

**MOP MS MAKHANYA, MOGOKGO LE MOTLATSA MOKHANSELARA
YUNIBESITI YA AFORIKA BORWA
SEMINARA SA POROJEKE YA BARUTEGI BA AFORIKA
GO TSOSA KGATLHEGO MO TLHATLHELELONG YA GA NG REUEL
KHOZA KA GA GO BOELETSA TSOSOLOSO YA AFORIKA LE BOTLHOKWA
JWA KGAISANO YA BOGOTLHE YA AFORIKA
UNISA KHEMPASE YA MUCKLENEUK, PRETORIA
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Motshwaramarapo, ke retelelwa ke mafoko mo go lekeng go bontsheng go nna motlotlo ga me thata ka lebelo la ditlhatlhamano tse tlhatlhelo eno e le fitlhetseng. Eno ke tlhatlhelelo ya boraro monongwaga e e tshwerweng ka fa tlase ga ruboriki ya Porojeke ya Barutegi ba Aforika.

Ke maikaelelo a rona, ka tlhatlhamano eno, go laletsa dibui tse di ka re kgwethang go nagana ka tsenelelo ka ga mangwe a mathata a a re lebaganeng jaaka naga le jaaka kontinente.

Ka jalo ke motlotlo thata go amogela Ng Reuel Khoza yo o tla abelanang le rona dingwe tsa dikakanyo tsa gagwe ka mo re ka nnang batshameki mo lefatsheng la kgaisano.



mabaka a ditlhogo tse di latelang. Sa ntlha, ke batla go lebelela thuto ya hisetori ya mafoko ya kakanyo gape. Sa bobedi, ke batla go tlhatlhoba gore re ka dirisa jang kakanyo mo nakong ya ga jaana mo go rona jaaka naga. Go golagane le seo, ke batla go tlhatlhoba gape seabe se Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ka nnang ya se tsaya mo phetogong ya thuto e kgolwane, le UNISA bogosegolo. Kwa bokhutlong, ke tla leka go tshitshinya gore re dira jang, jaaka naga le setlamo sa thuto e kgolwane (le UNISA segolobogolo), mme re leke go isa ngangisano kwa pele.

Tsosoloso ya Aforika: thuto ya hisetori ya mafoko

Ga se maikaelelo a me go neelana ka tlhatlhobo ya akatemi e kgolo le e e tletseng ya kakanyo ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika. Tiragalo eno e tla batla gongwe tlhatlhelelo e e tletseng mo letlhakoreng la me kgotsa athikele. Se ke batlang go se dira, fela, ke go neelana ka tshupotshwano e e nolofaditsweng ya kakanyo.

Go tshwanetse go nne le tumelano e, mo go direng kakanyo, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ka salwang morago mo go kokoanyeng ditlhamo tsa tlhaloganyo ya Aforika e kgolo, Cheik Anta Diop, *Towards the African Renaissance: essays in culture and development, 1946-1960.*²

² Cheik Anta Diop 2000. *Towards the African Renaissance: essays in culture and development, 1946-1960.* New Jersey: Red Sea Press.



Anta Diop o ne a kwala ka nako ya fa barutwana ba Aforika ba ne ba eteletse kwa pele banna le basadi ba naga ya bona mo kgaratlhong kgalhanong le bokoloni, mme ka jalo ba batla go netefatsa boitshepo jwa bona le go busetsa seriti sa bona.

Sa bona e ne e se fela mokgatlo wa Pan-African go busetsa seriti sa batho ba Aforika. Gape e ne e se karolo fela ya mokgatlo wa bogotlhe wa batho ba Aforika go lwantsha tshenyo ya bokoloni le bokgoba. Sa bona e ne e le gape karolo ya botho jo bo anameng go busa gape ntlha ya gore batho ba botlhe ba a lekana, le gore ga go ope wa rona yo o tsetsweng e le molaodi kgotsa lekgoba.

Go ka ngangisanwa, fa go batlwa Anta Diop ka bogotlhe jono, mme ka jalo mo tikologong ya bosetshabatshaba jaaka fa ke setse ke lemositse, gore go tshwanetse ga bo go na le tlhotlheletso mo go ena ke mokgatlo wa Tsosoloso wa Harlem kwa New York. Wa morago o ne wa tlhotlheletswa le go bona tlhotlheletso go tswa mo go jese ya *nascent* le mokgatlo wa *blues*, go thusa go tliša ditlhagiso tsa tseno tsa botswerentshi kwa pele le go di tšabolola.

Go ka tšwelelwa ga ngangisanwa ka gore mokgatlo o ne wa tlhotlheletswa gape ke bosisitara ba Nardal, Paulette le Jeanne, kwa Paris. Kwa tšhimologong go tswa kwa Martinique, bosisitara ba ne ba



baya motheo wa seo se neng sa bidiwa Negritude, morago ga tsweletswa ke Aime Cesaire, Leopold Senghor le Leon Damas.

Ka jalo, jaaka kakanyo, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e na le hisetori e e humileng e e tshwanetseng go batlisisiwa gape le go abelanwa le dikokomana tse di sa tlang.

Mo motheong wa yona, Tsosoloso ya Aforika ke selelo kgotsa pitso ka le mo go batho ba Aforika go tsholetsa diatla tsa bona le go balwa jaaka banna le basadi ba ba sa dumelelang mongwe le mongwe go gataka seriti sa bona. Fela go feta seo, ke tharabolola ka batho ba Aforika go tlosa go tswa mo Aforika ditiragatso tseo, le fa e le gore ke go etelwa mo kontinenteng ke ba bangwe kgotsa ke rona ka borona, go go re busetsang morago. Ka jalo, ke pitso ya go betla tsela ya kontinente; tsela e e ka isang kwa khumong ya yona.

Go simolola ka bo1990 ke pitso ya lentswe le le tshapileng ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika e e neng ya gatelelwa ke Mokhanselara wa rona le Moporesitente wa pele wa Repaboliki Thabo Mbeki. Bontsi bo dumela gore puo ya gagwe ya 1996 *I am an African*, mo tiragalong ya go tsholwa ga Molaotheo wa naga, e ne ya tshwaya tsosoloso ya kakanyo.



Ke fa morago ga puo eo fa Mbeki o neng a baya Aforika Borwa, mme ka mmatota kontinente, jaaka motshameki wa botlhokwa mo mererong ya bogotlhe.

Dingwe tsa ditlhabololo tse di tlhageletseng, tse e leng gore di tlhotlheleditswe ka tlhamalalo ke go dira kgogedi ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika mo setshabeng jaaka e tseweditswe ke Mbeki, go akaretsa go tlangwa ga Kopano ya Aforika, go tswa mo meloreng ya Setheo sa Kopano ya Aforika, tlhomo ya palamente ya AU le tlhomo ya Kgwebisano e Ntshwa ya AU ya Tlhabololo ya Aforika (NEPAD).

Mo go rona jaaka baakatemi, porojeke e e itumedisang thata e e tlhotlhelediwang ke Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ne e le tshwaragantsho, tshomarelo le go dira akhaefe ya dingwe tsa Dikwalo tsa Timbuktu. Ke gatelela 'dingwe' ka gonne, jaaka re itse, dikwalo tse dingwe di wetse mo diatleng tsa bakgaratlhi, mme di ne tsa senngwa ka 2013.³

Tshomarelo ya Dikwalo tsa Timbuktu e bontshitse go rarabolola go somarela boswa jwa rona. Seno ke maiteko a a bonagalang a go bontsha gore tlabologo ya bogologolo ya saense le dikwalo, e e nang le seabe mo tseletsong ya botho go tshwana le nngwe le nngwe.

³ Luke Harding. 2013. Timbuktu mayor: Mali rebels torched library of historic manuscripts.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jan/28/mali-timbuktu-library-ancient-manuscripts> [Accessed on 8 June 2019].)



Jaanong re diragatsa jang tshupotshwano eno mo boemong jwa ga jaana jaaka naga?

Tsosoloso ya Aforika gompieno: Jang le goreng?

Mo go tthatlhobeng bokgoni jo Tsosoloso ya Aforika e nang le jona mo nageng, mme ka mmatota le kontinente, go botlhokwa go lemoga botlhokwa jwa nako jo bo golaganeng le kakanyo.

Sa ntlha, jaaka fa go kailwe kwa tshimologong, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ne ya maatlafatswa ka nako ya bo1940 le bo50. Eno e ne e le paka ya fa mokgatlho wa boipuso wa Aforika o neng wa nna popota, o eteletswe pele ke baithuti ba Aforika ba bantshwa o neng wa maatlafala, o eteletswe kwa pele ke baithuti ba Aforika ba bantshwa ba ba neng ba tsweletsa dithuto tsa bona mo dinageng tsa pelo tsa maatla a bokoloni.

Baithuti bano ba ne ba letsa meropa ya boipuso ka konserata le banna le basadi ba naga ya bona, badiri, bahumanegi le baswa, mme morago le batlhabani ba dikerila go kgabaganya kontinente.

Ka jalo, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ne e le mokgatlho wa barutegi o o neng o fepa kgaratlho ya kgololosego ya Aforika. O ne wa tlholwa ke mesifa e e gagametseng le dintshi tse di tswang mofufutso wa go itira o ka re o a tshega wa badiri ba ba neng ba kgaratlha kgatlhanong le ntlha ya gore maungo a tiro ya bona a dirisitswe go humisa Europe, fa naga ya botsalo



e kgaratlha mo bohumaneging le maswe. Jaaka Moporesitente wa moutulodi yo o tlhokafetseng wa Ghana Kwame Nkrumah o neng a lemoga gore, Aforika e humanegile, mme e ntse e na le “bokgoni jo bo humileng thata”.⁴

Tiragalo ya bobedi ya kitsiso ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika ke Mbeki e ne e le kgatthanong le poelomorago ya nngwe ya dinaga tsa bofelo mo kontinenteng, k.g.r. Aforika Borwa, go gololosega.

Kakanyo ya Mbeki ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ne e tshwanetse go samagana le, le go itebaganya le boammaaruri jwa taolo ya bokoloni. Moporesitente wa pele Nkrumah o ne a lemoga ka kutlobotlhoko: gore boipuso ga bo a isa kwa go feleletseng kgololosego ya kontinente.⁵ Mme jaaka fa Walter Rodney a ne a tlhagisa, dikhumo tsa naga di thusitse go humisa Europe, le fa Aforika ka boyona e ntse e sa tlabologa.⁶

Kakanyo ya Mbeki, e e isang kwa go tlangweng ga NEPAD, e ne ya le go nna e ntse e sa le karabo mo go tlhokeng tekatekano ga kgwebo magareng ga Aforika le lefatshe le lotlhe, bogolosegolo kwa Bokone. Go tlhoka tekatekano go bontshwa ke go tsaya karolo ga kontinente jaaka

⁴ Kwame Nkrumah. 1961. *I speak of freedom: a statement of African ideology*. London: William Heinemann.

⁵ Kwame Nkrumah. 1987 [1965]. *Neo-Colonialism: the last stage of colonialism*. London: Panaf Books.

⁶ Walter Rodney. 1973. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture.



mokgwebisani yo monnye wa ditirisano tse tsotlhe tse go tsenweng mo go tsona.

Mo motlheng wa dibolumo tse di oketsegileng mo dikelelong tsa ditshetele tse di seng mo molaong,⁷ Tsosoloso ya Aforika e tshwanetse go kaya gore kontinente e tshwanetse e dire netefatso ka boyona kgatllhanong le se e leng go tsietsa ka tlhamalalo ga tatllhegelo ya dibilione di le \$50 ngwaga le ngwaga,⁸ e tswelediwa ka mekgwa e e farologaneng ya didiriswa tsa *siphon*, mme e dira batho gore ba humanege.

Motshwarmarapo, se seno se re bolelelang ke gore Tsosoloso ya Aforika jaaka pitso ya tshegetso ya Baaforika ba botlhe e maleba gompieno jaaka e ne e le teng ka dinako tsa bo1920, go fitlha ka bo1960 le bo70, jaaka fa kontinente e ne e fitlhelela boipuso jwa yona go tswa kwa maatleng a bokoloni.

Pitso e maleba gompieno jaaka e ne e kile ya nna jalo mo dingwageng jaaka Baaforika ba ne ba nna bahumanegi magareng ga dikhumo tse e leng tsa bona. Pitso e maleba gompieno jaaka e tshwanetse. Jaaka fa ba lemoga gore, e re ke le netefaletse gore go na le kontinente e e

⁷ For an illustration on how the continent is suffering from illicit financial flows see *Track it! Stop it! Get it! Illicit Financial Flow – Report of the High Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa*.

https://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/iff_main_report_26feb_en.pdf [Accessed on 8 June 2019].

⁸ Mbeki, e nopotswe kwa godimo



neetsweng ka didiriswa, mme ga ba kgone go gaisana mo mapatlelong a go tshameka a a lekaneditsweng.

Se se bonagalang fano ke gore kakanyo ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika e a tshwarelela. Ka jalo ke le eletsa go e boeletsa.

Jaanong re tshwanetse go leba le go ikgolaganya le kakanyo motlha ono?

Go isa Tsosoloso ya Aforika kwa pele mo motlheng wa pelo ya bosetshaba

Ga se maikaelelo go tshwaraganya ditlhokego tsa boemo jwa rona. Ke gore, ka jalo, go sireletsegile go bua gore re dumelelane ba botlhe gore re fetile mo pakeng e e botlhoko. Go sa kgathalesege gore o eme fa kae, seo re ka dumelelanang ka sona ba botlhe ke gore re kgaogane, mme ka nako e le nngwe re tla gagolana.

Kutlobotlhoko ya ka fa gare ga e a ama rona fela. E amile mokgwa o re tsewang ka ona go kgabaganya lefatshe. Kemo ya rona mo kontinenteng, o e leng, jaaka ke tshwantshitse pelenyana, o ne o kaiwa o le kwa godimo, go ne ga samaganwa le ona ka mokgwa o o sa siamang.

Ka jalo go a tthaloganyega, mme go botlhokwa, gore morago ga paka e e botlhoko setshaba se tshwanetse go tsamaya mo motlheng wa go ikaga le phodiso.



Re tshwanetse re dumele gore ga re mo seemong se se siameng. Go botlhokwa mo go rona go kgobokanya thotloetso ya go ema, re tlose go ikutlwela botlhoko, mme re itsise poelomorago ya rona jaaka naga.

Re ka dira jaana fela fa re na le tlhaloganyo e e tlhapileng ya lebaka. Mo go nna, lebaka leo le tshwanetse le tswelele mo go se re setseng re se agile. Le akaretsa go boeletsa Tsosoloso ya Aforika jaaka selelo sa tshegetso.

Ka jalo ke motlotlo go amogela Ng Khoza gompieno, go utlwa mo go ena gore re ka dira jang, jaaka naga, re ka boeletsa selelo sa tshegetso go fola le, ga botlhokwa, ka mo re ka buang go boa ga rona mo lefatsheng le le nang le kgaisano thata go na le nako ya bofelo e re neng ra gana boemo jwa rona le lefelo.

Mme pele re ka laletsa Ng Khoza go abelana ka botlhale jwa gagwe le rona, ntetle go supatshwano go le gonnye mo lefelong le mo go lona bontsi jwa rona mo bareetsing re dirang – setheo sa thuto e kgolwane.

Ka 2015 baithuti go kgabaganya naga ba ne ba lela mo dilelong tsa ntwadi le pedi: *#RhodesMustFall* le *#FeesMustFall*. Go ka nna botoka gore bontsi jwa rona bo sale bo kgaogane gompieno mo go direng kakanyo ya bothata jwa baithuti, le mo dikopong tsa bona.



Le gale, se re ka se se ganetseng ke kutlwalo ya gore dikgaratlho tsa baithuti, le dikopo tsa bona, di nang le sona mo go rona jaaka baakatemi. Ka jalo, se se golaganngwang le Nkrumah, Samir Amin⁹ le Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o,¹⁰ le dipitso tsa bona tsa kontinente ya Aforika gore e tloswe bokoloni ka botlalo, e ne ya fitlhelela mofuta wa ditshetele.

Pitso ya diyunibesiti e e tlositsweng bokoloni e fitlhetse kamogelo ya bosetshaba. Go jalo, go tshwana le kakanyo ya sepolitiki e nngwe le borutegi, go tswelala go nna le dingangisano mo go se se kaiwang gore ke eng ka mmatota ka tloso ya bokoloni.

Ga ke na nako ya go sekaseka seo re se kayang ka tloso ya bokoloni, go le gonnye mo maemong ano. Se ke batlang go se dira, ka jalo, ke go dira kgolagano magareng ga seo re se kayang jaaka tloso ya bokoloni mo letlhakoreng le lengwe, le Tsosoloso ya Aforika mo go le lengwe.

Ke kabelano ya me gore dikakanyo tse pedi tse, di a tlatsana.

⁹ See Samir Amin. 1990. *Delinking: towards a polycentric world*. London: ZED Books. In this book Amin argues that for the countries of the South to ever hope to be developed, they must 'delink' from dependence on the North and develop their economies in favour of domestic development. Amin's concept of delinking has inspired decolonial scholars. See Walter D. Mignolo. 2007. Delinking: the rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality, *Cultural Studies*, 21(2):449-514.

¹⁰ For Ngugi's assertions on decolonisation see: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. 1986. *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. Portsmouth: Heinemann Educational; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. 1993. *Moving the centre: the struggle for cultural freedoms*. London: James Currey.

Mo letlhakoreng le lengwe, tloso ya bokoloni ke tshekatsheko ya bokoloni le pitso ya kgaoganyo (maitshwarelo mo go Ngũgĩ) diepisetemoloji tsa Bokone, kgotsa seo Chakrabarty a se bitsang go dira diporofense tsa Europe,¹¹ le go tlhola 'ekholoji ya dkitso' e e lekalekanang.

Mo letlhakoreng le lengwe, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e neelana ka pitso ya tshegetso mo go Baaforika go tsaya tleleimi mo ekholojing ya dithulaganyo tsa lefatshe le go di netefatsa jaaka bakgwebisani ba ba lekanang mo go ntsheng kitso, khumo le tlhabololo ya botho ka bogotlhe.

Motshwaramarapo, go a kgonagala gore re, jaaka setheo sa thuto e kgolwane, re tshwaragantse di le pedi mo go tlhabololeng setheo se se gololosegileng go tswa mo dingaparelong tsa bokoloni.

Setheo ga se ikgolole fela go tswa mo dingaparelong tseno jaaka tiragalo ya episetemoloji e e sa reng sepe, mme se dira jalo go ntsha kitso e e abelanang ka tlhabololo ya kontinente ya Aforika. Seo, mo go nna, ke seo re se kayang fa re bua ka ga go aga Yunibesiti ya Aforika, mme e seng fela Yunibesiti mo Aforika.

Go aga *Yunibesiti ya Aforika e e bopang bokamoso go kaya* gore re tshwanetse re nne le yunibesiti e e tsayang boitshepo jwa yona go tswa

¹¹ Dipesh Chakrabarty. 2000. *Provincializing Europe: postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press



mo kontinenteng ya Aforika, mme e kgaratlhela go tlhagisa ditharabololo; seo Nkrumah a se kayang jaaka “go fitlhelela ditharabololo mo mathateng a rona”.¹²

Jaaka diyunibesiti, le Yunibesiti ya Aforika Borwa bogolosegolo, re ipaakanyeditse go tsaya karolo mo maitekong a a tswelelang go fitlhelela ditharabololo tsa kontinente ya Aforika, gore re ka tshegetsatshegetsa tleleimi ya yona mo lefatsheng la bogotlhe la kgaisano.

Ng Khoza, ke rata gangwe le gape, mo boemong jwa Khansela, Botsamaisi, badiri le baithuti ba Yunibesiti, go go amogela. Re ikaeletse go ithuta go tswa mo botlhaleng jwa gago.

Ke a leboga!

¹² Kwame Nkrumah. 1961. *I speak of freedom: a statement of African ideology*. London: William Heinemann.

