

Puo le demokrasi

Le ha e le hore demokrasi e fana ka matla a boikgethelo bathong bohle ba ka hodimo ho dilemo tse leshome le metso e robedi, mme ba bile ba phetse hantle kelellong, tabataba ke hore boikgethelo ba sebele ha bo ka ke ba eba teng ha eba tseo ho lokelwang ho kgethwa ho tsona di sa utlwisiswe ke ba lokelang ho kgetha ho tsona hobane di phuthetswe ka puo e kubutehileng ho baamehi. Afrika Borwa, demokrasi ya sebele e akaretsang bongata ba baahi, e ka ba teng ha feela dipuo tsa Mafrika le tsona di sebediswa mapatlelong ohle a dipolotiki.

Language and democracy

The concept of democracy places the power to choose in the hands of the majority of a country's voters over the age of eighteen and of sound mental health. Inherent in ideal democratic choices is a proper grasp of the issues on which decisions have to be taken, followed by the exercising of choices. A democratic choice is well-nigh impossible if the voter is confronted with issues couched in a language which he is unable to decode. In South Africa, ideal democracy, inclusive of the majority of citizens, will only begin to emerge when (and if) African languages are used across the entire political landscape.

Taal en demokrasie

Die begrip van demokrasie plaas die besluitnemingsmag in die hande van die meerderheid van die kiesers wat ouer as agtien jaar is en wie se geestesgesondheid nie bevraagteken kan word nie. 'n Inherente aspek van ideale demokratiese keuses is 'n behoorlike begrip van kwessies waarvoor besluite geneem moet word; hierna volg die uitoefening van daardie keuses. 'n Demokratiese keuse is haas onmoontlik indien die kieser gekonfronteer word met kwessies wat verskuil gaan in 'n taal wat hy/sy nie kan dekodeer nie. In Suid-Afrika sal 'n ideale demokrasie, wat die meerderheid burgers insluit, slegs te voorskyn kan tree wanneer (en indien) die Afrikatale oor die hele politieke spektrum gebruik word.

Pele ho ho amohelwa ha molao wa motheo o motjha wa Afrika Borwa, leano la kgethollo e ne e le lona le renang naheng ena. Bongata ba bao leano lena le neng le ba bea ka mosing, bo ne bo bua ka ntsweleng hore kgethollo ha e a loka. Bo ne bo e lwantsha ka ditsela tse fapafapaneng. Le ha ditsela tsena tsa ho lwantsha leano la kgethollo di ne di sa tshwane, batho bana kaofela ba ne ba ipona e le ngatanangwe, ba tlamahantswe ke morero wa bona o le mong: ho ketola kgethollo.

Kajeno e se e batla e eba dilemo tse supileng baahi ba Afrika Borwa ba ne ba ye dikgethong tsa ho qala tse se nang kgethollo; dikgetho tseo ho tsona mang le mang ya dilemo di leshome le metso e robedi le ho feta, mme a phetse hantle kelellong, a neng a ena le tokelo ya ho kgetha le ya ho kgethwa. Dikgetho tsena tsa bohle di se di ile tsa eba teng le lekgetlo la bobedi ka 1999.

Le kajeno ho sa ntsane ho utlwahala mehoo le medidietsane ya ba thabetseng demokrasi, ho sa ketekwa lefu la mohlorisi ya kgethollo. Tokelo ya ho kgethwa esitana le ya ho kgetha ke ya bohle, ha e sa ya tshekeletsa. Yonayona tokelo ena ke yona eo re e bitsang demokrasi. Empa potso ke hore na tokelo ena ya ho ikgethela baetapele le ya ho iketela boetapele, na ehlile ke sonasona seo ho thweng ke demokrasi na? Hantlentle demokrasi ke eng?

Atikeleng ena re ikemiseditse ho hlahloba le hona ho totobatsa ka moo demokrasi ya sebele e lohehellaneng le puo ka teng. Demokrasi ya sebele e ke ke be ya eba teng ntle le hore batho ba utlwisise ka botlalo, ka puo eo ba e utlwisisang le ho ikgethela yona, tseo ba loke-lang ho kgetha ho tsona. Seo re tlang ho se etsa mona ke ho hlalosa mohopolo ona wa demokrasi pele; re ntano totobatsa methati e itseng ya bophelo eo ho yona demokrasi le puo e leng diphathakalle. Sepheopheo sa rona ke ho hlakisa hore re a fosa ha re re demokrasi e teng empa boikgethelo, boo e leng letshwao la demokrasi, bo sa lohelleha le puo e hlakisisang tseo ho ikgethelwang tsona.

1. Demokrasi

1.1 Moelelo wa “demokrasi”

Lentswe lena “demokrasi” le Sothofaditswe ho tswa ho la Senyesemane “democracy”. Lena la Senyesemane le lona le tswa dikutung tse pedi tsa puo ya Sekgerike, e leng “demos” e bolelang batho (people) le “kratos” e bolelang matla, puso (power, rule). Ka hoo he demokrasi ke matla a batho (setjhaba) kapa puso ya setjhaba. Heywood (1998: 66) o hlalosa demokrasi ka ho qotsa Abraham Lincoln moo a neng a bua Gettysburg ka 1864, nakong ya Ntwa ya Bana ba Thari ya Amerika, moo Lincoln a reng demokrasi ke “government of the people, by the people, and for the people”.

Ranny (1990: 94) yena o hlalosa demokrasi jwana:

a form of government organized in accordance with the principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation, and majority rule.

Tlhalosong tsena tse pedi tsa mohopolo wa demokrasi re ka toboketsa ntlha tsena tsa sehlooho:

- Matla a ho etsa diqeto tsa dipolotiki/puso a bathong; ke a setjhaba, a setjhabeng. Empa ha ho buuwa ka setjhaba ha ho akarelletswa motho e mong le e mong. Ho ntse ho kgethollwa, mme e sa le ho kgethollwa le ho tloha sethathong sa mohopolo wa demokrasi. Bangodi ba pelepele ba Makgerike ba ne ba sebedisa lentswe lena “demos” ho bolela “bongata”, e seng bohle/kaofela. Bongata bona bo neng bo bolelwa e ne e le mafutsana, mme le hara ona ho qollwa banna ba dilemo di ka hodimo ho mashome a mabedi (Heywood 1998). Esitana le dinaheng tse tswetseng pele ha se kgale ha kaalo demokrasi e kenyeletsa le basadi. Ho la United Kingdom basadi ba qadile ho dumellwa ho vouta ka 1928, ha ho la Amerika teng ba dumelletswa ka bo1960. Naha ka nngwe e na le diphelelo tsa yona tsa ho vouta. Afrika Borwa teng pehelo ke dilemo tse 18 le ho nka hantle kelellong.
- Setjhaba se a ipusa, se ipusa ka bao se ba kgethileng. Bakgethuwa bana ke bao setjhaba se ba fang matla a ho ntshetsa ditabatabelo tsa sona pele le hona ho phethahatsa menyenyetso ya dipelo tsa setjhaba. Ka hoo motheo wa demokrasi ke ditakatso le ditabatabelo

tša setjhaba tše batlelwang le ho kgethelwa badintshetsipele le badiphethahatsi ka ho vouta. Se qollehang ke hore setjhaba se tseba hantle seo se se batlang, mme mokgethuwa ya voutelwang ke boholo ba setjhaba ke ya nepang hantle sena se batlwang ke setjhaba.

- Setjhaba ke sona se supang tsela e lokelang ho latelwa nakong eo ba iketang ho ba baemedi ba sona ho ipuseng ha sona ba rerisang le sona. Ha se baiketi ba etsang setjhaba diqeto empa ke setjhaba ka bosona. Demokrasing mehopolo ya mokgwa wa puso ha e tlohe moetapele e ye setjhabeng, empa e tloha setjhabeng ebe ho rongwa moetapele ho ya e phethahatsa.

1.2 Demokrasi Afrika Borwa

Johns (1989: 3) o bolela ka moo ho fihla ha Makgowa ho ileng ha fetola maemo a dipolotiki naheng ya Afrika Borwa ka bophara. O re:

White political authorities established hegemony over African tribal groupings and also created political, economic and social institutions that affected all Africans, rural or urban, illiterate or educated. In the matrix of this imposed system of white-dominated racial coexistence, new patterns of African politics began to emerge which reflected a broad spectrum of viewpoints ranging from rejection of the new system to wholehearted efforts to achieve desired goals through its processes.

Puso e neng e le teng ya marena e ile ya iphumana e hlokoleha. Barutehi ba batjha ba Bathobatshe ba ile ba hohelwa ke dipolotiki tse ntjha tša sebohirima. Ke ka hoo le mekgatlo ya pele ya dipolotiki hara Bathobatshe e bileng e theilweng ke barutehi ba dikolo tša mathomo tša barumuwa. Hara mekgatlo ena re ka qolla Imbumba YamaAfrika ya ho thewa Transkei ka 1882, Native Education Association le Native Electoral Association tša ho thewa ke barutehi ba Kolone botjhabela ka 1884. Esitana le bongodi ba ditaba tša dipolotiki bo qadilwe ke morutehi John Tengo Jabavu wa ho theha koranta e bitswang Imo Zabantsundu hona ka 1884.

Ka Pherekong 1912, ke ha South African Native National Congress (eo ha morao e ileng ya bitswa African National Congress) e thewa Bloemfontein. Ha a bua ka ho thewa hona ha mekgatlo ona, Ranuga (1996:14) o re:

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The leading organizers of the conference, who were lawyers, had received their education overseas. The eleven members of the national executive were elites who enjoyed a higher social status and could be said to belong, in comparative terms, to the emerging African 'middle class'. Four of these elites were ministers of religion; three were lawyers; one an editor of a newspaper; and the rest, a building contractor; and two teachers.

Sebophirima le tsela ya sona ya bophelo, e akaretsang dipolotiki le demokrasi, se bile le tshwaetso e kgolo ho Bathobatsho (Batala). Puso ya borena e ile ya fellwa ke seriti le matla ka ha marena le ona a ne a se a buswa ke mmuso o motjha o fihlang. Ere ka ha marena a ne a sa tsebe Sekgowa, le hona ho utlwisisa tsa sona, barutehi ba ile ba iphumana ba tlameha ho itlhome pele ditabeng tsa dipolotiki. Ba itlhomme ka pele jwalo e le hore ba sheba dipolotiki le tsa puso ka leihlo la sebophirima hobane ba ne ba rutehile ho ya ka sona sebophirima seo. Kutlwisiso ena e ntjha ya bona ya dipolotiki e ne e se ya setjhaba sohle, e ne e le ya bona barutehi feela. Ba qala ho bua ka "ditokelo tsa botho", "bokapitale" le "bokomonise". Ditabatabelo tsa setjhaba tsa thomeha baetapeleng, ba di isa setjhabeng; setjhaba sa di amohela, sa re ke tsonatsona tsa sona, mme sa di fa baetapele ho di phethahatsa.

Molao wa Motheo wa Riphabliki ya Afrika Borwa (RSA 1996: Kgaolo 1,1(d)) o re e nngwe ya dikaletsa tsa motheo ke:

Universal adult suffrage, a national common voters roll, regular elections and a multi-party system of democratic government, to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.

Selabalabelwang sa bohlokwa se bopelletsweng Molaong wa Motheo wa Naha ke demokrasi. Bolokolohi ba boikgethelo e lokela ho ba ba bohle ba ananelwang ka molao e le batho ba baholo.

Ho fetafeta mona, Mmuso wa Afrika Borwa ka "Ministry of Education" (August 2001: 13) o boela o re:

More than merely adult enfranchisement, or an expression of popular sentiment, democracy is at heart a society's means to engage critically with itself.

Ona ke mohopolo o ananelehang ho mang kapa mang ya nang le hlooho hodima mahetla. Empa tabataba ke hore na boitekolo, boitjhebisiso, le boitshenkatshenko bo fihlellwa jwang ke bongata bo sa

utlwisiseng maano a mekga (esitana le a puso le mmuso bo) a phuthetsweng ka puo eo e leng ya baditjhaba. Ha ke re Jean-Francois Revel (1993: 5) o re:

political democracy, far from being a luxury for the rich, is a necessary tool for the poor — a means by which civil society can send messages to the political authorities, rid itself of a corrupt and incompetent government.

Ka nnete demokrasi ke boimatlafatso ba setjhaba ka ho ikgethela boetapele ba sona ho ya ka moo se tsikinyetswang ha monatjana ka teng ke borokedi ba maano a mekga ke boradipolotiki. Empa hodima tsena tsohle, potso ke hore na setjhaba se fela se utlwisisa dipolotiki tsee tse ntjha tsa ho mela mobung wa sebophirima na? Se hlalose tswa marangrang aa a matjha ka eng? Ha ho potang, ka puo, empa puo efe?

2. Puo

2.1 Puo le kutlwisiso

Ngugi wa Thiongo (1986) o re puo e ba teng ka lebaka la dikamano pakeng tsa batho. Mantswe ao motho a a sebedisang a tswalwa ke boitsebelo ba hae ba bophelo; a phuthetse mesarelo le katleho ya hae boitekelong ba hae ba ho kolokotjhana le tshitabahale ena eo re e bitsang bophelo. Ha re ntse re kgatha thite, re lema, re jala, re hlaola, re kotula; hona ha re ntse re thuha majwe re aha re bile re suha marapo re etsa diaparo, re a bua. Puo e senola ka moo re utlwisisang lefatshe le hona ho ikutlwisisa ka teng.

Robey (1987: 47) o tshetleha tjenana:

Words articulate our experience of things, they do not just express or reflect reality; they give form to what, without language and other sign-systems, would merely be a chaotic and undifferentiated jumble of ideas; instead of things determining the meaning of words, words determine the meaning of things.

Seo re se hatellang re sa qeaqee, ke hore kutlwisiso e tebileng ya se itseng, e ka fihlellwa ka katleho ka tshebediso ya puo eo mohlalose-tsuwa a e utlwisisang hantle. Ha eba mohlalosetsi le mohlalosetsuwa, kapa e mong wa bona, a sa tsebe puo e sebediswang ho e qeta, seo ho

buuwang ka sona ha se ka ke sa utlwisiswa ka botlalo. Hangata ebile se utlwisiswa ka phoso kapa ha se utlwisiswe ho hang.

Ho fetafeta mona, ho sebedisa puo e itseng ke ho kgetha ho phela lefatsheng la puo eno (Ngugi wa Thiongo 1986), Mazrui & Mazrui (1998: 57) le bona ba eketsa ka ho re:

Language use, therefore, is not simply an act of communication and the acceptance of the socio-cultural presuppositions that make communication possible, but also a means of signifying a certain relationship with the other, with one's interlocutors. To speak a particular language is not only to accept its formal linguistic requirements but also to acknowledge the culture implied by it.

Re hlakisa ka mohlala. Ka Sesotho ngwanabo ntate e motona e monyane ke "rangwane". Ka Senyesemane yena motho enwa ke "uncle". "Uncle" ena e bolela "ngwanabo ntate". Ha e le "rangwane" hantle-hantle e bolela "ntate e monyane" — "rare + ngwana". Ke ho re ngwana enwa wa bontante ke ntate e monyenyanane ho nna, ke "ntate wa ngwana"; ke ngwana wa hae le nna. Empa "uncle" e bua feela ka kamano dipakeng tsa hae le ntate, e seng dipakeng tsa hae le nna. Nna ha ke ngwana wa hae, ke ngwana wa ntate "wa ka".

Re ka thasiseletsa feela ka ho re puo e phuthetse tjadimo ya bophelo ya basebedisi ba yona.

2.2 Maemo a dipuo Afrika Borwa

Ha re bua ka maemo a dipuo re bua ka bohlokwa ba dipuo bophelong ba naha eo di sebediswang ka hara yona. Re bua ka melemo eo dipuo di nang le yona ho beng ba tsona.

Tswelopele le tlhaboloho Afrika Borwa, jwalo feela ka Afrika ka bophara, ha di a qala ka hare empa di tswa ka ntle. Di tlile le baahi ba matswabotso. Britheini e bile yona e ileng ya hlahella ka mahetla bokolonealeng ba Afrika Borwa. Tlhaboloho le tswelopele di tlile di jerwe ke puo ya Senyesemane. Borutehi, tsebo le phadimehelo ya tsa Bophirima di tlile di phuthetswe ke Senyesemane. Boholo ba ba ileng ba teana le Senyesemane ba ile ba leka ka hohlehohle ho tswalwa botjha, ho ananela pholoso ya bona tebetebeng ya ho se tsebe, ka ho nwa puo ya Senyesemane motjetje. Ba ileng ba hloka monyetla wa ho ruteha le ho ba Manyesemane a Matsho ba ile ba sala ba apere kobo ya sesomo ya boqaba. Gerard (1971) o re tswelopele ya

Bophirima e heleditse sohle seo e neng e le sa Moafrika, empa ha e a mo fa letho le letjha le molemo. O re tswelopele ena e mamotse setjhaba ka lehare: ba bang ba itshwarelletse ka sehloholo, ha ba bang bona ba matha patlaka ho ya moo ba sa tsebeng teng.

Yona puo ena ya Senyesemane, ke yona e tlleng le mehopollo e metjha ya dipolotiki; mehopelo e qapehileng tseleng ya boitsebelo ba bophelo ya basebedisi ba Senyesemane. Mehopollo e batlang e utlwisiseha ho barutehi ba Maafrika bao kananelo ya mehopollo ya dipolotiki e thomehileng Bophirima e leng koboanela ka hara bona.

Le ha puo ya Seafrekane e lekile ho ikutlwahatsa, haholoholo nakong ya kgethollo, bongata ba Batale ba Afrika Borwa bo batla bo hapehile ka ho phethahala ke Senyesemane. Ba re Senyesemane ke puo ya kgokahano ya matjhabatjhaba, ya maemo bophelong ka kakaretso; puo ya tsebo, ya tsa mahlale le bohlale.

Le ha kajeno molao wa motheo wa Afrika Borwa o ananela dipuo tsa semmuso tse leshome le motso o mong, dipuo tsena di lekana feela pampiring moo ho ngotsweng teng. Ha e le bonneteng ba bojwalo teng ho hang ha di lekane. Empa he seo re lakatsang ho se totobatsa ka ho fetisisa ke hore ho se lekalekane hona ha dipuo ho thunthetsa le yona demokrasi eo re ithetsang ka ho re re fela re e fihletse.

2.3 Puo le demokrasi

Re se re ile ra bolela hore demokrasi ke puso ya setjhaba ka setjhaba, e reretsweng setjhaba. Ebile puo e na le seabo sa bohlokwa hobane e ka ntshetsa pele kapa ya kgina demokrasi dintlheng tse sehlotshwana. Ha e le atikeleng ena re hlwaya feela methati e meraro ya bophelo eo demokrasi e ka angwang ke puo ho yona:

2.3.1 Menyetla ya boemedi pusong

Ere ka ha ho sa kgonehe hore setjhaba se buse/se ipuse kaofela ha sona, setjhaba se kgetha baemedi ba tla se busa bakeng sa sona (setjhaba). Ranney (1990) o re demokrasing ya sebele batho bohle ba nang le tokelo ya ho vouta ba lokela ho ba le menyetla e lekanang ya ho ka kgetha le ya ho ka kgethwa. Empa he ditaba tsa puso Afrika Borwa di buuwa le ho sebetswa haholoholo ka puo ya Senyesemane. Boholo ba baiketi ba dipolotiki ba pepesa tsebo ya bona ya Sekgowa

boiketong ba bona. Kgopolo e fosahetseng e manehwang dikelellong tsa ditho tsa setjhaba tse sa tsebeng Sekgowa ke ya hore o ke ke be wa ba moemedi wa setjhaba pusong ya setjhaba ka setjhaba empa o sa tsebe Sekgowa. Sekgowa ke heke e bulelang le ho kwalla batho ho ya ka tsebo ya bona ya sona. Ha se feela Ashcroft *et al* (1989: 7) a opang kgomo lenaka ha a re:

Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order' and 'reality' become established.

Puo e beilweng ka sehloohong ke baiketi le boradipolotiki e a kgetholla, e tima ba sa e tsebeng monyetla wa ho ka ba le seabo se lekanang le sa ba e tsebang boipusong ba setjhaba ho ya ka demokrasi. Empa hapehape yona puo ena ya baditjhaba e boetse e baka ho se lekalekane le dipakeng tsa baiketi (bonkgetheng) ka bobona. Bokgalala ho tsa dipolotiki bo methwa ho ya ka ho thella kapa ho holoketsa ha leleme la moiketiki ha a bua Senyesemane. Ya sa se tsebeng haabo ke thabeng.

Ho se lekalekane ha menyetla ya boemedi dipakeng tsa ba buang Senyesemane le ba sa se tsebeng ke thunthetso ya demokrasi.

2.3.2 Kutlwisiso ya maano a mekga ya dipolotiki

Re se re ile ra bolela hore dipolotiki tsa kajeno ha se tsane tsa maoba le maobane. Ha e sa le tsane tsa marena le matona a hae, moo palamente e neng e le kgotla, moo melao ya setjhaba e neng e ngotswe pelong ya setho se seng le se seng sa setjhaba. Tjhadimo ya bophelo ya setjhaba le yona e ne e tshwana. Tjhadimo tsa bophelo tse fapafapaneng mabapi le tsa puso di tlile le bakoloneale. Batala ba pele ba ho rutwa ke baromuwa ke bona ba ho kgahlwa ke tsela tsena tse ntjha tsa puso. Ke bona ba qadileng ka ho thea mekgatlo ya dipolotiki. Le kajeno baokamedi ba mekga ya dipolotiki ke barutehi ba bileng le menyetla ya ho phenyekolla maqephe ao mehopollo ya sehlooho ya mekga ya bona e hlaloswang ho ona. Ba tswellisetsa pele dipolotiki tsa Bophirima mobung wa Afrika. Ba sa bang le monyetla wa ho phetla maqephe ha ba na tsebo ya dipolotiki tsena tsa setlabotjha. Le ha ho le jwalo basokolohi ha ba a ikemisetsa ho tjhetjha. July (1980: 241) o re:

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the Africans (in the cities) of South Africa have had a longer experience with urban life and are much more deeply committed to its ways and its possibilities than Africans in other parts of the continent. More important perhaps, they cannot afford to look back to the tribal ways, for it is precisely in this direction that the apartheid and Bautustan politics of the South African government was trying to force the people.

Ha ho kgang hore morao ha ho sa uwa, ke pele-a-pele feela. Empa ha ho thuse hore ba badileng ba tobe pele feela ba sa natse hore na ba bang ba kae. Ba sa balang ba hloka ditlhaloetso le ditlhakisetso tse etswang ka tsela eo ba tlang ho utlwisisa ka botebo. Hona mona puo e sebediswang ke ya bohlokwahlokwa.

Demokrasi e bolela hore motho ka mong o na le tokelo ya ho ikgethela ho ya ka tshekamelo ya hae. Kgetho eo a e etsang e lokela ho thewa hodima kutlwisiso e shweleletseng ya maano ohle ao a a tekellwang. Ha eba kgetho e etswa ntle le kutlwisiso e tebileng, seo ha se kgetho ya sebele, ha se demokrasi ho ya ka moo e utlwisisehang ka teng.

Ha re lelekela atikele ena, re boletse hore ba neng ba tlatlapuwa ke leano la kgethollo ba ne ba le ntsweleng twantshong ya bona ya leano leo la kgethollo. Ka mora hoba kgethollo e lahlelwe matjoing, ho teng batho ba makallang hore na ke eng ha setjhaba kaofela se sa wele mokgeng o le mong wa dipolotiki. Ho makala hona ha bona ho tswalwa ke ho hloka kutlwisiso ya hore mokga ka mong wa dipolotiki o theilwe hodima tihadimo ya bophelo ya dipolotiki e o kgethollang mekgeng e meng, mme ebile ke tokelo ya motho ka mong ho ikgethela leano le mo sidilang ha monatjana ka harehare ho yena.

2.3.3 Monyetla wa ho ka ikutlwahatsa

Ha se hantle hore setjhaba se amohele feela ebe sona ha se ikutlwahatse. Diforamo tsa ho ikutlwahatsa tse kang dikoranta le dithelevishene di lokela ho fihlelleha ho basebedisi ba dipuo tsohle tse ananelwang e le tsa semmuso. Ha jwale dikoranta tsa dipuo tsa Batala ha di yo. Thelevisheneng mananeo ao e leng a dipolotiki ka ho otloloha ha a tsamaiswe ka dipuo tsa Batala. Seyalemoyeng ba fuwang nako ya ho hlahisa mehopollo ka tsa dipolotiki ke baiketi, le teng ka nako ya dikgetho feela. Ha e le setjhaba sona se ka mpa sa dumellwa ho botsa

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moiketlwa dipotso, e seng ha kaakang ho ikutlwahatsa menyenyetso ya dipelo tsa sona.

Ke ka hona maano a dipolotiki a dulang e le a barutehi ba iphelelang baetapele ba dipolotiki hobane setjhaba ha se na diforamo tseo se ka ikutlwahatsang ka tsona, ka puo tseo setjhaba se di utlwisisang.

Ho ACALAN (2002: 27) ntlha ena ya ho se phethahale ha demokrasi ntle le tshebediso ya puo ya bavouti e thasiseletswa jwana:

the use of African Languages for information dissemination and for political participation will serve to ensure grassroots involvement in the political process and demystification of the elite. A byproduct of the use of imported official languages in socioeconomic and political domains is the exclusion of the masses

Dipolotiki ke tsa ba buang tjhomi, ha e le ba bang bona ba kotelwa ke puo. Empa ha eba diphutheleng polotiking, esitana le dingangisano ka difuperweng tsena, di ka fihleleha le ka dipuo tsa bavouti ba buang dipuo tsa Mafrika, lepatlelo la dipolotiki le ka fetoha tshobotsi ka tsela e makatsang. Ntlha ena e pakwa le ke Bamgbose (2000: 11) ha a ehlwa hore dinaheng tse kang Kenya le Tanzania, moo dipolotiki di seng di sa buuwe haholo ka Senyese-mane, empa ho seng ho sebediswa Swahili, batho ba seng ba ena le seabo dipolotiking ba atile haholo feela. O re boholo ba boradipolotiki bao e neng e le dikgalala ha ba sebedisa Senyese-mane, kajeno ha ba se ba qothisana lehlokwa le ba itsebelang Swahili feela, mme ho sebediswa Swahili, kajeno kgabane tseo tsa maobabeng di shaitsa hole ka kganya ho ditsebi tse ikutlwahatsang ka puo ya Swahili.

Ha se nepo hore demokrasi e teng empa setjhaba se se na menyetla e metle ya ho ka ikutlwahatsa ka nako tsohle. Babui ba dipuo tse ding bona menyetla ena ba na le yona, empa e seng ba dipuo tsa botala tsa Afrika.

3. Phethelo

Demokrasi ya sebele ha se feela ho etsa sekere ka pela mokgatlo kapa motho eo o lakatsang ha a o emela pusong ya setjhaba ka setjhaba. Demokrasi ke tekatekano e phethahetseng: menyetla e lekanang ya ho kgethwa le ho kgetha; monyetla wa ho utlwisisa ka botlalo tseo o lokelang ho kgetha ho tsona; esitana le monyetla wa ho ka ba le seabo

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popehong ya mehopelo ya tihadimo ya bophelo mabapi le dipolotiki. Ho tsena tsohle puo ke lepholletse. Ke yona e ka ntshetsang pele le ho matlafatsa demokrasi. Ha se feela re reng demokrasi e lohehellane le puo ya setho se seng le se seng sa setjhaba. Boikgethelo ba sebele bo ka ba teng ha feela ya kgethang a utlwisisa tseo a kgethang ho tsona e le hore o di hlaloseditswe ka puo eo a utlwisisang ka yona lefatshe le tsohle tse mo potapotileng.

Language and democracy

The concept of democracy is inextricably bound up with language. Democracy places the power to choose in the hands of the *demos*, the people. The choices inherent in democracy entail not only the freedom to make a cross, or a mark, next to the name of the candidate of one's choice, but also the capacity to sift through the ideological positions advanced by contending parties; access to equal opportunities with regard to either being a representative of the people in their self-governance or participating in the election of such a representative, and equal access to the forums of self-expression whereby one may influence ideological trends one way or the other. These three cardinal indices to democracy all imply the use of language. Language can promote or impede democracy, according to the language practice of a country.

In South Africa the language of politics and governance, and *ipso facto* of democracy, tends to militate against the ideal notion of democracy, as it discriminates against significant sections of the population. Since the dominant language of parliament and the state machinery in general is English, the misconception perpetuated is that one cannot qualify to represent the people "in the people's government" without being conversant with the English language. Thus the supposedly inclusive principle of democracy becomes exclusive. Furthermore, the fact that most ideological formations owe their emergence to the West restricts easy access thereto to the educated elite. The rest of the populace, who are non-functional in English, are effectively marginalised. A situation arises where democracy is inverted. Instead of ideologies emanating from the rank and file, and representatives then being mandated to implement them, the contrary becomes true. The elite fashions the ideologies, and throws them to the people in a language that is baffling to them. Without a clear understanding of the issues involved, the people, in turn, throw the ideology back at the elite without tinkering with it, in the raw state in which it came to them. Needless to say, it would be incorrect to speak of democracy as inclusive in such an instance. The cardinal importance of language in the promotion of democracy cannot be overemphasised. The populace is debarred from forging its own ideological viewpoints, mainly as a result of the language barrier.

The lack of forums by means of which the masses could make a telling contribution to the perception of democracy in South Africa also retards the development of democracy.

In South Africa the rudiments of a genuine democracy will only begin to emerge when and if the entire political scenario becomes accessible to the *demos*, the people, through the languages which give form and meaning to the world around them.

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