

**MOPOROFESARA MS MAKHANYA, MOGOKGO LE  
MOTLATSAMOTŠHANSELARA  
YUNIBESITI YA AFORIKABORWA  
PUO YA MO PHATLALATSENG YA MOONO WA “TSELA E E GAISANG  
E E RE ISANG KWA GO ZIMBABWE E E ATLEGILENG”  
HOLO YA DITIRO, KAGO YA KGORONG  
18 NGWANAITSEELE 2019**

Paakanyetso ya phitlho ya moeteledipele wa mo malobeng wa Rephaboliki ya Zimbabwe, moswi Moporesidente Robert Mugabe, e bontshitse gore go boima go le kana kang go aga sešwa naga e e senyegetsweng ke tsholofelo thata – e seng fela mo bathong ba yone, mme mo kontinenteng yotlhe.

Le fa tsepamiso ya babegakgang ba ba tlwaelegileng ba dikgang tsa sešweng e nnile mo dikamanong tse Zimbabwe e nang le tsone le tse e tshwanetseng go di aga sešwa le Bophirima, tsepamiso ya rona e tshwanetse go nna e e anameng thata go feta eo.

Mokgwatebo wa rona o tshwanetse go nna o o amanang le batho botlhe ba ba tlholegetseng mo Aforika o o ikaegileng ka ditlhokego tsa batho ba Zimbabwe, kopano ya kgaolo le dikgatlhegelo tse di anameng thata tsa kontinente.

Maikaelelo a a siameng a go nna jalo a a jaaka go aga sešwa Zimbabwe, a a tlhokegang, a tshwanetse go itshetlela mo go kopanyeng batho le go ba tsosolosa gore ba nne le maikaelelo a le mangwe. Ra rialo, ka ntlha ya gore puo epe ka ga go aga sešwa Zimbabwe gantsi e tletse ka dikganetsano le dingangisano, ka maitshwaro a batho ba ba nnileng le maitemogelo a mantsi a a sa siamang mo matlhakoreng oomabedi a kganetsano.

Fa ke tshwaela mo tlhatlhelelong ya gompiano, ke eletsa go leba kwa Zimbabwe ya maloba le se e fetogileng go nna sone. Tshekatsheko ya go nna jalo e ka re thusa go tlhagola tsela go ya pele.

Hisetori ya sešweng ya Zimbabwe e ka aroganngwa ka dipaka di le nne tsa botlhokwa, tse di ka aroganngwang go ya pele go nna ditiragalo tse dintshintsi. Morago ga moo, ke tlaa lebelela dithuto dingwe tse re ka di bonang go tswa mo dipakeng tse.

### **Chimurenga ya Bobedi: 1964–1979**

Seemo sa tsebetsebe se se itemogetsweng ke Kabinete ya puso ya Rhodesia ya nako eo, se se neng se bakilwe ke go phuthama ga taolo ya bokoloniale mo kontinenteng, se feleleditse se dirile gore go nne le Kitsiso ya Phatlalatsa ya letlhakore le le lengwe ya Boipuso ka Ngwanaitseele 1965 mo tlase ga Ian Smith. Tiro eo ya botlhokwa, le

yone, e bakile ka tlhamalalo tshimologo ya Chimurenga ya Bobedi, kgotsa ntwana ya bosetšhaba ya kgololesego.

Ka tlhotlheletso ya Chimurenga ya Ntsha ya 1896 go fitlha ka 1897 le baeteledipele ba yone, e bong Mbuya Nehanda, Mlimo, Sekuru Kaguvu le ba bangwe ba bantsi, Chimurenga ya Bobedi e isitse ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) le ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union) ka bobedi – le batlhabani ba tsone ba ba tlotlegang ba bakukunedi, ZANLA le ZIPRA – kwa molapeleng wa ntwana ya kgololesego.

Le fa mogopolo wa borutegi o tlaa nna ka gale o arogane mo go reng a mme, ka nnete, batlhabani bano ba batho, ba kgonne go pateletsa dipuso tsa kgatelelo tsa mo malobeng go ineela, se se ka se ganediweng ke go tia mooko mo go tseneletseng goo rona, mo Aforikaborwa, re go iponetseng go tswa mo boikaelelong jwa balwelakgololesego ba Zimbabwe. Jaaka go tle go buiwe, gone ga diragala tse di diragetseng le tse di itseweng.

Ka maiteko a batlhabani ba ZANLA le ZIPRA, tiro ya sepolotiki e e dirilweng ke mekgathomegolo ya bone, dikgaratlho tsa badiri le batho fela le kemommogo ya boditšhabatšhaba, puso ya Rhodesia le Borithane di feleleditse di dumelane le dipuisano tse di dirileng gore go nne le Rephaboliki ya Zimbabwe ka 1980.

Eo e ne le paka ya ntlha.

### **Kagosetšhaba, tlihabololo le ketsaetsego: 1980–2000**

Paka ya bobedi, e e simologileng ka boipuso jwa 1980 le go tswelala go fitlhelela ka 2000, go ka twe e ne e aparetswe ke dipharologantsho tse tharo. Ya ntlha e ne e le maiteko a a ikaeletsweng a kagosetšhaba a puso ya morago ga bokoloniale e neng ya simolola go a diragatsa.

Go tswa mo hisetoring e e setlhogo, e gape e neng e okediwa ke go tshegetsatsa le go nna boikanyego mo morafeng o o rileng, Zimbabwe e e gololesegileng e iphitlhetse e leka go nna le boitshupo mo tlhakatlhakanong e e dirilweng ke bokoloniale. Kutlobotlhoko ya go kgaratlhela kgololesego le yone ga e a somarela naga.

Mo kakanyong ya gagwe ya 2009, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni o sekaseka gore a mme Zimbabwe e kgonne go gola jaaka setšhaba.<sup>1</sup> Ka jalo, potso e e tlhagelelang ke gore a mme puso ya Zimbabwe ya morago ga bokoloniale e kgonne go fitlhelela setšhaba. O kwala jaana:

(Zimbabwe) ke motswako o o raraaneng wa dihisetori le dikgakologelo tse di gwetlhang, sengwe se se dirang gore e nne

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<sup>1</sup> Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo (2009) *Do 'Zimbabweans' Exist? Trajectories of Nationalism, National Identity and Crisis in a Postcolonial State*. Benn, Peter Lang AG

boammaruri fela jaaka e le kakanyo – tlhaloso e e sa bopiwang fela go tswa mo dinakong tse di fetileng tsa pele ga bokoloniale, tsa bokoloniale le tsa keletso ya gore naga e ikemele le go ipusa, mme gape e tswile mo dintlhatheong tsa kakaretso tsa naga e e ipusang, maikemisetso a sebele a go nna le boipuso jwa naga. Ke kakanyo e e tlhodilweng ke kopano e e tswelelang ya dilo tse di farologaneng, ya ditso tsa mefutafuta, tse di tthatlaganeng le tsa tatelano ya ditshika tse di farologaneng, le kgwetlho ya go rata naga, ga mmogo le boipuso jo bo gateletsweng jwa selegae le jwa kgaolo.<sup>2</sup>

Mo go Alois Mlambo, dikgwetlho tse Zimbabwe ya morago ga boipuso e neng ya patelesega go kampana le tsone, go akaretsa – mme fela go sa lekanyediwa go – go nna ga yone le merafe e mentsintsi e e farologaneng, ditso, mofuta wa puso le bokopanelo jwa dipolotiki le ikonomi, di dira gore Zimbabwe e nne setšhaba se se sa ntseng se tlaa direga.<sup>3</sup> Ka jalo, mo go Ndlovu-Gatsheni le Mlambo, Zimbabwe e sa ntse e tshwanetse go tthatlogela mo maemong a go tsewa jaaka setšhaba.

Maiteko a go aga sešwa setšhaba, mo letlhakoreng le le lengwe, a ne a kganelwa ke ditiragalo tsa tirisodikgoka ya ka fa gare ya merafe, e

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 46

<sup>3</sup> Mlambo, Alois S (2013) *Becoming Zimbabwe or Becoming Zimbabweans: Identity, Nationalism and State-building*, *Africa Spectrum*, Volume 48, Number 1, pp. 49–70

tlholego le mofuta wa yone e nnang e le motswedi wa kgotlhang le go fitlha ga jaana.

Ga se maikaelelo a me – e bile selekano sa seabe sa me ga se ntetle – go sekaseka dikgotlhang fa gare ga ZANU le ZAPU morago ga tumelano ya 1980, e e bakileng, ka bontlhabongwe, tatlhegelo ya matshelo a batho kwa Bokone jwa Matebeleland fa gare ga 1983 le 1987.

Le fa go ntse jalo, Zimbabwe e nnile keletso ya dinaga tse dintsi tsa Aforika ka ntlha ya tswelelo ya yone ya tllhabologo, segolo bogolo mo karolong ya thuto.

Le fa go ka tswa go na le dikganetsano ka ga dipalo tsa mmatota, kokoanyo ya metswedi e e farologaneng e kaya gore Zimbabwe e na le sengwe sa dielo tse di kwa godimodimo tsa bokgoni jwa batho ba bagolo jwa go itse go kwala le go buisa mo kontinenteng. Ka 2014, Banka ya Lefatshe e beile palo mo go 89%.<sup>4</sup>

Palo e e kgatlhisang e bakilwe ke peeletso e kgolo e e dirilweng mo thutong morago ga tumelano ya 1980. E le ruri, se ke se re ka se ithutang, jaaka naga. Mme fela ke tlaa boela mo ntlheng eno moragonyana.

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<sup>4</sup> BBC (2018) Zimbabwe ka dipalo tse 10, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42013720>. E fitlheletswe ka la 15 Ngwanatseele 2019

Go lepalepana le tokafatso ya seelo sa bokgoni jwa go itse go kwala le go buisa, se se sa ntseng se ntse jalo le go fitlha ga jaana, naga e ne ya tlhoma lephata le le matlhagatlhaga la thuto e kgolwane le dipatlisiso. Yunibesiti ya Zimbabwe e tswelletse go tthatlogela kwa maemong a tumo a a tshwerweng ke diyunibesiti tse dingwe tsa Aforika, tse di jaaka ya Dar es Salaam kwa Tanzania le ya Makerere kwa Uganda – e seng fela ka matlole a di a abelwang le dikago tse di ntle, fela go lebeleletse mananeo a a nang le tswelelopele a go neng go tlamelwa ka ona. Se se tlaleletsang seo e nnile ditheo di le mmalwa tse di ikemetseng tsa dipatlisiso le ditlamo tsa phasalatso.<sup>5</sup>

Mme kana, seemo e ne e se se ‘se se kgatlhisang moo go nang le tsholofelo e ntsi’. Bothata jwa lefatshe bo tswelletse go nna kgwetlho mo pusong ya morago ga bokoloniale. Go palelwa ke go rarabolola bothata jwa lefatshe ka tsela e e neng e samagana le go fenngwa le go gapiwa ga lefatshe mo nakong e e fetileng, tekatekano e e fokotsegileng le lehuma, kopano e e oketsegileng ya setšhaba le bokgoni jo bo babalesegileng jwa go fitlhelela selekano se se lekaneng sa dijo tse di tlotlhwatlase le tse di nang le dikotla go dirile gore go nne le tshenyego e kgolo e e diregileng ka 2000.

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<sup>5</sup> Dingwe tsa tsone di akaretsa setheo se se tlotlegang sa African Institute for Agrarian Studies, se se eteletsweng pele ke motlotlegi Moporofesara Sam Moyo; The Southern Africa Political Economy Series (SAPES), se se eteletsweng pele ke motlotlegi Ibbo Mandaza; Zimbabwe Publishing House; Mambo Press; le tse dingwe tse dintsi

Se se re tlisa mo pakeng ya boraro.

**Bothata jwa lefatshe, tthaolo ya boditšhabatšhaba le kwelotlase:  
2000–2017**

Mo bukeng ya bone ya setlhogo se se reng *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*, Patrick Bond le Masimba Manyanya ba kaya gore mathata a a tlhageletseng ka 2000 a ka latedisiwa ka tllhamalalo mo tshimololong ya Banka ya Lefatshe le Mananeo a Paakanyo ya Popego ya IMF ka 1991.<sup>6</sup>

Tota, morutegi yo o tlotlegang wa Zimbabwe, e bong Sam Moyo, o ne a setse a neetse mabaka ka nepagalo a gore kgwetlho e kgolo ya lenaneo la karoganyo le kabo ya lefatshe fa e sale go tloga ka 1980, e ne e ntse e le go tsenngwa tirisong ga yone go go fetolwang ke mananeo a paakanyo ya dipopegotheo.<sup>7</sup>

Se barutegi bano le ba bangwe ba bantsi ba re neetseng sone mo dingwageng tse dintsi ke temogo e e farologaneng go se kae ya Bothata jwa Zimbabwe; se se farologane le dikanelo tse di

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<sup>6</sup> Bond, Patrick le Manyanya, Masimba (2003) *Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neoliberalism and the Search for Social Justice*. Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

<sup>7</sup> Moyo, Sam (2000) *Land Reform under Structural Adjustment in Zimbabwe: Land Use Change in the Mashonaland Province*. Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet



amogetsweng tsa babegakgang ba ba tlwaelegileng ba dikgang tsa sešweng, tse di lekanyetsang mathata a Zimbabwe go nna fela ka ga makoa a boeteledipele jwa sepolotiki jwa ga moswi Moporesidente Mugabe le ZANU-PF.

Le mororo go na le ditshekatsheko tse di nang le mosola tse, re tshwanetse go amogela gore paka ya morago ga ngwaga wa 2000 e ne ya nna kgwetlho e kgolo thata mo go Zimbabwe. Dikotlhao tse di kganelang naga go dira kgwebisano ya boditšhabatšhaba tse di dirilweng ke Amerika Bokone le Yuropa di dirile gore go nne le go phuthama go go batlileng go nna ka gotlhe ga ikonomi ya naga. Se se dirile gore go nne le palo e ntsi ya baagi ba Zimbabwe ba ba fudugelang kwa dinageng tse dingwe go batla ditšhono tsa go itshedisa.

Dipalo tsa semmuso di kaya gore ka 2013, go ne go na le baagi ba Zimbabwe ba le 571 970 ba ba nnang mo Aforikaborwa, United Kingdom, Malawi, Australia le Botswana – ka tatelano eo, malebana le dipalo.<sup>8</sup>

Mabaka a magolo a le mararo a go fuduga ke go batla ditšhono tsa tiro, mabaka a thuto le go batla botshabelo. Se se bontsha seemo se

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<sup>8</sup> UN Migration and ZimStat (2018) *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile, 2010–2016*, [http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Prices/MP\\_Zimbabwe\\_2018.pdf](http://www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Prices/MP_Zimbabwe_2018.pdf). E e  
fitlheletsweng ka la 15 Ngwanatseele 2019

se maswe sa ikonomi ka ntlha ya, segolo bogolo, dikotlhao tse di kganelang naga go dira kgwebisano ya boditšhabatšhaba. Se kaya gape gore mokgwatsamaiso wa thuto o ke o umakileng pejana, le o e neng e le mongwe wa e e gaisang, o itemogela bothata.

Dikgwetlho tseno di bakile paka e re lebaneng le yone ga jaana, paka ya bone, e e tlileng morago ga go rola tiro ga Moporesidente wa maloba Mugabe le loso lwa gagwe moragonyana ga moo.

### **Paka ya Morago ga Mugabe: Zimbabwe e ya kae?**

Dikgotlhang tse di nnileng teng ka ntlha ya mathata a naga e lebaneng le one di dirile gore Moporesidente wa maloba Mugabe a role tiro ka Ngwanaitseele 2017. Se, le loso lwa gagwe dingwaga di le mmalwanyana morago ga moo, se dirile gore go nne le paka ya phetogo, sengwe se e seng karolo e kgolo mo pusong, mme bogolo mo setlhopheng sa taolo.

Mo maemong a tsa dithuto, go ka tswa go sa le gale mo go rona go tlhagisa megopolo e e rutegileng ka ga paka ya morago ga Mugabe le dikgonagalo tse di ka tswang di tlile go direga mo nageng mo isagong. Se re ka se dirang, le fa go ntse jalo, ke go tshitshinya dikgwetlho dingwe tse puso ya ga Moporesidente Emmerson Mnangagwa e tlaa tshwanelang go di akanyetsa. Le fa go ntse jalo, ga ke na keletso ya go dira jalo gonne ke se Tona ya rona ya Dikamano le Tirisanommogo ya

Boditšhabatšhaba, Tona Naledi Pandor, a leng fano go re se itsise. Ka jalo, nka tlhagisa bogolo se ke tsayang gore ke dithuto tse di tswang mo Zimbabwe mo go rona, go simologa ka Chimurenga ya Bobedi go fitlha ga jaana.

### **Dithuto dingwe tse di ithutilweng**

Go na le bonnye dithuto tse tlhano tse ke tshitshinyang gore di ka ithutiwa go tswa mo kgaratlhong ya Zimbabwe.

Ya ntlha, kopano ka ntlha ya mabaka magareng ga ZANU le ZAPU mo dingwageng tsa Chimurenga ya Bobedi e netefaditse gore puso ya Rhodesia le Borithane di feleletsa di dumelane go buisana semmuso go fitlhelela tumelano. Le fa go ntse jalo, ga ke kaye gore makoko a mabedi a ne a ntse a utlwana ka gale.

Se ke se kayang ke gore bokgoni jwa go tsepamisa megopolo mo tirong e e fa isong, e e neng e le tsweletso ya kgaratlho, go akaretsa ntwaga, bo ne bo le botlhokwa. Tshimololo ya Patriotic Front go fitlhelela ka dipuisano tsa kwa Lancaster House le yone e ne e le botlhokwa.<sup>9</sup> Se se feleleditse se dirile gore go nne le tharabololo e e buisanetsweng e e

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<sup>9</sup> ZANU, e e neng e eteletswe pele ke Robert Mugabe, le ZAPU, e e neng e eteletswe pele ke Joshua Nkomo, e bopile Patriotic Front ka nako ya tsweletso ya kgaratlho le go fitlhelela ka nako ya dipuisano kwa Lancaster House, London. Tumelano ya kwa Lancaster House e fitlheletswe ka Sedimonthole 1979. ZAPU e ne ya gaisanela ditlhopho tsa kakaretso tsa 1980 jaaka Patriotic Front, fa ZANU e ne e gaisana jaaka ZANU-Patriotic Front. Morago ga dingwaga tsa dikgotlhang, ZANU e ne ya dira ZAPU karolo ya yone mme e ne ya nna ZANU-PF. Joshua Nkomo o tlhokafetse ka 1999

tlhodileng Rephaboliki ya Zimbabwe. Se se hutsafatsang e ne e le kgotlhang e e neng ya latela moragonyana, e ke tlaa boelang mo go yone mo nakong e e sa fediseng pelo.

Thuto ya bobedi e e ithutilweng e ne e le ka ga ditshiamelo tse di nnileng teng fa puso e ikaelela go tokafatsa matshelo a baagi ba yone. Peeletso e e kgatlhisang mo thutong, e e neng e se ka ga tšhelete fela (tota, e ne e se ka tšhelete), mme e ne e le ka ga ditogamaano tse di akanyeditsweng sentle, tse di dirileng gore go nne le seelo se se kwa godimo sa bokgoni jwa batho ba bagolo jwa go itse go kwala le go buisa se Zimbabwe e sa ntseng e se itumelela.

Ka jalo, thuto mo go rona ke go dira ditogamaano tse di tiileng tsa tokafatso ya boleng jwa matshelo a batho ba rona.

Thuto ya boraro e re ka e ithutang go tswa mo Zimbabwe e ka ga ditlamorago tse di sa siamang tse di nnileng teng ka ntlha ya go sa kgone kgotsa go palelwa ke go samagana kgotsa go tsibogela dingongorego tsa baagi, segolo bogolo setlhopha sa loago sa batho ba ba humanegileng le ba ba dirang mo ditirong tse di ba duelang. Bonya jwa puso ya Zimbabwe jwa go rarabolola bothata jwa lefatshe pele ga 2000 bo feleleditse bo dirile gore go nne le tsibogo e e sa siamang e e neng e eteletswe pele ke mekaubere ya ntwana.

E ga se kgwetlho e e bonolo e ke e lebisang kwa pusong. Le rona e a re ama, jaaka boeteledipele jwa thuto e kgolwane. Bonya jwa rona jwa go tsibogela dikopo tsa gore go fetolwe diyunibesiti tsa rona ka bontlhabongwe, bo dirile gore go nne le letsholo la *#RhodesMustFall*, le re sa kgonang go le tsibogela mo go lekaneng. Ke lone lebaka le, mo letlhakoreng la rona, ke ntseng ke tsetsepetse ntlha ya gore re itlhaganedise go dira gore Lefapha la Boeteledipele le Diphetogo la mo Kantorong ya me, le nne karolo ya setheo. Maikaelelo foo ke go leka go tsibogela le go nna maleba mo dingongoregong ka kakaretso le tlhokego ya go fetola setheo se.

Thuto ya bone e re e ithutang go tswa mo hisetoring ya Zimbabwe e segolo bogolo ka ga bothata jwa lefatshe ka bojone. Re ithuta fano gore bothata jwa lefatshe bo raraane thata. Bo tlhoka go laolwa ka kelotlhoko mo go batleng go lekalekanya dikgatlhegelo tse di gaisanang – mme e le tse di tlhagisiwang mo go tseneletseng.

Ga se maikemisetso a me go dirisa tšhono e go tthatlhelela (ga ke tshameke ka mafoko) puso gore e dire jang go rarabolola bothata jo, jo jaanong re tshwanetseng go buisana ka jone re le setšhaba. Se ke eletsang go se tlhagisa, le fa go ntse jalo, ke gore puso, mo dikgatong tsotlhe, e tshwanetse go ikanya setšhaba le go sa nne bofitlha ka ga ditšhono le dikgwetlho tse di tlang le go leka go rarabolola kang e.

Thuto ya botlhano le ya bofelo e re e ithutang mo Zimbabwe e ka ga kutlobotlhoko e e bakilweng ke go palelwa ga kopano ya setšhaba. Kgotlhang e e nnileng teng mo pakeng e telele fa gare ga ZANU le ZAPU– mme ka dinako tse dingwe e na le tlhaolo ya merafe – go fitlhelela ba kopana go bopa ZANU-PF, e nna e ntse e le sengwe se se senyang mo hisetoring ya naga e e gaisang ya Zimbabwe.

Ga go na pelaelo epe ya gore karolo ya go fola e e tshwanetseng go direga kwa Zimbabwe e tlaa nna go tiisa kopano fa gare ga makoko a mabedi, ka maikaelelo a gore go se nne le tiragalo e nngwe ya dipolao tsa Borwa jwa Matabeleland.

Motsamaisatiro, tseno ke dipaka le dithuto tse di amanang le naga le tse di bopileng Zimbabwe ya gompieno.

Re motlotlo ka go nna teng gompieno ga Ngaka Naledi Pandor, Tona ya Dikamano le Tirisano mmogo ya Bodišhabatšhaba.

Tona Pandor o tlaa re itsise megopolo ya gagwe le megopolo ya puso ya gore Zimbabwe e ka boela jang mannong go tswa mo dingwageng tse somerobonngwe tsa dikgwetlho tse di tseneletseng.

Ke tsholofelo ya rona gore puo ya gagwe, e e tlhagisiwang mo moonong wa *“Tselana e e gaisang e e re isang kwa go Zimbabwe e e*

*atlegileng*”, e tlaa re thusa go tihaloganya pholisi ya boditšhaba ya Aforikaborwa e e malebana le Zimbabwe.

Ntle le go nna Tona ya Dikamano le Tirisanommogo ya Boditšhabatšhaba, Ngaka Pandor ke tsala e kgolo ya Yunibesiti ya Aforikaborwa. Bontsi jwa lona bo tlaa gakologelwa leeto le le monate le re le tsamaileng le ene, le tshegetso le tirisanommogo e re e amogetseng go tswa mo go ene, fa e ne e le Tona ya Thuto e Kgolwane le Katiso. Ka jalo, Ngaka Pandor ga se moeng mo yunibesiting e; ke tsala. Nte ke lo gakolole gape gore yunibesiti ya rona e teile leina la kagokgolo e e tshwarelang dikaloso tsa rona re re ke Holo ya ZK Mathews. Fa go na le bangwe ba lona ba le neng le sa itse, Moporofesara ZK Mathews e ne e le ntatemogolo wa ga Tona Pandor.

Tona, mo boemong jwa Lekgotla, Senate, botsamaisi, badiri le baithuti ba Yunibesiti ya Aforikaborwa, ke a go amogela mme jaanong ke go kopa go bua le rona.