

**T**HE issue of Winnie Mandela and the Mandela football club continues to dominate the black papers, some of it confusing to readers.

CITY PRESS in its page one lead suggested that the teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei might still be alive in Botswana yet in a second story said there was a controversy surrounding his burial in Soweto yesterday.

His mother seemed quite satisfied that he was dead and wished him "to be buried the way he lived — like an activist."

But generally the papers distanced themselves from Mrs Mandela with the SOWETAN admitting that "the sun had finally set on her career." The denouncement of her activities by the United Democratic Front and Cosatu meant that Mrs Mandela no longer had a constituency to speak for on any political issue.

NEW NATION said that the state had used the tension in the black community over the Mandela football club to launch bitter attacks against the democratic movement.

"Long-forgotten Craig Williamson was suddenly produced from the closet and immediately held forth about how 'children of violence' are 'beginning to devour their mentors'."

The paper believed, however, the violence was a by-product of apartheid and that there had been attempts to fan the flames surrounding the controversy.

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Although it could understand the Ayatollah Khomeini's anger, POST NATAL, which has a large number of Muslim readers, said it could not agree with his passing of a death sentence on the author Salman Rushdie over his controversial book *Satannic Verses*. Under the headline "Death sentence not the answer," the paper said the issue was a sensitive one but that it abhorred violence in any form and from any quarter.

In his regular column in the same paper, Ameen Akhalwaya, himself a Muslim, wrote that however much he admired the Ayatollah for "ridging Iran of the tyrannical Shah and his Savak thugs" he could

## BLACK PRESS

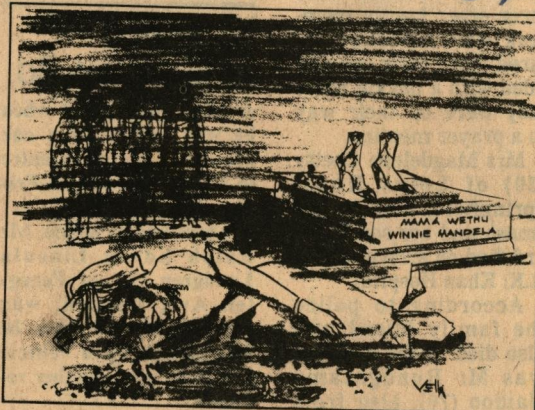
David Wightman



# The sun sets on Winnie's career

THE DAILY NEWS

27-02-89



CITY PRESS's cartoon of a fallen idol.

not in all conscience support the call for Mr Rushdie's murder.

On the other hand, he wrote, the Ayatollah's call had put the "skriks" into those who attacked Islam.

"One can be sure that henceforth, anyone who wants to go public with such bigotry — against any religion — will think long and hard about the consequences."

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ILANGA dealt prominently with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning to Inkatha leaders who "misbehaved," saying they would be discharged from the organisation. The chief told an Inkatha central committee meeting that some Inkatha leaders had not been following Inkatha policies. He reaffirmed his commitment to non-violence.

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The Editor of the SOWETAN, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, whose nation-building philosophy has attracted much interest, recently addressed academics at the Universities of Cape Town, Pretoria and the Free State. He reported with some disappointment in his column that they found his theories "naive." What he did not say was that a few years back he would not have been welcome on some of the campuses.



Ssssh . . . nobody is telling anybody, but . . .

# Lesotho development is surging ahead

THE DAILY NEWS

27-02-89

**T**HE military government of Lesotho is making a major effort to show it has the interests of the country at heart — three years after the overthrow of the Leabua Jonathan regime which ruled the land for two decades.

Development is surging ahead and the construction industry is cock-a-hoop. But the government's public relations machine is simply not working.

East of the village of Butha Buthe preliminary work has started on the huge Lesotho Highlands Water scheme which will one day help supply the Witwatersrand with water and whose hydro-electric power will help light up the urban areas of most of Southern and Central Africa.

On the banks of the Caledon River, near Leribe, is rising an industrial area which

makes some of South Africa's industrial decentralisation centres look puny by comparison, and around Maseru factories are springing up, bringing to the capital hundreds of people — many of whom are today living in appalling conditions.

New schools are being planned for Maseru and other areas.

The old Leabua Highway — now officially renamed the A1 — snaking through the lowlands of Lesotho is being resurfaced and, for the first time in memory, actually having road markings on its surface.

The road network to the countryside is being upgraded to cater for the expected demand brought about by the opening of the rugged interior as a result of the water scheme, and new

hotels are being built in outlying areas.

A Chinese-sponsored hotel is going up at Teyateyaneng (universally known as "Teewhy"). Another, the "New King's Hotel" is being built midway between Maseru and Teyateyaneng. The interesting thing here is that there is nothing of note in that district to merit their existence.

Both hotels will, in terms of recently published Lesotho legislation, be large enough to be eligible for gambling slot machines — and therein could lie the answer. The tourist or businessman may be secondary to the huge profits which will accrue from locals.

This is already the case in some country hotels, where slot machines outnumber bedrooms, so great is the demand by a largely

unemployed people to enrich themselves.

There are also new factories being built in many areas, and some towns, notably bustling Leribe.

It may not be coincidence that this is happening. Leribe is still a hotbed of political thought, and not at all favourable to the military authorities. It was the home district for top Basutoland National Party officials, and Chief Jonathan lived not far from the town.

The development now under way is all part of a grand design by the military Government of Major-General Metsing Lekhanya to win the hearts of a people who ululated in the streets of Maseru three years ago at the downfall of the Jonathan government but who have, by all accounts, now become disenchanted with the military government.

These are the people who do not see the rush towards new development in quite the same way as government.

They see instead corruption, armed soldiers round every corner (reminiscent of some periods of the Jonathan days) and government spies in hotel bars, lobbies and shops.

They hear with disquiet rumours of South African police and soldiers maintaining a low-key presence in Maseru.

Political parties and opinion are suppressed, as has been the case since the military coup of January, 1986. Apart from a couple of Catholic newspapers and a weekly independent called "The Mirror", there are no real news media in Maseru — the government does not like pressmen.

And that has given rise to what government officials refer to as "street talk" — in other words, rumour-mongering in the face of a lack of official information or regular dissemination of news.

"Street talk" it was that gave the populace at large the news of the return of veteran political leader Ntsu Mokhehle (the Lesotho government says he must not be referred to as "Mr") and has also been responsible for other stories newsmen have not as yet been able to verify.

There is evidence that government officials are listening to the "News" via the pavement crowds, and there is restiveness. Pressmen are besieged in the bars of some hotels, and particularly at off-the-track restaurant-bars where some political thought is guardedly imparted.



ATTN. DR. NXUMALO -

EXT 25

A10

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 24,

# In Asia, Africa and Latin America, a E

## A moral claim in Africa:

*"You only have to indicate that you are against apartheid, then the police think you're a Communist."*

MZALA

Writer, South Africa

Mzala, 33, goes only by one name, and says his first name "got lost" when he was growing up. A member of the South African Communist Party, he writes for journals of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. Mzala, who has lived in exile in Britain since 1987 and is studying at Essex University for a doctorate in sociology, was detained several times by the South African authorities, the first time when he was 15. He left South Africa in 1976.

**MY INSTINCTIVE FEELING** was grounded, I think, to a large extent on my admiration then, at that time, of the classless society as I perceived it in the context of the old African communal village, where there was no exploitation of one person by the other and where the main means of life was by people as a whole, even though they might have been under the custodianship of a king.

But even that admiration for that pastoral African life before the advent of colonialism was motivated by my realization that in the South Africa we were living in, we were not only being deprived by the particular social system of the right to have a fair share of the wealth that we were producing. More than that, the system never raised a finger in challenging the government that had deprived us of the right to take part in the administration of our country.

In other words, we actually found that capitalism as a system was not only supporting the apartheid system but was thriving precisely because of the apartheid system.

**I THINK WE ARE** also driven to our quest for Marxist theory by the South African Government itself because, from the time we became politically conscious in South Africa, the Government has been, and continues to be, at pains to show that, more

than any other political entity, it opposes and it is afraid of the Communist Party.

In South Africa, you only have to indicate that you are against apartheid, then the South African police will think you're a Communist. This definitely gave us an impression that there must be something about this Communism which is the direct opposite of the apartheid system. That made us interested.

I have never been as informed and as optimistic in my analysis of the South African situation as I have been since I joined the party. I think it transformed my whole attitude to life in general and imposed on me other higher, moral qualities.

I am sorry if I am sounding a bit self-righteous. This is not the point. The point is that to be a Communist seems, among other things, to meet a calling that directs us to being better human beings.

I am not saying Communists are angels, but there are things one would never expect from a Communist. I find it so difficult to lie. I find it so difficult to steal. I can't steal. I find it repugnant. It makes one strive for the best virtues in human nature, but that is just one part of the virtue.

**I THINK THE GREATEST** is to feel that we are part of this whole worldwide movement, cutting right across the world. I would go to the United States today and I'm sure I've got comrades there. I would go to the Soviet Union and have good com-

rades. I would go to Ethiopia and have comrades.

On the countries that are authentically socialist: Everybody has read about the conflict situation that has developed between some people in Rumania and some people in Hungary. There are some clashes within the Soviet Union itself about how to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenians versus Azerbaijanis. One may just as well pose the question at that level. To what extent do those clashes undermine socialism as an economic system? I think they do not.

The agenda for socialism, to begin with, is to correct the injustice that is brought about by the exploitation of the many by the few, who do so for the sole reason that they are the private owners of the social means of production. It corrects that injustice. But socialism, even in theoretical terms, does not yet guarantee the absolute equality among peoples. For example, there are large families and there are small families. There is still mental and manual work. There is still town and countryside.

**I THINK IDEOLOGY** matters because it gives one a guide. It's a kind of direction which shows the way. It's almost like a compass and I think a compass becomes even more useful if you are moving from a forest where there has been the actuality of people getting lost. It has to be seen to be taking us out of the forest, like a compass, and when it ceases to fulfill its function, unlike the Ten Commandments it should be changed.

When Marx addressed the question,

he said that religion is an opium of masses. But you notice that, when Lenin addressed the question, he was addressing the question not only as a theoretical question but as a practical question. He sought to emphasize unity of peoples towards the act of building of socialism, irrespective of their ideological viewpoint.

Let me quote something that often said by our General Secretary Comrade Joe Slovo. He says there are two good people that he has found the world and that is a good Christian and a good Communist. And I have been reading a lot of material as well like Fidel Castro on religion, and seems to adopt the same position.

I think that is a positive trend because there is a convergence of really potentially great social movements here. The Communist movement, on the one hand and the Christian movement, which was originally a very solid, anti-private-property movement, a movement that was persecuted by the ruling class.

**THE FOUNDING FATHERS** the Christian Church were put in dungeons and persecuted by the Roman emperors precisely because their religion was that of sharing, was that humility, was that which was directed toward the deprived and underprivileged in society.

**Wobbling of the  
party line:**



The New York Times/Jonathan Phillips



THE STAR, MON, FEB, 27, 1989

# SA bodies consult ANC over Winnie



Mrs Mandela ...  
visited husband.

United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions representatives arrived in Lusaka, Zambia, yesterday to discuss the crisis surrounding Mrs Winnie Mandela.

"We have come to discuss the situation inside South Africa with the ANC arising out of the whole Winnie Mandela problem. It is important that we understand the ANC's position on this issue," said UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe.

Mrs Mandela spent three hours with her husband at the Victor Verster Prison near Paarl yesterday. Her lawyer said there would be no statement.

The ANC's exiled leaders have appealed to people not to shun Mrs Mandela but to unite to avoid manipulation by the Government.

Mrs Mandela's visit to Paarl followed an earlier visit by civil rights advocate Mr George Bizos, SC, and attorney Mr Ismail Ayob for a consultation with Mandela, at his own request, on Thursday.



Cosatu and UDF to consult ANC about the football club furore

# Mandela urges Winnie not to talk — lawyer

NATAL WITNESS 27/02/89

JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela has instructed his wife Winnie not to make any public statements regarding the controversy surrounding her and her bodyguards, Mrs Mandela's lawyer said yesterday as representatives of the UDF and Cosatu arrived in Lusaka to consult the ANC about the issue.

Mrs Mandela spent more than three hours yesterday with her husband at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl.

She did not stop to speak to waiting journalists when she was driven out the prison gates and also declined to answer questions before boarding a plane to Johannesburg.

Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Essa Moosa, declined to comment on details of the meeting. He said Mrs Mandela had been instructed by her husband not to speak publicly about recent events that have caused major damage to her reputation both in South Africa and abroad.

On their arrival in Lusaka yesterday the UDF and Cosatu representatives said it was important that they understood the ANC's position on the controversy.

The mass democratic movement inside the country has said it will shun Mrs Mandela, but the ANC has appealed to them not to, and asked them to unite to avoid manipulation by the government.

The African National Congress, in a statement issued in Lusaka on Saturday, also condemned the murder of a Soweto girl, Finkie Msomi, last week. Police said they suspect she was killed by Mrs Mandela's bodyguards in what is thought to be a revenge killing.

In another development in the Mandela bodyguards controversy, a former church field worker, who is currently in hiding for fear of her life, has disclosed information in connection with alleged homosexuality at the church centre in Soweto where the late Stompie Moeketsi Seipei was

## Stompie's mother weeps



Stompie Moeketsi Seipei, the 14-year-old activist, was praised as a hero on Saturday at a funeral marked by calls for black militance and unity. The 500 mourners sang freedom songs and repeatedly chanted their loyalty to the ANC and Nelson Mandela.

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# THE FORUM

Letters  
to the  
Editor

## A blueprint for the future

THE N. MERCURY 27-02-82

SIR — All that Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is reported to have said in Switzerland recently is very much to the point and brings to our political dilemma in this country a sense of urgency and, in many respects, realism.

There is already wide support for one concept or another of 'non-racial democracy' as the inevitable solution to our problem. Of the average white voter it is probably true to say, however, that he baulks at the sight of the struggle for dominance being waged between members of black power groups: with both factions apparently basing their appeal on a call for 'black majority rule', the credibility of the advocates of 'non-racial democracy' consequently takes a beating at election time.

Nevertheless, experience over the last number of years under a 'liberalised' version of the many guises of 'separate development' indicates that transition to a fully-integrated society in South Africa is not beyond the powers of adaptation of most white voters: but, sadly, the misgivings remain and hope is deferred.

In the prevailing circumstances perhaps the least hazardous way forward for all of us now would be as a nation held together in a loose-knit 'culture-group' federation: a broad concept which would facilitate movement across the lines of race and colour by the individual choice of cultural adherence from the outset. It would also herald the birth of non-racial political parties and alliances without the somewhat artificial bands of a compulsory unification.

### Identities

Logically, only the government of the day is in a position to identify the various culture groups which form the nation as a whole: the prime object of such identification being to give immediate parliamentary representation on a common roll status to all cultural identities in recognition of the equal rights and responsibilities of each in an evolving democracy.

Such rights and responsibilities would necessarily include:

(i) The right of each 'culture group' to use and to propagate its choice of language, religious worship, educational system and syllabi, laws of custom and the like;

(ii) The right to pursue, unhindered, party political activity, based on regular and free elections for all;

(iii) The assurance that membership of, and commitment to, any culture group will be the free choice of the individual and in no way prescribed by considerations of race or colour;

(iv) The assurance that only the natural appeal of the various cultures and an evolutionary competitiveness between them will be allowed to regulate the growth or diminution of any and all culture-groups.

A 'charter of conciliation' as envisaged would obviously be subject to negotiated consensus: it would, however, be in the true spirit of nation-building to grant meaningful representation to the various cultural identities even in an initial allocation of seats.

Advancement towards proportioned representation should reasonably follow in due time, provided only that mutual respect for the chosen cultural identity of one another is a priority concern of each group.

In conclusion, I quote from the current newsletter of a party which subscribes to the views of the new (proposed) Democratic Party, and written by John Stuart Mill: 'The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, (only) so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, nor impede their efforts to obtain it'.

Let us withal strive to come as near to the spirit of the quotation as possible.

FT RYAN

Gillitts