

/IVALIWE IZE IKHULUNYWE/

INKATHA YENKULULEKO YESIZWE
KGARE YA TOKOLOHO YA SETJHABA

INGQUNGQUTHELA-JIKELELE YONYAKA

Inkulumo yoMengameli

INGQIKITHI :

1989

- UNYAKA WEZENZO ZOKUTHULA
- UNYAKA WOKUGQUGUZELA UKUTHULA
- UNYAKA WOKULUNGISELA IKUSASA

ONDINI

NGOMGQIBELO 8 JULAYI 1989

Read Comr Nelson as the Minutes present
USihlalo woMhlahlandlela, Comrade Nobhala-Jikelele, Comrade
Isekela likaNobhala-Jikelele, uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbutho
Wabesifazane uNksk. E.T. Bhengu, uSihlalo kaZwelonke woMbutho
Wentsha uComrade Musa Zondi, ozakwethu eMgwamandeni, amaNxusa
oHulumeni bakwamanye amazwe akhona, uNksk. Silke Krieger we=

*Homes
naming
one
more
and
another*

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung noDokotela Gunter Karcher, izihambeli
zethu ezisemqoka ezimele izinhlangano ezehlukeneyo ezinokuxhu=
mana kubafowethu nazo, ezinye izihambeli ezisemqoka, boComrade
nonke.

Mr Woods

Amazwazi Aduvina, u Mntwana uhlala ka Sifiso nethanga
nendlela
elona

Njalo nje ngiye ngibhekane nenkinga ekuvuleni iNgqungquthela
efana nalena. Ngiyakwazi ukwemukela bonke abantu futhi bonke
abantu abeza eNgqungqutheleni yethu basemqoka. Kepha ngezi=
khathi ezithile kuyekudingeke ukuba ngime ngikhulume ngomuntu
othile ekwemukeleni kwami izithunywa nezihambeli zethu ezihlo=
niphekileyo. Ngakho nxa ngenza lokho namhlanje, ngikwenza
ngentokozo enkulu.

Ngemukela phakathi kwethu uNksk. Silke Krieger osuke kude le
kwelaseJalimani ukuze abe nathi lapha namhlanje nakusasa.

Wena,/2

Wena, Nksk. Krieger, ungumuntu onesikhundla ~~esiphezulu~~ ~~enhla~~ =
nganweni ~~iKonrad Adenauer~~ ~~Stifting~~. Ngakho ^{le}uyazi ukuthi kuba=
luleke ~~kanganani~~ ~~ukubambisana~~ ~~kweKonrad Adenauer Foundation~~
kithi ~~thina~~ ^{esiseNkatheni}. Uyazi futhi ukuthi nguwe owenza
umsebenzi ~~omkhulu~~ ~~wokuhlahla~~ ~~indlela~~ ~~ngenkathi~~ ~~kusungulwa~~
~~lokhukubambisana~~.

Wena ubone izinto ngeNkatha, neqhaza ~~elibambileyo~~ ~~eNingizimu~~
~~ne-Afrika~~ ~~abanye~~ ~~abangazibonanga~~. Ukubonile ~~esikubonileyo~~ -
iqhaza esifanele ukulibamba, ngakho ~~lokho~~ ~~kusithokozisa~~ ~~kakhulu~~.
Wena, Nksk. Krieger, nenhlangano yakho ninolwazi olubanzi kakhulu
lomsebenzi wentuthuko esimeni somhlaba ongakathuthuki (Third
World). Kukulolulwazi olubanzi-ke ofumane kulo obuhlakani
bokubona iNkatha ngengoba injalo - umbutho wobulungiswa ~~nenqu~~ =
bekela-phambili.

Ngifuna ukukusho phambi komhlaba ~~wonke~~ ^{ukuthi} ~~thina~~ ^{esiphakathi}
~~kwabacindezelwe~~ ~~kunabobonke~~ ~~eNingizimu~~ ~~ne-Afrika~~ ^{sibuthokozela}

kangakanani ubungani, nokubambisana okwasungulwa phakathi kwe-Kornad Adenauer Foundation, kanye nathi. Siyakuthokozela nokukhula kwesimo salokhukubambisana, nokuthi iAdenauer Foundation ikuthatha njengento ebaluleke kakhulu ukubakhona kwayo kulesi-sifunda sethu, kangangoba sebeze babeka umuntu obameleyo osebenza ngokugcweleyo eThekwini ukuze asebenze kulolubambiswano kanye nathi.

Ubambiswano seluyinto eqhubekayo futhi ngineqiniso lokuthi ngokuqhubeka kwalolubambiswano, kuzofakazeleka kakhulu nokukholelwa kwe-Kornad Adenauer Foundation, eNkatheni.

Ngisho lamazwi asuka kimi engiwaqondise kuwe, Nksk. Krieger, ngithi siyakwemukela phakathi kwethu. Ngithi siyathokoza ukuba nawe siyathokoza futhi ngokuba uphumelele ukuza.

Ngifisa...../3

Ngifisa ukuthokoza kuMfundisi u-Canon NTombela ngomyalezo wakhe asethulele wona ekuseni nje. INgqungquthela yethu siyiqala eqophelweni eliphezulu ngenxa yomyalezo wakhe ophakamisa-imiphefumulo-yethu. ^{uyise phesha} Siyathokoza kuye ngokuba avume ukuza azosikhokhele ngezwi ekuseni nje. ■

ENGLESH

Kwakhona ekuqaleni nje kwenkulumo yami engiyibhekise ezithunyweni ezize eNgqungqutheleni-Jikelele yeNkatha yalonyaka, ngifuna ukuninxusa ukuba nivule amehlo ezinqondo zenu, nikwazi-ukubona kude! Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuthi ngibona abantu abangizungezileyo abayizimpumputhe-ngokombusazwe, abanamehlo angakwaziyo ukubona esikhathini esizayo, ngenxa yokuba bengenalo ithemba. Kabaliboni iqiniso lokuthi umlando ungumlando, nokuthi umlando uyamasha uya phambili nokuthi umlando uzosungula iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha.

Kunabantu abaningi kakhulu abangaliboniyo iqiniso lokuthi ngabantu abenza umlando. Nxa lingekho ikusasa elihlalele lelizwe lokho kudalwa vilokho esikusungula thina. Nxa likhona ikusasa

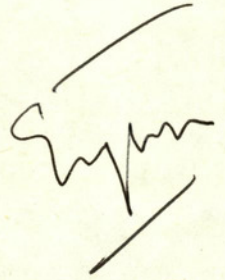
lalelizwe-kungenxa-yokuba-lelokusasa-lidalwa-yibo-abantu
ngendlela, abaziphatha-ngayo.

Kakukhomoya-omkhulukazi — okhohlakeleyo empilweni-ovimbela abantu
baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukusungula ikusasa elihle lezwe lakubo
kanye-nelezizukulwane-ezizayo. Ngifuna ukuba sizikhiphe kulesi=
simo-sokuphuphutheka-esifakwa kuso ngabantu-abathile.

Njengamanje-nje-kunezimpawu-ezivelayo-zokuthi-seyaqhubeka siqonde
ohlotsheni-oluthile-noma-olunye-lwesiphetho-kulelizwe-lakithi.
Yonke into-engiyibonayo-engizungezileyo-ingitshena ukuthi
kasinakuqhubeka-siyilokhu — esiyikho. ^{manje} Kepha-okungaphezu-kwakho
konke, yonke into-engizungezileyo-ingitshena-ukuthi-ubandlululo
seluphelelwe-yisikhathi.

Yilowo...../4

Yilowo nalowo phakathi kwethu kufanele ezwe kuqubuka ithemba elikhulu ezifubeni zethu nxa leliqiniso lisikhanyela. Ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi. Lokho ^{Sokuthi} singakusho ngesibindi. Yimani umzuzwana nje nizibuze ukuthi zingakhi nje izinkulungwane zabantu abamnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika ababengakhokha noma iyiphi intengo ukuba bakwazi ^{nye} ukusho lamazwi ngesibindi.



LeNgqungquthela, bafowethu nodadewethu, ihlangana esikhathini lapho kuntwela khona isikhathi esisha embusazweni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngicela ukuninikeza izinkomba ezimbalwa nje zaleliqiniso. Okokuqala nje yiqiniso elingenakuphikwa lokuthi ububhunu kabuselona lelodwalakazi lamandla obebuyilo iQenjini elibusayo lamaNeshinali. IQembu lamaNeshinali selibuthakathaka manje futhi seliphansi kokucindezeleka kweQembu eliguqukayo.

Lomsindo omkhulukazi wezombusazwe obangwa yilabo abaklabalasa ngasohlangothini olungakwesokudla kungubufakazi bokuthi

amanye amabhunu ase^{uqethu}yabona iQembu lamaNeshinali seliyaguquka.
Seliyaguquka liyehlukana nokuba yiqembu lombusazwe lamabhunu
kuphela, elingathintwayo ngeminye imimoya yenhlalo, ezomnotho
nezombusazwe ngaphandle, kwamalunga alo!

Ngicabanga ukuthi kuyiqiniso elingenakuphikwa ukuthi uMnu.
P.W. Botha wenze okuningi ukudala uguquko lwezombusazwe kuna=
bobonke abaholi beqembu lamaNeshinali abangaphambi kwakhe
sebehlanganiswe ndawonye. Kuyishwa elikhulu ukuthi kusalokhu
kuyiqiniso ukuthi lokho akwenzileyo kulingane nomsebenzi wa=
malungiselelo nje kuphela, nokuthi umsebenzi wempela wokudala
uguquko ungumsebenzi — osalindele ukwenziwa. Lowo msebenzi
usuzowela ezandleni zoMnu. F.W. de Klerk, noma ngubani
omunye oyomlandela nxa uMnu. de Klerk, ehluleka ukwenza bono
asefanele ukwenza ukuthi uMnu. de Klerk lwempela
Kakulona iqiniso ngokupheleleyo ukuthi yikuhlasela ngempi

kuphela...../5

kuphela noma yikuphumelela kokuvukelwa kombuso kuphela, okunga=
susa ubandlululo eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Kukhona imimoya yoku=
hlalisana komphakathi, ezomnotho-nezombusazwe-ekhulayo eNingi=
zimu ne-Afrika ezolubhaxabula ubandlululo ngaphandle kokuthe=
mbela kulabo-abazinikele empini nasekuvukelweni kombuso nje
kuphela. Mina nje ngokwami kangisalwesabi ubandlululo-njengo=
hlelo-oluhlululayo olungenakunqotshwa. Ngiyazi ukuthi
ubandlululo luzonqotshwa noma *Kenya*.

Iningi labantu abaNyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bayakwazi
nabo lokhu njengoba nami, ngikwazi. Bangase baphelelwe isineke
sokulindela loluguquko luza. Bangase bathukuthele ngenxa
yokuthi kalukafiki ngempela. Bangase baze bakhuthaze ngisho
nezenzo zokuphelelwa yithemba ngenhloso yokushesha usuku
lwenkululeko yethu. Kepha iqiniso yikuthi bayakubona ukuthi
ubandlululo seluphelelwe yisikhathi.. Bayazi ukuthi ukunqoba
kuzoba ngokwethu.

End of Kenya

Zulu
Thina bantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika sizophumelela ukusungula
ikusasa-esiyozikhethela-lona njegekusasa-lezwe-lakithi
lokudabuka. Yithi esingabadlali-abenza-umlando-ozoqeda
ubandlululo. *luphele nje!*

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngithi mina izimfa, kanye-nokuqhekezeka
kobumbano — lwamabhunu yikhona-osekwephuce-ubandlululo
idwalakazi-obeleyeme-ngalo-esikhathini-esidlule.

[Signature]
Okungaphezu kwalokho, bafowethu nodadewethu, kukhona nethuba
lokuba izimfa-noqhekeko lobandlululo, ku^{ku}lungiswe kuvalwe ^{went}
kubuyelwe obandlululweni-lohlobo-luka-Verwoerd, nobumbano
okuyilona-olwalusekele-ubandlululo-ngaleyonkathi. Lokhu
ngikusho ngesibindi ngoba uqhekeko lolu kalulona uqhekeko
oluda~~we~~-yizingxabano zangaphakathi ezinokuqedwa nje. ■

[Signature]
Uqhekeko...../6

Emm

Uqhekeko oluhlakaza umphakathi wamabhunu njengedwalakazi lamandla luyuqhekeko olunezingxabo zalo esimeni esiyiso sezomnotho nasesimeni esiyiso — senhlalo yomphakathi. Ubandlululo kalulutho nxa lungakwazi ukwenza lokhu okuthiwa yiNingizimu ne-Afrika emhlophe ^{Wamba} ibemhlophe kakhulu, neNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama ^{Wamba} ibemnyama kakhulu. Lokhukuqhosha kobandlululo kwesikhathi sika-Verwoerd kakuseyona into esenokwenziwa ngesi-bindi senkolelo esifanayo nanamhlanje. Yingakho nje lokhu okushiwo nguDokotela Hartzenberg kulezinsuku ukuthi umgomo weQembu le-Conservative Party uhlose ukugcina izingxenye ezingama-65 ekhulwini zabantu abaNnyama kulokhu okuthiwa "yizabelo zabo," kuyinto eyihlaya elingaka^{ye}. UDokotela Hartzenberg uyisibonelo sohlobo lomuntu olele ubuthongo ngqu^{longaziyo} nokuthi kwenzekani ngenkathi izwe lishiswa ^{YINGGQULU EYISISITHUNGSITHUNGS!} yikuvukelwa — kombuso.

Izimo eziyizo zezomnotho sezivele abantu abaNnyama, zibabeke kulokhu okuthiwa yiNingizimu ne-Afrika emhlophe ngakho abantu

abaMnyama sebekulezozindawo manje futhi, kakusekho lutho olusenokubakhipha-kuzo. Kakukho lutho olungenziwa yubandlululo ukukhipha abantu abaMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kulezizi-ndawo okuthiwa-zingezabamhlophe. Sesivele singaphakathi kuzo - kakukho lutho olusayosikhipha-kuzo. Abantu abaMnyama namhlophe bahlangene ngokwezomnotho kangangoba kakukho lutho olusayobuye lubehlukanise futhi. Ukuthembela kwabamhlophe ngokupheleleyo kwabaMnyama, kuyinto engasenakuguqulwa.

Kukhona futhi nokuthembela kwabaMnyama okulinganayo kwabamhlophe. Noma yimuphi umholi oMnyama ongalemukeleyo leliqiniso ufana nempumputhe ngokombusazwe, njengaba nabaholi abamhlophe bombusazwe abangasohlangothini olungakwesokudla nabo beyizimpumputhe ngokwabo. Labaholi abamhlophe bayizimpumputhe kabakuboni ukuthi iNingizimu ne-Afrika izolidabula ilinwephule ngezandla iqembu le-Conservative Party, ibe ibahleka usulu abamhlophe abangasohla=ngothini olungakwesokudla, nxa bethi bayakhononda ngenkathi

ilinwephula...../7

ilinwephula. Kangikhathazekile nakancane ngamathuba-okunqoba
kweqembu le-Conservative Party ngokubuyela obandlululweni
lohlobo lukaVerwoerd. *ngisho befsa ngisho beyinto yimbudane
ngisho lwango engenze fuzeka.*

Zulu Ngisho noma okuningi kuyiphutha elibi kangakanani eNingizimu
ne-Afrika, lokho kuyiphutha-esaziyo manje ukuthi abantu
baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bazolilungisa bona zingqobo-zabo.
IPhalamende enguNxantathu iyinto engenyanyisayo ngokombusazwe
njengoba nyanyisa noma ngubani eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngeke
ngizihlanganise ngalutho nalo futhi kakukho lutho emhlabeni
olungangihudulela ekusebenzeni kwalo. Ngeke ngenze lutho
ukulenza libe yinto eyemukelekayo ngokomthetho *nangethetho noma* nokuliqinisa.

Ngiyazi ukuthi iPhalamende enguNxantathu leyeme esakhiweni
esiyisakhiwo-esikhona ngeqiniso eNingizimu ne-Afrika noma
singekho ngokwemukeleka ngokomthetho. Ngiyazi futhi ukuthi
oSomqulu bethu basaqukethe imithetho yobandlululo. Ubandlululo

lusasebenza eNingizimu ne-Afrika - lokho kusobala nje kubonwa yizwe lonke.

Ngase

Kangisho khona ukuthi kuzoba ~~noguquko~~-ngenxa yalokho ~~osekwe~~=
n^zekile. Ngithi kuzoba nogiquko ngoba sekusemandleni ethu ~~thina~~
manje ukuba siqiniseke yikuthi ~~lubakhona~~-uguquko.

Nxa ngineqiniso lokuthi kuzobanoguquko-~~ngenxa~~-yokuba ubandlu=
lulo ~~lungasaphoqe~~lelwa yidalwakazi lamandla, ngineqiniso
futhi lokuthi ~~luzobakhona~~-uguquko ngoba sekukhona zonke
izinkomba manje, ~~zokuthi~~ sesizoqala ukuqhelelana ~~nokukhula~~
kwendluzula okuyiyona ~~esekela~~-ubandlululo. Sekukhona ukuvu=
ngama kulo lonke ~~elase~~Ningizimu ne-Afrika okulwa nendluzula
yezizathu-zombusazwe. Kukhona ukuchithwa kwendluzula eyenziwa
nguMbuso ~~ngezizathu~~-zombusazwe, kukhona futhi nokuchithwa
kwendluzula eyenziwa yimibutho yokuvukelwa koMbuso ~~ngezizathu~~
zombusazwe.

Sengiyakwazi-manje ukukholelwa ezikhathini ezizayo-ngentshise=
kelo enkulu ngoba umkhosi ohlatshwayo-wokuba-kuphumelele imi=
hlathi ephikisa ubandlululo ngendlela yokuthula, neyentado ya=
bantu usunamandla kakhulu-manje, kunalokho osewake-waba-yikho
ngaphambili.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, sekuphephile manje ukuba abantu abaNyama
baseNingizimu ne-Afrika baqale ukucabanga ngokudala uguquko
lwempela, ngombusazwe-wokubonisa. *Em Zulu*

Engen Bafowethu nodadewethu, sekuphephile manje ngoba uMbuso kawu=
nawo kwawona-amandla okufaka olunye uhlobo-lobandlululo, endaweni
yolunye nokuba ubandlululo - ulubiza ngelinye igama elehlukileyo,
ngengqo sokuba umngaba kumdele ng. 1948.

Nxa kukhona amazwi leNgqungquthela efanele-yikuwanakisisa,
lawo ngamazwi athi ngumbusazwe woguquko-osunganesiqiniseko
esikhulu manje ngokusetshenziswa-kombusazwe-wokubonisa.
Kukhona isililo esikhulu sokuba kuqondiswe isimo seNingizimu

ne-Afrika futhi lesosililo siyisililo esisuka kuzozonke izinhla=
nga nakuzozonke izigaba zomphakathi-wethu. Abantu abaNyama
abanamandla empela kulelizwe bafuna ukuba kuphumelele amasu
namqhinga okuthula ngoba — leyo yiyona ndlela esheshayo ne=
ngcono kunazozonke yokuphumelela. *End P Egan*

Zulu Kukhona isililo esikhulu esisuka kubantu sokuba kuphumelele
amasu namaqhinga okuthula ngoba yibo abantu abakhokha intengo
yendluzula eyehlulekileyo. Thina esiseNkatheni sesiqalile
manje ukuhola lonke udaba lokuqedwa kwendluzula eNingizimu ne-
Afrika. Inqikithi yeNgqungquthela yethu yalonyaka ithi:

- ✓ 1989 - Unyaka wezenzo zokuthula
- - Unyaka wokugqugquzela ukuthula
- - Unyaka wokulungisela ikusasa

Kakukaze...../9

Kakukaze kwenzeke esikhathini esiphambili ukuba thina njenge=
Ngqungquthela sibhekane nezidingo eziphuthuma ngalendlela
zokuba siziqonde kahle izimo eziyizo ezisizungezileyo, nokuba
siqale ngendlela ebona ngokucacileyo ukusebenzela ikusasa.
Ikusasa elingelethu. Konke esidinga ukukwenza yikulenza libe=
ngelethu ngokwenza lokho okudinga ukwenziwa manje!

Izwi leNkatha elihlaba umkhosi wokuthula nezwi lami elikhala=
yo likhalela ithemba nezenzo eziqinileyo nezakhayo ezisekele=
ke ethembeni, womabili lamazwi ayankeneneza — ezwakala kulo
lonke elaseNingizimu ne-Afrika naphesheya. Umkhosi wethu
wokuthula uzwakala njengoba unjalo nomyalezo wethu wethemba —
abantu bayawuqonda njengoba unjalo ngoba lonke elase-Afrika
eseNingizimu seliqalile manje ukwenanela lokho esikuhlabela
umkhosi.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kukhona ukunyakaza okukhulu okuyinqo=
phamlando kuwowonke amagumbi e-Afrika eseNingizimu. Ngubani

nje eminyakeni emibalwa edlule owayengabikezela ukuthi elase-Namibia lizobe selikhulukekile selinokhetho oluvulekileyo ngoNovemba ka1989 na? Ngubani nje eminyakeni embalwa edlule owayengakhohwa yikuthi kuyothi kuba nguJuni ka1989 uMbutho Wezokuvikela waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ube ungakagcini nje ngokuhoxa kwelase-Angola, kepha kube usuhoxe nakwelaseNamibia na? Ngubani nje eminyakeni embalwa edlule owayengakhohwa yikuthi i-MPLA ne-UNITA bayobe sebebamba izingqungquthela zokuthula ngoJuni ka1989 na?

Mhlawumbe okuqonde ngqo, ngubani nje eminyakeni emibalwa edlule owayengabikezela ukuthi elaseMelika laliyobe selihlezi esigcawini nelase-Angola, nelase-Rashiya, nelase-Cuba kanye, okuyisimanga esikhulu, nelaseNingizimu ne-Afrika na? Lezozinto seziyizinto eziyingqophamlando manje. Seziyizinto esezenzekile. Izinto ebezingaphushwa nokuphushwa seziphenduke izinto esezifezekile.

Umkhosi wethu wokuthula, nokusetshenziswa kwamasu namaqhinga okuthula kanye nomkhosi wethu wombusazwe wokubonisa wenanela lonke ihubo lombusazwe eseliyingqikithi ye-Afrika^{eseliyabizwa} eseNingizimu. Ngisho noma besinganokungabaza okungakanani eminyakeni emibalwa edlule, kasisenalo ilungelo lokungabaza manje. Abantu e-Afrika eseNingizimu sebebhekene nodaba lokuthi angasetshenziswa kanjani amasu namaqhinga okuthula ekufezeni izinjongo zombusazwe, nasekufezeni izidinga zezizukulwane ezizayo.

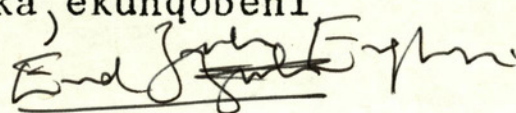
*ezizayo i Afrika
eseNingizimu*

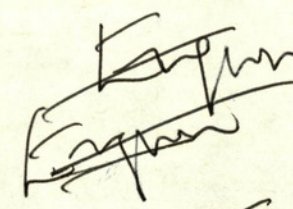
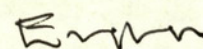
Khona lapha eduze kwethu nje, bafowethu nodadewethu, elase-Mozambique nalo seliyangeniswa kulokhu kudalwa kokuthula okungumlando. Ngikholwa yikuthi selokhu kwathi nhlo elase-Mozambique lalivele likufuna ukuthula, kepha kwakukhona umqondo lapho elaseMozambique laqala khona ukucabanga ukuthi ukuthula kuyodinga ukuba kufezwe ngempi.

UHulumeni we-Frelimo ngaphansi komufi uMengameli Samora Machel wawukukholwa ngempela ukuthi ukhongolose i-African National Congress yayingaphumelela ukudala uguquko kuHulumeni eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokusebenzisa izindlela zokuvukelwa kombuso. Ngaphambi kokuba ishwa lokufa ngokujuma koMengameli Samora Machel kunqamule impilo eyayithembisa ingakawufezi umsebenzi wayo e-Afrika eNingizimu, kwase kuvele kucacile kuhulumeni waseMozambique ukuthi kuzodingeka ukuba aqale ukusekela ukuthula.

NguMengameli Samora Machel uqobo lwakhe owaba sekhaleni lezinyathelo zokuthula ezaholela ekusayindweni kweSivumelwano saseNkomazi (iNkomati Accord). Ngisho noma isivumelwano sasintengantenga kangakanani, yisona esandulela izinto ezazi- zolandela. Ngisho noma umoya nengqikithi yesivumelwano kwephulwa kangakanani, sekukhona ukuvuselelwa kwethemba izenzo ezakhayo zeNingizimu ne-Afrika kanye ne-Mozambique. Sekukhona

ngisho nokukhuluma ^{ngo} ~~z~~inyathelo-zokuthula phakathi kwe-Frelimo ne-Renamo.

Kukulezizinto ezibanzi eziyingqophamlando e-Afrika eseNingizimu lapho umlando usondeza khona iNingizimu ne-Afrika, ekunqobeni izinkinga zangaphakathi ngezindlela-zokuthula. 

  Bafowethu nodadewethu, wonke umhlaba usufuna ukuba abantu base-Ningizimu ne-Afrika, eNingizimu ne-Afrika, benze lokho okungenziwa yibo kuphela - "ukudala uguquko lwempela ngezindlela-zokuthula."

Sibamba leNgqungquthela-Jikelele Yonyaka-yeNkatha ngenkathi kuntwela-isikhathi esisha eNingizimu ne-Afrika nakulolonke elaseAfrika eseNingizimu. Cisho okungaphezu kwakho konke okunye leNgqungquthela kufanele ibeke umunwe-wayo kulokho-engakwenza ukwenza iNkatha ikulungele kangcono ukubamba iqhaza-elakhayo kulesisikhathi esisha esintwelayo.

// Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngizobuye ngibuyele kamuva odabeni lwe=
zingxoxo zokuthula phakathi kweNkatha, i-UDF ne-COSATU.
Okwamanje, ngifuna ukusho nje ukuthi umbono wami ngokuthuthuki=
swa kwamasu namaqhinga okuthula ukhuthazwa kakhulu yikuthi
i-COSATU neUDF nabo bathungatha ukukhuluma okuthula neNkatha.
Ukubaluleka kwalokhu kuqiniswa yikuthi bafuna ukukhuluma okuthula
neNkatha ngemuva kokuba sebebonisene ne-ANC ngalolodaba.

Kakuseyona iNkatha nje kuphela ebona ubuhle bokuthula manje.
Ngisho ne-ANC kubikwa ukuthi kunombhalo ewujikelezisayo ukuze
uxoxwe eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokudalwa koguquko ngombusazwe
wokubonisana. Kukhona ukuthamba ezindleleni ezisetshenziswa
yi-ANC emikhakheni eminingi, ngakho ngisho noma umbhalo we-ANC
unganamaphutha, maqondana nemigomo yesakhiwo sezwe, kunesinya=
thelo esisobala esiqonde ekwemukeleni indlela yamaqembu amaningi
ekuxazululeni izinkinga zeNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ed 9 Eyl

Lokhu,/12

Zulu
Lokhu, bafowethu nodadewethu, kungase kube yinto esemqoka nge=
mpela. Kusesekuseni ~~nokho, ngakho kasazi ukuthi i-ANC izobhekana~~
~~kanjani nesimo sayo esishubileyo sangaphakathi esizoba ngumpu=~~
~~mela wokuba ezinye iziphathimandla zayo, namalunga ayo asekele~~
~~indlela yokuthula ekuxazululeni izinkinga zeNingizimu ne-Afrika.~~
~~Kangikazi ngokuqinisekileyo ukuthi i-ANC esekudingisweni~~
~~izozinikela embusazweni wokubonisana njengendlela ephambili~~
~~yokudala uguquko. Kabakafinyeleli eqophelweni lapho bekusho~~
~~bona zingqobo zabo lokhu. Eqinisweni basabeke amathemba abo~~
~~amaningi ekuqhubekeni nezinhlelo zabo zendluzula.~~ v

Konke engikushoyo njengamanje yikuthi imihlathi eqopha umlando
eAfrika eseNingizimu esebenzela ukuthula okuyiyona esebenza
naseNingizimu ne-Afrika ukudala ukuthula kulelizwe, yiyo eqoqa
zonke izinhlangano zombusazwe eziqhubayo ezibhekisa ohlangothini
olulodwa.

Thina senze unyaka ka-1989 Unyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula phezu

kwalomlando obanzi waseAfrika eseNingizimu wokunyakaza okuqonde ekuxazululeni izinkinga zombusazwe ngezindlela zokuthula.

X// Kukhona futhi nesehlo esiyinqophamlando seqhawe lethu nomuntu osewahluphekela izwe nomzabalazo, uDokotela Nelson Mandela onqamula ukuthula kwakhe kweminyaka engama-26, ekhononda futhi ehlaba nomkhosi awubhekise eNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama ukuba igweme lokhu kubulalana okungenamqondo, nokugqolozelana koMnyama noMnyama. Imimoya yomlando esebenzela ukuthula isiye yafinyelela ngisho nasejele laseNingizimu ne-Afrika yathinta leliqhawe eliyindodana yeNingizimu ne-Afrika ehlombe, yamnyakazisa ukuba ahlabe lomkhosi wakhe.

Ngenkathi uDokotela Nelson Mandela engibhalela wangibhalela ngoba ecabanga ukuthi nxa ebeka usiba lwakhe ephepheni ehlaba umkhosi wokuthula, lomkhosi uyosakazwa kubo bonke abantu ukuba bawuzwe.

Sengenza...../13

Sengenza lokho-ke, bafowethu nodadewethu. Ngihlaba umkhosi wokuthula futhi ngithi uDokotela Nelson Mandela uyawusekela lomkhosi.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, wulaleleni lomkhosi ohlatshwa yileli=qhawwe eliyindodana yeNingizimu ne-Afrika esichithe iminyaka engaphezu kwama-25 ejele ngoba nje ayezabalazela intando yabantu. Nakhu angibhalelekhona:

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 owangithumelela wona egameni leNgonyama uZwelithini neNkatha ngosuku lwami lokugubha iminyaka engama=70 yokuzalwa. Ngayifumana nencwadi yakho yomhlaka 26 ku-Agasti 1988 lapho owawungifisela khona ukwalulama ekuguleni, nalapho

owawucacisa khona imizamo yakho ekhaya nangaphandle yokuba kukhululwe iziboshwa eNingizimu ne-Afrika. Ngaphandle kocingo lwakho lwe-Telex nolwe-Telegram olwaluvela kuNksk. Helen Suzman, kune-miyalezo engamakhulu efanayo eyafikayo ivela kwabanye abangifisela kahle ezweni nakwezinye izingxenye ezehlukeneyo zomhlaba. Kuyingxenye yokusekelwa okungaguqukiyo kwabeselisa nabesifazane baloluhlobo, nengxenye yalokho okufezwe yinhlangano yethu ngaphakathi nangaphandle kwezwe okunikeza iziboshwa amandla amakhulu kangaka nethemba.

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

Kusobala, ukuthi ithuba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathini esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobandlelwane obuhle obabukhona phakathi kwakho no.O.R., (mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphakathi kwezinhlangano zombili eminyakeni yawo-1970.

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

Kudingeka ulwazi oluningi kakhulu kunalolo enginalo njenga=manje ngaphambi kokuba ngikwazi ukusola noma yiliphi emaqe=njini athintekayo kulokhu kungqubuzana-okwenyanyekayo-okwe=nzekayo eNatali. Nala kunjalo ngikuthatha njengecala elibi kakhulu kithi sonke ukuba sehluleke namanje ukuhlanganisa amandla ethu okunqanda lokhu kubulawa kwemiphefumulo eminingi kangaka-engenacala. Umzabalazo uyimpilo yethu ngakho ngisho noma ukufezeka kwamaphupho ethu amahle kakhulu kungase kungabi yinto esiseduze singaphumelela nokho ukuwenza lomzabalazo ube yinto esinothisa kakhulu, noma ubeyinhlekelele ngokuphele=leyo.

Kuyo yonke impilo yami ngisebenza kwezombusazwe zimbalwa izinto ezingidabukise njengokubona abantu bakithi bebulalana bodwa njengoba kwenzeka njengamanje. Njengoba wazi lonke uhlelo lwempilo yomphakathi kwezinye izindawo ezithintekileyo luphazamiseke kakhulu, kwasala inzondo namagqubu angase abenathi iminyaka eminingi ezayo. Lolu yudaba oludinga ukubhekisiswa ngokuphuthuma yibo abantu kulelizwe. Kayikho

into eyongithokozisa ukwedlula ukwazi ukuthi ukukhathazeka kwami nokunxusa kwami kakuwelanga khona ezindlebeni ezivalekileyo.

Ngiyaphinda futhi ngiyathokoza eSilweni naseNkatheni ngomyalezo wakho okhuthazayo. Ngikufisela okuhle kodwa wena kanye neNdlunkulu.

Owakho ngeqiniso.

MADIBA.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, akekho osemoyeni wokudlala ngezingozi zempela ezisihlaseleyo. Kufanele ezwakale uDokotela Mandela. Ukukhuluma kukaDokotela Nelson Mandela kuwanqamula wonke amalumbo nokuhlanekezela obekusakazwa yizitha-zethu zombusazwe ngathi. INkatha uyibona njengengxenye yomzabalazo-wenkululeko ngakho uthi "Ukuphikelela kwakho ukuba kukhululwe iziboshwa ngaphandle kwemibandela ngaphambi kokuba kuqaliswe ukubonisana, kuyinto okuselokhu kwathi nhlo ngiyemukela njengomnikelo owakhayo ekuthungatheni ukuthula okuyohlala isikhathi eside kulelizwe."

UDokotela...../15

UDokotela Mandela ubeka iphuzu kalula nje lapheleli: "Kusobala, ukuthi ithemba lami njengamanje yikubona, esikhathini esizayo, ukuvuselelwa kobudlelwane obuhle obabukhona phakathi kwakho no-O.R. (Mnu. Oliver Tambo) naphakathi kwezinhlangano zombuli eminyakeni yawo-1970".

Kakukhona okokuqala ukuba uDokotela Mandela ayemukele inkatha njengomhlathi wenkululeko. Akwenzayo manje yikuphinda umbono asewuzwakalise izikhathi eziningi wokuthi inkatha iyingxenye yomzabalazo. Wakusho ngokucacileyo lokhu ku-Genene Obasanjo, owake wabayinhloko yombuso e-Nigeria. Wakusho futhi nakuDokotela Helen Suzman. Bafowethu nodadewethu, nizokhumbula ukuthi ngo-Agasti 1986 uDokotela Mandela wangithumela umyalezo esejele engicela ukuba ngithintane ne-ANC ukuze sibe nezingxongo nabo wakusho ngokucacileyo ukuthi nxa esekhululiwe ejele ngelinye ilanga yena, abaholi be-ANC kanye nami siyohlangana ndawonye.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, uDokotela Mandela uhlaba umkhosi wokuba kuqedwe ubutha phakathi koMnyama noMnyama, kepha uhlaba umkhosi wokungaphezulu kwalokhu. Uhlaba umkhosi wobunye babantu abamnyamafuthi uhlaba umkhosi wobumbano endleleni esetshenziswa yizozonke izinhlangano zamaMnyama zombusazwe. Umi ngaphezulu ngokupheleleyo kwabaningi abanye ababeka iQembu ngaphambi koMbuso. UDokotela Mandela akafuni ukunyathela iNkatha ngoba nje iNkatha iyiNkatha.

Ngingumuntu wokugcina ofuna ukukhulumela noma ngubani osejele. Engikwenzayo nje yikwedlulisela umyalezo wakhe kubantu okuyinto ayicelileyo. Uthi ukugqolozelana phakathi koMnyama noMnyama kuyi- "Cala elibi kakhulu kithi sonke ukuba sehluleke namanje ukuhlanganisa amandla ethu ukunqanda lokhu kubulawa kwemiphefumulo eminingi kangaka engenacala." UDokotela Mandela

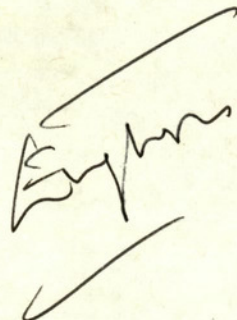
uthi:...../16

uthi: "Kuyoyonke impilo yami ngisebenza kwezombusazwe zimbalwa izinto ezingidabukise njengokubona abantu bakithi bebulalana bodwa njengoba kwenzeka njengamanje."

UDokotela Mandela uhlabisa umkhosi wokuthula phakathi kwabaMnyama. Uhlabisa umkhosi wobunye bezombusazwe phakathi kwabaMnyama futhi akafuni khona ukuba iNkatha iyeke ukuba yiNkatha ngaphambi kokuba kubekhona ubunye babantu abaNyama.

Qha, bafowethu nodadewethu, kuzobakhona ukunqoba kanti neNkatha iyoba yingxenye yakho lokhokunqoba. Sinokuzithoba okusenza singalokothi sithi ukunqoba kuyothembela kithi ngokupheleleyo. Kasilokothi sithi impi singayinqoba sisodwa. Sihlabisa umkhosi wobunye babantu abaNyama okusekeleke ekwemukeleni ukuthi abanye banomsebenzi abafanele ukuwenza nokuthi ubunye bempela esibudingayo bungubunye obusebenza endleleni yamaqhinga amaningi.

End of July

 Sihlaba umkhosi wokuthula ngendlela yethu ngakho kufanele si-
zabalazele ukuthula ngendlela yethu. Lokho kungumsetenzi
olindeleke kithi futhi kuyilungelo lethu. Ngimemezele ukuba
unyaka ka-1989 ube Ngunyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula. Umkhosi
engiwuhlabayo ngiwuhlabela phezu kwengqikithi yokufunwa koku-
thula okwenzeka kulolonke elase-Afrika eseNingizimu.

Ngakho ngihlaba umkhosi wokuthula nokubakusetshenziswe^{kw} amasu
namaqhinga okuthula ngoba iQembu elibusayo lamaNeshinali
selibhekene nokuwa kwalo futhi lizohlangabezana nokubhujiswa
ngokupheleleyo ngaphandle kokuba lihlanganyele embusazweni
woguquko lwempela. Ngihlaba umkhosi wokuthula ngoba ukuthula
kuyinto esemoyeni — kulolonke elase-Afrika eseNingizimu.
Umlando ufuna ukuba kusetshenziswe — amasu namaqhinga okuthula
njengamasu namaqhinga aphumelelayo. Konke okunye kuhambisana
nengozi enkulu kakhulu. 

 Bafowethu...../17

Zulu
Bafowethu nodadewethu, kufanele ngikhulume ngezinto eziningi kulenkulumo eyodwa nje. Engqikithini yalokhu ebengikusho ngokuntwela kwesikhathi esisha, nasengqikithini yalokhu ebengikusho ngokwenzeka kwezinto eziyingqophamlando ezenza umkhosi ohlatshwa yiNkatha wokuthula wokusetshenziswa kwamasu namaqhinga okuthula, ube yinto eyemukelekayo, ngifuna ukuhlaba umkhosi ngiwubhekise kini nonke nakuyoyonke iNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama ukuba sikulungele ukusabela uguqukweni lokuthula.

Kayikho into engabayishwa ukwedlula ukuba umphakathi oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-Afrika ube ngumphakathi ongakakulungeni ukusabela ezidingweni zokudala uguquko lwempela ngezindlela zokuthula nxa ithuba lalokho selifikile. UNkulunkulu aze angakuvumeli ukuba umlando usole thina ngenxa yokuba saba noku= ngabaza okukhulu ukubamba iqhaza lethu, nokuqiniseka ukuthi uguquko lokuthula luyaphumelela, ngenkathi kufika isikhathi soguquko lokuthula.

Selokhu kwathi nhlo ngizimisela mina ukuhluphekela inkolelo yamiyezombusazwe. Ngenza lokho okufanele ukwenziwa ngoba okufanele ukwenziwa kuyinto elungileyo. Nxa into ilungile ngiyayenza noma ngabe kuzobanamiphi imiphumela. Ngithi ^{mina} ~~noma~~ kuyinto elungileyo nefaneleyo manje ukuba abantu abaNnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika bazilungisele umbusazwe wokubonisana. *Ea Zm*

Ea Zm Njengoba ngisho nje, bafowethu nodadewethu, sesifikile isikhathi sokuba samukele ingozi yokungena embusazweni wokubonisana. Siyoba sephutheni ngokupheleleyo - futhi eqinisweni siyoba yizigangi eziyosolwa ngumlando - nxa kuyithi esibhidliza amathuba okuba kwesulwe ubandlululo ngokupheleleyo ngokusetshe-
nzi swa kwezindlela zokuthula.

Ngithi abantu abaNnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika kakufanele basebenzise umbusazwe wokudlala nxa sekuza odabeni lokufaka

ukubonisana...../18

ukubonisana endleleni. Kufanele sime siqine ekubekeni ukusi-
zakala koMbuso ngaphambi kokusizakala kweQembu. Kufanele
siyisuse yonke imibandela engadingekiyo ekuzimbandeni-kanye
kwethu nombusazwe wokubonisana.

Ngifuna ukuyigcizelela indawo engimi kuyo ^gnikusho ukuthi
ngiyokhuluma ngisho nosathane uqobo lwakhe nxa lokho kuzowu=
lekelela umgomo wobulungiswa. Ngikusho ngokusobala ukuthi
okuyikuphela kwento emi phakthi kwami nombusazwe wokubonisana
noMnu. F.W. de Klerk yikuqhubeka kokuboshwa kukaDokotela
Nelson Mandela nanoma yikuphi ukuqhubeka nokuzinikela ekugcineni
lesisakhiwo sezwe esikhona.

Konke engikucelayo yikuba uMnu. F.W. de Klerk akhiphe isigwebo
sentambo kulesisakhiwo sezwe esikhona, nokuba akhulule uDokotela
Mandela nezinye iziboshwa zombusazwe ngaphambi kokuba mina
ngingene embusazweni wokubonisana.

Ngiqhubeka elinye igxathu elilodwa. — kulokho. Ngithi noma ngabe ngizinikele kangakanani futhi, ngizoqhubeka nokuzinikela kangakanani, ekwenqabeni ukubonisana ngekusasa leNingizimu ne-Afrika ngaphandle kokuba uDokotela Nelson Mandela nabanye bakhululwe ejele, ngibona isidingo esiphuthumayo sokuba thina siqale manje ukukhuluma ngokukhuluma.

Njengoba nazi, bafowethu nodadewethu, thina esiKwaZulu siyakhuluma ngokukhuluma noHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika njengamanje. SinaleliKomindi elihlanganyweleweyo okusebenza kulo uHulumeni waseNingizimu ne-Afrika noHulumeni waKwaZulu eliqondene nokwethula izinkinga ezidinga ukuxazululwa nga-phambi kokuba umbusazwe wokubonisana usukume.

Nxa uMnu. F.W. de Klerk eqala manje ukuhola — iQembu lamaNeshinali ngendlela yokuba ukukhuluma ngokukhuluma — kube yinto esho utho

ngoba...../19

ngobayena ezinikele kakhulu ekubonisaneni kwempela kunalowo
amelamayo, ngithi mina kuyodingeka ukuba thina njengabantu
abaMnyama simkhuthaze kulokho akwenzayo.

Kakufanele simcishe ithuba uMnu. de Klerk ukuba asukeme edlule
izithiyo esizaziyo okuselokhu kwathi nhlo, ziyasebenza ngaphakathi
eQenjini lamaNeshinali. Umbusazwe wokubonisana kulelizwe uzoba
nzima kakhulu nxa ususukuma. Kakufanele thina sengeze obunye
ubunzima obungadingekiyo.

Singaba nalungelo lini lokuba sithi sifuna ukudala izinguquko
ngombusazwe wokuthula nxa sikhombisa ukuthi kasilazi ukuthi
lisho ukuthini lelogama kokwethu, ukusebenzelana kwezombusazwe
njengabantu abaMnyama. Ngaphandle kokuba sinqobe ukugqoloze=
lana okubi ngokwesabekayo okuphakathi koMnyama noMnyama okuphendula
umzimba wombusazwe wabantu abaMnyama eNingizimu ne-Afrika —
inkubele, sizowantula amandla okubonisana esizowadinga ukuguqula
iNingizimu ne-Afrika.

End d Eyman

Zulu

Umkhosi wethu wokuthula phakathi kwezinhlangano zabaMnyama kwaZulu naseNatali siwuhlabela phezu kwezizathu eziningi ezehlukeneyo, zonke eziyizizathu ezisemqoka.

Okokuqala nje umkhosi wethu wokuthula uyisikhalo sesihe sobuntu sokuba kuqedwe izenzo zokuphendula abantu izinkubela, nokubabulala nokucekela phansi impahla yabampofu kunabobonke abampofu. Indluzula yombusazwe icekela phansi impilo yabantu, impilo yemindeni kanye nempilo yemiphakathi. Idabula iNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama phakathi futhi ikuphendula umbhedo konke esithi kungubuqotho kulokho esikwenza egameni lenkululeko.

Umkhosi wethu wokuthula phakathi koMnyama noMnyama usekeleke ezizathwini zesihe zobuntu. Owethu umkhosi ungumkhosi esiwenza

ngokwemukela...../20

ngokwemukela ukuthi uNkulunkulu wadala isidalwa esingumuntu

ngomfanekiso wakhe, nokuthi wadala isidalwa esingumuntu-ukuba

sethembele esidalweni esingumuntu, ukufeza okuhle-empilweni.

Umkhosi wethu wokuba kuqedwe ubutha-phakathi komyama nomyama

ungumkhosi esiwuhlabela phezu kwesisekelo-somqondo-wethu

wobuntu-Botho.

Ungumkhosi futhi esiwuhlabela phezu kwesisekelo sokuthi indlu=

zula phakathi komyama nomyama — ibhidliza-amandla-abamnyama

okudala-ugquko. Yingakho nje ngenkathi sihlaba umkhosi wokuba

unyaka ka-1989 wenziwe unyaka wezenzo zokuthula, sithi nxa

sesiqondana neNkatha sengeze ngokuthi unyaka ka-1989

kufanele ubuye ube nguNyaka Wokuqguquzela Ukuthula.

Ukuthula ngeke kuvele kufike nje — ngoba sihlabelele ngakho,
noma sikhuleka ngakho, noma ngoba sithi siyakufuna. Ukuthula
kuyinto ekuzodingeka ukuba siyisebenzele kanti futhi njengoba
singumbutho omiswe ngokuhlangukisa abantu, ukuthula kuyinto

okuzodingeka ukuba siyigqugquzele. Kuzodingeka ukuba sigqu=
gquzele iNkatha ukuba ~~ibuthe igqugquzele abantu ekuthuleni.~~
Kuzodingeka ukuba sigqugquzele ~~abantu ukuba bahlanganise~~
imihlathi yabo, ~~isebenzele ukuthula.~~

✓ Kuyangicacela mina ukuthi ngaphandle kwemizamo yokugqugquzela
kokuyikho, nangaphandle komsebenzi onzima nokhandlayo ehambisana
nokugqugquzela abantu, ngeke kube khona ukunqoba kweNingizimu
ne-Afrika eMnyama.

Mina ngingumphumela womlando waseNingizimu ne-Afrika futhi
ngingumphumela womzabalazo womuntu oMnyama waseNingizimu ne-
Afrika ^{wxa} wenkululeko. Ngangikhona ngingufakazi kuvuselelwa
i-ANC eNingizimu ne-Afrika ngaphansi kuka-Chief Albert Lutuli.
Ngingakufakazela mina uqobo lwami ukuthi uChief Albert Lutuli

wakhuphuka...../21

wakhuphuka waba ngumholi omkhulu ngakho ngoba wasukela umsebenzi onzima nokhandlayo wokugqugquzela abantu.

Ngenkathi i-ANC isezinkingeni zombusazwe ikhwelwe nayizinkinga zangaphakathi, uChief Albert Lutuli waguqukela kubantu waqala ukubabutha ukuba banikeze i-ANC amandla eyayiwadinda. Yilokho okwenziwa nguChief Albert Lutuli ezingeni loquqaba okwamenza umholi agcina esenguye. Yilokho akwenzayo ukugqugquzela abantu eNatali okwamnikeza isisekelo asukela kuso, esedlulela ezikhundleni zobuholi.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, unyaka ka-1989 kufanele ube nguNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula ngakho izenzo kufanele zibe yizenzo ezinokwenzeka ngenxa yokuba sesigqugquzele abantu.. Yilelo nalelo ziko leNkatha, yilesi naleso sakhiwo seNkatha ezingeni lasekhaya nasezingeni lesifunda kufanele zihlanganiswe nezakhiwo zeNkatha ezingeni likazwelonke ukuze kudalwe umhlathi omkhulu oya phambili osebenzela ukuthula.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ningaba nesiqiniseko esiphelileyo
sokuthi kukhona ukuphela okukhulu okungachazekiyo ngomza-
balazo womuntu omnyama wenkululeko. Ningase ningakwazi nina
njengoba niqubeka nemisebenzi yansuku zonke akuthi lokho
enikwenzayo empilweni yenu yansuku zonke kuhlangukisa-ikusasa.
Uhlobo lomnikelo wethu namhlanje yilona-oluyonquma uhlobo
nezinga-lempi lo-yezizukulwane ezizayo.

Nxa ngikhuluma ngamazwi abanzi ngingathi bhokani ngapha nangapha
kwenu e-Afrika, nibone izinga okuvame ngalo ukuba indluzula
izale indluzula. Bhokani ngapha kwenu, kuwovonke
umhlaba ongakathuthuki, nibona izinga indluzula ezala
ngalo indluzula, nendlela indluzula ezala ngayo ubuphohu.
Bhokani ngokwezwe lonke, bhokani ngokwamazwekazi nibheke
nasehlalabeni wonke izinga okukhula ngalo indluzula ehambisana

nokukhula kobuphophu nezinga ukukhula kobuphophu okuphenduka ngalo isitha-sentando-yabantu.

Nxa nizilungisela nina zingqobo zenu, nxa nilungisela iziko leNkatha, nxa nilungisela umbutho wenu -weNkatha-ukuba uhla= nganyele-eNyakeni-Wezenzo-Zokuthula-nalapho-nigqugquzela ukuthula, nqalisa ukhulahlala indlela eya eNingizimu ne-Afrika-entsha, nenhle. Nizolungqoba ubandlululo - sekuyinto esifanele yikuyi= indlela ngaphandle-kokungabaza-leyo-manje. Okuyodingeka ukuba sibhekane nakho yikuthi indlela esinqoba-ngayo-ubandlululo yiyona eyonquma ilawule^{lula} lokho esiyobanakho ngemuva kobandlululo.

Ngakho kasigcinanga nje ngokuhlaba umkhosi wokuba unyaka ka-1989 ube nguNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula, Nonyaka Wokugqugquzela Ukuthula, kepha-sihlabo lomkhosi wokwenza unyaka ka-1989 ube nguNyaka Wokulungisela ikusasa. Kukulesisikhathi-ke enkulumeni yami lapho ngifuna khona ukubonisa nani. Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngithi okuyikuphela kobunye iNingizimu ne-Afrika eMnyama

eyoke ibe nabo bungubunye obungaphakathi kohlelo lokwemukelwa kwendlela yamaqhinga-amaningi. Yileyo naleyonhlangano kufanele yenze lokho ekwazi ukukwenza futhi kufanele ikwenze nakanjani lokho ezinye izinhlangano ezingakwaziyo ukukwenza.

Nxa sekuza ekusebenzeleni ukuthula, ngithi kufanele ukuthula sikusebenzele ngendlela yamaqhinga-amaningi. Yileyo naleyo-nhlangano kufanele yenze lokho engakwenza ukudala ukuthula. Ngicabanga ukuthi thina eseseNkatheni sinelungelo lokwenza lokho esibona ukuthi kufanele sikwenze ukudala ukuthula. Sisekhaleni lomsebenzi wokudala ukuthula ngoba akekho omunye osecaleni oseqale izenzo ezibonakalayo zokuthula.

Kepha-esikhundleni sokuba sincoywe — ngokuba sekhaleni lomsebenzi Wezenzo Zokuthula, kukhona abathile abafuna ukusigxeka ngalokho

esikwenzayo...../23

Cadme

esikwenzayo. Ngabantu bakithi abafayo; kuyilungelo lethu ukwenza okuthile ngokufa kwabo; kuyisibopho sethu kubantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika nakwabampofu kunabobonke abampofu nakwabacindezelwe kunabobonke — abacindezelweyo, ukwenza okuthile ngendluzula esishwabadele imiphethumulo yabantu ngendlela enganabuchopho-obesabekayo.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kasigcini ngokukhuluma nje. Siphazu kokwenza okuthile ngokuthula. Siguqula unyaka ka-1989 siwenza uNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula. Sikhankasela ukuthula lapho izinto zenzeka khona futhi selokhu ngiqalile ukuhlaba umkhosi wami wokuthula ngomashi, inkatha isihlanganise abantu ngokuthula emihlanganweni engaphezulu kwekhulu Yokukhulekela Ukuthula.

Mina njengomengameli weNkatha # kufanele ngihole inkatha kulomzamo. Ngakho kungumsebenzi wami ukungena enhliziyweni yenkinga nokungena nezinyathelo zethu zokuthula ezindaweni

okuyizona ezicekelwe phansi kakhulu kunezinye yinduzula.
Ngagala ngokuya kwamakhutha ukuyohlangukisa abantu khona ukuba
basebenzele-ukuthula. Abantu bakuleyandawo bayayazi imiphu=
melasabekayo yokugqolozelana komnyama-nomnyama ngeziqu
zamehlo. Abantu abahlala kuleyandawo sebefe izikhathi ezi=
ningi belandelana eduze kakhulu cishe ngaphezulu kwezinye izi=
ndawo eziningi. Kwaba ngumsebenzi wami njengomholi weNkatha
ukuyisa umyalezo weNkatha mina ugobo lwami. Lokhu ngakwenza.
*Mgobha nokho north singel' other system above me
can't say how much I'm getting the small one*
Ngemuva kwalokho ngabamba ukhukhulelangoko womhlango woku=
thula kwamashu ukubutha abantu bakwamashu ukuba basebenzele
ukuthula ngabe sengiya evideni ukuyogququzela abantu ukuba
basebenzele ukuthula nakhona. Kunohlelo lokuba ngiyе kwa=
Thethi (Taylor's Halt) emgunkundlovu kanti futhi kunohlelo
lokuba ngiyе naseMbali - khona emgunkundlovu. Yikuphi

Okungraph zu / 24

okungaphezu kwalokhu engingakwenza mina uqobo lwami-ukungenisa
isililo sami sokuthula-ezinhliziyweni zemiphakathi-ethintwe
kakhulu indluzula. *ma Joe*

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kufanele siqhubeke nokusebenzela ukuthula.
Ukuthula kakuyona into eyophoqeilewa ngaphezu kwamaqopo abantu
abaMnyama baseNingizimu ne-Afrika alwayo, ivela ngaphezulu.
Ukuthula okuyohlala-isikhathi-eside, ukuthula-kwempela, —
kuyodaleka kuphela nxa okuyibona abathinteki kakhulu endluzuleni
benza okuningi bona zingqobo zabo-ukuchitha-indluzula-njengecala
elesabekayo-elenziwa-emzabalazweni. *ma Joe*

ma Joe
Kuthe sengiwaphethile amlungiselelo. okusungula isinyathelo
sethu sokuthula u-Archbishop Hurley wangibhalela incwadi engicela
ukuba ngisekele ingqunguthela yokuthula. Kuyinto esobala ukuthi
ngingasekela noma yini engenziwa yinoma ngubani ukudala ukuthula
kepha futhi kusobala ukuthi, njengoba ngasho, sengedlula mina
endaweni lapho ngingake ngikucabange ngisho nokukucabanga

ukudlalela emikhakheni ebhidliza ubunye babantu-abaMnyama.
Kufanele ngibhekane nayo— ngawowonke amandla ami!

Ukuthula ngikuthatha njengento ebaluleke kakhulu futhi ukuqedwa
kobutha obuphakathi koMnyama noMnyama ngikuthatha njengento
esemqoka kangangoba kangikwazi ukuvumela ukuba ngihudulelwe
kunoma yini engeke isebenze! Kasikwazi ngisho nokulokotha nje
sehluleke emizameni yethu yokudala ukuthula. Kakufanele senze
into eyiphutha.

Ngakho ngaba nokungabaza ukuthi ngabe ingqungquthela yokuthula ^{eshina}
u-Archbishop Hurley iyinto efaneleyo yini noma qha. Mhlawumbe okusemqoka kakhulu,
ngaba nokungabaza ukuthi ingqungquthela yokuthula kufanele
ilungiselwe yiKomindi labaLungiseli (Committee of Convenors).
u-Archbishop Hurley wathi leliKomindi liyohlanganisa laba
abalandelayo :

u-Profesa...../25

uProfesa Nyembezi
uProfesa A. Thembela
uProfesa P. de V. Booysen
uMbhishobhi S. Mogoba
uMbhishobhi Michael Nuttall
uMnu. Harry Gwala
uDokotela Chris Saunders
u-Archbishop Denis E. Hurley.

Kakugcinanga nje ngokuba impendulo yami yokuqala kube yikuthi ukuthula kuyinto edinga ukugqugquzelwa phakathi kwabantu nokuthi kakuyona into engaphoqeलेlwa yingqungquthela yokuthula iqhamuka ngaphezulu, kepha ngaba nokukungabaza ukuba kungabi ngabantu abathintwe kakhulu yindluzula okulindeleka ukuba bazigqugquzele bona zingqobo zabo. Ukuphakanyiswa kweKomindi Labalungiseli abangebona abantu abangukudla kwendluzula nabangahlaliyo emi-phakathini ethintwe yindluzula, kimi kwabonakala kufana nokubhe-kana nenkinga ngokuyithinta ngothi olude umuntu emi-kude.

engekho lapho yenzeka khona.

Ngacabanga ukuthi nxa izinhlangano eziMnyama kuyizo ezikulendlu= zula, ngakho yizo lezozinhlangano-ezifanele-ukuhlangana nga= phandle kokudinga abakhongi. Ngemuva kokuxoxa ngabe sengipha= kamisa ukuba aBengameli beNkatha, i-UDF ne-COSATU baqale ngoko= hlangana bona bodwa nokuba izinhlangano zontathu zibuye zihlangane ne-ANC ngemuva kwalokho. Ngaphetha ngokumema abaholi be-UDF ne-COSATU, okungabengameli-bazozombili-lezizinhlangano, ukuba beze Ondini ukuba bazobanamaxoxo-nami-lapha. Lena kwaba yimpe= ndulo yami esifisweni abaBesizwakalisile $\Rightarrow$ sokukhuluma nami nge= muva kokuba ngenqabe ukuhlangana no-Archbishop Hurley lapha. Ondini, njngoba-ayecelile lokhu kwaba ngemuva kokuba bona bezwa= kalise ukuzimisela ngokubonana-nami. Lona kwakungumhlangano u-Archbishop Hurley ayethe ufuna ukuhlangana kuwo-nami.

Bafowethu...../26

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kunezindaba eziningi ezehlukeneyo lapha, kepha udaba engilwethulayo njengamanje yudaba lokuthi izithunywa zaleNgqungquthela ziyabubona yini ubuhlakani bokuba iNkatha ikubeke ethala lokho ekwenzayo njengamanje, esikhu= ndleni sakho yenze okuthile ngokuhlanganyela ne-UDF ne- = COSATU na? noma qha. Saziqalela esethu isinyathelo manje sengicelwa ngu Archbishop Hurley ukuba ngingene esinyathe= lweni okuhlanganyele kuse iNkatha, i-UDF ne-COSATU kanye nezinye izinhlangano ezingacacisiwe.

~~Ngabonisa~~ noMgwamanda weNkatha ngaloludaba kwaba ngumbono wethu ukuba loludaba lubaluleke kangangoba kasikwazi ukuliphe= ndula kuze kube ngemuva kokuba sengibenethuba lokubonisa namaLunga eNkatha eNgqungqutheleni-Jikelele Yonyaka.

Yingakho njenge ngilwethula lobudaba phambi kwethu.

Ngakho ngethula olunye lwezindaba eziningi esibhekene

nazo njengamanje - udaba lokuthi kuhlakaniphile noma kaku-
hlakaniphile ukuba sikuyeke lokhu esikwenzayo nokuba sithu=
ngathe ukwenza noma yini enokwenziwa emzameni ohlanganyelweyo
ne-UDF ne-COSATU. Ngicela uvo lwenu, bafowethu nodadewethu,
kuloludaba olusemqoka.

Owami umbono kuwowonke amaxoxo bewuthi yileyo naleyonhlangano
kufanele yenze lokho leyo naleyonhlangano ekwazi ukukwenza
ukudala ukuthula. Ngithi kufanele sengeze kulokho inhlangano
leyo ekwazi ukukwenza ngokwenza okuthile ngokuhlanganyela.
Kukhona umuzwa ongifikeelayo ngaphakathi ongitsheba ukuthi
lena yiyonandlela eyiyokufanele kuhanjwe ngayo. Kepha
kufanele ngibonisane nani ngaloludaba. Ngingumholi wenu
enimkhethileyo ngakho kungumsebenzi wami ukuba nginihole
ngaphakathi-kohlalo lwalokho enizikhethela khona. Kangilutho

mina.../27

mina ngaphandle kwegunya elivela kubantu.

Ngidinga impendulo ecacileyo evela kuleNgqungquthela ngalolu=
daba ngakho njengoba kuqhubeka umsebenzi waleNgqungquthela,
kufanele kugxilwe-kakakhulu-kuloludaba.

Kusobala-ke ukuthi kunesibalo sezindaba eseziqubukile nokuthi
sikhuluma ngesimo esiqhubekayo lapho kudingeka khona ukuba
kubenoguquko, usuku ngosuku, nangeviki ngeviki.

Kufanele ngibike lapha ukuthi ngadumala ngenkathi abaholi
be-COSATU ne-UDF - ikakhulukazi uMnu. Archie Gumede, uMnu.
M. Morobe, uMnu. E. Barayi noMnu. J. Naidoo - benqaba ukuzo=
bonana nami lapha Ondini ukuze sibe namaxoxo okuqala.
Bathi bafuna ukuba amaxoxo okuqala abanjelwe endaweni engahla=
ngene nanhlangano phakathi kwezinhlangano zethu sengathi
Ulundi luyingxenye yohla enkundleni yempi. Lokhu kwangishaqisa

ngendlela elinganayo nokwangidumaza ngayo. Isimemo sami engangisiqondise kubo sasiyisimemo esiqondileyo nje esisuka kumfowabo oMnyama siya komunye. Sasiyimpendolo yami futhi esifisweni sabo ababesizwakalisile sokukhuluma nami ngemuva kokuba ngenqabe ukuhlangana no-Archbishop Hurley lapha Ondini njengoba ayecelile.

Kangifuni ukukhuluma kakhulu ngalobubunzima ngoba kangifuni ukwenza lutho olungabonakala liyukuchukuluza okunye ukugxekana nobutha. Kepha kufanele ngikusho ukuthi kangikuboni ukuthi ingabakhona kanjani intando enhle yempela okungasekelwa kwakhelwe kuyo izinyathelo zokuthula nxa singakwazi ukuhlangana njengabafowabo abaNnyama lapha Ondini. Sengikushilo ukuthi kanginandaba mina noma singashintshanisa phakathi kokubamba umhlangano owodwa Ondini omunye umhlangano siwu=

bambele...28

siwubambele e.COSATU House, noma kukuyiphi nje enye indawo ye-COSATU noma indawo ye-UDF. Ukwenqaba kwabo ukuza Ondini kucacisa indawo abemi kuyo kwezombusazwe.

Ngakuphawula ukuthi nxa sekuza ekusunguleni ingqungquthela yokuthula ngokwayo ngempela lapho i-UDF ne-COSATU beyohlangana khona neNkatha ne-ANC, kulapho-ke lapho udaba lwendawo yokuhlanganela engahlangene nanhlangano luyoqhamuka khona ngokokuqala. Ngikholwa yikuthi nxa sekufika isikhathi salowomhlangano njengoba sizofika nakanjani, lowo mhlango kufanele ubanjelwe endaweni ethile eNgilandi eYorophu, noma eMelika. I-UDF ne-COSATU ngakolunye uhlangothi bakhuluma ngethuba lokuhlanganela e-Lusaka noma e-Harare. Okwamanje nje kangizimisele ukuya lapho ngezizathu engingadingi ukungena kuzo kuleNgqungquthela.

Kepha, njengoba ngisho nje, kangifuni ukukhuluma ngokweqisa kulesisikhathi ngoba lokho kungaze kudale izinkinga ezindabeni esiqondene nazo. Okwavunyelwana ngakho nalokho obekwenzeka kulesisikhathi yikuhlangana kweNkatha i-UDF ne-COSATU ezingeni labaholi abakhethwe ukuba bahlangane nalabo abangabengameli bezinhlangano ezithintekayo. Njengamanje nje kukhona ukukhuluma laphelele kukhulunywa khona ngokukhuluma ngakho lokho kuhle.

Ngilindele umphumela walamaxoxo okungaba ngumbiko ohlanganyelweyo owakhiwe yilabo abahlanganyela kuwo eThekwini emaxoxweni aphakathi kweUDF/COSATU neNkatha.

Okwalesisikhathi ngifisa ukuba kuqopheke phansi ukudumala kwami okupheleleyo ukuzwa ukuthi eNgqungqutheleni Yokuthulayeni ye-UDF/COSATU ebingempelaviki edlule, kukhona amalunga abo abecula amaculo ayinhlabathi nanukubeza mina ngegama phambi koMnu Archie Gumede, Mnu. Murphy Morobe noMnu. J.Naidoo. Kakukho lutho abalwenzayo laba ukunqanda enye yalentsha eyayingihlambalaza ngalamaculo ayo ukuba bayeke ukukwenza lokhu.

Lokhu ngokwakho kukhomba indlela ende nenzima eqonde ekuthuleni esasihlaleleyo ngisho noma ngabe umuntu uzibuka ngayiphi indlela izinyathelo zokuthula.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kufanele ngikusho ukuthi ngisho noma ngabe umuntu unelungelo elingakanani lokufikelwa yikungabaza ngenxa yalokhu nangenxa yalokho osekwenzekile esikhathini esidlule, kufanele sonke sikwemukele lokhu kunyakaza okuqonde ekuzixoxeni izinkinga zethu. Umzamo wokusungula ukuthula ezingeni lamalokishi, kawunakwehlukaniswa nomzamo wokusungula ukuzwana phakathi kwezinhlangano ezehlukeneyo zabaMnyama okuyizona ezisungula nezikhuthaza indluzula noma ezihudulelwe kuyo.

I-ANC isakaze isitatimende lapho ichitha khona ukugqolozelana phakathi koMnyama noMnyama ihlaba nomkhosi wempumelelo

yokubonisana phakathi kweNkatha, i-COSATU ne-UDF. Ngizwa kuthiwa kunesitatimende esenziweyo lapho i-ANC ithi khona uMnu. Oliver. Tambo usezimisele manje ngokubonana nami. Kepha kangikasifumani isimemo esinjalo ngokomthetho, ngakho ^{ke} engingakusho nje yikuthi kukhona ukuxoxa ngamaxoxo ^{ngokuthi} nokuthi kuyoxoxwa ngethuba lomhlangano. Yilokho kuphela engingaku= sho okwamanje. Ngiyafisa futhi ukuba ngikugcizelele ukuthi nxa kungapheli lokhu kuhlambalazana nokubhocana-ngodaka phakathi kobambiswano lwe-ANC/UDF/COSATU ngasohlangothini olulodwa neNkatha nga^{olunye} uhlangothi, ngiyakungabaza mina ukuthi sizophumelela ukudala ukuthula. Ngikholwa yikuthi ukuma kulokhu kubhocana ngodaka kufanele kubonakale njengento eyandulele ukuhlalisana ngokuthula phakathi kwa= lezizinhlangano ezehlukeneyo. Ukunukutshezwa kwami yi-ANC

nokunukutsnezwa.../30

nokunukutshezwa kweNkatha noHulumeni wakwaZulu ngomlomo womsakazo we-Radio Freedom eLusaka, eDar es salaam nase-Addis Ababa kufanele kupheze ukunukutshezwa-kwami, nokunukutshezwa kweNkatha ephephabhukwini i-'SECHABA', i-'The African Communist'. Kufanele kupheze ukunukutshezwa kwami neNkatha yi-UDF/COSATU emaphephandabeni athile-olimi-lwesiNgisi, i-'THE NEW NATION', 'THE NEW AFRICAN' namanye amaphephandaba okuthiwa athatha indawo yamaphephandaba ajwayelekileyo, nxa sifuna ukudala ukuthula phakathi kwethu. Ukunukutshezwa kwethu emhlabeni nguMbutho Olwa Nobandlululo (ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT) eNtshonalanga egameni le-ANC esekudingisweni nobambiswano lwe-UDF/COSATU kufanele kuphele, nxa ukuthula kuyinto ezofezwa. *end Zulu*

Kuphila Bafowethu nodadewethu, uNkulunkulu uyazi ukuthi ngilwenyanya kangakanani ubandlululo lwezinhlanga kepha lokho kakuliguquli

iqiniso futhi kunesidingo esikhulu sokuba labo okuyibona
abacindezelwe! kunabobonke benze okuningi kunabobonke ngoku=
cindezelwa kwabo-bona zingqobo-zabo! Umfowabo omnyama
useyakudinga manje ukukhuluma nomfowabo omnyama, ngokuthula.
Ubudlelwane phakathi komfowabo omnyama, nomfowabo omnyama
kuyinto edinga ukuxoxwa umfowabo omnyama, nomfowabo omnyama.
Ubufowabo obuphakathi kwama-Afrika ngqo obudinga ukuba bube=
yinto eyemukelwayo kulesisimo kakuyona into indawo yabo
engathathwa yizingqungquthela ezixube izinhlanga nezinye
izinto ezinjalo.

Kusesekuseni nokho ngakho kangazi okuthi ukubonisana
okuphakathi kwe-UDF ne-COSATU kanye neNkatha ne-ANC kuzo=
phetha ngokuba namphumela muni. Engikwaziyo nje yikuthi
sekuyiso isikhathi sokuba sikhulume nokuthi nxa sikhulumela
phezu kwalolonke elase-Afrika eseNingizimu, lezizingxoxo
kufanele ukuba ngabe kade zabakhona. Ngokuqhubeka kwezinto,

cisho.../31

cisho amaxoxo phakathi kwami nomuntu ofana noMnu. Oliver Tambo nje angase abe yingxenye esemqoka kunazozonke kulokho okuzokwenzeka. Izingqungquthela zangokomthetho kufanele zibanjwe, kepha ngale kwazo, kunomsebenzi wempela odinga ukwenziwa ngabaholi babantu abacindezelweyo bona zingqobo zabo. Kufanele sihlangane manje njengabaholi babantu abacindezelweyo.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, ngizoqiniseka ngokuba amaziko eNkatha neziphathimandla zayo zezinga lesifunda bahlale baziswa ngenqubekela-phambili esiyenzayo emkhankasweni wethu wokudala ubunye babantu obusekeleke endleleni yamaqhinga amaningi.

Okwamanjenje ngifuna ukuphinda futhi nginxuse leNgqungquthela ukuba ikuqonde ukuthi ihlangana esikhathini esibucayi, sokuntwela kwesikhathi esisha embusazweni weseNingizimu

ne-Afrika. Ngisabuyela kuyo ingqikithi yethu:

1989 - UNYAKA WEZENZO ZOKUTHULA

1989 - UNYAKA WOKUGQUQUZELA UKUTHULA

1989 - UNYAKA WOKULUNGISELA IKUSASA

Ngifuna ukugcizelela ezinye izinhlangothi zengxenywe
yokugcina yengqikithi yethu : "UNYAKA WOKULUNGISELA IKUSASA."

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kakukhonhlangano eNingizimu ne-Afrika
engekho kulembizakazi yaseNingizimu ne-Afrika-ebilayo.
Umlando ngokwawo uyasibonda usihlanganisa ndawonye ufuqela
umfowabo kumfowabo, ufuna impendulo yobufowabo-kumfowabo.
Kangikholwa yikuthi ikhona ngisho neyodwa inhlangano

ezophepha.../32

ezophepha kuloluhlelo loguquko umlando osidlulisa kulo,
inhlango ezophuma kulembiza ebilayo ingenamyocu-isafana
nalokho eyayiyikho ngenkathi iphonswa kulembiza. w

Emihlanganweni yamuva nje yoMgwamanda weNkatha-bengikhuthaza
abaholi beNkatha ukuba bakuqonde ukuthi thina njengenhlango
sidinga ukuqinisa amaziko nezifunda zethu nokuthi sidinga
ukuwalungisela iNingizimu ne-Afrika entsha. Bengixwayisa
kulemihlangano ngokuthi kunengozi enkulu yokuthi izinhlangano
eziningi kakhulu zabamnyama seziqale ukuphila kulokho eziku=
bona njengomzabalazo osuyindlela yempilo. Nxa singakwazi
ukuzabalazela ukunqoba, sikhulwe futhi yikuthi ukunqoba-kuyeza,
kusho ukuthi kakusoze kwabakhona ukunqoba. Kakufanele naka=
ncane senze umzabalazo uqobo lwayo indlela esesiyophila
ngayo kuze kube phakade. Sizabalazela ukunqoba ngakho nxa
sesinqobile, kunohlelo olubanzi lwezinto ezintsha okuzofuneka

ukuba sizenze.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, i-Frelimo ngemuva kokunqoba kwayo eMozambique, noma i-MPLA ngemuva lokunqoba kwayo e-Angola, babhekana nezimo ezehlukileyo zokuhlolwa kwabo. Ubunye abaphumelela ukubudala ngenkathi belwa nemimoya yamakoloni kabuzange buphumelele ukuqiniseka ukuthi bubakhona ubunye besizwe ngemuva kokunqoba. Singasola noma ngubani esithanda ukumsola. Iqiniso elingenakuguqulwa ukuthi ngemuva kokunqoba izinhlangano ezidala ukunqoba zibhekana nezinselelo ezilandelwa ngezinye izinselelo.

Ukunqoba ngokwakho kudala isidingo sezinguquko ezithile enhlanganweni. Namhlanje ngikhuluma ngalokho thina njenge-nhlangano enqobayo esidinga ukukwenza ukuze siphephe ngomuso. Sidinga ukwenza unyaka ka-1989 uNyaka Wokulungisela Ikusasa. Ngiyakugcizelela ukuthi ngeke nanini saphumelela ukubhekana

nohlobo olusha lweNingizimu ne-Afrika ngokusebenzisa uhlobo oludala lombusazwe. Kwawona umbusazwe ngokwayo uyoguquka ngokupheleleyo. Isimo sohlelo lombusazwe siyoguquka. Kakufanele sificezeleke sibhadazela.

Ngonyaka ka-1983 ngakhipha ibhukwana elinesihloko esithi "Uhlobo Olufishane Ngalokho Okunokwenziwa Kwezombusazwe" (A Short Guide to Practical Politics). Kusukela ngaleyonkathi benginxusa ukuba lombhalo oyuhlobo uthathwe ngokuqinisekileyo. Ngaphandle kokuba sizisebenzise iziphakamiso zawo, ngeke siphumelele ukugcina iNkatha inezingxabo ezigxile, oquqabeni lwabantu baseNingizimu ne-Afrika.

Intlobo yokuqala ngqa esidinga ukuyenza ukulungisela ikusasa yikuhlanganisa iNkatha : njengenhlangano yabantu. Ngabantu abazolawula ikusasa. Ngabantu okuhlezi ngaphakathi. kubo

ukukhululeka kwesizwe ngakho yizinhlangano ezinezingxabo_zazo
ezigxile kubantu, ezinganethemba_lokuqhubeka_isikhathi eside
ngesikhathi soguquko, nangemuva kwaso.

Kuyithemba lami ukuthi iNgqungquthela izolubhekisisa loluholo
nokuthi izithunywa zizobuyela emakhaya ziliphethe lelibhukwana
eliyuholo emakhikhini azo, futhi zizinikele ngokupheleleyo ekuli=
sebenziseni. Bafowethu nodadewethu, iNkatha_inalobo_buthakathaka
ebudalelwa ngabaholi_bayo, kuphela. Izitha zethu kakukho lutho
ezingalwenza ukusibhidliza. Kulapho abaholi beNkatha belahle=
kelwa khona yindlela yabo_lapho_siyobhidlizwa_khona.

Sinezibopho esithweswa zona ukuba siqede lokhukubulalana oku=
ngenamqondo koMnyama noMnyama, eNatali nakwaZulu. Kufanele
senze unyaka ka-1989, ube nguNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula. Kufane=
le sisabele njengenhlangano kulokho okufunwa ngukuthula ngakho

kufanele.../34

kufanele siguqule unyaka ka 1989 siwenze uNyaka Wokugqugquzela ukuthula. Kepha esikwenzayo ukudala ukuthula, noma esikwenzayo kunoma yini enye manje, kuqaka ukuhlahla indlela yalokho esizokwenza ngomuso. Ngakho kufanele siqondanise ukuguqula unyaka ka 1989 siwenze uNyaka Wezenzo Zokuthula nokuguqula unyaka ka 1989 siwenze uNyaka Wokugqugquzela Ukuthula, sikuqondanise nebhaxa lesithathu lomzamo wethu elingukuguqula unyaka ka 1989 siwenze uNyaka Wokulungisela Ikusasa.

Njengoba silungisela ikusasa nanjengoba sizilungisela njengenhlalano ohlelweni lokudala ukuqedwa kobutha phakathi koMnyama noMnyama, ngikholwa yikuthi izinyathelo zethu kufanele zibe nezimpawu zezinto eziningi. Ngizokhuluma ngazo kafushane ngaphansi kwezihlokwana ezimfushane.

Isidingo sezinjongo zesikhathi esifishane, esiphakathi nendawo
kanye nesikhathi eside esizayo

Thina esiseNkatheni, bafowethu nodadewethu, selokhu kwathi
nhlo siqhubeka nomsebenzi onokwenziwa esikwazi ukuqala
ukuwenza khona namhlanje. Kasibona abaholi abahola ngamaphupho
asemoyeni nje. Sidinga ukuguqula izinkinga zethu sizibeke
esimeni salokho esinokukwenza ngazo esikhathini esifushane,
esikhathini esiphakathi nendawo, nasesikhathini eside
esizayo.

Kungalendlela kuphela esingaphumelela ngayo ukusukela umsebenzi
osabekayo siwenze umsebenzi onokwenzeka. Nxa sisukela
izindaba ezesabekayo ngalendlela, siyakwazi ukwehlukanisa
izinjongo zethu ngezigaba ukuze siphumelele ukufeza ukunqoba
ngezigaba lapho sinokukufeza khona, ukuze lokhu kunqoba kwethu

ezigabeni...../35

ezigabeni lezo sikwazi ukukuqongelela kusinikeze ukunqoba okukhulu.

Isidingo sokusebenza phakathi kwemiphakathi ethintwe yindluzula ngqo

Thina esiseNkatheni sikhulwa yikuthi abantu banenkululeko nokuthi kakugcini nje ngokuba abantu babenelungelo kepha banesibopho sokwenza okuthile ngobunzima-babo. Kufanele sikwamukele ukuthi njengoba abantu abacindezelwe kunabo bonke benomthwalo omkhulu kunabo bonke wokwenze okuthile ngokucindezelwa kwabo, nalabo abathintwe kakhulu yindluzula, kufanele benze okuningi ngendluzula phakathi kwabo. Indlela esibhekana ngayo nokuqedwa kwendluzula kufanele siyenze indlela yabantu. *end Zue*

Signature Kufanele sikhankasele ukusekelwa kwesinyathelo sokuthula

Nxa sesikhuluma ngobukhulu bomsebenzi obhekene nathi ekudaleni ukuthula phakathi kwezinhlangano ezimnyama kwelaKwaZulu naseNatali, kufanele kwemukelwe ukuthi sizokudinga konke ukusekelwa esingakufumana. Lokho kusekelwa kufanele kube yikusekelwa yizinhlangano nazo ezisebenzela ukuthula ngaphandle kweNkatha. Kufanele kube yikusekelwa ngamasonto, nayiyo yonke imiphakathi emnyama, esifundeni. Kufanele kube nayikusekelwa yizinhlangano zomhlaba ezisingethe izikhwama, zeminikelo yosizo.

Kufanele futhi kube yikusekelwa ngezimali ngakho sizocela ukusizwa ngezimali ekuqedeni ubutha nasekwenzeni lokho okunokwenziwa ukubuyisela isimo endaweni yaso kulabo esebechithwe yindluzula ezindaweni zabo, nalabo indluzula eabhidlizele izindlu zabo.

End E-r

Umyalezo/36

Umyalezo obhekiswe kubantu

Bafowethu nodadewethu, kasilona uhlobo oluthile lwenhlangano yombusazwe ezenzela into yayo yodwa ekwazi ukwenza izimangaliso ohlotsheni oluthile lwezulu lombusazwe, abese kwehla imana yehlele phezu kwabantu. Siyinhlangano yabantu ngakho umyalezo wethu wokuthula kufanele siwusabalalise phakathi kwabantu. Yibo abantu abayokwenza lokho okufanele kwenziwe ekugcineni.

Isidingo somsebenzi oqhubekayo wokuqaphela nokuhlinzekwa kobuholi obuqhubekayo emkhankasweni wokuthula

Mhlawumbe into ebaluleke njenganoma yini enye - mhlawumbe okunokwenzeka nokuba isemqoka ngaphezu kwazo zonke izinto - yikuthi sidinga ukuqaphela seluse lokho okwenzekayo ukuze abantu bahlale behlinzekwa ngolwazi. Ezikhathini zezinxabano nendluzula, amahemuhemu aba neqhaza elibi kakhulu. Amahemuhemu

ayabulala ngenkathi esabalalisa uvalo nokungethembani *emphakathini*.

Sidinga ukuqiniseka ngamaqiniso odaba ngokusungula izindlela zokuxhumana okusukela lapho indluzula beyenzeka khona noma lapho yenzeka khona, ukuya ezizindeni zezinhlangano zethu okuyizona ezizokhipha amaqiniso aya kubantu.

Kukuloluhlobo lwezindlela lapho singaphumelela khona ukusebenzisa izakhiwo zamazikho eNkatha ngempela nokwenza izindawo ezinamalunga eNkatha zisebenzele ukuthula. Yilelo naleloziko leNkatha kufanele libambe iqhaza ekuqoqeni ulwazi nokulwedlulisela eNkatheni.

Ukuqashelwa kwemfundiso ekhuthaza ukubulala

Bafowethu nodadewethu, umuntu unobunzima obukhulu bokusho ukuthi yini esemqoka kakhulu ekuqhubeni izinjongo zethu

ezinkulu...../37

ezinkulu zokudala ukuthula esifundeni sakwazulu neNatali.
Yonke into isemqoka kepha isidingo sokunqanda ukusabalala
kwalemfundiso-yombusazwe-engenamqondo/eqhatha umfowabo oMnyama
noMnyama nehloha umfowabo oMnyama ukuba abulale umfowabo
oMnyama, kasikwazi ukugcizelela ngokweqisa.

Sengikuphindaphinde kaningi ngithi ngenza i-UDF ne-COSATU
ikuponde ukuthi nxa izinhlangano zabo noma lezozinhlangano
ezingamalunga abo ziqhubeka nokusabalalisa-imfundiso-yombusazwe
ekholakelayo, kalikho ithemba lokugeda lenduzula. Thina
njengenhlangano kakufanele sizibeke esimeni sokufumaneka
sinecala. Amazwi ethu kufanele siwabale sicophelele-kakulu
ekuhloleni lokho okunokushwo nalokho okungafanele-ukushwo.
Kakufanele sisebenzise ulimi oluhlambalazayo, noma sibize abanye
abangamalunga-ezinye izinhlangano ngazo zonke izinhlobo zama-
gama ayizifengqo, nahlabalazayo.

Ekugcineni cisho yindlela izinlangano ezikhuluma ngayo enye ngenye eqopha izimpawu zokuphumelela noma ukwehluleka kwezinyathelo zethu zokuthula. *end Ego 1*

Zulu Bafowethu nodadewethu, lezi ngezinye zezinto esifanele yikuzicabanga nxa sisungula ezethu izinyathelo zokuthula nalapho sisebenzisa khona amandla ethu njengenhlango ukudala ukuthula. Zonke lezizinto ziyoba yusizo ekuthuthukiseni iNkatha njengenhlango nasekuzilungiseleleni kwethu sizilungisela ikusasa.

Bafowethu nodadewethu, nakho-ke - nampo-ke ubukhulu bemisebenzi esigqolozeleyo nenkolelo yokuthi sekuneqhaza elingumlendo manje iNkatha efanele ukulibamba ekudalweni kweNingizimu neAfrika entsha. Yonke iminyaka yobukhona beNkatha ibiyiminyaka ebalulekileyo ngakho yileyo naleyoNgqungquthela - jikelele

yoNyaka...../38

yoNyaka ibisemqoka. Yimani ^{went}nikucabangisise ukuthi kudalwa
yini ukuba lokhu ~~kube~~ yiqiniso. Kucabangeni ukuthi yileyo
naleyo Ngqungquthela Jikelele yoNyaka yeNkatha ibiyiNgqungqu-
thela esisondeza ~~ekunqobeni~~. Kucabangeni ukuthi lelishumi
leminyaka elidlule nangaphezulu kwemizamo yethu beliyishumi
leminyaka nangaphezulu lelizamo yokusondeza ~~ukuntwela~~ kwesi-
khathi esisha. Lesosikhathi esisha sesiseduze kakhulu manje
kunalokho esake sabayikho ngaphambili. Sukumani bafowethu
nodadewethu, nilingane nesimo esingumlando sokuhlanganyela
ogqukwani obabamkhulu abagcina ^{ne}ngokukuphupha kuphela.

AMANDLA! NGAWETHU!

SONQOBA! SIMUNYE!

MATLA! ARONA!

MATIMBA! AHINA!

A LUTA CONTINUA!