

UMHLANGANO WOKUQALA WOMKHANDLU WESIHLANU
WAKWAZULU OSHAYUMTHETHO

INKULUMO YOMGOMO

NGUNDUNANKULU

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Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Amalunga Ahloniphekileyc. pngisukuma ukwetì\201ula iNkulumo yami Yomgomo ngifuqwa yisimo esijulileyo esingixina ngaphakathi ukuba ngicacise izinkinga ngenze nokucubungula okuzosiphumelelisa ukuba senze umnikelo obonakalayo ekuxazululweri kwezinkinga zeNingizimu ne-Afrika zombusazwe.

Lokho yikhona kungumsebenzi osemqoka ofanele ukwenziwa nguMkhandlu WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho ngokwami ukubona. LoMkhandlu Oshayumthetho kakuwona umkhandlu esiqghuba kuwo uhlobo lwamalungelo ombusazwe esiwalangazelelayo. Kakuwona uMkhandlu lapho sighubeka khona nokwenza umsebenzi ngendlela engcono kunazozonke esimeni sokucindezelwa ngokombusazwe. Ullkhandlu WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho uyisizindi esisckhaleni lomzabalazo esisukela kuso ukuhlasela ubandlululo nesisukela kuso ukuhlasela ubandlululo lwezinhlanga nokuncishwa komuntu

oMnyama amalungelo okuhlalisana komphakathi, ezomnotho kanye nombusazwe.

Kazikho izinkinga eNingizimu ne-Afrika ezingezona izinkinga zelaKwaZulu futhi kanti naKwaZulu kazikho izinkinga ezingezona ezeNingizimu ne-Afrika futhi. Kuyinsumansumane nje ubandlululo oluzame ukuyisungula lapho izinhlanga ezehlukeneyo kulelizwe zinemigomo yombusazwe ehlukeneyo nemisebenzi ehlukeneyo

elindeleke ...

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wÃ©-

elindeleke kuzo ngokombusazwe. Eginisweni, ukufaneleka

kokukhathazeka kwethu ngezindaba ezigqondene ngqo nelaKwaZulu
kweyeme ngokupheleleyo emnikelweni esiwenzayo ekudalweni
kwentando yeningi eNingizimu ne-Afrika iyonke.

Nginethenba elikhulu lokuthi ngisho ne-Transkei, i-Boputha=
tshwana, i-Vendaâ\200\230kanye ne-Ciskei banzavymglans, nami kulomca=
bango engiwuzwakalisayo. Noma ngabe kuthiwani ezigcawini
zombusazwe njengamanje, ngiyazi ukuthi lapho isimo seNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika siyoxazululeka khona, likhulu ithuba llokuba
abaholi balamazwe, e.-TBVC bangase babekhona kanye nayoyonke
eminye imikhakha bahlanganyele ekuhlelweni kweNingizimu
ne-Afrika kabusha.

Nginethemba futhi lokuthi ngisho nalabo abangaphandle
kweNingizimu ne-Afrika njengamanje abaghuba izinhloso
nezinjongo zokuvukelwa kombuso bayobe bekhona nabo phakathi
kwethu behlanganyela ekuhlelweni kweNingizimu ne-Afrika
kabusha. Esikwenzayo njengamanje yikulungisa indlela
yokubuya kwabo ekugcineni. KuleNkulumo Yomgomo engiyethula
ngalonyaka lokhu yikhona engikugcizelelayo futhi ngifuna
ukubheka izindaba. ezibanzi ezigondene nokuthi silubona
kanjani lolo nalolo ludaba njengodaba oluthiya noma clule=
kelcla umkhankaso wethu wokuxazulula izinkinga zeNingizimu
ne-Afrika zombusazwe.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngibeka

iphuzu lokuthi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika uqobo

lwakhe usefinyelele ekukwemukeleni ukuthi thina esikuleNdlu
sisemzabalazweni womuntu oMnyama wenkululeko ngokusemthethweni
nckuthi sikuthatha njengelungeio lethu elisemthethweni
ukuthatha: indawo esifaneleyo embusazweni wezwe lonke.

Kuyinto enganakucatshangwa namhlanje ukuba uNgqongqoshe
Wezobulungiswa angibizele ehhovisi lakhe, njengoba kwenza
uMnu. Jimmy Kruger, ngenkathi enguNgqongqoshe Wezobulungiswa
lapho azama khona ukungivimbela ukuya eSoweto, nalapho ezama

ukungivimbela/3

ukungivimbela ukuba ngibuthe abantu abaMnyama bazozonke izizwe ngibangenise eNkatheni.esikhundleni sokuba ngigcine ngokubutha amaZulu nje kuphela. Kuyinto engenakucatshangwa futhi ukuba uNgqongqoshe Wobulungiswa angishayele ucingo emzini wami njengoba kwenza uMnu. Kruger ngenhloso yokungi=songela ngenkathi- kubheduka indluzula eMzimhlophe. Nizokhu=mbula ukuthi wathi nxa ngike ngaya nje eMzimhlophe naphezu kokungixwayisa kwakhe uyongithathela izinyathelo. Ngisho nangaleyonkathi kangizigqizanga qakala lezozixwayiso. Engikushoyo yikuthi ngeke balokothe benze izinsongo ezifana nalezo ezenziwa nguMnu. Kruger ngo-1976, namhlanje. Kuyinto engenakucatshangwa ukuthi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika angangigwaqwada ekhanda ngokuhlanganyela kwami ekubonisaneni kweNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali ngoba kwakungukubonisana okugondene nezidingo ezeqa imingcele yalezizigheshana ezakha elaKwaZulu.

Kangisakhathazekile kangako ngolimi olusetshenziswa yiQembu lamaNeshinali. Kwake kwaba khona isikhathi lapho iQembu lamaNeshinali lalisebenzisa khona amagama ehlukeneyo

ukufihla okuyinhloso yabo ekwenzeni into efanayo. Kabasakwe=nzi lokho manje. Secbeyabhadazela nje lapho bemi khona

futhi bayazi ukuthi kufanele bayidicilele phansi imigomo esemgoka yezihlelo zabo zombusazwe zesikhathi esddlule. Asebekukho manje kungaphezulu kokuguqula ulimi abalusebe=nzisayo. Siyakwazi lokho nabo bayakwazi.

Ukuphuthuma engisukela ngakho umsebenzi wokucacisa izinkinga nckuphakamisa izindlela zokuhlasela lezizinkinga kusukela ekwemukeleni ukuthi iNingizimu ne-Afrika isingene

esigabeni esiyingozi sokuguquka isuka esimeni esidala

iya kwesisha. Ningavele nikukhohlwe nje okushiwo ngabakhulu= meli beQembu lamaNeshinali nxa nenza izilinganiso zalokho iQembu elinckukwenza nalokho elingeke liphumelels ukukwenza. IQembu lamaNeshinali lifuqwa ngumlando. Izimo'ezingenakugu= quka zomnotho sezilibambe ngentamo ziyalinikiza. '

IQembu...../4

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IQembu seliyazi manje ukuthi ubandlululec njengoba lwaluphushwa
nguDokotela Verwcerd seluyinto ekude elingasenakufinyelela

kuyo.

Kunokwenzeka ukuba iGembu lamãNeshinali kalikazi ukuthi
lizobhekana kanjani nalezizimo ezintsha ezingasenakugwemeka
manje. Mhlawumbe iQembu lamaNeshinali lingase lighubeke
nokwenza amaphutha lizama ukuthenga isikhathi ngenkathi
lizama ukuhlolisisa indawo elimi kuyo kabusha. Ngishã»

noma lingenzani ngokuzwana nemimoya yomlando noma ngoku=
phikisana nemimoya yomlando, ubandlululo seluphelelwe
yisikhathi neQembu lamaNeshinali liyazi ukuthi kunjalo.

Ngithi singena esigabeni esiyingozi embusazweni woguquko
ngoba kakukho lutho olungavimba ukumasha kwezehlo nokugedwa
kobandlululo kepha kunethuba eleneleyo lokwenza = amaphutha
aycba nentenge enkulu kakhulu ngisho noma ukung .shwa
kobandiululo sekuyinto engenakugwenywa manje.

Ngifuna ukubheka lokho engikugcizelelayo eqhazeni esiliba=
mbileyo emzabalazweni wenkululeko yesizwe njengento engiye=
mukelayo kuleNkulumo Yomgomo njengokugcizelela ckudinga ukuba
siphinde sihlolisise esethu isisekelo sendawo esimi kuyo
nokuba sibheke ukuthi amandla ombusazwe ayini ngempela.
Omunye umyalezo osemgoka engiwuletha emalungeni oMkhandlu
ngumyalezo wokuthi iningi labaholi abaMnyama neningi lamaqoqo
abaMnyama ombusazwe kulelizwe, nabahcli abaMnyama namaqoqo
abaMnyama angaphandle, bazoficezeleka bebhadzela ngoba
bayehluleka ukubonisisa nokuqonda isimo samandla ombusazwe.

INingizimu ne-Afrika ingena esigabeni sokugala sombusazwe
woguquko.ngakho kunezinga elikhulu kakhulu lesimo sombusazwe
esihlambulukilãyo ezweni kunalokho iningi labaholi
abaMnyama abakubonayo ukuthi kukhona.

Siyahlaselwa..... /5

Siyahlaselwa ngokombusazwe yilabo abahlulekayo. ukuqonda amandla ombusazwe ibesekuthi ngenxa yokuba lokhu kuhlaselwa kwethu kuhambisana nodumo ezinhlelweni zokusakaza izindaba ngezikhathi ezithile kanti ngezinye izikhathi kuhambisana nokunanelwa ngabaholi bezenko\200\231o kanti futhi kwezinye

izikhathi kuhambisana 'nokushayelwa ihlombe yizigaba ezithile zalabo abanemibono' elaielwayo kwezombusanwe e-Afrika nakwes= zinye izingxeny zomhlaba, lokho kuthathe kusifake itwetwe kusidumelise.

Kufanele sime khona lapha kancane. Amanye amalunga eNkatha asevuniele ukwesatshiswa. Kukhona abanye ababengozakwethu asebezihambela @zabo izindlela ngoba benovalo olukhulu lokuhambisana nathi. Kunamalunga eNkatha asaphenduka izinwabu ngokunbusazwe futhi ukuba bekungasho ukuthi ngabe umuntu uliphatha ngeze izwi eliNgcwele ngabe labo bantu sibafanisa nabantu asebeguqule imiqondo yabo ngenxa yezinhlamvu zesiliva ezingamashumi amathathu okukhulunywa ngazo eNcwadini eNgcwele.

Ukwesatshiswa kuphumelela kakhulu lapho kukhona ukungabaza ngokufaneleka kwalokho umuntu akwenzayo. Nxa umuntu elahle=

kelwa yinkolelo ekutheni okulungileyo nokufaneleyo yikho okuyonqoba ncma, okubi kakhulu kunalokho, umuntu abone abanye benza okuyikho okuzophumelela, angenwe yisilingo sokuwudicilela phansi umzabalazo. Ngifuna ukucubungula lapha ukuthi ayini ngempela amandla ombusazwe ngaphambi kokuba ngingene emidatini yezehlo ezikhona njengamanje nalabo abangabadlali abaphambili kuzo.

Kimi, amandla ombusazwe anezimpawu eziningi. Olokuqala kulezi yikuthi aholela ekuphepheni kwezombusazwe. Nxa umuntu engalu= sebenzisi uhlobo lwamandla namhlanje oluyosetshenziswa kusasa, lokho kungasho ukuthi asho ukuthini ngempela amandla akhe kwezombusazwe na? Kzkusho olunye uhlobo lwamandla ombusazwe angenamsebenzi afana namandla eQembu le-Conservative Party elizabalazela ukuwafumana njengamanje. Mina ngithi kulapho-ke lapho kukhona ithenjana leNingizimu ne-Afrika ngoba iQembu

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lamaNeshinali elibusayo seliyaqala ukubona ukuthi
kunjalo.

Okunye okugondene ngendlela efanayo, yikuthi amandla labo
abavukela umbuso abebezama ukuwafumana angamandla angenamse=
bezi njengawo nje amandla eQembu leConservative Party
elizama ukuwafumana ngoba nawo azoba ngamandla esikhashana
nje afana nomlilo wamaphepha. Kalikho nelincane ithemba
lokuba kubekhona ophumelelayo ekuhuduleleni iNingizimu ne-
Afrika emuva embusazweni wokukhonya kobandlululo. Noma

noubani ozama ukwenza lckho uzonyathelwa acoboshiswe
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ngubuningi balabo abaphikisa ubandlululo.

Kalikho futhi nelincane ithemba lokuba abavukeli bombuso
baphumelele ukusungula noma yiluphi uhlobo lwesisekelo
samandla esingayindawo kulelizwe. Umbuzazwe walabo abangas=
kwesokudla sombuso nalabo abangakwesobunxele ubhekene nesimo
esiyiso esifanayo sokuthi baphambana nomlando; baphambana
nesino esiyiso sezomnotho; baphambana nalokho ockulindelwe
yiningi elikhulu labantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika futhi
ukusekeleka abayokufumana ngokwalabo abaziyo ukuthi
bayimihlathi esebenza - ukuphazamisa okungazuza abanye
ngakho.

Mhionishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, thina esikule=
Ndlu siziklamela eyethu indlela nathi esiseNkatheni sizi=
klamela eyethu indlela ngakho ngaphandle kokuba lisicacele
kahle iqiniso lalokhu ebengikusho, imbiza okuphekwe kuyo
isimo saseNingizimu ne-Afrika izobila isikhafule kanye

nabo bonke abanye.

Izizathu okuyizona ezidala ukuba iQÃ©mbu le-Conservative = Party
lingabi nalo ithuba lokuphumelela eNingizimu ne-Afrika
yizo kanye ezidala izinkinga zeQembu elibusayo lamaNeshinali.

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IQembu'lamaNeshinali lliyiQembu elizamile ukuyihamba landle'sa esihanjwa yiQembu leConservative Party. Noma yini iQembu lamaNeshinali elazama ukuyenza yahlangabezana nokuphikiswas yuqugaba eNingizimu ne-Afrika nakho konke elakwenzayo

lizama ukucindezela wukuphikiswa kwathathe kwakukhulisa
â\200\230kakhulu ukuphikiswa kwalo kwaze kwathi ekugcineni kwancipha
kakhulu elikuzuzayo ngokuqinisa iMithetho yalo yesihluku
koSomqulu boMthetho ngenkathi amazinga okuphikiswa kwalo
ekhula edlondlobala nangenkathi indluzula ikhula idlondlobala,
Indlela ehanjweyilerbu lamaNeshinali eminyakeni yawo-195%
naseminyakeni yawo-1960 yaholela esimeni esibucayi eminyakeni
yawo-1970 nezimo zombusazwe eziyizo zawo-1980 lezo okuyizimo
ezazisho ukuthi iQembu lamaNeshinali kalisakwazi ukubusa
â\200\230ngaphandle kwemithetho yesimo esibucayi.

Kuyihlaya nje ngokombusazwe ukucabanga ukuthi iQembu le-
Conservative Party lingase liphumelele ukuthatha iNingizimu
ne-Afrika liyibuyisele eminyakeni yawo-1960 nawo-1970
okuyiminyaka lapho abaMnyama abaphikisa ubandlululo babengas=
kansenva.-ngumoya wokulwa njengoba kunjalo namhlanje nangenkathi-
lapho ingqikithi yokuchithwa kobandlululo ngabantu abanMyama
kwakuyinto eyayisazisungula ekuphikisweni kobandlululo.

Uma umuntu ecabanga ngeNkatha, kufanele acabange ngeminyaka
eyi-14 edlule ikhona. Lokho okwenziwa nguHulumeni waseNingizimu
ne-Afrika eminyakeni yawo-1960 kwaholela ekusungulweni
kweNkatha eminyakeni yawo-1972 ngakho njengayo yonke imibutho
kayithi izalwa nje ibe isinamandla apheleleyo. Amandla eNkatha
akhulile njengoba kukhule wonke amanye amandla abantu

abaMnyama - ngisho namandla ezitha zethu zombusazwe. Kuyis=
hlaya ukucabanga ukuthi iQembu le-Conservative Party lingase
liphumelele nalapho libhekene nolwazi olujulileyo lombusazwe
wabantu abaMnyama eminyakeni yawo-1980.

Ngakho umdiyo wokugcina wanoma yimaphi amazwi achaza isizathu

sokungaphumeleli...../8

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sokungaphumeleli kweQembu leConservative Party ekusunguleni
vhulumeni ongabusa isikhathi eside, yikuthi ukungena kweQembu

le-Conservative Party esihlalweni samandla kungasha. ukubhi=
dlizwa kwentando ekhona yomuntu oMnyama kulelizwe yckuhlala
ezinikele embusazweni wokubonisana nokusetshenziswa kwamasu

namaghingha okuthula.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, abamhlophe
abakwezombusazwe abafuna ukusungula isisekelo samandla
e-Conservative Party baghuba umbusazwe ongeke ubekhona
isikhathi eside. Imininingwane yempikiswane ngeqiniso
lalamazwi siyishiyela amalunga e-Conservative Party nawe =
National Party. Ngawethu amahlo ombusazwe sidinga ukubeka
lemibono nje kuphela ukuze sikwazi ukubona iqiniso.

Mhlavumbe kunzima kakhulu ukubona iqiniso lokuthi llabo:
abavukela umbusc nabo bangaphumelela ukusungula izisekelo
zamandla esikhashana nje kuphela. Ziningi izimpikiswano
ezigcwele intukuthelo ngendlela efanayo nckuba zingelona
iginiso kangangoba ngenye inkathi kubanzima ukuqonda

iginisc ngemibono esobala nje ngombusazwe wabaMnyama.

Indlela esizonda ngayo ubandlululo ineshwa elithileeliyizwibela
lokunikeza ukukholakala ockuthile kunoma yimaphi amazwi
aphinyiswa ukuphikisa ubandlululo.

IMhlconishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kuyenzeka
ngezikhathi ngezikhathi nxa ngisuke ngikhuluma kokhukhulela=
ngoqo bemihlangano yamashumi ngamashumi ezinkulungwane
zabantu abaMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba ngilmnashele ukuthi
kufanele ngiqaphele kangakanani ngenye inkathi ukuba
ngiwabale amazwi ami. Ngiyazi ukuthi zikhona izikhathi
-laphc nami benginokushelela ngethuke sengisebenzisa

ulimi nezilinganiso ebezinokuba nomphumela wckuba izinkumbi
zabantu abasuke bengilalele bangenwe ngamadlingozi bafise
uvkungilandela khona laphe siye kophihliza yonke into
siyicekele phansi.

Baningi...../9

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Baningi abanye abaconsa amathe behahela ukuba sendaweni engiba kuyo ngezikhathi eziningi. Banamaphuphc nkuba bakwazi nabo ukubutha izindimbane zabantu ababalelwa ngaphezulu kwezi-86200 abangazihola endleleni zihambe zimashe zibutha abanye endleleni yokucekela phansi,

endaweni efana, nxa ngilinganisa nje, nokusuk2 . enkundleni yase-Kings Park kuyiwa enkabeni yeTheku. Nxa ngingakwenza lokho kungasho ukuthi ngisungula izimo esingenakuzilondoloza nokuthi ngichitha amandla emibutho yombusazwe umbabalazo ongeke uphinde . ukwazi ukuyisebenzisa.

Kungenxa yakho kanye, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ukuthi kangikwenzi lokhu njengoba ngihlaselwa 2 kangaka nje ngamalunga esigungu se-ANC asekudingisweni. Ngasekuqaleni kweminyaka yawo-1970, ngasengivele ngikwazi ukuthi ngaphandle kokuba kubekhona ukubambisana phakathi kwemihlathi yombusazwe wabaMnyama engaphakathi esebenzela uguquko lwentando yeningi ngezindlela zokuthula naba fowethu nodadewethu abasekudingisweni, lokho

kuycbiza iNingizimu ne-Afrika intengo esabekayo. Lokho

kubambisana ngangikufuna ngoba ngifisa ukuba abafowethu nodadewethu bahlale beqondene nesimo sombusazwe. Bona-ke ngakoiwcho uhlangothi babengenakho nokuncane ukukhathazeka â\200\230ngekuba mina bangigcine ngigondene nesimo sombusazwe.

Babefuna ukungenza udondolo llwabo bangighube phambili ngenkathi bona beqhuba izinjongo zabo abazicabanga bebodwa ekudingis= -sweni nokuba lezozinjongo baxake ngazo uququba olwalungakwaszi ukuzicabangela,

â\200\230Ukungqubuzana~ okuphakathi kweNkatha ne-ANC kuyikungqubuzana okuyishwa okungenazo . izingxabo zakho ezimeni eziyizo zombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kuyikungqubuzana okusukela emaphusheni angenakufezeka nasekughutshweni kombusazwe

ocekela phansi nongowesikhashana. Kepha ngenxa yokuba abavukeli bombuso bahuba lamahubo abo bamemeze naleziziqubulo ezichitha ubandlululo, ukuzibeka kwabo njengabantu

okuyiphela kwabo abangabakhululi beNingizimu ne-Afrika

Kakubonakali....

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Kakubonekali ngabobonke ubuqiniso balokho okuyikho.

Ngaphandle kokuba labto abazinikele ekuvukelweni kombuso baguguke balekelele ekwenzeni lokho okudinga ukwenziwa ukukhulisa ukuphikiswa kobandlululo ngendlela yentando yeningi bazophetha ngokubhajwa kulendluzula ekhulayo abangeke bona noma labe ababhekene nabo bangobe kuyo. Ngiyengaba mina ukuhamba indlela yendluzula ngobz iyindlela yokwehluleka ., Kulendlela yendluzula umuntu ngeke akufumane ukungoba kochlobo olwaluphushwa ngamaghawe nalabo abahluphe= kela nabafela umzabalazo wenkululeko yomuntu oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Kuyimfundiso engumbhedo wabavukeli bombuso ukuthi ngumzabalas= zo wezikhali kuphela oyokhulula iNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kungumbhedo ngokombusazwe ukulinganisa ukuzinikela emzaba= lazweni wezikhali nokuthanda izwe nesizwe. Kungumbhedo ngokombusazwe ukuzama ukudala umehluko phakathi kwalabo ababizwa ngokuthi bangabaholi bempela nabo bonke aï¬\201anyeÂ° Kungumbhedo ngokombusazwe ukukhuluma ngokuthi kukhona

uhla lwentando yeningi cluthuthukayo cluholwa yi-ANC

nokuthi wonke omunye umuntu noma kuphi kwenye indawo

uyisitha somzabalazo.

Unbusazwe wabantu abalinyama kawehlukanisiwe wenziwa izigaba okungakhulunywa kuzo ngemihlathi yenkululeko nabanye abasebenzela ukugcina lesisino esikhona noma abafuna ukuzuza ngnso. Kukhona ububanzi obuthile ngonmbusazws wabantu abaNnyama lapho kusebenzz khona imihlatii emikhulu

yomlando. Yilemihlathi ezodzle iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha futhi 1

eyoNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha iyodaleka ngenkathi thina bantu abaNnyama sitazkula okuhle kunakho konke okukhona silahla konke okubi kunakho konke okukhona.

Knlobubanzieiee..o/11

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Kuloobubonzi bombusazwe wabantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kuyoba khona isimo sokughubeka ukumasha komlando kubgvezile abavukeli bombusâ@d njengendlela eyodwa eyimpendulo yomuntu oNyama yokubhekana nobandlululo kepha ckubaluleke kakhulu yikuthi umlando uzivezile nezinye izinpendulo. zomuntu oNyama.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, thina esiku=leNdlu ngeke siwubalekeke umzabalazo owasungulwa ngokhokho bethu noghutshwe . ngumliba omude wamaghawe kanye nalabo abafela nabahluphekala umzabalazo.. Nxa isimo siya sibanzima arele sizicidilelele phansi izinjongo sithungathe izinjongo

sikholwa yikuthi zingase zifezeke kalula noma okubi kunalokho, silahlekelwe nzonembeza ibese singacabangi nge=ntengo esilindele. ukuba ikhokhwe ngabanye beyikhokhela ukungoba esizama ukukufeza.

Kukhona into ejule kakhulu ngemigomo esemzabalazweni ngenigono esemqoka emzabalazweni womuntu oNyama wenkululeko kulelizwe. Leyonto singayifumana emaghaweni amakhulu

phakathi kobsbamkhulu abasungula i-ANC endala eyasungulwa nzo-1912, Obabamkhulu babengabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngeqiniso abaphupha intando yeningi exube izinhlanga nabasungula amasu namachinga ayeyophumelelisa ukufezeka kombusc wentando yeningi oxube izinhlanga onamaqgembu amaninzi ohlelweni lwevoti ngomuntu.

Abavukeliâ\200\231'bombuso sebeyanswininiza manje nxa bekhuluma nokuphikiswa kobandlululc ngendlela - yentando yeningi. Bathi ukuphikiswa kobandlululo ngendlela yentando yeningi sekwehlulekile. Mhlonishwe Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, intando yeningi kayikwazi ukwehluleka. Yilabo ascbeyidicilele phansi intando yeningi abehlulekayo. Sengikusho kaningi ngilamhindaphinda ukuthi ngiyakugonda ukuthi kudalwa yini ukuba abanye abantu abalinyama bangenwe yikudideka nokuthi yini ebaishlisa ithemba Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi kwenzeka

TGy AR L b

o, G 7

kanjani ukuba ukandiululo lucindezele abantu kuze kwedlule
ekubekezeleni ockulindeleke esidalweni esingumuntu kangangoba
baze badicilele: phansi zonke izifito ezingamagugu ethu
amakhulu.

Seyisikhathi eside kakhulu isimo siqinile kepha, Mhlonishwa
Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngeke mina ngiphume ekhis=
shini ngoba sekushisa, Ngiyazi ukuthi okuyikuphela kwendlela
esingafeza ngayo umbuso wentando yeningi exube izinhlanga
kulelizwe yikusebenzisa umbusazwe wokubonisana. Amanye
amazwe e-Afrika kufanele enze lokho afanele ukukwenza kepha
thina kufanele senze lokho ekufanele ukwenziwa yithi.

Kithi esikulelizwe kalikho ithemba lombusc wentando yeningi
oyokwazi ukuhlala isikhathi e35iile ngaphandle kokuba lowo=
mbuso kube ngumbuso wentando yeningi exube izinhlanga
nonamaqembu amaningi. Noma ngubani oxholwa ngokunye ufana
nomuntu ongafundile ngokombusazwga° Umbuso weQembu ~llilodwa

kulelizwe ungaba yuhlelo olusinqumela ukuthi kuzoba nochu=

npechunge lokuvukelwa kombuso nemikhankaso yokulwa
nokuvukelwa kombuso.

Kayikho enye indawo kulolonke elase-Afrika lapho kwake
kwabakhona noma yiliphi ilizwe lapho kwakunesimo esicinde=
zela njengoba sicindezela eNingizimu ne-Afrika namhlanje
ukuba yemukele izilockotho zombusazwe zawowonke amagembu
ohlelweni lombusazwe olunokuthelelana amanzi. Mhlonishwa
Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, nxa imbiza yamanzi
ibila phambi kwakho uyazi ukuthi nxa ungafaka isandla
sakho phakathi kuyo sdzokusha, lokho kakudingi ukuba

uze ube nolwazi lwengcwepheshi - engusosayensi wezembelo ...
eqonda ukuthi lokho okwakha izicubu kwezenjani nxa kusha.
Kakudingi ukuba size sibe yizifundiswa

ezinkulu...../13

ezinkulu ezazi ukusebenza kwemithetho yombusazwe ukuba sazi ukuthi umphakathi wethu omhlophe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika wezingcweuiteshi zemisebenzi yezimboni onolwazi olujulileyo kwezempi ofundisiweyowanikezwa isiqiniseko sokubamba izindawo ezisemqoka kwezezimayini, ezohwebo, amabhange nezimboni ngisho noma ngabe kwenzekani bayokuhlomela'kangcono kakhulu ukubhidliza noma yimuphi uhulumeni omnyama ngokusebenzisa umkhankaso ojulileyo wobuphekula onpoknzeubonwe noma yikuphi kwenye indawo eMhlabeni Osathuthukayo.

Kangisichithi isikhathi sami mina ngidlala ngamazwi nemiqondo. Kanginaso isikhathi salolohlobo lokukhuluma kalula okungu=mbhedo esiwubonayo ugcwele imibhalo namabhuku abavukeli bombuso. Mina into ngiyibiza ngebizo layo, futhi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ngitshena lelo naleloLunga laleNdlu ukuthi ngaphandle kokuba siphumelele ngempela emzabalazweni wobabamkhulu abawusungula ngenhloso yckuwunqoba, siyobec sidicilela phansi inkumbulo yabo futhi siyobe sidicilela phansi amaphupho abo, futhi lokho siyobe sikwenza ngendlela eyolimaza izizukulwane ezininsi eziyolsndela Okuyikuphela kokunqoba eNingizimu ne-Afrika ecsifanele.. ukubanakho kuyikunqoba okuyodalwa ngumbusazwe wokubonisana.

Nginenkolelo epheleleyo kulokhu engikushoyo nxa ngithi ekugcineni, abavukeli bombuso abaMnyama bangaphumelela kuphela ukuba nohlobo lwamathemba angenakufezeka afanayo namathemba eQembu le-Conservative Party ckubusa iNingizimu ne-Afrika. Nxa ngicabanga ngabavukeli bombuso, ubuchopho bami kabudideki n=2kancane kunalapho ngisuke ngicabanga khona ngeqembu leConservative Party. Ukunqoba kwe-Conservative Party kungase kusheshise usuku loguquko ngoba, njengoba ngigcize=lela nje, ukujula kombusazwe wabantu abalMnyama namhlanje kuyohlansanisd abantu abalMnyama kuwowonke amagumbi alelizwe kuhlwithe uHulumeni ezandleni zeConservative Party.

Abavukeli bombuso bona ngakolunye uhlangothi baphila

ngokuqghekeza

ngokughekeza abantu ababnyama phakathi. Nxa nje umuntu eqala ukubulala ngezizathu zombusazwe kufanele angabe esaba nandaba nokwehlukana uluthi ngubani ambulalayo. Ububi bokuxaka abantu abalMnyama ngomqondo wokuvukelwz kombuso, ngisho nalabo abangas= kufuniy wukuvukelwa kombuso ngoba bengakholelwa kukho, kukhona lapha eNingizimu ne-Afrika kubonwa yinoma ubani. Izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni zingaphila kuphela ngokusungula lokhu abakubiza ngokuthi yimpi yabantu (people's war) nxa leyimpi iphumelela ukughatha oMnyama noMnyama. Sibubonile ububi balokhu emalokishini ethu amnyama. Sibubonile ububi balokhu ngenkathi oMnyama ephendula omunye umuntu wakubo oMnyama inkubele; oMnyama ebulala oMnyama ngethayi llomlilo sababona nabanamandla benyathela labo ababuthakathaka nabahlu= phekayo.

Kukhona into ethile embi kakhulu ngakho konke lokhu futhi ithathe ibe yimbi kakhulu nxa umuntu csebena izinga abavukeli bombuso abafinyelela kulo ukusebenzisa abantu abangenacala. Ngabantu abangenacala ababashwabadela njengokudla kwenganonc futhi kungukuntula onembeza nozwelo ukuchitha izimpilo zezingane okuyikhona kungishaqisa kakhulu kunakho konke mina. Abavukeli bombuso, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, konke lokhu bakwenza ngoba isikhathi sokuvukelwa kombuso singaka= fiki eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kabakufuni ukuvukelwa kombuso. Abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bathi ghabo ekuvukelweni kombuso ngakho kufanele baphihlizwe baphoqwe ukuba bathobele intando yalabo ababaxaka ngokuvukela umbuso kanti kuze kudingeke nokuba kusetshenziswe umbusazwe wokwesabisa kubo ukuze barhogelege kulendlela.

Ngokughubeka kwami nokubona amasu namaghinga okuvukelwa kombuso, ngiya ngokuya ngibona ukuthi kulula kangakanani ukukhohlakalisa umqondo wokuba khona kwento okuthiwa yimpi yobulungiswa. Kas= ngisiyena umuntu okhohlelwa ekuthuleni njengevangeli ngomqondo waleligama> wobumpumpelana. Engikushoyo nje yikuthi indluzula

iyiphutha elesabekayo nxalikhona elinye ithuba

elinokusetshercziswa...../15

elinokusetshenziswa esikhundleni sayo. INingizimu ne-Afrika

- kayikafuqeleki kulezozimo zokugcina lapho okuyikuphela kwento esaseleyo enokwenziwa kuagukubulala. Mhlonishwa Somlemo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, uvuHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika akakaze abe buthakathaka ukwedlula lokhu ayikho manje nxa umuntu cbuka ubuthakathaka namandla akhe ekughubeni ubandlululo. Siyazi sonke ukuthi ubandlululo lluyinto engasenalo nakancane ithuba lokughutshwa. Kufanele lubhidlizwe; lluzogedwa ubandlu=lulo. INingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama iyamasha ibheke phambili futhi kokukho lutho oluzoyivimba. Sithatha lokho ckungokwethu ngokusemthethweni futhi kakukho lutho uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika angakwenza ukusinganda. Sesisincane kakhulu manje isizathu, nxa ngikhuluma ngckomlandc, kunaleso esake sabakhona ngaphambili sckusebenzisa indluzula ukuxazulula izinkinga zalelizwe.

Ngiyaphinda futhi ngibeka iphuzu lokuthi ngisho noma uHulumeni wascingizimu ne~Afrika angaba buthakathaka kangakanani ngokombusazwe nxa sekuza ekuphoqeeleni ubandlululo, unamandla amakhulu kunalawo ake aba nawo ngaphambili nxa sikhuluma ngos= kwÃ©zempi. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo,

nxa ngemuva kweminyaka ecela ema~25 yokuvukelwa kombuso okuyikuphela kwento umuntu aphumelele ukuyenza kuyikwenza isitha sakho sibe namandliz amakhulu minyaka yonke, mina

ngithi kufuneka umuntu ake eme kancane azibuze imibuzo ethile eyiginiso.

Kulezinyanga ezisanda kudlula ngizwa ngifikelwa yikuphelelwa yikubabekezelela abantu abalinyama abenza umzabalazo wenkuiuleko indlela yabo yempilo. Sebawadicilele phansi amathemba okunqo= ba bazinikela ekuphileni ngaphansi kobandlululo kepha bebe benza sengathi bayaluphikisa ubandlululo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, nxa singase sithathe uhambo sihambele

izinkambo zokuvukelwa kombuso sinikezwe inkululeko yokuba

sihlale

sihlale phansi sikhulume nabafowethu nodadewethu ababhajwe
kuloyamhlaba lapho bezibiza khona ngokuthi bayobuyela eNingizimu
ne-Afrika njengamasotsha bezongoba, umuntu angafike azizwele
ukuginiswa nokufakazeleka kwalokhu engikushoyo.

â\200\230Kunamakhulu abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika asebabala=
leka beqa imingcele yalelizwe lakithi beyothungatha ukuviviswa
kwezempi ngenkolelo yobumpumela yokuthi umzabalazo wezikhali
uyabadinga. Lawo makhulu asehlezi manje laphaya alindele impi
angasoze ayibona. Kayikho into engidabukisa ukwedlula ukucabanga
ukuthi abafowethu nodadewethu abasekudingisweni bayafa laphaya
emhiobeni ongaphandle bebodwa bekude nezwe lakubo lenkaba.

Yonke irnto eÂkimi iyakhala ikhalela ukuba ngikwazi ukwelula
isandia sami ngikwazi ukubenza babuyele ekhaya.

Kufanele ngikhulume ngiqondise, ngingamunazi, ngezinye izikhathi
nxa sekuza ekukhulumeni ngabavukeli bombuso ngoba kuningi kakhulu
okulengela engozini kanti futhi kuningi abakufaka engozini
kwabona. Ngikkuluma lapha ngesinqumo sabo esiyiphutha;
ngikhulinaa nz=arasu namaghingaba ayiphutha kepha, Mhlonishwa
Scmlomo. Amziunga Ahleniphekileyo, kangikwazi ukubaphika ngithi
kalawbona ebakwethu. Bangabafowethu nodadewethu emzabalazweni.
Ngifuna2 vkubankonkoshela. Ngisebenzisa ilungelo lami engaliphiwa
nguNlulunhuii lokusho engicabanga ukuthi kufanele kwenziwe no=
kuthi kufancle kwenziwe kanjani kepha lokho kakusho ukuthi
abavukeli bombuso ngibathatha njengezibi ezifanele ukushanelwa
ziyolahlwa emgqonyeni kadodi.

Ngisalckhu ngibambelele ekuthelelaneni amanzi endleleni engifisa
ukusebenzelana ngayo ne-ANC kanye ne-PAC. Ingani phela yikuphela
kwento leyc enokwenziwa =~ into okuyimvelo ukuyenza - nxa ngikholwa,
njengoba ngikholwa ngempela nje, ukuthi ukunqobakwabantu abaNyama
baseNingizimu ne-Afrika okuselokhu kwathi nhlo bayakuphupha kuzoba

ngckwetliu ngokusebenzisa umbusazwe wokubonisana, Kungenxa

EBDHela ..on0snssaftd

kuphela yokuba abantu becabanga ukuthi umbusazwe wokubonisana kawunairuscbenza okuyikhona okubenza baguqukele kwezinye izi=ndlela zokudala vsuqukeo. Å¥akukhs lutho oluyophureliela nosvhe=zu kokunhumelela kokubonisana okuzoba ansokwethu esikhzthin

.â\200\2301

esisecduze noma esikude ssizzyo. Nxa sigala ngenpela ukudala

uhlobe lopuguko lwemnela nooXkusebenzica umbusazwe wokubonisana iclu abavukeli bombuso abathi kalusoze lwafezeka ngaphandle kokuba uruntu 2bulale nzesizathu sombusazwe, umuniun uyobona

" ngakanani yokuyidicilelz phansi

andc yeningi.

Nginenkolelc erheleleyo yokuthi nxa abamhlopâ\200\234e bencal:a nentando yolusungula umbuso wentando yeningi onamagembu amani Ari'sincase sibe ncmbuso wentando yeningi yeainiso esikhathini esifishane kakhulu. Xudalwa yini, nziyabuza, ukuba uHulumeri waseNingi=

be nesibin esingaka eNamibia kevha abe novalo

zinu ne-Afrika

a Ai
eNingizimu ne~Afrika na? Ukhetho olnhloncozwa
1

eNa;;;4Â° i Xhona ekungotshweni kweNingizinu ne-Afrika

kwezemni. Ulunoubuzana okXuphakathi kwe-MPLA kanye ne-UNITA

.

belunrase kuchubeke isikhathi eside kanti kulesosikhathi eside, unbutho wezempi waceNinzizimu ne-Afrika ubungase ughus=oeks nokwenza ckuthandayo ekubhekaneni ns-SWAPo nganhandle kolkwsngena ukuthi rukhona cluncawujezisa. Belingekho ithuba

lokuba i-MPLA noma i-SWAPG ingase ingobe impi

Jkwehla XukaMulumeni wasellingizimu ne-Afrika ezindaweni abezi-vhethe e-Namibia kungenx,t yezinouno zombusazwe futhi kuyizingumo zomius2zwe zohlobo uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika anokuzis=tha nakulelizwe. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlonipheki=leyo, kunpukudayisa ngomzabalazo ukuba kubekhona nanoma yimuphi usunt y oMnyama ochubeka nokwenza umzabalazo indlela yempilo senzathi umzabalazo uzcehubeka kuze kube phakade.

Xuyishwa elikhulu kakhulu ukuba uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika

dzenzenicons.....sÂ«./ 18

azenzengcono laphaya 1--:0 kugala khona izintaba zokubonisana ezisadinga ukukhwela. Ngikholwa yikuthi ngiyoba nguruntuwokugala ngqa eNingizimu ne-Afrika ukwazi lapho uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ethatha khona izinyathelo zokuqala eziqonde ekubonisas=neni: kwempela.

Lokhu ngikusho, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngoba, nxa ngikhuluma ngokomlando, amabhunu kufanele akhulume namaZulu kanti nxa sikhuluma ngckombusazwe, uHulumeni kufanele akhulume nomholi weqao lababnyama elikhulu kunawowonke kule = lizwe kanye nabanye abantu abaMnyama. Lokhu ngikusho futhi ngoba sengikhokhe intengo esabekayo lapho ngimi khona ngili= ndele ukubonisana kunoma yisiphi isikhathi, noHulumeni waseNi= ngizimu ne-Afrika uyakwazi lokho. Okckugcina, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, llokhu ngikusho ngoba sesiphumelele ukubutha uhlobo lwanmandla ombusazwe kuleNdiu naseNkatheni okwenza ukubonisana nathi kwempela kubgÂ¢ yindawo engcono kunazo zonke okurgaqalwa kuyo. Usuku lweSivumelwzno luyusuku oluqondene nabobonke

abantu abaMnyama namabhunu, kepha ngokomlando ngamaZulu nama=

bhunu anggubuzanayo emfuleni iNcome ngemuva kwalokho ckuthiwa kwakuyiSivumelwano samabhunu noNkulunkulu. Ngikholwa yikuthi amabhunu namaZulu banenkinga eyadaleka ngo-1828 phakathi kwabo, okuyinkinga esilimaze ubudlelwana phakathi kwamabhunu namaZulu kanye nayo yonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama.

UHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika uyakugwema ukubonisana nothi futhi usekuzamile ukusungula izinyathelo zokubonisana zilandelana. Uyehluleka ngasosonke isikhathi ngoba lokhe kubonisana akuzamayo kakukhona ukubonisana kwempela nabantu ebalinyama ngezindaba eziyingqikithi ezibhekene nezwe lakithi. XKulesisikhathi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kufanele ngazise leNdlu ngomhlangano ebengikuwo z~Kibhitha= wini ngolLwesine lomhlaka-2 kaMashi.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, nizokhumbula ukuthi eNkulumeni yami Yomgomo engayethula kuleNdlu ngenyaka

pdlule..coscees /19

odlule ngabika ngamazwi aginileyo engaphendula ngawo uMnumzane
Chris Heunis ngemuva kwesitatimende ayesikhiphele amaphepha=

ndaba lapho ayechitha khena umgomo weningi oqukethwe yiziphas=
kamiso zeNdaba yaKwaZulu neNztali zesakhiwo. Lokhu ngakwenza
ngenkathi kubikwa ukuthi uthe "uphezu kokuxoxisana noNdunankulu
waKwaZulu, uMangosuthu G. Buthelezi, ngodaba loguquko ngabona
ukuthi kakufanele ngimyeke. Lamazwi akhe ngabona ukuthi asenga=
phezulu kokwenza nzoba ayelandela ukuhlaselwa kwami ngulMengameli
WoMbuso. Nizckhumbula, iMhlonishwa Somlomo, .Amalunga Ahloniphes=
kilevo, ukuthi ngayibikela lileNdlu ngoMhlangano ophuthumayo
ka~Okthobs wonyaka odiule ukuthi uMengameli WoMbuso wangihlasela
ngonya olukhulu e-Benoni ngezinye izinto engazisho enkulumeni
yami engayethula ku-ASSOCOM. Ngakufumana kuphambana ncokuphe=
leleyo ukuba uMcngameli WoMbuso angihlasele ngoba ethi ngiyes=
ngaba ukungena embusazweni wokubonisana kepha uNgqongaoshe
Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela yena athi uyabonisana

nami. Ngzakho ngabe sengimbhalela kanje uMnumzane Heunis

ngonhla ka-9 kuNovemba 1988:

9 Novemba 1983

Mhlonishwa C.J. Heunis

UNgqongqoshe Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo
Nckuhlela

IRiphabliki yeNingizimu ne-Afrika

Private Bag 9029

KIBHITHAWINI

~8000Â¢

Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe,

Ungibhalele ngomhlaka 14 ku-Okthoba kepha ukucindezclwa kwami
ngunsebenzi kakunginikanga ithuba lokuba ngikuphendule ngaso
lesosikhathi kanti-ke bekudingeka nokuba ngibonisane nawoza=
kwethu ngaphamb: kokuba nrllwa21 ukukuphendula. Ngenkathi
ngisccabanga ngencwadi bthn uMengameli WoMbuso ungithathe=
lÃ©le ncoxuhgihlasela kabuhâ\200\230vngu nnkulumenl yakhe ayechula
emhlanganweni womphakathi e-Benoni. Ngakho kuye kwadlnggka
ukuba ngiphinde ngime kancane ngaphambi kokuba ngikuphendule
ukuze ngiqogqe kahle imicabango yami nokuba ng:qznlse}e
ukuthi kangixhamazeli nglkunhendule ngaphandle :-iu

kokukucabangisisa...Â¢..../20

kokukucabangisisa kahle konke llokho okushiwo yikuhlaselwa kwami

ngumengameli wombuso.

Amaphephandaba, ikakhulukazi amaphephandaba olimi lwesibhunu, abika ngokuhlaselwa kwami nguliengameli wombuso kwathi amaphes= phandaba afana ne-'Rapport' 200\231 akusckela ukuhlaselwa kwami ngumengameli wombuso phezu kwesisekelo sokuthi yimi engamhlases layo. Ekusekeleni lokho okwashiwo ngumengameli wombusoc, kwakhishwa unbono wokuthi ukuhlasele: kwami ... umengameli wombuso enkulumeni yami ku-ASSGCOM kuyadida nxa kubhekwa kugondaniswa nezimpawu zamuva ezikhomba ukuthi mina senginos= kumthobela uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi sengigala ukucabanga ngokubambisana naye okuqinileyo.

Umengameli wombuso kanye nami singabantu abasebenza emphakathini ngakho kufanele umphakathi usihlolisise futhi nathi kufanele sizimisele ngokusolwa obala. Umengameli wombuso naye unalo ilungelo elifanayo lentando yeningi lokuphawula ngami obala njensoba nami nginelungelo lokuphawula ngaye. Udaba lapha kakukhona ukuthi umengameli wombuso wakubona kufanelekile

ukuba angigxeke. Okuyilona ludaba yikuthi indlela angigxeke nzayo ingilimazile.

Ngenkathi ngikhuluma ku-ASSOCOM ngangiqondene nodaba lokuthi uguquko ludinga ukubuyiselwa endleleni. Ngakusho kufanele ukuthi wumengameli wombuso wuyangikaza futhi ngangiqinisile nxa ngithi kuyishwa ukuba akhulume neziNhloko zombuso e-Afrika nase-Yurophu ngaphandle kokuba akwazi ukubabikela ngentuthuko esifeziwe ekubonisaneni kwakhe nabaholi abamayama kulelizwe. Ngakhala ngokuthi egginisweni kuncane kakhulu ayenckukutshena izilNhloko zombuso zangaphandle nokuthi ngalomgondo kufana nokuthi wayechitha ithuba elihle kakhulu.

Lezi yizindaba zombusazwe; zithinta izindaba zesizwe nezo= mhlaba; ziyizindaba mina njengcmholi omnyama enginelungelo lentando yeningi lokuphawula ngazo. Nginalo ilungelo lokus= zwakalisa imicabango yami ngumengameli wombuso. Konke engakushoyo, nokho, ngakusho ngesithunzi futhi kangikushongo neze negnzonds futhi ngangingazami nokwehlisa yena lugobo lwakhe umengameli wombuso isithunzi.

Ngamhlasele umengameli wombuso ngenxa yemigomo yakhe; ukumengameli wombuso ngamhlasele ngenxa yokwehluleka kwakhe ukufza imigomo yakhe; ngamhlasele ubandlulule futhi ngakusho kufanele ukuthi umbusazwe wokubonisana- kawukasukumi neisho nokusukuma phansi., Umengameli wombuso uphendula ngokuthi: "200\234Ukujwayele (eqondise kimi) ukuqoka ukuhlasele isiqu sami obala." 200\235 Uyaghubeka ngokuzibonelela ckukhulu athi "kuze kube yinmanje sengimbekezelele kakhulu" kubuye kulandele lamazwi alandelayo: "Ujwayele ukweduswa nokusetshenziswa ngendlela enggziYP nabantu abangenakho ukucabangela izidingo zeNingizimu ne-Afrika, :

Mhlonishwa.....ssesf21

Mhlonishwa Nggongqoshe, yingikithi endala lena futhi isiqala ukuba yisidina ngokughubeka kwesikhathi. Ngenkathi ngiqala vkuvelela kwezombusazwe mina kwakukhona labo ababethi izinkulu= mo zami ngangizibhalelwa nguMnumzane Alan Paton. Babehluleka ukwemukela ukuthi umuntu oMnyama angaba nclwazi llokucabanga njengoba ngicabanga. Npgikufumana kuyinhamba enkulu ukutshe= nwa ukuthi nzingununtu cbuthakathaka nongasho lutho njengomholi kangangoba ngingaze ngeduswe ngisetshenziswe ngabanye ngcku= ngeyikho. Lonz ngumgondo ojwayelekileyo nothandekayo ezinhleni eziphezulu zeQembu lamaNeshinali. Ngisho nabanye oNgqongqoshe bami bavamiswe ukuchazwa njengabantu okuyibona benobuchopho

nxa kusuke kunalezizigxoxo, kukhulunywa sengathi mina kangcs Å° hlukena ngalutho nesilinyana nje.

Ekungihlaseleni kwakhe e-Benoni, uMengameli Wombuso waghubceka wathi isikhathi engiqoke ukumgxeka ngaso kakusho ukutâ\200\231 3i= gondene nje wathZ ukuhambela kwakhe emazweni angaphandle kwes= Ningizimu ne-Afrika kubeyinto engathandekiyo "Kwabaningi abafisa ukubona ukungqubuzana nenxushunxushu kulelizwe lakithi." Mhlcnishwa IMggongqoshe, uMengameli Wombuso: ungikweneta ukuxolisa.. Uthi ngamhlasela ngihlangene nalabo abafuna ukubona ukungqubuzana nenxushunxushu ezweni lakithif

UMengameli woMbuso ungisola ngokungazihlanganisi nokubonisana ngisho nalapho ckuqonda ngokugcweleyo ukuthi kungenxa

yokuba singenalo uhlelo esingavumelana ngalo sobabili ukuthi singakhuluma ngalo ngekusasa lesakhiwo 'seNingizimu ne-Afrika. Wena, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, uyazi ukuthi kunezikhathi eziningi ngizama ukufaka uMengameli woMbuso ekuxoxeni ngekusasa lesakhiwo sethu. Ngamcela ukuba akhiphe iSitatime= nde seNhloso ngisho nangaphambi kokuba kusungulwe uMkhandlu kaMengameli ukuba wandulele!: isakhiwo sikaNxantathu.

Neichubekile nokusifuna lesiSitatimende seNhloso ngiphi= "ndaphinda kusukela ngaleyonkathi. Ngicelile. ukuba uMkha= ndlu kaZwelonke unikezwe uhlelc oluyokwenza ukuba uMengame= li woMbusc akwazi ukukhuluma nabaholi abaMnyama. Ngimcelile uMengameli woMbuso ukuba awuyeke umzamo weKomindi leKhabhi= nethi wokusekela uhlelo lwePhalamende enguNxantathu ngamcela ukuba asungule inkundia yokubonisana kwempela.

Sekukaningi ngikusho, Mhlonishwa Nggongaoshe, ukuthi uMenga= meli woMbusc akakwazi ukuqala phansi aqambe amasondo entando yeningi. Umhlaba ophucuzekileyo uyazi ukuthi uhlelo lwePhala= mende iyentando yeningi luyini. Kufanele siludale lolohlelo lapho noma silindele ukuchithwa ngokomhlabas nokubhidlizwa okughamuka ngaphakathi. Yilokho esifanele ukukwenza. Yilokho uMengameli woMbuso ongakwaziyo ukukwenza ngoba uyehluleka uku= thatha iNingizimu ne-Afrika njengezwÃ© elilodwa elidinga iPhalamende elilodwa elizimeleyo eleyeme embuthweni owodwa wabavoti, okusebenza imigomo yelungelo lokuvota kwabobonke abantu abadala kuwo ukuqiniseka ukulingana kwabobonke

emehlweni.eoooo/22

emehlweni omthetho nascemehlweni esakhiwo.

Wena Mhlonishwa lMNggongqoshe, uyazi njengoba nami ngazi ukuthi lezizinto sengazisho . Uyazi ukuthi ngiyazisho ngendlela echubekavo. Ngakho ngikufumana kwephula umoya ukuba wena, hlonishwa Nggcnggqoshe, ukusho eNgaungqutheleni yamaphephandaba ukuthi kukhona ukuxoxisana odabeni loguauko. Siyaxoxa khona ngoguquko ngomoya wencwadi yami engakubhalela. yona ngomhlaka 8 ku-Juni ka-1987 nangomoya wokugcizelela kwami eminye imibono engayizwakalisa kuleyoncwadi engikwenza namhlanje.

Xepha lokho kakusona isithombe wena, â\200\234hlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, osinikeza umhlaba nxa uthi uyaxoxa nami ngodaba loguquko. Nzenkathi ukhuluma namaphephandaba wakhuluma ngokuxoxisana nami phezu Koumgonde wokuthi uHulumeni ugxeke ngendlela yokungamboneleli ngokwehluleka kwakhe ukukhuluma nabaholi aba= Mnyama. Manje njengoba ukhetho lwawomasipala selwedlule usuyarhinda. futhi uthi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika uyaghubeka noguquko. Usaphinda khona ukuthi ukuhlanganyela kwabaMnyama eMkhandlwini kaMengameli; ukuhlanganyela kwabalinyama Å¿zingeni leKhabhinethi nokusungulwa koMkhandlu kaZwelonke kuhlinzeka ithemba futhi kumele umphumela wokubo= nisana.

Kawugcini ngalokhu kuphela, Mhlonishwa Nggonzgoshe, kepha ukhuluma nzezinyathelo zokudala ikusasa lesakhiwo elemuke= leka kubobonke sengathi izinhlelc ezadalwa yubandlululo zi= vizinhleico ezimiyo ezifanele ukwemukelwa. Lezizinhlelc zihlanganisa izinhlelo zesifimdazwe: thina okungahboniswananga nathi ngazo, zihlanganisa neMikhan-dlu yeZifunca{Regional Services Councils)iningi labantu abaMnyama elingayisekeliyo. Lezizinto, ihlonishwa Npqongqoshe, uzisho wazi kahle

ukuthi kanzifuni ukuzihlanganisa ngalutho neMikhandlu yeZifunda nokuthi kaphandle kokuba uifkhandlu kaZwelonke unikezwe uhlelo cluhlanganiss nokwesulwa kwalesisakhiwo esiknona nokwesulwa koMthetho Wokwakhiswa Kwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana (Group Areas Act) kanye nokwesulwa koMthetho Wokubhaliswa Xwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana (Population Registrtion Act), kangiliboni ithemba lokuphumelela kwawo: ngakhoâ\200\231

ngeke ngizihlanganise nawo.

Kangiphambene nokuba utshene umhlaba ukuthi sesike sahlangana nawe nokuthi ngikuphikisile lokho wena noMengameli woMbu enikubiza ngoguauko. KXepha nginalo lonke ilungelo lokuku= chitha lokhu wena okuyisithombe ozama ukusinikeza umhlaba ukuthi mina ngizimisele ukubonisana ngaphakathi kwezinhlelo mi=a engingafuni ukuzihlanganises ngalutho nazo eqinisweni.

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Lo :

Encwadini..../23

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Encwadini yakho yomhlaka 14 ku-Okthcba owangibhalela yona uthi; "Ngiyakuginisa futhi ukuthi ngisifumana semukelcks= isivhakoriss sakho skuba labo abamele iKhabhinethi yakho namalunga cKhabhinethi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika badale iKomindi lokuchubeka nokuxoxa ngezindaba zesakhiwo ngezikhathi ngezikhathi." FKufznA@le noicelc ukuba kubekhona ukugaphela lapha, Mhlonishwa Ngaongqoshe. Kangifuni ukuzihlanganisa nohlobo oluthile lomdlalo Kwesakhiwo lapho lzbo abadlala ku= lomdlalo bezifihle khona ubuso ukuze bangaveli obala taziwe ukuthi banpobani. Isiphakamiso okhuluma ngaso sazighamukela sona ngenrathi mina nomunye wawozakwethu kuKhabhinethi yami sibonana nePhini likaNgqongqoshe Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nckuhlela ulMnu. R. Meyer, kanye nePhini likaNgqongqoshe wamaPhoyisa uMnu. Leon Wessels ,eThekwini ngomhlaka 5 ka= Okthoba kuwo llcnyaka.

Kulowo mhlango sezwakalisa ukudikibala kwethu okukhulu ngenxa yckwehluleka kukaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukusukumisa ukubonisana nangokuntuleka kokuxoxisana rhakathi kwethu noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Nxa sizoghubcka nganoma iyiphi indlela nakunoma yiliphi izinga ukuxoxa ngobunzima bokukhuluma ngekusasa lesakhiwo seNingizimu ne-Afrika, ngidinga isiqiniseko esipheleleyo kuwe sokuthi ukukhuluma ngcunzima ngeke kwethulwe njengo= kukhuluma sengathi lobobunzima sebunqotshiwe.

Ngiyakumema, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, ukuba Ukhiphe iSitatimende eSihlangany2liweye kanye nami esithi kasikakuqali nokukugala

ukubcnisana ngekusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi esesikwe=

nzile yikusungula iKomindi lezinga leKhabhinethi elizohlola lokho okunokwenziwa ukulungisa lesisimo sezinto ezinokwenziwa. anje ngibhekene nokubuzwa-ngamaphephandaba ukuthi ngabe lokhukhlangana owakhuluma ngakho ukuthi sibanakloc

ngenkathi ukhipha iSitatimende samaphephandaba ngabe

kushe ukuthi sengiyiguqulile yimi indawo engimi kuyo nokuthi

manje sengiyakholwa yikuthi glulumeni uzumisele futhi

uyakwazi ukusungula uguquko. Ngiyabuzwa futhi ukuthi

ngabe sikhona yini isithembiso engikunikeze sona. Ngakho lesisimemo engisenzayo sokuba wena ukhiphe. iSitatimende Esihlanganyelweyo kanye nami sibalulekile.

UMengameli woMbuso uthe usekuzamile Wehluleka ukungifaka ekubonisaneni. Ngikushilo ukuthi uHuiumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika akakakugali ngisho nokukugala ukubonisana

nabantu abaMnyama, usuyasuka wena., Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, uthi siynbonisana. Lokhu kakukuhle neze. S%< va umhlaba usesimeni sokudideka. Umhlaba manje usufuna ukwazi ukuthi kanti kwenzekani ngempela ngakho ngikholwa yikuthi kufangle siwutshene umhlaba ukuthi kwenzekani ngempela.

Xufanele ukuba usuyakukholwa manje ukuthi ngizimisele '-. ngokubenisana ngohlelo olushaâ\200\235 lembusazwe-weNingizimu ne-Afrika. Uyazi ukuthi ngiyayichitha indluzula njengchlelo lombusazwe clungaphumelela ukudala ukucekela phansi kuphela. Uyazi ukuthi nngiyazichitha zonke izinhlobo zokulawula kwezombusazwe, sekuhlangene nokulawula kwezombusazwe

lokhu oseckuzanve vubandlululo isikhathi eside kangaka.

Äz s

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-24 - :

Uyazi wena ukuthi engizimisele ngakho kuphela yikutcnisana ngekhambi lcaŃingizimu ne-Afrika lapho zonke izinhlanga zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ziyobuswa khona ngendlela erizimisele ukubuswa ngayo. Uyazi ukuthi kangikaze nginikeze luphawu noma ngolwaluphi uhlcbo lokuthi sengijudlukile ekugcizeleleni kwami ukuthi yuhlobo lwesakhiwo clusckeleke eningini kuphela esingathembela kulo. Ukugonda kahle ukuthi nzenkathi uHulumeni waseMningizimu ne-Afrika esafuna ukuba ngihlanga=- nyele -ekubcnisaneni phezu kwesisekelo sokuthi kalikho iningi kulelizwe, . npuye uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ongishiya ngaphandle mina.

Umuntu angakhuluma izinto eziningi kalula emfundisweni esekela umbu= sazwe.otlile ngakho ngimzwile uMengameli woMbuso ezigaxa emfus= ndisweni ycmbusazwe ngenkathi ethi abaMnyama bayamsekela. Eqinisweni wenza umhlaba ukuba ube nesithombe sokuthi

iningi labantu abaMnyama bayamsekela. Wena kanye nami siyazi ukuthi kakulona neze iqiniso lokho nokuthi iningi labantu 2baMnyama bayawuchitha umphakathi wobandlululo. Uyazi ukuthi unpisho naseminyakeni eyisigidi ezayo . kawu= soze waphumelela ukuba wenze abamhlophe baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bemukele uvkunikizwa amalungelo mina kanye nabantu bakithi esilindeleke ukuba siwemukele KwaZulu.

Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, ngiyaginisa ngithi sekuyiso isikhathi lesi sokuba nikwemukele ukuthi nxa konke lokhu wena ' noMengameli wolbuso enikhulume ngakho njengoguquko

kungafezwa ngokupheleleyo, abarhlophe baseNingizimu ne-Afrika baycle besaphethe engxenyeni engama-87 ekhulwini yomhlaba waseNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi abamhlophe abasecPhalamende enguNxantathu bayobe besakhonya ngokupheleleyo ekuphathweni kombutho wezokuvikela, umbutho wamaphoyisa, umbutho wezisebenzi zikahulumeni, ikhomishane yokuhlinzekwa kwamandla kagesi, uhlelol lwezwe lezokuthutha, umgomo wezangaphandle, umgomo wezimali zesizwe kanye nayo yonke .nje into edala umgomo wasekhaya.

Kukhona izinto esingathi ziyimingcele yokugcina esesifanele ukuba sizibheke manje. Manje secsifugelwa ezimeni lapho

amazwi amele imidiyo yokugcina esebaluleke khona kakhulu. Imidiyo yokugcina kufanele icaciswe kahle ingayekwa nje

ukuba iyekelwe ukuba lowo nalowo aziqagelele ukuthi ikuphi. Wena, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, umdiyo wakho ngowokuthi abamhlophe kufanele baghubeke engxenyeni engama~87° ekhulwini yomhlaba obizwa ngokuthi:yilingizimi~ . ne-Afrika emhlophe nokuthi

uMthetho Wokubhaliswa Kwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana kanye noMthetho Wokwakhiswa Kwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana kufanele ighus= tshwe njengobz injelo. Umdiyi wakho, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, ngowbkuthi iQembu le-Conservetive Party kakukho lutho

elifanele ukulwengena ngoba neQembu lamaNeshinali lihlose

khona ukuba abamhlophe bahlale bephethe kulezizigaba engizibale ngenhla ezakha ukuphathwa komgomo wasekhaya.

Kusobala ukuthi kufanele ngighubeke ngokubonisana nawozakwethu. Ukuzimisela ngakolwakho uhlangcthi, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe,

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ukukhipha iSitatimende esihlanganyelweyo engiphakamisa
ukuba sisikhiphe nawe kuyolekelela. Kuyolekelela futhi

nxa kungase kubekhona isixoliso esivela kuMengameli woMbuso
ngokulinganisa ukuthi mina ngihlancanyele emizameni yokuni=
keza ithuba labo abafuna ukukhulisa ukiunpgubuzara nokusu=
ngula izinxushunxushu kulelizwe. Kuphakathi kokuthi
ubeqonde khona lokhu kanye noma ubeqonde ukuthi kangilutho
kansangoba ngingasetshenziswa ngabanye ngalenhloso. Noma
ngabe ubekugonde ngayiphi indlela ngibona ukuthi ngidinga
ukuba .axolise.

Ukuba uMengameli woMbuso enekele umhlaba wonke izinkinga

zami zomndeni kuyinto engenakuthetheleleka kangangoba

ngizwa ngifikelwa yizinhloningalolonke elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika
nrzlokiio akushoyo. Ukuba uMengameli woMbuso athi ngehla
ngenyuka emhlabeni ngishiya ngemuva umonakalo wezikhukhula
ngoba elaKwaZulu lingenazo izinhlelo zomphakathi zokuzivikela,
ngibona kukhomba okungaphezulu kokuntuleka kwamalungiselelo.
kukhomba ukuyekelelwa komsebenzi.

Kubonakala kuyishwa elikhulu ukuba kulesisikhathi esibucayi
emlandweni weMningizimu ne-Afrika lapho kusekhona intando
enhle eyeneleyo phakathi kwabaMnyama - nabamhlophe yokubonisana
ngekusasa elihloniphekileyo labo bonke abantu, ukuba singa=
kwazi ukughubeka nalokhukubonisana ngendlela encbulula
obulingana ncbuthutha. KXungaba peubuthuth: ukuthi sizoghu=
beka nokubonisana ngekusasa lentando yeningi labobonke
abantu ibesesighubekela ekukwenzeni lokho singakunaki lokho
okufunwa yilabo abangakwesokudla nalabo abangakwesokunxele.
Kungaba ngubuthuths Mhlonishwa Nggongqoshe, ngoba inqubekela
phambili yemrela eoouyukweni oA@oluqonde entandweni yeningi
luyolubhidliza konke lokho abangasohlangothini olungakweso=
bunxele nalabo abangaschlangothini olungakwesokudla abethe=
mba ukuthi bazokufeza. Ukwehluleka kwethu kuyoba yikusiza=
kala kwabo.

Ngiyakucela, Mhlonishwa Nggongqoshe, ukuba usukhiphe lesiSi=
tatimende encisicelayo - futhi ngicela ukuba ukwemukele ukuthi
lokhu engikusho kulencwadi ngamazwi akhulunywa nguMengameli
woMbuso ngami kangikusho neze ngoba ngicasukele ukungihlasela
kwakhe isiqu sami. Okwashiwo ngubengameli woMbuso kuyangili=
maza ngokombusazwe. Kunyundela konke esengikwenzile
phakathi kwabantu bakithi. Kwengeza ekuqiniseni umoya

futhi kuzcwele imbewu yokugqolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo.
Kangikwenzi lokhu into eyikugqolozelana phakathi kwami -
isiqu sami noMengameli. woMbuso, kepha ngicabanga ukuthi
siyadinga ukuba silungise umoya ibese sisukela lapho.

Yimi Owakho ngeginiso

MANGOSUTHU G:~BUTHELEZI
UNdunankulu WaXwaZulu
nonguMengameli weNkatha

Impendulo kaNgongqoshe u-Heunis yashesha ngoba wabhala ngomhlaka 16 ka-Novemba ethembisa ukubhala ngokugcweleyo kamuva kepha ngalesosikhathi wemukela isidingo samaxoxo

eKomindi. leKhabhinethi wemukela nesimemo sami sokuba akhiphe iSitatimende Esihlanganyelweyo kanye nami maqondana nalolonke udaba lokubonisana.

Nizokwazi nonke, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukuthi selokhu kwathi nhlo ngisazisa kakhulu isidingo

sokuba abaholi bombusazwe abaNnyama nabamhlophe kulelizwe bazabalaze ndawonye bezabalazela izinjongo abazicacisa

obala ukuthi bonke bathungatha ukuziveza. Kwasekugaleni kokusebenza koMnu-P.W.Botha kulesisikwmdla sakhe ngaphambili nokokuba kusungulwe lesisakhiwo esikhong, ngacela ukuba kekukuthi ukumiwa kancane ezenzweni uHulumeni azinqumela

zona eyedwa ngacela ukuba kubekhona iSitatimende Esihlanga= nyelweyo phakathi kwakhe nabaholi abaNnyama.

Sekungumlandc owaziwayo manje ukuthi wayichitha lenhlabankhosi yami nokuthi kwavele kwacaca nje ukuthi lokho wayekwenza

ngoba esevele esenqumile ukuba aghubeke nokusungula isakhiwo esisha ayengazange asazise ngisho nckusazisa ngaso. Incwa=

di yo-Mnu Heunis edlulisela ukuzimisela kwakhe ngokukhipha iSitatimende kanye nami odabeni loguquko yaba yinto emanga= zayo ngenclela efanayo nokuba yinto entsha.

Ngemuva kokughubeka neminye imiyalezo phakathi kwethu

uMnu. Heunis kanye nami saphetha ngokubonana eThekwini

lapho savumela khona ngomhlangano owawuzokuba ngoJanuwali lapho sasiyobonisana ngenhloso yokwakha iSitatimende esasizo= sikhiphela amaphephandaba. Sahlangana ngomhlaka-9 ku-Januwali okwathi ngemuva kokuxoxa salifumana ithuba lokukhipha llesiSita

timende esilandelayo:

â\200\234UNdunankulu...../27

Y

"UNdunankulu uButhelezi benoNgqongqoshe u-Heunis bahlanges=
ne EThekwini namhlanje, ngomhlaka-9 Januwali 1989,

Ngemuva kokuxoxa bavumelane ukuba bakhophe lesiSitatimende
Esihlanganyelweyo esilandelayo:

NgokwÃ©mukela iginiso lokuthi ukubonisana kuyisidingo

esiphuthumayc ekuxazululeni izinkinga zombusazwe
zeNingizimu ne-Afrika nangokwemukela iqiniso lokuthi
kunezithiyc ezikhona ezithiya ukughubeka ngokubonisana
sivumelene ngokuba kukhonjwe iKomindi elihlanganyelweyo
elizokhonjwangoHulumeni bethu bobabili ukukhomba noku=
bhekana nalezizithiyo kanye nokudala imigomo lapho
kukhona ukubona ngokufanayo.

IKomindi lizobika koHulumeni bobabili ibese kuthi
ngemuva kokwemukelwa kwalowo mbiko kuphinde kubekhcna
futhi umhlangano phakathi kwethu."â\204ç

Ngikholwa yikuthi kube ngubuhlakani ukuba sigcine ngokusho
nje kuphela ukuthi kudalwe yiKomindi lokuhlola lonke udaba
iokuthi kulalwa yini ukuba kuze kube yimanje kasikanceni
ekubonisaneni kwempela. Ursebenzi waleliKomindi kungase
kwenzeke khona ukuba kuye ngokushabalala. kepha ngakclunye uhlango=
thi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kunokwe=
zeka ukuba ligcine seliyiKomindi elibalulekileyo emlandweni.

IXomindi llakhiwe ngakolwami uhlangothi yilaba engibakhethi=
leyo okunguMhlonishwa ubckotela O.D. Dhlomo, uNgqongqoshe
weMfundo naMasiko, kuHulumeni waKwaZulu nonguNobhala~Jikelele
weNkatha; uMhlonishwa uDokotela F.T.Mdlalcse. iuNgqongqoshe
weZempilo;; kuHulumeni waKwaZulu nonguSihlalo Womhlahlandlela
weNkatha; uMnu. R. Arenstein, weNkampani vaBammeli yakwa-
Arenstein Bros., Ethekwini noMnu S.J.Maphalala, ongumPfundisi
eMnyangweni Wezomlando eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu. Lamalunga eKomindi
azohlala nalaba abakhethwe ngasohlangothini loMnu. Heunis
okunguMhlonishwa J.C.G. Botha, uNgqongqoshe weZindaba Zasekhaya
noKuxhunana ; uMhlonishwa R.P.Meyer, iPhini likaNgqongqoshe

Wokuthuthukiswa...../28

Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela;; uMnu. S.S. van Jer Merve, onguMeluleki eziNdabeni kanye noDokotela I.M. Raut= enbach, onguieluleki.

Ngiyaphinda futhi ngithi umsebenzi waleliKomindi. . ungase uye ngokuphela ngokuhamba kwesikhathi kepha ngiyakusho futhi ukuthi ukusungulwa kwaleliKomindi kungase kusho impumelelo enkulu ekusukeleni isimo sakwangqingetshe embusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kungenxa yokuba leliKomindi l+ngase libaluleke kakhulu entuthukweni yombusazwe wokubonisana, njengsoba kuthe lapho uMnu. Heunis kanye nami sihlangana neKomindi ukugalisa umsebenzi walo ngaqiniseka ukuthi wonke amalunga alo ayayazi imibono yami magondana neKomindi nomsebenzi walo. Ngenkathi ngihlangana nabo eÅhibhithawini ngomhlaka 2 kuMashi kuwo lonyaka ngethula lombhalo olandelayo:

INCWADI-SETHULO YOMNTWANA MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, UNDUNANKU= LU WAKWAZULU

NONGUMENGAMELI WENKATHA
EYETHULWE EMHLANGANWENI EKHIBHITHAWINI NGOMHLAKA 2 MASHI 1989

OBEKUKHONA LABA ABALANDELAYO:

UMhlo. C.J. Heunis UNGqongqoshe Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela.

UMhlo. J.C.G. Botha UNGqongqoshe weZindaba Zasekhaya Nokuxhumana.

UiMhlo. R.P. Meyer IPhini likaNGqongqoshe Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela.

UMnu. S.S.van der Merve UMeluleki wezindaba zesakhiwo

UDokotela I.M. Rauten. uMmeluleki

bach

UMhlc. uDokotela O.D. UNGqongqoshe Wemfundo Namasiko, KwaZulu Dhlomo nonguNobhala-Jikelele weNkatha.

UMhlo. uDokotela F.T. UNGnonsqoshe weZempilo, KwaZulu nongu= Mdialose Sihlalo woMhlahlandlela weNkatha.

UMnu.

UMnu. R. Arenstein Wakwa-Arenstein Bros, EtheKwini.

UMnu. S.J. Maphalala OngumFundisi eMnyangweni Wezomlando
) eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu.

Mhlonishwa Nggqongqoshe, nawozakwenu, iPhini likaNgqongqoshe
Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela, noNgqongqoshe weziNdaba
Zasekhaya uMnu. Botha. Ngifuna ngokuqala ngokuphawula
ngokuthi ubukhulu balokho okuzanywa kuleliKomindi esilisungus=
lileyo bunquma ubukhulu banomayikuphi ukwehluleka esingase
siphethe kukho. Sisukela umsebenzi wokukhomba nokubhekana
nezithiyo ezithiya umsebenzi wokubonisana kanye nokudala
imigomo okukhona ukuvumelana kuyo. Ngumsebenzi obalulekileyo
lona. Nxa umuntu ezama into engabalulekile kakhulu, ukwehlu=
leka kakubalulekile. XuleliKonindi sizama ukudala impumelelo
eyoba yimpumelelo ebalulekileyo emlandweni. Kasikwazi ukuvu=
mela ukwehluleka.

Ngakho ngifuna ukuba kwasekugaleni nje kwempilo yokusebenza
kwaletiKomindi ngikucacise kahle engikubona njengezinjongo
esifanele ukuzisebenzela. Umuntu kufanele agale ngokuzibuza
imibuzo ngalokho okungakenzeki okudale ukuba kwakhiwe
leliXomindi lokubheka izithiyo ezivimbele impumelelo.

Kimi zikhona izithiyo ezivimbele ukubonisana kwempela okuphas=
kathi kwethu, Bahlonishwa nani, odabeni lwesakhiwo

esisha sekusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Ngidinga ukukucacisa ngakho konke ckusemandleni ami - ngikus=
cacise kugonde ngqo - ukuthi kangihlanganyele emsebenzi
waleliKomindi njengoNdunankulu WaKwaZulu. Kangigqokile sona
lesosigqoko lapha namhlanje. Ngize njengomuntu oMnyama
waseNingizimu ne~Afrika futhi ngize njengomuntu oMnyama
waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ongazimisele nakancane ngokubonisana
kokwakhiwa kabusha kwalezizinhlelo ezikhona zombusazwe !
walelizwe. Kangizimisele nakancane ngisho nje nokuqalaâ\200\231
ukukhuluma negalokho okunokwenziwa ukwenza uhlelo lwePhalamende

enguNxantathu ukuba lusebenze.

Kimi leliXomindi lifanele nokubhekana nodaba lokuthi

yini eyisithiyo embusazweni wokubonisana lapho uhlelo
iuvuleke khona ngeqiniso nalapho wonke amagembu ethungatha
khona ukuvumelana kwemiqondo ngalokho okufanele ukubhalwa
ekhasini wonke umuntu avumelanayo ngokuthi. kufanele ligale
ngokwesulwe libemsulwa kugala ngaphambi kokuba kugaliwe ukubha
kulo.

Ngikugonda ngokugcweleyo ukuthi kunezigaba ezintathu zika=
hulumeni nokuthi uhlelo lwasekhaya kufanele ebLekape nezi=
ndaba zohlelc lwasekhaya. Ngiyakugonda ukuthi uhlelo lwesi=
Funda kufanele lubhekane nezindaba zohlelo lwesiFunda.

ElaKwaZulu...../30

ElaKwaZulu liyuhlelo lwesifunda kepha leliKomidi kalidalelwanga khona ukubheka izindaba zohlelo lwesifunda. Size lapha njengezakhamizi zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ezivela esifundeni esithile ukuzokhuluma ngayoyonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Sesikufundele kakhulu ukukwenza lokhu. Sakhuluma ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika ngenkathi sikhuluma ngelaKwaZulu eNingizimu ne-Afrika kuButhelezi Khomishani. Sakhuluma ngeNingizimu Ne-Afrika. ngenkathi sikhuluma ngesifunda saKwaZulu neNatali eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Lelikomindi kufanele laziswe, Mhlonishwa Nogoncgoshe ukuthi wena njengoNggongqoshe Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo No= kuhlela nanjenpomuntu obambile njengeNhlcko YoMbuso, uthatha isinyathelo eschlukayo kuleyo ndawo okwakumi kuyo uHulumeni kalinu. P W Botha njenkathi esiphethe amatomu esigabeni soku= aala. Kepha ngiyazi ukuthi kubensukuviria koMengameli woMbuso ukuba laba abakumeleyo bahlanganyele kuleliKomindi.

Nzenkathi ngimemezela ukusungulwa kweButhelezi Khomishani uHulumeni waseNinsizimu ne-Afrika akavumelananga nemidiyo yeKhomishani yokusebenza. Ngahlanca bezana nokucindezelcka okukhulu ukuba ukusebenza kweKhomishani nrikugondanise nalezos= zindaba ezinokusetshenzwa ngaphakathi kwemingcele yelaKwa= Zulu kuphela. Kwathiwa ukubonisana enzikwenzayc kufanele npikwenzele phezu kwemigomo yobandlululc iweNingizimu ne-Afrika njengoba inqunywe npuHulumeni

Ngakwenqaba ukukwenza lokho. IButhelezi Khomishani yaqghubeka yenza umsebenzi wayo yakhipha nemibiko. Yayingakomi nokoma iyinki kuleMibiko ngenkathi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika eyichitha ngomio kaProfesa Owen Horwood owayengumholi wegembu lamaNeshinali elNatali ngalengkathi futhi .encuNgqongqoshe wezi= mali. Imipbhumcla yeMibiko kayichithwanga ngakho. ngoba uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kunephutha alifumana kuyo. Yachithwa ngokomromo ngisho nangaphambi kokuba uHulumeni ayi= funde.

Ubuchopho obuphilayc obuqukethe iMibiko yibona obayincomayo njansudbhalo efanele ukuthathwa njengemibhalc ebalulekileyo. Yathathwa njengemibhalo ebalulekileyo ekubcnisaneni esabanakho phakathi kwethu sisodwa naphakathi kwethu noMkhandu weSifundazwe saseNatali. Sabonisana noMkhandlu weSifundazwe saseNatali ngokwemukleka komqondo woMkhandlu Ohlanganyelweyo, i-Joint Executive Authority. . Sabuya sahlanganyela ckuxhaseni iNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali ngolwazi lokuthi nxa sikhuluma ngeJoint Executive Authority, sikhuluma ngayo phezu komqondo weNingizimu ne-Afrika okuycingeka ukuba iguquke. Sakhuluma nge-Joint Executive Authority njengento yesikhashana csasinokughubeka nayo ngenkathi sibonisana ncokwemukleka koMkhandlu Ohlanga= - nyelweyo Oshayumthetho, i-Joint Legislative Authority.

Ezimpikiswaneni

Ezimpikiswaneni zeNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali. sasisaphinda

sibheka sona isifuind: saKwaZulu neNatali phezu komgondo

obanzi weNingizimu ne-Afrika. Lokhu kubheka elaKwaZulu noma
elaKwaZulu neNatali phezu komgondo obanzi weNingizimu ne-Afrika
kwakwenziwa ngoba kuyintoc enokwenziwa ngisho nangaphambi kokubas
kuqaliswe ukubonisana ngesakhiwo sekusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Sekube khona ukukhuluma ngekusasa leNincizimu ne-Afrika
emazingeni amaningi. Ikusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ilylnto ubulumeni wase=
Ningiziru ne-Afrika esimamke isikhathi eside. ukuthi kufanele lukhulunywe
ngalo keluseyona into ckunpaphikiswana ngayo noma yikuphi manje. Iphuzu-engi=
Iibekayo ngelokuthi ukukhuluma lokhu bekunqondene nokuboni=
sana ngomgondo walelogama weqiniso. Kangibonisananga ngayo
inhlonipho yengane noma yesisebenzi. Ukubonisana. ngokomgondo .
weqiniso waleligama kuyikubonisana llaprha konke ukwehlukana
kwezinga noma kwamandla kubekwa khona ethala ukuze lahbo aha=
boniswayo bahlale phansi njengabantu abalinganayo esigcawini
sokubonisana. :

Nxa uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ezofika kulckhu afuna
ukukubiza ngcMkhandlu Wokubonisana (Negotiating. Chamber)
abesethi â\200\234"kufanele nenze lokhu noma lckhuya,â@ ukubonisana
kuthathe kungenzeki. Ngeke ngigale ukuboniszna nxa kudingeka
ukuba ngemukele ukughubeka kwezinhlelo zombusazwe ezikhona
ezacalwa yubandlululo. Ngeke ngibonise ngaphakathi komgondo
wokwemukela uhlelo lomgomo olawulwa uHulumeni. Ngokwami Â°
kukhona iNingizimu ne-Afrika eyodwa eyakhiwe yiNingizimu ne-
Afrika eyadalwa nguMthetho weNyonyana ngo 19148,

Kukhona umehluko oyisisekelo endleleni . wena, Mhlonishwa
Ngqongqoshe, obona ngayo iNingizimu ne-Afrika, nendlela mina
engiyibona ngayc. FKangikaze futhi kangisoze ngagudluka ekugcis=
zeleleni ekuhlanganeni ngokupheleleyo kweNingizimu ne-Afrika,
futhi selokhu kwathi nhlo ngicghubekile futhi ngisazoghubeka
nokuthungatha intando yeningi ngaphakathi kwalobobunye. Nxa
leliKomidi esilisungulayo kukhona elizockufeza, amalunga alo
kufanele azi ukuthi amanye amalungu emi kuphi ezindabeni
ezibucayi.

Kukhona ukungacaci ma%?ndana nendawec okumi kuyo uHulumeni
ezinhleni eziningi. Lokhu lkunvecaci kudala izinkinga. Neoliagibelo,
womhlaka 28 kuNocvemba 1987, iphephandaba i-Natal Mercury,
lakhipha indaba ngaphansi kwesihloko esithi "U-Heunis uchitha
iziphakamiso Zendabha". Ngawuphendula lombiko esitatimendeni
engasikhiphela amaphephandaba ngemuva kwalokho wena, Mhlonishwa
Ngqongqoshe, wangibhalela incwadi owayiqondisa kimi nggo ucacisa
npokusobala ukuthi istatimende sakho owasikhiphela amaphephandaba
sasingeyona impendulo kaHulumeni yangokomthetho magondana nezi=
phakamiso zeNdaba.

e

fephd Pdie e /32

Kepha esitatimendeni owasikhiphela amaphephandaba nakho konke osuke wakusho, kakukaze kube khona ukuwahoxisa amazwi athi uHulumeni uyayichitha imigomo eyenukela iningi okusekeleke

kuyo iziphakamiso seNdaba., Ngasebenzisa amazwi aginileyo ukucacisa indawo engimi kuyo ngokombusazwe maqondana nalokhus= kuchithwa kweziphakamiso futhi kangikagudluki kuleyondawo

engimi kuyo. Ngokwami mina, uHulumeni useyichithile mwokomthetho, ingqikithi yeziphakamisc zesakhiwo zeNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali.

Manje kuthi lapho usuhlangana nozakwethu uDokotela uDhlomo, uDokotela uDhlomo aphumele emphakathini nesitatimende wena, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, usukususile ukudideka magondana nku= thi uMulumeni usazichitha iziphakamiso zeNdaba. Nxa lelikomindi kxukhona lapho lizofinyelela khona kufanele sikuyeke ukuncenga sigudle izindaba ezibucayi. Impikiswano eyalandela isitati= mende owasikhiphela amaphephandaba, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, yenzeka ezinyangeni eziyi~15 ezedlule. Kwenzekani eziphaka= misweni zeNdaba na? ngabe kuganele siliguqise yini leliKomi= ndi kuze kube yinkathi lapho uHulumeni esekucacise khona ukuthi umiphi maqondana neziphakamiso na? ukungacaci kuzodala ukuba sivale izinhla sikunciphise nokuvuleka kwemiqondo yethu. Mgokwami mina, lelikomindi liyikomindi likaHulumeni waKwaZulu noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kalinalo uhlelo lweNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali. Lokho ngikusho naphezu kweginiso lokuthi iziphakamiso zeNdaba zingase zibe ingxenye yamaxoxo ekomindi,

Mhlonishwa Neqongqoshe, umhlaba wonke ulibhekile igembu lama= Neshinali. HMhlonishwa, lisazobhekana nokuhlolisiswa umhlaba kuleminyaka emibala ezayo. Lolukhetho oluzayo lweNcdlu yo= Mkhandlu luzocsha . umgcele wokugcina lapho abaningibezoyeka khona ukubonelela iNingizimu ne-Afrika nxa igembu lamaNeshinali lizinkela kweminye iminyaka emihlanu libusa ngendlela engawu= nikeziyo umhlaba ongaphandle ithemba ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika, umhlaba ongaphandle uyohlasela. Nxa igembu lamaNeshinali lisangena kweminye iminyaka emihlanu yokubusa lisaphethe imigomo efanayc Âçsgliyisebnzise . isikhathi eside manje, sizo= shuba isimo sombusazwe ngaphakathi. Kuzogxila .. umoya wezi= dlamlilo kanti yonke indawo lapho kukhona ughekeko kwezombus= sazwe, kuzobakhona inzondo esabekayo.

UHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika udinga ukuba enze abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bakukholwe ukuthi uyakufuna ngempela manje ukubonisana ngohlelc olusha lwesakhiwo oluzosebenza

kuyo yonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika lapho bonke abantu beyolingana khona emehlweni esakhiwo. Nxa uHulumeni engenayo leyonhloso kufanele asho. Nxa enayo leyonhloso kufanele asho.

Nxa uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika engenayo inhloso yokuboni=

sana ngohlelo olusha lwesakhiwo phezu kohlelo oluvulekileyo, iokhec kungasho ukuthi, Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, leliKomindi

lichithaoooooneo/33

lichitha isikhathi salo. Nxa uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ekufuna ukuboniswa ngekusasa eliyokwemukeleka kwababMnyama, abamhlophe, alMandiya namaKhalathi, kufanele asho ngakho thina esikuleliXomindi siyosebenze sdiule konke okunokulindelwa yisidalwa esingumuntu maqondana nokuzimisela komnikelo nokus= zikhandla ukufumana ukuhlangabezana okuyodingeka ukuze kwene= liseke iNingizimu ne-Afrika iyonke.

LeliKomindi kufanelelihlakazeke nxa lingeke lisukele umsebe= nzi wokuhlasela izinkinga ezidala ukudideka ekubonisaneni. Kufanele lihlazkazeke nxa lingakhulilekile ukucacisa lokho okuhloswe ngokubonisana futhi likhombe nezinkinga zesikhathi esidlule. Kakudingeki ukuba sibonise ngenhloso yockwazi indawo esimi kuyo. Sizalapha sinomgondo nolwazi olucacileyo lokuthi uHulumeni usishiye ngaphandle thina ekuhlanganyeleni ngokugcizelela kwakhe ukubonisana ngaphakathi kohlelo lwakhe.

Ngenkathi uHulumeni eqhubeka nokukhuluma ngokubonisana, uqhubekile nombusazwe wakhe wokulawula. Kangazi nje

nempela ukuthi leliKomindi lingawusukela kanjani ngokuzimisela lomsebenzi ngenkathi kusekhona izikhulu zoMbuso, izikhulu zesiFundazwe nezikhulu zeMikhandlu yase= kahaya ezisasebenzela ukuzama ukusungula iMikhandlu yeZifunda (Regional Services Councils) esifundeni saKwaZulu neNatali. Lokhu kakuwulungisi umoya ukuba ulungele ukubonisana kwempela lapho kungekho luhlangothi oluphogelela intando yalo kolunye.

Kufanele sibhekane neginiso lokuthi thina lapha KwaZulu sibhekene namasu okugaolozelana ngasohlangothini lukaHulumeni maqondana neMikhandlu yeZifundazwe. Ukucabanga ukuthi leMi= kandlu ingasungulwa ezindaweni zabamhlophe ngabamhlovhe

ngoba ngaleyondlela iyobe ingahlangene ngalutho nabaMnyama khona ngokwakho kungumcabango olingana nesithiyo esikhulu kakhulu esithiya ukubonisana. Kasikwemukeli ukuthi kukhona ngisho nolulodwa nje uhlelo lwabamhlophe lwasekhaya kulolo= ke elaKwaZulu neNatali olungafanele ukuba yuhlelo lwasekhaya lapho zonke izinhlanga zinokumelwa khona.

Kasikwemukeli ukuthi ikhona imisebenzi kahulumeni wasekhaya noma ngowesiFunda engathathwa ngokusemthethweni njengemisebenzi engaphakathi kwezindaba zabamhlophe bodwa, amaNdiya odwa, amaKhaladi odwa noma izindaba zabaMnyama bodwa. Ngisho nagendlela ochazwa ngayo, uMkhandlu wesiFundazwe ugondene nezindaba ezihlanganisa wonke umphakathi. Bangingi abantu abaNyama abazothintwa yilokho ckwenziwa yinoma yimuphi uMkhandlu weSifundazwe kunabamhlophe. Kasikwazi ukubuyiselwa eceleni sitshenwe ukuthi abamhlophe banelungelo lokuzisungu= lela eyabo iMikhandlu yeziFundazwe.

Mhlonishwa.,...../34

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Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe, kakusizi lutho ulwbka ngingalikhu= lumi iqiniso kuwe. Sikulungele ukubonisana. Sesinesikhathi eside sikulungele. Yithi esinokulahlekelwa ngokuningi ngokungabonisi. Besingeke sikubambezele ukubonisansz ngoba kukhona amaphuzu angasho lutho esifuna ukuzizuzela wona. Ukungaxhamazeli kwethu sizifake ekubonisaneni

kungenxa yokuba sizinikele ekuphepheni kwentando yeningi n~okwezombusazwe sNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngeke ukufumane ndawo ukuhlanganyela okunamandla nokuthembeke kangcono nokungagudiukiyo okwedlula lokho ongakufumana kithi. Lokho kuthembeka , - ckinpasullukiyo nokuzimisela kwethu ukubeka jzintamo zethu ogodweni kuyinto uHulumeni angayithenga ngckuthembeka kuphela. Mhlonishwa Ngqongqoshe,; ngiyakucela ukuba ukhulume iqiniso utshene leliKomindi ukuthi uhlelo iwalo luvulekile nokuthi uyasibona isidingo sokuba libhale ekhasini elifanele ngokugala ngokulesula libemsulwa kugala'

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kusukela kwasekugaleni kokusebenza kwethu cMkhandlwini = WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho ngisho nakuMaziphathe WaKwaZulu-kaZwelonke owawukhona ngaphambi koMkhandlu, sasiphezu komsebenzi wokwakha

jzisekelo zamandla ombusazwe esasingasukela kuzo ukwenza iminikelo ezingeni likaZwelonkc. Nasekugaleni kokuba khona kweNkatha sasenxa khona lokhu. Iminyaka ngeminyaka jlandelana besiqinisa izisekelo zethu amandla futhi lokho besikwenza, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngokuzenza lezozisekelo zigondane nempilo esizungezileyo.

Amandla ombusazwe angaqondene nezehlo ezisemqoka zosuku kakuwonz amandla ombusazwe -empela. Umbusazwe selokhu

kwathi nhlo uqgondene nalokho okuzuzwa usuku ngosuku emathubeni amandla nasekuhlanganiseni izindawo umuntu emi kuzo. Kasi= kwazi ukuhlala phansi sithi dekle sisonge izandla ngoba umbuso wentando yeningi onamaqgembu amaningi ungakabi yinto ekhona. Kasikwazi ukuhlala phanci sisonge izandla ngenkathi abanye

besebenza ukusungula umbuso wentando yeningi onamaqembu ama=

ningi. Nxa uyophetha ngokubakhona umbuso wentando yeningi onamagembu amaningi - futhi uzoba khona nakanjani - amaqogo ayohlanganyela kuwo kuyoba ngamaqogo awudalayo.

Yingakho...../35

o, L

Yingakho nje ngikulangazelela kangaka ukuba abafowethu
nodadewethu abasekudingizweni babekanye nathi ngenkathi

senza eyethu iminikelo ekudaleni iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha.
Ububanzi bomlando waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kuyoyonke imikhakha
yaWo usebenza lapha ngaphakathi kulelizwe. phakathi kwabantu.
Ngabantu abenza umlando. Sakha umphakathi njengoba sithubeka
kanti namathuba abaNyama amandla asebezibuthele wona kuwo

wonke amagumbi alelizwe nxa ehlanganiswa asephumelele ukuqwas=

qwada iPitoli ekhanda asho ukuthi abantu abaNyama kabasafuni
manie ukuba kughutshekwe nombusazwe wokubalawula maqondana
nekusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Kukhona ababambisana ngendlela engaqondakaliyo emandleni
abaNyama kulelizwe futhi kunendlela engaqondakaliyo lapho
labo abaphikisanayo bezifumana sebelekelelanc emjahweni
wamandla lapha eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kukukho ukungavumelani
laphe sizifumana ngesinye isikhathi sesigcizelela inkululeko
yokuhlanganyela kwezombusazwe kanye nenkululeko yokukhuluma.
Kukhona umbusazwe wabalinyama oghubekayo kulelizwe abafowethu
nodadewethu abasekudingisweni abangahlanganyeliyo kuwo.

Xungenxa yokuba sihlanganyela kulombusazwe wabanyama oghube=
kayo kulelizwe njengoba siphikiswa kangaka nje ngabanye
abafowethu nodadewethu abasekudingisweni. Kakusht khona
ukuthi siphikiswa ngenxa yokuba senza into cyiphutha.
Siphikiswa ngenxa yokuba kuyithi esihlanganyela kulombusazwe
wabanyama oghubekayo kulelizwe. Siphikiswa ngenxa yokuba
thina esikulombusazwe kasivumi ukudonswa nvanakhala . senze
lokho esilawulwa ngabanye ukuthi kufanele kube yikhona
okwenziwayo kuphela kungenziwa lutho clunye.

Ekugcineni, nokho, siyobe sikhona futhi siyobe: siyilokhu
esiyikho - abantu abakholelwa entandweni yeningi abaholwa
ngabantu nabatshenwa ngabantu ukuthi kufanele baghubeke
kanjani nokuthi kufanele bayephi. Ngibeka iphuzu, Mhlonishwa
Somlomo, Amalunga Arloliphekileyo. lokuthi lona kanye

uwhlelo...../37

by, 7

uhlelo oluyisekeko lwentando yeningi oludala thina yilo futhi
oluyosiqondanisa ludale ubudlelwane phakathi kwethu nanoma

yimuphi ocnunye ayodalwa yile lciuhlelo olufanayo lwentando
yeningi. Intando yeningi yinkulu kakhulu kuneqgoqo lombusazwe
elisebenzisa leyontando yeningi. Ngineqiniso lokuthi

lapho uyobhalwa khona umlando womzabalazo kusukela ekuqaleni
kwawo ngo-1912 kughubeke njalo kuye kufinyelele ekudalweni
kwePhalamencde lokuqala elisha elizimeleyo elisekeleke

evotini ngomuntu ohlelweni olwemukela ukuvota kwabobonke
abantu, kuyogoshwa phansi ukuthi ekugcwaleni kwesikhathi
izinkinga ezidalwe yishwn lokugqubuzana phakathi kwethu
nezithunywa ze~ANC ezisekudingisweni kanti bezinokuxazululeka.

Esifanele yikukwenza thina yikwenza lokho abantu abafuna
ukuba sikwenze. Nx2 singenzi okungaphezulu noma okungaphansi
kwalokho, singaba nesiqiniseko sokuphepha kwezombusazwe
futhi singaba nesizininiseko sokuthi siyophepha kulolo nalolo
suku amandla ethu akhule ngomuso. Nxa wenza into ngoba

nje ucabanga ukuthi iyinto yokwenziwa noma into yombusazwe
ngoba uphogeletwa ukuba uyenze noma unesifiso sckuyenza,
kungase kuchamuke omunye umuntu akuyekise ukuyenza leyonto
noma akuphogeletele ukuba uyeke ukuyenza kwasakhona nje.
Kepha nxa wenza lokho abantu abafuna ukuba ukwenze, kakukho
nuntu ongakunqanda.

Sisendaweni engenakuhlaseleka ngokombusazwe ngenxa yokuba
senza lokho abantu abafuna ukuba sikwenze ngakho abavukeli
bombuso abangafuni ukuba siphumelele ngoba nje kuyithi
esiphumelelayo, bazofumana ukuthi amandla ethu ombusazwe
angawenpela. Ngisacela namanje kubafowethu nodadewethu
abasekudingisweni ukuba bapheze manje ukuphikisana nathi
basebenze ngokuzwana nanoma yini kanye nakho konke

abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abakwenzayo. Ngisho
okufanayo naku-United Democratic Front kanye ne-COSATU.
Lezizinhlangano kufanele zenze lokho abantu abafuna ukuba

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ixwenze. Kazisiyeke nathi senze lokho abantu abafuna ukuba
sikwenze...../37

sikwenze. Kufanele abantu babathathe njengabantu abakhulus=
lekileyo kuthi nxa z2bantubefuna ukusungula indlela esebenzisa
amaghirza amaningi lapho izinhlangano ezehlukeneyo zenza khona
izinto ezehlukeneyo ezindaweni ezehlukeneyo ngezikhathi
ezehlukeneyo kute njalo.

Nxa ngikhuluma ngalokho esikwenzayo phazu komgondo wakho
konke engikushoyo ngiyasikhipha thina emgondweni ocineneyo
walabo ababeka iQembu ngaphambi koMbuso. Thina sithi uMbuso
makube yiwo phambili ngakho namhlanje, Mhlonishwa Somlomo,
Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngifuna ukuphinda futhi ngikucacise
kakhulu ukuthi nxa thina sifika enkundleni yokubonisana
ngekusasa leNingiziwu ne-Afrika, siyakugcizelela ukuba
uDokotela Nelson Mandela nabanye abaholi ababoshiweyo

babe sesimeni sokukwazi ukuzinqumela ngokwabo ukuthi baya=
funa yini noma kabafuni ukuhlanganyela.

Mjengamanje nje iKomindi leli elikhethwe koHulumeni, owakwaZulu no=
waseNingizimu ne-Afrika elisunguliweyo, lizogala ngokubheka
lokho okuyizithiyo ezivimbela ukubonisana phakathi kukaHulumeni
waseNingizimu ne-Afrika noHulumeni WaKwaZulu kanye neNkatha.
licacisa izinkinga ngakho phakathi kwezinkinga ezidinga
ukucaciswa okwemukelekayo yinkinga yokushiya abanye abafowethu
nodadewethu ngaphandle kohlelo lokubonisanz. Izinhlelo
ezivulekileyo kazinamsebenzi walutho ngaphandle kokuba
kubekhona nomayini enokuphikiswa yinoma yilirhi iqoqo
elifuna ukukuphikisa.

Ungakwenza ukufaka imigoqo ohlelweni uginiseke ukuthi izitha
zakho zombusazwe kazikwazi ukuphakamisa noma yini ongafuniyo
wena ukuba bayiphakamise. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ungenza -okufa=
nayo ncimishi, ngokuba ube nohlelo oluvulekileyo kepha
uzishiye ngaphandle izitha zakho zombusazwe ekuhlanganyeleni
emsebenzini ongaphansi kwalolohlelo. Kufanele sikhululeke

rd

nkuba.,..... /38

ukuba sibonisane nzokudala iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha esiyi=

funayo.

Indawo esimi kuyo inamandla amakhulu;; Mhlonishwa Somlomo,
Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngenxa yokuba kasifuni ukudala

- iNingizimu ne-Afrika edalwe yilokhu okudingwa yithi

kuphela. Kasifuni ukudala iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha ese=
keleke endleleni thina noma yiliphi elinye iqembu elichaza
ngayo lokho elikuqonda ngombuso wentando yeningi. Sisendaweni
enamandla yokufuna ukubonisana ngekhambi lombusazwe kulelizwe
lapho lelo naleloqogqo liyozimisela khona ukubuswa ngendlela
elifuna ukubuswa nzayo.

INgqikithi yaleNkulumo Yomgomo yalonyaka yikuthi umlando
ungavhezulu kwethu sonke noma ngabe sibheka izithunywa ze-
ANC ezisekudingisweni, noma i-PAC noma sibheka izindawo
zase~Transkei, Bephuthatswana Venda ne-Ciskei, umlando
uyoginiseka ukuthi bonke bakhcna ndawonyeâ\200\235 kanye nabobonke
abanye ngenkathi kuxazululwa udaba lwaseNingizimu ne-Afrika.
Kangisho khona ngalokhu ukathi amanye amagembu ngeke azikhiphe
woma kunoma yikuphi ukuhlanganyela ekumasheni komlando

uqonde phambili. Engikushoyo nje yikuthi umlando ngeke
ubakhiphe wona nokuthi umlando ngeke ukuvumele ukuba kubekhona
iqogqo elikhiphela elinye ngaphandle.

Lokhu engikushoyo kusebenza nrokulinganayo naseQenjini

elibusayo lamaNeshinali. Kunesikhathi eside, i-ANC igcizelela
ukuthi ekuyikuphela kwento okungaboniswa ngayo noHulumeni wase=
Ningizimu ne-Afrika yikwedluliselwa kwamandla okunquma kubantu.
Bebekugcizela ukuthi okuyikuphela kwento engagalisa uhlelo lokubonisana
yikuba iQembu lamaNeshinali lidedele amandla njengeQembu elibu=

sayo. Kabasacacile kahle kuleliphuzu njengamanje. Sekukhulile

ukucindezeleka kubo ngenxa yokuba umhlaba wonke uyakubona ukuthi
ukuvukelwa kombuso kungaphumelela ukucekela iNingizimu ne-Afrika

phansi kuphela. ' &

Izimo emhlabeni (izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni ezameme=zela kuzo umzabalazo wazo wezikhali) zazehluka ngokupheleleyo eminyakeni yawo ~126C kunalokho eziyikho manje. Umgomo weRashiya wokusabalala wawusufinyelela esiqongweni sawo ngaleyonkathi. UDokotela Fidel Castro wayesanda kuhlwitha amandla e-Cuba ngo-1959 ngakho ngenkathi i-ANC imemezela umzabalazo wayo wezikhali, i-Rashiya yayinikeza usizo olukhulu lokusekela i-Cuba. Labo abaguqukayo baqoka ukwenza umzabalazo wezikhali indlela ephambili yokudala ukukhululwa kwe=Ningizimu ne-Afrika babenethemba lempumelelo efuze eye-Cuba.

Kakungabazeki nakancane ukuthi kuleyominyaka yawo-1960 nawo 197C i-Rashiya yayingeke ikucabange ukuthi kuyothi kuphela awo-1980 kube sekukhona into efana noguquko emigomeni (pere= stroika) kanye nenqubo yokungafihli lutho (glasnost) ezweni lakhona. Babengeke bakucabange ukuthi kuyofika isikhathi sokuba elase-Rashiya lihoxise ukusekela kwalo noma yimiphi imibutho esebenza ukudala isimo esingathembekile ezindaweni ezingaphandle kwalezo zindawo ezingaphansi komoya nokulawulwa yi-Rashiya. Okwakukude kunakho konke ukuba kungacatshangwa yikuhlanganyela kwe-Rashiya embusazweni wempela (real poli=tik) ukudala uguquko lwempela eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokusebenzisa umbusazwe wokubonisana.

Ukuzimbandakanye kwe~Rashiya ekuxazululweni kwenkinga yase= Namibia kube yikuzimbandakanye okusazo bonakala ukuthi

kusho intengo enkulu ku-ANC. Ngaphansi kwekhambi osekuvunye= lwene ngalo manje, i-ANC izolahlekelwa yizikhungo zayo e-Angola. Sezivele ziyilahlekelele izikhungo" zayo e-Mozambique futhi kusobala ukuthi kayikwazi ukusungula izikhungo zezempi e-Botswana nase= Zimbabwe.

Futhi kusobala ukuthi ukuhoxa kwelase-Mozambique ekusekeleni umzabalazo wezikhali wokulwa neNingizimu ne-Afrika obekwenziwa

kusukelwa..... A0

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kusukelwa ezikhungweni ezingaphakathi kwemingcele yelase-Mozambique, kwakuyingxenye yohlelo olubanzi lokunciphisa kweMozambique ukuthembela kwayo kwelase-Rashiya. Ngemuva kancane nje kokuba i-Frelimo ithathe uHulumeni eMozambique yayinomcabango wokujoyina elase-Rashiya namanye amazwe abambisene nayo njengendawo eziqokela yona ohlelweni lomhlaba. Elase-Mozambique lalingakulindele ukuthi ngo-1981 elase-Rashiya namanye amazwe angamalunga oMkhandlu Wokulekele= lana Kwezomnotho (Mutual Economic Assistance) bayovumelana ngazwi linye ukusiphikisa isicelo se-Mozambique ukuba yemukelwe njengelunga elipheleleyo esikhundleni sokuba yizwe eliyisethameli nje.

Yilokhu kuchithwa kwe-Mozambique nokwengaba kwe-Rashiya

ukuba ifake elase-Mozambique ezinhleni zamazwe alekelelwa yi-Rashiya ngezimali okwaholela ekubeni iNgqungquthela yesine yeQembu le-Frelimo, eyayingo-Aprili ka-1983, ukuba ithathe isinqumo esisemqoka. XuleNgqungquthela i-Frelimo yanquma

ukuba ighelelane nohlelo lwezolimo olusingethwe nguMbuso esikhundleni salo yanquma ukuthembela kakhulu ohlelweni lwabalimi abancane, futhi yaghelelana nokusingathwa kwemisebenzi yezimboni nguMbuso. Izinyathelo i-Frelimo eyanquma ukuzithatha kuleNgqungquthela zalungisa indlela yobudlelwanc i-Mozambique esibudalile neNingizimu ne-Afrika kwezomnotho kusukela ngaleyonkathi.

ISivumelwano SaseNkomanzi sika-Mashi 1984 saqinisa amabombo

ayesethathwe ngelase-Mozambique emgomeni wezangaphandle okwase kuthathe iminyaka elase-Mozambique liwadala. Nxa sekuza endleleni i-Moscow â\2027lingamnisa ngayo izinto ezibona njenges= zinto ezidinga ukuphuthunywa kugala kunezinye; ibeka izidingo zayo phambili, njengoba kwenza i-Washington, i-Bonn, i-Paris nelandani. I-Mozambique ibeka izidingo zayo phambili ngakho kusezidingweni zawowonke lamazwe kanye nelase-Mozambique ukuba angawusekeli umzabalazo wezikhali owehlulekile ukusebenza eminyakeni- engaphezulukwama~25 futhi nongeke usebenze kweminye iminyaka eyi-125 ezayo.

Mhlonishwa...../41

b]

Mhlonishwa Somloms, fmalunga Ahleoniphekileyo,
seliphezu komkhankas~ wokuhoxa manje ezimpin
n

i
ke a

zigaxa ekungoubuzaneni ezifundeni ezikuwown
omhlaba. Izidingo zomhlaba zelase-Rashiya kanye
ziwahlanganise ndawonye lamazwe ekuxazululweni kwenkinga
yase-Namibia futni ziycwahlancanisa nasekuxazululweni
kwenkinga yormbusazwe yase Ningizimu ne-Afrika.

Unhlaba wonke ufuna ukuba kuxazululwe inkinga
yeNingizimu ne-Afrika ckokugala nje.

elase-Rashiya liyiphike i-ANC, futhi kangikholwa yikuthi
ya lizozama ukulawula i-ANC, kepha nayc i-ANC
: Jlawule i-tloscow. Nxa kukhulunywaz ngokulindeleke
esimeni nje jikelele, i-ANC kuzoya nzokuya kukhula ukuba
izifumane iphezu kokucindezeleka okukhulu ukuba ibhekanc
nenkinga yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokombusazwe, hhayi
ukube ithembele endleleni yezempi nje kuphela ukudala

usucukc.

Izinkulumo ezisazoshovuzwa zizoqukatha amzzwi acinisa ngokuthi
selokhy kwathi nhio i-ANC ithungatha ikhambi lombusazwe.
Xusazoba khona ukukuphika okukhulu ukuthi sckuke kwabakhona
urucuko emgomeni okuthathim ngawe i-ANC neNingizimu ne-Afrika.
Bsikwaziyo kwehlukile. Eminyakeni yawo-1960 i-ANC yayinzcs
kÂ¢ iyisekele noma yimivhi imizamo yombusazwe yangaphakathi
ngenxa yendawo eyayimi kuyo ngokomthetho eyayithi noma
yikuphi ukuzimbandakanye kwayo embusazweni wangaphakathi
eMingizimu ne-Afrika kuyakunyundela ukuzinikel

okuvheleleyo emzabalazweni wezikhali.

Kuze kwaba yikungqubuzana kwase-Scweto kuka-1976 kanye nesimo
zombusazwe saseNingizimu ne-Afrika esintenfayo esalandela
lokhe rungqubuzana okwakhombisa i-ANC amaphutha ezindlela
z2yo. Ngaleyonkathi i~ANC yakubona ukuthi nayo kufanele
inzakuvunelil ukwedlulwa ngakho yagalisa uhlelos llokusebenzisa

ezinye..../42

ol P

ezinye izinhlangano ukuze inwebe amandla ayo ckuthatha izinqumo.

Kungenxa yckuba uhlelc lckusetshenziswa lungavumanga

ukusebenza eNkatheni njengoba i~ANC yanocuma ukuguqukela

ekwenzeni konke okuscmandleni ayo ukubhidliza iNkatha. Åhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunza Ahloniphekileyo, yikugxiia kwezingxabo zeNkatha kubantu nokusekeleka kwayo emphakathini nzendlela ethatha isimo njengoba sinjalo, ockudala ukuba i-ANC ingakwazi ukusebenzisa iNkatha iyenhuce noma yikuphi uku=baluleka kwezombusazwe ckungekwayo. Kungenxa futhi yokuba i iNkatha inezingxabo zayo kubantu njengoba i-ANC ingeke ikwazi ukusibhidliza.

Njen;oba ingakwazi nje ukusibhidliza, nayo ngokwayo iphezu kokubhekana nemimoya eyehlisa ulaka esukela ekugucqukeni ndlela elase-Rashiya elithatha ngayo iNinzizimu ne-Afrika kanye ne-Afrika eseNingizimu. Futhi i-ANC isazochubeka nokuzifumana icindezelwa yimimoya ezcbamba imikhala yayo ckuzokwenziwa yiMibuso eyakhelene neNingizimu ne-Afrika noeke ikwazi ukumelana nokuvumela i-ANC ukuba isebenze ukela ezikhungweni ezingaphakathi kwemingcele yamazwe

aleMibuso.

amandla ePitoli ezempi ekhule kakhulu njokudlula kwalowo

nlowonyaka, -ehlile -amdndla Å¢-Pitoli ezombusazwe ngokughubeka kwesikhathi. Ukukhula kobuthakathaka be-Pitoli kwezombusazwe, ukukhula kwemimoya e-Afrika eseNingizimu okusukela emhlabeni onganhandle nokuvela kwamaqogo afana neNkatha eNingizimu ne-Afrika, konke kukhomba ukuthi esikhathini esiseduze noma esikude i-ANC kuzodingeka ukuba isebenzelane nathi. Ngisis bheke ngabomvu lesosikhathi. Kangisibhekile npakhc ukufisa ukuba ngisizakale ibese ngithi ngangishile. Ngithi ngisi=bheke ngabomvu ngoba noilindele ukuphola kwesilonda emzimbeni wombusazawe weNincizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama.

mloanhwan o o o c,â\200\234i 43

Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, esizozama ukukwenza kuleliKomindi elihlanganisa oHulumeni bobabili elisunguielwe ukukhowbz izinpqinamba ebezithiya ukungena kwethu enbusazweni wokubcnisana, kuzokwenzelwa yonke iNingi= zimu ne-Afrika. Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuba ukungabaza ockuse= Qenjini lamaNeshinali kujule ngaso kanye lesisikhathi

lapo isimo sase-Afrika eseNingizimu sigala ukuhlambuluka nomhlaba usuzimisele manje ukusekela noma yikuphi okuqondene nekhambi lombusazwe kulelizwe kunalokho osekwake kwenzeka esikhathini esidlule. IMibuso enamandla amakhulu izosckela noma yikuphi okuyintuthuko ezozuzwa kulokhu kanti nelase-Rashiya ngzeke likubona ukuxazululwa kwenkinga yeNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokombusazwe kuphambana nezidingo zayo njenge=

zwe nancokomhlaba.

ENkulumeni yami Yomgomo ka-1987, ngatshena aMalunga npamazwi oMnu. Gleb Starushenko awakhuluma eNcqunoqutheleni Å¥okuthul | Ukubambisana Nentuthuko Yomphakathi ye-Rashiya ne-Afrika (Soviet/African Conference for Peace, Co-operation and

Social Progress). [hlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphe= kileyo, nizokhumbula ukuthi leli kwaba yizwi lokuqala glikhombisa umoya owehlisa ulaka aMalunza ake alizwa lichamuka e-Moscow. UMnu. Starushenko njengePhini lol

Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences wakusho nsokuso= bala ukuthi uqoka ikhambi lombusazwe waghubeke waze wafi= nyelela ekutheni i~ANC kufanele izifake ekuhlinzekeni ukuvis

1.

kelwa kwedlanzana labamhlophe.

Kakumangazanga, nckho, ukuba amaphephabhyku Å¢-South African

Ccommunist Party kanye ne-ANC accizelele ukuthi lena kwakuyi= mibono yo-Mnu. Starushenko nje ngakho kwabathckozisa kakhulu ukuba kuthi ngo-1987 elinye iPhini loMqondisi we-Afrika Institute yase-Moscow u-Victor Goncharov, encena kulempikiswana ncenkathi eseNoqungqutheleni eyayikhuluma nge~Afrika eseNin-sizimu kwelase Zivbak#@razehlukanise namazwi . o~Mnu. Starushenko ngokuvikelwa

Kwedlanzana..... /44

kwedlanzana lobasiiiovhe . kepha kwasobala ukuthi narhezu kwalokho kuzihlukanisa, lona kwakungewona umcabangs omusha ngakho kwakungesilo iqinisc ukuthi kumele imibono ycoMnu. Starushenko nje kuphela. UDokotela Winrich Kuhne oyisazi somgomo welase-Rashiya noyiNhloko yoMnyanso we-Afrika

ku- Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik e-Ebenhausen, eNtshonalanga Jalimani, endabeni eyayinesihloko esithi "Ingabe Ikhona Yini Indlela Entsha Elase-Rashiya Elingabhekana Ngayo Ne-Ningizimu ne-Afrika" wafumana ukuthi kunokugcizelela okukhulu ngokwegisa okwenziwayo emehlukeni ophakathi koMnu Starushenkoni. Goncharov. Waphawula ukuthi imibono yoMnu. Starushenkc kayiyona neze imibono yomuntu oyedwa

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ku-Africa Institute e-Moscow. Ukuthamba okusha kwendlela elase. Rashiya â\200\234iibuka n-oayo illincizimu ne-Afrika sekvholele ekuthintaneni okubanzi nabantu base-Ningizimu Afrika. Amalunsa asebenza orhikweni- ickucwaninga lweSizindi Sobandiululo Bezinhlana eNingizimu ne-Afrika â\200\234South /Irict Institute of Racs .Relations Research) asenuakathi kwesibalo sabantu asebeke bahambela e-Moscow. Steven Friedman no-Monty Narsoo embikweni wabo abawethule ekubuyeni kwabo e-Moscow ckhiishwe yi-Institute usckela amazwi kaDokotela Kuhne okuthi uMnu- Staroshenko-akayeriwa

kulombono wakhe ku~-Afrika Institute.

Kepha kulesisikhathi laphe elaseRashiya seliqala ukuxegisa

umcywa walo lihoxa ohlctsheni lokusekela i-ANC "J.eliyisekela i

ngalo selingena ekuhlancanyeleni nelase-Melika ezinhlelweni zckuthula, uHulumeni wase-Ningizimu n9~AÂfina uyehluleka ukuphendula noma ukusabela kulezizimo ezicukukayo ngokunsena

embusazweni wempela wckubonisana.,

Ingiphazamise...../45

Ingiphazamise kakhulu, thlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga
Ahloniphekileyo, imibiko ethi abaholi abaphezulu beQembu
lamaNeshinali sebebhekene nokungqubuzana ezingeni lobuholi manje.
Ngokubuyela kobnu. P.W.Botha e-Tuyzhuys, njengoba ememezele
ukuthi uzobuyela, sinalcmehluko cngajwayelekile phakathi
koMengameli woMbuso onamandla ekuthathweni kwezinqumo

nenhloko yeQembu lamaNeshinali elibusayo. Nxa umuntu

ecabanga ngendlela uiMnu. Botha akhaca noayo ubMnu. Pik Rotha
obala ngokulokotha nje akhulume amazwi athi kunokwenzelks

ukuba kubekhcona umengameli oMnyama eNingizimu ne-Afrika
ngelinye ilanga, umuntu uthathe angazi ukuthi ingabe
UMnu. F.W.de Klerk uyoba nenkululeko engakanani ayckwazi

ukukhuluma ngayo.

Kangikholwa ukuthi bakhona abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu
ne-Afrika ababalulekileyo abangase baqoke uMnu. Jde Klerk
njengomuntu wokugala abazikhethela yena ukuba alandele

ulinu. P.W. Bctha njengomholi weQembu lamaNeshinali. UMnu.

de Klerk ubethathwa njen-omholi weGembu lamaNeshinali eNtilasifali
onemigomo eginileyo ofugelws yiQembu le-Conservative Party
ngakwesokudla. Xepha Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunia Ahloniphe=

b

kileyo, nzisho nami kufanele ngizwakalise ukumangala

3

i

dÂ¢ Klerk akusho ePhalamende

nienxa yalokho yena loMnu.
noenkathi kuneMpikiswano Yokungamethembi uHulumeni
nzermuva nje kancane kokukhethwa kwakhe ukuba ahole:
iQembu lamaNeshinali.

Ngiphambene mina nolokho uMnu de Klerk akumeleyo kwezombusazwe
futhi ngiyohlala ngiphambene naye kuze kubekhcna iNingizimu
ne~Afrika entsha enombusc wentando yeningi oxube izinhlanga,
ncnanagembu wamaningi osekeleleke ohlelweni lokuvota kwabo

bonke abantu abacdala. Kepha kufanele ngikusho ukuthi
anzimancaza ngendlela eyangithokozisayc amazwi akhe ePhalamende.
Bmazwini akhe okugala omgomo njengomholi welesmbu lamaNeshinali
wnsukuma wakhorbisa ukuthambekela ngasohlangothini iwenkambu yalabo

abakhanyisclweyo..../46

abakhanyiselweyo ku-Mational Party. Wathi: "IQembu lamaNeshinali lizoscbonzele izwe elingenalo ubandlululo lwezinhlanva, eLh@auwo inzonde phakathi kwezinhlanga nokuhlulula kwabantu ncendlela ebalimaza ayo ngesizathu zesinhlanga zabo." Wathi: "ngifuna ukukusho kugonde ngqo ukuthi iQembu lamaNeshinali liphambene nokuconelwa kweqoqo abantu ngzelinye. Ukuqonelwa kwezinye 12lnblanga nzabamhlophe,

nxa kusekhona, kufanele kuphele." Wathi futhi: "Ukuthi silufumana kanjani lolohlel:s lwesakhiwo olunobulungiswa nokulingana kuyintc okufanele kuboniswa ngayo. Njenao= mholi weGembu la ;izokwenza konke ockuscmdleni ami ukulusheshisa loluh

UMnu. le Xlerk usckusho ngokucacileyo manjc ukuthi isikhathi

sesifikile sokuba kuboniswa ngohlelo olusha clufanelekileyo clungenakhe ukuhlulula ckuzolondolozwa ngaio amaiungelo omphakathi. Xuyiqiniso ukuthi ngomgondo owolwa usaphunelele ukusho zona izinto ezindala kepha uphumelelile ukuzisho nzezinga elithile elikhomba isimo esiphuthumayo kanti

futhi, leznzinto uzisho phezu kwesimo okulindeleke kuso

ukuba ukuthatha kwakhe amandla ebuholini bombusazwe weQembu kuholele iQembu lamaMeshinali ngakwesukudla.

Hxa uMnu. de Klerk engakasithathi isinyathelo esinokuthathwa yiQembu lamaNeshinali esiya ngakwesokudla kuncasho ukuthi kakwdo muntu oyoks asithathe lesosinyathelo. Thina njenga= ntu abaMnyawa siyakhuthazeka nckho ukuthi indlela uMhu. de Klerk ngayo emsebenzini wakhe omushz isckela ukuginisa ngike nsakwenza lapho ngithi iQembu clingakweso= sckela imigome yohbandlululo ngokurhelcleyo ngeke liwathathe amatomu kahulumeni. IQembu lamaNeshinali kalibes= sabi kangako labo abangakwesokudla kangangoba belingaze likhethe uMnu. Jde Klerk njengomholi ngoba ligonde ukuzincengela kubo. Naphezu kokuba thina njengabantu abakMnyama sisebenza esimeni sckungakholwa kahle njalo nje nxa kukhona isithembiso

esighamuka/47

ezighamuka nogakubakhulumeli beQembu lamaNeshinali, naphezu
kokuba besekuyinto esesake sayizwa ngisho nangaphambi
kokuba uMnu JdcÂç Klerk akhulume, yena,; njengoMnu. P.W. Botha
ngzaphambi kwakhe singasho ukuthi amabombo akhe uwabhekise

endaweni efaneleyo, nokho.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, /fmalunga Ahloninhekileyo, ngifisa
ukucela lileÂçlo nalelo Lunza Elihlcniphekileyo ukuba lingia=
lelisise nxa ngithi siphezu komsebenzi wokudala amandla
ombusazwe aqondene nesimo. Sonke lesisikhathi besisebenza
sizigondanisa mnesino esidaieka eNingizimu ne-Afrika

kanye nase-Afrika eseNinzizimu manje. Besizilungiselela
lesosimo. Besizilungiselela iQembu lamaNeshinali elingenayo
enye indlela ngaphandle kokubonisana ngenxa yckukhula kwama=
thuba amandla abantu abalinyama ombusazwe. Besizilungiselela
futhi nesinc se-Afrika cseNingizimu lapho kuthathwa khona
izinyathelo ezisemgoka ezigondc ekuthuleni hhayi ukusatshala=

liswa kwempi nokuvukelwa kombusoc.

vikuba khona kwethu emongweni walckho okuzokwenzeka kusasa
okusenza sizondwe kangaka yinoma ngubani oshiywe yisitimela
nosssinza ekude ethunzatha izinto ezintsha ezizokwenzeka

gliingizimu ne-Afrika.

Xade ngibheka imosogo ebanzi yezimpawu esifancle ukubhekela

nd-hakathi kwazd ukathi amandla ombusazwe cmpela ayini.
Kungaphakathi kwaleyo migoqo engifuna ukugcizelela khona
ukuthi amandla ombusazwe empela angamandla okudala uguruko.
Nxa amandla ezempi omzabalazo wezikhali encakaludali uguquko
kusho ukuthi amandla czempi akakwazi ukuchazwa njengamandla
ombusazwe. Sengike ngakugcizelela ukuthi amandla ombusazwe
kaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika awedlula kude amandla
akhe ombusazwe okwenza lokho uHulumeni azimisele ngokukwenza.

tusizani ukuba sizabalazele izindawo zombusazwe sisungule

nezisekelo.ceeo.. /48

nezisekelo zombusazwe nxa ekwenzeni kwethu lokho singalushes=
shisi usuku loguquko noma silawule ngendlela ethile

amabombo azothathwa yusuquko na sesifinyelele endaweni
lapho amathuba amandla amanorqo cmbusazwe amnyama ehlukeneyo
ezofakwa khona esikalini sokuhlolwa. Nxa uHulumeni waseNi=
ngizimu ne-Afrika enamandla ngokwezempi kepha ebuthakathaka
ngokombusazwe lcbobuthakathaka kufanele busetshenziswe

futhi yilowo onamandla empela oyokwazi ukubusebenzisa
lobobuthakathaka.

Sekuyiminyaka eminingi manje umbusazwe wabalnyama usebenza
ukuphendula ezinyathelweni ezithathwa ngabamhlophe. Ngabas=
mhlophe abaqqoka ihubo ibese abaiknyama besina ngokuphikisa
lokho okwenziwa ngabamhlophe. Abamhlophe kabasakwazi manje
ukuba kubeyibo abagoka ingoma. Izinyathelo zombusazwe
ezithathwe ngumbusazwe wabamhlophe ngisho nalezo ozithathe
kulelishumi leminyako eledlule, zifugele umbusazwe wabamhlorphe
ezindleleni ezingayi ndawo. Ngaphakathi kwemicngo ebanzi
engikhulumzla kuyo namahlanje kakukuningi ckungenziwa ngabas=
wmhlophe ngempela.

Kukhona ukusibona lesisimo sakwangqgingetshe esisembusazweni
wabamhlophe ohlelweni olubanzi lokucabanga kwabamhlophe
kwezombusazwe. MNoisho nalaba asebehlaba umkhosi wohlobo
oluthile lwenhlelisa yombuso wamabhunu (Boerestaat) bayaku=
bona ukuthi umbusazwe wabamhlophe eNingizimu ne-Afrika
usufinyelele endleleni engasenakughubeka. Uinu. P.W. Botha
ubenethuba lokwenza izinto ezikhombisa isibindi - ngaphakathi
kwemigoqo yvombusazwe wabamhlophe -~ kepha izithiyo umbusazwe
wabamhlophe ozibeke rhezu kwakhe zidale ukuba lezozinto
ezikhombisa isibindi kube yizinto ezigcira ngokubeka
umbusazwe wabamhlophe lapho kwehlukana khona izindlela zomlando.
Kulapho-ke llapho kugcina khona umbusazwe wabamhlophe bodwa.

IQembu le-Conservative Party liyakwemukela lokhu yingakho nje

15

seiifuna ukubuyela emuva lihlehle. llilandele indlela ehanjwe

ngumbusazwe.../49

ngumbusazwe wabamhlophe. Labo abangakwesokudla ngokwedlus=
leleyo bayakubona llokhu ngdkho bafuna ukugala baphuphe ama=
phupho okwehlukani swa kwabaMnyama nabamhlophe ngenkathi
ukwehlukani swa okuyingxeny e noma ukwehlukani swa-mbumbulu
kwabaMnyama nabamhlophe kuyinto engasenakufezeka.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kangilesabi
ikusasa lezombusazwe. Lizoba yikusasa elinamathuba zlandela
amanye amathuba okurhumelela kwezenzo zahantu abaNnyama
zesibindi. Yilolulwazi olunzenza ngikhathazeke kangaka
ngokuntuleka kokugqonda engikubona emagqweni amaningi
abaNnyama ukuthi manje sidinga ukusebenzisa umbusazwe wamandla

nokuthi noma yini engenawoamandla ngokombusazwe siyilahle.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngiyaphinda
ngiyanitshena ukuthi thina esikuleNdlu sikuleidlu ngenxa

yokuba sinckuzinikela embusazwenicwezwe lonke.

Ngisho noma sinpawufeza ngokuzimisela okungakanani umsebenzi

osemahlcmb e ethu njengchulumeni wesifunda. ngisho futhi

noma singakhathazeka kangakanani ngokusebenzisa isimc esiyi=
so ekwenzeni okuhle kunakho konke esinckukwenzela abantu
nzenkathi sizabalazela inkululeko yethu, umsebenzi wethu
osenijcka kufanele sikhubeke nckuwucacisa ngaphakathi kwezi=s

Âçingo zomzabalazo wenkululeko yesizwe.

Ngifuna ukubeka naleliphuzu lokwenseza magondana namathuba
ombusazwe wabantu abalanyama. Yilawo magoqgo ayobonakala
erjondene nezidinge zoqugaba ayonhetha enamathuba amandla.
Izenzo zobughalaghala bokuzifunela udumo Iwezombusazwe
kunokuphumelela ukuphazamisa izinto9 kepha nxa seziplazamise=
kile lezozenzo ziyobz yizenzo ezinganambithekiyo futhi

ezingafezi lutho ngokombusazwe.

Kufanele sihlale sikukhumbula ukuthi kuyobakhona amandla
amasha okwenzeka kwezinto embusazweni weNingizimu ne-Afrika

nzemuva kokuba sesilikhululile izwe. Izikhukhula zamanzi.

ombUuS2AZWe . coss /50

=50~

ombusazwe ziycchithcka nazozonke izinkalo zezwe lapho
kubhidlizwa khera izindonga zedamu okuyizona ebezivimbele
amagagasi oguquko.

Ngaleyoc nkathi siyoba nezinkinga ezibanzi zombusazwe kanye
namathuba abanzi ezenzo zombusazwe ezingakaze zibonwe kules=
lizwekazi lase-Afrika. Cabanga kuphela nje ngobubanzi
bemnijoncdolc esendaweni yaseThekwini namaphethelo lapho uhulumeni
oyobakhona ngemuva kwenkululeko kuyodingeka ukuba aghube
izinhlelo zentuthuko eziyckwenza uhulumecni wasekhaya
nowesifunda aqondane nezidingo zalezizigidi ezintsha okuzo=
dingeka ukuba zihlinzekwe. UHulumeni wasckhaya kuyodingeka
ukuba adale izinhlelo ezintsha azivuselele njalo nje futhi
lokho kuyodinsgeka ukuba akwenze esimeni sezindimbane zoquqaba
olunamathcemba nclulindele okukhulu ckungathi nxa lawomathemba
engafezcki kube nengozi yokughubeka kokubheduka kweziwomh o
zentukuthelo,

Kunvaleyo nkathi~ke noma ngubani ofuna ukubusa kuyodingeka
abe nezisekelo zamandla empela. Lesisimo esinaso khona
nje emnyango wethu, sivhindwa phindwa kaningi kuwo
amagumbi alelizwe. Kunobubanzi bezindawo ezifana

nawo-Winterveld futhi kunobubanzi obukhona obuzungeze lelo

nalelo dolobha lapho kunabantu abanganakekeliwe okuzodingeka
ukuba banakekelwe. "Kukhona futhi nezinye izididi esezingene
kulolonke elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika nazo ezizovela obala

ukuba zibonwe zinakckelwe.

Konke lokhu kuhlanguka kwenze umbusazwe osusa usinga kepha

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ababuthakathaka
baychlakulwa kusale kuphela abanamandla. Noeke kugcine ngos=
kuba kudinseke amasu amasha okuhlinzeka abantu ezinhlelweni
ezintsha zombusazwe nje kuphela kepha kuwowonke amagumbi

ezve kuyodingeka ukuba kudalwe amasu amasha kuwcwonke amazinga
kaHulumeni. Noma ngubani obusayo kuyofuneka ukuba anikeze

B0 /5]

B
b

uholo ekuthuthukeni kwezinyonyana zabasebenzi; kuyodingeka ukuba banikeze uhclo kwezemfundo; kuyodingeka ukuba bahlinzeke izidingo ezisemqoka zezempilo nezenhlalakahle futhi lokho bekwenza ngenkathi behlela futhi befeza imigomo engase idale

umcebo oyodingwa yinoma ngubnani obusayo.

Okungaphezu kwakho konke abantu abaNnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kufanele ukuba baqginiseke ukuthi babhejela ihhashi eliyilo lombusazwe manje njengoba sesiqala ukungena embusazweni woguquko okusukwa kulo esimeni esidala kuyiwa kwesisha. Yingakho kuyinto ephuthumayo nje ukuba abamhlophe abakwezo=mbusazwe bakubone ukuthi sekukhona isidingo manje sokuba ikhus=lulwe intando yomuntu oMnyama yeningi. Kimi kuyiqiniso elisobala lombusazwe ukuthi nxa sizoba nekusasa elixube izinhlanga, a2bamhlophe bazobhekana nokulinyazwa ngamaphutha abaNnyama nabaMnyama bazobhekana nokulinyazwa ngamaphutha abamhlophe. Ngikhulekela ulkulunkulu ukuba abamhlophe bangazisoli ngokuthi kabazange bawukhulule umbusazwe wabaMnyama ngesi=khathi esifaneleyo ukuwunikeza ithuba lokuba udale uhlobo lwamandla ayodingeka eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngesikhathi

soguquko nangemuva koguquko.

Ngifuna ukuma izncane lapha, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukuze ngihlole amazwi oMnu. Oliver Tambo awakhuluma ngenkathi i-ANC ihlanganisa iminyaka engama-77 ngoJanuwali walonyaka. Ngenkathi ngifumana ikhophi yeSita=timende sakne okokugala ngisicosha njengento enganginentshise=kelo yokuyifunda. INgiyazi ukuthi yindlela yamaghighga amaningi ku-" >la izpr.o eyo naleyo nhlangano yenza khona ekwazi ukukwenza ukudala uguquko okuyilona oluyonqoba ckugcineni. Ngalithatha ieliphepha eliqukethe iSitatimende esigopha ukuhlangana kwemi=nyaka engama-77 ngethemba lokubona, okungenani, okuthile okuthembisa ukuthi izithunywa ze-ANC ezisckudingisweni zizobamba ighaza lombusazwe esikhathini esizayo okuyighaza abavosebenzela kulo ukwahlulela okuyikho hhayi maqondana nalokho okunokwenziwa nalokho

okungenakwenziwa...../5%

okungenakwenziwa nje kuphela, kepha basebenzise ukwahlulela
okuyikho magondana nalokho okufanele kwenziwe.

Fzanginethemba lokufumana izeluleko ezicacileyo ezikhomba indlela,
okungenani, kwezombusazwe kulesisigaba esibucayi kangaka emlandweni
weNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kangiwuthathi neze lombhalo njengombhalo
ozonginikeza ithuba lokuzizuzela amaphuzu neabaholi pe_pANC
abasekucdingisweni. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo,
ngahlangabezana nokudumala okukhulu ngakho ngifisa ukushiyelelana
nani indlela engawubona ngayo lombhalo. Lokhu ngikwenza ngoba
ngibheka isisekelo samandla empela ngakho kufanele sibagonde

abanye abadlali abasenkundleni nxa senza izilinganiso zokuthi

kambe siyaphumelela yini noma kasirhumeleli ukubutha amandla
e

mpela. Mxa ngikhuluma ngokwesimo nje jikelele ngashaneka

ukuthi uMnumzane Oliver Tambo kwakunokwenzeka ukuba uzibona

ngempela ephimisa lemicabango, ikakhulukazi ngomqondo,

oqukethwe yelesisitativimende., Nxa sichazwa ngamagama alula
lesisitativimende siyuchungechunge jwemicabango nemifanekiso
engafanelene nakancane nomholi wombusazwe wempela noma

nje-ke ubuchopho cbucungulayo. Akesithathe lamazwinje * "Kuleminya-
ka yawo-1986 siphumelele ukuhlanganisa uvmbutho omkhulu wombusazwe
chleleke kahle nonenkuthale enkulu ukukhulula izwe lakithi.
Amalokishi nezindawo zokusebenza, izikble amaNyuvesi, amasonto
nezindlu ekusontela kuzo amaSulumane namaThempell, nezindawo
zasemakhaya nampulazi zonke seziphenduke izinkundla ezibalulekileyo
zomzabalazo wokuqedwa konya lobandlulo lwezinhlanga. Umkhonto
weSizwe uyakhula uba ngumbutho onamandla wenpi yabantu - amabutho
awo ehlangene noqunaba labavukeli bombusc, bagadla ngegalelo
elinamandla amakhulu embusweni." Lolu chungechunge lwanazwi
ashovuzwa kulesisitativimende aladdelwa neamazwiathi : "Kuyakhula
ukwemukelwa kwe-ANC njengombuso ongathatha amandla ckunquma
esikhundleni salombuso okhona.â\204¢

nishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlonip phekelelo, ngiyamazi lomuntu.
ke ngasebenzelana naye. Ngangimazi ngisho nangaphambi
ba aye ekuî\201mvlswnlÂ° Sengike ngahlanganz naye ngenkathi

Lolu..../53

Lolu kakulona uhlobo lolimi "wakhe. Ngabe kwenzekani ezithu=nyweni ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni, bakithi, ukuba uMnumzane Tambo usengasukuma manje aphimise loluhlobo lwamazwi angashojiutho? Lamazwi udinga ukuwagathanisa nezinkulumo zabaholi bemhlaba bempela nxa besuke bethula isimo sombuso ukuze 'uqonde leli=rhuzu engilibekayo.

Esitatimende sakhe sonke esingamakhasi ayisikhombisa abhalwe ngomshini ngemigga ethotheneyo ekhasini elide kakukho ndawo lapho kukhona ukucubungula okungathiwa kuyikucubungula futhi kakukho lapho ekhuluma khona ngento efanele ukubizwa ngegginga. Sisonke njeiSitatimende kasigcini ngokuqukatha izinkulumo ezingumshovuzo nje kepha okubi kakhulu, sigcwele ukuntula umbusazwe wempela.

Sichaza izenzo ngolimi lwezempi. Akesithathe lesiSitatimende esingaphansi kwesihlokwana esithi â\200\234Ukubusa kwePitoli ngendlus=zulaâ\204ç: "... Umbuso wasePitoli usazimisele kakhulu ngokusebenzisa yonke indluzula onayo, hhayi ngaphakathi ezweni lakithi nje kuphela kepha nakwezinye izingxenye zesifunda sakithi,

ukuvikela uhlelo lobandlululo. Ngakho kakukho muntu okufanele azikhohlise ngokuthi umbuso uyayixegisa indluzula yawo nakancane."

Loluhlobo lwesitatimende kalugcini nje ngokuba yindlela enge=nele yokuchaza iPitoli njengenkinga, siyingozi nje ngokusobala. Sibeka isithombe seNingizimu ne-Afrika lapho kungamandla

ePitoli ezempi ayingozi enkulu kunazozonke. HMhlonishwa Somlomo, kangiwesabi mina amandla ePitoli ezempi ngoba ngiyazi ukuthi njengoba iFitoli liyizingovolo nje ngokwezempi,

bukhula ngamawala amakhulu nobuthakathaka balo kwezombusazwe. Ngiyazi ukuthi amandla ezempi akasivali isikhala salokho okuntulekayo okudala ubuthakathaka kwezombusazwe.

Akesithathe/ 5%

Ny

Akesithathe lesisitatimende nje futhi : "Kuyacaca ukuthi abacindezeli bafuna ukuthiya abantu, bakhubaze ukugqugquzelwa kwabo, bathulise abaholi bethu ngaleyondlela bashiye inkundla yombusazwe ingasenamuntu kuze baghubeke nemizamo yabo eyehlulekayo yckuphasa uhlelo lobandlululo oseluphelelwe yisikhathi."" Sithathe lesositatimende usifunde usihlanganise nesitatimende esithi: â\200\234Emcngweni nasebuholini bombuso kukhona igeqebana labazimisele ngokulwa kuzekube sekugcineni abaphethe izikhali zamandla ombuso ezandleni zabo. Laba bazimisele ukubulala bakhubaze, babhidlize bacekele izwe lakithi

phansi balenze ugwacule ngenhloso yokuvikela umbuso wabo ongekho emthethweni.!

Mhloniswa Somlomo, nalapha ukuchaza inkinga yaseNingizimu Afrika njenge-nkinga yendluzula lokho kwenziwa ngabantu bendluzula kukhomba ukuthi leyonkinga kufanele ixazululwe ngendluzula. Thatha .lesiSitatimenâ\200\235> esith*: "Impela izithiyo ekuthiywe ngazo izinhlangano zoquqaba zentando yeningi_sei~\201uÃ@Ã@b;se kÃ@khulu umsgben?i_osemqokq weghaza

elin~unshoshaphansi lomzabalazo wezikhali.â\204¢

Nizizwelerke, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, yileyo ke incazelo yoMnumzane Tambo yalokho okufanele ukwenziwa. Kuyingozi ngokombusazwe, hhayi nje ngoba ephakamisa into anggkeniwaâ\200\230nengasgze yenziwa, kepha wehlisa izinga lezenzo zombusazwe ngokwenza loluhlobo lwezitatimende. Wehlisa

izinga lokucubungule kombusazwe okungaphumelela khona kodwa nje ukuholela ezenzweni zombusazwe nxa bethi: "Kufanele sinalise umkhankaso omkhulu kunaycyonke ukuhlasela kuwowonke amaz inga ukuze kubhidlizwe: imikhandlu yasekhaya, imikhandlu yezifunda kanye nalokhu ckuthiwa yimikhandlu kazwelonke.â\200\235 Nalapha usasebe= nzisa wona umoya wezempi.

MR APhO . o oÃ« o sieo /55

Nalapho ekhuluma nge-Angola usasebenzisa wona umoya ofanayo

wezempi. Nxa ekhuluma ngckuxazulva kwenkinga yaseNamibia uthi:
â\200\234Lokhu okwenzekayo kungumphuwrela, ikakhulukazi wokunqotshwa
komshini wempi yolandlululo e-Cuito Cuanavale eNingizimu
ne-Angola. Ngemuva kokwehliswa isithunzi, nemfundiso yabo
yezempi namaqhinga abo esenhlakanhlaka, impi yobandlululo
lwezinhlanga yaphogelegeka ukuba iphume e-Angola ithelwe
ngehlazo. I-African National Congress ihalalisela amabutho
e-People's Republic of Angola ngobughawe nobungcwepheshi

babo kwezempi, ihalalisela namabutho ase-Cuba kanye namabutho
e-SWAPO, abangcwabe amaphupho ochuku lwePitoli nobandlululo
â\200\230lwalo lwezinhlanga okungoba i-Angola.â\200\235

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo , ngithathe
ngifikelwe yizinhloni ngoMnumzane Oliver Tambo. Labo

bethu abahlala kulelizwe nabashisa umzabalazo eNingizimu
ne-Afrika sinolwazi ngoba silapha, siyazi ukuthi ukungena
kwePitoli esivumelwaneni kwafezeka ngokubonisana kwezombusazwe.
Ukuxoha kweNingizimu ne-Afrika e-Angola kwaba yisinyathelo
sombusazwe elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika elase lisilungiselele
isikhathi eside. Kakusizi lutho ngempela ukuqhosha ngokwesa=
sa ngempi nesidingo sokuziphindiselela empini kangangoba
lokho kuze kwemboze umbusazwe wempela ongemuva komzabalazo
wenkululeko.

Luyaqghubeka lolulimi lwezempi. Eghubeka neSitatimende sakhe
uMnu. Tambo uthi: "Umzabalazo wezikhali uvutha uphondo kakhulu
kunangesikhathi esiphambili, kanti futhi yonke into eyenziwe
ngombuso kulonyaka odlule kugcizelela lokhu. Yikusebenzisa
amandla kuphela osekuphumelelise umbuso ukuba uhlale uphethe
amandla okunquma.â Isigaba sokugcina seSitatimende. sifundeka
kanje: "Ngokunjalo, Isigungu Esikhulu se-African National
Congress simemezela unyaka ka-1989 njengonyaka womkhankaso
woqugaba wokulwela amandla abantu. Kufanele lonyaka wokugtina

kulelishumi...../56

kulelishumi leminyaka uqoshwe ngumkhankaso woquqaba ongakaze ubonwe wokugeda uhlelo lobandlululo, umkhankaso wokudala iNingizimu ne-Afrika ehlangeneyo engenalo ubandlululo lwezinhlanga neyentando yeningi." :

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngazitshena ukuthi kufanele ngingalugqizi qakala loluhlobo lwamazwi ombusazwe ashovuzwa kulesiSitatimende naloluhlobo lolimi lwezempi amehlo ami ngiwabhekise phambili ngijule kulesiSitatimende ukuze ngifumane umyalezo waso wombusazwe. Ngacinga-ke, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kepha kakukho kucubungula kombusazwe; kakukho myalezo wombusazwe. Magondana nephuzu lokubheka ukuthi ayini ngempela amandla empela, lombhalo uchaza i-ANC njengenhlango engena mandla. Siyazi ukuthi kakunjalo'ngempela Kepha ngiyaphinda ngiyabuza ukuthi ngabe kwenzekani ku-ANC ukuba uMnu. Tambo angaze avume ukwenza loluhlobo lweSitatimende? LesiSitatimende siyamunaza nje sikhuluma into engazwakaliyo. Ekukhulumeni "npokujula kwesimo esibucayi esikhungethe igegebana lobandlululo elibusayoâ\204ç, uMnu. Oliver Tambo uthi: ''Umqondc wenqubo yakhe (uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika), .inigomo

nezinhlelo zakhe ziyabhidlika ngokulandelana llapho zibhekene nokumasha kwabantu ngokuzimisela.â\200\235 Abuye athi: "Umbuso wezigebengu usuphendule izwe lakithi walenza ijelekazi elikhulu - izinhlelo zawo zokuphatha, izinkantolo kanye nemi-

thetho ilungiselwe ukughuba nkuqinisa ukukhonya kwabamhlophe ngayo yonke indlela enokucatshangwa."

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, lokhu kakukhona ukucubungula. Ngabe ukhuluma ngaluphi uhlobo llwesisekelo samandla uMnu. Oliver Tambo: c nxa ekhuluma nsenllela encazwakalid kancaka nrokanaska kwabantu ngokuzimisela na? Yini eyakha ukumasha? Ngubani owamashayo nini kuphi?

Noma ngabe ukhuluma ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika elinyama noma ngabe ukhuluma ngcHulumeni waseNingizamu ne-Afrika phezu kwesimo esibanzi se~Afrika eseNingizimu, kukhona lokho kuntuleka okufanayo kokucubungula. UMnu. Tambo uthi: "... Umbuso wasePitoli usazimisele njengoba wawuvele uzimisele ukusebenzisa indluzula, hhayi nje ngaphakathi ezweni lakithi kerha nakwezinye izingxenye zesifunda sakithi ukuvikela uhlelo lobandlululo. Ngakho kakukho muntu ofanele ukudideka acabange ukuthi kukhona .indlela umbuso oxegisa ngayo unya lwawo." Lesi ngesinye iSitatimende esigcwele ulimi lwezempi esingenakho nokuncane ukucungula.

Kawukwazi namhlanje ukukhuluma nge-Afrika eseNingizimu kepha ungazinaki izimo eziyizo ezisemqoka neziqubuka kabusha.

Nakuba wonke umuntu oMnyama oseNingizimu ne-Afrika ekwazi ukuthi esikhathini esidlule iPitoli selike lahlasela

ngezempi emibusweni engomakhelwane nokuthi likwenzile ukusebenza njengombutho wokudala isimo esintengayo, siyazi ukuthi kukhona ckuningi eNingizimu ne~Afrika nase-Afrika escNingizimu kunemikhankaso yezempi.

Sencike ngakhuluma ngezimpawu zohlelo lwe-Rashiya loguquko ngendlela elase-Rashiya elicacisa ngayo kabusha izinto elizithatha njengezinto eziphuthumayo emhlabeni. Siyazi ukuthi lokhukupguquka endaweni elimi kuyo elase-Rashiya kuzckwenza umehluko e-Afrika eseNingizimu. Siyazi ukuthi uhlobo lomehluko lokhu okuzolwenza sckuvele kubonakele

esivumelwaneni sase-Namibia. OSiyazi ukuthi ngale komoya ofakwa ngelase-Rashiya ukudideka kwelase-Rashiya lididwa

ngohulumeni abafana nohulumeni we-Frelimo nakho kunezakho izimpawu ezikhomba okuthile.

Kakwencle nje ukuchaza yonke into ngokulinganisa ngamandla ezempi namandla empogo. Kukhona nkunye okuningi phezu komhlaba nangaphansi kwamazulu kunalokho esikubonayo ngamehlo ethu. Kungumsebenzi womcubunguli wezombusazwe

~5f8=

ukuba akumbulule llokho okukhona kuvele obala.

Ekhuluma ngamajaji eNkantolo, uMnu. Tambo uwabiza *ngabantu ababambisana nababulaliâ\200\235 athi abayisithupha base-Sharpeville bagwetshwa intambo "ukuze kweneliswe ukoma kwamajaji omele igazi labantu abalinyama.â\200\235 wengeza ngokuthi: "Ukusetshenziswa kweziNkant~7lo emzamenl ukucindezela umzalalazo wentando yeningi kuyahambisana nohlelo olwaghutshwa ngumbuso wase-Pitoli ngcnyaka odlule ngenkathi uvala yonke i-UDF, ezinye izinhlangano ezingamalunga ayo nezinye izinhlangano

ubeka nezithiyo ezinkulu phezu kwe-COSATU."

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, selokhu kwathi nhlo ngiyakubona ukuthi izinkantolo zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika zikhipha izigwebo ezinqunywa yimithetho entula ubulungiswa. Kepha futhi bengivele ngikwazi ukuthi izinkantolo zakithi zinhakathi kwezinto ezimbalwa esezake zasinikeza ithemba. Siyakhumbula nathi esaphumelela ukukwenza ngokusebenzisa izinkantolo ngenkathi siphikisa ukufakwa kwendawo yase-Ngwavuma ngaphansi kwelase-Swazini. UMnu. u-Oliver Tambo ugobo lwakhe uvumele ukuba kuchithwe izigidi zama-dollar ukulwa izimpi zasezinkantolo. li-UDF isebenzisa izinkantolo zethu kuwowonke amathuba ewafumanayo njengchlelo lwayo lokughuba umbusazwe wayo. Ne-COSATU isebenzisa izinkantclo zethu nayo.

Seiokhu kwathi nhlo ngikugaphela kakhulu ukukhuthaza ukwazisa nokuzighenya ngancma yini yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika efanele

ukuba siyithwale singene nayo esikhathini esizayo. Isise=

kelo sendlela yami ngesokuthi kuyighinga elibalulekileyo

ukuba abantu abaNyama bSasemukele isidingo sokuphephisa

okuhle kunakho konke ckukhona ukuze baiahle okubi kunakho

konke okukhona. UMnu. Cliver Tambo akakhulumi ngalutho olunckutakulwa. Yonke nje indlela athatha ngayo ngeyezempi Âçheka isithombe sesidingo sokucekela phansi nokuba kungatakulwa lutho.

l.Ã©sisithombe...../59

bkl

Lesisithombe kufanele sidale imimoya kokucekela phansi futhi kasikwazi uvkudala imimoya eyakhayo.

Ukucubungula komhusazwe kufanele kusebenze ngezimo eziyizo kepha uMnu. Oliver Tambo uyakugwema ukwenza lokho. Ngaphansi kwesihlokwana *Ukucoboshiswa kwe-Pitoli okhethweni' ubeka isithombe sokuthile okwenziwa npuquqaba lwabaMnyama base-Ningizimu ne-Afrika ukugadla ngegalelo elesabekayo lokunqoba i-Pitoli ngesikhathi sckhetho lwawoMasipala ngonyaka codlule. Uthi: â\200\234Sibethulcla isisqoko abaholi namashoshozela ombutho woquqaba wentando yeningi ababhekana nabo bonke ubunzima ukuze basabalalise umyaleso wokuduba kuwcwonke abagumbi.â\200\235 i-Institute of Race Relations ikhiphe ukucubungula ckuyusizo olukhulu llwalokho ckwenzekayo ngempela futhi iqinisa ukuthi nala kwabakhona iziguquko ezithile lapha nalaphaya, ukhetho

ezindaweni zabaMnyama kaluvezanga lutho olusha.

Nxa kudinseka ukuba ukhulume ilumbo ngezimo zombusazwe eziyizo ngenhloso yemfundiso yombusazwe esekela inqubo ethiee kufanele uhlale ukukhumbula ukuthi nxa lelolumbo ulikhuluma kubantu abawaziyo ncempela amaqiniso odaba, usuke uzikhongela ukuba yihlaya. Sikhona lapha kulelizwe, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga ahloniphekileyo, kufanele akukhumubule bo uMnu. Oliver Tambo ukuthi siyazi ukuthi kwenzekani. Kufanele

ukuba akhumbule ukuthi u%hulvma nabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi akakhulumi nayo imiphakathi yomhlaba

enrazi ukuthi kwenzekani. Ngiyaphinda ngifikelwa izinhloni ngenxa yoMnu. Taimbo nxa ngicabangaâ\200\231 indlela enza ngayo , & 4 izitatimende ezighelelene kangaka nesimc njengoba sisazi.

Mhlonishwa Scmlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukukhathazeka kwami kujule kakhulu. Kangisukumi namhlanje ukuba ngizizuzele amarhuzu ngoMnu. Oliver Tambo. Ngiphakamisa izwi lomuntu cMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngithi uMnu. Tambo kufanele alalele thina, abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abaseNingizimu

ne-Afrika...../60

ne-Afrika. Sizwe nxa sithi sifuna umbusazwe, hhayi imfundiso

esekela ingubo ethile yomhbusazwe. Sizwe nxa sithi sifuna ukucubungula ckuyikho ukuze kucace izenzo zombusazwe.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngicela ukuthatha esinye isitatimende esenziwe nguMnu. Tambo ngisibheke phezu komqondo wokucacisa izinkinga. Ngaphansi kwesihlokwana esithi 'Siyaphi nxa sisuka lapha?' uMnu. Tambo uthi: "Naphezu kokudutshwa yuquqaba, umbuso wasePitoli usazoghubeka nakanjani nezinhlelo zawo zckwakha . uhlelo lukaHulumeni wasckhaya ezindaweni zabaMnyama esiluchithile thina emzabalazweni. Uzozama futhi nokusungula imikhandlu yakhe yezifuncda (Â¥ogional services councils), amakomindi akhe eÂ¿zifunda nalento yakhe ayibiza ngokuthi ngumkhandiu kazwelonke."â\200\235 UMnu. Tambo ubuye athi: "Zonke lezizinhlelo zisemqoka kakhulu embusweni ngoba zimele inhliziyo yohlelo lwakhe lombusazwe."â\200\235

Mhlonishwa Somlomc, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyc, uMau. Tambo

ukhuluma ngezinkundla esilwa %uzo thina zinqobe zethu zonke izinsuku. Siyakwazi okwenzekayo ngakho siyazi ukuthi

ubeka isithombe esiyingozi kzkhulu. Ubeka isithombe sika=

Hulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika njengoHulumeni odlala

ngomsebenzi abeke isithombe salokhuludlala njengento eyinnozi

kithi sonke.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, yithi esikule=lizwe, ikakhulukazi thina esiluloMkhanlu esiqiniseke ngockuthi iPhalamende enpuNxantathu lizokwesulwa. Kasikwesabi

uvkughubeka kwalo; kalikwazi ukughubeka isikhathi eside kakhulu. Ukubeka isithombe esesabisayo sikaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika njengoHulumeni onamandla kakhulu ekufezeni umgomo

wakhe, kuphambene nesimo esiyiso sezinkinga zikaHulumeni wase-Nincizimu ne-Afrika. Izinkinga zakhe ngezokuthi akakwazi ukufeza umgomo wakhe. Uyazi ukuthi ubandlululo lungumgomo ongasenakusebenza. Nxa sikuphika ukuthi uHulumeni waseNingizinu

ne=ifrika...../61

â\200\2346 1=

ne-Afrika uyasifunda lesisifundo kuyobe kushc ukuthi kasiwa=
boni amathuba adalekayo ukuba kubekhona esikwenzayo ngokos=
mbusazwe.

Ngikhathazekile Mhlonishwa Comlomo. Lokhukuntuleka kokucu=
bungula kakukuboni ukuthi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika
akasakwazi uvkufcza imigomoc "akhe yobandlululo, futhi lokhu
kuntula ukucubungula kungena ngamabonu ekufakazeleni
umzabalazc wezikhali nokubulala ngezizathu zombusazwe.

Sengike ngakuphawunla ukuthi eminyakeni edlule iQembu lamas=

Neshinali likuzamile ukugwema izindaba ezisemqoka ngokughus=
2

beka n~kwenza into efanayo kepha bayibize ngento eyehlukileyo.

Bebedlala npamagama esikhathini esidlule kepha izinkinsa ze=
Qembu lamaieshinali kazisalivumeli manje ukubz liphumelele
ekwenzeni lokho ngisho naphakathi kwabasekeli balo ugsoho.

Nxa iQembu lamaMNeshinali likhulume namhlanje, ukukhuluma kwalo
kuveza isithombe sezinkinga zalo futhi kakuscini nje ngokuve=
za isithombe semfundiso yalo yombusazwe esekela inqubo

yalo; Izinkinga zalo kazisakwazi ukufihleka. UMnu. Tamho
uthi: "Imicabanpgo efana nockuhlanganyela amandla ngaphandle
kokugonelwa, amalunpelo amaqoqo, amalungelo edlanzana,
uvkuzilawula kwamaqoqo ehlukeneyo, isizwe samadlanzana,
ukwedluliselwa kwentando yeningi nokunye nokunye konke kusho
into eyodwa kuphela - leyonto yubandlululc ngelinye igama.â\200\235

Npgabe wakha luhlobc luni lwesisekelo samandla uMnu. Oliver

Tambo nxa isithombe asakhayo siphandla wonke umuntu simenze
anzabuboni ubuthakathaka bukaHulumeni kwezombusazwe na? noabe ukulungi=:
selela kanjari ukuhlasele loho Iuthakathaka nxa ekuphika ukuthi

bukhona?

Npiyaphinda, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo,

ngith? ngiyamazi lomuntu ngakho nxa ngicabanga ngenkulumo
yakhe ayethule ngenkathi i-ANC ihlanganisa iminyaka engama-77,

ngingafinyelela...../62

ngingafinyelela kuphela esiphethweni sokuthi useqgale ukucabanga ukuthi i-ANC izonnoba ngezempi eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngoku= mazi kwami ukholiphe ngokweneleyo futhi uhlakaniphe ngokwenes= leyo ukuba azi ukuthi nxa2 inkinga yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ixazululeka ngempela ngenxa yokuphikiswa kobandlululo

ngendlela yokuthula neyentando yeningi, nzlarho kuba ngumbusazwe wokubonisana ophetha ngokusungula uhulumeni ngemuva kobandlululo, kusho ukuthi lokho akwenzayo yena kuyikuqiniseka ngokuthi yena uphetha nckwehluka.

Kulapho-ke lapho mina ngehluka khona endleleni abona ncayo. INingizimu ne-Afrika izofugelwa entandweni yeningi futhi izofugelwa entandweni yeninri ngenxa yokuphikisa kwendlela yokuthula nangenxa yokusukuma kombusazwe wokubonisana ekugcineni. Kuyadabukisa ukuba sbafowethu nodadewethu abaningi kangaka abasekudingisweni sebefels laphaya ezindaweni esingas= zaziyo futhi kuyadabukisa ukuthi basebaningi alanye abasazofa lapha= ya ngaphambi kokuba babone usuku lokukhululwa kweNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kuyadabukisa futhi ukuthi labo abayophila babone ukuthululwa kwelNingizimu ne-Afrika bayocbona iNingizimu ne-Afrika ikhululwa ngezindlela namasu abangazange bahlancanvele

bona kuwo.

Ngiyafisa ukwelula isandla sami ngibabuyisele ekhaya llaba bafowethu nawodadewethu ukuba bazokulwa ukulwa okuhle okufa= nele ukuliwangakho mhlawumbe kufanele, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukuba siqale ukucabanga ukuthi sinpabenzela kanjani lokhu labo asebekulungele ukubuya. Emaxoxweni ethu ngemuva koku\200\234a sengiyethulile leNkulumo Yami Yomgomo, singake siluxoxe udaba lwethuba lokuxolelwa kwabo ncokombusazwe sibone nokuthi ubuhlakani bethu kabusithumi yini ukuthi lento singase siyethule kuHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Njengoba ngisho nje, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, kimi kubonakala

o

sengathi...../63

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sengathi uMnu. Oliver Tambo akazilungiseleli khona ukuhlangas=nyela ekuhlelweni kwezisekelo zamandla eziyosetshenziswa ekucus=qulweni kweNi i-\201*Zimu ne-Afrika. Lanho ekhuluma khona nsaphansi kwesihlokwana lthula Phakathi Kwaba indezelweyo' uMnu.

Tambo uthi: f, .Â°Sekusungulwe amabutho awogonda ckubulala emalokishini lapho esebenzela khona umbuso ngokucekela

phansi. Lamabutho anethemba lckuziphogelela phezu kwabantu."

Kuyacaca futhi nalephe ukuthi uMnu. Oliver Tambo kakukho ukucubunsula kombusazwe akwenzayo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlonivhekileyo, sikhona emalckishini, sihola

abantu emalckishini, sigquequzela abantu emalckishini,

phinda futhi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ngithi siyazi ukuthi

kwenzekani.

Siyazi ukuthi kukhona ukulingana kwamandla endluzula ckusuncu=

lwayo kuphindwe kusungulwe phakathi kwezinhlangothi ezigqolo=zelene ngendluzula emalokishini akithi. Siyazi ukuthi lokhu kwenzeka ngoba ekugcineni abantu sralokishini bazoqiniseka ngezinga elithile lesimo esiqondileyo enkululekweni vokubanba kwabantu nasenkululwkwani yokungena neyockuphuma kwempahla emalokishini. Npanhandle kwalenkululeko yckuhamba abantu hafa ngamashuni ezinkulungwane zabo, mhlawumbe bafa ngisho nanpamakhulu ezinkulungwane zabo. Siyazi ukuthi uyakwazi ukuphokelela uku'uba noma ukuphazamisa izinhlelo zokuhamba kwamabhasi lesosikhatni esithile n~ar~h=ili kokuba ukuhluphes=ka kwabantu kukhuls kuze kufinyelele la;ho bona abantu zingaaobo zaba beshe khona ukuthi sekwencle ibese bekugeda lokho labo abadala ukuggolozelana nzeziq zamehlo ahazama ukukwenza Kakukho lutho clunye engikwazi ukulucabanga olungafezi

lutho ukwedlula vkuyoncena elokishini npenhloso yokudala inJluzula ezogcina ichithwe ngabantu nxa sebeziphendulela, ibese wedlula uycfumana elinye ilokishi futhi lapho ungaphi=nda khona uphehle indluzula okusazophindak khona lokho futhi ukuba likhahlelwe ngabantu ulsendlela efanayoc.

Selokhu kwathi nhlo kuyasidumaza ukuthi ekusatshalalisweni kwendluzula endaweni yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo nendluzula

Y

ebuye yabheduka nakwezinye izindawo, ukuthi ukubulawa kwabantu kughubekile ngaphandle kokuba i-ANC ne-UDE benze okuthile ababenokukwenza ukunganda lendluzula. Ngisho nasekugcineni lapho siphumelele khona ukudala uhlobo oluthile lwesivu-melwano ne-COSATU, noma ngahke sasinalusizo luni, 1-UDF

ne-ANC kabafunanga ukuzihls â\200\230anisa nalowomzano.

Mhlonishwa Somhiomn, Amalunga Afttoniphekileyo, kungithukuthe-lise kakhulu ukuba . â\202\230Sitatimendeni sakhe asenze ngenkathi i-ANC ihlangarisa iminyaka eyi-77, uMnumzana u-Oliver Tambo, eziba ngenhlabamkhosi yokuba kugedwe indluzula kwelaKwaZulu neNatali, abeke iNkatha njengâ\202\230abantu okufaneleke ukuba hahla-selwe. Wathi: "I-African National Congress iyisekela

yonke imizamo yeqiniso ehlose ukux- lula lokhu kungqubuzana. Sicela wonke amalunsa eNkatha asey xenye yamabutho awogonda ukuba angavumeli ukusetshenziswa agumbuso wasePitoli,

okuyisona sitha s-mpela sabantu bakithi. xufanele bengqabe ukwenza lokho abakutimywa ngama-Warlords nawobasi bawo, benze konke okunckwenziwa ukuhlangana nabafowabo nodadewab

Mhlonishwa Somlemo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, pxa uMnumzane Oliver Tambo ethi iNkatha ihlanganyela namabutho awogonda avumela ukusetshenziswa yiPitoli nokuthi yenza lokho ekuthunywa ngama-â\200\230arlords nawobasi bawo, . ukhiphela noma ubani oggoka inyufoma yeNkatha isigwebo sentambo. Selokhu kwathi nhlo 1-ANC isebenza lomsebenzi wokuphehla uzuthu phakathi kweNkatha nezinye izinhlanegano zabaMnyama. Ifuna ukuba lezizinhlangano zenzele i-ANC umsebenzi wayo ongcolileyo. Ngeke kubekhona ukuthula endaweni yaseMgunpundlovu namaphethelo kuze kube yisikhathi lapho abaHoli abaphezulu beNkatha, i-ANC ne-UDF beyodala khona ukuvumelana.

I-ANC kayifuni ngisho nokuhlangana neNkatha ngenxa yovalo lokuthi lokho kunpasho ukuthi yemukela ukuthi iNkatha kufanele kusetshenzelwane nayo ngokombusazwe., I-ANC iziqokela lomsebenzi

wokusizonda...../65

b G

wokusizonda nokwengaba ukukhuluma nathi ngenxa yokuba ingenazo izisekelo zempela zombusazwe ngaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika engasukela kuzo ukusunpgula noma yisiphi isinyathelo efisa ukuvsithatha npaphakathi.

Sebebaningi manje ku-UDF naku-COSATU, ngisho nasezithunyweni ze-ANC ezinraphandle ugobo abaghuba insumansumane yokuthi i-ANC. iyaphila futhi iyasebenza ngaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Bakhomba izehlo lelvho kukhona ukugqolozelana nge=ndluzula bathi lezizehlo ziyizinyathelo zabashokobezi babo. I -ANC ighosha nagodumo lokwebolekwa emehlweni abathile, eludalelwa yi .-i"3F ne-COSATU.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyc, kKangifisi nakancane ukuba ngifane noMnu. Oliver Tambo othembele ezinhlelweni zobuholi bezinye ezinhlanganc anethemba lokuthi angazilawula nsendlela ethile ukuze afumane ukukholakala kwezombusazwe. Kakugcini nje ngokuba kubekhona ingozi

yokuba uMnu. Cliver Tambo chluleke ukwenza izilinganiso ezifaneleyo ngalckhe okungase kuphethe npokuba ngumbutho ophazamisa imibuthc emibili epsqolozeleneyc, kepha ubeka nethemba lakhe kubaholi abehlulekayo kwabona ukufeza umse=benzi wabo wobuholi., Thina esihlangana ne-UDF ne-COSATU ezinkundleni zombusazwe usuku nosuku siyalazi izinga abayizi=nhlangano ezinhlanganhlaka ngalo lapho izerzo ezinhlanganye=lweyo ziyinto enzima kakhulu kubo.

Kokwethu ukusebenzelana nalezizinhlangano endaweni yaseMpungu=ndlovu namaphethelc safinyelela esiphethweni, noma singafuni, sckuthi nxa umsila usayixolele inja ungayitshikizisi, inja ithathe ingazi nokuthi inawo umsila. Safinyelela esiphethweni okuthi ngaphandle kokuba abaholi abaphezulu be-UDF ne-COSATU

s
bafakwe ezinyathelweni zokudala ukuthula ngeke zibekhona

izinyathelo zokuthula. Siyakwazi futhi ukuthi abaholi

abaphezulu...../66

~66%

abaphezulu be-UDF ne~COSATU kabakwazi ukuzimbandakanye

nezinyathelo zokuthula endaweni yaseligungundlovu namaphethe=
lo ngoba kakubona abaphethe amathuba abamiselwe wona kule=

ndawo.

Sike sabukela isimo, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphe=
kileyo, laphc i-UDY ne-COSATU beziphathe khona ngendlela enga=
bafanele nakancane magondana ncNksk Winnie Mandela. Babamba
ingqunguthel~ namaphephandaba okwalandelwa yikuba unya abahlase=
lla ngalo uNksk. Mandela lusatshalaliswe kuwowonke amagumbi
omhlaba. Ngivumcle, ihlonishwa Somlono, Amalunga Ahloniphe=
kileyo, ukuba nginifundele umbiko weNhlanjzano yaseNgilandi
Yokusakaza (. British Broadcasting - Cor.cvation) ngalokho okwe=
nzeka kulengsqungquthela yamaphephandaba.

OKUFINGQIWEYO OKUKHISHWE EMBIKWENI WE-3BC EWUSAKAZELE UMHLABA
LAPHO I-UDF NE-COASTU BECHITHA KHONA U-WINNIE MANDELA 17
FEBHUWALI 1989

Abamele i-BBC eNincizimu ne~Afrika babika ngengqungquthela
yezindaba ebiseGoli ngomhlaka 16 ku-Febhuwali obekukhona kuyo
uMengameli we-UDF, U-Archie Gumede, owake wabambela unobhala
wokusakaza izindaba ku-UDF, u-Murphy Mcrobe kanye noMengameli
weCosatu u-Elijah Barayi. Isitatimende esifundwe ngu-Morocbe
evameni â\200\234lombutho woqugaba lwentando yeningi' (omele i-UDF
ne-COSATU) sizwakalise intukuthelo ngalokho ckuthiwa yikuthinteka
kukaNksk. Mandela ekuthunjweni nasekulinyazweni kukaStompie
Moeketsi ckusanda kwenzeka kusho abamelc i-BBC bephinda
heginisa "ukumsekela ngokupheleleleyoâ\200\235 u~Nelson Mandela, isitati=
mende sithi izenze ezithinta i-Mandela United Footbal Club
"kakufanele kusetshenziswe ukunyunlela indlela esazisa ngayo u=
Comrade Mandela "

Kepha, kughubeka isitatimende, umbutho wentando yeningi ulwe
nookungancangi nokulinyazwa kwamalungelo obuntu noma ngabe
kughamuka npakuphiâ\200\231 futhi â\200\234kawuzimisele ngokuthula lapho

labo abalimaza amalungelo obuntu bethi lokho bakwenza

erameni lomzabalazo wokulwa nobandlululo. hina sinombono
wokuthi uNksk. Mancdela ukuphathe ..bhi ukwethenjwa abethenjwe
ngakho kuyo yonke leminyaka. Ubengelona ilunga lanoma yiziphi
izinhlelo zentandc yeningi ze-UDF ne-COSATU, futhi ubevamise

WO ZA . o s o 05 0sis /07

ukwenza izinto nsaphandle kokubonisana nombutho wentandoc yeni=ngi. Ezikhathini eziningi izenzo zakhe beziphambana nomoya nenkolelo eyuphawu lombutho wentandc yeningi."

Isitatimende sithi izenzo zikaNksk. Mandela' seziye ngokuya zi=holela ekungqubuzaneni - kwakhe nombutho woquqaba wentando yeningi, njengoba sekukhona lokhu kungqubuzana kwamuva okus=qondene nokuziphatha kwegqembu lebhola, okuchithwe ngabantu abaningi emphakathini waseScweto. ' "Ikakhulukazi, sicasulwa ngumkhankasc wckuhlukumeza ohlanganiswa naleligembu.

Kakugcini nje ngokuba uNkosikazi Mandela abenokuhlangana naleligembu, eqinisweni igembu ladalwa nguye uqobo llwsa the", kusho isitatimende. Ephendula imibuzo magondana nesitatimende, uMorohie uthi kubekhona ukuvumelana kwemigonde ukuthi. uNkdsikazi Maridela kufanele ashalazelwe agwenywe nckuthi kakukho muntu okusafancle kubekhona utho 2zihlanganisa ngalo naye.

Vg e R i e b R s S S R

Lesisenzo esikhoubisa ukuntula inhloninхо senzeka kuzokusa kubenomhlanpganne woMgwamanda weNkatha owawunromhla ka 18 ku-Febhuwali ngakho sazizwa sinesibopho sokub2 senze esethu isitatimende ngalcludaba. UMgwamanda wathatha lesisinqumo esilandelayo owabuye wasikhipha nasezinhlelweni zokusakaza izindaba:

"Thina Malunea oligwamanda weNkatha siyazi ukuthi inonya olungakonani imfundiso yombusazwe esekela inqubc ethile esekeleke ekubekweni komuntu icala naphezu kokuba bungakabikho ubufakazi. Sinokuphazamiseka okukhulu ukuzwa npamacala

abekwa uNkosikazi Winnie Mandela.

NGAKHO SINGUMA:

3 Ukucela umhlaba ukuba uphucuzeke nokuba uthathe ngokuthi umuntu akanacala kuze kubeyisikhathi lapho seckufakazele-kile ukuthi unecala.

Ukucela umhlaba ukuba ukhumbule ukuthi kunjani enkosika~ini esencane nengumama ukwehlukaniswa nomyeni wayo nokuba ukuba ihlale yodwa iminyaka engama-26.

Ukuxolisa ku-Dcokotela Nelson Mandela naku-Nkosikazi Â¥innie Mandela ngokuziphatha okungenanhlonipho kwabanye abantu abaNyama njengoba kukhonjiswe yikuxhamazela kwe-UDF ekuzehlukaniseni kwayo noNkcsikazi Mandela nenba yesaba ukuthi incase ifumaniseke isephutheni ngokuhlanganiswa naye.â\200\231

s o i e b R

Kasizizwanga...../68

Kasizizwanga sinesibopho esisicindezels ukuba kubekhona

indawo esima kuyc thina nsokwethu futhi ukuba 1-UDF ne-COSATU babengasenzancn lesisitatimende sabo, besizokuma neesithunzi silindele ukuba lezizindaba zifinyelele esiphethweni sazo. Kwaqondana-nje nokuba ngikade ngifumane ithuba lokukhuluma noNkosikazi Man-ela nsgo ngolunye nje udaba olwehlukileyo kokupheleleyo, nremuva kokuba ngifumane umyalezo wokuthi kunelunga lomnleni kaMandela elifuna ukukhuluma nami ocincweni.

Mhlonishwa Scmlomo; Amalunga Alloniphekileyo, esakwenzayo sakwenza nrsenhlonipho futhi sakwenza ngenllela ephucuzekileyo ngokuba sithathe nsokuthi umuntu akanacala ngaphambi kokuba kuvele ubufakazi obenelisayo bokuthi unecala. Embusazweni kugcwele amarhuzu amaningi namanye amaphuzu aphikisa amanye amanhuzu ngendlela yokuthi kungubuhlakani ukuba umuntu aqarhele. Kangikugondi futhi mina ukuthi kwenzeka kanjani ukuba umuntu othi uyamthanda futhi uyamhlonipha u-Dokctela Mandela ukuba akwazi ukwenza lokhu okwenziwe kumkakhe.

Kerha okuqaphelekayo lapha yikuthi i-UDF kwalingeka ukuba ikhekhezele ibheke eLusaka ukuba iyochaza ukwenza kwayo

kobasi bayo be~ANC. Mina ngibona sengathi izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni zizalelwe yinja endlini ngalesisehlo. Zisazoba zingaki-nje ezinye izinyathel~ czingalindelekile ezisazothathwa ngabaholi be-UDF ne-COSATU na? Zisazobazingaki nje izikhathi lanho lokho abakwenzayo bezokwenza ngokuca-bancela izidingo abazingumela zona bona ngokwabo esimeni

sabo, ngaphandle kokuzikhathaza nge-ANC? Luhloboluni

lwesisekelo samahdla i-ANC ezama ukusakha ngempela nxa yethembele kuphela ku-UDF naku-COSATU na? Ngibuza nombuzo ogondene kakhulu kunalena, ukuthi nxa i-ANC ingathembele

2

ku-UDF ne-COSATU njengezisekelo zayo zamandla kuphela, ziphi ngempela izisekelo zayo zamandla? 2zi kakhulu ngeNingizimu NeAfrika ukuba singavele sikhonliswe kalula nje ngokuthi

izisekeloceco.oo./69

izisekelo zamandila kazibonakali nggoba i-ANC iyinhlangothini evaliweyo nrakho ifanele isebenze ngomshoshaphansi.

Njengoba ngisakhuluma nzaloludaba lwezisckelo zamandla e-ANC,

ngifisa ukufundela Amalunca Ahloniphekileyo amazwi omhleli akhishwe ephephabhukwini i-SECHABA sikaNovemba 1988. Afunde= ka kanje: :

U-NELSON MANDELA NO-GATSHA BUTHELEZI

Sekubte nckugarsela okuningi ncokukhululwas kuka-Nelson

Mandela. Umbuso wobandluluo ukhuluma ngezilimi eziningi. Kunezicidi zabantu ezifuna ukuba uMandela akhululwe kunezinku= lunpgwane Rgezinkulungwane esczikhankasele ukuba akhululwe.

Nxa u-Nelson Mandela engakhululwa lokho ngeke kube ncenxa yokusuquka kwezinhliziyiyo zabanikazi bobandlululo. Kuyoba ngenxa yokuthi izwi lemibutho yentando yeningi emhlabeni

wonke likhulu kanvangoba kalisakwazi ukuzitshwa.

No-Gatsha Buthelezi naye useke waqoshwa phansi njencomunye walabo abafuna ukuba kukhululwe u-Nelson Mandela. Noabe ungasohlangothini â\200\230lokukhululwa kuka-Mandela ngeqiniso na? njengoba izinswelabcyza zakhe zibulala abalandeli baka-Mandela nje, nalapho amalunpa e-UDF ehlukunyezwa na?

Ngabe yizona zinhlglo zakhe ezimbili lezi, olusobala nolufiilekileyc na?

U-Gatsha Buthelezi kakukho lutho aluhlanpanyela no-Nelson Mandela. UGatshaughosha ngokuthi uhola izipidi eziyisithunha zamaZulu; u-Mandela akakaze aghoshe ngokuba ngumholi wawo= wonke umphakathi waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngisho ' noma besingathatha ngokuthi uGatsha uginisile nxa eÂ¢thi ungumholi wamaZulu ayizigidi eziyisithupha, akanalo ilungelo lokuwabusa ngesandla esinonya. Esikubona eNatali yikuthi lokho kuza= zisa njengeSizwe esikhulu kakusetshenziswa kwezinye izinhla= nia zezizwe nje kuphela.. .Ubuzwe buphendukd isikhali, esisemqoka ikakhulukazi, ngemuva kokwehluleka ukuxazulula izindaba zembusas= ZWC . Lokhu kuyakhomba ukuthi kayikho into efana nepehe clingenalutho kwezombusazwe. Ukungabikhona kwezinhlelo zentando yeningi kwezombusazwe wabantu eNatali kuyenza inhlekisa inhlabamkhosi ka-Gatsha yokuba kukhululwe u-Nelson Mandela. I-UDF ne-COSATU, okiyizinhlanano ezinezimpawu zentando yeningi ukuzellula zonke ezweni, ziyaxoshwa eNatali.

Nxa uGatsha efuna ukuthathwa njengomuntu okhankasela ukukhululwa kuka-Nelson Mandela ngeqiniso, k fanele apucule umfanckiso walokho ayikho ukuze wufane noka :1-Mandela. Kufanele asukele izindaba zombusazwe ayeke ukusebenzisa ubuzwe esikhundleni

sokusukela . 5::0/70

sckusukela. izindaba zombusazwe. INkathaD engeyona ingxenye yombutho woquqgaba lwentandoc yeningi, idinga ukulungiswa; i-UWUSA ingumfanekiso ohlekisayo wenyonyana yezisebenzi.. Awoqonda haka-Gatsha kabashisi wona umzabalazo wezikhali, kepha benza umsebenzi ka-Botha.

Omunye umbandela ophazamisayo yisimemezelo sikaNdunkulu waseNgllandl uMarparet Thatcher, sokuthi uzimisele nookuya eNingizimu ne-Afrika Lokhu kushiwo ngenkathi kukhona ukukhuluma nwokukhululwa kuka-Mandela. Sesivele siyazi ukuthi uyothini nxa esebuyela e-Ngilandi: unswinyo kalu=sebenzi. Kukheona ithuba lokuba aziphikise: unswinyc luzos=limaza abaMnyama kunabanye ngaleyondlela okusho ukuthi unswinyo luyasebenza.

U-P.W. Botha usevele waba ngusomaghinga wobudlelwane bezizwe isipubhukane nje, usehambela izinhlokodolobha zase-Afrika eqhubq wona umdlalo ofanayo nomdala. Ngisho nangeruva kokuba sebenqotshwe e-Angola, kabakawudicileli phansi umcabango wokubuyela khona. Manje sebeuuna ukubuyela khona ngendlela edlula kweminye imibuso ezimeleyo.

Zonke lezizinto kazihambisani nomoya ka-Mandela esitshenwa ukuthi uzokhululwa khona maduze nje.

Kungumkhuleko wami ukuba uDokotela Nelson Mandela akhululwe nokuba akhululwe ngosuku oluseduze kakhulu. Ungumuntu okwaziyo ukuzithathela izinqumo zakhe; uyozenzela ezakhe izilinganiso aziklamele indlela yakhe. Ngimfuno engaphandle kwejele noma ngabe uphuma abheke kuphi, kepha sengicikekile ngabantu abakhuluma egameni lakhe ngoba engakwazi ukubalungisa nxa benza iphutha ngaye. Ngifuna bonke abaholi bombusazwe bakhululwe ngoba ngilwela intando yeningi lapho bonke

abantu beyoba nelungelo lokuba nezwi. Umyalezo wakhe ethokozela ukukhankasz kwami ngikhankasela ukukhululwa kwakhe kwakhishwa eminyakeni emibalwa edlule ngocinpgo lwe-Telegram eyayiphuma kuMnu- Aycb, owayensummeli womndeni ka-Mandela negaleyonkathi.

Ukuba i-ANC ibe nesibindi sokwenza ilungelo lami lokunxusela uku=

khululwa - kukaDokotela Nelson Mandela lleyame ekuthobeleni umbusazwe olawulwa yibo, sekwedlulele kakhulu.

Enkulumeni....sec:s:/71

Enkulumeni yakhe ayethula ngenkathi i-ANC ihlanganisa iminyaka engama-77, uMnu. Cliver Tambo uhlaba umkhosi wobunye babantu abalunyama nokwakhiwa kohla oluhanzi kevha sisala simangala

nje ukuthi luhloboluni lohla lolu akhuluma ngalokho nxa inhlanzano yakhe isaqhubeka nalamagqubu ewabhekise kimi, isiqu sami,

futhi izama nokwehlisa iNkatha isithunzi.

Bayakulibala ukuthi njengoba iNkatha ikhona ngchuningi bama-ndla amalunga aye ayi-1 600 00 eNingizimu ne-Afrika isckhaleni lomzabalazo oghubekayo usuku nosuku. Bayakulibala ukuthi amalunga eNkatha akhona lapho izinto zishube khona. Bayas-kulibala ukuthi amalunga eNkatha ahlala, adle, alale atuye asebenze emalokishini, ukuthi ayingxenywe yomphakathi oMnyama nokuthi eginisweni iNkatha ingumfanekiso omncane walokho okunumphakathi oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Uhlobo lwezinhamba abangibhoca ngazo kulamazwi omhleli engis-sanda kunifundela wona, luyuhlobo lwezinhamba abaphahleka ngazo izigidi zabantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Nizokhumbula ukuthi umufi uMnu. Johnson Makatini wathi vhulumeni we-ANC uyoyivala iNkatha. Nxa silibeka eceleni nje ithuba lokuba i-ANC idale Uhulumeni olandelayo ngempela, uhlobo lwesimo : esiyobheduka abangeke bakwazi ukusinganda, esingabhedulwa yilokho kuvalwa kweNkatha siyisimo ngisho neQembu elibusayo lamaNeshinali elalingeke likwazi ukubhekana naso ngisho nangenkathi â202-sesesiqongweni samandla alo.

Zikhona ezinye izinto ongazenza, zikhona nezinye izinto ongeke

walokotha nokulckotha ukuzenza, ukuvalwa kweNkatha kungenye

yezinto ongeke wazilokotha nokuzilokotha.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kukhona âolunye

uchunrechunge lwemicabango esengifuna ukuyihlolisisa manje njengoba sibheka ukuthi amandla ombusazwe ayini.

Kukhons.h s sosnanl/ 12

7=

Kukhona abaholi abadMnyama abaphethe izikhundle zombusazwe;
kukhona abaholi abaMnyama abaziphathisa " okwabantu abaphethe
izikhundla zombusazwe kanti nxa sidlula kulcbubuholi obusebe=
nzayo kukhona labo haholi bedumela nabaholi abadlalwa
yizinhlelc zokusakaza izindaba abaziphathisa akwabaholi nanjengas=

bantu 2banezikhundla zombusazwe.

Kangifuni neze ukubukela noma yimuphi umholi oMnyama nhansi,
noma-ke yimuphi nje umuntu cMnyama ozimisele nolangazela
ubuholi, Kakuyona inhloso yami leyo. Ngimane ngidinga ukuku=
qinisa nje ukuthi thina esikuleNdlu senza into efaneleyo.
Ubuholi bethu buhlaselwa kangangoba senginqume ukuthi isikhathi
sesifikile sokuba ngibucacise kulonyaka, ngikubheke, ngibuhlo=
lisise nribuye noibulinganise kabusha. Nxa ngighathanisz esi=
kwezavo nalokho ckwenziwa ngabanye, ngikwenza ngayo-ke lenhlo=

so yokucacisa ubuholi bethu kabusha.

Nxa ubheka emuva empikiswaneni yombusazwe ebikhona kulelishumi

leminyaka eledlule, uzofumana ukuthi kakuyona iNkatha esukele

umkhankaso wokunukubeza.. ezinye izinhlangano nabanye abaholi.
Yithi ebesihlaselwa. Kukhona umqondo othile, nokho, kwezo=
mbusazwe lapho konke ukwaziwa kuyinto enhle. Sinalesisimo
soMnu. Salman RushZie nebhuku lakhe i-Satanic Verses eseliphes=
nduke ngesisubhukanÃ© nje lathengiswa ubuthaphuthaphu ngendlela
sn~~kaze ibonwe ncenxa u yokuhlaselwa kukaMnu Salman Rush-lie
yi-Ayatolah : Khomeini ngolaka olwesabekayo. Igama elithi
iNkatha seliphenduke igama elisematheni. Ngingakusho . nckuthi
cisho kakukho noyedwa umuntu eNingizimu ne-Afrika ongakalizwa

leligama.

Kerha indlela izinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba ezibhekise ngayo

amehlo azo eNkatheni | dbenayo imiphumela esilimazayo. Omunye
walemiphumela onganakekile yizimali ezinkulu ezisetshenziswa

emkhankasweni....coos/73

&7y

emkhankasweni wezinhlalelo zokusakaza izindaba ukulwa nami kanye neNkatha. Ngifana nochlobo oluthile lomlalazi lapho wonke amavukana anamanhupho obuhclii elola khona amazinyo awo kanti

iNkatha yona iyintaba : lamavukana afuna ukuhlola amandla

awo kuyo.

Kakubalulekile kakhulu lokhu, nokhc. Kakungikhathazi mina ukulola isizukulwane sonke sabaholi abasha futhi kangicabangi ukuthi neNkatha inendaba nokusetshenziswa njengenkundla yoku= zihlola kwabanye amandla abo ombusazwe. Xepha lapho kugala khona ukukhathazeka kwami, kusekutheni lomkhankaso ohleliweyo okuhlaselwa kwethu yizinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba uthathwa bye: uyofinyeleliswa ezindleheni zabantu abangenalwazi. Kakubona abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika engikhathas= zeka ngabo lapha. Ingxenywe enkulu yokukhula kwamandla eNkatha ngempela isekelwe yiwo kanye lomkhankaso wezinhlalelo zokusakaza izindaba obeka iNkatha eshashalazini lokwaziwa kanye nendlela evuna iNkatha lapho isuke ighathaniswa khcna nezinye izinhlas= ngano ngoba yonke into isheshe imkhanyele umuntu oNyama wesi= - lisa nowesifanzane ngenxa yolwazi lwabo lwalokho okwenzekayo.

Umuntu angathatha isikhwama se~Kagiso Trust noma ukucindezelwa koNyanso waseMelika Wosizo (United State Aid Department) kanti futhi umuntu angathatha Rezinhlangothi ezinkulu zama= kristo ezinikela nrezimali ezikuwawonke . amagumbi eNtshona= langa Yuropu naseiilika ukuze ubone umonakalâ® wempela osewenziwe. ukuqoqwa kwezimali eziqogelwa - jzinhlangothi zabaNyama zombusazwe sekuyibhizinisi elikhulu kakhulu. Kunezigidi eziningi zamarandi .â\2027ziqogelwa - izinhlangano ezises= Ningizimu ne-Afrika ezihluleka ngisho nokuziphilisa ngenxa yokuba zinokusekeleka okungenele kulabo abazinikele kuzo phakathi kwabampcfu kunabobonke abampofu. v

Kunikelwa:. . .u s/ 14

Kunikelwa izipidi zama-Dollar ukukhokhela imisebenzi ebizwa ngemisebenzi yentuthuko ngegama nje kerha okuyimisebenzi yombusazwe ovutha uphondo eqinisweni. Ukuba i-UDF ne-COSATU bebengalifumani ivenge elikhulu lalezizigidi ezingena kulelis= zwe, bebengeke babe ngisho nancbadlana nje abaludingayo uku= bamba izingqungquthel a zamaphephandaba nckuhlela izehlo njengos= ba bezihlela nje. Izithunywa ;o.ANC ezisekudingisweni kufanele ukuba sezifumana imali encaphezulu kwezi-%4. D0g Âċob zama-Dollar ngonyaka ezivela eNtshonalanga Yurophu naseMelika.

Sekuyibhizinisi elikhulu, njengoba ngisho nje, ukuqoqga llolu= hlobo lwemali futhi iqoqwa ngemifanekiso edalwayo, ngezinsu= mansumane ezidalwayo, ngokwethulwa kwezimo ezichazwa njengezis= mo ezilindelekileyc kulelizwe ngokulandelana kwazo kanye no= kuhunyushwa kwezehlo eNingizimu â\200\230ne-Afrika. Ingxenye enguhhafu yokungethembeki embusazweni wabaMnyama . ibiyoshabalala ukuba abaholi abaMnyama bebengakhekhezeli yonke indawc lena emhlabe= ni bethungatha vkufumana ukuthi yikuphi ukusina okuthandwa kakhulu yilabo abakhokhayc ukuze babasinele khona yikhona â\200\230bezo khokha phela.

Akesime umzuzwana sibheke uhlcho lwemali esikhuluma ngayo sigale ku-Eurcpean Economic Community. I-EEC iyaluphikisa ubandlululc ngakho ikhokha imali ngeKhomishani yayo .ese-Brussels ukunikeza usizo lobuntu nokuginisa ukuphikiswa ko= ban' lululo. Sikhuluma ngezimali ezinkulu lapha. Kusukela ekugaleni kwe-EEC ukunikelela imisebenzi eseNingizimu ne-Afrika, Kkunemisebenzi engama-220 esikhokheclwe imali eyizi-

i 060 ECU. DNgoniyaka ka 1989 nje uwodwa kwethenjiswe

' 28 Hbo- 000 ECU. '

Lezizimali zinikelelwe ukuba zisebenze ngckwabiwa kanje: izi-58% zizolekelela emisÂċhenzifiâ\200\231 yomphakathi nosizo lobuntu, lzi-3G% zizolekelela kwezemfundo kuthi izi-12% kube npgezokule= kelecla emacaleni. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunca Ahloniphekileyo,

izi''43%'ooooeoooo/75

izi-43% zayoyonke imali enikelwa yi-EEC ukukhckhela imisebenzi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ithunyelwa ngoMkhandlu Wamasonto WaseNingizimu ne-Afrika (Scuth African Ccuncil of Churches) kanye neNsjungquthela yabaBhishobhi bamakhatholika e-Afrika ese-Ningizimu (Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference). Ezinye izingxenye cezingama-50% ziya ku-Kagiso Trust kuthi izi-7% ezisalayo zinikelwe ezinyonyaneni zezisebenzi.

Mhlonishwa â\200\230omlomo, Amalunca Ahloniphekileyo, sihlala khona kulelizwe sibazi bonke abantu abakulo ukuthi bangobani. SinoDokotela Allan Boesak, sinoDokotela Beyers Naude, sino=Mfunlisi Mkhatshwa bena<Archbishop Tutu njengabasingathi benkambiso yibc futhi abaphambili ekuthathweni kwezinqumo ku-SACC ngale ngemuva kwamakhethenisi. Siyakwazi lokho. Siyazi ukuthi ilzli-93% zayoyonke imali ye-EEC enikezwa i-Kagisc Trust ne-SACC isetshenziselwa ikakhulukazi ukuba kusi=

zakale i-UDF, i-COSATU nezinhlanganc ezinpgamalunga alczizinhla=ngano.

Awchulumeni abangjamalunga eEEC kabazi bona ukuthi lemali irhelelaphi ngempela. Kunenpubo yemfihlo okwembozwa ngayo lonke uhlelo lwezimali ezinikelwa yi-EEC. Sigcina ngokwazi igama lenhlangano eyemukela iminikelo kuphela kepha imibuso engamalunga e-EEC kayinikezwa yona imininingwane yokuthi lezi=zinhlangano ziyisebenzisa kanjani imali ye-EEC. Embuzweni obhaliweyo owawuqondiswe ePhalamende laseYurophu, ongunombolo 1882/87 owabuzwa nguMnu.Andrew Pearce nowaphendulwa ngokomthe=tho ngomhlaka 74 Aprili 1988, ufundeka kanje:

Unbuzo: Ngabe iKhomishani ingakhombisa yini ukuthi

yiziphi izinhlangano ezingebona ochulumeni ezafumana

imali yokulekelela labo ababekhungethwe yizikhukhula eNatali, eNingizimu ne-Afrika na?

iulo: (NpuMnu. Natali egameni leXhomishani)

usizo lwe-EEC oluqondene nezinhlekelele lwemali eyizi-200 â\202\02 ECU olwanikelelwa labc abalinyazwa

vigikbukhulai ... onans 76

o Âç

yizikhukhula esifundazweni saseNatali Eephlaphabllklyase
Ningizimu ne-Afrika lusethenzwa yinhlangano emele
vhulumeni wase-Ireland, i-Trocaire, ihambisana nalezi=
zinhlangano ezilandelayo okuyizona eziphuba imisebenzi
Kagiso Trust, SACBC, SACC, National Medical and

Dental Association kanye ne-Diakonia.

Senizizweleke, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlonlrheklleyo.
Yulwazi olwaziwa ngabantu bonke lolu kepha ulwazi luphelela
lapho. Empendulweni yakhe lapho ephendula khona umbuzo obha=
liweyo ongunombolo 295/87, uMnu. Natali uphendula egameni
leKhomishani athi: "IKhomishani iyakwengaba njalo nje ukuxo=
xa ngalaw2 nalowo msebenzi csekela yilcoluhlelo ngoba lokhu
kungase kulimaze lizidingo zezinhlanpano ezemukela usizo
ngendlela ethile, noma kulinpanise ukuthi lezizinhlelo kazi=
thathwa njengezinhlelc eziyisifuba."

IKhomishani yabuye yabuzwa eminye imibuzo emibili efundeka

kanje:

1) Ngabe usizo lweEEC ngaphansi koHlelo 935 lwabelwe
usizo lobuntu kuphela na? Nxa labo abemukela lolusizo
besebenzela obala nangokusemthethweni, njengoba kushc
ulbnu. De Clercq, kudingeke ngani ukuba ukusebenza kwalo=
luhlelo kube yimfihlo eqashelwe kangaka kangangoba
ngisho nePhalamende laseYurophu kalikwazi ukutshenwz
ngalo?

Kayikucabangi yini ukuthi ngokwengabz ukudalula lolu
lwazi ngisho nasePhalamende yaseYuronhu ihlinzeka izi=
prathimandla zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngesizathu
esibonakala sifanelekile sokuthiya ukwedluliselwa
kwezimali, okungeke kugcine ngokusho ukuphela kohlelo
losizo nje kuphela, kepha okungaholela nasekulimaleni
kobudlelwane phakathi kwe-EEC neNingizimu ne-Afrika na?

PRI & |

Jeay

Ingxenye yempendulo yathi: "iXhomishani ihlinzeka iPhalamende laseYurophu ngalclonke ulwazi ecabansa ukuthi luyahambisana nesimo sokuba yisifuba okudingekayo ukuvikela ukusebenza nge=

khono kwaloluhlelc.â\200\235 Yabuye yathi "IXhomishani kayizimisele ukudalula imininingwane yalolo nalolo hlelo ngoba inhloso yohlelo'yikulekelela abantu abalinyazwa yimithetho yobandlululo lube ngaleyonkathi luvikela nesithunzi sabo sobuntu." Kwenye impendulc ephendula omunye umbuzo, uMnu. Pearce wafaka nalama= zwi alandelayo: "Ngingakhumbuza ukuthi izinhlelo zaloluhlobo zisekelwa yimisebenzi yokuthula chlose ukulala uguiuko lokuthula eNingizimu ne-Afrika nekuthi kayinqunyelwa phezu kwesisekelo esicabangela ezombusazwe."

Ngakho i-SACC, UDF, COSATU kanye neDiakonia njengezinhlangano ezemukela izimali zeEEC zingayichitha lemali ngaphandle koku= lindeleka ukuba zichaze ukuthi ziyisebenzise kanjani. Okudi= ngeka ukuba zikwenze yikuveza ubufakazi bokuthi isebenzile nje kuphela. Kabadingi kusho lutho ngokuthi isetshenzisweleni. Ngakho akesibheke yona i-Kapgiso Trust uqobc sibonÃ© ukuthi- ithini ngokuthi ngubani oyofumana imali nongeke ayifumane imali ngesandla sayo. Oholweni olulungiselwe labo abacela usizo maqondana nemibandela ye-Kagiso Trust kanye nezindlela zayo zokuhlungpa abasingathi bathi izinhlelo ezilekelelayo kufanele zingabi nobandlululo lwezinhlanga futhi kufanele zisekele zikhuthaze ubunye babuye bengeze ngokuthi: "Lokhu kusho ukuthi izinhlelo ezizama ukuthiya lezizinhloso, ezizothiya

ngqo noma ngezinye izindlela kakufanele zisebenze.â\200\235

Bathi "izinhlelo kufanele zikhuthaze izenzo zentando yeningi,

futhi kufanele ziscbenzise intando yeningi ekusebenzeni kwazo. Lokhu kusho ukuthi izinhlelo kufanele zibe yizinhlangano ezises= keleke emphakathini ngqo, noma imiphakathi leyo kanye/noma izinhlangano ezizimeleyo zibe yizinhlangano ezihlanganyelayo ezinhlelweni ezingeni lokuthatha izinqumo." Kuzwakala kukuhle

konke . viovios /18

= IR~

konke lokhu, Mhlonishwa. Somlomo, kepha isigaba 1.4 kulombhalo
sifundeka kanje:

1.4 UKUNGABAMBISANI. Izinghelocezisungulwe kanye/noma
-eziphethwe nguHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika, nanoma
iziphi izinhlelc zikaHulumeni kazikwaziusukuscke@lwa.

Lokhu kuhlunganisa nezinhlalelo ezingaphansi kwesandla
se''Zabelo\200\231, "izifunda ezizibusayo' ncma izinhlangano
Azihlanganyela ngaphansi kwazo. . Lena yiyona nkemba yombusaswe

okunqunywa ngayo incawo yeNkatha-ke leyo. Ukuthi
iNkatha izinikele entandweni yeningi, isekeleke
emphakathini nokuthi iNgqungquthela yeNkatha yoNyaka,
eyakhiwe ngabantu atamele umphakathi, inguMkhandlu
ophezulu othatha izingqomo embuthweni, kakushoc lutho.
Abasingathi be-Kagiso Trust basibheca ngokusinukubeza
ngoba bethi sisebenza nesitha. Bathobefa intando
ye-ANC ngokuzama ukusinukubeza.

Uzokhumbula, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ukuthi abasingathi beKagiso Trust
batshena i-EEC ukuthi ngaphandle kokuba ithobele intando

yabo venze lokho abasingathi abafuna ukuba ikwenze,; iKagiso Trust
ngeke iyemukele imali ye-EEC. Embhalweni wabo womgomo eyuholo
lwalabe abemukela izimali zabo eNingizimu ne-Afrika, abasingathi

be-Kagiso Trust bacabanga kanje:

UMBHALO WOMGOMO OHLONGOZWAYO OYUHOLO KULABO
ABEMUKELA IZIMALI ENINGIZIMU NE-AFRIKA

Kuyavunyelwana phakathi kwezinhlanpano ezemukela usizo
iwemali nemikhandlu : emele abanikela ngezimali ukuthi labo
abanikela nsezimali basekela uguquke lwemempela eNingizimu
ne-Afrika nokudalwa komphakathi ohlangeneyo ongenalo
nbandlululclwezinhlanano -~ nonentando yeningi osekeleke
emigcmeni eyemikelwa umhlaba wonke. Fuyavunyelwana ukuba
zingaphikiswa izinyathelo zokuthula, ezithathwa ngabacinde=

lweyo njengesinyathelo ezisebenzayo, ekulweleni ulufeszva

kwaleyomigomo.

Labo abanikela npezimali bamemezela ukuthi kabaziselkeli

izinhlangano ezizamz ukuthiya ukufezâ\200\231z kwalemigomo, noma ngabe
leyonhlangano lokho ikwenza ngokwenza Kweyo ngqo

I /79

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nona ngokusekela kwa; o uhulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika noma ngokubambisana naye.

Abanikela ngezimali bamemezela ukuthi kabayisekeli imisebenzi ephethwe nguHulumeni wesabelo, noma ngu=Hulumeni wase-Riphabhulikhi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika, noma ngabe: bayiphethe ngqo noma npezinye izindlela. Lokhu kakuzivimbeli izinhlangano ezemukela izimali ekuphatheni usizo ezindaweni eziphethwe yilemikhandlu yawohulumeni ezikhathini zezinhlekelele zemvelo nona ngezinye izehlo ezingajwayelekile.

Labo abanikela ngezimali bayavuma ukuthi izimadi bazis nikeza izinhlangano ezemukela izimali ngenhloso yo=

kukhuthaza uguquko lwempela njengoba kucaciswe esigabeni sokugala, maqendana nemisebenzi noma izenzo okuvunyelwene ngazo nhlangothi zombili, ngaphandle kokuba abanikeli bezimali babenesandla ekuqashelweni kwalezo zimali okwedlula enqutsheni eyemukelekayo nejwayelekileyo yoku=bika nokuchaza ngokusebenza kwezimali.

Labo abanikela ngezimali bazinikela emigomeni wokuthi ngeke balisehenzise igama lenhlangano eyemukela usizo

lwemali, kanye nolwazi abalufumana ngomlomo wenhlangano

eyerukela izimali ukughuba imfundiso esekela inqubo yabo noma ngezizathu ezingahambisaniyo nezinjongo zenhlangano eyemukela usizo lwemali.

Labo abanikela ngezimali bayavuma ukwazisa uMkhandlu wabo kanye nabaxhasi bawoHulumeni babo ukuthi izimali zinikelelwa ukuseckela abantu noma izinhlangano ezilwela ukudala uguquko lwempela njengoba lucaciswe esigabeni 2, nokuthi njengomphumela walokho liningj . lalabo abemukela usizo bathathwa ngu-hulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika

nawo hulumeni...../80

nawo Hulumeni bezabelo njengezitha zalabo hulumeni

ngakho bahlangabezana nokuhlushwa ngaphansi kwemi=
thetho ckhona yokuphepha noma imithetho yesimo.

esibucayi.

Abanikela ngezimali bayavuma ukuthatha izinyathelo
ezifaneleyo ukuqiniseka ukuthi ulwazi abahlinzekwa
yilabo okulindleleke ukuba bemukele usizo nge=
nkathi befaka izicelo noma bethula imibiko ngeke
kunikezwe labo abasebenzela uHulumeni waseNingizimu
ne~Afrika, noma ngabe lokhu kwemziwa nggqo noma

ncezinye izindlela.

Nxa kunckwenzeka ukuba labo aban'kela izimali banga=
vumelani nemibandela ecaciswe ezigabeni kusukela
ku-1 kuya ku-7, kunconywa ukuba leyonhlangano
yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika eqondene nalolosizo yengabe
ukulwemukela cÂçunye usizo lwezimali oluvela

kulabo banikeli.

Nxa Â»ubalwa ngamarandi, kunemali eyizi-R4Z ÂçÂf0 900 eya=
dluriselwa eNingizin 2 rika,ngesandla se~EBEC ngel1987

nkanti iEEC yahlinzeka ukwedlulisela imali eyiziR7?0

ngc1988. Omunye umbhalc ulinganisa ykuthi kunesamba

.

semali...../8]

semali eyiziR40C 700 030 eyangena eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngo1987 ivela emithenjeni eychlukeneyo ukuzolekelela imisebenzi eyemukelwe yanconywa Yyi~SACC SACBC kanye neKagisc Trust. Enggungqutheleni yayo yoNyaka ka1988, iSACC yethula izitatimende zezimali ezakhomba ukuthi ichithe RZ%Z1 840 \$30 kulonyaka wezimali odlule nje

uwodwa. Xwasetshenziswa i-1.1% yalemali emisebenzini wesonto nokughuba ivangeli kwathi izi-72% zachithwa ekuhlinzekeni izimali zokulekelela neminikeleo cqondene nemisebenzi ekungeyona eyezeikclo. ÅYuso lesosikhathi esilinganayo yachitha iR1 102.000 ezisebenzini zayo yahlinzeka nemali engaphezulu eminyangweni eqondene nayo. Isigabaz Z:ntsha sabelwa iziR2 500 kepha sachitha iziR78 000 ukuthi nxa sekuhlanganiswa nemali eyayingasebenzanga enyakeni ongaphambili, isamba semali eÅ¢singasebenzanga kulesiSigaba siyiziR124 455. Isigaba sabesifazane (Wemen's Ministrie:s sasebenzisa *~iR76 000 kuphela esabellweni saso semali eyiziR119 C00. Isigabe sxXhaya nelâ\200\231lindeneni sasebenzisn. iziR87 40Å¢{ sesibalo sesabelo saso seziR124 0C0. I-Inter-Church Aid yona yachitha iziR55 â\202¬00 kuphela emalini eyiziR89 600 eyayibekelwe yona. Emalini eqondene nendlala nolunye usizo kwasala imali eyiziR712 668 ensasetshenziswanga enyakeni owawukhungethwe yizikhathi zesomisc, ivikhukhula nendlela. . Imibhalo ikhomba ukuthi naphezil kwemali â\200\230enikulu kangaka @sele ezikhwameni iSACC yasebe= ngisa iziR4:77000 kuphela. ulkulekelela labc-abalinyazwa yizikhukhula eNatali naKwaZulu.

Kuyoyonke imali eyangena esizhwameni i-SACC yasebenzisa

i 143.6% ukukhokhela isikhwama seâ\202¬-.Asingeni Relief Fund, kanye nesikhwama sayo sokubhckana nezinhlekelele ezweni lonke. Zombili lezizikhwama zisebenza ngemfihlo futhi ziphethwe nguNocbhala-Jikelele we-SACC ngqo, uMfundisi Frank Chikane.

Nxa kugashelwa..../8%

Nxa kugashclwa ukuthi uMnumzane Chikane uyiphini loMengameli we-UDF esckelwa yi-ANC umuntu uyakuqonda. kahle ukuthi isihe sakhe singakuphi nokuthi yuhlobo luni lwemisebenzi angaqoka ukuyilekelela. Kulula, vele, ukuchitha imali lapho kungalindelile ncazelo futhi kakungimangazi nakancane mina ukuthi njengoba iminyango ye-SACC yehlulekanje ukuyisebenzisa yonke imali, yakhombisa izimali egisele esikhwameni, iezi engizibale ngenhla, Isikhwama se-Asingeni Relief Fund sachitha imali engaphezulu kweziR527 .28 ukwedlula isabelo sazo kanti

~ isikhwama esiqondene nezinhlekelele ezweni lonke sachitha dmali enpaphezulu kweziR787 185 ukwedlula isabelo sazo. I-Dependants Conf@rence. Division nayo echi*ha izimali zombusazwe yeqa esabelweni ngemali eyi-R! 900 000. Sinclwethu wulwazi olungelona oclokutshenwa ngokusebemza kweSACC eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Siyazi ukuthi iyuhlelokazi lckughuba izinjongo zombusazwe. Siyazi futhi.ukuthi .imali eza kuyc ivela ku-EEC nakwezinye izinhlangano:. ezinikela ngezimali zamasonto ehlukeneyo emhlabeni wonke ziyizimali ezinikezwa zikhishelwe izizathu zombusazwe. I-EEC nama=sonto banikelela impi yokulwa nobandlululo = Yimali yombu-sazwe lena abayinikeza li-SACC.

Kubantu abangaziyo nalabo abdnikezwa ulwazi 6lungeyilo iokhu kulingana nokwenza into ehloniphekileyo kepha nxa uthatha ngohtobolokucabanga clukhonjiswa "ngumbhalo wengubo ehlongozwayo eyuholo kulabo azbemukela izimali eNingizimu ne-Afrika" uzokwazi ukuthi lemali kayiyi kunoma ngubani olwa ncbandlululo. Lemali idluliselwa kulabo abasekela rambiswano lwe-~UDF ne-ANC. e 5

â\200\2348 3%

Siyhbnzi vkuthi bangdbahi labo ngolimi. abalusebenzisayo.

Ake uthathe lomusho nje: "Kuyavunyelwana ukuba zingaphi=

kiswa izinyathelo zokuthula, abacindezelweyo abazithatha njengezisebenzayo, ekulweleni ukufeza lemigomo ebaliweyo." Ngubani omunye ngaphandle kukaDotela Boesak, u-Archieâ\200\231 Â° -, Biashop Tutu, u-Dokotela Beyers Naude kanye noMfundisi

Chikane ongalokotha asukume asebenzise amazwi athi " abafhtu abacinde= zelweyo abazitkatha njengezisebenzayoâ\204ç?

Inazindlela zini 1-SACC noma inazindleha zini i-Kagisc Trust ezisebenzisayo zokuqinisa ukuthi ' "abacindezelweyo"â\200\235 bacabangani nokuthi banamizwa mini nganoma yihi? Kayisebenzisi wona amaSonto angamalunga &-SACC ukufumana ulwazi ngabacindezelweyo nabakucabangayo. Yizisebenzi ze-SACC ezihlezi emahhovisi azo eziziqokela labo ezibathandayo nezighamuka nokwahlulela kwazo okuyizona ezinikeza i~SACC ulwazi ''ngabacindezelweyo'.

Siyazi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukuthi kunjalo. Kakukho Sonto labamnyama elingenakho ukungacaci magondana namasu namaghinga ombusazwe. Kakukho lokishi, kakukho ndawo lapho kungekho ukungacaci. Kukhona

impi evutha uphondo yokuzuza imigondo phakathi

kwabantu base-Ningizimu ne-Afrika;.kukhona. ukuthengana kwamaphuzu; kukhona impikiswano, kukhona amalumbo nokuhlanekezela. Kayikho into ekusonga konke ebizwa ngokuthi "yizwi labacindezelweyoÂ®. Kukhona izinhhlango kuphela ezithi zikhuluma egameni layo yonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama zikusho lokhu zingenazo izinhlelo zokukhombisa ubuqiniso balokhu ezikushoyo.

Nxa iNkatha...

SaRL

Nxa iNkatha inamalunga anobufakazi ' bobulungu; nxa sineNgqungquthela yethu Yonyakg, nxa sinezNgqungquthela zethu zeNtsha seneziNgqungquthela zoMbuthe wethu Wabesifazane, sisesimeni Sckukwazi ukuqiniseka ngezifiso zeNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama. Sinabo nawokhukhulelas=ngoqo bemihlangano yethu. Sinokuthintana ngqgo

noqugaba wkuhlinzeka uqugaba ngezinhlelo zokwenza

imibono eYalo yaziwe. Kungumbono wethu onolwazi

nge-SACC kanye ne-Kagiso Trust okungenza ngibuze

imibuzo ngezimali zeminikelo ezinikezwa lezizinhlangano. Nginolwazi engilunika zwa ngabantu i-SACC ne Kagiso Trust abathi babamele. Nginazo mina izinhlelo zokuqiniseka ngemibono yabantu okuyinto bona abengenayo. Kakhukho noyedwa

umuntu ku-Kagiso Trust okhethwe -yugugaba ukuba abamele kuleyo- Trust. Kakhukho ngisho noyedwa, Mhlonishwa Somlomo.

kakhukho noyedwa umuntu ku-SACC okhethelwe kuyo Yuqugaba

olungamalunga anoma yiliphi iSonto. Bonke bakulemikhandlu njengabantu abamele abantu ngokukhethwa ngamakomindi nawo akhethwe ngamanye amakomindi ngokwawo. Baghelelene ngokuphindwe kabili kathathu noma ngezikhathi ezingaphe:= . zulu kwaleso nomuntu oyuqugaba obengavota emukele noma aphikise ukwemukeleka kwanoma yimuphi umuntu: g0khethelwe ezikhundleni zalemikhandlu.

Sengike ngathi ukuphambukz kancane enditeleni;. ngangena odabeni lwezimali zeminikelo ezikliokhelwa i-SACC kanye ne-Kagiso Trust ngoba ngiqonde ukukhombisa leliphuzu engikhuluma ngalo lokuthi imikhankamso yamagqu=bu okulwa neNkatha asiwa kuwowonke am--umbi omhlaba kubantu abangenalo ulwazi nabantu abanikezwa ulwazi olungeyilo ngabantu abakha eNtsheni uhlaloboluthile lwesithombe esisho imali kubo ebhizinisini elikhulu leminikelo yomhlaba enikelelwa imisebenzi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo,

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, nginomse=henzi wokuba ngihambe kakhulu kunalokho engifisa i:kukuhamba ngokwami. Ngijwayele ukuya eMelika naseNtshonalanga - YUropht ngakho kangigcini nje ngokuhlangana nezinhklobonhlobc zemibono eyehiukeneyo kuphela, kepha ngibyye ngibuzwe, ngezinye izikhathi ngiqondwe nje ngqo, ngesimo saseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngikuqonda kahle ukucabanga okukhona nge-Ningizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi kuncane kangahanani ukuqonda ngo-

mbusazwe wabantu abaNyama kulemif%bango.

Labo abafumana ukusekelwa okuihulu eNingizimu ne-Afrika bakufumana ngoba befike baxoxe indaba abaziyo ukuthi abase-Ntshonalanga Yuraphu niase Melika bayathanda ukuyizwa. Bayathanda ukuzwa ngezenze zobughawe emzabalagweni. Kubona ububi bobandlululo bufuna uhlobo oluthile lokukhononda ngakho nxa lolphliobo lokukhononda luvusa amaclingozi kuze kugcine ngokuba izezenzo zokukhononda ziguquke izezenzo zendluzula kubahlaba umxhwele kubasuse usinga nxa sebezwa abakhulumeli abafana nno-ArÃ©hbishop Tutu sebesho izinto ezifana nokuthi: â\200\230â\200\234'kukhona uhlobo olusha liwentsha emnyama enensimbi emiphefumulweni yayo."

UBokotela Boesak, uDokotela Beyers Naude kanye no-Mfundisi Frank Chikane babeka isithombe samaghawe namaghawekazi abhekana nehlelocukuzÃ© ezwakalise ukuphissana kwawo nobandlululo. Yizenzo zokuvelela, yizenzo ezidunyiswa yizinhlelo zokusakaza amaphepha nezenzo ezingatuswa njengezenzo zabantu abalwela inkululeko abezwakalisa ngazo imizwa yahbo ngokuzidela kunokuba baqoke ukusebenzisa indluzula okuyizona zenzo ezithatha abase-Ntshonalanga Yurophu nabase-Melika.

Laboabakushayela.../86

Labo abakushayela ihlombe lokhu abakubona njengobughawe
namhlanje bayakulibala ukuthi amaqhawe e-Black

People's Convention kanye ne-Black Community Programmes
asalahleka akhohlakala epaswini nasemaggingeni
angazange asebenze. Bayakulibala ukuthi kubalulekile
ukuqongelela gkho okuzuzayo nokuhlanganisa abalandeli.

Sengafumana nokuthi ngisho neminyango yezangaphandle

enezigaba eziqondene ne-Afrika eseNingizimu nayo iluthwa
yilemfundiso esekela inqubo ye-ANC, : UDF ne-COSATU.

Kuze kube sengathi ukuba -lezizinhlangano zazingekho ~
kwakuyocdingeka ukuba zidalelwe khcna nje ukwenelisa
iiibonc yaseNtshonalanga. Nxa ubheka amandla empela
ezombusazwe njengoba senza Kulendlu, kuyakukhanyela ukuthi
-amandla agondene ngempela nokubutha abantu nokubakha
kubenze izigaba zokusebenza ezikwaziyo ukuthunywa

ukuba ziyofeza izinjongo. -"yakuqonda nokuthi amandla
angaphezulu kokukwazi ukughuba amasu okugadla kubaleke

. ubuye ygalea\200\231? phansi futhi ngaleso naleso sikhathi.

Ngibuyela ephuzwini lokuthi ! yindlelaz umuntu alindele ngayo
ukuba kuxazululeke inkinga yaseMningizimu ne-Afrika
okuyiycna elawula indlela gkuthathwa ngayo imibuzo yokuthi
yiziphi izinjongo ezidinga ukuthungathwa nokuthi yimaphi
amasu namagginga afanele usetshengiswa ukufeza izinjonpo.

Ngisayikhumbula kahle indlela gkwathckozelwa ngayo ukuzalwa
kweNkatha nokuqubuka kwayo nj:ngenhlangano yabaMnyama
yombusazwe ekhula ngejubane elikhulu kunazozonke ezweni.
Yabathatha abantu kwathi abaniu abafana no-Save Biko
bazinikela ukusebenza ngaphansi kwami nxa ngangiyi-
dicilela phansi indawo engimi kuyo lapha kuleNdlu,

Mhlonishwa Somlomo,.../87

il T

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo. Izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingi:weni zathatheka zazinikela ekubambisaneni nathi nzânkathi becabâanga 'uKuthi iNkatha inokusetshenziswa embusazweni wckuggqolozelana ngezZigu zamehlo ngaphandle kokuzikhathaza ngokuthi lokho kwakungase kuyenze ibesengozini yokushatshalaliswa iNkatha esikhathiniâ\200\231. esiphakathi nendawc noma esiseduze esizayo.

Kwabe sckubakhona ukushaqeka ngenkathi kubonakala

ukuthi ngeke ngigudluke ezinjongweni esezahlolwa nezi-thembekileyo zomzabalazo weNkululeko. Ngenkathi

abanye beghuba Imiqgondo. emisha ezinhlanganweni

ezazisandes kudalwa okwakuyimigorndo engaziwayc embusazweni wabaMnyama, mina ngaqhubeka nemiqondo eseyahlolwa yahlolisiswa ngengaba ukuguqula amabombo phakathi

nomfula womzabalazo weNkululeko yomuntu cMnyama.

Nizokhumbula ukuthi eminyakeni ephakathi kuka =-1976 no-1978 sasitshenwa ngamashoshozela oMbutho Wokuzagisa Ngebala EliMnyama ukuthi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrka usezokuwa bhi ezinyangent eziyi-18 Â@zizayo, ~Nizokhurbula

uvkuthi umhlaba washaqeka kangakanani ukholws â\200\230yizindaba zokuthi izinyawo zeNingizimu ne-Afrika zase zibhakiswa phezulu nokuthi ubandlululo lwase luzodliwa ngavhlangdbi. Yilomoya wethemba elingekho owadala ukuba kuqanjwe iziqubulo ezifana nalesi esithi "inkululeke manjÂâ\2027, iimfuno kamuva.â\200\235 Intsha yayikhuthazwa ukuba icabange ukuthi umzabalazo wawuyophetha ngoku.a yinto yesikhashanae esincane nje, efana nokushaywa yithwabi ohlelweni jy.;,0 lwemfuno.

Konke 1lcku...../88

BB -

Konke lokhu kwayibiza intengo enkulu kakhulu iNingizimu
ne-Afrika eMnyama. Kwalimaza ithuba labaHoli

abangase bakhule babaluleke kulelizwe kepha

okubaluleke kakhulu kwephuca abantu abamnyama base-
Ningizimu ne-Afrika ulwazi lokwakha izinhlelo zaba=

Mnyama zombusazwe nokuginisa okwenZiwayo kancane
kancane ngokuqginiseka ukuthi umzabalazo ngeke ube
hguginqigonqo wokuzuza okungasho lutho nokulimala
kwempela nkusihlehlisela emuva.,

Ngisho nanamhlanje kawukwazi ukufumana impendulo ezwakalayo
embuzweni ofana nalona nje othi luyini ngempels uhlelo

lwe-UDF na. Kawukwazi nje ukubona ukuthi yikuphi nje

ngempela lapho i-UDF ihlasela khona ubandlululo. Ngokukhono=
nda, yebo; ukuphoxa nokwehlisa isithunzi kunokwenzeka;
ukuthiya, yebo; kepha kuyikukhonanda, ukwehlisa isithunzi
nokuthiya okungasa kuphethe seyingxenye yokwenza ukuphikisa
ubandlululo indlela yempilo ngokulinganayo nokuba sekuyingxenye
yanoma yini enye. Lamaqiniso adala intukuthelo emangalisayo
nxa ekhulunywa.

Mhlonishwa Scmlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo; thina esikule=
Ndlu siyazi ukuthi kakukho muntu ozofika azosikhululela iNi=
ngizimu ne-Afrika futhi siyazi ukuthi kasikwazi ukuzibusisa
ngokuba ngamaqhalaghala aveleleyo nazinwebayo ekuphikiseni
kwethu ubandlululo ngenkathi silindele usuku lwenkululeko.
Siyazi ukuthi uquqaba lwabantu kudingeka ukuba baphile usuku
nosuku nokuthi kufanele bazabalaze bekuzo lezozimo zempilo
yabo yansuku zonke. Siyazi futhi ukuthi ngisho nemizabalazo
yokuvukelwa kombuso igala ngomsebenzi onzima nokhandlayo
wokugqugquzela abantu nokwakha amandla enhlangano. Okungaphezu
kwakho konke, siyazi ukuthi nxa sizokwenza okungaphezulu
kokuphepha kulesisikhathi esiphakathi kokuphangalala kobandlu=
lulo nokugedwa kwalo kokugcina, sighubeke nomsebenzi wempela

wokwakha..../89

gD

wokwakha izisekelo zamandla eziyoba yusizo ngomuso, kufanele siqale ngokubhekana nobandlululo lapho singabhekana nalo khona.

Nathi ngabe senza okwehlukileyo kulokhu esikwenzayo ukuba besinamaphupho amakhulu okumasha kwabavukeli bombuso bezohlwitha uvhulumeni basungule nomphakathi omusha. Lolohlobo llwento ebingase izanywe emiphakathini yezinga nesibalo esincane yase-Angola, e-Mozambique nase-Zimbabwe iyinto engenakwenzeka nakancane lapha. Izisekelo zamandla esizakhayo ziyizisekelo eziyicsiphumelelisa ukubutha amandla ethu namhlanje, ukuwahlanganisa kusasa nokuwasebenzisa ngosuku olulandelayo.

Ngeshwa elikhulu baningi kakhulu emhlabeni ongaphandle ababona ukwahlulela kwezithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni okuthi umbusazwe wokubonisana kawusoze wafeza lutho oluyus=sizo eNingizimu ne-Afrika njengeqiniso. Bafinyelela eziphethweni ezingakhiyo, ikakhulukazi ngenxa yokuba bonke bathathe babhekise amehlo abo bawathi njo e-Pitoli ibese konke abakubonayo labo ababheke i~Pitoli kube nguhulumeni onentamo elukhuni nonenkani onganyakaziyo lapho ecindezelwa ngaphakathi nangaphandle. Kabawubheki umbusazwe = wabaMnya=nyama ngaphandle kombusazwe okhonondayo olwa nobulukhuni bezintamo© zabamhlophe.

Uhlobo lomsebenzi esiwenzayo thina esikuleNdlu, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ubukelwa phansi ibese kuthi kulesosimo esikhona i-UDF ne-COSATU bazitshakadulele baghubeke nendlela yabo yokusinyundela ngenxa yokuba umhlaba ongaphandle ubheke izinto eziyiphutha kulelizwe.

Kusanda kudingeka ukuba ngiphinde ngikhumbuze uhulumeni wase-Melika ukuthi izinhlelo zakhe zosizo oluza eNingizimu ne-Afrika zidinga ukuphind zihlolwe. Ngifisa ukufunda '

'â\200\234, Incwadisethuioï¬\201...../gï¬\201

T

iNcwadi-Sethulo; ukuze igoshwe phansi; engayethula eNxuseni
lase-Melika, uMhlonishwa uMnu. Edmund Perkins ,ngomhlaka
17 ku-Januwali kuwo lonyaka, Ondini.

INCWADI-SETHULO YOKUXOXWA NOMHLONISHWA UMNU. E. PERKINS,
INXUSA LASE-MELIKA ENINGIZIMU NE-AFRIKA
NGUMNTWANA MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI,â\200\235 UNDUNANKULU WAKWAZULU
NONGUMENGAMELI WENKATHA
ONDINTI : 17 JANUWALI 1989

Nginentokozo enkulu ukufumana lelithuba lokughathanisa
imibono nawe nokubangedlulisela kuwe okunye ukukhathazeka
kwami okujulileyo ngomzabalazo waseNingizimu ne-Afrika
wenkululeko neqhaza elibanjwe yi-Melika phezu kwalowo
mzabalazo.

Udaba iokuthi uzile lapha Ondini ukuzobonana nami kaluthokos
zisi nje ngoba ngilindele abantu abaphezulu njengawe nabenza
imisebenzi ebaluleke njengowakho ukuba bagijime beze nxa
ngibabiza ngokuthanda kwami. Ngithi kuthokozisa ngenxa
yokuba kukhombisa intshisekelo yakho ekuphumeni uyozifumanela
wena ngokwakho amaqiniso odaba. Ukuza kwakho lapha kuyi=
kwemukela futhi ukuthi lendawc kufanele ihanjelwe ngoba
iqhaza esilibambileyo emzabalazweni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika
kalikwazi ukuzitshwa ligagqizwa qakala.

Kulezizinyanga zamuva, Mhlonishwa iNxusa, bengizwa sengathi
kukhona okuthile okungaqondile kahle maqondana nendlela
elase-Melika elizama ngayo ukulekelela umzabalazo waseNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika. Ngineqiniso lokuthi sewazisiwe ukuthi
ngibenamazwi okulugxeka okuthile uhlobo lokuzinikela nohlobo
lwezinyathelo ezithathwa yi-Melika maqondana nenkinga yase=
Ningizimu ne-Afrika.

Kufanele ngikusho kusasuka nje kulamazwi ami ukuthi ngiyamha=
lalisela ngempela uMengameli Reagan nokukhalipha kwawo=
zakwabo uMnu. Shultz noMnu. Crocker ezindabeni zamaghing
obudlelwane bamazwe e-Afrika ese-Ningizimu. Selokhu kwathi
nhlo ngiyakusho ukuthi "Ukuzimbandakanye ngendlcla eyakhayoâ\204ç
ungakubiza noma yingaliphi igama olithandayo, ukuthi imbali
iyohlala iyimbali ngisho noma ingabizwa ngaliphi ibizo.
Elase-Melika lisebenzise indlela eyakhayo enkingeni ye-Angola/
Namibia/SWAPO/ANC/MPLA kanye ne-UNITA.

Okube ngumphumela walokho engikubona njengesigaba sokusebenza
kuka~Chester Crocker, ezikhandla emaghingeni obudlelwane bamazwe,
kuthembisa ukuba yinto ezolekelela lonke elase-Afrika eseNingizimu.
Kuncbuchopho ocbuzwakala buneqiniso. s

Ngibeka

=0 L

Ngibeka iphuzu lckuthi amaghinga obudlelwane bezizwe kulelo zinga le-Afrika eseNingizimu asejala ukusho utho ngenxa yokuba

athinta abantu abangaphakathi kulezozindawo. Sikhuluma ngokugudluka kwamashumi ezinkulungwane zamabutho; sikhuluma ngokugedwa kohlobo lobutha oscbushiye ugwadule lapho buhambe khona. Sikhuluma ngokubonis=zn okungazishiyi ngaphandle

izizwe, okungabashiyi abaholi ngaphandle, okungazishiyi izinhlangano zombusazwe ngaphandle, okungazishiyi ezomnotho ngaphandle nokukwenze konke lokho ngenhloso yokusebenza

umbusazwe oqondene nalokho ckufanele kwenzeke.

Ngiyakuphawula ukuthi isivumelwano osekuseduze kangaka

ukuba sibe yinto ekhona sidaleke esimeni lapho besekusobala ukuthi akekho ozongoba noma yiziphi iziwombe nxa isivumelwano besiyisinyathele sokuphuma esimeni sakwangqingetshe lapho indluzula ibibhekene khona nendluzula nalapho ubushokobezi bebubhekene khona ncbushokobezi, kungugingqongongo ongafezi lutho ngaphandle kokucekela phansi amathuba empilo yabobonke abantu.

ENingizimu ne-Afrika kasikho isimo sakwangqingetshe. Kakukho ukwemukela ukuthi impi kayikwazi ukunqotshwa kunoma yiluphi uhlangothi. Nxa ngiphinda engivamise ukukusho, kakukho muntu osecela umalushu. Ukubonisana kohlobo lwase-Lancaster House kakubonakali nokubonisana kohlobo lwase-Angola/Namibia : kakubonakali maqondana neNingizimu ne-Afrika. Mhlonishwa iNxusa, npikholwa yikuthi kubaluleke kakhulu ukuba soÃnke sisiqonde isidingo sokwehlukana uhlobo llweqhaza lombusazwe wezinga elikhulu elibanjwe yi-Melika esimeni sase-Angola neghaza lezinga elincane i-Melika efanele ukulibamba Å~Ningizimu ne-Afrika namhlanje.

Ukuphumelela kwe-Melika ukubamba ighaza lezinga elikhulu okuyodingeka ukuba ilibambe ngelinye ilanga nxa isikhathi sesikulungele ukuba ilibambe, kuyokweyama kulokhn i-Melika ekwenzayo manje njengoba leloghaza elikhulu liseyinto engenakwenzeka. Kunethemba elincane lokuthi umlando uzosebenza e-Ningizimu ne-Afrika nase-Afrika ese-Ningizimu ngendlela yokuba konke elase-Melika okuzodingeka ukuba likwenze kube yikulinda nje kuze kufike isikhathi salo sokwenza okuthile. Lesosikhathi asisoze safika ngaphandle kckuba kwenziwe into efaneleyo manje.

Kuningi okudinga ukweriziwa marje kanti nxa kukhulunywa ngo= mgondo obanzi ingxenye enkulu yalokho okudinga ukwenziwa manje yikugondisa imimoya csebenza ukwenza umzabalazo wezikhali ubeyinto esemthethwzni kuhlangele nokwenza ukunqoba kwendluzula kube yinto eÅngenakugwenywa. Sekubekhona ukungalingani eminikelweni efakwa esimeni sase-Ningizimu ne-Afrika

ngenkathi elase-Rashiya nawowonke amazwe angamaKhomanisi

etheld 'dadgidi.....792

ethela izigidi zama-dollar ekuvivisweni kwabantu beviviselwa impi nokubulala. Kunezinye futhi izigidi ezifakwa ekudaleni uhlobo lwesimo lapho labo abasekela indluzula ngaphakathi e-Ningizimu ne-Afrika benikezwa ukusekelwa okukhulu ngezimali nangokomgondo ezweni lonke nasemhlabeni.

Noma ngabe sikhuluma ngemali nempahla yase-Rashiya, noma sikhuluma ngosizo lwe-Rashiya kwezobudlelwano; noma sikhuluma ngezigidi. ezifakwa yimikhandu yamaSonto ahlangeneyo. emhlabeni namaqozo amaSonto emizameni yezinhlangano ezifana ne-UDF, Cosatu kanye ne-SACC ukuphakamisa isithunzi se-ANC,

sikhuluma ngezizathu ezidala uhulumeni wase-Melika ukuba abeseiphutheni ngendlela emangazayo ngokwengaba kwakhe ukusekela amaqozo afana neNkatha. Bathi kimi, gha-bo, ungumholi wezombusazwe ohola inhlangano yombusazwe, kasikwazi ukukusiza. UMnyango Wezangaphandle ukuphahleka ngodaka engikwenzayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Kungase kuzwakale kabi lokhu engikushoyo ezindlebeni zakho czicushwe ngokucophelela okukhulu komuntu ongomagginga wobudlelwane bamazwe. Kangiqonde khona ukubhamba lapha. Kangazi ukuthi lokhu ngingakubeka kanjani ngenye indlela. Ngilwa impi ejulileyo nobandlululo. Ngilwa kuzozonke izinhla enginokulwa kuzo futhi ngigoke ukulwa ngomgondo othatha

isimo njengoba sinjalo ozama ukwenza lokho okunokwenzeka ngempela. Selokhu kwathi nhlo kunesidingo esiphuthumayo sokukhombisa ukuthi llokho ckufancle ukwenziwa kunokwenziwa. Sekuyisikhathi eside ngacikeka ngamazibo okuthi kakunakwenziwa ngani lokho ckufanele ukwenziwa nokuthi kungani kufanele urmuntu agale ukubulala ngezizathu zombusazwe.

Ubandlululc ngiluphikisa zonke izins'ku zempilo yami ngakho ngiyashaqeka nxa sonke isimo esiyiso . sinquma ukuthi ukuthi

- nxa ngiya e-Melika kufanele ngiye khona ngizilungiselele ukuvikala hhayi ilung'lo lami llokwenza lokho engikwenzayo

nje kuphela,; kepha nckuvikela ithuba lokuba lokho engikwenzayo kuphumelele. Eginisweni ngizifumana sengizivikela ekuhlaselweni na ngabantu abavelele nasezindaweni eziphezulu e-Melika.

Eginisweni sesifanele ukubhekwa manje lesisimo esiyimpica.

INingizimu ne-Afrika kayiyona enye i-Angola, iMozambique noma iZimbabwe. Umzabalazo wezikhali, noma mhlawumbe nxa umuntu ekubeka ngamagama angcono lokho okuthiwa ngumzabalazo

wezikhali, usughubeke kusukeia ekuqaleni kwawo-1960 manje. Jsughubeke imiryaka engama-25 uzama ukunqoba impi. Yonke

imizamo yawo ibisekelwa yusizo olukhulu lomhlaba. I-Moscow, iHavana, i-Hanoi kanye nezinye izindawo zinikeza usizo lokweluleka okuphambili kunakho konke obekunokunikezwa kuleminyakana

eyi-25 nje kuphela.

Kuhlinzekwe

Kuhlinzekwe uhlobo oluphambili nclwe simanje lokuviviswa
kwezempi; Kuhlinzekwe izikhali nezi- nlamvu noluny~ usizo
lwasempini cluhlinzckwe ngavo makhelwane neminye iMibuso
yase-Afrika. Konke lokhu kenha nanamhlanje ingqala

sizinda yeNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokuphelela kwayo kayithintekile
nakancane futhi isebenza. ngokujwayelekileyoÂ°

Kwangicacela mina ngeminyaka yawo~-1970 ukuthi ithemba
lokungoba kohlco okufuze okwe-Frelimo eNingizimu ne-Afrika
kuyinto engenakucatshangwa. Ngakho ngazethwesa umsebenzi
wokusungula uhls lwendlela yckuthula lokuphikisa

ubandlulo. Engaâ\200\234wenzayo, ngakwenza ngamabomu. Engakwenzayc
kakubanga njumphusela wokuxhamazela nje ngendlela ethile

ukuba nami kube Xkhona = engikwenzayo ukuze ngitaluleke.
Selokhu kwathi nhlo nginesibindi mina Sokasho lokho
okufanele ukwenziwa ngoba kuyinto efaneleyo i 8 0 8

noma ngabe leyonto iyathandeka noma kayithand.-ki, Kangikaze
ngikuthela amanzi lokho engicabanga ukuthi Kdfanele ukwenziia
ukuze ngizifuranele udumo: noma ngizincengele ohlangothini
oluthile nome olunye.

Ngiphikisa ubandluluo lapha 6ndini ngakho ngibhaxabuleliwa
lokho ngamashumi amaningi abantu base-Melika abaphezulu
ngishalazelwe nayizikhulu zo'/nyango Wezangaphandle nxa
sekuza osizweni olubonwa ngamehlo lokuphikisa ubandlululo.
Njengomuntu othatha isimo njengoba sinjalo, ngiyazi ukuthi
indlela esisebenza ngayo umsebenzi- wokugeda ubandlululo
yiyena eyolawula uhlobo lwekusasa esizoba nalo.
Okungaphezu kwakho konke, ngiyazi ukuthi ngizokwehluleka
kuzozonke izinjongo zami ezimkilo npaphandle kokuba
ngiginiseke ukuthi lezozinjongo zifezwa yuqucaba lwabantu.
Ngithembele oquqabeni lwabantu . Ngibanikeza inhlangano
yentando yeninci. Engikwenzayo ngikutshenwa yiNkatha njenge=
nhlangano yabantu lapho kungabantu abakhetha khona abaholi
abazikhethela bona ukuba baghube izinjongo ezikhethwa
ngabantu.

Ngenxa yokuba ngingumuntu oseckeleke kubantu ngiyazi ukuthi
abantu kufanele baphile ukuzz bazabalaze. Ngiyazi ukuthi
yilabc abengenalutho abathembeke kulo nabangenalutho
abaluphilelayo abasengozini enkulu yokuphogebelelwa emzabalazweni
wezikhali. lgale kwalolonke olunye ulwazi, kukhona ulwazi
lokuthi umzabalazec wezikhali eNingizimu ne~-Afrika uiephumelela

kuphela ukudala uhjikelezo congapheliyo wokuvukelwa koMbuso
nockuhlaselwa kokuvukelwa koMbuso. Ukucabanpga kwanmi
okusckeleke kubantu kungitshena ukuthi kufancle ngighubeke

nokudala uMbusazwe wabalandeli.

Lokhc ngiyakwenza.... /94

Lokho ngiyzkwenza lapha Ondini; ngiyakwenza eNkatheni;
ngiyakwenza â\202Milhandlwini! WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho. ,
Sekuyiminyake ngisebenza kanzima ngidala umbutho

wabalandeli kuzozonke jzinhlanga. Kangigcini nje
ngokuphikisa uhlelokazi lobandlululoc lapha Ondini ngokuthiya
imizamo eghubekayo vePitoli yokusenza sihambe ngomgudu
okwahamba ngaw., j-Transkei. li-Bophuthatswana,iVenda neCiskei
kepha kufanele ngilwe zonke izinsuku noma yikuphi lapho
nginokulwa khona ukuzuza lokho okunokuzuzwa ngokuphikisz
ubandlululo kuwo wonke amazinga olunokuphikiswa kuwo.

Lokhu kusho ukuthi kunamashumi ngamashumi ezindaba okudingeka
ukuba ngibhekane nazo nsuku zonke.

Phakathi kwezinto engizenzayo yikuginiseka ukuthi kwenziwa
okuhle kunakhc Å¥onke okunokwenziwa ukungenisa umuntu omnyama
weSilisa nowesifazane oyuquqgaba emongweni womnotho wemali
ukuze bafumane umhlomulo ongconc ezikhwameni zoMbuso.
Ngiyazabalaza lapha Ondini ngizabalazela ukuba imisebenzi
esemgoka yabelwe imali engcono ngihlanganise lokhu engikwenza
kulelizinga nalokho okunokwenziwa ukuthuthukisa amabhizinisi
abamnyama =2wmancane nokuba ngiginiseke ukuthi isigaba esingalawulwa
yimithetho KwaZulu singagcini nje ngokukhula kepha sikhule
ngendlela yokuba lowc nalowo muntu wesilisa noma wesifazane
osebhizinisini akwazi ukughubekela ekungeneni esigabeni
sezomnotho esilawulwa umthetho.

Ukuze kufezeke lokhu ngasungula iHhlangano Yokuthuthukisa
BlaÅ¥waZulu Ngezimaii (KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation)
ukuze ibe yilokhu eyikho namhlanje. Iyisikhali senkululeko.
Kepha, Mhlonishwa, iNxusa, ulfulumeni wakho ngaphansi kolMengaieli
uReagan wacindezelwa yimimoya eyaholela ekubeni i-KFC

ifakwÃ© ohleni lwezinhlangano ezilekelelana nohulumeni

eNingizinu ne-Afrika. Lokhu kukhombisa umhlaba osusangene.
Lokhu kufana nomhlaba wase-Melika osusangene. Umuntu angakwenza
kanjani nje, ngisho noma ngebe ucabanga kanjani, ukuba athi
i-XFC isekela ubandlululo? Kayihlukene nagatutho nesikhali
sentuthuko kulengxenye yeNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Ngingakhuluns isikhathi =side ngezindabz eziningitezincane

Narmhlanje nokho ngizogcina ngokubhekisa ngokubanzi ekukhathazekeni
kwami ngendlela iMelika ezimbandakanye npgayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika.
Ngishiyelana nawe ukudideka Xcmuncu obukela uMengameli ccisho
ukuba ngonerpurelelc kunabobonike kulelikhulu leminyaka kulabe

asebake babakhona eMelika ngimbukela ephikiswa ethiywa yilcknho -
ckungafaniswz nabafana namantombazana oMbusazwe waseMelika
asebenzela ngemuva kwezinhla. Ngabe iyona ndlela ngempela

lena ckusebenza...../95

<95 .

lena okusebenza ngayo intando yeninggi yaseMelika, lapho
abeqembu lama-Democrats belwa Lhona negembu lama-Republicans
okuthi nxa benza lokho basizakale ngokuthi baphoxa

uMengameli weselielika ngenkathi ethi uzama ukufeza

izibopho zeMelika eNingizimu ne-Afrika nase-Afrika eseNingizimus

Zonke nje lezizenzo zamagqubu ebezithekiswa kuMeni-\201ameli Reagan
zazingahlangene ngalutho nokufaneleka komgomo wakhe wokuzimbanda
kanye ngepdlela eyakhayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ukuphikisa

umgomo wokuzimbandakanya . ngendiela eyakhayo bekuyikubhaxabula
uMengameli nje ngokwakho. Labo ababhaxabula uMengameli
waseMelika Y2lazange bagcine ngokuphikisa umgomo wokuzimbandakanye
ngendlela eyakhayo nje kuphela. Basebenza nangemuva kwezinhla
emakomindini amaningi ngenkathi ama-Democrats ebutha abalandeli
bawo ezama -ukuhlasela ubumbano lwamaRepublicans.

Ngingakusho konke lokhu, Mhlonishwa iNxusa, futhi ngingakusho
ngokukhululeka ngoba uyazi ukuthi ngikholwa yikuthi elaseMelika
liwola phambili wonke amazwe emhlaba entandweni yeningi

nokuthi elami iphupho nrelokuba ngefaseNincisizim ne-Afrika

kanye new-frikapesgNingizim lisugg asegr-\202ge}galt%ni wobuhlakani
okwakhiwa ngabo iPhuphckazi laselMelika. Ngihambisana

nokuninzi okuhle kunakhokonke okukhona ekucabangeni kwelaseMelika
ngentando yeningi. Kangiyena umuntu obhaxabula elaseMelika.
Ngikhuluma kuwe njengomngani futhi ngikhuluma njengomuntu
onmatlemba asemthethweni osizo olungakaze kepha lughamuke.

Ngizazi ukuthi wena, Mhlonishwa, ikakhulukazi amaNxusa

akho asemadolobheni kanye nalabo abaschenza emahhovisi
amaNxusa akho bazosho ukuthi elaseMelika kalizigaxi ngqo
ekusekeleni noma iyiphi inhlangano yoldbusazwe. Wena nalabo
osebenza nabo kufanele nikusho ukuthi elaseMelika ngeke
ligxambukele ezindabeni zangaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika
okuyizwe epijithatha Njengomngani.

Ngizazi nje nizisho lezizintofyathi. ngizazilelisisa.
Ngizazithemba yikuthi nawe uzolalelisisa ungizwe nxa ngithi
kangikukholwa konke lokhu kukhuluma ngezizathu ezidala

ukuba ningekwazi uMnyango Wezangaphandle eMelika ungakwazi
ukunikeza iNkatha usizo. Kunamashumi emisebenzi yosizo

lobuntu KwaZulu ebingasekelwa nefanele Ukusekelwa. XakugAini

nje ngokuba singalufumani usizo njengeNhlangano yoMbusazwe,
kepha imisebenzi yozwelo lobuntu ekhona nngokukhuthazwa yiNkatha
nangaphansi koholo lukaHulumeni waKwaZulu, incitshwa ukusckelwa.

Mhlonishwa iNxusa,..... /96

Mhlonishwa iMnxusa, ngishc ezinye izinto eziba%uleki}eyo ;
ezingalalelwayo nje kwazona ngesinye lsÂ\$khathl, Kubalulekile
ukuba elaseMelikas likugonde ukuthi kangiwcna umphumela_
eyezwibela lesulubezi lesimc nokuthi kancisukanga ng321ph09elela
enkundleni yombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngoba kubonakala
ithuba lckukwenza lokho. Indlela engisebenza engisebenza

ngayc iyindlela eyakhayo. Lapho @ekungekhoâ\200\231khona_1nhlangano
yoquqaba yentando yeningi eMningizimu ne-Afrika eminyakeni]
yawo-1979, noasukuma ngasungula inhlangano esekelgke emalungeni.
Ngangena ngamabomu ngathatha amatomu oMkhandlu WaKwaZulu
Oshayumthetho ukuze ngiwuguqule ulMkhandlu ne21nqupo zawo
ngizenze inkundla yempi yokugeda ubandlululo. Ngisebenze
kanzima ukusungula umbutho wabalandeli abangisekelayo <ot
phakathi kwabalnyama, abamhlÂ@phe, amaNdiyakanye naMa%ha atial
Ngisukumile ngasungula indlela ekungeyami yokusebenzisa
amaghingama amaningi lapho ngikwa21.khona ukusebenzela izidingo
zabantu ngamunye, 2maqoqo kanye nemiphakathi ngezinga ekungaphus=
nye lelwa ngalo ukubasebenzela ngenkathi sizabalaza silwe
nobandlululo.

Ukugoka kwami kwami kwelaKwaZulu nokuthathaisikhundla sami scbu=
Khosi kwaba yinto engayiqoka ngenhloso ngemuva kokubonisana
okuningi. Kangikho lapha ngenza khona lokhu engikwenzayo
ngoba izinto zathathe zazihanmbela ngaleyondlela. Kakukho
zimo ezingivalele kulendlawo engikuyo ngakho ngischenzela
amathula engaziqokela mina ukuwasebenzela. Ngigcizelela
lezizinto ngoba ngiyagxekwa njengomuntu osetshenziswa

yuhlelo futhi ngithathwa ngabantu abaningi njengomuntu csewa=
diiwa yuhlelo. Nxa kufika isikhathi sokuba kubekho-ra
izinyathelo ezithile engizithathayo ngiyokwazi ukuzithatha
ngoba sengakhe umbutho omkhulu wabantu abangisekelayo
okuyengenza ngikwazi ukuthatha lezozinyathelo abantu zba funa
ukuba ngizithathe ngenkathi abayofuna ngayo ukuba ngizithathe.

Eqinisweni sengikhokhe intengo enkulu ngokubeka abantu
phambili. Kabekho obasi bemigqendo ethile abangabanikazi

bami mina. Kangihambi ngicenga muntu ngenhliso yokuzizuzela
uhlobe oluthile lodumo llclu abaholi bedumela nabaholi
bokuzibeka abaphila ngalo. Ngibambelele kakhulu ekuzini=
keleni kwami smigomeni futhi ngizinikele kakhulu ckusebenziseni
amasu gfanelekileyo . ukufeza leyomigomo engizinqumele yona.
Kangilali ngiguquka futhi kangiyena umholi osebenza
ngamathunzi obusuku. Leli kalulona iculo lokuzidumisa
nokuzazisa. Ngimane ngibeka amazwi alungiselela ukuba nsibuze
lombuzo: "Yini manje esadinga ukwenziwa ngaphambi kokuba wena,
Mhlonishwa iNxusa, nami sikwazi ukuma ndawonye sisho ukuthi
yilokhu esizokwenza ndawonye ngokusekelwa nguHulumeni
wase~Melika?"

Kubaluleke...../97

Kubaluleke kakiulu ukuba s:ghubeke nokwenza izwi lethu
lizwakale nckuba sighubeke nayoyonke imizamo yokwenza abase=
Melika nabase-Yurophu ukuba Lasiqonde kangcono isimo
saseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuthi .ekudhus=
liseleni isimc esiyiso salelizwe kudingeka ukubac sidlubulu=
ndele sidlule kubantu abafana noDokotela Allan Boesak
nsephenduke omunye wabantu abaphambili abasekela loluhloho
lombusazwe wabaMnyama wckuzishaya ngekhandla etsheni
ngokuzidela npenxa yokuba nabo bengaliboni ithemba.

Kaiyieki ukungimangaza lendoda. WNgoJanuwali kuwo lonyaka
ubesenza khona lokho e-Melika ngenkathi ekhuluma engquagquthes=
leni yabaholi bamasonto ayisikhombisa abaMnyama amele

ANn

ama-Melika angama-Afrika ayizi~-19 0030 000,

Wenza into engakholakalivo ngenkathi esekela inhlabamkhosi
yakhe yokuba kuginiswe ukunswinywa rweNinpizimu ne-Afrika
ngckuba athi yunswinyo oludale ukuzzzululwa kwenkinga
yase~Namibia nase-Angola. U~Archbishop Tutu wathi: â\200\234Cmunye
wemiphusnicla escbala kunayoyorke yonswinyo yikuthi seluda:

lokhu esikubcnayo manje ohlelweni lokudalwa kokuthula e-AngoliaÂ@

a
Kangiwakholwangza amehloc ngenkathi ngifunde lamazwi. Wathi:

â\200\234Ukucindezelwa yunswinyo kubzphogelele (uHulumeni waseNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika) ukuba baye esiscawini sokubonisanaÂ@ wagcize=
lela ukuthi â\200\234nxa lokhu kusebenzile e-Angola rase-Namibia -
kufanele kusebenze futhi nasellingizimu ne-Afrika."

Uthe kunezizathu ezintathu eziyisisekelo ezidale ukuba
iNingizimu ne-Afrika ivume ukungena ekubonisaneni ngodaba
lwase-Namibia nase-Angola. Okokuqala uthe kukhora ukucindezela
ckuhlanganyelweyo obekungokugala ukuba kughamuke e-Melika,
e~Rashiya naseNhlanguweni Yezizwe. Okwesibili uthe izindleko
zokuzcina amabutho e-Namibia nase-Angola bezikhula kakhulu,
okwesithathu wathi besekukhona ukwehla kwejubane lokukhulza
komnotho waseNingizimu ne~Afrika okube nomphumela wokunciphs
kwamandla kahulumeni okukhokhela izindleko ezikhulileyo zezempi
nrenxa yokunswinywa ncelaseNtshonalanga.

U-Archbishop..Â«...../98

U-Archbishop Tutu ughubeke wathi: "Nxa singaba nonswinyo esilucelayo ukubhongculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho ngeke kuze kudingeke nckudingeka. Unswinyo lungapuqula isimo isigubhukane esikhathini esifishane kakhulu."â\200\235 Unxuse ukuba iNtshonalannga ingamule ukuhlinzekwa kukawoyela

nokuba ingamule imizila yezindiza eyixhumanisa neNingizimu ne-Afrika wacela nokuba isisindo sezindleko esiphezu komno+ho waseNingizimu ne-Afrika sandiswe ngokubasela

zonke izikwenetu iNingizimu ne-Afrika engakazikhokhi.

UDokotela Boesak uhlohla imibono engakhiyo yokuphikiswa kobandluliulo kulelizwe. Encungqutheleni yaraphephandaba eyaphetha lengqungquthela yabefundisi abamnyama, wathi ngemuva kckuvalwa kwazozonke izinhlangano ezinkulu ezilwa nobandiululo nangemuva kwesinqumc esisanda kukhishwa ecaleni lase-Delmas â\200\230Kakusekholutho manje esisenokulwenza

eNincizimu ne-Afrika ngendlela yokuthula nina lapha eMelika eningaiuthatha njengelungelo elijwayekileyo elishicilelwe

esakhiweni ngaphandle kokuba kube nengozi yokuba abantu

babekwe iczla lokuvukela umtuso bafakwe emajele."â\200\235

Ngonyaka odlule kwahamba izithunywa ezimele i-Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conferencekanye ne-South African Council of Churches baya eYurophu ukuyokhankasa phakathi kwamaScnto nawohulumeni baseYurophu. Bacela llokhu:

Okokugala, esigabeni sobudlelwane bezizwe, siphakamisa lokhu clulandelayo:

ukuncishiswa kwezibalo sam-hhovisi smaNxusa aseYurophu futhi izinca lawo lehliswe eNingizimu ne-Afrika;

Izidingo zezimvume zokuhambela emazweni aseYurophu

ziginiswe kubantu baseNiagizimu ne-Afrika abahambela amazwe angaphansi kwe-EEC;

BB ibalc s o /99

Isibalo sezisebenzi szisemahhovisi amallxusa amele
elaseNingiziru ne-Afrika kwamanye amazwe nasenadolobheni
akvamanye amazwe sehliswe kakhulu.

Okwesibili kufansle kuginiswe ukucindezelwa kweNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika kwezomnotho, izimali nezindlela zokuxhumana ;

IYurorhu kufanele ikuvimbele ukungeniswa kwamalahle
aseNingizimu ne-Afrika emazweni ayo;

Amabhange aseYurophu kufanele avinjelwe ukuvuselela
izikwenetu zeNingizimu ne-Afrika futhi kungabe kusabakhona
mali entsha ebolekwa yona;

Kufanele ziphele izindiza ezindiza zigonde eilingizimu
ne-Afrika ngoo: INhlangano yezindiza yaseNingiziru ne-
Afrika (South African Airways) kufanele yengatshelwe
ukuba namalungelo ezikhumulo eYurophu kanti nezindiza
zaseYurophu kufanele zibe nesibopho sokuba ziye :
emazweni angomakhelwane -Afrika eseNingizimu.

Lenlilabamkhosi yabo bayenza ngo-Meyi ka~1988 %wathi ngo-
»

Julayi ka~1988 i-Buronean Economic Community yathatha

isingumo lanho:

200\230\200\234Yesula khona isiliqumo sayo somhlaka 10 Julayi 1986 esasi=
thathwe ngokuvotelwas yinsxenywe enkulu yeningi okuyisingumo
2sasicela imibuso engamalunga ukuba inswinye iNingizimu
ne-Afrika nokuba ivale:

(a) Ukungeniswa kwamalahle avela eNingizimu ne-Afrika;

() Izikwenetu ezintsha zikaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika;

(c) Izinwenetu ezintsha ezibolekwa uHulumeni waseNingizimu
200\230 200\230ne-Afrika yi-II'F (International Monetary Fund) ;

(4) Ukungeniswa kokudla kwasemasimini okuvela eNingizimu
ne-Afrika;

(e) Ukungena kwempahla embiwa phansi; icela nokubz:
(£) Kumiswe ukuxhumana ngezindiza nelaseNingizimu ne-Afrika;

(g) Lehliswe kakhulu izinga lokumelwa kwamazwe angamalunga

=

kwezobudlelwane nelasePitoli;

Noma yikvyini lapho bengiyakhona emhiabeni bengifumana ukuthi
angikwazi ukugwema umsebenzi wokuphikisa unkhosi wokubhonculwa
kwezikhonkwane zomnotho ohlatshwa ngabanye abantu baseNingizimu

ne-Afrika...../1235

NN
=103~

ne-Afrika. Noma yikuphi lapho bengiya khona udaba lokubho=
nculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho beluba yudaba lombusazwe
olunempikiswano embusazweni wasekhaya kulawo mazwe ebengiwa=
hambela. Å¥akukho ndawo ensake ngayifumana lapho kunokubumbana
khona okupheleleyo -okuvuna noma okuphikisa ukubhonculwa
kwezikhonkwane zomnothe. Umuntu angakusho ngokungengeni

uknathi okujwayelekileyo ngamagembu aphikisa zmagenbu abusayo
eYurophu 'nase-Melik2 ghudulela ukubhonculwa kwezikhonkwane

zomnotho nobandlululo ezinkundleni zombusazws wasekhaya
ngenkathi ezama ukuzizuzela amaphuzu eqenjini elibusayo.
Ngafumana. nokuthi ngaphakathi kwalelo nalelogembu noma ngabe
liyigembu eliphikisayo noma liyiqembu elibusayo, kukhona inibono
eychlukencyo. Impikiswano ngokubhonculwa kwezikhonkwane

zomotho isavutha uvhondo iyaghubeka. Labo abakhankasela
ulubhonulwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho bakhankasela, ikakhulukazi
imobono yamazwe anikela. ngezimali nezinhlangeno czingekho
ngaphansi kukahulumeni kulawo mazwe kunokukhankasela abantu
ablinyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngisho noma bekhankasa

egameni labantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

izwi lokukhononda erazweni aseNtshonalanga Yu ophu naseMelika

lithatha izindabz zesiswe emazweni lawo echlukeneyo lizihlanganise
nezindaba zomhlaba wonke ukudala inkondlo yalo yokugxeka
â\200\230uHulumeni obusayo. Xukhona nchlobo oluthiie lokuzincengela
olusebengayo. Xufaka izinhloni ukuthuma amagenbu namagogo
avhikisayo ukuba athathe izinyathelo ezisekeleke ekuvumelaneni
noHulumeni obusayo ngalesosikhathi. AbaNyama abakhankasela
ukubhongculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho kufanele bazibeke njengas=
bantu abahlobene namagoge azhikisayo ngisho noma lokho kudinga
ukuba basihlanekezc.e kangakanani isimo esiyiso seseNingizimu
ne-Afrika ukuze bemukeleke njengabantu abayilokho.

Hxa ngihambela phesheya ngifike ngikhulume iainiso ngaphandle
kwezinhloni ngitshene umhlaba lokho umhlaba odinga ukukwazi
kunokuba ngiwutshene lokho ofuna ukukwazi, ngilahlekelwa
abangani. Kepha, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo

kangikho...../1C1

kangikho emsebenzini wombusazwe ngoba ngifuna ukuthandwa.
ekhaya nomsa ngaphandle. Ngikwezombusazwe ngenhloso yokuseâ\200\224,
benzela abantu nokwenza okufaneleyo. Sengalahlekelwa
ngabangani abaningi eYurophu nase-Melika nooba kwadingeka
ukuba ngibatshene ukuthi benza iphutha elesabexayo nokuthl
balimaza umgomo weuhu. '

Noma kungikhandla njengoba'kungikhandla fje.ukuhambela emazweni
ehlukeneyo, kuyadingeka ngempela ngakho ngikholwa, Mhlonishwa
Sculomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, yikuthi ukuhambela kwami
kulanazwe kuleminyaka edlule kunamathuba okuwabuthileyo

ayoba yusizo futhi anqondane kakhulu nesimo ngokuhamba kwesi=
khathi.

Nizokhumbula ukuthi ngasekupheleni koMhlangano woMkhandlu
ngo"Junigâ\200\230ngonyaka odiuley_kwadingeka ukuba ngiye ePutukezi
ukuyokwethula iPhepha engqungqutheleni eyayihlelwe yi-Insti=
tute of Political Studies okwathi ngenkathi ngikhona ngaba=
nethuba lokuba namaxoxo noMengameli'wasePutukezi uDokotela
Mario Soares kanye noNdunankulu, uDokotela Cavaco Silva.
ngi~\202buye nnaba namaxoxo noDokotela F. do Amaran, uSihlalo
we-Christian Democratic Party, uMnu. Dias Lourelros uNobhala~- . -
Jikelele we-Social Democratic Party kanye noMnu. Joao Soares
wcmi~\201ocialist'Party.

Ngaphezu kwalababahcli bombusazwe ngaba neziwombe zamaxoxo
noNggongqoshe Wezindaba Zangaphandle, uDokotela Durao Barroso,
onguKhomishani wePhalamende oqondene nezindaba zangaphandle.

Ngakho ngaba nethuba lckubonana nabaholiâ\200\231 abasemgokz nabantu
abanemibono elalelwayo ukuba ngethule isithombe siqondileyo
ngeNingizimuâ\200\230neâ\200\224Afrika ckuyisithombe esikhombisa umbusazwe
wabantu abaNyama cvphilayo, osebenzayo nophezu komkhankaso
wokulwa nobandlululc ngolwazi olunesiqiniseko sempumelelo.

Ngagxila ekwedluliseleniâ\200\231 umyalezo yokuthi kuningi okwenziwayo
nokuthi kuningi okusenokwenziwa ukuphikisa ubandlululo
nokudala uhlelo olusha lwezinto ngokusebenzisa amasu

okuthula. Udaba lokubhonculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho
lwaluqubuka lyphindaphinda ngakho kwaba yisisekelo salokho
engangikusho essangiphumelelisa ukuba ngikhulume ngendlela
ekholakalayo ukuthi ukubhonculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho
kuphambene nezidingo zabantu abaNnyama kulelizwe.

Kangsinakho nokuncane ukungabaza ukuthi ukuhambela kwami
kulelizwe kwalekelela ukuhlangzanisa indawo enengqondo
clasePutukezi elihlale lima kuyo ezingeni le-EEC. Bayawuqonda
uniyalezo wokuthi ukubhidlizwa komnotho oseNingizimu ne-Afrika
kungaba'ngimngwi-\202mxwa â\200\234neokuthi . . kasikho isizathu sombus=
sazwe sokwenza lokho ckungathiwa siyemukeleka. AmaPutukezi
ayayazi i-Mozambique ne-Angola manje sekudinceka ukuba
babhekane nemiphumela yeminotho ebhidlikileyo emazweni akhulu=
lekileyo. Kubalulekile ukuba ngiwedluliselc umyalezo
weNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama emhlabeni ongiaphandle . Ukus=
harbela kwami kwelase-Putukezi kwakufana nokulima insimu entsha
ngoba ngangingakaze nziye khona ngaphambili.

Hoo-Julayi wonyaka odlule uNksk. Margaret Thatcher, uNdunankulu

waseNgilandi wangicela ukuba ngize e-Landani ngizomazisa ngesimo
saseNingizimu ne-Afrika. UNksk. Thatcher usevele obala :
njengomunye obashaya emakhanda bonke abaholi emhlabeni nxa
sekuza ebuholi bezombusazwe. Omunye umgani wami wathi,
â\200\234usewenze wonke umsebenzi wakhe wasekhaya" manje amehlo akhe
usewagxilise esimeni somhlaba. Yonke iminyaka kudingeka ukuba
abhekane nokucindezelwa okungaboneleliyo emihlanganweni ye-

ngalokho okwenzeka eNingizimu ne-Afrika noaphambi kokuba
abhekane nalokho kucindezelwa.

Sekungokwesili Jokhu ngifumana ithuba lokumazisa ngeNingizimu
ne-Afrika, njengokujwayelekileyo ngamfumana cnolwazi

Guthi. ... L1103

futhi emile ekuzinikeleni kwakhe ngokwengqondo ekwenzeni

lokho okufaneleyo anckukwenzela abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kunokuba enze lokho -kungamsiza embusazweni womhlaba. Ngaphi=nda ngaba nethuba lokwethula isithombe seNingizimu ne-Afrika lapho umbusazwe wabaMnyama uphila khona futhi usebenzela uhlobo loguquko umhlaba wonke onethemba lokuthi luzobakhona.

UNksk. Thatcher ngamethulela uhlelo olunokwenziwa ngakho ngicabanga ukuthi kubalulekile ukuba amalunga azi ukuthi ngithini egameni labantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika nalokho, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, engikutshena umhlaba ukuthi ozakwethu eMkhandlwini WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho bayakucabanga nalokho abakwenzayo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngifisa ukufunda lengxenye ekhishwe embhalweni engawethula kuNksk. Thatcher.

"Ngokomcabango - nangalokho osekwake kwenzeka emlandweni - sivafika isikhathi lapho izinhlelo zesiswe zilengelwa

khona yingozi ngezinga ezithembele ngalo ezidingweni ; zaleligoqo elikhulayo. Ngaleyonkathi kubakhona ithuba lokuba labc abasemandleni baqoke ukubonisana ngohlelc lwangomuso lapho beyodedela khona amatomu ngenhloso yokuba bazuze ukuvunyelwa izinga â\200\234lokuhlanganyela ' ohlelweni olusha.

Ngale kwalokho abasemandleni bayofinyelela esimeni lapho ukuhluleka kwezinto kuyobenza behluleke kwabakuzamayo ngaleyondlela babesengozini yokunyundeleka ngokupheleleyo.

Ukuhumusha lemicabango yenziwe uhlelo llwalokho okuzokwenziwa kudinga ukuba kukhonjwe kucaciswe izindaba okudinga ukuba kubhekwane nazo. Lezizindaba zingahlelwa njengezinjongo nohlelo clunokwenziwa oluhambisana nezinjongo.

Uhlu lwezinjongo eziphakanyiswayo:

- a) Ukuthuthukiswa kwabalMnyama kwezomnotho
- b) Amathuba abaMnyama emfundo andiswe kakhulu.
- c) Ukukhuthazwa kwesibonelo somndeni oMnyama.
- d) Ukuhlanganiswa kwenhlalo yomphakathi ehlanganisa zonke izinhla=nga zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika.
- e) Ukwabiwa kabusha komcebo
- f) Ukugedwa kokuhlululwa kwabantu ngezinhlanga.
- g) Ukukhuthazwa kokudalwa kwemisebenzi.

w04~

Ukugedwa kokuzihlumisa ngezisebenzi.
Ukukhononda okubhekiswe cbandlululweni
Ukuthuthukiswa kwezinga lempilc yabaMnyama.

k) Ukukhuthazwa kokusatshalaliswa kwezimboni ukuze kukhuthazwe
ukukhula kwezomnotho emiphakathini yasemakhaya.

Ukuze kufezwe lezizinjonge, kunezinhlelo ezimbili zokunokwenzi=
wa ezinokucatshangwa.

Sidinga uhlelo lwalokho okunokwenziwa olukwazi ukubhekana

nazo zonke lezizinjongo ezibaliweyo ngendlela enokwenzeka
nendlela ecabangela izenzo zomgomo wezangapahandle zamazwe
angase afise ukusekela imigomo equkethwe yilolchlelo.
Lolohlelo kufanele lucabangele nethuba lemiphumela yezomnotho
kuyoyonke ingxenye yezwekazi esAÑNingizimu. Kube yuhlelo
olucabangela izinto ezinokwenziwa maqondana nokufeza.

amasu okughaphela, umoya uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika
alithath2 ngawo kanyA© nethuba. lokwemukeleka kohlelo kwabanye
abasemgoka abayohlanganyela abafana namabhizinisi angaphandle

nawasekahaya.

Ichinga lokuhweba nokurakwa kwezimali phezu kombandela
(Conditional Trade/Investment Strategy) lunikeza ukusizakala
cskukhulu kubobonke abasemgoka abahlanganyelayo sekuhlangene
nabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abancishwe amathuba njengamanje,
abaphesheya abafaka izimali, chulumeni bakwamanye amazwe,
umphakathi wamabhizinisi waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kanye,

empeleni, nazozonke izizwe ze-Afrika eseNingizimu nogwadule

lwase-Sahara.

I-Conditional Trade/Investment yalawula izenzo zawowonke

amafemu asebenza eNingizimu ne-Afrika (awangaphandle nawasekhaya)- .=
yabanqumela ukuba bemukele izenzo ezithile, okungathi nxa zemuke=
leka ngobubanzi zihiinzeke Umfutho odingekayo emphakathini
osesikhathini soguquko. I=Conditional Trade/Investment

yedlula kakhulu kulokho okwakufunwa yi-Sulliivan Code magondana
nalokho ekuquketheyo nalokho ekulinganisayo - noma e

kukhona...../105

kukhona lapho kufana khona imigondo.

Imininingwane yohlelo isenckuba ixoxwe maqocndana nomphumela onckufezwa. Ngakho ighinga, njengoba lihleliwe, kufanele

. libukelwe phezu kwesisekelo esibanzi lapho kugcizelele\200\234wa.khona ukubaluleka kwalc njengeghinga elinokusebenza, elihlangzanisiweyo nelibumbeneyo, okungathi ngokufakwa kweminye imicabango likwazi ukuthela izithelo. Izihloko ze-Conditional Trade/Investment Strategy.

a) Imfundo:

(i) Abaqashi kufanele bahlinze'e zonke izisebenzi eziMnyama nge= zinhlelos zokufunda nokubhala~kã@nye nclunye ulwazi oluyis= sisekelo. Lokhu kuqondana nesidingo salezozizukulwane ckwathi ngenxa yokuntula imfundo eyisisekelo yasesikoleni, bazifumana bencisheke amathuba.

abagashi kufanele bahlinzeke izisebenzi zabo nemindeni yazo ngemfundo yohlebor oluqondene nolw@zi olukhona emhlabeni wesimanje. Lokhu kungenziwa ngokusebenzisa izithombe ze-videx ngezihloko ezifana nalezi; lusetshenziswa kanjani uhlelo lwezomthetho/ungazihlela kanjani izimali zakho/ukunakekelwa kwempilo/ukubaluleka kwemfundo/umsebenzi wezinyonyana zezisebenzi... njll.

(iii) Abaqgashi bahlinzeke imfundo elekelelwa yizimali esibalweni esithile sesizange (ezimbili, nje) kuleso naleso sisebenzi esiMnyama esesisebenze isikhathi esithile esiyonqunywa yilowo qgashi. '

(iv) Abaqgashi basungule ukufundiswa kwezisebenzi okuhlelwe ngenhloso yokwandisa ulwazi kubantu abaNyama ngaphakathi ezimbonini nokuhlanganisa abaNyama ezigabeni eziphezulu zohlelo lwefemu.

(v) Abagashi..c...../106

Abagashi bahlinzeke imifundaze yasenyuvesi nasemakolishi kwabaMnyama abathile abahlungiweyo nabafanelekileyo.

Ukulekelelwa kwezomnotho:

Abaqashi bakhokhele zonke izisebenzi ezisebenza umsebenzi okungathiwa uyafana amaholo alinganayo.

Abagashi, okungenani, baholele izisebenzi amaholo ezinga elingaphezulu kcmdiyo ophansi kwenqunyiweyo, ikakhulukazi kulabo abaschleni lwezisebenzi zezimboni.

Abaqashi bacabange ngezinhlelo zokukhokha izimali zokukhu= thaza ezihambisana nomkhigizo nokudala intshisckelo

enmsebenzini.

Abaholi bahambisane nemibandela eqinileyo ehlose ukungaku= khuthazi ukudilizwa kwezisebenzi.

Ubudlelwane nezisebenzi:

Abagashi bakhuthaze ukuhlangana ngokusungula imicimbi nemidlalo phakathi kwezisebenzi.

Abagashi bagcizelele imigomo yokuhloniphana ekuxhumaneni kwazo zonke izisebenzi.

Abagashi bakhuthaze ukuzimbandakanye kwezisebenzi ngendlela eyakhayo ezinyunyaneni zezisebenzi, ukuthuthukisa izidingo zezisebenzi.

Imibandela yasemsebenzini:

Abagashi baphoqelegele ukuqedwa kokwehlukaniswa kwezinhlanga

=~

kunoma yiyiphi..../107

Imoma yiyiphi ingxenye yalapho kusetshenzwa khona.

Abaqashi bahambisane nemibandela enqunyiweyo yalapho kusetshenzwa khona – ikakhulukazi ngaphakathi embonini.

Ezokuthutha:

Abaqashi babie nokuzwelana nobunzima izisebenzi eziningi ezihlangabezana nabo maqondana nezinto zokuhamba.

Izindlu zckuhlala:

Abagashi basungule izinhlelo eziyikelezayo zokubolekisa ukulekelela izisebenzi ezidingweni zazo zokufumana izindlu zokuhlala.

Ezempilo:

Abagashi bahlinzeke amalungiselelo okuba izisebenzi izisebenzi eziMnyama nemindeneni yazo zikwazi ukuhambela emis-

tholampilo ngezikhathi ngezikhathi.

Abagashi bakhuthaze ukuba izisebenzi eziMnyama zijoyine uhlelo losizo lokwelashwa (Medical Aids Scheme).

Abaqashi bahlinzeke izisebenzi ngohlobo lomshuwalense obhekela ukukhubazeka.

Ezokuzithokozisa:

Abaqashi bahlanganyele ekuxhaseni amalungiselelo emicimbi

nawezemidlalo emalokishini abaMnyama – ikakhulukazi amalungiselelo entsha.

i) Ukwabiwa.....z./108

i)

(1)

~f(8~

Ukwabiwa komcebo kabusha:

Amafemu ahwebelane noma yikuphi lapho kunokwenzeka khona nawosomabhizinisi abaNyama abancane, sekuhlangene nalabo abasesigabeni esingalawulwa umthetho.

Abagashi bahlele izinhlelo zokuba izisebenzi eziNyama zibe namasheya efemini.

Iningi lriezizinto ezibalwe ngenhla zisho ukwabiwa kabusha kwenzuzo yefemu kuze kuthuthukiswe abaNyama.

Ukudalwa nokuvikelwa kwamathuba emisebenzi:
Bheka u~i (i) ngenhla.

Amafemu amakhulu acabange ngokubolekisa ngegama lawo ezinhlelweni zawosomabhizinisi abaNyama zokukhiqiza.

Abacashi kufanele basebenzise imali eyeqe enzuzweni abayifumanayo ukudala imisebenzi emisha esikhundleni so= thenga amafemu ancintisane nabo nokuhlela imisebenzi yabo okuhlanganisa nokudilizwa kwabantu ngenhloso yckunciphisa ukulahlekelwa okuyinto edala ukulahleka kwamathuba emi= sebenzi.

Amafemu kufanele acabange ngokusebenzisa imali abezoyis= sebenzisa emisebenzini ekhona ezinhlelweni zokuthuthukisa ezcimboni ezindaweni zasemakhaya.

Umgomo woguquko lwezombusazwe:

/bagashi bacindezele uhulumeni ukuba. kwesuylwe imithetho yobandlululo.

Â£1%) Abaqashil...../109

Abagashi bakhuthaze uHulumeni ukuba asebenzele ukuhlanga=nyela ngokugcweleyo kw: bobonke abantu baseNingizimu ne-

Afrika okusekeleke entandweni yeningi.

Leziziphakamiso ezingenhla zisho okuthile ngemali ezozuzwa

ngamafemu angabaqashi. Bayacelwa ukuba bakwemukele ukulahlekes=

lwa yingxenyethile yenzuzo ukuze bahlangabezane nezimali ezizodungeka ukufeza imigomo. Abanye abasekela ukubhonculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho kunckwenzeka ukuba bathunywa yizimilo zobuqotho nokubonelela abanye abantu. Loluhlelo lungase luthandeke kwabanye ngoba luhlinzeka isimo esithembekileyo abanokughubeka ukusebenza kuso ngenzuzo. Kepha impumelelo yalelohlelo iyothembela esibalweni salabo abahlanganyela kulo. Kuyakhanya khona ukuthi loluhlelo ludinga okuthile okuzokhu=thaza umphakathi wamabhizinisi ukuba uhlanganyele kulo - Mhlas=wumbe kudungeka nokuthile kokukhubaza labo abengabayo ukuhlanga=nyela.

Iziphakamiso zihlanganisa nalokhu:

A - Izinkampani zangaphandle eNingizimu ne-Afrika

(i) Labo abahlabganyela kuloluhlelo kufanele bavunyelwe bakhus=thazwe ngohulumeni babo futhi banikezwe yizinga elithile lamathuba kwezchwebo.

(ii) Abahlanganyelayo kufanele ukuba bavunyelwe ukuba banikezwe mathuba okufaka ezinye izimali ezivela ezinkampanini

ezizala izimboni zabo emazweni angaphandle.

B - Izinkampani zangaphakathi:

(i) Ohulumendi., s.sseees/110

Ohulumeni bamazwe angaphandle bavulele impahla yalabo abahlanganyela kuloluhlelo ezimakethe 2abo zangavhakathi, laphe nazo ziyoncintisana khona ngezina lazo.,

Ohulumeni bamazwe angaphandle bavule labo abahlanganyela kuloluhlelo ngaphakathi emazweni abo ukuba bangenise ulwazi clusha nobugcwepheshi obusha. Impahla eluhlaza yokusetshenziswa yizimboni ebikade inqatshelwe idedelwe manje ukuze izinkampani ezihlanganyela kuloluhlelo zikwazi ukuyisebenzisa.

Izinkundla zamabhizinisi omhlaba zivulelwe ukuhlanganyela kwezisebenzi zezinkampani ezihlanganyela kuloluhlelo.

Imikhakha yangaphandlemnawohulumeni . bamazwe angaphandle bahlinzeke amathubz emfundc ephakame ezisebenzini (nasemindenini yazo) zezinkampani ezihlanganyela kulolu=hlelo.

Kususwe ezinye izithiyi obekuthiywe: ngazo iNingizimu pe-Afrika maqondana nokuhlanhanyela kwezimboni kanye nezisebenzi zazo.

fmafemu angahlanganyeliyo kuloluhlelo ancishwe amathuba ngabathengi ngokuba ingathengwa impahla yawo, ukungeneli=swa kwezisebenzi kanye nckukhishwa inyumbazana ngamafemu ahlanganyelayo.

Indiela uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika athatha ngayo ighinga:

Lincane ithuba lckuba uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika aliphazamise iQhinga ngoba:

7
fa) Kaluwaphonseli...../111

(a) Kaluwaphonseli amandl- akhe inselelo.

(b) Indawo clumi kuyo maqendana nonswinyo nokubhconculwa:
kwezikhonkwana zomnotho isondelene naleyo okumi
kuyo uHulumeni.

(c) Luschbenzela ukukhuthazn izimakethe ezikhululekileyo
nckusizakala komnotho uwonke.

(d) Ukuncishiswa kobuphofu kungabz nomphumela owakhayo
mgondant nezinkinga ezisemalokishini abaMnyama.

(e) Ukukhuthazwa kohwebo kungavuna ymehluko ophakathi: kwes=
nali ezingenayo neziphumayo ezweni.

Ukusebenza nokuphathwa kweghinga:

Kuyodingeka ukuba kusungulwe umkhakha wokuhlola izicelo zoku=
hlanganyela kulcluhlelo ziqondaniswe nokusebenza kwaleyo mboni
nethuba layo lokwenza inzuzo ngalcokho enakho enokukusebenzisa

- - izinga imboni leyo eyokwazi ngalo ukuhlangabezana nezidis=
ngo zayo. Izingcwepheshi kuyodingeka ukuba zidale amasu afane=s
leyo. Ukuqgashelwa kwamafemu, ngayinye, ukuthi ayabambelela
yini kulokho okulindelekileyok kungenziwa ngenye phakathi
kwalezizinhlangano:

* Umkhandilu "onguggayinyanca&@â\204¢ ;

* Isizindi sabacwaningi bezincwadi (The South African
Institute of Charatered Accountants); noma

* Abakhulumeli bezisebenzi ngaphakathi (shop stewards)
abafundisiweyo.

Amanye amathuba anockutholakala:
Loluhlelo lungase lube yisicalise& somphakathi waseNingizi ne-

Afrika ohlangeneyo, ukuhlangana - kwezinhlelc zemigomo yamas=
siko ukugelwa kokwehlukani swa ke kwezinhlanga.

Lokhu kuyosho ckuningi kuyoyonke imibuso yengxenyeyezwekazi
lase-Afrika eseNinpizimu lapho kukhona ukusizakala okiumokutho=
lakala ngokubambisana.

Uhlelo luhlinzeka amazwe angarhandle ngethuba lokwenza umni=
kelo womgomo wezangaphandle ngendlela eyakhayo eNingizimu ne-
Afrika - okuyinto eyehlukileyo emnikelweni ongakhiyo abagqu=
gquzelwa kuwo yilabo abakhankasela unswinyo nokubhonculwa
kunezikhonkwane zomnotho. '

Kuyobuye kube namathuba ezomnotho omphakathi womhlaba nxa

iNingizimu ne-Afrika ingafeza inkululeko yentando yeningi
ngaphandle kokubhidlizwa komnotho.

Lolihlelo, iivevein]i12

Loluhlelo olwethulwa lapha lubuye lungene ezindaweni eziningi ezinengozi kwezombusazwe, ezenhlalo yomphakathi kanye nezemno=tho futhi luvulekele ukugxekwa yimikhakha eyehlukeneyo.

Ngakho kufanele kugcizelelwe ukuthi izinjongo nemigomo eyisis=sekelo kuhloswe kuphela ukuba ihlinzeke uhlaka lolunye uhlelo ulunokusebenza lwalokho okunokwenziwa esikhundleni sokubho=nculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho nonswinyo. Kufanele kukhutha=zwe ukubonisana nokuphikisana ngalo, njengoba kufanele kukhu=thazwe ukuthuthukiswa kwalo."

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlcniphekileyo, nizokhumbula ukuthi ngabikela uMkhandlu ngchlelo oluhlongozwayo lwalokho okunokwenziwa engalwethula koNgqongqoshe Bezangaphandle beCommonwealth namazwe angewona amalunga eNhlangu Yezizwe. Ekusebenzelaneni nawohulumeni bangaphandle kubuye kudingeke ukuba ngivale isikhala esidalwa yilckho okufunwa ngabombusazwe abasebenzisa ukukhononda. Kabakufuni ukuzimbandakanye ko=mhlaba ongavhandle eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngoba inhloso yabo yempela yikwenza iNinpizimu ne-Afrika ingabuseki bafuna ukuba umhlaba oncaphandle uyidube iNingizimu ne-Afrika

izwe lakithi likhishwe inyumbazane ngokwezomnotho, ezomphakathi nangokwezombusazwe. Bajwayele ukutshena umhlaba ongaphandle ukuthi kufanele benzeni eNingizimu ne-Afrika nalckho abangafanele ukukwenza eNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Kusala kimi-ke ukuba ngikhombise umhlaba ukuthi akhona amaghaza akhayo ankubanjwa. Bkwethuleni imicabango engayethula kuNksk. Thatcher, ngivala igebe ngendlela ebanzi engayisebenzisayo. Nxa sakha izisekelc zamandla kulelizwe eziyoba nethuba lokusebenza isikhathi eside embusazweni woguquko lokuthula, siyobe sihlinzeka izindlela zokuzimbandakanye ngendlela enokwenziwa kwazozorke izizwe ezinentando emhle kwelaseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Umbusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ovundileyo udala amathuba avundileyo ezenzo ezibanzi umhlaba ongabamba kuzo ighaza ngendlela eyakhayo.

Konpu...../113

kungukwehluleka ukubona isimo njengcaba sinjalo ukungakuboni
â\200\234ukuthi usizo lomhlaba luycdingeka ukwenza intando yeningi
isebenze ngempela nckuba umnotho ukhiqize ngemuva kokuba

sekusungulwe uhulumeni omele bonke abantu kulelizwe. Izizwe

ezinkulu nezinemisebenzi yezimboni emhlabeni oseNtshonalanga
kufanele, ngokucabanga kwami, zingene ekusilekeleleni ukudala
uguquko lwempnela ngoba sizobacela esikhathini esiseduze
esizayc ukuba basilekelele ukwenza intando yeningi isebenze.

Sinomsebenzi omningi kakhulu osasihlaleleyo kuloluhla.
Ngakhuluma ngalc kanye loludaba ncMnu. C,J, Huenis, uMgqongzo=
she Wokuthuthukiswa Kwesakhiwo Nokuhlela, ngenkathi

sibonanaz ngoJanuwali kuwo'lmnmka, siyokhuluma ngesitatimende
esihlanganyelweyo. Ngakhala kuye ngokuntuleka kwempendulo
evela kuHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika maqondana neziphakamiso
engizenze kuyoyonke leminyaka magondana nalokho amazwe anga=
phandle afanele ukukwenza. Akazange aphenndule ngalelolanga.
Ngomhlaka 29 ku-Febhuwali uMnu. Huenis ungibhalele ephendula
imibuzo engayibuza ngoJanuwali. Kakukuningi akushoyo

emizgeni embalwa ungibhalela yona. Okumangazayo yikuthi wathi
"Kangikwazi ukuzihlanganisa futhi ngiphambene kakhulu,
nenggikithi yakho yokuthi uMengameli Â¥ mbuso, ngegama, uyisi=
tha : ikakhulukazi nxa inggikithi isetshenziswa enkulumeni
eyethulwa ezweni angaphandle lapho kubuthene khona ongqongqo=
she bezangavhandle.â\200\235 Yaghubeka wathi:

"Magondana nckucela kwakho amazwe e-Commonwealth ukuba
azlmbanwekanye esimeni sangaphakathi eNingizimu neâ\200\224AFrlka
nckuba kuphinde kuhlanwanlswe i-EPG nokuba kubekhona i=
hhovisi elimele i-Commcnwealth ellingizimu neâ\200\224Afrlka,
ngiyadabuka ukuthi kangikwazi ukukusekela .

UHulumeni wami unombono wokuthi intuthuko kwezombusazwe
elingizimu ne-Afrika ingedaleka kuphela ngokubonisana
vhakathl kwabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngaphakathi
eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Umthwalo wokuhlanganyela ohlelweni
usemahlombe nbaholi baseNingizimu ne-Afrika zinggobo

2abho suiie s kil T8

zabo. Noma ngabe kukhona luhichbo luni lwezithiyo; lezo kufanele sibhekane nazo phakathi kwethu. Yikemindi elihlanganyelweyc esilisungulileyo lingumzame wokwa= nelisa lesa sidingo.

I-EPG yazalwa yimpikiswano yonswinyo. Ngiyabemukela ubugotho babo kepha ngasosonke isikhathi nxa amazwe angaphandle engene ezindabeni zeline izwe, kubas= khona ukuxwaya magondana nokuthi bazoghuba ezikabani izidingo. Ezindabeni zomhlaba intando enhle nokubo= nelela abanye abantu kuneghaza elincane kakhulu. Inizamo eyenziwa emzgingeni cbudlelwane bezizwe ibu= swa kakhulu yizidingo eziqondene nalelo lizwe.

Nxa osomaghinga bakwamanye amazwe bengena ezindabeni zakho nezami, ungaginiseka ukuthi izidingo zethu (izidingo zeNingizimu ne-Afrika, ziyophakanyiswa kuphela lapho zibonakala â\200\231 . ziqonana nezidingo zalawonazw: amelwe yilabosomaghinga.

Kufanele sikwazi ukughubeka ngaphandle kwabo ndlela siginiseke ngokuthi ngezethu izidingo bonisana ngazo."

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngithathe ngila= hlekelwe yithemba ngesinye isikhathi nxa ngibona ukuthi ise= nde kanpakanani indlela esisazoyihamba ngaphambi kokuba sikwa=

zi ukuhlala phansi ngempela sikhulume nabaholi abamhlophe bezos=

mbusazwe abakuHulumeni njengamanje ngezinto ezisemgcka ngempela. Neabe ubnu Heunis ukucabanga ngempela ukuthi iNingizimu ne-Afrika ingazigwedlela yona ycdwa isikejana sayo ezivunguvungwini zolwandle lomhlaba na? Nxa ungumuntu omhlophe uhlala emaphethe= lweni edolobha, unomsebenzi ovikelekileyo, uhlelo lwempentsheni kanye nohlelo losizo lokwelashwa, kusobala ukuthi kulula ukuba ithemba losizo olughamukn ngaphandle oluza ngaphakathi eNingi= zimu ne-Afrika ungalufumana Tungemukeleki. Uyofuna ukuba uluthenge lolosizo okungenzeka ukuba uyalidinga. Kepha ngako= lunye uhlanzothi, nxa ungumuntu oMnyama ohlala emjondolo

noma endaweni ekhwelwe ngububha emakhaya, wazi ukuthi llokho omiselwe khona ngeke kuguquke nokuthi lokho okumiselwe izingane zakho ngemuva kwakho ngeke nakho kuguquke, uyocabanga ngendlela

eyehlukileyo - uyolufuna lolosizo.

Nxa ungullpgongqoshe weKhabhinethi omhlophe osebeyingxenye yohlelo oluphunga lugcine iningi labantu abalMnyama bengapha=ndle noluhlela ukughubeka nhokuphogeelwa koMthetho Wokwakhiswa Kwezinhlanga Npokwehlukana (Group Areas Act), nawe ungadanaso isilingo sokuwugwen2 umgondo wokungena kwamazwe angaphandle ezindabeni zasekhaya zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kepha nxa uncu=mholi ofanz nami ohocla abantu abahluphekayo ezindaweni zemi=jondolec nezindawo zasemakhaya, izinto uzibona ngendlela eye=hlukileyo. Uyazi ukuthi yusizo oluningi kakhulu nokuzimbandas=kanye ezindabeni zasekhaya eNingizimu ne-Afrika okuyokwenza uhulumeni ukuba akwazi ngelinye ilanga ukuphumelela ckuzameni kwakhe ukwenza intando yeningi isho utho kubantu empilweni yabo yansukuzonke.

Kubonakals sengathi kufznele ngendlela ethile silwele ukutha=tha abamhlophe sibafundise ukuthi bangaz izwa kanjani besekhaya endleleni yombusazwe wangomuso. Xangifuni mina ukufinyeclela esimeni lapho ngiyokwazi mina ukuhleka ngenkathi ngenza lokho ozakwethu abamhlophe abakuKhabhinethi @&bazabalazayo ukukwenza. Yilena luhlobo lombusazwe esidinga ukukhuluma ngawoe lcna

kanye nohlobo lwezinhlelo okuzodingeka ukuba sizidale.

Ngenkathi ngibonana ngoNksk. Thatcher e-Landani ngoJulayi, ngonyaka odlule, ngabuye ngaba nethuba lokubonzna noNksk.

Lynda Chalker, uNgqongqoshe ehhovisi lezindaba zangaphandle neze-Commonwealth. Ngathi iNingizimu ne-Afrika kayikafinyeleli lapho ingasenakusindiswa khona nokuthi nanxa kuyiqiniso ukuthi ubandlululo ngokwalo kalukwazi ukuguqulwa, abamhlophe base=Ningizimu ne-Afrika bayakwazi bona ukuguquka BaqhelelanÃ©' nobandlululo. Ngamnikeza isiginiseko sokuthi kukhona umnlathi omkhulu okhulayo ofuna ukuba siqondiswe isimo saseNingizimu ne~Afrika njengezwe lesimanje elinentandc yeningi eiiqhuba

njengendlela yamazwe aseNtshonalanga asekeleke emnothweni/yezimboniÃ°

Lowo yiwona myalezo abavukeli bombuso nabaphehli bokugqoloze=
lana ngeziqo zamehlo abangabaholi bombusazwe wokukhonononda
abazama ngamandla abo wonke ukuwubulala.

Ngo-Agasti wonyaka odlule ngaya eMelika ngokumenywa ngu-Mnu.

Donald M.Simmons wase-Cleveland, e-Ohio, owayefuna ukuba
ngiyokhuluma nabamnyama base-Melika: agethule inkulumo kubo.
Kwaba ngesinye salezozimo esakhombisa inzuzo esengiyigokelelile,
engikhulume ngayc ngaphambili, ezikhathini eziningi ngihambela
phesheya. Kwaba yikuhambela kwami kwelase-Ngilandi izikhathi
eziningi ncaphambili okuphethe ngokuholela ekumãnyweni kwami
nguNdunankulu wase-Ngilandi ukuba ngizomazisa ngeNingizimu
ne-Afrika kanti futhi yikho ukuhambela kwami e-Melika ezikha=
thini ezedlule okube nomphumela wokuba ngimenywe nguMengameli
Reagen ukubz ngizombona naye ngimazise. Kwaba yikuhambela
kwami e-Melika izikhathi eziningi ezedlule okwaholela
ekumenyweni kwami nguMpu, Simmons ukuba ngizokhuluma nabamnyama

base-Melika.

Isimemo nzasemukela ngemizwa exube ukuthokoza nokungqikaza
okuthile ngoba kukuwo kanye umbusazwe wabamnyama base-Melika
laphc kwasukela khona amasu okukhononda noma izibonelo
zokukhononda :zomzabalazo wabantu abamnyama wokulwela
amalungelo kulelo lizwe. Amalungz e-Congress afana nawo
Congressran Fauntroy, uCongressman uMfundisi Jesse Jackson
nabanye bevukwa . : . ngamadlingozi ngombusazwe wokukhonda
eNinzizimu ne-Afrika ngoba bekhola yikuthi kufanele senze
lokho okwenziwa ngabase-Melika abamnyama kowabo umzabalazo.
Bayazighenyi. ngalokho abakwenzayo futhi bacabanga ukuthi
kungaba yinto enhle nxa nathi singenza into efanayo. Kaku=
kwenzeli neze ugazi phakathi kwabo ukubatshena ukuthi umzabalazo
wabo wawufanelene nezimo zabo kepha kawufanelene nezethu izimo.
Kuthathe kubenzima = kakhulu nxa abanye behamba phambi kwakho
beyombambatha ama-Melika emahlombe bezithungathela imali

nodumo..../1317

nodumo . Njalo nje nxa ngisuke ngihambe kwelase-Melika ngibhekana neminhumela yokukhankasa kukaDokotela Boesak no-Archbishop Tutu. Ngakho ukuhambela kwami e-Cleveland, e-Ohio, ukuyokwethula inkulumo kwabamnyama base-Melika kubalulekile. .

Njengoba kulindelekile, nalapha ngazifumana sengigaxwe empikiswaneni .ngonswinyo lapho kwadingeka ukuba ngitshene abamnyama base-Melika ukuthi udaba lonswinyo lunempikiswano ngoba abantu abalusekelayo noma abaluphikisayo sebachema ngenxa yezinkolelo zabo zombusazwe kanti lapho kukhona impikiswano yombusazwe ngezinye izinto kufanele kubekhona nempikiswano ngonswinyo makanjani. Ngaphinda nalapha ngabeka isithombe seNingizimu ne-Afrika ezoguqulwa yimihlathi yentando yeningi ehlanganiswayo njengamenje.

Ngibuye ngzhambela kwelase-Austria, ngo-Agasti wonyaka odlule, ukuyokwethula inkulumc ku-Alpbach European Forum lapho ngafunda khona iphepha elinesihloko esithi "'Umzabalazo Womuntu Omnyama Wenkululeko Namathuba Fkhambi Lokuthula ENingizimu ne-Afrika.'" Ngatshena izithunywa ezazihambe

lowomhlangano ukuthi umzabalazo wezikhali sewehlulekile nokuthi sekufanele kuthenjelwe kulabo abasemzabalazweni wokuthula wokulwela intando yeningi eNingizimu ne-Afrika abahlose ukuphogelesa abamhlophe ukuba baye esigca

wini sokubonisana.

Ngabuye ngasebenzisa nethuba llokubonana noDokotela

Alois Mock oyiPhini leShansela nonguNgqonpqoshe Wezangaphandle e-Austria kanye noMnu. R. Niescher, iMeya yase-Innsbruck.

Into esemqoka ngokwami ukubona kwaba yikuthi kuleNgqungquthela ngabonana nabaholi abaningi abavela ezindaweni ezehlukeneyo emhlabeni abantu abamnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abangalifuma= niyc ithuba lokubonana nabo.

Yikhokanye...../118

Yikho kanye ukuba abavukeli bombuso bengafuni ukuba ngibonane nabantu balelizinga okubenza baphambane nokuba sihambele izingqungquthela zomhlaba. Kabafuni ukuba ngibe naloluhlobo lokuxoxa nalababaholi umlomo nomlomo. Ngingalinganisa nje ngokuthi, ekuhambeleni kwami kwelase-Putukezi, ngabonana no-Jenene Olusezun Obasanjo, owakhuluma amazwi amaningi

asemqoka kimi.

Ngo-Septemba wonyaka odlule ngaphinda ngahambela indawo entsha ngenkathi ngifumana ithuba lokuhambela elase-Hono

Kong laphe ngethula inkulumbo yami eNhlanguweni yase-Hong Kong Yezochwebo. Ngabuye ngaba nethuba lokukhuluma nabamele izinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba. Osomabhizinisi bomhlaba wonke kusobala ukuthi bathatheke kakhulu ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika njengendawo abangase bakwazi ukufaka izimali zabo zokusungula imisebenzi. Ngokuhlolwa yi-ANC, abazombusazwe wokugqolozelana "ngeziqu zamehlo eNingizimu ne-Afrika basebenzisa lonke

ithuba abalifumanayo ukubeka isithombe seNingizimu ne-Afrika esivutha amalangabi.

Kwadingeka ukuba ngizilungise lezizithombe eziyiphutha, ngibe ngasoleso. sikbathi ngitshena umhlaba ukuthi ukhona umzabalazo oghubekayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuthi isimo sinzima kakhulu. Mina kangiyi emazweni aphesheya ukuyozincengela kunoma ngubani, futhi kangiyi phesheya ukuyoghuba umkhankaso wemfundiso esekela inqubo yami. Ngiya phesheya ukuyokhuluma iqiriso ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika ngibuthe lokho kusekelwa enginokukubutha embusazweni okungase kudale imihlathi ezodala uguquko lwempela eNingizimu

ne-Afrika.

NgoNovemba ngaphinda ngahambela kwelase-Yurophu ukuyockwethula iphepha eNhlanguweni wokuxoxa ngodaba oluthile (Symposium), e-Munich, kwelaseNtshonalanga Jalimani, owawuhlelwe yi-Hans Seidel Foundation's Institute for Foreign Relations.

snpaikithi...,.../119

INggikithi yenkulumo yami yayithi "Ukusuka Ekugqolozelaneni
Ngeziq Zamehlo Kuyiwe Ekuxoxisaneni - Imizamo Yokuthula

E~Afrika EseNingizimu." Ngenkathi ngiseNtshonalanga
Jalimani, ngaphinda ngaba nethuba lokubonana noShansela
we~Federal Republic of Germany, uDokotela Helmut Kohl.
Ngabonana futhi noDokotela H.C.Max Streibl, uNgqongqoshe
onguMengameli wase-Bavaria. Ngenkathi ngise-Jalimani
ngabuye ngahambela naku-Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Ngabuye
futhi ngabonana noNgqongqoshe Wezangaphandle, uMnu. Dieter
Genscher. Seclokhu kwathi nhlo ngifumanaukuthi elase-Jalimani
lithatha isimo njengoba sinjalo futhi kuyinto eyingimangaze
njalc nje ukuthi kwenzeka kanjani ukuba sifumane ukusekeleka
okuncane kangaka emasontweni ase-Jalimani. Mhlawumbe lamas=
â\200\230sonto, ngaphezu kwanoma yimaphi amanye, anothando clukhulu
llwe-SACC nohlcholombusazwe wokukhononda awo-Naude/Tutu/Boesak
abawughuba kahle kangaka. Kulonakala kukhona ukudliwa ngu=
unembeza okukhulu ngeNingizimu ne~Afrika emiqondweni nase=
zinhliziyweni eNtshonalanga Jalimani engingathi mina kusukela
olwazini elase-Jalimani eledlula kulo ngenkathi ka-Hiklila
(Hitler) nesidingo abasizwayo sokukhokha inhlawulo ngezenzo
zabo ngendlela ethile.

Ngikholwa yikuthi ekugcineni siyobabuyisa abangani abasi=
lahlekeleyo emasontweni ase-Jalimani ngoba indlela elase=
Jalimani elithatha ngayo izintoc njengoba zinjalo, okuyiyona
eyalenza laghubeka nom .sebenzi wokuvuselela elase-Jalimani
ngemuva kweMpi Å¥esibili kudinga khona ukuba bazimbandekanye
nezinto ezisebenzayo.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga /ihloniphekileyo, ngo-Januwali
wabonyaka ngaba nentokozo enkulu yokwethula intshumayelo esontweni
lase-St.Michael's Cornhill enkonzweni ye-City New Year Service.
Amalunga azokhuimbula ukuthi igama elithi 'City' kaliqondene
nalclonke idolobha lase-Landani. Ligondene nengxeny ephambili

> 4

ye-Landani...../120

ye-Landani lapho kunamabhange namahhovisi amakhulu ezimali ezitaladini ezakhiwe ngokwakha kwesikhathi seNdlovukazi u-Elizabethi wckugala kanye nezinye izakhiwo ezindala. Ngakho lengxenywe yinpxenye ephambili kakhulu ngakho inkonzo yonyaka omusha kuleyondawo yayihlanganise abantu abakhulu abanamagama esatshwayo.

Ngenkathi ngise-Landani ngaphinda futhi ngaba nethuba lckus= khuluma isjkhathi esifishane noNksk. Margaret Thatcher. Ngabuye futhi ngabonana no-Sir Goffrey Howe, uNgqongqoshe Wezangaphandle noNksk. Lynda Chalker, uNgqongqoshe Ogondene Nezindaba Zangaphandle neHhovisi le-Commonwealth. Ngaphinda ngezwakalisa umbono kulemihlanganc wokuthi elase-Ngilandi. lineghaza lomkhongi othembekileyo elifanele ukulibamba ngakho uNksk. Thatcher ukufanele. ngokupheleleyo ukuba enze umsebenzi wembelethisi wezinhlalo ezintsha embusazweni wokubonisana eNingizimu ne-Afrika.nokubonisana - ngeNingizimu ne-Afrika phakathi kcmphakathi womhlaba.

Ngenkathi ngise-Landani lezozinsukwana ezimbalwa, ngaba namaxoxo abaluleke kakhulu nezinhlalo zokusakaza izindaba ezifana nalezi ezilandelayo:

11 Januwali 1989- BBC RADIO - 'FOCUS ON AFRICA'Â®

1 Januwali 1989- BBC - RADIO 4 - 'WORLD TO DAY

12 Januwali 1989- BBC TELEVISION AM - BREAKFAST PROGRAMME

13 Januwali 1989- LBC - INDEPENDENT RADION

13 Januwali 1989- BBC - '24 HOURS Â°

15 Januwali 1989~ TV CHANNEL 4 - 'THE WORLD THIS WEEKÂ®

Lokhu kwakukhuthaza kakhulu njensoba kuloluhlelo engilubale ekugcineni ngenhla ngavela nomcubunguli wezombusazwe oyi-Shayina. uMnu. Shao Wenguang kanye noMnu. Orlic, uMhleli we-The Soviet Times. Ngaqaphela intshisekelo enkulu yokukhuluma .nami ngasohlangothini lwezinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba. Esikhathini esiphambili abangani be-ANC engilandi nase-Melika bebefaka izinhlelec zokusakaza izindaba umoya wokuba zingalokothi 3

zikhulume

zikhulume nathi. Lentshisekclo engaka ngingathi idalwa ngubukhona balowo osimeleyo e-Landani, uMnu. Ben S'kosana

kanye nezinga iNkatha esiyaziwa ngalo emhlabeni wonke. Kuyiqiniso elimsulwa futhi ukuthi iningi lalokho okusakazwa emhlabeni ngathi kakusibeki k:zhile ngenxa yomkhankaso | wezigidi zamadolla wemfundiso yokulwa nathi oghutshwa yizithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni, umbutho olwa nobandlululo (Anti Apartheid Movement) eNtshonalanga kanye nabaholi be-UDF ne-COSATU nxa besuke behambele phesheya.

Ngaye futhi uJanĩ\201wali, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloni= phekileyo, ngahambela kwelase-Switzerland ngihambele umhlanga= no wonyaka wenkundla yomhlaba yezomnotho (World Econcmic â\200\234Forum) lapho ngafunda khona .iphepha elinesihloko esithi "Yezombusazwe Nezomnotho eNingizimu ne-Afrika: Umbono Womuntu OMnyama.'" Nalapha futhi ncakhuluma ngamazwi aqinileyo ngi= sho ukuthi kakuwona umzabalazo wezikhali ozokhulula iNingizimu ne-/frika okokuqala nje, okwesibili ngishe noma umzabalazo wezikhali ungaphetha nzokukwenza llokho, ohulumeni bangomuso bayo= bhekana nefa lenzondo esabekayo abayolishiyelwa yilesosimo.

Nalapha futhi Mhlonishwaâ\204ç Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyi,

into ebalulekileyo ngeNkundla lena yithuba eyanginikeza lona lokuhlangana ., nabantu abasemgoka abavela ezingxenye ezehlus= keneyo zomhlaba phakathi kwabo okwakukukhona uMengameli Robrt Mugabe waseZimbabwe, wNgqongqoshe bakhe ababili uDokotela Bernard Chidzero, oNgqongqoshe wezimali; uDokotela Nathan Shamuyarira, uNgqongqoshe Wezindaba Zangaphandle; uNdunankulu wasePutukezi, uPrcfesa Anabal Cavaco Silva: uMphathi wase-California

eMelika, uSigele Bradley wasc~New Jersey, eMelika; uNgqongqoshe Wezangaphandle eJalimani, uMnu. Genscher; iphini likaNdunankulu wase-Indonesia, uMnu. Ariston Chambati nabanye abaningi kakhulu ukuba ngingabafaka kuloluhla.

Imihliangano..... /122

Imihlangano lapho kubhekana khona ezinhlabini zamehlo nalabo oxoxa nabo
ibaluleke kakhulu ngakho kulokhukuhmbela kwami kulezizingxenywe
ezahlukeneyo zomhlaba ngiyakwazi ukuba ngisabalalise umyalezo
wethu ngikhulise nokucindezelwa kwepitoli ngumhlaba Kufanele
ukuba uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika useyakwazi manje ukuthi
kunabantu abesomqoka kakhulu asebeqale ukulalela izwi lethu

ngakho kakumengazi ukuba uMengameli Wombuso angenyanye kangaka
manje ngokombusazwe noNgongqoshe wakhe Wokuthuthukisa Kwesa=
khiwo Nokuhlela aphambane kanpgaka nengikusho, phesheya ngigxeka

iNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo; emihlathini engas=
kwesobunxele lapho abantu bephila khona ezimeni abazibikezelayo
ngenkathi becacisa kabusha umzabalazo ngendlela evuna indawo

abemi kuyo, kusobala-ke ukuthi kufanele ukuba kubekhona ukwehlukas=
na okukhulu phakathi komhlaba wempela nomhlaba wamaphupho abo

emigonde esekela inqubo kanye nezimo . ababikezela ukuthi zizo=
bakhona,

Imfundiso yombusazwe esekela inqubo yalezozinhlangothi iyakus=
khombisa lokhu kungavumelani. Lelilumbo lalemfundiso kudinseka
ukuba liphindwe izikhathi ezintathu nje abantu besebegala
ukulikhelwa. Uhlelo lwemfundiso yamagginga asekela inqubo ethile
kufanele luphindaphinde lezozintoc abantu abazifumana zingakho=
lakali kakhulu kunezinye. Okuyikhona kuphindaphindwa kaningi
kulemfundiso yikuthi i-ANC yiyona kuphela engumbutho wenkulu=
leko yempela omele abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Bakhuluma
ngayo \200\230njengombutho osekhaleni.' Bakhuluma ngayo njengombutho
ophambili emibuthweni yentando yeningi. Ukukhuluma lokhu kufas=
nele kuphindaphinde, kususe usinga, kube nezwi elihlabayo nge=
ndlela okufuna ukuheha ngayo imigondo yabantu, lokhu kufanele
bakwenze ngalendlela ngoba eningini nje labantu abazabzazayo,
abahluphekayo nabangukudla kobandlululo, i-ANC kayaziwa ngaphandle

kckuba kusuke kukhulunywa ngayc kulezizimfundiso zamaqgginga.
5 i g

RANC.....s#./123

I-ANC kayikho lapha ngaphakathi lapho ifanele ukuzabalaza khona nabantu ukuze baphephe ezimeni ezikhona. Okusetshenzwa yilemfundiso nje kuphela yikubatsheka ukuthi sibi kangakanani isimo abakusc, . okuyinto abantu asebevele beyazi. Imfundiso lena isebenza ukubatsheka ukuthi ukubulala ngezizathu zonbusa= zwe kuyintc edingekayo. Isebenza ukubatsheka ukuthi lizckhus= la izinga lomzabalazo wezikhali. Phakathi kwakho konke -lokhu kutshÃ©nana okwenziwa yilemfundisc . ubuphofu kuyaghubeka noku= ncuza imiphefumulo elahliweyo.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, manje sensikhu= Iuma ngodaba olubaluleke kakhulu. Nxa sakha izisekelo zamandla " eziqondenc nezidingo zabantu manje ezizoghubeka nokugondana nezidingo zabantu ngenkathi kuguquka izimo, kufanele abantu

sibahole lapho behlupheka khona. Kasibona abaholi abazazisayo abazibona Uencatakhethiweyo. Yilowo nalowo phakathi kwethu

lapha sinemibutho yabalandeli bethu emakhaya; sinezinhlelo zethu ezifundeni zethu. ngakho yilowo nalowo phakathi kwethu esilapha siyovhenduka into engasho lutho emzabalazweni ngavha= ndle kokuba imibutho yabalandeli bethunezinhlelo zethu - Sikwazi ukuzigcinÃ© zisebenza ngendlela eyiyo.

Ngc-1985 ngethula kuleNdlu ibhukwana eâ\202~linesihloko -esithi "UHOLO OLUFISHANE NGALOKHO OKUNOKWENZIWA KWEZOMBUSAZWE"

(A SHORT GUIDE TO pRACTICAL POLITICS), Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo kufanele akukhumbule ukuthi ngawas= cela ukuba alithathe lelibhukwana, alifundisise, alichibele lapho kudingeka â\200\230hona abeselimukela njengoba lalinjalo noma njengeba linjelo npemuva kokuba sekuxoxiwe ngalo. Sedlula chlelweni lwentando yeningi yckulemukela lelibhukwana njengos= mbhalo wokusebenza - umbhalo oyuholo esasizowusebenzisa.

râ\200\230fi~\201loniSh'Naеоаооосvouoo/124

Mhlonishwa Scmiomo, Amalunga a Ahloniphekileyo, nginckukhatha= zeka okuthile npezinye izintco, enye yilaphdo aMalunga aloiâ\200\231kha= ndlu evele ehiuleke nje ukwenz into azethembise ukuthi azoyenza. - Ukukhathazeka kwami kukhula ngendlela ehambisanayc nalokho ckusuke kungenziwa ngemuva kokuba sesinqume ngokuhlanga= nyela ukuthi leyontc kufanele yenziwe. Ngabe kanti leN-lu ingu= mgedekazi- nje wokubanpga umsindo lapho sihlalanga khona ukuba sibingeleiane sixoxe ibese sigoduka siye emakhaya siyokwenza okuncane. kunakho konke okufanelc ukwenziwa na?

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngizophepha mina xuleminyaka esasihlaleleyo. Owami umbutho wabalandeli wase=

khaya ncizowupcina usebenza futhi uphila. Ngizoghubeka ncku=

thuthukisa izinhlelo zami ngaphakathi kwelakwaZulu nangaphe= sheya kwayo yonke imigcele ubandlululo oselwake lwazama ukuyi= misa. WMhlonishwa Scmlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngizo= wakhumula njencengubo ngiwashiye endleleni aMalunga aloMikhandlu ngenkathi ngidlula ebunzimeni ngibheke esikhathini esizayo.

Nxa sinsagucuki sibone abantu ngomgondo waloluholc lokusebenza â\200\234Uholo olufishane lombusazwe onokusebenziswa' umlando uzusi= shiya emzileni; uzosishiya ngemuva njengezilahlwa zesikhathi esedlule. Yilabo abasebenzayo kuphela abasebenza ezingeni

-

loqugaba besebenza nabantu besebenzela abantu abazophepha kuleminyaka ezayo. HNgithatha isinyathelo sokuba ngiphinde. futhi ngiwus= khiphe lombhaloc ngiwunikeze llelo â\200\230nalelolunga laleNdlu, Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Labo abasenawo lombhalo kusho ukuthi sebezobanayo ibemibili mnpaleyondlela banganikeza omunye umbhalo kulowo obalekelelayo ezifundeni zabo.

Lombhalo kufuneka ukuba uthathwe futhi uhlonisiswe ngeqoqo lobuhlakani bethu. Xufanele sibone ukuthi ngabe uyaqondana yini nezimo eziyizo zesimo sokusebenza kwethu. Nxa ukughubeka kwesikhathi seckukhombe ubuthakathaka obuthile kuwo,

kufanele/125

kufanele sibelaphe lobo buthakathaka. Kusemalungeni asebe=

nzayo aleildlu, Amalunza dleNdlu angabagquguzeli babantu, -
abakhuthazi bemisebenzi yasekhaya neyezifinda . abantu
abakhuthaza ubumbano kwezombusazwe, abantu abaphakamisa
umbone, lapho umlando uyokhetha khona abantu ozobasebenzisa
ezindleleni. ezintsha nezinamar 11a ngenkathi ughubeka noguquko.

Noifuna ukubeka iphuzu elishc izinto ezijule kakhulu.
Nzibeka irhuzu lokuthi izinhlelo zombusazwe eziyodaleka
embusazweni wokubonisana ziyokwehluka kulezo esizaziyo
njengamanje kulelizwe. Umbusazwe kufanele kube yinto eï\201ga=
phezulu kakhulu kokunikeza lezizinhlelo ezikhona njengamanje
imisebenzi emisha okufanele ziyenze. Lezizinhlelo ezikhona
zidaleke csikhathini esizodlulelwa yisikhathi embusazweni
wokubonisana.

Noma neubani ckholwa yikuthi ckufanele akwenze kuphela yikwenza
izinto zakhe ngokuyikho ngenhloso yckuphepha ezimeni abaholela
abantu kuzo, uyothi nxa efakwa esikalini ngomuso afumanisecke
elula. Nsinawo lombeno ngesimo. Ngiyakwazi ukubona esikhathini
eside esizayc ngakho lokhu engikushoyo ngikusho ngoba nginesifiso
esijulileyo sokwenza izinto ezintsha nawozakwethu abadala.
Ningakungabazi ukuthi ngizozenza izinto ezintsha nokuthi
ngizozenza nawozakwethu ngobs ngingumuntu wentando yeningi.

Into okufanele niginiseke ngayo yikuthi yini engiyozenza nani
lezozinto. '

Kuphezu kwalomcabango-ke,. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, engifuna ukuba
imigondo ya a2lunga isebenzele phezi\201 kwawo ocdabeni lokuthi
sizozakha kanjani siziqinise sizinwebe kanjani izisekelo
zethu zamandla ombusazwe. Into yokugala engifuna ukuyisho
yikuthi kufanele sizigwemÃ© izenzo ezinemiphumela engakhiyo.
Yakukho lutho clulimaza indawo esimi kuyo kwezombusazwe
ukwedlula amaphutha esingawenza kulezozindawo.

Kungenxa...../126

=126~

Kungenxa yokuba ngikwazi ukuthi iNingizimu ne-Afrika izolu-
dinga lolohlolo lwezisekelo zamandla esizakhayo njengoba
ngizinikele ngokujule kangaka ekuzakheni. Sisebenzela
iNingizimu ne-Afrika njengoba senza lckho nje. Kasakhi

sona isikhwelo esixhakalaziweyo nje sokuzifunela amathuba
agondene nathi kwezombusazwe. Sinyathela kulelo nalelo

dwala elembhulwa ngumbusazwe wempela njengoba amagagasi esikhathi
eghubeka nokwembhoza isimo ngaphambili.

Kufanele sigweme amaphutha ngakho engingaphinda ngikugscizelele
nje yikuthi nxa sigwema amaphutha ngisho nezandla zethu
ezisongiweyo nje sinamandla esabekayo ngenkathi simi sakhe
umkhanya sibukela abanye bebhidliza izisekelo zabo zamandla
ngenkathi benza lokho okungafanele ukwenziwa.

Yikho kanye lckhu okwenziwe yiQembu lamaNeshinali kulamashumi
eirinyaka edlule. Ngisho noma umuntu uHulumeni angambona
enamandla angakanani, ngisho noma iQembu lamaNeshinali
elibusayo lingahlala liyiQembu lamaNeshinali elibusayo
embusazweni wabamhlophe, siyazi sonke ukuthi izisekelo zalo
zamandla sezidlavuzekile.

Nxa iQembu lamaNeshinali lithubeka - nokuzinikela eki-\201qhubeni
umphakathi osekeleke obandlululweni izisekelo zalo zamandla
ngeke zigcine ngokudlavuzeka nje kuphela, kepha lizobhidlika
esikhathini esiseduze noma esikude esizayo ,iQembu libe
selihlakazeka ligcwale imimoya yawowonke amagumbi omhlaba.
Kakudingeki ukuba size sihlehlele esikhathini esikude kakhulu
ukukhomba zonke izindlela ezingaphumeli ndaw> iQembu lamaNeshi=
nali elalicabanga ukuthi ziyizindlela eziya phambili.
Esikhathazeke ngakho yikuphuthume kwesimo sanamhlanje. Ngamas=

phutha anamhlanje alimaza iQembu " lombusazwe namhlanje.

iQembu llzmaNeshinali lisahlushwa yiphutha lalc lokudala
iPhalamende enguNxantathu. Ekudaleni leliPhalamende, iQembu
lamaNeshinali ladala umoya wezidlamlilo endleleni abaNyaia

abaliphikisa/127

abaliphikisa ngayo lawenza lomoya wayinto esemthethweni emehlweni omphakathi womhlaba. Selizame ukubhekana nemiphumela emibi kunaye yonke kuleliphutiia lalo lokusungula iPhalamende enguNxantathu nockuhoxa ezindaweni eziningi ezibucayi ebelini kuzo ngo-1983 ngenkathi lililisungula.

Nizokhumbula ukuthi ngaleyonkathi umgondo wokuhlanganyela amandla lapho kuhlangayela khcnaabalMnyama nabamhlophe ezihlelweni\200\231 ezifanayo, wakhishwa emaxoxweni ombusazwe eQembu lamaNeshinali. Nizokhumbula ukuthi abaNyama kaba=gA@inanga nje ngokuncishwa ivoti kepha bephucwa nobuzwe babo. Nizokhumbula ukuthi senziwa imihambima sangabangisho nayi=" zakhamizi zezwe iPhalamende enguNxantathu eyayizama ukubusa phezu kwalo.

Lezizindawo eziyinhlekisa leliQembu elalimi kuzo sezidicilelwe phansi manje. Ubuzwe baseNingizimu ne-Afrika sebubuyiselwe kulab: obabalahlekelayo ngaphansi kwesakhiwo sePhalamende elinguNxantathu. Ukwehlukaniswa ngokupheleleyo kwezinhlelo zombusazwe zabaMnyama, zabamhlophe, amaNdiya namaKhalathi sekudicilelwe phansi. IQembu lamaNeshinali selizama ukuvuka manie ngokusungula uMkhandlu Kazwelonke noma lokho ckufana nawo ngokukhuluma ngokudala isikhuncla sikandunankulu nokukhomba abaNyama abazoba ngamalunga eKhabhinethi. Konke lokhu kuyinto eyehluke ngokupheleleyo emgondweni wokugala iQembu lamaNeshinali elaya nawo kubavoti abamhlophe emkhanka=sweni wokufumana uvo lwabo ngo-1983. Ngisho noma bangasisonta " kangakanani lesisakhiwo esikhona kabasonze basenza semukeleke . Kufanele sesulwe ngezingxenye nokuphelela kwaso ngoba sisichitha ngezingxenye nangokuphelela kwaso. Lapha ngimane ngikhomba ukuyobaycaba kombusazwe iQembu lamaMeshinali elizame kukho ukunhunyula emphumeleni yalesisakhiwo.

Ukuba nathi sasenze iphutha kanye neQembu lan Neshinali, semukela isakhiwo sika-1984, nathi ngabe manje sizama ngayo

yonke indlels ukuba sivuke othulini.

Abantu..../128

Abantu bakithi ngabe kabazimisele nakancane ukusixolela ngakho ukuvuka kube yinto enpganekwenzeka.

Kukhona isifundo kulokhu, Mhlonishwa Somlomc, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo. Ukungavumi ukuhudulelwa ezinhlelweni zombusazwe zckulinga okungenangqondo lazho kuyobakhona ukwehluleka kuphela. Empeleni kuze kube yimanje sisengaba ukuhlanganyela emaphutheni eQembu lamaNeshinali ngoba kwavele kwaba sobala nje ukuthi liyabhadazela. Savele sakwazi thina ukuthi kalikwazi ukuphumelela. Savele sakwazi ukuthi lizoguqula umbusazwe wabalinyama liwenze umbusazwe wezidlamlileo lidale nokughelelana ezweni. Sasikwazi ukuthi lizokhuhula amazinga endluzula,

Kepha zisekhona ezinye izindawo ezisadinga ukwenza okunve ukucabanga okuningi ukuze sazi lokho okufanele ukubz sikwazi ngokuginiseka. Kokhu ku:iondane nendawo esifanele ukufaka kuyo udonlolo lwethu ukuze sizwe ukuthi amanzi ajule kangaka=nani - luhlobo luni lombusazwe wabalinyama lokho okuzoholela kuwo na? Sizobahola kanjani abantu futhi nemibutho yethu yabalandeli basekhaya iyosabela kanjani kulobdbuboli ngapha=nsi kwalowo> mgomo cophakanyiswa yilolchlelo olusha na?

Nxa sibheka iMikhandlu Yesifunda (REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL), ngiyichitha ngoba kasizange sithintwe kuboniswa nathi ngayo. Ngâ¥yvakwazi ukuyichitha ngoba iyingxenye yohlelo okweyeme kuyo iPhalamende enguNxantathu. Lezi yizizathu zokugqala ezigqondene nomgomo osenza siyichithe lemikhandlu. Ngale kwalezizathu zokuqala zomgomo, kukhona izizathu zalokho okunckwenziwa kwezombusazwe okuyizona ezisho ukuthi kungaba yikuzinquma oghoghaogho kithi ukuba siguquke kulcludaba.

ITheku elisemehlweni ethu esilaziyo kalifani nakancane netheku langokwezimiso ubandlululo oluthi liyilo. ITheku lempela

i-iyivf'iiek{;i;s':;;;a.o./129

liyiTheku elibanzi nelisabaleleyo lapho iningi lezakhamizi kungabantu abalinyama. Abantu abalinyama baphethe izindawo eziyimpiloc emisebenzini yezohwebo nezimboni. UMkhandlu Wedo= lobha laseThekwini ngokwawo ngeke waphepha ngaphandle kwabantu abaMnyama. Izimboni kazikwazi ukuphepha ngaphandle kwabantu abaMnyama. Impilo yezohwebo edclobheni yethembele kubathengi abaMnyama . Ekuscbenzeni kwalo iF:heku ingxenye erkulu igondene n2bantu abaMnyama.

Ngumbusazwe oqonde ekwemukeleni leliTheku lempela njengeTheku lempela oyozcina kuyikuphela kwawo oyophepha ezingenf lika= Hulumeni wasckhaya eThekwini, njengoba kuyokwenzeka kunoma

yiliphi elinye idolobha elikhulu noma elincane. Thina njengabantu abaMnyama sithi iTheku ngelethu ngoba nje sihlala kulo futhi

siyingxenye eyiningi lezakhamizi zalo.

IÂ¥ikhandlu Yezifundazwe ifunz ukushicilela ukwehlukana kwezi nhlangza esikuphikayo thina ukuthi kusemthethweni. Kusemthes= thweni kithi ukuba sizabalaze senze lokho esingakwenzela abantu ngenkathi sizabalazela ukukhulula iNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kakukho muntu oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika owayenethuba angazikhethela kulo nxa sekuza eMthethweni Wokwakhiswa Kwa= bantu Ngezinhlanga zabo (Group Areas Act) noma nxa sekuza ekwehlukanisweni kwezinhlanga zabo ngaphansi koMthetho woku= bhaliswa Kwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana (Population Registration Act) . UlMthetho Womhlabathi (Land Act) waphogelelwa phezu kwethu ngakho yilowo nalewo muntu oMnyama kulelizwe uphila ngaphansi kwaloluhlobo lwemithetho. Sizabalaza ukulwa nalo= luhlobo lomthetho. Ingxenye yomzabalazo wethu yikuzifunela ilungelo lobuzibulo bethu. Thina njengabantu abaMnyama sifuna ilungelo lokuhlanganyela emnothweni kanye nomhlomulo onobulu= ngiswa ezikhwameni zezwe. :

KUyt 4001 UA130

Kuyinto efanelekileyo kithi ukuba sikuphikise ukuthuthukiswa kwezinhlelo zobandlululo. Kwabz yinto efanelekileyo kithi, ikakhulukazi thina esikuleNtshona\2021lug lthlonishwa Somlomo, Amalung=2 Ahloniniphekileyo, ukuba size kuleNtshona ukuzotshena UHulumeni ukuthi angabe esaghubekela phambili. Kwakuyocba iphutha kithi ukuba sifulathele lokho okwenzekayo. Ukuba S2Sikwenzile llokho, elakwaZulu ncahbe selisesimeni seTrankei,i-Bophuthaswanza, j-Venda noma i-Ciskei senza lokhu esikwenzayo ukulwa nokufe=zwa komsangeno wobandlululo. Kasikaze nakanye senze lutho oluqinisa ubandlululo noma olufeza izinhlelo zalc. Sasiyobe senza lckho nxa singena eMikhandlwini Yezifundazwe. DNginyanis cela ukuba nicabange ngombusazwe walokho okunckwenziwa.

. AbaMnyamz abasimeleyo kuleyomikhandlu bangabasemuseni wezinqumo ezithathwa viningi. Ngenxa yokuba uMasipala waseThekwini ongowabarthlophe bodwa ungumgudu omkhulu okuyocela kuwo imali eningi, uyoba nezwi elikhonyayo kunoma yimuphi uMkhandlu Wesifundazwe oschbenza kuwo. Umlazi noMashu, okungamadolobha anomphakathi omningi kunomphakathi wabaMhlophe waseThekwini,

lamadolobha wona ayoba nezwi elincane elinswiminizayo elinga-sho luthoc.

Cabanga ngombusazwe walokho okunokwenziwa maqondana nawozakwe-thu abasemsebenzini wokubutha abantu ezindaweni ezibanzi zemijondolo ezungeze iTheku. Siyazi ukuthi labobantu abakule-zozimo bafuna intuthuko kuzo. Xabafuni khona ukwenziwa ngcAono kwesimoc esikhundleni sokuba bathuthukiswe. Bafuna ukuqondiswa kwezinto imizwa yabo njengouqaba ebatshena ukuthi kuyikugo-

disa izinto okufaneleyo phakathi kokwenza lokho okufanele ukwenziwa ukuze umuntu aphephe nokwenza lokho okufanele ukwenziwa ukuze umuntu aphume esimeni Sokusebenzela ukuphepha kuphela.

Nzenkathi iMikhandlu Yezifundazwe ighubeka nokuhlcla nokulinga indlela yayo eqonde esikhathini esizayo, leMikhandlu izobe

ichitha isikhathi esifanele ukusetshenziswa ukwenza into a\2021zoba nomphumela. Ngenkathi ichitha lesisikhathi, ubuphofu babantu

abaMnyama...../131

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abaMnyama kulezizindawo buzobe bukhula. Uqugaba olukhwelwe ubuphofu oseluvele lukhona ngezigidi zalo laphaya endaweni yaseThekwini namaphethelc luzokwanda ngenkathi ubuphofu babantu nabo bukhula. Lezizinlimbane zabantu zizobe zighubeka ziphoko-phele endaweni lapho zingase zigubezele khona iMikhandlu Yezifundazwe ziyishanele iphele.,

Ngiyawarhinda amazwi ami okuthi amandla empela ombusazwe yilawo kuphela atholakala ngokuhlanganyela ezehlweni nasezintweni ezighubexcla esikhathini esizayo. Amandla empela aghamuka kulabo kuphela ababeba emhlane womlando nabangazamiyo ukuwuthiys . Ungayikhchlwa yonke into esekeleke emicabangweni emhlabeni nxa ukhumbula lelihuzu.

Sasazi ukuthi abantu bafuna ukuba siphikise ubandlululo eMkhandlwini waXwaZulu oShayumthetho futhi sasazi ukuthi

bafuna ukuba sibenzele lckho esinokubenzela khona ngenkathi siphikisa ubandlululo. Kukhohlwe llokho okusekeleke emcabangweni esakwenzayo. Yilokhu abantu ababefuna ukuba sikwenze futhi sakwenza, ngaleycndlela izisekelo zamandla ethu zakhula.

Khohlwa - yimicsbango okusekeleke kuyo lckhu ugxile ekulinsaniseni lokho abantu asebefuna ukuba sikwenze. Abantu uguquko sebelu~ zwa lunuka lapha emakhaleni abo. Bayakuzwa ukunambitheka kwalc kuza. Bafuna ukuba sikusheshise futhi kabasenakho ukunyame - zelela izinto ezifana neMikhandlu Yezifunda nokunye ckufana nalokho. Kabasenakho ukunyamezelela noma yini ehlangene nohlelo lwePhalamende enguNxantathu. Laphayana ezingeni loqugaba uitholi weNkatha noma yihi~\201mn laleNdlu njengabantu abalbnyama abasembusazweni wabalnyama ngeke balungelane nckuca-banga kwabantu nxa bezama ukubadayisela ukuhlanganyela eMikhandlwini Yezifundazwe.

Nalapha...../132

Nalapha futhi ungayikhohlwa yonke imicabango esemhlabeni nxa sekuza ekuthuthukisweni kwesakhiwo nxa ukhumbula ukuthi izakhiwo zisukela olwazini lwabantu kakuzcna ezidala ulwazi lwabantu.

Ngokomcabango negiyakwazi lokho engingakudayisela abantu aba-Mnyama baseNingizimu neAfrika nalokho engingeke ngikwazi ukubadayisela khona, Kakudingeke nokuba ngize ngime ngicabange kuqala ngaphambi kokuba ngazi ukuthi kangikwazi ukubadayisela noma yini syuhlelo lokughekeza abantu phakathi | ukuze babuseke kalula. Kangikwazi ukubadayisela noma yini nxa lokho kungaphakamisi ukwenukeleka kwamalungelo obuntu emhlabeni njengoba emukelwa emhlabeni wonke. Kakukho khambi lohlanga olulndwa elingelona ikhambi lalelo nalelo hlanga olunye, kalikho ikusasa elehlukeneyo elimiselwe noma yiluphi uhlanga, ngakho nxa ngizama n ~noma iyiphi indlela ukudayisa uhlelo oluqukethe unqondc wokuthi kukhona ikusasa elehlukileyo elimiselwe izi-nhlanga ezehlukeneyo kulelizwe, ngingaphcgeleka ukuba ngiphume kwezombusazve.

Ngiyazi futhi ukuthi kangidingi micabango ukuba ingitshene ukuthi nxa sekuza ekukhulumeni ngekusasa lesakhiwo eNingizimu neAfrika, ngiyamdinga uDokotela Nelson Mandela, kanye nabanye abaholi bombusazwe abasemajele, ukuba babe kanye nami lapho. I-Ningizimu neAfrika eMnyama ifuna lokho. Ukungakulalels

lokhu ckufunwo yiNingizimu neAfrika eMnyama kungaba yikuzinquma ughoghogho.

Sikhuluma ngombusazwe esiwuzwa emizweni yethu ngaphakathi lapha; kasikhulumi npayoc imicabango nezimpikiswano zezihlakaniphi. Umlando uyobhalwa ngabantu abafana nathi abasebenza ikusasa elimiselwe iNingizimu neAfrika ngendlela abalizwa ngayo emizweni yabo engaphakathi. Lokhu kufanele kubenjalo ngoba siyoginiseka ukuthi isakhiwo sangomuso siyisakhiwo sabantu nesakhiwo esifunwa yibo abantu.

Labo abangenayo lemiswa engaphakathi kepha abaghosha ngemica=-
bango yombusazwe nemicabango esekela inqubo yabo bayosala
emzileni. Byethu imizwa engaphakathi isitshena ngokuginiseka
okungakaze kubonwe ngaphambili ukuthi abantu bafuna ukuba
siphumelcle ekulaleni uguquko lwempela ngombusazwe wokuhlanga=-
bezana. Bona kanye labobantu abaghuba imisebenzi yezimbeni
zezwe nabachuba imisebenzi esemqoka ezweni ukuze kweneliske
izidingo zempilo ejwayelekileyo, bayosekela noma yini kanye
nayoyonke into esiyenzayo ukudala isimo esigondileyo eNingizimu
neAfrika njengombuso wesimanje wohlobo lwaseNtshonalanga
osekeleke emnothweni wezimboni nongowentando yeningi.

Ngakho thina esikuleNllu sibhekene nalokho okufunwa ngabantu
ukuba sidale uguquko ngombusazwe wokubonisana ngenkathi sichitha
uhlelo lwePhalamende enguNxantathu ngezingxenye nangokuphelela
kwalo egameni labantu.

Ngakho iphuzu lami lisemi, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, aMalunga
Ahloniphekileyo, ukuthi npaphandle kckuba uMkhandlu Kazwelonke
ube necunya lokusebenza ngaphakathi kohlelo oclulawulwa yikuvu-
melana npokwesulwa kohlelo lwePhalamende enguNxantathu, ngeke
ngizihlanganise negalutho nalo. Kufanele kube nguMkhanilu
Kazwelonke ogondene nezinguquko ezinkulu. Kakufanele kube
nguMkhanilu oyuhlelo lckulungisa loluhlelc lwesakhiwo esikhona
olusetshenziswa ukuthenza isikhathi;, noma okuzozanywa'ngaio '
olunye uhlobo lokulinga isakhiwc esinobuthutha ngokufanayo.

Imizwa yami engaphakathi ingitshena ukuthi kungaba yiphutha
ngokupheleleyo ukuba ngikucabange ngisho nokukucabanga ukuchi-
tshelwa kwesakhiwo lapho kuyoba ncNdunankulu nalapho abaNyama,
beykhonjelwa khona kuKhabhinethi.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, kufanele sihle abantu .simi ngamanzonzwana
ngakho ngenkathi uMfunlisi Hendrickse engibhalela ebuza
umbono wami maqondana nalokhu kuchitshelwa kwesakhiwo engikhu-
luma ngakho manje, nganquma ukuthi kuyinto efaneleyo ukuba

nzimphendule. /134

ngimphendule. Sisasikhumbula isinqumoc se-Labour Party sase-Showe ngakho nobudlelwane phakathi kwethu kabukabi buhle, kepha imizwa yami engaphakathi yangitshena ukuthi kufanele ngisiphendule lesisicelo. Ngakuvuma lokhukubonisana.

Incwadi uMfu. Hendrickse angibhalela yona ifundeka kanje:

(Ungancisiza uphawule ngokushesha ngeSichibelo
Sesibili soMchethoSlVlVlVnywa unquNombolu W 16-88
ongahlinzeka ukukhonjwa kukaNgqongqoshe oMnyama
weKhabhinethi.

Ngabe thina, i-Labour Party singawuchitha noma
siwusekele loMthethosivivinywa na? Npicela
ungazise ngencwadi yocingo lwe-Fax @71-4152489."

Ngamthumela lempendulo elandelayo:

Mfu. H J Hendrickse ILunga lePhalamende 12 Febhuwali 1989
USlhlala WokMkhandlu WoNgqongqoshe

NonguNgqongqoshe WeMfundo NaMasiko

House of Representatives

Private Bag 9068

CAPE TOWN

8000 Inkomba:HJ/cm 1/18/27
INOMBOLO YE-FAX 021-4152489

Mfowethu Othandekayo,

Bengise-Yuropthu ngenkathi kufika incwadi yakho yocingo lwe-Fax
ingicela ukuba ngiphawule ngcMthethosivivinywa wokuchitshelwa
kweSibili kwesakhiwo. Ngize ngabuya izolo kusihlwa ngakho
ngikuthumela amazwi ocele ukuba ngiphawule ngawo namhlanje.
Kakukho lutho olumpgaguqula indlela engenyanya ngayo ngoku-

pheleleyc lesisakhiwo esikhona. Kangizihlanganisanga ngalutho

nolMkhandlu wabaMnyama Wokweluleka uMengameli woMbuso azama
ukuwusungula ncaphambi kokuba asungule uhlelo lwePhalamende
enguNxantathu. Ngakuphikisa ukusungulwa kwawo ngafunga ukuthi
kangisoze ngazihlanganisa ngalutho nawo nanoma yini enye
engasungulwa ukuze iwuphase. Kangivumanga ukuzihlanganisa

ngalutho neKomindi. ~ . yeKhabhinethi (Special Cabinet Committee)
futhi ngasichitha isiphakamiso sokusungula iNkundla yokubonisana
engaphandle kwePhalamende (Necn-statutory Negotiating Forum)

njengenhlekisa enpagondene ngaluthe nezidingo zethu.

Ngokombono womuntu oMnyama kwezombusazwe kakukho lutho oluno=
kwenziwa ukwenza loluhlelo olukhona lwephalamende lwemukeleke.
Esiqondene nakho kuphela yikubonisana ngaphandle kohlelo llwalo,
nanoma yikuphi futhi okunye ukubonisana esingangena kukho
kufanele kube yikubonisana lapho kunezinhloso ezicaciswe kahle
zokulwesula loluhlelo lwephalamende elikhona. Kangisoze nga=
vuma, ngisho noma ngabe kukusiphi isimo, ukusebenza njengo=
Ngqongqoshe noma iPhini likaNgqongqoshe futhi kangisoze nga=
vuma, noma ngabe kukusiphi isimo, ukuba omunye wawoNg-anggoshe bami
bayosebenza kuleyoKhabhinethi.

Nxa sesikugala ngempeia ukubonisana ngekusasa elisha lesakhiwo
sezwe, kuyodingeka ukuthi ukuba kucaciswe kahle ukuthi ukus=
ocinwa koMthetho Wokubhaliswa Kwezinhlanga Ngokwehlukana
(Population Registration Act) njengengxenye okwakhiwa ngayo
isakhiwo kuyothiwa umbusazwe owakhayo. LoMthetho kanye no=
Mthetho Wokwakhiswa Kwezinhlanga Wokwehlukana ~ (Group Areas
Act) izoghubeka nokughekeza abaNyama nabamhlophe nxa nje
isekoSomqulu boMbuso. Ukuhlangabezana ezweni lonke kungale
kwaleMithetho.

Ububi besakhiwo esikuchaza wena njengeKhalathi nami njengo=
Muntu oMnyama buyasehlukana ngakho noma yimuphi umuntu
oMnyama omukela isikhundla kukabhinethi noma isikhundla
njengePhini likaNgqongqoshe, uyobe usevuirele ukuba ehlukaniswe
nomhlathi omkhulu wombusazwe wabaNyama yisakhiwo abantu
abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abasichitha ngezinsxenye

zaso nangokuphelela kwaso. Lowomuntu ngeke akwazi ukusebe=
nzela ukuhlangabezana phakathi koMnyama nomhlophe.

>

Ngikuthatha.....c.o/ . 136

Ngikuthatha njencento embi ngokupheleleyo ukuthi. uHulumeni waseNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika usememezele inhloso yokudala isikhundla sika=
Ngqongqoshe weKhabhinethi oMnyama noma iPhini likaNgqongqoshe.
Lokhu kukhombisa ukuthi akalibeni izinga abantu abaNyama
abachitha ngalo lesisakhiwo esikhona. Kuziphendula umbhedo
izinhloso zikaHulumeni athi ngezoguquko. Sekunesizathu esi=
khulu manje sckukuphikisa ukuchitshelwa kwesakhiwo kunaiesi=
khathini esedlule. HNgikholwa yikuthi uMengameli woMbuso seku=
fanele abonwe njengomuntu osendleleni ephumayo empilweni
yokusebenzela umphakathi. Lokhu kunikeza izwe ithuba lckubiza
inqubekela phambili leyo uMnu. P.W. Botha ayithembisayoc nengas=
bonakaliyc ukufezeka. Nginethemba elikhulu lokuthi umbusazwe
wabamhlophe uzosifypana isibindi esidingekayo sckughubekela
phambili ushiye lendawo laphe kwehlukana khona izindlela zo=
mlando laphe uMnu. P.W. Botha eshaya khona ndawonye.

Umuntu akazi ukuthi uMnu. F.W. de Klerk uzolisaphi iQembu lamas=
Neshinali kanti nxa umuntu ethatha ngomlando wakhe kanye nomla=
ndo wemisebenzi yakhe njengomuntu ochazwa njengomunye wawo=
Ngqongqoshe abasabambelele ezindleleni ezindala, kungaba npus=

buthutha ukwethemba okukhulu kakhulu. Ngakolunye uhlangothi,

amazwi akhe okuqala acacisa umgomo, ngemuva kokukhethwa

kwakhe njengomholi weQembu lamaNeshinali, enza umuntu ukuba eme
kancane amnikeze ithuba lokuba akhombise imibala yakhe yempela.
Ngisho noma umuntu kungadingeka ukuba ake akubeke ethala
ukungabaza kwakhe okusekelwa nokukhonjwa ngumbusazwe wakhe
wesikhathi esedlule, kufanele sikugodle ukwahlulela kwethu

kuze kube yilesosikhathi laphe eselifumene ithuba lokukhombisa
ukuthi ngabe uyakwazi yini ukughubekela phambili nomlando

noma uzoqhubeka nalempi yeQembu iamaNeshinali yokulwa nentc
engenakugwenywa nakancane.

Kungaba yishwa elikhulu nxa engumphathi omusha nje womdlalo
omdala wombusazwe Obughutshwa yiQembu lamaNeshinali

cngaholeli

ongaholeli ndawo wokusungula iMikhandlu Yezifundazwe kanye
nenhloso yokunikeza abantu azbaMnyama basemadolobheni eyabo
inkundla abazomelwa kuyo nckuchibela isakhiwo ukuze kuhlinze=

kwe uNgqongzgoshe olnyama kuKhabhinethi kanye namaPhini oNgqo=
ngqoshe. :

Lesisichibelo sithuba umqondo ckhinyabeza okuhle kunakhokonke
ezinhlosweni zikaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne~Afrika zoguquko.
Abakhulumeli bakaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika sebefinyelele
ekukuphimiseni, nokho, ukuthi sidinga uhlelo olusha lwezombus=
sazwe laphe bonke abantu beyomelwa khona. UMnu. de Klerk

no Mnu C.J. Heunis sebayalikhombisa, okungenani, ithuba lckuthi
-bangase bazithambise izintamo zabo. Lesi sichibelo esisha
ngeke sibe ukuthela utshwala cbusha ezimbizeni ezindala.
Siyofana nokuthela ukhonkolo uqobo lwawoc kulezozimbiza. Nxa
lesisichibelo esisha semukelwa, kuyoba sekwenziwa isigalisc
sokunpenisa abantu abaMnyama kuXhabhinethi. Xayikho into
engaphuirelela ukungehlukanisa naleliKhabhinethi elikhona
ukwedlula ukukhonjwa komuntu cMnyama ukuba ascebenze kulo.

Kukhona impi evutha uphondo yokuzuza imiqonde kulelizwe

ngakho ukughubeka kobuthutha kwezombusazwe eQenjini elibusayo
lamaNeshinali kunikeza ukusizakala ezitheni zakho nasezitheni
zami futhi kuyasinyundela endaweni esimi kuyo. Into eyodwa
esingenayo kwayona kulelizwe yisikhathi. Ngisho noma besingas=
qala manje ukwenza lokho okufanele ukwenziwa, kungafana nokuthi
sihamba emcathweni owesabekayoc wesikhathi. VYileso naleso
sinyathelo uHulumeni asithathayo sokweseka lesisakhiwo esi=
khona noma ukuzama ukusichibela ezenzweni ezingafezi lutho
zokusenza sifaneleke, kudla isikhathi esikhulu kanti kasisenasc.

Ngesinye isikhathi ngiye ngingazi noma ngizabalazela impumelelo
okuyothi nxa iphetha ngokufika - njengoba iyophetha ngokufika

ndkanjani.....onv.7138

nakanjani - ifike seyedlulelwe yisikhathi. Ngikugonda kahle ukuthi noma yini uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ayenzayo kulomhlanganc ohlangeney> wePhalamende, iyockwandulela llokho azokwenza okhethweni-jikelele oluzayo. Nxa uHulumeni egcize= lela ukuchibela lesisazkhiwo esikhona manje kulesisikhathi esibucayi kangaka singaba nesiqiniseko esipheleleyo sokuthi

uzoya kothungatha elinye igunya elingasizi lutho futhi kulolu= khetho oluzayo.

Naye uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kufanele ukuba useyaku= bona manje ukuthi userhelelwe yisikhathi sckulungiselela aba= voti igunya elisha okuzodinpgeka ukuba alithunpathe nxa kuzcbas= khona ithemba kwasakhona nje. Lesisichibelo ngokwasc sizodala ukuba abavoti abamhlophe bangabe besanikeza magunya anganhezu kwalawo abawanikezileyo esikhathini esedlule. Kalikho naka= ncane ithemba lokuthi kukhona okusha okungase kughamuke kulo= lokhetho oluzayo nasembusazweni oyolandela ngemuva kwalo.

Nxa loluvalo lufakazeleka, sengathi uNkulunkulu angasisiza sonke.

Owakho ngeqiniso,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
UNdunankulu WaKwaZulu
nonguMengameli WeNkatha

Mhlonishwa Somlomc, kangazi ngempela ukuthi kuzokwenzekani ngisho nasesikhathini esiseduze esizayo embusazweni waseNingi= zimu ne-Afrika. Ngumuntu oyisithutha esikhulu ngokombusazwe ongenza sengathi uyazi. Engikwaziyo nje mina yikuthi isimo esihlambulukileyc eNingizimu ne-Afrika siya ngokujula; siya= Âhula isimo esihlambulukileyo nokuthi kukhona okuzodingeka ukuba kwenzeke esikhathini esiseduze esizayo noma kamuva.

BB Z 1. ps s ns /139

Kanpazi ukuthi uzocbayini umrhumela wa lesisimo esibucayi
e51khona ebuholli beQembu llamaNeshinali. Ngomgondo owodwa
iziqu zaJantu abathintekayo kulesisimo esibucayi ebuholli
kazisho lutho° Yuhlelo oluncenuva kwe21qu zabo okuyiyona=

nto esemqoka. Kukhona uhlelo olusebenzayo eqenjini lamaNeshinali
futhi lolohlelo luyoschenza neish© noma kungathiwani. Ngakho
nginokudabuka ckukhulu ukubona ukuntuleka kwesithunzi nokuzwa
ukukhuluma okuiula kckuzifunela amathuba kwezinye izinto ezi=
shiwo ngoMengameli woMbuso, uMau P.W. Botha.

Elami ithemba ngoMengameli woMbuso ngelokuba kuthi nxa sekufika
isikhathi sokuba a ahambe, adedelwe ukuba lokho akwenze ngesithunzi,
futhi anikezwe ithuba lokwengeza isithunzi endleleni yakhe
yokuphuma. Ngiyenyanza kakhulu imibiko yezinhlelo zokusakaza
izindaba ethi mina sengithe ngiqoka ukusebenza no Mnu.F.W.

de Klerk kunc Mnu.P.W. Botha. Kangikaze ngiyisho nanini into
efana naleyo. Kuyinto engahlangani ndawo nohlobo lomuntu
enginguye ukuzigaxa ohlotsheni lwezimo - ezintula 151thunzi ezi=
nye izipaba zezinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba esezizame ukuzidala.

Ngisho noma umuntu angasibheka kanjani lesisimo esibucayi esi=
khona ebuholli beQembu\201 lamaNeshinali, umuntu uyazi ukuthi
ugugjuko selusemoyeni. Mhlonishwa Somlome, kakubanga yisikha=
thi eside ngemuva kXwesenzo esishagisayo sokudicilelwa kwethu
phansi yiQembu le-Labour Party liyojoyina jPhalamende engu=
Nxantathu, lapho ngaphawula khona ukuthi ukhetho oluhlelelwe
u1989 luyoba yischlo esiqopha ukwehlukana kwezindlela lapho:
kuyoba khona ukuzihlela nokuchena kabusha emhlathlani yombu\200\224
sazwe waseNlnplz1mu pe~Afr1ka°

Ngiyasichitha isichibelo esiyofaka uNggong qoshe oMnyama ku=
Khabhinethi yaseNln0121mu ne-Afrika ngoba lesosichibelo kasi=
scna 151ch1belo esigopha ukwehlnkana kwe21n41ela. Ngeke

ngisisekele...../140

ngisisekele isenzo sanoma yimuphi umuntu oMnyama ongase emu=
kele ukukhonjelwa esikhundieni sokuba nguNgqongqoshe WweKhebhine=
thi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika njengento efanelekileyo. Lesosi=
nyathelo ngeke senziwe sibe yinto eseMthethweni yizehlo eziyo=

landela.

Kangisho lutho ngoMnu. F.W. de Klerk ngaphandle kwalokho esengi=
vele ngikushilo, ukuthi kungimangaze ngendlela engithokozisayo
ukuphumela obala amemezele ukuthi akakaze enziwe ilunga lomhla=
thi csabambelele ezindleleni zakudala (verkramp) eQenjini
lamaNeshinali. Xufanele enze lokho azinqumela khona njengo=
mholi wezombusazwe ngakho thina siyomahlulela ngalokho akwenzayo
manje.

Kangisho lutho ngo Mnu F.W.de Klerk nxa ngithi ubuholi bezo=

mbusazwe buyinto eyisimanga. Nxa isikhathi sesilungile, isimo
esibucayi sidaia abaholi. Kakusho lutho kimi ukuthi lowo=
mholi ungubani, kepha ngikholwa yikuthi isimo esibucayil iNis=
ngizimu ne-Afrika engena kuso, siyisimo esijulileyo isiphetho
saso okufanele ukuba sidale abaholi. Noubani owaziyo, lowo=
mholi kuncase kube nguMnu. F.W.de Klerk, kepha ngisho noma ngabe
ngubani lowo uyogala ukuhlahla indlela entsha eqonde endaweni
eyehlukileyo. Kangikwazi kwakhona nje ukucabanga ngeminye
iminyaka emihlanu ychlobo llombusazwe womhlophe nomhlophe,
noma uhlobo ulufanayo lombusazwe womhlophe nolnyama.

Ngizoqgaphelisisa lolo nalolo auquko ezehlweni ezizobakhona
kusukela manje kuze kuphele wonke lonyaka. Ngibona okwenele=
yo ukuba kungenze ngexwayise ngokuthi abanye bethu isimo
sizobaficezela bebhadzela. Siphumelelile ukuhlala ngaphandle
kohlelo lwephalamende enguNxantathu. Siphumelelile ukuhlala
ngaphandle kweMikhandlu Yezifundazwe (Regional Services
Councils). Sihlanganye kuphele ku-Joint Executive Authority

BMEODA o vesnoes/141

ngoba lokho bekuyisinyathelo esighelelanayo nalokhu uhulumeni
azama ukukwenza futhi singene kuwo njengentc yesikhashana
ngenkathi sisalinde ukuqhubekela eMikhandlwini ohlanganyes=
iweyo Oshayumthetho (Joint Legislative Boddy) esifundeni saKwa=
Zulu neNatali. v

Sikugodlile ukuzimbanlakanye nePhalamende enguNxantathu,

iMikhandlu Yezifunda kanye neMkhandlu Kazwelonke, njengoba
sakugodla ukungena eMkhandlwini~ WabaMnyama Wokweli~\2011lekas
iKomindi yeXhabhinethi kanye neNkundla Yokubonisana, ngoba
sasazi ukuthi ukuzimbandakanye kwempela kuzofika.

UMhlonishwa uNggongcoshe weMfunde naMasiko, uDokotela

u-Dhlome , kanye noMhlonishwa uNggongcoshe Wezempilo,.uDokotela
u-Mdlalose ,bebemele iNkatha eNdabeni yaKwaZulu neNatali futhi
sebabika eNkatheni nasemalungeni aleNdlu ngomsebenzi owenziwa
eNdabeni. Inkatha yaba nesandla nayo ekubonisaneni kokuphothula
iziccomo zeButhelezi Khomishani.

Ngaloluhlobo lwezindlela hesilola izimpenscla zethu zombusazwe
sihlolisisa nohlelo lombusazwe ongase usetshenziswe yoguquko.
Sibenenhlanhla ukuba sikwazi ukwenza lezizinto sibambisene nabanye
nokuba sibe nelinye ithuba lokusizakala ngokusebenza nezi=
ngewepheshi zomthetho wesakhiwo.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, uHulumeni
waseNingiziru ne~Afrika wacela iKhomishani Yomthetho (Law
Commission) ukuba ihlole udaba lwamalungelo amadlanzana
nesidingo soMthetho ocacisa amalungelo abantu (Bill of Rights).
IKhomishani isiwethulile umbiko wayo ngakho ngokolwazi loki~\201qala
esilufumana ezinhlelweni~\200\231 zokusakaza izindaba, iKhomishani -
njenge~ Buthelezi Khomishani kanye neNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali -
iphethe ngokubuyela esidingweni sikahulumeni wohlelo lwevoti
ngomuntu (one-man-one-vote).

Lezizinto . ves /142

-142-

Lezizinto nzizisho ngoba kukhona zonke izinkomba zokuthi sizoficezeleka sibhadazela nxa singaghubeki nokulcla izimpe=nsela zethu zesakhiwo nokucabanga kwethu kwezombusazwe. Nxa kufika isikhathi sokubonisana kwempela, thina ngakolwethu uhlangothi kufanele lesosikhathi sisifice sikuhlomele futhi sikulungele ukubonisana - ockungaphezulu kwalokho - kufanele sikulungele ukuthatha indawo ephambili sihole ukubonisana.

Njengoba ubukhulu bamaqoqo ckubonisana kuyodingeka ukuba bulinganiswe, leNdlu njengeNdlu kufanele ibe nemibono yayo ngekusasa lesakhiwo saseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Amalunga aleNdlu kufanele ukuba akwazi ukuthatha indawo yawo enamandla emiphakathini yasemakhaya awo nxa amaxoxo ckuthuthukiswa kwesakhiwo esesiwa kubantu. Lokhu npgizokwenza nakanjani

mina njalo nje lapho ngizifumana khona ngisembusazweni wokubonisana ezingeni likazwelonke.

Mhlawumbe kufanele ukuba ngabe senza okungapheiulu,kwalokhu esesikwenzile ukulungiselela abantu impikiswano yesakhiwo esibonakala isiseduze manje. Kunamahubo amaningi okuzishaya izifuba ngokuthathwa kukahulumeni ngabavukeli bembuso futhi kunamazwi amaningi akhulunywa kalula afana naleli elithi â\200\234uhulumeni wabantu" okudala ukuba ukubonisana nabantu kube=sencozini yckudidwa yilaba abaqubula iziqubulo zemfundiso esekela inkolelo yabo.

Ngikholwa yikuthi imiqondc yethu thina esikuleNdlu kufanele

ipxile esakhiweni futhi kufanele sizilungiselele ukuba sikwazi ukumelana nanoma iyinhi impikiswanb ngokwethembeka. Ngikholwa yikuthi sonke kufanele sihlanganyele indlela uMkhandlu -aKwaZulu Oshayumthetho othatha ngayo : izindaba zesakhiwc eziyisisekelo. Ngakho ngicabange ukuthi kufanelekKile ukuba ngethule lokho izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni esezikuphakamise njengo=holo lwabo macondana nempikiswano yesakhiwo.

Izithunywa,..../143

Izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni zikhinhe umbhalo onesihloko esithi "Uhloko Lwesakhiwo Olugondene NelMingizimu Ne-Afrika Yentando Yeningi" (Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa). Pagoke ukusekela ukucabanga kwabo ngesakhiwo kulokho okuhlinzekwa yi-Freedom Charter eyakhiwa e-Kliptown ngo-1955. Kufarele kuthokozelwe lokhu ngezinga elithile ngoba kungokokugqala ukuba i-ANC ikhombise ukuzimisela ngokughelelana nokucabanga ngombuso yeqembu elilodwa futhi manje sebekhiphe umbhalo we-ANC okhombisa ukucabanga okusha ngenqubo yomnotho wezwe osingethwe ngulombuso njengento engenakufezeka.

Lombhalo ufanele uthokozelwe futhi ngoba kungokokugqala ukuba izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni zikhiphe umbhalo lapho

bezama khona ukuhlanganyela embusazweni okhona lapha ngaphakathi. kulelizwe. Lombhalo ungumbhalo abazama npawo ukuqomisa ukusekelwa. Kulombhalo kabasho lutho ngokuthathwa kwemisebenzi yezomnotho ngumbuso. Kabasho lutho futhi nganoma yini engasiphazamise

noma ngubani Baphakamisa umbhalo ongase usho izinto ezshluke

neyo kubantu abehlukeneyo ube yizinto zonke kubantu bonke.

Lokhu kukhombisa ukuthamba emoyeni wabo wezombusazwe okuyinto efanele ukuthokozelwa .

Sengikushilo lokhu, ngifuna ukubuza imibuzo emibalwa. Okokucala, kukhona umbuzo wokuthi ikulungele kanpakanani i-Freedom Charter ukubta ngumbhalo oyisisekelo sengqondo yesakhiwo. Labo abayibhalayo ngo-1955 babengahlose khona ukuba ibe yilolohlobo lombhalo. Yayibhalwe njengombhalo onombono okwakungase kuhlangelele kuwo amalunga ezinhlangano ezehlukene ezazihlanganela ukuzosebenza embusazweni wokubas

mbisana (alliance politics). Ngo-1955 lorbhale waphakanyiswa njengefulegi lokuthula phakathi kwezinhlangano futhi uyisimemezelwe senjongo eyodwa. Ngiyaphinda ngithi kwakungeyona inhloso

ukuba usetshenziswe njengohlelo lokugcina llwalokho okuzokwenziwa ngokwesakhiwo.

I-ANC yazilimaza ngokuhlala ighelelene nezinto ezenzeka kwezombusazwe lapha ngaphakathi isikhathi eside kakhulu

ngoba, ngokusho kwabo, ukuziraxa ekuphikiseni ubandlululo ngendlela yentando yeningi kwakuzobanyundela emsebenzini wabo cphambili wokudala nokuthuthukisa umzabalazo wezikhali.

Nxa sikhuluma ngokwezombusazwe, bezilimaza bona ncaiokhu kuzikhetha kwzbc. ngemuva kweminyaka yawc-1976-78, banala ngokuxhamazela ckukhulu befuna intuba yokungena ekuzimbanda= nikanye nalokho okwenzekayo ngaphakathi.

Baguqukela ku-Freedom Charter bezama ukuyivusa bayikhinhe emgedeni lapho eyayisilele. khona izintuli. Ngaphambi kwalokho i-ANC yayingakaze iyiphathe nje indaba ye-Freedom Charter. Yayithathwa njengombhalo oseedlulelwa yisikhathi owabhalwa ngamashosheczela nawo umlando owawusuwashiye ngemuva. Noma kunjalo, bawuvuselela wona lombhalo wabe usuba yuphawu olupha= mbili Jobambiswano llwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU. Nxa ngingaphawula okunye nje okuseceleni Mhloaishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahlonis= phekeleyo, labo ababambelele ku-Charter nalabo abangakhcelelwa ku-Charter babesebegala ukubanga bodwa embusazwe wabaMnyama, ngakho ukuphakamisa i-Freedom Charter njenconhawu kwase

kuba yinto eyenzelwa ukuba kucace kahle ukuthi umuntu ugoka luphi uvhlangothi kulempikiswano nokuba kubonakale ukuthi

nxa cchema ngzkuleoluhlangothi uqondene kangakenani nesimo.

I-Freedom Charter kwakungahlosiwe ukuba ibe yuhlelo lokugcina lwalokho okuzokwenziwa maqondana nesakhiwo ngakho kakufanele ukuba isetshenziswe njengohlelo lokugcina lokuzokwenziwa esakhiweni. Noma kunjalo, akesibheke amaphuzu abekwa yi-ANC ngaphansi kwezihlck ezimbalwa.

UMbuso:

Ngarhansi kwalesisihloko bathi uMbuso kufanele kube nsumbuso

owodwa ohlangeneyc futhi kufanele kube ngowentando yeningi ongenalo ubandlululc lwezinhlanga. Abantu baycba phambili

embusweni...../145

eMbuswenl futhi kuyoba no: khandlu owodwa cshayumthetho

kepha kufanele kuhlinzekwe ukudluliseiwa kwamandla. Bathi bayogugulwa abzbusi bohlanga namakhosi. Ivhuzu lokugcina abalibekayo nganhansi kwesihlcko soMbuso sifundeka kanje: "Zonke izinhlelc zikahulumeni, ezihlanganisa ezobulungiswa, ezokuphepha nanabutho ezemni kuyomela abantu bonke, kuhlelwe futhi kusebenze nrsendlela yentando yeningi, futhi kuzinikele

ekuvikeleni inigomc yesakhiwo."

Ngicabanga ukuthi cisho wonke umuntu onzafunda lamazwi angaba nalomgondo owangifikelayo wokuthi athatha izinto kalula futhi kakukho lapho engasetshenziswa khona. KXakukhc lutho ngempela umuntu angaxabana nalo kulokhu abakusho ngoibuso kuze kufike lapha. MNpaphansi kwesihloko: "Ilungelo lokuvota" lapho wonke umuntu oncumvoti eycba nelungelo lcokumela ukukhethelwa kunoma yimuphi umkhandlu oshayumthetho. Kasixabani ngalutho nalokhu. Kasixabani nralutho futhi namazwi athi kuyoba nophawu olulcdwa lobuzwe kubo bonke abantu baseNinsizimu ne-Afrika. Npeke futhi

ngikusekele ukucugulwa kwababusi bohlanga namakhosi ngaphandle & i 4 > ~ Â¢

kckuta ngazi ukuthi bayoguqulwa benziwe izilwane zaluhlobo luni.

Npaphansi kwesihlcko esithi "Umthetho Ocacisa Amalungelo Abantu Mezenzo Ezicondileyoâ\204¢ bathi uyobakhona uMthetho ccacisa amalungelc abantu osekeleke ku~Preeiom'ChartÂ¢r nokuthi kuyoba npulMthetho ccacisa amalungelo abantu cvikela ilungelo loruntu ngamunye. Ngaphansi kwalesisigaba banamaphuzu ama= ningi agondene nckugedwa kokuhlululwa kwabantu ngezinhlanga zabo, ukugedwa kokungalingani enhlalweni yomphakathi nakwezo= mnothc okudalwa yikuhlululwa kwabantu ngezinhlanga zabo nokuqedwa kobandlulule lwezinhlanga eithethweni. Eqinisweni konke kuyinhlanganisela eyinyule nje yezindaba eziqondene namalurrelo obuntu nokuchithwa kobandlululo lwezinhlanga. Kasixabani ngaluthce nalamaphuzu, nokho.

Noaphansi....wd.=: /140

Ngaphansi kwesihlcko esithi "Ezomnotho' habeka amaphuzu amabili okufanele ngikhulume ngawo. Bathi "UMbuso uyoba nelungelo lokunquma isimo-jikelele okuthubeka kuso impilo yezomnotho

ucacise umise nemidiyo yamalungelo nezibopho ezigondene nobunikazi nokusetshenziswa kwamandla okukhiqiza." Okwesibili bathi "Isigaba esizimeleyo (private sector) siyoba nesibopho sokubambisana nombusoc ekufezeni izinjongo ze-Freedom Charter ekuthuthukiseni inhlalakahle yomphakathi.â\204ç

Nathi ngokwethu kade singene sathi shi ekucabangeni ngesakhiwo kuButhelezi Xhonmishani naseNdabeni yaKwaZulu neNatali. Noma nguhaniâ\200\231 onolwazi ngempikiswano yesakhiwo angakutshena ukuthi ziyisife esinengozi esabekayo phakathi kwemicabango okungacas=tshangelwa phezu kwayo. Zinokuncezwakali kepha ngesikhathi esifanayo zicije kangangoba ziyodala ukungethembi okujulileyo. Nxa nje uthi umbuso uyoba â\200\230melungelc lokunquma isimo-jikelele okuyosebenza kuso ezomnothoâ\204ç kufika isigidi semibuzo emqondweni.

Liyokwehluka kanjani lelilungelo elungelweni elifanayo elisebenza kwelaseFulansi, eJalimani, eNgilandi nakwezinye izindawo.

Ukuthi kukhona mnqondo muni ngemuva kokusetshenziswa kwaleli=lungelo kuyokweyama ekutheni ngubani olisebenzisayo. Lingase lisetshenziswe ngumbuso wobuKhomanisi obunqgala buka-Marx

noma lisetshenzisw2 ngumbuso ongazimisele ukungena kulokho okwenziwayo kwezomnotho noma ngumbuso ophika ngokuthi inqobo

nje nxa into isebenza ilungile.

Bathi isigaba esizimeleyo siyoba nesibopho sckubambisana

nombusc ekufezeni izinjongo ze-Freedom Charter. Lokhu kungus=Sumpumpelana kwezombusazwe bezimfundamakhwelc zombusazwe ezi=khuluma _i-\202kanje. â\200\230I-Freedom Charter kayizange izethwese umse=benzi wokudala izinjongo ezifanele ukuqhutshwa yisigaba esizi=

meleyo, kuhlancene noMbuso. Lokhu kucabanga kuyehiuleka ukuqonda isimc soMbuso. Kuyehluleka

Bktigonda. Ju. ... /147

ukuqonda ukuthi yiziphi izinto umbuso oyoziithatha njengezinto ezirhuthumayo nxa uzosebenzela ukucabanga ckubanzi okuqukethwe yi-Freedom Charter. Loluhlobo lokusetshenziswa kwe-Freedom Charter kuyoyincintsha umoya kuyibulale. Amanye amavhuzu abekwa rgaphansi kwalesisihloko esithi "Ezomnotho" kunezi=s rkomba ezincane kakhulu zohlobo lwezomnotho ckukhulunywa ngalo

Ake ngithathe iphuzu lokugcina nje abalibekayo - â\200\234Impahla yokusetshenziswa ngumuntu iyovikelwa ngokweszkhiwe.â\200\235 Nxa silubeka eceleni nje udaba olusohala olucgondene nokuthi yini ngempela evikelwayo ~ yimpahla noma ngamalungelo empahleni = leluhlumvu lwenzeza umqondo osabekays ohlamvini oluthi uibuso uycha nelungelo Ickunquma isime -jikelele ckusebenza kusc ezomnotho. Xusho ukuthi uwnotho uyoba naluhlobo luni lwengxenywe yolukhululeks kwezohwebo nxa okuyikurhela kwento evikelwa yisakhiwo kuyimpahla enondens nomuntu namalungele okuyisebenzisa na? Ilungelo lokukhigiza kalivikelwe. Lo= mbhalo ulinpana pemvume yckubulala iminotho ngakho kufanele uthathwe nookucanhela nokukhathazeka okukhulu.

Ngaphansi kwesihloko esithi "umhlabathiÂ®, hanamazwi okungekho muntu phakathi kwethu onpafumana irhutha kuwo athi kuyobakhona ukwesulwa kwazonke izithiyo ezisekeleke obandlululweni iwezinhlanga magondana nobunikazi nokusetshenziswa komhlabathi, kepha kasigondi ukuthi bagonde ukuthini ngalamazwi alandelayo: â\200\234Tkufezwa kosuquko skuphathweni komhlabathi ckuhambisana nompome wokwenza ukuqondileyo, ockucatangela izinga lalabo

abaphoqwa ukuba bathuthe ezindaweni zabo.Â® Loluhlumvu lusho hulu nokuncane kakhulu npesikhathi esifanayo lidala ukwesaba ngendlela elingacaci ngayo.

Vouwa ur akathi Xomphakathi anzaXwenza kanjani ukubo=

phezela 18 hi uvhulumeni ezithembisweni zakhe nxa lowo hulumeni uthembise ukwenzani?

Umbhalo. .. i+, . 7148

Umbhalo urhetha ngokuthi kuyobakhona - umbhalo ovikela amalungelo ezisebenzi, ukuthi abesifazane baycaba namalungelo alinbanayo nokuthi kuyovikelwa amaluncolo omndeni, ahazali nezmoane°

kokugcina bathi iNingizimu ne-Afrika iyoba ngumbuso ongahla= ngene neminye ozinikele emigomeni yezimiso zeNhlangano Yobunye Be-Afrika (Organisation of African Unity) kanye nezimiso ze= Nhlangano Yezizwe (United Nations).

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kangenzanga lutho olwedlula ukunilunguzisa nje kancane kulombhalo futhi kangenzanca lutho clwedlula ukubuza imibuzo ethile ngawo. Lokhu engikwe= nzileyc ngikwenzele ukuba nginenze nazi npalombhalo nokuba ngiginiseke ukuthi thina esiluleNdlu kufanele siwuhlcisise nokuthi sid
Mhlawumbe 1
ukuthi ubani utheni ngani magondana nalombh

inca ukuba nempikiswano ngemininingwane yawo.
e

3
i

Ndiu kudingeka ukuba jkhethe iKemindi elizoqg linisa
lo

i
ibese ucutshungu=

lwa ugondaniswa nezimpikiswano ezisekela imigomo equkethwe

yizincwadi zeButhulezi Xhomishani kanye neziphakamiso zesakhiwo zeNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali esesizisekelile thina ngozomgomo.

Wehluke nggani lombhalo emibhalweni esesizisekelile thina ngo= komoomo, ngahe uyingozi noma ngabe udidekile nje ekucabangeni kwawo noma uyingxenywe nje yemfundiso yamachinga esekela ingubo yababhali bawo? Sidinga ukuba nemibono,; njengoba sidinsa ukuba nemibono ngalowo nalowo mthetho wegembu lama= Neshinali noma ngabe siyawemukela noma siyawuchitha. Kufanele sibe nolwazi. '

Kuze kube yimanye ngisakhuluma ngemicabango ebanzi ngaphansi kwengakithi yamandla empela embusazweni wabaMnyama ngakho manie sengifuna ukubeka lokho engikushilo ngamazwi abanzi ngikugondanise nowethu umlando njengamaZulu ngibuze ukuthi kuyini lokho umlando osilungisele ukuba sikwenze.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo,/149

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ubuZulu bami kabukwazi ukukhishwa kimi ngokubhaxabulwa, kabukwazi ukukhanywa bukhishwe kimi, kabukwazi ukuncengwa bukhishwe kimi futhi ubuZulu bami buyinto ngisho nami engingasozwe ngakwazi ukuyilahla ngisho noma ngingafuna ukuyilahla. Ngeke

ngazi ukuthi ngingaba kanjaningummtu waseNingizimu ne-Afrika onesibindi oscbenzela yonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika nxa ngifana nomuntu ongenabuso ngokwamasiko nomuntu ongelutho ngokomlandoc. Ngumlando ongenze lokhu engiyikho futhi ngupiendo owenze amaZulu lokhu ayikho, ngumlando waseNingizimu ne-Afrika

futhi owenze lezizinto. Ngumlando waseNingizimu ne-Afrika osilungisele leliqhaza esilibambileyo njengamanje.

Umlando wakwaZulu uyingxenye enganakuhlukaniswa nomlando waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. AmaZulu abanesandla ckwakhiweni

kweNingizimu ne-Afrika. Sasikhona sidala izimo lavho

amaNgisi enza khona lokho akvenzayo eNatali naseNtilasifali. Sasikhona ngenkathi kwakhiwa imingcele yeNingizimu ne-Afrika eseNyakatho-Mpumalanga kanye nemingcele yayo eseNyakatho. Sasikhona, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, njengamaZulu sihlanganyela ckubekweni kwezisekelo . â\200\230kuyo= kwakhiwa kuzo amandla omuntu oMnyama entando yeningi ngomuso.

Sengicikeke ngokupheleleyo yilabo abakhonkothayo besihlambalaza ngobuZulu bethu. Kakuwona umbusazwe owenza amaZulu lokhu

ayikho. Xakuwona umbusazwe owadala ubumbano lwamaZulu

olwehlula imizamo yombuso owawunamandla kunayoyonke emhlabeni ngenkathi iNgilandi izobhidliza ubuZulu bethu ngemuva kokusingoba empini yasOndini. Kakuwona umbusazwe owadala amaghawe angama= Zulu aphetha ngokuba ngabaholi bombusazwe. Ngumlando

owaveza zabantu abafana nawo Dokotela Pixley ka-Isaka Seme ekugaleni kwe-ANC endala futhi ngumlando owaveza u-Chief

Albert Lutuli ngasekupheleni kwesikhathi se-ANC endala.

Kakubanga...../150

Kakubanga yiwc umbusazwe owadala ubumbanc lwamaZulu abaholi bombusazwe abafana nami absâ\200\231twazi ukuthembela kulo ngalendlela ngenkathi siphikelele phambili ezinkundleni lapho silwa khona nobandlululo. Ngizizwa ngithwelwe ngamandla obuZulu kulezo="zinkundla. Nxa ngigadla obandlululweni ngenxa yeNingizimu ne-Afrika, ngumandla obuZulu engeza empumelelweni yalawo magas=

iclo.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kungafana nokuthi npibalekela umsebenzi engiwabelwe ngumlando nxa npingazama vkulahla ubuZulu bami. Ngibeka iphuzu lokuthi ngenkathi u-Chief Albert Lutuli. egubuka ethatha amandla ngaphakathi kwe-ANC endala, kwakukhona uhlobo oluthile lokungaphili nzenhlangano. Yayisiphuma esikhathini esimbi kakhulu sekuvela nezimo ezintsha kuyo ngemuva kokuba uMnu. Anton Lembede, ubDokotela Nelson Manaela, ulinu Jordan Ngubane, uMnu. A.P.

Mda, uMnu. Walter Sisulu, uiMnu. Oliver Tambo nabanye besungula

uVukayibambe we-ANC (ANC Youth League). kwakunesidingo

sokuba umfutho omusha wombusazwe osebenza into ebonakalayo ngenkathi i-ANC ikhungethwe yikudideka uhlanganiswe ndawonye unikezwe uhclo. Kwaba ngu-Chief Albert Lutuli owakwenzayo lokhe.

U-Chief Albert Lutuli . wayengasoze akwenza lokho aphumelela ukukwenza ukuba akabuyelanza kulesisifunda seNingizimu ne-Afrika azobutha ukusekelwa yuqugaba phaphathi kwabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abakhuluma isiZulu. Yuhlobo lokusekelwa ngamaZulu akufumanayo okwamenza wehiuka kangaka kwabanye abaholi. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, noma yimuphi umuntu ocubungulayo kufanele akwazi ukubona izinga u-Chief Albert Lutuli agucula nsalo amandla amaZulu wawenza amandla eNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Mhicnishwa Somlomo, kakuwona amazwi obuzwe lana, kakuwona amazwi okuzibona ubungcono, kakuwona amazwi obuZulu. Engiku=shoyo kulingana nokuthi nje noma yinini lapho umlando udale khona ubumbano esifundeni, kusuke kudalwe itshe eliycfakwa

ezisekelweni...../151

ezisekelweni zeNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha. Ngisakukhumbula kahle nje ukuthi ngangizizwa ngilahlekelwe yithemba kangaka= nani ngoMashi ka-1976 ngenkathi ngethula inkulumo yami kukhukhulelangogo womhlangano eSoweto. Ngangazi ngaleyonkathi ukuthi engangikwenza kwakudinga ukwenziwa nakwezinye izingxenye zeNingizimu ne-Afrika. Npabe senginxusa abanye abzholi ukuba nabo badale ezabo iziNkatha ezindaweni zabo. Lokho ngakusho ngenxa yemithetho encnya eyayisivimbela thina njengabantu abaNyama uvkuba sihlancanc ndawonye sidale inhlangano enkulu yentandc yeningi, eyayingase yemboze izwe lonke nnaleyonkathi. Ngangingakwenzi lokhe ngoba ngemukela ukugenjuqenjulwa kweNingi= zimuv ne-Afrika eMnyama ngawobasi bobandlululo. Ukuba abanye abaholi abaNyama bakwenza lckho ngabe sesihambe ibanga elide kakhulu endleleni yenkululekc kunaleli esikulo njengamanje.

Kepha scsiyahlaselwa manje njengombuthe wobuzwe csebenzisa

ukuzazisa ngobuZulu noghutshwa yinhloso yobuZulu yockubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe. Kukhona ububi obuthile ngalokhu kuhlaselwa kwethu kwezombusazwe okusehlisa isithunzi okungishiya nemizwa emibi kabi.

Ngzikugqonda kahle ukuthi iNkosi uCetshwayo waba ngomunye wezas khamizi zokuqala ezintsha zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngezindlela ezininzi. Wasemukela isidingo seNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha lapho izivumelwano zaziyocthatha khona indawce yempi ngaphambili kakhulu kokuba ababhunu namaNgisi asibone isidingo sokuhlangana asebenzele iNinzizimu ne-~-Afrika eyodwa., INkosi uCetshwayo wayengahlose khona ukusabalalisa ukubusa kwamaZulu phezu kwezinye izizwe. Wayehlose ukusebenzisa amandla amaZulu ukuze kusizakale iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha. Umuntu kudinceka ukuba ahlcle imibiko yakhe ayeyithumsela kuHulumeni wamaNoisi ngenkathi esekudinziweni eKoloni nje nokuba ucubungule lokho akushoyo noenkathi eye eNecilandi, vkuze uzwe izwi leNinsizimu ne-Afrika

entsha ayckhuluma ngayo.

Kanginayo.ci. Â«isd 152

Kanzinayc nakancane nje inhloso yokubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe.
Isifiso sokubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe njengomZulu siyinto
yokugcina enczithumayo kulokho enzikwenzayo kepha uvalo

lwalokho luyinto equbukayo njalo nje emiqondweni yabaningi
ezikhathini eziningi. Ezikhathini eziningi kuba yuvalo
olunzacacile kepha kwezinye izikhathi luba yuvalo abaluzwaka=
lisayo futhi kuvamise ukuba lolovalo lusetshenziswe yilabo
abakhanda . amaghinca emfundisc esekela imicabango yabo ukuze

basihlasele ngaio.

Selokhu kwathi nhlo ngenza noma yini engincayenza kunoma
yisiphi isimo ngokuba ngisondele kubafowethu nodadewethu
abasezikhundleni zobuholi kwezinye izifunda zeNingizimu

ne-Afrika. Kusukela ekuqaleni kokusebenza kwami njensoNdunankulu

wakwaZulu , ngazama kudala ubudlelwane phakathi kwabaholi
abalinyama ncaphesheya kweminocela yobuzwe ubandlululo cÂ¶lwas=s
luyidala ukubehlukanisa. Okzkugala ngemuva kco kubonana
kwethu elLandani noNkosinkulu ulMatanzima no-Chief Manzope
ngo-1971 ngakhuluma ngokuba sihlancane ngaphansi kweNyonyana
enzumpheme obambiseneyo (Federal Union) echitha imingcele
yobuzwe. Lokhu kwaba nomphufela weNgguncquthela yaseMtata
ngo-Septemba ka-1973. Ezinsukwini ezimbalwa noemuva kweNgqus=
ngquthela yaseMtata kwakufancle ukuba siphinde sihlancane
futhi nalababaholi e-Bulugha eduze kwase-Monti (East Landon)
eNzgqunoqutheleni esasiyihlelelwe ngu-Donald Woods, ulhleli
we-"The Daily Despatchâ\200\231 kanye nahbaholi be-Progressive Party.
Sabuye sasuncula u-Bambiswano LwabaMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika
(South African Black Alliance) Ondini ngo-Tanuwali ka-1978,
kanye nabaholi be-Reform Party, uMnu. Y. S. Chinsamy kanye
nalowo owayengumholi we-Labour Party, uMnu. Sconny Leon.

Sabuye sajoyinwa kulenkundia yigembu i-Dikwakwentla Party
elaliholwa . nguDokotela Mopeli sabuye futhi sajoyinwa ngus=
Mbutho weNyandza owawuholwa nzudMnu. Enos Mabuza.

Noiluzamile:..../153

Ngikuzamile ngokomthetho nangezindlela ezingaphandle _
kwezimiso zomthetho ukusunsula amazinca amasha okubambisana
phakathi kwezifunila nokuhlela ngendlela enamaghinca.
Ngikuzamile ukuchuba nemisomo ngaphakathi kombusazwe
ohleliweyo esiwusebenzisa ukulwa nobandlululo nrakuzama
futhi nangaphandle kombusazwe ohleliweyo. Ngenkathi thina
njenzabaholi abaNyama, ababevela ezifundeni ezechlukeneyo,
sibonana noMnu. J.B. Vorsternangenkathi sihlancana nolinu.
P.W. Botha nzemuva kwakhe, nrangisathungatha khona ukuba
sisebenzise indlela yobunye, ngaghuba inmigomo yalobubunye
ngemuva kokuba sekucacile ukuthi uMnu. VorsternoMnu. Botha
kabanayo inhloso yokusebenzela neNingizimu ne-Afrika elnyama
ehlangeneyo ngoba emigondweni yabo ukwemukela ukuthi kune=
ningi elingabantu abaNyama kulelizwe kwakuyoba yingozi

17

enzabulala umgomo wabo.
misele mina ukusebenzelana nanoma yimuphi umholi

ngisho noma ngabe noingavumelani kanpakanani
kwenza. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunsa Ahloniphekileyo,

elase-Transkei laba yisifunia sokuqala ukwemukela lokhu okuthiwa
~ yinkululeko esasiyinunusela yiPitoli sonke. Nramphikisa
uNkosiniin u-Kaiser Matanzima enhlosweni yakhe yokwemukela
loluhlobo lwenkululeke ngambharabula obala ngaphakathi
kulelizwe nangaphesheya ngemuva kokuba eseyemukele lenkulu=
leko. Nzangingakwazi ukubambisana naye kulckhu ayekwenza,
futhi ngangingenakumemukela njengomuntu esibambisene naye
kulokhu mina engangikwenza.

Umkhankaso wami wobunye babantu abaNyama wawumi nzindlela yokuthi
kwathi lingavela ithuba lokusebenzelana naye ngaphansi
kchielc laphe ayekuchitha khona ukuqenjuqenjula kweNingizimu
nzagala ngaso lesosikhathi ukusebenzelana naye.
Kwathi laphe uNkosinkulu Matanzima nabanye abahsli abafana
nomufi uDokotela Cadric Phatudi, beqala ukukhuluma noekusasa

inomphe obambiseneyc, ngamisa izindlehe ngalalelisisa.

Sekungumlando...../154

- nari enzabuye noaka

sephalarende enjunxantathu babona ukuthi ab

bahlangane benze ckuthile niokuphikisa lesisakhiwo.

mina nzithunsathe ubunye babantu abaNyama
nremuva kwami kuphala. UDunye babantu abal4
athe kuzozonke izinkalo futhi ngithungathe ubunye
abaf\202nyama obungahlanzanisa nabaholi abaNyama af\200\234ezombusazwe,
dle kckugaphela ukuthi bayangiphikisa noma kabangi=
phikisi nanzaphandle futhi kokuqgaphela ukuthi bangiphikisa
ezinokubonelela noma ezingzaboneleliyo - ukuthi

ngezindlela ezibonelelayo noma ezikhohlakeleyo.

,af\200\234fTKRaf\200\2301W9 mina yikuthi kukhona isikhathi ekusebenzeni
kwezombusazwe lapho kuyini engehluleke khona ukwenza
imi maqondana ncbunye babantu abaNyama
:izama ukuginiseka ukuthi nslyakwenza
llokho ukulinde ni nokuthi kuye kusale ngakubo abanye

abahcli ukuba na babambe elabo iqhaza. Njenzamanjc

a lusabhajwe noakulnu
sokutonana naye ukubea
je ubengakavumi ng

Byami indlela engithatha ngavo izindaba zombusazwe ws
nzeyokuthi bonke abaholi abaifnyama baseNingizimu ne-
kakudingeki nje ukuba bzkhululeke ukuba babekhona 139
kuoxwa kuboniswena khona noekusasa lalelizwe, kepha mina

kvthungathwe ukuba Babekhona lapho nakanjani.
mina ngibonisane ngekusasa leNingsizimu ne-Afrika kusene=

aoshwa zombusazwe ezisemajele aseNingizimu ne-Afrika zezinga

Dokotela Nelson Mandela.

Ukuthungatha...../1

Ukuthungatha kwami ubunye kakukhona ukuthungatha abalandeli.

Ngibeka iNingizimu ne-Afrika phambili futhi ngibeka nezidingo zoMbuso ngaphambi kwezidinso zegembu. Kakuyona inhloso yobu=

Zulu yokubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe okuyiyona engithumayo

mina.

Noma ngubani onobuchopho bokucubungula kwezombusazwe angakwazi ukubona ukuthi kakulona uthando lwamaZulu Ilokubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe olwemukela iziphakamiso zesakhiwo zeNdaba yaKwaZulu neNatali ngokomgomo. Njalo nje lapho bengifumana '

. Xhona ithuba lokubonisana, bengibonisana ngendlela eghelelanayo nethuba lokuba kubekhona isisckelo sobuzwe noma sohlanga okuyo=sckeleka kuso isakhiwo sethu. Kangiyena umZulu ofuna ukubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe mina enzikwenzayo nje yikunikeza iNingi=zimu ne-Afrika ithuba lokusebenzisa amandla obumbano lwama=Zulu ekughubeni imigomo ckungahlanganyela kuyo bonke abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Noiyafisa ukushiyelana namalunga Ahloniphekileyo izinto angizenzayo, Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Ngihola leNdlu ngoba leNdiu ifuna ukuba ngiyihole. Ngibika kuleNdlu futhi selokhu kwathi nhlo ngizama vkwethula kuleNdlu isithombe

esigondileyo nsokuginiseka ukuthi bazi noma yini ebalulekileyo

enziyenzayo noma engiyishoyo. Ngifisa ukushiyelana nani izincwadi engisanda kubhalelana zona noPrcfesa Hudson Ntsanwisi. Ncomhlaka 12 Disemba 1988 wengibhalela njengoNdunankulu wase-Gazankulu, engibhalela ngamaphepha anophawu lukaHulumeni waseGazankulu kanje:

Mhlonishwe,
UKUBONISANA OKUHLANGANYELWEYO: ABAHOLI BEZIFUNDA EZIZIBUSAYO

Sesifinyelele ekupheleni komunye futhi unyaka ngakho sesiphinde safika futhi isikhathi sokuba sibheke emuva ezehlweni ezisemqoka zonyaka ophelayo. Njengoba isimo sibukeka

sithembisa...../156

sithembisa e-South Westen Africa ngalokhu kufezwa kwesingumo seNhlangothi Yezizwe esincunombolo 435 nokuhoxiswa kwamabutho ase-Cubz e-Angola, ngakwezinye izinhla isimo saseNingizimu ne-Afrika sisinikeza ithemba elincane thina bantu abaNyama lokuthi kukhona ubunzcono esisase sibulindlele.

Izinyathelo zoguguko kazikayi phambili nezinketho zawos= Masipala zika-Okthoba kuloleonke elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika zibe nomphumela wokuzuza okukhulu kwezinhlangothi ezisaba= mbelele obandlululweni oludala ezingeni likaHulumeni wase= khaya. 1Inhlekelele yasec-Boksburg cisho ingenye yezinto eziyingozi enkulu elengela ubudielwane bezinhlanga eNingizi= mu ne-Afrika kulezo esesike sazibona kulelishumi leminyaka eledlule, futhi lckhu kwenzeka ngesikhathi lapho sekugalsa uvkufufusa umgondo wokuthatha isimo njengoba sinjalo phakathi kwamalunza omphakathi womhlaba magondana nodaba lonswinyo kanye nokudutshwa kweNingizimi ne-Afrika kwezomnotho. Ukuba lomsanzano bekunzsumsanganc wesikhashana nje bengingeke ngikhathazeke kakhulu. Okubi yikuthi sekubonakala sengathi uvhlangothi olungakwesokudla lombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika cishc kanti lubaluleke kakhulu kunalokho ininci lethu ebelikucabanga.

Kuyinkolelo yami enkulu ukuthi isikhathi sesikulungele kakhulu manje ukuba thina njenpgaholi ltezifunda ezizibusayo ngaphakathi eRiphabhuliki yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika sidale uhla cluhlanges= neyoc ezindabeni ezigondene nesizwe. Ngiyakunxusa kulesisikhathi sikaKhisimuzi ukuba ucabange ngendawo yakho magondana nalokhu. Ngicabansa ukuthi kungaba yinto efanelekileyo ukuba sihlangane sonke enyakeni omusha ngenhloso yokusungula isisekelo esingasukela kuso ndawonye, ngempumelele engcono kunalokhu okwenzekayo njengamanje, sizwakalise imibono yethu magondana nokughubeka kwezinto eNingizimu ne-Afrika, okuyinto engeke igcine ngokusiza unphakathi wethu waseNingizimu ne-Afrika nje kuphela; kepha eycsiza nomphakathi womhlaba. Ngiyazinikela ukuba ngimenme unhlangano wokugala waloluhlobo nxa ukuvumelana kwemigondo kuwescka.

Nxa sengiphetha, ngifisa ukusebenzisa lelithuba ngifisele wena nabantu bakini . uKhisimuzi obusisiweyo noNyaka Omusha onckunethezeka sengathi sonke singafumana ubuhlakani obusha

ngo-1989 wokusihlolausidlulise ezikhathini ezinzima ezisasihla=

leleyo eNingizimu ne-Afrika.
Ngombuliso,

PROF. DR. H.W.E. NTSANWISI
UNDUNANXULU

Ngaphendula kanje:...../157

Ngaphendula kanje:

23 Januwali 1989

Prof. Dokotela Umhlonishwa H.W.E. Ntsanwisi
UNdunankulu '
Gazankulu Government

Private Bag X573

GIYANE

0826

Mfowethu othandekayo,

Ngiyathokoza ngencwadi yakho yomhlaka 12 Disemba 1988.
Kubeyincwadi emnandi ukuyifunda futhi bengilokhu nzicabanga
ngalokho okubhalileyo kusukela ekuyifumaneni kwami. Kangizange
ngiyivhendule ngaphambi kwamanie ngenxa yokubaluleka kodaba
clusencwacini vakho nesidingo sokucabanga nzungdlela ecacileyo
ngethuba lokuba thina njensabaholi bezifunda ezizibusayo

sidale uhla oluhlangeneyo ezin- abeni ezigondeng nesizwe.

Uyazi wena ukuthi sekuneminyaka eminingi manje ngisekela
ubunye kulokho esikwenzayo. Uyazi futhi nokuthi izithembiso
nezinkulumo ezazandulelayo nsaphambi kokuba uNkosinkuiy
u-Kaiscr Matanzima athathe lesosinyathelo esishaqisayo
sokwemikela lokho iPitoli â\200\230elikubiza "ngenkululekoÂ@ kwaba
yizinto ezenziwa zachutshwa .ukuginiseka nokuzimisela zonke.

Sahlanzana njengabaholi abakhathazekileyo sibonisana ngokugi=
niseka ngezindlela esasifuna ukuzithatha senza nezithembiso
zokusckelana kulokho esikwenzayo ngalokho okwakubonakala kuyis=
kuvumelana kwemigondo. Nzabe konke llokhu kuqiniseka kwasi=
finyelelisa kuphi? Konje kwabakhona kubaluleka kuni ngempela
ckwalkuhambisana nokuvumelana esasicabanga ukuthi kukhona
phakathi kwethu na? '

Lona kokuwona neze umbuzo engiwubuza ngomoya wokunhatheka

kabi. Ngumbuzo engiwubuza ngoba udinga ukuphendulwa ngokus=

ba sibheke ezimeni eziyizo zombusazwe ezazihambisana namas=

xoxo esaba nawo zholela esivumelwareni saseMtata. Sencizi=
buze kaningi ukuthi yini ngempela nxa sikhuluma ngendlela
yesivumelwano sethu esasihleleleks ngayo eyasenza saba yihlaya
elinsaka ekuzcineni. Kwabuye kwaba khona uhlobo oluthile
lckuhlangana kabusha nesinyathelo sokuzama ukufumanana futhi
okwaphetha ngokuba senze izethulo ezihlanganyelweyo kuMengameli
wolMbuso, uMnu. P.W, Botha, ngemuva kancane nje kokuba ethathe
isikhundla njengoNdunankulu. Sacela Isimemezelo Esihlanganyelweyo
Senhloso (Declaration of Intent) ukuze thina njengabantu aba= -
Mnyamsa sikwazi ukusebenza ngokuhlangana nabamhiophe ukuqalisa
uhlelo lokubonisana ngezindaba zikaZwelonke. Kulesisinya=
thelo ngangibona ukuthi sidala uhlobo lwezimo amaxoxo

asc-lMtata ayengenazo. Sasikwemukela sikugondile noma ngenye
indlela, sazi - noma mhlawumbe sazi nje ngezinga elithile -

RIGtRY o, el IEE

ukuthi esikwenzayo njengeqoqo labaholi ezimeni zethu kudinga ukuba kwenziwe kuzwane ngohlelo olucacisiweyc lwezimo eziha=mbisana nokugonda uphawu lwethu lcbuzwe nomgomo wethu.

Ngemuva kwalokho uMenzameli wolbuso akabanga nabunzina ekuzibeni Isethulc sethu Esihlanganyelweyo ngakho abanye abaholi abaMnyama kababanga nabunzima ekuhambisaneni noMenga= meli woMbuso nokuba bazimisele ngokuzwana naye ngenkathi - lokhu kangikushoneze ngenhloso embi - bekhekhezela ngenuva

2

kwakhe endleleni ababefanele ukuyazi ukuthi kayiholeli ndawo.

IKomindi yeKhabhinethi (Special Cabinet Committee) yayino= hlelo lwezimo zikazwelonke abantu abaMnyama ababenokubonisana kuzo. Inkinga kwaba yikuthi kwakungekho kuvumelana kwemicondo magoncdana namandla okunguma abantu abaMnyama ababengathembela kukho nxa sebebhekene nezimc lapho sekudingeka Åhona ukuba bathi sebefike ekuccineni kalasedluli lapha. Ukuntuleka kobumbano phakthi kwabaholi bezifunda, nxa ngingaschenzisa igama olisebenzisayo, kwabiza iNingizimu ne-Afrika intengo enkulu kanti nayo yonke imizamo, ngisho noma yayenziwe ngokuciniseka okungakanani, yaholela kuphela ekwemukeleni ukuthi iKomindi yeKhabhinethi yayingeke ikwazi ukutakula lokho ckudinga ukutakulwa engozini.

kathi konke lokhu kwenzeka kwakukhona ezinye izinyathelo. ba atheko zokusungula ukuvumelana kwemiqondo baholi ngompheme obambiseneyo njenges=

khambi leNingizimu ne-Afrika. UNkosinkulu u-Kaiser Matanzima norufi uDoktela Phatudi babenenkolelo bona yokuthi thina njengabaholi abalnyama sasinokuhlangana nsobumbano lobuzwe . sibhekene nezinsalelo zokuhlela iNingizimu ne-Afrika kabusha esasizidalelwe nguHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokunrena kulesisakhiwo sikaNxantathu ngaphandle kckuboniszna namuntu.

Sahlangzana, namasekela ethu aqala ukuxoxa ngemininingwane yesama nssakhiwo bagala nokucabanga ngemibandela ethinta ukusunsulwa kobunye ngaphakathi kwenhlangano ethile. Kwadingeka ukuba iPitoli limkhombe ngomunwe wokwexwayisa nje uNkosinkulu u-Kaiser Matanzima llimkhumbuza ngezibophc nezis= thembiso zakhe zombusazwe azenza ngenkathi emukela llokhu okuthiwa yinkululeko, wabe eschoxa. Kukhona nolunye udaba olwavela njenpgodaba olusemgoka ngesikhathi esifanayc. Nzithe nxa ngicabanga ngokwehluleka ngomhlangano waseMtata ngicabanga nangendiela ulengameli woMbuso ayekwazi ngayo . ukughubeka nokuziba izethulo zethu ezihlanganyelweyo esazethula luye ngenkathi engena esikhundleni, nalapho ngicabanga ngokuthi

,

iZominci leKhabhinethi yehlukaniswa kanjani nabanye abaheoli nabantu, ngiye ngakubcona uvkuthi ingxenye yenkinga kwaba ngabaholi abnzama ukwenza izinto ezibalulekileyo ezweni llonke ngaphandle kokugunyazwa ngabantu okuyodingeka ukuba babike kubo nzenqu= bekela phambili.

-

Npikubonile ukuthi abaholi abafana nawe nami sinezikhundla ezinhlelweni lapho sifumana khona amagunya kepha nxa sibheka

ckubonisaneni...../159

gkubonisaneni ezingeni likaZwelonke noekusasa lesakhiwo esisha seNingizimu ne-Afrika, sibonisana ngokuguquka kwezimo nemibandela yamagunya esisebenza ngawo.

Ngakugonda lckhu ngakho yikho okwaholela ekusungulweni koBambiswanc LwabaMnyama BaseNingizimu ne-Afrika (South African Black Alliance) okwaku yikuhunyushwa kwamagunya

thina niengabaholi ngamunye esinawo enziwa igunya thina njengabaholi abasebenza ngokuhlanganyela esasingathembela kulo. Kufanele ngikusho ngokudabuka okukhulu ukuthi ngikholwa yikuthi kwaba ngabaholi abalinyvama bezifunda ezizibusayo abehlulekayo ukungena esimeni esisha sokwethembela egunyeni elihlanganyelweyo. f

Lokhu kwenzeka naphezu kokuba umgondo wobumbanc wawusukele kuMnu. Y.S. Chinsamy we~RÃfom Party noMnu.Sonny Leon we-Labour Party of South Africa, nzgenkathi beza kimi Ondini ngoJanuwali ka-1978 bezongicela ukuba ngisungule lolubumbano kanye nabo. Kepha ngendlela ethile uhlelo lwemfundiso esekela imicabas=

- ngo nengubo kaHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika olwalughutshwa yizinhlelo z2khe ezifana ne-S8ABC, yesabisa ngesincanakazana samaZulu afuna ukubusa phezu kwezinye izizwe, ekwaba yinto eyaphumelela kakhulu. Ngakho i-South African Black-Alliance yathathwa njengesikhali samaZulu sokuqonela e2zinye izizwe ngisho naphezu kokuba ngangihlanganyela isihlalo sayo

nolinu. Chinsamy noMnu. Leon (okwabuye kwangena uMfu. Hendrickse) noDckotela Mopeli we-Dikwakwentla Party, konke lokhu kudalwa yilemfundiso kaHulumeni. Uhlaka lwe-South African Black Alliance lusekhona ngisho namanje, naphezu kokudicilelwa kwalc phansi yi-Labour Party, Dikwakwentla Party kanye ne-Nyandza Movement.

Nzak o ngenkathi ngibhekene nethuba lokuba iziphakamiso zifinyelele emazingeni aphezulu emaxoxweni ethu noNkosinkulu uKaiser Matanzima noDokotela Phatudi, ngagonda ukuthi sisa= zobhekana nokunye ukwehluleka ngaphandle kokubz llokhe esikwe= nzayo sikugxilise kubantu. Nzakho ngacela ukuba kwemukelwe ukuthi iziphakamiso esasibonisana ngazo kufanele zethulwe kukhukhulelangogo womhlanganc eSoweto ngaphambi kokuba thina njengababoli sithubekele ekuzemukeleni. Ngikholwa yikuthi nakho lokhu kwaba nawo umnikelo ekufadalaleni kokubonisa. UNkosinkulu u-Kaiser Matanzima waluzwakalisa ngokusobala uvalo lokwemukelwa ngomoya onenzondoc eScweto.

Manje-ke wena cngumfanckiso wokwethembeka kcbuholi obulMnyama phakathi kwethu usuyaphinda ucela ukuba ' "kube nokuhlanganiswa kwezinhla ezindabeni ezithinta izwe lonke.â\200\235 Nami ngiyakulanga= zelela lokhu okucelayo; sengikuzabalazele lokhu okucelayo; sekunezinyathelo esengazithatha ukwenza lokhu okucelayo

kubzs yinto ekhona. Nzikuthatha njengento ebalulecke kakhulu lokhu okucelayo ngakho ngeke ngivele ngiphinde lokhe osekwa= ke kwenzeka ngaleyondlela sisungule into ezobuyc iqumbeke phaasi futhi. Lesisicelo sakho osibhale ngoDisemba wasenza uncenalo ulwazi lokuthi uMengameli woMbuso uzohlatshwe yisifo sokufa kohlangothi ngoJanuwali. Nginokukhathazeka okukhulu

ngekusasa...../1

ngokusasa ngenxa yokuhlaselwa kwakhe yilesisifo sckufa uhla= ngothi. Thina njengabaholi abalinyama kasikakulungeli ukufuqgelwa esimeni esibucayi ezweni lapho iNingizimu ne-Afrika njenge= mbiza ebilayoc iyobila khona Iphuphume icime umlilo lona oyibilisayo.

Selokhu kwathi nhlo ngiyakusho ukuthi lapho izinto ziyogala

khona ukunyakaza zingase zinyakaze ngejubane elisabekayo.

Ezimeni zakwangqingetshe kuye kube khona iziphithiphithi lapho isimo sakwancaingetshe sivuleka khona nalapho sekugijima khona izikhukhula zezehlo okukhululeke kuzo imizwa ebivaleleke isikhathi eside. Ngizitshena ukuthi: Hhiya! nxa singakwazi ukuhlala ndawonye ngaphakathi kwesimo sakwangqingetshe siyophume= lela kanjani ukubambana ndawonye emagagasini ezikhukhula

zezehlo cziyoba neziphithiphithi lapho kubhoboka khona

jsimo sakwanzqingetshe na?

Nginikeze abafowethu engingathembeka kubo; nginikeze abasilisa nabesifazane encingakholelwa kubo; nginikeze isiginiseko sckuzinikela ohlotsheni lobufowethu esifanele ukuba nabo thina njengamadodana namadodakazi e-Afrika ubusunginikeza ikusasa esingaya kulo sihleka ngenkathi silwa impi nemimoya enamandla.

Ngumgondo walento esifanele ukuba sikhulume nangawo futhi.

Ungonde wokukhuluma ngasese, ekufihlekeni ungase ube yiphutha ngokupheleleyo. Yimuphi umgondo ofaneleyo ukuvala isikhala sisungule lokhu ocela ukuba sikusungule na?

Ngiyaphinda ngithi ngeke ncilithinte igeja mina ngaphandle kokuba noiginiseke ngokuthi indima sizoyilima siyiqede. Ngeke ngibhndazele ngizame lokhu nalokhuya. Esifanele ukukwenza manje kufanele kube yilokho okuzokwelapha; kufanele kulungise umonakalo odalwe yikwehluleka kwethu kwesikhathi esidlule; kufanele

kufunde olwazini lwethu;; kufanele kube yisenzo esithile salokho mhiawunbe esesingacabanga ngakho 'mjengokunikezwa kwabaMnyama amandla.â\200\235 Ngikuqgonda kahle ukuthi scnke esisemsebenzini

wobuholi ezingeni lesifunda esizibusayo sinemisebenzi esemthe= thweni edingwa kakhulu ngabantu lapho sibenzela khona konke okusemandleni ethu ngenkathi beshisa umzabalazo wenkululeko yeNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngumthwalo onzima lona esiwethweswe ngumlando. Sinakekela uqugaba ngenkathi abanye kubenelisa ukusizakala ngokuhlupheka kwalo nokulusebenzisa njengokudla kwezinganono. :

Ngabe kukhona iphutha yini endleleni izinto ezihlanganiswe

ngayo lapho lomsebenzi esiwenzayo ungakwazi khona ukuhlanga= niswa nohlobo lomsebenzi odingekayo ukusungula izehlo ezithis= nta izwe lonke. Yilokho iningi ngaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika neningi elingaphandle kweNingizimu ne-Afrika elikushoyo. Bayasichitha thina njengengxenywe yochlelo, Sesikucabangisise iancakanani thina ukungqubuzana phakathi komthwale wokwenza konke ckusemandleni ethu esimeni esighubekayo nokwenza lokho esinokukwenza ukuguqula sona isimo na? Kangikholwa yikuthi imisebenzi elindeleke kithi yokwenza lokho esinokukwenzela

abaltu. /161

-161=

abantu ngenkathi sizabalaza iyashayisana ngempela nalokho
esifanele ukukwenza uku-202ala izchlo zithinta izwe lonke.

Ngabe kangikwenzi lokhu engikwenzayo njengamanje ukuba bengikholwa
yikuthi vlungaubuzana kulezizinto kungaba nomphumela chbulala
umzabalazo. Kasikwazi, nokhono, ukuyithatha kalula ingczi
yokughubeka nokuthathwa komzabalazo njengendlela yempilo
eNingizimu ne-Afrika eiinyama

Ngiye ngingazi nje ngesinye isikhathi ukuthi singekusho yini
ukuthi abasekudingisweni abahola imizamo yokuvukela umbuso

nabo kabakangeni yini ekughubeni indlela yempilo engukulungi=
selela lokho okungasce kwafika. Isifo engikhuluma ngaso kakusona
isifo esingaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika nje kuphela.

Ungengeza kulokhu ubuchapho obuthi ungakhathazeki ngami

kimi kusalungile.

Wena ungumfowethu emzabalazweni. Sesinyamezelele. into
efanayo. Sithiywe ngumbusazwe ofanayo. Sihlanganyela i
ipvhupho elifanayo. Ngengeza esicelweni sakho ngokuthi kufanele
sisukume manje ngoba kanplawo nakancane nje umgondo wokuthi
kukhona omunye oyosukuma ngaphandle kwethu.

Iminyaka yawo- 1950 ngiyikhumbula ngesizungu esikhulu. Iminyaka
yawo-1960 ngiyikhumbula nfoku-202amala okukhulu njengoba ngangis=
lindele u-Oliver Tambo nabanye ukuba benze okuthile. Iminyaka
yawo -197z ngiyikhumbula ngentukuthelo enkulu njengoba kwabhe=
duka indluzula eNingizimu ne-Afrika abafowethu nodadewethu
abasekudingisweni baficezeleka bebhadzela bengalindele.

Kuze kube yiseminyakeni ephakathi nawo-1970 ngangazi ukuthi
ngibambe iqghaza esikhathini soguquko emlandweni waseNingizi=
mu ne-Afrika nginethemba futhi lokuthi izithunywa ze-ANC
ezisekudingisweni zizoghamuka nokuthile. Xugoshwe phansi
ebhukwini lloMkhandlu waKwaZulu Oshayumthetho eliqopha izwi
ngezwi (XwaZulu Government Hansard), lapho ngikhuluma khona
elikhandlwini, ngithi i-ANC IYONA nhlangothi yenkululeko
yeNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Mfowethu , baghamuke sebexhomondela izinto ngethemba lokuthi
bazoba ngabholi besizwe abangaphikiswayo. Kufanele sibhekane
nalokhu nxa sikhuluma ngokusungula ubunye phakathi kwethu
njengabholi bezifunda ezizibusayo. Izoba namnikelo muni
wokudala ughekeko imimoya eqhamuka ezithunyweni ze-ANC
ezisekudingisweni efugelwa phakathi kwethu ukuzosighekeza

phakathi ngenkathi, nxa ngilinganisa nje isekela uMnu. Enos
Mabuza ibe inukubeza mina na? Sen iyacikeka manje ukusetshenziswa
niengento yokubhaxabulwa yuhlangotil olungakwesobunxcele
nohlangothi olungakwesokudla.

Kusekuningi okudinga ukuba kucatshangwe ngakho, ngakho bengi=
cabanga kakhulu ngalokhu selokhu ngi-200\234umane incwadi yakho.

Ngiya21 ukuthi isimo sakwanggingetshe iNingizimu ne-Afrika ekuso,
siyisimo u-Oliver Tambo ayingxenywe yaso. Ngabe uyaphi nje;

WenzZanisstnasaoa /162

wenzani; buphi ubuholi bakhe? Wenzani nje ukuba isimo

sakhe sivumelane nalomgomo omusha woguquko welase-~Rashiya
(perestroika) na? Uyivuselela kanjani i-ANC esekudingisweni
njengombutho uguquka nesikhathi na?

Kusekuningi okudinga ukuba kucatshangwe ngakho, kuningi kakhulu
ngakho ngidlulisela lemicabango embalwa ukukutshena ukuthi
ngiyv:thoke incwadi yakho okuthi ngiyithatha njengento
ebs. .leke kakhulu ukuba ingathathwa kalula. Siyakudinga uku=
khuluma, Mfowethu, kepha into eyodwa engineginisc ngayo
yikuthi kufanele sisigweme isimo lapho kuhlangana khona
ikomindi ukucubungula ithuba elilodwa kwayisithupha enlicihe
ngokudala amanye ayisithupha kepha lidiule lingazi ukuthi
lizogoka liphi. Kufanele sisigweme isimo lapho kuyosungulwa
khona ikomindi eyophetha ngezitatimende ezinobuthutha ezinga=
sizi muntu. Ngisabuyela kuwo amazwi ami okuthi esikwenzayo
manje kufanele kube yisenzo esinikeza abantu abathiyam2 amandla.

Owakho ngeqiniso,
- MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

UNdunankulu WaKwaZulu
Nonguiengameli weNkatha

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, incwadi engayi=
bhalela uProfesa Ntsanwisi ngayiphetha ngamazwi athi sengibus=

yela emazwini ami okuthi esikwenzayo manje kufanele kube

yisenzo sokunikeza abantu abaMnyama amandla. Ngamathuba

amandla okufanele adalwe. Kangiliboni ithemba lokudala amathuba
amandla ngaphakathi kohlelo uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika azimi=
sele ukuscbenzelana kulo nathi, Ngayithokozela kakhulu incwadi
kaProfesa Ntsanwisi njengoba ngathokozela ukuvula kwakhe
iNgqungquthela Yonyaka yeNkatha eminyakeni ephakathi nawo-

1978,

Likhona ithemba lobunye phakathi kwezizwe okuyilona elisaphilise

amathemba ami okuthi kangichithi sona isikhathi ngokughuba
umbusazwe wokubambisana. Amandla ngokwawo akaghamuki khona
ekubambisaneni. Ubambiswano lumane lugopha amandla angemuva
kwalaws magogo abambisaznayo. Ngizoghubeka nokughuba imigomo
yobambiswano. Amathemba akhona akapheleli khona ekuhlanganeni
kwe-Gazankulu nelaKwaZulu kuphela.

Sasivele

Sasivele sinobudlelwane obuhlie nomufi uDokotela Cedric Phatudi, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo azokhumbula ukuthi ngabika ngonyaka odlule ngokuhambela llapha Ondini kukalhlonishwa N.M. Ramodike wase~Lebowa. Ngibuye ngathintwa nguMhlonishwa Enos Mabuza, uNdunankulu waKaNgwane. Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo azokhumbula, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ukuthi elâ\200\231hlanganweni Ophuthumayo woMkhandlu WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho, cwawungo-Okthoba ngonyaka odlule, ngabika ukuthi ngengaba ukuya emhlanganweni cwawumenywe

nguliengameli woMbuso lapho ayethemba ukuthi uzokhuluma khona nabobonke abazholi okuthiwa bangabaholi bezabelo._

Ngisho noMnu. Mabuza wangibhalela engincÃnga ukuba ngiye kulomhlango ngakho ngifisa ukuqopha phansi impendulo enga=mpendula ngayo:

7 Julayi 1982

UMhlonishwa E.J. iMabuza Ilunga LoMkhandlu Oshayumthetho
UNdunanku u waKaNgwane

Uvnyango KaNdunankulu Mezomnotho

Private Bag X1001

Louw's Creek

13922

Ngithokoza kakhulu ngencwadi yakho yomhlaka 6 ku-Julayi.

Ngiyaxclisa ngokuthi kuze kube yimanje angikayithumeli incwadi engathembisa ukukubhalela yona Mhlonishwa ngenkathi ngikuthumela i-Telegram ngomhlaka 3Ã¢ ku-Juni. Bengixakeke kakhulu yizozonke izinhlobo zezinto ngaphambi kweNgqungquthela yethu Yonyaka ebingempela viki edlule. Mhlawumbe kwaba kuhle khona ukuba ngingasheshi ngibhale njengoba ngangethemba kuze kube ngemuva kweNgqungquthela yethu. Ngifaka lapha iNkulumo yami engayethula eNgqungqutheleni kanye nezinqumo ezathathwa yiNgqungquthela ezivuselela indawo esimi kuyo kwezombusazwe kuzozonke izindaba esibhekene nazo kulomzuzu njengabantu abeMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Okokugala nje, ngifuna ukuba kuqopheke phansi, ukuthi abantu baKwaZulu kabazikhethelanga ngentando yabo ukuhlanganycla ezinhledWweni ozichaza ngokuyikho njengezinhlelo eczadalwa ngenhlozo yokufeza imigomo yobandlululo. Kwaze kwaba yilapho satshenwa khona ukuthi kasinalo ithuba lokuzikhethela lavho kwadingeka khona ukuba sihloniphe imithetho esungula uhlelo

Iokuzibusa,.....7164

lokuzibusa kwaZulu ngokwemithetho olwasungulwa ngaphansi kwayo. ISizwe saKwaZulu ngokwaso kasigalanga ukuba khona njengomhlathi chlangeneyo ngemuva kokutizilezizinhlelo sezi=phoqeletwe phezu kwethu. Sasivele, njengoba wazi nawe, siyisizwe esinamandla amakhulu kunazo zonke e-Afrika eseNingizimu neseMpumalanga ngaphambi kokuqotshwa kwethu ngo-1879.

Ngiyadabuka ukuthi leliginiso liyochlala lingidalela inkinga mina - ngoba nala ngikhethiwe njengabanye ozakwethu abangoNdunankulu kwezinye izifunda ezizibusayo, ubuholi bami phakathi kwabantu baKwaZulu naphakathi kwabantu abaNyama, kabudalwanga yikho ukudalwa kwalezizinhlelo nje kuphela, Ngakho indlela engisabela nengiphendula ngayo embuthweni wami wabalandeli ingxenye yawo eyadalwa ngumlando wethu owehlukileyo, iyobonakala yehlukile ngezinye izikhathi kuleyo yawozakwethu abakwezinye izifunda. Lokhu kuzokwenzeka nangaphandle kokuba mina ngidale isithombe sokuthi ngiyafuna noma ngayiphi indlela ukuziqhelisa kwabanye abaholi abakweminye imibusc ezibusayo. Ngisekela ubunye babantu abalinyama neokupheleleyo. Yilokhu kuzinikela, ikakhulukazi, okwadala tukuba kubekhona iNgqungquthela yaseMtata ngoSeptemba ka-1973. Ngenkathi abafowethu behlubuka beyokwemukela

inkhu okuthiwa nguzimele .gege, ngaghubeka nabobonke abanye abatowethu zbangayemukelanga "inkululeko" yasePitoli.

Sengike ngaba nakho ukungaboni ngendlela efanayo nabafowethu ezindabeni ezithile ezikhathini ezithile ngaphandle kokuhlubuka kubo. Ngenkathulnu. P.W.Botha efuna ukuba ngiye emhlanganweni wawoNdunankulu lapho ayefuna ukusidayisela khona ngomaondo woMkhandlu wabaNyama Wokweluleka (Black Advisory Council) njengento yokusivala imilomo ngemuva kokushiya kwethu ngaphandle koMkhandlu kaMengameli, ngenqaba ukuya emhlanganweni walolo= hlobo njengoba ngasengivele ngikushilo ukuthi kangizimisele ukuhlanganyela kuwo. Ozakwethu kabazange bakuhumushe ukwenqaba kwani ukuhlanganyela njengokubaphoxa. Ngemuva kwalokhu kwasu= ngulwa uhlelo lwePhalamende enuNxantathu oNdimankulu ababelindes= leke ukuba baxoxe ngayo. Ozakwethu oNdunankulu bahlanganyela ngempela kulawomaxoxo mina ngaphinda ngengaba ukuba yingxenye yanaxoxo eKemindi yeKhabhinethi. Ngangingaqonde khona ukuphoxa ozakwethu ngzlokhu, kepha ngangimane ngengaba nje ukusetshenziswa nguHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukumbhoza ukushiya kwabantu abaNyama ngaphandle kohlelo lwePhalamende enuNxantathu. Ngangingaqonde khona ukuthi ngasengibhidliza ubumbano lwabantu abaNyama oNdunankulu abasebelufenze ngezis= Ngungquthela esahlanganyela kuzo ndawonye.

ngaphambi kwesikhathi soMnu.P.W. Botha, uMnu. W%ster wayeke vaphakamisa ngo-1975 ukuba thinaz njengoNdunankulu sihlale mindini Ephuthumayoc "yckwenza ngeono\200\231\204 yokwenza ngcono uhlelo lwamapasi nomphumela walo kubantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Nalapha ozakwethu oNdunankulu bavuma ukuhlala kulelo Komindi mina ngengaba ukuhlala kulo. Lokhu kwakungasho ukuthi kangisafisi ukuhlala. nabo eziNgqungqutheleni zethu njengoNdunankulu. Ngangingaqonde khona ukubaphoxa.

Ngo-1978 ngacelwa nguMnu. Sonny Leon we-Labour Party noMnu. Yellan Chinsamy ukuba siqgambe i-South African Black Alliance ngakwenza lokho. Sabuye sajoyinwa kamuva yi-Dikwakwentla Party yaseQwaqwa sabuye snjoyinwa futhi kamuva ngumbutho weNyandza. Kangikudingi ukulanda umlando wokuthi ezinye izinhlangano ezazingamalunga zahlubuka kanjani kuloloBambiswano ngoba lokho sekuyudaba lomlandc. Kepha ngenkathi uBambiswano lusasebenza, ozakwethu oNdunankulu bangibuza ukuthi bangeza yini emhlanganweni wethu owawuseBhayi PORT ELIZABETH) . Savuma ukuthi bangeza kepha akekho kubo owezayo ngempela emhlanganweni. @Lokhu kangikusho neze ngomoya wenzondo noma wokuphatheka kabi, - kepha ngikusho njengamaqiniso odaba maqondana nokuzinikela kwami ebunyeni babantu abaNnyama.

Ngenkathi uNkosinkulu K.D. Matanzima engithinta ngo-1983 ngenhloso yokuxoxa nami ngohlelo lukaNxantathu nangenhloso yokuphakamisa ukuba sime ndawonye njengabantu abaNnyama siphikise loluhlelo, ngavuma. Lokhu ngakwenza naphezu

kokuba engangitshenanga ngenkathi emukela "fuzimele geqe" eqinisweni wayengikhohlisile mina nabanye oNdunankulu ngenkathi . simbuza ukuthi amahemuhemu ayiqiniso yini okuthi uzothatha lokhu okuthiwa nguzimele geqe. Ngaphinda ngavuma ukusebenza naye nala ngangingenasizathu sokuba ngibuye ngiphinde ngimethembe futhi. Kwaba nguye futhi nomfowabo okwathi ngemuva kancane

nje kwalokho bangitshena ukuthi i-Transkei kayisakwazi ukuhlanganyela ku-SAFU (South African Federal Union) ngenxa yezivumelwanc eyayizenze noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngenkathi bethatha uzimele geqe.

Saghubeka nokuthintana nomufi uDokotela Phatudi kwaze kwaba sekupheleni kwezinsuku zakhe. U:hu, Ramodike useke weza

lapha naye siyathintana futhi wangitshena ukuthi ulandla ezinyathelweni zikaDokotela Phatudi meqondana nobumbano esaludalayo phakathi kwe-Lebowa nela 204c Zulu. Wabuye wangitshena ukuthi = ufuna ukuthinta azbanye oNdun . 200\230wulu ukuze kubekhona ubumbano phakathi kwabo ezindabeni ez 200\231 ' ekene nabantu abaNnyama. Ngavuma ukubambisana naye ekuthungatheni loluhlobo .. lobumbano phakathi koNdunankulu. MNgiruna ukuphinda ngisho vkuthi ngizimisele ukuphakamisa nokukhuthaza ubumbano naphezu kwendlela erazombezombe esesiyihanbile.

Sengimazisile uMnu. Heunis ukuthi ngeke ngibekhona eNgqungqu= theleni ayimemele umhlaka-C1 ku-Agasti. Kangiboni ukuthi kufas= nele ngani ukuba ngiye emhlanganweni ngiyosho ukuthi ngenqabe= lani ukwemukela isimemo solMnu. Heunis. Lokho kakuhlangene nzkancane nohlelo lwemisebenzi yami oluminyene kakhulu kule= nyanga oluhlanganisa nohambo lwaphesheya

Ngiyafisa nokho ukushiyelana nawe ukuthi kangibonanga ukuthi kwakudingeke ngani ukuba ngikhohlise abamhlophe baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngithi bangakwazi ukuphumelela embusazweni wokulawula abanye abantu kulezizinsuku nakulesisizukulwane. Xangisazi= misele ukunyamezelela leyondlela yocbuholi. Ngashageka ngenkathi ngibuka uhlelo lomhlangano. Okokuqala nje ngase ngikucacisile kwiKhabhinethi yaKwaZulu ukuthi udaba lwamaholo nezinkokhelo

zamalunga eMikhandlu Eshayumthetho nalabc abaphethe izikhundla zombusazwe yudaba loMkhandlu WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho hhayi uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngasebenzisa umbono wokuthi singazingumela amaholo ethu njengoMkhandlu Oshayus= mthetho ngisho nakulezi zi-R20C0 000 000 esinazo esabelweni sethu ezimalini ezingena ngemithombo yethu.

Sesivele siyicacisile imibono yethu yokuthi kasiyemukeli iMikhandlu Yezifundazwe (Regional Services Councils) sizi= sukele ngokwethu sasungula uMkhandlu OÂ»l-nganyelweyo

(Joint Executive Authority) ndkhaondlu weSifundazwe saseNatali. Ngibuye ngabona neNdaba Enkulu (Great Indaba nma ulkhandlu Kazwelonke (National Council) nakho kuyingxenye yohlelo lomhla= ngano. Naloludaba yudaba imibono yami esiyaziwa kahle ngalo manje. Kangibonanga ukuthi yini engabe isasele esadinga

ukuba ngingene emaxoxweni ngayo noNgqongqoshe. Engikubona kuyishwa futhi yikuthi ukuxoxa ngalezizinto kwenzeke ngesikhathi kunemithetho yesimo esibucayi. Kangisho ukuthi ngilindele amalunga ezinhlango eziyi-'7 ezivaliweyo ukuba ahlanganyele eNgqungqutheleni yaloluhlobo ngoba bayckwenqaba ngisho nomna .bangacelwa . Kepha kangikuthandi ukunikeza isithombe sokuthi naphezu kokusebenza kwemithetho yesimo esibucayi, kube sengathi kakwenzekanga lutho nje umsebenzi usaghubeka njengoba unjalo phakathi kwami noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngeke ngibabambe gama ozakwethu oNdunankulu abazoya eNgqungqutheleni ngomhlaka-1 ku-Agasti. Yingakho nje nginikeze umbiko ojule ngalendlela = walokho okwenzekileyc esikhathini esidlule nesizathu esingenze ngengaba ukuya kuleNgqungquthela.

Nginomlando wokuzinikela ckuginisckileyo eBunyeni babantu aboMnyama njengoba sengichazile. Bekungu-Okthoba wonyaka

odlule nje laphe ngathumela uMhlonishwa uDckotela Dhlomo

nabanye ozakwethu abathathu e-Landani ukuze bayohlansana noMnu. Thabo Mbeki namanye amalunga esigungu sezithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni. Lokhu kwakulandela uhlelo olwalwenziwe nolinu, Mbeki, kepha kakukho noyedwa ku-ANC owafikayo kulowomhla= ngano . Lokhu ngangikwenza ngenkathi umkhankaso wabo

wokufeza ukunukubeza isimilo sami nokungibulala ususesiqongweni sawo. Kangikaze ngizibone mina noma iNkatha ncma iSizwe saXwaZulu sikwazi ukudala inkululeko yeNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama ngaphandle kokuhlanganyela kwezinye izinhlangano nangaphandle komnikelo wabaholi bakwezinye izifunda. Kanginakho ukudideka fgalokho. Ngiyazi ukuthi imfundiso yamachinga kaHulu= meni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika isiphumelele kangakanani ukudida abanye abafowethu nxa besigxeka thina njengamaZulu nsokufuna ukuqonela abanye abantu abalMnyama ngenxa yobuningzi bethu ngesi= halo. Ngihlale ngikusho mina ukuthi lokhu kukhombisa ukuthi zibehlula kanjani izibalo labo abangosomagginga bakaHulumeni abakhanda lemfundiso ngoba amaZulu akazedluli zonke ezinye izinklanga eziMnyama nxa sezihlanganiswe ndawonye ngesibalo futhi kababedluli bonke abany~ abantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abaNyama nabamhlophe nxa sebhlanganiswe ndawonye. Lokhu ngikusho ukuze kungabikho kudideka ngokuthi ngima kulendawo engimi kuyo ngoba ngiziqhubela lokho okuvuna izidingo zami ngedwa,

Ngiyethemba.

Ngiyethemba ukuthi lokhu kuzobacacela kahle nabanye abaholi
ongase ushiyelane nabo lokhu okuqukethwe yilencwadi yami
nxa uthanda.

Ngikufisela okuhle kodwa,

MANGOSUTHU G.BUTHELEZI
UNDunankulu NonguMengameli weNkatha.

Mhlohishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kuphezu komqo=
ndo obanzi walokhu ebengikusho nesidingo sokwakha amandla
empela ombusazwe aqondene nesimo sempela sombusazwe kulelizwe
engifuna nanje ukuphawula phezu kwawo ngezindlela ezilandelwa
ngumbusazwe wabaMnyama. Ngicela ukuba imigondo yaMalunga
Ahloniphekileyo iphinde igxile emcabangweni oyisisekelo engi=
wubekayo wokuthi amandla empela ombusazwe angamandla ombusazwe
ahambisana nomlando hhayi amandla_aphambana nomlando.

Umlando wase-iAfrika ese-Ningizimu usuguqukela ukubaluleka
kwezisekelo zokuthula zamandla. Ngumbusazwe wokubonisana
oyongoba ekugcineni. Siyophumelela uykuqondana nesimo kulo=
khu kunqoba nxa sesakhe izisekelo zamandla okuhlanganyela
kukho. Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuba abafowethu nodadewethu abaningi
kangaka abasemzabalazweni wenkululeko badideke ngezinto
eziningi kangaka . Umzabalazo wenkululeko bathatha bawenze
umdlalo wamaphupho abo nje noma bawenze inkundla yombusazwe
yokubheja lapho bezifunela khona ukwandisa amathuba abazizus=
zela wona ngaphandle kokuzikhathaza ngemiphumela yalokho emzabala=
zweni uwonke. Ukusizakala kweQembu ikhona okubekwa ngaphambi
kwezidingo 7oMbuso. Ngumhlaba odala ukudideka lowo okungena
kuwo abadlali abasha bezombusazwe futhi ngumhlaba odala ukudi=
deka kwezombusazwe kulabo badlali abadala abangena Kkuwo ngo=

kwesibili.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, sisazobona ini=
ngi lalabo abehlulekayo ukubona lapho izindlela zomlando.
ziphambuka khona sebengena ngokwesibili esimeni sombusazwe
waseNingizimu ne-Afrika sebefuna nokubuyela enkabeni yomzabalazo.

Kuzovela. .. w. /168

Kuzovela izimo ezintsha ngokuphceleleyo emzabalazweni hgenkathi

impumelelo yokubonisana izuza impumelelo, futhi kufanele kukhumbus= leke ukuthi kayikho into ephumelela njengempumelelo. Nxa kukhona into esinokuyenza ukubhekisa imiqondo yabantu ezindleleni eziyizo zokucabanga ngombusazwe wempela namandla empela pmbusazwe, kufanele siyenze leyonto. Ngokuphumelela kwethu ukwenza lokhu kuyosebenza kangcono nokunqoba neNingi= zimu ne-Afrika ivikeleke kangcono ngemuva kokungotshwa kobandlululo. Kuphezu kwalomgondo-ke engifuna ukubika

ngawo ngencwadi engethuke sengiyifumana nje ngingayilindele jvela ku-Archbishop Denis Hurley. Lencwadi ifundeka kanje:

20 Mashi 1989

Ndunankulu Mangosuthu G.. Buthelezi
IHhovisi likaNdunankulu

Ulundi

3838

Ndunankulu Othandekayo,
ISINYATHELO SOKUTHULA

Ukukhathazeka okujulileyo okuzwakala kuzozonke izinhlangothi maqondana nendluzula eqhubekayo eNatali sekudale umcabango wokuba kuphindeâ kwenziwe omunye umzamo wokudala ukuthula.

Lesisinyathelo singahlanganisa:
14 kusungulwa kweKomindi Labahlanganisi (Committee of Convenors) eliyothwala umsebenzi wesinyathelo;

ukusungulwa kweqoqo lamalungiselelo eliyosebenza ngaphansi kweKomindi labakhathazekileyo (Committee of Concern) ukwenza wonke amalungiselelo adingekayo;

ukubanjwa kweNgqungquthela yosuku olulodwa eqondene nezindaba ezithile ezicaciswe kahle;

okwethenjwa ukuthi kuyohlelela ckuzinikeleni ekuthuleni; nasekulandelweni kwalokho kuzinikela ngendlela ehlelekileyo.

Laba abalandelayo sebekwemukele ngokomgomo ukusebenza keleli= Komindi Labahlanganisi:

UProfesa

U-Profesa Nyembezi
U-Profesa A. Thembela
U-Profesa P. de V. Booysens
UMfundisi S. Mogoba
UMBhishobhi Michael Nuttall
UMnu. Harry Gwala

UMnu. Chris Saunders
U-Archbishop Denis E. Hurley

Kwenziwa nemizamo yokuthinta u-Profesa Nkabinde kepha uku-
khonjwa kwakhe bekungakaqiniswa.

Kucatshwangwa ukuthi lababantu ababalwe ngenhia bayomukeleka
njengabaholi besinyathelo sokuthula emagenjini asesimeni
sokungqubuzana.

Kepha nxa unganefisc sokwengeza amanye amagama amabili
noma amathathu kulcluhlu, siyothokoza ukuwafaka nawo.

Ngingathokecxa ukufumana lamagama kusenesikhathi sokuba
kubanjwe umhlango wokugqala weKomindi Labahlanganisi
ngoLwesihlanu iomhlaka 31 ku-Mashi 1989 eHhovisi leSifunda-
Bhishobhi, ku-154 Gordon Rozad, Ethekwini, oyocqala ngo-2
ntambama. : : ;

Ngethemba ukuthi isinyathelo njengoba sichazwe kafishane
ngenhla sizckwemukeleka kuwe sifumane nokusekelwa nguwe,
ockusobala ukuthi kuyadingeka emsebenzini waloluhlobo.
Ngikunikeza nesiqiniseko sezilokotho zami ezinhle enkathini
yePhasika. :

Sengiyema ,
Owakho ngeginiso,

DENIS E. HURLEY

U-ARCHBISHOP WASETHEKWINI

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, kufanele ngiwazise Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo
ukuthi ngaba nokukhungatheka npenkathi ngifumana lencwadi.
Ngomgondc cbalulekileyo lencwadi yayingibeka enkingeni.

Ngase ngivele nginqume ukuba kusungulwe isinyathelo esikhulu
sokudala ukugedwa kobutha bendluzula kwelaKwaZulu naseNatali.
Ngase ngivele ngizihlelile izisckelo zendlela entsha senginqumile
nokuthi kufanele ngethule lokhukucabanga kwami kuleNdlu ukuze
ekushiyelaneni kwethu imicabango eyisisekelo, icijwe kahle
ukuze kwengezwe kuyo ubuhlakani babantu.

Manje~ke ngemuva kokufumana lencwadi ka-Archbishop Hurley,
kuzobakhona labo abazokwenza iphutha lokucabanga ukuthi

ngimane...../17C

ngimane nâçibanga umsindo nje wokungafuni ukwedlulwa yilabo
abacabange lesisinyathelo u-Archbishop Hurley asedlulisela
kimi. '

Kayikho into ekude neginiso ukwedlula lokho. Kangiï-\20lagendi
amagende mina ngezimpilo nezitho zalabo ababhajwe kuloluhlobo
lwendluzula embi nenyanyekayo esiyibone isabalala nazozonke
izinkalo zendawo yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo.

Sebeke babakhona abantu abebeginiseke ngokupheleleyo emizameni
yesikhathi esidlule yokudala ukugedwa kwalobubutha. Ngica=
banga, nje, ngokuginiseka kwalabc ababekulomzamo eNhlanganweni
Yabahwebi baseMgungundlcvu (Pietermaritzburg Chamber of
Commerce) . NgicabÃnga ngokuginiseka kwabanye kulabo abases=
zinhlangothini zombili zamaxoxo engabanawo no-Archbishop
Desmond Tutu kanye nabanyÃ ngomhlaka 6 kuNovemba 1987.

Kepha ukuqiniseka kuye kwakhcomba. isidingo esikhulu sobuhlakani
kunanoma yini enye. Ukuginiseka okuncbuthutha nobumpumpelana
kuyingozi. Ukuainiseka kudiha ukuba kwenziwe kusebenze,
kudiha ukuba kube nolwazi, kudiha ukuba kuqondane nesimo
njen-oba sinjalc futhi kudiha ukuba kusebenze kuyoyonke
imikhakha eqondene ngempela nesimo.

Naphezu kokuginiseka engithi kwakukhona phakathi kwabanye

kuzona zombili izinhlangothi kuzozonke izinyathelo zokuthula,
izinyathelo zokuthula esesike sazibona kuze kube yimanje

zonke ziphelele ekubeni yimihume yokushovuzana nokukhuluma
ckungenanphunela. Besengivele ngikunqumile ngaphambi kokuba

ngifumane lencwadi evela ku-Archbishop Hurley ukuthi kufanele sehlukane
nalendlela yokusebenza ngemihume yokushovuzana nokukhuluma nje
kuphela. Ngikholwa yikuthi isinyathelo esimenyezelwa ngu-
Archbishop Hurley sisengozini enkulu yokuba naso siphethe
singenye inkundla yokukhuluma njec.

Kulesisinyathelo..... /171

Kulesisinyathelo kuphakanyiswa ukuba kusungulwe amakomindi nokuba kubanjwe izingqungquthela. â\200\234'xa ubheka amagama abantu abacelwe ukuba bahlale eKomindini Labahlanganisi, uzofumana ukuthi kakubona abantu abangene ekungqubuzaneni lapho kwenzeka khona ngempela nabanye abantu okuyibona abafanele ukungena bzhlanganyele kulesisinyathelo.

Kasizidingi iziNgqungquthela "ngezindaba ezithile ezicaciswe kahle". Sidinga ukuhlanganisa esikwenzayo lapho izinto zenzeka khona. Imizamo yesikhathi esedlule yokudala ukuthula endaweni yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo yehluleka ngenxa yokuba lingazange livele ithuba lokufumana labo abathintekayo lapho kwenzeka

khona izinto - kuhlangene nabaholi babo besifunda nabaholi bakazwelonke - ukuba bahlanganyele nalabo ababhekene nabo

lapho kwenzeka khona izinto nabo behambisana nabaholi babo

bezifunda nabakazwelonke.

Ngikholwa yikuthi isinyathelo seNhlango yabahwebi base=Mgungundlovu sahlangebezana nokubhadazela okukhulu kuloludaba lwabaholi be-UDF ne COSATU bakazwelonke abangebona abantu abathintekileyo. Sesikubone kaningi ukuthi nxa sikhuluma nabantu abasemazingeni aphezulu ku-UDF abafana noMnu. Archie Gumede, ongomunye wabengameli bakazwelonke, noma lapho sikhuluma no-Archbishop Tutu ongcmunye wabakhuseli be-UDF, sikhulumz nabantu abangenalo igunya. Nxa sikhuluma nabantu abasezingeni eliphansi enhlanganweni, sikhuluma nabantu abangenamandla. Sesikufumane kaningi ukuthi abantu abafana noMnu. Archie Gumede kuthi nxa kufika ekuphethweni komhlangano bathi kuzodingeka ukuba babuyele emuva bayobikela inhlangano yabo. Sihlale-ke silindele izinyanga kungenzeki lutho ibese kuthi llckho obekunokwenziwa kuphenduke into engasenakwenzeka.

Nxa sibheka izinyathelo esizithathe ne-COSATU esivumelwaneni sethu njengomzamo wokunganda indluzula, nalapha uphinde uhlanga=bezane nesimc esingacacile ngendlela esabekayo esidala izithiyo ezesabekayo. I-COSATU kakuyona ephambili kumashoshozela

asebenzisa...:..../172

asebenzisa indluzula ukubulala amalunga eNkatha. Kusobala ukuthi amalunga e-COSATU ayangena kulendluzula kepha i-COSATU njengenhlangano kakuyona eholi indluzula enkundleni yendluzula. Eginisweni igijima ngemuva njengohla lwesithathu obambiswaneni lwe-ANC ne-UDF. Ekugcineni i-ANC kayibanikezi abasebenzi iikululeko yabo. Ifuna ukusebenzisa abasebenzi ngezizathu ze-ANC. Kayinikeli ngakho ukusetshenziswa kwe-ANC ukuze kusizakale izidingo zabasebenzi.

Sengakusho obala ukuthi i-ANC ne-UDF badinga ukusisekela isivumelwano se-COSATU neNkatha nokuthi kufanele basisekele ngenhlanganisela esebenzayo yabaholi bezinga lasekhaya, elesi Funda, elikaZwelonke nabaholi abasekudingizweni. Nakho-ke manje sengifumana lencwadi evela ku-Archbishop Hurley cekhomba ukuthi sekuke kwabakhona uhlobo oluthile lckuxoxa ngasese esingazi ukuthi bekuphakathi kobani lapho bekuzanywa khona

ukufeza into esingayaziyo kusetshenziswa igama lokugedwa kobutha. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kangikwazi ukwenza isilinganiso camakomindi angenabusc asebenza ngasese aghamuke esesethulela izimo ecczincunyiwe futhi eghamuka nezinhlelo ezingathi nxa zicutshungulwa ngempela zikhombe ukuthi ngeke ziphumelele ngoba zifana kakhulu nalokho osekuke kwehluleka ngaphambili,

Nxa â\200\230wusesimeni sami lapho kudingeka khona ukuba uhole abantu, kufanele uthathe izingqomo umi ngamazonzwana. Isikhathi

okufike ngaso lencwadi engiyifumane ivela ku-Archbishop Hurley sibeyinkinga naso ngokwaso. Ifike ngenkathi leNdlu isaguqile futhi iphakamisa umhlangano obekuhlongozwa ukuba uhlangane ngenkathi iNdlu isaguqile. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngihola leNdlu ncoba ngigunyazwe yileNdlu

ukuba ngiyihole. Bengingeke ngikwazi ukuthatha isinyathelo sckusekela lesisinyathelo noma ukusichitha lesisinyathelo ngaphas= ndle kokubonisana naMalunga aleNdlu.

Kuyakhanya-ke

Kuyakhanya-ke ukuthi bengingeke ngikwazi' i-\201kus@kela ukubanjwa kwalomhlangano obuhlelelwe uLwesihlanu, lomhlaka 31 kuMashi. Kuyacaca ukuthi ngiye ngaphogeleka esimeni lapho kudingeke khona ukuba ngikusho ku-Archbishop Hurley ukuthi besengivele ngingume ukuthatha izinyathelo ezithile nokuba ngimnikeze

ingqikiâ\200\230chi.yalezizinyatheloÂ° Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Armalunca Ahloniphekileyo, kangibanga nayo enye indlela ngaphandle kokuba ngimphendule u-Archbishecp Hurley kanje: :

28 Mashi 1989

. UMhlelelwe Denis E. Hurley, OMI
Archbishop of Durban
Archdiocese of Durban

Diocesan Chancery

54 Gordon PRoad

Durban

40C1

Mhlelelwe,

Ngiyathokoza ngencwadi yakho ongithumele yona ngocingo lwe-Fax ngomhlaka 22 kuMashi. Ngifuna ukukunikeza lisiqiniseko skugalen i njâ@ kwalencwadi ukuthi ngingaye ngifinyelele. lapho kuphela khona umhlaba nxa kudingeka ukwenza okuthile okunckwenziwa ukudala ukugedwa kwaloluhlco lwendluzula oseilulimaze umzabalazo womuntu oMnyama wenkululeko kangaka

endaweni yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo nakwezinye izindawo.

Ngingasekela noma yisiphi isinyathelo esinamathemba okufeza ukugedwa kobutha nokubuyiselwa kchleobo lwesime lapho uqugaba lwabantu lukhululwa khona ukuba bazabalaze balwe nobandlululo nokuba bazabalaze nanoma ngubani abafuna ukuzabalaza naye nokuba basebenzela noma iyiphi inhlango abaqoka ukuyisebenzela.

Uyakugonda ukuthi isinyathelo osimemezelayo silandela ezithendeni zezinye izinyathelo esezehluleka. Kufanele sikhubekele phambili kunokubheka izinyathelo osekuke kwazanywa ngazo ukuthulisa indluzula enâ\200\235awenii yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo. Wena, Mhlelelwe, uyakwazi ukwehluleka okwalandela umhlangano wami naye kanye nabanye ngenhlekelele yaseLamcanti ngo-1984 kanye novalo lokubheduka kwendluzula lapho.

Uyazi ukuthi ngomhlaka 6 kuNovemba 1987 mina kanye noDokotâ@la Oscar D. Dhlomc, uMnu. Rowley Aremstein nabanye ozakwethu eNkatheni szhlala amahora amane eSontweni laseWeseli naye Mhlelelwe, u-Archbishop Desmond Tutu, uMbhishobhi Stanley Mogoba,

okunguyena...../174

okunguyena Mengameli weSonto laselWeseli e-Afrika eseNingizi=
Montgomery - uMenganmeli

mu njengamanje; uMfundisi P.J. tac i
weSonto lase-Presbyterian; noMfundisi R.L. Steel - uSihlalo
we-Congregational Church. Nalowo mhlangothi kawubanga nampho=
mela. Uyazi ukuthi izinyathelo ezehlukeneyo esezithathiwe

lapho mina namalunza eNkatha sahlalanyela khona ezazihlanganisa
noDokotela Khoza Mgojo, owayengulengameli weSonto laseWeseli
e-Afrika eseNingizimu ngaleyonkathi, egameni loMkhandlu
WamaSonto waseNingizimu ne-Afrika (South African Council of
Churches) ; lomhlangothi wawungo- Febhuwari ka-1988 nomunye
owawuhlanganisa iNhlangothi Yabahweni yaseMgungundlovu nawo
owawungoFebhuwari ka-1988. Uyawazi umkhosi ebengiwuhlaba
ngiphindelela ngicela ukuthula endaweni nemikhosi engiyihlabe
emazingeni aphezulu eANC, UDF kanye ne-COSATU ukuba nabo
banganiswe ezinyathelweni zokuthula. Uyazi ukuthi sangena
eSivumelwaneni sangokomthetho esiphakathi kweNkatha ne-COSATU
futhi uyazi ukuthi sengicela kaningi ukuba i-UDF neANC nabo
bangene kulesiSivumelwano.

Ngakho nxa wena usubhala ngesinye isinyathelo uzokugonda ukuthi
â200\230ngikusho ngani ukuthi ngingafinyelisa ekugcineni komhlaba

' ukwenza noma vini enokwenziwa ukudala ukugedwa kwendluzula
kepha ngibuye ngengeze ngokuthi ngeke ngisavuma ukugaxwa
ekuphindaphindeneni ukwehluleka ezindabeni zokuphila n kufa.
Manje sengifuna into ezosebenza ngakho kangifuni ukungena

kunoma yiluphi uhlobo lwesenzo esingumhlobiso esingenzi
lutho olwedlula ukufihla nokumbhoza emehlweni omphakathi
isihluku sempela sohlobo lokubulala okwenzekayo.

Mxa ngiphendula incwadi yakho kufanele ngisho ukuthi mina
ngokwami nxa sizongena entweni ezosebenza, indlela yokughubeka
naleyonto kakukhona ukuba ngivele ngifunzwe ngento esinqunywe
yaphela efana nalelikomindi elizodalwa ibese kulindelwa ukuba
ngixhamazele ngizama ukuhlangabezana nesikhathi enginqunyelwe
sona engingenakuhlangabezana naso.

UMkhandlu WaKwaZulu Oshayumthetho usaguqile ugugile isikhathi
sePhasika uyoze uphinde uhlangane futhi ngolwesithathu
lomhlaka 5 ku-Aprili. Kangisiyena umholi ophila ngodumo
lwezinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba. Ngiphila ngokusekelwa
ngabalandeli bami futhi nobuhlobo bami bungobentando yeningi.
Kangikwazi ukuthatha izinyathelo ezisemqoka nxa ngingenalo
ithuba lokubonisana nawozakwethu nabalandeli ngikwazi ukugile=
niseka ukuthi ngethula ekuyimibono yabo nokuthi nabo
bazongisekela.

Isicelo sakhe sokuba ngisekele lesisinyathelo esisha kuzodingeka
ukuba ngigale ngesidlo lisele eMkhandlwini WaKwaZulu Oshayum=
mthetho ngibuye ngesidlo lisele eMgwamandeni weNkatha oyoze
uhlangane ngomhlaka 28 ku-Aprili . Ukuze ngiphumelele ukwenza
lokhu, ngiyokhokozaz kakhulu nxz ungaphendula lemibuzo embalwa.
Sidinga ukufinyelela kweyethu imibono ngokufaneleka nokugini=
seka kwalesisinyathelo esisha sizinqumele ngokwethu ukuthi
kunamathemba mani kuba siphumelele.

Imibuzo engiyibuzayo ngiyibuzela ukuba sikwazi ukwenza lezi= zinqumo. !

Okokuqala, sisungulwe nini lesisinyathelo futhi ngobani abasunguli baso?

Okwesibili, ngubani ngempela okunguyeha ocabange waphakamisa lesisinyathelo kwaba ngubani othathe isinqumo sokuhlanganisa iKomindi Labahlanganisi nonqume amagama owethule njengamagama alabo asebenziwe ukuba bajoyine leliKomindi nalabo abebenga= kasemukeli isimemo na? : '

Okwesithathu, nxa uthi ukusekela kwani ''kusobala ukuthi kuyadingeka emsebenzini waloluhlobo" kangifakwanga ngani emaxoxweni abekhona kudalwe yini ukuba ngivele ngeÃ©thulelwe into esinguniwe yaphela na?

Incwadi yakho ingifake ezinkingeni ezesabekayo. Isinyathelo osimemezelayo sifike ngesikhathi sengisezigabeni zokugcina zokuxoxa ngesinyathelo ebengethemba ukuthi ngizosithatha nawozakwethu. Besengifinyelele ezingeni kulamaxoxo lapho sengigale ukuhlala indlela ebengizoyethula eMkhandwini WakwaZulu Oshayumthetho naseMgwamanceni weNkatha. Kusobala-ke ukuthi kakufanele kubekhona phakathi kwethu ozama ukudlala umdlalo kamangingadlulwa ngokuzama ukuba abonakale kunguye osukume kuqala.

Ngifisa ukukunikeza- ukucabanga ngokubanzi okuthwele izibusisc zalabo abasondelene nami engixoxe nabo ngalesisinyathelo ebencihlela ukusisungula.

1. Isidingo sezinjongo zesikhathi esiseduze, esiphakathi nendawo nesikude esizayo

Kimi kusobala ukuthi kalikho ikhambi elingumasheshisa lokwe= lapha inkinga yendluzula yombusazwe, noma ngabe kusesiFundeni saseNatali noma kwenye indawo. Kgyangikhanyela futhi ukuthi

okwenziwa yilabo abaphikisa noma iyiphi indluzula kuphetha ngokufana nokushaya umoya nje.

Izinjongo zokuthula kufanele zehlukaniswe zenziwe izinjongo ezincane . ununtu angabanesigiseko sokuzifeza manje ukuze aqongelele lokho akuzuzayo okungase kusetshenziswe kamuva ukufÃ©za lokho okungenakufezwa njengamanje.

Kimi lckhu kusho ukwehlukana esikwenzayo sikwenze izinhlelo eziyosebenza lapho kwenzeka khona izinto zingene enhliziyweni yezindawo ezinezinxushunxushu ezingeni lasekhaya ukufeza imiphumela ezingeni lokugala.

2. Ukugxila ekusebenzeni emiphakathini . ethinteke ngqo

Nxa sizofeza imigomo Ã©miningi elinganisiweyc equaleni emizameni yokwenza lokho okunokwenziwa lapho izinto zenzeka khona, kufanele sidale izinhlelo ezimbandakaye noqugaba lwabantu.

lokhu..ooes./176

Lokhu kubaluleke kakhulu endluzuleni yasendaweni yaseMgungu=ndlovu namaphethelo nendluzula ekwezinye izindawo. ngcoba ukwehluleka kwesikhathi esedlule kukhomba umlando wokuxhumana okubuthakathaka phakathi kwabaholi emazingeni esiFunda nakaZwelonke nabantu laphe kwenzeka khona izintc okuyibona ababulalanayo ngempela.

Kulendluzula esibhekene nayo njengaranje yuquqaba lwabantu abahlala knlezozindawo ababulala. uquqaba lwabantu abahlala ezindaweni zakubo. Yiloluqugaba lwabantu okufanele sise=benze nalo futhi kufanele senze okungaphezulu kokuma kude

nje sishumayeke. Kufanele senze okungaphezulu kokuthatha izingumo ezizwakala kamnandi ezingqungqutheleni zosuku clulodwa.

3. Umkhankaso wokufumana ukusekelwa kwesinyathelo sokuthula

Ngaphambi kokuha labo abasebenza ngokuhlanganyela ukudala ukuthula babe nezwi elihlanganyelweyo phezu kwalokho okuhlangas=niswayo ckuzosetshenzwa ngakho kasisoze sakwazi ukungoba isilingo sckuhlanganyela ezinyathelweni zokuthula ngenhloso â\200\234yokuzuza amathuba amagembu ethu ezombusazwe. Sifuna ukuthula ngoba ukuthula kubaluleke ngaphezulu kwanoma yini esingayi=zuzela igembu lethu lezombusazwe.

Ngokwami ukucabanga-ke ngiphakamisa ukwenza isicelc esikhulu ezweri lonke nasemhlabeni sicele iminikelo emikhulu -engase=tshenziswa ngokuhlanganyela yilabo abasebenza ngokuhlanganyela ukughuba izinyathelo ezingeni lasekhaya. Kufanele nakanjani sifumane ukusekelwa okupheleleyo kwesinyathelo esisighubayo kuyoyonke imikhakha esingethe iminikelo kuwownke umhlaba wamaKhristo. Kufanele sime ndawonye ekughubeni injongo eyodwa, sisekelwa yisikhwama esisodwa esiyoqiniswa ngamasonto amaKhristo abumbeneyo emhlabeni. :

4, Umnyalezo obhekiswe kubantu

Abantu laphe kwenzeka khona izintc kufanele bafakelwe imibiko nemiyalezo ebafundisayo yabahcli abazinikeleyo abasebenza ngokubambisana nabanye abaholi abazinikeleyo. Kufanele

sibe sesimeni sckukwazi ukuthenga isikhathi somsakazo nese=Television, ukuthenga isikhala esikhulu sokwazisa emaphepha=ndabeni, ukusakaza amakhulu ezinkulungwane zamapheshana olkuthula ngezindiza, ukusebenzisa imibhobho mnemiyalezo egoshwe emabha=ndeni emishini yokukhuluma engasiwa kubantu ngemibhobho ethwe=lwe ngamaloli.

5. Isidingo somsebenzi wokugaphela cghubekayo nokuhlinzekwa kobuholi obughubekayo emsebenzini.

Nxa sizoba nomkhankaso wokuthula, kubalulekile ukuba labo abathintekayo baziswe ngokugcweleyo ngokuhlinzekwa ngasosonke isikhathi ngolwazi oluyiginiso. Kakukho muntu okufanele asebenzise ukuphendukezelwa kwamaqiniso emfundisweni elwa noma

ephambana/177

ephambana nazbanye. Ukuthula kuza ngaphambi kwenzuzo ngakho singaphumeiela kuphela ukusehenscla vluthula nxa siwazi amaqinisc okuthi ngubani owathathz siphisinyathelo sokubulala esithathela sizathu sini. :

Maqondana nalokhu kuyangidida wmina ukuthi imizamo yokuthula ingasukuma kanjani futhi isekelwe kanjani ngokugcweleyo ngamalunga . Nkatha ngemuva kweNgqungquthela yezinga eliphezulu yamaphephandaba lapho uMnu. Jay Naideoo, uNobhala Omkhulu we-COSATU, ehlasele khona amalunga eNkatha ewabeka amacala ngeviki eledlule. UMnu. Naideo kubikwa ukuthi ubeke amalunga eNkatha icala lokusehenzeiana namalunga ombutho wamaPhoyisa aseNingizimu ne-Afrika ekuqhubeni indluzula yokulwa namalunga abo esiFundeni saseMgungundlovu. Senziwa isilinganiso ngabammeli be-COSATU kanti futhi eginisweni abammeli be-COSATU bakushilo ukuthi bayazi ukuthi iNkatha nayo inazo izikhalo zaloluhlcho. Babe sebephakamisa ukuthi inkatha kufanele ivume ngokomgomo ukuba lezizinkulumo ziyolalelwa nguMkhandlu Wokwahlulela (Adjudication Board) owasungulwa ngaphansi kweSivumelwano Sokuthula seNkatha ne-COSATU. Saphakamisa ukuthi zombili izinhlangothi kufarele zazisc uNgomgqoshe Womthetho Nokuthula ngoba sasingaboni ukuthi kulungile ukusebenzisa uMkhandlu Wokwahlulela ngalenhloso. Sesiya shageka nje manje ukufunda ukuthi eNgqungqutheleni yamaphephandaba okwakukhona kuyo abammeli be-COSATU, uMnu. Jay Naidoo usibeke lamacala achazwe ncenhla. Lena kakuyona indlela yokughubeka nokuthungatha jkhambi lckuthula lokwelapha izinkinga zendluzula esibhekene nazo. :

Sidinga ukudala imigudu yokudala ukuxhumana lapho labo abanikeza ulwazi bevikeleke khona futhi sidinga izindlela ezisheshayo zokufumana ubuqiniso bezinto ngakho kufanele

noma yini esiyenzayo nesiyinqumayo siyinqumele phezu kolwazi esinesiqiniseko ngalo. Ukwenza izinto phezu kwamahemuhemu angenasiginisckc kuyikusabalalisa amahemuhemu nokuwenza abona=kale eyicininiso emehlweni abantu. Sidinga izikhungo zokusebenzela laphaya vhakathi kwabantu zonke izinhlangano ezihlanga=nyela kulesisinyathelo eziyozenza izindawo eziphephileyo ngemizamo yazo chlanganyelweyo yckusungula lezozikhungo nokuziccina ziphephile. Kufanele kubekhona ukuthuthukiswa kwalemsebenzi okuyokwenziwa ngokusatshalaliswa kwalezizis=khungu ezivhephileyo ngendlela yohlelo oluxhumeneyo iokuphatha. _

6. Ukweluswa kwemfundiso ekhuthaza ukubulala

Kuncane ukungabaza ukuthi imiyalezo esakazwa yizithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingisweni nje, kuhloswe ngayo ukuhlohla intukuthelo yabacindezelweyo ukuze kukhuthazwe abantu ukuba babulale ngezizathu zombusazwe ngaphakathi kchlelo lwalokhu okuthiwa nsumzabalazo wezikhali nalokhu okuthiwa yimpi yabantu

(people's war). Lemfundiso yckubulala kufanele ipheze.

Xufanele kumiwe ngokupheleleyo ekubhecaneni ngodaka obala futhi kufanele kumiwe ekubhokaneni ngodaka ngasese

ngenhloso yokufuna ukusekelwa kwezinhlelo zombusazwe weqembu ngezimali, impahla ncma ubudlelwane. Labo abafuna ukusebenza nami ukugeda ukubulalana kufanele bapheze ukwenza uhlobo lwemisindo yckubulala ekhwezela amalangabi endluzula nakhu= thaza izenzo zokubulala.

Mhlekezisi nxa ngeneliswa yikuthi isinyathelo sakho siyingxenywe yomzamo weqiniso wokudala ukuqedwa kobutha phakathi koMnyama noMnyama endaweni yaKwaZulu neNatali ngezimpendulo onginis= keza zona kulemibuzo yami ephuthumayo, ngingase ngiphakamise ukuhlanganiswa kohlobo lwezinto obuzicabanga nohlobo lwezinto ebezisemgqondweni wami kwakhiwe isinyathelo esisodwa ngalezi= zinyathelo ezimbili ezehlukene ebesizicabanga.

Mhlawumbe lezizinyathelo zombili ziqhamuke ngenxa yokuvuthwa kwesikhathi lapho sekufanele khona ukuba kuthathwe isinyathelo esiphumelelayo manje . Ngiyakholelwa mina yikuthi kunokwenzeka ukuba thina esikulengxenywe yezwekazi lase-Afrika sesisondele ekuntweleni kwesikhathi esisha lapho izinyathelo zokuthula nombusazwe wokubonisana sekugala khona ngempela ukuzidlisela

" ogageni izizathu eziphakamiyiswa yiningi lalabo abaqoka amasu endiuzula. Kungase kwenzeke ukuba kunyundeleke imicabango esekela impi yokuvukelwa koMbuso nokuvukelwa kombuso ngezikhali.

Mhlekezisi nxa lezizinto zingaba yilokho engethemba ukuthi

zizoba yikho, ngikhclwa yikuthi kufanele senze konke okunokwenziwa ukuzenza zibe yilokho ezifanele ukuba yikho. Nxa izinyathelo zokuthula nezinhlelo zokuthula zehluleka ckugcineni, kangifuni ukuba zehluleke ngoba mina ngilahle ithemba ngabikezela

isivhetho sendluzula ngoba sengilahlekelwe yithemba endleleni yokuthula. Ngifuna ukuqghuba indlela yokuthula kuze kube yilapho jzenzo zokuthula zingasenalokho ithubal lgkwenziwa.

Nginokuqaphela ngezizathu esengizichazile ukuthi ubuholi bami kabubona ubuholi bomuntu oholakile eyedwa, bungubuholi obuhlanganyelweyo. Nginyaqaphelisisa futhi ngoba iNkatha seyenze yonke into yazisekela zonke izinyathelo zokugeda indluzula cNatali. Ngikhulume ngaqondisa ekubaleni ezinye zalezizinyathelo kuwe, ezinye zazo wena Mhlekezisi owahlanga= nyelayo kuzo. Ngasayinda iSitatimende wena nabanye ozakwenu abangabuholi beSonto enacela ukuba ngisisayinde ngaphandle kokunqikaza kepha saze sezwa ngemuva kokuba sekwedlule izinyanga vkuthi ne-uJF yasisekela. Kasizange sazi ukuthi ngubani owasisayindayo egameni le-UDF.

Sabe sesisayinda iSivumelwano Sckuthula ne-COSATU ngo-1988. Nalapho futhi abaholi be-UDF bazikhiphela ngaphandle bona kwalesiSivumelwano naphezu kokuba indluzula eseNatali ithinta abasekeli be-UDF neNkatha kakhulu kunamalunga e-COSATU noma abasekeli bayo ngisho nasendaweni yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo nangaphandle kwayc.

Neakho.,iees /179

seluxoxiwe, ngicisho ngibe neqiniso lokuthi iNkatha ingase iphendule kanje:

1. Ukuthi iNkatha kayisazimisele ukuhlanganyela kunoma yiziphi ezinye izinyathelo zokuthula ngaphandle kokuba ibe nesiqiniseko sokuthi i-UDF izimisele ukuhlanganyela ngokugcweleyo kulezozinyathelo. Maqondana nalokhu iNkatha ingadinga ukwaziswa ngabaholi namalunga e-UDF abazohlanganyela futhi ifune isiqiniseko sokuthi labobaholi namalunga bagunyaziwe yi-UDF ukuba bahlanganyele. Nalokhu futhi ngiyaphinda ngikusho ngenxa yemizamo yethu yesikhathi esedlule yokuzibandakawye nabaholi be-UDF ngisho nase= zingeni loMengameli- wabo,uMnu. Archie Gumede.

Liacane futhi ithuba llokuba iNkatha izimbandekanye nezinyathelo zaloluhleobo ngaphandle kokuba. kubekhona ubufakazi bokuthi abaholi bezithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudi= ngisweni bayazisekela. Kufanele kukhumbuleke ukuthi uMengameli wezithunywa ze~ANC ezisekudingisweni, uMnu. â\200\2300liver Tambo wahlaba umkhosi wawubhekisa kubantu abaNyama baseNinzizimu ne-Afrika ' "ukuba benze amalokishi angabusekiÂ¥ Ngingakucabanga ukuthi iNkatha ngeke ibe nentshisekelo yokuhlanganyela kunoma yisiphi isinyathelo ngaphandle kokuba i-ANC ikuhoxise lokhu eyayithuma abantu ukuba bakwenze ngokulandela lezizindlela esengiziphakamisile. Kufanele bavume ukuba bazimbandekanye ngenkuthaloc neNkatha esinyathelweni sokuthula eNatali. Ngaphandle kokuba lezizinto zenzeke, ngikholwa yikuthi amalunga eNkatha azokubona kuyikuchitha isikhathi nemizamo ukuba iNkatha ighubeke nokuhlanganyela kunoma yisiphi esinye isinyathelo.

Ngibona futhi nokuthi nxa lezizindaba sekubanjelelws -kuzo ngendlela eyokwenelisa iNkatha, sesingagala-ke ngaleyonkathi ukukhuluma, nxa ngilinganisa nje, ngabaHlanganisi banoma yisiphi isinyathelo sckuthula. Ngicisho ngibe neqiniso lokuthi iNkatha iyofuna ukuba iBandla laBanhlanganisi bakhethwe yizona zombili izinhlangothi ezisekungqubuzaneni: ngendluzula, okuyubambiswano llwe-ANC/UDE/COSATU ngaso= hlangothini olulodwa kanye neNkatha ngakolunye uhlangothi. Nxa ngilinganisa nje, uMhlekaazi uphakamisa ukuthi nginga= khomba amagama amabili noma amathathu, kulelibandla laba= hlanganisi. Leokhu = kungishiye ngididekile. Xangazanga

noma kufanele ngithathe ngokuthi wonke amanye amalunga asevele akhonjiwe noma akhonjwe yubambiswano llwe-ANC/UDE/ COSATU na? Xungaba nokubonelela nxa ingxenye enguhhafu yamalunga akhethwe yilolo nalclo kulezizinhlangothi

zombili ezilwayo. Kangicabangi ukuthi iNkatha ingagcizelela ukuba labo bahlanganisi kudingeke ukuba babengamalunga

noma ngabantu abasekela olunye lwezinhlangothi ezilwayo, kuphela nje nxa bethenjwa yizona zombili izinhlangothi.

Ngicabanga nokuthi nxa sihllose impumelelo kunoma yisiphi isinyathelo sokuthula lowoc nalowo Mengameli kufanele kuboniswa naye ngokugcweleyo futhi kufanele azimbandekanye.

ngenkuthalo kulesonaleso sinyathelo sokufaka uhlelo lokuthula endleleni. Ngolwazi losekwake kwenzeka esikhathini esidlule iNkatha seyineqiniso lokuthi kakukho sinyathelo sokuthula esiyoke siphumelele nxa siphogelelwa ngaphandle kokubonisana futhi singasukeli khona emalungeni ezinhlangothi ezilwayo. Ngicabanga ukuthi bekuyoba agumcondo cmuhle ukuba wena, Mhlelezi, nawozakwenu aPahlanganisi beniqale ngokuba niluxoxe nami ngokugcweleyo loluhlelo njengoMengameli weNkatha naba=mbalwa kozakwethu eMgwamandeni, ngaphambi kokuba nenze leziphakamiso esezinqunye ezifana nalezo eziqokethwe yi= cwadi yoMhlelezi ayithumele kimi. Bengiyoncoma ukuxoxisana okufanayo nabengameli bobambiswano lwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU.

UMhlelezi ukhulume ngeKomindi Labahlanganisi, wabuye wakhuluma ngeKominid Labakhathazekileyo neXKomindi Lokulungiselela.

Lokhu kufana nohlelo obese lucatshangiwe ngakho nxa sekunohlelo oselucatshangiwe kwabe sekuthathwa isinqumo ngamagama (nguNkululwane= nkulu yedwa owaziyo ukuthi ngobani abanqumayc) alabo abazoba seKominidini Labahlanganisi okuzodingeka ukuba mina ngengeze amagama amabili noma amathathu ohlwini lwawo. Kuyacaca-ke ukuthi â\200\230umuntu lowo amqokayo ukuba enze kuphi kuyoya ngesimo scmsebenzi ozokwenziwa nesimo esinobunzima obuzodingeka ukuba bungotshwe. Kunzime ukuqoka abantu ukwenza esingakwaziyo. Kufanele ngiku= qaphelele kakhulu ukuba ngingaphindi futhi ngihudulelwe

kokunye-@kWÂ\202i\201h Ngeke ngizibeke ezimeni lapho ngiyobona= kala khona njengengwe enganamazinyo.

Mhlelezi, iziphakamiso zakho nokucabanga kwami engikwethulele khona kukhomba ukuthi izenzo zokuthula zisenethuba nokuthi sekufanele sithuncathe ubunye manje phakathi kwalabo abazimisele ngokusebenzela izidalwa zakubo ezingabantu ngamasu namaghingana okuthula. :

Owakho ngeqiniso,

MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
UNDUNANKULU WAKWAZULU

NONGUMENGAMELI WENKATHA

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, AmAlunga Ahloniphekileyo, thina esikuleNdlu noma esiseNkatheni kasiphathwa yikuqunjelwa nxa kudingeka ukuba sithathe isinqumo. Nxa kwethulwa phambi kwethu into esifanele ukunquma ngayo, siyayethula, siyixoxe singhamuke nempendulo.

Nxa ngitshena u-Archbishop Hurley ukuthi ngizobonisana nabantu bakithi kufanele abe nesiqiniseko Sokuthi ngisesimeni sokukwenza lokho. Ngizokwenza lokhe lapha namhlanje magondana nesinyathelo u-Archbishop asethule kimi ngisho noma kuyisinyathelo okunokwenze= ka ukuba sedluliswe ngaye nala singazi ukuthi besiqhamuka' kubaniâ°

Kukhona

fikhona umhlangothi woMgwamanda ngomhlaka 28 ku-Aprili ngakho ngizobonisana nawozakwethu eMgwamandeni ngalolosuku. Ngaphambi kokuba leNdlu ikwazi ukuphendula ngokweneleyo kulesisinyathelo esivezwa ngu-Archbishop Hurley noma esedlu= liselwe kithi ngaye, aMalunga kufanele akuzwe engikushoyo ngesinyathelo ebesengisicabangile ngaphambi kokuba ngifumane lesi sika-Archbishop Hurley. Isisekelo sami siqukethwe yi= ncwadi engiyibhalele u-Archbishop Hurley engisanda kuyifundela leNdlu. Kuye kwadingeka ukuba imicabango yami ngiyibeke nga= mazwi amafishane ngakho sengifisa ukuba ngenabe kancane kulelo nalelo phakathi kwamaphuzu engiwabekayo.

Ngikuphawulile ku-Archbishop Hurley ukuthi isinyathelo sokuthula

esingase siphumelele kuyodingeka ukuba yileso esiyoba nezi= njongo ezicacisiweyo nalapho sizethwesa khona umsebenzi wokufeza lokho ckunokufezwa ukuzuza amathuba esingawaqongelela.

Sengikusho ngikuphindelela kuMengameli woMbuso waseNingizimu ne-Afrika, koNdunankulu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika nasemalungeni eKhabhinethi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuthi uhlelo lokubonisana luyinto ebaluleke kakhulu. Sengakusho ukuthi kangikwazi ukugibela isitimela ngaphandle kokuba ngazi ukuthi lesositimela siyaphi. Sengacela iSitatimende Senhloso ngoba ngidinga

khona ukwazi ukuthi nxa sithi siyabonisana sibonisana ngenhloso yokuyaphi noma yokufinyelela kuphi.

Embusazweni wokubonisana ngezindaba zesakhiwo nangohlobo luka= Hulumeni nangohlobo lomphakathi esizoba nawo kulelizwe, sidinga ukuzicacisa kahle izitatimende Zenhlalo efanayo phakathi komcindezeli nabacindezelweyc. Labo abaphikisa ubandlululo bangaphumelela kuphela ukusetenza nalabo abangaphakathi obandlululweni nxa kukhona ukuzinikela okuhlanganyelweyo kokufeza okuthile okwemukeleka kuzona zombili izinhlangothi.

Kusukela..ccisas+f182

Kusukela ekungeneni koMengameli uBotha esikhundleni njengo=

Ndunankulu ngaleyonkathi, ngacela iSitatimende Senhloso.

Esimeni saseligungundlovu kunemingcele yempi ecaciswe kahle eyehlukanisa iNkatha ku-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU. Lapha yudaba lokubakhona kwesimo sokunggubuzana phakathi kobambiswano lwe-ANC /UDF/COSATU neNkatha. Yubambiswano lwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU oseluzame ukukhipha iNkatha inyumbazana futhi yilo lolubambi=swano olusungule indluzula yokulwa neNkatha osekube nomphu=mela wokusabalala kwendluzula esiphenduke into yakhona kuleya=ndawo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, sidinga iSitatimende Senhloso esingasayindwa yi-ANC, UDF neCOSATU niengezinhlangano ezehlukeneyo esiyiSitatimende Senhloso futhi esingasayindwa nayiNkatha.

ISitatimende esikhangisayo sckusasa eliyiphupho lentandoc

yeningi - -engacacile kasilungiie. Esimeni esibhekene naso,

sidinga ukumemezela injongo efanayo ekufezeni imigomo ethile esikhathini esiscduze esizayo ukuze senze imigomo enzima

yesikhathi esiphakathi nendawo ibe yinto enokufezeka nokwenza imipomo yecikhathi eside esizayo ecisho ingabi nalo ithuba lokwenzeka ibe yinto enokuzanywa. Kufanele senze lokho esingakwe=nza manje futhi lokho esingakwenza manje kufanele sikwenze manje.

Njengcba ngishilo ku~Archbishop Hurley kusobala ukuthi

kalikho ikhambi elingumasheshisa futhi noma ngubani cncbuchopho kwezombusazwe uzokwazi ukuthi kabekho abaholi bengqungquthela abangekho ngempela endluzuleni lapho yenzeka khona abangase bakwazi ukugeda indluzula. Yingakho-ke nje ngibeke leliphuzu lokuthi noma yini esiyenzayo'kufanele sigxile ekuscbenzeni nemiphakathi ethintekayo ngqo endluzuleni.

Enye yezinkinga esiye sibhekane . nayo ngasosonke isikhathi endaweni yaseMgungundlovu namaphethelo nakwezinye izindawo osekutinyelele kuzo indluzula, yikuthi sikhona lapho kwenzeka khona izinto. Sihlelekile futhi sinezindlela zokuxhumana

kepha...../183

kepha. i-UDF ne-ANC kabekho lapho kanye nathi. Kabekho laphaya ezingeni lomphakathi waseckhaya ngendlela ebonakalayo.

Elabo-ighaza abalibambileyo ngelcokukhwezela amalangabi endluzula ukuhlinzeka abantu nzalokho abakudingayo ukughuba indluzula nokubanikela ngamaqogwana abuye aphunyule esandleni

â\200\234'salabo cbawaphetheyo nxa esesithele ngale kwehlozana lckugala nje noma csesithele emnyameni wobusuku bokugala. Izigejana zamacomrades namagoqwana ezigebengu kakunazimpawu okuzehlu= kanisayo futhi kokubili kungaphandle kwesadla sokuphathwa nokweluswa yi~UDF noma i-ANC.

Yikho kanye ukuba kunjalo, futhi kungenxa yokuba thina eNkatheni siphumelela ekuthatheni izinqumo futhi sinezindlela zokuxhu=

: mana, hjengoba sikhombisa ubuthakathaka be-UDF ne-ANC noma yikuphi lapho sikhona lapho kwenzeka khona izinto. Siyakwazi esikwenzayo; siyakwazi esikugqugquzelayo; siyazi ukuthi asikusunguli lokhu okuthiwa ngamaqogo awoqonda nokunye ukuziphendulela kwabantu abaNyama kwendluzula. Lezizinto zivela kubantu abasuke sebecikekile sebethi kwenele nabasukumayo kubekhona abakwenzayo ngalokho okubacikayo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, lamaqogo akakaze angidalelele ukukha= thazeka mina njengamaqogo ayolimaza uhlelo lokuthula. Adaleka kuphela nxa abantu bephogeka ukuba bavikele imiphefumuloc, izitho nempahla noma sebecukuluzwe kwaze kweqa. Nxa imizamo ye-ANC/UDF yockwenza lokho ipheza ngeke sibenakho lokhu okuthiwa ngawoanda, ngeke sibenayo indluzula yokuziphendulela. Inkinga ye-ANC ne-UDF kuyobe sekuba yikuthi siyobe sikhona njengomhlathi ohlelekileyo bona baycebeengekho ngoba kabanakho ukuhleleka esinakho. ;

Lokhu kusondela kakhulu emongweni wenkinga esibhekene nayo ekusu= nguleni izinyathelo zokuthula. Ngithi ku-ANC ikakhulukazi,

lokhu ngikusho naku-UDF: Qalani ukulungiselela amandla empela abantu abaNyama ombusazwe angomuso ngokusebenza lapho abantu bekhona niseb@nze nabo ukwenza lokho abantu abafuna ukuba kwenziwe.

Izinyathelo...../184

Izinyathelo zokuthula zingaphumelela kuphela nxa zithathwa yizinhlangano ezikwaziyo ukusebenza lapho kwenzeka khona izinto phakathi kwabantu asebehudulelwe endluzuleni. Imihlangano yamaKomi-201di, jzinkundla zockukhuluma, imihlangano yamaxoxo okufundisana, izingqungquthela konke ngeke kusize lutho

nxa kungasukeli emsebenzini owenziwa lapho kwenzeka khona izinto phakathi kwabantu. Izinyathelo zokuthula kazikwazi ukuba

zivele zehliselwe kubantu nje zighamuka ngaphezulu. Izinyathelo zokuthula kufanele zighamuke kubo abantu abazifumana besendlu= zuleni.

wgifuna nokuba kubhekisiswe isidingo sokusekelwa okukhulu kwesinyathelo sokuthula. Kufanele kube nesimiselo ~sihlanga=

nyelweyo csinyathelweni sokuthula emzameni ohlanganyelweyo

osekelwe yilokho okunokusetshenziswa okusingethwe ngokuhlanga= nyela nxa kuzoba khona ithemba lempumelelo. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, sesivuthiwe manje kwezombusazwe. Kade sawaghumisa thina amazinyo ethu -ezo= mbusazwe futhi sazi ngaphandle kwakho konke ukungabaza ukuthi A-20libbo lwezinhloso ezinhle ezigukethwe yincwadi ka-Archbishop Hurley zinyathelwa ngezinyawo yizinhlangano zombusazwe ezizi= misele ngokuhlwitha lonke ithuba ezilifumanayo ukuze zizidalele amathuba amandla.

Kangisimisele nakancane ukuhudulelwa esinyathelweni sokuthula esisungulwa yi-UDF ne-ANC ngenhloso yokuzidalela amathuba

abo amandla phakathi kwabantu lapho kwenzeka khona izinto. Bakuzamile; pkuqhwakela phezu kwethu ngokusibhaxabula. Lokho ngeke kusebenze nakancane. Kasizona izimpumpelana kangangoba singavuna ukuhudulelwa ezinyathelweni zokuthula ezihlelwe ngabanye ezingezona jzinyathelo zokuthula ngempela kepha ezi= yimizamo emisha yokufeza ukuzuza amandla ngezindlela namasu amasha.

Ngiyakugcizelela ukuthi kufanele kubekhona ukusekwa okukhulu ngalokho okunokusetshenziswa okungasingathwa yilabo

abathintekayo.o..o../185

abathintekayc esinyathelweni sokuthula ngokuhlanganyela ngoba enye yezintd ezimbi ngendluzula yasendaweni yaseMgungundluvu namaphethelo nendluzula esisabalale yafinyelela kwezinye izinda=wo yikuthi i-ANC ne-UDF sebekhankase kakhulu emhlabeni befuna ukusekelwa ngockwenza iNkatha sengathi yiyo engabanhehli

bozuthu. Sebefumene ukusekelwa ngokubeka thina icala. Basipha= thisa okwezilahlwa. Kangisho khona ukuthi siyobe sesiyeka ukwehlukanz ngemibono. Singehlukana ngemibono ngaphandle

kokuba singahloniphani. Kasikhoc isidingo sokuba sethukane ngezinhamba, ukunukuzezana nockugxekana ngonya.

Kufanele kupheze manje ukubizana ngazozonke izifenggo lezi;

sekufanele kunheze manje ukubhocana ngodaka kanti okuyikuphela kwendlela yokuhlcla ukuthi umuntu uginisekile yini ekuvumela= neni nalezizitatimende yikumemezela ukuzimiseld ukuya emikha= nkasweni yangarhandle siycthungatha ukusekelwa kwempela nokubumbeneyo kwalokho esikwenza ndawonye. Lokho yikhona kuhlolwa kokugcina kokuqiniseka ekubambisaneni okuphakanyiswa ngu-Archbishop Hurley.

Okunye okungahlangene nalezizindaba zombusazwe engisanda kuziphawula, yikuthi isinyathelo sempela sokuthula lapho jzinto zenzeka khona kuyodingeka ukuba sisekelwe kakhulu ngezimali futhi kuyodingeka ukuba kusungulwe izinhlelo ezisebenzayc eziyobhekana nokuthuthwa kwabantu nempahla ukusekela ukuthula nokunganda ukubheduka kwenye indluzula. Isinyathelo sokuthula kuyodinga ukuba sisungule izinhlelo eziningi zokugaphela isimo ezindaweni ezehlukeneyo ngakho ngeke siphumelele nxa sesekelwa yuhlobo oluthile lwesabelo sezimali esiciciyelwayos

Kukhona ukudideka okukhulu maqondana nalokho okwenzekayo ngempela lapho indluzula isiphenduke khona yaba yingxenye yendawo KwaZulu naseNatali. Kukhona umkhankaso wemfundiso yamaghingana nomkhankaso ophikisa imfundiso yamaghingana; kukhona

amahemuhemu...../186

amahemuhemu; kukhona ukuhlanekazelwa kwameginiso ngabomu
kukhona nokuhlanekazelwa okuziqubukela khona nxa abantu
behlukunyezwa bephila esimeni sovalo olwesabekayo.

Izinyathelo zokuthula kufanele zeyame olwazini oluyilo
olwethulwa kubantu ngendlela yokuba amaginiso nezimo
eziyizo zaziswe nabantu benziwe bakukholwe ukuthi lokho
okuthiwa kuyiqiniso kuyilo ngempela iginiso. Impi yamazwi

empini yokuzuza imiqondo esivutha uphondo ihambisana nendluzula

jsibalimazile onembeza bombusazwe yahlanekazelwa imibono
yombusazwe. Sizodinga uhlelc olubanzi lokusabalalisa ulwazi
oluyiginiso. Kufanele kusetshenziswe zonke izindlela ezinoku=
setshenziswa; kufanele kusetshenziswe i-TV; amaphephandaba
kufanelec asetshenziswe kusetshenziswe namapheshana ngamakhulu

ezinkulungwane.

Kangikheclwa yikuthi umuntu angasigcizelela ngokwegisa isidingo
sokuba izinyathelo zokuthula zeyame ezimeni eziyizc nokuba
zibhekane namaqiniso. Ngakho ngiphakamisa, Mhlonishwa
Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ukuthi noma yisiphi isinya=
thelo esithathwayo kufanele sihlanganise nohlelo olusebenza
ngokuphelelyo lokugaphela ukuscbenza kwalesosinyathelo.

Kusiza ngani ukuba kuthi lapho isigebengu sihlasela esinye
isigebengu i-UDF ibhoce iNkatha ngalokho noma iNkatha igxeke
u-UDF ngalokho na? Kuloluhlobc lwendluzula esiphenduke
ingxenye yezindawo eziningi, kunzima kakhulu ngezinye izikhathi
ukusho ukuthi ngubani onecala lckwenzani. Kufanele kumiwe
ngokuphelelyo ekugxekeni abanye ngendluzula abangayenzanga.
Kepha ukuma kulokhu kufanele kwenzeke ngaphakathi kwezimo
larho izenzo zendluzula zidaliulwa khona zibekwe obala ziqondas=
niswe nalabo abazenzileyo ngempela. Sidinga uhlelo lokwelusa
nokuqaphela olusebenzayo ngempela.

Isidingo sokusabalalisa ulwazi lufinyelele kubantu nesidingo
sokugapha kufanele kuhlelwe ngendlela ecacileyo ukuze kubheke
kubuye kunqande imfundiso yamaghinca eba nomphumela wokuhlohla
abantu ukuba babulale. Kufanele sibhekane neqginiso eliyishwa

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-187-

lokuthi labo abdsezikhundleni eziphezulu kunazo zonke eku%
phathweni kwe-TV, umsakazo namaphephandaba kababona abantu
abaMnyama ababhajwe kulokhu kuggolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo
okuphakathi koMnyama noMnyama. Babhala bethule lokho okwenzekayr
ngamehlo omuntu omi ngaphandle kwesimo. Ngineqiniso lokuthi

nxa abahleli noma abahleli bezindaba noma abasizi babahlei babelabela-
izinga abahlangayela ngalo ekughubeni ukubulalana koMnyama
noMnyama ngendlela ababika_ngo, izehlo, bangafikelwa yizi=

. nhloni ezesabekayo. Kabazi nakancane nje ukuthi ungakanani

umonakalo zbawenzayo ngoba kabekho kulesisimo sendluzula
yabaMnyama yezombusazwe.

Nxa umuntu we-UDF noma we=ANC esukela umsebenzi wokukhwezela
abantu ngethemba lokuthi bazongibulala mina noma amalunga
eNkatha, bawakhetha\200\230ngokucphelela amazwi abo. Basabalalisa
intukuthelo nokucasuka emalungeni abo. Kwabanye abahleli
bezindaba lamalumbo aba yizindaba ezisemqoka ngoba nje
kungamazwi abantu abasesiklundleni zamandla ezinhlanganweni
zombusazwe. . Kubahleli bezindaba ayimibono nje ehlotshiswe
ngazwi amaningi . Kepha eqinisweni bahlanganyela ekwakhiweni
komoya ovuna ukubulala.

Osomaghinga bemfundiso ye-UDF ne-ANC bayakwazi abakwenzayo
futhi bayazi ukuthi lokhu engikushoyo kuyiqiniso. Kufanele
kumiwe ekubhokaneni ngodaka. Imfundiso yombusazwe esekela
izinhlangothi ezithile kufanele ingavunyelwa esinyathelweni

sckuthula nalezozinto ezenziwa ngaphansi kwegama lesinyathelo

sokuthula.

Mhionishwa Somlomo, kuye kwadingeka ukuba ngisebenzise ukwethembeka ku-Arch=
bishop Hurley. Ngithe ngisazobonisana nawozakwethu eNkatheni
kanye namalunga aleNdlu kepha ngikubikezele ukuthi ngemuva
kokubonisana kuyocaca ukuthi jNkatha kayisazimisele ukuhlanga=
nyela kunoma yiziphi ezinye jzinyathelo zokuthula ngaphandle
kokuba kube nesiqiniseko sokuthi i-UDF izimisele ukuhlanganyela
ngokugcweleyo kulezozinyathelo.\200\230 Yi-UDF esihlasele iNkatha kakhulu

18PDO s wp.s 5wl 188

-188-

lapho ikhona eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Yibo abebengazimisele
ukuhlanganyela noma iyiphi inkundla neNkatha noma ukungena
kunoma yimuphi umzamo ohlanganyelweyo neNkatha. Ngakho
xufanele kube yibo abazikhethelayo. Nxa befuna isinyathe=
10 sokuthula kufanele bakhethe ukusebenza neNkatha - ngokwezi=
miso nangckomthetho . Nxa bengafuni ukusebenza neNkatha
kufanele batshene wonke umhlaba ukuthi kabazimisele ukusebenza

neNkatha esinyathelweni sempela sokuthula.

Ngibuye ngakubikezela futhi ku-Archbishop Hurley ukuthi
jNkatha ngeke ingene ezinyathelweni ne-UDF ngaphandle kckuba
sinenkolelo ephелеleyo yokuthi izithunywa ze-ANC ezisekudingi=
sweni kazikhulumi ngalo ulimi olubili. Ngasohlangothini
olulodwa bzhlaba umkhosi wokuthula endaweni yaseMgungundlovu
namaphethelo nakwezinye jzindawc eNatali lapho kubhekuke khona
indluzula, ngaso lesisikhathi bahlaba umkhosi wokuba kwenziwe
iNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba. ingabuseki nokuba kusatshalaliswe
jndluzula isuswa ezindaweni zabaMnyama isiwe ezindaweni
zabamhlophe. Kusakela iMelika, jiRashiya, i-Cuba, i-Angola
neNingizimu ne-Afrika befinyelele esivumelwaneni sabo sokuqgala
esimeni sase-Angola nase-Namibia, i-ANC yakwazi ukuthi
jzolahlekelwa yizikhungo lapho yabe isikuphindaphinda ukuthi
izolikhuphula izinga lokungqubuzana ngezikhali. Inikele

wonke lonyaka ka-1989 kulokho kukhushulwa kwendluzula nokufakwa
kwabantu ohlelweni lwayo lwendluzula. Ukusatshalaliswa kwendlu=
sula eNatali naKwaZulu kungavuna izinjongo ze-ANC. Yini

ngempela esingayilindela kubo?

Nabo bakha imfundiso yombusazwe ngesimo lapho bengaba khona
ukuhlanganyela izinkundla nathi noma ukusebenzela nathi kwakhona
nje. Nxa i-ANC ighubeka ngokusiphatha njengezilahlwa, i-UDF
izokwenza lokho nayo ngoba eqiniseni i-UDF iyizindibi ze-ANC.

Ngä-\201mghai-\201le:ï-\201nhu-ArchbishoP Hurley ukuthi ukumelwa kweNkatha
ngasohlangothini olulodwa nobambiswano lwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU ngako=
lunye uhlangothi kufanele kulingane kunoma yiliphi iXomindi
elisungulwayc. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo,

kungumbhedo

kungumbhedo nje ngokwezombusazwe ukucabanga ukuthi kukhona izinhlangano ezine eKomindini lapho leyc naleyo nhlangano imelwe yisibalo esifanayo ibese kwethenjwa ukuthi lelo ' Komindi linga yiKomindi lokusebenza. Ubambiswano lwe-ANC/ UDE/COSATU seluvele luyicacisile imingcele phakathi kweNkatha nabo. Ukumelwa kuzozombili izinhlangothi zomngcele kufanele kulingane. KXukhona amaqembu noma izinhlangothi ezimbili kuphela - yiNkatha ngasohlangothini olulodwa nobambiswano ngakolunye uhlangothi. Zombili, iMkatha nobamî\201iswano, kufanele bamelwe yisibanjalo esilinganayo uhlangothi lulunye kunoma yiliphi ikomindi elisungulwayo.

Ngiphethe ngokubeka iphuzu, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ku-Archbishop

" Hurley lokuthi ngaphandle kokuba uMengameli waleyo naleyo -nhlangano azimbandekaye nesinyathelo sokuthula - okusho abengameli be-ANC, i-UDF i-COSATU kanye neNkatha - futhi bazimbandekanye ziqu zabe kuso, kalikwazi ukuba khona ithemba lokuphumelela. Isinyathelo sokuthula kasikwazi ukuba yinto eyenzeka ngenkathi abengameli balezizinhlangano befulathele bebheke kwenye indawo benza sengathi siyinto engenzekiyo. Isinyathelo kufanele sisekelwe ngawoMengameli futhi kufanele bazimbandekanye naso.

Iphuzu elincane nje, Mhlonishwa Somlomo, engifanele ukulibika kuleNdlu ngelokuthi encwadini yakhe u-Archbishop Hurley,

ukhuluma ngeKomindi Labahlanganisi, iKomindi Labakhathazekileyo kanye neKomindi Lamalungiselelo. Nxa ngirhawula ngokuthi kuyakhanya ukuthi kukhona uhla olulungiswe kahleâ\200\230olucatsha= ngwe kwenye indawo ngumuntu othile esibe sesifunzwa ngalo njengento esinqunyiwe, uphuthumile wawalungisa amazwi akhe wathi kwabakhona ukudideka ngenkathi ebizela lowo owabhala incwadi ngomshini nokuthi wayefanele ukukhuluma kuphela ngeKomindi Labahlanganisi hhayi iKomindi Labakhathazekileyo. Kepha lokho kuyiphuzu elincane nje Mhlonishwa Somlomo. Noma ngabe xukhona amaKomindi amathathunoma kukhona amaKomindi amabili iginiso lisemi lokuthi sifunzwe ngento esivele inqunywe

yagedwa magondana nohlobo lwezinhlelo ezicatshangwayo.

Mhlonishwa...../190

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngethula ukucabanga okubanzi kuleNdlu. Nxa iNdlu iyisekela lemicabango, kuzodingeka ukuba sisungule iKomindi elizothweswa umsebenzi wokubhala ezinye iziphakamiso ezinaycyonke imininingwane

kanye nomsebenzi wokwethula uhlelo lokuqala esingase silubeke ezithebeni luxoxwe ne-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, ngicela leNdlu ukuba ixoxe ngaloludaba ngoba luyudaba oluphilayo

manje olusazoghubeka nokuba nemibuzo nezimpendulo ngakho

kusazodingeka ukuba ngighubeke nokuhlinzeka izimpendulo.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, kusemanzini ombusazwe adungekileyo nanodaka lapho kuchuma khona umbusazwe wokuzinweba nokukhononda. Uhlobo lwesimo lapho u-Archbishop Hurley ekwazi ukungibhalela khona incwadi esemgoka kangaka lapho ephlni-202a khona uhlobo lweziphakamiso esezake zaphakanyiswa ngaphambili zangasebenza, luyuhlco lwesimo lapho kwenziwa khona nezinye izinto ezingasizi lutho. Kunchla olupheleleyo nje lwabaholi bedumela abadlwa yizinhlelo zokusakaza izindaba umsebenzi wabo okuyikughubeka nokufaka olunye udaka emanzini ombusazwe. Abaholi abanemibutho yabalandeli ezinhlanganweni ezisckeleke emalungeni ezinezindlela zokukhetha abaholi neziqinisekayo. ukuthi abantu baholwa ngabaholi abakhethwa yibo abantu, yibona abahlushwa kakhulu yilamanzi ombusazwe agcwele

udaka.

Sjzifumana sisesimeni esiyinkinga nesicasulayo sokuba abanye abaholi abebenokwenza umnikelo kabakwazi ukukwenza lokho

ngoba kuyodingeka ukuba baphume kuloludaka baghelelane nawo= zakwabo nabangane babo ukuze benze lomnikelo. Kuyinto edabu= kisayo lokhu ngoba kuningi kakhulu okudingekayo kanti bambalwa kakhulu abantu abenza lokho okufanele ukwenziwa. Kungidabukise kakhulu ubufakazi bokuthi kanti adungeke kanzakanani nje ngempela amanzi ombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ngenkathi kukhululwa uMnu. Zeph Mothopeng ejele. Ekukhululweni kwakhe ngamtla-200\231ela ngimhalalisela ngimemukela futhi njengomfowethu oMnyama,

ngabhala kanje:

ngabhala kanje:

"KwaPhindangeneâ\204¢
P.O.Box 1
Mahlabathini
3865 .

2 Disemba 1988

Mnu. Zeph Mothcpeng
SOWETO
JOHANNESBURG

Mfowethu Othandekayo,

Ngibenentokozo enkulu ukufumana izindaba zokuthi usukhululiwe ejele. Ngikubhalela njengomfowenu ukukwemukela emphakathini ovulekileyo. Ngelinye ilanga kuyoba ngumphakathi okhululeki=leyo, futhi kuyoba ngumphakathi okhululekileyo ngoba kuwo wonke lamashumi eminyaka amadodana namadcdakazi e-Afrika akavumanga ukuncotshwa yubandlululc lwezinhlanga. Abavuma=

" nga ukwesatshiswa bakhishwe ekubeni yizidalwa ezingabantu ngenxa yobulwane bobandlululo oluntula ubuntu.

Abantu a2baMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika sebeyazi manje ukuthi ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi futhi kabasakha=thali yikutshena isizukulwane esikhulayo ukuthi siyophila eNingizimu ne-Afrika ekhululekileyo ngoba labo benu abahambe ngaphambi kwalesisizukulwane kabazange baluthcbele ubandlu=lulo futhi balwile nalo ngendlela abalwengayo. Kimi kwakhona nje ukuthi ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi kufakazelwa umliba omude wabaholi abaMnyama abebesebenza ngendlela esebenzisa amaghinga amaningi ukudala ukugedwa kobandluliulo.

Uzokugonda njengoba ngikugonda nami ukuthi eminyakeni ephakas=thi nawo 197Â¢ kubekhona ukungabaza okukhulu esizukulwaneni esikhulayo ngalokho okwenzeke esikhathini gsincaphambili. - Kube khona ukuchitha lokho okwenziweyo kwaba khona ukubachitha nalabo abebekwenza lokho.

Bengivele ngikugonda ukuthi ekugcineni yikuphikiswa kobandlululo ngabantu abaMnyama bebonke okuyolugeda. Ukuba ubusesimeni sckukufunda engikushilo eminyakeni engaphezu kweshumi,

ubuzobona ukuthi bengiwumholi oMnyama ozabalaza laphc izinto zenzeka khona selokhu kwathi nhlo ngihlaba umkhosi wokuba kusetshenziswe indlela yamaghinga amaningi nokuthi bengilokhu ngibakhumbula labo abafanele ukuhlonishwa, ngaphandle koku=gaphela ukuthi bangabayiphi inhlangano.

Ngiyakukhankasela ukukhululwa kukaDokotela Nelson Mandela kepha kangikaze ngikhankasele ukukhululwa kwezkhe, noma

vkukhululwa

ukukhululwa kukanome ngubani, ngokushiya abanye ngaphandle.
Bengiye ngifune ukuba kukhululwe yena kanye nawe, nginibale
ngamagama, nokuba kukhululwe zonke ezinye iziboshwa zombu=
sazwe.

Ngakho kunginikeza intokozo enkulu ukuthi usuphumile ejele.
Kepha kuyangidabukisa ukuzwa ukuthi impilo yakho kayiyinhle
kahle ngakho ngikukhulekela eNkosini yethu elungileyo ukuba
ikuqinise. Siyakudinga ukuba ufake ulwazi lwakho olubanzi
kulolonke uhlelo lokuthula. Sekufanele amehlo ethu siwagxilis=
se ekwenzeni lokho okufanele ukwenziwa manje ukucdala iNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika yangomusoc ehlangeneyo. Njengoba sekunesiqini=
seko manje sokuthi luzoqedwa ubandlululo, sekufanele sis=
bheke ohlotsheni lweNingizimu ne-Afrika esizophila kuyo
ngemuva kobandlululo.

Kunento eyodwa engineqiniso ngayo leyo yikuthi noma ngabe
kusebenza muphi umcqondo wenqubo nanoma yiluphi uhlobo
lukaHulumeni iNingizimu ne-Afrika eyophetha ibuswa ngaphansi
kwalo, kakukho lutho cluyophikelela isikhathi eside futhi
kakukho lutho ociuyofezwa ngaphandlu kokuba kube nentando
yesizwe ehlanganisa zonke izinhlanga eyokwenza noma yini
ekhona ikwazi ukusebenza. Ngikholwa yikuthi lomcabango
ungasebenza njengomcabango omkhulu wokuhlanganisa isizwe.
Kabekho abaholi abalinyama abangakhulwa yikuthi iNingizimu
ne-Afrika ehlanganeyo ngeke idingwe yinoma yimuphi uhulumeni
oyoba khona.

Ngiyakuhlonipha ngendlela ozinikele mngayc ekuhluphekeleni
imigomo yakho. Kawuzange uguquke ekuzinikeleni kwakho.

Noma ngabe ikusasa lisiphatheleni nanoma yilinhle ighaza ogoka
ukulibamba esimeni osufakwe kuso yilokho omiselwe khona,
kuyithemba lami ukuthi kuzokwengeza emimoyeni esebenzela
ukuthelelana amanzi.

Ngikufisela ukugina eminyakeni ezayo
MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI

UNdunankulu WaKwaZulu
NonguMengameli weNkatha

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amelinga Ahloniphekileyc, ngathokoza kakhulu
ngenkathi uNksz. Zora Kumalo, iNxusa lethu lasemadolobheni
eNtilasifali edlulisela incwadi yami ku-Mnu. Mothopeng esebuya
futhi nomyalezo wokuthi uthe. kungaba kuhle ukungibona. Kuno=
mncimbi engangifanele ukuya kuwo eGoli ngakho kwakunethuba

kimi lokuba ngiphambuke ngiye kobona uMnu. Mothopeng ngomhlaka
7 kuDisemba 1988 okuyinto engayenzayo. '

Ngenkathi....ooo /193

Ngenkathi sibonanz naye kwakukhona nabanye sakhuluma ngezinto
eziningi - uDokotela Seme esasimazi sobabili, nge-Fort Haire
lapho sobabili esake sabakhcna siyochuba imfundo yethu
sakhuluma nangesidingo sobunye. KXwakungamaxoxo akhululekileyo
.okwathi ngiselapho nganikeza uMnu. Mothopeng isheke lezi-

R2 000 elalivela eNkatheni njengesipho esiyimali "yokumhlanza@
njengomuntu obeseboshwe isikhathi eside kangaka.'

Lena kwakuyimali yoquqaba lwamalunga eNkatha, engamnikeza
yona. INkatha kayifumani zigidi zeminikelo evela phesheya.
Ngamalunga eNkatha anamathikithi obulunga akhokha izimali
ezisezikhwameni zeNkatha ngakho lemali eyizi-RZ.0C0 engayi=
nikeza uMnu. Mothoreng ngangiyithathe - kulesosikhwama. Boba=

' bili uMnu. Mothoneng noNksk. Mothopeng bezwakalisa ukuthokoza
bakuphimisela lokho futhi babebonakala bethintekile yilesisipho
esivela oquqabeni lwabantu. Ngakho kwangiphula umoya kwangima=
ngaza futhi ukvfunda ephaphandabeni i-Weekly Mail ukuthi
utle uMnu. Mothopeng akakwazi ukwemukela lemali esamupha
yona ngakho uyinikeze abahluphekayo. Manje ngiyadabuka nje
nxa ngikhumbula lombiko. Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloni=
phekileyo, yiloluhlobo lwento eyenzeka emanzini cmbusazwe
agcwele udaka. Izinto kazicaci kahle, kubakhona ukudideka,
kubekhona ukungabazi abantu kahle kubekhcna nokushayisana ezintweni
ezifunwa kubantu. Ngifuna ukuba kugopheke phansi nje ukuthi
kangikaze ngixabane noMnu. Mothopeng nokuthi kangixabene naye
namanje. Wakhululwa ngokubonelelwa ngakho ngikholwa yikuthi

sonke kufanele simphathe ngezandla ezithambileyo.

Kangihlaseli yenz ulMnu. Mothopeng ngokubeka lamaphuzu engiwa=
bekayo. Ngidatshukiswa yisimo sezintc kwezombusazwe waseNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika lapho kunokwenzeka khona lcluhlobo lwento.
Ngizoghubeka nokwemukela leSO naleso siboshwa sombusazwe
esikhululwayo ngaphandle kokuqaphela ukuthi umuntu owayeyilunga
noma useyilunga layiphi inhlangzano. Iziboshwa zombusazwe
zingabafowethu noddadewethu gbaMnyama abahluphekela umzabalazo,

ngakho...=../194

ngakho kufanele sibahloniphe nxa bekhululwa.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngenkathi kukhululwa uMnu. Harry Gwala, naye ngambhalela ngezwakalisa ukuthokoza kwethu ngokuthi usebuyele kwabathandekayo kuye nokuthi usezofumana ukunakekelwa. Naye wakhululwa ngazo jzizathu zokubonelelwa ngakho simfisela konke ckuhle. Ngambhalela kanje:

"KwaPhincdangene'
P.O.Box 1
Mahlabathini
3865

Inkomba: *72257 2 Disemba 1988

Mnu. Herry Gwala
KWADAMBUZA
PIETERMARITZBURG

Mfowethu Othandekayo

Ngikubhalela ukuzwakalisa ukuthokoza kwami ngokuthi usukhulu= liwe ejele. Kungicdabukisile ukubona emibikweni yamephephanda= ba ukuthi impilo yakho kayisenhle. Ngikhulekela ukuba uzwe amandla okuphakanyiswa yisandla sikaNkulunkulu.

Uyindodana ye-Afrika; indodana yeNingizimu ne-Afrika nomunye wabaningi asebehluphekile behluphekela ukudalwa kweNingizimu ne-Afrika engcono. Abanye bahluphekela ngaphandle kwamajele; abanye bahluphekela emajele futhi kungukuhlupheka koquqaba okufake abantu abafana nawe intshisekelo yckwenza lokhu ckwenzileyo. Ungomunye walabo abambalwa emlandweni womzaba= lazo owagwetshwa wukudilikelwa yijele. Ngithi abambalwa nanhezu kokuba ngazi ukuthi ngisho noma ngabe wayemunye lokho kwakus=

yoba yisibalo esikhulu kakhulu.

Ngifuna ukukhusho futhi ukuthi ngikhuthazeke kangakanani ngamazwi owakhulumileyo akuthi kawukholwa yikuthi ukukhululwa kwakho kudalwe yikukhathazeka ngempilo yakho nje kuphela. Amehlo

ami akubona ngokucacileyo ukuthi ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi ngokuphelele. Kunesibalo sezehlo ezehlukeneyo esezingalugeda okokugcina kepha kalusakwazi ukuma isikhathi eside. Ngisho noma singazi kahle ukuthi kuzothi nxa inkinga yelapheka lokho kwenzeke kanjani, kasinakho nokuncane ukunga= baza ukuthi inkinga izoxazululeka.

Kangikhathali...../195

Kangikxathali yikutshena abantu ohaMnyama baseNingizimu
 â\200\230ne-Afrika, ikakhulukazi-isizukulwane es{khuiayo,uï-\201uthi
 ubandlululo luzobhidiika ngenxa yokuphikiswa kwalc ngabaMnyama
 ngokupheleleyo. HNgaba nokukhathazeka okukhuu ominyakeni
 ephakathi nawo-197C ngokusabalala komqonds phakathi kwesi=
 sukulwane sentsha wckuthi lokho okwenziwa npaphambili
 kwakungenamsebenzi nokuthi oyisemkhulu nawokhokho babantu
 abasha sekufanele bachithwe kwadalwa nesithombe abathile
 sokuba kube senvathi kukhona ikhambi clinpumasheshisa llokwe=
 lapha ukucindezelwa nokuhlupheka kwethu, okuyikhambi elisanda
 kutholwa yisizukulwane sentsha nento izizukulwane zabaholi

. abaMnyama abangaphambi kwabo ezehlulekayo ukuyifumana.

Selokhu kwathi nhlc ngiyakubona ukuthi kayikho indlela eyodwa
 okungagedwa ngayo ubandlululo. Selokhu kwathi nhlo ngiyakubona
 ukuthi kawukho umhlathi owodwa osebenzela lezizimo esezivele

- isiginiseko sokufa kobandlululc. Yiyo yonke into eyenziwe
 yibo bonke abantu abaphikisa ubanclululo esinhethe ngokadala
 umfutho osufuca ubandlululo.

Ngendlela ethile kakukho muntu ongenza okuyikho ngasosonke
 isikhathi kanti futhi ngendlela ethile lokho esikwenzayo
 okuyikho kufanele kube yinto efaneleyo ngokweneleyo ukuba
 ikwazi ukugondisa lokho esikwenzayo okuyiphutha. Ngumzabalazo
 uwonke okuyiwona osemqoka futhi kusekupheleleni kwawo umzabazo
 lapho sifanele yikuginiseka khona yikuthi amanhutha enziwayo
 akagcini esengamaphutha azobulala umzabalazo.

Kimi kuyinto eyuphawu olubalulekileyo ukuba uMnu. Zeph Mothopeng
 ukuba nikhululwe nresikhathi esifanayc - njencba omunye
 engowe-PAC nawe ungowe~ANC. Nginiginiso lokuthi uHulumeni
 waseNingizimu ne-Afrika akalubonanga loluphawu kepha lukhona.
 Wena wathunyelwa ejele ngenxa yelokho owakwenzayo ukughuba
 izinjongo ze-ANC noenkathi i-ANC yayingakabi namancla

lapha ngaphakathi eNingizimu ne-Afrika nxa kukhulunywa ngayo
 njengenhlango. UlMnu. Mothopeng, owayengomunye wabambalwa
 kubasunguli abasesigungwini se-PAC, akazange aye ekudingisweni
 rhakathi kweminyaka yawo -197Â¢ ukuyokwenza lokho ayenokukwenza
 ukuvuselela i-PAC.

Npgenkathi kwenzeka lokhu imibutho ye-Black Consciousness
 yayiqubuka. Kwaqubuka i-BPC kwasungulwa iNkatha kwathathwa zonke
 ezinye izinhlcbo zezinyathelo zokuvuselela isimo sombusazwe.
 Kwabakhona isimo sckuthile okwenzekayo.

Kakufanele silahlekelwe yilesosiwmo esipheleleyo yingakho-ke
 nje nginxusa kangaka ukuba kusetshenziswe intlala yamagginga
 amaingilapho lowc nalowo enza khona lokho akwazi ukukwenza
 ngcono esimeni sakhe. Kufanele ngikhawule, nokho, ngoba
 bengingahlose khona ukubhala umbhalo wokucubungula zona
 czombusazwe.

Ngibhala nje ukuzwakalisa ukuthokoza kwami kweqiniso ngokuthi
 usunathi fathi nokuthi umzabalazo ungase uthathe ijika elisha
 elineaba yijika lokugcina eligonde ekugedweni kobanldlululo
 okokugcina.

Kungumkhuieko wami ukuba abantu abafana nawe asebehlupheke kangaka behluphekela umgomo beneliswe yilokho abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika abayophetha ngokukudala njengento eyongena esikhundleni sobandlululo.

Ngithokoza kakhulu ukuzwa ukuthi uDokotela Nelson Mandela ngeke abuyiselwe cjele ngakho ngethemba ukuthi izitatimende ezenziwa ngokubekwa kwakhe endaweni ephephileyo zingaphetha ngokuba yizitatimende ezisho ukukhululwa kwakhe. Kakukaze kwenzeka nganhambili ukuba kubenomsebenzi ongaka osemahlombe abantu abambalwa kangaka ngakho uDokotela Mandela ungomunye wabambalwa okuthembele kubo okuningi kangaka. Sonke sikhule= kela ukukhululwa kwakhe.

Inhliziyo yami yakukhalela kakhulu wena nomndeni wakho ngenkathi kudluls uNksz. Gwala emhlabeni ngenkathi wena usaboshiwe. Noiccla ukuba wemukele ukulila kwami nkomndeni wami engikugondisa kuwe nasezinganeni.

Obunye ubuhlunsu engibuzwela kakhulu zonke izinsuku yindluzula ephakathi koNyama nolinyama endaweni yaselgungundlovu, okungaubuzana kuyo ubambiswano lwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU neNkatha. Sengizame ukwenza konke okunckwenziwa ukunikela ekudalweni kokuthula endaweni yaselgungundlovu namapnhethelo. Kukhona iSivumelwano nje esisayindwe yi-COSATU eMgungundlovu neNkatha. Ngibona ukuthi lesiSivumelwano xasizoze sayigeda ngempela indluzula ngaphandle kokuba abaheli be-ANC' ne-UDF nabo bazimbandekanye neSivumelwano Sokuthula. Ngishiyelana nawe llobubuhlungu ngoba ngiyazi ukuthi nawe ubuzwela kakhulu njengami,

Kungunkhuleko wami ukuba ufumane amandla amakhulu kunalawo obuwaphupha ngenkathi usejele manje njengoba ususesifubeni somndeni wakho abazokwazi ukukunakekela.

Owakho emgomeni wenkululeko,
MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI
UN-unankulu WaKwaZulu
NonguMengameli weNkatha

UMnu. Gwala waphendula Kkanje:

72 Januwali 1989

UNdunankulu WaKwaZulu
NenguMengameli weNkatha
XwaPhindangene

P.O.Box 1

Mahlabathini

3865

ntwana

Ngiyifumene incwadi yakho emnandi yomhlaka 7 kuDisemba 1988

ezwakalis2.....197

ezwakalisa into%ozo yakho ngokukhululwa kwami ejele.

Incwadi yakho ithinta ezinye izinhlangotmi ezisemqgoka ezithinta abanta u? ngama-~Afrika Kakukho kungabaza ukuthi ukucindezelwa X a noezi-~\201ndâ\200\230ela ezahluâ\200\235nneyo ngakho kudinga â\200\234amaghingâ amanln_ umphakathlnl oghekezwe wenziwa izigaba ngezinhlanga, ncebala nangobuzwe, abantu bayovhendula kulokhu kucindezelwa nsendlela abakuzwa ngayo. â\200\235gakho kakurangazi ukufumana lamaqglna araningi emzameni ukubhidliza lokhu kuci-ndezelwa kwesethu isimo okuyubandlululc.

Udaba olusewgcka elNingizimu neAfrika yiâ\200\235Ui-~\201londa inggikithi yobandlululo, enging enakho ukungabaza ukuthi abaholl ebafana nawe bayigonda kahle. Uzolukhumbula usuku iokugala sihonana nawe eMahhovisi e=AN" eThekwini ngo 1955. Wawusanda kuxoshwa (nxa ngisa:humbul kahle) eNyuvesi yase Fort Hare ngokuphikisa ukuhanjelwz kwenu ni-~\202uLu51balukhulu weNlnn171rurhrAfrika njengezitshudeni zaleyoNyuvesi..

Sabonana szimweni, nxa usakhumbula, ezazisusa usinga. Abantu asbacindezelweyo baseMningizimu leAfrika babezoduba umsebenzi ezweni lonke ngokolu i-~\202alaq futhi lolosuku lwaluzohlonishwa ngabamabhizinisi, 121koje nezinhlanoano zenkolo. Umsebenzi wethu ngaleyonkathi wakuylku01nlseka ukuthi lomyalezo ufinyelela kuwo wonke ama rounbi eNingizimu neAfrika. Ukufeza lokhu, kwasakazwa amapheshana kwabanjwa nemihlangano kulolonke izwe. M awuyinxenye yalokhu wena.

Ukuhlonishwa kwalernhlabamkhosi ezweni lonke kakuzange kuwuvimbe umbuso wobandlululo ekughubeni ubandlululo, n-engoba silubona rarchlanje. Ukul hlunyabezuka kakuzange kube nomphumela wokudideka phakathi kwabacindezelweyo. Bahlangana baghuba umzabalazo woku21mlsela okuwxeleleyo ukubhidliza ubandlululo.

SePubekhona ukalutn(vnu kalula kakhulu ubandlululo phakathl. kwenikhakha ethile engaluboniyo njengokukhonys kwabalthlophe okweyeme eku21oonlclâ°11 umcebo. N la 1Peasu li-~\202nwbkshln911

1"szâ«ezo Lllma elruc"1 ulg nxl

khona ukugodlwa komcebo futhl 1156k~1W% noui-~\201ca Patbl thlophe Wdâ\200\235â@bhlZlnlS; ellngizimu neAfrika kanye nezli-~\202â°11 zomhlaba ukucinisa ukuth;V" kwabalthlophe.

UHulumeni wamalsshiz-liusedale izinhlelo ezahlukeneyo zokukho-hlisa nokulutha asbanye abantu. Usenze imizamo yokudala ezinye izigaba zomphakathi phakathi kwzbacindezelweyo ezifanele ukuba zisebenze ukuthatha isisindo samagalelo cmzahbalazo wokulwz nobanvlujulo njencoba uya ngokugina nje. Auasu esitha asethande ukubadida abzcindezelweyo abenza bacabanga ukuthi ubandlululo luyobhidlizwa noabantu ngokubambisana nonbuso wamaNsshinali

â\200\231oguquî-~\201i-~\201yoâ\200\235o Avzohinga ehlukeneyo abantu agubuka ngokulandela

g,
ezimo abakuzo kakufanele adedelwe emze abantu balwe bodwa, kube

yilowo athi...../198

= 198 %

yilowoc athi elakhe ighinga yilo kuphela elifanele ukusetshenzi-
swa. Amachinga amaningi aghutshwa ngahantu kakufanele abenze
basebenzise izonzo zendluzula ngomzamo wokukhombisa ukuthi

leli noma lelivachinga yilo okuyikuphela kwalo elifanele
ukusetshenziswa.

Igazi eselichitheke eNtshonalanga Koloni, eMpumalanga Koloni,
eNtilasifali nasclatali kufanele lenze "Tonke umuntu othanda
izwe nesizwe sakubo akathazeke. Ukukhathazeka kwakhe kufanele
kumenze azimisele ngokuwugeda lomzabalazo wokulwa sodwa
umzabalazo awuqondise esitheni ugobo lwaso.

Ngenkathi ngifika eMgungundlovu ngo-Julayi ka2 1987 ngahlanga-
bezana nokungqubuzana okunesihluku esingakaze sibonwe phakathi
kwabo abantu abacindezelweyo zinggobo zabo. Xwakushagisa
ukufunda emaphephandabeni ukuthi kwakusetshenziswa izibhamu
ngokukhululeka npaphandle kokuba labo abaghuba lokhukubulalana
baboshwe. Umuntu kakukholutho ayefunda ngalo oluyimizamo
yabaholi bethu yokugeda lokhukungqubuzana. Isimo sadideka
kakhulu kumuntu omusha enkundleni lapho ukubulala nokuvphendula
abanye abantu izinkubele kwakuthiwa kwenziwa ngoba kuvikelwa
leli noma leliyagama.

Fkugcineni nxa konke lokhukubulalana nalokhukulinmazana
sekwenziwe thina njengabacindezelweyo sisayodlule sihlale
phansi sikhulume sibophe amanxeba ethu. nizamo ye-COSATU
ne-Nkatha chlose ukugeda indluzula ngeke iphumelele ngaphandle
kokubz sonke sichazele abantu bakithi ukuthi ubani isitha
sempela. Kunesidingo esikhulu sokuba singagcini-nje ngokugeda
lendluzula kevha sibuthe abantu bakithi sibenze babhekane
nomcindezeli.

Mgifisa ukuthokoza kuwe ngamazwi ckungililela ngokushona
komkami. Kungesinye salezoziphetho ezidingekayo ezibuhlungu
ngaso sonke isikhathi ezihlotsheni. Sonke siyethemba ukuthi
ekufeni umuntu uyokwazi ukuba athi "impilo yami bengiyinikele
emgomeni ohloniphekileyo wesintu." 204¢

Owakho ngenhlonipho,
T H GWALA

Yukulamanzi owbusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika adungekileyo
nanodaka lapho umuntu efumana khona lezizimpendulo ezishayisanayo
kulokho okungamazwi angahlangene nakancane nombusazwe ckwemukela
abafowethu abavela ejele. Ngiye ngifumane ukuthi nxa ngihambele

phesheya kunezinto eziningi ezicacakangcono emehlweni. UMnu.

Motopeng...../199

UMn. Mothopeng uchitha imali yethu eyizi-R7 02" manje kepha njalo nje ngiye i-\201gibe namaxoxo obufowethu nakhayo namalunga e-Pan Africanist Congress asekudingisweni. Nganginobudlelwane obuhle nomufi uMnu. Leballo. Nxa ngihambe e-Landani

ngiba namaxoxo amahle namalunga e-PAC ayeseckhaleni lesigungu kulelizwe ngaphambi kokuba babalekele phesheya. Ngicabanga lapha ngabantu abafana noMu. A.B. Ngcobo noMnu. Nana Mahomo, uMntwana uVelekhaya Shange, uMnu. Ntloedibe nabanye. UMn. Robert Sobukwe wayenobudlelwane obuhle nami waze wafa.

Kepha kwabakhona osomathuba bezombusazwe nabaholi bedumela abahlela izinxushunxushu ezishibhileyo emgcwabeni wakhe ukuze bafihle imizamao yzbo yempela yokungibulala eyehlulekayo! Ngisakhumbula kahle ukuthi kwakuphambana kanjani ngenkathi ngithi ngisenamaxoxo akhayo phesheya nabantu abafana noMnu.

bangamalunga â\2027-ANC nabalandeli bayo eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Yiso-ke isimo esiyinhlekisa okuqhubeka kusc umbusazwe waba= Mnyamal

Amanzi ombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika adungekileyo nanodaka abuye adale nohlobowezimo lapho noma ngubani engasho noma yini ibese ubuya umsindo wenye nje into eshiwo ngomunye umuntu. Kulesisimo esidungekileyo kwenzeka noma yini kubekhona nezinguquko emfashinini yokucabanga ngenkathi kughubeka umbusazwe oyimfashini nabantu abarikezwa ukubalu= leka bengena bephuma enkundleni.

Sekukhona imfashini yalokhu okuthatha indawo yalckhuya. Kukhona imfundo ethatha indawo yemfundo ekhona kukhona uhulumeni wasekhaya ongena esikhundleni sikahulukeni wase= khaya okhona, kukhona lokhu okungena esikhundleni sezinye izinto . Sekuze kubekhona nabathatha indawo yezazi zempela zasemaNyuvesi abafana nawo Cerhard Mare. Yena kanye nezinye izazi zasemaNyuvesi bayakwazi ukusho abakuthandayo kuphela nje nxa kuzwakala kunesigqi futhi kuthokozisa imikhakha

ethile lapho . ifumana khona ukukholakala.

KuseNingizimu

KuseNingizimu ne-Afrika kuphela laphe umuntu engathi uyisazi saseNyuvesi, futhi eqinisweni emukelwe njengesazi saseNyuvesi ngabantu abaningi, kepha akwazi ukwethula ukucabanga okudu= ngeke njengalokhu u-Gerhard Mare akuveza endabeni ephepha= bhukwini i-"Critical Arts" Umqulu 4 unombolo 4/5.

Sesike sahlanzana nemikhuba yobuchopho balomuntu othatha indawo yesazi saseNyuvesi sempela ngaphambili. Kepha kule= ndaba uyedlulela. Yonke indaba yakhe ihlasela imfundo kwaZulu. Ngenkathi sibhekene nenkinga yokufundisa isizukulwane sethu

nezithiyo zesikhathi esedlule. Umongo wamazwi akhe uholela umuntu ukuba akholwe yikuthi ucabanga ukuthi besekufanele ukuba ngabe sesikwenzile lokho manje nokuthi sisebenzisa okuntule= kayo emfundweni yabaMnyama ukusekela izinjongo zethu zombusazwe wegembu.

Indaba ayibhalileyo ihlasela ngonya olukhulu imizamo esiyenzayo yokwenza intsha yethu ihambele phezulu ngokuzighenya ngezifundo zethu zoBuntu-Botho (Good Citizenship). Ughamuka namazwi ashagisayo athi "ukufunda isilabhasi kukhamba ukuthi iNkatha, uMbutho wenkululeke ngamasiko owavuselelwa yiNkosi Gatsha Buthelesi isidale okufanayo nalokhu kukaHulumeni wamaNeshinali okubizwa ngokuthi yi-Christian National EducationV

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngiyashaqgeka ukufumana ukuthi kukhona umuntu oncathi uyakulinganisa nokuku= linganisa ukuthi uyisazi saseNyuvesi ongaba nalolulimi olubili oclubonakalia ngokusobala nje ukuthi kaluhambisana nolwazi lomuntu oyisazi saseNyuvesi. Nxa uthatha ukufundiswa kwengane esikoleni nangaphandle kwasesikoleni engilandi, ngeke ukufumzane ukukhononda ngamasikoc amaNgisi okudlulisela umoya namagugu

nemibono yomhlaba esizukulwaneni esizayo.

Izinpgane ezincane zamaNgisi zikhulela esimeni esigcwele imidlalo esukela endulo ezizukulwaneni ezindala . Lemidlalo yedluliselwa ezizukulwaneni ezilandelayo. Imidlalo efana nawo-'Ring a ring of

roses' neminye imidlalo eyingxenye yefa lamaNgisi lamasiko.

izingane . ../2C1

Izingane zamaNgisi zikhuliswa emhlabeni cgala ngezinganekwane zika Grimm (Grimm's Fairy Tales). Izingane zamaNgisi zikhu= liswa ziwazi amasiko nempilo yamaNgisi. Izingane zase-Ireland zikhuliswa zilazi ifa lazo njengezingane zama-Irish ngaphakas= thi kwamasiko amaNgisi. Izingane zama-Welsh zikhuliswz ziwa= qonda amasiko ama-Welsh, izingane zezi-Kotshi zikhuliswa njengezingane zeziKotshi ngokudluliselwa kwamasiko eziKotshi.

Ukuzinikela kwamaNgisi entadweni yeningi nokungakhethi nombono weghaza leNgilandi emhlabeni okusekeleke emlandweni wezwe, kwedluliselwa ezizukulwanenei ngezizukulwane. Kakungabazeki ukuthi izingane zamaNgisi ziyafundiswa ukuthi zicabangeni

ukuthi zicabange kanjani futhi ziyafundiswa ukuthi zibe yizakhas= mizi ezinhle neziqotho zeNgilandi. Konke lokho kuhle kulungile eNgilandi kepha nxa:thina lapha KwaZulu sifuna ukufundisa jzingane ukuba zazise ubuZulu bazo ngaphakathi kwezimpawu ezibanzi ezinazo njengezakhamizi zaseNingizimu ne-Afrika, siyabhaxabulwa ngawo Gerry Mare balomhlaba.

Kakukho lutho esifundweni sethu soBuntu-Botho Clunyundela ubuzwe bethu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika obuyinto ekhona kuleso naleso sifuba somZulu weqiniso. Kakukho kungqubuzana esikuda= layo phakathi kothando lweNingizimu ne-Afrika nokuzighenya ngokuba ngumZulu. Kunoma yimuphi umphakathi ozihloniphayo, uMnu. Mare ubeyobhaxabulwa yizazi zaseNyuvesi ezaziwayo ukuthi uMnu. Mare njengomuntu othatha indawo yezazi zempela zaseNyuvesi uyaziphoxa zonke izazi zaseNyuvesi.

Kukulamanzi ombusazwe waseNingizimu ne-Afrika adungekileyo agcwele udaka lapho abantu bekwazi khona ukuxhavuzana nodaka abalubondayo futhi kukulamanzi anodaka lapho kusungulwa khcna ukuhlaselwa kwalabc bethu yilabo abangazange bafeze lutho olu= theni embusazweni wabo, nabantu abangeyukuphelela ndawo.

Size sibe nanesimo esiyinhlekisa lapho isigungu se-ANC sihlezi e-Lusaka sizama khona ngokuzimisela okukhulu ukufaka ibhaxa

phakathi...../202

phakathi kweSilo nami nabantu bakwaZulu ngokuba bamene

iSilo ukuba siye eLusaka siyokuba namaxoxo nabo. Lesisenzo sokulahlekelwa yithemba kwezombusazwe siyingxenye nje yobuthutha bokudungeka kombusazwe esiphahlekwa ngabo. Lesisimemo besithunyelwe eSilweni esikhathini esingangenyanga nje noma ngerhazudlwana esidlule. :

Ngazighenya kakhulu ngokuba nguNdunankulu weSilo noyise

weSilo ngenkathi ngibona ukuthi sasithukuthele kanjani

ngokuthi kukhona umuntu ongake acabange ukudala ughekeko phakathi kwasc nami. Sashaqeka iSilo ukuthi ukhona umuntu ongaba nobuthutha kangangoba angase emukele isimemo sckuya e-Lusaka ayoxoxa ne-ANC, ngenkathi i-ANC ibhaxabula uNdunas= nkulu noyise wakhe ngendlela abangibhaxabula ngayo, nangenkathi sebeze bafinyelela ngisho nasezingeni lckwakha itulo lokungi= bulala,

ISizwe saKwaZulu siyahlangana futhi siyoghubeka nokuhlangana njalo nje nxa sibhekene nokuhlaselwa okughamuka ngaphandle nokudalwa koghekeko okughamuka ngaphakathi. ISizwe sakwaZulu sesiyimbume kakhulu manje ebunyeneni baso kunento esike

saba yiyo emashumini amaningi eminyaka edlule. Sibutha amathuba amandla ngoba senza lokho ckudinga ukwenziwa ukusus= ngula izisekelo zamandla empela.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngiyaphinda ngithi amandla ombusazwe angamandla kuphela nxa eqondene nohlelo lombusazwe olughubekayo. Ngiyaphinda ngithi sisxile ekwakheni izisekelo zamandla npokuthatha ngokuthi umzabalazo wezikhali ngeke ulidale izulu lasemhlabeni nokuthi ngamandla abantu abaNyama okuzifunela amathuba endleleni yokusebenzisa amaghingana amaningi ockufancle akhuliswe.

Kuze kube yimanje simi sithe nggi emhlabathini; njengabantu abathatha izimo njengoba zinjalo nokukhula kwemibutho yanmi

yabalandeli kwezombusazwe ngaphesheya kwayc yonke imingcele

edalw@...s.../203

e

edalwe yubandlululo ngokwehlukana oMnyama noMnyama nokwe-
hlukana oMnyama nomhlophe kukhomba ukuthi senze okuyikho
ekucubunguleni kwethu kwezombusazwe .

Eqinisweni iNkatha inamandla amakhulu ngokombusazwe namhlanje
kunalokho eseyake yaba yikho ngaphambili. INkatha ingakwazi
ukushiya isibalo esinguhhafu samalungu idlule ibe namandla
ngokombusazwe. Amandla ayo akaveli khona ezibalweni zayo;
amandla eNkatha ombusazwe aghamuka ekuqondaneni kwayo nchlelo
lombusazwe olughubekayo lapho iQembu lamaNeshinali lixinwa
khona lisuswa kulengaba liya kuleya ngaba. Nxa izinto sezi=
nyakaza siyonyakaza kanye nazo. Sikulungele ukukwenza lokhu.

Ngihlaba umkhosi engiwubhekisa kubobonke abafowethu nodadewethu
abasekudingisweni ngzithi kufanele bagaphele ukuguquka kwesimo
sombusazwe kulolonke elase-Afrika eseNingizimu nokuba bagaphele
ukuguquka kobudlelwane emhlabeni. Ngithi buyelani ekhaya.
Joyinanai umzabalazo futhi lapho uzoshiswa khona uze ufinye=
lele esiphethweni sawo - lapha ngaphakathi ezweni lapho izinto
zenzeka khona. Ngamnxusa uMnu. B.J. Vorster ukuba amemezele
ukuxolelwa kwabo bonke abasemajele nabasekudingisweni ukuze
bakwazi ukusijoyina ekubonisaneni. Ngisakunxusa lokho ngisho
nanamhlanje.

Mhlonishwa Somlomo, Amalunga Ahloniphekileyo, ngiyaphinda

ngithi uhlelo lombusazwe kulelizwe oluyodala intando yeningi

exube izinhlanga luyoba yuhlobo olwehlukileyo ohlotsheni

lombusazwe ulusetshenziswa ukufeza khona lokhu kwezinye

izingxenye ze-Afrika eseNingizimu. Sisazobona ezinye futhi
izinhlangano eziningi ziguqukela ekwenzeni lokhu thina esesi=
kwenze isikhathi esingavhezulu kweshumi leminyaka. Abafowethu
nodadewethu abalaphaya ngaphandle emakhazeni bazobuya bazosijoyina.

Mhlonishwa Somiocmo, kanginandaba nokuthi bajoyina bani nxa
hebuyela emzabalazweni wempela lapha ngaphakathi kulelizwe.
Ngumzabalzo osemgoka. Ngubunye babantu abalMinyama obungamula

n

yonke . .a./f20

yonke imingcele yombusazwe nemingcele yezinhlanganc obuse=
mqoka. Ngumbuso osemqoka ngaphezu kweQembu. Abafowethu
nodadewethu abalapha ngaphandle emakhazeni kufanele babuyele
kunoma yimuphi umkhakha wombusazwe abanquma ukuthi ungcono
kunayo yonke. GIngikushoyo nje yikuthi kufanele babuye manje
futhi konke engikushcyo yikuthi izithunywa ze-ANC kufanele
zigale phansi ziyicabange kabusha indawo abami kuyo futhi
kufanele bawujoyine kabusha umzabalazo ngendlela enomfutho
omusha. Nxa kukhona amandla ombusazwe abawabuthileyo, kuhle
bawasebenzise lawo mandla ngendlela esho utho.

_____ SO T Ty V)Y P