

M A L A W I - G E N E R A L

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Reports that Tanzania is to get "boats from the East" for use on Lake Malawi is threatening to reopen the dispute over the Lake's boundaries. This would come at an awkward time for Malawi, which has found itself caught by the changing tide in Southern Africa.

It would threaten President Kamuzu Banda's fence-mending exercise with Black Africa, which has included numerous contacts with Tanzania, a State visit to Zambia in February, and the appointment of a Minister to the OAU.

These closer ties with northern neighbours have done little to change increasing trade with SA. For the first three quarters of 1974, SA moved into first place as a supplier.

Since the trade agreement in 1967, SA has increased its share of Malawi's imports from third place and a humble 7.6% of the market to 22.8% by the end of September last year. This has been mainly at the expense of Rhodesia, whose share has dropped from 39% in 1964 to 14% in 1973 (latest figures available).

The increase in purchases from South Africa has been largely a result of aid projects tied to the use of SA materials. These include a loan of R11m for the construction of the Nacala rail link and a loan of R8m for the construction of the first phase of the new capital Lilongwe.

After the publicity given to the first loan, both SA and Malawi have become coy over admitting that the rest of the R22m needed for the capital's construction also comes from SA. The loan of R19m for a railway between Lilongwe and the Zambian border is again tied to South African material and will give imports from SA another boost.

On the negative side of the two countries' increasing economic involvement is Malawi's decision to ban recruiting for SA's mines. So far President Banda has given no sign of relenting, though it may be that he is waiting to see which way Mozambique jumps.

In the meantime, the economy has shown it is capable of surviving with-

out the South African mines. According to Minister of Finance Dick Matenje's March Budget, Malawi's foreign reserves stood at K68.5m (R54.3m) at the end of 1974, the equivalent of five months' imports.

Annual real growth in 1974 was 5%, in spite of a bad agricultural season and the dismal international scene. Imports remained static in volume but increased by 36.5% to K156m (R124m) due to increased prices, particularly of petroleum products. Exports compensated to some extent by an increase of 25% in value to nearly K100m (R79m), in spite of a drop in volume.

Malawi's foreign exchange receipts have had considerable help from the quarrel between Zambia and Rhodesia. Zambian tobacco, previously processed in Rhodesia, was a major contributor to Malawi's K12.9m (R10.2m) of re-exports in 1974.

Malawi Railways earned K1.2m (R1m) from shifting Zambian traffic in 1973 as a result of the border closure. A similar boost was given to the tourist industry, again at Rhodesia's

expense. Visitors to Malawi increased from 33 000 in 1972 to 51 000 in 1973. Last year saw an 8% fall-off, mainly due to climatic factors.

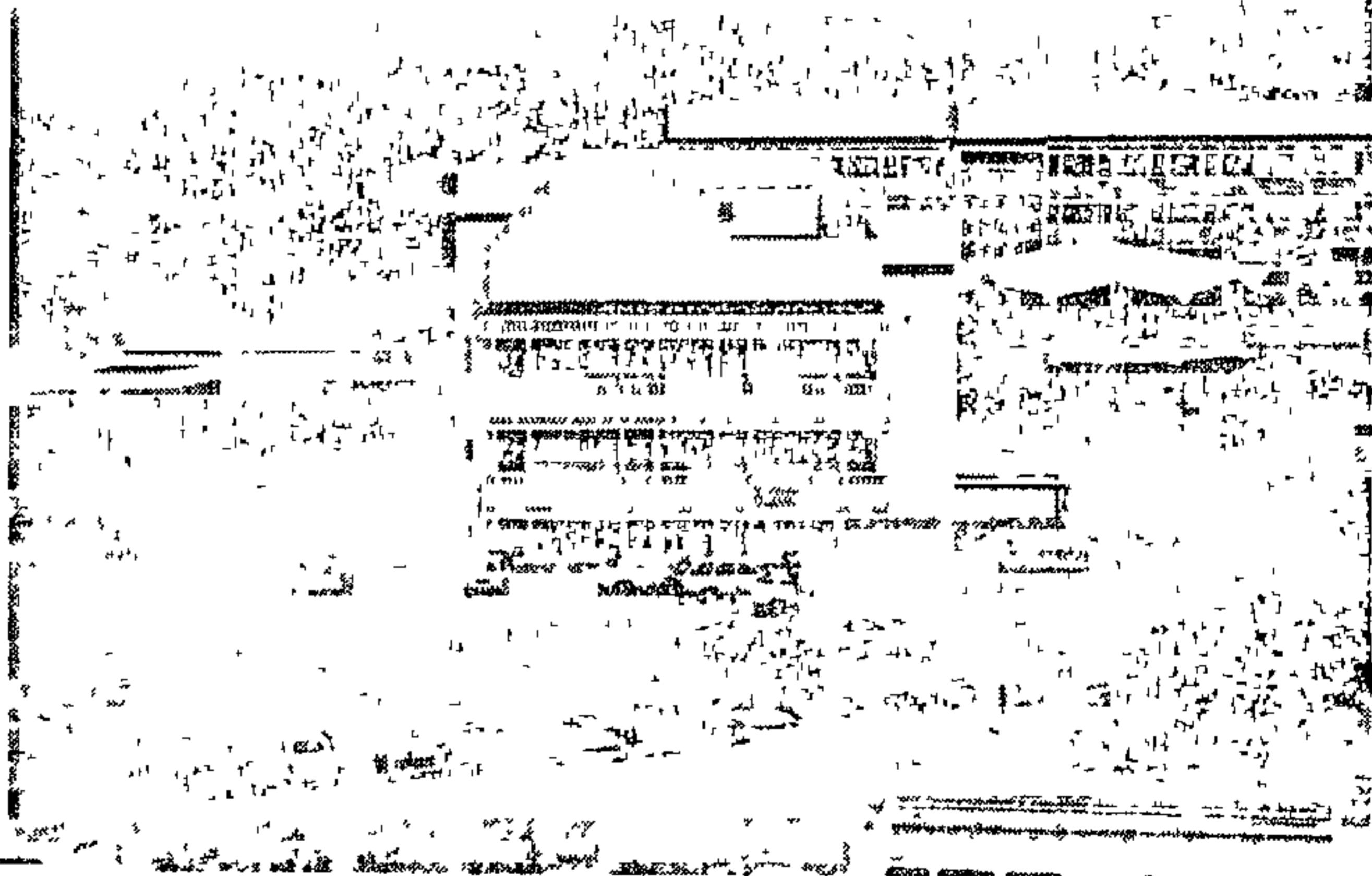
Malawi has thus been in the happy position of picking up the pieces of its neighbours' quarrels. However, guerrilla action in Mozambique in 1973 and early last year several times cut Malawi's rail links with Beira, serving as a reminder of its vulnerability.

Again, the canny Banda hedged his bets. By allowing Frelimo guerrillas to use southern Malawi he insured himself against (and contributed to) the Portuguese withdrawal.

A quarrel with Tanzania could spoil all this good work. Presumably the Tanzanians want to use their Lake Malawi boats for a service to Mozambique, with which political ties are stronger than transport ones.

Malawi also knows only too well that any action taken against Rhodesia by Frelimo after June 25 will hit Malawi's still-important trade with that country. And it's also a grim reminder that Malawi's future trade with SA can be conducted only with the blessing of Frelimo.

Ssh! Financed by South Africa . . . Lilongwe



MALAWI

FM 18/7/75

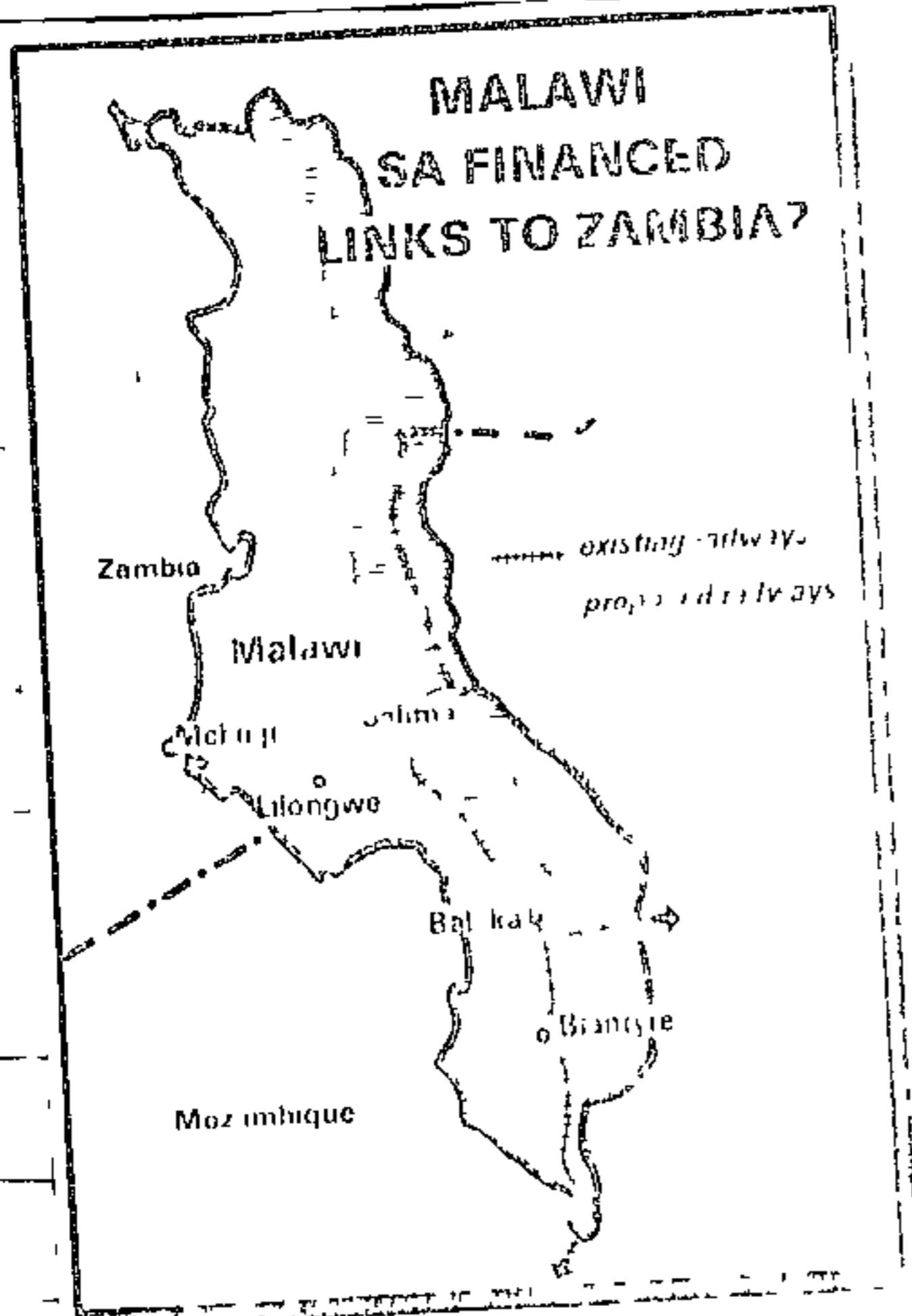
Link with Zambia 168

Question.....
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in this
margin

A decision is expected this month from Dr Hastings Banda on whether Robert's Construction will get the contract to build the 125 km rail link from Lilongwe

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to the Zambian border at Mchinji

Together with a Canadian financed 110 km section from the present railhead at Salima to Lilongwe this will provide a direct rail link from Zambia through Malawi and Mozambique to the sea. The link will be completed by the early eighties.

In addition, Zambia has already expressed interest in constructing a link from the Malawi border across 7000 ft of bush to a link up with the new Tanzanian line.

This week Murray & Robert completed the design and carried out surveys in connection with the rail project.

Natal Mercury 28/9/75

Witnesses of

By
BRUCE HARRISON

BLANTYRE — The Jehovah's Witnesses of Malawi are on the move again—and this time they are going home.

Six years ago they fled Malawi after the sect had been banned by President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. The reason given was that they had refused to buy membership cards of the ruling Congress Party.

They left in their thousands harried by strong-arm tactics of Congress Party militants and the party's para-military youth front, the Young Pioneers.

At the time there were independent reports of brutality towards the sect's 25 000 members, even to the point of murder.

Mozambique became their haven. It was, under Portuguese rule and the Roman Catholic authorities looked on tolerantly while the thousands of Malawian pacifists flocked into the colony's battle zones, adjacent to the Zambezi.

Now the story has changed.

The Portuguese have gone and Frelimo is in control. And history is repeating itself.

FRELIMO

Like the Malawi Congress Party, Frelimo demands a universal loyalty from the inhabitants of Mozambique—all of whom are required to take out Frelimo cards, the Jehovah's Witnesses of Malawi included.

But that they will not do—just as they refused to hold party cards in Malawi—and as a consequence, they have now been turned out of their homes and told to quit the People's Republic of Mozambique.

So, pathetic columns of religious refugees are now trudging back along the dusty roads of central Africa's dry season heading for Malawi and a future even more uncertain than when they made their exodus.

Those with a little money are able to afford a claustrophobic bus ride to Malawi's northern region, the former stronghold of the Witnesses. But the majority must walk, carrying broken suitcases on their heads and coaxing fearful children.

Nobody seems to know

Malawi trudge back to Banda

what will happen when they arrive home. Six years have passed and the exuberance of Congress Party militants has waned a little.

But still every adult in Malawi is required to belong to the Congress Party and the Young Pioneers are more in evidence than ever.

As one of the returning refugees lamented: "We have nowhere else to go but home. It may be that we are going to our deaths but to me it is better to die at home than in a foreign land."

"If there were a third way I am sure most of us would take it but our religion is banned in Zambia too and Rhodesia, with its strict border controls, will not contemplate allowing us in."

Initial scheme calls for ten stores

Half Price expands into

By GORDON KLING

Malawi

HALF PRICE STORES, the national discount clothing chain, is expanding into Malawi.

Sam Stuppel, managing director of the Cape Town-based group, says the first store will be opened at the end of next month or early in January.

Malawians are to hold a 50 per cent share, but Half Price will put in all the money.

Mr Stuppel says R100 000 is being invested in the start-up and this will rise to about R350 000 over the next three years.

Initial plans call for 10 stores in and around Blantyre.

The deal is conditional on approval by the Reserve Bank, but Mr Stuppel says no problems are expected.

"Much of the goods sold in the stores will be imported from South Africa. This will make the company an exporter, qualifying it for import concessions.

Confidence

"Home industry in Malawi is small and only about 10 per cent of goods will be bought there."

Mr Stuppel says Half Price expects to be able to market merchandise at a

discount of about 40 per cent on current Malawi prices.

"The Malawian Government must have confidence in our ability to do this, because it is normally difficult to get a trading licence there," he said.

The Malawi Trade Commissioner, Mr W.C. Salima, speaking from Blantyre, confirmed this, saying the venture had been approved because of expected benefits to the country's economy.

Malawi, he said, welcomed South African investment that could aid development.

The Malawi chain will be Half Prices first big foreign

operation, although it has two stores in Botswana, one in Lesotho and one in Swaziland.

The company has 106 outlets in South Africa and expects to add 25 new stores next year.

MALAWI FM 28/11/75
Living without miners

The Malawi economy, says President Banda, is booming Tobacco exports for the year ending July 1975 at Kwacha 59,9m (K1·R1) were 71% up Purchases by the Malawian Agricultural and Development Corporation at K18m were 30% up The manufacturing index (1970=100) rose 16% to 175 and cement sales were up 15%. The tourist

industry showed a 1% drop which, given the depressed state of the industry worldwide, isn't bad

The only laggard is railways Malawi Railways' net t/miles was 4% down It appears to have locomotive troubles — thus the rationing of Zambian traffic

The latest oil price increase will further inflate the import bill However, a declining inflation rate in the developed world should begin to be felt soon, SA's devaluation will make imports from its main market cheaper, and commodity upturns,

if they materialise as expected in 1976, will help to close the trade gap And more revenue from mine labour in South Africa would obviously help

When Banda stopped recruiting for the mines in April last year, the 99 000 Malawian gold-miners were earning R4,6m a month, of which R2,7m was being sent to Malawi as compulsory deferred pay Any of the balance not spent in SA would also have found its way to Malawi as men returned home at the end of their contracts

Malawi M city flee

Finance

Service

After Sales Care

on new and used cars
at . . .

ALAN DUNN,
Crime Reporter

HUNDREDS of Malawi Muslims living in Pretoria's Asiatic Bazaar, Marabastad, have fled into hiding, in South Africa's homelands for fear of being deported.

This follows recent raids by Bantu Affairs Administration Board inspectors on the bazaar, the arrest and detention of an unknown number, and the subsequent deportation of 13 men to Malawi at the weekend.

Among those arrested were two Muazzins, officials of the local mosque, who have been calling worshippers to prayer for more than 10 years.

According to leaders of the Indian community, about 280 men, women and children, some of whom have been living in Pretoria for nearly 30 years, are running scared.

They said in most cases the refugees' cash, savings, furniture and other belongings had been dumped with friends and sympathisers scattered throughout the Asiatic Bazaar.

OUTRAGED

Mr O. A. Suliman, chairman of the Pretoria Islamic Society, said: "The way in which the authorities did this has caused ill-feeling. They could at least have made arrangements for the safe-keeping of the detained people's possessions — in some cases they just left doors open."

Prominent members of local Indian and coloured communities are outraged by the sudden raids, detentions and deportations, saying they are mystified by the "unexpected" change in the authorities' attitude.

They believe this incident could have far-reaching effects and that friendly relations between this country and Malawi could take a severe knock.

Frantic last-minute efforts by the first secretary of the Malawian embassy in Pretoria and Indian leaders failed to postpone repatriation of the 13 heads of families.

Urgent attempts to stay any further raids and deportations are currently being made by the leaders.

Mr A. R. Dawood, secretary of the Islamic Society, revealed today there were five more people in detention awaiting deportation on Monday.

He and other leaders are aghast at the unexpected action from the Bantu Affairs Administration Board. It came as a shock, they said, because Dr Punt Janson, then the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, indicated on August 14 1974 there would be a "new deal" for foreigners illegally in the country.

Refugee from Africa to Britain

ARGUS 15/6/76

MY grandfather went to Portuguese East Africa from Goa and set up as a businessman. My father was born in what is now Malawi. He couldn't find the right girl from among the 400 or so Goans, so he went to India to get his bride.

We children — yes, the third generation — were also born there. All except one sister; she was born on board a boat sailing from Bombay.

My father worked hard. I would say very hard. When the British gave Malawians freedom, he decided to stay on. He built up a beautiful house for us on four acres; we had 200 different rose bushes and even mango and chili trees imported from India.

Just when we thought we were at last tasting the first fruits of 75 years of our forefathers' hard labour, our family — well, most of the Asian families — suddenly became the targets for attack. I don't know why.

In Uganda Amin made the charge that the affluent Gujarati 'dukahwalahs' — shopkeepers —

had exploited his economy. But we Goans in Malawi cannot be accused of dominating anybody. We were all, shall we say, middle class — teachers, accountants, stenographers and electricians. How does an Asian secretary exploit a native African? I can't understand.

Oh no, we didn't steal the Africans' jobs. We trained for ours. Most of the Goans went for their higher education to India, Britain — some to the United States. (The Goans, all Roman Catholics, were highly westernised, but we didn't settle abroad. We brought all our talents back to the African lands.)

How did Dr Banda respond? Well, there was this big do at the Goan Social Club last month

After a few drinks a group of Goans were getting a bit noisy, so the barman turned the radio down a bit so he could hear the customers' orders. Some Malawians perhaps exaggerated the incident when it was reported to Dr Banda.

My family got its passports and travel papers together. We had a scramble to sell furniture, house — whatever we could. We took our lawyer to the British High Commission in Blantyre. The commission people said if we've got to go, well we've got to go. That was the most hellish 72 hours in our lives.

To be fair to Dr Banda, there has been no molestation or intimidation of Asians as such. At least, I

caped their demonstration and shouting at the airport — was it Gatwick? The Front people do not know what it is to be British and be a 'refugee' in your mother country. The sheer frustration, the futility, the depression, the huge change, the great upheaval, they do not appreciate what problems a modern British refugee faces.

I don't think we'll be a burden on Britain's social security. How can we ever be? Asian girls in Africa are highly liberated. I hope I can get a job in London. I would like to put my roots down here as soon as I possibly can.

I hope to have a home. I'm determined to make a new start and win just as my grandfather from Goa started in Central Africa and won — The Guardian News Service.

As racial tension increases in Britain, a young Malawi Asian immigrant (who wishes to remain anonymous) gives her point of view.

I do not know of any instances True, Asians are being moved out of the rural areas into the cities. It's a case of African first, Asian last.

I didn't ask to come to the UK. I was forced to come. I had nowhere else to go. And I've only a British passport. What does someone with a United States passport do when he is told that he is not wanted? Go to Fiji?

Yes. I heard of the National Front. We es-

CT 15/11/76
**Fears for
6 000
Malawi
detainees**

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Fears are growing for the safety of thousands of political prisoners in Malawi including eight Malawi journalists who have been jailed without trial by President Banda since May 1973

The total number of political prisoners in Malawi is now believed to be over 1 000. There are also about 5 000 Jehovah's Witnesses under arrest for refusing to join any political group.

International agencies have been able to establish that only three of the journalists are being held in Mikuyu detention centre near Zomba. The fate of the others is not known.

The journalists were arrested after the appearance of reports that the Malawi army had clashed with Frelimo guerillas near the Mozambique border.

In July 1973 President Banda introduced life imprisonment for journalists guilty of "misleading" reporting. In 1974 and 1975 detention orders were served on a number of journalists from the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation and the Malawi News Agency, including the director of news.

At least 10 members of the academic staff of the University of Malawi are also in detention, along with 16 employees — the entire staff — of the National Statistics Office.

Malawians in City

32/11/76 Staff Reporter

(170)

A SEVEN-MEMBER parliamentary delegation from Malawi arrives in Cape Town today on the second leg of a 10-day sightseeing tour of South Africa.

The leader of the delegation, which arrived in Pretoria on Saturday, is Mr Nelson Khonje, Speaker of the Malawi National Assembly. The other members are Mr Kelvin Banda, Mr Webster Kamkwatila, Mr Johnston Mataka, Mr Stephen Hara, Mr Tryford Banda and Mr Cuthbert Mwale.

In Cape Town they will visit Parliament, Simonstown, the Castle and Table Mountain, and tour the winelands. They leave for Durban on Saturday.

SYNOPSIS

The aim of the report is to assist in determining which courses should be included in the curriculum of the proposed Technical College at Umhlati, Kwazulu, in order to offer the best employment opportunities for its students.

The report contains the findings of a survey of 104 firms with a total employment of 169 318 persons. Of these, 35 883 (21,2%) were White, 20 85 (12,3%) Asian and 'Coloured', and 112 578 (66,5%) African. Twenty-six firms were interviewed on the Witwatersrand, 33 in the Durban area and 10 in the Pretoria border areas (i.e. Rosslyn). In addition, 14 construction firms were interviewed on the Witwatersrand and in the Durban area, and 21 firms in Natal participated in a postal survey. All the firms were engaged in the manufacturing, service or construction sectors.

The relative demand for different categories of technicians is tabulated in Table 40 on page 42 of the report. The table shows that immediate demand for African technicians by the firms in the sample is highest in the mechanical engineering, civil engineering & chemical technology fields. A major recommendation is that the more highly ranked courses (see Table 40), or groups of courses with similar syllabi, should receive immediate attention. The division of the proposed Technical College into Departments or Schools which would offer several courses with similar syllabi is a matter requiring serious consideration.

As a result of the survey it is strongly recommended that a course similar to the General Studies course (see Appendix C), which is compulsory for trainee technicians at White Colleges for Advanced Technical Education, be offered at any Technical College which may be established.

Finally, the importance of the quality of the teaching at the proposed Technical College cannot be overemphasised.

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Malawi's man sees change

1991
Pretoria Bureau

"The challenge of South Africa now is a challenge for the whites," says the Malawi Ambassador to Pretoria — a black man and a friend of South Africa.

In an interview in Pretoria, Mr Nelson Mizer said the whites were running the country and they alone had to decide how to accommodate all South Africans.

The changes in the two years he had been Ambassador here were "tremendous," he said. Not only was the face of discrimination being changed with the scrapping of apartheid in parks, lifts and some hotels, but above all there was a change in attitude, an overall awareness that something should be done about race discrimination

AWARENESS

No longer did the white voices advocating change come only from people opposing the Government. The Afrikaans Press now showed a very strong awareness that the country would have to get rid of discrimination, and so did Government supporters from grass roots to Cabinet level

"Yes, there has been tremendous change and black diplomats are aware of it," Mr Mizer said.

"On looking back on how things were a couple of years ago, it is obvious Now people everywhere are talking about it, how to bring about change It is a change of attitude, people are aware that something has got to be done about discrimination"

THE ARGUS, THURSDAY MARCH 31 1977

Shadow Over Malawi's Indians

The Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE. — Two Sikhs wearing turbans and traditional kaffans, an Indian in a smart Western suit, three Malawians and a man from Northern England were playing darts in a pub in Lilongwe, Malawi's new capital.

They formed two teams in the local darts league and the cheers and hand-clapping from a cluster of spectators as one player scored a victory over another appeared a fitting tribute to the model, multi-

racial society President H. Kamuzu Banda tells the world he has created since independence from the British.

In truth, away from the bars and clubs, and in the main Asian trading areas, there is a different story.

Dr Banda has long favoured the British for racial discrimination and oppression in pre-independence days and has opened up his country to expatriates. The Asians have not been so fortunate.

COLONIAL TIMES

Officially, the Asians taken to Malawi by the British in colonial times have a part to play in the

new Malawi and this has often been stressed by Dr Banda himself.

But the Asians view their future a shade less optimistically.

From March next year, Asian businessmen will be restricted to the four main centres of Lilongwe, Zomba, Blantyre, and Limbe, and will have to sell up in country districts.

SAFE ENOUGH

The move is designed to give the hard-working Malawians a chance to break the virtual monopoly the Asians have enjoyed in trade in the past, but many Indians view it as the thin end of the wedge to finally send them packing to Britain.

The Asians feel safe enough under Dr Banda's rule, but, as in other parts of Africa, their business expertise and insular social customs have made them unpopular. Africans are generally suspicious of them and the Asians know it and wonder what will happen when the protection of the ageing Banda goes with his death.

Most of the estimated 6,000 Asians still in Malawi have or are eligible for British Commonwealth passports and will be allowed to go to Britain, but they don't particularly want that.

Said a young Asian, who works as a representative for a South African firm: 'I had a choice be-

tween an Indian and a British passport, but I opted for Malawian citizenship. I was born here, I'm happy here, why should I leave? Britain, with its economic problems, is the last place I want to go. So I am taking my chances.'

EXPATRIATE

Other Asians, particularly the older ones, do not share the same view. Meanwhile, they are happy to ride the wave of Malawi's prosperity but it would be foolish to assume that they are not making provision for future life overseas, if the need arises.

The decree that Asians must sell up in the rural

districts has not really hit them too badly, said an expatriate who knows the Asian community well.

Many of these former retail traders have now gone into the wholesale business, supplying the Malawians who have taken over their businesses.

Asians are constantly reminded that their place in Malawi's sun is a somewhat tenuous one. Over the years there have been deportations to Britain, for offences ranging from currency smuggling to abusing the Life President.

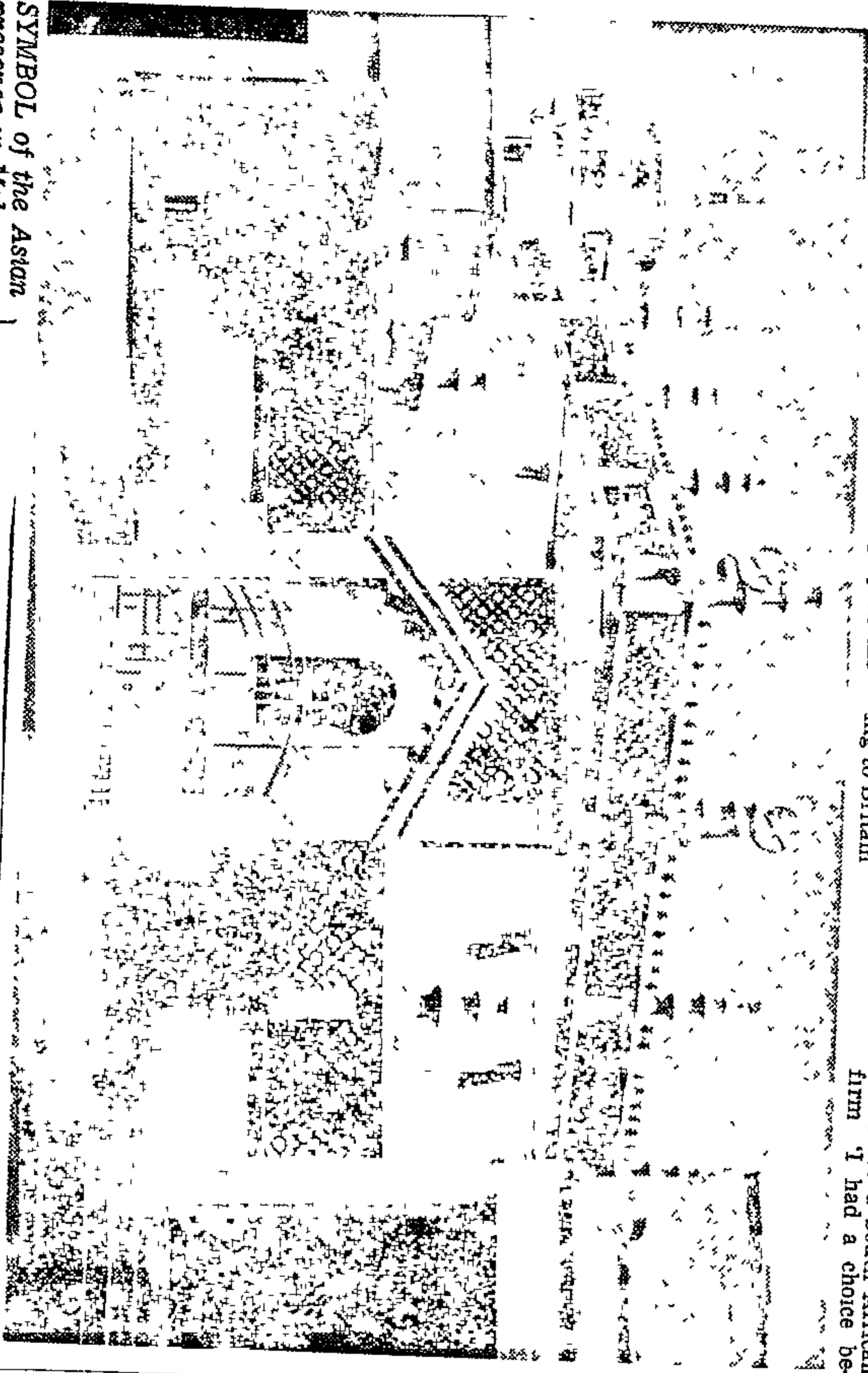
The Foreign Office, though, does not appear to view an exodus of Asians as a serious problem to handle. Taking the

6,000 or so here would be a drop in the ocean compared to 80,000-plus from Uganda and Kenya.

In fact, according to an Asian here, Malawi's share of the 5,000 quota allowed into Britain each year is too high for the numbers who actually want to leave at present.

What would worry Britain would be a mass exodus, with the resultant protests from right-wing, anti-immigration groups at home.

A group of Asians expelled from Malawi in June last year were met by members of the British National Front movement with posters telling them to keep out of Britain.



SYMBOL of the Asian presence in Malawi — a mosque in Zomba.

Friday April 5 1977

Lilongwe—the new heart of Malawi

LILONGWE — Rising steadily from a hill overlooking the surrounding countryside, the new capital city has slowly begun to assume the hulk and bustle of a metropolis.

The new city has been carved out of natural woodland about 8 km from the old town of Lilongwe in a bold move by the Malawian Government to shift the economic, administrative and diplomatic heart of the country to the central region.

At present Malawi suffers from an economic imbalance because most of the commerce and industry is centred on Blantyre in the far south, and previously the administrative capital was Zomba, 60 km north of Blantyre.

The new capital will attract industrial development to the central regions and the largely undeveloped north. It will also have the benefit of halting the population drift to the southern areas.

Lilongwe, too, is a natural communications centre, providing the main entry point to the country from Zambia.

100-km line

Work is well underway with linking the capital by rail to the railhead of Salima, 100 km to the east of Lake Malawi, which already connects the area with the Mozambique ports of Nacala and Beira. The new railway line is being constructed with Canadian aid and technical assistance.

The decision to move

the capital was taken by President H Kamuzu Banda in the 60s and was planned in three rapid stages: first, laying the infrastructure to support the new capital, then the establishment of a commercial centre and the administration offices, and then the construction of the new House of Assembly.

With the help of an R8-million loan from the Southern African Government, development has reached stage two. The area set aside for the new capital embraces more than 100 sq km and the new city will eventually envelop the old Lilongwe.

Shady walks

The emphasis has been on preserving as much of the natural woodland as possible. This has been achieved with remarkable success, with shady walks from the business to administrative office complexes.

A nature sanctuary has also been incorporated into the plan, but a walk through it gives no indication that it is at the

centre of a city of more than 100 000 people. The infrastructure, of the city too, has been designed for further expansion. The construction of bridges, for instance, allows for a doubling-up of roads.

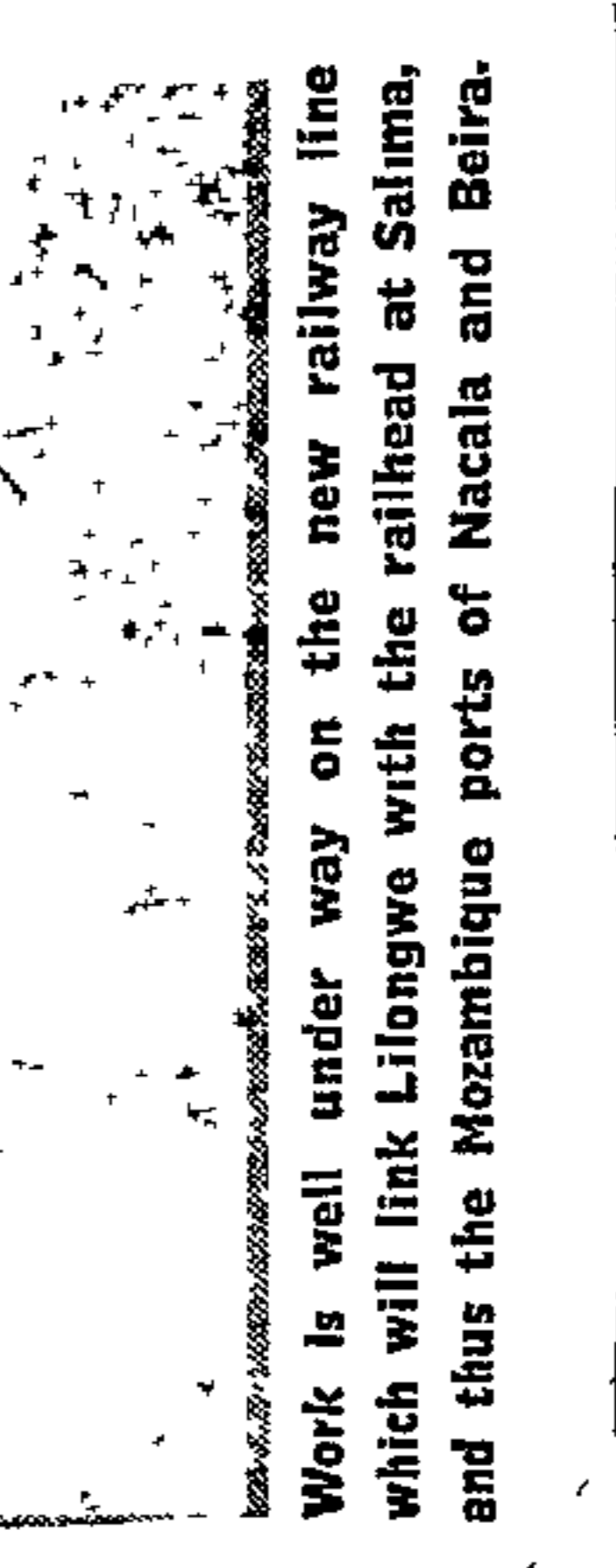
Never so good

One Malawian I spoke to had given up his job in the civil service to start a brick-making firm, using local labour.

The bricks, for ornamental purposes, are made from rock-hard anthills, and villagers previously moved from the hill on which the administrative complex was built are making a good living from breaking these up.

Said the Malawian "Locals here have never had it so good. And we are all proud of our new city, even though some say it looks like a new suit without a body in it yet."

(c) Arvus Co 1977



Work is well under way on the new railway line which will link Lilongwe with the railhead at Salima, and thus the Mozambique ports of Nacala and Beira.

Part of a complex of Government buildings — built with an R8-million loan from South Africa — which dominates the Lilongwe skyline.

10

The Star

The Malawian Government's bold decision to establish a new capital in the central region of the country has paid off, says DON KNOWLER, of The Star's Africa News Service.

cabinet 170

BLANTYRE. — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda has sacked his entire cabinet and all deputy ministers and parliamentary secretaries, the Malawi News Agency reported yesterday.

An announcement from the Office of the President and Cabinet in the capital of Lilongwe said all executive authority was now exercised by the president, who would appoint a new cabinet in the near future.

Another announcement from the headquarters of the Malawi Congress Party — Malawi's only official political party — said that Dr Banda, who is life president of the party, had dissolved its national executive committee with effect from yesterday.

The president would appoint a new committee in the near future, the agency announcement said. It gave no reason for the dismissals.

Malawi, which became independent from Britain in 1966, has been ruled since then by President Banda, 71, who besides being life president is also Minister of External Affairs, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Works and Supplies. — Sapa-Reuter

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NATHAL MERCURY 8/7/77

UPHEAVAL AS BANDA FIRES HIS CABINET

BLANTYRE — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda has sacked his entire Cabinet and all deputy ministers and parliamentary secretaries, the Malawi News Agency reported yesterday.

An announcement from the office of the President and Cabinet in the new capital of Lilongwe said all executive authority was now exercised by the President who would appoint a new Cabinet in the near future.

Another announcement from the headquarters of the Malawi Congress Party — Malawi's only permitted political party — said that Dr Banda, who is life president of the party, had dissolved its national executive committee with effect from yesterday.

The President would appoint a new committee soon, the announcement said. No reason was given for the dismissals.

Malawi, which became independent from Britain in 1966, has been ruled ever since by President Banda (71), who, besides being life president, is also Minister of External Affairs, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Works and Supplies — (Sapa-Reuter)

BANDA FREES POLITICAL PRISONERS

LONDON: Dr Hastings Banda, President of Malawi, whose secret police arrested up to 3 500 political prisoners in the 1960s and early 1970s has apparently had a change of heart.

He is said to have freed about 1 000 men and women from jails throughout the country.

At one, Mikuyo, all but 18 of 570 prisoners are thought to have been released.

Those set free include former ministers, academics, businessmen and journalists. Among them is Victor Ndovi, a former BBC correspondent in Malawi who was held without trial for four and a half years.

He described conditions as "very bad", with overcrowding, atrocious food and inadequate medical services. He said that some prisoners had died in detention and others had been paralysed or blinded. Ndovi has now fled the country. — London Sunday Times News Service.

(170)

N. Mercury 8/2/77
Malawi's

'ghost' captive⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

LONDON — Malawi's life-President, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, has released more than 1,000 political prisoners from "appalling" prison conditions in the last few months, but cannot admit it, a London Sunday newspaper said yesterday, quoting a former prisoner.

It published a front-page article by Mr. Victor Ndovi, one of eight journalists detained in 1973 for writing "distorted stories."

He said Dr. Banda could not admit to releasing political prisoners, as he had claimed he did not have any.

There were still more than 200 political prisoners in Malawi, Mr. Ndovi said.

Sun. Trib 14/8/77
**R100 000 gift
 from Banda**

(170)

EDINBURGH: President Banda of Malawi has sent R100 000 to Edinburgh Royal Infirmary for the benefit of the patients

As a young man, Dr Banda received specialist surgical training in the infirmary - Sapa

For the information the Faculty Office

able has been prepared by

PREFER- ENCE OPTION	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL VOTES CAST FOR EACH OPTION	POINTS
1	9	3	4	0	3	8	27	99
2	4	5	6	7	5	2	29	106
3	3	6	3	4	6	3	25	87
4	11	11	5	6	2	0	35	163
5	4	4	5	5	3	3	24	88
6	13	7	6	1	0	3	30	143

A full minute of the proceedings will be circulated to all members in due course.

5 August 1977

(Prof.) A.H.R.E. PAAP
Dean, Faculty of Arts

Black contact continuing says Botha

STAR 22/9/77.

170

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha — just back from Blantyre — said on TV last night he had other contacts, in a wider field, which were continuing.

He was speaking after his meeting yesterday with President Banda, of Malawi, just over a fortnight after his talks with President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in Geneva.

Yesterday's meeting with President Banda was in the context of South Africa having talks with as many African countries as possible, Mr Botha said.

"We have just one aim and one purpose — to continue to establish ourselves in Africa, to reach African leaders, to try to eliminate misunderstanding concerning our purposes, policies, the basic aims of our policies

"We'll continue to do so. We'll never give up hope, because we know there are also moderate and reasonable African leaders, as there are white leaders everywhere in the world. We don't distinguish in that respect at all."

FRIENDLY

At the airport earlier, Botha said his talks in Malawi had been "friendly and useful."

When I became Foreign Minister in April, it was expected that I would visit countries, particularly African countries," he said.

"I was well received in Malawi. It is a friendly country and is making good progress, both economically and otherwise. It is also a disciplined country," he added.

Commenting on the recent visit to Malawi by rival Rhodesian nationalists Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, Mr Botha said Dr Banda was not being used as liaison in possible Rhodesian settlement negotiations.

The Minister would not discuss the substance of Dr Banda's reaction to recent events in southern Africa. Discussions of a more general nature were also held.

Mr Botha was not prepared to disclose whether he had discussed the death of detainee Mr Steve Biko with Dr Banda.

New cargo link with Malawi

Sun. Exp.

16/10/77

170

EXPORTERS into Africa will be encouraged by the news that a regular groupage container service between South Africa and Malawi has been introduced.

The service, Freightspeed, will be run by Freight Services of Isando and Manica Mann George (Malawi) and will cut the time cargo takes to reach Malawi from South Africa by at least half

In the past it could have taken up to three months for cargoes to reach Malawi. Freightspeed should ensure

that it reaches Malawi in 18 days

The introduction of this groupage container service brings the full benefits of containerisation to small shippers who cannot fill their own containers

The two companies have been handling a number of containers on an ad hoc basis since the beginning of the year, monitoring from point of departure through to final destination. They are convinced that by using this service, exporters will save themselves both worry and time.

(170)

A dictator at the top in Malawi

A DIPLOMAT in the Malawian capital of Lilongwe said: "The important thing about Malawi is that things work efficiently. And if the price for that is a dictator at the top, then it's a price worth paying."

That view reflects the overwhelming opinion held by diplomats and foreign aid officials working in this landlocked Central African country where everything depends on the whims of the diminutive and dictatorial President for life, Dr Hastings Banda.

Although totally intolerant of real or imagined dissent, Dr Banda is far from the stereotyped African dictator. He insists on and gets absolute fiscal responsibility and honesty.

"Every penny of aid money given to this country is used as it was intended to be used," boasted a Malawian official. Diplomats agree "There is absolutely no corruption or siphoning of funds. The system is totally efficient," said an ambassador.

Malawi is one of the few third-world countries that has a record of paying back international loans on schedule.

Therefore in spite of its internal policies, which border on facism, Malawi has become a favourite aid recipient for Western countries. The World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Fund, Britain, Canada and South Africa have all invested heavily in the development of Malawi.

Commercial loan

And the Government's reputation for fiscal responsibility has made Malawi's entry into the commercial money market a success, with a 25 million dollar (about R21-million) commercial loan sought by the Government recently over subscribed by Western banks.

At independence in 1964, many thought that Malawi was not a viable economic entity. The country's only resource was cheap labour for the South African mines.

But Dr. Banda, an American-educated conser-

... if that's the price for efficiency it's worth it, say diplomats and officials

vative brought up in the strict tradition of the Church of Scotland, was convinced that the country could one day be prosperous and he set about ordering his countrymen on the way to do it.

Today, each aid project in Malawi is pointed to by the donor country as an example of how aid should be used. The Smallholder Tea Authority, based here 96 kilometres west of the city of Blantyre, is a case in point.

Funded through more than 200 million dollars (about R170-million) in loans from the Commonwealth Development Fund and the British Government, the project has, in eight years, helped more than 3 000 Malawian farmers get started in tea production.

Under a highly efficient system, aspiring tea farmers are given plants, fertilisers, tools and advice on an interest free loan basis with repayments starting after five years. The farmer must provide his own labour.

Similar schemes

Like similar schemes to increase agricultural production in Malawi, the programme of the Smallholders Tea Authority works. The scheme has helped Malawi more than double tea production since independence, making the country the fourth largest tea exporter in the world.

Similarly, a land development scheme in the Lilongwe area of Central Malawi has shown impressive results in turning bush into productive farm land.

A 25 million dollar (about R21-million) loan from the World Bank is used to

provide infrastructure such as roads, wells, health centres and markets and to provide loans to farmers who want to get started in the growing of tobacco, corn or peanuts or begin raising cattle or poultry.

The project is considered to be such a success that the World Bank often requires officials from other African countries to visit the Lilongwe scheme before World Bank loans are granted.

Malawi's blueprint for development, as reflected in the rural development schemes, is unabashedly capitalist.

Well-to-do farmers

"We make it possible for those individuals with drive and ambition to get ahead," said a Malawian official.

The development schemes are accomplishing their task of creating a class of relatively well-to-do Malawian farmers.

Some farmers, particularly President Banda and his Cabinet ministers, are well-to-do by any standards. Cabinet ministers are required by Dr. Banda to own large estates and sit on the board of directors of large corporations. Several ministers are known to have incomes exceeding half a million dollars a year and Dr. Banda's own income is well over that.

The result is a country that is still extremely poor, with the per capita annual income having only last year crept over the 100 dollar mark (about R85) but with an impressively developing infrastructure and a burgeoning elite and middle class. — (Sapa-AP.)

† From The Scriptures

No, the Lord has told us what is good what he requires of us is this to do what is just, to show constant love, and to live in humble fellowship with our God. (Micah 6:8)

1963
Persuasion, not
(170) RDM 31572
isolation — Banda

NASHVILLE — President Banda of Malawi still opposes attempts to isolate or boycott South Africa because of its apartheid policy.

"We must try to win the white people over," Mr Banda told an audience at Meharry Medical College on Monday.

"We will not win them if we isolate and boycott them. We will not be able to persuade them to change their attitude," he said.

"You cannot convert anyone if you isolate him, because when you isolate

him you deny yourself the opportunity of preaching to him," he said.

Dr Banda was honoured by the college, where he graduated 41 years ago, with an honorary doctorate, and he then addressed a convocation.

He said leaders of independent African countries had been urged to have nothing to do with South Africa because of its apartheid policy.

Dr Banda said, however, he thought it wiser to try to persuade white rulers in South Africa to change — Sapa AP

Firm hand guides a stable Malawi

NM 6/6/78 (170)

DENNIS GORDON
Mercury Africa Bureau

"YOU say my people love me. Yes, they do. It would be false modesty for me to deny it. But why? Because I have proved to them that I am here to serve them and not they to serve me."

False modesty is not one of the accusations history is likely to level at His Excellency the Life President of Malawi, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda. Nor is even ordinary modesty a blot on his record.

His boast that he has served his people — while simultaneously amassing a huge fortune for himself — is not a hollow one.

Malawi has one of Africa's most stable economies, enormous amounts of foreign aid are being funnelled in as a result of political stability and absence of civil service corruption, and agriculture — the mainstay of the economy — is steadily improving the standard of living of the people by following progressive policies.

And if public demonstrations are a fair barometer of mood, then the people do indeed love their immodest President. Perhaps, as some expatriates privately accuse, the crowds are stage-managed — but I think it unlikely.

Revenge

There was reverence, not fear or boredom, on the faces in the crowds I saw in Blantyre where any appearance by Dr. Banda is a sort of musical roadshow with dancing and singing.

Malawi is not as much a one-party State as a one-man State — a "one-man banda" to quote a quipster. The shade of the Life President, usually referred to as H-E (for His Excellency), pervades every facet of life and endeavour of the 5 000 000 Malawians.

The Malawi radio and newspaper propaganda machine constantly, tirelessly and repetitively praises the President. He is the fountainhead of all that is good. No development, from a multi-million rand sugar factory to increased production in a rural vegetable garden, can be achieved without the wise leadership of the President.

Conversely, when anything goes wrong, it is the fault of the remnants of an exiled Opposition, quaintly referred to as "confusionists" or "capricorns."

Formula

The Banda formula to successfully run an African State is based on four cornerstones — unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline. It is a simple catechism that Dr. Banda never tires of re-stating — and he will tolerate no transgression of it, real or imagined.

He is an old-fashioned capitalist surrounded by neighbours with new-fangled policies that don't work. Mozambique's Marxist-based scientific socialism has so far brought no benefits to the people; Zambia's humanism has brought it economic disaster; Tanzania's ujumaa is a social experiment that has reportedly failed.

Critics condemn Dr. Ban-



DR. HASTINGS BANDA — a hard taskmaster who is getting the results he wants.

da's politics as bordering on fascism. He has eliminated his political opposition, dissent is not tolerated either from academics or followers of fundamental religious sects like the Jehovah's Witnesses who have been persecuted and imprisoned, Asian traders are progressively being deported or pressured into leaving.

But in spite of the rigid strictures of the regime, or perhaps because of it, Malawians are highly-motivated and ambitious people.

Earnings

Earnings, even for senior civil servants, are very low. A labourer in a tea factory earns 26 cents a day, a Government chauffeur only R30 a month. But everybody — from Cabinet Ministers who hold business directorships to peasants who cultivate smallholder plots — is encouraged to improve his position by hard work.

The country is still poor, in spite of the ambitious development plans, with per capita income only about R90 a year. But signs of development are everywhere, and the confidence of overseas investors can be gauged by the fact that a recent R20 million loan sought by the Government was oversubscribed by Western banks.

Dr. Banda has authoritarian political rule (some would bluntly call it dictatorship) in common with his neighbouring presidents — Kaunda of Zambia, Nyerere of Tanzania and Machel of Mozambique. The difference is that his country is paying its way, in spite of embarking on independence in 1964 in the red.

A synopsis of the Banda story is worth repeating. He was born in central Nyasaland in 1906, according to official biographies (earlier than most people believe), and educated at a mission school. He walked 1 600 km to South Africa to work as a mine labourer and clerk, returning triumphantly as a Head of State in 1971 at the height of South Africa's detente-in-Africa period.

Medical

He went to the United States and gained a bachelors degree in philosophy and a medical degree. He also studied at Edinburgh's famous medical school before working as a doctor in Liverpool and London.

He returned to politically unsettled Nyasaland in 1958 at the request of some shrewd young political leaders who saw him as a rallying point of the embryonic nationalist movement in its attempts to destroy the White-dominated Central African Federation of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia.

After a short period of im-

prisonment, he returned triumphantly to Malawi to oversee the break-up of federation and to lead the country to independence. At the same time he outsmarted the young men who had seen him only as a figurehead and grabbed political power for himself.

Treason

He has never been seriously challenged since, and anybody who attempted to do so now would have to have the supernatural backing of a messiah.

Diplomats claim that the worst days of the Malawi dictatorship are over. A trial last year in which a top Malawi Congress Party leader and the head of the police Special Branch were sentenced to death for treason, has, according to sources in Lilongwe, eased the tension. Many political detainees have reportedly been released.

Mr. Aleke Banda, once banished from the President's right hand

because he was regarded as the crown prince, is back in favour as one of the country's top business executives. Religious persecution is also on the decrease, sources claim.

But still there is only one spokesman for the country — and that is the doctor himself.

This year Malawi will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the return of Dr. Banda from his 38 years of self-imposed exile.

In spite of rumours of ill-health he seems in public to be positively jaunty, taking every opportunity to join traditional dancers.

He shows no signs of flagging in the pursuit of his vision — to free Malawi from dependence on richer nations. And his patient, industrious people can expect no let-up from his exhortations to work harder and be more productive.

Dr. Banda may indeed, as he says, be serving his people. But he is a hard taskmaster.

RDM 9/5/78 170

Protests as Banda honoured

NEW YORK — Dr Hastings Banda, President of Malawi, received an honorary doctor of laws degree at Indiana University at the weekend — in spite of a handful of protesters who claimed Dr Banda violated human rights

A handful of students walked out of the ceremony, and as the degree was conferred on Dr Banda, there were a few boos, mostly drowned by applause

Observers said four students removed their mortar boards and stood with heads bowed

Critics of Dr Banda, who

studied at Indiana, in Bloomington, from 1928 to 1930, said he jailed political foes without charge, censored the nation's newspapers and expelled 22 000 Jehovah's Witnesses from Malawi

In a campaign against the award, the Bloomington-South Africa committee and local branch 2254 of the American Federation of Teachers accused Dr Banda of "persistent violations of human rights"

Besides protests inside the nearly full 17 000-seat assembly hall, demonstrators carried signs and chanted anti-Banda slogans

at an entrance.

The university chancellor, Mr Herman Wells, cited Dr Banda for having "led his people in their struggle for national independence, a political dream proudly realised in 1964.

"Before his name was associated with the movement of African Nationalism, President Banda had achieved distinction both as a minister in the Church of Scotland and as a physician," Mr Wells said

Dr Banda, defending his rule in the one-party state, said later

"The Jehovah's Witnesses

asked for it, that's all I can say. They would not pay taxes, recognise the flag or sing the national anthem. But they wanted to go to the hospitals and get police protection for the smallest scratch"

He defended his 1971 trip to South Africa, which drew the ire of many black leaders in Africa

He visited South Africa to "tell them to their faces, man-to-man in the same room" that he was against racial prejudice, President Banda said

Sapa-AP

Dr Banda's domain FM 7/7/78

Since independence, Malawi has pulled itself up by the bootstraps. There are even signs of political maturing

170

"Twenty glorious years with Kamuzu" Thus the slogan accompanying the anniversary celebrations of Dr Hastings Banda's return to Malawi on July 6 1968

This week it seemed that President Banda was cautiously exposing his country to the outside world through the eyes of foreign journalists, who last Friday were allowed to interview him for the first time in 10 years, and who have been invited to travel freely round Malawi

Visitors and residents are still required to abide by stringent dress regulations: no bell bottom jeans, skirts must be below the knees, and men with hair over their collars face a compulsory haircut at Chileka Airport. Nonetheless, expatriates and diplomats speak of a relaxation of what was previously an oppressive atmosphere

Conversations about politics remain discreet, but are no longer taboo, Malawians are once again accepting dinner invitations from foreigners

As in the past, shops are full and visitors from Zambia and Tanzania stock up on everything from Camembert and chocolate to Cape wines and car spares. And aside from the comfortable life for whites, there is some evidence that for the 5.6m Malawians the celebration rhetoric is not entirely divorced from reality

"Given Malawi's disadvantaged position at independence (in 1964), progress has been remarkable," comments the latest World Bank memorandum on the country

Between 1964 and 1977, notes the bank, GDP grew at an average annual rate of over 6% in real terms, wage employment by over 8% a year between 1968 and 1976, fixed investment from 8.5% of GDP in 1964 to 22% in 1976, and domestic savings, virtually nil in 1964, amounted to 11.5% of GDP in 1976

The country has few mineral resources. Banda himself handles the agricultural portfolio, and with considerable success — exports from this sector account for 90% of foreign exchange earnings. Production of the three main crops — tea, tobacco and sugar — has increased steadily over the years

Tea production was 17% up over the 1976 level in 1977, sugar rose 11%, the cured tobacco 21%, and burley 52% (the crop provides 51% of export earnings). Groundnut sales, however, have been falling

The National Rural Development Programme (NRDP) has as its main aim increased production from the country's

800 000 smallholder families. It includes four impressive schemes: the Lilongwe road development programme, the Karonga rural development project, the Shire Valley agricultural development project, and the Central Region lake shore development project

The country's standing with international aid donors is high. Schemes are well planned, say aid officials. There is no corruption to speak of, no white elephants (the baddie of the capital Lilongwe is generally accepted as a major contribution to development of the impoverished north) and — possibly without parallel in Africa — surplus funds are returned to donors

In addition to aid from traditional sources — the US and Britain — Malawi is now tapping new sources of funds like the ITC and the Opec countries Special Fund which recently provided a \$1.8m loan for a highway

Last year Malawi obtained a \$25m loan syndicated by Chase Manhattan Bank to assist in the construction of Lilongwe's international airport, and a \$10m development loan from Citibank of New York

Furthermore, SA can be quietly content with the Malawi connection. The Republic's goods dominate the shops,



On Lake Malawi poor but affluent

and the R83m Lilongwe project, as noted is a success

Banda's 1974 decision to suspend recruitment for SA mines — and the consequent fall in remittance — contributed to

what Finance Minister Dick Matenje described as "a dangerously low level" of foreign reserves by the end of 1976. However, the reserves recovered — and now stand at a post independence high of R833m

Furthermore, the miners (and their remittances) are coming back, the Malawian complement on SA mines stands at some 19 800 at present

Malawi has been a *de facto* one-party state since 1964. But last week, for the first time since 1961 Malawians were able to choose their parliamentary candidates — and nearly two-thirds of the members of the last parliament either failed to win nomination for their constituencies or were defeated by rival candidates of the ruling Malawi Congress Party

The censors' ink

This, and the rosy statistics, hardly make the country a paradise. The censorship system remains stifling. News of the South Yemen coup was inked out in foreign papers sold in Blantyre. "It might give people ideas," said one official

Relations with neighbouring Mozambique and Tanzania, and to a lesser extent Zambia, are not cordial — yet Malawi depends totally on the trade route via the ports of Beira and Nacala

Another political issue that gives cause for concern is the personality cult surrounding the President. It is bizarre to the outsider. Such is Banda's domination that senior ministers pop up to recite praise or statistics, like schoolboys declaiming their verbs before an authoritarian Latin master. This raises the question of how dependent Malawi is for its achievements on one man with no obvious successor

Nonetheless, there are further signs of positive political change

• The release a year ago of some 2 000 political detainees

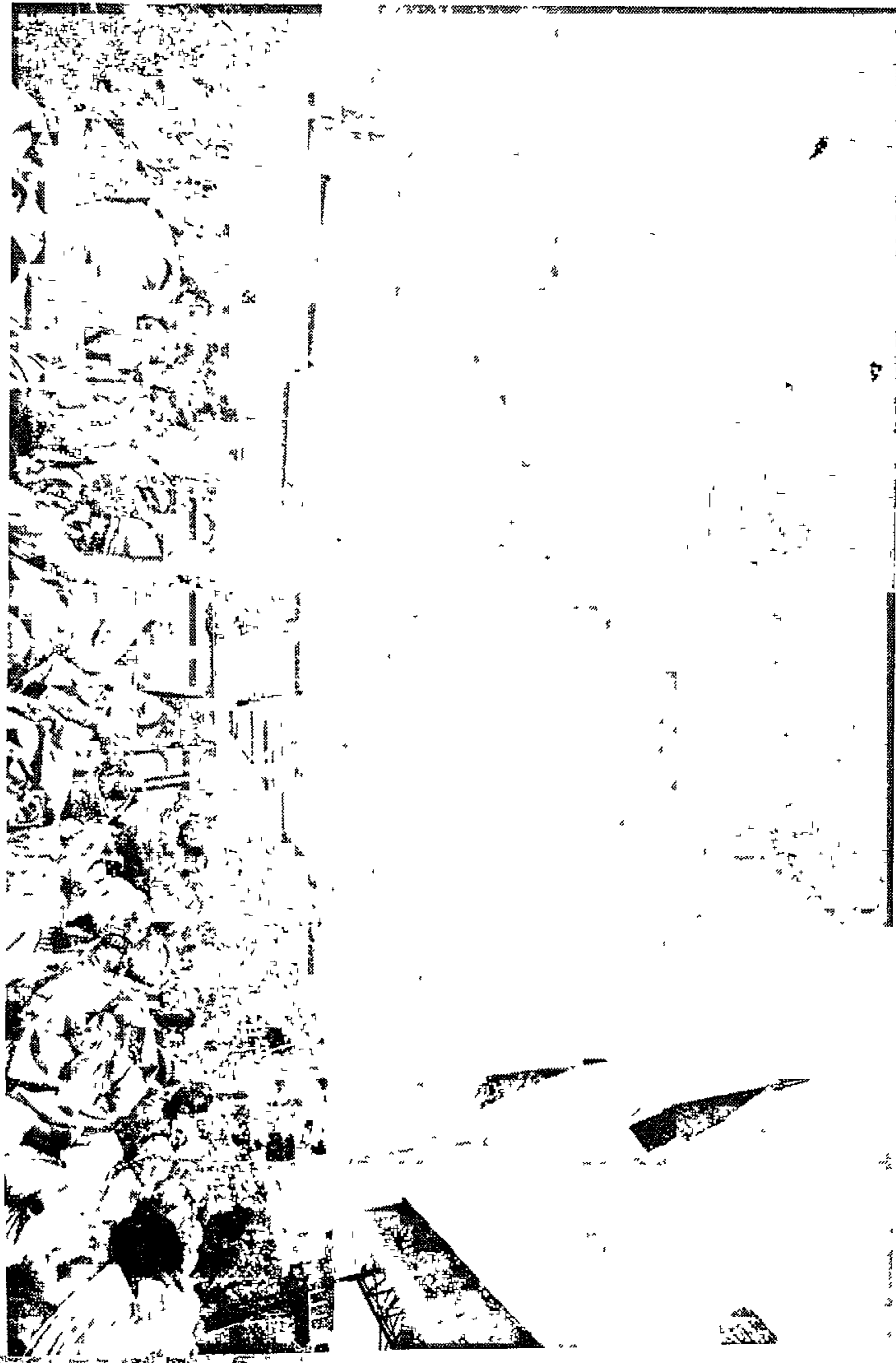
• Two of the most feared men in Malawi (believed to be partly responsible for repressive measures), the head of the special branch and the secretary-general of the party, were removed from office last year. The former has been sentenced to life imprisonment, the latter executed

On the economic front, the World Bank points out that despite great strides, Malawi *per capita* income in 1976 (US\$140) is a very poor country

Further, as in other black states, there is a serious shortage of skilled manpower.

Nevertheless, the past 14 years suggest that Malawi is capable of meeting these challenges

Drums, dancers, bands, balloons: all for Dr Banda



A view of the massive crowd which turned out for at least 12 hours to celebrate in Blantyre. More than 10,000 people were on hand to cheer the exuberant 72-year-old President Banda at the Independence Stadium.



Dr Banda's face was everywhere during the extravaganza. Thousands of dancers took part and everyone had at least one photo of his face per dress as hundreds of traditional drummers and brass bands sounded a celebratory note.

Africa's Hollywood touch

By DENIS GORDON

Foreign Editor
BLANTYRE — It was the kind of super-colossal extravaganza that Hollywood might have dreamed up

Ten thousand swaying women dancers, hundreds of traditional drummers pounding out the heartbeat of Africa, 5,000 children releasing gas-filled balloons, tribal warriors stamping, an army battalion swaggering, three brass bands blasting, a

21-gun salute booming, an international soccer match, 60,000 cheering extras and bunting mesurable in hectares

But this was real. The big show was mounted for Malawi's ageless President, Dr H. Kamuzu Banda, to mark the 20th anniversary of his return from exile in 1964. As usual, the dapper doctor was the focal point of the show, as he is of

almost every aspect of life in Malawi. A programme that would have taxed a younger man seemed to have only an exhilarating effect on the 72-year-old doctor.

But some foreign guests were exhausted by a programme that lasted at least 12 hours for them and much longer for local people. Everybody had to be in place before the President arrived and nobody could leave before he did.

Dr Banda's control of Malawi is absolute. But his iron control has paid dividends. The economic growth rate has increased an average of 6% since independence in a country which most experts predicted would never be viable.

Malawians, though still poor, have rising expectations. Dr Banda pursues a policy of unashamed capitalism and despite Organisation of African Unity criticism, trades busily with South Africa.

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SA-MALAWI TRADE

Some snags

Feb 12/79 (170)

Malawi importers are not impressed by the performance of some SA suppliers. The result could be lower sales to SA's most lucrative market in black Africa.

Safto executive Sally Gallagher, who recently visited Blantyre, reckons several large Malawian importers, including construction material and electrical appliance merchants as well as tea, sugar, and rubber producers, are turning to European, Canadian and US suppliers, even though their needs can be bought more cheaply in SA.

Says Gallagher "Some South African companies are short-sighted enough to believe that Malawi is a captive market." Some exporters fail to provide after-sales service, while others are careless in the preparation of export documents, thus delaying customs clearance in Malawi.

Nonetheless, exports to Malawi have boomed in recent years. In 1976, SA overtook Britain as Malawi's major supplier, and by 1977 SA exporters had captured 37% of Malawi's total imports, leaving Britain with 19%. The value of exports soared from R58,7m in 1976, to R83,2m in 1977 and almost R50m in the first half of last year. According to Unicorn Lines, SA-Malawi trade was so brisk last year that shipping capacity was increased by over 30%.

Main reason for the surge in SA's exports is the closure of the Mozambique-Rhodesian border, which cut Rhodesia's share of the Malawian market from 12% in 1975 to 5% in the following year.

SA's main exports to Malawi are mineral fuels (half of the total), iron and steel, and machinery. Other exports include canned foods, fertilizer, paper products and grain products.

Southbound trade has also ballooned. Between 1974 and 1977 exports to SA more than doubled to R13m, compared with a 50% increase in the previous three years. Main items are tea, tobacco and groundnuts. Indeed, SA tea blenders are compelled by government to buy 7% of their supplies from Malawi. And SA has agreed to buy a minimum of 270 000 kg of tobacco from Malawi each year.

Financial Mail February 9 1979

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South African Passports Office
States
Hansard 3 (195) 23/2/79
PASSPORTS SECTION

1) Name, date of birth, sex, height, weight, eye color, hair color, skin color, and other distinguishing features of the holder.
2) Whether he will use (a) a list of the names of the countries to which he is going or (b) a list of the countries to which he is not going.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
PASSPORTS SECTION

(1) List (2) (a) and (b)

Area	Number of officials recorded for service
Albany State	109
Manawatu	170
St. Andrew	2
Transvaal	350
Western Province	10
Total	641

Handwritten initials and circled numbers: 109, 170, and VBV

Talks on Malawi fuel ^{CT. 170.} supplies ^{27/3/77}

By STEPHEN WROITESLEY

NEGOTIATIONS were taking place last night on the future of fuel supplies from Mozambique to Malawi in the wake of the recent bombings of fuel tanks at the Beira depot.

The negotiations follow reports from Mozambique that oil supplies from Mozambique to Malawi will be stopped.

Spokesmen for international oil companies said last night that they were awaiting confirmation of the move reportedly taken by local authorities.

The move follows the blowing up of the oil storage tanks belonging to Petromoc Mozambique's nationalized petrol company by guerrillas believed to belong to an anti-Frelimo group.

Tanks blown up

Five petrol tanks were blown up in the early hours of last Friday morning and later a sixth ignited.

A total of R16 million of fuel was lost by Petromoc - fuel that was destined for local Mozambique consumption.

In the confusion that reigned after the explosions, tanks belonging to three international oil companies, Shell, Caltex and Mobil were holed.

While at the time the tanks belonging to Caltex and Shell were not full, there was a large quantity of fuel in the Mobil tanks. A probe team from South Africa managed to salvage between 80 and 90 per cent of the fuel in the six damaged tanks when they blew into the port last Saturday.

Most of the fuel in the international companies tanks was destined for Malawi. This fuel totalled nearly R60 million.

Confused

Last night a spokesman from Mobil said the situation was confused and that the company was awaiting confirmation which was difficult because of bad communications.

The spokesman said the company was in no way party to any negotiations between Malawi and Mozambique and that the company regarded it as a matter to be sorted out between the two countries.

A spokesman for Shell said that while he had not heard of the freezing of supplies to Malawi, it was a possible situation.

Should the oil supply be stopped, it could have lasting effects on the relations between Mozambique and Malawi. Attempts by the Cape Times to contact the secretary of Transport and Communications in Malawi last night were fruitless.

Meanwhile Mr Rodney Camp, leader of the expedition to Beira, denied reports that any member of the team had been forced to sign any documents while at Beira.

Mr Camp, Mobil's operations chief engineer in Southern Africa, was commenting on reports that team members were asked to sign statements that Rhodesia was involved in the destruction of Petromoc's tanks.

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SA helps put food in Malawi's villages

August 21/8/79

Argus Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — 'Food in the villages'. That, says President Hastings Banda of Malawi, medical doctor, elder of the Scottish church and African leader extraordinary, is the beginning and end of his politics.

The phrase is simple, but it symbolises the root of Africa's horrendous problems today

'Food in the villages' means a contented peasantry, rising agricultural output, reasonable prices in the cities, political stability.

'No food in the villages' stands for starvation, unrest, sky-rocketing prices and an uncontrolled influx of peasants into festering slums in cities already unable to cope.

SINGLE-MINDED

Mindful that 92 percent of his 5.5-million people live in traditional villages, President Banda has set about the business of ensuring them food (and all that that stands for) with single-minded vigour.

Recognising the huge contribution South Africa can make to his stated political goal, he has become the only black leader to establish full diplomatic links with Pretoria.

Malawi is also a member of the Organisation of African Unity, which has harshly criticised him for his South African link, but the dapper little president, officially born in

'about 1906' will not be budged

He is openly scornful of some of the more ramshackle members of the OAU and he told Queen Elizabeth at a banquet in Blantyre recently that 'we are one of the few countries in Africa now that balances its budget' He even told the monarch that 'there are certain things we can learn from South Africa'

BIGGEST SUPPLIER

While many African states secretly trade with South Africa, President Banda says he has nothing to hide

The value of trade between Malawi and South

Africa is close to R100-million a year South Africa is also Malawi's largest single supplier, accounting for 35 percent of the nation's imports last year Britain remains Malawi's biggest market, however, and takes about 48 percent of her exports

The South African connection is here for all to see About 50 Safair Hercules freighters, with their high orange tails, lumber into Blantyre's Chileka airport every month, bearing everything from wine to electrical generators Hydro-electric power supplies most of Malawi's energy

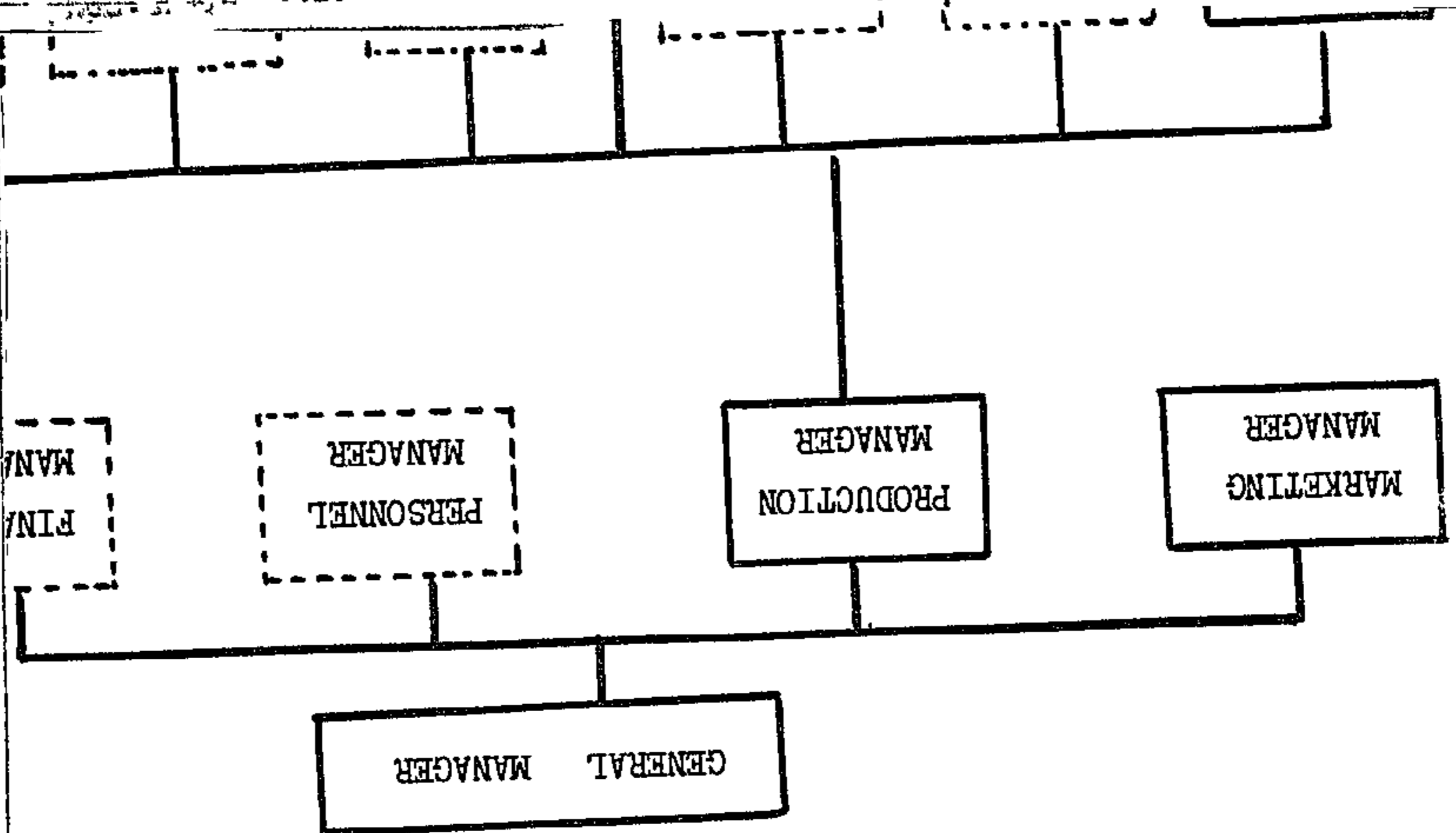
In the semi-completed capital, Lilongwe — begun with an R8-million, long-term South African loan some years ago — the South African flag waves outside the embassy in a diplomatic row which also has embassies of eight other nations including Zambia and India

South African finance built the rail line from Lilongwe to the Mozambique border in 1968. South African private enterprise is building an R11-million grain silo near Lilongwe (the biggest single silo in Africa), South Africans are building roads in the north, there is agricultural and medi-

cal co-operation and on the shores of Lake Malawi, Africa's third biggest, South African experts are helping Malawians capture and export tropical fish — a business worth R500 000 a year.

BENEFICIAL

The combination of open trade policies, particularly with South Africa, and massive investment in rural development and transport (a total of more than R70-million this year) has had extraordinarily beneficial results. Gross domestic product rose from less than R160-million at independence in 1964 to more than R760-million in 1977.



(NOTE: Also indicates and STAFF Functions)

Malawi puts out the flags for an old friendship

By Gerald Ranger
Editor, The Star's
Africa News Service

BLANTYRE — The streets here are ablaze with bunting for a state visit to Malawi by President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.

President Moi's visit is seen as a demonstration that he intends to main-

tain the links forged by his predecessor, the late President Jomo Kenyatta, and President H. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, as they steered their nations to independence.

It ignores the criticism aimed at Malawi by the Organisation of African Unity over Dr. Banda's insistence on having trade and diplomatic links with South Africa.

Virtually every building in Blantyre is festooned with the red, black and green colours of Malawi for the country's independence anniversary celebrations this week. Hundreds of flags flank the road from the airport for the arrival today of President Moi.

Arches carrying huge portraits of the two Pres-

idents have been built across the road.

The visit by President Moi, his first to any African state since becoming Kenya's head of state, is expected to be followed by visits to other southern African countries.

Other leaders who have visited Malawi were Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa in 1971, President

Tobert of Liberia, Pre-

sident Kaunda of Zambia, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India.

President Banda did not attend the funeral in Kenya last year of his friend Jomo Kenyatta. He said it would be too emotional an occasion for him. Instead he paid a

private visit to Kenya shortly afterwards to give his condolences to the Kenyatta family.

Government sources here have rejected suggestions that the Kenya leader's visit indicates a hardening of Malawi's attitude to South Africa.

President Moi was due to land at Chleka Airport near here at 11.30 today

and to be greeted by President Banda and all the panoply of a state visit, including a 21-gun salute and guard of honour.

Tonight he will attend a state banquet at the presidential residence, Sanjira Palace. Tomorrow he will visit the Kwacha conference centre and lay a wreath at the Kenyatta memorial pillar there.

Then he flies to Malawi's new capital at Lilongwe for a civic luncheon. He will spend the night in the state cottage at Zomba.

On Friday the two Presidents will attend anniversary displays and a soccer match between Kenya and Malawi at the Kamuzu stadium, Blantyre. President Moi returns to Nairobi on Saturday.

front Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya.



By Gerald L'Ange, Editor, the Star's
Africa News Service.

Malawi's prosperity President

BLANTYRE — Gigantic white letters on a hillside outside this city spell out the words that have become a national slogan in Malawi: "Long Live Kamuzu."

During the recent independence anniversary celebrations the slogan appeared in smaller form on buildings, bridges, fences and rooftops throughout the country.

Beyond the obvious propagandising, the slogan seems to reflect a real desire by most Malawians for a long life and continued rule by His Excellency the Life President, Dr H Kamuzu Banda.

His energetic activity during the independence festivities in the Kamuzu stadium in Blantyre indicates that the former medical practitioner will continue to dominate the country for a long time yet.

Again and again, as groups of women dancers came to perform before the presidential gallery, Dr Banda led his guest, President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, down into the arena to dance with them, hatless in the sun.

Twenty-one years after he returned from exile to lead Nyasaland to independence, and 15 years after it achieved it as Malawi, President Banda remains firmly in control of the country.

Unlike the other African countries governed by a single party (and that includes nearly all of them), Malawi has managed to combine the strict autocracy of one-party rule with the freedom of a capitalist system.

Malawi's is not a capitalist system in the strictest sense, but it is certainly a free enterprise one.

It has brought Malawians prosperity far beyond anything they had at independence. With virtually no natural resources other than a good climate and soil, Malawi has achieved something of an economic miracle that contrasts sharply with the poverty of more richly endowed countries in Africa, notably Malawi's socialist neighbours.

President Banda has tried to ensure political stability by giving every Malawian a personal stake in the economy, even if it is only a patch of land to grow cash crops, and a chance to improve his lot through his own efforts.

In Malawi today there is little or no hunger, according to residents, and a relatively low crime rate. Its police force is probably the only one in Africa to go unarmed. During this month's independence celebrations the only weapons to be seen were the unloaded rifles of the soldiers in the ceremonial parades.

President Banda . . . serving his people.

Another reason why Dr Banda has been able to remain so firmly in power is his own charisma. Largely through the strength of his own personality he has made the Malawi Congress Party and the nation adhere to a notable degree to the four-word code of conduct he set for it: Unity, Loyalty, Obedience, Discipline.

In the independence celebrations in the stadium — a spectacular show featuring thousands of youths, soldiers and women dancers — the credo was put across in commentaries and tableaux. In one, 1 500 "born frees" (children born after independence) ate oranges and bananas in unison, then ceremoniously put the peels in garbage bins to demonstrate cleanliness and tidiness.

The commentaries and tableaux, showering praise on President Banda, contrasted with the poverty and lack of development at independence and the prosperity that has come since then. This is a central theme of Malawi Congress Party propaganda — backed up with figures showing substantial increases in the country's per capita income, gross national product, export earnings and development expenditure.

Several years ago at a state banquet in Blantyre, President Banda said: "You say my people love me. Yes, they do. It would be false modesty for me to deny it. But why? Because I have proved to them that I am here to serve them and not they to serve me."

This statement is now included in government propaganda pamphlets. Watching President Banda being welcomed at official functions by thousands of singing and dancing women, it is hard to dispute it.

President Arap Moi's state visit does much to counter the criticism levelled by black Africa at Malawi for its continued close ties with South Africa (the Republic retains by far the largest slice of Malawi's import trade — 35 percent against 20 percent for Britain).

The Kenyan visit will be followed later on July 22 by a visit by Queen Elizabeth.

Both indicate that Malawi is suffering little from her links with South Africa.

Dr Banda's Malawi

He led the country to freedom 15 years ago and he is still very much in charge...



BLANTYRE — Gigantic white letters on a hillside outside the city spell out the words that have become a national slogan in Malawi — "Long Live Kamuzu".

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His energetic activity during the independence festivities in the Kamuzu stadium in Blantyre indicates the former medical practitioner will continue to dominate the country for a long time yet.

Again and again, as groups of women dancers came to perform before the presidential gallery, Dr Banda led his guest, President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, down into the arena to dance with them, hatless in the sun.

Waving his fly whisk and occasionally leading the singing over the microphones, the 73-year-old Dr Banda set a pace that left his Kenyan counterpart perspiring heavily.

Twenty-one years after he returned from exile to lead Nyasaland to independence, and 15 years after it was achieved as Malawi, President Banda remains firmly in control of the country.

Reverence for him amounts almost to a national cult. There is no sign of any subversive opposition in the country, according to residents. The few Malawians purporting to organise opposition from abroad can offer little to counter the tangible benefits that Dr Banda has brought them.

Unlike the other African countries governed by a single party, Malawi has managed to combine the strict autocracy of one-party rule with the freedom of a capitalist system.

Malawi's is not a capitalist system in the strictest sense but it is certainly a free enterprise one.

ECONOMIC MIRACLE

It has brought Malawians prosperity far beyond anything they had at independence. With virtually no natural resources other than a good climate and soil, Malawi has achieved something of an economic miracle that contrasts sharply with the poverty of more richly endowed countries in Africa. Notably Malawi's neighbours.

This is one of the reasons why most Malawians have accepted a level of authoritarianism that at one time reportedly put about 2,000 political dissidents behind bars. That figure is now believed to have dwindled to fewer than 50 as political tensions have eased with the rise of prosperity.

Like his friend and fellow pioneer of African nationalism, the late Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, President Banda has tried to ensure political stability by giving every Malawian a personal stake in the economy, even if it is only a patch of land on which to grow cash crops, and a chance to improve his lot through his own efforts. The bigger the individual's stake in the economy, the more he stands to lose if it is disrupted, and the less incentive there is for subversion.

In Malawi today there is little or no hunger, according to residents, and a relatively low crime rate. Its police force is probably the only one in Africa to go unarmed. During this month's independence celebrations the only weapons to be seen were the un-

loaded rifles of the soldiers in the ceremonial parades.

Another reason Dr Banda has been able to remain so firmly in power is his own remarkable charisma. Largely through the strength of his own personality he has made the Malawi Congress Party and the nation adhere to a notable degree to the four-word code of conduct he set for it: Unity, Loyalty, Obedience, Discipline.

This credo is espoused constantly in speeches by the president. It was emblazoned in huge letters above the stands of the Kamuzu stadium during the independence celebrations.

The credo has been implanted in the ruling party and the civil service so firmly that there is an absence of corruption.

In the independence celebrations in the stadium — a spectacular show featuring thousands of youths, soldiers and women dancers — the credo was put across in commentaries and tableaux. In one, 1,500 "born frees" (children born after independence) ate oranges and bananas in unison, then ceremoniously put the peels in garbage bins to demonstrate cleanliness and tidiness.

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"The country's record in becoming self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs and in increasing exports from Kwacha 25-million at independence to Kwa 194.6-million in 1977 is one of the success stories of Africa," says a government pamphlet.

Current development projects include a R291-million timber, pulp and paper scheme, a R66-million new sugar estate; R91-million spent so far on the new capital city at Lilongwe; R60-million planned for a new international airport at Lilongwe due to start working in 1980; R33-million on a new railway line from Salima to

Lilongwe completed last year, R40-million on current road projects; R60-million for new hydro-electric plant at Nkula Falls.

An insight into Malawi today was given by a commercial broadcast by Radio Malawi during the independence celebrations. It lavishly praised President Banda for what he had done for the country. Then followed a long list of business firms sponsoring the advertisement.

Several years ago at a state banquet in Blantyre, President Banda said: "You say my people love me. Yes, they do. It would be false modesty for me to deny it. But why? Because I have proved to them that I am here to serve them and not they to serve me."

This statement is now included in government propaganda pamphlets. Watching President Banda being welcomed at official functions by thousands of singing and dancing women, it is hard to dispute it.

In blazing rivers of colour, the women, wearing log dresses and turbans printed with Dr Banda's portrait, surround his open vehicle, in which he stands waving his fly whisk. No security guards are visible.

One gets the impression that anyone harming the president would literally be torn limb from limb. The women are a unique and undoubtedly powerful element in Dr Banda's political forces.

Some observers believe they play an important role in ensuring his continued grip on political forces.

"Once you've got the loyalty of the women you don't need to worry about the men," said one observer. "And you could have no finer security and intelligence network than the wives and mothers of the nation."

President Arap Moi's state visit does much to counter any criticism levelled by black Africa at Malawi for its continued close ties with South Africa (the Republic retains by far the largest slice of Malawi's import trade — 35 percent as against 20 percent for Britain).

The Kenyan visit will be followed later this month (July 22) by a visit by Queen Elizabeth of England.

Both indicate that Malawi is not suffering much from her links with South Africa.

POST Africa News Service.



Dr Banda (right) with President Arap Moi of Kenya. Fifteen years after independence reverence for him amounts almost to a national cult.

Lake wants to spill over

LAKE MALAWI, the holiday playground in central Africa, is going to overflow.

The sparkling blue water, where hundreds of South Africans holiday every year, turned vicious during the last rainy season and turned lakeside rooms of some of the resort hotels into swamps

When the floods retreated they took with them large stretches of the white beaches for which this inland sea — it is the third largest lake in Africa — is famous.

Lake Malawi is the main feature of this country's tourist industry so no expense or effort were spared in cleaning up the mess.

But even as hoteliers comforted themselves that the floods were due to unusually heavy rain in the interior, a more serious problem remained. Freak rains or not, the lake is still steadily rising.

There are many theories as to why the phenomenon as there are colourful tales from Lake Malawi's past.

POST Africa News Service, Blantyre

One opinion is that the hippcs which used to eat the vegetation in the Shire River flowing out of Lake Malawi have been decimated by hunters which means the river is clogging up which means that less water flows out Or so they say

Another school of thought contends that, over thousands of years, the lake floor has become saturated; less water is seeping away

But, likebest of all, is the stark fact that the weather pattern is changing. Simply, here is more rain and less sun.

More rain means more inflow from the lake's 14 main feeder rivers and



There are 240 species of fish in Lake Malawi. These two Malawians fish from their dugout boat.

less sun means less evaporation which is the main factor keeping the water level of the 23 300 square kilometre lake down.

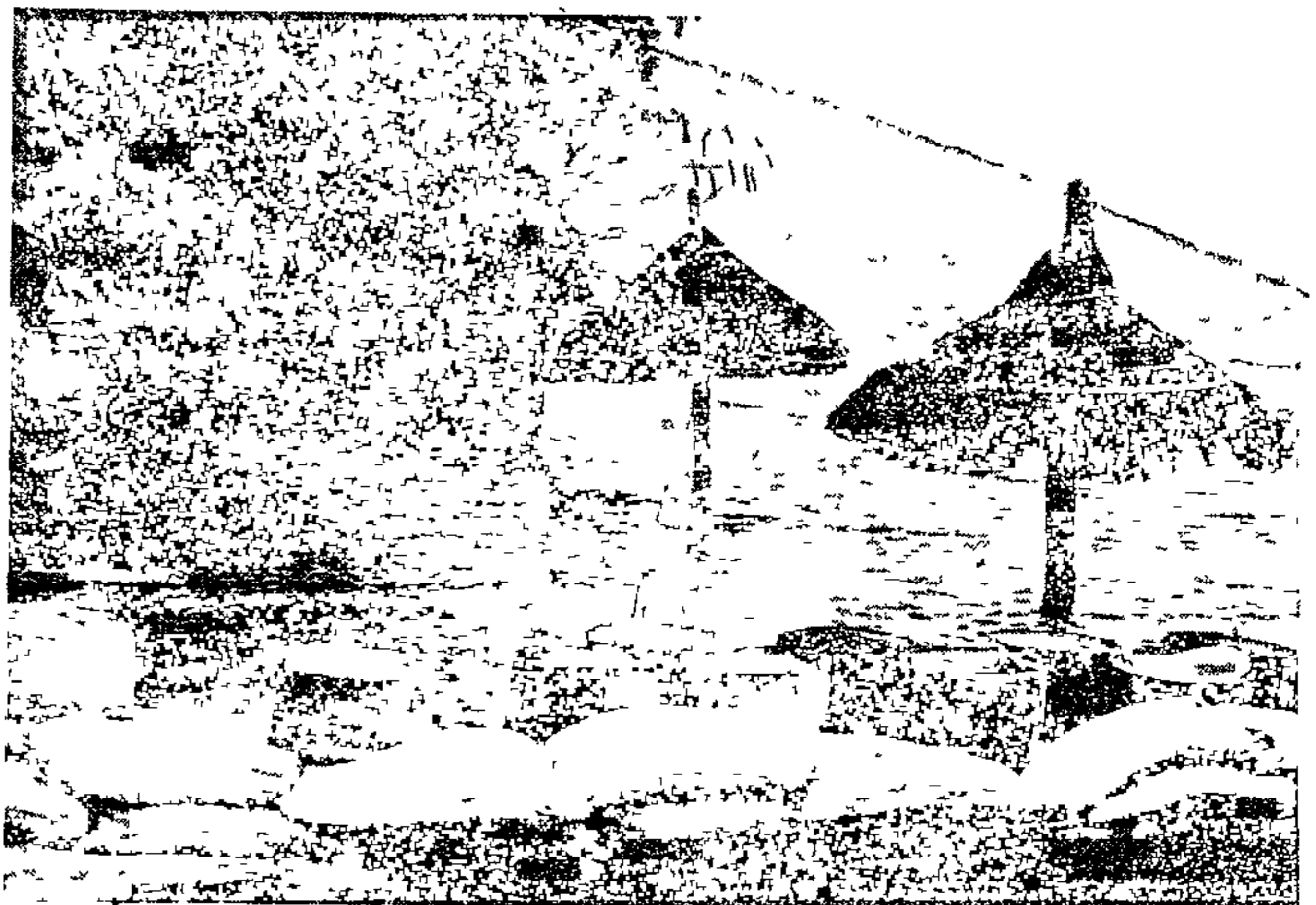
Many of the resort hotels were built as close to the water's edge as they could be, so the relentless rise of the water is a serious long-term threat to operators who bill their beautiful, bilharzia-free and crocodile-free lake as paradise

TIDES

With no tides or currents, this is ideal watersport and fishing country

For the less energetic there is the Llata 2, a 620-ton motor vessel which takes passengers on a week long round trip of the lake, calling in at colourful fishing ports all the way up to the Tanzanian border.

The lake shore and its islands are dotted with



Sandbags and flooded sun shelters on what used to be the beach.

historical curiosities. One such is a cannon taken from the gunship

Gwendolen which crippled its German adversary, the Hermann von Wissman, in what must have World War I's only inland naval battle.

There is, of course, no immediate threat: just as the continent's and mountains were fashioned over mil-

lennums, so it will take many years before Lake Malawi brims over.

But this year's floods were an ominous pointer and, in time, it appears inevitable that some of the hotels will have to be sited further back from the water.

the cost of raising the necessary funds has to be taken into account. The funds themselves are already justified by comparison with the alternative methods of provision, but there are additional costs involved in raising them: interest on loans, or administrative and incentive costs of raising taxation. These are normally insignificant for any given project, but may affect the overall amounts available for the health budget.

Where the methods of providing a given service use the same kinds of resources in different proportions, the decision-making can be simplified by means of Linear Programming, though health service choices cannot usually be presented in the simplified way required by this method.

2. CHOICE OF PROGRAMMES

So far, we have discussed methods of choosing means to obtain a given objective. But what tools are available to aid the choice of objectives themselves? Can anything be said on the question of the priority to be given to particular diseases or age groups, whether to allocate more to child welfare clinics or care of the aged?

Overall criteria are needed, and they have to be expressed in such a way that they can guide these detailed questions. Essentially, the problem is not only to relate resources used to objectives achieved, but to relate the various objectives to each other.

There are various means of doing this; but all of them require that expenditure be accounted for by the ends it is expected to achieve.

2.1 Programme Budgeting

Programme budgeting, also known as budgeting by objectives, involves the presentation of expenditure data according to the objectives to which it is directed. Thus, projects to combat TB would be grouped together, geriatric problems, sanitation programmes, etc.

This is necessary:

- (a) to know the cost of pursuing each objective;
- (b) to group together activities with the same objectives which can be compared by cost-effectiveness analysis;

(c) to know the effectiveness of a given amount of money when spent on different objectives, so that choices can be formulated in terms of the alternatives we might afford - so many geriatric day care centres, so many child welfare clinics, etc.

Financial statistics are not traditionally arranged on this basis but in categories such as 'salaries', 'transport', 'medicines', etc. A separation, e.g. between expenditure on different disease groups or age groups cannot be made.

The grouping of expenditure into programmes is an art. Pole, an economist in the U.K. Department of Health, writes.

"Programme structure should, in my view, be mainly determined by the decisions to the taking of which one wishes it to contribute... One might suggest that where decisions are primarily a matter of political or moral judgement - of determining basic priorities - one would want the activities to be compared to reside in different programmes - the mentally handicapped against the alcoholics; but where it is a more technical question of how particular objectives can best be achieved - drug therapy against behavioural therapy - one would want the activities to be compared to be within a particular programme."

MALAWI TRADE In the balance

SA's burgeoning R100m-a-year trade with Malawi could be halved, in the opinion of some freight forwarders, as a result of tough new import restrictions introduced on August 10 by the Malawi Government.

SAfto agrees the trade will be hit, but to a smaller extent. "If one deals with the right people in Malawi, who have the money, there should be no problem," said a spokesman.

Malawian importers must now deposit 20% of the fob value of an order with a bank before placing the order, obtain exchange control approval in advance, lodge 50% of the import duty with clearing agents before obtaining the customs bill of entry and pay K15 per port ton before clearance at the port.

Shippers are bewildered by the move, as the Malawi economy appears to be in a healthy condition. However a major problem is congestion at Mozambique ports, which is encouraging use of more expensive airfreight. It may be this traffic which the Malawians want to cut.

In 1976 SA overtook Britain as Malawi's major supplier, and by 1977 had captured 37% of that country's total imports, worth R83m. Major exports are mineral fuels, iron and steel, machinery, processed foods and fertilizer. A big reason for the growth was the closure of the Mozambique-Rhodesian border, which cut Rhodesian exports to Malawi.

Malawian sales to SA though smaller (R13m in 1978), are also booming. Main items are tea, tobacco and groundnuts.

Programme budgeting, then, entails the attempt at this separation, sorting out from the multiplicity of decisions those which can be made on the basis of administrative or economic, together with medical-technical criteria, and those in which the role of the public through political

JOHN Chilembwe was a priest, who ran his own mission school and station, not far from Blantyre in Nyasaland. He was educated as a priest in the United States. When he returned to Nyasaland in 1900 he set up the first mission school run by Africans in the country. As one of the few educated Africans, John Chilembwe played an important part in the struggle for the rights of his people.

Nyasaland (now Malawi) was then a British Colony. In 1914 when the first world war broke out more and more Africans were taken into the war as porters and soldiers. On the 26 November 1914 the Nyasaland Times printed the following letter:

We understand that we have been invited to shed our innocent blood in this world's war which is now in progress throughout the wide world... A number of our people have already shed their blood, while some are crippled for life... Police are marching in various villages persuading well built natives to join in the war... (But) will there be any good prospects for the natives after

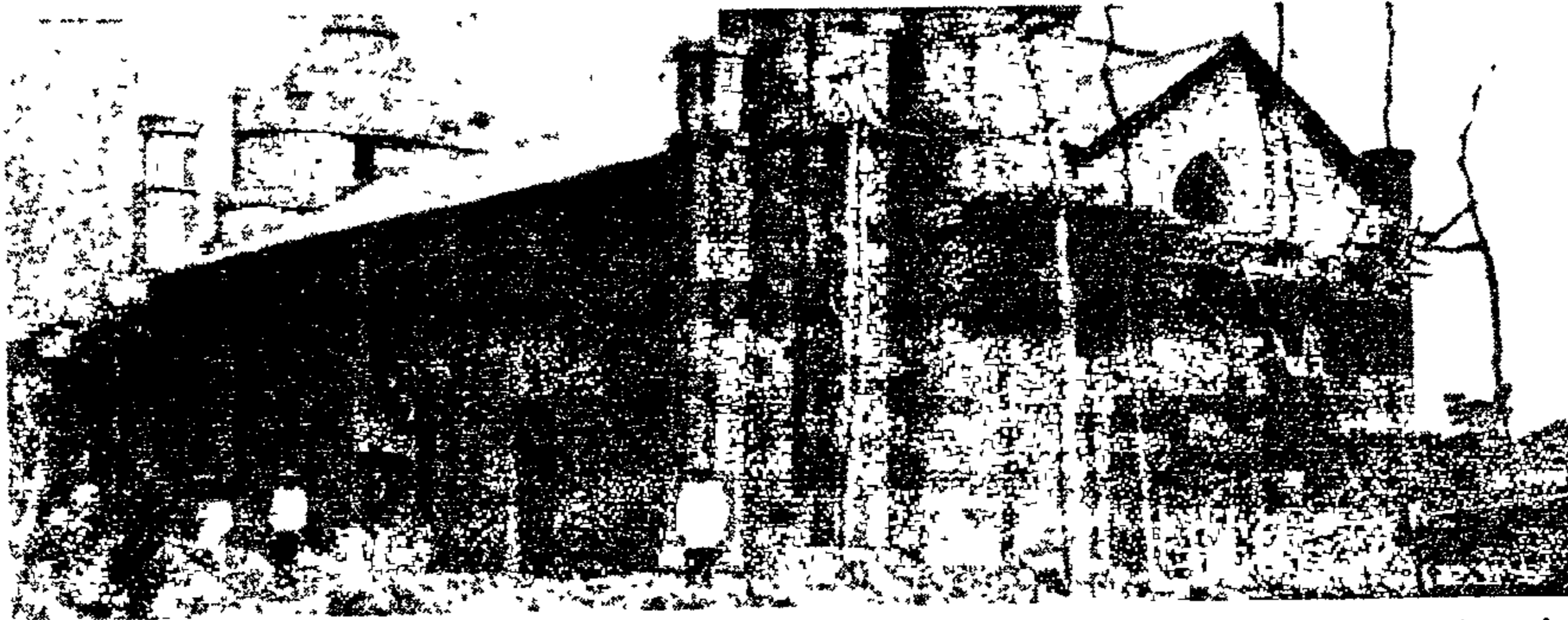
the end of the war? Shall we be recognised as anybody in the best interests of civilisation and Christianity after the great struggle is ended

... we understand that this... is a war of free nations against a devilish system of imperial domination and national spoliation... Let the rich men, bankers, titled men, storekeepers, farmers and landlords go to the war and get the shot. Instead the poor Africans who have nothing to own in this present world, who in death, leave only a long line of widows and orphans in utter want and dire distress are invited to die for a cause which is not theirs... We are invited to die for Nyasaland. We leave all for the consideration of the Government (and) we hope in the mercy of Almighty God, that some day things will turn out well and that Government will recognise

John Chilembwe

The independent African:

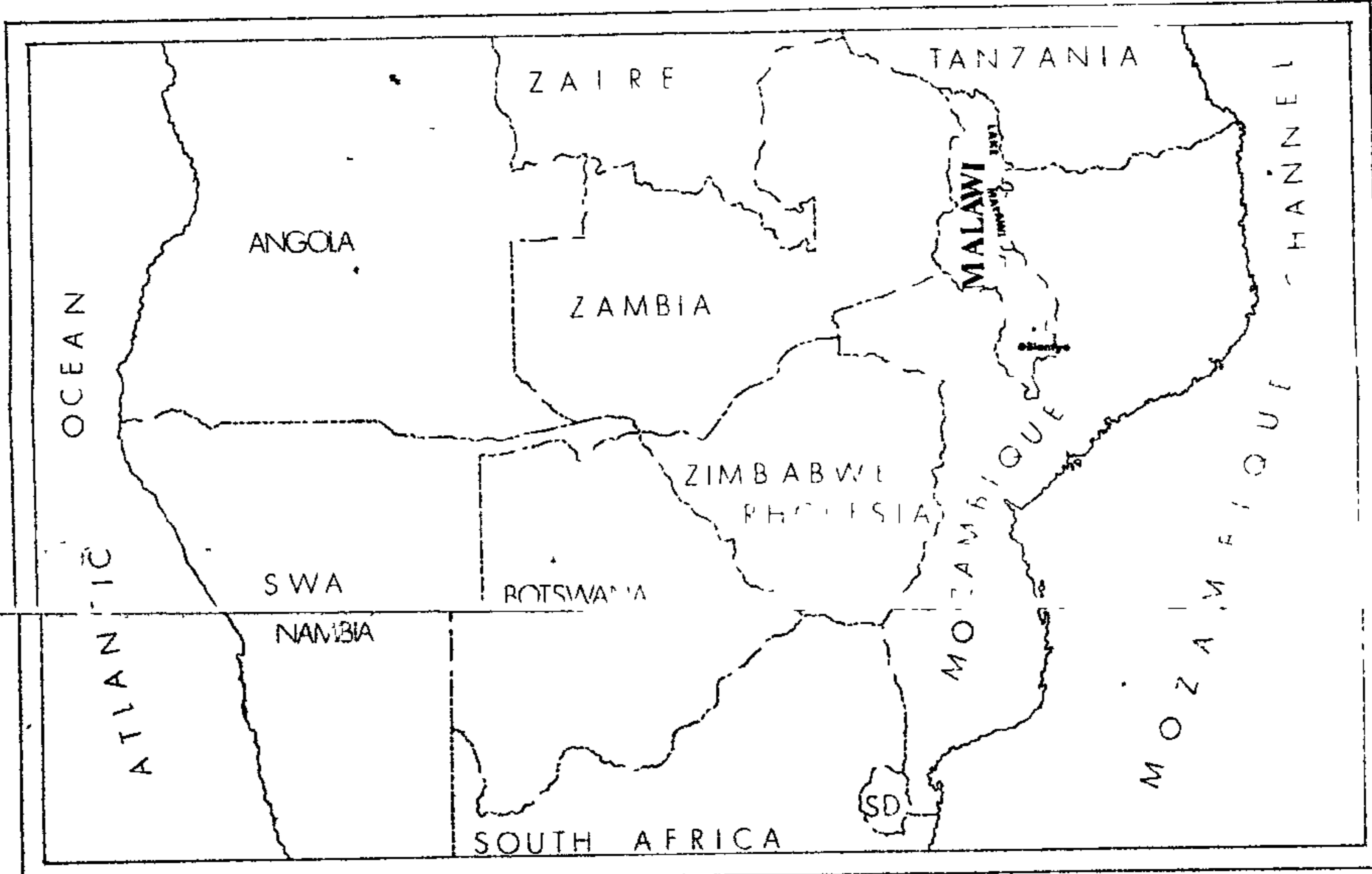
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01/1/19



John Chilembwe returned from the United States in 1900. He then built this church and a school. The church was blown up by the British administration during the uprising. It was rebuilt in 1926.



Rev John Chilembwe and family. John Chilembwe's wife, Ida, assisted in the teaching.



our indispensability, and that justice will prevail.

Signed: John Chilembwe on behalf of his countrymen.

WHY DID JOHN CHILEMBWE WRITE THE LETTER

For some time before the First World War started, John Chilembwe was concerned about the suffering of his people in Nyasaland. He had protested to the colonial administration about this and this letter to the Nyasaland Times was also an act of protest. After conquering the people of

Nyasaland, the British administration then enforced taxation system that made it necessary for the Africans to work on the farms of the white people. Hut tax, for example, had to be paid. And for this there had to be money and money could only be obtained by working on the white farms. Farm labourers were poorly paid and badly exploited. Racial prejudice was strong and the black man was a slave in his own land.

After writing the letter, John Chilembwe was warned that he might be arrested. John Chilembwe had hoped that his letter of protest to the government would have

had some results. Instead he now faced possible arrest.

Faced with what appeared to be a situation without hope and very little response from the British administration, John Chilembwe and his people looked for other solutions. Through December 1914 and January 1915 a number of meetings were held by John Chilembwe and his people. At one of these meetings they decided that some action had to be taken. Rather than continue to be enslaved and exploited they decided to "strike a blow and die, for our blood will surely mean something at last". On the Saturday morn-

ing of 23 January 1915, John Chilembwe held a meeting and addressed his followers:

"You are all patriots as you sit... This very night you are to go and strike the blow and then die. I do not say that you are going to win the war at all. You have no weapons with you and you are not at all trained military even... I now encourage you to go and strike you to go and strike a blow bravely and die."

That Saturday evening while most of the Europeans were celebrating at the Blantyre Sports Club, John Chilembwe and his followers began their at-

Inside today

Buying without cash
Page 3

THE BLACK FAMILY
(Page 4, 5)

The uprising lasted for about two weeks. On the 2 February 1915 John Chilembwe was tracked down in the bush and shot. Many of John Chilembwe's followers were executed or imprisoned. And so the Chilembwe uprising ended.

The British colonial government did very little to change the conditions of the Africans in Nyasaland after the uprising but John Chilembwe's uprising was not in vain. It was the first example in the movement for independent Malawi, and part of the greater struggle for a free Africa.

"Food in the villages": that, says President Hastings Banda of Malawi, medical doctor, elder of the Scottish church and African leader, extraordinary, is the beginning and the end of his politics.

The phrase is simple, but it symbolises the root of Africa's horrendous problems today. "Food in the villages" means a contented peasantry, rising agricultural output, reasonable prices in the cities, political stability. "No food in the villages" stands for starvation, unrest, sky-rocketing prices and an uncontrolled influx of peasants into festering slums in cities already unable to cope.

Mindful of the fact that 92 percent of his 5.5-million people live in traditional villages, President Banda has set about the business of ensuring them food (and all that stands for) with single-minded vigour.

He is openly scornful of some of the more ramshackle members of the OAU and he told Queen Elizabeth at a banquet in Blantyre recently that "we are one of the few countries in Africa now that balances its budget." He even told the monarch that "there are certain things we can learn from South Africa."

While many other African states secretly trade with South Africa, President Banda says he has nothing to hide.

He will deal with anyone (except communists' communist-state citizens even need visas to transit through Malawi's airports) if it helps the nation's progress and he recognises that South Africa, because of its wealth and proximity, is a key partner.

It is a resolutely independent line, but it has ensured that there is "food in the villages" and it has imbued the Malawian people with a fierce pride that "our country works."

The value of trade between Malawi and South Africa is close to R100-million a year. South Africa is also Malawi's largest single supplier, accounting for 35 percent of the nation's total imports last year. Britain remains Malawi's biggest market, however, and takes about 48 percent of her exports.

The South African connection is here for all to see. About 50 Safair Hercules freighters, with their

Banda's political creed works

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STAR
10/9/79

"Food in the villages" is the political motto of President Hastings Banda and South Africa plays a major role in helping him to achieve it. DEON DU PLESSIS, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Blantyre.



DR BANDA . . . he's on the ball.

high orange tails, lumber into Blantyre's Chileka airport every month, bearing everything from wine to electrical generators hydro-electric power supplies most of Malawi's energy.

In the semi-completed capital, Lilongwe — begun with an R8-million, long-term South African loan some years ago — the South African flag waves outside the embassy in a diplomatic row which also has embassies of eight other nations including Zambia and India.

South African finance built the rail line from Lilongwe to the Mozambique border in 1968, South African private enterprise is building an R11-million grain silo near

Lilongwe (the biggest single silo in Africa), South Africans are building roads in the north, there is agriculture and medical co-operation and on the shores of Lake Malawi, Africa's third biggest, South African experts are helping Malawians capture and export tropical fish a business worth R500 000 a year.

But the biggest single business of the nation is agriculture. With no significant mineral deposits and relatively small scale industry, farming contributes nearly half the domestic product and 95 percent of all exports.

The nation's main two export cash crops are tobacco (in which many Rhodesian expatriates are involved) and tea and Malawi is self-sufficient in food crops except wheat (which comes from South Africa) and beef which comes from both South Africa and Botswana.

The combination of open trade policies, particularly with South Africa, and massive investment in rural development and transport (a total of more than R70-million this year) has had extraordinarily beneficial results. Gross domestic product rose from less than R160-million at independence in 1964 to more than R760-million in 1977.

Malawi's publicists call this "the warm heart of Africa" and so long as the economic miracle endures and there is "food in the villages" there appears no reason why it should not remain so.

MALAWI TO HOST MEDICAL INDABA

ACTICE

MALAWI is to host a medical-legal workshop on issues involving community health care in Lilongwe from October 8 to 12, according to a newscast monitored here in Johannesburg yesterday. Subjects to be discussed include the use of paramedics in community health care, commercial advertising inimical to health, the use of medicinal drugs and legislation required to deal with these matters.

About 40 medical and legal experts from Bangladesh, Botswana, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi are expected to attend.

The workshop is being organised jointly by the Commonwealth Secretariat's medical and legal divisions in London in conjunction with the Malawi Government. Sapa

plant for R60 000
led at 12½% p.a.
is granted for
on the reducing
and 42% in 19.7,
and R50 000
ended 31.12.19.6

What is the balance on deferred tax account in respect of the plant at 31.12.19.7, assuming

- a) deferral method
 - b) liability method?
2. Show how the tax charge will be disclosed in the income statement for the year ended 31 December 19.7, assuming
 - a) deferral method
 - b) liability method

(assume there are no other items causing timing differences)
 3. How will the answer to 2. be affected by the existence of an extraordinary gain on disposal of a division of the company, amounting to R70 000, all of which was taxable, in the 19.7 financial year?
 4. How does the answer to 3. change if the R70 000 is now a deductible loss, which can be set off against the taxable income from other sources of R50 000? Draw up the income statement assuming the deferral method is used.
 5. Further to Note 4, assume now that the company has a set profit before depreciation of R60 000 in 19.8.

Draw up the income statement for the 19.8 financial year under a) liability method

b) deferral method

Assume the tax rate remains 42%

MALAWI

(70) p. 16/11/79

Fuel stranglehold

Malawi has been hit by a desperate shortage of fuel following sabotage of the railway line from Beira to Blantyre. All its fuel is railed from Beira in tank cars.

Though the Malawian press has printed not a word about it, visitors report queues of cars 70 long and three abreast at filling stations in the past week.

SAA says it has been asked to carry maximum fuel loads on aircraft flying to Blantyre to minimise their refuelling needs there. In ideal weather conditions, they would be able to fly the round trip without refuelling in Blantyre.

Freight forwarders in Johannesburg say emergency measures are being imple-

Financial Mail November 16 1979

mented to bail Malawi out, but precise details are not available. The West German government has reportedly offered help in airlifting fuel to Malawi from Beira, but this could not be confirmed at the embassy in Pretoria.

Malawi needs 100 tank cars of petrol and diesel fuel a week, last week it received six, and the week before that 50.

Sources in the freight trade say the railway line has been put out of action twice. It is not known who was responsible, but it could be anti-Frelimo forces which are becoming increasingly powerful in northern Mozambique, or Rhodesians who have struck deep into the country in recent months.

It is thought their object would not be to hurt Malawi but to demonstrate President Samora Machel's vulnerability.

One report says that the pilot tender in Beira harbour has also been sunk, making shipping reluctant to enter, though Unicorn shipping line marketing director Brian Davies says he has no knowledge of this. Unicorn operates a service to the Mozambique ports.

Davies says the main problem at Beira and Nacala ports is chronic congestion. Other sources say more than 100 000 t of cargo destined for Malawi is waiting in Beira.

It is also reported that aircraft using Beira airport, except those of Deta, the civilian airline, are being fired upon with small arms by anti-Frelimo rebels.

is consistently worse than that of the whites. The 'coloureds' have higher mortality rates for all the major causes of death apart from cardiovascular diseases and neoplastic diseases in men over 65 years of age, neoplastic diseases in women in this group, and cardiovascular disease in men 45-64 years of age during 1960 and 1970. Clearly the rate of 5/1 000 which has been chosen is entirely arbitrary but a similar pattern of mortality emerges if lower or higher levels are selected.

Two aspects of these age-cause specific mortality rates require emphasis. Firstly, whilst being affected by the incidence of the diseases in question, these rates are also influenced by their fatality rates, for example, a decrease in the mortality related to Tuberculosis will not only be influenced by a decreasing incidence of this disease but also by improved prevention - primary, secondary and tertiary levels of intervention which will consequently decrease the fatality rate and, therefore, the associated mortality.

Secondly, it should be appreciated that although the calculation of rate important for comparative purposes since they take into consideration underlying population, for the providers of health care the actual numbers are also of importance. This is particularly true for these groups which contribute a comparatively large proportion to the total population, for example 'coloured' children 0-4 years old. The different demographic files of the two communities for 1951 are presented in Fig 1, and this provides an indication of the age distribution of whites and 'coloureds'. The changes in this distribution which occurred between 1941 and 1970 for the purposes of the present study, of relative unimportance.

The expectations of life for 'coloureds' and whites are presented in Fig. 6. Although data has been published for Africans⁵, this is speculative and not considered to be of sufficient reliability to warrant inclusion. Different expectations of life have been included. (1) e_0 - the expectation of life at birth, and (2) e_{45} - the expectation of life at 45 years of age. Characteristically women have a better expectation of life than men, and Fig. 6 indicates that this is so for both whites and 'coloureds'. In fact, so marked is this difference that at e_{45} 'coloured' females have a better expectation of life than white males. What is perhaps of some concern is that the gap between the expectation of life for males and females is widening. This trend is apparent in both the whites and the 'coloured' communities, although it is particularly marked in the latter for whom Male Female deficit of 1,0 years in 1941 at e_0 has become 6,9 years in 1970. For whites a deficit of 3,7 years in 1929 has increased to 7,0 years in 1970.

Both white and 'coloured' females at the age of 45, and although the downward trend of both white and 'coloureds' has shown a marked improvement to note that neither 'coloureds' or 'whites' have reached expectations were in 1929. What also though the expectation of life ca it would appear that the 'coloureds' much lower age than has occurred

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FM. 23/11/79
PROJECT FINANCE

On the export trail

Hill Samuel's project finance operation has secured a R14m deal in Malawi. The financial administration of a new gram

Sho complex for the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation of Malawi has been taken over by Hillsam's Project Finance International (PFI). PFI has put together a loan package, of which the major portion is an IDC export credit for R14m insured by the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation at the standard Malawi rate. The shortfall is being met by way of a \$3m Euroloan (PFI's MD) Roger Grindy, will not reveal details of the loan except that a major international bank is involved and the loan is at competitive rates.

Grindy is also reluctant to give details of the cost of PFI's services to Malawi. He says: "Providing project finance is becoming increasingly competitive and charges are assessed on a case-by-case basis. Our charges for the Malawi deal are much more competitive than current

market rates"

The current project involves co-ordinating the two loans at the one end of the contract and the six suppliers at the other end. Suppliers will be making monthly claims to PFI, which will consolidate them and approach the IDC for the money. Hillsam will then pay the suppliers.

PFI is marketing its services internationally, following the trail of SA exports. Areas where PFI is hoping to expand its operations include Africa, South America and the Far East, notably Taiwan and Sri Lanka. Explains Grindy: "The marketing of most of our services is through the exporter. But where tenders are involved, we try to get close to the sponsor."

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R1,75m ORDER

NM 26/11/79

Malawi buys 170 rolling stock

THE BIGGEST consignment of South African-built rail wagons to be shipped from Durban was dispatched aboard the Norwegian freighter Thorscape for Malawi at the weekend.

The consignment consisted of 60 container carriages, two petrol tankers and 12 vehicle transporters

The R1,75m order, placed by the Malawi Railways in May this year, was a feather in the cap for Dorbyl, whose Germiston and Boksburg plants manufactured the 74 rail trucks to meet the group's delivery commitment in only six months

Container and petrol tank wagons were built at Germiston while the car transporters — in fact a portion of an earlier SAR order — arrived here from Boksburg after their brake systems had been modified from air to vacuum operation.

All cargo work at the Pier 1 Administration berth, which had begun on Thursday evening, was handled by the Thorscape's own gear Using twin 20-tonners in tandem over two hatches simultaneously, the Christensen Canadian African Line vessel managed well after initial problems with the bulky units

Individual mass of the container carriages was 14,4 tons, petrol tankers 23 tons and double-decker car transporters 28 tons

Follow-up

Mr Wallace Gordon, special projects engineer for the Malawi Railways, disclosed that a follow-up Dorbyl shipment involving 13 petrol tank wagons worth about R300 000 was to be taken on by the Thorscape's sistership, the Thor I, in mid-December

In both cases, the rail trucks are to be taken directly to Nacala, Mozambique, where ships' gear will place them straight on to rail tracks

With the exception of the car carriers, all are to be loaded at Nacala for their first payload run on to Malawi, possibly Blantyre," said Mr Gordon

He told me that these Malawi orders had to be seen as an ongoing process because his principals intended purchasing about 100 rail wagons annually for the next four or five years.

"South African manufacturers' prices are right and the quality of their products is excellent. So the chances are that all further contracts will be signed in this country," said Mr Gordon

Collaboration

The whole transport operation by land and sea in both countries is being controlled by the African Shipping Projects Division headed by Mr Adam Keathro

Mr Keathro, the Afship group's national project manager, said his organisation had been working in close collaboration with Elmac of Montreal and Agence Maritime Internationale of Malawi

About three months ago Elmac shipped 30 Canadian-built rail coal

Shipping



WILF SEIFERT

hoppers from Halifax to Beira on the Thorscape Agence Maritime Internationale, a subsidiary of Compagnie Maritime Belge, arranged the clearing and forwarding of this consignment through East African Shipping in Mozambique

Several executives involved in the latest project paid tribute to Durban's port manager, Mr. Pine Pienaar, for his "business-like approach to special requests and his tremendous efforts in removing all sorts of obstacles that could have hampered our work."

Permission

It is known that Mr Pienaar is responsible for permission being granted to the Thorscape to dock at the Administration berth I understand it was the first time that a commercial vessel has been allowed to handle cargo there

Mr Keathro said that the port manager had also made the arrangements for the grab dredger, L.R. Warren to deepen certain sections along that berth and to make a series of depth soundings to ensure that the Thorscape would have the necessary draught clearance when laden.

CONFIDENTIAL

SA flies fuel into a stalled Malawi

see 9/12/79

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SOUTH Africa and Botswana are airlifting petroleum products to Malawi in a bid to break the back of a crippling petrol shortage brought about by recent Zimbabwe Rhodesian raids in Zambia and anti-Frelimo sabotage in Mozambique.

According to informed sources in the capital of Blantyre, the blowing-up of the Trans-Zambezi railway at Inhamitanga between Beira and Blantyre has now completely cut off Malawi from its nearest source of supply.

Since Zimbabwe Rhodesian raids into Zambia have destroyed the vital bridges needed to bring petrol through the back door, motorists are being forced to spend hours queueing for petrol as rationing is strictly enforced.

"There is a special committee which sits to decide on petrol allocations, but there is no doubt the cutback is affecting all aspects of life in the country," a contact said.

He said the ludicrous part was that while huge cars stood stalled in the streets having run out of petrol and people queued two abreast for their rations, the local newspapers and radio stations still kept a tight lid on the release of information.

"Malawi has always been a country where nobody ever tells you anything," one informant said. "There are rumours galore about washaways having brought down bridges and things like that, which is preventing the petrol getting through, but nobody has yet

By MARSHALL WILSON

been specific about what is happening."

I understand giant freighters are airlifting emergency petrol supplies from Johannesburg's Jan Smuts airport and from Botswana, although officials here and in Gaborone have refused to confirm or deny it.

"But no matter how much they fly up I doubt the country can last much longer without the wheels of commerce and industry grinding to a halt," said one industrialist who visits Malawi regularly.

"The line to Beira is the important link and there is plenty of petrol in storage at the coast. If only they could get it inland.

"It is ironic how Frelimo used to blow up that line so regularly during the Portuguese colonial days, only to find the same thing being done to them and at the same spot when they themselves are in power."

Banda recruits executioner

LONDON — Malawi has imported an extra hangman to help with the executions that regularly follow secret trials, according to Dr Attati Mpakati, chairman of the opposition Socialist League of Malawi.

Mpakati, who is in Britain for medical treatment after his hands were blown off by a letter bomb earlier this year, says little is known about the regime of Dr Hastings Banda because the Press in Malawi is gagged. The only two newspapers allowed to exist serve Banda's interests — one is owned by the Government and the other by his Malawi Congress Party (MCP).

Foreign journalists are prohibited and overseas papers strictly censored, says Mpakati, who launched a

campaign in London this week to "restore democracy and human rights" to his country.

He claims that not all Malawi's political prisoners — there were some 2,000 of them — were released after the Amnesty International campaign of 1977, and that the "detention camps have been filling up again."

People simply disappear, he says, citing 18 statisticians in Zomba who were "put away" by Banda because they did not produce statistics he wanted to see. Banda has also warned relatives of detainees not to bother the police with inquiries if they value their own freedom.

Mpakati says beatings and electric-shock torture are normal in the detention centres, and so are deaths during interrogation. The Socialist League claims to have discovered a concealed mass grave near Limbe.

Membership of the ruling MCP has been made compulsory, says Dr Mpakati. "Without a party card, you cannot ride a bus, let alone get a job or buy food in the market."

The persecution of religious minorities has not eased, he says. Muslims in the Mponda district have had their mosques burned down and in the mid-70s thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses were brutally maltreated.

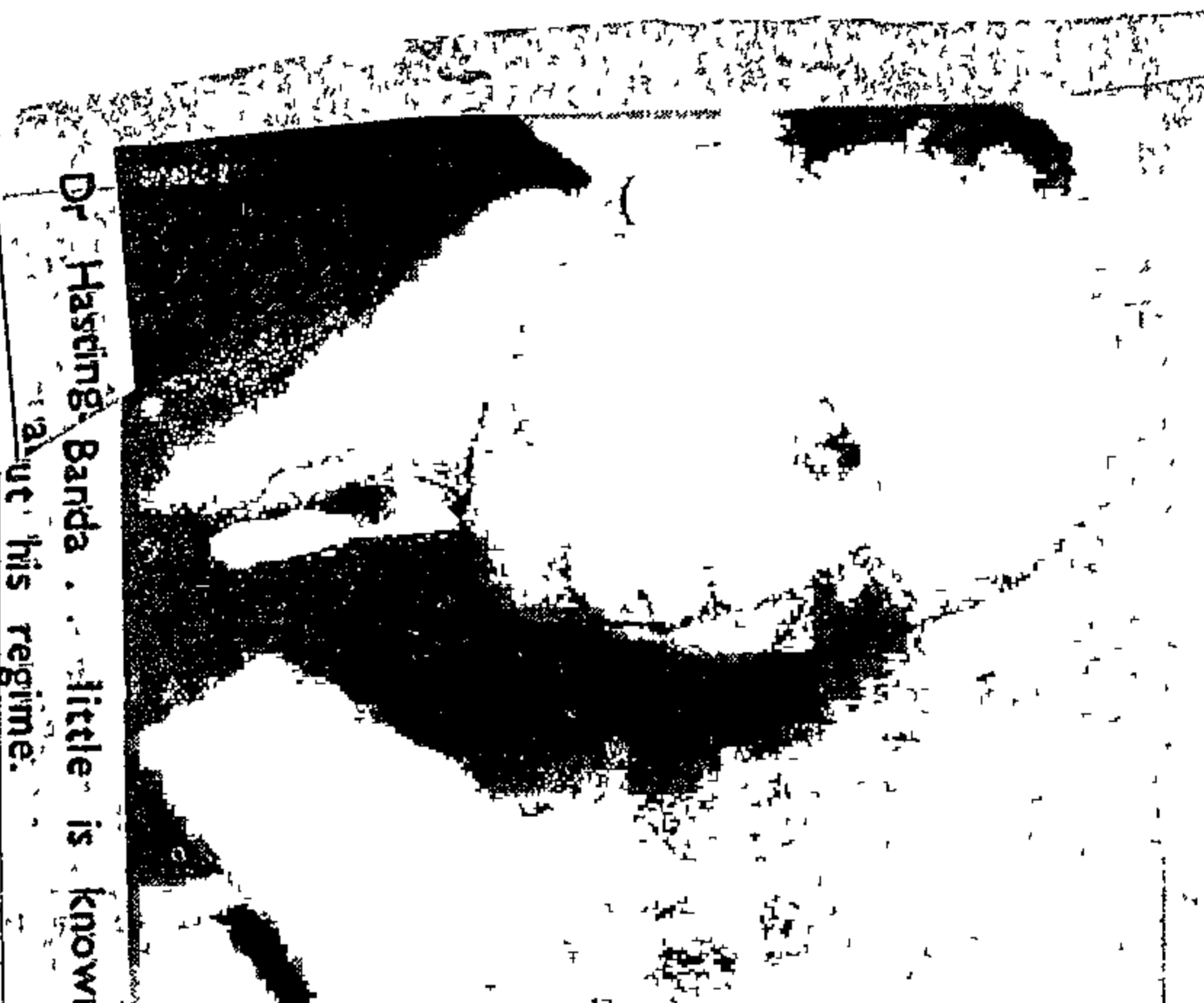
Trade union activity is restricted, with the unions set up by Banda and staffed by his men. Strikes are still banned, and in 1964 the Trade Union Congress was proscribed. Wages are extremely low — R2.50 a week for plantation labourers. Dr Mpakati quotes Banda as saying Africans don't need more money because they don't eat butter.

He accuses Banda's Malawi of sabotaging independence movements in Southern Africa. Malawi has been instrumental in helping Salisbury thwart sanctions, he says. "Rhodesian tobacco, for instance, has been channelled to an international auction floor at Limbe, from where it was re-exported as a Malawi product."

Mpakati alleges Banda is secretly creating a private army for the international Zimbabwe-Rhodesian black leader, the Rev Nkomo, as a counter-force to the Patriotic Front guerrillas.

Moreover, Banda maintains close ties with South Africa. Mpakati says the South African security agency trains Malawi security service. South Africans have military access to Lilongwe airport, and some of their men are garrisoned at Kamuzu barracks there to direct operations against Mozambique.

"South Africa is the life-line of the Malawi economy. Pretoria supplies over one-third of all imports and picks up the bill for many of Banda's prestige projects



Dr Hastings Banda, little is known about his regime.

André L. Simon.
Wine is Harmony. What melody there is for the Connoisseur in a glass of brilliant wine
This will make the glass sparkling bright.
Raise glasses in warm water with a little ammonia added to it.
oil. Then repolish.
To remove ring stains left on polished wood by bottles and glasses, rub well with a damp cloth dipped in cigarette ash and oil and use for cooking.
Preserve left-over wine in a bottle with a thin film of fresh taking spirits.
can be sipped with it. Do not blunt your palate before meals by Curry tends to kill any table wine; but a sweet muscated wine to tenderise any meat - and add flavour - soak for an hour or two before cooking. Always warm before adding to hot food.
In hot weather, do not hesitate to mix soda water with ordinary wine for a refreshing outdoor drink. It's an age old custom in Europe. In really hot weather, try chilling sherry before serving it as an appetizer muscated.
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Raise glasses in warm water with a little ammonia added to it.
This will make the glass sparkling bright.
Wine is Harmony. What melody there is for the Connoisseur in a glass of brilliant wine

Star

15/12/79

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Confusion over fuel airlift to Malawi

Confusion over the application of the Petroleum Products Amendment Act has led to one newspaper being allowed to publish a story on a fuel airlift to Malawi while another was barred from doing the same.

The Act restricts the publication of certain information about petroleum products which might endanger South Africa's fuel supplies.

It provides for a fine of up to R7 000, or imprisonment up to seven years, or both, for publishing such information.

The Press was asked to liaise with the Government to check what could be published.

Two weeks ago The Star approached the Department of Industries for permission to publish a story concerning the supply of petroleum products to Malawi, which is facing a critical shortage.

A spokesman for the department refused this permission.

Last weekend the story appeared in a Sunday newspaper which obtained permission to publish from the Department of Commerce.

The Star went back to the Department of Industries to ask why it had been refused permission to publish the story two weeks previously.

A reporter was told that confusion over the Act led to the anomaly.

The two departments concerned — Industries and Commerce — had different interpretations and were waiting for clarification, said a Government spokesman.

This would be given once a special committee comprising Newspaper Press Union and Government officials had been set up.

● Under the new streamlining of government departments, Commerce and Industries will become the department

Malawi - GENERAL

11/1/80 - 31/12/81

Fewer miners: neighbouring states suffer

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Reporter

A CUT-BACK in recruitment by South African mines is causing problems for the economies of some Southern African countries

But the Chamber of Mines has categorically denied reports that it is cutting back on Lesotho labour and favouring workers from Malawi and Mozambique

An Afrikaans morning newspaper claimed yesterday that 24 000 Lesotho miners had not been re-employed at the end of last year and were now unemployed

It said the mines were using less Lesotho labour and more from Malawi and Mozambique, and added that this had cost Lesotho R54-million

According to mining sources, the report follows claims on the Lesotho radio service about two months ago that Lesotho mine labour was being cut

A chamber spokesman denied yesterday that Lesotho men were being replaced, but added that the mines were now only accepting workers with valid employment guarantee certificates. These certificates are designed to encourage black miners to return to the mine on which they were working before their contracts ended

He stressed that "Lesotho is not being singled out for special treatment"

This policy ruling, which has been in force for some time, means that only men who have previously worked on the mines are re-engaged. It has been in-

roduced, the spokesman said, because "demand for jobs on the mines is keen and the mines have all the labour they need"

Indeed, the total number of black workers employed on the mines has dropped slightly recently

Mine labour plays an important part in the economies of most Southern African countries, and the cut-back is likely to be having an effect throughout the region

According to the chamber, 97 331 Lesotho men were employed on the mines in November, the last month for which figures are available

The chamber also issued figures yesterday which indicated that the Lesotho mine complement had risen from 92 387 in September 1978 to 96 350 last September

In 1975, the September figure was 83 306. September was chosen because it is the month in which the labour complement is most stable, the spokesman said

Mining sources speculate that the Lesotho concern has been prompted by the fact that novices from Lesotho are being turned away from recruitment offices because of the cut-back. Part of Lesotho miners pay is remitted to the Lesotho government, which thus stands to lose financially from any reduction in recruiting

The Mozambique authorities are also concerned about the reduction in recruitment there, although they have stated that they would prefer not to send any men to the mines

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Basutho mine denial

THE CHAMBER of Mines says there is no substance to suggestions that Basutho mineworkers are being replaced by men from Malawi and Mozambique.

Demand for mine employment is so keen that the mines are able to engage only men with valid re-engagement certificates. Workers who have completed a satisfactory term of employment are guaranteed re-employment if they return within a certain period, and this affects all areas in which the men are engaged.

The chamber says an indication that preference is not being given to workers from Malawi and Mozambique is reflected in the numbers of Basutho employed over the past five years in the month of September, which has relative seasonal stability.

The figure for 1975 was 83 306, for 1976 it was 88 281, for 92 875 in 1977. For 1978 it was 92 387 and 92 350 in 1979. The number of Basutho employed at the end of November was 97 331 compared with 36 912 from Mozambique and 18 434 from Malawi.

Basutho mineworkers last year sent home R31-million in deferred pay and remittances — more than for any other Labour source country, including Transkei — Reuter

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IX DISEASES OF THE DIGESTIVE SYSTEM

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,17	0,08	0,10	0,21	0,78	0,29	0,49	0,48
1-4	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,00	0,07	0,10	0,05	0,05
5-24	0,02	0,01	0,03	0,01	0,04	0,03	0,05	0,05
25-44	0,11	0,09	0,39	0,10	0,41	0,19	0,23	0,22
45-64	0,92	0,42	1,60	0,72	1,31	0,57	0,80	0,68
65+	1,80	1,16	1,61	2,44	1,91	0,75	1,44	0,91
ALL	0,31	0,21	0,33	0,16	0,33	0,17	0,25	0,20
NO.	653	430	116	56	370	201	533	329

XIV CONGENITAL ANOMALIES

	W		A	
	M	F	M	F
0-1	1,57	0,76	0,60	1,03
1-4	0,05	0,04	0,05	0,05
5-24	0,01	0,00	0,01	0,01
25-44	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
45-64	0,01	0,00	0,00	0,00
65+	0,02	0,01	0,00	0,00
ALL	0,04	0,02	0,03	0,04
NO.	87	43	9	14

Japan aids Malawi

BLANTYRE — Japan has said it will give Malawi R21-million towards the cost of an international airport for the country's new capital of Lilongwe, north-west of Blantyre

Mr Senkuro Saiki, Japan's non-resident ambassador to Malawi, said the money, previously offered as a loan, would be converted into a grant in recognition of cordial relations between the two countries

It is hoped the new airport will help stimulate trade and tourism and boost development in the central and northern regions

At the same time the Japanese Foreign Ministry has announced that the government will provide up to R705 000 in aid to Malawi to help construct a water supply system as part of the country's agricultural development projects

X DISEASES OF THE GENITO-URINARY SYSTEM

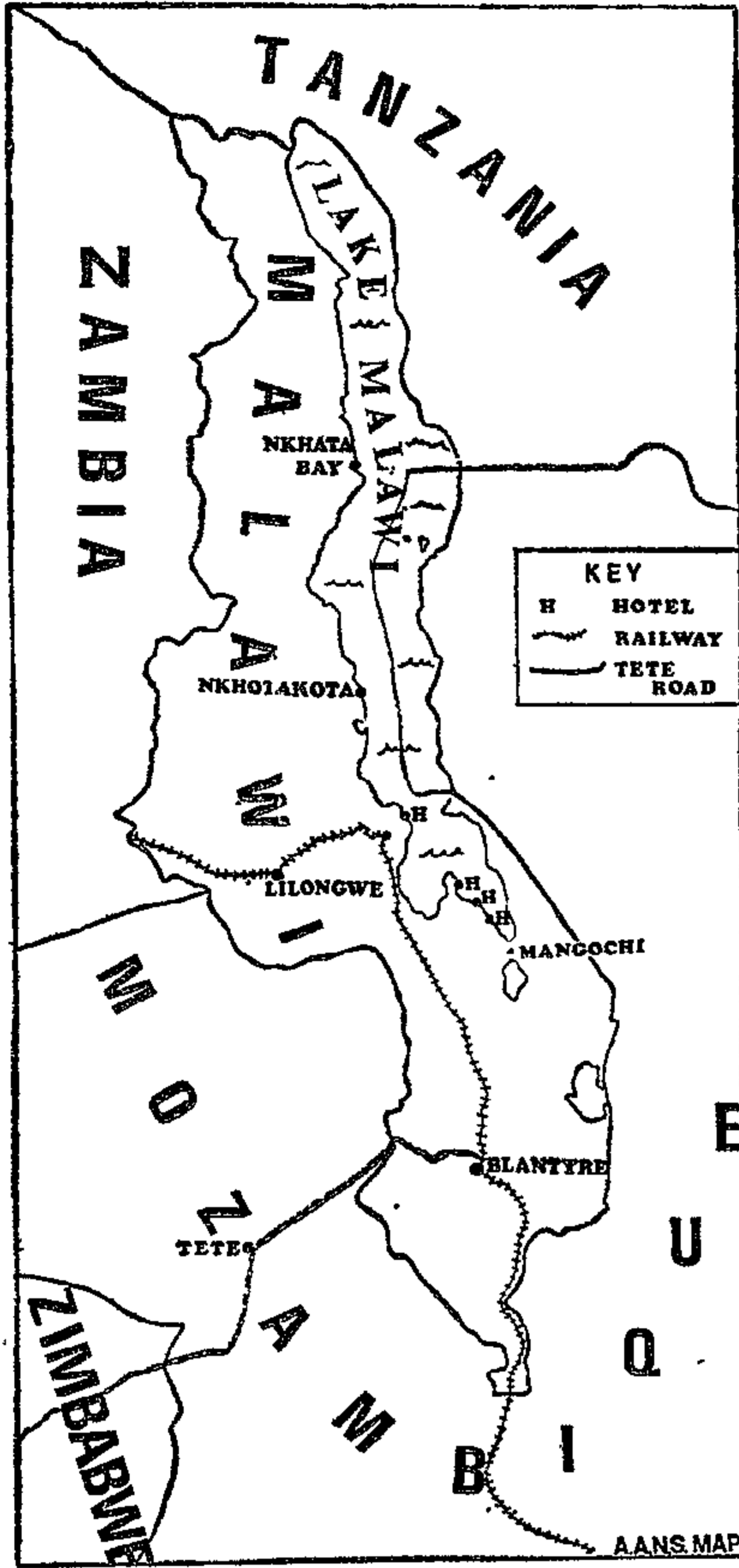
	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	0,02	0,03	0,00	0,10	0,25	0,10	0,04	0,06
1-4	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,00	0,12	0,14	0,02	0,04
5-24	0,02	0,01	0,04	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,03	0,02
25-44	0,02	0,05	0,06	0,09	0,17	0,13	0,06	0,08
45-64	0,23	0,19	0,44	0,37	0,36	0,36	0,34	0,25
65+	1,25	1,09	1,07	1,83	1,57	1,10	0,73	0,56
ALL	0,13	0,15	0,11	0,12	0,15	0,14	0,10	0,08
NO.	276	303	38	42	169	165	203	130

XV CERTAIN CAUSES OF PERINATAL MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY

	W		A		C		B	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
0-1	12,46	9,07	16,92	11,55	29,22	24,78	23,16	22,23
1-4	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,02	0,04	0,04	0,00
5-24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
45-65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
65+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ALL	0,25	0,17	0,48	0,32	0,83	0,67	0,55	0,67
NO.	519	359	170	113	942	785	1143	1075

Malawi's sternest challenge

5 APR 29 1980



try is in the midst of a liquidity crisis

One of the indications came this month when Spearhead Industries, the commercial arm of the Young Pioneers (youth movement of the Malawi Congress Party) was placed under judicial management. This came in the same week as an announcement that Malawi's Minister of Youth and Culture, Mr Gwanda Chakuamba, had been expelled from the party. Mr Chakuamba was head of both Spearhead Industries and the Young Pioneers.

Another of Dr Banda's former right hand men to be axed was Aleke Banda, one-time secretary-general of the ruling party who was also part-time chairman of Air Malawi.

Whether the President's economic purge is also extending to potential political opponents is not clear. No official reasons for Mr Chakuamba's dismissal have been given except for a brief reference in the Malawi Daily Times in which a delegation from Mr Chakuamba's southern district told Dr Banda they "were ashamed at what Mr Chakuamba had done".

Certainly Dr Banda's own position seems as unassailable as it has always been. Diplomats discount any tangible threat from the Mozambique-based exile movement Lesoma (Socialist League of Malawi). The number of political detainees in Malawi today is said to be as low as 30 — compared to 2,000 some years ago.

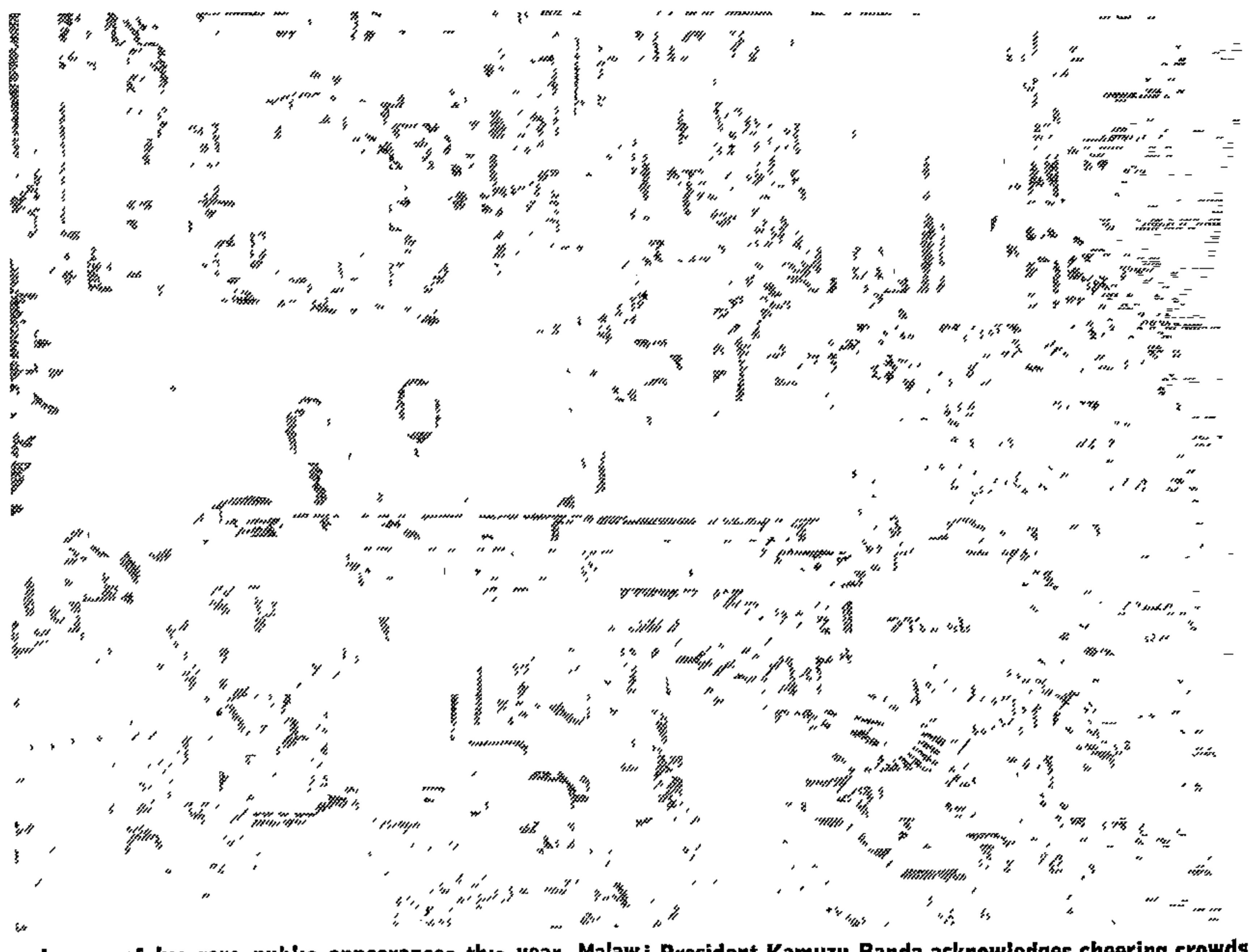
The economic reform measures, the streamlining of the civil service, the slowing down of government spending and the visible proof that Dr Banda is still at the helm have all tended to renew confidence after the flutter of nervousness in international monetary circles.

Concern

The biggest economic milestone around Malawi's neck, some observers believe, is the new international airport. Partly financed by foreign aid, it is a costly project to which Malawi is committed as part of its policy of encouraging growth in the long-neglected central region. The airport will serve the new capital Lilongwe, although there are some doubts that it will be the regional transportation hub of central Africa once envisaged, now that Salisbury has reopened to international traffic.

There is some concern too in international banking circles about the money Malawi is spending on the "trappings" of its new capital — the R13.7-million state house being constructed near Lilongwe, R8-million on the new Reserve Bank headquarters and R15-million on unspecified "army construction" work.

But Malawi's record on foreign aid is a good one and there is no reason why there should



In one of his rare public appearances this year, Malawi President Kamuzu Banda acknowledges cheering crowds on arrival at Blantyre's Kamuzu Stadium on March 30 at the start of a national youth week. Dr Banda's appearance put paid to rumours that he was seriously ill and was receiving medical attention abroad.

not be continued influx of foreign assistance.

As one financier put it: "Foreign aid to Malawi is spent or just that there is no money milked off into individual Swiss bank accounts. It is all above board and Malawi's loan repayments are always spot on the nail."

Malawi's aid comes from a variety of quarters — West Germany, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Japan, the International Development Association and the African Development Bank, among others.

South Africa has put up about R14-million in two phases for the capital city project, R2-million last year for agriculture and a further R10-million in January this year for "general economic development".

And South African private enterprise has put up R11-million through export credit for the 180,000 t strategic grain storage silo near Lilongwe — the biggest in Africa.

There are other heartening factors for the Malawi economy. The rise in world sugar prices will boost Malawi sugar estates (among its top revenue earners). And the Zimbabwe settlement will lead eventually to the restoration of Malawi's traditional road and rail links with Rhodesia via Mozambique, which in the long-term will cut costs of imports and transportation. The road route from Malawi through Tete is being given top priority although it may take up to two years before it is operational again.

All this comes at a time when Dr Banda's political

Robert Migabe has had personal talks with Dr Banda — the latest as

recently as early this year — and the two are understood to have struck up a good understanding despite Malawi's open trading with Rhodesia in the UDI years. There are moves towards establishing full diplomatic links with Mozambique and relations with Zambia have thawed considerably. A Zambian municipal delegation visited Malawi earlier this month.

The completion of the rail link from Lilongwe to the Zambian border town of Mchinji could provide Zambia with an alternative and economically competitive route to the Indian Ocean. In a goodwill gesture, Malawi recently gave Zambia a "gift" of 10,000 tons of maize to ease its own maize crisis.

Dr Banda's far-sightedness in driving Malawi towards agricultural self-sufficiency and the development of hydro-

electric resources from the Shire river will

the country against colossal sums of money needed to import energy. Western observers in Malawi believe

Malawi is not alone in the economic squeeze which is squeezing African countries. But it is better equipped than most to meet — and beat — the economic challenge of the eighties.

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(c) Argus Co, 1980.

wasteful" with money and were spending unnecessarily.

Predictably, Dr Banda pulled no half-measures when remedial action came.

Dismissed

In a blitz on statutory bodies, out went top executives in Air Malawi, Malawi Railways and the Malawi Development Corporation, among them two long-serving white expatriates. There was a staff re-shuffle in other civil service bodies including the country's export promotion council and the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation.

Government sources say there are plans now to bring in "professionals," some of them serving in banking institutions abroad and in the diplomatic corps, to bring a much needed infusion of new blood.

Air Malawi dropped its international flights to Europe and the Government is believed to have opted out of negotiations to buy a Boeing 747 from a foreign country.

All this was preceded by an emergency monetary package, pulling in the reins of the economy, which brought substantial restraint on credit, an increase in the bank rate as

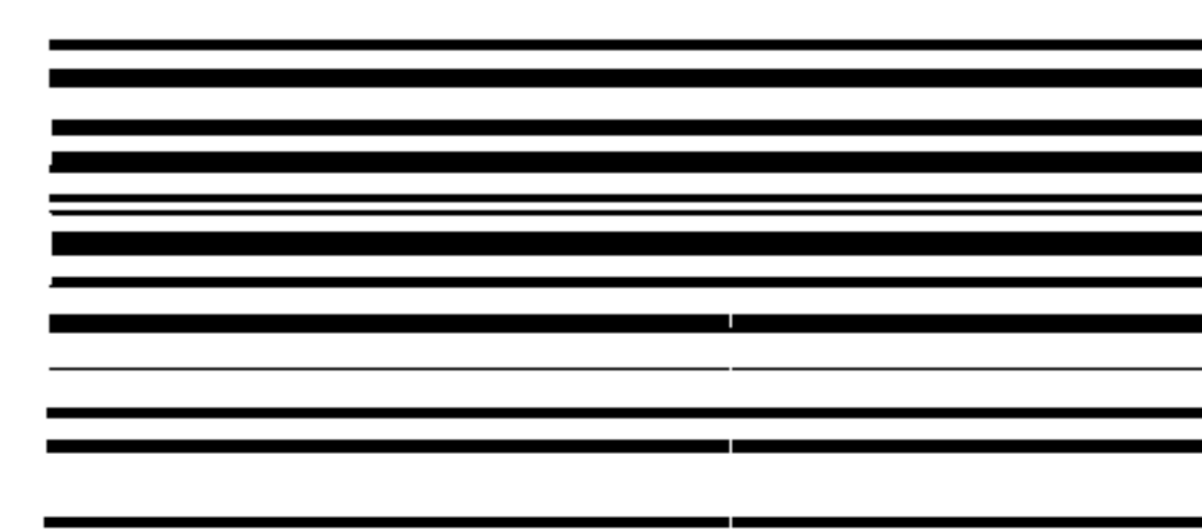
well as in the lending and deposit rates of commercial banks and financial institutions and cut-back on overdrafts.

Dr Banda himself quashed nervous speculation about his own health by his first public appearance for some weeks earlier this month at a youth rally at Blantyre's Kamuzu stadium. He had been in mourning for several weeks following the death of his sister. Diplomats believe rumours that he left the country earlier this year for a medical check-up abroad are unfounded. It is thought the rumours may have started in South Africa when a Malawi medical team came "shopping" in the Republic for equipment for a planned new intensive care unit and ambulance, to be used in emergencies involving Malawi VIPs.

Expelled

The economic measures have apparently met the requirements of an International Monetary Fund delegation which visited Malawi recently. Malawi is understood to have been granted special drawing rights on the fund, with no further restrictive measures being insisted upon for the time being.

What is happening now, is that the economy is being squeezed because of the strict credit controls and the coun-



The oil crunch, tumbling export earnings, rising import prices and now a crop failure have dealt Malawi, "the warm heart of Africa," heavy blows. But Life President Kamuzu Banda has acted swiftly to stem the disastrous tide. The result: a leaner, trimmer Malawi now faces the new decade. DAVID JACKSON of The Star's Africa News Service was afforded full facilities by Malawi authorities to assess the new realities, the first South African reporter to do so.

Banda tackles the '80s

170

STAR 29/4/80

LILONGWE — Skirting the fringe of the political whirlwind that has swept through southern Africa in the past few months and seemingly aloof from its power struggles, Dr Kamuzu Banda's Malawi nevertheless faces its sternest challenge in 16 years of independence.

Behind the veil of censorship and coolness to foreign news media which up to now have largely shielded events in his country from outside observers, the 74-year-old president has been moving swiftly and decisively to forestall a growing economic crisis.

The former London medical doctor has knifed through the country's civil service structure with surgeon-like precision, bringing in wholesale changes in the leadership of statutory bodies. He has also applied a package of monetary measures as a short-term remedy to stave off the country's creaking economy.

For while Malawi's 5.8-million people live in an atmosphere of political calm which make the state among the most stable in Africa, they are now feeling the pinch from economic factors over which landlocked Malawi has no control.

In a word the problem is oil. Or rather the cost of it. In common with other non-oil producing countries in Africa, Malawi has been dumped with a massive imported inflation because of soaring fuel costs and its chain effect on the price of foreign imported goods.

Aggravated

This has been aggravated by plunging prices on world markets for its main export tobacco — 35 percent down on average for top tobaccos on last year's prices — and lower export tea (the second major export) which has fallen in about 60 percent of Malawi's foreign exchange. The consequent strain on foreign reserves sent the first ripples of apprehension through an economy which until only a year ago was viewed as a model by the World Bank for the rest of Black Africa.

Malawi is a verdant, fertile land which impresses the casual visitor by the way this natural asset is put to use. Hardly an arable hectare goes to waste in producing crops either on the commercial estate or the hundreds of smallholdings tilled by peasant farmers up and down the country.

Malawi actually boosted its crop exports last year by more than 20 percent to a record R190 million.

But the balance of trade deficit still stands at about R11 million because

of the rise in the cost and volume of imports. The growth of imports was more than could be made good from price gains on major export crops such as tobacco, sugar and groundnuts.

Foreign reserves dropped by nearly R4-million last year according to figures tabled in the Malawi Parliament — although some independent economists put the figure as high as between R20 and R30-million.

Although no official statistics are available, inflation is currently estimated by economists to be running at 15 percent and rising. Malawi's Reserve Bank believes a more realistic estimate is around 11 percent. But this is still above the single-figure inflation rate with which Malawi managed to peg the cost of living in the seventies by stabilising the price of basic commodities — maize, cooking oil, soap. Thus seventy percent of Malawi's mainly agrarian population escaped the effects of world inflation. But as Dr Banda told Parliament a few weeks ago, "it has definitely caught up with us now."

Events moved to a head late last year when Malawi's fuel supplies through the Mozambican port of Beira were cut off for nearly three months when anti-Frelimo dissidents blew up a vital rail bridge inside Mozambique. For the best part of the dry season, Malawi industry all but came to a standstill as vital development projects ground to a halt and fuel had to be flown in by emergency airlift from neighbouring countries.

Disruption

The disruption and delays pushed up further the cost of prestige projects such as the new international airport outside the new capital Lilongwe.

(The new airport is conservatively estimated at about R35-million).

Snarl-ups at the clogged-up Mozambican ports of Beira and Nacala added to Malawi's woes by increasing the cost of imported raw materials. The overall position was worsened by a drought which led to the total failure of the maize crop in some parts of the southern region, with its inevitable spin-off on other sectors of the economy.

Against this background, there were rumblings about the squandering of funds by statutory bodies. This prompted a warning in Parliament to executives from Dr Banda himself in parliament that "whether or not they keep their jobs depends on their performance." A number of them charged the president with being "careless and

ied on our road

Zimbabwe peace puts Malawi out on a limb

22 170
M 23/5/80

LILONGWE — The Zimbabwe settlement could be a mixed blessing for Malawi, long the odd one out, politically and economically, among the black states of Southern Africa. The Malawi economy is facing its most difficult period since independence 18 years ago and the return of a major economic force to the regional market is regarded with considerable caution by both the Government and businessmen.

Hitherto, the stubborn independence of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Malawi's life President, has brought his country more benefits than disadvantages, at least economically.

As a result of his refusal to impose sanctions against Rhodesia, and the full diplomatic relations he maintained with South Africa, Malawi was one of the few countries to benefit from the sanctions era. Malawi's economic growth rate since independence has far exceeded those of its immediate neighbours.

Relations with Rhodesia have been close ever since Malawi belonged to the Central African Federation, although it was much a junior partner, and little more than a labour pool for the mines and industries of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Up to 1976 when Mozambique closed the border, Rhodesia was Malawi's third most important source of imports, and a major destination for exports.

The most important benefit of the sanctions years for Malawi was the rapid expansion of its tobacco industry to replace Rhodesian products in such traditional markets as Britain and the US. At the same time, difficulties in obtaining imports from Rhodesia provided an added incentive and protection for the creation of import-replacing industries in Malawi.

Malawi did not suffer like Zambia and Mozambique from the effects of the guerrilla war — the influx of refugees and bombing raids — but the dislocation of its transport routes has been a major and growing problem.

When Rhodesia's borders were closed, Malawi was left totally dependent on its rail routes to the Mozambique ports of Beira and Nacala. Apart from airfreight, only the road route through Botswana and Zambia, via the Kazungula ferry, sunk by Salisbury's security forces last year, provided a modest alternative to the increasingly inefficient and disaster-prone services of Mozambique Railways.

Malawi's transport problems have aggravated the economic crisis which has been gathering over the past two years. Stag-

nating prices for its main exports, tobacco and tea, and soaring prices for imports, especially fuel, have resulted on the current account of the balance of payments, from K33 600 000 last year.

Imports have been hit hardest: average delivery times from Nacala to Blantyre are more than 60 days, compared with only 13 for the return journey. Both ports are desperately short of handling equipment, and the rail lines have not been maintained. Derailments are frequent.

The settlement will open two new overland routes from Malawi: by rail from Umtali, in Zimbabwe, to Dondo, via Beitia, and north to Malawi, and by road from Salisbury to Blantyre via Tete in Mozambique.

For many important imports, such as coal, iron and steel, construction materials and processed foods, Malawi can look to Zimbabwe producers rather than South Africa, and consequently cheaper prices and lower freight rates.

A reduction in import costs could contribute greatly to a reduction in Malawi's inflation, and could improve the balance of payments. The road route, on which the first trial runs have been made, used to carry 500 tons of freight a week.

Reopening direct transport routes should also boost Malawi's exports to Zimbabwe, in particular rice and textiles, by reducing the freight content of their price. Zimbabwe is Malawi's biggest customer for rice, and has been throughout sanctions, but it has had to be shipped via Durban.

There are also obvious disadvantages. Malawi will no longer be the principal user of Beira. Malawi traffic will have to compete with goods from Zimbabwe, Zambia and even Zaire.

Yet Beira port is hopelessly congested, although it is only functioning at some 40% of its former capacity. Malawi's prestige new international airport at Lilongwe, due for completion next year at a cost of K80 million, could also be hit. It was planned as a regional centre for air traffic, yet that position is now much more likely to go to the Zimbabwe capital.

Malawi's tobacco producers are still uncertain about their future. The sudden return of Zimbabwe growers to the open market, with a stockpile estimated at more than 100 million kilograms, about a full year's production, has helped to depress tobacco prices this year.

The Malawi Government is talking about the urgent need to diversify into other crops than tobacco — particularly cotton and groundnuts — but such a process takes time. So, in the short term, real economic stringency seems inevitable, aggravated by a drought in the southern province which has cut the maize crop by a third.

The other complicating factor is Malawi's political stance. Ideological differences have so far prevented Malawi and Mozambique from having full diplomatic relations, and Mr Rob-

ert Mugabe's Government is sympathetic to Mozambique.

Malawi officials are confident they will have good relations with Mr Mugabe's Government. But they also know they need to improve relations with Maputo.

The transport problems in Mozambique have brought home Malawi's dependence on its neighbour. Indeed, as one shipping agent put it: "The best aid anyone could give Malawi now would be aid to Mozambique Railways." — Financial Times

War end mixed blessing

for Malawi (170)

STAR 5/6/80

elphinstone

LONDON — The Zimbabwe settlement could be a very mixed blessing for Malawi, long the odd one out, politically and economically, among the black states of southern Africa

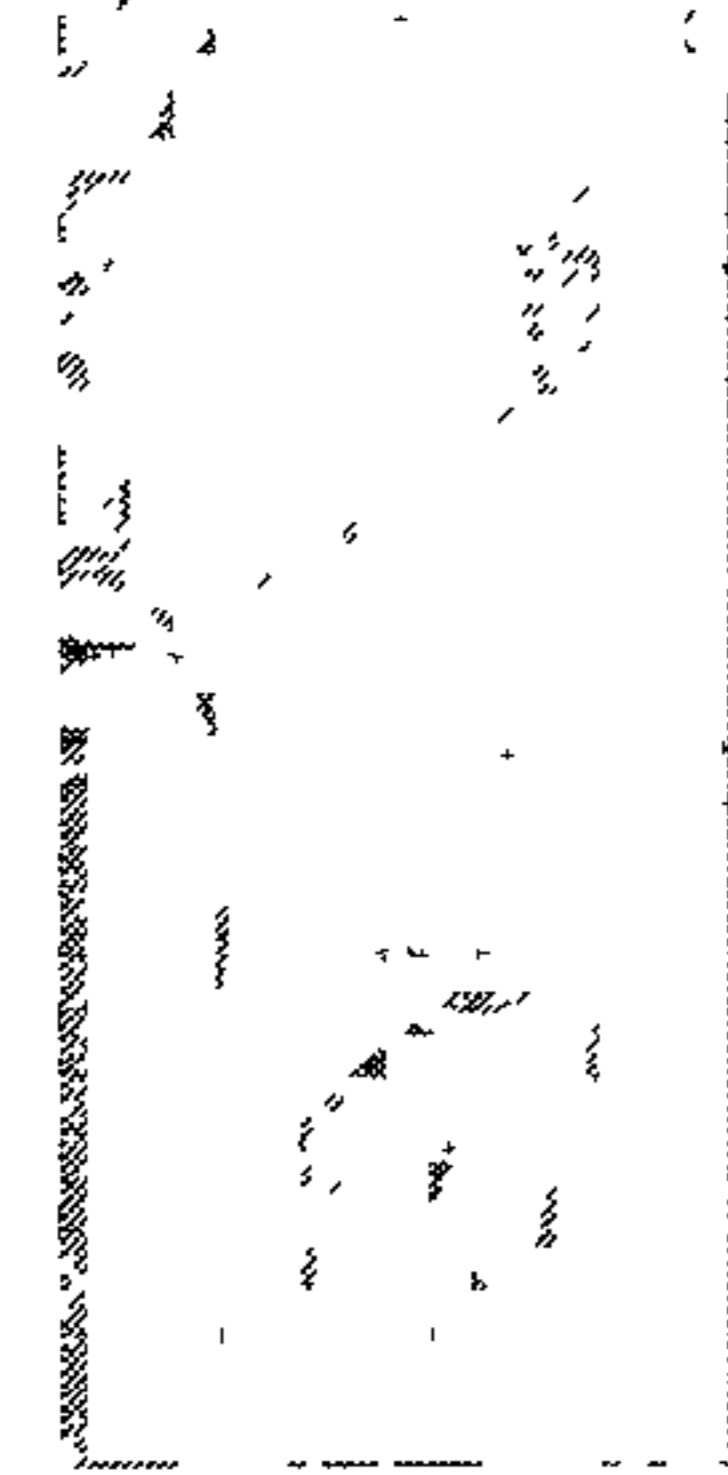
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Dr Banda: more benefits than disadvantages.

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HARD-HIT

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DROUGHT

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been denied this opportunity of becoming more closely acquainted with one of the oldest and most widely known of South African schools.

At the moment I am reminded of the sentiments expressed by a celebrated queen shortly after her arrival at King Solomon's court.

Disbelieving many of the reports reaching her country about the general excellence of Solomon and his institutions - she had journeyed personally to Jerusalem to verify their authenticity.

And when she had come and seen it all for herself - she stood amazed - for she had not been told even half of what she could actually see.

That is how I - in all sincerity - feel about St Andrew's - now that I have seen

more of a white south, with which Banda has maintained the most cordial relations. Indeed she is the only black African state with which SA has formal diplomatic ties. Her more left leaning neighbours could in time, either force Malawi closer to SA, by supporting opposition to Banda or cause a realignment with those states away from

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Malawi's enigmatic status as the "lost" frontline state in the southern African context, and political changes in the countries (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) bordering her, pose interesting questions for that country's future direction

It has been suggested that "the election of Mugabe seems certain either to further isolate Banda's regime, or to force Malawi into line with the consensus of African opinion"

Malawi's has long been a thorn in the flesh of Pan-Africanist opposition to the

MALAWI FM 6/6/80 (170) What of the future?

met Mugabe before Zimbabwe's independence. Yet his rightish political stance, support of the internal settlement and for Ndabaninge Sithole in particular, make it unlikely that relations with Mugabe will be more than merely formal.

However, a pragmatic Mugabe will have an eye to recovering some of the trade — 39% of Malawi's imports came from Rhodesia before UDI in 1965 — lost to SA during the civil war. The value of SA-Malawi trade is in the region of R190m annually with SA accounting for about 38% of Malawian imports. Venter tells the *FM*.

Nor can Malawi afford to alienate Mozambique with its rumoured support of anti-Frelimo groups. These are said to be backed by Banda's friend and former honorary consul to pre-independence Mozambique, the Portuguese businessman, Jorge Jardim. Malawi is sensitive to having secure harbour outlets (Ncala and Beira), and the recent destruction of a railbridge to Beira by anti-Machel groups cannot be in its interests. Malawi is thought to be seeking to improve diplomatic relations with Mozambique.

President Hastings Kamuzu Banda has always ruled Malawi with a strong arm — brooking no opposition. Accompanying this authoritarianism, Banda has dramatically modernised Malawi's agriculture, thus making it one of the few African states self-sufficient in food.

The four exile opposition parties have to date posed no significant threat to the *status quo*.

However, the recent launching of the People's Liberation Army of Malawi, armed wing of the largest opposition party, the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), could be the harbinger of active resistance in line with Lesoma's aim of toppling the Kamuzu.

Large membership

Lesoma claims a membership of 15 000 inside Malawi. Its headquarters are in Dar-es-Salaam although its leader, Dr At-tati Mpakati, an economist, lives in Maputo where he is employed by the Central Bank of Mozambique.

Mpakati is thought not to be well-known in Malawi, having fled the country in 1964, and late last year he was a victim of a parcel bomb apparently sent by Banda's agents. He lost both his hands. His party has not been a cohesive force, and has been plagued by personal rivalries and internal squabbles, especially between the old guard leadership and younger members based in Zambia and Tanzania.

Despite the launching of an "armed wing," it is not clear where Lesoma hopes to acquire its military hardware or who will train its cadres. The exiled party has had ties, however, with the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba, and Tanzania has made available to Lesoma three military bases at Mgulani, Rangale



Malawi's Banda . . . long lasting leader

and Nachingwea. The extent to which training of Malawian guerrillas occurs is unclear.

The three other opposition groupings are the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo) led by Orton Chirwa and based in Tanzania, Congress for the Second Republic (CSR) led by Kanyama Chume, and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) founded by Henry Chipembere after the coup attempt shortly after Malawi's independence in 1964. The party has been disorganised since Chipembere died in the US in 1975.

The overthrow of Banda in the near future is unlikely. The frontline states have enough of their own problems without busying themselves too much with Malawi's internal affairs.

Observers think a more likely scenario is that they will try to tempt him away from SA — especially if the idea of a counter-constellation gets underway. Malawi would then play a pivotal role in such a regional economic grouping of black states.

However, Banda does represent a conservative state in a "progressive" region. And although Malawi is notoriously difficult for anyone attempting to gauge its political climate, the President has built a certain grassroots support through the cell system of the 20 000-strong force of Young Pioneers.

This organisation has considerable economic clout through its business wing, Spearhead, with interests in agriculture, transport and the retail trade. It has also undertaken many rural development projects.

Whoever controls the organisation has, potentially, great political power. It is significant therefore, that Banda recently

dismissed the director of the Young Pioneers, Chakwamba Phiri — an example of Banda's habit of cutting short any rising political star or potential successor.

A similar fate recently overtook Aleke Banda, the most powerful economic figure in the country, who was dismissed as group manager of the Press Holdings, the ruling Malawi Congress Party's business concern, and as chairman of the Commercial Bank, National Bank of Malawi, the Malawi Insurance Company, Air Malawi and other concerns.

The dismissals are signs of a political and economic malaise the country is currently experiencing. Many state-funded operations including the Malawi Development Corporation, the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (Admarc), Press Holdings and Spearhead are heavily in debt, and the country now faces severe debt servicing problems.

Finally, Banda is old. He has not lined up any potential successor, as Kenyatta had in Daniel Arap Moi. When he dies, a power struggle between ethnic factions cannot be ruled out. Thus destabilised, there is strong possibility of Lesoma stepping into the breach.

Note
STRIK

Malawiërs kou harde bene

DIE Malawiese ekonomie gaan tans gebukkend onder die hoë pryse van sy invoere, die ietwat laer pryse vir sy hoofuitvoerprodukte en 'n ontwinging van sy handelsroetes.

Die landbousektor — die lewensbloed van die ekonomie — beleef ook moeilike tye weens stygende produksiekoste en 'n droogte vanjaar in die suide. Verlede jaar was daar reeds 'n merkbare verlagings in sommige van die kleinboere se produksie.

Gepaard hiermee, is likiditeit in die land aan die opdroog weens streng beheermaatreëls wat die owerheid in Augustus verlede jaar ingestel het om

binnelandse kredietophoping te bekamp.

Ook nie die minste nie, as dat die regering vanjaar verwag om R32,6 miljoen aan rente en terugbetalings op buitelandse lenings te betaal. Dat dit wel gedoen sal word indien dit nodig blyk te wees, is seker.

Malawi het 'n besondere reputasie vir kredietwaardigheid in die buiteland opgebou sedert onafhanklikheidswording in 1964 en die lewenslange president, dr. H. Kamuzu Banda, is gesteld daarop

dat dit te alle tye gehandhaaf word.

Malawi is hoofsaaklik van sy landbou afhanklik en 90 persent van alle uitvoere is landbouprodukte. Hoewel die bruto binnelandse produk teen konstante pryse in 1979 met 6,2 persent gestyg het, is ietwat laer pryse vir die hoofuitvoerprodukte — tabak, tee en suiker — behaal.

As dit nie vir verhoging in produksie in die regerings-landgoedsektor was nie, sou buitelandse verdienste seker minder as verlede jaar se R190 miljoen gewees het. Invoere was egter 15 persent hoër met R328 miljoen en die gevolglike tekort op die lopende rekening R138 miljoen.

Die geweldige styging in die prys van olie en 'n ontwinging van die handelsroetes wat veroorsaak het dat petroleumprodukte 'n ruk lank per lugvrag ingevoer moes word, het veral 'n nadelige effek op 'n ontwikkelende land soos Malawi wat deur land omring is.

Die nywerheidssektor, wat moer ontwikkel het onder die toesig van die Malawiese Ontwikkelingskorporasie, het probleme met die verkryging van grondstowwe ondervind weens verdragings by die twee invoer- en uitvoerhawens in Mosambiek, Nacala en Beira.

Die vervaardigingssektor het maar met 3 persent in 1979 uitgebrei. Hiervan was die aandeel van klere, skoel en tekstiele alleen 30 persent. Die vervaardiging van kos, drank en tabak sowel as uitvoer-nywerhede het nie eers met 1 persent gegroei nie.

Weens die laer pryse wat kleinboere vir hul landbouprodukte behaal het en die styging in invoerkoste, het binnelandse krediet ongesond toegeneem. Die Malawiese reserwebank het in Augustus verlede jaar tussenbeide getree en alle verdere krediet stopgesit.

Die likiditeitsverhoudings van die handelsbanke is verhoog en die minimum- en maksimum-uitleenkoerse is in Augustus en in Maart verhoog.

sodat hulle nou op 13,5 persent en 18,5 persent onderskeidelik staan.

'n Verdere drastiese maatregel is ingestel om invoere te ontmoedig. 'n Deposito van 20 persent op die waarde van invoere word vereis wanneer 'n bestelling geplaas word en eers terugbetaal wanneer die goedere aanland. Met die verdragings in die vervoer van die goedere is dit 'n swaar las vir invoer-

Die Malawiese geldleenheid is die Kwacha en daar is 100 Tambala in 'n Kwacha. Die huidige wisselkoers van die Rand tot die Kwacha is R1,0115 per Kwacha. Daarom is al die Kwacha-bedrae in hierdie artikels eenvoudig in Rand weergegee.

ders om te dra, veral omdat hulle nie krediet kan kry nie.

Meer as 53 persent van die huidige jaar se ontwikkelingsbegroting — wat hoofsaaklik deur buitelandse lenings en toekennings gefinansier word — is vir die ontwikkeling van die landbou- en vervoerbedryf opgesit.

Vanjaar sal nagenoeg R86,6 miljoen se lenings — bo en behalwe toekennings of vergoedings — in die buiteland verkry moet word om die begroting te laat kloep. Geen wonder dat die opdrag deur die president se kantoor gegee is dat lenings met makliker terme gesoek moet word nie.

'n Aanduiding van hoe likiditeit besig is om op te droog, is private belegging wat met 14 persent in 1979 gedaal het. Tussen 1975 en 1978 het private belegging skerp gestyg. Totale belegging het egter in die vyf jaar tot 1979 met gemiddeld 17 persent per jaar gestyg weens die openbare sektor se aandeel in die ontwikkeling van die land.

Kapitale projekte sal egter in die toekoms gerasionaliseer moet word. Reeds in 1979 was die totale belegging 10 persent laer op R238 miljoen. Projekte wat die minimum buitelandse finansiering nodig het, sal eerste aangepak word.

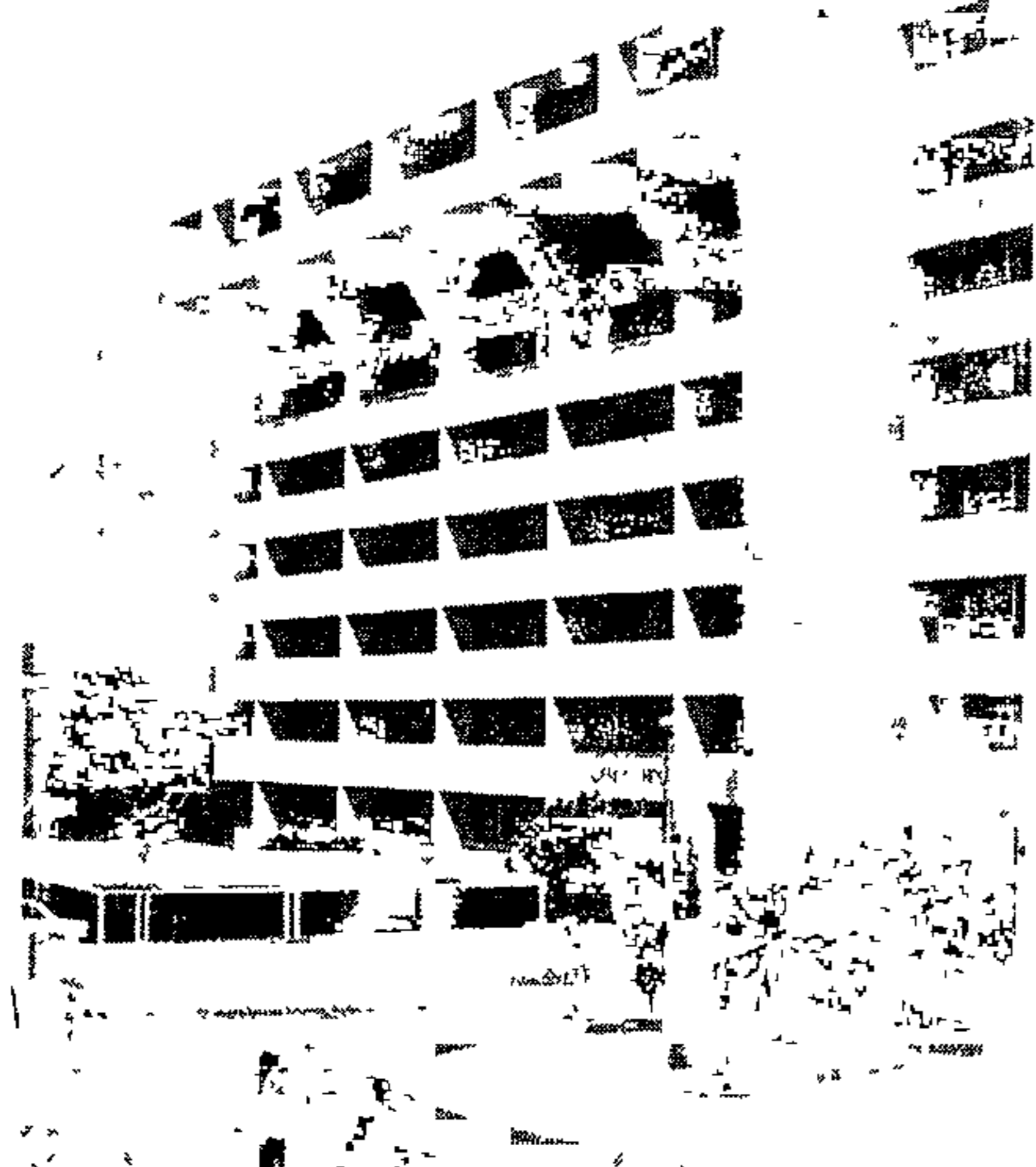
Handelstekort met Suid-Afrika

MALAWI se handel met Suid-Afrika is sterk in die guns van Suid-Afrika. In 1979 is R135,4 miljoen se goedere en dienste van Suid-Afrika ingevoer en is net R9,4 miljoen na Suid-Afrika uitgevoer — 'n handelstekort van R126 miljoen aan Malawi se kant.

Totale invoere van Malawi het in dieselfde jaar R328 miljoen beloop, sodat Suid-Afrika vir 41 persent van die land se invoere verantwoordelik was. Dit maak hom verreweg Malawi se grootste handelsvennoot aan die invoerkant.

Die produkte wat na Suid-Afrika kom, is tee, gedroogde groente, Burley-tabak, ruwe katoen, grondbone, koffie, tung-olie en rys.

Uitvoere van Suid-Afrika na Malawi was produkte van die meule naarsbedryf, mout, beenlym, minerale brandstowwe, oles, distillate, wismisstawwe, chemiese produkte, yster- en staalgereedere, stoomketels, asjinerie, megamesse toebehore, voertuie, kunshars, plastiekmaterialie, rubber, aptekersprodukte, papier en papierbord.



Een van die baie kantoorgeboue en winkelsentrums in Capital City, binne loopafstand van Capital Hill

Hoofstad in net 10 jaar verskuif

SEKER een van die indrukwekkendste bouprojekte in hele Afrika is die bou van die nuwe Malawiese hoofstad Lilongwe. Vir 'n land so klein soos Malawi kan dit met die bou van 'n enkele nuwe stad in 'n groter land vergelyk word.

Waar daar tien jaar gelede net veld en ruie plantegroei was, staan daar nou nege regeringskantoorgeboue en 'n hele nuwe stad van winkels en kantoorgeboue. Die hele vorige hoofstad Zomba, en die meeste van die regeringsamptenare het binne 'n dekade na Lilongwe verhuis.

Wat die oprigting van Lilongwe en die trek na die nuwe hoofstad des te indrukwekkender maak, is dat Zomba 300 kilometer daarvandaan is en Blantyre omtrent 370 kilometer. Waar daar niks was nie, staan daar nou regeringsgeboue ter waarde van tussen R150 miljoen en R200 miljoen, en kommersiële eiendomme ter waarde van 'n soortgelyke bedrag.

Nie te ver van Lilongwe nie word 'n nuwe internasionale lughawe gebou, wat alleen tussen R60 en R85 miljoen gaan kos. Die infrastruktuur, huisvestings, landskap, weermagkaserne, hospitaal, politieke party-hoofkantore, 'n bykomende hotel en dies meer is alles nuut.

Tot tien jaar gelede was Lilongwe 'n binnelandse dorpie met 'n bevolking van ongeveer 20 000. Vandag reik die bevolking na 180 000 en bestaan die stad uit drie afsonderlike komplekse. Die ou Lilongwe, 'n nuwe handelskompleks genaamd Capital City en die regeringsgeboue by Capital Hill.

Die regeringsafdelings het al sak en pak na Lilongwe verhuis, hoewel sommige nog nie in hul eie regeringsgeboue gehuisves is nie. Die uitsaakorporasie, reserwebank en soortgelyke instansies is aangesê om ook soontoe te verhuis sodra daar vir hulle plek is.

LANDBOU HOEKPAAL VAN DIE EKONOMIE

MEER as 90 persent van al Malawi se uitvoere is landbouprodukte. Die totale uitvoere vir 1979 het R190 miljoen beloop, waarvan landbouprodukte R174 miljoen bygedra het. Net 'n skrale R11 miljoen se uitvoere was vervaardigde produkte. Die orige R5 miljoen was her-uitvoere.

Tabak is die vernaamste uitvoerprodukt en verlede jaar het verdeenste uit hierdie oord R104,5 miljoen beloop — 'n tammaai 55 persent van alle uitvoerverdiens. Tee was in die tweede plek met 16 persent en suiker in die derde plek met 12 persent.

Die verdienste uit suiker het verlede jaar verdubbel in vergelyking met 1978 se uitvoerverdiens. Die produksie het egter met net 15 persent in 1979 toegeneem vergeleke met 1978, en die hoër verdienste was byna uitsluitlik aan die goeie pryse wat in die tweede helfte van die jaar op wêreldmarkte behaal is, te danke.

Grondbone se verdienste het ook verlede jaar geweldig toegeneem — met byna 90 persent — en was vir 5 persent van totale uitvoerverdiens verantwoordelik. Ander produkte soos rys, katoen, bone, sonneblomsaad en koffie het maar minder as 4 persent van die totale uitvoerverdiens opgemaak.

'n Produkt wat deur ongeveer 95 persent van alle kleinboere bewerk word, is mielies. In 1979 is die mielie-oes swaar getref deur weersomstandighede, maar die land was in die algemeen selfversorgend in hierdie voedselsoort.

Een vyfde van Malawi is onder water. Die Malawi-meer strek in sy lengte oor driekwart van die land. Driekwart van die oorblywende landdeel word deur kleinboere op hoewes bewerk.

Verskeie landbou-ontwikkelingsprojekte — in al die dele van die land — is reeds sedert die vroegste jare na onafhanklikheid op 6 Julie 1964 aan die gang. Boeregesinne word op kleinhoewes opgelei om die beste uit die land te haal.

Honderdduisende kleinboere hou vandag die Malawiese landbousektor aan die gang. Dit sou chaos veroorsaak indien hulle almal self hul produkte na die mark of veilings moes bring. Daarom is 'n unieke bemakingstelsel ontwikkel.

'n Liggaam is gestig om na al die boere se landboubehoefte om te sien — die Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation, Admarc. Hierdie liggaam het in 1971 by die Boere-Bemakingsraad oorgeneem.

Nie net verseker Admarc vir alle boere 'n prys — wat voor 'n seisoen bepaal word — vir hul produkte nie, maar die organisasie gaan self na die boere om hul produkte te koop.

Sodra 'n oes gereed vir bemaking is, word dit na opkoopstasies in selfs die mees afgeleë plekke gebring en aan Admarc verkoop. Dit word dan na opslagplekke oor die hele land gebring en weer verkoop, of binnelands — in die geval van mielies — of in die buiteland.

Admarc sorg ook vir die verbetering in die standaarde van landbou, die uitbreiding van uitvoerprodukte, en dit help boere met hul aankope van landboubenodighede. Daarby bemark die organisasie Malawi se produkte in die buiteland.

Deurdadig Admarc sy vinger op die buitelandse pols het, is dit in 'n posisie om sekere landbouprodukte se bewerking te bevorder indien daar 'n leemte in die uitvoermark bestaan, of in die binneland.

THE NEWS

Malawi's battle

to

build

the

new

and

preserve

the

old.

By David Jackson,
The Star's Africa
News Service

Rising up out of forest and bushland in an explosion of green landscaping and modern buildings is Lilongwe, the garden city capital of Malawi.

In a little over ten years, what started as a dream by Malawi's first president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, has been transformed into reality.

The concept — to move a nation's capital from the old colonial seat of Government at Zomba and to carve a new administrative and commercial centre vitally out of virgin countryside — was daunting in the extreme.

While imprisoned during the 1950s, so the legend goes, Dr Banda had three visions for his country — the building of a lakeshore highway, the establishment of a University of Malawi and above all the moving of the capital from Zomba to Lilongwe.

Finally in 1965, a few months after independence, President Banda announced the plan for the long-awaited move. It was prompted by a need to establish a new growth

point in the centre of the country, to redress the economic imbalance in which commercial and industrial development was centred largely on Blantyre in the south. Then too, the new Lilongwe would concentrate government administration at one city instead of being split between Blantyre and Zomba.

While some foreign bankers balked at the prospect, South Africa gave the project a launching pad with an initial \$15-million loan in 1965. Work started a year later to a master plan prepared by South African consultants on the first phase — Government offices, roads and residential areas.

Today nine Government ministries in buildings of ultra-modern design, named "Capital Hills", are imposing tree-lined avenues which look down on the embryonic city across the sweep of a landscaped park. A new State House is under construction, full-side the city, and Houses of Parliament will eventually be transferred from Zomba.

More than \$100-million has been pumped into development so far. Denmark provided aid for a new hospital, France funded a medical training

The new headquarters of the Reserve Bank of Malawi, now under construction, dominates the Lilongwe skyline as the new capital takes shape.

school and the Dares also flanked a veterinary research centre. Twenty-five kilometres to the north, a consortium of overseas banks is partly financing the new Lilongwe international airport, the first phase of which is scheduled to come into operation in September next year.

The International Development Association put in the money for a teachers training college. Lilongwe has been linked to the rest of the country by a road system through air and grants from the Canadian government.

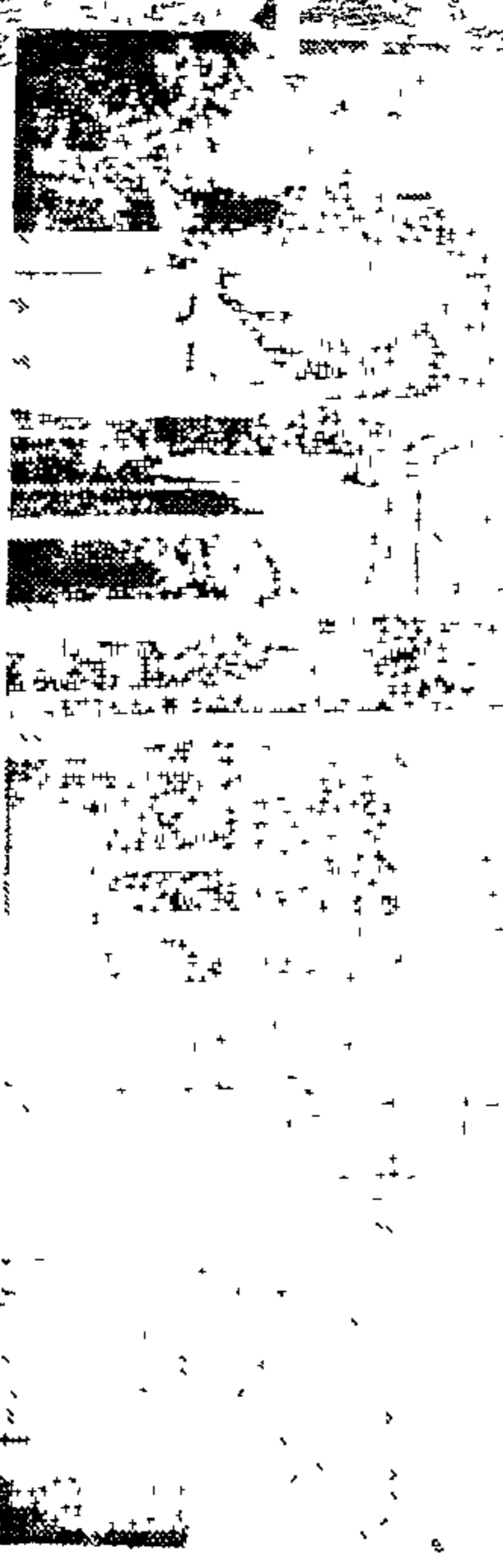
Proclaimed capital of Malawi in January 1975, Lilongwe had a population of 103 000 at the 1977 census. But with a 10.5 percent population growth — well above the national average — the true population figure today could be around 130 000.

The city fringes on the old town of Lilongwe, hardly more than a provincial hamlet, which will eventually be incorporated as one of Lilongwe's suburbs.

Some 5 km from the new city centre — where the South African Embassy is — industrial develop-

ment is mushrooming. Here is being built a 180 000 ton strategic grain silo with more than \$11-million of South African private investment.

The Land Development programme around the city with hundreds of smallholders, involved in crop and livestock production, has been cited by international experts as a classic example of agricultural development. Production this year was expected to exceed \$10-million, with the benefits shared by more than 300 000 people (c) Angus Co, 1980.



The imposing facade of St Michael's, built from clay bricks laid with lime. Now time and the elements are threatening the church's survival. If faith can move in 1888, but they were surprised to discover that the amateur builder had at \$104 000, of which

Malawi rejects Kei passport

BY STAN HLOPHE

AN OFFICIAL of Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre (Elec) claimed yesterday that he had been refused entry at Blantyre Airport in Malawi because he was travelling on a Transkeian passport

Mr Shilling Nkanjani, 32, of Edendale, Maritzburg, an agricultural officer of Elec, was to have attended a week-long workshop of the Christian Lay Centre in Africa

The workshop started yesterday at Chilema Centre in Zomba, Malawi, and will end on July 22. Delegates from all over Africa will attend.

Mr Nkanjani told the Rand Daily Mail at Jan Smuts Airport last night that immigration officials in Malawi tried to plead for him, but to no avail. He was offered a "board tick-

et" and was ordered to take the next flight back to Johannesburg

He said this was the first time this had happened. He had travelled to Zambia last year without any problems.

"It is a traumatic and unfortunate event," he said "We, the so-called citizens of the 'independent countries' have to bear the brunt. It was not of our making that Transkei was independent

"But to our surprise and against our will we are denied free entry to outside countries. It was not our choice that we were given these so-called passports.

"I am still looking forward to getting a South African passport to attend the forthcoming workshop I hope next time I will be welcomed"

EVERY other person in the world lacks access to a safe and adequate drinking water supply

In the Third World drinking water is only available to one in three near their homes and even more people lack proper sanitation. In the rural areas of developing countries, no more than one person in every five enjoys access to safe water.

To remedy this appalling situation a drive is on to provide clean water and sanitation for every person in every country. The United Nations is playing its part by declaring the Eighties the "International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade". The aim of the decade is to provide clean water and adequate sanitation for all by 1990.

Decade activities will be formally launched in November, with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as co-ordinator.

The UN estimates that \$140-billion will be needed to ensure that everyone has clean water by 1990. A fraction of this amount will be made available by international development agencies which will also provide technical assistance. But if safe water for all is to become a reality, then most of the money will have to come from developing countries themselves.

The importance of safe water to development and health can be seen from World Health Organisation statistics. These suggest that 80% of all the world's diseases are water related.

At any given time around 400-million people — one-tenth of the world's population — are

Third World water crisis: Malawi turns on the taps

The shortage of drinking water and the lack of sanitation is a chronic problem in the Third World. Gemini News Service reports on the size of the problem to be faced and the success Malawi is having with its water programme.

For, while many countries have set up national action water committees, in some countries the "action" is not yet evident. There seems little doubt that water exists in almost every country and that supplies of safe drinking water could be developed — even in very dry areas such as the Sahel Lakes, rivers, springs and underground resources plus rainfall are water resources common to all countries.

Ironically, it is the islands of the Pacific Ocean that have some of the biggest problems. Surrounded by sea water, most of the islands have little potential drinking water and are punting their hopes on desalination — removing the salt from sea water.

But for most countries the question is whether governments will have the political will to develop their water supplies and make them available to all the population. One country showing the way is Malawi. Water experts believe that Malawi will be the first black African country to

achieve the goal of water for all. Only fifteen years ago, very few people in Malawi had access to safe water.

In the mid sixties, a British civil engineer, Mr Lindsay Robertson, persuaded the Malawi Government to develop self-help water schemes. The idea was to make the best possible use of the country's natural features and contours and to involve the population to maximum extent.

Villagers near hilly regions were asked to appoint a team of people to dig trenches, lay pipes and allow the water from the mountains and hills to be brought down to the plains. In some cases trenches and pipes were up to 80km long.

A village only received a water supply if it was involved in the laying of pipes. When the operation was complete, the villagers were trained to maintain the system and look after the taps.

In flatter areas of Malawi, boreholes were dug, mostly of between 100m and 250m in

depth. Malawi today has 4 000 of these boreholes and almost 50% of the population has access to safe water. Another 2 000 boreholes are planned.

Whereas in the past the boreholes were constructed with components imported from Western Europe, the government is now trying to encourage the use of locally produced materials. Water pumps for example have been designed and made locally. Some of the pumps are using a squash ball as the valve, so eliminating the need to import expensive valves.

The UNDP is financing a R2-million scheme to provide water to 200 000 people in a dry area in the south-east of Malawi.

Malawi's water scheme is enjoying success because of a high degree of commitment by the government, which feels that no one should be expected to walk more than a half a kilometre for their water. Government spending on its water programme in 1980 will be around R10-million.

Dr Peter Bourne, co-ordinator of the UN Water Decade, believes that Malawi will reach the goal of clean water for all by 1986. He describes Malawi's system as the most "unique and successful programme anywhere in the world".

UN agencies are now recruiting and training more water experts to meet the expected demand for technical assistance in the water decade. At a recent conference in Geneva, developing countries stressed that one of their biggest needs was for international help to train people in water skills.

Chinese help for African industries

TAIPEI — The Republic of China was helping Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho to develop small and medium enterprises, vice-economics minister, Mr Wilham Wei said here

Mr Wei, who returned on Sunday night from a trip to the three African countries told a press conference that the Republic of China was helping them in the development of such industries as textiles and electronics

Malawi, Swaziland and Lesotho had all sent officials to the Republic of China to study management of small and medium enterprises, which comprise the bulk of China's industrial structure

Mr Wei said his tour of the three African countries served to further a commitment made by Premier Sun Yun-Suan to help them to accelerate industrial development'

In Malawi the Taiwan Power Company would engage in a power generation project for which the Republic of China would extend 5m US dollars (R4m) in loans

Among other joint ventures, the Taipei-based Sampo Electronics Company was planning to set up an assembly plant. China had sent technicians to Swaziland to help to establish garment and electronic plants, and Swaziland had agreed to increase exports of coal to China

In Lesotho Chinese experts were training management personnel and assisting Lesotho to set up light industrial plants

Mr Wei said that he also exchanged views with South African officials on matters related to management of small and medium enterprises during a stop-over in Johannesburg - Sapa

Malawi shows way to welfare

STB
170

The case of Malawi proves that economic co-operation can raise welfare throughout southern Africa, Volkskas says.

Malawi's gross national product per capita increased by 3.1 percent a year, between 1970 and 1977, the Volkskas economic department has said in an economic spotlight report.

This figure was higher

than that for several other southern African states.

Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland were also doing well, partly because of the custom union, loose economic co-operative region, Volkskas said.

"The relatively large salary increases granted to black workers in South Africa since 1973, in particular have also raised the per capita welfare in a country such as Lesotho," the report says.

Cape Provincial Institute
of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

For a student who has

satisfactorily completed

1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize

For the best woman student

in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize

For the best student of

Architecture (or Quantity

Surveying) in the subject

of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize

For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize

For the best work in fourth

year.

whether paying patients will, or should, get a more leisurely consultator. The main difficulty will probably continue to be excess demand during the new doctor's first month he saw an average of 30 'state' patients per working day, though some came on public holidays and weekends. Some of this is undoubtedly a backlog, and it remains to be seen how the situation will develop.

The most pressing needs seem to affect the old, who have chronic illnesses, who find it hard even to walk from the location to the doctor and do not always think treatment worth the expense, and who suffer from bad eyesight for which they have not sought help, and women and

children in rural areas come to the attention. The father may be unable to apply particularly where there is no well isolated and especially deficiencies. In view of the SANTA volunteer check-up for general

former times, when it was common for patients to visit the sick on the farms and perform inoculations there, other illnesses could more readily have come to light. In recent years, visiting of 'state' patients has ceased. Even with two doctors in Fiersdorp, they appeared to be too busy to do much routine visiting, clearly now extra manpower (not necessarily a doctor) would be required for surveillance. Education for blacks on home health care would also help in the present situation.

Legend:
e u River
+ + + + Railway
e u Permanent Weekly clinic



SA maize for stricken Malawi

SOWETO
12/3/81
170

Africa News Service

LILONGWE. — South Africa has exported several thousand tons of maize to Malawi at the request of Malawian authorities who are faced with a critical shortage of the grain.

The shortage is so acute that there have been numerous cases of looting, theft, assault and even murder as hungry people try to obtain bags of maize.

In one instance a Blantyre woman was beaten to death by a gang of people who then stole a 10 kg bag of maize from her.

In another incident a journalist who quoted the Malawian President as saying there was enough food in Malawi and that imports were not necessary, was soundly beaten

Three police officers were stabbed by angry women who had converged on a supply depot to buy maize

And, in Lilongwe, a man travelling in his car was stopped by a gang of people who relieved him of a 20 kg bag of maize and then paid him for it.

Members of the gang told him they were not thieves but merely hungry.

There are numerous similar stories. The staple food of most Malawians is Nsima (cooked maize flour) and the current shortage is causing much hardship. bumper maize crops this



GOA BAY

... /

DD 24/3/81

(170)

Red faces in Malawi over Maputo trial disclosures

By VICTOR NDOVI, London

Since Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in June, 1975, there has been mutual suspicion between it and its neighbour, Malawi, although the two have worked hard to improve relations

But the disclosures at the recent trial of Mozambican dissidents in Maputo have not only embarrassed Malawi, they are likely also to lead to a resumption of tension

The 27 people tried for armed robbery, organising military training and recruiting people for subversion were members of the anti-Mozambican Government Free Africa movement

According to evidence given by the accused, Free Africa is based in Malawi and its leaders plot to destabilise the government of President Samora Machel

Some of Free Africa's bases are located along the two countries' common border at Milange, in mountainous north-west Mozambique. Shops and villages have been attacked and some Frelimo and government officials have been killed.

However, the improvement in relations between the two countries which had been noticeable before the trial, had played down these activities

Four of the men on trial were sentenced to death. Three of them were commanders of armed bands, while the fourth was in charge of food supplies to Free Africa's bases in Malawi

In the past Malawi has supported the Free Africa movement, whose leaders remain unknown

The Mozambican anti-government group is known to have close ties with the better known Mozambican National Resistance Movement (MRN). This group is alleged to have bases in the Transvaal and also along Mozambique's common border with its western neighbour, Zimbabwe. Mozambique has now signed a military agreement with Zimbabwe to contain the upsurge in MRN terrorist activity

Serious doubts have now been expressed over the safety of Mozambican officials who move in and out of Malawi. The two countries have tended to encourage close contact but at a junior party and government level

Malawi's continued political and economic flirtation with South Africa, coupled with its flaunting of popular African opinion, continue to irritate Mozambicans

On the other hand Mozambique's persistent covert backing for the exiled Malawian opposition party, the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) and its Maputo-based leader, Attati Mpakatu, as well as the presence of Soviet and Cuban personnel, continue to worry the Malawian authorities

Malawi's headaches are not confined to its fragile relations with Mozambique. It also has a border problem with Zambia. At a meeting of Malawian and Zambian ministers in the Malawian border town of Mchinji last October, the Malawians insisted on redefining their western border with Zambia. They said they wanted the border to follow the watershed along the Luangwa Valley in Zambia's eastern province. The matter was referred to Malawi's President Banda and President Kaunda of Zambia

However, a Zambian minister who had attended the Mchinji talks, gave an interview to a local Zambian newspaper which was picked up by the Reuter news agency. The report incensed the Malawian authorities

Malawi's Dr Hastings Banda, odd man out among the leaders of the Front Line states.

They claimed Reuter put out 'damaging, malicious and fabricated reports'. The Malawians also claimed Malawi had 'never claimed any part of another country's territory'.

But in September, 1968, President Banda publicly claimed large chunks of Tanzanian and Zambian territory. He was forced to back down on threats of retaliatory action from Zambia and Tanzania. Although he withdrew his claim, he was unrepentant

With aid from the Portuguese, and later the South Africans, Banda introduced a small fleet of gun-boats to police the extreme northern tip of Lake Malawi, which Malawi shares with Tanzania

The Malawian authorities unilaterally redefined their northern boundary, as a result of which there were frequent clashes between the security forces of the two countries. The tension subsided but relations continue to be cold

The Zambians not only refused to allow their boundary with Malawi to be redrawn, they have now decided also to shift the railhead terminal on the Malawi/Zambia railway from Mchinji to Chipata, some 190 miles inside Zambia

Zambia depends to some extent on Malawi for transporting its goods to and from Mozambique's Indian Ocean port of Nacala

Visits to each other's countries take place from time to time by officials and it is believed these relations mean that the border issue is being played down. It is possible the issue will just lie on the table

On the other hand, Malawian exiles in Zambia who have in the past been active in organising opposition to President Banda's Government, are now seeing their activities whittled down

In fact, Zambian authorities sometimes act against known and suspected anti-Banda elements in Zambia, who may lay themselves open to deportation

Although Malawian authorities do not admit the tensions between their country and its neighbours, ordinary travellers crossing Malawi's borders are persistently subjected to unfriendly and sometimes painful treatment. They are treated contemptuously and are usually held in suspicion

It remains to be seen how far Malawi will go in attracting support from South Africa and how long this support will continue to sustain the Malawian authorities

Zambia has tried to minimise South African influence in the region through behind-the-scenes efforts to co-opt Malawi into the Southern African Development Coordinating Council, the regional economic organisation grouping of independent Southern African states.

Malawi is now a member of that body although it does not yet participate in meetings of the frontline African states

STAR
Bill gives
Dr Banda
greater
powers (170)

The Star's Africa
News Service

BLANTYRE — A Bill just passed by the Malawian Government gives the life President, Dr Hastings Banda, powers to nominate "any number" of MPs

Formerly Dr Banda could nominate only 15 Members to Parliament. It is generally accepted here that there will soon be more nominated Members of Parliament than elected Members.

Dr Banda, besides being head of Government and State, also holds the Defence, Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Justice, Agriculture Workers and Supplies, Information and Broadcasting and Energy portfolios.

There is no vice-president and no Prime Minister.

The Bill was proposed by the Minister Without Portfolio, who is also Secretary General and administrative secretary of the Malawi Congress Party, Mr E Bakili Muluzi.

He is generally regarded as the second most powerful man in Malawi.

STAT

Death if you return Banda tells exiled leader

BLANTYRE — President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi has threatened the leader of the country's main exiled opposition party that he would be shot if he returned home

Dr Banda told a mass rally yesterday that Dr Attati Mpakati, leader of the Socialist League of Malawi, had made statements in Zimbabwe claiming that the Malawi President was using the police and army to persecute and suppress his people.

Dr Banda said Dr Mpakati had claimed Malawians were miserable and unhappy and had said he would come to liberate them and kill all Government Ministers.

If he dared to return to Malawi, Dr Banda added, he would meet the same fate that befell another exiled opposition leader, Mr Yatuta Chisiza, who tried to enter the country with a band of rebels in the late 1960s but was shot after local people tipped-off security forces — Sapa-Reuter.

Envoys in race row

A PRETORIA teacher sparked a diplomatic incident at the weekend when intervention led to the cancellation of a schoolboy rugby match in which the sons of Malawian and Transkeian envoys were to have played with white lads.

The teachers protested against the inclusion in a Christian Brothers College team of Austin Machinjili (15), son of Malawian Ambassador Mclean Machinjili, and Tembiso Mogodiela (16), son of Transkei's diplomatic representative.

The Christian Brothers' College was scheduled to play Hoërskool Waterkloof in the Administrator's Cup series in Pretoria.

Mr Machinjili reportedly labelled the incident "a reflection on a few people with sick minds who cared nothing for good race rela-

tions." *Sowetan*, 4/5/8.

"It was proof that some South African parents were teaching their children race discrimination at an early age.

"It is highly dangerous to allow school children to develop these attitudes. I am all the more surprised that it happened in Waterkloof where all those enlightened Afrikaners are said to live," said Mr Machinjili.

The envoy's sons attend Christian Brothers' College with the full consent of the Transvaal Education Department under an agreement which allows children of diplomats to attend white schools.

The incident has sparked an angry outcry, and top officials of the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union are to meet urgently in Pretoria,

Another purge for Malawi?

BLANTYRE, — Malawian politicians have taken to including a small but ominous exhortation in their speeches recently. They warn the citizens of Hastings Banda's poverty-stricken state to guard against "subversive elements" and to report strangers to the police.

Malawians remember with alarm the last time such warnings were sounded, in 1976.



Banda on a visit to SA in 1971.

They were followed by a wave of repression in which scores of academics, party officials and people from the north of the country disappeared.

Many have since been rehabilitated, but there is a fear that, as the country's economic health worsens and doubts about the President's grasp of events grow, another purge could be on the way.

Banda has always had a swift way with his critics and these days there is much to complain about. Earlier this year unknown numbers starved to death in the south in a virtually unreported famine caused by a maize crop failure.

For once the traditional deference of Malawian peasants broke down. In Limbe, near Blantyre, I was told, women had forcibly unloaded a police vehicle that attempted to jump the maize queue.

Petrol is in short supply after the disruption of the supply line through Mozambique. There are long queues for sugar — one of the country's main products. There is poverty everywhere. Construction workers recently struck unsuccessfully for an increase in their 31 cents-an-hour wage rate.

In the 1970s, President Banda courted South Africa. Pretoria, perceiving an oasis of stability in a trouble region, responded with heavy investment. The relationship brought creeping economic improvement, but today much of that has slipped away.

The construction of the new capital, Lilongwe, was begun with South African cash as a grandiose monument to the country's bright future. Now it seems more appropriate as a symbol of its difficulties.

As funds have evaporated, work has stopped on many of the ambitious buildings intended as government offices. The new international airport seems destined to be a white elephant. Work continues, however, on a huge new palace for the President which rises imposingly on a hill outside the capital, above a dismal cluster of grass huts.

Press Holdings, the country's largest combine (major shareholder President Banda) is believed by local observers to be up to £45 million in debt. A healthy Zimbabwean economy on the doorstep has brought unwelcome competition.

How much of all this is known to the President is open to question. Local sources believe that advisers kept the severity of the maize famine from Banda. Care is taken to make sure there is petrol available in the areas he visits.

Banda is in his eighties now — his exact age



President Hastings Banda ... losing his grip? SOWETON
 is unknown — and his health is increasingly erratic, yet no clear crown prince has been allowed to emerge. The fortunes of ministers change with bewildering speed. John Tembo, chairman of the Malawi Reserve Bank and strongly tipped as a successor, is now rumoured to be out of favour.

Banda is ruthless with those he regards as a threat. In March, Gwanda Chakuamba, Minister of Youth and Culture, leader of Banda's thuggish Young Pioneers and one of these who framed Malawi's 1964 independence constitution was sentenced to 22 years' hard labour.

Even Chakuamba's many enemies agree that the charges and hearing were farcical. Manacled and suffering from malaria, he had to conduct his own defence.

Among his crimes was failure to correct a subordinate who wrongly attributed regional progress to Chakuamba and not the Life President. For that he received 10 years. Possession of a fly whisk — symbol of the President's power — earned him a further sentence.

As long as Banda is alive and in control, Malawi's widely envied stability should remain relatively undisturbed. Exile groups like the Socialist League of Malawi and the Malawi Freedom Movement are making little headway and have a negligible following inside the country. A post-Banda power struggle, combined with continuing economic decline, could change that — LONDON OBSERVER SERVICE

Malawi people warned to be on guard

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Malawi jails alleged plotters

STAR
28/5/81

170

The Star's Africa
News Service

LILONGWE — Malawi's prisons are said to be full of Zimbabweans and Zambians suspected of being part of a conspiracy to invade the country and assassinate President Kamuzu Banda and his cabinet ministers.

According to Malawi intelligence sources a number of "infiltrators masquerading as religious leaders" have been arrested and jailed for distributing "subversive letters"

According to the deputy speaker of the Malawi Parliament, Mr C M G Chumutu Nkhoma, hundreds of people with such letters have been arrested and jailed

He has warned people who have received such letters to hand them in or else face "rotting in detention"

In Lilongwe alone, Dr

Banda has instructed cabinet ministers and top party officials to address 81 public meetings to warn people about harbouring infiltrators

Roadblocks have been set up in all district headquarters bordering neighbouring countries

All internal mail to individuals is now being opened by Government inspectors and as a result letters are being delayed by weeks

Some of the infiltrators are said to be Malawi army soldiers who deserted at the end of last year and left for undisclosed destinations to join force with dissidents intending to "liberate" Malawi from Dr Banda's rule.

The head of this rebel "army" is said to be a Mr Atate Mphakati — a Moscow-trained exiled Malawian. It is not clear where he is operating from

Malawi 23/76
 170

The Star's Africa
 News Service

BLANTYRE — Hundreds of Malawian detainees have been released at the order of President Kamuzu Banda to celebrate the country's 17th anniversary of independence

The detainees had been sympathisers of the then secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party Mr Albert Mwaambo Nqumayo, who was hanged for plotting to assassinate Dr Banda

Among the detainees released was a former cabinet minister Mrs Fern Sadvalunda Nanyere

Sources in the prison service have disclosed the reason for the release of the detainees might be overcrowding in prisons

The overcrowding has been caused partly by the recent admission of a number of followers of a Cabinet Minister who has been sentenced to 22 years' hard labour for sedition

The Minister, Mr Gwanda Chakuamba, had a "pen pistol" in his possession, it was alleged

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Professor George Menzies Prize
 Awarded on results of final
 examination - best male

- B F McClelland
- J H Rens
- D P Weeks
- T J Cumming
- P M Salmon

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Corporation Medals

NOW nearing completion in Central Malawi is President Banda's gift to the brightest pupils in his country — the Kamuzu Academy, a sort of elite, but free Eton in Africa.

It is a grammar school, designed to produce boys and girls who will be sent to universities like Harvard, Chicago, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh and be able to compete on equal terms with others from elsewhere

The Chairman of the Academy and Minister for Central Region, Aaron Gadama, says "Education at the academy will be free. The pupils' brains are their bursaries"

The academy is expected to open in October and is being built with the president's own personal funds. The building has already cost over R15-million

The designers have given great thought to the appearance and layout of the school. The president wanted it to have "dignity" and be "timeless"

It has a language laboratory, six science laboratories, a clinic, art studio, music room, home economics unit, an outdoor theatre, an Olympic size swimming pool, athletics track, squash courts and a primary school for children of the staff

The president has instructed that Latin should occupy a central place in the curriculum. All teachers must have had at least some Latin in their academic background

The pupils' brains are their bursaries at

Africa's free Eton

RDBM 7/9/81

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Banda's brightest boys

PRESIDENT BANDA top school for top pupils

Compulsory

Dr Banda has often said that no one can fully master English, an official language in Malawi, without the knowledge of languages such as Latin and French. Latin has been introduced in many Malawi secondary schools

At least three subjects will be compulsory during the first three years at the Academy. English, Latin and Mathematics. Other subjects to be taught will be Art, Classics, History, Economics, Geography, Geology, Music, Modern Languages, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Home Economics and Technical Studies

Malawi students had been taking Cambridge School Certificate Examinations in their fourth year of secondary education. The tradition was broken with the introduction of the Malawi Certificate of Education Examinations (MCE) in 1970

At Kamuzu Academy, students will, however, be taking

the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations. In the sixth year, they will be sitting for the Cambridge Senior School Certificate examinations

Recruits

The reason is that Cambridge is well known in Africa and all over the world. An A level pass from the Cambridge is equal to a pass from any other board

For the time being there will be no Malawian teachers at the academy. The president says there are no Malawians qualified to teach at the Academy, so the teaching staff has been recruited from Britain

Minister Gadama said "We have many educated Malawians. We have doctors of this, doctors of that. But the knowledge of Latin is nil. So we do not want teachers who have no knowledge of Latin to be embarrassed by the students when the students talk to them in Latin"

An equal number of students from all Malawi's 24 districts

By CLEMENT CHETE

will be selected to ensure that the whole country benefits from the school

They will come from those who do extremely well in the Standard Eight, Junior Certificate and the Malawi School Certificate Examinations. Those who have been selected from the MCE results will proceed to the fifth year and later to the sixth year at the Academy

The idea of setting up this institution was developed when the president said he was dissatisfied with the low standard of education in the country. Several times he has expressed shock at the ungrammatical letters he received from his nieces and nephews who were in secondary schools

Some time ago many Malawians who had seen the Kachere tree under which the President received his early education decided that a model school with modern facilities

should be built near the tree. The school, it was agreed should fulfil the President's wishes that the children of Malawi did not earn their education the hard way the President did

So in 1975, the Ministry of Education built Mthunthama Model Primary School. It was opened by the President and during the opening ceremony a young pupil proposed in his welcome speech that the primary school be developed into a secondary school

Refused

Plans were then begun for building a school to provide the high standard of education the President wanted. It was planned to hand it to the President as a token of appreciation for his efforts in raising the standard of education

When the central executive committee of the Malawi Congress Party reported the matter to the President, he refused to involve the Ministry of Education or ask the people to contribute towards the school because of the expense. He decided to finance it himself and then hand it to the nation

Now, what started with criticisms on the low standard of education and the idea of the young pupils to develop Mthunthama Model Primary School into a secondary school has been translated into magnificent buildings fronted by a shallow lake

Already it has encouraged Malawian boys and girls to work hard in their studies. Recently, a group were invited to visit the Academy as if to tell them "Look at the magnificent school. If you do not work hard you will not come here"

Among teachers, too, a spirit of hard work has been generated. To have pupils selected from their schools for the Academy will be a source of pride and a sign of hard work on their part

Argus 10/9/81
Wheat
170
blockade

fear

Argus Africa News Service

LILONGWE — A 2 000-ton consignment of South African wheat destined for Malawi but held back at the Mozambican port of Nacala is one of the factors contributing to a recent Malawi bread price rise.

Some sources in Malawi claim the consignment is being held by sympathisers of the Malawi dissidents opposed to Dr Banda's rule.

The dissidents are on good terms with Mozambican officials.

The Malawi Government has friendly ties with the former Portuguese rulers of Mozambique.

Privately owned bakeries recently stopped production because of the wheat shortage and even Malawi's biggest bakery chain (which belongs to Dr Banda) had curtailed production.

The wheat has been at Nacala since July.

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Dissent in Malawian poll (

Morgan, B.W.

Decision

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H Ferguson, T.S

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89/10/9/8/170
The Star's Africa
News Service

BLANTYRE — Several figures in Dr Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party were not returned to power in recent elections in an apparent show of support for Dr Banda's arch-opponent, Dr Atati Mphakati, who is in exile

Observers believe it is significant that this "dissent" vote came from the south of the country where Dr Banda's opponents are concentrated

Three farmers in the southern region are presently in police custody as a result of trying to get into power by electioneering, which is illegal in Malawi

The farmers apparently held cocktail parties at which they told their guests that if they were voted into office they would clamp down on the activities of members of the youth wing of the party

Among those who failed

to retain their seats in the regional and district elections were a district chairman of the women's wing in Zomba, a district member in Nsanje and a district party chairman in Blantyre

Dr Mphakati is said to be planning an armed march on Malawi to depose Di Banda

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Star 1/10/81
Malawi gets
big IMF loan

WASHINGTON — The International Monetary Fund is to lend about 14-million dollars (R13-million) to Malawi to help meet temporary increased costs of cereal imports over the past year.

It said the excess cost of Malawi's cereal imports up to June, was due primarily to higher imports of maize, the country's staple food, following two years of poor domestic crop production. — Sapa-Reuter

Two hoodlums were hired to 'bump off' Malawian leader, claims book

Star 6/10/87

A plot to kill Banda foiled by

gangster

"Danny" and "Tommy" had a contract to assassinate one of South Africa's few friends in black Africa. But when BOSS got word of this it contacted Charles Richardson for help and he "dissuaded" the pair.

The Star Bureau

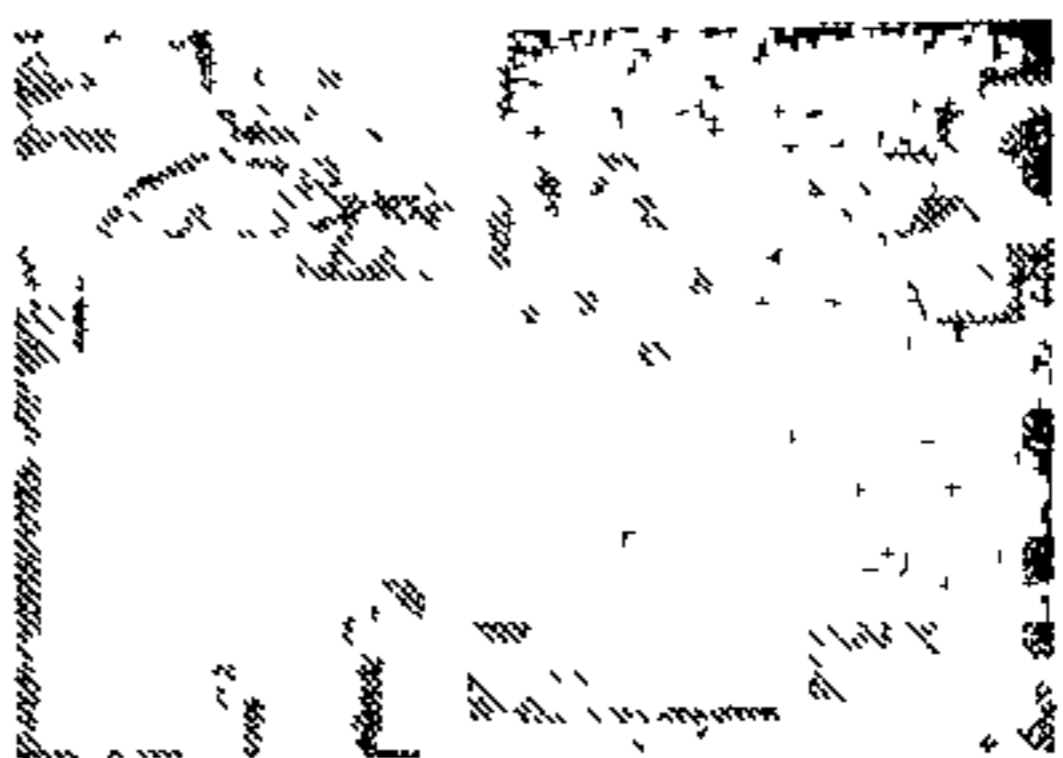
LONDON — Allegations that BOSS worked in close harmony with a notorious London gangster have taken a new twist with the claim that gangland leader Charles Richardson foiled a plot to assassinate Malawian President Hastings Banda.

British freelance journalist Robert Parker, who has written a book on Richardson ("Rough Justice," to be published later this month) yesterday gave details of the bizarre story.

The head of BOSS, General H J van den Bergh, told Richardson that his agents had got wind of a plot to kill Banda, at the time one of South Africa's few friends in black Africa.

"He asked Richardson to investigate the plot which, he believed, involved two hoodlums in Britain.

"Charlie (Richardson) soon found out that the men, whom he referred to

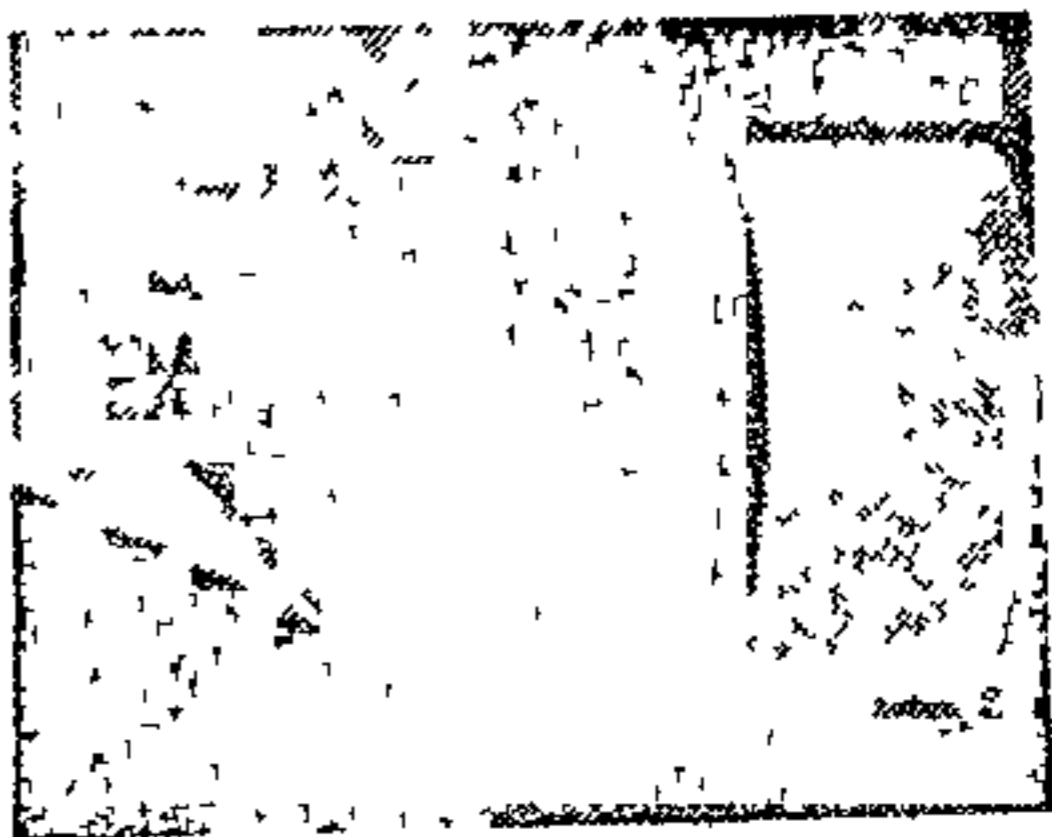


Lagrange . . . gone into hiding after disclosures.

"Danny" and "Tommy" had been hired to bump off Banda for a large sum of money.

"He was able to track down the men and to foil the assassination attempt, I think by buying them over.

"Charlie never told me who was behind the plot, but I reckon it must have



Banda . . . his alleged assassins may have been bought off by Richardson.

been something political because of Banda's friendship with South Africa and the fact that BOSS had become involved," Parker said.

"And he never told me what he actually did to stop 'Danny' and 'Tommy'. He might have received money from BOSS for this purpose, or he might have

acted on his own to get into BOSS's good books.

"But he did admit openly to me that he worked for BOSS and I subsequently found out that he had been offered 'a new life' in South Africa when he got out of prison."

Richardson, who escaped from custody last year, was re-arrested on January 18 and is now being held in an undisclosed jail.

In a related development, Jean Lagrange named as being a key BOSS spy in Britain by ex-husband and fellow spy Gordon Winter, has apparently gone into hiding. The 40-year-old South African woman, now married to London-based Irishman Terry Flynn, was named at the weekend as a BOSS operative and alleged lover of Charles Richardson.

She was sacked from her job as a supervisor for an office cleaning firm here after details of her activities were made known.

Sensational material on the life of Miss Lagrange and the admission by Richardson that he buried anti-apartheid organisation offices and promised to arrange a tap on the then Prime Minister Harold Wilson's private telephone were widely published in British newspapers yesterday and on Sunday.

Sir Harold admitted that he had discussed tapping of his telephone, but declined to say anything further because of a security commission inquiry into the country's secret services.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry dismissed the Richardson claims "who is to believe a criminal who is locked up in prison?" said Mr Terry.

"The one thing which he (Richardson) has not — and no one else has ever got hold of — is our membership records of the movement."

No terror *2/10/81 (170)*

LILONGWE — The Malawian Government has formed a specialised task force to work alongside the existing Police Mobile Force in an anti-subversion role

When the 63-man squad graduated at the police training college, the Inspector-General of Police, Mr M J Kamwana, said it was their duty "not to terrorise the populace but to protect them from subversion"

They were drawn mainly from the Malawi Young Pioneers, the youth wing of the ruling party.

Constituents in these areas have been terrorised by members of President Kamuzu Banda's dreaded red-shirted "youth winners" who have tortured those unable to produce poll tax receipts or Malawi Congress Party membership cards — The Star's Africa News Service



PRESIDENT BANDA . . . controversial friendship with South Africa

RDM 1/12/81

170

By RODNEY PINDER
LILONGWE — Malawi, known once as the cinderella of Central Africa, has shed its old image for one of stability and progress.

The tiny, landlocked country has overcome problems and speaks confidently of the future. And its controversial policy of friendship with the region's economic and military giant, white-ruled South Africa, which for years had set it apart from its black neighbours, now seems to have gained wide acceptance.

Without dramatically changing tack, Malawi has been welcomed into the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), a fledgling economic community embracing nine emerging black nations. The official credit for the country's achievements is given to Life President Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled with his own brand of autocracy since self-government was granted to then-Nyasaland by Britain in 1963. It became an independent member of the Commonwealth in the following year with the name of Malawi.

Growth rate

"The main thing that Dr Banda has given Malawi is stability," one Western diplomat said. Another commented "What he has been able to do is come up with a sort of recipe for developing countries which requires an authoritative, definitive type of strong leadership."

According to official figures Malawi achieved an average real growth rate of seven percent a year between 1963 and 1979 despite the population rising from four to 5.6 million. Between 1964 and 1977, the country became self-sufficient in food.

The world recession, a bad drought and a fall in the price of tobacco, its main foreign exchange earner, hit Malawi in 1980 and growth slumped to 0.6 percent. The balance of payments plunged deeper into the red and foreign debts grew to the extent where debt servicing now costs 25 percent of export income.

But Malawi's economists are confidently predicting growth of up to four percent this year and between 5.5 and six percent for the remainder of the current development plan which ends in 1985.

Foreign aid

Malawi appears to have little difficulty in attracting foreign aid to help it over the bad times and to build for the future. Its main benefactors are the World Bank, the European community, West Germany, Canada and Britain.

"Our outstanding debts are big but not alarming," according to a leading official in the presi-

Malawi on the move

Banda's tightrope act between black Africa and Pretoria pays off

dent's economic planning division.

"We meet all of our payments. Our international credit rating is good."

Malawi is only 900km long and 160km wide and a fifth of that area is covered by water. Only 38 percent of the rest is cultivable.

It has no known mineral resources and during the 73 years of British rule that preceded independence it was used mainly as a labour reservoir for its better-endowed neighbours, Zambia and Zimbabwe (then northern and Southern Rhodesia).

Discipline

Dr Banda frequently tells his people they have no resources except themselves and their land. Hard work, discipline and education make up his recipe for national betterment.

Some 85 percent of Malawians live on the land, feed themselves and produce a small surplus for the urban dwellers and for export.

When you drive driving from the commercial centre of Blantyre in the south to the capital of Lilongwe in the midlands evidence of peasant land utilisation is clear. Every square centimetre appears to be ploughed or planted.

Within half-an-hour of dawn, well-dressed villagers are either striding towards the fields or already working in them. The main highway is crowded with people hurrying along on foot, the women in colourful neck-to-ankle dresses with baskets on their heads and hoes over their shoulders, the children in smart shoes and shirts heading for school.

Delegates from Malawi's eight partners in the SADCC, formed to lessen the region's economic dependence on South Africa, gathered in Blantyre for an annual meeting last week and found South African honey on

their tables, South African luxury foods and wines in the supermarkets and South African electrical goods cramming the stores.

Influenced

Malawians say Dr Banda's policy merely admits what happens covertly throughout black Africa. Pretoria says 46 Black African countries bought R1 100-million worth of South African goods last year. South African exports to Malawi accounted for almost 10 percent of the figure in 1979, according to official figures here.

Dr Banda believes South Africa can be influenced better through contact and dialogue than boycott. "We must try to win the white people over," he said in a speech in the United States in 1978. "We must not try to isolate or boycott them. We will not win them if we isolate and boycott them. We will not be able to persuade them to change their attitude."

Diplomats say Malawi agreed to join the SADCC only on the understanding that it could maintain its links with South Africa. Malawian officials regard acceptance of that position as a sign that other African nations are moving towards what is portrayed here as Malawi's political pragmatism.

Senior officials said Malawi regards the SADCC as a bid to forge constructive links between largely interdependent states and, particularly since war-torn Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe last year, a move away from the politics of confrontation.

Malawi does not regard South Africa as a force for destabilisation in the area but is not prepared to take issue with those neighbours who do, the officials said.

Malawi went along with a SADCC Council of Ministers

statement in Blantyre attacking South African aggression in the region. The other SADCC members not make any fuss when the South African charge d'affaires in Lilongwe attended the conference opening ceremony with the rest of the diplomatic corps invited by Malawi.

Anticipation

President Banda has approved exploratory talks with Zimbabwe on the possibility of Malawi drawing fuel from a pipeline due to reopen early next year between the Mozambique port of Beira and the Eastern Zimbabwe town of Umtali. Malawi would require about 100 000 tons of diesel and petrol a year from the line and Zimbabwe appeared willing to do so, the officials said.

In anticipation of a fleet of tankers, with West German to carry the fuel from Umtali, the officials said.

Overall, officials say they are guided in their economic planning by priorities laid down two decades ago by President Banda, a doctor of medicine who practised for years in Britain and Ghana before returning home in 1958.

But most diplomats here say they believe the system created by Dr Banda will outlive him and Malawi will continue charting a conservative, capitalist course through the maelstrom of African politics — Sapa-Reuter concerned, is what it is all about — UPI

Malawi — a nation living off the land

SAP's JSP 3/12/81 170

LILONGWE — By turning itself into a vast agricultural experiment, tiny Malawi, in the middle of hungry Africa, manages to feed itself and produce a small surplus for export

The thin ribbon of land wrapped along one side of Lake Malawi has been divided into 180 special planning areas designed to boost crop production and ensure the food security of the population, now about six million and expanding at a rate of 2.6 per cent a year

Although officially one of the world's poorest nations, with a per capita income of less than R190 a year, Malawi has fed itself since the late 1960's

Diplomats and foreign businessmen report no signs of the matchstick limbs and swollen bellies of kwashiorkor — protein deficiency — so familiar in other parts of the continent

"There may not be much money around but people are well-fed and well-dressed," one European envoy said

Peasant farmers account for 85 per cent of all agricultural production (the rest comes from big commercial tea, sugar and tobacco estates), feeding themselves and having enough left over to sell to the cities and needy neighbouring countries

President Kamuzu Banda has made food security Malawi's over-riding concern "In this country we have no gold, silver, diamonds or copper mines," he once said "The soil is our mine"

Landlocked Malawi's people are crammed into a splinter of a country 900 km from north to south and

160 km across A fifth is covered by water, and of the remainder only two per cent is capable of cultivation

The country's agronomists had Dr Banda's stout belief in capitalism as their starting point on the road to self-sufficiency He spent 40 years learning and practising medicine in America and Britain before returning to Malawi in 1958

"What I know about the Africans of Malawi is that they want to own something, their own house, their own garden, their own chickens, their own goats, their own sheep and, if lucky enough, their own cattle, he once said

"There is no question of common ownership of anything Those who are prosperous enough to go into business, I let them go that way, whether it is farming, whether it is trading as a result we have no problems with food here Our people have an incentive to produce more"

Malawi's exports of agricultural produce — tobacco, tea, sugar, groundnuts, cotton and rice — rose from R25 million in 1966 to R161 million in 1979 The peasant sector produced a surplus worth R14 million

The visitor to Malawi is struck by the intensive use of available land Plots are ploughed or planted to the edges of highways Standing on a mountain side at Zomba, in the fertile central region, it appears that every square centimetre of the land below is being cultivated by a swarm of stooping peasants hacking at the earth with their hoes

It is all part of a national rural development programme held up by Malawian and many foreign aid officials as a model for emerging, often hungry, nations

The programme aims to increase smallholder production for export to sustain self-sufficiency, to feed the growing cities and to provide the infrastructure necessary for small holders to flourish

The plan is to create at least 180 Extension Planning Areas (EPA) across the country, each serving an average of 5 000 peasant families or 25 000 people

For every 2 000 families, there is a technical expert, a local produce market, a dip tank, a clinic and a primary school

As an important arm of the project, the country's principal statutory body, the Agricultural Marketing Development and Marketing Corporation (Admarc), has been formed to help the peasant by marketing the crops he wants to sell

Admarc runs more than 900 marketing centres throughout the country, where the smallholder can have his crops classified and weighed and receive immediate cash payment of a previously announced and guaranteed price

An Agriculture Ministry official said three RDP's each embracing 75 000 people, were being started each year Priority was determined mainly by the strength of the undeveloped potential of an area and how ambitious its farmers were Each was assigned specific crops to develop alongside traditional interests, he said

Rice is being pushed in

the Karonga lakeshore development project on the north-western tip of Lake Malawi, flue-cured tobacco is being put under the microscope at Kasungu in the Midlands and sugar is being boosted in the lower Shire Valley in the south alongside the reclamation of elephant marsh

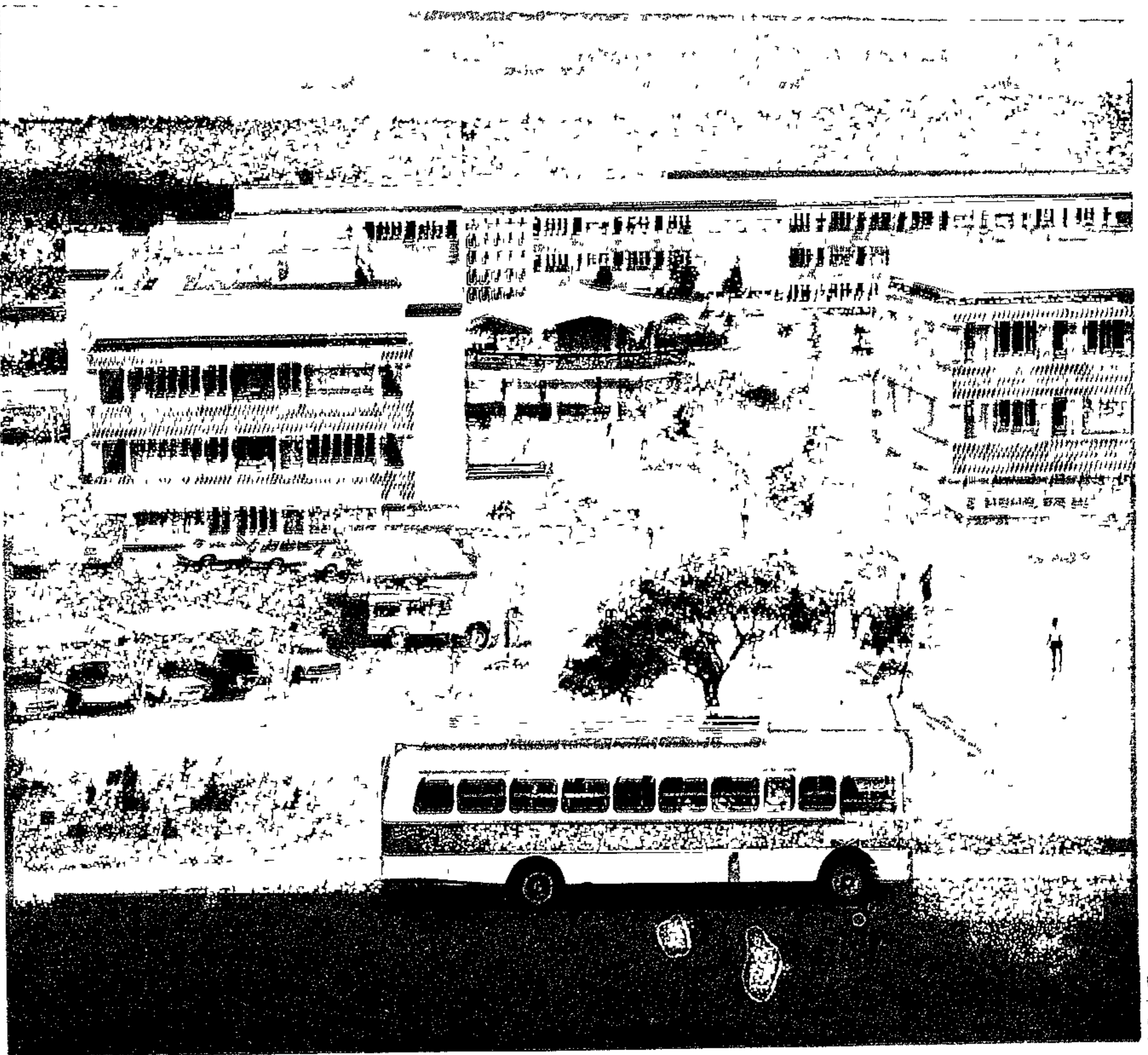
For the moment, Malawi is looking at a bumper maize crop for 1980-81 after a 1979-80 drought which exceptionally forced it to import 25 000 tons from Zimbabwe and South Africa Officials say improved storage facilities will enable them to build up a better strategic reserve for any future disasters

One tenth of the total maize crop reaches market because it is Malawi's staple food ADMARC, with South African financial assistance, has just completed giant silos at Lilongwe capable of storing a surplus of 180 000 tons on the assumption the total crop will be 1.8 million this year alone

Tobacco accounted for 47 per cent of Malawi's total exports of R214 million in 1980 and again looks like having a good year in 1981, officials say

Sugar production has jumped from 86 600 tons in 1977 to 147 000 tons in 1980 to overtake tea as the country's second biggest export earner A total of 165 000 tons of sugar is forecast for this year

Groundnuts, rice, cotton, coffee, pulses, wheat, cassava, beans, sorghum and fruit are all being encouraged by the planners in an effort to reduce Malawi's dependence on the big three — SAPA



The new government buildings on Capital Hill, Lilongwe — a dream born in a prison cell

Lilongwe — a dream born in a prison

DALEY JESSE
3/12/81
170

By Rodney Pinder

LILONGWE (Malawi) — A new city has grown out of the bush in central Africa, conceived in a colonial prison cell and born out of one of the world's more prominent mixed relationships

The capital of Malawi was planned by President Kamuzu Banda during a year he spent jailed by the British for nationalist activities before the country, then known as Nyasaland, became self-governing in 1963

In his cell in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe,

of Lilongwe, once a backward market town of under 5 000 people has been rapid. The population mushroomed to 150 000 this year — giving an annual growth rate of eight per cent, four times the national average — and half-a-million is the projected figure for the year 2000

Where 10 years ago there was only savannah there are now tree-lined boulevards, fountains and piazzas, cool paved walkways and modern offices, homes and factories

It is a garden city of

flights by the end of this year, with international traffic following by mid-1982

But Lilongwe has its problems. The world recession, bringing lower prices for tobacco — Malawi's main foreign exchange earner — and higher interest rates for the city's development corporation, seeking funds in commercial markets, has slowed expansion. The arrival in the capital of the country's High Court and Parliament have both been delayed, and the Presidents State House remains incomplete

The Capital City Development Corporation (CCDC) is run by Malawians and British town planners on contract to the government. They boast that their city is financed mostly on a commercial basis and has not been pumped up by soft government loans

"The private sector has put more in than government," said one planner. "A new town in Britain, for example, gets a government loan over 60 years. We are a hell of a sight more competitive than that"

The CCDC has borrowed from big American and European banks as well as Commonwealth and South African private sources. According to its annual report for 1979 it was paying Citibank, for example, 2.25 per cent over the London three-month interbank rate for Eurodollars — currently about 22 per cent a year

An overall figure for the cost of the city is difficult to obtain, but officials said 150 million dollars (about R142 million) worth of new buildings had been approved by 1980. The figure did not include the airport or the city's infrastructure — roads, drains, water supply

The planners admit that public transport is not good. An official survey found that 60 per cent of the population walked to work, an average of 7.5 km each way each day. Lilongwe is a sprawling linear city

But overall the planners are pleased. They say the city, declared Malawi's capital in 1975, has confounded President Banda's critics and become a true stimulant to the neglected central and northern areas of Malawi

"Lilongwe has opened up what used to be the dead north," said one British expert. "It has worked — there is no doubt about it"

Ironically it was the world's smokers who breathed much of the life into Lilongwe

Tobacco account for 47 per cent of Malawi's exports, and seven-eighths of the crop is grown on the central plateau around Lilongwe. Half the national is now sold in the capital and most of the movers of the industry — buyers, sellers, packers — have come to live and work here

In the modernistic agriculture Ministry high on Capital Hill, gazing out on



President Banda ... leader of the only black state with full diplomatic relations with South Africa

Dr Banda considered the development of the country he was convinced he would soon be ruling

He decided a growth point had to be established in the centre, of Malawi to prevent development being concentrated around the colonial capital of Zomba and the commercial capital of Blantyre, both in the south

Malawi was poor and foreign investment initially was not forthcoming for a new capital, considered by many to be another grandiose scheme dreamed up by a misguided Third World leader. Then, in 1968, South Africa, seeking friends amongst its black neighbours, stepped in with a 40-year, eight million rand loan

That got the development off the ground and was the start of the only full diplomatic relationship South Africa has with a black state. The South African flag flutters prominently outside its embassy in Lilongwe today

Since the first sod was turned in 1969, the growth

trees and flowers and wide open spaces

The centre is bounded on two sides by a nature reserve. Villas with neat gardens for high-income families and high-density housing for the poor support workers are secluded by trees

The streets are tidied by youths who spear litter with sharp sticks

The city is now host to all government ministries, major banks, embassies and much private business. Its industrial areas have attracted work as diverse as sheet metal processing, tobacco marketing and the manufacture of huge silos for grain storage

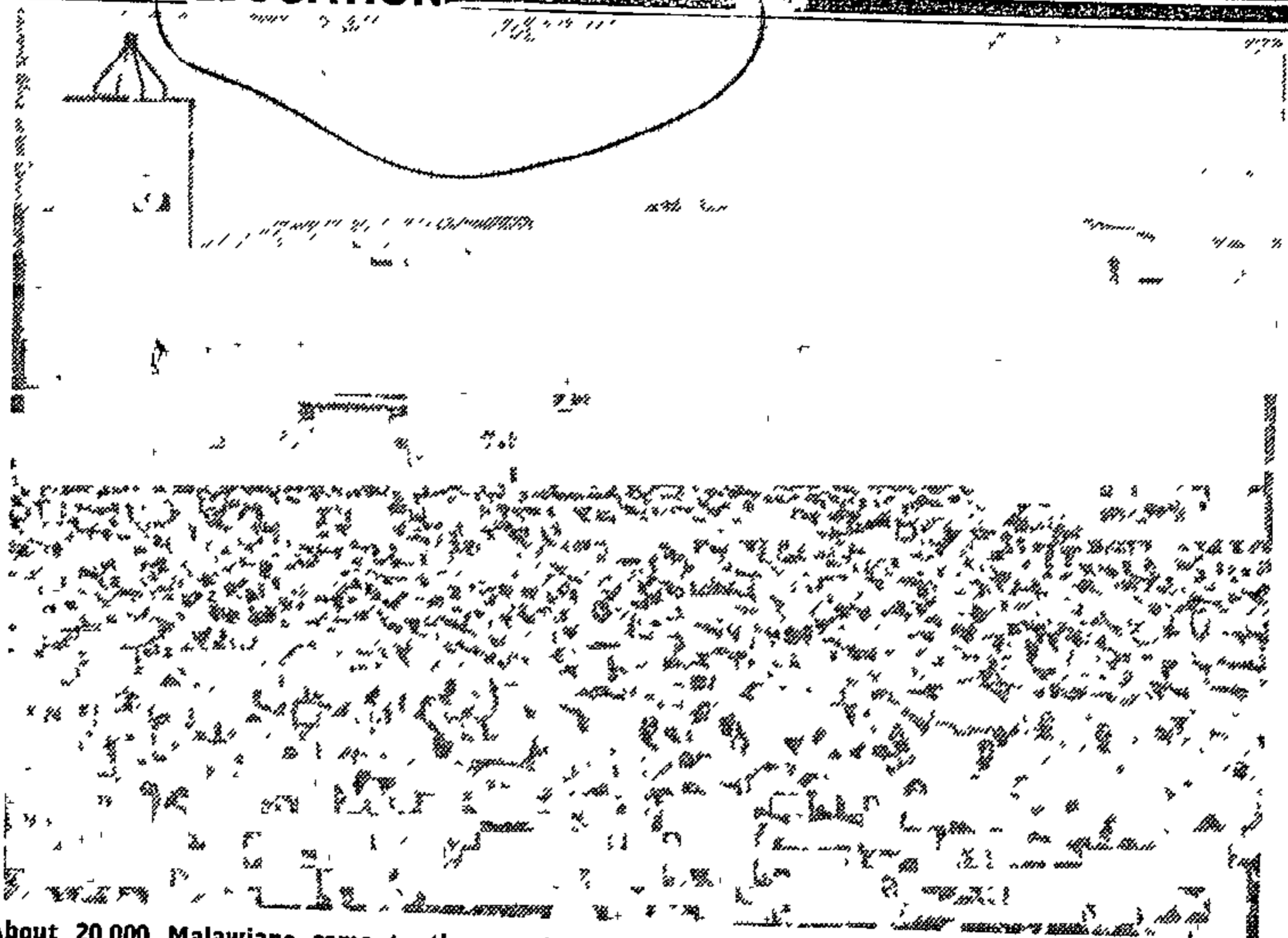
Lilongwe has become a regional communications centre with highways bisecting it east-west and north-south, and a rail line running through to the Zambian border 100 km to the west, completing an artery stretching from the Indian Ocean on the Mozambique seaboard

An 80 million dollar (about R76m) airport is complete and expected to be in service for domestic

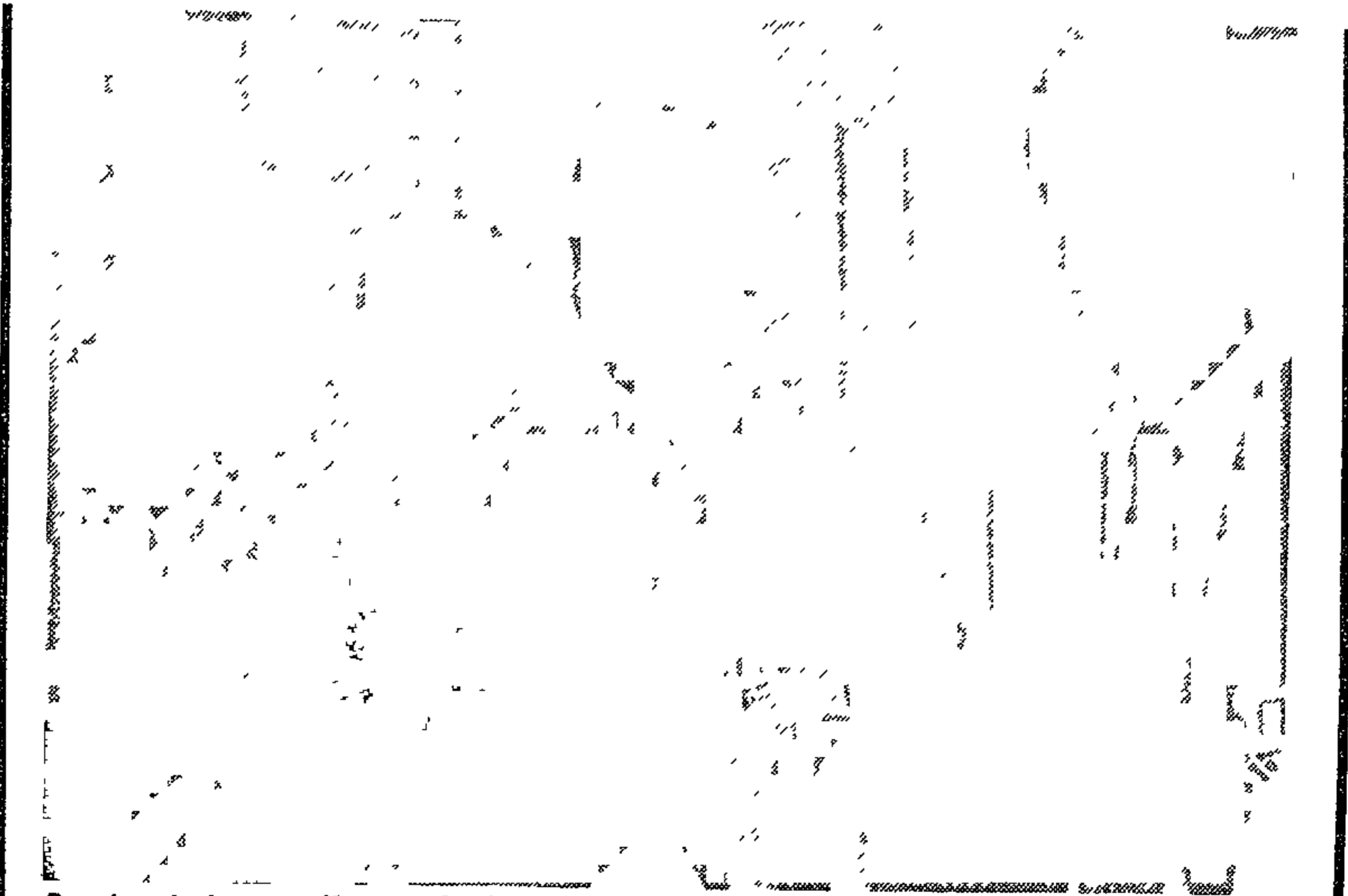
Malawi — GENERAL

1982, 1983 — 1984 —

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About 20 000 Malawians came to the opening of Kamuzu's cradle for the intellectual elite, among the foreign dignitaries was Charles Njonjo, Kenya's Minister of Home and Constitutional Affairs.



Proud and shy Kamuzu Academy pupils await the Ngwase in bottlegreen uniforms with straw boaters From right, Wilson Phiri, head of Chilanga House, and Harold Kachaje, head of Mtunthama House

Malawi: Present gains and an uncertain future

By ROBIN HALLETT, historian, author and lecturer, and a frequent visitor to Southern Africa

THERE is no political regime anywhere in the world quite like Malawi's. That the country is a one-party state is nothing very remarkable by Third World standards. What is remarkable is that all Malawi citizens are literally under compulsion to become members of the Malawi Congress Party

But even more remarkable than the all-embracing party is the position occupied by His Excellency the Life President Ngwaz ("Conqueror") Dr H Kamuzu Banda. Not since the death of Mao Tse-tung has any head of state succeeded in surrounding himself with what anyone brought up in the Western democratic tradition can regard only as such a surfeit of sycophancy

Take, as an example, the proceedings of the last annual convention of the MCP, held in Zomba in September. The convention began with delegates passing 10 resolutions each worded to express appreciation, gratitude or congratulation to His Excellency the Life President for his "wisdom and courage" at various stages of his career. "The foundation of the country's prosperity," delegates were enthusiastic to affirm, "is His Excellency's love for his own people."

Dr Banda's love is that of a very stern father. There is no room for dissent. The local press has been reduced to a position of slavish subservience. Foreign journalists have been prevented from visiting the country except on very special occasions. The country has been allowed no television. Censorship is applied with puritanical zeal. Foreign visitors who break the strict rules of deportment and dress — no long hair for men, no shorts or trousers for women — soon find themselves falling foul of the local authorities.

Add to this the fact that Malawi is the only country in black Africa to maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa, that in the eyes of African nationalists Dr Banda is black Africa's Uncle Tom. The man who made no attempt to help his neighbours in Zimbabwe and Mozambique in their struggle to free themselves. Bring all these points together they provide a pretty formidable indictment of Dr Banda's Malawi, so far as many people in the outside world are concerned.

Development

Yet against all this must be set the unquestionable fact that Malawi has enjoyed a greater measure of political stability and economic development than almost any other country in central and southern Africa. Of the price that might have to be paid for stability Dr Banda himself has never been in any doubt. "If, to maintain political stability and efficient administration," he declared in 1965, "I have to detain 10 000, 100 000, I will do it. I will detain anyone who is interfering with the political stability of this country."

He has been as good as his word, since 1965 there have always been several hundred political detainees. "The four cornerstones of the government and the nation," according to the constitution, "shall be Unity, Loyalty, Obedience and Discipline." Party militants appear to be adept at ensuring that this clause is no dead letter.

But without political stability the country could never have made the economic progress it has done since independence. Its development has been undeniably impressive. Starting off from a modest resource base — the country is almost entirely dependent on agriculture, with tobacco, tea and sugar as the main exports — Malawi has achieved an average annual growth rate of 6.5 percent since independence.

With commercial plantations accounting for no more than 15 percent of the agricultural product, most of the expansion that has taken place has been the work of peasant farmers. And this expansion is directly related to the government's deliberate avoidance of what has been described as "the chronic Third World mistake of setting food prices at levels that please the urban elite but discourage peasant farmers from growing for the market." At a time when more and more Third World countries have found themselves having to import food, Malawi has achieved



Dr Banda... a stern father

near self-sufficiency. The country may be poor — income per head is no more than \$240 a year — but it presents, in the words of a correspondent writing recently in the *Economist* (London), "a quality of life which is hard to quantify but impossible to miss in its safe, clean and cheerful streets".

New capital

The most spectacular achievement of the last 10 years has been the building of a new capital, Lilongwe, in the very centre of the country. South African aid made the construction of Lilongwe — a garden-city with a population of more than 100 000 — possible. In the past the country's development was concentrated in the south around Blantyre and Zomba. The new city, now linked by rail to the Zambian frontier and with an airport due to receive international flights in 1982, has helped to redress the regional balance by serving as a focus for development in the northern and central provinces.

As a country which appears to have got its economic objectives right, Malawi has succeeded in attracting more aid than many of its neighbours. The latest figures for development assistance *per capita* show that Malawi was receiving \$13 *per capita* compared with \$8.4 received by Zambia and \$6 by Mozambique. Nevertheless the late 1970s brought growing economic difficulties, with the country's external debt rising from 399m kwacha in 1979 to 540m in 1980 (The Kwacha is roughly equivalent to the rand). Population continues to grow at two percent a year. Malawi will have to struggle hard merely to maintain the modest gains of recent years.

President Banda remains as unrepentant as ever about the links he has established with South Africa. "I prefer to deal with South Africa openly," he told the New Zealand parliament in September, "not secretly, and not denounce them in public and deal with them in secret. To kill apartheid is to go there." In recent years South Africa had changed, he asserted, "very, very greatly."

But Malawi's ties with South Africa are also changing. The number of Malawian migrants going to South Africa dropped from 123 000 in 1973 to 18 000 in 1980. In November 1981 Malawi played host to the other eight member states of the newly established Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference. The aim of SADCC is to encourage regional co-operation in such a way as to reduce the member-states' economic dependence on South Africa. Its establishment is seen as a highly effective counter to Mr P W Botha's "constellation of states".

The future

What of Malawi's future? The Life President's exact age is not known, but he is thought to be about 80. There is no subject more dangerous to discuss in Malawi than that of succession. Dr Banda has made a point of removing from office any politician who looked like emerging as an heir-apparent. Viewed historically Dr Banda's achievement has been an astonishing one, a remarkable proof of the influence that a single individual can have on the course of events. But in identifying the Malawi nation so closely with his own personality Dr Banda may well prove to have done his countrymen a great disservice.

Inevitably he has made many enemies — his most active political opponents are mostly now in exile. There are bound to be many contenders for the throne when he has gone. And then it may appear that what the great man has bequeathed his people is not a political system but a political vacuum.

Kamuzu Academy ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Malawi's own 'Eton'

Star
Jan
1982

KASUNGU (Malawi — Plato had his academy, and now Kamuzu has got his.

It is Malawi's very own Eton, costing about R16-million.

This dusty corner of a foreign field that is "for ever England" lies in President Kamuzu Banda's home district of Kasungu, about 120 km north of Malawi's new capital, Lilongwe.

Intended for Malawi's intellectual elite, the Kamuzu Academy — like the Kamuzu Airport at Lilongwe, the Kamuzu Stadium in Blantyre and countless other projects — bears the name of the ageing and enigmatic Malawian "Ngwaze" or hero).

Its financing is such that even the poorest of Malawi's young brightest will be able to end up with Cambridge A-levels.

The academy is very much President Banda's — as he told his countrymen at its fanfare opening recently. It is his "gift to the nation" built, he said, with his own funds.

Discipline

Its most remarkable facet is perhaps its curriculum — it is typical of the classical English Public School, with a particular emphasis on the virtues of Latin and Ancient Greek.

As Dr Banda told the assembled student body at the opening — after ordering them to stand: "You are here to discipline your minds. Is that clear?"

Their answer was a predictable affirmative. And Dr Banda added: "The school must be run by first-class teachers. And no one is a first-class teacher if he doesn't know Latin."

"To me, you cannot speak or talk about education without English. To me, an educated man is one who

President Banda believes there is no education like an old-fashioned English Public school complete with Latin and Greek teaching. To this end he built the Kamuzu Academy, named after himself of course. Howard Barrell of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

knows English, just like an educated man in the middle ages knew Latin."

It was enough to warm the cockles of any middle-class English heart. While the rest of Africa and the developing world was busy debunking the staff upper lip and the "pater-mater" family, here was a veritable Horatio straddling the cultural bridge.

Elite

Headmaster John Chaplin, a scientist with the good fortune to be saved by a classical education, told me there was "no question that this type of education is necessary in a country like Malawi."

"It is necessary to have an educated elite. We must prepare the elite to become lawyers, doctors, governors..."

Behind him as he spoke, Kamuzu Academy's heads of house stood in self-conscious silence, bottle-green uniforms and straw boaters.

Alongside him, trim in summer frock and hat, stood

Mrs Lucy Pen, one of the school's "visitors" and the wife of a former Colonel in "The Guards". The other visitors are a former Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Mr Kenneth Borthwick, and his wife.

Tour

To minister to the boys' maternal needs is a former "dame" at Eton, Mrs Maude Breda.

And all but one of the 25 teachers are imported expatriates who have satisfied the one immutable condition — a knowledge of classics.

As the Malawian president was taken on a guided tour of his academy, some 20 000 people had massed outside its red-brick portals, most of them on the field that holds a 400-metre athletics track. Elsewhere on the academy's 180 ha stood the library, a small replica of America's Library of Congress, the pavilion, a cricket and numerous other sports fields, squash courts, and the Kamuzu Chapel.

The questions have been muted,

though fairly widespread. Can Malawi, one of the world's poorest nations, afford to spend R16-million on one school which presently has 185 boys and girls and a projected capacity of about 600? Is technical or agricultural education not the priority in a developing country?

And some well-placed sources have suggested the Ngwaze may not yet have found the full R16-million.

Whatever the case, Dr Banda is determined to give Malawi's brightest the education for which he had to walk about 1 700 km to South Africa and later rely on considerable self-sacrifice and scholarships. He has seldom bowed to modern African wisdoms, and his conviction that the English educational system was the best appears immutable.

Correct

If that means building a special school — within — a school for the imported teachers' offspring and offering handsome contracts to those who can lead his elite across the intellectual Rubicon, then so be it.

And if a Big Ben-style clock tower and artificial lake are necessary to provide the correct atmosphere, then build them. And build them he has.

Dr Banda has also, by his own account, invested in Malawian government stock to ensure the school survives once he has gone, and that those who attend it do so because of their intellectual brilliance, not their fathers' cheque books.

No potential "Kamuzu clone," he appears to believe, should have to sit under a kachere tree as he did to learn the constant wisdom of Plato, Socrates, Cicero — or Kamuzu.

(c) Argus Co, 1982.

It's English
down to the
Principal

Banda may turn from 'pariah' friends back to black Africa

170 Evening Post 5/1/82

By John Edlin in Lilongwe

OUTCAST Malawi is showing signs of returning to the fold of black African nations that have spurned it because of its diplomatic ties with South Africa and its lean towards the West

In recent months, President Kamuzu Banda has taken a number of steps to ease Malawi's political isolation from its neighbours, among them

● Agreeing to allow a third-party judgment that could end a 13-year-old border feud with Tanzania

● Withdrawal of support for guerillas fighting the socialist government of President Samora Machel in neighbouring Mozambique

● Participation in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a group of black-governed states seeking to loosen South Africa's economic headlock on the region

President Banda also agreed in July to exchange ambassadors with Mozambique, in Malawi's first diplomatic link with a Marxist state

Since shepherding the former British protectorate of Nyasaland to independence as Malawi in 1964, President Banda has outraged most of the other 49 nations of the Organisation of African Unity with his passionately pro-West policies

While most of black Af-

rica called for economic boycotts and guerilla warfare against South Africa, Malawi became the only black state to formalise diplomatic ties with the South Africans

President Banda also established official links with Israel — while other black African governments sided with the Arabs — and with Taiwan

Malawi also built up aid and trade with South Korea

President Banda's friends "are like a Who's Who of the Third World's pariah nations," a Western diplomat who requested anonymity said in an interview

"But Banda profits more from those countries than his critics do from their socialist friends"

South Africa, Malawi's biggest trading partner, has pumped millions of rands in loans and grants into the country to help build Lilongwe as the nation's new capital, boost agriculture and train teachers

Israel, diplomatically boycotted by most African countries since the 1973 Middle East war, has provided instructors for Malawi's 5 000-man army

Taiwan, which clings to Malawi as one of its few

remaining allies, has helped Malawi double rice exports to nearly R3 million since 1976

South Korea is spending millions of dollars on aid projects, including a nearly completed project to pump clean water to all 6 million Malawians, 90% of them peasant farmers

In contrast, some other African countries have become disillusioned about East Bloc aid

Some poor countries, given East Bloc trucks and heavy equipment, found themselves forced to spend foreign exchange on spare parts at prices higher than what they would have paid in the West

Malawi has prospered from Western investment

Food production outpaces the 2.9% population growth — a rare achievement in Africa

"Malawi scrupulously accounts for every penny in aid or grants, and spends wisely," the US Embassy Counsellor, Mr Robert Kott, says

In the past year, Malawi has been re-examining its relationships with neighbouring countries such as socialist-governed Tanzania and Zambia and Mozambique

Malawi, which lacks its

own outlet to the sea, seeks closer co-operation on transport with Mozambique, which handles most of Malawi's ocean-going trade

Since Zimbabwe became independent 18 months ago, Mozambique has allowed the trans-shipment to Malawi of Zimbabwe's consumer goods — often cheaper than South African items

Tanzania encouraged Malawi's participation in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference partly, diplomats claim, to discourage President Banda from continuing to make territorial claims on Tanzania

Malawi officials caution against expecting dramatic changes

An aide to President Banda, who would not be named, said in an interview "We are taking a more active role in regional co-operation but there is absolutely no intention of altering our traditional links with countries like South Africa"

Diplomats in Lilongwe say President Banda is seeking little more than a practical re-adjustment of his country's economic arrangements

But for long-isolated Malawi, they add, a slight shift represents a big step toward official acknowledgement that the country can't remain a loner forever — Sapa-AP

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Bureaucratic elite unlikely to revamp policy

Who will succeed Banda?

"The old man," said a diplomat of Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda, "is still as sharp as a tack. And nothing happens here without his ordination."

In that observation there is much, though not unlimited, comfort for South Africa and other conservative governments.

His Excellency the Life President, Ngwaze Dr H Kamuzu Banda — that's his full appellation, and don't forget a bit of it — remains firmly in control of all his faculties and his country.

The adulation he receives from his people frequently verges on sycophancy. The Press and the country's only legal party, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), report his exploits and successes in Herculean fashion.

His Nbumba — thousands of Malawian women in dresses bearing his portrait — turn out to bid him welcome or farewell whenever he goes. And his motorcade, comprising up to 11 vehicles, usually includes an ambulance and fire engine.

The ambulance is what worries his supporters. But the old "Ngwaze" (or hero) told his people at the opening of the Kamuzu Academy recently he was not afraid to die.

It gives rise to the most intriguing question in Malawi: what happens when Dr Banda goes?

What opposition has emerged in the 17 years of independence has not survived in any meaningful form. Dr Henry Chipembere, who led Malawi to in-

dependence with Dr Banda in 1964, died in exile in America in 1975 and much of his People's Democratic Party with him.

In June this year, Malawi's three other major dissident groups met in the south-western Tanzanian town of Mbeya, but failed in their unity bid. They are the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafema), led by Mr Orton Chirwa, former Minister of Justice who split from Dr Banda in 1964; the Congress for the Second Republic (CSR), headed by a former External Affairs Minister, Mr Karayama Chiume, and the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) led by Dr Athai Mphahabi.

Dr Athai Mphahabi has lost his hands a few years ago when he opened a parcel bomb. Lesoma claims the development of an armed wing and a number of pamphlets furthering its cause have reportedly been distributed in the country.

But Lesoma, said to be the most effective of the groups, has expounded its own internal functions. Pamphlets purporting to come from the internal wing announced its decision to break with the Lesoma's external wing and form the Malawi Democratic Union (MDU). Once Malawi's young star, former Cabinet

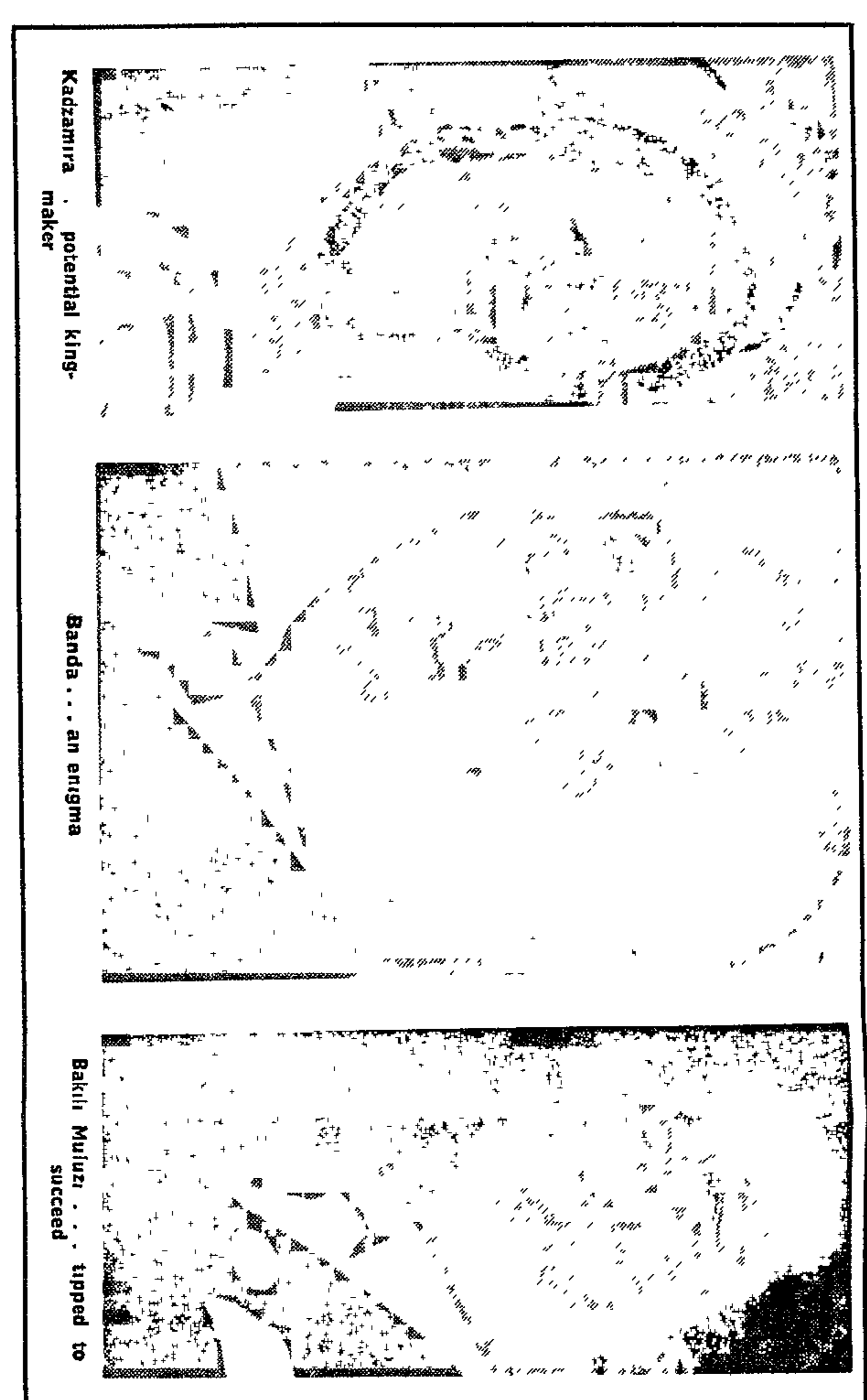
Minister Mr Aleke Banda tipped as Dr Banda's successor, now lives the life of a political recluse under security restriction.

And Mr Gwanda Phiri, another contender for the throne, who was Minister of Youth and headed a parastatal company that went bankrupt, is now sitting out 22 years for sedition. One rather cynical diplomat referred to Mr Phiri's crime as "advanced flywhisk-waving, the Ngwaze's prerogative."

There is no reliable measure of support for these groups and personalities. And what support there may be does not stick its neck out. There's must be a waiting game for Dr Banda's death, and for a situation in which there is dissatisfaction because Malawi's substantial economic growth has not benefited the great mass of people.

Pro-government Malawian sources maintain the succession will be constitutional.

Some see advantage in others' disadvantage. Mr Muluzi's Muslim



Kadzandira... potential king-maker

Banda... an enigma

Bakili Muluzi... tipped to succeed

Malawi's 75-year-old President is almost an African institution. Autocratic but successful, Dr Banda has ruled for 17 years. Howard Barrell of The Star's Africa News Service reports on the weakness of his opposition and the likely successors.

In the event of the President dying, the MCP's secretary general together with two senior Cabinet Ministers should, in terms of the constitution, form a presidential council which would run the country until elections are held.

Given the MCP's complete dominance of legal politics in Malawi, he who controls the party stands the best chance of gaining the presidency. Here the possibilities begin to narrow down.

Presently, Malawi's Minister without Portfolio, Mr Bakili Muluzi, doubles up as party secretary general and administrative secretary. That must make him favourite to succeed at this stage.

Some see advantage in others' disadvantage. Mr Muluzi's Muslim

faith. But observers are agreed that religious differences — apart from membership of the Jehovah's Witnesses — do not play a major role in Malawian politics.

Between 1972 and 1975, thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses fled Malawi to Mozambique and Zambia after their refusal to recognise secular government led to persecution by the country's Young Pioneers.

Another candidate for the succession is Mr Timon Mangwazo, once Malawi's representative to the European Economic Community (EEC), who is also said to be keeping his head down.

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Malawi comes in from the cold

ARGUS 9/3/82
170

All answer books must be numbered

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(In block letters)

First Name(s) **MILWA**

Date **23-10-70**

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Subject **ECONOMIC**
(to be copied from the heading on the paper)

Paper No **I**
(to be copied from the heading on the paper)

THE thaw in relations between black Africa's odd-man-out, Malawi, and its southern Africa neighbours has come as a bitter blow to President Hastings Banda's political opponents.

All three of Malawi's opposition movements operate from exile in Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique because their activities have been so ruthlessly curbed in their home territory.

But with the growing SADCC-sparked rapprochement with Malawi the exile groups have found themselves increasingly less welcome in these previously sympathetic countries.

Similarly, attempts by these groups to operate from Zimbabwe have been consistently rebuffed by the Salisbury authorities. Most damaging blow to the exiles so far was last week's deportation by the Zambian Government of Dr Attati Mphakati, leader of the most influential and militant of the Malawian opposition parties.

The Zambian action against Dr Mphakati, whose hands were blown off by a parcel bomb in Maputo several years ago, was seen as a gesture of goodwill to President Banda on the eve of President Kenneth Kaunda's historic state visit to Malawi.

The four day visit which ended this week was only the second to Malawi by President Kaunda since the former Federation sisters became independent 18 years ago.

Relations since then have been predominantly stormy as Malawi moved closer to South Africa and Zambia took an increasingly more active role against Pretoria.

Added to the differences in political ideology were several Malawian-provoked border disputes and the growing number of anti-Banda groups which were finding refuge in Zambia.

But signs that the Zambian Government had taken a firm decision not to allow these disputes to mar the current thaw in relations came late last year over the Chirwa affair.

Mr Orton Chirwa, a former Malawian cabinet minister who leads another exile group, the

DAVID THOMAS of Argus Africa News Service reports from Salisbury

Malawi Freedom Movement was captured by President Banda's security men.

A controversy still rages about whether he was caught while trying to enter Malawi or kidnapped by Dr Banda's agents inside Zambia where Mr Chirwa reportedly had been visiting relatives.

But the Zambian authorities went out of their way to avoid what would have become a nasty diplomatic fued by backing the Malawian Government's version of the capture.

Consistent and reliable reports from the 3,000-strong Malawian exile community in Zambia still adamantly claim that five Banda agents crossed into Zambia where they drugged Mr Chirwa and his wife and child and kidnapped them.



Dr Banda

What is definitely known is that Mr Chirwa is now languishing in a Malawian prison where he is awaiting trial on allegations of murder.

Malawi's other two neighbours, Tanzania and Mozambique have not been as open or as drastic as Zambia in cracking down on Dr Banda's foes. But political observers find it significant that the exiles now based in Maputo and Dar es Salaam are keeping an extremely low profile.

In fact the authorities involved have been unusually secretive about the destination of Dr Mphakati after his deportation from Zambia. It had been reliably learnt, however, that he returned to his base in Maputo.

The wooing of Malawi by black southern African states is a realisation by these countries of the need to stand united in their renewed attempts to break their dependence on South Africa.

The body the nine nations involved have formed to implement these aims is the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) of which Malawi is an active member.

The pragmatism of economic co-operation among the member nations is viewed as more important than giving sanctuary to Dr Banda's enemies.

In any case most realise that the ageing Ngwazi (officially 75 years old but believed to be well in his eighties) may not be around much longer.

- NOTE CAREFULLY**
- 1 Enter at the top of each page and the block on this cover the number you are answering
 - 2 Blue or black ink must be used in answers. The use of a ballpoint pen, red or green ink may be used. Underlining, emphasis or for diagrams pencil may also be used.
 - 3 Names must be printed on each examination book (s) are used.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

Malawi exiles find it cold outside

10/3/82

(170) S. Few

The thaw in relations between black Africa's odd man out, Malawi, and its southern African neighbours has come as a bitter blow to President Hastings Banda's political opponents.

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Relations between the two countries had been largely stormy as Malawi moved closer to South Africa and Zambia took an increasingly more active role against Pretoria.

Added to the differences in political ideology were several Malawian-provoked border disputes and the growing number of

Black states in southern Africa are wooing President Banda. David Thomas of The Star's Africa News Service in Salisbury explains this change of heart.

anti-Banda groups which were finding refuge in Zambia. But signs that the Zambian Government had taken a firm decision not to allow these disputes to mar the current thaw in relations came late last year over the Chr-

wa affair. Mr Orton Chirwa, a former Malawian Cabinet Minister who leads another exile group, the Malawi Freedom Movement (Matremo) was captured by President Banda's security men

A controversy still rages about whether he was caught while trying to enter Malawi or kidnapped by Dr Banda's agents inside Zambia where Mr Chirwa reportedly had been visiting relatives.

But the Zambian authorities went out of their way to avoid what would have become a nasty diplomatic feud by backing the Malawian Government's version of the capture. Recently another for-

mer Malawian cabinet minister, Mr Kanyama Chiume, leader of the third exile group, the Congress of the Second Republic (SCR), quietly left Zambia for abroad. Suggestions that he, too, came under pressure from the Lusaka authorities have not been confirmed.

Malawi's other two neighbours, Tanzania and Mozambique, have not been as open or as drastic as Zambia in cracking down on Dr

Banda's foes. But political observers find it significant that the exiles now based in Maputo and Dar es Salaam are keeping an extremely low profile.

The wooing of Malawi by black southern African states is a realisation by these countries of the need to stand united in their renewed attempts to break their dependence on South Africa.



R200-¹⁷⁰m for ²³⁴Malawi line

PHC

From the Financial Times

LISBON — Mozambique has taken a major step towards loosening southern Africa's economic dependence on Pretoria by approving a R200 million project to improve Malawi's main link to the sea.

An international consortium put together by the Portuguese company Sonafel has been awarded a contract to renew the 650-km rail-

way line between the port of Nacala in northern Mozambique and the Malawi frontier with substantial financial help from Canada and France.

The project is Mozambique's first economic priority and is also at the top of the list of the Southern Africa Transport and Communication Conference, a regional body formed under the auspices of the Southern Africa Development Co-ordinating Conference.

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Malawi rail link blown up

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BOOK

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All answer books

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First Name(s)

Date . . .

Degree/Diploma/Certificate
you are registered for

Subject
(to be copied from)

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HARARE — Mozambican rebels have blown up one of two railway lines linking Malawi with the sea, diplomatic sources in Harare said yesterday.

The rebels cut a major highway last month in north-western Mozambique, stopping direct road traffic between Malawi and Zimbabwe.

The sources said the rebels cut the railway between Malawi and Beira at the weekend.

They said they did not know how bad the break was, but they expected the line to be out of order for up to two weeks.

The line normally carries about 1 000 tons of Malawian imports and exports a day.

The attacks on transport routes are significant blows against Southern African attempts to reduce economic links with South Africa.

Malawi, the only black African state to maintain full diplomatic relations with Pretoria, has been trying to boost trade with Zimbabwe and step up its use of Mozambican ports to reduce its reliance on South Africa's factories, railways and ports.

South Africa has denied charges that it is behind the rebel attacks — Sapa-
Reuter

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Examiners' Initials		

No change in condition

BLOEMFONTEIN — The improvement reported yesterday on the condition of South Africa's first State President, Mr C R Swart, was maintained during the day, according to the bulletin issued by the Universitas Hospital in Bloemfontein at 4pm yesterday — Sapa

NOTE CAREFULLY

- 1 Enter at the top of the block on question you are answering. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- 2 Blue or black ink answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
- 3 Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.
- 4 Do not write in the left hand margin.

WARNING

- 1 No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
- 2 Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
- 3 No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
- 4 All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

The 1982 Regional Authority Courts Act was passed during the last sitting of the Transkei Parliament. Now questions have been raised about its application.

The questions revolve around the legal training of the presiding officers, of no legal representation at tribal court hearings and also the possibility of an unfair trial. There is the question too of how this will affect the Supreme Court because the Regional Authority Court will have applied rules of procedure different from its own.

The history of legal procedure in Africa discloses similar fears and concerns elsewhere when the system turns a full circle from customary law to Westernised concepts and finally back to customary law with the coming of independence. However, some academics feel there is no cause for concern.

Transkei has adopted the course of making an amalgam of the Western and African patterns in the interests of a changing society which is in search of new solutions.

The vice-dean of law at the University of Transkei and author of the book *Customary Law in a Changing Society*, Prof Digby Koyana says he has no quarrel with the path Transkei has chosen to follow and talks of the Malawian system.

'Where a nation has been colonised, cooked and boiled in the dominant institutions of the dominant power for upwards of a century, the tendency is for some to reject the indigenous institutions as inferior and not worthy of retention.'

'This tendency is greatly discouraged by Dr Brun-Otto Bryde, a leading expert on African customary law and who is based at the Institute of International Affairs in Hamburg, West Germany. He says indigenous institutions for the settlement of dis-

putes are not necessarily inferior to the courts of official law. The opposite may well be true in view of the capacity of the indigenous institutions not just to decide disputes but actually to solve them and contribute to social cohesion.

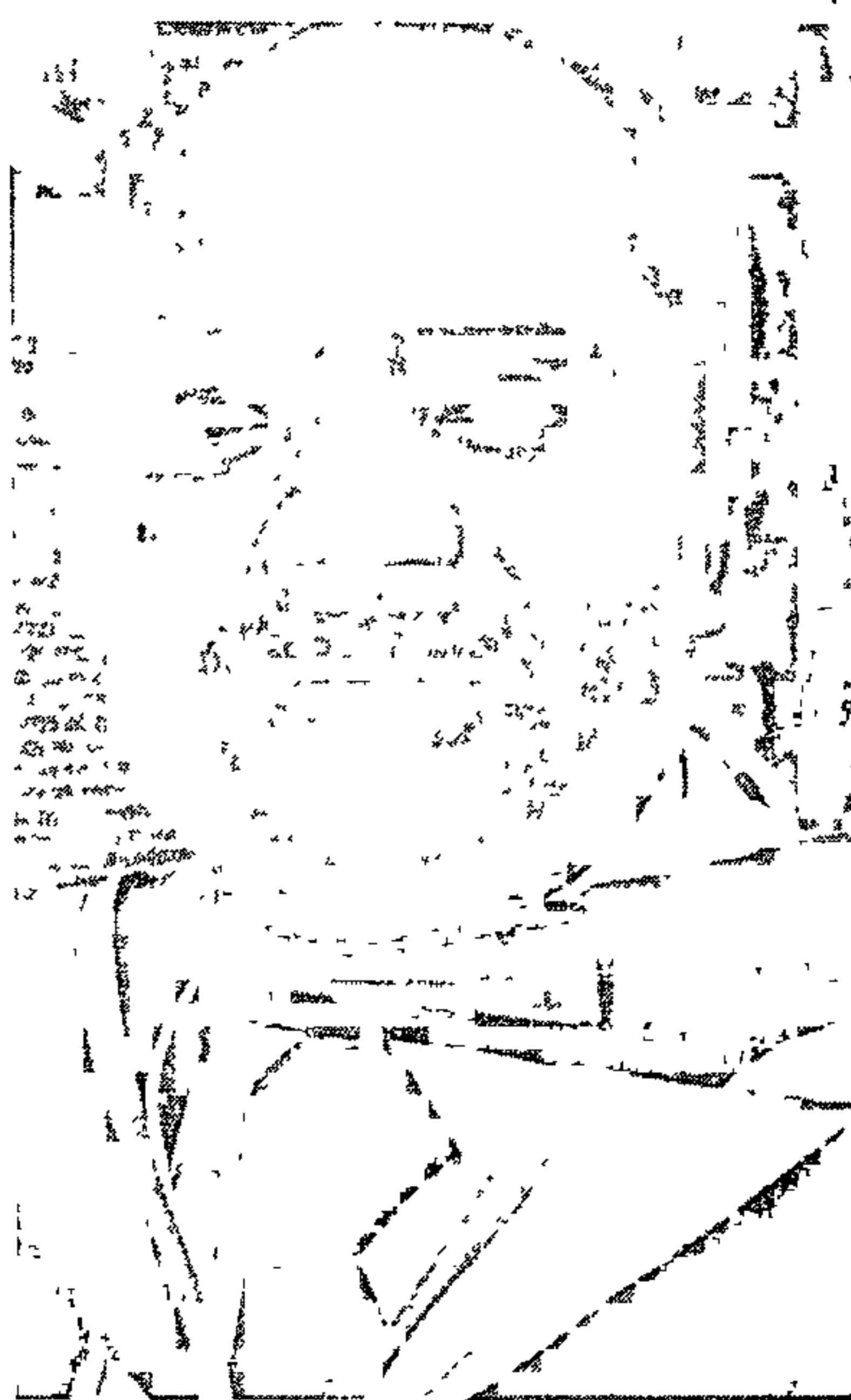
'On the over-emphasised need for modernisation of customary law or substitution thereof by western law, Dr Bryde says that what tends to be overlooked is that Western family law is itself insufficiently modernised and linked to outdated models of social organisation. Western family life is not a modern alternative but rather a different form of traditional law. It is the field of law most in need of reform in Western countries.'

Prof Koyana sketches a background in Africa and relates it to Transkei and Ciskei — which has left the door open for a similar policy following intervention by President Lennox Sebe on a motion during their last parliamentary sitting in Ciskei.

Professor Koyana says 'When a power from outside assumes dominance over an indigenous population, decisions have to be made regarding systems of social control. This gives rise to the question of whether the indigenous systems are to be completely suppressed or supported or rejected in part and supported in part.'

'In the field of criminal law, the indigenous systems in many African countries of which Transkei is one, lost out completely.'

'The African courts were to impose no penal sanctions of any significance. In Zimbabwe from 1891, chiefs who violated this prohibition



Vice-dean of law, University of Transkei, Professor Digby Koyana — Western family law is itself insufficiently modernised.

and were caught became liable to charges of extortion. However, there were exceptions like Nigeria and Botswana where the customary judicial authorities were allowed to prescribe the ultimate penalty for serious offences.'

He said after independence African leaders had a choice between adhering to the colonial patterns or discarding them in favour of customary law. They also had a choice of an amalgam which Transkei had adopted.

'In Ghana the judicial system was unified. All

'native' courts were abolished and at all levels the courts apply the general law, customary law and Islamic law. But the courts will apply customary law only when the parties affected can show the propriety of applying it instead of western law. This obviously relegates customary law to an inferior position.

By contrast, Malawi retained the colonial times 'native' courts and renamed them local courts in 1962. Malawi also created the regional traditional courts and the national traditional appeal courts in 1969 with power to try the

Support for ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ ~~Tr~~ new of law systems

most important criminal offences including murder and to pass any sentence including death.'

In an article entitled 'Tradition and Traditional Courts in Malawi' the Dean of the School of Law at the University of Malawi states 'This is clear evidence of the traditional law approach and national consciousness is probably the greatest single factor which can explain the trend.'

Professor Koyana says 'It is significant that the national traditional appeal courts hear appeals from the traditional appeal courts and the three regional traditional courts (one for each region) and from it there is no appeal to any other court.'

He argues that it is against this background the Act passed in Transkei should be considered. Such a legislative innovation is certain to have problems of implementation and adjustment.

Going back to Malawi we find that each of the regional courts has the following composition: three chiefs, one trained chairman, a qualified lawyer — making a bench of five. Sometimes the qualified lawyer is a

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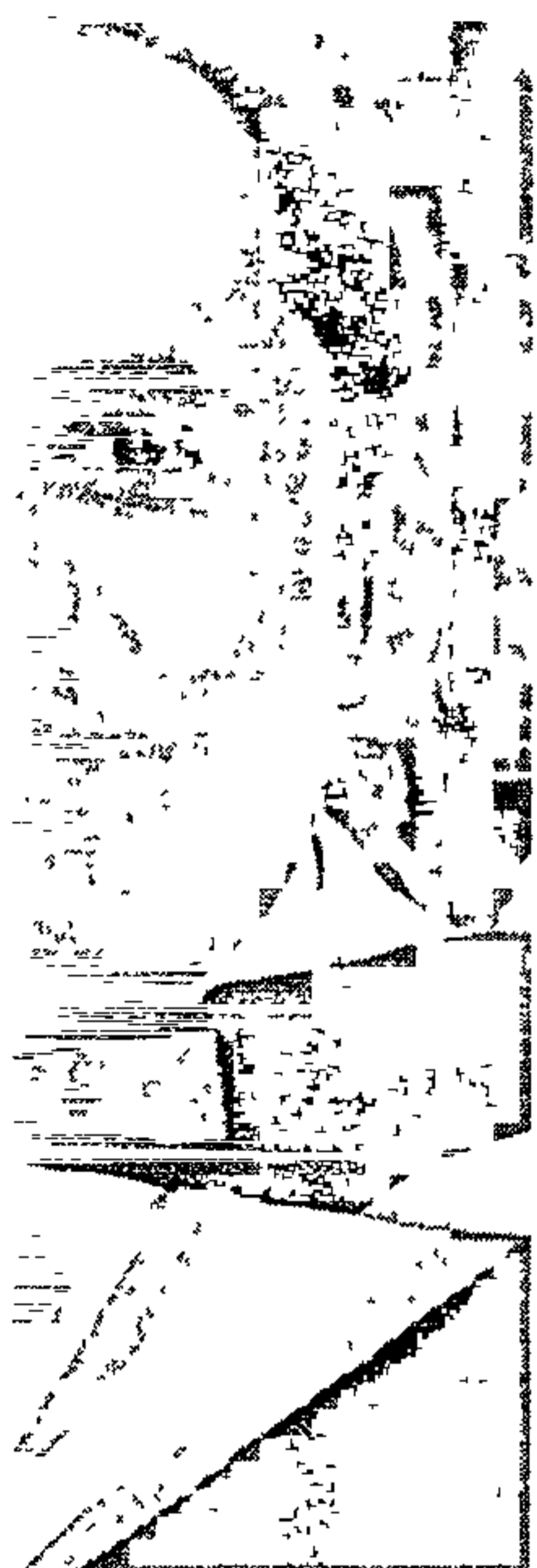
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^{D. Dispatch} new mix ^{29/7/82} of legal systems



University of Transkei, Umtata — Western family law and Islamic law merged efficiently modernised

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"Going back to Malawi we find that each of the regional courts has the following composition: three chiefs, one trained chairman, a qualified lawyer — making a bench of five. Sometimes the qualified lawyer is a

With the passing of the Regional Authority Courts Act, tribal authorities in Transkei have the same powers as magistrates. Matthew Moonieya of the Daily Dispatch Umtata bureau, reports on the misgivings this has aroused in some quarters and the support given the move by Professor Digby Koyana, vice-dean of law at the University of Transkei, in his book, Customary Law in a Changing Society.

resident senior magistrate in his region, sometimes a barrister trained in England and lately a lawyer trained at the University of Malawi.

"Now that the Act has been passed in Transkei I believe it is possible for us to consider the advisability of following the Malawi example even if only to some extent. Most of the envisaged problems of implementation and adjustment would then fall away.

"It may be said that the inclusion of trained lawyers in the judiciary detracts from the traditional nature of the courts. But the fact remains the chiefs will constitute the majority of the court. The law applicable in criminal cases is wholly written law. It is largely the received law which has been codified in the form of the penal code. The cases have to go up to the Supreme Court for appeal or review and the presence of the trained lawyer can only be an asset.

"In Malawi he is the one who writes the judgment of the court and reads it out. Transkei has the added advantage that several chiefs are highly legally trained men and this could reduce the expense of resorting to independent lawyers."

Professor Koyana adds "Bearing in mind that the powers now conferred on Transkeian chiefs are far less than those conferred on their Malawian counterparts the Transkei Act can be described as only a



Malawi's President Banda — "we are Malawians — we have our own system, the Malawian, the African legal and judicial system."

slight departure from the English law traditions to which Transkei became subjected.

"If the opportunity is granted Transkeian lawyers like their Malawian counterparts should participate and ensure that the best results are achieved for the good of the man-in-the-street."

"In this way an amalgam of the Western and African patterns can be achieved and the interests of our changing society can best be served."

Professor Koyana points to the difficulties encountered in Malawi when the bill was mooted.

"President Hastings Banda said the purpose of the legislation was to eliminate the possibility, which was allowed by British justice, that criminals could escape conviction by hiding behind technicalities."

"Tempers ran high and some senior white officials threatened to resign. President Banda said 'We may have resignations. I want to be fair to them. They have their own idea of justice. They are steeped in British ways of doing justice. British legal tradition, legal institutions. But here we are Malawians, we are not part of the Anglo-Saxon judicial and legal systems. We have our own system, the Malawian, the African legal and judicial system.'

In his book Professor Koyana takes a similar view and contends that English law is often based on experiences in England and is foreign to the average Transkeian.

I also said that some salient features of customary law of procedure and evidence should replace the corresponding rules in the magistrates' courts. This contention has been supported by academics who have reviewed my book and I have no quarrel with the new Transkei Act."

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Quiz for business houses

Post Reporter

THE Eastern Cape elimi-
nation rounds of an inter-
institute quiz series will be
held next Tuesday at the
Marine Hotel in
Summerstrand

Bankers building society
employees and members of
other commercial insti-
tutes will make up the 30
three member teams who
will compete in the nation-
wide contest

Radio quiz personality
Mr Grant Loudon will be
the quiz-master at the
elimination rounds and in
the finals in Durban on
September 11

Questions will cover
business affairs current
news and events, personal-
ities of the 20th century and
a wide variety of general
topics including sport

The quiz will include
commercial institutes re-
presenting about 50 000
people

The quiz will start at
7 30pm and the public is
welcome to attend

Malawi court told of plan to topple Govt

170 E Post
6/8/82

BLANTYRE - A court trying a former Malawi Justice
Minister Mr Orton Chirwa and his wife on charges of
treason has been told of 'top secret' documents which set
out the couple's plan to topple the Malawi Government, the
Malawi news agency has reported

The trial was resumed after doctors pronounced Mrs
Vera Chirwa fit to stand trial. The court adjourned on
Wednesday when Mrs Chirwa said she was ill.

The agency said yesterday the court had been told the
couple had planned to enter Malawi from Zambia "to
carry out a top secret masterplan coded 'Operation Chit-
ukuko' to topple the Malawi Government"

The court was read the transcript of a radio interview,
broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation in May
last year in which Mr Chirwa spoke as leader of the
Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo)

Asked about a proposed unity conference of dissident
groups opposed to Malawi President Kamuzu Banda he
was alleged to have said the conference did not take place
because Mafremo wanted to work out more details

"We are fighting for the same thing. We want to remove
Banda," he was alleged to have said

When asked why he could not organise guerilla opposi-
tion to President Banda, Mr Chirwa is alleged to have said
that financial and organisational problems, as well as lack
of unity had hindered him

The agency said the prosecution would play a tape of the
interview when the trial resumed today - Sapa-Reuter

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R9 300	R8 495	1979 FORD CORTINA Station Wagon	R5 300	R4 795
R10 800	R9 995	1978 ALFASUD 1500 SPRINT	R5 400	R4 995
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World jurists appeal for kidnapped exile

GENEVA — The International Commission of Jurists appealed to Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda yesterday to secure the return to Zambia of former Malawi Justice Minister Mr Orton Chirwa

Mr Chirwa went into exile in 1964 and last December was "lured to a place

near the Malawi frontier (and) kidnapped by Malawi police", the commission said

It said Mr Chirwa himself confirmed at his present treason trial before a court of tribal chiefs that he was kidnapped in Zambia

"In view of confirmation by former

Justice Minister Orton Chirwa of his illegal arrest by Malawi police on Zambian soil, International Commission of Jurists respectfully urges your Excellency's intervention to secure his immediate return to Zambia with his wife and son," commission secretary-general Niall MacDermot said in a cable to President Kaunda — UPI

Improved trade links for Malawi

THE increase in cargo being routed to Malawi has enabled Africa Cross to introduce a consolidation service and offer reduced rates

In addition, the frequency of the service to Malawi has been improved and a shipment now leaves Johannesburg every seven to ten days bound for Blantyre

Africa Cross is a joint venture between Rennies and AMI and offers a comprehensive road, rail, sea and air transport service to various African countries

It boasts 36 offices throughout Central Africa, catering for the R2 000 million worth of

export trade going to these countries

In recent months trade with Malawi has been increasing as exporters redouble their efforts to keep up volumes to compensate for the decline in other overseas trade

Africa Cross has shared in the handling of these increased volumes and has been able to streamline its operation and offer an improved service

(170) 832 FM 17/9/82

Hell-run aids Malawi

A fleet of about 50 SA heavy duty trucks is plying the hell-run across central Africa in a bid to keep open Malawi's vital trade links with the outside world

The 3 000km haul touches four countries (see map) and, because Zimbabwean roads are now closed to transit traffic, use has to be made of the Zambesi River pontoon at "freedom alley" upstream of Victoria Falls. This narrow link between Botswana and Zambia, which is metres away from Namibian and Zimbabwean territory, was used by SA refugees before Zimbabwe independence.

The long and costly road journeys have become necessary because the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRM) has severed much of the traditional trade route through Zimbabwe to the ports of Nacala, Beira and Maputo.

Mozambique Railways is now working at barely 30% capacity. And, according to some reports, condition of the track is so bad in some places that train speeds are limited to about 10 km/h. Poor port facilities generally and a shortage of wagons and locomotives are also taking their toll.

To make matters even worse the main road from the Mozambique coast to Zimbabwe has been virtually closed since the MRM has threatened death to any truck driver who uses it.

Trade of most central African countries is affected to some extent, but worst hit is Malawi, which could lose its overseas markets for tea and tobacco.

Overall, at least 60% of Malawi exports are now going through SA. And much of the freight is being carried in the SA trucks which each carry 25 t of cargo per trip or about 5 000 t/month collectively.

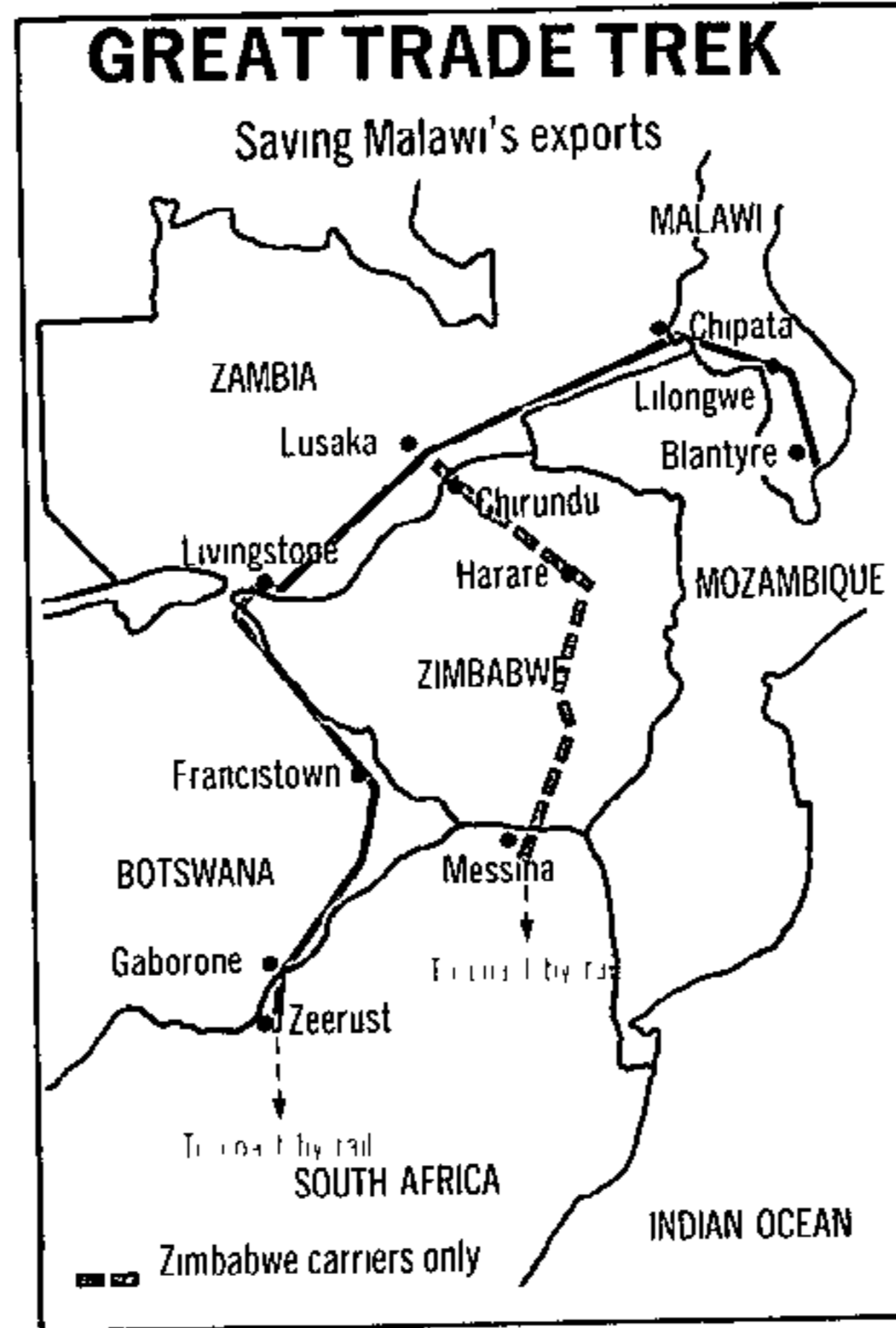
About 40% of Malawi tobacco now goes by truck through Zambia and Botswana and much is loaded in Zeerust for shipment to local ports. Just three months ago Malawi Rail estimated that only 5%-10% did not go through Mozambique.

The move to road transport is hampered by a shortage of suitable vehicles and containers, and a delegation from the UK tobacco industry recently visited Malawi to assess the damage.

The tea industry is also suffering and about 500 containers have yet to be shipped although the tea season ended in May.

The switch to road is a boon to SA truck operators but is severely straining the road systems in Zambia and Botswana and these countries, like Zimbabwe, could soon introduce stricter controls on transit traffic which could hurt Malawi's exports.

Says Kerry Curtis of TruckAfrica, one of the largest SA firms operating on the



Malawi route "Our business from Malawi has increased by about 50%. But there is a lot more traffic and this is damaging the roads, particularly in Botswana, and they don't like it very much."

Curtis says the problem has been aggravated by lax controls over transport firms in SA and the rot has spilled over into neighbouring states.

Permits

"Some SA firms are not playing ball," he says. "They operate without permits and overload vehicles."

Malawi will now deal only with operators who have clearances from Botswana and Zambia. Curtis believes other controls will soon follow.

Zimbabwe's ban on transit traffic is also hurting. Says Curtis "Zimbabwe is trying to protect its own operators and railways. This is unfair to Botswana because of the road damage, it is unfair to SA operators because Zimbabwe firms are allowed to transit through SA, and it is unfair to Malawi which is paying out a lot of money."

The failure of the Mozambique transportation system has also had repercussions for SA shipping. Unicorn Line, which operates a bi-monthly service to Nacala, Malawi's main outlet to the sea in Mozambique, is one of them. Says Unicorn's Brian Davis "There has been a substantial drop in traffic and we have no idea when it is going to improve. There is no short-term solution."

He adds that Unicorn has no intention of reducing the service at present but may do so if the situation gets worse.

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Malawi's Banda ... charges against an opponent

MALAWI

Chirwa's trial

(170)

FM 24/9/82
Nine months after his clouded return to Malawi, Orton Chirwa, leader of the outlawed Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo) was earlier this week put on trial in Blantyre for treason. In a traditional court, the government of Malawi's President Hastings Kamuza Banda is charging Chirwa with plotting to seize key installations, place top officials under house arrest, abolish the life presidency and organise elections.

Chirwa's trial would seem to scotch earlier beliefs that the former Cabinet minister and attorney general, who went into exile in Dar es Salaam in 1964, had been

pardoned and was to have been rehabilitated by Banda.

The rule of thumb concerning opposition leaders in Malawi is that they will be "shot on sight." Attatu Mpakati, leader of the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), had his hands blown off two years ago by a letter bomb sent to him in Mozambique.

Confusion surrounded the return of Chirwa and his wife and son last Christmas. Some reports said a deal had been struck using diplomatic intermediaries after Chirwa had written to Banda and arranged for his low-key return. Others claimed that Chirwa planned to seize power. A third ver-

sion has it that the Chirwas were abducted in Zambia by Malawi police.

In any event, Chirwa appears to have been well treated (after an initial spell in detention) which gave rise to speculation that he was being groomed as Banda's successor as an able and well-educated politician. This would have been a major departure from Banda's demonstrated intolerance of potential successors, but credible in view of his age (82) and the perennial question of what happens once he goes.

The 1964 Cabinet crisis that led to Chirwa's sacking and flight was precipitated by Banda's allegation that Chirwa, together with Henry Chipembere (who has since died) and Kanyama Chume, both of whom formed opposition parties in exile, were planning to usurp his authority at that time.

MNR rebels give Malawi problems

2/88 (170) Staw 7/10/82

Own Correspondent
MAPUTO — The Mozambique National Resistance is causing problems for Malawi.

The regime of Dr Hastings Banda is dependent on Mozambique for its imports and exports, and persistent MNR attacks on the rail link between Blantyre and the Mozambique port of Beira have delayed fuel deliveries, causing an acute shortage of petrol.

Officials in Mozambique say Blantyre is turning a blind eye to MNR bases inside Malawi. The 800 km common border is difficult to police for either country, and is generally ignored by people in the border areas.

The new MNR offensive, which began in mid-August, moved quickly. By early September, a 80 km strip of Zambezia province along the border was paralysed.

Roads were mined, villages attacked, and State-run cotton and tea factories destroyed. The main road east from Milange has been closed for the past six weeks. Two military columns were ambushed.

The new offensive also reflects a switch away from pure terrorism towards a more sophisticated political line.

In meetings with the people, the MNR

stresses that it is different from groups operating further south — it does not kill village officials and does not cut off ears and lips.

In several cases, teachers have been captured, but instead of being killed as they would have been in the past, they are lectured on the evils of teaching marxism and then released.

In some areas of Zambezia, much of Frelimo's post-independence support has been eroded. There is a shortage of basic consumer goods, and peasants complain of a lack of support.



War hurting Malawi too

News 27/10/82

THE increasing ferocity of the guerilla war in Mozambique is seriously damaging neighbouring Malawi. Rebels fighting the Maputo government have been attacking Malawi's trade lifelines, blowing up rail tracks to the sea and cutting the road south to Zimbabwe. Thousands of tons of fertiliser vital to Malawi's crops are stranded in the port of Beira.

Malawi officials are drawing up plans for an emergency airlift, requiring outside help, to save next year's harvest of maize, tobacco, tea and sugar — the four pillars of the economy — all dependant on fuel, fertiliser and spare parts.

Malawi, once known as the slum of the British Empire, had been an African economic success story from independence in 1964 until the close of the 1970s when it was hit by world recession. The picture was beginning to brighten again this year when the warfare in Mozambique took a turn for the worse.

'The future of the whole economy has been undermined by these transport difficulties,' said one official.

Malawi, 900 km long and never more than 160 km wide, protrudes like a splinter into north-western Mozambique where rebels of the National Resistance Movement (RNM) are causing chaos in their fight against the Marxist government, concentrating on economic targets, chiefly Mozambique's ports, railways, roads and bridges.

Drivers afraid

Mozambique's trade routes are a key to the success of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), a community formed by nine black countries, including Malawi, mainly to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and its giant transport networks.

Malawi ordered 82 000 tons of fertiliser for this year's planting season, due to begin soon.

'The fertiliser was off-loaded at Beira in a record one day, then the line was blown up. It was no sooner repaired than it was blown up again,' one official told a visiting journalist last week.

He added, however, that it had been working smoothly for 11 days. Then his telephone rang. He replaced the receiver and said 'The line is down again.'

Transport Ministry officials said this week that only five trains had got through from Beira in the past two months. If the rebels had not blown up the line, drivers had derailed their trains because fear of attack made them drive too fast for the old and rickety track.

Severing Malawi's jugular

AN INCREASINGLY ferocious guerrilla war in Mozambique is seriously damaging neighbouring Malawi

Officials in the capital of the tiny, landlocked country, look on helplessly as rebels fighting the Maputo government attack Malawi's trade lifelines

With rising dismay they see guerrillas blow up rail tracks to the sea and cut the road south to Zimbabwe

Thousands of tons of fertiliser vital for Malawi's crops are stranded in the Indian Ocean port of Beira

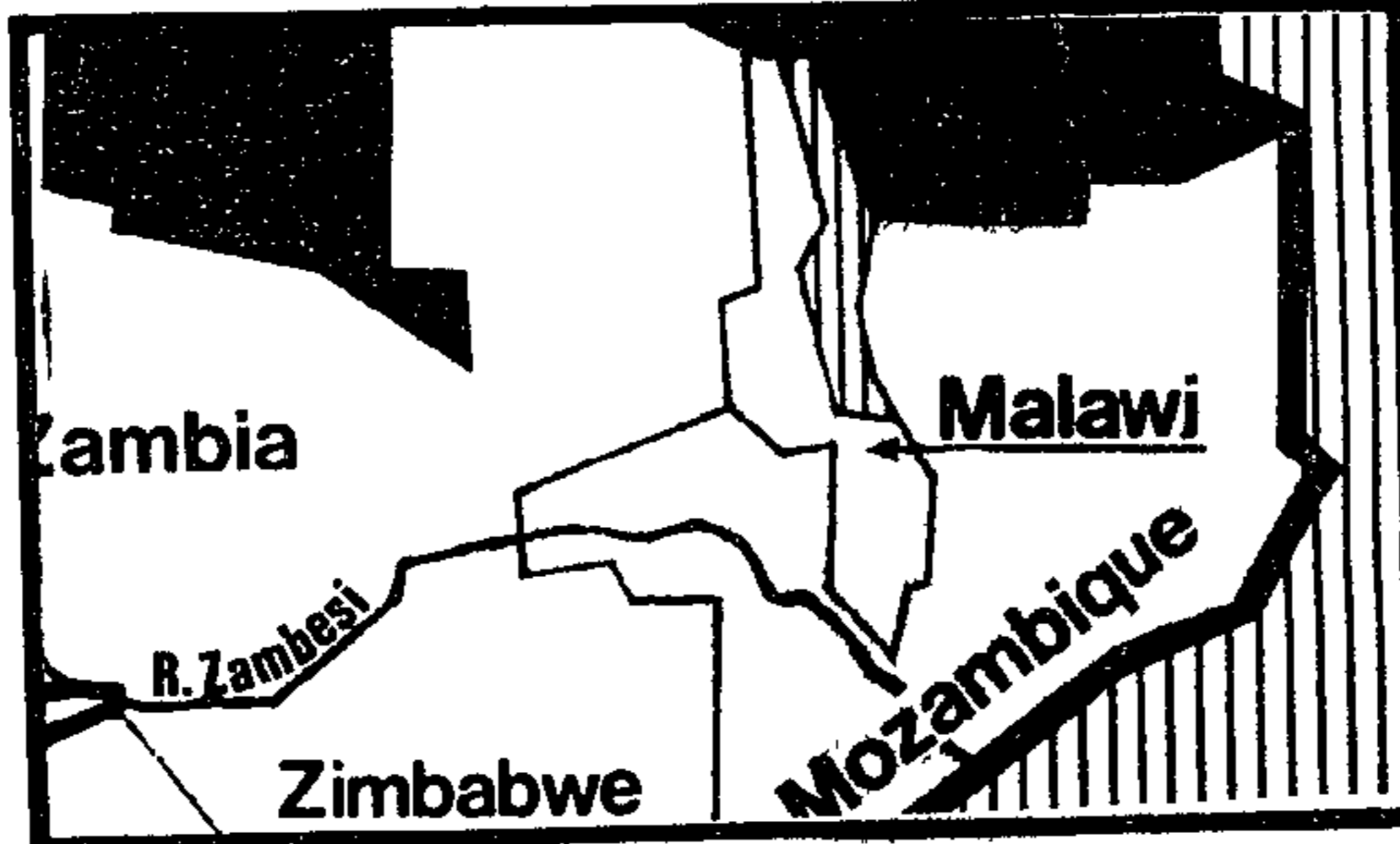
The officials are drawing up plans for an emergency airlift, requiring outside help, to save next year's harvest of maize, tobacco, tea and sugar, the four pillars of the economy

Malawi, once known as the slum of the British empire, had been an African economic success story from independence in 1964 until the close of the 1970s when it was hit by world recession. The picture was beginning to brighten again this year when the warfare in Mozambique took a turn for the worse

"The future of the whole economy has been muddied by these transport difficulties," said one official

Malawi, 900km long and never more than 160km wide, protrudes like a splinter into northwestern Mozambique, where rebels of the so-called National Resistance Movement (RNM) are causing chaos in their fight against the Marxist government of President Samora Machel

Mozambique's trade routes are a key to the success of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), a community formed by nine African countries, including Malawi, mainly to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and its giant transport networks



The guerrilla war in Mozambique has muddied not only the economy of Maputo itself, but that of neighbouring Malawi as well. RODNEY PINDER reports from Lilongwe

The SADCC accuses South Africa of sponsoring the RNM as part of a covert war of regional destabilisation to keep its neighbours dependent. Regional officials feel that if Mozambique cannot work neither can the SADCC

Malawi, officially one of the world's 30 poorest nations, depends for its income on exports of tobacco, tea and sugar. It must import fertiliser, fuel and spare parts to survive. As cars queued outside a nearby filling station for dribbles of petrol, Malawian Transport Ministry officials said almost all of Malawi's trade should go through the Indian Ocean ports of Beira and Nacala, with Beira taking about 80%

Only five trains had made it through from Beira in the past two

months, they said. If the rebels had not blown the line, drivers had derailed their trains because fear of attack made them drive too fast for the old and rickety track, they said

Malawi ordered 82 000 tons of fertiliser for this year's planting season

The officials said Malawi needed at least 20 000 tons of fertiliser to save next year's harvest. Their only hope appeared to be an airlift from Beira — five or six times more costly than rail

Finance officials estimated the emergency operation could cost up to R14-million — about a third of Malawi's regular import shipping bill for an entire year

The transport officials said the Nacala line had not been attacked, but that it was in poor repair and

capable of handling only one small train a day at best. The port was under-equipped and already choked with goods for Malawi, they said

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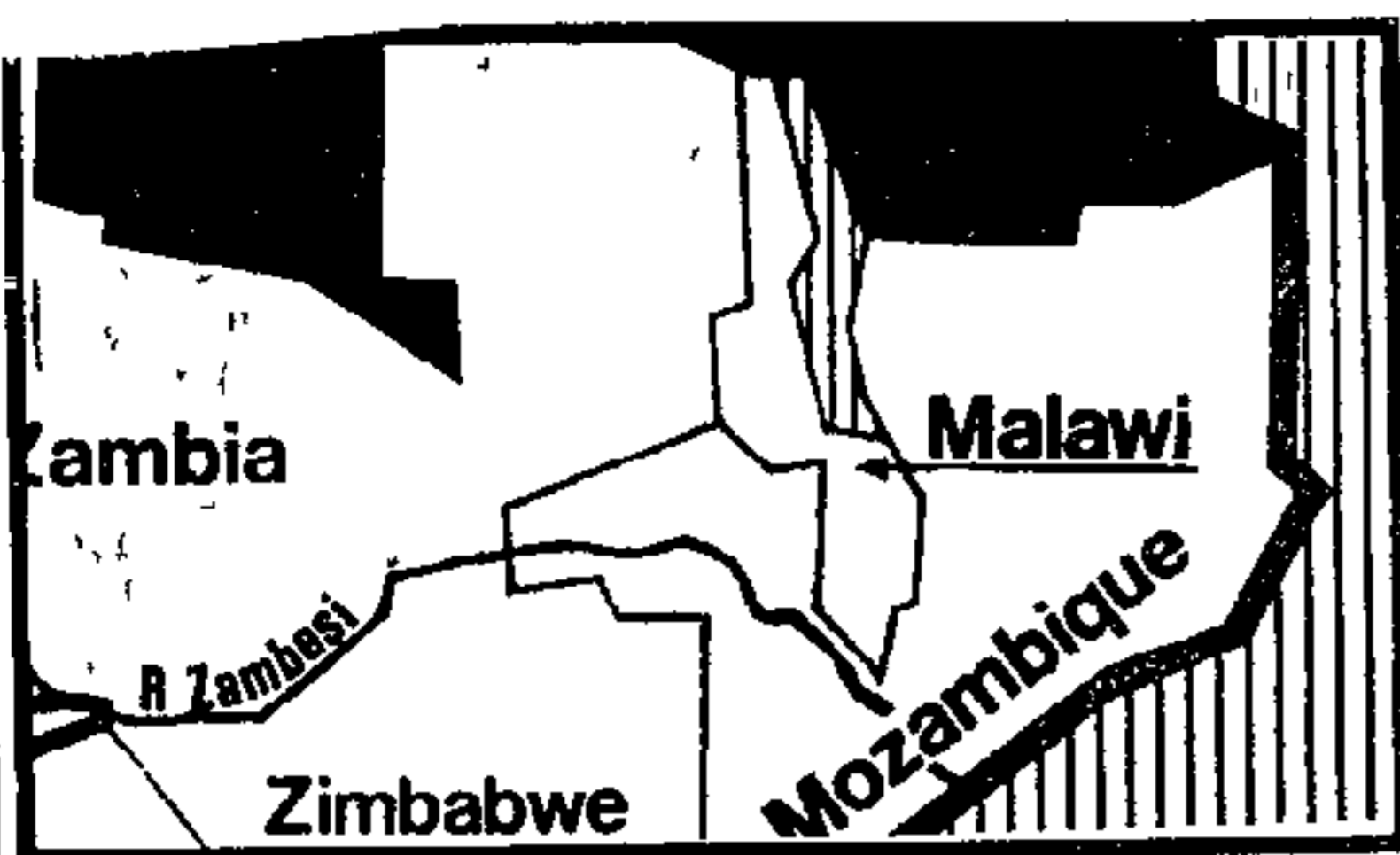
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Malawi is South Africa's big diplomatic success in Africa. Life President Kamuzu Banda has long insisted that the best way to persuade Pretoria to change its racial policies was through dialogue and not boycott, so Lilongwe hosts the only South African embassy in black Africa

But over recent months Malawi has appeared to be moving closer towards its black neighbours. It joined the SADCC and has established diplomatic relations with Mozambique, an ideological opposite. Officials here describe their relations with the Mozambicans — bitter foes of South Africa — as cordial

Malawian and Mozambican officials meet regularly to deal with security problems, they said

Some diplomats view the attacks on its trade jugular as a warning to Malawi not to wander off too far with its new-found friends. "It's a shot across the bows," said a senior envoy — Sapa-Reuter



Severing Malawi's trade jugular

CARE Times 2/11/82
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Coffee cure for a headache

MALAWIANS are mixing coffee with their tea to help cure an economic headache

The government has decided the vast tea estates of the southern region must diversify in order to reduce the country's troublesome overdependence on tea exports. When the world cuts down on cups of tea, Malawi's foreign exchange reserves begin to run dry.

All around the small terraced town of Thyolo, 35 km southeast of Blantyre, green seas of tea roll off into a shimmering blue haze.

But increasingly the bushes that provide the tea are being joined by coffee plants and trees providing tung oil and macademia, the world's top luxury nut.

Malawi was the first country in Africa to grow tea on a commercial scale. It is now one of the three pillars of the Malawi economy alongside tobacco and sugar. But it has proved a wobbly prop over recent years, tumbling from a record R5,36 a kilo world average price in 1977 to R1 50 in 1980 and back up to about R2,70.

As tea accounts for 12 percent of Malawi's export earnings and 15 percent of total agricultural production, the economy was clearly overexposed to American and European hot drinks fashions.

At Thyolo multi-cropping is well under way.

The Naming'Omba estate's 2 000 ha now include 360 ha of creamy-flowered tung trees which are harvested in the winter months when tea is at its most dormant, helping keep the estate's 2 000 workers busy.

Malawi is said by officials to be the world's sole producer of the quick-gel Montana type of tung oil which is used in high quality paints and varnishes and for lacquering the interiors of food cans.

Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia and New Zealand buy



Malawi tung oil, but South Africa takes half the crop. In 1979, the last year for which detailed figures are available, tung oil earned about R581 395 to come half-way up Malawi's export league.

Last year, Malawi harvested its first major crop of macademia nuts, gathering in 20 tons which were dried,

shelled, graded, roasted and vacuum packed at a local factory. A 50-ton crop is forecast for this year and traders are trying to attract British supermarkets as buyers.

Waste tung cake is recycled as tea fertiliser as it is full of phosphates and potash. Its shells and husks fire the boilers which dry tea and coffee. The outer shells of the macademia fruit are used for compost and offcuts from the sawmill can be converted into roofing tiles.

Naming'Omba also produces 135 tons a year of grade one Arabica coffee and about 15 tons of other grades from plants spaced out between the macademia trees.

The coffee, most of which is sold in Europe through British brokers, made Malawi about R1,3 m in 1979, double the amount earned in 1977.

Malawi offers to combat the MNR

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By JOSE CAETANO

MALAWI has offered to help Mozambique maintain security along the common border between the two countries to contain the military activities of the Mozambique National Resistance armed groups, apparently also operating from Malawi

The Malawian offer came during last week's visit to the country by the Mozambican Foreign Minister, Major-General Joaquin Chissano

Addressing a Press conference at the end of his visit to Malawi, Gen Chissano said that "bands of the so-called Mozambique National Resistance are operating from Malawian soil without authorisation from the Malawian authorities"

Replying to a question the Mozambique Minister said "We have the understanding that we have a common enemy, that our economies should be developed and that our independence should be safeguarded"

"They are there (in Malawi) as they are in Mozambique", the Mozambican Minister said "We don't want them there, but they infiltrate"

Relations between Malawi and Mozambique have until recently been strained because of suspicion in Maputo that President Banda's government was giving the MNR tactical support

According to Gen Chissano the aim of his visit "was to exchange views with Malawian leaders on the situation in Southern Africa and on cooperation within the Southern Africa Development Co-Ordination Conference (SADCC)"

Referring to MNR attacks on economic targets inside Mozambique, Gen Chissano said "The enemy is not courageous enough to attack our armed forces. But they attack schools and hospitals"

"They kidnap civilians, particularly experts who are working to improve roads, railroads and other infrastructures that would benefit our development"

Malawi hit by crisis from

Maputo's guerilla war

An increasingly ferocious guerrilla war in Mozambique is seriously damaging neighbouring Malawi. Officials in Lilongwe, the capital of the tiny, landlocked country, look on helplessly as rebels fighting the Maputo Government attack Malawi's trade lifelines.

With rising dismay they see guerrillas blow up rail tracks to the sea and cut the south road to Zimbabwe. Thousands of tonnes of fertiliser vital for Malawi's crops are stranded in the Indian ocean port of Beira.

The officials are drawing up plans for an emergency airlift, requiring outside help, to save next year's harvest of maize, tobacco, tea and sugar, the four pillars of the economy.

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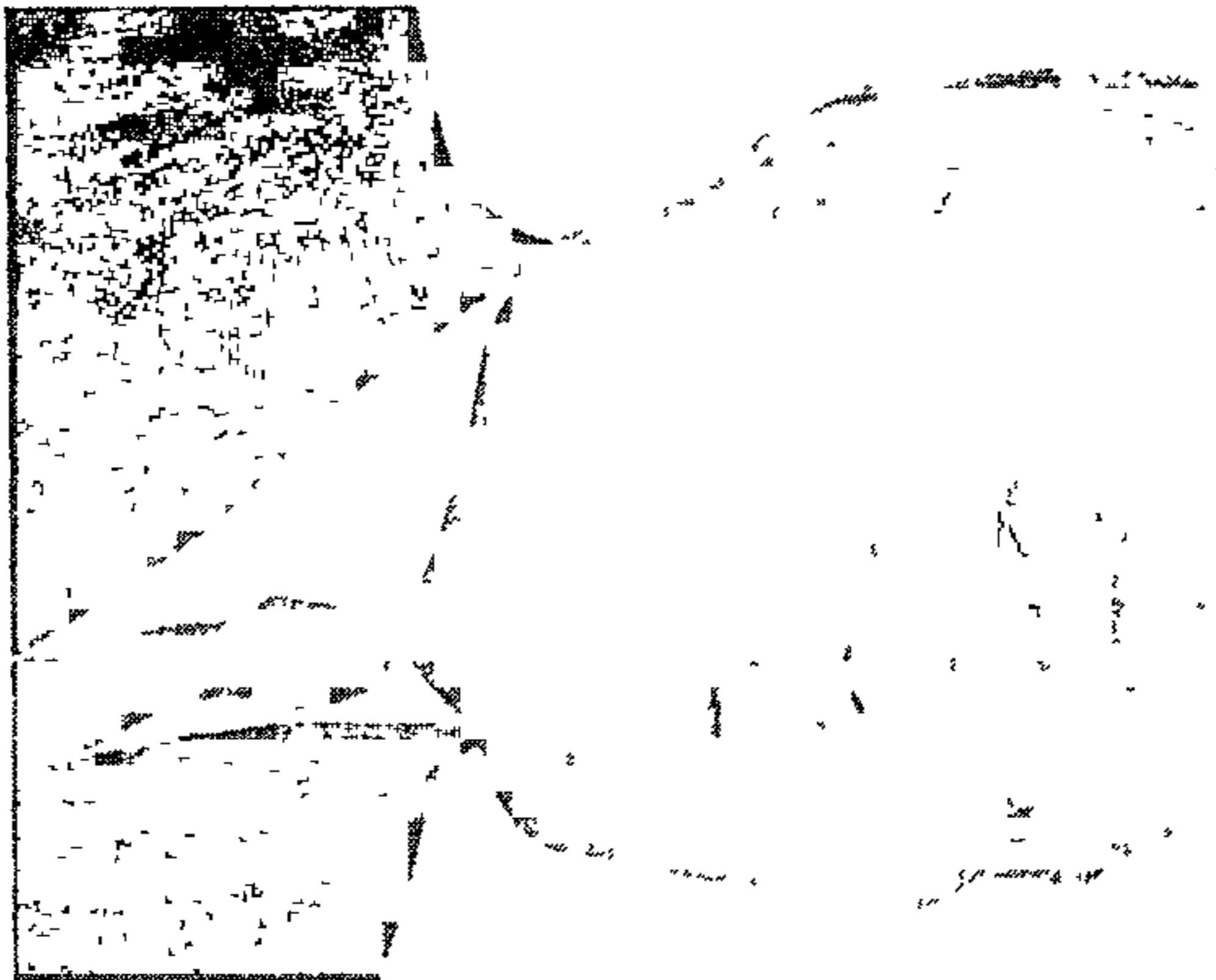
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Malawi, 900 km long and never more than 160 km wide, protrudes like a splinter into north-western Mozambique, where rebels of the so-called National Resistance Movement (RNM) are causing chaos in their fight against the Marxist government of President Samora Machel.

They appear to concentrate on economic targets, chiefly Mozambique's ports, railways, roads and bridges.

Mozambique's trade routes are a key to the success of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) a community formed by nine black countries, including Malawi and Mozambique, mainly to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa and its giant transport networks.

SADCC accuses South



Malawi's Life President, Dr Hastings Banda — his country a victim of circumstances over which it has no control.

Africa of sponsoring the RNM as part of a covert war of regional destabilisation to keep its neighbours dependent. Regional officials feel that if Mozambique cannot work, neither can SADCC.

"It is necessary to understand that without security there can be no economic co-operation," says Zimbabwean State Security Minister, Mr Emmerson Mungagwa, whose own country has been badly affected by the fighting in Mozambique.

Malawi, officially one of the world's poorest 30 nations, depends for its income on exports of tobacco, tea and sugar. It must import fertiliser, fuel and spare parts to survive.

As cars queued outside a nearby filling station for dribbles of petrol, Transport Ministry officials in Lilongwe said that almost all of

RODNEY PINDER, in Lilongwe, reports that landlocked Malawi finds itself caught in the pincers of world recession and the threat to its supply lines by guerilla war in neighbouring Mozambique.

working smoothly for 11 days before that.

Malawi needed at least 20 000 tonnes of fertiliser to save next year's harvest. The only hope appeared to be an airlift from Beira — five or six times more costly than rail.

Finance officials estimated the emergency operation could cost up to 12 million dollars (about R14 million) — about a third of Malawi's regular import shipping bill for an entire year.

The transport official said the Nacala line had not been attacked, but it was in poor repair and capable of handling only one small train a day at best. The port was under-equipped and already choked with goods for Malawi.

Malawi's main alternative to rail, the road through Tete to Zimbabwe, has been virtually unusable since June. The only other road south lies through Zambia, but it is twice as long, forcing up costs and retelling inflation which Malawi had begun to bring under control, officials said.

Malawi could use the railway north to Tanzania through Zambia, but the port of Dar es-Salaam is already con-

gested and the railway desperately inefficient.

The transport officials said Malawi had to turn to South Africa for fuel supplies. "No one else in the region has as much to spare," said one of them as the country emerged from a week of dry pumps.

Another official said it was ironic that South Africa was the only source of supply for SADCC's landlocked countries — Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia.

Some diplomats in Lilongwe doubted if South Africa was behind the RNM campaign in Mozambique. The Republic denied the charge and is helping transport fuel to Malawi. Others said they suspected a classic carrot-and-stick approach.

Malawi is South Africa's big diplomatic success in Africa. Life President Kamuzu Banda has long insisted that the best way to persuade Pretoria to change its racial policies is through dialogue and not boycott. So Lilongwe hosts the only South African embassy in black Africa.

But over recent months Malawi has

tem. Things are happening in the United States and Europe over which Malawians have no control. "They work hard, why should they suffer?"

Since independence, Malawi has learned to feed itself and produce crops for export and has built a small industrial base. These are the achievements now endangered by outside influences.

Government figures show the economy grew by six per cent a year in real terms through 1979 until it slammed into the world recession in 1980. Growth fell back to zero that year and to minus 0.7 per cent in 1981 as demand fell for tea, sugar and tobacco, the country's three main exports.

Domestically, the rains failed for two consecutive years, forcing Malawi to import maize, its staple food, for the first time in years.

Malawi tightened its belt, borrowed and scraped through the eighties. Interest payments on its debts now account for about a third of its export earnings of around \$263 million a year, against 15 per cent in the seventies.

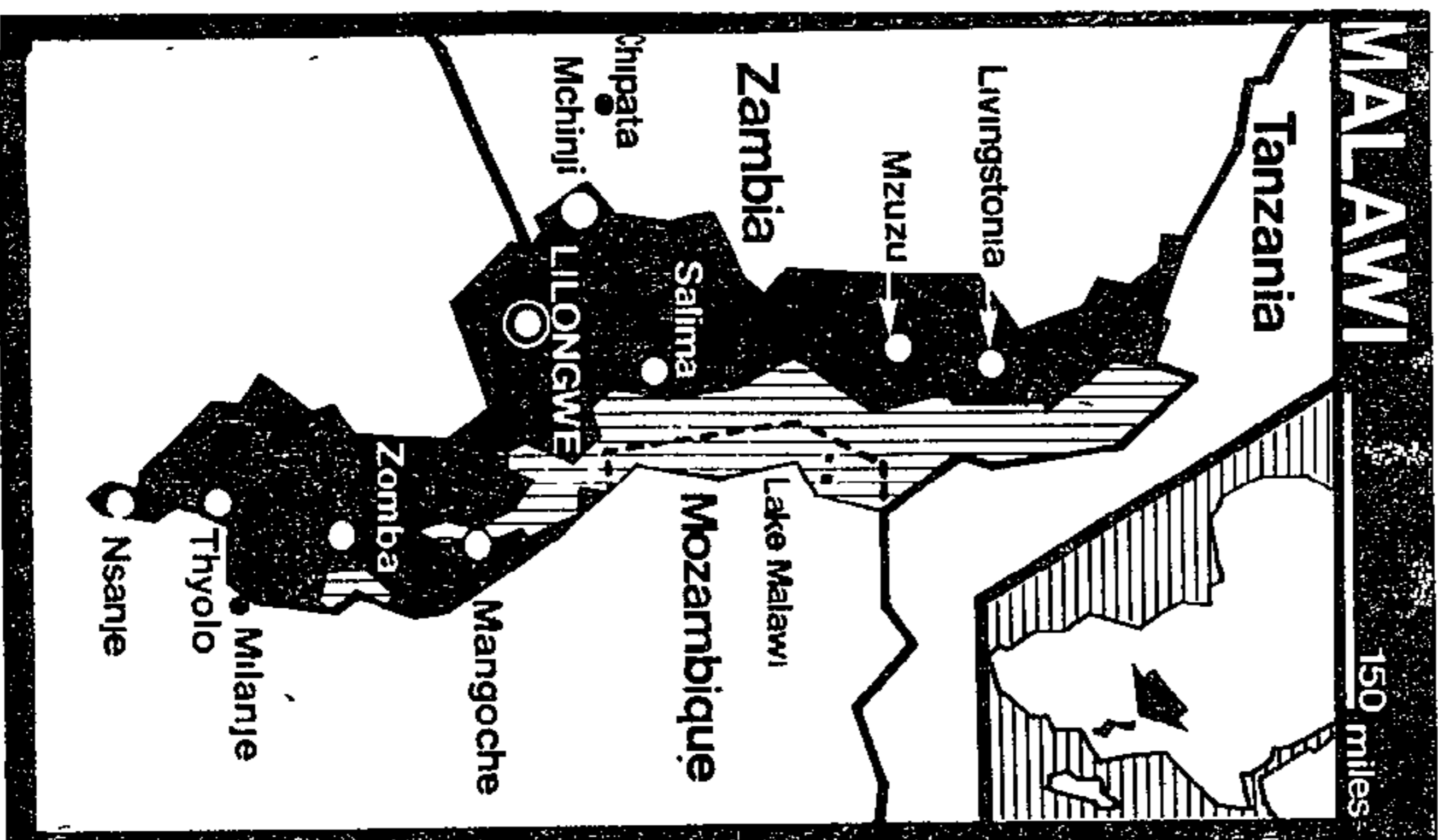
The country's reputation for good housekeeping helped it with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other creditors and it had little difficulty in rescheduling its debts last month, officials said.

It devalued the kwacha by 15 per cent last April and decided to cut government spending by 27 per cent. Tobacco and groundnut prices recovered this year, the harvest was bountiful and growth is estimated at 2.2 per cent.

But adjustments to US import quotas for sugar usually Malawi's second biggest earner, reminded Malawians of their vulnerability to events beyond their own neatly-gardened mountains and valleys. Their sugar was shut out of the American market, which took 75 per cent of Malawi's total crop, worth \$67 million in exports last year.

Malawi's critics often attack the highly personalised style of leadership of Life President Kamuzu Banda, the unchallenged head of state, and a lack of political freedom in the country. His defenders — and they include representatives in Lilongwe of the Western democracies — say his demands for hard work, tribal unity and discipline at the expense of unrestrained political liberties, may have given Malawi over its 18 years of independence, sufficient stability and energy to cope with its economic problems.

These diplomats add "Malawi has reached a higher level than much of Africa if judged on a quality-of-life index based on sufficiency of food, clothing and housing. World Bank debts or no, people eat" — SAPA-RNS



Malawi hit by MNR

LILONGWE — Pretoria could lose its last friend in Africa if the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement continues to sabotage Malawi's vital supply lines.

Black states and the international Press are convinced that South Africa is behind the MNR Political watchers in southern Africa are thus puzzled by the recent upsurge in rebel activity aimed specifically at Malawi's life-lines.

The MNR actions have delivered a crippling blow to the agriculture-based economy of Malawi, the only black African country with full diplomatic ties with South Africa.

The growing season has already started in Malawi but most (85 000 tons) of the imported fertiliser it depends on is marooned at the Mozambican port of Beira because the railway lines to the interior are so often blown up.

And, even if the fertiliser gets through by emergency airlifts as is being considered it would be difficult to transport inside the country because of a critical fuel shortage also caused by MNR sabotage.

At one stage recently Malawi was down to less than half a day's reserves of petrol.

Motocists in Malawi now have to wait so long in queues that some simply leave their cars unattended in lines and return to their offices until word gets around that petrol has started flowing again.

Even commercial concerns including car

MNR rebel activity in Mozambique is hitting Malawi, reports David Thomas of The Star's Africa News Service.

rental companies which normally get priority are suffering

One irate motocist echoed a growing feeling in Malawi when he blurted out "What is South Africa trying to pull? We are their only friends in Africa and now they are trying to ruin us"

A few trains are getting through to Malawi with petrol on the limited capacity railway line from the northern Mozambican port of Nacala, but these are sporadic and unreliable

The road transport line through Mozambique's Tete province to Zimbabwe and South Africa is now virtually unusable because of the MNR

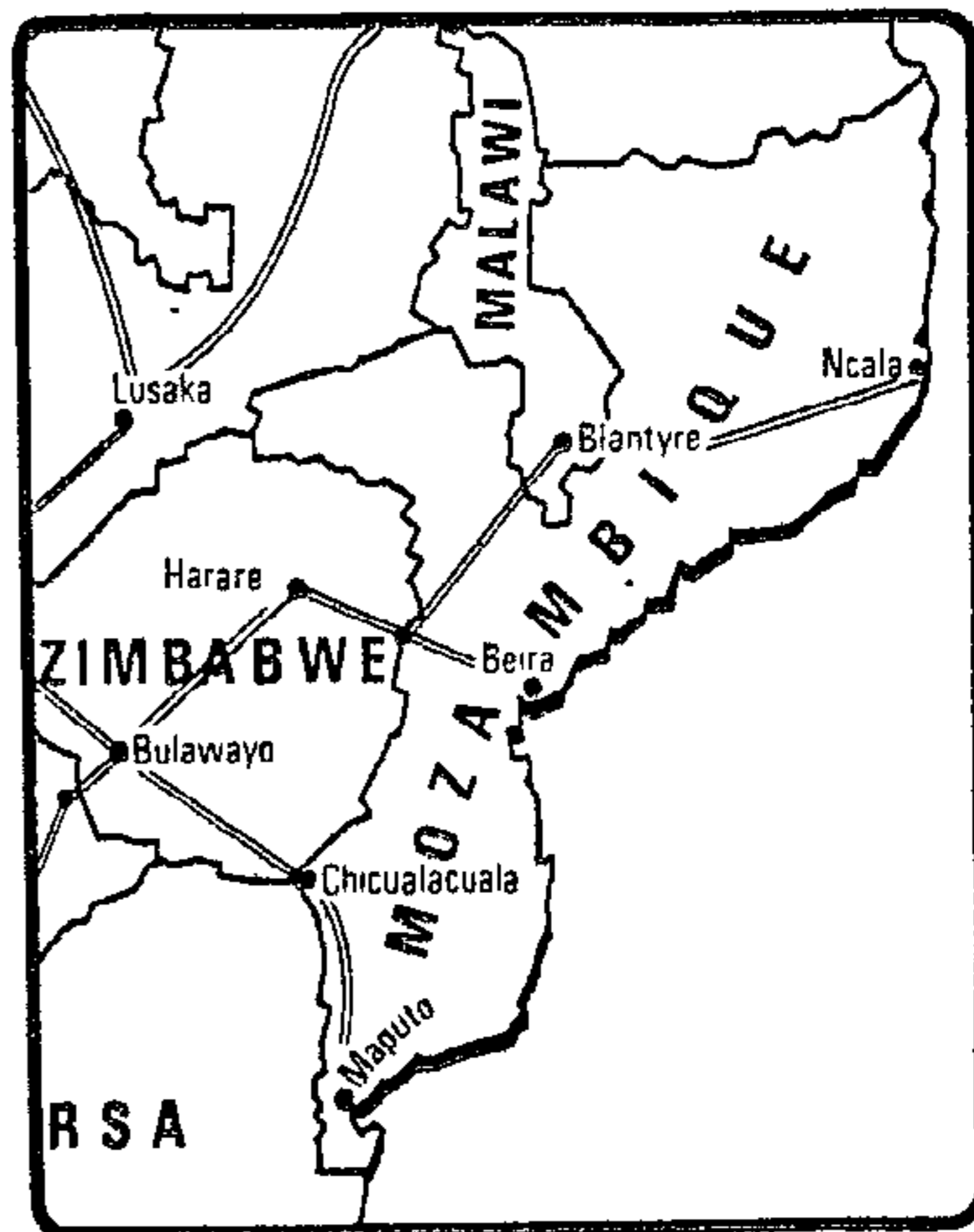
Alternatives now being considered are an airlift which could not be undertaken without substantial external financial and lo-

gistical help and a costly truck convoy on the round-about road through Botswana and Zambia

But this would have to be done at the latest in the next few weeks to avert a crop failure for Malawi

This would be a disaster for a country which grows more than enough staple foods to feed itself and is almost totally dependent on its agricultural exports for foreign exchange earnings

However it is not only the economy which is feeling the MNR pinch President Kamuzu Banda's cautious new outward-looking campaign to improve Malawi's strained ties with black Africa, particularly its immediate neighbours, has also been set back considerably by the increased MNR activities in northern Mozambique



Just as relations with Mozambique were showing signs of a thaw Maputo publicly accused President Banda's government of harbouring MNR bases on its territory.

The Malawi Government, through its High Commissioner in Harare, Mr M A Banda, has strenuously denied this charge

Mr Banda said that Malawi was suffering great "economic and social hardships" because of the MNR activities along the Mozambican trade routes which the country depended on for its survival

"Can the Malawi Government really be said to be supporting

and encouraging its own destabilisation?" he asked

Conjecture in political and diplomatic circles has it that it is this very thawing of relations between Malawi and its neighbours which has sparked the MNR action against the landlocked country's trade routes

If so it is seen as a rather crude but real way of reminding Malawi of its dependence on South Africa

Observers wonder how much more strain President Banda's pragmatic attitude towards South Africa can take if he believes as so many others do that Pretoria backs the MNR

Destabilisation dossiers

Most embassies in South Africa have a dossier, labelled 'destabilisation' in their country's language. Some believe absolutely in the dossier's allegations, others are cautious.

Most of the dossiers carry much the same information, gathered by many independent sources.

Essentially, the information accuses South Africa of deliberately preventing her neighbours from becoming stable, so that they cannot build up efficient economies, strong political bases, and competent armies.

The countries involved are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Looking back, proponents of the destabilisation view claim that it was started in 1975, shortly after the fall of the Portuguese in Mozambique. South Africa started the now famous Recce Commando — a super-secret task force run along the lines of the British SAS or Rhodesian Selous Scouts.

Everything about the squad is secret, though overseas publications have listed five recce commandos and guessed at each one's function.

The recces have been blamed for

● The raid on Matola in Mozambique in which 12 African National Congress members were killed.

● Helping the attempted coup in the Seychelles.

● Attacking the ANC in Lesotho.

● Blowing up an Angolan oil refinery.

● Committing atrocities while dressed in enemy uniform, or while posing as Swapo or the MPLA.

● Assassinations of ANC members Joe Gqabi, Petrus Nzima and his wife Jabu, and killing Ruth First with a letter bomb.

South Africa is said to support a surrogate force in each of the countries listed above.

ANGOLA The obvious South African surrogate in Angola is Unita, the rebel force led by Dr Jonas Savimbi which gives the ruling MPLA so much trouble in the south. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, admits to having met Dr Savimbi and often expresses his respect for the black leader.

Those who believe the destabilisation theory point out that South Africa started the destabilisation of Angola with its move into the territory during the short incursion which brought Cuban troops scurrying in.

At first supported overtly by the United States, the South African Defence Force had to withdraw when the US Congress refused to give President Ford and Dr Henry Kissinger the funds they wanted — understood to have been R120 million.

BOTSWANA This seems the least affected by destabilisation, but is nonetheless an ANC escape route from South Africa. No incursions are launched from Botswana so no raids have been made there.

Now that Sir Seretse Khama has gone, some say South Africa is plotting against his son Ian Khama, and will support his opponents to get the country destabilised.

LESOTHO — The raid into Lesotho last year stunned the world and shocked many people. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was appalled and said one did not go off killing those who simply disagreed with your political views. Innocent people were killed in the crossfire.

But the main destabilisation accusation is that South Africa supports the Lesotho Liberation Army of Ntsu Mokhele. Chief Leabua Jonathan is incensed at the interference, but there is little he can do about it.

MALAWI — This country, ruled by Dr Kamuzu Banda, is the one friend South Africa has in Africa.

It is from there that South Africa is accused of launching attacks on

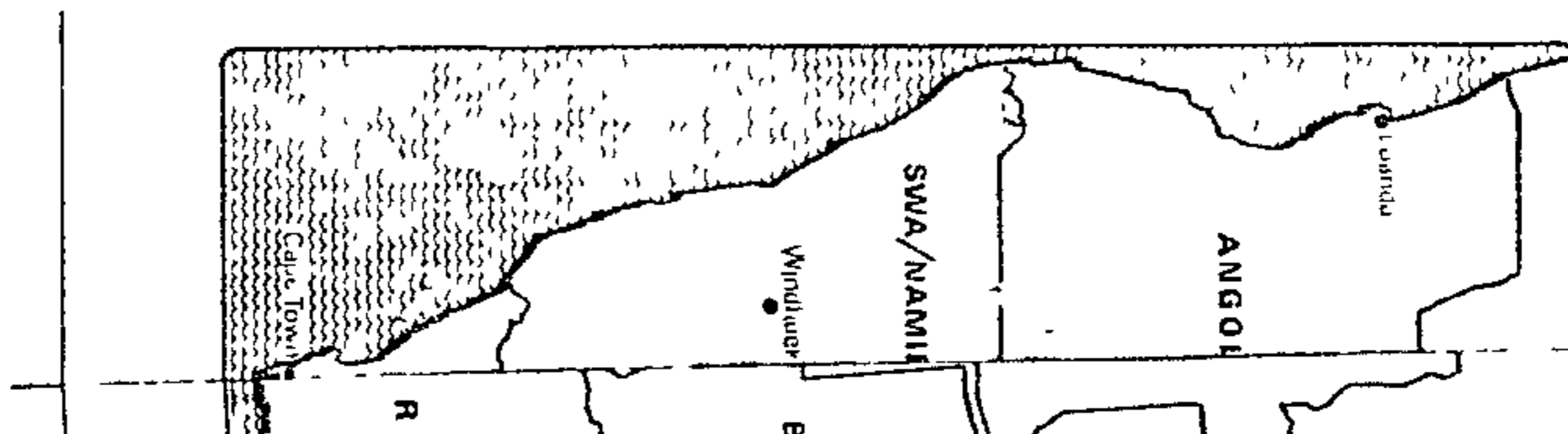
Mozambique, via the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR).

MOZAMBIQUE — Besides the support of Unita in Angola, this is probably the chief charge against South Africa. Most embassies seem to believe that South Africa funds the MNR and keeps it supplied logistically and with expertise. Recce commandos are said to be active within the MNR.

South African Government spokesmen say it would be silly to support the MNR because it continually blows up the Cahora Bassa powerlines. The counter-argument is that this is a small price to pay to achieve destabilisation goals.

SWAZILAND — Recently a number of ANC sympathisers were summarily detained in Swaziland, then set free. Swazi officials admitted they had been frightened into doing this by the raid into Lesotho.

Swaziland has always toed the South African line, but now that King Sobhuza is dead, South Africa is said to be interfering in the power struggle.



(170)

Debate raged on in Parliament this week about whether South Africa destabilises her neighbours. The leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said he denied the allegations, but was horrified to find he was not believed. These are the perceptions shaping Western countries' foreign policy towards South Africa. The Star's political correspondent, Peter Sullivan, examines what the perceptions are.

ZAMBIA Talks last year between Mr Botha and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia prove that Zambia does not believe South Africa is pursuing a destabilisation policy towards her

However, the talks must have mentioned the fears of the rest of the sub-continent — and of the Western world — about destabilisation in the southern part of Africa

Both leaders were content with the outcome of the talks, so one can assume only that Mr Botha satisfied President Kaunda

ZIMBABWE Probably the most puzzling of the allegations and the one that seems to be based on fact is that South Africa is destabilising the new administration of Mr Robert Mugabe

In Parliament, Progressive Federal Party MPs and Government spokesmen draw vastly different conclusions from the outcome of the Rhodesian war

Opposition people say it shows one must move faster towards equality and dismantling discrimination, Government people say it shows what happens if you move too fast

If Mr Mugabe makes a success, it would vindicate the Opposition view. If not, it would vindicate the Government view

The SABC continues to use reports favouring the bad incidents in Zimbabwe. It seems to be not so much biased reporting as a genuine belief that all

is about to collapse

People in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs are equally pessimistic yet foreign correspondents believe Zimbabwe is doing well

Accusations about South Africa destabilising the country have been made often, with the main allegation being that South Africa gleefully enjoys driving the wedge between Mr Mugabe and Zapu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo deeper

South Africa is said to be using its economic might, coupled to secret military incursions, to topple the Mugabe Government. The only reason given for this is that it would prevent a powerful force arising to the north

As Dr Slabbert said, the problem is not only whether the destabilisation reports are true or not, but that our allies plan their foreign policy believing them to be true

Malawi killing: SA link claimed

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S. Express

3/4/83

HARARE — Zimbabwe detectives suspect a South African-paid assassin shot and killed the leader of an exiled Malawian political party before dumping the body in a ditch near the centre of Harare.

"The police view is that this had the stamp of South African agents working on behalf of the Malawi Government," a Zimbabwe Government spokesman said yesterday. "South Africans have done this sort of thing many times before."

The body of Dr Attati Mpakati, 50, president of the outlawed Malawian Socialist Party, was found on Monday. He was last seen alive five days earlier when he arrived in Harare by air from Maputo, where he worked for the National Reserve Bank of Mozambique.

"He did not arrive at the Harare address he had given on immigration papers at the airport," the spokesman said.

In 1979 Dr Mpakati lost his left hand and three fingers of his right hand when he received a parcel bomb in the post in Maputo, headquarters of the small Lesoma Party he formed five years before.

A Sunday Express special correspondent reports that Lesoma is one of the three main groups seeking the overthrow of Dr Hastings Banda. It claims to have guerrillas undergoing training in Cuba and to have a large following among Malawians in Zimbabwe.

Another, the Malawi Freedom Movement, has lost its leader, Orton Chirwa, who was lured back to Malawi from Zambia and put on trial for treason. The Malawi High Court is considering its verdict in the case at present.

Mpakathi had made several previous visits to Zimbabwe to rally support among Malawian exiles.

Dr Mpakathi had been in exile since Dr Banda led Malawi to independence.

The doctor then went to Moscow where he studied as an economist before moving to Mozambique.

Dr Mpakathi is the second political leader in exile to have been assassinated in Zimbabwe since independence. The first, Mr Joel Gqabi of the African National Congress of South Africa, was shot dead by unidentified gunmen outside his home in the suburb of Ashdown Park in 1981.



Malawi's Banda ... dealing ruthlessly with rivals

Malawi business interests, are secure

Malawi gets around 37% of its imports, worth R123,8m in 1980, from SA. Blantyre is feeling the strain of recession and rescheduled its debts last year (*Current Affairs* October 1). However, Malawi is regarded as an African economic success.

Mpakati's death was claimed by a Zimbabwe government spokesman as having had "the stamp of SA agents working on behalf of the Malawi government." The statement recalled similar reaction to the killing of ex-Robben Island ANC man, Joe Gqabi, by unidentified gunmen in Harare in 1981.

The killing follows the neutralisation of another opposition leader exiled since 1964, Orton Chirwa, head of the Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo), and once Justice Minister and attorney-general in Banda's independence Cabinet.

Chirwa (62) is awaiting a verdict on his treason trial held earlier this year. The trial last September followed his mysterious "return" to Malawi in December 1981.

The perennial question of who will take over after Banda remains unanswered. The President, whose age is usually given as 80, looks like outstaying his most serious potential rivals. In 1975 Henry Chipembere, founder of the People's Democratic Party, died in America. His party dissolved soon afterwards.

There is a third opposition party, the Congress of the Second Republic (CSR). Like the other two parties, the CSR is based in Dar es Salaam but also has offices in Zambia. The CSR is led by a former

Malawi External Affairs Minister, Kanyame Chiume (52), who, it appears, had begun working or conferring with Lesoma in Maputo two years ago.

Attati Mpakati, incidentally, lived in Mozambique after a period spent in Moscow. As an economist he worked for the Reserve Bank in Maputo, where he was the victim of a parcel bomb apparently sent by agents of Banda in 1979. Mpakati lost both hands in that attempt on his life.

Lesoma, Mafremo and CSR held talks aimed at uniting to overthrow Banda two years ago. Not much progress seems to have been made. The question of a leader of the united front was apparently unresolved.

Events have now conspired to make Chiume the leading opponent in exile. Barring the claims of perhaps a new Lesoma leader, Chiume could emerge as leader of the proposed union opposed to Banda.

However, Lesoma claims the biggest popular support and a membership of 15 000 in the country (population 6m), although this is hard to substantiate. It launched a military wing, the so-called People's Liberation Army of Malawi, in 1980 when Tanzania apparently made three military bases available for training.

The Socialist League also claims wide support among the many Malawians in Zimbabwe, where Mpakati's body was found five days after his arrival from Maputo. It is conceivable that Harare tacitly supports Lesoma, which has links with the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany.

Banda has vowed to deal "ruthlessly" with opponents of his regime. This applies to rising stars — and potential successors — in his own ranks.

In 1980, for example, Banda dismissed senior minister Gwanda Chakwamba-Phiri as director of the 20 000-member Young Pioneers, a kind of cell-based organisation with powerful business, agricultural, and thus political, influence in Malawi. Chakwamba-Phiri was later sentenced to 22 years in jail while another former MP, Faindi Phiri, was sentenced to five years, also on sedition charges.

Aleke Banda (no relation) was another influential figure dismissed that year as group manager of the ruling Malawi Congress Party's pervasive economic arm, Press Holdings, as well as from a number of State concerns.

MALAWI

Death in exile

(170)

FM 8/4/83

The assassination in Harare of Attati Mpakati (50), exiled leader of the Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma), marks another defeat for outlawed opponents of Malawi's Life-President, Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

Banda might be getting old but he still seems able to control his country. For the moment Pretoria's only formal diplomatic ties with an OAU member state, and SA-

(170) RSM
7/5/83
Chirwa and wife to hang for coup plot

BLANTYRE — Justice Minister Orton Chirwa and his wife, Vera, have been found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death by hanging, the Malawi News Agency (Mana) reported yesterday.

Chirwa, leader of the banned Malawi Freedom Movement (Mafremo), and his wife were charged with plotting to assassinate President Hastings Banda and overthrow his government.

The couple were convicted on Thursday after an eight-month trial before the Southern Traditional Court — a court of tribal chiefs established by Banda in 1970.

They have lodged an application to appeal against conviction, according to Mana.

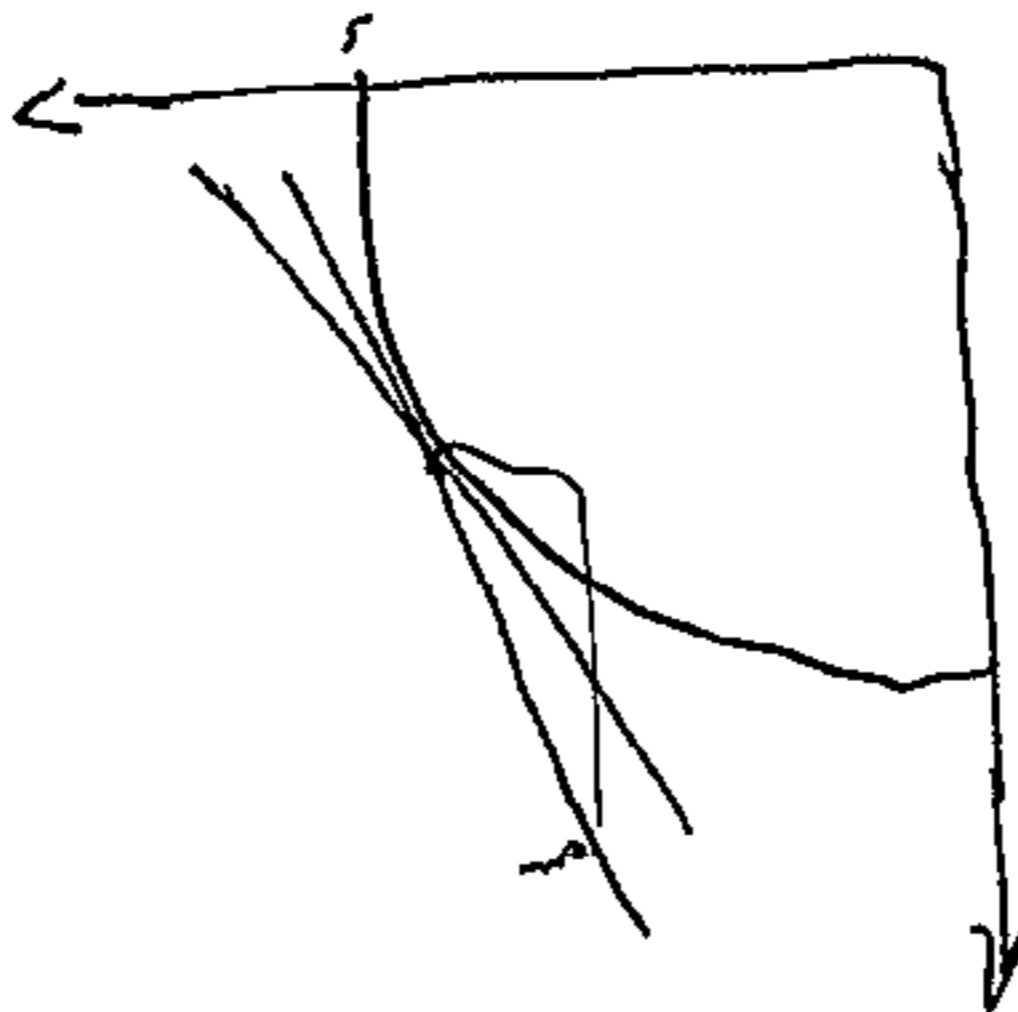
Mafremo, which operates from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, campaigns for the removal of what it calls Banda's one-party "dictatorship."

The conviction of Chirwa and his wife came less than two months after the murder of another Malawian opposition exile, Attati Mpakati, leader of the Socialist League of Malawi.

Mpakati, who was found dead in Harare, Zimbabwe, on March 24, went into self-imposed exile when Malawi became independent in 1964.

Two Malawians have been charged with his death.

The Malawian government has denied any involvement in the death — UPI



MALAWI (170) FM 13/5/83
Who succeeds?

goods worth around R130m annually, while SA imports some R18m of goods from Malawi

Sources in Malawi say that World Bank officials, who play an important role in keeping the country's economy on a sound footing, have been pressing Life President, Hastings Kamuzu Banda, to appoint a successor

The reason is to ensure stability after Banda, now in his eighties and looking distinctly frail, passes from the scene

The constitution does provide for a presidential commission, headed by the secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party, (MCP), to either rule or elect a successor on the death of the President. The present secretary general of the MCP is Dick Matenje, appointed in a reshuffle last year, when Bakile Mulouzi was dropped

No clues on who Banda's eventual successor will be are apparent from the routine general election which will be held early next month. The one-party exercise in Malawi will be distinctly uncontroversial, with parliamentary candidates vetted by Banda himself

Voter registration closes today and Parliament and the Cabinet will be dissolved on May 18. Making the announcement Banda said, somewhat incredibly "I want these elections to be free in every sense of the word. No-one must interfere, in particular, regional chairmen, district chairmen, area chairmen and branch chairmen" Banda warned against nepotism and said "people must choose who they really want"

He warned, further, that if anyone "interfered" with the election, he would be "dealt with," a threat that applies with particular severity to opponents (*Current Affairs*, April 8)

No election

In terms of the regulations each constituency is to choose not less than three and not more than five candidates. Elections would not be held in a seat that had only one candidate, Banda said

The importance of the successor's political persuasion, and the test of Malawi's stability and direction after Banda, have important implications for SA

Among the "powerful figures" mentioned in relation to the succession are Aaron Gadama, minister of the central region, Edward Bwanali, minister of the southern region, and Matenje Malawi Reserve Bank governor, John Temba, although said to be unpopular, is an uncle of Banda's official hostess, Cecilia "Mama" Kadzimiru who is herself regarded as an important influence. In the background there is the now imprisoned Aleke Banda (no relation), until two years ago an influential and popular figure. Reasons for his jailing are not known

Malawi is SA's only formal diplomatic link with black Africa. SA is Malawi's most important economic partner and supplies

Export routes

In recent years, SA has been crucial in providing export routes for Malawian tea, tobacco and sugar — the mainstays of its economy — while Malawi has to some degree been captive to regional tensions due to activity by the Mozambique National Resistance. The MNR has hampered transport routes through Mozambique, to the south-east and south-west of Malawi, to Nacala port on the Mozambique coast, and to Zimbabwe on the Tete road

Malawi's exports have thus had to take the circuitous and expensive route via Zambia, the Kazengula ferry into Botswana, then on to Zeerust and the SA railways network to Durban. However, foreign-funded repair of the railway to Nacala has commenced

Malawi coup bid rumours unconfirmed

London Bureau

LONDON — Three Malawian Cabinet Ministers were thought to have been killed yesterday amid reports of an attempted coup against Dr Hastings Banda

Official sources in Blantyre and the national capital, Lilongwe denied knowledge of 'untoward events'

But British residents in Lilongwe said Malawi's state radio had reported the deaths of the Minister for Local Government Mr Dick Matenje the Minister for the Central Regions Mr Aaron Gadama and an unnamed Minister without Portfolio

The radio said they had been found dead after a motor accident near the border with Mozambique

The residents said the radio had earlier offered a reward for the Ministers' capture

"There are rumours that the Ministers could have been connected with the recent upheaval in the Asian community in connection with illegal currency deals or that it could have been political," said one resident

Malawi's High Commissioner in London Mr C Mkona, said he knew nothing about the reported deaths

Earlier this week, Dr Banda announced the postponement of Malawi's general elections, scheduled for June 29 and 30

News of yesterday's events came as Malawi was preparing for the arrival in Blantyre today of Prince Philip who is on an official tour of African states

The British Foreign Office said it was checking the situation with its High Commission in Blantyre but had no confirmation of a coup attempt

Reports of underground opposition in Malawi have been on the increase since the formation in 1977 of Mafremo the Malawi Freedom Movement led from its inception by Mr Orton Chirwa, the former Malawi Minister of Justice and once a close friend of Dr Banda

Mr Chirwa, 66, fled to Tanzania in 1964 to build up his nationalist movement but was reportedly seized by Malawi agents at

Mchinji across the Zambian border, on Christmas Eve last year His wife Vera, and son Fumban, were with him

Mr Chirwa and his wife have been sentenced to death for seeking to overthrow the state

Shortly before his arrest Mafremo claimed to have won supporters in all areas of Malawi, from the police and army to the civil service and villages

However, the organisation's activities had been hampered by other Frontline States which felt that violent activism would hamper their political attempts to draw Malawi away from South Africa

Mafremo exiles were infuriated by their leader's arrest claiming he could never get a fair trial in Malawi

They have claimed that activism is on the increase and it is thought the latest unrest may be the result of Mafremo activists seeking to obtain Mr Chirwa's release

Malawi has also come under pressure from two other exile groups Lesoma (The Socialist League of Malawi) and the Congress for the Second Republic

They are recognised by the Organisation for African Unity and both have bases in Tanzania and Zimbabwe

ANDRE VILJOEN reports from Harare that a Zimbabwean High Court judge was told yesterday that at least five people were suspected of being involved in an assassination plot against the leader of Lesoma, Mr Attati Mpakati, whose body was found in a roadside ditch in Harare in March

A public prosecutor opposing a bail application by two Harare men charged with Mr Mpakati's murder, said a third suspect had been arrested in Zambia, but another two were still at large

The bail application by Mr Brighton Matewere a radio announcer and producer, and Mr Greenson Muhanga, a hotel manager, both of them Malawian, was postponed pending the anticipated service of a ministerial order forbidding bail

METRO MAIL

Saving water means saving power, too

HOMEOWNERS should save water and help prevent lights in their homes being dimmed this winter, says a spokesman for Escorn, Mr Etienne du Plessis Every two-and-a-half litres of water wasted can be used to make a 100 watt light burn for 10 hours The amount of water used for each unnecessary toilet flush is sufficient to generate the electricity used by a refrigerator over four days The amount of water needed to fill a small swimming pool is equivalent to the amount of electricity used to supply 20 homes for a month

Bonny bouncers

TWENTY-ONE prefects from Beverley Girls High School, Highlands North, are planning to trampolines for 26 hours at Sandton City's Cinerama arcade to raise funds for child welfare A similar jump last year lasted 24 hours and raised money for the SPCA For further information about this year's jump-athon, telephone 786-8063

Smuts memorial

THE annual memorial service for General

Election date

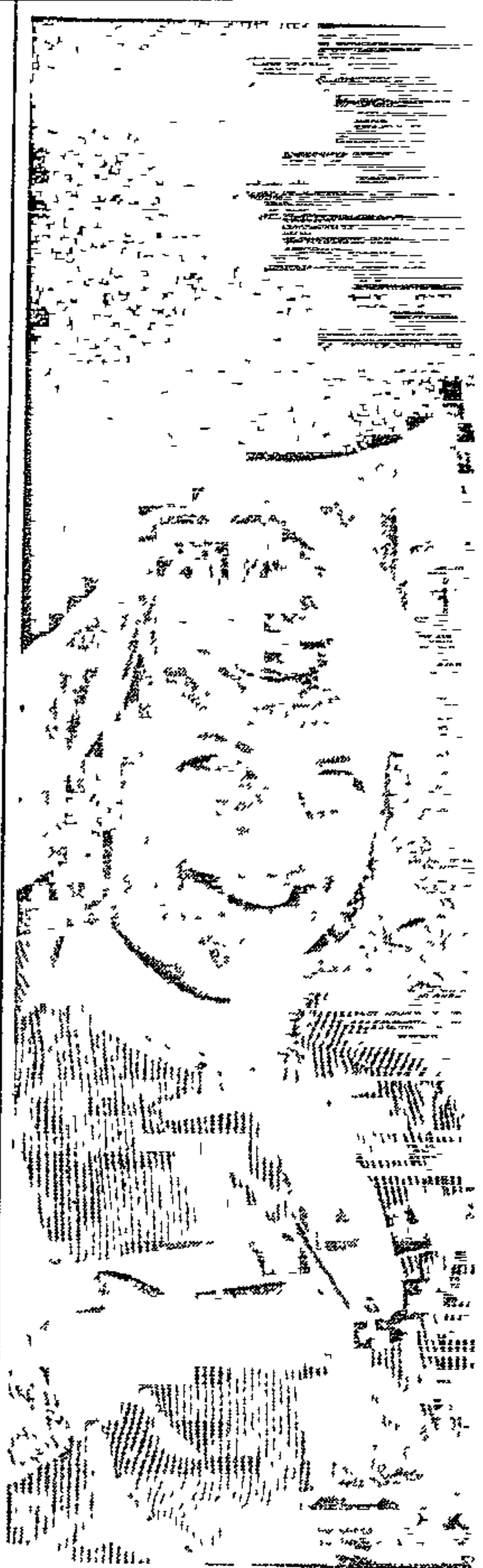
THERE is a Germiston municipal by-election in Ward 5 next Wednesday It was called after the recent resignation of Mr Sarel Hattingh, who was the council's longest serving member He resigned to take up a permanent personnel post on the council

Pretty pole-y

POLES on which traffic lights are mounted in the Transvaal are to be painted yellow to make the robots more prominent This is in line with an amendment to the Transvaal Road Traffic Ordinance It will be compulsory for all municipalities to paint the robot poles yellow In addition to making the lights easier to see, the paint will protect the poles from rust

Dagga doggies

POLICE dogs have helped recover 8 695kg of dagga in a single year, according to the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuis More than 1 000 people were arrested for dealing in or being in possession of dagga as a result of the dogs' actions from 1981 to 1982 Last year dog handlers investigated 12 537 cases, double the number handled five years ago



Juliette Serrurier and Maureen F... women to win the State President

'Riotous Asse unbanned

CAPE TOWN — An advertising pamphlet by Sam Ramsamy, "Apartheid The Real Hurdle", has been found to be undesirable, the Directorate of Publications announced in Cape Town yesterday

Included on the list of undesirable publications are "Gayly Male No 19, March 1983" by Gaydene Publications, Potgietersrus, and a 1981 calendar, "The Images of Struggle", produced by The Guardian in New York

A committee has on review decided that "Riotous Assembly" by Tom Sharpe and "The Rogue" by Janet Dailey were not undesirable

The Publications Appeal Board has decided that "The Classic — Vol 1, No 1, 1982" by Skotaville Publishers, Newtown, Johannesburg, is not undesirable

As from yesterday it is an

offence to tribute the able

The Blood of 10) (Dane near Houses of cover printed (Maurice) The Church Struggle in C... lutionary Effort ANC Weekly 15 April 1983 Seek — Kimberley) New Dawn — Democratic (NDPISA) Workers — Against — Day (Mayday Perspective — (SCA) Cuso Forum Ontario) Sphirwo — Sib Missing Images of Calendar (York) The Armed — Essack) Saspu National (SA Students Johannesburg)

12/24
24/5/83
(170)

'Lesoma not in Zambia'

Mail Africa Bureau

LUSAKA. — Zambia has denied foreign reports claiming the Malawi opposition party — The Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) — has offices in the country

"The only opposition parties allowed to operate here are the OAU-recognised liberation movements in South West Africa and South Africa," chairman of the legal and political sub-committee of the ruling UNIP, Mr Reuben Kamanga, said. He added he was "not aware of the existence of Lesoma offices in Zambia"

He said Zambia, like any other country "has an obligation towards genuine political refugees but they cannot be allowed to organise themselves into groups against their governments"

Mr Kamanga was commenting on a Harare report that a Malawian arrested in Zimbabwe in connection with the assassination of Lesoma's leader, Mr Attati Mpakati, two months ago, received information on Mr Mpakati's movements from the party's offices in Zambia on March 4

Lesoma, formed to overthrow Dr Banda, has accused the Malawi Government of using agents to kill their leader

2 Malawi Ministers flee as political killings go on

HARARE — Two Malawian Cabinet Ministers have fled to Zimbabwe, unofficial sources said yesterday, amid widespread indications Malawi is locked in bloody political turmoil over who succeeds ageing Life President Dr Hastings Banda

Malawian exile sources in Lusaka say three senior officials and a former parliamentarian were "liquidated" on Dr Banda's orders by border police as they tried to cross into Mozambique

They claim at least another 10 political leaders have been killed on Dr Banda's instructions and allege nearly 60 army officers are missing or presumed dead after apparently backing ruling Malawi Congress Party secretary Mr Dick Matenje in the struggle to succeed Dr Banda

Mr Matenje, Central Region Minister Mr Aaron Gadama, former Health Minister Mr John Sangala and former lawmaker Mr David Chwanga were shot dead by police at Port Nacala, exile sources say

In a statement issued in Lusaka last week, the Malawian High Commission said the men died in a car crash

Mr Gadama enjoyed huge support from the Chewa tribe in the central region of the landlocked country and backed Mr Matenje to succeed Dr Banda against the President's own choice, Central Bank governor Mr John Tembo.

The power struggle followed a reported Cabinet meeting at which Dr Banda, now in his 80s, told Ministers he had been ordered by his doctors to rest for a year after elections scheduled for June 29

Exile sources in Lusaka said Dr Banda nominated Mr Tembo, a close relative of the President's official hostess Miss Lillian

Kazamira

However, since then Dr Banda reportedly has reaffirmed his own position in a fiery speech to election candidates, telling them he was Malawi's "only legitimate leader" and the qualities he valued in them most were "obedience and discipline"

It was not immediately possible to name the Cabinet Ministers who arrived in Harare, where exiled Malawian opposition leader Mr Attati Mpakati was found assassinated on March 24

Two Malawians living in Harare have been charged with his murder. The Malawian Government denied involvement in the killing, but exiles have accused Dr Banda of ordering it

Less than two weeks after Mr Mpakati's death, a former Malawian Justice Minister Mr Orton Chirwa and his barrister wife Vera were convicted of high treason and sentenced to death by hanging

Mr Chirwa, leader of the banned Malawi Freedom Movement, and his wife were found guilty of plotting to assassinate Dr Banda and overthrow his government after an eight-month trial before a traditional court

Now exile sources say Malawian Paramount Chief N'Mumbelwa Ili has disappeared after refusing to hear the Chirwas' appeal against the death sentence

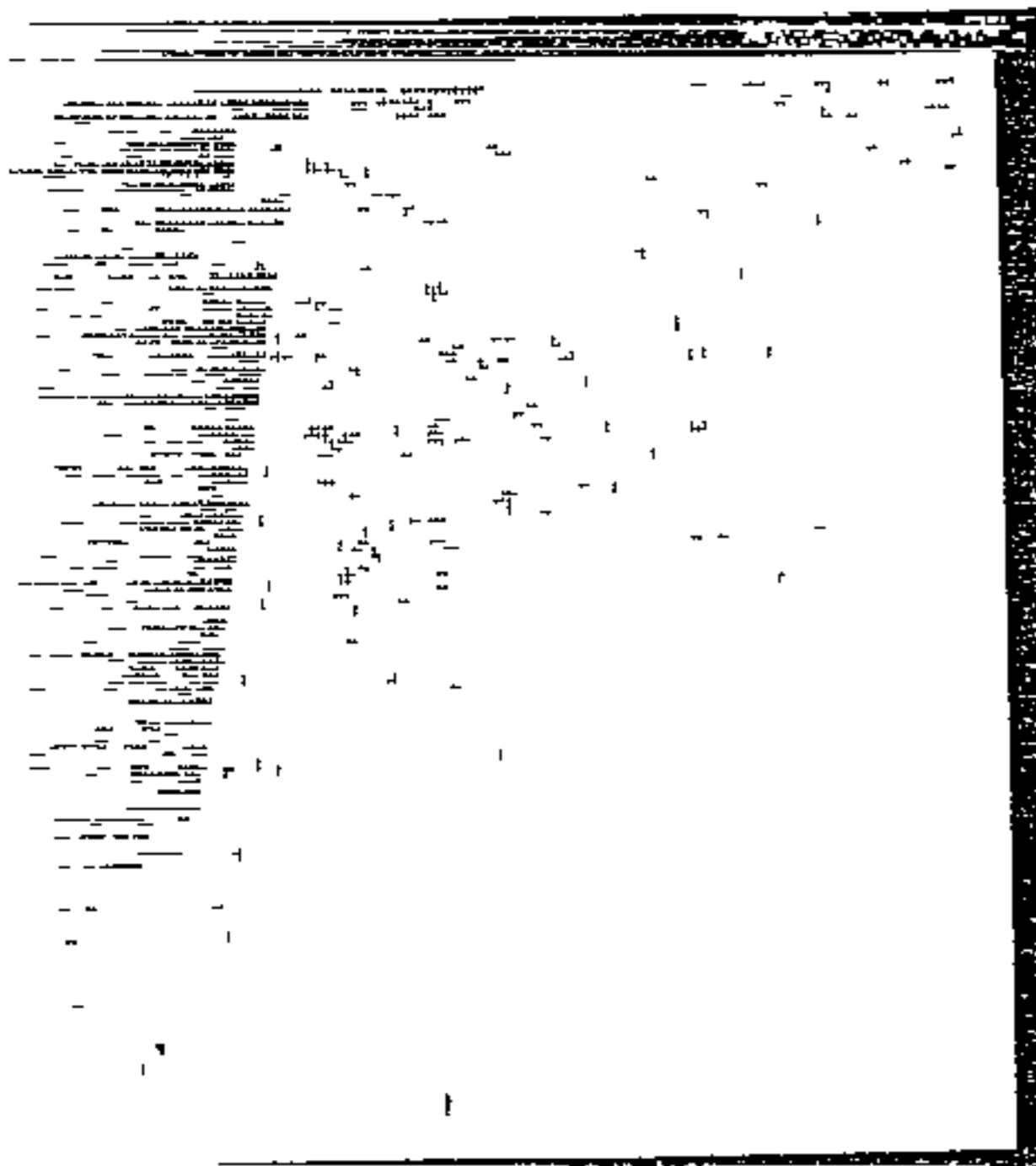
Dr Banda — his official biographies say he was born between 1902 and 1906 — has ruled Malawi as a virtual dictator since 1964 and has dealt ruthlessly with political opposition.

He has brought stability to his country — the former British protectorate of Nyasaland — but has infuriated his neighbours by establishing diplomatic relations with white-ruled South Africa — UPI



second row, surrounded by members of a group of 200 underprivileged and trained to a film show at Kine 400 in Johannesburg yesterday

Picture FAUL BOSMAN



Nedplan 2000 increases interest

Malawi rebels call for unity

170
RDM
7/6/83

Mali Correspondent

LUSAKA — The Save Malawi Committee (Samaco) has called on all opposition parties in Malawi to "unite and save Malawi from total chaos and anarchy"

In a 1500-word manifesto released in Lusaka, the committee, which was formed last month, also says that "Samaco wants to make it crystal clear that it is not another political party, but just a committee to unite all the forces" against the Malawi Government of President Kamuzu Banda "and spur Malawians into passive resistance and civil disobedience aimed at stopping Mr John Tembo (the governor of the Reserve Bank) from succeeding Kamuzu as president and to save the nation from anarchy"

"Samaco also calls upon Lesoma, Mafremo, the Congress for the Second Republic of Malawi and the Malawi Democratic Union to unite" The manifesto added "Tembo must be prevented from taking office at all costs and by all means available to the people of Malawi"

Mr Tembo has been accused of masterminding the deaths of the leading politicians in Malawi so that he can take over from Dr Banda

It says "The fundamental overriding pre-occupation of Samaco is to mount a massive campaign at home and abroad aimed at democratising the country, awakening the political consciousness of Malawians, stopping the unnecessary flow of blood which has increasingly become inherent in the political life of Malawi and disseminate factual information on and about Malawi"

"Banda's maverick 18-year-old rule has been a period of agony to all Malawians except Miss Cecilia Kadzamura (not Lillian) who has become Malawi's Lady Macbeth and her paternal uncle John Tembo," says the manifesto

Builders start at homes show site

(170)
NDM
11/6/83

Four Malawi dissident groups plan united front

Mail Correspondent

LUSAKA — Malawi's four dissident groups in Lusaka are to meet over the weekend with a view to forming a united front to fight Malawian President Kamuzu Banda "effectively".

Leaders of Lesoma, Mafremo, the Malawi Freedom Movement and the Congress for the Second Republic of Malawi confirmed that the meeting would go ahead.

A spokesman said "We have been discussing unity

for some time and we have all sent proposals to our secretariats in Dar es Salaam for further directives, but we are meeting in Lusaka this weekend to formalise the pact."

Lesoma and Mafremo officials said "All we want is an alliance even if it is a loose one we are too fragmented to effectively fight the tyrannical rule of Kamuzu

"We want to bury all our differences as public opinion

is gathering momentum against Kamuzu. This is the right time to strike and save Malawi from complete collapse."

Meanwhile, the Congress for the Second Republic has also sent a message to the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa appealing to the OAU to "exert pressure on President Banda not to kill condemned opposition leader Orton Chirwa and his wife Vera, and Paramount Chief Mumbelwa II, if he is not yet dead."

170
RUM
11/6/83

Malawi hits at 'lies' on Chirwas

Mali Correspondent

LUSAKA — The Malawi High Commission in Lusaka yesterday described as "a pack of lies false and malicious" rumours that Orton and Vera Chirwa were to have been executed on Thursday

The High Commission statement also said the Chirwas had "formally appealed to the National Traditional Appeal Court which is constituted under the Traditional Courts Act (Chapter 33) of the laws of Malawi"

"In Malawi, once an appeal against sentence has been lodged in the courts, sentence is not carried out before an appeal is heard by the appropriate court. It is therefore outrageous to imagine that the Chirwas were going to be hanged when they have appealed to a higher court"

The statement also said it was "not correct that the regional traditional court which first tried the Chirwas, and also the National Traditional Appeal Court which will hear their appeal, only comprise lay-men without any sound training in law"

"Each of these courts includes one trained lawyer who is fully qualified to practise as a judge under the laws of Malawi"

Meanwhile visiting United Nations Assistant Secretary-General Mr James Jonah has likened the current political situation in Malawi, where people in high positions have mysteriously disappeared, to Uganda during the rule of dictator Idi Amin

Mr Jonah, who is the UN secretary-general of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, said "What is happening in Malawi has put the UN in a dilemma"

He said, however, the UN would not intervene "in such an internal matter the right forum for this is the Commission for Human Rights, but I don't know whether the commission has been approached"

MALAWI

170

Nothing unusual

FM 10/6/83

A senior official of Malawi's Pretoria embassy told the FM this week "There are no unusual political developments in Malawi." Others disagree — particularly in view of reports of a bloody power struggle being played out there.

Malawi has also been in the news because of the death sentences imposed on a former Cabinet minister and leader of an outlawed party, Orton Chirwa, and his wife Vera, who were kidnapped by Malawian agents in Zambia 16 months ago.

The main charge against Chirwa seems to have been based — on his call, in an interview, for Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda's retirement. The Chirwas' death sentence was imposed by a tribal

court after a seven-month trial with no defence counsel.

There have been widespread pleas for clemency — including calls from the OAU, the US State Department and the Church of Scotland, of which Banda is an elder.

There is little optimism that Banda, who has a record of ruthlessness in dealing with his political opponents, will listen. Weeks after Banda's April announcement of a general election, to take place on June 29, three leading Cabinet ministers — whom the FM had named as possible successors to the Presidency (*Current affairs*, May 13) — were found dead. Officially, they died in a car accident near the Mozambique border.

For the rest, officials in Blantyre deny rumours of Banda's ill health and point out that he appeared at a Blantyre rally to "certify" election candidates only last Saturday.

They also say that reports of the "disappearance" of a number of army officers, and of a power struggle, are all "fantasy."

(170) ROM
29/6/83

Malawi gets ready to elect its Banda

MORE than one million people vote this week in one-party elections conducted under a moral code President Kamuzu Hastings Banda has instilled in Malawi during nearly 20 years of authoritarian rule

Exiled dissidents say that two days of balloting on Wednesday and Thursday will produce another tame parliament for Mr Banda, an elder of the Church of Scotland who preaches the Victorian work ethic and whose power in the mountainous landlocked east African country is unquestioned

Defenders of Mr Banda's paternalistic government — authorities frown on long hair for men and do not allow women to wear trousers or skirts above the knee in public — point to his apparent popularity and Malawi's evident stability

Since Britain gave the protectorate of Nyasaland independence in 1964, Malawi — a slice of Africa's great Rift Valley sandwiched between Zambia, Mozambique and Tanzania — has enjoyed an annual economic growth of about 6%

With more than six million people, Malawi is one of Africa's most densely populated countries, but is largely self-sufficient in food

Mr Banda's political tight-rope walk — establishing diplomatic ties with South Africa while maintaining relations with his black neighbours — has earned him a reputation as a maverick

Government officials say Mr Banda, now in his 80's, does not intend to relinquish the presidency

He is also commander-in-



HASTINGS BANDA . . . 20 years' authoritarian rule

From a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT in Blantyre

chief of the armed forces and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Agriculture, Works, Information and Tourism

The 225 candidates "contesting" the 101 parliamentary seats will not be allowed to canvas or campaign

"Bribing and corruption would enable people who are rich and crooks to go to parliament," warned a government guide on voting

All the candidates belong to Malawi's only legal political party, the Malawi Congress Party, and have been vetted individually by Mr Banda

Five constituencies will not be contested because aspiring candidates failed an examination of fluency in

English, one of Malawi's two official languages. Congress Party lawmakers already have been returned unopposed in 2 constituencies

In 75 contests, voters will have a choice of candidate for the first time since pre-independence elections in 1961

All those who do run will be morally sound

"Is he or she of good personal behaviour?" asks a 31-point questionnaire, which must be completed for each candidate

"Does he or she drink and, so, how much excessively, moderately or very little?"

"What is his or her attitude toward people? Rude, harsh, boastful, indifferent, polite or kind?" — UPI

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Unexplained deaths of leading Cabinet Ministers cast

Malawians have been at the polls for the past two days after nearly three months of unusual political turmoil. Turmoil is unusual in a country that for years has been a byword for stability under the autocratic rule of Life President Dr Kamuzu Banda.

Now probably in his 80s, the Ngwazi (saviour or conqueror) has governed his country with an iron hand since independence from Britain in 1964. He is not merely the ruler of Malawi, the former Nyasaland — he is Malawi.

Dr Banda is also life president of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) which has been the only political organisation since the introduction of the republican constitution of 1966. He also acts as Minister of External Affairs, Justice and Agriculture.

Yet this week's polls will offer Malawi's voters a measure of choice, albeit within limits carefully defined by the Ngwazi.

In the last elections of 1978 two Ministers, a Deputy Speaker and a third of the MPs lost their seats. A similar turnover is expected this time.

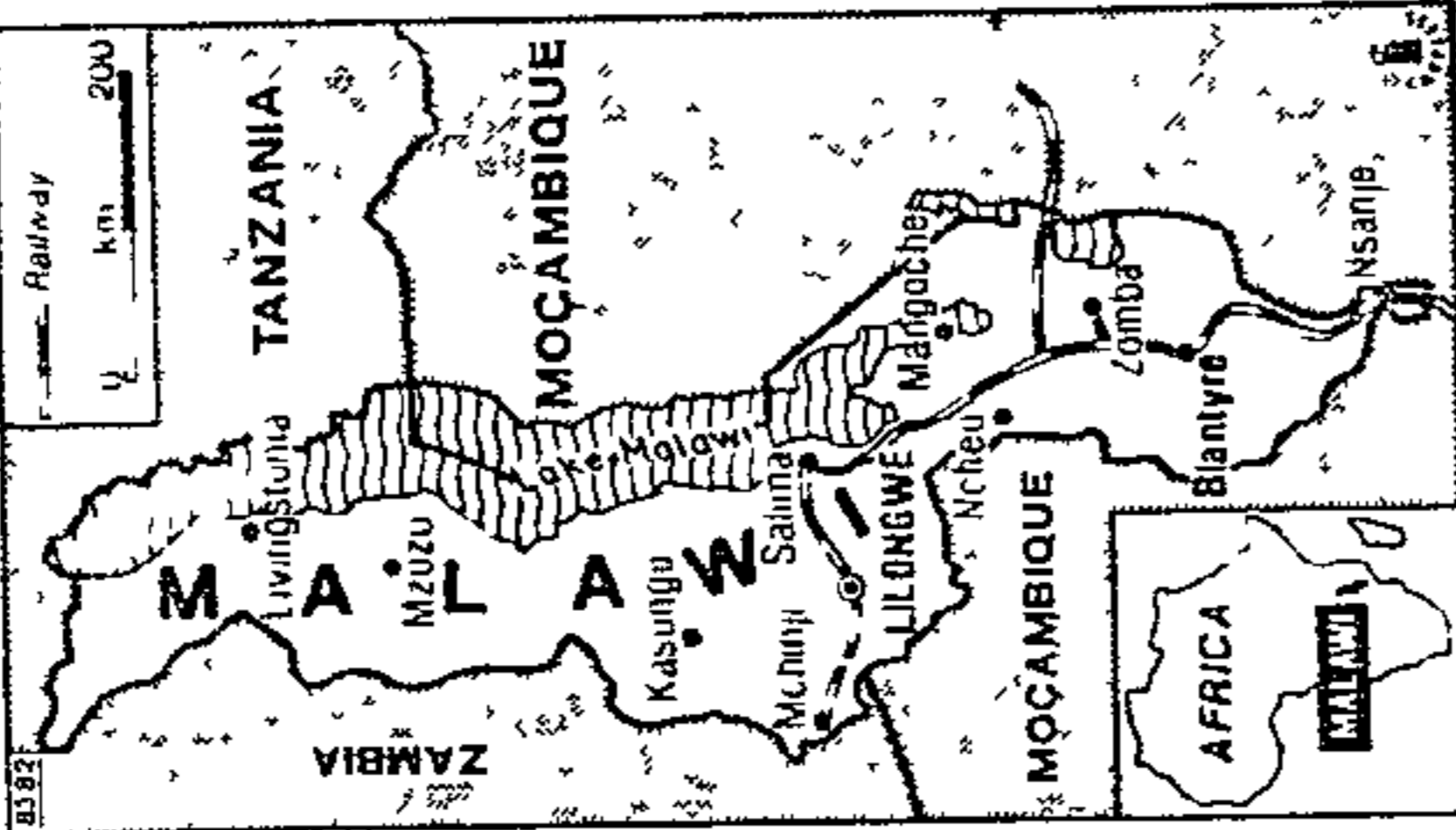
About 225 candidates, 18 of them women, are standing for election with 101 seats vacant. In 21 seats the sitting MCP member is unopposed. In 38 seats there are two competing candidates, in 23 three candidates, in 11 four candidates and in three seats five candidates.

Five seats are not being contested by anyone. The official explanation is that none of the candidates proposed was able to pass the tests of proficiency in English which all would-be MPs are required to sit.

Observers within the country predict an unusually low turnout in the election because of the recent and still unexplained deaths of two popular Cabinet Ministers.

Recent events are widely seen as signals, though admittedly confused, of a struggle behind the scenes for the succession to Dr Banda.

The present tension can be traced to the return to Malawi from exile at the end of 1981 of Dr Orton Chirwa and his wife Vera in circumstances still not fully explained.



Observers predict an unusually low turnout for the present election. Recent events point, they say, to jostling behind the scenes for the place of the ageing life president. Any opposition to the leader has been mysteriously stamped out in the past, and this month a rebel leader and his wife who returned from exile were sentenced to death by a tribal court.

He was a former Justice Minister and leader of the banned Malawi Freedom Movement (MFM).

Dr Chirwa was one of six senior Ministers who fled abroad after rebelling unsuccessfully against Dr Banda within a few months of independence in 1964. It was the last serious threat to Dr Banda's authority. Since 1966 the country has been a constitutional one-party state though elections permit some choice between party

Four-month delay bomb

Fives TR A new secretary

Malawians

avoid polls

as struggle

looms for

successor to

the Ngwazi

candidates

Some reports say Dr Chirwa was lured back to Malawi on a promise of rehabilitation. Other sources believe he and his wife were kidnapped by Malawian agents.

They were detained and held

under house arrest for many months before being tried and sentenced to death for treason on May 5 this year.

The trial was held before tribal chiefs and without the presence of a defence counsel in the Blantyre Traditional Court

The traditional court established by Dr Banda and as Minister of Justice decides which case to try.

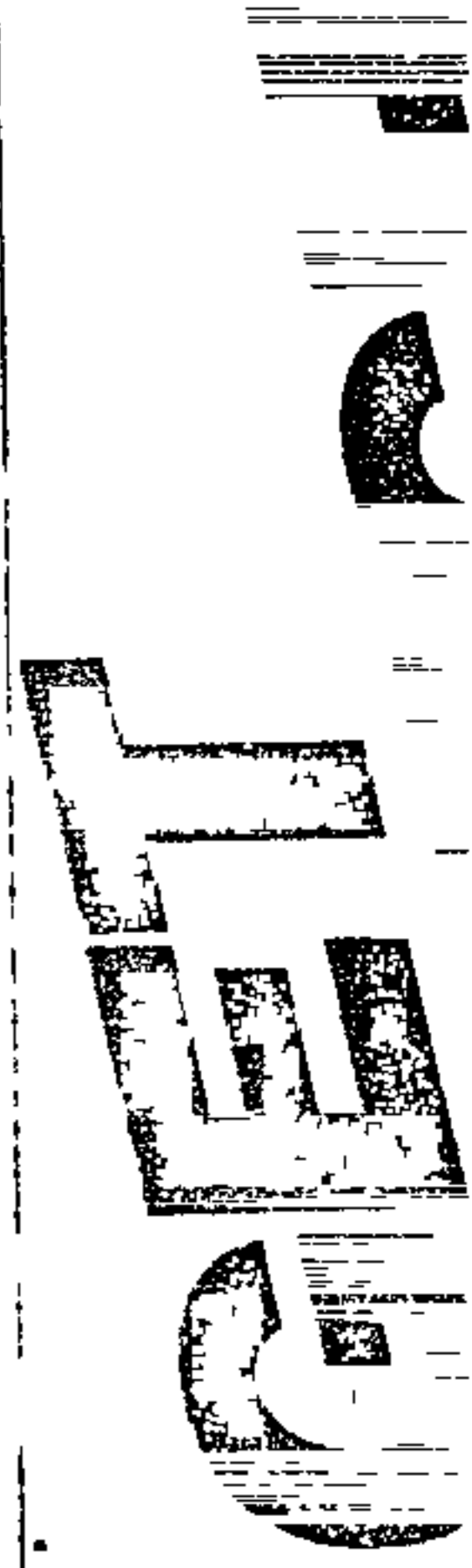
The sentencing of the former Ministers was preceded at the end of March by the assassination of Dr Banda, the leader of the League of Malawians, who was banned and exiled.

Two weeks after the Chirwa trial Ministers and two other Cabinet Ministers, Gadama and Mr J. Kaduna, died in what the Government insists was a car accident near Mwanza, close to the south-western border with Mozambique.

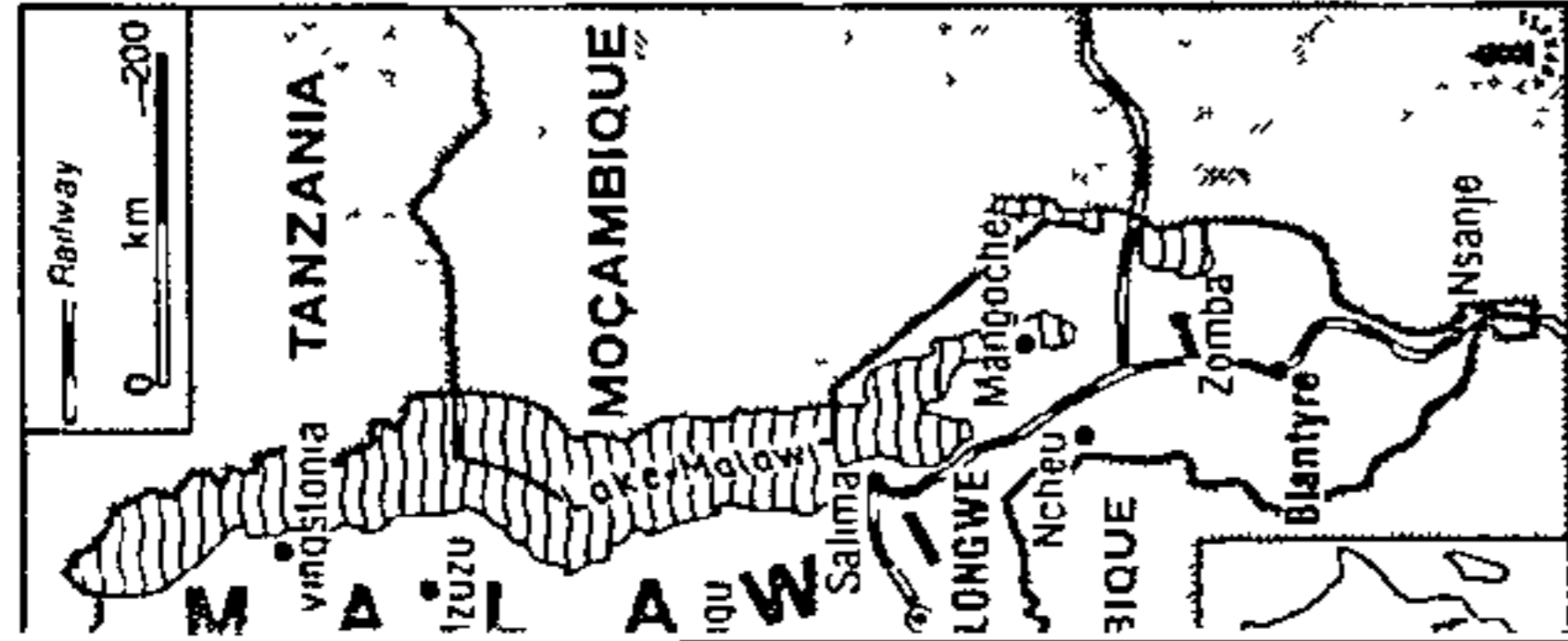
Both Mr Matenje and Gadama had been speculating about the possibility of a successor to Dr Banda.

Mr Matenje held the post of secretary-general of the ruling MCP in the president's death. He was the secretary-general of the MCP's national committee rule as a member until a successor was chosen by a full party conference.

Dr Banda's chosen successor is widely expected to be Mr John Tembo of the Malawi Reserve Force. News Service Africa, London, is reporting that the Blantyre Traditional Court



f leading Cabinet Ministers cast cloud over election



Malawians

avoid polls

as struggle

looms for

successor to

the Nkwazi

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candidates
Some reports say Dr Chirwa
was lured back to Malawi on a
promise of rehabilitation. Other
sources believe he and his wife
were kidnapped by Malawian
agents.

They were detained and held

under house arrest for many
months before being tried and
sentenced to death for treason
on May 5 this year.

The trial was held before
tribal chiefs and without the
presence of a defence counsel in
the Blantyre Traditional Court

The traditional courts were
established by Dr Banda in 1969,
and as Minister of Justice he
decides which cases go before
them.

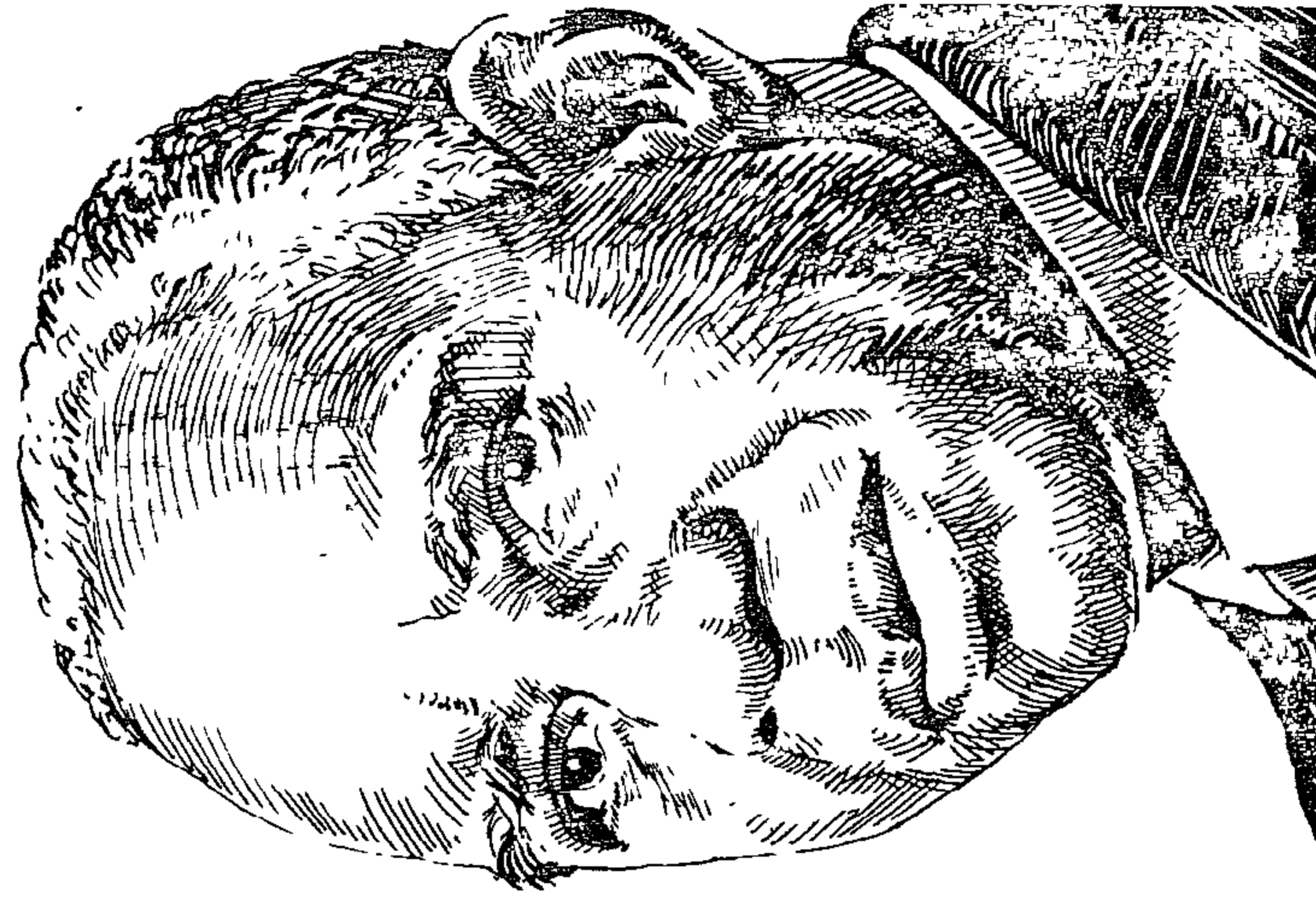
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Both Mr Matenje and Mr
Gadama had figured in
speculation about the succession
to Dr Banda.

Mr Matenje held the key posi-
tion of secretary-general of the
ruling MCP. In the event of the
president's death or incapacity
the secretary-general and two
Cabinet Ministers nominated by
the MCP's national executive
committee rule as a triumvirate
until a successor has been cho-
sen by a full party convention.

Dr Banda's choice for the
succession is widely rumoured
to be Mr John Tembo, governor
of the Malawi Reserve Bank —
Foreign News Service and The
Star Bureau, London.



The Nkwazi, Life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda. He is Malawi

New Toyota T-U-V Van

Poll leaves queries unanswered

BLANTYRE — All 10 Malawi Government Ministers standing for re-election were returned in the country's elections last week, but more than half the members of the new 112-seat National Assembly are newcomers parliament

Twenty of the 108 members in the last parliament lost their seats, while 40 had already failed to win re-selection

The result did much to dispel rumours of widespread political unrest, but little to quell speculation over the longer-term political future of the one-party state

Malawians voted in significant numbers, indicating support for the political status quo, but the main issue now is who will take over from 80-year-old Presi-

dent-for-Life, Dr Kamuzu Banda, who has ruled autocratically since independence in 1964

Speculation on this issue has intensified following the events of the past few months in which three former Ministers and a Member of Parliament were killed — in a car crash according to official reports

Other unsettling events have included death sentences on the former Justice Minister Mr Orton Chirwa and his wife Vera, leaders of the exiled opposition Malawi Freedom Movement, for treason.

In April in Zimbabwe Mr Attati Impakiti, head of the second main opposition group, the militant socialist League of

Malawi, was mysteriously assassinated

Diplomats who regularly meet Dr Banda say he is bright-eyed and energetic, but that he might wish to lighten the burdens of state by appointing a reliable deputy

One envoy said a British expert in constitutional affairs had recently visited Malawi to examine the possibility of creating a vice-presidential post. Any person appointed to such a post would be favourite to take over when Dr Banda died, but any attempt to find such a deputy could have begun a serious power struggle, diplomats said

And this would possibly explain the deaths that have shocked the country, the diplomat explained — Sapa-Reuter

Lawi MPs defeated in turbulent poll

170

ent was the recent of two popular govern officials, including the of the party, the diplo and The government e men, and two col died in a car crash s opposed to Dr Banda's in rule since indepen in 1964 claim the offi- pre killed when they op- r Banda's plans to des- i long-time but unpopu- vocate as his successor its have said they be- he men were shot, al- they doubted Dr Banda ared the executions

Diplomats said their sources believe Mr John Tembo, gover- nor of the country's reserve bank, may have been responsi- ble for the slayings Mr Tembo has no public following, but is the uncle of Dr Banda's official hostess, Ms Cecilia "Mama" Kadzamura
A tall woman in her late 30s or early 40s, once called the "Mae West of Africa, she is al- ways at the president's side
No figures on the voter turn- out, also considered a barome- ter of support for Dr Banda, were available Sunday, the news agency said

All candidates were mem- bers of the party, approved be- fore the voting by Dr Banda
But in some constituencies voters had as many as five candidates to choose from giv- ing them their widest choice since independence In the last election, in 1978, a third of Par- liament was voted out
Mana said 20 MPs had been defeated, and 40 others had not even been nominated to stand in the polling of June 29-30 All Cabinet Ministers were re- turned
The new Parliament will be sworn in on Monday at the par-

liamentary headquarters in Zomba Dr Banda, who re- serves the right to dismiss MPs for failing to follow the party guidelines, said he will nomi- nate 11 members to join the 101 members who were selected by the party to stand in elections
Twenty-six of the 101 dis- tricts were not contested In five, mainly Moslem areas, no candidates could be found who could pass English proficiency tests, officials explained In the others, only one candidate met the language and party stan- dards
Dr Banda trained as a doc-

tor in the United States, has set exacting standards for his country, ignoring world opin ion He has maintained formal relations with South Africa the only black African nation to do so and has benefited by aid from Pretoria
Visitors to the Malawi find that the country works better than most of its neighbours Of ficially the country remains on the United Nations list of the 31 least-developed countries in the world, but most people have enough to eat — Asso- ciated Press



President Banda exacting standards

As America celebrates

Divisions

Bar US

Festivities



President Reagan policies raise fears



Relief and sadness as restrictions are lifted

328

Shu

4/7/83

Many people enjoyed their first outing in five years at the weekend when banning orders and other restrictions were lifted There was joy for some and sadness for others and most expressed their sorrow at the renewal of Mrs Winnie Mandela's banning order. JON QWELANE asked them how they felt about being free again.



Mrs Jana couldn't believe it



Mrs Sisulu welcomed friends

It was relief for some and sadness for others as several Soweto households celebrated the end of restrictions at the weekend
For the first time in three years, Mrs Alberta Sisulu and her son Zwelakhe welcomed

and rebanning others, it was part of the Govern- ment's divide-and-rule tactics which were calcu- lated to sow suspicion among black ranks He said it was even more surprising that the Gov- ernment should urban everyone in Johannes-

ck groups, marijuana and anti-Reagan pro- will be out in record
rockers and marijuana smokers
A coalition of groups Mr

Two-thirds of Malawi MPs defeated in turbu

BLANTYRE — More than two thirds of the members of Parliament in this one-party state fell in two days of voting last week, the first national election in five years, the official news agency Mana reported Sunday.

The voting took place amid speculation that Life President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda is preparing the former British protectorate for selection of a successor. It suggested widespread dissatisfaction with the ruling Malawi Congress Party.

Dr Banda is officially listed as 77 years old, but is believed to be in his 80s. Despite his ex-

cellent health, Western lending institutions have been pressing him to set up a formal succession process so that the country's modest success story can continue, diplomats and institutional sources said. The sources declined to be named.

Western diplomats based here have said there are signs of discontent in the countryside. Ironically the grumbling has been fuelled by the country's success in education, which has created an educated class with little to do in an agriculturally based economy. But the biggest cause of the

discontent was the recent deaths of two popular government officials, including the leader of the party, the diplomats said. The government said the men, and two colleagues, died in a car crash.

Exiles opposed to Dr Banda's one-man rule since independence in 1964 claim the officials were killed when they opposed Dr Banda's plans to designate a long-time but unpopular associate as his successor. Diplomats have said they believe the men were shot, although they doubted Dr Banda had ordered the executions.

Diplomats said their sources believe Mr John Tembo, governor of the country's reserve bank, may have been responsible for the slayings. Mr Tembo has no public following, but is the uncle of Dr Banda's official hostess, Ms Cecilia "Mama" Kadzamura.

A tall woman in her late 30s or early 40s, once called the "Mae West of Africa, she is always at the president's side. No figures on the voter turnout, also considered a barometer of support for Dr Banda, were available Sunday, the news agency said.

All candidates were members of the party, approved before the voting by Dr Banda. But in some constituencies voters had as many as five candidates to choose from, giving them their widest choice since independence. In the last election, in 1978, a third of Parliament was voted out.

Mana said 20 MPs had been defeated, and 40 others had not even been nominated to stand in the polling of June 29-30. All Cabinet Ministers were re-elected.

The new Parliament will be sworn in on Monday at the par-

liamentary headquarters Zomba. Dr Banda, who serves the right to disqualify for failing to follow the guidelines, said he will nominate 11 members to join members who were selected the party to stand in election.

Twenty-six of the 111 MPs were not contesting, mainly Moslem candidates could be found. Tests, officials explained, others, only one candidate the language and standards.

Dr Banda, trained a

New war fears surface as America celebrates

By Gerald L'Ange, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — As the United States celebrated its birthday this weekend with the traditional fireworks and flagwaving, a thin shadow edged over the festivities.

The threat of American involvement in hostilities in Central America brought a hint of a split in a nation that has been relatively united since the wounds of Vietnam healed into bitter scars.

The fears of much of the nation were symbolised in two demonstrations on Saturday at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, a V-shaped structure of black granite inscribed with the names of nearly 60,000 Americans who died in the Vietnam war.

On one side of the monument on the Washington Mall were several thousand Vietnam veterans, trade unionists, leftists and liberals who see in the Reagan Administration's growing involvement in El Salvador the making of "another Vietnam."

On the other side of the monument and a dividing line of riot police was a smaller group of Vietnam veterans —

July 4 festivities

military and, then advisers followed, by combat-training spe-

Divisions

Mar USS

4 festivities

punk rock groups, marijuana smokers and anti-Reagan protesters. A coalition of groups Mr



President Reagan policies raise fears

Relief

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It was relief for some several Soweto house restrictions at the week. For the first time Tina Sisulu and her friends and w



Is Malawi (170) ready to swop Banda?

NOW that Malawi's election sideshow is over, the focus of political debate has switched back to the future of the aging Life President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda

Now in his 80s, the self-styled Ngwazi or 'Saviour' of Malawi has said he does not intend to relinquish his formidable powers. Nor is he grooming a successor.

Diplomats say Dr Banda is healthy and displays the same political savvy and ruthlessness which have characterised 19 years of personal rule.

His eccentricities are as undimmed as his authority.

Malawi has no television service, but the President reportedly patches the country's sole multi-million dollar earth station through to his Sanjika palace to watch live British and American broadcasts.

However rumours and speculation — often inspired by exiled opponents of Dr Banda — have persisted that he plans to take more of a back seat in government.

Informed sources say either he plans to retire or hand some of his work to a prime minister or vice president, neither of which exists under the system he has operated single-handedly since independence from Britain in 1964.

Diplomats say they are convinced three former Cabinet Ministers and an ex-lawmaker were murdered in May in what appeared to be the first indications of political in-fighting over who succeeds Dr Banda. The government says the four died in a road accident.

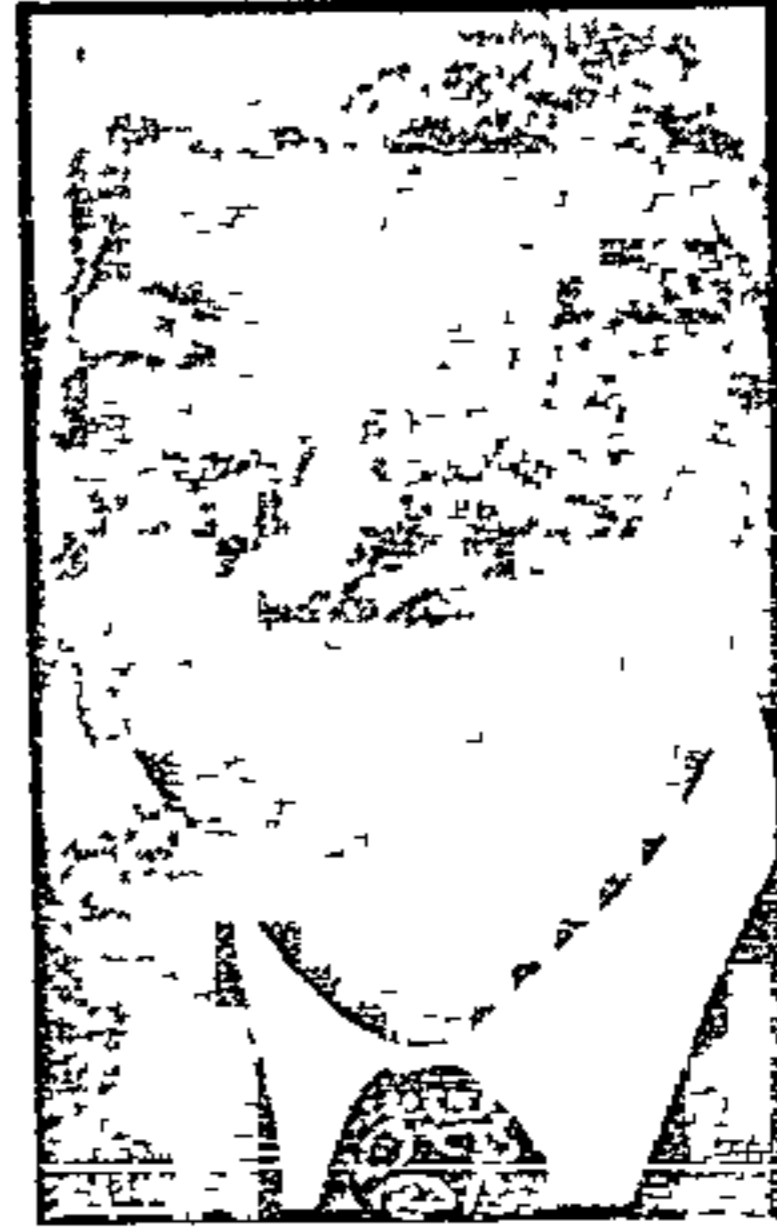
Western nations are watching the succession struggle closely, anxious that Dr Banda's death or retirement could rob Malawi of the stability which has been his chief legacy, the envy of other independent black African countries.

Mounting economic crisis and growing irritation with the restrictions of Dr Banda's paternalistic regime possibly still could mature into a meaningful opposition. So far he has stifled any challenge to his authority both inside and outside the country.

"There is a grumble level on the streets that you would not have heard four or five years ago," said one Western diplomat.

"People are starting to chafe a bit under the juvenile restrictions."

"It may be that Dr Banda reckons the country is at the end of a system of isolation and repression that was necessary for its development."



HASTINGS BANDA popularity wanes

By DAVID COWELL in Blantyre

Dr Banda operates 14 tobacco estates in his own right. He has a hefty share in Admark, the state's agricultural marketing arm, and the influential Blantyre Printing and Publishing Company, publishers of the government-run Daily Times.

"This is more a one-man state than a one-party state," one diplomat said.

Dr Banda's eventual successor could be John Tembo, governor of the reserve bank and uncle of the bachelor president's official hostess, Cecilia Kadzamira.

Miss Kadzamira is a trained nurse who was Dr Banda's receptionist when he worked as a doctor in Ghana before returning to Malawi in 1958 to lead the independence movement.

Diplomatic sources say Mr Tembo may have organised or at least encouraged the assassination by security forces of MCP general secretary Dick Matenje Central Region Minister Aaron Gadama, Health Minister John Sangala and ex-lawmaker David Chiwanga May 19.

Mr Matenje and Mr Gadama are thought to have opposed Dr Banda's nomination of Mr Tembo as the successor because it was unconstitutional.

Few people in Malawi believe they died accidentally and suspicions that Mr Tembo was involved in their deaths will only add to what diplomats reported was his widespread unpopularity.

"If Tembo does take over, he will be out within months because it seems he has no popular following," said one Western diplomat.

July's election for the rubber stamp parliament gave little clue to Dr Banda's standing among the 6 200 000

.. provoked last seasonal uproar

Formed viewpoints

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OVER-REACTION to terrorist reporting, such as a Government-imposed news black-out could invite disaster, the director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, Professor Mike Hough, warned the Press freedom seminar in Pretoria yesterday.

The public, he stressed, had a right to know and preventing the spread of chaos and rumours was an important aspect of reporting on terrorist incidents.

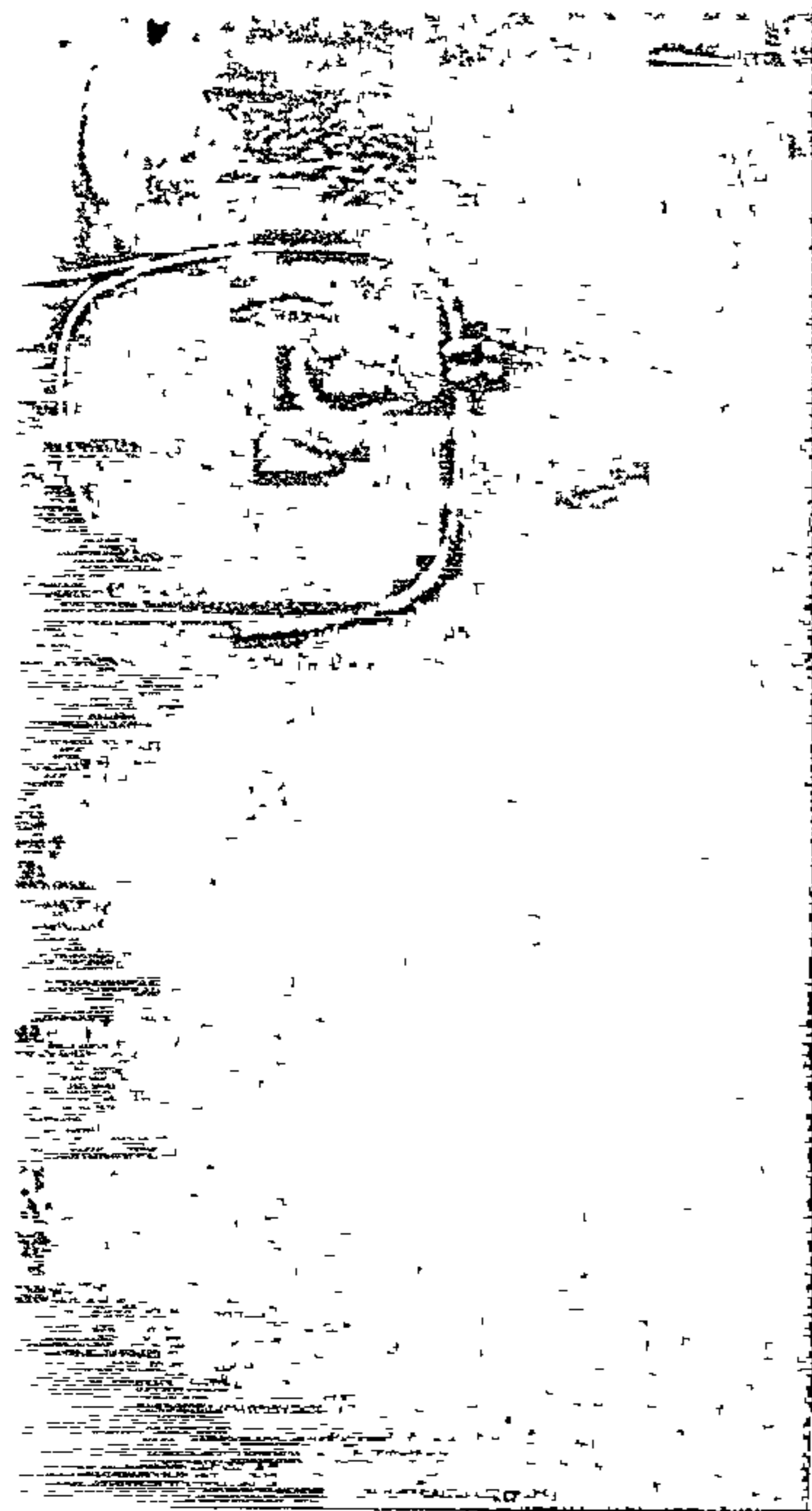
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Hough pointed out that some countries had some control over the media for national security reasons.

Mass media, he said, was an important instrument for mass groups. The general propaganda and psycho-warfare goals of terrorism were often served by the media.

Hough argued that the need for media was one of the reasons for the shift from rural insurgency to urban terrorism.

Authorities said in the final analysis it was not the magni-

The right to know

tude of the terrorist operation that counted, but the publicity.

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This was particularly so where there were competing groups such as the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress in South Africa.

Prof Hough claimed that ideally the media should underplay the terrorist event and yet report the facts. The way the news was presented was the main problem.

However, news played a crucial role in forming public opinion, and comment and opinions on terrorist incidents were important functions of the Press.

If the media were to ignore terrorism, terrorists would merely increase the scope of their activities, or select targets the media could not ignore.

future of the aging Life President Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda

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"People are starting to chafe a bit under the juvenile restrictions."

"It may be that Dr Banda reckons the country is at the end of a system of isolation and repression that was necessary for its development."

"In spite of the government denials, I think we are going through the processes of succession now, but you would never guess it," he said.

Dr Banda is Life President of Malawi's only legal political organisation, the Malawi Congress Party. In his own Cabinet he is Minister of Justice, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Agriculture, Public Works and Information, and Tourism.

He has a reported 90% stake in Press Holdings, the consortium whose influence pervades much of Malawi's manufacturing and marketing sector.



HASTINGS BANDA ... popularity wanes

By DAVID COWELL in Blantyre

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Few people in Malawi believe they died accidentally and suspicions that Mr Tembo was involved in their deaths will only add to what diplomats reported was his widespread unpopularity.

"If Tembo does take over, he will be out within months because it seems he has no popular following," said one Western diplomat.

July's election for the rubber stamp parliament gave little clue to Dr Banda's standing among the 6 200 000 population, since only MCP candidates were allowed to stand.

But diplomats say attendances at the President's public appearances recently have been poor.

"There has been the normal rent-a-crowd element, but not the same turnout from those who did not have to be there," said one senior diplomat.

"The President's schedule is full until the end of this year, but I think there will be some kind of announcement in about a year's time."

UPL

Rumours about Malawi 'not true'

By NORMAN CHANDLER

MALAWI says that South African businessmen have over-reacted to claims that the country is going through a period of instability

"This is not the case," says Miss Sally Gallagher, Africa manager for the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto)

"Malawi is stable, her debts to South Africa were paid in full by the end of May this year, and the Government there is angered by rumours about the position of Life President Dr Kamuzu Banda"

Miss Gallagher — who travels extensively throughout Africa — has returned to Johannesburg after spending two weeks in Malawi interviewing top businessmen and Government officials on behalf of Safto members

She said that rumours about plots against the Malawian Government had "proved very destructive" as far as Malawian business with South Africa, in particular, was concerned

"It has been reported, for instance, that the question of the Presidential suc-

cessor has split the nation

"That's not the case because the succession is clearly laid down in the constitution. This provides for the secretary-general of the ruling Malawi Congress Party and two Cabinet Ministers to rule the country until a new President is elected on the death of the incumbent

"I believe that when this occurs, there will be a peaceful transition of power. In interview after interview, I was told that the rumours were false. I am prepared to believe it as I found Malawi, which I have visited on many occasions, to be stable

"There is sufficient food, the country exports food — something which almost all other African states cannot do — and there is evidence of prosperity in all quarters," Miss Gallagher said

She said South African businessmen had, as a result of the rumours, become concerned about the country's payments for goods imported from this country

"South Africa is Malawi's major supplier, buying over R130-million worth of goods each year. This is double what the United Kingdom, Japan, Zimbabwe and Zambia combined sell to her

Malawian officials had told Miss Gallagher that during the February to July period this year, the country had "gone through a foreign exchange problem brought about by the ideologies of other African states" — a clear reference to the Frontline states' decision to try to limit ties with South Africa

Miss Gallagher also said South African suppliers had complained about late or non-payment for goods sent to Malawi "but they only have themselves to blame — some of the companies they sell to cannot even get credit ratings in Malawi"

She added "South Africa is Malawi's lifeline and surely it is in our interests to keep it as such"

Miss Gallagher said that politically Malawi had displayed "an open, pragmatic attitude to South Africa — this apparently is not liked by either the East or the West, which is surprising in view of the stability in that country

"It is not wellknown that Malawi prohibits goods of communist origin, which could be one of the main reasons for the attitude now prevailing," she said

Deported Malawian 'in prison' (170)

Mercury Mercury Reporter 27/8/83

A MALAWIAN father of three who had lived in South Africa for more than 30 years and was deported in March under orders by the Department of Co-operation and Development has spent the past four months in a Malawian prison, it was learned yesterday

Mrs Paula Sassenberg, manageress of a Margate hotel, said they had received a letter from Mr Lighting Phiri, 50, only two days ago.

Mr Phiri, who had been a waiter at the same hotel for 16 years and had lived in South Africa since 1951, was ordered to quit the country because of his alien status

His wife, daughter and two sons remained behind

He was to apply for permanent residence from Malawi with the assurance of a job by his previous employers

'But this is the first we've heard from him,' said Mrs Sassenberg

She said Mr Phiri had written saying he had been in jail since he returned but had not said why

'It seems that he can't say much

'However, now that we have an address for Lighting, I'll be able to write to him and find out what we can do from this end to get him back to his family,' she said

How ageing Banda holds key to Malawi's future

170

ROM

20/9/83

MALAWI's ageing President-for-life, Hastings Banda, is at the peak of his political power, but there are rumblings that a possibly bloody battle for succession is brewing that could throw the African nation into turmoil.

Now in his 80s, Mr Banda says he has no intention of giving up office

Diplomats say he displays the same political savvy that has marked his rule since Malawi won its independence from Britain in 1964.

Mr Banda is chief of Malawi's only legal political organisation, the Malawi Congress Party.

In his own Cabinet, he is Minister of Justice, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Agriculture, Public Works, and Information and Tourism.

But foreign diplomats in the capital of Blantyre say Mr Banda either plans to retire or hand some of his work to a prime minister, or vice president, neither of which exists under the

President's one-man rule

Diplomats are convinced that three former cabinet ministers and an ex-lawmaker were murdered in May in what appeared to be the first indications of political infighting over who succeeds Mr Banda

The government says the four died in a road accident

Western nations are watching the succession, worried that Mr Banda's death or retirement could end Malawi's relative political stability.

"There is a grumble level on the streets that you would not have heard four or five years ago," one Western diplomat said of reports Mr Banda may step down or give up some of his powers.

"In spite of the government denials, I think we are going through the processes of succession now," the diplomat said

One man mentioned as a possible successor to Mr Banda is John Tembo, Governor of Malawi's Reserve Bank and uncle of the bachelor president's official hostess

But diplomats say Mr Tembo could face formidable opposition for the job. They note that Mr Tembo's opponents accuse him of having or-

ganised or at least been implicated in the deaths of Malawi Congress Party general secretary Dick Matenje, Minister Aaron Gadama, Health Minister John Sangala and ex-lawmaker David Chuwanga

"If Tembo does take over, he will be out within months because it seems he has no popular following," said one Western diplomat



HASTINGS BANDA ... at height of power

(170) RDM 23/9/83
Malawian Left picks boss

HARARE — The exiled Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma) has elected Mr Grey Kamuyambeni to succeed Mr Atati Mpakati, who was shot in Zimbabwe in May, a Lesoma central committee member said yesterday.

Mr Kamuyambeni, 49, was elected chairman at a meeting of the Lesoma central

committee last month, the member said.

The new leader had been acting chairman since the death of Mr Mpakati, 50, who was found shot in the head in Harare in May.

Two men of Malawian origin are being held in Zimbabwe in connection with the killing. — Sapa-Reuter

Malawi gates open to SA fertiliser manufacturers

By **SIMON WILLSON**

Industrial Editor

COUNTRIES giving aid to Malawi may follow the precedent set by the World Bank in relaxing the conditions of their aid, thereby helping to increase Malawi's orders for South African fertiliser.

The World Bank has allowed Malawi to accept South African tenders for contracts in projects sponsored by World Bank aid. Much of this demand is expected to be channelled to the SA fertiliser industry.

The South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) says that SA industries — but especially fertiliser manufacturers — expect mushrooming orders from Malawi if, as is expected, more of that nation's aid is given unconditionally.

Analysts say Malawi's aid donors, seeing the problems caused to the landlocked country's foreign trade by the inefficient Mozambican ports, have eased the conditions under which they provide money.

Until June this year, countries giving aid to Malawi tied their donations to orders from Malawi to ensure that the benefits in employment and exports returned to the donor.

This was particularly the case with the United States, and only slightly less so with Britain and other European Economic Community countries.

These buy-back conditions have been relaxed in places, giving Malawi a bigger range of options on how to use its aid.

Safto says Malawi's importers, if given the choice, will order SA products in preference to other foreign goods because SA's quality and delivery times have always been good, and because overland transport between SA and Malawi is cheaper

and more reliable than ocean freighting using Mozambican ports.

Trade between the two countries is worth about R150m a year, with the balance heavily in SA's favour.

Malawi's imports from SA are worth about R131m, and SA imports goods worth only about R9m from Malawi.

SA fertiliser is highest on Malawi's list of priority uses for its newly available aid cash.

With this year's domestic off-take likely to be 30% down on last year's because of the simultaneous ravages of the recession and the drought, the SA fertiliser industry will have to look to foreign sales.

This year's South African fertiliser exports to Malawi have been estimated at about 50 000 tons. Tenders for Malawi's fertiliser contracts are usually put out in January every year, and the 1984 contracts could result in a doubling in South Africa's fertiliser exports to Malawi.

Trade with black Africa is a delicate subject in South African industry, and the fertiliser industry is even more coy about publicity because of the cut-throat competition raging in the industry for customers and skilled manpower.

But unofficial estimates say Omnia is South Africa's top fertiliser supplier to Malawi, exporting about 40 000 tons this year, followed by Triomf with 4 500 tons and Fedmis with 4 000 tons.

Triomf representatives are in Malawi looking for orders. All South African fertiliser manufacturers, however, can expect to cash in on the expanding Malawian market.

Rennies Shipping, one of the successful tenderers for the overall transport contract to Malawi, says it will account for 50 000 tons of bagged fertiliser.

The company will rail the fertiliser to Zimbabwe and Zambia, and transfer the cargo for road transport.

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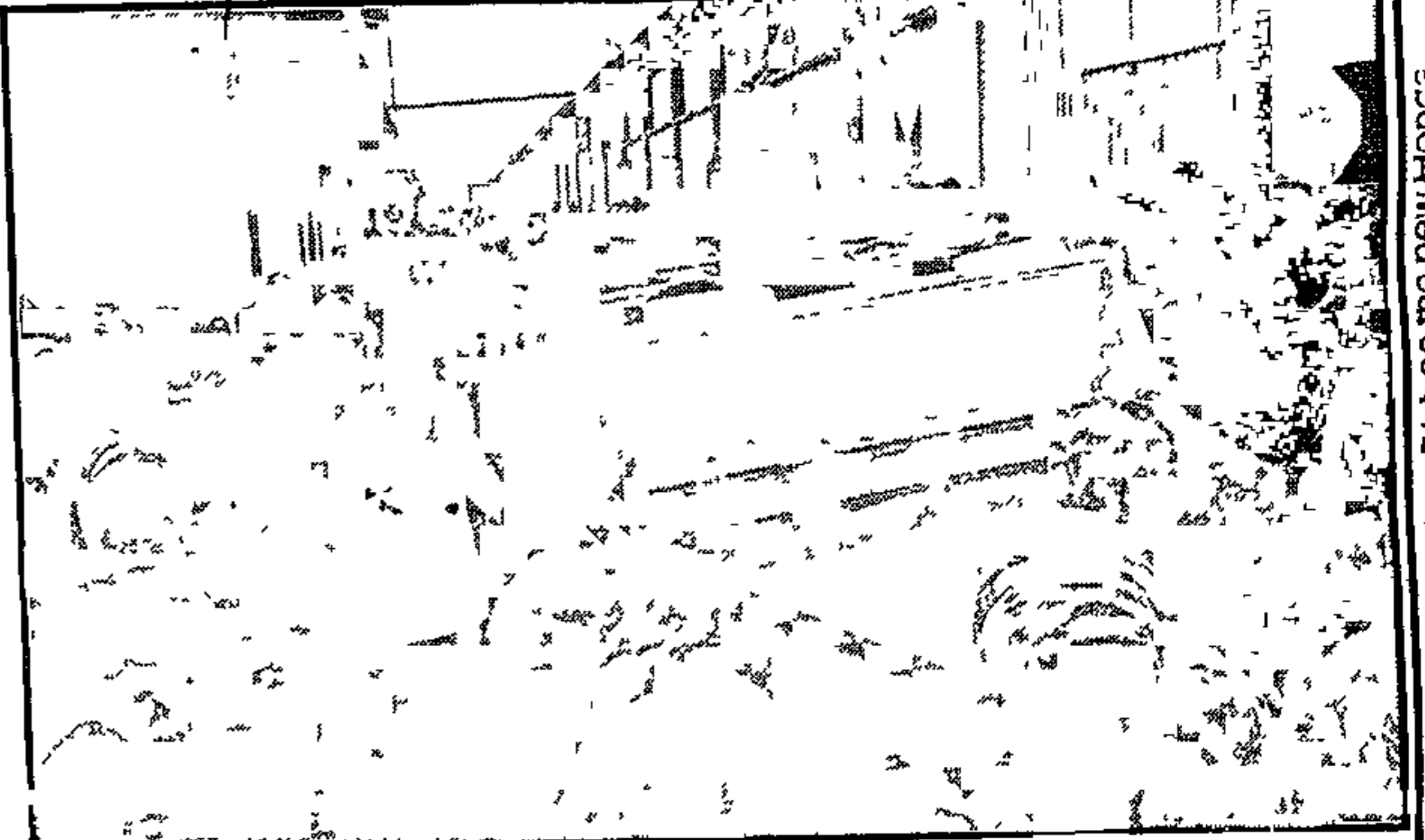
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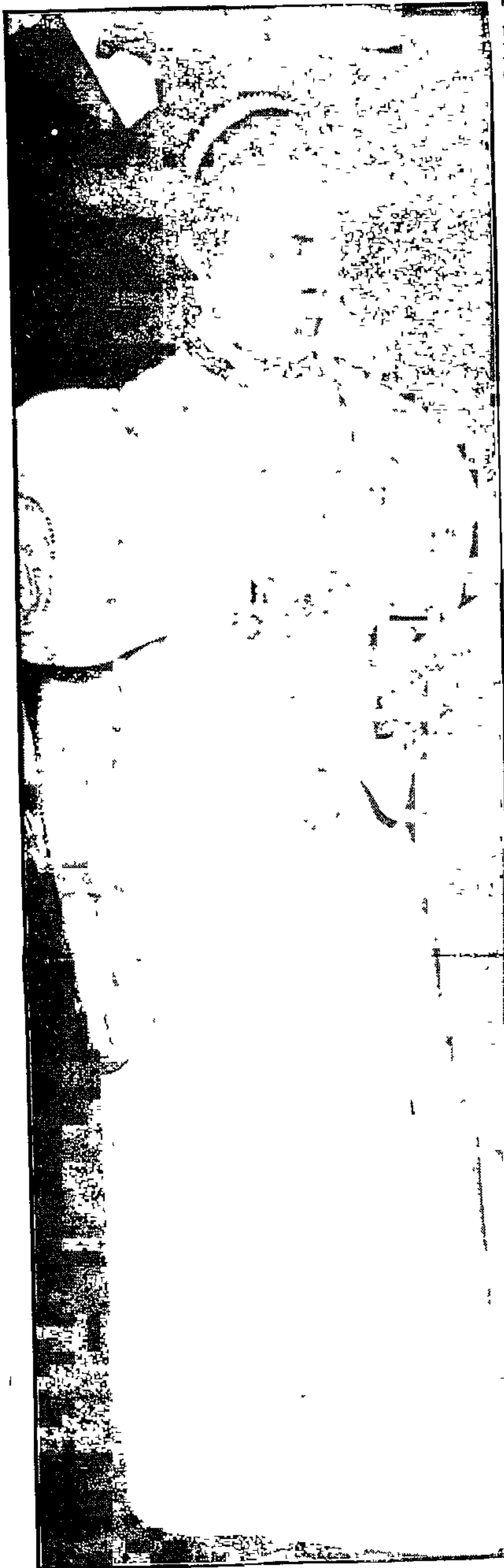
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26/1/84

The power behind Banda's 'throne'



PRESIDENT BANDA waves his flywhisk as hundreds of women swarm around his vehicle during a tour of Blantyre



CECILIA KADZAMIRA ... President Banda's "official hostess"

THE POSSIBILITY exists that a woman may take over from Malawi's Life President, Dr H Kamuzu Banda, in order to keep the country in one piece once he steps down or dies.

She is his "official hostess," Mrs Cecilia Kadzamira, who came to South Africa with the President in 1971 and who often returns for "consultations" with Pretoria officials.

If Mrs Kadzamira takes over — and indications in Malawi government and business circles are that she probably will — she will be the first woman to rule an African state.

She is easily the most powerful woman in a country once described as a "rural slum".

Now, Pres Banda has ensured that such descriptions of abject poverty has given way to a reasonably better way of life — particularly in the urban areas — poor farming methods overtaken with spectacular results by organised agricultural methods, and the building of a futuristic capital carved out of the rain forests of central Africa.

In a country where speculation on a successor of the 82-year-old President is treason, there is underground talk of the future role to be played by Mrs Kadzamira.

Often described within Malawi as "just about the President," she is without doubt the person who controls the destiny of the land which calls itself the "warm heart of Africa".

With her at his side, Pres Banda, his full title is His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr H Kamuzu Banda, has won the hearts of the womenfolk, alienated (to an extent) the men — because by tradition women take a backseat in African affairs — and ensured that when he steps down or dies, Malawi will maintain a course much in keeping with what has been taking place for the past 19 years.

Without her, he may never have been able to maintain his autocratic dictatorship.

The women are the key to the future of Malawi.

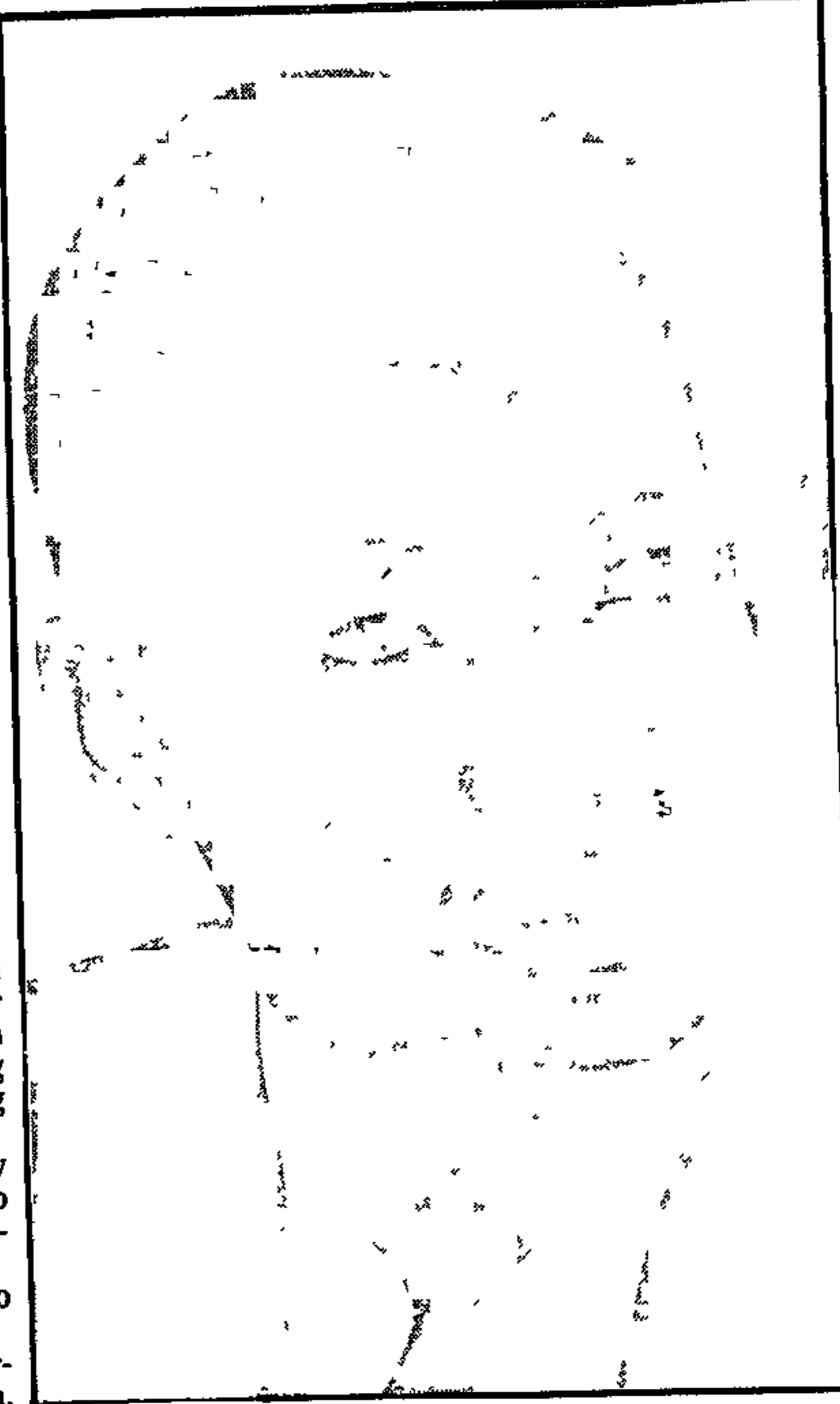
Pres Banda extends largesse to them, praises them, entertains them to lavish tea parties at his six palaces, and works incessantly on improving relationships with them. He entertains groups of Malawians as well as white and Asian women.

But the succession is not cut-and-dried as far as Mrs Kadzamira is concerned.

One possibility being discussed in many circles is that Mrs Kadzamira will merely be a puppet in the hands of members of Pres Banda's so-called Inner Circle.

Another is that when Pres Banda goes, it will be the signal for Malawi's

By NORMAN CHANDLER



ALEKE BANDA ... powerful politician

black neighbours to launch a vengeful destabilisation policy which could see the overthrow of the Government of the day.

The puppet allegation — and much favoured even in Government circles — has as its foundation her family links with the Inner Circle and her own, dominating personality over the aged leader.

Her uncle is Mr John Tembo, Governor of the Reserve Bank, and a powerful figure in both the Inner Circle

and the all-powerful Malawi Congress Party. He is on the executive of the MCP and commands more respect than all the Cabinet ministers put together.

He has held together the country's finances during its crippling balance of payments problems and has gained support from businessmen for that feat.

But he is not a man of the people, being — as I discovered during a week-long tour of Malawi — rather aloof to everyone except an

elite group of Cabinet ministers, top civil servants and industrialists fortunate to find themselves on the fringe of the ruling group.

On the death of the President, a group of three — known as the Presidential Commission — will hold, in terms of the Constitution, the reigns of power while a successor is appointed. The three are the secretary-general of the MCP and two Cabinet ministers he appoints.

The Inner Circle — which, including Mr Tembo, is made up of the commanders of the Army and the Police, the Secretary of the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC), the secretary-general of the MCP, and the chairmen of the three regional branches of the MCP — has been assured, I am informed, of support from the Army and the Police on the question of ensuring a bloodless succession.

The assurance comes as a result of a fear that dissidents now living in Zambia and Zimbabwe may attempt to wrest power during the period of mourning in the event of the President's death.

Sweating it out in Zomba's political detention centre is the man most Malawians regard as the most important politician after the President.

He is former Cabinet Minister Mr Aleke Banda, and anyone who believes that this popular man's power as a politician has waned over the past nine years is in for a shock.

I was told that he was incarcerated "for his own safety" and that even Pres Banda — who has always favoured him — has alluded in private to the question of Mr Banda's safety.

He is a pawn in a massive power play which is being waged from one end of Malawi to the other.

The factions are the Tembo-Kadzamira group, and the newly-emerging middle class.

The middle classes want

43-year-old Mr Banda, former Minister of Trade, Industry, Tourism, Transport and Communications, and previously Finance as well. Mr Banda is detested by the other faction.

First secretary-general of the MCP back in 1959, Aleke Banda (he was christened "Alick", changing his name in the 1960s) is a long-time friend of Mr Orton Chirwa, now under sentence of death in Zomba for treason against the State.

Pres Banda has so far not signed the Chirwa execution order, because of worldwide pressure for clemency.

Mr Banda — who is no relation to the President — was stripped of his job for allegedly giving the impression in a newspaper interview that he was to be the next president. He returned to his northern Malawi home district and had hardly unpacked before he was placed in detention.

Destabilisation, meanwhile, is not merely a possibility.

Already Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has gone on record — and it was suppressed within Malawi — as saying that once Pres Banda dies, Zimbabwe will destabilise the country.

Although the government-owned news media (possibly the worst in all of Africa) suppressed the statement on the direct orders of President Banda — who is Minister of Information as well as all other key portfolios — it has gained currency through the many contacts made by Malawians with Zimbabweans and Zambians.

Whether one is in Lilongwe, Salima or Blantyre, the destabilisation statement is a major topic of conversation. And as Malawi is such a closed society in terms of information being readily available, the people are thriving on it.

But while the President lives, there is not likely to be any attempt at wresting power from either in or out of the country.

He has a cast-iron grip with the support of his army, the police, the MCP and an array of informers. Banda is Malawi — no one else counts when it comes to decision taking. He it comes to the orders, deportation, visits, commutes, handing out the orders, etc. The story is being told in the recent Confederal Heads of State conference in New Delhi. India, Malawi officials registered in order to take them on various issues. They were made to get their own copy of the report. The decisions of the Government — and the loss of jobs in the Malawi Government — are being apparent. It is done on a whim and in the Inner Circle's apparent belief that 160 million know for any one civil servant is too dangerous to the ruling group. True and this reporter found that was quite true. True and being interviewed in print, even though they held the most important public positions.

Community ...
SOUTH AFRICA ...
NOW ...

See the new Hong

Malawi keeps hopeful eye

26/1/84

1700
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25/1/84

Malawi's eyes are firmly fixed on the talks taking place between South Africa and Mozambique. The government of Life President Dr H Kamuzu Banda quite clearly is hoping that they will succeed.

The reasons are not difficult to understand

- Malawi has more than 200,000 tons of goods tied up in Mozambique ports and on the railways from the east coast
- The balance of payments situation is getting desperate as debts are rescheduled — and may have to be rescheduled again
- Peace in the region (Mozambique) will see a huge upsurge in trade, development and tourism, all of which are on a slide

Pres Banda's government is preaching a message with increased fervour every day. Malawi needs to get her goods to the sea and from the ports in order to keep alive and be able to meet her debts and regenerate her economy, now in the grip of recession.

"Malawi does not have an observer at those talks, but we are there in spirit," was the comment of a highly-placed official in the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC). He was, it was made clear to me, speaking with the authority of the President.

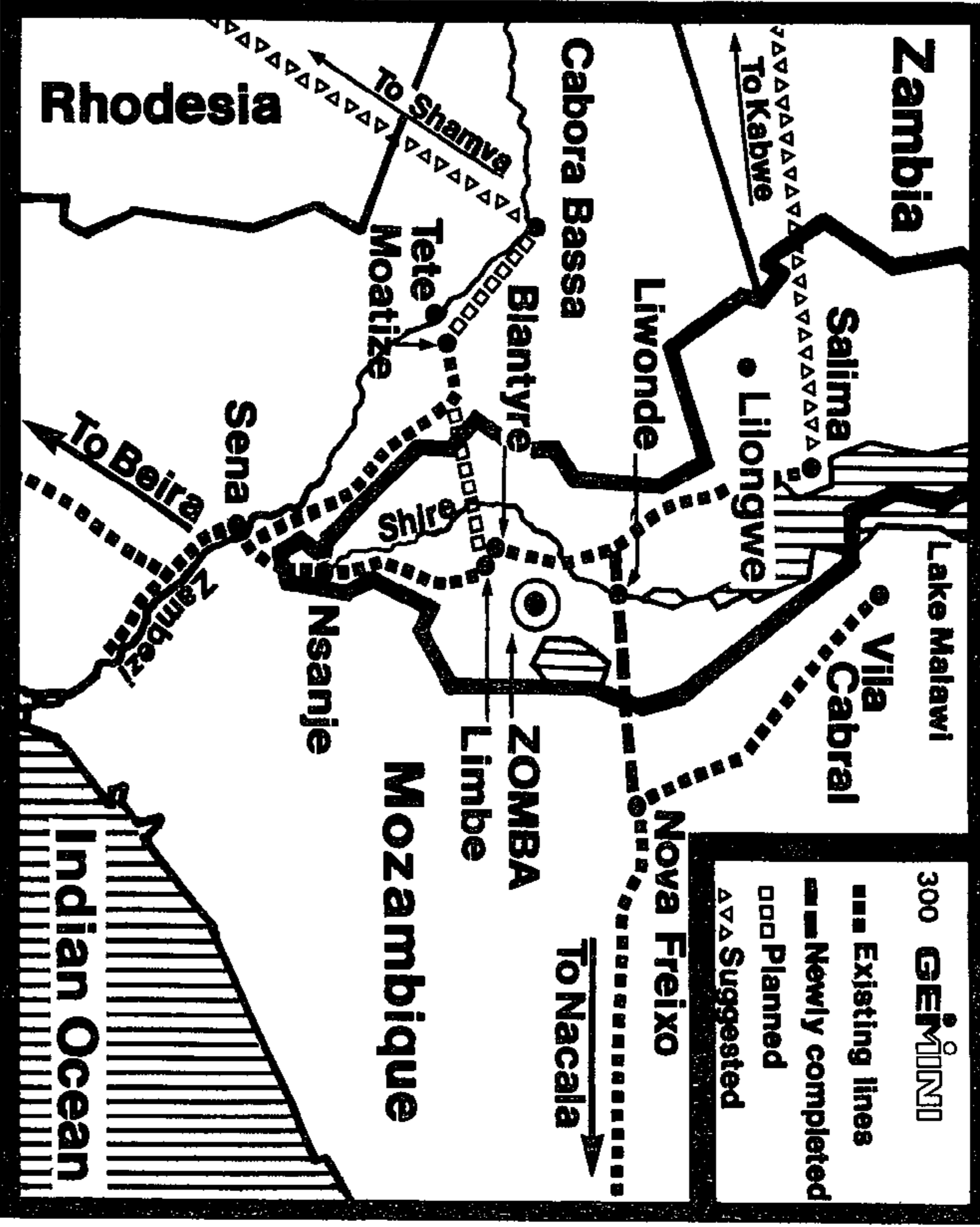
Tanzania, the country's northern neighbour, is represented

It was emphasised during a series of interviews with government officials in Lilongwe, the country's new capital, that Malawi is able to meet her foreign debts despite a rescheduling in recent months, but how long it will be before a second rescheduling of debts will become necessary is a moot point. It could happen before the end of February.

The rescheduling will reduce pressure on the country's foreign reserves which, according to bankers, "have been hovering at below the desired levels, over the last few years."

I was told "Normally Malawi would not have wanted to reschedule from a budgetary point of view, the government is able to service debts

MALAWI RAILWAYS



"The position of the statutory bodies has not improved. We should know in the next three weeks to what extent those organisations can meet their loan repayments, but from what we see right now, it doesn't look like it."

An official — he and others specifically requested that they should not be identified, even though the interviews had been arranged by the government's Information Department — told me

"The impact of what has been taking place in Mozambique, in particular, has been very severe on the budget. We have been struggling for four years with our export and import problems."

He confirmed that the rail links from Malawi to the Mozambique ports of Beira and Naçala had been severely damaged during the fighting by the Mozambique National Resistance movement (Renamo) against the government of President Samora Machel.

The fighting has been so close to the Malawi border that gunshots and explosion flashes were clearly visible, at times, from the Mulanje area in the south.

As a result of the warfare, Malawi has had to find alternative ways of moving her produce. It has caused the build-up of sugar "mountains" of tea and tobacco that had to be stored, not in some areas. About 99 per cent of tea and 98 per cent of tobacco crops is exported.

To transport these products by road through Mozambique, across Zimbabwe to South Africa, has been very prohibitive, though, although some have been getting out through East London and Durban.

The official Malawi viewpoint on the sugar export problem is that it is "not economic to take sugar to South African ports. If this was done, the sugar industry would immediately pass on the costs to the consumer."

The country now is urgently exploring the possibility of building a new road from Karonga,

in the north, to link up with the Tanzanian road system and the Tanzania railway to Dar es Salaam.

But even then officials in Lilongwe wondered whether Dar es Salaam would be able to handle the additional cargo.

Malawi is bitter that South Africa is buying additional sugar supplies from South America and not from her.

"They (Pretoria) say the landed price is much cheaper than what we can offer," an official said. "But if we have a trade agreement with South Africa, then why can't preferential rates be brought into the picture? It would help us, and help South Africa too."

The Malawi Government points out that over R100 million worth of South African goods were imported in the 1982-83 financial year, and that South Africa bought a minuscule amount from Malawi, despite trade missions and government pleas for a redress of the situation.

on SA's talks in Maputo

NORMAN CHANDLER has been visiting Malawi. He writes from Lilongwe.

lakeport is planned at Chimbeche to serve the central region. This will enable goods to reach Chiraka port's rail link to Zambia Zimbabwe and South Africa via Lilongwe and Melimji.

As the situation evolves, there is little joy for the man-in-the-street Malawi Treasury officials do not think that the country will be able to afford to lift its wage-restraint policy for the foreseeable future. One, not so far as to say what he termed "more careful investment than previously" more res-

But-lightening is evident throughout the country. There are few new projects on the go and few new employment prospects although the country is looking for millions of rand to continue its five-year development plan, which started in 1980-81.

The building, with some foreign involvement — notably South Africa — of the new capital at Lilongwe has strained the country's exchequer to the point where the general public is suffering.

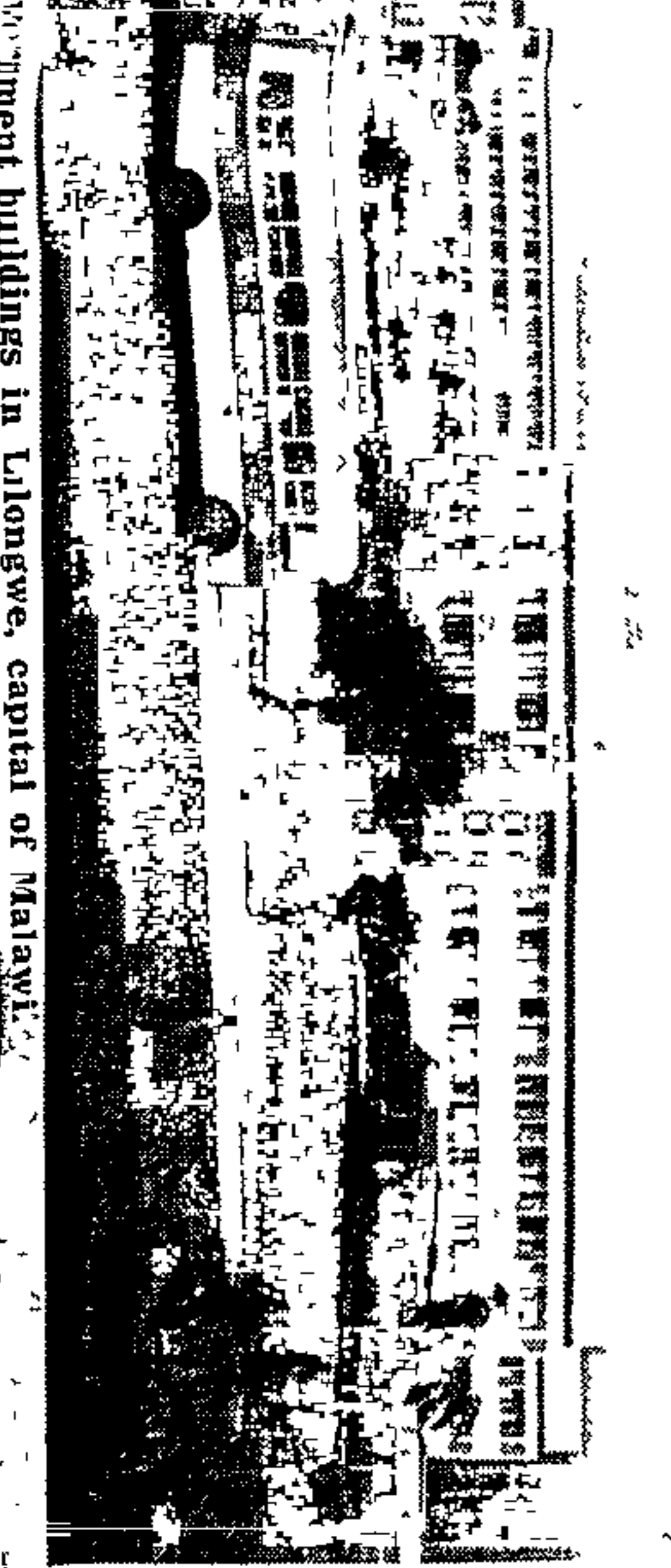
High prices in shops for even locally produced goods such as strawberry jam are common.



Malawi's Life President, Dr H Kamuzu Banda

mon. The price of South African imported jam is R3.40 a tin.

Although shelves are filled with goods, local people cannot buy freely because they haven't got the cash. Clothing is expensive, and many Asians and whites who can afford it on the li-



Government buildings in Lilongwe, capital of Malawi.

The Malawi kwacha has been revalued twice — the latest on January 16 when the kwacha was linked to a parcel of currencies including the rand, sterling, US dollar and French franc, rather than to Special Drawing Rights (SDR).

This resulted in a more favourable exchange rate, and a few tambala more in pay packets.

The National Bank of Malawi — now a Standard Chartered Bank operation after Barclays Bank International phased itself out of the project — says in its latest Economic Brief that the 1982 growth rate was "much below the growth rates Malawi was used to in the preceding decade," and forecast a 3.6 per cent growth rate for the 1983-84 financial year.

Government officials are not sure whether that figure will be reached, and point to the likelihood of a growth rate of just over 2.5 per cent.

Some of Malawi's other problems are

- Maintenance of roads, pavements and government buildings has visibly been allowed to run down because of the financial situation.
- Most roads — including the M1 from Blantyre to Lilongwe, the main trunk route to the interior — have potholes, which are now being worsened in the rainy season.
- Employment is down by 3.4 per cent over 1981 as the recession takes its toll.
- There has been a marked increase in crime throughout the country and particularly in Blantyre.

Local inhabitants say that whereas they could before walk along streets at night without fear of being mugged, this is no longer the case.

Much of the thieving has been petty, but housebreakings are increasing. Many homes, particularly those of white expatriates, are guarded by security fences, guards and dogs.

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The shimmering waters of Lake Malawi, Africa's third largest fresh-water lake, are breathtaking. It's no wonder that explorer David Livingstone couldn't find words adequate to describe it.

And that sums up the rest of the country as well. Both the good and the bad — the green rain forests, great herds of elephant, the super-tasting chambo fish, the beggars in the streets, the mass of unemployed.

Malawi can count itself lucky that it has the lake, for without it foreign currency would be hard to come by.

But the country which calls itself the "warm heart of Africa" will have to find a way to upgrade facilities, improve communications and avoid ripping-off tourists — for that's the only word to describe the treatment of tourists by ivory sellers and hotels.

Granted, some facilities are good, but when accommodation costs are suddenly freed from government control and hotels increase rates from R45 to R56, plus ten per cent service charge and ten per cent government tax, without informing guests until the day of the increase, it cries out for investigation — especially when over and above this the charge for chambo rises to R9.50, plus the two taxes.

I stayed at one lakeshore hotel which was charging R20 plus taxes for bed and what was laughingly described as a "continental breakfast" — and the next day upped the price to over R30.

South African tourists should not expect in Malawi what they get at home insofar as facilities are concerned.

No words can adequately describe Malawi's lake



There is no television, the radio service is not geared to European ears, and flies and mosquitos (especially on the lake shore) are everywhere.

Lake Malawi, unbelievable scenery — and no crocodiles.

But you will find large village markets, lovely scenery, fruit in abundance, the locals dressed in colourful dresses, cheap beer (less than 50c a bottle), and a futuristic capital city built humbustling Blantyre, for long the commercial heart of Malawi.

Lilongwe, the new capital, is literally carved out of the bush. Driving in from Blantyre along a highway which cries out for maintenance, the motorist sees a building which

¹⁷⁰
^{21/1/84}
D. Baird-Justh
adequately
describe
Malawi's lake
NORMAN CHANDLER, in a second article, describes Malawi's tourist attractions (and pitfalls) and the beauty of the lake — third largest in Africa.



looks as if it has been turned upside down and literally shoved into the earth.

It's the Reserve Bank of Malawi, feature piece of a capital which has been built with funds in-

itially lent by South Africans — and Malawians don't forget that gesture.

The building, like all the others in the city, is situated in its own park-like grounds, carefully maintained by gangs of

panga-wielding men. What the locals call "embassy row" must be one of the most beautiful diplomatic quarters anywhere in South Africa, however, securely guarded, is on

the first floor of a small office block. The city, right in the centre, has its own version of a zoo. The Lilongwe nature reserve has hyena, leopard, duiker and three-metre long crocodiles basking on the banks of the Lingadzi River.

It is when you leave Lilongwe and head towards the lakeshore that the tourist sees the real Malawi — and also some of the most incredible poverty.

The winding, 100 km road — narrow width for most of the way — snakes through dense rain forests. At times the greenery laps the edge of the tarmac, making driving tricky. Small villages abound, people are always on the move. Unlike many other parts of Africa, they at least smile and wave.

Some wear western-style clothing, but many are dressed in sack-like tunics. They have nothing ex-

cept the sacks they walk about in, a mud hut, bananas, and, in good years, maize. But they can still give a smile.

It's a sad situation for a country with such an abundance of riches with which to lure the tourist.

Around a corner and over a Bailey bridge, the surface overlaid with wooden planks, and down towards the shimmering lake, the road cuts across unfenced Salima airfield. There appears to be no one about to tell motorists when aircraft are due.

Dhows and dugout canoes filled with fishermen abound on the lake. According to the Malawi Tourist Board, the people living on its shores have done the same job for centuries — pulling in over 400 species of fish, of which chambo is far and away the most popular.

Dhows still do the crossing from Leopard Bay, north of the Grand Beach Hotel, to Fort Maguire, but instead of slaves, they now carry foodstuffs to the remote areas.

The lake is safe for the tourist. It is bilharzia-free and crocodiles have been eliminated from tourist areas. Swimming is encouraged.

The most spectacular hotel in Malawi? Without a doubt, the Ku Chawe Inn, perched on Zomba plateau, south of the lake. The new part of the hotel is a cantilevered overhanging structure, and the view from the rooms is breathtaking. So is the 90-metre drop if one falls over the balcony railings.

Continental breakfast rate there is equal to R45 a night plus taxes.

Blantyre City, which comprises Blantyre and Lumbe, is populated by Malawians, Asians and the 10 000-odd expatriate whites (mainly British) who help keep the business machinery ticking over. They say they love its small-town appeal.

The so-called European clubs are where the "expats" meet their friends, play their sport and exchange scandal about themselves, the government and how much money they have made, while they sip the local drink, MGT (Malawi gin and tonic).

Expatriates, under certain circumstances, are allowed to rent up to two-thirds of their monthly salaries to foreign banks. They live quite comfortably on the rest. There is no doubt that the expatriate whites in Malawi are among the most pampered in Africa.

The lifestyle is grand, even by South African standards. It is common for homes to have three or four "houseboys" plus a security guard — which I was told, is becoming a vital part of the employment package because of the upsurge in crime.

Tourists however don't come into contact with that style of life, nor the seamer side. They are whisked through Lilongwe, then Blantyre and on to the lakeshore. Once you have been to Malawi, you will return. It has unbelievable scenery, a fantastic bird life, fish in abundance, dense rain forests, flat savannah lands, and great mountains which form part of the Great Rift Valley.

as well as majestic Mtangwe mountain in the south and the game filled 900 sq km Nyika Plateau National Park in the north.

Business Day

Malawi tightens up on SA import problems

(170) RDM 9/2/84

Financial Reporter

MALAWI is implementing an improved system of communication to resolve payment problems reported by South African exporters to the country.

Mr Jan Bouwer, managing director of Credit Guarantee, said yesterday he was satisfied at the outcome of discussions with Malawian Government officials and contacts in the banking and commercial sectors

Mr Bouwer, who recently returned from a visit to Malawi, said improvements to the payment system could lead to an increased flow of trade between the country and South Africa.

In a general comment on the country's development, he said: "Malawi shows visible practical growth and economic development despite serious extraneous obstacles, and a will to succeed that is not evident in many African countries."

South Africa exported goods worth R120m to Malawi last year. Imports from Malawi totalled R50m.

More than half of the transactions were handled under Credit Guarantee cover and Mr Bouwer said the company was taking active steps to increase the effectiveness of its communication with Malawi, so that temporary obstacles in the flow of payments

between the two countries could be removed as soon as possible.

Because it was land-locked, Malawi had serious logistical difficulties in exporting, compounded by the fact that the Beira railway link with Mozambique was seldom in use

This previously carried about 90% of Malawi's imports and exports.

The absence of nearby port facilities also meant that Malawi was forced to import over long land routes, adding considerably to the cost of imported commodities

An early priority, according to Mr Bouwer, would be to increase Malawi's transport capacity and so reduce costs

RAM 27/2/84

Malawi holds talks to raise R1 600m ⁽¹⁷⁰⁾

BLANTYRE — Malawi will hold a two-day conference this week to appeal for R1 600-million in Western aid to support its economy over the next five years.

A total of 33 countries and 50 international agencies have been invited to attend the meeting tomorrow and Wednesday in Blantyre's Kwacha conference centre, the first of its kind to be staged by the country.

Finance Ministry officials said the aid was being sought to finance Malawi's five-year

development programme, which started last year.

Malawi's export-oriented agricultural economy has been rocked over the past three years by disruption of its transport routes through Mozambique to the sea and declining commodity prices on world markets.

The kwacha, the national currency, was devalued 27% last year, and a three-year R100-million loan was obtained from the International Monetary Fund — Sapa-
Reuter

SA-Malawi supply line being cut by MNR

An essential supply line between South Africa and its staunchest African ally, Malawi, is about to be severed following the intensification of Mozambican rebel activity.

South African truckers running the gauntlet along a 250 km "hell run" in the northern Mozambican province of Tete say it is only a matter of weeks before the route is closed to them.

The alternative — necessary if the economic strangulation of Malawi is to be avoided — would be a more expensive, longer route through Zambia.

The truckers are being plagued by repeated attacks from the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) which has already closed railway lines linking Malawi to the Mozambican ports of Nacala and Beira.

Zimbabwean troops protecting the convoys in Tete are now refusing to guard trucks running supplies between South Africa and Malawi.

South African trucks carrying imports and exports from Malawi.

"They are now protecting only maize from Malawi destined for Zimbabwe and are turning back most other cargo."

"The situation has worsened and ambushes in Tete have increased. The rebels are now attacking convoys protected by the Zimbabwean army more often."

The Zimbabwean army's refusal to protect trucks from South Africa follows claims by the Zimbabwe Transport Minister, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, that hauliers were opting to carry goods which gave a higher profit than maize and were flouting their terms of contract.

The Zimbabwean Army moved into Tete several months ago, after a plea for help from Zimbabwean haulage companies which could not rely on assistance from the poorly equipped Frelimo troops.

Then, ironically, Zimbabwean troops started protecting convoys which included South African trucks.

The route is vital for Harare which is depending on Malawi this year for 50,000 tons of maize, the Zimbabwean staple.

The Malawians use the route to export tea and tobacco through South African ports and to import fertilizer essential to their agricultural operations.

South African trucks carrying valuable Malawi exports have been attacked several times in the past and destroyed.

Last year there were acute shortages of fuel and fertilizer in Malawi because of sabotage of the railway lines linking the country to Mozambican ports.

At one stage it was even considered to launch an airlift operation to bring fertilizer into Malawi.



Stephen McQuillan

But the troops have agreed to continue to protect South African trucks carrying maize from Malawi to Zimbabwe.

The troops are commanded by an American Vietnam veteran, Lieutenant-Colonel Jesse Hickman, one of the few whites with a high rank in the Zimbabwean army.

"The Tete route is about to close for trucks operating from South Africa," said Mr Kevin Curtis, managing director of a major South African haulage company.

"The Zimbabwe army is not happy about the fact that they are protecting

To those who oppose us, he has said, accidents do happen. Banda never spoke a truer word...

The man who towers over Malawi

ILONGWE — Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda towers over Malawi. Visitors step out of the aircraft to see "Kamuzu" on the airport bus and on the terminal building. And they will have their passports stamped not "Malawi" but "Kamuzu International Airport". They will drive into Ilongwe along Kamuzu Procession Way and check into a hotel where his portrait hangs not only in the lobby, but also in the restaurant, the gift shop and the bar.

"If you didn't have his picture up, people would want to know why," an expatriate said. When visitors drive into Blantyre, the Johannesburg of Malawi, they will go along Kamuzu Highway past a hall they will see painted in large letters "Long Live Kamuzu." Zambia and Zimbabwe also have personality cults, but nothing like this.

★ ★ ★ What is puzzling is that it seems unnecessary. Banda is popular. Although he has not submitted himself to an election since independence in 1964, people say that even if there were to be free and fair elections, Banda would win hands down, no question.

★ ★ ★ It is not difficult to see why, in a conservative, authority-oriented society, Banda is seen as the bringer of development, the man behind the rare success story that is Malawi. The reputation is not undeserved.

★ ★ ★ Very little has happened in Malawi without Banda's approval. He is the Minister of four Ministries: Agriculture, External Affairs, Justice, Works and Supplies. Through numerous shareholdings, Banda personally controls an estimated 35 to 40 percent of the economy. The control is not passive.

★ ★ ★ A Blantyre businessman who supplies Banda's tobacco estates said he occasionally receives a sheaf of cheques signed by H K himself. "One could say he gets too involved in the mundane," added the businessman, "but one could also say he knows what's going on in the country from the top to the bottom."

★ ★ ★ As in the classics he likes to quote, Banda sees himself doing for Malawi what Augustus did for Rome. "Kamuzu" supersedes "Malawi" in the naming of national facilities: it is not more vanity; it is Banda

★ ★ ★ Not all the killings were initiated by Banda, but he condoned them. "To those who oppose us, accidents do happen," he once said. The question is: why does Banda, who would win an election hands down, play this bloody game? There must be a deep scar of insecurity in him, a scar which no amount of success can ever heal. Perhaps a psycho-analyst could reveal its origin. One clue is provided by the scholarly biographer Philip Short who shows that in Banda's life, triumph has never been far from disaster. During his years in Britain, he built up a medical practice of 4 000 patients and was ordained an Elder of the Church of Scotland. Then in 1955 divorce suit 4908 was filed in the London High Court. Two months later Banda left Britain.

★ ★ ★ The second highest man in the country is the Malawi Congress Party secretary-general. Of the four who have held this position since 1976, two have died violently, one is under house arrest and another has been dismissed from politics. The most recent secretary-general, the popular Dick Matenje, was killed in May 1983 together with two other Cabinet Ministers and an MP. The state-run Press said they all died in a car

★ ★ ★ commented for what he has done for Malawi. He has raised it from a colonial backwater to a relatively prosperous African state. Malawi's agricultural progress is the envy of Central Africa. Though its people are poor, they do have food. When Banda dies, the grief will be massive and genuine. But there are cracks in his Malawian edifice. For instance, is it wise to actively discourage birth control when the annual population growth is an alarming 3 percent? Can one man really run four Ministries properly? He is Minister of Supplies, but two sources said that the first he knew of a petrol shortage last year was, when motoring through Blantyre, he saw long queues outside the filling stations. "People are scared to bring him bad news," was the observation. In July 1984 he was Africa's hero. He had broken the white-run federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and delivered independence. But only eight weeks later he received a profound shock. His Cabinet attacked him for his pro-Pretoria, pro-Lisbon policies. The showdown ended with the six Ministers leaving the Cabinet. Banda survived and so did the insecurity.

★ ★ ★ failed to promote a successor. Of the four African fathers have died in recent years, the two that had had the stormiest passages, Guinea and Swaziland, were those where the power vacuum was strongest. In Kenya and Botswana, the founding Presidents had groomed heirs who had took over the reins. The succession question is taboo. One may not discuss it in public. Banda himself is extremely touchy about it. The high turnover in Malawi Congress Party secretaries-general is said to be partly because they became too much the heirs-apparent. The fact is that Banda's impact has been so vast that his death will open a huge hole. And it cannot be far off. Officially he was born about 1906, but his uncle and two other older men told biographer Short that Banda was born at the time of the 1898 uprising... which makes Banda 86. The steps to be taken on his death are laid down in the constitution. A three-man Presidential Council takes over with a mandate to call a convention of the Malawi Congress Party within 90 days. The chairman of the Presidential Council will be the party secretary-general and his

★ ★ ★ two councillors will be elected from the Cabinet and party national executive. The convention will elect a new party leader, who will automatically become president. But in reality the Presidential Council and Malawi Congress Party heavyweights will probably choose the successor, the convention merely endorsing their choice. Who will win? The top contender is John Tembo. People gossip that he is unpopular, that he was blamed for the killings of his rival Matenje and the other Cabinet Ministers. Whatever the truth of these rumours, on paper he has advantages. He is Banda's longest surviving lieutenant (the was Finance Minister in the 1964 Independence Cabinet). He is the President's interpreter (Banda makes speeches in English). He is an important figure on the Malawi Congress Party national executive and led the Malawian delegation to the Zanu-PF Congress in Harare this year. Most useful of all his niece, Cecilia Kadzandira, is Banda's official hostess and has the President's ear. There is talk that Cecilia Kadzandira will succeed, but she lacks a Malawi Congress Party power base. Should the party

★ ★ ★ hierarchy decide against Tembo or Kadzandira, the most prominent man today is Finance Minister Edward Bwanali. As to the direction of post-Banda Malawi, the predictions are that Banda's policies will continue with change at the fringes. ● The economy will remain capitalist but the successor may find it expedient to reduce the number of expatriates. ● The foreign policy will remain pro-West, but the successor may move Malawi towards the general African line on South Africa. The shift would be in terms of rhetoric rather than closing the South African Embassy or cutting the precious trade ties. On the political scene, a subtle liberalising may occur. Initially as the successor establishes himself, there may well be more car-accident purges. But he will find the civil service less timid. ★ The educated Malawians who have bowed to Banda's heavy paternalism will not accept it from his successor. If the successor makes mistakes, the technocrats will want the right to criticise. In this way, Malawi may slowly learn a greater tolerance of dissent.

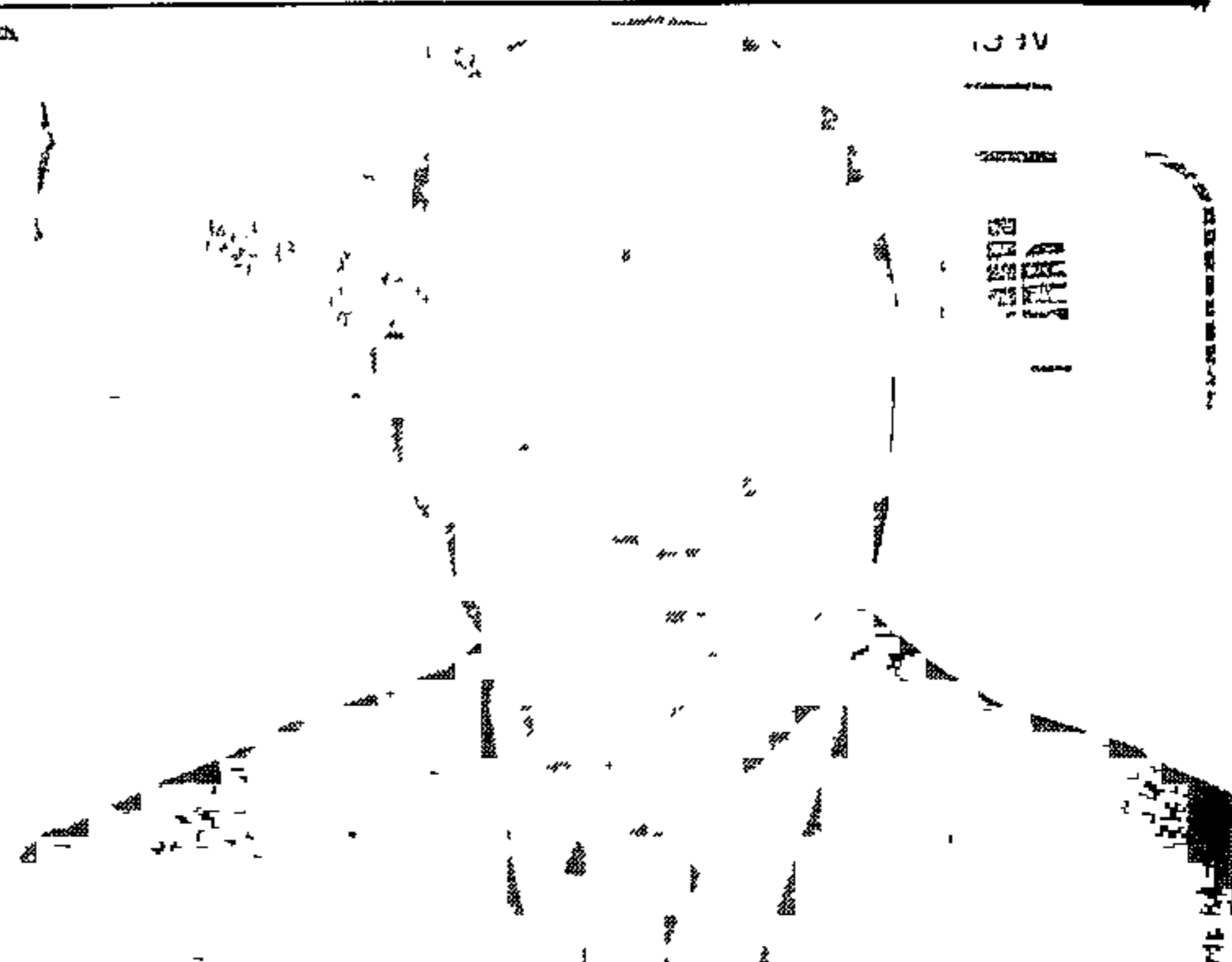
★ ★ ★ But the biggest crack of all is that Banda has



President Banda... the Augustus of Malawi?

MALAWI - GENERAL

1985 - 1986



President Banda

air malawi

Banda's Boeing SA jet in disguise

Weekend Argus 11/5/85
Correspondent 170

LONDON — When President Hastings Banda of Malawi flew to London recently to see the Queen he travelled in an SAA 747 disguised as an Air Malawi Jumbo

Now embarrassed Malawian officials are doing their utmost to cover up not only the identity of the shiny craft which carried him and his entourage on the State visit to Britain, but also the fact that South Africans were at the controls

The President is coming under increasing criticism from militant neighbouring states for his co-operation with South Africa. His trip to London in the SAA aircraft will cause him further problems

Before the aircraft left South Africa it was repainted in Air Malawi colours and even renamed

"Prosperous"

The resplendent Jumbo touched down in London as the symbol of a prosperous country, complete with a Malawian cabin staff, but South Africans were in the cockpit

The President — who is also the Minister of Defence, Justice, Foreign Affairs, Agriculture and Public Works — was invited by Queen Elizabeth and stayed at Windsor Castle

It is believed he was anxious to travel in an aircraft befitting the occasion

But senior Government officials in Malawi and abroad this week denied it was a South African aircraft

Malawi Boeing at Heathrow — but it belongs to SAA

Banda ¹⁷⁰ dissolves Malawi ^{Cape Town 15} cabinet ^{3/1/86}

LILONGWE — President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi yesterday dissolved his 13-member cabinet, a government spokesman announced.

No reason was given for the move, reports Sapa-Reuter.

But the spokesman said that "as a result of the dissolution of the cabinet, all ministerial portfolios have now reverted to President Banda."

Life-President Banda has ruled this Central African nation with an iron hand since independence from Britain in 1964.

Malawi's cabinet was last dissolved in June, 1985 and reconstituted two weeks later with minor changes.

● Our correspondent in New York reports that Malawi is to get \$114 million (about R300 million) in World Bank aid to help speed up its economic-reform programme.

The bank is also lending Malawi \$14.8m to help its Investment and Development Bank (Indebank) finance new tourist, transport and industrial projects.

Malawi started its so-called structural adjustment programme in 1981, when it was faced with a economic crisis brought on by transport disruption, deteriorating trade and drought.

The aim was to reduce reliance on tobacco, tea and sugar, stimulate other agricultural growth, improve the performance of state-owned enterprises and attract development aid.

The effort had proved "one of the most successful in sub-Saharan Africa", a World Bank statement said.

The grant will help a third phase of the programme, intended to "consolidate and expand gains made", the statement said. It will more than double the amount the World Bank has provided in programme support.

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MALAWI: THE VITAL STATISTICS

(170)

11/4/80 WEEKLY MAIL

People Population (1984 est.) 6 828 000 Age distrib. (%) 0-14 43.9 15-59 50.4 60+ 5.6 Pop. density 187 per sq mi. Urban (1980) 9.6% Ethnic groups. Chewa, 90% Nyanja, Lomwe, other Bantu tribes Languages. English, Chichewa (both official) Religions. Christian 75% Muslim 20%

Geography Area: 45,747 sq mi the size of Pennsylvania Location: In SE Africa. Neighbors. Zambia on W Mozambique on SE, Tanzania on N Topography. Malawi stretches 560 mi N S along Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa) most of which belongs to Malawi High plateaus and mountains line the Rift Valley the length of the nation. Capital Lilongwe Cities (1983 est.) Blantyre 250 000 Lilongwe 130,000

Government Type. Republic Head of state. Pres. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, b May 14, 1906, in office July 6 1968. Local divisions. 24 administrative districts Defense: 8% of govt. budget (1983)

Economy Industries. Textiles, sugar, farm implements. Chief crops. Tea tobacco, sugar, coffee Other resources: Rubber Arable land: 25% Fish catch (1983) 700 metric tons. Electricity prod. (1983) 445 mln. kwh. Labor force: 45% agric. 17% ind and comm 20% govt. 18% services

Finance Currency Kwacha (Mar 1985 153 = \$1 US)

Gross national product (1981) \$1.23 bn Per capita income (1979) \$220 Imports (1981) \$283 mln., partners. So Afr 32%, UK 10%, Jap 6% Exports (1981) \$230 mln., partners UK 17% U.S 28%, Neth. 5% W Ger 7% National budget (1983) \$386.4 mln International reserves less gold (Mar 1985) \$25.0 mln. Gold: 13 000 oz t. Consumer prices (change in 1983) 13.5%

Transport Railway traffic (1982) 95 mln. passenger-km, 187 mln. net ton-km. Motor vehicles: in use (1981) 14,100 passenger cars, 13,600 comm. vehicles Civil aviation (1982) 98 mln. passenger km, 1.5 freight ton-km.

Communications Radios: 500,000 in use (1983) Telephones in use (1981) 15,130. Daily newspaper circ. (1983): 2 per 1,000 pop

Health Life expectancy at birth (1981) 42.7 male 45.4 female Births (per 1,000 pop 1981) 56.2 Deaths (per 1,000 pop 1981) 22.8 Natural increase (1981) 3.3% Hospital beds (1979) 8,991 Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births 1983) 14

Education (1983) Literacy: 25%. About 45% attend school Major International Organizations. UN and its specialized agencies, OAU, Commonwealth of Nations

Malawi's food miracle

DD 4/6/86 (170)

On a continent plagued by drought and famine, the central African nation of Malawi sets a rare example. It feeds itself, and even earns hard currency by exporting food surpluses.

In contrast to some African nations, whose economies have been based on minerals and petroleum with widely fluctuating prices, Malawi focused on agricultural production from the start.

The nation has not suffered from the droughts plaguing many neighbours around the continent.

Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, who is president for life and who led the impoverished British colony of Nyasaland to independence as Malawi in 1964, once told his 7 000 000 people: "We have no minerals. The soil is our gold mine, and we must all work hard to bring that wealth out of the ground."

Today, Malawi is a success story on a continent where the annual

population growth rate of three per cent outpaces growth of food output of around one per cent annually.

Africa's plight was highlighted last week in New York during a five-day special session of the UN General Assembly.

A devastating famine in 1984-85 triggered a flood of relief aid from

international donors worth an estimated \$2.9 billion. But no relief money was needed in Malawi.

"We are not a drain on the world's creditor nations," said Malawi's acting high commissioner (ambassador) to Zimbabwe, Mr M S D Magalasi. "If any African country deserves special consideration when it applies for loans, that country should be Malawi."

Dr Banda, known as Ngwazi or "the conqueror," one of the West's staunchest Third World

allies, pursues a foreign policy at odds with fellow African leaders.

His is the only African country to have diplomatic links with South Africa. And while most African countries recognise China, North Korea and the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Malawi has diplomatic relations with Taiwan, South Korea and Israel.

The civil service guarantees that peasant farmers get seeds, fertilisers and tools in time for each planting season. Attractive government-fixed prices for food and cash crops ensure bountiful harvests. Water is available in all villages. And a well-maintained road network means crops can be transported quickly

to market. It helps that Dr Banda is himself minister of agriculture, diplomats note. Agriculture employs 85 per cent of the population and accounts for two-fifths of the gross domestic product. Large commercial agricultural estates, some foreign owned, earned 70 per cent of Malawi's 1985 export income of 419.6 million kwacha (about R539 million). But smallholders like Mr Benedict Malunga, who owns a farm near the southern commercial centre of Blantyre, occupy three-quarters of the land in this landlocked nation half the size of West Germany. Malawi is laced with mountains, lush valleys and one of Africa's biggest natural lakes, Lake Malawi.

Mr Malunga, 75, his wife, seven sons and three daughters, live like most Malawian peasants. They grow maize, sweet potatoes, beans and peas on the family's 6 ha plot. They sell their surplus to the state-run Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation and to a nearby village market.

Mr Malunga said he earns about 1 000 kwacha (about R1 290) a year from the sales, roughly the income of an unskilled worker in the cities and towns, but more than many of Africa's 550 million people.

The government expects the real gross domestic product to grow by 4.2 per cent this year, while forecasting agriculture to grow by nearly five per cent — Sapa-RNS

By PETER WELLMAN in Lilongwe

Dr Banda has, as a result, often been rebuked by fellow members of the Organisation of African Unity.

The leader, believed to be nearly 90, is accused by exiles of waging a ruthless campaign against political opponents, including assassinations and detentions without trial.

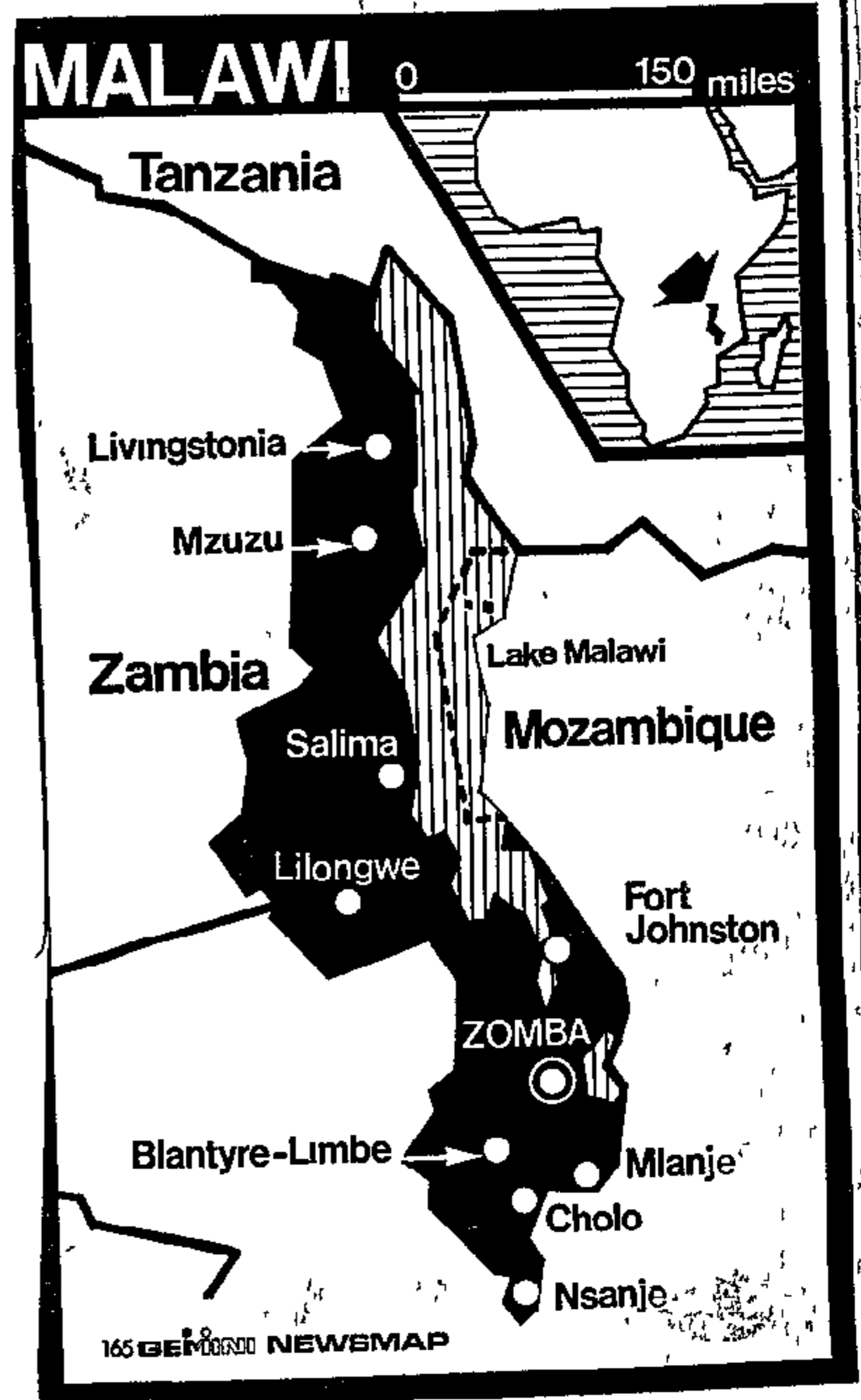
While African and Western diplomats and international aid agencies privately express concern about such allegations, they uniformly praise his "Malawi miracle".

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Malawi (170) celebrates 20 years of success and Banda

The Star's Africa
News Service

Critics of Malawi can perhaps be justified if they refer to it as a "one man Banda".

But yesterday as Malawi celebrated 22 years of independence, the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic and 20 years of presidential rule by Dr Hastings Banda, it seems that this landlocked country proves that totalitarianism can work in Africa even if only in economic terms.

Last week, opening the triple celebrations, President Banda said he had proved his enemies wrong.

"Many of our enemies said we would not last," he told a gathering at the Kwacha International Conference Centre in Blantyre on Wednesday. "Even our friends were doubtful of our survival as an independent state."

Earlier this year the World Bank praised Malawi's achievements describing it as "one of the major developmental success stories in Africa".

SMALLHOLDERS

"The key to this success has been the ability of the government to formulate economic development policies that emphasise agriculture, exports and the major role of the private sector, including smallholder agriculture," the World Bank said.

Pastor W L Masoka who this week addressed a service at the Kwacha Centre emphasised this success story when he said that in the last two decades Malawi had been blessed with "abundant food".

Even though Malawi is still one of the poorest countries in Africa with a per capita GNP of only R450 (1983), there are no shortages of food.

Indeed Malawi exports food, much to the envy of some of its impoverished neighbours such as Mozambique and Tanzania

Unlike some of its neighbours which chose to socialise the land President Banda has encouraged the growth of private smallholder agriculture.

Nearly 90 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, most people working in smallholder projects which account for 78 percent of the cultivated area.

STAR 7/7/86

MOZAMBIQUE

Agricultural products constitute 90 percent of the country's exports.

The war in Mozambique has virtually cut Malawi's outlets to the sea and the country now faces a problem seldom heard of in Africa: how to get rid of its surplus agricultural products.

"Malawi's economic progress is all the more impressive because the external transport crisis has worsened," commented the World Bank.

Politically, however, Malawi's history is much like the other African countries and President Banda, like his neighbours, has ruthlessly suppressed the least sign of disloyalty on the part of members of the government elite since becoming president in July 1966.

Three years ago the Malawi Congress Party secretary-general, Mr Dick Matenje and two other Cabinet Ministers died in mysterious circumstances.

Officially it was announced, six days after their deaths, that they had been the victims of a car crash.

The exiled opposition claimed that the three men had been shot dead while trying to flee the country.

OUTCRY

In that same year Ortoan Chirwa, leader of the Malawi Freedom Movement and his wife were sentenced to death after allegedly being kidnapped from Zambia.

After an international outcry Dr Banda commuted their sentences to life imprisonment.

Another exiled leader, Dr Atati Mpakati of the Socialist League of Malawi was murdered in Harare.

President Banda holds four portfolios in the Cabinet — foreign affairs, agriculture, justice and works and supplies.

He is said to personally control between 35 and 40 percent of the country's economy.

In the last parliamentary elections, held in 1983, all candidates had to be personally approved by Dr Banda.

In the words of one of the elected MPs at the first parliamentary session after the elections: "The people had their choice, but it goes without saying that we are here because His Excellency the Life President wants us to be here"

Malawi washes its hands of MNR complicity

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Malawi has launched a diplomatic offensive in southern African countries denying links with rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance

Malawian diplomatic representatives in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia have issued strong statements describing the alleged links with the MNR as baseless and malicious

In Harare, Malawi's acting High Commissioner, Mr Manuel Magalasi, said his country believed in "good neighbourliness and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries".

RAILWAY SABOTAGE

In Lusaka the Malawian High Commissioner to Zambia, Mr Walter Manonga, also denied publicly any links between his government and the Mozambican rebels

Speaking during a reception to mark

his country's independence, Mr Manonga said his country could not understand how any intelligent analyst could accuse Malawi of assisting an organisation which was responsible for destroying and sabotaging its rail links to the sea ports of Beira and Nacala

Malawi's denials of links with the MNR come after high officials of the Mozambican government, including President Samora machel himself, accused Malawi of supporting the rebels

In May, President Machel told a Press conference in Japan that Malawi was being "used by South Africa to infiltrate armed bandits into our territory"

Last week the deputy minister of Defence, Mr Sebastiao Mabote also accused Malawi of supporting the rebels

On Sunday Malawi's ambassador to Mozambique, Mr M W Machinjili, denied the allegations and accused the Mozambican government of making "irresponsible allegations".

20/7/86 SFR 170

Malawi given R27-m to improve sea links

LILONGWE — The United States has granted Malawi R27 million to upgrade its road and rail links with Tanzania

Malawi's traditional import and export routes were through the Mozambican ports of Beira and Nacala but the war in Mozambique has cut those links

Under the northern transport corridor project agreement, the United States Government will provide the finance aid through the Agency for International Development

The project consists of the establishment of Malawi cargo centres at Dar-es-Salaam and Mbeya in Tanzania, use of the Tazara rail line connecting these two points, upgrading of the road between Mbeya and Ibanda in Tanzania, a new road between Karonga and Chilumba and several other smaller projects

The agreement was signed at the weekend by Malawi Finance Minister, Mr Dalton Katopola, and the American ambassador to Malawi, Mr Weston Adams

Mr Katopola said that since Malawi's traditional import and export routes through Mozambique were cut, his country's international trade had been routed through Durban in South Africa and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania

He said the implementation of the northern transport corridor project will give Malawi the shortest and least expensive alternative international trade route.

Under another agreement the United States Government through World Vision International, will provide Mozambique with 3 000 tons of maize to be obtained from Malawi. In exchange Malawi will receive 1 400 tons of wheat

DAVID GREEN

AFRICA

DISCLOSURES

US aid
boosts
Malawi
rail, ^{ARGUS}
road ¹⁷⁰
links

Argus Africa
News Service

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Maize

Under another agreement the United States Government, through World Vision International, will provide Mozambique with 3 000 tons of maize valued at R10 000 to be obtained from Malawi.

In exchange Malawi will receive 1 400 tons of wheat.

The 3 000 tons of Malawi white maize represents a gift of emergency relief supplies from the United States to World Vision International, a non-government American organisation, for use in an emergency feeding programme in Mozambique.

Malawi warned over 'support'

*Eve Post
12/9/81
no*

MAPUTO — Mozambique has threatened to close its border with Malawi and to install missiles along the frontier to stop Malawian support for Mozambican guerillas, the Mozambican News Agency reported today

Other reports quoted Malawian President Kamuzu Banda as denying Malawi was aiding Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

The official Mozambican agency said President Samora Machel told reporters last night Malawi was "co-operating with the South African warmongers and militarists"

"Mozambique will close its border to Malawian traffic. We will place missiles all along the border," Mr Machel said

Mr Machel returned from a one-day meeting in Blantyre with Dr Banda, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe. The leaders met to consider alternatives to trade routes that now take most of the region's goods through South Africa

In Lusaka, Dr Kaunda told reporters after the

meeting that South Africa might retaliate by blocking existing trade routes if the West imposed economic sanctions in an anti-apartheid campaign

Dr Kaunda described the discussions as "serious, difficult but extremely successful" He said they opened the way to increase transport co-operation in the region

In Maputo, Mr Machel said Malawi risked having all its borders — with Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia — closed unless it stopped helping the Mozambican insurgents

Mozambique accuses South Africa of violating a mutual security pact signed more than two years ago by continuing to support the MNR, which includes conservative elements opposed to Mr Machel's Government. South Africa denies it

Mr Machel said last night that South Africa had "transferred bases of the armed bandits to Malawi"

"The Malawian police, the Malawian armed forces, Malawian security are all totally under South Africa's command," he said — Sapa

...information of these measures
...the Commission of Enquiry

Malawi gets missiles threat from Machel



● MACHEL

MAPUTO — Mozambican President Samora Machel has begun a tour of the north-western province of Tete, bordering Malawi. He again threatened to place missiles along the frontier to hit camps of Mozambican rebels in Malawi

Machel, accompanied by senior military officers and experts, arrived in the area on Tuesday.

The Mozambican leader threatened last week to blockade pro-Western Malawi and aim missiles against the landlocked country. He accused it of backing rightwing Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) insurgents who have been fighting his government for the past 11 years.

He was quoted as telling his army officers "You should study where best to place defensive

equipment along the Malawian border. Let the enemy show himself rapidly. We prefer an open war to a clandestine one. We want clear targets so we can defeat them."

Malawi, which previously used Mozambican sea ports to transport its exports and imports, relies heavily on SA trade routes because of constant rebel sabotage of routes through Mozambique.

News agency AIM quoted Machel as saying that at the end of his visit: "We may be able to draw conclusions as to what to do with our enemies, so that banditry can be eliminated."

Banditry is the official term for the guerrilla campaign by MNR insurgents who, Machel says, have bases in Malawi. Malawi denies the charge. — Sapa-Reuters

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Banda police back MNR Machel

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The Star's Africa News Service

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ULONGUE (Mozambique) — President Samora Machel has accused Malawian security officials of supporting the Mozambique National Resistance Movement

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Speaking at a mass rally in the town of Ulongue, in the northern province of Tete, President Machel said those responsible for attacks on Mozambique were "some leaders of the Malawian Government, including those in charge of security"

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President Machel accused Malawi of supporting the MNR and threatened to close its borders. He said that by allowing Malawi to become "an agent for destabilisation" the Banda government was hindering Mozambique's co-operation with other countries

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Ulongue, about 20 km from the Malawian border, is capital of the Agonia district, badly disrupted by MNR activity

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President Machel said that because of guerrilla activity an irrigation project at Caia, which would have provided work for 50 000 people, had to be abandoned

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19. **Banda police back**
20. **MNR Machel** *SPM* *18/9/76* *170*
21. The Star's Africa News Service
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Malawi is again accused by Machel

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STAR

The Star's Africa
News Service

23/9/86

MAPUTO — President Samora Machel has repeated his accusation of Malawian complicity in alleged South African efforts to destabilise Mozambique through MNR insurgents

He has made the accusation several times since a meeting in Blantyre earlier this month at which he and other Frontline leaders threatened to close their borders with landlocked Malawi unless it stopped collaborating in the assistance to the rebels

Also present were Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe, which does not share a border with Malawi, and President Kaunda of Zambia, which does

The Frontline leaders are believed to have been speaking for Tanzania, which also borders on Malawi, when the border closure threat was made

President Machel has twice repeated his accusation against Malawi during a week-long visit to Tete province which borders on Malawi

In his statement he said Malawi was an "agent of foreign powers" (presumably South Africa)

He went on to say that a "handful" of Malawian police and security officials were involved in aid to the MNR



Tiffany Millard of Western Transvaal (left)

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men quit
8/10/80
Malawi (170)

The Star Bureau

HARARE — Thousands of MNR rebels are reported to have been thrown into action against Frelimo forces in Mozambique after being expelled from their bases in Malawi.

The Zimbabwean newspaper *The Herald*, quoting official sources, said today that several thousand rebels were recently expelled from Malawi following last month's confrontation between President Banda and the leaders of Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The report said the "bandits" took their weapons with them and were not handed over to Mozambican authorities.

Malawi expels thousands of rebels

HARARE — Thousands of armed MNR rebels have crossed the border from Malawi into Mozambique after being expelled by Life President Kamuzu Banda, according to the semi-official Zimbabwean daily newspaper, The Herald.

The Herald is controlled by Zimbabwe's para-statal Mass Media Trust and is usually very close to official sources.

The paper says in a front-page article that expulsion of the Mozambican National Resistance rebels follows a warning given to President Banda by President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

The warning was given at a meeting the two leaders had recently with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

Officials point out that the bandits were not handed over to the Mozambican authorities, an action that would have conformed with demands that

Malawi cease supporting the bandits," says The Herald.

"The bandits were said by official sources to be wreaking havoc in Mozambique's border areas."

The Herald says mass infiltration from Malawi has been going on for several days, with the rebels building up a large force near the town of Zumbo on the headwaters of Lake Cabora Bassa.

Heavy fighting is reported in the area, and civilian refugees are crossing into the Luangwa district of Zambia.

Zimbabwe has more than 70 000 Mozambican refugees in three camps along its eastern border.

On his return to Maputo from the meeting, President Machel threatened to blockade Malawi and move his Soviet-supplied rockets to the border.

It was agreed at the meeting to form a Malawi-Mozambique joint commission similar to the Zimbabwe-Botswana one which has successfully curbed dissident in-

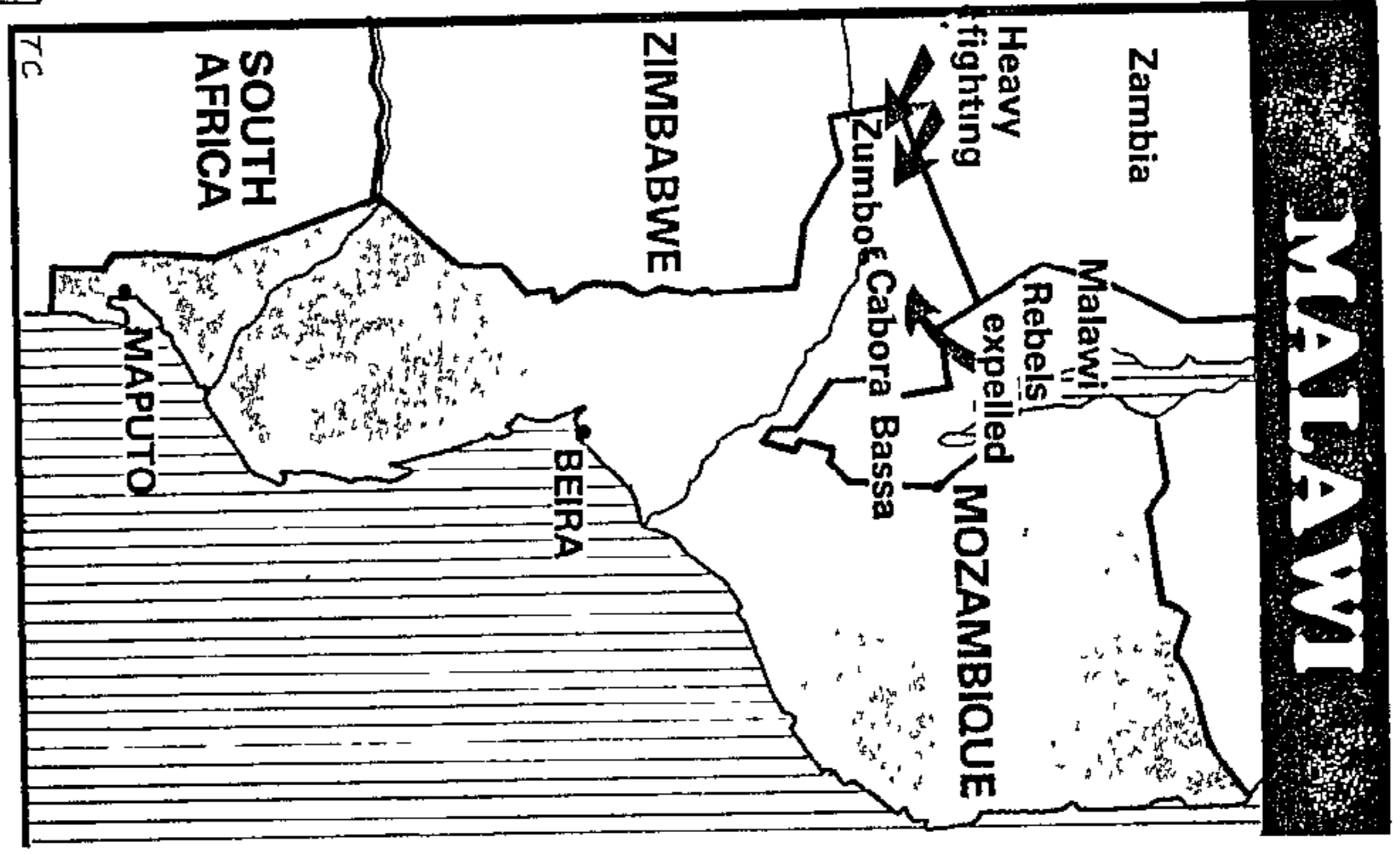
filtration into Matabeleland.

Anthony Johnson reports that Frelimo forces fighting the MNR rebels have been especially vulnerable in Mozambique's northern provinces in recent months.

Mr Leon Kok, programmes director of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said Frelimo's vulnerability in the area stemmed from shortages of arms and food. The troops were also heavily committed in other areas.

Mr Kok also said the MNR appeared to have reached a military pact with Unar, Rombezia African National Union (Uranu), a movement fighting for the independence of the five northern provinces of Mozambique.

Frelimo's weakness in the north was also reflected in the recent appointment of a prime minister in Mozambique to allow President Samora Machel to concentrate more on security issues in the north of the country, he said — Sapa



MNR and Malawi deny 'war base' claims

BLANTYRE — Malawi and the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) yesterday denied that the rebels use Malawi as a base for its guerilla war.

An official statement issued here said: "Malawi does not allow any type of action which might endanger the peace of her neighbours, nor allow the use of territory as a base to launch violent acts."

In Lisbon, the rebels

declared that the group "does not have, and has never had, forces, supplies or facilities in Malawi".

They added: "The MNR does not need Malawian territory."

The denials follow a Frontline summit accusation by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda that Malawi was aiding the MNR. — Sapa-
Reuter.

SMK

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BUSOAM
16/10/81
OAU urged to
expel Malawi

DAR ES SALAAM — The Socialist League of Malawi has called for the expulsion of Malawi from the OAU and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference.

The group, exiled in Tanzania, also urged Mozambique to topple Malawian President Kamuzu Banda.

Mozambique and the other Frontline states have recently accused Malawi of harbouring right-wing Mozambican rebels. — Sapa-Reuter.

Plot to oust Banda revealed

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N/M
7/11/84

PRETORIA—A document discovered at the scene of the crash of Mozambican President Samora Machel's aircraft on October 19 contained minutes of a meeting in Maputo at which the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments discussed a plan to overthrow the Malawian Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

At a Press conference in Pretoria, Mr Botha produced the original document for reporters and said there was 'not the slightest doubt' of its authenticity.

The document recorded the minutes of a meeting in Maputo three days before the air crash. President Machel had led the Mozambican delegation.

Mr Botha, who had paid tribute to President Machel at the site of the crash on October 20, said last night he had changed his views on the former Mozambican leader.

'I am dismayed, disappointed, shocked and I did not expect this.'

Mr Botha said official messages had been sent yesterday to the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments on the document South Africa had discovered.

The Mozambican Government had been asked to make it clear whether it still supported the plan to overthrow Malawi as agreed by President Machel.

Mr Botha pointed out that although Mozambique had a new Government, Zimbabwe was still under Mr Robert Mugabe.

Mr Botha also said the Malawi Government of Dr Has

tings Banda had been fully informed of the plot.

He refused to say what Malawi's reaction had been and also declined to comment on whether South Africa would assist should the threat to Malawi become a reality.

South Africa and Malawi had had close ties for many years but Malawi had not requested help and if this were done South Africa would have to consider the matter.

Asked when the incursion was to have taken place, Mr Botha said it was 'imminent'.

MiG jets and helicopters had already been moved into the area and Soviet experts had made advanced plans to do surveys necessary for the manoeuvre, Mr Botha said afterwards.

It was imminent. They were in a big hurry. The plans were already under way and some of the plans were already implemented.

'Criminal'

Mr Botha said it was not clear from the document who the full Mozambican delegation to the meeting had been, but President Machel had clearly led the discussion and his prime minister, Mr Marita Machingo, had been present as well.

The Zimbabwean delegation had been led by Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, Minister of State Security. He had been accompanied by Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr H E Mvundura (he was ordered to leave the meeting when the plot was discussed), Mr E R Kadungure, Minister of State Defence, Gen Rex Nhongo, army commander, Air Marshal J Tungamirai, Maj Gen Maseko and Lt Col Shumba, of the Zimbabwe National Army, and others.

President Banda had been referred to as 'criminal' in the talks.

The plan involved the massing of armed forces — including Soviet experts — in Mozambique's Zambezia province.

Malawi's police and defence force would be infiltrated and strategic bridges in the country would be destroyed along with other vital parts of its infrastructure.

Malawi would be cut off from Tanzania and Zambia.

It was made clear it was time President Banda should go, and that the Malawi army would be able to handle the situation.

South Africa views these diabolical and dangerous plans in a very serious light, Mr Botha said.

Responding to President Machel's interpretation of South Africa's motives behind the Nkomati Accord, Mr Botha recounted his Government's efforts — and near success — to reconcile Frelimo and Renamo after intensive discussions in Pretoria in October 1984, and how this 'completely contradicted the interpretation'.

I have asked the Mozambican Government to give South Africa an urgent explanation on whether it (as the new Government) associates itself with the plan of its predecessor to overthrow another legal

TURN TO PAGE 2

45 feared killed in helicopter plunge

SUMBURGH—Forty five people were feared to have died yesterday when a giant helicopter ferrying off shore oil workers crashed in icy seas off Scotland's remote Shetland Islands, rescue officials said.

It was Britain's worst helicopter crash. Officials said at least 19 people were known to have been killed and 20 others were missing, presumed dead.

The twin rotor Chinook came down in gale force winds as it started its final approach to the tiny air strip at Sumburgh before going on to Aberdeen with 44 Shell oil company employees.

Three crew were also aboard the Chinook which had collected the men from

the Brent oil field in the North Sea.

Witnesses said it seemed the Chinook had plunged into the sea and broken up underwater, spewing bodies and wreckage to the surface.

Terrible

A lighthouse keeper Mr Dough Dale, who works less than 6 km from the scene, said it looks as if the helicopter has broken up beneath the water and bodies are gradually being released from the wreckage.

'There is an area of about 500 m² and you can see bodies floating about everywhere. It's a terrible scene.'

An air sea rescue helicopter that was nearby when the Chinook went

down managed to winch two survivors to safety.

Although Shell officials said the Chinook had ditched in the water, aviation experts said reports that there was only a small amount of wreckage indicated it had plunged in at speed and then broken up.

All helicopters operating among the North Sea oil fields are equipped with flotation devices, and in May 1984 a British Airways Chinook similar to the one which came down yesterday ditched 160 km off the Shetlands and floated long enough for the 47 people aboard to escape.

A big air sea rescue operation was launched after yesterday's crash with a Royal Air Force Nimrod reconnaissance plane coordinating rescue attempts by six helicopters and several surface vessels.

But rescue officials said it was unlikely that any more survivors would be found, given the freezing conditions — (Sapa Reuters)

The rand
The rand closed yesterday at 43 85/95 US cents Previous 43,90/44,00

Gold
Gold was fixed at \$408,55 an ounce in London yesterday Previous \$405,25

P.T.O.



Pretoria—Mr Pik Botha shows evidence retrieved from the Machel air disaster incriminating Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique jointly in a plot to overthrow the Malawian Government of Dr Hastings Banda

Plot to oust Banda revealed

● FROM PAGE 1

African State and to disrupt trade routes. We are entitled to know.'

Asked why there had been a delay of nearly three weeks in releasing the document, Mr Botha said it had only been brought to his attention on Tuesday.

The delay had come in the technical investigation team's work of piecing together wreckage at the scene of the crash and in translating the document from Portuguese into English.

He felt there was no inordinate delay in releasing the document.

Asked about the expected charges that the document was forged, he said copies of it were sent to Zimbabwe yesterday and that more were on their way to Maputo.

'We had difficulties reaching Maputo today. It seemed to be all closed down, but copies will be sent,' he said.

'There is not the slightest question of the authenticity of this document,' he said, holding the original for newsmen to see and photograph.

The document, in a plastic yellow and transparent holder, was stained and it appeared as if the pages had been soaked. Handwritten notes, typical of additions to the typed minutes of any meeting, were pasted into the document.

'We do not possess this stationery, we do not bind documents this way, the style and language is there.'

'It doesn't matter who alleges the document is false,' Mr Botha said.

Responding to another question, Mr Botha said South Africa's next action depended on Mozambique's reaction.

'I think they have a pretty good idea of how far they could go without inviting severe trouble.'

Asked if there were any other documents retrieved from the plane's wreckage that were sensitive to South Africa's security interests, Mr Botha said evidence was still being sifted through.

'There might be I don't know.'

Tearful

Meanwhile, the staff of the Malawian Embassy in Maputo 'arrived suddenly' at Matsapha Airport in Swaziland aboard a private charter plane yesterday afternoon from Mozambique, according to a reliable Swaziland Government source in Manzini.

The source said they were taking refuge from the violent anti-Malawian backlash following the death of President Samora Machel.

The tearful wife of the Malawian Ambassador to Maputo, Mr M W Machinjiri, was among the group.

It was not known if the ambassador had also arrived — (Sapa)

Machel, Zimbabwe involved

Botha tells of plot to topple Banda

BUDAY

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FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha last night revealed a document detailing plans by the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe to topple the government of President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi.

The document, containing minutes of a meeting between the late president of Mozambique Samora Machel and a top Zimbabwean delegation in Maputo, was found by South Africans investigating the wreck of Machel's aircraft on SA soil on October 19



● Botha produces the evidence.

Botha said SA was viewing the plans "in a very serious light" and had sent notes to the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe asking for explanations and warning them against the consequences of such a "diabolic and danger-

ous plan"

Asked whether SA would consider any action other than diplomatic against Mozambique if the documents were proven to be true, Botha replied "It depends on the actions of that government. I think they now have a pretty good idea how far they could go before there is real trouble." He would not expand.

Asked whether SA had undertaken to come to Malawi's aid, Botha said "We can only consider that if we are requested. As far as I know we have not received such a request."

Botha said it was clear that the plans were far advanced and that an invasion was imminent. Large numbers of Soviet MiG aircraft, helicopter gunships and Soviet, Tanzanian and Zimbabwean troops were already being moved to the Zambesia province to prepare for the attack.

Botha showed the original document to an international Press conference yesterday and said there could be no doubt

● To Page 2 →

Botha tells of Banda plot

whatsoever about its authenticity. He also supplied the press with English translations of the document.

According to the document, the meeting was held in the Presidency in Maputo on October 16. Machel was accompanied by his PM, Muchango, while the Zimbabwean delegation included Minister of State for Security Emmerson Munangagwa, Minister of State for Defence ER Kandungure, Army Commander General Rex Nhongo, Air Marshall J Tungamirayi, and five others.

The plan was to hoodwink Banda into allowing a Mozambican force into Malawi, ostensibly to fight rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR).

Malawi was also to be conned into allowing Zimbabwe to repair its roads. Instead, all the bridges and exits to Tanzania and Zambia would be sabotaged.

Machel said "I agree with the proposal of a temporary closing of the border under the pretext of repairing the roads"

← ● From Page 1

He was also quoted as calling Banda a murderer, saying "Mozambique and Zimbabwe must bring into being a new force in Malawi. Banda is worn out. We must not allow SA to set the course in Malawi. We must not allow the English, Americans and the Germans to choose the Malawi leaders. The army knows how these things must be done."

He also mentioned the possibility of organising a "Malawi Liberation Front".

Plans are also mentioned to infiltrate the police and army of Malawi with Mozambicans and Zimbabweans.

Zimbabwean Army Commander Nhongo is quoted as saying "Let us fight Malawi inside that country. The target is inside Malawi."

It is also clear from the minutes that Munangagwa and the rest of the Zimbabwean delegation were in full agreement with the plan.

M'bique denies Malawi coup plot

MAPUTO — South African allegations that Mozambique and Zimbabwe planned to overthrow the Malawian Government were "a vulgar attempt to turn the victim into an accused", Mozambique said today

And Zimbabwe's State-run Voice of Zimbabwe called the allegation baseless and unfounded

SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night a document found in the wreckage of the plane in which President Samora Machel and 33 others died last month showed that the Mozambican leader met Zimbabwean officials on October 16 to plot the overthrow of Malawian President Kamuzu Banda

Mozambique's official news agency, AIM, today quoted Information Minister Mr Teodata Hunguana as saying last night. "This is a vulgar attempt to turn the victim into an accused, to turn the person who has been attacked into the attacker, to turn the country that has been invaded into an invader and to present the country that is being destabilised as the destabiliser"

The documents released by Mr Botha relate

Malawi Embassy staff flee Maputo

MBABANE — The staff of the Malawian Embassy in Maputo arrived at Matsapha Airport aboard a private charter plane yesterday from Mozambique

A Government source said they were taking refuge from the violent anti-Malawian backlash following the death of President Samora Machel

The tearful wife of the Malawian Ambassador, Mr M W Machinjiri, was among the group, but it is not known if it included the Ambassador

The source said it was possible Mr Machinjiri flew directly to Malawi to report to President Kamuzu Banda about the violent assault in the Malawian Embassy by Mozambican students

The embassy was wrecked the same day the South African Trade Mission offices came under attack.

The Malawians were taken from Matsapha Airport on their arrival to a hotel in Manzini.

Later Swaziland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Shadrach Sibanyoni, went to the hotel to greet the Malawians and to make arrangements for their care while they are in the country. — Sapa

to a meeting in Maputo on October 16, which was dominated by Mr Machel and Zimbabwe's Minister of State Security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa

Mr Machel is recorded as saying he wanted to talk with "the military men" — in the absence of Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Mozambique

The border with Malawi would be closed on the pretext of repair-

ing roads and bridges

"We have special forces for special operations. The victory is being planned and demands cold-bloodedness," Mr Machel said

"We have been at this table with the Mozambicans, Cubans and Soviets since last Friday (October 10) and we said that we should go immediately to Zambezia"

A permanent camp for

1 500 men from Maputo would be set up at Nacala.

Mr Machel wanted to transfer his Mig-21s from Maputo to Beira. The Mig-17s would go to Zambezia, together with helicopters

Summing up the logistical planning and the cost of the operation, he said: "We will be ready to act if we have all this. We must make sure that, if Malawi diverts its goods to Tanzania, we will destroy the bridges linking Malawi to Tanzania. They must be the bridges which took five years to build.

"If the goods are diverted to Zambia, we will not destroy the Zambian bridges, but we will destroy the Malawian bridges which provide access to the Kasungulo-Botswana route and to South Africa

"If we destroy the bridges to Tanzania and Zambia, we will have Malawi in our hands"

Mr Botha, who paid tribute to President Machel at the site of the crash, said he had changed his views on the former Mozambican leader

"I am dismayed, disappointed and shocked I did not expect this," he said

Mr Botha has demanded an explanation from Mozambique — Sapa

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Details of Malawi revolution uncovered — Pik

By Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

The crash of the former Mozambican president's aircraft in South Africa on October 19 has, according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, led to the uncovering of a document apparently detailing a plan for a Cuban and Soviet-backed revolution in Malawi to prevent South Africa "setting the course" there.

This overthrow of Dr Hastings Banda's government was to have been co-ordinated and funded by Zimbabwe and Mozambique, according to the document.

A record of a meeting between President Samora Machel and a Zimbabwean delegation on October 16 was found at the crash site by the South African team charged with investigating the cause of the accident, it has been announced.

Copies of the translated versions of the document were handed to the media at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

It was not clear from the document who the full Mozambican delegation to the meeting was, but President Machel clearly led discussions and Prime Minister Mr Mario Machungo was present.

The nine man Zimbabwe delegation was led by Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, Minister of State Security. He had been accompanied by Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr H E Mvundura (he was ordered to leave the meeting while the plot was discussed), Mr E R Kadungure, Minister of State Defence, General Rex Nhongo, army commander Alr Marshal J Tungamiralya, Major General Maseko and Lieutenant Colonel Shumba, of the Zimbabwe National Army, and others.

Announcing the discovery, Mr Botha said it clearly proved there was a conspiracy of aggression and violence.

The document consists of about 50 pages and is in Portuguese.

Holding up the bundle with a yellow binding, a mud splattered cover and the official Mozambique Government stamp on it, Mr Botha made it clear he had no reason to doubt the authenticity of the document.

The revelations of the conspiracy came as a shock, said Mr Botha, and he warned of the consequences for the Southern African region.

The first he knew of the plan was when he was handed the document on Tuesday, he said.

It had prompted him to revise the tribute he

paid to President Machel shortly after his death. "I am dismayed, disappointed, saddened. I did not expect it. I did not expect it."

According to the document, troops would be massed in the Zambezia province bordering Malawi. The Mozambique border with Malawi would be temporarily closed, bridges and other aspects of the infrastructure would be destroyed to cut off access to trade routes through Zambia and Tanzania and the military and police would be infiltrated further.

Their plan, said Mr Botha, was already underway. Military aircraft, personnel and a camp for 1 500 troops had already been settled in the area.

"They are in a big hurry. The minutes of the meeting did not just record idle talk," he said.

According to the translated document, President Machel said at the meeting, "Mozambique and Zimbabwe must bring into being a new force in Malawi. Banda is worn out. We must not allow South Africa to set the course in Malawi. The army knows how these things must be done."

The matter was urgent and all available means had to be placed in Zambezia, President Machel apparently said.

"We have some special forces for special operations, we have about 41 Mig-21 (jet fighters).

The victory is being planned. It demands cold bloodedness."

Zambezia was earmarked as the 'theatre of all military operations'.

The political strategy set out in the bundle included an attempt to convince Malawi to allow Mozambican and Zimbabwean forces to cross its territory and to organise an unofficial blockade of the territory under the pretext of repairing bridges and roads.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia is also mentioned briefly in the minutes. He failed to guarantee the closing of his border with Malawi.

President Machel also described the advice and planning support he had received from the Soviets and Cubans. Vital information needed for logistical planning and an in-depth report on the situation in Zambezia was awaited.

He added that the hearts of the Malawian population had also to be won.

"Let us win the majority. Here, we are following Mao Tse Tung's theory. Win the majority, isolate the minority and annihilate them one by one."

The men agreed to meet the following Wednesday (October 22) to discuss the progress of the plan, according to the document.

SA found secret documents at site of aircraft crash

Machel planned to oust Banda

The late President Samora Machel of Mozambique was planning the overthrow of Malawi at the time of his death, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha revealed in Pretoria last night.

President Machel was allegedly working with the Zimbabwe Government to bring down Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda.

Details of this conspiracy were contained in a document found by South Africa at the crash site of President Machel's aircraft.

Copies of document

The plan emerges in the minutes of a meeting in Maputo on October 16 — only three days before the fatal air crash — between President Machel and a nine-man Zimbabwean delegation consisting of members of the Zimbabwe National Army and the Ministers of Security and Defence. It is not clear who all the Mozambique representatives were, but President Machel led the discussion.

Copies of the original document were handed yesterday to the Malawi Government.

Mr Botha said South Africa had also sent official messages to the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments. He said the Mozambicans had been asked to make it clear if they still supported the plan to overthrow Malawi.

He also added that although Mozambique now had a new government, Zimbabwe did not, and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had to terminate the plan immediately.

Mr Mugabe was warned that Southern Africa would pay a heavy price if the plan was put into operation.

Further actions by the South African Government would depend on the two neighbouring states.

Mr Botha refused to say if South Africa would assist Malawi should the threat become a reality.

"These diabolical and very dangerous plans threaten the whole Southern Africa region," warned Mr Botha.

Asked if any further action was being contemplated by South Africa, Mr Botha said that would depend on Mozam-



Dr Hastings Banda labelled a "criminal" by the late President Machel in documents recovered from the crash site.

By Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

bique.

"They now have a pretty good idea of how far they can go before there is real trouble," he warned.

The original document was shown to the Press by Mr Botha.

Trade routes

He said the document clearly planned the political and military takeover of the present Malawian Government.

Zimbabwe and Mozambique planned to "infiltrate the police and defence forces, they planned to destroy bridges and infrastructure, to cut Malawi off from its trade routes through Zambia and Tanzania."

said Mr Botha.

He said the South African technical team investigating the cause of the crash had scrutinised all documents found on the plane. Some of these had already been returned to Maputo.

Asked about the three-week delay in releasing the document, Mr Botha said it was handed to him only on Tuesday as it was first studied by the investigating team and also had to be translated from Portuguese.

In the document, President Machel labels Dr Banda a "criminal" and makes it clear it was time he should go. It was also stated that the Malawian

Document raises tension

Gerald L Ange of The Star's Africa News Service gives his analysis.

Political tensions in Southern African have been raised sharply by the allegations by the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha that Mozambique and Zimbabwe had planned to topple the government of President Banda in Malawi.

At first reading the documents leave doubts that the plot was actually to invade Malawi and depose President Banda. But they certainly indicate an intention to cut Malawi off from the outside world and bring its economy to a standstill, which might have had the same effect.

In addition, there are suggestions that Malawian security forces would be infiltrated, though the proposed timing of this is not clear.

In any event, the plan revealed by the document introduces a radically new and dangerous element into the politics of Southern Africa.

It is the first time that Frontline states have planned to take offensive military action against a neighbouring state.

The plan is in keeping with the new aggressive stance adopted by the Frontline leaders in Luanda earlier this year, when they switched from a defensive attitude to an offensive one in attacking South African influence in the sub-continent and the dependence of the region on SA.

As a result, threats were made to close Malawi's borders unless it stopped aiding the MNR rebels in Mozambique. The threat was made at a meeting between President Banda, Prime Minister Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Machel of Mozambique.

The meeting with President Banda was held in Blantyre on September 11. The meeting at which the plan disclosed by Mr Botha was discussed took place in Maputo on October 16.

The document released by Mr Botha shows that Zimbabwe and Mozambique intended to go to extreme lengths to close Malawi's borders, not just closing border posts but blowing bridges. The two Frontline countries had, according to the document, gone from political hostility to military aggression.

Army would know what to do when the time came.

Mr Botha said the South African Government viewed these plans in a very serious light.

Nkomati pact

He also referred to parts of the document in which President Machel accused the South Africans of using the Nkomati non aggression pact as a pretext for forcing the Mozambique Government to share power with the rebel Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement.

President Machel claimed that the Nkomati Accord was signed as a pretext for forging

an alliance between Frelimo and the MNR. He also levelled these accusations at the United States and recounted a meeting with an American ambassador called Miller who wanted him to allow a second political party to appease the Americans and make Mozambique appear a democracy.

Responding to the accusations, Mr Botha said South Africa was vindicated by its own actions. The intensive talks in Pretoria in September and October 1984, and South Africa's involvement in establishing a commission at which Frelimo, the MNR and South Africa would be represented contradicted President Machel's interpretation, he said.



President Machel led talks in Maputo with Zimbabweans.

The plot: Tensions run high

NEWS ANALYSIS

by GERALD L'ANGE, Argus Africa News Service

POLITICAL tensions in Southern Africa have been raised sharply by the allegations by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, that Mozambique and Zimbabwe had planned to topple the Malawian Government

Documents found in the wreckage of the aircraft in which President Samora Machel died on October 19 leave doubts that the plot was actually to invade Malawi and depose President Kamuzu Banda

But they certainly indicate an intention to cut Malawi off from the outside world and bring its economy to a standstill, which might have had the same effect

In addition, there are suggestions that Malawian security forces would be infiltrated although the proposed timing of this is not clear

In any event, the plan disclosed by the document introduces a radically new and dangerous element into the politics of Southern Africa

It is the first time that frontline states have planned to take offensive military ac-

tion against a neighbouring state

And the document introduces for the first time the suggestion that the Soviet Union and Cuba are actively involved in the deliberations of leaders of the frontline states

President Machel is quoted as saying, in an apparent reference to frontline discussions about Malawi that "we have been at this table with the Mozambicans Cubans and Soviets since last Friday

The plan is in keeping with the new aggressive stance adopted by the frontline leaders at a summit in Luanda earlier this year They switched from their defensive attitude to an offensive one in attacking South African influence in the sub-continent and the dependence of states in the region on the country

AS a result, threats were made to close Malawi's borders unless it stopped aiding the MNR rebels in Mozambique The threat was made at a meeting between President Banda the Prime



Mr Pik Botha displaying the documents at the Press conference

Minister of Zimbabwe Mr Robert Mugabe, and President Machel

Pressure was also put on Zaïre to start reducing its dependence on South Africa

The meeting with Dr Banda was held in Blantyre on Sep-

tember 11 The meeting at which the plan disclosed by Mr Botha was discussed took place in Maputo on October 16

The document shows that Zimbabwe and Mozambique intended to go to extreme

lengths to close Malawi's borders not just closing border posts but blowing up bridges The two frontline countries had gone from political hostility to military aggression

The Maputo meeting was held about the same time that

MNR troops reportedly expelled by Malawi, captured several towns in Mozambique near Malawi's borders, an action that may have prompted Maputo and Harare to take drastic action

ZIMBABWE'S involvement in the moves suggests that Mr Mugabe is a prime mover in the new aggressive attitude among some frontline states

His government has made it clear it will go to great lengths to prevent the MNR taking power in Mozambique, believing that this would threaten the existence of the Zimbabwean Government

The document discloses a split among the frontline states on the issue of aggression against Malawi President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia was apparently reluctant to go along with the plan Botswana's previous attitudes suggest it too would object to such moves

Whatever the intentions of Zimbabwe and Mozambique may have been the disclosures and Mr Botha's allegations have pushed political tensions to a new high in Southern Africa

THE DETAILS

From BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff PRETORIA

DOCUMENTS found at the scene of the aircraft crash which claimed the life of President Samora Machel disclosed that a Zimbabwean and Mozambican plot to overthrow Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda were in an advanced stage

The plan is set out in the documents which record a 2¼-hour meeting in Maputo at which the late President Machel did most of the talking with Zimbabwe's Minister of Security, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, summing up

The documents which were shown in their original form by South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at a Press conference last night are in Portuguese

The plan to overthrow the aging President Banda was two-pronged.

THE intention was to

- Infiltrate Malawi's security forces President Machel claimed that this had already happened, and,

- Force Malawi into permitting Zimbabwean and Mozambican troops transit rights across the country. This access would be used to seal Malawi off by blowing up bridges and cutting off communication routes

The plan appeared to have been accelerated after Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda last month refused to close his borders with Malawi, keeping open the main access route for trade through Zambia and Botswana to South Africa

Zimbabwe had also agreed to provide the logistics, finance and transport for a renewed attempt to defeat the rebel Renamo movement by opening a campaign in the Zambezia province of Mozambique

Zimbabwe's Minister of Defence, Mr ER Kadungure, offered food and medicines to help counter the MNR, which was receiving support because people were hungry and had no clothes or medicine

"Payment would come later," he said

President Machel, however, expressed concern the United States or South Africa could take retaliatory measures

South Africa, he said, was desperate because "we have uncovered Malawi"

In spite of repeatedly saying bridges should be blown up to close borders both to the north and south, he rejected a call from Zimbabwe army chief General Rex Nhongo to close the borders

AMONG statements made by President Machel in the documents were

- Claims that South Africa had entered into the Nkomati Accord "because they thought we were going to accept the armed bandits as part of the government of Mozambique"

- Feelings that South Africa was applying economic, political, military and diplomatic pressure to force a sharing of power with the MNR and could use Malawi as an excuse to invade Mozambique

- Accusations of South Africa having a base in Malawi while applying pressure to prevent Mozambique attacking MNR bases in Malawi

- Claims that an American ambassador by the name of Miller had demanded that Mozambique should create a puppet opposition party so "he could say in America that there was a democracy in Mozambique."

- Insisted that South Africa should not "set the course in Malawi", and that the English, Americans or West Germans be allowed to choose the Malawian leaders

Pik Botha alleges Cubans, Soviets involved

'Plot to topple

Banda' found in

Machel plane

9/11/86

7/11/86

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THE South African Government alleged yesterday that Mozambique and Zimbabwe planned to infiltrate the Malawian armed forces and overthrow the government of President Hastings Banda.

Malawi is the only black African country to maintain full diplomatic relations with Pretoria

Mr Botha said the two frontline states had been planning to move a large number of Russian MiG aircraft and attack-helicopters into the Zambezia area. A large number of Soviet,

To Page 2

Tanzanian and Zimbabwean personnel were also being moved

He said an attack on Malawi was imminent and that some of the moves had already been implemented, including the movement of Soviet surveyors who would set up camps

The document quoted Zimbabwean army commander General Rex Nhongo as saying "Let's fight Malawi inside that country. The target is inside Malawi"

Mr Machel allegedly responded. "If we destroy the Malawian bridges to Tanzania and Zambia we will have Malawi in our hands"

Dr Banda had been referred to as "criminal" in the talks, Mr Botha said

"They were going to force Banda to give them permission to move troops across his territory. Under the pretext of repairing roads, they would destroy bridges and other structures in Malawi and infiltrate police and defence forces

"It must be clear this is a conspiracy"

Replying to suggestions that South Africa might have forged the document, Mr Botha said the South African Government did not possess the stationary necessary for such a forgery

Asked why there had

been a delay of nearly three weeks in releasing the document, Mr Botha said it had been brought to his attention only on Tuesday

The identities of members of the full Mozambican delegation were not clear from the document, but clearly Mr Machel led the discussion and his Prime Minister, Mr Mario Machungo, was present

The Zimbabwe delegation was led by the Minister of State Security, Mr Emmerson Munanagwa

He was accompanied by Zimbabwe's Ambassador to Mozambique, Mr H E Mvundura (who was ordered to leave the meeting when the plot was discussed), the Minister of State Defence, Mr E R Kadungure, army commander General Rex Nhongo, Air Marshal J Tungamiraiya, Major-General Maseko, Lieutenant-Colonel Shumba of the Zimbabwe National Army, and others

Mr Botha said South Africa and Malawi had maintained close ties for many years, but that Malawi had not asked for help. If Malawi did so South Africa would have to consider the matter

Asked if there were any other documents retrieved from the plane's wreckage that were sensitive to South Africa's security interests, Mr Botha said evidence was still being sifted through

"There might be I don't know" — Own correspondent, staff reporter, Sapa-Reuter and UPI

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night that the plot — which allegedly involved Soviet and Cuban personnel — was outlined in a document found at the site of the aircraft crash that killed Mozambican President Samora Machel on October 19

The director of the official Mozambican news agency Aim, Mr Carlos Cordoza, told the Cape Times late last night that only sketchy details of the accusations — which he described as "ugly and part of an increasingly ugly situation" — had reached Maputo. There was as yet no official Mozambican response

Mr Botha said the documents recorded a meeting in Maputo between high-level delegations from Mozambique and Zimbabwe three days before Mr Machel's death. At the meeting, plans were made to topple Dr Banda and end his 20-year-old conservative administration of Malawi

Mr Botha warned the new Mozambican government of President Joaquim Chissano, who took his oath of office earlier yesterday, "that the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price if these dangerous plans are put into operation"

"I can only hope that the new government in Mozambique finds it possible to dissociate itself from this diabolical plan," he said

The disclosures came as the staff of the Malawian Embassy in Maputo reportedly fled from Mozambique and arrived at Swaziland's Matsapha Airport aboard a private charter plane yesterday afternoon

A reliable Swaziland Government source in Manzini, quoted by Sapa, said embassy personnel were taking refuge from the violent anti-Malawian backlash following the death of Mr Machel on South African soil

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Botha displayed a dirt-smear and water-stained document in a plastic holder which he said contained the minutes in Portuguese of a meeting in Maputo on October 16 between Mr Machel and Zimbabwean military commanders

The document, to which handwritten notes were appended, quoted Mr Machel as saying that Mozambique and Zimbabwe had to "bring into being a new force in Malawi"

"Banda is worn out. We must not allow South Africa to set the course in Malawi. We must not allow the English, Americans and Federal Republic of Germany to choose the Malawian leaders

"The army knows how these things are done," Mr Machel said

"We can also organize a Malawi Liberation Front, equip ourselves and infiltrate into Malawi in order to destroy the bandits (Mozambique National Resistance movement rebels) who are there"

W/E Argus (170) 8/11/86

Maputo, Harare 'want to set up Marxist govt in Malawi'

Malawian people over using Maoist strategies

The revelation that frontline states proposed aggressive action against Malawi is expected to jolt many politicians in Southern Africa's black states

It is the first time members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) have been seen to turn on another member

Analysts believe it will severely damage the organisation, which seeks to promote mutual development and reduce dependence on South Africa

Protest

Weekend Argus's Political Correspondent reports that Mr Piki Botha has announced Maputo and Harare have received copies of the document found in the crash

He said notes of protest from the South African Government were also handed over

However, a Mozambican spokesman said no official information had been received from Pretoria.

He said the South African disclosures were an attempt to divert attention from the cause of President Machel's death

● Mozambique's new president, Mr Joaquim Chissano, has told the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, that the death of Mr Machel made it even more necessary to strengthen ties between Mozambique and the Soviet Union

By GERALD L'ANGE

Argus Africa News Service
JOHANNESBURG — The document retrieved from the wreckage of the aircraft in which President Samora Machel died, shows that installing a sympathetic new regime in Malawi is important to the more radical frontline states, Mozambique and Zimbabwe

The document was released this week by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Piki Botha. It shows plainly that Zimbabwe and Mozambique see toppling Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda as essential if he refuses to help fight MNR rebels and reduce Malawi's dependence on South Africa

The late President Machel comes across as the one who was most concerned with replacing Dr Banda with a sympathetic — in other words, Marxist — regime

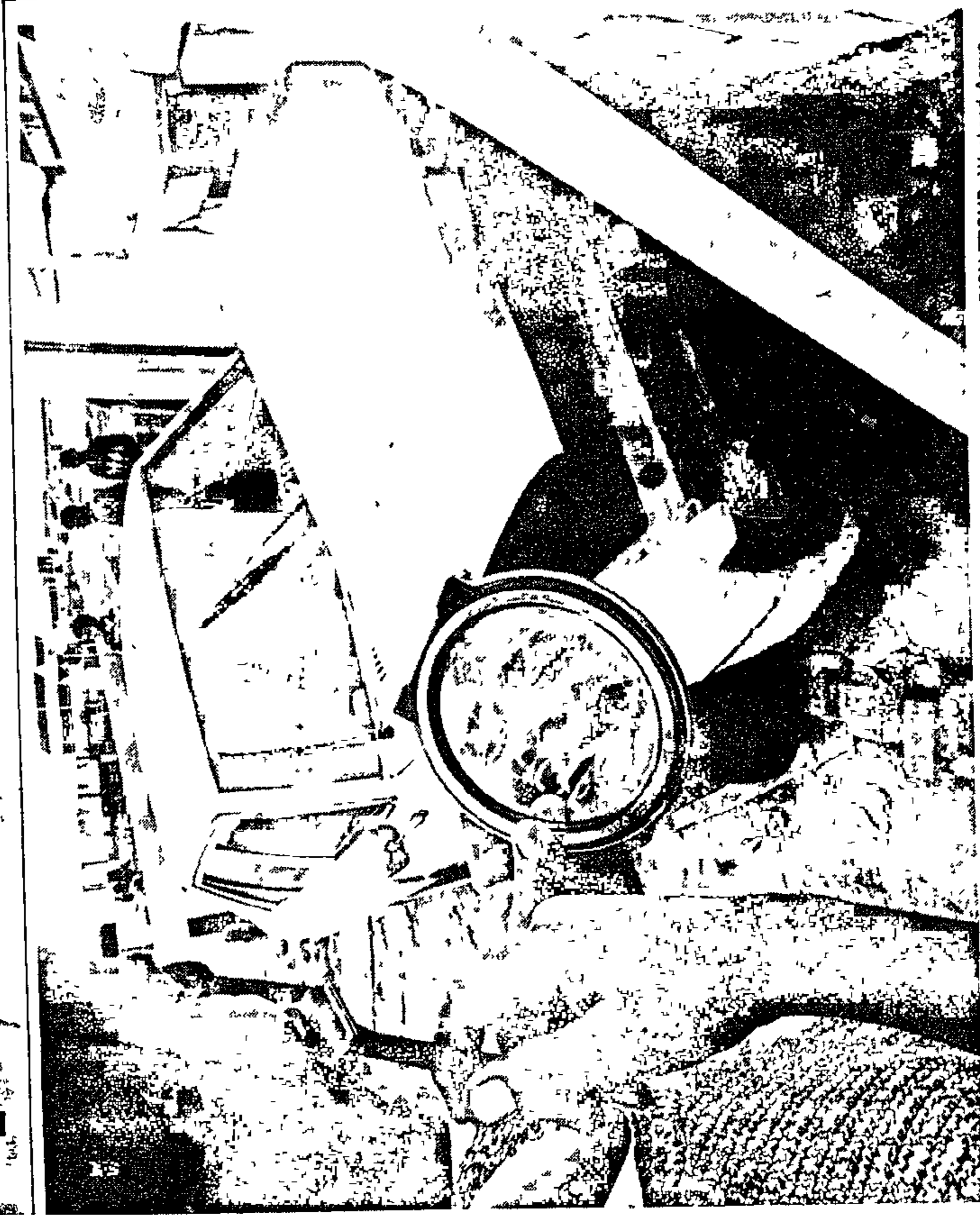
Besieged

If Malawi refused to cooperate, its borders would be closed to besiege it into submission

But President Machel went further and proposed longer-term political measures to create a "liberation movement" in Malawi to overthrow Dr Banda

"Mozambique and Zimbabwe must discover a new force in Malawi," he says "Banda is finished"

South Africa and the Western powers must not be allowed to choose Malawi's leaders, he said, and proposed winning the



Picture DION TROMP, Weekend Argus

CLOSE SHAVE 1: The Loon family of Mitchell's Plain had an unexpected guest early this morning — a motorist lost control of his car and ended up "parking" in their bathroom. Undeterred, Mr Loon had his normal early-morning shave, although in unusual circumstances.

W/E Post
170 8/11/86

Mana expresses shock at SA claim

HARARE — Shock at the South African disclosure of a plot to overthrow the Government of Malawi has been expressed by the semi-official Malawi news agency, Mana.

A dispatch sent to the Associated Press in Harare today said: "The disclosure about the planned attack on Malawi comes as a great shock to us and it makes us wonder as to what future this region has."

Mana added: "Have the unfounded allegations and accusations that Malawi supports the MNR (Mozambican National Resistance) bandits been made on purpose so they could serve as a pretext for the alleged planned attack on Malawi?"

While Malawi openly had full diplomatic ties with Pretoria, other black states in the region exchanged trade missions with South Africa, the statement said.

Fury over Malawi's South African ties exploded into violence in Maputo and Harare after the death of President Samora Machel.

In separate demonstrations in the two capitals, thousands of youths ransacked Malawian Government offices and stoned the South African Trade Mission

Zimbabwe has dismissed the South African claims as "an unmitigated pack of lies".

Zimbabwe's Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, branded the documents released by South Africa to reporters on Thursday as forgeries.

Instead, the Minister said, the charge was "part of a propaganda campaign to divert the attention of the world from the racist regime's assassination of Mr Machel."

Mr Machel was killed when his presidential jet crashed in South Africa on October 19 near the Mozambique border

South Africa has persistently denied claims by Third World leaders that it was involved in the crash and has invited international aviation experts to assist in an inquiry into the cause of the tragedy.

South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told a news conference on Thursday that documents recovered from the crash site were evidence that Mr Machel, in a meeting with Zimbabwe defence chiefs, proposed the overthrow of Dr Banda's Government.

The Zimbabwe Information Minister, in a statement published in the Herald newspaper in Harare, said: "The allegations made by Mr Pik Botha amount to an unmitigated pack of lies contrived as part of a propaganda campaign to divert the attention of the world from the racist regime's assassination of Mr Machel.

"The evidence is undoubtedly based on forgeries of documents unashamedly stolen from the wreckage of the Mozambican plane in which Machel died."

Mr Shamuyarira said the Zimbabwe Government categorically denied there were any talks with the Mozambican Government about toppling President Banda.

Mr Machel, Mr Robert Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda last month flew to Malawi to persuade Dr Banda to withdraw his alleged support for MNR guerillas.

Dr Banda denied any knowledge of the rebels, but agreed to the formation of a joint commission of the countries at the talks to look into the matter. — Sapa-AP

MNR attacks town near Malawi border

The Star's Africa News Service

10/11/76 SMP

MAPUTO — Anti-government rebels are attacking the town of Ulongue, in Mozambique's north-western province of Tete, the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, said yesterday. The town is about 20 km from the Malawian border.

Quoting government sources the agency said the attack against Ulongue had started at 6 am on

Saturday, but it gave no further details.

When MNR rebels overran several towns in northern Mozambique a few weeks ago, sources in Maputo said at the time that Ulongue had been taken.

In its report yesterday, AIM said: "Several localities in Tete and Zambezia have come under MNR attack after invasions from Malawian soil which began at the end of September".

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the report, however, is true
Africa 10/11/80

Bitter times ahead for Hastings Kamuzu Banda

From FRANCIS MDLONGWA, in HARARE

MALAWIAN President Hastings Kamuzu Banda faces the sternest test of his political career as black-ruled states in the region's close ranks against South Africa, according to diplomats and political analysts

Dr Banda is alone among African leaders in maintaining diplomatic ties with white-led South Africa, which now accuses Zimbabwe and Mozambique of plotting against him and threatens reprisals if he is overthrown

Now in his 80s, Dr Banda has ruled autocratically for 22 years since independence from Britain, paying no heed to Africa's growing anti-apartheid militancy, and regarding Malawi's economic survival as his only law

In 1971, when scorned by other African leaders for visiting South Africa, Dr Banda declared "I will make a pact with the devil himself if it is in the interests of my people"

MORE than 60 per cent of Malawi's trade goes through South Africa and 30 000 Malawians working there send home 12 million dollars (R17 million) a year in foreign exchange

According to an African diplomat in Zimbabwe, however, "events in the region are demanding that Banda make a choice between supporting South Africa or black Africa. It's a crucial period and one's loyalties should never be doubted"

He was referring to stepped-up charges by Mozambique in the past few months that Malawi was aiding rebels fighting the Mozambican government, an accusation always denied by Malawi, and South Africa's allegations that Mozambique and Zimbabwe last month plotted to topple Dr Banda

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who made the accusations, said the plot was disclosed by a document found in the wreckage of Mozambican President Samora Machel's plane, which crashed killing him and 33 other people on October 19

Both Mozambique and Zimbabwe have dismissed Mr Botha's charge. Radio Zimbabwe called it a "pack of lies" charging that South Africa had assassinated President Machel and was now producing forgeries to distract attention from its crime

The Soviet-built Tupolev TU-134 jet came down inside South Africa minutes before it was due to land in the Mozambican capital Maputo, prompting several African leaders to accuse Pretoria of involvement in President Machel's death. Pretoria denies this

Mr Botha, referring to the alleged plot, gave a thinly-veiled threat that South Africa would take military action, saying "the whole of Southern Africa will pay a heavy price if these plans are put into operation"

A diplomat commented today "Botha's apparent threat makes Malawi look like Pretoria's blue-eyed boy, and will

not help Malawi in its relations with other black states, especially at this time of heightened tensions between South Africa and most of its black neighbours"

LANDLOCKED Malawi depends heavily for transporting its goods to and from South Africa on routes through Zimbabwe, one of Southern Africa's six Frontline States championing black Africa's fight against South Africa and its rule of SWA/Namibia

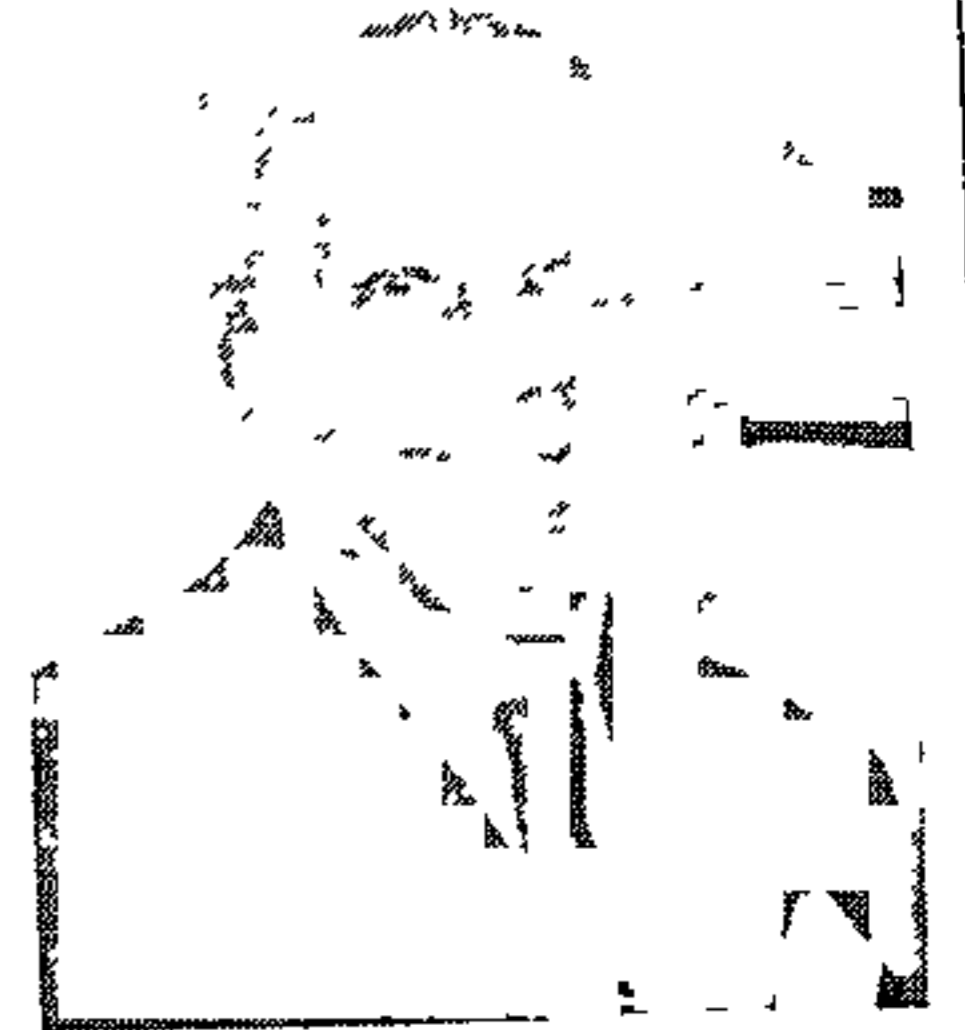
The Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, while saying he did not think African states should sever ties with Malawi, commented this week

"All of us in the Frontline states are anxious about Malawi's position and I do hope that recent events had some effect on them

"Malawi should change its stance and cease whether overtly or covertly, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly aiding and abetting" Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebels, he said

But Malawi's state-owned news agency, Mana, commented last night "It would appear that the problem with most people in other (neighbouring) countries is their inability to understand the open daylight, front-door and above-table Malawi-South Africa relations

"Almost all countries within the region maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa. However, because of wanting to appear saintly, these rela-



Dr Banda

tions are termed 'trade' relations "

Mana said news of the alleged coup had shocked all Malawians and asked "are we really being rational in our relations and in dealing with the problems of the region?"

"Have the unfounded allegations and accusations that Malawi supports the MNR bandits been made on purpose so they could serve as a pretext for the alleged planned attack on Malawi?"

Mozambique's official news agency Aim said last night that the government wanted to re-activate the Mozambique-Malawi joint security commission on border problems

It quoted President Machel's successor President Joaquim Chissano, as saying "We want to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with the brother people of Malawi. But these relations are seriously affected by the support that the MNR bandits have received from Malawian soil" — Sapa-Reuter

Banda told to take sides

HARARE — Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda has been given a choice by African leaders — "Support South Africa or black Africa, but not both"

Dr Banda is facing the sternest test of his political career as black-ruled states in the region's close ranks against South Africa, say diplomats and political analysts

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Mozambique has stepped up charges in the past few months that Malawi was aiding Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels — an accusation always denied by Malawi — and South Africa has alleged that Mozambique and Zimbabwe last month plotted to topple Dr Banda

'A PACK OF LIES'

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ABOVE-TABLE RELATIONS

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THIS WEEKLY MALAWI

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**TOGETHER
WE WILL BUILD
A BRIGHTER
BANK BALANCE**

Gus Silber dissects the last remains of Louis Nel, the Great for Information and other Great South African Institutions

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Tension rises over Malawi coup claims

TENSION between South Africa and the Frontline states reached a new peak last night when Pk Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, claimed to have uncovered a plot by Mozambique and Zimbabwe to overthrow the government of Malawi.

Botha said a document discovered at the scene of the airplane crash that took the life of Mozambican President Samora Machel on October 19 contained minutes of a meeting at which the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments had discussed a calculated plan to overthrow the Malawian government militarily and pointnally.

The claim comes two weeks after Botha told

the press he believed the documents found on Machel's plane had all been returned to Maputo.

At a press conference in Pretoria — called hastily after the alleged plot was revealed in the Washington Times yesterday morning — Botha produced the original document and said there was not "the slightest doubt" of its authenticity.

The document recorded the minutes of a meeting in Maputo three days before the air crash between Machel and General Rex Nhongo, commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe Armed Forces.

Inviting journalists to examine the document

more closely, he added: "It doesn't matter who says the opposite I say to you this is a record of a meeting which took place .. It came to us as a shock."

Referring to the alleged conspiracy to overthrow Banda, Botha said: "It was imminent. They planned to move a large number of Russian MIG aircraft, helicopters and attack aircraft into the Zambezi area. They had already moved in large numbers of Soviet personnel, Tanzanians, I think, and Zimbabweans. They were going to force President Banda to give them permission to move their troops from Mozambique into his territory .. to overthrow his government."

The main reason for such a plot would be Renamo, the rebel movement which the Frontline states have accused Malawi of supporting.

Botha, who had paid tribute to Machel at the site of the crash on October 20, said he had changed his views on the former Mozambican leader.

"I am dismayed, disappointed, shocked and I did not expect this," he said.

PAUL FAUVET reports from Maputo that initial reaction was inevitably one of scepticism. There was little chance of Botha's claims being believed, particularly since three weeks had elapsed since the crash.

MEN OF
OUR
TIME

W/E Argus

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'Ngwazi' Banda

Malawi's champion of Malawi

From JOHN D'OLIVEIRA
Weekend Argus Africa News Service

BY almost any standards, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda, Life President of Malawi, President of the country's only political party, Minister of External Affairs, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Justice, Minister of Works and Supplies, and the man said to control personally between 30 and 40 per cent of the country's economy, is a remarkable man

Unapologetically and unashamedly, the self-styled "Ngwazi" (champion), holds Malawi in an iron grip. He tolerates no opposition, and his domination of almost every facet of life in his small, but exceptionally beautiful, country is almost complete.

But his autocratic — and sometimes idiosyncratic — rule has turned his country into one of Africa's few post-independence successes, one of the few countries on the continent capable of feeding its people, one of the few in which real standards of living for the masses have improved.

Even in remote areas in Malawi, shops are well-stocked and peasant farmers have every incentive to improve their cash earnings. This is in sharp contrast to neighbouring countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique.

Earlier this year, the World Bank praised Malawi as "one of the major developmental successes in Africa". The Bank said the key to Malawi's success was the Government's ability to formulate economic development policies that emphasised agriculture, especially "smallholder agriculture".

And this, too, is the key to Dr Banda's personal success and to his undoubted popularity in Malawi.

When his Uhuru contemporaries in other parts of Africa entered the independence era with grandiose socialist blueprints, with Marxist approaches to farming and industrial development, Dr Banda put his faith in private enterprise and the African peasant farmer.

On independence, Dr Banda told his people "Malawi is a poor country. We have no minerals. The soil is our gold

mine and we must all work hard to bring that wealth out of the ground". And that is precisely what Malawians did.

DETERMINED to walk his own path, he maintained close links with the Portuguese (while the liberation movements fought bitterly in Angola and Mozambique) and he opened and maintained diplomatic ties with South Africa while most of his counterparts expressed their total support for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and Swapo.

While his fellow-leaders in Africa concerned themselves with wider issues, while many strutted the African, Third World and world stages, Dr Banda devoted his energies to improving the living standards of Malawi's seven million people — and tightening his grip on the country.

It is only now, after more 20 years of Uhuru, that the rest of Africa is beginning to recognise the validity of Dr Banda's economic approach, to concentrate on agricultural development (thus improving their countries' ability to feed people) to encourage peasant farmers and to give freer rein to private enterprise.

FOLLOWING a bitter quarrel with the British Labour Party which wanted his blessing for the ill-fated Central African Federation, Dr Banda left England in 1953 for Ghana where he practiced medicine for five years.

Persuaded to lead the campaign against federation, Dr Banda returned to what was then Nyasaland to a tumultuous welcome on July 6, 1958. Despite the fact that he was lost for words in his native Nyanji, it took only weeks for him to be elected President-General of the Nyasaland National Congress.

Following a series of inflammatory Banda speeches, an emergency was declared in Nyasaland on March 9, 1959. Dr Banda was sent to jail in Gwelo in the then Southern Rhodesia, 52 Africans were killed in clashes with troops and more than 1 000 were detained.

After 395 days in detention, Dr Banda was released (on April 1 1960) and by August 5 he had negotiated a new constitution for his country with the then British Colonial Secretary Iain MacLeod.

This gave Nyasaland a ministerial system of government and the direct election of Africans in the Legislative Council. However, this was not enough for Dr Banda, who was determined to break the Federation.

With 99 per cent of the "lower roll" votes in the 1961 elections, Dr Banda led what had by then become the Malawi Congress Party to a spectacular election victory. He became Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government, exchanging this for the Prime Ministership when Nyasaland achieved internal self-government early in 1963.

Never married, Dr Banda has in his entourage the powerful figure of Mama Cecilia Kadzamura, a striking woman known as the "Official Hostess" and one people believe will play a major role in determining who will succeed the aged Life President.

Dr Banda was born into a poor farming family in Malawi's Kasungu district on May 14 1906 (or, perhaps, much earlier) and named Kamuzu (or "Little Root"). Later he adopted the name Hastings.

As a boy of 12, he set out on foot for South Africa to earn his living on the fabled Rand gold mines. He stopped to earn money as an orderly at Hartley (near what was then Salisbury) and the conditions for blacks were so appalling that he resolved to become a doctor and do what he could to alleviate suffering.

A year after leaving his home, he was at work as a clerk-interpreter on a South African mine. As soon as he could, he bought a ticket to the United States where Methodist Church contacts helped finance his education.

He studied political science at the University of Indiana, philosophy at the University of Chicago and medicine at McHarry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee.

After graduating as a doctor in 1937, he went on to study in Scotland, qualifying as a licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons and of the Royal College of Physicians.

After practicing in Liverpool, he moved to London in 1945 where he eventually had about 4 000 patients, most of them white.

Mozambique accuses Malawi of racket in stolen goods

25/11/85.
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STAR

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique has accused Malawian Government officials of being involved with

rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) in a profitable racket in stolen goods

The Mozambique News Agency, AIM, has also

claimed that Malawi has been actively supporting the MNR rebels since August 1982

Since then, the agency said, "zinc sheeting, bicycles, motorbikes, sewing machines — all stolen from Mozambican citizens — have been sold by the bandits to Malawians at very low prices".

The administrator of Namarroi district in northern Mozambique, Mr Severino Mukhutulu, said he had no doubt that goods stolen by the rebels ended in Malawi

He told AIM that, when Namarroi town was attacked in October, the MNR rebels were divided into several groups, one of which concerned itself exclusively with tearing the roofing off houses and stealing furniture.

"I am sure they're not going to use this sheeting to build houses in their bases inside Mozambique," said Mr Mukhutulu. "They take it all to Malawi."

AIM said: "The stolen goods are essentially payment that Malawians get for allowing the MNR to use the border"

Malawi hosts 80 000 refugees

The Star's Africa
News Service

BLANTYRE — There are now 80 000 Mozambican refugees in Malawi, reports in Blantyre have disclosed

A few weeks ago the Mozambique News Agency, Am, estimated that at least 200 000 Mozambicans had fled to Malawi to escape from the war between government forces and rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance movement

RELIEF WORK

But the Malawian Red Cross said that it was co-ordinating all relief work for the Mozambicans who had fled from the war and sought refuge in the Nsanje, Chikwawa, Mulanje, Ntcheu and Dedza districts and that, in these areas, there were an estimated 80 000 refugees

Yesterday, the Save the Children Fund of Malawi donated 3 000 kg of flour to the Malawian Red Cross for distribution to the displaced Mozambicans

Malawi delegation silent on aid-for-rebels report

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — A top-level Malawian delegation left Maputo yesterday afternoon amid accusations that soldiers from Malawi were taking part in rebel attacks against the central Mozambican province of Zambezia

The Malawian delegation was led by Mr John Tembo, a member of the central executive committee of the ruling Malawi Congress Party

According to the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, he discussed with the Mozambican authorities the next meeting of the joint Mozambique/Malawi defence and security commission.

He also had a meeting with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique

Shortly before leaving Maputo, Mr Tembo refused to comment on newspaper reports that Malawian soldiers were involved with the MNR guerillas

"I am not interested in stories like that," Mr Tembo told journalists before leaving Maputo.

"We are interested in serious business, we are interested in co-operation," he added.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AT LEAST 60 000 Mozambicans are in Malawi awaiting repatriation and some 11 000 people have already been evacuated from Malawi to the north-western province of Tete, Mozambique, since late September, according to Mozambique's official news agency AIM.

About 4 000 of those who have been evacuated are living in a large improvised centre for displaced people, while the rest are staying with relatives or have moved on to Tete city.

20/12/86 Bus DAH

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Mozambicans to be repatriated

However, the agency quoted a Mozambican daily paper *Noticias* source as saying some Malawian officials want to keep Mozambican refugees inside Malawi in a bid to divert some of the goods sent by international organisations to refugee centres.

An official of a Mozambican humanitarian body told the paper that when he visited Malawi he found the

displaced Mozambicans extremely ill at ease "because the distribution of food is organised by the Malawian police. The Mozambicans are beaten up if they do anything wrong in these centres".

For this reason many Mozambicans are anxious to return home, even without any organised effort at repatriation. They have been making their own way to the border, many

going from Zambezia to Tete through Malawi

Quoting yesterday's issue of *Noticias*, the agency said sources have estimated that already as many as 200 000 Mozambicans have fled from allegedly South African-backed bandits in the Tete, Zambezia and Sofala provinces into Malawi

AIM yesterday claimed Mozambique's military situation in the cen-

tral Mozambican province of Zambezia has changed radically over the past month in favour of the Mozambican armed forces (FPLM)

AIM said important bandit camps had been overrun in the northern Zambezia districts in the past two weeks. It said the FPLM also destroyed a major bandit base at Namangavira, in the central district of Mocuba and quoted sources as saying about 80 bandits were killed there, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition destroyed

MALAWI - GENERAL

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Maputo report accuses Malawi of again aiding MNR

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Mr Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance movement, recently flew with 42 white men into a rebel-held town in Mozambique in an aircraft that came from Malawi, the official news agency AIM has reported in Maputo.

The agency said refugees from the town of Milange saw the aircraft land in the town on December 7 and later return to Malawi. People in the town and Malawian officials said Mr Dhlakama arrived in the aircraft

Whites in attack

AIM has also reported that three white men led an MNR attack on the town of Ulongue on November 8

Mr Dhlakama's reported flight, if it took place, would represent a breach of the joint security agreement entered into between Malawi and Mozambique to prevent the MNR from operating in Malawi

AIM said its reporters interviewed three refugees at Moatize who had come from Milange, a rebel-held town in Zambezia province on Malawi's eastern border. All saw the plane. One said his information that it carried Mr Dhlakama and 42 whites came from a Malawian who was not identified by AIM and whose own source of information was not revealed

Another refugee said she was told by Malawian officials at Lembule that the plane had carried Mr Dhlakama and some whites. The third refugee said he was told by people from Milange that the plane had carried the MNR chief and some white men.

AIM's report of white "mercenaries" leading the attack on Ulongue was based on interviews with residents who said they watched the attack.

The agency said that one of the three white men spoke Portuguese and the other two spoke English with a South African accent. The agency did not explain how the witnesses would be able to identify a South African accent.

Kaunda confirms conspiracy against Malawi

AM. Times
13/1/87

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From MAX DU PREEZ

JOHANNESBURG — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has told President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi that a document exposed by South Africa last year, alleging there was a conspiracy between Mozambique and Zimbabwe to destabilize Malawi, was authentic.

The document was found by South African security forces in the wreck of the aircraft in which President Samora Machel of Mozambique died on October 19.

It contained a transcript of a meeting between Mr Machel and Zimbabwean cabinet ministers Mr Emmer-son Munangagwa and Mr E R Kandungure as well as the Zimbabwean army commander, General Rex Nhongo, and others.

The governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique later denied the conspiracy and

said the document had been forged by South Africa.

A senior Zambian government source said Dr Kaunda had told Dr Banda the document was authentic and that he had been approached by Mr Machel and Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, for his co-operation in the anti-Malawi campaign.

Dr Kaunda told Dr Banda he had refused to co-operate with the plans, which included the closing of his border with Malawi.

Mr Machel was quoted in the transcript as saying: "President Kaunda did not guarantee the closing of the border with Malawi. We put the question today and his answer was not satisfactory."

The conspiracy, aimed at forcing the Mozambique National Resistance out of Malawi, included the blowing up of bridges and roads in Malawi linking it to neighbours and starting a Malawi

Liberation Front to overthrow the Banda government.

The Lusaka source said the conspiracy increased the tension between Dr Kaunda and Mr Mugabe.

Dr Kaunda and his government resent Mr Mugabe's pressure on Zambia to implement sanctions against South Africa and cut all air links, the source said. Zimbabwe is in a better position to afford it than bankrupt Zambia.

It was also learnt here that Zambian-Zimbabwean plans to impose their own sanctions on South Africa, which were expected to be implemented late last year, have been postponed.

It is understood that the two countries feared that if they ran into serious trouble because of sanctions and then asked Britain, West Germany or France for aid, these countries would refuse.

CITY PRESS
MNR 21/12/86
**frees 57
foreign
prisoners
near
Malawi**

FIFTY SEVEN foreigners taken prisoner by rightwing Mozambican rebels have been handed over to the Red Cross, whose officials are expecting that more will be released

Malawi's official news agency, Mana said 43 Portuguese, 10 Pakistanis, two Mauritians and two Cape Verdians were handed over in the rebel-held town of Milange near the Malawi Mozambique border although the International Committee of the Red Cross said the captives were released at the border

The hostages were later brought to the southern Malawi city of Blantyre. The Red Cross said that all but two Mauritians - a father and son who want to go to Portugal - would be repatriated

In Geneva the ICRC said it expected another group of eight captives - a Briton, four Portuguese, a West German and his wife and daughter - to be released later this week.

But Mana quoted Christopher Soares, the MNR's so-called Health Minister, as saying the Briton, Ian Robertson, would be freed only when Britain negotiated directly with the rebels

Robertson was captured last month. Some of those freed this week had been held for more than a year

Marxist Mozambique has frequently charged that Malawi is aiding the MNR which has been backed by South Africa. Malawi has denied the accusation

Last year the MNR freed several foreigners into Malawi, prompting observations by neighbouring African states that the rebels appeared to have good contacts with President Kamuzu Banda's government

The MNR, demanding general elections and the dissolution of Mozambique's armed forces, had vowed to intensify its war since the death in a plane crash last October of Mozambican President Samora Machel

Machel was succeeded by Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano, who has pledged to rid Mozambique of the rebels he accuses of killing tens of thousands of civilians and crippling the economy - Sapa

British soldiers train Mozambican force to patrol rail link to Malawi

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Former British soldiers are training a special Mozambican force for the protection of the railway line from Nacala port to Malawi, according to diplomatic sources here

Britain is also involved with several other countries in the rehabilitation of the railway, which would provide an additional route to the sea for Zambia and Zaire as well as for Malawi.

The Britons training the special force are said to be operating completely independently of the British instructors who are training troops in Zimbabwe

According to diplomatic sources the instructors are operating under an agreement between the Mozambican State company Eموcha, which is involved in tea-growing, and Lonrho, the British-based multinational corporation headed by Mr Tiny Rowlands, which has been expanding its commercial interests in Mozambique in recent years.

There is speculation here that part of the special force may be used to guard the railway line linking Maputo with Zimbabwe through the Limpopo valley by way of Chicualacuala.

Like the Nacala line, the Chicualacuala railway

has become inoperative because of attacks by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) movement and lack of maintenance.

If rehabilitated, it would give Zimbabwe and other hinterland states another route to the sea besides the Beira corridor.

While international attention has been focussed on the major project to upgrade the Beira corridor railway and Beira port, work has quietly been going ahead on the rehabilitation of the Nacala line. The Mozambican Government is believed to be planning also to rehabilitate the Chicualacala line

All three railways are subject to attack by the MNR and can operate only under armed protection

The Beira corridor, which includes the oil pipeline to Zimbabwe, is patrolled by strong Zimbabwean forces. It now appears that the plan is to have the other two railways guarded by the special force.

The force is one of several private armies that are said to be operating in Mozambique to protect commercial interests. These include a force guarding Lonrho farming interests near the Beira corridor. Another force is said to be protecting a dam construction site in the south

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ARGUS 5/3/87

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Malawi to help fight MNR rebels

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Security forces from Malawi will help to defend Mozambique's transport routes to the sea from attack by MNR rebels, President Joaquim Chissano said today.

President Chissano of Mozambique also said Tanzanian soldiers had begun to arrive in Mozambique as part of the anti-rebel drive. Thousands of Zimbabwean soldiers are already stationed there.

Until recently Mozambique and other frontline states accused Malawi of being a base for MNR forces.

It is understood from other sources that the Malawian security forces will protect the rail link to the northern port of Nacala.

President Chissano said the agreement reached with Dr Banda's government meant Malawian security forces would be physically involved in protecting the route to Nacala.

He said. "It is in their interest to make sure their outlet to the sea is free of bandits. Both of us will benefit from this."

He did not elaborate on Tanzania's participation.

Mozambique has also appointed a resident ambassador to Malawi. A military attache will be appointed to the embassy staff.

President Chissano said South Africa was still supporting the MNR in

contravention of the Nkomati Accord.

A recent Mozambican operation had halted rebel plans to occupy some coastal centres in Zambezia through which they had intended to obtain supplies by sea.

They might try again, he said, but they had been stopped for the moment.

Asked if a West African country had offered to send troops, the Mozambican leader said the manpower was available in the region.

It was the logistical support which was needed most from the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

President Chissano leaves Zimbabwe today for Angola at the end of a four-day state visit.

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26/3/87
S.M.A.

Keep your troops out, MNR tells Malawians

LISBON — The Mozambican National Resistance has told Malawi not to send troops to protect the railway between landlocked Malawi and the Mozambican port of Nacala

An MNR statement distributed in Lisbon said Malawi's President Banda would "suffer the consequences" and "pay a high price". No specific action was mentioned but the statement added, "The MNR can destroy the Nacala rail line once and for all."

The rebels have also warned foreign technicians working on the line to leave Mozambique. Canada, Britain, Italy, France and Portugal are backing a multimillion project to upgrade the railway to give landlocked Southern African states' exports easier access to the sea and to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa

The line to Nacala has often been a target of sabotage by the MNR which has fought Mozambique's Marxist government almost since the country became independent from Portugal in 1975

Power pylons destroyed

Zambia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe all support Mozambique's President Chissano against the MNR and the last two countries have sent troops to reinforce Mozambique's army. Mozambique once accused Malawi of harbouring and helping the MNR but late last year the two countries signed a border security agreement

An separate MNR military communique said its guerillas early yesterday destroyed 68 electricity pylons and sabotaged water supplies to Beira, Mozambique's second city. Industry was stopped

The communique added that MNR forces had killed 46 Mozambican troops and militia and seven Zimbabwean soldiers in the past eight days, destroyed a locomotive in Gaza province and captured two government barracks at Mucodoene and Maquinhane in southern Inhambane province.

The MNR has also called on international relief organisations to send emergency food aid to rebel-controlled areas of Mozambique as well as to government-held zones. Relief groups have said nearly a third of Mozambique's 12 million people are facing starvation, mainly as a result of the civil war.

An MNR spokesman also told reporters in Lisbon that three Italian priests — Vitorino Biasioli, Ezio Toller and Onorino Venturini — and a Portuguese nun would be released soon — Sapa-Reuter.

Malawi caught in anti-SA crossfire

Cape Times 7/4/87
170

PETER GREGSON of Reuters reports from Lilongwe on the effects of anti-South African sentiments in neighbouring countries on this most peaceful of African states

FOR nearly a quarter of a century, Malawi has charted a distinctive course in the turbulent region of southern Africa

Introspective and sensitive to criticism, the country which calls itself the "warm heart of Africa" has practised a regional policy best described as "non-involvement"

But in the past six months, it has been buffeted by events in neighbouring states which diplomats here say has left Malawians shocked and puzzled and brought a change of government attitude

The death in a plane crash on October 19 of Mozambican President Samora Machel triggered a sequence of events that affected Malawi, along with the rest of southern Africa

Shortly before his death, Machel accused Malawi of harbouring right-wing rebels who have virtually crippled neighbouring Mozambique and threatened to close the border in retaliation

It was a threat to which Malawi initially paid little heed

But when riots in Harare and Maputo in the wake of Machel's death centred on Malawian and South African targets, including the fire-bombing of the Air Malawi office and ransacking of the Malawi High Commission in the Zimbabwean capital, it was a subject taken much more seriously

The threat of sanctions against and

counter-sanctions by South Africa has also added to current uncertainty in the land-locked country, a foreign envoy said

"Malawi was baffled after the attacks in Harare and Maputo. They couldn't understand what had triggered such hostility. But, along with the prospect of the border being closed, it made them realize how vulnerable they are," he added

Life President Kamuzu Banda, who has led Malawi since independence in 1964, deviated from his usual pro-Commonwealth stance to speak out publicly and forcefully earlier this year against sanctions being imposed on Pretoria

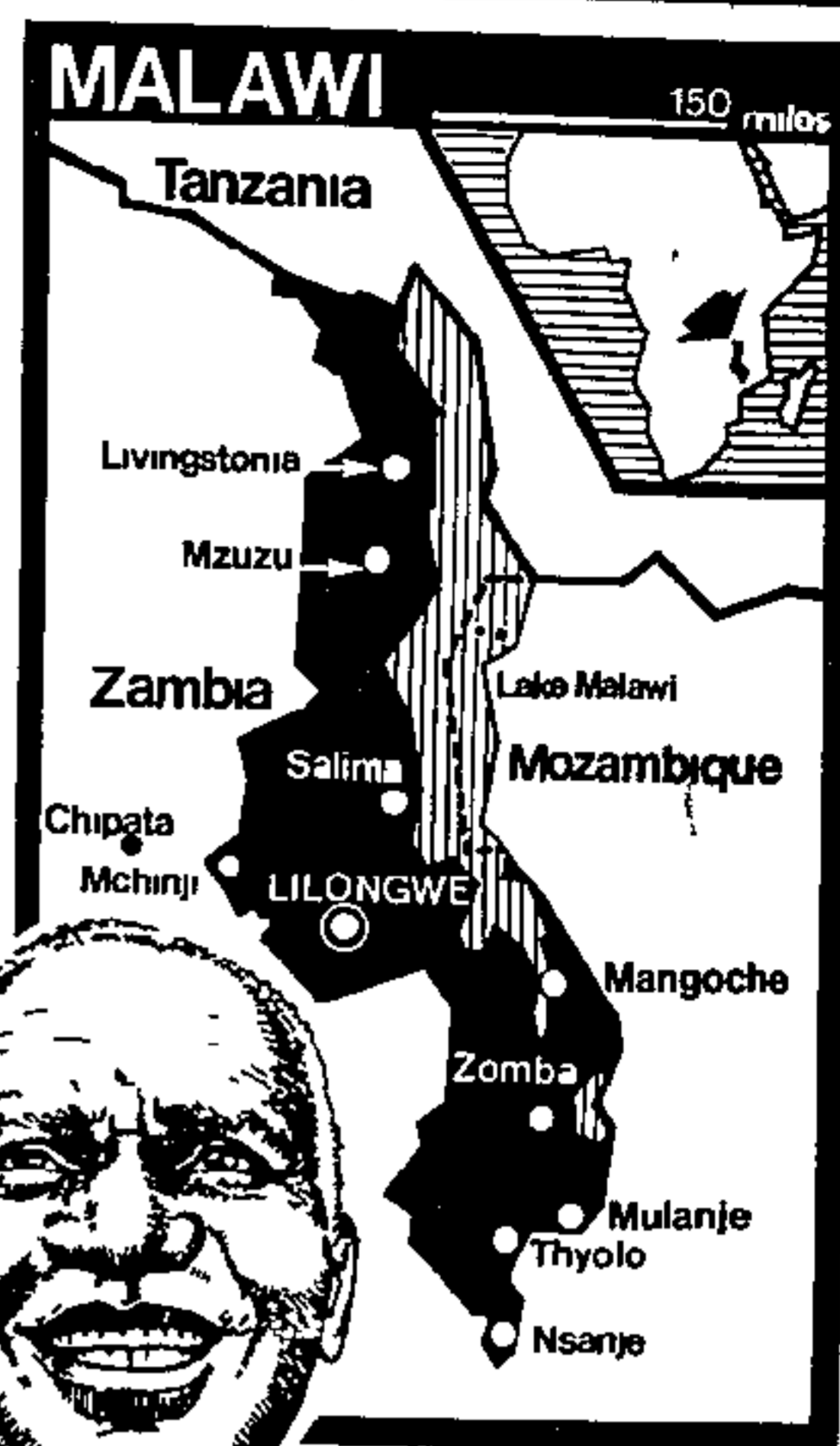
The Commonwealth has agreed a package of sanctions measures, including cutting air links, which other regional states such as Zambia and Zimbabwe support but have not implemented

Malawi is the only African country to have diplomatic relations with South Africa, which officials here say does not indicate support for Pretoria's race policies but recognition of its existence and regional economic dominance

The war in Mozambique has exacted a heavy toll on the Malawian economy. In 1981, more than 90% of Malawi's two-way trade moved by direct rail links through Mozambique

For the past three years, virtually no traffic has moved on the railway lines to the ports of Nacala and Beira and now about 95% of imports and exports use the longer and vastly more expensive lines through Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana to the South African port of Durban

"If sanctions are imposed, the Malawians now realize they face being mortally wounded in the cross-fire," a foreign diplomat said



President BANDA

100 Years Ago

From the Cape Times April 7 1887

LONDON April 6 (By telegraph) The Queen has gone to Aix-les-Bains where Her Majesty will remain for three weeks

From the Bible

"A new command I give you Love one another As I have loved you, so you must love one another All men will know that you are my disciples if you love one another"

(John 13 34, 35)

Malawi refugees double in a year

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SITE
9/4/87

LILONGWE — The number of Mozambican refugees in Malawi has doubled since last year to more than 150 000, prompting the United Nations to give more aid

Representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) signed an agreement with the government on March 25 pledging about R4,8 million in emergency assistance from now until the end of the year, it was announced by the office of Life President Kamuzu Banda.

A two-man UNHCR team which arrived in February to examine the situation will remain in Malawi to supervise the aid distribution, UN officials said.

They added that the displaced Mozambicans, fleeing years of war and drought, needed food, shelter, clothing, health care and provision of drinking water.

The new aid will strengthen existing government support for refugees in border areas in the fields of public health, sanitation, medical supplies, transport and other services.

The refugees, concentrated in the southern part of Malawi which is almost surrounded by Mozambique, started crossing the border in large numbers last November as rebels fighting Mozambique's govern-

ment launched a new offensive in the Tete and Zambezia provinces

A new wave flooded across the largely unmarked 1 400 km in February when government troops backed by Zimbabwean and Tanzanian forces launched a counter-attack

Diplomats said that it was only in December that the Malawian government publicly acknowledged the burgeoning refugee problem for the first time

The Malawi-Mozambique border is an arbitrary relic of colonial days, taking no account of local conditions, and people from the same tribes live on either side.

"Lots of Mozambicans cross the border daily to sell their produce here. As things started to get tougher on the other side, more and more began to stay," an aid official said

Malawi's initial response was that the displaced Mozambicans, as they are officially termed, were kith and kin and little notice was taken as they built traditional bush settlements.

The government says there are 150 000 refugees but aid workers said that by now the number had probably reached 165 000 and the UN estimated it would reach 200 000 by the end of the year — Reuter

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Malawi plays high stakes in Africa peace gamble

NRGus 21/4/87 170

By DAVID WILLERS
London Director of the
South Africa Foundation

THE venerable 460-ton Ilala creaked at her moorings as I boarded her at Nkatha Bay on the shores of Lake Malawi

There had been a foul-up with my booking — one of the two beds in my cabin was already occupied by a Malawian civil servant

"That's OK," I said "I don't mind sharing"

"That's not the point," the captain replied "The question is whether he'll be prepared to share with a Mzungu (white man) like you"

A Hegelian conversion is possible at such moments. The alternative, that of spending the night in the engine room, was not compelling. Fortunately this particular Mzungu was approved of, and I shared my cabin with a charming man from the northern territory

However, the story illustrates, in a sense, the changing mood of Malawi. There is a new assertiveness about the place

After a week's ranging, joining the ranks of the finger feeders in lakeside eateries, chatting to dozens of forthcoming locals, intuitively getting a feel for the place as the traveller does, and finally speaking to various people in government, business and UN agencies, one comes away with a distinct, albeit subjective feeling that Malawi's spine is being stiffened by her own people against too close an association with South Africa

This is not to say that the wisdom of President Banda's "business as usual approach" with Pretoria is questioned, rather that one detects an underlying African solidarity with the attitude towards South Africa adopted by Malawi's neighbours

Compressed on all sides by the conflicting demands of a civil war in Mozambique, troubled relations with Tanzania and Zimbabwe and the complications of SADCC membership, Malawian foreign policy is beginning to resemble the amoeba-like shape of the country's principal attraction, its 500km long lake

And it is a great tribute to Dr Banda and his advisers that Malawi shows every sign of becoming an important player in the search for peace in the region, in spite of its puny status relative to countries like Zimbabwe

Malawi's leverage lies in the fact that it is a pivotal feature on any strategic map of the area, capable of aiding sanctions against South Africa or undermining them, of giving succour to dissidents operating against Zimbabwe, Zambia or Mozambique (or operating against Zimbabwe, Zambia or Mozambique or Tanzania for that matter) or expelling them.

The stakes are high for Dr Banda, and getting higher by the day, but he is clearly determined neither to be 'Finlandized' by Pre-



warlords rampaging through the underbelly of Mozambique's hinterland, that country now faces the cruellest test of its sovereignty

But too much is at stake to allow Mozambique to slide into the sea and the cavalry is already racing to the rescue as it has done elsewhere in Africa so often in the past

Several conclusions can be drawn about Malawi's new look regional policy

First, it has become clear that in the absence of a coherent political programme the MNR stands no chance of enjoying official Malawian support towards inclusion in the central government of Mozambique. Much will depend on the success or otherwise of efforts by Alfonso Dhlakama, the MNR President, to transform the MNR into a movement enjoying popular legitimacy

Secondly, Malawi will not break relations with South Africa, believing that there is very little difference between the activities of trade missions (operated by its neighbours in SA) and its own embassy

Cards falling Banda's way

What is likely to happen, however, is that Malawi will become more discriminating in the way in which aid is received. This has obvious implications for the sort of projects SA would be willing to help Malawi with, but it is already clear that to the extent that Malawi is an aid recipient she may be able to play off some donors against others and thereby obtain an extraordinary sort of reverse leverage

Thirdly, as Malawi's regional importance becomes more apparent to all parties, it is likely that Banda or his successor may seek to play the role of mediator not only between South Africa and her neighbours but between white and black South Africans.

All in all the cards are falling Banda's way. The joker in the pack is whether or not he'll be around to see it happen

toria, nor intimidated by his neighbours

The change in Malawi's posture dates from last September, when Presidents Mugabe, Kaunda and Machel flew to Blantyre to confront Dr Banda with evidence of Malawi's support for guerrillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR)

The meeting with Banda may have had some effect because a month later the MNR was reported to have launched a major offensive from Malawi into Tete Province and Zambezia Province.

In the last two months the war in Mozambique has escalated dramatically as a direct result of the Blantyre meeting, but so have the forces ranged against the MNR

The decision to commit Malawian troops to Mozambique in support of Frelimo follows an earlier agreement between Malawi and Mozambique in December that was intended, through the device of a Joint Security Commission, to ensure that rebel movements along the common border were more effectively controlled

From being a passive regional actor then, Malawi has become an active one. Already her new posture is having momentous repercussions. With the sanctuaryless MNR

SA, Malawi sign accord

BLANTYRE — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, signed an agreement with the Malawian government yesterday to provide special training courses for Malawian nurses in South Africa.

Mr. Botha and the deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Glen Babb, and their wives arrived on an official visit to Blantyre earlier yesterday.

After an enthusiastic welcome at the airport, the South Africans had talks with the Malawian government on a number of topics before signing an agreement to provide post basic training for nurses in South Africa.

The five-year training courses will be in the clinical and non-clinical fields, and the agreement also provides for the exchange of expertise in the field of professional nursing.

After the signing Mr. Botha said that what Africa needed was health services, job opportunities, stability, transport and agricultural development.

TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT BANDA

He paid tribute to Malawi's President Kamuzo Banda, who "is not interested in international political adventures, but in the development of his own people".

South Africa was still ready to assist its fellow-African countries and to work with them, he said.

The Minister's party, which also included a number of other officials, then attended a reception at the home of the South African Ambassador, Mr. Ossie Albers, which was also attended by local Malawian Ministers, diplomats and business executives. The mayors of Blantyre and Zomba were also present.

Mr. Botha said at the reception that the leaders of Africa must solve their own problems and not allow outsiders to sow suspicion and distrust — Sapa.

With Britain helping behind the scenes, there are signs of a closer relationship between the two governments after years of suspicion and hostility. *ARRGUS 9/12/87 170*

Rail link forges friendship for Malawi, Mozambique

JOHN MORRISON of Reuter reports Dateline BLANTYRE

LANDLOCKED Malawi, caught in a transport squeeze which is threatening its economy, is drawing closer to its Marxist neighbour Mozambique in an effort to protect its access to the sea.

With Britain helping behind the scenes, signs have multiplied of a closer relationship between the two governments after years of suspicion and hostility, diplomats say.

Mozambique has now stopped publicly accusing Malawi of letting its territory be used as a base by Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

Capitalist

And Malawi has quietly deployed one fifth of its 5 000-man army in Mozambique to help defend its rail link to the Indian Ocean port of Nacala against MNR attack.

"Nacala is vital for both Mozambique and Malawi," said British Foreign Office Minister of State Mrs Lynda Chalker after meetings last week with the leaders of both countries intended to nudge them into a closer relationship.

Malawi, conservative and capitalist, is the only black African country with an embassy in Pretoria, and is not part of the six-nation organi-

sation of Frontline states opposed to South Africa.

It is, however, an active member of the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which works to reduce the region's economic dependence on South Africa.

Mrs Chalker showed obvious relief when Malawi's octogenarian Life President Kamuzu Banda told her that he accepted Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano's apology for the shooting down of a Malawian business charter plane on November 6 with the loss of 10 lives.

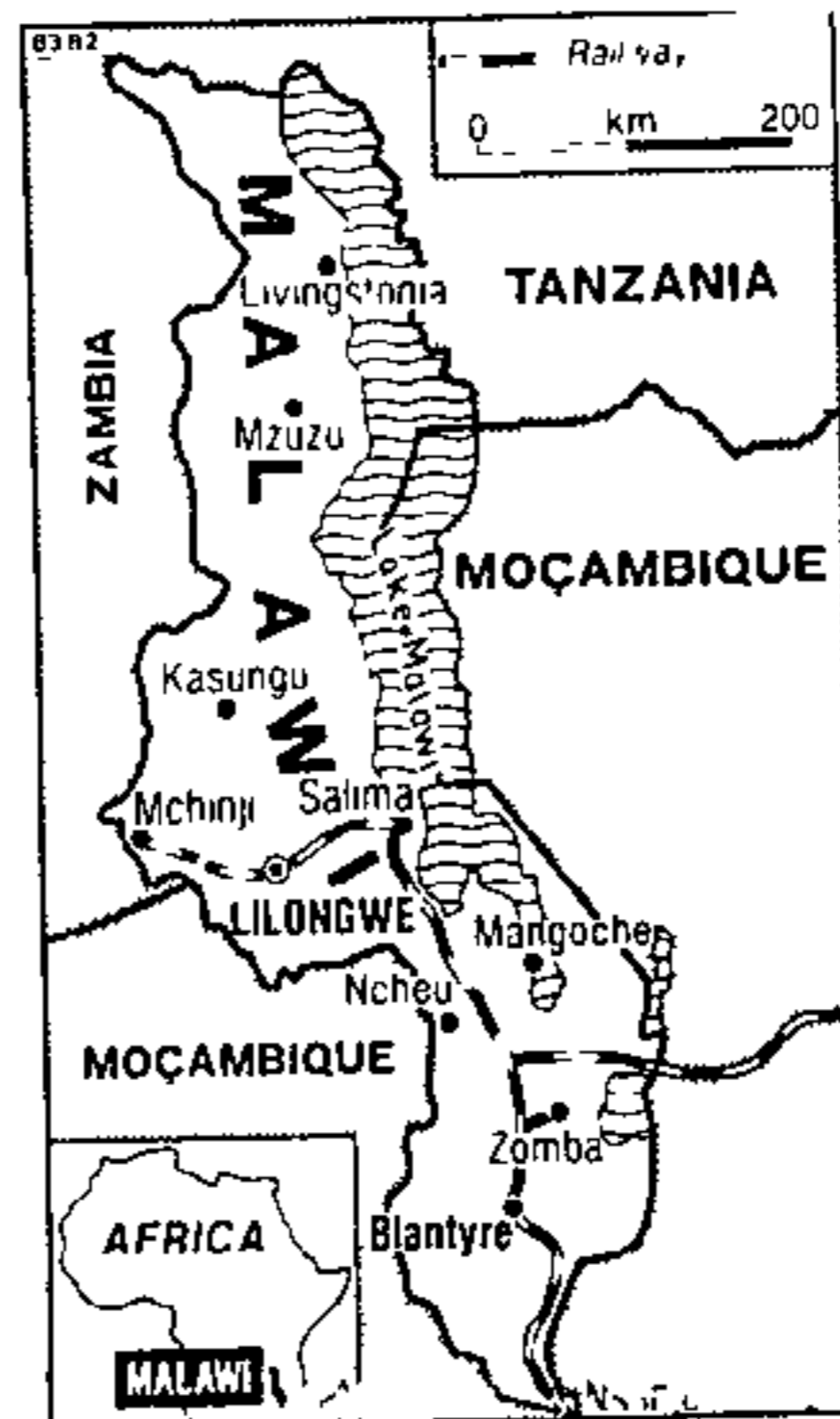
Malawians were shocked and angered by the incident, but after issuing a formal protest note decided that business with Mozambique would go ahead as usual.

Big efforts

"I am encouraged by what I have heard," Mrs Chalker told reporters, adding that President Banda was gravely concerned by the continued conflict in Mozambique and wanted to help end it.

Over the past year Malawi has made big efforts to persuade Mozambique that it has no links with the MNR.

"Whereas there was a relationship in the past it has now



dwindled almost to nothing," Mrs Chalker said.

She quoted Dr Banda as expressing "tremendous anxiety" about the actions of South Africa and of the Mozambican rebels, whose disruption of transport routes is causing enormous extra costs for Malawi's economy.

With Britain and other donor nations helping to foot the bill, Malawi and Mozambique are trying to get trains moving again on the 615km line to Nacala, completed in 1970 to provide a new route to the sea for Malawi.

With the line out of action and the alternative rail route to Beira also cut by rebels, Malawi has had to ship its exports of tea, sugar and tobacco and its imports of industrial goods either through Durban in South Africa or through Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. Both routes are awkward and around 30 or 40 percent more costly.

Reluctant

Diplomats believe President Banda may at first have been reluctant to commit Malawian troops to Mozambique, but agreed because of the overriding need to reopen the Nacala rail link.

The role played by the Malawian battalion on the line goes unpublicised here. When Mrs Chalker announced that Britain would give R2.6-million to buy non-lethal equipment such as radios for the Malawian battalion, the Malawian press did not spell out what the money would be used for.

Malawi Railways executives say that up to now they have run trains only as far as Malema, about 177km into Mozambique, but intend to do the whole trip soon.

"We intend to go to the coast in two weeks time," assistant general manager Steven Mjiga told reporters.

170 Junction 9/12/87

BLANTYRE (Malawi) — Landlocked Malawi, caught in a transport squeeze which is threatening its economy, is drawing closer to its Marxist neighbour Mozambique in an effort to protect its access to the sea.

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Apology

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Malawi draws closer to Mozambique



SAPA-REUTER

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Damaged

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Miss Chalker also watched repairs of Malawian locomotives hit by rebel small arms fire on the line, and inspected two Mozambican locomotives repaired here at British expense after rebels damaged them

Malawi railways executives say that up to now they have run trains only as far as Malema, some 177 km into Mozambique, but intend to do the whole trip soon

Risk

"We intend to go to the coast in two weeks time," assistant general manager Mr Steven Mijiga told reporters

Some Western diplomats who monitor the security situation in the region are privately pessimistic about the chances of regular traffic on the line resuming until there is some kind of peace in Mozambique

They point out that several thousand Zim-



PRESIDENT Chissano ... Mozambique.



PRESIDENT Banda ... Malawi

babwean troops are needed to keep open the much shorter rail link from Mutare in Zimbabwe to Beira, and say the Malawian soldiers, while well-trained and professional, are too few to do the job

The major security risk is on the central part of the line, where a continuously welded track is being laid to make sabotage more difficult

Diplomats say Mozambican Government forces are ill-trained, ill-equipped and ill-paid and do not have adequate food, transport or ammunition to be an effective fighting force

In late November 200 ragged, ill-shod Frelimo soldiers fled into Malawi because their ammunition ran out "If they're supposed to guard a train you never know if they will turn up or not," a Western diplomat here said

Despite these problems Miss Chalker made clear that Britain would confine its military aid to non-lethal items and would not send its own troops to the Nacala line, even if the security situation worsened

Miss Chalker said she wanted to see the Mozambique conflict ended by dialogue and hinted that if President Chissano's domestic policies bore fruit, his government might one day reconsider its refusal to negotiate with the MNR

11/12/87

MALAWI

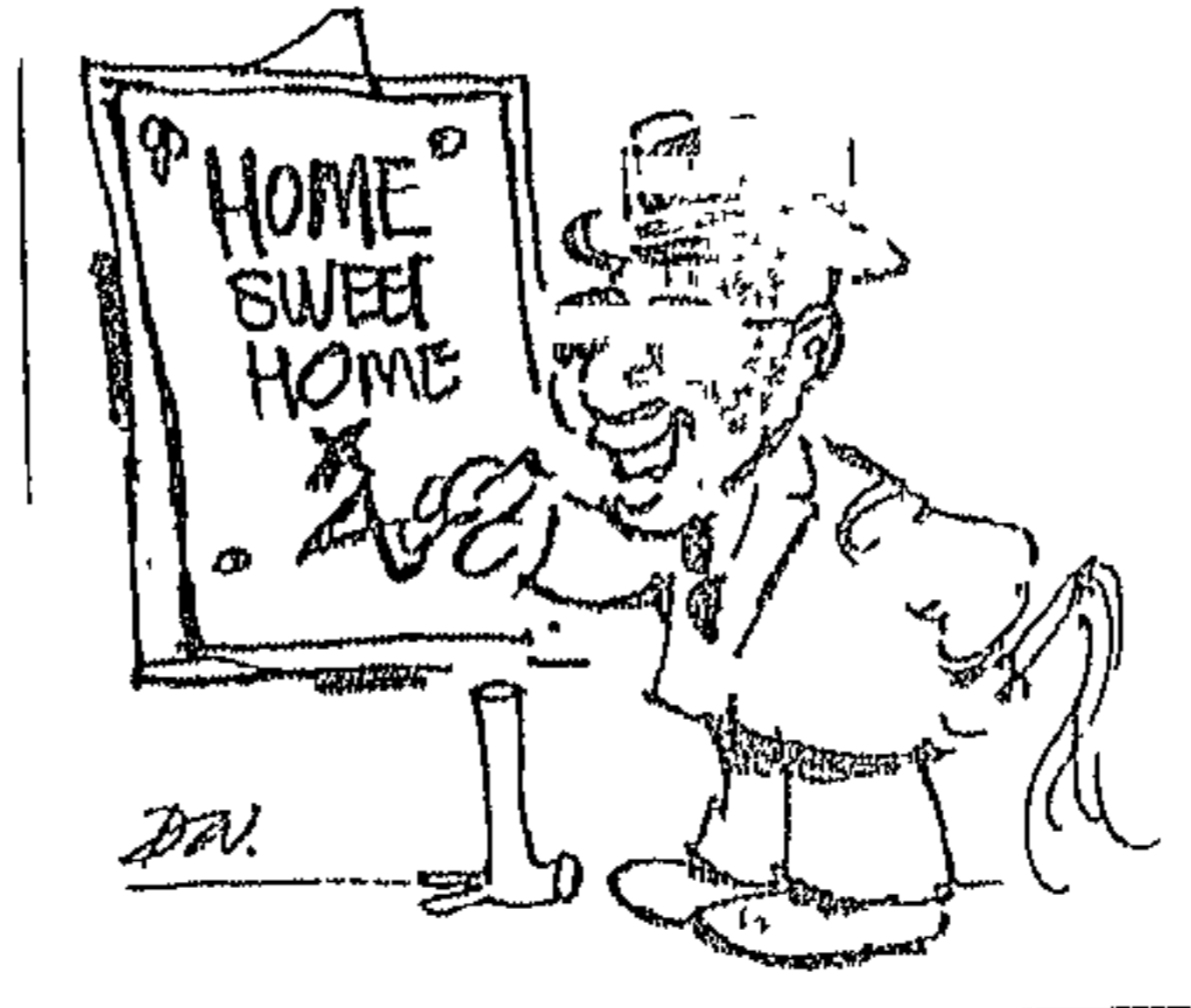
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Palace for Banda

Although close to his nineties, Malawi's President Hastings Kamuzu Banda is building himself another multi-million rand palace at Lilongwe, the capital

The new "State House" will be Banda's third home. He already owns the luxurious Sanjika palace in Blantyre, what used to be the governor's home in Zomba, and a lodge close to Mzuzu in the north.

Ironically, the chances of the ageing president-for-life ever seeing the completion of his



dream palace look slim. The palace, said to have cost R100m so far, has been in construction for about 10 years. Indications are it will take a further R50m before completion in five years' time. Like the highly expensive and elitist school (dubbed the Eton of Africa) Banda had built some years ago, the palace will no doubt serve as a monument to the nation's founder.

The entire project is, like so much in Malawi, kept very much under wraps. Journalists are not allowed to enter the building and very little, if anything, has been written about it. Access roads to the building, which is on a hill just outside the town, are closed to

"unauthorised persons" and controlled by the army.

Attempts to get further information on the palace have failed. Malawi's chief information officer, Wallace Chawawa, says the residences of the head of state are "protected" for security reasons and no information may be issued.

According to the *FM's* information, however, the palace consists of three buildings, each five storeys high. Features include engraved wooden railings for the stairs (which have to be redone, as they no longer comply with Banda's taste) and taps of pure gold.

Meanwhile, South African companies,

which were also contracted to build Lilongwe, are cashing in. The palace is believed to have 10 kitchens, which are provided by Kitchen Vision, apparently at about R60 000 per kitchen. Director Morry Blumberg admitted to having the contract, but wouldn't comment further, saying that he did not want any publicity. Chawawa could not say where funding came from, but said he had no knowledge of foreign funding.

Malawi is the only African state to have full diplomatic links with SA. Generally regarded as one of Africa's few economic successes, it received about R160m in aid from the European Community in 1985. ■

AS relations between Mozambique and Malawi start to thaw, a wave of refugees from war-torn Mozambique are putting new strains on Malawi's economy JOHN MORRISON of Reuter reports from Lizulu in Malawi

Refugee wave strains Malawi

A MASSIVE influx of refugees from war-shattered Mozambique into Malawi is straining the hospitality of one of Africa's poorest countries.

Malawi, after coping with the swelling tide on its own for months, is now appealing for international help to solve a problem that has spilled across its borders. Malawi, a country of seven million people, now has 363 000 Mozambican "deslocados" or displaced persons.

Most are women with babies on their backs and children by their side. They have simply walked across the unguarded border into southern Malawi, which juts into Mozambique like a piece in a jigsaw puzzle

As recently as September 1986, Malawi counted only 40 000 refugees, but the trickle has swelled to a flood "They feel safe as soon as they cross the border and they know they will be fed," a Malawian official says.

Here on Malawi's western border with Mozambique's Tete province, it is only a few steps across the tarmac road from the destitution of Mozambique to the modest poverty of Malawi.

On both sides of the road villagers speak the same local language, Chichewa, and many are related. The refugees just walk across, queue to register with the District Commissioner, and put up their thatched huts within sight of Mozambique

Hungry and ragged

Following the old colonial frontier between English-speaking and Portuguese-speaking Africa, the road running north from Malawi's commercial centre Blantyre to the capital Lilongwe runs within a few feet of Mozambique

On the Malawian side, there is a bustle of activity with market stalls, solid red brick post offices and mud brick villages in between neatly tilled fields. There is a brisk trade in fruit, vegetables and even barbecued mice — a local delicacy.

On the Mozambican side, there is a landscape of desolation. Once-thriving shops, cafes and farmhouses are now wrecked shells. Beyond lies the emptiness of Tete province, a no-man's land where neither the government nor the rebels of the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) wield control.

At first the refugees came from border areas. But now they are arriving, hungry and ragged, from further inside Mozambique where an estimated four million people are said by the government to be affected by the war

For the time being, the refugees are being fed thanks to the efforts of the Malawi government, the World Food Programme, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies.

Extra supplies

Unlike in Ethiopia, there is no famine but UNHCR officials say transporting supplies to the area could become a critical problem in 1988

"We estimate we will need 58 000 tons of cereals next year," says Joel Boutroue, who represents the UNHCR in Lilongwe Malawi, normally a food exporter, is also short of cereals this year, partly because it has dug into its reserves to feed the refugees

All extra supplies will have to come from Zimbabwe across the single road which runs across Mozambique's Tete province. Truck convoys, guarded by Zimbabwean troops, run three times a week at present

Aid workers say a current American programme to ship 27 000 tons of maize to Malawi through Tete is already straining local transport links and fear that by next year there will not be enough trucks in Zimbabwe or Malawi to move the maize needed

The refugees camped along the border also pose a potentially serious security problem for Malawi. In Zimbabwe, the rebels have repeatedly crossed over from Mozambique to plunder and kill villagers

Officials here and foreign diplomats say that apart from one or two cattle thefts, there have been no raids into Malawi by the MNR rebels and no skirmishes on the border

Vulnerable

But the closeness of Malawi's major north-south highway to the frontier at a point where the country is barely 20km across makes it acutely vulnerable

"Ideally one would move all these people into camps further from the border. But I don't see how one can move so many people," says Boutroue.

The Malawi government was initially reluctant to give the Mozambicans formal refugee status, fearing this would make their presence permanent

"Our mandate is now accepted. The government is now accepting that they may be here for some time and so we can make medium term plans," Boutroue says

Malawian and foreign officials agree the refugees will have to stay until peace comes to Mozambique — Sapa-Reuter

FOCUS

MTUNTHAMA (Malawi) — The boys and girls in their neat green and grey uniforms rise from their seats with a clatter of knives and forks, the master's voice echoes around the dining hall "For what we have received, may the Lord make us truly thankful" And well he might

For the 350 young Malawians standing in silence for grace are destined to be a new elite, nourished not only on roast beef and apple pie but on Greek, Latin and the old-fashioned virtues of an English public school education

Here in Kamuzu Academy, in the heart of the bush, Malawi's Life President Kamuzu Banda has spared no expense to create a school widely known as "the Eton of Africa".

It was in this spot some seven decades ago that President Banda was first taught to read and write by Scottish missionaries, sitting under a kachere tree which is now a national monument

Thirsty for knowledge, he went on to study in South Africa, the United States and Britain where he practised as a doctor before returning to Malawi after a 40-year absence to lead his country to independence

Kamuzu Academy is signposted from Kasungu, 90 minutes drive north of the capital Lilongwe. You drive for 30km down a red dirt road past thatched huts where goats, chickens and children play in the dust

Suddenly, the road is metalled again and leads to a pair of imposing iron gates adorned with the Latin motto *Honor Deo et Patriae* (Honour to God and country)

Inside, a sweeping drive lined with lamps and bordered by exotic flowerbeds skirts a man-made lake. On the other side is the school, a red brick building with a clock tower, rounded arches and turrets

Gardens

Deputy headmaster Tom Jackson, like almost all the rest of the 35 staff, is British

"I don't think His Excellency the Life President thinks we are ready for Malawian teachers yet," he explains

Not only the pupils have to learn Greek and Latin at President Banda's express instructions, but teachers have to know the languages as well

Many are happy to

Life at the Eton of Africa

SAPA-REUTER

come to a school where the classics, increasingly neglected in British schools, still reign

The school's facilities are lavish by any standards, not just by the standards of Malawi, where only one child in two goes to primary school and one in 20 to secondary school

The staff, on three-year contracts, are backed up by a host of auxiliaries, including a housemother or dame' (an Eton term) who looks after uniforms and supervises cleaning of the twin-bedroom hostels

Test

The gardens and sports grounds are looked after by a staff of 350 — one a pupil

Uniforms are manu-

factured on the spot, though straw boaters (hats) for special occasions come from England

The chapel, designed in President Banda's words "to reflect my Scottish Presbyterian connection", has a Presbyterian chaplain all the way from Scotland

Attendance at interdenominational Christian services is, however, voluntary

The annual intake of 80 is made up of two boys and one girl from each district of Malawi, selected largely on the basis of their results in the primary school leaving certificate

Mr Jackson says the staff are trying to persuade the school governors to rely less on the certificate and more on an entrance test designed to identify intellectual potential

"These are not the cleverest 80 nationwide

The standard does vary," he says diplomatically

Another problem in a country with no birth certificates is that some pupils are admitted well over the maximum age of 15 to begin the six-year course leading to English "O-Level" and "A-Level" exams

Some pupils are 22 or 23 by the time they leave but Mr Jackson says discipline problems are few. A few have been expelled for misbehaviour and some girls have

had to leave after becoming pregnant

Though the education costs R12000 a child parents pay only the standard national fee of R200 and President Banda pays the rest

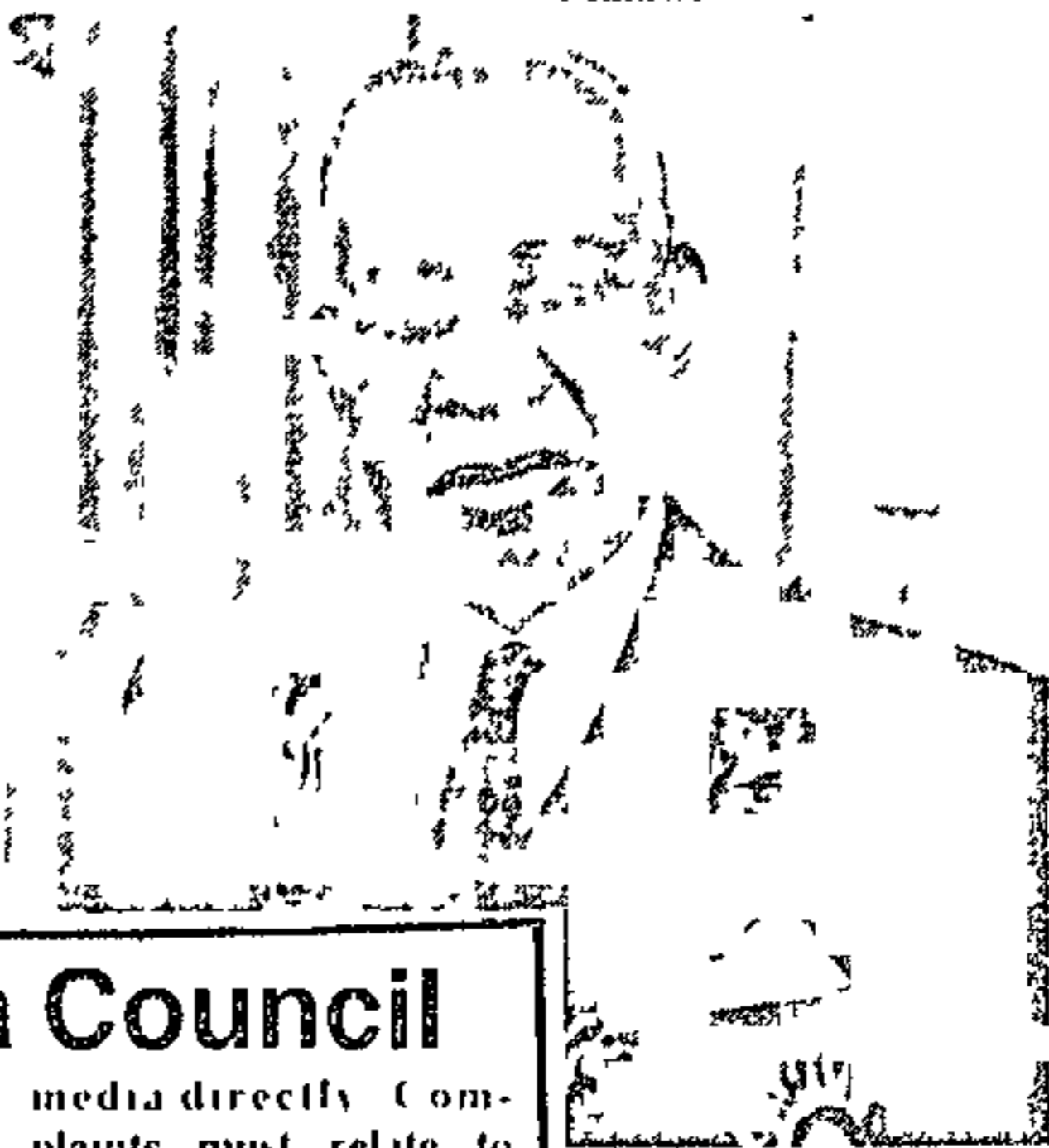
"Staff say the children some of whom have never worn shoes before or eaten with a knife and fork, adjust fairly quickly to life at the school

"How easy it is to go back from our carol service and Christmas dinner to a mud hut for Christmas I don't know," says Mr Jackson

The school opened in 1981, and the first Kamuzu pupils have just started to arrive back in Malawi after attending university in Britain ready to become their country's future leaders

Strangely enough one British tradition has been forgotten — there is no old school tie. But Kamuzu graduates are unlikely to need one in order to recognise each other and if all else fails they will always be able to swap a phrase or two from Homer's *Iliad*

"You never know," said one teacher. "One day Britain may have to import its teachers of ancient Greek from Malawi"



PRESIDENT Banda Malawi



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