

/IVALIWE IZE IKHULUNYWE/

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Inkulumo nguMntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi
uNduankulu waKwaZulu nonguMengameli weNkatha

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Mphathiwohlelo, uSihlalo wethu woMhlahlandlela; Comrade
Nobhala-Jikele; uSihlalo kaMaziphathe Wesifunda saseMpumalanga,
Inkosi Mkhize namanye Amakhosi akhona; aBantwana baseNdlunkulu
abakhona; iMeya yaseMpumalanga namanye amaKhansela akhona;
aBefundisi abakhona; uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbutho waBesifazane,
uNksk. E.T.Bhengu; uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbutho Wentsha,
Comrade Musa Zondi namalunga eSigungu; ozakwethu eMkhandlwini
wakwaZulu Oshayumthetho; ozakwethu eMgwamandeni neziphathimandla
zoMbutho ezivela kwezinye izindawo; amalunga eNkatha, bafowethu

nodadewethu, madodana namadodakazi ethu e-Afrika, bo-Comrade nonke.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kukhona isililo esikhulu sabantu abafuna ukuba indluzula ehambisana nokugqolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo phakathi koMnyama noMnyama iphele manje. Kukhona isililo sabantu abafuna ukuba indluzula ephazamisa impilo yabantu, impilo yemindeni kanye nayoyonke imiphakathi, ipheze manje. Kukhona isililo esithi sekwenele.

INkatha iyinhlangano yabantu esekeleke emalungeni. Mina njengoMengameli weNkatha ngiyasizwa lesisililo ngakho ngithi indluzula kufanele iphele manje. Ngithi sekwenele, kufanele kubekhona ukuthula manje phakathi koMnyama noMnyama.

Ngo-~~Aprili~~ kuwo lonyaka ngahlaba umkhosi omkhulu wokuthula

ngiseMkhandlwini.../2

ngiseMkhandlwini wakwaZulu Oshayumthetho naseMgwamandeni weNkatha. Ngahlaba umkhosi wokuba unyaka ka-1989 wenziwe uNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula.

INgqungquthela-Jikelele yeNkatha yoNyaka ebihlangene ekuqaleni kwayo lenyanga iwusekele ngo-"ngelethu" umkhosi wami wakuthula yasekela nomkhosi wokwenza unyaka ka-1989 uNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula.

INkatha isebenzela ukuthula ngakho selokhu ngawuhlaba umkhosi wami wokuthula, iNkatha isibambe imihlangano engaphezulu kwekhulu kuwowonke amagumbi elakwaZulu neNatali ikhuluma ukuthula. Mina njengoMengameli weNkatha nganquma ukuthi kungumsebenzi olindeleke kimi ukuba ngiye ezindaweni ezikhungethwe kakhulu indluzula ngiyozinxusela mina uqobo lwami ukuba kubekhona ukuthula phakathi kwabantu.

Ngaqala ukuya Kwa-Makhutha lapho ngabamba khona Umhlangano

Wokukhulekela ukuthula. Ngabe sengiya Kwa-Mashu lapho ngabamba khona omunye Umhlangano Wokukhulekela ukuthula. Ngaya Eyideni nalaphangabamba khona Umhlangano Wokukhulekela ukuthula. Ngaya Embali lapho ngabamba khona omunye Umhlangano Wokuthula. Ngalempelaviki edlule nje, bafowethu nodadewethu, ngibambe omunye ukhukhulelangoqo Womhlangano Wokukhulekela ukuthula wona-ke obulaphaya kwaThethi (Taylor's Halt).

Bafowethu nodadewethu, sengize lapha kini manje ukuze ngibe nani nokukhuleleka ukuthula kanye nani, ukuhlelela ukuthula nginani, ukukhuluma ukuthula nani, nokucabanga ngazonke izindaba ezithintene nokudala ukuthula ezindaweni ezikhungethwe yindluzula yezingxabano.

namhlanje.../3

Namhlanje ngize lapha kini bafowethu nodadewethu, nginobuhlungu obukhulu enhliziyweni yami nesisindo esikhulu sokukhathazeka nisanda kuhlaselwa ngesinye isiwombe esesabekayo sendluzula khona muva nje. IMpumalanga sekufanele iphumule manje. Sekufanele iphele indluzula manje.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngicela ukuba sithule sonke sithobise amakhanda ethu sihloniphe bonke labo abafileyo kuzozombili izinhlangothi zakhokonke ukungqubuzana. Kakwenzi mehluko ukuthi ulandela muphi umbusazwe, ukufa kuyabahlanganisa abantu. Nxa sithobisa amakhanda sihlonipha oyedwa, kufanele sibahloniphe bonke. Asithobise amakhanda ethu umzuzu.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kulokhukuthula ngesikhathi sihlonipha bonke labo abalahlekelwe yimiphefumulo yabo nakulesisikhathi esithobise ngaso amakhanda ethu ngokudabuka kanye nabobonke abafelweyo, siyazi ukuthi ngenkathi senza lokho imbewu yendlu= zula entsha esivele ihlwanyeliwe iyamila.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngizweni nxa ngithi indluzula izala :
indluzula. Ngizweni nxa ngithi indluzula ichamusela indluzula.
Indluzula ifuna indluzula. Ngizweni nxa ngithi yileso
nalesosenzo sendluzula sifuna enye indluzula yokuphindisela
kanti naleso nalesosenzo sendluzula yokuphindisela sibiza
enye futhi indluzula.

Loluchungechunge lungase lubeyinto engenasiphetho futhi kugcine
ngokuba kungasali lutho ekugcineni. Kufanele ipheze lendluzula.
Kufanele silunqamule loluchungechunge lwendluzula ngakho
ngiyakugcizelela ukuthi yonke indluzula kufanele iphele manje.

Kakufanele kubekhona umsebenzi ongakaphethwa endluzuleni.

kakufanele.../4

kakufanele kubekhona indluzula yokuqeda indluzula. Kakufanele kubekhona indluzula yokuziphindisela. Yindluzula yokuziphindisela esiyingozi yethu enkulu kakhulu manje.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, nxa abantu besaba indluzula yokuziphindisela bayothatha izinyathelo zokuyeqela leyondluzula beze neyabo indluzula yokuzonqanda indluzula yokuziphindisela ngaleyondlela singaphindi sibekhona isiphetho saleyondluzula.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngizweni nxa ngithi ngaphandle kokuba indluzula yokuziphindisela nendluzula yokweqela enye indluzula kupheze manje, wonke lomphakathi uzocekela phansi. Nxa indluzula yokuziphindisela nendluzula yokweqela enye indluzula isigala ukubhebbhetheka ezitaladini, izigebengu zisizakala kakhulu ziqhube indluzula ngenhloso yokuzihlumisa ngaleyondlela bonke abantu bagcine sebesemseni walabo abangakufanele ngisho nokukhululeka phakathi kwabantu.

Sekubeyinto eyishwa elesabekayo ukuba kulendluzula ekhona njengamanje, ikakhulukazi lapha Empumalanga abanye balabo abebefanele ukugcina umthetho nokuthula abasembuthweni wamaPhoyisa nabo bazigaxe kulendluzula enyanyekayo. Kuyinto engenakuxolelwa ukuba labo abantu abafanele ukubalekela kubo ukuze bavikeleke kube yibona abehlisa isithunzi somsebenzi ababizelwe kuwo ngokuchema ezinhlangothini ezithile kulendluzula nokuba babulale benze nezinye izenzo zendluzula. Singumphakathi osuphelelwe ngubuntu nxa labo abafanele ukugcina umthetho nokuthula sebezigaxa ezenzweni zobugebengu ngezizathu zombusazwe.

Ngenxa yokuba iNkatha iyinhlangano yabantu futhi isekeleke

emalungeni,.../5

emalungeni abantu babaluleke kunakhokonke kimi. INkatha ikhonela khona ukusiza abantu. INkatha ikhonela ukusebenzela abantu. INkatha ikhonela ukunikeza abantu lokho abakufunayo ngakho zonke izithunywa bebeziseNgqungqutheleni-Jikelele Yonyaka bezifike nomyalezo ofanayo : abantu bafuna ukuthula.

Ngenxa yokuba iNkatha iyinhlango yabantu kufanele senze okukhulu kunanoma yiyiphi enye inhlangano ukudala ukuthula. Sinamakomindi kulelo naleloloKishi, kulelo nalelodoLobha nakuleyo naleyondawo yasemakhaya. Sinemigudu ecacileyo yokuxhumana ukusukela ebuholini beNkatha kwehle njalo ngeza=khiwo zayo kuye kufinyelele oquqabeni lwamalunga ayo.

Okungaphezu kwakhokonke, iNkatha inemfundiso yokulalela futhi iyazi ukuthi kufanele sibambisane nokuthi nxa sibambisene sisebenza njengomhlathi owodwa nonamandla amakhulu. Thina esiNkatheni sihlaba umkhosi wokuthula futhi thina esiseNkatheni sizosebenzela ukuthula. Sizimisele ngokuqiniseka ukuba imizamo

yethu yokuthula ibenempumelelo. Kasinandaba nokuthi kusithatha isikhathi eside kangakanani ukufeza lokhu.

Kulowo nalowomhlangano esengikhulume kuwo ngokuthula, ngikugci=zelelile ukuthi kasikwazi ukunikeza abantu ukuthula simi kude nabo. Ukuthula kuyinto abantu abakhungethwe indluzula okuyibona abafanele yikwenza umsebenzi omkhulu ngakho. Ngabantu abathi=ntwe kakhulu yindluzula abafanele ukusebenza kanzima kunabobo=nke abanye ukudala ukuthula. Akekho umuntu ozobenzela lowo=msebenzi. Engingakwenza Mina njengoMengameli yikusekela izinyathelo zokuthula ezithathwa yini emazikweni enu asekhaya.

IMPumalanga ingenye yezindawo esezikhungethwe kakhulu yilendlu=zula esabekayo ngakho ngithokoza kakhulu ukuzwa ukuthi izinya=thelo zokuthula seziquhamuka kubo abantu baseMpumalanga zingqo=bo zabo manje. Ngiyayincoma iMeya yaseMpumalanga ngokuthinta

uMnu. Musa Zondi, uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbutho Wentsha yeNkatha, ephakamisa ukuba kubekhona izingxoxo zokuthula. Yilo lolu uhlobo lwezenzo ezifanele ukuqhamuka kubo abantu zingqobo zabo, ikakhulukazi labo abangabaholi babantu.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, isililo sokuthula esiqhamuka kubantu sizwakala kude ngakho ngineqiniso lokuthi ngisho nezinyanya zakithi ziyanyakaza lapho zikhona ngoba abantu bakhalela ukuthula kepha kabakakufumani ukuthula.

Kukhona ukukhuluma ngokukhuluma ngokuthula phakathi kwezinhla-ngano eziningi ezingene kulendluzula. Sesike saba namaxoxo angakaze abekhona ngaphambili phakathi kweNkatha ne-UDF kanye ne-COSATU ngesidingo sokukhuluma ngokuthula.

UNobhala-Jikelele uDokotela Oscar Dhlomo, uSihlalo woMhlahla=ndlela weNkatha uDokotela F.T. Mdlalose, uSihlalo kaZwelonke

woMbutho Wentsha uMnu. Musa Zondi, uMnu. Nkehli iLunga
loMgwamanda weNkatha noMnu. V.B. Ndlovu wasendaweni yaseMgungu=
ndlovu , yibo abebemele iNkatha emaxoxweni ne-UDF ne-COSATU.

Ukubaluleka kwalamaxoxo kukhonjiswe yizinga eliphezulu
lezithunywa ebezixoxa ngalokho esidinga ukukwenza ukuze
kufezwe ukuthula i-UDF beyimelwe nguMnu. Archie Gumede uMengameli
noMnu. Murphy Morobe uNobhala wosakaza izindaba kanti i-COSATU
yona ibimelwe nguMnu. Elijah Barayi noMnu. J. Naidoo.

Lamaxoxo phakathi kwalababaholi bezinga eliphezulu leNkatha,
i-UDF ne-COSATU alandela ukubhalelana phakathi kwami njengo=
Mengameli weNkatha naBengameli be-UDF ne-COSATU. Lokho
kubhalelana sekuholele emihlanganweni phakathi kwalezizihla=
ngano zontathu.

Okungaphezulu.../7

Okungaphezulu kwalokho abafowethu nodadewethu abaku-ANC oseku=dingisweni nabo sebengene kulamaxoxo. Kunemihlangano ephakathi kweNkatha ne-UDF ne-COSATU engikhuluma ngayo kunombhalo obha=liweyo osewethulwe phambi kwami njengoMengameli weNkatha nosewethulwe phambi kweBengameli be-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU. Kulombhalo kukhona isiphakamiso sokuba aBengameli bobane babo=nane .manje.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngingakhulumela uhlangothi lwami kuphela. Ngizimisele mina ngokubonana naBengameli be-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU. Umkhosi wobunye babantu abaMnyama selokho ngaqala ukuwuhlaba ngenkathi kusungulwa iNkatha futhi ngisho namanje uMnu. Oliver Tambo unencwadi ekhikhini lakhe engambhalela yona ngicela ukubonana naye. Lencwadi ngayibhala kudala ngoSeptthemba ka-1984 futhi ngisazimisele ngokubonana noMnu. Oliver Tambo. Sizolinda sibone ukuthi aBengameli be-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU banquma ukwenzenjani ngalomhlangano.

Emaxoxweni okuqala abaphakathi kwezithunywa zeNkatha, i-UDF ne-COSATU kwabakhona nokukhuluma ngesidingo sengqungquthela yokuthula okwathiwa izohlelwa yikomindi elihlanganyelweyo leNkatha, i-UDF ne-COSATU lapho izinto zenzeka khona kwelakwa= Zulu naseNatali. Kukhona nokukhuluma ngokusungula amakomindi okuxhumanisa azoqiniseka ukuthi kakugcini nje ngokuba indluzula iphele manje kepha ukuthi kayiphindi iqubuke futhi kamuva.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kuyithemba lami eliqinileyo ukuthi lamaxoxo azodala izinyathelo zokuthula kwempela kepha kuzo= dingeka ukuba silinde sibone ukuthi kwenzekani. Okwamanje thina esiseNkatheni sizqhubeka nokusebenzela ukuthula. Sizqhubeka nokukhulisa esethu isinyathelo senze noma yini esinokuyenza ukuqeda ukubulalana kwabantu nokuqala ukubhekana

nodaba.../8

nodaba lokuthi sizokwenzenjani ngomphumela wendluzula.

Inkinga ibuye yenziwe ibenzima kakhulu ayikuthi njengoba nonke nazi nami futhi ngazi nabaholi be-UDF , COSATU ne-ANC nabo bazi ukuthi lendluzula esibekhona ihlanganise nendluzula eyenziwa ngamaqoqwana namaqulo amancane abantu abangalandeli muntu nabangekho ngaphansi kwesandla nokulawulwa ngabathile. Sonke siyazi ukuthi indluzula ibheduka ezitaladini zethu nokuthi kayikho phakathi kwezinhlangano zethu zozine eqalisa leyondluzula.

Njengoba ngikengasho ngasekuqaleni kwalenkulumo yami ukuthi indluzula izala indluzula nokuthi indluzula yobugebengu izala indluzula yobugebengu nokuthi indluzula yokuhlasela izala indluzula yawoqonda bokuzivikela nokuthi futhi indluzula yawoqonda bokuzivikela izala indluzula yokuziphindisela. Kufanele kucace kahle ukucabanga kwethu kungasidikibalisi u

ukuthi indluzula kayishabalali ngokushesha njengoba sithi
kufanele kube khona ukuthula.

Ngenxa yokuthi ngeke kuthi kusa indluzula ibe isinyamalele
kalula kangako, abantu baseMpumalanga kufanele bafakwe
ekunqandeni indluzula bona zingqobo zabo. Kufanele
banyakaze balwe nendluzula bona njenomphakathi. Thina
ezinhlanganweni zethu ezehlukeneyo siyoba namandla amakhulu
nxa sisekela izinto ezenziwa yibo abantu zingqobo zabo.

Kuzozonke izinkulumo engizethulayo ngendluzula nesidingo
sokuthula, ngigcizelela ukuthi ukukhuluma okudala indluzula
kufanele kuphele manje. Kufanele iphele manje imfundiso
yombusazwe enonya ekhwezela abantu ukuba bazibuyiselele ngentukuthelo.
Kufanele kuphele ukubhoca ngodaka nokukhinyabeza kwezimilo

namagama abanye abantu. Kufanele kuphele ukuqubula iziqubulo ezihlambalaza abaholi. Thina esiseNkatheni kasinazo iziqubulo noma amaculo esiwacula ukunukubeza abaholi bombusazwe bezinye izinhlangano eziphikisana nathi.

Yileyo naleyonhlangano ehlab' umkhosi wokuthula nechitha uku-gqolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo phakathi koMnyama noMnyama sekufanele ibanqande manje labo abakhuluma ukusekela lokhu kugqolozelana. Nxa bengakwazi ukubanqanda kufanele bawachithe obala amazwi abawakhulumayo akhwezela izingxabano. Sekufanele kuphele manje ukukhuluma okuholela ekubulaleni.

Yileyo naleyonhlangano enesandla ezinyathweleni zokuthula naleyo naleyonhlangano ehlab' umkhosi wokuthula, kufanele zisebenzise amandla azo apheleleyo ukucindezela lelo nalelo phe-phandaba eNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba abhale ngezinyathelo zokuthula ngendlela enobuqotho necabangela imiphumela nokuba abike izehlo zendluzula lapho zenzeka khona ngendlela yokuba

kudalwe ukuthula kubantu nokuba kulekelelwe uhlelo lokuthula.

Ngihlaba umkhosi engiwubhekisa kuUDF neCOSATU ikakhulukazi ukuba banqande lokhu okuthiwa ngamaphephandaba athatha indawo yamaphephandaba ajwayelekileyo (alternative press) nokuba baphumele obala balwe nokukhishwa kwezitatimende ezilimaza ukuthula. Nxa bengakwenzi lokhu, nginovalo mina lokuthi kuno=kwenzeka ukuba sichitha isikhathi sethu.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, umkhosi wami wokuqala wokuthula engiwu=hlabayo ngiwuhlaba ngoba nginokukhathazeka okujulileyo ngabantu, ngasosonke isintu futhi kulomkhosi ngikhalela ukuba kuphele ukubulalana koMnyama noMnyama. Nxa abantu sebeqala ukuphathana ngobulwane kusho ukuthi sekusilahlekele konke. UNkulunkulu wasidalela ukuba sibendawonye. Wasidala ukuba sihlale ndawonye futhi uyakufuna lokho kithi ukuba sihlale ndawonye. Sukumani

niye...../10

niye nifinyelele ezicongweni . zokuphakama kwenu njengezidalwa ezingabantu nihambele phezulu ningagcini nje ngokupheza ukubulalana kuphela kepha sebenzani nilwe nokubulala noma ngabe yikuphi lapho kwenzeka khona.

Okwesibili, ngihlaba umkhosi wokuthula ngenxa yomzabalazo wenkululeko. Wonke amaqhawe ethu esikhathi esidlule nalabo abahluphekela nabafela umzabalazo kufanele ukuba bayanyakaza emalibeni abo ngendlela umuntu oMnyama abulala ngayo omunye umuntu wakubo oMnyama. Selokhu kwathi nhlo umzabalazo womuntu oMnyama wenkululeko eNingizimu ne-Afrika ungumzabalazo ohloniphekileyo wokufeza izinjongo esenziwa zahlonipheka yisikhathi ngokusetshenziswa kwamasu okuthula. Okungaphezu kwakho=konke, umzabalazo womuntu oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika wenkululeko wasungulwa njengomzabalazo wokuthula futhi kuwownke amashumi eminyaka lomzabalazo ushiswa ubungumzabalazo wokuthula.

Izinga indluzula eyingozi ngalo likhonjiswa yindlela ukugqolo=zelana ngeziqo zamehlo okuphakathi koMnyama noMnyama oseququ=buke ngayo manje kwaKwaZulu neNatali. Yikusetshenziswa kwendluzula nendluzula yokulwa nendluzula obekwenziwa nguMbuso nabavukeli boMbuso lokusabalalise umoya wendluzula eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Yilendluzula ebenomphumela wokubulalana koMnyama noMnyama. kuyisimo sayo indluzula lokhu - ukuthi iyasabalala iphinde isabalale ibuye isabalale futhi.

Indluzula phakathi koMnyama noMnyama isiyibhidliza ngokuphele=leyo imihlathi efanele ukuhlangana ukuze igadle ngegalelo lokugcina obandlululweni. Bafowethu nodadewethu, ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi. Ukunqoba kuzoba ngokwethu, kakukho ukungabaza ngalokhu. Nxa ukunqoba kuzoba ngokwethu, ngenxa kaNkulunkulu kufanele sibeke phansi izikhali esigqolozelene ngazo sihlanganise amandla ethu ukuze sisungule izisekelo zokubonisana esiyosukela kuzo ukuyohlakaza ubandlululo.

Ubunye...../11

Ubunye babantu abaNnyama sebuyinto emqoka kakhulu manje. Ngingathi yikho kuphela ukuntuleka kobunye babantu abaNnyama okunikeza ubandlululo enye impilo olusenayo. Ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi; luyinto ezoqedwa. Kepha nxa sisaqhu= beka nokulwa sodwa njengabantu abaNnyama, nobandlululo lusazo= qhubeka nokulimaza izwe lethu lenkaba.

Sekunesidingo esikhulu manje sombusazwe sokuba oMnyama apheze ukugqolozela omunye oMnyama ngeziqu zamehlo nokuba oMnyama asukume angene ezenzweni ezisebenzela inigomo eyodwa nabanye abantu abaNnyama.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, isililo sokuthula sesiqubuke kangangoba sesizwakala kuwowonke amagumbi ezwe ngakho ngisho noDokotela Nelson Mandela usesabelile lapho ekhona emkhosini wabantu. Ngokokuqala ngqa eminyakeni enga-26 yokuboshwa kwakhe uDoko= tela Mandela usethumele umyalezo kubantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

UDokotela Mandela wangibhalela incwadi engayifumana ngo-Aprili kuwo lonyaka lapho enxusa khona abantu abaNnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba bapheze lokhu kugqolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo koMnyama noMnyama okwenyanyekayo. Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngicela ukunifundela lencwadi :

1335/88 : Nelson Mandela

Victor Verster Prison
Private Bag X6005
Paarl South, 7624

3-2-89

Shenge Othandekayo

Ngiyathokoza ngomyalezo wakho wocingo lwe-Telex omnandi nocatshangisiswe kahle owangithumela wona egameni leNgoyama uZwelithini neNkatha ngosuku lwami lokugubha iminyaka engama-70 yokuzalwa. Ngayifumana necwadi yakho yomhlaka 26 kuAgasti 1988 lapho owawungifisela khona ukwelulama ekuguleni, nalapho owawucacisa khona imizamo yakho ekhaya nangaphandle yokuba kukhululwe iziboshwa eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngaphandle kocingo lwakho lwe-Telex nolwe-Telegram olwaluvela kuNkk Helen Suzman, kunemiyalezo engamakhulu efanayo eyafikayo ivela

kwabanye...../12

kwabanye abangifisela kahle ezweni nakwezinye izingxenywe eze= hlukeneyo zomhlaba. Kuyingxenywe yokusekelwa okungaguqukiyo kwabesilisa nabesifazane baloluhlobo, nengxenywe yalokho okufezwe yinhlangano yethu ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwezwe okunikeza iziboshwa amandla amakhulu kangaka nethemba.

Uzosheshe ukwemukele ukuthi kakulula neze kulendawo engikuyo ukuba ngiphawule ngokugcweleyo nangokukhululeka ngemizwa oyizwakalisa ngekhono elihle kangaka kulemibhalo engenhla. Kwenele ukusho ukuthi ukuphikelela kwakho ukuba kukhululwe iziboshwa ngaphandle kwemibandela ngaphambi kokuba kuqaliswe ukubonisana, kuyinto okuselokhu kwathi nhlo ngiyemukela njengomnikelo owakhayo ekuthungatheni ukuthula okuyohlala isikhathi eside kulelizwe.

Kusobala, ukuthi ithemba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathi= ni esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobudlelwane obuhle obabukhona phakathi kwakho no O.R., (Mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphakathi kwezinhlangano zombili eminyakeni yawo-1970.

Umsebenzi oyinselelo enkulu kunazozonke obhekene nabaholi ngumsebenzi wobunye beSizwe. Kakukaze kwenzeke ngesinye isikhathi emlandweni wethu ukuba kubeyinto esemqoka kangaka ukuba abantu bakithi bakhulume ngezwi elilodwa, nokuba bahlanganise imizamo yabo. Noma yisiphi isenzo noma amazwi. Noma ngabe aqhamuka kuphi, abonakala edala noma edlulisela uqhekeko esimeni sombusazwe esikhona, siyiphutha elifanele ukugwenywa ngayoyonke indlela.

Kudingeka ulwazi oluningi kakhulu kunalolo enginalo njenga= manje ngaphambi kokuba ngikwazi ukusola noma yiliphi emaqenjini athintekayo kulokhu kungqubuzana okwenyanyekayo okwenzekayo eNatali. Nala kunjalo ngikuthatha njengecala elibi kakhulu kithi sonke ukuba sehluleke namanje ukuhlanganisa amandla ethu okunqanda lokhu kubulawa kwemiphefumulo eminingi kangaka engenacala. Umzabalazo uyimpilo yethu ngakho ngisho noma ukufeza kwamaphupho ethu amahle kakhulu kungabayinto esiseduze singaphumelela nokho ukuwenza lomzabalazo ube yinto esinethisa kakhulu noma ubeyinhlekelele ngokupheleleyo.

Kuyoyonke impilo yami ngisebenza kwezombusazwe zimbalwa izinto ezingidabukise njengokubona abantu bakithi bebulalana bodwa njengoba kwenzeka njengamanje. Njengoba wazi lonke uhlelo lwempilo yomphakathi kwezinye izindawo ezithintekileyo luphazamiseke kakhulu, kwasala inzondo namagqubu angase abenathi iminyaka eminingi ezayo. Lolu yudaba oludinga ukubhekisiswa ngokuphuthuma yibobonke abantu kulelizwe. Kayikho into eyongithokozisa ukwedlula ukwazi ukuthi ukukhathazeka kwami nokunxusa kwami kakuwelanga khona ezindlebeni ezivalekileyo.

Ngiyaphinda futhi ngiyathokoza eSilweni naseNkatheni

ngomyalezo...../13

ngomyalezo wakho okhuthazayo. Ngikufisela okuhle kodwa wena kanye neNdlunkulu.

Owakho ngeqiniso.

MADIBA.

Ngemuva kokungibonga ngemfudumalo enkulu ngokuqhubeka kwami nokukhankasela ukukhululwa kwakhe ejele nokwenza ukukhululwa kwakhe umbandela opheleleyo okufanele kuhlangelelwe nawo ngaphambi kokuba ngingene ekubonisaneni ngekusasa lesakhiwo sezwe seNingizimu ne-Afrika, uDokotela Mandela uyaqhubeka ahlabe umkhosi wokuthula nobunye babantu abaNyama. Muzweni nxa ethi : "Kasobala, ukuthi ithemba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathini esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobudlelwane obuhle obabukhona phakathi kwakho no-O.R (Mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphaka= thi kwezinhlangano zombili (iNkatha ne-ANC) eminyakeni yawo-1970."

Bafowethu nodadewethu, uDokotela Mandela ukusho konke nxa ethi:

" Umsebenzi oyinselelo enkulu kunazozonke obhekene nabaholi ngumsebenzi wobunye beSizwe." UDokotela Mandela uthi kakukho lutho olungaba yinselelo ukwedlula ubunye phakathi koMnyama noMnyama. Usekhulumile futhi incwadi yakhe uyiphetha ngokuthi: "Kayikho into eyongithokozisa ukwedlula ukwazi ukuthi ukukha= thazeka kwami nokunxusa kwami kakuwelanga khona ezindlebeni ezivalekileyo." Ngilethe ukunxusa kukaDokotela Mandela kini lapho enxusela khona ubunye babantu abaNnyama njengoba efuna ukuba ngenze. Ngiletha ukunxusa kwakhe enxusela ubunye babantu abaNnyama kuhambisana nokuninxusa ukubanikuqonde ukuthi, njengoba esho, "Kakukaze kwenzeke ngesinye isikhathi emlandweni wethu ukuba kubeyinto emqoka kangaka ukuba abantu bakithi bakhulume ngezwi elilodwa, nokuba bahlanganise imizamo yabo.."

UDokotela Mandela uyakusekela ukugcizelela kwami ukuba

imfundiso yombusazwe enonya iphele manje. Uthi : "Noma yisiphi isenzo noma amazwi, noma ngabe aqhamuka kuphi abona=kala edala noma edlulisela uqhekeko, esimeni sombusazwe esikhona, siyiphutha elifanele ukugwenywa ngayoyonke indlela." Ngiyethemba ukuthi abafowethu abaku-UDF, i-COSATU ne-ANC bayawaqaphela lamagama amakhulu eqhawe leNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama eselahluphekela umzabalazo. Siyethemba ukuthi lokhu okuthiwa ngamaphephandaba athatha indawo yamaphephandaba ajwayelekileyo ayawaqaphela lamazwi.

Nxa ekhuluma ngendluzula ekwelakwaZulu neNatali uthi : "... ngikuthatha njengecala elibi kakhulu kithi sonke ukuba sehluleke namanje ukuhlenganisa amandla ethu okunqanda lokhu kubulawa kwemiphefumulo eminingi kangaka engenacala." Bafowe=thu nodadewethu, muzweni uDokotela Mandela; kuzweni ukunxusa kwakhe enxusela ukuthula. Uthinteki kakhulu futhi uyezwelana

nani. Uthi : "Kuyoyonke impilo yami ngisebenza kwezombusazwe zimbalela izinto ezingidabukise njengokubona abantu bakithi bebulalana bodwa njengoba kwenzeka njengamanje." Uxwayisa ngokuthi lendluzula eqhubekayo njengamanje izoshiya "inzondo namagqubu angase abenathi iminyaka eminingi ezayo."

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kuyithemba lami ukuthi i-UDF i-COSATU ne-ANC bazokuzwa lokhukunxusa kukaDokotela Mandela. Kuyithe- mba lami lukuthi yilowo nalowomuntu olapha ozwa ukunxusa kuka- Dokotela Mandela esekela izinyathelo zami zokuthula usezophumela obala manje alwe nendluzula, enze izenzo zokulwa nendluzula, asebenzele ukuthula angazinyamezeli izinhlangano namaqoqo abantu ababulala ngezizathu zombusazwe.

Kakugcini nje ngokuba kudingeke ukuba siyeke ukubulala

kepha.../15

kepha kufanele senze nemisebenzi yokulungisa nomonakalo odalwe yindluzula empilweni yabantu, empilweni yemindeni eqinisweni silungise nomonakalo owenziwe indluzula emiphakathini. Ukusebenzela ukuthula kufanele kube yikusebenzela ukuvuselelwa kwabantu nemiphakathi. Kufanele sikuvuselele kubuyele esimeni sakho lokho okwacekelwa phansi.

Thina esiseNkatheni sizowusekela ngawowonke amandla ethu umsebenzi oqondene nokuhlangabezana nezidingo zabantu abathintwe yindluzula. Sengiphelelwa yisineke sokulindela lokhu kuvuselelwa kwemiphakathi eMnyama eklaywe phakathi indluzula. Ngifuna ukuqala khona manje ukusebenzela ukuthula ngakho ngihlaba umkhosi engiwubhekisa kuzozonke izinhlangano ukuba zisheshise ezikwenzayo ukudala ukuthula zinhlanganye neNkatha emisebenzini yokuthula lapho izinto zenzeka khona. Iyiphi nje indlela engcono engakhona yezinhlangano eziMnyama

ezithi zizinikele ekuthuleni n. kunokusebenza ngokuhlanganyela nezinhlango ebezogqoqozelene nazo njengezitha esikhathini esidlule.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, sekufanele sihlanganise izandla nalabo abaku-COSATU ne-UDF abazimisele ngokusebenzela ukuthula. Lokhu kusebenzela ukuthula, bafowethu nodadewethu, kusho ukuhlanganyela emlandweni omusha odala isikhathi esisha eNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Umlando omqoka wase-Afrika uyasebenza phakathi kwethu eNingizimu ne-Afrika nase-Afrika eseNingizimu. Kukhona izinyathelo ezinkulu ezingumlando eziqonde ekuthuleni manje kwelase Namibia. Elase-Angola, eselikhungathwe yizingxabano isikhathi eside kangaka, liphezu kwemizamo yokuxazulula izinkinga zokudala ukuthula. I-MPLA ne-UNITA abebeyizitha ezinkulu

isikhathi eside kangaka sebeqala ukuhlala ezigcawini zoku=
thula manje.

KwelaseMozambique kunokukhuluma okuningi ngokuthula phaka=
thi kwe-Frelimo ne-Renamo kanti uMengameli Chissano usanda
kubonana noMnu. F. W. de Klerk noMnu. Pik Botha ngeviki
elidlule laphe bakhuluma khona ngokuthula phakathi kwelase=
Mozambique neNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, imibuso emikhulu yomhlaba isisekela
ukuthula manje hhayi impi eNingizimu ne-Afrika kanye nase
Afrika eseNingizimu. UHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kade
ehlezi phansi nabamele oHulumeni baseMelika, e-Angola,
eCuba naseRashiya. Bonke labohulumeni bazisekela izinyathelo
zokuthula nokufezwa kweSinqumo esingunombolo 435 kwelase=
Namibia.

Umlando usuzilungele manje izinyathelo zokuthula eNingizimu

ne-Afrika. Yonke into eseyake yenzeka ngaphambili emlandweni weNingizimu ne-Afrika isiphetha ngokuthula manje kulelizwe. Isiphetha ngokunqoba phezu kobandlululo. Isiphetha ngokudaleka komphakathi onobulungiswa nongenalo ubandlululo lwezinhlanga. Yikugqolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo phakathi koMnyama noMnyama. osekuyinkinga enkulu kunazozonke manje ekwenzeni konke lokhu kubeyizithelo zomlando zokuba sizifunele zona.

Umlando ungasohlangothini lwethu futhi sekukithi ukuba siphelelise sifeze amaphupho okunqoba okhokho bethu nawomliba omude wamaqhawe akithi nalabo asebahlphekela nasebafela umzabalazo. Singayenza iNingizimu ne-Afrika ibe yindawo engcono manje ngesikhathi sokuphila kwethu. Singazenza lezozinto labo abahamba ngaphambi kwethu ababegcina ngoku= ziphupha nje kuphele. Kufanele siqhubekele phambili esikha= thini esizayo simunye.
