



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## UBULUNGISWA BAMANZI





# State Capture and Beyond (Ukuqhagwa kombuso nangale): Ubulungiswa bamanzi

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## Izisinda

Iphrojekthi ye-State Capture and Beyond (i-SCAB) iwukubambisana phakathi kweBrot für die Welt ('Isinkwa somhlaba wonke jikelele' [BfdW]), i-Human Rights Media Trust (Inhlangano yamalungelo abantu ngezokuxhumana [HRMT]), kanye ne-Legal Resources Centre (iLRC) ngokuxhaswa ngemali evela kwi-European Union (EU). Yinhloso ye-SCAB ukubhekana nenkohlakalo eNingizimu Afrika ngokulandela izincomo ezivela kwiKhomishini yophenyo ngokuqhagwa kombuso (phecelezi i-Commission of Inquiry into State Capture noma i-CISC). Ngakho-ke ihlanganisa izinhlangano zomphakathi (ama-CSO) kanye nezinhlangano ezisekelwe emphakathini (ama-CBO). Umphumela ofiselekayo ukudala umhlangano kazwelonke ophambene nenkohlakalo, oqinisa abantu ngamandla okuqonda, okufuna, nokuqinisekisa amalungelo abo. Ukubhekana nenxeba elijulile lenkohlakalo kusiza ngqo ukulivala ukuba likhuhle liphole.

IBrot für die Welt yinhlangano yaseJamani yamasonto amaProthestani eyinkulu kunazo zonke ezimele ngaphandle kukahulumeni ezigxila entuthukweni kanye nasemalungelweni abantu. Isebenza emazweni acishe abe ngama-90, enamava eminyaka evile kwama-60, ihlose ukuqinisa amandla amaqembu ampofu nasemaphethelweni ukuze izimo zawo zempilo zibe ngcono. Le nhlangano inomlando omude wokusebenza ne-EU, yaqondisa amaphrojekthi amaningi kuleli. Kule phrojekthi ye-SCAB, i-BfdW iletha ulwazi oluningi lokuxhumana nokusebenzisana emhlabeni wonke, okusho ukuthi ifanele nqo endimeni yokuyiphatha nokuyiqapha.

I- Human Rights MediaTrust (Inhlangano yamalungelo abantu ngezokuxhumana noma i-HRMT), yinhlangano engenzi nzuzo eyasungulwa ngo2004, ibambisana nezinhlelo zobulungiswa bomphakathi eNingizimu Afrika yonkana. I-HRMT igxile kwezokuxhumana, izindlela zokukhiqiza amafilimu ezingenakutapa okubi, kanye nemikhankaso enomthelela emphakathini ukuze kuqiniswe izicelo zobulungiswa, kanyekanye nokukhuthaza isiko lentando yeningi. I-HRMT isakaza ulwazi ngokusetshenziswa ngokungalindelekile kwezokuxhumana kanye nezinye izindaba ukuze kuqiniswe amandla amazwi omphakathi asemaphethelweni.

I-Legal Resources Centre, eyasungulwa ngo-1979, yinhlangano yezomthetho wamalungelo abantu engenzi nzuzo enamahhovisi eGoli, eKapa, eThekwini naseMakhanda. I-LRC ivikela njalo uMthethosisekelo kanye nokubusa komthetho kwakuleli, emikhakheni eyahlukahlukene yomthetho: umhlaba, izindlu, impilo, imfundo, ukulingana, kanye namalungelo ezenhlalo nezepolitiki. Ngomlando omude wokuhlinzeka ngezinsizakalo zomthetho, i-LRC inokuqonda okujulile komthetho wamalungelo abantu futhi iye yakha ubudlelwano obuhlala isikhathi eside nezinhlangano zomphakathi.



## Isifinyezo

UINingizimu Afrika iyizwe elingenamanzi amaningi elinemvula ephansi minyaka yonke uma kulinganiselwe umhlaba wonke. Njengoba inani labantu likhula, kubalulekile ukuthi uhulumeni aphaathe ngokucophelela ukugcinwa, ukwehlungwa, kanye nokusatshalaliswa kwamanzi ukuze kugwenywe ukulahlwa. Ngeshwa, ukuphathwa kabi kanye nomthelela wenkohlakalo, njengoba kuhlonzwe yiKhomishini Yophenyo Ngokubanjwa Kombuso (i-CISC), kushiye izwe linezinhlalo zokulethwa kwamanzi eziwohlokayo. Ingqalasizinda iyawa ngenxa yokuntuleka kokugcinwa, imikhuba yokukhokha esolwayo, ikhwalithi yamanzi kanye nokulethwa kwawo okungekuhle, kanye nokwelashwa kwamanzi angcolile okunganele. Lokhu kushiya izingxenye zezwe, ikakhulukazi lezo ezimpofu kakhulu, zinokufinyelela okulinganiselwe emanzini ahlanzekile anele, aphephile, futhi angabizi. INingizimu Afrika, ngoMthethosisekelo, inikeza ilungelo lamanzi; abantu manje badinga ukubamba uhulumeni icala ekuletheni lelo lungelo.

Ukufaka ilungelo lokuthola amanzi kuMthethosisekelo kwakubalulekile futhi kuyisiqalo njengoba kwafaka izivumelwano nezinqumo zamazwe ngamazwe ezingabophi emthethweni. Isigaba 27(1) soMthethosisekelo sithi “Wonke umuntu unelungelo lokufinyelela— (b) ukudla namanzi okwanele.” Ngaphezu kwalokho, Isigaba 27(2) sithi “uHulumeni kumele athathe izinyathelo zomthetho ezifanele kanye nezinye, ngaphakathi kwezinsizakusebenza zawo ezitholakalayo, ukuze kufezwe ukufezwa okuqhubekayo kwaleli lungelo ngalinye.” UMthetho Wezinsizakalo Zamanzi 108 ka-1997 uchaza leli lungelo ngokuchaza imiqondo, njengokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kanye nokuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo, kanye nokuqondisa uhulumeni wendawo ngokuthi kusho ukuthini ukuhlinzeka ngamanzi anele. Isigaba 3 somthethonqubo i-GNR.509 yomhlaka-8 kaNhlangulana ka-2001 sichaza ngokunembile ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo njengokufaka, “inani elincane lamanzi ahlanzekile angamalitha angama-25 kumuntu ngosuku noma amakhilolitha ayi-6 ngomndeni ngenyanga.” Lokhu kuveza isithembiso sikahulumeni sokuhlinzeka ngamanzi okungenani ukusekela impilo kanye nenhlalakahle.

Naphezu kwelungelo loMthethosisekelo lamanzi, iNingizimu Afrika ihlushwa ubulungiswa bamanzi obungajulile, lapho izinqubomgomo zibonakala zilungile kodwa zingashintshi ngendlela enenjongo. Isibonelo esisodwa sobulungiswa obungajulile maqondana namanzi yinqubomgomo evela kumthethonqubo i-GNR509 kaNhlangulana ka-2001, enikeza isibonelelo samanzi esiyisisekelo samahhala samalitha angama-25 kumuntu ngamunye ngosuku.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Nakuba ngososayensi inani eliphansi lamanzi anele ukusekela impilo ngamalitha angama-25 ngosuku, impela leli nani lingaphansi kwalokho abantu abakudingayo ukuze bawasebenzise nsuku zonke. Ukusetshenziswa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo nokudingekile, njengokuphuza, ukupheka, ukugeza, ukugeza izandla, ukugeza izitsha, ukuhlanza izindlu zangasese, kanye nokuwasha izingubo, kungadlula amalitha angama-25 ngosuku. Lokhu kungaphoqa labo abangakwazi ukukhokhela amanzi ukuba badele izidingo eziyisisekelo, okuthinta impilo kanye nenhlalakahle. Isibonelelo samanzi esiyisisekelo sivumela uhulumeni ukuthi athi unikeza ubulungiswa bamanzi, kodwa ngubulungiswa obungajulile abenzi lutho ukuthuthukisa izimo.



Kunezizathu eziningi zemvelo nezenziwe ngabantu zokwehluleka kokuletha amanzi eNingizimu Afrika. Izinkinga ezine eziwela ngaphansi komthwalo wemfanelo kahulumeni wokuletha amanzi anele zibonakala njengezidinga izinyathelo eziphuthumayo:

- Ingqalasizinda Ehlulekayo. Ukulungiswa kwengqalasizinda kuyisidingo esiqhubekayo. Ngeshwa, izindawo eziningi azitshali imali eyanele ekulungisweni, okuvumela ingqalasizinda ukuba yonakale.
- Izivumelwano Zethenda. Izivumelwano zethenda ezingalawulwa kahle noma ezinonya zichitha izinsiza ezibalulekile ngenkathi zingalethi imiphumela edingekayo.
- Ikhwalithi Yamanzi Embi. Ukwehla kwekhwalithi yamanzi alethwa izinhlelo zikamasipala kushiya imiphakathi iphuza amanzi angaphephile, okuthinta impilo.
- Ukuhlungwa Kwamanzi Angcolile. Ukuhlungwa kwamanzi angcolile okungekuhle kuholela ekubuyiseleni amanzi angcolile ezindleleni zamanzi, kulimaze imvelo futhi kudale izingozi empilweni.

Ukuhlonza izinkinga zokulethwa kwamanzi kuyisinyathelo esibalulekile ekwenzeni uhulumeni abe nesibopho. Amanzi kufanele ahlanzeke futhi aphephe ukuwaphuza, kuyilapho etholakala ngobuningi obufanele ukuze kufezwe ilungelo lokufinyelela amanzi anele. Lokhu kudala izindawo ezimbili zokuhlola ukulethwa kwamanzi:

(A) Ukutholakala kwamanzi

- Ukutholakala: inani elincane lamanzi ahlanzekile angamalitha angu-25 kumuntu ngamunye ngosuku noma amakhilolutha angu-6 ngomndeni ngenyanga
- Izinga: izinga lokugeleza okungenani elingaphansi kwamalitha ayi-10 ngomzuzu
- Ibanga: ngaphakathi kwamamitha angama-200 ukusuka endlini.





(B) (A) Ikhwalithi yamanzi

- Ukubukeka: Amanzi aphathwe kahle futhi ahlungiwe kufanele angabi nombala cishe.
- Amavovo: Amanzi ahlungiwe kufanele acwebe futhi angabi nazinto ezingcolisayo ezibonakalayo njengamavovo, futhi akufanele kube nezinhlalayi noma izinto eziphilayo ezibonakalayo.
- Iphunga: Amanzi ahlanzekile kahle akufanele abe nephunga elibonakalayo.
- Ukunambitha: Amanzi aphephile kufanele anambitheke ehlanzekile.
- Imiphumela: Amanzi aphuzwayo akufanele abangele izifo.

Uma amanzi engalethwa ngobuningi obanele noma esezingeni elifanele, uhulumeni akahlangabezani nezibopho zakhe zomthetho nezoMthethosisekelo. Lokhu kuhlinzeka ngesisekelo sokucela ukulethwa kwezinsizakalo okuthuthukisiwe.

Uma uhulumeni engalethi amanzi ngekhwalithi noma ngobuningi obufanele, izindlela zokubika kanye nokwandisa ulwazi ziyasiza ekuthuthukiseni ukuzibophezela. Abathengi bangenza okulandelayo:

- Qoqa Ulwazi. Amawebhusayithi kahulumeni, imibiko, kanye nezicelo ze-PAIA kungathuthukisa ukuqonda.
- Bika Ngokuqondile. Ukusebenzisa izinhlelo eziku-inthanethi, i-imeyili, kanye nezinombolo zocingo ukubika inkinga kuhulumeni wendawo noma kuMnyango Wezamanzi Nokuhlanzeka kudala ukuqwashisa.
- Phakamisa ukuxhumana kwakho. Uma kungekho mpendulo noma kungekho sinyathelo esivela kubaphathi bakamasipala, phakamisela inkinga ngokuxhumana namakhansela esigceme / ewadi nabezombusazwe.
- Bamba iqhaza kuHulumeni Wendawo. Kudingeka ngokomthetho ukuba omasipala bakhuthaze ukuhlanganyela komphakathi, okuqukethe nokubamba imihlangano evulekele umphakathi
- Sebenzisa izinkundla zokuxhumana. Ukuthumela kwezinkinga zokuphakelwa kwezinsiza noma zokuphathwa ezinkundleni zokuxhumana kungabe yindlela enamandla yokwandisa ulwazi lomphakathi.
- Hlaba ikhwelo. Ukuhlaba ikhwelo kungaba yingozi, kodwa ngokuvamile kuyindlela eyodwa abanye, njengalabo abanegunya lokuphenya, abangazi ngayo inkinga.
- Butheka. Ukujoyina noma ukuqala inhlangano kusiza ekuhlanganiseni izinsiza kanye nokuthola ukwesekwa kokugqugquzela ushintsho



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

- Bhala Izethulo. Ukubhalela iPhalamende likazwelonke kungaxwayisa uhulumeni ngomasipala abahlulekayo ngemisebenzi yabo.
- Qamba Izicelo. Isicelo, esisayinwe ngabasekeli nesamukelwa yilungu lePhalamende likazwelonke, singaba ithuluzi elinamandla lokubonisa intshisekelo ebanzi yokuthola isixazululo.
- Gqugquzela ngemibiko yezindaba. Ukubhala imibiko yezindaba ukuze ishicilelwe noma ukuxhumana nezintatheli kucelwe ukuthi zibhale ngezihloko ezithile kungavusa ulwazi.
- Bamba iqhaza emibhikishweni. Ngombhikisho weqembu, ovikelwa nguMthethosisekelo, kuboniswa ubumbano kuxwayiseke abantu ngodaba oluthile.
- Qala ukuqulwa kwamacala. Nakuba kubiza kakhulu kudinga ubuchwepheshe kwezomthetho, ukuqulwa kwamacala kungaba ithuluzi elinamandla ekufuneni amalungelo.
- Vota. Amavoti angathumela umlayezo onamandla angase aholele ekuguqukeni kukahulumeni obusayo.

Ukusebenzisa eyodwa noma inhlanguanisela yalezi zindlela kusiza ukwandisa ukuziphendulela. Yonke indlela inenani, ngakho-ke kungenzeka ukwenza umehluko ngisho nangesenzo esincane.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## CONTENTS

|                                                 |  |
|-------------------------------------------------|--|
| Introduction.....                               |  |
| Legislative Framework: The Right to Water.....  |  |
| International Law.....                          |  |
| The Constitution.....                           |  |
| Statutes.....                                   |  |
| Regulations.....                                |  |
| Case Law.....                                   |  |
| Water Justice.....                              |  |
| Water Delivery Problems.....                    |  |
| Failing Infrastructure.....                     |  |
| Suspicious Tender Deals.....                    |  |
| Declining Water Quality.....                    |  |
| Wastewater Treatment Practices.....             |  |
| Identifying Water Problems.....                 |  |
| Water Access.....                               |  |
| Water Quality.....                              |  |
| Methods for Holding Government Accountable..... |  |
| Accessing Information.....                      |  |
| Government Websites.....                        |  |
| Published Documents and Reports.....            |  |
| PAIA requests.....                              |  |
| Dedicated Hotlines.....                         |  |
| Direct Contact.....                             |  |
| Local Government Meetings.....                  |  |
| Social Media.....                               |  |
| Whistleblowing.....                             |  |
| Civil Society Groups.....                       |  |
| News Media.....                                 |  |
| Written Submissions to the Government.....      |  |
| Petitions.....                                  |  |
| Joining or Creating Organisations.....          |  |
| Protest Action.....                             |  |
| Newspaper Articles.....                         |  |
| Litigation.....                                 |  |
| Voting.....                                     |  |
| Recommendations.....                            |  |
| Conclusion.....                                 |  |
| Endnotes.....                                   |  |









## Isingeniso

INingizimu Afrika iyizwe elintula amanzi kakhulu elinemvula yonyaka engaphansi kwama-500 mm, engaphansi kakhulu kwemvula yonyaka yomhlaba engama-860 mm.<sup>1</sup> Njengoba imvula iphansi kangaka, iNingizimu Afrika ingaphansi kokucindezeleka okukhulu kwamanzi. Lokhu kuntuleka kushiya ithuba elincane ekuphathweni kokuhlinzekwa ukuqinisekisa ukuthi bonke abahlali baseNingizimu Afrika bathola amanzi anele. Lokhu kuntuleka kwamanzi kumele kuqhubeke kakhulu njengoba kubalulekile ekusekeleni izinhlobo ezahlukene zezitshalo nezilwane.

Ngakho-ke ukuphathwa kwamanzi ngokucophelela nangokuphumelelayo kubalulekile eNingizimu Afrika. Nokho, uhulumeni uvame ukwehluleka esiboshweni sakhe sokusabalalisa amanzi ngendlela eqhubekayo njengoba inkohlakalo nokuphathwa kabi kudle imali namakhono adingekayo ukuze kusatshalaliswe ngempumelelo. Kukhona futhi ukuthambekela kokulandela indlela yobulungiswa bamanzi angajulile lapho uhulumeni ebonakala nje egcwalisa izibopho zakhe. Kungumsebenzi wabantu baseNingizimu Afrika ukubamba uhulumeni icala futhi abike noma yiziphi izinkinga ekufinyeleleni, ikhwalithi, kanye nobuningi bamanzi. INingizimu Afrika, enemvula ehlukahlukene futhi ibephansi, yenza ukugcinwa, ukuphathwa, kanye nokuhambisa kwamanzi kube yinto ebalulekile. INingizimu Afrika ingenye yamazwe anenkinga yamanzi, esebenzisa "ngaphezu kuka-80% wamanzi avuselelekayo awo okunisela, imfuyo, izimboni kanye nezidingo zasekhaya."<sup>2</sup>

Kungenzeka ukuhlukanisa iNingizimu Afrika ibe yizindawo ezintathu ezihlukene zesimo sezulu. Ingxenye esempumalanga yezwe, okuhlanganisa iGauteng, iKwaZulu-Natali, kanye neLimpopo, inemvula ephezulu kakhulu enemvula engaphezu kuka-500mm ngonyaka. Lokhu kungafinyelela isilinganiso esingu-1200mm ngonyaka kwezinye izindawo. Izindawo eziphakathi nendawo kanye nenyakatho-ntshonalanga ziyizindawo ezomile nezingomile eziphakathi kuka-100mm no-500mm. Izintaba zaseCape Fold zinemvula yonyaka ephakathi kuka-300mm kuya ku-900mm.<sup>3</sup>

Lokhu kusatshalaliswa kwamanzi okungalingani kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika yikho okwenza ukugcinwa kwamanzi, ukuhlunga, kanye nokuhlanganiswa kwawo kube yinto ebaluleke kakhulu. Njengoba kungekho amanzi anele ukuqinisekisa ukutholakala okwanele, izakhamuzi zaseNingizimu Afrika kumele zithembeke engqalasizinda yamanzi kahulumeni.



Ingqalasizinda yokugcina amanzi ihlanganisa amaphrojekthi okwakha, njengezindawo zokugcina amanzi, amadamu, kanye nemisele, kanye nokugcinwa kwemvelo emifuleni, emachibini, nasezindaweni zamanzi ezingaphansi komhlaba. Ukuphathwa kwengqalasizinda yokugcina amanzi kufanele kuzama ukulinganisela ukusabalalisa amanzi ezindaweni ezinemvula encane ngenkathi kuqinisekiswa ukuthi kunamanzi anele emanzini emvelo ukuze kube nendawo enemphilo. Ngisho namaphesenti aphantsi okungcola kwamanzi noma ukuphathwa kabi kungashiya izindawo zingenawo amanzi anele adingekayo empilweni nasekuhlanzweni kwendle.

Enye yezinselelo ezinkulu ezibhekene neNingizimu Afrika yimiphumela emibi kakhulu yenkohlakalo kuzo zonke izigaba zomphakathi. IKhomishini Yophenyo Ngokubanjwa Kombuso (i-CISC), eholwa yiJaji Elikhulu langaphambilini uRaymond Zondo, ihlola inkohlakalo kulo lonke uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika. I-CISC yembule inkohlakalo kuzo zonke izigaba zikahulumeni futhi yanikeza izincomo eziningi zendlela yokubhekana nenkohlakalo nokuyivimbela esikhathini esizayo. Lezi zincomo zifaka phakathi ukuvikelwa okuqinile kwababiki bemibiko, ukuqokwa okusekelwe ekufanelekeni ezinkampanini eziphethwe nguhulumeni (ama-SOE), kanye nokuthuthukiswa kokucaca. Ukusebenzisa izincomo ze-CISC kubalulekile njengoba kuzodala uhulumeni ophendulayo omelana nenkohlakalo, ozuzisa bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika.

Inkohlakalo isusa izinsiza ezidingekayo ekuthuthukisweni komphakathi nakwezomnotho, futhi lokhu kunemiphumela emibi kakhulu ezinhlelweni zokulethwa kwamanzi. Ukusetshenziswa kabi kwezimali kusho ukuthi kuncane kakhulu okutholakalayo ekugcinweni nasekukhuliseni ingqalasizinda. Ngaphandle kokugcinwa okuqhubekayo nokusebenzayo, uhlelo luwohloka.<sup>4</sup> Imibiko ye-Blue Drop kanye ne-Green Drop, ekhishwe uhulumeni, ilinganise u-52% wezinhlalo zethu zokuphakelwa kwamanzi njengengozi ephakathi nendawo kuya kwebucayi.<sup>5</sup> Umbiko we-Green Drop mayelana nokuphathwa kwamanzi angcolile uthole ukuthi cishe u-39% wezinhlalo zamanzi angcolile zikamasipala zisesimweni esibucayi ngo-2021.<sup>6</sup>

Ezinhlelweni zokulethwa kwamanzi, ukuwohloka kungashiya abantu bengenawo amanzi anele okusinda kwabo noma izidingo zokuhlazeka. Izitshalo zokwelapha amanzi eziwohlokayo zilimaza impilo nokuphepha njengoba amakhemikhali nezinto eziphilayo eziyingozi zingena ezinhlelweni zamanzi.<sup>7</sup>



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Amanzi aphathwe kabi asevele aholele ekufeni, ikakhulukazi abasebasha, abagulayo, noma asebekhulile; ukuqubuka kwekholera eHamanskraal kwabulala okungenani abantu abayi-17.<sup>8</sup> Ukwanda kuyadingeka futhi ukuze kulangatshezwane nezidingo zomphakathi okhulayo, kuqinisekiswa ukuthi ziyahlangabezana nezidingo zazo eziyisisekelo.

Njengoba amanzi eyimithombo ebalulekile futhi eyivelakancane, ukuphathwa kwemithombo okuphumelelayo kuyimfuneko enkulu eNingizimu Afrika. Ukuqinisekisa ukutholakala kwamanzi okwanele kunikeza isisekelo esibalulekile esingasiza imiphakathi ukuthi isinde futhi iqale ukuchuma. Kodwa-ke, lokhu kudinga ukunqoba izinkinga zenkohlakalo kanye nobulungiswa obungajulile obuphazamisa ukulethwa kwamanzi okuphumelelayo. Lokhu cishe kuzodinga bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ukuthi bagxile kakhulu ekusebenzisaneni ukuze babambe uhulumeni icala ngokwenza konke abangakwenza. Uhulumeni, ikakhulukazi endaweni yakhe, kufanele enze imizamo yokucabangela izidingo nokubonisana nemiphakathi ukuqinisekisa ukuthi abantu bathola amanzi anele.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## UHLAKA LWEMITHETHO: ILUNGelo LAMANZI



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## Uhlaka lwemithetho: Ilungelo lamanzi

Ilungelo labantu baseNingizimu Afrika lokuthola amanzi lathuthukiswa ngezigaba eziningana zomthetho, okuhlanganisa umthetho wamazwe ngamazwe, uMthethosisekelo, imithetho, izimiso, kanye nomthetho wamacala. Umthetho wamazwe ngamazwe ngamalungelo amanzi, owadalwa ngezivumelwano nezivumelwano, uphoqa amazwe angamalungu ukuthi afake la malungelo njengengxenye yomthetho wawo. INingizimu Afrika, ngomthetho wayo, igxilise ilungelo lokuthola amanzi eNingizimu Afrika liqala ngoMthethosisekelo njengegunya eliphakeme kakhulu lezomthetho ezweni. Imithetho ithuthukisa futhi ichaze leli lungelo ngemithethonqubo echaza ukuthi leli lungelo lingasebenza kanjani..

### Umthetho womhlaba wonke

INingizimu Afrika, njengezwe eliyilungu leZizwe Ezihlangene (i-UN) kanye ne-African Union (i-AU), kumele icabangele izivumelwano zayo njengengxenye yomthetho wamazwe ngamazwe.<sup>9</sup> Umthetho wamazwe ngamazwe ubeka izibopho eziningana emazweni angamalungu ayo ukuze ahlinzeke ngokufinyelela kwamanzi ahlanzekile ngobuningi obanele bokusetshenziswa kanye nokuhlanzeka. Ngakho-ke, umthetho wamazwe ngamazwe unikeza isiqondiso sendlela yokusebenzisa ilungelo lamanzi. Izinhlinzeko eziningana emthethweni wamazwe ngamazwe zibonisa indlela amazwe angamalungu okufanele asebenzise ngayo ilungelo lamanzi.

ISimemezelo Somhlaba Wonke Samalungelo Abantu se-UN siyisivumelwano esingabophi esinikeze uhlaka lwezivumelwano zakamuva ngamalungelo. Isigaba 25.1 salesi Simemezelo sisho ilungelo lokuthola amanzi njengengxenye yezinga lokuphila elanele lempilo nenhlalakahle:

*Wonke umuntu unelungelo lokuphila ngendlela eyanele impilo yakhe kanye nomndeneni wakhe, okuhlanganisa ukudla, izingubo, indawo yokuhlala kanye nokunakekelwa kwezokwelapha kanye nezinsizakalo zomphakathi ezidingekayo, kanye nelungelo lokuvikeleka uma kwenzeka ukungasebenzi, ukugula, ukukhubazeka, ubufelokazi, ukuguga noma okunye ukuntuleka kwendlela yokuphila ezimweni ezingaphezu kwamandla akhe.*



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Ilungelo lokuphila ngendlela efanele impilo nenhlalakahle, okuhlanganisa nokudla, libonisa isidingo selungelo lokuthola amanzi. Amanzi anele ayimfuneko enkulu yokuba nempilo enhle nokulungiselela ukudla. Izinqumo zakamuva ze-UN, Izinhlalo Zokusebenza ze-UN, kanye ne-African Charters zicacile kakhulu ekubizeni ilungelo lokuthola amanzi.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

| Isihloko                                                                                                                        | Ukuhlinzeka kwamanzi                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Isifinyezo                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Isinqumo Somhlangano Jikelele 64/292. Ilungelo lomuntu lamanzi nokuhlanzeka                                                     | 1. Uyaqaphela ilungelo lokuthola amanzi okuphuza ahlanzekile naphephile kanye nokuhlanzeka njengelungelo lomuntu elibalulekile ukuze impilo ijabulele ngokugcwele kanye nawo wonke amalungelo abantu;                                       | Liyaqaphela ilungelo lomuntu lokuthola amanzi nokuhlanzeka. Inxusa amazwe angamalungu ukuthi anikeze ukwesekwa ngezimali kanye nosizo lwezobuchwepheshe ukuze kufezwe la malungelo emhlabeni jikelele.                             |
| Isinqumo SoMkhandlu Wamalungelo Abantu 7/22. Amalungelo abantu kanye nokufinyelela amanzi okuphuza aphephile kanye nokuhlanzeka | 2. Unquma ukuqoka, isikhathi seminyaka emithathu, uchwepheshe ozimele odabeni lwezibopho zamalungelo abantu ezihlobene nokufinyelela amanzi okuphuza aphephile kanye nokuhlanzeka.                                                          | Uyaqaphela ukubaluleka kwamanzi futhi uqoka uchwepheshe ozimele ngamanzi. Lo chwepheshe uhloselwe ukuphenya, ukuxhumana nezifundazwe, ukunikeza izincomo, nokuthuthukisa umbiko.                                                   |
| Isinqumo 12/8 soMkhandlu Wamalungelo Abantu. Amalungelo abantu kanye nokufinyelela amanzi okuphuza aphephile kanye nokuhlanzeka | 4(a) Ukudala indawo evumela ukubhekana nenkinga yokuntuleka kwendle kuzo zonke izigaba...                                                                                                                                                   | Uqinisekisa ukuthola umbiko wokuqala wochwepheshe ngamanzi futhi unquma ukuthi izifundazwe kufanele zakhe indawo eqinisekisa ukulethwa kwamanzi futhi ithuthukise ukuhlazeka.                                                      |
| Uhlelo Lokusebenza lweMar Del Plata                                                                                             | Isinqumo II(a) Bonke abantu, kungakhathaliseki ukuthi bangakanani esigabeni sentuthuko kanye nezimo zabo zenhlalo nezomnotho, banelungelo lokuthola amanzi okuphuza ngobuningi futhi abe nekhwalithi elingana nezidingo zabo eziyisisekelo. | Le ngqungquthela yokuqala yamanzi ye-UN ihlonze futhi yachaza ukubaluleka kwamanzi njengelungelo lomuntu. Inxusa izifundazwe ukuthi zisebenzisane ekuhlinzekeni ngamanzi njengesidingo esiyisisekelo sokusinda kwabo bonke abantu. |
| UMthethosisekelo wase-Afrika Wamalungelo Abantu Namalungelo ezizwe (1981)                                                       | Isigaba 24: Bonke Abantu bazoba nelungelo lokuba nendawo egculisayo ehambisana nentuthuko yabo.                                                                                                                                             | Nakuba lo mthethosisekelo ungakhulumi ngelungelo lamanzi, iKhomishini Yase-Afrika Yamalungelo Abantu Namalungelo Abantu ihumushe ezinye izimiso ukuze zifake ilungelo elingacacile lamanzi                                         |
| UMthethosisekelo wase-Afrika Wamalungelo Nenhlalakahle Yengane (1990)                                                           | Isigaba 14(2)(c) sokuqinisekisa ukuhlinzekwa kokudla okwanele kanye namanzi okuphuza aphephile                                                                                                                                              | Lesi sivumelwano sidinga amazwe abambe iqhaza ukuthi adale imithetho yokuqinisekisa ukuthi amanzi okuphuza aphephile. Kodwa-ke, asisho lutho ngenani lamanzi okufanele anikezwe.                                                   |



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

ENjengoba iningi lala madokhumententi aphesheya kwezilwandle lingabophezeli, libeka isibopho sokuziphatha emazweni angamalungu kunokuba kube yimfuneko eqinile yomthetho. INingizimu Afrika, ngokulandela isigaba 233 soMthethosisekelo, ibeka umthwalo ezinkantolo wokuhumusha imithetho yasekhaya ukuthi ihambisane nomthetho wamazwe ngamazwe. Izivumelwano zamazwe ngamazwe, okuhlanganisa nelungelo lamanzi, zibanzi ukuvumela amazwe angamalungu ukuthi anqume ngemininingwane yokuthi angawasebenzisa kanjani amalungelo ngaphakathi kwezimo zawo ezithile kanye nezindlela zawo. Nokho, lezi zivumelwano zamazwe ngamazwe zichaza ukuthi ilungelo elisebenzayo lamanzi kufanele lifake amanzi aphephile ukuwaphuza futhi anele izidingo eziyisisekelo.

## Umthethosiseko

INingizimu Afrika yayiyizwe lokuqala ukufaka ngokusobala ilungelo lamanzi njengengxenywe yomthethosisekelo wayo. Lokhu kwenza iNingizimu Afrika ibe ngelinye lamazwe okuqala avumela ukuvikelwa nokusetshenziswa kwamalungelo amanzi ngokomthethosisekelo. Isigaba 27, eSahlukweni Sesibili soMthethosisekelo, sibeka leli lungelo:

*27.27. (1) Wonke umuntu unelungelo lokufinyelela—*

*(a) izinsizakalo zokunakekelwa kwempilo, okuhlanganisa nokunakekelwa kwempilo yokuzala;*

*(b) ukudla okwanele namanzi; kanye*

*(c) nokuvikeleka komphakathi, okuhlanganisa, uma bengakwazi ukuzondla bona kanye nabantu abathembele kubo, usizo lomphakathi olufanele.*

*(2) Umbuso kumele uthathe izinyathelo zomthetho ezifanele kanye nezinye izinyathelo, ngokwezinsizakusebenza zawo ezitholakalayo, ukuze kufezwe ukufezwa okuqhubekayo kwala malungelo.*

*(3) Akekho umuntu ongenqatshelwa ukwelashwa okuphuthumayo.*

Lesi sigaba kuMthethosisekelo sidala ilungelo elithile lokufinyelela amanzi eNingizimu Afrika. Siphinde sibeke uhulumeni umthwalo wokuthuthukisa ukufinyelela emanzini ngezimfanelo ezintathu zokuthi lezi zinyathelo kumele zibe ezinengqondo, zigxile ekuqalisweni okuqhubekayo, futhi zingaphakathi kwezinsiza ezitholakalayo. Ngakho-ke, izinhlela zombuso kufanele zizame ukusebenzisa izinsiza ezitholakalayo ukuqinisekisa ukuthi bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika bayakwazi ukuthola leli lungelo. Kodwa-ke, uMthethosisekelo awuchazi ukuthi lisho ukuthini ngempela leli lungelo noma ukuthi izikhungo zikahulumeni zingalisebenzisa kanjani leli lungelo.



## Imithetho

Okwamanje kunemithetho emibili elawula ilungelo lokufinyelela amanzi. Le mithetho ithuthukisa ilungelo njengoba lichazwe kuMthethosisekelo futhi ichaza indlela yokuphatha nokusabalalisa amanzi. Ibonisa kabanzi ukuthi ukufinyelela amanzi kufanele kuhlenganise nokuhlinzeka ngamanzi okuphuza ahlanzekile ngobuningi obanele.

UMthetho Kazwelonke Wamanzi 36 ka-1998 (i-NWA) ugxile ekuphathweni nasekuvikelweni kwemithombo yamanzi yaseNingizimu Afrika. Lo Mthetho unesabelo sikazwelonke esigxile ezicini ezifana nokwakhiwa kwamadamu, ukuphathwa kwemifula, ukusetshenziswa kwamanzi angaphansi komhlaba, kanye namalungelo amanzi apheresheya kwezilwandle. Nakuba i-NWA ibalulekile ekuphathweni kwamanzi kuzwelonke, ayikhulumi ngendlela yokuqinisekisa ukuthi abantu bangafinyelela ilungelo labo lokuthola amanzi.

Ngakolunye uhlangothi, uMthetho Wezinsizakalo Zamanzi 108 ka-1997 (i-WSA), ugxile elungelweni lomuntu ngamunye lokufinyelela amanzi. Lo Mthetho uqala ngokuchaza imiqondo, okuhlenganisa imiqondo ebalulekile yokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kanye nokuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo kuSigaba 1:

“ukuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo” kusho izinga eliphansi elibekiwe lezinsizakalo ezidingekayo ukuze kuqoqwe, kususwe, kulahlwe noma kuhlanzwe indle yabantu, amanzi angcolile asekhaya kanye nendle emizini, okuhlenganisa nemizi engahlelekile.

“ukunikezwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo” kusho izinga eliphansi elibekiwe lezinsizakalo zokunikezwa kwamanzi ezidingekayo ukuze kutholakale inani elanele lamanzi kanye nekhwalithi eyanele emakhaya, okuhlenganisa nemindeni engahlelekile, ukuze kusekelwe impilo kanye nokuhlanzeka komuntu siqu.

Lezi zincazelo zinikeza isiqondiso sendlela uhulumeni angahlangabezana/ahlinzeke ngayo amalungelo amanzi ayisisekelo. Incazelo "yokunikezwa kwamanzi ayisisekelo" ibaluleke kakhulu njengoba ivuma ukuthi inani lamanzi ayisisekelo kufanele lisekele kokubili impilo kanye nokuhlanzeka komuntu siqu. Kodwa-ke, i-WSA ayisho lutho ngokuthi inani lamanzi elanele kangakanani empilweni kanye nokuhlanzeka komuntu siqu, ishiya lokho kunqunywe emithethweni kanye nakuhulumeni wendawo.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Kunezigaba eziningana ezibalulekile zoMthetho ezihlobene nokuhlinzeka ngelungelo lokuthola amanzi kubantu baseNingizimu Afrika. Isigaba 2 soMthetho sibeka imigomo yaso eyinhloko.

2. The main objects of this Act are to provide for— Izinhlalo eziyinhloko zalo Mthetho ukuhlinzeka—

- (a) ilungelo lokufinyelela ekuhlinzekweni kwamanzi ayisisekelo kanye nelungelo lokuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo okudingekayo ukuze kutholakale amanzi anele kanye nendawo engeyona ingozi empilweni noma enhlalakahleni yabantu;
- (b) ukubekwa kwezindinganiso zikazwelonke kanye nezindinganiso kanye nezindinganiso zentela maqondana nezinsizakalo zamanzi
- (c) ukulungiswa nokwamukelwa kwezinhlelo zokuthuthukiswa kwezinsizakalo zamanzi yiziphathimandla zezinsizakalo zamanzi;
- (d) uhlaka lokulawula lwezikhungo zezinsizakalo zamanzi kanye nabaxhumanisi bezinsizakalo zamanzi;
- (e) ukusungulwa nokuqedwa kwamabhodi amanzi namakomiti ezinsizakalo zamanzi kanye nemisebenzi yawo kanye namandla awo;
- (f) ukuqapha izinsizakalo zamanzi kanye nokungenelela kukaNgqongqoshe noma yiSifundazwe esifanele;
- (g) usizo lwezezimali ezikhungweni zezinsizakalo zamanzi;
- (h) ukuqoqwa kolwazi ohlelweni lolwazi lukazwelonke kanye nokusatshalaliswa kwalolo lwazi;
- (i) ukuzibophezela kwabahlinzeki bezinsizakalo zamanzi: kanye
- (j) nokukhuthazwa kokuphathwa nokulondolozwa kwemithombo yamanzi okuphumelelayo.

Isigaba 3 soMthetho, “Ilungelo lokufinyelela ekuhlinzekweni kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kanye nokuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo,” sichaza amaphuzu amane achaza ilungelo lokuthola amanzi:

1. Wonke umuntu unelungelo lokufinyelela ekuhlinzekweni kwamanzi ayisisekelo kanye nokuhlanzeka okuyisisekelo.
2. Zonke izikhungo zezinsizakalo zamanzi kumele zithathe izinyathelo ezifanele ukuze zifeze la malungelo.
3. Zonke iziphathimandla zezinsizakalo zamanzi kumele, ohlelweni lwazo lokuthuthukiswa kwezinsizakalo zamanzi, zihlinzeke ngezinyathelo zokufeza la malungelo.
4. Amalungelo ashiwo kulesi sigaba angaphansi kwemingcele equkethwe kulo Mthetho.



I--WSA iqinisekisa ngokuqinile ilungelo lokuthola amanzi elichazwe kuMthethosisekelo. Kodwa-ke, i-WSA ayinikezi iziqondiso eziqinile zamanani, okushiya ohulumeni basekhaya bekhetha ukuthi bangawafinyelela kanjani la malungelo ngemithethonqubo kanye nemithetho kamasipala.

### **Imithethonqubo**

Imithethonqubo iyiziqondiso zendlela izikhungo zikahulumeni wendawo okufanele ziphoqecele ngayo imithetho. Ngamanzi, i-GNR.509 yomhla ziyi-8 kuNhlangulana 2001: Imithethonqubo ephathelene nezindinganiso zikazwelonke eziphoqelele kanye nezinyathelo zokonga amanzi inikeza ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo:

2. Ukunikezwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo — Indinganiso encane yezinsizakalo zamanzi eziyisisekelo yilena —

(a)ukuhlinzekwa kwemfundo efanele maqondana nokusetshenziswa kwamanzi okuphumelelayo; kanye

(b)inani elincane lamanzi ahlanzekile angamalitha angama-25 kumuntu ngamunye ngosuku noma amakhilolitha ayi-6 ngomndeni ngenyanga —

(i) ngesivinini sokuqeleza okungenani esingaphansi kwamalitha ayi-10 ngomzuzu;

(ii) ngaphakathi kwamamitha angu-200 ukusuka emndenini; kanye

(iii)ngendlela yokuthi akekho umthengi ongenawo umphakeli izinsuku ezingaphezu kweziyisikhombisa ezigcwele kunoma yimuphi unyaka.

Lokhu kuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo yilokho uhulumeni akwethula njengento ephansi engafinyeleleka yokuqinisekisa ukuthi bonke abantu bathola ilungelo labo lokufinyelela amanzi. Amanzi aphuzwayo ngamanzi ahlanzwa futhi ahlungiwe, elandela izindinganiso eziqinile, ukuqinisekisa ukuthi aphephile ekuphuzweni nasekuphekeni ngaphandle kokudinga ukuhlanzwa okwengeziwe. Ngakho-ke ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kuyisithembiso sikahulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika salokho azokunikeza bonke izakhamuzi njengelungelo elisheshayo. Kodwa-ke, umthetho wamazwe omhlaba uncoma okungenani amalitha angu-50 ngomuntu ngamunye ngosuku njengento ephansi eyanele, okubonisa ukuthi ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo akulona inani elanele lamanzi.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Imigomo Nezindinganiso Eziphakanyisiwe Eziphoqelekile Zikazwelonke Zamanzi Nokuhlanzwa, ezingakamenyezelwa, zihlose ukushintsha ukuphakelwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo. Lo mthethonqubo ohlongozwayo, owashicilelwa ukuze umphakathi uphawule ngawo, uhlanganisa izinguquko eziningana ekuphakelweni kwamanzi okuyisisekelo. KuGazethi Kahulumeni kaJanuwari 2024 (inombolo 49979), kunezindinganiso ezimbili eziyisisekelo zokuphakelwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo: isigaba 2, Izindinganiso Zesikhashana Zesevisi kanye nesigaba 3, Izindinganiso Zamanzi Eziyisisekelo. Lokhu kwenza umehluko ocacile phakathi kwezindawo zokuhlala ezingahlelekile ezinezindinganiso zesikhashana kanye nezindawo zokuhlala ezisemthethweni ezinezindinganiso zamanzi eziyisisekelo.

Izindinganiso zamanzi eziyisisekelo ziwukuthuthukiswa, okuhlanganisa amanzi amahhala emindenini ehlwempu (3(2)(a)(iii)) kanye nokudinga amanzi alethwe ekugcineni komngcele wendawo (3(2)(b)). Kodwa-ke, izindinganiso zamanzi zesikhashana zingase zibe zimbi kakhulu kunokunikezwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kwamanje njengoba kukhona ushintsho oluvela “ngaphakathi kwamamitha angu-200 ukusuka emndenini” luye “endaweni yokufinyelela noma yokulethwa okumele ibe yipayipi elime ndawonye, ngaphakathi kwebanga elifanele lokuhamba elingadluli amamitha angu-200 ukusuka emndenini oqhele kakhulu.” Ibinzana elithi “amamitha angu-200 ukusuka emndenini oqhele kakhulu” alicacile ngendlela evumela ukuhumusha okunye. Kungasho ukuthi akukho mndeni okumele uhambe amamitha angaphezu kwangu-200 ukuze uthole amanzi. Ngaphandle kwalokho, ipayipi elime ndawonye lingaba ngaphakathi kwamamitha angu-200 kunoma yimuphi umndeni endaweni engahlelekile, okuphoqa eminye imindenini ukuba ihambe amabanga angaphezu kwamamitha angu-200. Ukuphinda lesi sigaba sichaze kangcono kungasiza ekuqondeni izindinganiso zamanzi.

## Umthetho wamacala

Iphuzu elibalulekile lokuphikiswana ngalo ukuthi ngabe ukuphakelwa kwamanzi ayisisekelo angamalitha angu-25 kwanele yini. Inani lamanzi ahlinzekwa ngesibonelelo samanzi ayisisekelo samahhala laphikiswa ochungechungeni lwamacala aphela ngo *Mazibuko and Others v City of Johannesburg and Others*.<sup>10</sup> INkantolo Yomthethosisekelo yasekela inqubomgomo yeDolobha yokuhlinzeka ngamakhilolitha angu-6 amanzi amahhala ngomndeni ngamunye ngenyanga.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Inkantolo yathi okusobala ekuqaphelisweni okuqhubekayo kwaleli lungelo ukuthi kuzothatha isikhathi ukuthi umbuso uthuthukise ukuphakelwa ukuze wonke umuntu athole amanzi anele. Lesi sinqumo siqinisekisile isabelo samanzi ayisisekelo samahhala samalitha angu-25 ngosuku ngomuntu ngamunye ngokwemithethonqubo ye-WSA. Inkantolo Yomthethosisekelo yayingabaza ukungenelela futhi ibeke indinganiso encane yaleli lungelo, njengoba lokhu kuzophula ukuhlukaniswa kwamandla. Kusemahlombe ohulumeni bakazwelonke, bezifundazwe, kanye nabasekhaya ukulungisa izibonelelo zamanzi ngokuvumelana nalokho abakuchaza ngokunengqondo njengamanzi anele okuphila kanye nokuhlanzeka.

Amacala amaningana achaza umsebenzi kahulumeni wokufeza amalungelo avezwe kuMthethosivivinywa Wamalungelo avela kuMthethosisekelo. Icala lika-2000 lika *Hulumeni weRiphabhulikhi yaseNingizimu Afrika kanye nabanye v Grootboom kanye nabanye*<sup>11</sup> (icala likaGrootboom) lanikeza izincazelo "zokwenziwa okuqhubekayo" kanye "nokutholakala kwezinsiza". Icala likaGrootboom laligxile ekutheni uhulumeni wendawo wayenesibopho sokuhlinzeka ngezindlu zesikhashana zemindeni exoshiwe njengengxenye yelungelo lezindlu. Leli cala lithole ukuthi ukwenziwa okuqhubekayo kuvuma ukuthi kunengqondo ukuthi umbuso awukwazi njalo ukufeza amalungelo ngokushesha, kodwa umbuso kufanele uthathe izinyathelo zokusebenzela la malungelo. Izifundazwe kufanele zilekelele ekufezekisweni kwamalungelo ngokuhlola izinsiza kanye nezinqubo ngokucophelela ukudala izinhlelo ezibhekana nezithiyo, okuhlanganisa nezinsizwe zezimali nezokuphatha. Ukutholakala kwezinsiza kungaba umkhawulo kula malungelo, njengoba umbuso ungakwazi "ukwenza okungaphezu kwalokho okuvunyelwa yizinsiza zawo ezitholakalayo". Kodwa-ke, izifundazwe kufanele zabe izinsiza ezanele ukusekela ukufezeka kwamalungelo abantu ayisisekelo.<sup>12</sup>

Ngokufanayo, icala lika-2002 likaNgqongqoshe Wezempilo Nabanye v Treatment Action Campaign kanye Nabanye<sup>13</sup> (TAC) ligxile ekuqalisweni okuqhubekayo kanye nezinsiza ezitholakalayo. Icala le-TAC laligxile kuhulumeni ekwenzeni imithi esindisa impilo itholakale kabanzi kunokuba igcinwe ezindaweni ezimbalwa zokuhlola. Abakhiqizi be-Nevirapine banikela ngokunikeza uhulumeni imithi mahhala iminyaka emihlanu, okwenza kube nokwenzeka ukuyisabalalisa kabanzi ukuze kusindiswe izimpilo eziningi. Leli cala ligcizelela ukuthi okuphambene nakho kuyiqiniso. Uma kunezinsiza ezitholakalayo, njengemithi engabizi, umbuso uyehluleka ukwenza imisebenzi yawo uma ungasebenzisi lezi zinsiza ekuqalisweni kwamalungelo okuqhubekayo.<sup>14</sup>



Lezi zimo zigxile “ekuhlolweni kokufaneleka” kokulinganisa ukuhambisana koMbuso nemisebenzi yawo yokuhlinzeka ngamalungelo ezenhlalo nezomnotho aqhubekayo. Imibono evela kuwo isebenza ngqo elungelweni lamanzi, njengoba ukufaneleka kuncike kancane ekutheni kukhona yini ukufezwa okuqhubekayo ngaphakathi kwezinsiza ezitholakalayo.<sup>15</sup> Njengesinyathelo sokuqala, umbuso unesibopho somthetho nesokuziphatha sokuhlinzeka ngesibonelelo samanzi esiyisisekelo esichazwe kumthethonqubo i-GNR.509 womhla ziyi-8 kuNhlangulana 2001, kungakhathaliseki ukuthi yiziphi izinsiza ezitholakalayo. Isinyathelo esilandelayo esifanelekile kungaba ukuhlela ngaphakathi kwezinsiza ezitholakalayo, okuhlanganisa nokwenza izinsiza ezengeziwe zitholakale, ukuthuthukisa ukufinyelela kanye nokuhlinzeka ngamanzi anele aphephile ukuwasebenzisa.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## UBULUNGISWA BAMANZI





## Ubulungiswa bamanzi

Okubalulekile okufanele kucatshangelwe ukuthi imithethonqubo yamanzi yaseNingizimu Afrika inikeza amanzi anele yini. Uma sibheka nje, ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kubonakala kuthuthuka kakhulu. Inani lamanzi, amalitha angama-25 ngomuntu ngosuku, kungathiwa linikeza amanzi anele okuphuza nokulungiselela ukudla. Ngakolunye uhlangothi, leli nani eliphansi liyisibonelo sobulungiswa bamanzi angajulile. Ubulungiswa bamanzi angajulile bubonisa ukusetshenziswa kukahulumeni kwezinqubomgomo ezibonakala zidala ukufinyelela okulinganayo emanzini kodwa kunalokho zigxile enzuzweni noma enzuzweni yezepolitiki.<sup>16</sup> Ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo kuvumela uhulumeni ukuthi athi uyaliqaphela ilungelo lamanzi ngaphandle kokwenza lokho ngempumelelo. Okubaluleke kakhulu, lapho ethuthukisa lezi zinqubomgomo, akazicabangeli kahle izidingo zomphakathi futhi ngokuvamile uzishiya ngaphandle kwengxoxo.

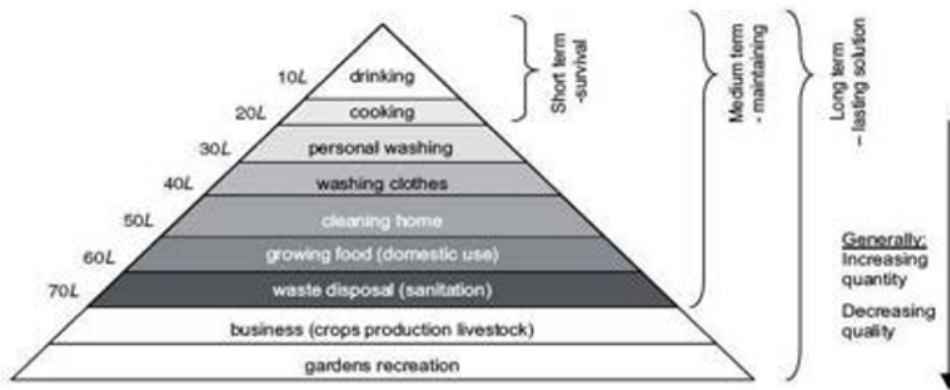
Amanzi abalulekile ukuze umuntu aphile, kanti isilinganiso samanzi esiyisisekelo samalitha angama-25 ngosuku asanele ngokwanele ukwanelisa izidingo zamanzi eziyisisekelo. Izidingo zamanzi eziyisisekelo zifaka phakathi ukuphuza, ukupheka, kanye nokuhlanzeka. Ukushintsha kwamanzi nsuku zonke kwabantu abadala, okuchazwa njengenani lamanzi umuntu alidingayo ukuze alishintshe nsuku zonke ukuze aphile, kungashintshashintsha phakathi kwamalitha angu-2.9 no-4.3 ngosuku kuye ngobudala, ubulili, nendlela yokuphila.<sup>17</sup> Lawa manzi atholakala ngokuphuza amanzi nokudla ukudla. Ngokuphathelene nokulungiselela ukudla, amanzi ayadingeka ekuphekeni nasekuhlanzeni ukudla, izitsha, izindawo zokudlela, kanye nezitsha zokupheka. Isilinganiso esilinganiselwe siwukuthi, okungenani, ukusetshenziswa kwamanzi ekuhlanzeni ukudla kungaba amalitha angu-1.5 ngomuntu ngosuku, kodwa kungaba nengqondo ukuvumela okungaphezu kokuphindwe kabili kwalelo nani.<sup>18</sup> Ukulungiswa kokudla okuyisisekelo, njengelayisi nommbila njengemithombo eyinhloko yokudla okunempilo, kusebenzisa amanye amalitha angu-0.25 ngomuntu ngosuku.<sup>19</sup>

Ukuhlanzeka kungenye imfuneko eyisisekelo yokuphila impilo enhle, njengoba ukuhlanza kubalulekile ukunciphisa ukusabalala kwezifo. Ukugeza ngaphandle kwamanzi ahamba ngepayipi kuvame ukudla amalitha amanzi aphakathi kwama-5 kuya kwayi-10 ngosuku, kanti ukusebenzisa amanzi ahamba ngepayipi kuvame ukudla amalitha ayi-17 ngosuku.<sup>20</sup>

# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Indlu yangasese ehambisa amanzi isebenzisa amalitha angaba yi-11 ngokuhlanza ngakunye, futhi inani lama-flush abantu abawadingayo nsuku zonke lingahluka.<sup>21</sup> Ukugeza izandla kuthatha amalitha amanzi aphakathi kwama-0.5-2 ngokugeza ngakunye. Uma ulandela izincomo zokunciphisa ukusabalala kwesifo, lokhu kufanele kusebenzise okungenani amalitha amanzi ama-5 ngomuntu ngosuku.<sup>22</sup> Ukusebenzisa amanzi aphantsi ukuze kuhlanceke kuhambisana nezingozi zempilo ezandayo.

Lokhu kusetshenziswa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo cishe kungadinga amalitha angaphezu kuka-25, ngisho nasezimweni ezinhle kakhulu. Njengoba imali yokwamukela amanzi iphansi kakhulu ngaphambi kokuthenga amanzi, abantu abaswele kumele bavame ukwenza izinqumo ezinzima mayelana nokuthi bazowasebenzisa kuphi amanzi. Okunye okucatshangelwayo ukuthi imali yokwamukela amanzi isekelwe kusayizi womndeni ophakathi nendawo wabantu abangu-4-5, lapho imiphakathi empofu ingaba nabantu abaningi kakhulu emndenini owodwa.



**Isithombe 1: Hierarchy of Water Needs.**<sup>23</sup>

Ngale kokuphila okuyisisekelo, amanzi anele ayadingeka ukuze abantu bachume. Amanzi nawo ayingxenywe ebalulekile embonini yasekhaya kanye nokuthuthukisa izimo zomuntu siqu. Isibonelo esivamile sesiphakamiso sokuthuthukisa izimo, ikakhulukazi kulabo abaphila ngemali yesibonelelo sikahulumeni, ukutshala nokunakekela izingadi zemifino ukuze kuthuthukiswe ukudla okunomsoco okubalulekile. Ezweni elinenkinga yamanzi njengeNingizimu Afrika, ingadi yemifino idinga isibonelelo samanzi esengeziwe, njengoba ukuthembela emvuleni bekungeke kwanele. Isilinganiso salokhu ezindaweni ezinenkinga yamanzi singamalitha angama-300 ngosuku engadini yemifino engu-30m<sup>2</sup> eyabelwe umndeni.<sup>24</sup>



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Ngakho-ke, ukunikeza amanzi ayisisekelo, asekela impilo kungaba nendima ekuqhubekiseni ubumpofu. Ukuthola amanzi anele mahhala noma ngentengo ephansi kunikeza abantu amathuba ezomnotho okuzithuthukisa. Izimboni eziningi zasekhaya, njengokubhaka noma ukuwasha izingubo, zidinga amanzi ukuze zisebenze ngempumelelo. Lezi zinhlobo zezimboni zivumela abantu ukuthi bathole imali engenayo ukuze bazithuthukise.

Ngakolunye uhlangothi, imiphumela emibi yezempilo ngenxa yokuntuleka kwamanzi anele ivame ukusho ukuthi abantu bachitha isikhathi esiningi beya ezibhedlela noma emitholampilo ukuze bathole ukwelashwa. Ngakho-ke izindleko zokufuna ukwelashwa zidlulela ngale kokukhokhela imithi futhi zihlanganisa imali engenayo engaba khona elahleka ngokuchitha isikhathi emtholampilo. Ngakho-ke, ukuhlinzeka ngamanzi anele kungadlala indima ekubhekaneni nobumpofu.

Ukuze kube nobulungiswa bamanzi obusebenzayo, amanzi kufanele abe sebangeni elifinyeleleka kalula. Imithethonqubo ye-WSA ikhombisa ukuthi amanzi afinyeleleka kalula kufanele abe ngaphakathi kwamamitha angama-200 ukusuka endlini ngayinye. Ngisho naleli banga elibonakala lifushane lingaba nemiphumela emibi kakhulu ekhonweni lemindeni lokufinyelela amanzi. Ukuthutha amanzi ngesandla noma ngebhasikidi kungaba nzima, okwenza abantu bangabi namathuba amaningi okulanda amanani adingekayo ukuze kwenziwe imikhuba yokuhlanzeka ephumelelayo. Ubunzima bokuthutha buphoqa abantu asebekhulile noma abagulayo ukuba bakhokhele abanye ukuba bawakhele amanzi, okuholela ekutheni basebenzise imali yabo elinganiselwe kakade entweni okufanele ibe mahhala. Amapayipi omphakathi angadala ukungezwani futhi avumele ukulawula okunonya ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi.

Kusukela kokungenhla, kusobala ukuthi imali eyisisekelo yamanzi incane kakhulu ukusiza abantu ukuba baphile, ingasaphathwa eyokuchuma. Ukuba nemali eyisisekelo yamanzi ephansi kangaka kuvumela izikhungo zikahulumeni ukuba ziqhoshe ngokuhlangabezana nezidingo zokuqaphela ilungelo lokufinyelela amanzi. Kodwa-ke, kungakhathaliseki ukuthi zingase zibukeke zithuthuka kangakanani ephepheni, izinqubomgomo nemithetho yamanje ayifinyeleli ilungelo lokufinyelela amanzi anele ngendlela enenjongo. Lokhu kuwubulungiswa obungajulile.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## IZINKINGA ZOKUHLINZEKA KWAMANZI





## Izinkinga zokuhlinzeka kwamanzi

Ngaphezu kwezinsalelo zokuntuleka kwamanzi kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika, kunezinkinga ezivela ekuphathweni okubi kanye nenkohlakalo. Ngeshwa, lezi zinkinga zithinta ukulethwa kwamanzi kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika. Eminyakeni yamuva nje, kube nemicimbi eminingana ethi “Day Zero” ehlela izixwayiso mayelana nompompi oma ngenxa yokuntuleka kwezindawo zokugcina noma ukwehluleka kwengqalasizinda. Lokhu kufaka phakathi iKapa ngo-2018<sup>25</sup>, uMakhanda ngo-2019<sup>26</sup>, kanye nokwenzeka kokuthi iGoli libe nosuku lwe-zero ngo-2025<sup>27</sup> ngenxa yenkinga yokugcinwa.

Inkohlakalo kanye nokuphathwa kabi komasipala kudlala indima ebalulekile ekwehlulekeni kukahulumeni ukufeza isabelo sakhe samanzi esiyisisekelo. Ngokuvamile kunemibiko yezindawo ezichitha izinsuku zingenamanzi futhi kumele zithembele emathangini amanzi. Lawa manzi angase angaphathwa kahle, okuholela emiphumeleni emibi yezempilo. Nakuba izinkinga zokulethwa kwamanzi zenzeka kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika, kunezinkinga ezibalulekile ezihlukile kwezinye izindawo.

### Ingqalasizinda Ehlulekayo

[u**Lindiwe Elistah Maelane**: "Abantu bayafa. Indle igeleza ngaphandle komnyango wami. Futhi abaholi bethu bathumela izithombe zemihlangano yesabelomali esingakaze simenywe kuyo."]

UMnyango Wezamanzi Nokuhlanzeka (i-DWS) kanye nomasipala banesibopho sokuphatha nokugcina ingqalasizinda yamanzi. Ukwehluleka ukugcina ingqalasizinda yamanzi emiphakathini kuyisizathu esivamile sokuthi kungani abantu bengatholi amanzi anele. Ukugcina ingqalasizinda kuwumsebenzi oqhubekayo odinga ukuzibophezela kwesikhathi eside ekushintsheni ingqalasizinda njengoba iguga noma iphuka. Ukugcina ingqalasizinda ngempumelelo kuhlela imibhalo ecacile, uphenyo oluvamile, kanye nokunikezwa kwezinsiza ezanele ukuqinisekisa ukuthi ingqalasizinda ihlala isebenza. Umasipala waseDolobheni laseGoli (CoJ) okwamanje ubhekene nezinkinga ezinkulu zengqalasizinda ezisongela ukushiya izigidi zabantu bengenamanzi. Lokhu kuvela emashumini eminyaka okunakekelwa okunganele kwengqalasizinda yamanzi, okuhlanganisa amapayipi, amadamu okugcina amanzi, izitshalo zokwelashwa, kanye namaphampu.



Lokhu kunakekelwa okungekuhle kuba umzabalazo obonakalayo, wansuku zonke kubahlali abaningi njengoba ompompi boma izinsuku eziningi ngesikhathi kuyilapho amanzi egcwala imigwaqo ngenxa yamapayipi avinjiwe, aqhumile, naphukile.<sup>28</sup> Imbangela engaba khona yalokhu kuntuleka kokunakekelwa ku-CoJ ukuthi izinsiza ezimbalwa ezibekelwe izindleko ezinkulu (capex) zokunakekela nokufaka esikhundleni sengqalasizinda.<sup>29</sup> Lokhu kwenziwa kubi kakhulu yiGoli elinabantu abaningi eNingizimu Afrika, elisakhula ngokushesha ngenxa yokufuduka kwabantu emadolobheni.

Ukulungiswa kwengqalasizinda kulo lonke izwe kubalulekile ukuqinisekisa ukuthi imiphakathi ithola amanzi. Ngaphandle kwezinsiza ezanele ezinikezwe futhi ezisetshenziswa ezinsizeni, ingqalasizinda izobola ize ifinyelele ezingeni lapho ingasafanele ukusetshenziswa. Ngakho-ke kubalulekile ukuthi uhulumeni anikeze izinsiza ezanele futhi aqinisekise ukuthi iyaqhubeka nokulungiswa.

### **Amadili Ethenda Asolisayo**

[**UVicky Muvhala:** “Yonke imigodi yamanzi iphukile. Kodwa othile wayisayina, yehle ngomleze imali.”]

Amathenda kahulumeni avame ukuhilela ukucela izinkampani ukuthi zifake izicelo zokwenza umsebenzi egameni likahulumeni ukuze zikhokhe. Nakuba eminye imisebenzi kahulumeni yenziwa ngaphakathi, amathenda afaneleka kakhulu kumaprojekthi amakhulu. Kodwa-ke, i-CISC ibonise ngokucacile ukuthi inqubo yamathenda ingasetshenziswa kalula kanjani ukuze kuzuze umuntu siqu. Loluhlobo lokukhwabanisa luhlanganisa ukukhuphula izindleko zokuqalisa, ukulungisa izidingo ukuze kuqondiswe osonkontileka abathile, kanye nokumane kuphazamise yonke inqubo yamathenda. Amathenda asolisayo awawona njalo umphumela wenkohlakalo, njengoba kungaba namaphutha angempela. Kodwa-ke, ezimweni eziningi, inkohlakalo cishe iyimbangela. Amanzi awahlukile, njengoba kunemathenda amaningi ahilela ukulungiswa nokulethwa kwamanzi anikeza isizathu sokusola.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

IAmathenda ahilela amathangi amanzi njengesixazululo sesikhashana ezindaweni ezingenawo amanzi ampompi, njengalawo okwenzekayo eTshwane njengamanje, aphakamisa ama-alamu amaningi.<sup>30</sup> Okufanele kube yisisombululo sesikhashana ngenkathi kwakhiwa noma kulungiswa ingqalasizinda kuvame ukuba yisisombululo esihlala njalo. Kukhona nokukhathazeka mayelana “nama-mafia athwala amanzi” alimaza ingqalasizinda noma avimbele ukufinyelela emanzini ampompi ukuze athole amathenda abizayo.<sup>31</sup> Ngisho nalapho esebenza kahle, ukusetshenziswa kwesikhathi eside kwamathangi amanzi kubangela ubunzima, njengoba abantu abaningi kumele bahambe amakhilomitha amaningi ukuze bathole amanzi. Njengoba amathangi amanzi engafiki njalo ngezikhathi ezifanele, abantu abasebenza bavame ukukhokhela abanye ukuba baqoqe amanzi egameni labo, kuyilapho kufanele kube yilungiselelo lamahhala. Ngo-2025, sekuvele kube nemibhikisho eminingana mayelana nokufinyelela okuhlala njalo nokuphumelelayo kwamanzi eKnoflokskraal eduze kwaseGrabouw, eWestern Cape<sup>32</sup> kanye nasePhumla Mqashi eduze kwaseLenasia, eGauteng.<sup>33</sup> EPhumla Mqashi, izakhamuzi zikhulume ngokuthi kufanele zenze izivumelwano zomphakathi mayelana nokuqoqwa kwamanzi ukuze kugwenywe izingxabano ngamanzi.

Amathenda asolisayo, njengalawo ahilela amatenga amanzi, anciphisa imali eya kumaphrojekthi amanzi abalulekile. Lokhu kushiya imiphakathi eminingi ihlupheka ukuthola amanzi ayisisekelo noma ukuthi ikhokhele wona.<sup>34</sup> Lokhu kungakhuthaza futhi imisebenzi yobugebengu, okuhlanganisa ukwebiwa kwamanzi kanye nokubhujiswa kwengqalasizinda yilabo ababizwa ngokuthi ama-mafia emikhumbi yamanzi. Ukuqapha ngokucophelela kanye nokucaca kwamathenda kuyadingeka ukuze kuvinjelwe ukulahlekelwa okungadingekile

## Ukwehla Kwekhwalthi Yamanzi

[u**Promise Mabilo**: : “Ngisho namanzi amnyama. Umoya unzima ukuphefumula. Amadokhumenti ethu ayalahleka ngoba sibuzwa imibuzo eminingi kakhulu.”]

Amanzi alethwa emiphakathini nguhulumeni, esebenzisa amapayipi noma amathangi, kufanele abe sezingeni eliphezulu, aqinisekise ukuthi aphephile ekuphuzweni, ekuphekeni, nasekuhlanzweni kwendle. INingizimu Afrika inezindinganiso eziqondile zekhwalthi yamanzi, ezichazwe ku-South African National Standards (SANS) 241-1:2015, esebenza njengesiqondiso sokwelashwa nokuhlolwa kwamanzi. Kodwa-ke, umbiko we-Blue Drop uthole ukwehla okucacile kwekhwalthi yamanzi eminyakeni eyishumi edlule, izindawo eziningi zishiywe zingenawo amanzi okuphuza aphephile.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Ukwehla kwekhwalithi yamanzi kunezimbangela eziningana, okuhlanganisa nokugcinwa kabi kwezindawo zokuhlanza nokugcina amanzi. Umbiko ukhomba ukuthi “izinhlelo zokuphakelwa kwamanzi ezingu-277 kwezingu-958 (29%) zitholakale zisesimweni esibucayi ezweni uma kuqhathaniswa nezinhlalo ezingu-174 ngo-2014.”<sup>35</sup> Isici esesabekayo kakhulu esitholakala kulo mbiko ukuthi “iningi lomasipala (57%) alibatsheli kanjani abasebenzisi bamanzi uma kwenzeka ikhwalithi yamanzi isengozini noma ingaqashwa.”

Ikhwalithi yamanzi engeyinhle iyinkinga enkulu kwezinye izindawo zaseNingizimu Afrika. Muva nje ngo-2023, kube nokuqubuka kwekholera okubulalayo eHammanskraal okwabalala abantu abangu-17.<sup>36</sup> Lokhu kuqubuka kwabangelwa ukwehluleka okuhlangene kokwelashwa kwendle kanye nokwehluleka kokunikeza amanzi okuphuza ahlanzekile. Njengoba ama-29% ezinhlelo zokwelashwa kwamanzi kanye nokuhlinzeka ngamanzi eNingizimu Afrika ehluleka ukufeza amaphuzu aluhlaza okwesibhakabhaka, kunesizathu esizwakalayo sokwesaba ukuqubuka kwezifo ezengeziwe esikhathini esizayo. Lokhu kudinga isinyathelo sokulungisa ngokushesha ukuqinisekisa ukuthi ikhwalithi yamanzi ihlala iphezulu futhi iphephile.

## Imikhuba Yokuhlunga Amanzi Angcolile

[u**Ela Ghandi**: "Kukhona umfula esasiwusebenzisa ezikhathini zakudala. Lowo mfula ungcoliswe kakhulu."]

Enye yezindlela ezibalulekile zokuqinisekisa ukuthi kunamanzi anele futhi aphephile ukucubungula amanzi angcolile ngempumelelo. Ukucubungula amanzi angcolile kubalulekile ekusetshenzisweni kabusha kwamanzi ukuze asetshenziswe ngabantu noma ukuwavumela abuyele ezinhlelweni zamanzi zezwe ukuze ahlukwe ngokwemvelo. Uma amanzi angcoliswe kakhulu evunyelwa ukuthi ageleze abuyele emifuleni, angabangela umonakalo ezindaweni zemvelo. Lokhu kwenza kubaluleke kakhulu ukuqinisekisa ukuthi izikhungo zokuhlanza amanzi angcolile ziphatha amanzi angcolile futhi zihlale njalo ukuthi izinhlelo zamanzi emvelo zibhekana kahle kangakanani nokungenisa amanzi angcolile.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

InI-Green Drop Report, , efana ne-Blue Drop Report, egxile emanzini angcolile, ithole ukuthi ukwelashwa kwamanzi angcolile kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika akwanele. Ngokusho kombiko, uMnyango Wezamanzi Nokuhlazeka (i-DWS) ukhathazeke kakhulu ngokuthi u-67.7% wokwelashwa kwamanzi angcolile usebenza kanjani ezigabeni ezinobungozi obukhulu (34%) kanye nezinengozi enkulu (34%). Lokhu kungukwanda okuzumayo nokumangalisayo kwenani lemisebenzi yokwelapha amanzi angcolile engasebenzi kahle, edinga ukungenelela okuphuthumayo nokuxhaswe ngezimali ukuqinisekisa ukunciphisa ubungozi.<sup>37</sup>

Imikhuba emibi yokwelapha amanzi angcolile ingadala umonakalo omkhulu emvelweni ngenkathi ibeka ingozi kubantu ngabanye. Amanzi amaningi angcolile angaphathwanga kahle okwamanje abuyela ezinhlelweni zamanzi zemvelo, okuholela ekungcoleni kwalezi zinhlelo kanye nokusabalala kwezifo.<sup>38</sup> Kumasipala waseMaluti-a-Phofung, ukwehluleka kwayo yonke imisebenzi eyisikhombisa yokwelapha amanzi angcolile kusho ukuthi indle engaphathwanga kahle noma engaphathwanga kahle igeleza emifuleni exhunywe eDamu laseVaal.<sup>39</sup>

Indle enobungozi ebangelwa yizinto eziphilayo nayo yangena emasimini, yalimaza izilwane zasendle nezinkomo imiphakathi ezithembele kuzo ukuze ithole ukudla kanye nemali engenayo. Okungenani iminyaka emibili, uMasipala waseThekwini ube nezinkinga zengqalasizinda lapho indle engaphathwanga kahle ibigeleza eMfuleni i-Umgeni.<sup>40</sup> Ngenxa yalokho, izingozi ezibangelwa yizinto eziphilayo eziyingozi ziye zangena ezindaweni eziningana zezivakashi nezokudoba, njengeBlue Lagoon kanye ne-Umgeni Estuary.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

# UKUHLOLA IZINKINGA ZAMANZI





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## Ukuhlonza Izinkinga Zamanzi

Isinyathelo sokuqala sokuthuthukisa ukuzibophezela ekulethweni kwamanzi ukwazi ukuthi kufanele kusetshenziswe nini izindlela zokubika kanye nokumela. Kunezinkinga eziningana ezingavela ukuze kuboniswe ukuthi isinyathelo siyadingeka yini ukuthuthukisa ukulethwa kwamanzi. Lezi ziwela ezigabeni ezimbili ezibanzi zokufinyelela amanzi kanye nekhwalithi yamanzi. Uma noma yikuphi kwalokhu kuntuleka, kubonisa inkinga ngokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okufanele ukubikwa. Izinkinga ngekhwalithi yamanzi kanye nobuningi zingase zibangelwe yizimbangela ezivamile noma zesikhashana, njengezinguquko zemvelo ekulethweni, izinhlekelele, noma izingozi zokuphatha. Kulezi zimo, i-DWS noma uhulumeni wendawo cishe bazoxazulula inkinga ngemva kokuqaphela ngayo. Ukufinyelela amanzi okungapheli kanye nekhwalithi kungabonisa ukuphathwa kabi noma inkohlakalo.

### Ukutholakala kwamanzi

Ngokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi okuyisisekelo, imithetho kahulumeni idala izinkomba ezicacile ezisiza ekuboneni ukuthi amanzi awanele yini. Lokhu kufaka phakathi:

- Ukutholakala: inani elincane lamanzi ahlanzekile angamalitha angu-25 kumuntu ngamunye ngosuku noma amakhilolitha angu-6 ngomndeni ngenyanga
- Izinga: izinga lokugeleza okungenani elingaphansi kwamalitha ayi-10 ngomzuzu
- Ibanga: ngaphakathi kwamamitha angu-200 ukusuka emndenini

Ngaphezu kwalokho, akekho umuntu okufanele ahlale engenawo amanzi izinsuku ezingaphezu kweziyisikhombisa ezigcwele ngonyaka. Uma omasipala bendawo bengahlangabezani nalezi zimfuneko eziyisisekelo zokunikezwa kwamanzi, lokhu kubonisa inkinga okufanele ibikwe.





## Ikhwalithi Yamanzi

INingizimu Afrika isebenzisa amazinga kazwelonke aseNingizimu Afrika (SANS) 241-1:2015 ukunquma ikhwalithi yamanzi ephansi. I-SANS inikeza izilinganiso eziqondile nezihlolwayo zokuhlonza ukuthi amanzi aphephile yini ukusetshenziswa.<sup>41</sup> Izikhungo zamanzi zikahulumeni zisebenzisa lezi zindinganiso ukulawula ikhwalithi yamanzi asatshalaliswa ngamapayipi aya empompini kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika. Kodwa-ke, amanzi ahamba ngamapayipi awahlali ehambisana nalezi zidingo, njengoba izikhungo eziningi zokuhlanza amanzi zikamasipala zihluleka ukuhambisana nalezi zindinganiso. Nakuba kungaba nzima ukuhlonza ikhwalithi yamanzi, kunezici eziningana ezibonisa ikhwalithi ephansi:

- Ukubukeka: Amanzi aphathwe kahle futhi ahlungiwe kufanele angabi nombala. Uma amanzi ebonakala eguqubele noma enombala obomvu noma o-orenji, lokhu kuzobonisa ukuthi kukhona izinto ezingcolisayo.
- Ukungcola: Amanzi ahlungiwe kufanele angabi nalutho olungcolisayo olubonakalayo, futhi akufanele kube nezinhlayi noma izinto eziphilayo ezibonakalayo. Lokhu kuzohlenganisa nokungabi nalutho olunamafutha noma ukukhanya emanzini.<sup>42</sup>
- Iphunga: Amanzi ahlanzwe kahle akufanele abe nephunga. Iphunga elifana neqanda elibolile noma umentshisi oshisiwe lingabonisa ukuba khona kwe-sulphur kanye ne-bleach enamandla. Iphunga lomkhiqizo wokuhlanza lingabonisa i-chlorine eningi. Noma yiliphi lala maphunga libonisa amanzi aphathwe kabi futhi ahlungiwe angaba yingoz
- Ukunambitha: Amanzi aphephile kufanele anambitheke ehlanzekile, futhi ukunambitheka okungemnandi kwensimbi noma okubabayo kungabonisa ukuthi kungenzeka kube khona ukungcola okuyingozi emanzini.<sup>43</sup>
- Ukufaka Ibala: Izinto ezingcolisayo emanzini, njengensimbi eningi, zingabangela ukudaya okuzungeze amapayipi ngisho nasezitsheni



Lezi zici eziphawulekayo zibonisa amanzi angaba yingozi kanye nesidingo sokuqapha nokubika. Kodwa-ke, ukungcola emanzini kungadlula izinzwa zomuntu, futhi ingozi ingabonakala kuphela ngomphumela onawo kumuntu ophuzayo noma ngokuhlolwa.

- Izinto Ezingcolisayo Ezibangelwa Amagciwane: Akufanele kube khona izinto ezincane eziyingozi, njengebhaktheriya, amagciwane, kanye nezinambuzane, emanzini okuphuza ahamba ngamapayipi angabangela izifo ezibangelwa amanzi. Imiphumela yalokhu ivame ukubonakala njengezimbangela zohudo, izifo zokuphefumula ezibukhali, kanye nezinye izifo ezidluliselwa ngamanzi.<sup>44</sup>
- Izinto Ezingcolisayo Zamakhemikhali: Izindinganiso zikazwelonke zichaza imikhawulo yezinto ezihlukahlukene ezingcolisayo zamakhemikhali, okuhlanganisa izinsimbi ezisindayo, izibulala-zinambuzane, kanye nezinto eziphilayo, ukuqinisekisa ukuphepha kwamanzi. Ngisho noma zingabonakali, zingaholela ezinhlotsheni eziningana zobuthi bamakhemikhali.<sup>45</sup>

Kungcono ukugwema ukuphuza amanzi angcolile, futhi uma kungenzeka, uthole omunye umthombo ophephile. Uma kukhona ukungaqiniseki ngekhwalithi yamanzi, kubalulekile ukubiza uhulumeni ukuthi aqedele ukuhlolwa kwamanzi noma ukuthenga ikhithi yokuhlola amanzi ekhaya. I-WaterCAN, inhlango yomphakathi ezinikele emalungelweni amanzi kanye nokulwela amalungelo, ithengisa amakhithi okuhlola amanzi ku-intanethi, <https://shop.oua.co.za/collections/frontpage/products/purchase-new-water-kit-with-delivery>. Amakhithi okuhlola axhumene nohlelo lokumaka ikhwalithi yamanzi kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika, <https://watercan.org.za/map/>.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## IZINDLELA ZOKUGCINA UHULUMENI ENESIBOPHO SOKUZIPHENDULELA





## Izindlela Zokugcina Uhulumeni Enesibopho Sokuziphendulela

Uma ubhekene nezinkinga ngokulethwa kwamanzi, kubalulekile ukwenza uhulumeni abe nesibopho. Uhulumeni kufanele ahlinzeke ngamanzi aphephile nahlanzekile kubo bonke abantu baseNingizimu Afrika, futhi kuxhomeke kubantu ngabanye ukufuna lelo lungelo. Kunezindlela eziningi ezitholakalayo zokwenza uhulumeni abe nesibopho ezitholakala kuwo wonke umuntu. Nakuba kungaba yinto engenangqondo ukucela wonke umuntu ukuba anikele izimpilo zakhe ekulweleni ubushoshovu, kunezindlela ezisheshayo nezilula umuntu angazisebenzisa ukufuna ukuba nesibopho. Ukufuna ukuba nesibopho ngobulungiswa bamanzi kungaqala ngokumane ubike ipayipi eliqhumile noma ompompi abomile ekhaya. Kulabo abazimisele ukwenza okwengeziwe, kungenzeka ukuthi kukhuphuke kusukela emibikweni kuya esenzweni somphakathi esinobuqhawe. Uma bonke labo baseNingizimu Afrika benza ingxenye, kungakhathaliseki ukuthi kuncane kangakanani, kubonisa isidingo sokuba nesibopho futhi kufanele kuphoqe uhulumeni ukuba enze okuthile.

### Ukuthola ulwazi

Uma kunezinkinga eziqhubekayo ngokutholakala kwamanzi, kungaba usizo ukuqoqa ulwazi mayelana nezimbangela njengendawo yokuqala. Uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika wenze isibophezelo, esiphoqeelwa ngumthetho ezimweni eziningi, sokuba sobala. Ngakho-ke, kufanele kube nokwenzeka ukufinyelela ulwazi lomphakathi, lukahulumeni ngesiqondiso soMthetho Wokukhuthaza Ukufinyelela Ulwazi 2 ka-2000 (PAIA). Kodwa-ke, akulula ngaso sonke isikhathi ukubona ukuthi ungalutholaphi ulwazi. Kunezindawo eziningana ezinhle zokuqala ezingasiza.

### Izizindalwazi zikaHulumeni

Indawo enhle yokuqala yokuthola ulwazi ikumawebhusayithi kahulumeni. Ngamanzi, iwebhusayithi ye-DWS, <https://www.dws.gov.za/>, inikeza ulwazi oluwusizo ngamalungelo amanzi, okuhlanganisa nezindlela zokubika izinkinga ngqo kwi-DWS.





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Ekhasini eliyisiqalo, kukhona ulwazi lokuxhumana oluyisisekelo kanye nokubuka konke kwezingxenyane. Inkinobho ethi “Igumbi Lezindaba” inikeza ukufinyelela ezinsizeni zezindaba nemibono eyahlukahlukeneyo, kanti “Ilabhulali Yemibhalo” inikeza izinsiza zomthetho, zikahulumeni, kanye nezezemfundo. I-DWS iphinde ibe ne-Integrated Regulatory Information System (IRIS), [https://ws.dws.gov.za/IRIS/dashboard\\_status.aspx](https://ws.dws.gov.za/IRIS/dashboard_status.aspx), enikeza izibuyekezo mayelana nekhwalithi yamanzi.

Kanye ne-DWS, kunezingosi zohulumeni basekhaya okufanele ziqondene nomasipala bendawo. Ingosi, <https://municipalities.co.za/>, iyindawo enhle yokuqala ukuthola amawebhusayithi kamasipala kungaba ngenketho yokusesha noma ngokusebenzisa imephu. Inselele ngamawebhusayithi kamasipala ukuthi ikhwalithi yamawebhusayithi iyahlukahluke kakhulu. Ngenkathi amanye amawebhusayithi elula ukuyisebenzisa ngamathuluzi amahle okubika kanye namadokhumenti afinyeleleka kalula, amanye angaba lula kakhulu noma adideke. Uma izinsiza zingekho noma kunzima ukuzithola, ezinye izindlela zingaba ukushayela ucingo, ukuthumela i-imeyili, noma ukuvakashela ihhovisi likamasipala ukucela ulwazi. Lokhu kungabandakanya ngisho nokucela izibuyekezo sengosi ukuze ulwazi lutholakale kalula kubo bonke abahlali.

## Izincwadi nemibiko eshicilelwe

Iminyango kahulumeni kanye nezikhungo ziyadingeka ngokomthetho ukuthi zishicilele futhi zihlanganyele emibikweni ewusizo ephathelene nokulethwa kwamanzi kanye nekhwalithi. Imibiko ebalulekile yokuqonda ukuhlinzekwa kwamanzi kanye nokwelashwa eNingizimu Afrika yimibiko ethi Blue Drop, Green Drop, kanye nethi No Drop. Le mibiko iyatholakala ku- <https://ws.dws.gov.za/IRIS/latestresults.aspx>.

Le mibiko inemininingwane mayelana nekhwalithi kanye nokutholakala kwamanzi kulo lonke izwe. I-Blue Drop Report igxile emanzini okuphuza, ukuhlola kanye nokulinganisa izinhlelo zokuhlinzekwa kwamanzi ezweni lonke. I-No Drop Report ihlola ukusebenza kahle kokusatshalaliswa kwamanzi, ikhomba lapho amanzi elahleka khona kanye nokuhlola isidingo samanzi. I-Green Drop Report igxile ekwelashweni kwamanzi angcolile futhi ihlola ukusebenza kahle kwezitshalo zokwelashwa kwamanzi angcolile. Le mibiko inobuchwepheshe kakhulu futhi inemininingwane eminingi.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Lena imibiko eneminingwane mayelana nekhwalithi kanye nokutholakala kwamanzi kulo lonke izwe. I-Blue Drop Report igxile emanzini okuphuza, ukuhlola kanye nokulinganisa izinhlelo zokuphakelwa kwamanzi ezweni lonke. I-No Drop Report ihlola ukusebenza kahle kokusatshalaliswa kwamanzi, ikhomba lapho amanzi elahleka khona futhi ihlola isidingo samanzi. I-Green Drop umbiko ugxile ekuphathweni kwamanzi angcolile futhi uhlola ukusebenza kahle kwezindawo zokuhlaza amanzi angcolile. Lena imibiko yobuchwepheshe kakhulu futhi eneminingwane eminingi.

Iziphathimandla zezinsizakalo zamanzi (ama-WSA) nazo zinesibopho sokukhipha imibiko ngokulethwa kwamanzi kanye nekhwalithi. Ama-WSA komasipala anesibopho sokuqinisekisa ukutholakala kwezinsizakalo zamanzi ezindaweni zawo ngokuhambisana noMthetho Wezinsizakalo Zamanzi 108 ka-1997. Ama-WSA kufanele akhiphe imibhalo nemibiko eminingana ngamanzi ehlanganisa izinhlelo zokuthuthukiswa kwezinsizakalo zamanzi, imibiko yenqubekela phambili engama-46 ngezinhlelo zokuthuthukiswa,<sup>47</sup> kanye nemibiko ngekhwalithi yamanzi.<sup>48</sup> Lolwazi kufanele lutholakale kumawebhusayithi e-WSA kanye noHlelo Lolwazi Lwezinsizakalo Zamanzi Lukazwelonke LoMnyango Wezamanzi Nokuhlanzeka, <https://ws.dws.gov.za/wsks/Default.aspx>



## Izicelo ze-PAIA

UMthetho woKhuthazo lokuFikelela kuLwazi 2 ka-2000 (PAIA The Promotion of Access to Information Act) unikeza abantu ilungelo lokufinyelela ulwazi olugcinwe yizinhlangano zikahulumeni noma ezizimele uma becela. Lo Mthetho wandisa ukucaca eNingizimu Afrika ngokuhambisana nelungelo lomthethosisekelo lokufinyelela ulwazi.<sup>49</sup> Nakuba ulwazi oluningi lutholakala emphakathini futhi kufanele lube khona, ulwazi lungase lungabi khona noma kube nzima ukuluthola. Uma ulwazi lungatholakali kalula, abantu bangasebenzisa amafomu nezindlela ezijwayelekile, njengoba kuchazwe yi-PAIA, ukucela ulwazi.

Uma usebenzisa isicelo se-PAIA ukucela ulwazi, isinyathelo sokuqala ukuhlola uhlobo lwesikhungo kanye nohlobo lolwazi oluceliwe. Ukuze ubhale isicelo, qala uthole izincwadi ze-PAIA okufanele zitholakale kumawebhusayithi afanele omnyango noma kahulumeni. Lezi zincwadi ziyiziqondiso, ezidingekayo yi-PAIA, ezinikeza imininingwane mayelana nezinqubo kanye nabantu oxhumana nabo, njengeSikhulu Solwazi senhlangano. Ifomu Lomlawuli Wolwazi 2 liyidokhumenti yesicelo ejwayelekile, <https://infoeregulator.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/InfoRegSA-PAIA-Form02-Reg7.pdf>.

. Isicelo se-PAIA singakhokhiswa imali, okufanele ibekwe encwadini ye-PAIA yenhlangano. Ngemva kokuhambisa isicelo kuSikhulu Solwazi senhlangano efanele, kufanele kube nempendulo zingakapheli izinsuku ezingama-30, kanye nokwelulwa okukhulu kwezinsuku ezingama-30 uma inhlango ithumela isaziso. Uma inhlango yenqaba isicelo solwazi noma ingaphenduli zingakapheli izinsuku ezingama-30, kungenzeka ukufaka isikhalazo ngesinqumo. Ukuze uthole ulwazi olunembile, kukhona umhlahlandlela weKhomishini Yamalungelo Abantu yaseNingizimu Afrika (i-SAHRC) otholakala kuwebhusayithi kahulumeni, [https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis\\_documents/SAHRC-PAIA-guide2014.pdf](https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_documents/SAHRC-PAIA-guide2014.pdf)

## Izingcingo ezikhethekile

Uma kukhona iphutha elilula lamanzi, indawo yokuqala iwukusebenzisa ucingo oluphuthumayo lokubika amaphutha kamasipala. Izinombolo zocingo zinikeza indlela ewusizo nengabizi evumela abantu ukuthi babike noma yiziphi izinkinga ngokulethwa kwezinsizakalo. Kuye ngobukhulu kanye nobuchwepheshe bomasipala, kungaba nezinombolo zocingo eziningana ezinikezelwe ezinhlotsheni ezithile zezinkinga noma ngisho nezindlela zokubika ku-inthanethi.



Omasipala kufanele babe nezindlela zokubika amaphutha, futhi amawebhusayithi athile kamasipala kufanele ahlinzeke ngemininingwane yokuxhumana edingekayo.

Iwebhusayithi engasiza ekutholeni amawebhusayithi athile kamasipala yi-  
<https://municipalities.co.za/https://municipalities.co.za/> evumela ukusesha noma ukusebenzisa imephu ukuthola umasipala, enikeza imininingwane ethile mayelana nomasipala kanye nezindlela zokuxhumana.

Ngezinkinga eziphathelele namanzi, kukhona ne-DWS kazwelonke. Lokhu kungaba yindawo yokuqala noma indlela yokwandisa ukubika amaphutha uma umasipala ungaphenduli. I-DWS inikeza izingcingo eziningana zamahhala zokubika ngqo:

- Amaphutha athile amanzi 0800 200 200
- Ukukhwabanisa kanye neNkohlakalo 0800 701 701

Iwebhusayithi ye-DWS, <https://www.dws.gov.za/contactRegions.aspx>, inikeza ulwazi lokuxhumana lwabameleli kuzo zonke izifundazwe.

Izinombolo zocingo, ama-imeyili, kanye nezaziso eziku-inthanethi zibalulekile njengoba zinikeza izinombolo zokubhekelela kanye nemininingwane elandelekayo yokwakha irekhodi lokuxhumana. Ukugcina irekhodi lokuxhumana kuyasiza kakhulu ekuboniseni umlando wenkinga lapho kufunwa isinyathelo. Kodwa-ke, amathuba okubika kuphela abe yisisombululo esisebenzayo kuncike ezintweni eziningana, okuhlanganisa umasipala nendawo. Ngokuvamile, izindawo ezicebile zithola ukubika kuphela njengokusebenza kahle, kuyilapho izindawo ezimpofu zihlupheka ngaphandle kosizo. Lokhu kungenza ukwanda kwenkinga kubaluleke kakhulu lapho kukhona ukwehluleka ukuthatha isinyathelo ezinkingeni.

### **Ukuxhumana Okuqondile**

Ukuxhumana ngqo nohulumeni wendawo kungenye indlela ephumelelayo yokudala ulwazi ngezinkinga zamanzi. Iminyango kaHulumeni Obambisene Nezindaba Zendabuko (i-CoGTA) incoma ukuxhumana namakhansela endawo ngemibuzo noma izicelo.50 Ukuze kusizwe ngalokhu, i-South African Local Government Association (i-SALGA) inikeza imininingwane yokuxhumana ewusizo yamakhansela endawo kuwebhusayithi yabo, <https://www.salga.org.za/Municipalities%20MCD.html>





# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Il-CoGTA incoma ukuthumela imibuzo noma izicelo ezibhaliwe okungenani izinsuku eziyishumi ngaphambi kwemihlangano yomasipala. Kodwa-ke, kungenzeka futhi ukuxhumana namalungu omasipala ngqo, usebenzisa i-imeyili noma izingcingo, ukubuza imibuzo noma ukwenza izicelo. Lena enye yezindlela ezisheshayo zokwazisa uhulumeni nokwamukela izibopho zokubhekana nezinkinga.

Ukuze uxhumane nomasipala, iwebhusayithi ewusizo <https://municipalities.co.za/>, engasiza ekutholeni ulwazi lokuxhumana. Ngale webhusayithi, kungenzeka ukusesha noma ukusebenzisa imephu ukuthola omasipala abathile. Ukukhetha umasipala kuthatha umsebenzisi kuthebhu ethi “ukubuka konke” echaza umasipala okhethiwe. Amathebhu aphezulu ekhasini, ngaphansi kwegama likamasipala, azulazula emakhasini anikeza ulwazi olwengeziwe oluwusizo. Lokhu kufaka phakathi ithebhu ethi “oxhumana nabo” enikeza imininingwane yokuxhumana kamasipala, kufaka phakathi ikheli, inombolo yocingo, iwebhusayithi, kanye nezinombolo ezengeziwe zeminyango ethile.



**Isithombe 2: umfanekiselo we <https://municipalities.co.za/>.**

Enye iwebhusayithi yokubika izinkinga namaphutha yi-<https://www.fixlocal.org.za>. Le webhusayithi, ngenkathi isesesigabeni sayo sokuthuthukiswa, inikeza isiqondiso sendlela yokubika ngokusekelwe endaweni. Iphinde inikeze isiqondiso sendlela yokwandisa imibiko uma ukubika kukodwa kungayixazululi inkinga. Lesi siqondiso sisukela ekutholeni ikhansela lesigceme kuya ekudaleni amaqembu ezenzo zomphakathi.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## Imihlangano Yohulumeni Bendawo

Omasipala bendawo nabo banesibopho esisemthethweni sokubamba imihlangano yomphakathi ukuze babonisane nemiphakathi yabo ngezindaba eziningi, okuhlanganisa amanzi. UMthetho Wezinhlelo Zikamasipala Kahulumeni Wendawo 32 ka-2000 esigabeni 4(2)(e) ukhomba ukuthi lokhu kubonisana kufanele kufake phakathi, “(i) izinga, ikhwalithi, ububanzi kanye nomthelela wezinsizakalo zikamasipala ezinikezwa ngumasipala, kungaba ngokuqondile noma ngomunye umhlinzeki wesevisi; kanye (ii) nezinketho ezitholakalayo zokulethwa kwezinsizakalo.” Lokhu kuqiniswa kakhulu yisigaba 17(2)(c) soMthetho esidinga “imihlangano yomphakathi kanye nokulalelwa kwezikhalazo ngumasipala kanye nezinye izinhloko zezepolitiki kanye nabaphathi bezikhundla zezepolitiki bakamasipala, uma kufaneleka.”

Ukuya kule mihlangano kunikeza ithuba kubantu ngabanye lokuzwakalisa amazwi abo. Le mihlangano iyingxenywe yezindlela omasipala okufanele bazidale ngokuvumelana nesibopho sabo esingokomthetho sokwandisa ukuhlanganyela komphakathi. Kodwa-ke, ukubonisana kanye nokuhlanganyela komphakathi akusho ukuthi omasipala kufanele balandele iziphakamiso zomphakathi. Abanye omasipala bazothumela izibuyekezo mayelana nokuthi imihlangano yomphakathi izokwenzeka nini kumawebhusayithi abo, kodwa akuwona wonke omasipala anamawebhusayithi asebenzayo. Ngakho-ke, kubalulekile ukushayela ucingo noma ukuvakashela omasipala ukubuza ukuthi umhlangano olandelayo uzoba nini.

## Izinkundla zokuXhumana

Amawebhusayithi ezinkundla zokuxhumana, okuhlanganisa i-Facebook, i-X (eyayikade iyi-Twitter), i-Instagram, kanye nezinye, angaba muhle ekusakazeni imiyalezo ezixukwini ezinkulu zabantu. Kodwa-ke, amapulatifomu ezinkundla zokuxhumana avame ukuba yindlela yokuxhumana engaqondile enezivikelo ezimbalwa kakhulu. Kungaba usizo ukubika amaphutha ezinkundleni zokuxhumana ukuze kuqwashiswe ngezinkinga ukusiza uhulumeni ukuthi athathe isinyathelo. Ngezinye izikhathi kukhona ithuba lokuphendula ngokushesha, njengoba iminyango kahulumeni ingaba nama-akhawunti asebenzayo ezinkundleni zokuxhumana anganikeza impendulo kanye neminingwane eyengeziwe.



Ngakolunye uhlangothi, amapulatifomu ezokuxhumana awafaneleki ngaso sonke isikhathi ukubikela abantu ngenkohlakalo. Kungaba yingozi ukubika izehlakalo zenkohlakalo usebenzisa izinkundla zokuxhumana, njengoba kuvumela ukulandelela. Kusenezivikelo ezimbalwa kakhulu zababiki ngenkohlakalo emthethweni waseNingizimu Afrika. Ngakho-ke, kungaba ngcono ukubika inkohlakalo ngokuphepha kokungaziwa.

### Ukushaya ikhwelo

Ukubikela abantu ngenkohlakalo kuhilela ukubika inkohlakalo egunyeni elingaphenya futhi lilandele izinyathelo ngokumelene nabantu abakhohlakele. Ukubikela abantu ngenkohlakalo kubaluleke kakhulu ekubhekaneni nenkohlakalo, njengoba cishe kungenzeki ukuthatha isinyathelo ngokumelene nenkohlakalo ngaphandle kolwazi noma ubufakazi bokuthi ikhona. Kodwa-ke, kuyingozi kakhulu futhi ukubikela abantu ngenkohlakalo njengoba kungaholela ekuziphindiseleleni, okuhlanganisa nokusongelwa kokuphepha komuntu siqu kanye nokuphepha komsebenzi. INingizimu Afrika inikeza isivikelo esingokomthetho kubabiki ngenkohlakalo ngaphansi koMthetho Wokudalulwa Okuvikelwe 26 ka-2000.

Nakuba kuyisiqalo esihle sobudlelwano bomqashi nesisebenzi, lo Mthetho unamaphutha amakhulu angashiya ababiki ngenkohlakalo bengenaso isivikelo abasidingayo nabasifanele.<sup>51</sup> La maphutha axoxwa kabanzi kuvidiyo ye-SCAB, ethi “Indlela Yokubikela Abantu Ngenkohlakalo,” etholakala futhi esigabeni samafilimu kuwebhusayithi ye-SCAB, <https://beyondstatecapture.org.za/films/>. Kuphela uma othile ethatha izinyathelo zokuphepha ngokucophelela ngenkathi egwetshwa uma kufanele acabangele ukubikela abantu ngenkohlakalo.

Esinye sezinyathelo zokuphepha ezibaluleke kakhulu zokubikela umphakathi ngenkohlakalo ukuhlala ungaziwa. Lokhu kungadlulela ekudaleni ikheli elisha le-imeyili ngaphandle kokuhlonza imininingwane nokusebenzisa i-Virtual Private Network (VPN).<sup>52</sup> Kunezinombolo eziningana zikahulumeni ezinikezwa njengeziphephile nezingaziwa, futhi lezi zibhalwe kuwebhusayithi kahulumeni, <https://www.gov.za/anti-corruption/hotlines>. Uma umuntu engakhululekile ngokuya kahulumeni, enye indlela ukubika inkohlakalo ezinhlanganweni zomphakathi ezigxile enkohlakalweni. Kungenzeka futhi ukubika inkohlakalo ezinkundleni zokuxhumana, kodwa lokhu kwenza isihloko sibe sesidlangalaleni. Ngakho-ke, ukuya ezinkundleni zokuxhumana ngokuvamile akuyona indawo yokuqala engcono kakhulu.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## Amaqembu Ezinhlangano Zomphakathi

Enye indlela enhle lapho kubikwa izinkinga zokubikelwa noma ukubika ngezinkinga ukuxhumana namaqembu omphakathi, amanye awo agxile ekubhekaneni nenkohlakalo. Lezi zinhlangano zivame ukuba nezindlela zokugcina ulwazi lwababikiwe luyimfihlo, zibavikele ekuphindiselelweni.

Ngobungcweti babo ekubikelweni kokubikiwe, futhi bayimithombo emihle yeseluleko nolwazi lokubikiwe ngokuphepha. Lokhu kufaka phakathi:

- The Corruption Watch whistleblower platform
- Whistleblower House
- The Organisation Opposing Tax Abuse (OUTA)
- PPLAAF

## Abezindaba

Ukutshela abezindaba kungaba yindlela ephumelelayo yokubika inkohlakalo, kodwa kuza nezingozi ezinkulu. Abezindaba bangasakaza ulwazi mayelana nenkohlakalo ngokushesha nangokubanzi, baphakamise ukuqwashisa ukuze kuphendulwe ngokushesha. Abezindaba, kuye ngokuthi banolwazi olunjani, bangaba noxhumana nabo nolwazi lokuguqula izeluleko zibe izindaba ezinamandla ezidonsa ukunaka.

Abezindaba bafuna ngisho nokuthola amaqiniso engeziwe asiza ekuqiniseni icala. Kodwa-ke, ukuya kwabezindaba kusho ukwenza ulwazi lube obala, futhi lokho kudala izingozi zomuntu siqu. Ngisho noma intatheli iqaphela, kunengozi yokuthi ubunikazi bomuntu obika inkohlakalo bube obala. Uma ulwazi oluhlonzayo luvumela ukuthola umuntu obika inkohlakalo, lungabangela umonakalo omkhulu, kusukela ekuhlukunyezweni emsebenzini kuya ezinsongweni zokuphila.

Ngakho-ke, kudingeka ukuqaphela okukhulu lapho ubika inkohlakalo kwabezindaba.





## Izethulo Ezibhaliwe Kuhulumeni

Indlela elula futhi evame ukungasebenzi kahle yokwenza umbono uzwakale ukubhala isethulo kuhulumeni. Ukubhekana nesikhalazo noma ukumelwa kumongameli, ephalamende, emkhandlwini wezifundazwe, noma kuhulumeni wendawo kungasiza labo abasemandleni ukuba baqonde izinkinga. Kungenzeka ukuthi abantu abanegunya lokwenza okuthile abazi ukuthi yiziphi izinselele, ngakho-ke incwadi izoba ithuluzi eliwusizo lokubazisa. Kodwa-ke, izincwadi ziyaphuthelwa kalula noma zinganakwa, njengoba kungekho sibopho kuhulumeni sokufunda yonke imibono eyenziwe umphakathi. Uma incwadi ingenawo umphumela oyifunayo, kubalulekile ukukhuphukela ezindleleni zokuxhumana ezinamandla kakhulu. Incwadi noma ukuphawula komphakathi kuyindawo enhle yokuqala, futhi kuyasiza ukugcina irekhodi lala mazwana ukuze kuboniswe ukuzama ukusebenzisa izindlela ezahlukene.

UMthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika uhlinzeka ngokubandakanyeka komphakathi ekwenzeni imithetho, ukwengamela kanye nezinye izinqubo zePhalamende. Uhlelo lwentando yeningi lwaseNingizimu Afrika alugcini nje ngokuhlinzeka izakhamuzi ukuthi zikhethe abameleli bazo kodwa futhi luvumela izakhamuzi ukuthi zibe nezwi ezindabeni ezizithintayo.<sup>53</sup> Uhulumeni wendawo unesibopho sokuzwa izikhalazo ngokulandela uMthetho Wohulumeni Basekhaya: Izinhlelo Zikamasipala, lapho isigaba 17(2)(a) sinikeza ukuthi uhulumeni wendawo kumele amukele, acubungule, futhi acabangele izikhalazo ezifakwe amalungu omphakathi wendawo. Kodwa-ke, ukucatshangelwa kwezikhalazo akusho ukuthi uhulumeni wendawo kumele alandele isikhalazo.

## Izicelo

Izicelo ziyindlela engabizi kakhulu yokuthi amaqembu amakhulu abantu enze imibono yawo izwakale. Kuhilela isicelo noma isicelo esenziwe kumuntu osemandleni sokungenelela okuthile. Ukusayina okuvela kwabanye abantu njengengxenye yesicelo kungandisa ukwesekwa kwaso. UMthethosisekelo uhlanganisa ilungelo lokuthi wonke umuntu ethule izicelo esigabeni 17, esifinyelela kuzo zonke izinhlelo zikahulumeni. Izigaba 56 (d) kanye no-69 (d) zoMthethosisekelo, ezifundwa kanye neMithetho yoMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe kanye nePhalamende Likazwelonke, zihlinzeka ngokuthi iPhalamende Likazwelonke kanye neMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe bathole izicelo.



Isigaba 115 (d) soMthethosisekelo sidinga ukuthi izishayamthetho zezifundazwe zithole izicelo. UMthetho Kahulumeni Wendawo: Izinhlelo Zikamasipala s17 (2) (a) udinga ukuthi ohulumeni bendawo bathole, bacubungule, futhi bacabangele izicelo.

Isiqalo sesicelo ukuchaza umgomo noma inhloso ecacile yesicelo, ukuhlonza ukuthi isicelo sizama ukufezani. Okwesibili, dala idokhumenti yesicelo, ngokulandela izidingo zesishayamthetho isicelo esibhekiswe kuso. Lokhu kufaka phakathi injongo, incazelo, imininingwane yokuxhumana, kanye nendawo yokusayina. Isinyathelo esilandelayo ukuqoqa amasignesha ngokuthola abantu abanentshisekelo efanayo emgomweni wesicelo. Lokhu kungenziwa emibuthanweni emikhulu, ezindaweni zemihlangano ezidumile, ezinkundleni zokuxhumana, ezindabeni noma ngisho nasezicelweni zomnyango nomnyango. Enye indlela ethandwayo ukuba nesicelo esiku-inthanethi, njengaku-<https://www.change.org/t/south-africa-en-gb>.

Isinyathelo sokugcina ukwethula isicelo kanye nesidingo. Indlela yokwenza lokhu incike ekutheni isicelo sibhekiswe kuliphi izinga likahulumeni.

- Izicelo zikazwelonke eziya ephalamende zithunyelwa ngamalungu ePhalamende (ama-MP), okusho ukuthi zidinga ukwesekwa yilungu lePhalamende, futhi kufanele zilandele inqubo yephalamende, njengoba kuchaziwe ku-<https://www.parliament.gov.za/petitions>.
- Izicelo zoMkhandlu Kazwelonke Wezifundazwe (NCOP) azidingi ukwesekwa yiLungu lePhalamende noma ilungu le-NCOP.
- Izicelo zesishayamthetho sesifundazwe zinezindlela ezihlukene kuye ngesifundazwe. Ikheli le-URL, <https://provincialgovernment.co.za/units/type/3/legislatures>, linikeza izixhumanisi kumawebhusayithi ezishayamthetho zesifundazwe eziyisishiyagalolunye.
- Izicelo ezingeni likahulumeni wendawo zincike komasipala, kodwa uMthetho Wezinhlelo Zikamasipala udinga omasipala ukuthi babe nezinqubo zezicelo. Amawebhusayithi kahulumeni wendawo kufanele ahlinzeke ngolwazi olwengeziwe mayelana nezicelo noma afake imininingwane yokuxhumana yemibuzo. Iwebhusayithi ewusizo yokuthola amawebhusayithi kahulumeni wendawo yi-- <https://municipalities.co.za/>



## UUkujoyina noma Ukudala Izinhlango

Uma ukwenza wedwa kunganele ukudonsa ukunaka, kungenzeka ukujoyina noma ukudala inhlango yokuqinisa izenzo zokumela. Izinhlango zivumela amaqembu abantu ukuthi basebenzisane ukumela izintshisekelo zomphakathi, lapho izandla nezingqondo eziningi zingasebenzisana khona ngenhloso efanayo. Kunezinhlango eziningi, okuhlanganisa izinhlango zomphakathi ezingezona ezikahulumeni ezisemthethweni kanye nezinhlango zomphakathi ezivamile. Lezi zinhlango zibonise impumelelo ekuhloleni isenzo somphakathi ngemibhikisho, izicelo, izihloko, ukuthunyelwa kuhulumeni, ngisho namacala.

Izinhlango Zomphakathi (ama-CSO) kanye nezinhlango Ezisekelwe Emphakathini (ama-CBO) zidlala indima ebalulekile ekwenzeni uhulumeni abe nesibopho. Njengamaqembu abantu, banegunya nolwazi oluningi kunomuntu oyedwa. La maqembu angaveza izidingo nezifiso zabantu emiphakathini ngokuphawulekayo, okwenza uhulumeni athathe isinyathelo kangcono. Ngakho-ke, la maqembu yilapho abantu bengathola khona ukwesekwa kwezinkinga zamanzi ababhekene nazo. Ngakho-ke, ama-CBO nama-CSO nawo anendima yokwenza ulwazi lube sobala futhi ethule izidingo zamaqembu kuhulumeni.

## Umbhikisho

Uma imibiko nezicelo ezinesizotha zingashukumisi isinyathelo, imibhikisho ingaba yimfuneko yokuphoqelesa ukunakwa kwenkinga. Imibhikisho, njengemibuthano, amamashi, neziteleka, ingaba izindlela eziphoqayo zokuxoxa ngezinkinga nezidingo. Isigaba se-17 soMthethosisekelo sivikela ilungelo lokuhlangana, lokubhikisha, lokuvimbela, kanye nokufaka isicelo sobulungiswa bezikhalazo, konke kwenziwa ngokuthula. Imibhikisho ihloselwe ukuphazamisa futhi ingaba yingozi uma kukhona ukungqubuzana phakathi kwelungelo lokubhikisha namanye amalungelo, njengalapho kuvalwa khona ukungena esakhiweni noma endaweni yomphakathi. Ngakho-ke, kubalulekile ukulandela izinyathelo zomthetho ukuqinisekisa ukuthi isenzo sokubhikisha sisemthethweni futhi siphephile kubabhikishi.



UUMthetho wama-205 ka1993 wokulawulwa kwemihlangano ulawula izenzo zokubhikisha futhi usebenza kuphela emibuthanweni ezezidlangalaleni ezinabantu abayi-15 noma abangaphezulu.<sup>54</sup> Imibhikisho ayidingi mvume. Kodwa-ke, okudingekayo wukuthi umholi wombhikisho anikeze ngesaziso okungenani izinsuku eziyisikhombisa (7) ngaphambi kombhikisho esikhulwini esiphethe, ongumuntu oqokwe enegunya lendawo, uma kunombhikisho wabantu abangaphezu kwabayi-15.<sup>55</sup> Umholi ngumuntu ohlela umbhikisho. Umholi anganikeza isaziso esingaphansi kwezinsuku eziyisikhombisa ngesikhathi esisheshayo uma enganikeza incazelo ezwakalayo. Imibhikisho ngaphandle kwesaziso ayikho emthethweni futhi, ngenxa yalokho, ngeke ivikeleke. Kuvamile ukuba omasipala banezifanekiso zesaziso ezitholakala emahhovisi abo kamasipala noma kuxhakaxolo (ku-inthanethi).

### **Izindaba zamaPhephandaba**

Ukubhala izihloko zamaphephandaba noma amawebhusayithi omphakathi kungaba yimpumelelo enkulu ekusakazeni ulwazi. Nakuba kungenzeka ukubhala izihloko wedwa bese ucela amawebhusayithi ezindaba ukuthi azishicilele, lokhu kuyinto elula kakhulu uma useqenjini. Ukusebenza njengeqembu emibonweni nasemibiko kuvumela ukucabangisisa, kuthuthukisa ukunemba ngemibono eyahlukahlukene, futhi kuhlENZE ngokuhlela.

Ukubika ngemicimbi yomphakathi kwabezindaba kungavumela nokudala umkhankaso wokuqwashisa. Isibonelo, kungasiza ukudala isaziso noma ukumema abameleli bezindaba ukuthi bahlanganyele kwezinye izenzo, okuhlanganisa izicelo, imibhikisho, kanye nokuqulwa kwamacala.

Uma umphakathi uqwashisa kakhulu ngenkinga ethile, kulapho amathuba okuthola ukwesekwa nokuthatha isinyathelo ngokushesha kuhulumeni.

### **Ukuqulwa kwamacala**

Uma konke okunye kwehluleka noma uma kukhona ukwephulwa okukhulu kwelungelo lokuthola amanzi, ukuya enkantolo kuyithuluzi elibalulekile ekulweni nobulungiswa. Ukuqulwa kwecala akuyona indlela yokuqala ephumelelayo yokuqinisekisa amalungelo akho, njengoba kubiza kakhulu futhi kuhamba kancane kakhulu. Izindleko zokuqulwa kwecala zifaka phakathi isidingo sobuchwepheshe bezomthetho kuzo zonke izigaba.





Izinkantolo kulo lonke elaseNingizimu Afrika nazo zigcwele amacala, okusho ukuthi kungathatha iminyaka ukuthi amacala angaphuthumi avele phambi kwejaji noma kumantshi. Ngenxa yalokhu, izinkantolo zincoma ukuzama zonke ezinye izindlela zokuxazulula ingxabano kuqala, njengokulamula, futhi zingase zenqabe ukwamukela icala lapho abafake izicelo bengazamanga ezinye izindlela.

Ngokuphathelene necala, kukhona ithuba lokuxhumana nezinhlango zomphakathi ukuze uthole ukwesekwa. Kunezinhlango zomphakathi zomphakathi ezikhethekile, okuhlanganisa i-Legal Resources Centre, i-Section27, i-Corruption Watch, kanye ne-ProBono.Org. Lezi zinhlango zinikeza izinsizakalo zomthetho ezikhethekile ezahlukahlukeni, okuhlanganisa imfundo, iseluleko, kanye necala. Uhlobo lokusekelwa kwezomthetho oludingekayo lunganquma ukuthi lezi zinhlango zinganikeza usizo yini.

## UkuVota

Indlela ebalulekile yokwenza uhulumeni abe nesibopho esifundazweni sentando yeningi njengeNingizimu Afrika ukuvota. Intando yeningi emele, eyamaqembu inawo amaphutha, kodwa amandla ayo amakhulu ukuthi ivumela kanjani ukuthi kube noguquko olunokuthula ngevoti ngalinye. Uma uhulumeni, kunoma iyiphi indawo, engafezi izithembiso zakhe nalokho abantu abakufisayo, ukuvota kuvumela labo bantu ukuthi bagququzele ushintsho ngaphandle kokusebenzisa ubudlova. Ngeshwa, kube nokwanda kokunganaki kwabavoti njengoba kubonakala sengathi ivoti ngalinye libalulekile. Kodwa-ke, izitayela zokuvota zakamuva eNingizimu Afrika zibonisa ukuthi lokhu akunjalo. Ngokhetho lwakamuva lwango-2024, ushintsho oluncane kakhulu lwamavoti luye lwaholela kuHulumeni Wobumbano Lwesizwe (i-GNU). Lolu hlobo lukahulumeni, oluwumphumela wokungabikho kweqembu elineningi eliqondile, luphoqa ukubambisana phakathi kwamaqembu abonisa ithemba ekuthuthukiseni ukuzibophezela.

Ukuvota kungenza umehluko omkhulu okhethweni lwendawo ngemiphumela esheshayo. Uma iqembu elilodwa lihlala emandleni isikhathi eside, kuba nokuthambekela kokuzithela ngabandayo nokungazinaki izinkinga zendawo. Ukuvotela elinye iqembu, ngisho nokudala iqembu elisha, kungenza izikhulu zikahulumeni wendawo ziphendule kakhudlwana emiphakathini yazo.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

Isibonelo salokhu yiMakana Citizens Front (MCF), eyasungulwa ngoJulayi 2021, ngenxa yemibhikisho mayelana nokulethwa kwezinsizakalo okungekuhle. I-57 MCF yangenela ukhetho lwendawo ngo-2021 futhi yaba yiqembu eliphikisayo elikhulu kunawo wonke elinamavoti angu-18.1%. Ngenxa yalokhu, bakwazile ukusebenzisa izihlalo zabo kuhulumeni wendawo ukuze babophe uhulumeni futhi bancephise inkohlakalo. Ushintsho kuhulumeni wendawo, lapho amavoti ayizinkulungwane ezimbalwa angashintsha khona isihlalo sewadi, kulula ukulufeza kunoshintsho lukazwelonke.



# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

## IZINCOMO, ISIPHETHO NEZIBHEKISO



## Izincomo

Amanzi yilungelo okufanele linikezwe bonke abahlali baseNingizimu Afrika futhi liyimfuneko ukuze kube nendawo enemphilo. Ukuze kufezwe lokhu, kufanele kube noshintsho endleleni izwe elibheka ngayo amanzi kanye nokusatshalaliswa kwawo olugxile ekwenzeni amanzi abe yinto evamile, eyabelwana ngayo. Lokhu kuzobandakanya ukubandakanyeka komphakathi kanye nokubambisana nohulumeni ukuze kwabelwane ngezinzuzo kanye nomthwalo wemfanelo wokuphatha amanzi. Ngombono obanzi engqondweni, izincomo ezingana zingasiza ekuthuthukiseni ukulethwa kwamanzi, ukunakekelwa, kanye nokufinyelela kuwo.

### Thuthukisa Ukutholakala Kwamanzi Anele Kuwo Wonke Umuntu

- Uhulumeni kumele andise isabelo samanzi ayisisekelo samahhala sibe amalitha ayi-100 kumuntu ngamunye, ngosuku, atholakala kubo bonke abahlali.
- Kufanele kube nohlelo olufinyeleleka kalula ukuze imindeni empofu kakhulu ikwazi ukufaka izicelo zamanzi mahhala.
- Ukuhlanganyela komphakathi kubalulekile ukuze kunqunywe ukuthi ubani othola amanzi mahhala, kungakhathaliseki ukuthi imali yamanzi ayisisekelo yamahhala inikezwa nini.
- Amamitha e-SMART, aklanyelwe ukuthola inzuzo yezinsizakalo zamanzi, awamukeleki njengoba engaqinisekisi ukusatshalaliswa kwamanzi ngokulinganayo.

### Ukulethwa Okuyisisekelo Kwamanzi

- All households must have piped water as a basic level of service, replacing water tankers, JoJo tanks, and standpipes. Yonke imizi kumele ibe namanzi ahamba ngamapayipi njengesevisi eyisisekelo, ethatha indawo yamatangi amanzi, amathangi e-JoJo, kanye namapayipi amile.
- Amathangi amanzi ayamukeleka kuphela ezimweni zenhlekelele isikhathi esifushane kakhulu ngangokunokwenzeka. Yonke imizamo kumele yenziwe ukuthuthukisa ukulethwa kwamanzi ngamapayipi ngokushesha ngangokunokwenzeka.





## **Ukuhlanganyela Okusebenzayo Ekuhlinzekweni Kwezinsizakalo Zamanzi<sup>56</sup>**

- Omasipala kufanele bagweme ukwenza izinsizakalo zamanzi zibe ngezabo.
- Amalungu omphakathi kumele akhuthazwe ukuthi ahlanganye ezinqubweni zokwenza izinqumo ngezindlela ezisebenzayo nezinenjongo.
- Izixazululo zendawo ziyadingeka, futhi kumele ziqhutshwe ngabameleli bendawo.

## **Thuthukisa Imikhuba Yokuqasha Ukuze Ugxile Ebuhleni**

- Izinhlobo zikahulumeni kufanele ziqashe abasebenzi ngokusekelwe kumakhono nolwazi emikhakheni ehlobene kunokuba ziqashe abantu abaxhumana nabo.
- Izinqubomgomo kufanele zidinge ukuthi kuqashwe inani elincane lonjiniyela abaqeqeshwe nabaqinisekisiwe beminyango namabhodi abhekele ingqalasizinda.
- Ukuhlolwa kwendlela yokuphila njalo kufanele kwenziwe ukuze kuqedwe inkohlakalo.

## **Sekela futhi Ukhangise Izindlela Zokubika Zokuxazulula Izinkinga Zamanzi Nenkohlakalo**

- Izingcingo zosizo zidinga uxhaso olwanele ukuze zisebenze kahle futhi ziqeqeshe abasebenzi ngendlela efanele.
- Izinombolo zocingo kufanele zibe namahora anwetshiwe noma zisebenze amahora angama-24 ngosuku ukuze zivumele ukubika ngaphandle kwamahora okusebenza.
- Amawebhusayithi kamasipala kufanele afake izinhlelo zokubika ezingaziwa ku-inthanethi.

## **Hlela kabusha isabelomali ukuze sigxile kakhulu ku-CAPEX kunokuqashwa**

- Imali engenayo evela emanzini kufanele ibekwe eceleni ukuze kugxilwe ekulethweni kwamanzi.
- Ipheleli lesabelomali esisetshenziswe ku-CAPEX nasekugcinweni kwengqalasizinda yamanzi ekhona kufanele landiswe.



## Isiphetho

Amanzi abalulekile ekusindeni kwazo zonke izinto eziphilayo, futhi iNingizimu Afrika ibilokhu icabanga kakhulu ngekusasa ngokufaka amanzi njengelungelo kuMthethosisekelo. Ngaleli lungelo, bonke abantu bangacela futhi bafune ukuphoqeelwa kwelungelo labo lokuthola amanzi. Kodwa-ke, ukufaka leli lungelo njengamagama kuMthethosisekelo akwanele ukuqinisekisa ukuthi bonke abantu bathola amanzi anele, ahlanzekile adingekayo ukuze bachume. Ukufeza ilungelo lokuthola amanzi kudinga kakhulu ukuphathwa ngokucophelela kwale nsiza entulekayo yizo zonke izinhlaka zikahulumeni.

Kodwa-ke, ukuphathwa kwamanzi kuye kwehluleka kulo lonke izwe, ngengqalasizinda edinga ukulungiswa, izivumelwano zamathenda ezisolisayo eziqeda izinsiza ezibalulekile, ikhwalithi yamanzi eyingozi, kanye nemikhuba yokwelapha elahla indle engalashwanga. Ukufeza leli lungelo kudinga kakhulu ushintsho ngokubambisana kwawo wonke amazanga omphakathi kanye nezinhlaka zikahulumeni.

Ushintsho kufanele luqale ngokuhlolwa kabusha kwesibonelelo samanzi esiyisisekelo samalitha angu-25 ngomuntu ngosuku, njengoba lokhu kuncane kakhulu empilweni nasekuhlanzweni. Ngisho nohlu olulula lwezidingo zamanzi eziyisisekelo lubonisa ukuthi ukuphakelwa okuyisisekelo akwanele kangakanani, okuphoqa abantu ukuba bangene emjikelezweni wobumpofu ngezinqumo ezinzima. Kanye nokulungisa isabelo samanzi esiyisisekelo, kufanele kube nophenyo olucophelelayo lwenkohlakalo engaba khona ekuphathweni, ekugcinweni, kanye namathenda anikezwa abaphakeli bamanzi. Yilapho abantu kuzo zonke izigaba zomphakathi abangasukuma khona ukuze bamele ushintsho.

Nakuba kungebona bonke abantu abanesikhathi, izinsiza, noma ulwazi lokuba yizishosovu zesikhathi esigcwele, ngisho nokubika izinkinga kungaba ukuqala kokukhuthaza ushintsho. Ukwandisa imibiko, kusukela ekubizeni omasipala kuya emibhikishweni yomphakathi, kunamandla okuqala ukunyakaza.



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# STATE CAPTURE AND BEYOND

**Lo mbhalo ukhiqizwe ngosizo lwezimali oluvela e-European Union. Okuqukethwe yilo mbhalo kungumthwalo wemfanelo we-Legal Resources Centre kuphela, futhi akukho zimo lapho kungathathwa khona njengokubonisa umbono we-European Union.**



