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INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY - INKATHA YE NKULULEKO

CENTRAL COVMMITTEE MEET ING

PRESIDENT IAL GREET INGS

ULUNDI. 28TH JULY 1990

The National Chairman, Comrade Deputy Secretary-General, Comrades all. This is the first meeting of the Central Committee in the new era which we commenced when we launched Inkatha as-â\200\224 the Inkatha

Freedom Party) on\_theâ\200\22414th of this month. It will serve a very -important-purpose | believe)if we\_pause now )to \_take stock)andâ\200\230to look at our circumstances

with Party-political eyes.

Political- Parties - in\_ democracies â\200\224exist to win elections. In elections it is the people who vote. Ipso facto political Parties are primarily concerned

with winning support\_from people - individuals/ not  
categories )or./groups. This should be. a constant  
awareness of \_the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Constitution Coomission which we-called for at  
our last Central Committee meeting haswalready lniB  
and is â\200\224at ~workâ\200\224attempting to define the  
constitutional â\200\224issuesâ\200\224which will relate- people to  
their Inkatha Freedom Party, give them aâ\200\224role \_ and

give the Inkatha Freedom Party a role>in ~the -lives of  
the people.

There must be this reciprocity in an election-winning political Party. The Party needs people and the people need the Party. We cannot have a Party

meaningful to the Party. I believe that Mr. David Kingsley made a valid observation when he said that we should perhaps have found the time to do more in

preparation for the Annual General Conference - and that more should have sent the people with specific things to do for their new Party.

I believe that we as old campaigners must stop here

and take note. We know how to mobilise! We have after all mobilised the largest black political constituency ever seen across the length and breadth of Africa. We know how to organise. We have had

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magnificent successes at our Conferences, whether they were Youth Conferences, Womenâ\200\231s Conferences or

General Conferences. We have also been successful in organising mass rallies and marches. Inkatha has been a peopleâ\200\231s organisation but I believe that we should not look back and count our strengths and

successes, but count our weaknesses.

One of the weaknesses of which I think we should take serious note is that of not being able to employ our members in the service-of-theirParty. It-is no use Inkatha Freedom Party leaders sitting back, and saying

that there is more than enough to do for manybody, who

wants to do it. The art of Party politicsâ\200\224af: the organisationalâ\200\224level is the art of making sureâ\200\224that people both have something to do) and thatâ\200\224it in fact gets done.

I believe that unless we face that fact a great many of Inkatha Freedom Party members feel remote and

isolated - we will shed members in the cold blast of politics like some great tree shedding leaves in autumn. We must also face the fact that - lack of contact with members) has cost us support and money. There has been insufficient emphasis - on people's the regional and branch levels.

One of the things which I now request the Constitution Commission to do is to ensure that mandatory communication takes place between branch and region, between region and head office and in fact between branch and head office. Consultative politics

mechanisms must be made obligatory. There must be report-backs by leaders down the line, from the President, from the National Chairman, from whatever dignitaries there will be in the new constitution, from head office down through regions to branches and to members.

here should be some kind of index of vitality at the level - of report-backs by Inkatha Freedom Party leaders to the people. Looking at South Africa at large I would say there must be at least something like 30 regional offices manned and mandated to



supervise the working of the Inkatha Freedom Party's structures. The small man, the ordinary peasant; the ordinary labourer, the mother, and the women or whoever, must feel/wanted) by his or her Party, however remote that person is.

There will be a great legacy of harsh austerity in politics after we have succeeded in curbing the hideous excess of the political-violence that there now is. There will be a harsh idiom in politics which Inkatha Freedom Party must counter by developing a concerned, caring image.

One of our great assets as a Party is that we . \_really do put the good of the State before the good of Party politics . and we really do put\_the value of the individual very high on\_our priority-list. We do not intend winning -electionsâ\200\224 by employing â\200\224regimented ideology. We want to win elections because\_ people have enthusiasm for-our-plans, our-objectives and our policies.

We must have a constitution which achieves this kind of political Party.

| say this because | see dark days ahead; | see  
 deepening conflict ahead, and when finally there is  
 democracy .and there is it will be those who  
 are organisationally most practised in consultation  
 and in working within the mandates that people give  
 them who will win elections.

Another aspects of Party politics shouldâ\200\2241-believe be

- given a great deal \_of attention. It Is the-aspect of

conflict-solving \_in Inkatha-Freedom Party. We all  
 know that we have had conflictâ\200\224whichâ\200\224has defied  
 solution \_in â\200\224some-of\_our\_regions. They have been

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energy-sapping conflicts.

Normally international conflicts which are soluble are intensely valuable to a political organisation. They provide members with forced situations in which they have to make decisions. Leaders have to solicit support and supporters have to choose leaders. Properly handled, conflict is not necessarily bad. It can in fact be used to establish the who is who of local district, regional, provincial and national structures. Solved problems leave firm leaders behind it. Solved problems strengthen a Party.

We perhaps need to pay particular attention to the question of problem-solving because Inkatha Freedom Party will have to grow in strength, in a situation of flux and - change in which there are bound to be differences of opinion, and at times very severe differences of opinion, in the Party about what is best to do.

I believe that it is true that in the old Inkatha we did actually not have problem-solving mechanisms. The fact that we only had a "Disciplinary Committee" I think substantiates the point I am making.

Conflict is not always a matter of discipline. By the time disciplinary action has been taken, conflicts have already gone too far and the situation is already probably lost.

It may be worth looking at ways and means of establishing supervisory roles at Provincial, Regional and District levels in which effective leadership is monitored so that we know who is who among those on whom we can rely.

We must face our problem-solving approachâ\200\224in-Inkatha Freedom Party in a contextâ\200\224in\_\_which \_\_ essential continuity will have to be safeguarded) in-the face of a new -incoming -membership which will-be â\200\224racially mixed\_and which could have far-reaching - \_implications

in terms of bringing new blood, new ways , and\_new idioms.

/i-\201. Chairman, Sir, | anmentioning these aspects of constitutionalism to all members of the Central Coommittee because | believe that every member of the Central Committee must start thinking about

these

things. You, Mr. Chairman, will be chairing of the  
 Constitution Commission. You and your Commission will  
 give detailed attention to what you are doing. While  
 you do that hard work, let me see my role to get  
 members of the Central Committee thinking about the  
 things on which they will have to pass - judgements  
 when you present your report to members of the

Central Committee for adoption and final presentation  
 to the General Conference. ) I believe that each

Central Committee meeting between now and then I  
 would be well advised to discuss one or another  
 aspect of Inkatha Freedom Party's constitution so



that all our thinking may be sharpened and we may be better prepared for making final decisions.

/;fÃ©grklng back from an Inkatha Freedom Party Conference

on December 7 - 9. We must | think aim at being able to circulate a draft constitutionto all branches fo study and discussion by the end of the first week in November 3at â\200\224the \_latest. I believe that during November regional leaders should supervise district and branch activity)in which the new constitution is studied. November should be a month ofâ\200\224workshops, seminars.and discussions.

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This means that the Constitution Commission should report back to Central Committee â\200\224with a draft

proposal by its October meeting. Between now and then we will have two conferences to organise and we will also have to take wide ranging-action in moving

towards the conference table and negotiation table in and establishing the kind of cross-cutting | inks between Inkatha Freedom Party and other Parties and organisations which we will need to strengthen our hand at the negotiation table.

This means that the Central Coomittee members will be hard put to do everything-that has to be done.

I must yet \_again -point\_out the urgent-â\200\224need for members of the Central Coomittee to actually getâ\200\224on with on-the-ground constituency work/ in\_their â\200\224own districts. There is always something-you-can do for people that people want to. There is always some method of harnessing people power-in the solution of people problems. Let Inkatha Freedom Party become known as a Party that cares and a Party that mobilises to strengthen the peopleâ\200\231s hand.

% will vyet confound critics and observers\_ by the extent to which the new Inkatha Freedom Party gathers strength.and develops momentum in\_an onward march of mobilisation)and employment\_of the people. We stand in the wunique position of being the South African political Party most \_in-tune with-the most potent social, economic and political forces atâ\200\224work in society.

There are some things which will just not be achieved in South Africa and there are some things which will just not be able to be donesln South Africa. There

will not be a victory through the â\200\224armed â\200\224struggle.  
There may be -destruction, there may be-an escalation  
of \_violence,\_\_\_but there will be no victors. There  
never are victors when scorched earth policy meets  
scorched earth policy.

There will be no military victory>and there will be  
no one-Party government in this country. An attempt  
to establish a one-Party State will be met with  
awesome resistance. It would trigger off a violent  
white right-wing backlash which will unleash a

holocaust not even dreamt of in Mocambique and Angola.

/(omrades, you really must hear me when I say that the things that are implementable are practicable, and could work are the things that Inkatha Freedom Party stands for. Inkatha Freedom Party stands for a

multi-Party democracy. A multi-Party democracy could

work. - Inkatha Freedom Party. stands for race reconciliation. That is what institutionalised South Africa is now moving towards. Inkatha Freedom Party stands for a thriving economy based on free

enterprise principles. That is what history is urging us to establish.

nstitutionalised South Africa - and | am talking about institutionalised South Africa across all race groups - endorses what Inkatha Freedom Party aims to achieve. 'The more relevant other political Parties become, the more they will look like Inkatha Freedom Party. @ The whole of politics is gravitating down to positions which we occupy.

This means strategically we can spend our time

consolidating what we are now doing and gain  
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tremendous advantages over those who-resist what we are doing. In practical terms this\_means Inkatha Freedom Party must work hard at further developing cross-constituency ties which are-already there. We must work hard at looking at the kind of blue-prints produced \_in\_ the Buthelezi~ Coomissionâ\200\224and â\200\224 the KwaZulu/Natalâ\200\224Indaba and find a mix-of-forcesâ\200\224which

will make Inkatha\_Freedom Partyâ\200\224and the- KwaZulu Government relevant to the process of-establishing a

multi-Party democracy and liberating the economy from

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State control.

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The ANC will yet pay a heavy price for-attempting to destroy whi-\\201t//re/aLllyi-\\2021s/the essence â\\200\\224 of â\\200\\224the newly emerging i-\\201ulti-Party democratic\_Southâ\\200\\224Africa. The armed struggle .is-â\\200\\224an armed- struggleâ\\200\\224against the ideals which will \_eventuallyâ\\200\\224be â\\200\\224implemmented as practical-policy. The ANCâ\\200\\231s now built-in tendency to

only play â\\200\\224winner-takes-all-â\\200\\224political â\\200\\224games â\\200\\224will alienate it \_from the mass will\\that will now \_.ever-

increasingly endorse the politics of negotiationâ\\200\\224 and the compromises which Dr. Mandela talksâ\\200\\224about- but which the ANC in practice,\_neg}tes.

Inkatha Freedom Party is not traameddledâ\200\224with- side issues and battles within-battles. We do not have to struggle against a revolutionary army-â\200\224threatening to become the tail that wags the -ANC dog. The arrest of four insurgents sent by Lusaka to assassinate Inkatha Central Committee members and the subsequent â\200\224arrest of over 40 people involved in infiltrating soldiers, arms and ammunition into South Africa belieSjwhat Dr.

Mandela is saying personally.

This does not make Dr. Mandela full of duplicity and a liar. It just simply shows that as Deputy

President of the ANC, Dr. Mandela is justâ\200\224notâ\200\224 in charge of his own organisation. He has said that the infiltrators were activists \_that-the ANC had-not yet had the opportunity to inform-about the February-â\200\224 2nd speech and the ANCâ\200\231s subsequent unbanning.

This sounds plausible to-naive earï¬\2011but<we know that the real story is one in which the ANCâ\200\224is â\200\224actually taking advantage of talks-about-peaceâ\200\224to -prepare for war. |If it was simply a matter of the ANC leadership being so ineffective that it has not yet been able to contact its armed cadres, one could ask questions

about the extent to which the ANC\_\_ leaders\_\_ are actually in control. It is now many months since Mr. F.W. de Klerk's February 2nd speech and it is many months since Dr. Mandela and his colleagues signed the Groote Schuur Minute.

//] am afraid, Comrades, that it is because of the lack

of organisational control. Mr. Mac Maharaj who has been arrested with the rest of the insurgents is talking about is actually a member of the ANC's National Executive. The ANC's National Executive itself actually sent the four insurgents to

assassinate | Inkatha's Central Committee members.  
 These hard facts militate against any soft-talk which  
 Dr. Mandela would have us believe.

The going is going to get-tough - a lot tougher than  
 most of us think. It is going to be toughest of all

for those who are attempting to doable -  
 mount an armed struggle and seize power to establish  
 a one-Party situation in South Africa. They will

succeed least of all.

message to members of the Central Committee is  
that Inkatha Freedom Party has to stick\_to\_its â\200\224guns

and it will be all-right. It has to mobilise forces  
in harmonyâ\200\224withâ\200\224 history; it hasâ\200\224toâ\200\224work with  
institutionalised South Africa\_to help aâ\200\224trulyâ\200\224 South  
African result)to,energe)fran the situationâ\200\224of â\200\224flux  
and changeswhich we are now in.

Our emphasisâ\200\224should be-one-of-efficiency. We are  
doing the\_â\200\224right thing; we are pursuing the right  
course of action; we have the right objectiveifand we

are using the right tactics and strategies. I do

not, however, believe that mm;are,eff;fientvenough in  
all these things that we\_are doing-right.

It is in this regard that | am so lookingâ\200\224to the  
Action Group for Democracy to make-a difference. The  
Action Group for Democracy now more than Ã@ver faces a  
vital interfacing responsibility in marrying â\200\224Inkatha  
Freedom Partyâ\200\231s resilience \_and inner strengtg)to the  
opportunities that will make it aâ\200\224truly-South African  
organisation. Â¢

â\200\230/4/(would today |like members of the Central Committee  
to endorseâ\200\224a proposal +am making-for ~the Action

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Group for Democracy to establish a -nationalâ\200\224 head  
 officeâ\200\224inâ\200\224Durban\_which â\200\224-stepâ\200\224 by â\200\224step\_willâ\200  
 \224 add  
 efficiency â\200\224to-function after functlon)untllefhere is  
 a final natural-transition of â\200\224theâ\200\224Action Groupâ\200\231s  
 headquarters becoming \_the new\_headquarters â\200\224of the  
 Inkatha Freedom Party.

//G; need expertise; we need efficiency and the Action  
 Group for Democracy should service Inkatha â\200\224Freedom  
 Partyâ\200\231s needs by developing the efficiency â\200\224that- is  
 needed and by Iimporting whatever\_â\200\224expertise â\200\224is  
 Iacking..> :



In the months to ou mark\_my words, â\200\224it will be  
of critical importance for Inkatha Freedom Party to

have an efficient coounication mechanismâ\200\224with its

grass-root â\200\224members. Whateverâ\200\224inkatha-was doing has  
been badly disrupted with the degree of violenceâ\200\224and  
confrontation â\200\224that has made\_so many-of our â\200\224branches  
disfunctional.

We urgently need toâ\200\224putâ\200\224ourâ\200\224whole â\200\224 membership  
management on a very sound footing. We need to know  
where \_\_our \_\_membersâ\200\224 are. We need to address

communications to them. We need to seek financial support from them. Very importantly, we need the kind of communicating channels which enable us to present our mass membership with policy issues which will confront us in the politics of negotiation. We will need to seek mandates from the public around them.

Inkatha Freedom Party's membership lists must be put under top-level management. This will take a substantial amount of work and involve substantial expenditure. While Inkatha Freedom Party as Inkatha

Freedom Party is-working at/restructuring/itself, looking at its constitution, establishing the necessary cross-cultural and cross-constituency contact points, and areas of co-operation, the Action Group for Democracy can be getting on with tackling the practical question of solving Inkatha- Freedom

Party's membership management problems.

I believe that it is very correct to say that over the years the old Inkatha lost millions of - rand because we grew too rapidly and our organisational structures could not keep pace with the ever-growing

flood\_of â\200\224new members. The task is now soâ\200\224mammoth

that | believe solutions will have to beâ\200\224found- in  
main-frame computer -answers.

We need greatly expanded and-technologically improved  
communication â\200\224and administration managementâ\200\224between  
Head Office and theseâ\200\224regional- offices. Regional  
office bearers\_need to be trained-and-the work- of

regional officersâ\200\224needsâ\200\224 toâ\200\224be -supervised. The  
establishment of these offices, their manning and the  
training requirements of the personnelâ\200\224involved must  
be tackled as a matter ofâ\200\224urgency. By the time

Inkatha Freedom Party is given its new constitution at the beginning of December and all the structural systems are ready to be used, we need to have clear-cut plans of action and we need to have the expertise to do what has to be done. The Action Group for Democracy, . supported by the Inkatha Institute wherever the Action Group deems it necessary, should again say attend to practical issues while the majority of the members of the Central Committee get

on with the job of looking at political and policy issues.

We do, | believe, need to bring inâ\200\224consultants-and we do | \_believe need to embark on â\200\224multi-million â\200\224+rand programmes \_\_if \_\_we are to compete â\200\224with â\200\224 other organisations ]â\200\234mo -have many millions. The â\200\224Action Group for Democracy should-develop the â\200\224fund-raising function we need and\_should accunulate the practical expertise we need.

There is a sense in which Inkatha was very advisedly general in\_â\200\224its political theory. We had no- fine printâ\200\224ideological-positions. We had no dogmas and we did not insist on the kind of political schooling of

our members which is alwaysâ\200\224found-in -revolutionary  
and military-organisations.

We were free therefore to be practical-andâ\200\224to â\200\224move  
with history and to adapt to\_changing circumstances.  
We will, however,â\200\224 if we do not take the necessary

action pay prices for\_our past advantages. We are

now entering a very intensified struggle-â\200\224for â\200\224hearts  
and minds.and we will be facing the-need to be â\200\224very  
clear to the population at,Jargejabout what we stand  
for .and why we seekâ\200\224support â\200\224for â\200\224pursuing the  
objeCtives we pursue.

We need a set of Inkatha Freedom Party documents which are authoritative and which can be used for teach-ins, workshops and seminars in the dissemination of our philosophy. All our members should know exactly what our Party stands for in all - the spheres of Party political conflict. 2

We need one clear document which:

- rejects the armed struggle
- points out the dangers of nationalisation
- puts the land issue and the re-distribution of land in perspective



clearly\_ - states ourâ\200\224positionâ\200\224on â\200\224political violence

states our position on the need for-â\200\224compromise solutions

says what we are aiming to establish in a multi-

Party democracy in the protection of individual

rights, in the protection of minority groups and the question of \_freedom of speechâ\202-29\_â\200\230and association, and the freedom of the press, in the rule of law and above all else on the

question of the equality of all\_-before the â\200\224law  
and the constitution

spellsâ\200\224out-â\200\224strategic\_thinking\_about â\200\224eontinued  
involvement \_in /chal)and â\200\224regional â\200\224tevels of  
first and â\200\224second â\200\224tier â\200\224government, the  
representation \_of Blacks\_ as â\200\224the under -  
privileged, about the fact that we will for some

considerableâ\200\224time struggle wtih bad schools and  
inadequately â\200\224trained teachers, and about the  
question of housingâ\200\230>and healthâ\200\224and welfare  
generally

spells out our thinking on an-enterprise-driven economy â\200\224in \_which -the Stateâ\200\231s -directionâ\200\224 of economic affairsâ\200\224is really minimal.

| am rattling off\_points\_and-|1 am notâ\200\224pretending to be all-inclusive. | an just saying that there is a need for~â\200\224the developmentâ\200\224of-â\200\224a -â\200\224very ~clear-cut

statement of what Inkatha Freedom Party standsâ\200\224 for. Any confusion about what we stand for will makeâ\200\224 our members vulnerable in take-over bidsâ\200\224by -the ANC,â\200\224the UDF and COSATU.

Oddly enough, now that we have opened membership to categories of people who are in fact-as a groupâ\200\224more literate â\200\224and-educated, the need for-this-document | am talking about takes on\_additional-significance.

I think it is absolutely true\_to say thatâ\200\224the â\200\224more educated you are, the greaterâ\200\224the-blunders are that

you can make in politics. Look howâ\200\224â\200\224educated Afrikanerdom became \_and â\200\224how their political blundering increased with their education. Look at

the vast amount of political hocus-pocus that emerges

from South Africaâ\200\231s â\200\224â\200\224 White â\200\224 English-speaking universities.

When | stand before television crews and-before even senior â\200\224reporters, | am -asked aâ\200\224wide range of amazingly uninformed questions. A lot of my woesâ\200\224and the past woes of Inkatha are traceable toeâ\200\224uninformed Whi te and/

Inkatha Freedom Party must be marketed and it must be

educated opinion.

marketed actively.

While we attend to all this kind of detail and gear

ourselves up to be intensely practical ,â\200\224we have to  
contend with-â\200\224base politics which-isâ\200\224emergingâ\200\224 from  
what the ANC,â\200\224 the UDF-and COSATU are -actually-doing.  
While | always emphasise that Inkatha Freedom Partyâ\200\231s  
medium and longer term prospects-are very promising,  
there are certainly short-term problems \_which. will  
have to be faced if medium and long-term gains-â\200\224are  
goingâ\200\224to be made.

We have to face the reality that the ANC is making  
propaganda gains-that negotiations-after all will be

bi-polar in South Africa. Any talks between Dr. Mandela and Mr. de Klerk are given â\200\224theâ\200\224highest possible media attention. Each meetingâ\200\224is -made â\200\224out to be â\200\224an -historicallyâ\200\224importantâ\200\224 make-or-break meeting. The ANC talks, postures and prancesâ\200\224as the only contesting\_force amongst â\200\224thoseâ\200\224who â\200\224 oppose Government.

While what the ANC now is doing will incur medium and longerâ\200\224term disadvantages,- what it is now doing â\200\224is making short-term gains. We must be a lot more pro-active in our own politics so that when the ANCâ\200\231s

problems start coming home to roost. And they find for example that the idiom of peace presents its own leadership problems, and they find that fraternal relationships with UDF, COSATU and others become more problematic as the ANC does more and more to establish itself as a South African based organisation, we carry on the initiatives we now start and emerge as a political Party going places.

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We need now to do a lot more than we are doing to mount joint programmes with business leaders, community leaders and church leaders. We need a



whole new vast Project Department which gives-rise to the political\_â\200\224and diplomatic deployment of- Inkatha Freedom Party members.

We need a whole new\_Media Departmentâ\200\224which â\200\224can properly manage the image projection work-of Inkatha Freedom Party. We need actual image campaigns which set wup -objectives which can be achievedâ\200\224in weeks, months or even years ahead. We need ongoing success-accunulating stra/tegies/â\200\224vin which we-build â\200\224up -the gains made and turn them into real future victories.

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Inkatha Freedom Party must in idiom notâ\200\224resort . to fire-fighting\_\_tactics â\200\224and \_strategiesâ\200\224because the short-term problems are so pressing. Inkatha Freedom Party must do a lot of strategic planning.

| have sometimes heard it said that Mr. F.W. de Klerk has a strategic plan which stretches well into the future\_ and that he can outmanoeuvre others because he

has a repertoire of surprise bold new moves â\200\224up â\200\224his sleeve)from which he can pull ouLadvantages)whenever he needs to do so.

While there is great danger in looking at Mr. de Klerk as a super-natural Party and while there is danger in looking at the National Party as having some incomprehensible store of strategic advantages, we must recognise that - hundreds of people are actually working to establish Mr. de Klerk's strategic advantages. There are substantial inputs from government departments and from universities and think-tanks around the country.

Inkatha Freedom Party has a lot to talk about to South Africans. We must lift up our Party's level of dialogue to very high plains of achievement.

Comrades, take heart because however rough things now are, politics is ever-increasingly coming downâ\200\224to the management of practicalities. The closer we come to future\_election events, the more practical weâ\200\224will have to be. We must begin now as a\_â\200\224re-launched Inkatha Freedomâ\202 Party to develop practical advantages

we will then)n need.Â«

I want to conclude by offering this thoughtâ\200\224to you. The old Inkatha is something which instilled pride in all of us. It had very notable achievements. We

were proud to be part of it. We know that countless people in countless situations tried to give us advice, and tried to tell us what to do and what not to do. We know that had we taken their advice; we would have become nothing.

What I want to say in conclusion is that there is possibly a danger in what can perhaps unkindly be called an Inkatha arrogance based on its past Inkatha achievement. Inkatha needed to change more than Inkatha members thought was necessary. The transition into a political Party was more vital than

people thought. The power from the past can only be employed in the future if we do not cling -to the structures of-the past. Be bold and innovative- in employing the power2 from theeâ\200\224past7'without,~being\_ adventurer.

It would be wrong of us only to seek the â\200\224friendship and\_\_the alliances of\_the subgÃ@rvient. We need to

power our way into the futureQEy partnering-and being partnerered by real -power.

Inkatha Freedom Party is not a â\200\224eentral monolithic political \_power-house. It is part of a newly

emerging South Africa and it will be shaped and re-shaped by circumstances as they change. Open mindedness and flexibility must be- the \_constant companions of our political-power.

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