AS1988_4_9_5

/IVALIWE IZE IKHULUNYWE/

INKULUMO NGEMUVA KOKWEMBULWA KWETSHE LESIKHUMBUZO ETHUNENI LOMNU. JORDAN KUSH NGUBANE.

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ENKANJINI YASEMANDLENI-MATLENG: ONDINI 10 SEPTHEMBA 1988

Ngonyaka ka-1944 ngaya eKolishi lase-Adams eduze kwaseManzimtoti eselibizwa ngokuthi kuse-Manzimtoti futhi namhlanje, ngiyofunda iJunior Certificate. Ngangiseyibhungu leminyaka eyi-16 ubudala kuphela. Kwaba ngo-1946, ngenkathi ngifunda unyaka wami wokuqala kaMatikuletsheni, lapho ngahlangana khona noMnu. Jordan Kush Ngubane. okwakungamamayela ambalwa ukusuka eKolishi. Ngangimazisa kakhulu lomuntu oweSizwe sakithi ngisho nangaphambili kokuba ngihla-ngane naye. Lokhu kwakungenxa yemibhalo yakhe emihle yobuzwe eyayikhishwa ngaphansi kwegama lakhe emaphephandabeni ebamhlophe afana nawo a"Natal Marcury" nje. Lemibhalo yayibhalwa ngesiNgisi esihle ngokumangalisayo nesingenaphutha ndawo. Lokhu kuhlangana kwethu eMishani yase-Adams kwaqalisa ubungani nobufowethu emzaba-lazweni obaqhubeka impilo yonke kwaze kwaba uMnu. Ngubane uyedlula kulomhlaba.

Ngabuye ngamazi kangcono futhi kamuva uMnu. Ngubane, noma u."J.K." njengoba ayebizwa ngontangayabo, ngiseyibhungu elazisa ubuzwe bama-Afrika ngenkathi sisemzabalazweni wama-Afrika wenkululeko Ngaleyonkathi wayengomunye wabantu ababekhula ngamawala amakhulu ekubalulekeni kuVukayibambe kaKhongolose, i-African National Congress. Igama lakhe ngaleyonkathi lalikanye namagama abanye abakhula ngamawala ekubalulekeni kwezombusazwe abafana nawo- A.P.Mda, uNelson Mandela, u-Anton Lembede, UManasse Moerane, uS.S. Lugongolo Mtolo, uMasabalala Yengwa, u-P.H.Semelane, u-Zami Conco,

uJoe........../2

uJoe Matthews nabanye abaningi kakhulu ukuba ngingababala lapha.

Ngisengumfundi osemncane ngisebangeni lasePrimary eMahhashini ngangizazisa kakhulu ~~izinhla~~ ezazibhalwa nguMnu. Ngubane e Langeni LaseNatali ayesebenza kulo ngaleyonkathi. Wayebhala uhlu ngaphansi kwegama-mbumbulu ayezethe lona lokuthi "ngu-Mkhabakawukhethi". Yizinto ayezibhala ngaphansi kwalezizinhla ezagcina zimfake enkatha=zweni kumalume wami nowake wabambela iSilo, uMntwana uMshiyeni kaDinuzulu. Ngiyakhumbula nje ngelinye ilanga uMnu. Ngubane efike emzini kamalume uBhova, ehambisana noDotokela u-Edgar Brookes, owayenguSigele owayemele amaZulu aKwaZulu naseNatali eNdlini yezi=gele ngokoMthetho Wokumelwa Kwabomdabu, i-Native Representation Act of 1936. Umnu. Ngubane wayezotolikela uDokotela u Brookes ngalolosuku. UMntwana uMshiyeni wakhononda kakhulu ngemibhalo kaNgubane wamtshena ekhaleni akemukeleki emzini woMntwana. Yilezi=zinto ezingezokuqala engizikhumbulayo ngoMnu. uNgubane nalokho ayekwenza. Ubudlelwane bethu baqhubeka bavuthwa bajula ngokuqhubeka kweminyaka nangokuhlanganyela kwethu amaphupho okukhululeka kwe=Ningizimu ne-Afrika "sisaphila" nxa ngisebenzisa ulimi esasiluse=benzisa kuKhongolose, i-African National Congress.

Ngenkathi ngihlangana naye e-Adams, wayesenguMhleli wephephandaba, "Inkundla yabantu" (The African Forum) . Leliphephandaba kwakuyi=phephandaba elalifundwa kakhulu yintsha, ikakhulukazi izifundiswa, kulolonke izwe. Ngabuye ngahlangana nomnawabo okanye nathi lapha namhlanje, uMnu. Richard Ngubane, kanye nonina owayehlala kwando=dana encane eKwatazi, eThekwini eduze kwakuSomtsewu Road.

Ukumiswa kwetshe lesikhumbuzo elibeni lomuntu kuyisinyathelo sesibili ebuhlungwini bokuvalelisa umuntu enimthandayo nokufunda ukuphila ngaphandle kwakhe. Umuntu ubanemizwa eminingi kakhulu kunaleyo ayenayo ngosuku okwakulondolozwa ngalo umuntu enimthandayo noma ongumngani. Umuntu uyakwazi ukucabanga kabanzi ngalowomuntu ngemuva kokufumana isikhathi eside sokucabanga ujule ngalokho

okushiwo yimpilo yakhe. Ekucabangeni kwami ngomnewethu uJordan Ngubane, noma u-J.K. njengoba abaningi babemazi kanjalo isikhathi eside, kungifikela kaningi ukuthi impela isikhathi siyakwazi ukuthuntubeza izinkumbulo nokuthi umuntu uvamise ukukulibala lokho okwakwenza umuntu abeyilomuntu ayenguye.

Ngenkathi silondoloza umfowethu, sasisasondele kakhulu ebuhlungwini besehlo ukuba sasingase sikwazi ukucabanga ngomuntu uqobo lwakhe kanye nempilo ayiphilayo esekulomhlaba . Wayephila impilo engajwa=yelekile, enomqondo okhululekileyo nomoya nomphefumulo okhululeki=leyo konke okwagcina kuwuphawu lwesimilo somuntu onguJordan Ngubane kwawuphawu lwakho konke ayekwenza ngenye inkathi okwakumenza ishoshozela elaligovuza isimo embusazweni wabantu abaMnyama ubuqotho bakhe, buhlangene nomqondo wakhe okhululekileyo nomoya wakhe okhululekileyo, kwakumenza akwazi ukusho lokho okusemqondweni wakhe noma ngabe kuyathandeka noma kakuthandeki kwabanye abantu.

Ezindabeni ezisemqoka wayeseqinisweni nomlando ekuqhubekeni kwawo ngendlela ebonakala ijulile kepha icacisa izimo, wawugcina umfaka=zele ukuthi wayekhuluma into eyiyo. Wayenesiphiwo esikhulu sokukwazi ukubona iphutha ekucubunguleni isimo nokubona imiplumela emibi yokuzihlanganisa nabantu abangalungile noma ukuvumela ukungenwa yimimoya engafanele. Kababaningi abantu abaphila naye kuleyominyaka yezivunguvungu zawo-1950 nababehambisana naye emazingeni aphezulu amandla ombusazwe wabantu abaMnyama nabaxwayisayo ngengozi eyayi=ngase yehle.

Labo abengamazi ngaleyonkathi nalabo abahlangana naye eminyakeni yakamuva kuyodingeka ukuba baxolelwe ngokungamazi ukuthi wayengu=bani ngoba wabe eseba ngumuntu ozibeke phansi . Ngimkhumbula kusukela eminyakeni yawo-1940 nawo -1950; ngangimazi ukuthi waye=ngelunye lamalungu asemqoka uVukayibambe (Youth League) kaKhongolose ngo-1944. Ukusungulwa kukaVukayibambe kwabayisehlo esibaluleke kakhulu. Kwaba yimiqondo efanayo yezinsizwa zangaleyonkathi ezabuye zaqhubeka zaba ngamaqhawe eSizwe nawomhlaba okwaholela ekusungulweni kukaVukayibambe kaKhongolose.

Umfowethu uJordan wayeyinto eyodwa noNelson Mandela, uWalter Sisulu, uAnton Lembede u- A.P.Mda nabanye esengike ngababala ngaleyonkathi, sekuhlangene nabanye engingababalanga. Ngaleyo=nkathi babesengabantu abangabalulekile kwezombusazwe besaqala phansi empilweni yokubhekana nezinselelo ababezidalelwa ngumzabalazo wenkululeko kusukela ngo-1912.

Umuntu kawukho unyaka angawugcizelela ngokweqiniso ukwedlula eminye kusukela ekusungulweni kukaVukayibambe ngo-1944. Yilowo nalowonyaka wawuholela kolandelayo ixhumane yonke yenze iketango elixhume kwelandelayo. Mhlawumbe kubalulekile, nokho, ukupha=wula isikhathi esithile esisemqoka ibese sibheka emuba naphambi=li sisukela kulesosikhathi. Ngaleyonkathi umuntu angakwazi-ke ukuba impilo yomuntu naye umuntu lowo ambeke esimeni lapho ezobonakala acace kahle khona. Kumngani nomfowethu uJordan Ngubane, ngiqoka unyaka ka 1952 njengonyaka osemqoka impilo yakhe esingayibheka sisukela kuwo.

Kwathi kufika unyaka ka-1952, konke okwakuzokwehlela i-ANC eshumini leminyaka elilandelayo, okwaba yishumi lokugcina leminyaka yokusebenza kwayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika,kwase kuqophekile kungasenakubuyela emuva. Ngo 1952 kwase kuvele kupophekile kungasenakubuyela emuva ukwehla kwezehlo ezintsha eziyisigubhu=kane embusazweni wabantu abaMnyama; kwase kuvele kuqophekile kungasenakuguquka ukuthi labo ababengabadlali abaphambili enkundleni yombusazwe basasalelwe yisikhathi esingakanani besebenza.

Kwaba ngonyaka ka 1952 lapho u-Albert Lutuli akhethwa khona njengo=Mengameli-Jikelele we-African National Congress. Kwaba ngonyaka ka 1952 lapho kwaqalwa khona uMkhankaso Wokwedelela Umthetho (Defiance Campaign). Kwabangunyaka lapho umbusazwe omdala wabuyela khona eceleni kwangena umbusazwe omusha. Kwaba yilowonyaka lapho iqhawe elidala lombusazwe wabantu abaMnyama,

u-A.W.G. Champion, athatha khona umhlalaphansi ubuholi bombu= sazwe wabaMnyama eNingizimu ne-Afrika bathathwa nguChief Albert Lutuli wabunikeza indlela entsha. Kwaba ngunyaka uRobert Sobukwe ajoyina ngawo uMkhankaso Wokwedelela Umthetho. Kwabangunyaka futhi lapho uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika aqale khona ukuthatha izinyathelo ezinqala wachitha uChief Albert Lutuli esikhundleni sakhe sobuKhosi, wabopha noNelson Mandela ngokuhlanganyela kwakhe ekusungulweni kwe-Defiance Campaign.

UMnu. Ngubane wasebenza umsebenzi osemqoka kakhulu ekukhethweni kukaChief Albert Lutuli ngemibhalo yakhe ayeyibhala ephepha= ndabeni "Inkundla". Ngiyakhumbula nje ngigwinsiza ayekubhala ngaleyonkathi. Wayephonsela izinkuzi ezindala zomzabalazo, ayezi= biza ngabantu abasaqhuba ngezindlela ezindala (Old guard)emzabala= zweni ~~wombusazwe~~ ezifana nawoMnu. Allison Wessels George Champion u-A.W.G.Champion, uMahlathamnyama, inselelo. Ngaleyonkathi naye uMnu. Ngubane wayebhekene nezagila ezazivela osibeni loMnu. Champ= ion ezinhleni zelanga Wenza konke okubi ayengase akwenze ukunyu= ndela uMnu.Ngubane, kepha kwangaphumelela. Esikhundleni salokho, kwaba nguye uMnu. Champion owaketulwayo, isikhundla sakhe satha= thwa nguChief Albert Mvumbi Lutuli UMnu. Ngubane wabangomunye walabo abenza umsebenzi osemqoka kakhulu ukuqiniseka ukuba zenzeke lezozinguquko zombusazwe kulesiSifunda nakulolonke elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Kwaba ngoMashi ka 1955, ngemuva kokubhalelana izincwadi no Patrick Duncan, lapho uDancan azisa khona u-Alan Paton ukuthi uNgubane ucabanga ukujoyina iLiberal Party. Ebhukwini elilanda ngempilo kaPatrick Duncan uNgubane uchazwa ngalamazwi: "UNgubane, umlobi wezindaba zamaphephandaba nomlimi, umngani omkhulu kaManilal Gadhi noLutuli, umuntu ophambene kakhulu nobukhomanisi ngezizathu eziqondene naye nangezizathu zemica= bango yenqubo nelunga alasungula uVukayibambe we-ANC." Wayena= mandla amakhulu phezu kukaPatrick Duncan, owayengomunye wabasu= nguli ne Liberal Party. UNgubane wabuye wahlubuka kuPatrick

Duncan kamuva wayojoyina i-Pan -Africanist Congress.

NgoDisemba ka 1958, uNgubane, uPatrick Duncan nomkakhe u Cynthia bandiza baya e-Accra, kwelaseGhana. Babeyomela i Liberal Party ku-All Africa People's Conference. Ilunga eli= phezulu lezithunywa kwakungu Zeke Mphahlele, owayefundisa eNigeria ngaleyonkathi. Abanye kwakungo-Alfred Hutchinson (umlobi wamabhuku nomunye wababekuDefiance Campaign no Duncan ngo-1952) uNksk. Mary-Louise Hooper owayengunobhala kaLutuli kwaze kwaba sekuxoshweni kwakhe eNingizimu ne-Afrika. INgqungqunthela yase-Accra kwabhalwa kabanzi ngayo ezinhlelweni zokusakaza izindaba eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kwathi nxa uPatrick Duncan ebuya, uNgubane wake wasala e-Accra isikhashana. Kwaba ngo-April ka 1959 lapho labo abakholelwa ebuzweni bama -Afrika (Aficanists) ku-ANC babamba khona iNgqungqunthela yabo eGoli lapho kwasungulwa khona i-Pan-Africanist Congress. Ebhukwini elilanda ngempilo kaDuncan sifunda ukuthi: "Kusukela ngo-1954 kuya phambili (uDuncan) waya ngokuya esondelana noJordan Ngubane, owayengumngani omdala kaRobert Sobukwe, wamenywa ukuba abekhona eNgqungqutheleni yokusungula i-PAC, waya nempela, okwabayinto eyawaphazamisa kakhulu amaliberals aseGoli."

Wonke umlando walokho okwaholela kuDefiance Campaign sewaxoxwa wabuye waphinda waxoxwa. Yona i-Defiance Campaign, noma Umkhankaso Wokudelela Umthetho, ngokwawo seyaqoshwa phansi izikhathi eziningi nalokho okwalandela i-Defiance Campaign kungumlando owaziwayo, kepha ngabadlali abaphilayo ababedlala kulowomlando abafihlekileyo bangamagama nje ezigidini zabantu. Kepha babeyizidalwa eziphilayo, ezicabangayo, ezinemizwa, ezinesi= bindi, ezinovalo, ezinemicabango emisha nezidalwa ezazibuye zibeyizidlamlilo ngezikhathi ezithile zibuye zidikibale zikha= thazeke ngezinye izikhathi.

Umlando kawuwona umlando wezehlo; umlando ungumlando wabantu - umlando wabantu abathile abaziwayo abanamagama. Ekugcineni

sibona isamba salokho okwakukhona kepha nxa sibheka iminyaka yawo-1950, ikakhulu unyaka ka-1952, kufanele sibheke abantu abathile izingqobo zabo ukuze siqonde okwakwenzeka ngaleyonkathi.

Unyaka ka-1952 yisikhathi esidala kakhulu kuneminyaka engama-36 kusukela kulowonyaka kuza kulonyaka futhi mhlawumbe leyomi=nyaka eyi-36 iyiminyaka ebaluleke kunayoyonke emlandweni weNingizimu ne-Afrika. Wonke umlando wesikhathi esidlule wamakoloni wawuholele ekushayweni koMthetho weNyonyana ka-1910 nokushiywa ngaphandle kwabantu abaMnyama ohlelweni lwephala=mende. Ukunqoba kweqembu lamaNeshinali ngo-1948 kwakuqhubekele phambili kwayowulimaza kabi umbusazwe wabantu abaMnyama ngo-1952. Kusukela ku-1952 kuya phambili, kwadingeka ukuba iguquke indlela okuhamba ngayo umbusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kwabakhona uhlobo oluthile lokugqolozelana emehlweni phakathi kobandlululo nabacindezelweyo eminyakeni yawo-1950, okwadala ukuba leloshumi leminyaka kubeyishumi leminyaka eliqopha ukwahlukana kwezindlela.. Kwaba ngalelishumi leminyaka lokubaluleka kombusazwe emlandweni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika lapho umfowethu uJordan Ngubane adubula khona okhalweni lwempilo ephakathi kwamagama amakhulu kunawowonke alezozinsuku nesizukulwane.

Nxa kwakukhona noma ngubani obalulekileyo embusazweni wabantu abaMnyama, umfowethu uNgubane wayeyomazi loyomuntu. Kakukho sehlo esisemqoka umfowethu ayengenalo ulwazi olugcweleyo nolujulileyo ngaso. Wayehamba phakathi kwabahleli bezinto nabanye abanyakazisa umbusazwe futhi wayekhona phakathi kwabo ngoba aziswa yibo.

Noma ngabe kwakusezehlweni ezinkulu zombusazwe noma kwakusempilweni yabantu nje yangasese, unyaka-1952 wawungunyaka osemqoka. Kwaba ngunyaka lapho uProfesa Z.K.Matthews edelela khona uHulumeni wase=Ningizimu ne-Afrika wanikeza ubufakazi obulwa nobandlululo eNhlanganweni Yezizwe (United Nations). Lesi kwakuyisenzo esiqondi=leyo nje somuntu owayelalela unembeza wakhe, kepha kwaba yisezo esasibikezela ukuthi uProfesa Z.K.Matthews uyonikezwa ukuhlonishwa okumfaneleyo ngelinye ilanga ngeqhaza alibambayo emzabalazweni womuntu oMnyama.

Unyaka....../8

Unyaka ka-1952 wabuye wabangunyaka lapho uNelson Mandela no-Oliver Tambo bahlangana khona ukusungula inkampani yokuqala yabameli abaMnyama eNingizimu ne-Afrika Kwabangunyaka wabantu lapho uProfesa Zeke Mphahlele aphoqeleka khona ukuba ayeke umsebenzi wakhe wokufundisa ayoba nguMhleli wokulotshwa kwamabhuku ephapha=bhukwini i-Drum. Kwaba ngunyaka futhi lapho uMirriam Makeba abuya khona nengane ngemuva kokuba lowo ayethandana naye emdicilele phansi. Kwaba unyaka wokuba abhekane ngqo nobuyena kanye nesimo esiyiso unyaka owaholela ekunqobeni kwakhe ngomculo kuwowonke amagumbi omhlaba, waze wagcina eseshade noStokely Carmichael owayengomunye wababelwela amalungleo abantu eMelika.

Unyaka ka-1952 kwaba ngunyaka okwakhiwa ngawo umlando. Kwabasengathi impilo iqoqa yonke imikhakha nabantu abaningi ibafaka esangweni elincane lonyaka owodwa- ibadidiyela ndawonye ibenza izikhali umlando owaqopheka ngazo isimo esasingaseyuguquka ngomuso. Iminyaka yawo-1950 yayiyiminyaka enzima eyayikhetha amadoda kufafana. Kwabangunyaka lapho umfowethu uJordan Ngubane adabula khona empilweni ngentshisekelo nokuzimisela okukhulu. Ukuba wayengu=muntu onguvuma zonke engeyona indoda yomlando, wayenokufumana noma yini ayeqoka ukuyifumana.

Wayenesiphiwo ngokombusazwe nangokobungcwepheshi ekusebenziseni amagama. Wayenokuzikhethela umsebenzi wombusazwe noma aqoke umsebenzi wokubhala amabhuku. Ukuba wayengenele umdlalo wokuzi=funela amandla ayewununuselwa yimpilo, wayengase akhuphuke afinye=lele emandleni. Esikhundleni salokho waqala ukuhamba indlela enzima yesimilo sobuqotho. Wanqaba ukuziba unembeza wakhe nokuxwayiswa kwakhe ngumqondo wakhe ocubungulayo . Nxa abantu noma izinhlangano zenza iphutha, wayebatshena ukuthi benza iphutha.

Kwaba........../9

Kwaba ngasekuqaleni kweminyaka yawo -1950 lapho umfowethu aqala khona ukukhathazeka ngomsebenzi owawenziwa yiqembu lamaKhomanisi laseNingizimu ne-aAfrika (South African Communist Party) nabahambi=sana nalo wokusebenzisa umbusazwe wabaMnyama. Wazibona izingozi ezinkulu ebuqothweni bomzabalazo ngenkathi abaholi abaMnyama bevumela ukusetshenziswa yilemimoya. Wayekuchitha ukusetshenziswa Wayephambene nendlela labo ababekholelwa kuFreedom Charter abavela ngayo njengomhlathi omusha wamashoshozela angaphakathi ku-aANC ayesekelwa imihlathi engaphandle. Akakwazanga ukuhamba leyondlela ngakho wayishiya i-ANC wayojoyina i-Liberal Pary eyayisanda kusungu=lwa.

Ukuqhela kwakhe endaweni lapho ayesekela khona i-ANC ngokupheleleyo kakuzange nokho kube isinyathelo esanqamula ukuxhumana phakathi kwakhe nabanye abadlali bombusazwe ababephakathi nenkundla Akazange alahlekelwe yinhlonipho abanye ababemhlonipha ngayo ngakho ngemuva kokuba izivunguvungu zezehlo ze-Defiance Campaign ziqale ukusondela ekuvaleni isigaba esithile sombusazwe ekupheleni kweshu=mi leminyaka, umfowethu wayeselokhu ekhona ehlonishwa futhi emukelwa ezindaweni eziphezulu kunazozonke zombusazwe.

Wayekhona lapha ngo-1960 esebenza nabaholi be-PAC kepha esemukelwa ngabaholi be-ANC ebeka uphawu lwakhe ezehlweni zangaleyonkathi futhi ebeka umqondo wakhe njengoba kwakuyisimilo sakhe etshena abanye imibono yakhe nalokho ayekufundiswa yikucubungula kwakhe. Wexwayisa abaholi be-PAC ukuthi imikhankaso yabo yamapasi yayica=tshangwe ngentshisekelo enamawala ngenxa yomoya uDokotela Nkrumah waseGhana ayenawo kubaholi be-P.A.C. Wabuye wayixwayisa futhi i-PAC ukuthi iyaxhamazela ekungeneni kwayo ngamawala ekuha=mbeleni phambili isenzo sokushisa amapasi i-ANC eyayisasihlelela unyaka olandelayo.

Wayekhona ngasosonke isikhathi lapho kudingeka khona. Wayekhona emongweni wezinto lapho kwakuthathwa khona izinqumo ezisemqoka. Wayekhona ukubeka umqondo wakhe owawufakazeleka kamuva. Ngo-1961 abaholi abaMnyama abase beqala ukukhathazeka ngokuntuleka kobunye

nesidingo......../10

nesidingo esasesiqala ukubonakala sokuba abaholi basebenze ndawonye njengabaholi abaMnyama ngaphandle kokunaka ukwehlukana kwemiqondo yombusazwe. Ekugcineni kwabakhona umhlangano wase-Orlando wabaholi abaMnyama lapho abaholi abaMnyama banquma khona ukuthi kufanele kubekhona iNgqungqquthela ehlanganisa bonke abaholi ezingeni likazwelonke.

Umfowethu uJordan Ngubane wakhethwa ukuba abenguSihlalo weKomidi yokuqhuba lezozingqungqthela ezasungulwayo. Kulesisikhundla kwadingeka ukuba alwe nomkhuba wamaqeqeba owawusuvamile embusazweni wabantu abaMnyama. Nalapha futhi wafumana yonke lemihlathi yangaphandle ingena izozama ukubasebenzisa, waphinda futhi wafumana abaholi be-ANC bezimisele ngokubasebenzisa kweyabo indlela yokusebenzisa izehlo ngezehlo yokusungula ukuqonela abanye ngemibono yabo ekuthathweni kwezinqumo.

Nxa umuntu ebheka izehlo ezaholela ekuvalweni kwe-ANC ne-PAC ngo 1960 nokukhula kokugqolozelana noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika okwafinyelela emazingeni lapho umbusazwe wabantu abaMnyama wawuzonqotshwa khona, umuntu uyakubona ukuthi kwakhona emuva le ko-1952, yonke into yayisivela isikulungele lokho nokuthi abadlali abaphambili base bevele belungiselelwa zona izehlo ezaziyokwehla ngasekupheleni kwaleloshumi leminyaka.

Ngabuye ngahlangana nenhlonipho nothando futhi nomfowethu kuleyomi=nyaka enzima edingisiwe eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngakho ngikholwa yikuthi ngenza okuyikho ngokubamba isandla sakhe ngibenesandla ekubuyeleni kwakhe ezweni lakhe lenkaba. Ngambuyisela Ondini ngamnikeza indawo empilweni phakathi kwethu ngoba-wayeyisebenzele lendawo. Ngangiwuqonda umsebenzi wawo-1950. Lelishumi leminyaka kwaba yishumi leminyaka nami engavuthwa ngalo kwezombusazwe. Ngonyaka ka-1952 ngangiphezu kokucabanga okujulileyo ngihlolisisa inhliziyo yami ngokuthi yikuphi lapho ngifanele ukuphelela khona empilweni.

Ngangikade......./11

Ngangikade nginokubonisana okuqhubekayo nabaholi abaMnyama beSizwe baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngaleyonkathi, ngakho kwaba ngonyaka olandelayo ka-1953 lapho ngaphetha ngokuzenelisa ukuthi into eyayifanele ukuba ngiyenze kuyikuthatha isikhundla sami sobukhosi besizwe sakwaButhelezi ngaba inkosi ebambileyo ngo-1953, nomfowethu uJordan wayekwazi engangikwenza ekwazi futhi nokuthi ngikwenzelani. Wayekwazi ukuthi lokho ngangikwenza ngemvume kaChief Albert Lutuli, uNelson Mandela, uWalter Sisulu, uRobert Sobukwe nabanye. Yena uqobo lwakhe wayebenomnikelo omkhulu ekuthatheni kwami lesosinqumo.

Umfowethu uJordan Kush Ngubane ngaphezu kwakho konke wayengumbhali onekhona elaziwayo. Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuthi emphakathini wa= kithi ukuthi ababhali abaneso elibukhali elikwazi ukubona nga= phakathi esimilweni sesidalwa esingumuntu nabayizingcwepheshi zaloluhlobo ekusetshenzisweni kolimi kwakudingeka ukuba baze balilwele ilungelo lokubhala lokho abakubhalayo. Emphakathini oqondileyo nje nonobuchopho obuphilayo umbhali wezinga lomfowethu uNgubane wayeyosebenzisa yonke impilo yakhe ethuthukisa ubu= ngcwepheshi bakhe ekhula eyofinyelela eziqongweni eziphakeme kakhulu. Kuyinto efanele ukutuswa kakhulu ukuthi uJordan K. Ngubane waphumelela nokuphumelela ukubhala lokhu akubhalayo. Ibhuku lakhe eliyindaba (novel) lokuqala "Uvalo Lwezinhlozi" elakhishwa ngo-1957 kalivunyelwanga ukuba liphinde lishicilelwe naphezu kokuthandwa kwalo nokufunwa kwalo ngabantu. Wabuye wabhala namanye amabhuku ayegxile kakhulu kufilosofi noma ulwazi olujulileyo ngokudabuka kokubakhona nesimo sombusazwe. Waloba ibhuku elinesihloko esithi "An African Explains Apartheid" no "Shoba" (The Hurtle to Blood River) kanye ne "Conflict of Minds".

Kepha kusekubhaleni kwakhe kwansuku zonke njongomlobi wezindaba zamaphephandaba nasekusebenzeni kwakhe njengoMhleli lapho umfowethu enza khona umnikelo wakhe omkhulu ekuthuthukisweni

kwemisebenzi ebhalwe ngama-Afrika kulelizwe. Wazalwa ngo- 1917 eduze kwaseMnambithi kepha iziphiwo zakhe zazizingi ngendlela yokuthi wathi efinyelela eminyakeni engama-20 yobudala, wanike= zwa nguMnu. John Dube umsebenzi wokuba yisekela loMhleli we= Langa LaseNatali. Wabuye wasebenza noSelope Thema ku "Bantu World". Kungalesisikhathi lapho ukusebenza kwakhe ekuthuthukise= ni imicabango yomuntu oMnyama nokujwayelana kwakhe nabadlali abaphambili enkundleni yombusazwe kwamfuqela phambili njengombhali owaziwayo. Yena, ebambisene no-Anton Lembede no-A.P.Mda baloba umbhalo ochaza izinhloso zikaVukayibambe, i-African National Youth Congress' Youth League Manifesto.

Kwaba ngemuva kokusebenza kwakhe kwezombusazwe nemiqondo ejulileyo yawozakwabo lapho aqhubekela khona ekubeni nguMhleli we "Nkundla YaBantu". Indlela ayenekhono ngayo lokusebenzisa ulimi, ukujula kwendlela ayebona ngayo umphakathi omzungezileyo nekhono lakhe lokudala kwamfuqela endaweni ephambili, kwathi eminyakeni eyisikhombisa phakathi kuka 1944 no - 1951, ngenkathi engumhleli waleliphepha laphenduka inkundla ephambili eNingizimu ne-Afrika emibonweni yombusazwe yabantu abaMnyama abacabangayo ukusebenza kwakhe okwakumhlanganisa nsukuzonke nokwehlukana kwemibono yombusazwe empilweni yoquqaba kwamhlo= misela ukubamba iqhaza elisemqoka ekucaciseni ulucabanga komuntu oMnyama ezindabeni ezibucayi. Isikhathi asisebenzayo enguMhleli we"Nkundla YaBantu" kwaba yisikhathi lapho kwakuvela izinhlelo ezintsha zombusazwe ziqubuka esikhathini esidlule. Kwabayisi= khathi lapho u-Chief Albert Lutuli ayequbuka ngaso nensizwa endala yombusazwe, uMnu. A.W.G. Champion esendleleni yakhe ephuma ukubhala komfowethu kwalekelela ukuqondisa izehlo ezabaholela ekuqhubekeni kukaChief Lutuli aze ayothatha isikhundla sokuba nguMengameli Kazwelonke we-ANC.

Ngeshwa lethu elikhulu, ukuvalwa kwe-ANC NE_PAC nokuhlukunyezwa

kwabantu abamnyama ababengababaholi ekucabangeni ngezindaba zombusazwe ngemuva kwalokho kwayinqinda impilo yakhe yokubhala ephakathi kwethu. Ngonyaka ka-1961 wabekwa icala ngaphansi koMthetho Wezinhlangano Ezingekho emthethweni kanye noMthetho wokucindezelwa KobuKhomanisi (Unlawful Organisations Act and the Suppression of Communism Act) kepha agcina emthethile womabili. Ngenkathi evalwa ngo -1963, kwadingeka ukuba akhethe phakathi kwezinto ezisemqoka kakhulu, wakhetha ukuqhuba umsebenzi wakhe wokubhala ngaphandle kweNingizimu ne-Afrika, kwathi ngonyaka ka-1969, wemukela imali yokumelekelela (grant) kuFord Foundation kanye ne-Howard Grant eyamlekelela ukuba aye kofundisa eNyuvesi yase Howard, eWashington D.C.eMelika,

Wayenomphefumulo weqhawe ohlala unyakaza. Ngamangala kakhulu nxa ngihambele kwelaseSwazini njengesivakashi seNgwenyama uSobhuza II, lapho ngihlangana nomfowethu uNgubane khona.. Kwangimangaza kakhulu ukuthi wayengene ethe shi embusazweni wamaSwazi nakuba, eqinisweni ayebhacile khona njengomuntu owayelalela unembeza wakhe ngisho noma ngabe kungaba nemiphumela enjani, wayelwa ne"Mbvokodzo" okuyiqembu elalemukelwe yiNgwenyama, esebenza nalabo ababeliphikisa abafana nawoDokotela Sishayi Nxumalo, okwathi nxa izinto zishuba wembuka ngokwezombusazwe! Kangimangalanga -ke ukuthi kwathi nxa iqembu lengwenyama selinqiba, umfowethu kwadingeka ukuba athuthele kwelaseMelika

Njengo-Zeke Mpahlele, umfowethu ayemazi ngengontangayabo eminyakeni yawo -1940 nawo 1950 eNingizimu ne-Afrika, naye wachitha iminyaka ekudingisweni wagcina eseyamukele inselelo yokubuyela eNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuzokwenza lokho ayengase akwenze esikhathini esasilandela iSoweto ka June 1976. Wabe esebuyela ekhaya wazohlala nathi kwaze kwafika usuku lwakhe lokugcina. Izingxabo zakhe zisemzabalazweni, walwa ukulwa okuhle futhi ubuqotho bakhe yibona

obabubusa......../14

obabubusa yonke into ayeyenza . Ngiyethulela isigqoko ngiyayitusa lendoda, umuntu wozombusazwo nombhali.

Kukhona into eyodwa eyayenza ubudlelwane bethu bube semqoka kakhulu futhi bube ngubudlelwane obungajwayelekile. Kwathi lapho ecikwa ngamandla eqembu lamaKhomanisi laseNingizimu ne-Afrika phezu kwe-African National Congress, wayishiya i-ANC. Wabesegxeka uChi f Albert Lutuli. Ngaqhubeka noChief Albert Lutuli mina ngaqhubeka nokuba ngumlandeli kaLutuli kwaze kwaba sezinsukwini zakhe zokugcina. Ngisengumlandeli kaLutuli ngishonamnje . Lokhu kakuzange kubuphazamise nakancane nje ubudlelwane bethu noMnu. Jordan Ngubane.

Kwathi nxa esecikwa ngamaliberals amhlophe, ubudlelwane bakhe nomholi wakhe kuLiberal Party, uDokotela Alan Paton, balimala. Ngangisondelene noDokotela ALan Paton kwaze kwaba sekupheleni kwezinsuku zakhe. Kwakungidalela ubuhlungu enhliziweni yami ukubona abantu ababili ababesebenze ngokusondelana okungala sebeqhe= lelene ngalendlela. Akekho-phakathi kwabo bobabili kowayenento enhle ayeyisho ngomunye . Ngaqhubeka nokusondelana kakhulu nabo bobabili. Kayikho into eyayingizwisa ubuhlungu ukwedlula ukuthi kakuzange kubekhona ukuthelelana amanzi phakathi kwalabantu bobabili kwaze kwaba sekupheleni kwezinsuku zabo. Ngakho kakusho ukuthi kasizange sibe nokungavumelani kuyoyonke leminyaka; sasibanakho ukungavumelani, ezikhathini eziningi singavumelani ngolaka kakhulu kepha lokhu kakukaze kubuthinte ubudlelwane bethu ngoba ubudlelwane bethu babungobehluke kakhulu.

Ngithokoza kuNkulunkulu ngokuthi ngafunda okuningi kuye kuyoyonke lenimnyaka njengomnewethu nomeluleki. Nxa sekufika usuku lwenku= luleko, ngineqiniso lokuthi igamalakhe liyoqoshwa emlandweni wezwe lakithi njengomunye wabahleli benkululeko yethu.

Inkululeko....../15

Inkululeko ayifikanga esaphila njengoba sasethemba, kepha lude ukhalo esiluhambe naye kanti nenkululeko isiseduze. Kungenxa yomnikelo wakhe neminikelo yamanye amaqhawe athanda izwe neSizwe sakubo ayesebenza nawo, njengoba sesifike kulelizinga esesifinyelele kulo emzabalazweni wethu. Bekuba yinto engikhuthaza kakhulu ukuthi abaholi abakhulu abafana nomfowethu uMnu, J.K.Ngubane namaqhawe afana noMnu. A.W.G.Champion, uMnu. P.H.Simelane, uMnu.S.Lugongolo Mtolo noMnu. Selby Msimang omunye wawobaba abaqamba i-ANC, bonke babengamalunga oMgwamanda weNkatha ngenkathi behamba kulomhlaba Ekutuseni u-"J.K." namhlanje,,nabo ngibashayela indesheni. Base=benza ndawonye, babehlukana ngemibono kepha bonke babezinikele emgomeni ofanayo. I-Afrika kayisoze yabakhohlwa. Nginokuhloni=pheka okukhulu egameni le Nkatha Yenkululeko YeSizwe -Kgare Ya Tokoloho Ya Setjhaba, ukuhalalisela nokutusa leliqhawe eliyindodana yeNingizimu ne-Afrika, umuntu owashiya uphawu lwakhe ekucabangeni kwami kwezombusazwe nokungisekela kwakhe okwangiqinisa kuwowonke lamashumi eminyaka.