

**MOP. MS MAKHANYA, MOGOKGO LE MOTLATSAMOTŠHANSELARA**

**YUNIBESITI YA AFORIKABORWA**

**TLHATLHELELO YA BOTLHANO YA BORUTEGI YA AFORIKA**

***RE LEBELELA TSOSOLOSO YA AFORIKA MO DINGWAGENG TSE 21***

**HOLO YA DITIRO, BOALO JWA BONE, KAGO YA KGORONG**

**2 LWETSE 2019**

E sa ntse e le boitumelo jo bogolo le tlotla go le amogela lotlhe mo karolong e nngwe gape ya Porojeke ya Mathale ya Aforika. Go fitlha ga jaana, porojeke e re tliseditse le go re kgontsha go ithuta go tswa mo matlhaleng a a gaisang mo nageng ya rona, go tswa mo kontinenteng le go ralala Diaspora ya Aforika. Ka jalo, re itumeletse go nna le Moporofesara Malegapuru Makgoba gompiano.

### **Bokoloniale le kgaratlho**

Mo botenye jwa porojeke ya bokoloniale e ne e le maikaelelo a a tletseng a go ja ntsoma ditlamelo tsotlhe tsa Aforika, Americas, Asia le Australasia. Ka go ikhumisa le go itira maatla a a gaisang, e eka bonnye jwa yona le go tlhoka ditlamelo tsa tsholego, Yuropa e ne ya tswelela go gatelela lefatshe lotlhe.

Le fa dinaga tsotlhe tsa Aforika di bone boipuso, ditlamorago tsa bokoloniale di ne di le boteng moo e leng gore kgatelelo ya Yuropa,

le thulaganyo yotlhe ya lefatshe le dikamano tse di tlhagisitsweng ke bokoloniale, di sa ntse di utlwala le gompieno. Dikamano tsa maloba tsa tlhamalalo tsa bokoloniale di fetogile go nna dikamano tse di sokameng magareng ga Yuropa le dikoloni tsa yona tsa maloba, kwa ntle ga Amerika, e e atlegileng go fetogela go naga ya bokoloniale e e gateletseng.

Dikamano tsa ga jaana magareng ga Yuropa le Amerika ka fa ntlheng e nngwe, le kontinente ya Aforika le Amerika Borwa ka fa go e nngwe, di bopilwe ke pholisi e e rulagantsweng ka bomo le ditlhabololo tse di kwa tlase gammogo le go tlhagisiwa gape ga go ikaega mo ditheong tsa maloba tsa bokoloniale.

Kgatelelo eno le go ikaega di atologetse le go fetogela go nna kgatelelo ya setso. Ke dirisa lereo ka bophara go akaretsa botsweretshi, thuto, dikwalo, meaparo, bodumedi jalo jalo. Tota, ga go na karolo epe ya botshelo mo Aforika le Amerika Borwa e e setseng e sa amiwa ke ditatso tse di gatelelang tsa Yuropa le Amerika.

Ga go na moo kgatelelo eno e bonalang thata jaaka ka moo Maforika le batho ba Amerika Borwa ba ipitsang ka gona. Aforika e itlhalosa gore e *Anglophone*, *Francophone* le *Lusophone*, fa Amerika

Borwa yona e bidiwa *Latin America* go tswa mo kgatelelong ya dipuo tse pedi tsa Selatini – Sepotokisi le Spanish.

Ka fa le tsogong je lengwe, diphenyo tsa bokoloniale le kgwebisano ya makgoba ga di a fitlhelelwa ka gore Maaforika le batho ba tshimologo ba Amerika ba bo ba ne ba sa kgaratlhe. Go dirisitswe maatla thata.

Go lolwe dintwa tsa kgaratlho ke ditshika tse di latelanang tsa Maaforika le batho ba tshimologo ba Amerika. Go tswa kwa godimo kwa bokone kwa Amerika go fitlhelela kwano mo ntlheng e e mo borwa ya Aforika, Maaforika le batho ba tshimologo ba Amerika ba ne ba boloditse dintwa tsa kgaratlho kgatlhanong le bokoloniale.

### **Matlapele a mokgatlho wa Tsosoloso ya Aforika**

Go tswa mo bokolonialeng, go ne ga tsalwa mokgatlho wa kgaratlho, o o neng wa fetogela go nna wa kgololesego, mme wa bonagala ka itlhagiso e e farologaneng ya mekgatlho le megopolo – go tswa mo maitekong a bosetšhaba go ya go a phediso ya bokoloniale go golola batho ba ba gateletsweng ba Aforika le Amerika Borwa, mmogo le batho ba tshimologo ba Amerika Bokone, Asia le Australasia.

Maiteko a go lwa kgatlhanong le bokoloniale jo bo tswelletseng le go ikaega ga Aforika go akareditse temogo ya gore phenyo ya

bokoloniae le dikamano tse di latelang tsa go ikaega di ka mefuta e e farologaneng.

Mofuta o o bonalang sentle e sala go nna dikamano tsa ikonomi tse di aparetsweng ke kgatelelo le go ikaega. Seno se tlhagelela ka dikamano tse di gobeletang le tse di senang tekatekano tsa kgwebisano le "go dipisa" ka tlhamalalo mo go tsa ikonomi go go diriwang ke Letlole la Ditšhelete la Bodišhabatšhaba (IMF) le Banka ya Lefatshe.<sup>1</sup>

Mo mabakeng a mangwe, kgatelelo e nna e e tala go gaisa, go tshwana le tiriso e e batlang e patelediwa ya CFA franc jaaka ledi le le dirisiwang thata mo dingweng tsa dinaga tsa Bophirima le Bogare jwa Aforika (dinaga tse di bidiwang tsa Francophone) le ntlha ya gore di tshwanetse go boloka dirasefe tsa tsona ka Sefora.<sup>2</sup>

Ntlha e e amanang e bile e tokafatsa sekao sa kgatelelo ya ikonomi ke ntlha ya setso. Go beelwa thoko ga dipuo tsa seAforika go dirisiwa fela go tsaya dikgang le gore e se nne dipuo tsa saense go kaile gore Maaforika a leba le go tsaya dipuo tsa bona jaaka tse di nyatsegang e bile e le tsa boleng jo bo kwa tlase go na le dipuo tsa Yuropa.

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<sup>1</sup> Chossudovsky, M. 1997. *The globalisation of poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank reforms*. London: Zed Books.

<sup>2</sup> Sylla, NS. 2017. The CFA Franc: French Monetary Imperialism in Africa, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2017/07/12/the-cfa-franc-french-monetary-imperialism-in-africa/>. Accessed on 31 August 2019.

Dithulaganyo tsa kitso tsa Seaforika le tsona di tsewa e le tse di sa tlwaelegang, gongwe tse bangwe ba di bitsang "tse di siametseng dimusiamo", tse di batlisisiwang gore di nyefolwe gongwe go atlholwa gotwe ke tsa boleng jo bo kwa tlase.<sup>3</sup> Moo di fitlhelwang di ka tlamela ka kitso ya boammaaruri, di tsewa fela jalo go lebeletswe gore di tlaleletsa mo go se se leng gona, e leng tsa Yuropa le Amerika Bokone.

Ka jalo, thuto e bopilwe le go bonwa go ya ka ontoloji le kitso ya Yuropa le Amerika Bokone. Dithuto, dipatlisiso le tiriso ya disaense tsa tlholego le tsa loago di bontsha kgatelelo eno le go beelwa thoko ga dithulaganyo tsa kitso ya Seaforika, e ka nna ya bogologolo tala, ya mo malobeng gongwe ya sešweng.

Fela go beelwa thoko gono ga go a tla fela ka phenyo. Go godile thata ka maaka a ka bomo. Ke ka moo se ga jaana re itseng e le filosofi ya tlelasiki se bidiwa Filosofi ya Segerika. Mme fela, jaaka tlhamo e e sa ganediwang ke ope ya ga George James e supa, seno ke "boswa jo bo

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<sup>3</sup> Kraak, A. 1999. Western science, power and the marginalisation of indigenous modes of knowledge production (Interpretative minutes of the discussion held on 'Debates about Knowledge: Developing Country Perspectives' co-hosted by CHET and CSD, Wednesday 7 April 1999). <file:///C:/Users/matha/Downloads/KRAAK%201999%20SCIENCE,%20POWER%20AND%20MARGINALISATION%20OF%20INDIGENOUS%20MODES%20OF%20KNOWLEDGE%20PRODUCTION.pdf>. Accessed on 31 August 2019.

utswilweng" go tswa kwa Kemet, jaaka Molefi Kete Asante a bitsa Egepeto ka tshwanelo.<sup>4</sup>

Go ka buiwa seno ka bongaka, dipalo le tlhabololo ya dialefabete le go kwala.

Lebaka la go tlhagisa tseno ga se gore ke ka go batla go galaletsa hisetori ya Aforika. Fela jaaka batho botlhe, Maaforika a nnile le dinako tsa bona tsa kgalalelo le dinako tsa bosetlhogo. Se re lehang go se dira ka go tlhagisa boswa jono jo bo utswilweng le go gatelelwa ke go bontsha gore Aforika ga e ise e nne Kontinente e e Lefifi e go neng ga twe ke yona (morago ga phenyo ya bakoloniale).

Boswa jo bo utlwisang botlhoko go gaisa jwa phenyo ya bokoloniale e nnile go tlhokisa Aforika ntlha ya go supa diphitlhelelo tsa yona tsa mo malobeng. Ditlamorago tsa seno ke Moaforika yo o iponang fela jaaka yo o reteletsweng – motho yo a iseng a tshwaele mo saenseng le mo kitsong ka kakaretso. Motho yoo jalo o amogela sentle fela gore o a nyatsega mme ka jalo o siametswe ke go gatelelwa le go tsholwa ka lenyatso.

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<sup>4</sup> James, GGM. 1954. Stolen Legacy: Greek Philosophy is Stolen Egyptian Philosophy. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 2009 e-Book. Accessed from <http://www.thehouseofsankofa.com/books/eBook%20Stolen%20Legacy.pdf> on 25 May 2019.

Fela jaaka dithulaganyo tsa kitso, botsweretshi le meaparo ya Aforika di tsewa jaaka bontsale ba ba tlhomolang pelo ba tsa Yuropa le Amerika Bokone. Se se utlwisang botlhoko ke gore seno se gakadiwa ke Maaforika ka bobona. Ke ka moo re bonang go tshwanela gore mmino wa Aforika o ka tshamekiwa ka ura e e rileng mo thapameng ya Sontaga, fa re iketlile.

Seno se tshitshinya gore mmino wa Aforika ga o a siamela gore o ka tshamekiwa ka nako ya tlhanaselo ya mo mosong, gore o go susumetse fa o ya tirong, gongwe go go thusa go akanya ka se o tlhotseng o se dira fa o le mo tseleng ya go ya gae. Go na gape le tshitshinyo ya gore o ka se tswakannngwe le dipuo tsa "matlhale" mo radiong ya dipuisano mo mosong le mo tshokologong fela o tshwanetse go tshwamekiwa ka thapama ya Sontaga ka nako ya "botswa".

Go tlathlagana ga diponagalo tsotlhe tse tsa phenyo go bakile gore go nne le Moaforika yo o ikobonyang. Jaaka Frantz Fanon le Steve Biko ba buile, Moaforika, motho montsho, o apotswe botho jwa gagwe. Ke meritinyana fela ya batho batho ba ba inyatsang. Mme ka jalo, ba tsaya batho ba bangwe, ba ba tshwanetseng go ba tsaya fela jaaka batho jaaka bona, ba le botoka go na le bona.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Fanon, F. 2001. [1961] *The wretched of the earth*. London: Penguin Classics; Biko, S. 2004. [1978] *I write what I like*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Motsamaisatiro, fa pejana ke buile ka ditshika tsa bakgaratlhi ba ba neng ba ba batla go busetsa morago phenyo ya bokoloniale le go ipusetsa lefatshe la bona le seriti sa bona. Ke tlhalositse gape gore dikgaratlho tseno e ne e le tsa mekgatlho ya bosetšhaba le e e amanang nayo. Ka dithata le makoa a yona, mekgatlho ya bosetšhaba le e e ikamanyang le Seaforika e eteletse maiteko a le mantsi go busetsa seriti sa batho ba Aforika.

Go tloga ka dikhuduego tse di kgatlhanong le diphenyo tsa bokoloniale go ralala ngwagakgolo wa bo20 moo mokgatlho wa bosetšhaba o neng wa tlhamiwa, maiteko a go fedisa bokoloniale mo Aforika a ntse ka mefuta e le mentsi. A ntlha e nnile ka mokgatlho wa phediso ya bokoloniale. Seno se akareditse maiteko a go rulaganya batho go dipela le go ema kgatlhanong le dipuso tsa bokoloniale le go lopa kgololesego ya dinaga tsa bona.

Mekgatlho eno e e neng e simolola ka dinako dingwe jaaka diphetišene fela tsa boliberale kgatlhanong le dinaga tsa bokoloniale le babusi ba tsona, e ne ya nna mafolofolo thata jaaka baithuti ba bašwa ba e bileng ba ne ba rutegile kwa Yuropa, ba neng ba simolola



go botsa dipotso tse di tsepameng go na le ba ba tlleng pele ga bona.<sup>6</sup>

Fela dikgaratlho tseno di ne di sa dirwe ka bonosi. Ka nako e mekgatlho ya bosetšhaba e neng e simolola go nna mafolofolo mo kontinenteng ya Aforika, mokgatlho o o ikamanyang le Maaforika o ne o tlhagelela. Mokgatlho o o ikamanyang le Aforika o o neng o eteletswe pele ke WEB du Bois, a susumeditse mme a baakanya megopolo ya ga Marcus Garvey, o ne o batla go tlhama le go bontsha dikgolagano magareng ga kgaratlho ya batho ba ba mo kontinenteng ya Aforika le Diaspora.<sup>7</sup>

Jaaka re itse jaanong, maiteko a pejana a ga WEB du Bois a ne a feleletsa a lebisitse kwa go tlhamiweng ga Mokgatlho kwa Kitlano ya Aforika (OAU), morago ga dinaga di le mmalwa tsa Aforika di se na go bona se go tweng ke kgololesego. Ka re se go tweng ka bomo gonne, jaaka Kwame Nkrumah a ne a lemoga le go bontsha morago, se se bidiwang boipuso jwa dinaga tsa Aforika e ne e le go tswa mo seemong sa bokoloniale go ya kwa go se a neng morago a se bitsa bokoloniale jwa kgatelelo ya ikonomi.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Limb, P. 2010. *The ANC's early years: nation, class and place in South Africa before 1940*. Pretoria: Unisa Press

<sup>7</sup> Du Bois, WEB. 1900. To the nations of world, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1900-w-e-b-du-bois-nations-world/>. Accessed on 31 August 2019.

<sup>8</sup> Nkrumah, K. 1987. [1965] *Neo-Colonialism: the last stage of colonialism*. London: Panaf Books.

Maiteko a kgololesego a mokgatlho wa bosetšhaba a ne a patilwe ka tllhamalalo ke itshekatsheko le boitlhamedi jwa bothale jwa basimolodi ba mokgatlho ka bobona – Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon, Julius Nyerere, Amilcar Cabral, Anton Lembede, le ba bangwe ba bantsi – ba ba tlhagisitseng dibuka, ditlhamo le diphamfolete tse jaanong di emeng ka magetla.

Mokgatlho o ungwetswe, wa susumetsa mme wa susumediwa ke di-itshekatsheko tse dingwe, e seng ka tllhamalalo, mo kontinenteng le mo Diaspora. Sa ntlha go ne go na le mokgatlho wa *Harlem Renaissance* kwa New York. Mokgatlho o o neng o totile thata dikwalo, botshweretshi le mmino, o ne wa gwetlha ditumelo tse di fosagetseng tse di neng di tletse ka ga batho ba bantsho ka nako eo mme wa tsenya maikutlo a boipelo le go akaretsa le go tsweletsa megopolo ya Seaforika.

Le fa o ne o na le makoa a ona, go tshwana le go nyalediwa gore bangwe ba basimolodi ba ona ba ne ba batla go etsisa basweu ka meaparo ya bona, le maitsholo a a rileng, ga go na pelaelo ya gore mokgatlho o tshwaetse go utlwala mo tsweletsong ya botsweretshi jwa Maaforika a Amerika - *jazz, blues* le dikwalo. Le gale WEB du Bois ka boene o sa ntse a nyalediwa gore o ne a rata thata go tshwenyega

gore bantsho ga ba a tshwanela go bontsha maitsholo a a ka oketsang tumelo e e fosagetseng ya gore "ba saletse morago".<sup>9</sup>

Mokgatlho wa *Harlem Renaissance* o nnile le tshusumetso mo bakwading le baithuting bangwe ba ba Caribbean ba ba neng ba le kwa Paris. Barwadiamotho ba ga Nardal, Paulette le Jeanne ba ba simologang kwa Martinique, ba simolotse le go tsamaisa saluni (lefelo la bokopanelo koo go neng go amoganwa megopolo ya bothale go ntse go jewa, go nowa) kwa Paris.<sup>10</sup> Saluni ya bona e ne ya dira jaaka serala sa go tlhoma se se neng sa bidiwa *Negritude*, mme morago ya tswelediwa ke Aimé Césaire, Leopold Senghor le Leon Damas.

Césaire o ne morago a nna le tshusumetso e kgolo mo go Frantz Fanon. Phasalatso ya gagwe ya 1950, *Discourse on Colonialism*,<sup>11</sup> e ne e na le tshekatsheko ya ditlamorago tse di bosula le tse di ntshang botho tsa bokoloniale. Tshekatsheko eno e ne ya atolosiwa ke Fanon,<sup>12</sup> le Biko mo gae mo.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Muhammed, KG. 2011. *The condemnation of blackness: race, crime, and the making of modern urban America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

<sup>10</sup> Janken, KR. 1998. African American and Francophone black intellectuals during the Harlem Renaissance. *The Historian*, 60(3):487-505.

<sup>11</sup> Césaire, A. 2000. [1950] *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

<sup>12</sup> Fanon, F. 1986. [1952] *Black skin, white masks*. London: Pluto Press; Fanon, F. (1961) 2001. *The wretched of the earth*. London: Penguin Classics.

<sup>13</sup> Biko, S. 2004. [1978] *I write what I like*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

Fela pele ga Biko, e bile re boela ko bo1940, Anton Lembede o ne a tlhoma se e neng e tlaa nna motheo wa go ikamanya le Aforika mo Aforikaborwa. Lembede o ka tsewa e le motho wa ntlha go tlhalosa mogopolo wa boAforika ka tsela e e tlhaloganyegang go ya ka bokao jwa Aforikaborwa.<sup>14</sup> O ne a salwa morago ke Robert Sobukwe, yo o neng a tseweletsa go ikamanya le Aforika go ya ka bokao jwa Aforikaborwa.

Go tloga ka Harlem Renaissance, go ya go barwadiamotho ba ga Nardal kwa Paris, Césaire, Senghor le Damas, Fanon, Lembede go ya go Biko, go tlhageletse mokgatlho o o neng o batla go tlhaloganya, go sekaseka le go samagana le ditlamorago tse di bosula mo tlhaloganyong tsa phenyo ya bokoloniale le kgatelelo ya bosemorafe mo bantshong.

Ka kakaretso, mokgatlho o ne o batla go gwetlha mogopolo wa motheo wa gore bantsho ba a nyatsega, gammogo le go gwetlha le go lemosa bantsho gore ba seke ba tsoga ba dumetse gore ba a nyatsega. Sa botlhokwa, mokgatlho o ne o batla go goeletsa "lefatshe la bantsho" go ema kgatlanong le kgatelelo ya bona e e tshwanang.

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<sup>14</sup> Lembede, A. 1996. *Freedom on our lifetime: the collected writings of Anton Muziwakhe Lembede* (edited by Edgar, RR. and ka Msumza, L.). Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Samir Amin o ne a kopanya tshekatsheko ya mathata a ikonomi le kgatelelo ya kontinente ya Aforika mmogo le mogopolo wa gore Yuropa e kgolo mo dikontinenteng tse dingwe mme ka jalo e pateletsa mogopolo wa Seyuropa o o gatelelang. Amin e nnile wa ntlha go tlhama lereo la Boyuropa (Eurocentrism), fa a ne a lemoga gore kgatelelo ya Yuropa e atologile go feta tsa ikonomi. E akaretsa ditumelo tsothe tsa setso tsa lefatshe.<sup>15</sup>

Mo go Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, kgatelelo ya ikonomi ya Yuropa le Amerika Bokone mo dikontinenteng tse dingwe, jaaka e sekasekilwe la ntlha ke Nkrumah mme moragonyana ke Walter Rodney,<sup>16</sup> gape e iponagaditse ka go nyatsiwa ga kitso ya Aforika.

Maemo ano a a sa amogelesegeng a tlhoka gore go nne le maiteko a leruri a "go sutisa bogare", e leng Yuropa le Amerika Bokone, go tswa mo maemong a go gatelela.<sup>17</sup> Seno se ka fitlhelelwa ka, gareng ga maiteko a mangwe a mantsi, go tswela ka kgaratlho ya go fetola Aforika go tswa mo bokolonialeng, gonne e tshwanetse go tswa ka botlalo mo bokolonialeng, la ntlha "ka go tlosa bokoloniale mo ditlhaloganyong".<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Amin, S. 2010. [1988] *Eurocentrism: modernity, religion, and democracy: a critique of Eurocentrism and culturism*. 2nd Edition. New York: Monthly Review Press.

<sup>16</sup> Rodney, W. 1974. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.

<sup>17</sup> wa Thiong'o, N. 1993. *Moving the centre: the struggle for cultural freedoms*. London: James Currey; Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers; Portsmouth: Heinemann Educational.

<sup>18</sup> wa Thiong'o, N. 1986. *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. Portsmouth: Heinemann Educational.

## **Go bona koo Tsosoloso ya Aforika e gona**

Motsamaisatiro, se ke lekileng go se dira go fitlha ga jaana ke go bontsha ka moo maiteko a a farologaneng mo kontinenteng le mo Diaspora a tlhageletseng ka teng, le ka moo a susumetsaneng le go thusana ka teng go tlhama mananeo a a maphatamantsi go tiisa maiteko a go golola kontinente ya Aforika go tswa mo dikgoleng tsa bokoloniale le boimperiale.

Maiteko ano a nnile ka dipopego tse di farologaneng, a dirisitse dipuo tse di farologaneng mme a gateletse dintlha tse di farologaneng tsa botlhokwa.

Ga se gore go na le maiteko a a neng a le botoka go na le a mangwe. Se otlhe a se bontshang ke gore batho ba gola ka go sekaseka seemo se se gona go ya ka sa ga jaana, sa maloba, le ka maiteko a go bopa isago: go tloga ka *Garveyism* ka makoa a yona a a tseneletseng, go ya go *African Nationalism*, *Pan-Africanism*, *Harlem Renaissance*, Maatla a Bantsho (Black Power) le Itemogo ya Bantsho (Black Consciousness).

Mekgatlho eno yotlhe le megopolo e tshwanetse go tsewa jaaka maiteko a Maaforika go "samagana" le sebaki le seemo sa go tseelwa ditsabona le go gatelelwa.

Re tshwanetse go samagana le go tshaloganya Tsosoloso ya Aforika ka bokao jono jwa hisetori. Ka 2001, Eddy Maloka o ne a lemoga gore Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ne e tletsetletse gotlhe ka nako e go neng go buiwa ka yona mo maphateng a a farologaneng.<sup>19</sup>

Ka jalo, re kokoane fano gompiano go sekaseka mogopolo, letsholo le le re gapileng maikutlo go ya kwa bokhutlong jwa bo1990 le tshimologo ya bo2000.

Jaaka ke setse ke tthagisitse dintlha tse di tšileng pele ga dikganetsano tsa ga jaana malebana le seemo sa bokoloniale se re lebaneng naso, maikaelelo a me ga se go tthagisa tšatšhobo ya borutegi ya mogopolo wa Tsosoloso ya Aforika. Jaaka ke setse ke kaile, seo se tšaa tšhoka gore ke neele ka tšatšhelelo e e tšetseng gongwe athikele. Se ke eletsang go se dira ke go tšamela ka tšhekatsheko e e bonolo ya mogopolo oo.

### **Tsosoloso ya Aforika: Tšhekatsheko ka boripana**

Gape, jaaka ke setse ke kaile, re tshwanetse go dumelana gore ka mogopolo wa sešweng, Tsosoloso ya Aforika e ka latedisiwa mo

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<sup>19</sup> Maloka, E. 2001. The South Africa "African Renaissance" debate: a critique, <http://polis.sciencespobordeaux.fr/vol8ns/maloka.pdf> Accessed 31 August 2019.

kokoanyong ya ditlhamo tsa letlhale le legolo la Aforika, Cheik Anta Diop, mo *Towards the African Renaissance: essays in culture and development, 1946-1960*.<sup>20</sup>

Fa a tsweletsa ntlha ya gagwe le boikuelo, Anta Diop o ne a sa tlaleletse fela mo mokgathong o o neng o lwela kgololesego ya Aforika le batho ba gagwe fela e ne e le karolo ya batho ka kakaretso ba ba neng ba boeletsa ntlha ya gore batho botlhe ba a lekalekana, le gore ga go na ope wa rona yo o tsetsweng e le molaodi gongwe lekgoba.

Tsosoloso ya Aforika e e fitlhelwang le go tlhaloganngwa mo mokgathong o mogolo wa kgololesego ya Aforika, e na le hisetori e e humileng e e sa ntseng e tshwanetse go batlisisiwa le go amoganwa le ditshika tse di latelang.

Mo mookong wa yona, Tsosoloso ya Aforika ke selelo, kgoeletso ya, le go batho ba Aforika gore ba tsholetse diatla tsa bona mme ba balelwe mo banneng le basadi ba ba se kitlang ba letla ope go gataka seriti sa bona. Mme go feta foo, ke tshwetso ya batho ba Aforika go phimola ditiragatso tsotlhe tse di re busetsang morago mo Aforika, di ka ne di tlile mo kontinenteng ka ba bangwe gongwe ka rona. Ka jalo,

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<sup>20</sup> Diop, CA. 2000. *Towards the African Renaissance: essays in culture and development, 1946-1960*. New Jersey: Red Sea Press.



ke kgoeletso ya gore re tlhagole tsela ya tlhabololo ya kontinente; tsela e e lebisang kwa lehumong.

Fa e sale ka bo1960, kgoeletso e kgolo ya Tsosoloso ya Aforika e tlhoseditswe gape ke Motšhanselara wa rona le Moporesidente wa maloba wa Rephaboliki, Moporesidente Thabo Mbeki. Bontsi bo dumela gore puo ya gagwe ya 1966 ya *“I am an African”* <sup>21</sup> ka tiro ya go amogela molaotheo wa naga, e nnile tsosoloso ya mogopolo .

Fa e sale ka nako eo, bontsi bo ne ba tswela go tlhama, go ganetsana le go nyatsa mogopolo. Ka jalo, kokoano ya rona gompieno e tlaleletsa mo leetong leo, ka sepepego sa tshekatsheko ya gore re ka ne re tsamaile sekgala se se kana kang mo tseleng ya sepolotiki le ya botlhale, re samagane le dikgwetlho tse di lebaneng Aforika le batho ba gagwe.

### **Lefoko la tsiboso**

Motsamaisatiro, se ke lekileng go se dira mo puong eno ya kamogelo, e ne e le go batla Tsosoloso ya Aforika mo maitekong a mantsi le fa a amana e bile a tshegetsana a go dira lenaneo la kgololesego ya kontinente go tswa mo kgatelelong ya bokoloniale ka ikonomi le boimperiale.

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<sup>21</sup> Mbeki, T. 1996. Thabo Mbeki's speech: I am an African. [http://afrikatanulmanyok.hu/userfiles/File/beszedek/Thabo%20Mbeki\\_lam%20an%20African.pdf](http://afrikatanulmanyok.hu/userfiles/File/beszedek/Thabo%20Mbeki_lam%20an%20African.pdf). Accessed on 31 August 2019.

Megopolo e e amanang mo ntlheng eno, bogolo segolo go rona ba ba mo thutong e kgolwane, e akaretsa tiori ya go fedisa bokoloniale; Go fetolela ko Boaforikeng, e Moporesefara Malegapuru Makgoba e nnileng mongwe wa basimolodi ba yona kwa bogareng jwa bo1990 go fitlha kwa tshimologong ya bo2000, e leng se se farologaneng thata le se Moporofesara Kwesi Prah ka bomadimabe a fositseng ka gore ke kemisetso ya difatlhego tsa Mayuropa ka difatlhego tsa Maaforika;<sup>22</sup> le pusetsoaolo go batho ba tshimologo.

Go rona fano mo UNISA, tseno tsotlhe ke dipuo tse di mo tlotlofokong ya rona ya diphetogo, e go seng epe e e tsewang e le botoka mo go e nngwe, fela tsotlhe di re humisa mo leetong la rona – go seng jalo seo e tlaa bo e le mokgwatebo wa bomorafe mo seemong sa thuto.

### **Bokhutlo Go leba kwa *Die Groot Gariep***

Fa re ka bona tshusumetso mo go se Neville Alexander a neng a tlhola a se bua, a bua ka lehumo le le ka bonwang ka go godisa dipuo tsa Seaforika, go letla dithutapuo tsa diphetogo go tshwana le go letla le go keteka dinokana tse dintsi tse di tlang mmogo go fitlhelela kwa makopanelong a magolo a se re se bitsang *Gariep*, se ga jaana se

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<sup>22</sup> Prah, KK. 2017. Has Rhodes fallen? Decolonising the humanities in Africa and constructing intellectual sovereignty.

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315684012\\_Has\\_Rhodes\\_Fallen\\_Decolonizing\\_the\\_Humanities\\_in\\_Africa\\_and\\_Constructing\\_Intellectual\\_Sovereignty](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315684012_Has_Rhodes_Fallen_Decolonizing_the_Humanities_in_Africa_and_Constructing_Intellectual_Sovereignty). Accessed on 31 August 2019.

bidiwang ka tsela e e fosagetseng gotwe Noka e Tshetlha (Orange River).

Re emetse go reetsa Moporofesara Makgoba jaaka a tlaa bo a sekaseka dingwaga tse 21 tsa tsosoloso le tlhositso gape ya mogopolo wa Tsosoloso ya Aforika.

Mo boemong jwa lekgotla, botsamaisi, badiri le baithuti ba UNISA, ke rata go le amogela lotlhe.

Kamogelo e e kgethegileng go Moporofesara Makgoba!

Ke a leboga!