

My - 3-4

INKULUMO EMHLANGANWENI WEZIFUBA
WOMKHANDLU WAKWAZULU OSHAYA UMTHETHO

NGUMNTWANA UMANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
UNDUNANKULU WAKWAZULU

ONDINI MHLAKA 2 MASHI 1994.

Mhlonishwa Mphathiwohlelo, aMalungu ahloniphekileyo, namuhlanje
sibhekene nezindaba ezibucayi okumele Kkuxoxiswane ngazo
eziphathelene nesimo sezingxoxo kanye noHulumeni waseNingizimu
Afrika odabeni lapho elakwaZulu lungaginisekisa isikhundla salo
ohlakeni lwesakhiwo sangomuso saseNingizimu Afrika.

Ngenxa yokulawula izingxoxo ezimayelana nesakhiwo kweâ\200\224ANC kanye noHulumeni wegembu lamaNeshinali lapho okuthe bona bebobabili banquma umphumela woMthethosisekelo ka-1993, kubheduke isimo

lapho ubukhosi obuzimele boMbuso wakwaZulu bulengela eweni.

Lezizinguquko ezikhona kuMthethosisekelo eziqukethwe nguMthethosisekelo wesikhashana =zizoletha uguquko endleleni yesimo soMbuso, lapho okuzongena khona esikhundleni saloMbuso okhona wabaMhlophe uMbuso, weâ\200\224ANC/SACP kanye negembu lamaNeshinali owenganyelwe nguHulumeni weâ\200\224ANC.

Uma sibheka ohlangothini loMthetho womhlaba, ubukhosi obuzimele beSizwe samaZulu bahlwithwa ngesikhathi lapho singotshwa ngabaMhlophe kodwa-ke yize kunjalo iSizwe samaZulu asizange sikwamukele ukusungulwa kwemigomo yobukhosi eyalandela eyayizinze emithethweni yedlanzana labaMhlophe. Yize kunjalo, lokukuphikisana akusenako ukubaluleka ngoba ngokushabalala koMbuso wabaMhlophe eNingizimu Afrika ubukhosi beSizwe samaZulu

obuzimele sebu vuseleleke ngamandla.

Egqinisweni lokhu uKhongolose azama ukukwenza ngokulawula kwakhe uhlelo lwesakhiwo, wukuba enze ukuba abantu baKwaZulu babe

ngaphansi koMbuso ongagunyanziwe wombimbi lweâ\200\224ANC/SACP ngaphandle

kokuba thina sikuvume lokho, ngaphandle kokuba bebe sebesinqobile, nangaphandle kwentando yethu. Ngasohlangothini lweSilo samaBandla, ukhetho kwelakwaZulu lungaba khona kuphela

uma udaba lobuKhosi obuzimele belaKwaZulu seluxazululiwe.

Ngeviki eledlule iNkundla eXube amaQembu yokubonisana ibuye yahlangana eKempston Park ukuba icubungule izichibiyelo zoMthethosisekelo ka-1993 ezethulwe ngumbimbi lweâ\200\224ANC/SACP. Lezizichibiyelo vyizona obekuthiwa ngazo kuhlangatshezwana noBumbano lweNkululeko (Freedom Alliance) kanye neSilo samaBandla ukuba kwemukelwe ngazo izimfuno zethu ezisemthethweni ezimayelana nesakhiwo sangomuso saseNingizimu Afrika obekuzothi ngalokho kwenziwe kube nzima kithina ukuba singazimbandakanyi

okhethweni.

Ukuphumelela kwalomggumusheloâ\200\224mbumbulu bekuncike ephuzwini lokuthi umbimbi llweâ\200\224-ANC/SACP belwazi ukuthi ngokwezombusazwe akuzukuba lula ukuba igembu leNkatha yeNkululeko noma uHulumeni waKwaZulu ethamele umhlangano waseWorld Trade Centre.

Ngalendlela izinkulumo zikaKhongolose zokuthi iziphakamiso zakhe "zigudlula =zonke izingginamba ezisekhona ezivimbela ukuba amagembu lawo angakakwenzi lokho, ukuba abhalise futhi abe ingxenye yohlelo" ziyizinkulumo ezizohlala ziyizinkulumo okungephikiswane ngazo futhi ezingavulelekile ukuba kungaba nezingxoxo ezinye ngazo. UKhongolose wengaba ukuba adonsele iSilo samaBandla kanye noHulumeni waKwaZulu ezingxoxweni ezimayelana nalezi â\200\231'iziboneleloâ\200\231 ngaphambilini, ngoba wayazi ukuthi lokho abakubiza ngokuthi â\200\231yiziboneleloâ\200\231 kwakuzochithwa kanye nabo bonke

ubumbulu obuyiko.

Ngaphambi kokuba ngichaze ngokunemininingwane ukuthi loMthethosichibiyelo omusha usho ukuthini kuHulumeni welaKwaZulu, kudingeka ukuba ngikusho zisuka amadaka ukuthi iNgonyama yethu,

isimo sayo mayelana nezihlongozo zikaHulumeni waseNingizimu

Uy

Afrika ezimayelana nokuba kubandakanywe ubukhosi baKwaZulu,
isibeke ngokusobala.

ISilo samaBandla sikucacise ngokusobala ukuthi izimfuno =zaso
zokuzimela kobuKhosi baKwaZulu azisoze zahlangantshezwa
nayizichibiyelo ezingakanani ezichibiyela uMthethosisekelo ka-
1993. Esitatimendeni esakhishwa yiSilo samaBandla mhla zingama

25 Februwari, iSilo samaBandla sakhuluma ukuthi;

"Lomthethosisekelo kawuhambisani nakancane nodaba

lokwemukelwa kwelungelo lobukhosi obuzimele belaKwaZulu.

Eginisweni lowoMthethosisekelo ungabela uMbuso waKwaZulu

ilungelo llawo llobukhosi obuzimele, njengoba nemiThetho
sisekelo eyedlule yobandlululo beyenza."

Ingonyama ikubeke kwacaca ukuthi laphe ikhuluma ngeâ\200\231laKwaZuluâ\200\231,

ikhuluma ngalo lonke elakwaZulu njengoba lalinjalo ngonyaka ka-

1834 lokho okungukuthi, indawo yonke leyo engeyakwaZulu kanye

naseNatali kanye nezinye izindawo. Ngakho-ke noma yimuphi umzamo wokuchibiyela uMthethosisekelo ka-1993 ozinze ekubalulweni kwendawo yakwaZulu ngokwezimiso =zesakhiwo esikhona noma ngokwezimiso zesakhiwo sonyaka ka-1910 seNyunyana yaseNingizimu Afrika, kuwukuphikisana ngokuphelele ngezimfuno zeSilo samabandla. Ukucazwa kweNingizimu Afrika ngonyaka ka-1910 kwaba yisenzo esavunywa ngoHulumeni mabaKoloni njengengxenye yeghinga labo lokugxilisa ubukoloni. Sizwe samaZulu senza izimfuno zokuba kuphele ukugonelwa ngokungekho emthethweni phezu kwendawo yaso. Lokhu okufunwa yiSilo samaBandla akuyona nakancane into engaphezu kwamandla ikakhulukazi njengoba siyibonile indlela elula athe ngayo uHulumeni kaMnumzane De Klerk wanikezela ngayo iWalvis Bay

eNamibia.

Kafushane maLungu ahloniphekileyo, ingginamba lena engaxazululeki engegudlulwe emayelana nesikhundla seSilo samaBandla kanye noMbuso welaKwaZulu ayikaxazululeki, futhi ayisobe yaxazulula ngezichibiyelo ezingenziwa kulawo mabinzana akhona kuMthethosisekelo ka-1993.

E)

Okuyikhona iSilo samaBandla esikufunileyo, ngukuba kwemukelwe ngokuseMthethweni kanye nokuba kuhlinzekelwe esakhiweni uMbuso welaKwaZulu ngokuba kuchitshiyelwe umgomo weshumi nantathu wesakhiwo omayelana nokwemukelwa kokwakhiwa, isikhundla kanye neghaza labaHoli bendabuko. Sidinga ukuba ubukhosi belaKwaZulu bahluke kwiNingizimu Afrika yonke. Uma lokhu kungenziwa emgomeni wesakhiwo kuMthethosisekelo ka-1993 siyakuzamukela izichibiyelo

zoMthethosisekelo ezimyelana nalokhu.

Uma sizohamba ngenkambiso yesakhiwo, iSilo samaBandla singagcizelela ukuba ibinzana elisha lesithupha lengezelelwe

esigabeni sekhulu namashumi ayisithupha soMthethosisekelo ka-1993

esimayelana nezakhiwo nokwakhiwa kwezifundazwe, ukuze kuhlikelwe

ukusungulwa kwesakhiwo okuyokwenziwa yisiShayamthetho sesifundazwe selaKwaZuluneNatali esiyokwemukela futhi sivikele ukwakhiwa, isikhundla kanye neghaza leNgonyama yamaZulu, ubuKhosi baKwaZulu kanye nabaholi bendabuko, kanye namandla abo mayelaba

nomthetho, imikhuba, kanye namasiko kwendabuko, ulwimi kanye

nohlelo lobunikazi bomhlaba.

KuMthetho wesakhiwo ka-1993 kanye noMthethosichibiyelo owethulwe ngesonto eliphelileyo akukho nelilodwa igama elikhuluma nesikhundla seNgonyama yamaZulu, noma ubuKhosi, noma uMbuso waKwaZulu. Ngokwezihlongozo zabo, iNgonyama beyingahlinzekelwa nje kuphela kwisakhiwo sesifundazwe, okuyisona ebesizokwamukela isikhundla seSilo kusiShayamthetho futhi ebesizohlinzekela ngisho nezimali ezibhekene neSilo. Kodwa-ke Yize kunjalo isifundazwe ngeke saba namandla ngisho namancane wokuba sihambise kahle futhi sikhombe lezo zindaba ezibalulekile kwiNgonyama nasembusweni, lezo zindaba ezinjengempahla yomphakathi kanye noMthetho

wendabuko.

UKhongolose kanye noHulumeni bangakhuluma baghume amankanka ngokuthi ubukhosi belaKwaZulu buhlinzekelwe ngokwaneleyo kuMgomo woMthethosisekelo omayelana nokuzihlahlela ingomuso nedalelo, kodwaâ\200\224-ke ukucwaninga okujulileyo ngalesisichibiyelo akusinikezi

isiginiseko ngaleliphuzu.

e >y

Ngokufushane, izihlinzeko ezimayelana nokuzihlahlela ingomuso nedalelo akuhambisani nakancane nezimfuno lezi ezenziwa yiSilo samabandla njengamaniye. Yize kunjalo yonke imizamo eyenzizwa amalungu egembu lileNkatha yeNkululeko asePhalamende yokuba kuchitshiyelo umgomo wesakhiwo wamashumi amathathu (31) nanye ukuze kusungulwe ilungelo lokuzihlahlela ingomuso elisebenzekayo nelakhayo, okungezona nje izinto ezivula amathuba nje kuphela ezingahle zenziwe nguMkhandlu odweba uMthethosisekelo, yehlulekile. UNgqongoshe wezindaba zoMthethosisekelo kuHulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika uMnumzane Roelf Meyer, wengaba ngisho

nokuvumela ngisho amalungu ePhalamende ukuba axoxisane

ngezichibiyelo ezighukethwe 'yiphepha eliphuzi'" (yellow paper)

lamhla =ziyishumi nesishiyangalolunye (19) kuDisemba ka-1993 elethulwa ubumbano lwenkuleko (Freedom Alliance) ezazihambisana

nezimfuno zikaHulumeni waKwaZulu.

Uma uHulumeni waKwaZulu kumele emukele ngokunzulu iziginiseko

zikaMengameli wombuso uMnumzane F.W. de Klerk zokuthi isakhiwo

; sobukhosi bakwaZulu kanye noMbuso welakwaZulu ukwesekela

ngokuginileyo, kufanele-ke ukuba asebenzise isikhundla sakhe sobuHoli ukuba abuyisele emgwageni labo oNggonggoshe beKhabhinethi yakhe abaghubekayo nokuba bephule imigomo yentando yeningi kaHulumeni kanye nezingxoxo, bekwenza lokhu ngoba bezama ukuthokozisa uKhongolose. Uma ngakolunye uhlangothi uMengameli wombuso ehluleka ukunganda labomphininimbazo abakuHulumeni wakhe, njengalowo osebenzisana noKhongolose uMnumzane Roelf Meyer, akumele-ke eze kithina nezethembiso eziligobongo azokhuluma ngentando yeningi. ISilo samaBandla kanye nabantu baso abathembekile kuso abakuHulumeni waKwaZulu ngeke besaghubeka

nokugqilazwa.

Yize uHulumeni waKwaZulu aphumelela ezimfunweni zakhe zamaphepha amabili okuvota kanye nasekubizweni kwesifundazwe sethu ngekwaZulu/Natal kuMthethosisekelo ochitshiyelwe, lokhu kwakungezona izibonelelo. Ukuthukuthela koMphakathi okwakudalwa yilamaphutha asobala kuMthethosisekelo kwakuyichilo uKhongolose

kanye noHulumeni elaliyohlala libabeke ehlazweni ngokwezombusazwe

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ukuba baghubeka ngendlela yabo ababegqale ngayo. Ukushaya indiva isifunda saKwaZulu kwakuyinhamba engayiywa eyayibhekiswe kubantu bakwaZulu. Akukona nje kuphela ukuthi sasingatshelwa ilungelo lethu njengezakhamuzi ngokulinganayo kwiNingizimu Afrika entsha, kodwa futhi kwakuzoshabalaliswa nanesincane isibonakaliso sobukhona bethu emhlabeni. Ngalendlela kwakugunyazwa ngokuphelelo ukubulawa kwabantu bakithi emazingeni aphansi lokhu kungunyazwa kwenziwa ngabaholi bombimbi lweâ\200\224-ANC/SACP ezingeni

likaZwelonke.

Mayelana nohlelo lokuvota lwephepha elilodwa kanye nalokho kwamaphepha amabili, uKhongolose wayecabanga ukuthi wayezophumelela endleleni yakhe lapho ayezoqoka khona abaholi bakhe ezifundeni lezo uKhongolose angenamandla kuzo. Lesisenzo nje sisodwa kufanele sibe yisexwayiso esanelelo kubantu baseNingizimu Afrika kanye nasemphakathini womhlaba sendlela yobundlovukayiphendulwa uKhongolose ahlose ukusebenza ngayo

kuHulumeni wangomuso waseNingizimu Afrika ngemuva kokhetho.

Uma lokhu okubikwayo kuliqginiso, ngiyodumala uma uHulumeni waseMelika enikeza uKhongolose izimali ezinkulu zokumbonga ngokuba avume uhlelo lokuba kuvotwe ngamaphepha amabili. Lokhu kuyobe kusho ukuthi uKhongolose uyohlonishelwa ukuba angaphogeleli izimfuno ezingenabulungiswa nezingahambi ngenkambiso yentando vyeningi kubavoti baseNingizimu Afrika, ngesikhathi lapho imizamo vyalawo magembu kanye noHulumeni abanjengoHulumeni waKwaZulu yokuba kuqinisekise ukugxiliswa kwemigomo yentando yeningi kuMthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika igxekwa - okuyindlela yobulungiswa ephendukezelwe uma

ungangibuza.

Ngemuva kwako konke llokho noma kunjalo izihlinzeko zohlelo lokuvota ngamaphepha amabili, ezivumela abantu baseNingizimu Afrika ukuba bavotele labo abazobamela kwizifundazwe zingcindwa

ukwephusa kwazo ngezinye izihlinzeko zoMthethosisekelo. Kusizani

ukuba kukhethwe abazoshaya umthetho kuzifundazwe uma kuwukuthi amandla alabo bantu angachithwa kalula nje nguHulumeni omkhulu?

A

Konke lokhu okuhlinzekwe nguKhongolose kulomphako wakhe
wezibonelelo, ngokuba lezozishayamthetho ezimlalelayo
zezifundazwe zithathe imithetho eghamuka kuHulumeni kaKhongolose

â\200\224 okuwukungekuzisa nje amakhanda.

Yize kunjalo uMthethosichibiyelo awenzi =zibonelelo mayelana

nesigaba sekhulu namashumi amabili nesithupha esiphathelene

namandla kanye nemithwalo yezifunda. Lesisigaba njengoba

sibekiwe kuMthethosivivinywa ochitshiyelwe, asemukeleki nakancane
kuHulumeni waKwaZulu ngoba sinika isifundazwe amandla asebenza
ngokuhambisana nakaHulumeni omkhulu kunokuba namandla azimeleyo,
futhi lamandla asebenza ngokuhambisana nakaHulumeni omkhulu
angagxambukelwa nguHulumeni omkhulu wuhlu llwamandla anikezwe
izifundazwe ludiyiwe kakhulu futhi alunamphumela obonakalayo.
Izifundazwe azikwazi ukusebenza ngokuzimela emisebenzini
ehlinzekwa ngomasipala bazo, amaphoyisa kanye nemisebenzi

yokuhlela kanye noHulumeni waseKhaya.

Uma ubheka nje ngokungajulile, kubonakala sengathi uMthetho sichibiyelo wenze izibonelelo mayelana nezigaba 155 kanye nese 159 ezimayelana namandla okuthelisa kanye namandla ezezimali zesifundazwe, ngokuba kuvunyelwe izigele ukuba =zibe neghaza "elilinganayo'" eMkhandlwini kazwelonke ekuthatheni izinqumo mayelana nokuthi yimiphi imithombo yezimali okumele yedluliselwe

noma ibe ngaphansi kokuphathwa yizifundazwe.

Eginisweni noma kunjalo, ukucubungulwa okusobala kwalezizigaba kuveza ukuthi izifundazwe aziyikuba namandla okuthelisa azimeleyo, ngaphandle kokuba uma lawo mandla ziwanikezwa yiPhalamende. Kodwaâ\200\224-ke njengoba lokhu kungaphazamisa ukuphatha ngokugonela lokhu uKhongolose anakho ezimalini zezwe, amathuba okuba iPhalamende llinikeze amagunya okuthelisa ezifundeni

mancane.

Uma ubheka nje ngokungajulile, isigaba sekhulu namashumi ayisithupha soMthethosisekelo ochitshiyelwe esiphathelene

nezakhiwo zesifundazwe, sibonakala senziwe ngcono kunalokho

okwakuvunywe wumbimbi lweâ\200\224ANC/SACP, kodwa umgomo

woMthethosisekelo obhalwe kabusha awusigunyazi isakhiwo sezifundazwe kanjengoba sifuna. Zonke izibonelelo ezimayelana namandla ezifundazwe okuba zizidwebele izakhiwo zazo ngokuhambisana nokudingwa kanye nokufunwa yisifunda,

asingagxambukelwa nguMkhandlu odweba isakhiwo ngemuva kokhetho.

Okuyikona okuthusa kakhulu, uMthethosisekelo ochitshiyelwe awunazo izichibiyelo zesigaba 161 kanye nesigaba 164 sesakhiwo sesikhashana. Zombili lezizigaba zoMthethosisekelo zinamandla okuba zinginde ukuzithathela izinqumo kwezifundazwe ekuthuthukiseni uhlelo llokuphatha ngokusebenzisa izakhiwo zesifundazwe. Uma =zisetshenziswa ngokungeyikho, llezizigaba zombili zingaqginda isigaba esibhalwe kabusha sekhulu namashumi

ayisithupha, esimayelana nokwakhiwa nesakhiwo kwezifundazwe.

Kafushane malungu ahloniphekileyo, indawo uHulumeni wethu ame

kuyo mayelana nokwehluleka kukaHulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika

kanye noKhongolose ukwemukela izimfuno zethu eziyizo, kuseyiyo leyo yakugala. Lokhu uMnumzane Mandela akubiza ''ngezibonelelo" akuzami nakancane ukubhekana nezimfuno zethu mayelana namandla azimele ezifundazwe koHulumeni bezifunda, amandla apheleleyo okugqoga intela ezifundeni, kanye nokuvikelwa nokuginisekiswa kweMithethosisekelo yazifundazwe ezinqumweni eziphikisayo zoMkhandlu odweba isakhiwo.

Uma uKhongolose kanye noHulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika beqghubekela phambili nokhetho llwango-Aprili zibe izimfuno zeNgonyama kungahlangatshezwene nazo, kube kungafinyelwanga ezivumelaneni eziqginileyo mayelana namandla kanye nemithwalo yesiShayamthetho sesiFundazwe, wukufaka kuMthethosisekelo kwezakhiwo zezifundazwe kanye nokuphethwa kwemigcele yezifundazwe, uHulumeni waKwaZulu angeze athweswa cala ngentukuthelo yeSizwe samaZulu. Ukungabela izakhamuzi zakwaZulu ilungelo lazo lokuzihlahlela ingomuso kanye nedalelo lazo, yimizamo enesihluku yokusihlukanisa nefa lamasiko

LR N R Il L S

ethu, yimizamo enesihluku yokushaya indiva ukubaluleka

ngokwendabuko kweSilo samaBandla iNgonyama kaZulu, kanye
nokwesula ebusweni bomhlaba yonke insehle yobukhona bamaZulu.

Okuyikona okusha osekwenzekile nokuyikhona okushube kakhulu
yizinsongo zokwesabisa ezikhishwa nguMengameli F.W. de Klerk
ezibhekise kuSilo samaBandla ngizocaphuna ezinhlelweni
zephephandaba layizolo (1 March 1994) okuyiphephandaba iDAILY
NEWS: UMONGAMELI UF.W. DE KLERK UKHIPHE IZINSONGO ESEPHALAMENDE
ZOKUTHI UZAKUPHAKA ABOMBUTHO WOKUZIVIKELA BASENINGIZIMU AFRIKA
KANYE NAMAPHIYOSA ASENINGIZIMU AFRIKA UKUBA BAZOVIMBELA YONKE
IMIZAMO YENGONYAMA UGOODWILL ZWELITHINI YOKUSUNGULA UMBUSO
OZIMELE NONOBUKHOSI OBUZIMELE KWELAKWAZULU KANYE NASENATALI'".

Lokhu uma ukubheka nje kuyinselelelo ebhekiswe kuwo wonke umuntu
owuMzulu ukuba azinqumele ukuthi wesekela iSilo sakhe kulesisimo
esikhumbuza umuntu lokhu okwashiwo nguSir Bartle Frere ngonyaka
ka-1878 lapho athi khona ''Amandla kaZulu kumele ashabalaliswe

unomphela' " iSilo sasebhekene nokuchithwa kwendlela yombuso wemipheme yemibuso lapho sama Kkhona kulendawo esimi kuyo. UMongameli uF.W. de Klerk ngalezizinsongo wenza ukuba kube lula kuwo umuntu olandela iSilo ukuba azinqumele noma wesekela iSilo noma gha. Ngilindele ukuyibona leyo mibutho yokuvikela ephakwe yabhekiswa kwiNgonyama kanye naseSizweni samaZulu ngenxa yokuba nje iNgonyama ifuna ubukhosi bayo obulilungelo layo lomlando

kanye nokuzalwa.

Thina siyiSizwe esingahlomile ngezikhali futhi zikhathi =zonke siziphathe ngendlela engenayo indluzula. Uma uMvelinggangi engidalele ukuthi ngalesisikhathi ngiyakuhlupheka neNgonyama yami, mangihlupheke neNgonyama yami. Ngangicabanga ukdthi uMnumzane de Klerk wayeqinisile lapho ayethi khona isikhundla seSilo kumele siginisekисwe. Kodwa-ke manje sekuyangicacela

ukuthi zonke izethembiso azenze kithi esikhathini esingaphambili wayengenazo izinhloso zokuzifeza.

A) S

Uma uMnumzane de Klerk eqhubekela phambili nezinsongo zakhe,
asisoze saba nakho ukuthula eNingizimu Afrika. Ngisho singazama
kangakanani ukugcina ukuthula lena yinselelo esibhekene nayo.

UMnumzane de Klerk useyiphakile.

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