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/IVALIWE TZE TKHULUNYWE/

UMHLANGANO WOKUKHULEKELA UKUTHULA

- Inkulumbo nguMntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezdi
uNduankulu wakKwaZulu nonguMengameli weNkatha

EMPUMALANGA 30 JULAYT 1989

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JTVATTWE T7E TKHULUNYWE/

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Mphathiâ\200\231wohlelo9 uSihlalo wethu woMhlahlandlela; Comrade
Nobhala-Jikele; uSihlalo kaMaziphathe Wesifunda saseMpumalanga,
Inkosi Mkhize namanye Amakhosi akhona; aBantwana baseNdlunkulu

abakhona; iMeya yaseMpumalanga hamanye amaKhansela akhona;
aBefundisi abakhona; uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbuthe waBesifazane,
uNksk. E.T.Bhengu; uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbuthe Wentsha,

Comrade Musa Zondi namalunga eSigungu; ozakwethu eMkhandlwini
wakwaZulu Oshayumthetho; ozakwethu eMgwamandeni neziphathimandla

zoMbuthe ezivela kwezinye izindawo; amalunga eNkatha, bafowethu

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

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kukhona isililo esikhulu sabantu abafuna ukuba indluzula ehambisana nokugqolozelana ngeziqo zdmehlo phakathi koMnyama noMnyama iphele manje. Kukhona isililo sabantu abafuna ukuba indluzula ephazamisa impilo "yabantu,

impilo yemindeni kanye nayoyonke imiphakathi, ipheze manje. Kukhona isililo esithi sekwenele.

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

Ngo-Aprili kuwo lonyaka ngahlaba umkhosi omkhulu wokuthula

ngiseMkhandlwini.../2

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

INgqungquthela-Jikelele yeNkatha yoNyaka ebihlangene ekuqaleni
kwayo lenyanga iwusekele ngo-â\200\230' ngelethuâ\200\231 umkhosi wami wakuthula
yasekela nomkhosi wokwenza unyaka ka-1989 uNyaka Wezenzo

Zokuthula.

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

Ngaqala ukuya Kwa-Makhutha lapho ngabamba khona i-\201mhlango

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

Bafowethu nodadewethu, sengize lapha kini manje ukuze ngibe nani nokukhuleleka ukuthula kanye nani, ukuhlelela ukuthula nginani, ukukhuluma ukuthula nani, nokucabanga ngazozonke ~

izindaba ezithintene nokudala ukuthula ezindaweni ezikhungethwe yindluzula yezingxabano.

namhlanje.../3

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

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngicela ukuba sithule sonke sithobise amakhanda ethu sihloniphe bonke labo abafuleyo kuzozombili izinhlangothi zakhokonke ukungqubuzana. Kakwenzi mehluko

ukuthi ulandela muphi umbusazwe, ukufa kuyabahlanganisa abantu. Nxa sithobisa amakhanda sihlonipha oyedwa, kufanele sibahloniphe bonke. Asithobise amakhanda ethu umzuzu.

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

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Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngizweni nxa ngithi ~indluzula izala-indluzula. Ngizweni nxa ngithi indluzula ichamusela indluzula. Indlizula ifuna indluzula. Ngizweni nxa ngithi yilesi nalesosenzo sendluzula sifuna enye indluzula yokuphindisela kanti naleso nalesosenzo sendluzula yokuphindisela sibiza

enye futhi indluzula.

Loluchungechunge lungase lubeyinto engenasiphetho futhi kugcine ngokuba kungasali lutho ekugcineni. Kufanele ipheze lendluzula.

Kufanele silunqamule loluchungechunge lwendluzula ngakho ngiyakugcizelela ukuthi yonke indluzula kufanele iphele manje.

Kakufanele kubekhona umsebenzi ongakaphethwa endluzuleni.

kakufanele.../4

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

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

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

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

Ngenxa yokuba iNkatha iyinhlangano yabantu futhi isekeleke

emalungeni,.../S

ÂSiBie

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

Ngenxa yokuba iNkatha iyinhlangothi yabantu kufanele senze okukhulu kunanoma yiyiphi enye inhlangothi ukudala ukuthula. Sinamakomindi kulelo naleloloKishi, kulelo naleloloDobha nakuleyo naleyondawo yasemakhaya. Sinemigudu ecacileyo yokuxhumana ukusuka eNkatha ebuholini beNkatha kwehle njalo ngeza=khiwo zayo kuye kufinyelele oqugabeni lwamalunga ayo.

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

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

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

IMpumalanga ingenye yczindawo esezikhungethwe kakhulu yilendlu=zula esabekayo ngakho ngithokoza kakhiilu ukuzwa ukuthi izinyas=thelo zokuthula sezigamuka kubo abantu baseMpumalanga zingqo=bo zabo manje. Ngiyayincoma iMeya yaseMpumalanga ngokuthinta

uMnu..../6

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

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

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

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

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

Ukubaluleka kwalamaxoxo kukhonziswe yizinga eliphezulu
lezithunywa ebezixoxa ngalokho esidinga ukukwenza ukuze

kufezwe ukuthula i-UDF beyimelwe nguMnu. Archie Gumede uMengameli
noMnu. Murphy Morobe uNobhala wosakaza izindaba kanti i-COSATU
yona ibimelwe nguMnu. Elijah Barayi noMnu. J. Naidoo.

Lamaxoxo phakathi kwalababaholi bezinga eliphezulu leNkatha,

i-UDF ne-COSATU alandela ukubhalelana phakathi kwami njengo=
Mengameli weNkatha naBengameli be-UDF ne-COSATU. Lokho
kubhalelana sekuholele emihlanganweni phakathi kwalezizihla=
ngano zontathu.

Okungaphezulu.../7

e

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

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngingakhulumela uhlangothi lwami kuphela.

Ngizimisele mina ngokubonana naBengameli be-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU. Umkhosi wobunye babantu abaNyama selokho ngagala ukuwuhlaba ngenkathi kusungulwa iNkatha futhi ngisho namanje uMnu. Oliver

Tambo unencwadi ekhikhini lakhe engambhalela yona ngicela ukubonana naye. Lencwadi ngayibhala kudala ngoSepthemba ka-1984 futhi ngisazimisele ngokubonana noMnu. Oliver Tambo. Sizolinda sibone ukuthi aBengameli be-ANC, UDF ne-COSATU banquma ukwenzenjani ngalomhlangano.

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

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

nodaba.../8

R
nodaba lokuthi sizokwenzenjani ngomphumela wendluzula.

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

Njengoba ngikengasho ngasekuqaleni kwalenkulumo yami ukuthi indluzula izala indluzula nokuthi indluzula yobugebengu izala indluzula yobugebengu nokuthi indluzula yokuhlasela izala indluzula yawoqonda bokuzivikela nokuthi futhi indluzula yawoqonda bokuzivikela izala indluzula yokuziphindisela. Kufanele kucace kahle ukucabanga kwethu kungasidikibalisi 1

ukuthi indluzula kayishabalali ngokushesha njengoba sithi
kufanele kube khona ukuthula.

Ngenxa yokuthi ngeke kuthi kusa indluzula ibe isinyamalele
kalula kangako, abantu baseMpumalanga kufanele bafakwe

ekunqandeni indluzula bona zingqobo zabo. Kufanele

banyakaze balwe nendluzula bona njenomphakathi. Thina
ezinhlanguweni zethu ezehlukeneyo siyoba namandla amakhulu
nxa sisekela izinto ezenziwa yibo abantu zingqobo zabo.

KWzozonke izinkulumo emgizethulayo ngendluzula nesidingo
sokuthula, ngigcizelela ukuthi ukukhuluma okudala indluzula
kufanele kuphele manje. Kufanele iphele manje imfundiso
yombusazwe enonya ekhwezela abantu ukuba bazibuyiselâ€šle ngentukuthelo.
Kufanele kuphele. ukubhocana ngodaka nokulhinyabezwa kwezimilo - -

namagama.../9

e

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

Yileyo naleyonhlangano ehlaba umkhosi wokuthula nechitha uku=
ggolozelana ngeziqu zamehlo phakathi koMnyama noMnyama sekufa=
nele :.ibangande manje labo abakhuluma ukusekela lokhu kugqolo=
zelana. Nxa bengakwazi ukubanganda kufanele bawachithe obala
amazwi abawakhulumayo akhwezela izingxabano. Sekufanele kuphele
manje ukukhuluma okuholela ekubulaleni.

Yileyo naleyonhlangano enesandla ezinyathweleni zokuthula
naleyo naleyonhlangano ehlaba umkhosi wokuthula, kufanele
zisebenzise amandla azo apheleleyo ukucindezela lelo nalelophe=
phandaba eNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba abhale ngezinyathelo
zokuthula ngendlela encbuqotho necabangela imiphumela nokuba
abike izehlo zendluzula lapho zenzeka khona ngendlela yokuba

kudalwe ukuthula kubantu nokuba kulekelelwe uhlelo lokuthula.

Ngihlaba umkhosi engiwubhekisa kuUDF neCOSATU ikakhulukazi ukuba bangande lokhu okuthiwa ngamaphephandaba athatha indawo

yamaphephandaba ajwayelekileyo (alternative press) nokuba

baphumele obala balwe nokukhishwa kwezitatimende ezilimaza ukuthula. Nxa bengakwenzi lokhu, nginovalo mina lokuthi kuno= kwenzeka ukuba sichitha isikhathi sethu.

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

niye...Â»../10

niye nifinyelele ezicongweni . zokuphakama kwenu njengezidalwa ezingabantu nihambele phezulu ningagcini nje ngokupheza ukubus=lalana kuphela kepha sebenzani nilwe nokubulala noma ngabe yi=kuphi lapho kwenzeka khona.

Okwesibili, ngihlaba umkhosi wokuthula ngenxa yomzabalazo wenkululeko. Wonke amaghawe ethu esikhathi esidlule nalabo abahluphekela nabafela umzabalazo kufanele ukuba bayanyakaza emalibeni abo ngendlela umuntu oMnyama abulala ngayo cmunye umuntu wakubo oMnyama. Selokhu kwathi nhlo umzabalazo womuntu oMnyama wenkululeko eNingizimu ne-Afrika ungumzabalazo ohlo=niphekileyo wokufeza izinjongo esezenziwa zahlonipheka yisikha=thi ngokusetshenziswa kwamasu okuthula. Okungaphezu kwakho=konke, umzabalazo womuntu oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika wenkululeko wasungulwa njengomzabalazo wokuthula futhi kuwowo=

nke amashumi eminyaka lomzabalazo ushiswa ubungumzabalazo wokuthula. :

Izinga indluzula eyingozi ngalo likhonjiswa yindlela ukugqolos=
zelana ngeziqu zamehlo okuphakathi koMnyama noMnyama osekuqu=
buke ngayc manje kwakwaZulu neNatali. Yikusetshenziswa
kwendluzula nendluzula yokulwa nendluzula obekwenziwa nguMbuso
nabavukeli boMbuso â\200\230.ckusabalalise umoya wendluzula eNingizimu
ne-Afrika. Yilendluzula ebenomphumela wokubulalana koMnyama
noMnyama. kuyisimo sayo indluzula lokhu ~- ukuthi iyasabalala
iphinde isabalale ibuye isabalale_futhi.

. Indluzula phakathi koMnyama noMnyama isiyibhidliza ngokuphele=
leyo imihlathi efanele ukuhlangana ukuze igadle ngegalelo

lokugcina .obandlululweni. Bafowethu nodadewethy ubandlululo
sel:uphelelwe yisikhathi. Ukunqoba kuzoba ".ngokwethu, kakukho
ukungabaza ngalokho. Nxa ukunqoba kuzoba ngokwethu, ngenxa
kaNkulunkulu kufanele sibeke phansi izikhali esigqolozelene
ngazo sihlanganise amandla ethu ukuze sisungule izisekelo
zokubonisana esiyosukela kuzo ukuyohlakaza ubandlululo.

Ubunye.e.es./11

iy

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

Sekunesidingo esikhulu manje sombusazwe sokuba oNyama apheze ukugqolozela omunye oNyama ngeziqu zamehlo nokuba oNyama asukume angene ezenzweni ezisebenzela imigomo eyodwa nabanye abantu abaNyama.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, isililo sokuthula sesiqubuke kangangoba

sesizwakala kuwowonke amagumbi ezwe ngakho ngisho noDokotela Nelson Mandela usesabelile laphe ekhona emkhosini wabantu. Ngokokuqala ngqa eminyakeni enga-26 yokuboshwa kwakhe uDoko= tela Mandela usethumele umyalezo kubantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

UDokotela Mandela wangibhalela incwadi engayifumana ngo-Aprili kuwo lonyaka lapho enxusa khona abantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukuba bapheze lokhu kugqolozelana ngeziqo zamehlo koNyama noNyama okwenyanyekayo. Bafowethu nodadewecethu, ngicela ukunifundela lencwadi :

1335/88 : Nelson Mandela Victor Verster Prison
Private Bag X6005
Paarl South, 7624

3-2-89
Shenge Othandekayo

Ngiyathokoza ngomyalezo wakho wocingo lwe-Telex omnandi nocatshangisiswe kahle owangithumela wona egameni leNgoyama uZwelithini neNkatha ngosuku lwami lokugubha iminyaka engama-79 yokuzalwa. Ngayifumana necwadi yakho yomhlaka 26 kuAgasti 1988 lapho owawungifisela khona ukwelulama ekuguleni, nalapho owawucacisa khona imizamo yakho ekhaya nangaphandle yokuba kukhululwe iziboshwa eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngaphandle kocingo llwakho lwe-Telex nolwe-Telegram olwaluvela kuNkk Helen Suzman, kunemiyalezo engamakhulu efanayo eyafikayo ivela

kwabanye...../12

b

kwabanye abancifisela kahle ezweni nakwezinye izingxenye eze= hlukeneyo zomhlaba. Kuyingxenye yokuseckelwa okungaguqukiyc kwabesilisa nabesifazane balcluhlobo, nengxenye yalokho okufezwe yinhlangano yethu ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwezwe okunikeza iziboshwa amandla amakhulu kangaka nethemba.

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

Kusobala, ukuthi ithemba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathi= ni esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobudlelwane cbuhle obabukhona pha= kathi kwakho no O.R., (Mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphakathi kwezinhla= ngano zombili eminyakeni yawo-1970C.

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

Kudingeka ulwazi oluningi kakhulu kunalolo enginalo njengas=
manje ngaphambi kokuba ngikwazi ukuscla noma yiliphi emagenjini
athintekayo kulokhu kungqubuzana okwenyanyekayo oEwenzekayo
eNatali. Nala kunjalo ngikuthatha njengecala elibi kakhulu
kithi sonke ukuba sehluleke namanje ukuhlanganisa amandla

ethu okunganda lokhu kubulawa kwemiphefumulo eminingi kangaka
engenacala. Umzabalazo uyimpilo yethu ngakho ngisho noma
ukufeza kwamaphupho ethu amahle kakhulu kungabayinto esiseduze
singaphumelela nokho ukuwenza lomzabalazo ube yinto esinothisa
kakhulu noma ubeyinhlekelele ngckupheleleyo.

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

Ngiyaphinda futhi ngiyathokoza eSilweni naseNkatheni

ngomyalezo...../13

ay%.

ngomyalezo wakho okhuthazayo. Ngikufisela okuhle kodwa wena kanye neNdlunkulu.

Owakho ngeginiso.

MADIBA.

Ngemuva kokuncibonga ngemfudumalo enkulu ngokughubeka kwami nokukhankasela ukukhululwa kwakhe ejele nokwenza ukukhululwa kwakhe umbandela opheleleyo okufanele kuhlangatshezwane

nawo ngaphambi kokuba ngingene ekubonisaneni ngekusasa lesakhiwo sezwe seNingizimu ne-Afrika, uDokotela Mandela

uyaghubeka ahlabe umkhosi wokuthula nobunye babantu abaNyama.

Muzweni nxa ethi : "Kasobala, ukuthi ithemba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathini esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobudlelwane obuhle obabukhona phakathi kwakho ne-ANC (Mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphaka= thi kwezinhlangano zombili (iNkatha ne-ANC) eminyakeni yawo-1970

Bafowethu nodadewethu, uDokotela Mandela ukusho konke nxa ethi:

" Umsebenzi oyinselelo enkulu kunazozonke obhekene nabaholi

ngumsebenzi wobunye beSizwe.' UDokotela Mandela uthi kakukho

lutho olungaba yinselelo ukwedlula ubunye phakathi koMnyama noMnyama. Usekhulumile futhi incwadi yakhe uyiphetha ngokuthi: "Kayikho into eyongithokozisa ukwedlula ukwazi ukuthi ukukha= thazeka kwami nokunxusa kwami kakuwelanga khona ezindlebeni ezivalekileyo.â\200\235" Ngilethe ukunxusa kukaDokotela Mandela kini lapho enxusela khona ubunye babantu abaNnyama njengoba efuna ukuba ngenze. Ngiletha ukunxusa kwakhe enxusela ubunye babantu abaNnyama kuhambisana nokuninxusa ukubanikugonde ukuthi, njengoba esho, ' "Kakukaze kwenzeke ngesinye isikhathi emla= ndweni wethu ukuba kubeyinto emqoka kangaka ukuba abantu bakithi bakhulume ngezwi elilodwa, nckuba bahlanganise imizamo yabo .."

UDokotela Mandela uyakusekela ukugcizelela kwami ukuba

imfundiso.../14

&Y 4w

imfundiso yombusazwe enonya iphele manje. Uthi : "Noma yisiphi isenzo noma amazwi, noma ngabe achamuka kuphi abona=kala edalz noma edlulisela wughekeko, esimeni sombusazwe esikhona, siyiphutha elifanele ukugwenywa ngayoyonke indlela.â\204¢ Ngiyethemba ukuthi abafowethu abaku-UDF, i-COSATU ne-ANC bayawaqaphela lamagama amakhulu eqghawe leNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama eselahluphekela umzabalazo. Siyethemba ukuthi lokhu okuthiwa ngamaphephandaba athatha indawo yamaphephandaba ajwayelekileyo ayawagaphela lamazwi.

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

nani. Uthi : "Kuyoyonke impilo yami ngisebenza kwezombusazwe
zimbalelwa izinto ezingidabukise njengokubona abantu bakithi
bebulalana bodwa njengoba kwenzeka njengamanje."â\200\231â\200\235 Uxwayisa

ngokuthi lendluzula eghubekayo njengamanje izoshiya "inzondo

namagqubu angase abenathi iminyaka eminingi ezayo."â\200\235

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

Kakugcini nje ngokuba kudingeke ukuba siyeke ukubulala

kepha.../15

e

kepha kufanele senze nemisebenzi yokulungisa nomonakalo

odalwe yindluzula empilweni yabantu, empilweni yemindeni
eqinisweni silungise nomonakalo owenziwe indluzula emiphakathini.
Ukusebenzela ukuthula kufanele kube yikusebenzela ukuvusele=

lwa kwabantu nemiphakathi. Kufanele sikuvuselele kubuyele
esimeni sakho lckho okwacekelwa phansi,

Thina esiseNkatheni sizowusekela ngawowonke amandla ethu
umsebenzi Oqcdene.nghji~\202mmybegi~\201m, nezidingo zabantu abathi=
ntwe yindluzvla. Sengiphelelwa yisineke sokulindela lokhu
kuvuselelwa kwemiphakathi eMpyama eklaywe phakathi indluzuila.
Ngifuna ukugala khona manje ukusebenzela ukuthula ngakho
ngihlaba umkhosi engiwubhekisa kuzozonke izinhlangano ukuba
zisheshise szikwenzayo ukudala ukuthula zinhlanganyele ne=
Nkatha emisebenzini yokuthula lapho izinto zenzeka khona.
Iyiphi nje indlela engcono engakhona yezinhlangano eziMnyama

ezithi zizinikele ekuthuleni r. kunokusebenza ngokuhlanganyela

" nezinhlango ebezdgqclozelene nazo njengezitha esikhathini esidlule.

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

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

isikhathi...../16

isikhathi eside kangaka sebegala ukuhlala ezigcawini zoku=
thula manje.

KwelaseMozambique kunokukhuluma okuningi ngokuthula phaka=
thi kwe-Frelimo ne-Renamo kanti uMengameli Chissano usanda
kubonana noMnu. F. W, de Klerk noMnu. Pik Botha ngeviki

elidlule laphe bakhuluma khona ngokuthula phakathi kwelase=

Mozambique neNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, imibuso emikhulu yomhlaba isisekela
ukuthula manje hhayi impi eNingizimu ne-Afrika kanye nase
Afrika eseNingizimu. UHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika kade
ehlazi phansi nabamele cHulumeni baseMelika, e-Angola,

eCuba naseRashiya. Bonke labohulumeni bazisekela izinyathelo
zokuthula nokufezwza kweSinqumo esingunombolo 435 kwelase=
Namibia.

Umlando usuzilungele manje izinyathelo zokuthula eNingizimu

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

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

e o o e w w e e