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IMBIZO EHLANGANISE AMAKHOSI NEZIZWE ZAWO KANYE
NABAZUKULU BENKOSI UMPANDE EBIZWE YISILO SAMABANDLA,
INGONYAMA YESIZWE SAMAZULU

Inkulumo nguMntwana Mangosuthu Buthelezi iLungu lePhalamende,
iNkosi yeSizwe sakwaButhelezi,
uSihlalo WeNdlu Yabaholi Bomdabu YaKwaZulu Natali
nonguNdunankulu KaZulu

KwaNongoma: Novemba 1, 2002

iSilo Samabandla, iNgonyama yeSizwe saMaZulu; nina bendlovu, aBantwana
baseNdlunkulu; aMakhosi oMbuso Wobukhosi baKwaZulu; isihambeli sethu
uNggongqoshe Wezindaba Zomhlaba, uMhlonishwa T Didiza; izihambeli
zethu ezivela eMnyangweni Wezindaba Zomhlaba.

Kuyintokozo enkulu kimi, esikhundleni sami njengoNdunankulu womdabu
woMbuso Wobukhosi baKwaZulu, ukwethula iSilo Samabandla, iNgonyama
yeSizwe saMaZulu eMakhosini oMbuso wakhe Wobukhosi, kubantu bakayise
nasezihambelini zethu ezimqoka. Ngumhlangano oyinggophamlando lo
owenzeka ezikhathini ezinzima nezibucayi kunazozonke emlandweni
weSizwe sethu. Esikushoyo nesikwenzayo namhlanje kuyogoshwa phansi
emlandweni kukhunjulwe futhi kuthathwe yizizukulwane ezizayo njengomzuzu
lapho abaholi bomdabu boMbuso wethu Wobukhosi bahlangana khona
ndawonye ngaphansi kweNgonyama yabo, ukubhekana nesimo esibucayi
sokugcina esehlele isimiso sethu.

Lesi yisikhathi emlandweni lapho, ngezenzo zethu, sizonquma noma uMbuso
wethu Wobukhosi nesimiso sobuholi bomdabu kuzoghubeka yini kungene
kulelikhulu leminyaka, noma siyokhunjulwa kuze kube phakade njengalabo
ababangofakazi bokubulawa kancane kancane kobuholi bomdabu, ukuphuma
komphefumulo wabo okokugcina kanye nokuphetha kwawo
ngokungcwatshwa. Kulesisikhathi nakulendawo, siggolozelwe yisidingo
sokuba singume ukuthi singobani nokuthi sakhiwe ngani kanye nokuthi yini
esimiselwe yona. Silapha ukuzozibheka ngaphakathi kithi zinggobo zethu
nokuba, ngemuva kokuhlaziya lesisimo esizifumana sikuso, singume ukuthi
yiliphi ighaza esizolibamba kulelishwa elisombuluka ngaphambi kwamehlo
ethu uqobo. Silapha ngenxa yokuba singume ukuthi ighaza lethu ngeke kube
ngelezibukeli nje ezingenamandla okwenza lutho. Kukithi ukuba senze izwi
lethu lizwakale nokuba sibambe ighaza elihambisana nesimo sethu kanye
nokuphuthuma kwezikhathi.

Lembizo ibizwe yiSilo Samabandla, iNgonyama vyeSizwe saMaZulu.
Kwakhona nje lokhu kugcizelela ukubaluleka kwezehlo eziggolozelayo.
Lembizo ilandela enye imbizo ebihanjelwe yiNdlu Yabaholi Bomdabu ngo-
Okthoba 11 lapho kwahlolwa khona lesisimo esikhona. Lowomhlangano
wakubona ukuthi lesisimo esikhona siphuthuma futhi sivusa amadlingozi
ngendlela yokuba sidinga ubuhlakani obukhulu beqoqo nokuzimbandakanya
kwabobonke abaholi bethu bomdabu, ngakho kwenziwa umhlangano

ohlanguanisa bonke abaholi bethu bomdabu ngeviki elilandelayo ngombhlaka-18 Okthoba. ~ Lembizo eyenzeka esikhathini esingamaviki amabili nje kusukela kulowomhlango wabobonke abaholi bethu bomdabu ucacisa ukubaluleka iSizwe sethu esikubona kulesisimo esikhona nokungazimiseli kwethu ukuba sibe yizibukeli nje ezingenamandla okwenza lutho ezibukela ukughubeka kokusumbuluka kwezehlo ezibonakala kithi kuhloswe ngazo ukubhidliza isimiso sobuholi bomdabu. i

Ngemuva komhlango womhlaka-18 Okthoba, aMakhosi aya eSilweni Samabandla ayosicela ukuba sibize leMbizo. Kakusikho okokugala ukuba aMakhosi acele lelithuba. Sekuyiminyaka eminingi aMakhosi ethungatha ukuhlanguana ndawonye neNgonyama yawo ngalendlela, kepha kalikaze libekhona ithuba lokuba lokho kwenzeke. Udaba lokuthi lomhlango osuphethe ngokuba wenzeke kungobunye futhi ubufakazi bokubaluleka kwezikhathi. Noma kunjalo, kuyadabukisa ukuthi sekuze kwathatha ishwa laloluhlobo elisilengelayo ukuba livele ithuba lalomhlango. Kakungabazeki ukuthi igebe eselibekhona phakathi koMbuso Wobukhosi neNgonyama yawo libe nomnikelo ekudaleni ithuba lalesisimo esivusa amadlingozi. Ukuba bekungekho ukuthintana phakathi kweSilo Samabandla iNgonyama yeSizwe saMaZulu nathi kanye nabantu beSilo abangaphansi kwethu thina njengaMakhosi eSilo, okube yuphawu Iwengxenywe enkulu yokubusa kweSilo kuleminyaka eyisishiyagalombili edlule, kunalolonke ithuba lokuthi lesisimo ngabe kasisibi njengoba sinjalo manje. Kephah, naphezu kokuba ngabe kwenzekeni esikhathini esedlule, kubalulekile manje ukuthi iSilo Samabandla sesiphinde sahlanguana naMakhosi aso kanye neSizwe saso, nokuthi iSilo sesikulungele ukuzwakalisa isililo sokungeneliswa koMbuso waso Wobukhosi. INgonyama yeSizwe saMaZulu ingumlomo woMbuso wethu Wobukhosi ofanele ukuzwakalisa ngawo ukungeneliswa kwawo okufanaleyo vyilesisimo esikhona. INgonyama iphethe leloghaza kuphela emfihlakalweni yobunye bayo naMakhosi ayo kanye nabantu bakayise. INgonyama ingakhuluma kuphela njengeNgonyama, futhi ikhuluma ngezwi nangamandla egunya lawowonke aMakhosi angumgogodla woMbuso wayo Wobukhosi, ukuze izwakalise umsindo ongaphakathi emongweni wezwi |eSizwe sayo. Sekuyizikhathi eziningi sihlanguana ukuzwakalisa ukukhathazeka kwethu ngesimo esikhona. Siwuhlaziyile uMbiko Wokwazisa Ngobuholi boMdabu (White Paper on Traditional Leadership), uMthethosivivinywa Wamalungelo Omhlaba Ohlanganyelweyo (Communal Land Right Bill) kanye nezinye izigephu zomthetho oqondeneyo. Kubenochungechunge Iwezithembiso ezenziwe kithi, zenziwa ngokujula zabuye zephulwa ngendlela engahloniphekile nangokunganaki ngobungqoshishilizi. Sikhulumile saphakamisa izwi lethu ukuzwakalisa ukungeneliswa kwethu ngokobugotho. Kephah namhlanje silapha ukuzolalela izwi leNgonyama ekhuluma ngezwi lethu nengumlomo wezikhalo zeSizwe sayo.

Lude ukhalo esiluhambileyo okulukhalo obelungelula futhi lungenazo izinhlahla. Sihambe ukhalo Iwendlela ende eyagaliswa neSilo Samabandla, iNgonyama yeSizwe saMaZulu nangaphansi kwekhwapha layo. Sagalisa ukumasha kwethu neSilo kuyiso esihamba phambili siphethe uphawu Iwethu. Kuthe nxa iSilo siphuma eceleni lokumasha kwethu, saghubeka samasha

endleleni eklanyiweyo. Manje njengoba iSilo sesibuye sazohlanganyela nathi, kufanele sihlale ukuthi sikuphi siphinde futhi siklame indlela eya phambili.

Sagqala ukuzwakalisa ukukhathazeka kwethu ngo-Okthoba ka-1993 lapho kwase kucaca ukuthi ukwehluleka kwezingxoxo zokubonisana ngesakhiwo ezazenzelwe e-World Trade Centre ukuphuma nohlelo lwempela lombuso owodwa onezifundazwe ezinamandla okuzilawula zizophuma nalokho okungumbuso owodwa onamandla agogelwe ndawonye lapho kwakungekho ukuhlinzekwa kwendawo yoMbuso wethu Wobukhosi. Ukwehluleka ukuhlinzeka indawo yoMbuso Wobukhosi kwasincisha lokho kuzilawula okulinganisiweyo okwakuyosenza sikwazi ukuziphathela izindaba zangaphakathi ezifana namandla nemisebenzi yabaholi bomdabu nomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi, kanye nemithetho ebusa ukuphathwa komhlaba wemiphakathi yethu yomdabu.

Ngenxa yokuba ngo-Okthoba ka-1993, kwacaca ukuthi uMbuso wethu Wobukhosi uzoba ngaphansi kohlelo olufanayo lwemithetho nohlelo lukahulumeni olwalungeke lusenze sikwazi ukuzwakalisa owethu umbono ngezindaba ezifana nobuholi bomdabu, noma ukuhlinzeka ukuhlonishwa nokwemukelwa kwesimiso sesihlalo sobukhosi, iSilo Samabandla saphakamisa izwi laso saphikisana naloluhlelo lukahulumeni. ISilo sakhuluma ngemuva kwezinyanga eziningi lapho izithunywa zeSilo e-World Trade Centre zaze hluleka khona ukufumana indlela eya phambili. Abantu babuthana ngemuva kweSilo ukuba kubekhona iSakhiwo Sezwe sesikhashana, esaphothulwa e-World Trade Centre, salungiselwa ukuba sihlinzeke ukwemukelwa koMbuso wethu Wobukhosi nokuba kwemukelwe izinga eleneleyo lokuzimela kulesisifunda okwakuyokwenza uMbuso wethu Wobukhosi ukwazi ukuphatha izindaba ezigondene nawo kanye nabaholi bawo bomdabu ngokusebenzisa eyawo imithetho yesifundazwe. Phakathi kuka-Novemba ka-1993 no-Mashi ka-1994, ezikhathini eziningi iSilo kanye nami sahlanguka nalowo owayenguMengameli woMbuso, uMnu FW de Klerk nalowo owayenguMengameli u-Nelson Mandela. Saba nomhlangano e-Skukuza ngoMashi ka-1994 lapho kwakumiswa khona imidiyo yokughubela phambili isivumelwano uMengameli Mandela nami esafinyelela kuso ngoMashi 1, 1994, sokuthi kuyakubakhona ukulamula kwamazwe omhlaba ukuxazulula lezizindaba.

Ngemuva komhlangano waseSkukuza kwaqaliswa ukulamula kwamazwe omhlaba, kepha kwabuye kwabhidlizwa. Ngomzuzu wokugcina, ngokuvuma kweSilo Samabandla, ngomhlaka-19 Aphreli, 1994 ngangena eSivumelwaneni esijulileyo Sokubuyisana Nokuthula, esasilawula ukuba kuphinde kughutshekwe nokulamula kwamazwe omhlaba ngokushesha ngokungenzeka ngemuva kokhetho luka-Aphreli 1994 ukuxazulula ngaleyondlela izindaba zeSakhiwo Sezwe ezazisasele zilenga nokuba kuhlinzekwe ukwemukelwa koMbuso wethu Wobukhosi ngaphakathi kwemidiyo yeNingizimu ne-Afrika ehlangeneyo. Kepha isithembiso sokulamula kwamazwe omhlaba sephulwa ngokusobala aMakhosi azifumana esewodwa efuna ukuba kufezwe izithembiso nokuba uHulumeni omusha uhloniphe izithembiso zawo. Esikhundleni salokho sasheshe sazifumana segqolozelwe yinhloso kaHulumeni yokwesula umthetho esasiwushaye

ngaphambi kokhetho luka-Aphreli 1994 wokusungula i-Ngonyama Trust ukuba isingathe umhlaba waMakhosi ethu kanye nawomaziphathe bethu bezizwe zaMakhosi. Yimi engachushisa umthetho owasungula iNgonyama Trust eMkhandlwini waKwaZulu Oshayumthetho. Lowo kwaba ngumthetho wokugcina esawushaya njengoMkhandlu waKwaZulu Oshayumthetho.

UMthetho weNgonyama Trust wawuxoxwe nababemele amagembu ayesezingxoxweni zokubonisana e-World Trade Centre ngoNovemba ka: 1993, kwaphinda futhi kwakhulunywa ngawo emhlanganweni waseSkukuza. Kepha ngemva kokhetho uHulumeni wenza sengathi akazi lutho ngawo wathungatha izindlela zokuwesula. Kwaba ngemva kokucindezela okukhulu nokugqolozelana okukhulu lapho kwaba nokuhlangabezana okuthile okungenelisiyo okwafinyelelwa kukho lapho yagcinwa khona i-Ngonyama Trust, kepha athathwa amandla okuyiphatha ekulawulweni nguMbuthe wethu Wobukhosi kanye neSifundazwe sethu, adatshulwa phakathi ukuba ilawule yiSifundazwe kanye noHulumeni omkhulu. Kusukela ngaleyonkathi, sibone ukhondolo olughubekayo Iwezenzo, imigomo nemithetho kaHulumeni ebighuba ngokuzimisela okuphikelelayo ukuzinikela emqondweni ocacileyo osekela inqubo ethile. Lokhu kuzinikela emqondweni othile osekela inqubo yikho lokhu okuhloswe ngakho ukwesula nokugeda isimo sobuholi bomdabu kanye noMbuso wethu Wobukhosi njengezinhlelo ezinokusebenzisa egameni lazo amandla nemisebenzi esemthethweni, noma igunya lomphakathi, lezizimiso ziyolahlwa emkhakheni wokubhekana nezindaba zamasiko noma izimiso zomdabu, okuyisimo esisenza sifane nento enjengesonto. Ukuzinikela emqondweni osekela inqubo ethile yikho okubeka isimiso sethu ezingeni elifanayo nezinye izinhlangathi zomphakathi wezakhamizi ezifana nezinhlangano zezakhamizi.

Sawubona kusukela ekugaleneni umsuka walokhu kuzinikela emqondweni osekela inqubo salwa nakho kuleso naleso sinyathelo sendlela esiyihambileyo. UHulumeni ukuphike ephindaphinda ukuthi wenza lokho abekwenza nokuthi ubehlele lokho okuphethe ngokuba kwenzeke. UHulumeni ukuphike ephindaphinda ukuzinikela kwakhe kwempela emqondweni osekela inqubo lokho wakumboza ngamazwi nezithembiso ezingekho azenze esimisweni sobuholi bomdabu. Kulolonke loluhambo olude lapha abaholi bomdabu bephikisene khona nalokhu balwela ukwemukelwa kwesimiso sabo, kabazange babenakho ukusizakala ngokwesekwa yiNgonyama yabo. NgoMeyi ka-1995 abaholi bomdabu bavela ngaphambi koMkhandlu Wokubhalwa KweSakhiwo Sezwe beyokwethula umbiko ocacileyo ngendawo abemi kuyo nombiko wamasu obunye wabobonke abaholi bomdabu. Isethulo sethu sakukhomba ukuthi omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi bangahlinzekwa kanjani ngendawo phezu kwesisekelo samazinga amibili kahulumeni wasekhaya nokuthi uhlelo lokudabuka Iwegunya bomhlaba olugondene nomhlaba ohlanganyelweyo lungahlinzekwa kanjani ngaphakathi kweghaza eliginisiweyo lomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi. Kusukela ngaleyonkathi, sakucacisa ukuhlangu phakathi kwendawo yomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi kuhulumeni wasekhaya kanye nokuphathwa komhlaba ohlanganyelweyo ohlelweni olwaluyohlolipha imisebenzi yabaholi bomdabu yokwaba, ukuphatha nokunquma ngokusetshenziswa komhlaba.

Sabe sesiyibona ingozi eyayilengela omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi nomhlaba ohlanganyelweyo ohlelweni olusha, olwalusaqalisayo ngaleyonkathi lukahulumeni wasekhaya ezindaweni zasemakhaya. Ngalesisizathu, salwa nokusungulwa kohlelo lwamazinga amabili kahulumeni wasekhaya ezindaweni zasemakhaya, eSifundazweni sethu okwakuyohlinzeka indawo yomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ngomcabango walokhu okubizwa ngokuthi â\200\234yizindawo eziseleyoâ\200\235 ezagxiliswa ezichitshelweni ezenziwa eMthethweni Wesikhathi Soguquko kuhulumeni wasekhaya (Local Government Transition Act). Kepha, kusukela ekuqaleni, sakubona ukuthi amabombo ayethathwa nguHulumeni ayengakaguquki nokuthi naziphi izixegiselo esasenzelwa zona zaziyingxenye yesu nje nokuthi zazingamguquli uHulumeni ohlelweni Iwakhe Iwesikhathi eside lokugeda isimiso sethu. UHulumeni wayemane enza izindlela zokulindela ithuba lakhe nje kuphela.

Ngalesisizathu, ekupheleni kuka-1994 ngahola izithunywa zaMakhosi ukuyohlangana noMengameli Mandela sihambisana nalowo owayenguNdunankulu waKwaZulu Natali ngaleyonkathi, uDokotela FT Mdlalose, kukhona naMakhosi kanye nabanye ababemele uHulumeni waKwaZulu Natali. Sethula kuMengameli incwadi-sethulo ende eyayequkethe izikhalo nokukhathazeka. UMengameli wasitshena ukuthi akanaso isikhathi sokubheka incwadi-sethulo kepha uyobuye abuyelele kithi ngokubhala ngokushesha ngokungenzeka ngemuva kokuba esebenesikhathi sokuyifunda ngokucophelela nokubonisana neMinyango ehlukeneyo. Kwedlula izinyanga, kwathi naphezu kwezicelo eziningi, kepha akazange abuyele Kithi.

Ngalesisizathu, esikhathini esicisho sibe ngunyaka ngemuva, kwalokho iNkosi uHolomisa nami sakhuphuka izitebhisi zase-Union Buildings sihola ibandla elikhulu lezithunywa ezingaMakhosi avela kuyoyonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika, siphethe enye incwadi-sethulo eyayiphinda okunye kokukhathazeka okufanayo. Naphezu kwezinhlelo ezazenziwe, kwacaca ukuthi uMengameli akekho lapho ukuzosemukela, kepha sanikezwa isiginiseko sokuthi incwadi-sethulo yethu yesibili izophendulwa nguMengameli. Njengoba kwenzeka encwadini-sethulo yokuqala, neyesibili kayizange ifumane mpendulo kwakhona nje. Uma ufunda lemibhalo yomibili, kucaca ngokusobala ukuthi lezozingikithi nokukhathazeka okufanayo kusasigqolozele namanje, okuyinto efakazela ukuthi ukuba kwakukhona ukuzimisela ngokusihlinzeka ngendawo, uHulumeni wayozigaphela izinkinga abhekane nezindaba eminyakeni eyisikhombisa edlule. Esikhundleni salokho, uHulumeni wakhetha ukusebenzelana nathi njengoba umuntu engabhekana nenkinga ngokuzama ukusithoba ngenkathi ephikelela nokuzimisela ngokusibhidliza.

Ngomhlaka-16 Mashi 1996, loyo waye nguMengameli Mandela wabamba umhlangano neSilo sethu ukuba kuxoxwe ngodaba lobuholi bomdabu. Kepha lowomhlangano wanqunywa wenziwa wabamfishane uMengameli akaze ahlala isikhathi eside ngokweneleyo ukuba kuxoxwe noma yini eyingqikithi. Kusukela kulowomhlangano, uHulumeni akazange aguquke ezenzweni zakhe futhi kakukho kuzinikela akwenzayo.

Esikhundleni salokho uHulumeni waghubeka nokuphothula iSakhiwo Sezwe esasicisha noma yimaphi amandla ayengasetshenziswa ngomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi magondana nokubuswa kwemiphakathi yethu. NgokweSakhiwo Sezwe sokugcina, sithi ~ ngomasipala kuphela abangasebenzisa noma yimaphi amandla noma imisebenzi kahulumeni wasekhaya nokuthi, abaholi bomdabu besebenza ngamunye banokunikezwa isikhundla sokuhlanganyela esakhiweni somasipala. Ngokugudluza amandla okubusa asuswe komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi asiwe komasipala, . kwamiswa izisekelo zokugedwa kwalolonke uhlelo lomthetho namasiko omdabu ngokughubeka kwesikhathi, ngenkathi omasipala benokusebenza kuphela phezu kwesisekelo semithetho efanayo eshaywe yiPhalamende noma nguMkhandlu weSifundazwe Oshayumthetho. Lezizisekelo zaziqopha ubunzima bokugcinwa kwezimiso zomthetho womdabu, ezifana nohlelo lwethu Iwegunya lobunikazi bomhlaba lapho umhlaba wabiwa ubuye uphathwe ngabaholi bomdabu. Ngalesi kanye nezinye izizathu eziningi saphikisana neSakhiwo Sezwe sokugcina esasithembisa ngezithembiso ezenziwa kubaholi bomdabu.

Empeleni, iSakhiwo Sezwe sokugcina kasigcinanga nje ngokwehluleka ukugxilisa amandla nemisebenzi yabaholi bomdabu, kepha sabuye sadala nohlelo lapho wonke lawo mandla nemisebenzi kuyosheshe kungahambisani nesakhiwo. Abaholi bomdabu bakuyoyonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika bahlangana ekuphikisaneni nokuginiswa kombhalo wesakhiwo phambi kweNkantolo YeSakhiwo. Kepha iNkantolo YeSakhiwo yakhipha isinqumo esasidumaza ngokomthetho nangokomlando ngoba imigomo yesakhiwo yahunyushwa njengesho okuphikisanayo nalokho eyayethulwe njengekushoyo ngenkathi lowo owayenguSihlalo weKomidi Lokusebenza e-World Trade Centre owabuye waba nguMengameli weNkantolo YeSakhiwo, eyichaza futhi eyithengisela abaholi bomdabu. Ngalolosuku kwabuye kwenzeka okunye futhi ukwephulwa kokwethembana.

Kusukela ngaleyonkathi, kuwowonke unyaka ka-1997 no-1998, uHulumeni wasukela uhlelo olukhulu lwemfundiso-ze lokwenza abaholi bomdabu bakholwe ukuthi kayikho emithethweni nasemigomweni wakhe eyonyundela isakhawo sobuholi bomdabu. Uhulumeni waghubeka waze wafinyelela nasekuphikeni ukubakhona kokungqubuzana phakathi kwamandla nomasipala abasha ababezomiswa ngonyaka ka-2000 kanye namandla abaholi bomdabu. Abaholi bomdabu bahlanganyela ngenkuthalo ohlelweni lokuhlanganiswa koMbiko Wokwazisa ngoHulumeni Wasekhaya, okwathi ekugcineni kawayikhombisa imibono yabo. Ngakusho ukwengena kwami ngoMbiko Wokwazisa kuKhabhinethi, kepha kakuzange kusize ngalutho. Ngenkathi lughubeka uhlelo lokufezwa kwalombiko Wokwazisa, abaholi bomdabu benza iziphakamiso zohlelo lukahulumeni wasekhaya onamazinga amabili olwaluhlanganisa futhi luhlunipha ighaza labaholi bomdabu. Mina ngokwazi ngahola izithunywa sabaholi bomdabu abavela kuyoyonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika bezohlanganyela kuloluhlelo kepha imibono yethu yavinjwa. Ngenkathi kumiswa umthetho omusha ocacisa uhlelo lokugcina lukahulumeni wasekhaya, sakukhomba ukuthi kudalwe yisimo esibucayi

esikhulu kakhulu ngakho sathintana noMengameli ngqo.

Thina baholi bomdabu, ngaphandle kokulekelelwa yiNgonyama yethu, sangena ezingxoxweni okubonisana noHulumeni iminyaka ecisho ibe mibili ukuze kulungiswe lesisimo nezithembiso ezenziwayo zokuthi amandla omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ayobuyiselwa ngomthetho nezichibelo zesakhiwo. Kepha kakuzange kwenzeke lutho njengomphumela walokho. Kwabuye kwenziwa ezinye izithembiso zokuthi kungase kubekhona ukusizakala okungavela ngoMbiko Wokwazisa uNggongqoshe kaHulumeni Nezindaba Zezifundazwe ayephezu kokulungisa. Umbiko Wokwazisa sewube sesimeni sokwakhiwa iminyaka eminingi kanti umbhalo wawo wokugcina oyuhlaka wakhishwa eminyakeni emibili edlule. Abaholi bomdabu baphawula kabanzi ngombhalo wokuxoxa oyuhlaka owethulwa eminyakeni emibili edlule kepha kabazange babenethuba lokuwubona noma baphawule ngoMbiko Wokwazisa. Kubalulekile ukuthi uhlaka loMbiko Wokwazisa lwabhalwa ngaphandle kokuhlanganyela ngisho nokomholi womdabu oyedwa ebuthweni lokubhalwa kwalo. Lokhu kukhombisa umoya woMbiko Wokwazisa njengombhalo ogonde ukubhekana nenkinga, ikakhulukazi lokho abakuthatha njengenkinga yobuholi bomdabu. Kucisho kufane nokuba umuntu abhale uhlaka loMbiko Wokwazisa obhekana nenkinga yobugebengu kepha angazivumeli izigebengu ukuba sihlale ekomidini lokubhalwa kwalolohlaka.

Eminyakeni emibili edlule yena uMengameli uqobo Iwakhe wacela abaholi bomdabu ukuba baphawule ngombhalo wokuxoxa ekupheleni kuka-Juni 2000, okuyinto abaholi bomdabu abayenza ngesethulo esibanzi, esasifakazelwa ngumbono wengcwepheshi esasiwuchitha umcabango wokuthi amandla okubusa abaholi bomdabu asukela embusweni wamakoloni nasembusweni wobandlululo. Kepha kasikaze sinakwe isethulo sabaholi bomdabu, kanti nezisekelo zeqiniso, umlando nomthetho okumiswe kuzo uMbiko Wokwazisa ziyiphutha ngokusobala. LoMbiko, osemukeliwe manje yiKhabhinethi naphezu kokuphikisana kwami nawo okukhulu, mubi kakhulu kunalokho engangicabanga ukuthi ungaba yikho futhi kawuzixazululi izinkinga esasilindele ukuba uzixazulule. Empeleni, uginisa khona ukuthi omasipala sebewathathile amandla nemisebenzi yomaziphathe bezizwe zamakhosi magondana nohulumeni wasekhaya. Abaholi bomdabu ubashiya emkhakheni oyimileyo wamasiko nenkambiso yomdabu futhi uyabaghelisa emkhakheni wokubusa. Uhlinzeka kuphela ithuba lokuba abaholi bomdabu basebenze njengezithunywa sikahulumeni omkhulu, ukuze bakwazi ukusebenzisa kuphela lawomandla nemisebenzi edluliselwa kubo ngqo ngumkhakha othile woMbuso, futhi kufanele leyomisebenzi bayenze njengoba betshenwa.

Kukhona ukhondolo olubonakala kuyoyonke imizamo yokugeda noma yikuphi ukusetshenziswa yisimiso sobuholi bomdabu kwamagunya, amandla nemisebenzi yomphakathi. Umcabango oghutshwayo njengamanje ngowokuguqula ubuholi bomdabu benziwe isimiso somphakathi wezakhamizi, esisebenzelana namasiko inkambiso yomdabu namafa omdabu. Isiqongo saloluhlelo kuzoba ngukugedwa komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi njengemikhandlu eyakhiwe ngumthetho esebenza imisebenzi yomphakathi. Isinyathelo sokwengeza esithathwayo njengamanje esiqonde kulokhu siqukethwe ngumthetho uzakwethu uNggongqoshe kaHulumeni Wasekhaya Nowezindaba Zezifundazwe awuhlengayo magondana nezintela zikamasipala

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eziqgondene nomhlaba nezindlu. Lomthetho uzoginisa amandla omasipala okuthelisa izintela ezindaweni zomdabu futhi uzolishiya ngaphandle ithuba lokuba omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi bakwazi ukunquma ezabo izintela njengoba bebenza esikhathini esedlule. Lokhu kuzokwephuca omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi izimali abazidingayo zokughuba amandla abo kanye nokwenza imisebenzi yabo.

Kakukho sinyathelo kwakhona nje esithathiwe ngisho nokucabanga. ngokuchitshelwa kweSakhiwo Sezwe njengoba kwakwethenjiswa abaholi bomdabu ngokusemthethweni ngomhlaka-30 Novemba 2000, ngenkathi ekupheleni kokuxoxisana okujuliieyo nokubanzi, izithunywa zeKhabhinethi ezaziholwa yiPhini loMengameli uMnu Zuma, noBambiswano Lwabaholi Bomdabu bevumelana ukuthi iSahluko 7 no-12 seSakhiwo Sezwe ziyochitshelwa ukuze kuhlinzekwe omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ngamandla kahulumeni wasekhaya. Kukhona ukuvumelana kwayoyonke imikhakha ukuthi ngaphandle kokuchitshelwa kweSakhiwo Sezwe, kakukho lutho olungenziwa ukulondoloza isimiso sobuholi bomdabu. Siyibonile indlela uhulumeni akwazi ukuphuthuma ngayo ngejubane elesabekayo ukudala izichibelo zeSakhiwo Sezwe nxa lokho kusebenzela izidingo zakhe, njengoba bebhale uhlaka Iwezichibelo ezigondene nomthetho ovumela ukungamula komuntu omele abantu kwezombusazwe asuke egenjini elilodwa aye kwelinye esikhathini esingaphansi kweviki nendlela ahlela ngayo ukufohla nalezizichibelo adlule nazo ePhalamende esikhathini esingaphezulu kancane kwezinyanga ezimbili kusukela lezizichibelo zikhishiwe.

Kudala ukukhathazeka futhi ukuthi ighinga elihlanganisiweyo likaHulumeni lezindawo zasemakhaya kalilihlinzeki ighaza |omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ekukhuthazeni ukuthuthukiswa kwemiphakathi yethu. Kakukho malungiselelo okuhlelwa ukuba agondiswe komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ukukhuthaza intuthuko. Ngisho nalapho kuqondene khona nezindaba ezibucayi ezifana nempi yokulwa nesifo sengculazi, kungexa yezinyathelo zabaholi bomdabu kuphela nokuba izinto sezigala ukuguquka, futhi kwenzeka njengomcabango olandela kamuva nokuthi kuyagondakala ukuthi omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi banamandla nolwazi olwehlukileyo lokughuba izinhlelo zokusebenzi nokufeza izinhlelo zentuthuko.

IPhalamende liwudingidela phezu kwalomlando uMthethosivivinywa Wamalungelo Omhlaba Onganganyelweyo. Uzakwethu, uNgongongoshe Wezindaba Zomhlaba kaHulumeni omkhulu, uMhlonishwa uNkk Thoko Didiza, usemukele isimemo seSilo sokuba abe nathi namhlanje ukuzoxoxa ngaloMthethosivivinywa aphezu kokuwuhlenga ewudlulisa ePhalamende njengamanje. LoMthethosivivinywa uzoba nomphumela omkhulu esimisweni sobuholi bomdabu futhi uzowathinta amandla ethu okwaba nokuphatha kanye nokunguma nokusetshenziswa komhlaba emiphakathini yethu. NgokwaloMthethosivivinywa, amandla esinawo njengamanje magondana nokwabiwa nokuphathwa komhlaba wethu azokwedluliselwa esakhiweni esisodwa noma ngaphezulu sokuphatha ezizomiswa emiphakathini yethu ngokusetshenziswa kwezinhlelo ezingekho nakancane nje ekulawulweni yithi. Ezinyangeni eziningi zezingxoxo, kwethulwa uhlobo olwehlukileyo loMthethosivivinywa Wamalungelo Omhlaba Ohlanganyelweyo phakathi

kwemikhakha ehlukeneyo ethintekayo nasezinkundleni zokubonisana phakathi kweminyango kahulumeni, ehlanganisa nenkundla yoNggongqoshe bakazwelonke nabezifundazwe. Kuloluhlobo lokugala loMthethosivivinywa wawushiye ngaphandle umhlaba osingethwe yi-KwaZulu Natal Ingonyama Trust. Kepha ngaziswe ukuthi lokhu kushiya ngaphandle kwalomhlaba kakusenzekanga. Ngizwe ngabantu abathile ukuthi kwathiwa ukungashiya ngaphandle kwalomhlaba kwenziwa ngoba kuvume mina kuKhabhinethi. Kepha ngifuna ukucacisa ukuthi lokhu kakunjalo futhi, njengoba uzakwethu uNggongqoshe Wezindaba Zomhlaba elapha nami namhlanje, ngingakusho lokhu nggo phambi kwakhe.

Okwenzekayo ngempela yikuthi ngenkathi ekhuluma nami ngaloMthethosivivinywa, ngasigcizelela kuye isidingo sokwedlulisela umhlaba ususwe ngaphansi koMthetho we-Ingonyama Trust Act wedluliselwe komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi okwakuvele kunguhlelo Iwethu kwasekugaleni njengoba i-Trust kwakuhloswe ngayo ukuba isetshenziswe njengento yokubamba lomhlaba kuze kube kufika isikhathi sokuba wedluliselwe komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi ngemuva kokuba sekuphathulwe ukudatshulwa kwawo. Kulengxoxo kwaba khona ukukhuluma kokuthi kawukho umehluko phakathi kwendawo esimi kuyo yokuthi omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi kufanele basingathe lomhlaba nendawo nendawo ethi lomhlaba uzosingathwa ngabamele imiphakathi. Njengoba umhlaba wawedluliselwa emiphakathini yomdabu nasekuphathweni yimiphakathi, kwakungase kucatshangwe ukuthi ukunikeza amandla okuphatha umhlaba ezakhiweni zomphakathi kuyohambisana nomcabango wokudlulisela ukuphathwa kwalomhlaba komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi. Kepha ngakusho kuzakwethu ukuthi kunomehluko omkhulu, nokuthi indlela uMthethosivivinywa oghubeka ngayo nokuhlinzeka imiphikathi ngamandla ubashiya ngokupheleleyo abaholi bomdabu.

Emehlweni ami, uMthethosivivinywa uyinkinga enkulu nxa ubhekwa ngasohlangothini lomgomo nolombusazwe njengoba uzokwephuca abaholi bomdabu noma yimaphi amandla abanawo okwaba nokuphatha umhlaba. UMthethosivivinywa wedlulisela lamandla esimisweni esehlukileyo, lokho okubizwa ngokuthi â\200\234yisakhiwo sokuphathaâ\200\235, esimele intando nezifiso zomphakathi. Abaholi bomdabu kabakwazi ukumelwa ngezingxenye ezingaphezu kwama-25 ekhulwini kulesisakhiwo, nokuba khona kwabo laphe kanye nesilinganiso sakho, kuthembele ngokupheleleyo entandweni yomphakathi. Lesisakhawo kuzobayiso kuphela esinamandla okuthatha izingqumo. Konke ukuthathwa kwezingqumo kudingeka ukuba kwenzeke phezu kwesisekelo semibandela yentando yeningi yokumelwa engahambisaniyo nesakhiwo esikhona njengamanje sobuholi bomdabu, ngenkathi uMthethosivivinywa unqumela abaholi bomdabu izingxenye ezingama-25 ekhulwini zobulungu babo ngokwezikhundla zabo. Kubonakala ukuthi lokuhlobo lobulungu kalukwazi ukuhambisana namandla okuthatha izingqumo, okusho ukuthi abaholi bomdabu ngeke babe ngisho nanezingxenye ezingama-25 ekhulwini zamandla ukuthatha izingqumo, kepha izingxenye ezingama-25 ekhulwini kuphela zokwakhiwa kwesakhiwo sokuphatha esiyoba nomsebenzi wokufeza amandla omphakathi okuthatha izingqumo. Amandia

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okuthatha izinqumo asala ngokupheleleyo ezimeni eziguquguqukayo zokuthathwa kwezinqumo ngumphakathi.

Ngemuva kokuba uMthethosivivinywa usungumthetho, uma uzoba ngumthetho kulesisimo okuso njengamanje, umhlaba osingethwe ngaphansi kwe-KwaZulu Natal Ingonyama Trust Act uzoba yimpahla yemiphakathi nezinhlelo zenqubo ezimiswe eMthethwenisivivinywa.

LoMthethosivivinywa unemiphumela owesabekayo emcabangweni wobuhofi bomdabu kanye nasekubumbaneni komphakathi womdabu. Eginisweni, kungase kubekhona izakhiwo ezehlukeneyo zokuphatha emiphakathini wethu ngamunye. Abantu bakithi bangase banqume ukumisa isakhiwo esisodwa sokuphatha ukuba siphathe umhlaba nganeno komfula bakhe esinye sokuphatha ngaphesheya komfula. @ Lokhu ngeke kugcine ngokubhidliza ukubumbana kokuphathwa komhlaba kuleyo naleyo ezindaweni zethu kuphela, kepha kuzogxilisa nethuba lesimo esingapheliyo sokungqubuzana emphakathini ekunqumeni ukuthi imingcele imiswa kuphi kuleso nalesosakhiwo sokuphatha nokuthi ngubani ofanele ukwengamela siphi isigephu somhlaba okukhulunywa ngaso. Umuntu kufanele akukhumbule ukuthi izimpi ezinkulu kunazozonke emlandweni zonke zaliwa ngenxa yemingcele yomhlaba.

Kukhona izimo ezintathu zethuba elinokwenzeka loMthethosivivinywa onokunyundela ngazo ubuholi bomdabu. Esokugala ngukunyundelwa kwemisebenzi yomaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi, esesibili ngukunyundelwa kweghaza labaholi bomdabu, esesithathu ngukunyundelwa kokubumbana kanye naso kwasona nje isimo somphakathi womdabu, esiyingxenye yesisekelo okumiswe kuso isimiso sobuholi bomdabu. Sezihlangene lezizimo ziyizimo ezifanayo ezihlangana ukunyundela ubuholi bomdabu. Eminye imisuka emigoka yalokhu kunyundela yile elandelayo:

- Amandla okwaba nokuphatha umhlaba nokunquma ngokusetshenziswa kwawo ayasuswa komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi nakubaholi bomdabu edluliselwa esakhiweni sokuphatha esizonquma ukuthi ngubani onikezwa siphi isigephu somhlaba, imibandela nezimo zokusingathwa kwawo kanye nokusetshenziswa kombhlaba;
- isakhiwo sokuphatha sizolawula ukuthi ubani ongakha emhlabeni ngakho silawule intuba yabantu abasha yokufinyelela emhlabeni nakulowo nalowo emiphakathini yethu, okusho ukuthi leyontuba izosekeleka kakhulu emalungelweni omhlaba kunokusekeleka emithethweni yentuba njengoba ilawulwa ngumthetho wethu womdabu nowamasiko;
- kuhlinzekwa ukuhlakazwa kwemiphakathi nokucozucozulwa kwayo yenziwe izigaba zomphakathi ngezinjongo zegunya lobunikazi bomhlaba, okunethuba lokuba nomphumela wokuba lokhu kwedlulele nakuyoyonke eminye imisebenzi yomphakathi;

ighaza labaholi bomdabu lilinganiswe nezingxenye ezingama-25 ekhulwini zesakhiwo sokuphatha. Ngaphezu kwalelizinga eliphansi lokuhlanganyela, kuhlinzekwa isiqgginiseko sokuthi abaholi bomdabu kabanawo amandla empela esakhiweni njengoba bengakwazi ukusebenza ngendlela yokuba ukuhlanganyela kwabo â\200\234kwenqabeleâ\200\235 noma yisiphi isinqumo esithathwa yisakhiwo sokuphatha;

uMthethosivivinywa uhlinzeka ukuba kubekhona isakhiwo sokuphatha esisodwa noma naphezulu esizomiswa kulokho okungumphakathi womdabu njengamanje, lokho okuzoghekeza imiphakathi, okuhambisana namandla aleso nalesosakhiwo sokuphatha okwetha imiphakathi noma izigaba zemiphakathi yaso amagama,;

ukwabiwa nokuphathwa komhlaba kuyehlukaniswa nomthetho womdabu nowamasiko. Siyazi ukuthi ukuphathwa komhlaba kuyisisekelo esakhela phezu kwakho ubudlelwano bethu bomphakathi, kusukela ezindabeni zomndeni kuye ezivumelwaneni zohwebo. Kayikho indlela yokubikezela ukuthi lonke uhlelo lwempilo yethu luzosebenza kanjani uma umhlaba uphethwe ngendlela ehlukileyo naphezu kwesisekelo semithetho ehlukileyo.

Kuyisibikezelo esilula kakhulu, kepha esidala ubudlulu obukhulu ukuthi imibandela yaloMthethosivivinywa inokudala ukuchitheka kwegazi emiphakathini yethu. Eginisweni, imiphakathi yethu ingase ighekezeke ibe ngamagaggeba ehlukeneyo, kube yilelo lizithathele ilungelo lokuzakhela esalo isakhiwo sokuphatha ukuba sibuse siphathe wonke umhlaba, noma kube nezakhiwo eziningi ezinokumiswa zighekeze imiphakathi ebikade ibumbene kusukela emandulo. Ukuphathwa komhlaba yilezizakhiwo zokuphatha kuzohlangana nggo namandla kaNgongongoshe Kazwelonke Wezindaba Zomhlaba. Njengoba uNgongongoshe elapha nathi namhlanje, mhlambe angase asichazele ukuthi uMnyango wakhe ungakuhlela kanjani ukwelusa ukuphathwa kwazozonke lezizakhiwo zokuphatha. Kimi kucishe kube sengathi uMnyango wakhe ungadinga ukumisa ubudlelwano obufanayo uMnyango kaHulumeni Wasekhaya nomasipala kulolonke izwe, esebufakazeleke njengobudielwano obunzima kakhulu okudinga amandla amakhulu naphezu kokuba omasipala abaningi benamandla amakhulu ngokwabo.

UMthethosivivinywa usalokhu uyinkinga nangezinye izinhlangothi. Olunye lwazo ukwehlukaniswa kokuphathwa kwezindaba zomhlaba kususwe ekwahlulelweni kwemibango nezinxushunxushu ezisukela kulokho kuphathwa. Njengamanje abaholi bomdabu baphatha umhlaba babuye baxazulule nanoma yimiphi imibango esukela kukho. Kakucacile noma abaholi bomdabu basenokughubeka yini nokusebenza izindaba ezisukela ekuphathweni komhlaba ngokusebenzisa uhlelo lwezinkantolo. Lokhu kakubonakali kukhona ukuhlinzeka ukuba isakhiwo sokupha sibambe lelighaza. Kepha kucacile ukuthi lokuguguko, uma luzoghubeka njengoba kuhlongozwa njengamanje luzoba nomphumela omkhulu nasemandleni neghaza lezinkantolo zomdabu.

Kuyoyonke indawo sibona izimpawu zalokho okusobala ukuthi kuzoholela ekugedweni komaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi. Eqinisweni, uMbiko Wokwazisa uqobo lwawo kawukufihli futhi kawunakwengena ukuphakamisa ukuba uMthetho waMakhosi neziphakanyiswa wesule, lokho okuzogeda omaziphathe bezizwe zaMakhosi njengemikhandlu eyakhiwe ngumthetho. Ngikuzwakalisile konke lokhu kukhathazeka kwami izikhathi eziningi kuKhabhinethi. Ngethule isibalo sokuphikisana nalokhu kepha kwachithwa noma kakwaggizwa gakala. Ngiyazi ukuthi abaholi bomdabu kulolonke izwe bebethembele kimi ukuba ngenze izwi labo lizwakale ngaphakathi ohlelweni IweKhabhinethi nangaphakathi kokucabanga kukaHulumeni. Ngiwuthwalile umthwalo wokuphakamisa imibono yabaholi bomdabu isikhathi eside. Kangazange ngihlehle kulesisibopho ngisho nangenkathi sengizifumana ngingedwa okudingeka ukuba ngisithwale. Kusobala ukuthi uhlelo lukaHulumeni olokuginiseka ukuthi isimiso sethu sife ukufa kwamanxeba ayinkulungwane nokuthi amandla nemisebenzi yethu kukhanywe kukhishwe emzimbeni weNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha ovela ngokhetho luka-Aphreli 27 1994.

Ngasengikulungele ukubhidliza konke ukusebenza kwami kwezombusazwe ngenkathi ngizimisele ngokuba ngingahlanganyeli okhethweni luka-Aphreli 27, 1994, ngenxa yokuba udaba lwesikhundla seNgonyama yethu kanye nesobuholi bomdabu lungakaxazululwa. Ngangikulungele ukuba ngibe yilokho omunye owayephikisana nami kwezombusazwe, u-Joe Slovo, abikezela ukuthi ngizoba yikho ngenkathi ethi kwase kuyisikhathi sokuba ngivele ngibe yiphunga elibi nje elighamuka emgqongonyeni kadoti womlando. Ngema ekugodleni wokuhlanganyela kwami kulolokhetho ngenxa yokuthembeka kwami eNgonyameni, isihlalo sobukhosi kanye nesimiso sobuholi bomdabu. Ngangikulindlele ukwenza umnikelo wokugcina wombusazwe egameni labo kanye nokuba kusizakale bona. Ngangena kuphela okhethweni ngenkathi siba nesivumelwano esijulileyo sokuthi lezizindaba kuzobhekwa nazo ngokulamula komhlaba ngokushesha ngokungenzeka ngemva kwalolokhetho. Ngangikulindlele ukunikela ngakho konke ukuvikela lokho engakwemukela njengefa kubaba nalokho engithwele isibopho sokukudlulisela ezizukulwaneni zami ezizayo. Labo abanesibopho sobuholi bathwele nesibopho sokwenza umnikelo nokukhokha intengo ephakemeyo.

Sonke sithwele isibopho esifanayo. Sonke sinomsebenzi wokulondolozela izizukulwane zethu lokho esakwabelwa ngobaba. Ngisho neSilo Samabandla, iINgonyama yeSizwe saMaZulu sihlezi esihlalweni sikayise, okufanele sisilondoloze isivikele labo abayoyilandela njengezindlalifa zeSilo. Akekho phakathi kwethu ofuna ukukhunjulwa njengomuntu wokugcina emlileni wethu. Ingozi elengela isimiso sethu inkulu kangangoba aMakhosi nesihlalo sobukhosi kungase kuphethe ngokuba yinto nje ekhunjulwa njengento eyake yabakhona. Ngaphandle kwamandla okuphatha umhlaba wethu namandla okubusa imiphakathi yethu ezingeni lasekhaya, isimiso sethu ngeke sisabakhona njengoba besikhona kusukela emandulo. Ngaphandle kwesimiso sobuholi bomdabu, isihlalo sethu sobukhosi siyolahlekelwa umgogodla waso futhi sibe vyinto engasho lutho ngezinga elithile.

IZingonyama zangomuso zilengelwa yingozi yokuba zibe yuphawu nje oluhlezi esihlalweni esesalahlekelwa ukubaluleka namandla aso.

Ngalesisizathu, kubalulekile ukuba namhlanje sizwe okushiwo yiSilo Samabandla. Kufanele senze lokho esingakwenza ukughubela phambili udaba oluphambi kwethu. Kubalulekile ukuba kusebenze inggondo ngaphambi kokuba kudlule isikhathi. Uma ngingalinganisa nje, uMthethosivivinywa Wamalungelo -Omhlaba Ohlanganyelweyo kawukwazi futhi kakufanele ukuba ughubeke njengoba kubhalwe uhlaka lwawo. Kubalulekile ukuba uHulumeni ayimise imigomo yawo acabange kabusha ngabobonke ubudlelwane bakhe naMakhosi. Kungoka ukuba namhlanje sikhombise umfanekiso wobunye. ISizwe saMaZulu sisaphinda futhi simi ngokubumbana ngemuva kweNgonyama yaso kulesisikhathi esinzima seshwa. | Sizwe saMaZulu siyakhuleka eSilweni saso. Sengathi uNkulunkulu angayivikela iINGonyama. Wena wendlovu! Bayede!

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