

KwiAfrika yamaAfrika
aseKhaya nakuMazwe ngaMazwe
Masakheni iAfrican Socialist International!

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Kwiminyaka engama-40 eyadlulayo uKwame Nkrumah, owayengumongameli waseGhana ngelo xesha, wahlaba umtyangapho wekhwelo lokumanywa kweAfrika kwincwadi yakhe ethi, *Africa Must Unite*. Nazi ezinye zezicatshulwa ekubalulekileyo ukuzikhankanya:

“Izwekazi lethu lisinika isithabazi somhlaba obukhulu bawo bukwindawo yesibini kwihlabathi. Ubutyebi bendalo baseAfrika buqikelelwa njengobona buninzi ukogqitha phantse bonke obamanye amazwekazi ehlabathini. Ukuze sizuze lukhulu kwizinto ezikhoyo nakwezo zinako ukufumaneka ukufezekisa indyabo nentlalo-ntlalo yoluntu esulungekileyo, kufuneka sihlanganise iinzame zethu, imithombo yendalo yethu, izakhono kunye neenjongo zethu...

“Ngokwengcamango yethu, izwekazi iAfrika neziqithi zayo yiAfrika ebumbeneyo. Sichasene nengcamango yokwahlulwa-hlulwa (*partition*) kwayo ngalo naluphi na uhlobo. Ukusuka eTangier okanye eCairo eseNtla ukuya kutsho kwelaseKapa eMzantsi, ukususela kwiCape Guardafui yelaseMpuma ukuya kwiCape Verde Islands eseNtshona, iAfrika ibumbene yaye ayahlukahlukenanga...

“Thina baseAfrika sizabalazela umanyano sikuqonda kakuhle ukunyaniseka kwenjongo yethu. Sidinga amandla akumanani amakhulu ahlangeneyo ethu kunye nezibonelelo zoncendo (*resources*) ukusikhusela kwizinto eziyingozi nezibukeka zintle eziyongwe ukusibuyisela kwikoloniyalizim ngokuyinkohliso. Sidinga amandla ukuze silwe nemimoya eseyizinzile enjongo zayo ikukwahlulahlula izwekazi lethu nebambezela izigidi ngezigidi zabantakwethu. Siyawadinga la mandla ukuze sizuze inkululeko epheleleyo yaseAfrika. Siyawadinga kuba sifuna ukuqhubela phambili ngokwakha inkqubo yentlalo nezozoqosho eya kunceda iinginginya zabantu bethu abaye besanda ngokwanda sibabeke kwizinga lentlalo elinokuthelekiswa nelo labo bakumazwe asele eqhubele phambili kwezophuhliso...

“Okokuqala, kufanele ukuba sibe nesicwangciso ngokubanzi sophuhliso lwezozoqosho ngaphakathi kwemida yezwekazi lethu. Oku kungandisa amandla ezoshishino noqoqosho lwaseAfrika. Ukuba sisahleli sahlukahlukene (*balkanized*) ngokweengingqi okanye imimandla, siya kuba zizisulu zekoloniyalizim ne-impiriyalizim. Isifundo esingumzekelo seeRiphabliki zamaZantsi Melika xa uzithelekisa namandla kunye nomoya wobunye (*solidarity*) welizwe elimanyeneyo laseMelika ucece gca kuwo wonke umntu.

“Imithombo yendalo yaseAfrika ingasetyenziswa bhetele kakhulu nangokuyinzuzo epheleleyo ngumntu wonke ukuba ingasekelwa kwisikhokelo sophuhliso esibanzi esiqulunqwe ngaphakathi kwimida yezwekazi. Isicwangciso esibanzi sezozoqosho, esiquka iAfrika emanyeneyo njengezwekazi, singawandisa kakhulu amandla ethu kwezoshishino kunye noqoqosho. Kufanele ukuba ngoku sicinge nzulu malunga neendlela zokwakha iMalike eBanzi yeAfrika eManyeneyo

(Common Market of a United Africa) singavumeli ukulukuhlwa yinzuzo enguphoyiyana ebambisene noko kwaziwa njengokuba yi*European Common Market* (IMalike eBanzi yaseYurophu). Thina baseAfrika siye saziqhelisa ukujonga kakhulu kumazwe angaphandle ithuba elide kakhulu ngokuphathelele kwimiba yezoqoqosho kunye neyethutho yethu. Masikhe siqalise ukujonga ngaphakathi kwiZwekazi iAfrika ngokumalunga nemiba yophuhliso lwayo. Iindlela zethu zonxibelelwano zayilelwa phantsi kolawulo lwekoloniyalizim ukuze zinabele eYurophu nakwezinye iindawo, endaweni yokuba ziphuhlise ngaphakathi kwemida yeli, phakathi kwezixeko kunye needolophana zethu. Thina baseAfrika sineziveliso zolimo ezininzi, izimbiwa kunye nezibonelelo ezisebenzisa amandla afumaneka emanzini (*water-power resources*). Le mithombo iphantse yanendumasi engaka ingasetyenziswa yaye imfifithwe kakhulu ukuphumeza iimfuno zaseAfrika nezabantu baseAfrika, ukuba siyiphuhlisa ngaphakathi kuphela kwimida kaRhulumente woManyano lweZizwe zaseAfrika...

“Impumelelo yeAfrika ekhululekileyo, inkululeko eya isanda yeli lizwekazi, kunye nophuhliso olusingisa kwelo kamva liqaqambileyo nesibeke kulo ithemba kunye namalinge ethu kulo, ixhomekeke kumanyano lwezopolitiko.

“Phantsi komanyano oluluqilima lwezopolitiko lwaseAfrika kungavela iAfrika eManyeneyo, enobungangamsha namandla, apho imida eyasikwa ngokweengingqi ngeengingqi oko kusenziwa yikoloniyalizim iya kutshitshiswa ingabi lutho, yaye iya kube isebenzela ukuba kuhlanganiswe ngokufezekileyo nangokupheleleyo isicwangciso esisiso sezoqoqosho lwethu kulandelwa inkqubo emanyeneyo yezopolitiko. Izinto ezisimanyayo zibaluleke ukogqitha neengxaki ezisahlula-hlulayo ngoku, yaye injongo yethu mayibe kukusekwa nokuqaqanjiswa kwesidima, inkqubela-phambili nendyebo yaseAfrika.

“Ubungqina bucacile bokuba umanyano lwezwekazi iAfrika yeyona nto iyimfuneko nengenakubalekwa ukuba siqinisekile ngokuqhubela phambili siphumeze ithemba nezicwangciso zethu zokumiliselela intlalo yale mihla eya kunika abantu bethu ithuba lokuxhamla ubomi obububo nobanezisayo. Izinto ezisimanyayo ziyinxalenye yethu yaye zibaluleke kakhulu kunemimoya enyanzeliswa phezu kwethu nesenza ukuba sahlukane...

“Nanku umngeni ojulwe yimbali kwizandla zeenkokeli zaseAfrika. Uxanduva lukuthi lokuba silibambe ngezandla ezingenamkhinqi eli thuba liyimbunguzulu ukungqina ukuba ubungqondi babantu baseAfrika bungayoyisa imimoya yeyantlukwano phantsi kwenkqubo yobuzwe obuzimele geqe ngokuthi sihlangane ngokukhawuleza, ngenxa yodumasi olukhulu kunye nentlalo-ntle yanaphakade, singene kuManyano lweZizwe zeAfrika.”

Lo gama ikhwelo likaNkrumah leAfrika emanyeneyo liqhubeka ngokuhlokoma, namhlanje sifikelele ekuluqondeni ngokukuko umanyano lweAfrika. Akuphelelanga ekubeni umanyano lweAfrika lube yinto enentsingiselo kwezopolitiko nezoqoqosho kuphela, lunaso kananjalo isiseko salo ekulungiseni okusisiphumo se-impiriyalizim ekhokelela kwincinezelo nasekuxhatshazweni kwabantu baseAfrika eAfrika nakwihlabathi lonke.

Ngaphezulu, masicacelwe kukuba inkcazelo ngomanyano lwethu yileyo ihlonipha ubaluleko lwamaAfrika achitha-chithwa kulo lonke ihlabathi ngenxa yobukhoboka bobukolonyali baseYurophu obanyanzeliswa ngebhaxa. Ngenene, inyaniso

ngokuphathelele kwingcinezelo esiyifumana kwihlabathi lonke ineziseko zayo ezingaphakathi kwinkqubo efanayo yezembali ezabangela ukuba iimeko mazibe yile nto ziyiyo eAfrika.

Thina singabantu abamanyeneyo abaye bachithwa-chithwa ngolunya kwihlabathi lonke, nabamizabalazo yabo iliwa ngokwahlukeneyo, xa sithetha izinto ngokobunyani bazo, yimizamo yokusombulula le ntwela-bulungisa yandeleyo yokungenelela kwabantu baseYurophu nasenzo eso esakhokelela ekubeni thina maAfrika asekhaya nakumazwe ngamazwe sisuswe ngolunya ekuxhamleni ubuncwane bethu.

Lo gama umba wokohluthwa kobutyebi obuphathekayo baseAfrika usaziwa ngokungabheke phi ngabahloko hla umanyano lweAfrika, asinto iqondakalayo eyokuba iAfrika iye yahluthwa ubumnini obubaluleke kunene ngokumalunga namandla obukhoboka bobukoloniyali.

Icebo lokulwela inkululeko maliyuke onke amaAfrika akuzo zonke iindawo
IManifesto yeAfrican Socialist International eyaye yamkelwa kwinkomfa ye-ASI ngomhla we-16 Aprili 2000, icacisa malunga nale nyaniso:

“Silwela ukubuyisela ikamva lethu kuthi njengabantu abayimbumba abaye bachitha-chithwa ngolunya kwihlabathi lonke elahlulwe ngokwemida eyenziweyo nasenzo esi siye sasingela phantsi imfano yethu yaze yangxenga ifuthe lomanyano lwamandla ethu.

“Sikho kwiindawo zonke. Sikho eChicago, eIllinois; naseFlorida, eTexas, eCarlifonia naseNew York eMelika nakuMntla Melika ngokunjalo naseToronto kunye naseMontreal eKhanada. Siyafumaneka eBrasilia eBrazil, eCaracas eVenezuela, eBluefield eNicaragua kuMbindi nakuMzantsi Melika.

“Sikho eTrinidad, eHaiti, eJamaica, eGuadeloupe, eMartinique, eDominica, eBahamas, eCuba, ePuerto Rico, kwiDominican Riphabliki, eBarbados nakuzo zonke iziqithi zaseCaribbean.

“Sikho eLondon, eBirmingham, eManchester, eLiverpool naseNottingham, eNgilane. Sikho eParis, eLille, eLyons, eMarseilles kunye naseNice eFransi. Sikho eBrussels, eBelgium, eAmsterdam, eHolani, eBerlin, eJamani, eRoma, kwelaMataliyane, eSpain, kwelamaPhuthukezi, eRashiya, eTurkey, nakuyo yonke iMpuma Yurophu.

“Sihlala singamakhulukhulu ezigidi kwizwekazi looMawokhulu bethu lamhlamnenene eliyindawo apho kwadalelwa khona umntu kwiminyaka engama-150,000 eyadlulayo nelaye lasisiseko senkcubeko yoluntu kwiminyaka engama-10,000 eyadlulayo.”

Ngoko ke, xa sithetha ngenkululeko yaseAfrika kunye neyabantu baseAfrika masikwazi ukuqulunqa indlela eqwalasela yonke imithombo yaseAfrika, kubandakanywa nabo bantu baseAfrika, thina buqu, saye sathathwa eAfrika oko kusenziwa yinkqubo yobu-impiriyali yokusahlutha ubumi bethu neyaye yakhokelela ekubeni iAfrika ifune ukukhululwa kumakhamandela eyayikuwo.

Kukho intetho esoloko ithethwa yokuba ngenxa yokuba i-impiriyalizim yaludodobalisa ngabom uphuhliso lwabasebenzi kwizwekazi laseAfrika, iAfrika ayisokuze iyiphumeze inguqu ephelileyo yobusoshiyali ukuze ikhule ngokukhawuleza kuze kubuyiselwe iinginginya zabasebenza nzima bekwangabavelisi kubunini babo

bemveli njengeenkokeli zoluntu. Kukho umngeni kwikhwelo lethu lokukhululwa nokumanywa kweAfrika phantsi kwesikhokelo sabasebenzi baseAfrika abazibandakanya nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo (*poor peasantry*) kule njongo, nangenxa yokuba kukho nokusingelwa phantsi okuzondelelayo kweenzame zaba balimi.

Nakuba kunjalo, imposiso kwezi ntetho ayilelanga kuphela kuxhomekeko lwazo kwiinkcazelo zabo malunga nabasebenzi ngokwengcamango yamasoshiyali aseYurophu aneenjongo zawo odwa. Ibangelwa kananjalo kukungabi namnqweno wokuqaphela ukuba abasebenzi baseAfrika, nangona bengaphuhlanga ngokulinganayo kwiAfrika yonke, zikho iindawo apho bafumaneka khona ngobuninzi kwiZwekazi kunokuba kunjalo kunezinye, nanjengokuba abalimi entlalweni bengafumani mpatheko-mbi kunokuba kunjalo kwezinye iindawo.

Amandla enene nombono omalunga neAfrika ekhululekileyo nengaqanyangelwanga yimida eyenziweyo – imida emsebenzi wayo ikukusigcina sicinezelekile – ingasivumela ukuba sicebe indlela eyiyo yokusetyenziswa kwamandla oluntu naphi na apho afumaneka khona, nokuba kukwiZwekazi okanye kumazwe ngamazwe. Kungoko, abasebenzi baseMzantsi Afrika nabaseNigeria eAfrika, okanye abaseBrasilia naseDetroit kuMzantsi nakuMntla Melika bengathathwa kulo naluphi na uphononongo lwamandla abanawo eAfrika okuhlenganisa abasebenzi ukukhokela idabi lokulwela inguqu epheleleyo silenze izwekazi lethu libe semagqabini kwezoshishino.

Ngaphezulu, la mandla ahlangeneyo aba basebenzi baseAfrika aye adlala eyona ndima ebalulekileyo kuphuhliso lwamashisini kunye nezemali eYurophu nakuMntla Melika, anako, xa sele esezandleni zabasebenzi abamanyeneyo buqu, ukukhokelela iAfrika kwilizwe elixhathise ngezoshishino ngokwemigaqo yenkqubo yobusoshiyali.

Ekugqibeleni, kuxhomekeke kwabo bayinxalenye yethu abazimanya nale ngcamango ebhalwe kweli phepha ukwakha iAfrican Socialist International. I-ASI iya kuba nguvimba wefilosofi, wemidla kunye neemfuno zabasebenzi baseAfrika – nakuba isencinane kangaka kweli nqanaba ngokophuhliso lwayo – ukukhulula nokumanya amaAfrika kunye nabantu bayo kwanokuzitshintsha ibe ngabasebenzi abalawulayo abazimisele ukuphelisa naphakade apha eAfrika nakwihlabathi lonke ukwahlulwa-hlulwa kwabantu ngokweendidi zabo zentlalo.

Ubuzwe babamhlophe busekwe kwamanqwanqwa okuxhaphaza amaAfrika

Le nkqubo iyonke yoqoqosho lwezopolitiko yehlabathi imvelaphi yayo isekutyakatyweni kusingelwe phantsi iAfrika. Ukuthinjwa kweAfrika nokurhweba ngabantu abamnyama, nokwakusisiseko solu qoqosho lwelizwe lanamhlanje, kwaba sisiqalo sobungxowa-nkulu (*capitalism*), neyaqalwa ngokweziseko zamagunya abamhlophe kwihlabathi.

Ukuphanziswa kwantlandlalo kweAfrika, okwaye kwabonelela ngenkqubo apho ama-impiriyali okanye abo banengqiqo “yobuhlanga”, ubutyebi, kunye nokuqaliswa kwenkqubo yezoshishino kwaye kwaphunyezwa, kwaze kwayitshabalalisa inkqubo yoqoqosho lwepolitiki yemveli yaseAfrika (*indigeneous political economy of Africa*). Kwayitshintsha iAfrika ubukho bayo njengezwekazi yayejolise ekuboneleleni ngokuqingqwa nokubunjwa kwakhona kobomi benene baseYurophu nobaseMntla Melika.

Iziseko zoqoqosho lwaseAfrika zaye zabangelwa kukurhweba ngamakhoboka

Iwaze lwalungelelaniswa ukuze lusebenzisane nekoloniyalizim kuze emva koko kulandele iniyo-koloniyalizim. Ezi zinto zisebenza njengeendlela zokuthatha imithombo yendalo yaseAfrika isiwe eYurophu, eMntla Melika nekungokunje ithunyelwa ngokwandayo kwelaseJapani, kunye nasekusebenziseni ngokuguguqu-guqukayo (*manipulate*) imeko yezopolitiko yaseAfrika ukuphumeza iinjongo ezikhohlakeleyo, zangaphandle oko kusenziwa ngokudlela indlala abantu bethu.

Imithombo yendalo eyabiwa eAfrika – leyo iphathekayo kunye namandla oluntu – yaye yabiwa ukuze iphuhlise uqoqosho lwehlabathi ngengqiqo ethi ubutyebi bulunge ukuba buxhanyulwe ngamazwe aseNtshona, bona bubonakala “njengobumhlophe” ize yona intlupheko ibe yinto eyabelwa uninzi lwabanye bethu. Enyanisweni nayiphi na ingxaki ejongene neZwekazi laseAfrika kunye nobomi babantu bethu naphi apho bakhoyo ibekho ngenxa yesi “sono semvelo” (“*original sin*”), njengoko uKarl Marx esichaza ngolo hlobo.

Ekuqaleni kwenkqubo yokuzingelwa nokuthinjwa kwamaAfrika asiwe ebukhobokeni bobukoloniya, apho izigidi ngezigidi zawo zaye zathuthwa ngeenqanawa zathunyelwa kwindawo ngoku ebizwa ngokuba yiMelika nakwezinye iindawo, inkqubo yoqoqosho lwezopolitiko yemveli yafumana ukuba sisigculelo sokuhlaselelwa. Ubutyebi baseAfrika, ngokubini obo buphathekayo kunye namandla oluntu, babuthunyelwa eYurophu apho babufika bube negalelo kwinkqubo yezentlalo eyayingekaphucuki ngaloo maxesha.

Ukwanda koongxowa-nkulu baseYurophu nabasebenzi kwaye kwenzeka ngenxa yokufika kwenkqubo yokukhotyokiswa kwamaAfrika nangolunye uhlobo lophanziso. Ubutyebi obabuthunyelwa eYurophu buvela kunaniselwano ngamakhoboka kunye nasekuphangweni kweAfrika kunye nehlabathi ngabantu baseYurophu kwabangela ukubhukuqwa kwabezindlu zasebukhosini eYurophu nasekwandeni koongxowa-nkulu, ababetyetyiswe yinkqubo yobukhoboka kunye nobunyangaza (*plunder*).

Ngokulandelelanayo, obu bukhoboka nobunyangaza bazisa intshabalalo nentlupheko eAfrika baze abo babekwamanye amazwe bazifumana besiba ngamaxhoba ophango lwaseYurophu. UKarl Marx, ephefumla ngeziphumo ezadalwa bobu bunyangaza obabujolise ekuphuhliseni uluntu lwaseYurophu, wayengakubiza oku (“njengenkqubo eyayingekaphuhli yokuqokelela imali”) (“*primitive accumulation of capital*”), “iluqokelelo olungesosiphumo senkqubo yemveliso esekelwe kubungxowa-nkulu koko isisiqalo sabo.” (“*an accumulation not the result of the capitalist mode of production but it’s starting point*.”) Kukuqokelela ubutyebi ngobuninzi babo, uqhuba atsho uMarx, “okudlala kuqoqosho lwezopolitiko phantse indima enye nefanayo neyesono semveli esixelwa zizifundo ezingcwele.” (*It is an accumulation, Marx asserts, which “plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology.”*)

Ubukhoboka bobukoloniya bakhokelela ekuqalisweni kobungxowa-nkulu. Badala ubukho babasebenzi baze bayiphumeza inkqubo yoqoqosho yezoshishino yaseYurophu. Ekuhambeni kwexesha ngethuba lokuqhuba kwale nkqubo, imfuneko yeziveliso zendalo (*raw materials*) zokubonelela imizi-mveliso eyayihluma yangena kwindawo yorhwebo olwalusekwe kulimo lobukoloniya lokurhweba ngamakhoboka (*agrarian-based colonial slave trade*). Ngoko ke, ulawulo lwekoloniyalizim oluthe ngqo (*direct colonialism*) eAfrika nakwezinye iindawo lwaba yeyona nto inengeniso kunokuxhwilwa kwabantu baseAfrika. Ulawulo lwekoloniyalizim oluthe ngqo lwasebenzisa iziseko zoqoqosho ezifanayo ezazakhiwe ngenkqubo yokurhweba

ngamakhoboka.

Nakuba kunjalo, ulawulo lwekoloniyalizim oluthe ngqo lwafumana ukuhlaselwa kwizwe lonke ukuqalisa kwemfazwe yehlabathi yama-impiriyali eyayiphakathi kwama-impiriyali angoongalo-nkulu yaye yanika umtyhi wokuba imibutho elwela inkululeko icele umngeni kuyo. Ukukhula kwemibutho elwela inkululeko yesizwe kwakhokelela ekubeni ama-impiriyali abhenele kwinkqubo ebizwa ngokuba yiniyo-koloniyalizim (*neo-colonialism*) ngokukaKwame Nkrumah. Olu hlobo lwekoloniyalizim, olwaziwa ngokuba yinkululeko yephepha okanye “yeflegi”, lwaye lwakhokelela kulawulo lwamagunya abamhlophe ngeenkokeli ezimnyama (*white power in black faces*). Abalawuli bamakoloniya baye benza imiboniso emikhulu yokutshintshela amagunya olawulo kumabutho omthonyama. Nakuba kunjalo, njengokuba kunjalo eIrakhi namhlanje, ama-impiriyali asalawula ngokusebenzisa la mabutho omthonyama, ngokulawula nokubambelela ngokungagungqiyo kuqoqosho nakwizixhobo zokusebenza zoburhulumente, ezaziqingqelwe ukuxhaphaza.

Ngaphezulu, kwimeko enjengale yalapha eAfrika, esekelwe kubudlelane bokumfifitha igazi nalapho isekelwe khona yonke le nkqubo isisakhiwokazi se-impiriyalizim, yaze yahlulwa-hlulwa ubukhulu becala yangoonomgogwana bezizwe ezincinane ezazisebenza kuphela njengeziseko ekuthathwa kuzo imithombo yendalo ithunyelwe kumazwe ama-impiriyali, nkqu naloo nkqubo yokuzama ukuvelisa yasebenza ngokuchaseneyo nabantu kuba iziveliso zazingaxhanyulwa ngabantu baseAfrika buqu.

Imibutho elwela inkululeko yobuzwe baseAfrika yalwa ngokuchaseneyo nekoloniyalizim, kubandakanywa nekoloniyalizim yamasetlani aseMzantsi Afrika nakwindawo eyayisaya kwaziwa njengeRhodesia, yonke ilwile isilwela ukufumana ulawulo oko ikwenza ngaphakathi kwimida edalwe ngamakoloniya. Oku kuye kwathetha ukuba nokuba siyintoni na isiphumo, ummandla ngamnye walowo “ukhululekileyo” wawuye uqhubeke ngokuxhomekeka kubudlelane nama-impiriyali ukufumana izibonelelo zoncedo. Nkqu nanamhla uninzi lwento ebizwa ngokuba lurhwebo yaseAfrika yenzeka phakathi kweAfrika, naloo mazwe ayesaya kulawula njengamakoloniya kunye neMelika, ngokunjalo naphakathi kwamanye amazwe angama-impiriyali. Ngumlinganiselo ongaphantsi kwe-10 pesenti, kwezinye iimeko ode ube mncinane uyokufikelela kwi-3 pesenti, yorhwebo olwenzeka phakathi kwamaAfrika buqu.

Namhlanje eAfrika ama-impiriyali athathe amanyathelo okudodobalisa naliphi na ilinge lokuzilawula kwalo naliphi na ilizwe laseAfrika. Ilizwe ngalinye laseAfrika lixhomekeke “kuncedo” lwama-impiriyali ukuhlawula imivuzo yabezolawulo, abasebenzi bakarhulumente kunye nabezomkhosi. Ulawulo lwezooqoqosho nemiba ephathelele kwiziseko zopolitiko luvumela abarhwaphilizi-mhlaba ukuba baziguqugule iimeko ngokohlobo oluya kuba yinzuzo kubo oko kwenza ukuba iAfrika yonakalelwe. Le mida ikhoyo eyanyanzeliswa ngebhaxa ngama-impiriyali iluthintela ngokupheleleyo yaye iyawadodobalisa amandla omanyano lweAfrika. Ezi meko zinje zingunobangela wesiphithiphithi kunye nentswelo yabantu bethu abaseAfrika kunye nengqiqo yobuzwe eziintsalu yabantu bethu abaye bafumana ukuchithwa-chithwa kwihlabathi lonke.

Imbali yentsusa yokuhlwempuzeka kweAfrika

Urhwebo olunomkhethe netyala elinalo izwekazi lethu, zinto ezo xa zidibene zombini zadalwa bubukho amakhulu ngamakhulu eminyaka bongenelelo lwama-impiriyali eAfrika zinto ezo eqinisekileyo ngazo le nkomfa ukuba iya kuziguqula, ukuqhubela phambili ngokulwa nentlupheko egqugqisayo eAfrika.

Le yintswela-bulungisa enkulu kakhulu kunokuba abantu bebesoloko becinga kwixesha elidlulileyo. Ama-impiriyali angabagxeki bethu asoloko ekhomba umnwe kuhlwempuzeko lwethu njengento esiyenze ngokwethu ngabom. Nkqu nangona sebekhomba loo nto ibizwa ngokuba yinkqubela-phambili yamanye amazwe kunye nabantu ababesaya kuba phantsi kolawulo lobungqawangangqwili oluthe ngqo lobukoloniyali (*direct colonial domination*), benza ibango lokuba, iAfrika ngumzekelo wemeko esebugxwayibeni ebifanele nje kukusizelwa.

Nakuba kunjalo, ukuba singayamkela inyaniso yokuba eyona njongo iphambili kuluntu sisiveliso (*production*) kunye nokuveliswa ngokutsha (*reproduction*) kobomi benene, kulula ukubona ukuba, iAfrika, imithombo yayo yendalo kunye nabantu baseAfrika kwihlabathi lonke besebenza, ngokukodwa, ukuvelisa ngokutsha ubomi benene obuxhanyulwa ngamazwe angama-impiriyali kungalungiselelwa ziqu zethu.

Ukuba singayamkela ingcamango yokuba ixabiso (*value*) liqatshelwa ngokwexesha elimiselweyo lokuvelisa nokuba le fomula ikwaquka ixabiso lamandla oluntu, kuye kucace ukuba abantu baseAfrika noninzi lwabantu abasehlabathini abalifumani ixabiso lokuxhamla intsebenzo, naxabiso elo ebeliya kuba nako ukuvelisa kwakhona amandla ethu okusebenza, ixabiso, ngokwamazwi, belinokukwazi ukuvumela isiveliso nokuveliswa kwakhona kobomi benene.

Le nyaniso icace gca yiyo ebangela ukungalingani kubume bentlalo kunye nakwiminyaka yokudla ubomi yamaAfrika xa kuthelakiswa nabanye, ngokukodwa abo bakumazwe ama-impiriyali. Oku yintsingiselo “yophuhliso lodlelo-ndlala” (“*underdevelopment*”) lomAfrika.

Oku sisiseko samazwi okuqukumbela afumaneka kwisigqibo ngokumalunga netyala leAfrika ekwafikelelwa kuso kwinkomfa yeASI eyayingomhla we-16 Apreli 2000, eLondon. Esi sicutshulwa sicutshulwe kwisigqibo sicacisa ngesiqalo sembali yale ntswela-bulungisa.

“Iziphumo zoqoqosho ezinxulumene nobukhoboka kunye nekoloniyalizim zisaqhubeka ukubenza nzima ubomi babantu baseAfrika. Ubukhoboka nekoloniyalizim yaba ziintsika ezakhokelela kwimpucuko yaseYurophu, kwiinzame zabo zokuhlangula abantu babo kwizifo, kwintlupheko nakwinkqubo yamandulo yokubusisa ngomhlaba (*feudal backwardness*), oko kusenzeka ngokudlelwa indlala kwezopolitiko, intlalo kunye nophuhliso loqoqosho lweAfrika kunye nolwabantu bethu. Eneneni, izizathu, eziquka ukurhweba ngabantu baseAfrika, zezona mpawu zingundoqo zokuqokelelwa kobutyebi ngendlela eyayingekaphuhli okanye yezemali eyayisisiqalo nemfuneko ekuqaliseni ubungxowa-nkulu (*capitalism*) njengenqubo yoqoqosho yehlabathi.

“Ukutyakatywa kweAfrika yiYurophu kwayitshintsha iAfrika neYurophu. Ukuthunyelwa kweziveliso eziphathekayo kunye namandla oluntu avela eAfrika esiwa eYurophu kwadlala indima enkulu nasekunyuseni izinga lempilo yamabutho entlalo. Phakathi kwala mabutho matsha entlalo kwakukho oongxowankulu ababesandula kufumana ukutyeba, betyetyiswa kukurhweba ngamakhoboka,

ngokunjalo nayintsebenzo yabasebenzi baseYurophu, naphuhliso olo olwaye lwahlanguka inginginya yamahlwempu awayesebenza nzima phantsi kobukhoboka benkqubo yokubusisa ngomhlaba (*feudal bondage*), bebanika isabelo sendyebo esetyenzwe ngamandla abo. Uninzi lwamaYurophu akudidi oluphakathi ayephila ngokuthambileyo nangolonwabo lwadalwa kananjalo yile nkqubo, njengoko amawaka ngamawaka abasebenzi baseYurophu baye bazimanya nodidi loohlohlesakhe abathile oko bekwenza ngokusijikela ngemva.

“Ngoko ke, inkqubela-phambili eyenzeka kuwo onke amabutho entlalo anamandla aseYurophu yazuzwa ngokukhwela kwinqwanqwa lengcinezelo yamaAfrika. Okuqaphelekayo kukuba, oohlohlesakhe kunye nabasebenzi baseYurophu, bengala mabutho ezintlalo angquzulanayo, benziwa ngenxa yokuthinjwa kwentlalo nemithombo yendalo yaseAfrika. Omabini la mabutho ayibona isisoyikiso imizabalazo yabantu baseAfrika echaseneyo nengcinezelo yethu.

“Ukubiwa kobutyebi kwizwe looMawokhulu eAfrika ngoohlohlesakhe bezindlu zasebukhosini nababenemihlaba baseYurophu kwawasingela phantsi amagunya nengqiqo yabaphetheyo, nababenemihlaba etyebileyo, kwaze oko kwakhokelela kwimizabalazo yeenguqu ephelileyo yedemokrasi kulo lonke elaseYurophu nakuMntla Melika. Le nkqubo yakhulula abasebenzi baseYurophu, yabenza ukuba babe ngabanini-zindlu okokuqala kwimbali yabo.

“Obu butyebi babiwayo baseAfrika baye kananjalo bakhokelela kwinguqu kwezoshishino kwaze kwanenxaxheba ekuphelisweni kwenkqubo yobukhoboka eyathi yalandelwa kukuqaliswa kwekoloniyalizim ethe ngqo, nokuququzelela ukohluthwa kwemithombo yendalo yaseAfrika nakwezinye iindawo. Ikoloniyalizim yaye yakhulisa iifektri eziqeshe abasebenzi baseYurophu, kwaze oko kwakhokelela ekwandeni kophuhliso loqoqosho olwaluvumela ukuba iYurophu yogqithe ihlabathi lonke.

“Ngelo xesha, iziphumo zobukhoboka eAfrika yayizezidala intshabalalo. Urhwebo ngamakhoboka kwalutshabalalisa uqoqosho lwezopolitiko kwinxalenye yeAfrika, lwaze lwadambisa lwema ngxi olo lungazange lutshabalale. Zonke izixeko, ngokukodwa ezo zakwimimandla eselunxwemeni, zatshatyalaliswa, baze abo babe ngabemi ababezama ukusaba badudulwa ngabo babengabathengisi bamakhoboka bebadulela embindini welizwe. Idolophu needolophana ezincinane zatshatyalaliswa akwabikho nabungqina bokuba zakhe zakho ngaphambili. Olunye uluntu lwalunengcinga ebubudenge yokuba lwaluya kusinda lona kwiziphumo zorhwebo ngamakhoboka ngokuthi lurhwebe ngoodade nabantakwalo.

“Inani elingaziwayo lamaAfrika – ezinye iingqikelelo-manani zalo zazide ziyokutsho kuma-200 ezigidi – laye laxhwilwa eAfrika, iAfrika yahluthwa amafama, iinzululwazi, abaphilisi (*healers*), amagcisa kwimisebenzi yezandla, ootitshala, iinkokeli zezenkolo nezopolitiko, iimbongi, iingcali zefilosofi kunye neemvumi – ngenene, zonke iinkalo zoluntu ezaziyimfuneko ukuze kubekho inkqubela-phambili kunye nophuhliso lwezoqoqosho. IAfrika yonke yajika yangumhlaba obanzi wokuzingelwa kwabantu. Inkqubo yoqoqosho lwezopolitiko eyayidla ngokondla, yambese ize yakhele amaAfrika izindlu kwelaseAfrika yatshatyalaliswa. Indawo yayo yathathwa luqoqosho lwezopolitiko lwangaphandle olwaye londla, lwambesa lwaze lwakhela amaYurophu izindlu kudlelelelwa abantu bethu kunye nophuhliso lweZwekazi looMawokhulu.

“Iziseko zoqoqosho lwaseYurophu olwaye lwamfifitha lwathimba, lwaze lwathutha abantu baseAfrika ukuze kuthengiswe ngabo njengamakhoboka zaye zalunga-lungiswa ukwenzela ukuba kube nokufunyanwa, kuthuthwe kuze kube nokuthengiswa iziveliso zendalo (*raw materials*) ezaye zabiwa eAfrika ukuxhasa ezoshishino lwaseYurophu, nolwalusisiphumo sokuqala kophuhliso lwaseYurophu olwabangelwa kukwenziwa amakhoboka kwabantu baseAfrika. Eli yayilithuba lokulawula kwekoloniyalizim yaseYurophu.

“Ukukhula nempumelelo yokuchaswa kwengcinezelo kunye nokulwa kwamaAfrika ukuxhatshazwa ngamaYurophu kwabangela ukuba ulawulo lobungqwangangqwili bobukolonyali oluthe ngqo lungaphumeleli. Imizabalazo yokulwela inkululeko yesizwe yabantu bethu yakhula kulo lonke elaseAfrika nakwihlabathi lonke. Njengokuba ayesenjenjalo amaAfrika eAfrika nakumazwe ngamazwe, abantu baseAsiya nakwiMelika yabesiLatini babecela umngeni kumagunya olawulo lobukolonyali lwabamhlophe bekuloo mazwe abo. Umbutho owasekwa nguMarcus Garvey wabhalisa amalungu nabaxhasi ababengaphezulu kwe-11 lezigidi zamaAfrika kwihlabathi lonke.

“KwiAfrika jikelele – eMzantsi Afrika, eKenya, eGhana, eCameroon, eGuinea, eKhongo, eRwanda, eJiphethe, njl njl – abantu bethu babenomoya wovukelo, bade ngamanye amaxesha basebenzise izikhali, ukulwa nabacinezeli bethu abangamakolonyali. Uvukelo lwamaAfrika lwakwenza kwayimfuneko ukuba amaYurophu alujike imbonakalo (*disguise*) ulawulo noxhaphazo ngokubhenela kulawulo lobukolonyali olungathe ngqo (*indirect colonial rule*) olubizwa ngokuba yiniyo-koloniyalizim (*neo-colonialism*) nguKwame Nkrumah, inkokeli yokuqala ukunyulwa ngentando yesininzi emva kolawulo lobukolonyali eGhana.

“Iniyo-koloniyalizim lulawulo lwabamhlophe kusetyenziswa urhulumente womntu omnyama. Lulawulo lwabamhlophe olunyanzeliswe yingcamango eye ikhula yeenginginya zabacinezela baseAfrika yokunikezela ngobuqheleqhele (*trappings*) bolawulo lwezopolitiko obabusaya kuba phantsi kwabamhlophe, lo gama ngaxeshanye lusephantsi kwabo ulawulo lwezoqoqosho, nanto leyo icacisa ngokuphandle iingxaki ulawulo lwezopolitiko oluphantsi kwazo. Iniyo-koloniyalizim iqamele ngeziseko ezifanayo neze-impiriyalizim ezabangelwa yinkqubo yokurhweba ngamakhoboka.

“Into eziqaqambise ngayo iniyo-koloniyalizim kwezopolitiko ngamandla ayo okufihla indima enoxhatshazo yolawulo lwabamhlophe ngokunikezela uxanduva lokuhlwempuza iinginginya zamaAfrika kwiinkokeli ezimnyama ezingoonomgogwana nezinikwe nje amagunya okuphatha. Iniyo-koloniyalizim yenza kube nzima kwiinginginya zaseAfrika ukuqonda inxaxheba yolawulo lwama-impiriyali amhlophe kwintlalo yethu. Iniyo-koloniyalizim ikwadala ingqiqo (*rationale*) yeyantlukwano eqhubela phambili eAfrika ngokumisela imida yobukolonyali njengendawo apho ulawulo kunye neenkokeli zeniiyo-koloniyalizim ezingoonomgogwana ziye zisanda khona. Oku kukwadala iimeko ezenza kube nzima kwiAfrika ukujongana nabaxhaphazi bayo ngokudibeneyo, oko kwenza ukuba kube lula kwiintshaba zethu ukuxhaphaza amanye alo mazwe mancinane oko zikwenza kuwo ngokuzimeleyo.

“Ngokwezoqoqosho, iniyo-koloniyalizim ithintela uphuhliso olululo loqoqosho lwesizwe saseAfrika onke ngokuvalela ubomi bezoqoqosho babantu

bethu ngaphakathi kwimida ayayilwa ingekho enye ingcinga ngaphandle kokuquzelela ukuthathwa kobutyebi bususwa eAfrika busiwe eYurophu, kwasiwa eMntla Melika nangokukhulayo buthunyelwa eJapani. Iniyo-koloniyalizim ithintela iAfrika ekuphu icebo elinye lezorhwebo ize bangele ukuba iYurophu noMntla Melika zibe namandla awodwa okuqingqa amaxabiso asuka eAfrika, athunyelwa kumazwe angaphandle kubandakanywa zonke iintlobo zorhwebo. Oku ngumqathango omiselweyo wokuqhutyelwa phambili ngokuhluthwa kobutyebi baseAfrika ngamazwe aseYurophu nawaseMntla Melika.

“Iniyo-koloniyalizim iyancedisa kwintlekele yezoqoqosho iAfrika ezifumana ijongene nayo. Namhlanje ziipesenti ezisixhenxe kuphela zorhwebo lwaseAfrika olwenzeka ngaphakathi kwemida yeAfrika, oko kuthethe ukuba i-93 pesenti yorhwebo lwaseAfrika isekukuqhubeka ngokuhlutha iziveliso zendalo zaseAfrika ngabo bathe gqolo ngokusicinezela nokusixhaphaza. Ngaphezulu, i-83 pesenti yeMveliso eyiNgeniso yeLizwe yangaPhakathi (*Gross National Product*) yamazwe ahlangeneyo aseAfrika iya kwintlawulo yetyala elaye lenziwa ziinkokeli zaseAfrika zeniiyo-koloniyalizim zisebenzisa ubudlelane obabuyilwe ngenkohliso baseYurophu nobabusekelwe kubungqawangangqwili bobukhoboka kunye nekoloniyalizim. Oku kuthetha ukuba iAfrika ifumana ngaphantsi kwe-17 pesenti yeziveliso zayo zendalo emva kokuba ihlawule eli tyala langabom. Basakube oohlohlesakhe beniiyo-koloniyalizim besithathile isabelo sabo koku, uluntu lwaseAfrika lungaba lunethamsanqa ukuba lufumana iipesenti ezintlanu zoko likuvelisileyo.”

Iniyo-koloniyalizim: Inqanaba lokugqibela le-impiriyalizim

Iziphumo ezibi zeniiyo-koloniyalizim ezakhe zaxelwa nguNkrumah kwangaphambili zaye zenzeka ngenene. I-Afrika yethu iyimiwonyo (*riven*) ngenxa yeemfazwe zembujiswano kunye namasikizi angathethekiyo. Ezi mfazwe zisoloko zisisiphumo esithe ngqo sokubangisana kwama-impiriyali odwa ngeziveliso zendalo zaseAfrika, bebangisana ngelungelo labo lokuzalwa lawo onke amaAfrika, asekhaya nakumazwe ngamazwe. Abantu bethu baguqulwe benziwa iimbacu elizweni lethu yaye siyatshabalala liqela lazo zonke izifo ezikhoyo, ezinkulu nezincinane, nezineziphumo eziyintshabalalo ngenxa yentlupheko yethu ebangelwe ngama-impiriyali nesekelwe kwiziseko ezithile, ubudlelane nakwiniyo-koloniyalizim.

Abantu bethu bayahlupheka ukusuka eKapa ukuya eCairo, eMorocco ukuya eMadagascar, njengoko isitsho njalo intetho. I-Afrika etyebe ngolu hlobo ngeziveliso zendalo, inyashelwa phantsi yintlupheko kunye nemeko ngokubanzi yosizi. KwiAfrika yonke sigula zizigulo ezinyangekayo, yaye imibhoshonqa yeentshulube ezinde ezihlala phantsi kolusu lomntu okanye lwesilwanyana zimungunye igazi (*guinea worm*) zithe rhoqo ngokugqiba amandla icandelo elikhulu loluntu lwethu kwiNtshona Afrika. Abantu bethu beZwekazi laseAfrika bangqongwe ziimfazwe zama-impiriyali asebenzisa izixhobo zeekhemikhali ezinobungozi eziluhlobo lwentsholongwane yeAIDS nekuqikelelwa ukuba iya kube seyibulele izigidi ngezigidi zamaAfrika kuMbindi weAfrika kwiminyaka embalwayo ezayo ngokwezinga enwenwa ngayo ngoku, kunye “nayimbalela” kunye “nendlala” eyadalwa lulongamo lobungqawangangqwili benkqubo yethu yolimo etshabalalisa umhlaba wethu ize ibulale izigidi ngezigidi zamaAfrika ngonyaka ngamnye.

Izalathiso zezinga lentlalo (*social indices*) eziphonononga umgangatho wobomi zichaza imbali elusizi ngeAfrika. Ukubhubha kweemveku (*infant mortality*), iminyaka

yokudla ubomi (ngama-40 eminyaka yobudala kwezinye iingingqi), ukuswela iindawo zokuhlala, imisebenzi kunye nesiveliso, urhwebo, njl njl, zonke ezi zinto zingumqondiso wentlupheko engaphezulu esalindele abantu bethu.

Abajongene nayo yonke le miba phantse kuzo zonke iimeko zizibhanxa zenio-koloniyalizim ezikhonza zithobela iinkosi zazo zenio-koloniyalizim, oku kusenziwa ubukhulu becala kusetyenziswa i-International Monetary Fund (IMF) okanye iWorld Bank.

Intlalo yabantu bethu yonganyelwe kananjalo zezinye iintlobo zobundlobongela, nolunxalenye yabo ikholise ukuhamba nezopolitiko enyanzeliswa kabuhlungu ebantwini ngokwesiqhelo nangokusesikweni njengemiqathango yolawulo lweenio-koloniyalisti olungathe ngqo.

Ezi niyo-koloniyalisti zithengise iAfrika kubaphathi bazo abangama-impiriyali njengendawo yokulahlela yonke inkunkuma ekhupha iigesi eziyingozi (*radioactive materials*) kunye nenye inkunkuma eyityhefu eyathi iYurophu noMntla Melika zayifumanisa iyingozi kakhulu ukuba inganokutshatyalaliselwa ngaphakathi kwimida yaseYurophu nakuMntla Melika.

Amahlathi ethu amakhulu (*rain forests*) athengiswa kwii-impiriyalisti zaseJapani, eYurophu nakuMntla Melika. Nakuba nje abantu bethu behlupheka kukungabi nazindlu kunye neenkuni ezisetyenziselwa ukubasa kuba i-impiriyalizim ingavumeli ukuba iAfrika ukuba mayikhule kwezoshishino, izikhephe ezithwele iimveliso zemithi ezisuka kumahlathi ethu anika impilo ziyathengiswa ukuze zithunyelwe kumazwe uninzi lwamaAfrika angasokuze awabone.

Imizabalazo ebandakanya imibutho ekhuphisanayo yoohlohlesakhe abangekaphuhli abaziiniyo-koloniyalisti idodobalisa impilo yamawaka ngamawaka amaAfrika azondelele ukuba axhamle intlalo ngohlobo exhanyulwa ngayo ngamazwe ama-impiriyali.

KumaZantsi eAfrika umbandela womhlaba uye wangumba ophambili. Oyena nobangela weyantlukwano kwezopolitiko umalunga nendawo eyayisaya kuba lithanga lamasetlani, iRhodesia, ebizwa ngokuba yiZimbabwe, kunye neAzania, esabizwa ngegama layo lobusetlani bobukoloniyali elinguMzantsi Afrika.

Lo gama kukho ingxolo ngokohluthwa komhlaba kumasetlani amhlophe ngoohlohlesakhe abangamatshantliziyo borhulumente weZimbabwe African National Union eZimbabwe, umbandela womhlaba ngowona utshisa ibunzi kwiZwekazi lonke. Ngokukhulayo urhulumente wezwe laseNamibia, elalisaziwa njengoMzantsi Ntshona Afrika (*South West Africa*), liya lizibandakanya nangakumbi kulo mbandela wokunxanelwa umhlaba kweenginginya zamaAfrika ahlwempuzekileyo, yaye naseMzantsi Afrika apho amasetlani amhlophe, ayi-10 pesenti yoluntu lulonke olungabanini be-87 pesenti yomhlaba, kwindawo ebukhulu bayo buphindwe kane kunobelizwe laseNgilani neloMntla Ireland lidibene, uvukelo-mbuso lokulwela ubulungisa (*righteous rebellion*) luyakhula nangona lungekaphumeli elubala.

Ukukhula kokuxhomekeka koohlohlesakhe abangekaphuhli bamaAfrika, nabalibutho lentlalo eliphuhlisa liphumeze ubuni balo ncakasana ngobudlelane balo kunye ne-impiriyalizim, badala imeko yokuba ibe nokuphumezeka iniyo-koloniyalizim. Owona msebenzi uphambili woohlohlesakhe abangamaAfrika ukwisiveliso (*production*) nasekuhlaziweni (*reproduction*) kwenio-koloniyalizim.

Eneneni, kungenxa yobu budlelane obuphakathi kwabantu abaneemfuno

ezingafaniyo (*symbiotic relationship*) obuphakathi kweniyo-koloniyalisti yobu-impiriyali kunye noohlohlesakhe abangaphuhlanga bamaAfrika obubhentsisa ukungakwazi koohlohlesakhe ukukhokela idabi lethu lenguqu epheleleyo ukuze inkululeko nomanyano lube yimpumelelo. Oohlohlesakhe abangekaphuhli bangeneza kuphela iimfuno ezingakwaziyo ukufezekisa umanyano oluzisa inguqu eyiyo, ngoko ke iimfuno zabo zichasene neemfuno zabasebenzi baseAfrika.

Kuphela ngabasebenzi bamaAfrika kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo eAfrika kwanabo bachitha-chithwa kwihlabathi lonke, abanemfuno emandla yokususa imida eyenza ukuba sihlale sihlwempuzekile silahle nethemba. Oku kubangelwa kukuba injalo ngenxa yokuba yonke imida iyaluthintela uphuhliso lwezopolitiko noqoqosho oluyimfuneko ukuze sikwazi ukuphila nokuphuhliseka.

Abantu abanye—kumbutho omnye okhokelwa ngabasebenzi baseAfrika

Ngaphandle kwale ntwela-bulungisa inkulu (*profound contradictions*) okujongene nabantu bethu baseAfrika, amaAfrika aqhubela phambili ngomzabalazo kuwo onke amacandelo phantse kuzo zonke iindawo ukutshintsha iimeko esikuzo. Eyona nto ingekhoyo ngumbutho wamazwe ngamazwe wamaAfrika olwela inguqu eyiyo oluziseko zawo zingabasebenzi baseAfrika nakubalimi abahlwempuzekileyo abazinikeleyo ekutshatyalalisweni kweziseko ze-impiriyalizim ezisahlula-hlulayo zikwaneziveliso zethu zendalo. Loo mbutho ulolo hlobo ngumbutho oqaphela ukuba idabi lenguqu eyiyo yaseAfrika lidabi eliyimbumba ekufuneka liliwe kuzo zonke iimbombo, ngaphakathi kwimida yaseAfrika nakumazwe ngamazwe.

Idabi lokwakha loo mbutho ulolo hlobo lisoloko lithe gqolo. Lidabi elingcambu zalo zisekutyakatyweni kwamhlamnene kweAfrika ngamaYurophu okwaye kwakhokelela ekuthinjweni kweAfrika kunye nookhokho basiwe kubukhoboka bobukoloniyali kunye nokuchithwa-chithwa kwabo kwihlabathi lonke.

Ukususela kwiNkulungwane 18 eli dabi liye lafikelela kuyondelelwano kunye nokuziqonda njengombutho oyilelwe ukumanya iAfrika kunye nabantu baseAfrika kumgudu omnye wokulwela inkululeko.

Umzabalazo wokwakha umbutho onjalo awuzange uyekelele umxakatho. Ngumzabalazo osekelwe ekutyakatyweni kwantlandlolo kweAfrika ngabantu baseYurophu okwakhokelela ekuthinjweni nasekufakweni kubukhoboka saze sachithwa-chithwa kwihlabathi jikelele.

Kwikota yokuqala yeNkulungwane 20, iUniversal Negro Improvement Association kunye neAfrican Communities League, phantsi kwesikhokelo sikaMarcus Garvey, yaba ngumlinganiselo ongumzekelo (*benchmark*) ekwakuya kuthi kuqatshelwe kuwo iinzame zethu (*benchmark*). Yaye besakuba sisemgaqweni ngokwenjenjalo. I-UNIA yaye yamanye amaAfrika kwihlabathi jikelele angumbutho omnye owawunamalungu ayezizigidi ngezigidi. Waye waseka imiqondiso eyaye yanxulunyaniswa nenkululeko kunye nokuzilawula (*self-government*), kuqukwa nokuyilwa kwemibala yeflegi yaseAfrika ebomvu, emnyama kunye neluhlaza (okwengca). Umbutho kaGarvey wabonakalisa amandla okuyilwa kwentlalo efanayo yezoqoqosho lwelizwe eyayinako ukukhuphula abantu bethu ibakhuphe kwintlupheko eyanyanzeliswa ngama-impiriyali nesisathe gqolo sihlupheka yiyo nkqu nanamhlanje.

Amalinge ezoqoqosho eUNIA ayebandakanya yonke into ukususela kwiziseko zeenkono zokuhlamba iimpahla, kumaziko okurekhodisha nkqu nakwimikhumbi

yeenqanawa ezaziqhutywa ngamandla omphunga wamanzi ukulungiselela urhwebo phakathi kweAfrika kunye namazwe ngamazwe. Ubaluleko lwala malinge lucaciswa yinyaniso yokuba ngaphezu kweminyaka eyi-80 emva koko amaAfrika engenayo imikhumbi yeenqanawa anokuthetha ngazo yaye norhwebo olusesikweni phakathi kwamazwe amancinane aseAfrika luyi-7 pesenti njengento ekukuphela kwayo yonke loo nto ebizwa ngokuba lurhwebo.

Yayikhe yakho imibutho eyayilwela umanyano lweAfrika ukususela kwixa lobunkokeli bukaGarvey, nenxalenye yayo eyayisebenzisana namazwe ahlukeneyo ama-impiriyali, ngeenjongo zokuchasa uGarvey. Kodwa akukho namnye umbutho owaye wakwazi ukulingana nombutho kaGarvey kubuchule bawo bokumanya nokukhuthaza iinginginya zamaAfrika kumalinge kaGarvey aye amenza wanempumelelo ekwakheni umbutho apho abanye baye abaphumelela ukwenza oko.

Imingxilo emibini ephambili yaye yenza ukuba iinzame zikaGarvey ziqaqambe kunezabanye, nenxalenye yabo eyayingabachasi bakhe:

Okokuqala, umbutho kaGarvey wawusekelwe ncakasana iintshukumo zabasebenzi abangamaAfrika. Nakuba zazikho ngokucacileyo iinkokeli ezazivela kudidi loohlohlesakhe ezazingaphuhlanga, uGarvey wafumana izenyelelo kubantu ababechasene namaAfrika ngenxa yokuba waye wazimanya neentshukumo zabasebenzi abangamaAfrika. Olu xhomekeko kubasebenzi abangamaAfrika lwanika lo mbutho ngokuzenzekelayo isiseko senkxaso yeenginginya nanto leyo eyayingekhe iphinde iphonyelelwe ukwenziwa yiyo nayiphi na eminye imibutho yoohlohlesakhe. Ngokwenani amaAfrika angooohlohlesakhe ayelibuthwana elincinane lezentlalo, yaye, ngokungafaniyo noGarvey, ayengakwazi ukuvelisa iprogram ekwakunokuthi ngaphakathi kuyo bona bengabasebenzi bamaAfrika babekwazi ukujongana neemfuno ezazimalunga neziqu zabo ncakasana.

Umbutho kaGarvey wawungazithathi wona buqu njengombutho wabasebenzi. Kodwa kutha ngenxa yongenelelo lweengcamango zee-impiriyalisti ngabo babezibiza ngokuba ngamasoshiyali abamhlophe kwimicimbi yeUNIA neyabantu baseAfrika, iUNIA yaba nokubathiya abo babezibiza ngokuba ngamasoshiyali, Nakuba kunjalo, ukunganiki ngcaciso kwakhe uGarvey ngokumalunga nalo mba akuzange kulunciphise uphawu lokuba ngumbutho wabasebenzi owawuyichasile i-impiryalizim yaye unobutsha-ntliziyo weUNIA. Oku akuzange kumthintele uGarvey ukuba angayithumeli miyalezo yokuvuyisana noLenin noTrosky kwimpumelelo yabo kwiDabi laseRashiya leNguqu ephelileyo (*Russian Revolution*) nawayenxulunyaniswa nayo la madoda mabini.

Okwesibini, ngokungafaniyo nombutho weentshukumo zobuPan Afrikani (*Pan Africanist*) owawunamalungu kwiintlanganisela zeendidi zentlalo kunye nakwimibutho enzululwazi yeengcinga (*ideological forces*) zawo ezazinemidla kunye namacebo ayo ahlukeneyo, iUNIA yayingumbutho owawunenjongo enye. Kwakukho icebo elalilinye kuphela ekwakujongwe kulo ngamalungu alo mbutho uwonke. Yayinye ifilosofi eyayimanya onke amalungu. Kwakukho uluhlu lweenjongo olufanayo, ekwakuvunyelwene ngazo ngawo onke amalungu awayeye kwiintlanganisano ezazibanjwa rhoqo ngonyaka ukuseka imigaqo-nkqubo, ukwamkela izindululo, ukuzibophelela kwakhona ngeenkqubo zombutho kunye nokunyula isikhokelo sabo.

Masakheni iAfrican Socialist International

Eli likhwelo lethu namhlanje—ukuyila umbutho omnye olwela iinguqu ngokupheleleyo wobusoshiyali bamaAfrika azinikeleyo kumanyano nenkululeko epheleleyo lwaseAfrika lwabasebenzi bamaAfrika abazimanya nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo.

Ezi nzame zethu zijolise ekwakheni iAfrican Socialist International zenzeka ngethuba elibalulekileyo kwimbali yehlabathi. Ezi ziinzame zenziwe yimpumelelo ngakumbi ngumnqweno wethu wokwenza izinto zibe yimpumelelo eyiyo lo gama kukho le ntlekele ye-impiriyalizim iya ikhula..

Le ntlekele yileyo ibangelwe ngamandla aphindaphindeneyo emizabalazo eyahlukeneyo engathothiyo yoluntu lwehlabathi ukususela kwimfazwe yesibini yehlabathi yama-impiriyali eyayisiliwa ngama-impiriyali kwiinzame zawo zokwahlulelana ngehlabathi nangeziveliso zethu zendalo.

Ingxubakaxaka yongquzulwano olwaluphakathi kwama-impiriyali odwa yabangela ukuba kuvuleleke ikroba ledemokrasi eyayingumlinganiselo othile ngaphakathi kwemida yeengingqi zamakolonyali neyathi yakhokelela kuqhambuko lodederhu lwemizabalazo yenkululeko yobuzwe eyayichasene nekolonyalizim kwihlabathi lonke. Ukusuka eNdiya ukuya eTshayina ukusuka eKenya ukuya eGhana, ukusuka eCuba ukuya eVietnam, ukusuka ePalestina ukuya eNicaragua kunye nakwiindawo eziphakathi ezingamathanga (*domestic colonies*) ekwakhulula kuzo amaAfrika ngaphakathi eMelika, ukuya kutsho eUruguay naseIran, inkqubela-phambili ehlabathini yayiphawuleka ngeenzame zoluntu lwehlabathi zokoyisa ubungqwayi-ngqwayi be-impiriyalizim kunye nokuzuza kwakhona ilungelo lokuzilawula (*self-determination*).

Apha kulapho kufumaneka khona imvelaphi yentlekele ye-impiriyalizim. Kuba kungenxa yobudlelane obusekelwe ekumfifitheni okuphakathi kolawulo lwe-impiriyalizim yabamhlophe kunye nenxalenye yethu sonke obucacisa ngeeyantlukwano eziqaphelekayo kwiimeko zentlalo ezahlula abemi baseMelika nabaseYurophu kweyabo basekhaya kunye nabakumazwe ngamazwe, nkqu naleyo yabaseMelika nabaseYurophu.

Njengenkokeli ye-impiriyalizim kwihlabathi lonke ukususela ekupheleni kwemfazwe yesibini ye-impiriyalizim kunye nobungalo-nkulu obungathandabuzekiyo ngamandlakazi amakhulu kwezomkhosi ehlabathini, i-impiriyalizim yaseMelika, nelutshaba olucacileyo lwenkululeko yabantu baseAfrika kunye nolwemizabalazo yoluntu kwihlabathi, buye bazithathela kubo uxanduva lokuhlangula i-impiriyalizim kwintlekele ekuyo nebangelwe yimizabalazo yethu yokuthathela kulawulo lwethu imihlaba yethu, iziveliso zendalo kunye nenkululeko yethu ukuze siyisebenzisele ukuphuhlisa iimfuno zethu.

Nakuba kunjalo, intlekele ajongene nayo ama-impiriyali eyabangelwa yile mizabalazo isingela phantsi ulawulo lobungalo-nkulu lwama-impiriyali kwiziveliso zendalo zasehlabathini iye yakhokelela kwimpikiswano kwaphakathi kwamazwe angama-impiriyali wona ubuqu. Indlela iMelika ezama ukuyisombulula ngayo intlekele ekuyo i-impiriyalizim iye yayileyo yokunyanzelisa isoyikiso sokusebenzisa i-*gun boat diplomacy*, oko kukuthi, ukuba ngumnqay' ulambile kaphuma-silwe, xa iziva ifuna ukwenjenjalo, ungenelelo ngqo ngezomkhosi lobukolonyali babamhlophe njengamanyathelo ayo aphambili kumgaqo-nkqubo wayo wobudlelane namanye amazwe.

Ngendlela apha eye yakhamnqisa nkqu namahlakani ayo iMelika iye yasebenzisa indlela yokuzenzela unothanda yona yodwa, oko kuyenza icace injongo yayo yokuba ijolise ekusombululeni intlekele ekuyo i-impiriyalizim ngendlela apha eya kunika isiqinisekiso seMelika sesigxina sokulawula unaphakade uqoqosho lwehlabathi. Eli nyathelo lisingise kubungangamsha kwihlabathi, nangona lenzelwe ukusombulula le ntlekele ekuyo i-impiriyalizim eneneni liyayizinzisa ngokwenza kunye nokutyhila iintlabazahlukane ezikhoyo phakathi kwe-impiriyalizim yaseMelika kunye namanye amahlakani ayo obu-impiriyali kunye noninzi lwabemi baseYurophu abathi nakuba bezixhamla iziqhamo zengcinezelo yethu yobukoloniyali eziswe yi-impiriyalizim, babuchase ubungqwayingqwayi beMelika entlalweni yabo.

Isiphithiphithi esizibonakalisa kwiimeko ezigqubayo zaseAfrika nenxalenye yaso ebangelwa ngamandla eenzame zethu zokwakha iAfrican Socialist International, eye yaneempawu ngaphakathi kuzo ebezintle nezo zingentle ngokumalunga ne-impiriyalizim ekwintlekele. Isiphithiphithi esiseAfrika siphumeza iinjongo ezicwangcisiweyo ze-impiriyalizim kuba iqhubeka ngokuthintela iAfrika ekufikeleleni kwimithombo yayo yendalo ize ngokwenjenjalo ishiye imithombo yethu yendalo ithe gqolo ukuthinjwa bubu-impiriyali ngendlela ekhohlakeleyo. Kwelinye icala isiphithiphithi sinegalelo kwintlekele ubu-impiriyali obukuyo kuba ukungabikho kozinzo okudalwe sisiphithiphithi kudala iimeko eziyingozi nezithandabuzisayo zokuba “utyalo-mali” lwama-impiriyali neenzame zawo zokuzikhupha engxakini kuye kusiba yingxaki nangaphezulu.

Umsebenzi wethu njengabalweli benguqu epheleleyo, njengeeAfrican Internationalist, kukuyenza mandundu intlekele ekuyo i-impiriyalizim ngokunikizela ngezakhono zokuququzelela kunye nokunika ingqiqo ecacileyo ngenzululwazi yeengcinga (*ideology*) yomzabalazo wokukhulula iLizwe looMawokhulu iAfrika kunye nabantwana bayo abachitha-chithwe kwihlabathi lonke. Isiphumo sei nzame, seso sigxininiswe ekusekweni kweAfrican Socialist International, siya kuthintela iincukuthu ezimfifitha igazi zama-impiriyali zokubanika impilo, ngokuthi kusetyenziswe yonke imizabalazo yokulwela ilungelo lokuzilawula (*self-determination*), ukuya kufikelela kwinkululeko yoluntu lonke.

Esinokukwenza ngoku kukuhlasela ngamandlakazi amakhulu le nkqubo yentlalo engenabulungisa neyabangelwa yingcinezelo noxhatshazo efuna ukudala iimeko ezizezayo zentlalo zokuba ubudlelane phakathi kwabantu behlabathi mabube bobusekelwe kubomi benkxwaleko obugubungele abasebenzi nakwiziphathamandla zabo, kumakhoboka nakubaphathi bamakhoboka.

Intlekele eyehlele i-impiriyalizim yimbonakalo yenene yokuba i-impiriyalizim ilahlekelwe ngamandla ayo eyakhe yanawo ngaphambili. I-impiriyalizim ayiseyonkqubo iphuhlayo nekhulayo. Seyaba yinkqubo ezama zonke iindlela zokuphila yaye onke amalinge ayo amele imigudu yokuzama ukuzisindisa entshabalalweni. Ngoko ke, kucacile ukuba, ngokweemeko ezimalunga nezembali, singena kwinqanaba lohlaselo olukhulu kumzabalazo wethu wenkululeko nowokutshabalalisa i-impiriyalizim.

Sihamba indlela etyenenezileyo embalini oko sikwenza kwixesha elifanele oko kwimbali yethu.

Phambili ngombutho wamazwe ngamazwe wabasebenzi abangamaAfrika

Masicacelwe kukuba umbutho wamazwe ngamazwe oyimfuneko ekukhululeni nasekumanyeni iAfrika kunye nesizwe sethu esichitha-chithwe kwiindawo ngeendawo

ngumbutho wezopolitiko oyiAfrican Socialist International. Ngokuseka umbutho omnye ongcambu zawo zisekelwe kubasebenzi bamaAfrika nozimanya ngokupheleleyo kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo uya kuba ubambe owona ndoqo wentshukumo kaGarvey yeNkulungwane 20.

Nakuba kunjalo, ngokungafaniyo nenkqubo yeUNIA kaGarvey siya kuba nombutho oziqondayo buqu ukuba usisixhobo sokulwela inguqu epheleleyo osezandleni zabasebenzi abangamaAfrika. Oku kuya kuthi kananjalo kwahlule phakathi kombutho osuka kwiziseko ezinjengezo zichazwe “njengembutho eyinxalenye yeminye”, (“*fronts*”), “imibutho yabantu” (“*people’s organization*”), “iinkongolo” (“*congresses*”), “imibutho yabasebenzi” (“*unions*”), “iikhonvenshini” (“*conventions*”) njl njl.

Umbutho olwela inguqu epheleleyo ngulowo uzithatha njengesixhobo sokuphunyezwa kweenjongo zobuqu zabasebenzi abangamaAfrika, nanjongo ezo zinokuphunyezwa kuphela ngokoyiswa kobunganga bama-impiriyali eAfrika nangokumanywa kweAfrika nabantwana bayo abacinezekileyo abachitha-chithwe kwihlabathi lonke.

“Imibutho emele eminye” neziseko ezilolo hlobo zizixhobo zamaAfrika angohlohlesakhe wona adinga amandla, ubutshantliziyo kunye namandla ngokobuninzi babasebenzi baseAfrika – abo babe ngumqolo nentsika yayo yonke imizabalazo yenkululeko eAfrika nakwezinye iindawo – kodwa abangenakukunyamezela ukuba abasebenzi kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo baziqonde iinjongo zethu buqu, nanto leyo ingaphumelela kuphela ngenkululeko nomanyano olupheleleyo lwaseAfrika.

Umbutho lo wona libutho elichubekileyo labasebenzi baseAfrika lo gama “imibutho eyinxalenye yeminye” (“*fronts*”), njl njl, isebenzisa amandla nobutshantliziyo babasebenzi baseAfrika ukuzimanya nemizabalazo yabasebenzi abahlwempuzekileyo. Bayinxalenye yemibutho apho ngaphakathi kuyo imiba yodidi lwezentlalo ingaqatshelwa khona yaye nokungalingani ngokweendidi zentlalo kuqhubela phambili kungasonjululwa luze nobaluleko lwabasebenzi baseAfrika lube yinto emfiliba.

Ukwamkelwa kwemithetho-siseko engundoqo yolu xwebhu ngamaAfrika angamatshantliziyo namasoshiyali kwenza ukuba sibe nako ukuqhubela phambili ngekhwelo lokuqalwa kweNkongolo yeSiseko seAfrican Socialist International. Kule nkongolo iinkokeli ziya kunyulwa ukulungiselela imigaqo-nkqubo yethu kazwelonke, neengcamango ezicwangcisiweyo ukukhokela umbutho wethu kwihlabathi lonke.

Naphi na apho kukho amaAfrika khona ehlabathini abanokuzimanya nale ngcamango nemigaqo-nkqubo yeInternational, imibutho yeendawo oluhlala kuzo uluntu inokusekwa, ethobela umgaqo weInternational, uya kuba nelungelo lokwenza iiprogram ezingqamene neemeko kunye nembali abajongene nayo ukuba nje ezi program ngokubanzi zingqamene nomgaqo weInternational.

Inyaniso yeyokuba uMbutho oLwela iNkululeko yamaAfrika, eAfrika nakumazwe ngamazwe, ufika ube nemida ulwa ungaphakathi kwimida enyanzeliswe ngama-impiriyali asebenzisa ulawulo lobukoloniyali oluthe ngqo (*direct colonial rule*). Sithethile ngeziphumo ezibuyisela izinto umva kwimida yobuniyo-koloniyali. Nakuba kunjalo, isiphumo semibutho yenkululeko yesizwe eyayizabalaza kwiminyaka yowee-1960 eyaye yachulumancisa amaAfrika kwiindawo zonke yenza ukuba sibe nokufunda lukhulu kuyo.

Xa sijonga ngoku kubume beAfrika ngoku “ikhululekileyo” kulawulo oluthe ngqo lobukoloniyali siyakhamnqiseka yinyaniso yokuba amaAfrika asafumana ukuxhatshazwa

ngokukhohlakeleyo kunye nokucinezelwa kunokuba ayesenza phantsi kolawulo lwamagunya obungqwayingqwayi babamhlophe. Kuphela yaba nguKwame Nkrumah nabanye abambalwa abaye balwela umanyano lweAfrika basakube bewafumene amandla olawulo. Inyaniso yokuba, kuzo zonke iimeko, kuqukwa nezo meko apho amagunya ezopolitiko aye afunyanwa ngomzabalazo wezigalo, inkululeko ngaphakathi kwemida eyaqingqwa ngama-impiriyali yaye yazisa imbandezelo enkulu kwinginginya yabantu bethu.

Oku kubangelwa kukuba loo mibutho eyayizibiza ngokuba yimibutho elwela inkululeko yesizwe yayikhokelwa ngamaAfrika angooohlohlesakhe, nakuba nje abanye babo yayingamatshantliziyo ngenene. Bathi nje ukuba oohlohlesakhe bafumane amagunya olawulo ngaphakathi kwimida yezizwana ezingoonomgogwana bazuza amandla okufezekisa iinjongo zabo njengebutho lodidi oluthile lwezentlalo.

Isiphumo sale nyaniso ibe kukukhula kweqela leenzame zokubhukuqa izizwana zeeniyo-koloniyalisti ezazikho zamaAfrika awaye atshintshwa ziimeko ezithile zeengingqi awayekuzo angamatshantliziyo. Nakuba kunjalo, kuzo zonke iimeko apho baye baphumelela khona okwenza oko baye baphinda balandela laa nkqubo babesandula ukuyibhukuqa. Ngokucacileyo, oku kubangelwa kukuba kungasayi kubakho nguqulelo (*revolution*) yaseMzantsi Afrika, okanye eNigeria okanye eAngola enokuba namandla okuqhubela phambili ngenjongo yokukhulula iAfrika nabantu bethu.

Umanyano lwezopolitiko oluyimfuneko ukuze kuphuhlise iAfrika kuze kuqaliswe inkqubo entsha yendyebo eyayiya kukhupha abantu bethu kumgxobhozo wokuhlwempuzeka, intswela-kuqonda kunye nobundlobongela esibufumene kwiinkqubo ngeenkqubo zekoloniyalizim zingafezekiswa kuphela ngokusekwa kweAfrican Socialist International elwela inguqu epheleleyo ebeka phambili umanyano lweAfrika phantsi kwesikhokelo sabasebenzi bamaAfrika.

Lo mbutho uya kuba noxanduva lokufaka ingqiqo yokulwela inguqu epheleleyo nanjengoko kuboniswe kolu xwebhu ngemizabalazo neentshukumo zabasebenzi bamaAfrika kunye nezabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo. Uya kuba noxanduva lokuphuhlisa ingqiqo yeAfrican Internationalist kwimibutho yabasebenzi neyabalimi, eya kwenza kube nzima kwiiniyo-koloniyalisti nakuma-impiriyali ukuba asahlule ngokwemimandla, inkolo okanye ubuhlanga. Uya kuba noxanduva lokusebenza njengebutho elichubekileyo labasebenzi baseAfrika kuwo onke amazwe. Liya kujolisa ekukhokeleni idabi lokubhukuqa izizwe ezilawula ngenkqubo yeeniyo-koloniyalisti lize limisele endaweni yazo izizwe ezilwela inguqu epheleleyo elinabasebenzi kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo ngokubambiseneyo abanenjongo emanyeneyo eya kuquka ukusasaza umoya wenguqu epheleleyo kwiAfrika yonke ngentsebenziswano nabanye abasebenzi kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo abakhokelwa yiAfrican Internationalist kumanye amazwe eeniyo-kolonyasti.

Emva koko siya kuba neSouth African Front of the African Liberation Movement, kunye neNigerian and Spanish and Jamaican U.S. Fronts, phakathi kwamanye amacandelo. Oku kunganika umbutho wethu isikhokelo solawulo sokuphumeza inkululeko nomanyano lweAfrika phantsi kwesikhokelo sabasebenzi baseAfrika, besebenzisana kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo. Oku kunganika umbutho wethu olwela inguqu epheleleyo ukufikelela ngokukhawuleza kubungqondi nemithombo yesizwe saseAfrika esakhulayo, nakuba nje sachitha-chithwa kwihlabathi jikelele.

Oku kungaye kutshintshe kananjalo ubume bomzabalazo wethu wokulwela

inkululeko kumazwe ngamazwe. Endaweni yokusetyenziswa kwengcamango “yomoya wobunye” (“*solidarity*”) kunye nombutho olwela inkululeko yaseAfrika, iCandelo ngalinye liya kuba licandelwana eliya kuba yinxenye yaloo mbutho.

Kuba xa sithetha ngoMbutho olwela inkululeko yaseAfrika (*African Liberation Movement*) osewufikelele kwimida ekungenakugqithwa kuyo xa kwakusiliwa ngaphakathi kwimida eyanyanzeliswa ngebhaxa phezu kwethu siquka loo mibutho ikumazwe ngamazwe. I-ASI iphakamisa ubaluleko lweMibutho eyinxenye yemibutho yethu (*Fronts*) e-U.S, eNgilane, eJamani, eSpain, kwiziqithi zeCaribbean kunye nakwezinye iindawo apho imeko yabacinezela abangabantu bethu ifana twa totse kuba imele ukunatyiswa kolawulo lobukoloniya kwiindawo ngeendawo zehlabathi esathathwa sihlala kuzo sikhonjwe ngemipu ngeka lokuthengiswa kwamakhoboka kunye namanye amava olawulo lobukoloniya.

Ngaphaya kolawulo lwePan Africanism sisinge kwiAfrican Internationalism

Abo bethu bazibopheleleyo ekuyilweni kweAfrican Socialist International basibiza ngokuba siziAfrican Internationalists. Siyazahlula kwiiPan Africanist. Isizathu soku kukuba iPan Africanism yingcamango eyamkela phantse wonke umntu, nokuba ukholelwa kweyiphi na inzululwazi ngeengcinga (*ideology*) okhetha ukuba makabizwe ngolo hlobo. Inguqu epheleleyo yaseAfrika ayingeze yaphunyezwa ingakhatshwa yingcamango malunga nengcamango yenguqu epheleleyo emisa phambili umbutho omnye, osimo sawo sichubekileyo, okholelwa kwinguqu epheleleyo ekhokelwa yithiyori yenguqu epheleleyo.

Ukusekwa kwalo mbutho yeyona njongo iphambili kwixesha esiphila kulo. Oku kungaqiniseki kwinjongo yethu ecwangcisiweyo yokukhulula nokumanya amaAfrika phantsi kwesikhokelo sabasebenzi bamaAfrika sisebenzisana kunye nabalimi abahlwempuzekileyo lo gama kuvunyelwa amanye aMacandelo ombutho wethu alwela inguqu epheleleyo kwihlabathi lonke ukuba acwangcise amaqhinga kunye namacebo okulwa amadabi kwiindawo ezo akuwo ebeke phambili ingcamango yesicwangciso sethu.

Kwincwadi yakhe ka-1970 ethi, *Class Struggle in Africa*, uNkrumah waye waphendula neminye imiba ekweli phepha. Ixabiso lamazwi akhe libalulekile ngokuphathelele kumsebenzi esijongene nawo namhlanje:

“Idabi lamaAfrika lokulwela inguqu epheleleyo asilodabi lizimele geqe. Aliphelelanga ukuba libe yinxalenye yenguqu epheleleyo yobusoshiyali, koko malijongwe ngokwemeko yedabi laBamnyama lokulwela inguqu epheleleyo ngokubanzi. EMelika, kwiziqithi zeCaribbean, nakuzo zonke iindawo akuzo amaAfrika acinezelekileyo, amadabi enkululeko ayaqhubeka. Kule mimandla, umntu oMnyama uphantsi kwekoloniyalizim yangaphakathi...

“Undoqo weDabi laBamnyama leNguqu epheleleyo useAfrika, yaye ingekamanyani iAfrika phantsi koburhulumente bobusoshiyali, umntu oMnyama kwihlabathi lonke uswele ikhaya lobuzwe bakhe. Kungenxa yemizabalazo yabantu baseAfrika yokulwela inkululeko nomanyano apho iAfrika neNkcubeko yaBamnyama iya kuthi iqulunqwe iqaqanjiswe khona...

UNkrumah uqukumbela incwadi yakhe ngala mazwi ayimbunguzulu:

“Inkululeko epheleleyo kunye nomanyano lweAfrika phantsi koburhulumente bobusoshiyali bamaAfrika-Onke mayibe yeyona njongo iphambili

yabo bonke abalweli benguqu ngokupheleleyo aBamnyama kwihlabathi lonke. Le yinjongo enokuthi, xa iye yaphunyezwa, ibangele ukufezekiswa kweemfuno zamaAfrika nezabantu abamvelaphi yabo iseAfrika abakwiindawo zonke. Iya kuthi ngaxeshanye iqhubele phambili uloyiso lomzabalazo wenguqu epheleleyo yobusoshiyali wehlabathi lonke, kunye nendlela esingise kwinkqubo yobukomanisi yehlabathi lonke, ekuya kuthi kulawulwe phantsi kwayo lonke uluntu ngokomthetho-siseko othi – umntu ngamnye wovuzwa ngokwamandla akhe, umntu ngamnye ngokweemfuno zakhe.”

Ngokusekwa kweAfrican Socialist International siya kuqingqa inqwelo yokufezekisa injongo zikaNkrumah, uGarvey, kunye nabo bonke abanye abantakwethu noodade wethu abaye bazibophelela ekukhululweni kwabantu bethu ebekukudala behlwempuzekile.

**Izwe Lethu, iAfrika!
Masakheni iAfrican Socialist International!**

Iqulunqwe kwiNkomfa yoKwakha iAfrican Socialist International, ngomhla we-16-18 Julayi 2004, eLondon, eNgilane

Ukufumana iinkcukacha ezingaphezulu qhagamshelana ne:

The African People's Socialist Party, 1245 18th Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Florida, U.S.A., 33705.

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