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NGAPHASI KOKWEHLUKANISWA nokubandlululwa abantu abanzima azange bamukwa kwaphela ihlabathabo njengombana sibonile esahlukweni 2 nesezi-6 nanyana ingenelelo lezomnotho emaplasini, eemayini nemabubulweni njengombana singenelele kusahluko sesi-5. Babe badinywe namalungelo wepolitiki ngaleso sizathu banganamakghono wokusiza ekuhleleni kuhle umphakathi ebekubanjisenwe nawo nabanye abantu abanzima.

Lokhu kwathoma nakufika amaBhunu epumalanga Transvali athama i-ZAR. Nangemva kokuthunjwa kuwelwe ngaphasi kwe-ZA abantu abanzima azange benziwa izakhamuzi (*burgers*). (Kuhle kuvezwe bona namanye amakhuwa agade amaphandle gade angenziwa izakhamuzi). Ekuthomeni kwesentjhuri yama-20 abantu abanengi abanzima balekelela amaBritish ePini yeSewula Afrika ngethemba lokobana amaBritish azakubuyisela ubukhosi babantu abanzima balamulele abantu abanzima embusweni nekulawulweni maBhunu. Kodwana amathembabo wamalungelo wepolitiki alinganako asuka atjhabalala ngesikhathi kuhlonywa iYuniyeni yeSewula Afrika (*Union of South Africa*) ngomnyaka we-1910 la kwahlanganiswa khona iKapa neNatal kanye nomazibuse wamaBhunu. Abantu abanzima babe bangakavunyelwa ukuvowuda (ngaphandle kwedlanzana labantu ababe banelungelo elithileko esifundeni seKapa).

Lokhu kwabikezela ngezehlakalo ezaba khona kusentjhuri yama-20. Ngokungafani nesentjhuri ye-19 la abantu gade balwela amalungelwabo wehlabathi nekululeko isentjhuri etja le yabona umzabalazo wamalungelo kwezepolitiki. Abantu beMpumalanga badlala indima ekulu ngokuzabalaza ngeendlela ezahlukahlukeneko. Nanyana kunjalo ukwendlalela lezizehlakalo kufanele sinikele isirhunyezo esifitjhani sokuzabalazela ipolitiki eSewula Afrika ngesentjhuri yama-20.

Ngomnyaka we-1912 amakhosi wabantu abanzima ahlangani eBloemfontein abumba i*South African Native National Congress*, ekwathi ngokukhamba kwesikhathi yaba yi-*African National Congress* (ANC), ukuze iphumelelise amalungelo womuntu onzima, isebenzele ekutholeni

Ikhasi eliqalene naleli: Itja yeLeandra etjagalako ngomnyaka we-1986.



Abomma ngomrhwanto
owawuphikisana
neembhugwana
eStanderton
ngoSeptemba, 1957.

idemokhrasi. Imibonwayo yayifanele begodu ilandela indlela enganakho ukulwa ngaphakathi. Ngomnyaka we-1910 nowe-1920 amayuniyoni wezemisebenzi neenhlango zamasotjhalizimu zathoma ukuhlelana nokunabisa amalunga weensebenzi zabantu abanzima emadorobheni weSewula Afrika. Leziinhlango zathoma indlela etja yokuhloma abajameli emisebenzini. Ngomnyaka we-1921 iinhlango zesotjhalizimu zabumba i*Communist Party of South Africa*, ekwathi ngemva kwesikhathi yaba yi*South African Communist Party (SACP)*.

Phakathi kwe-1940 isizukulwani esitjha sabarholi babantu abanzima sabumba i-ANC *Youth League*, bebathoma ukuraga indaba yokusebenzisa amaqhinga wokulwa ukuze batjhijile ukuphathwa makuwa. Ngomnyaka we-1949, ngemva kobana iNP iphethe, i-ANC yamukela ihlelo lokusebenza elalala ukubuswa libhunu yathatha isiqunto sokuphikisana, ukunghala umsebenzi nokurhwanta. Ekuthomeni kweminyaka ye-1950 lokhu kwaphetha ngetjhitjingo elikhulu elaliphikisana nemithetho egandelelako.

Phakathi nomnyaka we-1950 ihlangoisela yeenhlango ezilwela idemokhrasi zamukela iTjhatha yeKululeko (*Freedom Charter*) emhlanganweni we*Congress of the People* owabanjwa eKliptown eJohannesburg. Ngokuveza yoke imileyo ekuvunyenwe ngayo manqophana nedemokhrasi enganabandlululo, itjhatha le yaba mtlolomgomo womnyakazo wamaSewula Afrika alwela ikululeko. Kodwana akusuye woke umuntu owavumelana nalendlela yokusebenza. Ngaleso sizathu ngomnyakwa we-1958 i*Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)* yakgheruka ku-ANC yayokujamela amazizo wobu-Afrika.

Ngenyanga kaMatjhi 1960 kwaba netjhuguluko eliqakathekileko lomlando weSewula Afrika ngesikhathi amapholisa adumuza abantu ababe barhwanta barhwantela umthetho wokuphathwa kweembhugwana eSharpville, isigoga esingesewula yeJohannesburg. Kilokhu kudumuza kwabulawa abantu abama-69 kwalinyazwa abanengi. Umguruguru wathoma njalo enarheni le yoke. Umbuso waphendula ngokobana uvale i-ANC ne-PAC, imilomo umemezele nesikhathi sewatjhi. Lokho kwaba nomphumela wokubotjhwa kweenkulungwana ngeenkulungwana zabantu. Itjhtjingo lephasi loke elikhulu nalo lathoma ku- *United Nations* namanye amaforamu ngokukhethulula iSewula Afrika bese itswinywa kwezomnotho.

Lezizehlakalo zathoma ukulandela iphetheni yokutsitsila okukhulu okwaya ngokunaba kungenelwa maphasi amanye kancanikancani kwaze kwaba minyaka ye-1990.

Ngokulawula ngaphasi kwelefukwana iinhlango ezaziwako zepolitiki zajika zasebenzisa iinkhali. Ngomnyaka we-1961 i-SACP ne-ANC zakha iphiko lezepi elabizwa bona Mkhonto weSizwe (*Spear of the Nation*), elathoma lasahlela imakhiwo eqakathekileko yombuso. Ngomnyaka we-1963 abarholi boMkhonto WeSizwe eSewula Afrika, ngokufaka noNelson Mandela babotjhwa, babanjelwa ukuqekela phasi umbuso bagwetjwa iimpilo zabo zoke ejele yeRobben Island.

Ngeminyaka ye-1970 ezinye iinhlango ezitja ezaziraga itsitsilo zavumbuka embusweni webandlululo. Yokuthoma kwaba yi*Black consciousness movement* eyathoma kamnandi yadzimelela kuhle emayunivesithi wabantu. USteve Biko waba mdosi phambili walehlango kodwana wabulawa mapholisa wezokuvikela. Lehlangano nezinye iinhlango anywana ezinengi ezazivuka zavalwa imilomo abadosi bazo babotjhwa.

Yesibili ihlangano eyavukako kwaba ngeyabasebenzi, '*trade unions*' eyayisunduza itjhtjingo elilawulekako eliphokophele ekutholeni amalungelo wabasebenzi. Amayuniyoni la agandelela abaqatjhi kanye nombuso ukobana abe semthethweni avulele ukwakheka kwehlangano ekulu ezakusebenza ngekambiso nemikhuba yedemokhrasi ezakuhlahla indlela yomzabalazo owawuzakulandela. Umnyaka we-1976 wabuye waletha elinye itjhuguluko emlandweni weSewula Afrika ekwaba mguruguru weSoweto. Mhlana amalanga ali-16 kuJuni 1976 amapholisa adumuza abantwana beenkolo ababe barhwantela ukungafuni ukufundiswa ngelimi le-Afrikaans 'emNyangweni weFundo yabaNtu abaNzima' esigoga esikhulu esiseduze neJohannesburg, iSoweto. Umguruguru waqubuka warhatjhekela nakwezinye iindawo zenarha le. Isizukulwani esitjha sabantu abatjha ababe bangaphandle kwenarha le nabo bawungenela lomnyakazo.

Ngesikhathi umbuso webandlululo wawugandelelwa ngokwepolotiki wabuye wabona bona kunesidingo sokobana utjhugulule izinto. Ngomnyaka we-1983 waletha umthethosisekelo omutjha owawunabisa inani lamalunga wepalamende ngokobana kufakwe nabajameli bamakhaladi, namaNdiya kodwana lomthethosisekelo waloko ukhethulula abantu abanzima. Sekunobana abantu abanzima babe khona nabo epalamende, banikelwa ilungelo lokuzakhela imibuswabo ezakulawula iingoga abahlala kizo. Ihlangano ye-*United Democratic Front* (UDF) yahlonywa ngomnqopho wokobana ihlanganise amandla wokuphikisana nalomthethosisekelo. Amalunga we- UDF, anda aba manengi msinya inarha le yoke yaze yafika ezingeni lokuba sikhathi esikhulu nesizwakalako sala ekhaya sokukhulula abantu.

Umguruguru waqubuka eTransvaal nePumalanga Kapa wanaba nenarha le yoke. Ngokutjelwa yihlangano ye-ANC eyayisekuphalaleni iihlangano ezinengi ezazikhambisana ne-UDF, ezinengi zakhona zirholwa yitja, zasikima zatjho tihatjhalazi bona zizokwenza iingoga zala eSewula Afrika zingalawuleki.' Umbuso wabese umemezela imithetho emibili yewatjhi wasahlela neengoga. Iinkulungwana ngeenkulungwana zabantu zabulawa kwathi amatjhumitjhumu weenkulungwana zafakwa simahla emajele. Eminye imizabalazo emimbi yayivuswa ezabelweni. Ngomnyaka we-1980, ngokuqalana negandelelo elalivela la ekhaya nemazweni wangaphandle, isiqhema esithileko esitjha sabarholi be-NP sathatha isiqunto sokobana zoke iihlangano ezilwela ikululeko zivulwe imilomo, kutjhaphululwe abarholi bazo bese kuthonywa ukucocisanwa ngokuqedwa kokulwa okukhona eSewula Afrika. Ngomnyaka we-1994, ngemva kweengcoco ezivikelekileko, abantu abanzima bazuza amalungelo agcweleko wokuvowuda eSewula Afrika.

Ngaleso sizathu, singabuye siqalane nezehlakalo zepumalanga yeTransvali. Kilesisifunda ukulwisana nombuso kwathoma eendaweni zabantu.

Iindawo Zabantu Nezabelo

Iindawo zabantu kwakuziindawo zabantu ababehlezi kizo baphethwe makhosi ihlabathi kungeyesitjhaba. Ngesikhathi sombuso webandlululo leziindawo zakhuliswa zatjhugululwa zenziwa 'izabelo' (*home lands*), ezipheze zifane 'namaphasi anomazibuse' la abantu bakhona gade banamalungelo wepolotiki. Ihlabathi eyayingeyabantu abanzima eendaweni 'zabamhlophe' yayimenezelwa 'njengebala elinzima' (*black spot*), abanikazi bayo gade bamukwa yona bafuduselwe ezabelweni..

Leligama elithi 'isabelo' gade lihlangahlanganisa ihloko. Abantu abanzima babe bahlala koke epumalanga yeTransvali (nakiyo yoke iSewula



Ipholisa eliqale
abomma nabarhwanta
eStanderton, 1957.

Afrika) begodu umuntu ngamunye, imindeni nemiphakathi azange kheyilinganiselwe ngokuthi ingeyendaweni ethileko nanyana ubukhosi. Nanyana kunjalo, umbuso webandlululo wawuzimisele ukuhlukhanisa abantu abanzima ngokwemihlobo bese bahlala ezabelweni zabo ngokuhlukana.

Abanye babatlami bombuso webandlululo babe bakholelwa bona izabelwezi kufanele zithuthukise umnothwazo ukuze zikghone 'ukuzibusa ngokuzeleko.' Nanyana kunjalo, ngesimanga sokobana umnotho weSewula Afrika wawunzize emadorobheni amakhulu, begodu izabelwezi zikude eendaweni zemakhaya lombono wabonakala ungekhe ufezeke.

Indlela eyayiqakathekile yokusebenza kwalombono kwabe kukukuthi indoda yomuntu onzima ingaragela phambili isebenze njengephandle emadorobheni 'wabantu abamhlophe' eSewula Afrika kodwana inonde ibuyela ekhaya 'esabelweni'. Okwakukhambisana nalokhu kukobana imindeni yabasebenzi abamaphandle gade inokudla emakhaya. Ngamanye amagama imindeni le gade ikghona ukuziphilisa ngokulima ehlabathini yesitjhaba abahlezi kiyo. Lombono wawufakazela nento yokobana abasebenzi bamaphandle gade babhadalwa imadlana encani ngombana ukudla kukhona ekhaya. Eqinisweni, koke lokhu kwakutjengisa kuhle bona izabelo zazimithathi yeensebenzi zamabubulo amakhulu wamakhuwa, amanye wawo owawuwathola aseduze nje nemingcele yazo izabelwezo. Imindeni eminengi yabasebenzi abamaphandle yabe iphila ngokukhotha imino.

Ukukhamba nokunyakaza komuntu onzima ngaphandle kwesabelo kwakulawulwa khulu. Kusukela ngomnyaka we-1950 ukulawulwa

kwemithetho yeembhugwana nokwanda kwabantu eendaweni zabo kwatjengisa bona leziindawo angeze zakghona ukugcina abantu abahlala kizo.

Ukunghanghisana Eendaweni Zabantu

Ukusukela ngomnyaka we-1940 ukuya phambili iindawo zabantu kwakuziindawo zokwakha nokunzinzisa umoya wokuphikisana nombuso wabamhlophe. Esinye sesizathu esikhulu kwakumigomo ye'*betterment*' eyayisekelwa mibuso eyayikhona. Ngeminyaka ye-1930 ukukhula kwesithintela sebhoduluko esabangwa kulima okunganamvuzo kwaba yindaba ekulu yamaphasi wangaphandle, iinkhulu zathoma ukutshwenyeka bona ukunona kwehlabathi esezabelweni kuzokutjhabalala bese kwenza abantu bathuthele emadorobheni ngobunengi. Lomphumela waphazamisa ibonelophambili ngomphakathi ohlaliswe ngokuhlukahlukana. Balisa ukucabanga bona umraro omkhulu ezabelweni kwabe kukukuthi abantu abanengi babe bahlaliswe bapakelana endaweni encani. Sekunalokho bathatha isiqunto

Umma ofuduselwe
KwaNdebele uqalaqala
endawakhe azokwakha
kiyo etja.



sokobana abantu gade baneenkomo ezinengi begodu bahlukahlukene khulu. Ngalokho isisombululo abeza naso kwaba kukuthi kuncitjhiswe ifuyo bese abantu bahlaliswa emizini ngeentanga. Lokho kwaveza ukusilingeka nokulwa okukhulu emiphakathini eminengi la kwakugandelelwa bona kuphungulwe khona ifuyo. Lokhu kwabuye kwarhagalisa ukuzondana hlangana nabantu, amakhosi neenkulu ezazibonakala ngathi zisekela lelihlelo.

Njengombana sibonile, umbuso webandlululo wathatha isiqunto bona uzakuletha umhlobo ohlukileko wombuso wabantu abanzima. Amakhosi azakuba ziinsika zalowo mhlobo wombuso. Ngaleso sizathu, umThetho oLawula abaNtu (*Bantu Authorities Act*) wamukelwa epalamende ngomnyaka we-1951. Nanyana amanye amakhosi gade aziwa mbuso wokuhlalisa ngokuhlukana, lomthetho omutjha wavele wanabisa inani lamakhosi alawula umbuso laba linengi. Iintjhaba ezingaphasi kwawo zathuka, ngeenzathu ezihle, zokobana amakhosi la angekhe asazibona njengabantu abasebenzela iintjhaba zawo kodwana njengabajameli bombuso. Khulukhulu gade batshwenywa kukobana amakhosi la azakusunduzwa khulu ihlelo elininwa khulweli elibizwa bona yi-betterment.

Lelivalo labanga umguruguru owabhebhethaka wasuka eZoutpansberg wayokufika ePumalanga Kapa. Amanye wamakhosi asekelo iintjhaba zawo ekuphikisaneni nalomthetho wokuLawulwa kwabaNtu kodwana amanengi azange. Umguruguru owawufana nowakaSekhukhune wangomnyaka we-1958 nowamaPondo wangomnyaka we-1961 wanikela umbuso webandlululo isitjhijilo esikhulu. Kodwana ekugcineni lesisitjhijilo sanqotjwa. Ngomnyaka we-1960 umThetho wokuLawula abaNtu owawudoswa phambili makhosi waba mthetho onabako ezabelweni. Lomthetho wabuye waba lidzimelelo lehlelo lokuphatha ezabelweni nesekelo lokuthuthukela ezingeni lakamazibuse ngeminyaka ye-1970.

Nanyana lelibhudango lepolotiki lalikhona lisebenza iimpilo zabantu zaziya ngokuthuwisa kancanikancani ezabelwenapho. Abanye babantwaba babe balapho ngoba balethwa ngekani ekwakuyinto ebuhlungu nayo. Abantwaba babe bangamukeleki ngaso soke isikhathi la gade bathuthelwa khona ngombana abanye gade bafike babekwe ehlabathini enonileko. Njengombana abantu gade banda njalo ezabelweni nenarha yathoma yaba yincani. Labo ababe babanikazi behlabathi kwafuneka bona bayihlukanise iintandi bakghone ukufaka abantu nemindeni eya ngokwanda. Iinarha azizange zisakghona ukumumatha abantu abanengi ngaleyo ndlela begodu nehlabathi yakhona yathoma ukuphelelwa mamandla. Ekugcineni iindawo ezazinonile zaphenduka zaba ngeziganakudla. Abantu bathoma bathembela ekukhambeni bayokusebenza ngaphandle. Eminyakeni ye-1970 neye-1980

yaletsa ubuhlungu obunengi ngesikhathi umnotho weSewula Afrika ujama nsi nemisebenzi iphela. Njengombana abasebenza emadorobheni babe sebanciphisa ukuthumela imali emakhaya ngeposo, imindeni emineni yayinganazo ezinye iindlela zokuphila ngaphandle kwemindende eyayirholwa ngabadala, nokuba yincani iyincani bona ingondla umuntu ayedwa asisatjho umndeni omkhulu.

Ngeminyaka ye-1960 ukuthula kwaba khona eendaweni ezinengi zemakhaya. Kodwana ngeminyaka ye-1970 neye-1980 imizamo yenziwa ukobana kuzanywe ukukatelela imiphakathi bona yamukele umazibuse kodwana lokho kwadala ukulwa okunengi eemfundeni ezinengi. Sizakuqala khulukhulu iKwaNdebele neKwaNgwane ekuzizabelo ezimbili ezalandela indlela ehlukileko kwezinye izabelo kusukela ngesikhathi sokuhlonywa kwazo bekufika la zigirizwa khona ngomnyaka we-1994.

IKwaNdebele

Ikampa yokuhlalisa abantu KwaNdebele.

Yathonywa phakathi komnyaka we-1970, yenzelwe ukobana igcine 'isisabelo' samaNdebele inengi lawo elalisekangala yepumalanga yeTransvali. Ngomnyaka we-1981 iKwaNdebele yanikelwa amandla 'wokuziphatha' ekwakutjho



lesisabelo sasakhelwe ukunikela amaNdebele ithuba lokobana bagcine bazijamele ngokuzibusa njengesitjhaba. Nasele kusetjenzwa kwatholakala bona kuyabhala lokho. Umbuso waKwaNdebele wawuphethwe siqhema seengebengu ezisebenzisa amandla nesandla sesimbi ukugandelela abantu abaphikisana nabo ngombana bafuna kuhlale bona bodwa eenhlalweni zabo. Isitjhaba sasibhadaliswa imali yemithelo engafaniko namalaysisensi ukuze kuzuze isiqhema egade sibusa.

Umbuso waKwaNdebele wawuphethwe babantu ababili ababe bangafunwa babantu uS S Skosana, owabe anguNdunakulu kanye noNgqongqotjhe wezaNgaphakathi, uPiet Ntuli, owabalilunga lekhabinede. Ngomnyaka we-1981 uSkosana noNtuli babumba ihlangano iMbokodo (*grinding stone*) eyayithusela iKwaNdebele kanye nesiphande esingumakhelwana yeKwaNdebele, iMoutse. Ngokwabatlhami balehlangano, iMbokodo kwakuyihlangano yepolotiki nevikela amasiko wamaNdebele eyayinqophe ukuvuselela ubuzwe bamaNdebele. Ngokwezenzo kwakuliphiko lezepi elalithusela labo abaphikisana nombuso waKwaNdebele nehlelo elalilethwa mbuso webandlululo. Nangabe isigangi kuyenzeka sizibandakanye ejimeni lokutjagala nanyana ekutsitsileni, amalunga weMbokodo bekakhamba ayomthatha emapholiseni 'azibethele' yena. Kwakusetjenziswa iindlela ezinengi zokuhlukumeza isigangi. Abanye babathathwa basiwe emarubhini bakatelelwe ukugijima phezu kwamanzi anesibha nangabe bayawa nanyana bayatjhelela badulwe tle. Amalunga weMbokodo nezinye iingebengu gade asahlela iindawo ezingakhambisani nombuso kubetjhwwe nanyana ngubani otholalalako.

Bobani egade baphikisana begodu baphikisa ini ? Itja nabanye egade bahlala KwaNdebele kanye neMoutse gade balwa babanga amaqhinga agade asetjenziswa mbuso waKwaNdebele, babuza ngokufanaleka kwawo njengombuso baphikisana nemitlamawo ngekusasa laKwaNdebele neMoutse. Umbuso lo wawubekwe mbuso webandlululo ngalokho ubambisana nawo ukuze wenze abantu baKwaNdebele balalele abakutjhoko. Lombuso waKwaNdebele wawufuna izinto ezimbili kwaphela ezazingekhe zizuzise omunye umuntu kodwana wona wodwa. Okokuthoma wawufuna iMoutse, ekuyindawana encancani eyayibuswa mbuso wesabelo seLebowa, bona iwele ngaphsi kweKwaNdebele.

IMoutse beyinehlabathi enonileko nezenjiwa ezazingakhuphula umnotho waKwaNdebele. Kodwana izakhamuzi zeMoutse gade kungasimaNdebele begodu basabela bona kungenzeka balahlekelwe malungelwabo woke wehlabathi, imithombo yomnotho, ukujameleka ngokwepolotiki nangabe bafakwa ngaphasi kweKwaNdebele. Begodu bebangafuni abantwababo, egade bakhuluma isiPedi, bangene eenkolweni zamaNdebele nanyana bayokuthaga

esabelweni esasithlaga ngaleya ndlela.

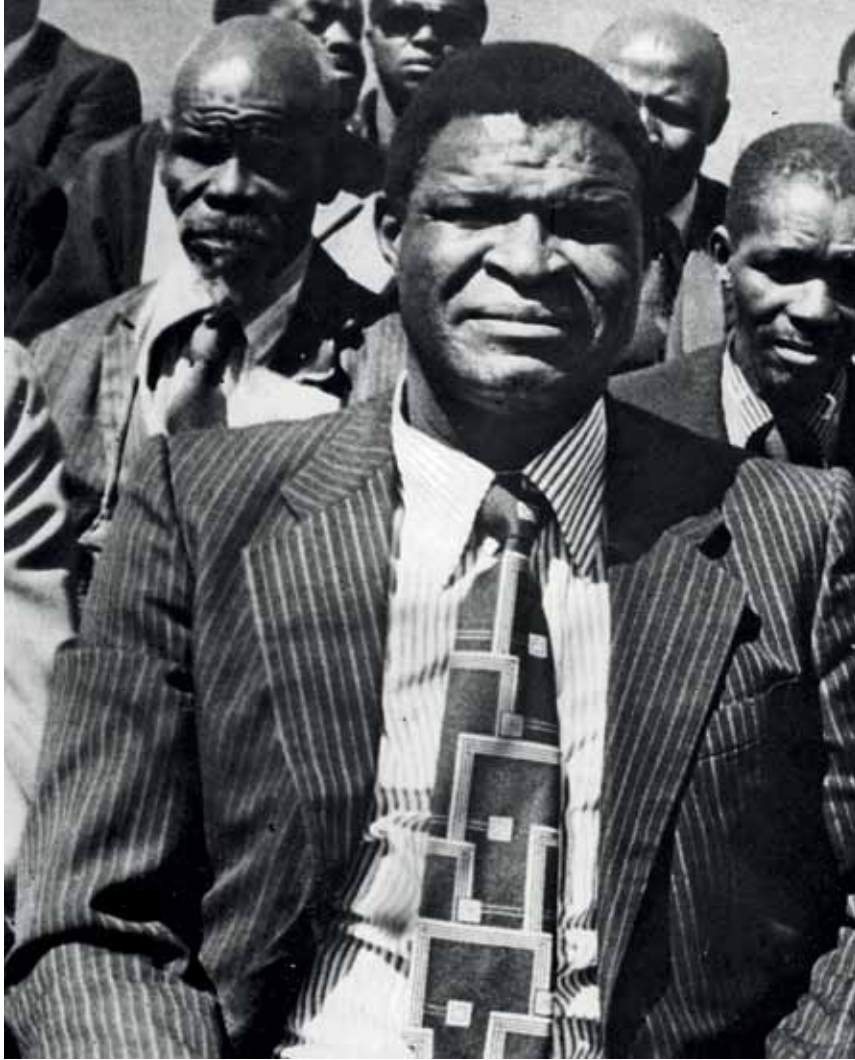
Izakhamuzi zeMoutse zalwa khulu ukuze bangafakwa ngaphasi kweKwaNdebele. Ngemva kokuzwa isimemezelo sokobana bayokuwela ngaphasi kweKwaNdebele batlikitla iphethitjhini eveza amazizwabo bona abakhambisani nalelo gadango. Mhlana amalanga ali-18 kuNovemba 1985 iinthunywa ezivela eLebowa zathatha leyo phethitjhini zayisa kuChris Heunis, uNgqongqotjhe wokuThuthukiswa komThethosisekelo weSewula Afrika. Izakhamuzi zeMoutse zabuye zabuthelela imali engange-R42 000 ukuze kubhadalwe iindleko zomthetho. Leliqhinga, nanyana kunjalo, azange lisebenze. Mhlana amalanga ama-5 kuDesemba, uHeunis wenza isimemezelo sokobana iMoutse izokuwela ngaphasi kweKwaNdebele kusukela mhlana ilanga li-1 kuJanabari 1986. Ngemva kwesimemezelo i-1 000 yabaphikisi yabuthelelana embuswenisitjhaba weMoutse, eKosini uTlokwe Mathebe. Kilowo mhlango babuya baveza amazizwabo wokungakhambisani nomtamo wombuso, bebathoma ukulwa ngendlela yomguruguru. Itja yathoma yatjhisa iintolo ezimbili zabantu ababe babarhononela bona basekela iKwaNdebele. Amapholisa afika adubula lesi siqubuthu setja ngesililiminimyebezi (*tear gas*).

Mhlana amalanga ama-31 kuDesemba 1985 isiMememezelo sama-227 samukelwa epalamende, satjhugulula umthethosisekelo weKwaNdebele ngokobana iMoutse ingena ngaphasi kwemingcele yeKwaNdebele. Abantu beMoutse balwa kodwana iMbokodo yangena yabasahlela. IMbokodo yasahlela amahlandla amathathu ahlukahlukene emzini weMoteti neKgobokoane. Ama-380 wabaphikisi badudulwa ngamandla basiwa emakhiweni engaziwako bayokuhlukunyezwa lapho.

Umbuso waKwaNdebele wawufuna isabelo saKwaNdebele sibe ngumazibuse opholeleko. Lokho kwakuzakunikela amalunga wombuso amandla amakhulu kanye nesithintela kodwana boke ababe bazizakhamuzi zeSewula Afrika bakatelelwa ukusiwa kwaNdebele babazokuthathelwa ubusakhamuzi babo. Ngenyanga kaFebherbari 1986 izakhamuzi zaKwaNdebele neMoutse zezwa ngosizwile bona umbuso waKwaNdebele uzimisele ukwamukela umazibuse ozeleko. Abafundi nabantu abadala bakhetha ukulwa kabuhlungu bavimbe leligandango kodwana neMbokodo yazilwela. IMbokodo yayigijimisa abadosi phambili bejima eliphikisa umazibuse, ukuze yenze isibonelo. Isitha seMbokodo sasifaka hlangana noJacob Skosana, owabadosa phambili ngokukghabhudlwa ngumazibuse. Amalunga weMbokodo akhamba ayokkuthatha uSkosana ekhabo akhamba naye ekampeni yeMbokodo, la bafika khona bambetha ngendlwaneni wabe wabhalelwa kukhuluma nokukhamba. Basuka lapho bamdubula. Ekugcineni isidumbu sakhe basitjhiya phambi kwekhabo.



US S Skosana,
uNdunakulu
waKwaNdebele.



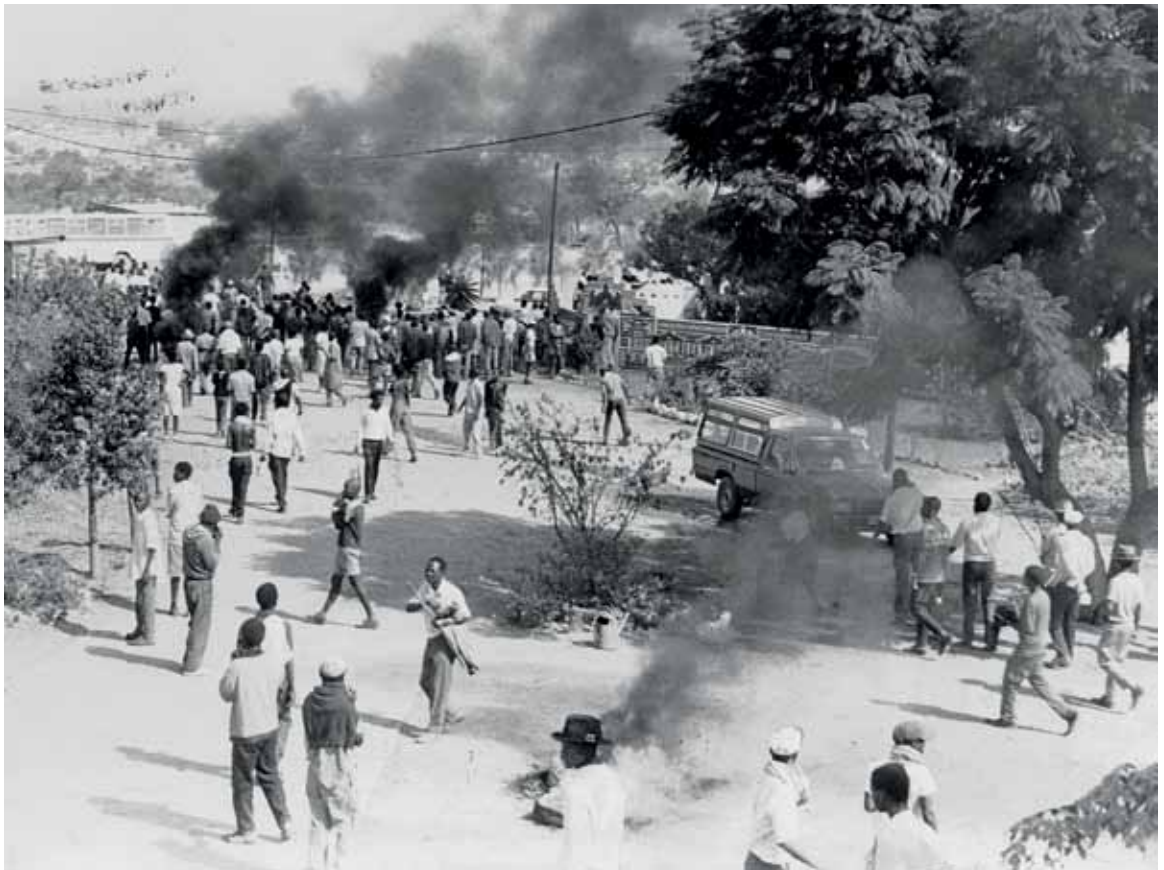
UPiet Ntuli, umdosi phambili oqakathekileko embusweni waKwaNdebele neMbokodo.

Mhlana amalanga ali-7 kuMeyi 1986 uMongameli weSewula Afrika, uP W Botha, wamemezela bona iKwaNdebele izokuthatha amazibuse mhlana amalanga ali-11 kuDesemba 1986. Ukunghangha kwezakhamuzi kwaya ngokuqina sekunangaphambilini njengombana umndeni webukhosini, owabe udoswa phambili mntwanekosi uJames Mahlangu neKosi, ngokwayo, uDavid Mahlangu, basikima badosa phambili ekuhleleni abantu bona balwe baphikise leligandango lombuso waKwaNdebele. Bahlela ukunghangha kwenengi, umuntu woke, kanye nokunghala umsebenzi kusukela mhlana amalanga ali-15 ukuya nakali-18 kuJulayi la woke umuntu osebenzako KwaNdebele wazibandakanya.

Amalunga womphakathi
emhlanganweni
eMoutse ngoFebherbari
1986.



Umguruguru
KwaNdebele ngoMeyi
1986.



IMbokodo yaragela phambili ngokuthusela phase i-120 labaphikisi babulawa ngomguruguru owawuragela phambili. Kodwana amatjhuguluko gade alindelwe nakanjani. Nakuyokuphela inyanga kaJuly, uNtuli wabulawa ngebhomu eyayitjalwe ekoloyinakhe ngaphandle kwemakhiwo yombuso waKwaNdebele. Inengi labantu latjakadula lithabile eentradeni ngokufa kwakaNtuli. Msinya nje ngemva kwalokho isibethamthetho saKwaNdebele, ngaphandle kwakaNtuli noSkosana (owabagula), sala ukunikelwa umazibuse. Lesisiqunto sadijwa phasi kukulwa kwabantu ababasekela umazibuse. Nanyana kunjalo, umbuso webandlululo wathoma ukulemuka bona awukwazi ukugandelela umazibuse KwaNdebele nangabe abantu abangamfuniko banengi kangaka. Ngomyaka we-1987 P uW Botha wamemezela bona isitjhaba sizakuvunyelwa bona sivowude kurefarandamu sitjho bona siyafuna ukuba nomazibuse nanyana asifuni na. Irefarandamu azange yabajwa njengombana kwakubonakala bona uzoba yini umphumela. Ngalokho kwaba kuphela komzabalazo KwaNdebele.

IKwaNgwane

IKwaNgwane kwakusisabelo esatlanyelwa amaSwati ahlala eSewula Afrika. UNdunakulu wakhona kwakungu-Enos Mabuza, ngokungafani nabangani bakhe bezinye izabelo, owabasekelwa khulu begodu azwelana nomzabalazo wekululeko. Ngaleso sizathu, uMabuza gade awukghala umgomo wezabelo asekelwa umqondo weSewula Afrika ekudemokhrasi. Nanyana kunjalo, wabasazi bona iindawo zezabelo kuziindawo zesikhatjhana begodu wasebenzisa isikhundla sakhe ekwenzeni ngcono iimpilo zabantu wasebenza ngokuphikisana nombuso webandlululo.

Umbuso webandlululo wawufuna umbuso waKwaNgwane uhlanganiswe neSwazini ilizwe elalivele linomazibuse opheleleko begodu ezange kheyibe yingcenywe yeSewula Afrika. Abanengi bacabanga bona iSewula Afrika nayifuna ukufaka iKwaNgwane ngaphasi kweSwazini yayifuna ukugalaja iSwazini bona itlikitle isivumelwano sezokuphepha, khulukhulu, ifuna umbuso weSwazini ulekelele iSewula Afrika ngamasotja ekufanele abambe amalunga we-ANC nawo-MK asebenzela eSwazini.

Ngesikhathi isimemezelo sokufakwa ngaphasi kweSwazini senziwa ngomnyaka we-1982, uMabuza wala ekhotho yeSewula Afrika. Kwakuyinto ehle leyo. Ngemva kokufakwa kwamaphepha eKhotho ePhakamileko ngoNovemba 1982, umbuso weSewula Afrika wabawa bona kube nokuzwana kwangaphandle kwekhotho (*out-of-court settlement*), umbuso wabe wavuma ukuthwala iindleko ezenziwe yiKwaNgwane begodu yayekela indaba yokobana iKwaNgwane iwele eSwazini. Umbuso wabuye wavuma ukuhloma ikomitjhini

Amalunga wesibet-
hamthetho
emhlanganweni
owawukhethekile
ngesikhathi kuzakwalwa
'umazibuse' mhlana
amalanga ali-12
ku-Arhostosi 1986.



U-Enos Mabuza,
uNdunakulu
waKwaNgwane.

Abantu bathabe
ngaphandle
kwesibethamthetho
saKwaNdebele ngemva
kokuzwa bona
'umazibuse' waliwe.



yephenyo ukobana iqale ikusasa ngokudluliselwa kwehlabathi. IKomitjhini kaRumpff yathola bona izakhamuzi zaKwaNgwane zazingafuni ukufakwa ngaphasi kweSwazini, nanyana sekunjani.

Ngenyanga ka-Arhostosi 1983 iKwaNgwane yanikelwa amandla wokuzibusa. UMabuza wasebenzisa amandlakhe wokuziphatha njengeqhinga elihle embusweni weSewula Afrika, ukuphikisa wakuveza tihatjhalazi. Ngomnyaka we-1984 wamemezela bona izakhamuzi zaKwaNgwane ‘zifuna ukugcugcuzela ukungabandlululani ngokobuhlanga, ukulingana kanye nedemokhrasi esabelweni saKwaNgwane, njengombana sithemba bona ngomuso sizozibandakanya ekuthuthukiseni nekukhakhaziseni iSewula Afrika enedemokhrasi nenganakho ukubandlulula ngokobuhlanga’.

Phakathi nomnyaka we-1980, ngaphandle kokuvunyelwa mbuso weSewula Afrika, wenza iKwaNgwane yaba siphephelo se-50 000 sesitjhaba seMozambique esasibalekela ipi. Umjameli walabo baphalali watjela umzenda weBritain oseSewula Afrika bona;

Imiraro yeMozambique yenza ilizwe lethu lingathabisi kangangobana sigcine sesibaleka. La sithola amapholisa akhamba angena umnyango nomnyango asifuna. Kodwana uMabuza usinikele ikhaya ngalokho siyamthokoza ngokuba nesibindi esingaka. Uthi sima-Afrika soke.

Ngomnyaka we-1986 uMabuza wadosa phambili abajameli ababe bathunye bona bayokuhlangana nabarholi be-ANC eLusaka, ikomkhulu leZambia. I-ANC gade eqinisweni engakhambisani nabarholi bezabelo ngesizathu sokobana gade babambisene nombuso webandlululo ngalokho ubudlelwana nayo (i-ANC) noMabuza kwakufakazela indlela ahluka ngayo kwabanye abarholi bezabelo. Leziinqhema ezimbili zamemezela bona ‘Ilizwe lethu kufanele libuswe babantu balo boke, abanzima nabamhlophe ngokulingana, abafowethu nabodadwethu.

Ekuthomeni komnyaka we-1990, ngemva kobana iinhlango zekululeko sezivulwe imilomo nabarholi bazo batjhatjhlululiwe emajele, uMabuza wabawa bona iKwaNgwane ibhidlizwe. Waragela phambili wasekela i-ANC, ngethabo wazithathela umhlalaphasi kwezokubusa.

Isikhathi Samakhomreyidi

Njengomuntu omutjha eendaweni ezimakhaya, isikhathi esimasentjhuri, nganginokuziphatha begodu ngiphila ipilo enganakho ukuyelela khulu. Abantwana babalindelwe bona benze imisebenzi abanikelwa yona, abesana baluse iinkomo bese abentazana balekelele abonina ngokupheka, ukutheza

iinkuni nokukha amanzi kanye nokugada abantwana. Lezizinto zazisenziwa ngaphakathi kwekululeko ethileko nepilweni engenelelako ngokufunda. Nasisemasimini, thina abesana sithola ikululeko nokuzilawula ngokudlala imidlalo, sigange, abentazana nabezako bazokukha amanzi nanyana ukutheza iinkuni sifune ukukhamba nabo. Abentazana gade isikhathi sabo sihleleke ukudlula sethu, kodwana babe naso nabo isikhathi sokuzithabisa nokuhleka. Njengombana bakhula, abesana basebenzela ukuthola iinkomo ukuze, ngelinye ilanga, bakghone ukulobola, bathathe abafazi.

Kusukela phakathi kwesentjhuri ye-19 ukuya kweya-20 isokana lalikhamba liyokusebenza emabubulweni, eemayini neentolo ukuze lithole imali yokwenza lokho elikufunako. Kodwana ukukhula bewufike ezingeni lokuthatha nanyana ukwenda amasokana nabentazana kufanele balalele, bahloniphe iimfiso zababelethi nabanye abantu abadala.

Kusukela ngeminyaka ye-1970, nanyana kunjalo, itja yathoma ukutjhijila ilawulo nepatho yabadala. Ukuba mutjha kwakumaboni amatjha. Ukwanda kwefundo yamaphrayimari namasekhondari yayisitjho bona isikolo nefundo yetjingalanga zimaboni aqakathekileko abantwini abanengi abatjha. Babe bafakwe ngaphasi kweFundo yabaNtu (*Bantu Education*), eyayidizayinwe ukobana ibenze bacabange bafike eduze abanye babe bakghona ukusebenzisa ilwazi labo elitjha ukutjhijila okumumethwe yifundo egade bafundiswa yona babuze nangokufaneleka kombuso webandlululo. Kileliphasi elitjhugulukako babe bafanele bamukele amaboni athileko amatjha. Itja eyayisuka emadobrobeni gade ifika eenkolweni eziseendaweni zemakhaya ikhulume iindaba zokunghangha nokurhwanta; njengeenkulumo zakaBob Marley noMiriam Makeba; amaphetjhana wezepolotiki. Abathanda ukuzwa nabalandelela ilwazi lepolotiki babe balalela iindaba zoMkhonto wesiZwe, bafunde amaphephandaba bese balalela neRadio Freedom.

Kodwana iinhlango nokunyakaza kwakungasiyo into ezenzakalelako. Ilemuko lezepolotiki lathuthuka ngokunaba kancanikancani etjeni yemakhaya. UFish Mahlalela, owabamgcugcuzeli wabakhamba eenkolweni zehlanzeni arhatjhe umoya wepolotiki, ngaleso sikhathi athi:

Ukutlhayela kweenhlango zepolotiki esiphandeni ngeminyaka ye-1980 kwakukhambelana nokuzibophelela ngokugcugcuzela itja. Sasisebenza ngamunye ngamunye isikhathi esinengi. Imbijana yethu egade sinelemuko sasikghona ukuletha imbijana yetja sicoce nayo izinto ezilula ezifana nokurhwanta ngaphandle kokubaluleka ngezepolotiki.

U-Andries Johnson waqotjha esikolweni ngomnyaka we-1976, kwazokuthi isiqhema esasizimisele ukuhleleka sakheka ngaye;



Ngathoma ukusiza esitolo ngaso soke isikhathi kunabesana engibaziko nabatjhili qadi kwami. Abanye babesanabo babangasafundi, bangasebenzi abanye babafundi ukube abanye kubesana abatjhili nje ababangani bethu. Inani lalabo abatjhili lakhuphuka kusukela ngomnyaka we-1980 ngoba lisanda woke malanga...ngomnyaka we-1982, sathoma ukukhuluma ngepolitiki namaqhinga wokobana singababandakanya njani abanye abesana esasihlala sinabo esitolo. Kodwana kuhle ngiveze bona sasazi kancani khulu ngepolitiki ngaleso sikhathi, ngaphandle nje kokuzwa emrhatjhwani nokufunda amaphephandaba ngeSoweto nezinye iindawo zemadorobheni.

Umrhwanto wetja epumalanga yeTransvali ekupheleni kweminyaka ye-1980.

Kodwana ngomnyaka we-1984 izinto zajika ebantwini abatjha bepumalanga Transvali. Kusukela ngalowo mnyaka ukuya phambili itja yathoma ukuzitlolisa eenhlanganweni ezinengi ezibambisene ne-UDF, kanye neenhlangano ezizijameleko zabasebenzi (*independent labour movements*). Itja yathoma ukukhuluma ilimi lokunghala elikubona kumaphandle, ukuzibophelela kuminqopho yepolitiki ekhambisana nedemokhrasi, yazifanisa neensebenzi eziseemzabalazweni. Iinhlangano ezihlelekileko zabasebenzi kanye

namaphandle gade bavama ukunikela amandla nesibindi kilabo abakhutheleko agade baziphatha njengama-*shock troops* emzabalazweni. Kusukela ngomnyaka we-1984 ipolotiki yetja yanaba njengomlilo esiphendeni. Enye yeendawo eyayiqakathekile yokuhlangana kuhlelwe zepolotiki kwakuseenkolweni.

Eenkolweni itja le yayithola amathuba wokucoca ngepolotiki bese irhatjha namaphetjhana wepolotiki. Okhunye, ukungakhambisani okwakubangwa kutholakala kwefundo kanye nokungena ephasini legandelelo kwagcugcuzela khulu iinkanuko zokobana kube namatjhuguluko kwezepolotiki.

USimon Zwane wabalosokana elalinesifizo esatjhabalaliswa libhoduluko ahlala kilo. Wabelethwa eMambane ngoJulayi 1969. Wafunda esikolweni semayini wathi ngomnyaka we-1983 waya e-Ermelo. Azange asaba nemali yokuragela phambili ngefundo kilowo mnyaka kwadinga bona ayokusebenza ederini ukuze athole imadlana. Ngomnyaka we-1984 watlolisa eLindile High School e-Ermelo. Kwakusikolo esifundisa ukudlula zoke ngaleso sikhathi. Sasingatshwenywa yipolotiki njengezinye iinkolo. Ngomnyaka we-1986 yatlonyeliswa unongorwana we-R10 000 ngokuba sibonelo esihle.

Lomtlomelo waba nemiphumela engakalindeleki. Eqinisweni babe bakhona abafundi ababosopolotiki abasilingwa ngunongorwana lo. Abafundi nabalelwa ukuphuma esikolweni ngesikhathi sokuphumula nabantu bangaphandle bavinjelwa bona bangene emasangweni wesikolo, basilingeka ngalokho. Bathoma khonokho baphosa amatje baphula amafesdere wesikolo baphula namahege. Ukusuka lapho bahlangatjenzwa bafundi bakwezinye iinkolo barhatjheka koke banghonghoyila. Batjhisa amaholo wotjwala, iimbhesi, amalori, nahostela. Nakahlathulula umoya walapho uZwane uthi:

Wawuzwa nje amandla. Wawulapho izinto zenzeka, mbala zisenzeka begodu kuthabisa ukuzibona. Silapho ngaphandle senza esikwenzako. ...ngitjho ukuba lapho kokuthoma epilwenakho ubone izinto zisenzeka, izinto uzibone la nazithomako wawubona nje bona kunokuthaba okukhulu. Ngitjho ukobana wawuwabona amandla, uwabona ngamehlo izinto zisenzeka.

Ngemva kwama-iri amahlanu amapholisa afika abafundi sebavale iintrada bahlome ngamatje. Amapholisa afika adumuza ngeenkule zeraba hlangana nabo baphadlhalala. Kwabanjwa abentazana bayokutjhukwa ngemibuzo yokobana kuvezwe bona ngubani othome umtjhagalo lo. Utitjhere owabakhamba namapholisa naye wadumuza kwafa umfundi oyedwa. Kwathatha iveke yoke ngaphambi kobana ubujamo bubuyele endimeni enokuthula. Abarholi bathula amalanganana ngemva kwalowo mrhwanto.



UZwane, owaba ngomunye odosa phambili umrhwanto, wahlala nomndeni eDonaldson alindele ukuzwa umtjhagalo obudisi ukudlula.

Nakabuya esikolweni kwasele kutjhuguluke ngenye indlela. Ukusilingeka kwakuloko kukhona kodwana iinlilo zabanye abafundi zasilungisiwe. Ukubetjha kwasele kulisiwe begodu abafundi baba nokuzimisela okukhulu ngokungenela ipolotiki. UZwane wazitlolisa ngaphasi kwe-UDF waba mdosiphambili e-Ermelo.

Ukutjhugulula Iphasi

Njengetja yananyana kukuphi, itja yepumalanga Tranvali yazifumana isebudisini ephasini ekilo, ekuliphasi elabunjwa nanyana elamukelwa babelethi bayo. Itja le yasikima yazimisela ukulitjhugulula. Abanye betja bazitlolisa ngaphasi komzabalazo ngomnqopho wokuqeda ibandlululo babumbe umbuso wedemokhrasi. Abanye basikima bangenela umphakathabo ngomnqopho woqeda ikohlakalo yobuloyi.

Amalunga wezokuphepha akhambakhamba esigoga epumalanga yeTransvali ngesikhathi somgurguru phakathi kweminyaka ye-1980.

Iinhlobo zibuthelela
okuseleko kwakan-
gazimbi otjhiselwe
isizathu sobuloyi
epumalanga yeTransvali
1986.



Iinyanga zidlala indima ekulu emphakathi wabantu abanzima begodu indima eziyidlalako ithathwa njengegevumelekileko nenesirhawu. Nanyana kunjalo, kunekolelo yakade nendala yokobana ubuloyi bukhona obuba khona ngokusetjenziswa kweenhlahla eziletha imimoya emimbi kilabo abaphilako.

Emlandweni weSewula Afrika abantu abanzima sebalwe nobuloyi ngeendlela ezinengi. Nanyana kunjalo, epumalanga netlhagwini yeTransvali amajima alwa nobuloyi athoma ukubonakala ngeminyaka ye-1980 ngeendlela

etja, khukhulu ngokudoswa phambili nokusunduzwa yitja. KwaSekhukhune eLebowa, itja yakhona eyayifunda eenkolweni ezikwezinye iindawo yayicabanga bona ubuloyi bandile kilendawo begodu babuthikameza indlela etja yokuphila komphakathabo. Ngalokho yase icabanga bona kuhle lomukghwa uruthulwe nemirabhakhona ngaphambi kokutholakala kwedemokhrasi.

Ngokomlando, kumsebenzi wamakhosi ukuqalana nabantu abacatjangelwa ebuloyini. Abantu abanjalo gade bafuduswa basuswe hlangana nomphakathi, iinhlahla zabo ezilbulalako zisuswa, barhunwe neenhluthwezi. Kodwana esabelweni setlhagwini, iLebowa, ngeminyaka ye-1980, amakhosi gade selathathwa njengeensebenzi zombuso webandlululo begodu acatjangelwa ngokuthi nawo ayaloya abulale abantwana ukuze enze iinhlahla ezizabanikela isithunzi namandla.

Ngaphandle kokuthi amakhosi ajezise labo abasolelwa ngobuloyi begodu baqalene nekarekelo lezepolotiki nokungazibandakanyi kwababelethi babo kwezepolotiki, itja yasikima yaqalana nabo boke abantu eyayicabanga bona bayaloya emphakathini, yabasahlela.

Kilo loke laKwaSekhukhune neLebowa, abomma abadala babe basatjiswa babulawa yitja eyayivuma iingoma ezithi;

Iimpilo zethu zisengozini ekulu
 Siyaloywa
 Siphiwa iindliso
 Ukurhulula umbungu yinto yangamalanga
 Makhomreyidi, vukani, asakheni iphasi ngobutjha
 Isikhathi sababelethi bethu sidlulile
 Lesisikhathi ngesethu itja
 Thina, amaKhomreyidi
 Phambili maKhomreyidi
 Sisizukulwani sepi

Mhlana amalanga ama-21 ku-Apreli 1986, etatawini lebhola erarhwako esiphandeni seBrooklyn eLebowa, itja yahlangana lapho yahloma i*Brooklyn Youth Organisation* (BYO), ihlangano eyaziwa kumbi khulu ngokubulala abaloyi. Msinyazana ngemva kobana seyihlonyiwe, BYO yabiza umhlangano la umphakathi wabizelwa bona ulethe amabizo wabantu abasolelwa bona babaloyi. Abaloyi bokuthoma erherhweni ababe babizwa bona 'maBig Five', balethwa phambi kwe-BYO, bahlonywa ngemibuzo babetjhwa. Kwabe kubomma abadala, omunye wabo wabhubha. Ngemva kokutjhaphulula abanye iingcoco hlangana netja yathoma. Kwabonakala bona ukulisa umloyi

atjhaphuluke kwakuzomenza bona azibuyiselele. Ngemva kwamalanga itja yabuyela yayokubulala abasala ku-Big Five abane ngokobana babavalele ngezindlini zabo babathungelele ngomlilo. Nabanye ababunane abasolwa ngobuloyi babulawa, abakhomba kubomma abadala munye kuyindoda ekuthiwa wabaphethe iinhlaha. Ekugcineni kwabulawa amakhulu wabantu ngendlela ebuhlungu ngomoya onganazwelo owawusahlele isiphandesa ngaphambi kokungena kwedemokhrasi.

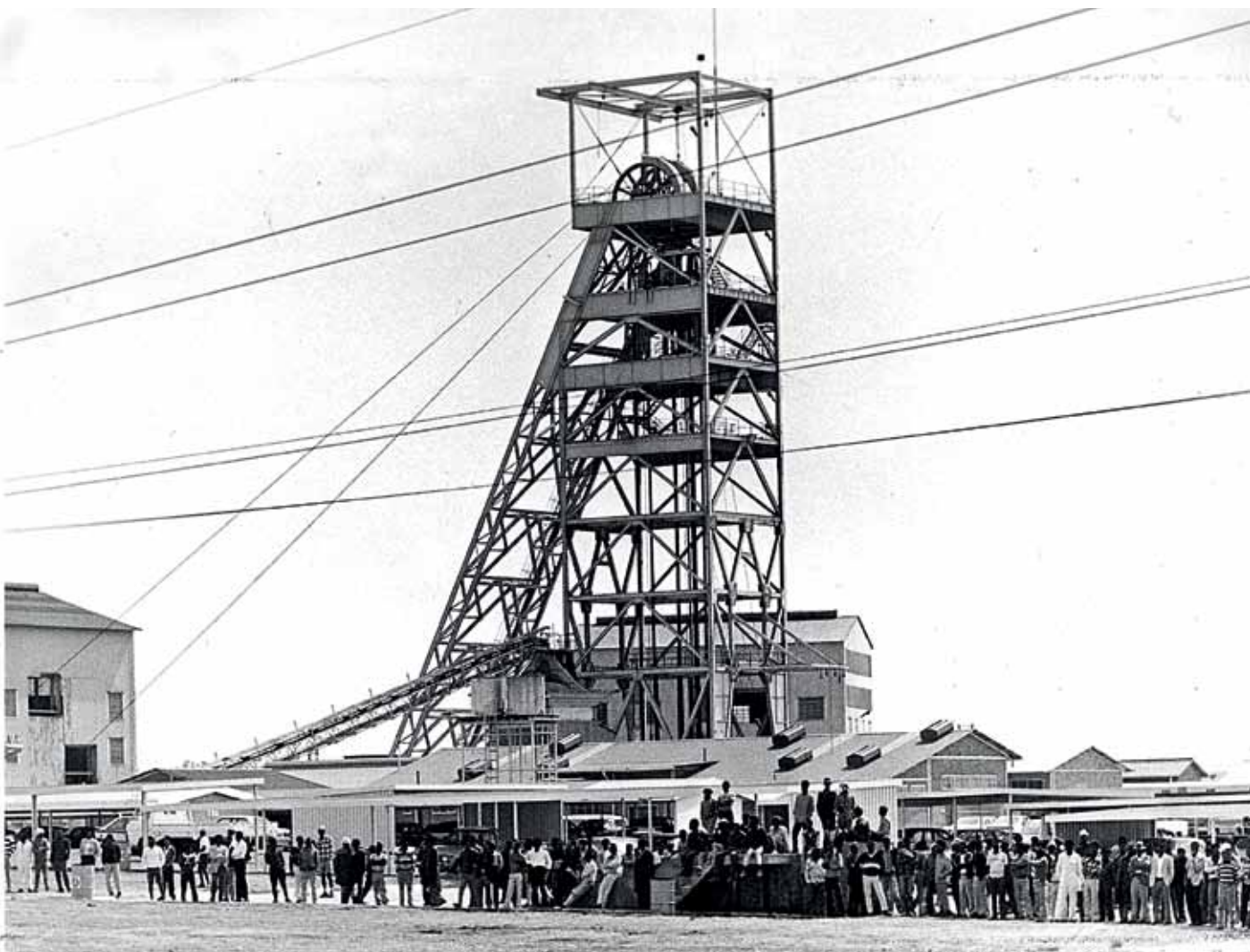
Iminyakazo Yabasebenzi Nehlekelele Yemayini YeKinross

Ngesikhathi iminyakazo yetja ilandelela umoya otjhugutjhugulukako kwezepolotiki, amayuniyoni wabasebenzi adlala indima ehlelekileko nenokuziphatha okuhle eemayini nemabubulweni. Amayuniyoni amabili, i-*Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU)* ne-*National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)* – zaba nomthelela omkhulu esifundeni sepumalanga yeTransvali. Ngomnyaka we-1984 iSasol yaqotjha i-6 000 zabasebenzi abazibandakanya ekunghaleni umsebenzi. Kodwana i-CWIU yazilwela yakghona ukubuyisela inengi leensebenzi emsebenzinazo yabuye yakghona ukwaziwa ngokomthetho eSasol.

Ngomnyaka we-1986 kwenzeka ihlekelele emayini yeRhawuda, iKinross, ngesewula pumalanga yeKangala begodu i-NUM yadlala indima ekulu ekuvezeni amaqiniso wobujamo obabanga lehlekelele. Mhlana amalanga ali-16 kuSeptemba 1986 Isisi Mbuthuma yathatha isiqhema sayo yayokulungisa isiporo esasonakele emgodini othileko eKinross, imayini engaphasi kweGencor. IKinross yayinamathambo womuntu endlwaneni yokuphumela begodu iMbuthuma nabantu bayo abama-230 ababe banabanye abasebenzi bemayini abasabenza kilowo mgodi bawathola mhlokho amathambo lawo. Isiqhema seMbuthuma safaka umtjhini wokutjhisela osebenzisa irhasi esiporweni sasesilindela umuntu ozokutjhisela bona eze azokwenza umsebenzakhe. Umtjhiseli mbala wafika wathungelela itotjhi yokutjhisela wathoma umsebenzakhe. Ngaleso sikhathi abanye bajamile bamqalile. Umsebenzi wokutjhisela nawuphelako ihlekelele yengozi yenzeka. Itotjhi yokutjhisela nayicimako umlilo wakhamba ngerhasi wabuyela ebhodlelweni elabamba umlilo ladubula khonokho. Umlilo wakhakhaba koke e-eriyeleni eyayiphuthelwe ngento eyayenziwe yabe yagotjwa e-United States ne-United Kingdom eminyakeni ema-20. Lento eyayiphuthelwe i-eriyela le kwakuyi-*polyurethane foam*, begodu ingazwani khulu nomlilo.

Umlilo wakhakhaba msinya nomgodi kwazokuthi irhasi etjhako yakhupha intuthu edege ene-*carbon monoxide* ebulalako. Imbijana yabasebenzi yakghona ukubaleka kodwana i-177 lamadoda labhalelwa, labambeka ngemgodinapho. Iindumbu zabo zatholakala emgodinapho zonakele zingasabonakali.

Ikhasi eliqalene naleli: Abasebenzi beemayini abasetatawini lezemidlalo eMbalenhle abeze emthandazweni wesikhumbuzo sabasebenzi abali-177 ababhubha emgodini wemayini iKonross..



Iinsebenzi zemayini
namalunga
womphakathi zilindele
ukuzwa ngabangani
bazo abavaleleke
emgodini mhlana
amalanga ali-17
kuSeptemba 1986
emayini yerhawuda
eKinross eseduze
ne-Evander

Lehlekelele yabanga elikhulu itjhada. ISewula Afrika yakghalwa khulu ngokungalandeli amazinga wamaphasi woke wokuphepha begodu nemayini yakghalwa ngokunganaki. Amayuniyoni wabasebenzi wamaphasi asikima asekela i-NUM ngeemali. I-NUM yabe yahlela umthandazo wesikhumbuzo owakhanjelwa ziinsebenzi ezi-5 000. Lelo langa mhlana ilanga lili-1 ku-Oktoba labizwa njengelanga lelizwelo ke lokunghala umsebenzi. I*Chamber of Mines* yazama ukubavimba kileligadango lokunghala umsebenzi kodwana i-NUM kanye ne*Confederation of South African Trade Unions* (COSATU) zaragela phambili. Mhlana ilanga lili-1 ku-Oktoba i-325 000 zabasebenzi beemayini kanye nabanye abasebenzi nje ababa zi-275 000 azange baye emisebenzini.

Ngokusizwa ngiyo i-NUM, ngakwelinye ihlangothi, iGencor yabhadala iingidi ezi-R2,6 zamaranda ibhadala imindeni eyahlongakalelwa malungayo. I-NUM yathatha leyo mali kanye nenye imali eyayibuya ehlanganweni yeensebenzi yephasi yayihlukanisela leyo mindeni. Umlandu walehlekelele wabikwa embusweni. Ihlangano ye*South African Congress of Trade Unions* (SACTU), eyayisekuphalaleni ngaleso sikhathi yatshwaya yathi;

Lehlekelele engaka nokulimala okungaka...kubangelwe libandlululo. Ubujamo bobuhlanga nokuthorisa ngokuqalelela inzuzo ekulu kwaphela ngikho ekwenza iimayini zezenjiwa eSewula Afrika zibe yingozi edlula zoke iimayini zezenjiwa emhlabeni.

Ukuba Lilunga LomKhonto WesiZwe

Kusukela ngeminyaka ye-1960 ukuya phambili ihlangothi lamasotja wekululeko laba nesithintela esitjha emzabalazweni wezepolotiki epumalanga yeTransvali. UmKhonto wesiZwe, owawaziwa bona yi-MK, wahlonywa ekuthomeni kweminyaka ye-1960 njengephiko lezepe ku-ANC. I-PAC nayo yahloma layo iphiko lezepe elalibizwa bona yiPoqo, ngemva kwesikhathi kwathiwa yi-*Azanian People's Liberation Army* (APLA). Kodwana i-MK yaba nesikhulu isithintela epumalanga yeTransvali.

Amalunga we-MK gade athathwa njengeenkutani eengoga nezabelweni. Kodwana ukuba sisebenzi ngaphasi kwephiko le-MK kwakufuna ube ngaphezulu nje kokucabanga ngepolotiki. Gade kubababantu abahlale bafunwa mapholisa weSewula Afrika wezokuvikela ngaso soke isikhathi. Gade bafunwa ngaphakathi eSewula Afrika nangaphandle begodu kudinga bona basebenze kwelefukwana nelizele ingozi. Ukuthola amalunga angangena ngaphasi kwe-MK kwakubudisi begodu kuligadango elinengozi ngaphakathi.

Ama-Askaris ngiwo agade amraro omkhulu kiyo yoke imiraro. Labo kwakubabantu abanzima kodwana esele bakgherukile eminyakazweni

yekululeko base basebenzisana namapholisa wokuvikela weSewula Afrika. Eqinisweni gade bakghona ukuthunyelwa eminyakazweni yekululeko bese batjela amapholisa yoke into eyenziwa balweli bekululeko kanye nokobana bobani amalunga we-MK adosa phambili nayingozi. Amalunga we-MK nakahlwenga amalunga angeza azozitlolisa ngaphasi kwe-MK gade benza ngakho koke okusemandleni ukuqinisekisa bona akusiwo amalunga we-askaris. Nangabe umuntu otholakala bona uzimisele begodu uthembekile gade amenywa-ke ukobana azozitlolisela ukuba lilunga le-MK, abandulwe anikelwe nebonelophambili lehlngano.

Ukusebenza Kwe-MK Epumalanga YeTransvali

Epumalanga yeTransvali, i-MK yayizibophelele ekutholeni amalunga amanengi wokulwa begodu nokutjheja iindlela zamakhondlo zokungena nokuphuma eSewula Afrika magega nomgcele weMozambican. Abantu abaphumako nabangena eSewula Afrika gade basebenzisa umgcele weMbuzini ngombana ukugada gade kungazipheli lapho. Iindrada kwakulula ukuziquntula begodu abantu abangehlangothini leMozambique nabo gade basekela i-MK. Inengi labo lakghona. Amalunga we-MK nakapha abantu bemizi yeMbuzini izipho ezithileko ukuze babasekele kilokho abakwenzako, umbuso webandlululo nawo gade ubanikela izipho ezidlula ze-MK ukobana nabo babasekele. Amapholisa wezokuvikela agcina ayitholile indaba yokobana umgcele lo wawusetjenziswa



Umlimi weBreyten neensebenzi zakhe netregere eyathuthunjiswa ngesithuthumbi ngomnyaka we-1986.

yi-MK, ase athatha amagadango.UMatthews Phosa, aseselilunga le-MK ngaleso sikhathi, ngemva kwesikhathi waba nguNduvakulu wokuthoma weMpumalanga, ukuhlathulula ngalendlela okwakwenzeka;

Sasisebenza kilowa umgecele. Yayingekho idrada enomlilo wegezi ngaleso sikhathi. Idrada enomlilo yakhiwa siyiqalile sisebenza. Ukwakhiwa kwedrada enomlilo wegezi kwabangelwa bujamo bokusebenza kwethu nalokho esasikwenza yakhelwa ukusikhandela ngokuqala indlela umgecele owawungakho.

NgoJuni 1986 amalunga asebenzela i-MK alunywa indlebe ngokutjheja indoda eyayibonakala ingutamulani wombuso. Lendoda, eyayinguSamuel Mpanani, yayibhodlela abantu emzini (ifuna ukuthola ilwazi nge-MK). Amalunga amane we-MK akhamba aya eMbuzini ayokufuna indoda leyo. Lamalunga we-MK ngemva kwesikhathi atjela iKomidi yokuLibalela yamaQiniso nokuBuyisana (*Amnesty Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee*) ukobana kwenzekani nabafika lapho:

Nasibandamela umzakhe waphuma sambona bona uphethe isigidi. Wazama ukubaleka kodwana samakhela indulungu. Wadumuza kodwana angazi bona wabadumuza thina nanyana ummoya na. Wadumuza kanengana sagcina sibaleka kancani kuye waze waphelwa makule sabuya samphuthuma, sambamba. Sakhamba naye emasimini wommoba . Nasifika lapho uTemba wathoma wambeka amatayera ngemaqadi. Sawapaka amatayera la elinye laba phezu kwelinye samthela ngepetroli. Ngangifuna ukuthungelela ngomlilo kodwana elinye ikhomreyidi lakwenza ngaphambi kwami lokho, watjha waba mlotha. Azange asabonakala bona ungubani ngemva kwalokho.

Ukuzidela Nesibindi

Amalunga we-MK gade anekghono elikhulu lokulwa kodwana abanye batjengisa ukuba nesibindi nokubambelela. Indaba kaPatrick Chamusso isinikela isibonelo esihle khulu ngalokho. UPatric wabasebenza eSasol 2, ekulibubulo elikhulu elitjhugulula amaladle liwenze i-oli epumalanga yeTransvali. Njengombana lelibubulo laliliqhinga elihle elalizokukhuphula umnotho weSewula Afrika ukuze ukghone ukubambelela ngesikhathi sokutswinywa kwezomnotho, kodwana lalilibubulo elilitshwayo lamandla wombuso webandlululo.

Ngomnyaka we-1980 uChamusso wavalelwa mapholisa wezokuphepha. Wabangakenzi litho kodwana acatjangelwe bona ungomunye walabo be-ANC



abasahlela iSasol 2. Ngemva kobana bamtjhaphululile wabaleka waya ekuphalaleni. Nasele aphalele wabizwa ngu Joe Slovo, isikhulu se-MK begodu abuye abe ngunobhalmazombe we*South African Communist Party*. USlovo umbuzo othembekileko ambuzwa wona wathi: Ungathanda ukusahlela iSasol 2? UChamusso wathi angathanda. Usakhumbula kuhle uChamusso:

[UJoe Slovo noRashid] bangibuza bona ngiyazazi iinthuthumbi zakhona nokobana zijame njani. Ngathi iye ngiyazazi. Ungenzani nange uthola omunye ozokubandula ungabuyela emuva uyokuthuthumbisa, utjhise iSasol? Ngathi kuye ngingakuthabela khulu lokho. Ngingaya ngokukhulu ukuthaba nangokugijima. Wase uthi kungani ngizokugijima ? Ngamtjela bona amaBhunu la angisilingile. AmaBhunu la angisilingile. Qala anghome ngingazi litho... angibetha. Wase uthi lento [ibandlululo] ayitjhaphululi namunye umuntu, inesithintela esimbi kiwo woke umuntu oliSewula Afrika.

UChamusso wakhamba ngesiphaphamtjhini waya e-Angola wayokubandulwa msinya ngokulwa ngeenkhalo kodwana aqalene ngqo neenthuthumbi nokunemba poro. Ngemva kokuphetha lelo bandulo uSlovo wambiza wambuza

UPatrick Chamusso (ngesinceleni) noDerek Luke ekwaxhiweni kwefilimu eliqakathekileko lesihloko esithi *Catch a Fire*.



Umcimimlilo ulwa
nomlilo ebubulweni
lesibaseli iSasol ngemva
kobana uMkhonto
weSizwe usahlele
ngesithuthumbi ngoJuni
1980.

godu bona wabafuna ukuyokuthuthumbisa i-Sasol 2 na? Wabuya godu wathi, iye. Kodwana kwaba nentwanyana eqhingeni lakaSlovo angazange ayithande. USlovo wabafuna bona uChamusso akhambе aphekelelwe siqhema samalunga we-MK. UChamusso nakakhumbula ipendulwakhe uthi:

Ngathi, hi, aikona, awa. Ngifuna ukukhamba ngedwa. Wangibuza bona kungani ngifuna ukukhamba ngedwa. Ngathi kuye, awa, kungombana sitjelwa bona kunama-*mthlembe* [abotamlani], abantu abeza la ngombana bafuna ukuzokuthola ...manje kuzakuba njani nawungithumela nomuntu *omthlembe*, bese nasifika le angithengise ?

USlovo azange akholwe kuhle kodwana uChamusso wazama ukobana amtjengise bona gade amumuntu othembekileko begodu angasuye *umthlembe*. Waphumelela ukukwenza lokho wase unikelwa umsebenzi ukobana awurage ube yipumelelo ayedwa.

Ngemva kweenyanga ezilikhomba aphilala uChamusso wathoma ngomsebenzakhe. Wabuya weza emgceleni weSewaula Afrika aphethe ipaspoto kamakhohlisa akhamba ngekoloyi eyayilatjhe iinthuthumbi. Umraro wokuthoma agade anawo kwakukudlulisa iinthuthumbisezi emgceleni. Gade angekhe azidlulise ngekoloyakhe. Wajanyiswa esangwenimgcele wabuzwa imibuzwana, wasetjha kanye nekoloyakhe. Wabagade asazi bona kungenzeka lokho ngalokho iinthuthumbisi azisusile ekoloyini azitjhiye ngesikhwama kujana nesangomgcele. Umnqophakhe gade azitjele bona uzokubuya ngeenyawo ege umngcele godu azokuthatha isikhwameso ngaphandle kokubonwa nokusetjha. Ekugcineni wadluliswa kodwana bambawa bona alayitjhe elinye lamapholisa alalisiya eBethal. Azange akhona ukwala uChamusso kodwana kwakateleleka bona avume.

Ngemva kokuhliza ipholiselo, uChamusso wazama ukubuyela emuva ayokuthatha iinthuthumbiseza, kodwana kwatholakala bona uyabona bona ulandelwa ngenye ikoloyi eyayiyidala. Lokho kwamenza bona atjhugulule iqhinga lakhe. Watjha eSprings, nge-East Rand, kodwana yaloko imlandele ikoloyi leyo. Waphenduka wangena erenkeni yamateksi, wajama kwase kuthi lababantu agade bamlandela bakhamba. Ikoloyakhe walemuka bona yayiyingozi. Kwadinga bona afune enye indlela yokubuyela esangwenimgcele. Wabona iqhegu elalikhamba ngeveni waya kilo wayolibawa bona limphekelele esangwenimgcele uzalibhadala i-R150 lithela ipetroli. Endleleni wahlathulule indabakhe uChamusso wathi uyokuhlangabeza umma othileko ngale ngemgceleni. Umma loyo uphetha ipahlakhe begodu bazokubuyela eSewula Afrika bobabili. Bakhamba bafika esangwenimgcele, uChamusso wakhamba wayokuthatha isikhwama sakhe wabe wabuyela ekoloyini ngaphandle kokuthikanyezwa. Kodwana uChamusso kwafuneka bona ahlathulule bona kungani angakhambi nomuntu wengubo njengombana atjho ekuthomeni:

Ngathi kuye, yeyi ndoda, umma loya egade ngiyomqala ungenze isidlhayela. Utjhiye umthwalami lo wodwa. Batjho uthole ikoloyi engamlayitjha wakhwela wayokufuna mina ngale, mhlambe kungenzeka simthole ngombana ngimtjelile bona ngizakuza emzinakhe eVan Dyk's Drift, *A ngase sekhathe se sa mathola* [sizamthola ngesinye isikhathi].

UChamusso azange adle isikhathi ngombana wabaselaziphethe iinthuthumbisi zakhe ngakusasa ekuseni wavele wanqopha eSasol 2. Wabacabanga bona uzakungena lula ngaphakathi kwefemu njengombana gade asebenza khona. Kodwana soloko ifemu le yathuthunjiswa kokuthoma gade sekwakhiwe

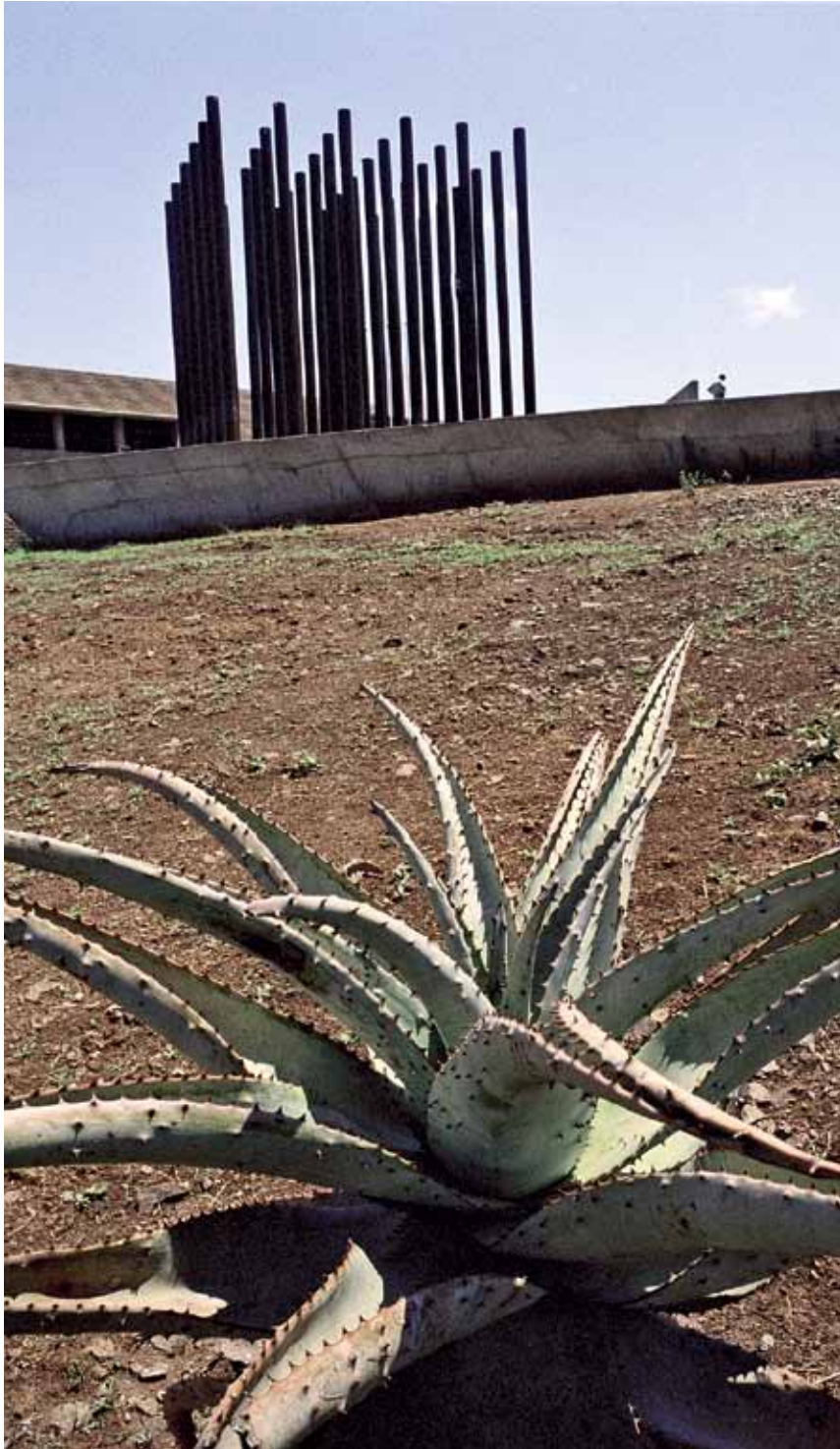
ifensi ede magega nayo begodu zoke iinsebenzi zayo gade sezembatha iimbheji zokuvikeleka egade ziqalasiswa nabangena efemini. UChamusso waya edorojaneni eliseduze nefemu le, i-Evander, wathenga ama-ovorolo afana nalawo ambathwa ziinsebenzi zeSasol 2 wabe wathatha nesithonjana esingumazisi. Nakabuyela emuva emayini waphumelela ukungena eholweni yebhareni...

Ngaya emayini ngahlangana namanye amasokana salotjhisana. Gade kumasokana aziselelako. Yeyi ndoda, ngangifuna amakaradabo wokungena. Ukube ngawathola gade ngiyowathatha ngikhuphe ngifake lami. Ngaleso sikhathi [amakarada] gade angafani nala wanamhlanje. Ngalesisikhathi angekhe ulikhuphe. Asebenza ngekhompyutha...ngaleso sikhathi gade ukghona ukukhupha isithombe esikhwameni saso. Ngahlala nawo [amasokana la] isikhatjhana ebharenapho ekugcineni ngaleba. Lalahleka ikarada lakhe lokungena.

Mhlana amalanga ama-21 ku-Oktoba, uChamusso gade selakulungele ukwenza umnqophakhe. Wafaka ama-ovorolwakhe namabhudzi athwele isikhwama sakhe esiphethe iinthuthumbi wangena efemini ngekarada lakhe elitjha. Wathatha amathulusi waragela phambili abonakala njengendoda elungele ukukhamba iye emsebenzinayo, emgodini. Kodwana izinto azange zikhambe kuhle ngefanelo.

Ngabona indoda yinye eyangaziko. “Lotjhani Pat, uqatjhwe nini la ?” Ngathi, “Yeleele ndoda ! Bangiqatjhile kodwana banginikela umsebenzi wokuthanyela amabhande. E...kungcono mfowethu bengingacabangi mina bona bangabe basakuqatjha”. Phela umuntu lo gade *ayibaasboy* ebizwa bona *yibossboy*. “Ungangani umsebenzakho ?” Wathi nguye oqalene namabhande angaphasi emgodini...

UChamusso wabawa ukubabalelwa bona ezwe lokho wakhamba. Wakhambisa nasele akhamba. Waqunta wavula intunja edradeni yefensi eduze neenthuthumbi eziqakathekileko zefemu, waphuma ngayo, wayokuthola iinthuthumbisi zakhe ezazisesikhwameni. Wabazokugiriza ifemu yoke nagade athuthumbise isithuthumbi esikhulu esiyipompi yepetroli kilefemu. Kodwana nangabe uyakwenza lokho kwakutjho bona uzokubulala alimaze abantu abanengi abanganamlandu ngezandla zakhe. Wase uthatha isiqunto sokobana uzoyithuthumbisa yoke njaya ifemu le kodwana uzokuthoma ngokunikela iinsebenzi isikhathi esaneleko sokobana ziphume efemini. Waqupha



Isikhumbuzo
sakaSamora Machel
eMbuzini.



Isikhumbuzo samasotja abulawa kwaSekhukhune nakusahlelwa umzimkhulu wabaPedi, iDsjate ngomnyaka we-1879. Ngomnyaka we-1980 itja kileyo ndawo yafaka isibawo saleyo ndawo njengengcenyekambiso yokuntsitsilela.

iinthuthumbi ezimbili ngononina. Isithuthumbi sesibili sasizokuthuthumba umlibe sigirize ifemu yoke. Kodwana sokuthoma sasizokuthuthumba sihlikilize ipompi yamanzi sithuse abantu ukuze babaleke kodwana singabalimazi. Sokuthoma isithuthumbi sadubula. Insebenzi nazithoma zirhaba ziphuma efemini zibaleka uChamusso naye wabaleka msinya.

Ngelanga elilandelako uChamusso wathenga iphephandaba afuna ukubona bona kwenzekeni. Wabagade ahlulekile, ibhому yesibili gade ikhuthisiwe begodu iSasol 2 isekhona. Wabazimisele ukwenzela umbuso webandlululo umonakalo omkhulu wase uyakhamba uya eWitbank ukuze athole itransformer eTransalloy. Kilellihlandla waphumelela ngombana wayithuthumbisa vele leyo *transformer*. Umnqophakhe gade awufezile uChamusso wase usebenzela ukubuyela emuva, emngceleni.

Kodwana ngaphambi kobana akhambе kilelizwe wafisa ukuvaelisa

abantwabakhe agade angasababoni umnyaka woke. Nakafika eDennilton, ekhabo, wahlangana namapholisa aqabe indlela. Waphatheka kabuhlungu. Ngemva kokubona amapholisa lawo wajika ikoloyi wabaleka. Amapholisa amlandela. Babona bona nguChamusso, umuntu abamfunako. Abarukghudlhi badumuza amavilo wekoloyakhe yaphumela ngeqadi. UChamusso waphuma wakhasa ngamadolo alimele angakaphathi nesigidi. Wabalekela emasimini agade aseduze wabhaqa lapho. Amapholisa athumela amapholisa wezinja nomaphehlwana bona bamfune. Azange alunge. Bamthola kwathi ngemva kobana azinikele bambetha, bamhlukumeza bayomgweba iminyaka ema-24 esihlengeleni, iRobben Island.

Nakaqale iCape Town ngemva kwesikepe esasimusa esihlengeleni wabangacabangi bona ngaphambi kweminyaka eli-10 i-ANC izabe seyivulwe umlomo noNelson Mandela atjhaphululiwe ejele. Nanyana eminyakeni ema-25, ifilimu elikhulu leHollywood, iCatch a Fire, lizabe likwakwazela isibindi nezenzo zakhe ezikarisako.

Ukuthoma Kabutjha

Ngokuphela komnyaka we-1980 ubujamo eendaweni zabantu, eengoga nemadorobheni walesisifunda besele buqokame kangangobana umbuso webandlululo wawungasakghoni ukulawula. Indaba yokobana isifunda esifana nepumalanga yeTransvali, egade ngaphambilini singabonakali khulu njengesifunda esisizinda sokulwela ipolotiki, saba negalelo ekunghangheni okwadlala indima ebonakalako embusweni. Ngomnyaka we-1990 i-ANC, PAC ne-SACP zavulwa umlomo kwase kuthi uNelson Mandela nabanye abosopolotiki ababe babotjhwe eRobben Island nakwezinye iindawo batjhatjhululwa. Ngomnyaka we-1994 amakhetho wokuthoma afaka uwoke woke abanjwa angenisa itjhuguluko elitjha eMpumalanga neSewula Afrika yoke.