

ANC publications banned

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CAPE TOWN — Pamphlets, leaflets and a diary by the ANC are among publications banned from Friday, according to a statement issued by the Directorate of Publications.

They are: Kill the traitors; MK strikes against Mpimpis; Their case is closed; People's

hero; Solomon Mahlangu; Habashwe Abafe; Death to the Mpimpis; Death to the Traitors; Observe Heroes' Day — December 16th 1981; and the Diary ANC South Africa — 70th anniversary 1912-1982.

Also found to be "prejudicial to the safety of the State" are a sticker:

Forward to people's power; 16 Dec Umkhonto Day; The struggle for Southern Africa by Martin Plaut, Elaine Unterhalter and David Ward; and Ijuba '81 produced by St Barnabas College, Bosmont, Johannesburg.

Two publications have been found undesirable

on the grounds of indecency or obscenity.

They are the movie — Chapter 91 by Corbis Publishing Limited, London, and Longarm in the Indiannation (Longarm No 5) by Tabor Evans.

It will be an offence to import or distribute any of these publications.

Ghana could be the 'Cuba' of Africa

By Henry Reuter, The Star's Africa News Service

ACCRA — Behind the barbed wire of Accra's Burma military camp a grim battle is taking place to determine whether the country will become a Libyan satellite and a black African launching pad for Colonel Muamar Gaddafi's brand of socialist revolutionary government.

Since the New Year's Eve overthrow of Dr Hilla Limann's corrupt government, popular coup leader Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings has cut himself off from all public contact while the real battle is fought out by his advisers.

One side are the army commander, Brigadier Arnold Quainoo, and Rawlings's closest confidants, the marxist Tsikata brothers: Kojo, an ex-army captain, and Tsatsu, a lawyer. They are backed by a team of Libyan diplomats who returned to Ghana after the success of the coup.

On the other side is a group of high-ranking army moderates headed by the chief of the Defence Staff, Brigadier Joseph Nunoo-Mensah.

The pro-Libyan camp wants a revolutionary, socialist Ghana which would be to black Africa what Cuba is to the Americas. They want a military dictatorship on the lines of Ethiopia's, complete with Cuban and East German advisers and a strong government ruling by fear.

Nunoo-Mensah, who is second only to Rawlings in personal popularity with all ranks of the forces, sees Ghana's best long-term recovery prospects in closer ties with the West, heavy foreign investment and an influx of Western technocrats.

CONFUSED

Rawlings — who has emerged from the confused events of the past two weeks as the popular, unchallenged leader — is moved, according to those closest to him, by a sense of indignation at the desperate plight of the Ghanaian people after 25 years of independence.

He wants to do something for them but is out of his depth, doesn't understand the full implications of either course being offered him and has gone into hibernation while he tries to work it out.

While he dodges the Press and remains uncommitted the country is virtually ungoverned, and its people utterly confused and much afraid.

While Ghana waits, all the information emerging since the coup indicates that it was planned and supported by Libya, that Rawlings was not in at the beginning but enlisted only when its success seemed certain, and that experts were working on the Limann Government's overthrow long before Ghana broke off diplomatic relation with Libya — accusing it of subversion — more than a year ago.

● Page 1: Rawlings rides a tiger.

Tension grows in Mphephu's territory

Riddle of Venda

dean deepens

For the

Staff Reporters

The latest incident in Venda involving a political detainee who was treated in hospital has plunged the already tense territory into further fear and confusion.

Today Venda politicians spoke grimly of their fear and refused to be named because they believed themselves to be in constant danger of the security network of Chief Patrick Mphephu's administration.

Adding to their fears is the uncertainty over the fate of the political detainees in Venda.

Today it emerged that the detained Dean of the Lutheran Church in Venda, the Very Reverend T S Farisani, was definitely treated in Tshilidzini Hospital outside Sibasa, in spite of the denials of a Venda Government spokesman.

Dean Farisani, who is one of several Lutheran churchmen among the 18 presently detained in Venda, was apparently treated at Tshilidzini for head injuries and then discharged under police escort and taken back into detention.

Today a spokesman for the hospital said: "According to the law I may not give information concerning a patient, more so a prisoner."

He said that certain information about Dean Farisani and his hospital treatment had leaked out, but "I can neither confirm nor deny this information."

'Scared'

A top Venda politician, who refused to speak to Star Africa if he was to be named in any story, said it was obvious that the hospital spokesman would not give any information about Farisani "because he fears being deported back to South Africa."

The level of fear could be measured by the recent funeral of Opposition leader, Mr Baldwin Mudau. Many people were too scared to attend and it turned into a tame affair after Venda officials warned the Opposition not to "politicise" the burial, the spokesman said.

The latest wind of fear sweeping through Venda follows the death in detention last November of Lutheran church layman, Mr Isaac Muofhe.

Since then there have been rumours — denied by the Venda police — that another detainee, Mr D Ralushai, has also died.

Anti-SA twist by Savimbi

(15)

LISBON — Dr Jonas Savimbi, head of the Unita movement in Angola, has come out in support of Swapo and attacked South Africa for their raids into southern Angola.

In an unusual anti-South African statement, Dr Savimbi told Sapa Reuter that the South African raids into Angola "killed his countrymen and destroyed Angolan property." He described the Swapo forces fighting against South African rule in SWA/Namibia as "an important force in the area."

The "rebel" leader also claimed that some of his bases in southern Angola had been attacked by South Africa who mistook them for Swapo bases.

This comes against the background of Namibia settlement talks and a claim that the United States is prepared to press South Africa to grant independence to Namibia, but will insist that Cuban troops leave Angola.

Dr Savimbi said in an interview with Portuguese journalists that this was the message he had been given by the Reagan administration. He met US Secretary of State Alexander Haig in Washington last month.

Speaking in the Moroccan capital, Rabat, Dr Savimbi said the United States would also demand that Angola's ruling MPLA-workers' party be reconciled with Unita as part of the Namibia (South West Africa) deal.

The timing of Dr Savimbi's statements appears to have been chosen to coincide with talks in Paris between US and Angolan government officials on the future of Namibia.

Mr Savimbi also issued an unusual statement of support for the Swapo guerrillas fighting against South African rule in Namibia. He also condemned South African raids against Southern Angola.

By Henry Agyepong
The Star's Africa
News Service

ACCRA — "We must treat our farmers in a more appreciative way than we have done because it is through their sweat and toil that we get foreign exchange to import our Mercedes-Benzes and other posh cars."

This statement, made last week by one of Ghana's new military leaders to an emergency task force set up to rehabilitate the cocoa industry, sums up the reason for the 25 years' decline of what was one of Africa's happiest, most prosperous countries.

Rotten with corruption from the top down, the last government collapsed with barely a whimper on New Year's Eve at the mere suggestion that an attempt to overthrow it was taking place.

CASTRO

From my talks with scores of Ghanaian leaders, diplomats, traders, soldiers and workers since the events of December 31 the following coup scenario has emerged:

After Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings came to power in a bloodbath in June 1979, executing 10 generals and three former heads of state, he handed over power to a civilian government of Dr Hilla Limann's People's National Party against the advice of Cuban leader Fidel

Ghana must decide soon on whose side it is Rawlings in for a rough ride on tiger

Castro, by whom he was feted in Havana.

"Never hand over power, son," said Castro, "because if you do they'll come after you."

Four months later he handed over — and they came after him.

Limann edged him out of government and the armed forces.

Rawlings was arrested several times, questioned and beaten up.

Bewildered at what had happened to him he toyed with taking a course to start a new life as a commercial pilot. Then, in 1980 he was invited to Libya. He went with his wife Nana and was lionised.

Last year he visited Libya twice and the talk, with Gaddafi, was of revolution.

Gaddafi poured money into Rawlings's "June 4 November," an organisation of young radicals he forged after he first gained power.

RIFLES

Last January Limann broke off diplomatic relations with Libya after learning of this and of a group of army officers whom he had dismissed after Rawlings was ousted and who had gone to Libya for military training.

In the latter half of 1980 the officers returned home quietly from Libya.

Soon after a consignment of automatic

rifles and ammunition was smuggled into Ghana and hidden.

President Limann knew that a plot was afoot. He suspected the involvement of the marxist Tsikata brothers — former army Captain Kojo and lawyer Tsatsu — and put them under 24-hour surveillance.

On Christmas Eve Rawlings was arrested, punched on the head and questioned.

He denied knowledge of any subversive activities and was released.

Limann was out of town when this happened. He was in Lagos asking for an extension of Nigeria's 120-day oil credit arrangements.

ATTACK

Early on December 31 the coup began quietly without Rawlings' involvement.

The Libyan-trained officers and some soldiers collected the hidden weapons and drove to Accra's Burma Camp

and talked some troops into joining them.

They broke into an armoury, seized armoured vehicles and cowed other troops at the camp into looking the other way.

With white rags tied to their hats, arms and weapons the rebels then attacked Accra's broadcasting station.

Its light guard of policemen surrendered after 10 minutes. At this stage emissaries went to Rawlings to ask him to lead the coup attempt.

Ambush

Sporadic and unsuccessful attempts to recapture the station were made over the next three hours.

A party of troops driving to Accra from Takoradi barracks to engage the plotters was ambushed and reportedly wiped out.

No information on this has been given by the ruling Provisional National Defence Council but the local army carpenter said he was given an order for 54 coffins.

Official figures say 14 died in the coup.

At lunchtime on December 31 Rawlings broadcast an emotional speech saying widespread government corruption had forced the forces to act.

"We have seen enough of the traditional form of leadership, which abandoned the people once it was in power," he said.

He dissolved Parliament, suspended the constitution and banned all political parties. Many Government officials and some Ministers fled the country.

This time Rawlings is unlikely to hand back power in a hurry. He says many of the 20 former Ministers, 19

Deputy Ministers, 50 MPs and 47 top functionaries of the Limann regime, including Limann, who was allegedly arrested while trying to flee the country, will go on trial before "People's Courts."

RELEASED

Thirty-five have been released and, ironically, Rawlings says some of these will be offered Ministries or other senior appointments in the new government.

Although Ghana's education standards are among the highest in Africa the PNDC is having trouble finding able, honest, experienced people to run the country or to even begin producing solutions to the economic crisis.

Nobody wants to join him until he decides which way he is going.

The economic chaos is being compounded. Rawlings has sent a secret dispatch to

Nigeria asking for urgent oil credit.

A tanker which put into Accra harbour on coup day discreetly turned round and took its oil back to Lagos. Ghana's oil stocks will run out in less than six weeks. It owes Nigeria R120-million, which it cannot pay.

National short term debts total R400-million of which half is commercial debt.

Inflation runs at more than 100 percent a year. The economy has been declining for 10 years.

COCOA

All exports, mainly cocoa, are falling rapidly.

The transport system is in bad shape through lack of spares. Even half the vehicles of the armed forces are out of order.

In a bid to raise production of its sole major export crop, cocoa, the new govern-

ment has quadrupled the price but the new grower's price is more than that for which cocoa can be sold on world markets.

A top-level Libyan delegation which flew to Accra immediately after the coup and is now re-ensconced in its old embassy has pledged it's fullest support for the Rawling regime.

MUCH MORE

This has been taken in Accra as an offer of oil should Nigeria insist on being paid for its shipments, which account for 40 percent of Ghana's imports.

But the non-radicals around Rawlings point out that Ghana needs much more than oil to put it on its feet again. Among other things it needs a veritable army of technocrats which can only come from the West.

President Limann turned down an IMF \$1000-million aid package offer because it demanded instant and drastic devaluation of the cedi.

TIGER

The overvaluation has now reached the stage at which it costs about R200 a day for a room and three meals in any of Accra's second rate hotels.



JERRY RAWLINGS
... a rethink?

In his post-coup speech Rawlings indicated the way he was thinking, at least at the time, by describing the country's national investment code, produced by the Limann Government to encourage investment, provide jobs and get the economy moving again, as "a national disgrace" which he intended to throw out.

His subsequent

silence is widely believed to indicate that he is having a rethink.

He has to decide soon whether Ghana's future will lie with the West or with the East, through Libya.

After his last coup he rode a tiger and jumped off its back as quickly as possible.

This time the ride promises to be much longer — and the alighting much more difficult.

Sebe's 'hunger for power' a key factor

By Barbara Hart
East London Bureau

EAST LONDON — Certain members of the Ciskei government had been determined to achieve independence at almost any cost. Professor Robert Rotberg, a member of the Quail commission, said in an interview at the weekend.

Professor Rotberg, who was visiting East London on business, was asked to comment on the Secretary of the Commission, Mr Richard Proctor-Simms' statement that Chief Lennox Sebe's power hunger was a major factor in Ciskei opting for independence.

Mr Proctor-Simms, in a newspaper article published just before Ciskei's independence, said that "the promise of the rebirth of the

Ciskei nation blinded Chief Sebe to everything else. This is a charitable way of saying that his power hunger made the pursuit of this single morsel, independence, unstoppable."

Professor Rotberg, one of the three non-South Africans who served on the commission which advised against Ciskei opting for independence, said he was aware from the beginning of the commission's exercise that certain members of the Ciskei government were determined to achieve independence at almost any cost.

Mr Proctor-Simms also stated that pressure had been put on commissioners to leave the Ciskei room for manoeuvre and that there would be ex-

treme displeasure if the independence option were dismissed entirely.

Prof Rotberg said he knew of no direct pressure being placed on commissions but he assumed that Mr Proctor-Simms would know if this had happened.

It was obvious that there must have been some pressure, he said. The Ciskei government had at all stages of deliberations been interested in the commission's report.

Prof Rotberg said he felt strongly that the final report of the commission represented the views of the commissioners, each of whom agreed with the final result.

Chief Sebe has dis-

missed Mr Proctor Simms' statement as a "blatant lie."

A South African member of the commission, Professor Ernst Marais, rector of the University of Port Elizabeth, has also denied that any pressure was placed on commissioners.

DISCUSSION

Commenting on the break down of Chief Sebe's non-negotiable "package deal" for independence, Prof Rotberg said it was obvious that Ciskei's bargaining position would have been stronger if the decision to take independence had not preceded detailed discussion with South Africa.

Ciskeians voted in favour of independence in a referendum held on December 4, 1980. Only after this did Chief Sebe begin negotiations for independence.

This had also affected Ciskei's position in negotiating for a confederation of states, Prof Rotberg said.

SPELLED OUT

"The commission's report advised the Ciskei government to do nothing until the notion of a confederation had been spelled out in detail.

"It is tragic that the Ciskei refused to wait until the confederation scheme was more than a name."

Prof Rotberg said he saw little evidence that a suitable confederation was being constructed, particularly one that would give Ciskeians the rights they had lost on being excised from South Africa.

Ex-ANC man buried after grave mix-up

By Langa Skosana

There was a row at the burial of top Inkatha man, Mr Alpheus Madlala, when mourners discovered that someone had been buried in the grave intended for him.

Mourners arrived at the Avalon cemetery and found a group of people burying a fire victim in the Madlala grave. The Madlala family demanded that the body be dug up.

Mr Siphos Madlala, the son of Mr Madlala, said one of the group of people who had mistakenly buried the other person in the grave, pulled out a knife and threatened him. The people told him that they should swap graves.

"I told them that I could not agree to such an arrangement because I had bought the plot and my late mother was buried in the grave alongside. They insisted that we

should dig up the coffin the next day as they were about to go home," Mr Madlala said.

He said he explained that his father would not rest peacefully in a wrong grave. The mourners then agreed to dig up the grave. About two hours later the coffin was removed.

Mr Madlala, who was Transvaal leader of Inkatha and former member of the ANC and PAC in the early 60s was praised for his dedication in the liberation struggle.

Mrs Rose Mbele, a former member of the ANC and secretary of the Federation of South African Women, was also buried with dignity at the Nancefield cemetery.

The banned movement's black green and gold colours were hoisted by women during the 5 km march from the Anglican Church in Or-

Ilando West to the graveyard.

Security police, who were present took photographs of mourners near the church. A speaker at the service said children should follow in the footsteps of Mrs Mbele, who had dedicated her life to the struggle for liberation.

The eight victims of the Bapong fire in the Bophuthatswana were buried side by side at the Avalon cemetery at the weekend. More than 2000 mourners attended.

Mr David Thebehali, Soweto's "mayor," praised the African Funeral Undertakers who, he said, contributed generously to the mass burial. The Bopang tragedy occurred a month ago when a man set alight a shack and fastened the door with wire from outside.