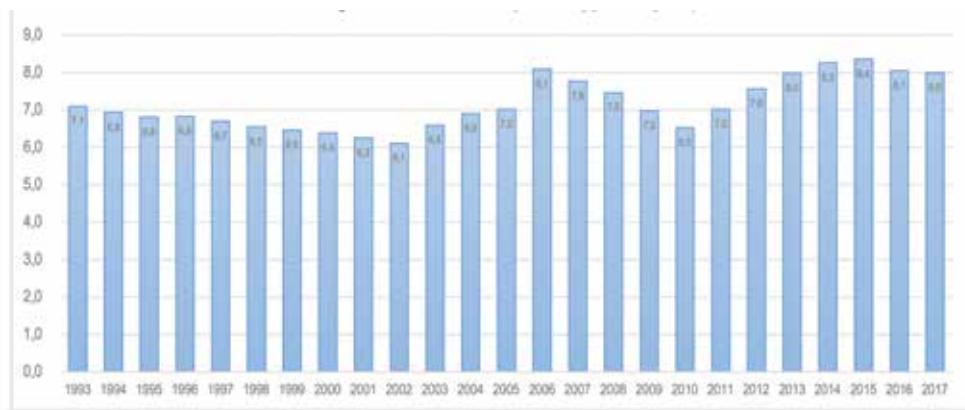


**Setshwantsho 10.1:** Madi a a Dirisitsweng mo Ditirelong Tsa Setshaba le Tsa Ikonomi le Palogotlhe ya Madi a a Dirisitsweng e le Karolo ya GDP, 1993 – 2018.

Motswedi wa Dikgang: Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi. 2019. Pego e e baakanyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.



**Setshwantsho 10.2:** Peeletso mo ditirelong ka ditheo tsa puso mo dilong tsa mmatota.  
Motswedi wa dikgang: SARB Data.



**Setshwantsho 10.3:** Go Dirisiwa ga Madi mo Ditirelong Tsa Setshaba le Tsa Ikonomi mo Setheong sa Puso, 1993 – 2018, Dibilione Tsa Diranta Tse di Tlhomameng ka 2010.

Motswedi: StatsSA

Ilekanyetseng go kgona go bona ditirelo tsa setšhaba le tsa ikonomi. Masaledi a puso ya apartheid a bone go dirisa dipeelsetso tsa morafe mo ditirelong go ka tokafatsa matshelo a karolo e nnye ya baagi ba ba itsheletseng, fa e ntse e tlhomamisa gore e kgaoganya ditoropo le go tlhokomelwa ga meepo le mafelo a temothuo, e leng dilo tse di nend di thusa ikonomi ya apartheid gore e gole.

Ke one masaledi a puso ya apartheid a puso e ntšha ya temokerasi e a tsereng ka 1994 fa e ne e fetogela mo temokerasing.

## KGATELOPELE FA E SALE KA 1994

Puso ya apartheid e ngotile ka kakaretso dipeelsetso tsa go tlhabolola le go baakanya ditirelo, mo go dirileng gore go tsofala ga ditirelo go oketsege le gore di sekä tsa tlhokomelwa.

Maikaelelo a puso ya temokerasi a go godisa ditirelo a lebisitswe mo go baakanyeng go siamololelw mo go dirilweng ke puso ya maloba le go simolola motheo o o tiileng wa maikaelelo a batho a go tlisa ditlhabololo. Seno se tsentse kgatelelo mo ditirelong tse di tsofetseng le tse di sa tlhokomelweng. Seno sotlhe se ne sa etegediwa ke koketsego ya batho le koketsego ya go batla ditirelo ka ntla ya kgolo ya ikonomi le mefuta ya go fuduga.

Kgolo e potlana le go runya ka bonako ga peeletso mo ditirelong ga go aka ga dira gore go nne le matswela a a molemo segolobogolo jaaka e amana le kgolo, phokotso ya khumanego le go thapa badiri.

Le fa go ntse jalo, ditshwetso tsa pholisi ya ditirelo di nnile le seabe se segolwane mo karolwaneng ya setheo sa ditirelo tsa setšhaba, tse di tserweng mo ditlhabololong tsa batho, dituelo tsa baagi ba setšhaba, go godisiwa ga bokgoni jwa go dira le dikarolo tsa go dirisana ga baagi mo pegong eno. Mo ngwageng wa pele ga ditlhopho tsa ntla tsa temokerasi, madi a a neng a dirisiwa mo ditirelong tsa setšhaba le tsa ikonomi e ne e le 3.6% ya GDP, mme palogotlh ya madi a a dirisitsweng (go rulaganngwa ga madi otlh a a beilweng) ke setheo sa puso le sa poraefete ka bobedi e ne e ka nna 15.16% ya GDP<sup>256</sup>.

Dingwaga tse di fetileng tse 25, naga ya temokerasi e beeeditse segolobogolo mo ditirelong tse disha go godisa kakaretso ya ikonomi le setšhaba le go romela ditirelo tsa motheo kwa bathong. Gape peeletso e tshegeditse kgolo le go atolosiwa ga ikonomi. Diporogerama tseno di etleeditse go tlhamiwa ga ditiro ka tlhamalalo, mo go ageng le go baakanyeng, le e seng ka tlhamalalo, ka go thusa bokgoni jwa baagi le dikgwebo go dirisa ditshono tsa ikonomi.

Seno se dirile gore go nne le go tsepama le koketsego e nnye mo go dirisiweng ga madi go fitlha ka 1998, fa e ne e tlhatlhoga mo godimonyana ga 17% ya GDP, jaaka go bontshitswe mo go **Setshwantsho 10.1**. Ditlamorago tsa mathata a tsa madi a 1998 kwa Asia ga mmogo le dikgwethlo tse dingwe tsa mo gae di ne tsa utlwia go fitlha ka 2002, fa go dirisiwa ga madi go ne ga tlhatlhoga go tloga bobotlaneng jwa 2001 jwa mo e ka nnang mo godimo ga 15% go ya mo godimonyana ga 16%. Mokgwa ono o ne wa tswelela go fithelela bogodimo jwa puso ya morago ga go bona temokerasi ya go feta 23% ka 2008, ka ngwaga o madi a a dirisitsweng mo ditirelong e neng e le 6.6% ya GDP. Go tshwanetse ga lemogiwa gore go dirisiwa ga madi mo dilong tsa botlhokwa go ne ga tswelela go gola go fitlha ka 2014. Ka 2018 madi a a dirisitsweng e ne e le 18.6% ya GDP. Fa madi a a dirisitsweng mo ditheo tsa poraefete a ne a akaretsa 4.6% le madi a a dirisitsweng mo tirelong tsa setšhaba e ne ele 4.9%. Madi a ditirelo tsa ikonomi a a dirisitsweng ke dikoporasi tsa setšhaba a nnile le kgolo e e fetang tse dingwe, mo kakaretsong ya ngwaga ya 6%.

Ka kakaretso, peeletso mo ditirelong e tlisitse matswela a a molemo. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go **Setshwantsho 10.2** le **10.3** peeletso e thusitse GDP ka madi a a fetang diranta di le thirilione mo lobakeng lwa go tloga ka 2003 le 2018 (ya thusa, ka ditlhwtlhwa tsa ga jaana, kakaretso ya R281 billion go GDP ngwaga le ngwaga), e bile e thusitse gore ikonomi e kgone go tsoga mo mathateng a a neng a aparetse ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe ka 2009 e bile gape e thusa le Aforika Borwa gore e efoge go wa ga ikonomi ka 2015.<sup>257</sup>

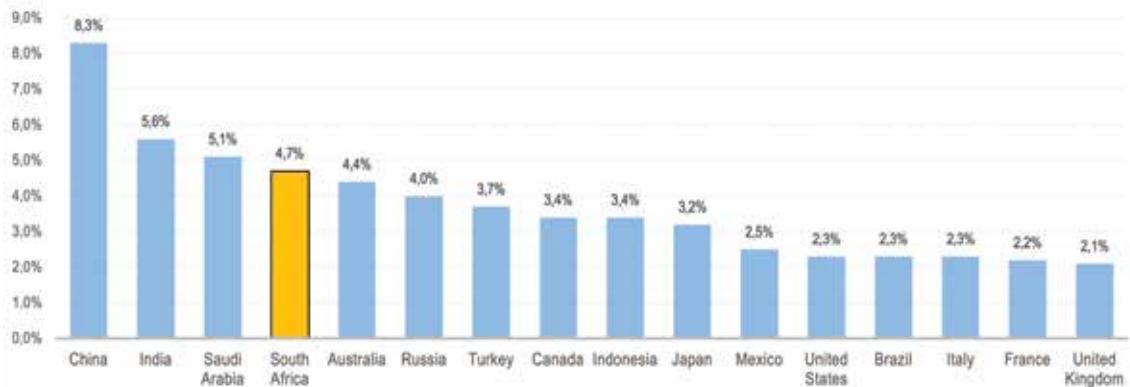
Go thapiwa ga badiri  
go ne ga gola, go  
tloga ka batho ba le  
440,000 ba ba neng  
ba thapiwa mo go  
tsa kago ka 1995  
go ya go ba ka nna  
dimilione tse 1.5 tsa  
badiri ba kago ka  
2018

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Ikonomi ya Lefatshe Lotlhe. 2019. Aforika Borwa: Peeletso ya Madi, karolo ya GDP. Website: [https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/South-Africa/Capital\\_investment/](https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/South-Africa/Capital_investment/).

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Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri e e Tlaleletsang e e Baakanyedseng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25



#### **Setshwantsho 10.4: Kakaretso ya ngwaga le ngwaga ya Ditshenyegelo Tsa Ditirelo Tsa Ikonomi e le Karolo ya GDP lefatshe lotlhe go simolola ka 2010 go ya go 2015.**

Motswed: Statista. Kakaretso ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga ya Ditshenyegelo Tsa Ditirelo Tsa Ikonomi e le Karolo ya GDP lefatshe lotlhe go simolola ka 2010 go ya go 2015.. Website: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/566787/average-yearly-expenditure-on-economic-infrastructure-as-percent-of-gdp-worldwide-by-country/>

Go thapiwa ga badiri go ne ga gola, go tloga ka batho ba le 440,000 ba ba neng ba thapiwa mo go tsa kago ka 1995 go ya go ba ka nna dimilione tse 1.5 tsa badiri ba kago ka 2018.<sup>258</sup> Tota, go tloga ka 2014 go ya go 2018, go thapiwa ga badira ba kago e ne e le karolo e kgolo ya bobedi mo go tshegetseng thulaganyo ya go thapa badiri mo SA, go go dirileng ditiro di le 282 000 tse disha go okeletsat palogotlhya go thapiwa ga badiri. Ngwaga tse 25 tse di fetileng, ditiro tse di fetang 1 million di ne tsa okediwa mo go tsa kago, e oketsa karolelano ya yone ya palo e e kwa tlase ga 5% ka 1994 go ya go 9% kwa bowelong jwa 2018<sup>259</sup>.

Ngwaga le ngwaga, ditshenyegelo tsa setheo sa puso mo go tlhabololeng ditirelo ka 2015 di ne tsa feta tsa 1994 ka palo e e fetang 300%.<sup>260</sup> Phokotsegó e e begilweng go tloga ka 2016 go ya go 2018 e bontshitse maemo a a sa kgatlheng a a gwethhang mo tikologong ya ikonomi e e santseng e le bokoa, ga mmogo le dikgwethlo tsa madi tse di itemogelwang ke dikgwébo di le mmalwa tse di tsamaisiwang ke naga.

Matsapa a a tserweng mo peeletsong ya ditirelo go tloga mo e ka nnang ka 2003 a ne a tlathloga mo dingwageng di le mmalwa tse di latelang. Puso e beeletsa mo e ka nnang bo kana ka R2 trillion mo ditirelong mo magareng ga 2008 le 2018, ka go dirisa madi a mantsi mo go phutlhambeng ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe.<sup>261</sup> Go diriswia ga modikologo ono wa madi ke Puso go thusa kgolo – go

tloga ka 2011 go ya go 2015 – ya ikonomi le go tlhokomela dilo tsa botlhokwa, go sekaenya, kgodiso ya dithoto tsa naga. Kgabagare, Aforika Borwa e ne ya iphitlhela e le mo legatong la dinaga tse di kwa godimo mo lefatsheng ka go beeletsa mo ditirelong tsa ikonomi mo lobakeng lwa go tloga ka 2010 le 2015. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go Setshwantsho 10.4 Aforika Borwa e boemong jo bo fa tlase ga China, India le Saudi Arabia, mme e kwa pele ga dinaga tsa go tshwana le Russia, Brazil, Indonesia, Turkey, Mexico, Canada, le US, UK, France le Italy.<sup>262</sup> Le fa go ntse jalo, seno ke palo e e kwa tlase ga halofo ya 10% e e rotloedwang ke Foramo ya Ikonomi ya Lefatshe, mo dinageng tsa Borwa jwa Aforika.

Go mo pepepeneneng gore, go tloga ka 2016 go ya pele, peeletso ya setheo sa puso mo ditirelong e wetse tlase thata mo dilong tsa botlhokwa. Dikgoreletsi tsa go rebolwa ga madi a puso go lekanyeditse bokgoni jwa puso jwa go tlamela ya go dirisa madi, af Dikgwebo Tse Laolwang ke Puso di ikgogela morago mo go beeletseng ka nthla ya dipatlafalo tse di bokoa le dikgwethlo tsa madi, tse dingwe tsa tsone di bakwang ke tsamaiso e e bokoa le ditlamorago tsa go laolwa ga puso ke batho bangwe. Peeletso e e sa fetogeng ya setheo sa poraeftete, ka af letlhakoreng le lengwe, e oketsegile ka 4% fela mo dilong tsa botlhokwa go tloga ka 2015 go ya go 2018, e le go bontsha tikologo e e sa laolegeng motlhoho.<sup>263</sup> Malebana le ikonomi ka kakaretso, boleng jwa dipeeletso bo ne jwa wela tlase mo dilong tsa botlhokwa mo lobakeng lono

258 Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri ya Tlaleletso e e Rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

259 Ibid.

260 Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri ya Tlaleletso e e Rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

261 Go tlhabolwa ga ditirelo tsa setheo sa poraeftete tsebe 139.

262 Foramo ya Ikonomi ya Lefatshe. 2012. Strategic Infrastructure Steps to Prioritize and Deliver Infrastructure Effectively and Efficiently with Appendices. p.v.

263 Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri ya Tlaleletso e e Rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.



Iwa dingwaga, e bontsha ditshupo le go nna le seabe mo kgolong e e kwa tlase ya ikonomi. Mo dilong tsa botlhokwa, ikonomi ya Aforika Borwa e akreditse kgolo ya 2.8% fa e sale temokerasi e simolola. Setheo sa puso le sa poraefete ka bobedi di dirisitse madi a a fetang seelo sa kgolo eno.

Mo godimo ga moo, metswedi e mengwe ya dithuso tsa madi e ile ya dirisiwa e bile diphetogo di ile tsa dirwa mo tsamaisong ya tekanyetsokabo ya ditirelo. Peeletso ya setheo sa poraefete mo ditirelong tsa setšhaba e ile ya gola, segolo thata mo tsa tlhaeletsano, motlakase o o ntšhafadiwang le Gautrain ya lobelo lo lo kwa godimo. Go ikaega mofuteng wa go dirisa rakonteraka le go nna le seabe se se oketsegileng ga setheo sa puso mo peeletsong le gone go dirile gore digongwana tsa ditiro tsa kago go ate, di na le bosiny jo bo bonang le jo bo tsweletseng mo setheong. Go lekanyediwa ga go dirisiwa ga dikonteraka tse di eteletsweng pele ke bantsho le basadi mo tsa kago le mo ditheong tse dingwe go dirile gore puso e tlhame Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 2003 (Act No.53 of 2003) (BBBEE), ka tsholofelo ya go potlakisa phetogo ya go nna le maatla mo ikonoming, go laola le go tlhama dikhumo. Le fa gontse jalo, go tsere dingwaga tse dingwe di le 14 go fetsa Tsamaiso le Melawana ya Ditshwanelo tsa Setheo sa Tsa Kago ka 2017.

Fa temokerasi e simolola maitlhomo a ntlha a ne a lebile thata mo ditirelong tsa setšhaba mo re boneng 'tlamelo ya ditirelo' e diragadiwa jaaka puso e ne e beeeditse thata mo go ageng matlo, go gokaganyetsa baagi motlakase, go atolosa tsamaiso ya kgelelo ya leswe, le go tlamela ka **ditirelo tse dingwe tsa setšhaba** jaaka dikolo, ditliliniki, le dikokelo. Dikgaolo tse di buang ka madi a a neelwa baagi, bonno jwa baagi, puso ya selegae, botsogo, kgodiso ya batho le bokgoni jwa bone ga di bua ka dikarolo tsa ditirelo tseno tsa setšhaba. Kwa bowelong jwa ngwaga wa bomasomeamabedi le botlhano wa temokerasi, dintlo di le dimilione di le 3.18 di ne di setse di agilwe ke puso e e tlhophilweng ya temokerasi. Mo baaging ba le dimilione di le 16.1 ba ba mo nageng, ba le dimilione di le 14.4 (89%) ba baagi ba kgona go bona metsi a a nwiegang, ba le dimilione di le 13.3 (82%) ba kgona go bona thuso ya kgelelo ya leswe le ba le dimilione di le 13, 7 (84%) ba kgona go bona motlakase.<sup>264</sup>

Kgang ya konokono e ne e le gore fa go ntse go dirwa kgatelopele malebana le ditirelo tsa setšhaba, porogerama e ne e sa dire go tlala seatla go fetola go tlhoka tekatekano mo ditirelong tsa setšhaba mo Aforika Borwa. Kgwtelho eno e ne ya etegetswa ke lebaka la gore batho ba oketsegka lebalo le legolo, go ya ka dipalopalo tsa 1996 le 2001 ba ile ba oketsegka go tswa go dimilione di le 40.6 tsa ma-Aforika Borwa go ya go dimilione di

Bobeditharong  
jwa baagi ba ba  
humanegileng bo  
dirisa madi a a  
fetang diperesente  
di le 20 a letseno  
la bone la kgwedi  
le kgwedi mo  
dipalangweng,  
e leng selo se se  
dirang e nne tirelo  
ya bobedi go ja  
madi a mantsi.

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Statistics South Africa. 2018. Patlisiso ya Baagi ka Kakaretso. ts.36.

le 44.8 magareng ga dingwaga tsa 1996 le 2001. Ga go pelaelo gore seno se okeditse kgatelelo mo ditirelong tsa setshaba le tsa ikonomi.

Ka bonya ka bonya **ditirelo tsa ikonomi** le tsone di ile tsa elwa tlhoko, gore mo masimologong a dingwaga tsa bo2000 tiro e kgolo e ne ya simololwa mo mafelong a a jaaka go rulaganngwa ga difetlha motlakase tse disha tse di dirisang malatla. Seno se ne sa latelwa ke peeletso e kgolwane mo ditirelong tsa dipalangwa, tsa go tsamaiswa ga dithoto le tsa metshameko ka Sejana sa Lefatshe sa 2010 (go akaretsa boemeladifofane, Gautrain le ditselafe, mabala a metshameko, dipeipi tsa oli le go rulaganngwa ga Dibese Tse di Tsamayang ka Metlha (Bus Rapid Transit [BRTs]). Peeletso ya ditirelo e simolotse go tlhatlhoga ka 2007 ka dipalo tse di bonalang tsa dipeeletso go fitlha ka 2015. Ka jalo, morago ga Sejana sa Lefatshe, diporogerama di ne tsa oketsegga le go atologa ka bophara, go akaretsa dipalangwa tsa mo gare ga toropokgolo, ditsela, motlakase o o ntšhafadiwang, diyunibesithi tse disha, go agiwa ga dikolo mo metseselegaeng, le go agiwa ga mafelo a go fetlha motlakase a magolo, dikago tsa go boloka gase le matamo ga mmogo le tlisa dikarolo tse dingwe tsa ditirelo mo gae.

Go tlhokomela thata ditirelo go ne ga gola mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng. E le go tsamaisa botoka go rulaganngwa ga ditirelo le go di rebola go ne ga tlhomowi **Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC)** ka 2011 ka bokarabelo jwa go tlhokomela kgatelopele, segolobogolo ka Thulaganyo ya Naga ya Ditirelo (National Infrastructure Plan [NIP]). NIP e diretswe mo bukeng ya ditirelo e e nang le diporojeke di feta 645 go ralala naga. Thulaganyo ya Naga ya Ditirelo e rulaganya diporojeke tseno ka Diporojeke di le 18 Tse di Rulagantsweng Sente (National Infrastructure Plan [SIP]). Ka Ferikong 2013, tiro e ne ya simololwa mo diSIP tsotlhe tse 18. Peeletso mo ditirelong e ne ya tswelela e gola, ka R300 billion e e beeleditsweng mo Thulaganyong ya Naga ya Ditirelo e beeleditswe ke setheo sa puso le sa poraefete ka bobedi ka 2016/17.

Porojeke nngwe le nngwe e ikaeletse go fetola kgolo ya karolo ya lefelo le go godisa madirelo a masha a ditiro tsa ikonomi.

Go lebelela thata ditirelo le go di tlisa pele, go kopane le go gola ga ikonomi le maitlhomo a a bontshiwang ke batho ba ba rona, go tlhogega ditirelo tsa dipalangwa, metsi, motlakase le tsa tlhaletsano. Kgatelopele ka kakaretso e ile ya begiwa mo ditheo tse di far Loganeng, ka dintlhakgolo tse di akaretsang, motlakase o o iphetlhelwang kgotsa o o ntšhafadiwang e leng selo sa botlhokwa mo go thakanyeng motlakase wa Aforika Borwa, o na le matswela a a molemo mo maitlamong a naga a go fetoga ga tlelaemete.

## Dipalangwa

Mo go batleng go busetsa morago tsamaiso ya thulaganyo ya go tlhaola ya apartheid le masaledi a a sokomeng a dipalangwa, tse di neng di direla palopotlana ya baagi ga mmogo le ditheo tsa dithoto le tsa temo, puso e ikaeletse go tlisa kgonagalo ya go bona dipalangwa tse di lekanang le tse di nang le tekatekano go botlhe, ka tirisanommogo le balekane ba bone ba ditheo tsa poraefete tse dinnye le tse dikgolo le ka Dikgwebo Tse di Laolwang ke Puso tse di far Loganeng, go akaretsa Transnet, South African National Roads Agency Limited (SANRAL), Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA), le Cross-Border Road Transport Agency (C-BRTA). Maiteko ano a ne a gwethliwa e bile a sa ntse a gwethliwa ke ditiriso tsa ga jaana, tse di tswelelang go tlhagisa masaledi a thulaganyo ya go tlhaola ya apartheid e e dirisang dipalangwa e le kgogaganyo e e botlhokwa magareng ga mafelo a tiro le mafelo a bonno. Bosupi bo bontsha gore lebaka la mesepele e mentsi ke e e dirwang ke batho ba ba yang mafelong a tiro le thuto e kgolwane – mo tikologong ya metsesetoropo – le thuto e potlana le marekelong go reka dilo tsa botlhokwa, kwa metseselegaeng.

Mo godimo ga tlhaolana ka lotso, boleng jwa letseno le gone go ama boleng le kgona go bona dipalangwa. National Household Travel Survey (NHTS) e e neng ya tshwarwa ka 2003 le 2013 ka go tlhomagana, e ne ya fitlhela gore mo nang le 17.1% ya kakaretso ya ditshenyegelo tsa baagi e ne e le mo dipalangweng, baagi ba ba tswang mo quintile e e kwa tlase ba ile ba dirisa madi a mantsi mo letsenong la bone mo dipalangweng tsa botlhe fa ba bapsiwa le baagi ba ba nang le letseno le le kwa godimonyana.<sup>265</sup> Bobeditharong jwa baagi ba ba humanegileng bo dirisa madi a a fetang diperesente di le 20 a letseno la bone la kgwedi le kgwedi mo dipalangweng, e leng selo se se dirang e nne tirelo ya bobedi go ja madi a mantsi.

Dipholo tsa patlisiso di akantsa gore dikgoreletsi tsa dipalangwa mo dingwageng tse di lesome tse di fetileng di ile sa fokodiwa, mme go santse go na le dikgwetlho tse di larileng kwa pele. Fa nako e ntse e tsamaya, baagi ba ba nnang mo metseselegaeng ba kgonne go bona dipalangwa tsa botlhe motlhofo e bile e fokoditse dinako tsa mosepele fa go bapsiwa le 2003.

Gape patlisiso e fitlhetsa gore bontsi jwa baithuti ba ba tsenang kheretše, sekolo, ABET le ditlelase tsa go ithuta go bala le go kwala, ba ne ba tsamaya ka maoto go ya kwa ditheong tsa thuto. Ba ba ithutang kwa ditheo tsa thuto e kgolwane ba ne ba rata thata go dirisa ditekisi go feta mefuta e mengwe ya mesepele.

Go ya bokgakaleng jo badiri ba tshwenyegileng ka jone, mo e ka nnang dimilione di le nne tsa badiri ba le dimilione di le 15.2 ba ne ba kgweetsa go ya tirong, ba

Peeletso mo ditirelong tse di rekegang, tse di nang le boleng jo bo kwa godimo mo dithotong tse romelwang kwa ntle tseno tse di botlhokwa ka bogone go emetse leano la botlhokwa la pholisi ya madirelo mo dingwageng tse di fetileng di le 25.

dirisa dipalangwa tsa bone, fa dimilione di le 3.7 di ne di dirisa ditekisi. Dimilione di le 3 tse dingwe di ne di tsamaya ka maoto, mme mo e ka nnang ba le milione o le mongwe ba ne ba dirisa dibese e le one mofuta wa bone o mogolo wa sepalangwa. Fa e sale ka 2003, ma-Aforika Borwa ba na le dikoloi. Karolo ya batho ba ba dirisang ditekisi le dibese go tsaya mosepele e oketsegile, mme ditekisi e santse e le tsone tse di okametseng mofuta wa dipalangwa tsa botlhe go ralala diporofense tsotilhe, ka palogotlhe ya mesepele ya ditekisi e le dimilione di le 3.7 e e dirwang letsatsi le letsatsi go ya tirong. Diterena di dirisediwa thata mesepele ya go ya tirong le sekolong kwa Kapa Bophirima le Gauteng.

Ba le mmalwanyana go feta a le mongwe mo go badiring ba le batlhano (22.1%) ba tswa mo matlong a bone pele ga 06:00 go ya tirong. 65% ya badiri ba ba nnang kwa metseselegaeng ba tswa pele ga 07:00 fa ba bapisiwa le 58% ya ko ditoropokgolong le 54.6% ya metsesetoropong. Go ya ka kakaretsa eo basweu ba maAforika Borwa ba ne ba dirisa metsotso e oketsegileng e le 23 ka 2013 fa e bapisiwa le metsotso e 54 ka 2003 ba ya ditirong mme palogotlhe ya bantsho ba maAforika Borwa e ne e dirisa metsotso e e oketsegileng e le 24 go tswa mo metsotsong e le 87, ka nako e e tshwanang, seno se ka bonwa e le bothata jo bo bakang kwelotlase ya go dira le botshelo jwa go iketla le balelapa ga mmogo le ditshenyegelo.<sup>266</sup>

Mo go tlhageleleng ga ditekisi tsa mefuta e e farologaneng mo setheong sa dipalangwa tsa botlhe le dikgwetlho tse dintsitse setheo se lebaneng le tsone tsa dipalangwa tse di sireletsegang le tse di sa tshwanelegeng go tsamaya mo mebileng, ka 1999 Kabinete e ne ya dumalana gore porogerama ya go fetolwa ga tsamaiso ya ditekisi ka maitlhomo a go duelela go emisediwa ga ditekisi tsa kgale tse 97 000 ka tse disha tse di nang le ditsonyeletso tsa modiro o o sireletsegileng. Ka Seetebosigo 2015, ditekisi tsa kgale di le 61 254 di ne tsa kgakgamololwa, ka tuelelo ya madi a kana ka R3.4 billion. Ka Lwetse 2018 tse di oketsegileng tse 10 746 di ne tsa tlhatlhamololwa, ka tuelelo ya madi a a oketsegileng a le R1 billion, e e dirang palogotlhe ya ditekisi tse di tlhatlhamolotsweng di le 72 000. Ga jaana go na le madirelo a le mabedi a a dirang ditekisi mo Aforika Borwa. Gape, Toyota e ne ya tlhama lefelo la go betla ditekisi le le jeleng R70 million kwa madirelong a lone kwa Durban ka 2012.<sup>267</sup> Beijing Automobile Works SA, kamano e e akaretsang babetli ba dipalangwa ba bonè ka bogolo kwa China le IDC, e butse madirelo a go betla ditekisi kwa botlhaba jwa Johannesburg ka peeletso ya R196 million e e tlisang naga gaufi le go nna mmetli wa ditekisi o o feletseng.<sup>268</sup>

266 Kerr, A., 2015. Go duedisa bahumanegi lekgetho? Go tsamaisa ditshenyegelo mo Aforika Borwa.

267 Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri ya Tlaleletso e e Rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobø ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

268 [https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/investments/immigration business/investing/toyota-090712](https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/investments/immigration-business/investing/toyota-090712)

Fa e sale porogerama ya go fetola tsamaiso ya ditekisi e simolola, ditekisi di le 83 393 di ile tsa betlwa mo Aforika Borwa.<sup>269</sup>

Mofuta o o tsweletseng wa apartheid wa go nna mo metsesetoropong le go ikaega mo go feteletseng mo dipalangweng tse di dirisang ditsela, segolobogolo dipalangwa tsa botlhe tsa ditekisi tse di tsamaisang batho mesepele e meleele le gone go baka dikgwethlo mo Aforika Borwa jaaka e le karolo ya Tumalano ya kwa Paris ya go Fetoga ga Tlelaemete. Aforika Borwa e ikanne go **laola seelo sa go kgotlelwga loapi** go go bakwang ke dikoloi, mo go amang thopho ya mofuta wa dipalangwa le ditirelo tse di tlhogekang. Pholisi ya dipalangwa tsa botlhe e tshwanetse go dira gore go tlogelwe go dirisiwa ga dipalangwa tsa botho mme go dirisiwa tsa botlhe; go tloga mo mofuteng wa dipalangwa tsa botlhe tse di dirisang leokwane go ya go tse di maleba. Seno ga reng ga tse dingwe se tla tlhoka gore go tlogelwe go tsamaisiwa ga dithoto ka mebila mme di tsamaisiwa ka terena. Dikatlego tsa nako ya Sejana sa Lefatshe di tlhomamisitse bokgoni jwa leano la Dipalangwa Tsa Botlhe, e e tshwanelang ke go tsamaisa mafuta ya dipalangwa ya ditekisi, dibese le diterena. Go similolwa ga Bus Rapid Transport System (BRT) mo Johannesburg, Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Bay, Rustenburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni le dikarolo tse dingwe go dira karolo ya botlhokwa ya tharabololo.

Mo go batleng go laola ditirelo tsa dipalangwa ka tsela e e rulaganeng, e e rotloetsang pabalesego, e e ikanyegang le e e bonwang motlhofo ke botlhe, fa gape go tlhomamisiwa go nna gone mo go oketsegileng ga mafarathatlha a go romelwa ga dithoto, go dirisiwa ga madi a puso mo dipalangweng le mo go tsamaisiweng ga dithoto e nnile karolo ya bobedi ka bogolo ya ditshenyegelo tsa ditirelo tsa setheo sa puso, ka 34.6% ya palogotlhe ya madi a a dirisitsweng.<sup>270</sup> Ka kakaretso, go nna le seabe ga setheo sa dipalangwa go wetse tlase go tloga go 7.1% pele ga temokerasi go ya go 6.1% ka 2002. Go tlhamiwa ga ditirelo ka 2010 FIFA World Cup™ go nnile le seabe mo kgolong ya 2006 go 8.1%, le dipeelseteo tse di oketsegileng tse di okeditseng dipalo go ya go 8% le go feta go tloga ka ngwaga wa 2013.

Sekale sa go tsamaisiwa ga dithoto sa Banka ya Lefatshe se bapisa bokgoni jwa dinaga jwa go gwebisana le dinaga tsa lefatshe lotlhe. Mo boemong jwa boleng jwa ditirelo – boemelakepe, seporo, mebila le tshedimosetso ya thekenoloji – Aforika Borwa e ne ya nna mo boemong jwa bo 20 mo lefatsheng lotlhe ka 2016. E e kwa godimo mo dikonoming tse di golang, China e ne ya nna mo

go ya bo 23, India mo go ya bo 26 le Brazil mo go ya bo 47.<sup>271</sup> Go kaliwa ga 2018 go ne ga re baya mo go ya bo 33 go na le kwelotlase mo dikarolong tsotlh tse di tlhatlhobiwang (dithoto, ditirelo, go romela ka dikepe, go tsamaisiwa ga dithoto, go lepa le go tlhotlhomisa) mme ka dinako. Le fa go ntse jalo, Aforika Borwa e santse e eteletse pele mo go godiseng dikokoanyo tsa lefatshe.

Go tswa mo boemong jwa go fetolwa tsamaiso ya madirelo, dithlwathlwatlase tse di bonalang tsa go tsamaisa ditlhagiswa tsa moepo le ditheo tse di dirang ka natla tsa dipalangwa go bopile bokgoni jwa Aforika Borwa gore e kgone go gaisana mo mmarakeng wa lefatshe lotlhe ka ditlhagiswa tseno. Peeletso mo ditirelong tse di rekegang, tse di nang le boleng jo bo kwa godimo mo dithotong tse romelwang kwa ntle tseno tse di botlhokwa ka bogone go emetse leano la botlhokwa la pholisi ya madirelo mo dingwageng tse di fetileng di le 25.

### Ditsela

Mo e ka nnang 750 000km ya mafarathatlha a ditsela tse di itsegeng le tse di sa itsegeng, Aforika Borwa e mo boemong jwa bo lesome jwa dinaga tse di kwa godimo mo lefatsheng ka bolelee – kwa pele ga Thailand, Spain, Germany le Sweden.<sup>272</sup> Mafarathatlha a Aforika Borwa gape a emela 51.75% ya palogotlhe ya mafarathatlha a ditsela tsa SADC (1 449 354 km).<sup>273</sup> Mo e ka nnang 78.9% (591 869 kilometres) ya ditsela tsa Aforika Borwa ke tsa mmu, tsa 582 000km e le tse e seng tsa metsesetoropo le tsa 168 000km e le tsa metsesetoropo. Aforika Borwa e na le dikiomitara di le 158 131 tsa ditsela tse di tshetsweng, ya bo 18th ya ditsela tse ditelele tse di tshetsweng mo lefatsheng lotlhe.<sup>274</sup> Go ya ka Komiti ya Matona a Dipalangwa, go na le mo e ka nnang dikiomitara di le 190 600 tsa ditsela tsa porofense le dikiomitara di le 61 436 tsa ditsela tsa ditoropokgolo. Mabapi le ditsela tse di tshetsweng, 38% e tsewa e le mo boemong jo bontle, 36% e le mo boemong jo bo siameng fela le 26% e le mo boemong jo bo maswe. Malebana le ditsela tse di sa tshelwang, ke fela 8% e tsewang e le mo boemong jo bo bontle, 25% e le mo boemong jo bo siameng fela le 67% e le mo boemong jo bo sa siamang<sup>275</sup>.

Ga jaana, 87.9% ya tsamaisiwa ga dithoto mo Aforika Borwa e ikaegile mo dipalangweng tse di dirisang ditsela le 93.7% ya mesepele yotlhe e e tsamaisang batho e mo tseleng.

Ka 1998, 6 700km ya Ditsela Tsa Naga di ne tsa dirwa gore di wele kafa tlase ga SANRAL le (go fitlha ga jaana) 22 214km di kafa tlase ga taolo ya SANRAL. Le fa gone

269 Brand South Africa- SA e bula lefelo la bobedi la go betlela ditekisi - 14 Ngwanatsele 2012.

270 Brand South Africa- SA e bula lefelo la bobedi la go betlela ditekisi - 14 Ngwanatsele 2012.

271 IDC -Kgolo e e eteletsweng pele ke ditirelo e le sediriswa sa go fetola ikonomi –tsebe 11.

272 SANRAL. 2019. Tselana ya go Duelela Ditsela, Mopitlw. Website: <https://stop-over.co.za/the-route-to-funding-roads/>

273 Ibid

274 <http://www.transport.gov.za:8080/roads>

275 <http://www.transport.gov.za:8080/roads>.

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## KGOKAGANO

Tselafefo ya NI ke karolo  
ya Ditselana Tse di Ralalang  
Kontinente ya Aforika go  
Tswa Bokone go ya Borwa e  
e leng gore e gokaganya Cai-  
ro leCape Town, ka ditsela,  
seporo le ditirelo tsa ICT.

ditsela tsa SANRAL di emela 2.96% ya palogotlhe ya ditsela, e tsaya 34.5% mo sekgaleng se se kgweeditsweng ke dikoloi tsotlhe ka ngwaga le go feta 70% mo dipalangweng tse di tsayang mesepele e melele di romela dithoto. Mo ditseleng tsa naga tse di dirang 22 214 km, tse di dirang 2 952 km di a duedisa, tse di emelang 13.3% ya ditsela tsa naga le 0.4% ya palogotlhe ya mafaratlhatlha a ditsela. Malebana le ditsela tse di duedisang, l 271 km di tlhokomelwa ka thulaganyo e e reboletseng ya setheo sa poraefete.

Ditsela tsa naga le seporo sa diterena di ratile di gokaganya ditoropo tse dikgolo tsotlhe. Go farologana le seo, bontsi jwa bommasepala ba bangwe le metseselegae of ikaegile ka ditsela tsa boleng jo bo kwa tlase. Ka 2017, mo ditseleng tsa porofense di le 225 000, tse dingwe tse di dirang 83% di ne di sa tshelwa. Seo ka bosone se okeditse ditshenyegelo tsa go romelwa ga dithoto e bile go okeditse go diega. Tshedimosetso ya boleng jwa ditsela tsa mmasepala ka maswabi ga e ise e nne teng<sup>276</sup>.

Ka go atolosiwa ga mafaratlhatlha a ditsela le koketsego ka kakaretso ya dikoloi tse di dirisang ditsela, palo ya **dikotsi tsa tsela le dintsho** mo ditseleng tsa Aforika Borwa le yone e ile ya oketsegan. Ka jalo, Thulaganyo ya Tsamaiso ya Tshireletsego mo Pharakonong ya Ditsela ya 2015 – e le go fokotsa seelo sa dintsho tse di bakwang ke dikotsi tse di nnang mo ditseleng le mo dipalangweng tse dingwe e ne ya dirwa. Le fa gone maemo a tsela le a tikologo go ne go bonwa e le tsone tse di bakang 8% fela ya dintsho tsa dikotsi tsa tsela, go botlhokwa go laola tshireletsego. Go ya ka NATMAP ya Lefapha la Dipalangwa, mo e ka nnang 60% ya go senyega ga ditsela ke mo go bakwang ke diteraka tse di rweleng morwalo o o fetileng selekanyo. Ka 2007, boemo ka kakaretso jwa mafaratlhatlha a ditsela bo ne simolola mo go 58% (bo siame fela) go ya ko go 28% (bo le maswe kgotsa maswemaswe). Fa e sale ka nako eo, SANRAL e beeeditse thata mo go baakanngwe le go tlhokomelweng ga ditsela e le bone ba go laolang – sekai sa teng ke Porojeke ya go Tokafatsa Tselafefo ya Gauteng (Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project [GFIP]).

## Seporo

**Mafaratlhatlha a Seporo** sa Aforika Borwa a na le mo e ka nnang 24 280km ya ditselana tsa teng. Transnet Freight Rail ke yone e e nang le tse dintsi, fa 2 280km fela e le ya PRASA. Sa botlhokwa ke gore, go feta 90% ya mafaratlhatlha ano a seporo a sale a fedwa go tsenngwa ka 1925, fa peeletso ya go ka motho ka mongwe (fa e balwa ka dikilomitala e dirwa go ya ka batho ba le l 000) e ne e simolola go wela tlase, go ya go ya ga jaana e

e kwa tlase ga 0.4 kilometers go ya ka batho ba le 1 000. Mo e ka nnang 60% ya diporo tsa naga di dirisa motlakase, e bile di ikaegile ka diesel. Diterena tse di pegang batho di dirisa motlakase fela.

Kwelotlase ka peeletsong ka kakaretso mo setheong sa diterena e ne ya kopanyelediwa ke phokotsego e kgolo ya karolelano ya bapalami ba ba ya ditirong ka terena ka ntla ya koketsego ya tiriso ya ditekisi, segolobogolo morago ga tumelelo ya tiriso ya setheo seo ka dingwaga tsa bo 1980. Le fa gontse jalo, tiriso ya Metrorail e ne ya gola ka tlhomamo go tloga ka 1993 go ya go 1999, ya ema mo magareng ga 1999 le 2002, morago ga gore e tlhatlhoge ka palo e e bonalang. Ka 2006, diterena tse di pegang batho tsa Metrorail tse di dirlweng ke Transnet di ne tsa dirisiba le go kopanngwa le diterena tsa South African Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC), di bo di bida Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) ka 2009.

Go kopanngwa ga diterena tse di pegang batho go ne ga wediwa ka 2009, fa terena e e pegang batho ya mesepele e melele/e e yang kwa ditoropokgolo tse dingwe (Shosholoza Meyl) e ne e kopanngwa le PRASA. Kgatelopele e nnile teng mo porogerameng ya go tlhabolola diterena tsa kgale tsa Metrorail. Ka PPP, e e thusitsweng go utlwala ka madi a didirisiba tsa puso ka rashio ya 90:10 (e 90% ya yone e kgaogantsweng ka go lekana magareng ga Lefapha la Matlotlo la Naga le Puso ya Gauteng), GAUTRAIN e ne ya tlhangwa, e dira gore go nne le sepalangwa sa diterena se se tsamayang ka dinako tsotlhe mo Aforika Borwa.

Tsamaiso ya naga ya seporo le boemelakepe, e e welang kafa tlase ga Transnet, e bone dipeelesto tse disha mo go tsone ditirelo tseno tsa botlhokwa ka bobedi le diterena tse dingwe mo lesomeng la dingwaga le le fetileng. Diphelelo e nnile go tokafatsa mo dingongoregong tsa go nna thari go go sa lebelelwang le go nna bonya mo nakong e o e beileng. Nako e e beilweng ya go leta mo boemelakepeng e ile ya fokotsega thata mo dingwageng tsa bosheng jaana.

Gape Transnet e tlhokometse ditselana tsa go romela malatla, tshipi le manganese. Go nna bonako ga ditirelo tseno ke karolo ya botlhokwa e e kgontshang Aforika Borwa go gaisana mo mmarakeng wa meepo ya lefatshe lotlhe. Ka ntla ya go bo meepo e mentsi e le kwa metseselegaeng kgakala le lewatle, go bona sepalangwa go thata gore e kgone go romela. Bokgoni jwa Transnet jwa go atolosa ditselana tseno ka nako ya go runya ga meepo e ne le karolo e kgolo e e kgontshang kgolo mo go romelweng ga tshipi le malatla go tloga ka 2002 go ya go 2012, ka nako ya go fela ga go runya ka dilo tse di rekisiwang go ne go phuthama mo patlafalong tsa yone.

Fa ditsela tsa Aforika Borwa tsa go tsamaisa dithoto le boemelakepe di ntse e le tsa boleng jo bo kwa godimo, bontsi jwa dinaga tsa SADC di santse di le kwa morago. Ditsela le seporo ka bobedi ga di duelelweng, mo go bakang tiego e kgolo le go oketsa dithlwathwa tsa go romela ka dikepe. Mo seelong se se bewang ke Banka ya Lefatshe ya thomelo ya dithoto, ditirelo tsa Zimbabwe di ne di le mo go 123 mo dinageng tse 160 ka 2016 fa Zambia e nnile ya bo 113, Mozambique ya bo 116 le Angola ya bo 129<sup>277</sup>.

Ditirelo tse di bokoa tsa go romelwa ga dithoto e santse e le kgwetlho e kgolo mo kgaolong ya go fetola tsamaiso ya madirelo. Mo godimo ga moo, go raya gore Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go aga tirelo tsa yone tsa thomelo ya dithoto kwa ntle ga go dirisana le ikonomi ya dinaga tsa boagansi. Seno se farologane le boemo jwa kwa Asia, mo dinaga di ileng tsa aga mo bokgongen jwa naga nngwe le nngwe jwa thomelo ya dithoto go etleetsa kgwebisano ya lefatshe lotlhe.

### Boemelakepe

**Go atolosiwa ga boemelakepe le Mafelo a go bolokela dikhontheina tse di romelang dithoto** go ile ga gola bontle fa e sale ka 1994. Nngwe dipeelesto tse dikgolo mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng tsa temokerasi e akaretsa lefelo le lesa la go beela dikhontheina kwa Ngqura. Seno se ne sa rebolwa ka 2009, ka boleng jwa boalo jwa karolo tse pedi jo bo beelang dikhontheina di le 400 000 ka ngwaga. Seno se ne sa menagana sebedi ka bonako – ka 2012 – go ya go dikhontheina di le 800 000 ka ngwaga mme e bile ga jaana e kgona go tshola dikhontheina di le dimilione di le 1.5 ka ngwaga (jaaka ka 2017). Mo godimo ga moo, go atoloswa, go epiwa, go tlhabololwa le go agiwa sesha ga ditirelo kwa mafelong a mangwe a boemelakepe jo bongwe go setse go simolotswe.<sup>278</sup>

Lefelo le le sa tswang go dirwa kwa boemelakepeng jwa Durban le kgona go beela dikhontheina di le dimilione di le 3.4 ka ngwaga e bile go lebeletswe gore le beeble dikhontheina di le dimilione tse di ka fitlheng go tse 3.9 ka ngwaga ka 2023, morago ga go ebiwa ga boalo le oketsa ka metshine e eukang go tswa mo dikepeng e di baye mo lotshitshing di le supa. Koketsego mo lefelong la go beela dikhontheina la kwa Cape Town go simolola ka tse 700 0000 go ya go tse 900 0000 mo magareng ga 2009 le 2012 e ile ya nna teng.

Ka 2017/18 mo e ka nnang badiri ba tiro ya diatla ba le 2100, ba setegeniki le baenjeneri ba ne ba katisiwa kwa Transnet.

Diphetogo tsa bosheng jaana mo Pholising ya Dipalangwa Tsa Lewatle, go lebilwe thata ditshono tsa etleetsa ikonomi, e rarabolola dikgang tse di amanang le go go

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Banka ya Lefatshe Lotlhe. Global Rankings 2016. Website: <https://ipr.worldbank.org/international/global/2016>.

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Lefapha la Tlhabololo ya ikonomi. 2019. Pampiri ya Tlaleletso e e Rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo 25.

potlakisiwa ga ditlhathlwa tsa dipalangwa, go palelwa ke go rulaganya dikepe le go nna bokoa ga naga mo go gwebisaneng ka go romela dithoto le go di amogela, ga mmogo le go godisa ditshono tsa thapa badiri mo setheo seno. Go bulwa ga Operation Phakisa mo Ikonoming ya Mawatle ka 2014 go dirile gore go nne le kgatelopele mo go atolosiweng ga dipalangwa tsa lewatle mo Aforika Borwa, e e akaretsang mafelo a boemelakepe a mannye a jaaka Port Nolloth le Port St Johns mo Dipalangweng tsa mawatle tse dikgolo le tse dinnye le Leano la Ikonomi ya Mawatle.

## Tirelo ya Difofane

**Mafaratlhatlha a boemelafofane** mo Aforika Borwa a na le mafelo a magolo a boemelafofane a feta 1 500 kgotsa kwa di tlhomelang teng, seno se akaretsa ditirelo le dikago tsa boemelafofane (mafelo a a nang le kwa di betlelwang gone le a a senang kwa di betlelwang gone). Jaaka ka Mopitlwé 2015, go ne go na le mafelo a boemelafofane a a kwadisitsweng a le 135, tse 10 mo go one a tlhomilweng go nna boemelafofane jwa ditshabatshaba, le a 56 a kwadisitswe ka go ithaopa.

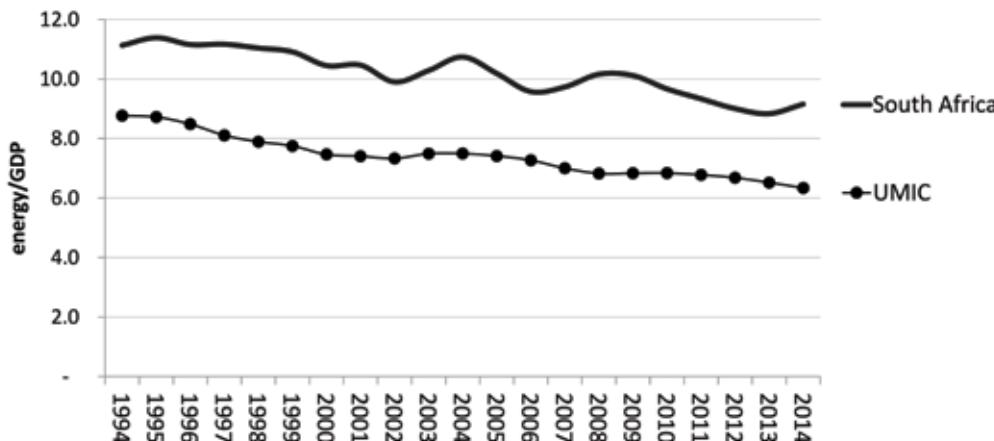
Airports Company South Africa (ACSA) e na le mafelo a boemelafofane a le 9, puso ya porofense e na le a le 9, sesole se na le a le 33 mme dimmasepala di na le a ka nna 100 (tsa selegae le tsa sedika). Go na le mafelo a boemelafofane a le mantsi a poraefete a a kwadisitseng le a mangwe a mantsi a setseng (ya tse 1 500) a poraefete (kgwebo, tse di sa direng letseno, le motho ba ba ikemetseng). Go ya ka ACSA's Aviation Barometer 2017/18, dimilione di le 40 tsa bapalmi ba ba dirisitse mafelo a boemelafofane jwa ACSA a le robongwe ka Ngwaga ya Madi wa 2017/18, mo go bontshang kgolo e e tsepameng mo tsamaong ya nako le koketsego ya 4% go tswa mo ngwageng wa madi o o fetileng.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, tokafatso e kgolo e ne ya dirwa mo mafelong a a dirisiwang thata mo Aforika Borwa, e bile go ne ga agiwa boemelafofane jo bosha (King Shaka International). Mafelo a boemelafofane a naga a tsewa a le mo boemong jo bo kwa godimo mo lefatsheng e bile bomankge ba Aforika borwa ba ile ba dirisiwa mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng go tshegetsa le go tsamaisa mafelo a boemelafofane kwa India le Brazil.

## Motlakase

Go tloga kwa tshimologong puso ya temokerasi e ntse e dirisa **ditirelo tsa motlakase o o fetlihwang ka malatlha** se se neng sa thusa tsamaiso ya ditirelo tsa meepo. Ka ntlha ya seo, Aforika Borwa ke nngwe ya diikonomi tse di tsetsepetseng ka motlakase mo lefatsheng lotlhe. Ka jalo, puso ya temokerasi e ne e na le kgwetlho ya tlamelka mofuta wa motlakase o o ikanyegang, o o tlhwatlhwatlase, o montsi e bile o le tekatekano. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go **Setshwantsho 10.5**, Aforika Borwa e mo boemong jwa diikonomi tse di nang le motlakase o o tsetsepetseng mo le-

Mafaratlhatlha  
a boemelafofane  
mo Aforika  
Borwa a na le  
mafelo a magolo  
a boemelafofane  
a feta 1 500  
kgotsa kwa di  
tlhomelang teng



**Setshwantsho 10.5:** Motlakase o o maatla mo Aforika Borwa fa o bapsiwa le kakaretso ya diikonomi tse di tsenyang letseno le le magareng (motlakase o o simololang o kgaoganngwa ka GDP mo dintlheng tsa PPP).

Motswedi wa dikgang: Banka ya Lefatshe. Ditshupetso Tsa Tlhabololo ya Lefatshe. Tatelano mo go matlafatseng motlakase.

Website: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org) in December 2017.

fatsheng lotlhe. Le fa go ntse jalo, mo lesomeng la dingwaga le le fetileng, motlakase o o dirisitsweng go ya ka karolo ya GDP o wetse kwa tlase ka kotara. Seno se supa phetogo e kgolo mo kagong ya ikonomi.

Puso ya temokerasi e tsere tsamaiso ya sesheng ya go fetlha motlakase, o o neng o ikaegile thata ka malatlha. E ne e kgona go romela motlakase ka dithlwatlhawatlase, fa go bapsiwa le dinaga tse dingwe tsa lefatshe lotlhe. Kgabagare, magareng ga 1994 le 2002, go nnile le peelesto e nnye mo go fetlihweng ga motlakase, fa go lebiwa seelo sa kgolo e e kwa tlase ya nako e e fetileng. Kgolo ya boleng jo bo kwa godimo le e e tsamaelang ka pele ka nako ya go runya ga dilo tse di rekisiwang e e tsereng sebaka sa go tloga ka 2002 go fitlha ka 2012, e ne ya bontsha ditsholofelo tsa dithulaganyo tsa masome a dingwaga a a fetileng mo setheong le gore patlafalo ya dithoto e fete badiri, mo go neng ga felela ka mathata a dithebolo mo masimologong a 2008.

Kgogo ya motlakase wa Aforika Borwa e megal a e tsamaisang motlakase e bolelele jwa 381 594km e e nang le maatla a a kwa godimo, a a mo magareng le a a kwa tlase, ka mafelo a a thusang go fetisa motlase a le 33 590 le a a fetlheng motlakase a le 30.<sup>279</sup>

**Go laola madirelo** le go dira maiteko a go laola ESKOM jaaka e le yone fela e e tsamaisang le go fetlha motlakase, the National Energy Regulator of South Africa (NERSA) e ne ya tlhamiwa ka 2004. Maitlhommagolo a NERSA ke go tlhoma le/kgotsa go letlelela ditharifi le dithlwatlhwa, go rebola dilaesense le go kwadisa; go tlhokomela go diragadiwa ga molao le go tsaya dikgato; go

rarabolola dikgotlheng ga mmogo le go tlhoma melao e e utlwlang, ditaelo le melawana ya tsamaiso ya motlakase, gase le ditheo tsa leokwane.

Ka 2007, Eskom e ne ya simolola **porogerama e nšha ya kago** go thusa boleng jwa motlakase o o tsentsweng le go kgatlhanyetsa ditlhoko tse di golang tsa motlakase. Porogerama e ntšha ya kago e akaretsa Kusile, Medupi, Ingula, le Renewal Energy Independent Power Producer Programme (REIPPPP). Mafelo a go fetlha motlakase ka malatlha wa Medupi ka 4 764 MW le Kusile ka 4 800 MW e sale e ntse e le karolo ya konokono ya porogerama ya kago e Eskom e e dirang le go di wetsa, tse di tla nnang mangwe a mafelo a go fetlha motlakase wa malatlha a magolo mo lefatsheng lotlhe.

Fa e sale REIPPPP e bulwa ka 2012, motlakase wa 6 422 MW o ntse o bonwa go tswa mo diREIPPPP tse 112 mo tikologong tse supa. Go fitlha ga jaana 3 772 MW e e tswang mo dilPP 62 e ile ya gokaganngwa mo kgogong ya motlakase. Porogerama ya REIPPP e ngoketse peelesto ya bokana ka R257.7 billion mo nageng. Seno se emela peelesto ya R209.4 billion mo peeletsong ya setheo sa porafete.<sup>280</sup>

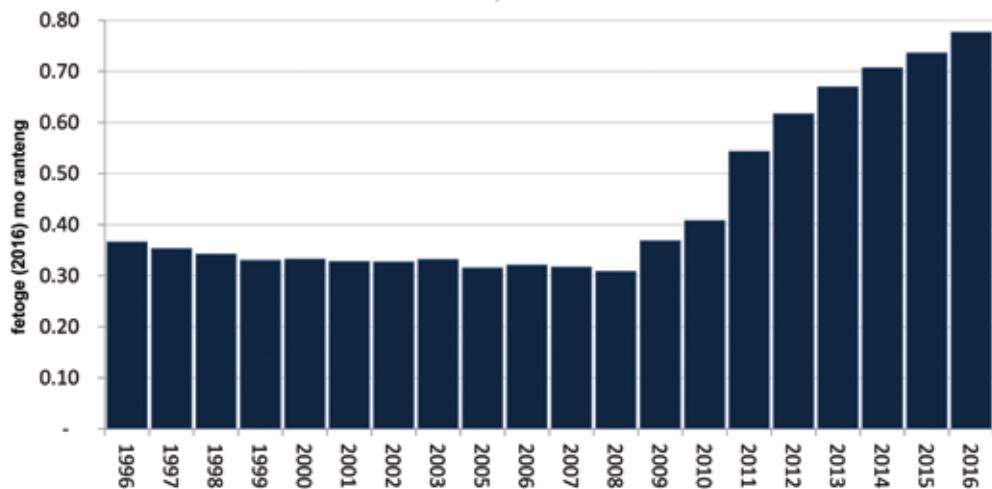
Ka bontsi, go tshwenyega go gogolo mabapi le go ikanyega ga motlakase go ne ga tlhagelela ka 2008 le 2015, fa mathata a go fetlha motlakase kwa go ne go baka **kgaogo ya tlamele ya motlakase**. Go tloga ka 2008 go ya go 2017, Eskom e ile ya fokotsa tlamele go badirisi ba ba dirisang motlakase o o maatla ka 10%, e lekanyetsa maitlhomo a bone a go gola. Dikabelelo tsa ditshenyelego tse di bakiwang ke kgaogo ya tlamele ya motlakase mo dikgwebong e nnile go feta R10 ka ura ya kilowatt, kgotsa

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Thulaganyo ya Boemalakepe jwa Naga jwa Transnet 2017 Phetogo tsebe 2-58.

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Pego ya Eskom e Kopantsweng 31 Mopitiwe 2018 tsebe 9--271.



### Setshwantsho 10.6: Tlhwatlhwa ya Eskom go ya ka kWh ka ranta (a) e e tlhomameng (2016).

Dintlha: (a) E fokotsega le CPI. Motswedi wa dikgang: E badilwe go tswa kwa Eskom, Dipego Tsa Ngwaga le Ngwaga mabapi le dingwaga tse di maleba. Dipalo di kgaogantswe go ya ka theko.

Motswedi: xxxxxx

mo e ka nnang makgetho a le 15 go feta tlhwatlhwa e e tlwaelegieng ya kgogo ya motlakase.<sup>281</sup>

Ga gona dipalopalo tse di gatisitsweng, tse di tlhaloganesegang mo **boleng jwa ga jaana** kwa dimmasepaleng. Le fa go ntse jalo, segolobogolo mo ditoropong tse dinnye, gantsi dikgwebo di ngongorega ka gore motlakase o o bokoa o amile tiro ya bone ka go senya metshine le didiriswa. Go tlhomama le didiriswa tsa eleketeroniki, ka go kgethega, go ka amega fa motlakase o sa tlhomama kgotsa o tima kgapetsa kgapetsa.

Go tloga ka 2008 go fitlha ka 2016, kakaretso ya tlhwatlhwa ya Eskom ka karolo ya motlakase e tlhatlhogile ka 225% e sa fetoge (2016) mo ranteng. Jaaka Setshwantsho 10.6 se bontsha, tlhatlhogo e kgolo e e diragetseng go tloga ka 2008 go fitlha ka 2012, fa ditlhwatlhwa di ne di tlhatlhagan gabedi. Koketsego ya ditlhwatlhwa e ne e farologana go ya ka mofuta wa moreki. Eskom E ne e tlamela ka motlakase ka tlhamalalo go badirisi ba ba o dirisang ka bontsi, segolobogolo mo meepong, bao ka nako eo ba neng ba iphokoletsa maatla a one. Badirisi bano ba ne ba duela Eskom kwa tlase go ya ka yuniti go feta badirisi ba bangwe, mme ba babalelwaa ke ditlhwatlhwa tsa go fokotsa maatla a motlakase.

Koketsego ya ka bonako mo ditlhwatlweng tsa motlakase e ne e ka imela kgwebo gongwe le gongwe, mme ka go kgethega e ne e le botlhokwa mo Aforika Borwa. Mo nakong e e fetileng, motlakase o o tlhwatlhwtlase o ne o

dira gore go nne thata go fitlhelela meepo le mabesetso go tswa kwa mawetleng le kwa moseja. Mo godimo ga moo, mo dingwageng tsa bo 1990 Eskom e ne e na le motlakase o montsi, ka jalo e ne e kgothaletsa dipeeletso tse disha tse dikgolo mo ferroalloys le aluminium. Motlakase ke karolo ya botlhokwa mo aluminium, ka jalo motlakase o o bokoa o ne o dira gore go tseye sebaka gore dikhampani di beeletse go sa kgathalesege gore di tshwanetse go amogela ore go tswa kwa ntle. Mabapi le madirelo a a dirisang motlakase o o maatla, go tlhatlhoga ga ditlhwatlhwa go ile ga ama dikgwebo tsa bone. Matswela e ne ya nna go wa ga ditlhwatlhwa tsa dimetale le bofelo jwa go runya ga dithoto tse di rekisiwang ka 2012.

#### Metsi

Aforika Borwa e na le matamo a feta 500 a a laolwang ke puso a bogolo jwa dimitara tsa dikhubiki di le dimilione di le 37 000 (m<sup>3</sup>). Puso e dirile maiteko a go fokotsa go salela morago ga go bona metsi a a nwiegang mo ba go tsweledisitseng ka 1994. Ka 2017, go feta 88% ya baagi ba le dimilione di le 14.8 ba ne ba kgona go bona metsi a a nwiegang<sup>282</sup>.

Lefa go ntse jalo, go tlhabololwa le go tlhokomelwa ga dit-samaiso tsa polokelo ya metsi segolobogolo mo dingwageng tse 5 tse di fetileng, e nnile kgwetlho e kgolo thata mo dikarolong tse dintsi tsa naga, ka dinako tse dingwe go bakwa ke komelelo, ditlamorago tsa go fetoga ga tlaelamete le go fetola mafelo go nna metsesetoropo ka bonako.

Palo ya Diporojeke tsa ditirelo tsa metsi a a bolokilweng di ne tsa wediwa: Karolo I ya Lesotho Highlands Water

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Ofisi ya IPP – Go Thalosa Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) Pontsho ya Empowerment Imperative e e dirilweng kwa pontshong ya Ditshono Tsa Kgwebo mo Bagwebing ba Basadi mo Kokoanong ya Setheo sa Motlakase o o Ntshafadiwang tsebe 4.

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Leina la Mokgathlo. Ngwaga. Setlhogo. ts. no.

Peeletso ya ditirelo  
tsa ikonomi e  
tshameka karolo e  
kgolo fa e tshegetsa  
tlhabololo ya  
dikgokaganyo  
tsa ikonomi tse di  
maatla mo gare ga  
madirelo a selegae  
le a kgaolo.

Scheme le letamo la Katse le Mohale Dam kwa Lesotho; Vaal River Eastern Subsystem Augmentation Project (VRESAP); Komati Water Scheme Augmentation Project, Mooi-Mgeni Transfer Scheme (Karolo 2); Mokolo go ya kwa Crocodile Water Augmentation Scheme (Karolo I: Dipeipi tse dikgolo); Olifants River Water Resources Development Project (Karolo 2), go akaretsa De Hoop Dam le Tsela e Kgolo ya dipeipi tse di ya kwa Steelpoort go tlamela ka metsi mabapi le tlhabololo ya ikonomi le kwa metseng ya selegae e e kwa sedikeng sa Greater Sekhukhune; Bilateral Komati Basin Development Project go akaretsa le Maguga Dam le Driekoppies Dam; Berg River Dam go ya go tlamela tse di nosang Cape Town; Luvuvhu Government Water Scheme go akaretsa Nandoni Dam, Polante ya go Tlhatswa Metsi le ditsela tsa go a romela. Mafelo a go tlhatswetsa metsi a le mantsi a kopane le ditsela tsa go a romela le ditsamaiso tsa go di rulaganya go ile ga wediwa mo diporofenseng tsotlhe. Porojeke ya go fokotsa leswe le le epetsweng ka asiti e ne ya tsenengwa tirisong kwa kgaolong ya Witwatersrand.

Puso ya Naga gape e ile ya tshegetsa Balaodi ba Ditirelo Tsa Metsi go romela metsi a a phepa le ditirelo tsa go tlhatswa metsi ka go simolola **tirelo ya thusa ka madi** e ntšha le dithebolo tse di maleba ka Regional Bulk Infrastructure Grant (RBIG), Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) le Water Services Infrastructure Grant (WSIG). Karolelano e e Lekanang e lebeletse go thusa ditiro le dithlwatlhwla tsa go tlhokomela ditirelo tsa metsi mo dimmasepaleng.

Le fa go ntse jalo, mathata le dikgwetlho mo setheo di ntselfetse. Ditheo di koafetse ka go tlhoka bokgoni le taolo e e bokoa. Peeletso ya tsa selegae mo ditirelong tsa metsi e ka tswa e nnile bonya kgotsa e bontsha go rulaganya go go bokoa le dithlwatlhwla tse di kwa godimo. Go tlhokomelwa ga ditirelo tsa metsi tse di setseng di le teng e sa ntse e le kgwetlho, e e bakang kotsi mo go tswelediseng go tlamela ka metsi mo isagweng. Tota eabile, SA Institute of Civil Engineering e bontsha ditirelo tsa metsi go ralala naga di le mo kotsing ya go palelwa.

**Tshedimosetso, Puisano le Ditsamaiso tsa Thekenoloji (Information, Communication and Technology Systems [ICTS])** Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng go nnile le kgolo mo dithekelonolojing tsa dipuisano, ka go simolola dithelefouno tse o tsamayang ka tsone, go tlhagelela ga ditirelo tse disha tse di tsamaisiwang ka data, go godisiwa ga Wi-Fi le go kgona go nna le inthanete.

Go ya ka pego ya ICASA mo boemong jwa setheo sa ICT mo Aforika Borwa, Mopitlwé 2018: **Go tshwara Mobile Broadband** ya 3G e eme go 99% mo baaging, go tshwara 4G/LTE go eme go 77%. Go simololwa ga motlamedi wa tirelo o mosha wa mogala o o tlhomameng (Neotel) ka 2002 e ne e le ka

# Go potlakisa kgolo pele ga tshimologo ya mathata a madi a lefatshe lotlhe ka 2008/9 go bontshitse gore ditirelo di kganelo ikonomi

boikaelelo jwa go fedisa go dira ga Telkom e le nosi, le fa gontse jalo seno se ne sa palelwa ka botlalo, segolobogolo e le ka nthu ya tlhopho ya moreki go tswa mo mogaleng o o tlhomameng go ya kwa mogaleng o o tsamayang ka one.

**Dikgokaganyo tsa Broadband go ralala mafelo a inthanete a puso** go ntse go gatelapele, mme tota ka iketlo. Palo ya dikolo tse di gokaganeng ka Universal Service and Access Obligations (USAO) ke 4431 fa palo ya ditheo tse di gokaganeng ka Universal Service and Access Agency of South Africa (USAASA) e le 720. Ka mo go tshwanang, palo ya ditheo tse di gokaganeng ka SA Connect Project e ntse e le bonya ka Broadband Infraco (BBI) le SITA e neng ya tlisa ditlhabololo ta kgokaganyo ya broadband mo ditheong di le 376.

Palo ya **megalaya lefatshe lotlhe** e ne ya thathlhogela go e thataro e bile tota dikhampani tsotlhe tse ditona tsa tlhaletsano di ne tsa beeletsa, go thusa ka botlalo go gaisana le go fokotsa ditshenyegelo tsa go gokagana le lefatshe lotlhe ka kamego e kgolo mo ditharifing tsa mo gae.

**Post Office** e godile mo e nang le mafelo a feta a le I 500 – go akaretsa le bathusi ba yone. MaAforika Borwa a le mantsi ga jaana ba kgona go bona ditirelo tsa poso mo sekgaleng se se sa reng sepe. Mo godimo ga moo, Postbank e na le palo e ntsi ya Mzansi Accounts, e gantsi e thusang bahumanegi ba mo metseng. Tsamaiso ya bosheng ya go rebola go duelwa ga madi a setshaba e ile ya letlelela SAPO go rulaganya ditirelo tsa yone go kgathanyetsa dikgwethlo tsa go naya madi a duelwang setshaba ba a naya maAforika Borwa a le dimilione.

**Go bona inthanete** ke tirelo ya bothhokwa mo lekgolong la bo 21 la dingwaga e bile go tshwanetse ga tla pele gore go tsewe karolo mo ikonoming ya maranyane. Kgolo ka kakaretso e gwetla tlamelo ya bona inthanete ga

baagi. Ditirelo tse di ka thusang go bona seno e bothhokwa go tlhomamisa gore baagi, le eleng kwa metseselegaeng, ba kgona go nna le seabe le go ipelela melemo ya kitso ya ikonomi. Puso ya Aforika Borwa e bontshitse gore neteweke e e nnang e le teng e lobelo le ya boleng jo bo kwa godimo ke selo sa bothhokwa mo go godiseng go gaisana ga naga ka go dirisa pholisi ya broadband ya naga - South Africa Connect. South Africa Connect e ikaeleta go dirisa pono ya NDP ya go nna le kgokaganyo ya broadband e e bonwang mothofo lefatshe lotlhee e kgatlhanyetsang ditlhoko tsa baagi mabapi le ditlhawatlhw, lobelo le boleng jo bo kwa godimo. Malebana le go tsenelela le maikaelelo a lobelo, pholisi e ikaeletse go tlhomamisa go bona broadband ya 100% ka 2030 ka lobelo lwa 10 Mbps, 1 Gbps, 1Gbps, le 100 Mbps mo badirising ka kakaretso, dikolo, dikago tsa pholo le dikago tsa puso, ka tatelano ya tsone. Karolo 2 ya SA Connect Program e setse e simolotswe.

## Lenaneo 2063: Presidential Infrastructure Championing Initiative (PICI):

Peeletso ya ditirelo tsa ikonomi e tshameka karolo e kgolo fa e tshegetsa tlhabololo ya dikgokaganyo tsa ikonomi tse di maatla mo gare ga madirelo a selegae le a kgao.

Mo dingwageng tse di sa tswang go feta, Aforika Borwa e kgonne go tlhaloganya Presidential Infrastructure Championing Initiative (PICI), e e akaretsang tsela ya go tswa kwa **Bokone go ya Borwa**, seporo le ditirelo tse di amanang le **ditsela tse di mo gare**. Kgatelopele e tswelela go dirwa malebana le go agiwa ga diporojeke tsa kago ya ditirelo tse di akaretsang ditsela, diporo, melewane, motlakase, metsi le diporojeke tsa boemelakepe.

Puso e tsweletse go tshegetsa diporojeke tsa ditirelo tsa naga tsa PICI ga mmogo le tiro e e mo Tseleng e e tswang kwa Bokone go ya Borwa e e amanang le diporojeke tsa ditirelo tse 34 tse di tsenelelang mo kgaolong ya SADC.

Ka Lwetse 2017, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) e ne ya simolola "**5 Percent Agenda**", e agelela mo kaelong le dikakantshng tsa Continental Business Network (CBN). 5 Percent Agenda ka letsholo la go oketsa thebolo ya peeletso ke beng ba dithoto tsa Aforika mo ditirelong tsa, go tloga mo bonnyeng jwa 1.5%. kgaolo ya SADC e ikaeletse go oketsa peeletso ya madi a bagodi le babusi mo ditirelong tsa Aforika, e ntle le yone go tla nna thata go bula bokgoni jwa ikonomi ya Aforika. Seno se tla tlhoka go ntsha ditirelo tsa Aforika mo kotsing le diporojeke tsa Presidential Infrastructure Development for Africa (PIDA).

## 5 Percent Agenda e ikaeletse:

- Go bula mafelo a a bonalang le a a balegang a thuso e e tlhogekang go tsenya tirisong diporojeke tsa ditirelo tsa kgaolo le tsa mo gae mo Aforika,

- Go atolosa le go tsenya kwa teng mmaraka wa madi a Aforika o ga jaana o sa goleng, fa ka fa lethakoreng le lengwe go thusiwa ka bottlalo go kopanya lgaolo le go tlhama ditiro,
- Go etleetsa kgolo mokgwa wa go itshimololela ditlhagiswa tsa mmaraka wa madi tse di maleba le dikgwetlho tsa kontinente, malebana le tlhabololo ya ditirelo, le
- Go godisa go ngokela dipeelo tsa bagwebi ba bangwe ba ba nang le ditheo le ba ba senang ditheo ba ba sa bolong go tikatika go akaretsa diporojeke tsa ditirelo tsa Aforika a le mofuta wa dithoto mo mokgweng wa bone wa go beeletsa.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI GANANG GO FELA FA E SALE KA 1994



Dikabelelo tsa African Development Bank di akantsa gore **ditlhoko tsa ditirelo tsa kontinente** di dira \$130–170 billion ka ngwaga, ka sekala sa go duela se se simololang go \$68 go ya go \$108 billion.<sup>283</sup> Le fa gone Aforika Borwa e le mo gare ga dinaga tse di eteletseng pele mo kontinenteng ka tlhabololo ya ditirelo, ga e ise e kopanye diporojeke tsa yone tse di rulagantsweng ka bottlalo mo mafelong a a tlhokang ditirelo a Aforika yothle. Tshimololo ya Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission (PICC), e tla tsamaisa botoka tiro eno le go kaela peeletso ya ditirelo tsa setheo sa puso le tsa setheo sa poraefto mo gae le ka kwa ntile.

Le fa go dirilwe kgatelopele e e bonalang ka **boleng jwa peeletso le go dirwa ga ditirelo tse disha**, gape go nnile palo ya dikgwetho tse di badilweng le go ntshiwa ga ditirelo. Tseno di akaretsa mo go tse dingwe, thulaganyo e e bokoa, le kopano e e bokoa magareng ga diporojeke; dithebolo tse di bonya ka ntla ya dikgoreletsi tsa boleng kgotsa go ntshiwa ga madi; dikaelo tse di bokoa tsa setegeniki le ditsamaiso tsa boenjinere jo bo sa felelang; go tlhaloganya tekanyetsokabo ga mmogo le go sa tlhokomelwe sentle ga ditirelo; go sa bone melemo e e feletseng ya selegae go tswa mo ditlhabololong tsa ditirelo mo mafelong a a rileng; go sa lekalekane ga tirisano magareng ga dikarolo tsa puso; le bosenyi mo dithotong tsa puso ga mmogo le go thulana ga dikhampani tsa kago, mo go okeditseng ditshenyegelo tsa go romelwa ga ditirelo.

**Lebelo le le siameng mo porogerameng ya go fetola tsela ya go dirisa madi** le bontsha dikgwetho tse dintsi mo setheong tse di fetang go ntšafadiwa ga dipalangwa. Dikgwetho tseno di akaretsa go tlhokega ga thulaganyo e e feletseng le go laola tsamaiso ya ditekisi mo tsamaisong ya dipalangwa tsa bottlhe e e

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Pego ya bo3 ya ICASA mo boemong jwa setheo sa ICT mo Aforika Borwa di31 Mopitiwe 2018

kopaneng, ya mefuta mebedi, e e thusiwang ka madi, le e rulagantsweng. Le fa gone kgateloletenyana ka iketlo e dirilwe go dirisiwa mofuta wa BRT e le tsela ya go kopanya beng ba ditekisi jaaka ba ba nang le karolo le beng ba ditsamaiso tsa dipalangwa tse di dikarolo pedi, ka kakaretso go thata go kopana ga setheo seno. Seno se raya gore bontsi jwa badirisi ba dipalangwa tsa botlhe ba tswelela ka go ikaega ka dipalangwa ste di dirisang leokwane e bile go ja madi a mantsi mo mesepeleng e meleele ya letsatsi le letsatsi e e bontshang dikgwetlho tse bontsi jo bo nnang kwa metsesetoropong bo lebaneng le tsone mo Aforika Borwa.

Go potlakisa kgolo pele ga tshimologo ya mathata a madi a lefatshe lotlhe ka 2008/9 go bontshitse gore ditirelo di kganela ikonomi le ditlamorago tsa ponelopele e e sa felelang, go rulaganya le go beeletsa mo ka dinako tse dingwe go felelang ka **peeletsotlase**, jaaka mo kgannyeng ya setheo sa motlakase. Mo makethong a mangwe, go tsweledisiwa ga ditiro tse di simolotsweng ke apartheid ga go a ka ga tlisa bokgoni jwa go fetola tsamaiso ya setheo sa ditirelo, jaaka puso ya temokerasi e ne e lwa ka thata go tlamelka thuso e e nang le tekatekano le e lekanang ya go bona ditirelo tse di nang le boleng. Potso e e sa arabiwang ya gore “ke mang yo o duelang” e tswelela etlhagelela ka tlhotlheletsa ya bontsi jwa baagi ga mmogo le tlhogego ya go dirisa ditirelo tsa go tshegetsa dipholisi tsa madirelo.

**Letseno le le tseneletseng le gotlhokatekatekanomodikhumong** go thusitse go tsweletsa ditropokgolo tse di kgaoganeng, jaaka setheo sa poraefete se ne se tlamela ka matlo ka tlhwatlhwya tse di neng di kgonwa ke batho ba ba kwa tlase ga 20% fela.

Mo godimo ga moo, borakonteraka ba poraefete ba ne ba rata disekema tse di duelelwang mo makeisheneng tse di neng di remeletse mo matlong a a kgotlhaganeng kwantle ga metsesetoropo. Ditshimilolo tsa dipholisi tse di maatla le tse tsepameng di a tlhogega go fetola mekgwa e e tsweletseng ya baagi ba poraefete gore di kgotlhaganye ditoropokgolo le go aga ditsela tsa dipalangwa. Mo godimo ga moo, dimmasepala di ne tsa tshwanelwa ke go tlhabolola ditsamaiso tsa tsone go di kgontsha go dirisa kitso ya ditheo tsa poraefetetse, tse di neng di rulaganya kgwebo e e ikaeletseng go rebola segolo jang moragong jaana kwa 2018 Jobs Summit. **Tirisanommogo e e kopaneng** jalo gape e ka nna ntla e e dirang gore basha ba nne le seabe mo go taolong, ba ba sa bolong go dira mo dikarolong tsa diporojeke tse dikgolo tsa ditirelo.

Fa e sa le go runya ga dilo tse di rekisiwang go khutla ka 2011, Aforika Borwa e ne ya lebana le **kgolo e e bonya ya ikonomi**. E e kgoreletsang tiriso ya ditirelo. Dipeeletso tse di kwa tlase ga mmogo le bosenyi jo bo leng teng, di dirile gore puso e se ka ya ungwa le ditheo tsa puso ga di sa na boleng. Makoa a magolo mo dithulaganyong tsa kgwebo le go sa tsamaisiwe sentle go go tswelelang mo diSOC go bone kwelotlase ya dipatlaflalo le letseno mo dingwageng tsa bosheng jaana. Go thusa diporojeke tsa ditirelo ka madi e santse e le kgwtlho go ralala ditheo tsotlhe, go akaretsa go tsamaisiwa ga didiriswa mo tirong le mo go tlhokomeleng, ga mmogo le dipeeletso tsa mo isagweng tsa ditirelo tsa ikonomi.

Tseno le mabaka a mangwe a ikarabela ka go farologana ga

### **bokoa mo go rulaganyetseng diporogerama tsa ditirelo**

le go di tsenya tirisong. Ka lebaka leo, maitlhomo a go ganetsa a tlhotlheletsa go nyatsa leano la tsamaiso ya go rarabolola dikgwetlho tsa ditirelo. **Ditlhwatlhwa** tsa ditirelo e santse e le karolo ya go ganetsa. Pholisi ya puso e tshegeditse molaotheo wa gore tiriso e duelelwang malebana le baagi ba ba humanegileng. Tsela eno e thaya motheo wa kgatelopele mo go duelelwang ditirelo, mme go santse go na le diketsaetsego tse pedi. Ya ntla, e aga mo dikgothaletsong tsa ikonomi malebana le diporojeke tse di direlang bareki le dikgwebo tse di kgonang go duela. E le go rarabolola seno, pholisi ya sepolotiki le ya setshaba e tshwanetse go tlamela peeletso mo ditirelong go thusa baagi ba ba bonang letseno le le

kwa tlase le dikgwebopotlana. Ya bobedi, e rata go lebisa peeletso ya ikonomi kwa madirelong le dikgwebo tse setseng di dira, se se dirang gore go nne thata go dirisa tlamelo ya ditirelo tse disha go etleetsa tirisokakaretso segolobogolo kwantle ga boleng jwa meepo.

**Kgatelelo ya go tlamela matlo a a thusitsweng ka tuelo**, ditlhwatlhwa tsa lefatshe le go rulaganya go go bokoa go feletse ka boemo se mo go sone thebolo ya matlo a a thusitsweng ka tuelo a tlamelwang kgakala thata le mafelo a ditiro tsa ikonomi. Seno se na le seabe se segolo mo karolo ya letseno la badiri ba ba le le dirisediwang sepalangwa ga mmogo le madi a puso e a ntshang go duela setheo sa dibese. Go kopanya kgaogano eno ke tiro ya go rulaganya ditirelo ga mmogo le thulaganyo ya go kopanya mafelo e e atologileng.

Fa e sale ka 1994, puso e ne ya batla go oketsa go dira ga diSOE ka go di rulaganya sesha mo nang le matswela

/ Fa e sale ka  
1994, puso e  
ne ya batla go  
oketsa go dira  
ga diSOE ka go  
di rulaganya  
sesha mo  
go nang le  
matswela //

go kgatlhanyetsa ditlhoko tsa ikonomi mo maAforika Borweng otthe le madirelo. Go sa kgathalesege maiteko a go godisa batsamaisi ba ba nonofileng, le go nonotsha maatla a balaodi ba kgaisano, dikgwetlho tseno e santse di santse di le teng go ralala ditheo tsa ditirelo tsa ikonomi. Maitlhomo a go dira gore Ditheo Tse di Lolwang ke Puso di itsenynetse letseno, taolo le tsamaiso tse di bokoa di dirile gore bontsi jwa ditlhwatlhw a botsamaisi di nne kwa godimo go feta tsa dikarolo tse dingwe tsa lefatshe. Batsamisi ba ba ikemetseng ba tlhoka madi a mantsi gore ba kgone go dira sentle, le gore ka puisano ba oketse go se kae mo tsamaisong ya SOC. Le fa go dirilwe dikitsiso tse dikgolo mo go **fetoleng thomelo ya dithoto go tswa mo tseleng go ya kwa seporong**, pharologanyo ya ditekanyetsa e tlhoka go lebelelwa mo maitlhomong ano – jaaka go bewa ga ditlhwatlhw a, bonako le taolo – ga e ise e dirwe.

**Setheo sa** metsi se santse se lebane le palo ya dikgwetlho. Tseno di akaretsa go palelw a ke go mo go lekaneng:

- Tlamelo ya metsi le go gelewla leswe;
- Go arolelana mo go lekalekanang le go rebolelw a didiriswa;
- Leano la go baya ditlhwatlhw a metsi a a tswang kwa tlase
- Tsamaiso ya ditirelo le tiro le tlhokomelo;
- Tsamaiso ya go bona metsi ka bonako le phokotsa ya tshenyego ya metsi; le
- Setlhophsa se se laolang go baya ditlhwatlhw a le go di rebola
- Go rulaganya go go sa lekanang le go tsenngwa tirisong ga ditiro tsa tlhatswa metsi go thusa metsesetoropo le go ntshetsa metsi a a leswe mo metswedding e megolo ya metsi ya naga (dinoka)

**Dithulaganyo tse di fa felelang tsa go rulaganya** malebana le ditsela le go tlhoka metswedi ya thuso ya madi a go dira le go tlhokomela, ga go bolo go dira gore ditshenyegelo tseno di se ka tsa agiwa mo diporjekeng mo go dirang gore ditirelo tsa ditsela di tlhokomologiwe le go se tlhokomelwe sentle. Fa SANRAL e dira e le nosi mo go rulaganyeng ditsela tsa naga le tsa porofense, diporofense gantsi ga di nne le karolo e di e dirang mo kgannyeng e, le fa gone di ikarabelela ka go tlhokomela ditsela. Taolo ya molaetheo wa tuelo ya tiriso ka tsamaiso ya e-toll ka sekai, ga e aka ya amogelwa gotlhelele. Seno se bakile go sa ketsaetsego e kgolo mo pholising ya tuelong ya ditsela. Ga jaana, mafaratlhatla a ditsela a itemogela bokele jwa go tlhoka madi ka ntlha ya ketsaetsego ya gore ke tsela efe e e botoka ya go beeletsa madi mo ditseleng.

Setheo sa diterena se okametswe le go tsamaisiwa ke **Transnet Freight Rail (TFR)** e le nosi e e tsamaisang

Go nna kwa godimo  
ga TRANSNET mo  
tirisong ya seporo  
go dirile gore go se  
nne le kgaisano mo  
tirong ya go romela  
dithoto ka bontsi.



freight network and the Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA), di dira mmogo mme di sa gaisane. Go nna kwa godimo ga TRANSNET mo tirisong ya seporo go dirile gore go se nne le kgaisano mo tirong ya go romela dithoto ka bontsi. Tlhokego ya go simololwa ga Single Transport Economic Regulator (STER) e nnile ya botlhokwa mo go tlhomamiseng tsela e e botoka ya go bona seporo sa naga le go simolola tsamaiso ya kgaisano e e oketsegileng ya baya ditlhwathlwa.

**Go tlhoka peeletso e e lekaneng mo ditirelong tsa diterena**, tiro, go tsofala ga diterana (materoko a diterena) le go gaelelwya go gogolo ga bokgoni jwa botsamaisi le jwa setegeniki ke kgwetlho e kgolo mo go tlhabololeng mafaratlhathla a diterena a a raraaneng thata, segolobogolo mo karolong ya diterena tse di pegang batho. Go na le moo, dipego tsa PRASA tsa go tsenya tirisong leano la go tokafatsa seno se paletswe ke go dira, le fa dimmasepala tsa ditoropokgolo di lemogile bothhokwa jwa bontsi jwa dipalangwa tsa bothle tse mo go tsone Metrorail e tshamekang karolo ya bothhokwa, e e tlhokegang go tshegetsa kgolo ya ditoropokgolo le go di tlhabolola. Lefa go ntse jalo, go bonala e kete go tlhokega gore go tsewe matsapa a magolo go tokafatsa ditirelo tsa Metrorail le serodumo sa Metrorail e le gore e tlhomamise gore e romela tirelo ya diterena tse di pegang batho e e sireletsegileng, e e bonako, e e ikanyegang, e e sa jeng madi a mantsi e e ka kgonang go tsenyelediwa mo tsamaisong ya dipalangwa tsa bothle mo ditoropokgolong.

Nngwe ya dikgwetlho tse dikgolo mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng tsa temokerasi mo setheong sa motlakase e nnile tlhokego ya go **potlakisa tshireletsego ya motlakase** ka dikakantsho tsa go rebola motlakase gothe go kopanya le go tlhabolola ditirelo tsa gase le tsa motlakase o o ntshafadiwang. Morago ga dingwaga di le lesome tsa go aga Medupi le Kusile, mafelo ano a go fetlha motlakase ga a ise a fele e bile di-unit tse di dirang ga jaana di tletse ka mathata a a nang le makoa a go rulaganya. Go sa kgathalesege palo ya di-unit tsa Medupi le Kusile tse di sa bolong go dirisiwa mo tirong ya go tsenya letseno fa e sale ka 2015 di tsweletse go ntsha dipholo tse di kwa tlase.

Mo godimo ga moo, **tsela e kgwebo ya Eskom e tsamaisiwang ka teng e tlhoka go fetolwa**. Tsela ya bone ya go tsamaisa kgwebo e gwetliwa ke kwelotlase ya patlafalo ya motlakase. Go itsetsepela ga kgolo e e ikaegileng ka go fetliwa ga motlakase wa malatlha go bonala go sa tsetsepela ka ntlha ya matshwenyego a go fetoga ga tlelaemete. Mokgwa wa go sa duele ga dimmasepala di le dintsi e sa ntse e le tlhobaboroko e kgolo mo Eskom.

**ICT:** Dithulaganyo tsa setheo mo motlheng wa pele ga temokerasi di ne di bontshiwa ka mekgatlhlo e le

mmalwa e e neng e laolwa ke naga jaaka South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Telkom le South African Post Office (SAPO), di na le kgaisano e potlana kgotsa e seo gotlhelele.

Kgwetlho ya **pholisi e e tlhalefileng le lefelo la taolo** le le ka laolang kgotlheng magareng ga pholisi ya maitlhomo a go potlakisa kgaisano, go simolola le botsogo jwa modirisi bo santse bo gaelelwya. Go tlhoka go bona ditirelo le phetogo, ditlhwathlwa tse di kwa godimo tsa puisano go akaretsa data e e jang madi a mantsi le didiriswa tse di bitsang madi a mantsi le boleng jo bo kwa tlase jwa go tsena mo inthanete e sa ntse e le mabaka a magolo a a thibelang go bona ICT. Aforika Borwa e santse e le nngwe ya dinaga se di jang madi a mantsi mo Aforika malebana le ditlhwathlwa tsa broadband. Patlisiso ya Mmaraka wa Ditirelo tsa Data ya ga jaana e e tshwerweng ke Khomishine ya Kgaisano e bontshitse ditlhwathlwa tse di kwa godimo le dikgoreletsi tse dingwe go bona tsela ga maAforika Borwa ba le bantsi ya ikonomi ya maranyane.

Ga jaana Aforika Borwa e lebane le kgwetlho e kgolo ya bogodu jwa ditirelo tsa setshaba le go senngwa mo go amileng thebolo ya ditirelo le peeletso. Go tlhoka ka kakaretso ga go nna le ditirelo tse di leng teng le tse disha ga baagi go dirile gore tshenyo e etegele pele, bogodu le go da duelelwya ga ditirelo. Go bua puophaa, dingwe tsa dilo tse di bakang mathata a ke go se laolege, go palelwya ke go tlisa ditirelo tse di solofeditsweng, go tlisa ditirelo tsa bothhokwa tse di potlana kgotsa go sa di tlise gotlhelele, taolo e e bokoa mo mmarakeng wa dithoto le go tlhoka ditiro kgotsa ditshono tsa ikonomi mo basheng.

**Ditsela tse disha tsa go thusa ditirelo ka madi** le go tlisa ditirelo le gone go etswe tlhoko. Ka Tlhakole 2019, Mopresidente Ramaphosa o ne a itsise go tlhamiwa ga Thuso ya go Duelela Ditirelo, e e tla fetolang tuelo ya go simololwa ga diporojeke tsa ditirelo. Seno se oketsa bothhokwa jwa go fetola seelo, go sa dirisiwa ga madi a mantsi le boleng jwa tlameko ya ditirelo tsa setshaba ka tsela e kgolwane ya go fetolela dilo mo go e re dirang ka yone ga jaana. Seno se tla tlhomamisa boleng jwa madi a ditirelo tsa setshaba le go tlhomamisa gore didiriswa tsa Naga di dirisiwa sentle, gore ditirelo di di dirwa ka bonako, le gore re dirisa didiriswa tse puso e nang le tsone ga jaana, go tsenyeletsa bomankge ba setegeniki le madi a a tswang kwa setheong sa poraefete, Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) le Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs).

**Go fokotsa ditshenyegelo tsa go duelela peeletso ya ditirelo**, Puso e ntse e dira le ditheo tsa poraefete di le dintsi le mekgatlhlo ya ditlhophha di le mmalwa mo ditseleng tsa go ntsha madi a a thusang. Ka Diphalane 2018, New Development Bank ("NDB") ya

Brics e dirile maitlamo a go beeletsa \$2 billion (c. R29 billion) mo diporojekeng tse dikgolo tsa ditirelo. Madi a a oketsegileng a kana ka \$1.5 billion a ne a ntshiwa ka Kokoano Kakaretso ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga ya Banka ka Moranang 2019. Maitlamo a NDB go sololetswe gore a tlamele ka thuso ya madi, ka seelo se se kwa tlase sa morokotso.

Go ithuta go tswa mo go simololweng ga ditirelo mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, tsela ya go rebola ditirelo e tshwanetse go fetolwa, e tlhome mogopolo thata mo tseleng ya go dirisana ga metse le borakonteraka le go ikaega mo go tseneletseng mo ditheong tsa go tshwanelegela boikaelelo. Seno se tla tlhoka gore go tlhatlhobiwe tshimologo magareng ga dikarolo tsa puso le go bontsha boleng jo bo leng teng jo bo dirisiwang ka bonako. Ditheo tsa puso tse di sa direng di tlhoka go agiwa sesha mme fa go tlhokega, baemedi ba ka tlhoka go matlafadiwa le go nna didiriswa tsa ditsamaiso tse di tsamaisang tiro sentle, ka ditlamorago tsa go palelwa go kgatlhanyetsa maikaelelo a a sa bolong go dirwa. Go rulaganya le tsamaiso e e gagametseng ya go diriwa ga ditirelo e tla tlhoka go tokafadiwa.

Aforika Borwa e  
santse e le nngwe  
ya dinaga se di jang  
madi a mantsi mo  
Aforika malebana  
le ditlhwtlhwa tsa  
broadband.



## DIKAKANTSHO

- **Mafapha a a maleba, diDFI le diSOE ga mmogo le tshegetso ya setheo sa poraefete se e bontshang ikonomi ka go beeletsa mo ditheong tse di dirang ka natla, go oketsa dithoto tsa mo gae le go tshegetsa phetogo e kgolwane, fa go ntse go kopanwa le AfDB “High 5s” go laola go bonesa le go mat-**
- **lafatsa Aforika, go fepa Aforika, go fetola madirelo a Aforika, go Kopanya Aforika, le go tokafatsa boleng jwa botshelo jwa maAforika.**
- **Go tokafatsa tsela ya go simolola ditirelo ka (!) go fetola mofuta wa go simolola**

go nonotsha le go tokafatsa thulaganyo e e kopaneng ya ditirelo le go tokafatsa tirisano mo legatong la SIP; (2) go kgontsha go tsenelela ga baagi pele ga go tshimologo ya tlhokomelo le fa e ntse e tsweleste; (3) go tsenya tirisong tsenyeletso ya ditekanyetso tsa madi le tsa setheo go oketsa go dirwa le go simololwa ga ditirelo; (4) go oketsa thulaganyo ya ditirelo, go e simolola, le boleng jwa go e tlhokomela mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa bolaodi; le (5) go oketsa madi a leng teng malebana le peeletso ya ditirelo ka kakaretso, la go dirisiwa ga madi a a tswang kwa New Development Bank le diDFI tse dingwe ga mmogo le setheo sa poraefete, ka maitlamo a sebaka se seleele ka a puso e ikaegile mo thulaganyong e ntšha ya go Duelela Ditirelo.

- Go dirisiwa le go kopanngwa ga thekenoloji e ntšha (go akaretsa thekenoloji ya GIS) go dira tlhokomelo ya nako ya mmatota ya go diragadiwa ga porojeke, ka batho ba ba dirang ka natla go tlosa dilo tse di diang tiro le tse di kgoreletsang.
- Poeletso le/kgotsa go dirisiwa ga tshimololo ya dithoto le go rebola dithulaganyo go akaretsa le molao wa “taolo ya go dirisa madi” wa dingwaga di le dintsi le ditekanyetso tsa go rarabolola bosenyi le dikgoreletsi tsa mo lefelong le go lebelela thata go tlhokomelwa ga ditirelo.
- Go tlisa pele tshireletsego ya metsi le go rulaganyetsa lefelo le le golwane la go ntsha le go boloka metsi, go phepafatsa le go dirisa gape metsi a a dirisisweng le go emisa go kgotlelwa ga ditsela tsa metsi. Go fitlha ga jaana, re tshwanetse go simolola Taolo ya Metsi le Balaodi ba le Bangwe ba Ikonomi ya Dipalangwa, go tlhomamisa gore balaodi ba basha le ba ba leng teng ba tshegetsa peeletso le kgolo ga mmogo le go bewa ga ditlhwatlhwa tse di gaisanang mo ikonoming ya ditirelo.
- Go feleletsa thebolo ya patlafalo e e kwa godimo ya dilo tse farolganeng, neteweke e e tshwarang gotlhe, le go diragadiwa ga tsela e e gabedie e tshegetsang tshimologo ya Wholesale Open Access Network (WOAN) le gore thebolo ya dilo tse di farolganeng e tshwanetse go akaretsa batshameki ba mmaraka. Thebolo ya
- dilo tse di farolganeng e tshwanetse go tlhomamisa gore re fokotsa ditshenyegelo tsa go bona broad band, go fokotsa go sa lekalekane mo go boneng ITC le go tlhomamisa tsela e e oketsegileng ya go bona le go tlhagisetsa baagi ba ba kwa kgakajana, ka ditsela tse dingwe tse ka kwa ga fibre. Dilo tseno tsotlhe di tshwanetse go akanyetsa gore di bonwe mahala fa go dirisiwa inthanete le data, mo ditheo tsa thuto, mo mafelong a baagi le mafelo a ditirelo. Go tsaya karolo mo ditshenyegelong tsa WOAN ke bao ba amogela tse di farolganeng ka boemo jo bo arolelanwang. Ka bonako go rarabololwe dikgoreletsi tsa ga jaana tsa go fetlhiwa ga motlakase ke ESKOM, go akaretsa tsamaiso e e botoka le puisano ya kgaogo e e kwa godimo e e sa rulaganngwang. Mo tsamaong ya nako tsela e Eskom e tsamaisang kgwebo ka yone e tlhoka go tshegetsa go tlhabololwa ga madirelo le go a tlisa mo gae, fa e ntse e akanya ka tshwetso ya go fokotsa go ikaega thata ka malatlha le go tsamaisa phetogo ya go tswa mo malatlheng go ya ko tlhagisong ya motlakase e e phepa e e tshegetsang kgolo e kgolo ya badiri le go godisa bokgoni.
- Go bua ka ditekanyetso tse di fokotsang ditshenyegelo tsa ditlhwathlwa tse di beilweng tse e leng gore melemo ya peeletso ya ditirelo e tshegetsa kgolo ya mo gae le ya ikonomi e bile e sa koafatse peeletso. Seno se akaretsa, go simolola ditsamaiso tse disha le go tlhatlhoba tiro ya ditsamaiso tse di leng teng mo go fokotseng ditshenyegelo tse di kwa godimo tsa mafelo a boemelakepe, diterena le tuediso ya motlakase.
- Go tlhagisa leano le le thusang go etleetsa go nna le nna le seabe ga setshaba le baagi mo ditirelong tsa ikonomi. Diphetogo tsa boitshwaro di tla tlhokega go tlhomamisa gore batho ba duela le go sireletsa ditirelo kgatlanong le bosenyi le bogodu. Go rulaganyetsa ditirelo tsa ditirelo tse dintsi go tshwanetse go nna ka tsela e e ka tsenyeletsang dikgwebopotlana mo makeisheneng go na le meepo le dikgwebo tse dikgolo fela.

# Diphetogo tsa semelo sa loapi le tikologo



TIKOLOGO

**R DP e ne e tlhalosa  
dikgwetlho tse puso ya  
demokerasi e neng ya  
lebana le tsone, e supa  
gore melao ya puso ya  
tlhaolele “e ne ya dira gore go nne  
bofitlha go fitlhelela dikungo tsa  
tlholego, ka go dira jalo e dira gore  
bontsi jwa Maaforikaborwa ba se  
ka ba kgona go solegelwa molemo  
ke lefatshe, metsi, dimenerale,  
mafelo a go tshwara ditlhapi,  
diphologolo tsa naga le moyo o  
o phepa... (melawanatsamaiso)  
gammogo le go sa tlhatlhobiweng  
sentle ga dikwebo tsa selegae  
le tsa bodichabachaba, go ne ga  
dira gore go nne le kwelotlase ya  
boleng jwa dikungo tsa tlhago, tse  
di akaretsang mmu, metsi le dimela  
ga ba ga tlhotlheletsa batho gore ba  
se ka ba dirisa sentle menontsha le  
dibolayaditshenekegi... mme seno sa  
dira gore tlala e amanngwe thata le  
bothata jwa go sa sireletse tlhago.”**

Fa e sa le ka nako eo, phetogo e kgolo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa e ne ya nna karolo ya maemo a batho ba sa fetseng go ngongorega ka one. Bosupi jwa se se diragetseng bo bontsha gore lefatshe le nnile mogote go feta dikirii ya Celsius e le nngwe fa e sa le batho ba simolola go dirisa mechini (Industrial Revolution) mme gone jaanong go sa ntse go dirwa maiteko a magolo a go thibela gore lefatshe le se ka la nna mogote ka didikirii di le pedi. Fa mogote o ka tlhatlogela go dikirii di le pedi, ga go kitla go tlholo go nna le boalo jwa mmu o kwa tlase mo lewatleng e bile metsi a lewatle a tla tlhatloga ka dimetara di le mmalwa. Batho ba akanya gore fa ba ka kgona go laola mogote gore o felele fela mo go dikirii di le pedi, e tla bo e le phitlhelelo e kgolo mme gone ba akanya gore go tla nna bokete tota go fitlhelela mokgele ono.

Naga ya Afrika e setse e amiwa ke go gotela ga lefatshe le fa gone e na le tlhotlheletso e nnye mo photogong ya maemo a lefatshe.

Go ya ka Climate Change Vulnerability Index ya 2015, dinaga di le supa mo go di le lesome tse di leng mo

kotsing ya go fetoga mo go kotsi ga maemo a bosa, di mo Afrika. Naga ya Afrika e nnile le kwelotlase ya dipula mo dikarolong tsa Sahel le Afrika Borwa mme ya nna le koketsegoo ya dipula mo dikarolong tsa Afrika Bogare. Mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng, palo ya masetlapelo a a bakwang ke maemo a bosa a jaaka merwalela le komelelo, e oketsegile gabedi mme seno sa dira gore batho ba swe ka bontsi mo Afrika, maemo ano gape a ile a senya seemo sa lefatshe le go senya dikago le madirelo. Seno se dirile gore Afrika e nne naga e e amilweng ke masetlapelo go gaisa. Phetogo e kotsi ya maemo a bosa e setse ama botsogo, boitshediso, go tlhagisa dijo, go fitlhelela metsi le maemo a tshireletsego.

Ka 2018, pego e e kgethegileng ya Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change e ne ya lemoga gore naga ya Borwa jwa Afrika<sup>284</sup> e gareng ga dikarolo tse “di tlhagisiwang thata gore di tile go nna mogote o o fetletseng.” Metsi a lewatle a a oketsegia, lewatle le atamatana thata le mafelo a a fa lebopong, go nnile le komelelo e kgolo e e bakang leuba e bile diphefo tsa matsubutsu di nna maatla morago ga paka nngwe le nngwe.

Mo godimo ga moo, le fa gone dipego gape di bontsha gore ditlamorago tsa phetogo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa mo Afrika Borwa di tla bonala sentle morago ga dingwaga di le 20 go ya go di le 30 go tloga jaanong, naga eno e setse e bona ditlamorago tsa maemo a bosa a a mogote thata le a a bontshang maemo a a seng monate. Bosheng jaana KwaZulu-Natal le dikarolo tse dingwe tsa naga di ile tsa amiwa ke Merwalela e e senyang e e bakwang ke dipula tsa matsorotsoro. Gape go ne ga nna le komelelo ka lobaka lo lololele magareng ga 2015 le 2018 pele ga seemo sa go kgala ga metsi kwa Cape Town. Pego ya C40 Cities<sup>285</sup> e bontsha gore ditoropo tse di kwa lebopong la Afrika Borwa di mo kotsing ya go amiwa ke morwalela ka 2050.

Le fa gone re lebane le matshosetsi ano a go fetoga mo go kotsi ga maemo a bosa, go na le thekenoloji ya bosheng e e ka kgonang go tokafatsa tsela e re tlhokomelang lefatshe gammogo, go dira gore le se ka la amega thata le go dira maemo a se ka a nna maswe thata.

## MELAO, MELAOTSAMAI MANAANE A A NENG A TLHOMIWA GO TLOGA KA 1999

RDP e tlhomile motheo wa go dirisa lefatshe ka tshomarelo, go le dirisa sentle le go tsweletsa kgwebo. Molaomotheo wa Repaboliki ya Afrika Borwa wa 1996 le Molao wa Ditshwanelo tsa Botho o tsweletsa seno

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International Panel on Climate Change. 2018. “Impacts of 1.5°C Global Warming on Natural and Human Systems”. Chapter 3 in Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global GHG emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty, p.77.

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C40 Cities. 2018. “The Future We Don’t Want. How Climate Change Could Impact the World’s Greatest Cities.” P37.

ka go godisa ntlha ya gore batho ba na le tshwanelo ya go nna mo maemong a a seng kotsi mo botsogong jwa bone le gore ba na le boikarabelo jwa go tlhokomela lefatshe gore le solegele molemo kokomana ya gone jaanong le e e tllang. Molaomotheo gape o kgothaletsa melao e e solegelang molemo le mekgwa e mengwe ya go thibela kgotlelo le go senya mafelo a ditshedi; go somarela tlhago; go sireletsa melawana e e thibelang go fedisiwa ga ditshedi le go dirisa dilo tsa tlhago ka maikarabelo fa re dira kgwebo le fa re itsweletsa pele mo botshelong.

Fa e sale go tloga ka 1994, ka iketlo ka iketlo tsamaiso ya tshireletso ya tlholego e ile ya laolwa ke manaane a puso le a e seng a puso go fitlhelela mekgele ya SDGs. Re a patelesega go dumela gore fa re dira ditshwetso, re tshwanetse go akanya ka maemo a loago, go dirisiwa ga didirisiwa, loago le dilo tse di tsweledisang kgwebo pele. Go dumelwa gore maemo a lefatshe ke one a kgonang go kaela gore maemo a loago le a ikonomi a ka kgona go tsweleta pele mmogo jang e bile ke one a kaelang gore go dirwe ditshwetso dife.

Gore go kgone go fitlhelela mekgele eno, go ile ga mametlelwa melawana e e latelang ya tikologo:

- **MPRDA of 2002:** e dira gore go fitlhelelwae le go dirisiwa sentle ga dimenerale le oli. E letlelela/ kgithaletsa meepo gore e nne le letlole le lekaneng go baakanya lefatshe fa e sa tlhole e dira. Gone jaanog mo pusong ya demokerasi go setse go na le meepo e e phuagantsweng e e ka nnang 5,500, mme ga go na ditlamelwana le madi a go baakanya lefatshe leno le e neng e le meepo. Mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng, meepo e le 1000 e ne ya tswalwa le go phuagangwa.
- **National Environmental Management Act, (Act 107 of 1998):** e kgithaletsa go dirisana mmogo go tlhokomela tikologo ka go tlhoma melawana ya go dira ditshwetso tse di amanang le dilo tse di e amang.
- **National Environmental Management: Air Quality Act, (Act 39 of 2004):** Melao e e tlhabolotsweng e tlhomamisa gore moyo o phepa e le go sireletsa tikologo ka go tlhoma melao e e thibelang kgotlelo le go tlhomamisa gore batho, dimela le ditshedi di tsweleta go dirisana sentle.
- **National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, (Act 10 of 2004):** O tlhokomela le go sireletsa mefuta ya dimela le ditshedi tse di nnang mo mafelong a tsone a tlhago mo Afrika Borwa.
- **National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act, (Act 57 of 2003):** O sireletsa le go tlhokomela mafelo a go dumelwang

**TLHOPHO YA DIJO**

Aforika Borwa e bona 6,24kg go ya motho ka mongwe mo dijond tsa lewatle ka ngwaga.

a siametse ditshedi tse di farologaneng mo Afrika Borwa, tlhago le mawatle.

- **National Environmental Management: Waste Act, (Act 59 of 2008):** melao e e tlhabolotsweng e laolang go latlhwa ga leswe e le go sireletsa botsogo le tikologo le go thibela kgotlelo le go sireletsa maemo a tikologo a ditshedi.
- **National Environmental Management: Integrated Coastal Management Act, (Act 24 of 2008):** O tlhoma tsamaiso ya go tlhokomela lebopo le mawatle, go akaretsa le tsamaiso e e amogelesegang le ditekanyetsa le melaotsamaiso e le go kgithaletsa go sireletsa tikologo ya mafelo a kwa lebopong.
- **National Water Act, (Act 36 of 1998):** O tlhabolola melao e e amanang le metswedi ya metsi, ka go dumela gore metsi ga a fitlhelesege motlhofo e bile batho ga ba a abelane/kgaothane ka tsela e e lolameng.

Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo (The Department of Environment Affairs (DEA) le ne la tlhamiwa ka 2009 morago ga go nna karolo ya lefapha la merero ya tikologo le boeti go tloga ka 1994 go ya go 2009. Lefapha leno le le filwe maikarabelo a “go tlhomamisa gore baagi ba na le tshwanelo ya go nna mo tikologong e e seng kotsi mo botsogong jwa bone le go tlhomamisa gore tikologo e sireletsegile gore e solegele molemo kokomana ya gone jaanong le e e tllang. Gore e kgone go dira jalo... e etelela pele mo go tlhokomeleng tikologo le mo go e sireletseng gore e nne e le mo boemong jo bo siameng gore e solegele molemo Maafrika Borwa le batho ka kakaretso.”<sup>286</sup>

## Se se fitheletsweng mo go lepalepaneng le maemo a a kotsi a go fetoga ga maemo a bosa

Se se fitheletsweng mo go **baakanyeng** maemo a bosa se akaretsa melao e e maleba le go rwala maikarabelo ga lefatshe lotlhe. Dikarolo tse di leng mo kotsing tse di jaaka, botsogo, metsi, mafelo a bonno a batho, mefuta e e farologaneng ya dimela le ditshedi tse di nnang mo mafelong a tlhago le temothuo, di dirile gore go dirwe maano a go tokafatsa go fetoga mo go kotsi ga maemo a bosa (tlelaemete) a a gatelelang gore go sirelediwe le go matlafatsa dibopiwa tse go leng bonolo gore di ka amega.

Malebana le go **fokotsa gase e e senyang loapi**, Naga ya Afrika Borwa e dirile maikan a gore e tla boloka mogote o le mo tlase ga didikirri tsa Celsius di le 1.5 go tsamaisana le maiteko a lefatshe ka bophara. Naga ya Afrika Borwa e tsweletse ka ditekeletso tsa go fokotsa kgotlelo ya loapi mme seno ke paakanyetsa ya tsamaiso e mongwe le mongwe a tla patelesegang go e ema nokeng e e simololang ka ngwaga wa 2020 go tsamaisana le Paris Agreement. Lekgetho la kgotlelo ya loapi le setse le tlhomilwe mme le simolotse go dira ka June 2019.

**Maikarabelo le ditheo tsa dithulaganyo** tsa go tsibogela phetogo ya maemo a bosa di setse di sekasekilwe mme di tla simololwa do dira, go tsamaisana le Molao wa Phetogo ya Maemo a Bosa o go solo felwang o tla tlhomia, o gone jaanong o sa ntseng o buelelwa mo palamenteng.

Mme gone, naga ya Afrika Borwa ke yone e di gogang kwa pele mo Afrika ka go ntsha digase tse di bakang mogote mo loaping, e bile e balelw a le naga ya bo16 mo lenaaneng la dinaga tse di ntshang digase tse di yang kwa loaping. Selekanyo sa gase e naga eno ka boyone fela e e romelang kwa loaping se balelw a se le kwa godimo thata mo dinageng tse di tlhabologang, segolobogolo ka gonre re dirisa magala thata mme seno se dira gore re nne naga e e dirisang mekgwa e e kgotlelang thata go fetlha maatla mo lefatsheng.

National GHG **Emissions** Indicator e lekanyetsa kafa naga ya Afrika Borwa e romelang digase kwa loaping ka go dirisa National GHG Emissions Trajectory Range go fitlha ka 2050 morago ga go fithelela selekanyo se se kwa godimo sa (583 Megatons (109 kg) (Mt) CO<sub>2</sub>-eq le 614 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>-eq ka 2020 le 2025 ka selekanyo se se tshwanang) se nna se sa fetoge (ka dingwaga di le 10 (2026-2035) magareng ga 398 le 614 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>-eq) se ya kwa tlase (go tloga ka 2036 magareng ga selekanyo sa 212 le 428 Mt CO<sub>2</sub>-eq) e le selekanyetsa sa go bona gore a maiteko a go fokotsa digase tse di senyang loapi a atlega go dirisiwa *National Climate Change Response White Paper* ya 2011.

Le fa gone tshedimosetso e e bontshang gore ke selekanyo se se kae sa gase e e ntshitsweng e felela ka 2015, Lefapha la Merero ya Tikologo le kgobokanya tshedimosetso go fitlha ka 2018. Go lemogilwe gore tshedimosetso ya jaanong e bontsha gore selekanyo sa go ntsha digase tse di amang loapi se oketsegile e bile e le ka tsela e e tshwanang fa e sa le go tloga ka ngwaga wa 2000 mo dikarolong di le dintsi ka koketsego ya 23.1%.<sup>287</sup> Le fa gone leswe/ didiriswiwa tse di sa tlholeng di bereka di dirile gore go nne le kgolo e e kwa godimo thata ya go ntshwa ga digase ka tlthatlogo ya 9.3%, karolo ya go fetlha maatla e sa ntse e le yone e di gogang kwa pele thata mo go kgotleleng loapi (magareng ga 78.1% le 81.2%) ke yone e ntshang digase tse di bothole mo Afrika Borwa e bile ke yone e di gogang kwa pele mo koketsegong ya kgotlelo ya loapi mo dingwageng di le 15.

## Go tlhokomela le go sireletsa tlhago, ditshedi le dimela

Go tlhomia ga melao ya go sireletsa tlhago, ditshedi le dimela mo dingwageng di le 25 go akaretsa go sireletsa mafelo a ditshedi di nnang mo go one. Tlhokomelo ya tikologo le yone e simolola go nna karolo ya lenaane le le baakanyediwang e bile ga e tlhole e le selo se se dirwang fela ka bonako jaaka go ne go dirwa pele. Go tswelela go tlhogega madi a mantsi gore go baakanngwe tikologo, segolobogolo meepo e e phuagantsweng, kwa go neng go se na tsamaiso e e siameng, seemo seno se nna maswe le go feta e bile se nna le ditlamorago tse di seng monate mo kgolong ya ikonomi.

Naga ya Afrika Borwa ke yone e di gogang kwa pele mo Afrika ka go ntsha digase tse di bakang mogote mo loaping, e bile e balelw a le naga ya bo16 mo lenaaneng la dinaga tse di ntshang digase tse di yang ko loaping.



TIKLOGO



## MELAOTSAMAISO YA MEEPO MO AFRIKA BORWA FA E SA LE GO TLOGA KA 1994

Ka 1995, puso ya demokerakasi e ne ya iphitlhela e na le maikarabelo a meepo e ka nna 5 500 e e sa tlholeng e dira e e phuagantsweng e bile puso e na le boikarabelo jwa meepo eno ya bogologolo. Palo eno e ile ya oketseg a go fitlha go 6 125 mo dingwageng di le 25 tse lefapha le neng le kokoanya tshedimosetso ya meepo e e sa tlholeng e dira e e phuagantsweng. Go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha jaanong, Puso e baakantse mafelo a le 181 a a neng e le meepo.

**Molao wa Dimenerale wa 1991 (Act 50 of 1991) le MPRDA ya 2002 e naya moepo laesense fa fela o dumela gore o tla nna o tla beela kwa thoko letllole la madi a a lekaneng a a tla dirisiwang go baakanya lefelo la moepo fa o sa tlhole o dira/fa o tswalwa. Tumalano eno e rwesa dikhampani tsa meepo maikarabelo gore di itse gore di na le maikarabelo mo kgotelong ya tikologo e bile e patelets a meepo go busetsa lefatshe mo seemong sa lone sa pele fa moepo o tswalwa.**

Dikgato tse moepo o di tsayang go sireletsa tikologo tse di jaaka Environmental Management Plans (EMPs) di dira gore meepo le batho ba ba nnang mo tikologong ya meepo ba buisane gore gore ke dikgato dife tse moepo o tla di tsayang go busetsa lefatshe mo seemong se se siameng fa moepo o tswalwa. Dikgato tse di tlhokang go latelwa mo dithulaganyong tseno tsa EMP ga di ame meepo ya bogologolo e e neng ya nna teng pele ga melao e e tsamaisanang le go tlhokomela/sireletsa tikologo.

Go ya ka ditshupotekanyetso tsa **mafelo a a sireleditsweng**, diperesente tsa lefatshe le le sireditweng di oketsegile go tloga go 4.9% ka 1980 go ya go 8.6% ka 2017 mo palogotheng ya selekanyo sa bogolo jwa 1.2 million km<sup>2</sup> jwa lefatshe. Selekanyo seno se bapisiwa le dinaga tse di jaaka Costa Rica e palogotheng ya bogolo jwa yone e leng 51,500 km<sup>2</sup> mme 25% ya yone ke naga e e sireditweng le Ethiopia e palogotheng ya bogolo jwa yone e leng 1.1 million km<sup>2</sup> mme 18.5% ya karolo ya naga e sireditweng<sup>288</sup>. Mekgele e e neng e ipeetswe ya palo ya lefatshe le le sireditweng e ne e le 17% ka 2020, boikaelelo e le go fitlhelela 8.6% ka 2017, naga ya Afrika Borwa e tshwanetse go fitlhelela mo e ka nnang palo e e menageng sebedi ya lefatshe le le sireditweng mo ngwageng o le mongwe gore e fitlhelele mokgele wa 17% ka 2020.

Tekanyetso ya **Terrestrial Biodiversity Protection (Tshireletso ya Tikologo le Mefuta e farologaneng ya Ditshedi tse di Tshelang mo go Yone)** e bontsha gore go nnile le koketseg o ya go tloga go 3.3% ka 1980 go ya go 6.3% ka 2017. Palo ya selekanyo sa naga e e sireditweng ka thuso ya morafe le beng ba lefatshe ya go tlhokomela diparaka, e dirile gore go fitlhelele 9% mo selekanyong sa lefatshe le le akareditweng mo mafelong a a sireditweng mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng.

Mo selekanyetsong sa lefatshe lotlhe, Afrika Borwa e mo go 10.0% (ka 2017) gore e fitlhelele mokgele wa yone wa 11.3% ka 2019 o e o beetsweng ke Aichi Biodiversity Targets e e batlang gore bonnyane 17% ya lefatshe la yone le mafelo a a nang le metsi a bo a sireditweng le go tlhokomelwa sentle ka 2020.

Gone jaanong Afrika Borwa e na le molao ya **Mafelo a a Sireleditsweng a Metsi** (MPAs), e e sireletsang mawatle, makadiba le dinoka tse dikgolo, e e thibelang batho go tshwenya mafelo ano boikaelelo e le go a sireletsa. Seno se akaretsa fela 5%. Go sa ntse go akanyediwa melao e mesha ya MPA e e tla tokafatsang go sirediwa ga lewatle ka selekanyo se e ka nnang 50 000km<sup>2</sup> selekanyo se se gabedi le halofo sa bogolo jwa Kruger National Park. Gone jaanong, ditshwanelo tsa meepo di kwa godimo ga ditshwanelo tsa tshireletso ya lefatshe, tlholego, dimela, ditshedi le metsi.

**Environmental Protection Index (EPI). (Tekanyetso ya Tshireletso ya Tholego)** ya lefatshe lotlhe ya 2018. Tekanyetso eno e bayo Afrika Borwa mo maemong a bo 142 go tswa mo dinageng di le

180, e bontsha gore go sireletsa tikologo le go dira gore tikologo e nne lefelo le le siametseng ditshedi le dimela, go botlhokwa thata<sup>289</sup>.

Go tlhomilwe ditsiboso di le mmalwa e le go kgothaletsa go dira kgwebo ka tsela e e tla sirenletsang tikologo. Tsone di akaretsa: Tsibosya Tsela ya go Lathla Leswe, Dipalamo, Go Tsi bogela Phetogo e Kotsi ya Maemo a Bosa, Dipatlisiso Tsa go Tokafatsa Maemo, Go Somarela Maatla le go Lepalepana le Tiriso ya one, Maatla a a Tlhabololwang, Go Boloka Metsi le go Lepalepana le Tiriso ya One, Go Fokotsa le go Fedisa Digase Tse di Kgotelelang Loapi, le Manaane a Puso a go Tsi bogela Phetogo e Kotsi ya Maemo a Bosa.

Mo godimo ga moo, puso e tlhomile Dithulaganyo Tsa go Lepalepana le go Fokotsa Phetogo e Kotsi ya Maemo a Bosa. Le fa go ntse jalo, naga ya Afrika Borwa e tswelela e ntsha digase tse di kgotelelang ka gonne e fetlha maatla e dirisa magala.

Tekano ya **Kgotlelo ya moyo** ya naga ya Afrika Borwa ke  $29\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ , seno se raya gore e kwa godimo ga tekanyetso ya WHO ya  $10\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^{3290}$ . Letsatsi le letsatsi batho ba mo Afrika Borwa ba hema moyo o o kotsi o o kgotlelegileng o amang botsogo le boitekanelo jwa bone ka selekano se segolo. Le fa gone go na le dilo tse dingwe tse di bakang kgotlelo eno, madirelo ke one a di gogang kwa pele, Eskom le Sasol ke tsone dikhampani tse di gogang kwa pele mo go kgotleleng loapi/lefatshe segolobogolo mo dikarolong tse go lemogilweng gore di kgotlelegile tse di jaaka: the Vaal Triangle Airshed Priority Area (VTAPA), the Highveld Priority Area (HPA), le the Waterberg-Bojanala Priority Area.

Mo nakong eno e naga ya Afrika Borwa e ikaegileng ka go fetlha maatla e dirisa magala, ga go ise go itsiwe gore kgotlelo ya moyo e amile ka selekano se se kae botsogo jwa batho le maemo a kgolo ya ikonomi. Fine particulate matter (PM) ke nngwe ya dilo tse di kgotelelang tse di nang le selekano se segolo sa go baka loso, mme go itsiwe sentle gore fa e le ntsi mo moyeng, tswelela e bolaya batho ba le bantsi. Dipatlisiso tsa IGC di lemosa gore 7.4% ya dintsho mo Afrika Borwa ka 2012, e ne ya bakwa ke go hema PM mme seno sa dira gore naga e latlhegelwe ke 6% ya GDP ya dikungo. Go tlhokega gore go dirwe dipatlisiso tse di oketsegileng le tse di tseneletseng tsa gore kgotlelo le loso di amana jang, segolobogolo e re ka e ama bana.

**(Water security)** go fitlhelela metsi ke kgwetlho e kgolo e naga ya Afrika Borwa e lebaneng le yone e bile ke kgwetlho e kgolo mo baaging ba naga le kgolo ya ikonomi. Bothata jwa metsi mo Afrika Borwa bo ka nna maswe le go feta ka bonako fa naga e ka tlhoka go tlamela ka metsi ka ntlha ya meepo e e tlhokang go dirisa metsi a mantsi, kgolo ya ikonomi, diteishene tsa go fetlha maatla, go oketsegia

ditoropo, go sa dirise metsi sentle, komelelo mo megobeng, go nyelela ga metsi le kwelotlase ya dipula ka ntlha ya maemo a a kotsi a bosa a a fetogang. Go nnile le kwelotlase ya metswedi ya metsi e jaaka dinoka le megobe. Mo mafelong mangwe, metsi a kgotlelegile fela thata.

Go ya ka State of the Environment Report ya 2012, go na le mefuta e le 223 ya dinoka tse di nang le dimela le ditshedi tse di farologaneng, mme 57% ya tsone e mo kotsing (25% e mo kotsing e kgolo, 19% ya tsone e mo kotsing fa diperesente di le 13 tsa tsone di sa sirenletseng). Ke fela 35% ya dinoka tse dikgolo le 52% ya melapo tse di leng mo maemong a a kgotsofatsang. Komelelo e e sa feleng e dirile gore bontsi le boleng jwa metsi bo fokotse mme seno se dira maemo a ikonomi le a loago a se ka a nna botoka. Maemo a a nnang maswe le go feta a didirisiwa tsa go aba ditirelo a jaaka kgelelo ya leswe le go tlhatswa metsi, a dirile gore bontsi le boleng jwa metsi bo fokotse.

Go latlhegelwa ka iketlo ke bokgoni jo bo tlhokegang jwa go tlhama, go Tlhokomela le go baakanya mafaratlhathla a kaboditirelo go dira gore re latlhegelwe ke metswedi ya tlholego, mme seemo seno se tla tlhoka madi a mantsi tota go se baakanya. Noka ya Vaal le Crocodile; letamo la Vaal le la Hartbeespoort ke dingwe tsa dikai tse di bontshang kgotlelo e kgolo tota le go senyega ga metswedi ya tikologo.

**Water inequality (Go sa abe metsi ka tekatekano)** e sa ntse e le kgwetlho e kgolo mo Afrika Borwa. Morago ga dingwaga di le 25 tsa demokerasi, balemirui ba Bantsho (ba ba dimilione di feta pedi) ba fiwa fela metsi a kwa tlase ga 2% fa 90% ya metsi e fiwa balemirui ba basweu ba ka nna 30 000<sup>291</sup>.

## Gone jaanong Afrika Borwa e na le melao ya Mafelo a a Sireleditsweng a Metsi (MPAs), e e sirenletsang mawatle, makadiba le dinoka tse dikgolo, e e thibelang batho go tshwenya mafelo ano boikaelelo e le go a sirenletsa.

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Van Koppen, B and Schreiner, B. 2018. A hybrid approach to decolonize formal water law in Africa. International Water Management Institute Research report

Ka 2000, go ne ga simololwa Lenaane la go tlhokomela Melapo mme la abelwa R1 billion go tsosolosa/baakanya melapo. Mme gone, go thokega gore go dirwe mo gontsi ka gonne melapo ke karolo ya tikologo e e amanang le ditirelo tse di jaaka metsi le phepafatso ya moy.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Le fa gone mafapha a konokono a na le **manaane a go fokotsa phetogo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa**, ga a nne bonako go diragatsa maikarabelo a one, ga a na didirisiwa tse di tlhogang e bile ga a na maatla kgotsa bokgoni. Ga go na madi a a lekaneng e bile go tlhoma manaane a go fokotsa phetogo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa mo baaging ba ba sa sirelediwang ke puso le ditheo tsa madi ga go tsewe e le selo se se bothhokwa.

Ga go motho ope yo o batlang go bua ka kgang eno, le go ipofa e bile ga go na tumalano gareng ga baagi e le go betla tsela e siameng, ka jalo, **baagi** ba ba sa sirelediwang ba feleletsa ba lebana le ditlamorago tse di bothhoko tsa go fetoga go go kotsi ga maemo a bosa. Puso ga e na maatla le didirisiwa go tlhoma melaotsamaiso e bile melao ya go fokotsa bothata e bokoa.

Le fa gone go nnile le dilo tse puso e ileng ya atlega go di dira mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, go sa ntse go na le dikgwetlho tse di sa feleng:

- **Thulaganyo ya gone jaanong ya go tlhokomela tikologo le melaotsamaiso ya yone**, e bokoa, ga e dirisiwe, ga e sekasekiwe go bona gore a e a dira e bile ga e tlhokomelwe sentle go tlhomamisa gore tikologo ya naga e a serelediwa e bile e nna lefelo le le siametseng kokomana ya gone jaanong le e e tlang.
- **Go tlhoka tekatekano mo gogolo mo go abeng metswedi ya metsi**, segolobogolo mo temothuong, ga go solegele molemo mo go baakanyeng tlhaolele ya mo nakong e e fetileng e bile ga go neye batho bothhe tshono ya go solelegelwa molemo ke temothuo le thulaganyo ya go dira dij.
- **Kgatelelo e kgolo mo metswedding ya metsi** e nna e oketsegka ntlha ya meepo e e golang le diteishene tse di fetlheng motlakase, go jala ditlhare, dithulaganyo tsa go nosetsa gammogo le kgatelelo e nnang gone ka ntlha ya boleng jo bo kwa tlase jwa metsi, jwa tsamaiso le ka ntlha ya phetogo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa e e amang go na ga pula e leng se se dirang gore go nne le selekanyo se senny sa metsi.
- **Kgotlelo ya moy** e sa ntse e le kgwetlho e kgolo mo go tsa boitekanelo, gantsi e amannngwa le go dirisiwa ga magala mo diteisheneng tsa go fetlheng motlakase le mo dipalangweng.

- Go palelwa ke go diragatsa **thulaganyo ya go tokafatsa tikologo le go e sereletsatso gore e se ka ya senngwa** e leng kitsiso e e neng ya dirwa ke SPLUMA ya 2003.
- **Go tlhokega ga bokgoni**, le didirisiwa mo mafapheng a nang le maikarabelo a puso le mo ditheong tse dingwe tsa yone tse di tshwanetseng go tlhokomela, go bay a leitlho le go tlhomamisa gore melao ya go sereletsatso tikologo e a dira. Go nna le maatla ka tsela e e sa lekalekanang mo go leng teng magareng ga meepo le morafe gammogo le mafapha a a se nang didirisiwa kgotsa madi, go feleletsatso go dira gore go nne mothofo gore meepo e se ka ya diragatsa ditumalano tsa yone le puso.
- **Ditheo tse e seng tsa puso** e sa ntse e le tsone di di gogang kwa pele mo go kgotelelong metsi le go baka leswe.
- **Thulaganyo e e bokoa ya go latlha leswe**, dithulaganyo tsa go fokotsa go dirwa ga dilo tse di bakang leswe, tse di akaretsang dipolasitiki, polystyrene, le didirisiwa tse di sa kgoneng go nyelediwa ke thulaganyo ya tlholego fa di sa tlhole di dirisiwa le dilo tse di ka dirisiwang gape; go palelwa ga bommasepala go tsaya leswe le go palelwa ga batho ka kakaretso go leka go busetsa kwa madirelong dilo tse di ka dirisiwang gape; le go latlhela leswe gongwe le gongwe
- Afrika Borwa ke nngwe ya dinaga tse di nang le mefuta e e farologaneng ya diphologolo le dimela. Fa re ka se ka ra nna le melao e e gagametseng, re tlile go tswelela re **latlhegelwa ke mefuta e e farologaneng e e kgethegileng ya dimela le diphologolo**.





# DIKAKANTSHO

Go ya ka RDP, mongwe le mongwe o na le maikarabelo, puso, baagi, batho ka kakaretso le ditheo tse e seng tsa puso, go tlhomamisa gore re nna re akantse ka tikologo fa re dira ditshwetso. Gore seno se kgonege, Afrika Borwa e tshwanetse go agela mo motheong wa dingwaga tse 25 tse di fetileng ka go dira dilo tse di latelang:

- Go dira le go dirisa molaokaretso wa go fokotsa go ntshiwa ga GHG, e dirisana mmogo le batho ka kakaretso, ditheo tse e seng tsa puso, ditheo tse di maleba tsa puso le mekgatlo ya bodichabachaba. Molao ono o tshwanetse go nna karolo ya konokono e e dirang mo morafeng le mo bathong ka kakaretso go dira gore batho tlhokomele tikologo le go latela kgotsa go diragatsa melao e e beilweng. Ngwaga le ngwaga go tshwanetse ga sekasekiwa gore naga e ntsha GHG ka selekanyo se sekae (go ya ka karolo nngwe le nngwe) selekanyo seno se bo se itsisiwe batho le go bapisiwa le tumalano ya bodichabachaba go akaretsa Paris Agreement e le go bona gore a naga e fitlheletse mokgele o e o beetsweng.
- Go dirisa maatla a siamseng tikologo e le gore e fitlhelele ditlhabololo tse di tlhogegang tsa naga ka go dirisa mekgwa e e tshwanetseng ya go fokotsa maemo a a bakang phetogo e e kotsi ya maemo a bosa, naga ya Afrika Borwa gape e tshwanetse go fokotsa thata go dirisa magala.
- Go kgothaletsa le go dirisa thekenoloji e e sa senyeng tikologo le e sa senyeng maemo a loapi, e e akaretsang dithulaganyo tsa tlhagiso tsa go sa le gale mo pusong, mo ditheong tse e seng tsa puso, mo bathong ka kakaretso mo ditlhabololong tse di akaretsang madirelo a a dirisang maatla a motlakase a a sa senyeng tikologo le loapi, temothuo e e siamseng tikologo le ditoropo le ditoropokgolo tse di dirisang maatla a a sa senyeng tikologo. Mekgwa e re e dirisang mo ditlhabololong e tshwanetse ya kgona go akaretsa thekenoloji e e sireletsang tlhago le tikologo e bile e sa ntshe digase tse dints.
- Go dira le go kgothaletsa temothuo e e sa nneng le ditlamorago tse sa siamang mo tikologong le e e dirisang dilo tsa tlhago go

tlhomamisa gore go nna le leruo le dijalo tse di lekaneng.

- Go akaretsa bomankge ba tshireletso ya tlhago le ya loapi mo dikomiting tse di dirang ditshwetso tse di malebana le go rarabolola masetlapelo a tlholego, go akaretsa le go dirisa SANDF.
- Go tla ka leano la go fitlheleta mokgele wa gore 17% ya lefatshe e bo e sireleditswe ka 2024, le go akanyetsa gore go tsweleditswe pele mokgele ono tota le morago ga ngwaga oo. Go tshwanetse ga atolosiwa lenaane la go Sireletsa Mafelo a Metsi, Dimela le Ditshedi tse di nnang mo Metsing ka go ipeela mekgele e e kwa godimo thata gore e akaretsa mafelo otlhe a a ka amegang motlhofo e le gore tikologo e e nnang ditlhapi le ditshedi tse dingwe, segolobogolo mafelo a di tsalelang mo go one, e sirelediwe, le go tlhokomela sentle mafelo a tlholego a nnang dimela le ditshedi.
- Go simolola le go atolosa tsamaiso ya botegeniki le ya boranyane, le go abela thulaganyo ya go sireletsa tlhago, dimela le ditshedi madi a a lekaneng mo mafapheng a puso le ditheong tse dingwe tsa puso.
- Go tla ka leano le le nang le mekgele le thulaganyo ya go baya leitlho go bona gore a go na le tswelopele, go tlamelka metsi batho ba ba neng ba tlodisiwa matlho mo nakong e e fetileng.
- Go rarabolola mathata a dipusoselegae di sa kgongeng go a rarabolola (bokgoni, kitso, madi le keletso ya dipolotiki) ya go atolosa le tlhokomela mafaratlhathha a go tlhatswa metsi, go akaretsa le go dira dipatlisiso le go dirisa mekgwa ya bosheng ya go dirisa madi go rarabolola mathata a e saleng a le teng.
- Go dira mmogo le sechaba ka kakaretso, go baya ditheo tse e seng tsa puso leithlo le go bona gore a ga di latlhele leswe mo metswedeng ya rona ya metsi, le go tlhomamisa gore yo o tlolang molao ono o a otlhaiwa le go beelwa melao e e gagametseng, kotlhao eno e akaretsa gore yo o tshwarwang a kgotlela tikologo, o fiwa kotlhao ya go duela madi e le go iletska gore batho ba se ka ba latlhela leswe/matlakala gongwe le gongwe.

KGAOLO 12

# Go Dirisa Melao ya Demokerasi mo Pusong le mo Sechabeng



**R DP e dumela gore  
puso ya tlhaolele e ne  
e leba dilo ka tsela e e  
sa tsamaisaneng le ya  
batho ka kakaretso,  
e ne e se na demokerasi e bile e  
gatelela thata, “e bile e palelw  
le ke go solegela molemo karolo e  
e neng e iphaka gore e a e emela”.  
Tsamaiso ya molao, ya ditheo le  
ya puso e e neng e le teng e ne  
“e sa kopana e bile e sa kgone go  
aga sechaba le go se tlhabolola”.  
Ka jalo, puso e ne e sa kgone go  
tlamela batho ka dilo tse ba di  
tlhokang e bile e se na bokgoni,  
gape e ne e sa direle batho sepe  
e bile e itlhokomolosa go tlamela  
batho ba maemo a a kwa tlase ka  
dilo tse ba di tlhokang, go ne go se  
na ope yo o newang maikarabelo,  
go se ope yo o rulaganyang dilo le  
go tlhomamisa gore dithulaganyo  
di a latelwa.**

Ka nako ya ditlhopho tsa 27 April 1994, go ne ga dirisiwa molaomotheo wa naga wa nakwana go tlhama puso e e neng ya tlhomowi ka tsela ya demokerasi, mme ya nna la ntla go tlhomowi baemedi ba naga le ba diporofense ba ba tlhomang melao, ga ba ga tlhomowi le Poresidente. Gape phetogo eno ya dipolotiki e ne ya dira gore go tlhomowi makgotla a naga le a diporofense a a tlhomamisang gore melao le ditshwetso di a latelwa. Gape go mametlelwa ga Molaomotheo wa Naga ka 1996 go ne ga dira gore go nne le tsamaiso e nngwe ya boraro e e dirisang melao ya demokerasi-lefapha la molao. Ditsamaiso tseno tsotlhe di engwa nokeng ke ditheo go matlafatsa demokerasi e e buelewang ke molaomotheo wa naga. Lenaane la batlhophi le ne la felelediwa ka 1996 e le go tsweletsa pele tlhabololo ya demokerasi. Pele ga moo, go ne ga nna le dithophopho tsa demokerasi tsa ntla tsa pusoselegae ka 1995 mme seno sa dira gore go nne le tsamaiso ya boraro ya puso ya demokerasi e e neng e na le batlhomamelao le bagakolodi.

Gape Molaomotheo wa Naga o naya Afrika Borwa tetla ya go nna puso e e dirisang maatla, go nna Puso ya demokerasi e e kaelwang ke melao e e mo molaomotheong, e e tlhomamisang gore mongwe le mongwe o ikobela molao, puso ya demokerasi le e e tsayang maikarabelo, e e sa diriseng maatla ka tsela e e sa siamang, e e dumelang gore makala mangwe a puso a ka kgona go diragatsa ditshwetso tsa makala a mangwe kgotsa go di gana, puso e e dirisanang le batho le e e nayang dipusoselegae maatla a go dira ditshwetso dingwe. Kgaolo 2 ya Molaomotheo

wa Naga e na le Molao wa Ditshwanelo Tsa Batho (Bill of Rights) (BOR), o go dumelwang e le “leje la sekhetlo la demokerasi”. BOR e tlotlomatsa/godisa ditshwanelo le maikarabelo a batho botlhe, e bile e tlhomamisa gore ba tshwarwa ka seriti go ya ka tsela ya demokerasi, ka tekatekan e bile ba na le kgololesego. Go dirilwe melao e e farologaneng le dithulaganyo dingwe go tlhomamisa gore batho ba na le ditshwanelo tse di tlhokegang ka kakaretso, ditshwanelo tsa sepolotiki, ditshwanelo tsa ikonomi le setso. Dikgotlatshekelo le tsone di dira tiro ya botlhokwa ya botsamaisi le ya go tsereganya.

RDP e ne ya gatelela ntla ya gore “batho ba tla ipusa” le gore puso e tshwanetse go leka go bona gore batho ba na le bokgoni le talente efe e le gore ba kgone go ikemela, ka go dira dilo tse di latelang: (a) go naya Maaforikaborwa otlhe ba e leng bagolo tshiamelo (go sa kgathalesege gore ke ba lotso lofe, maemo afe kgotsa bong bofe); (b) go tlhabolola puso gore e kgone go direla batho, e nne le mosola, e kgone go tsiboga, batho ba kgone go itse gore ke eng se se diragalang mo go yone le gore e tseye maikarabelo; (c) go tlhoma tsamaiso ya demokerasi e e letlang batho ka kakaretso go tsaya karolo le e e nonotshang mekgatlh e e emelang badiri, Mekgatlh e e sa Direng Madi (NPOs) mekgatlh e mengwe ya loago le ya morafe e bile ka nako e e tshwanang e godisa bokgoni jwa mekgatlh eno; (d) go matlafatsa baagi; le (e) le go tlhomamisa gore batho ba bong jo bo sa tshwaneng ba na le ditshwanelo tse di lekalekanang.

Ka jalo, Kgaolo 10 ya Karolo 195(!) ya Molaomotheo wa Naga, e tlhalosa gore tsela e batho ba busiwang ka yone e tshwanetse go kaelwa ke dilo tse di ba solegelang molemo le melao e Molaomotheo wa Naga o e tseelang kwa godimo, le melao e le 9 ya tsamaiso ya go busa batho. Molaomotheo wa Naga o konela ka go bontsha gore puso ke yone e nang le maikarabelo a go diragatsa ditshwetso tse di dirwang go tlhabolola batho le melao e amang le dilo tse- no. Seno gape se kaela ditheo tsotlhe tsa puso, mekgatlh o ka kakaretso le tsamaiso mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa puso.

RDP, e leng tsamaiso e e kitlaneng, e e nang le tsamaiso e e lolameng ya go tlhoma melao e amang le ikonomi le loago, e batla go tokafatsa “maemo a botshelo a batho botlhe ba Afrika Borwa le go dira gore ba itumelele botshelo mo maemong a a nang le kagiso le a a tsepameng” ka go fetola “tsela e melao le tsamaiso e tlhomiwang ka yone” le tsela e batho ba nnang le karolo ka yone fa go dirwa ditshwetso. RDP e kopanya kgolo, tlhabololo kagosesa go nna thulaganyo e e kitlaneng ya go tlhoma melao e amanang le loago le ikonomi, e e tlhokang gore makala le ditheo tsotlhe tsa puso di tseye karolo.

Thulaganyo eno ya go tlhoma melao e dira gore go nne le tsamaiso e e nayang puso ka kakaretso maikarabelo a a rileng a amanang le tlhabololo ya naga ya Afrika Borwa le batho ba yone. Gape Molaomotheo wa Naga o amogela gore ditshwanelo tsa batho di ile tsa gatakwa mo nakong e e fetileng le gore go tshwanetse ga dirwa maiteko a go a “Afrika Borwa e e kopaneng e nang le demokerasi”,

se se rayang gore puso ya Afrika Borwa e ka kgona go tlhabololwa e bile e tshwanetse go rarabolola mathata a mo nakong e e fetileng a aamanang le ikonomi le loago mo setshabeng sa rona.

Labofelo, puso e tshwanetse go nna le (1) bokgoni jwa go tsenya letsogo mo tsamaisong ya ikonomi ka boikaelelo jwa go e godisa thata le go e tlhabolola gore e tswelele e dira sentle; (2) bokgoni jwa go rarabolola mathata a botlhokatiro, khumanego le go tlhoka ditlhabololo go tobilwe segolobogolo batho ba ka se itireleng sepe le (3) go nna le keletso ya go tlhotlhelaetsa batho ka kakaretso go tsaya kgato, segolobogolo bahumanegi gore ba itsose ka go dirisa demokerasi go tsaya karolo.

### Go rulaganya tsamaiso ya puso ka tsela e e sa tsenelelang

Kwa tshimololong, go mamelelelwga ga Molaomotheo wa naga go ne ga tlisa thulaganyo ya kgato ka kgato ya go thaya melao e e tsamaisanang le molaomotheo wa naga, e boikaelelo e yone e neng e le go tlhomamisa gore naga ya Afrika Borwa e kgona go fithelela dilo tse e neng e eletsa thata go di fithelela le gore mekgele eno e a sirelediwa. Ka ntla ya Molaomotheo wa Naga wa Nakwana, Molaomotheo wa Naga wa 1996 le dikarolo tse dingwe tse di farologaneng tsa molao, ditaelo tsa mafapha a a farologaneng a naga le a diporofense di ne tsa sirelediwa. Ka 1994, Moporesidente o ne a thusiwa ke Bathusaporesidente ba le babedi, Modiredi mo Ofising ya Poresidente (go rulaganya RDP) le Badiredi ba le 16 mo GNU e e neng e emela makoko a dipolotiki a le mararo. Ka 1996, lekoko le le lengwe la dipolotiki le ne la ikgogela morago mo go nneng karolo ya GNU le fa go ntse jalo, la se ka la emisa go nna le seabe mo ganetseng ditshwetso tsa makgotla a a tlhomang melao.

Mo go one ngwaga oo, go ne ga tlomiwa dikomiti tse di farologaneng tsa Badiredibagolo ba puso, mme di ne tsa tshegediwa ka diforam tsa puso (IGF) tse di neng tsa tlomiwa ka 1994 gore di "kgothaletsse tirisanommogo mo dilong tse go dumalanwang ka tsone mo makaleng otlh a le mararo a puso...Ka nako eno fa go ne go kopanwe, puso e ne e sekaseka dilo tsa botlhokwa e bile e le nako ya gore Badiredipuso, bakaedikakaretso le dipuso tsa porofense di kopane go tla go sekaseka dintla tsa botlhokwa."<sup>292</sup>

Makoa a a neng a lemogiwa mo tseleng eno ya go dira dilo (Forum) ke gore batho ba ne ba sa patelesege go ikobela ditshwetso tse di neng di tsewa mo kopanong eno, e ne e na le maloko a le mantsi ka jalo e sa ladolege e bile dintla tse go neng go tlottiwa ka tsone di ne sa solele molemo. Ka 1997, botsamaisi jwa pele gape bo ne jwa tlhama molawana wa Batho Pele mo lefapheng la Tirelo Sehaba, ka boikaelelo jwa go fetola tsela e ditirelo di neng abiwa ka yone gore di akaretse batho botlh.

Morago ga ditlhophokakaretso tsa bobedi, lekgotla la Badiredibagolo ba puso la 1999 le ne la nna le Mothusaporesidente a le mongwe, Modiredi mo Ofising ya Poresidente (yo o neng a okametsi dikgang tse di amang basadi, basha le batho ba ba nang le bogole), le Badiredi ba bangwe ba le 27, ba bothe ba neng ba na le maatla a go tlhomamisa gore mafapha a ba dirisanang le one a ikobela melao e e beilweng.

Molao wa Tiriso ya Matlole a Puso (PFMA) o ne wa tlomiwa ka 1999 go kgothaletsse gore dilo di tsamaisiwe ka tsela e e siameng le e e solegelang molemo gammogo le go matlafatsa bokgoni jwa go dirisa sentle matlole a puso. Gape PFMA e ne ya dira tshwetso ya go matlafatsa MTEF ya 1998, e e neng ya emisetsa koketso ya tekanyetsokabo ya ngwaga le ngwaga. Ka 2001, MTSF Strategic Planning and Annual Performance e ne ya tlomiwa ka 2001, go dira gore go rulaganya le tekanyetsokabo mo mafapheng di tsamaisane sentle.

Gape tsamaiso ya demokerasi e ne ya tloma puso e e akaretsang batho ba ditso tsotlh, e dirisa manaane a tsa ikonomi a a akaretsang batho ba ditso tsotlh a jaaka Integrated Rural Sustainable Development Programme le URP, gammogo le makala a a farologaneng a puso, a a nang le bokgoni jwa tsamaiso a a engwang nokeng ke Forum of South Africa's Directors-General (FOSAD), a a neng a kaelwa ke Coordinating Council ya Moporesidente (e e neng e akaretsa Moporesidente, Baokamedi ba

### Ka iketlo ka iketlo, go nna le kgololesego le go sa tseye maikarabelo a sepolotiki mo mekgatlhong eno ya puso, e nnile sengwe sa dilo tse di bakileng gore go nne le tsamaiso e e sokameng go bo go nne le bonweenwee mo pusong mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng.



## KGAOLO 9 DITHEO

### **Mosireletsi wa Setšhaba**

**Khomishene ya Ditshwanelo  
Tsa Batho ya Afrika Borwa e e  
Kgothaletsang le go**

**Sireletsa Ditshwanelo tsa  
Setso, Bodumedi le  
Khomishene ya Dipuo Tsa  
Setšhaba ya Tekatekano ya  
Bong Morunikakaretso**

**Khomishene e e Ikemetseng ya  
Ditlhopho Bolaodi jo bo Ike-  
metseng jo bo Laolang  
Kgaso Bolaodi Jwa Tlhaeletsano  
jo bo Ikemetseng Jwa  
Afrika Borwa**

Diporofense le baeteledipele ba bommasepala ba ba farologaneng). A ne a tshegediwa ke mafapha le Badiredi ba dikarolo tse dingwe tsa puso le Members of Executive Councils Meeting (MINMECs).

Gore go diragadiwe ditsholofetso, go ne ga tlhomiya mekgatlo ya puso e le 60 mo dingwageng tsa ntlha di le 10 tsa puso ya demokerasi e e neng ya bona madi a mantsi ka go abelwa le ka thulaganyo ya yone ya lekgetho. Mekgatlo eno e ne ya latela melao mengwe ya puso le ditaelo tsa PFMA, le fa go ntse jalo, e ne e kgona go itaola go feta mafapha a puso. Mekgatlo eno e ne ya gola ka lobelo lo lo kwa godimo e bile go itirela ditshwetso ga makala a mangwe a puso e ne ya nna selo se se mo mpaananeng, go sa tsewe maikarabelo a sepolotiki.

Le fa gone mengwe ya mekgatlo eno e ne ya dira bontle ya ba ya solegela batho molemo ka go tlisa diphetogo tse di molemo mo baaging, ka 2012 fa Presidential Review Commission e e tlhatlhobang di SOE and ne e neelana ka pego, go ne go na le mekgatlo ya mofuta ono e le 715. Ka iketlo ka iketlo go nna le kgololesego le go sa tseye maikarabelo a sepolotiki mo mekgatlhong eno ya puso, e nnile sengwe sa dilo tse di bakileng gore go nne le tsamaiso e e sokameng go bo go nne le bonweenwee mo pusong mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng.

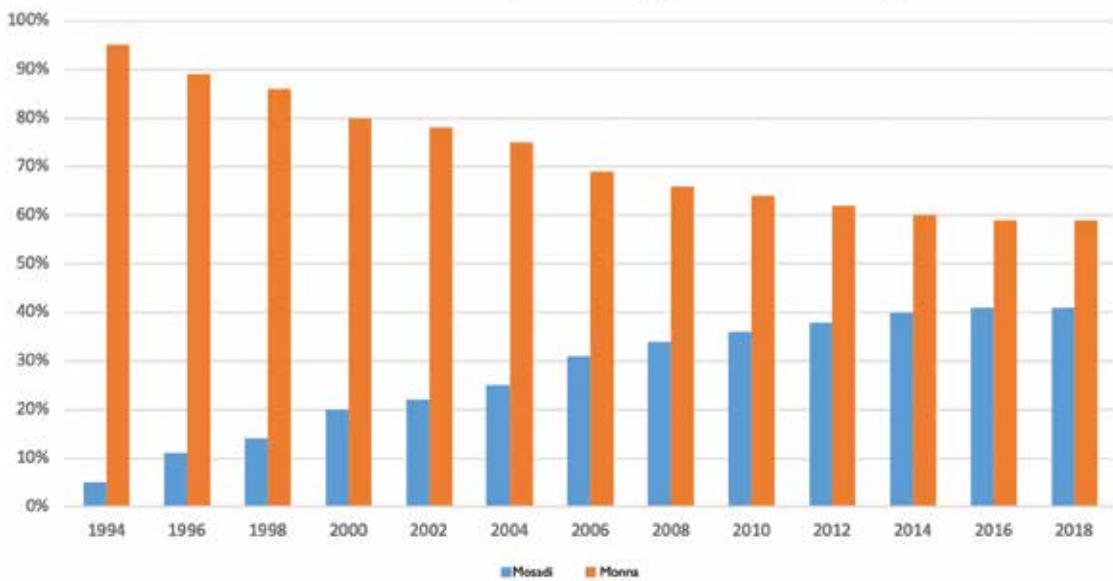
Ka 2004, go ne go na le mafapha a naga a le 39 a e neng e le dikarolwana le “dikgoreletsi” mo pusong. Seno se ne sa dira gore puso e bone gore go tlhokega gore go kopanngwe mafapha a a neng a na le mathata a a tshwanang a madi, mo boetededipele jwa mafapha ano a a kopantsweng le manaane a a kopantsweng bo neng jwa nna le ditlhophya di le thataro tsa Bagakolodi ba mafapha le ditlhophya tse tsamaisanang le tsone tsa FOSAD<sup>293</sup>. Mafapha ano e ne e le Lefapha la Loago; Lefapha la Ikonomi; Lefapha la Peeletso le Tiro; Ditirisano Tsa Boditšhabatšhaba, Kagiso le Tshireletsegó; Tshiamiso, Thibebosenyi le Tshireletsegó; Puso le Tsamaiso. Mafapha ano a ne a fokotsa tlhakatlhakano e neng e le teng a bo a dira gore go dirwe dithulaganyo mmogo le go dira gore se se rulagantsweng se dirwe.

Mafapha ano a ne a tshegediwa ke ofisi ya Moporesidente ya go Okamela Melao le Ditirelo tsa Bogakolodi go tlhomamisa gore melao e latelwa sentle e bile e dirisiwa mo makaleng otlhe a puso, go dirisiwa mafapha a FOSAD le melao e mengwe e e dirang gore mafapha a dirisane. Le fa go ntse jalo, go ne go na le bokoa mo go beyeng thulaganyo eno leitlo sentle, go e sekaseka le go tsaya maikarabelo.

Ka ntlha ya seno, ka 2005, puso e ne ya dumela gore go dirwe thulaganyo e e tla akaretsang mongwe le mongwe Government-Wide M&E System (GWM&ES) go kaela M&E puso, go tlhoma melao, ditekanyetso le melao ya M&E.

Morago ga ditlhopho tsa 2009, tsamaiso ya bone e ne e na le Badiredipuso ba le 34 ba engwa nokeng ke Bathusabadiipuso ba le 28. Mafapha a Tirelo a a neng tlhomilwe bosha a ne a akaretsa a a latelang: Lefapha la Tirelo la Ofisi ya Poresidente la go Baya Leitlo Tirelo le go e Okamela gammogo le Tsamaiso, Lefapha la Tirelo la Ofisi ya Poresidente la Thulaganyo ya Pusokakaretso, Lefapha la Tirelo la Tlhabololo ya Ikonomi, Lefapha la Tirelo la Thuto ya Motheo, Lefapha la Tirelo la Thuto e Kgowlane le Katiso, Lefapha la Tirelo la Maatla, Lefapha la Tirelo la Metswedi ya Dimenerale, Lefapha Tirelo la Temothuo Temo ya Dithhare le go Tshwara Dithlapi, Lefapha la Tirelo la Tlhabololo ya Metselegae le Tlhabololo ya Lefatshe le Lefapha la Tirelo la Pusotshwaraganelo le Merero ya Setso. Go ne ga tlhomiya NDP le New Growth Path le the Outcomes Approach to Monitoring and Evaluation e le go matlatatsa bokgoni jwa puso ka kakaretso. E le go leka go tokafatsa tsamaiso le go tokafatsa kaboditirelo, mafapha a a neng a kopantswe go dira mmogo a ne a rulaganngwa sesha ka ditsela tseno tse tlhano: Lephata la Ikonomi, Peeletso, Phiro le Tlhabololo ya Mafaratlhathla; Tshireletso ya Loago, Setšhaba le Tlhabololo ya Batho; Puso, Bokgoni Jwa Puso le Tlhabololo ya Ditheo; Tshiamiso, Thibeborukuthi le Tshireletso; le Tirisan ya Boditšhabatšhaba, Kgwebo le Tshireletso.

Makala a ne a simolola lenaane la tsamaiso le le neng dira gore go nne le diphithlelelo mo Tsamaisong ya mafapha a puso. Go ne ga lemogixa gore go tlhokega lenaane la nako



**Setshwantsho 12.1:** Tirelo ya morafe e e thapang go ya ka bong

mo lobakeng lwa go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 2018

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Lefapha la Tirelo ya Morafe le Botsamaisi.

e telele mme go ne ga simololwa NPC e le go simolola Lenaane la Thlabololo la Pusokakaretso. Khomishene e ne ya bega dipatliso tsa yone ka 2011 mme NDP:Vision 2030 e ne ya tlhamiwa ka 2012.

### Go Fetola Tsamaiso ya Puso le Setšhaba ka Kakaretso

E le go leka go fedisa ditsamaiso di le lesomenngwe tse di neng di dira mo pusong e e fetileng, Molao wa Tirelo ya Setšhaba wa 1994 o ne wa tlhomowi. Molao ono o laola makala a tirelo ya setšhaba, ditsamaiso, ditekanyetsoto le dithulaganyo tsa go hira gore o tlhomamise gore mongwe le mongwe o a akarediwa, gore ditirelo di abiwa sentle le ka tsela e e solegelang molemo.

Ka 1994, go ne go na le badiredipuso ba le 1.2 million ba ba neng ba direla Maaforikaborwa a le dimilione di le 40. Ka 2001, go ne go na le badiredipuso ba le milione o le mongwe fela<sup>294</sup>. Mo e batlang e nna 25% ya tekanyetsokabo ya puso ya go tlamelka ditirelo e ne ya duelwa bagakolodi ba e seng ba puso, gongwe e le ka ntlha ya go tlhoka bokgoni mo mafapheng a mannye a kaboditirelo a a neng a tlhoka go tlamela batho ba bantsi<sup>295</sup>. Ka 2018 go ne go na le badiredipuso ba le dimilione di le 2.69 mo makaleng otthe, le fa gone palo ya baagi e ne e oketsegile ka dimilione tse dingwe di le 17.7. Go ya ka ILO mo ngwageng wa 2014, tekanyetsoto ya palogothle ya badiredipuso mo palong ya batho ba ba neng ba thapilwe e ne e le 16.9% – India, Russia le Seychelles – di ne di na le 55%, 40% le 36% ka tatelano<sup>296</sup>.

Kgwetlho e e sa feleng  
e e saleng e lebane  
tirelo ya setšhaba  
ka kakaretso ke go  
tlhomamisa gore  
mafapha a diragatsa  
maikarabelo a one  
le gore baagi ba a a  
ikanya.

294

Go tswa kwa Ofising ya Poresidente. 2003. Tshekatsheko ya Dingwaga di le Lesome, ts. 12.

295

Ibid

296

International Labour Organisation. 2019. [www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page27\\_jsp?indicator=PSE\\_TPSE\\_GOV\\_NB&subject=EMP&datasetCode=A&collectionCode=YI&\\_adf.ctrlstate=17m2i1zor1\\_142&\\_afrLoop=896857208094212&\\_afrWindowMode=0&\\_](http://www.ilo.org/ilostat/faces/oracle/webcenter/portalapp/pagehierarchy/Page27_jsp?indicator=PSE_TPSE_GOV_NB&subject=EMP&datasetCode=A&collectionCode=YI&_adf.ctrlstate=17m2i1zor1_142&_afrLoop=896857208094212&_afrWindowMode=0&_)

Molao wa go Thapa ka Tekatekano wa 1998 o ne wa dira gore go nne le diphetogo le tekatekano mo tirong ka go kgothaletsa gore batho botlhe ba nne le ditshono tse di tshwanang, ba tshwarwe ka tsela e e tshwanang le gore batho ba ditso, bong, mmala le bong bo rileng ba ba neng ba gateletswe mo nakong e e fetileng, ba nne le ditshono. Ka ntlha ya seo, gone jaanong go na le 77% ya Maaforika a a dirang mo pusong fa go bapisiwa le 66% ya ba ba dirang mo mafapheng a e seng a puso.<sup>297</sup> Dingwaga di le masome a mabedi le bone morago ga demokerasi, Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga ya bo 17 ya Khomishene ya Tekatekano mo Tirong e ne ya bega gore go na le 52% ya basadi mo mafapheng a puso fa go bapisiwa le 44% ya ba ba dirang mo mafapheng a e seng a puso. Pego ya Ngwaga le Ngwaga ya bo 18 ya Khomishene ya Tekatekano mo Tirong e bontsha gore ka 2001 go ne go na le 6% fela ya Maaforika mo boeteledipe leng mme ka 2017 e ne e le 14.3%.

Le fa gone tekanyetso ya basweu mo tirong e le 5.1%, ba sa ntse ba dira 67% mo boeteledipe leng. Mme gone seno ke tswelelopele e e bokoa tota mo pusong ka gonne ka 2001, ba ne ba dira 87% mo maemong ano a tiro ya boeteledipele. Mo Maaforikeng a e leng 42.7% ya karolo ya tiro, ke 14.3% fela ya bone e e direlang mo maemong a boeteledipele mme e bile 83.5% ya bone ke badiri ba ba se nang katiso. Tiro ya ditheo tse e seng tsa puso e na le 10.9% fela ya Maaforika mo maemong a boeteledipele mme ditheo tsa puso di na le 72% ya Maaforika mo maemong a boeteledipele. Le fa go ntse jalo, go sa ntse go na le kgatelelo ya basadi mo ditheong tsotlhe ka gonne ke fela 32.6% ya basadi e e direlang mo boeteledipe leng mo ditheong tsa puso e bile ke 21.6% fela e e direlang mo maemong a boeteledipele mo ditheong tse e seng tsa puso.

Batho ba ba nang le bogole ba ba direlang mo maemong a boeteledipele ke 1.3% fela le fa gone puso e dirile tumalano ya gore e nne 2%. Go ne go na le 41.3% ya basadi ba ba direlang mo maemong a a kwa godimo mo mafapheng a tiresethaba ka December 2018 mme seno se bontsha gore ka ngwaga go nnile le koketsegoo ya peresente e ka nna nngwe fa e sa le go tloga ka 2009 fa go ne go na le 34.8%.

Phetogo eno e bontshiwa mo **Tshate 12.1**, e e bontshang gore ka 1994, sekgala gareng ga basadi le banna se ne se le segolo tota mme se a fokotsegoo ya mo ngwageng wa 2018. Seno se bontsha gore mokgele wa 50/50 o a dira, mme gone ko re yang go sa ntse go le kgakala. Go ya ka se sekai se re se boneng, go bonala gore mokgele wa tekatekano ya 50/50 mo SMS mo lefapheng la Tiresethaba o tla kgona go fitlhelelwa fela ka 2027.

Go bonala sentle gore lekala la puso le kgonne go dira ka bonako go fetola thulaganyo ya lone ya maemo mo tirong go feta lekala la ditheo tse e seng tsa puso. Le kgonne go

thapa selekanyo se se kwa godimo sa basadi le Maaforika mo ditheong tsa lone, ditlhophaa tsa batho ba ba neng ba tlhaolwa ka nako ya puso ya tlhaolele. Mo kgannyeng ya go katisa batho, lekala puso le na le batho ba ba katisitsweng sentle. Mo e ka nnang 45% ya badiri bothle ba puso e balelwaa mo palong ya ditlelase tse thataro tsa thuto, fa e bapisiwa le 26% ya mo ditheong tse e seng tsa puso. Le fa go ntse jalo, ditheo tseno tsotlhe di na le selekanyo se se tshwanang sa badiri ba ba se nang bokgoni. Seno se bontsha gore ditheo tse e seng tsa puso di tletse ka badiri ba ba se nang bokgoni jo bo kalo.

Kgwethlo e e sa feleng e e saleng e lebane tirelo ya setshaba ka kakaretso ke go thomamisa gore mafapha a diragatsa maikarabelo a one le gore baagi ba a a ikanya. Khomishene ya Tiresethaba (PSC) le Morunikakaretso wa Afrika Borwa gammogo le ditheo tse dingwe tse di tsamaisanang le tseno tse di jaaka Ofisi ya Mosireletsi wa Setshaba di dirile seabe sa botlhokwa mo ntlheng eno. Ditheo tseno di ile tsa babadiwa ke mekgatlo e e jaaka Kgodiso ya Melaotsamaiso ya Tshiamiso, (Act 3 of 2000), Molao wa Boitshwero le Lefapha la Tsiboso ya Bonweenwee, o o neng wa thusa go thibela tsamaiso e e sokameng le bonweenwee mo ditheong tsa Tirelo ya setshaba. Go tloga fano go ya pele, Puso e tshwanetse go ititaya sehuba gore e tla eteleta pele diphetogo mo setshabeng e le go thomamisa gore melao e e tlhomiwang e tlisa ditlhabololo tse di tokafatsang matshelo a batho bothle. Gape e tshwanetse go rulagana sentle gore e kgone go dirisa maatla a yone go kaela gore tiro e dirwe jang ka go dirisa melao le go gana go tlhotlhelediwa ke batho kgotsa ditheo tse e seng a puso tse di batlang go ikuhmis ka bonako.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Ka kakaretso fela, dikgwetlho tse di amang mongwe le mongwe di ne tsa tlhalosiwa sentle jaana ke Mosekaseki wa Dipalo yo o neng are go na le “tsela e e phoso ya go rwesa mothami wa porojeke maikarabelo a gore ke ene a tla dirang ditshwetso”. Kgwethlo fano ga se go diragatsa se go dumalanweng ka sone, mme ke go tlhoka thulaganyo e e siameng le e e tseneletseng.

Fa go se na thulaganyo e e tseneletseng mo mafapheng a puso, go nna thata go fitlhelela mekgele. Thulaganyo e e nt-seng jalo e tshwanetse go remeleta mo keletsong e kgolo ya go batla go dira se se soloftsweng le go fitlhelela mekgele e go dumalanweng ka yone mo NDP, e bile ba ba nnang le seabe mo go yone ba tshwanetse go nna ba akantse ka maikarabelo a ba nang le one mo tumalanong ya dintlha tse go tloltlweng ka tsone ya ditlhabololo tsa khontinente (the AU's Agenda 2063), gammogo le tumalano ya lefatshe lotlhe ya ditlhabololo tse di tswelelang sentle ya UN (the SDGs).

afrWindowId=nichw5kcm\_1#!%40%40%3Findicator%3DPSE\_TPSE\_GOV\_NB%26\_afrWindowId%3Dnichw5kcm\_1%26subject%3DEMP%26\_afrLoop%3D89685720809412%26datasetCode%3DA%26collectionCode%3DYI%26\_afrWindowMode%3D0%26\_adf.ctrl-state%3Dnichw5kcm\_57.



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Fa re dirisa thulaganyo eno e tseneletseng, re tshwanetse go ipotsa potso eno ya botlhokwa ya gore mme gone re tshwanetse go rulaganya puso jang e le gore e kgone go tlamelba baagi e dirisa thulaganyo eno, le gore setlhophapha se se rwesitsweng maikarabelo gammogo le badirimmo go ba tshwanetseng go diragatsa le go dirisa thulaganyo eno go fitlhelela mekgele ba tshwanetseng go botsa potso efe.

Dikgwethlo tse disha le tse di sa bolong go nna teng di ka kgaoganngwa ka dikarolo di le nné tse di latelang, (1) Go Dirisa Bokgoni ka Tsela e e Atlegang, (2) Bokgoni Jwa Setheo, (3) Kitso le Katiso ya Badiri, le (4) Bokgoni le Maitemogelo.

### **Go Dirisa Bokgoni ka Tsela e e Atlegang**

Kgang ya konokono ke gore a go na le **thulaganyo e e remeletseng mo go diriseng ka katlego bokgoni** jo bo farologaneng gore e kgone go direla setshaba ka tsela kgotsofatsang, le gore a go na le didirisiwa tse di maatla tsa go dira gore thulaganyo eno e feleletse e dira e le melao le manaane a tsamaiso ya puso. Ka jalo, Afrika Borwa e tlhoka Thulaganyo ya Motheo ya Dithlabololo e e tshwanetseng go dirisiwa mo makaleng otthe le mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa puso.

**Thulaganyo ya Go busediwa dithoto** gantsi e dirwa ke puso (ka sekai, lefatshe), mme dithulaganyo tse dingwe tse di jaaka tse di amanang le bonno di dirwa ke dikarolo di le tharo. Go na le go se tsamaisaneng ga dithulaganyo mo dikarolong dingwe tse di jaaka bonno, mo dikarolo tse tharo di nang le maikarabelo.

Nngwe ya dikgwethlo ke gore go bofitla go itse gore **ke mang yo o nang le maikarabelomagolo a go rulaganya**. Dinaga di le dints tse di tlhabologileng di na le morulaganyimogolo yo o etelelang pele tswelelopeleng ya ikonomi. Maikarabelo a go nna morulaganyimogolo a akaretsa go rotloetsa thata go dirisana ga mafapha a puso, go dirisana ga mafapha a ditirelo le go dirisana ga mafapha go dira dithulaganyo, tekanyetsokabo le go thomamisa gore ke eng se se botlhokwa le go rulaganya gore baagi ba tlamelwe ka ditirelo.

Mo sechabeng se se jaaka Afrika Borwa se se nang le palo e e kwa godimo thata ya go sa lekalekane ka maemo, gongwe selo se se botlhokwa thata se se ka dirang gore naga eno e kgone go tswelela pele ke **bokgoni jwa yone jwa go busetsa batho dithoto**. Naga eno e tshwanetse go kgona go bona gore ke dilo dife tsa botlhokwa tse setshaba se di tlhokang tse e ka nnang karolo ya konokono ya molao wa puso. Naga eno e tshwanetse go tsenya letsogo ka ditsela tse di sa tlwaelegang gore e baakanye go tlhoka tekatekano ga nako e e fetileng mme e dire gore baagi ba yone ba nne le ditshono mme ka go dira jalo, setshaba se kgone go e ema nokeng.

Dintla tse re tlolileng ka tsone di bontsha gore labofelo, thulaganyo ya puso ka kakaretso le bokgoni jo bo tsamaisanang le yone di botlhokwa mo fitlheleleng

dilo tse di farologaneng le mo go direng gore puso e kgone go tlamelba baagi sentle ka ditirelo.

### **Bokgoni Jwa Setheo**

Go bothhokwa thata go sekaseka tsela ya gone jaanong ya thulaganyo ya tsamaiso ya ditheo tsa puso, gore re kgone go tla ka maiteko a masha a go tokafatsa tsela e puso e tsamaisiwang ka yone le e ditirelo tsa setshaba di tsamaisiwang ka yone. Boammaarurui ke gore puso ya demokerasi e dirisitse thata mokgwa wa go dira dilo go rulaganya ditheo tsa puso, o e o tsereng mo puso ya tlhaolele ya nako e e fetileng, e Modiredipusomogolo wa Puso mo Palamenteng yo o diretseng ka lobaka lo lolele a e bitsang "mekgatlho ya mafapha". Tsela eno ya go dira dilo gape e ile ya amanngwa le thulaganyo e e jang madi a mantsi ya 'go tlhama ditheo tse dinnye mo teng ga ditheo tsa puso' mo ditheo tse di botlhokwa tsa puso di ntshiwang mo taalong ya puso di bo di laolwa ke dikgwebo dingwe le mekgatlho ya puso mme thulaganyo eno e ile gola thata fa nako e ntse e ya. Tsela eno ya go dira dilo, e dira gore go nne thata gore go nne le tirisanommogo le go rulaganya dilo sentle mo thulaganyong ya bo aba ditirelo, e bile ga go nne le kitlano le go dira dilo ka boikaelelo jo bo tshwanang mo mafapheng a puso.

### **Kitso le Katiso ya Badiri**

Ditllhobaelo/dingongorego tse di begiwang kgapetsakgapetsa tse di malebana le gore go **tlhokega badiri ba ba nang kitso le ba ba katisitsweng le ba ba nang le bokgoni jwa go etelela pele** mo ditirelong tsa puso, le gore puso e tlhoka go thapa badiri ba ba nang le bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng le kitso, ke kgwetlho e e tlhokang go tsibogelwa ka bonako.

Puso e tlhoka go ithulaganya go sa le gale go nonotsha badiro gore ba nne le kitso le maitemogelo le bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng mo ditheong tsa tirelo ya sechaba, gammogo le go tlhomamisa gore ke eng se se tlhokegang gore motho a direle mo lefapheng la boeteledipele le le le tlhokang kitso e e kgethegileng. Fela jaaka NDP e kaetse gore ke eng se se tshwanetseng go dirwa, puso e tshwanetse go tlhomamisa gore tirelo ya setshaba e lejwa e le **mokgele o motho a ka ipeelang one** o o tlhokang gore a bo a na le talente le bokgoni jo bo kwa godimo.

Lefapha la ditheo tsa puso le tshwanetse go akanya gore se le se dirang se tla ama ditirelo jang mo lobakeng lwa nako e telele le gore se tla ama jang maiteko a lone a go katisa badiri le go dira gore ba nne le bokgoni. Go na le kgwetlho e e mpaananeng ya gore tsela ya go dira dilo ya sepolotiki e dira gore batho ba ba nang le talente le bokgoni ba ka se kgone go direla mo mafapheng a tirelo ya setshaba fa dithata tsa go thapa mo pusong di sa ntse di le mo mo matsogong a batho ba ba batlang go dirisa dithata tseno go itsholegela molemo mo dipolotiking.

NDP e buelela ntla ya gore **go thapiwe Dialogane tsa Unibesithi le gore go nne le Thulaganyo ya**

**go Thapa le ya Katiso (Graduate Recruitment and Training Programme)** e leng se se tla dirang gore batho ba ba nang le talente e kgolo ba ba tswang unibesithing, ba thapiwe ka tlhamalalo le gore go nne le thulaganyo ya tlhabololo le katiso. Go na le ditheo tsa puso tsa go tlamela ka ditirelo di le mmalwa fela mo lefatsheng tse di atlegileng kwa ntle ga go dirisa thulaganyo eno.

### Bokgoni le Maitemogelo

Go nonotsha tirisanomimogo magareng ga puso le ditirelo tsa setshaba go tlhoka gore tsamaiso ya puso e nne le **mekgwa e e tseneletseng ya ditlhabololo** !98 le talente le bokgoni jwa go rulaganya jo bo ka dirang gore maikaelelo a Puso e nne melao e e botlhokwa, tsamaiso le manaanetsamaiso.

## DIKAKANTSHO

Gore go rarabololwe dikgwethlo di le nne tse di sa bolong go nna di le teng kgotsa dipotso tse di amang mongwe le mongwe, go tshwanetse ga tlhomiya mogopoloo mo go reng go tliwe ka leano le le tseneletseng, le le tshegetsang Thulaganyo e e Kopanetsweng ya Dithhabololo, e e tla thusang puso gore e dirise maatla a yone ka bottalo go diragatsa maikarabelo a yone a go busetsa beng lefatshe/dithoto tsa bone. Seno se tla tlhoka gore puso e dire dipatlisiso go bona gore ke lefapha lefe le le tlhokang go thusiwa go nna le bokgoni jo bo tlhogekang. Fa seno se dirwa, gape go tshwanetse ga nna le dipatlisiso tse di tseneletseng mo setheong sa tsamaiso ya puso se se leng teng ka nako eo mo dikarolong tsotthe gore go tlhabololwe maiteko a go tokafatsa tsela e puso le lefapha la tirelo ya setshaba di dirang ka yone. Ga go pelaelo gore dipatlisiso tseno gape di tla senola tlhaelo ya bokgoni le ya go rulaganya, e leng se se tla tlhokang go tsibogelwa ka bonako. Gore go tsewe dikgato tse di rileng, go tla tlhogega gore go dirwe dilo tse di latelang:

- **Go rulaganngwa sesha ga tirelo ya setshaba** go ya ka bogolo, bokgoni jwa badiri le tsamaiso ka kakaretso gore go fitlhelelwe mekgele ya naga e e amanang le loago le ikonomi;
- Go tlhatlhoba go ya pele le go dirisa kakantsho ya go nna le **lefapha la tirelo ya setshaba le le lengwe**, e le go tlhomamisa gore go dirisiwa bokgoni jo bo setseng bo le teng fa go sa ntse go baakanngwa dikarolo tse di nang le 'tirelo' e e bokoa;
- Go dira dipatlisiso tse di atologileng le tse di beilweng ke molao wa boditshabatshaba tsa **go sekaseka gore badiri ba dirisa madi a a kana kang**, tse di akaretsang dikarolo di le tharo mo pusong, seno e le ka boikaelelo jwa go tlhoma lenaanetsamaiso la dituelo le le amang naga le mafapha a porofense le bommasepala.
- **Go tsereganya mo mafapheng a a nang le mathata** mo mafapheng a puso le a diporofense;
- **Dithulaganyo tsa go tokafatsa go aba ditirelo** di tshwanetse go sekasekwa go bona gore a di dirisiwa ka tsela e e solegelang molemo le gore go tshwanetse ga tokafadiwa kae fa di dirisiwa. Seno

se tshwanetse sa nonotshiwa ka melao e batho ba patelesegang go e ikobela, gore go ikamanngwe le melao ya ditirelo e e jaaka Batho Pele;

- Go tshwanetse ga dirisiwa **thekenoloji** go dira gore ditsamaiso tsa kgwebo di tsamaisanele le tsela ya go dira dilo ya bosheng mo pusong le gore go dirwe gore batho ba kgone go fitlhelela ditirelo mothloho le go di dirisa;
- Gore o age lekala la puso le le tlamelang baagi ka ditirelo, o tlhoka gore o ikemisetse go gagamatsa letsogo kgatlhanong le bonweenwee.

Diphitlhelelo tsa dipatlisiso tsa NDP (2011) di ne tsa tlhagisa ka kgwethlo e e bontshang bothata jwa go sa batle go tsaya maikarabelo magareng ga badiredipuso le baeteledipele ba bone ba sepolotiki, segolobogolo fa seno se amana le dipolotiki tse di amang lekoko. Seno se dirile gore NDP (2012) e buelele gore go tlhomiyu Ofisi ya Boeteledipele ya Tsamaiso ya Puso go tlhomamisa gore Baeteledipele ba Mafapha ba tlhomiyu go ya ka bokgoni, e leng se tota se neng se fedisa go tlhoma baeteledipele ka tsela ya sepolotiki mo maemong a puso a a tlhokang batho ba ba nang le bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng. Go palelwa ga botsamaisi jo bo tlhomiywang ka tsela ya sepolotiki e tswelela e le kgwethlo jaaka go bonala mo bommasepaleng le diporofense tse di palelwang ke go tlamela ka ditirelo e bile seno le lejwa e le nngwe mabaka a a dirileng gore di SOE (Dikhampani Tsa Puso) di rukuthiwe. Ka jalo, go akantshiwa gore go bewe melao e e gagametseng go thibela gore dipolotiki di se ka tsa itsunywa nko mo Dikhampanning Tsa Puso (SOEs.) **Molao wa Tirelo ya Setshaba wa 1994 o tshwanetse go mamelelelwa gore o thibele go tlhomiyu ga baeteledipele ka tsela ya sepolotiki go na le go dirisa melao e e tlhomilweng ya tsamaiso, seno e le go tlhomamisa gore go dirisiwa bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng go abela baagi ditirelo.** Go potlakile gore go dirisiwe dikakantsho tsa NDP tsa gore go katisiwe batho gore ba nne le bokgoni gore go tlhabololwe naga, tse di akaretsang go tlhomamisa gore tirelosetshaba ke mokgele o mongwe le mongwe a ka ipeelang one.

**Puso e e Iwelang ditlhabololo e tshwanetse ya nonotsha tsela e e Tsenelang ka yone mo maemong a ikonomi, loago le mo go sireletseng tikologo** e le gore seno se solegele molemo baagi ba ba neng ba sa tlamelwe ka ditirelo tse di maleba mo nakong e e fetileng. Batho bano ba akaretsa basadi, batho ba ba nnang kwa metselelaeng ya Afrika Borwa le basha. Gape re tshwanetse go godisa/kgothaletsa melawana ya ‘Batho Pele’. Naga eno e tshwanetse go kgothaletsa batho go tsaya karolo le gore go nne le ditheo tse di batlang go thusa batho go nna le bokgoni jwa go direla setshaba e le gore ba atlegise le go godisa ditlhabololo.

## PUSOSELEGAE

### Tswelopele ya pusoselegae

Morago ga ditlhophokakaretso tsa ntlha tsa 1994, go ne ga nna le ditlhopho tsa pusoselegae ka 1995, ka nako ya Molaomotheo wa Naga wa Nakwana. Molaomotheo ono o ne wa mametlelelwa ka 1996 mme o ne o tlhalosa mailthomo/maikaelelo a a mo Tshate 12.2, a mangwe a one a neng a tsamaisana. Pusoselegae e laelwa gore e ikokoanyetse matlole le go itirela botsamaisi jo bo nang le bokgoni gore e kgone go fitlhelela mekgele eno, e dirisana mmogo le puso ya naga le ya porofense e le lekala la puso le le farologaneng le le ikaegileng ka puso le go dirisana mmogo le yone.

Gore seno se kgonege, go ne ga phasaladiwa dikarolwana di le mmalwa tsa molao wa puso, tse di akaretsang Molao wa go Kgaoganya Bommasepala 1998 (Act 27 of 1998), Molao wa Makala a Bommasepala, 1998, Molao wa Botsamaisi Jwa Bommasepala, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) le Molao wa go Tlhokomela Matlole a Bommasepala wa 2003.

Pele ga go phasaladiwa ga dikarolo tseno tsa molao wa puso, go ne ga nna le metselsetsele ya dipuisano tsa selegae, e e neng e remeletse mo go reng go tliwe ka leano la gore bommasepala ba dirisane mmogo go se na tlhaolele le gore go nne le tsamaiso e le nngwe fela ya lekgetho. Seno le sone se ne sa felela ka gore batho ba le bantsi ba tseye karolo le gore go nne le phetogo ka ntlha ya tsela ya dipuisano

tsa selegae. Ka ntlha ya seno, go ne ga nna le phetogo e kgolo ya go kopanya bommasepala ba le I 262 ba ba neng ba dira ka nako ya puso ya tlhaolele go nna makgotlataolo a selegae a le 843 ka nako ya ditlhophoselegae tsa ntlha tsa 1995/96. Morago ga go gatisiva ga Local Government White Paper, le go phasaladiwa ga melaotsamaiso ya dipusoselegae (Molao wa go Kgaoganya wa 1998, Molao wa Makala a Bommasepala wa 1998, Molao wa Ditsamaiso Tsa Bommasepala wa 2000), go ne ga boa gape ga kopanngwa makala a dipusoselegae—mme ga nna le bommasepala ba le 284 ba ba kopantsweng ka nako ya ditlhophoselegae tsa ngwaga wa 2000.

Le fa gone go ile ga kopanngwa ditoropo le ditorotswana tse di bipileng, mokgwa wa tlhaolele o o sa ntseng o le mo mading wa go iphara ka lefatshe o dirile gore go nne le bommasepala ba ba farologaneng thata le ba bangwe ba ba nang le bokgoni le tsamaiso e e farologaneng ya lekgetho.

Ka ngwaga wa 2000, puso e ne ya itsise gore go na le thulaganyo ya Ditirelo Tsa Motheo Tsa Mahala tse di newang malapa a a humanegileng, e e neng e tla tlhomamisa gore malapa ano ga a duele lekgetho mo ditirelong tsa botlhokwa. Go ne go lebeletswe gore ditirelo tseno tsa malapa a a dikobo dikhutshwane di tla kgonega ka go ‘rwadisana morwalo’ mo nageng yotlhe, e leng ntlha e e neng e tshegediwa ke Molaomotheo wa Naga. Mo godimo ga moo, puso e ne ya tlhoma mefuta e e farologaneng ya kabomadi e e neng e ikaegile ka maemo, gore e dirisediwe ditiro le ditirelo dingwe. Ka tekanyetso, koketsegoo ya madi a a rometsweng kwa dipusoselegae e menagane go feta lesome mo pakeng ya 1998/99 go ya go 2017/18, mo gone jaanong e leng palogotlhe e e ka nnang R110 billion. Go kopanyelediwa le madi a e kgoneng go a kokoanya, madi a a abetsweng pusoselegae gone jaanong e ka nna 25% ya madi a puso e a dirisitseng. Seno se bontsha gore makala a puso a a ipeelang melao mengwe a tshwanetse go tsaya maikarabelo tota, le fa gone pusoselegae e lela ka gore puso ga e ba tlamele sentle ka matlole.

### Go tlamela ka ditirelo tsa motheo

Go nnile le tswelelopele e e nametsang pelo e e malebana le kaboo ya ditirelo tsa mafarathatlha. Ka 1996, malapa a

Go nna puso ya demokerasi le e e tsayang maikarabelo

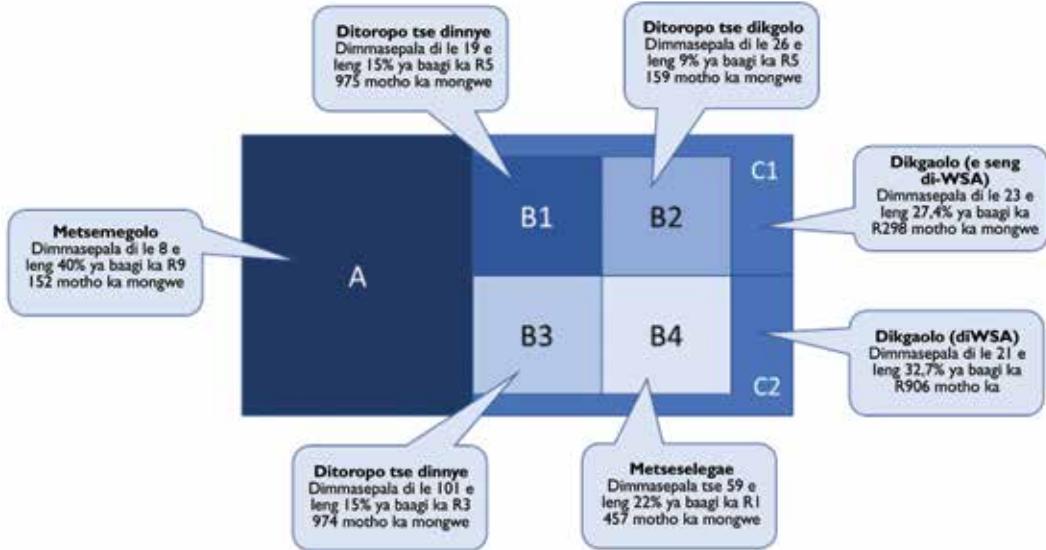
Go tlhomamisa gore baagi ba tlamelwa ka ditirelo tse di tlhogekang

Go kgothaletsa le go tlhomamisa tlhabololo ya loago le ya ikonomi

Go kgothaletsa go nna le tikologo e e sireletseng le e e siametseng boitekanelo

Go ikgolaganya le baagi le go ba akaretsa mo ditshwetsong tsa pusoselegae

**Setshwantsho 12.2:** Maikaelelomagolo a Pusoselegae go ya ka Karolo 152 ya Molaomotheo wa Afrika Borwa wa 1996.



**Tšhate 12.3:** Sekai sa tsamaiso ya pusoselegae.

le dimilione di le 7.23 a ne a tsenyediwa metsi. Ka 2017, palo e ne e oketsegile go nna malapa a le dimilione di le 14.35. Go nnile le koketsego e e itumedisang ya dimilione di le 7.12 ya go tsenytetsa batho metsi magareng ga 1996 le 2017. Malebana le kgeleloleswe, ka 1996, ke malapa a le dimilione di le 4.5 fela a a ileng a tlamelwa ka tirelo eno. Ka 2017, palo eno e ne ya tthatloga go nna dimilione di 13.32 (kgotsa 82,2% ya dimilione di le 16,2 million tsa malapa ka 2017). Ka tsela e e tshwanang, malebana le go tsenyediwa motlakase, palo e ntšha ya malapa a le dimilione di le 4,7 e tsenyeidswe motlakase fa e sa le go tloga ka 1994 mme ka 2017, 84,4% (kgotsa dimilione 13,7) tsa malapa di ne tsa tsenyediwa motlakase.<sup>298</sup>

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Peresente ya malapa a go nang le thulaganyo ya go tsaya leswe mo go one gangwe ka beke e oketsegile go tswa go 56,1% ka 2002 go ya go 65,9% ka 2017. Koketsego ya **selekanyo le palo ya batho ba ba tlhokang go tlamelwa ka ditirelo** e dirile gore dipusoselegae di nne le kgatelelo e e oketsegileng, segolobogolo dipusoselegae tse di mo mafelong a a humanegileng tse di sa kgoneng go kokoanya matlole a a tlhogekang. Mo ngwageng wa 2018 fela, palo ya bommasepala ba ba mo mathateng a madi e ne e oketsegile go tswa go 95 go ya go 128 go tloga ka 2017. Gone jaanong, go na le bommasepala ba le 64 ba ba se nang matlole le ba le 136 ba ba nang le matlole a a ka se kang a kgona go duela ditirelo tsa kgwedi e le nngwe. Mo tekanyetsokabong ya ngwaga ya 2018/19, go nnile le palogotlhe ya bommasepala ba le 113 ba ba se nang ba matlole a ba a beetseng kwa thoko go duela ditirelo.

**Go palelwa ga malapa go duela ditirelo**, go kopanyeletsa le go palelwa ga bommasepala go phutha matlole, go dirile gore go nne le koketsego ya sekoloto se se fetang 20% mo bommasepaleng ba le 115. Seno se dirile gore bommasepala ba palelwe ke go duela madi a ba a kolotang— seno se akaretsa sekoloto sa dibilione di le R10,7 se se kolotiwang Eskom le madi a le dibilione di le R5,5 a a kolotiwang ditheo tsa metsi.

Go na le **mathata a a masisi a botsamaisi** a a bakileng seno, one a akaretsa: go nna le makala botsamaisi a a farologaneng mme a dira tiro e e tshwanang magareng ga mafapha le dikgalo le bommasepala ba selegae; go fetisetsa maikarabelo kwa mafapheng a mangwe ka tsela e e sa siamang le e e sa rulaganang sentle; go dira ga bommasepala ditiro tse ba se nang bokgoni jo bo tseneletseng jwa go di dira; ditheo tse di sa abelweng madi kgotsa madi a a lekaneng tse di jaaka laeborari le ditheo tsa kalafi; le ditlamorago tsa go kopanya ditheo kgotsa mafapha. Selo sengwe se re se ithutileng mo dingwageng di le 20 tse di fetileng tsa fa go ne go kopanngwa dipusoselegae ke gore, go kopanya mmogo bommasepala ba babedi ba ba nang le mathata kgotsa ba ba sa direng dilo sentle, ga go dire gore o feleletse o na le mmasepala yo o dirang sentle.

Go na le **pharologanyo e kgolo ya bogolo le bokgoni jwa bommasepala**, mo bommasepala ba bagolo ba nang le tekanyetsokabo e kgolo go feta bontsi jwa mafapha a puso, mme bommasepala ba bannyne ba metseselegae ba palelwa le ke go tlama baagi ka ditirelo tse di dinnye. Jaaka go bontshitswe mo **tšhate 12.3**, baagi ba Afrika Borwa ba ka nna 40% ba nna mo bommasepaleng ba le robedi ba ‘Karolo A’ bommasepala ba ditoropokgolo. Ka kwa ntle ga bommasepala ba bagolo

palo e e ka nnang kwa godimo ga 60% ya baagi ba Afrika Borwa e busiwa ke tsamaiso ya Kgaolo ya (Karolo C) le bommasepala ba selegae ba (Karolo B). Bommasepala ba selegae ba kgaoganngwa go ya ka bogolo go akaretsa le metsesetoropo (B1), ditoropokgolo (B2), ditoropo tse dinnye (B3) le bommasepala (B4).

Bommasepala ba selegae ba na le palo e e kwa godimo thata ya khumanego ya batho ka karetso, e bile bontsi jwa batho bano ba ikaegile thata ka kabomadi, mme tekanyetso e e kwa godimo ga dikwataro di le tharo ya lotseno lwa bone e tswa mo thulaganyong ya puso ya kabomadi. Ditoropo tse dinnye di ikaegile ka madi a puso a a ka nnang 44% go dira lotseno lwa bone mme di na le khumanego e kgolo go gaisa go feta bommasepala ba bagolo. **Bommasepala ba dikgaolo ba bontsha gore ba ikaegile thata ka madi a dikabo a puso** (kwa godimo ga 80%) go sa kgathalesege gore a ba tlamela ka metsi kgotsa nnyaa, mme seno se bontsha gore ga ba kgone go kgobokanya matlole le fa gone ba tlamela ka ditirelo. Ka sekai, Mmasepala wa Overstrand kwa Western Cape o kgona go dirisa R14 134 ka tlhogo ya motho, mme Mmasepala wa Nongoma kwa KwaZulu-Natal one o kgona fela go dirisa R1 136 ka tlhogo ya motho-pharologanyo e kgolo tota mo tseleng e puso ya selegae e abelang batho ba ba tshelang mo dikarolong tse di farologaneng tsa naga. Mo godimo ga moo, mo e ka nnang **kwatara ya baagi e nna kwa metseselegaeng** ka fa tlase ga taolo ya magosi mme gantsi baagi ga ba wele mo thulaganyong ya lekgetho ya puso le thulaganyo ya tsamaiso ya bommasepala.

Gape mathata ano a bakwa ke **dikgogakgogano tsa mo botsamaising** jo gantsi bo palelwang ke go etelela pele le go tsaya maikarabelo. Boetedepele jo bo bokoa bo bonala mo makgotleng le mo makaleng a puso a a palelwang ke go dira le a a sa tsepamang, botsamaisi jo bo sa lolamang le dikgogakgogano magareng ga baeteledipele ba sepolotiki le botsamaisi. Gape go na le mathata a a masisi a go thapa, a a akaretsang diphatlatiro tse di sa tswalweng, le go sa nneng le baeteledipelebagolo ba ba nang le bokgoni le CFO. Gape go na le mathata a go dirisa matlole, a a akaretsang go sa nne le batho ba ba nang le bokgoni jwa go dira tekanyetsokabo, go sa nne le thulaganyo e e dirang sentle ya go dira tekanyetsokabo le go e dirisa, go sa nne le thulaganyo e e lolameng ya go baakanya le go tlhokomela mafaratlhathla a go aba ditirelo, thulaganyo e e bokoa ya go reka le thulaganyo e e bokoa ya go phutha matlole.

Puso e tshwanetse go fetola leano la yone mme e akaretse baagi go dira dipatlisiso pele go bona gore ke eng se tota ba se tlhokang go na le go ba tlamela fela ka tlhamalalo ka ditirelo.

### Katlhamaalofela, gosekasekakabokhutshwane kafa pusoselegae e dirileng ka teng go senotse dilo tse di latelang:

- Le fa gone re fitheletse dilo dingwe mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, **tsela ya gone jaanong ya ditlhabololo ga e dire gore ikonomi e gole ka tsela kgotsafatsang**, ga e akaretse batho botlhe ka tsela e kgotsafatsang e bile ga e thuse naga go nna le letseno ka tsela e e tshwanetseng. Tsamaiso kgotsa thulaganyo eno tshwanetse go tlamela bommasepala ba ba farologaneng ka dilo tse ba di tlhokang, e dire gore go nne le tekatekano, go momaganya batho ba ditso, dipuo le maemo a a sa tshwaneng.
- Go sa dirise matlole gentle** ga ditheo tse di bothlokwa tsa metsi le motlakase le sekoloto se mmasepala o nang le sone kwa Eskom le kwa ditheong tse di tlamelang ka Metsi go dira gore go nne le matshosetsi a go phuthlhma ga ditirelo tsa mafaratlhathla. Go ntse go le jalo, go sa dirise madi a a lekaneng go tlhokomela le go baakanya didiriswa go koafatsa mafaratlhathla a metsi le a motlakase, mme seno se dira gore go nne le poelomorago mo tswelelopeleng e e dirilweng go atolosa kabu ya ditirelo, e bile gape seno se nna le ditlamorago tse di bothhoko mo kgolong ya ikonomi le mo ditheong tse di tlhokomelang maemo a batho a boitekanelo.
- Puso e tshwanetse go tsaya dikgato tse di masisi go **rulaganya le go baya leitlho dithulaganyo tse di tlhomilweng mo makaleng le mo mekgatlhong e e farologaneng ya puso**. Go tshwanetse ga nna le dithulaganyo tsa go tlhomamisa gore bommasepala ba nna le bokgoni jwa go dira seabe sa bothlokwa thata tlhabololong ya metseselegae le toropo, e bile maikarabelo a go tlamela batho ka bonno le dipalangwa tsa bothle a tshwanetse go sithhamololelwka kwa mafapheng a a nang le bokgoni. Puso e tshwanetse go fetola leano la yone mme e akaretse baagi go dira dipatlisiso pele go bona gore ke eng se tota ba se tlhokang go na le go ba tlamela fela ka tlhamalalo ka ditirelo. Seno se tla tlhoka gore go nne le lenaane la ka bonako le le le tswelelang, la go fetola tsela e dilo di dirwang ka yone go tlamela ka matlole mekgatlho e nnang le seabe mo go tlameleng baagi ka dilo tse tota ba di tlhokang.

Tshate 12.4 e bontsha se puso ya selegae e se fitheletseng le dikgwetlho tse e lebaneng le tsone.

**Tšhate 12.4:** Poeletso ka bokhutshwane ya se se fitlheletsweng le dikgwetlho.

	SE SE FITLHELETWENG	DIKGWETLHO
TSAMAI SO YA PUSO & THULAGANYO YA DITHEO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tsamaiso ya dipusoselegae.</li> <li>Ditlhopho tsa ka metlha tse di sa gobeleleng.</li> <li>Bontsi jwa metsesetoropo le bommasepala ba bagolo ba dira sentle.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Makala a dirang tiro e e tshwanang.</li> <li>Dikgotlang kwa dikopanong tsa sepolotiki, tsa boeteledipele le tsa botsamaisi.</li> <li>Go palelwa ke go sithamololela maikarabelo kwa mafapheng a nang le bokgoni.</li> <li>Metseselegae ga e mo taalong ya pusoselegae.</li> </ul>
GO RWALA MAI-KARABELO & GO TSAYA KAROLO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thulaganyo e e atologileng ya tsamaiso, e e nayang baagi tshono ya go nna le seabe.</li> <li>Thulaganyo e e Kopanetsweng ya Dithabolo (IDPs).</li> <li>Thulaganyo ya moeteledipele wa kgaolo e dira gore a dirisane ka tlhamalalo le baagi ba kgaolo.</li> <li>Dikomiti tsa Matlole a Puso a Bommasepala di ne tsa tlhomiwa e bile di okamela sentle.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Baagi ga ba tlhole ba ikanya pusoselegae.</li> <li>Go tlhotlheletsa go ikobela melao ka go nna le seabe.</li> <li>Go golaganngwa ga di IDP.</li> <li>Tsamaiso ya komiti ya kgaolo e dirisediwa mai-kaelelo a a sa siamang a sepolotiki.</li> <li>Go sa nne le kgolagano e e molemo le setshaba ka kakaretso le makala a e seng a puso.</li> <li>kaboditirelo.</li> </ul>
GO TLHO-KOMELWA GA MAFARATLHATLHA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tokafalo e kgolo mo thulaganyong ya go fitlhelela ditirelo tsa bothokwa.</li> <li>Go tlhomiwa ga thulaganyo ya go abela makala a e seng a puso matlole.</li> <li>Thulaganyo ya toropo ya IDMS ke thulaganyo e e molemo.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Go sa kgotsofalele tsela e ditirelo di abiwang ka yone.</li> <li>Kgatelelo ya go tlhokega ga bokgoni le madi mo ditheong tse di abang ditirelo ka ntla ya koketsego ya baagi.</li> <li>Bokoa mo go tlhokomeleng dithoto le go sa dirise madi a a lekaneng go di tlhokomela le go di baakanya, go tsofala ga mafarathathla mo go felelang ka tatlhegelo e kgolo ya metsi le motlakase.</li> </ul>
GO FETOLA TSA-MAISO YA LOAGO LEYA IKONOMI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thulaganyo e e tseneletseng ya botsamaisi jwa selegae.</li> <li>Tsamaiso e e dirang sentle ya go tlamelka ba bonno le ditheo tse di maleba tse batho ba di tlhokang.</li> <li>dithulaganyo tsa dipalangwa.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Go dirisa tsamaiso ya puso ya tlhaoile.</li> <li>Bontsi jwa mekgathlo le dithulaganyo tsa LED ga di solegele molemo.</li> <li>Go sa rulaganngweng sentle ga go fetola maikarabelo a puso mo madirelong le mo thulaganyong ya bommasepala.</li> <li>Go rulaganya.</li> </ul>
TALENTE LE BOKGONI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Go tlhoma mogopolo thata mo dithulan-yong tsa go katisa batho gore ba nne le bokgoni.</li> <li>Go fetola ka bonako tsamaiso ya bommasepala, go akaretsa le baenjenere.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Palo e ntsi ya diphatlhatiro mo mafapheng a a bothokwa thata le go sa latele thulaganyo ya go thapa batho ba ba nang le thutego e e tlhokegang.</li> <li>Go nnela go fetola batsamaisibago mo go felelang ka gore ditheo di se ka tsa Tsepama.</li> <li>Go itshunya nko ga dipolotiki mo botsamaising.</li> <li>Go latlhegelsona ke baenjenere ba ba nang le maitemogelo.</li> </ul>
MATLOLE A BOMMASEPALA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Thulaganyo e e dirang sentle ya kabomadi ya puso.</li> <li>Go busediwa dithoto/lefatshe le go lwantsha lehuma go akaretswe mo matloleng a abelwang pusoselegae.</li> <li>Thulaganyo e e dirang sentle ya go tlhokomela matlole.</li> <li>dithulaganyo tsa botsamaisi le pego ya matlole a bommasepala.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bommasepala ba le bantsi ba ba nang le mathata a madi.</li> <li>Sekoloto se se golang sa batho ka kakaretso le sekoloto sa mmasepala kwa Eskom le kwa ditheong tsa metsi.</li> <li>Tsamaiso e e bokoa ya go tlhatlhoba matlole le go sa ikobela botsamaisi.</li> <li>Koketsego e kgolo ya go dirisa matlole bothaswa le go dirisa matlole kwa ntle ga tetla.</li> </ul>



# DIKAKANTSHO

- Go bothhokwa thata gore thulaganyo ya dipalangwa tsa bothhe le ya bonno e nne mo tsamaisong ya ditheo tsa mmasepala le ya botsamaisi jwa tiriso ya lefatshe. Seno se akaretsa gore go rarabololwe tsamaiso e e sokameng (mme e seng fela) mo bommasepaleng ba le 57 ba go nang le palo e e kwa godimo thata ya bothhokatiro le khumanego.
- Thulaganyo ya dikarolo tse pedi tse di sa tshwaneng ya pusoselegae e e seng karolo ya ditoropokgolo e tshwanetse go sekasekwa bosh, ka boikaelelo jwa go dira thulaganyo e le nngwe fela ya pusoselegae. Seno se ka akaretsa go atolosa bommasepala ba Karolo A gone jaanong gore ba akaretsa metsesetoropo yothle e le 19 kgotsa mengwe ya metsesetoropo eno.
- Go tshwanetse ga tlhomiya tsamaiso ya ditheo tsa ditirelo mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa pusoselegae seno e le karolo ya Tsamaiso ya Ditheo Tse di Abang Ditirelo e e kopanyang dithulaganyo tsa ditheo tsa mafaratlhatlha go tswa mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa puso le di SOE. Go tlhogega thulaganyo ya naga ka bophara ya go ema nokeng bommasepala e e tla tlhokomelang di-registara tsa mafaratlhatlha le e e tla tlhomang tsamaiso ya naga ka bophara e e emang nokeng bommasepala gore ba ithulaganye sentle le gore ba nne le matlole a a lekaneng a go tlhokomela le go baakanya mafaratlhatlha.
- Puso e tshwanetse go sekaseka bosh makala, dikgaolo le tsamaiso ya dikomiti tsa dikgaolo go bona gore a di diragatsa maikarabelo a tsone. Dikomiti tsa dikgaolo di tshwanetse go fetolwa kgotsa go emisediwa ka ditheo tse di ka tlhokomelang sentle dipusoselegae mo setshabeng ka kakaretso le tse di ka kgonang go tswelala di fenya dikgwethlo fa di ntse di dira mmogo le dipusoselegae.
- Go tlhoma dithulaganyo tse disha le go nonotsha tse di setseng di le teng ka go katisa batho le go tlhoma tsamaiso e le nngwe ya tirelosetshaba e gape e ka kgonang go kopanya mmogo ditlhophia tse di ikemiseditseng tsa batsamaisi ba ba nang le maitemogelo ba ba ka kgonang go etelela pele le go kaela ka lobaka lo loleeele ditheo tsa bommasepala ba ba nang le mathata.
- Bokgoni jwa go dira tiro (malebana le go ela tlhoko, go ema nokeng le go nonotsha bommasepala gore ba diragatse maikarabelo a bone) jwa mafapha a diporofense a pusotshwaraganelo le merero ya setso, bo tshwanetse go tswelala bo beilwe leitlho e bile go tshwanetse ga nna le pego ya bokgoni jwa go dira ya dikgwedi dingwe le dingwe di le thataro. Pego eno e tshwanetse go begelwa Lekgotla la Botsamaisi la Poresidente, mme lone le tla laela mafapha a diporofense gore a tokafatse fa go tlhogegang;
- Go tlhogega leano le le ka dirang sentle go kaela maiteko a puso a go Iwantsha bonweenwee, le le ka dirang gore ba ba tshwarwang ka bonweenwee ba athholwe ke Tsamaiso ya Tshiamiso le Borukutlhi. Setlhophia sa go Iwantsha bonweenwee sa pusoselegae se se kopanyang tiro ya go batlisisa le go diragatsa molao mo nageng, se tlhoka go nonotshiwa fela thata ke pusoselegae e e ikemiseditseng le e e nang le bokgoni jwa go Iwantsha bonweenwee, go akaretsa le mo porofenseng, se ka golaganngwa le NPA kgotsa sa dira e le setlhophia se se ikemetseng.
- Molao wa Dithata Tsa Matlole a Mmasepala le Tiriso ya one, 2007 (Act 12 of 2007) o tshwanetse go mametlelelwia gore o tlhalose sentle melao ya lekgetho le le tsamaisanang le ditlhabololo mo diporojekeng tse dikgolo tsa ditlhabololo. Gape go tlhogega gore go sekasekwe bosh tsamaiso ya bommasepala ya go adima madi go bo go tlhalosiwa ka tsela e e utlwlang maikarabelo a DFI;
- Go thusa bommasepala go nna le dithulaganyo tse di dirang sentle tsa go tlhatlhoba matlole ngwaga le ngwaga le go tlhomamisa ka botlalo gore dithulaganyo tseno di a latelwa. Sa botlhokwa le go feta, go tshwanetse ga tlhomamisiwa gore go Go Ipagololela Mogodu mo Matloleng le go a Dirisa Botlhaswa go a thibelwa le gore fa seno se direga, go tshwanetse ga beginwa mo pegong ya ngwaga le ngwaga e le gore tiriso e e botlhaswa ya matlole e lemogiwe le go thibelwa.
- E le go tsibogela ka bonako mathata a matlole a bommasepala, go tlhogega gore go nne le letsholo la mo nageng yothle la go tsibosa baagi ka dituelo tsa ditirelo tsa mmasepala, le le jaaka Masakhane, le le amanang le tokafatso ya go aba ditirelo le maiteko a mmasepala ka Boone a go fokotsa sekoloto.

CHAPTER 13

# Bosiamisi, Go Thibela Bosenyi le go Aga Setšhaba se se Sireletsegileng



## GO YA KWA TEMOKERASING YA MOLAOTHEO

**K wa tshimologong ya temokerasi ya Aforika Borwa ka 1994, go diragatsa ditshwanelo tsa batho go ne ga dirwa tshetledi ya thebolelo ya molaotheo le ditlhophpha tse di rulaganeng tsa ditshwanelo tsa batho, go akaretsa ditshwanelo tsa itshorelo ya setshaba, e ne ya tsenngwa mo Molaong wa Ditshwanelo le go tsenngwa mo Molaotheong o o dirilweng labofelo wa ka 1996. Go tsenngwa ditshwanelo tsa sepolotiki ga mmogo le ditshwanelo tsa itshorelo ya setshaba tse di siamesitsweng mo molaotheong wa rona e ne e le lebaka la botlhokwa mo go fitlheleleng kgololesego, seriti le tekatekano.**

Pela ga 1994, Aforika Borwa, ga mmogo le dikgaolo tse mo malobeng e neng e le Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda le Ciskei le mafelo a a ipitsang a a ikemetseng ka puso, e ne e na le mafapha a a farologaneng a bosiamisi a le II le maphata a mangwe a a amanang le bosiamisi. Seno se se ile sa baka ditirelo tsa bosiamisi tse di sa lekalekaneng le tse di sa tshwaneng. Mafapha a le II a ne a kopane mmogo e bile tiro e ne ya simolola e le ntsi go thomamisa tlamelo ya ditirelo tsa bosiamisi le go atlenegisa go kgona go bona tshiamiso go botlhe. Kgotshekelo ya Molaotheo e ne ya tlhomwa le, go kaelwa ke Molaotheo, e ne ya dira dikatholo go fitlhelela boleng jaaka seriti sa batho, tekatekano le tlolomalo ya Molaotheo. Fa e sale ka 1994 Aforika Borwa e ile ya atlega mo go ageng ditheo tse disha tsa temokerasi le mo go tlosa buka ya rona ya melao ya kgale ya apartheid. Setlhopa se se rulaganeng sa melao e mesha se ile sa tlhagelela go tswa mo dikarolong tsotlhe tsa puso go diragatsa maitlhomo a Molaotheo.

Fa e sale ka 1994, puso e ne ya simolola tiro e kgolo ya go fetola tsamaiso yotlhe ya bosiamisi ka go tlhoma motheo le dipilara tsa go aga le go tlamela tetla ya molaotheo mo temokerasing e ntšha. Go tokafatsa tsela ya go bona bosiamisi go botlhe le go atlenegisa taelo ya molao e ile ya nna selo sa botlhokwa mo pusong. Maitlhommagolo e ne e le go tlisa dithulaganyo le ditsamaiso tsa bosiamisi

malebana le Molaotheo, go aga sesha tshepo le go itshepa ga setshaba mo ditheo tsa bosiamisi le go tsosolosa go dira ka natla ga tsamaiso.

### Ditheo tsa naga tse di tshegetsang temokerasi

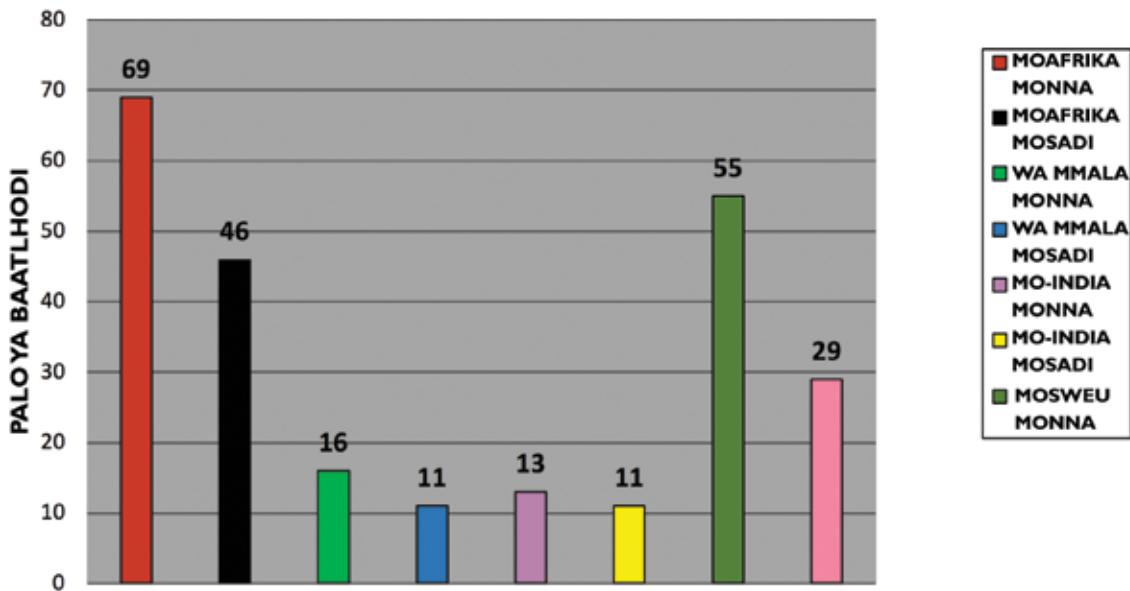
Kgaolo 9 ya Molaotheo e bua ka ditheo tse di latelang tsa naga tse di tlhamilweng go matlafatsa temokerasi e e laolwang ke molaotheo mo Aforika Borwa: Mosireletsi wa Setshaba, Khomishine ya Ditshwanelo Tsa Batho ya Aforika Borwa, Khomishine ya Keteletso le Tshireletso ya Ditshwanelo tsa Setso, Bodumedi le Dithlhophpha Tsa Puo, Khomishine ya Tekatekano ya Bong, Morunikakaretso, IEC le ICASA. Molaotheo o laela gore ditheo tseno di ikemele le gore di ikarabelele fela mo Molaotheong le mo molaong.

### Boatlhodi

Melaometheo e e kaga go kgaogana dithata, go ikemela ga boatlhodi le tlolomalo ya Molaotheo di remeletse mo molaotheong wa temokerasi ya Aforika Borwa. Melaometheo e e kaga go kgaogana dithata e laola o le mongwe wa Melaometheo ya Molaotheo e le 34 e e nnileng moago ya Molaotheo.

Kgolo ya setlhophsa sa go ithutela molao wa molaotheo mo Aforika Borwa ke sesupo sa tiro ya boatlhodi e maitlhomo a yone e leng go etleetsa le go sireletsa ditshwanelo tsa batho. Kgotshekelo ya Molaotheo e ile ya fetisa dikatholo tse dintsit tsa boitlhamele, mo dikarolong tsa ditshwanelo tsa sepolotiki tsa selegae le tsa itshorelo ya setshaba. Mo kgetsing ya S vs Makwanyane e e neng e bua ka go nna mo molaong ga katlholelo loso, Kgotshekelo e ene ya tlhalosa tshwanelo ya go tshela le ya go nna le seriti e leng “selo sa botlhokwa thata mo ditshwanelong tsotlhe tsa batho, le motswedti wa ditshwanelo tsotlhe tsa motho” mo Molaotlhomong wa Ditshwanelo. Mo kgetsing ya ga Ferreira vs Levin, Kgotshekelo e ne ya rarabolola kgang ya tshwanelo ya go nna le kgololesego le tshireletsegoo ya motho. Mo kgetsing ya ga Bernstein vs Bester, e ne ya tlhatlhoba tshwanelo ya go nna le khupamarama. Mo kgetsing ya National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality vs Minister of Home Affairs, Kgotshekelo ya Molaotheo e ne ya laela gore baratani ba bong jo bo tshwanang ba na le tshwanelo ya go itumelela melemo e e tshwanang ya bofaladi e e newang batho ba ba nyalanengs.

Dikatholo tse dikgolo tse di amanang le ditshwanelo tsa itshorelo ya setshaba di akaretsa dikgetsi tse di tshwanang le Puso ya Rephaboliki ya Aforika Borwa kgatlanong le v Grootboom, Soobramoney kgatlanong le Tona ya Boitekanelo, KwaZulu- Natal, Tona ya Boitekanelo kgatlanong le TAC le Khosa kgatlanong le Tona ya Thlabololo ya Loago le tse dingwe tse dintsit. Tseno ke karolo ya dikatholo tse dikgolo tse di ileng tsa tlhomolola



MOATLHODIWA LERURI: %RACE & GENDER – TSHOBOKANYO									
LOTSO	MOAFRIKA		WA MMALA		MO-INDIA		MOSWEU		PALOGOTLHE:
	MONNA	MOSADI	MONNA	MOSADI	MONNA	MOSADI	MONNA	MOSADI	
BONG	69	46	16	11	13	11	55	29	250
PALOGOTLHE:	27,60%	18,40%	6,40%	4,40%	5,20%	4,40%	22,00%	11,60%	100%
%									

**Setshwantsho 13.I:** Kemedi ya bommè mo lephateng la Boatlhodi go tloga ka 2014-2018.

Motswedzi wa tsedimoso setso: Lefapha la Basadi le Batho ba ba Nang le Bokoa mo Mmeleng. 2019.

Pego e e rulaganedithweng Ngwaga wa bo25

thuto ya molao wa ditshwanelo tsa batho mo Aforika Borwa, segolobogolo malebana le tshwanelo ya go bona matlo, kalafi le tshwanelo ya go bona thuto.

### Tsela ya go bona bosiamisi le ditirelo tsa bosiamisi

Kgatelopele e e bonalang e setse e dirilwe mo go atoloseng letshwao la dikgotlatshekelo ka go aga dikgotlatshekelo tse disha, segolobogolo mo metseselegaeng le mo mafelong a a neng a tlhaotswe mo nakong e e fetileng, e le go tlhomamisa gore batho ba kgona go bona bosiamisi gaufi le kwa ba nnang gone. Letshwao le le atologileng gape le kaya go bona tsela e e botoka ya ditirelo tsa bosiamisi, jaaka dikgotlatshekelo tsa tlhokomelo ya bana, ditirelo tsa kgotlatshekelo ya Master le Ofisi ya go Mmuedeli wa Malapa, gareng ga tse dingwe. Ga jaana go na le dikarolo tsa Kgolathsekelo golo mo diporofenseng di tsotlhie di le robongwe le dikgotlatshekelo tse dingwe tse di fetang 700 go ralala naga. Gape go na le Dikgotlatshekelo Tsa Melato e Mennye mo didikeng tsa mmagiseterata mo nageng.

Tsamaiso ya thuso ya molao ya Aforika Borwa e ile ya rulaganngwa sentle e bile Thuso ya Molao ya Aforika Borwa e tlamela ka diterelo tsa thuso ya molao mo boemong jwa Naga mo bathong ba ba humanegileng le ba ba palelwang ke go iphemela ba ba sa kgoneng go duelela thuso ya molao ka tlamelo ya ditirelo tsa thuso ya molao tse di ikemetseng, tse di bonwang motlhoho le tsa boleng jo bo kwa godimo mo dikgannyeng tse di amanang le bosenyi le molao wa selegae.

Dikgotlatshekelo Tsa Melato ya Tsa Thobalano di ne tsa tlhamiwa le go thusa ka ditirelo tsa tshegetso mo batswasel-habelong, tse di akaretsang, garenga ga tse dingwe, ditirelo tsa go rulaganetsa kgotlatshekelo, ditirelo tsa botsereganji le tsa go ntsha bopaki mo khemereng ga bafalodi ba melato ya thobalano. Tsamaiso ya Bosiamisi mo Baneng e laolwa ke Molawana wa Bosiamisi mo Baneng o o tlamelang ka dithulaganyo tse di maleba go tlhomamisa gore ditshwanelo tse di tshwanetseng tsa ngwana yo o latofadiwang di a sirediwa. Gape seno se dirile gore go nne le phokotsego ya bana ba ba tshwarwang kwa dikagong tsa kgopololo.

Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go **Setshwantsho figure 13.1** go fitlheletswe go le gontsi malebana le baatlhodi ba lotso le bong. Go nnile le **koketsego e e kgatlheng mo basading ba ba okametseng modikgotlatshekelongtsa rona** mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, mme go santse go ne le mo gontsi go go dira. Le fa gone go ne go na le moatlhodi wa mosadi a le mongwe ka 1994, ga jaana go na le baatlhodi ba basadi ba le 97, mo palogotlheng ya baathodi ba leruri ba le 250 (38,8% e leng ya basadi) le, ka lekgetlho la ntlha, Moporesidente wa Kgotshekelo ya Boatlhodi ya Boikuelo ke mosadi. Lefa go ntse jalo, ke mo dikarolo tsa mmagiseterata mo kgatelopele e ntsi e diregileng malebana le bong, mo go nang le bommagiseterata ba le 758 ba basadi mo palogotlheng ya bommagiseterata ba leruri ba le 1596 (47,4% e leng ya basadi) le ba le 4 ba Baperesidente ba le 9 ba Kgotshekelo ya Sedika ba e leng basadi.

**Ga jaana go na le dikarolo tsa Kgotshekelokgolo mo diporofenseng di tsotlhe di le robongwe le dikgotlatshekelo tse dingwe tse di fetang 700 go ralala naga.**

**Tiro ya Boatlhodi** mo kgannyeng ya diphetogo tse di tsweletseng mo setheong e **santse e le ya botlhokwa** e bile matsholo a a farologaneng a ntse a dirwa go matlafatsa dikgotlatshekelo le boatlhodi. Matsholo ano a akaretsa go diragadiwa ga Molawana wa Phetolo ya bo17 ya Molaotheo le Molaawna wa Dikgotlatshekelo Tse di Kgolwane le go tlhamiwa ga Ofisi ya Moatlhodimogolo. Gape boatlhodi bo na le Boutu ya Tekanyetsokabo ya yone e le go tlhomamisa gore go ikemela ga molaotheo wa boatlhodi.

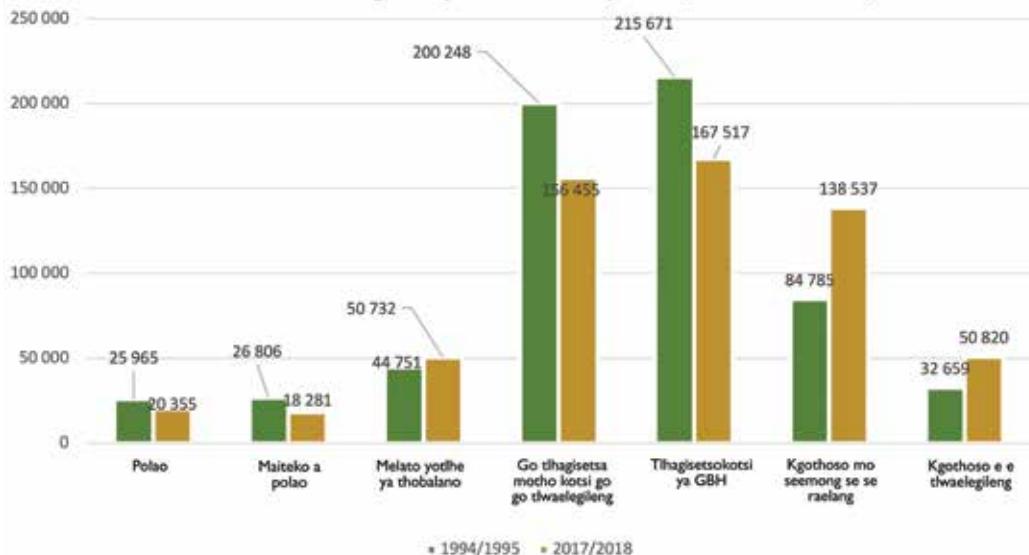
**Phetogo ya tiro ya molao** e santse e le maitlhomo a ntlha, ka go diragadiwa ga Molawana wa go Dira ka Molao go thusa go bula ditshono mo badirising ba molao ba Bantsho le basadi.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Fa puso e ntse e dira maiteko, mo go dirisaneng le mekgatlheng ya baagi ba setshaba, go diragatseng **tsiboso ka ditshwanelo tsa batho** le thuto, go santse go na le mo go ntsi go go dira. E le go Iwantsha go tlhaolana mo go sa siamang go botlhokwa gore motho ka mongwe le baagi ba tsibosiwe ka ditshwanelo tsa bone tsa molaotheo.

## Mafelo a a siletsegileng

Nako ya botlhokwa ya thulaganyo ya go direla setshaba se sesha se se theilweng mo boleng jwa temokerasi, bosiamisi jwa loago le ditshwanelo tsa bothokwa tsa batho, e ne e le melaotheo ya e e neng e dirisiwa le ya bofelo ka 1993 le 1996 ka tatelano. Nngwe ya dikarolo tsa bothokwa tsa Molaotheo wa Rephaboliki ya Aforika Borwa wa 1996 ke go tlhomamisa gore tshireletsego ya setshaba e tshwanetse go bontsha boikaelelo mo maAforika Borweng “*motho ka mongwe le e le setshaba, go tshela ka kagiso le kutlwano, go gololesega mo letshogong le go batla, le go batla botshelo jo bo botoka*”.

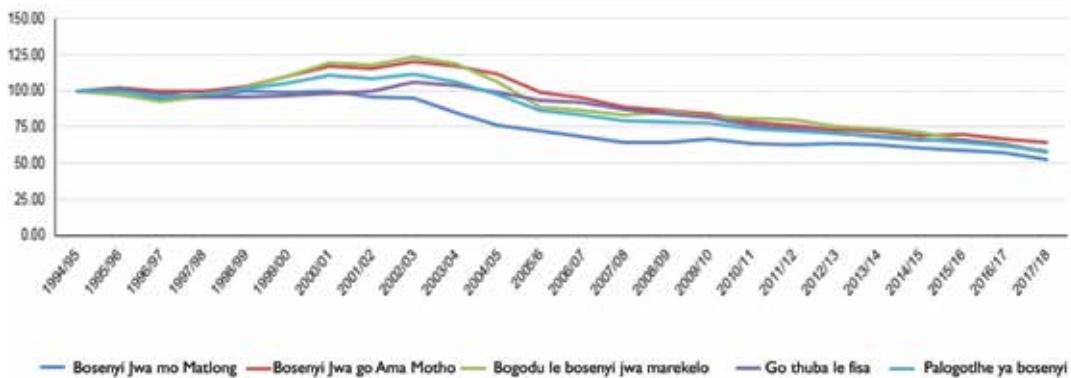


### **Setshwantsho 13.2: Dipalo tsa bosetshaba tsa bothhokotsebe**

(bosenyi jwa go ama motho) 1994/95 le 2017/18.

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Ditirelo tsa Sepodise Tsa Aforika Borwa.

Dipalopalo Tsa Bosenyi Jwa Naga



### **Setshwantsho 13.3: Phetogo ya Bosenyi Jwa Naga.**

Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: Ditirelo Tsa Sepodise sa Aforika Borwa. Dipalopalo Tsa Bosenyi Jwa Naga

## Go diragadiwa ga molaotlhomo, dipholisi le diporogerama go tloga ka 1994

Go bona go Iwantsha bosenyi e le maitlhomo a magolo a naga, puso ya temokerasi e dirisitse National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) ka 1996. Maikalelo e ne le go fetoga ka bottalo go tswa tseleng ya go laola bosenyi ka dikgoka go ya mo go thibeling bosenyi ka tsela ya go fetola motho.

### Maitlhomo a NCPS a ne a akaretsa:

- Go simololwa ga thulaganyo ya pholisi e e tlhaloganyesegang go rarabolola bosenyi ka tsela e e rulaganeng le e tlhomameng, ka thuso ya didiriswa tsa maphata a puso le baagi ba setshaba;
- Ketleetso ya tlhaloganyo e e arolelanweng le pono e e tshwanang ya naga go Iwantsha bosenyi;
- Tlhabololo ya dithlophya tsa diporogerama tsa naga tse di direlang go thusa le go tsepamisa maiteko a mafapha a a farologaneng a puso mo go reboleng tirelo e e nang le boleng ka boikaelelo jwa go rarabolola mathata a a bakang bosenyi jo bogolo; le
- Go fitlhelela maitlhomo a go thibela bosenyi ka go nna le seabe mo dithlhopheng tsa loago tse dikgolo le tse di tlhokometsweng.

## Go tlhomamisa polokego le tshireletsego

Mefuta e le 17 ya bosenyi jo bo masisi jo bo begilweng ke baagi magareng ga 1994/95 le 2017/18 bo oketsegile ka mo e ka nnang 11% go tloga ka 1 503 240 go ya go 1 662 815 ka tatelano.

Lefa go ntse jalo dikarolwana tse dingwe tsa bosenyi jo bo masisi jaaka go ama motho, bosenyi jo bo amanang le ama motho le bosenyi jo bo amanang le dithoto bo wetse tlase ka nako e e tshwanang. Palogotlhya bosenyi jwa go ama motho ka tlhamalalo bo wetse tlase ka 4.5% go tswa go 630 885 go ya go 602 697, bosenyi jo bo amanang le go ama motho ka 13.5% go tswa go 134 253 go ya go 115 361 le bosenyi jo bo amanang le dithoto ka 22% go tswa go 655 476 go ya go 508 975.

Nngwe ya palopotlana ya bosenyi jwa go ama motho ka tlhamalalo jo bo bakelang baagi letshogo – go kgothosa mo go etegetsang seemo – go bontshitse koketsego e kgolo go tloga go 84 785 go ya go 138 537.

Magareng ga 2014/15 le 2017/18 bosenyi kgatlanong le basadi le bana bo oketsegile ka 5.4% go tswa go 168 502 go ya go 177 620 le ka 5.2% go tswa go 41 402 go ya go 43 540 ka tatelano.

**Setshwantsho 13.2** se bontsha bokgakala jo dikarolo tse di rileng tsa bosenyi jo bo masisi jo bo dirang gore baagi ba nne le letshogo bo fokotsegile le go oketsegile magareng ga 1994/95 2017/18. Ka sekai go gobatsa motho mo mmeleng ka go mo itaya, dipolao le maiteko a polao go wetse tlase, fa go kgothosa le go sotlaka ka thobalano go oketsegile.

Bogolo jwa dipego tsa bosenyi bo ile jwa ema golo go le gongwe go tloga ka 1994 go fitlha ka 1998, fa bo ne bo simolola go oketsegile, bo nna kwa godimo ka 2003. Morago ga moo, go ne ga lemogiwa phokotsego. Ka kakaretso le motho ka mongwe, bontsi jwa dikarolo tsa bosenyi bo emeng kgotsa bo fokotsegile fa go bapsiwa le jwa 1994. Tokafatso e e tsweletseng ya boemo jwa bosenyi fa e sale ka 2004/05 e ka amanngwa le go etlelediwa go dirisiwa ga NCPS, e e akareditseng, mme e sa lekadiwa go oketsa mapodise a a bonalang, le tokafatso mo maithomong a go Iwantsha bosenyi a CJS.

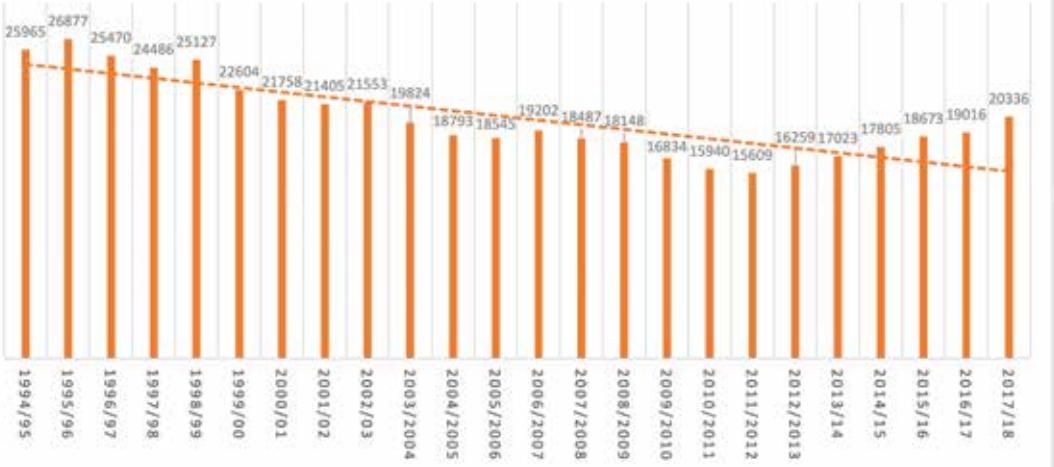
**Setshwantsho 13.3** le sone se bontsha gore go nnile phokotsego e e bonalang mo palogotlheng ya rashio ya bosenyi jwa go ama motho. Seno se ka tswa se bakwa ke maiteko a a oketsegile le tokafatso go potlaka le go nna matlhagathaga ga Tsamaiso ya Bosiamisi Jwa Bosenyi ka kakaretso le tiriso ya tsela ya Go Boela Kwa Tshimologong ke SAPS. Lefa go ntse jalo, se se tshwenyang thata ke lebaka la gore rashio ya dipolao le kgothoso kgothoso e e etegetsa boikutlo jwa go sa babalesege e bile go tlisa matshosetsi mo botshelong jwa batho, e re ka bo tletse thubakanyo ka tlhago.

Go phepfafetse go ya ka **Setshwantsho 13.4** gore bosenyi jwa dipolao bo wetse tlase ka lobelo mo e ka nnang ka 10 000 go tswa go 25 695 ka 1994/95 go ya go 15 609 ka 201/12. Ka maswabi palo eno e ne ya simolola go tlhatlhoga go simolola ka 2012/13 le go tswelela e dira jalo. Fela kwa bowelong jwa 2017/18, palo ya dikgetsi tsa polao e ne ya ema go 20 336.

Dikarolo tseno tse pedi tsa bosenyi kgatlanong le basadi le bana di bontsha koketsego ya 5.41% le 5.16% ka go latelana magareng ga dingwaga tsa 2014/2015 go ya go 2017/2018. Sa botlhokwa ke lebaka la gore go ne go na le kwelotlase e nnye mo bosenyng kgatlanong le basadi, ka 2016/2017 mme palo eno e ne ya oketsegape ka 2017/18. Palopotlana ya bosenyi kgatlanong le basadi le bana, ke melato ya thobalano. Bosenyi jwa melato ya thobalano bo bonala bo wela tlase ka ditiragalo di ka nna 7 000 go tswa go di le 57 115 ka 1994/95 go ya go 50 108 ka 2017/18. Ka 2008/09 palo eno e ne ya tlhatlhogela go 69 197. Ditekanyetso tse di farologaneng di ile tsa dirwa go thusa basadi le bana kgatlanong le tshotlakako. Molawana wa Kgokgontsho ya mo Malapeng wa 1998 o ne wa tlhamiwa go sireletsa bafalodi ba kgokgontsho ya mo malapeng.

**Maiteko a go rarabolola melato ya kgokgontsho go ya bong le ya thobalano kgatlanong le batho ba ba palelwang ke go iphemela, segolobogolo basadi le bana, a akaretsa:**

- Kgokgontsho ya Lelapa, diyuniti tsa Tshireletso ya Bana le Melato ya tsa Thobalano.



**Setshwantsho 13.4: Dikgetsi tsa polao mo Aforika Borwa.**

Motswed i wa tshedimosetso: Ditirelo tsa Sepodise mo Aforika Borwa. Dipalopalo tsa Bosenyi jwa Naga.

- Victim-Friendly Rooms (VFRs) di ne tsa tlhamiwa. SAPS e na le diteishene tsa mapodise di le 1 147 e bile palogotlh e ya 1 049 ya diteishene tsa mapodise tseno di na le diVFR tse di dirang.
- Boutu ya tekanyetsokabo ya 2018/19 e diretswe go lwantsha bosenyi kgatlanong le basadi le bana.
- Go rarabolola ditiragalo tsa go tshwakgolwa ke diokobatsi le didirisiva tse di okobatsang, e leng tsone tse di bakang bosenyi kgatlanong le basadi le bana le batho ba ba sa kgoneng go iphemela.
- Malatsi a le 16 a Kgaratlho ya go Gana Tshotlakako kgatlanong le Basadi le Bana.
- Go maatlafatsa balaodi ba seposise ka bokgoni jo bo kgethegileng.
- Tirisanommogo le baagi ba selegae, go rarabolola mabaka le ditiro tse di etegetsang GBV.
- Go kopanya Porogerama ya Tiro e e Rarabololang Tshotlakako Kgatlanong le Basadi le Bana (POA:VAWC)

Matsapa a magolo a go rarabolola mathata a bosenyi jo bo masisi, ke go tlhokomela dikarolo tse di rileng tse di bakang bosenyi tse di akaretsang go tshwakgolwa ke diokobatsi le dilo tse di dirang gore tsewe ke sedidi.

Go ya fitlha koo, Central Drug Authority (CDA) e ne ya tlhamiwa malebana le Molawana wa go Thibela le go Alafa go Tshwakgolwa ke Diokobatsihas wa 2008. CDA e ne ya tlhatlhoba Dithulaganyo tsa go Lwantsha Diritibatsi mo Nageng (NDMP) tse tharo: 1999 – 2004; 2006 – 2011, 2013 – 2017. Dipilara tsa botlhokwa tsa NDMP ke go fokotsa patlafalo, kgobatso le thebolo.

Matsholo a a diretsweng go fokotsa go gobadiwa le go batla diokobatsi a akaretsa letsholo la tsiboso la 'Ke

Moja' (ga ke batle diokobatsi) le le neng la dirwa ka mafaratlhatlha a bogatsi, radio, difouno tsa selula tse ka tsone batho ba ba fetsang dimilione di le 20 ba ne ba kgona go fitlhelelwa. Thuto ya go sa tshwakgolwe ke tiriso ya diokobatsi le matsholo a go itsise batho kwa ditheong tsa thuto e kgolwane a ile a dirisiwang go tloga ka Ferikgong 2014. Ka 2008/09 disenthara tsa Kalafi ya go Tshwakgolwa ke Diokobatsi di ne tsa simolola ka tiriso ya ditlwaelo le tsela e go dirwang ka yone kwa disenthareng tsa kalafi ya balwetse mo disenthareng tsa kalafi di le robongwe tse di kwa Kapa Botlhaba, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga le Bokone Bophirima.

Go tloga mo e ka nna ka 2009 go fitlha ga jaana, dikgwetlho tse disha tsa bosenyi di tlhageletse. Tseno ke ditlhabololo tse, tse fa e le gore ga di ise di rabololwe ka botlalo, di ka tswa di bontshitse go sa tlotle taolo ya Naga. Tseno di akaretsa: matshosetsi a tshireletsego ya mo inthanete, kgokgontsh ya phatlalatsa, tiro e e bontshang kgokgontsho e e bontshiwang ka ditshupetso ga mmogo le se go tweng ke ntwa ya boraditekisi. Malebana le kgokgontsho e e bontshiwang ka ditshupetso, katlego e kgolo e nnil e teng mo emiseng ditiragalo kwa di neng di atile go direga gone.

### Go tlhomamisa botlhaga le go potlaka ga CJS

Ka 2008, Thulaganyo ya Dintlha tse Supa e ne ya dirisiwa, e e neng e ikaeletse go dirisa pono le maike misetso a le mangwe fela, setlhophya sa maitlhomo a le mangwe fela, ditiro tsa botlhokwa le mekgele ya selekanyo sa go diragatsa malebana le CJS; go dira diphetogo tsa botlhokwa mo ditsamaisong tsa ga jaana tsa kgotlathekelo mo dikgannyeng tsa bosenyi; go diragadiwa ga ditiro tsa botlhokwa mo dikarolong tsa CJS; go simolola Database/ Tsamaiso ya tshedimosetso ya CJS ya naga e e kopaneng



## BOTSEREGANYI JO BONGWE JWA BOTLHOKWA

- Pampiri e Tshweu ka Polokesego le Tshireletsego ya 1998.
- Leano la go Lwantsha Bosenyi mo Nageng le le lebileng thata dikarolo le mafelo a a thophil-weng go emisa bosenyi jo bo masisi le jo bo nang le thubakanyo le jo bo rulagantsweng, koketsego ya ditlhobolo le bosenyi kgatlhanong le basadi le bana.
- Leano le le Kopaneng la Thibelo ya Bosenyi jwa Selegae la go rarabolola boemo jwa itsholelo ya setshaba tse di ka bakang go dirwa ga bosenyi.
- Molawana wa SAPS (1995) go tlhomamisa polokesego le tshireletsego, go boloka le go sireletsa ditshwanelo tsa botlhokwa go botlhe, go thusa tirisano magareng ga mapodise le baagi ga mmogo le go bontsha tlotlo mo batswasetlhabelong le go tlhaloganya ditlhoko tsa bone.
- Pono ya Bosiamisi 2000, e e neng e batla go fetola tsamaiso ya bosiamisi gore e bontshe dikakantsho tsa botlhokwa tsa molaotheo, ga mmogo le mekgele ya dipholisi tsa puso mo go ageng sesha le go tlhabolola.
- Thulaganyo ya dintlha di le supa gore e diragatse botlhaga le go potlaka ga CJS.
- Molawana wa Tshotlakako ya mo Malapeng, (Act 116 of 1998), go neela bafalodi ba kgokgontsho tshireletsego e kgolo go tswa mo tshotlakakong ya mo malapeng.
- Porgerama e e kopaneng ya Tiro ya go rarabolola tshotlakako kgatlhanong le basadi le bana.

le e e sa senyegeng go ralala mafapha a CJS le go dirisanya tshedimosetso ya Bofelo go ya Bofelong ya CJS; go tlhabolola ka tsela e e kopaneng le e momaganeng, dikarolo tsotlhe tsa ditsamaiso le didiriswa tsa dithulaganyo tsa CJS le DHA; go itsise ka diphetogo mo tirisanong le baagi ba selegae le mabapi le dipuso tsa CPF/CSF, go akaretsa go atolosa tiro ya go rarabolola dikgang tsotlhe tse di mo CJS, ka sekai, bopodise, le diboto tsa parole.

Papiso magareng ga go tshwara, dikgetsi tse di feditsweng, le go bonwa molato e bontsha gore go na le go nyalana magareng ga go tshwara le dikgetsi tse di feditsweng, mo dikgetsi tsotlhe tse di sa fediwang di bolelang go bonwa molato. Lefa go ntse jalo, palo ya batho ba ba tshwerweng malebana le dikgetsi tse di feditsweng le tsa go bonwa molato, e a tshwenya e bile e ka bontsha go tshwara go go sa tshwanelang kgotsa go tswala ga CJS mo go sa bakeng go bonwa molato. Karolo e nngwe ya kgokagano ya botlhokwa ya CJS ke go fokotsa ditiragalo tsa melato e e ipoeletsang. Seno se fithelelwka tsenya batshwarwa mo diporogerameng tse di farologaneng tse di rebolwang ke ditirelo tsa kgopololo. Karolo ya batshwarwa ba ba ikwadisetsang diporogerama tseno e feta 80%.

### Go aga le go etleetsa go tsaya karolo mo mafelong a baagi (Mapodise a mo Mafelong a Baagi)

Go amogetswe gore ntwa ya go fedisa bosenyi ke nngwe ya dilo tse di tlhokang se se fetang maiteko a CJS. Ka bonako moragonyana ga go tsena mo temokerasing, community policing forums (CPFs) di ne tsa tlhamiwa ke molaotlhomo gore di kgone direla legato la go dirisana ga SAPS le baagi. Seno se bakile go tlhamiwa ga diCPF mo go nngwe le nngwe ya diteishene tsa mapodise di fetsa 1000 mo nageng. Lefa go ntse jalo, go dira ka tsela e e nang le matswela ga diCPF tseno go a farologana.

Fa NDP e simolola go dira, community safety forums (CSFs) di ne tsa tlhongwa gore di bule tsela ya go rulaganya, go kopanya le go tlhokomela maano a go thibela bosenyi mo lefelong le ba nnang mo lone. Le fa diCSF di le mmalwa di ile tsa tlhamiwa, lobelo lo di simololwang ka lone lo bonya.

### Go arabela matshosetsi a mangwe a polokesego le tshireletsego

Gantsi moragong jaana, naga e itemogetse palo e golang ya go dirwa ga ditshupetso le dikhuduego tse, ka dinako di le dintsi di ileng tsa kopanyeletsa le thumolano e e tseneletseng, matshosetsi, kgokgontsho ya morafe le eleng dikarolo tsa bosenyi. Kgwetlhlo e kgolo mo CJS e nnile go tsibogela ditiragalo tseno ka tsela e e bonsthang mowa le boikutlo jwa mapodise a a rulaganeng a lefelo la baagi le Molao wa Ditshwanelo. Seno se ne se thoka go nna tekatekano magareng ga go lemoga ditshwanelo tsa baagi

tsa go dira ditshupetso le go tlhokela ga mapodise go tlhomamisa gore go na le kagiso le thitibalo.

Kgokgontsho ya morafe e ile ya thibelwa ka botlalo ka karolwana ka ntlha ya go tlhokela ga kitso kgotsa go se mne le e e feletseng le sa botlhokaw le go feta, ka ntlha ya gore gantsi dilo tse di bakang dikhuduego tseno di nna kwa ntle ga se se lebeletsweng mo CJS. Boleng jwa go laola segongwana jo bo akaretsang go katisa diyuniti tse di laolang digongwana bo ntse bo le bokoa.

Mo dingwageng tse 10 tse di fetileng, go tlhoka tshireletsego mo inthanete le bosenyi jwa inthanete go ile ga tlhagelela e le nngwe ya dilo tse di bakang letshogo mo tshireletsegong ya Naga. Kgatelopele e ntle e dirilwe mo go tlhameng maiteko a go thibela le go lwantsha dilo tseno. Lefa go ntse jalo, ditekanyetso tseno ga di a ka tsa kgona go dira pharologanyo mo dikgwetlhong tsa go tlhoka tshireletsego mo inthanete le bosenyi jwa mo inthanete. Dithulaganyo tse di raraaneng tsa bosenyi jwa mo inthanete di santse di le bofitlha thata e bile kgabagare di ile tsa falola kotlhao.

Matshosetsi a bofelo a magolo a naga e ileng ya lebana le one ke bothata jwa melelwane e e nang le diphatlha le bokoa jwa tshireletso ya melelwane, phudugelo kwa nageng e nngwe kwa ntle ga molao ga mmogo le borukhutli jwa lefatshe lotlhe. Go nna mo kotsing go go farologaneng ga tshireletsego go a oketsega ka ntlha ya ditekanyetso tse di bokoa tsa tshireletsego kwa melelwane. Seno se okeditse ditiro tsa bosenyi jwa go tshela melelwane jaaka go gwebisana ka diritibatsi e se kafa molaong, koketsego ya dithobolo tse di seng kafa molaong, go thobisiwa ga ga dikoloi le dimmetale tse di tlhwatlhwakgolo, go amogela motsoko go go seng kafa molaong, diaparo, nnotagi le melemo.

Ditekanyetso tsa botlhokwa thata tse di diretsweng go thibela, go sireletsi le go laola melelwane ya rona e ne le dikgato tse di tserweng go simolola Taolo ya Tsamaiso ya Melelwane e le go tlhomamisa tsela e e rulaganeng le e kopaneng ya go rarabolola go nna mo kotsing ga tshireletsego go go bakwang ke melelwane e e nang le diphatlha. Go tsereganya ga molao le pholisi go ile ga dirisiva kgotsa go mo tseleng ya go tlhabololwa. Kgatelopele e e bonalang e ile ya begwa mo go lwantsheng bosenyi jo bo dirwang ka go kgabaganya melelwane.

### **Boleng jwa go tsenelela mo mererong ya polokesego le tshireletsego le dipholisi tse dingwe tsa selegae tsa puso**

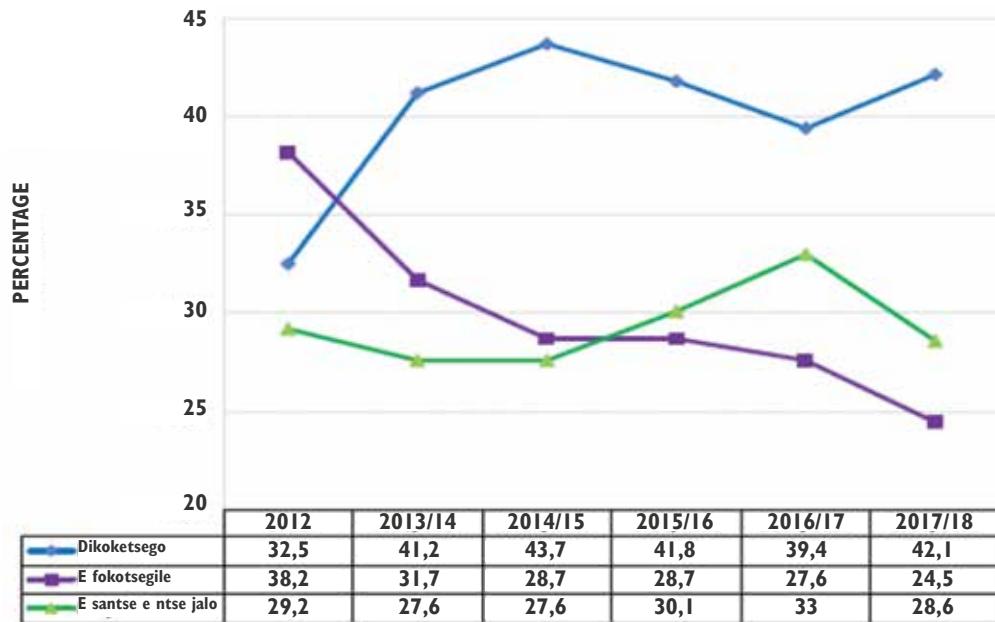
Go swetsa ka gore a diphlithelelo tse di kwadilweng mo dirapeng tse di fetileng go na le boleng jo bo nang le bokao le jo bo bonalang mo matshelang a baagi botlhe, go akanyetsa maikutlo a polokesego kgotsa gongwe a baagi go ile ga batlisisiwa ngwaga le ngwaga ke Stats SA. Ditshupo tsa tekanyetso ya dipatlisiso tseno jaaka diperesente tsa baagi ba maloko a bone a ikutlwang a sireletsegile go tsamaya motshegare mme fa go le lefifi, dikakanyo tsa bosenyi jwa go kgokgontsha mo mafelong a bone a bonno le bosenyi jo bo dirwang ke malapa e leng selo se se tlwaelegang mo Aforika Borwa, kgotsofalo ya go nna le ditirelo tsa sepodise mo lefelong la bone ka tsela e e tla dirang gore dikgotlatshekelo ka kakaretso di lepalepane le batho ba ba dirang bosenyi.

Patlisiso ya Batswasetlabeledo ba Bosenyi ya 2017/18 e bontsha gore peresente ya baagi ba ba ikutlwang ba sireletsegile fa ba tsamaya ba le nosi motshegare e fokotsegile go tswa go 85.4% ka 2014/15 go ya go 79.1% ka 2017/18. Peresente ya baagi ba ba ikutlwang sireletsegile fa ba tsamaya ba le nosi bosigo e fokotsegile go tloga go 31% go ya go 29.4% magareng ga 2014/15 le 2016/17. Lefa go ntse jalo, peresente ya batho ba ba ikutlwang ba sireletsegile fa ba tsamaya ba le nosi mo lefifing e oketsegile go se kae go ya go 31.8% ka 2017/18.

Magareng ga 2013/14 le 2017/18, peresente ya baagi ba ba kgotsofadiwang ke ditirelo tsa sepodise mo lefelong la bone e ne ya wa ka 5% go tloga go 59% go ya go 54%. Ka nako e e tshwanang, baagi ba ba kgotsofadiweng ke tsela e dikgotlatshekelo di lepalepanang le batho ba ba dirang bosenyi e fologile go tloga go 64% go ya go 41%.

Jaaka Setshwantsho 13.5 se bontsha, magareng ga 2012 le 2015, go na le kwelotlase e e bonalang mo dipalong tsa tsa batho ba ba dumelang gore bosenyi bo fokotsegile mo dingwageng tse fetileng tse tharo. Ka 2017/18, karolo ya baagi ba ba neng ba na le pono ya gore bosenyi jwa bokgokgontshi mo lefelong la bone bo oketsegile mo dingwageng tse tharo tse di fetileng e ne le kwa godimo go feta ya dingwaga tse di fetileng tse pedi, morago ga kwelotlase magareng ga 2015/16 2016/17. Ka jalo, dikakanyo





**Setshwantsho 13.5:** Peresente ya kakanyo ya baagi ya bogolo jwa bosenyi mo lefelong la bone.  
Motswedi wa tshedimosetso: StatSA

tse kgotsofatsang tse di tswang mo baaging ka seemo sa bosenyi jwa go kgokgontsha tse di bonweng magareng ga 2015/16 le 2016/17 di boetse kwa morago gape. Peresente ya baagi ba ba ikutlwang ekete bosenyi jwa go kgokgontsha bo wetse tlase ba ne ba le kwa tlase ka 2017/18, le go nna kwa tlase ga kotara ya baagi ba ba ikutlwang e kete bosenyi jwa go kgokgontsha bo fokotsegile.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI FA FELENG

Go sa kgathalesege go bonala ga katlego e fitlheletsweng mo dingwageng tse 25, gape go ile ga nna le dikgwetlho tse di sa feleng.

### Tseno di akaretsa se di latelang:

- Bogolo jwa **Bosenyi jo bo masisi le jo bo kgokgontshang bo santse bo le kwa godimo thata**, mo go tlisang dikakanyao ka polokesego le go koafala ga go dira ga CJS. Se se tshwenyang ke go etegela ga seemo sa bosenyi jo bo dirwang kgatlanong le basadi le bana le batho ba ba sa kgoneng go iphemela.
- Go tlhoka **kokoano ya go bontsha bottlhale e e kopaneng le e rulaganeng-e** e tlisang tsiboso ya go sale pele ya matshosetsi le ditiragalo tse tlagelelang tse kgabagare di bontshang go se tlotle tshireletsego ya naga.
- Go tlhoka **borulaganyi le kopano** ya pholisi le go diragadiwa ga leano go ralala CJS.

Go nna mo kotsing  
go go farologaneng  
ga tshireletsego go  
a oketsega ka ntlha  
ya ditekanyetso  
tse di bokoa tsa  
tshireletsego kwa  
melewaneng.

- Go koafala ga **dithulaganyo tsa bolaodi** tse di nyatsang go tshepa CJS ga mmogo le go koafala ga go **tsaya karolo ga baagi** mo ditheong tsa bosiamisi jwa bosenyi.
- Go palelwa ke go lepalepana ka katlego le **matshosetsi** kgathanhong le bolaodi jwa Naga, go tlhomamisa go nna le boikhotso mo malapeng, go thibela, go sireletsia le go laola melelwane ya naga ga mmogo le matshosetsi a go tlhaka tshireletsego mo inthanete le bosenyi jwa mo inthanete.
- Go sa akanyetseng mo go lekaneng go rarabolola **bosenyi jo bo ikaeletseng itsholelo ya setshaba** le go phuthama ga botho jwa selegae. Dilo tse dikgolo tse di bakang bosenyi jaaka **thulaganyo ya tikologo** di kwa godimo ga tiro le maithlomo a CJS e bile di tlhoka tsela e e kopanetsweng go ralala maphata le go ralala go diriswa ga foramo e e kopaneng ya leano le go dirisiwa.
- Bokotsi jwa **ikonomi e e sa lettelelwang ka go kgethega**, go dira letseno ka tsela e e sa lettelelwang le go tsena mo meepong e e sa lettelelwang.

A red-themed graphic featuring a large question mark at the top left. Below it is a close-up photograph of a person's arm and hand. To the right of the image is the text "A ONE O ITSE" in white, bold letters. Below that is the word "BATSHWARWA" in a smaller, grey font. At the bottom right of the graphic is a block of text in Setswana:

Palo e e kwa tlase ga 3% ya batho  
ba ba tshwerweng mo Aforika  
Borwa ke basadi.



## DIKAKANTSHO

- **Go fokotswa ga bosenyi, segolobogolo tshotlakako ya basadi le bana le batho ba ba sa kgoneng go iphemela ga mmogo le melato e e amanang le thobalano**, go tshwanetse ga itsisiwe ka diphitlhelelo le ditharabololo tse di tserweng mo Kopanong ya GBV ya 2019. Dithulaganyo tse di leng teng le maano a tshwanetse go tlhabololwa go ya ka diphitlhelelo tsa kopano le Thulaganyo e e akantshitsweng ya Leano la Naga.
- **Go bewa kwa pele gape ga ditiro** malebana le go dirisa le go kopanela thulaganyo le go dira tekanyetso kabu go ralala CJS go a tlhogega gore go fithelelwé dipholo tsa 80% ka go lebelela 20% ya ditiro, (molaomotheo wa Pareto).
- **Bogodu** le bosenyi jo bo amanang le bogodu mo ditheong tsa puso le tsa poraefete bo tshwanetse go fokodiwa.
- Ditokafatso mo dikarolong tsa **dipatlisiso le bosekisi**.
- Go lebana le **digongwana tsa diritibatsi** ka pono ya go di fedisa ka go dirisiwa ga Leano la

- go Nna Kgatlhanong le Digongwana le NDMP e e tlhabolotsweng.
- Go gatelela le go dira gore go **tlotliwe taolo ya molao**.
- **Go sireletesa melelwane** ya naga ka go leb-elela thata mo ditseleng tsa lefaufau le melelwane ya mawatle.
- Go tlhomamisa **Iefelo la inthanete le le bolokesegileng** le go Iwantsha bosenyi jwa mo inthanete.
- Go atolosa **kalafi le tlhokomelo ya ba ba tshwakgotsweng ke diritibatsi**.
- Diejensi tsa badiri ba ba diragatsang molao ka boikaelelo jwa go **thapa le go tlhoma** badiri ba ba tshwanelegang le ba ba nang le maitemogelo.
- Koketsego ya go bona dikgotlathekelo.
- Go wetsa **Porojeke ya Tsosoloso ya Bosiamisi**, ka boikaelelo jwa go akaretsa phetogo ya tsamaiso ya molao, go tloga kwa tshimologong ya go busiwa ke naga e nngwe, apartheid le go busiwa ke banna fela.

# Go Aga Aforika le Lefatshe le le Botoka



**F**reedom Charter ya re: “Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go nna naga e e ikemetseng, e e tlotlang ditshwanelo le bobusi jwa dinaga tsotlhe; Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go lwela go tshegetsa kagiso ya lefatshe le go rarabololwa ga dikgotlheng tsa lefatshe lotlhe ka go buisana e seng ka ntwa; Kagiso le botsalano gareng ga batho ba rona di tshwanetse go rena ka go nna le di tshwanelo, ditshono le boemo jo bo lekanang go botlhe; [labofelo]... Ditshwanelo tsa batho botlhe ba Aforika tsa go ikemela le go ipusa di tshwanetse go lemogiwa e bile e tshwanetse go nna motheo wa tirisanommogo e e kitlaneng.”

Go atlegisa maitlhomo ano le a mangwe RDP e bone gore Aforika Borwa e ka se agiwe “e ikgagantse le dinaga tse di mabapi tsa Borwa jwa Aforika ... fa Aforika Borwa e ka leka go okama dinaga tse di mabapi e tla thibela kgolo ya yone, e tla fokotsa bokgoni jwa yone jwa thekiso, e tla etegetsa botlhoka tiro le go oketsa palo ya batho ba ba fudugelang mo Aforika Borwa”.

Kwa tshimologong ya temokerasi, Aforika Borwa e ne ya tlhalosiwa e le setshaba se se sa ratiweng mo e leng gore Mopresidente Nelson Mandela a neng a e tlhalosa e le ‘nakedi ya lefatshe’<sup>299</sup>. Aforika Borwa e sale e tlhaotswe morago ga gore e belesetswe mo UN le mo diforamong tse dingwe, go sa kgathalesege gore e nnile le seabe mo go tlhamiweng ga mokgathlo o o tileng pele ga UN, Lekgotlha la Ditshaba (League of Nations). Aforika Borwa ya mothwa apartheid e ne ya tlhaolwa ka masome a dingwaga, ka letsholo la lefatshe lotlhe kgatlanong le apartheid ka masome a dingwaga gore e fedise dipholisi tsa yone tsa go tlhaola ka mmala. Mekgathlo ya go lwela kgololesego e ne ya tshegediwa ke dinaga tse di neng di sa tswa go ikemela tsa Aforika, kafa tlase ga tshegetso ya OAU, e e neng e tlamelita ditiro ka Komiti ya yone ya Kgololo e e tlhamiweng ka 1973.

Fa e ikarabela mo momaganong eno ya dinaga tsa Aforika, Aforika Borwa ya mothwa apartheid e ne ya tsosa ntwa kgatlanong le dinaga tse di mabapi le go tsenya basha ba

le dikete di le makgolo mo sesoleng le MaAforika Borwa ba ba sa belaeleng sepe le ditlhophha tsa masole a a neng a emela naga.

Magareng ga 1980 le 1989 Commonwealth e ne ya abeleta gore “dintsho tsa batho ba le milione o le mongwe [mo go amanngwang le] tshenyo e e jang dibilione tsa didolara mo ikonoming ya dinaga tse di mabapi ... ditlamorago tsa seo di ne tsa pateletsa gore ditshaba tsa lefatshe lotlhe di gagamatse dithibelo tsa go dirisana le Aforika Borwa”. Komiti ya Kgololo e ne ya phatlhaladiwa ka 1997 morago ga go wetsa maikaelelo a yone a go fedisa busiwa ke dinaga tse dingwe le apartheid, kwa ntla ga South Sudan, Western Sahara, Chagos Archipelago le kwa Comorian Island of Mayotte.<sup>300</sup>

Ka 1994, e ne ya fetoga mo go nneng setshaba se se sa ratiweng ke lefatshe lotlhe ya nna nngwe ya dinaga tse di tlottlegang mo Aforika le lefatshe ka bophara. Mo mafokong a Mopresidente wa maloba Mandela, ka Kopano ya Lefatshe Lotlhe ya Thhabololo ya Setshaba ya 1995, “se se kgatlheng ka go tsena thari ga Aforika Borwa mo mererong ya lefatshe lotlhe ke gore re kgona go kotula maungo a go itlhathhoba sesha ga lefatshe.” Go fetoga ga Aforika Borwa gape go diragetse mo phetogong ya lefatshe morago ga go fela ga ntwa ya dinaga tse di kwa bophirima le tsa Soviet le go phutlhama ga Soviet Union. Seno e ne e le go tlwaela go dira dilo ka ‘tsamaiso e ntsha ya lefatshe, mo e leng gore dinaga tse di tlhabologang segolobogolo tsa dinaga tsa Aforika di ne di lwela go itsosa mo mathateng a a bakilweng ke go phutlhama ga ikonomi ya lefatshe lotlhe ka 1991 mo tsamaisong e e paletseng ya Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) e e neng e eteletswe pele ke Bretton Woods Institutions.<sup>301</sup>

“Tsamaiso e Ntsha ya Lefatshe”, e ne e na le dikarolo di le mmalwa. Lantla e ne e bontshiwa ka phetogo ya lefatshe ka potlako, ka ntla ya maiteko a ditlhabololo le go dirisiwa ga thekenolofi, (segolobogolo ICT), go laola bokopano jwa dithulaganyo tsa botlhagisi le botsamaisi go ralala mawatile, kgwebisano e kgolo mo didisiweng tse di amanang le madi le go atolosa kgwebisano mo dithotong le ditirelo. Mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, kgolo ya diikonomi tse di runyang mo dinageng tse di mo Borwa tse di tlhabologang, segolobogolo mangau a Asia le China, ga mmogo le dinaga tse dingwe tsa BRICS jaaka Russia le Brazil, di bone phetogo ya go tswa mo ikonoming e le nosi e e okameng ya Bophirima,<sup>302</sup> go sa kgathalesege mathata a kwa Asia a 1997.

Go fetolela Yuropa Botlhaba mo temokerasing le diphetogo tsa botlhokwa mo NATO, dinaga tse pele

299

The Presidency. 2014. Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa Bomasomeamabedi, ts148.

300

Pahad, A. 2014. Insurgent Diplomat: Civil Talks or Civil War, p82.

301

NEPAD. 2018. “Tselana ya Aforika go ya 2063: Tlhopo mo legatong la phetogo e kgolo,” ts5.

302

Steinbock, D. 2017. Tekatekano ya maatla a ikonomi ya lefatshe e a fetoga. Website: [www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/09/the-global-economic-balance-of-power-is-shifting](http://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/09/the-global-economic-balance-of-power-is-shifting).

e neng e le Soviet Union, Jeremane le EU di nnile le seabe mo ditekanyetsokabong, go thapiwa ga badiri, boitekanelo jwa setšhaba, kgolo ya ikonomi le mo dikarolong tse dingwe tsa botshelo. Go farologana le se se neng se sololetswe la ntlha, diphetogo tseno ga di a ka tsa tlisa kagiso ka kakaretso le go tshela kwa ntle ga tshotlego, jaaka lefatshe le ne le lebeletse gore go nne le tirasanommogo.

Go tswa mo ponong ya ikonomi, bokhutlo jwa dikgotlhlang tsa kgale magareng ga Botlhaba le Bophirima go tlisitse kgaisano e e oketsegileng ya madi a peeletso le dithekiso, ga mmogo le lobelo le le yang kwa teng. Gape go tlisitse ditshono tsa go simolola tirisanommogo e ntšha ya ikonomi le mekgathlo. Go ne go sololetswe gore WTO e nne le seabe se segolo mo go etleetseng kgwebisano ya lefatshe le tharabololo ya dikgotlhlang tsa kgwebisano segolobogolo kafa tlase ga Tumalano ya Kakaretso mo Dituedisong le Kgwebisano. Mopresidente wa maloba Nelson Mandela kwa United States Congress ka 6 Diphalane 1994 o ne a re:

*Ka 1994, e ne ya fetoga mo go nneng setšhaba se se sa ratiweng ke lefatshe lotlhe ya nna nngwe ya dinaga tse di tlotlegang mo Aforika le lefatshe ka bophara.*

*“Ba ba tleng ba tlie go batla gore temokerasi e nne ya batho botlhe. Jaaka ditshwantsho tsa batho ba ba tshetseng gongwe le gongwe mo lefatsheng la rona di bonala gothe, go tla nna jalo le ka pharologano magareng ga bahumi le bahumanegi, mo gare ga melelwane le go e ralala le mo gare ga dikontinente le go di ralala go nna maatla a a ikaletseng go tlhotlheletsa ba ba gateletseng go batla botshelo jo bo botoka go tswa mo babusing ba bone, go sa kgathalesege kwa ba leng teng.”*

Aforika Borwa, jaaka e le ikonomi e e mo magareng ga bonnye le bogolwane e e nang le ikonomi e e bulegileng le le tlhakaneng e e ikaegileng ka kgwebisano ya boditsbatshaba, e tshanelwa ke go nna le seabe se segolo mo maitekong a a agang a “tsamaiso e ntšha ya ikonomi ya lefatshe” gore go nne le mefuta e e oketsegileng ya tiriso e e lekalekanang.

Mo godimo ga thuso ya thekenoloji, go fetola tsamaiso ya lefatshe gape go ile ga kaelwa ke tirisanommogo ya dinaga. Jaaka lefatshe le ne le ipakanyetsa go simolola sekete se sesha sa dingwaga morago ga bokhutlo jwa Cold War, go ne go na le ditsholofelo tsa gore go tla nna le kagiso le go tlhokomela tshireletsego ya batho, jaaka go bontshitswe ke UN Millennium Declaration ka 2000. Lefa go ntse jalo, ditiragalo tsa 9/11 ka 2001 di ne tsa phimola bontsi jwa keletso eno, le mothla wa ‘Ntwa mo Borukhutlhing’, mo re boneng USA e dirisa madi a kana ka USD5.9 trillion mo dintweng tse di amanang le 9/11 – le Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan le Syria – magareng ga 2001 le 2018<sup>303</sup>. Palo eno ga e akaretse ditshenyegelo tsa ntwa – mo bathong le ka madi – mo dinageng tse di amilweng ka tlhamalalo ke dintwa tseno tsa borukhutlhi.

303

Crawford, N. 2018. Ditshenyegelo tsa Tekanyetsokabo ya Dintwa tsa Morago ga 9/11 Kwa United State ka FY2019: US\$5.9 Trillion E e dirisitsweng le e Ikanetsweng. Ditshenyegelo Tsa Porojeke ya Ntwa, Watson Institute, Brown University.

Seemo sa polotiki le tshireletsego e nnile boremelelo jo bongwe jwa tsamaiso e ntšha e e golang. Fa go fetolela puso mo temokerasing go ntse go tlisa makoko a mantsi a temokerasi mo baaging ba le bantsi mo lefatsheng, go tlhoka tshireletsego go ne ga oketsega. Le fa go ka tswa go nnile le phetogo go tswa mo dikotsing tse di fetileng tsa go dirisa dibetsa tsa nuclear ga dinaga tse di maatla le dikgotlhong tse dingwe tse di mo gare ga dinaga tse di bakang mefuta ya go se sireletsege, tsamaiso e ntšha e ne ya tla le seemo mo kgaolong kgotsa mo gae, go tlhaga ga boradipolotiki ba ba nang le tlhotlheletso mme ba ikemetse, mo go nna kgatlhanong le puso go tlisang matshosetsi a magolo kgatlhanong le kagiso. Mekgatlhong ya boratanaga e tsosolositsweng mo dikarolong tse dingwe e ne ya tsosolosa dikgotlhong tse di tsereng lobaka, ka go tsosa kgotlhong magareng ga merafe, bosenyi jo bo rulagantsweng, go rekisa diokobatsi e se kafa molaong, go rekisa batho, go fudugela kwa nageng e nngwe le koketsego ya dibetsa e e tsweletseng e e bakang dikgogakgogano mo magareng ga dinaga tsa boagisani le mo gare ga tsone fa go oketsa boemo jwa go se utlwane.

Kontinente ya Aforika, e isagwe ya Aforika Borwa e ka se kang ya kgaoganngwa le yone, ga e yaka ya falola matswela a tsamiso e ntšha ya lefatshe. Mo go rulaganyeng le go diragatsa pholisi ya dinaga di sele ya Aforika Borwa mo kontinenteng, go ne ga tlhokomelwa thata ditekanyetsa tsa go thibela kgotlhong le kwa e tlhageletseng gone go thusa gore go nne le kagiso le ditlhabololo. Bokhutlo jwa apartheid kwa Namibia le Aforika Borwa, bokhutlo jwa maraganateng a kwa Rwanda le bokhutlo jwa Cold War bo tlametse kontinente ka ditshono tse disha tsa go ithamaletsa bokamoso jwa yone. Kokomane e ntšha ya bana ba Aforika e buelela ditharabololo tsa Aforika mo mathateng a Aforika fa ba rarabolola dikgotlhong le go tlhoka ditlhabololo.

E le go nna le seabe ga yone, Aforika Borwa e tsere maemo a a kwa pele mo go ageng ditheo tsa bolaodi le Dithabololo mo konitinenteng ya Aforika, gore go nne le kagiso le katlego mo Aforika. Gape e tladiitse seabe seno ka ketleetso ya botsalano le tirisanoo mmogo le dinaga tse di mo Borwa ja lefatshe go tlhomamisa lefatshe le le edileng mo baagi botlhe ba lefatshe ba bonang melemo ya ditiragalo tse dikgolo jaaka go fetola tsamaiso ya lefatshe.

## KGATELOPELE MO DINGWAGENG TSE 25 TSE DI FETILENG TSA TEMOKERASI

Bokhutlo jwa apartheid le tshimologo ya temokerasi go tlisitse diphetogo tse di kgatlhang mo pholising ya dinaga di sele mo Aforika Borwa. Dikgang tsa bothokwa di ne tsa akaretsa go potlakisa tsosoloso ya seAforika, e Aforika

Borwa e itlhomiileng kwa pele mo go e direng mmogo le dinaga tse dingwe tse di mo kontinenenteng, go tlisa kagiso le ditlhabololo, ka ditheo tse di matlafaditsweng tsa Aforika. Di ne di akaretsa go baakanngwa ga Aforika Borwa mo serialeng sa lefatshe lotlhe, e nna le kemedi e e feletseng le maloko mo mekgatlhong ya lefatshe lotlhe le ya mo kgaolong, le go simolola go nna teng mo tirisanong ya lefatshe lotlhe.

Aforika Borwa e ile ya boelana gape le mekgatlhong ya mentsi, go akaretsa Commonwealth, UN, OAU, SADC, le Non-Aligned Movement, gareng ga tse dingwe.

Go diris 'African Agenda' ga Aforika Borwa go gateletse bothokwa jo bogolo jwa tirisano ya kontinente e e godileng ka segalo le bophara mo lesomeng la ntlha la dingwaga la kgololesego kafa tlase ga seelo sa 'Tsosoloso ya SeAforika'. Tebo e e gabedi e ne e le mo go matlafateng dithulaganyo tsa ditheo tse di neng di tshegetsa thulaganyo ya go fetola (go fetola OAU go nna AU ka sekai), le go tlhabolola agenda ya pholisi ka didiriswa tse di jaaka NEPAD le African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Aforika Borwa e dirile le balekane ba yone ba bagolo mo Aforika (ka makgetlhong a mantsi Algeria, Nigeria le Senegal) go dirisa pono le thulaganyo ya NEPAD, le go tlhabolola se e neng ya nna Bokwaledi jwa NEPAD le Planning and Coordinating Agency ya NEPAD moragonyana le AU Development Agency. Tshegetso ya Aforika Borwa malebana le Palamente ya Aforika Yotlhe le go e tshwara e ka boikaelelo jwa go thusa go tokafatsa temokerasi le bobusi mo kontinenteng<sup>304</sup>.

Gape Aforika Borwa e simolotse go tlhagolela dikgokagano le dinaga tsa Borwa jwa lefatshe fa ka nako e e tshwanang, e tshegetsa tirisanoo e e molemo le dinaga tsa lefatshe tse di maatla le go etelelapelle go fitlhelela maitlhomo a ntlha le G8, European Union (EU) le United States (US). Ke yone fela naga ya Aforika e e leng mo G20, e bile e ne e batla go emela dikgatlhego tsa Aforika mo foramong eno. Gape Aforika Borwa e dirisitse go kopana ga yone mo diforamong tsa lefatshe go tokafatsa se se bakang bosiamisi mo itsholelo ya setshaba sa lefatshe lotlhe, gape le go ntsha maitlhomo a Molaetheo wa Aforika Borwa.

Mo dipuisanong tsa yone tse di farologaneng tsa boditshabatshaba, Aforika Borwa e ditiro tse di farologaneng; go tswa mo kgwebong e e tlwaelegileng e le karolo ya yone ya go nna le seabe go ya kwa go rulaganyeng melao ya boditshabatshaba, go nna moagi wa borogo – go kopanya makoko a a neng a na le dipono tse di sa tshwanang.

**kgwebisano:** Kwa tshimologong, leano la kgwebisano ya Aforika Borwa le ne le tshwantshiwa le serurubele,

<sup>304</sup>

Lefapha la Dikamano tsa Boditshabatshaba le Tirisanoo. NEPAD, Kakaretso ya Dilo Tsa Kgale. Webosaete: [http://www.dirco.gov.za/au/nepad/historical\\_overview.htm](http://www.dirco.gov.za/au/nepad/historical_overview.htm).

# NS 2018



GO AGA AFORIKA LE LEFATSHE LE LE BOTOKA



**Setshwantsho 14.I Palo e Kwa Tlase ya Kgwebisano ka Dimilione Tsa Diranta  
(Seetebosigo 1992 go ya go Moranang 2019).**  
Motswedi wa Tshedimosetso: tradieconomics.com.

e bula ditsela tse disha tsa kgwebisano le EU le Amerika Bokone, ga mmogo le Asia le Latin America go ya kwa botlhaba le bophirima.<sup>305</sup> Aforika Borwa e kaiwa gareng ga batlhagisi ba bagolo ba gauta le gareng ga dinaga tse di eteletseng pele mo tlhagisong ya chrome, manganese, polatinamo, vanadium le vermiculate.<sup>306</sup>

Jaaka go bontshitswe mo go **setshwantsho 14.I** boleng jo bonnye jwa ntshetlontle ya dithoto le ditirelo ga Aforika Borwa go ne ga oketsegia go tloga go R106 billion ka 1994 go ya go R1.4 trillion ka 2017. Ka tlwaelo, mmanki wa dithoto tse di romelwang kwa ntle wa Aforika Borwa o ne o tletse ka ditlhagiswa tsa meepo le dithoto tsa bothhokwa tse di setseng di besitswe. Lefa go ntse jalo, ditlhagiswa tsa meepo, e le karolo ya palogotlhe ya dithoto tse di romelwang kwa dinageng tse dingwe, e fokotsegile go tswa go 51% (ka dipalo tsa boleng) ka 1993 go ya go 37%, ka 2017, fa karolelano ya ditlhagiswa tse di dirilweng e oketsegile go tswa go 39% ka 1993 go ya go 56% ka 2017<sup>307</sup>. Aforika Borwa e kgonne go atolosa mmaraka wa yone ka tsela e kgolwane. Go romela dithoto kwa Aforika le kwa dinageng di le 28 tsa EU countries go kopantse mafelo kgorogelo a magolo a mabedi, mme go romela dithoto kwa China go godile ka bonako go tswa mo go ka tweng e ne e se sepe ka 2001.



<sup>305</sup> Lefapha la Kgwebisano le Madirelo. 2001. "Go Laola Kgaisano: Leano la Kopano ya Madirelo go Tlamela go Thapiwa ga Badiri Le go Ba Godisa". Website <http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2001/appendices/010529Strategy.htm>.

<sup>306</sup> [www.usgs.gov/centers/nmic/mineral-commodity-summaries](http://www.usgs.gov/centers/nmic/mineral-commodity-summaries)

<sup>307</sup> Motswedi wa Tshedimosetso: Lefapha la Kgwebisano le Madirelo. 2018. Pampiri e e rulaganyeditsweng Tlhatlhobyo ya Ngwaga wa bo25.

Ka 1994, kgwebisano magareng ga Aforika Borwa le Aforika e dirile palogotlhe ya R11.4 billion. Ka Sedimonthole 2017, palogotlhe ya kgwebisano ya Aforika Borwa le Aforika e ne ya ema go R 420 billion, ka madi a a salang a kgwebisano a mantsi ka fa tlhakoreng ya Aforika Borwa, e le se se bontshang go ntsha ditlhagiswa tse di kwa tlase ga dinaga tsa Aforika. E le karolo ya palogotlhe ya dithoto tse di romelwang kwa ntle tsa Aforika Borwa, kgaolo ya Aforika e ile ya nna mmaraka o mogolo o nosi mo dithotong tsa Aforika Borwa. Jaaka go bontshitswe ke **tshwantsho 14.2** thomelo ya dithoto mo gare ga Aforika e dira 26% ya palogotlhe ya dithoto tse romelwang kwa ntle tsa Aforika Borwa. Dithoto tse di amogelwang di dira 12% ya palogotlhe ya dithoto tse di amogelwa ka 2018<sup>308</sup>.

**Peeletso:** Go tsenela kgwebo ga Aforika Borwa mo kgaolong go bonwa e le kgwebisano e e botlhokwa malebana le mo go salang ga kgwebisano le Aforika. Dikhampani tsa Aforika Borwa gape di tshameka karolo ya botlhokwa mo leanong la go fetola madirelo mo kgaolong. Go tshegetsa kgwebisano le peeletso mo kontinenteng, go ne ga tlhamiwa Trade Invest Africa Unit ka Moranang 2016. Aforika Borwa (e na le Nigeria, Egypt le koketsegoo ya Morocco le Kenya) e mo gare ga babeletsi ba ba kwa godimo ba le 10 mo kontinenteng ya Aforika, mo go beeletsa mo gare ga Aforika go bonwang e le selo sa botlhokwa go tsamaisa kgolo le tirisano. Go rotloetsa dipeeletso tsa mo gare ga Aforika e le karolo ya porojeke ya tirisano ya ikonomi, maloko a dinaga tsa AU a simolotse dipuisano ka go tlhama molawana wa peeletso mo Aforika. Yotlhe ka maikaelelo a go momaganya tsamaiso ya peeletso e e setseng e le teng mo kontinenteng.

### Borwa Jwa Aforika le Aforika

Aforika Borwa e simolotse go buisana gape ga tumalano ya Southern African Customs Union (SACU), go rulaganyetsa go rebola go maatla a yone a go dira ditshwetso ya yone e le nosi. Tumalano e ntšha ya SACU e ne ya saenelwa la bofelo ka 2002 go etleetsa go arolelana go dira ditshwetso le go letla tumalano e ntšha ya go arolelana dithoto ka boikaelelo jwa go tlhomamisa go itsetsepela ga matlotlo. Ka 2001, SADC e ne ya fitlhelela phitlhelelo e kgolo ka go tlhama a Free Trade Area (FTA) ka go dirisa SADC Trade Protocol. Fa go diragadiwa ga SADC FTA go ile ga wediwa ka tsela e kgolo, go sa ntse go na le makoa. SADC e fetogetse mo tseleng ya go dirisana e lebile thata mo go diriseng pholisi ya madirelo a kgaolo e le sediriswa sa go tlisa ditlhabololo le tirisano, mofuta o o dirang kgotsa o o tlhabololang wa tirisano. Tumalano ya Kgwebisano ya Mahala e e Dikarolotharo e ne ya simololwa ka 2015. Lenaane la tuediso le santse le atlhaatlhiwa ga jaana.

### Thulaganyo ya go dirisana ga kontinente: NEPAD, maitlhomo a a farologaneng a ditirelo le FTA (AfCFTA) ya Kontinente ya Aforika

Aforika Borwa, ka go dirisana le dinaga tse dikgolo tsa Aforika, e ile ya etelela pele tshegetso ya go tlhabololo le go tsamaisa tshegetso ya lefatshe lotlhe ya NEPAD jaaka porogerama ya tlhabololo ya itsholelo ya setshaba sa Aforika. Aforika Borwa e ile ya tshwara Bokwaledi jwa NEPAD fa e sale bo simolola ka 2001.

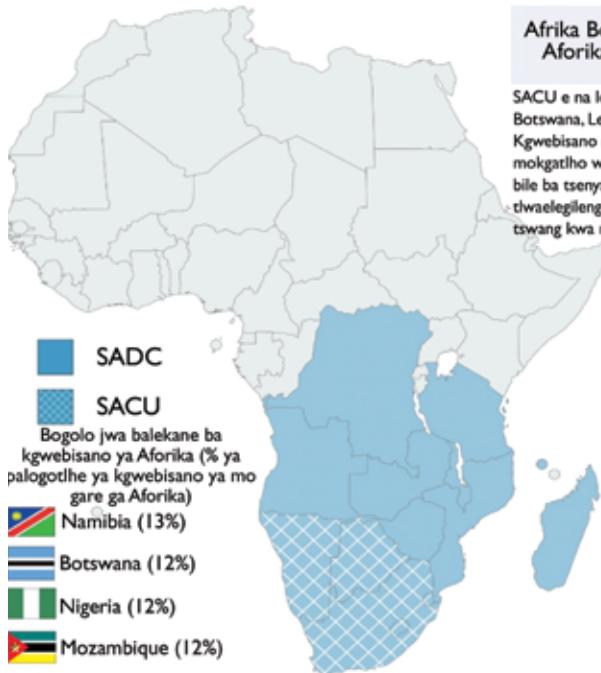
Aforika Borwa e dira tiro ya botlhokwa mo go kgontsheng tlhabololo ya ditirelo mo Aforika le go etelela pele NEPAD Presidential Infrastructure Championing Initiative (PICI). Mo porojekeng eno, e kgonne go dira Tsela e e Tswang Bokone go ya Borwa le Kgodiso ya Tselana e e Tsamayang mo Gare ya Seporo, e gape e leng karolo ya PIDA. Aforika Borwa gape e etleeditse tlhabololo ya Aforika, segolobogolo diporogerama tse di kwa pele tsa NEPAD, ka go tsenela le go etelela pele ditirisano tsa leano la AU tse di farologaneng jaaka Foramo ya Tirisano ya China le Aforika, Kopano ya Lefatshe Lotlhe kwa Tokyo ka Tlhabololo ya Aforika, Foramo ya Korea le Aforika, Foramo ya Aforika le India, Foramo ya Turkey le Aforika le Go Fitlhelela Aforika ga G8.

Ka 2013, maloko a dinaga tsa AU, go akaretsa Aforika Borwa, a ne a saenela Anniversary Solemn Declaration ya bo50, e e neng ya dira gore Agenda 2063 e diragadiwe: Aforika o re Mmatlang, letshwao la tlhabololo ya Aforika mo dingwageng tse di fetang 50 tse di fetileng. Lenaneo le thulaganyo lone ya go diragadiwa ga dingwaga tsa ntla tse 10 le bontsha diporojeke tsa botlhokwa tse di akaretsang dikarolo mo ikonoming, ditirelo, thuto, tlhabololo ya batho, tirisanommogo le dikarolo tsa go itlhamel, gareng ga tse dingwe. Jaaka moetapele mo setheong sa ditirelo motheo wa yone wa madirelo (a fokotsegang) ga mmogo le go lebelwa gore e etelela pele mo legatong la thekenoloji le boitlhamel, Aforika Borwa e tshameka karolo e kgolo mo go diragatseng Agenda 2063, le dikarolo tsa botlhokwa tse di amanang le yone.

Tumalano ya kwa Abuja, e e dirilweng ka 1991 ke OAU, e tlamel ka thulaganyo ya go kopanela ikonomi ga Aforika. Lefa gone go ne go na le kgatelopele e e lekanyeditsweng kwa tshimologong mo kontinenteng, ka dinaga tsa ikonomi tse di mo kgaolong, tirisano ya ikonomi e ne ya simolola go gola. Morago ga gore OAU/AU e tshware dingwaga di le 50 ka 2013, le go dirisa AU Agenda 2063, lenaneo la tirisano mo kontinenteng le ne la gola. Kopano e e Tlhomologileng ya AU ka 2017 e ne ya tshwarelwya kwa Kigali, Rwanda. Aforika Borwa e ne

## Setshwantsho 14.2 Porofaele ya kgwebisano ya mo gare ga Aforika le tuediso ya Aforika Borwa - 2018.

Motswedzi wa Tshedimoseto: <https://www.tralac.org/resources/our-resources/13142-south-africa-intra-africa-trade-and-tariff-profile.html#moredownloads>



Afrika Borwa ke leloko la the Mokgathlo wa Dithoto wa Borwa Jwa Aforika (SACU) Tlhabololo ya Baagi Borwa Jwa Aforika (SADC).

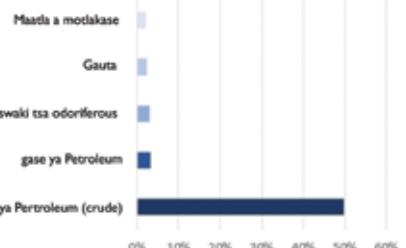
SACU e na le maloko a le 5 (Afrika Borwa, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swatini). Kgwebisano magareng ga maloko a mokgathlo wa dithoto ke tiro ya mahala, e bille ba tsenya dituelo tse dii kwa ntle tse di twaelegileng (CET) mo dithotong tse di tswang kwa ntle ga mokgathlo.

SADC ke Baagi ba Kgao ya (konomi mme e na le dinaga di le 16 tse e leng maloko go akaretsa dinaga tsorlo tsa SACU, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mauritius, Mozambique, Malawi, Seychelles le Comoros. Maloko a le 13 a SADC a mo Tumalanong ya Kgwebisano ya Mahala (FTA); Comoros, DRC le Angola ga e ise e nne karolo ya FTA.

### 19% ya palogotlhe ya kgwebisano ya mo gare ga Aforika

- 26% ke dithoto tse di romelwlang mo teng ga Aforika
- Botswana (16%)
- Mozambique (13%)
- Namibia (14%)
- Zambia (10%)
- 12% ke dithoto tse di amogelwlang mo teng ga Aforika
- Nigeria (33%)
- Angola (11%)
- Swatini (11%)
- Namibia (9%)

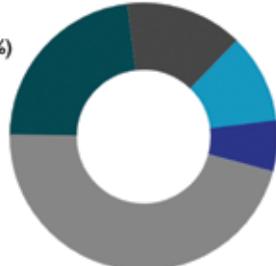
### Ditlhagiswa tse dikgolo tse di amogelwlang mo teng ga Aforika



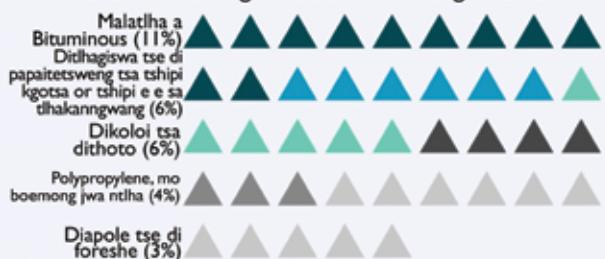
### U-13% ya dithoto tse di romelwlang mo teng ga Aforika ke tse di yang kwa dinageng tse di kwa ntle ga SACU le SADC

#### Mebaraka e megolo e go romelwlang kwa go yone

- Kenya (23%)
- Nigeria (14%)
- Ghana (11%)
- Egепето (6%)
- Tse Dingwe (46%)



#### Dithoto tse dikgolo tse di romelwlang kwa ntle



ya saenela AfCFTA ka Karolo e e Tlwaegileng ya bo 31 ya Kopano ya AU kwa Mauritania ka Phukwi 2018.

### **EU-Aforika Borwa le EPA**

Fa e sale Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement (TDCA) e simolola go dira, palogotlhe ya kgwebisano e oketsegile go tloga go R150 billion ka 2000 go ya go R599.86 billion ka 2017, kgolo ya go fitlha mo e ka nnang 300%.<sup>309</sup> Go romela dithoto kwa EU ga Aforika Borwa go oketsegile go tloga go R64 billion ka 2000 go ya go R262 billion ka 2017, e leng koketsego ya 309%. Karolo ya botlhokwa ya go romela dithetho go tswa mo Aforika Borwa e tsweletse go nna dithlagiswa tsa bothhokwa lefa gone go nnile le kokotsego e kgolo mo karolelanong ya dikalwana tse di nang le boleng tsa kgwebisano. Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) ya SADC-EU e emiseditse tlamelo ya kgwebisano ya TDCA ka 10 Diphalane 2016. SADC-EPA e tla tokafatsa go fetolwa ga tsamaiso ya madirelo mo nageng le mo kgaolong ka ketleetso ya kgwebisano, e le go tlamela ka motheo wa koketsos ya boleng le go sologelwa molemo mo kgolaganong ya ditirelo mo kgaolong.

Balekane ba le bantsi ba Yuropa Bophirima ba tswa mo mokgweng wa go thusa go ya mo mokgweng wa tirisano ya tlhabololo ya ikonomi le Aforika Borwa. Thuso eno e lebile ka kakaretso mo maitlhomong a NDP le ditiro tse di bothhokwa tsa yone. Official Development Assistance (ODA) ya ga jaana e e tswang kwa EU, ka Multi-Annual

Indicative Programme (MIP) ya Aforika Borwa-EU malebana le Aforika Borwa, e dira madi a kana ka €241 million mo thusong ya madi ka 2014-2020. Dikarolo tse tharo tsa yone tse di bothhokwa di tsamaisana le maitlhomong a NDP a e leng – go tlhama ditiro; thuto, katiso le bothlhami; le go aga naga e e nang le bokgoni le e tlhabologang.

### **USA**

Tirisanommogo magareng ga Aforika Borwa le US e simolotse morago ga bokhutlo jwa apartheid, go akaretsa tirisano e e matlafetseng e e dikarolopedi, ga mmogo le kgwebisano ya mathakoremabedi le mo tirisong ya African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Go ngalelana magareng ga Aforika Borwa le US go ne ga tsoga ka 2015 fa Mopresidente wa US Barack Obama a ne a tshosetsa go emisa go sa duele ga Aforika Borwa mo dithotong tse di rileng tse di romelwang kwa ntle. Moragong jaana, US e batla go duedisa Aforika Borwa thomelo ya ditshipi, fa e ntse e le baromedi ba tshipi e ntsi kwa US. Fa go santse go itsiwe gore go tla diragalang, ditshupo tsotlhе di bontsha gore US e tla batla tumalano e nngwe ya kgwebisano mo dinageng tseno tse pedi le kgaolo. Aforika Borwa, le SACU segolobogolo, dithoka go baakanyetsa tumalano ya morago ga AGOA.

### **Dikgaolo tse dingwe**

Ditumalano di le mmalwa tsa tirisano ya ikonomi di setse di dirilwe le dinaga tse di tlhabologang, go akaretsa Tumalano ya Boikgethelo ka Kgwebisano magareng ga SACU le MERCOSUR (morago ga ditiego di le mmalwa), e e dirilweng ka Moranang 2016. Tumalano e e tshwanang e ntse e buisanelwa kwa India.

Ka 2011, Asia e ne ya feta Europe go nna kgaolo e kgolo ya kgwebisano le Aforika Borwa mo ikonoming ya lefatshe lotlhe. Ka 2017, palogotlhe ya kgwebisano le Asia e ne ya fitlha go R880 billion.

Go tokafatsa kagiso, tshireletsego le go ikemela mo kontinenteng ga mmogo le tirisano le dinaga tse dingwe ke dikarolo tsa bothhokwa tsa pholisi ya dinaga di sele ya Aforika Borwa, e bile naga e ile ya lwela go simolola thulaganyo ya yone ya go kaela kagiso le polokesego mo kgaolong le mo kontinenteng. Matsapa a go kaela kagiso le polokesego mo dinageng tse dintsi go dira gore kgarathlo eno e nne ya mmatota e bile e le e e bothhokwa.

Go aga ditheo tse di tlhokegang go laola letshogo le dikgotlheng tsa mo SADC le OAU/AU go ne ga tsamisiwa ka pono ya batla 'ditharabololo tsa Aforika mo mathateng a Aforika'. Semelo se se dikarolo dintsi sa akanya ka kagiso le polokesego ga Aforika Borwa jaaka go amanngwa le tlhabololo ke bosupi mo didirisiweng di tshwana le

**Balekane ba le  
bantsi ba Yuropa  
Bophirima ba tswa  
mo mokgweng  
wa go thusa go  
ya mo mokgweng  
wa tirisano ya  
tlhabololo ya  
ikonomi le Aforika  
Borwa.**

NEPAD, Agenda 2063 le 2030 e e tlhomololang botlhokwa jwa ditekanyetso tsa pholisi tse di rarabololang mathata a lobaka a sepolotiki, a ikonomi le a setšhaba. Ka 2012, Aforika Borwa e ne ya baya kwa pele moemedi go etelela Khomishine ya AU, o gape e neng e le mosadi wa ntla go okamela le go nna Modulasetilo wa Khomishini ya SADC.

### **Maitlhomo a go rarabolola dikgotlhang**

Tsela ya go rarabolola dikgotlha ya Aforika e ikaegile ka dipilara tse tharo: botserganyi magareng ga dinaga, go aga kagiso le go dira kagiso. Naga e ile ya tsepamisa mogopolo mo ditharabololong tse di buisanetsweng, tse di akaretsang sepolotiki.

Fa e sale ka 1994 Aforika Borwa e tsere ketapele mo maitekong a go rarabolola dikgwetlho a le mmalwa: Burundi, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, DRC, Lesotho, Sudan/South Sudan le Zimbabwe. Thuto e e tlhagelelang ke gore dinaga tse di sa tswang go rarabolola dikgotlhlang ka gale di nna di tshogile ka nako e telele, mo go nang le kgongalo e kgolo ya go boela kwa mokgweng wa pele, mo go rayang gore e le gore e nne morulaganyi wa kagiso o o matlhagatlha, Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go nna mo boemong jwa nna le didiriswa tsa go itlama pele ga e saenela ditumalano tsa kagiso gore e kgone go laola ka bottalo 'tsela e e dikarolo dintsi ya go thusa'. Mo godimo ga dithuto tsothe ke gore kagiso le polokesego tse di nnetseng ruri di ka se fithelelwwe kwa ntle ga ditlhabololo.

### **Go busetsa dikamano**

Ga jaana go na le kemedi ya tirisano mo dinageng tsa Aforika di le 47 mo go tse 55. Fa e sale ka 1994, Aforika Borwa e saenile kakaretso ya ditumalano tse dikarolo pedi di le 1943 le ditumalano tsa dikarolo dintsi di le 322; mo go felelang ka palogotlhe ya ditumalano tsa lefatshe lotlhe di le 2265.<sup>310</sup> Gape e na palo ya botsalano jwa go rulaganya jo bo dirang kwa baetapeleng ba naga, go akaretsa le China (e ka 2010 e neng ya tlhatlogela go tsena mo Botsalano jo bo Tlhaloganyegang Jwa go Loga Maano – ya mofuta wa yone e le nosi), India, EU, le Brazil. Fa ODA ya kwano, e e laolwang ke Lefapha la Matlotlo, e santse e le karowlana e nnye mo kakaretsong ya tekanyetsokabo ya naga, thuso e e tswang kwa dinageng tsa OECD go ya kwa dikarolong tse di jaaka botsogo, thuto, le tikologo le bosiamisi, gareng ga tse dingwe, go ile ga tshameka karolo ya botlhokwa mo go thuseng Aforika Borwa go lepalepana le dingwe tsa dikgwetlho tsa yone tse di imelang tsa itsholelo ya setšhaba le tsa sepolotiki. Gape ODA e tshegeditse setheo sa Aforika Borwa sa tlhabologo ya setšhaba, le go thusa ka tshegetso e gape e tiisetswang ke go tsenelela ga Aforika Borwa mo go direng gore go nne le kagiso le polokesego mo Aforika.

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Lefapha la Kamano le Tirisano ya Lefatshe Lotlhe (2019), Karolo ya Tumalano ya Aforika Borwa, Ofisi ya Mogakolodi wa Molao ya Tlhogo ya Naga.



### **MAITLHOMO A AFCFTA:**

- Go tlhama mmapaka o le mongwe fela wa kontinente wa dithoto le ditirelo, go na le kgololesego ya mosepele wa bagwebi le dipeletso.
- Kopano ya Aforika ka Dithoto.
- Go oketsa kgwebisano ya magareng ga dinaga tsa Aforika ka tsamaiso ya kgwebisano e e seoposengwe le e nang le tirasano le dipuso tse di tsamaisang le didiriswa go ralala diREC le go ralala Aforika ka kakaretso.
- Go rarabolola dikgwetlho tsa maloko a mantsi le a a ntsetseng a oketsega le go potlakisa dithulaganyo tsa go kopanya kgaolo le kontinente.
- Go tshegetsa kgaisano mo legatong la madirelo le dikgwebo.

|

African Union.  
Website: <https://au.int/en/ti/cfta/about>.

## Go bueela tsamaiso e e Iekalekanang ya bolaodi jwa lefatshe lotlhe

Puso ya Aforika Borwa e sa ntse e le motsayakarolo o tlhagafetseng mo kgaratlhong ya go fetola kagego ya bolaodi jwa lefatshe lotlhe, go akaretsa tsamaiso ya UN le Ditheo tsa Bretton Woods. Diphetogo tseo di tshwanetse go oketsa lenseswe la dinaga tse di tlhabologang mo ditheong tseo le go kgothaletsa lenaneo la tsone ka kamego ya go tlhabolola lefatshe.

Gape Aforika Borwa e tshegetsa diphetlhelelo tsa tlhabololo mo Doha Development Round (DDR) ya WTO, gareng ga maano a mangwe, e tshameka karolo ya botlhokwa mo Africa Group, G77 le diforam tse dingwe.

## Ditlhabololo le Phetogo ya Tlelaemete

Aforika Borwa ga e bolo go nna motsayakarolo o mogolo mo dipuisanong tsa go tlhabolola lefatshe, go etelelapele togamaano tsa G77 le setlhophya sa China ka dikokoano tse di masisi mo phetogong ya lenaane la diphetogo tsa lefatshe.

Gape Aforika Borwa e tshwre dikopano tsa botlhokwa tsa boditshabatshaba tse di fetotseng kaelo ya ditlhabololo tsa dinaga tse dintsitlhe le dithulaganyo tsa tikologo. Tseno di akaretsa World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), COP17 mo phetogong ya tlelaemete le 17th Conference of the Parties (COP17) mo Kopanong ya Kgwebisano ya Lefatshe Lotlhe Malebana le Diphologolo le Dimela Tse di mo Kotsing.

Go aga mo maitlamong a yone go sireletsa le go babalela isagwe ya tikologo e e simolotsweng ka go tshwara WSSD ka 2002, Aforika Borwa e ne ya tshwara ka katlego COP17/CMP7 ya Thulaganyo ya Kopano ya UN malebana le Phetogo ya Tlelaemete, ka Ngwanatsele/Sedimonthole 2011. Naga e bontshitse boetapele jo bo senang bolekanngo mo go falotseng porogerama e kgolo ya UN mo kgannyyeng ya phetogo ya tlelaemete le go baakanya dipuisano tsa legato leo ka katlego. Tatelano e e feletseng ya kago e ntsha e ne ya simololwa, jaaka Durban Platform for Enhanced Action, Green Climate Fund le Adaptation Committee. E ne e le phitlhelelo ya Kopano ya kwa Durban e neng ya naya kaelo go dipuisano tsa phetogo ya tlelaemete ya Aforika, e konela go saenela tumalano ya kwa Paris ka Sedimonthole 2015.

Aforika Borwa e ne le mo gare ga dinaga tse di neng di eteletse pele dipuisano tsa diMDG le moragonyana Lenaneo la 2030 malebana le Sustainable Development (SDGs). Dinaga tse di tlhabologang di kgothaleditse matswela a dipuisano tsa go Fetola Tlelaemete tsa kwa Paris, le matswela a lefatshe lotlhe mo go dueleleng ditirelo.

## Ditshwanelo tsa batho le bosiamisi jwa lefatshe lotlhe

Ditshwanelo tsa batho le bosiamisi jwa lefatshe lotlhe e nnile setlhogo sa bothokwa sa moono wa Aforika Borwa mo diforamong tsa lefatshe lotlhe. Ka 2001 Aforika Borwa e ne ya tshwara Kopano ya Lefatshe kgathlanong le Bomorafe, Go Tlhaolana ka Lotso, Go Tlhoya Batswakwa le Boikutlo jo bo Amanang le ao. Eno e ne e le kopano e e gwetlheng ka tsela ya yone o batshwaring ba yone ka ntla ya maemo a kgaisano a e tshwanetseng go a akanyetsa. Aforika Borwa e diretse ka ditlha tse tharo mo Human Rights Council (HRC) ya UN.

Aforika Borwa gape e eteletse pele mo go fetogeng mo Commission on Human Rights (CHR) e e sa tlholeng e le teng go ya mo go ya ga jaana ya Human Rights Commission (HRC) ka 2006. Aforika Borwa e rulaganyetsa phetogo ya HRC mo lobakeng lwa dingwaga tsa 2021-2026 mo go ka bonwang

HRC e gola go nna karolo e e ikemetseng mo UN. Aforika Borwa e dumetele didiriswa di le dintsitlhe le ditlhabololo tsa Batho. Gape Aforika Borwa e atlegile mo letsholong la yone la go tlhophya bamankge ba yone mo ditlhopheng tsa ditshwanelo tsa botho tsa UN.

## WTO

Aforika Borwa e kgathanyeditse WTO ya yone ka botlalo e bile e tsweletse ka dipuisano tsa yone le dinaga tse dingwe ka boikaelelo jwa go fetola le go tokafatsa ditheo le melao ya bolaodi jwa ikonomi ya lefatshe, go bula bokgoni jwa kgolo ya tlhabololo le ikonomi ya dinaga tse di tlhabologang. Aforika Borwa e santse e tshwaregile ka dipuisano le dinaga tse dingwe kafa tlase ga DDR e e theilweng mo matsweleng a a tshegetsang madirelo a naga, ditirelo le tlhabololo ya temothuo le go thapiwa ga badiri go go ikaegileng ka NDP. Lefa go ntse jalo, dipuisano tsa kgwebisano le dinaga tse dingwe go emisitswe, e bile dinaga tse di tlhabologileng di akantsha gore DDR e tsweletse tiro ya teng. Go tsosolola dipuisano e tla nna kgwetlheng kgolo go ya pele.

## Ditlhobololo/Ditlhophpha Tse di sa Rulaganang

Mokgwa o o tlhagelelang ke wa dinaga tse di akanyang ka go tshwana go dira ditlhophpha kwa ntle ga thulaganyo ya dinaga tse di farologaneng e e rulaganeng ya go rarabolola mathata a a rileng a a amang lefatshe lotlhe. Ditlhophpha di lebile thata dikgang tsa lefatshe lotlhe tse di amanang le mathata a sepolotiki, tshireletsego, tikologo le ikonomo. Aforika Borwa e tshegetsa ditlhophpha tse di ntseng jalo malebana le go aga ka tumalano, e ntse e gagologelwa gore ditlhophpha tseno di tshwanetse go matlafatsa go se tseye letlhakore ga UN. Aforika Borwa ke leloko la G20, BRICS le IBSA.

Go tsaya karolo ga Aforika Borwa mo G20 go lebile thata go diriwa ga serala sa pholisi ya ikonomi le tiriso ya madi lefatshe lotlhe e e tla laolang le go rerisana matswela a a molemo a lenaneo la ditlhobololo.

Aforika Borwa e ntse e le mothusa modulasetilo wa leruri wa Development Working Group (DWG) fa e sale ka 2010 malebana le ketleetso ya dilo tsa bothhokwa mo nageng le mo kontinenteng. Nngwe ya dikarollo tse Aforika Borwa e di lebileng thata mo kganneng eno e ntse e le go rarabolola mathata a illicit financial flows (IFFs). Aforika Borwa e atlegile segolobogolo mo mo go lebiseng tlhokomelo ya G20 le OECD mo bothhokweng jwa IFFs mo dinageng tse di tlhabologang.

Maitlamlo a Aforika Borwa mo Tirisanong ya Borwa jwa Borwa a ile a latelelwla ka ditsela tse tharo tsa bothhokwa: go tsaya karolo mo go rulaganyeng boemo jwa dinaga tse di tlhabologang mo diforamong tsa bothhokwa tsa lefatshe lotlhe; go ikopanya le diforam tsa karolo ya Borwa jwa Lefatshe go etleetsa lenaneo la Aforika le dikgatlhego tsa Borwa; le go matlafatsa ditirsano ya dikarolopedi le dinaga tse di mo Borwa go tshegetsa dilo tsa bothhokwa tsa naga le lenaeno la Aforika. Dikarolo tseno di kopana mmogo mo go fetolang lefatshe, tirisanommogo ya dinaga tse dintsi, go kgona go gwebisana, kgwebisano le peeletso. Thulaganyo ya kopano ya dinaga tsa borwa, go ikemela mo kgwebisanong ya go okamela ga tsa bokone, ditheo tsa tlelaemetle le tsa go rulaganyetsa madi, e santse e le tlhokomelo e kgolo ya Aforika Borwa.

Mo dingwageng di le 15 tse di fetileng, Foramo ya Dipuisano ya IBSA e tsweletse go tshameka karolo ya bothhokwa mo go etleetseng kgolagano e e kopaneng le tirisanom magareng ga balekane ba ba dikarolotharo mo mathateng a lefatshe malebana le matshwenyego le dikgatlhego tse di tshwanang. Gareng ga maitlhomo a IBSA ke go etleetsa Tirisanon ya Borwa jwa Borwa le tirisanon mo ditherisanong tsa dikgang

tsa ditlhobololo. Ditona Tsa Dinaga di Sele Tsa Kitsiso ya Brasilia tsa IBSA (2003), di ne tsa kopa gore go fetolwe UN Security Council le tlhokego ya go dirisana go dira gore ditsibogo tsa go kaela madi a lefatshe lotlhe go tlisa ditlhobololo le Ditheo tse di tlhomolotsweng tsa Bretton Woods kwa Tumalanong ya Tshwane ka 2007.

Lefa go ntse jalo, mo dingwageng tsa bosheng jaana segolobogolo fa e sale Aforika Borwa e ikamagantsle le BRICS ga go ise go nne le dikokoano tsa IBSA, le fa gone ditirisano di tsweletse kwa legatong la ba ba eteletseng pele. Bokamoso jwa IBSA bo tshwanetse go tlathlobiwa gape mabapi le BRICS le diphetogo tse dikgolo tsa puso tsa lefatshe tse di tsweletseng mo lefatsheng.

Go simololwa ga BRICS ka 2009 le go lalediwa ga Aforika Borwa ke China gore e nne leloko kwa bowelong jwa

2010, e ile ya nna letshwao le le-golo la tirisano ya Aforika Borwa le dinaga tse dingwe. Dinaga tsa BRICS di dirile maitlamlo di kokane le ka bongwe go lwela go tlisa diphetogo tse di tshwanang le ditlhobologo mo malokong a yone otlhe le mo dinageng tsa karolo ya Borwa jwa Lefatshe. Le fa gone Aforika Borwa e na le ikonomi e nnye go feta tsa maloko a mangwe, e kgontsha Aforika Borwa go ikemela le go ema le baemedi ba bangwe ba borwa e buelela phetogo e kgolo le e e potlakileng ya tsamaiso ya bolaodi jwa lefatshe lotlhe. Mo godimo ga moo, go nna leloko la BRICS gantsi go amanngwa le bokgoni jwa yone jwa go thu-

sa mo go kgatlhanyetseng dikgwethlo tsa tlhabololo ya Aforika.

## Tharabololo ya kagiso le kgothhang mo kontinenteng e ile ya nna sesupo sa katlego ya Aforika Borwa mo kontinenteng.

## DIKGWETLHO TSE DI SA FELENG

Tikologolo e e Aforika Borwa e laolang tirisanommogo ya yone le dinaga tsa lefatshe lotlhe e bontshiwa ka go gola ga yone le diphetogo tse dikgolo. Dingwaga tsa ntlha di ne di tsewa e le nako ya boiketlo magareng ga Aforika Borwa le lefatshe ka bophara. Aforika Borwa e santse e tsewa e le molekane wa bothhokwa mo lefatsheng ka bophara; lefa go ntse jalo, dikgwethlo ya tsa ikonomi ya yone le tsa sepolotiki mo dingwageng tsa bosheng jaana di amile thata serodumo sa yone. Dikgoreletsi tsa Naga tsa go gagamatsa tekanyetsokabo le tsone di ile tsa lekanyetsa didiriswa tse di leng teng. Go busa serodumo sa yone le go nna matlhagatlha mo seraleng sa lefatshe lotlhe, Aforika Borwa e tla tshwanelwa ke go fenya dikgwethlo tse dikgolo tse di bontshitsweng mo tlathlobong eno.

Go sa nneng teng ga kgatlhego ya naga e e bontshitsweng sentle le e builweng phatlaltsa e nnile bothata jo bo tswelelang mo pholising ya Aforika Borwa ya dinaga di sele. Fa go ntse go na le setlankana sa khupamarama se se bontshang kgatlhego ya setshaba, diteng tsa yone ga di maleba le tsela e Aforika Borwa e tshwarang pholisi ya yone ya dinaga di sele ka gone. Seno se e dira gore e bonale e sa tlhomama le go tlhoka leano malebana le maitlhomo a bothokwa a pholisi ya dinaga di sele a naga nngwe le nngwe, a latelelang ditiro mo tikologong ya lefatshe lotlhe tse di atlenegisang boitekanelo le katlego mo bathong ba yone le go tlamela ka tshireletsego le polokesego.

Leano la maitlhomo le ka amana le go tlhomamisa gore go tsewa ga kgato mo bothateng bo le bongwe (segolobogolo fa e le gore ga se ya bothokwa mo kgatlhegong ya setshaba sa Aforika Borwa) ga se gore go nyatza kgatelo pele mo go tse dingwe, go go ka diregang. Ka nako e e tshwanang, seno se ka potlakisa kaelo ya pholisi mo go raraaneng ga go atlenegisa dikgatlhego tsa setshaba gape le go dira sentle lenaneo la ditshwanelo tsa batho. Ka go lekana, seno se se ka tlhoka tsela e e rulaganeng sentle le e dirisanang mo karolong ya go dirisana ga dinaga tse dintsi.

Mo masimologong a dingwaga tsa temokerasi ya Aforika Borwa, naga e ne e tsewa e le kakanyo – le mogwebi le mosimolodi wa pholisi. Dikai tsa seno ke go atlenegisa dikakanyo tsa yone mo tsosolosong ya Aforika le setheo se se neng sa tswa mo go yone (Kemedi ya NEPAD, APRM le AU) le karolo ya yone ya bothokwa ya tumalano ya go kganelia go kganelia meepo. Mangwe a maatla, ditlhagiswa le porofaele eno e ile ya latlheda mo dingwageng tsa di fetang. Fa Aforika Borwa e ntse e le motsayakarolo yo mogolo mo Aforika, bokgoni jwa yone jwa go tlhotheletsa diforamotsa lefatshe, segolobogolo mo melao ya motshameko e etsweng tlhoko, e amanngwa le tekanyetso e kgolo ya bokgoni jwa yone jwa go itshimololela mo karolong ya pholisi ya lefatshe lotlhe le go bontsha go itse go tsamaisa kgatelopele mo dipuisanong tsa lefatshe.

Tsamaiso ya lefatshe ga jaana e mo kutlobotlhokong ya kganetso ya melaotheo malebana le: (1) boleng le thuto e e thusang go tsamaisa thulaganyo ya lefatshe; (2) tlhago ya tsamaiso e e ikaegileng ka molaotheo le bokamoso jwa go fetola tsamaiso ya lefatshe; (3) tlhago ya temokerasi; le (4) bokamoso le bothokwa jwa tirisan

ya lefatshe lotlhe mo legatong la go gola ga makoko a a ikemetseng a sepolotiki le a a buelelang dikgatlhego tsa batho. Matswela a dikganetso tseno a ka baka mathata a letshogo mo dikgaolong jaaka Aforika le Aforika Borwa. Phetogo ya go kopana ga dinaga tse di farologaneng go tlhoka baemedi ba ba tlhalefileng ba lefatshe gore ba nne matlhagatlhaga, ba kgone go itshimololela le go nna ba le pudimatseba ka gonnes melao ya lefatshe e rulaganngwa gape. Go bothokwa gore naga e di goge kwa pele mo ntweng ya dikakanyo tsa go tlhomamisa gore maitlhomo a bothokwa a Agenda 2063 ga a salele morago.

Katlego ya Aforika Borwa mo go atlenegiseng dikakanja jaaka go tsosolosa seAforika le diphelelo tsa NEPAD e nnile mo go tlhabololeng leano la bolekane le dinaga tse dikgolo tsa Aforika. Nngwe ya kgatelopele eo e ile ya felela mo tseleng. Kgwetlho ya Aforika Borwa ke tlhagolela ka natla bolekane jo bo rulaganeng le dinaga

tse dikgolo tsa Aforika tse di ka e thusang go atlenegisa maitlhomo a yone a pholisi ya dinaga di sele. Kafa letlhakoreng le lengwe, Aforika Borwa e kgonne go amogela tshegetso go tswa mo dinageng tse dikgolo tse di kwantle ga kontinentee tse di boneng boleng jwa se Aforika Borwa e ikaeletseng go se fitlhelela. Go bothokwa thata gore Aforika Borwa e godise gape botsalano joo, segolobogolo le Europa e e leng moagisani yo o gaufi thata le Aforika. Gape le baemedi ba basha ba lefatshe ba tshwanetse go tlhomamisega ka bothokwa jwa go tsaya matshwenyego a Aforika, dilo tsa yone tsa bothokwa le dikgatlhego di le bothokwa mo maanong a bone a go thusa mo kontinenteng. Aforika Borwa e na le karolo e kgolo e e e tshamekang mo go supeng balekane ba ba ik golaganyang ba ba kwa ntle ka monwa.

Gape Aforika Borwa e tlile go nna bosisi thata mo **ditlamoragong tsa dikakanyo** tsa ditherisano tsa pholisi ya dinaga di sele mo kontinenteng le ka kwantle, go kgona go bua le bone ka tshosologo le go nna tlhaga mo pholising ya yone ya dinaga di sele. Seno se bothokwa fa e le gore Aforika Borwa e tshwanelwa ke go tshameka karolo ya boetapele e e tlhaga mo kontinenteng, le mo diforamong tse dingwe tsa lefatshe lotlhe. Ka sekai, go direga ga letlhoo la batswakwa gantsi mo Aforika Borwa, go go bontshiwa thata ba faladi ba maAforika, go nyatza maitlamo a a bontshitsweng ke naga mo lenaneong la Aforika le melaotheo ya yone ya botho. Matshwenygo malebana le maitlamo a Aforika Borwa a tirisanommogo le Aforika a imreditswe ka bokete jwa ikonomi ya Aforika

## Go nna leloko la BRICS gantsi go amanngwa le bokgoni jwa yone jwa go thusa mo go kgatlhanyetseng dikgwetlho tsa tlhabololo ya Aforika.

Borwa le go tlhagelela ga yone, segolobogolo mo kgaolo e e leng mo go yone. Mo godimo ga moo, go na le kakanyo e e golang segolobogolo magareng ga bangwe ba balekane ba Aforika Borwa ya gore pholisi ya dinaga di sele ya Aforika Borwa ga e latelele sekai se se phepa le se se tsepameng se se bontshitsweng ka go tlhomowi ga melao e e thomameng.

Tirano ya ikonomi le dinaga tse dingwe e nnile maitlhomo a a kwadilweng a pholisi ya dinaga di sele ya Aforika Borwa, mme gore naga e bone melemo ya seno, e tlhoka ditswaki tsa botlhokwa tse tharo. Ya ntlha ke gore **tirisano ya ikonomi le dinaga tse dingwe e tlhoka go dirwa go ya ka dikgatlhego tsa setshaba tse di sekasekilweng sentle**. Ya bobedi, bokgoni jwa tirisano ya ikonomi jwa Naga bo tshwanetse go matlafadiwa thata le go okediwa. Go tlhokega gore go nne le katamalao e e gaufi magareng ga dithulaganyo tsa maikaelelo a tirisano ya dinaga le maitlhomo a tirisano ya ikonomi le dinaga tse dingwe, go akaretsa badirei le baemedi. Ya boraro, tirisano ya ikonomi e tlhoka kgolaganyo e gaufi magareng ga puso le setheo sa kgwebo, gore go nne le katlego ya mmatota magareng ga bobedi jwa tsone mo gae le kwa ntle. Malebana le bosupi, dithekenoloji tse disha di tla tlhama dikgwethlo le ditshono mo ikonoming ya Aforika Borwa le dipeeletso le maano a kgwebisano a a amanang le yone malebana le ditheo tsa ikonomi ya setso. Leano la go kopanya ditheo tse disha mo tlhabololong ya ikonomi le thulaganyo ya kgwebisano le dinaga di sele go tla nna botlhokwa.

**Go potlakisa lebelo la go kaela peeletso** mo Aforika Borwa go tla tlhoka matsapa a a tseneletseng go aga tshepo mo babeletsing ka ntlha ya bosiny le go laolwa ke puso ke batho bangwe, bogodu le go sa ikanyege ga motlakase.

**Tharabololo ya kagiso le kgotlheng** mo kontinenteng e ile ya nna sesupo sa katlego ya Aforika Borwa mo kontinenteng.

Ka nako e e tshwanang, go ya ka tsepamo ya botlhokwa mo pholising ya dinaga di sele ya Aforika Borwa mo go ageng Kaelo ya Kagiso le Polokesego ya Aforika, **kemedi ya naga ya badiri ba ba leng kwa AU** malebana le go nna le seabe ga bone, e santse e le bokoa. SANDF le yone e lebane le dikgwethlo tse di amanang le dibetsa tse di maleba, didiriswa le katiso e e amanngwang le ditiro tsa go atlegisa thomo ya go tshegetsa tshireletsego ya setshaba sa Aforika Borwa, dikgatlhego tsa setshaba le pholisi ya dinaga di sele. Go na le dikgwethlo di le dintsi malebana le didiriswa tsa dithoto tse e leng gore fa di sa rarabololwe sentle, di tla ama go arabela thomo ya naga ya dikamano le dinaga tse dingwe. Ke tseno:

- **Tekanyetsokabo:** Kafa go ka rulaganngwang ditiro mo bathong ka tshegetso e e ngotlegang ya tekanyetsokabo ya karolo ya ICT, segolobogolo mo kgannyeng ya maitlhomo a a atolositsweng a mafapha.
- **HR** – go itse tirisano ya ikonomi le dinaga tse dingwe go tlhoka kgolo e e tseneletseng mo Lefapheng la



## LOTSHI LA LEWATLE

Lotshi la lewatle la Aforika la sekgala sa 30 500km le akaretsa mawatle a 2 - Atlantic le Indian le mawatle a mangwe a mabedi Mediterranean le Red Sea.

Kamano le Tirisano ya Boditshabatshaba, segolobogolo gore e tle e tlatselsetse tiro e e dirilweng ke ke Lefapha la Kgwebisano le Madirelo le la Matlotlo a Setshaba. Tirisano ya kemedi ya setshaba le bokgoni jwa go ipapatsa mo lefatsheng lotlhe go tla tlhoka go atlenegisiwa gore go tsamaisane le mefuta ya puisano ya lekgolo la bo21 la dingwaga, segolobogolo mafaratlhathha a botsalano. Bokgoni jwa puo e sele bo tshwanetse go nna karolo ya botlhokwa ya bokgoni jo kemedi e e dirisanang le dinaga tse dingwe ya Aforika Borwa e tshwanetseng go nna le jone.

- **Kagego ya maikaelelo** – dilo tseno ga di ise di tlhamaladiwe kgotsa go fetolwa gore de lepalepane le tiro e e atologileng ya kemedi go dirisana le dinaga tse dingwe ka ikonomi.

### **Borulaganyi magareng ga maphata, mafapha le dikarolo tse dingwe tsa puso:**

Kgwetlho e kgolo e e tsweletseng mo karolong ya tirisano ya dinaga tse dintsi e tlhoka gore Aforika Borwa e tle ka tsela e e dumalanang le e e rulaganeng. Aforika Borwa e ka fitlhelela mo go ntsi fa e rarabolola kgang ya go dirisana le dinaga tse dintsi ka tsela e e sa raraanang. Tsamaiso e e fokoditsweng boleng ya diporofense tsa Aforika Borwa e bontsha palo e e rileng ya go ikemela mo go lweleng dikamano tsa botlhokwa mo ikonoming le dinaga tse di kwantle, segolobogolo mo diporofense di kgaogganngwang ke molelwane ka tlhamalalo le dinaga tse di mabapi. Mo godimo ga moo, dikgwetlho di le dintsi jaaka go fetoga ga tlelaemeti di ntse di Iwantshiwa mo legatong la ditoropokgolo, mo metsmegolo e dirang maitlamo le go nna le seabe mo diforamong tse di jaaka diCOP tsa ngwaga le ngwaga tsa go fetoga ga tlelaemeti.

Go potlaka le go diragadiwa go go akaretsang ga Kabinete go letleletse Ditekanyetso le Ditaelo Tsa Borulaganyi Malebana le Pholisi ya Dinaga di Sele go tota go tlhogega go sireletsa tirisano ya Aforika Borwa le dinaga tse di mo lefatsheng lotlhe.

Mo dingwageng di le 10 tse di fetileng go simololwa ga **South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA)** go ile ga buisanelwa makgetlho a le mantsi – kwa palamenteng le Kabinete. SADPA, fa e ka dirisiwa e le morulaganyi wa tsamaiso e e etleetsang bomankge ba ba tlhwatlhwa ba ba tswang mo mafapheng a a maleba a a leng mo letsholong la go aga kagiso morago ga go rarabolola dikgotlheng mo Aforika Borwa le ka tlamela ka tumalano le go nna ngatana e le nngwe mo ditherisanong tse Aforika Borwa e di dirang le dinaga tse dingwe.



- Go tlisa pele go diragadiwa ga dikarolo tsa botlhokwa tsa Agenda 2063 le go tlhabolola ‘tirisano ka go rata’ ya balekane ba ba bagolo ba akanyetsang Aforika, ba ikaegile ka bokgoni mo tirisanong ya ikonomi, kagiso le poloke-sego, le tshono ya tirisano mo dilong tsa botlhokwa tsa kontinentse di amanngwang le diSDG, fa go ntse go atlenegisiwa dilo tsa botlhokwa mo kgwebisanong ya kontinentse, pеeletso le ditlhabololo.
- Go tlhabolola bokgoni jwa go tsereganya ikonomi ya dinaga malebana le Tirelo ya Dinaga di Sele go dirisana le setheo sa poraefete le go dirisa Trade Invest Africa go tsweletsa maithhomomagolo a yone fa gape e ntse e tsamaisa le go atolosa karolo ya Aforika borwa jaaka naga e e maatla ya Aforika mo foramong ya Aforika, go e etleetsa dikgatlhego tsa yone tsa ikonomi mo kgaolong, le go tlhomamisa gore e kgona go diragatsa ditlhabololo tsa kgaolo.
- Go tlhomamisa bokopano jwa kgaolo mo SADC le mo Aforika go atolosi-we mo kgwebisanong ya mo gare ga Aforika ka AfCFTA, le koketsego e e bonalang ya karolelano ya Aforika Borwa malebana le kgwebisano ya mo gare ga Aforika.
- Go thusa Aforika Borwa jaaka motsayakarolo yo o matlhagatlhaga mo dithulaganyong tsotlhe tsa AU go nna le seabe mo go tshegetseng ditlhabololo, kagiso le go ikemela le go tshegetsa lenaneo 2063 le go matlafatsa tirisano ya yone ya ikonomi le tlhabololo le dinaga tse di kwa Bokone le ditlhophha tse dingwe tsa Bokone.
- Go etleetsa diphetogo tsa tsamaiso ya bolaodi jwa lefatshe ka matlhagatlhaga, segolobogolo mo UN Security Council.

KAROLO 15

# Bokhutlo



**M o tshimologong ya dingwaga di le lekgolo, ba etapele le batlhali fi ba Aforika ba itlamile go dira tshimologo ya dingwaga di le 21 e nne ya Aforika. Se se latetse morago ga tlhaolele kwa Namibia le Aforika Borwa, e dotetsa tswalo ya puso ya bokoloni e masetlhapelo kwa ntla ga Western Sahara, South Sudan, Chagos Archipelago le Comorian Island ya Mayotte. Marakalase a puso ya batho ka batho a nneile teng mo mengwageng e fitileng e 25, e emetse batho botlhe, bantsho le basweu, bagolo le banny le banna le basadi ebile e tlhotlheleditswe lefatshe lotlhe.**

Bofelo jwa tlhaolele e ne ele ditlamorago tsa matshwenyego le ditlholo,e le dikakaretso tsa Bulhoek, Sharpeville, Soweto, Maseru le Maputo Massacres [le tse dingwe tse dints] le mogwanto wa basadi bay a kwa Union Buildings, godiso ya Freedom Charter, Ir gano ya batsha,ba bereki le basadi. Ka jalo, kgang ya Aforika Borwa ke tlhamane ya setlhabelo ya dimilione tsa baho mo lefatsheng le batho ba pele b aba duetseng kwa matshelo a bana gore tshegetsa mabapi le matshwenyego a rona.

Nako e e tlhakane le bofelo jwa Cold War, mais-apelo a Rwanda Genocide ka 1994, tshimologo ya bokopano jwa mafasthe, ka godiso ya puisano le thekenoloji le bofelo jwa tshokologo ya Aforika e laolwang ke kagp ya diphetogo tsa ditaelo.

Ka moo mo dingwageng di le lesome tse ditlang, mabapi le temkerasi ya Aforika Borwa, Aforika e tsere kgato ya tlholego e bakanya dikgotlhlang (sekao. Sudan/South Sudan le Cote d'Ivoire. Ethiopia/Eritrea le The Gambia); kgolo e e leng 5% [le mafatshe a fitlhlang 7% godimo ga lesome a a golang ka bonako mo mafatsheng otlhe], dipalo tsa ditsele tsa tlhabologo le kgangkgolo ya dikamano tsa mafatshe otlhe ka bophara.

## BOSWA JWA MMUSO WA

### TEMOKERASI

Mmuso wa temokerasi o tlile ka molao wa go kgaoganya setshaba, ka maikailelo a phetogo ka Reconstruction le Development Programme, ke polisi ya ekonomi. RDP e tlile go "kokonela batho botlhe le ditlamelo tsa baagedi go ntsha tlhaolele go agiwa temokerasi". RDP e etse tlhoka mathata a Aforika Borwa ka botlalo, go tloga ka temokerasi ya 1994, mo go boteng.

### Boteng jwa mathata a baswa ka kakaretso:

- Tlhaelo ya matlo a sa feteng di uniti tse 13 milione, le dihotele le magae, le thibelo ya go feta diunithi tse 3 milione.
- Go le kgotlhe tsamaiso ya phatlagano gaise e fete 11 ya ditsamaiso ya thulaganyo ya thuto e phatlagantse ka 13 ya ditsamaiso go ya go thulaganyo ya boitekanelo e le 11 ya ditsamaiso.
- Komishini ya Eybert ya Adult Education e balelwya mo 80% ya palo ya bagolo mo Aforika.
- Ka botlalo, ka 1990 ke 24% ya baithuti ba marematlou mo Aforika ba ba tsenetseneng dipalo go lekanyetsa 64% ya basweu le 70% ya malndia ka 1990, go tloga foo 97% ya basweu e e ne kwa 97% ba ba feletseng le 15% YA MaAforika<sup>311</sup>.
- Kabo 59% ya dikolo tsa Aforika Borwa ba ne ba sena motlakase, leletsswa[61%] le motloba wa dibuka[82%]. 60% ya dikolo di ne di sena dithoto tsa thuto le tsa go ruta<sup>312</sup>.
- Tsamaiso ya boipelego e ne e phatlagantshiwa go ya ka mmala, bong le maduto.
- Lekgotla le le tsamaisang borukhuthi, mapodisi, dikgotlo, masole, le dikgolego ke makgotla a a neng a kgateletseng tsamaiso ya tlhaolele.
- Basadi bantsho ba ne ba le tlase ga setshaba, ba sotlega. Ba ne ba tshwewe maswe gotlhele. Basadi ba ne ba tswariwa ka bokotlase, go akaretsa mo dithutong, dimaketeng tsa ditiro. Bomme ba dula mo matlong le go bereka mo ditshimong, ba ne bas a kereye tekese, le basadi ba go nyalwa ba ne basa kgone go ka nna le boswa kgotsa gonna le matlo/dithoto tse dile mo maineng a bone.

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FRD Indicators, 1993 aangehaal in HSRC. 2013. Teenoor 20-jaar-orsig, p. 36.

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Departement van Onderwys. Onderwys in Suid-Afrika: prestasie sedert 1994, 2001.

# Mo dingwageng dile pedi tsa phetogo, Aforika Borwa e tlile ka molaotheo o o tshwanetseng batho botlhe.

- Tlhaolele e ne e nale maano a go farologana dilo, gabedi mo magaeng le ko metse setoropo, le go kgaogana mmala, maemo le ditumelo, bantsho ba dula kgakala le di toropo se se dira gore ban ne ba tsamaye sekgaloo se se telele sa go tswa, ba dira ka 30% ya matlole a bone mo dipalangweng.

Kanete, ngwana wa Aforika o diretse go “dira legong le go kwala ka metsi” se se kailwe ke Verwoerd.

## Diphitlelelo le go fokotsego jwa tshosetso

Phitlhelelo ya kgololosego e ne e se tshwanelo ya sepolotiki le paakanyo ya batho, go aga setshaba, le go selekalekane ga maAforika Borwa. Ka moo mantswa a moporesidente Mandela ka 1994 a bua le setshaba a re. “re dira batho ba lekalekane mo sethsaeng le maikaelelo a go tlisa kgololosego ya batlalo, kgololosego ya tlala, kgololosego ya go se kgathale le kgololosego ya go boifa.”<sup>313</sup>

Aforika Borwa ba simolotse go aga ditlamorago tsa tlhaolele, ba lebelela le ditlhoko tsa batho tse ne di tlhotlholediwa ke tlhaolele. Se se tlile e le tiro e nne thata morago ga dilo le molao ya tlhaolele, setheo sa ditirelo, dipuo, tshireletso ya semorafe, puso ya mogae, ditheo tda thuto, le tsone tsa

molao le polisi ya ditiro le melwawana ya teng.

Mo dingwageng dile pedi tsa phetogo, Aforika Borwa e tlile ka molaotheo o o tshwanetseng batho botlhe. Ka ntlha e Aforika Borwa e simolotse mokgape wa khutso le poelano ka mokgatlhoo wa Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Ka TRC Aforika Borwa e lekile go tla ka maano a a go busa ditokelo tsa batho.

Diphitlhelelo tse dintsi si tswere nakong ya tlhaolele di builwe ke RDP le phetogo ka 1996.

Se se dirile gore Aforika e dirisane gore go nne le tswelelopele, le Dorn Pass e dirisiwa kwa Apartheid Museum le bontsi jwa badudi ba filwe di “smart card ID”. Molaotheo o emetse batho botlhe gore batho ba lekalekane, go seke ga nna le kgathololo.

Dingwaga di le 25, Aforika Borwa e tsene mo kontinenteng ba amogetse mo lapeng la lefatshe lotlhe. Morago ga go nna naga e e kobilweng kgotsa e tlhoilwe. Aforika Borwa setse ka naga e e welang mo Afrikene Union, United States le di agensi tsa yona e leng UN Security Council. Aforika Borwa ebile e wela kwa Non-Aligned Movement, G20 le BRICS, le G77+China le tse dingwe.

Ka go tlhotlholetsa khutso le tsalano, Aforika Borwa e agile khutso, dipoledisan le kagano le DRC, South Sudan, Darfur, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, the Comoros, Nepal, le Zimbabwe le tse dingwe tse dintsi.

Temokerasi ya Aforika Borwa e belegile maungo ka katlego ba tshwane dithlopo tsa bo 6 tse di tsamaileng sentle ka Motsheganong 2019, Aforika Borwa e nnile le molaotheo wa go dirisa dipalamente ba tlhopa Cyril Ramaphosa e nne moporesidente wa bo 6 wa temokerasi.

## Ka kakaretso le bong le go selekalekane, tse di latelang ke se se kwetseng ke mmuso wa temokerasi:

- Khabineti ta ntlha ya 1994 e ne e nale basadi ba babedi fela godimo ga batho ba ba 30, mo dingwageng dile 25 Aforika Borwa e nele 14 ya basadi le 14 ya banna godimo ga batho ba ba 28, se se gore ya nne le lekalekane ga 50% mo khabineteng.

- Koketso ya basadi kwa palamenteng e Nne 27.8% ka 1994, ya nna 41% ka 2019.
- Kemelo ya basadi mo pusong e ko godimo ka 19% y aba ba tlhopilweng ka 1995 goya ko 41% ka 2016.
- Ka 1994 basadi ba ba 5% ne ba direla mmuso, fela ka 2018 palo ya basadi e ne e feta ya banna.
- Basadi ba ba lekanang 41% ya Senior Management Services (SMS) ba ne ba le maemong a kwa godimo ka 2018, fela ba ne ba le 20% ba go direla mafapha a a sa ikemelang ke goromente.
- Go nale koketso mo dipesenteng tsa baatlhodi ba basadi e tswang mo mengweng kwa Leonora Van den Heever ka 1994 goya 38% ka 2018.

Kannete tiro ya Aforika Borwa ya go aga setshaba se se ntsha e simolola go tlhagelela, fela mo dikgokeng tsa bong go tshwanetse go tirisiwa letsegoo.

### Re tlhaga kgakala

Mo di tsamaisong tsa tlhomagano, Aforika Borwa e tsaya dikgato tsa dikgotsi tsa batho re di etele pee. Dimilione tsa batho di ne di ganetsiwa ditokelo tsa bana fela ba ne ba neiwa thuto, motlakase, metsi, boitekanelo le tse dingwe.

### Diphetlhelo tseo ka kakaresto:

- Re fitlhetsse 90% ya go newa tsamaiso ya motlakase.
- Go ne ga agiwa matlo a ma 3.2 milione gwa agiwa le 1.1 milione ya mafapha.
- Boitekanelo jwa mahala mo basading ba ba imang le ban aba baling tlase ga mwngwaga e thataro go tloga ka 1994, se se dira bo kotlase.
- Boitekanelo jwa boitlhokomelo jwa go eta bo oketsegile la 67 milione ka 1998 go ya ko 120 milione ka ngwaga ka Mopitlwé 2018.
- Palo ya botshelo e oketsegile go tloga go dingwaga di le 54 ka 2005, go ya 64.6 ka 2019. Ntse go le jalo go nale go senya thata jwa phamokate.
- Tshimololo ya tuelo e ne ya tlhagisiwa, e fan aka tshireletso le seriti go bathing ba ba sa kgoneng go ikemela, e leng bana, bagolo le batho ba sa itekanelo, go fitisa moo

- Le malebogo a tshireletso ya semorafe e fitlheletswe.
- Diofisi dikgolo tsa go kgathalela setshaba di agilwe, ebile go ya ka ditumelo tsa go bay a bana pele ga batho botlhe-Behang Banna Pele-di tuelo tsa bana di okeditswe go tloga ka 2.4milione ka 1996, go ya go 17 milione ya dituelo ka 2018, Se se raya gore 11 milione e labile mo baneng.
- Boseng jo bo tlhagisitsweng jwa General Household Survey, 2018 e bontsha 31% e e tshotseng tuelo. Dituelo tsa mmuso di botlhokwa mo matlong a batho ba ba [45.2%] morago ga dituelo le [64.8%]. Ke motswedie o batho ba itschedisang ka ona.

### RDP e dirile boipabalelo e aga mafapha a thuto le boikatisetso, ka moo:

- Goromente e butse mejako ya thuto le setso, ka go tlamela thuto[gompieno re nale 67% ya baithuti ba sa duelang kwa dikolong ebile 77.1% ya thusega ka dijo tsa kwa sekolong Gotswa ko diporokereme tsa dijo ko sekolong<sup>314)</sup>.
- Palo ya mengwaga ya ba go ya sekolong ba dingwaga di le 7-15 ba oketsegile go tswa go 51% ka 1994 go ya go 99% ka 2018, ke pheto ya lefatshe ka bophara.
- Re labile maiteko a go tlhabolola bana banny.

Bolekanyo jwa ditiro le tiriso ya go bolega ga ditshono tsa bantsho le boitsi tiro.

Temokerasi e ntshitse matla a rileng ka metshameko, arts, dipina, dipadi, difilemi le go bina, le tsone saense, tekenoloji le tse dingwe.

Go ntse jalo go na le seabe sa kgatelelo ya mmala gotswa mo go Iwantsheng, Aforika Borwa e ile ko godimo ka go amogela kgatelelo ya mmala ka boifo. Ntse go ya ko godimo mo mafatsheng ka bophara, go na le naga ele nngwe e godileng, ka bo maswe jwa xenophobia e lebeletswe mo Aforika le dinaga go tswa mo dikarolong tsa ditlhabologo tsa mafatshe, ka jaaka e bontsha mo temokerasing ya dingwaga tse 25.



Go tsweletsa  
kagiso le botsala,  
Aforika Borwa  
e tshamekile  
karolo “kago  
aga tsela” ya  
kagiso, dipuisano  
le dithhabololo  
tsa DRC, South  
Sudar Darfur,  
Burundi, Cote  
d’Ivoire, the  
Comoros, Nepal,  
le Zimbabwe, le  
tse dingwe.

Go ntse jalo, go nale kemo e ikemetseng ya temokerasi e nnye, diphetogo tsa naga di kgakala le go fetsa le Aforika Borwa ka jaaka e wele mo dikopanong tsa maano a goya ko pele. Aforika Borwa e akanya ka se go nna matseno a ekonomi, e na le matlole a mantis. dikago, ditheo le ditiriso tsa batho, mme se se paletswe ke bahumi ka go naya Aforika Borwa. Tsela ya tatlhego ya se, ga e sale teng mo phetogong e ya ekonomi le go Iwantsha go sa lekalekane le botlhoki.

Go jalo, go tloga ka 2015 Aforika Borwa e nne nngwe ya go san ne le bolekano jwa semorafe mo mafatsheng. Go tsaya se botlhe le go ikopantsa mo botlhoking le kgolo ya botlhokatiromse se ama

ga kgolo ya batho ya boraro, ka mmala le bong, le go sa lekalekane, botlhoki le botlhokatiro ke nngwe ya kotsi e kgolo mo semorafeng<sup>315</sup>. Mme, Aforika Borwa e **tswa kgakala le se gotswa ko ntiheng. Mme ga se mo e tshwanetseng kabe e le teng.**

Mo meleng ya pula ya rona ya naga, Aforika e humile mme botlhoki ba Aforika, ba balelwaa tsatsi le letsatsi.

Mo palong ya matlole a kepitale e ko godim ka 273% mo ngwageng tsa go feta tsa 25, dipalo tse ke tsa basweu mo diranteng tse 444, dikete tse 92 tsa diranta, ka jaaka dile kgakala le boleng bo. Go okeletsaa mo, matlole a Aforika a dirilwe le matseno a go patelwa, ka jaaka e dira temeko mo botlhoka tiro ka kgakgamatso.

Le ga palo ya batho ba ba thapilweng e menagane gabedi mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng, ikonomi ga ya dira ditiru ka lobelo lo lo tlhokegang go Iwantsha selekanyo sa botlhokatiro, mmogo le dilo tse disha tse di tshena mo mmarakeng wa badiri. Kwa bowelong jwa 2018 (Q4), palo ya semmuso ya botlhokatiro e ne e eme go 27.1%. Ka kakaretso mo dingwageng di le 25 tse di fetileng botlhokatiro bo ne jwa oketsegaa ka 25%. Boemo jo bo amanang le botlhokatiro jwa bash abo ntse bo le masisi tota mme go na le tumalano ya gore seno ke bothata jwa bosetshaba. Seno se direga le fa go dirilwe ditsela tse dintsii go lepalepana le mathata ano go akaretsa, go ithuta o le mo tirong, tirelo ya basha, tuelo ya go thusa basha, dikgwebo tsa basha, le dithulaganyo tsa tiro ya batho botlhoki.

Mo dingwageng tse 25 puso ya temokerasi e tsentse melawana e le mmalwa – matlafatso ya itsholelo ya batho bantsho, melawana e e dirang le maano a madirelo, go aba le go arola lefatshe – mme ditlamorago ga di ise di nne dikgolo. Beng ba bantsho mo JSE e santse e le 3%, mme palo e ntsi e santse e tshwere fela 25% ya maemo a a kwa godimo mo ditheong tsa poraefete. Basadi ba ba leng mo maemong a a kwa godimo mo ditheong tsa puso le tsa poraefete e santse e le 20% fela.

Mo dingwageng di le 25 melao le melawana ga ya ama thata go nna beng mo ditheong tse dintsii tsa ikonomi. Go tlhoma mogopolo e tswelela e le

thibelo ya dilo tse disha mo ikonoming, mme seo se ama kgolo, go direga (le go falola ga madirelo a masha) le go tlhoma ditiro. Afrika Borwa ga e ise e fetole ka katlego mokgwa wa go nna beng o o antsweng mo nakong ya tlhaolele, e mo setlheng say one ka 1987, 83% ya dishere tsotlhe tsa JSE e ne e le tsa dikhampani tse nnè, mme Anglo American e na le 60%.

Le fa go na le melawana ya go aba lefatshe, Afrika Borwa e kgonne fela go aba dihektara di le 8,3 milione tsa palo e e beilweng ya RDP ya dihektara di le 24,6 milione.

Setheo sa ditirelo tsa matlole se begile seelo se se kwa godimo go gaisa sa kgolo mo dingwageng di le 25. Mme gone setheo seno se tswelela se sa fetoga fa go tliwa mo kgannyeng ya go fitlhelela matlole, tekatekano ya tiro le go nna beng. Afrika Borwa ga e ise e fitlhelele botlhokwa jwa ditheo tsa batho ba bantsho ka ntla ya selekanyo se se kwa godimo sa bokopano le go fitlhelela madi le dimmaraka, mme seo se dira gore go nne thata gore dikgwebo tse dintsi tsa batho bantsho di godise dikgwebo tsa tsone le go tsaya karolo mo ikonoming.

Gareng ga tse dingwe, mathata ano a akaretsa go sa kgone go tsena mo kgwebong, go thulana ga dikhampani tse dikgolo, go sa fitlhelele dimmaraka ka botlalo, go akaretsa go fitlhelela dimmaraka tsa matlole mme a kgoreletsa kgang ya rona ya kgolo ya ikonomi. Afrika Borwa e ka se kgone go rarabolola bothata jono ntle le fa go tsewa kgato e e tshwanetseng go tokafatsa phitlhelelo ya matlole, segolobogolo ke basadi ba bantsho le borakgwebo le batlhami ba basha. Dingwe tsa dilo tse di tshwanetseng tsa fitlhelega e tshwanetse ya nna go tlhomwa ga Banka ya Naga, dibanka tsa bokopanelo, tsa mmasepala le tsa morafe.

Selo sa konokono sa ikonomi ya polotiki se gateela puso ya temokerasi go “dira” kgotsa go “palelwa ke go dira”; mme tota Afrika Borwa e na le ikonomi e e fetotsweng e e sa akaretseng karolo e kgolo ya baagi mo tirong e e botlhokwa ya ikonomi, mme e akaretsa ba bangwe botlhe ka tsela ya yone fela.

Se se amanang le seno ke bokgoni jo bo tlhaelang jwa go fetola mekgwa ya tlhaolele, mo mafelong a setoropo le a selegae, mme le fa bontsi jwa batho ba rona ba nna mo makeisheneng, ga go na diikonomi tsa lekeishene tse re ka buang ka tsone.

Gape dikgwetlho tsa Afrika Borwa di dirilwe ke se se lebegang e le tiro e e siameng, go na le e e tlhomilweng mo maemong otlhe a ditirelo tsa puso; le bonweenwee le bogagaru tse e leng ditirelo tsa motheo.

Ka maswabi, Afrika Borwa e begile koketsego ya 11% mo botlhokotsebeng jo bo diregileng fa gare ga 1994 le 2018. Petelelo ya tirisodikgoka, tirisodikgoka ya thobalano le tirisodikgoka yam o gae, mmogo le go sotla basadi di ntse di oketsega mo dingwageng di le 25, go bontsha morafe loago lwa one le boitsholo di ntseng di fela. Gape go na le koketsego mo boipelaetsong jo bo nang le dikgoka, mme go senngwa ga dithoto tsa poraefete le tsa puso ke sesupo sa go fela pelo mo go golang.

Go yam o Tlhatlhobong ya dingwaga dile Lesome tsa dingwaga tse 15 tsa go feta... “se se bontsha botelejwa tiriso, thata mo ekonoming le le go ntshiwa kontle, re tshwanetse go bona dintlha tsa matlhakori a sa siamang mme re lebelele a siameng. Se se tla fokotsa tsela ya go boeletswa gantsi ya goya kotlase.”<sup>316</sup>

Ee ruri, Afrika Borwa e fitlheletse kgotsa e gaufi le go fitlhelela motsamao o o kotsi oo wa kwelotlase.

Go ntse jalo, bopaki jwa goya kotlase go bona nomore e botlhokwa mo. Go feta naga ka 2009, merafe ene e lwana ka boleng jo e ne yay a ko godimo le go kereiya ditirelo. Go na le matla a rileng gareng ga bolwantshi jwa ditirelo jwa semorafe, ekonomi le botlhokatiro.<sup>317</sup> Se ke tiragalo le boteng jwa ditirelo, go nna borukhuthi le seemo sa puso, bokotlase jwa tshepo mo dipolotiki, le mo ditheo go tswana le media, go ema ga ekonomi ya bantsho ka go sa rotloetsa, kgolo ya ekonomi, kotsi ya seemo sa ba ba nang le dikgwebo, bo kotlase jwa naga ya rona ka go tsamaya ka tsela e e siameng.<sup>318</sup>

Se se akaretsa go buisana ga bonnye jwa tlhaolele ya pele le go botsa dipotso ka botlhale le diriso ya teng le mo dipolotiking<sup>319</sup>.

Go tloga fa Aforika Borwa ele nngwe ya Aforika e ton aka ekonomi. Aforika Borwa e dirile temokerasi, ka bakgoni ba teng [le go tlholega] mo dikagong tsa bong le ba ba sa dumeleng mo bong. Katlego ya temokerasi, e botlhokwa e seng fela mo baagi le batho, mm emo maano a Aforika. Go dira naga ya rona e sale ko morago ka ekonomi e nnye go ya ka bothokwa jwa dintlha tsa kgolo, ICT le matlole a diteng, go kereiya direlo ya matlole, le seemo sa dithuto.

Mme, moporesitente wa Aforika Borwa, moeteledipele Cyril Ramaphosa o maakile: “Mme le fa bangwe ba kereile, re kabe re tsamaile ka bonako le ditirilo di tlhabologile thata. Re tswanetse go amogela diphoso tse re di dirileng le go bona maemo a, tswelelo e sa ema”<sup>320</sup>.

## DINGWAGA TSE 25 TSA TEMOKER-ASI TSA GO FETA:DITSHONO LE MAIKAELELO

Se se dirile naga go sa lemose ga dingwaga tse 15, se se tsweletse ka tatlhego ya ekonomi le kgetololo ya mmala le bong e ya kotlase.

Go na le nomore ya dilo tse puso e paletswang ke go di dira ka go tsamaisa naga mo dipolotiking. Ekonomi le phetogo ya semorafe.

*Go feta mo  
nageng go tloga  
ka 2009 mo  
merafeng ka ba  
ne ba Iwantsha  
koketso ya  
boleng le diriso  
ya semorafe, le  
dipatlisiso tsa  
go lebelela ga  
matla a go tlisa  
ditirelo, ekonomi  
le botlhokatiro.*

Se se akaretsa ditlhabololo tsa tlhakori ya katlego ya temokerasi ya dikwalo tsa tlhaolele ya bokoloni, mo letsogong le lengwe puso e batla dilo tsa dikgwebo di tsamaye sentle ka go batla kelotlhoko ya bokgoni le ‘kotlhao’ ya mo dimakete ga go sa diri diphoso.

Ntle le go ile tlhoko se ka ekonomi, kgolo ya tsela e ya dikemo tsa go tswana le dilo tsa go dira, mawatle le ekonomi le ditlhabololo, Aforika Borwa e lebeletse ka kelo tlhoko mo maikro ekonomi kemo ya teng, le gotla ka dintlha tsa teng, go na le gore go nne le sengwe sa go aga ke boteng le go dira ekonomi e gole go ba botlhe.

Aforika Borwa e lwetse go ka Iwantsha ga tsamaiso ya puso morago ga 1994. Go ntse jalo go dirile gore go nne tona mo maineng, le go nna bonnye magareng ga naga, baagi le kamo ya ditlhabologo, ekonomi le ditirelo tsa semorafe le polego ya teng.

<sup>317</sup>

Mmasepala IQ. 2019. 3 Dintlha tsa go terenta ka 2018's All-Time Service Delivery Protest Record, kgatiso ya porese, 16 Ferekong..

<sup>318</sup>

Afrobarometer. 2016. Mo Aforika Borwa, baagi ba tshepa moporesitente, ditheo tsa dipolotiki dikotlase, 17 Motsheganong.

<sup>319</sup>

Edelman. 2019. Edelman Trust Barometer. Website: [www.edelman.com/trust-barometer](http://www.edelman.com/trust-barometer).

<sup>320</sup>

African National Congress. 2019. Ditirelo tsa Dithlhopo.

# MAPUNGUBWE PONO 2044

FUTURE Green African City e emetse dingwaga tsa kgolo ya Africa Design Principles le Bokamoso

Seyshwanelelo Pg. 1 Modiragatsi wa Green New City wa Near Future “Mapungubwe 2044”.  
Gochitsha Somarie Moore.

## 1. DIKAGO TSA OSTRICH EGG

Mo dikemong tsa mogare ga toropo ya kemedi ya Ostrich Egg Building, E kgona go emelana le diphetogo tsa seemo sa loapi ka botala jwa dikago jwa dijalo le go diriwa le go dirisiwa. Dikago tse di ditona mo difusing le dikago tsa semorafe le magare a mo dimaketeng. Mo ditoropong tsa semogae di a bereka[e seng mabenkele]. Ko bofelo jwa ditoropo ko godimo le kotlase go na le diterena le dikemelo tsa dipalangwa le diuniti tsa matlo mot lase le ko godimo. Dikago tse di itsegaleng di dikologile ke matlo le diofisi tse di bulegileng tsa tulo e tala e le dirang mtoropong ka diura tse 24 ka go bereka 24/7 ke go dirisana ga ba bereki. Ditsela le neteweke e mo dikagong tsa go itsegi de dira botokwa ka go tsamaya mo gare ga toropo, le tikologo ya teng, o sa tsamaye dikilo e I mothoko ga dikemelo tsa dipalangwa. Dipalangwa tsa phathalatsa, ditekesi, terena le dikepe di tswa kook a go tsamaya ga nnyane ko diyang teng.

## 2. DIFOFANE

Go nna gaufi le difofane tsa tikologo eo ka go tliusi go tswana le tsone ditheo tsa difofane ka go nna le di hotele le dikomore tsa dikopanelo.

## 12. GOKOPANTSHA

Go kopantsha ga dikolo tsa difofane tsa bokone tsa go gasiva le go filimiwa ka bogare jwa dikago tsa teng. Bagatisi le bagasi baseemo seo sa letsatsi le dikago tsa go bona ga molao wa ostrich egg mo toropong.

## 11. DIPALANGWA

Magare a toropo a kopantshwe, gotlhe mot lase mo phathalentseng ya dipalangwa tsa neteweke[ka go tsena ga difouno tse thata]le dilo tse di farologaneng.

## 10. METSI

Bo kontle jwa toropo e dikologileng metsi otthe, le dikemo tsa teng tsa melapo ya metsi a a letswai le bokotlase mo ngwageng. Metsi a fiwa tnaga le go babaletsba ba go tsoma dithlapi le ba dikepe.

## 9. MO BOFELONG JWA SOUTH

Unibesithi (Mapungubwe Institute for Tekenoloji le Innovation (MITI), museum, metshameko le ditso tsa go kopantshwa ke go kopanelwa. Motsamao o botokwa le dikopano. Tsa go kopantshwa mo di stadium le go kopanya diunibesithi, 7D ya matlo a dimmovi, matlo a dijo le dikago tse dingwe. Ditumelo le setso. Tse di kopantshwe mo toropo e mogare le ba bipeling mo go ba ba motlase ga dipalangwa tsa phathalatsa.

**Mapungubwe** ke e ntsha, maemo, mmala le bong mo toropong ya Aforika Borwa, se se tlottomatsa ditso tsa Aforika. Se se bonwa mo ditulong tsee. Di beilwe mo dikwalong tsa kgale tsa Aforika tsa ditiro tsa naga, se ke sa tlholego. Bo gotlhe jwa naga bo dikologile ke ditlhari le botala jwa teng le lefatshe ka mmala e e bonwang ya tlholego

### 3. DIKEMO TSA METSI LE NGWAO

Mo Kapa Bophirima thata, e bapile le lewatile or melapo ko dikepe di tsaya dilo le dijо tsa metsi go diisa ko toropong, ka go tsaya dithlapi le dijo ko dimaketeng le direturente. Ditulo tse dingwe tse di papileng. Ditulo tse di kaya dilo tsa bogologolo tsa Aforika, le dintlo tsa Aforika ka gare, mo dokumenteng ya hisitori ya Aforika le setso.

Ka fa lethlako reng la south ke di tshwant-so tsa balwela le ba malapa a bone ka go kgaogana.

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### 8. DIPALOTSA DITULO

Mo south easy ya bofelo ke game reserve le dilo tsa tlholego tsa go sirelediwa tse matlo a dilo tse tlhano le dilo, dibolomo le fauna tsa Aforika Borwa.

### 3. DIKEMO TSA METSI LE NGWAO

### 4. FEKETORI

Go fitisa ga moo ga ngwao ya North ya difeketori tsa botala le tsa go di dira, tse di berekang le go thlaola ga matla a go tlisiwa ke mashole a cadets le a National Youth Service.

### 5. KISHO E KO GODIMO

Ditshimo tsa North, botala jwa teng bo ko godimo mo ditulong tse dingwe, tulo e tala, ditlelapa, bara le ditulo tsa tumelo. Go tswana le dikago tsa go itsegii tse di bonwang le tsa maungo a fa thoko. E fa thoko ga toropo e teng le dikago tse di dintlo tsa mo ditoropong.

### 6. LEFATSHE LA TSHIMO

Se se tlisa dijo mo toropong ka tekano e siameng le matlo a Mapungubwe Agriculture and Technology College, a ele gore a kopane le Unibesithi ya Mpumalanga ya takenoloji le temothuo ya teng, le bontsi le bonnye jwa barekisi le ba go tlisa dijo mo ditoropong.

### 7. TULU YAGO DULA

Mo ditulong tsa East tsa go polenewa ga Boulevards le tulo e tala ya bana ba ba tshamekang mo. Se k emo dijo di direlwang teng, ECD le dikago tsa dikolo le dilo tsa go tshameka di nala 24 CCTV ya dilo tsotlhe. Se se kopantshwe le magare le tse dingwe tse di fedileng tsa phatlhalatsa e kotlase ya dipalangwa.

Puso e dumela setso sa rona se dire ditlhokego tse di leng teng, dikgwetlo le dittlebo, go patella ga ditiro tsa dikago tsa nnete, le botala, borukhuthi le go san ne le diporokereme tsa dintsha tsa go tswelela, le ditlhabololo tse di rileng.

Seemo se se dira boetapele jwa ditlhabololo di gole ka tsela ya matlotlo ya goya kotlase le go tlisa madi a rileng mo makaleng a. Se se dira gore se nne kotlase ka go ama ga ekonomi.

Fa ele Aforika Borwa e tlisa pele morafe pele le go dira gore lefatshe le eme mo setheo seo. Aforika Borwa e fokotsa dilo tsa go rekiwa, go tswana le go lwela bajete ya nnete. Boswa jwa dibajete e ne ele kwa godimo ka 22.7% goy aka bajete ya 1982 ele kotlase ka 13.7 pesente ka 1987, se se ranotse 15.7 pesente ya puso ka 1989. Go ntse jalo 80s e na le era. Ka 1999 militari ya dibajete e ile kotlase ka 50%, ka nnete. Go tlogela se e amile thata bolwela dishopo tsa kem, go akaretsa go tlisa le go dira kgolo ya ekonomi ya Aforika Borwa, go ntse jalo bokgoni jwa ditlhabololo le gosireletsa naga.

Go senola se ka dilo tsa go fetal le tsa bokamoso. Aforika Borwa e tlisitse dilo tse di siameng. Ka ngwaga wa 25 di tlisa ditshono tsa dintsha, ka go ithuta gotswa mo thutong e ya kwatara ya bofelo.

Go kereiya diphetogo tsa porojeke e ko morgan, puso e dirile se, ka dingwaga tse 5, tsa gotlisa tsholofelo ya Aforika Borwa. Se se tshwanetse go ka tlisa dithhabololo tsa go dira, go bereka mmogo le maAforika Borwa, Aforika, le naga ya baago ka go tsamaya ga dingwaga tse 25 ka go dira gore diphoso tse di sa direga gape.

Se se dira gore ditiro tsa tsela ya go dira dikgotlhang tsa bothokatiro, bothhoki le go sa lekalekane. Go dira se sa Aforika Borwa se dira ditshono tsa go dira pele ka go etela pele ga dintlha tsa tsela ya katlego ya diphetogo.

### **Ditshono le dikgwetlo se akaretse se:**

- Se ke tiro ya dikago tsa naga ya diphetogo tsa ekonomi, go puisana ga ekonomi[go akaretsa magae le toropo tsa ekonomi] go sa lekalekane le bothokatiro;kgolo ya diphetogo tsa go dira ditiro, go ikemela ga lefatshe le tshenolo

Go senola se sa dilo tsa go feta le tsa bokamoso, Aforika Borwa e tlisitse ka go tokafatsa. 25 ya dingwaga tsa go tsamaya di tlisitse ditshono tse dintsha, tsa go ithuta gotswa mo go fitilweng teng mo kwatareng ya go feta.

ya tikologo, le go tiisa ekonomi, puisano ya dikgolo tsa dikago tsa ekonomi, dintlha tsa ditlhabololo le dikago tsa diphetogo le gi ikemela. Dithokego tse di dira gore go nne le temokerasi le bokgoni jwa seemo sa ditlhabololo.

- Go tiisa le go dira matla a semorafe, go oketsa maemo a ditirelo le maemo a goromente , tswalego ya go san ne le ditirelo;boleng jwa boitekanelo le thuto;go dira kelothoko ya matlole;le tshireletso ya semorafe. go bona ga tlala le go fokotsa bothhoki jwa botlang, le go nna sentle mo merafeng.
- Go ila tlhoko ga dithuto le bokgoni jwa tlhabololo le go tlisa kemo ya ditshono tsa bana le bashwa ba Aforika Borwa. Se se tshwanetse go akaretse kopano ya ntlha ya

matsatsi a 1000 a botshelo jwa ngwana, go oketsa thuto ya ngwana e sale phakela, go tlhabolola ga go bala le bokgoni jwa dipalo le boemo jwa maemo a thuto, go letlelala ga sekolo ka go ruta, go akaretsa ditshono tsa bobedi le dipalo tsa bagolo; go tlhabolola ga dikakanyo mo dimaketeng le go kopantsha seemo sa dithuto le tiro ya lefatshe le ekonomi.

- Go tlisa ga tirilo ya diporokereme tsa go tlisa dikago tsa dikolo tsa maemo a a rileng;
- Tlhabologo ya National Master Skills Plan ya bokamoso;
- Go oketsa ga phatlhalatsa le ikemelo ya dipatlisiso, ditlhabologo le dikakanyo tse dintsha.
- Go tlisa se le go metiwa ga tlhaolelr ya tatelano, go ntse jalo go akanya, matlo a ikemetseng a merafe, ditlhabologo tsa mese setoropo le magae a ekonomi tsa teng, go kgona ga dipalangwa, tshireletso ya setshaba, ditwelo kgatlanong le bong, go dira sentle ga dikago, dikago tsa naga[matlopalelo, dipaka, metshameko le ditlhabologo]go akaretsa entanete ya go kopantsha ga data, le go tlhabolola ka ditoropo di metse.
- Go kgaola se ka dilo tsa puso tsotlhe le mafapha ka ditlhabologo tse ditirelo dingwe le dingwe ka go ikemela le Makala a go rekisa le dintkha tsa baagi ba go kereiya ditirelo tsotlhe le tse puso e sa di dirang tsa mafapha a rileng se se bontshiwang mo **Setshwantsong 15. 2.**
- Ekonomi ya Aforika Borwa le ditlhabologo tsa morafe ka kamo ya SADC, Aforika ka bophara, ka botlalo jwa African Continental Free Trade Area; le go tlisa ga African Union Agenda 2063.
- Go dira ga matla le semorafe, go nna mo tlhodi bong, ditlhabologo, temokerasi le dikemelo tsa go tlisetsa batho ba rona, ka go nna seoposengwe ka naga e.

Ga go epe ya tse di fa godimo e e leng ntšha. Ka jalo, Aforika Borwa e tlhoka thulaganyo e e tlhomameng le e e tsepameng, e e theilweng mo maanong a a maleba a tlhabololo ya loago le ya ikonomi a a tshwanetseng go kaelwa ke naga e e nang le bokgoni jo bo tlhabologileng. Thulaganyo e e ntseng jalo e batla e na le dikarolo tse dintsitse di akaretsang go fetolwa ga madirelo, ditirelo,

botlhami le phetolo ya bokgoni, ka boikaelelo jwa go bona ikonomi e e tshelang le e e golang.

Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go tswa mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng le go tswelela e tlhomame go tlhama tikologo e mo go yone batho, mmarakala le naga di tshamekang karolo ya tsone e e maleba le le thusang kgolo ya ikonomi. Puso kgotsa Mebaraka ga di a tshwanelwa go tsewa di le botlhokwa go feta batho.

Kgabagare, seo e tshwanetse e tshwanetse go nna padi jaaka fa Aforika Borwa e gomagomela dingwaga tse 25 tse di tllang e tshwanetse go ikemisetsa go atlega, go tsaya diphoso e le tshono ya go ithuta le go tlhabolola, le go baya magetla a rona mo leotwaneng, matsogo otlhe a le mo godimo.

### **Afrorika Borwa e tshwanetse go fa matla le bokgoni mo ditheo tse:**

- Go nna le matla le ditlhabogolo ga seemo: go aga ga ditirelo le ga setheo tse rileng tsa Makala, ga borukhuthi le go tiisa ga go oketa boikemelo, tlhabologo le tse dingle, matla le go oketsa ga puso, le dikarolo tsa seemo sa rona sa morafe le diphetogo tsa ekonomi.

*Go tlisa  
diphetogo tsa  
diporojeke, puso  
e dirile gore  
megwaga e 5, e  
tseye tsholofelo  
mo ma Aforika  
Borwa.*

KHOMPU-  
TARA/FOUNO  
E E KGONANG  
GO BALA ID

MABENKELE LE  
DIBANKA TSE DI  
BAAKANTSWENG  
SENTLE TSA BASHA



E FITLHEELWA KE/KWA



#### GO FITLHEELA TSHIAMISO

- Go bega bokebekwa
- Go latelela dikgetsi
- Go rulaganya lethla la kgotlatshekelo
- Tatelelo e e tshwanelang



#### KOPANO YA LOAGO/ BOIKITSISO

- Dikopo: Karata ya ID, lokwalo lwa mosepele, Visa, Laesense ya go Kgweetsa (go akaretsa go latelela)
- Phithelelo ya tshedimosetsa ya puso: Kago, NDP, Ditiragalo
- Tshedimosetsa ya mothaoapi
- Kwadisa NPO
- Matsalo/losolenyalo Ditirelo tsa dikhoso tse dikhutshwane tsa puo le thanolo



#### BODITŠHABATŠHABA

- Dikopano
- Ditshono tsa tiro kgotsa boithao
- Dipeco tsa dithulaganyo AU

# Re ka thusa jang?

THUSO E E NEWANG  
KWANTLE GA PAMPIRI



#### MAFARATLHATLHA

- Ditheketha tsa sefofane
- Ditheketha tsa terena
- Thuso ya go duela metsi le motlakase
- Ditheketha tsa bese
- Thuso ya matlole go duela e-toll
- Laesense ya go kgweetsa



#### NAGA LE MORAFE

- Go latelela tekanyetsokabo
- Ditheriso tsa lefatshe – latelela ka nako
- Nomoro ya Mogala ya Poresidente le megala ya moyara le dipuisano
- Thuto mo Melawaneng ya Ditshwanelo le NDP
- Kopana le baeteledipele ba gago, le dikgaso tsa dipuisano tsa metsotsi e 5 ka Mantaga mo mosong



#### ITSHOLELO

- Ditshono le dikopo tsa tiro
- Kitsiso ya diphatlhatiro tse di tshwanelang
- Dithendara le dikopo
- Go kwadisa khampani

#### TUELO YA LOAGO

- Fithelela tuelo
- Madi a kotlo
- Dipeco tsa itekanelo
- Thuso ya go duelela matlo
- Go latelela kotlo

**Setshwantsho 15.2:** The service centre of the future which also exists in the virtual world  
Motswedzi: DPME, 2019

- Go matlafatsa **togamaana le boleng jwa tekolo** go ralala dikarolo tsotlhe tsa puso, go akaretsa bong, go ikemela le go godisa basha, le go bontsha go itlhagisa ga motho le ditsamaiso tse di kopaneng tsa go ikarabela mo legatong la porojeke le la porogerama, go akaretsa maikaelelo a a bonalang sentle a a theilweng mo diphitlhelelong le go bega ngwaga le ngwaga.
- Go ranolela maikaelelo le ditshono mo **thulaganyong e e nang le dintlha ya tiriso ya naga**, ka diphitlhelelo tse di bonalang le maikaelelo a ngwaga le ngwaga.
- **Setšaba se se kitlaaneng** se se bonang puso e dira le lephata la poraefete, badiri le baagi ba selegae, go aga ka tumalano mo go direng mmogo mo dilong tseno tsa botlhokwa, le setšaba ka kakaretso mo maphateng otlhe go dira mmogo go diragatsa, go lebelela le go thusa go baakanya mo go senyegileng teng.
- **Go baakanya matshwenyego a tikologo**, segolobogolo phetogo ya tlelaemete, mo dithulaganyong tsotlhe tsa loago le tsa ikonomi, mo kokomaneng ya gone jaana le ya mo isagweng.

Fa Thulaganyo ya Tlhabololo ya Setšaba e bontsha pono e e akaretsang batho botlhe mo Aforika Borwa, thulaganyo e e nang le dintlha tsotlhe le lefelo le le maleba e e tshegediwang ke thulaganyo ya tirisano le badiri mo ikonoming e a tlhogega. Thulaganyo e e ntseng jalo e tshwanetse go nna le dintlha tsa ditiro go rarabolola khumanego, botlhokatiro le go tlhoka tekatekano. E tshwanetse go tshegediwa ke leano la go fetola madirelo le le ikaeletseng go tsosolosa lephata la betla, lephata la temothuo, ikonomi ya mawatle, bojanala, melemo, lephata la tshireletso le lephata la ICT go lepalepana le seemo se se fetofetogang sa tlelaemete le diphetogo mo thekenolojing. Dilo tseno tsotlhe di tshwanetse go lebisa kwa phetogong ya kagego ya Aforika Borwa, segolobogolo mo mafelong a metselelegae le makeishene.

Go ya kwa pele, puso le baagi ba tshwanetse go lemoga kafa ba amiwang ke phetogo ya tlelaemete ka teng ga mmogo le go fetoga ga lefatshe ka ntlha ya Phetogo ya Bone ya Madirelo le go fetoga ga

lefatshe la tiro, jaaka Aforika Borwa e potlakisa thebolo e e ikaeletseng go rarabolola dikgwetlho tse di gatelelang tsa botlhokatiro, khumanego le go sa lekalekane, mo go bakang tlhaolelothoko ya morafe.

Sebui sa Bokamoso, Thomas Frey<sup>321</sup> o dumela gore “mo masomeng a mabedi a dingwaga a a tlangu re tla be re bona makhubu a a sa lebelelwang a go itshimololela le go tlhama go go tlhotlhelediwang ke didiriswa tsa botlhami. Mo nakong eno, re tla bona go runya ga madirelopotlana a masha a feta 100,000 a a tla thaþang makgolo a le dimilione a batho”. Kokomana eno ya ditiro tse disha e ka kgona go oketsa kwelotlase ya bothhokatiro. Ka jalo, fa matshwenyego a sa ntse a le mo phetogong ya popego ya tiro le ditiro tsa 4IR e le a mmatota e bile a le maleba, go tshwanetse ga elwa tlhoko gore ditiro tse dintsi tse disha, mefuta ya dikgwebo tse disha le ditselana tse disha tsa go romela di tlife go tlhama ditiro, di oketsa lobelo le go boloka ditshenyegelo tsa Puso le go kgontsha go bona ditirelo mo maAforika Borweng otlhe.

Aforika Borwa modingwageng tsa go fetsa 25 [2019-2044] e nnele kemelo ya bong le go ila tlhoko semorafe le ka molao wa ditshwanelo tsa botho le dipalo tsa bone le ka ditlhokego.

Kwa bokhutlong, fa re ka rarabolola mathata a ga jaana re tlwaelaneng le one, naga e tlhoka go gola ka mokgwa o o tla lemogiwang ke maAforika Borwa otlhe. Ka jalo puso e tshwanetse go tlhabolola dithulaganyo tsa dingwaga tse 25 tse di tlangu tse di tla akaretsang mongwe le mongwe, ka maitlhomo a a phepafetseng le a a lekanyegang a ngwaga le ngwaga, mo lobakeng lwa dingwaga tse di ka nnang bobotlana jwa tse 10.

Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go simolola ka bonako le ka tlhomamo bokgoni jwa phetogo e kgolo, segolobogolo go lebilwe thata basha ba le dimilione di le 8.2 Ba ba Berekang, ba ba Ithutang Kotsa ba Ikatisa (NEET), go dirisa ditshono tse di leng teng le tse disha tsa ikonomi. Karolo eno e bontsha bomo ya nako e e tlogang e senya diphitlhelelo tse di begilweng mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, fa go sa dirwe sepe ka tsone. Phetogo e kalo e tshwantse go thewa mo tsamaisong e e bofaganeng

seraro ga mmogo le thuto ya leruri – go tswa mo legageng la lebitla.

Dingwaga tse 25 tse di tlang di tshwanetse go lebelela thata mo tlhabololong le go tlhagisa Thulaganyo e e rulaganeng ya Lefelo le le Fetotsweng la Bonno le le tla fetolang lefatshe la boswa jwa rona.

### **Mo dingwageng tse 5 tse di tlang Aforika Borwa e tshwanetse go tlhabolola Ditirelo go tshegetsa:**

- Mafarathatlha a diterena tse di lobelo tse kgabagare di tla kopanyang ditoropokgolo le ditorotsana mo diporofenseng tsotlhé, diterena tseo di tshwanetse go re kopanya gape le madirelo a ikonomi mo kgaolong le mo kontinenteng.
- Go rulaganngwa le go agiwa ka botlhalo ditoropokgolo tse disha le ditorotsana tse di bontshang bokitsiso jwa Aforika Borwa, mo baagi ba merafe yotlhé, bong le dingwaga ba ka nnang, ba bereka, ba ithuta, tlhama le go tshamekala gone.
- Go dirwa ga dibanka tse di farologaneng le ditheo tsa matlole tse di ka rotloetsang kgolo e e bonalang le e arolelanwang ya ikonomi. Dibanka di tshwanetse go kguna go tlamela ka tirelo e e kgethegileng malebana le thekiso, madirelo, morafe, temothuo, mmasepala, ditlhoko tsa basadi le tsa tirisanommogo.
- Aforika Borwa e tlhoka go akanya gape ka dipholisi tsa go fetola Madirelo go lepalepana le dikarolo tse re bonang tshono ya tlhago le go dirisa tshono ya Phetogo ya Bone ya Madirelo, ka sekai, ga re ise re dirise tshono ya go tlhoma Senthara ya Kgwebo ka maranyane. RDP ya 1994 e ne e bontsha batho ba ba tsamaisang dithulaganyo mo pusong ya temokerasi ya naga ya Aforika Borwa. Lefa go ntse jalo, mo dingwageng tse 25 tse di fetileng, puso e katogetse kgakala le batho ka tirisano. Ka jalo, mo dingwageng tse di tlang tse 25, go dira Setshaba se se Kitlaaneng go tshwanetse ga wediwa le go dirisiwa mo go tla kaelang naga kwa baaging ba ba matlhagatlhaga le boetapele jo bo nang le tirisano. Dikhomishene tsa patlisiso mo ditatofatsong tsa bosenyi mo maphateng a poraefete le a puso ka bobedi di tshwanetse go nna karolo ya ditiragalo tse di fetileng tsa naga, e seng tsa mo nakong e e tlang.

Re le batho re  
tshwanetse  
go puisana ka  
mathata a le naga  
ya rona ka go bona  
kgolo e tlhokega  
le go utlwala ke  
maAforika Borwa.







## KA 2044, FA AFORIKA BORWA E KETEKA BOITUMELO JWA TENG.

Aforika Borwa ke nngwe ya dikgolo le go fana le Africa We Want, morago ga go bona lesedi le matla a Aforika, ka go oketsa le go rotloetsa ga matshelo a maAforika. Aforika Borwa le baagi ba teng ba tswanetse go ithuta, go bereka, go dira dikgwebo, go rekisa, le go ikopantsha le maAforika a dinaga tse dingwe ka go ba amogela ka difatlhego le pelo e e borutho m dinageng tsa Aforika.

Naga ya rona e bone tlala mo ngwageng tsa go feta tsa 5 le botlhoki, mo botho ba rona.

Batho ba rona ba ka bo ba sologetswe molemo go tswa mo ditswalong tse di butsweng ka botlalo tsa go ithuta le setso le go leba kwa morago, ba bo ba tshega kgaogano e e senang mosola ya go ya ka bong, lotso, bodumedi, morafe le puo, jaaka ba momagana tirisanong e e senang bomorafe le kopano ya setshaba se se farologaneng ka boikitsiso jo bo tshwanang jwa boAforika le setshaba se se tüleng.

Naga ya rona e ka bo e agile bobotlana ditoropokgolo tse pedi tse disha tse di ka bong di theilwe mo boleng jwa Aforika le dikarolo motako wa katlego ditoropokgolo tsa Aforika wa bogologolo e le go sireletsa bonno jwa batho jo bo senang bomorafe, bo sa tlhaole ka bong e bile e le jwa boemo jo sa tseyeng lethakore le go godisa tlhabololo.

Semorafe sa rona se tshwanetse go itsi gore ga go a tshwanela go gatakiwa ga bon, basetsana bottle, basadi le batho ba ba farologang ba bong ka go rotloetsa tekatekano mo dilong tsotlhe le go lek ana ga botho mo eknoming.

Baratiwa ba rona ba naga go akaretsa le go lekana ga baagi bottle mo nageng ya rona ka go fana le go nna le tetla ya ditiriso le go tsaya karolo mo ekonoming le go gola mmogo.

Se se dira dikatlego tse di tlisitseng monate le lkagiso, ka matlhakore otlhe, le go nna ngatana ele nngwe mo bathing le mo ditheo tsa bone tsa semorafe, ditumelo tsa ditheo, baetapele ba setso le ba tlhathobi, le Makala a ikemetseng ka go ema nokeng bo kgaitadie le bomogoloe ba rona mo nageng ka bophara.



WE SHALL NOT BE DEFEATED  
WE SHALL NOT BE OVERCOME  
WE SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED  
WE SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED  
WE SHALL NOT BE DESTROYED  
WE SHALL NOT REGRET  
and  
ALL PASS LAWS AND ALL FORMS OF CRIMES RESTRICTING OUR FREEDOM HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED  
WE SHALL NOT REGRET  
and  
WE HAVE WON FOR OUR CHILDREN  
their  
FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS  
and  
FREEDOM  
JUSTICE  
and  
SECURITY

## DITEBOGO

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**Pego ya Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa Bomasomeamabedi le Botlhano e ka bo sa kgonega kwa ntle ga boetapele jwa ga Moporesidente CM Ramaphosa le Tona NC Dlamini Zuma ga mmogo le Ditona tsa Mafapha a a farologaneng, Molaodi-kakaretso wa Lefapha la Togamaano, Tekolo le Tshekatsheko, Ms NZH Mpofu le Balaodi-kakaretso bottlo ba Foramo ya Balaodi-kakaretso ba Aforika Borwa (FOSAD).**

Pego e thusitswe ke dipego le ditheo tsa thuto tse di fetang tse 300, dikhampani tsa lephata la poraefete, mekgatlhlo ya baagi ba morafe, dikhanele tsa molao, mekgatlhlo ya patlisiso, dikhomishene tsa molao, Dikhampani/Dikgwebo Tse di Laolwang ke Naga, Ditheo Tsa Tlhabololo ya Matlotlo, Dieijensi Tsa Dišhaba Kopano (UN), mafapha a puso ya setšhaba, mafapha a puso ya porofense le Bolaodi jo bo Kgethegileng Jwa Setšhaba.

Re umaka ka go kgethega batsayakarolo mo kokoanong ya boditšhabatšhaba ba ba tsereng mosepele o moleele go tlamelia setlhophpha sa tlhatlhobo ya ngwaga wa bomasomeamabedi le botlhano ka kgakololo e e tlhogegang le maikaelelo bano ba akaretsa Prof Carlos Lopez, Dr Ibrahim Assane Mayaki, Mr Li Yong, Prof Jomo Kwame Sundaram, Dr Celestin Monga, Prof Mamokgethi Phakeng, Prof Tshilidzi Marwala, Dr Ha-Joon Chang, Mr Patrick Dlamini, Mr Sihle Zikalala, Prof Mabel Imluga, Ms Jean Chiazord Anishere, Prof Aromar Revi, Prof Patrick Bond, Mr Malululeka Risenga, le Amb Febe Potgieter Gqubule.

Pego e ka bo e sa fela kwa ntle ga kgakololo ya kitso le ka thuso ya ga Dr Roger Deacon, Mr Elias Tibane, Mr Steyn Speed, Mr Vukani Mthintso,

Dr Gopalan Padayachee, Mr Mlungisi Mtshali, Mr Boyani Mphasha, Prof Pitika ka Ntuli, Prof Chris Maroleng, Dr Kefiloe Masiteng, Ms Sanmarie Moore le Ms Jesselene Pandaram.

Bomankge ba Lephata le Legolwane le le tlhagisitseng Dikgaolo Tsa Tlhatlhobo ya Ngwaga wa bo25 ke: Dr. T. Mabogoane (Thuto ya Motheo le Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso); Mr. Thulani Masilela (Boitekanelo); Mr. Joy Rathebe (Polokesego le Tshireletsego le Dikamano Tsa Boditšhabatšhaba); Mr. Rudi Dicks (Ikonomi le Ditirelo Tsa Ikonomi); Mr. Zakhele Mdlalose (Tlhabololo ya Magae le Phetolo ya Lefatshe le Tikologo le Didirisiwa Tsa Tlhago); Mr. Hassen Mohamed (Bonno Jwa Batho le Puso ya Selegae) ; Ms. Josephilda Nhlapo-Hlope (Tirisano ya Setšhaba le Go Aga Setšhaba); DDG ya Nakwana mo Lephateng la Setšhaba la Tebelelo le Tlhabololo ya Boleng (Mr. Stanley Ntakumba); le DDG wa Nakwana wa Tlhatlhobo, Bopaki le Ditsamaiso Tsa Kitso (Dr. Constance Mabela) ba ne ba thusiwa ke Ms Anne Dibakwane le Ms Makhetha Ntlou.

Batsayakarolo mo Dipuisanong Tsa Tafole e Kgolokwe: Ditheo tsa Thuto, Dikhampani Tsa Setheo sa Poraefete, Mekgatlhlo ya Baagi ba Selegae, Dikhanele Tsa Molao, Mekgatlhlo ya Patlisiso, Dikhomishene Tsa Molao, Dikgwebo/Ditheo Tse di Laolwang ke Puso, Ditheo Tsa Tlhabololo ya Matlole, Dieijensi Tsa Dišhaba Kopano (UN), Mafapha a Puso ya Setšhaba, Mafapha a Puso ya Porofense, Bolaodi jo bo Kgethegileng Jwa Setšhaba.

**Re a re Asante Sane! Re lo leboga lotlhe!**

TLHATLHABO YA  
**GOYA KWA  
NGWAGENG  
WA SOME A  
MABEDI LE  
BO TLHANO**

1994-2019



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

