

Lawrence B. Zulu, at the University of Zululand in connection with three cadres of the ANC who were to be hanged was disrupted by a clique of students led by Robertson Manzi, a UDF member, and the Bishop and the Rector, Professor Nkabinde, were abused and insulted.

1983: The house, shop and cars of a leading member of Inkatha, Mrs. E. Nxasana of Lamontville, were severely damaged.

1983: The private and official car belonging to Mr. J.T. Zulu, who is a member of Inkatha Central Committee, an ex-Robben Island prisoner and KwaZulu's urban representative, were burnt to ashes, as was the car of Mrs. Kay Manjanja, a member of Inkatha Central Committee.

1983: Mr. W. Sabelo MLA, was viciously attacked and seriously injured by youth while attending a funeral in Chesterville, which was conducted by the Revd. Mcebisi Xundu, a prominent member of UDF.

1983: The UDF distributed a pamphlet entitled: "What is Inkatha up to?" The pamphlet contains blatant, vicious and pernicious lies.

Then who are the perpetrators of these terrible acts of violence and destruction? Who is spreading lies and distortions in pamphlets and at public meetings?

Inkatha pursues peaceful, democratic strategies, but will not stand by and watch South Africa become involved in violent confrontation

politics, whether pursued by White or Black.

Inkatha is a force to be reckoned with; it is in the forefront of the struggle and it will never be wished away, whether by the National Party, the External Mission of the African National Congress, UDF, Azapo, PAC, AZASO, NIC or any other body. INKATHA IS HERE TO STAY.

I sought my soul,  
but my soul I could not see,  
I sought my God,  
but my God eluded me  
I sought my brother  
and I found all three

\*Anonymous\*

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## LETTERS FROM BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS TO THE PRESIDENT OF INKATHA

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Ever since Inkatha came into being it has held out a hand of friendship to the External Mission of the African National Congress, and has consistently sought friendly working relationships with every other Black political organisation both inside the country and abroad in order to escalate the internal democratic struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Inkatha is an expression of the same forces which brought the ANC into prominence in the late 50's and early 60's. The President of Inkatha was himself a member of the ANC Youth Wing when it was able to operate legally in the country. Many thousands of Inkatha members were active members of the ANC while it existed in this country.

It was the late Chief Albert Luthuli who persuaded the President of Inkatha that the unity struggle demanded that he mobilise the people through the office which history itself had prescribed to him. The President of Inkatha saw the

importance of assuming his hereditary responsibilities and is grateful to Chief Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, the then Secretary-General of the ANC and to Nelson Mandela, one of his lieutenants, who all advised the President not to shirk his traditional responsibilities.

Inkatha adheres to the aims and objectives of the founding fathers of the ANC, and the President of Inkatha has over a great many years done his best to keep alive the legitimacy of the ANC by appealing for international support for its mission in exile, and has done more than other leader in South Africa to open the debate about the ANC in South Africa.

Inkatha does not support the limitations which the South African Government places on the freedom of Black South Africa to choose their own leaders. Inkatha also resents the choice of leaders for Black South Africa that the people themselves have not chosen. Until the mission in exile is free to return home and to appeal to the people for

support, they must necessarily be living a mythological existence based on sentiments of yesteryear. Were ANC what the myth makes them to be, Inkatha would never have developed as the largest Black constituency that this country has ever seen.

There is a lot of vicious propaganda being circulated abroad by the UDF regarding the way in which the President of Inkatha is viewed by certain Black leaders. The UDF is attempting this tactic in order to appear to be closer to the ideals of the founding fathers of the African National Congress than Inkatha is.

The letters included in this magazine speak for themselves.

LETTER 1

24 November, 1950

Professor Matthews,  
Fort Hare College,  
P.O. ALICE. C.P.

My dear Professor,

Greetings: I hope you are well. I write you this letter to enquire about a young student from Emahlabathini, Zululand. His name is Gatsha Buthelezi and I think he was going to sit for his Bachelor's Degree in Science at the end of this term. I am very anxious to know if it is true that he was dismissed from the institution on account of insubordination and with regard to the boycotting of the meeting of the Governor General. Please let me know because our family is very anxious. His grandfather was the premier Chief of Zululand — the prime Minister of King Cetywayo. The boy is the first cousin of Prince Cyprian.

Yours faithfully,

P. ka I. Seme (Signed)

LETTER 1

P. KA I. SEME  
SOLICITOR, ETC.  
TRANSVAAL & SWAZILAND  
P.O. BOX 7943  
PHONE 53-2220

Dr Seme

2-3 September 1950  
55, Commissioner St.  
Johannesburg,  
TRANSVAAL  
24th November, 1950.

Professor Matthews,  
Fort Hare College,  
P.O. ALICE. C.P.

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Yours faithfully,

P. ka I. SEME.

LETTER 2

104 End Street,  
Doornfontein,  
Johannesburg.

DR. A. B. XUMA  
RESIDENCE: "EMFILWENI"  
55, TONY STREET, SOPHIA TOWN,  
JOHANNESBURG.  
TELEPHONE 22-5112.

TELEPHONE 22-5311.  
Consulting Room:  
104, End Street,  
Doornfontein,  
Johannesburg.  
25/5/55

25 / 5 / 55  
My dear Chief Buthelezi,

I saw Mr Bailey and paved the way for you to see him. Unfortunately as explained in your letter, it was impossible.

I have called in the writer of the article and discussed it with him.

As I view the matter, I feel that your best course, is to drop legal representation as I doubt if a case of libel can be established in the circumstances and the publication to write you a letter correcting any impressions you feel might be read into the article and keep that for future reference, on your files.

Litigation or publication of a correction might give the matter undue publicity and draw unnecessary attention to the article.

Yours Sincerely

A.B. XUMA (Signed)

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Litigation or publication of a correction might give the matter undue publicity and draw unnecessary attention to the article.  
Yours sincerely  
A.B. Xuma

LETTER 3

P.O. Groutville Mission,  
North Coast, Natal.  
4 December 1956

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi,  
P/Bag Pindangene, Mahlabathini,  
Zululand.

Mntwana,

On our return from Swaziland we returned via Vryheid. I saw Mr. Bhengu for about ten minutes. In the course of this brief interview I touched on the matter of our Paramount Chief and the police. Mr. Bhengu reiterated more or less what he said in a letter he wrote me where he indicated that the ANC was the most competent organisation to take up the matter.

I pointed out to him that my opinion was that an ad hoc band of important citizens seemed to me would be the best group since it (is) the path of wisdom to keep the P.C. out of hot politics. If the ANC took it up directly as ANC, it might prejudice the matter. He seemed bent on the ANC. He further told me that he was expecting the P.C. to be in Vryheid over the coming week-end and that he (Bhengu) would write you to suggest to you that you and he, and maybe others in Vryheid, I suppose, would issue a statement on this matter.

I told him that in my opinion this procedure of issuing a statement would not give this tragic affair the seriousness it deserves. I felt and still feel that a statement should follow a meeting of important citizens if they should decide on it after deliberating on the matter fully.

My own view is that the seriousness of the matter would lead such a meeting to seek an interview with the ANC to make strong representations to the government on the matter.

I hasten to acquaint you with my views on this sad affair. It must be handled with dignity. These are my personal views and not necessarily those of the ANC executive, Natal.

I have no objection to your showing Mr. Bhengu this letter or

acquainting him with my views. I did not have enough time to discuss with him.

Yours for the Nation,

A.J. Lutuli (Signed)

(P.S. Excuse errors, written in haste.

P.O. Groutville  
Mission  
N. Coast, Natal  
4/12/1956

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P/Bag Pindangene,  
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P.S. Excuse errors written in haste

LETTER 4

466/64 NELSON MANDELA

My Dear Chief,

I should be pleased if you would kindly convey to the Royal Family my deepest sympathy on the death of King Cyprian Bhekuzulu. His passing away took me completely by surprise for I did not have even the slightest hint of the King's fatal illness. Although a few years back I had heard that his health was somewhat indifferent, a friend had later informed me that he had much improved — a fact which seemed to be confirmed by photographs which I subsequently saw in various publications and which on the face of it appeared to indicate that he was in good health. The unexpected news consequently shocked me immensely, and I have since been thinking of the Royal Family in their bereavement.

You and the late King were closely related and bound to each other by a long and fruitful friendship and his death must have been a severe blow to you. I met him twice only; in my Johannesburg home and in my office, and on both occasions he was accompanied by you. It afforded me great pleasure to note how deeply he valued your friendship and how highly he appreciated your advice. In him we caught glimpses of the astuteness and courage that was the source of so much of the glittering achievements of his famous ancestors. In serving him as you did, you were carrying on the tradition established by my Chiefs, Ngqengelele and Mnyamana, your ancestors, whose magnificent role in the task of national service is widely acknowledged.

The vast crowds that must have attended the funeral, the words of comfort delivered at the graveside and the messages of sympathy from organisations and individuals all over the country would by now have fully demonstrated that the Royal Family is not alone in mourning this unfortunate loss to the country.

The death of a human being, whatever may be his station in life, is always a sad and painful affair;

that of a noted public figure brings not only grief and mourning to his family and friends but very often entails implications of a wider nature. It may mean tampering with established attitudes and the introduction of new ones, with all the uncertainty that normally accompanies the change of personalities at the head of affairs. In due course Amazulu will no doubt be summoned to the Royal Capital to deliberate over the whole situation and to make the necessary decisions. I am confident that the statesmen and elders whose vast wealth of wisdom, ability and experience have guided the fortunes of this celebrated House in the past, will, on this occasion, offer solutions which will be inspired by the conviction that the interests and welfare of all our countrymen is the first and paramount consideration. In this regard your immense knowledge and able advice will be as crucial now as it has been in the past.

Incidentally, in December 1965 I

wrote a special letter to Nkosikazi Nokukanya and requested her amongst other things, to mention to your late cousin and to you. I indicated then that on my release I would visit Zululand to pay my respects to my traditional leaders. I hope the message was received. This resolution remains unchanged, and although it will no longer be my privilege to pay homage to the late King personally, it will be an honour for me to visit Nongoma and thereafter Mahlabatini.

Finally I should like you to know that I think of you and Umndlunkulu with warm and pleasant memories and sincerely wish you real happiness and good health. My fondest regards to Umntwana, your mother and to your mother-in-law.

Yours very sincerely,

NELSON R. MANDELA (Signed)

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
P.O. Box 1, Mahlabatini,  
Zululand.

LETTER 4

466/64 Nelson Mandela

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The vast crowds that must have attended the funeral, the words of comfort delivered at the graveside and the messages of sympathy from organisations and individuals all over the country would by now have fully demonstrated that the Royal Family is not alone in mourning this unfortunate loss to the country.

*o/k.*  
Johannesburg  
21-11-1965

The death of a human being, whatever may be his station in life, is always a sad and painful affair. That of a noted public figure brings not only grief and mourning to his family and friends but may often entail implications of a wider nature. It may mean amping with established attitudes and the introduction of new ones, with all the uncertainty that normally accompanies the change of personalities at the head of affairs. In due course Amazulu will no doubt be summoned to the Royal Capital to deliberate on the whole situation and to make the necessary decisions. I am confident that the statesmen and elders, whose vast wealth of wisdom, ability and experience have guided the fortunes of this celebrated House in the past, will, on this occasion, offer solutions, which will be inspired by the conviction that the interests and welfare of all South Africans is the first and paramount consideration. In this regard your immense knowledge and able advice will be as crucial now as it has been in the past.

Incidentally, in December 1963 I wrote a special letter to Nkomo, Mkhuzo and requested he, amongst other things, to mention to your late cousin and to you. I indicated then that on my return I would visit Zululand to pay my respects to my traditional leader. I hope the message was received. This resolution remains unchanged, and although it will no longer be my privilege to pay homage to the late King personally, it will be an honour for me to visit Nongoma and thence to Mhlabatini.

Finally, I should like you to know that I think of you and Mndhlunkulu with warm and pleasant memories, and wish you real happiness and good health. My fondest regards to Mntwana, your mother and to your mother-in-law.

Yours very sincerely,  
Mntwana  
NELSON R. MANDELA.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi,  
P. O. Box 1 Mhlabatini,  
Zululana

## LETTER 5

N. Mandela 466/64 B.I.P.U.B.

Our dear Mndhlunkulu,

(\* "Mndhlunkulu" is Zulu for Princess, in this case the letter was addressed to Princess Irene Buthezi, the wife of Prince Mangosuthu G. Buthezi)

I was moved by the message of condolence contained in the telegram sent by my chief, Mangosutho, on behalf of the family and which I received on July 18 (my birthday), and I should like him to know that I deeply appreciate it.

1968 and 1969 have been difficult and trying years for me. I lost my mother only ten months ago. On May 12 my wife was detained indefinitely under the Terrorist Act, leaving behind small children as virtual orphans, and now my eldest son is gone never to return. Death is a frightful disaster no matter what the cause and age of the person affected. Where it approaches gradually as in the case of the normal illness, the next-of-kin are at least forewarned and the blow may not be so shattering when it ultimately

lands. But when you learn that death has claimed a strapping and healthy person in the prime of his life, then one must actually live through the experience to realise how completely paralysing it can be. This was my experience on July 16 when I was first advised of my son's death. I was shaken from top to bottom and for some seconds I did not know exactly how to react. I ought to have been better prepared for Thembi was not the first child I lost. Way back in the forties, I lost a 9 months baby girl. She had been hospitalised

and had been making good progress when suddenly her condition took a grave turn and died the same night. I managed to see her during the critical moments when she was struggling desperately to hold within her tender body the last sparks of life which were flickering away. I have never known whether or not I was fortunate to witness that grievous scene. It haunted me for many days thereafter and still provokes painful memories right up to the present day; but it should have hardened me for similar catastrophes.

Then came September 26 last year (my wife's birthday) when I was advised of my mother's death. I had last seen her the previous September when she visited me on the Island at the ripe age of 76 having travelled all alone from Umtata. Her appearance had much distressed me. She had lost weight and although cheerful and charming, she looked ill and tired. At the end of the visit I was able to watch her as she walked slowly towards the boat which would take her back to the Mainland, and somehow the thought flashed across my mind that I had seen her for the last time. But as the months rolled by, the picture I had formed on her last visit began to fade away and was altogether dispelled by the exciting letter she wrote thereafter testifying to be in good health. The result was that when the fatal hour struck on September 26, I was quite unprepared and for a few days I spend moments in my cell which I never want to remember. The news was broken to me about 2.30 p.m. Suddenly my heart seemed to have stopped beating and the warm blood that had freely flown in my veins for the last 51 years froze into ice. For sometime I could neither think nor talk, and my strength appeared to be draining out. Eventually I found my way back to my cell with a heavy load on my shoulders and the last place where a man stricken with sorrow should be. As usual my friends here were kind and helpful and they did what they could to keep me in good spirits. My second son, Kgatho, sent me a telegram on July 17 and I felt even

LETTER 5

N. Mandela 466/64 B.I.P.U.S.

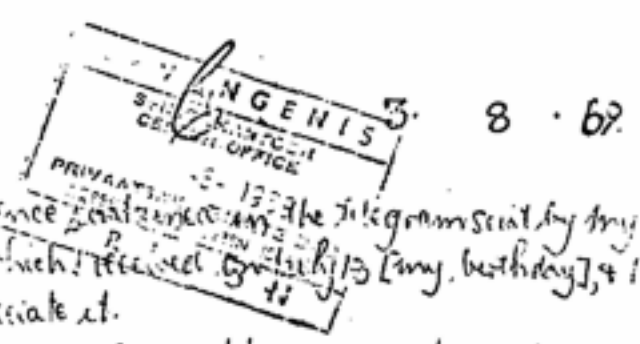
Ar dle: mneth hunkulu,

was moved by the message of condolence from the Chief, Mangosuthu, on behalf of the family which I received on July 13 (my birthday), & I should like him to know that I deeply appreciate it.

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my strength appeared to be draining out. Eventually I found my way back to my cell with a heavy load on my shoulders & the last place where a man stricken with sorrow should be. As usual my friends here were kind and helpful & they did what they could to keep me in good spirits. My second son, Kgatho, sent me a telegram on July 17 & I felt even much better. The telegram from the Chief created a deep impression on me & greatly contributed towards my complete recovery from the shock. I should like to assure him that I will always remember his inspiring message of sympathy as well as the one he sent on the occasion of my mother's death. I feel mighty & strong & confident because of the good will & emergency solidarity that have come from my trusted friends, amongst whom I am privileged to include you the Chief.

My thoughts very often go back to the forties when I lived at Mzi Lkazi where I first met your father, the son of Mzila, was really a grand old man that I admired & respected in all sincerity. He was dignified, low tears & confident, & throughout the 4 years of my stay at Mzi Lkazi we were on friendly terms. The conversations I had with him indicated a man who was proud of the traditions & achievements of his people, & this aspect, more than anything else fascinated me. Not that he loved & respected his own history & culture, he was sensitive to modern & progressive ideas & valued education. In this respect you & your brother are witnesses. He was often seen at the Bantu Bantu Social Centre in his black & gold regalia, decorated with medals & ribbons, playing bridge & other games with remarkable skill against distinguished sportsmen of that day. I will always remember him as a man who gave me much encouragement & help in



much better. The telegram from the Chief created a deep impression on me and it really contributed towards my complete recovery from the shock. I like to assure him that I will always remember his inspiring message of sympathy, as well as the one he sent on the occasion of my mother's death. Now I feel mighty, strong and confident because of the good wishes and messages of solidarity that have come from my trusted friends, amongst whom I am privileged to include you and the Chief.

My thoughts very often go back to the forties when I lived at Mzilikazi where I first met your parents. Your father, the son of Mzila, was really a grand old man that I admired and respected in all sincerity. He was dignified, courteous and confident, and throughout the 4 years of my stay at Mzilikazi, we were on friendly terms. The conversations I had with him indicated a man who was proud of the traditions and achievements of his people, and this aspect, more than anything else fascinated me. But though he loved and respected his own history and culture, he was sensitive to modern and progressive ideas and valued education. In this respect you and your

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appreciate fully just how precious human kindness can be. It gave me much pleasure to be able to act on his behalf when the Old man's estate was wound up. Do always remember that I highly value my association with your family and that I hold the Chief in esteem.

My fondest regards to all and to Dr. Dotwana and your sister-in-law.

Once again many thanks to the Chief for his inspiring message.

Yours most Sincerely,

NELSON (Signed)

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*Yours most sincerely  
Nelson.*

*"Kwaziweziwezi"  
P. O. Box 1, MAHLABATINI,  
ZULULAND.*

The following letter was written by Mr. Oliver Tambo, President of the External Mission of ANC to Mntwana Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, President of Inkatha/Kgare and Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Mr. Tambo used the code name "STEVEN" appearing at the end of this letter to hide his identity.

Shenge!

Having failed to postpone my departure pending your arrival here, I have had to resort to this brief note.

Congratulations on your battlings at home. You are in the thick of it — daily and hourly. In the process you get hurt. But then you are also hurting back. The total result is a political battle of great importance for us all. Keep it up. But do avoid escalating the confrontation too

rapidly. I have always been worried about this.

The land question has been handled in a manner that gives cause for great satisfaction. So are many other aspects of the situation.

Do not mind if there is criticism of one kind or another. When it is possible to meet, we can together look at the general development of the situation. I only hope it will always be possible to keep control of it at all times.

You remember the question of the name. It has become a very urgent issue. The problem about going ahead is that your capital is, I believe, intended to be Ulundi. Can anything be done about this? Would it be too much to suggest "IKWEZI" as the name — the new

name for the new capital? This is very difficult to mention on paper.

But I know that if it is conceivable you might see how to go about it. If it is impossible, you will, I know, give me early warning.

For the rest, our sister will report.

Good luck and best wishes.

STEVEN.

Sunday 24/7/76

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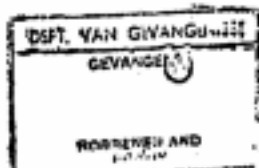
For the next our sister will report.

Good luck &

Best wishes.

Steven





Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi  
 P.O. Box 1, Mahlabathini,  
 Zululana

**SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION**

TARA ROAD, WENTWORTH DURBAN

Telegrams:  
 Telephone:

P.O. BOX 23  
 AUSTERVILLE  
 NATAL

23rd June, 1971.

The Chief Executive Officer,  
 Zululana Territorial Authority,  
 P.O. Box 1,  
MAHLABATHINI.

Dear Chief Gataha,

re: INVITATION TO OPENING OF SASO CONFERENCE:

We hereby extend a cordial invitation to you and your Executive to attend the opening address of our Annual Conference and 2nd General Students' Council at 8 p.m. in the Students' Union Hall, Alan Taylor Residence at Wentworth, Durban, on Sunday 4th July. My Executive and I will be very honoured by your presence.

The opening address will be delivered by the Hon. C.M.C. Ndamee Transkei Minister of Roads and Work and a well known educationist. He had made special mention of you, Honourable Sir, and asked us to make sure that you attend.

Find enclosed a circular on the conference which might be of interest to you and your Executive.

Yours sincerely,

.....  
 Steve Biko  
 (CONFERENCE ORGANISER)

**SASO**

**SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' ORGANISATION**  
 88 BEATRICE STREET DURBAN  
 P.O. Box Tel. No. Cables: SASORG

Our Ref. 149/72

Your Ref.

SECRETARY-GENERAL

13th January, 1972.

Chief G.M. Buthelesi,  
 "Ewa Phindangene"  
 P.O. Box 1,  
 Mahlabathini,  
ZULULANA.

Dear Chief Gataha,

It was brought to the notice of our December Executive Council Meeting that public pronouncements of both SASO and yourself have had the effect of bringing, about a misunderstanding and a strain in our mutual relations.

Council resolved to invite you, in your personal capacity, to a meeting with our representatives, during January. This can be held in a venue convenient to you. The aim of this consultation would be to seek a better understanding of our mutual involvement. This to us is very essential in order to give meaning to our strategy of totality of involvement of black people.

With very best wishes in your work this New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

.....  
 N. Pityana  
 (Secretary General)

EXECUTIVE:  
 President: T. J. Sene — Secretary-General: N. Pityana — Publications: S. Mooler  
 Vice-President: K. Paddy — Personnel Organizer: S. N. Nkomo