

Government's attempts to legitimise the new constitution. He has put the release of Mr Mandela and other leaders beyond party political interests.

Inkatha believes that the democratic process in South Africa is deeply impaired because blacks cannot demonstrate their political choices by electing the leaders whom they think ought to be in the forefront of politics.

It is in the circumstances of jailing, bannings and detention without trial that black politics become confounded by celebrity leaders and self-appointed spokesmen.

There is an urgent need for

black politics to be rooted in constituency politics in which there are the normal safeguards and checks to ensure that leaders represent their people truthfully.

The outside world has an urgent task to perform and that

is to mount every endeavour to persuade the South African Government to normalise black South African politics. State interference in the black democratic process favours the development of violence in politics.

"It is a central argument in my whole political position now that forces working for change in South Africa are being terribly detrimentally affected by the levels of violence we are experiencing. There is now in South Africa a yearning for a normalised society amongst all population groups . . ."

The war against Inkatha

There can be no doubt that the ANC Mission in Exile has declared war on Inkatha. Very senior members of its National Executive, and others, attempt to portray the movement and its leaders in such a way as to encourage their "elimination." ANC publications and radio broadcasts pour forth a steady stream of abuse and outright lies about Inkatha.

Having at every opportunity sought reconciliation and a division of labour approach, Inkatha has either to be intimidated out of political existence or to defend people in the face of the kind of tactics

and strategies which the ANC Mission in Exile is now employing against their fellow black South Africans.

Chief Buthelezi has made it clear that he and Inkatha will not be intimidated out of the political arena. They will not abandon the noble cause of the struggle. They will not step aside and see deep and hallowed values in the struggle for liberation corrupted and discarded.

Chief Buthelezi makes the following point: "I do not speak academically or theoretically about violence. I lead Inkatha as its President in the midst of violence. Inkatha is surviving in violence. It is surviving in

circumstances in which violent onslaughts are being made against it and attempt after attempt is being made to establish no-go areas for it."

Party political differences between blacks give rise to very heated debate. Inkatha is now involved in life and death issues and pursues political aims and objectives within the stark realities of a truly oppressive society where the Government uses Draconian laws to curb opposition.

It can be anticipated that exchanges of views between those in black groups will be strident, but in recent time the stridency of black political debate has assumed very nasty under and overtones.

What is behind the name-calling

In black South Africa there is nothing so hideous as a black who aids and abets apartheid and participates in the subjugation of his or her

people.

When blacks call Chief Buthelezi a "government stooge", a "sell-out", the "lackey of Pretoria", a "Bantustan leader", a "tribal leader in the pay of Pretoria",

their intention is to raise hatred against him and Inkatha and the effect of these accusations is to declare him and Inkatha open game for violence.

In the political context of black South Africa, these accusations are made by groups which do in fact use violence for political purposes. There is a brand of what observers call "protest politics" in South Africa which seeks continuity by violent intimidation.